Congressional Record

APPENDIX AND INDEX
TO PARTS 1–5
OF
THE PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES
OF THE
SECOND SESSION
OF THE
SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS
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SECOND SESSION.

VOLUME LIV, PART 6.

APPENDIX AND INDEX

(PARTS 1 TO 5).

Congressional Record.

APPENDIX.

From the Great Lakes to Tidewater Under the American Flag.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOMER P. SNYDER,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, December 7, 1916.

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address by my colleague [Mr. MOTT], delivered yesterday at the National Rivers and Harbors Convention.

The address is as follows:

ADDRESS OF MR. MOTT DELIVERED AT THE NATIONAL RIVERS AND HARBORS CONVENTION, DECEMBER 6, 1916.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, transportation is the first and most vital consideration in the manufacturing and marketing of our goods. Cheaper transportation, I believe, is the underlying reason for the existence of this organization. If the railroads of this or any other country could handle raw materials and manufactured products as cheaply as it may be done by waterways, there would be no occasion for this gathering, neither would there be any excuse for the construction of the Suez Canal, the Panama Canal, and the enlargement of the older canals that have taken place in the past century. I am speaking industrially and commercially, not strategically, for all deep-draft waterways have their value as adjuncts to the navies of the countries that control them.

Therefore we are here to-day to talk about cheaper transportation for this country, and to accept without argument and as a proven fact that the only means through which this may be brought about are waterways, their utilization and improvement.

The National Rivers and Harbors Congress advocates a policy, not a project, yet it is essential that I speak of a project in order to cover my subject; but in doing so I want to be understood as advocating a policy of materially developing and improving all waterways that will in any way tend to cheapen transportation, to unite more closely and economically the producer and the consumer, and to bring the extremes of our country into closer connection.

In brief, the project I shall attempt to explain involves the construction of at least one and possibly two ship canals to connect the Great Lakes with the Atlantic. It is not a new thought, but one as old as the history of commerce in this country. The need for the consummation of some such project has been growing more vital with each successive year, and, in my opinion, it will be but a question of a few years before it will be conceded that this waterway offers the only solution to the vexatious problem of lowering costs on transportation on raw materials and essentials to living from the West to the East and on transporting manufactured products from the East to the West.

In order more thoroughly to comprehend the scope of the plan it will be well to glance mentally over the Great Lakes, their outlay, the States that border them, and the vast territory of the Dominion of Canada that lies to the north and the west of them. These States that border the Lakes have for their population one-third of the total population of this country, while the Canadian territory accessible to the Lakes produces the bulk of all the grain grown in the Dominion. The Eastern States of this country were the first settled, and became the more populous and the manufacturing centers. The production of raw materials is in the West and the Middle West to-day, and in a country with a wide expanse of territory such as ours the need for cheap transportation from the field to the market, from the mine to the mill, from the farm to the city, becomes at once apparent and all important.

Our railroads have been steadily developed to meet this constantly increasing need for communication, but they have failed in the first essential economy. The waterways system has failed, too, in that while it is cheaper it is not continuous and has not been sufficiently developed to meet the growing need. It is this latter failure that we must overcome in order to achieve cheaper transportation and better communication, and the added end that we keep the trade of the western and Canadian grain fields in the hands of Americans, transported by American bottoms, and under the flag of the United States. This is the project I am to discuss—a way by which we can transport our goods from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic wholly under American control.

AMERICAN AND CANADIAN TRADE RIVALRY.

The natural outlet of the Great Lakes is the St. Lawrence River, but that river discharges into the Atlantic wholly within Canadian territory. Four of the five lakes are as much Canadian as American, and the most eastern, Lake Ontario, is cut off from the others by a natural barrier to commerce, Niagara Falls. From the start of commerce on the Great Lakes there has been rivalry between the two countries holding them jointly. How much they were esteemed in the early years is told us by the history of the sea fights that took place on them. The rivalry now is all in commerce, but it is a death-dealing war, just the same. In order to overcome American competition Canada early canalized the St. Lawrence River and constructed the Welland Canal to connect Lake Erie and Lake Ontario. When the United States built the Soo Canal, in the upper lakes, Canada paralleled ours with another in her territory. Her possession of the St. Lawrence River gave Canada the outlet to the sea. She seized her opportunity and utilized the waterway that nature gave. The Dominion Government has let no opportunity go by to better that channel in every way, and to-day, with her mother country, England, in war, struggling to the last man and the last penny, Canada contributes her share out of the men and money, and also her work on the enlargement of the New Welland Canal, so that she will be ready to play her part in the trade war we shall have on our hands after the actual conflict abroad has passed.

We in New York State early realized this competition and the importance of keeping the trade of the Great Lakes within American control. We constructed the Erie Canal. That was soon outgrown, and it was enlarged, only to be outgrown again by the tremendous volume of traffic that passed east and west. But for the time it served its purpose in staving off inroads of Canadian competition. Now we are building the New York State barge canal, still incomplete, after 12 years' work and the expenditure of over $110,000,000 to date, including terminals. The total cost will be nearly $160,000,000.

Compare for a moment our work with that of Canada. The new Welland will be 26 miles long; the Barge Canal over 300 miles. The Welland Canal will have 7 locks, the Barge Canal 32 in the main line. Vessels drawing 30 feet of water may pass the Welland; the Barge Canal lock depth will be 12 feet. The Welland lock will be 800 feet long; the Barge Canal lock 300 feet. The improvement is costing the Canadian Government about $30,000,000, or less than a fourth of the cost of the Barge Canal. So, with all our efforts, it would seem that we are still far to the rear in keeping up with the claims of commerce on the Lakes and that our Canadian neighbors have profited by our errors and petty jealousies to seize our business.

It should be evident to everyone that now is the time for the United States to take steps to recover the ground we have lost and are losing, and to realize the immense advantage that Canada has over our trade route. It is only a question of time until Montreal, on the St. Lawrence, will be in a position to bid successfully for a great portion of the business now done by the port of New York, the real terminal for a canal without traffic, and without boats worthy of the name. It seems a far cry to predict any maritime or commercial danger from Montreal in comparison with our great metropolis. But the growing importance of our sister of the snows should not be forgotten for an instant, and we should not forget that the hugeness of New York, the wealth of the State in which it is, and the immensity

of the Lake traffic itself, is what makes American supremacy so easy to attack, and makes Americans and those not vitally concerned so overconfident and indifferent to changes that are taking place so rapidly and with such telling effects.

TRANSFER CHARGES INCREASE TRANSPORTATION COST.

When the new Welland Canal is completed it will be possible, as it is now possible for the smaller carriers, for the largest-size Lake carriers to load grain on the upper Lakes and proceed to Montreal without breaking bulk or paying 1 cent for transfer charges. The obstacle in the way of the use of the Barge Canal is the transfer charges, which on grain are one-half cent per bushel for elevating and from one to five days' storage. The normal cost of transportation on a bushel of wheat from Chicago to Buffalo, based on figures of the New York Produce Exchange for the year 1915, was 1.480 cents per bushel, which was higher than for any year since 1907, when the car shortage made water transportation more popular than for any year since 1889 up to that time.

Transportation in carriers, then, from the head of the Lakes to Buffalo, for the rates are similar from any upper Lake port to Buffalo, is the smaller portion of the cost from the Lakes to the seaboard. The transfer cost at Buffalo has averaged one-half cent per bushel for 18 years, this including elevating and storage. The average cost per bushel on wheat from Buffalo to New York by canal was, in 1915, 4.6 cents. In other words, it costs over three times as much to get wheat from Buffalo to New York as it does from the head of the Lakes to Buffalo. By lake and rail from the Lakes to New York the rate is 7.48 cents, or was in 1915, and I understand this year the cost is even greater. By all rail from the head of navigation to New York the cost averaged last year 10.08 cents per bushel. On a cargo of 300,000 bushels of wheat from Chicago to Buffalo the freight charge would be at the foregoing figures $4,440, while the elevating and storage charges would total $1,500, and the canal freight rate from Buffalo to New York $13,600.

The cost of handling grain in a modern carrier on the Lakes between the head of navigation and Buffalo amounts to about five-eighths of 1 cent a bushel. This is inclusive of handling, and includes port charges on the vessel. A 400,000-bushel carrier can be operated at an expense of $240 per day. The time in transit is from three to five days, as against double that time from Buffalo to tidewater.

From these figures, into which I have not gone more extensively than seems absolutely necessary because of the shortness of the time allowed me, it is not difficult to see that a ship canal is necessary, first, to save time, and, secondly, to save congestion at the transfer point, but, above all, to save money. It would require 252 freight cars of the largest size to carry that cargo of wheat from Buffalo to New York, or 37 canal boats. Anyone can see the difference in operating costs between one Lake carrier, 252 freight cars, and 37 canal boats or barges. A ship canal, it may be seen, will save a car shortage in rush seasons, abolish the vexatious and costly transfer charges and the delays incidental thereto, and save money in every operation. It works both ways, for the steamer could carry back a cargo that would save equally on cars and canal craft. Considering all these points, all of them important in solving a transportation problem, it should be apparent that a ship canal is the only solution.

The New York State Barge Canal in no way abolishes transfer charges or does anything toward keeping American trade in America. If grain can be shipped cheaper by an all-water route for export, Montreal and Canada will benefit, not New York and the United States. This should be self-evident from a comparison of rates, outlined in the foregoing.

NEW YORK'S DECLINING GRAIN TRADE BY WATER.

Last year there was exported 332,464,976 bushels of wheat or its equivalent in flour. This was nearly 37½ per cent of our country's production. In wheat, 78.11 per cent went abroad as such and the remainder in flour. Of this three hundred and thirty-odd millions of bushels of wheat, 225,886,601 bushels were received in New York City. By canal and the Hudson River some 3,841,000 bushels were received; coastwise, some 7,291,638 bushels; and by rail the remainder, or 214,753,963 bushels. The entire production of wheat in this country in 1915 was 1,011,505,000 bushels. So it may be seen that nearly one-quarter of this production went to New York City, by far the greater proportion going by rail.

The year 1915 was exceptional perhaps in that there was an extraordinary demand for breadstuffs abroad, but it is not unreasonable to presume that this demand may continue for several years to come. The transfer charges at Buffalo annually on grain received there by water total over $2,000,000 annually, as a conservative estimate, while there have been years when that figure has been doubled. On the same basis that the foregoing has been estimated, the transfer charges on the grain shipped into New York City last year were $3,072,057.77. Combine the transfer charges at both points—for every cargo of grain received either by rail or boat takes double toll from the ultimate consumer—and the total for the average year is well over $5,000,000. It is easy to see, therefore, that in a few years a ship canal would pay for itself and leave a handsome margin, not to speak of the lowering of the final cost of flour in the markets of the East.

There would be another result, for with an all-water route competing with the rail lines from the Lakes to the seaboard there would be a lowering in tariff on the railroads. One would help the other, as neither can compete with the other, for the railroads carry finished products and the waterways raw materials or bulk shipments.

A PROPOSED SHIP-CANAL ROUTE.

The earliest trade movement by water in the United States was on the Hudson River, north to the St. Lawrence, through the Champlain lake and river system, and west through the Mohawk River and its territory. These were the fur-trading routes, and of the two, as time progressed, the western route became the greater in importance. In three places in New York State, in Oneida County, tributaries of the Mohawk River come within a distance of from a half mile to a mile of tributaries of the Oneida Lake streams. The fur traders and early freighters utilized these streams and made a carry across the land dividing them, and thus from New York had westward a practically uninterrupted all-water route to the Great Lakes territory. The Oneida River discharges from Oneida Lake and goes to join the Oswego River, which discharges into Lake Ontario. That Oswego became the most important trading post in the North was due to the fact that it was where lake traffic, such as it was, met the fur traders from the east and their agents. It was the transfer point. But when the canals came and followed practically the same route, it still became the transfer point. That the early canals followed the old fur-trading route was just another demonstration that trade follows the line of least resistance. The Barge Canal has been laid out practically along that route, but, for reasons that have been given, the Barge Canal does not fill the requirements of trade.

The route that every engineer who has given the matter any thought has followed has been that same route of least resistance, for it offers three rivers, always navigable to a certain extent, and made safer since by canalization and dredging, an abundance of water, and the other essentials that go to make up the requirements for a deep-draft canal. For over a third of the proposed route a ship canal would be in natural waterways, requiring few locks, and presenting no obstacles of navigation. There would be no restrictions of channel, and for a portion of the way at least there is now over 16 feet of water, and at least 12 feet of water for the entire distance. A board of United States engineers in surveying the route in 1901 reported in its favor and fixed the estimated cost at about $200,000,000. The Barge Canal has cost within $70,000,000 of that latter estimate, and is not built for the future. It, as has been stated, does not abolish transfer charges and can not be said to solve our problem.

In summarizing the points I have endeavored to make, a ship canal would possess the following advantages:

First. It would offer an all-water route superior to that along the St. Lawrence, and would stimulate American commerce, American shipbuilding, and kindred industries.

Second. By abolishing transfer charges and cheapening transportation, it would save annually millions of dollars and do more than anything else toward cheapening the cost of transportation and lowering the cost of wheat and flour.

Third. It would offer 162 miles of open waterway in Lake Ontario against a similar distance to be traversed in the Barge Canal.

Fourth. It would relieve congestion at all transfer points that exist now and open the way for better uniting the production centers with the markets, not on grain alone, but on all raw materials.

Fifth. Barges and canal craft could use the ship canal as well as sea and lake going vessels.

Sixth. On bulk shipments of machinery and other heavy manufactured products from the East to the West the ship canal would do as heavy a return-cargo business as on raw materials.

Seventh. It would relieve congestion on railroads, solve the car-shortage problem that exists always when cars are most needed, and thus confer countless benefits not alone upon the immediate territory it would serve but on the entire country.

Eighth. Comparatively speaking, its cost would be little compared with its benefits. The route has been partially canalized now, and the route outlined would be cheaper and quicker than any other.

Ninth. It offers the only way to keep the commerce of the Great Lakes and our great grain trade wholly in American waters, entirely under American control.

I have attached several interesting tables of figures on transfer costs, wheat and other grain shipments and productions, and other matter of interest in this connection which the time allotted me will not permit me to read, but which go to substantiate the statements made in the foregoing.

Average annual freight rates on wheat, by lake and canal, by lake and rail, and by all rail, from head of Great Lakes to Buffalo.

[Compiled by statistician, New York Produce Exchange.]

	By lake and canal.	By lake and rail.	By all rail.
1906	5.94	6.48	10.50
1907	6.68	6.94	11.30
1908	6.00	6.33	11.70
1909	5.35	6.88	11.70
1910	5.13	6.57	9.60
1911	5.35	5.23	9.69
1912	5.57	6.17	9.60
1913	5.74	7.01	9.60
1914	5.31	6.54	9.60
1915	6.08	7.48	10.08

Since 1898 average transfer charge, elevating, and storage from 5 to 10 days has been 0.500 cents per bushel.

For 10 years the average canal rate on wheat, Buffalo to New York, has been: 1906, 4.2; 1907, 5; 1908, 5; 1909, 3.9; 1910, 4; 1911, 4.3; 1912, 4.4; 1913, 4.6; 1914, 4.3; 1915, 4.6.

Based on above freight charges, on a 400,000-bushel cargo of wheat would be: By lake and canal, 1915, $24,320; by lake and rail, 1915, $29,920; by all rail, 1915, $40,320.

The single transfer charge at Buffalo on the two first would be $2,000.

Comparison of grain received at ports of New York and Montreal, with methods of shipment into the former.

[New York Produce Exchange.]

Methods of shipment.	New York.	Montreal.
1906.	*Bushels.*	*Bushels.*
By canal and river	11,769,500	
Coastwise and river	244,815	31,965,187
By rail	107,618,105	
1907.		
By canal and river	9,558,500	
Coastwise and river	254,613	
By rail	112,397,811	42,954,386
1908.		
By canal and river	7,228,000	
Coastwise and river	957,259	41,006,738
By rail	95,532,736	
1909.		
By canal and river	9,676,000	
Coastwise and river	1,863,504	43,551,119
By rail	82,895,110	
1910.		
By canal and river	11,000,700	
Coastwise and river	441,588	45,427,290
By rail	86,635,278	
1911.		
By canal and river	7,895,000	
Coastwise and river	3,913,254	49,325,297
By rail	107,411,728	
1912.		
By canal and river	3,530,600	
Coastwise and river	4,268,675	59,393,707
By rail	122,371,905	
1913.		
By canal and river	4,371,700	
Coastwise and river	3,904,292	66,078,237
By rail	131,768,203	
1914.		
By canal and river	5,803,900	
Coastwise and river	11,333,344	99,054,293
By rail	142,127,622	
1915.		
By canal and river	3,841,000	
Coastwise and river	7,291,638	68,231,647
By rail	214,753,963	

Because of the fact that Canadian carriers were called into the service of the Crown, much of the grain destined for export went via New York last year.

Montreal grain exported paid no transfer charges from the head of the lakes to the port docks; grain destined for New York paid over $4,517,732 transfer charges, based on minimum rate.

The Coast Guard of the United States.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FREDERICK C. HICKS,
OF NEW YORK,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, December 11, 1916.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, the sea with its vast expanse and mighty distances stretching to the far corners of the earth appeals to the imagination and envelopes commerce with the cloak of romance. The use of ships in the transportation of men and merchandise dates back to the earliest periods of human history. Commerce has played a principal rôle in every act of the drama of civilization; it has stimulated trade, encouraged industry, and was the impelling force which inspired those intrepid voyages of the fifteenth century, whose fruits were the discovery and colonization of empires.

Each year adds its toll of death and loss of property to the long list of casualties by sea. For centuries no effort was made to safeguard the lives of those who accepted the calling of the deep, and it was not until the end of the eighteenth century that public apathy was aroused to the necessity of providing means which would mitigate the sufferings and perhaps save the lives of shipwrecked mariners.

The first steps toward the organization of a regular life-saving service were taken almost simultaneously by England, France, and America, and to-day practically every country having a seaboard maintains a system of this kind. Previous to the founding of a regular service all efforts to protect ships from accident had been directed to the establishment of lights and buoys along the coasts. To provide a more effective system of life-saving, the Royal Humane Society of England was organized in 1774, from which has grown the splendid organization of to-day. The English service, from which our own differs very materially, depends upon volunteers, with the Government supplying the boats and all the paraphernalia incident to the system.

In 1785 a small body of benevolent persons instituted the Massachusetts Humane Society, the avowed object of which was to endeavor to alleviate the sufferings of those shipwrecked on the Massachusetts coast. As expressed in the act of incorporation of 1791—

> The end and design of the institution is for the recovery of persons who meet with such accidents as to produce in them the appearance of death, and for promoting the cause of humanity by pursuing such means from time to time as shall have for their object the preservation of human life and the alleviation of its miseries.

To carry out this purpose several small huts were built on some of the most exposed parts of the coast, and the society offered rewards to those who made "signal exertions" to save life. It is evident from perusing the records of the society that their activities were also directed toward the eradication of plagues, for we find that in 1798 the trustees offered a piece of plate "for the greatest number of important and well-established facts instrumental in giving origin to the yellow fever in the United States." A few years later the society assisted in founding an asylum for the insane. This society was the actual pioneer of maritime life-saving in America, and in 1807 established at Cohasset a station equipped with the first lifeboat ever used in the United States. The society gradually enlarged its service as its funds permitted, and maintains to-day 32 stations, which are operated independent of Government control.

The society depends upon private subscriptions, a part of the funds necessary for the work being derived from the income of legacies that have been bequeathed to it. A keeper is maintained at each station, but the crews are enlisted from volunteers on the occasion of a disaster. The equipment is practically the same as that supplied the stations under Federal supervision. Owing to the fact that Government life-saving stations have in many places been established in close proximity to those of the society, the policy of the trustees of late years has been to withdraw from this field of usefulness and direct their energies along other lines.

Nothing was done by our Government to assist distressed mariners until 1837, when a few revenue cutters were detailed to cruise near the coast for the purpose of rendering aid to ships in need of assistance. To make the historical record complete we must go back to the Continental Congress. By act of August 7, 1779, the general charge of the lighthouse system was placed in the hands of the Treasury Department, which made contracts with private parties for the repair and supply of lighthouses. In

1838, as the result of many complaints regarding the management of the system, Congress ordered a general inspection of the service and two naval officers were detailed for the purpose. In the report one of these officers made this very significant suggestion: "Much can be done to alleviate the distressed seamen by having lifeboats stationed at places herein designated," referring, of course, to lighthouses. In 1845 the Secretary of the Treasury instructed two naval officers to visit Great Britain and France for the purpose of procuring information which might tend to the improvement of the Lighthouse Service of the United States. In their report of June 22, 1846, they stated in reference to the system employed in lighting the port of Liverpool:

The authorities have further provided for the safety of seamen by adding a number of lifeboats to their charge.

While the lighthouse bill was under consideration in the Twenty-eighth Congress the following amendment was offered:

For furnishing the lighthouses on the coast with means of furnishing assistance to shipwrecked mariners, $5,000, the same to be under the control and direction of the Secretary of the Treasury.

The amendment became a law March 3, 1848, in the exact terms in which it had been introduced, and was the first appropriation made by our Government for rendering assistance to shipwrecked mariners. This money, however, was not expended by the Government as originally intended, but was carried over and two years later placed at the disposal of the Massachusetts Humane Society "for the construction and maintenance of lifeboats and rockets to throw lines to and from stranded ships." An amendment to the lighthouse bill approved August 14, 1848, provided for the expenditure of $10,000 for the purpose of securing "necessary apparatus for the better protection of life and property from shipwrecks on the coast of New Jersey between Sandy Hook and Little Egg Harbor." This sum was used by the Treasury Department, acting in cooperation with the Board of New York Underwriters, in erecting eight boathouses, 28 by 16 feet in size, and equipping them with life and surf boats, rockets, etc. At this time, and for nearly a quarter of a century after, reliance for assistance on occasions of shipwreck was upon volunteers. Owing to the lack of a coastwise population at some of the most dangerous points along our own and the New Jersey shores and the isolation of the beaches upon which the life-saving stations were located, voluntary service, except in a few instances, could not be depended upon, although in the neighborhood of some of the stations a sufficient number of men with surfing experience to form a boat's crew had an understanding that they would give their services when occasion demanded. Our coasts were wild and lonely, and, owing to the presence of strong currents, the absence of lights, and the severity of storms, exceedingly dangerous to navigators. The few who survived shipwreck by their own efforts perished often from cold and exposure. To relieve their sufferings in case they were able to save themselves from the wreck, a few shelter huts were established at different points.

In 1849, $20,000 was appropriated for life-saving work, $10,000 of which was expended in extending the New Jersey system to Cape May and the other $10,000 in the erection of eight lifeboat houses on the ocean and sound sides of the Long Island coast, under the direction of the Life Saving Benevolent Association of New York, a society which had just been incorporated by the State legislature. This was the beginning of the life-saving system on Long Island. Unfortunately for the embryo service, the appropriations did not carry a provision for the care of the buildings and their contents. No definite policy was inaugurated. There was neither organization nor supervision and no accounting demanded by the department. "There the buildings stood, many of them upon isolated portions of the coast, far distant from any habitation, exposed to the depredations of the covetous, mischievous, and the malicious." Although they occasionally afforded the hardy beachmen an opportunity of rendering good service in rescue work, they were allowed to suffer from neglect, natural decay, and petty thefts. In 1850, $20,000 was appropriated for life-saving purposes. Other appropriations followed, but the voting of these sums by Congress was largely prompted by frequent appalling catastrophes and were not made in conformity to any systematic plan. The lifeboats and the stations were of occasional and signal benefit, but the lack of responsible custodians for the appliances of relief rendered them in large measure nugatory. In some instances natural changes in the beaches wrought by winds and tides rendered the stations useless, while their equipment became diminished by pillage and decay.

By 1854 the inefficiency of the service, if such it could be called, emphasized by frequent calamities, aroused public sentiment. By the act of December 14, 1854, passed with much opposition, provision was made to rehabilitate the system. Under this act a superintendent, at a compensation of $1,500 per annum, was appointed for each of the two coasts. A keeper was assigned to each station at a salary of $200, the stations were made serviceable, and bonded custodians were secured for the lifeboats. Some improvement followed, but it was only temporary and partial. The new appointees put the stations and equipment in condition and for a period the benefit of the step that had been taken was manifest in a marked reduction in the fatalities attendant upon shipwrecks within their purview. The absence, however, of drilled and disciplined crews, the lack of regulations of any kind for the government of those concerned, the failure to hold them to a proper accountability for the care of the property or the discharge of their duties, and, above all, the absence of all administration were radical defects and the record continued to be one of meager benefits checkered by saddest failures. This condition of inadequacy and lack of discipline continued until 1870, when Congress, by the act of July 15 of that year, authorized the Treasury Department to enlist and pay crews. The men were employed for three months only and were assigned to alternate stations.

In 1871 Mr. Samuel I. Kimball, Chief of the Revenue-Cutter Service, determined to improve the Life-Saving Service and to carry his plans into effect, ordered a thorough investigation of the stations and equipment. He secured from Congress an appropriation of $200,000, with which he purchased new gear, repaired old stations, and established new ones. Additional crews were enlisted, the merit system for appointments and promotions was inaugurated, a beach-patrol system, together with a system of signals, was introduced, and regulations for the government of the service were promulgated. The result of the transformation was most beneficial, and the system thus organized and equipped has steadily advanced in efficiency and the esprit de corps of its men, until to-day it is the finest service in the world. The patrolling of the beaches at night and during thick weather was a most important feature of the new regulations, and distinguishes the United States service from that of all other nations. This largely accounts for its unparalleled successes in rescuing shipwrecked seamen from stranded vessels. From this time forward the growth of the system was rapid, although the funds placed at its disposal were inadequate to its needs. Until 1877 the appropriations allowed by Congress did not permit of the stations being opened for service until December 1 of each year, and then only for three months.

The result of this economy was most serious, for on November 24, 1877, the S. S. *Huron* was driven ashore on the North Carolina coast, where nearly 100 perished without any assistance being rendered them from the shore, due to the fact that the crews had not yet reported for their winter duty. A few weeks later another terrible wreck was recorded when the *Metropolis* stranded on the same coast and 85 lives were lost. The mortality was due to the remoteness of the life-saving station from the scene of the disaster, the location of the stations at that time being from 10 to 16 miles apart. These casualties prompted the department to erect 13 additional stations between Cape Henry and Hatteras Inlet.

The service continued to grow in extent and importance until by the act of Congress of June 18, 1878, it was detached from the Revenue-Cutter Service in conjunction with which it had hitherto existed, and organized into a separate and definite establishment of the Treasury Department under the charge of a general superintendent. Under the new act the length of service of the crews at the seaboard stations was extended from September to May and on the Lakes made coterminous with that of navigation of these waters. Until this time the Life-Saving Service had been a part of the Revenue-Cutter Service organized by an act of Congress approved August 4, 1790. This service was designed originally as the coast-defense system of the country and was placed under the Treasury Department, there being at that time no Naval Establishment. In addition to coast-defense work the vessels of the Revenue-Cutter Service were charged with the enforcement of the customs laws in preventing smuggling, which at that time was carried on systematically by vessels regularly engaged in the trade.

By a singular process of evolution, the Life-Saving Service, which had originally been a part of the Revenue-Cutter Service—separated from it in 1878—was reunited with it by the Coast Guard act of January 28, 1915, which in a general way classified the duties of the service as follows:

1. Rendering assistance to vessels in distress and saving life and property.
2. Destruction or removal of wrecks, derelicts, and other floating dangers to navigation.
3. Extending medical aid to United States vessels engaged in deep-sea fisheries.
4. Protection of the customs revenue.
5. Operating as a part of the Navy in time of war or when the President shall direct.

6. Enforcement of law and regulations governing anchorage of vessels in navigable waters.
7. Enforcement of law relating to quarantine and neutrality.
8. Suppression of mutinies on merchant vessels.
9. Enforcement of navigation and other laws governing merchant vessels and motor boats.
10. Enforcement of law to provide for safety of life on navigable waters during regattas and marine parades.
11. Protection of game and the seal and other fisheries in Alaska, etc.
12. Enforcement of sponge-fishing law.
13. International ice patrol of the Grand Banks.

The total authorized complement of warrant officers, petty officers, and men is 3,945, of which 2,107 are employed at the coast stations. The equipment consists of 23 cruising cutters, 24 harbor cutters, and 279 stations, of which 2 are specially constructed vessels, equipped with necessary appliances, 1 anchored off City Point, Boston, and the other in the Ohio River off Louisville, Ky.

A BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE ACTIVITIES FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1916.

One thousand two hundred and sixteen persons were saved through the efforts of the service. There were 1,453 instances which involved the saving of life or the salving of property imperiled. In various ways assistance was rendered to 15,742 persons on board vessels. The total appraised value of the property saved from immediate jeopardy was $10,638,555. The cost of maintaining the service for the year was $5,215,711.34. In addition to the patrols constantly maintained during the active season by station crews along the beaches and the regular cruising of cutters offshore, the latter are charged with special watchfulness during the winter months on the Atlantic seaboard. Much valuable assistance is rendered by these cutters every year. Thirty derelicts were removed or destroyed and 149 cases of sickness treated on American fishing vessels on the Banks. The harbor cutters of the Coast Guard board all incoming vessels that are subject to customs inspection. They assist in the enforcement of the navigation laws, and, in cooperation with the War Department, the Coast Guard supervises the anchorage and movements of vessels at the ports of New York, Chicago, on the Kennebec River, and the St. Marys River, Mich.

Each cruising cutter is assigned to cover a section of the coast, called her cruising district, and a certain port within that district is designated as her headquarters. Certain cruising districts are combined into divisions, each in command of a senior captain.

Cutters are constantly employed to enforce the neutrality laws of the country as well as those regulating immigration. Another duty which devolves upon the Coast Guard is the patrol of Bering Sea and the North Pacific Ocean to prevent pelagic sealing in accordance with the provisions of the convention of 1911, entered into by the United States, Great Britain, Russia, and Japan. During former years pelagic sealing had depleted the Pribilof herd to such an extent that it was feared the seals would be exterminated. In the fall of 1911 the four powers most deeply interested in the preservation of the herd agreed to prohibit pelagic sealing on the part of their respective citizens. The result of this strict patrol has been a marked increase in the seal herd.

Still another activity is the International Ice Observation and Ice Patrol Service performed by vessels of the Coast Guard. This service was begun by the United States in 1914 on behalf of the powers which are parties to the International Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea, signed at London January 20, 1914, by the representatives of 13 States. Under the conditions of the convention the several powers assumed obligation to contribute to the expenses of the international service in certain proportions. The scope of the patrol and the methods of disseminating information and warnings to trans-Atlantic vessels approaching the Grand Banks are set forth in the following instructions issued to the patrol vessels:

The object of the patrol is to locate the icebergs and field ice nearest to the trans-Atlantic steamship lanes. It will be the duty of patrol vessels to determine the southerly, easterly, and westerly limits of the ice and to keep in touch with these fields as they move to the southward in order that radio messages may be sent out daily, giving the whereabouts of the ice, particularly the ice that may be in the immediate vicinity of the regular trans-Atlantic steamer lanes.

The patrol will continue until the ice no longer constitutes a danger to navigation in the trans-Atlantic steamship lanes.

Having located the ice, the patrol vessels will send daily radiograms.

Special cruises are another feature of the service. Under instructions from the Postmaster General large accumulations of winter mail are transported to northern Alaska; villages and Government schoolhouses in these remote regions are visited and supplied, and medical aid given where needed. The Department of Justice also uses the service to carry the United States court to villages in Alaska to facilitate the administration of justice. While the most severe disasters on the water are caused by storms and thick weather, there are a large number of accidents to motor and sail boats which occur in good weather, due to various causes, principally the inexperience of those handling them. In addition to the work of protecting commerce the units of the Coast Guard are frequently called upon to rescue and resuscitate bathers whose lives are imperilled.

The sea and lake coasts of the United States, exclusive of the shore line of Alaska, have an extent of more than 10,000 miles. To-day there are upon these shores 278 life-saving stations—not including the 32 operated by the Massachusetts Humane Society or the one at the Falls of the Ohio—located at selected points where danger to shipping is most prevalent. The stations vary somewhat in character according to the nature of the service demanded of them. On some portions of the coast they are placed at long intervals, while on others they form a continuous chain of posts. The ocean shores of Long Island and New Jersey, one with about 120 and the other with over 130 miles of coast line, form nearly a right angle, the vertex being at the entrance to the harbor of the world's greatest metropolis. This coast line throughout nearly its whole extent consists of a narrow stretch of sandy beach, varying in width from one-quarter of a mile to five miles, and separated from the mainland by channels, bays, and marshes. This long stretch is unbroken except by a few inlets connecting the ocean with the inland waters and by the entrance to the Harbor of New York. A few hundred yards offshore for almost the entire distance are submerged sandbars over which in violent storms the surf breaks with terrific fury. These sands have always demanded a fearful toll from the passing commerce and are strewn with the half-buried skeletons of wrecked vessels whose decaying timbers tell the sorrowful tale of the destruction of human life which has filled the graveyards of the coast villages with unmarked mounds of "they that go down to the sea in ships."

On the Sound side of Long Island there are two stations and on the ocean shore 28 stations, located in close proximity to each other. On the New Jersey coast from Sandy Hook to Cape May there are 41 stations. From the eastern extremity of the coast of Maine to the Cape Cod Lighthouse, a distance of 415 miles, there are 33 stations under the care of the Government, while the Massachusetts Humane Society operates under the voluntary system 32 stations. Between Cape Cod Light and Montauk Point there are 24. Between Cape Henlopen and Cape Charles 19 stations are located, while between Cape Henry and Key West, Fla., there are 42 stations. On the shores of the Gulf of Mexico there are 8 stations, and between Nome, Alaska, and San Francisco there are 19 stations. On the Great Lakes 63 stations are located.

Each station is in charge of a keeper who is a warrant officer, and the crew consists of from 6 to 10 surfmen, with an additional surfman at many stations during the winter months. Warrant officers are appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury and hold their appointments during good behavior. The term of enlistment in the Coast Guard is for one year and is for general service and not for any particular vessel or station. A rigid physical examination is required, and no person can be enlisted as surfman who is under 18 years of age or over 35, who weighs less than 135 pounds or more than 205, or who is not a good swimmer. Ration allowance is provided by the Government and enlisted men receive an annual allowance for their uniforms. Warrant officers and enlisted men are retired under the same conditions as commissioned officers.

Coast Guard stations are grouped into 13 districts, each one under the immediate supervision of a district superintendent. The stations and their equipment depend upon the service required. Along the north Atlantic and lake coasts the stations, in addition to the living quarters of the crew, are equipped with the beach apparatus—line-projecting guns, hawsers, breeches, buoys, and so forth—flag and Coston signals, heaving sticks and lines, life preservers, life and surf boats. As lifeboats are too heavy to be launched from the beach into the surf, they are used only when the stations are located on inlets where smooth water permits the construction of launching ways. Surfboats which can be launched into the surf are the main dependence of the seaboard stations.

On the Great Lakes the power-driven lifeboats are used to great advantage. These boats are of two lengths, 36 and 34 feet, respectively, although the larger boat is now superseding the smaller. It has a beam of nearly 9 feet and is equipped with a 35-horsepower gasoline engine installed in the aft water-tight compartment. It possesses self-righting and self-bailing qualities. The surfboats with which most of the sta-

tions are equipped are of the Beebe-McLellan & Beebe design, either with or without power. They are both clinker built and are practically identical as to model, with the important distinction that the Beebe-McLellan boat possesses the self-bailing feature. Other types of self-bailing boats are also used.

In the fourth district—Long Island—in addition to the rowing surfboats, there are 10 power surfboats, 1 power lifeboat, and 1 ice scooter. On the Florida coasts the stations consist, to a large extent, of houses of refuge, unmanned shelters, in charge of a keeper, having a capacity and provisions sufficient to succor 25 persons for 10 days. No boats or apparatus are provided except a small boat for the use of the keeper. Many of the stations are connected either by private telephone lines or through local exchanges.

Along the beach in each direction from a Coast Guard station a regular patrol is maintained, varying in length, according to the topography of the coast, from one-half to 4 miles. The crew is divided into regular watches of two men each, who from sunset to sunrise patrol the beach, keeping a lookout to seaward. At sunset the first man starts out on patrol in the same direction from all the stations in a district. While the patrolman is out, his watchmate takes the station watch, ready to arouse the crew in case of a signal from his mate. The first patrolman on his return takes the station watch and the other man patrols the beach in the opposite direction. When the watch is up, the man on the station watch calls out the next two men, who must be ready to relieve the first two when their watch expires. While the integrity of the patrol is not questioned, the regulations insist on positive evidence that the patrolman has performed his duty. Where stations are sufficiently close to one another to permit the entire distance between them to be patrolled, a halfway point is established at which place each patrolman must deposit a brass check bearing the name of the station and his crew number. This is taken up by the patrolman from the adjacent station, who in turn leaves his check. The first patrolman at night collects all checks of the previous night. Where the patrols do not meet, the patrolman carries a time clock, which can be registered only by means of a key which is secured in a safe at the end of the patrol. To have the dial of the clock marked, the patrolman must reach the point where the key is deposited. Each patrolman carries a number of red Coston signals with which to warn a vessel standing too close inshore or to notify a vessel in distress that assistance will be rendered. The same system of patrols is maintained by day during thick and foggy weather.

The Coast Guard Academy for instruction of cadets in the line is located at New London, Conn. Appointments are made after competitive examinations which are open to all citizens whose ages are within the prescribed limits—not less than 18 nor more than 24 years. The course of training covers a period of three years, and the candidate must obligate himself to serve for at least three years after graduation.

During all periods of the year, and at such times as least to interfere with the emergent duties of a civil nature, a rigid system of military discipline and training is maintained to fit the personnel for the duty of operating as a part of the Navy at any time, as the law requires. This function of the Coast Guard has always been of value, since in all wars to which the United States has been a party the Government has had at hand an auxiliary force, properly disciplined and trained, ready to become a part of the regular naval forces as occasion required.

The Coast Guard is under the supervision of the Treasury Department, with headquarters at Washington. The captain commandant is Capt. E. P. Bertholf, an officer whose distinguished record for efficiency and courage merits the highest commendation. I am deeply indebted to him for much valuable information pertaining to the service, as I am to Mr. Oliver M. Maxam, Chief of Division of Operations.

BLUE ANCHOR SOCIETY, AID FOR THE SHIPWRECKED, WOMEN'S NATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

In 1880 this society was organized, to render assistance to the shipwrecked. The enterprise is entirely a private philanthropy, having no connection with the Government service. The aim and purpose of the society is to extend aid and comfort to the victims of marine casualties by furnishing wearing apparel, and so forth, to the victims of disasters upon the water. It has found its widest field of usefulness in connection with the service performed by the crews of the Coast Guard stations. As no provision is made by the Government for clothing for those rescued from the sea, the work of this worthy organization has done much to alleviate distress.

Following are the dates when the several powers inaugurated their life-saving services as State institutions, although in most maritime countries privately managed societies for the relief of the shipwrecked were in active operation years before their respective Governments established national systems:

Great Britain and Holland	1824
Denmark	1852
France	1865
Russia	1872
Norway	1891
Belgium	1838
Sweden	1855
Germany	1872
Spain	1880
Portugal	1892

Mr. Speaker, in closing this brief description of the Coast Guard, I desire to pay tribute to the integrity and heroism of the officers and men of the service. The noble self-sacrifice and intrepid obedience to duty which responds with unflinching bravery to the call for help that comes from out the darkness to the lone patrol breasting the winter's storm on his icy beat, or which is heard by the watch on a cutter's deck, merits our unstinted praise and highest commendation. The inspiring courage which directs the life line and mans the surfboat animates these dumb instruments with the spirit of life and sends them as angels of help across the surging seas on their errands of mercy. These men—Americans of unquestioned loyalty—by their experience, training, and discipline have vitalized with energy and humanity their perilous vocation and made our Coast Guard the premier service of all the world.

Uniform Sales Law for the District of Columbia.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE R. SMITH,
OF MINNESOTA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Wednesday, December 13, 1916.

Mr. SMITH of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, I am about to introduce a bill having for its purpose the enactment of a uniform sales law for the District of Columbia. The uniform sales-of-goods act, framed by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws and indorsed by the American Bar Association, has already been adopted in 13 States, nearly all of them the most important commercial States of the Union, as follows: Connecticut and New Jersey, in 1907; Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Ohio, in 1908; Maryland, in 1910; New York and Wisconsin, in 1911; Michigan and Arizona, in 1913; and Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Nevada, in 1915. It will be introduced in some 30 State legislatures this winter.

The draftsman of the uniform sales act was Prof. Samuel Williston, of Harvard University, the highest living authority on common-law sales and contracts.

Prof. Williston in a recent communication to S. R. Child, of Minneapolis, chairman of the legislative committee of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, gives as "fundamental reasons for the enactment of the uniform sales act" the following statement:

"In my opinion it is highly desirable that the uniform sales act should be enacted in States in which it has not yet been passed. The reasons for this conclusion are:

"1. That uniformity of State laws the effect of which go beyond State lines is desirable is everywhere admitted. The general appointment of commissioners in the several States for the promotion of the object proves its importance. In few subjects can it be more important than in the law of sales. Commercial transactions less and less are limited by State boundaries. It is a regrettable thing that a merchant who buys goods in several States, or who sells goods in several States, should find that his rights under the same states of fact differ in different transactions.

"2. Few if any States have already decided as matter of common law all the questions settled by the sales act. In most States a great many questions provided for in the statute have not yet been determined by decisions. The passage of the statute will determine these questions, and determine them in the right way without litigation. Legislation is a cheaper way of determining these questions than litigation.

"3. The sales act has already been enacted in 13 States. In some of them it has been in force for 10 years. This experience has not developed defects in the statute or difficulty in applying it. It has not been productive of litigation. States which have enacted it include many of the most important commercial States of America. Their experience is a safe guide."

It is apparent that there is a great loss in carrying on interstate business under such a multiplicity of laws. However, it may be said that Congress has very little, if anything, to do with such a proposition. Nevertheless, it can set a good example by adopting a uniform sales law for the District of Columbia. We do not hesitate to make liberal donations out of the Federal Treasury to States for the purpose of encouraging them to carry on certain activities which, in their very nature, are purely State matters. It occurs to me, therefore, the enactment of wise and beneficial laws by Congress that will serve as a model for the States to follow will be of greater benefit than the thrusting of Federal funds upon States to get the States to do that which they ought to do without such assistance from the General Government.

With this thought in mind, I have secured a copy of the uniform sales act, prepared by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws and indorsed by the American Bar Association, for the purpose of drafting a uniform sales law, and have introduced it as a bill to establish a uniform sales law for the District of Columbia. Since the States are making a serious effort to establish such a law, I feel it is the duty of Congress to establish it in such parts of the country as it has jurisdiction over. I know of no body of men that can render more valuable assistance to the propaganda of an idea than the House of Representatives.

In order to inform the House and the country of the proposed law that is sadly needed and that will be beneficial to the commerce of the country, I will incorporate, as a part of my remarks, the commission's draft of an act to make uniform the law of sales of goods and an analysis of the bill:

AN ACT TO MAKE UNIFORM THE LAW OF SALES OF GOODS.

Part I.

FORMATION OF THE CONTRACT.

SECTION 1. [Contracts to sell and sales.] (1) A contract to sell goods is a contract whereby the seller agrees to transfer the property in goods to the buyer for a consideration called the price.

(2) A sale of goods is an agreement whereby the seller transfers the property in goods to the buyer for a consideration called the price.

(3) A contract to sell or a sale may be absolute or conditional.

(4) There may be a contract to sell or a sale between one part owner and another.

The most fundamental distinction in the law of sales is between a contract to sell in the future and a present sale. The phrase "contract of sale" used in the English act has been discarded. An explanation of the reasons on which this and the other sections of the act are based, fuller than is possible in brief annotations, may be found in Williston on Sales.

SEC. 2. [Capacity—Liabilities for necessaries.] Capacity to buy and sell is regulated by the general law concerning capacity to contract and to transfer and acquire property.

Where necessaries are sold and delivered to an infant, or to a person who by reason of mental incapacity or drunkenness is incompetent to contract, he must pay a reasonable price therefor.

Necessaries in this section mean goods suitable to the condition in life of such infant or other person and to his actual requirements at the time of delivery.

This section states the prevailing, though not wholly uniform, doctrine of the existing law. (Mechem on Sales, sec. 122 et seq.) The section follows verbatim section 2 of the English act, except that the words "the sale and" which precede the last word in the section are omitted as introducing a possible ambiguity.

FORMALITIES OF THE CONTRACT.

SEC. 3. [Form of contract or sale.] Subject to the provisions of this act and of any statute in that behalf, a contract to sell or a sale may be made in writing (either with or without seal), or by word of mouth, or partly in writing and partly by word of mouth, or may be inferred from the conduct of the parties.

This follows the first part of section 3 of the English act. That act contains the following proviso, which was omitted as unnecessary:

"*Provided*, That nothing in this section shall affect the law relating to corporations."

SEC. 4. [Statute of frauds.] (1) A contract to sell or a sale of any goods or choses in action of the value of $500 or upward shall not be enforceable by action unless the buyer shall accept part of the goods or choses in action so contracted to be sold or sold and actually receive the same or give something in earnest to bind the contract, or in part payment, or unless some note or memorandum in writing of the contract or sale be signed by the party to be charged or his agent in that behalf.

(2) The provisions of this section apply to every such contract or sale, notwithstanding that the goods may be intended to be delivered at some future time or may not at the time of such contract or sale be actually made, procured, or provided, or fit or ready for delivery, or some act may be requisite for the making or completing thereof, or rendering the same fit for delivery; but if the goods are to be manufactured by the seller especially for the buyer and are not suitable for sale to others in the ordinary course of the seller's business, the provisions of this section shall not apply.

(3) There is an acceptance of goods within the meaning of this section when the buyer, either before or after delivery of the goods, expresses by words or conduct his assent to becoming the owner of those specific goods.

Ohio, $2,500; Connecticut, $100.

Subsection (1) of this section follows section 4 (1) of the English act with the exception stated below.

The words of the section of the English act are somewhat altered from those of the seventeenth section of the statute of frauds, but the changes are such as to express more accurately the construction previously given by Lord Tenterden's Act and by the courts to the statute of frauds. (See Chalmers (5th ed.), 16.)

In the United States a provision corresponding to the seventeenth section of the statute of frauds exists in all the States but Alabama, Arizona, Delaware, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, New Mexico, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

The words "or choses in action" have been inserted to settle a doubt whether such property is within the statute. Similar words or the broad term "personal property" are found in the statute of frauds now in force in about 20 of the States. (Mechem on Sales, sec. 287.)

The limit of price or value varies considerably in this country, $50 is the commonest limit, but as many important States have no statute corresponding to this section of the statute of frauds, it seemed wise to raise the limit of price considerably. Subsection (2) is intended to reproduce the rule laid down by Shaw, C. J., in Mixer *v.* Howarth (21 Pick., 205), and by Ames, J., in Goddard *v.* Binney (115 Mass., 450), which has found most support in this country. (Mechem, sec. 326.)

Subsection (3) differs from the corresponding English provision, but represents the American rule, as well as the early English rule. (See Mechem, sec. 357 et seq.)

SUBJECT MATTER OF CONTRACT.

SEC. 5. [Existing and future goods.] (1) The goods which form the subject of a contract to sell may be either existing goods, owned or possessed by the seller, or goods to be manufactured or acquired by the seller after the making of the contract to sell, in this act called "future goods."

(2) There may be a contract to sell goods, the acquisition of which by the seller depends upon a contingency which may or may not happen.

(3) Where the parties purport to effect a present sale of future goods, the agreement operates as a contract to sell the goods.

This section follows section 5 of the English act except that contract to sell is here as elsewhere substituted for "contract of sale" and "contract for the sale." Also in subsection (3) "parties purport" is substituted for "seller purports." As the intention of the buyer is as important as that of the seller, the substituted expression is the more accurate.

SEC. 6. [Undivided shares.] (1) There may be a contract to sell or a sale of an undivided share of goods. If the parties intend to effect a present sale, the buyer by force of the agreement becomes an owner in common with the owner or owners of the remaining shares.

(2) In the case of fungible goods, there may be a sale of an undivided share of a specific mass, though the seller purports to sell and the buyer to buy a definite number, weight, or measure of the goods in the mass and though the number, weight, or measure of the goods in the mass is undetermined. By such a sale the buyer becomes owner in common of such a share of the mass as the number, weight, or measure bought bears to the number, weight, or measure of the mass. If the mass contains less than the number, weight, or measure bought, the buyer becomes the owner of the whole mass and the seller is bound to make good the deficiency from similar goods unless a contrary intent appears.

These provisions are new, and six (2) at least probably does not express the English law. It expresses the doctrine of Kimberly *v.* Patchin (19 N. Y., 330), which is supported by the weight of recent American authority, though there are adverse decisions. (See Mechem, sec. 704 et seq.)

SEC. 7. [Destruction of goods sold.] (1) Where the parties purport to sell specific goods, and the goods without the knowledge of the seller have wholly perished at the time when the agreement is made, the agreement is void.

(2) Where the parties purport to sell specific goods, and the goods without the knowledge of the seller have perished in part or have wholly or in a material part so deteriorated in quality as to be substantially changed in character, the buyer may at his option treat the sale—

(a) As avoided, or

(b) As transferring the property in all of the existing goods or in so much thereof as have not deteriorated, and as binding the buyer to pay the full agreed price if the sale was indivisible,

or to pay the agreed price for the goods in which the property passes if the sale was divisible.

Subsection (1) corresponds to section 6 of the English act. The English section does not seem to cover the contingency of deterioration or partial destruction and subsection (2) has been added for that purpose. The section is believed to express the existing law.

SEC. 8. [Destruction of goods contracted to be sold.] (1) Where there is a contract to sell specific goods, and subsequently, but before the risk passes to the buyer, without any fault on the part of the seller or the buyer, the goods wholly perish, the contract is thereby avoided.

(2) Where there is a contract to sell specific goods, and subsequently, but before the risk passes to the buyer, without any fault of the seller or the buyer, part of the goods perish or the whole or a material part of the goods so deteriorate in quality as to be substantially changed in character, the buyer may, at his option, treat the contract—

(a) As avoided; or

(b) As binding the seller to transfer the property in all of the existing goods or in so much thereof as have not deteriorated, and as binding the buyer to pay the full agreed price if the contract was indivisible, or to pay the agreed price for so much of the goods as the seller, by the buyer's option, is bound to transfer if the contract was divisible.

Subsection (1) corresponds to section 7 of the English act. Subsection (2) is added to cover the case of deterioration or partial destruction. This section is believed to express the existing law.

THE PRICE.

SEC. 9. [Definition and ascertainment of price.] (1) The price may be fixed by the contract, or may be left to be fixed in such manner as may be agreed, or it may be determined by the course of dealing between the parties.

(2) The price may be made payable in any personal property.

(3) Where transferring or promising to transfer any interest in real estate constitutes the whole or part of the consideration for transferring or for promising to transfer the property in goods, this act shall not apply.

(4) Where the price is not determined in accordance with the foregoing provisions, the buyer must pay a reasonable price. What is a reasonable price is a question of fact dependent on the circumstances of each particular case.

Subsections (1) and (4) are substantially the same as section 8 of the English act. Subsection (2) is changed from the English law which in section 1 (1) requires a "money consideration." As the rules of law applicable to barter are the same as those applicable to sale, it seemed desirable to bring cases of barter within the meaning of sale in this draft. On the other hand, different principles are often applicable where a bargain concerns real estate, and such cases are, therefore, expressly excluded by subsection (3).

SEC. 10. [Sale at a valuation.] (1) Where there is a contract to sell or a sale of goods at a price or on terms to be fixed by a third person, and such third person, without fault of the seller or the buyer, can not or does not fix the price or terms, the contract or the sale is thereby avoided; but if the goods or any part thereof have been delivered to and appropriated by the buyer he must pay a reasonable price therefor.

(2) Where such third person is prevented from fixing the price or terms by fault of the seller or the buyer, the party not in fault may have such remedies against the party in fault as are allowed by Parts IV and V of this act.

Slightly varied from section 9 of the English act.

CONDITIONS AND WARRANTIES.

SEC. 11. [Effect of conditions.] (1) Where the obligation of either party to a contract to sell or a sale is subject to any condition which is not performed, such party may refuse to proceed with the contract or sale or he may waive performance of the condition. If the other party has promised that the condition should happen or be performed, such first-mentioned party may also treat the nonperformance of the condition as a breach of warranty.

(2) Where the property in the goods has not passed, the buyer may treat the fulfillment by the seller of his obligation to furnish goods as described and as warranted expressly or by implication in the contract to sell as a condition of the obligation of the buyer to perform his promise to accept and pay for the goods.

Section 11 of the English act authorizes not only the waiver of a condition, but the election to treat any condition to be fulfilled by the seller as a breach of warranty. The use of condition as including promise or warranty does not seem happy. It is very unfortunate if the distinction between conditions and promises should become obliterated, for the legal ideas are distinct and should have distinct names.

SEC. 12. [Definition of express warranty.] Any affirmation of fact or any promise by the seller relating to the goods is an express warranty if the natural tendency of such affirmation or promise is to induce the buyer to purchase the goods, and if the buyer purchases the goods relying thereon. No affirmation of the value of the goods nor any statement purporting to be a statement of the seller's opinion only shall be construed as a warranty.

The English act does not define when language amounts to warranty. There is considerable division of authority on the point. On theory the fundamental basis for liability on warranty is the justifiable reliance on the seller's assertions. Whether the buyer was justified in his reliance depends not on the intent of the seller, but on the natural tendency of his acts. As a practical matter, the section as drawn does not seem to set up an unreasonably high standard of morality. The tendency of the courts has been distinctly in the direction of greater strictness against seller's statements. (See Mechem, p. 1072, note 1.)

SEC. 13. [Implied warranties of title.] In a contract to sell or a sale, unless a contrary intention appears, there is—

(1) An implied warranty on the part of the seller that in case of a sale he has a right to sell the goods, and that in case of a contract to sell he will have a right to sell the goods at the time when the property is to pass;

(2) An implied warranty that the buyer shall have and enjoy quiet possession of the goods as against any lawful claims existing at the time of the sale;

(3) An implied warranty that the goods shall be free at the time of the sale from any charge or encumbrance in favor of any third person not declared or known to the buyer before or at the time when the contract or sale is made.

(4) This section shall not, however, be held to render liable a sheriff, auctioneer, mortgagee, or other person professing to sell by virtue of authority in fact or law goods in which a third person has a legal or equitable interest.

This section is copied from the English section 12, except (4), which is an addition. There are a few American decisions and more dicta that there is no warranty of title where the vendor is out of possession. But the weight of recent authority is against this distinction. (See Mechem, sec. 1302.) (4) Represents the English as well as the American law, and it seemed best to make an express provision.

SEC. 14. [Implied warranty in sale by description.] Where there is a contract to sell or a sale of goods by description, there is an implied warranty that the goods shall correspond with the description, and if the contract or sale be by sample, as well as by description, it is not sufficient that the bulk of the goods corresponds with the sample if the goods do not also correspond with the description.

This section is identical in meaning with section 13 of the English act.

SEC. 15. [Implied warranties of quality.] Subject to the provisions of this act and of any statute in that behalf, there is no implied warranty or condition as to the quality or fitness for any particular purpose of goods supplied under a contract to sell or a sale, except as follows:

(1) Where the buyer, expressly or by implication, makes known to the seller the particular purpose for which the goods are required, and it appears that the buyer relies on the seller's skill or judgment (whether he be the grower or manufacturer or not), there is an implied warranty that the goods shall be reasonably fit for such purpose.

(2) Where the goods are bought by description from a seller who deals in goods of that description (whether he be the grower or manufacturer or not), there is an implied warranty that the goods shall be of merchantable quality.

(3) If the buyer has examined the goods, there is no implied warranty as regards defects which such examination ought to have revealed.

(4) In the case of a contract to sell or a sale of a specified article under its patent or other trade name; there is no implied warranty as to its fitness for any particular purpose.

(5) An implied warranty or condition as to quality or fitness for a particular purpose may be annexed by the usage of trade.

(6) An express warranty or condition does not negative a warranty or condition implied under this act unless inconsistent therewith.

This section follows section 14 of the English act.

SALE BY SAMPLE.

SEC. 16. [Implied warranties in sale by sample.] In the case of a contract to sell or a sale by sample:

(a) There is an implied warranty that the bulk shall correspond with the sample in quality.

(b) There is an implied warranty that the buyer shall have a reasonable opportunity of comparing the bulk with the sample, except so far as otherwise provided in section 47 (3).

(c) If the seller is a dealer in goods of that kind there is an implied warranty that the goods shall be free from any defect rendering them unmerchantable which would not be apparent on reasonable examination of the sample.

This follows substantially section 15 of the English act.

Part II.

TRANSFER OF PROPERTY AS BETWEEN SELLER AND BUYER.

SEC. 17. [No property passes until goods are ascertained.] Where there is a contract to sell unascertained goods no property in the goods is transferred to the buyer unless and until the goods are ascertained, but property in an undivided share of ascertained goods may be transferred as provided in section 6.

This section follows section 16 of the English act, except for the addition of the clause beginning "but," etc. See under section 6 for explanation of the difference between English and American law on the point referred to.

SEC. 18. [Property in specific goods passes when parties so intend.] (1) Where there is a contract to sell specific or ascertained goods, the property in them is transferred to the buyer at such time as the parties to the contract intend it to be transferred.

(2) For the purpose of ascertaining the intention of the parties regard shall be had to the terms of the contract, the conduct of the parties, usages of trade, and the circumstances of the case.

Follows section 17 of the English act.

SEC. 19. [Rules for ascertaining intention.] Unless a different intention appears, the following are rules for ascertaining the intention of the parties as to the time at which the property in the goods is to pass to the buyer.

Rule 1. Where there is an unconditional contract to sell specific goods in a deliverable state the property in the goods passes to the buyer when the contract is made, and it is immaterial whether the time of payment, or the time of delivery, or both, be postponed.

Rule 2. Where there is a contract to sell specific goods and the seller is bound to do something to the goods, for the purpose of putting them into a deliverable state, the property does not pass until such thing be done.

Rule 3. (1) When goods are delivered to the buyer "on sale or return," or on other terms indicating an intention to make a present sale, but to give the buyer an option to return the goods instead of paying the price, the property passes to the buyer on delivery, but he may revest the property in the seller by returning or tendering the goods within the time fixed in the contract, or, if no time has been fixed, within a reasonable time.

(2) When goods are delivered to the buyer on approval or on trial or on satisfaction, or other similar terms, the property therein passes to the buyer—

(a) When he signifies his approval or acceptance to the seller or does any other act adopting the transaction;

(b) If he does not signify his approval or acceptance to the seller, but retains the goods without giving notice of rejection, then if a time has been fixed for the return of the goods, on the expiration of such time, and if no time has been fixed on the expiration of a reasonable time. What is a reasonable time is a question of fact.

Rule 4. (1) Where there is a contract to sell unascertained or future goods by description, and goods of that description and in a deliverable state are unconditionally appropriated to the contract, either by the seller with the assent of the buyer, or by the buyer with the assent of the seller, the property in the goods thereupon passes to the buyer. Such assent may be expressed or implied, and may be given either before or after the appropriation is made.

(2) Where, in pursuance of a contract to sell, the seller delivers the goods to the buyer, or to a carrier or other bailee (whether named by the buyer or not) for the purpose of transmission to or holding for the buyer, he is presumed to have unconditionally appropriated the goods to the contract, except in the cases provided for in the next rule and in section 20. This presumption is applicable, although by the terms of the contract the buyer is to pay the price before receiving delivery of the goods, and the goods are marked with the words "collect on delivery" or their equivalents.

Rule 5. If the contract to sell requires the seller to deliver the goods to the buyer, or at a particular place, or to pay the freight or cost of transportation to the buyer, or to a particular place, the property does not pass until the goods have been delivered to the buyer or reached the place agreed upon.

This section follows section 18 of the English act, with some changes. The first rule is altered by omitting from the end the words "and the buyer has notice thereof." The insertion of these words in the English act changed the English law, which had never required notice (see Chalmers, p. 46), in order to make it conform to the Scotch law. There seems no good reason for postponing the transfer of title to this extent. There is no American authority for it.

The English rule 3, which is omitted, is as follows:

"Where there is a contract for the sale of specific goods in a deliverable state, but the seller is bound to weigh, measure, test, or do some other act or thing with reference to the goods for the purpose of ascertaining the price, the property does not pass until such act or thing be done."

This rule of presumption is artificial and has been discarded in New York and some other States. (See Mechem, sec. 515 et seq.) It was, therefore, deemed wise to omit it.

Rule 3 (1) is not in the English act. In that act, a "sale or return" is included in the provision corresponding to rule 3 (2) of this draft (sec. 18, rule 4 of the English act), thereby making the same presumption apply to such sales as to sales on trial. The distinction between a sale with a right to return and a sale to take effect on approval has not been taken in the English decisions, though Chalmers notices it in his annotation. (9 Harv. L. Rev. 110, No. 3.) The distinction has been taken in this country (Mechem, sec. 657 et seq., sec. 675 et seq.), and it seems proper to indicate it in this draft.

Rule 3 (2) is the same as rule 4 of the English act, except that the words "on trial or on satisfaction" are substituted for "on sale or return."

In Rule 4 (2) the last sentence is not in the English act. It settles a disputed question in accordance with the weight of authority. (See 4 Columbia L. Rev., 541; Mechem, secs. 733, 741.)

Rule 5 is not in the English act, but it represents the existing law.

SEC. 20. [Reservation of right of possession or property when goods are shipped.] (1) Where there is a contract to sell specific goods, or where goods are subsequently appropriated to the contract, the seller may, by the terms of the contract or appropriation, reserve the right of possession or property in the goods until certain conditions have been fulfilled. The right of possession or property may be thus reserved notwithstanding the delivery of the goods to the buyer or to a carrier or other bailee for the purpose of transmission to the buyer.

(2) Where goods are shipped, and by the bill of lading the goods are deliverable to the seller or his agent, or to the order of the seller or of his agent, the seller thereby reserves the property in the goods. But if, except for the form of the bill of lading, the property would have passed to the buyer on shipment of the goods, the seller's property in the goods shall be deemed to be only for the purpose of securing performance by the buyer of his obligations under the contract.

(3) Where goods are shipped, and by the bill of lading the goods are deliverable to the order of the buyer or of his agent, but possession of the bill of lading is retained by the seller or his agent, the seller thereby reserves a right to the possession of the goods as against the buyer.

(4) Where the seller of goods draws on the buyer for the price and transmits the bill of exchange and bill of lading together to the buyer to secure acceptance or payment of the bill of exchange the buyer is bound to return the bill of lading if he does not honor the bill of exchange, and if he wrongfully retains the bill of lading he acquires no added right thereby. If, however, the bill of lading provides that the goods are deliverable to the buyer or to the order of the buyer, or is indorsed in blank, or to the buyer by the consignee named therein, one who purchases in good faith for value the bill of lading or goods from the buyer will obtain the property in the goods, although the bill of exchange has not been honored, provided that such purchaser has received delivery of the bill of lading indorsed by the consignee named therein, or of the goods, without notice of the facts making the transfer wrongful.

Subsection (1) follows, with some change of expression, section 19 of the English act, except that for the somewhat loose phrase "right of disposal" is substituted "possession of property."

The first sentence of subsection (2) is in the English act, except that "property in the goods" is substituted for "right of disposal." The remainder of the subsection is new.

Subsection (3) is not in the English act, but is thought to be warranted by the existing law.

Subsection (4) substantially follows the English act as far as the words "If, however." The proviso beginning "If, however," is not in the English act. It expresses, nevertheless, the English law because of the last factors' act. (Cahn *v.* Packet Co. (1899), 1 Q. B., 643.) It undoubtedly is in accordance with mercantile understanding and convenience. The seller has trusted the buyer with the possession of the document of title and should bear the consequences. (See Mechem, sec. 166.)

SEC. 21. [Sale by auction.] In the case of sale by auction—

(1) Where goods are put up for sale by auction in lots each lot is the subject of a separate contract of sale.

(2) A sale by auction is complete when the auctioneer announces its completion by the fall of the hammer, or in other customary manner. Until such announcement is made any bidder may retract his bid, and the auctioneer may withdraw the goods from sale unless the auction has been announced to be without reserve.

(3) A right to bid may be reserved expressly by or on behalf of the seller.

(4) Where notice has not been given that a sale by auction is subject to a right to bid on behalf of the seller it shall not be lawful for the seller to bid himself or to employ or induce any person to bid at such sale on his behalf, or for the auctioneer to employ or induce any person to bid at such sale on behalf of the seller or knowingly to take any bid from the seller or any person

employed by him. Any sale contravening this rule may be treated as fraudulent by the buyer.

This follows section 58 of the English act, and is believed to express the existing law.

SEC. 22. [Risk of loss.] Unless otherwise agreed, the goods remain at the seller's risk until the property therein is transferred to the buyer, but when the property therein is transferred to the buyer the goods are at the buyer's risk whether delivery has been made or not, except that—

(a) Where delivery of the goods has been made to the buyer, or to a bailee for the buyer, in pursuance of the contract, and the property in the goods has been retained by the seller merely to secure performance by the buyer of his obligations under the contract, the goods are at the buyer's risk from the time of such delivery.

(b) Where delivery has been delayed through the fault of either buyer or seller the goods are at the risk of the party in fault as regards any loss which might not have occurred but for such fault.

The exception (a) is not contained in the English act. Otherwise the section is in substance the same as section 20 of the English act. The new exception represents the weight of authority and seems sound on principle. The principal situation at which it is aimed is where a conditional sale has been made, the goods delivered to the buyer, and very likely in use by him. The title is retained instead of taking a mortgage back, as would be done in the case of real estate. The beneficial interest is in the buyer, and the risk should be on him. (See 9 Harv. L. Rev., 109; Mechem, sec. 635.)

Where goods are sent in compliance with an order, but marked "C. O. D.," even though the effect of this were to withhold the title (as to which, however, see sec. 19, rule [2]), the risk would be thrown on the buyer. (See Mechem, sec. 740, note p. 616.)

TRANSFER OF TITLE.

SEC. 23. [Sale by a person not the owner.] (1) Subject to the provisions of this act, where goods are sold by a person who is not the owner thereof, and who does not sell them under the authority or with the consent of the owner, the buyer acquires no better title to the goods than the seller had, unless the owner of the goods is by his conduct precluded from denying the seller's authority to sell.

(2) Nothing in this act, however, shall affect:

(a) The provisions of any factors' acts, recording acts, or any enactment enabling the apparent owner of goods to dispose of them as if he were the true owner thereof.

(b) The validity of any contract to sell or sale under any special common law or statutory power of sale or under the order of a court of competent jurisdiction.

This follows section 21 of the English act, except in (2) (a) "recording acts" has been added.

SEC. 24. [Sale by one having a voidable title.] Where the seller of goods has a voidable title thereto, but his title has not been avoided at the time of the sale, the buyer acquires a good title to the goods, provided he buys them in good faith, for value, and without notice of the seller's defect of title.

This follows section 23 of the English act. Section 22 of that act relates to sales in market overt and is omitted here.

SEC. 25. [Sale by seller in possession of goods already sold.] Where a person having sold goods continues in possession of the goods, or of negotiable documents of title to the goods, the delivery or transfer by that person, or by an agent acting for him, of the goods or documents of title under any sale, pledge, or other disposition thereof, to any person receiving and paying value for the same in good faith and without notice of the previous sale, shall have the same effect as if the person making the delivery or transfer were expressly authorized by the owner of the goods to make the same.

This follows section 25 (1) of the English act. It is comparatively new to the English law, being first enacted in the factors' act of 1889. But, so far as purchasers are concerned, it states in effect the principle commonly laid down in this country, that delivery is not necessary between the parties, but is as against third persons. The rights of creditors are dealt with in the next section.

SEC. 26. [Creditors' rights against sold goods in seller's possession.] Where a person having sold goods continues in possession of the goods, or of negotiable documents of title to the goods, and such retention of possession is fraudulent in fact or is deemed fraudulent under any rule of law, a creditor or creditors of the seller may treat the sale as void.

The law in this country as to the effect of retention of possession on the rights of creditors is in such conflict and the different rules are locally so firmly fixed that it seemed unwise to try to provide a uniform rule. All States, however, agree that if the retention is fraudulent in fact, the sale is void as to creditors. The draft, therefore, so provides, and as to other cases—cases of constructive fraud—adopts the locally prevailing rule.

SEC. 27. [Definition of negotiable documents of title.] A document of title in which it is stated that the goods referred to therein will be delivered to the bearer, or to the order of any person named in such document is a negotiable document of title.

This definition, following as it does the definition of negotiable promises to pay money, represents the mercantile understanding in regard to documents of title.

SEC. 28. [Negotiation of negotiable documents by delivery.] A negotiable document of title may be negotiated by delivery—

(a) Where by the terms of the document the carrier, warehouseman, or other bailee issuing the same undertakes to deliver the goods to the bearer, or

(b) Where by the terms of the document the carrier, warehouseman, or other bailee issuing the same undertakes to deliver the goods to the order of a specified person, and such person or a subsequent indorsee of the document has indorsed it in blank or to bearer.

Where by the terms of a negotiable document of title the goods are deliverable to bearer or where a negotiable document of title has been indorsed in blank or to bearer, any holder may indorse the same to himself or to any other specified person, and in such case the document shall thereafter be negotiated only by the indorsement of such indorsee.

Here, too, both mercantile practice and the analogy of bills and notes are followed.

SEC. 29. [Negotiation of negotiable documents by indorsement.] A negotiable document of title may be negotiated by the indorsement of the person to whose order the goods are by the terms of the document deliverable. Such indorsement may be in blank, to bearer, or to a specified person. If indorsed to a specified person, it may be again negotiated by the indorsement of such person in blank, to bearer, or to another specified person. Subsequent negotiation may be made in like manner.

The note to the preceding section is again applicable.

SEC. 30. [Negotiable documents of title marked "Not negotiable."] If a document of title which contains an undertaking by a carrier, warehouseman, or other bailee to deliver the goods to the bearer, to a specified person or order, or to the order of a specified person, or which contains words of like import, has placed upon it the words "not negotiable," "nonnegotiable," or the like, such a document may, nevertheless, be negotiated by the holder and is a negotiable document of title within the meaning of this act. But nothing in this act contained shall be construed as limiting or defining the effect upon the obligations of the carrier, warehouseman, or other bailee issuing a document of title of placing thereon the words "not negotiable," "nonnegotiable," or the like.

It has been until recently the custom of the railroads to stamp upon bills of lading, even though running to order or assigns, the words "not negotiable." How far the carrier is justified in attempting to limit its liability by such a device may be questioned, but as this act is concerned not with the liability of the carrier but with the rights of the various holders of the bill of lading as against each other it seemed wise to provide merely that as between those parties the words "not negotiable" do not change the legal effect of the document.

SEC. 31. [Transfer of nonnegotiable documents.] A document of title which is not in such form that it can be negotiated by delivery may be transferred by the holder by delivery to a purchaser or donee. A nonnegotiable document can not be negotiated, and the indorsement of such a document gives the transferee no additional right.

The distinction between warehouse receipts and bills of lading negotiable in form and those which are not does not seem to be observed in the English decisions; but it is observed in this country both in the usages of warehousemen and carriers and in the decisions of the courts. (See Hallgarten *v.* Oldham, 135 Mass., 1; Gill *v.* Frank, 12 Oreg., 507; Forbes *v.* Boston & Lowell R. R., 133 Mass., 154; Litchfield Bank *v.* Elliott, 83 Minn., 469.)

SEC. 32. [Who may negotiate a document.] A negotiable document of title may be negotiated—

(a) By the owner thereof, or

(b) By any person to whom the possession or custody of the document has been intrusted by the owner, if by the terms of the document the bailee issuing the document undertakes to deliver the goods to the order of the person to whom the possession or custody of the document has been intrusted, or if at the time of such intrusting the document is in such form that it may be negotiated by delivery.

By this section a negotiable document of title is not given the full negotiability of a bill of exchange inasmuch as neither a thief nor a finder is within the terms of the section. By the uniform bills of lading act, however, the commissioners on uniform State laws adopted the principle of full negotiability. In a jurisdiction where it is desired that the sales act and the bills of lading act should both be passed and should be in harmony the following substitute is suggested for section 32 of the sales act as above printed:

SEC. 32. [Who may negotiate a document.] A negotiable document may be negotiated by any person in possession of the same, however such possession may have been acquired, if by the terms of the document the bailee issuing it undertakes to deliver the goods to the order or such person, or if at the time of negotiation the document is in such form that it may be negotiated by delivery.

SEC. 33. [Rights of person to whom document has been negotiated.] A person to whom a negotiable document of title has been duly negotiated acquires thereby:

(a) Such title to the goods as the person negotiating the document to him had or had ability to convey to a purchaser in good faith for value and also such title to the goods as the

person to whose order the goods were to be delivered by the terms of the document had or had ability to convey to a purchaser in good faith for value, and

(b) The direct obligation of the bailee issuing the document to hold possession of the goods for him according to the terms of the document as fully as if such bailee had contracted directly with him.

This section follows the custom of merchants. It makes the document represent the depositor's right in the goods, so that a purchaser of the document, if he acquires a good title thereto, acquires not simply the rights of his vendor, but whatever property the original depositor had, that being what the document represented. 32 (b) makes the obligation of the warehouseman in regard to the goods negotiable.

Many States already have statutes making warehouse receipts negotiable. Mohun on Warehousemen, 944; and some States have statutes in regard to bills of lading, ibid., 848, but these statutes have generally been so brief and general in terms that they have been variously construed and have to some extent failed of their purpose. (See Shaw *v.* Railroad Co., 101 U. S. 557.)

SEC. 34. [Rights of person to whom document has been transferred.] A person to whom a document of title has been transferred, but not negotiated, acquires thereby, as against the transferor, the title to the goods, subject to the terms of any agreement with the transferor.

If the document is nonnegotiable, such person also acquires the right to notify the bailee who issued the document of the transfer thereof, and thereby to acquire the direct obligation of such bailee to hold possession of the goods for him according to the terms of the document.

Prior to the notification of such bailee by the transferor or transferee of a nonnegotiable document of title, the title of the transferee to the goods and the right to acquire the obligation of such bailee may be defeated by the levy of an attachment or execution upon the goods by a creditor of the transferor, or by notification to such bailee by the transferor or a subsequent purchaser from the transferor of a subsequent sale of the goods by the transferor.

This section states the right of any purchaser of bailed goods. One who purchases therefore a nonnegotiable document of title would gain nothing from the transfer of the document except evidence.

SEC. 35. [Transfer of negotiable document without indorsement.] Where a negotiable document of title is transferred for value by delivery, and the indorsement of the transferor is essential for negotiation, the transferee acquires a right against the transferor to compel him to indorse the document unless a contrary intention appears. The negotiation shall take effect as of the time when the indorsement is actually made.

This follows the analogy of bills and notes. (Crawford, Neg. Inst. Law, sec. 79.)

SEC. 36. [Warranties on sale of document.] A person who for value negotiates or transfers a document of title by indorsement or delivery, including one who assigns for value a claim secured by a document of title unless a contrary intention appears, warrants:

(a) That the document is genuine;

(b) That he has a legal right to negotiate or transfer it;

(c) That he has knowledge of no fact which would impair the validity or worth of the document; and

(d) That he has a right to transfer the title to the goods and that the goods are merchantable or fit for a particular purpose, whenever such warranties would have been implied if the contract of the parties had been to transfer without a document of title the goods represented thereby.

This section, except (d), follows the Negotiable Instruments Law. Crawford, section 115. (d) it is believed states the existing law.

SEC. 37. [Indorser not a guarantor.] The indorsement of a document of title shall not make the indorser liable for any failure on the part of the bailee who issued the document or previous indorsers thereof to fulfill their respective obligations.

Mercantile usage in regard to documents of title differs from that in regard to bills and notes in the matter to which this section relates. It states the existing law, even in jurisdictions where statutes have made documents of title negotiable.

Shaw *v.* Railroad Co. (101 U. S., 557); Mida *v.* Geissmann (17 Ill. App., 207).

SEC. 38. [When negotiation not impaired by fraud, mistake, or duress.] The validity of the negotiation of a negotiable document of title is not impaired by the fact that the negotiation was a breach of duty on the part of the person making the negotiation, or by the fact that the owner of the document was induced by fraud, mistake, or duress to intrust the possession or custody thereof to such person, if the person to whom the document was negotiated or a person to whom the document was subsequently negotiated paid value therefor, without notice of the breach of duty, or fraud, mistake, or duress.

This section merely elaborates for the sake of clearness certain special cases within the terms of section 32.

SEC. 39. [Attachment or levy upon goods for which a negotiable document has been issued.] If goods are delivered to a bailee by the owner or by a person whose act in conveying the title to them to a purchaser in good faith for value would bind the owner and a negotiable document of title is issued for them they can not thereafter, while in the possession of such bailee, be attached by garnishment or otherwise or be levied upon under an execution unless the document be first surrendered to the bailee or its negotiation enjoined. The bailee shall in no case be compelled to deliver up the actual possession of the goods until the document is surrendered to him or impounded by the court.

If the mercantile theory of documents of title, such as bills of lading and warehouse receipts, were carried to its logical extent, no attachment of the goods represented by the document or levy upon them could be permitted while the negotiable document was outstanding.

It was thought best in this draft not to take the extreme position that no attachments, garnishment, or levy could be made on property for which a negotiable document was outstanding, but to cover the essential practical point by making it a condition of the validity of such seizure that the negotiation of the document be enjoined or the document impounded. The following section expressly gives the court full power to aid, by injunction and otherwise, a creditor seeking to get at a negotiable document and the property covered thereby.

SEC. 40. [Creditors' remedies to reach negotiable documents.] A creditor whose debtor is the owner of a negotiable document of title shall be entitled to such aid from courts of appropriate jurisdiction by injunction and otherwise in attaching such document or in satisfying the claim by means thereof as is allowed at law or in equity in regard to property which can not readily be attached or levied upon by ordinary legal process.

As the right of legal garnishment of bailed property is limited by the preceding section, section 40 gives the creditor such rights as are included under the heads of bills of equitable attachment or in aid of execution.

Part III.

PERFORMANCE OF THE CONTRACT.

SEC. 41. [Seller must deliver and buyer accept goods.] It is the duty of the seller to deliver the goods and of the buyer to accept and pay for them, in accordance with the terms of the contract to sell or sale.

This follows section 26 of the English act.

SEC. 42. [Delivery and payment are concurrent conditions.] Unless otherwise agreed, delivery of the goods and payment of the price are concurrent conditions; that is to say, the seller must be ready and willing to give possession of the goods to the buyer in exchange for the price and the buyer must be ready and willing to pay the price in exchange for possession of the goods.

This follows section 27 of the English act.

SEC. 43. [Place, time, and manner of delivery.] (1) Whether it is for the buyer to take possession of the goods or for the seller to send them to the buyer is a question depending in each case on the contract, express or implied, between the parties. Apart from any such contract, express or implied, or usage of trade to the contrary, the place of delivery is the seller's place of business if he have one, and if not his residence; but in case of a contract to sell or a sale of specific goods, which to the knowledge of the parties when the contract or the sale was made were in some other place, then that place is the place of delivery.

(2) Where by a contract to sell or a sale the seller is bound to send the goods to the buyer, but no time for sending them is fixed, the seller is bound to send them within a reasonable time.

(3) Where the goods at the time of sale are in the possession of a third person, the seller has not fulfilled his obligation to deliver to the buyer unless and until such third person acknowledges to the buyer that he holds the goods on the buyer's behalf; but as against all others than the seller the buyer shall be regarded as having received delivery from the time when such third person first has notice of the sale. Nothing in this section, however, shall affect the operation of the issue or transfer of any document of title to goods.

(4) Demand or tender of delivery may be treated as ineffectual unless made at a reasonable hour. What is a reasonable hour is a question of fact.

(5) Unless otherwise agreed, the expenses of and incidental to putting the goods into a deliverable state must be borne by the seller.

This is the same as section 29 of the English act, except that the second half of subsection (3) has been added. The section is believed to state the existing law.

SEC. 44. [Delivery of wrong quantity.] (1) Where the seller delivers to the buyer a quantity of goods less than he contracted to sell, the buyer may reject them, but if the buyer accepts or retains the goods so delivered, knowing that the seller is not going to perform the contract in full, he must pay for them at the contract rate. If, however, the buyer has used or

disposed of the goods delivered before he knows that the seller is not going to perform his contract in full, the buyer shall not be liable for more than the fair value to him of the goods so received.

(2) Where the seller delivers to the buyer a quantity of goods larger than he contracted to sell, the buyer may accept the goods included in the contract and reject the rest, or he may reject the whole. If the buyer accepts the whole of the goods so delivered, he must pay for them at the contract rate.

(3) Where the seller delivers to the buyer the goods he contracted to sell mixed with goods of a different description not included in the contract, the buyer may accept the goods which are in accordance with the contract and reject the rest, or he may reject the whole.

(4) The provisions of this section are subject to any usage of trade, special agreement, or course of dealing between the parties.

This follows section 30 of the English act, and is in accordance with the weight of authority. (See Mechem, sec. 1157 et seq.)

SEC. 45. [Delivery in installments.] (1) Unless otherwise agreed, the buyer of goods is not bound to accept delivery thereof by installments.

(2) Where there is a contract to sell goods to be delivered by stated installments, which are to be separately paid for, and the seller makes defective deliveries in respect of one or more installments, or the buyer neglects or refuses to take delivery of or pay for one or more installments, it depends in each case on the terms of the contract and the circumstances of the case whether the breach of contract is so material as to justify the injured party in refusing to proceed further and suing for damages for breach of the entire contract, or whether the breach is severable, giving rise to a claim for compensation but not to a right to treat the whole contract as broken.

This section is slightly altered from section 31 of the English act. The English act, following prior English decisions, makes repudiation by one party the test of the right of the other to refuse to go on. The section here given makes the materiality of the breach the test. This is in accord with the weight of American authority. (Norrington *v.* Wright, 115 U. S., 188; 14 Harv. L. Rev., 323.)

SEC. 46. [Delivery to a carrier on behalf of the buyer.] (1) Where, in pursuance of a contract to sell or a sale, the seller is authorized or required to send the goods to the buyer, delivery of the goods to a carrier, whether named by the buyer or not, for the purpose of transmission to the buyer is deemed to be a delivery of the goods to the buyer, except in the cases provided for in section 19, rule 5, or unless a contrary intent appears.

(2) Unless otherwise authorized by the buyer, the seller must make such contract with the carrier on behalf of the buyer as may be reasonable, having regard to the nature of the goods and the other circumstances of the case. If the seller omit so to do, and the goods are lost or damaged in course of transit, the buyer may decline to treat the delivery to the carrier as a delivery to himself, or may hold the seller responsible in damages.

(3) Unless otherwise agreed, where goods are sent by the seller to the buyer under circumstances in which the seller knows, or ought to know, that it is usual to insure, the seller must give such notice to the buyer as may enable him to insure them during their transit, and, if the seller fails to do so, the goods shall be deemed to be at his risk during such transit.

These paragraphs follow with slight changes section 32 of the English act. (1) is familiar law; (2) and (3) are probably in accordance with the business usage, but there is little in the way of positive law on the subject. (See Chalmers (5th ed.), p. 73.)

SEC. 47. [Right to examine the goods.] (1) Where goods are delivered to the buyer, which he has not previously examined, he is not deemed to have accepted them unless and until he has had a reasonable opportunity of examining them for the purpose of ascertaining whether they are in conformity with the contract.

(2) Unless otherwise agreed, when the seller tenders delivery of goods to the buyer, he is bound, on request, to afford the buyer a reasonable opportunity of examining the goods for the purpose of ascertaining whether they are in conformity with the contract.

(3) Where goods are delivered to a carrier by the seller, in accordance with an order from or agreement with the buyer, upon the terms that the goods shall not be delivered by the carrier to the buyer until he has paid the price, whether such terms are indicated by marking the goods with the words "collect on delivery," or otherwise, the buyer is not entitled to examine the goods before payment of the price in the absence of agreement permitting such examination.

Section 47 (1) and (2) follow section 34 of the English act, and state the American law also. (Mechem, sec. 1375 et seq.) Subsection (3) is new. It states the actual practice of the large express companies and probably states the existing law. (Wiltse *v.* Barnes, 46 Iowa, 210.)

SEC. 48. [What constitutes acceptance.] The buyer is deemed to have accepted the goods when he intimates to the seller that he has accepted them, or when the goods have been delivered to him, and he does any act in relation to them which is inconsistent with the ownership of the seller, or when, after the lapse of a reasonable time, he retains the goods without intimating to the seller that he has rejected them.

This follows section 35 of the English act, and represents the American law also. (Mechem, sec. 1379 et seq.)

SEC. 49. [Acceptance does not bar action for damages.] In the absence of express or implied agreement of the parties, acceptance of the goods by the buyer shall not discharge the seller from liability in damages or other legal remedy for breach of any promise or warranty in the contract to sell or the sale. But if, after acceptance of the goods, the buyer fail to give notice to the seller of the breach of any promise or warranty within a reasonable time after the buyer knows, or ought to know, of such breach the seller shall not be liable therefor.

This section is not contained in the English act, but section 11 (1) (a) of that act seems to authorize the buyer to accept goods and nevertheless hold the seller liable in damages. The latter half of the section in this draft imposes a qualification sanctioned by good business practice and to some extent by law, both in this country and in Europe. The law in this country is in great conflict. (See Mechem, sec. 1388 et seq.)

SEC. 50. [Buyer is not bound to return goods wrongly delivered.] Unless otherwise agreed, where goods are delivered to the buyer, and he refuses to accept them, having the right so to do, he is not bound to return them to the seller, but it is sufficient if he notifies the seller that he refuses to accept them.

This follows section 36 of the English act. Such American authority as there is is in accord. (Mechem. sec. 1403.)

SEC. 51. [Buyer's liability for failing to accept delivery.] When the seller is ready and willing to deliver the goods and requests the buyer to take delivery, and the buyer does not within a reasonable time after such request take delivery of the goods, he is liable to the seller for any loss occasioned by his neglect or refusal to take delivery, and also for a reasonable charge for the care and custody of the goods. If the neglect or refusal of the buyer to take delivery amounts to a repudiation or breach of the entire contract, the seller shall have the right against the goods and on the contract hereinafter provided in favor of the seller when the buyer is in default.

This follows substantially section 37 of the English act, except for the addition of breach of the entire contract as an equivalent of repudiation. (See note to sec. 45.)

Part IV.

RIGHTS OF UNPAID SELLER AGAINST THE GOODS.

SEC. 52. [Definition of unpaid seller.] (1) The seller of goods is deemed to be an unpaid seller within the meaning of this act—

(a) When the whole of the price has not been paid or tendered.

(b) When a bill of exchange or other negotiable instrument has been received as conditional payment, and the condition on which it was received has been broken by reason of the dishonor of the instrument, the insolvency of the buyer, or otherwise.

(2) In this part of this act the term "seller" includes an agent of the seller to whom the bill of lading has been indorsed, or a consignor or agent who has himself paid, or is directly responsible for the price, or any other person who is in the position of a seller.

This follows section 38 of the English act, except that in (1) (b) "has been broken" is substituted for "has not been fulfilled," and "the insolvency of the buyer" has been inserted.

SEC. 53. [Remedies of an unpaid seller.] (1) Subject to the provisions of this act, notwithstanding that the property in the goods may have passed to the buyer, the unpaid seller of goods, as such, has—

(a) A lien on the goods or right to retain them for the price while he is in possession of them.

(b) In case of the insolvency of the buyer, a right of stopping the goods in transitu after he has parted with the possession of them.

(c) A right of resale as limited by this act.

(d) A right to rescind the sale as limited by this act.

(2) Where the property in goods has not passed to the buyer the unpaid seller has, in addition to his other remedies, a right of withholding delivery similar to and coextensive with his rights of lien and stoppage in transitu where the property has passed to the buyer.

This follows section 39 of the English act, except for the insertion of (1) (d), which is in conformity with the American law and with business usage. (Mechem, sec. 1682.)

UNPAID SELLER'S LIEN.

SEC. 54. [When right of lien may be exercised.] (1) Subject to the provisions of this act, the unpaid seller of goods who is in possession of them is entitled to retain possession of them until payment or tender of the price in the following cases, namely:

(a) Where the goods have been sold without any stipulation as to credit.

(b) Where the goods have been sold on credit, but the term of credit has expired.

(c) Where the buyer becomes insolvent.

(2) The seller may exercise his right of lien notwithstanding that he is in possession of the goods as agent or bailee for the buyer.

This follows section 41 of the English act.

SEC. 55. [Lien after part delivery.] Where an unpaid seller has made part delivery of the goods, he may exercise his right of lien on the remainder unless such part delivery has been made under such circumstances as to show an intent to waive the lien or right of retention.

This follows section 42 of the English act.

SEC. 56. [When lien is lost.] (1) The unpaid seller of goods loses his lien thereon—

(a) When he delivers the goods to a carrier or other bailee for the purpose of transmission to the buyer without reserving the property in the goods or the right to the possession thereof.

(b) When the buyer or his agent lawfully obtains possession of the goods.

(c) By waiver thereof.

(2) The unpaid seller of goods, having a lien thereon, does not lose his lien by reason only that he has obtained judgment or decree for the price of the goods.

This substantially follows section 43 of the English act.

STOPPAGE IN TRANSITU.

SEC. 57. [Seller may stop goods on buyer's insolvency.] Subject to the provisions of this act, when the buyer of goods is or becomes insolvent, the unpaid seller who has parted with the possession of the goods has the right of stopping them in transitu; that is to say, he may resume possession of the goods at any time while they are in transit, and he will then become entitled to the same rights in regard to the goods as he would have had if he had never parted with the possession.

This follows section 44 of the English act, with two exceptions. In the last clause the English act reads, "and may retain them until payment or tender of the price." But the seller under such circumstances has also the right to resell, and under this draft the right to rescind the sale. In the second line the words "is or" have been inserted, so as to make it clear that the seller's right exists even though the buyer were insolvent at the time of the sale. (See Mechem, sec. 1541.)

SEC. 58. [When goods are in transit.] (1) Goods are in transit within the meaning of section 57—

(a) From the time when they are delivered to a carrier by land or water, or other bailee, for the purpose of transmission to the buyer, until the buyer, or his agent in that behalf, takes delivery of them from such carrier or other bailee.

(b) If the goods are rejected by the buyer and the carrier or other bailee continues in possession of them, even if the seller has refused to receive them back.

(2) Goods are no longer in transit within the meaning of section 57—

(a) If the buyer, or his agent in that behalf, obtains delivery of the goods before their arrival at the appointed destination.

(b) If, after the arrival of the goods at the appointed destination, the carrier or other bailee acknowledges to the buyer or his agent that he holds the goods on his behalf and continues in possession of them as bailee for the buyer or his agent; and it is immaterial that a further destination for the goods may have been indicated by the buyer.

(c) If the carrier or other bailee wrongfully refuses to deliver the goods to the buyer or his agent in that behalf.

(3) If goods are delivered to a ship chartered by the buyer, it is a question depending on the circumstances of the particular case whether they are in the possession of the master as a carrier or as agent of the buyer.

(4) If part delivery of the goods has been made to the buyer, or his agent in that behalf, the remainder of the goods may be stopped in transitu, unless such part delivery has been made under such circumstances as to show an agreement with the buyer to give up possession of the whole of the goods.

This follows section 45 of the English act, but with considerable changes in wording and arrangement. The section is believed to state the existing law.

SEC. 59. [Ways of exercising the right to stop.] (1) The unpaid seller may exercise his right of stoppage in transitu either by obtaining actual possession of the goods or by giving notice of his claim to the carrier or other bailee in whose possession the goods are. Such notice may be given either to the person in actual possession of the goods or to his principal. In the latter case the notice, to be effectual, must be given at such time and under such circumstances that the principal, by the exercise of reasonable diligence, may prevent a delivery to the buyer.

(2) When notice of stoppage in transitu is given by the seller to the carrier, or other bailee in possession of the goods, he must redeliver the goods to, or according to the directions of, the seller. The expenses of such delivery must be borne by the seller. If, however, a negotiable document of title representing the goods has been issued by the carrier or other bailee, he shall not be obliged to deliver or justified in delivering the goods to the seller unless such document is first surrendered for cancellation.

This follows section 46 of the English act, except the final proviso. The carrier should be liable to a bona fide transferee of its bill of lading, and unquestionably would be at common law if the transferee took for value before the stoppage. Even though the transferee took after the notice of stoppage, he is protected by section 62. The carrier therefore ought not to be obliged or allowed to surrender the goods unless the document of title is surrendered.

RESALE BY THE SELLER.

SEC. 60. [When and how resale may be made.] (1) Where the goods are of a perishable nature, or where the seller expressly reserves the right of resale in case the buyer should make default, or where the buyer has been in default in the payment of the price an unreasonable time, an unpaid seller having a right of lien or having stopped the goods in transitu may resell the goods. He shall not thereafter be liable to the original buyer upon the contract to sell or the sale or for any profit made by such resale, but may recover from the buyer damages for any loss occasioned by the breach of the contract or the sale.

(2) Where a resale is made, as authorized in this section, the buyer acquires a good title as against the original buyer.

(3) It is not essential to the validity of a resale that notice of an intention to resell the goods be given by the seller to the original buyer. But where the right to resell is not based on the perishable nature of the goods, or upon an express provision of the contract or the sale, the giving or failure to give such notice shall be relevant in any issue involving the question whether the buyer had been in default an unreasonable time before the resale was made.

(4) It is not essential to the validity of a resale that notice of the time and place of such resale should be given by the seller to the original buyer.

(5) The seller is bound to exercise reasonable care and judgment in making a resale, and subject to this requirement may make a resale either by public or private sale.

This section differs considerably from section 48 of the English act. The wording of that section did not seem wholly adequate.

Section 48 (2) of the English act seems to provide that the resale, whether rightly made or not, so long as it is made by a seller having a lien, gives a good title, and section 8 of the factor's act of 1899, providing that any seller in possession has power to make a valid sale or pledge, squares with this; but the provision seems somewhat drastic for this country. (See Mechem, sec. 1644.) The requirements as to delivery and change of possession in this draft would generally protect the purchaser on the resale if he got delivery, and this seems far enough to go.

The point covered by (3) is much disputed. The English law requires notice where the goods are not perishable, and some cases so hold in this country. Others reach a contrary result. (See Mechem, sec. 1633.) On the one hand, it seems undesirable to make a resale invalid under all circumstances for lack of notice. The lapse of time or other circumstances might make it highly unjust to allow the buyer later, when perhaps market prices had risen, to make such a claim. On the other hand, it seems desirable that notice should generally be given. The provision suggested will have the effect, it is hoped, of making notice necessary unless the default of the buyer is very clear and long continued; (4) expresses the law. (Mechem, sec. 1637.)

RESCISSION BY THE SELLER.

SEC. 61. [When and how the seller may rescind the sale.] (1) An unpaid seller having a right of lien or having stopped the goods in transitu, may rescind the transfer of title and resume the property in the goods, where he expressly reserved the right to do so in case the buyer should make default, or where the buyer has been in default in the payment of the price an unreasonable time. The seller shall not thereafter be liable to the buyer upon the contract to sell or the sale, but may recover from the buyer damages for any loss occasioned by the breach of the contract or the sale.

(2) The transfer of title shall not be held to have been rescinded by an unpaid seller until he has manifested by notice to the buyer or by some other overt act an intention to rescind. It is not necessary that such overt act should be communicated to the buyer, but the giving or failure to give notice to the buyer of the intention to rescind shall be relevant in any issue involving

the question whether the buyer had been in default an unreasonable time before the right of rescission was asserted.

This section is not contained in the English act, and the remedy for which the section provides is not allowed by English law. It is allowed in this country and seems fully justified by mercantile custom and convenience. (Mechem, secs. 1681, 1682; Burdick, p. 243.)

SEC. 62. [Effect of sale of goods subject to lien or stoppage in transitu.] Subject to the provisions of this act, the unpaid seller's right of lien or stoppage in transitu is not affected by any sale or other disposition of the goods which the buyer may have made, unless the seller has assented thereto.

If, however, a negotiable document of title has been issued for goods, no seller's lien or right of stoppage in transitu shall defeat the right of any purchaser for value in good faith to whom such document has been negotiated, whether such negotiation be prior or subsequent to the notification to the carrier, or other bailee who issued such document of the seller's claim to a lien or right of stoppage in transitu.

This section is based on section 47 of the English act. The second paragraph is, however, made more far-reaching than in the English act, in order to cover a case which does not seem to have arisen or to have been considered in England, namely, where a bill of lading is transferred to an innocent purchaser for value after notice to stop has been given. The only case is Newhall *v.* Central Pac. R. R. (51 Cal., 345) which properly protects the purchaser.

Part V.

ACTIONS FOR BREACH OF THE CONTRACT—REMEDIES OF THE SELLER.

SEC. 63. [Action for the price.] (1) Where, under a contract to sell or a sale, the property in the goods has passed to the buyer, and the buyer wrongfully neglects or refuses to pay for the goods according to the terms of the contract or the sale, the seller may maintain an action against him for the price of the goods.

(2) Where, under a contract to sell or a sale, the price is payable on a day certain, irrespective of delivery or of transfer of title, and the buyer wrongfully neglects or refuses to pay such price, the seller may maintain an action for the price, although the property in the goods has not passed and the goods have not been appropriated to the contract. But it shall be a defense to such an action that the seller at any time before judgment in such action has manifested an inability to perform the contract or the sale on his part or an intention not to perform it.

(3) Although the property in the goods has not passed, if they can not readily be resold for a reasonable price, and if the provisions of section 64 (4) are not applicable, the seller may offer to deliver the goods to the buyer, and, if the buyer refuses to receive them, may notify the buyer that the goods are thereafter held by the seller as bailee for the buyer. Thereafter the seller may treat the goods as the buyer's and may maintain an action for the price.

(1) and the first half of (2) follow the English act. The addition to (2) beginning "but," etc., is believed to be justified by the weight of American authority.

(3) is not law in England, nor is it in a number of American States. On the other hand, the New York court, in an often-quoted passage, allows the remedy to an unpaid vendor generally without any qualification as to the nature of the goods. It is also allowed in the civil law. The rule suggested goes as far as convenience requires, for if the goods can readily be resold, the action for damages affords adequate relief. (See Mechem, sec. 1394.)

SEC. 64. [Action for damages for nonacceptance of the goods.] (1) Where the buyer wrongfully neglects or refuses to accept and pay for the goods, the seller may maintain an action against him for damages for nonacceptance.

(2) The measure of damages is the estimated loss directly and naturally resulting, in the ordinary course of events, from the buyer's breach of contract.

(3) Where there is an available market for the goods in question, the measure of damages is, in the absence of special circumstances, showing proximate damage of a greater amount, the difference between the contract price and the market or current price at the time or times when the goods ought to have been accepted, or, if no time was fixed for acceptance, then at the time of the refusal to accept.

(4) If, while labor or expense of material amount are necessary on the part of the seller to enable him to fulfill his obligations under the contract to sell or the sale, the buyer repudiates the contract or the sale, or notifies the seller to proceed no further therewith, the buyer shall be liable to the seller for no greater damages than the seller would have suffered if he did nothing toward carrying out the contract or the sale after receiving notice of the buyer's repudiation or countermand. The profit the seller would have made if the contract or the sale had been fully performed shall be considered in estimating such damages.

This follows section 50 of the English act, except (4), which is added. (4) is not law in England, but it is in this country, except in Illinois. (See 14 Harv. L. Rev. 422; Mechem, sec. 1700 et seq.) The provision does not require the seller to cease performance in every case. There may be cases where the damage caused by stopping performance would be greater than that caused by finishing the necessary work. (See Southern Cotton Oil Co. *v.* Heflin, 99 Fed. Rep., 339.) In such a case the seller might complete performance and recover damages based on completed performance.

SEC. 65. [When seller may rescind contract or sale.] Where the goods have not been delivered to the buyer, and the buyer has repudiated the contract to sell or sale, or has manifested his inability to perform his obligations thereunder, or has committed a material breach thereof, the seller may totally rescind the contract or the sale by giving notice of his election so to do to the buyer.

Section 61 allows the seller to rescind the transfer of title in the cases there covered. The rescission of all contractual obligation between the parties—a more extensive right—is covered by this section, which is believed to express the American law.

REMEDIES OF THE BUYER.

SEC. 66. [Action for converting or detaining goods.] Where the property in the goods has passed to the buyer and the seller wrongfully neglects or refuses to deliver the goods, the buyer may maintain any action allowed by law to the owner of goods of similar kind when wrongfully converted or withheld.

This section, which is not contained in the English act, allows trover, replevin, equitable, or other relief, as the local law may warrant.

SEC. 67. [Action for failing to deliver goods.] (1) Where the property in the goods has not passed to the buyer, and the seller wrongfully neglects or refuses to deliver the goods, the buyer may maintain an action against the seller for damages for nondelivery.

(2) The measure of damages is the loss directly and naturally resulting in the ordinary course of events from the seller's breach of contract.

(3) Where there is an available market for the goods in question, the measure of damages, in the absence of special circumstances showing proximate damages of a greater amount, is the difference between the contract price and the market or current price of the goods at the time or times when they ought to have been delivered, or, if no time was fixed, then at the time of the refusal to deliver.

This follows section 51 of the English act.

SEC. 68. [Specific performance.] Where the seller has broken a contract to deliver specific or ascertained goods, a court having the powers of a court of equity may, if it thinks fit, on the application of the buyer, by its judgment or decree direct that the contract shall be performed specifically, without giving the seller the option of retaining the goods on payment of damages. The judgment or decree may be unconditional, or upon such terms and conditions as to damages, payment of the price and otherwise, as to the court may seem just.

This follows, with slight changes in wording, section 52 of the English act.

SEC. 69. [Remedies for breach of warranty.] (1) Where there is a breach of warranty by the seller, the buyer may, at his election—

(a) Accept or keep the goods and set up against the seller the breach of warranty by way of recoupment in diminution or extinction of the price;

(b) Accept or keep the goods and maintain an action against the seller for damages for the breach of warranty.

(c) Refuse to accept the goods, if the property therein has not passed, and maintain an action against the seller for damages for the breach of warranty.

(d) Rescind the contract to sell or the sale and refuse to receive the goods, or, if the goods have already been received, return them or offer to return them to the seller and recover the price or any part thereof which has been paid.

(2) When the buyer has claimed and been granted a remedy in any one of these ways, no other remedy can thereafter be granted.

(3) Where the goods have been delivered to the buyer, he can not rescind the sale if he knew of the breach of warranty when he accepted the goods, or if he fails to notify the seller within a reasonable time of the election to rescind, or if he fails to return or to offer to return the goods to the seller in substantially as good condition as they were in at the time the property was transferred to the buyer. But if deterioration or injury of the goods is due to the breach of warranty, such deterioration or injury shall not prevent the buyer from returning or offering to return the goods to the seller and rescinding the sale.

(4) Where the buyer is entitled to rescind the sale and elects to do so, the buyer shall cease to be liable for the price upon returning or offering to return the goods. If the price or any part thereof has already been paid, the seller shall be liable to repay so much thereof as has been paid, concurrently with the return of the goods or immediately after an offer to return the goods in exchange for repayment of the price.

(5) Where the buyer is entitled to rescind the sale and elects to do so, if the seller refuses to accept an offer of the buyer to return the goods, the buyer shall thereafter be deemed to hold the goods as bailee for the seller, but subject to a lien to secure the repayment of any portion of the price which has been paid, and with the remedies for the enforcement of such lien allowed to an unpaid seller by section 53.

(6) The measure of damages for breach of warranty is the loss directly and naturally resulting, in the ordinary course of events, from the breach of warranty.

(7) In the case of breach of warranty of quality, such loss, in the absence of special circumstances showing proximate damage of a greater amount, is the difference between the value of the goods at the time of delivery to the buyer and the value they would have had if they had answered to the warranty.

This section differs materially from the corresponding section of the English act—section 53. This draft allows rescission as a remedy for breach of warranty. The English law does not. In defense of the remedy of rescission, see an article by the draftsman in 16 Harv. L. Rev., 465. Further, the English act, following Mendel *v.* Steel (8 M. & W., 858), allows the buyer to recoup his damages in an action for the price and thereafter to bring an action for damages. This seems erroneous (see Watkins *v.* American Bank, 134 Fed. Rep., 36 (C. C. A.)), and has been changed in this draft.

SEC. 70. [Interest and special damages.] Nothing in this act shall affect the right of the buyer or the seller to recover interest or special damages in any case where by law interest or special damages may be recoverable, or to recover money paid where the consideration for the payment of it has failed.

This follows section 54 of the English act.

Part VI.

INTERPRETATION.

SEC. 71. [Variation of implied obligations.] Where any right, duty, or liability would arise under a contract to sell or a sale by implication of law, it may be negatived or varied by express agreement or by the course of dealing between the parties, or by custom, if the custom be such as to bind both parties to the contract or the sale.

This follows section 55 of the English act.

SEC. 72. [Rights may be enforced by action.] Where any right, duty, or liability is declared by this act, it may, unless otherwise by this act provided, be enforced by action.

This follows section 57 of the English act.

SEC. 73. [Rule for cases not provided for by this act.] In any case not provided for in this act the rules of law and equity, including the law merchant, and in particular the rules relating to the law of principal and agent and to the effect of fraud, misrepresentation, duress or coercion, mistake, bankruptcy, or other invalidating cause, shall continue to apply to contracts to sell and to sales of goods.

This provision seems obviously desirable.

SEC. 74. [Interpretation shall give effect to purpose of uniformity.] This act shall be so interpreted and construed as to effectuate its general purpose to make uniform the laws of those States which enact it.

The rule in this section obviously states a proper principle in regard to a statute the primary object of which is to make the law uniform. The same provisions will be found in the uniform transfer of stock act, uniform warehouse receipts act, and the uniform bills of lading act. The courts of last resort have applied this rule to the uniform negotiable instruments act. This principle was long ago recognized in Swift *v.* Tyson (1842, 16 Peters, 1, 19, 20).

SEC. 75. [Provisions not applicable to mortgages.] The provisions of this act relating to contracts to sell and to sales do not apply, unless so stated, to any transaction in the form of a contract to sell or a sale which is intended to operate by way of mortgage, pledge, charge, or other security.

This follows section 60 (2) of the English act, except for the words "unless so stated." Though the draft does not generally purport to deal with the peculiar rules of mortgage law, there are a few places in which mortgage relations or similar ones are covered, e. g., sections 20 (2), 22 (a).

SEC. 76. [Definitions.] (1) In this act, unless the context or subject matter otherwise requires—

"Action" includes counterclaim, set-off, and suit in equity.

"Buyer" means a person who buys or agrees to buy goods or any legal successor in interest of such person.

"Defendant" includes a plaintiff against whom a right of set-off or counterclaim is asserted.

"Delivery" means voluntary transfer of possession from one person to another.

"Divisible contract to sell or sale" means a contract to sell or a sale in which by its terms the price for a portion or portions of the goods less than the whole is fixed or ascertainable by computation.

"Document of title to goods" includes any bill of lading, dock warrant, warehouse receipt or order for the delivery of goods or any other document used in the ordinary course of business in the sale or transfer of goods as proof of the possession or control of the goods or authorizing or purporting to authorize the possessor of the document to transfer or receive, either by indorsement or by delivery, goods represented by such document.

"Fault" means wrongful act or default.

"Fungible goods" means goods of which any unit is from its nature or by mercantile usage treated as the equivalent of any other unit.

"Future goods" means goods to be manufactured or acquired by the seller after the making of the contract of sale.

"Goods" include all chattels personal other than things in action and money. The term includes emblements, industrial growing crops, and things attached to or forming part of the land which are agreed to be severed before sale or under the contract of sale.

"Order" in sections of this act relating to documents of title means an order by indorsement on the document.

"Person" includes a corporation or partnership or two or more persons having a joint or common interest.

"Plaintiff" includes defendant asserting a right of set-off or counterclaim.

"Property" means the general property in goods, and not merely a special property.

"Purchaser" includes mortgagee and pledgee.

"Purchases" includes taking as a mortgagee or as a pledgee.

"Quality of goods" includes their state or condition.

"Sale" includes a bargain and sale, as well as a sale and delivery.

"Seller" means a person who sells or agrees to sell goods or any legal successor in the interest of such person.

"Specific goods" means goods identified and agreed upon at the time a contract to sell or a sale is made.

"Value" is any consideration sufficient to support a simple contract. An antecedent or preexisting claim, whether for money or not, constitutes value where goods or documents of titles are taken either in satisfaction thereof or as security therefor.

(2) A thing is done "in good faith" within the meaning of this act when it is in fact done honestly, whether it be done negligently or not.

(3) A person is insolvent within the meaning of this act who either has ceased to pay his debts in the ordinary course of business or can not pay his debts as they become due, whether he has committed an act of bankruptcy or not, and whether he is insolvent within the meaning of the Federal bankruptcy law or not.

(4) Goods are in a "deliverable state" within the meaning of this act when they are in such a state that the buyer would, under the contract, be bound to take delivery of them.

The only one of these definitions requiring comment is that of value, which follows the weight of authority at common law and the provision of the uniform negotiable instruments act as intended by its framers. In regard to property other than negotiable instruments, the law of many States does not regard an antecedent debt as value; but it seems desirable to have a single rule for what constitutes valuable consideration, and mercantile convenience support the one adopted. It is supported, moreover, by the law of England and a few of our States. (See Williston on Sales, sec. 619.)

SEC. 76a. [Act does not apply to existing sales or contracts to sell.] None of the provisions of this act shall apply to any sale, or to any contract to sell, made prior to the taking effect of this act.

This section was added in 1909 primarily to avoid a question which was raised in Massachusetts, where the act was passed without this section. It was questioned whether section 4 of the act as it related to the enforcement of a sale, or contract to sell, rather than to its original validity, did not apply to any litigation arising after the passage of the act without reference to when the sale or contract to sell, which was the subject of the litigation, arose. (See Williston on Sales, p. 1042.) A similar section is found in all the other uniform acts.

SEC. 76b. [No repeal of uniform warehouse receipt act or uniform bills of lading act.] Nothing in this act or in any repealing clause thereof shall be construed to repeal or limit any of the provisions of the act to make uniform the law of warehouse receipts, or of the act to make uniform the law of bills of lading.

This section was added in 1909 especially to avoid the possible effect of section 32 of the uniform sales act upon section 31 of the uniform bills of lading act. Where neither the uniform warehouse receipts act nor the uniform bills of lading act has been passed prior to the passage of the uniform sales act, this section may be omitted.

SEC. 77. [Inconsistent legislation repealed.] All acts or parts of acts inconsistent with this act are hereby repealed except as provided in section 76b.

SEC. 78. [Time when the act takes effect.] This act shall take effect on the ——— day of ———, 19—.

SEC. 79. [Name of act.] This act may be cited as the uniform sales act.

Mr. Bennet on Socialism.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, December 11, 1916.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting a speech by my colleague, the gentleman from New York, Mr. WILLIAM S. BENNET, on socialism.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE] asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by inserting a speech on socialism, made by Hon. WILLIAM S. BENNET, a Member of the House from New York. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The speech of Mr. BENNET follows:

EXTRACTS FROM SPEECH OF WILLIAM S. BENNET ON SOCIALISM, DELIVERED AT MCKINLEY SQUARE CASINO, BRONX, OCTOBER 23, 1916.

In approaching a discussion of the principles of socialism I do so with an open and a candid mind. If the Socialist doctrine is the best for our country then it ought to be adopted. If it is not only not the best but the least worthy, then it ought to be so demonstrated.

Neither do I approach this discussion from a partisan standpoint. The respective candidacies of Mr. Dobsevage and of myself are mere incidents to the discussion. Mr. Dobsevage here to-night represents all those who approve socialism; I represent all those of all political faiths who disapprove it.

The Socialist Party assumes to be the special representative of the wageworker. I dispute that claim and assert for all the parties which for this occasion I represent an interest in the wageworker as sincere and unselfish as it is possible for any interest to be.

During my own personal political career I have not been insensible to the real legislative needs of the wageworker. As an assemblyman in 1902 I introduced and secured the passage of the first employers' liability law which this State ever had. In the Fifty-ninth Congress I introduced and secured the passage of a bill classifying every post-office clerk and carrier in the United States and providing for automatic promotions up to the $1,200 grade. When I came home from that Congress the letter carriers of New York City met me in procession and carried me from the train on their shoulders and the post-office clerks presented me with beautifully engraved and handsomely framed resolutions, which have hung ever since on my office wall. In the Sixtieth Congress I took up the cause of the customhouse laborers and succeeded in raising their pay from $720 to $840 per year and securing for them two weeks annual vacation with pay and two weeks sick leave with pay. In this Congress I secured the passage of a provision in the Post Office law preventing the Post Office Department from automatically dropping from the rolls a sick clerk or carrier at the end of a certain rigid number of days. I have also had legislation passed for the benefit of other Government employees in the different services, which they remember and which time forbids me to enumerate.

With some pride I record the fact that no other Congressman now in public life can point to a record of an important labor bill passed in a service in a State legislature and of bills in the interest of Government employees passed in three of the four Congresses of which he has been a member. I am now endeavoring to induce the War Department to install the eight-hour day on the harbor boats of the quartermaster's department in New York City, and I have for years, both in and out of Congress, advocated workmen's compensation, mothers' pension, rural credits, child labor, and similar laws.

In the Sixty-first Congress I was one of the House committee of three which arranged for the holding of the International Congress on Social Insurance in this country.

From this brief and necessarily incomplete résumé of my activities it will be seen that my position on social and labor questions is not only liberal but even advanced.

On one other great question I have taken and maintained a stand for which I have been violently criticized. I allude to the immigration question. I have fought for the right of a man of foreign birth of sound body, sound morals, and of sound mind to come to this country, even though he could not read. For 12 long years I have fought that fight, and so far fought it successfully. Both of the Socialists who have been in Congress, Messrs. Berger and LONDON, have held views similar to mine and voted as I have voted, and for this attitude they, as well as I, have been denounced by the American Federation of Labor. The federation even claims to have defeated me for Congress in 1910 because of my attitude on this question. But when I went back to Congress last year I held the same views, voted as before, hold them still, and shall vote the same way if I am reelected. I shall do this with even the more conviction of right now that it is so plain that a large part of the opposition to the immigrant is based on religious and racial reasons. I do not believe that we have the right to bar out from this country any alien because of his race or religion.

I admire in the Socialist his energy and persistence.

Now, as to his doctrines. The Socialist is necessarily opposed to all organized religion. Numerous Socialist writers, from Marx and Engel down, have avowed this, and of necessity also it must be so, for the Socialist looks to a perfect State here, while organized religion looks to a perfect State hereafter.

"The State," says Morris Hillquit, "is the end, man the means," and the same writer has described man as a cell organism of the State. All organized religions regard man as an individual, with a soul capable of and entitled to personal salvation, and maintain that the State was created for man and not man for the State. All organized religions include faith in God. Practically all religions in this country can say, in faith believing, both the Twenty-third Psalm:

> The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want.
> He maketh me to lie down in green pastures; He leadeth me beside the still waters.
> He restoreth my soul; He leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for His name's sake.
> Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil; for Thou art with me; Thy rod and Thy staff they comfort me.
> Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies; Thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over.
> Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life; and I will dwell in the house of the Lord forever.

And the petition of Jesus:

> Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.

The Socialist necessarily rejects both.

His Twenty-third Psalm would run something like this:

> There may be a God. I am not industrially or economically interested. My faith and trust are in a perfect State, to be run by the proletariat. I trust in nothing, have faith in nothing, rely on nothing, need nothing but the perfect proletariat State. The proletariat has but one enemy—the capitalist class.

This puts socialism at once in opposition to every person who believes in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and who places any trust or reliance in an overruling Providence.

Am I overstating the perfect State as the ultimate aim of socialism?

The present national platform of the Socialist Party describes the cooperative Commonwealth as its ultimate aim, and as it also is, according to the platform, to end all the present evils of organized society, it must necessarily be a perfect State. Anything which will end all the evils of organized society must necessarily be perfect.

We Democrats, Republicans, Progressives, Independence Leaguers, and American Party men, none of us claim or believe that our respective party platforms, if put into full effect, would bring about a perfect State. Even our Prohibitionist friends do not claim that the elimination of the demon rum would end all the evils of organized society.

We all recognize that the perfect State is impossible until all men are perfect. We assert that there are no perfect men anywhere. Are our Socialist friends perfect? As I have come in contact with them on the street corners during the last 12 years I am compelled to admit that they are no better men personally than the rest of us.

Without the perfect State socialism is impossible; without perfect men the perfect State is impossible; and, there being no perfect men, the program of socialism fails. I expect to be a member of a perfect State some day, but in the next world.

I now pass rapidly over a few more reasons why I am opposed to socialism. Socialism is necessarily opposed to the family. According to Socialist writers, "property in children would cease to exist, and every infant that came into the world would be born into full citizenship and would enjoy all its advantages, whatever the conduct of its parents might be." In other words, all control of parents over their children ceases and the little cell organism starts in under the control of the perfect State.

Virtue, chastity, and monogamous marriage are all deprecated by the Socialist international textbook on the woman question, which has run through more than 50 editions in Germany alone. Among other things, it says:

The satisfaction of the sexual impulse is as much a private concern of each individual as the satisfaction of any other natural impulse. No one is accountable to anyone else, and no third person has a right to interfere.

This side of the Socialist propaganda is so disgusting, hideous, and destructive as alone to condemn socialism. The worst of it is that it is essential to socialism.

If the aim is a perfect earthly State, every person must be a member of the State. Moreover, there must always be the number required for each industry, no more nor no less, and therefore the State must control the birth rate. Children as cell organisms of the State will be bred like prize cattle; the family as we now know it will disappear.

Of course, socialism is opposed to the individual. Under the promises of socialism every man will have enough to eat and to wear and a place to sleep, all regulated, of course, by the State. The slave in the South had these.

Under socialism every individual becomes a slave. There are great limitations on our freedom now. Under the socialist state there would be no industrial freedom at all; the State would own all means of production, including land, and the individual would have to work when, where, and how the State told him, at wages fixed by the State. Slavery could be no more thorough. It would be worse than negro slavery, because in that masters were personal equations—usually kind—and through personal interest, if for no other reason, concerned in the welfare of the slave. Under the slavery of socialism the master would be the impersonal State, with no impelling interest in any individual. Life would be a drab treadmill.

I am opposed to socialism because it aims to limit present recognized rights in private property. I know that the Socialist says that he would not abolish private property, but would even greatly extend it. But he also says that he would take over into collective ownership all things, including factories, tools, economic processes and functions, land, mines, forests, railroads, mills, and all other things required for our physical existence. With everything of that character removed from the market a man who took the trouble to save money would be simply all dressed up with no place to go.

I am a trustee of the Commonwealth Savings Bank. It is an unsalaried position. We have 5,700 depositors who have brought to us an aggregate of $1,100,000 to invest and pay them a return on. Every dollar of that $1,100,000 is invested in the kind of property which the Socialist aims to take away from private ownership.

Ours is a smaH bank. The savings banks of the United States have on individual deposit over $5,000,000,000; others invest in life insurance, and those people hold policies calling for the payment of twenty-two billions more, also invested in the same kind of property; others invest in building and loan associations, and such associations have over 3,000,000 members and assets of a billion and a half. Land in farms represent twenty billions more. I cease further enumerations as unnecessary.

The moment the perfect State takes over these properties investment ceases; when investment ceases thrift ceases, and when thrift ceases industrial progress ceases.

Individual gain and success form a large part of the reason for the work and struggle of us all. Take away the chance of individual gain and you destroy individual incentive and impair efficiency. I go in the summer to a pleasant place, Silver Bay, on Lake George. It is run by the Young Men's Christian Association. It is nearer being a perfect place than any place I have ever been. Crime is unknown. Evil is at a minimum. Consideration for one's fellow man is at the highest. You can drop your pocketbook anywhere on the grounds and the person who picks it up will take it to the lost-and-found office. You can drop an individual dollar bill in the grounds and the same thing will and has happened. Profit is eliminated. The place does not aim to make money. But even in that selected company the very fact that profit is eliminated and that no individual can possibly gain anything by the best of service affects unfavorably those branches of the service which minister to our wants.

I have shown that socialism is opposed, and necessarily so, to religion, to the family, to the individual, to virtue, chastity, and monogamous marriage. I have shown that it proposes to eliminate saving, investment, and thrift. I have given my opinion that the incentive of individual gain is essential to progress. I could say more.

How does socialism propose to take over and pay for the hundreds of billions of private property now in individual ownership?

Under the cooperative Commonwealth, who fixes my wages and what recourse have I if I disagree with the value placed on my labor?

I am intensely loyal to my country. Socialism teaches not only evolution through the ballot, which is its right, but also forcible resistance and disloyalty to America. I quote from the 1916 platform:

The Socialist Party * * * urges upon the workers in the mines and forests, on the railways and ships, in factories and fields the use of their economic and industrial power by refusing to mine the coal, to transport soldiers, to furnish food or other supplies for military purposes, and thus keep out of the ruling class the control of armed forces and economic power necessary for aggression abroad and industrial despotism at home.

This is disloyalty to America, and, under certain circumstances, might be even treason.

In the whole Socialist platform there is not one word of loyalty to America or to any American institution. There are some good industrial recommendations, but those are also to be found in the platforms of other parties. All other parties stand for social progress through social evolution. The Socialist alone stands for social progress through social revolution.

Resolutions Adopted by the National Conference on Marketing and Farm Credits.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. ELSTON,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, December 14, 1916.

Mr. ELSTON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave heretofore granted I submit resolutions adopted by the National Conference on Marketing and Farm Credits, held at Chicago, December 4 to 9, 1916, attended by over 2,000 delegates from 47 States and several Canadian Provinces. The conference was the largest national gathering of farmers and students of the economic problems of farming ever assembled in recent years. The resolutions adopted by the conference request congressional action on several subjects of vital importance to the rural development of this country. I deem it most appropriate therefore to give publicity to these resolutions through the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The resolutions are as follows:

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON MARKETING AND FARM CREDITS.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

In the preparation of resolutions, the committee has in mind the purposes of the call for the conference. The many opinions held of problems pressing for solution have made it impossible to include the content of all resolutions offered to the committee. This conference, however, consisting of representatives from 47 States, the District of Columbia, and from Canadian Provinces, presents its views for public consideration under the head of (1) Farm finance, (2) Land settlement, (3) Marketing, (4) Conservation and rural development, (5) National agricultural organization society, and (6) Congratulations.

FARM FINANCE.

In response to popular demand for the better financing of the farmers of the United States, a law has been enacted known as the "Federal farm-loan act," and to put in operation the system created by said act a Federal Farm Loan Board has been created under said law.

The said Federal farm-loan act offers the first and only effective system for the proper financing of the farmers of the country on long-time mortgage loans at low rates of interest and easy payments.

We believe the bonds to be issued by the Federal land banks created by this act will be of the highest class of investment securities, being supervised by the Government, secured by first mortgages on cultivated lands appraised at not more than 50 per cent of their value, and being further guaranteed by the 12 Federal land banks having a combined capital of $9,000,000 and exempt from all kinds of taxation.

We heartily recommend to the farmers of the United States the Federal farm-loan act and urge upon them that they make the fullest possible use of the same. And we especially indorse the national farm-loan associations as providing the best means of which farmers can avail themselves of the benefits of this law.

A doubt exists as to whether loans under the Federal farm-loan act can be legally made on lands which form a part of irrigation, drainage, or reclamation districts on account of the lien against these lands for the bonds that are outstanding. If necessary, we recommend that an amendment be made to the present law which will clear these lands of any such obstacle and render them eligible for loans without question.

There is urgent need of a system of short-time credits for the farmers of the United States, and the Fourth National Conference on Marketing and Farm Credits urges upon Congress the enactment of a law which will supply that need.

We also recommend that Congress shall create some authorized power to certify notes, properly and adequately secured by live stock, cotton, grain, and other farm commodities, to the end that said notes shall find

a wide and ready market at reasonable rates of interest. This would aid in putting the farming industry on an equal credit footing with other lines of business throughout the country. It would eliminate excessive rates of interest now charged for short-time accommodations by local money lenders.

LAND SETTLEMENT AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT.

At its 1915 meeting this conference called attention to the need for dealing with land settlement as an important economic and social question and for action by the Nation and several States that would broaden the opportunity for those who wish to live in the country, but who must depend mainly on frugality and industry in the purchase and improvement of farms.

The introduction of the Crosser bill in Congress shows that the need for such action is being recognized, and we indorse the general purpose of this measure. But we are opposed to any system of perpetual bureaucratic control of Government promotion which would establish a dependent peasantry.

It is becoming increasingly manifest that the settlement of privately owned lands can not be left wholly to unregulated private enterprises. In too many instances this plan has been inefficient and marked by unnecessary hardship and loss to settlers, resulting in unwarranted inflation of land prices.

All sections and classes are interested in the introduction of better methods of settlement, to overcome the growing menace of farm tenantry, to maintain the balance between city and country life, and by increasing production to lessen the cost of living.

If we are to have a scientific land-settlement policy it should include the following features:

First. Detailed soil and economic surveys of unsettled lands, to determine the character of the soil, the need for drainage and irrigation, and the kind of agriculture or horticulture best suited to the locality. The results of such surveys should be published, as a guide to public and private enterprise in the preparation of plans for colonization and the disposal of land to settlers.

Second. The adoption of a policy under which the Federal or State Governments, or the two cooperating, will provide "ready-made farms," that will be habitable and can be made immediately productive. We indorse plans similar to those formulated in the "Report on land settlement in Wyoming," which provides for cooperation between the Federal and State authorities for the creation of settlements in which community as well as individual needs are cared for. This policy includes provision for town, schools, roads, and the determination of the size of farms needed to furnish employment and give a living income to the settler. The Wyoming plan also provides homes for farm laborers, which will give them economic independence through the ownership of sufficient land to enable the laborer's family to grow its own fruits and vegetables and keep a cow, pigs, and poultry. The object of this is to enable settlers to earn a living income from the soil in less time and with smaller expenditure of money than is possible where each one works unaided and alone. Such expenditures or loans should be repaid by the settler with interest under such conditions and in such time as will permit the money to be earned out of the soil.

Third. Such supervision of private colonization and of the private sale of lands as shall prevent misrepresentation and fraud and aid the settler in selection of lands suited to his needs.

Fourth. The creation of institutions and the employment of competent farm advisers for beginners as will prevent costly mistakes and promote the spirit of agricultural cooperation and of community rather than individual action.

There is an evident need for the establishment of comprehensive, reliable, and disinterested national agencies that will furnish:

(1) Information to would-be farmers, whether American born or immigrants from other countries;

(2) The opportunities for settlement in different sections of the country; and

(3) Assistance in securing homes and becoming established com-

This conference again urging its recommendation of 1915 for the appointment of a Federal commission having authority to employ a body of expert assistants to carry on inquiry in all parts of the country which will show:

(1) Methods and results of unregulated private settlement;

(2) The need for more favorable financial terms of purchase by tenants and would-be farmers of small capital; and

(3) The feasibility and value of adopting in this country some of the policies of other countries which have done so much to improve agricultural and social conditions in these countries.

MARKETING.

We earnestly urge upon Congress the imperative need of a prompt and thorough investigation by the Federal Trade Commission, assisted by the Department of Agriculture, of—

First. The marketing of live stock and the meat-packing industries in this and other countries. We urge that this investigation be followed by a report with constructive recommendations for the improvement of the conditions and methods under which live stock is marketed, and the products thereof manufactured, distributed, and sold.

We urge upon Congress the making of an adequate appropriation and the giving of adequate authority to the Federal Trade Commission to enable it to cover all important phases of the problem, including the experiences of other countries with municipal abattoirs and cooperatively owned packing plants, to the end that a free and uncontrolled market may be assured; that any existing abuses may be corrected; that present wastes may be eliminated; and that new and better methods may be adopted. We further urge that the fullest publicity be given to all facts affecting the prices of live stock received by the producer and the cost of meat products paid by the consumer.

As the Office of Markets of the United States Department of Agriculture has provided facilities for making impartial reports of market conditions and prices, we recommend that the market news service of the Office of Markets be extended as quickly as possible to include all farm products. We believe that the Office of Markets should be authorized and instructed to require all handlers of farm products, including storage plants, to report conditions, prices, receipts, and supplies on hand, and such other facts as may be necessary to show the movement, supply, and prices of farm products.

No standard market quotations are possible unless they are based upon uniform grades and a uniform interpretation of grades. Therefore we recommend that as rapidly as possible the Office of Markets and Rural Organization of the United States Department of Agriculture, in cooperation with the State authorities, be authorized and empowered—

(1) To extend its work of establishing market grades so as to cover all farm products, including meat animals;

(2) To maintain in each of the principal markets official inspectors to enforce the use of the official grades, and to whom all disputes between producers and buyers as to grading may be referred for decision.

We recommend a continuation of the establishment by the States of divisions or bureaus of markets to promote proper methods of organization among farmers; for financing the production and sale of, for grading, and for storing and distributing farm products.

EMBARGOES.

We hereby protest against any legislation by Congress interfering by embargo or export duty with the distribution and sale of foodstuffs in the markets of the world.

CONSERVATION.

We protest against the passage of the Shields and Myers water-power bills or any substitutes for them which fail to protect the public interest by requiring compensation for valuable public rights and by fixing a definite time at which each water power leased shall revert to the people so that the conditions under which it is used may be readjusted to meet the public needs of that time. We urge upon our Senators and Congressmen to defeat the Shields and Myers bills and to pass water-power legislation providing for compensation and effective time limit in all water-right grants, together with full publicity and effective regulation of charges so as to prevent monopoly and extortion.

NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL ORGANIZATION SOCIETY.

In response to the wishes of the conference of last year that some permanent organization be formed which would continue throughout the year the good work of the conference, a committee was created which has brought into existence the National Agricultural Organization Society. This organization has during the past year given scientific help in hundreds of cases and has brought into harmonious relations and understanding many agencies and organizations which would otherwise be working alone. It furnishes legal and other help of the highest value and we urge its hearty indorsement to all cooperative organizations.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

The Fourth National Conference on Marketing and Farm Credits has enjoyed the hospitality and service of the Hotel Sherman and extends thanks for favors extended by the management.

The conference desires to express its thanks and appreciation to President McVey, Secretary Holman, and Treasurer McCarthy and the officers and committee on organization for their faithful and efficient service in arranging for this conference and in doing so much to help bring it to a successful conclusion.

The conference has been gratified to have as its guest the sponsor of this conference and its able supporter, the Hon. Frank P. Holland, of Texas.

ELWOOD MEAD, of California,
Chairman.
FRANK N. BRIGGS, of Colorado.
H. W. TINKHAM, of Rhode Island.
T. S. MCKEE, of Alabama.
HECTOR MACPHERSON, of Oregon.
H. J. HUGHES, of Minnesota.
J. L. DU CHARME, of Arkansas.
F. F. GILMORE, of Kentucky.
W. B. CAMP, of North Carolina.
M. L. NOON, of Michigan.
SAM D. GROMER, of Missouri.
CHAS. MCCARTHY, of Wisconsin.
FRANK L. MCVEY,
Chairman Conference ex officio.
CHAS. W. HOLMAN,
Secretary Conference ex officio.

Letter From the American Federation of Labor Indorsing House Resolution No. 137.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. CHARLES LINTHICUM,

OF MARYLAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, December 14, 1916.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a letter from the American Federation of Labor inclosing resolutions in favor of House resolution 137, relating to dairy products in the country. The letter is as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *December 6, 1916.*

Hon. J. CHARLES LINTHICUM,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At the thirty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Baltimore, Md., November 13–25, 1916, a resolution was introduced dealing with the subject matter of House resolution 137 introduced by yourself in the House proposing an investigation of the charges made against milk and milk products on account of the alleged menace which they constitute to the health of the people in the United States. The convention gave its approval to House resolution 137, and in connection therewith adopted the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the secretary of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to communicate our action to each of the gentlemen composing the Committee on Rules of the House of Representatives, urging a favorable report on House resolution 137."

In accordance with the directions of the convention, I am to-day notifying each member of the House Committee on Rules of the action of the convention, urging a favorable report on House resolution 137.

Trusting in view of the importance of the investigation, that the matter will be pressed with all possible expedition, and hoping for the passage of House resolution 137, I am,

Very truly, yours,

FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary American Federation of Labor.

Resolution No. 136 (by Delegate John H. Ferguson) of the Baltimore Federation of Labor.

Whereas Hon. J. CHARLES LINTHICUM, of Maryland, has introduced in the House of Representatives a resolution (H. Res. 137) providing for the appointment by the Speaker of a committee of five Members of the House, whose duty it shall be to investigate and report as speedily as practicable, as follows:

(a) Whether conditions prevailing in dairies and dairy products seriously menace the health and property of the people of the United States;

(b) Whether Federal inspection and supervision, either alone or in cooperation with State and municipal inspection and supervision, is necessary to the reasonable protection of the health and property of the citizens of the United States;

(c) If so, then the best and most economic methods of inaugurating and enforcing such inspection and supervision; and

Whereas a hearing was had on House resolution 137 on April 11, 1916, before the Committee on Rules of the House of Representatives, at which time Dr. E. C. Schroeder, expert bacteriologist of the Department of Agriculture, stated to the committee that 300 children die annually in New York City of bovine tuberculosis, and on this basis the annual death rate in the United States from bovine tuberculosis is 6,000 children every year, and further said that over 9 per cent, or 2,000,000, of our dairy cows have tuberculosis and are capable of transmitting that disease to children; while Dr. John R. Mohler, Assistant Chief of the Bureau of Animal Industry, told the committee that he had personally examined the bodies of a number of children who died of tuberculosis and found that over 22 per cent had died from bovine tuberculosis; and

Whereas The Forecast of December, 1915, page 399, says: "Other investigations * * * have proved with equal conclusiveness that children are the chief sufferers from the bovine type of tuberculosis, which is so prevalent in cattle that it is useless to think of its immediate eradication. The only protection for our children until this is accomplished is pasteurization. There is no escape from the conclusion, therefore, that in permitting the use of milk or milk products without pasteurization we are responsible for the slaughter of innocents, compared with which that of Herod was a trifle; and many of those whom we do not kill we maim and cripple for life, for the deadly tubercle bacillus attacks the bones, joints, and glands of the unhappy little ones rather than their lungs"; and

Whereas if these charges are true, then it is the duty of Congress to investigate and to pass such legislation as may be necessary to remedy the evil; and if they are untrue, then Congress should, by proper investigation, show this to be the fact, that the uncertainty now prevalent among our citizens may be alleviated and the real facts known, so that the people may freely and unceasingly avail themselves without fear and trembling of this splendid product, the most nutritious, useful, and, when produced and distributed under proper sanitary methods, the most healthful of all; Therefore be it

Resolved, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor favors an investigation of the charges made against milk and milk products, and gives its approval to House resolution No. 137; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to communicate our action to each of the gentlemen composing the Committee on Rules of the House of Representatives, urging a favorable report on House resolution 137; and be it further

Resolved, That the legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to do all things necessary to bring to pass the speedy passage of this resolution.

Subtreasury at New York.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. BENNET,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, December 15, 1916.

Mr. BENNET. Mr. Speaker, in the five minutes permitted it is impossible to go very fully into the Subtreasury question. A very important function of the Subtreasury at New York City is that it is the depository of hundreds of disbursing officers who have their accounts transferred there as a matter of convenience.

Another function is the buying of both foreign and domestic gold through the assay office, the payments being made by the Subtreasury.

Still another function is the handling of the redemption fund for national-bank notes. Possibly this could all be arranged through the Federal reserve bank, but no one knows certainly. It should be borne in mind that the Federal reserve bank is a stock corporation owned by its stockholders. It is not owned by the Government. Ought the millions in the Subtreasury be turned over to a private corporation? Possibly; but it ought to be clearly safeguarded and thoroughly understood. I append a statement from the Treasury Department:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, December 15, 1916.

The attached statement shows the total cash receipts and payments taken in and paid out by the New York Subtreasury for the fiscal year 1916, as shown in the Treasurer's account. These receipts include such items as—

1. Transfer of funds from this office.
2. Transfers of funds from other Treasury offices.
3. Receipts for issues of gold certificates of 1900.
4. Receipts of moneys to be paid by other Treasury offices.
5. Gold-settlement fund deposits for gold certificates of 1900 to be issued by this office to the Federal Reserve Board.
6. Five per cent fund deposits.
7. Post Office Department deposits.
8. Postal savings deposits.
9. Deposits by Comptroller of Currency as agent for creditors of failed banks.
10. Deposits for retirement of national bank circulation (act of July 14, 1890).
11. Revenue receipts and repayments.
12. Five per cent fund for redemption of Federal reserve notes.
13. Five per cent fund for redemption of Federal reserve bank notes.

Under the heading of "checks cashed" is included—

1. Disbursing officers' checks cashed.
2. Money order funds checks (issued by this office) cashed and the amounts placed to credit of disbursing postmaster with New York Subtreasury.
3. Moneys paid on deposits in other Treasury offices.
4. Checks issued for purchase of bullion by New York Assay Office.

Under the heading of "transfers of funds" made is included—

1. Transfers of unfit currency to Secretary of the Treasury.
2. Transfers of funds to depositary banks to restore balances to the authorized limit.
3. Transfers of funds to other Treasury offices.

Statement showing receipts and payments in the Treasurer's account, by the Assistant Treasurer, at New York for each month during the fiscal year 1916.

	Total receipts.	Payments.		
		Checks cashed.	Transfers made.	Total payments.
July, 1915	$104,838,792.39	$46,620,543.10	$49,410,450.00	$96,030,993.10
August, 1915	110,148,323.35	48,155,504.89	38,442,755.23	86,598,260.12
September, 1915	117,994,945.34	55,235,615.38	42,504,318.96	97,739,934.34
October, 1915	139,442,964.85	100,984,954.74	40,138,161.39	141,123,116.13
November, 1915	144,886,387.98	82,346,173.32	40,065,421.38	122,411,594.70
December, 1915	136,641,793.55	85,902,618.33	35,521,505.45	121,424,123.78
January, 1916	90,189,221.42	51,833,261.51	47,502,969.42	99,336,230.93
February, 1916	61,612,682.56	31,394,023.40	25,553,005.13	56,947,028.53
March, 1916	80,137,885.16	28,880,318.03	39,409,100.53	68,289,418.56
April, 1916	85,942,238.94	26,594,047.08	34,269,029.56	60,863,076.64
May, 1916	93,814,494.32	45,716,965.46	29,890,803.03	75,607,768.46
June, 1916	99,868,116.79	92,271,085.09	80,555,015.09	172,826,100.18
Total	1,265,517,846.65	695,935,110.33	503,262,535.14	1,199,197,645.47

This statement does not include receipts and payments in the local redemption and exchange and disbursing accounts kept in the New York Subtreasury for which accounts this office receives no reports other than daily balances.

F. J. F. THIEL,
Deputy Assistant Treasurer of the United States.

"War Widows" in Distress.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, December 15, 1916.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, with the approach of Christmas public sympathy for the distressed in all conditions of life is awakened. At this particular season a new element deserving of consideration invites the attention not only of the people generally but of Congress and the executive department. We have a large number of National Guardsmen along the Mexican frontier who are wondering why they can not return to their homes and mingle with their fellow men. Until the Government itself speaks upon this subject we can not ourselves answer the query which comes up from the frontier and is reechoed in the homes of the thousands of families affected.

If these men are held on the Mexican border because the Government deems it necessary for the welfare of the Nation, that is a good and sufficient reason. If they are being so held to arouse the disgust of the country and the soldiers themselves with the National Guard service, for the purpose of destroying it, that is a matter which might fairly demand action at the hands of Congress. All we know at present is that the War Department declines to send our soldiers home, and that in consequence of that administrative attitude we are hearing constantly from business men in the service, who went loyally to the front, believing there was an emergency, and from others who at the time of enlistment had not been fully prepared in their domestic relations for a long absence from their families.

DESTITUTION IN SOLDIERS' FAMILIES.

It is the latter phase of the question to which I shall draw attention briefly. The troops had not long established themselves upon the frontier when it became evident that some provision would have to be made for the families of many of them. The National Guard had been composed of young men who were not seeking military service as a pursuit, but who had entered it with the view of performing a patriotic duty in such emergencies as might arise. It was self-evident that men who had been receiving wages and drawing salaries in private life could not long maintain their families during an absence from home on an income of, say, $15 a month. As the term of service for which the guardsmen enlisted was indefinite, numerous societies were formed throughout the country to aid the families of those who were endeavoring to live up to their patriotic obligations. A citizens' aid society was formed in Philadelphia, which raised $50,000 for this purpose. The mayor and councils of Philadelphia also arranged to assist the dependent families who had been left behind. All of them rendered splendid service. In addition, it is well known that the Government appropriated $2,000,000 for the support of dependent families. Now, as Christmas is approaching, we are advised that all these funds are running low and that some of them have been exhausted. And while there may have been some desertions from camp and an occasional discharge of unworthy soldiers, the great mass of the guardsmen who have dependent families are unable to give personal assistance to those whom they left behind save as they may do it at the rate of whatever is left from their 50 cents a day. In its issue of to-day the Public Ledger, of Philadelphia, contains much information on this subject under the startling headlines of "Eighty 'war widows' of Philadelphia facing poverty." I shall not publish this article in full, because the situation in Philadelphia is doubtless the same as it is in other cities. This much of the article, which describes the position in which many of the families of soldiers find themselves, ought to be laid before Congress for careful thought:

EXPLAINS SOCIETY'S DEMISE.

Explaining the demise of the Citizens' Aid Society, Mr. Carr said:

"We received word from Maj. Gen. Clement, at El Paso, that the Federal Government had received an appropriation of $2,000,000 with which to carry on the work of relief for the soldiers' families of the various States. Under the circumstances, he said, the soldiers might apply for aid and it would be forthcoming to the families at home. It seems that many of these husbands and fathers forgot this detail, and thus placed their families in the plight of facing starvation.

"When we learned that the Federal Government would aid the families we felt that we had no right to ask further contributions from the citizens of the city, who had subscribed $50,000 for this work already. So we notified the wives that on December 15 the aid society would go out of business."

The majority of the families affected are those of men in the Second Artillery, the first Philadelphia regiment to be sent to El Paso. While in Camp Stewart the Second, which left here as an infantry unit, commanded by Col. Hamilton D. Turner, was converted into artillery. For that reason they were held at the border for further training when the First and Third Infantry came home some weeks ago.

The plight of the "war widows" was discovered yesterday through the labors of the Old York Road preparedness unit, of which Mrs. Harry Asbury, of Oak Lane, is chairman. This organization, together with the Ashbourne Girl Scouts, of which Miss Mildred Gates, of Elkins Park, is scout mistress, has held dances, given card parties and other social affairs, and obtained a goodly sum which will be used in playing Santa Claus to the soldiers' wives and their little ones.

Through the efforts of these women already seven families have been snatched from dire poverty, and in one or two cases, actual starvation. One of these wives, whose husband is said to have deserted his company at the border and who has not returned to his family, has been forced to keep her children in bed all day in order that they might not freeze in the wintry weather of the last few days. Her only light has been a small candle.

A woman who occupies two rooms in the rear of the first floor of a North Tenth Street house, furnishes one of the pitiable cases. She has a husband and a brother at the border, and for a time obtained $6 a week from the Citizens' Aid Society. She has four children, one of whom has been at her father's home for some time; another one has been sick. Those with the mother range from 4 to 8 years. The girl, 6 years old, has been sick, and the mother has been unable to work. She has not heard from her husband for two months, although her brother wrote her that he had got into trouble. Friends have said that they saw him in this city, but he has not visited his wife. He was a member of Company H of the Second Artillery, and the wife will write to Capt. Lockhart, company commander, to-day to learn the truth about her husband. Her physical condition is such that she can not seek employment. She has been taken under the wing of the Old York Road unit.

A soldier's wife who lives in North Orkney Street is another whose plight is pitiful. She has a son and daughter, the latter barely more than a baby. She has been receiving aid, but it stopped two weeks ago. At that time her baby girl was taken sick and a neighbor gave her the money with which to pay the doctor. The child is compelled to recline propped up in an improvised bed made of two chairs and has a heavy cough.

Nor does her trouble stop with her own poverty. Her mother is a Belgian, whose husband returned to his native country to fight when war started. For months they have not heard from him, and his fate has worried the mother to distraction. In order, however, that the father at the border might know that he was not forgotten at the yuletide the woman last night, with barely her last pennies, purchased a handkerchief to send him as a reminder of Christmas.

Another woman living on North Clarion Street would seek work at once, she says, except that her children are so small she can not leave them. Her husband was an employee of the Rapid Transit Co., by whom she has been paid $1.62 a week since her husband went to the front. She has been receiving $6 a week from the Citizens' Aid, and had no word of complaint last night about her treatment in this respect.

However, she has been forced to occupy two rooms on the second floor of the house, for which she pays $7 a week, and she frankly declares she does not know how she will fare through the winter unless her husband returns. She has two children, one of whom has been sick intermittently since the father went away in June. She asked that some action be taken to bring the soldier-husband back, and declares that if he reenlists in the National Guard she will leave him.

Three other wives—one on Boudinot Street, another on Tulip, and another on Orianna—revealed the same sad state of family distress. One of these said she was going to write to the governor, while another declared she would send a personal letter to the President.

WHAT OF THE GUARD'S FUTURE?

Without excusing the very few soldiers who seem to have been indifferent to the welfare of their families, how shall we deal in the future with those who felt it a duty under pain of being regarded cowardly, to enter a prolonged service on the frontier at the expense of their families? Gen. Scott, Chief of Staff, in his annual report, has clearly indicated a lack of patriotism on the part of young men who are ready to parade and cheer the flag in moving-picture shows but who are not willing to visit the recruiting office. This, of course, is no reflection upon the patriotism and self-sacrifice of the men who are now upon the frontier, wondering, as other people are enjoying the Christmas season at home, why they are denied that privilege. Does it mean that these faithful servants of the Nation are being punished to the prejudice of the National Guard, or does it mean that there is a real and genuine reason, still undisclosed by the President, for imposing this hardship upon the soldiers themselves and so many others who are now anxiously awaiting their home-coming?

The situation is one fraught with serious consequences to a Nation which may some day call for the services of a National Guard and find no response.

If compulsory military training is the end sought for, that is another matter.

National Guard on the Mexican Border.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL R. ANTHONY, JR.,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, December 20, 1916.

Mr. ANTHONY. Mr. Speaker, recently there have appeared what I regard as unfair criticisms of the National Guard and its service on the Mexican border. The continued retention of the National Guard on the border long after it had been determined to make no active use of it was enough to destroy any body of citizen soldiery, and many think such was the intention. A very clear statement of the National Guard situation has been made by Col. T. S. CRAGO, a Member of Congress from Pennsylvania, and published in the Pittsburgh Dispatch. I present Mr. CRAGO's statement and the editorial comment of this newspaper for the information of the House:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *December 16, 1916.*

An able defense of the National Guard of the country is made by Representative THOMAS S. CRAGO, of Pennsylvania, in an authorized statement issued to-day.

Col. CRAGO was an officer of the Tenth Pennsylvania Volunteers and saw active service in the Philippines during the Spanish-American War. For years, before and since that war, he was prominently identified with the National Guard, and at present he is a member of the House Committee on Military Affairs.

Calling attention to the annual report of the Chief of Staff of the Army which alleged the failure of the volunteer military system, Col. CRAGO denies that this criticism should be attached to the National Guard by reason of its record on the Mexican border. On the contrary, he declares that the training had on the border has in a great measure justified the hopes that the friends of the guard expressed for it. Col. CRAGO's statement says:

CRAGO'S STATEMENT.

"The Chief of Staff of the Army in his annual report, just made public, has called attention to the failure of the volunteer military system. This criticism is immediately, of course, attacked by persons antagonistic to it to the part the National Guard has taken in the recent mobilization, but it is not fair to these National Guard organizations to blame any of the deficiencies which have been shown to exist in our system on the National Guard as an organization. In the first place, the friends of the National Guard never contended that this was the ideal military system. What they did contend for was:

"First. That the National Guard was the only body of troops in existence, other than the Regular Army, which could be relied upon to give instant response in the case of any emergency; and

"Second. That since the National Guard had never had a chance to show what it could do when properly armed, equipped, and supported by the Federal Government, it was only fair in considering any great extension of our military system to give the National Guard the first chance to show what could be accomplished by it.

GOVERNMENT'S FAILURE.

"Unfortunately the call was made before the guard had been reorganized under the provisions of the new military act, and they could not be expected to show much improvement over former conditions. The weakness which has been shown has not been the fault of the guard, but of the Federal Government in its failure to properly arm and equip the men who so promptly responded.

"In all of the Eastern and many of the Western States the guard was mobilized promptly with the number of men which they had been allowed to carry on their rolls. These men were equipped, but when, without any warning, each organization was asked to increase its numbers to war strength, it naturally followed that the guard had no means of equipping these new men. This duty was for the Federal Government to perform.

"As a matter of fact, the National Guard organizations did furnish a surprising number of men for this call. It has been shown that these organizations on the border have cheerfully taken the intensive training, and both officers and men have shown that they can be quickly formed into effective organizations.

WAR DEPARTMENT INCOMPETENT.

"On the other hand, it has been shown that the War Department as at present organized is utterly incapable of handling such large bodies of men and properly equipping them for service.

"That more men did not respond to this call can be explained by reason of the fact that the country at large has not realized, and did not believe that any great emergency existed. It seemed foolish to the public to call such a large body of men into the service if it was merely for training purposes; and to imagine that the National Guard consists of men who can afford to immediately leave their civil pursuits and undertake five or six months of training is a mistake and is expecting more of these men than should be required.

"Most people who have given this matter of preparedness serious consideration will agree with Gen. Scott, Chief of Staff, that the only democratic plan for our people to follow is universal military training. In other words, the burden of military duty should be borne by all and not by a few. This does not mean that all of our citizens should be trained in the use of arms and in carrying the rifle, because military training is much broader than this and involves work in so many different departments that a place could be found for all able-bodied men to do their share of this training. Our people, many of them, have come to realize this and they have no fear that it would lead to a military spirit and system which would be a detriment to our free institutions.

"On the contrary, many who have given this subject study believe that it would have just the opposite result and would make our military system a really democratic institution, and that this training would be a great benefit in many ways to our young men.

"If our people would adopt some form of universal military service, it should not be in the Regular Army alone, and it would be necessary for some such organization as the National Guard to be maintained in order that the training and service could be performed in such organizations. It is just as unfair to criticize the splendid men and organizations who have answered the call of the President during this year and expect them to have attained perfection as it would be to have expected our Navy to have advanced by leaps and bounds in its strength and efficiency merely because the present Congress authorized great increases in the Navy and made appropriations to meet these increases.

"All that was attempted by the last military bill was to make possible the building up of a military force in the years to come.

"The sudden call, before the guard had any chance to benefit by the provisions of this act, to undergo this long period of training undoubtedly has been a great blow to future enlistments in the guard. However, this call has given us a great body of trained men who will sooner or later find themselves building up additional organizations.

"Speaking from the experience in Pennsylvania it must be remembered that these troops responded promptly. That in four days' time after reaching Mount Gretna the first unit was started for the border, having been vaccinated and inoculated and fully equipped, and that the last organizations were able to leave Mount Gretna on July 9, only 15 days after they had reached Mount Gretna.

"In this mobilization of these organizations they were handicapped by the inability on the part of the Federal Government to supply them with blankets and other necessary clothing and equipment. The mustering officers were uncertain as to their instructions, and in all of the States of the Union the desks of the adjutants general were piled with telegrams and orders from the different departments of the Army contradictory in nature, making demands which were physically impossible of being complied with.

"That more men did not respond to this call and immediately fill up these organizations to war strength is no fault of the National Guard system. That the War Department has seen proper to adopt a policy of refusing discharges for men on the border, even though the conditions at home would have warranted a discharge during actual war, will make it difficult in the future to secure men to fill these organizations.

"This training, while it has been costly and has developed many weak spots, will not reflect any discredit on the National Guard, but has in a great measure justified the hopes that the friends of the guard expressed for it at the time federalization was being considered."

[From the Pittsburgh Dispatch.]

SHOULD FIRST BE TRIED.

The chorus of critics of the National Guard who are clamorously insisting that the experience in the border emergency has shown the utter unreliability of the federalization law are pertinently answered by Col. T. S. CRAGO, who, as a former officer in the Tenth, who saw active service in the Philippines, and as a member of the congressional Committee on Military Affairs, should speak with some authority on the subject. In an interview secured by the Dispatch's Washington correspondent, Representative CRAGO points out that the call for service on the border was made before the guard had been reorganized under the new military act, consequently it is unfair and absurd to attempt to judge the capabilities of the guard under that act when there has been no opportunity to demonstrate the possibilities.

Congress passed the Hay bill, and as if the mere enactment was all that was needed, and before there was time for the War Department or the guard to put its provisions into practice, the guard was hurried to the border, where it was apparently expected to meet conditions and requirements it had had no chance to prepare for. It would be just as reasonable, because Congress has passed appropriations for a larger Navy, to expect the present Navy to increase its effectiveness correspondingly over night.

Criticism of the War Department and the Regular Army organization would be as unfair for the same reason, that the mobilization of the guard was a larger job than it had tackled, were it not for the altogether absurd assumption by the Federal military pundits that the fault is all with the guard and that they themselves are the last word in superefficiency. The truth, as Col. CRAGO shows, is that the federalization act has had no proper test because neither the War Department, the Regulars, nor the guard have had time to prepare for it, and the hostility shown at Washington to the State organizations has only made matters infinitely worse.

Instead of discarding the federalization plan, which has neither been worked out nor tried as a permanent policy, would not the wise thing be to wait until it has had a fair chance and remedy defects as they are discovered?

Joint Resolution Protesting Against Mediation by the United States in the European War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, December 16, 1916.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Speaker, on December 14 I introduced a resolution protesting against mediation by the United States in the European war. As it was impossible on that day for me to get time to debate my resolution, I gave a statement to the press. Under the permission accorded me by the House I present herewith a reprint of the resolution, together with a copy of the statement aforesaid:

[H. J. Res. 320, in the House of Representatives, Dec. 14, 1916.]

Joint resolution protesting against mediation by the United States in the European war at this time.

Whereas the central European powers are suing for peace; and

Whereas a premature and inconclusive peace at the present time would fail to punish the central European powers for the unbounded misery which they have brought upon mankind; and

Whereas in the darkest hours of our Civil War Abraham Lincoln, through the Secretary of State, peremptorily ordered our minister to Great Britain, Charles Francis Adams, to repudiate the slightest suggestion of mediation in our affairs on the part of any foreign Government:

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Congress the United States should, neither directly nor indirectly, suggest to the entente allies that they accept mediation, and, furthermore, it is the opinion of this Congress that the United States ought to refuse to participate in promoting an unjust peace.

Resolved further, That no peace can be considered just unless the following requirements are included in its terms:

First. That every acre of land shall be returned by the central European powers to the nations which have been despoiled.

Second. That ample indemnities shall be paid to the entente allies who have been fighting for civilization, and more especially to the smaller nations which have suffered the most from a murderous and unprovoked assault.

Third. That by disarmament and disbandment of its troops Germany shall guarantee that the peace treaty is something more than "a scrap of paper."

In presenting this resolution, I said:

WHY DOES GERMANY CRY, "ENOUGH"?

"The timid sentimentalist wants to give Germany a truce in which to catch her breath, for choking she surely is or she would not be suing for peace. Who ever heard of the winner in a fight crying 'Enough'? It is only when he feels that his strength is spent that the brave man asks for a truce, and who is there who can deny the bravery of Germany? Would Germany, think you, forego the execution of her threat to destroy England's power if German leaders saw victory within their grasp?

WE FOUGHT OUR OWN WAR TO A FINISH.

"Of course, I realize that many a well-meaning man in the United States, and even in Great Britain, will eagerly grasp at any peace proposal, no matter how iniquitous, no matter how inconclusive.

"In 1864, during our Civil War, weaklings did not want to fight it out. Rather than consent that the North should hang on like grim death for another year, and so put an end to slavery, we were to draw around us a mantle to cover the phantoms of fright and consent to a miserable compromise.

"In 1864, after three years of strife, McClellan ran for President of the United States on a platform which declared the war a failure. Horace Greeley, the editor of the most important organ of public opinion in the North, completely lost

his nerve a few short months before Lee's heroic army was at last broken. Here is what Greeley wrote to President Lincoln on August 29, 1864, just 90 days before the triumphant reelection of our great President:

"I know that nine-tenths of the whole American people, North and South, are anxious for peace—peace on almost any terms—and utterly sick of human slaughter and devastation.

* * * * * * *

"I beg you, implore you, to inaugurate or invite proposals for peace forthwith. And in case peace can not now be made consent to an armistice for one year, each party to retain, unmolested, all it now holds, but the rebel ports to be opened. Meantime, let a national convention be held, and there will surely be no more war at all events.

"Lincoln sternly rejected Greeley's prayer. Is there any man in this Nation of ours to-day who thinks that he did wrong?

AUTOCRACY AT DEMOCRACY'S THROAT.

"Just as our own war was fought out, so this war in Europe must be fought out till one side or the other triumphs. If not to-day, it must be fought out to-morrow. Autocracy and democracy have at last engaged in a death struggle, and God help us if autocracy wins. Germany offers to return most of her booty if she is spared the penalty of her awful deeds. It is as if some miscreant who had slain a man and stolen his watch were to offer to disgorge the watch if he were promised immunity. But where, Oh where, is the 'freedom of the seas' which Germany promised us?

WE SPURNED MEDIATION IN 1862.

"I was in Europe when this war broke out. I remember my feeling of regret when President Wilson in August, 1914, offered to mediate between the warring powers. If I had been in his place I should perhaps have made the same offer, and yet to anyone across the water as I was it was plain enough that the Kaiser would brook no interference. To-day, if, in compliance with Germany's hopes, we should offer mediation, who can doubt that France and Great Britain would feel so profoundly wounded that our friendly relations would be at an end for many a decade to come, in spite of all the articles in all The Hague conventions put together?

"This name of mediation has an attractive sound, but before we go too far let us glance once more at our Civil War history.

"After the disastrous failure of McClellan's campaign in 1862 no military expert or statesman of Europe thought that the North could possibly overthrow the Confederacy.

"The great English Liberal reformer, William E. Gladstone, at that time advocated mediation by Europe in the affairs of the United States. In his famous Newcastle speech he said:

"We may anticipate with certainty the success of the Southern States, so far as regards their separation from the North. I can not but believe that that event is as certain as any event yet future and contingent can be.

"Sir George Lewis, who at the time was the British secretary for war, directly opposed Mr. Gladstone on this question of mediation, but even Lewis admitted that in the general opinion of Great Britain 'the contest would issue in the establishment of the independence of the South.'

"Russia and France likewise contemplated a mediation offer. A little while after the Battle of Antietam, Prince Gortschakoff said to Bayard Taylor, of the American Legation at St. Petersburg:

"Your situation is getting worse and worse; the chances of preserving the Union are growing more and more desperate. Can you find no basis of arrangement before your strength is so exhausted that you must lose for many years to come your position in the world?

"In fact, the whole situation is summed up by the Comte de Paris in his History of the Civil War. It will be remembered that the Comte de Paris had exceptional opportunities for observation. He was head of the Legitimist Party in France, and, furthermore, he served as a captain of Volunteers on the staff of Gen. McClellan. His sympathies were entirely with the North, and yet in his book he says that Europe during the middle period of the war regarded the efforts of the Federal Government to continue the war as 'the result of culpable blindness, of a bloodthirsty obstinacy.'

WE FORBADE EUROPE EVEN TO WHISPER PEACE TO US.

"But Lincoln was undismayed. Under his instructions Secretary Seward, in August, 1862, issued these stout directions to Charles Francis Adams, our minister to Great Britain:

"If the British Government shall in any way approach you, directly or indirectly, with propositions which assume or contemplate an appeal to the President on the subject of our internal affairs, whether it seem to imply a purpose to dictate, or to mediate, or to advise, or even to solicit or persuade, you will answer that you are forbidden to debate, to hear, or in any way receive, entertain, or transmit any communication of the kind. You will make the same answer whether the proposition comes from the British Government alone or from that Government in combination with any other power.

"Fortunately the cause of the North was fast gaining ground among the British rank and file. Even in the cabinet were found fast friends of the United States, like the Duke of Argyle, Sir George Lewis, and Milnor Gibson. Their utterances in favor of the Union were mightily backed by Cobden, Bright, and Forster. But the balance of power in the British Cabinet was held by men like the premier, Lord Palmerston, who cared nothing for the North and nothing for the South but everything for harmony in the British Cabinet. There was only one thing which that cabinet would unanimously agree to do, and that was to do nothing at all. Let us hope that we shall now remember our own views about mediation when our own country was in sore straits. Let us not forget the sound policy which prevailed in 1870 when our Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish, during the Franco-Prussian War, wired to Bancroft, our minister to Prussia, these significant words:

"Washburne telegraphs that France requests United States to join other powers in effort for peace. Uniform policy and true interests of United States not to join European Powers in interference in European questions.

"Let us apply the words of President Lincoln to our own countrymen. Let us follow his lead, and let us frown on every effort to persuade President Wilson 'to mediate or to advise, or even to solicit or persuade' the entente allies in direct contravention of our own indignant protest in the days when Europe was at peace and the United States was at war."

United States Business After the War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY T. RAINEY,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 19, 1916.

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article appearing in the Chicago Herald of Sunday, December 3, and written by Mr. James Keeley, the editor, on United States business after the war.

The article is as follows:

UNITED STATES BUSINESS AFTER THE WAR.

[By James Keeley.]

LONDON, *December 2.*

Before I left Chicago I was asked by a number of leading business men to make an investigation as to the business conditions that would be likely to obtain between the United States and the allies, and more particularly England, after the war is over.

During the last week I have put that question to four members of the British Government, to some of England's leading bankers and financial men with tremendous interests in America, to three editors of London daily newspapers, to the presiding genius of the best-known weekly journal in England, to at least 50 business men whose spheres of activity are circumscribed only by the populated areas of the earth, to various minor officials connected with governmental departments that are directly concerned; in fact, to every man with whom I have come in contact since Monday morning. I have worked steadily as an interrogation point from that moment until now.

HOW BRITAIN VIEWS TALK OF TRADE WAR WITH AMERICA.

The only answer I have received is: "Who knows what is going to happen after the war is over? We are as much in the dark as to that as we are regarding the date of the end of the war."

Then I asked question No. 2: "Did the Paris conference mean that after the restoration of peace there will follow a trade war in which the hands of the allies will be raised not only against their enemies but all other commercial competitors, with America singled out for special attention in this direction?"

Lloyd-George, minister of war, epitomized the official point of view when he said to me:

"Such an idea never entered anybody's mind. It is absurd. The idea that Great Britain could live without America, that Great Britain, with its seabound position and its configuration of coast, its river mouths and estuaries, could lock both the back and the front doors is the notion of a maniac."

PARIS AGREEMENT IS AIMED ONLY AGAINST THE GERMANS.

Neither Mr. Runciman, president of the board of trade; Mr. McKenna, the financial head of the Government; nor Viscount Grey would talk for publication, but I am violating no confidence when I say that they share Lloyd-George's views. It was pointed out that at the Paris conference the deliberations were aimed only at Germany.

Premier Asquith has made one official statement on the subject. He said:

"It has been suggested in neutral countries that we allies have a sinister design after the war is over to combine against them and build up an impenetrable stone wall against their trade. That is childish fiction, for, if it were true, it would mean that we, one and all, were bent on economic suicide. When the time for peace comes, nothing will be more essential to the allies from the standpoint of simple self-interest than to establish and maintain the best industrial and financial relations with all neutral powers."

NO HOSTILE ACTION AIMED AT AMERICAN COMMERCE.

As far as it is possible to judge from the various extended and frank conversations I have had, I think it is fair to assume that if one may speculate on a future problem based on conditions that may change

at any moment, there is absolutely no disposition here to take any action of any kind against American business or commerce when the European slaughter pen has closed.

I have heard nothing, read nothing, seen nothing that gives the faintest support to the theory that because America has kept out of the bloody struggle, because all the gold of the world is flowing westward, there will be any organized effort to punish us in the world's markets.

Many of my interviews took place during the early part of the week, and before the Federal Reserve Board issued its sensational statement advising American banks, in the interest of liquidity of their assets, against the purchase of the short-term paper of the allies. Within the last 48 hours there has developed, to put it mildly, a critical tone and considerable comment.

Some of the London papers are extremely bitter. One member of the Federal Reserve Board is the principal subject of suspicion.

"Bluntly speaking," said one influential banker, "this action is in effect a suggestion to American business men not to sell their goods to us and the other allies, because our credit is not good. It is a perfectly unjustified attack upon the financial standing of solvent nations."

RESERVE BOARD'S RULING IS CALLED AN EMBARGO.

Another man, who because of the public position he occupies could not permit the use of his name, went even further.

"It is an actual embargo," said he. "Call it what you will, that's what it amounts to."

The feeling in England, however, is mild compared with the emotions aroused in France.

To France America has poured out her heart, her sympathy, and her charity. Young America has flown for her and fought her battles in the sky. Our doctors have toiled day and night saving the lives and limbs of French soldiers. Dr. Carrel, from his wonderful store of knowledge and skill, has developed a wonderful life-saving and limb-preserving method of treating wounds, a description of which has been or will be forwarded by John Bass, war correspondent of the Chicago Daily News. American lads have driven ambulances over roads sprinkled with the victims of sudden death. American nurses have tended the sick, comforted the dying. American love, American sympathy, and American charity have performed a noble part in ministering to the stricken of a sister Republic.

FRANCE STUNNED BY BLOW FROM SISTER REPUBLIC.

Knowing all these things, France can not understand the fact and is stunned by the action of the Federal Reserve Board. Why its financial honor, its commercial credit should be stabbed to the vitals is to France incomprehensible. France is astonished and grieved.

I met in London to-day a French official with whom I had several pleasant visits in Paris. There our conversation was of American generosity and American aid. To-day—well, listen to what he said. The utterances that he poured out were emphasized and dramatized by his deep emotion and feeling.

"Why is your Nation doing this thing to my nation; why this assault on democracy, fighting for its life and for democracy, by the greatest democracy of the world? We are shedding our blood, our most precious young blood, freely and copiously, and at this critical moment in the struggle your country, in effect, refuses to sell to us the things we need to preserve our existence, our very life.

"HELPING HESSIANS CRUSH OUR FIRST FRIEND AND ALLY."

"When England was trying to oppress you with the aid of hired Hessians, the peasants of France under Lafayette came to your assistance. They fought with you and for you; they died for you. To-day, in our hour of stress, it is unkind, unjust, and most ungrateful for you to help the descendants of those Hessians to impose the same military tyranny on us from which we helped you to escape.

"France can not understand it."

At this distance, with only the most meager cable reports before me, I can not pretend to pass on the justness or unjustness of the action of our reserve board. But, as a reporter, it is my duty to let the readers of the Herald know the feeling that exists, a feeling that may be pregnant with possibility for the future.

POINTS TO DANGEROUS POSSIBILITIES IF EMBARGO IS PLACED.

Reverting to the London banker quoted above as to the action of the Federal Reserve Board, our conversation drifted to the various attempts made in America to impose an embargo on the exportation of munitions and the possibility of an attempt to revive the project as part of a plan to end the war.

"I wonder," said this banker, "if the advocates of the plan ever considered the possibility that European purchasers of ammunition might refuse payment, if ammunition contracts were unfilled, and the effect on the banks that have loaned money and the attendant train of bankruptcy and ruin and unemployment that would follow in the wake."

The possibility of a food embargo by the United States is not regarded seriously. It is admitted that such an embargo might prove embarrassing in time, but it is not thought possible that America will take such action.

I discussed this subject last evening with a cabinet minister. He was curious as to just exactly what foodstuffs might be prohibited.

"Not wheat," he said. "You have no surplus wheat, and we are not buying any from you."

"But," said I, "in the event of an embargo and in the event that we have a surplus of wheat next year, how would you regard an embargo?"

I can not give his answer, but a fair inference is that such action on the part of America, no matter how just or necessary it might be from the American point of view, would not be forgotten when the war is over and the question of trade relationships came up for discussion.

"We expect an enemy to try to starve us out," said another prominent man, "but for a friend to do so would hurt. A nation will forgive and forget many things, but starvation is hard to efface from the memory."

In what state the business world will be when the rivers of blood are dammed no one should hazard a concrete prophecy. Here in London there are optimists and pessimists. One man sees a financial debacle, with all nations, belligerents and neutrals alike, bearing equal shares of the burden. Others—and here again I may quote Lloyd-George—see no possibility of disaster: "For we have the land, the source of everything, and with that there can be no real or lasting trouble for any nation."

AMERICA MUST BE PREPARED FOR SHARP COMPETITION.

As matters stand, America will have no official hurdles placed in her way in the battle for trade when peace resumes her sway. But the business men of the United States may as well realize right now that they will have, and must make all necessary preparations for, much sharper competition from England. There is a new and more alert hand at the industrial lever; there is a keener brain directing production. Sloth, or what has been regarded as sloth, in mill and factory has disappeared. The ambition of the English manufacturer and the English workman has been sharpened on a German grindstone. There is a new and keener cutting edge and English trade will follow the English flag. It will invade other lands with a vigor that is going to shock with surprise all England's commercial competitors.

In this campaign the British business man is going to have the whole-hearted support of the National Government even to the violation of Great Britain's rock-ribbed policy of free trade. Mr. Runciman, president of the board of trade, has said that the Government fully appreciates the importance of preserving and extending British trade in neutral markets, particularly with reference to "certain important branches of British industry, after the war."

Mr. McKenna, addressing a conference of business men a short time ago, declared:

"We have already shown that we are prepared to give the assistance of the Government to the development of our foreign trade in order to insure that those rivals who are now our bitter enemies shall not have control of the foreign trade which they have enjoyed in the past."

At this meeting the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That this association is of the opinion that, with the object of maintaining and increasing our trade after the conclusion of the war, it is desirable that provision be made—

(A) For preferential, reciprocal trading relations between all parts of the British Empire.

(B) For reciprocal trading relations between the British Empire and the allied countries.

(C) For the favorable treatment of neutral countries.

(D) For restricting by tariffs and otherwise our trade relations with all enemy countries so as to render dumping and the return of pre-war conditions impossible, and for the stimulating and developing of home manufactures and a consequent increased employment of native labor.

These resolutions, of course, do not represent the considered, determined opinion of all England. No such radical departure from precedent can come without a full expression by the electorate. But they do represent a decidedly growing tendency.

Free trade is not going to be abandoned, but it is a safe assumption that a protective tariff in some form or other is going to be a part of England's future fiscal policy. Whether it will take the form of graded tariffs, as suggested in the foregoing resolution, or whether duties will be put on only to foster new industries, or what we term in America "infant industries," the future will reveal.

DYE INDUSTRY TO RECEIVE BENEFIT OF PROTECTION.

One new trade that is certain to secure this adventitious aid is the dye industry. The discovery of aniline dyes was made by an Englishman. With the discovery English effort stopped. German chemists developed the discovery, and when the war came the dye business of the world was in German hands.

By Government subvention a firm of British manufacturers two years ago started to make dyes. The new concern has been successful. It has announced the manufacture of a blue dye which German chemists said it would take 10 years to make, and it promises shortly to put other important colors on the market. The English dye industry is not expected for years after the war ends to be able to compete with German dyes. So it is no secret that a protective tariff will be imposed on some German dyes until such time as the English dye manufacturers are able to compete on equal terms.

The helping hand that will be held out to the dyemakers will not be withheld from other businesses in a similar state of development.

One curious fact about the growth of tariff reform, as they call it over here, is the fact that trades-unions, that were adamant against any interference with free trade, are split over the question now, and 25 per cent of the labor members of Parliament are in favor of the proposed radical departure.

WAR REVIVING BRITAIN AS GIANT OF FOREIGN TRADE.

The conclusion I have reached as to the keenness of future competition between American and English manufactures was given added weight by the investigations during the last 10 weeks of William Hard, the well-known American magazine writer, who is writing an authoritative series of articles for the Metropolitan Magazine and the Chicago Herald on this highly important subject. Mr. Hard said to me to-day:

"The general conclusion I have come to is this: The war in the long run is going to send Great Britain up and is going to send it up very fast and very far, not down at all, as a competitor of the United States for trade in South America and everywhere else throughout the world. Before the war we had two big competitors—Great Britain and Germany. Germany was a new fire, blazing all over. Great Britain was an old fire, with cooling embers and streaks of ashes. This war is making Great Britain into a new fire, too.

"I see new American machines all over Great Britain. I also see something a great deal more important than new American machines, and that is new American ideas, ideas about the layout of machines in the factory room, ideas about the using of unskilled labor efficiently by planning all the work out beforehand in the brains of staff specialists; ideas, in short, of scientific management. I have met young engineers in Scotch shipyards who were filled to the teeth with the writings of Frederick Taylor and Harrington Emerson and all our other important American efficiency engineers. They are building warships at a speed that would make Josephus Daniels say, 'It can't be done.'

BRITAIN IMPORTING BRAINS FROM THE UNITED STATES.

"At the end of the war the British will still have all their own ideas, which, after all, made London the world's biggest business center, and, in addition, they will have American ideas as well. We are importing cash from them. They are importing brains from us.

"An American business man, in business in England as well as in the United States, said the other day: 'When this thing is over these people are going to have what they never had before—a numerous race of expert business managers of the scientific sort.'

"But that is only one part of the story. The British are also going to have a combination of science, capital, government, and labor that

we never had. The British Government is now in business on its own account on a large scale, not merely as an adviser to business, like our Government. The British Government is now itself a business concern, with railroads, coal mines, and large numbers of factories and shipyards under its own control. It has learned business at first hand. At the end of the war it will sit at the head of the council table to decide future British business at large and sit there with real knowledge.

FIRST UNION OF ALL THE PEOPLE FOR BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT.

"And labor will sit there, too, in a sense in which it has never sat there before. The Government has given its word to labor that working conditions in British factories after the war will be put back just where they were from the standpoint of labor before the war. But everybody, including the labor leaders, knows that this is impossible. You can't take all these hundreds of thousands of new labor-saving machines and throw them away. Therefore, some new deal must be made. The pledge to labor has to be redeemed, but redeemed in a different way. Labor can not be given the thing it was promised. It has to be given something else. That is, labor has to be admitted to the council table and some kind of bargain must be driven with it, bringing it into harmony with Great Britain's new national efficiency purposes.

AMERICAN TRADE AFTER WAR ENTIRELY UP TO AMERICA.

"This simply means that the mass of the people for the first time in any country will send their representatives to the national conferences, the purpose of which will be to unite the Government and the capitalists and the new race of expert, scientific business managers and the leaders of the trades unions in a national scheme for national prosperity and national trade progress at home and abroad."

Mr. Hard has judged the situation expertly, and as no such combination of national forces is in prospect in the United States the greatest lesson I can see over here is that these European belligerent countries, unless we act quickly, will be ahead of us instead of behind us in organized national industrial strength.

To sum up, American trade after the war is in the hands of America.

Bureau of Animal Industry.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM W. WILSON,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 19, 1916.

Mr. WILSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following statement:

The Lobeck bill, H. R. 16060, is now before the House on Union Calendar 258, and should be enacted into law during the present session. The call on the Union Calendar now rests with the Committee on Agriculture, by which committee the bill was favorably reported. The bill provides a uniform and equitable salary schedule for veterinary inspectors and lay inspectors. The merits of this measure were fully set forth in the hearings held before the House Committee on Agriculture on April 20–21, 1914, on the Lobeck bill, H. R. 9292, and in the hearings held before the same committee on March 28–29, 1916, on the Lobeck bill, H. R. 5792. The bill was reported to the House on June 8, 1916, and a copy of the bill and copy of report No. 810 appear on pages 14377, 14378, and 14379 of the daily CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 9, 1916.

This legislation has been indorsed by a large number of boards of trade, chambers of commerce, and other similar bodies, reference to said indorsements being made in the hearings.

The following statistics are compiled from the statements of 483 men—veterinary inspectors and lay inspectors—located at the various packing centers throughout the country and districts where field work is being performed. They are employed by the Bureau of Animal Industry, United States Department of Agriculture. The men who have made these statements are the men affected by H. R. 16060:

From statements of lay inspectors, grade 1, who entered service at $720.

Entrance salary, $720 per annum.

First promotions: Three after 1 year's service, 13 after 2 years' service, 7 after 3 years' service, 2 after 4 years' service, 1 after 5 years' service, 1 after 11 years' service, 1 after 12 years' service, and 1 after 15 years' service.

Second promotions: One after 2 years' service, 1 after 3 years' service, 1 after 4 years' service, 11 after 5 years' service, 3 after 6 years' service, 3 after 7 years' service, 2 after 8 years' service, 2 after 9 years' service, 1 after 10 years' service, and 1 after 11 years' service.

Third promotions: One after 5 years' service, 2 after 6 years' service, 12 after 7 years' service, 2 after 8 years' service, and 2 after 10 years' service.

No promotions: One after 12 years' service.

Present salaries of lay inspectors, grade 1: Two at $720 per annum, 1 at $840 per annum, 2 at $900 per annum, 18 at $1,000 per annum, and 5 at $1,100 per annum.

From statements of lay inspectors, grade 1, who entered service at $840 per annum.

Entrance salary, $840 per annum.

First promotions: One after 1 year's service, 3 after 2 years' service, 14 after 3 years' service, 14 after 4 years' service, 3 after 5 years' service, and 2 after 6 years' service.

Second promotions: Three after 5 years' service, 2 after 6 years' service, and 2 after 7 years' service.

Third promotions: One after 7 years' service.

No promotions: Fifty-six men after 1 year or less service, 39 men after 1 to 2 years' service, 12 men after 2 to 3 years' service, 1 man after 4 years' service, and 1 man after 8 years' service.

Present salaries of lay inspectors, grade 1: Eighty-two at $840 per annum, 1 at $960 per annum, 36 at $1,000 per annum, and 1 at $1,100 per annum.

Five men entered the service at $900 per annum: One received first promotion after 12 years' service, 1 received first promotion after 16 years' service, 2 received first promotion after 18 years' service, and 1 received first promotion after 21 years' service.

They record their present salary in each case at $900 per annum.

Length of service since last promotion: Eighty-seven men 1 year or less, 58 men 1 to 2 years, 25 men 2 to 3 years, 1 man 3 to 4 years, 1 man 5 years, 4 men 7 to 8 years, 1 man 9 years, and 1 man 10 years.

Injuries sustained by lay inspectors, grade 1, for which the nature of their work was directly responsible. Certain of these cases are later described in detail.

General injuries, including sprains, abrasions, painful falls, etc., 11; injured by scalding, 3 men; sustained broken arm, 2 men; sustained broken leg, 2 men; serious cuts, 2 men; and broken ribs, 1 man.

Illness sustained by lay inspectors, grade 1, for which the nature of their work was directly responsible: Pneumonia, 1 man; pleurisy, 1 man; rheumatism, 3 men; tuberculosis, 2 men; nervous trouble, 3 men; and hernia, 1 man. Eight have not fully recovered.

Money loss: In many cases a record has not been kept of the money loss. The amounts recorded, however, range from $10 to $640, showing a total of $2,125.66. It would be impossible, of course, to record their suffering or their mental perturbation during period immediately following the injury.

One hundred lay inspectors, grade 1, made a statement as to their hours of labor. The lowest number of hours stated for a day's work was 7 and the highest 15 hours.

Hours of labor: One works 7 to 8 hours a day, 29 work 8 to 9 hours a day, 2 work 8 to 10 hours a day, 2 work 8 to 11 hours a day, 3 work 1 to 12 hours a day, 22 work 9 to 10 hours a day, 2 work 9 to 11 hours a day, 1 works 9 to 12 hours a day, 26 work 10 to 11 hours a day, 1 works 10 to 12 hours a day, 3 work 11 to 12 hours a day, 4 work 8 to 12 hours a day, 3 work 8 to 14 hours a day, and 1 works 8 to 15 hours a day.

Sunday work: Fifty lay inspectors, grade 1, state that they are called upon to work occasionally on Sundays.

Four have stated that they have received compensatory time on other days of the week for this labor.

Holiday work: Fifty-seven lay inspectors, grade 1, have stated that they work nearly every holiday.

Denied annual leave: One man in 1908, 1 man in 1913, 9 men in 1914, 9 men in 1915, and 3 men in 1916.

The reasons attributed to the loss of annual leave, which ranges from 1 to 15 days, the maximum time allowed to men in this bureau outside of Washington, was that the exigencies of the service made the granting of the leave denied impossible.

From statements of lay inspectors, grade 2, who entered the service at $720, $840, $900, and $1,000 per annum.

First promotions: Six after 1 year's service, 16 after 2 years' service, 17 after 3 years' service, 21 after 4 years' service, 40 after 5 years' service, 29 after 6 years' service, 21 after 7 years' service, 6 after 8 years' service, 2 after 9 years' service, 1 after 10 years' service, 1 after 11 years' service, and 2 after 13 years' service.

Second promotions: One after 2 years' service, 4 after 3 years' service, 2 after 4 years' service, 8 after 5 years' service, 8 after 6 years' service, 8 after 7 years' service, 5 after 8 years' service, 3 after 10 years service, 1 after 13 years' service, and 1 after 20 years' service.

Third promotions: Two after 6 years' service, 5 after 7 years' service, 2 after 9 years' service, 1 after 11 years' service, 4 after 12 years' service, 1 after 14 years' service, and 1 after 15 years' service.

No promotions: Three after 2 years' service, 4 after 3 years' service, 4 after 4 years' service, 1 after 5 years' service, 1 after 6 years' service, and 1 after 10 years' service.

Length of service since last promotion: Fifteen men 1 year or less, 41 men 1 to 2 years, 72 men 2 to 3 years, 13 men 3 to 4 years, 33 men 4 to 5 years, 7 men 5 to 6 years, 3 men 6 to 7 years, 1 man 7 to 8 years, 1 man 8 to 9 years, and 3 men 9 to 10 years.

Present salaries of lay inspectors, grade 2: Twenty-three men $1,000 per annum, 2 men $1,100 per annum, 150 men $1,200 per annum, 6 men $1,320 per annum, and 3 men $1,400 per annum.

Injuries sustained by lay inspectors, grade 2, for which the nature of their work was directly responsible. Certain of these cases are later described in detail.

General injuries, including sprains, abrasions, painfull falls, etc., 11; broken legs, 5; cuts, 2; hernia, 5.

Illness sustained by lay inspectors, grade 2, for which the nature of their work was directly responsible: Pneumonia, 1; rheumatism, 9; tuberculosis, 2; infections, 7; serious colds, 2. Twenty have not fully recovered.

Money loss: In many cases a record has not been kept of the money loss. The amounts recorded, however, range from $2 to $2,212, showing a total of $5,423.83. It will be impossible, of course, to record their mental perturbation during period immediately following the injury.

One hundred and ten lay inspectors, grade 2, made a statement as to their hours of labor. The lowest number of hours stated for a day's work was 8 and the highest 14 hours.

Hours of labor: Nineteen work 8 to 9 hours a day, 10 work 8 to 10 hours a day, 3 work 8 to 11 hours a day, 3 work 8 to 12 hours a day, 40 work 9 to 10 hours a day, 4 work 9 to 11 hours a day, 1 works 9 to 12 hours a day, 24 work 10 to 11 hours a day, 5 work 11 hours a day, and 1 works 14 hours a day.

Sunday work: Fifty-seven lay inspectors, grade 2, have stated that they are called upon to work occasionally on Sundays. Eight have stated that they have received compensatory time for this labor.

Holiday work: Seventy-four lay inspectors, grade 2, have stated that they work nearly every holiday.

Denied annual leave: Ten men in 1914, 4 men in 1915, and 4 men no year stated.

The reasons attributed to the loss of annual leave, which range from 1 day to 15 days, the maximum time allowed to men of this bureau outside of Washington, was that the exigencies of the service made the granting of the leave impossible.

From statements of veterinarians who entered service at $1,400 per annum.

Entrance salary, $1,400 per annum:

First promotions: Seven after 1 year's service, 8 after 2 years' service, 22 after 3 years' service, 20 after 4 years' service, 20 after 5

years' service, 2 after 6 years' service, 1 after 7 years' service, and 2 after 8 years' service.

Second promotions: One after 1 year's service, 1 after 2 years' service, 3 after 3 years' service, 2 after 4 years' service, 4 after 5 years' service, 11 after 6 years' service, 8 after 7 years' service, 13 after 8 years' service, 13 after 9 years' service, and 1 after 10 years' service.

Third promotions: Two after 6 years' service, 3 after 7 years' service, 4 after 8 years' service, 1 after 9 years' service, and 1 after 10 years' service.

No promotions: Twenty-four after 1 year's service, 28 after 2 years' service, 12 after 3 years' service, 3 after 4 years' service, 1 after 5 years' service, 1 after 9 years' service, and 1 after 10 years' service.

Length of service since last promotions: Forty-nine men 1 year or less, 42 men 1 to 2 years, 17 men 2 to 3 years, 9 men 3 to 4 years, 2 men 5 to 6 years, 2 men 6 to 7 years, 2 men 7 to 9 years, 4 men 9 to 10 years, and 3 men 10 to 11 years.

Present salaries: Sixty-nine men, at $1,400 per annum; 2 men, at $1,600 per annum; 16 men, at $1,620 per annum; 1 man, at $1,635 per annum; 1 man at $1,680 per annum; 1 man, at $1,700 per annum; 2 men, at $1,740 per annum; 40 men, at $1,800 per annum; 4 men, at $1,900 per annum; 1 man, at $1,920 per annum; 2 men, at $1,980 per annum; 2 men, at $2,000 per annum; 1 man, at $2,040 per annum; 1 man, at $2,220 per annum; 1 man, at $2,250 per annum; 1 man, at $2,520 per annum.

Injuries sustained by veterinarians, for which the nature of their work was directly responsible. Certain of these cases are later described in detail.

General injuries, including sprains, abrasions, painful falls, etc., 9; broken leg, 4; broken arm, 2; broken bones, 2; cuts, 16; and hernia, 3.

Illness sustained by veterinarians, for which the nature of their work was directly responsible: Pneumonia and pleurisy, 3; rheumatism, 8; tuberculosis, 1; infections, 7; nervous troubles, 1; colds, 1; and typhoid fever, 1. Eighteen have not fully recovered.

Money loss: In many cases a record has not been kept of the money loss. The amounts recorded, however, range from $3 to $1,300, showing a total of $3,645.50. It would be impossible, of course, to record their suffering or their mental perturbation during period immediately following the injury.

Seventy-one veterinarians made a statement as to their hours of labor. The lowest number of hours stated for a day's work was 6 and the highest 13 hours. One works 6 to 7 hours a day, 1 works 7 to 8 hours a day, 1 works 7 to 10 hours a day, 1 works 8 to 9 hours a day, and 1 works 8 to 10 hours a day.

Sunday work: Forty-three veterinarians state that they are called upon to work occasionally on Sundays. Three have stated that they have received compensatory time on other days of the week for this labor.

Holiday work: Fifty-six veterinarians have stated that they work nearly every holiday.

Denied annual leave: Two men in 1913, 10 men in 1914, 6 men in 1915, 3 men in 1916, and 12 men no year stated.

The reasons attributed to the loss of annual leave, which range from 1 to 15 days, the maximum time allowed to men of this bureau outside of Washington, was that the exigencies of the service made the granting of the leave impossible.

SERIOUS ILLNESS OF EMPLOYEES CONTRACTED IN LINE OF DUTY.

Case No. 1: Two employees were assigned to duty in the malarial districts of North Carolina. Both contracted malaria, and aside from their suffering, spent $50 and $25, respectively, securing relief.

Case No. 2: Employee assigned to dourine eradication cut his hand while performing an operation, severing dorsal digital artery and superficial and deep digital nerve. Result: Circulation impaired, innervation not restored.

Case No. 3: An employee assigned to slaughterhouse work was painfully injured by pulley flying off of motor shaft, striking him in the leg. Result: Lame and pain in injured leg.

Case No. 4: Employee assigned to slaughterhouse work scalded leg after slipping on cover of greasy tank. Result: Suffered for 15 days.

Case No. 5: Employee assigned to packing-house work fell and broke leg on slippery stairway. Result: Suffered for three months and five days, has severe pains and lameness at present, and suffered a financial loss of $276.55.

Case No. 6: Employee assigned to slaughterhouse work sustained injury to left forearm when a 180-pound hog fell from rail because of defective switch. Result: Loss of three months' pay and inability to play violin, formerly great source of pleasure.

Case No. 7: Employee assigned to slaughterhouse work fell on slippery floor and ran knife through his hand. Result: Sensory nerves in two fingers severed, leaving paralysis.

Case No. 8: Employee assigned to packing-house work fell on slippery stairs and fractured ankle. Result: Seven weeks' loss of pay and slight lameness.

Case No. 9: Employee assigned to slaughterhouse work was injured on the head when a beef carcass fell from the rear. Result: Thirteen days of inability and money loss of $20.

Case No. 10: Employee assigned to slaughterhouse work sustained cut on left hand; blood poisoning developed. Result: Partial paralysis and atrophy, two weeks of inability, and money loss of $15.

Case No. 11: Employee assigned to foot-and-mouth disease sustained a broken rib when attempting to hold a steer for examination. Nature of work made it necessary for him to continue, injured though he was. Result: Continuous and frequent pains, due to chronic inflammation of pleura, and money loss of $20 at time of accident.

Case No. 12: Employee assigned to live-stock inspection suffered death because of a massacre which occurred at Columbus, N. Mex., where he was working.

The above cases are just a few taken at random of those recorded and show the dangerous condition surrounding the bureau men in their work. No compensation was granted because of these injuries. It is not especially because of lack of compensation that we call attention to them, however, but more particularly to show the dangers that can not be separated from the work that these men are doing.

ILLNESS.

If all of the cases were recorded that are directly traceable to the work the bureau men are doing, ranging from three or four days to several months, they would number in the thousands. Rheumatism, severe colds, and la grippe, pneumonia, various inflammations resulting from cuts are occasioned and aggravated by drafty rooms and extreme differences in temperature of the rooms of the establishments where these employees are obliged to work.

HOURS OF DUTY.

Case No. 1: An employee assigned to slaughterhouse work states that at the present time he is on duty 10, 12, and 13 hours a day. He says that he has been on duty from 2.30 a. m. to 7 p. m., with 30 minutes for breakfast and 30 minutes for dinner.

Case No. 2: An employee assigned to packing-house work states that it is the custom of the packers in St. Paul to work their employees not over 45 hours a week. At this same station, he says, the hours of the bureau employee for nine months in the year range from 55 to 75 hours a week, and not less than 45 hours a week for the other three months.

Numerous similar statements have been submitted from different parts of the country.

RESIGNATIONS AND COMPARATIVE SALARIES.

At Chicago 25 resignations have been recorded since May 1, 1916. The new positions accepted by the ex-employees show an increase over the Government salary ranging from 25 to 100 per cent.

Between October, 1912, and April, 1914, approximately 290 employees resigned from the bureau to better their positions.

At Sioux Falls, S. Dak., the following resignations are recorded:

R. R. Laird, veterinary inspector.
G. E. Golden, veterinary inspector.
R. W. Falk, veterinary inspector.

Recently resigned to accept positions, showing respective increases in salary as follows: 33 per cent, 55 per cent, and 110 per cent.

Mr. Joseph Lehner states that he entered the employ of the Worcester Rendering Co. in 1909, since that time his salary has been increased 100 per cent.

Mr. Andrew P. Farrel entered the service of the Government the same year and has been stationed at the same rendering house. Mr. Farrel's salary has been increased during this time but 19 per cent.

The following are 27 resignations taken at random from statements submitted, showing Government salary at time of resignation and salary or earnings in new position, based on percentage:

Name.	Government salary.	Percentage of increase.
Bud M. Hall	$840	42⅞
Emil Pohl	1,800	33⅓
W. J. Halderman	1,000	20
Geo. Walker	840	78⅝
Henry S. Thompson	840	66⅔
Dr. E. C. Rouche	1,800	66⅔
F. Cooper	840	1,000⅛
John Kennedy	1,400	185⅞
Dr. J. Predmore	1,600	56¼
J. L. Barstow	1,400	42⅞
G. J. Toubrand	1,400	78⅝
J. F. McCartney	1,600	50
Dr. J. J. Hayes	1,900	57⅛
A. Silkman	1,800	33⅓
O. E. Lindberg	1,700	41⅛
Wm. B. Day	1,600	275
Jos. H. Kitzhofer	1,000	40
Wm. R. Laird	1,800	33⅓
Jas. A. White	840	42⅞
J. D. Reardon	1,400	42⅞
Ora Espey	1,000	80
Geo. Laprell	1,000	100
E. E. Oldaker	1,600	56¼
H. S. Lyle	840	114⅜
O. R. Hanson	1,000	68
Henry Forrest	840	85⅞
M. B. Hurd	1,000	80

Statements with results summed up to the above might be extended to hundreds. The above are presented for the purpose of showing the relative value placed upon the services of these employees by the Government and the private employer.

The following is the comparative statement showing salaries paid to tradesmen in the Government employ at the Brooklyn Navy Yard and the rank and file of the employees of the Bureau of Animal Industry:

Lay inspectors, grade 1, $840 to $1,100; lay inspectors, grade 2, $1,000 to $1,200; veterinary inspectors, $1,400 to $1,800.

The employees of the Brooklyn Navy Yard are paid on a per diem basis, are allowed 30 days annual leave, and a half holiday during the three summer months. They earn annually the following amounts:

Divers, annually, $2,935; forgers, annually, $1,797; instrument makers, annually, $1,572; diesinkers, annually, $1,572; electricians, annually, $1,497; engine tenders, annually, $1,387; coppersmiths, annually, $1,297; calkers, annually, $1,248; boiler makers, annually, $1,248; boatbuilders, annually, $1,248; acetylene operators, annually, $1,098; chauffeurs, annually, $923; and holders (rivets), annually, $923.

The following salaries are paid to employees in the classified Customs Service, United States Treasury Department. These employees are laymen:

Class A, less than $720 per annum.
Class B, $720 or more and less than $840.
Class C, $840 or more and less than $900.
Class D, $900 or more and less than $1,000.
Class E, $1,000 or more and less than $1,200.
Class 1, $1,200 or more and less than $1,400.
Class 2, $1,400 or more and less than $1,600.
Class 3, $1,600 or more and less than $1,800.
Class 4, $1,800 or more and less than $2,000.
Class 5, $2,000 or more and less than $2,500.
Class 6, $2,500 or more.

The salaries listed below are paid the city and State employees at Salt Lake City, Utah, and in Utah, with the exception of the chief sanitary inspector, who is a layman and whose duties are about on a par with lay inspectors in the Bureau of Animal Industry. With these city and State inspectors are veterinary and medical inspectors conducting a private practice in connection with their official work.

Chief of city department of health, $3,600 per annum.
Assistant chief of city department of health, $2,400 per annum.
Chief of dairy and food division, $2,400 per annum.
Chief sanitary inspector, $2,400 per annum.

Similar salaries are paid for city and State service in various sections of the country.

Teachers of veterinary medicine in the following States are employed at salaries as indicated:

Alabama, $2,500; California, $1,900 and $2,200; Colorado, $1,000, $2,100, $2,000, $1,700, $1,800, and $1,700; Delaware, $2,000; Idaho, $800; Illinois, $2,500; Indiana, $2,400; Iowa, $2,200; Louisiana, $2,400; Maine, $1,700; Maryland, $1,800; Massachusetts, $2,620; Michigan, $1,766 and $1,600; Minnesota, $3,200 and $1,800; Missouri, $1,500, $3,000, and $500; Montana, $2,100; North Carolina, $2,000 and $1,300; North Dakota, $3,000, $2,000, and $2,000; Ohio, $3,000, $3,000, $2,750, $2,500, $1,900, and $1,600; Oregon, $1,000; South Carolina, $2,000; South Dakota, $2,280 and $900; Tennessee, $780; Texas, $2,500, $2,000, and $1,075; Utah, $1,200; Vermont, $2,000; Virginia, $2,300; Washington, $1,400, $1,600, $2,000, $1,700, and $1,500; West Virginia, $900; and Wisconsin, $3,266 and $2,450.

It is indicated by statements made by various employees that unless substantial increases are granted many resignations will result. These statements show that they will occur simply because of the duty they owe to themselves and their families, and not in any sense because of bitterness toward the bureau. Employees everywhere are refusing higher salaries than the bureau offers, believing the legislation will improve their condition.

One employee from one packing center writes as follows:

"For information would say that within the last week I have known of two packing-house employees that have refused to accept positions in our service on account of low salary."

This seems to be rather a departure from custom in the past and shows that even the entrance salary of the Government employee is not consistent with salary paid in private life.

Statement of employees on living expenses, etc.:

Case No. 1: An employee assigned to packing-house work at Kansas City writes as follows:

"I have a wife and two children. It has taken every dollar of my salary to pay expenses. I have been unable to save anything for emergencies. If any of my family or I get sick, I will have to borrow the money to pay the doctor."

Case No. 2: An employee working at $70 per month writes as follows:

"House rent, $10 per month; groceries and meats, $35 per month; insurance, $3.50 per month; clothing and shoes, $10 per month; fuel and light, $4 per month; doctor and medicine, $4 per month; car fare, $2.60 per month; total, $69.10."

It will be noted from the above that no provision is made for luncheons away from home, laundry bill, or other incidental expenses. No provision is made for pleasure.

Case No. 3: In order to show the loyalty and appreciation of the employee to the bureau, and in order to show that the bureau exerts itself to provide comfort and happiness for the men, as far as it is in a position to do so, we quote the following statement from J. E. Sprindler, veterinary inspector, located at Newport, Vt.

"Have no fault whatever to find with the bureau. I was getting in bad shape with rheumatism at Pittsburgh, Pa., when the bureau saved me by transferring me to Board of Work."

Case No. 4: An employee located at Kansas City submits the following:

Groceries and meats	$30.00
Rent per month	15.00
Insurance per month	3.00
Fuel and light per month	7.00
Car fare per month	2.60
Clothing	10.00
Water	.70
Total	68.30
Doctor and medicine	1.70
Salary (per month)	70.00

Case No. 5: An ex-lay inspector, grade 1, makes the following statement:

"As a married man, with wife and three children, I have been compelled to resign after almost three years' service in this bureau, because of the present insufficient salary.

"During this period I have found it impossible to properly support my family. The high cost of living has compelled me to go back to packing-house work, where living wages and better opportunities for advancement prevail than in this bureau at the present time.

"Below is a summary of my actual living expenses during October, 1916:

Coal	$8.50
Light	2.62
Rent	16.00
Groceries	29.80
Meats	7.25
Car fare	2.60
Medicine and doctor	4.70
Clothing	5.30
Total	76.77
Salary	70.00
In debt	6.77

"This is a very conservative estimate compared with former months when my doctor bills and medicine bills were much higher. I have been compelled to live in a section of the city unsuitable to the proper raising of my children, as you see I have been unable to afford my family the amusements and recreations due them."

Case No. 6: An employee located in Kansas City submits the following:

"My expenses for myself, wife, and three children for 30 days:

Groceries and meats	$35.00
Rent	15.00
Fuel and light	5.00
Car fare (to and from)	2.60
Insurance and taxes	5.00
Clothing and shoes	7.00
Doctor bills	------
Recreation	------
Total	69.60
Salary	70.00

Case No. 7: The following statement comes from Chicago:

"It cost Maurice Bernstein just $6.76 more to feed himself, his wife, and eight children last week than it cost him for the corresponding week in 1915, and the daily menu was practically the same—the same food, the same quality, and the same quantity, according to the family house book. The table shows the article, the price per article in 1915 and 1916, the total amount for each week of 1915 and 1916, and the corresponding cost:

Article.	Cost.			Cost for one week.		
	Unit.	1915	1916	Quantity.	1915	1916
Flour	Per 25-pound sack	$0.55	$1.25	3 sacks	$1.65	$3.75
Potatoes	Per peck	.12½	.60	3 pecks	.38	1.80
Sweet oil	Per bottle	.19	.23	3 bottles	.57	.69
Sugar	Per pound	.06	.08½	10 pounds	.60	.95
Butter	do	.36	.40	3 pounds	1.08	1.20
Coffee	do	.30	.30	1 pound	.30	.30
Cocoa	Per can	.25	.25	2 cans	.50	.50
Beans	Per pound	.06	.12	10 pounds	.60	1.20
Meat (average)	do	.12	.16	30 pounds	3.60	4.80
Cabbage	do	.03	.06	8 pounds	.24	.48
Tomatoes	do	.05	.08	21 pounds	1.05	1.68
Milk	Per quart	.08	.08	21 quarts	1.68	1.68
Oatmeal	Per package	.09	.10	1 package	.09	.10
Corn starch	do	.10	.12	do	.10	.12
Soap (washing)	Per bar	.05	.06	5 bars	.25	.30
Total					12.69	19.45

Case No. 8: A veterinary inspector from Kansas City submits the following statement:

"This is actual living expense as called to mind and does not include incidentals of small amounts, possibly amounting to $5, exclusive of clothes, etc., for wife and baby. I have failed to save a penny in three and a half years, outside of insurance fee:

House rent	$25.00
Light	1.00
Gas	1.00
Heat	4.00
Groceries, etc	40.00
Car fare	2.60
Insurance	4.50
Total	78.10

Case No. 9: An employee from Kansas City submits the following statement:

"Below is list of my actual living expenses for 30 days. My family consists of myself, wife, and two children, ages 7 and 11, respectively:

Groceries and meats	$34.00
Fuel and light	8.50
Street car fare	2.60
Insurance	4.60
Taxes ($50.16 per year)	4.18
Payment on home	11.66
Interest on mortgage on home	3.26
Clothing and shoes	8.00
Total	76.80
Sickness and amusements, etc	7.03

Case No. 11: An employee stationed at Columbus, Ohio, makes the following statement:

"I would say that I find that most any kind of work that requires the same intelligence commands much higher compensation than lay inspectors are paid. The State of Ohio pays $100 per month for the same kind of work that we are paid for performing. I am a married man and I find it almost impossible to live on $70 per month and live in respectable quarters, especially with the present high cost of living. I have to pay $20 per month for a house to live in. After paying grocery bill and other expenses I don't have much left to live on for the next 30 days, until pay day."

Case No. 12: An employee stationed at Rochester, N. Y., lay inspector in charge of station, makes the following statement:

"Living expenses in Rochester, N. Y., are the third highest of any city in the United States.

"I consider that, taking into account the increase in the cost of living expense, my salary is not relatively as large as when first appointed at $720 per annum, on October 1, 1904. Present salary, $1,320."

Case No. 13: Statement of lay inspector located at Cleveland, Ohio:

"During my five years of service in the Bureau of Animal Industry the promotion given me was less than 20 per cent, while living expenses have increased 40 per cent."

Case No. 14: Statement of lay inspector, grade 2, stationed at St. Louis, Mo.:

"My living expenses have greatly increased in the past several months."

Case No. 15: A veterinary inspector located at St. Louis, Mo., writes as follows:

"In last two years living expenses have increased approximately one-third or more."

Case No. 16: A lay inspector, grade 2, located at St. Louis, Mo., makes the following statement:

"Cost of living is 33 per cent higher now than when I was last promoted. It costs even more to live in the West than in New York. Why can't we get more money? Myself and my family can hardly live on $100 per month now."

Case No. 17: Lay inspector, grade 1, located at Sioux City, Iowa, submits the following:

"My titles have been tagger, night patrol, skilled laborer, inspector's assistant, lay inspector, grade 1, and I passed stock-examiner examination. Usually when I am due for a raise in salary I get a change in title, to offset the high cost of living, as a promotion."

Case No. 18: Lay inspector, grade 1, located at Wheeling, W. Va., submits the following statement:

"In regard to living expenses, I give here a list of a few necessaries and the advance in price within the last year:

Supply.	1915	1916
Flour	$3.40 per hundredweight	$5.40
Sugar	$6.80 per hundredweight	8.80
Potatoes	80 cents per bushel	2.00
Turnips	60 cents per bushel	1.40
Cabbage	3 cents per pound	.07
Apples	60 cents per bushel	1.00
Butter	30 cents per pound	.40
Oleo	25 cents per pound	.30
Milk	8 cents per quart	.10
House rent	$13 per month	16.00

[1]Same house.

The above shows the increase has been approximately 43 per cent. All kinds of dry goods from 15 per cent to 25 per cent increase, and in some cases more. The above is a small list of necessaries and does not include all kinds of groceries and meats, all of which have advanced in price.

Case No. 19: To show the condition existing in some of the smaller isolated points we respectfully submit the following statement from veterinary inspector located at Bisbee, Ariz.:

"A raise in salary of $300 per year was given me to defray expenses of keeping a horse, which I am to furnish, as no means of public travel is available to abattoir. This is 3 miles from Bisbee.

"It costs $30 per month to stable a horse here, as this is not an agricultural territory. Living expenses, rent, water, light and gas run very high. Upon transfer here from Kansas City I had to sell my furniture, as I could rent no house here. Bisbee is very congested with people, on account of high wages paid here. This is a one-man station, and it keeps me very busy. Putting in 10 hours every day. Ante-mortem inspection is associated with great danger, as mostly wild range cattle are slaughtered here. Bisbee is not a desirable place to live; it is a barren mountain region; practically no diversion here."

Wages paid in Bisbee, Ariz.

Class.	Monthly scale.	Daily scale.
Miners		$5.50
Muckers		5.35
Common laborers		3.00
Truck drivers	$100	
Butchers		5.00
Meat cutters	110	
Bookkeepers	110	
Carpenters		6.00
Bricklayers		7.00
Painters		5.00

"All the above work eight hours a day; overtime is one and one-half times the above; Sundays double time. Houses rent at $40 to $60 per month; nothing fancy about them, either. My gas bill for cooking purposes last month was $4.50. Water is at $2.50 per 1,000 gallons. Foodstuffs are very high, as everything is shipped from long distances. Eggs are 75 cents per dozen; other things in proportion. We practice great economy.

"It takes nearly all my salary to live. Several times I have been tempted to quit the service and go to work as a carpenter here. The possible passage of the Lobeck bill is the only thing that keeps me from doing so."

Case No. 20: Lay inspector, grade 1, stationed at St. Paul, Minn., writes:

"Although my wife's health is poor it has become necessary, on account of the present cost of living, for her to work in order that we may live decently and comfortably, as $840 per annum is insufficient."

Case No. 21: Lay inspector, grade 1, stationed at St. Paul, Minn., submits as follows:

"I support a family of four children, and find it almost impossible to do so, on $840 per annum, in a way that would be doing justice to them. They don't get what they are entitled to."

Case No. 22: Lay inspector, grade 1, stationed at Cleveland, Ohio, says:

"I expected to be promoted to $1,000 per annum in April, 1910, and to $1,200 per annum in April, 1913. The difference up to December 1, 1916, between what I was promised and what I received amounts to $1,120."

Case No. 23:

"Mr. F. McCARTHY,
"965 Greene Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.:

"Referring to the statistical report inclosed, it may look inconsistent to some people that a man with a broken rib should continue to work without loss of time, but to anyone who inquires on that point it might be said that if he or they could have been in Kentucky with me at the time the accident occurred and could have seen the character of the work we were forced to do it could be readily understood that a little thing like a broken rib in a man was of minor consequence. We were doing foot-and-mouth work, you know, and it had to be done, regardless of broken ribs, arms, legs, necks, etc. One of the regrettable things is that some Members of Congress could not have been with us on that campaign to see the conditions under which we were forced to work. Day after day I have worked in 10 inches of snow, with the thermometer registering 10° below zero, and for 14 hours have gone with my clothes covered with ice and frozen stiff. What did I do? I wrote a check for $50 on a bank in which I didn't have a cent. When in Wichita, Kans., I received a telegram to report immediately to Louisville, Ky., and had only $1.50 and no transportation request with me, and then spent the $1.50 in sending telegrams to a friend to get the money in the bank before the check could get in. Some people might call that forgery. I called it expediency, and reached Louisville on time; and if anybody asks you if I held the steer, you may tell them I did and still have my broken rib.

"Regarding the salaries of the men in the States Relations Service, I sent Walkley a statement showing that many county agents are receiving salaries far in excess of those paid to the average man in the Bureau of Animal Industry. It is not my purpose to detract one iota from these gentlemen when I say that they are men without special qualifications for the work. They are fine fellows, and I am glad to see them getting the money; but why the difference?

"Am glad to see you are getting up something tangible to present to the Members of Congress, and wish you success in your efforts.

"With kind personal regards and best wishes for the members of Branch 19,

"Very truly, yours, J. E. GIBSON."

Case No. 24: Lay inspector, grade 1, stationed at National Stock Yards, Ill., submits:

"After nearly 10½ years of continuous service at this station, most of the time on one job—sheep inspection—I am now getting $23½ more than when I received my appointment."

Case No. 25: Lay inspector, grade 2, stationed at National Stock Yards, Ill., writes as follows:

"Figuring on 30-day basis, my salary, $1,000 per annum, is equivalent to $2.77 per day. The minimum paid for common labor at this plant—janitors, truckers, elevator men, etc.—is 22½ cents per hour."

Case No. 26: Lay inspector, grade 2, stationed at New York, N. Y., submits:

"In the past two years that I have been in New York, N. Y., I have had sickness in my family and my expenses have been more than my salary. Last month I had three sick at the same time and I had to think twice before I could spend a cent. It costs me at the least $25 per month to live. That is the lowest figure I can put it at. Last July I had to get a loan of $100 to pay current expenses on account of sickness. There is always one meal a day away from the home, which cost me at least $7.50 per month. My car fare is $2.60 per month riding back and forth to the establishment where I am detailed.

"When I have paid my expenses for the month I have $1.50 left. There are a good many months that I have to borrow a couple of dollars until I get my check."

Case No. 27: Lay inspector, grade 2, located at Pottsville, Pa., writes:

"Living expenses are not as high here as in New York City, but my salary hardly supports my family. Cost of living too high. Unless conditions change I must look for another position as I can not stand this. I am going back, not ahead."

Case No. 28: A veterinary inspector in charge of station, Grand Rapids, Wis., being paid $1,980 a year, writes as follows:

"I am living in a city which has a population of 6,000, and at the present cost of living I find that I am able to save about the same amount of my salary as I saved when I was on a salary of $1,400 per annum."

Case No. 29: Lay inspector, grade 2, stationed at Fort Smith, Ark., writes as follows:

"I have always been satisfied with the hours of work in the bureau service, although I have done considerable overtime work, especially from 1910 to 1912. However, my present rate of compensation is not as high as prospects I had before entering the service or an offer I have had since. As stated above, have been satisfied with the bureau work, consequently am sticking around, hoping to receive higher compensation."

Case No. 30: Lay inspector, grade 1, stationed at Tacoma, Wash., writes the following:

"Wages on the Pacific coast have advanced from 15 per cent to 25 per cent. Living expenses in some instances have doubled, and in all cases a rise of 25 per cent in cost of necessities is present."

Case No. 31: In order to show the nature of the work performed by lay inspectors, grade 1, the following is submitted from Wichita, Kans.:

"Sample of one day's work, November 3, 1916, Est. No. 20 L. Time, 6.30 a. m. to 5.30 p. m. Character of the work, post mortem. Cattle, 300 heads, viscera. Retained carcasses as follows: Three cysticercus bovis (1 in head and 2 in heart), 10 actinomycosis, 2 tuberculosis, 2 peritonitis; also examined and passed 10 calves post mortem, and examined and passed 6 goats. I think a layman doing this kind of work deserves at least $1,400 a year. For the past three months I have averaged 10 hours daily."

Case No. 32: Lay inspector, grade 2, stationed at East Liverpool, Ohio, writes as follows:

"The rising wages and shorter hours have not affected the Government employee. Employees of the United States Government, generally speaking, get no more than they did years ago. The high cost of living hits us all, and particularly a man of family. In the city rents have gone up, coal has increased 10 cents a bushel, potatoes 80 cents a bushel, flour $3 per barrel, oleo 6 cents a pound. Shoes, clothing, meats, and all the necessaries of life are at such a price that a man and family has to deprive that family of much that they need in order to keep his head above water. In our position we are expected to look respectable, and have to buy more clothes than men in many other vocations. Clothing has advanced 25 per cent. It is the duty of the United States Government to pay salaries that will permit an employee to live respectable, be respected by the people he deals with, and be in a position to rear his family in the proper manner. Our work is both hazardous and trying. We hope that the next session of Congress will give the Government employee what is given to employees by private firms, corporations, etc."

Case No. 33: Copy of letter written by lay inspector, grade 2, of Brooklyn, to inspector in charge of station:

"Dr. A. LONG.

"DEAR SIR: Do you think it possible for me to get an increase in salary? I find it extremely hard to make both ends meet with my present salary of $70 a month in New York. Rents are so high that it is hard to find a respectable place to live at what I can afford to pay. Groceries have advanced in some cases 30 per cent and wearing apparel has also shown a decided rise in price, leaving me where I am barely able to make a living. Hoping that it may be possible, etc."

The following matter is taken from newspapers in different sections of the country:

[From the Chicago Tribune, Oct. 27, 1916.]

"It costs 54½ per cent more for food than it did a year ago."

Madison, Wis.: "The price of milk in Madison will be increased on November 1 from 7 to 8 cents per quart."

Philadelphia, Pa.: "The price of all grades of flour was advanced in the local market from 25 to 60 cents a barrel."

Winona, Minn.: "The cost of living in Winona took a decided jump when local bakers and dairymen raised the price of bread and milk."

San Francisco, Cal.: "The California Master Bakers' Association raised the price of fresh bread from 5 to 6 cents a loaf."

[From the New York World, Oct. 20, 1916.]

Washington, D. C.: "High cost of living laid to prosperity."

"New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor finds that the cost of living has advanced approximately 30 per cent within the year. * * * From its investigations the association concludes that the average wage earner's family has to spend fully 45 per cent of his income for food * * *."

—

[From the Cleveland Leader, Nov. 13, 1916.]

Cleveland, Ohio: "Foods soar to new high level. Potato, egg, and lard prices attain new high-record mark.

"Market quotations: Butter, 39½ to 40 cents per pound; oleomargarine, 22 cents per pound; cheese, 24 to 25 cents per pound; turkeys, alive, 25 to 26 cents per pound; eggs, 38 cents per dozen; turnips, $1.65 a hundred; pumpkins, $1.75 a dozen; potatoes, $1.90 a bushel; onions, $4 a hundred; cabbage, 3 cents a pound; dried beans, 7 to 7½ cents a bushel; quinces, $4 a barrel; grapes, $6 to $8 a keg; apples, $1.50 a bushel; oranges, $2.25 to $4.55 a box; grapefruit, $3.50 to $3.75 a box; cranberries, $5 to $9.50 a barrel; bananas, $1.75 to $2.50 a box; limes, $10 a barrel; hams, 20 cents a pound; shoulders, 19 cents a pound; bacon, 20½ cents a pound; mess pork, $25.50 to $36 a barrel; pork loins, 18½ cents a pound; dressed hogs, 16 cents a pound; mutton, 12 cents a pound; and lamb, 17 cents a pound."

Newspaper reports similar to the foregoing have appeared in all sections of the country, and show an undeniable general increase in the necessaries of life. Many newspaper notices and cartoons have evidenced the fact that while many businesses have profited recently and the wage earner's pay has been voluntarily increased, the salaried man's pay has not been proportionately increased, especially under civil service.

In order to show the difficulty which has been experienced in securing the right kind of men for the work these men are doing we respectfully quote from a report of the Secretary of Agriculture, Hon. D. F. Houston:

"The securing of men of the requisite training and experience in the various fields of agricultural science has been one of the serious problems which for some time has confronted the department. Two causes have tended to bring about this situation.

"One has been the low maximum salary which the department is permitted to pay to its scientific investigators as compared with the salaries paid by outside institutions and commercial concerns. The other has been the comparatively small number of strong, virile men who have been trained in scientific agriculture. Because of the great demand for such men in this country and abroad, the department is constantly losing men whom it ought to keep, and it is unable to find an adequate supply of just the right type of man to replace them.

"After conference with the civil-service officials, a system of efficiency ratings was inaugurated early in the summer. It is believed that this system will eliminate to a large extent the danger of making favoritism or any other consideration rather than merit the reason for promotion. The department is working in the closest possible relationship with the Civil Service Commission in the handling of its appointments. Because of the technical and scientific nature of much of the work of the department, it has been found difficult to secure the right kind of men from the regular registers of the commission. It has therefore been necessary to hold special examinations from time to time."

The following matter taken from various newspapers will give an idea of some of the recent promotions in private life:

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[From the Chicago Tribune, Nov. 19, 1916.]

"Chicago Title & Trust gives salary bonus. Employees to get 10 per cent of yearly wage to meet living cost. Harrison B. Riley, president of the company, made the following statement at the annual banquet of the Chicago Title & Trust Employees' Benefit Association: 'I desire to announce that because of the exceedingly high cost entering into the daily lives of our employees the usual custom of distributing gold coins will be omitted this year at Christmas time, and in lieu thereof a payment will be made to each officer and employee below the rank of department manager of a lump sum equal to 10 per cent of the annual salary of such official or employee * * *.'"

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[From the New York World, Nov. 23, 1916.]

"Cotton, lumber, iron, and powder companies announce they will increase pay. Consolidated Gas to raise wages at rate of dividend. Will pay 17,000 employees bonus equal to profit distribution of all auxiliaries to their stockholders. More concerns make voluntary advances. * * * Announcements yesterday of voluntary increase in wages given to employees, as the United States Steel Corporation gave Tuesday, as told in the World."

The following firms are among those mentioned in the World:

"The Lawton Cotton Mills, Plainfield, Conn.

"The Totokett Manufacturing Co., of Occum, Conn.

"The Connecticut Mills Co., Danielson, Conn.

"The Attawaugan Co., with mills at Attawaugan, Ballouville, and Pineville, and the Quinebaug Cos., of Danielson, Conn.

"Western concerns follow. The Palmer Bros. Co., of Fitchfield, Conn., have given three voluntary increases during the last year."

—

[From the Chicago Tribune.]

"Thirty-seven hundred employees get pay raise. People's Gas gives 10 per cent increase to entire force. Meets costs of living."

—

[From the New York World, Oct. 31, 1916.]

"Police and firemen get praise and raises. Mayor announces increases in both departments totaling $795,100."

—

[From the New York American.]

"Two hundred and thirty-five men to be added to police force. Budget committee also raises pay of first-grade men $50 annually. Firemen get same. One thousand dollars more for Schmittberger. Increases in both departments will total $795,100 a year."

—

[From the Chicago American.]

"One hundred thousand receive wage increase of $10,000,000. Chicago employers respond to demand of high cost of living. Major increases shown.

"The following is a list of some of the biggest firms which have raised wages:

Name.	Employees.	Annual wage increase.
Pullman Co	9,000	$500,000
Montgomery Ward & Co	5,000	250,000
Consumers' Co	1,500	90,000
Western Electric Co	17,000	500,000
People's Gas Light & Coke Co	3,700	350,000
Wm. Wrigley, jr., Co	2,200	300,000
Hart, Schaffner & Marx	8,000	600,000
Sears-Roebuck Co	15,000	1,000,000
Illinois Steel Co	8,000	600,000
Crane Co	6,000	500,000
Maurice L. Rothschild	150	42,000
Armour & Co	8,000	1,250,000
Swift & Co	8,000	1,250,000
Morris & Co	5,000	750,000
Wilson & Co	3,500	500,000
Smaller packing houses (20)	5,000	750,000
Thompson's lunch rooms	3,000	150,000
Weeghman's lunch rooms	500	10,000
Milk-wagon drivers (all big milk concerns)	1,500	83,500
Total	110,050	9,475,000

[From the Boston Post, Nov. 22, 1916.]

"'Millions more pay in raises.' 'Three hundred thousand workers to get increases of 10 per cent.' 'New England Mills' offer is voluntary.' 'United States Steel Corporation will give $20,000,000.'

"List of mills which have boosted wages:

"American Woolen Co., mills in New England, New York, and Kentucky. Approximately 30,000 operatives benefit.

"Arlington Mills, Lawrence, 5,000 operatives.

"Moses T. Stevens Corporation, Andover, Haverhill, and Franklin Falls, N. H., 1,800 operatives.

"Naumkeag Steam Cotton Co., Salem, 1,300 operatives.

"Berkshire Cotton Manufacturing Co., Adams, 2,500 operatives.

"W. C. Plunkett & Sons, Adams, 300 operatives.

"Greylock Manufacturing Co., Greylock; Williamstown and North Pownal, Vt., 3,000 operatives.

"Hoosac Cotton Co., North Adams, 1,000 hands.

"All the textile mills controlled by William Whitman.

"Ludlow Associates, Ludlow, 2,500 operatives.

"Gilbert Mills, Ware, 1,000 operatives.

"Arnold Print Works, North Adams, 5,000 operatives."

—

[From the New York American, Nov. 29, 1916.]

"'Eight million dollars more pay for 32,000 tailors.' 'Advance of 35 per cent given by the clothing manufacturers to meet the high cost of living.' 'Association will put new scale in effect December 18—both union and nonunionists will benefit.'"

—

When the exigencies of the service have demanded long and unusual hours, holiday work, and work under unpleasant conditions, the bureau men have been uncomplaining. Asking for the passage of H. R. 16060, they would like to state as a fact that it has been considered impossible to separate these conditions from the work, however—

The following copy of the letter received from Hon. J. R. Mohler, Acting Chief of the Bureau at the time the letter was written:

"MR. F. MCCARTHY,
"Recording Secretary N. A. B. of A. I. E.,
"965 Greene Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

"DEAR SIR: I am in receipt of your letter of June 11 and wish to thank my fellow employees of Branch No. 19 for their words of appreciation and fidelity. However, it must not be forgotten that the statements presented could be made only because of my knowledge of the loyalty, integrity, industry, and adaptability of the men of whom I spoke. Long hours, holiday work, unpleasant assignments, personal privations, and all other disagreeable features that can not be separated from the work you are performing were rendered into assets because they are unflinchingly borne by the bureau force as a whole. If the men had easy work and short hours, the arguments advanced would have been without force or effect.

"With best wishes, I remain, very truly, yours,

"J. R. MOHLER,
"Assistant Chief of Bureau."

In order to show that the Government employees of this bureau work more hours per day on the average than men employed in private life or other branches of the Government service, we respectfully quote from a speech made by President Wilson before Congress just previous to the passage of the eight-hour law:

"It seems to me in considering the subject matter of the controversy that the whole spirit of the time and the preponderant evidence of recent economic experience spoke for the eight-hour day. It has been adjudged by the thought and experience of recent years a thing upon which society is justified in insisting as in the interest of health, efficiency, contentment, and a general increase of economic vigor.

"The whole presumption of modern experience would, it seemed to me, be in its favor, whether there was arbitration or not, and the debatable points to settle were those which arose out of the acceptance of the eight-hour day rather than those which affected its establishment.

"I therefore proposed that the eight-hour day be adopted by the railway managements and put into practice for the present as a substitute for the existing 10-hour basis of pay and service; that I should appoint, with the permission of Congress, a small commission to observe the results of the change, carefully studying the figures of the altered operating costs, not only, but also the conditions of labor under which the men worked and the operation of their existing agreements with the railroads, with instructions to report the facts as they found them to the Congress at the earliest possible day, but without recommendation; and that, after the facts had been thus disclosed, and adjustment should be in some orderly manner be sought of all the matters now left unadjusted between the railroad magnates and the men."

Fishing Privileges in the Territory of Alaska.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM KENT,
OF CALIFORNIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, December 21, 1916.

Mr. KENT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to print I herewith submit some of my objections to H. R. 17499, a bill which would confer special fishing privileges in the Territory of Alaska.

Also I use the permission to publish a careful statement which was submitted by certain experienced Alaska fishermen to the Fisheries Committee of the United States Senate.

First. It is made mandatory on the Secretary of Commerce to issue permits to take salmon by means of set nets or traps to the person or corporation that shall first have filed a map of the location desired.

Second. That in spite of the provision in section 2 that "the following annual fees" shall be collected, and in spite of the statement in section 5 that "all licenses shall expire on the 31st day of December of the calendar year for which issued," we find thereafter in section 6 the following language:

> From and after the filing of the map in the case of a pound net, or from and after the posting of the number of the license as above provided in the case of a stake net or set net, the claimant of the fishing location shown on such map, or marked by such number, shall have the exclusive right to hold, occupy, and fish in such location, to renew the license therefor, and to mortgage, sell, lease, or transfer the same during the time that he or they in other respects shall comply with the law pertaining thereto.

The contention was made on the floor of the House that this simply meant that the license could be terminated in any year, but admission was also made that no one excepting the original grantee could renew the license, and it was furthermore admitted that, barring specific act of Congress, it was mandatory upon the Secretary of Commerce to renew the license to the prior licensee without change of terms.

Such tenure would amount to a perpetual lease, except that Congress might, by new legislation and by repeal of this statute, authorize a new deal with the original licensee or with some other party.

Nothing contained in the bill gives any leeway to the Secretary of Commerce to limit the catch of fish in any location, except as such limitation will be predicated upon the clauses providing against total stoppage of the streams.

As a matter of fact, it is well known that salmon do not spread out equally over the streams to which they go for spawning, but that certain locations are in their normal route, and that therefore judicious placing of traps or such nets would be capable of greatly depleting, if not exterminating, the schools of fish.

It is obvious that under the bill the licensee would have the right to all salmon that could be taken from a given location by set nets or traps, unless there should be subsequent act of Congress to interfere with this privilege.

The words used in section 6, referring to mortgage, sale, lease, transfer, heirs, executors, administrators, successors, or assigns, obviously intend to create a vested and a property right, which vested and property right is further confirmed by the prohibition in section 22, running against the Territory, as to the Territory's power to tax the real or personal property involved in carrying out the license.

The bill obviously grants great and an unfair preference to those already on the ground and who have doubtless already prepared careful surveys of what they desire in the way of fishing privileges, giving them at the outset all those strategic points for which surveys have already been made, and that, as far as other applicants are concerned, in perpetuity. The bill would render feasible a practical monopoly of the fish-taking privilege, for although fishing might be conducted outside of the privileges granted under the bill it would be in waters not sufficiently valuable to induce the cost of survey.

A bill of this nature should be drafted along entirely different lines. First of all, there should rest in the Department of Commerce the right to curtail the catch in the interest of the conservation of the fish without subsequent act of Congress. Second, there should be an open opportunity, by competitive bidding, lot, or other form of selection, so that all fishermen capable of rendering equal service in the taking and preservation of fish should be allowed equal opportunity. Third, there should be a clear and definite term set for any lease, not more than five years, but of such duration as would justify the necessary expenditure for fishing appliances. And fourth, in consideration of the granting of special sites and privileges for canning, such canneries should be considered as public utilities and forced under reasonable terms to purchase or handle the catch of independent fishermen, or, indeed, of all fish turned in for preservation, treatment, and manufacture.

Furthermore, it would seem unfair to the Territory of Alaska to curtail its privilege to tax real and personal property, taxes from which might be needed for internal improvements, schools, roads, and other items.

The bill as drawn gives no protection to the public as to the price to be charged for the product, and although the Government has not as yet assumed the right to thus regulate, in consideration of the granting of privileges, the time must come when the public interest must be protected by such legislation.

BRIEF SUBMITTED BY CERTAIN ALASKA FISHERMEN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *December 17, 1916.*

Hon. HARRY LANE,
Chairman Committee on Fisheries, United States Senate.

HONORABLE SIR: We herewith respectfully submit for your consideration the opinion of practical Alaska fishermen regarding the bill H. R. 17499, introduced August 29, 1916, by Hon. J. W. ALEXANDER, for the protection, regulation, and conservation of the fisheries of Alaska, and for other purposes. We note that the main features provide for the licensing of pound nets (fish traps), fish wheels, purse seines, beam trawls and other trawl nets, and any other kind of fishing appliances, as set forth in section 2 of said bill. These provisions are intended as ways and means of protecting and conserving the Alaskan fisheries. Understanding that to be so, we as practical fishermen do not believe that the operation of such a law will accomplish the desired effect; but that the opposite result will be achieved. We desire to give expression to our reasons, as follows:

First. As a general practice traps are placed at points which are known to be in the avenues of travel by the salmon.

Second. It is a well-admitted fact that from Monterey, Cal., to the shores of Bristol Bay, Alaska, salmon follow a course of well-defined lanes, notwithstanding the assertions of Mr. Bower (p. 303, hearings on bill 9528) to the contrary. This knowledge is derived by findings and experience of men who have fished in various salmon streams along the Pacific coast within the distance stated, including British Dominions, and it is through this knowledge that old-time, experienced fishermen will always be found most expert and capable of obtaining the largest catch, no matter in what waters they may be placed.

Third. By the provisions of section 2 the method of trap fishing (pound nets) is by the issuance of license made legal. This, in our opinion, is a dangerous procedure, and the provisions of section 6 aggravate the danger, inasmuch as perpetual rights to locations of trap sites are conferred upon the claimants who comply with the other requirements of this section.

Fourth. Taking into consideration the well-known fact that salmon do travel along a course of well-defined lanes, and have a habit when coming from the sea for spawning to strike certain particular points along the shore, which shores they will follow to the nearest spawning streams or grounds, notwithstanding the fact that the coast line of Alaska is estimated at 25,000 miles, the streams in which salmon run and spawn are but few when regarded in the light of importance for commercial fishing, and in connection with the 25,000 miles. It will readily be seen what a merger, with unlimited capital, can do in these waters, provided legislation, as proposed in H. R. 17499, be enacted into law.

Fifth. Section 6 also provides that before a license is granted proper survey of the land must be made, maps drawn of same, and filed with the Department of Commerce. In our opinion this provision is unjust to the ordinary fishermen, as it will bar from the best locations in Alaska his rights to fish, owing to lack of capital and facilities needed to comply with the requirements. Those fishermen who may have a desire to settle on the shores of Alaska will be prevented from so doing by reason of this curtailment of their rights and adverse legislation.

Fishing being the main incentive to settlement on the coast of Alaska, it will readily be seen the effect this will have to delay the growth in population of that country.

Those who seek investments for their surplus capital will realize under this act the opportunities offered along the Alaskan coast, and with the object for immediate and large dividends in view, and with every facility at hand, will take every advantage. There is no point of any importance in Alaskan waters that can not be speedily reached by agents employed for the purpose of cornering every available site as far as pound-net locations are concerned. There is no limit provided to the number of locations that can be obtained and held, and it is easy to assume that there will be nothing of value that will escape the grasp of the agents for large corporate interests. We desire, respectfully, to inform this committee of a few facts relating to pound nets (fish traps) as follows:

First. Traps are built from the shores, with a long lead extending into the channel of the stream, bay, or sound, as the case may be.

The red salmon of Alaska, in every instance, when striking the shores or entering a river, immediately seek the shallow waters. With traps placed at every point of vantage, leads of such traps covering the entire flat, there is no possible escape for the salmon.

Second. The leads, including pots of these traps, being made of very small mesh, catch not only all salmon along the shores but every other kind of fish that mix and mingle with the salmon, such as codfish, tomcod, halibut, soles, smelt, trout, etc. This other fish is as valuable for food as salmon, but owing to the fact that no provision is made for preservation or canning of same, they are destroyed and cast away as waste upon the waters. Thousands of tons of such valuable food fish are destroyed annually by this method of fishing. Salmon that are too small for canning are likewise destroyed.

Third. There being no limitations upon the number of trap locations that may be acquired, it is fair to assume, by men who are acquainted with the waters of Alaska, that there will not be a single place worth

operating by this method of catching salmon that will not be used. This can have but one result, that of preventing the valuable fish from reaching the spawning grounds in sufficient numbers for reproduction.

Fourth. Traps have been described as being detrimental to the best interests of conservation of salmon, not only by practical fishermen but by several recognized authorities on fish and fisheries, including David Starr Jordan and Capt. Jefferson Moser. The latter, after a long trip of investigation in Alaskan waters, described traps as a destructive method of fishing. We refer to the reports of the Bureau of Fisheries, written by Capt. Moser in 1902 or 1903, where, among other statements made, is one to the effect that "traps are most destructive where most effective," and which we, as practical fishermen, must admit, if the saying is true that "good material is contained in small parcels," is about all that could be said in condemnation of traps.

Fifth. California realized the necessity of abolishing fish traps if its fisheries were to be preserved; hence pound nets were removed by legislation, and the salmon are coming back.

Sixth. The people of Oregon and Washington have filed numerous protests with their respective governments against fish traps, fish wheels, and other fixed and stationary appliances, with the desire of conserving the great fisheries of their States for their children and children's children. We are sorry to admit that to date these efforts have not availed, but they are still fighting, and we hope the time is not far distant when these States will see the necessity of such legislation as will preserve the fisheries.

Seventh. Gill-net fishing means the taking of fish by nets made of a certain size mesh that a certain size of fish having his gills caught in the mesh are taken, hence all salmon of a smaller size than the size of such mesh are permitted free passage on their way to the spawning grounds as well as other little fish which the traps destroy.

Eighth. Gill nets as a general rule are operated by two men in a small boat, cast out along the shores or in the rivers, where the waters are sufficiently muddy to blind the salmon from seeing the mesh. They are picked out of the water at intervals of one or two hours in order that fish caught may be picked out. During the darkest hours of the night the average fisherman realizes the disadvantage of working his net; therefore he makes use of these dark hours for sleeping; hence it will be seen that by the gill-net method of fishing streams are open a considerable period of every 24 hours for free passage of all kinds of fish to their spawning grounds.

Ninth. Compare this with the trap fishing. It will be noted that while considerable time is allowed out of each day for free passage of fish by the gill-net method of fishing, absolutely no opportunity is given the fish where traps are stationed, because they are fishing continuously. Further consideration shows that traps may be built on either side of a strait, bay, or river in a zigzagging manner, with leads from both shores reaching into the channel from both sides.

The red salmon of Alaska having a habit of hugging the shoals, it will require no scientist to understand what will result in a short time to salmon in these waters. Hence we join hands with the best authorities on these questions in saying that "the traps are most destructive where most effective" and appeal to Congress to resolve that if traps must be operated in certain waters of Alaska, where otherwise the expense of canning operations will not be warranted, limitations to their operations should be made and right to locations should only be granted to men willing to operate a trap and then only for the actual period of operation. If license for such operation must be obtained it should be with the provision that none but bona fide citizens of the United States should be entitled to same and with the further understanding that not more than one such license be granted any one individual, be it for a trap, seine, or any fixed or stationary fishing appliance. These provisions should be for protection against monopoly, if one of the greatest natural food resources which a bountiful nature has bestowed upon this great American continent is to be conserved to future generations.

In conclusion, we respectfully state our desire to see the present crude and unsatisfactory laws relating to Alaska fisheries amended in the public interest. We realize that existing conditions are not what they should be, but are not nearly as bad as they would be if the bill introduced should be passed. In the interests of the public there should be legislation insuring the permanency of the salmon supply of the Alaskan coast. In justice to American citizens, whether residents in Alaska or otherwise, there should be equality of opportunity to enjoy the privileges granted under legislation; and furthermore, there should be encouragement given to the settlement of Alaska by independent and self-supporting people, and the elimination, as far as possible, of the necessity for the importation of seasonal labor, whether native or alien.

To the end of rendering permanent the salmon supplies, there should be power reserved in the Federal authorities to limit the catch by whatever means; in the line of providing equal opportunity for equal service in the catching of fish, there should be assurance that those granted location privileges for the purpose of salmon canning or the preservation of the fish by any other means should be only licensed as public utilities, compelled to grant equal treatment to all fish furnished at the manufacturing point; and furthermore, that leases granted should be limited to sufficient time to justify the necessary investment, and no longer.

We realize that it is easy to condemn and criticize proposed legislation and difficult to offer as a substitute a constructive policy, but, in our opinion, the legislation pending before Congress is thoroughly vicious, inasmuch as it tends to monopoly, to unfair privilege, and is seemingly regardless of those factors which should be considered as necessary to the preservation of the future fish supply. The legislation before Congress seemingly started with the assumption of the inalienable rights of existing operators to carry on their monopolistic business regardless of the public welfare. We do not believe that by such legislation there will be preservation of the future fish supply, equality of treatment of citizens of the United States, or proper development of the Territory of Alaska. For which reasons we have entered our objections and have herewith submitted in brief outline our views of the facts that should enter into the formulation of constructive legislation adapted to the public welfare.

We wish to thank the honorable chairman of this committee, including the members thereof, and others present, for the courtesy and privileges granted us in explaining our side of the various questions at issue and herein contained.

I. N. HYLEN,
CHAS. F. HAMMARIN,
J. VANCE THOMPSON,
Committee of Alaska Fishermen's Union,
49 Clay Street, San Francisco, Cal.

Decries the "Pork" in Buildings Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. COX,
OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, December 20, 1916.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article written by Charles Harris Whitaker, editor of the Journal of the American Institute of Architects. The article is as follows:

DECRIES THE "PORK" IN BUILDINGS BILL—CHARLES HARRIS WHITAKER TALKS OF "SHAMELESS SQUANDERING" OF THE PUBLIC FUNDS—ANALYZES THE MEASURE.

Charles Harris Whitaker, editor of the Journal of the American Institute of Architects, has prepared an exhaustive analysis of the omnibus public-buildings bill for the purpose of showing, he says, that "the whole system of appropriating money for public buildings betrays the shameless manner in which public funds are squandered in order that political patronage may be distributed."

Mr. Whitaker has furnished the Star with an advance copy of his analysis, which he entitles "Mostly Pork," and with a statement in which he says the attention of every citizen of the United States ought to be focused upon the omnibus public-buildings bill. "which," he says, "we have been informed is to be railroaded through Congress in spite of everything which the opposing minority can do, and of all the distributions of 'pork' which take place during a session of Congress none is so far-reaching in its effects as the omnibus public-buildings bill."

INSTANCES CITED.

"Such States as Wyoming, for example," Mr. Whitaker says, concerning his analysis, "or such records as that of Representative LANGLEY, of Kentucky, and the items in Georgia are particularly interesting. They are no more than plain facts based upon established figures, and they are incontrovertible."

The figures for Wyoming, representing requests made by Representative MONDELL, are as follows:

"For the city or town of Green River, in that State, the population of which decreased from 1,723 in 1890 to 1,313 in 1910, the post-office receipts of which at the last showing were $4,370, an appropriation of $75,000 was asked and the committee granted $25,000.

"For the city or town of Newcastle, the population of which decreased from 1,715 to 975 between 1890 and 1910, the post-office receipts of which at the last showing were $4,174, an appropriation of $75,000 was asked and the committee granted $25,000. The sum of $75,000 was asked for a public building in the town of Sundance, Wyo., with a population of 281 in 1910, with post-office receipts of $2,989."

KENTUCKY AND GEORGIA ITEMS.

In Kentucky Representative LANGLEY asked for 11 appropriations of $75,000 each for public buildings in towns which have populations as low as 146 persons, and in none of which the population is more than 1,897, according to the official figures. In one town, McKee, Ky., for which he asked $75,000, the post-office receipts are $526. The committee granted $40,000 for a public building in Hazard, Ky., a town of 537 persons, and $35,000 for a building in Pikeville, a town of 1,280 inhabitants.

Georgia offers a long list of similar situations as to requests for public-building appropriations. Representative LEE asked for $50,000 for a building at Rossville, a town of 1,059 inhabitants, the committee having granted $25,000. Representatives ADAMSON, VINSON, PARK, EDWARDS, BELL, HOWARD, HUGHES, WALKER, WISE, and CRISP all made similar requests, and Representative TRIBBLE made 14 requests for appropriations of $50,000, $60,000, $75,000, or $100,000 each for public buildings in towns ranging in population from 829 persons up to 5,900 in the city of Gainesville.

MR. WHITAKER'S STATEMENT.

In his statement and analysis Mr. Whitaker gives the figures for many other States which offer just as striking comparisons. He says:

"The attention of citizens is not alone necessary in order that they may understand the iniquity of a parliamentary system which permits such bills to be framed and passed upon a basis of political preferment. They should look at this bill and at Congress, and then at themselves, for they are equal partners in the whole proceeding. An analysis of the bill reveals the following salient facts:

"Democratic Senators and Representatives asked for the following grants from the Treasury: Four hundred and twenty-five items, amounting to $66,500,000.

"They received in the omnibus bill 240 items, amounting to $22,000,000.

"Republican Senators and Representatives asked for 290 items, amounting to $44,250,000.

"They received in the omnibus bill 165 items, amounting to $11,650,000.

"It is therefore plain that there are over 400 items in the bill, and that the Committee on Public Buildings feels safe in believing that there will be no difficulty in securing a majority vote. It feels safe because experience has proved that few Congressmen have the courage to vote against an appropriation bill which carries an item for their district or community. But this is precisely the point where the citizen comes in and where he must share in the odium and the debauchery of a democratic principle for selfish ends.

BUDGET SYSTEM THE REMEDY.

"There is no remedy for this condition save a budget system which will take the power of distribution away from Congressmen and leave it in the hands of a board of experts, who shall determine how best to use an annual appropriation for public-building needs. In order to make such a wise use of public-building funds it is imperative that an expert commission make an exhaustive study of all the phases of our public-building question, beginning with the method of acquiring real estate and ending with the dedication of the building. If the Government could show the people of the United States how to carry through a public-building operation with wisdom, economy, and a result which

would be a monument rather than a blot upon our escutcheon, it would confer a larger blessing than is commonly thought possible. Our whole public-building policy in Nation, State, city, town, and municipality is almost always contaminated with the influence of 'pork,' and we seldom get value received for the expenditure or a result which is commensurate with our civilization. The Treasury Department is an exception in this instance, for there can be no question of its ability to carry on the business end of a building operation, but it is powerless under the present system to prevent the erection of buildings which are too small, many of them not being needed at all, and of buildings which are so inadequate to provide for future growth that they are often outgrown before they are erected. It must be remembered that many buildings authorized in the omnibus bill of 1913 are not yet even in process of erection. The history of appropriations for additions and enlargements offers ample testimony to the unwisdom of many a public-building appropriation of the past.

HUNDRED ITEMS FOR SITES ALONE.

"In the present bill there are about 100 items for sites alone. This is a simple method of rolling up a volume of items and thereby a volume of votes, without making the lump sum too strikingly large. But an examination of the items of this class would outrage the sense of justice which American citizens do possess and can use when they see cause. These 100 items mean that 100 votes for the bill are secured incidentally, and that 100 communities are debauched into believing that the Treasury is a grab bag from which they must grab because everybody else does. In scarcely one instance do the actual facts offer any evidence that these 100 communities need a new building; in many of them the annual receipts are less than $5,000 a year. In some cases they are less than $3,000, and the populations are often less than 2,000.

"These are the plain facts that should be laid before the citizens of the United States, and before they seek to point a finger of shame at others they should prepare to look into the mirror of their own civic conscience. We can not by any means excuse the Members of Congress on this score. They are elected to serve, and not to pander. That is the choice they must make when the omnibus public-building bill is brought before them. Gag rule or not, it will be the votes that tell the story."

Subtreasury at Cincinnati.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED G. ALLEN,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 19, 1916.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following letter:

THE FIFTH-THIRD NATIONAL BANK OF CINCINNATI,
Cincinnati, December 16, 1916.

Hon. ALFRED G. ALLEN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. ALLEN:

* * * * * * *

I want to add my congratulations to that of Mr. Hinsch on the splendid work done for Cincinnati by you in saving the Subtreasury, but I want to say that banks in many other States ought to thank you very much for this good work. The Subtreasury here is of greater benefit to banks in Ohio, Indiana, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, than many of the banks in those States realize, and the good work, therefore, was not for Cincinnati alone but will be the means of preserving an institution that is of good value and convenience to a great number of banks, State and national, in the States named above, and I feel there is hardly any Subtreasury in the United States that could be less done away with than the one in Cincinnati, because the reason that New York, Chicago, and St. Louis have Federal reserve banks and Cincinnati, which is the central city of banking for a great territory, has not a Federal reserve bank, and therefore the loss of the Subtreasury here would be of more detriment than taking away of the Subtreasury from any other city of the United States, except that one possible exception; that would be taking away the Subtreasury from New Orleans, which would be equally bad.

Yours, sincerely, MONTE J. GOBLE, *Cashier.*

The Threatened $300,000,000 Deficit and How to Avert It.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, December 20, 1916.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, it is encouraging to note that at last there is some disposition to consult economy in public expenditures. During the last two years or so this disposition has been rather conspicuous by its absence. Happily, however, the gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD] a few days ago sounded a somewhat startling note of warning when he told this House of a prospective deficit of about $300,000,000 for the next fiscal year.

We hear some interesting talk in certain quarters of the curtailment of expenditures by the elimination of rivers and harbors and public buildings from the budget. This would indeed effect a saving at the spigot. And perhaps the country may be justified in permitting public improvements to wait on the ambitious plans of our war lords. From the latter come no hints of economy. They deftly knock in the head of the barrel when it comes to requisitions for Army and Navy, for fortifications and other "preparedness" measures. Thus we find them asking for $298,636,011.22 for 1918, an increase of a modest $147,704,527.75 over the estimates for 1917. For the Navy they are asking for $379,151,701.67 as against $217,652,174.24 estimated for a year ago, an insignificant increase of $161,499,527.43. For fortifications the demand is for $56,999,481.21 for 1918 as against $23,305,123.80, an increase of only a trifling $33,694,357.41. For the Military Academy the call is for $2,058,673.30 for 1918 as against $1,422,775.77 in 1917, an increase of $635,897.53. And in contemplation of these figures our war lords are amazed at their own moderation. They might so easily have doubled them without offense to our jingo friends who think that the bottom of the taxpayer's pocket or the limit of his patience can never be reached.

Here is a total increase in the estimates for military purposes of no less than $343,534,310.12. All records were broken last year in the appropriations on this account. Yet the cry is still for more. The horse leech's daughter is more clamorous than ever. The ravening appetite of gold-lace patriotism is as far from satiation to-day as it was last year or the year before or the year before that or as it will be a year hence or 10 years hence. Nothing short of national bankruptcy will limit its demands unless it is met with a national rebuke which it can not mistake.

Let us glance for a moment at the estimates for some of the other activities of the Government. We find that for agriculture the estimates for 1918 exceed those for 1917 by $1,937,818; for diplomatic and consular the excess is $273,927.96; for District of Columbia, $1,487,416.32; for Indian, $2,055,320.01; for legislative, executive, and judicial, $2,317,704.20; for sundry civil, $17,832,960.94. The total increase for all these is $25,905,147.43—$7,689,209.98 less than the increase demanded by the war lords for fortifications alone.

Where is this sort of thing to stop? Is there really no limit beyond which jingoism will dare to go? Is the patience of the American people as elastic as the conscience of those who play upon their fears and their assumed ignorance? Personally I am inclined to regard the results of the recent election as an indication that jingoism has not met with that favor which a year or so ago it so confidently claimed. It was not the East which determined the result; it was determined rather by the West, and the West has not been swept entirely off its feet by the mad-dog cry of the militarists. The West was for peace. It was not responsive to the appeals of Bethlehem Steel and Du Pont Powder. The terrors which pervaded Wall Street and stalked through the imaginations of Boston and Philadelphia did not unsettle the reason of Kansas, Colorado, and California. The presidential succession was plainly and definitely settled in a region far removed from the influences which drove Congress in 1914 and 1915 and again in 1916 to plunge into an orgy of extravagance in military and naval expenditures. Just why the significance of the elections has been wholly lost upon some who should be able to sense it is beyond my comprehension. The obsession which gripped them a year before the election seems to be gripping them to-day even more tightly than then.

Mr. Speaker, we hear talk of new burdens of taxation to meet the anticipated deficit. Might it not be more profitable were we to turn our attention seriously to the business of avoiding the threatened deficit by the simple expedient of reducing appropriations? Is it enough to shut down on river and harbor improvement? Is it the highest wisdom to cheesepare where public buildings are concerned? Have we wholly lost the sense of proportion? Are we determined to press forward in the mad militarist race which has already carried us so far afield?

Undoubtedly new taxes will have to be laid should we persist in the course marked out by the war lords. Shall they be placed on tea and coffee, as some are urging? Or shall we undo the great work accomplished by the Democratic Party when it amplified the free list and reduced tariff duties on the necessaries of life? Additional taxes on liquors have been suggested, and these will undoubtedly appeal to certain classes who think that such taxes would tend in greater or less measure to moderate the drink evil, although nothing can be much clearer than the

fact that as the cost of liquor has been pushed up by Federal and other taxation so has the consumption of liquor increased. But be this as it may, additional taxes on wine, beer, and whisky will be shifted in the last analysis to the consumer; he will not pay more perhaps for the single drink, but he will get a poorer quality for his money. This is the unfailing story. It is the manner in which such taxes always work.

It has been my contention on this floor, Mr. Speaker, that this huge burden of taxation which militarism has imposed and which it purposes to make still heavier should be saddled, not upon the poor, who have not been clamorous for so-called preparedness, not on the farmer and the workingman, not on the men in mill and mine, not on the small tradesmen and the struggling shopkeepers and professional men. No. It should not be placed upon their shoulders. It should go, instead, upon the shoulders of those who have been chiefly responsible for working the Nation up to a pitch of fear and excitement over the imaginary dangers confronting the country. It should go upon the shoulders of the rich and the powerful who have used every resource at their command in manufacturing a sentiment favorable to the policy of extravagance which we have been writing into law and which is now to be carried to a new high level if pending proposals shall be carried out. For this reason I have urged and I still am urging that the additional revenues required in meeting the stupendous bills which militarism is imposing should be derived from yet more sweeping taxes on large incomes.

The present maximum is 13 per cent. It ought to be 50 per cent. And if the whole of unearned incomes could be taken, that indeed would be in some sense and in some degree a compensation for the folly to which the country has been committing itself in response to the hysteria carefully worked up by our defense leagues and other allies of big business.

But I protest first of all and unceasingly against this hysteria and against the lengths to which it is driving us. I protest against further yielding to militarist pressure. I protest against the continuing enlargement of the fighting arm of the Government. I protest against the displacement of reason and justice in our dealings with the world by brute force. I protest against the monstrous demands of our war lords for universal compulsory military service—against conscription, against the most hateful system that tyranny ever devised or that the sappers and miners of despotism ever sought to fasten upon a free people. I protest against the whole mad business which comes under the false guise of "preparedness" and in the name of patriotism seeks to undermine the very foundations of our liberties. And thus protesting, I appeal to this House and to the country against the monstrous demands of the Army and Navy. I appeal to this House and to the country in favor of reduced and heavily reduced appropriations for the support of these establishments. And in making this appeal I do not doubt that it will strike a responsive chord in the hearts of the lovers of peace in every land. I do not doubt that it will meet the approval of millions who are voiceless, yet who heavily feel the pressure which militarism is bringing to bear upon them in the form of burdensome taxes. I do not doubt that it will go home to those who hold to the simple view that the obvious way in which to avert the threatened deficit is to avoid the staggering and unnecessary expenditures that alone can cause it.

President Wilson's Peace Note to the Belligerent Nations.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. EVANS,

OF MONTANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, December 21, 1916.

Mr. EVANS. Mr. Speaker, the morning dispatches carried the information that on December 18 the President sent to each of the belligerent nations a communication intended to bring them into a conference which it is hoped may result in peace.

In any event this communication marks the first step in that direction. The whole world must be in sympathy with the President, and many of us believe he has never done a finer act. If he shall succeed, all humanity will be indebted to him.

Mr. Speaker, I have such confidence in the President's good taste and good judgment that I am convinced that his proposal is fortunate and timely, and I ask that I may extend my remarks by including the text of that note in full.

The full text of Secretary Lansing's note to Ambassador Gerard at Berlin containing the President's peace suggestions is given herewith.

The note to Ambassador Page is practically the same, the variations being largely in the form of address as used throughout.

The text of the peace note follows:

[Telegram.]

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO AMBASSADOR GERARD.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, December 18, 1916.

The President directs me to send you the following communication to be presented immediately to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Government to which you are accredited:

"The President of the United States has instructed me to suggest to the Imperial German Government a course of action with regard to the present war which he hopes that the Imperial Government will take under consideration as suggested in the most friendly spirit and as coming not only from a friend but also as coming from the representative of a neutral nation whose interests have been most seriously affected by the war and whose concern for its early conclusion arises out of a manifest necessity to determine how best to safeguard those interests if the war is to continue.

LONG-PLANNED ACT.

"The suggestion which I am instructed to make the President has long had it in mind to offer. He is somewhat embarrassed to offer it at this particular time because it may now seem to have been prompted by a desire to play a part in connection with the recent overtures of the Central Powers. It has in fact been in no way suggested by them in its origin and the President would have delayed offering it until those overtures had been independently answered but for the fact that it also concerns the question of peace and may best be considered in connection with other proposals which have the same end in view. The President can only beg that his suggestion be considered entirely on its own merits and as if it had been made in other circumstances.

SUGGESTS EARLY VIEWS OF BELLIGERENTS.

"The President suggests that an early occasion be sought to call out from all the nations now at war such an avowal of their respective views as to the terms upon which the war might be concluded and the arrangements which would be deemed satisfactory as a guaranty against its renewal or the kindling of any similar conflict in the future as would make it possible frankly to compare them. He is indifferent as to the means taken to accomplish this. He would be happy himself to serve, or even to take the initiative in its accomplishment, in any way that might prove acceptable, but he has no desire to determine the method or the instrumentality. One way will be as acceptable to him as another if only the great object he has in mind be attained.

OBJECTS ALL THE SAME.

"He takes the liberty of calling attention to the fact that the objects which the statesmen of the belligerents on both sides have in mind in this war are virtually the same, as stated in general terms to their own people and to the world. Each side desires to make the rights and privileges of weak peoples and small states as secure against aggression or denial in the future as the rights and privileges of the great and powerful states now at war. Each wishes itself to be made secure in the future, along with all other nations and peoples, against the recurrence of wars like this, and against aggression or selfish interference of any kind. Each would be jealous of the formation of any more rival leagues to preserve an uncertain balance of power amidst multiplying suspicions; but each is ready to consider the formation of a league of nations to insure peace and justice throughout the world.

UNITED STATES VITALLY INTERESTED.

"Before that final step can be taken, however, each deems it necessary first to settle the issues of the present war upon terms which will certainly safeguard the independence, the territorial integrity, and the political and commercial freedom of the nations involved.

"In the measures to be taken to secure the future peace of the world the people and Government of the United States are as vitally and as directly interested as the Governments now at war. Their interest, moreover, in the means to be adopted to relieve the smaller and weaker peoples of the world of the peril of wrong and violence is as quick and ardent as that of any other people or Government. They stand ready, and even eager, to cooperate in the accomplishment of these ends, when the war is over, with every influence and resource at their command. But the war must first be concluded.

FEARS GRAVER SITUATION.

"The terms upon which it is to be concluded they are not at liberty to suggest; but the President does feel that it is his right and his duty to point out their intimate interest in its conclusion, lest it should presently be too late to accomplish the greater things which lie beyond its conclusion, lest the situation of neutral nations, now exceedingly hard to endure, be rendered altogether intolerable, and lest, more than all, an injury be done civilization itself which can never be atoned for or repaired.

THINKS ACT JUSTIFIED.

"The President therefore feels altogether justified in suggesting an immediate opportunity for a comparison of views as to the terms which must precede those ultimate arrangements for the peace of the world, which all desire and in which the neutral nations as well as those at war are ready to play their full responsible part. If the contest must continue to proceed towards undefined ends by slow attrition until the one group of belligerents or the other is exhausted, if million after million of human lives must continue to be offered up until on the one side or the other there are no more to offer, if resentments must be kindled that can never cool and despairs engendered from which there can be no recovery, hopes of peace and of the willing concert of free peoples will be rendered vain and idle.

WHOLE WORLD AFFECTED.

"The life of the entire world has been profoundly affected. Every part of the great family of mankind has felt the burden and terror of this unprecedented contest of arms. No nation in the civilized world can be said in truth to stand outside its influence or to be safe against its disturbing effects. And yet the concrete objects for which it is being waged have never been definitively stated.

NEVER STATED OBJECT.

"The leaders of the several belligerents have, as has been said, stated those objects in general terms. But, stated in general terms, they seem the same on both sides. Never yet have the authoritative spokesmen of either side avowed the precise objects which would, if

attained, satisfy them and their people that the war had been fought out. The world has been left to conjecture what definitive results, what actual exchange of guaranties, what political or territorial changes or readjustments, what stage of military success even, would bring the war to an end.

IS NOT PROPOSING PEACE.

"It may be that peace is nearer than we know; that the terms which the belligerents on the one side and on the other would deem it necessary to insist upon are not so irreconcilable as some have feared; that an interchange of views would clear the way at least for conference and make the permanent concord of the nations a hope of the immediate future, a concert of nations immediately practicable.

"The President is not proposing peace; he is not even offering mediation. He is merely proposing that soundings be taken in order that we may learn, the neutral nations with the belligerent, how near the haven of peace may be for which all mankind longs with an intense and increasing longing. He believes that the spirit in which he speaks and the objects which he seeks will be understood by all concerned, and he confidently hopes for a response which will bring a new light into the affairs of the world."

LANSING.

Internal Revenue.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH D. McKELLAR,
OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, December 22, 1916.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. Speaker, I desire to place in the RECORD as a part of my remarks a short and concise statement of the operation of the Internal-Revenue Service for the three fiscal years ending June 30, 1916.

This statement shows a splendid record, and the facts therein contained are a monument to the able, efficient, active, and intelligent Commissioner of Internal Revenue, Col. W. H. Osborn, and his corps of assistants and employees.

In addition to being one of the best officials in the Government, Col. Osborn is one of the most delightful and worthy gentlemen and one of the most courteous officials in any of the departments of Government. I think the information contained in the statement will be of great value to the Members of the House.

The statement is as follows:

INTERNAL-REVENUE BUREAU ACTIVITIES AND ECONOMIES.

Efficient business methods inaugurated in Internal-Revenue Service and a fair and impartial enforcement of laws during present administration resulted in uncovering gigantic frauds and evaded taxes to the unprecedented amount of more than $50,000,000, of which $22,509,576.47 was assessed and collected during the three fiscal years ending June 30, 1916. This total recovered amount was greater by $2,700,000 than the entire cost of collecting the total revenue receipts of $1,308,413,205.59.

These frauds and most of the evasions existed unchecked and undiscovered during 12 or more years preceding this administration.

Eleven million three hundred and twenty-six thousand one hundred and twenty-five dollars and eighty-two cents was unearthed in corporation excise tax alone, $8,443,707.60 of which was due since 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, and 1913.

Five million six thousand six hundred and ninety-six dollars and ninety-two cents of income tax otherwise lost to the Government was discovered and collected.

Nine hundred and eighty-four thousand seven hundred and ninety-one dollars and forty-one cents in compromises of minor evasions was turned into the Treasury.

Gigantic oleomargarine frauds, amounting to more than $27,000,000, existing unchecked during previous administrations, were brought to light. The statute of limitations barred assessment of all but $5,168,166.13, the other being collectible by suit. To date $950,406.87 has been recovered and $1,000,000 more is expected to be recovered in the near future.

Four million two hundred and forty-one thousand five hundred and fifty-five dollars and forty-five cents from fraud and evasions of distilled spirits, tobacco, and miscellaneous taxes was paid into the Treasury.

One gigantic whisky conspiracy, operating for many years in more than a dozen States, was hounded to light. Eleven conspirators tried to date have been convicted and are serving prison sentences. Three hundred and eighty-three thousand one hundred and twenty-five dollars and sixty cents of evaded taxes and fines in this one case is a matter of record. It is estimated that more than $20,000,000 was evaded in remote years by this one conspiracy.

In one oleomargarine conspiracy 34 offenders in a single city were convicted or plead guilty and sentenced to terms of imprisonment totaling 63½ years and to pay fines aggregating $138,000.

One investigation of tobacco frauds, extending over three States, resulted in the seizure of 236 factories of the offenders and the uncovering of a large amount of tax.

ECONOMIES EFFECTED.

While the above millions of taxes otherwise lost to the Government were being ferreted out through the energetic activities of the commissioner and his organization, more efficient methods for handling the public business were put into operation and economies effected which resulted in a saving of more than $500,000 annually.

Four hundred thousand dollars is saved annually through the discontinuance of Government gauging at rectifying establishments.

Fifty thousand dollars is saved in clerks' salaries annually by elimination of duplicate and unnecessary work and installing of modern equipment.

Fifty thousand dollars is saved annually in cost of paper, printing, ink, and labor through improvements made in form and size of internal-revenue stamps.

COST OF COLLECTION.

The activities of the bureau is reflected in the cost of collection. The average cost during the past three years was only $1.51 per $100, as compared with $1.67 per $100 for the four years of the previous administration. If the rate of collection under this administration had remained as high as the cost of the previous administration, the additional expense to the Government during the past three years would have amounted to approximately $2,000,000.

The records of the Internal-Revenue Bureau show that never in its history have results been achieved in any way comparable with those of the last three years. The amount of evaded taxes discovered and economies effected does not in any way measure the value of the efficient administration of internal-revenue laws to the Government, the honest trade, and the public in general. This strict and impartial enforcement of the internal-revenue laws has not only brought additional revenues but will prevent a recurrence of such frauds and conspiracies so long as the present policies are continued.

Printing in the District Schools.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, December 22, 1916.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, during the discussion of the District appropriation bill the question of printing in District of Columbia schools arose. In consequence of that discussion I have received a letter from the Columbia Typographical Union, the publication of which at this time seems to be appropriate:

COLUMBIA TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION,
Washington, D. C., December 22, 1916.

Hon. J HAMPTON MOORE,
United States Capitol.

DEAR MR. MOORE: I notice in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of yesterday that during the consideration of the District of Columbia appropriation bill, Representative PAGE of North Carolina, who has charge of the bill, replying to a query from you, stated that he did not believe that printing was being taught in the high schools of this city.

Permit me to say that this organization is informed that several of the high schools and manual-training schools have courses in printing, some of the latest plants to be installed being at the Central High School at a cost of something like $4,000, and Dunbar Training School at about $3,000, and that regular classes are conducted, the instructor at Central High School, Miss Coolidge, the assistant principal, said to be a very capable and efficient educator, not being what could be called a practical printer, as she is said to have studied the art of printing for only a few months.

This organization takes the position that if printing is to be effectively taught in the high and manual-training schools the instructor should be a practical printer.

Very truly, yours, GEO. G. SEIBOLD, *Secretary.*

Receipts and Disbursements During Our Occupancy of Vera Cruz, Mexico.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES H. DILLON,
OF SOUTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, December 22, 1916.

Mr. DILLON. Mr. Speaker, I think the general public is interested in knowing the amount of money we collected and disbursed during our occupancy of Vera Cruz, Mexico, and the disposition made of it. As showing such facts I present herewith two letters written by The Adjutant General and the statement referred to therein:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
THE ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, August 29, 1916.

Hon. C. H. DILLON,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR SIR: Referring further to your letter of August 9, 1916, asking to be informed as to the amount of money collected at the port of Vera Cruz, Mexico, during the occupancy of that city by the United States expeditionary force, the Secretary of War desires me to inform you that the total collections amounted to $8,290,719.33 Mexican currency, $4,289.51 of which was turned over to the United States consul and $2,604,051.20 deposited with the Assistant Treasurer of the United States at New Orleans. The balance, amounting to $5,682,378.62, represents the expenses of the administration. The fund turned over to the Assistant Treasurer is subject to the order of the Secretary of War.

Trusting that the foregoing will give you the desired information, I remain,

Very truly, yours, H. P. McCAIN,
The Adjutant General.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
THE ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, September 20, 1916.

Hon. C. H. DILLON,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. DILLON: Referring further to your letter of August 31, 1916, in response to letter from this office of August 29, 1916, in which letter you request certain additional information concerning the amount of money collected at the port of Vera Cruz, Mexico, during the occupancy of that city by the United States expeditionary force, I beg leave to inclose herewith a statement showing in detail the receipts and expenditures of the United States military government of Vera Cruz, Mexico, from April 21, 1914, to November 23, 1914.

This statement shows total collections amounted to $3,743,130.51 and total expenditures $1,135,946.94. Through inadvertence, the statement of receipts and expenditures given in letter from this office of August 29, 1916, referred to above, included certain bookkeeping entries which, in fact, had nothing to do with income and expenditures, as will be noted by the statement transmitted herewith.

Of the item of $4,289.51 paid to the United States consul, the records of this office give no particulars. It is shown as a part of the balance carried in the Federal stamp office under the head of "Bonds," the closing entry being "Bonds transferred to United States consul."

So far as authority for expenditures is concerned, it is improbable that anything was expended from any fund except in cases where such expenditure could be legally made by Mexican officials had they been in charge.

The amount deposited with the Assistant Treasurer of the United States at New Orleans consisted of $7,644.92 Mexican gold or its equivalent in United States currency at the rate of 2 to 1, the balance being Mexican paper currency.

All figures in the accompanying statement are in Mexican currency.

Trusting that the foregoing will afford you the information desired, I am,

Very truly, yours,

H. P. MCCAIN,
The Adjutant General.

United States military government of Vera Cruz, Mexico, from Apr. 21, 1914, to Nov. 23, 1914.

	Office of the treasurer.	Mexican Federal fund.	Mexican civil fund.	Mexican trust fund.	Total.
COLLECTIONS.					
Import duties		$1,975,574.63			$1,975,574.63
Export duties		301,069.38			301,069.38
Loading and discharging cargo		105,732.74			105,732.74
25 per cent beverages		39,564.02			39,564.02
Custody charges		60,301.58			60,301.58
Tonnage		42,829.55			42,829.55
Pilotage		17,419.42			17,419.42
Sanitation		8,434.94			8,434.94
Postal-fund receipts		3.61			3.61
Fines		37,475.60	$33,761.60		71,237.20
Miscellaneous	$115.19	7,242.34	22,562.81		29,920.34
Guaranty deposits		23,357.97	3,739.04		27,097.01
Stamp sales			408,651.42		408,651.42
Penalties			21,827.47		21,827.47
Railroad transportation taxes			3,943.48		3,943.48
Imported-tobacco tax			1,151.42		1,151.42
Rent			2,190.00		2,190.00
Commercial and industrial establishments			140,225.92		140,225.92
Peddlers' licenses and permits			6,924.30		6,924.30
Real estate transfers			21,576.99		21,576.99
City real estate			190,251.84		190,251.84
Slaughterhouse tax			43,613.04		43,613.04
Annuities and leases and legacies			4,733.14		4,733.14
Market tax			38,419.96		38,419.96
Water tax			106,799.71		106,799.71
Board of charities			13,602.38		13,602.38
Flour products			24,868.08		24,868.08
Interest on mortgages and deposits			8,148.25		8,148.25
Public entertainments			2,373.56		2,373.56
Transportation			9,135.35		9,135.35
Sale of garbage cans			7,255.00		7,255.00
Weights and measures			1.30		1.30
Gambling concessions			1,200.00		1,200.00
Public documents			323.03		323.03
Office com. Federal stamps			238.50		238.50
Unimproved lands			11.87		11.87
Commissions			109.92		109.92
Stamped receipts			188.05		188.05
All Saints booths			798.50		798.50
Docking charges			5,627.50		5,627.50
Taxes transferred			(243.89)		(243.89)
Total collections	115.19	2,619,005.78	1,124,009.54		3,743,130.51
OTHER RECEIPTS.					
Seized funds	500.00	17,726.00	20,873.03		39,099.03
Receipts from civil government			30,778.31		30,778.31
Street-repair fund	4,546.95				4,546.95
Trust-fund collections				$2,664.38	2,664.38
Refunds			11,694.49		11,694.49

United States military government at Vera Cruz, Mexico, etc.—Contd.

	Office of the treasurer.	Mexican Federal fund.	Mexican civil fund.	Mexican trust fund.	Total.
OTHER RECEIPTS—continued.					
Transfers	$3,549,006.59	$79,778.13	$813,629.37		$4,442,414.09
Bills receivable			16,391.57		16,391.57
Total (Mexican currency)	3,544,168.73	2,716,509.91	2,017,376.31	$2,664.38	8,290,719.33
DISBURSEMENTS.					
Administration	7,628.84	257,842.00	150,888.62		416,359.46
Maintenance, customhouse		15,593.16			15,593.16
Improvements, customhouse		17,866.44			17,866.44
Repairs	2,161.00	15,130.48	45,783.42		63,074.90
Health and sanitation			57,597.93		57,597.93
Education			36,409.95		36,409.95
Provost marshal general			19,429.49		19,429.49
Public safety, police and jails			114,195.81		114,195.81
Justices of the peace			13,256.13		13,256.13
Charities and hospitals			74,184.17		74,184.17
Maintenance and operation, public works:					
Maritime zone			7,123.75		7,123.75
Terminal road			475.08		475.08
Automobile service			18,796.73		18,796.73
Public lighting			53,718.43		53,718.43
Sewerage			41,041.14		41,041.14
City water service			11,761.26		11,761.26
"El Tejar" Water Works			42,061.32		42,061.32
Street-cleaning service			83,635.86		83,635.86
Markets and slaughterhouses			6,333.58		6,333.58
Post office			193.47		193.47
Wireless station			403.05		403.05
Quarantine			50.00		50.00
General expense			916.56		916.56
Miscellaneous expense			41,469.27		41,469.27
Total expenses	9,789.84	306,432.08	819,725.02		1,135,946.94
OTHER PAYMENTS.					
Refunds		96,071.65	7,945.94		104,017.59
Transfers	942,992.07	2,314,006.18	1,185,415.84		4,442,414.09
Deposited with Assistant Treasurer of the United States, New Orleans, La.:					
Customs fund	2,313,067.17				2,313,067.17
Federal fund	171,049.85				171,049.85
State fund	114,783.62				114,783.62
Municipal fund	191.15				191.15
Street-repair fund	2,295.03				2,295.03
Trust fund				2,664.38	2,664.38
Deposited with U. S. consul			4,289.51		4,289.51
Total (Mexican currency)	3,554,168.73	2,716,509.91	2,017,376.31	2,664.38	8,290,719.33

Conservation in the Interest of the Public of the Water Powers of the Nation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE R. SMITH,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 19, 1916.

Mr. SMITH of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, the Montana Power Co., at Great Falls, Mont., is furnishing to the mines at Butte and the smelters at Anaconda power for 3.4 mills per hour per horsepower, or 42 mills per kilowatt hour, although they are compelled to transmit the power 130 miles.

Col. Burr, who is in charge of the Rock Island Arsenal, stated before a delegation of Members of Congress that the Rock Island hydroelectric plant, when developed to its capacity, could produce electric power for from 1½ to 2 mills per kilowatt hour. The Potomac Electric Power Co., of the District of

Columbia, charges the private consumer 10 cents per kilowatt hour. The Minneapolis General Electric Co. charges the householder the same as the Potomac Electric Power Co., and I take it for granted that 10 cents per kilowatt hour is the customary charge made by electric companies to private consumers.

I state these facts in order to call attention to the further fact that electric power can be developed at a nominal expense, and that the consumer is paying an unusually high price for a commodity that costs but very little to produce. True, the Montana Power Co. saved the miners of Montana $55 per horsepower per year, for they had been paying $85 per year for electric power generated by steam. But it does not follow that all power companies will treat the general public as fairly as the Montana Power Co. has treated its customers. On the contrary, there is abundant evidence to show that these companies charge the highest price that the traffic will bear, which is the natural and customary thing to do. This being the situation, is it not wise for the public to retain control of its water-power resources so that in their development the public can get a share of the benefit to be derived from the utilization of natural resources?

Those who are opposed to such measures as the Shields bill are anxious and desirous that the water powers be developed, but in such a way as to retain for the public some of the benefits to be derived therefrom.

Mr. F. N. Feiker, editor of the Electrical World, spokesman for the hydroelectric monopoly, stated in the July issue of his paper that the hydroelectric interests could not understand or comprehend why handicaps should be placed in the way of their right to develop the water powers of the country, because eventually their companies will secure this right. Why not now? Personally I see no objection to their securing this right, provided the rights of the public are properly safeguarded, a thing which the monopoly most seriously objects to. What we want and are seeking to obtain in every possible manner is the right to develop these water powers free from any restrictions or control that amount to anything. Such restrictions and conditions as they are willing to submit to in no wise protects the public in their interest in these natural resources. The Shields bill is a fair sample of what the hydroelectric monopoly wants.

Dr. E. A. Gilmore, of the University of Minnesota, in an able analysis of the Shields bill points out that such a bill, instead of protecting the rights of the public, would forever foreclose the public from any control of their water powers if it should become a law. It would be preferable to have no law at all on the subject; better to give the hydroelectric people a clear title to all of these water powers, free from restrictions or conditions of any kind, than to have them operate under such a measure as the Shields bill. For the benefit of the membership of the House and the country, I will incorporate at this point, as a part of my remarks, Dr. Gilmore's analysis of the Shields bill:

MEMORANDUM CONCERNING THE SHIELDS WATER-POWER BILL (S. 3331).

[By E. A. Gilmore, professor of law, University of Wisconsin.]

"The bill embodies a comprehensive plan for the authorization of dams and other structures in all the navigable waters of the United States, or water over which the United States has jurisdiction, for the improvement of navigation and the development of water power. It also provides for the leasing, on terms fixed by the Secretary of War, of all surplus water power created by dams now built or to be built by the United States to improve navigation. It also provides for the use, on terms, of lands of the United States and public lands in aid of the construction, maintenance, or operation of dams or other structures.

"As to the undeveloped water powers on the navigable streams of the United States the effect of the bill is by authorizing principal and accessory structures in those streams and the use of public lands in connection with such structures, to grant them virtually in perpetuity and without price. This is apparent upon an analysis of the bill.

"It is necessary to notice first the repealing section of the bill and the effect it has on existing laws and rights.

"Page 21, lines 24 and 25, and page 22, lines 1 to 9, repeal the existing statutes, chapter 907, sections 9 and 10, of the Laws of 1890, and chapter 425, sections 9 and 10, of the Laws of 1899, which forbid all obstructions in navigable waters of the United States without the consent of Congress or subject to the approval of the Secretary of War. By the repeal of these sections the construction and the maintenance of dams and other structures in the navigable waters of the United States are governed by this act.

"Section 15 also repeals all existing acts or parts of acts inconsistent with this bill. This, by implication, in effect repeals the act of February 15, 1901 (31 Stat., 790), known as the revocable-permit law, and the amendment thereof in 36 Statute, 1263, because by condition (f), page 6, lines 11 to 26, the Secretary of War is authorized to grant unrevocable permits to use any lands of the United States, including public lands.

"Furthermore, the effect of the first part of section 11 upon existing rights is ambiguous. It is there provided that this act shall not affect any rights previously granted under other acts, but with a proviso that the operation of any structures or accessory works shall be upon the terms and conditions of sections 3, 7, 8, 12, and 13 of this act. All conflicting provisions relating to the operation of previously authorized structures and accessory works are amended or repealed so as to conform to this act. This could be construed as converting all previously granted revocable permits into permits of the sort provided in this act. Section 8 as to forfeitures is by section 11 made applicable to all existing grants.

"The authority to erect structures in navigable waters is granted in two ways, according to the nature of the navigable waters involved:

"(a) Authority after permit obtained from the Secretary of War. Section 1 prescribes the conditions for obtaining this permit. Such a previous permit is required for structures to be erected in the class of waters defined in section 14 (p. 20, lines 24 and 25; p. 21, lines 1 to 5), namely, 'such streams or parts of streams as are in their ordinary natural condition used for the transportation of persons or property in interstate or foreign commerce, or which through improvement heretofore or hereafter made have been or shall become usable in such commerce.'

"(b) Authority without previous permit from the Secretary of War. (See p. 21, lines 5 to 14.) This authority may be used to erect structures in 'all other streams or parts of streams over which Congress has jurisdiction under its authority to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States.'

"It is not clear what kind of waters would be included in the foregoing description. Presumably small streams not used or usable for interstate and foreign commerce, but so related to other streams or bodies of water used or usable for such commerce, and therefore within the jurisdiction of the United States. Such a stream might well be valuable for water-power development directly or in aid of such development. The description is broad enough to cover all small tributary streams, lying wholly within a State, which feed into the larger streams covered by the description under (a) above.

"Whatever the kind of streams may be that are included in the description, the act (sec. 14) grants directly a permit to erect structures therein practically indefensible and subject only to the one condition named on page 21, lines 9 to 14.

"As to these streams, it is not even necessary to have the previous authority of the State wherein the stream exists. In all other cases—that is, authorization on permit from the Secretary of War—the previous authorization of the State concerned is necessary. (See p. 7, lines 23–26; p. 8, lines 1–2.) While Congress undoubtedly has the power, in controlling the navigable waters of the United States, to authorize the erection and maintenance of structures therein and of navigation without the consent of the States, the granting to individuals of permission, in the exercise of this power, should be under more definite control and restriction.

"The authority to place structures in waters of the first class above described is exercisable only after obtaining a permit from the Secretary of War. The permit is subject to certain conditions which may be imposed by the Secretary of War. None of these conditions require compensation for the privilege of utilizing the water power. All the conditions are to be settled and imposed, if at all, at the time the permit is issued.

"Beginning on page 4, line 18, is an enumeration of these conditions which the Secretary may impose, but the imposition of which is not absolute. The Secretary may impose any or all of them 'in so far as he deems the same reasonably necessary to promote the present and future interest of navigation and consistent with a reasonable investment cost to such grantee.' This is very vague and indefinite, and virtually amounts to this: That if the Secretary thinks that the grantee can not afford to submit to the conditions stated the grantee may take the permit without such conditions. Moreover, whether the imposition of such conditions is consistent with the reasonable investment cost to the grantee is to be determined at the outset of the enterprise, regardless of what the subsequent developments and growth of the enterprise may justify him in paying. For example, (e), page 5, line 21, requires the grantee to pay reasonable charges for benefits arising from the use of headwater improvements and storage reservoirs, or condition (f), page 6, lines 11 to 25,

requires the payment of compensation for the use of lands of the United States.

"The imposition of obligations to make the foregoing payments, however, depends upon whether such payments would be consistent with a reasonable investment cost to the grantee; that is, consistent at the time the permit is granted. No matter what a reasonable investment cost may thereafter justify, the act does not provide for any adjustment of conditions to meet the later capacity of the grantee. Conceivably, within 10 years after the permit is granted, the reasonable investment cost may be producing a sufficient earning to justify a substantial charge for the use of headwater improvements or for the use of the public lands, but no provision is made for any readjustments.

"The relative nature of these conditions and their optional character is further illustrated by the language on page 7, lines 4 to 9. Practically the conditions must be settled upon at the time the permit is granted, regardless of the subsequent developments, and will continue for a period of 50 years, and apparently in perpetuity, because page 11, lines 14 to 18, require that the renewal of the permit shall be on the same terms and with the same restrictions.

"While the grant of the permit purports to be for 50 years, it is virtually in perpetuity, because the conditions of forfeiture or of termination are so drastic and burdensome that they will probably never be exercised.

"In view of the provisions of sections 5 and 6, which require the purchase at its fair value of all the property of the grantee if the United States desires to terminate the permit, there should be some opportunity other than the one at the outset of the grant to adjust the conditions in accordance with subsequent developments. If the plant of the grantee became the property of the Government at the end of the 50-year period, as is provided in the laws of a number of the Canadian Provinces and foreign countries, then it would be fair to leave the conditions fixed at the outset undisturbed during the period of the permit.

"Section 8 provides for a forfeiture of the permit for a violation of any of its terms and conditions or for a disregard of the rules and regulations of the Secretary of War. But the forfeiture is very much postponed and trammeled with conditions. Before a decree of forfeiture can be made, a criminal proceeding must have been had, and after that a suit in equity enjoining the misconduct. The disregard of the rules and regulations of the Secretary of War or the breach of any of the conditions of the permit is made a misdemeanor, subject to fine. If a judgment imposing a fine is ineffective, then a suit in equity may be brought to enjoin the further breach or disobedience. If the unlawful conduct continues after final judgment in the criminal and equitable action, then the court may decree forfeiture; but such decree is subject to the condition that the property of the misconducting grantee must be sold, and the sale is on terms not likely to produce a buyer.

"Furthermore, if the sale is to anyone but the United States the purchaser must pay for the 'rights' and franchises granted under this act, even though such a sale is ordered on the very ground that the grantee by his conduct has forfeited his rights or franchise.

"Moreover, the purchaser may be required to take the rights and privileges with all the outstanding obligations and liabilities of the grantee. It is safe to say there will be no purchaser on such drastic terms and that no grantee runs any risk of ever having his rights forfeited for misconduct.

"As to termination by purchase and recapture, provided for in section 6, this likewise is upon such burdensome conditions as to make the exercise of it extremely unlikely.

"While the rights granted are stated to run for 50 years, still it is expressly provided that they shall continue beyond 50 years until they are either forfeited in the manner provided above or the property has been purchased on terms in the act. That is, the permit or lease purports to be for a term, but even after the term has expired the grantor can get rid of the grantee only on buying him out. It is a misnomer to call it a 50-year permit; it is, more accurately, a permit until such a time, not fewer than 50 years, as the grantor may buy out the grantee.

"This provision requiring purchase before termination is essentially different from the provision for purchase in H. R. 408, where the United States is given the right to purchase, but the lease will expire notwithstanding the option to purchase be not exercised.

"The grantee is given the use of the water power for 50 years free of charge and then can be deposed only upon receiving the fair value of all his property, which constitutes part of the plant and dependent in whole or in part upon it (the plant) for its usefulness, and acquired, necessary, appurtenant, valuable or serviceable in the distribution of water, or in the generation, transmission, and distribution of power.

"And in addition to this the United States must pay the cost to the grantee of locks or other aids to navigation and all capital expenditures required.

"And still in addition must assume all contracts entered into by the grantee.

"Moreover, what the property of the grantee includes which the United States must purchase is not clearly set forth in the provisions on page 10, lines 1 to 18. It is open to two interpretations, one of which it would require the United States to buy not only the dam, the appurtenant structures, and the distributing system, but also the dependent industries. While it may not be the intention of the act to require the purchase of the dependent industries, still the very existence of the ambiguity as to precisely what must be purchased is a serious objection and will operate as a powerful deterrent from making any purchase at all.

"For the property, whatever that may include, the United States must pay the 'fair value.' This requirement would not limit the price to the fair value of the physical plant. It includes all elements of value, such as going value, good will, local franchises, and rights and other elements of intangible value. This is in sharp contrast with a provision in H. R. 408 providing for purchase by the United States at a reasonable value, but 'such reasonable value shall not include or be affected by the value of the franchise or good will or profits to be earned on pending contracts or any other intangible element.'

"As further indicating the perpetual nature of the permit, section 13 provides 'that the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved,' but subject to a proviso immediately following which makes the United States pay for the exercise of the right. The so-called right of alteration, amendment, or repeal is a hollow pretense. By the terms of the proviso all of the rights granted by it when exercised become vested and can be disturbed only upon making full compensation therefore as provided in the act. This is a roundabout method of saying that the United States may exercise the right of eminent domain, not under ordinary conditions but under the hard and drastic conditions of this act. So far as section 13, with this so-called reserved power, and section 6, with its burdensome conditions of purchase are concerned, the United States would be better off if both sections were stricken out, for then the Government could exercise its sovereign power of eminent domain untrammeled by the hard conditions of these sections.

"Not only does the act donate the existing undeveloped water power to the grantee, but section 10 provides for the leasing of all surplus water power produced by dams constructed or to be constructed by the United States. This is to be leased on reasonable terms. Presumably the terms are as to time and price. For how long these leases are to be made or how often the rental would be adjusted is not specified.

"But section 10 also contemplates that the lessee may build other structures to be used in connection with the surplus water power leased from the structures of the United States. The structures which may thus be erected, maintained, or operated are protected by all the terms and conditions of sections 3, 9, 11, and 13. This would enable a grantee taking a lease of the surplus water power of an existing dam to become practically the owner thereof in perpetuity of such surplus."

Mr. Speaker, I wish to assure my colleagues that my constituents are very anxious that the valuable water powers of the country be developed and utilized in the interest of all the people and not for the benefit of a few private individuals who are seeking to obtain from Congress such legislation as the Shields bill that will enable them to reap all the profit to be derived from the development; and as a evidence of the active interest and public spirit of my constituents I will incorporate at this time as a part of my remarks the following communications and resolutions adopted, not only by citizens within my district but by citizens residing throughout the State of Minnesota. It affords me unbounded pleasure to lay before this House evidence of what the citizens of Minnesota think of the Shields bill.

The first communication is a set of resolutions passed by the Saturday Lunch Club of Minneapolis, one of the most progressive and active organizations whose purpose is the betterment of the conditions of all the people to be found anywhere in the country:

Whereas electrically transmitted water power is rapidly becoming, and in the very near future will become, in fact, the dominant and controlling factor for fixing prices and costs of power used in future agricultural, industrial, and domestic service in the United States; and

Whereas the so-called Shields water-power bill now pending before Congress is an attempt to provide the means and method of development and future control of the water power now owned and controlled by our Government; and

Whereas this Shields bill is seriously defective in the following particulars:

It fails to secure to our Government effective inspection and supervision of construction and operation costs, and of contracts.

It fails to secure to our Government full publicity of accounts and records, and effective and immediate control over rates charged for power service.

It fails to secure to our Government the same opportunity for State and municipal government to secure leases of the water-power sites as are enjoyed by private interests urging the enactment of the bill.

It provides that riparian owners of property adjacent to the water-power sites shall have the preference in securing leases over persons not riparian owners, notwithstanding the well-known fact that the hydroelectric trust and its subsidiary interests now have actual control of practically all of the riparian rights for all undeveloped water-power sites.

It permits private water-power development interests to outbid any municipality seeking a lease of water-power site, or force such municipality to bid therefor at a prohibitive price.

It provides so cumbersome and complicated a method of regulation and control of rates that the general public will be obliged to bear intolerable burdens for an unlimited period before relief can be obtained.

It permits a perpetual franchise subject only to purchases by the Government of the entire property investment at the water-power sites, and all property investment dependent thereon, together with any and all unexpired contracts, inequitable or otherwise, which may be in existence, and without adequate provision to get at the reasonable and proper actual cost and fair value thereof.

Its purchase provision will compel the Government to pay a price for the property to include not only the fair physical value, but enormous accessories in the form of intangible values, including going concern value, speculative commercial value of water-power leases, and the capitalized form of existing contracts, land and site values far in excess of their actual cost, the cost of obsolete and inadequate equipment discarded during the term of the grant, and other fictitious values; and, finally,

It includes all of the undeveloped water-power sites owned by the Government, which is unnecessary at this time; and

Whereas the enactment of this Shields water-power bill into law will greatly injure and prejudice the rights and welfare of the general American public and will permit further improper exploitation of, and greatly increased cost of living to, the general public: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the membership of the Saturday Lunch Club of the City of Minneapolis, assembled together November 25, 1916, after hearing this Shields bill discussed by our Congressman, GEORGE R. SMITH, and after examination of this Shields bill by a special committee and deliberation for one week, that the general welfare of the American people will be greatly and irreparably prejudiced and injured if this bill becomes a law, and that we desire that this bill be defeated and rejected by Congress, and if passed by Congress that it be vetoed by the President of the United States; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of this club be directed to forward copies of this resolution to all of the Members of Congress from Minnesota and to the President of the United States forthwith; and be it further

Resolved, That it is our desire that this Shields bill be examined and investigated at once by all individuals and organizations not already familiar with it, and that appropriate action be taken promptly to secure its defeat.

The Joint Improvement Association, whose resolutions I herewith submit, is composed of a coordination of all the local improvement associations of the city of Minneapolis, and comprises a membership of several thousand, all engaged in planning ways and means to improve the living conditions of the mass of our people. These resolutions were adopted on December 5, after hearing a report of a special committee on its examination of the Shields bill:

Whereas electrically transmitted water power is rapidly becoming, and in the very near future will become, in fact, the dominant and controlling factor for fixing prices and costs of power used in future agricultural, industrial, and domestic service in the United States; and

Whereas the so-called Shields water-power bill now pending before Congress is an attempt to provide the means and method of development and future control of the approximately 60,000,000 horsepower of undeveloped natural water power now owned and controlled by our Government; and

Whereas this Shields bill is seriously defective in the following particulars:

It fails to secure to our Government effective inspection and supervision of construction and operation costs and of contracts;

It fails to secure to our Government full publicity of accounts and records and effective and immediate control over rates charged for power service;

It fails to secure to our Government the same opportunity for State and municipal government to secure leases of the water-power sites as are enjoyed by private interests urging the enactment of the bill;

It provides that riparian owners of property adjacent to the water-power sites shall have the preference in securing leases over persons not riparian owners, notwithstanding the well-known fact that the Hydroelectric Trust and its subsidiary interests now have actual control of practically all of the riparian rights for all undeveloped water-power sites;

It permits private water-power development interests to outbid any municipality seeking a lease of water-power site, or force such municipality to bid therefor at a prohibitive price;

It provides so cumbersome and complicated a method of regulation and control of rates that the general public will be obliged to bear intolerable burdens for an unlimited period before relief can be obtained;

It permits a perpetual franchise for monopoly use of public property by private interests, subject only to purchase by the Government of the entire property investment at the water-power sites, and all property investment dependent thereon, without adequate provision to get at the actual cost and fair value thereof;

Its purchase provision will compel the Government to pay a price for such property which will include not only the fair physical value, but also enormous additions thereto in the form of intangible values, including going concern value; speculative commercial value of water-power leases and unexpired contracts, inequitable or otherwise and of unknown duration; land and site values greatly in excess of their actual cost; the cost of obsolete and inadequate equipment discarded during the term of the grant; and many other fictitious items which have no real value to the public; and, finally,

It includes many valuable undeveloped water-power sites now owned by the Government which can not and will not be developed at once, and which should be held in reserve by the Government for Government uses; and

Whereas the enactment of this Shields water-power bill into law will greatly injure and prejudice the rights and welfare of the American public, and will permit further improper exploitation of, and greatly increase cost of living to, the general public: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the membership of the Joint Improvement Association of the City of Minneapolis, assembled together December 5, 1916, after hearing report of a special committee on its examination of this Shields bill that the general welfare of the American people will be greatly and irreparably prejudiced and injured if this bill becomes a law, and that we desire that this bill be defeated and rejected by Congress, and if passed by Congress, that it be vetoed by the President of the United States; and be it further

Resolved, That the Secretary of this association be directed to forward copies of this resolution to all of the Members of Congress from Minnesota and to the President of the United States forthwith; and be it further

Resolved, That it is our desire that this Shields bill be examined and investigated at once by all individuals and organizations not already familiar with it, and that appropriate action be taken promptly to secure its defeat.

The Calhoun Commercial Club, of Minneapolis, adopted the resolutions herewith attached at a mass meeting held November 20, at which time over 500 representative citizens from all walks of life gave voice to their convictions on this matter of legislation and vigorously protested against the passage of the Shields bill:

Whereas electrically transmitted water power is rapidly becoming, and in the very near future will become, in fact, the dominant and controlling factor for fixing prices and cost for power used in future agricultural, industrial, and domestic service in the United States; and

Whereas the so-called Shields water-power bill now pending before Congress is an attempt by private water-power development interests to secure a dangerous monopoly control of the remaining 60,000,000 horsepower of our natural water power owned by our Government; and

Whereas the enactment of this Shields bill into law will not conserve and preserve the best interests of the general public welfare of the Nation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of this mass meeting here assembled together on this November 20, 1916, consisting of approximately 500 representative citizens of the city of Minneapolis from all walks of life, after hearing this Shields bill debated by Attorney Rome G. Brown and our Congressman, GEORGE R. SMITH, that the general welfare of the American people will be greatly and irreparably prejudiced and injured if this bill becomes a law, and that we desire that this bill be defeated and rejected by Congress, and, if passed by Congress, that it be vetoed by our President of the United States: And be it further

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Calhoun Commercial Club of this city be requested to forward copies of these resolutions to all of the Members of Congress from Minnesota forthwith: And be it further

Resolved, That it is our desire and request that all organizations and individuals who desire to protect the general welfare of the American people shall at once investigate this Shields bill, and if satisfied that it ought not to become a law take action forthwith, as indicated by these resolutions: And be it further

Resolved, That our newspapers be especially requested to give full publicity to this meeting and to these resolutions.

The Minnesota State Federation of Labor, having a membership of several thousand practical men, who are interested in getting for all humanity the greatest amount of comfort and happiness, have also entered their protest against the Shields bill:

MINNESOTA STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR,
Minneapolis, December 19, 1916.

Hon. G. R. SMITH, M. C.,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have been instructed to call to your attention three bills which are now before Congress.

One bill, which is known as the Shields bill, and is now in conference and no doubt will be reported to the House at an early date. The working men and women of our State believe that this measure should not pass, but should be conserved for the Government. The Myers bill, which we feel is equally vicious, and also certain provisions of the Phelan bill, we are also opposed to.

We ask you to protect our undeveloped resources for the Government.

Trusting that we may hear favorably from you on these provisions, I am, in behalf of the labor organizations of the State,

Fraternally, yours,

E. G. HALL, *President.*

The Minnesota Forestry Association, which deals directly and constantly with questions of conservation, has also placed itself on record to the Shields bill and the Myers bill as diametrically opposed to all principles of true conservation.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA,
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
University Farm, St. Paul, December 15, 1916.

Hon. G. R. SMITH,
Care of House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am advised that the Shields bill and the Myers bill have passed both Houses of Congress and are now in conference. Both of these measures are diametrically opposed to all principles of true conservation, and the Minnesota Forestry Association urges you to exert your best influence against these bills. They, both of them, represent raids on the natural resources of our country and should be suppressed.

I hope you can give this matter your best attention and study.

Very truly, yours,

MINNESOTA FORESTRY ASSOCIATION,
E. G. CHEYNEY, *Secretary.*

Dr. Cook and the North Pole.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY T. HELGESEN,
OF NORTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, September 4, 1916.

Mr. HELGESEN. Mr. Speaker, in my speech on Government Maps of the Arctic Regions Corrected, delivered on the floor of this House January 13, 1916, I presented official correspondence from Hon. Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, and from Dr. E. Lester Jones, Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, showing that Robert E. Peary's so-called "discoveries" in the Arctic have been officially disproved and removed from our Government maps.

As a result of that speech I have received a large volume of letters from all parts of this country as well as from foreign lands. Among these letters are many asking if the testimony given by Peary before the House Committee on Naval Affairs is available. I therefore procured a complete copy of that testimony, which had been suppressed for years, made a careful and complete analysis of the same, and published both analysis and complete testimony in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 12, 1916. This testimony and the accompanying analysis prove that Peary has no foundation in fact—only in fiction—for his claims to Arctic or polar discovery, and the publication of this material brought me another flood of letters of commendation. Thereupon I made a further analysis, which was printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of August 3, 1916, this time of Peary's book, The North Pole, and of his magazine articles, which ran through nine months of Hampton's Magazine in 1911, and again it was shown conclusively that Peary's claims have no foundation in fact.

My last analysis of the Peary material brought forth a still larger mass of correspondence of a commendatory nature. Many of these letters asked if I intended to conduct an investigation as to whether or not any American has reached the North Pole, since it is conclusively proven that Peary did not, and a considerable number of people have written me asking when I would take up the case of Dr. Cook. In this connection I shall call attention to my speech of January 13, 1916, in the course of which I was asked by Congressman SLOAN, of Nebraska, if I gave countenance to the discovery of the North Pole "by a rival explorer," to which question I replied:

> In these remarks I am dealing wholly with the correction of our maps, in so far as the Government has put anything upon them that an American discoverer claims to have discovered, and there is no other discoverer that I know of who has got anything on our maps that does not deserve to be there.

Since that time, however, I have received many letters requesting my opinion on "the Cook case," some of them from men of practical Arctic experience. I quote from one of these letters, the writer of which, Middleton Smith, was a member of the Point Barrow International Polar Expedition, and one of the few Arctic explorers who conducted practical experiments and obtained valuable results during his two years' stay in the Arctic. Mr. Smith's letter reads:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *August 24, 1916.*

DEAR MR. HELGESEN: A fool, it is said, never changes his opinion, but the wise sometimes do. When Dr. Frederick A. Cook, on September 1, 1909, cabled to the world from Lerwick, Shetland Islands, "Reached North Pole April 21, 1908," I believed him. When Civil Engineer Robert E. Peary, on September 6, 1909, flashed by wireless to the world from Indian Harbor, Labrador, "I have the pole, April 6," and later, "Nailed the Stars and Stripes to the pole," I had no reason to doubt him, but, coupling with this announcement the accusation that "Dr. Cook has given to the world a gold brick," without first seeing the evidence upon which the doctor based his claim of having attained the pole, an unpardonable breach of polar etiquette, my respect for Mr. Peary, whom I had known for many years, being a fellow member of two clubs—the Arctic Club of America and the Explorers' Club—greatly waned, and my belief in his claim of reaching the pole became, in due course of time, greatly lessened, and still later, when asked whether I was willing to indorse the letter of Rear Admiral W. S. Schley, which credited both explorers with the attainment of the pole, I replied, "Yes; in part." My indorsement of the letter reads:

"I indorse the letter of Rear Admiral W. S. Schley, so far as it relates to Dr. Frederick A. Cook's attainment of the pole."

The elimination by me of Mr. Peary's name in this indorsement was well taken, as is amply proven, Mr. HELGESEN, by the results of your analyses of the Peary data given in your three speeches in Congress—"Government maps of the Arctic regions corrected," January 13, 1916; "Analysis of the Peary hearings," February 12, 1916; "Analysis of Peary's book, The North Pole, and his magazine articles on the same subject," August 3, 1916. These speeches, severally and jointly, constitute the most valuable critical Arctic literature extant, and I am of the opinion that it is beyond belief that anyone reading them could come to any other conclusion than drawn by you, that Civil Engineer Robert E. Peary never was within 100 miles of the pole, and is, therefore, not entitled to or worthy of the honors conferred upon him by the United States Congress; and I will add that if an investigation by a competent tribunal, authorized by the Congress of the United States of America, of Dr. Frederick A. Cook's claim of his attainment of the pole were to disprove his claim, I would acknowledge an error of judgment in having indorsed him, and would have to cancel in toto my indorsement of the Schley letter. If such an authorization by Congress can not be obtained, why not, Mr. HELGESEN, make an analysis of the Cook polar data yourself, and give the result to the world, whether favorable or otherwise to the doctor, and let the people weigh the evidence and judge for themselves?

Very truly, yours,

MIDDLETON SMITH,
Member Point Barrow International Polar Expedition.

Many other letters have been received urging me to analyze Dr. Cook's claims to polar discovery, and as these requests have come from leading geographers, historians, educators, and other persons of learning, I feel that public interest is keen, not so much on the question: "Did *Cook* discover the North Pole?" as: "Did *any American* ever attain the North Pole?"

In view of this interest and general desire for information, I have decided to make public the results of my investigation into this question.

At this time only two Americans have ever claimed the attainment of the North Pole: Frederick A. Cook and Robert E. Peary.

I have contended and still contend that every American is entitled to a fair trial before judgment is rendered. Even a criminal, caught in the act of committing a crime, is given a trial before sentence is passed upon him. My contention in this respect has caused a general belief that I am, and have been, a champion of Dr. Cook's claim to the discovery of the North Pole. I have repeatedly stated that I am not a defender of Cook's claims, but I am a champion of fair play, and even if Cook is a fraud he is still entitled to a hearing.

I have defended Cook only against unfounded charges, for I firmly believe that no man was ever more ill-treated and maligned than Dr. Cook has been by his opponents in the polar controversy; however, such defense as I have made has been only a fight for American justice.

During the two years just past efforts have been made—not at my instigation but by Dr. Cook's friends—to procure for him a congressional hearing similar to that granted Peary. A strenuous effort—not at all commendable—has been made to prevent such a hearing, notwithstanding that prominent Members of Congress in both the Senate and the House have favored the plan. Several resolutions asking for a hearing for Cook have been introduced in the House and referred to the Committee on Education, only to be voted down in executive session, the last time by a vote of 6 to 6. These thwarted attempts to have the Committee on Education act in the matter aroused my interest and a desire to know why a hearing is persistently denied Cook when it was granted to Peary, for surely Cook's claims can not be more foundationless than Peary's! If Cook's opponents are sure—as they claim to be—that he is a fraud, why not give him a hearing, let the American public know officially the fraudulent nature of his claims, and close the matter with finality? Cook's opponents have used only such arguments as the merest tyro, unacquainted with either side of the case, would advance; arguments so silly, childish, and futile that they have been easily demolished, while the really vital points on which Cook could be discredited, as was Peary, have remained untouched. Apparently Cook's detractors have not feared that he could prove his claims so much as they have feared that an investigation would bring to light charges against Peary even worse than those already proven; hence their reluctance to mete out justice to Cook.

I have therefore set myself at the task of analyzing all of Cook's official evidence, and I shall insert the results of my analysis in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in order that the public may know the basis on which rests our claim that an American discovered the North Pole. I approached this task with an unbiased, unprejudiced mental attitude, and my conclusions are not favorable to Dr. Cook's claims.

We all remember that almost immediately after Cook's return from the north, when public sentiment both for and against him

ran high, he suddenly disappeared for about a year. At that time the charge was made by his opponents that he went away to avoid a further investigation into his claims. In 1915, when matters looked as though a hearing might be granted him, he decided on an eight months' tour around the world, though I happen to know that those persons who had his interests at heart remonstrated with him against such a course. The present year, on the more or less plausible excuse of a Chautauqua lecture tour, he went to the West, at a time when, with a little extra effort on his part, his friends hoped to secure for him the hearing which he has so long professed to desire. These actions may possibly be reasonably explained, nevertheless they lend color to the theory that Cook does not desire a bona fide hearing and investigation.

I therefore wrote Cook this letter, under date of August 3, 1916:

MY DEAR DR. COOK: Will you please inform me if you are willing to allow your claim as the discoverer of the North Pole to be decided in Congress on the material presented in your book My Attainment of the Pole? You say in the book that your claim of being the first man to reach the North Pole will rest upon the data presented between the covers of this book, and that it contains all of the facts and proofs concerning your claim.

Kindly reply at your earliest convenience, as this subject may be brought up at any time.

H. T. HELGESEN.

To this letter Dr. Cook replied on August 8, 1916:

DEAR HELGESEN: I will be glad to rest my case in Congress on the evidence presented by the official record as printed in my book. There are some typographic errors, mostly self-evident, and I am further willing to go to any trouble and expense to satisfy any examining commission. But on the whole My Attainment of the Pole contains all the evidence to prove that I reached the North Pole on April 21, 1908. I do hope the matter can be brought up for final adjustment.

FREDERICK A. COOK.

Therefore, since Cook says in his book, dated 1911, that—

I am now presenting every scrap of paper and every isolated fact—

And since he further says in the same book that—

My claim of being the first to reach the North Pole will rest upon the data presented between the covers of this book—

And repeats under date of August 8, 1916, that he rests his claim to polar attainment on the evidence presented in his book, barring "typographic errors, mostly self-evident," I am fully justified in giving my careful, unbiased analysis of his evidence and proofs to the public. In this analysis I ask only pertinent questions, that are answered in the pages of Cook's own book, and I take no unfair advantage of self-evident typographical errors to discredit him on statements which would otherwise be acceptable.

In the course I have pursued I am actuated only by a desire for truth and accuracy. It is sad, indeed, to reflect that two of our American explorers—Cook and Peary—have proven unworthy of the confidence reposed in them by the American Nation, a nation which is so notably represented in Arctic exploration as we have been in times past, by Kane, Hayes, Hall, Greely, and others. Nevertheless, truth must prevail even though, as Americans, we can not but regret that we have no claim as a Nation to the glory of the discovery of the North Pole.

In the preface to Dr. Cook's book, My Attainment of the Pole, he says:

This narrative has been prepared as a general outline of my conquest of the North Pole. In it the scientific data, the observations, every phase of the pioneer work, with its drain of human energy, has been presented in its proper relation to a strange cycle of events. * * * Herein, *with due afterthought* and the better perspective afforded by time, the rough field notes, the disconnected daily tabulations, and the records of instrumental observations, every fact, every optical and mental impression has been reexamined and rearranged to make a concise record of successive stages of progress to the boreal center. If I have thus worked out an understandable panorama of our environment, then the mission of this book has served its purpose.

Much has been said about absolute geographic proof of an explorer's work. History demonstrates that the book which gives the final authoritative narrative is the test of an explorer's claims. * * * In such a narrative, after due digestion and assimilation, there is to be found either the proof or the disproof of the claims of a discoverer. In a similar way, my claim of being first to reach the North Pole will rest upon the data presented between the covers of this book.

On page 245 Cook says:

I am now presenting every scrap of paper and every isolated fact. * * * Upon such a record history has always given its verdict of the value of an explorer's work. It will do the same in estimating the relative merits of the polar quest.

I have quoted thus fully from Dr. Cook's preface and from his later statements to show that he invites analysis and criticism of his book. He has no cause to adopt the pose of a martyr, therefore, if we take him at his word and prove or disprove his claims "upon the data presented between the covers of this book."

Much of Dr. Cook's narrative is devoted to controversial features, of which I shall treat only as they have a direct bearing on the authenticity of his story. He truly says (p. 4):

Few men in all history, I am inclined to believe, have ever been made the subject of such vicious attacks, of such malevolent assailing of character, of such a series of perjured and forged charges, of such a widespread and relentless press persecution as I.

Feeling the force and the truth of this assertion, I have hesitated to add anything to the load of criticism that has been heaped upon a man who has been treated with great injustice. However, the ends of justice are not served by evading the truth, and an impersonal analysis of Cook's narrative can not injure an honest man.

The first chapter of Cook's book is entitled "The polar fight" and is devoted to a brief résumé of the controversy. Chapter 2 opens with the statement:

On July 3, 1907, between 7 and 8 o'clock in the evening, the yacht, which had been renamed the *John R. Bradley*, quietly withdrew from the pier at Gloucester, Mass., and, turning her prow oceanward, slowly, quietly started on her historic journey to the Arctic seas.

On pages 24, 25, and 29, and in a footnote on page 30 of his book, Cook gives his version of the inception of and preparation for the expedition. In the Independent for September 16, 1909, Mr. John R. Bradley, Cook's financial backer and friend, gives *his* account of the manner in which the project was launched. For the purpose of comparison I give these two accounts in parallel columns:

DR. COOK SAYS.	MR. BRADLEY SAYS.
An Arctic expedition had been born without the usual clamor. Prepared in one month and financed by a sportsman whose only mission was to hunt game animals in the North, no press campaign heralded our project, no Government aid had been asked, nor had large contributions been sought from private individuals to purchase luxuries for a Pullman jaunt of a large party poleward. For, *although I secretly cherished the ambition, there was no definite plan to essay the North Pole.*	In the spring of 1907 I had fully made up my mind to go [to the Arctic] that year, and invited *Dr. Cook to go as my guest.* He was to photograph Eskimos and I was to shoot walrus and polar bear. Nothing was then said about a dash for the pole. That was a later development, but one, nevertheless, *that was fully and carefully planned before we started north.*
At the Holland House in New York a compact was made between John R. Bradley and myself to launch an Arctic expedition. Because of my experience Mr. Bradley delegated to me the outfitting of the expedition and had turned over to me money enough to pay the costs of the hunting trip.	The first thing necessary was a suitable vessel. We didn't have time to build, so we decided to buy. Everything essential in the way of equipment was as perfect as one would have on a private yacht. We had 5,000 gallons of gasoline, provisions for two years in case of shipwreck, and everything necessary for shooting and navigation in the Arctic.
So far as the needs of my own personal expedition were concerned I had with me on the yacht plenty of hard hickory wood for the making of sledges, instruments, clothing, and other apparatus gathered with much economy during my former years of exploration, and about 1,000 pounds of pemmican. These supplies were also all that would be required for a polar trip. When, later, I finally decided on a polar campaign, extra ship supplies, contributed from the boat, were stored at Annoatok. *I had no money.* My (previous) work in exploration had netted me nothing.	We fitted the ship according to the doctor's ideas. We had everything that was needed for the doctor's preliminary work of preparation in his winter quarters, his camping equipment, provisions, tools, materials for sleds—every necessary detail was carefully thought out and provided for. We figured this way: In case we got up to Etah and found the natives were not well, or the dogs scarce, or any other conditions unfavorable we would call it a hunting trip and return quietly home again.
Among the many things which the public has been misled into believing is that Mr. Bradley and I together connived the trip for the purpose of essaying this quest of the pole. The fact is, not until I reached Annoatok and saw that conditions were favorable for a long sledge journey did I finally determine to make a poleward trip; not until then did I tell my decision definitely to Mr. Bradley.	When all these preparations were complete, and about four weeks before sailing, Dr. Cook and I were lunching one day at the Holland House, and he said to me, "Why not try for the pole?"
One of the big mistakes which has been pounded into the public mind is that the proposed Polar exploit was expensively financed. It did cost a great deal to finance the planned hunting trip. Mr. Bradley's expenses aggregated, perhaps, $50,000, but my journey northward, which was but an extension of this yachting cruise, cost comparatively little.	I replied, "Not I. Would you like to try for it?"
	He said: "There's nothing that I would rather do; it's the ambition of my life."
Mr. Bradley and I had talked, of course, of the pole; *but it was not an important incentive to the journey.* Back in my brain, barely above the subconscious realm, was the feeling that this, however, might offer opportunity in the preparation for a final future determination. I, therefore, without any conscious purpose, *and with my last penny, paid out of my purse* for extra supplies for a personal expedition should I leave the ship.	He (Cook) thought it would cost only *$8,000 or $10,000 more* to furnish an equipment for this purpose, and we figured it out. Finally I said, "We'll fit this expedition for the pole and say nothing to anyone about it." We did not want the newspapers to get at it. Peary was waiting to go and we did not want him to beat us into Etah and get all the dogs; moreover, I wanted to shoot on the way up and did not want to be in a hurry.

A comparison of these parallel statements shows that they differ in essential points. Dr. Cook says that—

There was no definite plan to essay the North Pole.

Mr. Bradley says that—

A dash for the pole was fully and carefully planned before we started North.

Dr. Cook says:

The pole was not an important incentive to the journey.

Mr. Bradley says:

We'll fit this expedition for the pole and say nothing to anyone about it. Peary was waiting to go, and we did not want him to beat us into Etah.

Dr. Cook says:

Mr. Bradley's expenses aggregated, perhaps, $50,000, but my journey northward *cost comparatively little.*

Mr. Bradley says:

He (Cook) thought it would cost *only $8,000 or $10,000 more* to furnish an equipment for this purpose.

Evidently a mere matter of eight or ten thousand dollars seemed "comparatively little" to Dr. Cook, although immediately before that he says:

I had no money.

And continues with a touch of pathos:

I *with my last penny* paid out of my purse for extra supplies for a personal expedition, should I leave the ship—

which is rather a peculiar statement, if he "had no money," and is also contradictory of his assertion that the polar trip was not planned before he started for the Arctic. A further contradiction is found on page 23 of his book, where we read:

On board all was quiet. I stood alone, gazing back upon the picturesque fishing village (Gloucester) with a tender throb at my heart, for it was the last village of my country which I might see for years or perhaps forever.

Surely a summer hunting trip to the Arctic with an early fall return is not such a hazardous undertaking as to give rise to these melancholy thoughts.

As Mr. Bradley's article, from which I have quoted, was published in the Independent for September 16, 1909, while the first edition of Dr. Cook's book was not published until 1911, it is difficult to understand why Cook so persistently reiterates the statement that the polar trip was not planned before the expedition started. On page 44 of My Attainment of the Pole Cook again says:

I felt growing within me, irresistibly, what I did not dare, for fear it might not be possible, to confide to Bradley—a determination, even in the face of peril, to essay the pole.

Still, again on page 64 Cook writes:

I did not yet confide to Bradley my growing ambition.

It would seem that Mr. Bradley must have been quite aware of Cook's "growing ambition," since he himself said:

We had everything that was needed for the doctor's preliminary work of preparation in his winter quarters.

In the New York Herald of September 15, 1909, Mr. Bradley published a list of supplies provided by him for Dr. Cook's polar dash. These supplies included wood for building house, charts, maps, instruments, compasses, hickory wood for 15 sleds, copper, iron, nails and screws, tools for ironwork, carpenter's tools, and various other articles which could have been of no possible use and would have been only an unnecessary incumbrance on a hunting trip, and which, therefore, must have been planned to meet the exigencies of a polar dash. Yet Dr. Cook says that he did not "confide" his determination to essay the pole to Mr. Bradley!

Chapter 4 of Cook's book describes the trip from Cape Robertson to Etah and Annoatok and some of the hunting in which Dr. Cook and Mr. Bradley engaged. On page 72 we read that Cook selected from the members of the yacht's crew Rudolph Franke to be his only white companion and helper during his stay in the Arctic, and the chapter closes with the words:

Early on the morning of September 3 I bade farewell to Mr. Bradley and not long afterwards the yacht moved slowly southward and faded gradually into the distant southern horizon. I was left alone with my destiny, 700 miles from the pole.

Since Rudolph Franke returned from the Arctic he, too, has written a book, entitled "A German's Experiences in the Far North." This book describes Franke's work with Cook and gives a graphic account of the life of the two men after the Bradley yacht returned and of Franke's personal experiences after Cook had started for the pole. As in my analysis of Robert E. Peary's book, The North Pole, I had occasion to refer to the books written by George Borup and Matthew Henson, respectively, so now I shall occasionally refer to statements in this book written by Rudolph Franke, who, it must be remembered, was a warm friend of Dr. Cook.

Chapter 5 of My Attainment of the Pole relates the preparations for the polar dash and the work which Cook and Franke accomplished with the aid of the Eskimos.

Although Cook does not make the explicit statement that he intended to have Franke accompany him to the pole, he certainly conveys that impression in the first chapters of his book. On page 72 he says:

The party, so far as civilized men were concerned, was to be an unusually small one. That, however, was not from lack of volunteers, for when I had announced my determination many of the crew had volunteered to accompany me. Capt. (Moses) Bartlett himself wished to go along, but generously said that if it seemed necessary for him to go back with the schooner he would need only the cook and engineer, leaving the other men with me.

These men certainly were of the opinion that whoever Cook chose to remain with him at Annoatok would "go along" to the pole. In Hampton's Magazine for January, 1911, Cook also says:

When I had announced my purpose, many of the crew volunteered *to accompany me.* Of these I selected Rudolph Franke.

That Franke thought he was to accompany Dr. Cook to the pole is evidenced on pages 27 and 28 of A German's Experiences in the Far North, where Franke says:

Late one afternoon Capt. Bartlett entered my cabin * * * and informed me that Dr. Cook would like to keep me with him as a companion for his proposed expedition. * * * The next morning Dr. Cook sent for me and I met him, together with Bradley. Capt. Bartlett had not lied, because Cook immediately asked if I wanted to *remain and go with him.*

Again, on page 30 of his book, Franke writes:

Out of a hunting trip an expedition to the North Pole had grown, and under the leadership of a man of rich experience in both the Arctic and Antarctic regions, *I was to begin my Polar travels.*

Franke says further, on page 44:

In order to prepare myself for the sledge trip on the expedition, I trained myself vigorously and energetically and made various short trips with the Eskimos, on which I did not fail to receive some hard knocks.

In various other parts of his book Franke makes it clear that he expected to go with Cook to the Pole.

But while allowing Franke to happily dream of sharing in the race for the pole, let us see of what stuff Dr. Cook's personal dreams were made. On pages 75–76 of My Attainment of the Pole, he says:

During the first day at Annoatok, after the yacht left, I thought of the world toward which it was going, of the continents to the south of me, of the cities with their teeming millions, and of the men with their multitudinous, conflicting ambitions. I could see, in my mind, the gigantic globe of my world swinging in cloud-swept emerald spaces, and far in the remote, vast, white regions in the north of it, far from the haunts of men, thousands of miles from its populous cities, beyond the raging of its blue-green seas, *myself, alone,* a wee, small atom on its vast surface, striving to reach its hitherto unattained goal. * * * A black mite, I saw myself slowly piercing those white and terrible spaces, braving terrific storms, assailing green, adamantine barriers of ice, crossing the swift-flowing, black rivers of those ice fields, and stoutly persisting until, successful, *I stood alone,* a victor, upon the world's pinnacle. This thought gave me wild joy. *That I, one white man, might alone succeed* in this quest gave me an impetus which only *single-handed effort and the prospect of single-handed success* can give. There was pleasure in the thought that in this effort *I was indebted to no one; no one had expended money for me or my trip; no white men* were to risk their lives with me. Whether it resulted in success or defeat, *I alone should exult* or I alone should suffer. I was the mascot of no clique of friends, nor the pawn of scientists who might find a supposititious and mythical glory in the reflected light of another's achievement. The quest was personal; the *pleasure of success must be personal.*

As previously stated, Dr. Cook says on page 29 of his book: *"I had no money!"* How, then, can he say as I have just quoted:

In this effort I was indebted to no one; no one had expended money for me or my trip.

If he had no money, who paid the $8,000 or $10,000 which Cook told Mr. Bradley such a trip would cost, over and above the $50,000 expense of the hunting trip? As Mr. Bradley's guest on the hunting expedition, was not money expended for him? Did not the supplies left by Mr. Bradley at Annoatok cost any money? Possibly Mr. Bradley would hold a different opinion.

A great deal of just criticism has been expressed of Mr. Peary's course in sending Capt. Robert Bartlett back to land before the farthest north of Peary's 1908–9 trip was reached. In this criticism Dr. Cook has joined, and on page 560 of My Attainment of the Pole, he says:

This detestable selfishness (of Peary) culminated in the treatment of Capt. Bob Bartlett. When the pole, to Peary, seemed within reach and the glory of victory was within grasp, the ever-faithful Bartlett was turned back and his place was taken by a negro, that Peary might be, to quote his own words, "the only white man at the pole."

Let us see how Cook's dream compared with Peary's. For this purpose I shall use Peary's testimony before the congres-

sional committee in 1911 and Cook's statement in his book published in 1911:

Peary said (see p. 74 of the hearing before the Committee on Naval Affairs):

"The pole was something to which I had devoted my life; it was a thing on which I had concentrated everything, on which I had expended some of myself, for which I had gone through such hell and suffering as I hope no man in this room may ever experience, and in which I had put money, time, and everything else, and I did not feel that under those circumstances I was called upon to divide with a man who, no matter how able and deserving he might be, was a young man and had only put a few years in that kind of work, and who had, frankly as I believed, not the right that I had to it."

Dr. Cook said (see p. 76 of My Attainment of the Pole):

"I saw myself slowly piercing those white and terrible spaces, * * * and stoutly persisting until successful, *I stood alone*, a victor, upon the world's pinnacle. This thought gave me wild joy. That I, *one white man*, might *alone* succeed in this quest gave me an impetus which only single-handed effort and the prospect of *single-handed success* can give."

(Also from pp. 2 and 3):

"*I stood alone* * * *. Only the ghosts about me which my dazzled imagination evoked celebrated the glorious thing with me—a thing *in which no human being could have shared.*"

We find little to choose between the selfishness of Peary and the egotism of Cook.

Chapter 6 of My Attainment of the Pole gives a description of the "sunset of 1907" and the beginning of the long arctic night, while chapter 7 relates the story of a hunting trip, on which Cook started with a party of Eskimos immediately after the last appearance of the sun, in order to obtain the furs and meat necessary to prepare the supplies for the sledge expedition to the pole. On page 99 he says:

Before the dawn of the sun's afterglow on the morning of October 26 7 sledges, with 60 dogs, were on the ice foot near our camp, ready to start for hunting grounds near Humboldt Glacier, a distance of 100 miles northward.

The party traveled 20 miles on October 26 and 50 miles on October 27, which took them to Dallas Bay, where Cook says on page 104:

The preceding glimmer of *the new moon*, which was to rise a few days hence, offered sufficient light to search for game.

This is the first time that Cook makes any mention of the moon in his book, and it would have been better for the plausibility of his story if he had omitted it in this case, for reference to the Nautical Almanac for 1907 shows that the October moon of that year did not enter the phase of the last quarter until October 28 and the moon was not new until November 5, so that Cook's statement that on October 27 he saw "the glimmer of the *new moon*, which was to rise a few days hence," was premature.

Cook makes no mention of the moon whatever after he left Svartevaeg for the trip across the Polar Sea, but the few references which he gives to the moon prior to that time are of interest.

While on this same October hunting expedition, on the evening of October 29, he says on page 107:

Howls of the dogs rose to a fierce crescendo. I supposed they were saluting the coming of the moon, as is their custom.

On this occasion the moon apparently missed connections, for Cook relates a bear hunt on that night which took place in darkness so dense that he could not see the dogs 20 feet away, and the bear not at all, though the animal was shot, skinned, and dressed.

The next appearance of the moon in Cook's story is on October 31, when Cook and the Eskimos were returning from Humboldt Glacier to Annoatok. On this occasion he says, on pages 111–112:

New and warm, with shimmering veils of color, attended by four radiant satellites, the golden face of the moon rose majestically over the sparkling pinnacles of the Greenland glaciers. Below the lovely planet-deflected images formed rainbow curves like rubied necklaces about her invisible neck. As the moon ascended in a spiral course the rose hues paled, the white light from the stars softened to a rich, creamy glow.

It seems a pity that such a wealth of metaphor and poetic fancy should have been squandered on an unresponsive heavenly body that heartlessly persisted in assuming a phase at that particular time which made it impossible, from purely astronomical causes, for her to "rise majestically over the sparkling pinnacles of the Greenland glaciers." In other words, the moon was three days past her last quarter and five days before the phase of "new" moon; therefore her "spiral course" did not bring her far enough above the horizon for Cook or anyone else to have beheld her ascend "majestically" or otherwise.

But—and herein lies the kernel of the matter—if Cook had been writing of the moon in 1908 instead of 1907 the descriptions which he gives of our lunar satellite would have fitted properly with its phases on the dates mentioned, for the moon was "new" on October 24, 1908, and entered her first quarter on November 1, 1908; therefore, aided by refraction, she could have been seen on October 31, 1908, "rising majestically above the sparkling pinnacles of the Greenland glaciers." In his treatment of his very few moonlight descriptions Cook plainly shows the manufactured nature of his narrative, for if his story had been really written from personal notes made from day to day he could not have fallen into the blunder of using the Nautical Almanac of 1908 when writing about the moon's phases of 1907.

Cook's most remarkable discrepancy of this nature, however, is noted on pages 177–178. He gives the date as March 2, and the incident occurs on his march through Bay Fiord. On page 177 we read:

Long after sunset (of March 2), as we were about to camp, a bear was sighted advancing on us behind a line of hummocks.

Then follows a description of the chase and slaughter of the bear, after which Cook writes:

It was nearly midnight before we returned to our sledge packs (on the ice of Bay Fiord). The work of building the houses was rendered difficult by the *failing moon* and the very low temperature.

At the place which Cook says he had reached on March 2, 1908,—that is, a point in Bay Fiord estimated at about 78° 50′ north latitude and 85° west longitude—the phase of the moon at local mean noon was 1 hour 16.9 minutes before new moon. On that date, from an observation point at sea level, like Bay Fiord, the moon did not rise above the horizon; and on March 3 the moon did not rise until 9 hours 31.4 minutes *a. m.*, and it set on March 3 at 5 hours 37.1 minutes p. m. local mean time, so that it was impossible for Cook to have had the light of the "failing moon" or any other kind of moon by which to build his snow houses at midnight of March 2–3.

Chapter 8 relates the "Moonlight quest of the walrus." This has no bearing on Cook's polar trip, and was possibly not even written by him, for on page 10 of the preface to his book he makes a statement relative to its authorship, a statement which appears in a slightly different form in the second and third editions of the book than the version presented in the first edition. I give herewith the paragraph in question in both forms of wording:

[From the first edition of My Attainment of the Pole.]

In the making of this book I was relieved of much of the routine editorial work by Mr. T. Everett Harry. By his ceaseless study of the subject and his rearrangement of material, a book of better literary workmanship has been made. For his long, friendly helpfulness, this acknowledgment is but a small reward.

[From the second and third editions of My Attainment of the Pole.]

In the making of this book I was relieved of much routine editorial work by Mr. T. Everett Harry, associate editor of Hampton's Magazine, who rearranged much of my material, and by whose handling of *certain purely adventure matter* a book of better literary workmanship has been made.

Note that in the first edition Dr. Cook does not confine the "relief" which Mr. Harry gave him to the "purely adventure matter" of the narrative, but does make this distinction in the second and third editions of the book.

Chapter 9 gives the usual Arctic traveler's conventional description of Eskimo life, with a brief outline of the preparations for the expedition and of the plan of the box house in which Cook and Franke lived at Annoatok. On page 135 Cook says:

By the time Christmas approached I had reason indeed for rejoicing. Our equipment was now about complete. In the box house were tiers of new sledges, rows of boxes, and piles of bags filled with clothing, canned supplies, dried meat, and sets of strong dog harness. *The food, fuel, and camp equipment for the polar dash were ready.* Everything had been thoroughly tested and put aside for a final examination.

Cook gives an interesting description of his Christmas, with Franke, among the Eskimos, and Franke also writes, on page 51, of "A German's experiences in high latitudes":

The Kriss Kringle did not remember us with any gifts, nor could we give any, but Dr. Cook and I shook hands and *promised each other faithfully to stand by one another to the end.*

Of this compact we may say that Franke faithfully fulfilled *his* part.

Cook opens chapter 10 of his book with an account of a "scouting expedition," which was sent out partly to search for the most practicable trail across the ice fields and partly to offer relief to a shipwrecked crew supposed to be at Cape Sabine. The men left the camp at Annoatok on January 14, 1908, and returned on January 16, without having found any shipwrecked persons. On pages 152–153 Cook says:

Another storm came with still more violent force a week later (about January 23). Our men suffered little, but many of the natives in neighboring villages were left without clothing or sleeping furs. In the rush of the storm the ice left the land, and the snow houses were swept into the sea. Men and women without clothing barely escaped with their lives. Two of our new sledges, some dogs, and three suits of winter furs were lost. A rescue party, with furs, had to be sent to the

destitute people. Fortunately our people were well supplied with bed furs, out of which new suits were made. Sledge loads of our furs were also coming north, and instructions were sent to use these for the urgent needs of the sufferers. Other things were sent from Annoatok, with returning excursionists, and in the course of a week the damage was replaced. But the loss was all on the expedition and deprived many of the men in their northern journey of suitable sleeping furs.

Strangely enough, Franke makes no mention of this storm nor of the relief sent to the natives, but does relate the short two days' trip to relieve the supposed shipwrecked refugees at Cape Sabine. It may be that this storm which Cook says swept the snow houses into the sea and destroyed so much property is a part of the "purely adventure matter" written by T. Everett Harry, and is only related to add zest and excitement to the story.

Cook then gives a brief account of a second relief expedition sent to the help of the stranded people supposed to be at Cape Sabine. Of this relief expedition Rudolph Franke was a member. Some supplies were taken to Cape Sabine and Cape Veile and the stuff cached at those points, and the party returned to Annoatok after an absence of four days.

On page 154 of his book Cook says:

The next party of eight sledges, led by Esseyou, Kudla, and Me-tek, started on February 5. The object was to carry advance supplies to the head of Flagler Bay and hunt musk ox to feed the sledge teams as they moved overland. We were to meet this party at an appointed place on the way.

Franke says, on page 66 of A German's Experiences in the Far North:

In the *second week of February* another advance expedition started for Grinnell Land to find a good overland trail to Cannon Fiord or Eureka Sound, on which expedition I did not go, because during the last eight days before the main expedition was to start much work remained to be done. This latest advance expedition consisted of five sleds under the leadership of Kudla and Esjchu.

Note that Cook says this second advance expedition consisted of eight sledges driven by three Eskimos, while Franke says it included five sleds under the leadership of two Eskimos.

On page 155 of My Attainment of the Pole Dr. Cook says:

We made our last arrangements, fastened our last packs, and waited impatiently for the sunrise here at this northernmost outpost of human life, just 700 miles from the pole. And this was the problem that now insistently and definitely confronted us after the months of planning and preparation: Seven hundred miles of advance; almost a thousand as our route was planned; 1,000 miles of return—2,000 miles in all, allowing for detours, for the line to be followed could not be precisely straight; more than 2,000 miles of struggling travel across icy and unknown and uninhabitable wastes of moving ice.

On the morning of February 19, 1908, I started on my trip to the North Pole.

Again Dr. Cook differs from Rudolph Franke as to the day that the start was made. Compare the statements of the two men as given in their respective books:

[From Cook's My Attainment of the Pole, p. 155.]

On the morning of *February 19, 1908*, I started on my trip to the North Pole. Early, as the first real day of the year dawned, 11 sledges were brought to the door of our box house and lashed with supplies for the boreal dash. There were *4,000 pounds* of supplies for use on the Polar Sea and *2,000 pounds* of walrus skin and fat for use before securing the fresh game we anticipated. The 11 sledges were to be driven by Franke, 9 Eskimos, and my self. They were drawn by *103* dogs, each in prime condition.

[From Franke's A German's Experiences in the Far North, pp. 66–67.]

On the morning of the *25th of February, 1908*, 11 sleds stood in front of the box house in Annoatok, loaded to their capacity. Our expedition supplies, irrespective of the dog food, weighed about *2,000 kilograms*, which weight was evenly divided, making a very heavy load for each sled.

(NOTE.—Two thousand kilograms is equal to 4,400 pounds.)

Thus we see that Cook and Franke are six days apart in the day that each gives for departure from Annoatok. At present, in order to follow Cook's narrative closely, we shall adopt the date which he gives, February 19, 1908.

The first day's march, as given on page 157 of My Attainment of the Pole, amounted to 20 miles, and "Cape Sabine was but 30 miles away" from their first camp. Cook continues, on page 157:

We made about 3 miles an hour, and were able to ride occasionally. At noon, of *February 20*, we stopped and coffee was served from our ever-hot coffee box. While we sat regaling ourselves a great ball of fire arose along the icy horizon. Our hearts were glad. The weather was bitterly cold; the temperature was 51° F. (probably a typographical error and intended for −51° F.); but the sun had risen; the long night was at an end.

Franke also mentions their first view of the sun the day after the expedition started; but he, of course, makes the date on February 26 instead of February 20.

On Cook's date of February 21, we again notice a marked difference between his account and Franke's story of the third day away from Annoatok. I herewith give both versions:

[From My Attainment of the Pole, pp. 158–159.]

We turned about, took the advance supplies, and picked a course through Rice Strait to avoid the rough ice northward. Here the surface was good, but a light wind with a temperature of −52° F. came with great bitterness. The dogs refused to face the wind and required some one to lead the way. The men buried their faces in the fur mittens, leaned on the upstanders, and ran along.

[From A German's Experiences in the Far North," p. 69.]

Our sled loads toward the end of the march (Franke's date of Feb. 26) were too heavy for the dogs and we were obliged to leave the loads overnight on the ice. The next morning we were glad to find them unmolested by polar bears or other nocturnal marauders. As the dogs had sore feet from the long, severe march, *a day of rest was ordered*. (This "day of rest" was the third day out, as Franke tells the story.)

Thus, while Cook and Franke are six days apart in their date of leaving Annoatok, they are now only three days away from winter quarters, seven days apart. In view of some events which I shall note later, this extra day is of more than passing interest.

Franke's account of the day following the "day of rest" (the fourth day out) coincides closely with Cook's story of "February 21" (Cook's third day out), as is seen by a quotation from page 69 of Franke's book, and Cook's version of his "February 21," which I herewith repeat for the purpose of comparing the two:

Cook's *third* day out (from My Attainment of the Pole, pp. 158–159).

We turned about, took the advance supplies, and picked a course through Rice Strait to avoid the rough ice northward. Here the surface was good, but a light wind with a temperature of −52° F. came with great bitterness. The dogs refused to face the wind, and required some one to lead the way. The men buried their faces in the fur mittens, leaned on the upstanders, and ran along.

Franke's *fourth* day out (from A German's Experiences in the Far North, p. 69).

As we started the next morning each one of the sleds had an additional box or two of the provisions which our advance expedition left here, so that we needed plenty of time to transport these heavy loads over the ice foot of the island on Rice Strait, but there, too, on account of the heavy wind the ice fields were all clear of snow. We made only slow progress.

Evidently this is a description of the same day's doings; but, as I have already said, Cook has omitted the day of rest, therefore the two men are an additional day apart.

Cook uses only five lines to describe his march of (his) February 22—

Passing Cape Rutherford on February 22, we followed the coast. Here the wind came from the right, caught the tip of the nose, burning with a bleaching effect, which in camp later turned black. At Cape Veile the cache igloo was sighted and there camp was pitched.

He continues his account of *February 23* on pages 159–160:

In the morning (*February 23*) the minimum thermometer registered −58° F. * * * That night we camped near the Weyprecht Islands. Along Bache Peninsula we saw hares staring at us. Four were secured for our evening meal. Dog food had also to be prepared. In efforts to divide the walrus skin, two hatchets were broken. During the night the skin was sufficiently softened by the heat to be cut with the hatchets. * * * It was the first satisfying sleep of the journey for me.

Remember that this quotation which I have just given is Cook's description of the day of February 23, and he adds that it (the night of February 23–24) was his first satisfying sleep of the journey. Then he continues his story:

In the morning of the 23d we heard sounds to the south which at first we thought to be walrus. But after a time the noise was interpreted as that of the dogs of the advance party. They were camped a few miles beyond and came to our igloos at breakfast.

I have quoted thus fully from pages 159 and 160 to show that Cook herewith drops another day from his story. I shall at present make no account of the day when Franke says they "rested" in camp, as that shows merely a discrepancy between the stories of the two men; but here, after a long account of the movements of the party on February 23, and a description of the ensuing night spent in camp, Cook continues his narrative of the next day following the 23d of February with these words:

In the morning of the *23d*, etc.

That this is not a typographical error is shown by its appearance in each of the three editions of Dr. Cook's book. While these minor discrepancies may have no direct bearing on Dr. Cook's ultimate attainment of the pole, they do serve to show a general tendency toward inaccuracy of detail; also that his "daily" (?) records were not made from day to day, but were from memory, after a period of time of greater or less duration.

On pages 160–161 Cook continues his story of meeting the advance party and the consequent return of Franke to the Annoatok headquarters:

One musk ox and 11 hares had been secured. The valley had been thoroughly hunted, but no other game was sighted. The ground was nearly bare and made sledge travel impossible. They were bound for Annoatok at once. This was sad news for us. We had counted on game with which to feed the dog train en route to the polar sea. If animals were not secured, our project would fail at the very start.

and this route would be impossible. To push overland rapidly to the west coast was our only chance, but the report of insufficient snow seemed to forbid this. Something, however, must be tried. We could not give up without a stronger fight. *The strong probability of our failing to find musk ox*, and extending the expedition for another year, over another route, *made it necessary to send Franke back to headquarters to guard our supplies.*

Perhaps nowhere in Cook's narrative is greater inconsistency shown than here. On page 75, as I have already quoted, he says:

I could see, in my mind, * * * myself, *alone*, striving to reach its hitherto unattained goal.

And, again, on page 76:

That I, *one white man, might alone* succeed in this quest, gave me an impetus—

And so forth.

While thus planning to make the dash for the pole "*alone*," so far as white companions were concerned, he allowed Franke to believe that he, too, was to share in the effort. Now, notwithstanding his (privately) preconceived plan to be "alone" at the pole, he gives as his only reason for Franke's return to Annoatok, "the strong probability of failing to find musk ox," basing this "probability" on the report of the advance expedition. But on page 80 Cook says:

I sent out a few hunters along the intended line to seek for haunts of game, *but I was not surprised that their searching in the dark was unsuccessful, and it merely meant that I must depend upon my previous knowledge of conditions.* I knew from the general reports of the natives, *and from the explorations of Sverdrup*, that the beginning of the intended route offered abundant game, and the indications were that further food would likewise be found as we advanced.

In Capt. Otto Sverdrup's book, New Land, he reports an abundance of game after leaving the valley; therefore Cook had no cause to be disheartened at the report of his advance party. A few marches only would take him into the heart of the game country, as he well knew from Sverdrup's reports; therefore it is difficult to understand why his previous unconcern at the failure of his winter exploring parties to find game is suddenly changed to a state of mind which causes him to say, "This was sad news for us." So far as the report of "insufficient snow" is concerned, Sverdrup reported a like condition in this locality; therefore Cook knew before he started that for a few marches in this region he might find the surface of the country blown clear of snow by the high wind, which Sverdrup describes as a "cow wind," or a wind strong enough to blow the horns off the cattle. It therefore appears that Cook, who had from the first secretly planned to be the only white man on the polar dash, was seeking an apparently plausible excuse to give for Franke's return to Annoatok. The inconsistency of his statement that it was necessary "to send Franke back to headquarters to guard our supplies" is emphasized when we note what he says on page 446:

Peary's contention that he placed Murphy in charge "to prevent the Eskimos from looting the supplies and equipment left there by Dr. Cook," is *a mean, petty, and unworthy slur upon a brave, loyal people, among whom thievery is a thing unknown.*

Why, if this statement is true—and we have every reason to believe it is—was it necessary for Franke to return to headquarters to guard the supplies?

Let us see how Franke regarded this action. On page 72 of A German's Experience in the Far North he says:

Soon he (Cook) called me into his snow house and told me that he could not take me any farther, and I was to return to Annoatok with Kudla and Ejshu, there to guard our headquarters and supplies. By the Eskimos whom he was going to send back when he reached the polar sea he would send me instructions and tell me of his experience to that point.

I stood there as though I had been struck by lightning at his words. I made counter propositions and pleaded with Cook, trying to convince him that I wanted to go with him as far as the polar sea, and then, if necessary, return to Annoatok with the Eskimos, but my words were of no avail; he would not listen. Did Cook want to get rid of me? Had I failed in any way to fulfill my duties? Did he not want me to go farther with him because I was not an American? These and similar thoughts revolved in my mind. I was obliged to keep a tight rein on myself, and behave in an orderly manner for the sake of the impression that a white man must make on his Eskimo companions, but I tried to debate the situation in the short time before the expedition started.

The best dogs and some Eskimos were sorted out, as well as all fur clothing and provisions for the expendition to the North Pole. A hasty handshake and we parted, Cook to the west and I to the east. I allowed the Eskimos to chatter and talk among themselves without attention from me. They talked to me, but I could not answer them. I sat on my sled, staring ahead and thinking.

In the evening we reached Cape Viele and late in the afternoon of the next day we came to Cape Sabine, but I scarcely realized where we were. To me it mattered not. I was numb with disappointment. Nothing made any impression on me. I even neglected proper precautions of care for my body, and my nose was frozen, notwithstanding the faithful Kudla warned me several times of the danger. My big toe was also frozen without my realizing it.

When Dr. Cook condemns Peary for sending Capt. Bartlett back to land before the highest northing was reached he would do well to obey the scriptural injunction to first destroy the "beam" in his own eye before he tried to remove the "mote" from Peary's. His nominal reason that he feared a scarcity of provisions is so illogical as to be ridiculous. He knew that Sverdrup reported a rich abundance of game—musk oxen, polar bears, and Arctic hares—between Flagler Bay and Bay Fiord. He had every reason to believe, notwithstanding the discouraging report of his advance party of Eskimos, that within two or three marches he would find food in plenty. The heavy going was likewise expected. Therefore we must conclude that his true reason for not permitting Franke to continue as far as the Polar Sea was that he firmly believed that they *would* encounter the game reported by Sverdrup and he would thus be robbed of his logical reason for insisting on Franke's return. That this injustice of Cook rankled sorely in Franke's mind is shown on page 102 of his book, where he says:

Knud Rasmussen had intended to visit me this winter, but up to this time he has not come. I regret this very much. We understood each other thoroughly, and we could have made a small expedition on our own account to Crocker Land. I have not the necessary instruments; otherwise I should have gone alone to Lady Franklin Bay, through Grant Land and Greely Fiord, and farther along through Fridthof Nansen Sound on to the polar sea.

And again, on pages 106–107:

To-day there was another beautiful sunset, but I asked myself, "Why are you standing here? What for? Why did not Cook take you along to the Pole?" That is what I have asked myself every day since we parted in Flagler Bay. At first I was angry with Cook. Yes; I hated him. Now I am more quiet and am beginning to forgive him. Yes; I even wish him luck and success.

Franke turned back, according to Cook's narrative, on February 24—though to fit his previous story he should have made the date February 23. Cook and his Eskimos made a long march after Franke left them, reaching the head of Flagler Bay late at night, where they camped. Cook says of this march:

A hard wind, with a temperature of —60° F., had almost paralyzed the dogs, and the men were kept alive only by running with the dogs. Comfortable houses were built and preparations made for a day of rest. On the morrow we aimed to explore the land for an auspicious route.

This day of rest, according to Cook's story, was therefore on (his) February 24.

Chapter 11 is entitled "Exploring a new pass over Acpohon" (Ellesmere Land) and begins with the words:

Early in the morning of February 25 the dogs were spanned to sledges with heavy loads and we pushed into the valley of mystery ahead. The easy slopes were enlivened with darting, downy hares. We advanced 20 miles. Pushing onward, we found no fresh signs of musk ox. A few bear tracks were seen, and a white fox followed us to camp. We shot *16 hares*, and for the evening meal unlimited quantities of savory hare meat made an appetizing broth.

Even at this point the prospect for game was improving, for an Arctic hare averages 10 pounds in weight, and 16 of the animals added 160 pounds of fresh meat to the supplies of the party. Cook continues, on pages 163–164:

On the day following—

This was Cook's February 26—

everything was advanced to this point. A prolonged search for musk ox was made, with negative results. On the morning of the 27th—

Cook is still short one day in time—

full loads were taken on our sledges. * * * *Hare and fox tracks increased in number.* * * * Here, I knew, were excellent feeding grounds for musk ox and caribou. But a careful scrutiny gave *no* results *for a long time.*

At this point Cook makes it very difficult to follow the thread of his story and check his dates. He says, on his date of February 27, that their search for musk oxen "gave no results for *a long time.*" Just what he means by "a long time" is left for the reader to determine. However, by careful study and analysis, one can arrive at an exact date. Cook says on page 164:

To us the musk ox was now of vital importance. The shorter way, over Schley Land and northward through Nansen Sound, was possible only if game in abundance was secured en route. If the product of the chase gave us no reward, then our polar venture was doomed at the outset. One day, with a temperature of 100° below the freezing point, and with a light but sharp Arctic wind driving needles of frost to the very bone, we searched the rising slopes of ice-capped lands in the hope of spotting life. *For three days* the dogs had not been fed.

The finding of a small herd of musk oxen is then described, concluding with the words:

Within an hour three huge, fat carcasses were down in the river bed. A temporary camp was made, and before the meat froze most of it had passed palates tantalized by many days of gastronomic want.

Cook mentions feeding the dogs on (his) February 23. From that time until the musk-ox hunt he says nothing of feeding the dogs, but commenting on Franke's return with the members of the advance expedition, he says on page 161:

The reduced numbers of the party gave us extra rations to use in times of need.

This probably referred only to rations for the human members of the party, therefore the three days that the dogs had not been fed would mean (Cook's) February 24, 25, and 26.

which brings the date of the successful musk-ox hunt to (his) February 27. But three days can hardly be construed as "many days" of gastronomic want, therefore we must add at least one day to that time to make it even approximately "many" days. This makes the date (Cook's) February 28. A few hours after the musk-ox hunt just related, the party was overtaken by a storm and obliged to camp for the night. On page 166 Cook says:

When we emerged in the morning the sky was clear. * * * We advanced about 10 miles and made a descent of 500 feet, first camping upon a glacial lake.

If the day of the first musk-ox hunt was February 28, this short march must have been made on February 29. On page 167 Cook writes:

In the searchlight of the frigid dawn I noticed that our advance was blocked by a large glacier, which tumbled barriers of bowlders into the only available line for a path. A way would have to be cut into this barrier of icebergs for about a mile. This required the full energy of all the men for the day.

This accounts for Cook's March 1. While the men were at work breaking a path through the ice, he explored the neighboring country. On page 170 he mentions the extreme cold and adds:

To economize fuel, the fires later were extinguished before retiring to sleep. In the morning we were buried in the frost falling from our own breath.

This brings us to Cook's March 2. On this day the party had advanced 25 miles, and were looking forward to a point about 10 miles beyond as the next camping place, when a herd of musk oxen was sighted. I quote, in part, from the description of the hunt which ensued:

I leveled my glasses on the whale-backed mountain at which the Eskimo were staring, and, sure enough, there were three musk oxen on a steep snow slope. They were not only 3 miles away, but at an altitude of perhaps *a thousand feet above us.* It took but a brief time to cover the 3 miles. All but five dogs from each sledge were freed from harness. There were seven musk oxen in all. The strife was soon over. I snapped my camera at an old bull which at that moment broke through the dogs, and, followed by a group of them, was driven madly over a cliff in a plunge of 5,000 feet. The other oxen were soon killed by the hunters. We began the descent, but the spirit of the upward rush was lost. The dogs, too full to run, simply rolled down the slopes, and we pushed the sledges ourselves. The ox that had made the death plunge was *picked up and taken as reserve meat.*

When we consider that the oxen as first sighted were "at an altitude of perhaps a thousand feet above the party"; that the one which made the death plunge was "driven madly over a cliff in a plunge of 5,000 feet," we must wonder how the difference in altitude between a thousand feet and 5,000 feet was bridged by the men on their way back to camp, for in order to reach the dead animal they must have been obliged to descend 4,000 feet below the level of their camp, which was at sea level, and drag the beast back to camp. It would also be interesting to know how much of that particular musk ox was left to "pick up and take as reserve meat" after its "mad plunge of 5,000 feet."

The next day (Cook's March 3) he describes the sunrise. On page 175 he says:

A few minutes before midday the sledge train halted. We sat on the packs and with eyes turned southward waited. To us there appeared a play of suppressed light and bleached color tints which inspired my companions to shouts of joy. Slowly and majestically the golden orb lifted. The Eskimos greeted the day god with savage chants. The sun, a flushed crimson ball, edged along the wintry outline of the mountains' purplish, snowy glitter. * * * Then slowly the great blazing globe sank into seas of fire-flushed ice.

The sunrise just described occurred on Cook's March 3, and were it not for the description given on February 20, already quoted, we should infer that the sunrise of March 3 was the sun's first appearance in 1908.

On page 176 Cook says:

March 2 was bright and clear and still.

The context shows that this is the day of the sunrise just described, which was really Cook's March 3, therefore he here has dropped another day from his calendar. The day—which he now calls March 2—closes with an account of the bear hunt to which I have already referred, when Cook and his Eskimos returned to their camp on the ice of Bay Fiord and built their igloos by the light of "the failing moon," although at that time and place the moon was invisible to mortal eyes, for on March 2, 1908, the moon was almost exactly in conjunction in longitude with the sun. It was also below the sun and approximately 4° from it. Therefore, even with a considerable elevation above sea level, or even if there were extraordinary refraction conditions, it was not possible to have seen the moon on either March 1 or March 2.

The mix-up in Cook's dates does not account for his moon-lit night, as some charitably inclined person might argue, for the moon rose in the morning of March 3, 1908, at about 9.30 and set at about 5.37 p. m., so that it must have been invisible at "midnight." Furthermore, the moon on March 3, 1908, although above the horizon, showed only a thin line of light on the limb toward the sun, and it would be difficult to see this line of light, even under perfect atmospheric conditions.

Page 178 contains these words:

The sun rose in the morning of March 3 with warm colors.

Cook's March 3, when "the sun rose in the morning with warm colors," is the first day of his trip on which he commenced to make observations of the shadows. As is well known now, these shadow measurements are advanced by Cook as his strongest evidence that he reached the North Pole. Therefore the day that he first observed the shadows is of special interest. The subject will be referred to at greater length later in this analysis.

After a long dissertation on the shadows, including the statement that March 3 marked the coldest temperature of the year (—83° F. in the early morning hours), Cook continues on page 182:

In two difficult marches we reached Eureka Sound.

These "two difficult marches" account for Cook's March 3 and March 4. On page 183 Cook says:

Close to a cape where we paused on Eureka Sound to cut snow blocks for igloos, E-tuk-i-shook noted two bears wandering over the lands not far away.

This must have been at the end of the second "difficult march" or on the evening of Cook's *March 4*. The bears which they had sighted were stalking a herd of musk oxen, 20 in number, and on page 184 Cook says:

In a short time the entire herd was ours. The meat was dressed, wrapped in skins, the dogs lightly fed, and the carcasses hauled to camp. Then we completed our igloos. Bears and wolves wandered about camp all night, but with 100 dogs, whose eyes were on the swelled larder, there was no danger from wild brutes.

Early in the morning of *March 4* we were awakened by a furious noise from the dogs.

Here Cook drops *another* day from the calendar. According to his own story the musk oxen were killed on March 4, or the same day that the party reached Eureka Sound after the two "difficult marches" of March 3 and 4, and now, after a night in the igloos, they were awakened "early in the morning of *March 4*" by a furious noise from the dogs. This makes three days in all that Cook has dropped from his narrative. His diary seems to have been kept in a rather slipshod manner—if kept at all—for in order to make his narrative fit with calendar dates, the morning when they were awakened early by the dogs would have to be March 7 instead of March 4. He continues on page 184:

Koo-loo-ting-wah peeked out and saw a bear in the act of taking a choice strip of tenderloin from the meat. With a deft cut of the knife a falling block of snow made a window, and through it the rifle was leveled at the animal. A holiday was declared. It would take time to stuff the dogs with 20 musk oxen and a bear. Later the same day, another herd of 20 musk oxen were seen. Now even the Eskimos' savage thirst for blood was satisfied.

This holiday to "stuff the dogs" is therefore Cook's March 4, but to make his dates consistent it should be March 7. However, the holiday apparently lasted more than one day, for on page 185 he says:

The pot was kept boiling and the igloos rang with chants of primitive joys. *On March 7* we began a straight run to the polar sea, a distance of 170 miles.

Therefore his holiday apparently lasted for three days, (his) March 4, 5, and 6, and on (his) March 7 they resumed their journey. According to the calendar, however, the holiday would have occupied March 7, 8, and 9, and Cook would have resumed his journey on March 10. However, he says on page 185:

In six marches we reached Schei Island, which we found to be a peninsula. We halted here and a feast day was declared. Twenty-seven musk oxen and 24 hares were secured in one after-dinner hunt. This meat guaranteed a food supply to the shores of the polar sea.

Since, according to Cook, he started on this "straight run" on March 7 and reached Schei Island in six marches, he must have reached Schei Island on his March 12, and the feast day was his March 13. But according to the calendar dates he started on his "straight run" on March 10 and reached Schei Island on March 15, while his "feast day" occurred on March 16.

As the lower extremity of Schei Island is, in round numbers, only 60 miles from "the shores of the polar sea," it would seem that 27 musk oxen and 24 hares would indeed "guarantee a food supply" to that point.

Cook differs from earlier and later explorers in his assertion that "Schei Island" is a peninsula. This island was discovered by the Sverdrup expedition and named for a member of the party. It appears as an island on Capt. Sverdrup's map. In Harper's Magazine for October, 1915, Donald B. McMillan, who visited this place some 14 years later than Sverdrup and 6 years later than Cook, makes this report:

Our four days at Schei Island stand out as one of the bright spots of our trip.

McMillan's route as shown on his map in the same magazine shows that he traveled around the southern and western sides of the island, where, if it was a peninsula, it would have been connected with Axel Heiberg Land; therefore McMillan was in a position to state whether or not it was an island. Hence we find that Cook is in a minority in his statement that Capt. Sverdrup's "Schei Island" is a peninsula.

From Schei Island to Svartevaeg it is impossible to even approximately check Cook's progress or dates. After stating, on page 185 of My Attainment of the Pole, that in six marches we reached Schei Island, he digresses to describe a bear hunt which took place somewhere "in our march of glory through the musk-ox land," time and place not given, except that on page 186 he says:

> We had made a long march of about *40 miles*. The temperature was —*81°*.

This temperature of —81° shows that in his story he suddenly reverts to March 2, for his night of March 2–3 is the only time when this extremely low temperature was felt. That night the temperature ranged from —79° to —83° F., and as a bear was killed on the afternoon of March 2 we are forced to conclude that the bear hunt which Cook now takes four pages to describe occurred on that date. The first account is given on page 177 and the other (and longer) on pages 186–189.

A good description of a snow house or igloo and its manner of building is given after the bear hunt, together with a few details about Ellesmere Island, or "Acpohon," as Cook and the Eskimos call that land. After some 10 pages filled with these various digressions, Cook reverts to a short description of Schei Island, but makes no further mention of the date of his arrival there or his departure therefrom. His feast day appears to have been declared on (his) March 14, but he does not say how long he remained on the island. He says that caches of fur and fuel were left there for the return, and continues, on page 193:

> In passing Snags Fiord (probably meant for Stangs Fiord) the formation changed. Here, for *several marches*, game was scarce. The temperature rose as we neared the polar sea. * * * As we neared Svartevaeg the carboniferous formation became more evident. Camping in the lowlands just south of Svartevaeg Cliffs, we secured 7 musk oxen and 85 hares.

If Cook left Schei Island March 15—and, in order to conform with his story, they could not have left that point earlier—and for "several marches" found game scarce near Snags (or Stangs) Fiord, we may allow March 15 and March 16 for his "several marches." The word "several" usually indicates more than two, but in order to be fair to Cook we concede that his marches of March 15 and 16 are covered by that term. This gives him March 17 to travel through the better game lands "just south of Svartevaeg Cliffs," where he secured 7 musk oxen and 85 hares.

Thus we see that it is only by the most liberal stretching of dates and a generous allowance of elasticity for the other events of the trip that Cook's narrative can be made to conform to his dates up to this point. However, so far as I am aware, his arrival at Svartevaeg at some time or other is undisputed, and March 17 is doubtless as good as any other date for him to have claimed to have reached that point of land.

Chapter 13 of My Attainment of the Pole is entitled "The trans-Boreal dash begins. Five hundrel miles from the pole." The opening paragraph reads:

> Svartevaeg is a great cliff, the northernmost point of Heiberg Land, which leaps precipitously into the Polar Sea. * * * *It is 520 miles from the North Pole.*

This places Svartevaeg at 81° 20′ north latitude, which is the position accorded it by Capt. Sverdrup. Cook continues:

> From this point I planned to make my dash in as straight a route as might be possible. Starting from our camp at Annoatok *late in February*, when the curtain of night was just beginning to lift, *when the chill of* the long winter was felt at its worst, we had forced progress through deep snows, over land and frozen seas, *braving the most furious storms of the season* and *traveling despite baffling darkness*, and had covered in less than a month *about 400 miles—nearly half the distance between our winter camp and the pole.*

Several points in this paragraph are worthy of examination. The first is the time that Cook left Annoatok. As I have previously stated, Cook gives the date of the start as February 19, while Franke places it on February 25. Now, Cook says, "Starting from our camp at Annoatok *late in February.*" This, of course, is an elastic expression, but February 19 is not generally considered as "late" in a month of 29 days, which February had in 1908.

Cook also says that the start was made "*when the chill of the long winter was felt at its worst.*" True, the mercury reached its lowest point during the month that Cook was en route from Annoatok to Svartevaeg, but in this connection I shall quote Cook's own words, as found on pages 169 and 178. On page 169 he says:

> The day was beautiful. For the first time I felt the heat of the sun. It came through the thick fur of my shoulders with the tenderness of a warm human hand. * * * If I had been asked to guess the temperature of the day, I should have placed it at —25° F.

I also quote from page 178:

> The sun rose in the morning of March 3 with warm colors, painting the crystal world surrounding us with gorgeous tints of rose and old gold. It was odd that in the glare of this enrapturing glory we should note *the coldest day of the year.*
>
> With the returning sun in the Arctic comes the most frigid season. Because of the persistence of terrestrial radiation, we have the coldest weather of the year with the ascending sun.
>
> It is a fortunate provision of nature that these icy days of the ascending sun are usually accompanied by a breathless stillness. * * * Although the mercury is frozen, the body, when properly dressed, is *perfectly comfortable.*

As Cook and his men were outfitted with their new fur clothing, made expressly for the polar trip, they must have been "properly dressed," and therefore "perfectly comfortable." This would nullify any apparent hardship endured by the expedition en route from Annoatok to Svartevaeg, account of the excessive cold.

Cook also says that they "had braved the most furious storms of the season."

Only twice does he mention any storms encountered while en route from Annoatok to Svartevaeg. On page 161 he says of (his) February 23, the day that Franke returned:

> A hard wind, with a temperature of —60° F., had almost paralyzed the dogs, and the men were kept alive only by running with the dogs.

Cook claims that on the polar sea, with light loads and a small party, he was able to make only 10 to 15 miles in a day when the wind was high, therefore this storm on his February 23 could not have been of unwonted severity, when with a caravan of 10 sleds, 100 dogs, and a large number of men, he made 25 miles.

The other storm which he mentions is noted on page 165, where he says:

> Continuing our course, we crossed the divide in a storm.

These are the only storms which Cook claims to have encountered between Annoatok and Svartevaeg, while he repeatedly speaks of "still air," "beautiful days," "bright sunshine," and so forth. Thus "the most furious storms of the season" would seem to have been only a slight obstacle to their onward progress.

In addition to "braving the most furious storms of the season," Cook says that they traveled "despite baffling darkness." This, too, is out of accord with the details of his story as presented in foregoing chapters. On page 156 he says of the day that the start was made from Annoatok:

> When we started, a few stars were seen between thin clouds, but *the light was good.*

On page 157, he says of the second day out:

> The next day brought a still air with a temperature of —42° F., and *brilliant light at 8 o'clock.*

On page 159, he says of his February 22:

> The day opened beautifully, with a glow of rose to the south, which colored the snows in warm tones.

As the light increases rapidly after the sun's first appearance in the Arctic regions, if the light was as good as Cook describes on the first days of the trip, he did not suffer either delay or hardship from the "baffling darkness."

Dr. Cook says that notwithstanding untoward conditions, he "had covered in less than a month about 400 miles—nearly half the distance between our winter camp and the pole."

Cook's narrative gives the start from Annoatok on February 19. On page 155, he says:

> This was the problem that confronted us: Seven hundred miles of advance, almost a thousand miles as our route was planned; 1,000 miles of return, allowing for detours (for the line to be followed could not be precisely straight), more than 2,000 miles of struggling travel across icy and unknown and uninhabitable wastes of moving ice.

As the distance from Svartevaeg to the North Pole is only 520 miles, the distance which Cook had traveled (according to his schedule just quoted) in order to reach Svartevaeg, must have been about 480 miles instead of "about 400 miles." This is one of the many inaccuracies in the story.

COOK'S DAILY MILEAGE.

Cook does not give a complete record of the daily distances traveled while en route across Ellesmere Island, therefore it is impossible to give his average mileage per day during this portion of his trip. He says that he "traveled about 400 miles" in less than a month. As he claims to have left Annoatok on February 19, and reached Svartevaeg on March 17, he was, according to those dates, 28 days en route. But he records five

days when a holiday or feast day was declared, which reduces the number of days of actual traveling to 23. This makes his daily average a little over 17 miles per day. The last 170 miles (see p. 185) were made in 10 days of travel, an average of 17 miles per day. But the other days on which Cook records his mileage show a record of 20, 30, 25, 20, 10, 25, 40, and 17 miles daily, and these distances, together with his 170 miles in 10 days, gives him an average of a scant 20 miles per day for 18 days, or, to be exact, 19⅝ miles per day. This accounts for 18 days and 357 miles, leaving 43 miles of the 400 to be traveled in five days, or an average for those five days of 8⅝ miles per day. Cook's 18 *longest* marches from Svartevaeg to the place he called the pole, give an average slightly less than the average of his 18 longest marches from Annoatok to Svartevaeg (about half a mile per day less), which is remarkable when we consider that he traveled from Annoatok to Svartevaeg with a large number of Eskimos, dogs, and heavily loaded sledges; while from Svartevaeg to his nominal pole, his party was reduced to the lowest possible limit, both as to numbers and baggage. We must remember, too, that the 18 days for which I have shown the average mileage between Annoatok and Svartevaeg are the 18 days on which he happened to record his mileage; while the 18 days for which I have shown an average between Svartevaeg and Cook's pole are the days on which he made the longest marches between those points.

COOK'S ESKIMO COMPANIONS.

Cook is vague as to the number of Eskimos who accompanied him from Annoatok to Svartevaeg. In Hampton's Magazine for January, 1911, he says he left Annoatok with 11 sledges driven by 10 Eskimos and himself, omitting all mention of Franke. But as he says editorial changes were made in the Hampton's story, he can not be held strictly to account on that story. In his book, My Attainment of the Pole, page 154, he says that an advance party of "eight sledges, led by Es-se-you, Kudla, and Me-tek, started on February 5." He gives the number of sledges but leaves us in doubt as to whether or not more than three Eskimos accompanied the sledges. On page 155 of the book, he says:

On the morning of February 19, 1908, I started on my trip to the North Pole. The 11 sledges were to be driven by Franke, 9 Eskimos, and myself. They were drawn by 103 dogs, each in prime condition.

On page 160 he says:

They (the advance party) were camped a few miles beyond, and came to our igloos at breakfast.

And on page 161:

There was no objection to the return of *most of the other party* (the advance party), but we took their best dogs and sledges, with some exchange of drivers.

Finally, on page 200, Cook says:

The time had come to part with *most of our faithful Eskimo companions.*

Thus we note that nowhere in his account of the first part of his journey does he state the number of men composing the expedition as far as Svartevaeg. Notwithstanding his vagueness on this point, we can, however, arrive by deduction at a close estimate of the number of Eskimos who went with Cook to the polar sea. On page 155 we are told that—

The 11 sledges were to be driven by Franke, *9 Eskimos,* and myself.

This allows one man to each sledge. We may therefore assume that each one of the eight sledges of the advance party also had a driver. This makes a total of 19 men on the morning when the advance party breakfasted with the main expedition in the igloos of the latter. This was the point where Franke was sent back to Annoatok, and Cook says on page 161:

There was no objection to the return of *most of the other* (the advance) party.

If the advance party contained 8 men, "the most of the other party" must mean at least 5. This would leave Cook with 12 Eskimos who accompanied him to Svartevaeg. This is 2 more than Cook gives in his New York Herald story of September 23, 1909, but as Cook disclaims responsibility for the accuracy of the Herald story, he can not be held accountable for any seeming discrepancies in figures between that and his later accounts. I repeat that it is contrary to the theory and practice of Arctic explorers that greater speed can be made by a party of 13 men, 13 heavily loaded sledges, and something over a hundred dogs than can be made by 3 men with 2 sledges and 26 dogs.

It is also worthy of note that Cook's greatest claimed speed for any one day was made while encumbered with his large party and heavily loaded sledges en route from Annoatok to Svartevaeg—that is, 40 miles on (his) March 2—while the greatest claimed speed made in any one day between Svartevaeg and Cook's pole was made on March 21; that is, 29 miles in 14 hours. At the end of this hike of March 21 Cook says on page 214:

Too weary to build an igloo, we threw ourselves thoughtlessly upon the sleds for a short rest and fell asleep.

While, by way of contrast, after the long march of 40 miles on March 2, a spirited hunt for musk ox and bear was enjoyed, which must have added several miles to the day's journey of 40 miles, for Cook says on pages 187–188:

Our sledges began shooting the boreal shoots. After rushing over minor hills, the dog noses sank into bear tracks. A little farther along we realized we had rivals. * * * The bears were quick to see the force of our intent. They scattered and climbed.

And so on, showing that a very considerable distance must have been traveled in pursuit of the game.

Cook also says, on page 195:

Arriving at land's end, my heart had cause for gratification. * * * We had made our progress mainly at the expense of the land which we explored, for the game en route had furnished *food and clothing.* The supplies we had brought with us from Annoatok were practically untouched.

On pages 135–136 Cook says:

By the time Christmas approached I had reason, indeed, for rejoicing. * * * Our equipment was now about complete. In the box house were tiers of new sledges, rows of boxes, and piles of bags filled with *clothing,* canned supplies, dried meat, and sets of strong dog harness. The food, fuel, and camp equipment for the polar dash were ready.

With everything in such complete readiness weeks before the expedition started, it is difficult to understand the statement that the game en route had furnished food and *clothing.* Also with the supplies brought from Annoatok "practically untouched," Cook was certainly premature and hasty in sending Franke back from Flagler Bay on account of "the strong probability of our failing to find musk ox," when the strong probability was that they would really find an overabundance—as they did.

According to Cook's narrative, "the lowlands just south of Svartevaeg Cliffs" were reached at the end of the day's journey of March 17, and camping there 7 musk oxen and 85 hares were secured (p. 193), the hares alone adding about 850 pounds to the provisions on hand. Pages 196 to 200 of My Attainment of the Pole are devoted to a minute description of the equipment of the expedition. Much unwarranted criticism has been expended on Dr. Cook's equipment, but the description which he gives in the pages just mentioned was ample for the trip which, as he planned, was to extend only over 80 days.

SVARTEVAEG TO "THE POLE."

Beginning with March 18, 1908, Cook's story is easily checked; for, in addition to the general narrative, we find in the appendix, on pages 569 to 577, inclusive, his "Copy of the field notes." Of these "notes" Dr. Cook says, on page 569:

The following copy of the daily entries in one of my *original notebooks* takes the expedition step by step from Svartevaeg to the pole and back to land. As will be seen by those here reproduced, the original notes are mostly abbreviations and suggestions, hasty tabulations, and reminders, memoranda to be later elaborated. The hard environment, the scarcity of materials, and cold fingers did not encourage extensive field notes. Most of these field notes were rewritten while in Jones Sound and some were also copied and elaborated in Greenland. (Notes usually written at end of day's march.)

The reproduction of Cook's notes is headed:

OBSERVATIONS, ETC.

(Exact copy from original field papers.)

A certain license may be accorded the first part of Dr. Cook's narrative, since he himself says, on page 10 of the preface to My Attainment of the Pole, that he has been relieved of much routine editorial work by Mr. T. Everett Harry. It is quite possible, therefore, that through Mr. Harry's collaboration consistency and accuracy of detail was sacrificed in the interest of literary workmanship. No such argument can be advanced to excuse inaccuracy or inconsisteny in the account of the journey over the polar ice, since Cook himself says that the transcript of his notes is an exact copy from original field papers, and the reading matter in the narrative proper of that part of his journey is based on those notes. We must remember, too, that Cook says he is "now presenting every scrap of paper and every isolated fact" in his book; therefore he can not put forth the plea that the records of the journey as given in his book are incomplete.

I shall quote liberally from Cook's description of his equipment, as given on pages 196 to 200, as frequent reference to same is necessary in the course of this analysis. He says:

I decided to reduce my party to the smallest number consistent with the execution of the problem in hand. In addition, for greater certainty of action over the unknown regions beyond, I now definitely resolved to simplify the entire equipment. I decided to take only two men on the last dash. I had carefully watched and studied every one of my party and had already selected E-tuk-i-shook and Ah-we-lah, two young Eskimos, each about 20 years old, as best fitted to be my sole companions in the long run of destiny.

Twenty-six of the best dogs were picked, and upon two sleds were to be loaded all our needs for a trip estimated to last 80 days.

Eliminating everything not actually needed, but selecting adequate food, I made the final preparations.

CAMP EQUIPMENT.

The camp equipment selected included the following articles: One blow-fire lamp (jeuel), 3 aluminum teaspoons, 1 tablespoon, 3 tin plates, 6 pocket knives, 2 butcher knives (10 inches), 1 saw knife (13 inches), 1 long knife (15 inches), 1 rifle (Sharp's), 1 rifle (Winchester .22), 110 cartridges, 1 hatchet, 1 Alpine axe, extra line and lashings, and 3 personal bags.

SLEDS.

The sled equipment consisted of two sleds weighing 52 pounds each; one 12-foot folding canvas boat, the wood of which formed part of a sled; one silk tent; two canvas sled covers; two reindeer-skin sleeping bags; floor furs; extra wood for sled repairs; screws, nails, and rivets.

INSTRUMENTS.

My instruments were as follows: One field glass; one pocket compass; one liquid compass; one aluminum surveying compass, with azimuth attachment; one French surveyor's sextant, with radius 7½, divided on silver, to 10 feet, reading by Vernier to 10 inches (among the extra attachments were a terrestrial and an astronomical telescope and an extra night telescope mounted in aluminum, and also double refracting prisms, thermometers, etc.—the instrument was made by Hurleman, of France, and bought of Keuffel & Esser); one glass artificial horizon; three Howard pocket chronometers; one Tiffany watch; one pedometer; map-making material and instruments; three thermometers; one aneroid barometer; one camera and films.

WEARING APPAREL.

The personal bags contained four extra pairs of kamiks, with fur stockings, a woolen shirt, three pairs of sealskin mittens, two pairs of fur mittens, a piece of blanket, a sealskin coat (netsha), extra fox tails for dog harness, a repair kit for mending clothing, and much other necessary material.

On the march we wore snow goggles, blue fox coats (kapitahs), and bird-skin shirts (Ah-tea), bearskin pants (Nan-nooka), sealskin boots (Kamik), hare-skin stockings (Ah-tee-shah), and a band of fox tails under the knee and about the waist.

FOOD SUPPLY.

The food supply, as will be seen by the following list, was mostly pemmican:

Eight hundred and five pounds of beef pemmican, 130 pounds of walrus pemmican, 50 pounds of musk-ox tenderloin, 25 pounds of musk-ox tallow, 2 pounds of tea, 1 pound of coffee, 25 pounds of sugar, 40 pounds of condensed milk, 60 pounds of milk biscuit, 10 pounds of pea soup (powdered and compressed), 40 pounds of petroleum, 50 pounds of surprises, 2 pounds of wood alcohol, 3 pounds of candles, and 1 pound of matches.

We planned our future food supply with pemmican as practically the sole food; the other things were to be mere palate satisfiers. For the 80 days the supply was to be distributed as follows:

For three men: Pemmican, 1 pound per day for 80 days, 240 pounds. For six dogs: Pemmican, 1 pound per day for 80 days, 480 pounds. This necessitated a total of 720 pounds of pemmican.

DOGS.

Of the 26 dogs we had at first figured on taking 16 over the entire trip to the pole and back to our caches on land, but in this last calculation only 6 were to be taken. Twenty, the least useful, were to be used one after the other as food on the march as soon as reduced loads and better ice permitted. This, we counted, would give 1,000 pounds of fresh meat over and above our pemmican supply. We carried about 200 pounds of pemmican above the expected consumption, and in the final working out the dogs were used for traction purposes longer than we anticipated.

This equipment left nothing to be desired for a party of three men in a quick dash of 80 days.

After camping at the end of the day's journey of March 17 "in the lowlands just south of Svartevaeg," he arrived at Svartevaeg itself, the end of the land, on March 18. I quote from his notes of March 18, and also, in a parallel column, from his narrative of his movements on the same day:

[From narrative proper, p. 200].

After making several trips about Svartevaeg, arranging caches for the return, studying the ice and land, I decided to make the final start on the polar sea on March 18, 1908.

The time had come to part with most of our faithful Eskimo companions. Taking their hands in my manner of parting, I thanked them as well as I could for their faithful service to me. "Tigishi ahyaung uluk!" ("The big nail"), they replied, wishing me luck.

With a snow-charged blast in our faces it was impossible for us to start immediately after the Eskimos returned. Withdrawing to the snow igloo, *we entered our bags and slept a few hours longer. At noon the horizon cleared.* Doubly rationed the night before, the dogs were not to be fed again for two days. The time had come to start. We quickly loaded our sleds. Hitching the dogs, we let the whips fall, and with bounds they leaped around deep ice grooves in the great paleocrystic floes. Our journey was begun. * * * By the time we paused to rest we had covered 26 miles. We pitched camp on a floeberg of unusual height. * * * We busily built in the course of an hour a comfortable snow igloo.

[From notes.]

(March 18, 1908). Miles covered, 26. Svartevaeg. Made cache here for return. Supporting party goes back. Noon start; 4 men, 46 dogs, 4 sleds; 26 miles. Ice heavy, wavy; little snow; crystals hard; land screened by drift. Camp on old field. Night uncomfortable; air humid, penetrating. Snow house of hard snow imperfectly made. *(Compass directions, unless otherwise noted, are true.)*

With Svartevaeg at 81° 20′ north latitude, Cook's first day's journey took him, according to his estimate, to 81° 46′ north latitude.

March 18 was Dr. Cook's "busy day." From more than 100 lively Eskimo dogs he had to select the 26 best suited for his purpose—no small task in itself. He had to select the two best sledges and decide on the equipment and supplies necessary. Then he says (p. 200):

After making several trips about Svartevaeg, arranging caches for the return, studying the ice and land, I decided to make the final start on the polar sea on March 18, 1908.

Then followed the farewell to the returning Eskimos, after which Cook and his two men withdrew to the snow igloo, entered the sleeping bags, and *slept a few hours longer.* At noon they loaded the sleds and began their journey. The task of sorting out the supplies for the caches, of deciding what was to be taken on the two sleds for the polar journey, and of selecting the dogs must have required considerable time, while the "several trips about Svartevaeg, studying the ice and land" must also have consumed the greater part of the morning of March 18. And after all this the men had time to reenter their sleeping bags and sleep "a few hours" before making their final start at noon. Truly, this was snappy work!

At the end of the first march over the polar ice, when the men were comfortably housed in the igloo, Cook says, on page 202:

My wild companions covered their faces with their long hair and sank quietly into slumber. For me sleep was impossible. The whole problem of our campaign had again to be carefully studied, and final plans made, not only to reach our ultimate destination but for the two returning Eskimos and for the security of the things left at Annoatok, and also to reexamine the caches left en route for our return. These must be protected as well as possible against the bears and wolves.

Already I had begun to think of our return to land.

One would think that Cook's final plans would be perfected before he embarked on the last stage of his journey, and certainly that he would have arranged for the protection of the stores at Annoatok, while the caches of Arctic explorers are usually made bear proof and wolf proof at the time they are established. A striking instance of this is the fact that a cache of the Greely expedition, established in 1882, was opened in 1909, 27 years later, by members of the Peary expedition of 1908–9 and the contents found in good condition. But this does not appear to have been Cook's "system."

On the second day's progress Cook says, on pages 203–204 and in his notes (p. 570):

[From the narrative proper, pp. 203–204.]

It was intensely cold, not only because of a temperature of 56° below zero, Fahrenheit, but a humid chill which pierced to the very bones. A light breeze came from the west. The sun glowed in a freezing field of blue. Hitching our dogs we started. For several hours we seemed to soar over the white spaces. Then the ice changed in character, the expansive, thick fields of glacier-like ice giving way to floes of moderate size and thickness. These were separated by zones of troublesome crushed ice thrown into high-pressure lines, which offered serious barriers. Chopping the pathway with an ice ax, we managed to make fair progress. We covered 21 miles of our second run on the polar sea.

[From Cook's notes, p. 570.]

March 19, 1908.—Miles covered, 21. Clearer, overland thick; —56° F.; wind 2 W.; sun feeble; blue haze. On march, ice smaller; use of ax; crossings troublesome. Camp lee of big hummock. Can not send supply back; must follow for another day.

This second march is notable for the fact that on only four days throughout the entire trip from Svartevaeg to the place Cook called the North Pole did he make any greater speed than on this day when "troublesome crushed ice thrown into high-pressure lines offered serious barriers," which he had to chop away with an ice ax in order to make a passage for the dogs and sleds. A run of 21 miles is a good day's journey over the polar ice, even under good traveling conditions, and doubly so under the difficulties which Cook describes. This second march, accepting his own figures, brings him to 82° 7′ north latitude.

On March 20 we read:

[From the narrative proper, p. 204.]

With axe and compass in hand, I led the way. With prodigious effort I chopped openings through barriers after barriers of ice. With increasing difficulties in some troublesome ice we camped after making only 16 miles.

[From notes on page 570.]

March 20, 1908: Miles covered, 16. Land more clearly visible; sky, overcast; wind, W. S. W. 1; ice, worse. Small igloo. The last feed men return.

These 16 miles should have taken Cook to 82° 23′ North latitude. At the end of the march Cook fed his two returning Eskimos preparatory to their starting on the return trip to land and thence to Annoatok. On pages 204–205, Cook says:

By these men I sent back instructions to Rudolph Franke to remain in charge of my supplies at Annoatok until June 5, 1908, and

then if we should not have returned by that date to place Koo-looting-wah in charge and go home either by a whaler or some Danish ship.

These instructions to Franke are of special interest. On pages 127–129 of Franke's book, A German's Experiences in the Far North, is given an exact copy of Cook's letter which he sent to Franke by the Eskimo, Koo-loo-ting-wah, and which was delivered to Franke on May 5, 1908. The letter reads:

POLAR SEA, NORTH OF CAPE HUBBARD,
March 17, 1908.

DEAR RUDOLPH: Thus far it has gone very well but the weather has been awful cold. We got no musk ox until we had crossed Ellesmereland, but since we have secured 102 musk ox, 5 bears, and about 150 hare.

The Eskimo will probably return slowly for they like this land very well. I do not expect the Eskimo to reach you until about the middle of May. If we are lucky we will take a short cut back and will get to Annoatok by the end of May.

When the natives get back give them all one block of tobacco and nothing more until I get back, except those that go away. Puodluna and Igingwah will go away. Give them a knife and hatchet each, and any other things we can spare which they want.

If you get a chance send to Igloodahominy and also to the island off North Star a box of biscuits and a can of alcohol.

To the present we have seen nothing of Croker Land, and I am taking a strait course for the pole. The boys are doing well, and I have plenty of dogs. I hope to succeed. At any rate, I will make a desperate attempt.

While I expect to get back to you by the end of May, still I wish you to be ready to go to Acponle, the island of North Star, where the whalers' steamers come, by the 5th of June, and if I am not back go home with the whalers. I think, however, we will be back.

Gather all the blue-fox skins you can. These must be our money on the return trip. If you can get a few bear skins take them, also narwhale and walrus tusks, but do not give too much for them.

The dogs that come back that belong to us turn over to Ponikpa to feed and work.

If Kudno (the Dane) is still there urge him to wait for our return either to Annoatok or at North Star, for I am anxious to go to Upernavik at once on our return, and he can be of much use to us.

There is likely to be much open water between you and Etah, so you had better send the trunk, the narwhale tusks, and all things for the return to Etah at least, if not farther, as soon as you can.

I have regretted many times that you are not with us, but *at the moment* it seemed best to send you back, and on the whole you are of more assistance to me at the house to guard and care for our things than here in the field in this awful cold and wind. I trust you are of the same opinion.

So good-by, and now for the pole.

Yours, cordially, FREDERICK A. COOK.

Remember that Dr. Cook claims to have reached Svartevaeg proper on the morning of March 18; that the forenoon of March 18 was spent in various movements around Svartevaeg and in sleeping "a few hours longer"; that Cook claims to have made three hikes out on the polar sea before the two Eskimos by whom this letter was sent to Franke returned. (The Eskimos returned at the *end* of the day's advance of March 20.) Yet the letter to Franke is dated: "March 17, 1908; *Polar Sea*, North of Cape Hubbard." One may argue that the letter could have been written a few days before the Eskimos returned, which is true, but that argument does not hold good, for on March 17 Cook claims to have camped "in the lowlands just south of Svartevaeg," therefore he could not have been on the "polar sea, north of Cape Hubbard (or Svartevaeg)," on that date. Where, then, was Cook on March 17—on the lowlands south of Svartevaeg or on the polar sea, north of Cape Hubbard? And on what date was the letter to Franke really written, and from what point? These are relevant questions to which I should be glad to have Dr. Cook reply.

Note also Cook's liberality (?) toward the Eskimos who had traveled about 400 miles with him on his journey to the pole (as he claims). He instructs Franke to "Give them all *one block of tobacco and nothing more until I get back*, except those that go away." Doubtless the Eskimos felt well repaid for their two months' absence from their families when they received this bountiful reward.

The fifth paragraph of Cook's letter to Franke says:

To the present we have seen nothing of Croker Land.

As Peary claims to have seen his fictitious "Crocker Land" from an elevation on Svartevaeg (Peary's Cape Hubbard) Cook could not have seen it (had it existed) from the lowlands south of Svartevaeg, where he claims to have camped on March 17. Evidently, therefore, he wished Franke to believe that he had advanced some distance on the polar sea when the letter which he sent to Franke was written, especially as he adds:

I am taking a straight course for the pole.

The last paragraph of the letter is also significant. In it Cook says:

I have regretted many times that you are not with us, but *at the moment* it seemed best to send you back.

This proves that he had given Franke no previous hint of a preconceived plan for Franke's return, but had allowed him to go happily along, believing that he was to be one of the party to make the final dash.

Cook's mileage from March 18 to March 24, as computed by his "dead reckoning" corresponds exactly with the distance covered in that time, according to his observations. Therefore, if we accept these distances as correct (for the sake of argument) we find that Cook sent his two last supporting Eskimos or "feed men" (as he calls them) back to land from 82° 23′ north latitude. But, in a letter written to Capt. Bernier, a photographic copy of which is in my possession and which I shall quote later in full, Cook claims to have sent these two Eskimos back from 82° 10′ north latitude. In the letter to Capt. Bernier, he writes:

From *82° 10′* I started with but two young Eskimos, 26 dogs pulling two sleds and supplies for 80 days.

This, of course, is at variance with Cook's official record as published in his book, for, on page 209, he says:

By this kind of dead reckoning our position on March 20 (the day the Eskimos returned) was latitude *82° 23′*.

A notable feature of Peary's narrative of his last polar expedition is his rapid increase in speed immediately after the return of his last supporting party. So with Dr. Cook. The day following the return of the two Eskimos who composed what he called his "last feed men" his mileage jumped from 16 miles on March 20 to 29 miles on March 21, almost double the speed of the previous day. I quote from his notes for March 21:

March 21, 1908. Miles covered, 29. Awoke, sun N. E.; orange glow; —63° F.; bar. 30.10, steady; no clouds; sky pale purple. More snow (on ice); groaning sledges; mirages, lands, mountains, volcanoes. Air light; wind sky N.; Grant Land a mere line; —46°. Torture of light snow; march 14 hours.

On page 209 Cook says:

We had been traveling about 2½ miles per hour. By making due allowances for detours and halts at pressure lines, the number of hours traveled gave us a fair estimate of the day's distance. Against this the pedometer offered a check, and *the compass gave* the course. Thus over blank charts our course was marked. By this kind of dead reckoning our position on March 20 was latitude 82° 23′, longitude 95° 14′.

SIMILARITY TO PEARY'S STORY.

A striking similarity between Cook's report of his so-called polar trip and Peary's story of his last expedition is shown in their respective method, or lack of method, in following their course. Peary says that he traveled by compass only, without making any observations for longitude or for compass variation. Dr. Cook also says that he traveled by compass, though he claims to have made various observations for latitude and a few for longitude, but neither did he make any observations for compass variation. Therefore Cook, like Peary, assumed that the compass variation at the last point of land (in Cook's case, Svartevaeg; in Peary's, Cape Columbia) remained constant throughout the entire journey over to the polar ice to the places which they respectively called the pole. Peary asserts that he traveled the 413 miles between Cape Columbia and the pole on the meridian of Cape Columbia, while Cook claims that he kept close to the ninety-seventh meridian from Svartevaeg to about 85° north latitude and traveled close to the ninety-fifth meridian the balance of the distance to his "pole." The absurdity of these assertions and of the assumption that the isogonic lines or lines of equal variation follow either the longitudinal or latitudinal meridians is shown by a letter written to me by Capt. J. S. Hoogewerff, Superintendent of the United States Naval Observatory, Washington, D. C., on January 16, 1916, from which I quote:

Hon. H. T. HELGESEN.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of the 14th instant inquiring about magnetic variations, variation changes with change of position of the observer in either latitude or longitude.

Neither the north nor the south magnetic poles are coincident with the geometric poles of the earth. (There are presumably two magnetic south poles.)

Observations in numerous parts of the world have established the values of the variation, and these have been plotted in curves. They appear, with other data, on the Pilot Chart issued by the Hydrographic Office, Navy Department.

The curves of variation on the Pilot Chart are not extended into extreme polar regions for the reason that there have been no observations sufficient to permit a definite charting of the lines. * * * The traveler from Cape Columbia to the North Pole might expect to find large changes in variation.

J. S. HOOGEWERFF,
Captain, United States Navy, Superintendent.

This letter shows that wide differences exist in the variations of the compass, even when the observer is traveling on the same longitudinal or latitudinal "circles"; therefore Dr. Cook could not have known or "estimated" correctly the variations of the compass from Svartevaeg to the pole. In this respect he has no better claim to accuracy of observation or knowledge than has Peary.

The distance of 29 miles on March 21 should have made Cook's latitude 82° 52′ north. On page 214 he says of March 21:

Every condition favored us on this march. The snow was hard and the ice, in fairly large fields, separated by pressure lines, offered little resistance. On March 21, at the end of a forced effort of 14 hours, the register (pedometer) indicated a progress of 29 miles.

At the end of the advance of March 22, Dr. Cook reports reaching the shores of the "Big Lead." In his notes, on page 570, he says:

March 22, 1908. Miles covered, 22. A. M. wind E. 3; —59°. Start 12 (noon); sky clearer; wind 2; water sky N. Grant Land visible p. m. (Later) temperature rose to —46°. Wind tolerably high; pressure lines; the Big Lead. Camp on old field on bank; ice noises; search for the crossing. Young, elastic ice.

This 22 miles should have placed Cook at 83° 14′ north latitude, or 114 miles from Svartevaeg and 406 miles from the pole. On page 217 Cook says:

The first hundred miles of our journey on the polar pack had been covered. The pole was 400 miles beyond.

The Big Lead is an obstacle which has blocked other polar expeditions. Peary relates a forced halt of six days north of Cape Columbia in 1909. But Cook seems to have been more fortunate. On page 217 he describes the Big Lead:

My hopes sank within me. Twisting snakelike between the white field and separating the packs was a tremendous cut several miles wide, which seemed at the time to bar all further progress. It was the Big Lead, that great river separating the land-adhering ice from the vast grinding fields of the central pack beyond at which many heroic men before me had stopped.

After making camp Cook and one of his Eskimos started in search of a safe crossing. Cook says:

There were several narrow places, while here and there floes which had been adrift in the lead were now fixed by young ice. * * * In exploring the shore line a partially bridged place was found about a mile from camp, but the young ice was too elastic for a safe track.

Notwithstanding these unfavorable conditions, Cook reports making a safe crossing of the Big Lead on March 23, thus experiencing no delay whatever at this dreaded spot. Though differing in minor details, Cook's story of this crossing brings vividly to mind Peary's account of crossing this Arctic terror on his return from his Farthest North in 1906:

[From Cook's My Attainment of the Pole (1911) pages 222–223.]

We separated our dog teams from the sleds, holding to long lines which were fastened about our bodies and also to the sleds. The sleds were hitched to each other by another long line. I knew, as I gently placed my foot upon the thin yellowish surface, that at any moment I might sink into an icy grave. Gently testing the ice before me with the end of my axe, with spread legs, on snowshoes, with long, sliding steps I slowly advanced. A dangerous cracking sound pealed in every direction under my feet. The Eskimos followed. With every tread the thin sheet ice perceptibly sank under me and waved in small billows, like a sheet of rubber. Stealthily, as though we were trying to filch some victory, we crept forward. We rocked on the heaving ice as a boat on waves of water. *None of us spoke* during the dangerous crossing. We covered the 2 miles safely, yet our snail-like progress seemed to cover many anxious years. I can not describe the exultation which filled me when the crossing was accomplished.

[From Peary's Nearest the Pole (1907), pages 145–146.]

I gave the word to put on snowshoes and make the attempt. I tied mine on more carefully than I had ever done before. I think every other man did the same, for we felt that a slip or stumble would be fatal. When we started it was with Panikpah, lightest of us all and most experienced, in the lead, the few remaining dogs attached to the long broad-runner sledge following him, and the rest of the party abreast in widely extended skirmish line, 50 to 60 feet between each two men, some distance behind the sledge. *We crossed in silence*, each man busy with his thoughts and intent upon his snowshoes. Once started, we could not stop, we could not lift our snowshoes. It was a matter of constantly and smoothly gliding one past the other with the utmost care and evenness of pressure, and from every man as he slid a snowshoe forward, undulations went out in every direction through the thin film incrusting the black water. The sledge was preceded and followed by a broad swell. When we stepped upon the firm ice on the southern side of the lead, I was more than glad.

Since Peary's description of the Big Lead was published some five years earlier than Cook's, Peary certainly did not copy Cook's report of this Arctic feature, as he has been accused of copying others.

On pages 224–225 Cook says:

With the perilous Big Lead behind us, a bounding course was set to reach the eighty-fifth parallel on the ninety-seventh meridian.

In his notes for March 23 we read:

March 23, 1908. Miles covered, 17. Cross the Big Lead. Young ice elastic and dangerous; western sky again threatening; ice movement east; fields small; narrow, open lanes. Course for eighty-fifth on ninety-seventh; —40°; march 11 hours; 23 miles, credit 17 miles. Ice noises; night beautiful; sun sank into pearly haze. (Later:) Orange glow; pack violet and pale purple blue; sky late, partly cl.; appearance of land W.

Cook fails to state in his notes or elsewhere how he knew when he was on the ninety-fifth, ninety-seventh, or any other meridian, without making observations for compass variation, but he contents himself with the bare statement that the course was set in the direction of the ninety-seventh. This claimed net advance of 17 miles should have taken the party to 83° 31′ north latitude.

On March 24 Cook records his first observations after he left Svartevaeg. The result shows that his ability to gauge his traveled distances by dead reckoning, if accepted, was nothing short of marvelous, for his observations at noon of March 24, before starting on the day's advance, give his latitude at exactly 83° 31′ north latitude, or precisely the same as he had gauged it by his dead reckoning. This remarkable coincidence arouses a suspicion that his "observations" at this point were nothing more nor less than a reading of his pedometer, with a reasonable allowance for detours, for it is unbelievable that Cook could tell to the last fraction of a mile how far he had traveled in six days over the uneven ice of the polar sea. On March 24 his notes read:

March 24, 1908. Miles covered, 18. Observations 83° 31′ —96° 27′; —41°; bar. 29.70. West bank of fog and haze. Start afternoon; no life; old seal hole and bear tracks; long march; ice improving; 10 h. pedometer 21 m.; camp in coming storm; rushing clouds; signs of land W.; 18 m. (credited on course).

On page 225 Cook says:

Starting forward in the afternoon of March 24, we crossed many small floes with low-pressure lines separated by narrow belts of new ice. Our speed increased. At times we could hardly keep pace with our dogs.

Again, on page 228, he says of this same march:

We swept resistlessly onward for 23 miles. As we had taken a zigzag course to follow smooth ice, I therefore recorded only 18 miles to our credit.

At first sight this seems a careful, conservative method of estimating the day's advance, but two things are noticeable: First, in his notes Cook says that the ice was improving and that the pedometer showed 21 miles, while he credited 18 miles on the course, and in the text of the narrative he says that their speed increased, so that at times they could hardly keep pace with the dogs. Yet, notwithstanding this high rate of speed and exceptionally favorable ice conditions, they did not make as great an advance as they made on March 22, when, as Cook says on page 216:

We continued, urging the dogs and struggling with the wind just as a drowning man fights for life in a storm at sea. * * * We laboriously picked a way among hummocks and pressure lines which seemed impossible from a distance. Our dogs panted with the strain; my limbs ached.

And on this day, under these unfavorable conditions, hampered with reluctant dogs and poor ice, they advanced 22 miles, while on March 24, with the ice improving and the dogs racing at such a speed that the drivers could hardly keep pace with them, although they "swept resistlessly onward," they traveled only 21 miles!

Second. While Cook says in his notes:

Pedometer *21 m.;* 18 m. (credited on course).

In the text on page 228 he says of this same day, March 24:

We swept resistlessly onward for 23 miles. * * * I recorded only 18 miles to our credit.

This difference between Cook's notes and the text of his narrative has no effect on his claimed net advances, as in both instances he credits only 18 miles to the day's run. Nevertheless, it is interesting to consider that he probably confused the day's run of March 24 with that of March 23, for on March 23 he says in his notes:

Twenty-three miles; credit, 17 miles.

It is also difficult to understand why, on March 23, with a pedometer mileage of 23 miles, he should have credited only 17 miles to the day's advance, while on March 24, with a pedometer record of 21 miles, he credited 18 miles to the net advance.

The most important event of March 24, however, was Cook's sighting of Crocker Land, that fictitious and mythical land which, in combination with many other fictitious "discoveries," has proved Peary's undoing as an accurate and reliable Arctic explorer and which now bids fair to assist in performing the same good office for Dr. Cook. True, Cook does not say in his *book* that he *saw* Crocker Land. On the contrary, on pages 225–226 he says:

An altitude of the sun at noon on March 24 gave our position of 83° 31′. The longitude was estimated at 96° 27′. The land clouds of Grant Land were still visible. The low bank of mist in the west occasionally brightened. For a while I believed this to be an indication of Crocker Land. Until midday I took observations and endeavored to study the appearances of land. Our dogs sniffed the air as if scenting game. After a diligent search one seal blowhole was located, and later we saw an old bear track. Signs of seal and bear were encouraging to us as possible future food supply.

On page 490, in discussing one of the phases of the "polar controversy," Cook says:

These same Eskimos—

Who had traveled with both Cook and Peary—

have since said, without quizzing from me, that Mr. Peary never saw Crocker Land.

Again, on page 559, in an apparent effort to be on the safe side, Cook says:

Peary's Eskimos of a former trip positively deny Peary's claimed discovery of Crocker Land. *I still prefer to believe that Crocker Land does deserve a place on the map.*

Apparently Cook's first intention was to support Peary's statement that he had discovered this now discredited continent in the polar sea; but when Peary returned from his own 1908–9 trip simultaneously with Cook's return from *his* claimed polar trip, and at once attacked Cook's claim to the attainment of the pole, Cook immediately attempted to "hedge" on the question of Crocker Land, and we note, on page 226 of My Attainment of the Pole, Cook merely says, as I have already quoted:

For a while I believed this to be an indication of Crocker Land.

In a letter written on May 4, 1916, by Dillon Wallace, Esq., lawyer, explorer, and author, to the Hon. Edmund Platt, Mr. Wallace says:

You mention Crocker Land. On the place where Peary stood when he claimed to have seen Crocker Land, it was physically and scientifically impossible to have seen land anywhere near as far north as 84°. The *day after Cook arrived in New York from the north* I asked him about Crocker Land. I told him that if Crocker Land was there he must have passed close to it in going north. *He told me that Crocker Land did not exist;* that Peary had probably seen a mirage. In August, 1914, I met Cook on the street in Chicago. I spoke of McMillan having gone north to explore Crocker Land, and Cook said: "He will never explore Crocker Land because there *is no Crocker Land.* I passed where Peary is supposed to have seen land, and have reported that *there is no land there.*"

But this is just what Cook did *not* report in the first accounts of his polar trip. In the New York Herald of October 6, 1909, is printed a letter written by Dr. Cook to Capt. J. E. Bernier on May 23, 1909, in which Cook makes the unqualified statement that *Crocker Land was sighted.*

I have in my possession a photographic reproduction of the original, hand-written letter, in Dr. Cook's own handwriting, to Capt. J. E. Bernier, dated at Upernavik, Greenland, and written by Cook while he was at Upernavik, waiting for a ship on which he could return to civilization. Cook sent that letter by a whaling vessel from Upernavik to Capt. Bernier, who was then in Lancaster Sound. I give herewith an exact copy of that letter:

UPERNAVIK, *May 23, 1909.*

MY DEAR CAPT. BERNIER: I hasten to write to you the first letter after being sealed behind icy barriers for two years. The unexpected coming of the *Arctic* makes a suitable closing climax to our long run of hard adventure. It was the supplies which you so thoughtfully left in charge of Mr. Whitney which enabled me to come to Upernavik. All my other property had been taken by Peary under the guise of a "Relief station for Dr. Cook." Mr. Murphy, the man in charge of this station, however, was instructed not to engage in any relief efforts, nor to allow the Eskimos to cross and search until March of the following year—1909—when, of course, all relief efforts would be useless. My large store of supplies and my station was therefore used for barter with the natives to satisfy Peary's commercial greed. The splendid assistance which you have given and the liberality of your Government in sending the ship is a happy contrast to the bunglesome hindrance and injustice of one of my own countrymen. I therefore extend to you and to your people such a gratitude as man must offer for help in the dire hour of need.

Fortunately we were able to work out our problem without relief efforts except such as you offered. We have pushed into the boreal center and picked the polar prize, but the effort was dangerous beyond all conception. Starting from Annoatok on February 19, 1908, we crossed Ellesmereland, pushed along its west coast to the polar sea, feeding the 10 Eskimos and 103 dogs en route on musk ox and bears. From 82° 10′ I started with but 2 young Eskimos, 26 dogs pulling 2 sleds, and supplies for 80 days. The ice was found fair after passing the 84°.

Crocker Land was sighted and a new land to the north of it extending to the eighty-fifth. Beyond no land was seen. The pole was reached on *April 22, 1908.* The return was forced slightly westward of the northward route, but above the eighty-fifth we drifted eastward and south. Below the eighty-fourth we drifted strongly westward with fog, open water, and an active pack of small ice. We were hopelessly carried to the west, unable to reach our line of caches along Nansen Sound. We were pushed into Prince Gustav Sea, without food or fuel. Still unable to press eastward, we went with the ice south. Food and fuel were now exhausted, but polar bears came along as life-savers, and with them we went into Wellington Channel, hoping to be able to reach the whalers in Lancaster Sound. But we were soon stopped by failing food supply and jammed small ice. With no game this short route to an early ship was no longer possible, and to satisfy the pangs of hunger we sought Jones Sound. Here, after a long run of hard adventures by boat and sled, a cruel necessity forced us into winter camp in September at Cape Sparbo without fuel, food, ammunition, or winter clothing. With no dogs, no shelter, and no guns our outlook was nearly hopeless. But fortune came our way.

Bows and arrows, harpoons, lances, and other implements were made. The musk ox and the bear were taken with the line, the lance, and the knife. Small game was secured with the bow and arrow and the slingshot. Foxes were trapped in stone traps. The walrus and the seal were attacked and secured in our little folding canvas boat. An underground den was built, and the winter of 1908–9 was passed with a taste of savage life, for we had not a morsel of civilized food, not even salt. A new equipment was devised, and as the sun of 1909 rose over the hills of North Devon, we started for Annoatok February 18, dragging dried musk-ox meat as food and molded tallow as fuel for 30 days on our sled. Deep snow, bad ice, open water, and continued storm made the return slow and arduous. We reached Annoatok after a run of hard luck on April 5. Here we were met by Mr. Whitney, only to find that the Peary men had misused our station with its equipment under protest of Mr. Whitney.

We enjoyed excellent health at all times. Mr. Whitney and the Peary men are in good health. There is no news of the steamer *Roosevelt* or of the civilized world except such as the whalers will be able to give you.

I hope that the winter and the year has afforded you and your companions the hoped-for explorer's luck, with suitable opportunities and good health.

Yours, very cordially,

FREDERICK A. COOK.

To Capt. BERNIER,
Steamer Arctic, Lancaster Sound.

Note that Dr. Cook says unqualifiedly in this letter that "Crocker Land was sighted"! Note, also, that he says that he reached the North Pole on *April 22, 1908.*

This letter was written while Cook was yet in the Arctic, and was the first written report that he had given to anyone of his claimed polar trip. It was written while he was resting quietly at the house of Gov. Kraul, the governor of Danish Greenland. Here Cook says (p. 458 of My Attainment of the Pole) that he remained for a month "putting the finishing touches on my narrative," on which Cook says he had already done much work at Cape Sparbo. As the letter to Bernier was written under these quiet, favorable circumstances, while every feature of the trip must have been fresh in his mind, and after he had ample time to compare his dates with the calendars and almanacs if he had so desired, and since the copy of the letter in my possession is a photographic copy, showing Cook's own handwriting, in which the words, "Crocker Land was sighted," and the date, "April 22, 1908," are very plainly written, so that there is no chance to mistake them for anything else, there seems to be no reasonable excuse for the variation of this story from Cook's latter accounts. Nevertheless, Cook did write to Capt. Bernier on May 23, 1909, that "Crocker Land was sighted," and on September 22, 1909 (according to Dillon Wallace), Cook said that Crocker Land does not exist. Where did Dr. Cook find out his mistake about the mythical Crocker Land? Peary's critics have truthfully and logically argued that McMillan's proof of the nonexistence of Crocker Land is also proof of Peary's unreliability and inaccuracy as an explorer. But Peary has steadfastly held to his story that he "saw" Crocker Land, hoping, perhaps, that his repeated assertion would meet with credence, notwithstanding the facts. What can we say, however, of an explorer who one day reports seeing a fictitious land, and a short time afterwards as unqualifiedly contradicts that report?

If Peary is convicted of fraud and deception by the proof of the nonexistence of Crocker Land, Dr. Cook is doubly convicted of the same fraud and deception, for while it is barely possible—though not probable—that Peary *might* have seen a mirage, it is painfully evident that Dr. Cook saw neither land nor mirage, else why has he changed his statement that Crocker Land was sighted? Even when his book was published in 1911, Cook says on pages 225–226:

An altitude of the sun at noon on March 24 gave our position as latitude 83° 31′. The longitude was estimated at 96° 27′. The low bank of mist in the west occasionally brightened. For a while I believed this to be an indication of Crocker Land.

And in his notes for March 23, we find recorded:

Appearance of land W.

On the night of March 24 Cook reports a heavy storm, and early in the morning of March 25 he says that he had a narrow escape from drowning, caused by the opening of a fissure in the ice under his sleeping platform, which precipitated him into the icy water from which, helpless in his sleeping bag, he was dragged by his Eskimo companions. In The North Pole Peary relates a very similar circumstance of the opening of the ice in the night, but in his case it was merely the igloos that were separated from each other, and no one took a cold bath as a consequence of the mishap. In his notes for March 25th, Cook writes:

March 25, 1908. Miles covered, 18. Early awakened by dogs. Storm spent soon; sunrise temperature —26°, later —41°; west again smoky. Back to the bags; cracking ice; the breaking and separating ice and the crevasse episode; in a bag and in water; ice, water, and pemmican; masks of ice. Good march over newly fractured ice; ice in motion.

In the main narrative he says little of his day's march, but uses four pages in a general description of life on the trail.

Cook's notes for March 26 read:

March 26, 1908. Miles covered, 18. Still windy; some drift snow; another storm threatening. How we need rest! Strong wind during the night. Position D. R. 84° 24′: 96° 53′.

On March 27 Cook reports an advance of 16 miles, which exactly completes 200 miles from Svartevaeg. Owing to a heavy storm March 28 was spent in camp, but on March 29 Cook again records in his notes:

March 29, 1908. Miles covered, 9. Start early p. m. A little blue in the west; sun bursts; pack disturbed; hard traveling due to fresh crevasses. Camp midnight; only 9 miles.

On pages 241 and 242 Cook says:

Soon after noon of March 29 the air brightened. It became possible to breathe without being choked with floating crystals, and as the ice about our facial furs was broken, a little blue patch was detected in the west. Hitching the dogs we raced off. With full stomachs, fair weather, and a much needed rest, we moved with renewed inspiration. Camping at midnight we had made only 9 miles by a day's effort. The conditions under which this second hundred miles were forced proved to be in every respect the most exciting of the run of 500 miles over the polar sea.

According to Cook's notes the "second hundred miles" were finished at the end of the hike of March 27, and this advance of 9 miles was the beginning of the third hundred away from Svartevaeg.

Peary has been subjected to much criticism for his vagueness relative to the dogs which he used on his last Arctic trip, their number, and the times at which they were killed or otherwise disposed of. Cook is even more vague and general in his statements relative to his dogs. On page 199 of his book, when planning the supplies for the expedition, he estimated:

For six dogs: Pemmican, 1 pound per day for 80 days, 480 pounds.

He then adds:

Of the 26 dogs, we had at first figured on taking 16 over the entire trip to the pole and back to our caches on land, but in this last calculation only 6 were to be taken; 20, the least useful, were to be used one after the other as food on the march as soon *as reduced loads and better ice permitted.* * * * In the final working out the dogs were used for traction purposes *longer than we anticipated.*

Cook reports that when he returned to land on June 13 he had "10 bony dogs" left, so that in his claimed absence from land for a period of 88 days he used only 16 dogs as food for the others. Yet on March 29, only 9 days after the return of his last "feed men," with his loads reduced (according to his schedule) by only 261 pounds (and not as much as that if the dogs were fed only every other day), he says:

One dog after another went into the stomachs of the hungry survivors.

But he does not tell us when the dogs were killed, nor why it was necessary at this early stage of the proceedings to thus dispose of his tractive power, which, it would seem, would be more valuable to him, with heavy loads and poor ice, as motive power than as food in "the stomachs of the hungry survivors." But on this, as on many other points, Cook's narrative is exceedingly vague and noncommittal.

March 30 was, perhaps, the most notable day of the trip between Svartevaeg and the place Cook called the pole, for on March 30 Cook claims to have discovered "new land," which he named "Bradley Land," in honor of John R. Bradley, whose financial aid had alone made possible Cook's expedition. In his Notes Cook describes the finding of this new land:

March 30, 1908. Miles covered, 10. Land 9 a. m., cleared; land was seen; westerly clouds settled over it. Observations 84° 50′; 95° 36′ (longitude); bearing of land, southern group, west by south to west by north true. Other bearings taken later place a coast line along the one hundred and second meridian from latitude 84° 20′ to 85° 10′. There must be much open water about the land, for banks of vapor persistently hide part. A low fog persistent; can not see shore; for days we have expected to see something W., but never a clear horizon. Probably two islands S. like Heiberg, 1,800 feet high, valleys, mountains, snow N., table 1,000, thin ice sheet, bright nights. From observation paper: Bar. 30.10, had risen from 29.50 in 2 hours; wind 2–3 mag. S.; clouds mist, east, water bands W.; shadow (of 6-foot pole) 39 feet.

In his narrative Cook further says on pages 243–247:

On March 30 the eastern sky broke in lines of cheering blue. * * * Soon the western heavens, ever a blank mystery, cleared. Under it, to my surprise, lay a new land. * * * This new land was never clearly seen. A low mist seemingly from open water hid the shore line. We saw the upper slopes only occasionally from our point of observation. There were two distinct land masses. The most southern cape of the southern mass bore west by south, but still further to the south there were vague indications of land. The most northern cape of the same mass bore west by north. Above it there was a distinct break for 15 or 20 miles, and beyond the northern mass extended above the eighty-fifth parallel to the northwest. The entire coast was at this time placed on our charts as having a shore line along the one hundred and second meridian, approximately parallel to our line of travel. At the time the indications suggested two distinct islands. Nevertheless we saw so little of the land that we could not determine whether it consisted of islands or of a larger mainland. The lower coast resembled Heiberg Island, with mountains and high valleys. The upper coast I estimated as being about 1,000 feet high, flat, and covered with a thin sheet ice. * * * This new land made a convenient milepost, for from this time on the days were counted to and from it. A good noon sight fixed the point of observation to 84° 50′, longitude 95° 36′. We had forced beyond the second hundred miles from Svartevaeg. Before us remained about *300 more miles* to my alluring, mysterious goal.

As seen in the quotation from his notes, Cook places the new land as extending parallel with the one hundred and second meridian of longitude, with about 50 miles of its length visible from his line of march. This 50 miles extended approximately from 84° 20′ to 85° 10′ north latitude. This land consisted of at least two distinct masses, and possibly more, as Cook says he could not determine whether it was islands or a larger mainland.

On pages 225 and 226 Cook claims that he saw indications of Crocker Land at 83° 31′. In describing his new land, or "Bradley Land," he says, on page 245:

The most southern cape of the southern mass bore west by south, but *still further to the south there were vague indications of land.*

This would indicate that he is still supporting his theory of the existence of "Crocker Land," for with the southern point of the southern mass visible at 84° 20′ his "vague indications of land further to the south" would locate such an "indicated" land at the point where Cook "sighted" Crocker Land, as he later wrote Capt. Bernier. Therefore this appears like another attempt to bolster up Peary's alleged discovery of the fictitious Crocker Land.

Cook also says of his newly discovered land:

The lower coasts resembled Heiberg Island, with mountains and high valleys.

The photograph which Cook publishes of "Bradley Land," opposite page 214 of My Attainment of the Pole, so strikingly resembles the coast of Axel Heiberg Land as shown in Capt. Sverdrup's book, New Land, that more than one person has concluded that until Cook's "Bradley Land" is rediscovered by some reliable explorer it will be open to the suspicion of having been "seen" off the shores of Axel Heiberg Land.

Cook also says, on page 245, that "this new land was never clearly seen." Yet the picture which he shows opposite page 244 is a remarkably clear photograph for a picture of a land taken at a point between 35 and 40 miles distant. Cook says that a low mist hid the shore line, but his photograph certainly shows the appearance of a shore line, and as clear a line as could be expected at a distance of more than 30 miles from the land on sea level. At the time this photograph was taken, therefore, it would seem that mist was not obscuring the land.

Cook concludes this chapter with these words:

Before us remained about 300 more miles to my alluring, mysterious goal.

Cook's 10 miles of advance on March 30 placed him, according to his records, 219 miles from Svartevaeg, or, if his figures had been correct, at 84° 59′ His observation of March 30, taken before starting on the day's journey, shows a difference of only 1 mile in 13 days between his estimated mileage and that obtained by his observations.

On page 245 Cook gives his detailed observation of March 30, 1908, and publishes a note in connection with the observation, which reads:

My friends have criticized me for not sending the data given below (itemized observations) and similar observations to Copenhagen to prove my claim, but I did not deem it worth while to present more, taking the ground that if in it there was not sufficient material to explain the movement step by step of the polar quest, then no academic examination could be of any value. This viewpoint, as I see it at present, was a mistake. I am now presenting every scrap of paper and every isolated fact, not as proof but as part of the record of the expedition, with due afterthought and the better perspective afforded by time. Every explorer does this. Upon such a record history has always given its verdict of the value of an explorer's work. It will do the same in estimating the relative merits of the polar quest.

Although in his notes Cook refers to an observation of March 24, the first one which he gives in detail is the observation of March 30, printed on page 245 of My Attainment of the Pole. The next published observation is the one shown on page 257, purporting to be made on April 8, 1908; another of April 14, on page 274; and finally his so-called "polar" observations on page 292. In the observation of March 30, shown on page 245, Cook has apparently taken sextant observations of the upper limb of the sun only, at any rate we feel that we must give him the benefit of the doubt and assume that his two sextant observations were taken, as his figures indicate, of the upper limb only.

In the observations of April 8 and April 14, shown on pages 257 and 274, respectively, we find that he made double observations, including both the upper and lower limbs of the sun.

While I make no pretensions to scientific knowledge of navigation or nautical observations, one thing is as easily understood by a tyro or novice as by an experienced navigator or astronomer, namely, in the case of a double observation, taken with an artificial horizon giving both the upper and lower limb of the sun, a difference of about 1° or 60′ will be found in the alti-

tude. In the first edition of Cook's book, however, in the observation of April 8, which he shows on page 257, we find these figures:

April 8, 1908:			
Upper limb	21°	49′	30″
Lower limb	21	18	20
Addition	43	7	50

Upper limb	21°	49′	30″
Lower limb	21	18	20
Subtraction		31	10

This subtraction shows a difference of but little more than one-half a degree, while it should be about a degree, and is therefore an error. See The American Practical Navigator, in use by United States Government for nautical observations.

Cook's attention was apparently called to this error after the publications of the first edition of his book, for in the second and third editions we find the figures changed to read:

April 8, 1908:			
Upper limb	21°	59′	30″
Lower limb	21	08	20
Addtion	43	7	50

Note that the juggling of these figures was such that the result of the subtraction shown in the opposite column gives a difference of nearly a degree, while the result of the addition given above remains the same as in the first edition.

Upper limb	21°	59′	30″
Lower limb	21	08	20
Subtraction		51	10

This subtraction shows a difference of 51′, or very nearly a degree, and making due allowances for unfavorable conditions is a decided improvement over the figures shown in the first edition.

In the first edition of Cook's book, in the observation of April 14, which he shows on 274, we find these figures:

April 14, 1908:

Lower limb	22°	12′	05″
Upper limb	22	46	20
Addition	44	58	25

Lower limb	22°	12′	05″
Upper limb	22	46	20
Subtraction		34	15

This subtraction, like the one for April 8, in the first edition, shows a difference of but a little more than one-half a degree, while it should be about a degree, and is therefore an error. See "The American Practical Navigator" in use by United States Government for nautical observations.

In the second and third editions of Cook's book we find the figures for the observation of April 14, 1908, changed to read:

April 14, 1908.:

Lower limb	22°	02′	05″
Upper limb	22	56	20
Addition	44	58	25

Note that the change in these figures, like those of April 8, was such that the result of the subtraction shown in the opposite column has increased to nearly a degree, although the result of the addition given above remains the same as in the first edition.

Lower limb	22°	02′	05″
Upper limb	22	56	20
Subtraction		54	15

This subtraction shows a difference of 54′ or very nearly a degree, and making due allowance for unfavorable conditions is a great improvement over the figures shown in the first edition.

I give herewith Cook's complete observations for April 8 and April 14, showing why it was necessary to leave the figures giving the result of the addition unchanged, otherwise the whole problem would have shown a different result from the one which he desired to publish as his position for the respective dates. I have copied these figures from the first edition of "My Attainment of the Pole":

Observation on April 8, from original field papers. April 8, 1908, longitude 94° 2′. Bar. 29.80, rising. Temp. —31°. Wind 2, Mag. NE. Clouds St. 3.

Upper limb	21°	49′	30″
Lower limb	21	18	20
Addition	43	07	50

Corrected in second and third editions to read:			
Upper limb	21°	59′	30″
Lower limb	21	08	20
Addition	43	07	50

94°
4′
60)376′
6—16
56″
×6¼
14
336
60)350
5—50
7 9 33
7 15 23

2)43° 07′ 50″
21 33 55
+02
2)21 35 50
10 47 55
−09
10 38 55
90
79 21 05
7 15 23
86 36 28

Shadows 32 ft. (of pole 6 ft. above snow).

From page 274 of first edition of "My Attainment of the Pole":

From original field papers.—Observations of April 14, 1908. Long. 95–52. Bar. 29.90 falling. Temp. —44°. Clouds Cu. St. & Alt. St. 4. Wind 1–3. Mag. E.

Lower limb	22°	12′	5″
Upper limb	22	46	20
Addition	44	58	25

Corrected in second and third editions to read:			
Lower limb	22°	2′	5″
Upper limb	22	56	20
Addition	44	58	25

96
4
60)384
6—24
54
6½
27
324
60)351
5—51
9–21—50
9–27—41

2)44° 58′ 25″
22 29 12
+2
2)22 31 12
11 15 36
−9
11 6 36
90
78 53 24
9 27 41
88 21 5

Shadow 30½ ft. (of tent pole 6 ft. above snow).

We may argue—as has been done—that these errors which I have shown are merely typographical errors, which might easily have occurred in the first edition of Cook's book and have as easily been corrected in succeeding editions. This hypothesis is improbable because:

First. Every author and every proof reader knows that extra care is taken in proof reading figures, when a seemingly slight error makes a wide difference in the result; especially would such care be taken in a technical problem like an astronomical observation.

Second. In order to accept the theory of "typographical errors" we have to assume that two such errors occurred in the same problem and that both escaped the attention of the typesetter as well as the careful and critical eyes of author and proof reader. This is improbable to the point of absurdity.

Third. The "error" is such that to correct it a mere transposition of the figures in the "minutes" of the reading of the upper and lower limbs of the sun is necessary, a transposition which makes no difference in the addition of the two readings. It is unbelievable that two "typographical errors" in the same problem, if accidental, could be of such a nature as this. But even if we strain our credulity to the breaking point and accept the argument that such an error *might* occur, we are yet confronted with the fact that:

Fourth. A second "error," exactly similar to the first, which needs only the same kind of transposition to correct it, occurred *in another observation taken at another place on another day.*

It is wholly unbelievable that the two errors in each problem, if "typographical" or accidental, would all four be of such a nature that when corrected the addition of the two rows of figures will produce the same result after the correction as before the correction, while at the same time they show the necessary difference of about one degree of altitude. If Dr. Cook was as clever in making observations as in correcting the errors after they were brought to his attention, he would be able to more convincingly demonstrate that he really knew anything about his geographical position during the various stages of his so-called "Polar journey." As his observations prove that he was either deplorably ignorant or inexcusably careless in making his observations, we can place no more reliance upon them than we can upon Peary's, which have been shown to be thoroughly unreliable and erroneous.

It is worthy of note also that these two observations in which the aforesaid errors occur are the only observations which Dr. Cook gives showing a reading of both limbs of the sun.

In his notes for March 31, Cook says, relative to his "new land" or "Bradley Land":

Land screened by mist; wind, 2—0; ice fracture; no sign of life—none since 83.

In Chapter XVII which he heads: "Beyond the range of life 200 miles from the Pole," on page 248 he says:

A curtain of mist was drawn over the new land in the afternoon of March 31, and although we gazed westward longingly, we saw no more of it.

As Cook says that his observations at noon of March 30 gave him latitude 84° 50′, and as his day's march on that date was only 10 miles, which should have placed him at the eighty-fifth parallel, he could not have seen the new land after he crossed the eighty-fifth parallel. His only view of it therefore was en route from 84° 49′ to 84° 59′ north latitude. That he was in

camp at 84° 49′—according to his notes—when the land was first sighted is evidenced by his statement that the land was first seen at 9 a. m. of March 30. His estimate of the distance traveled from Svartevaeg places his camp at the close of March 29 at 84° 49′, and as his noon observations of March 30 placed him at 84° 50′ he was evidently only 1 mile away from camp when the observations were made. The distance traveled on March 30 was only 10 miles, and as the land was "screened by mist" on March 31, Cook's observations of the land must have been made along his claimed route between 84° 49′ and 84° 59′.

In the text of his book Dr. Cook says very little about his trip on March 31, April 1, and April 2. His notes, however, are more explicit. We note particularly that on March 31 he writes, as I have already quoted:

No signs of life; none since 83°.

This is in direct contradiction to his story on page 226, for on that page he relates stopping at his claimed 83° 31′, where he saw indications of Crocker Land, and says:

Signs of seal and bear, however, were encouraging to us as possible future food supply.

A hypothetical explanation for this discrepancy between Cook's notes and the text of his book is that his alleged Crocker Land was really below the eighty-third parallel and his "signs of seal and bear" were at, possibly, 82° 31′ instead of 83° 31′. This hypothesis would place Crocker Land at about the point where Peary claimed to have "discovered" it and would also reconcile Cook's statement on page 226 of his book that he found "signs of bear and seal" with the statement in his notes that there was "no sign of life; none since 83°."

On April 1, in his notes, Cook says:

April 1, 1908. Miles covered, 18. Time of traveling, 9 to 6; ice better; fields larger; crevasses less troublesome; temp. —32°. There is no more darkness at night.

On page 248 of My Attainment of the Pole, Cook says of this period of time:

A curtain of mist was drawn over the new land in the afternoon of March 31, and, although we gazed westward longingly, we saw no more of it. Day after day we now pushed onward in desperate northward efforts. Strong winds and *fractured, irregular ice* increased our difficulties. Although progress was slow for several days, we managed to gain a fair march between storms during each 24 hours.

In his notes Cook makes no mention of storms of any kind for the "several days" following March 31, nor of the "fractured, irregular ice." On the contrary, he says, on April 1, in his notes:

Ice better; fields larger; crevasses less troublesome.

But in the text of his book it is not until after April 3 that he says (p. 249):

The fields became larger and less troublesome.

This, again, is contradicted in his notes for April 4, on which day he says:

Snow softer; used snowshoes; have crossed *11 crevasses;* much chopping; brash and small hummocks.

In the text of his narrative, writing of the trip between the eighty-fourth and eighty-fifth parallels, Cook says in a footnote on page 251:

Peary claims to have seen life east of this position (between 84° and 85° north latitude). This is perfectly possible, for Arctic explorers have often noted when game trails were abundant one year none were seen the next. In these tracks of foxes and bears, as noted by Baldwin, are positive proofs of the position of Bradley Land, for such animals work only from a land base.

If this contention of Cook (or Baldwin) was absolutely correct, then Cook's observation of animal life opposite the point where he (Cook) located Crocker Land, or "indications of land" would be positive proof of the position and existence of Crocker Land. But the existence of Crocker Land in any position has already been disproved by Donald B. McMillan, leader of the Crocker Land expedition. Thus we have a number of possible errors confronting us. If, as Cook says, such animals as bears and foxes work only from a land base, then, since Crocker Land does not exist, either Cook did not see the signs of bears which he claims to have seen opposite the point where he saw indications of Crocker Land or else he was not at the point where he claimed to have been when he located signs of Peary's Crocker Land.

Peary has been proven, beyond question, to be wrong on so many points, both as regards his observations and his journey, that we can place no reliance on his statement that he saw tracks of animals north of the eighty-fourth parallel; for if he did see the animal tracks which he claims to have seen on the day when he claims to have seen them, we have no proof that he was north of the eighty-fourth parallel at that time, and the animals could as easily have come from Grant Land as from Bradley Land. Peary also claims to have seen fox tracks near the eighty-seventh parallel; but, even admitting for the sake of argument that he was ever as far north as the eighty-seventh degree of latitude, he claims to have traveled on the seventieth meridian of longitude. Therefore, accepting his claimed position for the fox tracks, they would have been found 120 miles north and about 100 miles east of the place where Cook locates Bradley Land, which would be quite a distance away from land even for a fox. So far as the "proof" of the existence of either Peary's Crocker Land or Cook's Bradley Land is concerned, we can only say this: Crocker Land has been found to be a myth and has been removed from the maps. The existence or nonexistence of Bradley Land is yet to be established.

On page 253 Cook says:

The weather was good enough to permit *frequent nautical observations.*

This statement is made in Cook's narrative between April 3 and April 7. It is interesting to note what Dr. Cook considers "frequent" nautical observations, for his notes show an observation on March 30—opposite Bradley Land—after which time no observation was made until April 8, or nearly two weeks later:

On page 255 we read:

The night of April 7 was made notable by the swing of the sun at midnight above the usual obscuring mist behind which it had during previous days sunk with its night dip of splendor. We were unable to determine sharply the advent of the midnight sun, but the colored cloud and haze into which it nightly sank produced a spectacular play which interested us immensely.

This corresponds with Cook's notes for April 7, where he says:

Midnight sun first seen.

Cook's notes for April 8 read:

April 8, 1908: Miles covered, 9. Observation *before starting,* 86° 36′; (longitude) 94° 2′. In spite of what seemed like long marches we made only *106 miles in nine days.* Much distance lost in crossings. (From field paper:) Bar. 29.50, rising; temp. —37°; wind mag. N. E. 2; clouds St. E; shadow (6 ft. pole), 32 feet.

On page 257 of his narrative Cook says:

Observations on April 8 placed camp at latitude 86° 36′, longitude 94° 2′. Although we had made long marches and really great speed, we had advanced only *96 miles* in the nine days.

We note that in his notes Cook says that the observation was taken *before starting* on April 8. He also says in his notes, that he had made only *106 miles in nine days.* His estimated mileage for the nine days from March 30 to April 7, inclusive, amounts to 116 miles; but as he also says that "much distance was lost in crossings," the distance lost in that manner accounts for the apparent discrepancy between 116 miles and the 106 miles shown in his observations. But why does he say in the text of his book, on page 257, that—

We had advanced only *96 miles* in the nine days.

The same error occurs in each of the three editions of his book; therefore it can hardly be a typographical error, or it would surely have been corrected in some one of the three editions, especially since various corrections and changes of more or less importance have been made in the book since the first edition was published.

As Cook says that much distance was lost in crossings, we must count his mileage after that time (April 8) from the latitude shown in his observations, namely, 86° 36′ at the *beginning* of the day's march of April 8. Between his observation on March 30 and his observation on April 8 his estimated mileage showed a difference of 10 miles between it and his observed latitude.

On April 10 Cook wrote in his notes:

April 10. Miles covered, 16—10 p. m. to 7 a. m. Working hours changed. *Big marches and long hours no longer possible;* snow good; ice steadily improving; bodily fatigue much felt; wind 1—28 W.

Cook's mileage for the five days immediately preceding April 10 had, according to his record, totaled 65 miles, an average of 13 miles daily. His mileage for the five days from April 10 to April 14, inclusive, totaled 93 miles, or an average of 18⅗ miles per day; yet on April 10 he wrote:

Big marches and long hours no longer possible.

Another peculiar feature of this statement is that on April 7 Cook gives his marching time from 11 to 10, or 11 hours, in which time he claims to have traveled 14 miles. On April 8 he does not give the number of hours traveled, but the distance made was only 9 miles. April 9 he traveled 8½ hours and made 14 miles. April 10 he traveled 9 hours and made 16 miles. On April 11 (notwithstanding that "long hours were no longer possible") he claims to have traveled 9½ hours and made 15 miles. On April 12 he marched 8 hours and made *21* miles; on April 13, in a march of 7 hours, he made 17 miles; and on April 14, in 8 hours, he made *23 miles.* And yet "big marches and long hours were no longer possible!"

Cook's account of April 11, both in his notes and in his narrative, is of especial interest and worthy of careful study. In his notes he writes:

April 11, 1908. Miles covered, 15—10.30 to 8 a. m. Observation end of march, 87° 20′, 95° 19′ (longitude); the pack disturbance of B. Ld. lost; farthest north; little crushed ice; old floes less irregular; anxious about food; wind 3 W. (true); 300 miles in 24 days; work intermittent; too tired to read instruments. (From other field notes, Temp. —39°; bar. 29.90°.)

Cook's claimed observation *before starting* on April 8 gave him a latitude of 86° 36′. His claimed observation at the end of his day's march on April 11 showed 87° 20′, or an advance of 44 miles in four days. His total estimated mileage for these four days amounts to *54* miles, or a loss of 10 miles in four days. This is remarkable for the reason that during the entire 21 days from March 18 to April 7, inclusive, the total difference between his estimated mileage and his observations was only 9 miles, while it now jumps to a difference of 10 miles in four days. Also in the first three weeks of his trip from Svartevaeg northward Cook mentions the drift of the ice, as, for instance, on page 249 (Apr. 3):

The horizon moved. Our footing was seemingly a solid stable ice crust, which was, however, constantly shifting eastward. All the world on which we traveled was in motion. We moved, but we took our landscape with us.

On page 253:

The very heavy, undulating fields, which give character to the midpolar ice and escape along the east and west coasts of Greenland, are mostly augmented from the surface.

Yet in spite of the obstacle of constantly drifting ice he was able to estimate his distance in three weeks of travel with only 9 miles of error, while in the four days from April 8 to April 11, inclusive, his error was 10 miles.

On page 263 of his book Dr. Cook says in writing of April 11:

Our observations on April 11 gave latitude 87° 20′, longitude 95° 15′. * * * Nearly half of the food allowance had been used. In the long marches supplies had been more liberally consumed than anticipated. Now our dog teams were much reduced in numbers. Because of the cruel law of the survival of the fittest, the less useful dogs had gone into the stomachs of their stronger companions. Now, owing to food limitations and the advancing season, we could not prudently continue the onward march a fortnight longer.

We had dragged ourselves three hundred miles over the polar sea in twenty-four days. Including delays and detours, this gave an average of nearly thirteen miles daily on an air line in our course. There remained an unknown line of one hundred and sixty miles to the pole. The same average advance would take us to the pole in thirteen days.

Svartevaeg is located in latitude 81° 20′. Cook's *estimated* mileage for the 24 days of travel from Svartevaeg to his camp of April 11 totaled *373* miles. Some of this mileage was lost in detours and drifts. But Cook says in his notes:

300 miles in 24 days.

And on page 263 he says:

We had dragged ourselves *three hundred miles* over the polar sea in *twenty-four days.*

Cook had really been on the polar ice for 25 days, but as one day (March 28) was lost on account of bad weather, he had only traveled, as he says, 24 days, in which time he says he had advanced 300 miles.

But Cook's reported observations on April 11 place him at 87° 20′, or *360 miles* from Svartevaeg. If it was only in Cook's notes that he made the statement that he had traveled "300 miles in 24 days," we might account the error as one of typography, but in the text of each edition of his book he says on page 263:

We had dragged ourselves *three hundred miles over the polar sea in twenty-four days.*

and then proceeds to figure out his average rate of speed for the 24 days on that basis, and he draws various deductions as to the length of time he could safely proceed north at the same rate of speed. Three hundred miles in 24 days would make, as Cook says, "an average of nearly 13 miles daily on an air line"; or, to be exact, 12½ miles daily.

Notwithstanding Cook says he had traveled only 300 miles in 24 days, he still claims that he has only 160 miles to go to reach the pole, and "the same average advance would take us to the pole in 13 days." But if he was correct in saying that he had only 160 miles to go to reach the pole, then he must have already traveled 360 miles, and this would make his average daily rate of speed 15 miles instead of 12½, and at the same average advance he would have reached the pole in about 10 days, which, as a matter of fact, he does claim to have done. But if he was correct in saying that he had only traveled 300 miles in 24 days, then he would have had 220 miles before he reached the pole, and his same average advance of 12½ miles would have taken him to the pole in 17⅗ days; so from whatever angle the problem is figured, Cook is in error.

It may be noted that the discrepancy between Cook's notes and his narrative proper is exactly 60 miles, or 1° of latitude. It may also be remembered that in his notes for March 31 Cook says—

No sign of life; none since 83°—

although a week earlier he claimed to have seen signs of seal and bear at 83° 31′ opposite "Crocker Land." As I pointed out in that connection, if these signs of life were really seen (as Cook says in his notes for Mar. 31) below the eighty-third parallel, thus locating the supposed Crocker Land at 82° 31′ instead of at 83° 31′, we then have the same discrepancy of 60 miles, or 1°, which we now find on April 11. Since Cook, like Peary, made no observations for compass variation on his polar trip, we may assume that his observatins were in error, both on March 24 when he placed Peary's mythical Crocker Land at 83° 31′, and again on April 11 when he claims an observed latitude of 87° 20′ in direct contradiction to his claimed advance of 300 miles in 24 days.

However, this is not the only peculiar feature of Cook's story of April 11. Remember that when starting from Svartevaeg (pp. 196–200) Cook said:

Twenty-six of the best dogs were picked, and upon two sleds were to be loaded all our needs for a trip estimated to last *80 days.* Of the 26 dogs * * * 20, the least useful, were to be used one after the other, as food on the march, as soon as reduced loads and better ice permitted. We carried about 200 pounds of pemmican above the expected consumption, and in the final working out *the dogs were used for traction purposes longer than we anticipated.* But with a cautious saving the problem was solved *somewhat more economically than any figuring before the start indicated.*

On page 207 Cook says (Mar. 20):

Of the 9° between land's end and the pole, we had covered 1; *and we had done this without using the pound of food per day* allotted each of us out of the 80 days' supply transported.

On page 210 (also Mar. 20) he says:

Hereafter there was to be *a short daily allowance of food and fuel.*

Nine days later, March 29 (p. 242), Cook writes:

One dog after another went into the stomachs of the hungry survivors.

On page 263 (Apr. 11) he says:

Our dog teams were much reduced in numbers. Because of the cruel law of the survival of the fittest, the less useful dogs had gone into the stomachs of their stronger companions.

As I have already quoted, it was a part of Cook's plan to feed dog to dog. He had planned on leaving Svartevaeg to feed 20 of the dogs, at more or less stated intervals, as the sled loads lightened, to the other dogs. As he carried provisions for 80 days and planned his arrangements accordingly, this would have meant one dog fed to the others every four days. He had now been en route 25 days, and if he had carried out his original plan only six of the dogs would have been fed to the others. But on page 200, he says:

In the final working out the dogs were used for traction purposes longer than we anticipated,

and to bear out this statement, Cook reports that he returned to land with "10 bony dogs." Therefore, as the dogs were used for traction purposes longer than he had anticipated, we may infer that he had not used his allotted six on April 11, when he writes:

Our dogs were *much reduced* in numbers,

for even had he used the maximum allowance of 6 in 25 days, he could hardly consider that 6 from a team of 26 would leave the team "much reduced." Perhaps one may say that this is too slight an inconsistency to note, but the frequency with which these inconsistencies occur in Dr. Cook's narrative lead one to query if he read his own—or Mr. Harry's—story as carefully as was desirable before he gave it to the world as a support to his claim to Polar discovery.

Not only in the reported reduction of his dog teams is discrepancy noted, but in his own food supply. Remember that Dr. Cook left Svartevaeg with ample supplies for 80 days. Not only this, but he says on page 200 that—

With a cautious saving the problem was solved somewhat more economically than any figuring before the start indicated.

On March 20 he says:

Of the 9° between land's end and the pole, we had covered one; and we had done this *without using the pound of food allotted each of us out of the 80 days' supply transported.*

This statement, if true, reduces the number of days which he had been using the supplies from the two Polar sledges, to 22 instead of 25. In 22 days, therefore, he had used "nearly half of the food allowance" originally intended to last 80 days, or in a fraction more than one-fourth of the time for which the journey was planned, he had used "nearly half of the food allowance" for the entire trip.

On April 12 Cook records in his notes:

April 12, 1908. Miles covered, 21. 11 p. m. to 7 a. m. Thoughts of return. Food supply reduced. Hope to economize in warmer weather. Very heavy ice, much like land ice. Wind 2 W. S. W. The awful monotony.

And on April 13:

April 13, 1908. Miles covered, 17. 12 p. m. to 7 a. m. The same heavy, glacier-like ice. * * * The occasional soup. Hummocks 15-20 feet. Ah-we-lah in tears at start. W. black. Sun under rushing vapors. Ice changes. Leads.

On pages 265–266 of his book, Dr. Cook says of this time:

With our dogs bounding and tearing onward, from the eighty-seventh to the eighty-eighth parallel we passed for two days over old ice without pressure lines or hummocks. There was no discernible line of demarcation to indicate separate fields, and it was quite impossible to determine whether we were on land or sea ice. The barometer indicated no perceptible elevation, but the ice had the hard, wavering surface of glacial ice, with only superficial crevasses. My nautical observations did not seem to indicate a drift, but nevertheless my combined tabulations do not warrant a positive assertion of either land or sea. I am inclined, however, to put this down as ice on low or submerged land.

Great stress is laid by Cook and his supporters on the argument that whoever accepts Peary's story as true must accept Cook's, because Cook's claim to the attainment of the pole was made before Peary's, and his description of conditions en route to the pole and return was given to the world before Peary's story was published, and Peary's story strongly corroborates Cook's story in every essential detail. On pages x and xi to My Attainment of the Pole (preface) Cook says:

If you have read this book, then read Mr. Peary's North Pole. Put the two books side by side. When making comparisons remember that my attainment of the pole was one year earlier than Mr. Peary's claim; that my narrative was written and printed months before that of Mr. Peary; that the Peary narrative is such that Rear Admiral Schley has said, "After reading the published accounts daily and critically of both claimants I was forced to the conclusion from their striking similarity that each of you was the eyewitness of the other's success. Without collusion it would have been impossible to have written accounts so similar."

This opinion coming, as it does, from one of the highest Arctic and naval authorities is indorsed by practically all Arctic explorers. Capt. E. B. Baldwin goes even further and proves my claim from the pages of Peary's own book. Gov. Brown, of Georgia, after a critical examination of the two reports, says, "If it is true, as Peary would like us to believe, that Cook has given us a gold brick, then Peary has offered a paste diamond."

Since my account was written and printed first the striking analogy apparent in the Peary pages either proves my position at the pole or it convicts Peary of using my data to fill out and impart verisimilitude to his own story of a second victory.

In the appendix to My Attainment of the Pole 10 pages are devoted by Capt. Evelyn Briggs Baldwin to an analysis of the respective claims of Peary and Cook. The apparently strong points made by Capt. Baldwin are:

First. Cook reported Bradley Land between 84° and 85° north latitude. This report, Baldwin claims, is corroborated by Peary's report of open water and animal life east of Cook's line of march, at 85° 48′.

Second. Cook's "land ice" or possible submerged island between the eighty-eighth and eighty-ninth parallels, corroborated by Peary's fox tracks near the eighty-eighth parallel.

Capt. Baldwin is not alone in the belief expressed by him in 1911 that Peary's apparent corroboration of Cook is proof positive of one of two facts, either Cook reached the North Pole in 1908 and Peary reached it a year later or Cook reached the pole in 1908 and Peary copied Cook's story in order to make the account of his own trip correspond with Cook's. Cook himself advances this theory as a strong argument to support his claim of polar attainment.

Now, let us see the relation which Cook's account really bears to Peary's story.

In 1905 Robert E. Peary left the United States for the Arctic regions on a trip which he then said was to be his last "dash for the pole." He returned late in 1906 with the assertion that he had reached the farthest north of any explorer—87° 6′. As he had no companions beyond the Big Lead except his colored assistant, Matthew Henson, and a party of Eskimos, Peary's statements relative to this polar dash rest wholly on his unsupported word. Peary's book, Nearest the Pole, giving a full account of this 1905–6 expedition was published in April, 1907, three months before Dr. Cook started for the north; and I have the word of one of Cook's companions that Peary's book was included in the library of the box house at Annoatok. I have in my possession a letter written by Rudolph Franke, from which I quote.

* * * I can not give you information as to all books that were on the "Bradley," but we were well stocked at Annoatok. Kane's, Greely's Sverdrup's (Part I) books were there; also Peary's "Nearest the Pole." The Eskimos were very much interested in it, especially Egingwah, who remembered Crocker Land talk; also Innachu. Edgar Allen Poe's books were also there; McAllister's Recapitulation of Arctic Discoveries—in fact, I can't remember all, but Peary's "Nearest the Pole" was there; also Peary's books of his 1891–2 and 1893–4 expeditions.

In Nearest the Pole, Peary records:

1. The "discovery" of Crocker Land at about 82° 31′. (See pp. 202–207 of Nearest the Pole.)

2. Open water at 84° 36′, the "Big Lead." (See p. 117 of Nearest the Pole.)

3. Fog bank, "probably caused by open leads," at 85° 12′, and a lead at about 85° 52′. (Pp. 130–131 of Nearest the Pole.)

4. Most important of all is Peary's account of "several berg-like pieces of ice discolored with sand," between 85° 42′ and 86° 12′. (See p. 131 of Nearest the Pole.)

In his account of his northward trip Cook therefore had these data of Peary's to guide him. In other words, if he accepted Peary's account as true (and at that time little was known of Peary's alleged explorations beyond his personal statements), Cook knew that in order to place an account before the world which would be generally accepted it must conform closely to Peary's recorded statements.

Therefore, Cook "sighted" Crocker Land (as he says) at 83° 31′, but as I have already shown by his reports of animal signs opposite Crocker Land, this "sight" was probably made at 82° 31′ instead of 83° 31′.

Cook crossed the "Big Lead" at about 83°, while Peary in his 1906 trip crossed it at 84° 38′. The trend of the "Big Lead," however, is at times from southwest to northeast, so that in this respect also, Cook corroborates Peary's earlier account.

Cook reports the "discovery" of Bradley Land which he locates at from 84° 20′ to 85° 10′. This corresponds with Peary's "probable open leads," at 85° 12′ and the leads at 85° 52′, which, if they really existed, could have been caused by the obstruction of the land—"Bradley Land"—to the west of Peary's 1906 line of march.

Finally, as I have quoted from pages 265–266 of My Attainment of the Pole, Cook reports land or glacial ice between the eighty-seventh and eighty-eighth parallels, which corresponds to Peary's sand-discolored ice beyond the eighty-sixth parallel. Cook's reported possible "glacial island" at about 87° 50′ latitude North, and possibly 95° longitude West, would be in the correct line of drift for Peary to intercept the sand-discolored ice from the possible island.

Instead, therefore, of Cook's corroboration by Peary, Peary, contrariwise, is corroborated by Cook. One may argue that this does not prove that Cook copied Peary's report, but may rather tend to prove that Peary really attained a northing in 1906 of 87° 6′, and that Cook paralleled Peary's 1906 route, while following a more westerly course. But Peary's story of his 1906–7 expedition is even more deplorably lacking in coordination and plausibility than his account of his 1908–9 expedition, and contains no convincing evidence that he really attained the high northing of 87° 6′ which he claims, but, on the other hand, contains much to disprove his claim. Furthermore, Peary's other Arctic "discoveries" have been proven spurious; and Crocker Land, one of the notable results of his 1905–6 expedition has been removed from the map by the report of Prof. Donald B. McMillan and Ensign Fitzhugh Green.

A careful analysis of his book Nearest the Pole shows the same characteristic unreliability of his other books, hence we can not accept the theory that Cook really did find conditions as Peary reported them. It is more probable that Cook, after studying Peary's report of his 1905–6 trip, composed the details of his own story to apparently correspond with Peary's report, without verification. As I have said before, Peary's claims to Arctic discovery were generally accepted in this country prior to 1909, therefore Cook felt that he was safe in building up a story which would correlate Peary's book Nearest the Pole.

The Scottish Geographical Magazine, Edinburgh, Scotland, published an article in February, 1914, from which I quote:

With a knowledge of Peary's Crocker Land, found in 1906, Peary's land ice near 86° N., found the same year, and the experience in polar travel, which Dr. Cook certainly had, both in the Arctic and Antarctic, we submit that an imaginative man, taking into account probabilities, had an easy task in writing the story. And surely any man of even average education could write of the pole as "an endless field of purple snows. No life. No land."

Peary claimed to have seen Crocker Land from Svartevaeg and from Cape Colgate, a distance of approximately 120 miles from the place where he located Crocker Land. Cook, if he traveled north between the ninety-sixth and ninety-seventh meridians of longitude, must have passed within about 34 miles of Peary's Crocker Land. A few persons claim that Peary is excused for his pretended "discovery" of Crocker Land on the ground that he was so far away from the supposed land that he might have mistaken an iceberg for a snow capped mountain. But icebergs presuppose the existence of glaciers, and where glaciers exist there must also be land; therefore the frailty of this argument is apparent. Cook, however, has not even this argument to support his assertion that he "sighted" Crocker Land, for instead of a distance of 120 miles, he claims to have passed within about 34 miles of Crocker Land, or, as

he says in his letter to Capt. Bernier, "Crocker Land was sighted"; and he also claims to have passed within about 40 miles of the point where Crocker Land was located by Peary, and therefore must have felt reasonably sure that no land with mountains bearing snow-clad summits, as described by Peary, existed there. Why, then, did Cook assert that he "sighted" Crocker Land, and why does he show Crocker Land on his map without a question mark (p. 285)? Did he fear that if he reported the nonexistence of land he would not be credited? That is not plausible, for later explorers always confirm or disprove the reports of their predecessors. The more plausible hypothesis is that Cook never traveled as far north as the alleged Crocker Land, but turned back at or about the Big Lead and, unwilling to admit defeat in the project which he asserts was his life's ambition, proceeded to write his story from the data previously outlined by Peary. "If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch." As regards Crocker Land, Peary and Cook are both in the same ignominious ditch.

Even if later explorers report the existence of land at or about the place where Cook reported "Bradley Land," such a report will not prove that Cook was ever there, for the theory of an Arctic Continent in the Polar Sea has long been held, and in the light of Cook's other contradictory reports, such a possible confirmation of his Bradley Land can be only considered as the confirmation of a "lucky guess."

Cook's account of April 13 also deserves careful study. In his notes he writes:

April 13, 1908. Miles covered, 17; 12 p. m. to 7 a. m. The same heavy glacier-like ice. The occasional soup. Hummocks 15 to 20 feet. Ah-we-lah in tears at start. W. black. Sun under rushing vapors. Ice changes. Leads.

On April 11, as I have already shown, Cook gave his observations at the *end* of the day's march as 87° 20′, and on the same day (p. 263) said:

There remained an unknown line of *one hundred and sixty miles to the pole.*

As the observation of 87° 20′ was made at the *end* of the day's march of April 11, and as Cook reports Ah-we-lah in tears "at *start*" of the march of April 13, he had traveled only one day's march since the observation of 87° 20′ was made, when he wrote:

There remained an unknown line of one hundred and sixty miles to the pole.

On that one day, April 12, he reports an advance of 21 miles. One hundred and sixty miles less 21 miles leaves, according to his own figures, *139* miles from the pole on the morning of April 13, when he says "Ah-we-lah in tears at start."

On pages 268 to 273, inclusive, Cook has given his complete version of Ah-we-lah's breakdown. I quote in part from his account:

I shall never forget that dismal hour. Ah-we-lah, a thin, half-starved figure in worn furs, lay over his sled, limp, dispirited, broken. It was a critical moment. Desperate as was my condition, and suffering hellish tortures, the sight of the despair of my companions aroused me. Should we fail now, after our long endurance; now, when the goal was so near? The *pole was only one hundred miles beyond!*

Yet Cook's notes, accepting his observation of April 11 as correct, show that the pole was *139* miles beyond.

That this is no typographical error or casual mistake is evidenced by Cook's repetition of the statement of "one hundred miles" as he continues his narrative:

Holding up one hand, with a reach poleward, I tried to convey the idea that in five sleeps the "Big Nail" would be reached and that then we would turn homeward. "Tigishu-conitu," I said. (The pole is near.) "Sinipa tedliman dossa-coatonie tomongma ah youngulok tiglay toy hoy." (At the end of five sleeps is finished, beyond all is well; we return thereafter quickly.)

This statement is remarkable, for even if they had really had only 100 miles to go five days would be a short allowance of time to travel that distance, especially when we remember that two days earlier Cook said: "The same average advance (13 miles daily) would take us to the pole in thirteen days." Now, he is planning to travel 20 miles a day for five days, a greater average advance than he has yet made.

As the result of his persuasions, the Eskimos regained their courage, and on page 273 Cook says:

E-tuk-i-shook gripped his whip. "Ka, aga" (Come, go!), he said. Ah-we-lah, determined but grim, braced his body and shouted to the dogs, "Huk, Huk, Huk," and then to me he said, "Aga-Ka!" (Go—come.) With snapping whip we were off for that *last hundred miles.*

Still another interpretation of this statement of Cook's is made by taking the combined stories of April 11 and April 13 *literally*. On page 263, at the end of the march of April 11, Cook says:

We had dragged ourselves *three hundred miles* over the polar sea in *twenty-four days.*

This statement is paralleled in his daily log on page 572, where he records, at the *end* of the day's march of April 11, "*300 miles* in 24 days," thus reiterating the statement that at the end of the day's march of April 11 he was 300 miles away from Svartevaeg, which, it must be remembered, is 520 miles from the pole.

A march was made on April 12, and at the *beginning* of the day's hike of April 13 Cook repeats again and again, "*100 miles from pole.*"

Therefore since, as he claims, he was only 300 miles away from Svartevaeg at the end of the march of April 11, and only 100 miles from the pole at the beginning of the march of April 13, he must have traveled on April 12—the only hike that was made between April 11 and April 13—a distance of *120 miles.*

If we are to accept his statements as made in his book, Cook surely holds the record for long marches.

The march of April 13 was 17 miles, according to Cook's figures, and on April 14, 23 miles. On the latter day Cook's Notes read:

April 14, 1908. Miles covered, 23; 11 p. m. to 7 a. m.; 88° 21′, 95° 52′ (longitude). Wind light but penetrating. Off the big field; ice smaller. Some open leads. Little signs of pressure. Snow soft, but less precipitation. Dogs get up better speed. *100 miles from pole.* (From other observation papers: Bar. 29.90, falling; temp. —44°; shadow (6-f. pole), 30½ feet.

On page 274 Cook says that this observation was made at noon of April 14, and as the march ended at 7 a. m. (they were now making night marches), the observation was made at the end of the day's march. Since making his observation on April 11, therefore, he has traveled 40 miles, and now locates himself at 88° 21′, or 99 miles from the pole, or, as he says in his Notes, *100 miles* from the pole. But he also says that he was *100 miles* from the pole on April 11, at which time his observation placed him 139 miles from the pole. How does Cook explain these discrepancies?

Cook's Notes for April 15 read:

April 15, 1908. Miles covered, 14; 10 p. m. to 7 a. m. Ice same. Wind, —1, S. W. Working to the limit of muscle capacity. So tired and weary of the never-ceasing tread.

On page 274 Cook writes that "More dogs had gone into the stomachs of their hungry companions." It will be remembered that on April 11 he said his dog teams were much reduced in numbers. Now, four days later, he writes that "*more dogs*" have been fed to the others, showing that he did not follow his scheme of one dog to be fed to the others every four days, for in four days' time he says "More *dogs*." The only check that we have on Cook's dogs is that when he started from Svartevaeg he had 26 dogs, and when he reached land again, on June 13 or 14, he had still "10 bony dogs," showing that 16 must have been used en route.

On page 276, in describing the time directly after his observation of April 14, presumably April 15, Cook says:

As we progressed over the last hundred-mile step, my mind was divested of its lethargy.

And on pages 277–278:

Daily, by careful measurements, I found that our night shadows shortened and became more uniform during the passing hours of the day, as the shadow dial was marked. With a lucky series of astronomical observations, our position was fixed for each stage of progress.

Neither in his notes nor in his narrative does Cook give the results of this "lucky series of observations." His estimated mileage is all that he presents to show his progress from April 14 to April 19.

On page 278 of My Attainment of the Pole, Cook says, in describing the condition of the ice:

From the 88th to the 89th parallel the ice lay in large fields; the surface was less irregular than formerly.

This statement is contradicted by the data in his notes. According to his notes for April 14, which I have already quoted, he crossed the 88th parallel early in the march of April 14, and also according to his notes, he did not cross the 89th parallel until the end of the march of April 17. His notes relative to the condition of the ice for April 14, 15, 16, and 17 read:

April 14th: *Off the big field, ice smaller.* Some open leads.
April 15: Ice same.
April 16: Ice passed. Several heavy old floes. Made 6 crossings.
April 17: Ice same. Crevasses new. Seven crossings.

April 18 is the first day on which Cook mentions that the ice is less irregular than formerly, and as he passed the 89th parallel on April 17 this can not be included in the territory "from the 88th to the 89th parallel." From the 89th to the 90th degree, however, the description which Cook gives in his notes of the ice corresponds to the description given in the text of his story for the region between the 88th and 89th parallels. Here, again, we have that missing degree, or 60 miles, which Cook has twice before so mysteriously dropped from his calculations.

According to his own story, therefore, we are justified in placing his farthest north at least 60 miles from the pole.

A peculiar feature of Cook's notes is his record of barometer readings and his temperature readings. His instruments, as listed on page 198, included a thermometer attachment to his sextant, also three other thermometers, and one aneroid barometer. Owing to the exigencies of the polar dash, the difficulty of making accurate astronomical observations with the sun at the low altitudes it reaches in March and April, and unfavorable weather conditions, we may say that an explorer is excusable for omitting daily astronomical observations. But no such difficulties attach to the use of the thermometer and barometer. These instruments do not depend on sunlight or calm weather for their use. Since Cook had them in his possession it is strange that he did not make better and more frequent use of them. On page 262 Cook says:

That I must steadily keep up my notes and the records of observations was a serious addition to my daily task. *I never permitted myself to be careless in regard to this* for I never let myself forget the importance of such data in plotting an accurate course.

That being the case, why, in a journey covering 35 days from Svartevaeg to Cook's "Pole," do we find only 13 days when the barometer record is given, and only 17 thermometer readings in the same period of time? On April 11 Cook writes in his notes: "Too tired to read instruments," and then straightway proceeds to give the results of his observation at the end of the march, the temperature and barometer readings, which he says are taken "from other field notes." He does not say of what his "other field notes" consist or where they were kept, but on page 245 he does say:

I am now presenting every scrap of paper and every isolated fact.

And on page vii of the preface to his book he also says:

Herein the rough field notes, the disconnected daily tabulations, and the records of instrumental observations, every fact, every optical and mental impression has been reexamined and rearranged to make a concise record.

It would therefore appear that on 22 days out of 35, or more than two-thirds of the time, Cook kept no record of his barometer readings, although these would seem to be of great interest and value to him on his journey; and that he only kept temperature records for one-half of the time occupied in his journey from Svartevaeg to the place he called the Pole. This, too, notwithstanding that he says, as I have just quoted, that he never permitted himself to be careless in keeping up his notes and records of observations. On the return journey, covering a period of 53 days from April 23 to June 14, inclusive, Cook gives no barometer readings whatever, and only 10 thermometer readings. Truly, this was a most careful (?) record!

On April 19, Cook's notes contain this record:

April 19, 1908. Miles covered, 16—11 a. m. to 8 p .m. Position, 89° 31′. D. R., 94° 03′ (long.) Camp on old field—the only one on the horizon with big hummocks. Ice in very large fields; surface less irregular, but in other respects not different from farther south. Eskimos told that in two average marches Pole would be reached. Extra rations served. Camp in tent. (Bar., 29.98; temp., −46°.)

One word in this entry from Cook's notes for April 19 is significant, and while I do not advance the argument that because of this one word his account is a made-up story, I do claim that it is one of many significant items which prove the manufactured nature of his narrative. I refer to the word "would" in the sentence:

Eskimos told that in two average marches Pole *would* be reached.

This sounds much more like a retrospective memorandum—as though Cook was writing of something that had occurred at some time in the past—than it does like the daily entry of a kept-up-to-the-day daily diary.

In the text of My Attainment of the Pole, Cook covers two pages with an account of his movements at his camp of April 19, and on page 281 he adds:

With the Pole only 29 miles distant, more sleep was quite impossible. * * * A few hours more were agreeably spent in the tent. Then we started out with new spirit for the uttermost goal of our world.

We were excited to fever heat. Our feet were light on the run. *Even the dogs caught the infectious enthusiasm. They rushed along at a pace which made it difficult for me to keep a sufficent advance to set a good course.*

In the Peary hearing before the Committee on Naval Affairs, in 1911, Peary was asked a question relative to a statement in his book as to the actions of his dogs on nearing the place he called the North Pole:

Mr. MACON. Pardon me for calling attention to one observation that I noticed in your book. Just before you got to the pole you state that the dogs even caught the spirit of the occasion, or of the party, and tossed their heads in the air and curled their tails and emitted yelps, and so on. What in the world could have brought about such a feeling as that upon the dogs?

Capt. PEARY. My impression is that I stated that the dogs appeared to have caught the spirit of the party, and I think I stated that that might be due to the reduced friction of the sledges.

As I have before stated, Peary has been frequently accused of "copying" Cook's reports in order to make his own story seem more plausible and reasonable, and this incident of added life and spirits in the dogs when approaching the boreal center is cited as an instance of such plagiarism. The mere fact that Peary's book, The North Pole, was published in 1910, while Cook's My Attainment of the Pole did not appear until 1911, does not serve to relieve Peary of the stigma of plagarism, for Cook's friends say:

Ah, yes; but Cook's newspaper story was in print first, at least he described the conditions at the pole first.

Let us see on what this opinion is based. The New York Herald had the exclusive rights to Cook's story, while Peary chose the New York Times as the medium through which to present his account to the world. I quote the first messages received from Cook and Peary and published in these respective papers:

COOK'S FIRST MESSAGE AS PRINTED IN THE NEW YORK HERALD OF SEPTEMBER 2, 1909.

Lerwick, Shetland Islands, September 1, 1909.

Reached North Pole April 21, 1908. Discovered land far north. Have left sealed exclusive cable of 2,000 words for you with Danish consul at Lerwick. I go steamer *Hans Egede* to Copenhagen.

F. A. COOK.

PEARY'S FIRST MESSAGE AS PRINTED IN THE NEW YORK TIMES OF SEPTEMBER 7, 1909.

Indian Harbor, Labrador, via Cape Ray, N. F., September 6.

The New York Times, New York:

I have the pole April 6. Expect arrive Chateau Bay September 7. Secure central wire for me there and arrange expedite transmission big story.

PEARY.

Cook's telegraphic synopsis of his polar trip was printed in the New York Herald of September 2, 1909, but made no mention of the effect of the polar atmosphere on his dogs.

Peary's telegraphic synopsis of *his* Polar trip was printed in the New York Times of September 9, 1909. It gives the barest outline of his journey with no details of any kind, while Cook does give the briefest possible description of the physical conditions at and en route to the place he called the Pole. Thus, the contention of Cook's friends that he was the first to describe the boreal center of the earth is upheld—although he says nothing in this telegraphic dispatch of the effect on his dogs.

Peary's *complete newspaper story* was published in the New York Times of September *10 and 11*, 1909.

Cook's *complete newspaper story* was published in the New York Herald of *September 15 to October* 7, 1909, inclusive, one instalment appearing every other day. I quote from each man's story the statements relative to the actions of the dogs when the place which Cook and Peary called the North Pole was approached:

[From Cook's story of *October 5*, 1909.]

We were excited to fever heat. Even the dogs caught the infectious enthusiasm and rushed along at a pace which made it difficult for me to keep a sufficient advance to set a good course.

[From Peary's story of *September 11*, 1909.]

A rise in temperature to 16 below reduced the friction of the sledges and gave the dogs the appearance of having caught the spirits of the party. The more sprightly ones as they went along with tightly curled tails frequently tossed their heads with short, sharp barks and yelps.

These quotations and their respective dates prove that if either man was guilty of plagiarism, in this instance at least, that man was not Peary.

Peary makes the absurd statement in his book that he took no longitude observations on his last Arctic trip, and in the hearing before the Committee on Naval Affairs in 1911 he adds the equally ridiculous statement that he made no observations for compass variations, so that while he claims to have made three latitude observations between Cape Columbia and the pole he traveled "by compass" without knowing in which direction his compass needle pointed, or whether he was on the longitudinal meridian of Cape Columbia, Point Barrow, or other geographical point. This in a journey of 413 air-line miles.

Cook does a little better than Peary in regard to latitude observations, for he claims to have made seven observations for latitude between Svartevaeg and the point he called the pole, a distance of 520 air-line miles.

Cook also tells a better story than Peary relative to his observations for longitude, for on March 30 and April 8, 11, and 14 he claims to have made longitudinal observations, but he is in the same class with Peary when we consider compass variation, for in the entire distance of 520 air-line miles from Svartevaeg to the point he called the pole he made no observations for compass variations, although he, too, traveled "compass in hand," without knowing the direction in which his compass needle pointed, assuming that throughout the entire 520 miles from Svartevaeg to the place he called the pole it pointed in the same direction that it did at Svartevaeg. If Cook had con-

sulted the map showing the variations of the compass, published by the Hydrographic Office of the Navy Department, he would have seen that the isogonic lines or lines of equal variation do not follow either the latitudinal or longitudinal "circles" on land or sea, but that wide and sudden variations may be expected. Moreover, Cook did not travel on any one longitudinal meridian, but snaked around from the ninety-third to the ninety-seventh, so that even if the compass was constant in its direction along any one meridian, Cook could not then have known in which direction he was headed, since he did not travel on any given meridian. This fact, in conjunction with Cook's "doctored" latitude observations, is sufficient proof that he never attained the "boreal center," as he calls the geographic point known as the North Pole.

Cook's notes for April 20 read:

April 20, 1908. Miles covered, 15½. 8 p. m. to 4 a. m. An exciting run; ice aglow in purple and gold; Eskimos chanting. Wind S., l. 89° 46′ 45″. (D. R.) 94.52. New enthusiasm; good march. Temp., —36°; bar. (not legible on notes); course set for 97th.

This last entry brings out another point relative to Cook's longitude observations: As one nears the pole the distance between the longitudinal meridians decreases until at the pole the meridians all meet and at the pole itself there is no longitude. Therefore when Cook gave his longitudinal position, by dead reckoning, on April 20 as 94° 52′, and his latitude as 89° 46′ 45″, and adds: "Course set for 97th," it means (assuming that his latitude was correct) that he was less than half a mile to the east of the ninety-seventh longitudinal meridian toward which a "course was set." Cook fails to state how he obtained his longitude by "dead reckoning" without observations for compass variation; and it would be interesting to know how, with no longitudinal observations for a week and none whatever for compass variation, he was so carefully accurate in his position that he could, by "dead reckoning," discern the difference between the ninety-fifth and the ninety-seventh meridians of longitude, when there was less than half a mile distance between them.

DESCRIPTION OF THE POLE.

The crucial point of Cook's story is his description of the regions immediately surrounding the pole. His friends and supporters have steadfastly claimed that Cook was the first man to give a description of these regions to the world; that Peary followed with a description so nearly similar to Cook's that it proved that he either copied Cook or corroborated him; and that if either man reached the pole, Cook was the one, while if both men were at the pole, Cook must have been there first.

As I have already shown in the respective "first messages" of the two men, sent by Cook from Lerwick, Shetland Islands, and by Peary from Indian Harbor, Labrador, the only "new fact" stated in Cook's message is: "Discovered land far north," while Peary's contains nothing new whatever.

As I have also previously shown, Cook could easily have figured out from Peary's 1906 book, Nearest the Pole, that if Peary's reports in that book were accepted as true, land probably existed between the eighty-fourth and eighty-fifth parallels; therefore the theory that Cook must have been as far north as 84° 50′ because he reported the existence of "Bradley Land" does not hold good. This brings the "new" features of each man's report down to those contained in the stories first published.

Peary's first telegraphic synopsis contained nothing but the merest outline of his trip; therefore Cook's telegraphic story published in the New York Herald of September 2 was the first description given to the world. Let us see if that report contained anything which could not as easily have been written at Svartevaeg as at the North Pole.

Since Peary claimed to have reached 87° 6′ in 1906 and had already described his trip to that point, whatever Cook reported as far north as the eighty-seventh parallel would either corroborate or dispute Peary. His report of Bradley Land tends to corroborate Peary's report and could easily have been "guessed" by any man whose interest in Arctic matters had led him to make a study of the reported conditions in the polar sea.

The second feature of importance in Cook's report is the "appearance of land" or land-ice between the eighty-seventh and eighty-eighth parallels. This could also have been easily assumed from Peary's report of his 1906 expedition, in which he states that he found ice containing sand between the eighty-fifth and eighty-seventh parallels.

As the drift of the ice in that part of the world had been proven by previous explorers—Nansen, Cagni, and so forth—to be in a general line from the point where Cook reported his possible glacial island to the point where Peary claimed to have found sand-discolored ice, Cook easily might have assumed that the land from which Peary's reported sandy ice came must lie between the eighty-seventh and eighty-eighth parallels. This reasoning, of course, rests on the assumption, for the sake of argument only, that Peary really traveled as far north as he alleges to have gone on his 1906 trip. The glacial island, however, must be eliminated from those features about whose existence Cook could have known nothing prior to his polar trip.

Cook reported an active pack on the eighty-eighth to the eighty-ninth parallel, which was to be expected at the time of year he was in the North; he also reported improving ice conditions from the eighty-ninth parallel to 90° north.

Again, on the scientific theory held for years by learned men that no land exists for a considerable distance south of the pole in any direction, the ice conditions would naturally improve as the pole was approached and the distance from the disturbing land influences increased. This brings us to Cook's report of the physical features of the region at and about the pole.

In the New York Herald of September 2, 1909, Cook reports:

And endless field of purple snows. No life; no land; no spot to relieve the monotony of frost. We were the only pulsating creatures in a dead world of ice.

Many lengthy arguments and learned dissertations are based on Cook's description of "purple ice" and "purple snow" to prove that he reached the pole, and because he first gave this description of the ice and snow at the pole he must have been the first, if not the only, man to attain the pole.

But without going to the North Pole, Cook or any other man could with perfect confidence and expectation of credence state that the surface of the globe at the pole was radiant in purple snow, for it is well known that the snow and ice fields of the Arctic, under certain atmospheric conditions and when the sun is at certain altitudes, appear purple, lilac, rose, and violet. This condition prevails not only at the pole but throughout the Arctic wherever Arctic travelers have made their way to fields of ice and returned with their reports of these fields.

Peary in his "Reconnaissance" of the Greenland Ice Cap in 1886 wrote on his return:

The sky above was flawless blue, the crimson sun in one direction, the yellow moon opposite, and the plain on which we traveled spread with diamond dust. At midnight the northern sky was a sea of crimson light and *the snow lay bathed in delicate shades of rose.* (Pp. 15 and 16 of Northward Over the Great Ice.)

On page 252 of his Farthest North, Dr. Fridtjof Nansen gives a description of the Polar Sea which also notes the wonderful color scheme of the region:

The sky is like an enormous cupola, blue at the zenith, shading down into green, and then into lilac and violet at the edges. Over the ice fields there are cold, *violet-blue shadows,* with lighter pink tints where a ridge here and there catches the last reflection of the vanished day.

Dr. Hayes, in his description of the Arctic sunrise at the point near Etah which he named "Sunrise Point," also emphasized the purple color of the view. I quote from page 253 of his book, The Open Polar Sea:

We awaited the approaching moment with much eagerness. Presently a ray of light burst through the soft mist clouds which lay off to the right of us, opposite the cape, blending them into a *purple sea,* and glistening upon the silvery summits of the tall icebergs which pierced the vapory cloak as if to catch the coming warmth. The ray approached us nearer and nearer, the *purple sea* widened, the glittering spires multiplied as one after another they burst in quick succession into the blaze of day.

In his description of his Farthest North, on page 349 of the same volume, Dr. Hayes says:

The sea beneath me was a mottled set of white and dark patches. * * * These spots were heightened in intensity of shade until the belt of water-sky blended them altogether into one uniform color of *dark blue.*

Dr. Kane, in his account of his second expedition, also writes of the sunrise in the Arctic:

We have marked every dash of color which the great Painter in his benevolence vouchsafed to us, and now the *empurpled blues,* clear, unmistakable, the flickering yellow, everything seemed superlative luster and unsurpassable glory.

Frank Wilbert Stokes, the famous painter of Arctic scenery, in a paper entitled "Color in the North and South Polar Regions," presented at the Eighth International Geographic Congress, said of the color effects in the Arctic:

The polar ice has its own intrinsic colors. The colors of the Arctic ice are varied shades of cobalt and ultramarine blue and malachite greens.

Contrary to generally received opinions, the long Arctic night is full of beautiful color harmonies. At the far southern horizon a deep orange glow, the reflected light of the hidden sun, can be seen, succeeded by orange yellow, greenish yellow, greenish blue, fading into the deep ultramarine blue of the zenith. The Arctic colors are characterized chiefly by their rich splendor and brilliant intensity. * * * The darkest part of the long night was enlivened when the weather was clear by the sun's reflection in the south, the wonderful clearness of the atmosphere, and the unrivaled brilliancy of the moon

and stars, while the long, *deep-blue, purpled* shadows across the *lilac-golden* surface of the ice were rendered more beautiful by their penumbra, which had the colors of the rainbow.

I do not mean to insinuate by my use of these quotations and many others that I might make that Cook copied his description of the region surrounding the pole from any of these writers and explorers, but I do insist that with Cook's own Arctic and Antarctic experience he knew that a description of the colors of the ice in one part of the Arctic regions would apply equally well to the ice in the other portions of the polar regions. Therefore he was safe and beyond criticism in describing his "endless field of purple snows," for whether they covered land or sea anywhere in the Arctic when the sun is low, one can see the same "endless field of purple snows."

Cook could also feel secure in the statement that at the pole he found no land, for this was established by explorers in the seventeenth century, and verified by Nansen and Cagni, who, although they did not reach the pole, gave such scientific data as the result of their respective expeditions as would tend to verify the theory that no land exists at the pole. Therefore, while Cook's report in regard to the physical conditions at the pole contains nothing to prove that he was *not* at the pole, it contains nothing to convince one that he was there. Furthermore, the report which Cook gave of the physical conditions at the pole corresponds in a marked degree with his own article published in 1904, which expressed his theory at that time as to what an Arctic explorer who penetrated to 90° north latitude might expect to find. In this paper, published in the United States Government Report of the Eighth International Geographic Congress, entitled "A comparative view of the Arctic and Antarctic," Dr. Cook said:

The Arctic land area is nearly continuous with the continental masses of the northern hemisphere, inclosing a landlocked sea. *The North Pole is in the center of an imprisoned sea of ice.*

The Arctic Ocean occupies an area somewhat larger than the probable extent of the combined spread of the Antarctic lands—approximately 4,000,000 square miles. The continents of the northern hemisphere are so grouped around it that the physical environment is similar to that of a great lake with well-defined inlets and outlets.

In the North the great attraction to explorers has been the glory of attaining the pole. The fascination of the north polar dash will increase rather than diminish. A forced march to the boreal center, though quickly made and under difficulties so great as to prevent detailed investigation, would give us a valuable record of the physical environment of the mysterious Arctic basin.

Here (in the Arctic) the color is bright and cheerful, and the weather characteristics are stimulating.

This quotation from Cook's paper, published in 1904, three years before he started on his north polar trip, shows that he had a well-defined theory as to the conditions he would find at the North Pole. Again, this does not prove that Cook was not at the pole, but it does show that he, in company with many scientists, had a clear idea as to what he ought to find there, and therefore had reason to believe that his story would meet with general acceptance if he returned with such a description as he outlined in 1904.

Some minor features of Peary's story, printed in the New York Times of September 10 and 11, 1909, are duplicated in Dr. Cook's newspaper story published in the New York Herald of October 5, and in his book published in 1911, a year after Peary's book was published. One of these points I have already mentioned, namely, the infectious enthusiasm of the dogs. Peary was the first to mention this interesting fact in the New York Times of September 11, 1909, and Cook duplicated it in the New York Herald of October 7, 1909.

Peary was first to relate the extra precaution of traveling in different directions beyond the place he called the pole, in order to verify his position. Cook says nothing of any such procedure until his story is published in Hampton's Magazine. In the February number of that magazine, page 163, he says:

On April 22 we moved southward, pitched the silk tent, and after midnight made a second series of observations. Then we started on the return journey.

This account varies slightly from the story as related in My Attainment of the Pole; nevertheless it is the first hint he gives officially, of observations made at more than one camp. This is considerably more than a year after Peary's story of "quartering the ice in different directions" was published.

In the New York Times of September 10, 1909, Peary relates his story of the ice opening while the party was in camp, and separating his igloo from Bartlett's, while the floe on which Bartlett's igloo was placed drifted rapidly away. In the New York Herald on September 27, 1909, more than two weeks later, Cook goes Peary one better and tells how *his* igloo was broken apart by an opening crack in the ice, while he himself was precipitated into the water, from which he was rescued by the prompt action of the Eskimos.

I quote from Cook's notes for April 21:

April 21, 1909. Miles covered, 13¾. 1 a m. to 9 a. m. Observations noon: 89° 59′ 45″; ped. 14. Camp; sleep in tent short time; after observations, advance; pitch tent; (also) made camp—snow—prepared for two rounds of observations. Temp., 37.7°; bar., 29.83. Nothing wonderful; no pole; a sea of unknown depth; ice more active; new cracks; open leads; but surface like farther south. Overjoyed but find no words to express pleasure. So tired and weary! How we need a rest! 12, night. Sun seems as high as at noon, but in reality is a little higher, owing to its spiral ascent. The mental elation—the drying of furs and (making) photos—Eskimos' ideas and disappointment of no pole—thoughts of home and its cheer. But, oh, such monotony of sky, wind, and ice! The dangers of getting back. (From other observation papers: Temp. ranged from —36° by mercury thermometer to —39° by spirit thermometer; clouds Alt. St., 1; wind mag. S. 1; ice blink E.; water sky, W.; shadow (of 6-ft. pole) 28 feet.)

The temperature which Cook reported at the place he called the pole and for the last 15 miles of his northern journey was from 8 to 10° higher than he reported for the region farther south. This may have been due to the advancing season; but, on the other hand, the theory has long been held that the temperature is higher at the poles than in other parts of the Arctic and Antarctic Circles. I quote from a paper on the climate of the North Pole, read before the Royal Geographical Society of London on April 10, 1865, by W. E. Hickson, Esq.:

It had always been supposed that the immediate areas of the poles must be the coldest regions of the globe, because the farthest points from the equator. Hence the argument that the higher the latitude the greater must be the difficulties and dangers of navigation. Quite an opposite opinion, however, has begun to prevail among meteorologists on the publication, in 1817, of the Isothermal System of Alexander Von Humboldt, which showed that the distance from the equator is no rule for cold, as the equator is not a parallel of maximum heat. The line of maximum heat crosses the Greenwich meridian in Africa, 15 miles north of the equator, and rises to the eastward, five degrees higher, running along the southern edge of the Desert of Sahara. In 1821 Sir David Brewster pointed out, in a paper on the mean temperature of the globe, the probability of the thermometer being found to range *10 degrees higher at the pole* than in some other parts of the Arctic Circle. No new facts have since been discovered to invalidate this conclusion; many, on the contrary, have come to light tending to confirm it.

As seen by this quotation, the theory has been current for nearly a hundred years that the temperature in the Arctic Circle rises as one travels toward the poles, and it is of note that both Cook and Peary reported this rise in temperature, Peary's figures showing a wider range than Cook's, as Peary gives the minimum temperature during his 30 hours' stay at "the pole" as —32° F. and the maximum —11° F., while Cook gives a range of only 5°, from —36° to —41° F. In Von Humboldt's isothermal theory, to which I have referred, Von Humboldt says:

The icy pole, or the point of the greatest cold, no more corresponds with the terrestrial pole than does the thermal equator, which connects together the hottest points of all meridians with the geographical equator. Arago concludes from the gradual decrease of mean temperatures that the degree of cold at the northern terrestrial pole is —13°.

I make these quotations merely for the purpose of showing that neither Cook nor Peary reported anything at the respective points which each called the North Pole different from the theories which had been held for many years, and which could have been written into their reports without either one having been within hundreds of miles of the pole. A peculiar feature of both reports is that each man confined himself to those features about which well-known theories have long been held.

But, we may ask, what record can a man bring back which will not either prove or disprove the theories so long held? If these theories are correct, Cook's report and Peary's report would have to show these same conditions, and could show nothing else.

This is a pertinent question to be answered in only one way: Cook and Peary could both have followed the plan adopted by Nansen, Amundsen, Sverdrup, Cagni, and other explorers, and taken at least one reliable white man of sufficient scientific attainments to have verified and corroborated their observations, reports, and claims.

But (both Cook and Peary claim) the same results could not have been attained with a larger party. Very well; they need not have increased their parties. Cook could have taken Rudolph Franke and one Eskimo. Peary could have taken one white man of sufficient ability to have made observations that would stand inspection instead of one of his four Eskimos. But both of the two men who claim to have reached the pole seem to have carefully studied out a plan whereby it would be impossible for anyone to dispute or corroborate their reports as an eyewitness. Peary relentlessly ordered back one after another of the white men of his party; Cook brutally and heartlessly refused to allow Franke to accompany him even to the shores of the Polar Sea. The finger of suspicion points alike to both.

Let us see what Cook says in the text of My Attainment of the Pole, as to the time he claims to have spent at "the pole." As he devotes 18 pages to his stay at his farthest north, it is impossible to quote his full account here; I shall therefore touch only on those points which are of the most interest as tending to prove or disprove his claim.

In his first brief dispatch, in his first detailed account, and in his complete newspaper story, as well as in Hampton's Magazine and in My Attainment of the Pole, Cook gives the date of his arrival at "the pole" as April 21, 1908. I give in parallel columns his statement as taken from My Attainment of the Pole, and a quotation from his letter to Capt. Bernier, of which, as I have already stated, I have a photographic copy of Dr. Cook's own handwriting:

[From My Attainment of the Pole:]	[From Cook's Letter to Bernier:]
The day was April 21, 1908.	The pole was reached on April 22, 1908.

One may say this is a typographical error in one case or the other, but, if so, it is not in the book, for Cook makes that statement wherever he lectures and in all of his printed accounts. The figures in the letter can not be a typographical error, for the letter is in Cook's own handwriting, and the figures "22" are very plain and distinct. Cook says in his book that his "observations," etc., are "exact copy from original field papers." If true, his original field papers must show the date as April 21, 1908. Why did Cook, writing from Upernavik to Capt. Bernier, when every detail of the trip must have been fresh in his mind, give a different date for his attainment of the pole than he gave in his later accounts? Did he discover, after his letter to Capt. Bernier was sent, that his observations as he had them figured out, would be right for April 21, but would not be right for April 22? We find it as difficult to follow the psychological processes by which Cook arrived at this change of figures and dates, as we do to determine why he wrote in this same letter to Capt. Bernier that "Crocker Land was sighted," and a few weeks later discovered that he never saw that nonexistent land at all!

On pages 290 and 291 of "My Attainment of the Pole," Cook says:

> Geographically, there was here but one direction. It was south on every line of the dial of longitude. *But the compass, pointing to the magnetic pole along the ninety-seventh meridian,* was as useful as ever. (To avoid statements easily misunderstood, all our directions about the pole will be given as taken from the compass, and without reference to the geographer's anomally of its being south in every direction.)

Why Cook should have assumed that the compass pointed directly to the magnetic pole from the point which he called the North Pole, when he had made no observations for compass variation, is a point which he does not explain.

Several pages of My Attainment of the Pole are used in a description of Cook's measurements of shadows, by which method he claims to have determined—to his own satisfaction, at least—that he had reached 90° north, for at only two places on the globe does the shadow of a given object measure the same for a period of 24 hours; that is, at the North Pole and at the South Pole.

Cook reports that their shadows were first noted after the long winter night on March 3, 1908, and on page 303 he says:

> And now, right here, I want you to consider carefully with me one thing which made me feel sure that we had reached the pole. This is the subject of shadows—our own shadows on the snow-covered ice. A seemingly unimportant phenomenon which had often been a subject of discussion and so commonplace that I only rarely referred to it in my notebooks, our own shadows on the snow-cushioned ice had told of northward movement, and ultimately proved to my satisfaction that the pole had been reached.

On page 305 he says:

> The shadows of midnight and those of midday were the same.

I quote thus freely from Cook's story of his shadow observations, because he presents this shadow measurement as his supreme argument to prove that he reached the pole. This, like the rest of his story, rests on his unsupported word, for he gives no photograph of his shadow circle, merely a series of conventional diagrams which a schoolboy could draw with but little effort. This argument has been enlarged on by many of Cook's ardent supporters, who claim that since Cook does not state in his book that he used these shadow measurements while en route from Svartevaeg, as a means to determine his latitude, but that it was merely a more or less pleasurable incident of the day's journey; and that he finally reached a point where—as he says—the shadow was of equal length throughout 24 hours, this shadow measurement as recorded by Cook is a silent witness and strong, unpremeditated proof that Cook actually reached the North Pole on April 21, 1908. That this argument is weak, and that the so-called proof *was* premeditated, is shown by the fact that Cook *does* state in his book that he ascertained his position en route by measuring the shadows at various times. I quote again from page 20 of My Attainment of the Pole:

> Besides taking observations, which, as I shall explain in due course in my narrative, can not be adequate, I also ascertained what I believed to be *my approximate position at the boreal center and en route* by measuring the shadows each hour of the long day.

This statement of Cook's dissipates the theory that he did not use the measurement of the shadows en route as a means to determine his latitude; that the measurement of the shadows at the pole was an afterthought with him and was used to verify his position *only* at the pole.

Furthermore, it is an easy matter for a man even but slightly versed in nautical calculations to figure out the approximate length of the shadow of any given object with the sun at a given altitude. Cook only gives his shadow measurements on the days when observations for latitude are reported and when the altitude of the sun was obtained. But it was not necessary for him to have been at the reported positions in order to know the altitude of the sun at a given point, or the length of the shadow of a given object, which in his case was the 6-foot tent pole. With the American Practical Navigator and the American Ephemeris and Nautical Almanac the latitude observations could be made for any stated date, and the approximate shadow measurements of a 6-foot pole could be made in New York as accurately as at any given place on the Polar Sea. The fact that a person does not have to be at the latitude indicated in order to produce mathematically correct figures of an astronomical observation was brought out at the Peary hearings before the Naval Committee in 1910–11, when Prof. Gannett, of the National Geographic Society, was examined by a member of the House Naval Committee.

> Mr. ROBERTS. I assume that the observations which he [Peary] presented, the astronomical observations, were mathematically correct, and that it all depends upon whether he ever took those observations at the spot he says he took them, doesn't it, because he might sit down in Washington and make those observations and claim to have made them at the pole or in the vicinity of the pole; so it is the personal equation after all?
>
> Mr. GREGG. Could he have done it at 130 miles from the pole—made entries and observations?
>
> Mr. ROBERTS. In other words, could he have gone out of sight behind an iceberg or promontory and faked this thing?
>
> Mr. GREGG. Could *you* have made one, Professor?
>
> Mr. GANNETT. *I think I could.*

We have Mr. Gannett's word before the House Committee on Naval Affairs, therefore, that Peary's observations could have been made in Washington or New York; and if Peary's, why not Cook's? I do not say that they were thus made, but that they could have been.

Aside from the fact that nautical observations can be computed in New York as easily as on the Polar Sea, and that approximate shadow measurements can likewise be computed by anyone skilled in mathematics, we are confronted with the fact that when Cook first returned, although his claimed "original field papers" show the results of various shadow measurements, and he devotes several pages in his book to a discussion of the shadow proof of his attainment of the pole, he makes no mention of this system of verifying his position at the pole in any authoritative, printed narrative until more than a year after his return from the North. We could not expect him to go into details of this nature in his first brief cabled story, but in his complete newspaper story, of which his book is merely an enlargement, he makes no mention whatever of the interest which he and his Eskimos took in their shadows or of any shadow measurements. His first published authoritative account of his "shadow proof" is given in Hampton's Magazine for January, 1911, more than a year after his return from the North. If any note was made of his shadow observations in the material submitted to the University of Copenhagen, Cook does not so state. On page 245 he does say:

> I rested my case at Copenhagen on a report, the *original notes* giving the brief tabulations of the day's doings and the complete set of reduced observations.

His story of the shadow measurements as published in Hampton's Magazine differs from his book in minor details, as, for instance, in Hampton's Magazine for February, 1911, he says:

> On *April 22d* we moved southward, pitched the silk tent, and *after midnight* made a second series of observations. Then we started on the return journey.

In My Attainment of the Pole, Cook says that he arrived at the North Pole on April 21, and on page 296 tells the story of the second camp:

> At 6 o'clock, or six hours after our arrival at local noon, I arose, went out of the igloo, and took a double set of observations. Returning, I did some figuring, lay down on my bag, and at 10 o'clock, or four hours later, leaving Ah-we-lah to guard the camp and dogs,

E-tuk-i-shook joined me to make a camp about 4 miles to the magnetic south.

And on page 307 he says:

Although I had measured our shadows at times on the northward march, at the pole these shadow notations were observed with the same care as the measured altitude of the sun by the sextant. A series was made on April 22, after E-tuk-i-shook and I had left Ah-we-lah in charge of our first camp at the pole. We made a little circle for our feet in the snow. E-tuk-i-shook stood in the foot circle. At midnight the first line was cut in the snow to the end of his shadow, and then I struck a deep hole with the ice ax. Every hour a similar line was drawn out from his foot. At the end of twenty-four hours, with the help of *Ah-we-lah*, a circle was circumscribed along the points, which marked the end of the shadow for each hour.

In Hampton's Magazine Cook says that the shadow measurements were all made before the second camp was established; in "My Attainment of the Pole," he says that they were all made at the second camp. However, we do not have to compare the book with the magazine to find innumerable discrepancies in Cook's story. In the account of the shadow measurements, which I have just quoted, we find that Cook, with the Eskimo, E-tuk-i-shook, went 4 miles toward the magnetic south to make observations, leaving Ah-we-lah to guard the camp and the dogs. Nevertheless, at the end of the time of making the shadow observations, "with the help of *Ah-we-lah*" (who was 4 miles away guarding the camp and the dogs), a circle was made!

Again, Cook leaves us in doubt as to the date of his arrival at and departure from the place he called the pole. He claims throughout the book to have arrived at that point on April 21, and on page 284 he says of the beginning of their last march northward:

Midnight of April 21 had just passed.

By the context and by his notes we see that in this statement he unquestionably meant the hour of midnight between April 20 and April 21. On page 296 Cook says:

At 6 o'clock, or six hours after our arrival, at local noon, I arose, went out of the igloo, and took a double set of observations. * * * Four hours later, leaving Ah-we-lah to guard the camp and dogs, E-tuk-i-shook joined me to make a camp about 4 miles to the magnetic south, * * * We erected the tent not quite two hours later, in time for a midnight observation. These sextant readings of the sun's altitude were continued for the next 24 hours.

Evidently the midnight here mentioned was the hour between April 21 and April 22, or, as Cook must have called it in order to conform with his previous designation of midnight, "Midnight of April 22." In other words, if the hour between April 20 and April 21 was "midnight of April 21" (as Cook terms it on page 284), the midnight next following must have been "Midnight of April 22." On page 301, however, Cook says:

The set of observations given here, taken every six hours, from noon on April 21 to midnight of April 22, 1908, fixed our position with reasonable certainty.

Again on page 310:

After a *midnight observation—of April 22*—we returned to camp. All the scientific work being finished, we began hastily to make final preparations for departure.

This is inconsistent, for if the time of Cook's arrival at the pole was a few hours after midnight of April 21, as Cook says on page 284, and they were there until two more midnight hours had passed, the last one must have been "Midnight of April 23" instead of "Midnight of April 22," as Cook calls it on page 310. The typographical error theory does not account for these discrepancies since the same discrepancy occurs in each of the three editions of "My Attainment of the Pole." Therefore, from his own statement, Cook leaves us in doubt as to whether he arrived at the place he called the pole on April 21 or April 22, and whether he left the place he called the pole on April 22 or April 23, or even April 24.

Even if we accept this as a mere typographical error in one instance or the other, we still are forced to admit that Cook is badly tangled in his various accounts of his movements at his farthest north. His "Notes," which he claims are an "exact copy from original field papers," give an altogether different version from that given in the text of his book—a version so different that the variances can not be considered "immaterial." In his notes, Cook says:

April 21, 1908. Miles covered, 13½. 1 a. m. to 9 a. m. Observations noon: 89° 59′ 45″; ped. 14. Camp; sleep in tent short time; after observations advance; pitch tent; (also) made camp—snow—prepared for two rounds of observations. Temp. 37.7°; bar., 29.83. So tired and weary! How we need a rest! *12 night.* Sun seems as high as at noon, but in reality is a little higher, owing to its spiral ascent.
April 22, 1908. Moved camp 4 m. magnetic S.

Therefore, in his notes, Cook says that he remained at his first polar camp until *after midnight* of the day he arrived at the place he called the pole, and if he arrived there (as he claims) on April 21, he did not move his camp four miles to the magnetic south until April 22. His notes for April 22 continue:

Made four observations for altitude: S. at noon, W. at 6, N. at 12 m. (midnight), E. at 6 a. m. (Made a series of observations for the sun's altitude, 2 on the 21st at the first camp, 4 on the 22d at W. M. (probably meant for "S. M.," or South Magnetic) camp, and another midnight 22-23. Before we left deposited tube).

Hence, in his notes, Cook does not make his statements correspond, in regard to his observations, for he says on April 22, as I have just quoted:

Made a series of observations for the sun's altitude, 2 on the 21st at the first camp, 4 on the 22d at W. M. (S. M.) camp, and another midnight 22–23.

These account for the seven successive observations which Cook mentions on page 302; but, although he carefully gives the time of the four observations taken on April 22 at his second camp, the time as he gives it does not correspond with the time which he gives on page 302, which he says is also "taken from my field notes." In fact, none of the details of his story fit together properly.

In the text of his book Cook says on page 284:

We all were lifted to the paradise of winners as we stepped over the snows of a destiny for which we had risked life and willingly suffered the tortures of an icy hell. Constantly and carefully I watched my instruments in recording this final reach. Nearer and nearer they recorded our approach. Step by step, my heart filled with a strange rapture of conquest. At last we step over colored fields of sparkle, climbing walls of purple and gold—finally, under skies of crystal blue, with flaming clouds of glory, we touch the mark. We are at the top of the world. The flag is flung to the frigid breezes of the North Pole.

After describing at some length his thoughts and sensations, on pages 287–288, Cook says:

We had reached our destination. The prize of an international marathon was ours. Pinning the Stars and Stripes to a tent pole, I asserted the achievement in the name of the 90,000,000 of countrymen who swear fealty to that flag. My mental intoxication did not interfere with the routine work which was now necessary. Having reached the goal, it was imperative that all scientific observations be made as carefully as possible and as quickly as possible. To the taking of these I set myself at once. The day was April 21, 1908. It was local noon.

Several sextant observations gave a latitude a few seconds below 90°, which, because of unknown refraction and uncertain accuracy of time, was placed at 90°. (Other observations on the next day gave similar results, although we shifted camp 4 miles toward the magnetic south.)

Cook then describes the taking of his observations; the color of the sky; the ice field where they camped; the phenomenon of no longitude; the building of the igloo; the drying of clothes and the puzzled questions of the Eskimos; the feeding of the dogs; and then on page 295 he says:

We withdrew to the inside of the dome of snow blocks, pulled in a block to close the doors, spread out our bags as beds on the platform of leveled snow, pulled off boots and trousers, and slipped half-length into the bristling reindeer furs.

He next describes the preparation of their meal and adds:

In comfortable berths of snow we tried to sleep, turning with the earth on its northern axis. But sleep for me was impossible. At 6 o'clock, or six hours after our arrival at local noon, I arose, went out of the igloo and took a double set of observations. * * * At 10 o'clock or four hours later, leaving Ah-we-lah to guard the camp and dogs, E-tuk-i-shook joined me to make a tent camp about 4 miles to the magnetic south. * * * We erected the tent not quite two hours later, in time for a midnight observation. These sextant readings of the sun's altitude were continued for the next 24 hours.

The quotations which I have just made are from Cook's story as related in the text of My Attainment of the Pole. Now let us see how it compares with his notes published in the appendix:

[From text of narrative.]	[From notes in appendix.]
Arrived at "Polar Camp" at *noon, April 21, 1908.*	Arrived at 89° 59′ 45″ at 9 a. m., April 21, 1908.
Made noon observation and *retired to igloo.*	Made noon observation, and *advanced short distance,* and made *"Polar Camp."*
Rested in igloo.	Rested in igloo.
Made observations (*6 p. m.*).	Noted meteorological conditions at *midnight* (*"12, night"*), April 21–22.
Moved camp 4 miles magnetic south, *10 p. m., April 21.*	Moved camp 4 miles magnetic south, *morning April 22.*
Made observations *midnight* (Apr. 21–22) *first* at new camp.	Made first observation at the new camp at *noon, April 22.*
Made observations *6 a. m.* (second at new camp), April 22.	Made second observation at new camp, 6 p. m., April 22.
Made third observation at *noon, April 22.*	Made third observation at new camp *midnight* (Apr. 22–23).
Made fourth observation at new camp, *6 p. m., April 22.*	Made fourth observation at new camp 6 a m. "following morning" (which must have been Apr. 23).
Made fifth observation at midnight (Apr. 22–23).	Returned to old camp some time after 6 a. m., April 23.
Returned to old camp about midnight of April 22–23.	

In the parallel columns which I have given Cook's notes state that he made a short advance in position *after* his noon observation of April 21, while the text of his book mentions only the

camp at 89° 59′ 45″ and the camp 4 miles toward the magnetic south. The times of the observations made at the south magnetic camp as given in Cook's notes do not correspond with the times of the observations as given in the text. I find in this discrepancy a partial explanation of Cook's statement in his letter to Capt. Bernier that the pole was reached on April 22, while all of his other statements assert that the pole was reached on April 21. At all events, his observations at the place he called the pole were made for April 21 and 22, and some time between the date that the letter to Bernier was written from Upernavik and the time that the first message was sent from Lerwick, Cook discovered that observations computed for April 21 and 22 would not fit April 22, the date which he had given to Bernier as the time of his polar attainment. To change the date of his arrival at "the pole" was an easier matter than it would have been to recompute his "observations" to make them fit April 22 and 23; therefore the date was changed. This seems a plausible explanation for the discrepancy in Cook's dates as given to Capt. Bernier, and as later given to the world.

Again, on pages 301–302, Cook says:

The set of observations given here, taken every six hours from noon on April 21 to midnight on April 22, 1908, fixed our position with reasonable certainty.

Seven successive observations, taken every six hours. (Apr. 21 and 22, 1908.)

[Taken from my field notes.]

April 21, 1908, 12 o'clock noon.
April 21, 1908, 6 p. m. (same camp). Moved camp 4 miles magnetic south.
April 21–22, 12 o'clock (midnight).
April 22, 6 a. m., 12 o'clock (noon), 6 p. m.
April 22–23, 12 o'clock (midnight).

And in his notes for April 22, 1908, Cook writes in parentheses:

Made a series of observations for the sun's altitude—two on the 21st at the first camp, four on the 22d at W. M. Camp, and another midnight 22–23. Before we left deposited tube.

This seems like an attempt to make his notes correspond with the text of his story, or vice versa—an apparent afterthought.

Strangely enough, Cook makes no mention of his shadow measurements in his notes at his "pole," though he writes of far less important items, such as "the drying of furs," "so tired and weary," "how we need a rest," and so forth. The only mention of a shadow measurement at the "polar camp" is the single measurement of April 21, which Cook records in his notes as "Shadow of 6 foot-pole, 28 feet." This is preceded by the words, "From other observation papers," and therefore seems not to have been a part of Cook's original notes.

We therefore see that Cook tells two entirely different stories of his discovery or attainment of the place he called the North Pole. These stories are irreconcilable. We can not account for the differences between them by the hackneyed excuse of typographical errors, for each story is amplified in a manner which, if the other story were not also told and amplified, would give the other a semblance of truth. Cook, however, gives his readers an opportunity to choose the story which seems to each individual the more plausible of the two.

Cook's last reported act at the place he called the pole was to deposit a note, which he claims to have written on April 21, in a metallic tube and bury it in the ice. Opposite page 312 in the first and second editions of his book, and opposite page 333 of the third edition is found a photographic copy of this note. To quote Cook's own words:

The following is an exact copy of the *original* note, which is reproduced photographically on another page.

Like Peary, Cook does not say how this "photographic copy" of the "original note" was obtained; possibly the notes were photographed by their respective authors at the time they were written, though this is not probable; possibly carbon copies were made and preserved, and the photographs made later from the copies; however that may be, the fact remains that in a little notebook in the Library of Congress is what purports to be "Extracts from Commander Peary's Personal Diary of his Trip to the North Pole," which extracts include a photographic copy of the note Peary left at his North Pole; and, as I have just stated, Cook's My Attainment of the Pole contains a photographic copy of the "original note" left by Cook at *his* North Pole. The printed copy, which Cook gives on page 313 of My Attainment of the Pole is not, as he calls it, an "exact copy of the original note, which is reproduced photographically on another page." For the sake of comparison only, and not because the matter is of vital importance, I give herewith a really exact copy of Cook's "photographic reproduction" and of his "exact copy":

[Cook's "exact (?) copy."]

COPY OF NOTE IN TUBE.

April 21—at the North Pole

Accompanied by the Eskimo boys Ah-we-lah and E-tuk-i-shuk I reached at noon to-day 90° N. a spot on the polar sea 520 miles north of Svartevoeg. We were 35 days en route. Hope to return to-morrow on a line slightly west of the northward track.

New land was discovered along the 102 M. between 84 and 85. The ice proved fairly good, with few open leads, hard snow, and little pressure trouble. We are in good health, and have food for forty days. This, with the meat of the dogs to be sacrificed, will keep us alive for fifty or sixty days.

This note is deposited with a small American flag in a metallic tube on the drifting ice.

Its return will be appreciated, to the International Bureau of Polar Research at the Royal Observatory, Uccle, Belgium.

FREDERICK A. COOK.

[Cook's "photographic reproduction."]

COPY OF NOTE IN TUBE.

Apr. 21, *1908* at the North Pole

Accompanied by the *Eskimos* boys Ahwelah and Etukishuk I reached *up* noon to-day 90 N. a spot on the *Pole Star* 520 miles N. of Svartevoeg. We were 35 days en route. hope to return to-morrow on a line slightly west of the northward track.

New Land was discovered along the 102-M. between 84 & 85. The ice proved fairly good with few open leads, hard snow and little *pressing* trouble.

We are in good health and have food for 40 days. This with the *many* of the dogs to be sacrificed, *with* keep us alive for 50 or 60 days.

The water is deposited with a small Am. flag in a metallic tube on the drifting ice.

Its return will be appreciated to the International Bureau of Polar Research at the Royal Observatory, Uccle, Belgium.

FREDERICK A. COOK.

As I have said before, the differences in these two copies are slight, and indicate nothing more than that the writer's mind was wandering a little when the "photographically reproduced" note was written. The most interesting feature of these two copies is in the one "photographically reproduced," when Cook makes the statement which is interesting—if true—that he had "reached a point 90° north on the Pole Star!" Not content with the assertion that he had reached a point more or less directly *under* that heavenly body, he "reached up" to a "point on the Polar Star!" Shade of Sir John Franklin, take notice! This is an achievement beyond *your* wildest dreams! No typographical error about that, either, for it is "photographically reproduced" of Cook's own handwriting.

Seriously, however, one statement in this note is worthy of attention. Cook says:

We are in good health and have food for 40 days. This with the many (or meat) of the dogs to be sacrificed with (will) keep us alive for 50 or 60 days.

This note purports to be written on April 21. Ten days earlier, on April 11, Cook wrote in the text of his book:

Nearly half of our food allowance had been used. Our dog teams were much reduced in numbers.

Cook says that he left Svartevaeg on March 18 with supplies for 80 days. Twenty-five days later he says:

Nearly half our food allowance had been used.

Now, on April 21, he has still food for 40 days, in addition to the dogs to be sacrificed.

I have always contended, and still contend, that if Cook really started with the amount of food supplies and the number of dogs which he says he had when he left Svartevaeg, his food supply was ample for 80 days, the length of time for which he planned his outfit. It is his conflicting stories as to the amount of food used in a given time and the amount he had left on the return to land which leaves one in doubt as to the amount he really took with him and the distance he really traveled with that supply.

The depositing of this note in the brass tube and placing it on the ice was apparently the last task performed at the place Cook called the North Pole. Then the start was made for land. The time of starting on the return is doubtful. In his notes Dr. Cook says:

Date, April 23, 1908. Miles covered, 20. Start for home. *12.30 to noon.* Fairly clear—ice smooth, but many new crevasses. Temp., −41°. Course for 100 mer.

Since they traveled from *12.30 to noon*, the "12.30" must mean the half hour after midnight. But in the text of My Attainment of the Pole, Cook writes:

At the place where E-tuk-i-shook and I camped, *four miles south* of where I had left Ah-we-lah with the dogs, only two big hummocks were in sight. There were more spaces of open water than at our first camp. After a midnight observation—of April 22—we returned to camp. When the dogs saw us approaching in the distance, they rose, and a chorus of howls rang over the regions of the pole—regions where dogs had never howled before. All the scientific work being finished, we began hastily to make final preparations for departure.

Cook refers to his south magnetic or second camp, on page 296:

At 10 o'clock, leaving Ah-we-lah to guard the camp and dogs, E-tuk-i-shook joined me to make a tent camp about 4 miles to the magnetic south. Placing our tent, bags, and camp equipment on a sled, we pushed it over the ice field, crossed a narrow lead sheeted with young ice, and moved on to another field which seemed to have much

greater dimensions We erected the tent, not quite two hours later, in time for a midnight observation.

We see, therefore, that the trip from the main camp to the south magnetic camp required about two hours, or, as Cook says, "not quite two hours." Yet at midnight of April 22–23 he made an observation at this south magnetic camp, then Cook and E-tuk-i-shook placed their tent, bags, and camp equipment and instruments on the sled and pushed it back to the main camp, where the dogs greeted them with howls. Cook next deposited the note in the brass tube, and the tube in the ice, and then began hastily to make final preparation for departure. Cook says on page 310:

I could get no sensation of novelty as we pitched our last belongings on the sleds.

All preparations made, they started homeward, as Cook says in his notes, at 12.30 a. m., or half an hour after midnight in the morning of April 23. In other words, he made an astronomical observation at midnight, then loaded his sled, and with E-tuk-i-shook traveled a distance of 4 miles, which required nearly two hours to cover two days previously; "made final preparations for departure" at the main camp, "pitched our last belongings on the sleds," and left the pole in half an hour from the time Cook made his astronomical observation at the south magnetic camp. In only 30 minutes Cook made astronomical observations, packed instruments and other belongings on sled, walked 4 miles pushing loaded sled, buried brass tube with note, made final preparations, loaded sleds, and finally started on the homeward trip. Snappy work, Doctor!

Cook's story of his return occupies almost as much space in his book as his story of the entire journey from Gloucester to the place he calls the pole. On pages 315–316 he says:

With few glances backward we continued the homeward run in haste, crossing many new crevasses and bound on a course along the one hundredth meridian. With correct reasoning all former expeditions had planned to return to land and a secure line of retreat by May 1. We could not hope to do this until *early in June.*

Cook's northward journey occupied only 35 days from Svartevaeg, including delays. He left his "polar camp" half an hour after midnight of April 22–23. A like period of 35 days on the return would have brought him to land on May 27 instead of "the early part of June." Just why he could not hope to get to land by this time instead of the early part of June he does not say.

The first part of the return journey was uneventful, and Cook says, "Progress was satisfactory." On page 318 he says:

Compass in hand, my lonely march ahead of the sledges continued day by day.

On April 23 when Cook claims to have started on his return journey—which, figured by his northward trip, should have occupied only 35 days—he says that he had food for 40 days, which, with the meat of the dogs to be sacrificed, would keep them alive for 50 or 60 days, yet with progress satisfactory and only seven days of the return journey behind him Cook says on pages 319–320:

Under fair conditions there was barely food enough to reach land, and even short delays might seriously jeopardize our return. * * * Our steady diet of pemmican, tea, and biscuits was not entirely satisfactory. We longed for enough to give a real filling sense, but *the daily ration had to be slightly reduced* rather than increased.

Shortly after May 6, when only 14 days of the return journey had elapsed, we are told on pages 323 and 324 that—

Our food supply was noticeably decreasing. * * * *We were living on a half ration of food,* and daily becoming weaker.

Therefore, starting with food for 40 days, and making satisfactory progress, we find Cook and his men after two weeks only, "living on a half ration of food!"

The first observation on the return journey was made on April 30, and Cook gives the results in his notes:

Date, April 30, 1908. Miles covered, 15. Midnight to 8 a. m. Ped. registered 121 miles from pole; camp by D. R. 87° 59′: 100 observations, 88° 1′: 97° 42′ (longitude). Course half point more W. Temperature —34°. Start more westerly.

As I have quoted from the text of the book, Cook said his pedometer showed 121 miles from the pole, while his observations gave him a mileage traveled of 119 miles. His observations also showed that as he traveled along the homeward trail he had drifted more than 2° to the east of his chosen meridian, the one hundredth. At the eighty-eighth parallel of latitude this meant that Cook was about 5 miles east of the one hundredth meridian of longitude, along which he wished to travel. With an easterly drift of about 3 miles per day in that region, the only wonder is that Cook was not a good deal more than 5 miles farther east than he desired, especially since he took no observations for compass variation.

From April 30 to May 24 Cook's notes show much sameness. Three days of that time, May 6, May 11, and May 22, he reports that he was obliged to remain in camp on account of bad weather conditions. On May 7 he reports:

May 7, 1908: Miles covered, 10; 8 a. m. to 3 p. m. Wind detestable; ice bad; life a torture; sky persistently obscured; no observations; *pedometer out of order; only time to gauge our distance.*

On May 24 another observation was made, more than three weeks after the previous one, and more than two weeks after Cook reports his pedometer out of order and "only time to gauge our distance." This observation gave Cook's latitude as 84° 2′, longitude 97° 3′. This position is 358 miles from the pole, while Cook's dead reckoning placed him at 361 miles from the pole. Therefore, if we are to believe his story, he had traveled an air-line distance of 358 miles, making only one observation en route, with a pedometer out of order and "only time to gauge his distance" making detours for open water, through thick weather, with heavy drift and "detestable wind," had made 358 miles in 32 days (three of which were spent in camp, so that his actual traveling time was 29 days) or about 12⅓ miles per day, and at the end of 32 days his observations show a difference of only 3 miles between his dead reckoning and his nautical observations. Great, indeed, is the faith of anyone who can accept as true this remarkable statement.

If we follow Cook's return route as outlined on the map opposite page 284 of My Attainment of the Pole, we find that he claims to have crossed the eighty-fifth parallel on the one hundredth meridian of longitude. At latitude 85° north a degree of longitude measures only 5¼ miles; therefore, when he crossed the eighty-fifth parallel of latitude, Cook was only 10½ miles away from the place where Cook says Bradley Land is located. In his notes for May 24 Cook says:

May 24, 1908. * * * Short clearing at noon; the first clear midday sky for a long time; west still in haze. Water sky west and southwest. No land in sight, though the boys saw the land later, when I was asleep. Ice much broken. 84° 02′–97° 03′.

When Cook passed Bradley Land on his way north he claims to have been directly opposite and about 35 miles east of it. On his homeward journey, when he crossed the eighty-fifth parallel, he was only between 10 and 11 miles to the east of it, but he claims that it was obscured by mist. Now, at the eighty-fourth parallel he says—

No land in sight, though the boys saw the land later, when I was asleep.

If Cook really believed that Bradley Land exists, it seems strange that he did not plan his homeward course over a route that would take him directly to the coast of Bradley Land, for on page 316 he says:

To me the most important reason (for following the one hundredth meridian) was an eager desire to ascertain what might be discovered on a new trail farther west.

And on page 317:

We hoped to get near enough to the new lands to explore a part of the coast.

His planned return along the one hundredth meridian was inconsistent for two reasons: According to his story, he already knew from his northward journey that nothing lay between the ninety-fifth longitudinal meridian and Bradley Land, therefore his "eager desire to ascertain what might be discovered on a new trail farther west" would not be gratified by traveling on the one hundredth meridian, since Bradley Land lay along the one hundred and second meridian.

If he really wished to get near enough to the new lands to "explore a part of the coast," why did he not plan his course to take in a part of that coast, instead of traveling to the east of it, when he knew that the easterly drift would probably carry him still farther away from it? If he had laid his course along the one hundred and second meridian, on which he says Bradley Land is located, and had allowed for the easterly drift, he would have touched the northern extremity of Bradley Land, where he could have left a cairn to prove to later explorers that he really discovered the land. If he had encountered open water along the coast, he would have had only about 10½ miles to negotiate to reach the one hundredth meridian; and if the easterly drift was increasing, a route along the one hundred and second meridian would have made it an easier matter to follow a new western trail than was possible by starting from the pole on the one hundredth meridian.

This argument, of course, is based on the untenable theory that Cook really did follow any meridian or group of meridians to 90° north and return.

In his notes for May 29 Cook says:

May 29, 1908. Miles covered, 11; 11.30 p. m. to 9.30 a. m. As we came here the water sky in the southwest to which we had aimed, gradually working west, led to a wide open lead, extending from north to south, and almost before knowing it, in the general plan of the ice arrangement, we found ourselves to the west of this lead. Temperature

rose to zero. Ice much broken; air thick; light vague; impossible to see irregularities. Food, three-fourths rations; and straight course for Nansen Sound.

According to Cook's dead reckoning, he found this lead as he crossed the eighty-third parallel, and, as he says in his notes, he found himself to the *east* of this lead. In the text of the book, however, he tells a different story (p. 327):

Here he says that a course was set for Nansen Sound, when they crossed the *eighty-fourth* parallel, mentions the increase in temperature, the better progress, and then adds:

As we crossed the eighty-third parallel we found ourselves to the *west* of a large lead, extending slightly west of south. Compelled to follow the line of least resistance, a southerly course was set along the ice division.

Apparently there is a typographical error here, as to the side of the lead—east or west—which they were compelled to follow. I assume that it was the west side.

This is the only reference which Cook makes on the homeward journey to any lead which might be the "big lead." But if this is the big lead it has now changed its direction and trends north and south instead of east and west as it did when Cook claims to have crossed it on his northern trip.

After the observation which he claims to have made at the eighty-fourth parallel on May 24 Cook reports that he was unable to get another observation until June 13, a period of 20 days. For this length of time he claims to have traveled *without* knowing his position. When, on June 13, he finally obtained an observation, he says on page 328:

We had been carried astray by the ocean drift. We had moved with the entire mass that covered the polar waters. I took observations. They gave latitude 79° 32′ and longitude 101° 22′.

On page 329 he continues:

We were in Crown Prince Gustav Sea. To the east were the low mountains and high valleys of Axel Heiberg Land, along the farther side of which was our prearranged line of retreat, with liberal caches of good things and with big game everywhere. But we were effectually barred from this. Between us and the land lay 50 miles of small crushed ice and impassable lines of open water. We had no good reason to expect any kind of subsistence along the west coast of Axel Heiberg Land. We had been on three-fourths rations for three weeks, and there remained only half rations for another 10 days.

On page 329, June 13, Cook says:

We had been on three-fourths rations for three weeks—

which makes the beginning of his three-fourths ration fall on May 24.

In his notes he places the beginning of his three-fourths ration on May 29 instead of May 24, and in the text of his book directly after May 6 (p. 324), he says:

We were living on a half ration of food and daily becoming weaker.

Therefore, on May 6, when only 14 days of the 40 days for which they had food had passed, Cook started on half rations; on May 24, when he found by observations—as he says—that he was still some 160 miles away from land, he started on half rations; on May 29, when estimated by his dead reckoning, he was on the eighty-third parallel and had about 100 miles to get to land, he raised the ration to three-quarters. This is only one of many inconsistencies shown in Cook's book relative to his food supply.

In his notes for June 13 Cook reports:

June 13, 1908: Miles covered, 14. 10 to 8 a. m. Fog cleared first time since last observation. (May 24 was the date of his "last observation.") Land in sight south and east. Heiberg and Ringnes Land; water sky; small ice; brash and drift eastward. We have been carried adrift far to the south and west, and examination of ice eastward proves that all is small ice and open water. Heiberg Island is impossible to us. What is our fate? *Food and fuel is about exhausted, though we still have 10 bony dogs.* Upon these and our little pemmican we can possibly survive for 20 days. In the meantime we must go somewhere. To the south is our only hope.

Again Cook's food supply comes to the front as a matter of interest. Starting from Svartevaeg on March 18 (as he claims) with full supplies for 80 days, he is obliged to go on half rations about May 6 (p. 324), when he had been away from land only 50 days. This is his story on pages 323–324 of My Attainment of the Pole.

Forgetting this story for the moment, he says on June 13 (p. 329):

We had been on three-fourths rations for three weeks—

Or, if this story is the true one, he was obliged to go on three-fourths rations when he had been away from land for only 67 days. Yet again, in his notes for May 29, he reports going on three-fourths rations. This when he had been away from land only 73 days.

Finally, on June 13, in his notes, he writes:

We still have 10 bony dogs. Upon those and our little pemmican we can possibly survive for 20 days.

When arranging his polar trip, Cook planned his food supply and his dog teams with the idea of bringing only 6 dogs to land on the return trip and using the other 20 as food for the survivors; yet we find him on June 13, eight days after the time for which his supplies were apportioned had expired, with *ten* dogs instead of six, and with an amount of pemmican which he does not specify, but which more than a month later he describes as "four cans of pemmican." As each can contained 6 pounds of pemmican, we can see that if the party was near starvation at the time they reached land on June 14, it was not for lack of food, as they had 10 dogs and 24 pounds of pemmican in their possession, although they were nine days later than they had expected to be in returning to land. These discrepancies neither prove nor disprove Cook's attainment of the pole, but are of interest as tending to show the lack of accuracy and consistent detail conspicuous throughout the book; and as a chain is no stronger than its weakest link, so the *many* weak and broken links in the chain of Cook's narrative show the impossibility of his attainment of the North Pole.

Cook's description of the place where he found himself on June 13 seems to have been made from hazy recollections of a map rather than from personal observation. On pages 329–330 of My Attainment of the Pole he says:

The land to the south was nearer. Due south there was a wide gap which we took to be Hassel Sound. On each side there was a low, ice-sheeted island beyond the larger islands which Sverdrup had named Ellef Ringnes Land and Amund Ringnes Land. The ice southward was tolerably good and the drift was south-southeast.

A careful study of the maps, both Government printed and privately published, fails to reveal any low islands north of Ellef Ringnes Land and Amund Ringnes Land, nor does Cook's own map, shown on page 285 of his book, chart any. The phraseology of this paragraph is such as to leave the reader in doubt as to the place where Cook locates these islands; that is, whether he saw the "low ice-sheeted islands" first and Ellef Ringnes Land and Amund Ringnes Land beyond them, or Ellef Ringnes Land and Amund Ringnes Land first and the "low ice-sheeted islands" beyond these two larger bodies of land. But, as I have already stated, no smaller islands are charted north of Amund Ringnes Land and Ellef Ringnes Land; therefore Cook from his position at 79° 32′ must have "seen" a distance of more than 100 miles as the crow flies, across polar ice and intervening lands with mountains along their southern coasts, and from his vantage point on sea level descried the two "low ice-sheeted islands" of North Cornwall and King Christian Land lying on the farther side of the above-mentioned lands. This brings to mind a similar experience of Peary's, who, in his book, Nearest the Pole, states that he "saw" his Jesup Land" from the heights of Ellesmere Land at a time when he was on board of his boat engaged in hunting walrus and assembling his party of Eskimos in the region of region of Smith Sound. Birds of a feather!

Cook's published notes end with his entry of June 13, and from that time we have only the text of his narrative on which to base our opinion of the authenticity of his story. On page 577, Cook says:

June 14, and thereafter to September 1, all notes were briefly jotted down in another diary—a collection of loose leaves in which the observations of the return were made. This diary was left with the instruments at Etah with Mr. Whitney. The data, however, had been rewritten at Cape Sparbo, so that the notes had served their purpose and were of no further value when no pretentious publication was anticipated.

Without condoning in any degree Peary's brutality and selfish meanness in refusing to transport Cook's records and instruments from Etah to New York, an act which can not be too strongly condemned, I still call attention to Cook's statement on page 577 of his own book that these data which were left at Etah "had been rewritten at Cape Sparbo, so that the notes had served their purpose and were of no further value." And, again, in referring to the material which was left at Etah with Whitney, and that which Cook retained in his own possession, he says, on page 498:

I had with me all the important data, such as is usually given in a traveler's narrative.

Therefore the cry that Cook's valuable material was left with Whitney, and owing to Peary's unmanly refusal to allow Whitney to bring it to New York, was left at Etah and lost, seems in the light of Cook's own statement to be exaggerated.

On page 330, Cook says:

In the hope that some young seals might be seen we moved into Hassel Sound toward the eastern island. To satisfy our immediate pangs of hunger was our most important mission. The march on June 14 was easy, with a bright warm sun and a temperature but little under the freezing point. In a known position, on good ice, and with land rising before us, we were for a brief period happy and strong, even with empty stomachs.

Cook does not explain why their empty stomachs were not filled with one of the "10 bony dogs" which they brought back to land, when their original plan called for the return of only six; neither does he say why they were at the point of starva-

tion, with a considerable amount of pemmican still in their possession, for, as he had four cans left more than a month later, he must surely have had sufficient in his possession on June 14 to satisfy the immediate pangs of hunger, especially when he was, as he says: "In a known position, on good ice, and with land rising before us."

Cook and his Eskimos reached their first point of land, as nearly as can be estimated from Cook's story (which gives no date), on June 14. It is impossible to say just where this land was, for Cook describes it as a "little island" and leaves us in doubt as to its location.

The remainder of the book is filled with a series of exciting adventures which have no bearing on Cook's polar attainment, and only serve to show how inextricably truth and fiction are intermingled in the narrative.

Shortly after reaching land a dog was killed and eaten, and on June 16—as nearly as we can arrive at a date from Cook's vague story—a bear was killed. Two of the remaining dogs deserted the party, leaving Cook with seven.

From June 16 to July 1 (pp. 334–342), 13 days, Cook reports killing the bear just mentioned, "other bears," ducks, seals, and three white caribou—and yet before July 4 the three men "began to feel the craving pain of short rations"! Cook says that he then set his course for Lancaster Sound, where he hoped to find a whaler in July or August. On July 7 he deserted the seven remaining dogs and continued their journey in a canvas boat. One can not help but contrast this leaving of the faithful animals to a possible horrible death by starvation with Nansen's action in like circumstances, when Nansen killed Johansen's dog and Johansen killed Nansen's dog, rather than leave the faithful beasts to a lingering death.

Cook found no whaler, as he had hoped, in Lancaster Sound, and after various adventures decided to return to Cape Sparbo to spend the winter of 1908–9. He described the building of an underground winter hut, the hunting of walrus, musk oxen, and other game for food and fuel, the repairing and manufacture of clothing from the skins of animals, and the manner in which the long winter night was spent. With plenty of food and fuel their lives were at no time during the winter in danger from starvation or freezing. On pages 416 and 417 Cook says:

My most important duty was the preparation of my notes and observations for publication. This would afford useful occupation and save months of time afterwards. But I had no paper. My three note books were full, and there remained only a small pad of prescription blanks and two miniature memorandum books. I resolved, however, to try to work out the outline of my narrative in chapters in these. When the skeleton of the book was ready, I was surprised to find how much could be crowded on a few small pages. In all, 150,000 words were written.

In this manner the winter passed, and Cook reports that on February 18, 1908 (apparently a typographical error) the reconstructed sledge was loaded for the home run to Annoatok. This was just one day short of a year from the time that Cook claims he started for the pole.

Provisions were taken for 30 days, in which time Cook hoped to reach Annoatok. Progress was slow, and on page 429 Cook says:

In all of our polar march we had seen no ice which offered so much hardship as did this so near home shores. At the end of 35 days of almost ceaseless toil we managed to reach Cape Faraday. Our food was gone; we had seen no living thing for a month.

As Cook says he started with provisions for only 30 days, which would take him to March 19, it is natural that their food was gone at the end of 35 days. But the 35 days which he mentions would take him to March 24, while on pages 431–432 he relates at some length the killing of a bear on March 20, just 31 days from the time he claims to have started from Cape Sparbo with food for 30 days. On page 432 Cook says:

We skinned the animal and devoured the warm, steaming flesh. Here were food and fuel in abundance. With the success of this encounter we could sit down and live comfortably for a month. But we did not sit down. Greenland was in sight. When more eating was impossible we began to move for home shores, dragging a sled overloaded with the life-saving prize. * * * For 10 days we fought against unending obstacles of snow and ice. Our supply of bear meat gave out several days before we reached Cape Sabine. When we got there starvation again confronted us.

Allowing a day for feasting after they killed the bear and accepting Cook's date of March 20 as the date of the bear hunt, the 10 days' trip just mentioned would have brought Cook and his men to Cape Sabine on March 31. A notable feature of this incident is Cook's statement that the bear furnished them with so much food that they could "sit down and live comfortably for a month," and yet after 10 days he writes that this month's supply of food was exhausted "several days before they reached Cape Sabine."

At Cape Sabine an old seal was found which had been cached there by E-tuk-i-shook's father. This decayed seal served as their food until they reached Annoatok. Cook does not give the date of his arrival at Annoatok in My Attainment of the Pole, but in his first brief story to the New York Herald he says:

The Greenland shores were reached on April 15. Here we were greeted by Harry Whitney and an anxious group of Eskimo friends.

Pages 451 to 566 of My Attainment of the Pole relates the story of Cook's journey from Annoatok to Upernavik, thence to Copenhagen, and finally to New York, and devotes much space to the various phases of the so-called "polar controversy." An analysis of the book is incomplete without reference to these features. I shall therefore touch briefly on some of the more important points.

Cook remained a few days at Annoatok with Harry Whitney, and his account of Whitney's experiences in the Arctic differs markedly from Whitney's own story. I give in parallel columns a few of these discrepancies to illustrate my statement:

[From Cook's My Attainment of the Pole, p. 445.]

Murphy and Pritchard, the paid traders, fixed themselves cosily in my camp. Mr. Whitney *had been invited as a guest* to stay and hunt for his own pleasure. The party lived for a year *at my expense*, but the lot of Whitney was very hard as an invited guest, a privilege for which I was told he had paid Mr. Peary $2,000 or more.

With no food and no adequate clothing of his own he was dependent on the dictates of Murphy to supply him. As time went on the night with its awful cold advanced. Murphy gathered in all the furs and *absolutely prohibited Whitney from getting suitable furs for winter clothing*. He therefore shivered throughout the long winter in his sheepskin shooting outfit.

[From Whitney's Hunting with the Eskimos, pp. 41, 51, 66.]

Suddenly I decided to be put ashore for a year's big game hunting under the shadow of the pole. This seemed especially feasible, as a cache of provisions was to be left at Etah and another at Annoatok. *I expressed my desire to Mr. Peary, who very readily and considerately granted my request to be permitted to remain.*

Kulutinguah's kooner (woman) Tongwe set about immediately the *Erik* was gone to make my winter clothes, and presently my kuletar (coat) and nannookers (trousers) the former made of reindeer skin, the latter of bear skin, were ready, *and I found them very warm and well fitting indeed.*

Advantage was taken of our enforced stay at Etah to have Eskimo women make hare-skin stockings and other necessary clothing for me.

Cook also says that "His (Whitney's) ambition for a hunting trip was frustrated because it interfered with Murphy's plans for trading in skins," while in Whitney's own book Whitney relates in an interesting manner several hunting trips which he took in company with the Eskimos. In another instance Cook contradicts his own story in regard to the treatment which Mr. Whitney received at the hands of Peary's men:

[From p. 445 of My Attainment of the Pole.]

The worst and most brutal treatment was the almost inconceivable cruelty of his not allowing Mr. Whitney enough food for a period of months, not even of my supplies.

[From p. 437 of My Attainment of the Pole.]

Mr. Whitney offered me unreservedly the hospitality of my own camp. He instructed Pritchard to prepare meal after meal of every possible dish that our empty stomachs had craved for a year.

The quotation from page 437 does not read as though Mr. Whitney had insufficient supplies on hand, to whomsoever they may have belonged.

As Cook was in a hurry to return to civilization, he decided to undertake the trip of something like 700 miles from Annoatok to Upernavik, hoping to connect with a European ship and reach New York in July. On pages 449 and 450 Cook says:

Mr. Whitney expected the *Erik* to arrive to take him south in the following August. The journey from Etah to Upernavik is about 700 miles, a journey as long and nearly as difficult as the journey to the North Pole. I knew it involved difficulties and risks. * * * Mr. Whitney, in view of these dangers, offered to take care of my instruments, notebook, and flag, and take them south on his ship. The instruments had served their purpose. The corrections, notes, and other data were also no longer needed. In the box which I gave to Mr. Whitney were packed [long list of instruments]. Besides these were left other instruments used about the relief station. There were papers giving instrumental corrections, readings, comparisons, and other notes; a small diary containing some direct field readings and meteorological data. By special request of Mr. Whitney, I also left my flag. In addition I placed in Mr. Whitney's charge several big cases of clothing and supplies which Mrs. Cook had sent, also ethnological collections, furs, and geological specimens.

Rudolph Franke, in A German's Experience in the Far North, says, on page 186:

Peary explained to me that I could go home on board of the *Erik*, but it would be necessary for me to give him all of the supplies in Annoatok and Etah, as well as the cached narwhal and walrus ivory in Norke Nuna besides the boxes which he would have brought here (to Etah) at once for me to turn over to him.

Since all of Cook's property was thus turned over to Peary by Franke, and as Cook and his two Eskimo companions arrived at Annoatok with absolutely nothing, it is impossible to say where Cook obtained the "ethnological collections, furs, and geological specimens" which he claims to have left in Whitney's care.

On pages 499–500 Cook repeats his statement relative to his action in leaving his instruments and other material with Whitney. He gives the list of instruments which he enumerates on page 450, and adds as on page 450 also:

> Other instruments used about stations were also left. With these were papers giving some instrumental corrections, readings and comparisons, and other occasional notes, and a small diary, mostly loose leaves, containing some direct field reading of instruments and meteorological data. These took up very little space.

If these corrections were important and "took up very little space," why did Cook not carry them with him? He says, "In view of the dangers of the trip to Upernavik"; but if he really feared the dangers as much as this would imply, why did he not leave his entire data with Whitney to insure—as he claims to have believed—their safe return to the world? If he had perished on the journey from Annoatok to Upernavik, all the material in his possession would have also been lost. Why was he so much more afraid to risk these instrumental corrections and direct readings on the journey to Upernavik than he was the rest of his notes and records, especially when, as he says, the corrections and direct readings "took up but very little space"? Cook's real reason for leaving this material with Whitney seems to be given on page 450, when he says that it had served its purpose and was no longer needed, and the later hue and cry about its being invaluable proof of his achievement was but a mere excuse for the unsatisfactory and unconvincing nature of his data.

On pages 416–417 of My Attainment of the Pole, in his description of the manner in which the long winter night of 1908–9 was spent at Cape Sparbo, Cook says:

> My most important duty was *the preparation of my notes and observations for publication.* This would afford useful occupation and save months of time afterwards. * * * *In this way my entire book and several articles were written.*

That this material was not that which was left with Harry Whitney is evidenced by Cook's account of his stay at Upernavik, with Gov. Kraul, page 450 of his book:

> I remained with him (Gov. Kraul) a month, putting the finishing touches on my narrative, on which I had done much work at Cape Sparbo. *My notes and papers* were scattered about.

Cook's return to civilization and his reception in Copenhagen and New York are matters of world record and do not require comment here.

In regard to the controversial material which Cook presents in his book, I shall only say that since Peary's so-called Arctic discoveries have been officially discredited by United States officials of the Navy and of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, it is unnecessary to recount Cook's charges against him, especially since Cook, in an attempt to bolster up his own story, upholds Peary on two of the points on which he is finally discredited, namely, Peary's fictitious Crocker Land and Peary's faked trip to the North Pole. Of Crocker Land, Cook says on page 559:

> Peary's Eskimo companions of a former trip positively deny Peary's claimed discovery of Crocker Land. I prefer to believe that Crocker Land does deserve a place on the map.

This "preference" is not at all strange when we consider that Cook wrote to Capt. Bernier that "Crocker Land was sighted" by himself.

Of the North Pole, Cook says (p. 559):

> Peary's last Eskimo companions say that he did not reach the pole. But I prefer to credit his claim.

Again, this preference is natural, for the only corroborative evidence that Cook has of his own polar trip—in fact the *only* evidence—is Peary's description so similar to his own. When, therefore, Peary's claim to polar attainment was proven foundationless, Cook's claim was likewise set a tottering, and a careful analysis of the information presented in his book demolishes it altogether.

To recapitulate, What evidence does Cook offer to support his claim to the attainment or discovery of the North Pole?

His letter to me of August 8, 1916, which I have quoted in full, says:

> On the whole, My Attainment of the Pole contains all the evidence to prove that I reached the North Pole on April 21, 1908.

This book contains:

1. Cook's daily notes.
2. His observations.
3. States of what his "corroborative evidence" consists.
4. His detailed narrative.

Referring to these items separately, I find that Cook's observations are so faulty and so obviously "doctored" that if they prove anything at all they prove that they were not made at the times and places where they purport to have been made.

His "corroborative evidence" is Peary's story, which has been proven false in every vital particular; therefore it is valueless to Cook as "corroborative evidence."

His daily notes show many inconsistencies and discrepancies which can not be argued away by the "typographical error" theory.

His notes do not correspond with his detailed narrative, which he claims was written from his notes.

Finally, this book on which Cook says he is content to rest his claim, and which he says contains every scrap of paper and every isolated fact, was first written at Cape Sparbo—according to Cook's statement—when time was abundant, and every event of the journey from the time of departure from Annoatok until the arrival at Cape Sparbo must have been fresh in the author's memory and mind. Cook also says that his observations were figured out and reduced at Cape Sparbo.

The finishing touches were written on the narrative during the month spent with Gov. Kraul at Upernavik, when again leisure time was abundant and before the vivid memory of the various events and incidents was dulled by time and the distractions of civilization.

A portion of Cook's narrative was rewritten at the Gramatan Inn, Bronxville, N. Y., for the Copenhagen University. The report of the Copenhagen committee, in reference to this portion of Cook's material submitted to it, says:

> The report of travels is in all essentials the same as the one that was published in the New York Herald during September and October of this year (1909).

A year later Cook's material was rewritten for Hampton's Magazine, the narrative of his journey appearing in the January, 1911, number of that magazine. Cook's entire book was published in its complete form and first edition early in 1911. The second edition was published in 1912, and the third edition in 1913. Cook has therefore made, according to his own statements, six revisions of his material, hence its inconsistencies and contradictions are not the result of too hurried work or lack of time for careful revision.

After a careful, analytical reading of Cook's book, in which he says that—

> I am now presenting every scrap of paper and every isolated fact (p. 245)—

and, further, that—

> Herein, with due afterthought and the better perspective afforded by time, the rough field notes, the disconnected daily tabulations, and the records of instrumental observations, every fact, every optical and mental impression, has been reexamined and rearranged to make a concise record (p. VII).

remembering that the material contained in this book has been revised by Cook six times, and that as late as August 8, 1916, in a letter to me Dr. Cook wrote:

> I will be glad to rest my case in Congress on the evidence presented by the official record as printed in my book. * * * On the whole, My Attainment of the Pole contains *all the evidence* to prove that I reached the North Pole on April 21, 1908—

is it possible for anyone who gives this matter any thought or study at all to believe that Dr. Cook ever attained or remotely approached the North Pole?

Inland Waterways from Official Viewpoints.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

Thursday, December 21, 1916.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, during the recent heavy storms along the Atlantic coast no less than three large vessels were driven upon the Barnegat Shoals off the coast of New Jersey in one week. One of these vessels was the Army transport *Sumner*, from which the passengers were taken by the Coast Guard, and which was finally abandoned by the crew. It is not contended that an inside waterway behind the shoals of Barnegat, connecting the North and South by way of Norfolk, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York, would have prevented any one of the marine disasters referred to, but they do tend to point out the dangers of the outside course and to emphasize the wisdom of having an inside passage for such commercial and strategic uses as it might be required to serve. Having urged the connection of the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays by an adequate inside waterway upon many other occasions, I shall not myself enlarge upon that topic at this time. What I wish to do is to lay before the House two very important and appropriate utterances by high officials in the service of the United States, who have given careful study to the inland waterway problem. Both of these expressions were delivered

before the recent convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress in Washington.

That of Admiral William S. Benson, Chief of Naval Operations, United States Navy, comes with all the experience and study of a naval officer whom this Government has placed in high and responsible station. It is a sailor's opinion upon one of the great problems of efficiency and preparedness. The other expression comes from Brig. Gen. William M. Black, Chief of Engineers of the United States Army, than whom no man is more directly informed upon the project of connecting up the waterways along the Atlantic coast for commercial as well as for military purposes.

ADDRESS OF ADMIRAL BENSON.

[Delivered before the Thirteenth Annual Convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, Washington, D. C., Dec. 6, 1916.]

The address of Admiral Benson was as follows:

THE RELATION OF INLAND WATERWAYS TO NAVAL EFFICIENCY.

"Mr. President, ladies, and gentlemen, I appreciate very much the introductory remarks of the presiding officer. One of our accomplishments is not to make speeches; consequently, I shall try to tell you in a plain, sailor way some of the few ideas that I have collected. I am particularly glad to have the opportunity to take part in this distinguished gathering for the very important work that you are engaged in.

"One reason, I suppose, that the Navy has not taken a more active interest in inland waterways is largely due to the sailor's natural abhorrence of the land—particularly of the bottom—and, of course, for many years we had no vessels that would by any means be called upon to use inland waterways to any great extent; but, as you know, the motive power of vessels has changed from sail to steam and electricity and the internal-explosion engine, and their methods of getting about have so increased that we have a great many vessels, undoubtedly, connected with the naval service which can and should use the inland waterways extensively.

"The question of the development of the inland waterways and its relation to the Navy naturally divides itself into two parts: First, I might say that part that would permit a use of the canals by battleships or vessels of the largest tonnage; the other, that would permit of the use of the smaller crafts, such as submarines and torpedo-boat destroyers. The division of points where battleships would be desirable and where the others would be desirable is a natural division. Of course, we of the Navy in our studies of strategy naturally hope and assume that our Navy will be strong enough to keep the enemy from our coasts. That is our aim, and that is another reason why some officers do not take the same interest in inland waterways; we do not like to contemplate even the possibility that our vessels would ever have to resort to harbor protection. Our aim is to go out and meet the enemy and prevent his ever even approaching our shores. [Applause.]

"Notwithstanding this idea, we feel, or at least I do, that we should leave nothing to chance, we should be prepared even for all kinds of combinations; because, as I study the situation, and if you have carefully followed the events of recent years, you will find as I have that in all wars diplomacy, or national combinations, play a very important part; and our country is particularly vulnerable to this form of attack, because we occupy a whole continent. We occupy the whole continent and we have shores all around us; so you will naturally see how easily a combination of nationalities could be worked up so as to present a very hard problem for us to meet.

"For this reason it is barely possible that the time may come—though we sincerely hope that it will not—when it might be necessary for our vessels to be in harbors and move from one to the other. Our coasts might be assailed by an overwhelming naval force before we could prepare ourselves fully to repel it. That being the case, you will easily understand what an advantage it would be if we could move our ships from one part of our coasts to another. For instance, if the fleet was mobilized in Hampton Roads and we had a canal connecting that waterway with Delaware Bay, our fleet, or portions of it, could move from Hampton Roads to Delaware Bay. Again, if we had a canal leading from Delaware Bay into New York Bay, we could move on to New York, and so on; provided we had the proper depth of water through Hell Gate, we could move on still farther with our battleships.

"You will readily understand that in order to offset our advantage in the way of such canals the enemy would be compelled to have four times the force that he would otherwise have to have in order to prevent ships coming out and attacking him successfully. That seems to be so obvious that it needs no discussion whatever. [Applause.] But regardless of the fact this condition might never obtain, the question of sending supplies from one point to another is of very vital importance to the Navy. We have navy yards and gun factories, for instance, here in Washington. At the Naval Gun Foundry here nearly all our guns for the Navy are constructed. They are proved down here at the proving grounds on the Potomac River, a few miles below. Practically all of our powder that we use in those guns is made down here at Indianhead, about 14 miles below the city. A great many of the projectiles we use are made here on the Potomac River.

"In addition to that, we have at Norfolk one of our principal naval stations. Thus you see that in case we were building ships on the Delaware River—and there has been a wonderful development in the shipbuilding industry there recently, and also a great development of the Philadelphia Navy Yard, and a greater development is bound to come in the near future—we might want to send our guns, or we might want to send powder or various munitions of war from over in this immediate vicinity or from Norfolk to Philadelphia; and a small enemy cruiser hovering off the coast might be able to prevent our doing so unless we had a system of communication along the inside route that would allow us to send these munitions of war where needed. The same thing would be true with regard to communicating through from Delaware Bay to New York City, and it is also desirable to continue the same system of deeper inland waterways along the entire eastern coast.

"It may not be known to you that for some years now we have been supplying our naval stations along this eastern coast with coal for their use from colliers, because it was impracticable to get the coal carried in the ordinary way; so the Navy colliers had to supply the navy yards with coal sufficient to run them.

"While a great deal has been said about the possibility of tying up the railroads by strikes or otherwise that would prevent the full use of them, admitting that the railroads are fully equipped and that the Government has full control of them and can use them to the fullest extent in time of war, even then the railroads would not and could not possibly answer the demands that would be made upon them. [Applause.] Even now I am told that the Pennsylvania Railroad has placed an embargo on certain bulky freight that they can not handle properly, and I believe that most of the railroads would be very glad to have the most of the bulky freight that is handled carried by water transportation rather than by rail.

"Now, all of our manufacturing interests making munitions of war along the eastern coast might be very seriously hampered for want of coal or proper fuel for carrying on their work; and the railroads would be used for transporting men, soldiers, and so forth, and the ordinary equipment that goes with them.

"Another proposition that has been brought to our minds in studying the question as to how best to be prepared for all eventualities is the question of munitions of war that might be manufactured in Pittsburgh or in the Pittsburgh district, and in the event that the railroads could not handle it we would be simply tied up unless we could send it down the Ohio River, down the Mississippi, and out through the Gulf, and in that way finally get it to the eastern coast where it would be needed. That, of course, would furnish another strong reason for so arranging that these important things would not be exposed to the possibilities of storm as well as the attacks of the enemy along the coast and on the way up.

"Now, as I said in the beginning, we have a great number of small craft, and our coast is so formed that its defense must necessarily depend very largely on the submarines and the smaller craft; and in order to utilize what we have to the fullest extent there should be some means of moving this craft from one part of the coast to the other.

"Our national means of defense, particularly from Key West north, would be through our inland waterways by our submarines. Not that the submarines are not able to go outside, for they are, and even our coast submarines are able to go to sea and cruise a hundred miles off shore successfully. They can go even farther; but what I refer to is the fact that they want to be protected. We do not want them exposed to the attacks of the enemy on the outside in case we desire to move them from one point of the coast to another, or in order that they may go out from various openings and attack the enemy. So you can readily see the tremendous advantage that improved inland waterways would be to the Navy in the event of war in moving submarines and destroyers through the inland waterways.

"Of course, anything that helps commerce helps the Navy; anything that helps the Navy helps commerce; and whatever helps both helps the country. [Applause.]

"There is one feature of the development of the inland waterways that has impressed me very deeply in my study of it, and I would presume to suggest it to you gentlemen who have given this subject more careful thought; that is the study of the map of our country, and particularly the eastern part of it, and you will see a complete network of rivers leading down to the coast.

"The Vice President referred to the question of river and harbor appropriations, and so forth. I remember making this suggestion to the chairman of the committee some years ago. Instead of trying to develop every harbor along the coast to accommodate the biggest ship that travels the sea, the idea that occurred to me was to determine upon the outlets that would be most desirable to carry our commerce across the sea or bring it in at those points, and build there the proper facilities for handling the trade that would be carried on there, and then along the whole coast have a channel for the vessels that were going to use it so that they might use it with ease and freedom.

"I think if these various rivers, waterways, and so forth, leading from the coast into the interior of the agricultural part of the country were cleared up and developed, that they might be used by barges and floats carrying the products of the country down to the main channel and then right along the coast so that they would be protected from the stress of weather and from the seas, and so forth; then seagoing vessels could come in and take those products wherever they were intended to be sent. It seems to me that if such a system would be carried out with scientific care the results would be excellent, because my observation in traveling about the world has been that our harbors here—and I say this with all due respect and patriotism—I think our harbors and channels here are about the crudest things in the world. [Applause.] Too little attention has been paid to them. When I say "attention" I mean scientific attention, for the system has not been developed and the details have not been looked after, so that really we have no first-class harbor in the United States. [Applause.] I have given the matter a great deal of thought after having traveled practically all over the world and having visited the ports of the Mediterranean as well as other foreign ports.

"Even the distinguished gentleman from Canada has told you what they are doing up there, right next door to us. I would like to make this as strong as I can, because, as I say, I have seen the other harbors and ports of the world, and I think we have not really a first-class harbor. I do not mean simply as to depth of water, but we have not scientifically constructed and developed our harbors and channels, our line buoys, docks, and so forth, in order to handle the business for which we should use them. We have not a first-class place of that kind in the United States. [Applause.] I know that this is a little foreign to the subject assigned me, but I thought it might not be amiss to mention here at this time.

"In a general way, that is about all that I can say in regard to the relations of the Navy to the inland waterways; but it seems to me that the few remarks that I have made make it very apparent that any proper development of our inland waterways will be of great value to our Navy, because if we had those canals, particularly the ones that I have mentioned between the Chesapeake and the Delaware, between the Delaware River and New York, and the vitally important development through Hell Gate, in order that our fleet might assemble in Long Island Sound and move in either direction, those things are of all-vital importance to the Navy, and, of course, would be of the greatest interest to the commercial world.

"As we go south from Norfolk nature has provided a channel for inland waterways, although it is very true that it is in many places shallow and needs improvement, but with the exception of a hundred miles on the North Carolina coast between Norfolk and Georgetown, S. C., there is practically an inland waterway all the way from Norfolk to Key West. As you know, on the east coast of Florida there is the so-called East Florida Canal all the way from Key West up to Jacksonville. I had an opportunity to go over that canal about the time that it was being completed. Of course, it is entirely too shallow, so far as its use by the Navy is concerned, because in order to make the canals of use to the Navy for our smaller craft they should be at least 16 feet in depth and the locks should be at least 325 feet long and 35 feet wide; but it seems to me that the building of locks would be ill-advised, because there are few of the canals that we ought to dig on the east coast that should have locks in them.

"I thought I would just tabulate a few figures here in regard to the approximate distances between points on the Atlantic Coast by the inside and outside routes, respectively:

Between—	Approximate distances.	
	By inside route.	By outside route.
CAPE COD CANAL.		
Boston Lightship—Brentons Reef	82	236
Boston Lightship—Sandy Hook	231	339
Boston Lightship—Hampton Roads	501	546
Race Point, Cape Cod—Race Rock, Long Island Sound	98	228
CHESAPEAKE & DELAWARE CANAL.		
Philadelphia Navy Yard—Hampton Roads	212	252
Delaware Bay entrance—Chesapeake Bay entrance	245	135
NORFOLK-BEAUFORT WATERWAY.		
Norfolk Navy Yard—Beaufort Inlet	158	231
Chesapeake Bay Entrance—Charleston entrance	397	378
Hampton Roads—Key West	888	914
CANAL ACROSS NORTHERN FLORIDA.		
Charleston—Pensacola	719	1,030
Diamond Shoals Lightship—Galveston	1,264	1,529
SYSTEM OF INTRACOASTAL WATERWAYS, BOSTONTO THE RIO GRANDE.		
Boston Lightship—Delaware entrance	381	426
Boston Lightship—Chesapeake entrance	511	523
Boston Lightship—Key West	1,474	1,370
Boston Lightship—Galveston	1,977	2,116
New York—League Island	80	235
New York—Delaware entrance	165	148
New York—Hampton Roads	290	281
New York—Charleston	706	627
New York—Key West	1,265	1,138
Hampton Roads—Charleston	414	415
Hampton Roads—Key West	975	914
Hampton Roads—Pensacola	891	1,375

"Now, on the question of that canal across Florida, that is another point. Whereas that would not be of material interest to the Navy, it would be of tremendous interest to the commercial world; in case that we should by any possibility have our fleet, or a portion of it, confined in the Gulf of Mexico, it would give us an outlet in case we had a canal across the northern part of Florida. We have found, however, by actual calculation, as to most of these distances, that it costs about the same to go around outside in the use of fuel as it would to pay toll going through a canal; and in addition to that you have the danger of exposure on the outside and the possibility of collision in fogs, and so forth, along our eastern coast.

"There is another point that I would like to mention which is deduced from my own experience, and that is the very meager provision that is made for our seafaring people along the coast. I do not think that the proper facilities are given for our seafaring people along our coasts. I see no reason why they should not have such facilities. The coasts should be divided into areas of at least 25 or 50 miles, in such a way that in any kind of weather and under any conditions, night or day, there would be no time when a man might not be able to find his way from one port to another without wearing himself out physically and running a great risk of the loss of the ship that he commands, and of having to withstand a great many other hardships that the seafaring people of our country have to put up with. There is no reason why a system of that kind should not be worked out; the fact that it has not already been done is but another evidence of the crudity of our system. That is another idea that I hope to work out some of these days; but just at present my duties are of such a nature that it is impossible for me to work out the details, and I simply offer this as a suggestion. Our country has been niggardly in providing for the welfare of our seafaring community. They are out off the shore, left entirely to themselves; I think it opportune at this time, when so much is being done for our commercial interests, and so much capital is being put into the question of shipbuilding, that these men should receive attention. [Applause.] I am very glad to have had the opportunity to make this suggestion; and I shall keep the matter in mind and hope some day to work out a definite scheme.

"I wish to repeat again my appreciation of the opportunity you have given me to say what I have. [Applause.]"

GEN. BLACK'S OBSERVATIONS.

[Delivered before the thirteenth annual convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, Washington, D. C., Dec. 7, 1916.]

The address of Brig. Gen. Black, giving an Army viewpoint of inland waterways, was as follows:

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON WATER TRANSPORTATION.

"Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I had hoped to have a finished address for you this afternoon, but apparently a

large section of the United States has decided to come to Washington at this time. They have all visited the War Department, with the result that I did not have the time I had hoped to have in getting ready for you some thoughts on this subject, which is now such a pressing one for us all.

"To my mind, we have hardly any need of greater importance to society in general than the need for better transportation facilities—transportation facilities which will, at the least cost, transfer from the point of production, no matter where in the world, to the point of consumption, no matter where in the world. [Applause.]

"This 'high cost of living,' of which we all complain, is not altogether a bad thing when you come to consider it. I think it may be safely said that it is, after all, in certain of its aspects, a measure of the growth of civilization. Naturally we all want to live well—and by living well I mean living decently, properly nourished, properly clad—and necessarily there is a greater demand for the things that go toward that. That greater demand then requires increased production, and, unless satisfied, necessarily carries with it increase of price.

"Now, there is no place in the world, no place in our great broad country, which does not or can not produce something—be it the product of the mine, the product of the forest, of agriculture, or of manufacturing—more cheaply than can be done at any other point. Therefore, true economy and efficiency in the national conduct of affairs would have the thing produced at the point of least cost, and then have distribution made in the manner that is least expensive, and in that way the interests of all will be best served.

"We have witnessed a tremendous growth of the railways in our country, and we have seen, with that growth, in many sections a diminution of water traffic; yet these two means of transportation are not antagonistic at all. In all the older sections of the country the enlightened heads of railroad companies recognize that water transportation is an economical thing for them [applause]; for it permits an excess of coarse or low-grade freight, which they can not carry except at a loss, but which they must carry if presented, to be disposed of in another way, thus making possible the handling by their lines of a larger amount of a better paying class of traffic.

"This was particularly impressed upon me some few years ago when I was asked to form a project for a deep-water canal between New York Harbor and the Delaware River. It became necessary to secure the cooperation of the officials of the Pennsylvania Railroad Co., and to get information from them, because some of their lines had to be changed. It was with fear and trembling that I went before the president of the road, thinking that he might take the old view, which we think all railroad people have but which the more enlightened of them do not have. Instead of his holding that attitude, I was received in a most delightful manner. The company put itself out, and was at no small expense, in order to furnish me the information that I wanted, and to send its engineers to go over the line that we had selected for the changed route for the railroad; and they said, 'We hope that you will be able to get this canal through. It will save us the building and operating of another freight line between New York and Philadelphia, which we do not want to undertake; it will be a decided economy for us if this canal is put through.'

"So there is ample room, as well as the utmost need, for the development of all routes of transportation, be they by rail or by water.

"Now, there have been a number of reasons for the decline of water traffic, and for its apparent inability, in certain cases, to compete with the railways. These are almost invariably from causes which can be removed; and I want to invite the attention of this convention briefly to some of them, because it is certainly useless for us, or for anyone, to advocate an immense investment of the people's money in the improvement of waterways unless those waterways are economically useful—and they are only economical where used. To-day I think it is the duty of all citizens, especially those interested in waterway development, to try and see how such waterways can be usefully employed.

"On the Mississippi River we have an improved waterway, of ample depth and sufficient width, and open the year round, from St. Louis to New Orleans; but it is only just within the last year or two that that waterway has begun again to be used, and used in a rational way.

"In passing down the Mississippi from St. Louis to New Orleans two weeks ago we left St. Louis one morning early. The same day a barge load of freight left St. Louis. All the way down the Mississippi River we saw that barge load at intervals. Finally we reached New Orleans, and the barge load of freight got there at exactly the same time. That freight, thus carried down the Mississippi, was first collected from the warehouses of the shippers, then taken to the water front, put on the barge, carried down the river, unloaded, and delivered at the warehouses of the consignees; and the total cost was 80 per cent of the rail rate. I saw a telegram that had been received from one end of the line from certain people who had been asked to investigate the condition of this freight when it arrived; and the telegram stated that they had never seen a consignment of freight, carried in that or any other way, arrive in better condition. [Applause.] Later I saw the manager of the barge line, and he told me that, although this enterprise of theirs is but a new one and as yet is little known, it is to-day making money. [Applause.] Such a development when started is bound to go on. I feel quite confident that within the next few years we will find a great and legitimate growth of commerce on the Mississippi. [Applause.]

"Now, take the cost of transportation. You have heard that spoken of many times. I am going to say just a few words on that. The cheapest transportation in the whole world is probably by the great tramp steamers of the seas; but the next cheapest is on the steamers on the Great Lakes, where iron ore is transported and delivered at a cost of from seven-tenths to eight-tenths mill per ton-mile. On the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers those great coal fleets, returning empty and so earning nothing on the return journey, can carry their coal at a rate of six-tenths mill per ton-mile. The maximum cost of carrying coal in this way would probably be about 1 mill per ton-mile, whereas the lowest known rail rates on coal are 2½ mills per ton-mile, or just two and one-half times the amount of its maximum cost by water. So that anyone who really goes into the subject carefully will see that there is an absolute need for both rail and water facilities; that, even in the poorest districts of our country traversed by the greatest arteries of water transportation that we have, the Mississippi River system or the Hudson River system or the others, parallel railroad lines flourish, and they both have a full use for their means of transportation. [Applause.]

"I myself have lived on the Hudson long enough to remember the fleets going up and down on it in the earlier days. When the Hudson River Railroad was built the people thought that that would mean the killing of the Hudson River traffic. It did not in the least. Then another line of railroad was built on the west shore, and yet to-day you will find an enormous freight traffic on the Hudson River paralleled by these two railroads. And if you happen to go up to Albany or to New York City late in the fall you will see a singular thing that looks rather anomalous. You remember those great night boats that are built to carry a thousand passengers and are necessarily extremely expensive, both as to cost of upkeep, interest on the money invested, and tremendous operating expense; yet you will find those boats keep in operation when there are not 50 passengers traveling, their expenses being paid for entirely by the freight. I never yet have been able to find out what the cost of carrying freight between New York and Albany by water is. That seems to be kept secret. But it must be a very well-paying business or they could not afford to run those boats under such conditions.

"Again, another advantage of this water transportation is that the merchant or manufacturer of Albany finds he can load his goods on the boat in the evening with the certainty of their being delivered at their destination in New York on the following day, whereas if the same articles had been sent between New York and Albany or between Troy and New York City by railway delivery would not be expected within three days, due to difficulties at the terminals. Those advantages will always remain with the water.

"On the other hand, anyone of the great traveling public who is in a hurry never thinks of going by water unless he can do it while he would be sleeping, and so use the time that otherwise might be considered lost.

"Now, there are vast portions of the country which can not be reached by water transportation, so that the two systems should be looked upon as supplementing one another [prolonged applause], and not as destructive competitors. I feel sure that in the near future such will be the case, for the railways everywhere will take the position which I have told you had been taken by the Pennsylvania Railroad in the instance I gave you. They will encourage in every way possible the formation of water-transportation lines.

"Now, let me go to another phase of this same question that has been talked about a great deal; that is, the 'pork barrel.' You know that the improvements of waterways are made by appropriations by the Federal Government, and no appropriation bill has been passed recently without a great cry all over the country about 'pork.' Doubtless you have heard all the phases of this, yet there are certain things that perhaps are not thoroughly comprehended.

"In our country, as you know, the will of the people is absolutely supreme. It is a very rare thing indeed that any legislation has its inception in Congress; almost invariably it is first brought about by the expressed wish of the people. The Members of Congress show in every one of their actions that they do what the people want them to do. Now, consider almost any stream the improvement of which is desired. The people of that locality feel that it is a benefit to them individually; they feel an interest in that stream which they can not by any possibility get up for a waterway at a distance, no matter how important. It will be quite impossible to convince the people, for instance, on the Upper Cape Fear River—who are just like all the rest of us—that they would derive more benefit from the deepening of the New York Harbor than they would by getting increased facilities on the Cape Fear River. It can be proved mathematically that the returns to the people of the United States at large would probably be greater in the case of the New York Harbor than in the other case, but that does not appeal. The things that appeal are the things that hit you personally and directly. Each one of you will mend a leak in his own roof long before he would give $10 to mend a leak in the roof of the town hall, so that we must expect that this local interest is going to have tremendous weight in all cases.

"Now we have a vast amount of territory, and we have but a relatively small amount available from the annual income of the Government out of which these improvements are made. This makes the sum to be expended annually spread out very thin indeed. It makes it necessary to carry on the work of improvement sometimes in an uneconomical way, the money not being wasted, but not being applied as economically as it would be were the appropriations larger.

"What are our legislators to do? Each man of them is pressed by the people who elect him, whom he represents, and whose will he must carry out, to have local things looked after and local improvements made. Take that through the entire country, and it is perfectly evident that it is necessary, and will be as long as we are under popular Government, to pay attention to local interests and to see that this money is distributed, in a measure, territorially. No matter how good theoretic consideration you show for a single investment, or the putting of all the appropriation in any one improvement, be it New York Harbor, be it San Francisco, be it the Mississippi, the people simply will not have it so; and as long as they will not have it so, it can not be.

"There are certain things about our popular Government which may be considered drawbacks, if you will; but we know there are so many great and glorious things about it that we love it with all the drawbacks. [Applause.] But we must see the drawbacks, and it is perfect nonsense to expect that altruism shall be carried so far that any section will be found perfectly willing to give up the things it thinks it needs, for the time being, on the ground that another section needs the money more. The people say, 'It is our money that you are spending. We all give to it, and we must all get a return.'

"Under those circumstances it seems to me that if we are going to get the great advance that is needed in our work, if we are going to have the great sums that are required, for example, for the Mississippi River improvement and the Missouri River improvement, another financial policy must be adopted. We must remember that, as I will tell you later, the questions of floods and of river improvement are so tied together that they can not be separated. We must also remember that in flood control and in the movement for transportation by water, we can not expect necessary work to be carried through, and carried through properly, so long as we adhere to the policy of making all of our betterments out of our income. [Applause.]

"How long do you suppose it would have taken the Pennsylvania Railroad, for example, to have abolished grade crossings between New York and Washington if they had simply put down the tracks and said, 'We must wait until we can take so much from our annual income to complete the work'? The work would not have been done. There is no great manufacturing or business corporation in the world that ever attempts to carry on business in that way, and it is quite right that they should not. The proper method is a very simple one, and it is a perfectly well-known one. Money is borrowed, and can be borrowed economically as long as the resulting annual returns are greater than the interest on the investment, plus the necessary withdrawals for a sinking fund. In such cases the work is carried through in the most economical manner possible and the bonds are finally paid. Until we get some such system with our great public works in the United States we never will get much further ahead. [Applause.]

"You can talk, gentlemen, about investigations just as much as you please; there is no possible way—and I have studied the matter very carefully—in which you can get away from the fact that each section of the country is interested in its own part, although all are bound together. All of its means of water transportation form one system of many component parts, yet it is a dream to think that any one part of the system of our country is going to be developed throughout while the other parts wait. They will not wait. So that the more you investigate, the greater is the machinery and delay and the more you mark time. These elaborate investigations that are called for may be very attractive in theory but they rarely have practical value sufficient to compensate for the delays they cause. If on the Mississippi River a bend is being cut off and a valuable plantation injured, I do not think that the people of the Mississippi Valley are willing to wait for five years until a comprehensive investigation has been made and the conditions of all of the Mississippi River and its affluents have been carefully considered and reported on. Conditions are apt to change in that time; so that, as far as I can see, this criticism of our legislators for making the appropriations is an unwarranted criticism. [Applause.] They take all possible care—as stated to you frequently before, there is no bill that passes through Congress which has more careful scrutiny or more care devoted to its composition than the river and harbor bill. [Applause.]

"Now there is one thing which it is absolutely essential to do, and that is to see that no improvement shall be recommended to Congress for consideration unless the most careful scrutiny shows it to be an economical investment of the people's money. If you have a certain amount of money to invest you go to your banker or your broker, and you say, 'I have so much money; I want to invest it; now will you kindly advise me what is a good investment?' He will probably tell you at least fifty or sixty different things in which the money can be invested—maybe thousands of things. You ask him, 'Do you recommend these?' And he will say, 'They are all good investments.' 'But do they bring the same returns?' 'No; this one is 5 per cent, this other may be 20 per cent; but they are all perfectly good investments.' A 5 per cent investment, however, that brings back a return at home looks a good deal better to an ordinary man than a 20 per cent investment of which somebody somewhere else is going to get the greater part of the direct benefit. Therefore it is utterly impossible to frame a river and harbor bill and put into it only those improvements that will bring the biggest returns to the people. [Applause.]

"You have to consider local claims; and the utmost that can be done, I think, is to see that no improvement of any kind is recommended unless it is a good investment, unless the returns to the people annually are equal to, or greater than, the interest on the money invested plus cost of maintenance. If that be so it is a good investment. It may not be so good as another, but it is a good investment, and is a proper one to put the people's money into. As I stated, being what we are, with local interests that must be looked after, perhaps frequently the money is not placed where it will do the most good to the greatest number, but nevertheless it will do good, though only scattered good, to all of our people. [Applause.]

"Now, when the improvement of a stream is under consideration, after an examination and survey has been ordered by the Congress, the local engineer forms a project, he estimates the cost, he finds that to obtain such a depth and width the money that must be expended will be so much; and that for a greater depth and for a greater width it will be so much; then he balances the returns to the people for these varying depths and widths with the cost of construction and of maintenance, and he forms a judgment, after getting all the information that he can of the benefits to be received, as to which of these different plans will yield the better return to the Government for the people's money, and he recommends that plan. That again is looked at from the same standpoint by the division engineer, then by the board of review, then by the Chief of Engineers, and then finally by Congress.

"However, these projects for improvements differ materially in themselves. If you take a river bearing a large amount of silt, or a river flowing through an alluvial valley, you have one problem to consider; if you take one flowing through a bed with rocky banks, or banks which are fixed, you have quite another problem to consider. In the first case, each flood which passes down erodes the banks and causes a change in the direction of the current, causes a change in the channel position, and may cause disaster by cutting a new channel completely, perhaps throwing a city away from its means of support, the river, or transferring a farm from one State into another. In making a project for a stream of that kind, then, the effect of floods must be carefully considered and the project for the improve-

ment of the river must include the consideration of flood control; the two go together. If you pass down the Mississippi you will see that at this place a bank revetment is being placed to protect a levee; at another point, a levee is being placed to hold the bank where it is revetted. The two are completely interlocked; they can not be separated without disaster.

"On the other hand, if you take a river like the Hudson, you make your project for its improvement with the certain knowledge that the bank that is here to-day will not be some place else to-morrow, that the flood which comes will injure property but will not worry you in your improvement of the river. In that case the problem of flood control is quite a different one, it is there simply a question of the protection of property. Then there are streams which present another aspect of this flood-control question; those where unintentional injury is done by municipalities, by the people themselves, and sometimes by the State, in increasing the height of floods.

"For example, take the Hudson River, with which you are all familiar. You remember that the upper river, which is quite subject to floods, flows through a comparatively narrow valley, with foothills, it may be, from one-half to a quarter of a mile or less back of the low-water river banks; and that at times the flood water rises over all this valley—floods it all. So long as such a valley is not very much cultivated or not very much populated, the floods go off without doing damage. Albany, you remember, lies at a point where the hill is quite close to the bank of the river, and the lower part of Albany always has been subject to floods to a greater or lesser extent. Immediately below Albany the valley widens out, and in the old days, before anything was done there, there was a very wide extent of land that was always under water during floods, with the channel flowing down through the middle. Gradually this land has been reclaimed, and the floods no longer can expand there. There is no trouble there, but the contraction backs up the water, and Albany to-day is more subject to floods than it ever was before, not because the floods are worse at all, for the quantity of water flows just the same as it always did, but because the water can not get away as rapidly.

"So in the valley of the Ohio, you remember those disastrous floods of a few years ago. It is not so much a question of more water as it is of the restriction of the flood channel by bridges improperly placed, and by other causes, such as the building of warehouses and the reclaiming and raising of land, thus giving less room for the waters to spread, and therefore increasing the flood height above. These are the problems which are involved in questions of flood control in nonalluvial or non-silt bearing streams.

"Take the flood conditions of the Mississippi River; you know there are a lot of anomalies about them. I do not know whether you are interested or not in technical questions; but for a long time it was very hard for me to take in two facts there—one, that the flood crest moves faster than do the waters that form the flood. I will let you work that out yourselves; I have never been able to work out a good explanation of it, but the flood proceeds in advance of the waters that form it. This is due to wave action.

"The other fact that is difficult for me to understand is why, when the Mississippi River rises 40 feet in a flood, it is not 40 feet deeper than it was before it rose. As a matter of fact, it is not; the bottom comes up, you know, almost as fast as the top does, because there is a great amount of silt that is being carried down in suspension and in bottom waves.

"Now consider the question of the regulation of such a river in order to secure a good low-water channel. The flood comes, and not only is the site of the channel drowned out by the water, but it is covered up and flooded by the silt; then, as the water falls, the river cuts a new channel. The idea of our regulation work out there is to compel that new channel to be cut in the same site that the old channel occupied; and the object of the levees, apart entirely from the fact of protecting the country behind from overflow, is to provide the means to bring the river back to its old channel and prevent the forming of cut-offs. I have gone into this to some length to show you a few of the problems that enter into the formation of these projects and which must be considered in all of their economic aspects before being recommended to the Congress.

"When you are forming a project for the improvement of a stream for navigation purposes, there are two general considerations that must be looked into. One case is where railroad transportation is not available for the country to be served; the second case is where railroad transportation is available. You have heard a great deal about the enormous commerce on the Missouri River, on the Red River, and on the Arkansas. In the old days, when commerce had to be moved to the headwaters of those rivers and there was no possible way of getting it there excepting by ox team or by boat, a charge of $50 a ton was not at all too much and navigation naturally flourished. It was the only way they had to move it, the cost was almost immaterial, and navigators took any impediments that came, any risk that came, for it paid them to do so.

"Then came the railroad and gave a more rapid means of transportation at less cost, and naturally the boats that required a $50-per-ton rate had to stop operating. It is all very simple. To-day such conditions rarely occur; there are few streams which serve territory not reached by other means of transportation. On these few streams one can still afford to run boats at a considerable cost, because the materials must be moved; it pays better to endure high freight charges than not to move the goods at all and not get your produce to market. So on a stream of that kind it is possible to make a provision for what might be termed an inadequate waterway; that is, a waterway which can not be navigated economically. In one sense it is economical, because it is the only means of transportation that you have; in another sense it is not economical, but you can afford to run a boat in a stream of that kind because you can charge freight rates which would be out of the question on a stream paralleled by railroads. That is one consideration that must be kept in mind. On the other hand, where you are going to improve a stream that has railroad competition, you must improve it in such a way that it can be navigated and freight carried on it at less cost than when the freight is moved by rail, and thus a totally different set of conditions come into the equation. So these two cases must be had in mind when the project for improvement is made.

"Where there is railroad transportation available, even with some excessive wagon haul to the station, water transportation is really not economical and will not flourish unless freight can be carried by water at about 20 to 25 per cent less than rail rates. Now, that is easy to do where you have proper facilities, because the ordinary rail rate is about 7½ mills per ton-mile.

"Some of the reasons why at times water transportation costs more I will give you in a few moments, but, gentlemen, one of the difficulties that we find as engineers, upon whom the Congress has placed the responsibility of stating whether such an investment of the people's money is a reasonable and profitable one, arises from another cause. Again and again there has been brought before us and insistently urged upon our attention by communities the necessity for the improvement of a river, when investigation showed that those same people never expected to move 1 pound of freight upon that river—not 1 pound. What they were after was a competitive freight rate. I feel, and I think that is the feeling of almost all the officers of our corps, that that is not a proper investment of the people's money; that if any point requires a lower rate it should not secure it by the very expensive means of improving a river; that that low rate can be and should be obtained in another way; so that, where we find that the object sought by the improvement is simply to secure competitive freight rates, it is very rarely that an officer of the Corps of Engineers will recommend that project as a proper one.

"Now, if we take the cost of water transportation, it is shown in a number of cases that about 50 per cent of the fixed charges of operation are for the pay and subsistence of the crew. In reducing this cost of operation, and therefore lowering the rates that have to be charged for freight carried, the first thing to scrutinize will be that 50 per cent. This item can be reduced most quickly and naturally by having the crew employed a shorter time for the same voyage carrying the same amount of freight, and that simply means increased speed.

"The fact has been placed before you again and again that in the small canals of Germany and France an enormous amount of traffic is carried, and carried profitably. Wages are less there. We can not afford to make as small a waterway as they can there, for the reason that the speed with which a boat can be moved is dependent up to a certain point on the size of the channel, other things being equal and directly dependent thereon, as I will show you later. With the low wages abroad a speed of 2½ miles an hour might be a paying investment, whereas with us the pay of the crew and the subsistence of the crew for a longer time make such low speed unprofitable. That is one of the things that is sometimes lost sight of in the plans of our transportation companies.

"From my own investigation I am quite convinced that if there be rail competition, bulky freight, in order to be profitably carried at a less cost than by rail, should be moved at a rate of about 4 miles an hour, and package freight must be moved at a rate of 6 miles per hour, or over. If you get under those figures water transportation generally becomes a nonpaying undertaking.

"Now, in order that this speed can be obtained, and attained economically, the boat must be modeled for the stream in which

it is to work. I can cite you an example of citizens who in a most public-spirited manner, desiring to get for their city the benefits of water transportation, subscribed their money in large sums. They bought a steamboat from someone. The steamboat was too big for the stream. She did not draw too much water, but a boat is not fitted for a stream simply because she can float in it; other things must be considered. The boat was too cumbersome, it was not suited for the stream, and so it proved to be a nonpaying investment. The boat was thrown into the scrap heap, and it would be pretty hard to convince those citizens that water transportation is cheaper than rail. It was their own error. They had not looked into the matter properly.

"Again, take for instance the Narrows of Lake Champlain; while you have there plenty of water, and in most cases quite a good width of channel, boats large enough to pay can not run through; and the reason is because of the crooks in that channel, the bends being so short that the boats can not negotiate them. Instead of running a tow of 8 or 10 boats, they have to cut their tow down to one or two in order to get around those bends. That is also the case on some of our southern rivers and in some of our smaller canals in the South, where you can not run a boat and make it pay expenses, because the channel is so crooked that the speed is cut down too much, and you never can make such channels through routes. So that in getting a boat for river transportation the condition of the river itself must be carefully studied, and the boat when purchased must be the kind best suited for that particular stream. You must get your boat not too big for your stream. That is a mistake often made.

"Another thing that must be given careful thought is the equipment of your boat. The railroads show that 0.066 pound fuel is expended per ton-mile of freight transported and 2.5 days' labor per 100,000 ton-miles. The Great Lakes carriers expend 0.029 pound of fuel per ton-mile, with 0.9 day's labor per 100,000 ton-miles. So it is perfectly evident why lake traffic is cheaper and more profitable than by rail for the same distance. Then again, for an Ohio River towboat pushing a large tow, which it can do in that very broad stream, and carrying an enormous amount of freight with a minimum crew, the figures were 0.021 pound of fuel per ton-mile and 1.31 days' labor per 100,000 ton-miles.

"At the same time that those figures were arrived at an investigation was made of the cost of running a Mississippi River boat of the old kind, stopping at any place that a man wanted a stop made. They used to run the railroads that way, but they do so no longer. It was found that for a Mississippi River packet there had to be expended 1.129 pounds of coal per ton-mile of freight transported and 65.64 days' labor per 100,000 ton-miles. Is it any great wonder that this type of navigation on the Mississippi has died out, has become obsolete? It is out of date; it was bound to go, and there is no hope of its ever being revived. But, as I told you, right on that same Mississippi, by another system, by means of boats adapted to the river, with economical management, men are to-day carrying freight and making a profit at rates that are 80 per cent of the railroad rates for exactly the same service. That traffic is bound to increase, and I am sure that the Mississippi again, and in the near future, will become one of the very important through routes of commerce. [Applause.]

"Now, to show you what the influence of depth is on a stream—am I taking too much time? [The speaker was told by the chair to go ahead.] A few years ago we made an experiment with one of those magnificent steamers on the Hudson River, a steamer that makes 22 miles an hour opposite West Point in the deep and broad channel there. When she enters the reach above Hudson she has to go much more slowly. Her owners assisted in some experiments. When she was drawing 9.5 to 10 feet of water in a channel with a depth of 14 feet we found that she attained a speed of 9.1 miles per hour by an expenditure of 350 engine horsepower. We then had her use all the horsepower she could, and she developed 730 horsepower, with the result that the speed was increased to 9.48 miles per hour, an increase of less than one-half mile per hour. By doubling her energy, by doubling the amount of fuel and power expended, she was only able to increase her speed less than one-half mile per hour.

"Now, you will find that to be the case in every restricted channel. A short time ago some gentleman in New York desired to establish a barge line on the new canal. They wanted to use large-sized barges for freight, and for passengers, if necessary, and they wanted to get a speed of 10 miles per hour. They sent a model here to Washington and had tests made in the naval testing tank. I do not know whether you have seen this tank. It would be a most interesting thing for the members of this congress to look at. They took a model of their boat there and prepared a channel that was comparable exactly to the width and the depth of the barge canal, and while moving this model through the tank at different speeds they noted the amount of horsepower required to pull it. They noted the speeds that were made at different expenditures of power. A speed of from 2 to 4 miles was made with almost no difference in expenditure of power. Then it rose rather rapidly to 6 miles. When they came to a rate of 10 miles the power required was almost infinite; in other words, it was impossible to run a boat of that size at 10 miles an hour on the New York State Barge Canal, although there was plenty of width for it to get through and plenty of water to float it.

"These things are not always sufficiently taken into consideration. For each channel width and depth there is an economical size of boat. Those of you who run automobiles know that there is a speed for each machine at which it will cover the greatest distance with a given expenditure of gasoline. If you go slower it costs you more in gasoline. If you go faster it costs you more in gasoline. Each steamboat has an economical speed for the channel through which it goes, and there again comes the necessity of considering your boat with respect to the channel which is to carry it.

"Now, the effect of channel resistance is felt at a great depth. I suppose you know that torpedo destroyers, drawing about 16 feet of water and running at the rate of 30 to 35 miles an hour, are obliged to have water over 60 feet deep before they can develop their full speed. If they get into shallower water than that the boat can not develop her speed. That seems difficult to believe, but it is so. The effect is felt throughout all that depth. The movements of water caused by a ship are most complex and are felt for a long distance from the sides of the ship. Once when going up the St. Johns River on a Clyde steamer, just ahead of us was a towboat with two schooners in tow. We were passing through a rather narrow channel. As we passed the last boat, the one behind, I found her forging ahead along with our steamer, with the line entirely slack. It took us some time to pass her, because she stuck right by us. We came up to the second one, and the same thing occurred. The effects are very marked.

"I remember an anecdote, which I believe to be perfectly true, of an instance that occurred a few years ago. One of our naval officers who had been engaged in making tests down here at the tank, studying this movement of water caused by the passage of a ship, happened to be on a great trans-Atlantic liner going to England. They were passing through a rather narrow channel, and a smaller English cruiser tried to pass them running on parallel lines. This officer turned to a man alongside of him and said, 'Unless our experiments are all wrong, that ship must now turn and ram us,' which she immediately proceeded to do. The occurrence was considered very mysterious, and the captain of the cruiser was court-martialed for bad seamanship, but he had nothing to do with it—the ship was completely out of his control.

"For New York Harbor they investigated the width of channel necessary to insure safe passage of two vessels, and they found that the smaller should be at a distance away from the larger ship at least equal to one-half the length of the larger. All these movements of the water are created by the power that you put in your boat. Again, if you pass through a canal, you remember that there is seen along the bank a depression of the water surface which gradually grows deeper toward the stern, then finally there is a large wave following the boat, all of which again calls for an expenditure of power. In a very narrow channel your boat is traveling up hill the whole of the time. In a channel of small dimensions she has to consume the power necessary to lift her weight up the hill caused by her own action. In this circumstance is to be found one of the reasons for the limitation of speed in a narrow channel and the reason why you can not, no matter with what expenditure of power, exceed a given speed for each boat in any one channel.

"There must be a certain amount of water beneath the keel of the boat. You remember the very common saying among seamen that the boat 'smells the bank'; she sheers off from it before she touches the bank; yet again and again you have seen the attempt made to load a boat down to the full depth of water. Because a channel has 6 feet of water it is thought the boat can be loaded to a depth of 6 feet. The probabilities are that the boat would actually be operated more cheaply by carrying less cargo and running on a draft of 4 feet.

"Then, again, the matter of area of cross section of channel comes in. In European canals the practice has been to make the width of the canal three to five times the cross section of the boat. They can stand low speeds there; they pay. We

can not stand low speeds here; they will not pay. We have to have our minimum cross section at least seven times that of the boat, and probably more.

"These are very interesting things that have not been brought sufficiently to the attention of the people interested in navigation. There are some things that are quite obscure, a number of questions that we can not answer. However, some years ago the United States authorized the formation of a towboat board, and they, after careful investigation, submitted a report. Experiments are still in progress, and we hope in another year to be able to say not only what is the best size and model for an ordinary towboat, and also what the best equipment is; whether a radial or feathering stern wheel is better; if a propeller is preferable, whether in tunnel or not; and what type of engine is best for boats of certain types nd speeds. These experiments are being carried on, and, as I say, we hope we may be able to give out some valuable information in the course of another year.

"Another thing that we are doing, right in Washington, is experimenting in the Navy model-testing tank, in channels of certain depth with models of certain drafts, to determine the relation of the channel width and depth to the retardation of the boat. We want to learn, in other words, what is the best size of boat for a stream of a given size. The result of those experiments will be made public, I hope, before very long. You see these problems in regard to river improvement are rather involved. You have to consider, as I have shown you, the character and amount of traffic that the streams are to bear before any project for improvement can be made economically, and you must consider, also, whether or not the transportation on this waterway is, or is not, to compete with rail transportation.

"There is no use in recommending too small an improvement. Very often the small improvement, costing little money and resulting in restricted channel dimensions, will be a nonpaying investment, whereas a channel of greater width and depth with greater expenditure of money would make ample returns to the United States. We who have gotten on in years remember that a few years ago there was a perfect craze over the entire United States for the building of narrow-gauge roads because they were cheaper. There is scarcely one of those narrow-gauge roads in operation now; they were cheaper to build, but they did not pay to operate. Those that did run for a while have been abandoned and their places are now taken by the regular standard-gauge system. In the same way, we must provide for our waterways a sufficient channel width and depth; and it is my own opinion, which may or may not be thoroughly well founded, that if water transportation is to compete with rail there must be a minimum depth of 6 feet, and if you get below that I do not think your boats can compete; you will not be able to carry your freight cheaply enough. With that minimum depth of 6 feet you must have ample width. Excepting where it is necessary to serve a country not otherwise provided for, I do not think it worth while to recommend a less improvement.

"Now, it is an undoubted fact that, with properly designed and properly operated boats and properly designed terminals, the cost of water transportation is less than the cost of rail transportation; and as I have shown you, in almost all cases more rapid as well. I was in Los Angeles a few years ago when a ship came in from New York via the Panama Canal, and I found her loaded with package freight of all kinds. I said, 'How does this pay you people here in Los Angeles when the distance by water is so much greater—how can you do it?' 'Why,' they said, 'not only does it cost us less to bring it by water, and not only does the freight arrive in better condition, but also the time of delivery is no greater, because of the delays in the movement of everything but exceptionally fast freight or passenger trains.' Rail transportation of freight is not rapid; there seem to be enormous delays at various points on the way, not unwarrantable, perhaps, but still delays. So the old idea that rail transportation is much quicker than water transportation is more or less fallacious.

"A short time ago I read a book called 'Socialized Germany,' by Frederic C. Howe, which I found extremely interesting. He wrote one or two chapters on the subject of transportation in Germany. He does not deal altogether with that. He tells about the German improvement in cities, their management of cities, and so on. The chapters on rail and water transportation are extremely interesting; they show how in Germany both the railways and the waterways are paying very good interest to the State; how they work together noncompetitively so as to bring about the greatest good to the entire people, and how both are availed of to the extent almost of their capacity. Those of you who are interested I think will find those chapters very interesting reading.

"The future of water transportation is assured. [Applause.] I will give you just one example. You have heard something said about the decline of the coal traffic on our western rivers. Here are some figures which have just come to hand. On the Monongahela River the tonnage has actually doubled within the last 15 years. [Applause.] To-day it amounts to 12,700,000 tons. In addition to that, letters are on file in the Engineer Department from prominent manufacturing firms along the Monongahela and Allegheny Rivers in the vicinity of Pittsburgh, which show that they have already ordered towboats and barges which, within five years, will increase this tonnage by 70 per cent, and that about one-half of this increase will probably come within the next 18 months.

"We have examples before us, everywhere, of the advantage of properly conducted waterway transportation. I think it is best for us in each case to study what would be the proper method of conducting transportation on each of the waterways in which we are interested, and to put into it the same amount of brains, the same amount of trouble, and if necessary the same amount of money as a railroad always does in bettering its equipment and lessening its cost of operation.

"I thank you very much. [Applause.]"

The Postal System and the Telephone in Washington.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DAVID J. LEWIS,
OF MARYLAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, December 21, 1916.

Enlarger of the common life.
Carrier of news and knowledge.
Instrument of trade and industry.
Messenger of sympathy and love.
Servant of parted friends.
Consoler of the lonely.
Bond of the scattered family.
—WOODROW WILSON.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. Speaker, I mean to address the House briefly on Washington postal conditions as compared with cities in this and other countries.

Scene I. I take you to an average town in Germany and introduce you to the postmaster. You go into his office. It is the express office, the telegraph office, the telephone office, all in one. He shows you his wire system. It converges to one line of poles in the street, carrying the telegraph-telephone wires. The toll telephone wire is also the telegraph wire, and you can use it for both purposes at the same moment. The German postmaster uses all the five fingers of the postal hand, the express package up to 110 pounds, the savings bank, the letter, the telegraphic and the telephonic agencies of communication. Unity, efficiency, economy, and an annual surplus of $22,000,000 is the result.

The above picture is true not only of Germany, but of all leading countries, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Norway, Netherlands, Russia, Sweden, Switzerland, and New Zealand; and in 1910 the gross profits from their postal—that is, their mail, express, telegraph, and telephone activities—amounted to $124,335,217, or 20 per cent of their gross receipts. (1)

Scene II. We go now to my home town and we meet the American postmaster. It would be a misnomer to call him a postmaster in other countries, for his functions have been divided among strangers. Looking from the post-office window he shows you their rudimentary fragments. You see on one corner the office of Wells-Fargo, on another the Adams, farther down street the American and the National express offices. And even in the field of communication, sacred to the postal system under the Constitution, what do you see? Well, all still in sight, you see the separate offices of the Western Union and the presumptuously named "Postal" Telegraph Cos., all vying with each other and the express companies in a prodigious waste of the postal resources. When Alexander G. Bell found he could talk over a wire the news was cabled to Europe, and the Postal Telegraph engineers soon found they could use the telegraph wires for telephoning and telegraphing at the same moment, and so in Europe you see only one line of poles for both. But on the Maryland roads, the glory of the Union, you see three lines of poles—the Western Union, the Postal Telegraph (neither render-

ing any telephone service), and the pole lines of the Bell system, a better telegraph structure than either telegraph company's, yet it is rendering no public telegraph service whatever. Three pole lines! yes; even a fourth, for sometimes the pole line of a "competing" telephone company stalks into the phantasmagoria. Waste, waste, a perfect carnival of waste of overhead, of men, of material, of capital, of managerial and executive labor.

Now, some one is paying this egregious bill of waste. Who? Your constituents and mine, of course. Let us see how the bill is collected. Through their rates, of course. Let us take first the telegraph rates.

Telegraph rates. (2)

Distance in miles	150	250	700	3,000
Europe, average	$0.12	$0.12	$0.12	[1]$0.24
United States	$0.25	$0.30	$0.50	$1.00

[1] Australia and Russia.

Before the parcel post we had the highest parcel rates. We still have the highest telegraph rates; they run, as you see, from two to four times as high as with postal systems for the same distance. The effect of these rates is that they choke off about four-fifths of our natural telegraphic correspondence. New Zealand, with our wage and price levels, and with a 12-cent rate, shows nine telegrams per capita, the United States but (1.15) one per capita. And yet with the same letter rates we send 101 letters per capita, and the New Zealander, our closest rival, sends 93. But we rank thirteenth, not first, among the telegraph users of the world. (3)

The Chicago & Milwaukee Telegraph Co. used to have a rate of 10 cents, and later of 15 cents, for 10 words. The profits were not fairly remunerative for private capital, about 3 per cent, as I recall. In 1910 the rate was raised to 25 cents. In 1909 the telegrams numbered 103,248; they fell to 57,689 in 1910, while the working cost per telegram rose from 14 to 24 cents. (4) Low rates high utilization, high rates low utilization. Low utilization, high cost per unit of production, high utilization low cost per unit of production. It is only common sense.

This low telegraphic patronage means an average operating cost of 50 cents per telegram to the American company, while the Australian postal telegram is handled at a cost of 27 cents.[1]

Gentlemen, now look at the telephone, the toll or long-distance rates. They run from three to seven times as high as the postal telephone rates of other countries. (4) Here is a statement of the average rates for nine countries on the Continent of Europe:

Distance in miles	100	300	400	500	700
Continental rate	$0.20	$0.37	$0.39	$0.46	$0.53
Bell rate	$0.60	$1.80	$2.40	$3.00	$4.20

That is, for 100 miles we pay three times, for 300 miles five times, for 400 miles six times, and for 700 miles eight times the rate on the Continent of Europe for a three-minute conversation.

Mr. Speaker, I am obliged to make a seemingly sensational statement about these long-distance rates. It costs the American as much to ship his long-distance conversation over the wires, mile for mile, as it costs him to ship a ton of freight over the rails. The railroads get, on the average, 7 mills a mile for moving the ton of freight. The telephone system charges 6 mills a mile for carrying the three-minute conversation. Gentlemen can realize how weighty their conversations sometimes are. They weigh about a ton on the long-distance wires.

SOCIAL RESULTS.

Mr. Speaker, what is the consequence of these abnormal rates? Well, sir, it is to reduce the traffic to a point as abnormally low as they are high. Combining the telegrams and long-distance messages we find that other countries use the wire for such purposes from two to four times as often as we. While Denmark shows 17 such messages per capita and New Zealand 12, we show less than 5. While we rank first in the use of the letter—101 per capita—we stand but fifth in the combined use of telegrams and long-distance messages—the highest rates and the lowest service rendered among the nations. This is the penalty our Nation pays for permitting a half dozen private monopolies to squat on the postal domain. (5)

These investors and their great captains of industrial finance should withdraw from the postal field. They should go into the true fields of private finance, into the productive industries, where their talents and their capital might be rewarded with the highest and not the lowest service to mankind.

[1] What our people do not fully understand is that the postal function in the hands of a private monopoly is seldom actually efficient, and judged by the amount of service rendered per dollar expended, our telegraph and telephone monopolies are grossly uneconomical. The average telegraph employee in New Zealand handles 3,980 telegrams yearly, the American only 2,933, or 36 per cent advantage to the postal agency. (9) The Norwegian postal telephone employee averages 118,500 calls, the Bell employee 65,265, while our own postal system stands at the head of the list with 60,651 mail pieces per employee. (10)

THE WASHINGTON TELEPHONE.

Mr. Speaker, there are from seventy to eighty thousand independent homes in the District of Columbia. Only 20,000 of these have telephones. And yet communication is the most primary requirement of the human being. This was the reason, sir, the Constitution assigned the function of organized communication to the Post Office Department. It alone can have the motive to make that communication so cheap as to be susceptible of common and universal use, a use as wide as the needs of man. There is a road to every man's house, there ought to be a phone, along with the water pipe and the sewer, on the inside. In the United States this communicating ideal can be easily realized through the Postal Department.

While other nations, the older ones, may be slow to realize this ideal, we have twice the social wealth (over $2,000 per capita), and the popular distribution of current wealth is probably more evenly realized in Washington than in any other city. Still, three out of four homes are disinherited of this great necessity in communication. Why? Because of prohibitive telephone tariffs, just as with the telegram now and formerly with the parcel.

It costs the business man in Washington $156 for 5,400 calls, about 15 per day. He can get an unlimited service in Berlin and Paris both together for $120, and the London, Stockholm, and Auckland (New Zealand) unlimited rates combined are but $141.32. (11) In 1914 the average cost of the local call in Washington was 4¼ cents, or $4.21 per 100. In Buffalo it was four-fifths of a cent, or 79 cents per 100. The Washington rate held down the use of the phone to an average of 823 calls per annum, while in Buffalo the low rate gave a utilization of 2,709 calls. The system of measured-service rates in use in Washington locked up the phone and condemned it to about one-third of its natural use. Indeed, 32,442 subscribers, having limited service, used their phones an average of only 586 calls that year. Now, look at the following table; observe how the number of calls falls as the rate rises and rises as the rate falls:

Telephone data.

Cities.	Cents per call.	Calls per phone.	Phones per employee.	Calls per employee.	Size of plant.	Invoice per phone.
New York City (m)	4.45	962	.....	.....	451,829	$109.00
Brooklyn (n)	4.21	875	.....	.....	152,678	145.00
Washington [1]	4.21	823	[2] 52.0	[3] 45,215	51,361	116.00
Baltimore [4]	3.53	993	.....	.....	43,000	134.00
New York Telephone Co. [5]	3.24	996	38.0	40,000	[6] 1,003,593	148.00
Philadelphia (Ind.) [7]	2.21	1,456	42.4	61,800	34,556	[8] 347.00
Chicago (Bell) [7]	2.00	1,622	41.7	67,600	[9] 504,124	116.00
Pittsburgh (Ind.) [7]	1.52	2,002	30.5	61,757	14,478	[8] 450.00
Cleveland (Bell) [7]	1.48	2,016	39.1	78,808	70,920	127.00
Pacific Telephone Co. [7]	1.45	1,928	41.6	80,280	[9] 527,400	177.00
Indianapolis (Ind.) [7]	1.14	2,239	48.0	107,752	14,490	188.00
Spokane (Bell) [7]	1.08	2,169	43.9	95,300	23,333	136.00
Kansas City (Ind.) [7]	1.06	3,375	41.9	141,465	36,092	173.00
Rochester (Ind.) [7]	1.04	2,940	50.5	149,071	15,308	146.00
Plattsburg (Ind.) [7]	0.94	2,090	37.4	80,861	10,580	155.00
Buffalo (Ind.) [3]	0.85	2,709	35.1	95,205	40,561	180.00
Chicago, Automatic [7]	0.79	[9] 1,275	111.0	141,381	17,867	([10])
Louisville (Ind.) [7]	0.69	4,040	40.6	164,163	21,128	183.00

[1] Data for 1914, report to Utilities Commission. Later reports do not give the number of completed messages, but only those originated.
[2] Number employees computed from 1914 report (as 972).
[3] Minus deductions for depreciation. Correct figure near $120 per phone.
[4] Data 1910, the latest for city alone; case before Public Service Commission.
[5] Data 1914, New York Public Service Commission.
[6] Includes large area and many distinct plants.
[7] Data 1915, Interstate Commerce Commission.
[8] Probably does not represent actual investment.
[9] Low utilization probably due to competing phones in same offices.
[10] Data not reported.

Now, look at the third column, the number of phones handled per employee, and look at the last column, giving the investment per phone. Look at Rochester all columns, then compare with Washington. Do you observe that the rate per call in Washington does not appear to relate to the cost of the plant or to the number of employees necessary in conducting it? Washington and New York, with the lowest investments per phone, have the highest average rates and about the same number of calls per phone. And do you notice that the working product of the employees, the number of calls per employee per annum, generally falls as the rates rise and rises to a maximum as the rates fall? What it all means is that high rates, again, mean idle plant and an equal waste of the force expended by the working personnel.

The 823 calls in Washington produced about $34.60 revenue. To give 2,500 calls per phone, about good normal, the rates would

have to be reduced. To what? Well, according to the experience of these cities—and they do not differ from postal telephone cities—a rate of 1 cent a call will bring a utilization around 2,500 per annum. High rate, low utilization. Low rate, high utilization. If you need $34 per phone, a measured service working out about 4 cents a call will be required. If you need to collect $30 per phone, which would pay about 8 per cent in Washington, a reasonable rate for private capital, then about 3½ cents a call and 900 calls per year respond. And this is probably about the average rate on the number of "completed" calls since the tariffs were reduced in 1916. But if you need to get only $21 per telephone, on the average, paying 3 per cent interest, then 1 cent a call and about 2,500 calls per year would be the likely result in a city of this size, according to the experience available.

A responsible telephone manufacturing and construction company, through its engineers, has submitted to the authorities a statement showing what it would cost the postal system to operate the Washington telephone system. It would cost $29.51 per phone, which would include interest at 3 per cent and depreciation. They advise a tariff of $12 per annum including 600 free calls, and 2 cents per added call. As the system increases under these low tariffs to 100,000 phones, about the proportional number in Stockholm, Sweden, the cost per phone, they say, would be $18.66, and the message rate could be made a cent a call, the $12 annual tariff to include 1,200 calls. The utilization at 2 cents a call would not likely fall below 1,500, and at 1 cent a call not below 2,200 calls in a city like Washington. At a dollar a month few homes would be denied a telephone.

The bill contains a feature not actually essential to the postal experiment itself. It is a low farm to kitchen and kitchen to farm rate, available within 50 miles of the Capital, but only for the purchase of farm products. The night rate, when the toll wires are practically idle, is put at 2 cents for the first 10 miles, and 1 cent for each added 10 miles, and the day rate doubled, with 50 per cent additions for overtime on the three minute conversation.

The farmer could telephone his list of products and prices to "Postal information" and the housewife be directed thus to the farmer actually having, and desiring to sell, the supplies in demand. The mail will not do; a conversation is needed for these retail transactions, and with the telephone conversation available, the parcel post would do the rest. Why should not the city consumer be given the use of this obvious public facility to secure the necessaries of life at their first cost, and with their first smell? The rate, while low in America, is about the same as in use with postal systems in Europe, and the president of the Bell Co., Mr. Vail, has declared that his company could give "rates more or less equal" to those in Europe.

Why not make the experiment of a postal telephone? And where better than in Washington? The Government is the greatest patron, paying about $100,000 a year, or about half the necessary interest charge. It would insure complete control of its communications in safeguarding its executive and military affairs at the seat of government. The postal chiefs would be here to settle the problems arising in the light of direct experience, and Congress could observe directly too with what success the experiment is conducted. There will be a postal surplus by July 1 of some ten millions. The Washington telephone system is set at less than $7,000,000. This surplus represents the profits of the parcel post, the youngest member of the postal family. Why not use the gold thus brought in in introducing an even more useful servant to the people?

GENERAL NOTE.

The following numeral notes refer to Hearing on the Postalization of the Telephone, January, 1915, before House Committee on Post Offices, testimony of Hon. DAVID J. LEWIS: (1) p. 90; (2) p. 11; (3) p. 12; (4) pp. 15, 16; (5) p. 85; (6) p. 12; (7) p. 25; (8) p. 13; (9) p. 36; (10) p. 38; (11) p. 23.

(5) The propensity of high rates for killing the potential traffic is also illustrated in our recent experience. Before the parcel post, in 1912, the express companies carried 318,000,000 parcels, about three per capita only, while the number in Switzerland is 10 per capita. Well, in 1915 the companies carried 288,000,000 pieces, and the parcel post carried 400,000,000 pieces, counting only those of a pound and up. In passing be it noted that the postal parcel cost for handling only 5 cents and the express parcel cost slightly over 24 cents, excluding railway pay in both cases. The parcel traffic of the country doubled with the advent of the parcel post, jumping from three to seven hundred millions of parcels. And what does that mean? It means that the denial of the parcel function to the post office has killed half of the parcel traffic for generations. The express company was doing less than a half man's work. It is even so, but worse, in the field of telegraphic correspondence. The telegraphs are doing not a quarter man's work. Their rates permit us to send about 120,000,000 telegrams a year. We should send 500,000,000 postal telegrams at the rates and according to the experience of Australia, a country resembling ours in area, in wage, and in price levels. And this means, simply, that we are denied our right to communicate by telegraph. (6)

Vocational Education.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. DOUGHTON,
OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 2, 1917.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Speaker, in my judgment no more important matter has been or will be considered by this Congress than the bill (S. 703) now pending, which provides for cooperation on the part of the National Government with the States in providing a system of vocational education.

The principal defect in our educational system to-day is its aimlessness. When the student has finished the ordinary literary course in our schools and colleges he is yet unfitted for any special service, and if he can command the means must go in search of some institution where he can be taught the things which he should have had the opportunity of learning earlier. He often finds much he has learned is of no practical value to him in his work, and in order to succeed he must seek new avenues of information. The purpose of this bill is to prevent such waste in our educational system by furnishing to those desiring vocational training the means of accomplishing that purpose.

In recent years there has been a remarkable change in the educational policies of many States. The demand for special training in agricultural pursuits, the trades, and industries has become much greater than can be provided by the institutions that have undertaken to give this class of training. The keen competition along all lines has made special training necessary, in order that the workingman may advance above the class of menial servants. Labor has become wonderfully organized in the industries and is now recognized as never before in this country; but the lack of facilities for the training of the laborer is responsible for a great army of the untrained and dissatisfied whose condition in life is the cause of much unwholesome agitation that is forever disturbing the people. There was a time when it was generally considered that the laboring man could make little use of an education; that education was useful only in the professions and as a means of culture to those who could afford to obtain it. The majority of the people did not aspire to more than a knowledge of the bare rudiments of an education. They chose the occupation of agriculture, served apprenticeships in the trades, or took up lines of work in which no special training was required. Success came only to those who acquired special training in some manner or got an advantage in some other way.

Unfortunately it is true that the scant education obtained by the majority of the people under existing conditions is of little value to them in their daily occupations, and especially is this true as to agriculture. Until the recent tendency to provide special vocational courses in some of the institutions of learning, even those who obtained a good general education were little better fitted to earn a living than those who were illiterate. Technical schools, correspondence courses, and special courses in colleges and universities have been provided in an effort to remedy these conditions, but these means are inadequate to meet the increasing need and demand for special training.

The masses are unable to take advantage of what has been provided in this manner. More than three-fourths of our people are forced to take up some work as a means of support without any vocational training whatever. Less than one-half of the children who enter school remain beyond the fifth grade, and most of them quit school to go to work. Few of them get special training later, because there is no provision for combining their training with their work. Only 10 per cent remain in school long enough to get through high school, and those who do so are little better prepared for a definite line of work than those are who drop out earlier, because the education they receive is not along lines that can be utilized in their occupations. Only 15 per cent of the boys and girls continue in school beyond the age of 16. This means that 85 per cent of our people are following some occupation without special training, unless, perchance, they have found some other way of obtaining it than through the public schools. How much better it would be if, when these children are forced to leave school because they can not afford to continue longer or because they must go to work to contribute to their own support, a plan were in operation whereby they could obtain special training for the work they are best adapted by nature to perform and their

development be continued rather than abandoned. This bill meets this condition by providing for part-time courses and night schools.

The States have recognized the great need of aiding the vast army of untrained workers who leave the schools every year to enter the shops and farms without special training. Instead of the old system of three or four months of public school in the year in the rural sections, a few private preparatory schools, a university, and a few denominational colleges, prepared only to give literary courses to a limited number of people, we now have public graded schools nine months in the year in many localities, which are made possible by special local taxes voted by the people to supplement the inadequate fund available from the State. Vocational courses have been provided in many colleges and universities, and agricultural and mechanical colleges are provided in the States, in which a small percentage of the people may obtain special training. Public high schools giving free instruction have been provided in many communities to help the young people to reach the higher institutions.

In connection with these free high schools there are to be found a few farm-life schools in which the boys are taught practical methods in farming and the girls are taught something of home economics and domestic science. Teacher-training schools have also been provided in a small way. All of this indicates the growing need and public recognition of the demand for special training for the many who otherwise must go through life unfitted for any special work.

But the States and local communities are unable to equip and maintain vocational schools within the reach of all and at the same time train the necessary teachers and pay them adequate salaries. But the States can take advantage of the liberal terms of cooperation with the National Government as provided in this bill, and many of them are now prepared to do this. This bill places within their reach a goal long sought by the leaders in education in the States, but which has seemed to them almost impossible of attainment. They have made an effort and have done much good already in this line of education, but to bring the means of such training within the reach of all is a task beyond the power of the States to perform. The chief trouble has been to give to the people generally what has been provided, but with the National Government cooperating with the States plans can be devised by the time the maximum appropriations are available under this bill whereby every boy and girl in the land who needs and desires to be trained for a life work can do so without heaping upon their shoulders a burden of debt; and, in fact, they ought to be able to contribute something to their support while receiving this training. No mind can conceive of the great saving this will be to the country materially as well as in the contentment, well-being, and happiness of its citizens, which is at the foundation of national prosperity, security, and patriotism. Much has been said and done and much money expended on the various programs of conservation that have been promulgated in recent years, and this is well; but we, as a nation, have overlooked so far one of the greatest causes of national waste—the waste of the undeveloped talent of the untrained youth of our land who are, by no fault of their own, pushed down into the lower stratum of society where they have no chance to win in life's battles.

The labor problem has always been a source of vexation, and it will be forever unless something is done that is worth while to help make the laborer satisfied with his chance in life. Education of the type that has been emphasized in this country is not the panacea for all ills of society, as some would have us think, but I believe that if the Government provides means for increasing the earning capacity of the majority of the wage earners of this country and thereby makes a contribution to their well-being we will then have taken a long step toward a solution of the labor trouble. This will be striking at the root of the matter and removing the cause of unrest. I do not subscribe to the theory that in order to keep the workingman satisfied he must be kept in ignorance and darkness. The trained workman finds little difficulty in obtaining a just reward for his labor, but the untrained man can not obtain as much in return for his effort as he feels that he should have. Consequently his sense of injustice is forever asserting itself in one form or another. Give him a fair chance by helping him to develop and utilize the talent he possesses and he will show his appreciation by being a better citizen and making his contribution in return to the national welfare and strength. This bill when enacted into law will add further importance and recognition to labor, which will have an effect in the mind and heart of the man who toils daily, but feels that he is fighting life's battles alone and unassisted. It will not deteriorate or minimize the importance of cultural education, but, on the other hand, will utilize the fundamental learning now given to our children, but which is almost entirely lost when they go to work with their hands, as most of them must do. Instead of their education being entirely foreign to the work they must follow in life, let it become a part of their work. The result will be greater efficiency all along the line, and the effect upon our social and economic life will be wholesome.

Those European countries that have done their duty in this respect have found cause to be thankful for their foresight. It is stated in the report on this bill that in the little German kingdom of Bavaria, with a population only a little greater than New York City, there are more trade schools than are to be found in all the United States. In Munich alone there are more than in 12 of the largest cities of our country. Can we doubt that this has had a great part in bringing about the wonderful efficiency of that country in peace as well as in war? There can be no doubt that the wonderful solidarity and almost superhuman strength of the German nation is due in no small measure to the fact that for generations that country has offered vocational training to every German citizen who could profit by it in his life work.

From the standpoint of agriculture, it is alarming to know that in hundreds of the rural counties in the United States the population is growing less every year. In several hundred such counties the population is now less than it was 25 years ago. Happily, the revival of interest in farming in the last few years and the demonstration of the fact that intelligence properly directed in that occupation brings as good returns as in any other, has in a measure stopped this abnormal drift of untrained workers from the farms to the industrial centers. But many who owned small farms have made this change, which has been on a larger scale than one would think without investigation. However much they may have suffered by the change, they will not return to the farms until they know that a better opportunity is there for them. Their changing in such large numbers from the farms to the factories has been unfortunate in that it has swollen the ranks of the untrained army of consumers and has reduced the number of producers. This has had its effect in contributing to the high cost of living, which is bound to increase to all in proportion to the number who cease to be producers and become consumers. If a plan can be devised to make agricultural pursuits more profitable and attractive to that class who have abandoned it because they despaired of success and have taken up other work for which they are little, if any, better prepared, it is evident that the tendency to go back to agriculture would be a great factor toward restoring the balance between supply and demand.

In conclusion, I desire to say that to have been a member of the Committee on Education and to have had a part in framing this bill, which I hope and believe will soon become a law, will ever be remembered by me as one of the most pleasant incidents of my public career.

Vocational Education.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. S. D. FESS,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 2, 1917.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, in the early part of this session I addressed the House upon the provisions of the bill (S. 703) now before us. At that time I did not enter upon the principles of vocational education so much as the details of the bill. I then promised myself and the House at some future date I would set out in extenso the importance of national aid to vocational education.

It is all but a universal opinion that vocational education is of vast importance to State and Nation. As the country grows older the importance intensifies. In Europe, where the bread-and-butter issue is commanding the front of the stage, education for efficient employment is of prime importance. In this country, so young and so prodigal of resource, the importance of conservation and development of our natural as well as national resources is not yet commanding. But the time is now at hand when that feature demands attention.

As the scale of resource falls or lowers, that of efficient labor must rise. The supply must keep pace with demand. If demand continues to increase, both by the growth of population and the multiplicity of our tastes, the supply must likewise increase

either by an increase of resource or by an augmentation of finished product from the given resource by efficient labor and scientific methods of production. In agriculture we can not hope to indefinitely increase our acreage. It will soon be a fixed sum. We have some swamps to reclaim, some deserts to irrigate, and some mountain slopes to command, but the limit will soon be reached. On the other hand, our population is striding by the millions, our tastes are increasing with our abilities, and our demands are multiplyng with equal pace. The problem is not to increase the acreage but to make the acre produce double, treble, or quadruple what it now produces. That is the work of brain, of scientific application of efficient methods of production. The farmer must be a trained agriculturist. This is one phase of vocational training.

Vocational training has also the greater value of preventing the waste of human energy. As I said when I addressed the House before, our chief concern here so far as labor is concerned is with three classes, all too frequent among our youth of to-day:

(1) The unemployed, or the army of idle children; (2) the improperly employed, where misfits are observed; and (3) the imperfectly employed, where energy capable is stunted by lack of direction.

All of these sources supply a total loss of useful product of labor that is frightful. Vocational education will help to correct these errors and close up these leaks to human energy.

In the old days the youth was usually apprenticed to learn a trade. While there was some good in it, it grew into disfavor more or less. Its value was therefore largely lost by an unfriendly public attitude because of a sort of involuntary servitude it permitted. Vocational education must do in a better way what in other days was accomplished by that system. Labor must produce in the mind of the laborer a feeling of self-respect and dignity. It must find a way to dignify the work of the hands without the seeming odor of an involuntary service of a period of time. Every man who has observed the problem knows the trained worker will discount wonderfully the untrained. This fact is as it should be, just as brain accomplishment should be everywhere and always recognized. The added product of his hands is not the chief advantage, but the attitude of mind of the worker toward his work where his handicraft reflects intelligent direction of a citizen among you is the main accomplishment. As industry grows, the demands for efficient workers increase. These demands call for an organized system of vocational education for its supply.

In these days of high cost of living the solution will not come by resolutions in Congress, nor debates on economic subjects, but by increasing the supply of what the populace demands and is willing to pay for. As labor is the chief element of cost, the problem is to increase the day's output without multiplying hours of work or numbers of laborers, but by trained efficiency the product of the hand. This is a chief field of vocational education. When we reflect that we are in competition with the world, a part of which is girding itself with the most efficient workers by making out of every citizen a trained laborer, it is not too much to say our standing as a nation will depend upon our methods of meeting that competition.

These foregoing grounds for this sort of education are generally economic. There are other and far-reaching grounds. One object of legislation on this subject would be to democratize our education. While at the open door of the public school as at no other place in our great country we see the manifestation of democracy, since side by side stand the child of the rich and the child of the poor, yet there is not an equal opportunity for each, as the one rests on what is provided by a provident hand and the other must depend upon the fortuitous chance of employment of his talents. While I admit that it would be practically impossible to distinguish the rich pupil from his poor seat mate, there is a difference. The large per cent of the poor class leave the school at an early age, and their only hope of self-support—his training for life—is gone. Any system of education that will enable the youth of 12 or 14 years who stands by the side of his better-favored classmate to continue a preparation that will enable him by his ability to do to continue by his side until, perchance, he steps above him, as would most probably occur, will help to democratize the Nation to the everlasting good of all concerned. This feature of necessity to work for wages at an early day, as is so apparent in multitudes of homes in our country, necessitates the inauguration of the part-time and evening-school system. I discussed this phase of vocational education in the early part of the session and need not, therefore, repeat it here at this time. Suffice it to say it is probably the greatest single step in modern education.

One of the cardinal principles of a wise system of education is to "learn to do by doing." This was held as a maxim in educational philosophy. Vocational education emphasizes this principle. by demanding an articulate association of practice with theory. It even says that the two must be so treated as the one is but a demonstration of the other. The all-day school should see to it that fully one-half of the time should be spent in the field if it is agricultural education or the shop if industrial or the home if home economics education. This working phase of education tends not only to dignify the hand, but it humanizes it, and democratizes the worker. This in time will tend to give to the element of utility the same rank as to the cultural. It, on the other hand, will not magnify the devotee of culture who too frequently qualifies himself as one who needs not work over the artisan who has chosen to dignify his training in the accomplishment of his hand. This will act as a leveler to eliminate the foolish demarcation of society in which the artisan is sharply differentiated from the artist, with no especial mark of his art. This achievement is in the line of democratizing American life. This new standard of recognition among one's fellows will not only tend to disquiet the prejudices, but it will erect new standards of living to the plane of self-respect to rest upon what one achieves, rather than the accident of family name, birth, or fortune. Vocational education should have these general effects, which make its results national from the very outset.

There are those who think that vocational training should be left to the States. It is argued that it is not a national question. Mr. Speaker, I have stated the general grounds for this new step in our education, and I feel sure every ground argues it a national import. There are States in this Union in which this education would be important but which could not successfully alone carry it on, due to the already overburden of caring for general education. There are States with such widely varying resources that an education to develop them would be a national asset. Labor is so volatile, so mobile that a worker trained in one State is quite likely to devote his energies in other States. A very large per cent of our citizens live in communities other than those in which they were born. In other words, burdens required to train a worker may not be compensated by that worker remaining in the State which assumed the burdens; he may operate in various States; his service is national and his training should be assisted by the Nation. The problem of vocational training frequently takes on a national phase, not only in its comprehensiveness, but in its character. The size of the problem is commensurate with the national importance of its proper solution.

While education of the youth has ever been looked upon as an important problem, it is properly magnified when the General Government thinks well enough of it not only to support it as a State asset, but to assist the States in producing the maximum result. The Bureau of Education has never been given the rank here in our country that it has in Europe, especially in Germany, where it is of prime importance and rank. This step advances toward that recognition and should be applauded by all as a step forward in a most important matter.

Vocational education invites a field of expert study and investigation. We have the rarest facilities here in the various Government agencies to conduct these investigations. They can not be made by the States. They can be and should be made by the Nation. In this way the problem can be studied not only as a national one, but in all its relations to the various States, with their varied conditions.

The problem is peculiarly national, and while the Nation will not supersede the State in its school system, it must assist the State to reach the results needed and only possible through national assistance.

Mr. Speaker, most naturally since education has always been strictly held a State matter, the question at once arises, Is the proposed national aid constitutional? We now and then hear a criticism of our system on the ground that America has no educational system. True, as a Nation we have no national educational system. However, we have 48 State systems quite generally uniform, but sufficiently varied to suit localities. We will never have an obliteration of State lines. This bill is written on the basis to make no interference whatever with the States. It supplies aid to be applied by the States when minimum requirements are met by them. It therefore will be strictly within the purview of the Constitution. It is supported by various precedents of former national aid to education within the States. The various State colleges for mechanical and agricultural training, commonly known as the land-grant colleges, were established by national aid. To be exact, there are 68 such institutions within the States of the United States, and they very largely supply the expert training for the teaching of kindred subjects in the various parts of the country. Either associated or separate normal schools have received and

expended the funds derived from at least a million and a half acres for the preparation of teachers for those secondary schools which teach home economics, elementary agriculture, and manual training.

This Federal aid has not been confined to work in the recitation, or to be more specific for classroom instruction, but has extended to research, experimental, and field demonstration work. Only just recently the Congress provided for adult agricultural extension work through the Smith-Lever bill. Even these activities do not comprehend the sum of Federal activities in education in the States. Millions of dollars have been appropriated and expended through various bureaus and divisions of the Government for collection and dissemination of useful information which in a very specific way augments the sum of useful knowledge of the teachers and pupils. The work of the present Agricultural Department is a vast organization at a mammoth annual cost to carry on the work of popular education in agriculture on a large scale. In the 60 years since President Buchanan vetoed the first bill creating the State agricultural and mechanical college on the ground that it would tend to induce the State to lean upon the Federal Government for educational facilities, there has been some opposition to persist. However, Buchanan's fear was not justified, because for every dollar the Federal Government gave the State spent more. In 1911 the proportion was 1 to 4. During these years there have been passed 42 acts in all providing Federal assistance. The total national grants, taken from Monroe's Cyclopedia of Education, I here append:

Grant and purpose.	Acres granted.	Fund derived from sales.	Probable future income.[1]	Total income.
1. For common schools:				
Sections for schools	81,064,300	[1] 103,000,000	[1] 410,000,000	[1] 513,000,000
Saline grants	900,000	1,000,000		1,000,000
Five per cent of land sales		7,187,316	7,000,000	14,000,000
Surplus revenue		14,000,000		14,000,000
Internal improvement act	5,000,000	6,000,000	8,000,000	14,000,000
Swamp-land grants	45,000,000	15,000,000	2,000,000	17,000,000
Forest reserve per cent		1,000,000	[1] 25,000,000	26,000,000
Total	131,964,300	147,187,316	452,000,000	[2] 599,000,000
2. Aid for higher education:				
University grants	3,407,643	5,000,000	27,500,000	32,500,000
Land-grant colleges—				
Grants of land	11,367,832	13,736,178	25,000,000	39,000,000
Experiment station grants		14,000,000	[1] 30,000,000	44,000,000
Laws 1890 and 1907		23,920,000	[1] 62,500,000	86,420,000
Total	14,775,475	56,656,178	145,000,000	[2] 200,920,000
3. Grants for other types of schools:				
Normal schools	1,500,000	2,500,000	17,500,000	20,000,000
Deaf, dumb, and blind	560,000		5,600,000	5,600,000
Reform schools	500,000		5,000,000	5,000,000
Total	2,560,000	2,500,000	28,100,000	30,600,000
4. Summary of grants	149,299,775	206,343,494	[2] 725,100,000	[2] 829,520,000

[1] Calculated for 20 years from 1911 at present rate of increase.
[2] These totals are not the correct sums of the items, but are given as shown in the work cited.

In the light of what has already been done few people will question our constitutional right to extend Federal aid to vocational education.

In the former grants it will be noted the aid was confined to such work as is usually done after the secondary education had been supplied by the State. This proposed grant looks to the youth of 14 to 18 who should be in school. Of the 4,500,000 pupils of that age now in the country fully half of them leave school before they reach 14. It is the character of citizenship these delinquents will make if not provided with the instruments of good citizens that invokes the interest and concern of the Government. If those necessary elements are wanting, it is a proper function of this Government to supply them. For after all every dollar expended by either State or Nation for education must be justified by the promise of a better citizenship, since the chief business of government is to promote a higher rank of citizenship.

Seeking the justification of the enactment of the present bill, which looks to an annual Federal expenditure of $7,000,000 when the sum shall have reached the maximum, I see at least a half dozen good reasons. While vocational training is generally desired and its merits recognized the States have not and probably most of them can not successfully carry it on unaided. In no State are there many such schools and not well equipped and but few teachers. Trained teachers are essential, and no State has either the needed corps nor the character of training modern industrial life demands. Without Federal aid it will not have. The financial burden of properly conducting either the actual vocational school or the training school for teachers is too heavy with requirements for general education for a State to meet it. If the National Government assists, it will magnify the importance of the education. It will stimulate the State to meet a standard that the Nation will suggest. The mobility of our population indicated by the large per cent of it which lives in places other than where born and the great diversity of our requirements in the various States make this a National rather than a State problem.

The inauguration and successful development of the system demand the cooperation of the General Government with its limitless facilities for making studies and investigations of the entire problem, which is large enough to enlist the Nation's best energies. These studies are important, as suggested by the Federal Commission on Vocational Education.

Mr. Speaker, I here insert the statement of the commission that the Members may refresh their minds upon the vast range of investigations such a system of education invites:

1. A study of the movement for vocational education in other countries which will, with constant reference to the similarities or differences between their conditions and our own, furnish this country with an authoritative estimate of the causes lying behind the movement, the progress and tendencies of the work, the efficiency of different types of schools and their adaptation to American conditions and needs, and the educational, social, and economic results.

2. A study of the different types of vocational schools of all kinds which are in operation in this country, interpreting their courses of study and methods of instruction, in terms of their adaptation to the aim of the school, and the conditions to which they are to be adjusted.

3. A study of the efficiency, not only of the different types of schools but of all the vocational schools of the country, as measured by the success of their students.

4. Full information each year as to the progress of vocational education in this country, bringing up to date the statistics concerning schools already established, and calling attention to changes and tendencies, while at the same time laying particular emphasis upon new schools and new experiments and devices.

5. Information concerning such things as buildings, equipment, cost of instruction, supplies, and courses and methods of instruction, which will furnish first-hand knowledge to those desiring to establish new schools.

Information for agricultural education: The Government has already done much to promote agricultural education through the Department of Agriculture. Large appropriations have been given, which the department has applied in making studies, investigations, and experiments concerning agriculture and agricultural processes, and the resulting information has not only been of use to the farmer but also to the agricultural schools in their courses of study.

Knowledge of agriculture is much more wildly disseminated than knowledge of other vocational processes. On some phases of agriculture exhaustive work has been done. These studies and investigations should be continued, to furnish materials for a more scientific agriculture, and their scope should be broadened to meet the needs of a wider range of persons in farm life.

Much of the work already done has been of a highly scientific character. This work should not be neglected, but it should be supplemented by studies of the simpler processes applicable to the more common and every-day problems of the farmer.

It is highly important that, from the great mass of data at hand and from data to be collected from further studies, more direct application be made to the use of the material in giving instruction in agriculture.

Information for home-economics education: Several of the Federal departments and bureaus have already made numerous valuable studies affording information useful in the development of home-economics education. A large part of this study has been along the line of foods—their preparation, composition, and nutritive values—and along the line of the construction, sanitation, and equipment of the farm home.

These studies have not only been of use in the country districts but they have been of wide value to schools and colleges for their courses of instruction in home economics. The results have been productive of so much good that the work should be enlarged and extended with a view to placing training for the maintenance and care of the home on a scientific basis. Aside from studies which directly benefit the individual home maker, there is great need of larger and more detailed information regarding vocations which are based on a knowledge of home economics—callings such as those of the dietician, the institutional manager, the matron, the lunch-room or tea-room manager, the professional cook, and other similar occupations.

The problem of home-economics training for the great mass of girls who spend their early years as wage earners in stores, shops, and factories is also one for serious consideration and investigation, and one that has as yet hardly been touched, although it is perhaps more important and far-reaching than any other. Especially needed are such studies as those relating to the purchase and care of clothing, the conservation of health and the maintenance of efficiency through proper food and exercise, the planning of personal and household budgets, the proper sanitation and ventilation of home and workroom surroundings. Such studies as these and many others will be greatly needed in the development of part-time education for girls who are already at work and would also be highly valuable in developing courses in home economics for young housekeepers who have not had the opportunity for such training in our schools.

While approving of every possible means of extending the more scientific studies and research for the development of home economics, the commission feels that the particular need at the present time is for material which will reach down to the average girl who goes neither to high school nor to college, but upon whose training for the care of a home and family the future welfare of society will largely depend.

Information for commercial education: What has been said before of the need of wider knowledge for agriculture and for industries is equally true in general as to commerce for the purposes of commercial education. Among the many questions concerning which the country should have information for use in the training of commercial workers the following have been suggested:

Supply and demand for trained commercial workers.

Distribution of commercial workers.

Selection and placement of commercial workers.

Descriptive analysis of the world of commercial pursuits in the broad lines of employment, such as banking, accounting, business management, executive service, salesmanship, and ordinary clerical work.

Descriptive analysis of each one of these lines of employment into specific occupations and of each occupation into such important factors as source of supply of commercial workers; prevailing salaries; demands upon the worker as to general and commercial education; opportunities offered for training for higher responsibility; next position in regular order; how far previous experience prepares for the next position; the additional school training necessary as proper preparation for advancement.

The changing conditions of commerce, which bring changing requirements upon the commercial workers in any line of commercial employment.

The requirements upon commercial workers in dealing with foreign commerce.

The number and classes of foreign commercial schools of different types.

Information for trade and industrial education: We now furnish a large amount of information to aid the farmer in meeting his problems. It is just as necessary that the Government should supply knowledge for the better preparation of human labor in industry as that it should furnish information concerning soil fertility, fertilizers, pests, insects, and the best methods of farm organization for the farmer.

There is a great and pressing need for an analysis of our industries as the first step in forwarding an intelligent program for the training of industrial workers. We need an intensive study of the requirements upon wage earners in the specific occupations into which each industry is divided. Not until this is done will it be possible to know in an accurate and comprehensive way the particular kinds of training which any group of workers should have or how that training can best be given.

Among other helps for industrial education, we need such things as the following:

To analyze the industries into their branches or occupations.

To ascertain what the worker in each of these occupations needs in skill and knowledge.

To learn how far this skill and knowledge can be obtained in regular work in the occupation.

To know what use is made of apprenticeship, cooperative, and trade agreement plans for the training of workers in any industry.

To know what the industry fails to give in the way of skill and knowledge that the worker needs for thorough efficiency.

To learn what the school can do in this connection.

To make careful reports from time to time, showing the progress, present conditions, problems, and tendencies throughout the country of the movement for industrial education.

To secure timely knowledge of pronounced changes in industrial processes, materials, and organizations which affect the proper education of workers to meet trade requirements.

There are many other questions that should be answered, of which the following are examples:

What is the preferred age for beginners in any given industry in this country?

What are the upper and lower limits as to the age of the efficient worker in any given occupation?

What are the upper and lower limits as to the wage received?

What are the sources of supply for workers in a given occupation?

What are the physical requirements upon the worker in a given occupation, such as strength, endurance, quickness, deftness, fineness of sight, accuracy?

How long does it usually take to train a worker for a given occupation?

What are the occupations within an industry to which a worker may advance?

How far does the work of his present occupation prepare the worker to meet the requirements of the new one?

What is the supply and demand for workers in the various industries and occupations?

In which industries and occupations is there the greatest opportunity at the present, or any given time, for desirable employment?

Only with such knowledge will it be possible to place industrial education in this country upon an intelligent basis. Only when we have learned these things will we be able to standardize the requirements for teachers, develop proper courses of study and correct methods of teaching, and measure the efficiency of the schools in terms of what their students are able to achieve. Some agency able to cope with the problem must assist the States in this task.

The need is as great for information concerning trade and industry for use in preparing workers to manufacture goods as it is for information concerning agriculture for use in the training of farmers. The high degree of specialization in industry, the complex character of both our manufacturing processes and industrial organization, and the rapid and pronounced changes in our manufacturing life make the need for such a survey particularly urgent. In a nation-wide attempt to educate our wage earners, such intensive surveys of all kinds of occupations present a field for national service by Government agencies as large and important as it is indispensable and difficult.

It is not possible to rely upon individual employers for the information necessary for a program of industrial education national in its scope. Individual employers have had little or no experience in dealing with such problems in the large, and they would, of course, be inclined to look at it only from the standpoint of their own limited interest and outlook. Furthermore, to attempt the work in this way would result only in a piecemeal job. Each manufacturer would naturally find out things which might be of general use, but would employ them only for his own benefit. This would obviously result in a large duplication of effort. Even if the investigations of individual manufacturers were well made, there would be no opportunity for comparing results. Furthermore, there could not be the widespread publicity necessary to make such results available to everybody having the same questions to face.

Neither could the task be adequately accomplished through national organizations of employers. Such organizations have had little if any experience in doing this work. There are, comparatively speaking, few great national organizations of employers which are equipped to undertake such a task. The present interests of such organizations would not induce them to take the time or money necessary. There are, moreover, certain grave differences between employers and employees regarding certain matters in industrial training, and these differences might easily prove a handicap to either national labor organizations or national associations of employers if either attempted to handle this matter.

This method of getting information through special interests would require a long time, even if it could be successfully accomplished in the end. It would mean piecemeal and irregular studies with disconnected results and the absence not only of a country-wide and unbiased point of view and method of approach but also of the publicity which would be of the greatest benefit to all concerned.

The States can not deal individually with this matter: No State is adequately equipped to handle it; no State has had any considerable experience, at least, with this kind of investigation; no State has even made a beginning in such work, nor could any State possibly have the necessary nation-wide point of view. Furthermore, a study of this kind by the States acting separately would be open to practically all the objections given above.

The work must be done by the National Government: The training of our workers is a national question. It requires a national outlook to approach it properly. The National Government is the one unbiased agency for the task, and the only one capable of making comprehensive studies, which will be useful everywhere. Both States and individuals would have confidence in the work performed and the information disseminated by the Federal Government.

Mr. Speaker, having but recently discussed the details of the bill now before us, I need not here repeat what I then said. Suffice it to say that we in this bill confine Federal aid to but two activities: First, the part payment of salaries in agricultural, trade, industrial, and home economic teaching and supervision, and, secondly, to the training of teachers for this work.

To the first activity we devote as an initial expenditure $1,000,000 the first year, $500,000 to agricultural and $500,000 to trade, industrial, and home economics teaching. This is increased $250,000 per year for the two kinds of teaching until 1923, when each sum will reach $2,000,000, then an annual increase of $500,000 until 1925, when each sum will reach the maximum of $3,000,000, totaling in the two fields of teaching the maximum of $6,000,000 per annum for payment of salaries. For the training of teachers the initial sum is $500,000, and the maximum of $1,000,000 is reached three years later. This makes an application of $7,000,000 annually by the Federal Government to be matched by the States with a like sum. When fully in operation the minimum investment by both Nation and State will be $14,000,000. In the light of former national assistance we may predict an increase by the States of from two to three times this amount.

At first it was thought the apportionment should be made in accordance with the needs based upon per cent of illiteracy of the States. This was not favorably regarded. It would have at once raised the question of gratuitous assistance rather than cooperative help. It was decided to make the State's quota for agricultural purposes on the basis its agricultural population holds to the total agricultural population of the Nation. Likewise was the apportionment made for trade and industrial education. The pork-barrel element was obviated by requiring each State to meet the Federal Government halfway. Once set this plan on foot, and if a good thing the States will prove it.

This plan of apportionment would give some States a very small sum for one or the other purpose. Delaware, for example, would get only $1,050 for agricultural work. The commission, believing such small sums would be but waste, fixed a $5,000 minimum up to 1923 and $10,000 thereafter for each State for agriculture, also for trade and industrial, also for training of teachers. This provision was indorsed by the committee as a wise step. These minimum sums will require additional appropriations; the sums are set out in the bill. As this specific feature is of importance to each Member of the Congress I will here set out the several amounts that each State will receive as reported by the President's Vocational Commission. It will be observed that 16 States will come in for this additional help in agriculture, and 24 in trade and industrial subjects, to make up the first allotment of $5,000, and 8 States for agriculture and 9 States in trade, and so forth, to make up the final minimum of $10,000. Seventeen States will come in for minimum help in the training of teachers.

The permanent additional appropriation will be:

Salaries for agricultural teaching	$33,500
Salaries for trade and industrial teaching	54,500
Training of all these classes	88,400
Total additional appropriation	176,400

Table showing amounts which each State would receive for the salaries of teachers, supervisors, or directors of agricultural subjects under the proposals of the commission.

[Allotments in proportion to the total rural population according to the last preceding United States census. Each State is guaranteed not less than $5,000 for each year prior to the close of the fiscal year 1921–22, and not less than $10,000 for each year thereafter.][1]

State.	Rural population.		Allotment, 1915–16.	Maximum allotment, 1923–24.	Special allotment to guarantee $5,000 to each State in 1915–16.[2]	Special allotment to guarantee $10,000 to each State in 1922–23.[2][3]
	Number, 1910.	Per centage distribution.				
Alabama	1,767,662	3.58	$17,900	$107,400		
Arizona	141,094	.29	1,450	8,700	$3,550	$2,750
Arkansas	1,371,768	2.78	13,900	83,400		
California	907,810	1.84	9,200	55,200		
Colorado	394,184	.80	4,000	24,000	1,000	
Connecticut	114,917	.23	1,150	6,900	3,850	4,250
Delaware	105,237	.21	1,050	6,300	3,950	4,750
Florida	533,529	1.08	5,400	32,400		
Georgia	2,070,471	4.20	21,000	126,000		
Idaho	255,696	.52	2,600	15,600	2,400	
Illinois	2,161,662	4.38	21,900	131,400		
Indiana	1,557,041	3.16	15,800	94,800		
Iowa	1,544,717	3.13	15,650	93,900		
Kansas	1,197,159	2.43	12,150	72,900		
Kentucky	1,734,463	3.51	17,550	105,300		
Louisiana	1,159,872	2.35	11,750	70,500		
Maine	360,928	.73	3,650	21,900	1,350	
Maryland	637,154	1.29	6,450	38,700		
Massachusetts	241,049	.49	2,450	14,700	2,550	
Michigan	1,483,129	3.01	15,050	90,300		
Minnesota	1,225,414	2.48	12,400	74,400		
Mississippi	1,589,808	3.22	16,100	96,600		
Missouri	1,894,518	3.84	19,200	115,200		
Montana	242,633	.49	2,450	14,700	2,550	
Nebraska	881,362	1.79	8,950	53,700		
Nevada	68,508	.14	700	4,200	4,300	6,500
New Hampshire	175,473	.36	1,800	10,800	3,200	1,000
New Jersey	629,957	1.28	6,400	38,400		
New Mexico	280,230	.56	2,800	16,800	2,200	
New York	1,928,120	3.91	19,550	117,300		
North Carolina	1,887,813	3.83	19,150	114,900		
North Dakota	513,820	1.04	5,200	31,200		
Ohio	2,101,978	4.25	21,250	127,500		
Oklahoma	1,337,060	2.71	13,550	81,300		
Oregon	365,705	.74	3,700	22,200	1,300	
Pennsylvania	3,034,442	6.15	30,750	184,500		
Rhode Island	17,956	.04	200	1,200	4,800	9,000
South Carolina	1,290,568	2.62	13,100	78,600		
South Dakota	507,215	1.03	5,150	30,900		
Tennessee	1,734,744	3.53	17,650	105,900		
Texas	2,958,438	5.99	29,950	179,700		
Utah	200,417	.40	2,000	12,000	3,000	
Vermont	187,013	.38	1,900	11,400	3,100	500
Virginia	1,585,083	3.21	16,050	96,300		
Washington	536,460	1.09	5,450	32,700		
West Virginia	992,877	2.01	10,050	60,300		
Wisconsin	1,329,540	2.69	13,450	80,700		
Wyoming	102,744	.21	1,950	6,300	3,950	4,750
Total, United States	49,348,883	100.00	500,000	3,000,000	47,050	33,500

[1] The amounts are based on the census of 1910. They would, of course, be changed somewhat by the census of 1920 for all allotments after that year.

[2] Since the total appropriation to the States is increasing each year the amount of the special allotment to the smaller States necessary to guarantee $5,000 annually and $10,000 annually will, of course, decrease each year.

[3] Based on the apportionment of $2,500,000.

Table showing amount which each State would receive for the salaries of teachers of trade and industrial subjects under the proposals of the commission.

[Allotments in proportion to the total urban population, according to the last preceding United States census. Each State is guaranteed not less than $5,000 for each year prior to the close of the fiscal year 1921–22, and not less than $10,000 for each year thereafter.][1]

State.	Urban population.		Allotment, 1915–16.	Maximum allotment, 1923–24.	Special allotment to guarantee $5,000 to each State in 1915–16.[2]	Special allotment to guarantee $10,000 to each State beginning 1922–23.[2][3]
	Number.	Percentage distribution.				
Alabama	370,431	0.87	$4,350	$26,100	$650	
Arizona	63,260	.15	750	4,500	4,250	$6,250
Arkansas	202,681	.48	2,400	14,400	2,600	
California	1,469,739	3.45	17,250	103,500		
Colorado	404,840	.95	4,750	28,500	250	
Connecticut	999,339	2.35	11,750	70,500		
Delaware	97,085	.23	1,150	6,900	3,850	4,250
District of Columbia	331,069	.78				
Florida	219,080	.51	2,550	15,300	2,450	

[1] The amounts are based on the census of 1910. They would, of course, be changed somewhat by the census of 1920 for all allotments after that year.

[2] Since the total appropriation to the States is increasing each year, the amount of the special allotment to the smaller States necessary to guarantee $5,000 annually and $10,000 annually will, of course, decrease each year.

[3] Based on the apportionment of $2,500,000.

Table showing amount which each State would receive for the salaries of teachers of trade and industrial subjects, etc.—Continued.

State.	Urban population.		Allotment, 1915–16.	Maximum allotment, 1923–24.	Special allotment to guarantee $5,000 to each State in 1915–16.	Special allotment to guarantee $10,000 to each State beginning 1922–23.
	Number.	Percentage distribution.				
Georgia	538,650	1.26	$6,300	$37,800		
Idaho	69,898	.16	800	4,800	$4,200	$6,000
Illinois	3,476,929	8.16	40,800	244,800		
Indiana	1,143,835	2.68	13,400	80,400		
Iowa	680,654	1.60	8,000	48,000		
Kansas	493,790	1.16	5,800	34,800		
Kentucky	555,442	1.30	6,500	39,000		
Louisiana	496,516	1.16	5,800	34,800		
Maine	381,443	.89	4,500	27,000	500	
Maryland	658,192	1.54	7,700	46,200		
Massachusetts	3,125,367	7.33	36,650	219,900		
Michigan	1,327,044	3.11	15,550	93,300		
Minnesota	850,294	1.99	9,950	59,700		
Mississippi	207,311	.49	2,450	14,700	2,550	
Missouri	1,398,817	3.28	16,400	98,400		
Montana	133,420	.31	1,550	9,300	3,450	2,250
Nebraska	310,852	.73	3,650	21,900	1,350	
Nevada	13,367	.03	150	900	4,850	9,250
New Hampshire	255,099	.60	3,000	18,000	2,000	
New Jersey	1,907,210	4.47	22,350	134,100		
New Mexico	46,571	.11	550	3,300	4,450	7,250
New York	7,185,494	16.86	84,300	505,800		
North Carolina	318,474	.75	3,750	22,500	1,250	
North Dakota	63,236	.15	750	4,500	4,250	6,250
Ohio	2,665,143	6.25	31,250	187,500		
Oklahoma	320,155	.75	3,750	22,500	1,250	
Oregon	307,060	.72	3,600	21,600	1,400	
Pennsylvania	4,630,669	10.86	54,300	325,800		
Rhode Island	524,654	1.23	6,150	36,900		
South Carolina	224,832	.53	2,650	15,900	2,350	
South Dakota	75,673	.18	900	5,400	4,100	5,500
Tennessee	441,045	1.03	5,150	30,900		
Texas	938,104	2.20	11,000	66,000		
Utah	172,934	.41	2,050	12,300	2,950	
Vermont	168,943	.40	2,000	12,000	3,000	
Virginia	476,529	1.12	5,600	33,600		
Washington	605,530	1.42	7,100	42,600		
West Virginia	228,242	.54	2,700	16,200	2,300	
Wisconsin	1,004,320	2.36	11,800	70,800		
Wyoming	43,221	.10	500	3,000	4,500	7,500
Total, United States	42,623,383	100.00	500,000	3,000,000	64,750	54,500

Table showing amount which each State would receive for the training of teachers under the proposals of the commission.

[Allotments in proportion to total population according to the last preceding United States census. Each State is guaranteed not less than $5,000 for each year prior to the close of the fiscal year 1918, and $10,000 for each year thereafter.][1]

State.	Population.		Allotment, 1915–16.	Maximum allotment, 1918–19, and annually thereafter.	Special allotment to guarantee $5,000 to each State in 1915–16.[2]	Special allotment to guarantee $10,000 to each State beginning 1918–19.[2]
	Number.	Percentage distribution.				
Alabama	2,138,093	2.32	$11,600	$23,200		
Arizona	204,354	.22	1,100	2,200	$3,900	$7,800
Arkansas	1,574,449	1.71	8,550	17,100		
California	2,377,549	2.58	12,900	25,800		
Colorado	799,024	.87	4,350	8,700	650	1,300
Connecticut	1,114,756	1.21	6,050	12,100		
Delaware	202,322	.22	1,100	2,200	3,900	7,800
District of Columbia	331,069	.36				
Florida	752,619	.82	4,100	8,200	900	1,800
Georgia	2,609,121	2.84	14,200	28,400		
Idaho	325,594	.35	1,750	3,500	3,250	6,500
Illinois	5,638,591	6.13	30,650	61,300		
Indiana	2,700,876	2.94	14,700	29,400		
Iowa	2,224,771	2.42	12,100	24,200		
Kansas	1,690,949	1.84	9,200	18,400		
Kentucky	2,289,905	2.49	12,450	24,900		
Louisiana	1,656,388	1.80	9,000	18,000		
Maine	742,371	.81	4,050	8,100	950	1,900
Maryland	1,295,346	1.41	7,050	14,100		
Massachusetts	3,366,416	3.66	18,300	36,600		
Michigan	2,810,173	3.05	15,250	30,500		
Minnesota	2,075,708	2.26	11,300	22,600		
Mississippi	1,797,114	1.95	9,750	19,500		
Missouri	3,293,335	3.58	17,900	35,800		
Montana	376,053	.41	2,050	4,100	2,950	5,900
Nebraska	1,192,214	1.30	6,500	13,000		
Nevada	81,875	.09	450	900	4,550	9,100
New Hampshire	430,572	.47	2,350	4,700	2,650	5,300
New Jersey	2,537,167	2.76	13,800	27,600		
New Mexico	327,301	.36	1,800	3,600	3,200	6,400
New York	9,113,614	9.91	49,550	99,100		
North Carolina	2,206,287	2.40	12,000	24,000		

[1] The amounts are based on the census of 1910. They will, of course, be changed somewhat by the census of 1920 for all allotments after that year.

[2] Since the total appropriation to the States is increasing each year, the amount of the special allotment to the smaller States necessary to guarantee $5,000 annually and $10,000 annually will, of course, decrease each year.

Table showing amount which each State would receive for the training of teachers under the proposals of the commission—Continued.

State.	Population.		Allotment, 1915–16.	Maximum allotment, 1918–19, and annually thereafter.	Special allotment to guarantee $5,000 to each State in 1915–16.	Special allotment to guarantee $10,000 to each State beginning 1918–19.
	Number.	Percentage distribution.				
North Dakota	577,056	0.63	$3,150	$6,300	$1,850	$3,700
Ohio	4,767,121	5.18	25,900	51,800	.....	.....
Oklahoma	1,657,155	1.80	9,000	18,000	.....	.....
Oregon	672,765	.73	3,650	7,300	1,350	2,700
Pennsylvania	7,665,111	8.33	41,650	83,300	.....	.....
Rhode Island	542,610	.59	2,950	5,900	2,050	4,100
South Carolina	1,515,400	1.65	8,250	16,500	.....	.....
South Dakota	583,888	.63	3,150	6,300	1,850	3,700
Tennessee	2,184,789	2.37	11,850	23,700	.....	.....
Texas	3,896,542	4.24	21,200	42,400	.....	.....
Utah	373,351	.41	2,050	4,100	2,950	5,900
Vermont	355,956	.39	1,950	3,900	3,050	6,100
Virginia	2,061,612	2.24	11,200	22,400	.....	.....
Washington	1,141,990	1.24	6,200	12,400	.....	.....
West Virginia	1,221,119	1.33	6,650	13,300	.....	.....
Wisconsin	2,333,860	2.54	12,700	25,400	.....	.....
Wyoming	145,965	.16	800	1,600	4,200	8,400
Total, United States.	91,972,266	100.00	500,000	1,000,000	44,200	88,400

The bill creates a Federal board to have charge of the entire field. This was regarded as the most important feature of this legislation. It received most careful consideration. There were many suggestions on this board. The President's commission suggested a board made up of members of the Cabinet. This was a compromise. The Senate proposed an ex officio board made up of the Cabinet members, much after the commission's recommendation. Under this board a second board of specialists, representative in character, seven in number, with salaries from $5,000 to $7,000, is provided. It also provided an advisory board, without compensation save expenses, limited to $10 per day in addition to traveling expenses, and service limited to 30 days per year. The Senate provides an ex officio board without additional salary, a board of specialists with salaries, and an advisory board without compensation. The House proposes a board of five members, the chairman of which is the Commissioner of Education, and four associate members, to be appointed by the President, with a salary of $5,000, with powers to appoint other boards of specialists in case of need. The board is to be active and to cooperate with the executive heads. Other suggestions were made that the board should consist of five in number, to receive $7,500 salary, and the various activities to be expressly represented on the board, such as education, agriculture, labor, commerce, and manufacture. Still another suggestion was made that the board should consist of six in number, with the Secretary of Interior as ex officio member and the Commissioner of Education and four associate members to be appointed by the President as the active board. This would be similar to the Federal Reserve Board. Its chief claim was to connect up the work of the board with the Government department in charge. Still another suggestion was a board of seven, to consist of three ex officio members—Secretaries of Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor—and the Commissioner of Education, with three associate members to be appointed by the President. It was generally agreed that the work would demand a body of leaders of substantial ability.

An additional annual appropriation of $200,000 is required for administration work, to be used by the Federal board to carry on the needed investigations provided for in the requirements of the bill. These investigations are to be made in cooperation with the various departments of the Federal Government so far as is practical. This provision is mandatory in the House bill, but permissive in the Senate bill. This is to insure against neglect of any department of vocational training.

The bill requires the application of the funds to be made by the various States in order to preserve the State control of its education. However, the Government provides against a waste of funds in the hands of the State authority. To safeguard the funds, the bill makes minimum requirements which must be met in order that the State may secure the aid. The State must by legislative act create a State board if no such board exists or designate a board to consist of not less than three persons who shall have charge of the application of the funds. This board must submit its plans showing the kinds of vocational education it proposes, the kinds of schools and equipment, courses of study, methods of teaching, qualifications of teachers, and so forth, and in agricultural education plans for supervision and similar facts in trade, industrial, and home economics education. These plans must meet the approval of the Federal board before the grant is made. The State board is required to make an annual report to the Federal board by the 1st of September. This report must cover the work done in the State and receipts and expenditures of money under this act. The State is under obligation to apply the money as designated, and must, as a necessary condition for the receipt of any Federal aid, bear all the expense required to supply the necessary supplemental education for the prevocational requirement. No part of the cost thereof shall come out of the appropriations herein authorized. Not more than 60 per cent nor less than 20 per cent can be used for training teachers for either subject. Some States are generally agricultural, while others are industrial. This provision permits a State to provide training according to its needs under limits.

The conditions the commission laid down as necessary to secure the funds, and which were separately specified for the different classes of teachers and supervisors, are as follows: First, grants are limited to schools supported and controlled by the public. The importance of this provision appears at once. It would not do to apply funds either to a private or purely denominational institution of learning. However good their work, Federal aid must be limited to such as are supported by public taxation. The education must be less than college grade. There is no wish to duplicate the work so well done already. That of college grade is amply cared for already, and the imperative need to-day is in the lower grades where it will insure the greatest good to the greatest number. The aid must be limited to pupils of 14 and over. It is well established that a child should not attempt to enter upon vocational work at an earlier period. It would be much better if the minimum could be increased, and it would be were it not that to reach the pupil who most needs this training it will be necessary to apply it before he leaves school. The compulsory laws of the States quite generally make 14 the compulsory school age. Hence, at this age we witness a veritable exodus from the schoolroom, which suggests a woeful ignorance of our parents on the value of public-school education.

This leads to the next condition, which requires the grant for such persons who have either entered upon or are about to enter upon some useful employment. Federal grants are herein confined to vocational education, and must not be used to give supplemental general education as a foundation of useful employment for which the vocational training is intended. This general education is one of the minimum requirements of the States which must be met by the States as a condition to secure the Federal grant. This act declares "that the amount expended for the maintenance of such education in any school," and so forth, "shall be not less annually than the amount fixed by the State board as the minimum, with the approval of the Federal board," and so forth.

The teachers contemplated in this act shall have such qualifications as shall be fixed by the State boards, by and with the approval of the Federal board. The law reads, "that the teachers," and so forth, "shall have at least the minimum qualifications determined by the State," and so forth. This requirement is essential to insure a high grade of teaching and supervision in the vocational field, that the best use may be made of the expenditure of public money. While the State fixes the qualifications they must meet the approval of the Government.

There are additional requirements specified to insure against waste of public funds. To make sure that the theoretical will not be divorced from the practical, the appropriation shall extend to field or shop work as well as recitation work. It goes to supervisors and directors in the agricultural fields, as well as to teachers. The State board must furnish the plant and equipment, which must be approved by the Federal board as the minimum requirement in such State for such pursuit. With the approval of the Federal board the State board will set up minimum requirements of such plant and equipment. The Federal board will not publish what the standard shall be, as the various States so widely differ that latitude should be allowed so that a flexible rule can be made applicable, but always under control of the Federal board. Every State should be required to expend a minimum amount, as an earnest of its sincerity to make a proper use of the Federal funds it secures. This sum must be large enough to insure against a frittering of the school fund granted by the Nation. While that sum can not be fixed, since all States are not alike, yet what it is must be left with the approval of the Federal board. The foregoing requirements, in connection with that other condition that the State must meet the Federal Government dollar for dollar, insure against a misuse of the national funds.

In legislation looking to an inauguration of trade, industrial, and home economics education by Federal aid, specific items

should be constantly kept in mind. As in the field of agricultural education the plant and its equipment meeting the requirements of the Federal board must be provided by the State. Wide differences among the States would suggest a flexible rule as to minimum requirements. The amount to be expended should be made large enough to insure against a waste of funds. This may not be the same in every State. Consequently, it will be left to the approval of the Federal board. The education must include demonstration work as well as classroom work, so the work in the shop is but the practical application of the principle learned in the classroom. As in agriculture, it was suggested the demonstration work should be at least six months in the year, so in trade and industry it should be at least half the year in shop work in the all-day schools which by the provisions of this bill must run nine months in the year and at least 30 hours per week throughout the year. In the part-time school, to which the bill makes special provision, the minimum would most probably be on classroom work and should not be less than 144 hours per year. That is just one-half the time required by the State of Pennsylvania where 8 hours per week, or 288 hours per year, are required. It is generally conceded that at least one-third of the funds to be granted should go to the part-time school. That proportion is made obligatory in this bill and is but a suggestion of the importance of the step in modern education. This would catch that array of pupils dropping out of school just at the age—the adolescent period—when direction is of greatest importance. At the age from 14 to 18 a youth is neither prepared to choose a vocation nor to follow one after choosing it. His future demands intelligent guidance by an influential teacher at that period above all others. The part-time schools to advantage by this act must fall under the minimum requirements fixed for the State by the State upon Federal approval as in case of all-day schools.

Mr. Speaker, this bill provides for three types of schools—the all-day school, the part-time school, and the evening school. All these types have been attempted in some of our cities, especially in Cincinnati; also in some States, as Pennsylvania. The all-day school is especially needed for the youth from 14 to 16. The introduction of vocational training in the all-day school will without a doubt hold thousands of our youths in the school which without such opportunity would leave it. This is borne out in the cities which have tried the experiment. Such training will doubtless save thousands of our future citizens from the life of an idler to that of useful employment. It will also help to close up the "blind alley" which begins nowhere and ends nowhere. The good effect upon our citizenship of such preparation can not well be estimated.

To insure the best results in the all-day school, the bill provides grants will be limited to those schools which will devote at least half the time to practice work on a productive or useful basis. Here the minimum is applied to the shop or field work rather than the classroom work; that is, the practice work is to carry out in handwork the principles taught in the recitation room, that there may be a rational connection between theory of classroom and practice of everyday life. It also provides that all-day schools should continue nine months in the year of 30 hours per week. The bill does not fix the number of years to be employed. Experience would indicate it should extend over a period of at least two years.

Mr. Speaker, it would seem the public would have a right to expect specific results to follow such all-day schools. It would most certainly, in the first place, increase the time in school of our children, who all must admit leave school too soon to become persistent object lessons of somebody's neglect. It will, in the second place, induce a wiser choice of vocation, both from an increase of intelligence and opportunity to detect aptitudes. It thus would help to avoid the round peg driven into the square hole. It would, in the third place, certainly insure greater success in the certain increase of respectability in the worker through the sense of greater skill in doing the thing at hand. It would thus assist the artisan to become the artist in the everyday work of life. By the time he leaves the all-day school to go to work his added stimulus will most certainly induce him to embrace the advantage of the part-time school to continue his preparation for a better position by promotion assured through added advancement in his ability to do. This fourth consideration is one of the great virtues of the part-time or continuation schools, and the all-day school, properly conducted, ought to lead to this most laudable ambition.

Mr. Speaker, as I said before on another occasion in this House, I look upon the part-time school as the most important step in modern education. When we can make practicable the plan of allowing boys or girls who are forced out of school to work for wages to so divide the time that they can study a part of the time and work for wages the other part and so connect the two that the one will be but an application in practice in the shop of the principles studied in the schoolroom, we have hit upon a solution of a great problem—efficiency in workmanship. Not only that solution, but these schools ought to insure a better social and civic result in the lives of the future citizens that pass through them. They also should increase the industrial intelligence of the workers as well as skill in performance and thus insure advancement in the trades. They will multiply our skilled workers by reducing the ranks of the bunglers and lessen the social and industrial unrest so apparent to-day, due largely to lack of interest in work because of small intelligence exercised by the worker. The general scope of a system of such education will comprehend a plan of promotion in a given trade or industry and thus keep before the eyes of the worker the goal to be reached by him who will pay the price. Courses so suited to juveniles that with their growth new occupations may open, will be an important feature of such a system of training when outlined by those charged with this work; such courses where the general advancement does not depend wholly upon skill of trade, but also upon increased civic and moral intelligence, will be provided that the civic and moral may have proper emphasis in the vocational activities of a community. Home economic courses for girls to make them effective in industry have received general attention throughout the country. In this bill some assistance will be granted as it is now proposed.

Mr. Speaker, there is no ambition that takes deeper hold upon the youth of our land than that to be self-supporting—in the common parlance, to be one's own boss. In thousands of cases this aspiration is fed upon the fear growing out of unhappy situations that point to a life of want because of the total absence of any promise from home which may be and frequently is entirely helpless to give the needed assistance. The great mass of the race comes into the world with no endowment save brain and brawn. The brain must be developed, the hand trained; if the home can not, nor will not, the Nation must, to insure against the needs of public charity.

It would be tragical to know the number of cases where the youth's future is blighted because the exigencies of the home force him out of school into some kind of work for a pittance. These exigencies are not of his making, and may be due to the needless shortcomings of the home. At that age the average youth, inexperienced and untutored, is most likely to embrace the opportunity to work as a welcome escape from a more unpleasant task—that of attending school, which too frequently is looked upon as a bore. He is too young to know what is before him, and his parents are often too neglectful, if not too ignorant, to know the almost certain results. The desire of the youth to get out of school, added to the willingness of the parent to collect his wage, permits an army of future American citizens to turn out of the way of a useful, as well as influential, position in the community to enter the road which leads into the "blind alleys" of life. This inevitable fruit of ignorance is the basis of compulsory-education legislation which all the States have enacted. Just what proportion of these unfortunates go out from necessity rather than choice we can not say, but this we know: Children leave school just so soon as the legal age is reached, and by the consent of the parents. But it is safe to assert that did a way open to continue an education by attending school part of the time and working for wages the other part, the period of training would not only be lengthened but the ranks of failures would become smaller, and the "blind alleys" less crowded. With the increase of school tenure will come the enlargement of vision of the pupil. Whatever be the number of pupils who leave school because of no taste for it, the part-time school will greatly increase the number who desire a training, and will multiply manyfold the number of youth who will become self-supporting in the struggle for a life of usefulness. It will place into the hands of the worthy and needy the instruments of applied thinking and will thus insure against the necessity of public charity. With our increasing complicated society the struggle of life will most surely increase in rigidity. For the untrained there is small hope. For the well-prepared the future holds great opportunities.

To the youth we love to say, "There are two ways open to you. You may choose which you will enter. The one leads to what the world will call success; the other to what it calls failure." A better figure would be: "There is a road that leads to success. It is open to him who fits himself to travel it. It closes to no one who chooses to meet the requirements to complete the journey. The one who chooses to continue in the way must make the necessary preparation and stand ready to take on the required equipment. That must come from such training as is required to do well the thing that the

world demands must be done. The better the training the better the deed."

The inspiration of all education is achievement. It is held aloft as the goal of all effort. It is easily the most distinguishing mark of the century in which we live. It sometimes is seen in this and sometimes in that field of endeavor. The world worships a victor. He becomes the star in every field of contest. Nothing succeeds like success. Our error has been in the past to confine the effort within the field of the professional. That field is overworked, while others are yet unentered. It must extend to the triumphs of the hand as well as brain. While making a life is a standard lifted higher than making a living, yet there is little life where there is no livelihood. On the other hand, making a living is but a condition to making a life.

Mr. Speaker, there is no tragedy quite so great as the failure of a human being. Likewise, there is no accomplishment quite equal to the assurance of the success of a human life. The nation that equips its youth with all the tools with which to work confers the greatest possible boon upon the future generations. Ours has done well in both the secondary education, and technical training in college and university. But up to date it has not emphasized that range of activity that looks to success in vocation as it has in profession.

Here is a bill which looks to the inauguration of such training in every State of the Union, be it agricultural, industrial, or both. It is written in the conviction that however much we may have done for those who will tread the higher levels of world accomplishments, we have but barely opened the way for that greater group who must remain on the lower levels to quietly tread the common road on which the mass of mankind will be found. The bill does not hope to lead from the lower to the higher levels so much as to enable those on the lower levels to acquit themselves with equal honor. It is written in the conviction that after all the real test of success is to be found in the life and spirit the worker puts into his work. Not so much the thing that is done as the way in which it is done will be the measure. For often in the final testing of the worth of a life the man or woman whose work reflects the consecration of brain and heart and hand, though his name be unknown outside of the smallest circle of his community because of the character of the work or the habits of the worker, will more truly meet the standard of real success than he whose achievements of tongue or pen may have commanded the plaudits of the world.

This legislation, Mr. Speaker, aims to reach that great mass of our citizenship which is unmoved by our present system and by the offer of the self-help which comes from proper education and training of head and hand to insure a gradual elevation from the lower to the higher levels of mankind, without compelling a change from vocation to profession. We are not so foolish as to claim everything for it. It can not be a cure-all for all the ills to which our body politic is heir. We do not hope by legislation to abolish thriftlessness, to eliminate indolence, to inhibit failure, or to banish poverty. These we will have with us always. But we do propose to make it easier to succeed and more difficult to fail. We propose here to open the road and point the way. When that is assured something worth while will have been accomplished. Whatever else may be the function of government, the materialization of the potentialities of her collective citizenship must ever be one of the chief concerns as well as supreme functions of national sovereignty.

Zone Postal System for Newspapers and Magazines.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES H. RANDALL,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 2, 1917.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, I do not know whether you would call it magnanimous hospitality or magnificent liberality, but whatever it is Uncle Sam goes the limit when he deals with the publishers of newspapers and magazines.

From the official report of the Third Assistant Postmaster General we learn that 1,202,470,676 pounds of newspapers and magazines were mailed during the last fiscal year, and that this was an increase of 93,000,000 pounds over the previous year, in spite of the high price of paper.

It will be interesting to speculate on what a billion pounds may mean in understandable terms. If the paper used in producing the newspapers and magazines handled by the post office last year should be loaded into freight cars to the capacity of 30,000 pounds each, 40,000 cars would be required to contain it. If these carloads of paper were made up in one train, that train would be 288 miles long; or if these cars were made up in trains of 30 cars each, 1,333 trains would be required to move this paper. If we should lease one of the tracks of the New York Central Railway from New York to Chicago, and were permitted to dispatch four trains daily between those cities, that would represent exactly the tonnage and distance transportation which the Post Office Department is giving to the periodical publishers of this country every day in the year.

And most amazing of all, this transportation does not bring a single cent of revenue to the Government. Many people think the periodical publishers pay 1 cent per pound for transportation of their product. They do not.

HIGHLY SPECIALIZED SERVICE.

The Post Office Department's assumption of mail transportation burdens for the people is only an incident in its vast special service organization. No organization ever existed which performed such a highly specialized and personal service as the post office does. It goes nine times daily to the top of the highest building in New York City in order to leave on the desk of a Wall Street broker or a life-insurance agent the very latest letter or paper which may have arrived in the mails for that person.

This service is given alike to the letter which pays 80 cents a pound in postage and to the periodical which pays 1 cent per pound. This service begins as soon as the letter or periodical is mailed at the initial office. In the case of second-class matter, which pays a service revenue of 1 cent per pound, a demonstration of the cost may be made by using the Ladies' Home Journal as an illustration. This publication weighs an average of 1 pound per copy, and when mailed at Philadelphia the publisher pays 1 cent toward the cost of delivering it to the subscriber, no matter where located in the United States or its island possessions. The first act is distribution by railway postal clerks on the mail trains. It is true that the publishers make up and label many sacks direct to the city in which the subscriber lives, if it happens that enough subscribers live in that city to require a sack. But this is only a fraction of the whole. The towns of Podunk, Ind.; Clarksville, Mo.; Mannville, Ill.; and Scotland Neck, N. C., and 50,000 other post offices require the attention of the clerks on the train, and in some cases these papers will be handled two or three times by railway postal clerks before their destination is reached.

When the carrier finally begins the last leg of the service, namely, delivering to the home of the subscriber, here is the financial puzzle for the Post Office Department, in its effort to maintain a self-supporting basis. The Ladies' Home Journal weighs 1 pound per copy. Fifty copies have arrived for the city district served by carrier No. 13. Each carrier serves 500 homes in thickly settled cities. One copy of the Ladies' Home Journal goes into every tenth home on the average. Carrier No. 13 has 50 copies for his route. They weigh 50 pounds, quite enough of a load for the day. He must travel over the entire route to deliver the 50 journals, because the subscribers are scattered.

Here is the net result of his day's work financially: The Post Office Department received 50 cents in postage, or 1 cent per pound, and paid the carrier $3.50 for his salary. Net loss on 50 copies of the Ladies' Home Journal, $3. No; this is not the net loss. There was the handling by the railway postal clerks and the post office clerks. Then, too, the Post Office Department paid the railroads for transportation, and nothing is in sight to pay it with.

You ask, how does the post office survive such practice? Well, the Ladies' Home Journal comes but once a month. The other 29 days can be devoted to recuperation. On other days the carrier can deliver 500 letters, weighing 12½ pounds, on which a revenue of $10 has been collected.

I do not mean to select the Ladies' Home Journal as the greatest offender, because it is about the least.

Weighing 1 pound, it requires only one delivery for a pound, at a revenue of 1 cent per delivery. Take on the other extreme the Appeal to Reason, or the Menace, and many others of about that size. Nearly 20 copies are required to weigh 1 pound, and the postage is only 1 cent on the 20 copies. The carrier must then visit 20 homes for 1 cent, or if he has 50 copies for his route the Government gets 2½ cents for his day's work, whereas the Ladies' Home Journal pays 50 cents for a day's work. In other terms, publications of equal size with the Appeal to Reason and the Menace are now delivered

to their subscribers at a cost to the publisher of only 2½ cents per year, if published weekly, and for nearly two years for 1 cent, if published monthly. Under the bill now proposed they will pay 7½ cents per year, if published weekly, and less than 2 cents per year, if published monthly.

While it is less unprofitable to deliver the Ladies' Home Journal at 1 cent per delivery than it is to deliver the other papers for one-twentieth of a cent, in the aggregate the publishers of the Ladies' Home Journal—the Curtis Publishing Co., with three publications of national circulation—are responsible for a net loss annually to the Post Office Department of nearly $5,000,000 on the delivery and transportation of their periodicals in the mails. According to the testimony of this company their cost for drayage alone between freight stations in Philadelphia and its pressrooms, and thence to the post office, is $70,000 per year. Yet this vast quantity of printed matter is transported in the United States mails an average distance of 1,000 miles without one cent of revenue to the Government, and with a further large deficiency in the cost of sorting and delivery in post offices, on trains, and at destination by city letter carriers and rural mail carriers.

The Curtis Publishing Co. paid $681,000 last year as postage on 68,100,000 pounds of its three publications—the Ladies' Home Journal, Saturday Evening Post, and Country Gentleman. According to the testimony given before the Hughes Commission on Second Class Postal Rates, the cost of this service is slightly above 8 cents per pound, leaving a net loss of 7 cents per pound on all second-class matter handled. At this rate the Government's net loss on the matter carried for the Curtis Publishing Co. was $4,767,000 last year. At the same rate the total net loss on all second-class matter handled last year was $84,172,947.32.

If the rates are increased as proposed in the zone bill the Curtis Publishing Co. will pay 3 cents per pound, as its publications are carried an average of 1,000 miles. At this rate the loss to the Government on that company's publications will still be $3,405,000, which seems to be quite a sufficient contribution to make to the circulation of that firm's admittedly high-grade periodicals.

On the other hand, the burden would not seem to be a serious one for the publications to bear. The advertising rate, for instance, of the Saturday Evening Post is $4,500 per page, with a much higher rate for cover pages. This is the rate for a single issue only. The advertising rate of the Ladies' Home Journal is very much higher. The Saturday Evening Post carries from 18 to 30 pages of advertising. Placing the average at 24 pages, it is seen that a single week's issue produces an advertising revenue of $108,000, or $5,616,000 per annum for the one publication. The company now pays only $681,000 postage annually on all its publications. It is apparent that a raise to three times that amount, or $2,043,000, could be easily borne from the advertising revenues of just one of its publications, with a handsome net sum of $3,573,000 left over. If the subscription price of these periodicals barely pays the cost of production then with a net advertising revenue from the Saturday Evening Post of above three million, and many more millions added from its other publications, we may easily dispossess ourselves of the fear that the Curtis Publishing Co. will feel the pinch of poverty when the postal rates are raised.

This a somewhat extended illustration of the effect of increased rates in the case of three publications, which it is true are among the most profitable published. But among the 29,000 publications entered as second-class matter very few publish advertising matter in as small proportion to the reading matter as the Curtis publications. Many magazines are actually two-thirds or three-fourths advertising matter. To say that an increase of the postal rate will in any manner cripple them is utterly ridiculous, as is pointed out in the illustrations already given. It is true there are publications which are unprofitable, and a breeze, no matter how gentle, may extinguish the spark of life. But these publications are weak in spite of a Government which is prodigal in its liberality and not because of postal burdens. A periodical which will die because the Government chooses not to continue to transport it at a direct loss of 7 cents per pound, but decides to reduce the loss to 5 cents per pound, is about ready for the grave anyway.

COMPARISON OF POSTAL RATES AND RESULTS.

All matter carried in the mail belongs to one of four classes, namely, first, second, third, and fourth.

First-class matter includes letters, postal cards, and sealed matter. The postage rate, except for postal cards, is 2 cents for each ounce or fraction. This is apparently 32 cents per pound, but in practice the first-class matter pays an average revenue of 80 to 90 cents per pound. This is because the average weight of all letters in the mail is 40 to 45 letters per pound. Postal cards pay the Government $1.68 per pound, because 168 cards weigh 1 pound. The sales of postal cards last year were $10,784,307; of 2-cent stamps and 2-cent stamped envelopes issued to postmasters, $168,758,936.74. From these sales it may be safely estimated that first-class matter produced a total revenue of $180,000,000. At 80 cents per pound, the number of pounds of first-class matter handled was 225,000,000.

Second-class matter includes periodicals, admitted under certain regulations, and the postage collected thereon is a flat rate of 1 cent per pound. In practice there is no deviation from the technical rate, and this class of matter produces a revenue of 1 cent per pound and no more. However, local newspapers published in towns where there is no City Delivery Service are delivered postage free within the county of publication at points where carrier service is not given. Last year 1,202,470,676 pounds of second-class matter were mailed, and the postage collected was $11,383,530.02.

Comparing results roughly between first and second class matter mailed last year, first class produced $180,000,000, while second class produced $11,000,000. The weight of first-class matter mailed was 225,000,000 pounds, while the weight of second class was 1,200,000,000 pounds. Second-class matter produced a little over 6 per cent of the revenue supplied by first-class matter, but required service for more than five times as much tonnage.

If third and fourth class matter produce enough revenue to pay its way, then we must conclude that the 100,000,000 people in this country who write the letters and pay 2 cents each are contributing quite strongly to the 29,000 periodical publishers in order to make the Post Office Department come out even at the end of the year.

Third-class matter includes miscellaneous printed matter generally and bears a minimum rate of 8 cents per pound. That is to say, while the technical rate is 1 cent for each 2 ounces or fraction, in practice millions of circulars are mailed which weigh very much less than 2 ounces each, yet require a 1-cent stamp. Therefore, while every pound of this matter would produce a minimum revenue of 8 cents, in practice this class of matter probably yields 10 or 12 cents per pound.

Fourth-class matter comprises merchandise of all kinds generally, and the maximum rate collected is 16 cents per pound. Parcels weighing 4 ounces or less require 1 cent for each ounce or fraction. Parcels weighing 8 ounces or less containing books, seeds, or plants require 1 cent for each 2 ounces or fraction. Parcels weighing more than 8 ounces take the parcel-post pound rates, according to distance. The lowest fourth-class rate (parcel post) is upon a package weighing 50 pounds for delivery in the city where mailed, the postage being 30 cents; the highest fourth-class rate (parcel post) is upon a 1-pound package going to the eighth zone (over 1,800 miles), the postage rate being 12 cents.

REDUCING THE HIGH COST OF LIVING.

More important than any other feature of postal rates is the progressive development of the parcel post. As a means of bringing producer and consumer closer together and thus reducing the ever-increasing cost of living, the newspaper and magazine publisher ought to bear his fair share in order that parcel-post rates may be reduced. Foodstuffs may be properly classed as a lower grade product than the newspaper editor and magazine writer gives us through the medium of the printing press. Yet under the present law it costs 44 cents to post a 20-pound crate of bread or vegetables or case of eggs 151 miles to a single customer, while at the same time the Saturday Evening Post may mail 20 pounds of its papers 3,000 miles for 20 cents, and have them delivered to 40 different homes without any addition to the 20 cents which it expended at the initial post office. The conditions ought to be reversed. The high-cost-of-living problem will never be solved by the parcel post until its rates are reduced and its service made universal. So long as newspaper and magazine rates remain as they are now, with millions of pounds being added yearly to the load, so long must we give up hope of a popularized parcel post.

PROPOSED ACT TO ESTABLISH ZONE RATES OF POSTAGE ON NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES.

"*Be it enacted, etc.*, That all newspapers, magazines, and other publications regularly admitted to the mails as matter of the second class shall hereafter be subject to the following rates of postage, the zone system now applying to parcel-post matter to be adapted also to second-class matter:

"Local, first, second, and third zone (under 300 miles), 1 cent per pound.

"Fourth zone (300 to 600 miles), 2 cents per pound.

"Fifth zone (600 to 1,000 miles), 3 cents per pound.

"Sixth zone (1,000 to 1,400 miles), 4 cents per pound.

"Seventh zone (1,400 to 1,800 miles), 5 cents per pound.

"Eighth zone (over 1,800 miles), 6 cents per pound:

"*Provided*, That free-in-county circulation provided by law shall continue as at present: *And provided further*, That the Postmaster General shall have authority to require publishers to separate or 'make up' to zones or in such manner as he may direct all matter of the second class when offered for mailing."

What, briefly stated, are some of the arguments in favor of this measure? Admittedly periodical literature, the second-class mail, is carried at a mere fraction of cost of service rendered it, a fact clearly shown, not only by the reports of many commissions, but also indicated by the following brief statement of facts:

With an annual expense account now aggregating over $300,000,000, though periodical literature is nearly five-eights of the mail, it is paying some $11,000,000 only of the expense account. It is practically just five times as much in amount as the first-class (letter) mail, yet the latter pays about $180,000,000 of the revenue.

Service rendered the second class costs over $80,000,000 yearly in excess of the $11,000,000 of revenue it contributes, while of the receipts from letter mail nearly one-half is net profit to the Government. And it is this profit on letter mail which takes care of the tremendous deficit occasioned by handling second-class matter so cheaply. The profit on the one provides for the subsidy on the other.

The injustice, which is at the expense of one class of mail, tremendously overtaxed in order to permit the Government to subsidize another class, has finally reached such proportions that renewed demands for a readjustment of rates can no longer be ignored. A brief ocular demonstration will show the situation.

First-class receipts, $190,000,000 yearly.

Second-class receipts, $11,000,000 yearly.

First-class tonnage, 225,000,000 pounds yearly.

Second-class tonnage, 1,200,000,000 pounds yearly.

In attempting to rectify the situation it very obviously appears that a small daily or weekly newspaper or other journal, the buik of whose circulation gets delivery within a few miles, or at most a score or two of miles from place of origination, costs the department no such expense as does the circulation of a big national magazine sent from a large publishing center to the remotest ends of the country with long haul, several expensive changes of route, and ultimate single copy handling for individual delivery to residents along the postal routes of every city, town, and rural letter carrier in the land.

Moreover, the local publisher suffers serious loss of revenue through diversion of advertising patronage to the columns of these big national periodicals, and right here occurs one of the most flagrant iniquities of the operation of the flat-rate law, fixing the carriage of periodicals at a mere fraction of the average cost of service.

If ever the ruinous results of a law were patent, they are patent here; if ever a law worked in the interest of big business, it is working here; if ever a law encouraged the trampling out of small competitors, it is this law.

That in the abnormally rapid development of second-class mail the law has tended to bring about centralization—in other words, to make the large larger and the small smaller—is indicated by the fact that of the vast volume of second-class mail carried each year, five cities produce nearly 50 per cent of the enormous total, 50 post offices originate 80 per cent, the remaining 20 per cent being scattered among 11,000 offices, and there remain more than 45,000 offices which do not originate a single pound of this favored class.

Now, the only valid argument that has ever been propounded in favor of a lower-than-cost rate on second-class mail exists in connection with the small local journals, which do give quickly the news of the day to a near-by clientele which it would be impossible to reach so promptly in any other way. These small local journals are, therefore, truly "educational," but no such argument applies to the monthly magazines, with circulations of half a million copies, printed two or more weeks and written four weeks ahead of issuance. Their news can obviously no longer be new. As for such other educational value as they collectively may possess, these "weeds of literature," which many of them are, hold the unenviable position in the community of having displaced good literature by killing the book production of the country. The national magazine is enabled to do this, since it floats as a veritable printing-press island and ocean, a small body of literature entirely surrounded by advertising. As another simile, it is a giant Zeppelin of advertising hot air floating a small car of "near" literature.

The bill as drawn is designed to remove gross abuses which exist in the administration of postal affairs. It should assist in preventing the distant publi[illegible]r from invading with such bludgeon-like blows the field of the local man. At least the Government should not pay the prize fighter's railroad fare when he goes to attack the peaceful countryside.

Again, unless and until there is enacted a zone-system advance in carriage of that portion of the second-class mail which receives longest haul, the expense will year after year mount higher and higher without a corresponding increase in receipts.

During the years since the pound-rate law was enacted the volume has grown from only 40,000,000 pounds in 1875 to over 1,200,000,000 pounds of second-class mail carried last year.

Mr. William Jennings Bryan once said:

The Supreme Court has described unjust taxation as larceny in the form of law. If one citizen is compelled by law to pay $10 for support of the Government where he ought to pay only $5, and under the same law a neighbor is permitted to pay $5 where he should pay $10 the law which causes this inequality simply transfers $5 from one man's pocket to the other's.

If every time any customer of the post office desiring 500 letter stamps, instead of paying the Government $10 therefor had to pay the post office $5, which would cover the cost of the service he gets, and send a draft for the other $5 to the Periodical Publishers' Association, there would be insistent outcries going up to Congress from every hamlet in the country for a readjustment of the rates; but exactly this is being done, only indirectly, in the unjust overtaxation for service rendered the letter mail and subsidy granted the periodical mail.

In conclusion, if reduction from 2 cents for the ordinary letter to 1 cent, the cost of service, can not be made in full at present on account of fear of a large falling off in revenue; at least two steps can and should be taken at once, namely, enact a 1-cent "drop" letter rate and simultaneously a first advance on that portion of the second-class mail that requires most expensive service.

EDUCATIONAL OBJECT ONLY PARTLY ATTAINED.

The Hughes commission on second-class mail matter, of which Charles E. Hughes was chairman, submitted in its report of 1912 the following comment:

The original object in placing on second-class matter a rate far below that on any other class of mail was to encourage the dissemination of news and of current literature of educational value. This object has been only in part attained. The low rate has helped to stimulate an enormous mass of periodicals, many of which are of little utility for the cause of popular education. Others are of excellent quality, but the experience of the post office has shown the impossibility of making a satisfactory test based upon literary or educational values. To attempt to do so would be to set up a censorship of the press. Of necessity the words of the statute—"devoted to literature, the sciences, arts, or some special industry"—must have a broad interpretation. A "legitimate list of subscribers" has been insisted upon as an indication that a periodical is desired by the public, but this, while useful in excluding extreme cases, has not worked quite as was intended; and premiums, prizes, and various inducements are largely offered to stimulate a demand. The statute expressly excludes not only publications intended primarily for advertising purposes, but also those designed for circulation at nominal rates; yet those with the largest circulation are often sold at rates that do not nearly cover the cost; and, in fact, one of the objections to imposing a special rate on advertisements was that these permitted periodicals to be supplied to the public at much less than cost.

Thus the educational purpose has been accomplished only in part; it is wholly impracticable to make a low rate for publications with a considerable educational value and a higher rate for the rest; and under the actual working of the law large business enterprises, which are maintained by the commercial advantages they offer as advertising media, receive the benefit of a rate so low as to amount to a subvention by the Government.

In these circumstances there would seem to be no reason why there should be such a wide difference between rate and cost, and it is the judgment of the commission that there should be an increase in the charge for second-class mail, in order that a more equitable adjustment may be made.

MANY POSTMASTERS GENERAL POINT TO ENORMOUS LOSSES ON SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

On many occasions the Postmasters General in their annual reports have commented upon the increase in the volume of second-class matter and upon the disparity between the cost of transporting and handling it in the mails and the amount received as postage.

Postmaster General Bissell in 1894 estimated the cost of transporting all mail matter at 8 cents a pound approximately and, applying this to second-class matter paid at the pound rate, calculated a loss in transportation alone of nearly $17,000,000. Postmaster General Wilson and Postmaster General Gary made their calculations in a similar way. In 1901 Postmaster General Smith reported that the Government paid not less than 5 cents a pound for transportation of second-class matter and at least 2 cents a pound for handling. Postmaster General Payne in 1902 considered the cost of the delivery of periodicals to be 4 cents a pound. In 1905 Postmaster General Cortelyou estimated the cost of the service for all mail matter at between 5 and 8 cents a pound, and added that if it cost the Government as much as 5 cents a pound for second-class matter, paid at the pound rate and free in county, the loss at that time was about $27,000,000.

In view of the lack of definite knowledge as to the actual cost of second-class matter, Congress, by the act of June 26, 1906, directed the Postmaster General to require a record from July 1 to December 31, 1906, of all second-class mail matter received for free distribution and also at the 1-cent-a-pound rate, "so as to show the weights in pounds, respectively by classes, of daily newspapers, weekly and other than daily newspapers, magazines, scientific periodicals, educational periodicals, religious periodicals, trade-journal periodicals, agricultural periodicals, miscellaneous periodicals, and sample copies."

The matter was placed in charge of the Second Assistant Postmaster General and was under the immediate supervision of a departmental committee, and under date of May 1, 1908, the Postmaster General submitted to Congress a report of the records which had been kept and of the computations based thereon.

Availing itself of these statistics, the department undertook an analysis of all operating expenses in order to assign them to the different classes of mail matter according to the service performed. By order of October 17, 1908, this undertaking was confided by Postmaster General Meyer to a committee in the department, which was continued by Postmaster General Hitchcock. The work was completed in the following year and was submitted to the Postmaster General under date of November 1, 1909. The report purported to show the cost of transporting and handling the several classes of mail matter, and of conducting the registry, money-order, and special-delivery services for the fiscal year 1908.

According to the calculations of the department, second-class mail matter cost the Government over 9 cents a pound for transportion and handling, causing a loss per pound of over 8 cents, and in his annual report for 1909, the Postmaster General reviewed various suggestions for increase of revenue.

DAILY PRESS ASSOCIATION INDORSES ZONE SYSTEM.

The members of the Inland Daily Press Association, comprising 94 daily papers in Michigan, Indiana, Kentucky, Illinois, Missouri, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota, recently adopted the following resolution:

We, the members of the Inland Daily Press Association, in convention assembly, this 18th day of March, 1913, hereby protest against the various estimates and statements that have been made relative to the cost of handling and carrying second-class mail matter. We believe they are misleading and do not properly express the cost of such mail matter as is paid for.

We protest against any increase in the rate of carrying second-class mail matter short distances.

We believe the zone system, as applied to the parcel post, is the proper way of charging for the handling and transportation of bulky mail of all kinds and that the same system should be applied to the handling and transportation of second-class mail matter, the charges for which should be based on the relative distances of carriage.

We urge Congress in readjusting postal rates to do so on the principle of the zone system.

(Signed) FRANK E. NOYES,
D. W. GRANDON,
J. L. STURTEVANT,
Committee.

UNSELFISH PUBLISHERS INDORSE HIGHER RATES.

[New York Times.]

The New York Times of February 14, 1913, contained an editorial indorsing the Postmaster General's recommendation for an advance in rates and stating that this advance should be more than he recommended, namely, to full cost of service not only for the advertising pages, but for the entire periodical.

[Milwaukee Sentinel.]

Magazine publishers have been crying out against the proposed increase of their ridiculously low cent-a-pound postal rates as an "unjust, discriminatory, and confiscatory tax." What rot! The proposed raise is not a tax, but a legitimate business demand for reimbursement for services rendered. As the second-class matter now stands, there is an unjust discrimination in favor of these periodicals, which other users of the mails have to make up for. All are paying too much letter postage because of the big annual deficit caused by the special privilege.

[New York Independent.]

I may be a minority of one, but I am not going to oppose the proposal to make magazines pay their share of the expenses of running the Post Office Department. I shall be glad to see the day when the people have the opportunity to send all their letters under a 1-cent stamp. I don't think there is any progress in this direction when the magazines are giving their short hauls to the express companies at a profitable rate and their long hauls to Uncle Sam at an unprofitable rate. Special privilege is contrary to the spirit of this Government, and as a magazine publisher I ask no special privilege. The people for their own correspondence have the first claim on the mails.

[National Hardware Bulletin.]

The recommendation that the rate be raised on magazines is reasonable; our only criticism is that it is not high enough; the rate should, in full justice, cover the actual cost of carriage.

[Fort Wayne (Ind.) News.]

OPPOSE 1-CENT POSTAGE.

The Saturday Evening Post is strenuously opposed to penny postage, and with a lordly wave of its lily hand dismisses the matter with the following pronouncement:

"We never open a day's mail without being informed that there is a tremendous popular demand for something. If we believed all the letters and circulars, we should have to imagine the entire population of the United States assembled in perpetual mass meeting, formulating demands, but we do not believe them.

"For instance, we do not believe there is any popular demand for 1-cent letter postage. Why should there be? If letter postage were cut in half, it would be necessary to increase rates on other classes of mail."

Quite a ponderous argument, to be sure, but one calculated to impress the average reader as fallacious and moreover written to protect a thoroughly selfish interest. The declaration that penny postage means necessarily the increase of postage on other classes of matter is but evidence of the fact that every man who now pays 2 cents to carry his letter through the mails is helping to pay a privilege for some one else. It is notorious that the many millions which the Government nets on letter postage are eaten up by the preferential rate given to periodicals. Thus the Saturday Evening Post, with its boasted circulation of over 2,000,000 copies, pays 1 cent a pound to handle matter which costs Uncle Sam 9 cents to handle.

[Mill Supplies, Chicago, Ill.]

The editor of this trade magazine expresses himself as heartily in favor of periodicals paying the cost of transportation if by so doing letter postage may be reduced from 2 cents to 1 cent.

[Steel and Iron, Cleveland, Ohio.]

If first-class mail produces large profit over cost of service, and if second class causes great loss, and it seems needful, therefore, that rates on second class should be increased in order to permit reduction in letter postage, we stand entirely willing to pay such increase, and we feel that all periodical publishers should advocate this needful advance and cease opposing it on the ground that it is not a subsidy.

ONE TRADE-PAPER CORPORATION CAUSES HALF-MILLION DOLLAR LOSS TO POST OFFICE.

Fifteen trade papers listed below are owned by a single corporation. They are published primarily for advertising purposes, as will be seen by comparing the number of pages of advertising and reading matter published in each. The combined subscription and advertising revenue of these papers is about four and one-half million dollars annually, and they pay the Post Office Department but $70,823 as postage upon their entire product:

Publication.	Circulation as per their own statement.	Weight per copy.	Pages reading matter.	Pages advertising.	Subscription per year.	Advertising rates, one page, one issue.	Advertising receipts, one issue, about—	Advertising receipts, one year, about—	Receipts from subscriptions, one year, about—	Pounds mailed per year about—	They pay Post Office Department per year about—	Cost to Post Office Department per year about[1]—	Loss to Post Office Department about[1]—
		Ounces.											
Automobile (Jan. 22, 1914)	18,241 weekly	16	67	71	$3.00	$100	$7,100	$369,200	$54,723	948,532	$9,485	$75,880	$66,395
Boot & Shoe Recorder (March, 1914)	8,250 weekly	29	46	172	2.50	60	10,320	536,640	20,625	777,562	7,775	62,200	54,425
Building Age (April, 1914)	25,460 monthly	16	80	60	2.00	90	5,400	64,800	50,920	305,520	3,055	24,440	21,385
Cleveland Trade Bulletin (March, 1914)	2,500 monthly	7	17	27	1.00	30	810	9,720	2,500	13,125	131	1,048	917
Dry Goods Economist (March 7, 1914)	12,460 weekly	20	39	75	5.00	150	11,250	585,000	62,300	809,900	8,099	64,792	56,693
Drygoodsman (Feb. 14, 1914)	6,064 weekly	8	23½	44½	3.00	75	3,318	172,575	18,192	157,664	1,576	12,608	11,032
Dry Goods Reporter (Feb. 28, 1914)	8,000 weekly	6	20	28	1.00	80	2,240	116,480	8,000	156,000	1,560	12,480	10,920
Hardware Age (Apr. 2, 1914)	19,000 weekly	18	63	125	2.00	88	11,000	572,000	38,000	1,111,500	11,115	88,920	77,805
The Iron Age (Apr. 2, 1914)	12,000 weekly	33	88	244	5.00	72	17,568	913,536	60,000	1,287,000	12,870	102,960	90,090
Metal Worker (Apr. 3, 1914)	10,000 weekly	9	36½	54½	2.00	60	3,270	170,040	20,000	292,500	2,925	23,400	20,475
The Milliner (February, 1914)	8,000 monthly	16	17	87	3.00	50	4,350	52,200	24,000	96,000	960	7,680	6,720
Motor Age (Mar. 26, 1914)	23,372 weekly	10½	42	58	3.00	100	5,800	301,600	70,116	797,569	7,975	63,800	55,825
Motor World (Apr. 9, 1914)	9,076 weekly	8	32½	43½	2.00	90	3,915	203,580	18,152	235,976	2,359	18,872	16,513
Pacific Coast Merchant (March, 1914)	3,000 monthly	7½	17	35	1.00	40	1,400	16,800	3,000	16,875	168	1,344	1,176
The Twin City Commercial Bulletin (Apr. 4, 1914)	4,309 weekly	5½	24	20	2.00	50	1,000	52,000	8,618	77,023	770	6,160	5,390
Total							88,741	4,136,171	459,146	7,082,746	70,823	566,584	495,761

[1] They pay at the rate of 1 cent per pound.

[2] These figures are based on the recent statement of Hon. Joseph Stewart, Second Assistant Postmaster General, that the cost to the department was 8 cents a pound on second-class matter.

An officer of the company owning the above periodicals admitted during a hearing before the House Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, held in Washington, D. C., Feb. 9 and 10, 1914, that 2 of these periodicals, viz, Automobile and Motor Age, with a nominal capitalization of $30,000, made a profit in 1913 of $40,000 and that the last time they were sold $1,000,000 was paid for them.

Volume of second-class mail at various dates.

	Pounds.
For 1875 (first year law was operative) only	40,000,000
For 1880	61,000,000
For 1890	204,000,000
For 1900	450,000,000
For 1910	873,000,000
For 1916	1,202,470,676

AVERAGE LENGTH OF HAUL OF SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

The following table shows the average haul of the various publications, ascertained in pursuance of the act of June 26, 1906, authorizing a special weighing of the mails for the purpose of obtaining information in regard to second-class publications:

	Average haul (miles).
Daily newspapers	255.75
Weekly and other than daily newspapers	490.13
Scientific periodicals	793.62
Educational periodicals	644.27
Religious periodicals	599.27
Trade-journal periodicals	707.11
Agricultural periodicals	525.49
Magazines	920.79
Miscellaneous periodicals	990.53

Number of pounds of second-class matter mailed at the cent-a-pound and free-in-county rates during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1916.

State.	Subscribers' copies.		Sample copies at cent-a-pound rate.	Total at cent-a-pound rate.	Total mailings at cent-a-pound and free-in-county rates.
	Free in county.	At cent-a-pound rate.			
Alabama	594,838	6,676,065	166,548	6,842,613	7,437,541
Alaska	19,629	21,798	.....	21,798	41,427
Arizona	153,982	535,687	1,295	536,982	690,964
Arkansas	576,908	3,570,279	10,756	3,581,035	4,157,943
California	1,741,132	23,647,972	97,570	23,745,542	25,486,674
Colorado	377,435	9,709,257	43,080	9,752,337	10,129,772
Connecticut	425,563	2,820,908	13,906	2,834,814	3,260,377
Delaware	120,430	382,722	790	383,512	503,942
Dist. of Columbia	.....	11,240,976	69,339	11,310,315	11,310,315
Florida	424,272	4,395,612	46,978	4,442,590	4,866,862
Georgia	565,142	17,663,138	285,944	17,949,082	18,514,224
Hawaii	78,731	319,689	79	319,768	398,499
Idaho	255,188	1,394,680	6,269	1,400,949	1,656,137
Illinois	5,598,681	131,747,318	2,388,886	134,136,204	139,734,885
Indiana	2,929,754	26,032,072	203,837	26,235,909	29,165,663
Iowa	4,493,065	39,447,202	573,350	40,020,552	44,513,617
Kansas	2,116,163	18,710,702	113,137	18,823,839	20,940,002
Kentucky	733,868	7,565,582	131,308	7,696,890	8,430,758
Louisiana	184,208	7,169,645	28,292	7,197,937	7,382,145
Maine	1,137,526	14,187,013	545,305	14,732,318	15,869,844
Maryland	575,161	7,930,277	58,263	7,988,540	8,563,701
Massachusetts	475,493	47,717,624	683,856	48,401,480	48,876,973
Michigan	4,195,143	26,306,706	156,189	26,462,895	30,658,038
Minnesota	2,056,621	42,485,743	469,096	42,954,839	45,011,460
Mississippi	340,837	1,068,999	10,488	1,079,487	1,420,324
Missouri	1,963,285	72,496,479	379,681	72,876,160	74,839,445
Montana	479,993	2,823,171	13,878	2,837,049	3,317,042
Nebraska	1,551,368	22,715,358	270,539	22,985,897	24,537,265
Nevada	45,029	363,630	456	364,086	409,115
New Hampshire	169,259	1,375,113	5,245	1,380,358	1,549,617
New Jersey	467,416	4,753,221	108,199	4,861,420	5,328,836
New Mexico	101,697	527,422	1,659	529,081	630,778
New York	6,132,284	262,467,211	2,526,243	264,993,454	271,125,738
North Carolina	848,010	5,688,049	54,316	5,742,365	6,590,375
North Dakota	737,768	2,658,010	31,966	2,689,976	3,427,744
Ohio	4,785,675	79,353,915	652,964	80,006,879	84,792,554
Oklahoma	1,026,795	7,710,011	33,621	7,743,632	8,770,427
Oregon	761,271	6,757,213	65,272	6,822,485	7,583,756
Pennsylvania	5,375,881	116,252,779	906,279	117,159,058	122,534,939
Porto Rico	356	575,375	92	575,467	575,823
Rhode Island	55,510	1,241,288	2,578	1,243,866	1,299,376
South Carolina	550,330	3,078,428	8,141	3,086,569	3,636,899
South Dakota	770,994	2,701,012	38,455	2,739,467	3,510,461
Tennessee	657,720	16,184,076	95,390	16,279,466	16,937,186
Texas	1,896,661	23,052,197	165,135	23,217,332	25,113,993
Utah	151,006	3,672,074	6,185	3,678,259	3,829,265
Vermont	515,825	1,528,374	11,782	1,540,156	2,055,981
Virginia	688,976	6,835,632	24,103	6,859,735	7,548,711
Washington	1,077,514	7,657,997	43,166	7,701,163	8,778,677
West Virginia	659,181	2,357,453	19,932	2,377,385	3,036,566
Wisconsin	2,339,942	18,470,589	271,862	18,742,451	21,082,393
Wyoming	138,158	448,302	1,425	449,727	587,885
Guam	.....	197	.....	197	197
Shanghai, China	.....	15,804	1,831	17,635	17,635
Total	64,117,674	1,126,508,046	11,844,956	1,138,353,002	1,202,470,676

Election Frauds in the Tenth North Carolina District.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES J. BRITT,
OF NORTH CAROLINA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 2, 1917.

Mr. BRITT. Mr. Speaker, I desire to have printed in the RECORD a public statement made by me on December 24 last and printed in the Greensboro (N. C.) Daily News of that date on the result of the recent congressional election in my district. The statement, with certain modifications and additions, is as follows:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *December 23, 1916.*

"Congressman JAMES J. BRITT, of the tenth North Carolina district, who on Tuesday last lost his certificate of election at the hands of the North Carolina State Board of Canvassers, following an adverse opinion of the supreme court, on being asked to-day for a statement of his views of the present status of the case replied as follows:

"'I have not read the opinion of the court and therefore decline to make any comment whatever upon it at this time; but I am quite willing to give my views as to the action of the Buncombe County board of canvassers and as to Mr. Weaver's recent statement in the Daily News.

"'Yes; I have read the so-called statement of Mr. Weaver,' said the Congressman, 'and if there remains a doubt in the mind of any man familiar with the facts of the case, as to whether I was clearly, honestly, and fairly elected, this puerile and evasive effusion ought to dispel that doubt. Throughout the whole interview we see the shifting, halting, and nebulous plea of an advocate who knows that he is wrong. His recklessness of statement is equaled only by his weakness of argument.

"'He first undertakes the burden of denying the requirement of our North Carolina State election law that all ballots shall be marked, a requirement that is a part of his own legislative handiwork, a provision of our primary law of 1915. This is one of those pieces of "constructive legislation" of which he boasted in the late campaign. But he now denies the paternity of his own legislative offspring because it has failed to win him a seat in Congress.

"'Section 32 of this "constructive" statute says:

"'Opposite the name of each candidate on the general ticket to be voted for at the general election shall be a small square, and a vote for any candidate shall be indicated by making a cross mark (×) in such square.

"'Could language be stronger, or more explicit, or more mandatory than the words "shall be"? If words mean anything at all, these words mean that there is but one legal ballot under our law, and that is a marked ballot. Unfortunately for Mr. Weaver, there is no provision for the counting of unmarked ballots if one doesn't chance to receive enough marked ballots to elect him to an office.

"'He rushes to the defense of the attorney general, and says that although that official has held that all congressional ballots should be marked he, nevertheless, has not said that unmarked ballots would be illegal. Of course, he has not. Nobody ever said that he had. For him to say so would be superfluous, if not foolish. When the attorney general says that the law requires the ballots to be marked he means that in order for them to be legal they must be marked. The legal requirement that they shall be marked implies that they will be illegal if not marked. Being the chief law officer of the State, it is the attorney general's duty to construe the law when called upon. It is the duty of the State board of elections to prescribe, print, and distribute the congressional ballots, and that board asked the attorney general to advise it whether congressional ballots, although containing but a single name, should have a cross mark in the square at the left of the name, as is required in the case of ballots having several names. He held that they should, and his opinion, by its legal force, made the marking of congressional ballots a duty required by law. These tickets were printed by the State board of elections and distributed through the several county boards of election to the poll holders, a body composed of the registrar and two judges of election in each precinct.

"'On each ticket was printed the words, "To vote this ticket, make a cross mark (×) in the square." It should be borne in mind that the election law had been made by the political party to which Mr. Weaver belongs; that an attorney general of his party had construed it; that a State board of elections, a majority of whom are of his party, had prescribed the tickets; that they had been distributed through county boards of election, a majority of whom are members of his party; and that the ballots had been voted at the polls under the supervision of poll holders, a majority of whom are also members of his party. Thus from the making of the law to the last act of its administration everything had been under the control of his own party. He was at every stage in the hands of his own political friends, and I ask whether he should now be heard to complain of their treatment? It is like a child complaining of its father. On the other hand, I was obliged to take the law as made, construed, and administered by my political adversaries, with no alternative as to its acceptance or rejection. Believing that the law as made by Democrats and construed by

Democratic officials meant what it said, and that all congressional ballots must be marked, I instructed my friends throughout the district that they must be marked in order to be valid, and that if not marked they would be thrown out. As a result no Republican poll holder or voter had the least hesitancy as to what should be done with unmarked ballots mistakenly put in the box for me, and they were accordingly everywhere rejected and thrown out. This was also the view of the law held by Mr. Weaver himself, and by Mr. D. S. Elias, his campaign manager, the latter not only holding that the ballots must be marked, but actually marking them before sending them to the poll holders.

"'In view of all this, ought Mr. Weaver now to complain if any member of his party failed to mark his ballot at the polls? Having had absolute control of the ballots from the beginning to the end, and having compelled my supporters to mark their ballots, ought he now be permitted to reverse the law of the State, a law made by his own party, in order to gain a few votes and thus get a seat in Congress which he could not win fairly at the polls?

"'Does he not know that this whole thing is grossly wrong and immoral? That it is nothing but an unlawful attempt by election officials and politicians to take an unconscionable advantage of me? He says he is for fair play. Is this fair play? Or has he of late been so busy inventing "amended and supplemental" devices that he has not had time to resolve questions of political ethics?

"'Mr. Weaver challenges me to show that he was not elected. I accept the challenge cheerfully, but, so far as he himself is concerned, it needs neither proof nor demonstration, for he knows that he was not elected. Nor is there any doubt in the mind of any person familiar with the facts. It is nothing more nor less than a case of willful, deliberate, and unlawful taking away. Blackstone calls this larceny. In making this open charge I am careful not to include the Democratic Party generally. Far from it. They are honest men, and 95 per cent of them disapprove this outrage and are as indignant at it as the Republicans. Many of them voted for me, and are by these unlawful acts wronged as well as the Republicans.

"'But let me make it clear just how I was elected and how he was not elected. Outside of Buncombe County no official question has as yet been raised as to the regularity of the vote, the returns from those counties having been canvassed and certified, and, therefore, according to Mr. Weaver's contention, incapable of being lawfully reopened. In those 12 counties I received a total majority of 301 votes over Mr. Weaver. In Buncombe County, as shown by the original and only lawful returns, I received 4,037 votes and he 4,325 votes, giving him a majority of 288 in that county, which was offset by my majority of 301 outside of Buncombe County, with 13 votes left as a clear majority for me in the district.

"'By this vote I was clearly, honestly, and legally elected; but as soon as it was known that my majority was only 13, although as counted and returned by Democratic election officials, the Buncombe County canvassing board, which met on November 9, began to adjourn from day to day on various pretexts, while Mr. Weaver's managers scoured the precincts of that county in search of so-called unmarked ballots, ballots which had not been counted but had been destroyed, if, indeed, they had ever existed. After adjournments from time to time, and without any real cause whatever, the law requiring them to count and certify the vote forthwith, they finally struck upon the idea of making so-called "amended and supplemental" reports from 5 of the 28 precincts in Buncombe County. But before making such "amended and supplemental" returns they first made a thorough canvass of the county to ascertain in what precincts it was reported Mr. Weaver had an apparent majority of such unmarked ballots, but carefully avoided making any additional returns in those precincts where it was understood that I had received a majority of such unmarked ballots.

"'In 5 precincts they claimed to have found that a total of 27 unmarked ballots had been cast for Mr. Weaver and only 6 for me, which 27 votes they now added to his vote, and also arbitrarily added 1 to his vote in Asheville precinct No. 1, giving him an apparent total majority of 310 in Buncombe County instead of 288, what he had actually received, thereby wiping out my majority of 13 and giving him a majority of 9. But note that these so-called "amended and supplemental" returns were made only from those precincts where it was claimed that Mr. Weaver had received a majority of the unmarked ballots, while none were made from those precincts where it was clearly proved that a majority of the unmarked ballots had been cast for me. To be specific, they claimed that at Asheville precinct No. 2, Mr. Weaver had received 5 unmarked ballots and I had received 1; at Asheville No. 6, he had received 7 unmarked ballots and I had received 2; at Lower Hominy, he had received 6 unmarked ballots and I had received none; at West Asheville, he had received 5 unmarked ballots, and I had received 2; and at Hazel, he had received 4 unmarked ballots and I had received 1; giving him a total of 27 unmarked ballots. But why were no amended returns made from the precincts where I had received a majority of the unmarked ballots? It was proved by uncontradicted affidavits that at Beaverdam, I had received 5 unmarked ballots and he had received none; at Asheville No. 1, I had received 2 unmarked ballots and he had received 1; at Leicester No. 1, I had received 3 unmarked ballots and he had received none; at Swannanoa, I had received 1 unmarked ballot and he had received none; while at Biltmore, we had each received 1 unmarked ballot; making a total of 21 unmarked ballots admittedly cast for me, including the 6 reported in the amended returns.

"'Now, note that in not one of the precincts named would it be of any advantage to Mr. Weaver to have "amended and supplemental" returns made, and consequently none were made. Now, since it is admitted that I received 21 unmarked ballots in Buncombe County and claimed that Mr. Weaver received 27, if the 21 unmarked ballots had all been counted for me, my vote would have been raised to 4,058, and his, counting the 1 vote arbitrarily added in Asheville precinct No. 1, to 4,352, giving him a majority of 295 in Buncombe County as against my majority of 301 outside of Buncombe County, by which I was clearly elected by a majority of 6 votes in the district. So, if equal returns are made, I am elected by a majority of 13, if only the marked ballots are counted, and by a majority of 6 if both marked and unmarked ballots are counted.

"'Now, although these unmarked ballots are illegal, and not in fact ballots at all, nevertheless, if the canvassing board of Buncombe County returns them as ballots for Mr. Weaver, then by the same token they should be returned as ballots for me, and especially since Judge Adams admitted from the bench that the testimony by which my unmarked ballots were proved was uncontradicted. When asked why they did not return unmarked ballots for me, they said that it was not their business but my business. But I was not a member of the canvassing board and had no voice whatever in the returning and counting. It was their duty to return all the votes impartially for both sides.

"'In making these so-called "amended and supplemental" returns there were no official meetings, either called or stated, of the registrar and judges in these five precincts, the Republican judges having no notice whatever of such meetings, and not being present or participating, the so-called returns being made by the Democratic judges only, and as individuals, meeting here and there incidentally and informally for that purpose. Three of these so-called returns were made eight days after the election, and it is not known when the other two were made, as they were not dated at all. They came to full life only at the time the Buncombe County canvassing board made its final count. Although I earnestly demanded it, the board refused to tell at whose instance the amended reports had been made. At each of these five precincts the poll holders, both Democrats and Republicans, had at the close of the election on November 7 and before the votes were counted unanimously agreed that all unmarked ballots cast for any office whatever were illegal and should be thrown out, and they were consequently thrown out and destroyed, no question ever being raised as to any other office, although the vote in some instances was so close that the result would have been changed had the unmarked ballots been counted.

"'This is how I was elected and how Mr. Weaver was not elected. It is so manifestly a fraud that a wayfaring man, though a fool, can not fail to see it. It is nothing more nor less than a case where one has a thing of value coveted by another, where the other has the power to take it, and actually does take it.

"'But Mr. Weaver says the action of the Buncombe County board of canvassers is above reproach and that it is being unjustly attacked. His next friend, Mr. Silas G. Bernard, says the same, with the exception that his conscience compels him to admit that they might have returned my unmarked ballots. Let us examine a few of its acts and omissions, and see whether it stands officially blameless.

"'It adjourned its sessions from day to day on the pretext of waiting for the official congressional returns, when such official returns were already before it. Was this a proper official act?

"'It held by its action that the original returns before it on the 9th day of November were sufficient to proceed with the count of the vote for all other offices, but not sufficient to proceed with the count for Congress, the returns being the same in each case. Was this a candid, fair, and impartial official act?

"'Its chairman arbitrarily adjourned the meeting on November 11 without even the form of a motion, and refused to hear

my counsel make a motion in my behalf. Was this a becoming official act?

"'It went behind the official returns that were before it, the returns made by the only lawful precinct poll holders, and accepted unofficial returns made either at the suggestion of my opponent or of some one on his behalf. Was this a lawful official act?

"'When it declared its determination to include unmarked ballots in its count, which ballots were unlawful, I demanded of it in open session that similar votes cast for me be counted. It solemnly promised in open session that these votes would be counted, but afterwards refused either to return, count, or consider them. Was this an honorable official act?

"'The law says that the board shall canvass the votes "in the presence of such electors as choose to attend," but this board, in utter disregard of the law, held secret sessions behind locked doors with my opponent's managers, no Republicans being admitted, except such as forced open the doors. Were these honorable official acts?

"'Under the pretense of waiting for official returns the board adjourned from day to day to gather unofficial returns. Was this an honorable official act?

"'It went outside of the lawful returns and counted 27 unmarked ballots for Zebulon Weaver, thereby changing my actual majority of 13 into an apparent majority of 9 for him, but the same board refused to count 21 similar ballots for me, which, if counted, would have elected me by a majortiy of 6 votes. Was this an honorable official act?

"'One of its members declared on the streets of Asheville that it made no difference who had received a majority of the votes, the board was going to give the certificate to Mr. Weaver. Was this an honorable official declaration?

"'A member of the board who was registrar at Beaverdam precinct, where 5 unmarked ballots had been cast for me, was asked why he didn't make "supplemental returns" and report those votes, and replied that "that was Mr. Britt's business"; that he was looking after the politics of the situation. Was this an honorable official declaration?

"'The chairman of the board during the pendency of the mandamus proceedings was reminded that the board should not forget that it was under the orders of the court, whereupon he replied that the board would pay no attention to the writ of mandamus; that they would run the business to suit themselves. Was this an honorable official declaration?

"'During their sessions the board was in constant secret communication with the Democratic county chairman, but never advised with the Republican county chairman. Was this impartial and honorable official behavior for a semiofficial body?

"'When the board at its meeting on November 11 refused to permit my attorney to make a motion, one of my friends asked that note be made of that fact; whereupon the chairman, B. L. Lyda, replied, "I don't care a damn what you note." Was this honorable official conduct?

"'I was denied by the board the right even to enter a protest against its high-handed proceedings. Was this a square deal?

"'If, as Mr. Silas G. Bernard, Mr. Weaver's next friend, admits, there were in Buncombe County 10 unmarked ballots for Mr. Weaver and 14 for me that the board did not return, was their failure to make complete returns an honorable official act?

"'It was the duty of the board to make faithful return of all the votes cast in Buncombe County. If it was its duty to obtain "amended and supplemental" returns from 5 precincts in the county, was it not its duty to obtain "amended and supplemental" returns from the other 23 precincts in the county, the conditions being similar? Was its failure to do this an honorable official act?

"'Our law requires the vote to be canvassed in the most public way, "in the presence of such electors as choose to attend"; yet when I demanded to know at whose suggestion the unlawful returns had been made, Mr. Weaver's lawyers immediately objected, and the chairman of the board instantly sustained the objection. Was this an honorable official act?

"'Instead of requiring daily minutes of its proceedings to be made and read, showing just what was done at each meeting, the board waited until it had completed its work and then had a narrative written up and read justifying its unlawful acts. Was this honorable official conduct?

"'Mr. Weaver knows that every act and movement of this board had the appearance of a purpose to so manipulate the vote of Buncombe County as to defeat my election to Congress and elect him to that position.

"'Did not he, and others for him, continually advise with the board and direct its proceedings with a view of obtaining the results which were finally found?

"'Does not Mr. Weaver know that it has been proved by undisputed sworn testimony that in each of the 5 precincts from which the so-called "amended and supplemental" returns were made the poll holders had unanimously held before counting the vote on election day that all unmarked ballots must be thrown out? If this is so, was it an honorable official act for the Buncombe County board of canvassers to defeat that purpose? Was it right for Mr. Weaver, or anyone for him, to advise it?

"'Immediately after the election, and when it was clear that I had been elected by a small majority, one of Mr. Weaver's friends informed a party leader in another county that "unless he could send up a few more votes BRITT was elected," to which his friend replied that "he was sorry, but the returns had already been made."

"'Another message advised a fellow worker that "BRITT was elected," and that they "would either have to throw out a few BRITT votes or throw in a few for Weaver."

"'Yet another message told a friend in a distant county that the majority in his county was too small; that it must be made larger, and advised that a certain precinct must be thrown out, and that "we will back you up."

"All these declarations will be proved at the proper time and by indisputable testimony. They show clearly a fixed, deliberate, and understood purpose to wrest from me, by unlawful means, the office to which I had been elected by the people of my district.

"'Is the ancient command, "Thou shalt not steal," to be so "amended and supplemented" as to read, "Thou shalt not steal, except as to a few votes, and then only when it is necessary to splice out an election to Congress"?

"'Mr. Weaver's flourish about the Wall Street money, which he intimates was used in my district is too childish and absurd to provoke more than a smile. Neither he nor anyone else believes it. Unfortunately for me, I have no friends in the prosperous precincts of Wall Street. I wonder how he would like to tell us about the enormous amount of National, State, and local funds said to have been used in his own behalf in the district? The mention of Wall Street brings to my mind two facts which I have long observed. The first is that Wall Street is always the punching bag of croakers and demagogues; and the second is that when a man has done, or is about to do, some shameless and outrageous thing, he usually rails against Wall Street in order to divert attention from the enormity of his own wrongdoing.

"'Mr. Weaver was not elected to Congress, and he knows it; I was elected, and he knows it. By means unlawful and by methods high-handed he will, for a while, become a Representative in name, but not of right. He will get a brief commission, but there will be a day of reckoning. Conscience has its courts, and its judgments are terrible. The people, too, will abide their day. He will go about the Nation's Capital vexed with the consciousness that he is holding a place rightfully belonging to another; that he is receiving emoluments not his own; that he has attained his ends through a defeated popular will. God has not given to any man years long enough to live down the shame of a wrong so grievous.'"

Attacking the Oklawaha.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK CLARK,

OF FLORIDA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 3, 1917.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following article:

[From the Leesburg (Fla.) Commercial, Dec. 29, 1916.]

ATTACKING THE OKLAWAHA.

For the first time in the history of the American Nation the extreme Southland has come into its own as a portion of the geographic nation. The country finally realized and acknowledged by recognition that the Southern States are important, equally important with the more northern members of the Union.

It is true that this recognition was never given until the South had sent into the Senate and the House of Representatives so many men of force and ability that the recognition was literally choked from the unwilling throats of those who had long done all the shouting and all the planning and had reaped all the harvests.

For ages the waterways of the South have carried their cargoes of commerce under the greatest difficulties. The channels have remained

as nature left them or have become filled with driftwood and débris. Of late years a few dollars have been expended in expediting commerce on these rivers, while the northern streams have been nurtured and cared for until their shores have been lined with large towns and cities, with fine productive farms and with industries, all because water transportation placed the products within reach of markets at a price that paid the producer or the manufacturer.

Now that the South is coming somewhat into its own, now that the waters of the South are being offered to the attention of the Nation and the same care of them requested that northern streams have enjoyed for many years, there has arisen a cry of "Pork." What was legitimate in Ohio is pronounced by the man from Ohio, Mr. Burton, to be a steal in Florida. And Mr. Burton, remember, was the man who handled all these appropriations for many, many years. What was the "general welfare" in Wisconsin has become, in Florida, "crooked" if we take the word of Congressman JAMES A. FREAR. But Mr. FREAR is from Wisconsin and to those who are near enough to see the development of his cry of crookedness his purist pleas are grotesque.

THE GROTESQUE MR. FREAR.

That word "grotesque" is peculiarly applicable to the stand Mr. FREAR has taken on the subject of river and harbor improvement. Being a member of that committee, it would be supposed that he is competent to speak and write upon the subject of the improvement of rivers and harbors. But he is grotesquely incompetent. Either that, or he is deliberately unreliable.

In attacking the Oklawaha, Mr. FREAR uses the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in which to work off the billingsgate that his mind can piece together from a vocabularly that is somewhat limited. When the reader has waded through the mass of words with which the Congressman from Wisconsin pretends to have presented the subject of the Oklawaha, he has no more conception of what and where the Oklawaha River is than he had before. In fact, if he had a hazy idea of the location and some of the reasons why the river is susceptible of profitable improvement, he has lost that idea entirely before he reaches the end of the pages in which the oft-repeated bit of "crooked" doggerel holds a high place.

In all that long speech of Mr. FREAR'S there is not one correct statement that even suggests a reason for discouraging the improvement of the Oklawaha. There are more untruths—glaring and bald—than there are direct statements bearing on the subject in hand. Throughout the harangue there appears the most positive evidence that Mr. FREAR has absolutely no knowledge whatever of the Oklawaha River. He doesn't know where it rises and he doesn't know through what kind of country it flows. He makes no attempt to inform himself. He does not meet the arguments advanced by the supporters of the project. For Mr. FREAR statements of fact do not exist. They are not obstacles to his verbal vaulting from the veriest pit of ignorance—whether real or assumed it does not matter—to the smug summit of complacent assurance.

HIS COLLEAGUES DISCOUNT HIM.

Because of these things, so apparent to the least observant of those who come into daily contact with him, Mr. FREAR is discounted by his colleagues on the floor of the House. Realizing that these speeches would be delivered to empty desks, the gentleman from Wisconsin rarely asks that his hardier efforts be heard. He merely asks "leave to print." These so-called speeches, then, are never heard by his colleagues. If they did hear them they would laugh and remark that "it is only FREAR," and they would not take the trouble to attempt to correct the glaring inaccuracies. It would not be worth while.

Yet great newspapers, presumably edited sanely and with unusual wisdom, gloat over this monstrosity in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. They make gospel of the words that informed men would consider so foolish as to be beyond attempting to reconstruct into either wisdom or truth. They quote from manufactured tables that are at direct variance with Government statistics. These editors either prefer to be misled or they lack the energy and the perspicacity to consult the official figures and the officially stamped facts. They, like Mr. FREAR, can not be excused for their ignorance, whether it be real or pretended. If it is real, they have no business in the chairs they occupy. If pretended, the same judgment may be passed with the added odium of a less decent reason.

Least of all should the Washington Times, one of the Munsey publications, a newspaper printed within a few minutes' walk of the Capitol, be misled by Mr. FREAR, of Wisconsin. That paper is able to learn whether such matters are actually brought before the House or through courtesy permitted to be placed in the RECORD for the benefit of the Member's constituents, who might otherwise think him of small importance in Washington. That paper knows that the matter placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD under "leave to print" is proofread for typographical errors but never for libel or untruth. There is no censor except the conscience of the Member to whom is given the leave to print, and sometimes the liberality of this censor is as wide as the sunrise in the Arctics.

ATTITUDE OF THE TIMES.

Here is an editorial from the Washington Times of Tuesday, last week. It happened that the public-buildings bill was the target this time. Mr. FREAR plays no favorites. Any measure that gives him a chance to wave the red shirt and play up to his Wisconsin constituents who, having what they want, now assume the "dog in the manger" mein, is grist for his mill. And he mills and mouths and gets "leave to print." Then alleged reputable newspapers chortle and "pass the buck." They know nothing, neither do they seek for knowledge. Happy they! So here is the comment of the Times:

"Can nobody head off this FREAR person—FREAR, of Wisconsin? He blew into Washington on the wings of a political nor'wester a few years ago and started making trouble for the rivers and harbors appropriations. In a little while he had the graft aspect of that particular measure so thoroughly understood that he turned, like Alexander, to the contemplation of new pastures. He saw the possibilities of the public-building bill, and went after it. The other day he printed in a neat, attractive form in the RECORD an attack upon it.

"This Frear speech ought to be in the hands of everybody of that archaic school that considered economy a virtue and extravagance, at least, a questionable habit. Perhaps there are 19 or 20 people left in the land who frankly esteem waste a wrong; there may be as many others of the impression that waste is questionable. For these few old-fashioned souls the Frear speech on public buildings will be delightful reading. Prayerful contemplation of it might even convert one or two others to the view that there is some excuse for the narrow and visionless notion that profligacy may have a relationship to deficits.

"It has always been assumed that at least pork was nonsectional; universal, abandoned, democratic. But it seems not. If FREAR is truthful, Wyoming has lost caste as the headquarters of congressional largesse. In the olden days of Aldrichism and appropriations Wyoming was pretty apt to get what it wanted, because it controlled so many appropriations. But those days have passed, and Sun Dance gives way to Ogechee, or whatever is that Seminole name of the Everglades town with a public building, a postmaster, and a pensioner. It seems that Florida has been hogging the pork.

"It might be possible to view with satisfaction this spectacle of Illinois—home of the Meat Trust and Roger Sullivan and South Clark Street and other symbols of cussedness—getting the hooks, if it were not for Florida that gets the bunks. But with painful remembrance of the skyscraping rates for which the innocent traveler is soaked in the Florida winter headquarters, who shall contend that the State needs charity from the Uncle of us all? Take it away from Illinois if you will, but at least give it to bleeding Kansas or idealistic California or darkest Arkansaw, with the accent on the "w." To give it to those Florida highwaymen merely because FRANK CLARK is a good fellow and DUNCAN FLETCHER mixes well—that is too strong. We love her oranges, but her lemons are too sour."

FREAR'S MISINFORMATION BAG.

But to return to FREAR and his attacks upon the Oklawaha and other waterway-improvement projects, we must review a few of his statements. For instance, he holds up his hands in horror, figuratively speaking, at the dreadful waste of three-quarters of a million dollars upon a few hundred swamp dwellers along the banks of a crooked river (the Oklawaha). By intimation and innuendo that are fairly cunning, he leaves the impression that no need for water transportation can ever exist along this river and that the number of people who would be served would not be sufficient to keep a motor boat busy or buy gasoline for it. He quotes from the census figures of 1900 or of 1890—not having these ancient figures at hand we can not be exact in this—and says Ocala, the largest town along the Oklawaha, has a population of about 2,600. He never heard of Leesburg and Eustis and Tavares and Mount Dora. They were not on the map he studied at night school. We surmise he got his education at night school, because whenever his memory does unearth some isolated fact it is a dark fact. Nothing cheerful can exist with Mr. FREAR. He is not a sunny creature. You've seen these people. They don't stay in Florida. They always go back North and spread stories of high hotel rates. Sometimes they write for the magazines.

Mr. FREAR also gives some startling information about the Kissimmee River, in which JOE SEARS has an interest. Probably basing his statistics upon the meager fact that Mr. SEARS is from Kissimmee and is interested in improving the river of the same name, FREAR says that the only town of any size at all on the Kissimmee River is the little village of Kissimmee, population 1,752. The only things wrong with these statements are two: One is that Kissimmee is farther from the Kissimmee River than FREAR could walk in three days. The other is in the census report. Yet it is on such wild and imaginative statements as these that FREAR bases his statistical tables he sprinkles so plentifully through the pages of the RECORD. They lend an air of truth where there is no truth. For FREAR they take the place of both fact and logic. And, to the shame of his dupes, newspapers like the Washington Times, the South-hating Chicago Tribune, the New York Times, and others, FREAR gets away with such witches' tales.

Embargo on Print, Book, and Linen Paper, Pulp and Its Products.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES H. DILLON,

OF SOUTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 2, 1917.

Mr. DILLON. Mr. Speaker, on July 7, 1916, I introduced House bill 16852 for the purpose of laying an embargo upon print, book, and linen paper, pulp and its products. This bill gives the President power and authority to raise the embargo when, in his judgment, the price charged the domestic consumer for the product becomes fair and just. It also gives the President, within a period of two years, the authority to reestablish the embargo when, in his judgment, the prices charged become unfair and unjust to the consuming public.

On April 26, 1916, under a Senate resolution the Federal Trade Commission was authorized to make an investigation concerning the high cost of print paper. For eight months the commission has been carrying on this investigation. During all this time the prices have continued to soar and no legislation is yet in sight.

The paper industry of the United States is now in a flourishing condition, yet I am satisfied it has not always been so. It is claimed that the paper-manufacturing industries have for many years been undergoing a period of stagnation, which, they say, was caused by placing finished paper on the free list, and because Canada has prohibited the exportation to the United States of all wood pulp from the Crown lands, which constitutes 75 per cent of the wood pulp of Canada.

The Federal Trade Commission, on November 4, 1916, gave to the public a statement showing—

Recent renewals of contracts have ranged from $3 to $3.50 f. o. b. mill, and market prices have been reported as high $10 delivered. Sell-

ing expenses * * * were lower in the first half of 1916 than in 1915, and profits per ton were higher. * * * The rate of profit for 19 United States companies in 1915 averaged 5.92 per cent, as compared with 9.34 per cent for 15 companies in the first half of 1916. * * * The quantity available for domestic consumption in 1916 (first half) was 17 per cent greater than in the first half of 1915, and 9 per cent greater than in the second half of that year.

The statement has frequently been made in the press that two years ago paper could be purchased for $1.95 per hundred that now in some cases has been sold as high as $10 per hundred. It is stated by the press of the country that during the first four months of 1915 our exports of print paper amounted to 5,000,000 pounds, while for the first four months of 1916 they amounted to 35,000,000 pounds, and that the United States exported to France from July 1, 1915, to June 1, 1916, 2,282 tons of print paper, while for a number of years previous none at all was exported.

The paper mills claim that there is a shortage, yet this shortage does not prevent them from exporting a vast tonnage to the European countries, because a large portion of the paper formerly sold on the domestic market is now finding its way to the high-priced European market.

The newspapers of the country are to be commended for their efforts on lines of economy, such as saving of waste paper, reduction of number of pages, reduction of size of paper, and the use of small type. Many a struggling paper has been forced to increase its rates in order to avoid bankruptcy.

The Federal Trade Commission has been devoting much time to an effort to have the large papers relinquish a percentage of the paper they have under contract for the year 1917, so that the large concerns may give up some 5 per cent of their contracts in order to supply the needs of the small customer. This is well enough, but it does not bring a permanent relief nor solve the problems now confronting us.

During the eight months of investigation the Federal Trade Commission has accomplished little, if anything, toward bringing out the facts. While the investigation goes on the price of news print continues on its upward march. The commission is too slow. If it is to justify its existence, it should speed up and get the facts. Stop wasting time on immaterial and nonessential matters. The essential fact is whether there is a combination in restraint of trade among the paper mills.

We have ample time to urge the big dealers to surrender a portion of their contracts for paper to the little dealers. This commission should have reported on the essential facts within 60 days, so that needed legislation might follow.

I am impressed that we have too many investigations. The modern method of killing legislation is to keep up a continual investigating process. If there is a probability of a combination in restraint of trade existing, the Judiciary Department of the Government ought to make an investigation through the Federal grand jury. Activity in the Judiciary Department will do more in one week than the Federal Trade Commission will do in a year.

I want to urge upon the membership of the House the necessity for legislation on this subject. The only legislation that will reach this situation is the passage of the embargo bill or resolution. The European countries are in various ways protecting their people by embargoes, while we have hesitated to use these remedies for the protection of our own people. We investigate and then investigate some more and then peacefully put to sleep the subject investigated without doing anything.

The Government should protect its citizens in every possible way against unfair competition, monopolies, and combinations. The duty of Congress is to legislate for the common good, for the welfare of our citizens. If charges are extortionate, if combinations in restraint of trade exist, if domestic trade has been abandoned in the interest of the foreigner, then why hesitate to act upon conditions that are rapidly becoming intolerable? In the interest of the people the established factories should not be allowed to inflict unnecessary and unusual injury and hardship upon the public. I can see no injustice in placing an embargo upon articles in trade where a conspiracy to force up the price exists.

For the public interest I am appending as a portion of my remarks two communications from the Federal Trade Commission:

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION,
Washington, September 1, 1916.

Hon. C. H. DILLON,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Replying to your letter of August 31, 1916, it will be some weeks yet before the commission's report on the news print situation will be presented to Congress. A mass of information has been collected by field agents from news-print manufacturers, paper jobbers, and newspaper publishers, which is now being worked up in the office as rapidly as possible.

Under date of August 29, 1916, the commission addressed a letter to each member of the News Print Manufacturers' Association suggesting several remedial measures that might be taken to prevent the suspension of newspapers not protected by contracts. A copy of this communication is inclosed for your informatin.

Very truly, yours,

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION,
By D. A. MORROW, *Acting Secretary.*

—

AUGUST 29, 1916.

Mr. G. F. STEELE,
Secretary, News Print Manufacturers' Association,
18 East Forty-first Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: While the commission's print-paper investigation is not yet completed, the information already collected shows that a large number of the smaller daily and weekly newspapers are paying from 4 to 8 cents a pound for their news-print paper in comparison with a price of from 2 to 3 cents at the beginning of the year. These papers either do not buy on contract or when their contracts have expired have been unable to renew them. Reports of the increasing shortage of paper have made these publishers fearful lest they be forced to suspend publication because of the failure of their paper supply or the prohibitive price which they may be compelled to pay. As is readily appreciated, they can not shift the increasing burden of paper cost to their advertisers or their subscribers as readily as the larger city dailies.

These smaller papers perform a most useful service in their respective localities and it would be a national calamity if they were forced to suspend. It would also be a serious blow to the news-print industry, for while their individual tonnages are small, in the aggregate they amount to a considerable proportion of the total consumption.

If conditions in the industry are to become as serious this fall as trade reports indicate, it occurs to the commission that the news-print manufacturers, as an association, might adopt such measures as would prevent the possible suspension of these unprotected newspapers. In order to stimulate discussion of such remedial measures, therefore, the commission takes the liberty of propounding the following inquiries:

What steps has your association taken or can it take to insure newspaper publishers not protected by contracts that they will be supplied with paper at a reasonable price?

What steps has your association taken or can it take to restrain by legitimate means any of its members or any of the middlemen handling news-print paper from charging unreasonable and prohibitive prices, especially for current or market sales?

What steps has your association taken or can it take to bring about the operation of your mills each alternate Sunday or for an extra shift every Sunday or to transfer machines to news-print paper that are now operating on other grades until the output of paper is sufficient to prevent the possible suspension of any of the newspapers unprotected by contracts?

In regard to the first inquiry, would it not be possible for your association to make a public announcement that every newspaper publisher will be taken care of, and, if necessary, create a protective committee whose duty it shall be to see that all publishers, regardless of contracts, shall be kept supplied with a fair share of the paper manufactured? Such action on your part would do much to allay the panic conditions now existing.

In regard to the second inquiry, would it not be advisable for the executive committee of your association to confer with every manufacturer and every important jobber selling news print with the view of obtaining cooperative action to prevent the charging of unreasonable and prohibitive prices and to restore confidence among the publishers?

In regard to the third inquiry, could not negotiations be immediately taken up with the officials of the labor unions to obtain their consent to work each alternate Sunday or for one extra shift each Sunday for the next two or three months, or would not the temporary curtailment of some other grades of paper in order to increase the output of news print result in less hardship than to allow the shortage of the latter to continue? The additional output of paper obtainable by adopting either or both of these plans would be sufficient to keep a large number of the smaller papers supplied?

Reports indicate that the newspaper publishers are making serious efforts to cut down waste and curtail consumption, and it is the purpose of this inquiry to ascertain whether the news-print manufacturers can not do more than they have already done to increase the supply and insure the equitable distribution of news-print paper. This is a situation, if it is as serious as reported, that calls for patriotic action by all parties concerned. Will you, therefore, give these suggestions your immediate and serious consideration and let the commission have the reply of your association at the earliest possible moment?

A copy of this letter is being sent to each member of your association and is also being given out to the press.

Yours, very truly,

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION,
By L. L. BRACKEN, *Secretary.*

Waste in Public Expenditures.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM P. BORLAND,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 3, 1917.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, should not Uncle Sam run his business in a businesslike manner? Could any business man hope to escape bankruptcy if he ran his business in a similar manner? I insert herewith some interesting comment from a leading journal on a recent attempt of mine to reform an abuse in the public service in Washington:

[From the Dallas Democrat, Dec. 30, 1916.]

WORDS OF WISDOM ON WICKEDLY WASTEFUL WAYS.

WILLIAM PATTERSON BORLAND represents the Kansas City district in the Congress at Washington. He is a lawyer and has published a text-

book on the Law of Wills and Administrations. He has been in the Congress for several years. Recently he spoke as follows from his place in the House:

"Among the principles of sound philosophy that are attributed to Thomas Jefferson is the statement that public expenditures ought to be honestly and economically made, that labor might be lightly burdened. I confess the first time I read that statement of Jefferson's I was entirely at a loss to understand the significance of the latter clause, 'that labor might be lightly burdened,' for in Jefferson's day it was the apparently accepted theory that property was the mainstay of the Nation and not labor. But a wider experience of public affairs and more thought on the subject convinces us that, after all, there is no source of national revenue or national strength but the product of useful toil. While we may for a brief period make any government subsist on taxation, or even on confiscation of accumulations of property, yet unless that property is renewed by the exercise of useful toil there comes a short and certain end to the resources of the government. No government has ever lived or ever can live by simple taxation or confiscation of the accumulations of property. In the last analysis the final resource for the life of every nation is the productive labor of its citizens. There is no justification for a single dollar of expense which is not reflected in an economical administration of the Government or in the promotion of the industrial life of the Nation. There is no money in our Federal Treasury that does not belong to the people. There is no magic means of getting money out of the blue sky, nor is there any way under the law of economics of taxing the foreigner. Every dollar in the Federal Treasury, or that ever will be in the Federal Treasury, comes out of the pockets of the American producer, and we should approach the expenditures of our Government with that fundamental principle in mind."

Those are wise words. They ought to be given the widest possible circulation. Every newspaper in Texas should find room for them. We need an awakening along this line. Government is getting to be a grievous burden. Unless a halt is called Government will come to be an unmitigated evil. Are the people indifferent to their own interests? Here is what the Baltimore platform said:

"We denounce the profligate waste of the money wrung from the people by oppressive taxation through the lavish appropriations of recent Republican Congresses, which have kept taxes high and reduced the purchasing power of the people's toil. We demand a return to that simplicity and economy which befits a democratic Government, and a reduction in the number of useless officers, the salaries of which drain the substance of the people."

How has that pledge been kept? The largest expenditures in the history of the Government! An increase in the number of useless officers!

Just 20 years ago Grover Cleveland, closing his final annual message to the Congress, said:

"In concluding this communication, its last words shall be an appeal to the Congress for the most rigid economy in the expenditure of the money it holds in trust for the people. The way to perplexing extravagance is easy, but a return to frugality is difficult. When, however, it is considered that those who bear the burdens of taxation have no guaranty of honest care save in the fidelity of their public servants, the duty of all possible retrenchment is plainly manifest."

The total expenditures of the Government in that year were $465,000,000. Now we are facing a budget of $1,600,000,000.

Mr. BORLAND'S concluding statement ought to be taught in the public schools from Maine to California:

"Every dollar in the Federal Treasury, or that ever will be in the Federal Treasury, comes out of the pockets of the American producer." (Waco Times-Herald.)

The Dallas Democrat indorses every word thus spoken by Congressman BORLAND and every word thus written and printed by Editor Robinson. What is above pleaded for should be the solemn guiding policy of every public official who in any way has to do with the expenditure of the money of the people. It should not be limited to national affairs. Every Commonwealth in the American Union should take it as precept and example in public affairs. And its application should not be limited to the Nation and the States. Every county and municipality should heed, study, and observe it. And what would be good public policy in this regard could surely be profitable precept and practice in private policy. Every household should abandon riotous, luxurious folly, and extravagance, and substitute therefor simple frugality, thrift, and economy.

And what Representative BORLAND advocated in the American Congress should be echoed by every member of the Texas Legislature at the approaching sessions of the lawmakers of the Commonwealth. If this shall be done the total of appropriations in the next revenue bills will not exceed $15,000,000, instead of the $18,000,000 voted from the taxpayers of the State by the thirty-fourth legislature.

Remember the words of wisdom written by Thomas Jefferson, "Public expenditures ought to be honestly and economically made, that labor might be lightly burdened."

J. C. MCNEALUS.

The speech from which the foregoing extract was taken related to a specific case of waste of the public money. It called attention to the fact that the 30,000 Government clerks in the executive departments in Washington worked only seven hours a day instead of a standard business day of eight hours; that they had also an undue number of special holidays and leaves of absence; that civil-service employees outside of Washington worked eight hours a day as a minimum, and sometimes longer, and were accorded no such special privileges. This discrimination or favoritism requires the employment of an unnecessarily large number of clerks to transact the public business in Washington. It results in the expenditure of an excessive sum in the mere machinery of administration. The army of clerks in Washington is increasing like a swarm of locusts to eat up the substance of the taxpayers. The pay roll of the Federal Government is now $50,000,000 a year in the District of Columbia alone. Ten per cent of this, or $5,000,000, is a conservative estimate of the amount of this waste.

If eight hours for a day's labor is fair for the taxpayer, it is fair for the tax eater. If the farmers and business men throughout the country who are not afraid to work at least eight hours a day to pay the taxes that support the Government are advised of the truth, they will insist that these public employees—those who are supported by the Government—shall give an honest and standard day's work. This abuse has been going on for years, until it has become a "vested wrong." Retrenchment is a matter of specific reform, and here is one upon which all intelligent business men can agree.

Our Outlook After Thirty Months of War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. BENNET,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 2, 1917.

Mr. BENNET. Mr. Speaker, by leave of the House I extend my remarks by printing the speech delivered by the Hon. S. D. FESS on New Year's Day at the open house of the Young Men's Christian Association in Philadelphia. The speech is as follows:

[Address of Hon. S. D. FESS, at open house, New Year's Day, 1917, Young Men's Christian Association, Philadelphia, Pa.]

OUR OUTLOOK AFTER 30 MONTHS OF WAR.

Mr. Chairman Smalty, members of the Young Men's Christian Association, ladies, and gentlemen: Just 30 years ago I made my first visit to the city of "Brotherly Love." It was on the occasion of an international convention of the Young Men's Christian Association, held in this city, to which I came as a delegate to represent a college association in one of the Ohio universities. I there and then received my deepest impression of the great possibilities of the movement. One of the famous speakers at the closing session—it was John Wanamaker—said a movement that can enlist the brain, the heart, and the pocketbook is sure to succeed.

I have made many trips to this city since that time. I come to-day in response to your committee to address you on the theme, "The United States in the eyes of the world"; or, "Our outlook after 30 months of war."

This theme is suggested most probably because of the mighty movements of world affairs and the most recent occurrence of our Nation in connection therewith. Not until yesterday, when the entente powers formally rejected the proposal of the central powers for a conference, had we any definite information of the purpose of either side to close up all channels of diplomacy, including neutral as well as belligerent powers, to continue the test of arms to reach final terms. While the reply of the entente is a formal rejection of all overtures, it does not necessarily prevent the central powers from stating to the world their terms of peace. The world will deplore the attitude of either side that will needlessly continue this world horror. It will have little sympathy for those who insist that the war must continue until one or the other side is crushed. That will mean most probably the slow death by bleeding of the best of all nations. Whatever may be thought of the wisdom or unwisdom of our Nation taking steps to bring the warring people into a conference, I feel that any movement on our part that would lead the way to stop the blood letting will be welcome both to neutral and belligerent powers. Whatever of evil there is in the contest, there is some merit. If we can induce the conference we may hope to conserve the good in each and eliminate the bad in both. Such a consummation will give an honored place to the great Republic in the eyes of the world.

Two years ago, after the war had been in progress for five months, I addressed a large concourse of people in western Pennsylvania on the situation involved by the world tragedy. At that time our chief concern was a study of causes and a speculation as to results. On that occasion, among other things, I said:

The cause can not be located in the capital of Bosnia. It did not occur on June 28, 1914. It was not a difference between Austria and Serbia. It was not the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand and his consort. That was but an incident, and the acute difference between the two countries was but an occasion. The war reverts to causes of vastly larger significance. It is the world struggle, or the first phase of it, predicted by scholars and statesmen in the last century. It possesses many elements—industrial, commercial, political, religious, and, especially, racial. To this must be added the personal, which is but temporary. While the Balkan question is of nearest significance and the eastern question of equal importance, the future course of events will most certainly prove that the real cause is found in the fear aroused by the growing and aggressive influence of Russia.

When Bonaparte, at the beginning of the last century, with a half million soldiers invaded Russia and invested Moscow, and was com-

pelled to retrace his steps with less than 50,000 troops, all that was left out of the entire army not lost either by death or capture, he announced to the world a coming final struggle, not between the Latin and Anglo-Saxon, as heretofore prophesied, but between the Anglo-Saxon and the Cossack. While his generation regarded this announcement as an effusion from a brain that was jaded by defeat, later generations realized the significance of the statement. Russia in the Crimea, in the Balkans, in Poland and Finland, and in the Far East are but comments.

If the Tsars have had an ambition some day to rule this planet, they have thus far moved in the right direction. Behold that wonderful country, with an area of one-sixth of the inhabitable globe, and not a foot of territory detached. Starting from the Baltic on the West, one may travel toward the rising sun a distance of 7,500 miles to the eastern ocean without leaving Russian territory; then, starting in the frozen seas of the north, he may travel in the direction of the glacier's movement a distance of 2,500 miles and still be on Russian soil. Within this vast area will be found a population of 172,000,000 people, the most prolific in the world. Vast as is this territorial domain, the actual boundary lines do not measure the Russian power. Its sphere of influence over countries not Russian must be considered. Its power is felt in the Danubian Provinces and the Balkan States, most of which are peopled by Slavs. It has already covered all of Turkestan, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Pamir, and is now extending over Persia. This mighty empire has financed the railroad building in Persia, and over these fingers of steel she touches the southern waters on the English line of commerce from the Orient to the Occident. This influence already impinges upon England in India and in recent times has threatened China. These ominous movements were not without contests. The advance to the Black Sea produced the Crimean War, while her activities in that region saw numerous Balkan uprisings. Her advance eastward was checked by the war with Japan, while her activities in the region of Tibet called forth the English expedition headed by Younghusband. Our own country was most aroused over the great eastern question during the Boxer uprising in China, which offered a pretense to Russia and other countries for the partition of China. It is not too much to say that the integrity of the Celestial Empire is due to our own country's decisive stand.

This empire expansion may not mean land hunger; it may express Russia's method of fulfilling the decree of her greatest mind—"a nation to become a world power must take her position upon the sea." While Russia in area is larger than either North or South America, while it is many times larger than all Europe, and while in resources it has the promise of being the greatest food producer on earth, as well as the richest in mineral wealth, yet its entire ocean trade is but a bagatelle as compared with the trade in the port of the city of New York. Russia's western outlet through the Baltic is next to no outlet at all. She is virtually closed out from the west. Her fight to get to the Black Sea was long and fierce; and while she won the fight to keep a fleet on that sea, the struggle ended in a virtually closed sea. The Crimean War promised her an outlet until Italy, England, and France joined Turkey and denied Russia the right to take her fleet out of the Black Sea. Turkey's position in Europe is due to the friendly assistance of Italy, England, and France, who are dominant in the Mediterranean, neither of which is willing to see Russia in a position of influence in the Mediterranean. Russia, closed out of the middle sea, will take care that the countries between her and the open sea shall not become provinces of her rivals, especially when the intervening countries are of the Slavic race.

As Gortchikoff pointed to the importance of an outlet into the Mediterranean, so Witte pointed to the possibility, as well as the importance, of an outlet to the Pacific. The fulfillment of this purpose saw the governmental construction of the Trans-Siberian Railroad to connect the Occident with the Orient. This completed enterprise was not a commercial success, since its eastern terminus, Vladivostok, was a winter port, icebound for half the year. When Japan, at the close of the war with China, demanded from China an indemnity of $180,000,000 or concessions in Manchuria, and when China, unable to pay the indemnity, agreed to make the concessions, Russia proposed to assist China in the payment, and, in turn, in due time secured concessions in the East Chinese Railroad from Harbin to Port Arthur, which supplied the indispensable summer port in the Orient.

Differences growing out of this transaction led Japan finally to demand Russia to withdraw troops from this portion of China. Troops of all other countries had been withdrawn after the Boxer episode. Russia's failure to do this is the occasion for Japan's bombardment of Port Arthur and the Russo-Japanese War. Russia was again denied an ocean outlet for the time at least. No one will seriously doubt the ability of this "giant of the North" to go to the sea in her own good time. With Russia in control of an overland route from the Orient to the Occident, England sees a commercial rival which will test her supremacy in the world of trade. The English policy for at least 100 years past is to be and remain the world's carrier of commerce. She has the ships, the coaling stations, the open ports, the cables, and all that enter into a great sea power. Her ships if placed side by side would reach 14 miles. Gibraltar, the most heavily fortified citadel on earth, commands the occidental terminus, while Hongkong, the most heavily fortified citadel in Pacific waters, is at the oriental terminus of what promises to be the greatest trade route of the world. Between them are coaling stations at convenient distances. This line of 13,500 miles, and which requires at least 51 days of sailing for the rapid freighters, is but a cordon of English stations in English waters or waters open to these boats. A great freighter en route with bunkers filled with coal would be at its own coaling station before its coal would be exhausted.

On the other hand, the Russian overland route will require but 17 days to cover it, or almost one-third the time required over the water route. No one will doubt which route the mails will take, or the small packages, the parcel post. The only question will be whether the freight will take the shorter route. It will be a question of rates. Can Russia with a Government-owned railroad compete with England?

These parallel trade routes controlled by the two rivals have new significance when studied in the light of Russia's impinging on China and India, her extension of influence over Persia to the South Sea, and her activities in the Balkan region as well as on the western borders. The question at once arises what means the line-up of the parties in the present war. England has always heretofore stood with Turkey against Russia. Without England's influence Turkey long ago would have been driven out of Europe. Commercially this was expected, but religiously it was unnatural. To-day England is with Russia against Turkey. The significance of this is yet to appear. It would seem from every point of contact England should be with Germany against Russia, but not so. This reversal of the course of history and self-interest causes thoughtful students to predict a contest between Russia and England in case this war ends with defeat for Germany. They assert if Germany ceases to be a bulwark against Russian aggression in the west, England must make the contest. Few thoughtful people, students of world politics, will deny the strength of this assertion, otherwise history has no lesson for the future.

While it is generally accepted that in case of an entente victory Russia will be given Constantinople and an outlet through the Dardanelles, to students of the far eastern and near eastern questions, in the light of 100 years of history, such a consummation is too remote to warrant any great degree of confidence. In the face of a most probable future conflict suggested by what has been the dominant spirit of the past century, it is difficult to believe that England has greater dangers from military Germany than from reactionary Russia.

One year ago I had the honor to respond to a second request to discuss before the same audience our diplomatic relations with the warring nations, due to the inauguration of the starvation policy of the great belligerents—Germany's submarine warfare in apparent total oblivion of our rights upon the sea, on the one hand, and England's introduction of orders in council to totally supersede, as it appears, all international agreements, on the other. I then pointed out the danger that our intensity against the submarine policy must not lead us to overlook the more dangerous possibilities to our future to grow out of less serious offenses. The submarine policy must fail by the force of public opinion, but subtle invasion of neutral rights once surrendered is an unwilling concession most difficult to correct. Germany's offense extending to the loss of life was most poignant. England's incursions limited to restrictions of property rights were apt to be ignored by us, because the offense itself was not so serious. Herein was to be found one of our greatest dangers. It produces an impression that we place a money value in the form of damage upon neutral rights upon the sea. This is dangerous.

The real danger to a nation is never measured by the actual loss of a measurable value, but rather by a surrender of a principle of national honor. As was said back in 1776, when the rights of the Colonies were ignored and it was proposed to so arrange the schedules that tea with the British tax levied could be purchased at less cost than heretofore without the tax, "Not pence, but principle, is our contention."

Among other features I then discussed was the inevitable bitterness our policy as a neutral would produce among both belligerents. Neutrality is never agreeable to a belligerent except that brand which squints in its favor. Our refusal to violate The Hague conference, especially the seventh article, permitting a belligerent to purchase munitions in a neutral market, but naturally incensed the populace if not official Germany. That was not so much because American munitions were sold to the allies as because Germany could not deliver similar purchases. I then pointed out why our Nation could not place an embargo on such purchases; first, because it was largely our insistence as a nonmilitary country that the right was officially recognized, and, secondly, we necessarily must avoid the fatal results of a policy to close neutral markets to our own Government in case we might become involved in war. We had still another source of foreign dissatisfaction.

Our insistence that our problems with either belligerent must be adjusted without reference to the quarrel with the other, as well as our well-defined duty to insist upon no interference within our borders on behalf of either belligerent, added to the bitterness against us. On the other hand, our duty to hold all nations to a strict regard for our rights upon the sea and our refusal to permit any country to dictate our international policy has induced a patrimonious regard toward us that to say the least is short of national insult. Our refusal to take kindly to such policy induces a pronounced bitterness against us in the charge that we are mere money grabbers.

Both sides from the beginning have played their cards to convince us that neither was at fault in the outset, and both persist that each is fighting for its national existence. My emphasis one year ago was placed upon the serious outcome of a policy of repudiation of international law and practice by orders in council.

Speaking upon the dangers of these aggressions upon our rights one year ago in the House of Representatives, I said, among other things:

The blockade may be used as a discrimination against not only our rights but against our immediate future, for if Great Britain can shut us out of the markets of Scandinavia and Denmark and Holland, which we emphatically deny, she can not blockade those coasts, even though we agree that it is a continuous voyage, unless she blockades the coasts against her own vessels [applause], for a blockade must extend to all vessels of all countries alike. And if Great Britain could extend her blockade to these vessels alone she could herself buy the article we otherwise would sell to neutral countries and then reship it at her own

price to the same countries. In this way she fixes the price she pays to us and also the price she receives from them. Such monopoly on the sea is monstrous. These lines which are daily tightening upon the world's sea-borne commerce are ominous to any man who has watched the movement of this country the last year, especially in the light of the past.

* * * * * * *

Again, a blockade must be effectual to be valid. This is why we paid no attention to Germany's order of February 18 declaring the waters about Great Britain a war zone. You can not blockade a coast by an invisible fence of submarines. Germany never called it a blockade for that reason. It would have meant nothing under international law.

Is England's blockade effective? We say no. Our country has already notified her that it is "illegal, ineffectual, and indefensible."

She admits it is not effectual when she refuses us to sell to neutrals on the ground that the goods reach Germany. If they do, it is conclusive of the ineffectual character of her blockade and can not be valid against neutrals.

CONTRABAND.

Contraband is both absolute and conditional. Absolute contraband can be seized when it is shipped to enemy countries, whether direct or indirect. That is, if we were shipping absolute contraband, like shells, powder, cannon, and so on, to Germany, and shipping it through the neutral countries, that could be seized and confiscated wherever found, because it is reaching Germany indirectly. But this must be limited to absolute contraband. It can not extend to conditional contraband. Conditional contraband covers foodstuffs, clothing, mules, drugs, automobiles, and such articles that may or may not be used by the army, and can not be seized when consigned to neutral ports, nor to even belligerent ports when for the use of the civilian population. But Great Britain has decreed that conditional contraband shipped to a neutral country is seizable, and thereby she has eliminated the difference between conditional and absolute contraband, so that there is no discrimination whatever any more. In this method of order in council she has by the extension of contraband really blockaded not only the enemy but neutral coasts before she issued blockade orders.

I will submit for the RECORD tables of vessels, specifying the goods reaching neutral coasts, that have been seized by Great Britain, and I will submit 155 cases of it, and I will also show you where Great Britain, from March 11 to June 17, required 271 vessels to stop at a certain port, a port of her own call, and that were required to do it because she said so. She does not only say what we may ship, but where we may ship and what route we must take, and at the greatest cost.

FREE SHIPS; FREE GOODS.

That is not the only thing. Enemy's goods under neutral flags, if free goods, must be protected. I do not say contraband; certainly not. I refer to enemy free goods. Here are dyes, that can neither be regarded conditional nor absolute contraband, manufactured by Germany. We need them in this country. We have heard what Mr. Metz has said upon the subject. We have received resolution after resolution from firms asking that these goods be released. Why are they not released? What has become of the long-established rule that neutral flags cover enemy goods not contraband? On March 15, 1915, by orders in council Great Britain made this ruling, the most far-reaching of all her rulings, in which she says that any goods of the enemy found on neutral vessels—for example, dyes of Germany on American vessels—will be seized, taken into port, and, if not requisitioned, etc. This same order in council is not limited to goods going to or from Germany, but extends to every vessel on her way to any port other than a German port carrying goods either of enemy property or destined to enemy use. It also extends to all neutral vessels destined to neutral ports that carry goods of enemy origin. This order forbids this country purchasing any goods whatsoever from Germany, no matter what the suffering produced by their want, except upon her permission.

What else has she said in that orders of council of March 15, 1915? Any neutral goods, contraband or noncontraband, found under enemy flags will be seized. What has become of the law that free goods mean a free sea? If it is enemy goods, in enemy vessels, nobody has a question. If it is absolute contraband, under neutral vessels, nobody has a question unless that contraband was going to a neutral country to be applied for its own use. But that is not all.

THE "WILHELMINA" A TEST CASE.

Here is the vessel *Wilhelmina*, loaded with foodstuffs and consigned to a Mr. Green, an American citizen. Mr. Green accompanies the vessel to Germany. Great Britain says foodstuffs on the *Wilhelmina* are contraband, because it is conditional. In substance she says, "If you send it to Germany, we will seize it, whether it is to be given directly to the armed forces or to the German people, because under a decree of Germany all foodstuffs to reach Germany will be applied by the German Government." The German Government said to us, and we to Great Britain, that this decree does not apply to any goods that go to municipalities, for the order did not cover municipalities. Yet Great Britain seized the *Wilhelmina* because loaded with foodstuffs consigned not to the German Government nor a German citizen but to an American citizen to see that it went to the civil population. This seizure is made in spite of Britain's position in 1898, cited at the outset of my address, and in the face of our well-known position. In 1904, when Russia wanted to so treat foodstuffs, our own John Hay said, "Articles like coal, cotton, and provisions, though ordinarily innocent, are capable of warlike use, are not subject to capture and confiscation unless shown by evidence to be actually destined for the military or naval forces of a belligerent." How does this comport with the *Wilhelmina?* What has taken place since this seizure? No goods, conditional contraband or free, are admitted into any of the central countries.

You ask me, "What are you going to do about it?" I will tell you what I might be willing to do. We may be driven to it here, not because it is our wish or desire, but as a measure to compel respect for our rights, and that is, if Great Britain will not respect our rights as defined in law, I am about ready to vote now to stop all the munitions of war going to her. This at least would raise the question why it is right to sell her weapons of death and wrong to sell the noncombatants of Germany bread for life. [Applause.]

I would not stop munitions to aid Germany. Farthest from it, for I fear the military spirit of that great country. And while I fear the spirit of militaristic Germany, I also fear the navalism of Great Britain as I feel it now on the sea. I would not vote an embargo on behalf of or against any belligerent, but we may be driven to do it to compel respect for us upon the seas.

In closing my remarks on that occasion I said:

I am not belligerent. I think, my friends, that all that it is necessary for this country to do in order that our rights will be respected from every quarter is to make it clear that we are not taking the position of my friend from Massachusetts [Mr. GARDNER], an ally of any one of the countries, but that we are here in the American Congress, the legislative body of the first great Republic of the earth, and we are here speaking not for any belligerent, taking sides with no one of the contestants, speaking not for the North, the South, the East, or the West, nor for German-Americans or Anglo-Americans, but as American citizens we shall cease our bitter partisanship toward individual nations and shall suppress the foolish prejudices that I hear so frequently, both in public and private, and raise our voice not for any section or for any particular element of our electorate, but for America, for America's rights on sea and land, for her nobility of purpose as a friend and well-wisher of all the countries now in the throes of war, then we will compel the recognition of our rights in all quarters and by all nations, belligerent or neutral.

This afternoon I am here in response to your invitation to discuss the outlook as it appears after 30 months of warfare, or "The United States in the eyes of the world." While much that is said is speculative, yet there are specific facts known to all which may be used for each of you to draw your own conclusions.

The war has now involved the fifteenth nation, comprising all of Europe save the small nations of Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, Holland, Denmark, and Spain. These warring countries comprise more than three-fourths of the world's population. It has called to the colors considerably over 30,000,000 soldiers, including the flower of the Old World. The first two years of the war totaled a loss of men in the field, killed and wounded, the staggering number of over 18,000,000. The War Study Society, of Copenhagen, issued a bulletin August 1, 1916, from which the following figures are taken:

Direct losses of human life during two years of war.

	Dead.	Wounded.	Dead and wounded.	Invalids.
Austria-Hungary	718,000	1,777,000	2,495,000	533,000
Belgium	50,000	110,000	160,000	33,000
Bulgaria	25,000	60,000	85,000	18,000
England	205,000	512,000	717,000	154,300
France	885,000	2,115,000	3,000,000	634,000
Germany	885,500	2,116,300	3,001,800	634,900
Italy	105,000	245,000	350,000	73,500
Russia	1,498,000	3,820,000	5,318,000	1,140,000
Serbia	110,000	140,000	250,000	42,000
Turkey	150,000	350,000	500,000	105,000
Total	4,631,500	11,245,300	15,876,800	3,373,700

Comparison with earlier wars.

	Duration in days.	Number of dead.	Dead per day.	Proportional numbers.
1790–1815	9,000	2,100,000	235	3.7
1854–1856	730	785,000	1,075	17.0
1859	41	45,000	1,100	17.4
1864	135	3,500	26	.4
1866	40	45,000	1,125	17.8
1870–71	210	184,000	875	13.9
1899–1902	995	9,800	10	.2
1904–5	548	160,000	292	4.6
1912–13	238	462,000	1,950	30.9
1914–1916	731	4,631,500	6,336	100.0

The society takes up in detail each country, as follows:

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

The computations are based on general casualty losses made public at the beginning of the war. From August 13 to September 14, 1914, lists of casualties among officers were published; also during the period from September 20, 1914, to October 10, 1915, since which time no more lists have been issued. The total number of lists published was 244. The results were deduced by applying the averages from known statistics in other countries; for instance, in Germany for 23 months of war there were 28 dead soldiers for each dead officer, 40 wounded soldiers for 1 wounded officer, 40 dead for 100 wounded. Applying this ratio to Austria-Hungary, the losses of the Austro-Hungarian Army during the first year of the war would be:

	Officers.	Men.	Total.
Dead	14,850	416,000	43,850
Wounded	26,000	1,040,000	1,066,000
Prisoners			763,000

Regarding the second year of the war, the calculations are based on averages, with the following results:

Austro-Hungarian losses second year of war (Aug. 1, 1915, to Aug. 1, 1916).

	Officers.	Soldiers.	Total.
Dead	9,904	277,300	287,204
Wounded	17,340	693,600	710,940
Prisoners	.....	.....	387,000
Total	27,244	970,900	1,385,144

Austro-Hungarian losses during two years of war.

	Officers.	Soldiers.	Total.
Dead	24,754	693,300	718,054
Wounded	43,340	1,733,600	1,776,940
Prisoners	.....	.....	1,150,000
Total	68,094	2,426,900	3,644,994

The estimates for the second year of the war do not include the missing nor the sick; hence the figures above are considerably less than the figures heretofore given by the countries hostile to Austria-Hungary. Russian statements regarding Austria-Hungary up to the end of February, 1916—19 months of the war—computed 723,200 dead, 2,692,100 sick and wounded, and 809,000 prisoners, making for the two years of war 913,512 dead, 3,400,296 sick and wounded.

The society estimates that the losses of Austria-Hungary in the first two years of the war are, in round numbers: Minimum total dead, 718,000; maximum total dead, 913,512; sick and wounded, minimum, 533,000; maximum, 1,000,000.

Compared with wars waged by Austria-Hungary in the second half of the last century, the following shows the relative losses:

	Dead.	Wounded.	Total.
1859	5,400	26,000	31,400
1866	10,994	29,304	40,298
1914-1916	718,000	533,000	1,251,000

BRITISH ARMY LOSSES.

Fourteen statements of losses of the British Army appeared to January 27, 1916, when they ceased, and from these averages the following totals are arrived at (Aug. 4, 1914, to Aug. 21, 1915):

Statement in House of Commons.

	Officers.	Noncommissioned officers and men.
Killed and died of wounds	4,965	7,992
Wounded	9,973	241,086
Missing	1,501	53,466
Total	16,439	365,544
Grand total	.....	381,983

The number of prisoners from the British Army, as reported up to June 1, 1916, were as follows: In Germany, 32,000; in Turkey, 17,827; in Bulgaria, 449. Lord Newton stated in the House of Commons on May 31, 1916, that 1,318 of the 25,621 prisoners of the army then in Germany had died—a death rate of 5.14 per cent. The ravages of disease among the soldiers in the Dardanelles is evident by the official report, showing that between April 25 and December 11, 1915, 96,683 were taken to the hospital, while the dead and wounded amounted to 112,991.

This large percentage of sickness was due to epidemics of typhus; there were 28,500 cases out of a total of 78,200 between April and October, 1915. The absolute losses, including the killed, missing, wounded, and sick, who will not return to the front, from the beginning of the war to January 9, 1916, in the English Army, is figured at 410,722, being 74 per cent of the total losses as reported up to January 9, 1916, which aggregated 549,467. Of the 410,722 total losses, 128,138 were killed or died of wounds.

BRITISH NAVY LOSSES.

The total of losses in the British Navy, as reported before the Jutland battle on May 31, 1916, was 12,160, of which 10,517 were killed or died of wounds. The losses in the Jutland battle were 6,617, which brings the total losses of the British Navy up to the middle of June, 1916, to 18,777, of whom 16,983 were killed and wounded.

From the preceding figures—the losses being based upon official reports and established averages—the total losses for the British Army and Navy in the two years are computed at 808,463, of which 34,360 were officers. The absolute losses were, in killed and permanently wounded during the two years, 359,725. This total compares with the Crimean and Boer wars, as follows:

	Total army.	Killed and died of wounds.	Wounded.
Two years, present war	2,000,000	188,464	512,465
Crimean war	97,864	4,602	18,283
Boer war	250,000	5,774	22,829

LOSSES OF FRANCE.

Only approximate estimates of the French losses can be arrived at, as casualty lists are not published and official statements regarding the number of killed and wounded are not given. Some reliable figures, however, are computed from statistics of certain organizations related to the army.

It is known that from September 15 to November 30, 1914, 490,000 wounded were treated at the different hospitals, of which 54.5 per cent returned to the front; only 2.48 per cent died; 17 per cent remained at the hospitals and are computed as permanently lost.

The French Relief Society officially stated that up to June, 1915 (10 months of the war), the killed, wounded, missing, and prisoners of the French aggregated 1,400,000. From other information and meager reports, the War Study Society arrives at the following losses for the two years of the war:

FRENCH LOSSES IN TWO YEARS OF THE WAR.

Killed	885,000
Wounded	2,115,000
Invalided	634,000

Comparison with former wars.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Total.
1859	2,536	17,054	19,590
1870-71	138,871	137,626	276,497
1914-1916	885,000	2,115,000	3,000,000

GERMANY'S WAR LOSSES.

The losses of Germany are computed from the casualty lists published by the minister of war. Up to July 1, 1916, 1,032 such lists had been issued, containing 13,178 pages, averaging 262.3 casualties per page, but these included certain percentages of corrections and duplications, so the actual bases are figured at 225.8 per page, which would bring the total published losses from the beginning of the war to the 1st of July, 1916 (23 months), to 2,975,592. These lists, however, do not indicate the time at which the losses were sustained; but from the reports it is estimated that the casualty lists up to the twenty-third month of the war only covered the period to May 15, 1916. Maintaining the same average for the six weeks, the total up to the 15th of May, 1916 (21½ months of the war), would be 3,012,637; and according to the above computations, of these the dead number 771,308, 26.3 per cent; seriously wounded, 447,177, 15.2 per cent; slightly wounded, 1,395,146, 47.4 per cent; prisoners, 327,148, 11.1 per cent.

From all the data and averages the society estimates that the total German losses during the first two years of the war were as follows:

Dead	885,500
Slightly wounded	1,602,900
Severely wounded	513,400
Prisoners—about	400,000

As compared with the losses of the Franco-Prussian War:

Dead	280,000
Wounded	101,000

LOSSES OF ITALY.

The Italian Government does not publish figures, and results can only be computed from partial reports and averages. The Austrian general staff on November 31, 1915, asserted that six months of the war had cost Italy a half million men. The German Kölnische Zeitung, in May, stated that the first 12 months of the war had cost Italy 3,000 dead officers. The Army and Navy Gazette, April 22, 1916, reported the total Italian losses at 25,000 a month. From these reports and others the Italian losses for the first 14 months of the war are computed as follows:

Killed	105,000
Wounded	245,000
Prisoners	55,000

LOSSES OF RUSSIA.

The losses of Russia are computed from estimates, with deductions, from fragmentary reports. No official figures are available. It is known from hospital reports that during the first 6 months of the war the sick and wounded amounted to 1,200,000, and unofficial figures show that during 18 months of the war the sick and wounded reached 3,953,000, of whom 1,048,000 were sick. The Russian Government has issued 185 lists of killed, but these official lists were not always available. Based upon the most reliable data and reports, the following estimates are arrived at:

Russian losses in first 2 years of the war (officers and men).

Losses in fighting	7,235,000
Losses in sick	1,362,000
Total losses	8,597,000
Military losses	5,181,000
Killed	1,171,000
Died of wounds	244,000
Died of sickness	82,000
Wounded	3,820,000
Prisoners, estimated	2,000,000

Russian losses in previous wars.

	Killed and died of wounds.	Wounded.
Crimean War	72,000	.....
Russo-Turkish War	36,000	118,000
Russo-Japanese War	34,000	141,000

BALKAN STATES AND BELGIUM.

No official information of the losses of the Balkan States and Turkey is procurable, but based upon the available data and reports the following results are arrived at by the society:

The war losses of the Balkan States and Turkey up to Aug. 1, 1916.

	Dead.	Wounded.	Invalids (approximated).	Died from illness.
Bulgaria	25,000	60,000	18,000	.....
Serbia	60,000	140,000	42,000	50,000
Turkey	150,000	350,000	105,000	.....
Total	235,000	550,000	165,000	.....

No official information of the losses of Belgium is procurable, but from reports the total losses of the Belgians in the first two years of the war are put at 247,000, of whom 47,000 are killed, 160,000 wounded, and 40,000 prisoners.

THE APPALLING TOTALS.

All of the above figures, as stated, the first two years of the war. At this writing (Nov. 15, 1916) three and one-half months more have elapsed, or 14½ per cent of additional time. These three and one-half months have been the bloodiest since the outbreak of the war, particularly among the French, Germans, Austrians, Italians, Russians, and British, while a new element has entered into the contest—Roumania. It is a conservative computation to add, in order to reach a grand total of losses up to November 15, 1916, 16⅔ per cent to the above figures; indeed, in the cases of France, England, Germany, Russia, Austria, and Italy from 20 to 25 per cent might safely be added. The adding of 16⅔ per cent would bring the total dead on November 15, 1916, into the neighborhood of 5,600,000, and would show the wounded to be in excess of 13,000,000.

The cost in money is equally bewildering. England's recent vote of $2,000,000,000 additional bonds runs up her increased public bonded indebtedness since the war to the bewildering figure of $18,410,000,000, while the total for the 15 nations it is estimated will reach at least $75,000,000,000. The interest charge upon the war debt of these countries will be greater than their total budget before the war. The enormity of this condition can best be viewed when we are reminded that our own public debt is somewhat less than $1,000,000,000—to be exact $971,562,590. To meet the staggering interest charge, to say nothing of the principal, will not only tax the statesmen called upon to make provision, but at best it must entail a burden upon the people unknown in civilized nations. Will repudiation be the result on the ground that no other choice is left? The recent warning of the Federal Reserve Board against further investment in foreign loans is significant. No wonder your great superintendent of public instruction, your own Dr. Schaefer, recently said "whatever Europe is fighting for she will win but four things—graves, cripples, debts, and taxes." Already, even before the paying has begun, British taxes are reaching 50 per cent of incomes. We refer to England since more is known of that country than any of the belligerents.

To-night our chief concern is what is to be expected at the close of the war. The staggering losses in men and money indicate it can not indefinitely continue. Bonar Law, in referring to the recent loan, declared the daily outlay for Britain, which had reached $28,550,000, could not continue without limit. That outlay means over $1,000,000 per hour for every waking and sleeping hour of the day. The war has gone far enough to demonstrate certain facts. This frightful cost in money and life must end, and, it would appear, within a demonstrable time. How it will end no man can tell. What changes must be made no one can state. It would be a bold man who would venture a statement of a possible result in the remapping of Europe. What news filters through the censor's scissors is so vague, if not so colored, that the public has become disgusted. It is not at all certain that many changes will take place, since military results so far do not warrant any definite predictions.

First. Neither side can have much hope of completely crushing the other. Both enjoy advantages, but neither sufficient to warrant ardent hope of their sympathizers. Germany, the highest type of the modern militarist, has proved her value both in the field and in the laboratory. To her 68,000,000 population when the war opened she has added at least 50,000,000 more, and has immensely increased her security against a campaign of starvation. Whatever hope might have been entertained in the earlier part of the struggle, little is now held by either side. Most certainly there has nothing occurred that would assure to the entente powers that advantage which at an earlier stage played a large part in their plans.

As Germany is the best type of the militarist, England is the best type of the navalist. The one's superiority on the land is equally matched by the other's superiority on the sea. Even so, Germany at Verdun proved her limitations in offensive operations, as the allies did in Gallipoli and now on the Somme. Such relative powers can not hope to reach decisive tests, save those of attrition, which require time for final results. In that case internal dissension is almost sure to defeat the power that is responsible for such tactics.

While the test of arms is being waged distinctive forces are impressing the nations. The socializing of the industries is one of the most prominent of all the marked results of the war. In Germany advanced steps had been taken before the war. The war but increased it. Note the drift in the entente powers. In England it is stated about 4,000,000 men were called to the colors.

One of the earliest and greatest problems confronting the country was to mobilize the industries to serve the needs of the fighting nation. Men and munitions immediately forthcoming were imperative. More men at the front meant less in the munition plants. Lloyd George began his work of mobilizing the labor of England; some in the trenches and others in the munition plants. What industries were not converted into munition plants were largely filled by women. Women were also employed in a limited number in some of the munition works. The Quarterly Review reported last April that there were at least 1,000,000 women thus employed at good wages with more or less satisfactory service. This situation will insure England an industrial problem at the close of the war. When the men return from the ranks to find their places filled by others most reluctant to relinquish their profitable employment there will appear the country's greatest problem of unemployment. The abnormal standard of expenditure will have produced a degree of extravagance that will prove a national problem to avoid a widespread suffering inevitable when the war inflation is past. It has been suggested in high circles that the Government continue for a time after the war to employ under Government direction the soldiers displaced by the call to arms.

Then, again, the campaign for the world's markets, which have long served England, and which had given her the rank of mistress of the sea, and which under the reign of modern scientific efficiency was being threatened by Germany before the war, will probably be renewed with new vigor, with a possible advantage for Germany. There is no country which has so thoroughly enlisted the scientist, the research worker, the expert in intensive production as has Germany. To-day she has at work perhaps 3,000,000 prisoners at about 8 cents per day to produce the goods which will be marketed when the war closes. These do not include the noncombatants, about which we have recently heard so much. These prisoners are under the best trained experts in the arts of industry. They are at work in the fields, in the shops, in the mines, in the mills, at the forges, at the looms, at the lathes, at the spindles, producing and storing billions of dollars' worth of goods to be disposed of in the world's great markets. To-day the chief energy of all nations is destructive; when the war ends it will be constructive. Now it is debt making, then it will be debt paying. Markets for selling will be sought rather than markets for buying.

While it is true that conferences have been held by both the belligerents, and especially the allies, and agreements have been proposed to capture by a system of boycott or black list, or both, the markets, it will not be overlooked that markets are not controlled by resolution, but by the laws of trade, at which all can work and in which the best equipped will lead. England sees in Germany a dangerous competitor.

This socializing of industries in England does not end with the industries, but extends to every phase of European life. In the case of the entente powers, as well as the central, the sum total of national energy is devoted to effectiveness in war. The productive agencies of land and sea are converted to that one purpose. The commercial as well as the defensive navies are so mobilized as not only to safeguard the nations' needs in the present war, but to insure a monopolization of the over-seas trade after the war. These steps are modifying the character of government. The stress of war has driven the entente powers to adopt the close corporation to centralize authority of action in order to meet the superior effectiveness of the central operations due to the unity of action under German direction. The world thus views one of the most democratic governments of history under the complete dictatorship of Lloyd George at the head of a small council of four associates of his own choosing, with plenary power to command the destiny of the mighty Empire. This figure emerging from the masses holds within his grasp the greatest powers yet intrusted to an individual. Just what is to be the permanent results of such consummation is yet to be seen.

H. G. Wells, commenting upon the immediate social result of the war upon English life and activity, said: "The ships, the railways, the coal and metal supply, the great metal industries, much engineering, and most agriculture will be more or less completely under collective ownership; the owner will be less of a controller and more of a creditor; he will be a rentier or annuitant. The importance of the financial and promoter will have diminished relatively to the importance of adminis-

trative official. "In due time," said he, "we shall tour about in State-manufactured automobiles upon State-built roads. We shall live in houses equipped with a national factory electric light installation, and upon every turn we shall be using and consuming the products of nationalized industry."

This is a most significant statement, and in the light of the world trend, apparent upon every side, we may well study its impression inevitable upon our own people and our form of government.

To be sure, the Socialist hails it as the beginning of an organization of the proletariat, who he claims will take possession of all power simply because he is in the majority, since in every country those who have not are invariably greater in number than those who have. We will abolish the energy that produces grades of success and all live off of the Government.

While we view this play of world forces in a life-and-death contest, most naturally we are most concerned about its general effect upon this Nation. There is small danger of our country becoming involved if we but respect real neutrality. Our serious moments will be when the war has ended. During its continuance no country wishes us to be against her and none can hope for us to be with her. The central powers are not in position to more than harass us, no matter what might be their desire or pretended provocation. The entente powers would not provoke trouble because of their dependence upon our markets both for munitions and war supplies and the vast amount of American securities held by them, all of which would be canceled in case of war. What either thus far has done has been with the conviction that we will be tolerable. The moment it is made clear that we will not permit these violations they will cease. The industrial situation is important.

These countries have already met a balance of trade in our favor of over $4,000,000,000. This is very largely war demands, most of which will cease upon the restoration of peace. To avoid such operations from draining Europe of gold and threatening the entire financial fabric by an inevitable paper basis, they have attempted to (1) mobilize the American securities by offering a premium in their exchange for British consols. Up to date, of the estimated $6,000,000,000 of such securities held in England, there are probably $2,000,000,000 of them deposited with American bankers to care for the balances which the enormous war demands have produced. This figure is probably near the limit. These countries can not hope to induce holders to exchange such gilt-edged securities for less valuable, even at a premium. These countries have also floated about $1,502,000,000 of foreign loans here, which, together, make $3,500,000,000 cared for without demanding gold. These two sources leave about one-half billion to be met by actual shipments of gold. Already, thanks to the "war brides," we have in store the largest stock of gold ever collected by any Government. The present problem of Europe is to avoid more gold leaving Europe, and her immediate future problem will be to secure a return of the necessary redemption fund. Herein lies one of our chief problems. We must avoid permitting such an outflow as to endanger our requirements for redemption. When the war is over the central nations will have stored vast amounts of goods, much of them from the cheapest of labor, to be sold not so much in European markets but in American markets. The stimuli for such sales will be to take steps to stop further debt on the one hand and to secure funds with which to reduce the present debt on the other. This first object will necessitate a discontinuance of further purchases from abroad by a greater home production. The second will be reached by disposing of the stores of goods already manufactured and an added campaign for enlarged sales of the future products of an intensified industrial activity due to war. When America meets this new form of competition she will realize as never before the needs of wise legislation to safeguard both her capital and labor. The first injurious results here to be felt will be the inevitable displacement of American investments and American labor. The next serious result will be the turning of the balances against us and the inevitable flow of gold to Europe, which, if not impeded beyond a certain volume, will endanger our entire money system as now built, with gold as the basis of redemption.

There is some variety of opinions as to the immediate effect of the closing of the war upon our industrial activities. The opinion is expressed by such leaders as Schwab and Henry Clews that the business momentum of the country due to the war is sufficiently strong to carry the country well on to a year or eighteen months. However, this opinion is not universally shared, while on the other hand the most rational view of that inevitable event is, with the closing of the war, the bottom falls out of our business enterprises. The period of reconstruction will be trying.

It is a mooted question what effect the war will have upon European immigration into this country. There are those who think the burdens of taxes to care for the debt will be so heavy that it will induce a new class of immigration—that is, the well-to-do whose property will be drawn upon at frightful rates. Many thinkers believe that the immigration will also include the laboring classes who will seek better situations. This conviction that our labor market will be seriously affected is one of the determinants for the passage of the immigration law by the Senate by an almost unanimous vote.

Most naturally Christian America asks whether civilization has entirely broken down. The ancient prophecy for which the world anxiously awaited and toward which "all creation moved" seems but mockery in the glare of war's ravages.

The only qualifying feature is the spontaneous response of the American heart to the cry of the helpless as expressed in the millions of treasure which flowed to the stricken populace to be distributed to Europe's noncombatant population by the Red Cross and other various associations for amelioration. It is also expressed in our efforts as a people in an unofficial capacity to mollify war's inhuman methods on behalf of humanity. It certainly will emphasize the need of a new way of adjustment, however, so long as the present policy of either militarism or navalism continues. This country can not allow impulse of heart to overcome judgment of head.

True, the world's great powers in a life-and-death struggle will create a demand upon our capacity for production in order to supply war's needs, such as is unknown in the history of commerce; a consummation foretold at the opening of the war.

While in a business sense our Nation profits in becoming the commercial necessity of Europe, our coffers overflowing, yet no one would be so foolhardy as either to boast over our gains, nor so ignorant as not to foresee results to follow. The war has emphasized in the American mind both the possibilities of the policy of militarism so well displayed in Germany and the policy of navalism so well displayed in England. Thoughtful students are fearful of both. America can never take on the system of the former because it must ever be foreign to our tastes. The latter will offer some explanation. It is inconveivable that the United States, rich in its resources beyond compare, located with a water front to every great country on earth, endowed with an incomparable ability in industrial organization, and a skill of labor yet unknown in the world; that a country thus located, and thus endowed, will be willing to remain an insular people, to permit other nations to deliver its products, with the power to dictate what can be carried, to whom it can be delivered, in what vessels it may be conveyed, and what routes it must take, at what points it must call, and so forth; that such a policy will be pursued by this country indefinitely is simply unthinkable. There is no more certain fact of the future than that this country will build a merchant marine. She will not submit to dependence upon a competitor to deliver her goods at terms fixed by the deliverer. Long before we reach the stage of carrying our own goods we will have become a competitor if not a rival of the mistress of the sea. For example, it is announced by the officials of the International Mercantile Marine Co. that four new liners, larger and faster than the *Mauretania* and the *Lusitania*, will soon be constructed for the American line.

Whether there is any item of concern in such consummation may be interpreted by what has occurred. When Columbus discovered the New World Portugal was the leading maritime power and had control of the seas. After years of conflict she gave place to Spain, who controlled the seas until her primacy was challenged by England. The famous defeat of the Spanish armada was the determining factor in the decadence of Spain upon the sea and the rise of the new power of Britain. The most persistent of all sea contests were those between the conqueror of the sovereigns of Hispaniola and the growing power of the heirs of Charlemagne. From 1688 to 1815, that period of 127 years from the English revolution to the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo, not less than 12 wars took place between these contestants and during which time 54 years of actual fighting determined the issue in favor of Britain. From the close of the Napoleonic wars no step has been omitted by Britain to insure the permanent rule of the waves. It expresses itself in a dual form, first a commercial navy sufficient to carry the sea-borne commerce of the world, and secondly, a fighting squadron, both defensive and offensive, equal to any two other nations or double any one.

This undisputed title of the high seas for 100 years has produced more or less arrogance of the superior toward the inferior powers. The naval program of Germany in recent

years in connection with her growing influence in the markets of the world is not a small element in the present contest. It is not an exaggeration of the real situation to assert that any nation that offers a challenge in this rivalry will meet with militant suggestions. The great neutral Republic will not be an exception, I fear. If evidence of it were necessary most certainly it has been presented in the last 30 months in the most arrogant treatment of international agreements under the new rôle of orders in council. It will be the height of credulity for this Nation to expect her growth in sea influence to be welcomed by the great maritime power. Our destiny points to that increased influence, and I have no doubt that it will bring with it its contests. We will become a sea power. We have already taken certain steps, whether wise or otherwise. That is America's goal.

Ladies and gentlemen, with that point in view, speaking as but one Congressman and one who feels a responsibility for his vote, I have been compelled to vote for an increase of both the Army and especially the Navy. I think I can confidently assert as one distinctive result of the war, the conviction of self-respect as a growing world power with the problems it entails not only invites but demands that our ability to command must be commensurate with our responsibility to do.

This prospect upon the sea is but suggestive that another sea power on the Pacific may afford some degree of friction. The ambitions of Japan are both laudable and significant. America's influence in modernizing the Empire of the Rising Sun invited problems of adjustment growing out of the potent differences in living standards of the peoples of the Orient and the Occident. America in Japan was but a precursor of Japan in America. This gave rise to an international problem that is cumulative. We have certain stipulated agreements in treaty obligations between the two countries. The full enjoyment of rights claimed under these treaties may have been obstructed by certain State legislation. These State restrictions have become acute at times. Both the school and land questions as well as immigration are more or less ominous. Japan looks to the Federal Government to enforce treaty rights. The State insists upon protection in its own rights over matters wholly of State authority. This at once produces an oriental problem. It is a source of some concern. Whatever be the ulterior purpose of Japan looking to a position among the family of great powers, her militant movement commensurate with her commercial growth must not be overlooked by the country within whose borders lies the prize sought by the ambitious world powers.

Then, again, ladies and gentlemen, whatever may be the unnamed outrages below our southern border, and whatever may be our relations to that unhappy country, the real American problem in Mexico will come when the war in Europe closes. England owns near $500,000,000 worth of property in that country, much of which has been destroyed. So likewise in the case of Germany and France. These foreign investments were made upon invitation from official Mexico. These countries had recognized Huerta as the responsible head and protector of Mexican and foreign citizens and interests. It is well known that we aided at least in driving this recognized head from Mexico. It is not a stretch of credulity to believe that these countries at the close of the war will give us the alternative to either pay up or allow them to collect. If we choose the former, the matter may be settled. If we should permit the latter, we thereby surrender the Monroe doctrine. The first alternative will be national humiliation. The second is simply unthinkable, as we will not invite to our very doors a European problem. In either case it means a problem of national honor to be adjusted at a time when the world seems out of joint, and the test of battle is the chosen method of settlement.

Whatever notions we may have had on the question of armament—and I have yearned for the day when they would be discontinued—yet under the present order of things we must not rest in a fool's paradise in the belief that by some strange providence our safety is assured so long as we make sure we are unable to defend ourselves. I have no doubt that the country will demand military training in the schools, a thing I have not favored, I admit, more from sentiment than judgment.

This leads at once to the probable international results. It must be apparent that the heavy burdens of modern military equipment must have an end somewhere. The frightful war proves that preparation for defense will not prevent war. Indeed many think it the cause of it. There are many suggestions on substitutes for armament.

One is a League to Enforce Peace, where the armament would be limited. This proposition is receiving much attention and favorable comment. It is backed by men of great name and fame in many countries. Recently men high in authority in the warring nations have spoken quite favorably of it as a plan to insure peace. These include both the German chancellor, Hollweg, and England's great statesman, Earl Grey.

Another is the plan of arbitration. Of course, this has the fatal element of resting upon voluntary action of nations, with nothing to enforce the findings. All the warring countries had such treaties before the war.

Still another proposal is the Federation of the World. This possibility was suggested by Tennyson, but was regarded as a mere effusion of the dreamer. It was not proposed as a means to avoid armament, but as a positive proof of the evolution of the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God. Years later the philosophic historian saw the consummation as the result of economic forces then at play. John Fiske declared these forces would compel the common council of nations because of the interdependence of the family of nations. One nation is favored with an abundance of certain necessary supplies on the one hand and endangered with total want of other equally necessary articles; while other nations possess those things wanting by the first, but are helpless in those possessed in abundance by the second. The economic forces are so interwoven to-day that the world's business has become every nation's concern.

The United States is perhaps the most fortunately endowed of all nations. We could, if necessary, live independent of the rest of the world, but to do so would mean a deprivation of much of the modern conveniences now quite universal in usage. This situation is not so true of any other great nation. Isolation would be hurtful to all and hurtful to none. The present situation of blazing bayonets is designed for national defense. It is a frightful price to pay for a result that is not assured, as the holocaust of Europe demonstrates. There is no hope of a voluntary abandonment of the régime unless a safe substitute can be offered. Is it too Utopian to assert that a world federation upon the plan of the American Government is such a substitute? Our country's boundaries inclose a cosmopolitan population, representing all nations, with their variety of ideas and ideals. Within its boundaries is the greatest diversity of resource, destined not only to diversify occupations but also interests so widely different that they touch almost every point of the compass. The century of evolution of the American Nation has demonstrated the workable system of double sovereignty, National and State, in which the former is supreme in all matters pertaining to the Nation at large and the State in all matters pertaining to the State alone. True, the adjustment of the national and local powers has been a constant theme of disputation, and once provoked the clash of arms, only to prove the value of the system. The American system is stronger to-day than ever before, and may be justly pointed out as the ultimate form of government in which all the world may enter as one supreme order for the world. If ever such a movement was justified, this present carnage would indicate the time is now at hand.

My fellow citizens, 30 months of war has demonstrated the futility of the test of arms to settle disputes. While modern armament is ostensibly provided for the purpose of national defense—and thus far its only real success has been confined to that character of warfare—its function in war is offense to the extent of extermination. The highest reach in modern discovery and invention, whether in library or laboratory, is now devoted to measures of destruction. But in the present European situation there is small promise that either side can do more than defend in the final result. This is why the world is convinced that the countries that can weather the longest strain will finally win. This fact, which must be apparent to all concerned, will undoubtedly play some part in the decision of the allies upon their attitude toward the recent overtures of the central powers for peace. While the news from Petrograd and Paris is a decisive rejection of all peace suggestions, the world looks to England, the real responsible power, for the real answer. I have had confidence that England will not flatly reject the overtures. It is my conviction that a way will be opened for negotiations. I firmly believe that the sense of the fighting nations will compel them to keep open every avenue for honorable peace. It seems to me that we may see the beginning of the end. While it is true that Germany proposed no terms of peace, she does open the way. She at least gives the entente powers opportunity to either state the terms or, at least, to call on Germany to do so. This would permit the central powers, in case the terms were not acceptable, to detail counter terms. While up to date no terms have been stated by either side, the way is not entirely closed by either side. It might also open the way for the United States to tender its good offices, having already made it plain to all the powers that we have more than a humanitarian interest in its cessation. While all suggestions of what will take place must be speculative, I think we may

justifiably hope that the light is about to break and the stage may soon be expected when the new problem will face our country—the readjustment of the world of industry demanded by this frightful war, a problem the solution of which, in my humble judgment, will try the best of our statesmen. To that solution all of our citizens should lend their best efforts. I thank you and bid you good-by.

Diversion of Water From Niagara River.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CYRUS CLINE,
OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 4, 1917.

Mr. CLINE. Mr. Speaker, under permission given to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD upon this resolution, I desire to say that I am in favor of passing the resolution as amended to make the time limit March 4, 1917, instead of July 1, 1917. This amendment should be made for two reasons. First, because the pressure for the demand for more power by the manufacturing interests of Niagara Falls should be relieved by permitting more diversion, and, for a second reason, that the effect of the passage of the resolution will be to enact permanent legislation governing the diversion of water from Niagara River for power purposes.

The Committee on Foreign Affairs has had the subject of water diversion above the Falls at Niagara under consideration for nearly six years. It has taken volumes of testimony upon the questions whether the Federal Government had the authority to say how much water should be diverted, to whom, and under what conditions, and whether its authority over the same should be complete; or whether the State of New York had the authority to control the diversion; and what rights, by virtue of the legislation of the State of New York, existed in the power companies that should be recognized by the Federal Government or the State of New York. None of those questions are involved in the temporary permits for more diversion of water than is now permitted by the Secretary of War. Under the treaty negotiated by Great Britain and the United States promulgated in 1910 it was provided that the Canadian Government should be permitted to divert 36,000 cubic feet of water per second and the Federal Government 20,000 cubic feet per second. The power companies on the American side at Niagara Falls are now using 15,600 cubic feet per second. Strong opposition has been manifested against a diversion of more water than the 15,600 cubic feet per second on the ground that it would affect injuriously the scenic beauty of Niagara Falls. Since the development of power at Niagara great manufacturing institutions have grown up at Niagara Falls. The city of Buffalo, street railways, manufacturing plants in Buffalo, and the smaller cities within a radius of 40 miles from Niagara Falls are supplied with hydroelectric power for heating and lighting purposes from water diverted from Niagara River at Niagara Falls. Numerous industries, involving the expenditure of many millions of dollars and the employment of thousands of men, are dependent upon power for their operation and employment. Formerly, under what is known as the Burton Act, we imported from Canada 180,000 horsepower. At least 75,000 horsepower has been withdrawn from importation by the Canadian Government. That withdrawal increased the demand upon the American companies manufacturing power on our side at the Falls.

The importance of maintaining the manufacturing interests with sufficient power is illustrated by the fact that there is scarcely a large manufacturing institution in the United States that does not use some of the products created at Niagara Falls. Very many of these products are manufactured exclusively by the industries located there. Recently I received a letter from F. A. J. Fitzgerald, president of the American Electrochemical Society, showing what products are exclusively produced by hydroelectric power at Niagara. I incorporate this letter as a part of my remarks.

AMERICAN ELECTROCHEMICAL SOCIETY,
Niagara Falls, N. Y., July 20, 1916.

The Hon. CYRUS CLINE,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: It has been suggested that you would like a record of the American industries dependent upon Niagara hydroelectric power.

The following products are made in America only at Niagara Falls, viz:

Ferrosilicon, a necessary alloy in steel and steel castings.
Ferrotitanium, used in the manufacture of steel.
Cuprotitanium, used in the manufacture of copper and bronze castings.
Ferrochromium, essential in the manufacture of armor plate, automobile steels, dies, etc.
Carborundum and alundum, especially essential in all metal-working industries, such as automobiles, locomotives, firearms, cash registers, agricultural implements, etc., and used more or less in about all manufacturing processes.
Metallic silicon.
Metallic sodium.
Peroxide of sodium, bleaching of goods, collars, etc.
Artificial graphite, fundamental requisite of the production of caustic and chlorine.
Electrolytic bichromate of sodium.
Sodium, basis for sodium cyanide, essential in gold and silver mining.
Caustic potash, used in the manufacture of soap, oil refining, and other processes.
Liquid chlorine, used for the sterilization of water and manufacture of dyes.

The major portion, or a large percentage of each, of the following products within the United States are made exclusively at Niagara Falls:

Phosphorus, essential ingredient of matches.
Caustic soda, used in the manufacture of soap, oil refining, and other processes.
Bleaching powder, for treatment of paper and cloth and purposes of disinfection.
Chlorate of potash, necessary for matches, gunpowder, dyes, and colors.

There are, of course, a large number of other articles manufactured at Niagara Falls using Niagara power, and there are innumerable industries, both at Niagara Falls and Buffalo, using Niagara power for ordinary manufacturing purposes. In this subdivision the following articles at Niagara Falls are made in a large way by the use of hydroelectric power:

Aluminum, pulp and paper, silver-plated ware, carbons, and electric batteries.

It is possible that since the outbreak of the war the enormous demand for some of the items indicated in the first class, especially those heretofore imported, may have caused them to be manufactured in other parts of the United States, but such manufacture elsewhere may be considered merely temporary and is almost certain to be discontinued when the war ends.

Very truly, yours, FRANCIS A. J. FITZGERALD,
President.

It is very desirable that legislation fixing the rights and powers of the companies at Niagara be enacted at this present session. The temporary use of at least a portion of the 4,400 cubic feet of water per second, being the amount in excess of the 15,600 now used up to the limitation of the treaty, should be permitted only during the interim between now and March 4, 1917. The Committee on Foreign Affairs, which has had this matter under consideration, is anxious that permanent legislation be enacted before that date.

Suggestions on How to Increase Our Foreign Trade.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY I. EMERSON,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 5, 1917.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a resolution adopted by the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, which contains some very good suggestions on how to increase our foreign trade.

The resolution is as follows:

The committee on foreign trade having made a careful study of the probable effect upon the foreign trade of the United States growing out of the economic conferences and proposed trade alliances between various foreign Governments, respectfully submits the following statement in regard to the matter, with recommendations as to the action which the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce should take in regard thereto.

It is the opinion of the committee on foreign trade that at the termination of hostilities with Europe there will develop an era of competition which will be unprecedented in the world's history. From all indications, in order to meet this competition, many nations will almost completely revise their present tariffs in such a manner as to practically exclude the products of some countries from their markets, establish high protective tariffs for others, preferential tariffs for a few, and undoubtedly most-favored-nation clauses, which will enable certain countries to secure preferences of the greatest economic value. Therefore if the United States is to hold its own in the keen competition which will follow the termination of the present war our Government must make favorable commercial treaties with foreign countries.

In view of these conditions your committee strongly urge that the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce take the initiative and draw up suitable resolutions embodying the following:

"First. The United States Tariff Commission, which was authorized at the last session of Congress, should be composed not only of tariff experts but should also include at least one representative business man who has had practical experience in foreign trade, a representative of the banking interests of the country engaged in foreign trade, and one or more representatives who have had considerable diplomatic experience, the entire commission to be appointed from a strictly nonpartisan point of view.

"Second. Make such reciprocal agreements with Latin American countries as will enable the United States to obtain its rightful share of the trade in those markets.

"Third. Make such tariff agreements with European countries and Canada as will permit our manufacturers to obtain at least equal rights in their markets with those of other countries and to protect our interests at all times without discrimination.

"Fourth. Steps should immediately be taken to reach a mutual trade understanding with the Government of Russia in order that products of the two countries may be exchanged under the most favorable terms to each. At the present time there is no commercial treaty between the United States and Russia, and in view of the great importance of Russia as a market for American goods prompt action should be taken to negotiate a treaty with the Russian Government which will enable American manufacturers to introduce their goods in that country under the most favorable terms which it is possible to obtain.

"Fifth. That the United States Tariff Commission as soon as formed provide means for restricing, by tariffs or otherwise, the importation into the United States of any goods which will affect the firm establishment of new industries which have, through necessity, been built and financed during the progress of the present war."

Your committee recommends that copies of this resolution be submitted to the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America with the request that it be referred to the proper committee for consideration and action; also that your committee be authorized to send copies of this resolution to other commercial bodies in the United States in an effort to obtain their full cooperation in endeavoring to have the above recommendations put into effect.

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN TRADE.

DECEMBER 11, 1916.

Diversion of Water From Niagara River.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON,

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 4, 1917.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, under the subject of cooperation the United States may be said to be one of the most conservative among the civilized countries. We seem to be mortally afraid of public or community ownership even of natural monopolies and public utilities. By a singular coincidence this fear is more widespread among our big financial interests—those who benefit most by private ownership of such things.

So lively is the fear of the classes financially interested in public utilities that they maintain a periodical devoted to propaganda against public ownership of them and to arguments against community cooperation and to recounting instances of failure. No city may even undertake to furnish its own water supply but that an active fight is made against the plan, every effort made to discredit it, and the damning epithet that it is "socialistic" is leveled at it.

The opposition to community ownership and development of hydroelectric power is especially active and determined. The great water-power trust, with its powerful affiliated interests, seem determined to wrest the power sites, our last remaining great natural resource, from the hands of the people. They have enlisted support upon various specious pleas from one end of our country to the other, and seem thoroughly determined to secure for their own exclusive enjoyment the benefits of the harnessing of our rivers in modern development.

In every civilized country, community cooperation in the development of water power is far advanced; in every country except our own. Here we continue to rely upon the good old method of turning over the monopoly of diverting water from our streams to private interests, who in turn use it as a profitable means of exploitation.

The greatest water power in America, if not in the world, is at Niagara Falls. The greatest, not the largest. The greatest, because it combines cheapness in development, magnitude in horsepower, and convenience to centers of consumption. If there is a point in the world where hydroelectric power should be developed through some public agency for the public benefit, Niagara Falls is that point. So far as the National Government is concerned, we have granted no rights for diversion at Niagara. The waters are navigable, they constitute an international boundary, and the National Government has over and in them an interest and control which does not exist in the same measure as to inland waters.

The development of power on the American side at Niagara has proceeded for some 20 years by two private companies operating under charters from the State of New York. They have proceeded along the old lines, selling the power perhaps to a few affiliated interests on terms of discriminating favoritism, but they have declined to deal with the general public, having farmed out that privilege to distributing companies. The Aluminum Co. of North America, otherwise known as the Aluminum Trust, is a beneficiary to the extent of at least 75,000 horsepower, and other concerns are perhaps in on the ground floor. The people at Niagara, Buffalo, and other adjoining cities are farmed out to distributing companies. The Buffalo General Electric Co. enjoys the exclusive privilege of distributing Niagara power to the people of Buffalo, and this is done upon oppressive and extortionate terms.

HOW CANADA DOES IT.

On the Canadian side at Niagara, following our example, about 15 years ago the Government granted to the Ontario Power Co., Canadian-Niagara Falls Power Co., and Electrical Development Co. the right to divert water for power purposes, and these concerns started out upon the same general plans which had previously been followed on the American side. However, they have not been permitted to continue in that fashion.

In 1905 the Legislature of Ontario incorporated the Hydroelectric Power Commission as a public cooperative agency, with authority to purchase or generate power and to transmit the same for distribution among Ontario cities and towns at cost. Under this plan 99 communities in Ontario are now being served.

While authorized to construct works for generating power, the Canadian commission considered it proper to respect the investments of the existing generating companies. There were already three companies with generating plants on the Canadian side having quantities of power available for sale, so that the commission, not desiring to interfere with them, followed the course of asking those companies to bid to supply it with power at a price which would protect their bondholders and shareholders. As the result a contract was entered into with the Ontario Power Co. for 100,000 horsepower for 30 years at $9 per horsepower.

The entire 100,000 horsepower was not used at the beginning. It was to be delivered at the bus bar of the company to the commission. The latter constructed transmission lines to various cities as they accepted the plan and the amount of power increased each year until at present, when the entire 100,000 horsepower is being taken. In addition to this the Canadian commission is generating power at Severn, Wasdells, and Eugenia Falls, and has six plants in operation in the "Trent."

The most recent report of the commission to which I have access is for the year ended October 31, 1915, and my facts are taken very largely from it.

The commission is purchasing power at $9 per horsepower from the Ontario Power Co., at Niagara, and is generating it directly at the other points mentioned. It is being transmitted practically all over Ontario, almost every city and town being supplied. The power is sold to the municipalities at cost plus the expenses of the commission and an amortization charge based on a 30-year plan. The municipalities own their own distributing systems and sell the power to consumers substantially at cost.

At the date of the report referred to the commission had assets of $12,900,000, practically all of which consisted of its works. The cities had, together, $17,600,000, consisting of reserves of $3,400,000 and their distributing systems.

The city of Toronto, with a population of 470,000, received power at $14 per annual horsepower and in turn charged consumers 3.9 cents per kilowatt-hour for domestic and 2.8 cents for commercial current. Toronto consumers before the cooperative system was instituted had paid 8 cents for domestic and 12 cents for commercial current. During 1915, in Toronto alone, $1,393,000 was saved to consumers by the cooperative system. Toronto uses 100-watt lamps for street lighting; they cost $8 per annum, figuring 74 cents per capita for street lighting.

The city of Hamilton has 101,000 population. Its power cost is $14 per horsepower. Its 100-watt street lights cost $8 per annum. It sells domestic power at 3.7 cents per kilowatt-hour and commercial power at 1.9 cents. The previous rate was 8 cents, and over $250,000 was saved to its consumers in 1915 alone.

London, with a population of 56,000, pays 55 cents per capita for street lighting. It sells power to domestic users at 2.4 cents and to commercial users at 3 cents. The previous rate was 9 cents per kilowatt-hour. London saved its consumers $263,000 in electric charges in 1915.

Windsor, with a population of 22,000, has a higher rate on account of its great distance from the point of generation. It pays $38 per horsepower for power and distributes it at 4.9 cents per kilowatt-hour to domestic users and 3.9 cents for commercial use. Its previous rate was 12 cents for domestic and 8 cents for commercial use. Windsor street lighting costs $1.39 per capita. During 1915, $35,800 was saved to Windsor users by the cooperative system.

The Canadian commission also supplies electric energy to farmers upon terms so cheap that they use it for thrashing, sawing wood, chopping ensilage, lighting, and other farm purposes. The average cost of current to farmers during 1915 was 5.5 cents per kilowatt-hour.

In 1915 the Canadian commission served 120,000 different users. The lowest cost was 2.4 cents for domestic and 1.9 cents for commercial current. The average cost for all Ontario was 3.9 cents for domestic and 3.1 cents for commercial current. Prior to the beginning of the commission's operations the average cost to these same users was 9.3 cents for domestic and 10.4 cents for commercial power.

The demand for light and power under the just and economical methods of the commission is rapidly increasing. The commission is now installing a new plant at Chippewa and Queenston Heights. They will utilize the water remaining to Canada under the British treaty with an effective head of 305 feet, with the result that 300,000 horsepower additional will be produced.

THE AMERICAN WAY.

On the American side the Niagara Power Co. is diverting water with only a 140-foot head, and is getting, as I am informed, only 11 horsepower per cubic foot. The Hydraulic Power Co. has a 212-foot head and get about 19 horsepower per cubic foot. These concerns at present take 15,600 cubic second-feet and there remains to us under the treaty 4,400 cubic second-feet.

The difference between power cost in Ontario and the prices charged on the American side is shocking. I have been able to learn of no American consumer who gets power for less than $16 per horsepower. This is the rate given to some of the big manufacturing concerns at Niagara. The lowest rate in Buffalo is $22 per horsepower, from which price the charge ranges to as high as $100 per horsepower. Buffalo users not of the favorite class take power upon a sliding scale, upon a basis of 8 cents per kilowatt hour with 1 cent off for prompt payment. This charge is double the charge in Toronto, which is more than three times farther from the point of generation.

I see no reason why we should not learn a lesson from Canada in the generation and distribution of hydroelectric energy. Why should we not have our own public agency to develop the available power at Niagara in the most efficient way, get the most energy we can out of the water we have, and sell it to our people on fair terms? Why should we allow a middleman's profit, or the profit of two or three middlemen, as the case may be?

The Niagara power generating and developing interests and their affiliations ramify through practically every big financial interest in America. Is not the arm of Congress strong enough despite the opposition of these interests to write a just and fair law for the development of Niagara power for the benefit of the people to whom it really belongs? Is it possible that we are to be forced to allow a private profit out of this great natural resource, the property of the people? Is the system so fixed on us that we must continue to allow the masses of the people, middle and small consumers, to be sweated and exploited by the rapacity of those who have fixed themselves at Niagara?

Nitric Acid Should be Made From Coal By-Products.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. NICHOLAS LONGWORTH,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 5, 1917.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an interview published recently in the New York Times of Sunday, December 24, 1916, with a very distinguished engineer on the subject of making nitrogen from the air.

The interview is as follows:

NITRIC ACID SHOULD BE MADE FROM COAL BY-PRODUCTS SAYS EXPERT—THOMAS C. CLARKE, WHO HAS BUILT MANY COKE OVENS, SAYS BIG NITROGEN PLANT PROJECTED BY UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT WOULD THEN BE UNNECESSARY.

Does the United States need a hydroelectric plant to produce nitric acid? Congress, acting upon the advice of the naval and military authorities, believes that it does, and has voted a large appropriation for a nitrogen plant to be operated by the Government, but Thomas C. Clarke, an engineer of this city, thinks that the Nation should get its nitric acid by utilizing its coal by-products, a large part of which now goes to waste.

This is especially interesting in view of the recent report that the United States Geological Survey had found that the nitrate deposits in this country were practically worthless for commercial utilization.

"We hear," said Mr. Clarke, "a great deal about the Government conservation of forests and of water power, but at our very door lies the disgraceful waste of the Government itself in using coal for fuel and permitting the much-needed nitrogen to go up in smoke."

Mr. Clarke was moved to say this when a representative of the New York Times called at his office at 111 Broadway and asked for his views in connection with the Government's proposed nitrogen plant, which will cost $20,000,000. He is a member of the American Society of Civil Engineers and of the American Iron and Steel Institute, and was formerly general superintendent of the Lackawanna Iron & Steel Co., in charge of one of the largest by-product coke ovens in the United States, and five blast furnaces. Subsequently Mr. Clarke was supervising engineer for the Deutsche Bank of Berlin, at South Bethlehem, Pa., in the construction of the Lehigh Coke Co.'s ovens, which were built to supply the Bethlehem Steel Co. with coke.

The most important explosives are produced by the nitration of organic compounds, according to Mr. Clarke. The explosives in use today are made by nitrating various bases which, upon being fired, generate gases that expand with sufficient energy either to expel the shell from the gun or cause the shell to burst, as the case may be. Many materials are used as a base for carrying purposes, but in every case, said Mr. Clarke, they must be nitrated. So nitric acid, the medium for carrying out this process, is, in his opinion, all important. Nitric acid during peace times is ordinarily made from Chilean saltpeter, which is the cheapest way of obtaining it; but it can be obtained by direct fixation from the air, using an electric arc. This latter process, Mr. Clarke said, requires such cheap power that the Norwegians are the only ones able to produce it commercially. Another method is by oxidizing into nitric acid the ammonia released from sulphate of ammonia, calcium cyanamide, or some such ammonia-containing compound.

"In war time," Mr. Clarke explained, "securing Chilean saltpeter depends upon the enemy's ability to deprive one of it. In Germany today that source is shut off entirely, and their nitric is secured from direct air fixation and oxidation from ammonia compounds. First, on account of its simplicity, we look for the direct arc process. But commercially this process is possible only where $5 per horsepower-year-power is obtainable, so we must reach the conclusion that it is useless to try to expand along those lines in times of peace. And in war times we can commandeer all our hydroelectric installations and make nitric acid that way, even if it is a little, or even if it is a great deal more expensive.

"Next we come to the calcium cyanamide process, the only process known to me that is in commercial operation to-day on a large scale. This process was invented in Germany and exploited by the Cyanidgesellschaft, formed of German capitalists, who organized in Rome La Societa Generale per la Cyanamid, which took over the patent rights and has since issued the licenses for manufacture in various countries and exercised a general supervision over the development of the industry. In this the Cyanidgesellschaft is—I quote from an American Government bulletin, No. 52—'more or less aided by official action by the German Government, which recognizes that the industry had its origin in the empire and may prove to be of distinct value as a national asset in relieving Germany from dependence upon Chile for its supply of combined nitrogen.'

"In years past we have had to import creosote oils from England to take care of the industry here. In 1913, the last figures that are available, as given by the United States Wood Preservers' Association, this country consumed 108,373,000 gallons, of which 41,700,000 were produced locally and 66,673,000 gallons were imported. This shows that we produce 38 per cent and import 62 per cent. The imports were supplied practically altogether by Germany and Great Britain—Great Britain supplying about four times as much as Germany.

"The United States in 1913 produced practically 31,000,000 tons of pig iron," said Mr. Clarke at the outset. "During that year the world's production was 78,000,000 tons, of which Germany and Great Britain together contributed 29,000,000, leaving 18,000,000 tons distributed over the rest of the world. Yet Germany and Great Britain were the two nations which supplied the missing creosote oils that we needed so badly, although their production of pig iron was 2,000,000 tons less in the aggregate than ours.

"The object in giving these pig-iron figures is simply this: For every ton made an average of a ton of coke is consumed in producing it; this being so, we should have had the creosote oils from 2,600,000 tons of coal necessary to produce 2,000,000 tons of coke over the amount produced in Germany and Great Britain. But to our shame be it said that we are still behind, in spite of the tremendous strides made lately in building by-product coke ovens, as coal is still being coked in nearly 100,000 beehive nonrecovery ovens in the United States.

"When all the by-product ovens now being built in the United States are completed and in operation, this condition will change to a marked extent, but it will still require many years of by-product oven construction to catch up with the lead that Great Britain and Germany have on us.

"With the example set by Europe, which has been developing this industry and encouraging it, with a view to its use in case of war, does it not seem absurd on the part of our Government not to encourage the industry to the best of its ability, if the encouragement only takes the form of passive neglect? Can not we leave the industry alone to expand by its own strength and inherent worth, and not discourage it by active encouragement and the fostering of a rival?

"The evidence seems conclusive that as an emergency measure for war preparation the hydroelectric plant in Tennessee is neither advisable nor necessary, and it can not be completed within a reasonable period of time. If an emergency arises in the near future, it is still evident that the Government must turn to the established hydroelectric stations now in operation, and must also build the plants necessary for the oxidation of ammonia into nitric acid.

"How much better it would be, then, to spend this money, already appropriated, in the building of such plants, to scatter them throughout the country, from the Pacific to the Atlantic and from Canada to the Mexican border, and prepare to convert these ammonia-bearing compounds into nitric acid and to nitrate the bases now available into ammunition.

"Can the United States afford to jeopardize the investment of $130,000,000 in by-product coke ovens, to risk not being able to secure the benzol, toluol, and naphthaline produced from this investment, or to lose the potential 440,000 tons of nitric acid which can be made each year from the product of the ovens? This product represents, when used in connection with benzol and toluol, 725,984,000 pounds of picric acid and 150,000,000 pounds of trinitrotoluol. And, further, can the United States afford to lose the possible control of the dye

crudes market of the world? Can it afford to be placed in a position where the coal-tar derivative drugs, disinfectants, and timber preservatives are made for us in other countries, while by the simple process of keeping its hands off and building its war-measure plants sanely and sensibly it loses no advantage?

"That we are hysterical in our legislation is well known, but it does seem that an industry which can make the United States self-contained in war material should not be ignored. A halt should be called on spending the money appropriated for the nitric-acid plant until clearer thoughts prevail and the situation can be weighed in the balance."

It was suggested that the Government nitrate plant had been termed a "military expediency" measure.

"Let us see," Mr. Clarke said, "if there is not some means which the United States can adopt that will take care of the military situation in its critical aspect, also the farmer and his soil needs, and the by-product coking industry without harming any of the three and, if possible, helping them all. Let the Government put the direct question to the by-product coke-oven industry as to whether, in case of war, the ovens will deliver at a satisfactory price all the sulphate of ammonia, benzol, toluol, and naphthaline that the Government desires. Let the same question be put to those enjoying the benefits of the many hydroelectric installations in this country, and let such steps be taken at the present time to secure sufficient power and apparatus for making up any shortage in the nitric-acid supply that the Government deems it necessary to provide against. After this investigation has been completed, let us then face the situation as it exists, not as we imagine it may be.

"Supposing, although it is highly improbable, that the coke-oven situation and the hydroelectric situation do not furnish sufficient nitric acid for the Government's prospective requirements, there are two methods along logical lines in which these requirements can be secured. One is by specifying, and, if necessary, subsidizing, the users of gas producers, so that a certain percentage could be equipped to use the Mond gas-producer system, whereby, from coal, coke, or peat, over 75 pounds of ammonium sulphate per ton of material gasified may be recovered. The other is to have the Government burn coke instead of coal in its naval vessels, shipyards, military stations, arsenals, and power houses and save the valuable by-products.

"Let the Government set a good example in conservation by building its own by-product plant, using the gas for illuminating purposes and for power, and having its own supply of benzol and toluol for the manufacture of high explosives. It could convert the sulphate of ammonia into nitric acid; and if it had no further use for its tar, that product could be burned under the boilers as fuel.

"To carry this suggestion further, where nitric acid, benzol, toluol, and power are the principal recoveries desired, the Government could use the coke as it is pushed from the ovens in gas producers with Mond recovery, recover the nitrogen still remaining in the coke in the form of sulphate of ammonia—about 75 pounds per ton—and mix the producer gas, amounting to about 150,000 cubic feet of 140 British thermal unit value per ton of coke gasified with the richer gas, amounting to 11,000 cubic feet of 500 British thermal unit value, produced in coking the coal, and use the two, when mixed together for fuel, to produce electric power at a cost so small that even hydroelectric installations could not compete.

"To sum up the situation, which is better, to build your own power plant, which will supply power to a company making electrically produced nitrogen for fertilizer 99½ per cent of the time, or to encourage the by-product coke industry, with its production of necessary bases for the manufacture of explosives, of nitrogen for the farmers' fertilizer, of tar to produce the 3,500 coal-tar derivatives, and, most important of all, to conserve the coal that is now being wastefully coked without the recovery of these valuable by-products?"

"Coke making, said to be spoken of first by the Greek philosopher Theophrastus, born 372 B. C., was also understood by the Chinese in the arts thousands of years ago, but, Mr. Clarke explained, was not of any real value until the nineteenth century. From 1880 to 1890 the first by-product recovery ovens were built on a commercial basis in Europe, but it was not until about 1894 that 40 ovens were built here. During the first 10 years they were not oversuccessful, for they were built after German design and had not been adapted to conditions here; but to-day, according to engineers, they surpass in every way the ovens now being built in Europe.

"In coking coal," Mr. Clarke continued, "the results obtained are coke, ammonia, tar, and gas. These for many years were the only products that the average American coke producer bothered about. The Semet-Solvay Co., of Syracuse, has for many years been recovering the benzol and its homologues, but until the war broke out in Europe this feature of recovery was generally neglected.

"To go back for a moment to sulphate, for every ton of coal coked in by-product ovens in the United States 20 pounds of sulphate of ammonia of a 25 per cent NH_3 value, or its equivalent, is recovered. The NH_3 is the ammonia content—that is, sulphate of ammonia contains 25 per cent of ammonia.

"This sulphate is practically all marketed on a commission basis by one firm of brokers in the United States. It amounted before the war to 115,000 tons in 1910 and in 1914 to 190,000 tons, but with the impetus given to by-product oven building 1917 will see nearly 400,000 tons of sulphate produced. Then why, you ask, do we want to build a hydroelectric plant to help an industry whose tonnage does not exceed 50,000 per annum of 20 per cent NH_3, to the obvious detriment of an industry producing 400,000 tons per annum of 25 per cent NH_3, when in both cases we have to build additional plants to separate ammonia from its compound and oxidize it into nitric acid? Why do we select one spot for our war supply, build a dam, which may be treacherously blown up by dynamite or be bombed by a Zeppelin or aeroplane and rendered useless? The only answer I know is 'military expediency.'

"Fancy building one dam at Muscle Shoals, Tenn., to supply all the nitric acid needed to protect the United States! Fancy betting your national existence on that one dam!

"One aspect of the situation remains to be mentioned. A moment ago we spoke of the various bases which required to be nitrated in order to become an explosive. The bases derived from the destructive distillation of coal are naphthaline phenol, phenol, benzol, toluol, and others. Those more familiar to the public since the war are picric acid, made by nitrating phenol (carbolic acid), and trinitrotoluol, the famous English T. N. T. The amount of phenol recovered from the tar is insufficient to take care of the consumption caused by the enormous number of shells used in modern warfare, so a synthetic phenol is made from benzol.

"We have now developed the remarkable fact that not only do the by-product ovens supply the means of making the nitric acid to nitrate the various bases used in making explosives, but that they supply the bases themselves.

"It is a fair question to ask if the quantities of these bases are adequate. Roughly speaking, 1917 will show a production of 85,000,000 gallons of benzol and about 12,500,000 gallons of toluol. These bases, when nitrated, will make 438,000 tons of picric acid and trinitrotoluol, which is 1,200 tons of high explosives a day.

"Here we are presented with another problem, since not only does this industry supply the much-needed nitric acid, but the necessary toluol and phenol to be nitrated as well. Still we are not satisfied with these results, but want to foster an industry that produces none of these bases. Again one asks why.

"During the distillation of tar the so-called light, middle, and heavy oils come off and we have the first nine dye crudes that by addition and subtraction of various chemicals and by chemical changes make up the 300 dye intermediates, which by further addition and subtraction make the 1,200 different coal-tar derivative dyes now manufactured.

"From the gas and tar we recover the naphthaline of moth ball fame, and which as nitronaphthaline appears in explosives. We recover creosote, the wood preservative and medicine; we compound phenacetine, the fever controller; salicylic acid, which becomes aspirin, that stops the ache in the bones; phenol (carbolic acid), the surgeons' disinfectant; saccharin, the diabetic's sugar substitute; benzaldehyde, the base of perfumes, and benzoic acid, the food preservative. From the pitch we make tar paper, roofing, fuel, road binder, coke, electric insulation, waterproofing, paving filler, carbon electrodes, briquettes, foundry core binder, and paints.

"When we realize that in 1917 there will be over 300,000,000 gallons of tar, or 3,000,000,000 pounds, which is 1,500,000 tons, of which 900,000 tons will become pitch, etc., leaving 600,000 tons for medicines, dyes, disinfectants, and explosives, it seems as though this industry did not need help, and yet, curiously enough, it does, and needs it very badly, if we are to make the United States the source of supply of the world for these industries. It is a sturdy industry in the sense that, though neglected, unhelped, without tariff to subsidize it, it has grown and expanded, but the dyes that should be ours come from Germany; the medicines and disinfectants, in which we should be self-contained, come from Germany—and the industry must have help to put it where it can ship the dye crudes and intermediates, as the Government urges us to do, to Switzerland and England, and, best of all, to Japan and China. We are not getting that help, with a Government-owned hydroelectric plant, built to supply nitrogen to the fertilizer plants, not on a price based on supply and demand, but on a price based on Government-owned horsepower, that will enable the cyanamide manufacturers to supply a comparatively few tons of nitrogen to break that market at will."

Mr. Clarke said it would be worth while to examine the present yields of by-products from a ton of coal and see how sulphate compares with the rest. One ton of coal, he said, yields about 70 per cent of coke, and it costs from 60 to 70 cents a ton to convert it into coke. One ton of coal, he says, will yield as follows:

6,000 cubic feet of surplus gas of 550 B. t. u. value for fuel or illuminating, say, 8 cents per 1,000 cubic feet	$0.48
20 pounds sulphate of ammonia, which has sold for some time past at 3 cents per pound	.60
7 gallons of tar, worth 3 cents per gallon	.21
2¼ gallons of benzol, worth 15 cents per gallon	.375
3 gallons of toluol, worth 15 cents per gallon	.045
	1.710

"These figures show," said Mr. Clarke, "that sulphate of ammonia yields the largest return of any of the by-products, and this one item alone in the balance sheet practically takes care of the conversion cost. The gas is only valued according to the number of British thermal units it contains as compared to coal, or for illuminating purposes, comparing its candlepower value to the method in vogue in making gas in that particular location, so we may say that the gas value is fixed by its composition in direct ratio with the bituminous coal market.

"We all realize now that the building up of the German dye industry till it practically supplied the world's consumption was not entirely due to the desire for monetary gain, but was part of the big scheme of things we now call German efficiency, which has made the war really possible on its present scale. By subsidy and cooperation between German dye makers, bankers, and steamship owners dyes were laid down at such a low cost to the consumer that production in other countries practically ceased.

"The result is that Germany to-day has many ammunition plants scattered through the country, for the dye plant is readily and economically converted to that use, and the bases of the dyes are the same bases used in high explosives. That is what the war taught the world."

Pecan Industry.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK PARK,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, January 6, 1917.

Mr. PARK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks by printing in the RECORD information obtained from the Department of Agriculture relating to the pecan industry in 26 States of the United States.

There was no objection.

The letter is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
Washington, January 3, 1917.

HON. FRANK PARK,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. PARK: In reply to yours of December 27, with which you inclose copies of resolutions passed by the National Nut Growers' Association, in annual convention at Jacksonville, Fla., November 24, 1916, urging that in view of the rapidly increasing importance of the pecan industry, this department give more attention to the solution of difficult problems which confront the industry, I would say that the matter has been given very careful consideration in the Bureaus of Plant Industry and Entomology, with your specific suggestions in view.

As a result of this consideration, I beg leave to advise you as follows:

The Bureau of Plant Industry is at present studying certain important cultural and varietal problems, at a cost of approximately $4,000 per annum. It is also investigating diseases affecting the pecan, upon which work about $3,000 is expended.

In the Bureau of Entomology about $4,600 is used in the investigation of insect enemies of the pecan.

While the experience of pecan growers in many parts of the South indicates that pecan production is destined to become one of the most important lines of orchard development in the Southern States, the newness of the undertaking and the wide variety of conditions under which the plantings have been made have brought to light several important difficulties which will need to be overcome before the industry can be regarded as on a stable basis. The specialists of the department have been in touch with the situation and have made effective use of the funds available for such work, but neither the existing appropriations nor the estimates now under consideration make provision for any enlargement of this work.

This is one of the many directions in which the department's work might be extended if the funds were ample. In view of all the conditions, the department was compelled to attempt to keep its estimates down to a reasonable point. If the Congress should determine that the work relating to the pecan industry should be enlarged at this time, the following additions to the estimates would enable the department to extend its work in this field as indicated:

"BUREAU OF PLANT INDUSTRY.

"An increase of $5,000 in the subappropriation 'For the investigation of diseases of orchard and other fruits.'

"This increase would be used specifically to further investigate the various diseases of the pecan due to fungi, bacteria, or physiological causes; to determine under what conditions these respective troubles are most in evidence as connected with varieties, conditions of culture, location, and soil; to develop remedial measures and to test them on a practical scale in orchards and nurseries.

"An increase of $10,000 in the subappropriation 'For the investigation and improvement of fruits and the methods of fruit growing, etc.'

"This increase would be used for investigations and experiments with a view to devising methods of orchard practice through which the yield of orchards of standard varieties of pecans may be brought up to the approximate yield of the most productive trees; to obtain by discovery, breeding, or development trees which will come into profitable bearing at an age two or three years earlier than the present average; to obtain varieties best suited for cultivation in all parts of the country where pecans can be grown, and to discover the by-product uses for shells, hulls, pieces of kernel, etc., which are now largely wasted.

"BUREAU OF ENTOMOLOGY.

"An increase of $5,000 in the subappropriation 'For investigations of insects affecting deciduous fruits, orchards, vineyards, and nuts.'

"This would be used to continue and to enlarge the investigation of insects injurious to the pecan and to test out on a large scale in orchards remedial measures to determine their practicability from the standpoint of cost and efficacy."

In accordance with your request, I am inclosing herewith a memorandum prepared by the Bureau of Plant Industry regarding the pecan industry.

Very truly, yours, D. F. HOUSTON, *Secretary.*

THE PECAN SITUATION.

Nuts occupy a unique position in the list of important horticultural products, in that, with the possible exception of a few other fruits, in the raw condition they alone afford a fairly complete and balanced food for human beings. In comparison with other foods the edible portion of most nuts is very concentrated, being rich in protein and fat and containing little water. The two nuts of greatest importance grown in this country at the present time are the Persian (English) walnut and the pecan. Compared with round steak walnut kernels have been found to contain about one-twentieth as much water, practically the same proportion of protein, four times as much fat, and to have more than three times as great fuel value. Pecans contain about the same proportion of water as do walnuts, but in comparison with steak they contain about two-thirds as much protein, between four and six times as much fat, and have between three and four times as great fuel value. Comparatively speaking, nuts are well supplied with mineral matter, therefore they contain the elements which are essential in building the frame of the body as well as nourishment for the tissues. When used as a component part of the meal and well masticated, nuts are capable of forming a big part in a well-balanced diet.

Nuts are more and more entering into the list of staple foods, not only as a substitute for special classes of foods but to a large extent as substitutes for foods of all classes. There are few sections in the United States suited to agricultural purposes in which some species of nut trees can not successfully be grown.

The one species of nut which now promises soon to surpass in importance any other is the pecan. This nut is a native of America. To some extent it is produced in Mexico, but outside of the North American Continent it is neither native nor under cultivation in any part of the world. Pecan forests and single trees are distributed throughout the rich alluvial river-bottom sections adjacent to the Mississippi River and its tributaries from southeastern Iowa and the Wabash River near Terre Haute, Ind., south to near the Gulf of Mexico and southwest to lower Texas. The native range of the pecan extends into 12 States, and man has carried it into 14 others. In several of these latter States pecan growing has become an important commercial industry, but in the majority it is still in the elementary stages of development.

For home use the pecan has been planted about the residence grounds in the South since the arrival of the first settlers. Commercial planting, however, hardly began before the late eighties. Lack of knowledge regarding the cultural requirements and commercial possibilities of the pecan, lack of financial means, an almost entire lack of market, and other handicaps prevented extensive commercial planting until very recently. Records show that a few fairly large orchards were planted about 1885, but in the main extensive planting dates no further back than the beginning of the present century. A very great majority of the large orchards have been planted since 1905.

It is probable that the greatest impetus given the pecan industry thus far came as a result of the perfecting of machinery for cracking the nuts. Several different types of machines are now in use, having an individual daily capacity for cracking from six to eight hundred pounds of nuts in such a way that approximately 75 per cent of the kernels may be separated from the shells as unbroken halves.

These machines first appeared about 1900. At that time pecans from the forest netted the growers but 2 or 3 cents a pound, and were in demand only to a limited extent at that price. But with the solution of the cracking problem consuming demand increased, and prices received by producers soon rose materially. Since then prices have steadily advanced until now the wild nuts are netting the producer an average of 12 to 15 cents per pound.

In the planted orchards, under favorable conditions of culture, young trees now 8 and 10 years old are averaging 2 or 3 pounds per tree over the entire orchards. At the same age the best parts of the orchards under the most favorable conditions and in favorable years not infrequently produce from 12 to 15 pounds per tree. The average number of trees per acre of the orchards already planted is 20. Twenty trees per acre, each averaging 12 pounds, yield 240 pounds per acre. At 25 cents per pound, a low price for the improved varieties, the gross return would be $60 per acre for what might be called the initial crop.

The pecan is unique in several respects: (1) With practically no improvement as a result of culture and breeding, but taken directly from nature, many of the wild pecans afford an exceedingly desirable product. Unconscious and therefore unsystematic selection and planting of pecan seed about dooryards during a period of less than 200 years has developed varieties of such desirable quality that the nuts successfully compete with other species like the almond and walnut which have been under cultivation for many centuries. (2) Being grown only in this country and in Mexico, the world must to a large extent look to the United States for its supply of these nuts. (3) As a result of the superior merit of this class of pecans and the limited extent to which they are grown, they are now netting the growers in certain districts a value per volume of product ranking them among the highest-priced horticultural products grown on a large scale in this country. Carloads, weighing approximately 36,000 pounds each, were recently (October, 1916,) shipped from the Albany district of southwest Georgia to Chicago brokers at 35 cents a pound, or $12,500 a car. These prices were for pecans of the second class, the firsts bringing still higher prices. (4) With the exception of a few fruits of minor importance, such as the fig, persimmon, and possibly some others whose commercial possibilities are not yet established, no other orchard tree approaches the pecan in promise in the sections and sites best suited to its growing. To a large extent the pecan fills a gap between the range of citrus production in the South and that of the deciduous fruits in the North. (5) The development of the industry has now reached a stage where the pecan promises to become an important money crop in the cotton belt, at a time when the boll weevil is becoming a serious menace to the cotton industry.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF CULTURE NOW CONFRONTING THE PECAN GROWERS.

In the evolution of such a tree crop as the pecan, the necessary problems to be solved are: (1) The determination of the extent to which the species will adjust itself to cultivation, and the range of the cultural area within which it will succeed; (2) the selection of the best individual trees or plants from the forest and their propagation as named varieties; (3) the working out of important cultural details such as methods of propagation, the best soils and methods of planting, proper distances between trees, methods of cultivation, etc., all having to do with the care of orchards before attaining the bearing age; (4) the care of mature orchards; (5) the harvesting, handling, and marketing of the crops.

In addition to these, there are other problems which must be taken into account throughout the entire progress of the industry; such, for example, are those of insect pests, fungous diseases, the maintenance of soil fertility, and the growing of other crops in the space between the trees.

Experience has shown that whenever a plant is taken out of its native range and brought under cultivation, new diseases and insect pests and new problems with the old pests are sure to follow. Also, that the larger the number of plants of a single species grouped together, the more concentrated and convenient becomes the food supply for the pests attacking the particular species, and hence the more rapid and certain their multiplication.

Studies by the Department of Agriculture have thus far revealed a total of 12 diseases to which the pecan is subject. These belong to two distinct groups—parasitic and physiological. The former are organic in their nature; that is, they are plants in themselves, of low order, living and multiplying in much the same manner as do plants of higher order, but living upon other plants (hosts) instead of the soil. Six diseases, including some of the most serious, belong to this group. Enumerated, these are:

Pecan scab: Seriously attacking the nuts of some varieties and tender shoots of certain varieties when allowed to grow late in the season.

Nursery leaf blight: Often serious on nursery trees, causing premature defoliation and resulting in stunted growth.

Brown leaf spot: Serious on orchard trees, somewhat like the preceding in that it causes premature defoliation.

Anthracnose: A disease of the nuts; not serious at present.

Mildew: A disease attacking the nuts; not serious at present.

Crown gall: A disease of the tree; not serious at present.

Physiological diseases may result from an unfavorable condition of soil fertility, soil moisture, or climate, or a combination of two or more of these. Five diseases belonging to this group are now known as follows:

Rosette: A very serious tree disease, stunting growth and preventing the bearing of fruit. Perhaps 10 to 20 per cent of all planting is affected.

Black pit: A disease of the nuts; very serious; during the past season (1916) causing great loss in many orchards in the Gulf States and north as far as Tennessee.

Louisiana leaf blight: A disease which is very serious in Louisiana and in Mississippi, frequently causing severe defoliation in August and September.

Die-back: A rather uncommon disease of old trees; therefore not serious.

Frost injury: Common and serious under some conditions.

In addition to these 11 diseases there is one of more recent appearance, the exact cause and origin of which has not yet been worked out. It is known as "Kernel spot." It is becoming increasingly serious. It causes spots to develop on the kernels, which render them bitter and unfit for use.

Among the insects attacking the pecan there are a number which together result in injury to the trunk, limbs, branches, foliage, buds, and the nuts in various stages of development. Among those which commonly are the most serious are:

The pecan leaf case bearer: An insect which causes serious injury by destroying the leaf buds in the spring.

The pecan nut case bearer: An insect closely related to the preceding. It is of serious importance in that, following its attack, large numbers of the young nuts fall to the ground.

The pecan shuck worm: An insect of prime importance, doing great damage by tunneling its way through the hulls of the nuts while immature, thereby causing a high percentage to become defective or to fall to the ground.

The pecan weevil: An insect reported to destroy from 20 to 35 per cent of the crop in some sections by eating out the kernel of the mature nuts.

The twig girdler: A serious pest in some orchards, causing damage by cutting off small branches and causing them to fall to the ground.

In addition to these insect pests, there are several important groups, each representing closely related species, causing similar types of injury, as follows:

Borers: Causing serious injury, or even death, by attacking the trunk, limbs, or branches of the trees.

Caterpillars: which feed on the leaves, sometimes causing complete defoliation to the trees over considerable areas.

Plant lice or aphids (especially two or three species of Phylloxera): Insects which so distort the foliage as to cause it to fall; especially serious with some varieties of pecan trees.

In some sections each of the important steps of development has been experienced by the pecan industry. In the more advanced sections the earlier problems have been passed over; but in no section are any of the important problems altogether solved. In the newest sections it is mainly one of varieties; but in the oldest sections it is one of caring for mature orchards, including the guarding against diseases and insect pests and of handling the crop of nuts; but in the vast area covering the intermediate sections practically the whole set of problems is unsolved.

The contributions of the Department of Agriculture to the solution of pecan problems thus far might be enumerated as follows:

1. A very careful study has been made of the character, merit, and apparent adaptability to the different sections of practically all varieties of pecans thus far named and propagated. Typical specimens of each of these varieties are in a herbarium collection maintained by the department.

2. The cultural methods of individual growers in all parts of the South have been observed and the results noted.

3. A substantial beginning has been made in investigating the pollination problems of pecan varieties and in breeding new varieties.

4. Material aid has been rendered to the industry in assisting it in establishing definite sizes for the pecans marketed.

5. Pecan diseases have been carefully studied, written up, and the descriptions of all but a few of the major diseases have been published.

6. The insects affecting pecans have been under careful study for several years. One publication on the subject has been issued and several more are now in preparation.

7. Nearly all of the practical information relative to pecan growing thus far acquired by the department has been placed at the disposal of the growers. This has been accomplished through departmental bulletins, by correspondence, public addresses, and private interviews.

Up to the present time pecan orcharding has been passing through an experimental stage. Now, however, commercial production is important. The value of the planted orchards runs well up into millions of dollars. The bearing orchards probably represent no more than two-fifths of the total. The production from the cultivated trees has been estimated at 750,000 pounds in 1915 and about the same in 1916. A series of destructive hurricanes swept the Gulf Coast States during these years and caused a reduction of the crop. According to the last census figures the total production of pecans in 1909 was 208.4 per cent greater than that of the census preceding. These figures showed that pecan trees of bearing age were then reported from nearly 38,000 farms, as compared with 24,000 reporting orange and 6,000 reporting grapefruit trees of bearing age. Pecan trees then not of bearing age were reported from 44,000 farms, oranges from 20,000, and grapefruit from but 4,000. Therefore a total of 82,000 farmers were then engaged in growing pecans, 64,000 in growing oranges, and 10,000 in growing grapefruit, or 18,000 more in pecans than in oranges and grapefruit combined. Pecans are of commercial importance in 17 States and of limited importance in 10 others.

No figures are available to show the rate of development in pecan orcharding since the last census was taken in 1910, but the principal development has taken place during this latter period. In the Albany district of southwest Georgia alone, which at the present time is one of the large pecan orchard regions, before entering the city from the north, the railroad passes through several miles of orchards on each side of the track; and again, after leaving the town in going south, great orchards extending for a mile or more in each direction line the track for a distance of from 12 to 15 miles.

The pecan industry is now at a stage at which it should be quite possible to take definite hold of its problems in such way as to bring about the following results:

1. To discover fundamental principles through which the yield of orchards of standard varieties of pecans may be brought up to the approximate yield of the most productive trees; to obtain, by discovery, breeding, or development, trees which will come into profitable bearing at an age two or three years earlier than the present average; to obtain varieties best suited for cultivation in all parts of the country where pecans can be grown, and to discover by-product uses for shells, hulls, pieces of kernel, etc., which are now largely wasted.

2. To further investigate the various diseases of the pecan due to fungi, bacteria, or physiological causes; to determine under what conditions these respective troubles are most in evidence as connected with varieties, conditions of culture, location, and soil; to develop remedial measures and to test them on a practical scale in orchards and nurseries.

3. To continue and to enlarge the investigations of insects injurious to the pecan, and to test out on a large scale in orchards remedial measures to determine their practicability from the standpoint of costs and efficacy.

Memorial Urging the Abolition of the Liquor Traffic in the District of Columbia.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIS C. HAWLEY,
OF OREGON,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 9, 1917.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. Speaker, I present for the consideration of the House the following telegram from the secretary of state of Oregon, transmitting a memorial adopted by the legislative assembly just convened urging the abolition of the liquor traffic in the District of Columbia:

SALEM, OREG., *January 9, 1916.*

W. C. HAWLEY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

The following is transmitted to you by direction of the legislative assembly, senate joint memorial No. 1:

"To the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:

"Your memorialists, the Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon, respectfully represent that—

"'Whereas the District of Columbia is under the governmental jurisdiction of the Congress of the United States and the existence of the open saloon at the Capital of the Nation is a menace to the welfare of all the people and especially to the inhabitants of said District and an evil example to the Nation; and

"'Whereas at least three-fourths of the population of the United States now live in territory where the liquor traffic is prohibited and the growing convictions of mankind are strongly averse to such traffic and the various evils inseparably connected with it; and

"'Whereas our National Capital should be kept free from contaminating influences as far as possible not only for the sake of the inhabitants thereof but as an object lesson to the Nation: Therefore be it

"'*Resolved by the Senate of Oregon (the House of Representatives concurring)*, That the Congress of the United States be, and it is hereby, memorialized speedily to enact such legislation as will abolish the traffic in intoxicating liquors within the District of Columbia.'

"Adopted January 8, 1917.

"GUS C. MOSER, *President of the Senate,*
"R. N. STANFIELD, *Speaker of the House,*
"By BEN W. OLCOTT, *Secretary of State.*"

There is not opportunity at this time to comment upon this vigorous and eloquent memorial further than to say that the people of Oregon at the recent general election voted to abolish the traffic and use of liquors in the State. For several years many of the counties in the State have been dry, and for a year the traffic has been prohibited. The recent vote is the logical conclusion from the experience of the people, under dry laws, that such legislation has increased the welfare and prosperity of the people, the happiness of families, the care and nurture of children, and been productive of every good, while at the same time reducing violations of law and the distress and taxes incident thereto.

The Army on the Border.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. MORIN,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 9, 1917.

Mr. MORIN. Mr. Speaker, in the last few months we have heard much about the service of the National Guard at the border. There have been many things said by way of commendation of their work and aid to their country, and there have been equally as many things said that are derogatory. I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an article entitled "Where responsibility rests," which appeared in the Greensburg (Pa.) Daily Tribune of January 5, 1917, and was written by its editor in chief, Mr. R. W. Herbert. This is an article that is written by a man who for years has been intensely interested in anything that concerns the National Guard or Regular Army. He has studied conditions, has been a close student of things military and naval, and being a man of unusual culture and attainments, and one of the best editors of my State, his judgment in matters of this kind is to be sought; when he speaks it is with the authority of a man who is entirely fitted to give judgment that is well fortified with facts and fully

worthy of deep consideration. I therefore ask, Mr. Speaker, the privilege of inserting in the RECORD this article:

WHERE RESPONSIBILITY RESTS.

The National Guard of the country, now quitting the Mexican border at short and regular intervals, is not content with the estimate in which it is held by the swivel-chair warriors at Washington.

The guardsmen are modest in their claims for their efficiency and skill. They know that the National Guard as a system is inadequate, but they feel that it is not all wrong. They realize, however, that the unsatisfactory guard system puts the burden of national defense upon the patriotic commands, and enables the coward and shirker to remain at home, or at least out of the danger zone.

That is admittedly one of the most striking defects of the National Guard system. There are others, but none more conspicuous, and universal training would seem to be the cure for that.

The guardsmen, however, argue—and of a right—that the National Guard is a school for soldiers. Intelligent and capable young men through guard training are given freely and effectively many things an officer and a soldier should know. It teaches the young and ambitious men the art of handling men; it compels obedience; it puts into practice a great variety of things which are demanded and absolutely necessary in case of conflict with an enemy.

Even the severest critic of the National Guard as a whole will not contend that the citizen soldier is in any way responsible for whatever confusion attended its recent mobilization on the Mexican border. The General Government has had a part in preparing and fitting the guard for duty. Regular Army officers have at short intervals inspected and controlled the drilling of the guard. These Regular Army officers have at regular intervals inspected and examined the guard equipment. In fact, the management of the guard has been to some extent vested in the General Government. Yet when the President called to the guard of the North it responded with alacrity and a pleasing willingness, only to find that as soldiers they were shabbily equipped for service outside their armories and were not prepared for action beyond a season of camp life.

The States may have been to some extent responsible for the actual condition, but surely it would be only fair to agree that the responsibility was divided between the State and the National Government.

The act under which the guardsmen were hurried to the Mexican border specifically designated them as the second line of defense. It was not the purpose of the Hay bill to make border patrolmen out of the guardsmen unless the first line had crossed the border.

The Hay bill, as a means of meeting conditions in Mexico, also designated the Regular Army as the first line. And what of the Regular Army? Hasn't that system broken down in the most lamentable way? The Department of War may have an abundance of equipment for its accepted first line, but there has been and is now a deplorable lack of soldiers, and soldiers are as necessary as equipment when war threatens. Recruiting for the first line of the Army has been more or less a farce. It is the General Government's farce, too. The pay of soldiers has advanced but $2 a month in 50 years.

Again, what defense is there for a Regular Army system which prevents the President, Commander in Chief of all the armies of this great Nation, from making an appointment in the Army anywhere between a second lieutenant and a major general? The first lieutenants, the captains, the majors, the lieutenant colonels, the colonels, and the brigadiers advance automatically only. For distinguished service, or for any other legitimate reason, the Commander in Chief is empowered to advance a second lieutenant to be a major general, but he has no authority between those positions. If the first lieutenant dies, is removed, or quits his post the second lieutenant moves up and fills the vacancy without official shoving, and so along the whole line to the top command. That surely is a system of "watchful waiting" that has already become tiresome.

The National Guard system may be weak in spots, but it does not have a monopoly of all the military weaknesses in this great country.

The best possible answer to the swivel-chair critics of the National Guard is, "Physician, heal thyself." And the healing process should start promptly.

Development of Water Power From the Waters of Niagara River in the State of New York.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES B. SMITH,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 9, 1917.

Mr. SMITH of New York. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of the joint resolution is to make temporary provision for supplying the consumers on the New York side of the Niagara River with power which has been taken from them through the action of Canada with respect to the exportation of power generated on the Canadian side of the Falls. Two bills have been introduced and are now being considered by the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House, which deal in a permanent way with further diversions of water from the Niagara River, both above and below the Falls. The temporary relief provided by the joint resolution is necessary, however, in order that immediate supply may be had by consumers whose power has been taken from them through the withdrawals made by Canada. The amount of power so withdrawn from New York State consumers during the year 1916 is upward of 60,000 horsepower, and I have seen a recent statement issued by the department of inland revenue, Ottawa, advising the companies developing power on the Canadian side that they should be prepared to supply the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario with 50,000 additional power by April 1, 1917. If this requirement is insisted upon, it means the withdrawal by Canada of this further amount in the early spring of this year, a total withdrawal of 110,000 horsepower within the short space of one year.

Therefore it must at once appear that not only is this temporary provision for the supply of New York State consumers necessary and of vital importance at this time, but that there should be legislation at this session of the Congress which will, within the limitations of the treaty, deal in a permanent way with this important problem.

PENALTY AND COMPENSATION.

The amendment offered to the joint resolution by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] is, I am told, in the nature of a penalty. In effect it provides that any permittee shall be required to enter into a contract to pay $100 per annum for each cubic foot of water used—of the 4,400 cubic feet dealt with by the resolution—in case the same is taken by such permittee after March 4, 1917. If this provision is in the nature of a penalty, pure and simple, then I have no objection thereto. If, on the other hand, this provision is one for compensation, or if it is likely to be so construed, then it is objectionable, and I desire to here record my objections thereto, stating briefly my reasons for raising the same.

As I have stated, legislation looking to permanent and much larger relief is now pending, and I trust this legislation will receive the favorable consideration and action of the present Congress. Now, if it is proper and right that compensation should be exacted by the Federal Government for a permit temporarily to divert and use the waters of the Niagara River for power purposes, then it must follow that it will also be right and proper that such exaction be required by any permanent legislation dealing with the diversion of waters from this river for power purposes. Therefore I wish to raise and discuss at this time the whole question of the propriety and legality of any such exaction.

LEGALITY OF COMPENSATION.

Is such an exaction either legal or proper? I maintain that it is not. It will no doubt be conceded that the Federal Government has no proprietary right in the waters of the Niagara River, in the lands underneath the river, or bordering upon the river. This being so, what rights and powers may it legally and properly exercise in the premises?

The Federal Government may exercise its sovereign jurisdiction for the furtherance and preservation of Federal purposes and uses. It may exercise such powers and rights with respect thereto as are delegated to it by the provisions of the Constitution. It can not legally, lawfully, or justly go further. With respect to the Niagara River, this Government has the undoubted right of control in the interest of navigation, and in the interest of protecting or furthering any other Federal purpose arising from the nature and location of this river. But it has no property interest in the thing being dealt with, and therefore has nothing upon which legally to base or impose a toll or tax. The exaction of any compensation in this case would necessarily be in the nature of a tax.

Congress, in the House and the Senate, has already passed upon bills looking to general water-power legislation. In the Senate a bill has been passed known as the Shields bill. When this bill was before that body for consideration an amendment was offered by Senator WALSH, of Montana, providing that the Secretary of War might fix reasonable charges to be paid by the permittee for the use of the waters of navigable streams for water-power purposes. This proposed amendment was debated at length on the 16th of February, 1916, and at the conclusion of the debate a vote was taken on the proposed amendment resulting in its defeat, the number voting in favor thereof being 15, and the number against 36. I believe a few excerpts from the remarks of Senator SHIELDS on that occasion very much in point here and at this time.

RIGHTS OF RIPARIAN OWNERS.

In discussing this proposed amendment offered by Senator WALSH, Senator SHIELDS said:

The States in which the navigable rivers are situated have sovereign power over the beds and waters of navigable rivers, and the States and the riparian proprietors, as the laws of the State in question may provide, have title to and own them. This seems to be settled beyond controversy. The first case coming before the Supreme Court in which the question arose was that of Pollard *v.* Hagan (3 How., p. 212), and the rule then announced has been adhered to ever since. It is there said:

"By the preceding course of reasoning we have arrived at these general conclusions: (1) The shores of navigable waters and the soil under them were not granted to the United States by the Constitution, but were reserved to the States, respectively; (2) the new States have the same rights, sovereignty, and jurisdiction over this subject as the original States; (3) the right of the United States to public lands and the power of Congress to make all needful rules and regulations for

the sale and disposition thereof conferred no power to grant to the plaintiff the lands (tidewater lands) in controversy."

* * * * * * *

The States have such interest that they maintain suits to protect the waters of navigable rivers which flow through their boundaries from pollution, as was held in the case of Missouri *v.* Illinois (185 U. S.), or to prevent an excessive and unlawful use of the waters, as was held in Kansas *v.* Colorado.

* * * * * * *

The States may retain the title to the lands under the waters or grant it to individuals and hold the waters flowing over it in trust for the public. The riparian proprietors may acquire a fee simple title to the bed of the stream if allowed by the laws of the State within which stream flows, but their interest in the waters is only that of usufruct. It is true that the sovereignty and title of the States and individuals in the beds of navigable streams and other waters is in all cases subject to the power of the Congress to control and use them for purposes of navigation, and of the necessity and extent of the control and use required it is the sole and exclusive judge. From its determination there is no appeal. This power springs from that to regulate commerce and is of that class of power defined as the police power. Within the sphere of its control the power of Congress is absolute, unlimited, and paramount.

GOVERNMENT HAS NO PROPRIETARY INTEREST.

The Federal Government, however, has no proprietary interest in navigable rivers and can not interfere with the control and use of them by the States and riparian proprietors, except through the power of Congress to regulate commerce—as applied in this case, to facilitate navigation. The power of Congress is to control the easement of right of way for navigation which the general public has in navigable streams, to which servitude the rights of riparian proprietors must in all cases yield, and the control by the States yield when Congress exercises its higher power of regulation.

* * * * * * *

The United States having no property in navigable streams, the Congress, as its agent, can not constitutionally sell or lease the beds and waters of those streams for any purpose, its power being confined to the control of them for the purpose of navigation. When it attempts to do more, either directly or by coercion of the riparian owner, it is guilty of confiscation of private property.

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To impose such conditions would be a gross abuse of the police power to regulate transportation upon navigable rivers. Mr. President, I believe it is conceded by everyone that the United States has no proprietary interest in navigable rivers, either in the waters, beds, or banks; that its sole power is one of regulation of the public highways which they constitute, yet under that power it is proposed that Congress shall say to the riparian proprietors:

"You can not use your property, although you do it in such a manner as will not obstruct navigation but materially aid it with your own private capital, unless you pay to the United States a tax to be distributed throughout the whole country."

I can not see anything but a gross oppression in such an exaction.

CONSTITUTIONAL TAX LIMITATIONS.

Charges of this kind can not be sustained as a tax. Congress has no power to levy such a tax. Its power to raise revenue is confined to taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, uniform throughout the United States. These charges can not be made uniform nor apportioned among the States, as the Constitution requires, nor can the power to fix the rate of taxation be delegated.

* * * * * * *

The refusal of Congress to allow the owner of the beds and waters of navigable streams to develop the water power of which their property is susceptible, although, according to plans approved by and under the supervision of the authorities which Congress has given control of navigable rivers, and by means of which will greatly improve and facilitate navigation, is unquestionably a gross and despotic abuse of power.

Upon what principle can the development of the great natural resources of the country for the prosperity and happiness of the people be arbitrarily prohibited solely because the owners of the property will not submit to an unjust exaction? There is no constitutional authority for such arbitrary deprivation of the use of private property. A law which forbids a property owner from using it for a lawful purpose without payment of a charge for which there is no constitutional warrant is as much confiscation as if the property itself is taken.

* * * * * * *

There is another answer to the position taken by the Senator from Montana in the matter of tolls, which seems to me to be conclusive. The United States owns the public lands, the proprietary interest in them, and has a perfect right to sell them, to dispose of them, in the language of the Constitution, and I apprehend that in the greater right to sell is included the right to lease, and if it has the right to lease, of course, it has the right to charge rent. I have not investigated that question fully. It is not one that is germane to this bill, in my opinion, but I would say that it is a sound proposition.

NOTHING TO LEASE, RENT, OR SELL.

In this case the United States has no proprietary interest. It has nothing to rent, nothing to lease, and nothing to sell. The cases are entirely different. There is no analogy; there is no parallel between them.

It is said that Congress could impose conditions when granting permits to riparian proprietors. Certainly Congress has the unlimited power over navigable streams, and it can arbitrarily declare that no structure of any kind shall be placed in any stream without its consent. Such are the provisions of the act of 1899, and it is only on account of that act that it is necessary to have the present legislation. For a hundred years previous to that act dams were built in navigable streams without the consent of Congress, and were only liable to be removed if they constituted obstructions to navigation. But this power was intended solely for the protection of navigation. It was never intended that Congress should exercise it to prohibit riparians from using their property in a lawful manner, unless they should pay a tax not exacted from others for permission to use their property. Congress can impose such conditions, but it would be an indefensible abuse of its power.

I believe the observations of Senator SHIELDS sound and unanswerable, and that his argument with respect to the legality or propriety of a provision requiring compensation applies with equal or greater force to the situation at Niagara. At this point the Federal Government, as I have said, has no proprietary interest. It has nothing to rent, nothing to lease, and nothing to sell. It owns no property upon the use of which it can base a charge, and any toll or compensation imposed or fixed by the Federal Government to be paid by a permittee would be, as pointed out by Senator SHIELDS, an unconstitutional exaction and an exercise of arbitrary power.

INDUSTRY AT A STANDSTILL.

Now, the purpose of this joint resolution and the pending legislation is to give full effect to the treaty between this country and Great Britain proclaimed in May, 1910. Unless this is done, and done speedily, the industries of central and western New York will be seriously crippled, and some of them, at least, ruined.

Canada has been active and zealous in giving full effect to the treaty from the day of its proclamation. Since 1910 development on the Canadian side of the river has more than doubled; on our side of the river, because of the inaction of the Congress, development has remained practically at a standstill. The difference in the attitude of the two Governments in this regard has caused many of our American industries to locate and build plants of immense proportions on the Canadian side. The industrial expansion in Canada by reason thereof has been rapid and has now reached the point where Canada is demanding and requiring that the power heretofore exported into New York State be withdrawn and sold to consumers in Canada.

I know that protests against this action on the part of Canada have been made. Whether these protests are based upon legal rights that have been violated I do not know; but I am reliably informed that Canada's attitude toward these protests is "Let your own Government give full effect to the treaty, and your cause for complaint against us will fall." This, I believe, to be the real crux of the situation. Legislation giving full effect to the treaty should be immediately passed, and it should be such legislation as will invite and encourage capital to make the required investment and at the same time result in the most efficient use of the water used.

At this point I wish to refer briefly to the situation with respect to water-power development wherever Federal control obtains.

Many water powers upon navigable streams where the Federal Government has undoubted jurisdiction for certain purposes have heretofore been developed, and the product of such developments is being disposed of to the great benefit of the communities in proximity thereto. These developments were made there before the Federal Government intervened or assumed control or under licenses which were favorable in their terms and requirements.

For a great many years the States exercised full control over the navigable rivers within their borders and gave authority for the construction of works within such rivers. The first general law by the Congress upon this subject was passed in 1890. Following this is the act of 1899, wherein Congress assumed full and complete control over navigable streams. Later, and in the year 1906, Congress passed another act to regulate the construction of dams across navigable rivers. This act required for such construction the consent of Congress by special act and provided certain conditions upon which the construction could be made. Following this legislation is the act of 1910 entitled an act to amend the former one, but which, in effect, superseded the statute of 1906. This act also required the consent of Congress for the construction of any works in navigable rivers and prescribed certain conditions to be imposed.

DEVELOPMENT WAS STOPPED.

These conditions proved to be of such a harsh and burdensome nature as to be prohibitive of further water-power development in navigable rivers. Among others, this statute imposes two very objectionable provisions, either one of which, in my judgment, is well nigh sufficient to prevent the making of any further water-power development by capital in navigable streams. Under this statute (a) the Secretary of War is authorized to fix and collect for the permit granted various charges; (b) the rights acquired under the act or pursuant to the permit may be arbitrarily forfeited in case the company fails to comply with any of the provisions of the act, and his license or permit may be canceled at will. The effect of this legislation has been absolutely to strangle all water-power development in navigable rivers. I believe I am right in asserting that no water power of any magnitude has been developed

pursuant to a permit issued in accordance with the provisions of the statute of 1910. The development at Keokuk in the Mississippi River was constructed under a special act granting, as I understand it, a permit in perpetuity, while the development at Hales Bar, in the State of Tennessee, has been made under a special act granting a permit for 99 years. In neither of these cases has the Government imposed or exacted any compensation or toll. Other instances might be cited where Federal permits have been granted without the exaction of any compensation as a condition thereof.

It is perhaps worth our while to here consider for a moment the length and breadth and importance of the subject we are dealing with. It is variously estimated that there are from thirty to sixty million horsepower of water-power energy within the United States which under reasonable legislative conditions would be feasible for actual commercial development.

In 1912 Mr. Herbert Knox Smith, then Commissioner of Corporations, made a report in which he estimated the minimum horsepower afforded by all streams of the United States at 32,082,000 and the maximum at 61,678,000. This does not include the power which may be made available by storage. More recently Mr. George Otis Smith, Director of the Geological Survey, made another estimate of the available water power of the United States as 55,000,000 horsepower. I understand this does not deal with power which may be made available by storage. Of the power available, if the minimum of the estimate of Mr. Herbert Knox Smith is taken as a conservative amount, less than one-fifth has been developed and turned to use. Fully 80 per cent thereof is running to waste, while the work which this waste might be doing is being done at the great expense of the coal resources of the country.

WASTE OF NATURAL RESOURCES.

The production of 1 horsepower continuously for 24 hours throughout every day in the year requires the consumption, under the most improved and modern apparatus, of at least 12 tons of coal per annum. At Niagara Falls, on the New York State side, if full effect is given to the treaty and the water is used in the most efficient manner, it is possible to develop in excess of the amount now being developed, at least 400,000 horsepower. That is, if the full 20,000 cubic second-feet allotted by the treaty is allowed to be diverted from above the Falls and this is used most efficiently, there can be generated from these waters at least 150,000 horsepower more than is now being developed; and if the development in the gorge below the Falls is permitted and is made, a further amount of approximately 250,000 horsepower can be produced. To produce 400,000 horsepower by coal would require approximately 5,000,000 tons of coal per annum. To produce the amount of the available undeveloped horsepower of the United States, based on the minimum above stated, would require a coal consumption of 300,000,000 tons. This is more than one-half of the entire annual coal consumption of this country at the present time.

In the interest of real conservation, therefore, such legislation should be enacted as will encourage the development of our vast water-power resources, and thereby conserve from exhaustion our coal resources. This is the turning of waste to usefulness that waste and destruction of the useful may be prevented, or at least postponed.

Now, with respect to further developments of power at Niagara, any provision requiring the payment of compensation will tend to discourage, and I fear prevent, its being made.

What we want at Niagara is legislation which will make possible the development of power within the limitations prescribed by the treaty. We want this legislation to be fair and of such a character that it will invite and encourage capital to make the required investment. We want this legislation to be of such a character as will be fair to the communities where the power is sold and used. We want it of such a character as will keep our own industries on the New York side of the river. We ought not to be humiliated by the spectacle of our own industries moving to the Canadian side of the river because of the more favorable attitude of that government toward them.

COMPANY DRIVEN TO CANADA.

At this point I am constrained to again quote from a speech of Senator SHIELDS, made in the Senate on February 9, 1916, wherein he says:

> We have the water-power resources in this country for the successful and profitable fixation of air nitrogen, and they would be developed for that purpose but for the unfortunate restrictive legislation which some impracticable people, calling themselves conservationists, succeeded in having enacted some years ago. About five or six years since, the Cyanamid Co. of America desired to build a plant of this kind in the State of Alabama, the initial cost to be about two and a half million dollars, provided they could obtain the necessary hydroelectric power. The Congress passed a bill authorizing the Alabama Power Co. to construct a dam in the Coosa River in that State to furnish in part the power needed. It was proposed to construct a dam with all facilities of navigation, at the expense of the company and under plans furnished by the Secretary of War, which would have resulted in making slack-water navigation in that river for a distance of 30 miles, but because the act did not provide for arbitrary Federal control and charges upon the business and property of the company it was vetoed by President Taft. This resulted in the loss to this country of that great industry and the improvement of the Coosa River without any aid from the Treasury of the United States. The Cyanamid Co. built its plant in the Province of Ontario, Canada, where it is now in successful operation, and the farmers of the South are buying its product with the freight charges of 1,000 miles added, whereas had the Alabama Power Co. been permitted to improve its riparian property on the Coosa River they could have had it delivered at their very doors.

BURDENS SHOULD BE UNIFORM.

Therefore, as a matter of policy, apart from its propriety or legality, I believe it unwise that any exaction of compensation should be made. In fact, it seems to me that any such provision could only be justified by such legislation as would make the burden equal with respect to all similar developments in the United States, whether heretofore or hereafter made; that is, everyone in the same class and enjoying the same sort of privilege should be given the same standing under the law. There should be no discrimination. The singling out of one case and subjecting such development to the payment of compensation, while others of a similar character were permitted to exercise and enjoy the same sort of privilege without any payment, would certainly be an unjust and unreasonable discrimination not only against the permittee but against the community in which the power is sold and used. It is manifestly unfair that the citizens of one State should be taxed for the benefit of the Federal Government for a thing which it uses and consumes while the citizens of another State using and consuming the same article under a license from the same authority are not taxed. It is in this case, as in all other cases, the fact that the consumer in the last analysis of things foots the bill. Therefore the exacting of compensation means greater cost to the consumer, for it must not be overlooked that all charges, rents, and taxes upon water-power development go to increase the operating expenses and fixed charges of the company producing the power. Every added burden, therefore, placed upon the development must necessarily go to increase the amount which is to be paid by the ultimate consumer. To single out one community and place such an added burden upon it would be manifestly unjust.

Aside from this, I desire further to point out what may very likely be the result of imposing a toll or tax of any considerable amount upon the right or privilege of developing more power at Niagara, particularly with reference to the situation in the gorge below the Falls, and to the pending water-power development legislation dealing therewith.

PROPOSED DEVELOPMENT.

A bill is now being considered by the Committee on Foreign Affairs under which, if enacted into law, permits may be issued for the development of power in the gorge below the Falls. A very large development on the American side is possible at this point. The cost of making such a development, however, is much greater per horsepower created than the cost of the developments which have been made above the Falls. If to this greater cost of development is to be added a charge not imposed upon the other developments it will be very difficult, if not impossible, to induce capital to invest the money required for such development. Further, should the development be made the company would be greatly handicapped in its operations because of the increased operating cost and fixed charges. I am told that the taxes imposed upon the companies operating on the New York side of the Niagara River already greatly exceed, per horsepower generated, the amount of the taxes and rentals imposed upon the companies on the Canadian side.

Attention has already been called to the fact that large consumers of power had located in Canada and built large plants there; that this has resulted because of the more favorable attitude of the Canadian Government toward development and use of water power. Stated conversely, because of the more unfavorable attitude of this Government during the past five or six years toward the development of its water-power resources

For the information of Members from Illinois, permit me to point out that the Chicago Tribune has gone into Canada, in the vicinity of Niagara Falls, and there built a large paper plant, capable of producing more than 100 tons of paper per day. It has located this plant there very largely because of the certainty of securing an adequate and continuous supply of hydro electric power. This plant is producing the quantity of paper just mentioned and is using in the manufacture thereof from eight to twelve thousand horsepower daily. The product so produced is shipped to and used by the Chicago Tribune in its daily publications.

Many other instances might be cited of industries of large moment which have located in Canada because of the more favorable attitude of the Canadian Government toward the development of power.

Another reason why no compensation should be imposed is that the Federal Government has a direct and vital interest in having the water-power resources of the country developed and used under the most favorable conditions, to the end that it may be produced at the lowest possible cost. I say the Government has a direct and vital interest, and I say this because of the fact of the rapidly increasing importance of electrochemistry to the national defense, illustrated with great force in the present over-seas war. Again I wish to quote from the speech of Senator SHIELDS, as follows:

THE NEEDS OF AGRICULTURE.

The greatest and most important of all uses of hydroelectricity is in heating and operating powerful electrical furnaces for manufacturing purposes of many kinds, some of which can not be carried on by any other means. I refer especially to the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen for the manufacture of agricultural fertilizers. Nitrogen, or ammonia, is the chief constituent element of agricultural fertilizers, and nitric acid is necessary in the production of smokeless powder and other high explosives. That which we now use for these purposes is obtained chiefly from Chile in the form of nitrate of soda, our annual importations being about 600,000 tons, of the value or cost of $21,000,000. The Chilean deposits of nitrate of soda are the only ones known, and all the countries of the world have obtained their supplies from them for many years. It is now estimated that these deposits will be exhausted in the course of some 10 years. If this is true, or we should be cut off from them by a superior naval power in time of war, our agricultural interests would be seriously crippled and national defense made impossible. These facts are not controvertible and we must provide for such contingencies. We have it in our power to do so. Nitrogen can be manufactured from the air in quantities to answer all our purposes. Four-fifths of the atmosphere that surrounds us and that we breathe is composed of this colorless, odorless, nonmetallic, gaseous element. Modern science after years of research and experiment by process of fixation, in the use of the electrical furnace, has made atmospheric nitrogen available for all the uses made of Chilean saltpeter.

MODERN SCIENCE IN MANUFACTURING FERTILIZER.

There are two methods or processes for the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen, one called the arc process, and the other the cyanimid process, but I will not undertake to describe them. They are both successful and each has its special advantages. The fact that nitrogen can be obtained from the air in quantities sufficient for all purposes required, and at a little less than half the cost of Chilean saltpeter, is now well established. Great nitrogen manufacturing plants, representing investment of many millions of dollars, are in successful operation in Norway, Sweden, Germany, Switzerland, France, Italy, Japan, Australia, and just across our border in the Province of Ontario, Canada. These countries were all quick to grasp the value of this great achievement of modern science and the advantage, if not the necessity, of providing within their own territories an abundant and economical supply of nitrogen, and have devoted much of their water-power resources to the generation of cheap hydroelectricity for that purpose. Germany alone has a hundred million dollars so invested. She has also an immense plant operated by steam produced by coal, but only military necessity will permit this, the cost being too great for industrial purposes. Practically all the vast quantities of explosives now used in the great war now raging in Europe are made from air nitrogen and much left for the manufacture of fertilizers. We are importing some that we use from Norway and more from Canada.

No place in the world lends itself better to the production in large quantities of nitric acid and refined steel than does the vicinity of the Falls. Here a large number of kindred industries have sprung up owing to the cheapness of the power and the large quantities which may be had.

In my judgment, therefore, instead of requiring compensation to be paid by a permittee making further development at the Falls, it would be far wiser and more in the interest of the Federal Government to make provision whereby, without Government investment it may be able to secure in times of emergency or of war the products to which I have referred. Such provision, I believe, would prove of far greater usefulness and benefit to the Federal Government than the imposition of any tax or toll possibly could. Such provision has been inserted in the bill introduced dealing with the diversion of water for power purposes in the gorge below the Falls. By the terms of this provision, the Government is not required to buy of any grantee any of his products unless it is to the advantage of the Government; and the Government, therefore, is free to go on and complete its proposed new nitric-acid plant and its armor plant and any other plant that it may see fit to build without embarrassment from this source. At the same time this legislation will provide governmental needs, without Government expense, that may be hereafter availed of at a rate of profit that the Government itself is to determine as and when the need is presented.

In conclusion let me say that I am seriously and strongly opposed to any provision requiring a permittee to pay compensation to the Federal Government. I believe such a provision to be legally, equitably, and morally bad, because it is the exercise of an arbitrary and illegal power. It is the taking of something of real substance out of the pockets of a few people in a given locality for the negligible benefit of the people of the whole country; it is discriminatory, because a single project is burdened; last, but not least, it is an act of the Federal Government which constitutes, in my judgment, a usurpation of powers and rights belonging to the States. The exercising of proper control for the furtherance and protection of a Federal purpose is one thing; requiring that the Federal Government shall be paid for permitting the use of that which belongs to a State or the individuals of a State is quite another.

And right here, for the benefit of the Colorado Members, who seem to think that compensation should be exacted of the permittees using the waters of the Niagara River, let me call to their attention the fact that the attitude of their own State is exactly what I have contended for here. In fact, no State in the Union is more zealous in claiming that the Federal Government's sole power over navigable waters within its borders is that of control for the purposes of navigation.

I understand that there is a possible development of hydroelectric power in the navigable streams of the State of Colorado of nearly 2,000,000 horsepower. I wonder if the gentlemen from Colorado favor the imposition of a Federal tax upon water-power developments in their own State? I fancy they would strongly object, and I believe their objections would be sound and well taken.

Therefore I hope that no Member of the House will unduly urge that provision for compensation should be required at Niagara or that any Member will urge or insist that any other burdensome condition be imposed the necessary result of which will be to prevent any further development being made.

Conscription is Undemocratic—Selfishness and Deceit of Militarists Exposed.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON.

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 10, 1917.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, the militarists having succeeded in committing Congress to a policy of vast increases of Army and Navy, now take the next step in their program and demand conscription. Taking advantage of the world-wide terror inspired by the European debacle, they caused Congress to appropriate for the current year over $650,000,000 for military preparedness, and are now demanding $800,000,000 for next year. Having insisted last year that a standing army of 500,000 was necessary, they now increase the figures to 1,500,000, with a reserve of 1,500,000 additional.

In their new demands the militarists carefully avoid the use of the word "conscription"; they use the euphemisms "universal training" and "universal service." The scheme, however, can not be disguised with agreeable words. Conscription is what they are demanding; conscription in its true and odious form; conscription as real and oppressive as now exists among the embattled nations of Europe; conscription which drags the boy from his mother's side, the father from the bosom of his family, and places them in the ranks as unwilling soldiers in time of peace; conscription with all its crushing weight upon the people, its denial of personal liberty, its espionage, its hateful methods of registration and interference with the freedom of men to come and go, to live their lives, and to seek happiness and well-being in their own way.

Conscription as a system is universally feared and hated. No nation has ever been willing to endure it except under the fear of destruction. Prussia, the first of all to adopt universal military service, introduced it in 1806, when Napoleon had garrisoned all her important cities and had limited her standing army to 42,000. France adopted it after the terrible defeat of 1870, under the menace of a powerful and victorious Germany. The British yielded to universal service only after entering the second year of the present war, after having raised over 4,000,000 volunteer soldiers; and even as finally adopted it was not applicable to Ireland or the colonies. Australia voted conscription down two months ago, and our neighbor, Canada, though heroically responding to her duty in the great struggle, still declines to force her citizens into the ranks. How can it be, then, that the United States should accept any such system in a time of profound peace, when our friendship is courted by all the nations of the world?

Compulsory service in America is a new departure. In all our national life we have never had compulsory military service in time of peace. It can not be claimed that any emergency now exists. We are at peace with the nations and threatened

by none. They court, they crave, our friendship. Under such circumstances it is necessary that the advocates of conscription should produce some strong arguments in order to gain a patient hearing.

For the purpose of making their hateful scheme more acceptable to the masses, the militarists have brought forth the claim that conscription is democratic; that it is a burden shared equally by all the people; that it promotes equality. To coat the bitter pill, they make the specious plea that as public defense is the duty of all, conscription laws will secure that the pains of performing that duty be equally shared by all. They assert that conscription is democratic. It is with this phase of the question that I wish specifically to deal.

WHO FAVORS CONSCRIPTION?

First, I would inquire, Where does the demand for compulsory service come from? What influences are back of the agitation which would in time of peace make us a nation in arms? Does it come from the friends of the people, from those who have concerned themselves with the welfare of common men? Does it come from those who have proven their faith in democracy? Or, on the other hand, does it come from those who hate the rule of the people and would delight to thwart it? Who are they that are carrying on this agitation and seeking to convince America that compulsory military service is democratic?

I call the roll of great democrats and humanitarians, those who have battled for political freedom and the rule of the people, who have striven to elevate the condition of labor, to make the lives of women and children and the voiceless under half of humanity brighter and happier, who have labored for peace, who have recognized man's duty to his fellow man in the universal brotherhood. No answer comes. Out of all the leaders in efforts to ameliorate the condtion of mankind, no one answers in behalf of a system of conscription. To the contrary, with one voice they unite in denouncing it.

Where, then, does the support for this odious system come from? What classes favor compulsory service? I answer.

The military satrapy. Officers of Army and Navy, representatives of a system which is the very antithesis of democracy, an organization dependent upon a multitude of ranks in which each station adulates its superiors and despises those below it, which has its very breath of life in distinctions, differences, and their insignia, which finds its opportunity in increased numbers and has its honors and emoluments augmented by every humble private who may be brought into the ranks. The military system, with its manifold gradations, with its iron discipline, which has as its ideal the making of a senseless human machine with which the superior may work his absolute will; where the dangers and hardships are borne by the inarticulate men in the ranks and the honors and rewards are enjoyed by the wearers of gold lace and epaulets.

The great financiers. Owners of railroads and ships; captains of industry, who have heaped their millions out of the sweat of the masses, and who desire patient and docile servants in their industries; men of great wealth, who hold in their hands the capital of the Nation; who are seeking investments in the weak and undeveloped countries of the world, where they may fatten on concessions of mines and railroads; who are demanding the open door for investment and exploitation in China, though it involve fighting a bloody war 6,000 miles from our shores; who plan the financial conquest of Mexico and South America; who would send the American flag into the remote corners of the world so that rich profits may be brought home to their coffers; these men who hate democracy, who fear it, who with their vast wealth are chiefly interested in preserving the established order, with a free hand to monopoly and exploitation.

War traffickers, munitions makers, builders of ships for the Navy, and contractors for Army supplies. Those who coin their profits out of human blood and suffering, who owe their affluence to the great tragedy, battle; men who, masquerading as patriotic societies, have fomented the fears of the people, have financed moving pictures to terrorize the people, and carried on a Nation-wide propaganda for vast increases in Army and Navy in order that they might sell their wares.

The parasite press. The corrupt newspapers, preaching the doctrines of reaction; subsidized by selfish interests; echoers of all the undemocratic voices in our country; pandering to the selfishness of the small percentage of our people who aspire through wealth and prestige to rule over the many; drawing their support from the classes, and always insidiously seeking to discredit the common people, to make them ridiculous, and to destroy their influence; always the advocates of capital in its disputes with labor; always praising those of place and importance and spitting upon the humble and unfortunate.

Sycophants and snobs. All those who hang upon the coattails of the great and imitate and praise wealth and power wherever it is found; aristocrats of new-found wealth and ephemeral prestige, scorners of hard hands and soiled clothing, the would-be elect and privileged.

I would not charge all who favor compulsory service as belonging to the classes I have denounced. No doubt many unselfish and patriotic men favor conscription, have been convinced that it is necessary; but in the main these have been misled by a false propaganda. The agitation has had its source and mainspring in the selfish and undemocratic classes.

I speak in scoffing words of those who favor the new policy of conscription, but my bitterness is only forensic and superficial. I do not hate them. Many of them are not conscious of their undemocratic tendencies. They are clutched in the grip of their environment, associations, and selfish interests, and do not realize where the road leads to. Again, many of them are sincere in thinking with Carlisle that the world advances through its heroes and that the masses are of little worth. They would not have America a democracy ruled equally by all its citizens. They regret that we have no aristocracy, no class privileged by law, which would give greater stability to society. I do not hate them, but I abhor their opinions.

CONSCRIPTION DESTROYS PERSONAL LIBERTY.

Compulsory service, to be effective, requires the subjection of conscripts to many months of training, preceded and followed by systematic registration so as to know where each man is at any moment and what his movements are. From the birth of the unfortunate designed for conscription, the Government must lay its hands upon him, direct his movements and training, so that at the age for service he may be brought forward in the best possible shape, spiritually and physically, to be placed in the ranks. This necessitates constant supervision over his life. It would regulate residence, occupation, schooling, mating, and every detail of his life up to the period of service, and even afterwards, so long as the conscript is subject to be called to the colors. Such a system is wholly incompatible with the freedom of action constituting personal liberty. It is intolerable to a lover of liberty and wholly inconsistent with the spirit of democracy and self-government.

EXEMPTIONS TO PRIVILEGED CLASSES.

The plea for conscription is based on the assumption that the dangers and hardships of service would fall equally upon all alike. This is a false assumption. To the contrary, experience in conscript countries has shown that the privileged classes escape service through exemptions, substitutions, and evasions, while the hardships of service fall only upon the masses. Always the influential classes are able to escape the meshes of conscription laws by exemptions granted to educated classes and upper-class callings and by other privileges obtained by corruption or favoritism. Even in Germany in 1913 only 53 per cent of the male population of active service age were in the armies, while in Spain, Austria, Russia, and all other conscript countries, except France, the percentage under arms was much smaller.

It is one thing to pass conscription laws; another to enforce them. Always it is easier to enforce the laws against the poor and humble. If any may escape their meshes, it is the classes having wealth and influence. Let no hard-handed workingman expect to find the son of the capitalist serving alongside his son on terms of equality. A way will be found to avoid that. As a last resort there are unmerited promotions and soft places to be found, perfunctory duties to be performed, easy clerkships, and such like. The toil and the drudgery, the digging and the sweating, that will be reserved for the sons of the masses.

ARMY DEMOCRACY!

By the very nature of military organization it is antagonistic to democracy. It is the antithesis of equality. It has its multitude of ranks, each requiring unquestioning obedience and respect from its inferior. The ramifications of station extend from the commanding general down through a mystic maze of subordinates to the humble lieutenant who, while poor indeed, in the estimation of officers of high rank, is removed by an immeasurable gulf from the enlisted men, who in turn grade from supercilious sergeant majors through numerous carefully ranked petty officers down to the despised private. It is impossible that there should be any democracy, for there is no equality. Even among officers of equal rank the senior is the superior. The gulf that yawns between the lowest commissioned officer and the enlisted man of whatever rank is so wide that even under the military laws of our own country, a democratic country, should the enlisted man upon provocation, no matter how great, so much as raise his naked hand against an officer he may be punished by the penalty of death.

There can be no equality in hardship and danger in the Army, because on an average 1 out of each 15 is a commissioned officer who has never served as a common soldier; a commissioned officer who has been exempted from conscription in order that he might be trained as an officer, who is a professional soldier chosen for position of command not upon democratic lines for merit, but because he belonged to a rich or influential family and was able to get himself chosen or to enjoy superior opportunities of education which qualified him for a cadetship. Even under our present system the cadetships at West Point and Annapolis go to the upper classes. It is practically impossible for the sons of common men to enter the sacred precincts of the academies. Where the sons of the people have sufficient political influence to secure the nominations they are confronted with entrance examinations such as only boys who have had the best educational advantages can pass. The educational tests for admission are so exacting that few, indeed, are the high-school boys who can meet them without a special preparatory course. It is the customary thing for boys who have influence enough to get the nominations to be notified months in advance in order that they may take a special course of preparation for the entrance examinations. The masses can not afford to give their sons these educational opportunities, and the result is that they are almost wholly excluded from the Academies and have no opportunity to become officers.

With compulsory-service laws where it appears that all young men are to be forced into the Army, the pressure for appointments as officers will greatly increase, and the standards become more arbitrary, and closer and closer will be shut the door of admission of the sons of the masses into the exclusive circles of the Army and Navy. We will then have our military aristocracy of Army and Navy officers, powerful, jealous, and narrow minded; hating democracy and warring upon it with every impulse; separating themselves still more from the masses and thoroughly saturated with contempt for the man in the ranks. This is Army democracy!

The Army officer is a professional soldier. The existence of the Army is his necessity. He is not a two or three year conscript upon an equality with others but is trained for his life's calling. Also, the period of compulsory service will not afford sufficient time for training noncommissioned officers, so that we must have sergeants and corporals who are professional soldiers following the business as a calling and for what they can get out of it. We may expect these professional petty officers to be even more harsh in discipline and more overbearing toward the young conscript privates than the commissioned officers. That brutality and oppression toward the privates will be the common practice can not be questioned by anyone familiar with the conscript armies of Europe. Including officers, commissioned and noncommissioned, substantially one-third of the Army will be professional soldiers serving for rewards and emoluments, to two-thirds young conscripts serving because they are forced to do so. There can be no democracy, because there is no equality, the privileges, honors, and rewards being reserved for the one-third and the hardships and drudgery for the two-thirds.

MILITANCY V. DEMOCRACY.

The spirit of the Army and Navy is undemocratic. They are inherently the most undemocratic institutions in America, and must of necessity remain so. Their teaching is all against democracy. Democracy teaches equality, that one man is the equal of another; militancy teaches that there is no equality between men, and that the gradations of rank represent conditions of real worth. Democracy uses reason; militancy, authority. Democracy is the rule of the majority; militancy, the arbitrary rule of one supreme head. Democracy gives respect to merit; militancy, to rank. To think for one's self and to act on the dictates of conscience are the highest attributes of a democrat, but in military life adherence to such principles brings punishment swift and terrible.

Molded by democracy, man is reasonable, kind, and just; shaped by militancy, he is machinelike, emotionless, and severe. Nations trained in democracy take on aspects of amiability and the higher courage; trained in militancy, they are divided into the domineering, officious, and self-assertive officer class and the servile, docile, and enduring conscript class. Conscription makes war on democracy, it destroys democracy, for it splits society into a multitude of classes and castes in which each is sure of his position, and there can be no change. The young conscript at the critical time, when his mind and will are forming, is placed under the dominion of those whom he must accept as his superiors, irrespective of their worth, is bent to their will, is trained to recognize differences in rank and to accept them as all-important, and to obey the commands of authority as justified under all circumstances. He is trained to respect and support conditions as they are and to accept and defend the established order. That conscription might make for stability and order there is little doubt. That it thwarts progress, stupefies the imagination, dulls initiative, and molds the citizen for civil life as dull, docile, and submissive must also be admitted.

The picture I draw of the effect of conscription on civilization is not imaginary. The effects I have pointed out are to be observed in the countries of Europe where the system has been tried. In those countries in which the most thoroughgoing systems of conscription have been enforced we find society least democratic. We find that the rule of the few is best established and most secure. We find the people divided into a multitude of petty castes, ranging from the supreme civic and social head down to the humblest bearer of the nation's burdens, each class worshiping the classes above and despising those below. We find society so subdivided as to require the services of an expert in order to properly seat guests around the table. We find those even of high station quibbling with each other as to who shall pass through a door first, and when a question is asked of two workmen on the street there is a precedence to be followed between them as to which shall answer it. Each petty grade has its insignia, which it jealously guards; and social life as a whole seems to be based upon an uncomprehensible system of medals, ribbons, buttons, and decorations. Do we wish to import such a civilization into America? It is the natural outcome of compulsory service.

NO EQUALITY UNDER CONSCRIPTION.

Under conscription laws the burden of military service does not rest equally upon all. It rests at a given time only upon those of the age for active service, say, for illustration, from 20 to 22. All above that age escape, yet those innocent youths have least at stake of any members of society. They have neither property nor families to defend. If, for illustration, we should now adopt conscription laws all above the age of 22, all mature men, all men of property and families, would escape service. The hardship would fall solely on the young. True, if we should adopt conscription as a permanent policy, all hereafter on attaining the age of 20 would have to go through their period of service; but upon entering upon such a policy what justice or equality is there in exempting all above the age of 22? Should we not rather require them to bear their part of the burden of service? Should we not seek a fair percentage of all up to the age of 45 who may be physically fit and require them to do their part in our system of militarism? To place the whole burden on the immature young man is most undemocratic, for its essence is inequality.

BURDENS OF GOVERNMENT SHOULD GO WITH BENEFITS.

The plea that conscription is democratic is based on the assumption that the duty of public defense rests with equal weight on all. This I deny. Some citizens have much less interest in the public defense than others, they have less at stake, less to defend. The ravages of war outside of the horrors of the actual battle field fall chiefly upon property. Civilized armies do not make war upon noncombatants, and the chief fear of an invasion is for the destruction of property, which the invaders justify as necessary for the weakening of the resources of the enemy. We read of invasions and bombardments, with the confiscation of property, destruction of cities, and sinking of ships. The capture of a city does not mean the massacre of the people, but may mean the burning of buildings and the levy of tribute. The conqueror of a nation does not carry away its population into slavery, he exacts indemnity.

In the main and in final effect, wars are over property and for property. The man of wealth has everything to lose—his liberty and in addition his prestige and his property. The poor man has nothing to lose but liberty, and what is liberty worth if he must give it up in time of peace to a system of conscription? He might better take his chance and remain undefended to surrender to the first aggressor, for in the end he would only lose his liberty, and that he must lose at the beginning in a system of conscription.

All of this shows that the duty of public defense does not rest equally upon all. It is, of course, the duty of the humblest man to defend his country with his life if necessary, but the man of wealth owes the same duty, and in addition he has the added measure of duty growing out of the fact that he enjoys the privileges that come out of affluence. I hold that the wealth of a nation should bear the chief part of the burdens of government, and that they should so far as possible be removed from the backs of the poor. This applies not merely to taxes but to the duties of government which must be performed by the individual. As between the rich and the poor the duty is not equal, because the benefit is unequal.

A system of public defense by conscription, even in time of war, is inherently undemocratic, even if the burdens should be

laid equally upon rich and poor alike. The rich enjoy more benefits of government than the poor and should give more for them. When it is merely their lives that they hazard and their comforts that they sacrifice as soldiers, rich man and poor man have contributed equally, yet in the preservation of order, the administration of justice, the protection of property, and the escape from the payment of war indemnity, the rich enjoy immeasurably greater benefits than the poor. If it were a matter of hiring soldiers for public defense, no one would argue that the poor should pay as much as the rich. Personal service rests upon exactly the same basis.

It is clear that the burdens of government should be shared in the measure in which its benefits are enjoyed. It is sound democratic doctrine that public revenues should be derived from those best able to pay, and that taxes should be levied on property and not upon men. Of course, the payment of revenues is the least of the burdens of government. The increasing purpose of enlightened statesmen is to relieve the necessaries of life from taxation, for the necessaries are consumed by all, rich and poor alike, and to look for revenues to the luxuries and to the nonessentials of existence. In line with this enlightened policy, the burdens of war and preparation for war should be placed upon those best able to bear them, upon property, upon luxury. This principle is in direct conflict with the philosophy of conscription. Conscription places the burden of public defense and preparation therefor upon men equally per capita as a poll tax would be laid. A system of hired soldiery would place the burden upon property where other tax burdens are placed. Hence it is that conscription, the equal per capita sharing of the burden of public defense, is undemocratic in its very nature, for democracy demands that the burden of public defense shall be in proportion to the benefits derived from it.

Another reason why it is democratic that the wealth of the country should sustain its army and navy is that these instrumentalities are not only chiefly for the protection of wealth but the interests of wealth are most likely to cause war. I am not so cynical as to accept the argument that as a rich Nation we should fear an attack by impoverished European nations at the close of the war. I do not fear that any nation will turn pirate and robber and seek to despoil America. But, granting the argument, it is not our people as a whole but certain individuals among them who are rich. It is said that 2 per cent of the population of the United States own more than 60 per cent of all our wealth. Therefore an attack by a pirate nation for the purpose of robbery would be an attack not upon the common people but upon those who have amassed the fortunes.

Apart from this idea, our Army and Navy are chiefly desired to support a foreign policy of aggressive commercial expansion, for high financiering in the Orient and South America, and for the exploitation of mines and railroads among weak and undeveloped peoples, thereby bringing us into sharp competition with the greed of European financiers. It is felt that our trade and financial interests will conflict with those of other nations and that war is a possible result. If our citizens will mind their home affairs and American financiers will confine their rapacity as heretofore to exploiting our own people and our own resources, there need be little fear of a war. But it is for capital that we must hazard the chance of war. Though not well known, it is nevertheless a fact that those back of our movement for preparedness have not been inspired by the fear that we may be attacked. Its real basis is in the desire to enter into competition with the plutocrats of Europe in the plundering of weak peoples and undeveloped countries, and this it is thought may lead us into war or to the necessity of being able to bully our way through. Now, then, since wealth has made the Army and Navy necessary, why should not wealth pay for it? If wealth has caused the need for soldiers, why should the common people, who have nothing worth while to gain from the venture of over-sea development and competition, bear the burden?

Outside of the classes looking for promotions and profits, the demand for conscription comes chiefly from the big taxpayers, not from the farmers, merchants, and home-owning classes, but from the big business and financial interests. Members of this class are above the age for service themselves, and they well realize that means will be found to exempt their sons. They would place the burden of service upon the masses, yet go free themselves. What can be worse tyranny than to seize upon the common man and subject him to a harsh military discipline and to the risks of war in order that he may defend a country to which he owes scarcely anything, while the wealthy, who owe comfort and happiness to the State, are not called upon to risk anything for it? What a mockery to speak of such a system as being democratic!

The militarists in their demand for conscription are inspired by motives which are not to their credit; the professional military man, by the desire for promotion and the elevation and security of his calling; the war contractors, by hunger for profits in outfitting ships and supplying armies; the financiers, by the desire for opportunity for speculation at home and abroad; captains of industry and exploiters, for the influence that iron military discipline will have in making their victims docile, obedient, orderly, and respectful to authority; reactionaries, in order to distract attention from humanitarianism and the amelioration of the condition of the masses, so that the pendulum may swing back to the good old days of 20 to 30 years ago of the unchallenged control of caste and privilege.

CHEAP SOLDIERS WANTED.

Apart from the considerations I have named, the agitation for conscription is based on the supposed need for more soldiers. It is claimed that we need a standing army of 1,500,000, with reserves of 1,500,000 more. Advocates of conscription say that such numbers of men will not voluntarily enlist. I quite agree with this contention. No such immense armies can be raised in times of peace by the methods now used, but there can be no doubt that armies of reasonable proportions may be enlisted if we are willing to pay soldiers what they can earn in industry. Right here is the real reason for the agitation for conscription, though it is not often voiced. *Conscription will give us cheap armies. You do not need to pay a conscript anything.*

The militarists say that it would bankrupt the Nation to enlist big armies in competition with industrial wages. That is what they want—cheap soldiers. Again they would place the burden upon the poor. It is the way they have to obtain forced public service without paying adequate wages. Another undemocratic principle is thus exposed, for the wealthy can better afford to serve without wages than the poor young men who may have helpless parents dependent on them. I say that if the big taxpayers want armies, they should be made to pay for them, and the wages should be equal to the earnings of industry. We can enlist all the men we want if instead of paying them $15 per month we pay them $40 per month. For the current year Congress appropriated over $360,000,000 for disbursement by the War Department. Of this more than $20,000,000 went to commissioned officers and only about the same amount to private soldiers. The pay of the private soldier was a minor item. Why not multiply it by three or four if we want a big army? Why not give the big end of the disbursement to the thousands who carry the guns instead of to the few who wear the swords?

Our people are not lacking in patriotism. They are willing to serve when the need for service comes. They decline to enlist for the purpose of creating vast standing armies in times of peace, for they know that instead of big armies guaranteeing peace they tend to provoke war. One of the chief reasons why self-respecting men do not like to enlist in the Army and Navy is the undemocratic air that they are compelled to breathe. Free Americans are not willing to endure the superior airs of the average military officer.

If we wish to induce real men to enlist in the Army, we should democratize it. Every officer should earn his commission through a period of service in the ranks, and we should award commissions to practical military judgment and sound common sense instead of pursuing the Chinese method of making them the prize of pedantry and scholarship. What we want of officers is that they should be able to command men and to take care of their soldiers in the field, not necessarily that they should be linguists, mathematicians, and accomplished men of the world. They should be trained for the camp, not for the drawing-room.

New methods of war require intensive training for long periods. The day when raw militia might give a good account of themselves in the field has passed. The era of the professional soldier has come again. It has come not merely because of the methods by which war is carried on, but by the requirements of industry and the needs of society. But let us not make the blunder of trying to make every citizen into a professional soldier. Let us reserve the calling for those who choose to enter it. Let us not make the big mistake of surrendering our liberties in order that we may be prepared to defend them, for when liberty is surrendered, whether it be to our own privileged classes or to a foreign invader, surely there is nothing left to fight for.

If there be any sound argument in favor of compulsory service, I do not know what it is. I do know that conscription is undemocratic. I know that in its inherent nature, as are all militaristic schemes, it is destructive to equality and to the rule of the whole people. It destroys men's capacity to govern themselves as well as their opportunity to exercise their will. I hate it as I hate all things that are harmful to American ideals and destructive to American institutions.

The Federal Migratory Bird Laws and Regulations.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DUDLEY DOOLITTLE,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 10, 1917.

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Speaker, during the debate on my amendment to the Agricultural appropriation bill, which, if carried, would have made the State game laws controlling in the matter of hunting, shooting, and trapping migratory game birds, *my good friend* from Georgia [Mr. HOWARD], either facetiously or seriously, took occasion to call sportsmen of the central States of the Nation "pot hunters," and insinuated they are "game hogs." Time and opportunity were not available to show the utter fallacy of such statement during the consideration of the amendment, and I take this means of stating a few facts relative thereto, with the idea of proving the unfairness of the law and to show just who the "game hogs" and "pot hunters" are. I want to defend the true sportsman, who observes the written and unwritten game laws strictly, and who never shoots a sitting bird, but always gives his game a "half chance."

Originally sportsmen were enthusiastic about this proposed Federal legislation, because we of the Middle West have been foremost in securing rigid State laws to protect the migratory birds, while in the South the very opposite course has been pursued. In other words, we were doing all of the protecting, while the South was reaping most of the benefits at our expense.

When the law was passed it was supported generally upon the theory that the hunting seasons would be curtailed in the slaughter zone, but the first results were to create Federal regulations which would curtail the hunting opportunity in the Middle West, while in the South the hunting season was not only unhampered but actually made a month longer than in the States which had been pioneers in conservation methods.

When we protested we were shamefully attacked by the New York crusaders, who, in their newspapers and elsewhere, designated us as "game hogs" and "enemies of wild life" because we failed to follow their program. This movement has been fathered by the American Game Association, whose president, John B. Burnham, is also chairman of the advisory board to the Biological Survey. This association is, according to its own printed booklets and circular matter, promoted by 14 corporations interested in the making and sale of ammunition, as well as manufacturing artificial targets generally called "clay pigeons." There are about 4,000 clubs which use their product in the sport of trap shooting. These clubs are located principally in the northern half of the Nation, while hardly any are in the South. Over $4,000,000 was spent last season for trap shooting. The hunters of the North have their hunting season curtailed, so they will have to shoot at the traps, while in the South, where there are practically no trap-shooting clubs, the migratory game is available for them to use the ammunition in shooting game. It appears to be a business proposition in the guise of conserving wild birds.

Let the American Game Association go on record in supporting a real game-protection measure such as House bill 18984. It contains the most rigid provisions, and is copied after the Missouri State law, with the addition of section 9, which restricts the use of "automatic, pump, or repeating guns" that are manufactured by promoters of the Federal bird act. Now, if they really want to protect game, let them support this bill that aims to stop the use of "machine guns" in killing game.

The bill does not stop the use of these guns provided they are so altered as to permit of but two cartridges being used without reloading, just like any ordinary double-barreled gun. Present owners of these guns can have a bolt screwed through the magazine of their guns to admit of but two cartridges being used. This will cost from 25 to 50 cents and is no hardship on the owners of these weapons, but by this limitation upon their destructiveness there is no incentive for the future purchase of such weapons. Not only do these "machine guns" use five or six shots without reloading, but a new device has been patented which can be attached without the aid of a mechanic—simply screwing it on by hand—and this extends the regular magazine of the gun so as to hold 10 cartridges which can be discharged without reloading the weapon. As a game-killing device it has no equal, and it also is a great consumer of ammunition, highly profitable from a business standpoint, and yet these machine guns are sold by the very persons who "want to conserve game."

Their idea of "conservation," however, is not to legislate against guns but against the hunting season in the "breeding zone" where the 4,000 trap-shooting clubs exist. If they want to shoot anything, let them shoot "clay pigeons"—save the birds for the "wintering zone," where there is no other way to burn up ammunition but by shooting game.

Last season there were 80,000 wild ducks killed in a single week on a 240-acre market-shooters' preserve near St. Rose, La. This is in the wintering zone, where the Biological Survey has created regulations to permit duck hunting until February 1, while in Missouri, Kansas, and Nebraska it is closed a month earlier, and in Illinois six weeks earlier. As a rule there is dry weather during the fall months in the above-named States, and ponds and many watercourses are depleted or entirely dried up. But in the months of February and March, when we have the whole country covered with water from rains and melting snow, we are not permitted to hunt the fowl which congregate in our section during the intervals of mild weather for a few days at a time when the migrating birds are following the frost line in the attempt to get to their northern breeding resorts. We call it "late-winter" shooting, but the biological "experts" call it "spring shooting."

They contend that the birds are mated and contain eggs, but if they were laying eggs at this season, the whole country would be covered with frozen duck eggs from the Middle West up to the extreme North, where they finally congregate to rear their young.

In other words, if a duck is killed in Louisiana in January, up to February 1, it is legal and not likely to do much damage, even if 80,000 are killed in one little spot of 240 acres; but if a Kansan or Missourian kills one duck in January it is a violation of the Federal law, or if an Illinoisan kills one December 16 it is a violation. The ducks in Louisiana at these dates are not "mated or filled with eggs," but in Illinois they are busy laying eggs in the snow and ice, just to practice housekeeping, so they will not lose time when they finally reach Canada or Alaska. It adds no credit to the hunter of Kansas or Missouri on account of State laws which permit him to kill but 12 or 15 ducks as the legal limit for his own use but not for commercial purposes. He is a "game hog" or a "pot hunter," pure and simple, but it is eminently proper, as a conservation argument, that the Louisiana market shooters can shoot 80,000 in one week on 240 acres of marsh land and ship them to market by the sackful.

If the Federal law is sustained, it follows that all State game laws relating to migratory birds are immediately null and void. The present Federal Weeks-McLean law offers absolutely no substitute, but the whole Nation is at once at the mercy of well-intending but misinformed "conservationists" and the men who want to commercialize in game, as is now being done in portions of the country. The Federal Weeks-McLean law merely provides "seasons" for "killing" game, but not one word is said about having game in "possession" after the legal dates. The Federal officer must actually "see" the waterfowl in the "act" of being killed. The United States court ruled this in a case in Dakota, where hunters were arrested for shooting after sundown. The inspector saw the hunters "shooting," but did not see them gather any game. In order to swear that the ducks were actually "killed" it was necessary to see the bird retrieved to show that it was "dead."

I am indebted to Mr. E. T. Grother, editor of Rod and Gun, of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, for much of the information herein contained.

The Diversion From the Niagara River for Power of the Water Allowed by Treaty Between the United States and Great Britain.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. S. WALLACE DEMPSEY,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 4, 1917.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Speaker, the discussions in reference to proposed Federal legislation covering the diversion of water for power purposes at Niagara Falls have occupied a large amount of time and have made a voluminous record before the Committee on Foreign Affairs; but very little of what has been brought out before the committee has been called to the atten-

tion of the Congress as a whole, and an accurate statement of the facts is desirable for and necessary to an intelligent understanding of the proposed legislation.

There are at present five companies engaged in the development of power through the use of the waters of the Niagara River. Two of these companies are American corporations, known respectively as the Hydraulic Power Co. of Niagara Falls and the Niagara Falls Power Co. Three of the companies are Canadian corporations, known respectively as Canadian-Niagara Power Co., Ontario Power Co. of Niagara Falls, and Electrical Development Co. These corporations are all separate in interest and ownership and have no relationship with one another, except that the Niagara Falls Power Co. (American) owns and controls the stock of the Canadian-Niagara Power Co. (Canadian).

The first development of power from the use of this water was through the undertaking of the Hydraulic Power Co., the construction of whose hydraulic canal was commenced in 1853 and completed for use in about the year 1856. The company owning and operating the hydraulic canal had its ups and downs, but has had a slow but constant growth in usefulness since its acquisition by its present owners in about the year 1878.

The Niagara Falls Power Co. was incorporated in about the year 1886 and its plant was completed so as to be able to deliver electrical power in about the year 1895.

Both of the above-named companies were incorporated under the laws of the State of New York, and claimed and exercised for years without challenge the right to divert waters for power purposes as riparian owners and under grants or charters of the State of New York, and the court of last resort of that State has held in substance that these companies were lawfully so engaged in power development.

The companies in question are engaged solely in power development and sell the power which is developed by them to others, either in the form of hydraulic power or in the form of mechanical energy or in the form of electrical current, their customers, in turn, using the power so supplied in these various forms for manufacturing and other purposes.

Not until the year 1906 did the Federal Government give any attention to the subject matter of this diversion. At the places where the waters are diverted from the Niagara River—which are less than a mile above the Falls of the Niagara—the Niagara River is nonnavigable, in fact, whatever may be the legal fiction in that respect, and, as the diversion in no manner interfered with interstate or international commerce, or in any way encroached, in fact, upon any power which was properly exercised by the Federal Government, no interference was attempted by the Congress before that time. In about the year 1906, however, similar developments began on the Canadian side of the Niagara River, and the American Congress then bestirred itself and enacted the so-called Burton law, which was a purely temporary measure designed to maintain the status quo until some international treaty could be made respecting the amount of the diversion of water for power purposes. The two American companies were limited by the terms of the act to the amount of their then diversions, including diversions essential to fulfill contracts then made, and the total amount permitted to be diverted on the American side by the law was 15,600 cubic feet per second, of which amount Secretary Taft issued a permit to the Niagara Falls Power Co. for 8,600 cubic feet, the Hydraulic Power Co. for 6,500 cubic feet, and the Erie Canal Co. for 500 cubic feet. Out of this water there is developed by the Niagara Falls Power Co. over 90,000 horsepower, and by Hydraulic Power Co. and tenant companies over 125,000 horsepower.

Pursuant to the terms of the Burton law the President negotiated a treaty with Great Britain which was proclaimed on the 13th day of May, 1910. By article 5 of this treaty it was provided that—

> The high contracting parties agree that it is expedient to limit the diversion of waters from the Niagara River so that the level of Lake Erie and the flow of the stream shall not be appreciably affected. It is the desire of both parties to accomplish this object with the least possible injury to investments which have already been made in the construction of power plants on the United States side of the river under grants of authority from the State of New York and on the Canadian side of the river under licenses authorized by the Dominion of Canada and the Province of Ontario.

It was therefore provided by the treaty that diversions for power purposes could be made from the river above the Falls not exceeding, on the American side, in the aggregate a daily diversion at the rate of 20,000 cubic feet per second and, on the Canadian side, of 36,000 cubic feet of water per second.

The Burton law expired on the 4th day of March, 1913, since which date the American companies have been, by action of the Secretary of War, held down in their diversions to the amount named in the permits granted by Secretary Taft over 10 years ago. While, meantime, the diversions in Canada commenced in about the year 1906 have been enlarged and continued so that at the present time there is a total diversion on the Canadian side of approximately 30,000 cubic feet per second, and contracts have been made for development to cover the remaining 6,000 cubic feet per second.

The American manufacturers, being unable to procure additional power from the American companies, have been utilizing power developed and generated in Canada and transmitted to the United States, and, in some instances, have moved their plants from the United States to Canada in order to secure the power needed for their uses.

The grounds of jurisdiction for Federal interference claimed by the Burton law were that the Niagara River was a navigable stream and an international boundary. It is obvious that the jurisdiction of Congress in the matter, so far as relates to power, is based more or less on a pretext, since the Niagara River at the point of diversions is not at all navigable and the suggestion that the international defenses have been in any manner threatened by the withdrawal of water for power purposes can have no foundation in fact. The total flow of the Niagara River is upward of 225,000 cubic feet per second, and the withdrawal of 25 per cent of that amount for a distance of less than 1 mile leaves an enormous body of water still flowing through this part of the river. The whole subject of the amount of water that could be diverted for power purposes without injury to either the navigable character of the stream, the national defenses, or the scenic grandeur of Niagara was considered and determined at the time of the making of the treaty, and the results of that determination were embodied in the language of the treaty.

The exportation of power by the Canadian companies and importation by American manufacturers is indicated by the following table showing the withdrawals thereof which have occurred within the last year:

Name of company.	Amount of power formerly exported.	Amount now exported.
	Horsepower.	*Horsepower.*
Canadian-Niagara Power Co	75,000	35,000
Ontario Power Co	75,000	55,000
Electrical Development Co	30,000	18,000
Total	180,000	108,000

Amount of power withdrawn.	Horsepower.
Canadian-Niagara Power Co	40,000
Ontario Power Co	20,000
Electrical Development Co	12,000
Total	72,000

The withdrawals by the Canadian Government have been largely due to the pressure from Canadian manufacturers arising out of the war, in which the Canadian Government and people are taking so active an interest and part. The result of these withdrawals, however, has been most disastrous to American manufacturers and American industries which have been built up along the Niagara frontier upon the expectation that the continuity of the supply of power from Canada would not be interrupted.

The Niagara frontier has become the center of the electrochemical industry in America, many products which are essential in hundreds of other manufacturing industries being produced solely or in the greater part only by the use of Niagara Falls power, so that not only are the industries at Niagara Falls most seriously crippled by the withdrawal of power by the Canadian companies, but the American industries that depend upon them are likewise seriously affected, and the seriousness of the situation is growing daily. Steel manufacturers are absolutely dependent upon Niagara industries for ferrosilicon, ferrochrome, and ferrotitanium. Industries using steel tools or in which modern grinding materials are necessary are dependent upon Niagara Falls industry for carborundum and alundum. Bleaching powder, the importation of which has been cut off by the war, is almost wholly produced in the United States at Niagara Falls, and the various chlorine and other chemical products necessary in the sterilization of water and for pharmaceutical, sanitary, dye, and textile purposes are almost wholly produced by the use of Niagara power. In fact, it would be difficult to state any line or branch of industry or activity in the country which would not be retarded by the cutting off of the articles produced by Niagara Falls power in the United States.

The Secretary of War has drafted a measure allowing the issuance of temporary permits not exceeding the 4,400 cubic

feet unallotted under the treaty and not exceeding the present installed capacity of the power-development companies for the purpose of enabling them to supply the actual installed machinery of their customers. This joint resolution, introduced in the Senate by Senator WADSWORTH, is intended to prevent machinery from becoming idle at a time when its usefulness is greatest.

Something has been said with respect to the charges of the American power companies, but in all the hearings before Congress not a single manufacturer has ever filed a complaint or suggested that the charges of either of the American companies were too high. The best answer to a suggestion that the prices charged by the companies are excessive is found in the fact that dozens of manufacturers have come to Niagara Falls and located there for the purpose of getting the advantage of the cheap power, and that many of the industries located there would be impossible without the advantage of the low-priced hydroelectric power afforded by the Niagara development.

The amount of the power used for domestic purposes in lighting stores and houses is not a considerable proportion of the whole, and the power so used is distributed by companies which are entirely unassociated with the development companies, except so far as they purchase power from the development companies. The prices charged by the distributing companies to individual consumers of light are exceedingly low, and, if due allowance were made for the portion of the cost supplied by the Government and municipalities of Ontario, are at least as low as the prices charged in that Province.

So far as the question of the payment of compensation to the Federal Government for the use of the waters of the Niagara River used for development is concerned, it may be said that the Federal Government never had a title to the waters or ownership of them. The only claim that has heretofore been made in this respect is that the Federal Government had the right to prohibit the use of the waters on the theory that their diversion was injurious to the navigability of the stream or its integrity as a national boundary river. There is no reason in logic or fairness why power-development companies at Niagara Falls should be obliged to pay compensation to the Federal Government for the use of the waters of the Niagara River, unless every other company in the United States using the waters of the navigable streams for power development shall be similarly taxed. If the power developments upon the Mississippi, Hudson, Coosa, Tennessee, Connecticut, and other navigable streams are to be taxed by the Federal Government, there is no reason why the tax should not be applied to the use of water of the Niagara River, but to select out for the imposition of a tax upon power development these companies and this river, in the absence of a general law, would be a discriminatory exercise of the power of taxation which does not appeal to the reason or to conscience.

Finally, let us remember that our country is preeminent in the electrochemical world; that this position has been achieved through the use of Niagara power; that the American power companies and their members have devoted years of intelligent service and enormous resources to enterprises of great benefit to American industries and the American people; and that their courage and good faith deserve something better than calumnious attack and blind hostility. Let us, in any temporary or permanent legislation to be adopted by the Congress, be always mindful of doing even and exact justice to those who have engaged in these great works.

Flood Control.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES F. CURRY,
OF CALIFORNIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Saturday, January 13, 1917.

Mr. CURRY. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks, I insert the following:

[Reprinted from New York Times, June 29, 1916.]

CONTROL OF OUR TWO GREAT FLOODS—VIRTUE OF THE BILL NOW PENDING WHICH, WITHOUT PORCINITY, DEALS WITH THE MISSISSIPPI AND SACRAMENTO PROBLEMS ALONE.

[By Gen. H. M. Chittenden, United States Army, retired, American Society of Civil Engineers.]

SEATTLE, *June 23, 1916.*

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The debate leading up to the passage of the Mississippi-Sacramento flood bill by the House of Representatives on May 17 was one of the most instructive that have taken place in Congress in many years. The House clearly recognized a duty and proceeded to carry it out. The measure was one of the very highest importance and its skillful and intelligent handling fully justifies the recent action of the House in creating a special committee to consider solely the question of flood control.

The first fruit of the committee's work discloses a practical grasp of its purpose and powers which augurs well for its future usefulness. It has wasted no time on vague and uncertain theories nor on vast and elaborate administrative schemes, but has addressed itself to the situation as it actually exists and has found that at the present time there are two, and only two, great flood problems of the country ripe for final constructive action, with data fully assembled and analyzed, with definite engineering agreement as to the best method of procedure, and with final estimate of cost prepared. Both are problems in which vast interests of life and property are at stake. Both require immediate action. The committee accordingly took up these two problems—the lower Mississippi and the Sacramento—and if the bill which it has now carried through the House finally becomes a law, these great rivers will within another decade have ceased to vex the country with their ever recurrent record of disaster. It is worth while now, at the close of the first stage of the passage of the bill, to review some features of the debate thereon, particularly those in opposition, for they are sure to come up in more acute form in the Senate and may possibly imperil the success of the measure in that body.

Some slight opposition developed because the bill apparently neglected other parts of the country. But this did not amount to much, and perhaps the most satisfactory feature of the debate was the very general recognition of a national duty to deal with these two great problems irrespective of the demands of other sections. It was certainly a conspicuous example of the absence of log-rolling tactics which are so often charged up to Congress in its provision for waterway improvement. In fact, by passing this bill, the House deliberately removed from river and harbor legislation the two items which have had greater influence than any others in carrying such legislation through Congress. By thus dealing with these two measures once for all on their individual merits an important step has been taken in the direction of the efficient handling of such questions. We may now confidently expect that the Flood Control Committee will, as rapidly as conditions permit and data are available, proceed to deal with other important problems. In particular we hope that, if the international situation can be satisfactorily controlled, early provision will be made to remove for all time the menace of the Colorado River to the Imperial Valley of California.

There was considerable opposition to the bill, based upon honest doubts as to the technical methods proposed. Some questioned the sufficiency of levees to control the floods of the Mississippi, and felt that more comprehensive measures ought to be adopted. It was very significant, however, in view of the forestry agitation of recent years, that not a voice was raised in advocacy of reforestation as a measure of flood control. That is a great step in advance, for the persistent claims to the contrary by forestry advocates have been one of the chief obstacles in the way of really effective measures.

FUTILITY OF RESERVOIRS.

The case was different in regard to reservoirs. There is evidently a deep-seated faith in Congress in this last measure of flood prevention, and much disappointment was expressed that the committee did not recognize it in the bill. But the committee acted in pursuance of sound engineering advice. The trouble with the reservoir method is that it does not produce the same effect upon the lower courses of great rivers that it does near the sources of small rivers. For example, on the Miami River and its tributaries in Ohio it is proposed to build five great reservoirs for the sole purpose of flood control. Their outlets will always be wide open, and the water will run out immediately after the flood is passed. There will be no storage for power, etc. The effect will be to spread a flood of 3 or 4 days' duration over 10 to 20 days, after which the reservoirs will be empty. The method will be very effective so far as the Miami is concerned, but it will have practically no effect upon the lower Mississippi. Indeed, it may actually increase floods there, for these floods are always a result of a combination of floods from two or more tributaries, and the delay of outflow from the Miami might, just as likely as not, bring the contribution from that stream on the crest of the combination below. No reliance whatever, so far as the Mississippi is concerned, can therefore be placed upon reservoirs of the Miami type, which are designed for local flood protection only.

FLOODS ARE CUMULATIVE.

Neither can reservoirs of any type situated upon remote headwaters be of any avail on the lower river. One of the greatest reservoir systems in the world is on the headwaters of the Mississippi. It is a good flood preventive up there, but its effect is so far dissipated by the time it reaches Cairo (the initial point of the "lower" river) as to be wholly inappreciable. Likewise, reservoirs built in the arid regions on the watersheds of the Missouri and Arkansas can never have any material effect on the flood problem of the lower Mississippi, because its floods do not originate in that section of the country. The time may come, and probably will, when storage reservoirs will be common on most of the tributaries of the Mississippi. But such reservoirs will be built primarily for domestic, municipal, or industrial use. They will be filled more or less completely from the earlier rains of the wet season, and will be very liable not to be available at critical moments. They may have a restraining effect at one time and at another they may not. They will therefore not be an absolute reliance, and would fail every now and then to afford relief. It goes without saying that any measure of flood protection which can not be depended upon at all times should not be seriously considered.

The only kind of reservoir that can be depended upon for beneficial influence on the lower Mississippi floods is one large enough to hold nearly all the run-off of its watershed during the season of the floods. Industrial requirements will not permit it to be emptied for refilling lest the necessary supply be not forthcoming; while on the other hand flood protection requires that sufficient space shall be at all times available during the flood season to take care of any storm that may occur. To satisfy these two conflicting conditions would require such large reservoirs that in most cases they can not possibly be provided. Moreover, the cost resulting from this requirement and from the vast development of the system, if it is to have any real influence on the floods of the lower river, put it entirely out of consideration as a practical proposition.

It is needless to pursue the subject into further details. It is, indeed, unfortunate that a remedy which is so ideal theoretically should be so defective practically. But such is the actual fact. The Flood Committee understood the situation and very wisely declined to embark upon a project which would only lead to unlimited expenditure without any adequate assurance of definite results. The committee recognized

that for generations to come vast floods will descend upon the lower Mississippi and Sacramento Valleys. But it found that there was in each case a method already worked out by which these floods can be controlled so as to do comparatively little damage. In adopting these methods it at least stood on sure ground. Elsewhere there was only doubt and uncertainty as to results, with absolute certainty of appalling expenditures.

ADMINISTRATION.

A third respect in which opposition developed in the debate related to the administrative machinery and general plan of action to be adopted. There is a desire in certain quarters to organize all public activities, uses, and control of the streams of the country under one general head, so that all lines of development or improvement may be coordinated. Like the system of reservoir control, this idea is theoretically very attractive, and it is only on getting down to details that its real defects become apparent. One of these is the very ponderosity of the project. To attempt to move the whole mass along in coordination would inevitably result in disastrous delay in some cases and unnecessary expedition in others. The uses of streams are too varied, too independent of one another, to be profitably bound hand and foot together. The development of streams in the arid regions for irrigation may very well be independently worked out by the agency already provided for that purpose. The California Débris Commission is certainly as well equipped to deal with the Sacramento problem as any "national waterways council" is likely ever to be. The Mississippi River Commission is a thoroughly competent body to handle the lower Mississippi problem, and it is doubtful if a better agency for handling works of navigation in this country will ever be secured than the Corps of Engineers of the Army. Finally, no one would seriously contend that the highly important function of the flood-warning service may not advantageously be continued in the Weather Bureau, nor that the development of forests, so far as it affects stream flow, should not remain in the Bureau of Forestry.

AN ILLUSTRATION IN PORK.

There are some who feel that this proposed all-embracing organization will somehow eliminate the "pork" evil of which we hear so much in river and harbor legislation. If those who hold this view will read the Flood Committee bill, which has just passed the House, and the Newlands bill for a general organization, as printed in parallel columns in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 18 and 19, 1916, they will be disabused of this idea completely. The Newlands bill provides outright $60,000,000 arbitrarily apportioned among the various watersheds of the country, as follows:

The lower Mississippi and Illinois Rivers	$25,000,000
The Ohio and its tributaries	5,000,000
The upper Mississippi	5,000,000
The Missouri and other western tributaries	5,000,000
The Great Lakes, Atlantic, and Gulf streams	5,000,000
The streams of Oregon and Washington	5,000,000
The Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers	5,000,000
Other California streams and the Colorado River	5,000,000

This sum, moreover, is understood to be but one-tenth of the total in contemplation, which, according to previous utterances by the originator of the scheme, is to follow in regular installments of $60,000,000. Now, those of us who have been trained to find out first by investigation what a project is going to cost and then provide the funds for it can not possibly look upon this wholesale method as based upon even the simplest principles of business. To say that six of these watersheds require each exactly the same amount is, of course, an absurdity on the face of it. As a "pork" proposition it outdistances anything ever proposed heretofore. It is "pork," not by the "barrel," subject to the O. K. of a scrupulous and disinterested body of engineers, but by the hogshead, free of all engineering scrutiny, yet "apportioned fairly" (sic) and guaranteed beyond peradventure from the outset. Surely the great American public will think twice before committing itself to any such sweeping policy as this.

The Flood Control Committee of the House has so far proceeded on strictly business principles. After a thorough exploration of the field of its labors it found that there were two flood problems of an undoubted public character that were ready for final action, with ample data, a definite method, and reliable estimates of cost. It found in each case that the necessary executive agency for carrying out the work was already in existence and had the problem well in hand. It was a fact also that these two flood problems overshadowed all others of the country in magnitude and importance. Any unnecessary delay in dealing with them could scarcely be less than a wanton trifling with life and property. Instead, therefore, of inaugurating a grand scheme of universal application and compelling these two projects to await their turn on the general program, it made immediate provision for them, with assurance that it would thereafter proceed with others as rapidly as the circumstances would warrant. By a vote of nearly four to one the House registered its approval of this policy and the country undoubtedly stands behind it with a like preponderance of sentiment.

H. M. CHITTENDEN.

Extracts from "Report of California State Water Problems Conference," dated November 25, 1916, and acting under instructions of the legislature of that State:

THE SACRAMENTO FLOOD-CONTROL PROJECT.

Of the flood-control problems of California that of the Sacramento River is the only one that has had, for a term of years, a combination of these elements: Exhaustive engineering investigation, formulation and approval of a detailed plan, adoption thereof by the State of California, and continued progress of the work under cooperation of National and State commissions created for the purpose. The Sacramento project, in consequence, is the only one for intimate investigation of which an opportunity was presented to the conference.

For detailed information in connection with this project reference is made to the following documents: Report of the House Committee on Flood Control, April, 1916, House Report No. 616, which affords the most comprehensive history of the project, its purposes and prospective advantages; report of the State reclamation board, 1916, which outlines the actual progress of the work, methods of financing, etc.; the reclamation board act, 1915, outlining the State's attitude toward the project and the powers and duties of the reclamation board in connection therewith. For purposes of this report and in order that certain recommendations herein made as to the project and certain suggestions as to reclamation may be fully understood it is necessary only to give the following points:

The Sacramento River calls for heroic treatment because of its great floods—now estimated at 660,000 second-feet—fourth largest in actual volume among the rivers of the United States, and in proportion to territory drained, from four to fifteen times as great as any of the other three.

It is agreed that the by-pass system is the only one which will secure permanent flood control of the river. The plan contemplates retaining within the channel by strong levees so much of the flow as the channel can safely carry, thereby insuring scouring and deepening; diverting the excess floods at four points over wasteweirs and carrying them through by-passes to Rio Vista, 15 miles from the river's mouth; deepening and widing this 15-mile stretch to accommodate the maximum floods; and providing that reservoirs hereafter installed for irrigation or power may fit into the plan and furnish additional factors of safety to the extent of the volume of flood held back at the critical time.

The engineers explain that on the Sacramento River the interests of flood control, navigation, care of mining débris, and reclamation are so interwoven that they can not be served economically by separate plans.

The project, as the only one which will serve these purposes, is necessary for the preservation of navigation in the Sacramento River and incidentally a protection to the lower San Joaquin as well; of value to inland waterways and therefore to commerce; a necessity for permanent reclamation of over a million acres of rich bottom lands and for placing population thereon; the only means for permanently insuring safety from floods for the city of Sacramento and the State property therein. The report of the California Débris Commission, 1910, showed that the damage done by Sacramento River floods in 1904, 1907, and 1910 was $11,000,000. In 1907 San Francisco and Sacramento were cut off from rail communication to the eastward for 10 days.

The work under the project is to be done as follows: That portion of it declared to be necessary in the interests of navigation and commerce, to wit, the construction of the four weirs, and the enlarging of the river's mouth, and any channel dredging, is placed under direction of the California Débris Commission, named by the War Department. The future expense of this portion of the project, estimated at $11,200,000, is proposed to be divided, half and half, between Congress and the State of California. The remaining portion of the work, including construction of all river and by-pass levees and obtaining rights of way therefor, is under the direction of the State, acting through the State reclamation board, and the expense thereof, aggregating about $30,000,000, is to be met by assessments on the lands benefited in proportion to benefits received.

California formally adopted the project and in effect agreed to carry through her portion thereof by legislative acts of 1911 (special session), 1913, and 1915. The project was passed, in the flood-control bill (H. R. 14777), by the lower House of Congress in May, 1916, and will come before the Senate for approval at the December short session. The bill provides for an appropriation by Congress each year of not exceeding $1,000,000 until the amount of $5,600,000 has been paid, on condition that California appropriate a similar amount. The annual appropriation named was based on the statement from the office of the Chief of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors that economical efficiency would be best served if the project be completed in five or six years.

The Sacramento River flood-control project is the only flood-control project in the United States, except that of the Mississippi, which was ready by investigation, detailed plan, report, recommendation, approval, and creation of necessary State authority for action by Congress at the present session, and this fact gave it place in the flood-control bill. The attitude assumed by California in relation thereto and the harmonious cooperation had for five years past with the national authorities have placed the State in a unique position with Congress, and her policy is being gradually made a standard which other States are asked to follow.

It should be remembered that the flood-control bill, while providing specifically for approval of the only two flood-control projects in the United States prepared for such approval, also furnishes machinery under which any meritorious flood-control project may be investigated, and after favorable recommendation by the Board of Engineers, receive approval and appropriation in the manner followed with the Mississippi and Sacramento projects. The machinery thus provided is a departure in the policy of Congress, and it may be found of value in furthering other flood-control projects of this State. Copies of the flood-control bill and other documents of interest in connection with this matter will be found among the papers submitted with this report.

Under cooperation of the State and Federal authorities work on the Sacramento project is steadily advancing. A large amount of the river levee construction and some of the by-pass levees have been completed; while work in the river's mouth is proceeding under Federal direction with State and national appropriations, made for what is locally referred to as the "minor project." (See State Reclamation Board report, 1916.)

STORAGE OF THE SACRAMENTO FLOODS.

The most severe criticism as to waste of water resources has been made against the State project for flood control of the Sacramento River which plans to send the flood waters through by-passes to the sea, instead of storing them, although it is claimed that there exist in the mountains storage facilities ample to hold back these flood waters and turn them to beneficial use.

The following statement made by E. G. Hopson, of the United States Reclamation Service, and confirmed by his testimony before the conference October 28, 1915, pages 285–288 of transcript, indicates the very positive conclusions reached by engineers in this regard:

"As to the possibility of reservoirs holding back the floods of the Sacramento Valley, there have been some very definite statements. We have collected a mass of information. All the reservoir sites are known to us and have been surveyed. It is impossible to hold back the greater part of the Sacramento floods by use of reservoirs. There are only two effective reservoir sites that I know of—that at Iron Canyon and one on the Pit River, and these could care for only the peak of the floods. Reservoirs never could hold back the great mass of flood water, and on that we can not lay too much emphasis. I think there is more fallacy abroad on that point than on any other point having to do with water problems. We could use all the sites available for the storage of flood waters, and they would affect only to an insignificant extent the flood problems."

This conclusion as to the extent to which storage may be utilized for flood control of the Sacramento River is fully confirmed by the Army engineers of the War Department, and by the State engineering department, and by private engineers who have made special study of the matter. Full explanation of the conditions which justify the conclusion will be found by reference to the report of the State reclamation board, 1916, in the chapter on "Storage and Flood Control," at page 23; to the supplemental report of the Flood Control Committee of the House of Representatives on the Sacramento River, 1916, House Report

No. 616, pages 67, 68, and 69; and to the report of the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors and the California Débris Commission for 1910, House Document No. 81.

The California Legislature is now in session. The following telegram from Hon. V. S. McClatchy, president of the State reclamation board, shows that California, anticipating the enactment of H. R. 14777, will at this session of the legislature make an adequate appropriation to meet an appropriation it is expected Congress will make at the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress. California has no doubt but that Congress will enact this just and meritorious measure at this session:

SACRAMENTO, CAL., *January 12, 1917.*

Hon. C. F. CURRY,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

Administration budget to legislature provides half million for Sacramento project, conditional on similar amount from Congress. This is on theory that congressional appropriation can not be available until July, 1918. Legislature of 1919 can make another appropriation available in July of that year. There is already in State treasury, subject to call from War Department, sufficient to complete minor project.

V. S. MCCLATCHY,
President State Reclamation Board.

"The Efforts Toward Ending the War."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. S. D. FESS,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Friday, January 12, 1917.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, by permission granted me to-day to extend my remarks, I here insert the documentary evidence of the efforts to secure an ending of the European war.

The entente reply to the President's note of December 18, which occurs in this morning's press is a stage, not a final stage we hope, of a remarkable series of diplomatic proceedings.

The immediate occasion for the official statements of the many countries interested, both belligerent and neutral, was the peace proposal of the central powers transmitted to the entente powers through the President of the United States. Much had been said about the conditions of peace by official England. Especial attention had been paid to the declarations of the following statesmen: Lord Curzon, July 7, 1915, and May 5, 1916; Chancellor Bonar Law's interview with the New York Times, February 20, 1916; Lord Cecil's interview with American newspapers, April 8, 1916; Walter Runceman's declaration, April 19, 1916; Lloyd George's interview with the United Press in September, 1916; Viscount Grey's address at Hotel Cecil, October 23, 1916; and Prime Minister Asquith's speech at Guild Hall, November 9, 1916.

On the latter day Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg addressed the Reichstag in reply to Viscount Grey.

It is not necessary to reproduce these several official statements to present a connected documentary history of the present peace movement. However, it is important to present the official reply of each leading belligerent to the inquiry of the League to Enforce Peace addressed to the warring countries. The first important reply was by England, through her statesman Viscount Grey, who spoke on the 23d of October as follows:

THE WAR'S ORIGIN AND LASTING PEACE.

[Address by Viscount Grey, British minister for foreign affairs, delivered before the Foreign Press Association, London, Oct. 23, 1916.]

Your president said I was to make a historic speech. Will he and you forgive me if I say I doubt whether any historic speech can be made while the war is actually in progress? After the war, very likely; but while the war is in progress the real historic work is being done in the offices of the general staffs of the allied countries and on the battle field where our soldiers are fighting. Words can be but little, but the work done by the general staffs at headquarters and by the armies in the field, and by the navies on the sea, that is really the work that is making history.

We have had since the beginning of the war two or three notable speeches. First of all, there was a great speech by M. Briand in the French Chamber. Next in time there was the interview given by Lloyd-George to a press correspondent, and then in this country the speech by the prime minister, Mr. Asquith, in the House of Commons; and lately we have had the note struck just as firmly in Petrograd by an official communiqué, I think under the auspices of the minister of the interior. Those speeches have given to the world the note and tone and feeling of the allies at this moment. I indorse all that they have said, but for a few moments I would like to talk, not indeed about the actual conditions of peace, which can only be stated and formulated by the allies together and not by any one of them separately, but about the general object which the allies must secure in this war.

To do that I would ask you to recall a thing we must never forget—how the war came about. If we are to approach peace in the proper spirit, it can only be by recalling and never forgetting what was the real cause of the war. Some people say we need not go back on that old ground now. Everybody knows it. Well, you can not go back on it too often. It affects the conditions of peace. Germany talks of peace; her statesmen talk of peace to-day. What sort of peace do they talk of? They say Germany must have guaranties against being attacked again. If this war had been forced on Germany, that would have been a logical statement. It is precisely because it was not forced upon Germany, but forced by Germany upon Europe, that it is the allies who must have guaranties for future peace.

In July, 1914, no one thought of attacking Germany. It is said Russia was the first to mobilize. That, I understand, is what is alleged in Germany as the justification for the statement that the war was not an aggressive war on Germany's part, but was forced upon her. Russia never made the mobilization of which Germany complained until Germany had refused a conference, and never made it until after a report appeared in Germany that Germany had ordered mobilization, and that report was telegraphed to Petrograd. As a matter of fact, it was the story of 1870 over again. The preparations for war, not merely the preparation of material, were preparatory steps to an advance in Berlin to a stage beyond that of any other country. Then when the chosen moment came the maneuver was made to procure some other country to take a defensive step, and when that defensive step was taken, then to resent it with an ultimatum which made war inevitable.

The same thing with the invasion of Belgium. Strategic railways had been made in Germany; the whole plan of campaign of the German staff was to attack through Belgium. Now the Germans are representing that they had to attack through Belgium because other people had planned to attack through Belgium. I would like nothing better than to see the statements that the Russian mobilization was an aggressive, and not a defensive, measure and that any other power than Germany had planned to attack through Belgium investigated before any independent and impartial tribunal.

HIDING THE TRUTH.

The German organization is very successful in some things, but in nothing more than in preventing the truth reaching their people, and in succeeding in presenting to them the point of view which is not that of the truth. As for the statement that war was forced on Germany: When England proposed a conference, when Russia, France, and Italy accepted a conference, when four powers offered a conference and one power refused it, is it the powers who offered the conference which were forcing war or the power which refused it? The Emperor of Russia offered The Hague tribunal. When one sovereign offers The Hague tribunal and another ignores it, is it the sovereign who offers a reference to The Hague who is forcing war?

On the very eve of war France gave her pledge to respect the neutrality of Belgium if Germany would not violate it. We asked for such a pledge. Was it the power which asked for the pledge and the power which gave the pledge which were responsible for the violation of the neutrality of Belgium or the power which refused? I say, and every Belgian knows it to be true, as well as every Frenchman and Englishman, that never at any time was there a suggestion that an English or French soldier should enter Belgium unless it were to defend Belgium from the violation of her neutrality, first undertaken by Germany. Why was it that all efforts to avoid war in July, 1914, failed? Because you can not have peace without good will, and because in Berlin there was the will to war and not the will to peace.

CROWN PRINCE'S REFLECTIONS.

And just lately, I think to an American, the Crown Prince has deplored the loss of life which is caused by this war. Yes; it was because we knew what the sufferings of war must be, because we knew how terrible a thing war let loose in Europe would be, that we tried to avoid it in July, 1914. Then was the time to be penetrated with a sense of all that war would mean. It is precisely because we knew then what it must mean that we tried to avoid war.

It is because we have had this terrible experience now on the Continent of Europe—we and our allies—of what war does mean, that we are determined that the war shall not end till we can be sure that at any rate the generations which come after us and our nations in future shall not be subject to such a terrible trial again.

What was the plan—the German plan? I saw a statement in the press the other day that a German officer had recognized that Germany had failed this time, but in 10 years she was going to succeed. The German plan was to be a short, successful war. The war was all thought out in Berlin on a plan, and there was a time-table—so long to get to Paris, so long to defeat France, so long afterward to defeat Russia. And England! The plan was that England was to be kept out of the war, but if England should enter the war it was not thought that the expeditionary force which we had available would be enough to upset the enemy plan. People who are militarists, whose ideas and whose thoughts run solely on military considerations, people who are material, forgot to estimate—indeed, they can not estimate—the spirit and the soul which exist in nations when they are attacking a foe for their lives. The plan was that Russia and France were to be defeated and England was to be isolated and disgraced.

We must never forget, as we go through this war, that an offer was made to us to keep out of the war. We were asked by the German Government to engage to remain neutral on certain conditions. We were asked to condone the violation of the neutrality of Belgium—because that is what the offer came to—though we were obliged by treaty to uphold it. We were also asked to give Germany a free hand to take whatever she liked of French colonies. That is practically what the offer was. That is why I say that the plan was not only to isolate us but to disgrace us. I would ask any neutral to put it to himself: What would have been the future of this country if the British Government had for a moment accepted such an offer? We might have had an army and a navy, but there would have been no morale, no spirit, in the nation. We should have had the contempt of the whole world.

GERMAN AIMS.

Happily tactics so gross as those did not succeed, and I need not recall what the reply of the British Government was, nor what the spirit of the nation was at the opening of the war. We should not think merely of what Germany says to-day. It is worth while looking back at the exhibition of her Government and people when the war started. Then we saw something of their real mind, and there was a certain Prof. Ostwald in Germany who unburdened himself, again I think to an American, in August, 1914. He called himself a pacifist, and this is how he described the German aims. It was a long interview, but in it occurred these two things: Germany was to dictate peace to the rest of Europe, and the principle of the absolute sovereignty of the individual nations must be given up. Do not let us forget that that was the spirit in which this war was begun. What is the spirit in which the

war is being carried on by the allies to-day? I take it from the words of the prime minister the other day:

"We shall fight until we have established the supremacy of right over force, free development under equal conditions, and each in accordance with its own genius, of all the States, great and small, which build up the family of civilized mankind."

Into this struggle we have put rightly and necessarily all our resources—all our wealth, all our material, all our labor—and now when we have had time, because it needed time, to equip and train a large army, we are putting all the best lifeblood of the nation, shedding it on the Continent, side by side with our allies, in emulation with them, stimulated by the courage and self-sacrifice which they are showing in defense of their own countries, shedding it because we know that their cause and ours is one. To the end we stand or fall together. The separation of one from the other means the destruction of the one separated, and not its safety. For all of us unity is essential, not merely to victory but to our future life and success.

Germany is trying, and has been throughout the war, to separate one from the other in order to realize her aims. Not a week passes that does not confirm our resolve to go through with our allies to the end of the war, and after the war I trust the memory of the sufferings we have undergone together, the memory of the joint courage which is carrying us through—and all that we have been through—will be a perpetual bond of alliance and sympathy between our Governments and our peoples.

OPPORTUNITY FOR NEUTRALS.

Now, I should like to say one word on another subject. Looking to the future after the war, what is it that neutrals can do? The other day I wrote this to a correspondent who sounded me on the subject:

"I believe the best work neutrals can do for the moment is to work up opinion for such an agreement between the nations as will prevent a war like this from happening again.

"If nations had been united in such an agreement and prompt and resolute to insist in July, 1914, that the dispute must be referred to a conference, or to The Hague, and that the Belgian treaty must be observed, there would have been no war."

I would ask neutrals to observe that belligerent countries, fighting as we are to-day for our very existence—fighting, it is true, for victory, with a daily increasing prospect of seeing that victory brought nearer, but still knowing that if we stop short of victory we stop short of everything for which we are fighting—can not be expected to spend much time in developing ideas of what can be done after victory is secured. But neutrals can do it, and it is interesting to observe that not only President Wilson but also Mr. Hughes, the candidate for the Presidency of the United States, are supporting a league which has already sprung into existence, supported by various distinguished people, with the object not of interfering between the belligerents in this war but of getting ready for some international association after this war is over which shall do its part in making peace secure in future.

I would like to say that, though we may have little time to give to such ideas ourselves while we are engaged in this struggle, I think that is a work in neutral countries upon which we should all look with favor and with hope.

Only bear this in mind, that if the nations of the world after this war are to do something more effective than they were ever able to do before this war, to combine themselves for the common object of preserving peace, they must be prepared not to undertake more than they are able to uphold by force, and to see when the time of crisis comes that it is upheld by force.

In other words, we would say to neutrals who are occupying themselves with this question, in a colloquial phrase, that we are in favor of it, but with the understanding that we shall ask them when the time comes for them to make any demand for such a thing, "Will you play up when the time comes?"

It is not merely the sign manual of sovereigns or Presidents that is required, but it must also have behind it the force of national sentiment. The object of this league is, as I understand it, to insist upon treaties being kept and some other settlement than war being tried before recourse to war. In July, 1914, there was no such league in existence. Supposing a generation hence such a condition of things as in July, 1914, recurs, and there is such a league in existence. Everything will depend upon whether the national sentiment behind it is so penetrated by the lessons of this war as to feel that in the future each nation, although not immediately concerned in the dispute, is yet interested, and vitally interested, in doing something, even if it be by force, to keep the peace.

METHODS OF WAR.

But there must be more than that. You must have some agreement after this war is over as to the methods under which war is to be conducted. Germany complains of our methods in this war. She complains of our blockade. From the very beginning Germany did her utmost to prevent food from reaching this country. In the early stages of the war she sank two neutral ships bringing food to this country. It does not lie with her to complain of our blockade. But what about other methods—the new methods which have been introduced—the sowing of mines indiscriminately upon the high seas, to the danger equally of neutrals and belligerents, the firing of shells into defenseless coast towns? Because you must remember that what is required, according to the German official communiques, to convert an allied town on the coast into a fortress is not the provision of guns in it, not the presence of troops, but merely the fact that it has been fired upon by a German cruiser. Then the use of poisonous gas in war, which nobody would have believed possible if the Germans had not begun it, which nobody thought of using until the Germans began it. In the Gallipoli Peninsula neither we nor the French used gas, because we would not be the first to introduce it anywhere. That has been brought into the war. Then there is the sinking of merchant vessels and the destruction of passengers and crews. There are also the acts committed in Belgium and other allied territory in German occupation, some of which have been the subject of investigation and report, and which to public knowledge are in breach of all the laws and conventions of war and of the most elementary dictates of humanity.

One thing more of which we hear very little, of which we do not know the full story. Since Turkey entered the war she has been the vassal of Germany. Probably neutral nations know more of the story than we do, but enough has leaked through to make it clear that there has gone on, and is still going on, in Turkey, on a scale unprecedented even in that country, and with horrors unequaled before, an attempt to exterminate the Christian population of Turkey—horrors which Germany could have prevented, and which could only have gone on with her toleration. Perhaps some day some neutral nation which knows the whole story will make it known to the world.

THE GREATEST ANARCHIST.

All these things have been happening during this war. What a prospect it opens for the future! Are all the researches of science to continue to be devoted after this war to the inventing of means to destroy the human race, with no restriction whatever on their use? It is a prospect which threatens civilization and the existence of the race itself.

In letting loose these things and in introducing them into war, Germany has been the great anarchist who has let loose on the world a greater and a more terrible anarchy than any individual anarchist ever dreamed of.

Unless there is some means of restraining these things future war will, by the developments of science, be made even more terrible and horrible than this war, because Germany has thrown down all the barriers which civilization had previously built up so as to keep the horrors of war within bounds. Neutral nations have an interest in seeing that something is done to insure that there shall be rules which are kept in future wars—rules which shall be so laid down and supported that it will be clear that any nation which departs from them will be regarded by the whole world as the enemy of the human race, and have the whole world against her.

The indiscriminate use of high explosives to destroy great cities and combatants and noncombatants alike, all those things which have been done in this war—the introduction of poisonous gas and the introduction, perhaps, of disease—it will need all the efforts, not only of belligerents but of neutrals, after this war is over, to see that the barriers necessary to secure that the inventions of science are used in the future in the air, on the land, on the water, and under the water, not for the destruction of mankind but for its welfare to see that all nations shall recognize some responsibility to prevent outbreaks of war, and that if there be war it shall be conducted by rules at least as humane as those which our ancestors observed, and which Germany to-day has disregarded and thrown to the winds. That is a matter in which the whole human race is interested.

For years before this war we were living under the deepening shadow of Prussian militarism, extending itself over the whole of Germany, and then extending itself over the whole Continent. There must be no peace except a peace which is going to insure that the nations of Europe will live in the future free from that shadow, will live in the open air, and in the light of freedom. For that we are contending. We know that if mankind has any birthright, as we believe it has the birthright of peace and liberty, then our cause is just and right, because it is for that we are fighting. If we are asked how long the struggle is to continue, we reply it must continue till these things are secured, and if it be hard that the present generation in its prime should be called upon to sacrifice all that it has for the sake of the future of the nation and the generations that come after, it is our determination, which the progress of the war but deepens, in common with that of our allies, to continue the war till we have made it certain that the allies in common shall have achieved the success which must and ought to be theirs; till they have secured the future peace of the whole Continent of Europe, and until they have made it clear that all the sacrifices we have made shall not have been made in vain.

The second was by Germany, through her chancellor, who, on the 9th of November, replied to Grey, as follows:

SAYS GERMANY TRIED TO AVERT THE WAR—BETHMANN-HOLLWEG'S SPEECH BEFORE REICHSTAG COMMITTEE NOVEMBER 9 GIVEN IN FULL—PUTS BLAME ON RUSSIA—DECLARES BERLIN PERSUADED VIENNA TO REACH AGREEMENT WITH PETROGRAD AT LAST MOMENT.

The complete and corrected text of the speech made by the German chancellor, Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, before the chief committee of the Reichstag on November 9 has just been received in this country. The chancellor, it will be seen from this version, which is printed for the first time in America, acknowledges the efforts made in the interests of peace by the entente and the Czar of Russia, and, for the first time, quotes documents to show that not only had Russia and Austria-Hungary reached an agreement, which would have averted the great war, but he asserts that such agreement had been brought about through the earnest solicitation of Germany at Vienna.

Germans have pointed to this statement as a refutation of the assertion of the allies in their note of December 30 that Germany blocked the attempt to avert the war in July, 1914. The full text of the speech follows:

The exhaustive debates which have taken place in the chief committee during the course of the last few weeks have in the end always turned on questions regarding the prosecution and the termination of the war. On the enemy's side they usually speak about the prosecution of the war. Lord Grey also spoke of it in his speech at the banquet to the Foreign Press Association. The British minister then said that there was one thing which deserved to be kept in mind, namely, that one could not revert too often to the consideration of the origin of the war, because that origin would have its influence on the conditions of peace.

In view of the fundamental importance which Lord Grey has again recently attached to this question of peace conditions, which we, too, have attached to it, I am obliged to state the facts in order to disperse the clouds with which our enemies endeavor to disguise the real situation.

In reply I can only repeat what is known. The act which made war inevitable was the Russian general mobilization, which was ordered on the night of July 30–31, 1914. Russia, England, France, and the entire world knew that this step must make further waiting impossible for us. Even in England people are beginning to understand the fateful significance of the Russian mobilization. The truth is coming to light. An English professor of world fame wrote some time ago that many people would think differently about the end of the war if they were better informed about its beginning, especially about the fact of the Russian mobilization.

No wonder, then, that Lord Grey, in his recent speech, could not pass the Russian mobilization unnoticed, but felt himself obliged to speak of it. He could no longer deny that the Russian mobilization preceded the German and the Austrian mobilization, but as he desires to remove all blame for the war from the entente, he makes a daring endeavor by means of quite a new version of the case, to represent the Russian mobilization as Germany's work.

Lord Grey's explanation is that Russia ordered her first mobilization only after a report had appeared in Germany that Germany had ordered a mobilization, and after this report had been telegraphed to Petrograd.

It took about two and a quarter years for Lord Grey to discover this interpretation, which is as new as it is objectively false, of the cause of the war. The occurrence to which he alluded is well known. The document which forms the basis of his proof is an extra edition of the Berlin

Lokal-Anzeiger. You will remember, gentlemen, perhaps, that on Thursday, July 30, 1914, in the early afternoon, the Lokal-Anzeiger issued a false report in an extra edition that the Emperor had ordered a mobilization. You also know that the sale of this extra edition was at once stopped by the police, and the available copies were seized. I can also declare that the foreign secretary immediately informed the Russian ambassador, and simultaneously all other ambassadors, by telephone, that the news issued by the Lokal-Anzeiger was false. The Russian Embassy was also informed as soon as possible from the Lokal-Anzeiger's office that there had been a mistake.

I can further confirm that the Russian ambassador, immediately after the issue of the extra edition, telegraphed a cipher message to Petrograd, which, according to the Russian Orange Book, read as follows:

"I learn that an order for the mobilization of the German Army and fleet has just been published."

But this telegram, after Herr von Jagow's telephonic explanation, was followed by a second telegram "en clair," which read as follows:

"Please consider my last telegram canceled (nichtig). Explanation follows."

A few minutes later the Russian ambassador sent a third cipher telegram, which, according to the Russian Orange Book, said that the German foreign minister had just telephoned to him that the news of the mobilization of the army and fleet was false, and that the extra edition in question had been seized. The immediate intervention of Herr von Jagow, the secretary of state for foreign affairs, in order to rectify the false news—an intervention which in the official Russian Orange Book is confirmed by the telegram of M. Sverbejeff, the Russian ambassador—of itself contradicts the assertion of Lord Grey that we intentionally desired to deceive Russia for the purpose of bringing about a mobilization. I can, however, also confirm, according to investigations of the Imperial Postal Administration concerning the periods of the sending of the Russian ambassador's three telegrams, that these must have arrived in Petrograd almost simultaneously.

CITES CZAR'S MESSAGE AS PROOF.

The Russian Government itself, which, after all, must be best acquainted with the reasons for its mobilization, never had an idea of explaining its fateful step by appealing to the Lokal-Anzeiger's extra edition. Lord Grey, I assume, will not desire to reject the Czar as a witness. On Friday, July 31, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, when the mobilization order had already been issued to all the Russian forces, the Czar telegraphed, in reply to the Kaiser's last appeal for peace:

"It is technically impossible to discontinue our military preparations, which have become necessary owing to Austria-Hungary's mobilization."

No mention of the Lokal-Anzeiger. No mention of the German mobilization.

As early as July 29 Russia had already answered this measure with the mobilization of 13 army corps. After July 29 Austria-Hungary had taken no further military measures which could have furnished Russia with any grounds for a general mobilization, which was equivalent to a declaration of war. Only after the general mobilization had taken place in Russia did Austria-Hungary on the morning of July 31 also proceed to a general mobilization. We ourselves even then exercised forbearance and patience to the utmost limits of consideration for our own existence and our duty toward our allies. As far back as July 29, when Russia mobilized against Austria-Hungary, we ourselves could have mobilized. The text of our treaty of alliance with Austria-Hungary was known, and nobody could have considered our mobilization aggressive. We did not do it.

But to the news of the Russian general mobilization we at first replied only with the announcement of a state of affairs threatening danger of war, which did not yet signify mobilization. We informed the Russian Government and added that mobilization must follow if Russia did not cease every war measure against us and Austria-Hungary within 12 hours and give us a definite declaration in regard to this. We gave Russia thereby, even when war seemed already inevitable owing to her fault, another opportunity to come to her senses, and even at the last moment to save the peace. By this delay we also gave Russia's allied friends the world-historical opportunity to influence Russia in favor of peace.

It was in vain. Russia left us without a reply and England persisted in silence toward Russia. France, through the mouth of her premier, in the evening of July 31, simply denied to our ambassador the fact of the Russian mobilization and ordered her own mobilization some hours earlier than when we ourselves had proceeded to mobilize. Moreover, as regards the alleged defensive character of the Russian complete mobilization, I will here emphatically declare that on the outbreak of war in 1914 a general instruction of the Russian Government issued in 1912 for the contingency of mobilization was in force, which, word for word, contains the following passage by the All-Highest:

"It is ordered that the announcement of mobilization is at the same time an announcement of war against Germany." Against Germany! In 1912, against Germany!

It is incomprehensible how, in view of these documentary facts, Lord Grey can come before the world and his own country with the story of a maneuver by which we enticed the pacific Russian into mobilization against his own will by grossly deluding him about our own measures. No! The truth is Russia would never have decided on the fateful step if she had not been encouraged to it from the Thames by acts of commission and omission.

I recall the actual situation at the time when Russia issued the order for a general mobilization. The instructions which I gave our ambassador in Vienna on July 30 are known. Lord Grey also well knows that I retransmitted to Vienna with the most peremptory recommendation the mediation proposal which he made to our ambassador on July 29 and which appeared to me a suitable basis for the maintenance of peace. At that time I telegraphed to Vienna:

GERMAN EFFORTS IN VAIN.

"Should the Austro-Hungarian Government refuse all mediation we are confronted with a conflagration in which England would go against us, and Italy and Rumania, according to all indications, would not be with us; so that with Austria-Hungary we should confront three great powers, Germany, as the result of England's hostility, would have to bear the chief brunt of the fight. The political prestige of Austria-Hungary, the honor of her arms, and her justified claims against Serbia can be sufficiently safeguarded by the occupation of Belgrade or other places. We therefore urgently and emphatically ask the Vienna cabinet to consider the acceptance of mediation on the proposed conditions. Responsibility for the consequences which may otherwise arise must be extraordinarily severe for Austria-Hungary and ourselves."

The Austro-Hungarian Government acceded to our urgent representations by giving its ambassador in Berlin the following instruction:

"I ask your excellency most sincerely to thank Herr von Jagow, the secretary of state for foreign affairs, for the information given through Herr von Tschirschki, and to declare to him that despite the change in the situation which has since arisen through the Russian mobilization we are quite ready to consider the proposals of Sir Edward Grey for a settlement between us and Serbia. A condition of our acceptance is, of course, that our military action against Serbia should meanwhile proceed, and that the English cabinet should induce the Russian Government to bring to a standstill the Russian mobilization directed against us, in which case also we, as a matter of course, will at once cancel our defensive countermeasures forced upon us in Galicia."

Against this I place the following steps of Lord Grey. On July 27, 1914, in reply to a remark of the Russian ambassador at London that the impression in German and Austro-Hungarian circles was that England would remain quiet, he (Viscount Grey) said that that impression had been removed by the orders which "we gave to the first fleet." On July 29 Lord Grey immediately acquainted the French ambassador with his confidential warning to our ambassador at London, that Germany must be prepared for speedy decisions—that is, for her (England's) participation in the war against us.

Could Lord Grey suppose that such a disclosure would serve peace? Must not France thereby have been encouraged to give Russia a promise of unconditional war support, which Russia had for days urgently demanded? Must not Russia have been strengthened to the utmost in her bellicose intention by the certainty of a Franco-British alliance? The Russian reply to Lord Grey's morning conversation was in fact not long in coming. On the evening of the same day, July 29, M. Sazonoff instructed the Russian ambassador in Paris to express his sincere thanks for the declaration made to him by the French ambassador that Russia could rely fully upon the support of her ally, France.

PUTS THE BLAME ON RUSSIA.

Russia, therefore, during the night of July 30, was given the fact of Austro-Hungarian compliance, due to our influence, which gave an open road to the maintenance of peace. She was simultaneously faced with the certitude of Anglo-French support, disclosed by Lord Grey to M. Paul Cambon, which alone gave her the possibility of war.

She chose mobilization, and with it war. Who now is to blame for this fateful decision? We, who recommended with the greatest emphasis to the Vienna Cabinet utter complaisance and the acceptance of the English proposal for mediation, or the British Cabinet, which, in a critical hour, held out to France and Russia a prospect of its support. Lord Grey did not speak of these decisive things, but, on the other hand, he turned the attention of his audience to minor things.

The resort to The Hague Tribunal which the Czar proposed sounds on first sight very important, but it was proposed after the Russian troops had already been put in motion against us. His own conference proposal—I have repeatedly pointed out this in the Reichstag—Lord Grey set aside in favor of our mediation.

And Belgium! Before a single German soldier had set foot on Belgian territory Lord Grey explained to the French ambassador, after the latter's report to his Government, that in case the German fleet should enter the Channel or pass from the North Sea with the intention of attacking the French coast or the French fleet or disturb (Beunruhigen) the mercantile fleet—I repeat the word "disturb," gentlemen—the British fleet would interfere, and give its protection in such a manner that from this moment England and Germany would be in a state of war.

Can he who declared that our fleet's putting to sea would be a casus belli still seriously maintain that the violation of Belgian neutrality was the sole cause of England's entering the war against her will? And finally, with regard to the statement that, in order to keep England out of the war, we made a discreditable proposal to the British Government to shut its eyes to the violation of Belgian neutrality and allow us a free hand to take the French colonies, I challenge Lord Grey to investigate the real facts in his Blue Book and in his documents.

In an earnest endeavor to localize the war, I assured the British ambassador in Berlin on July 29 that on the condition of England's neutrality we would guarantee the integrity of France. On August 1 Prince Lichnowsky asked Lord Grey whether in the event of Germany's undertaking to respect the neutrality of Belgium England would also undertake to observe neutrality. He further held out the prospect that in the event of English neutrality the integrity not only of France but also of the French colonies might be guaranteed. On my instructions he gave an assurance that we were ready to give up the idea of an attack against France if England would guarantee the neutrality of France.

At the last moment I promised further that so long as England remained neutral our fleet would not attack the French northern coast, and on the condition of reciprocity would undertake no hostile operations against French merchant ships. Lord Grey's sole reply to this was that he must finally decline all promise of neutrality. He could only say that England wished to keep her hands untied. If England had given this declaration of neutrality she would not have been exposed to the contempt of the whole world, but would have gained the credit of having prevented the war (das Verdienst den Ausbruch des Krieges zu verhindern).

I ask here, too, who willed the war? We, who were prepared to give England every imaginable security for France and Belgium, or England, which declined all our proposals and refused even to indicate the way for the preservation of peace between our two nations (zwischen unsern beiden Ländern)?

CONCERNING A PEACE LEAGUE.

Lord Grey finally dealt exhaustively with the period after peace and with the establishment of an international union to preserve peace. On that subject, too, I will say a few words. We never concealed our doubts whether peace could be lastingly insured by international organizations such as arbitration courts. I will not discuss here the theoretical parts of the problem, but in practice now and in peace we shall have to define our attitude toward the question.

When, after the termination of the war, the world shall fully recognize its horrible devastation of blood and treasure, then through all mankind will go the cry for peaceful agreements and understandings which will prevent, so far as is humanly possible, the return of such an immense catastrophe. This cry will be so strong and so justified that it must lead to a result. Germany will honorably cooperate in investigating every attempt to find a practical solution, and collaborate toward its possible realization, and that all the more

if the war, as we confidently expect, produces political conditions which will do justice to the free development of all nations, small as well as great. In that case the principle of right and free development must be made to prevail, not only on the Continent, but also at sea.

Of that Lord Grey, of course, did not speak. The guaranty of peace which he has in mind appears to me to possess a peculiar character, devised especially for British wishes. During the war the neutrals, according to his desire, will have to remain silent and patiently endure every compulsion of British domination on the seas. After the war, when England as she thinks will have beaten us, when she will have made a new arrangement of the world, then neutrals are to combine as guarantors of the new English arrangement of the world. To this arrangement of the world will also belong the following:

From a trustworthy source we know that England and France already, in 1915, guaranteed to Russia territorial rule over Constantinople, the Bosporus, and the western shore of the Dardanelles, with its hinterland, while Asia Minor was to be divided among the entente powers. The English Government avoided replying to the questions which were asked in Parliament on this subject, but certainly these plans of the entente are also of interest for the international peace union which later is to guarantee them. These are the annexation intentions of our enemies, to which also must be added Alsace-Lorraine, while I, in the discussion of our war aims, have never indicated the annexation of Belgium as our intention.

Such a policy of force (Gewaltpolitik) can not, of course, form the basis for an effective international peace union, and it is in the strongest contrast to Lord Grey's and Mr. Asquith's ideal state of things, where right governs might and all States form a family of civilized mankind, and can freely develop themselves, whether big or small, under the same conditions and in accordance with their natural capabilities. If the entente wishes seriously to take up this position, then it should also act consistently upon it; otherwise the most exalted words about peace union and harmonious living together in an international family are mere words (schall und rauch).

OPPOSES AGGRESSIVE COALITIONS.

The first condition for the development of international relations by means of an arbitration court and the peaceful liquidation of conflicting antagonisms would be that henceforth no aggressive coalitions should be formed. Germany is ready at all times to join the union of peoples, and even to place herself at the head of such a union, which will restrain the disturber of peace. The history of international relations before the war lies clearly before the eyes of the entire world.

What brought France to Russia's side? Alsace-Lorraine. Why did Russia desire Constantinople? Why did England join them?

Because Germany, in peaceful work, had become too great for her. What did we desire? Lord Grey says that Germany, with her first proposal concerning the integrity of France and Belgium, desired to purchase England's permission to take what she wanted of the French colonies. Even the most harebrained German did not entertain the idea of attacking France for the purpose of seizing her colonies.

It was not this which was fateful to Europe, but that the English Government favored French and Russian predatory aims which were unattainable without a European war. As against this aggressive character of the entente, the triple alliance had always found itself in a defensive position. No honorable critic can deny that. Not in the shadow of Prussian militarism did the world live before the war, but in the shadow of the policy of isolation which was to keep Germany down.

Against this policy, whether it appears diplomatically as encirclement, military as a war of destruction, economically as a world-boycott, we from the beginning have been on the defensive. The German people wages this war as a defensive war for the safety of its national existence and for its free development.

We have never pretended anything else; we have never intended anything different. How otherwise could this display of gigantic forces, this inexhaustible heroism, determined to fight to the last, be explained? There is no precedent for it in all human history. At the obstinacy of the enemy's will to war, at the calling up of military material and auxiliary forces from all parts of the world, our resistance hardened to still greater determination. However England may still supplement her strength—and there is a limit even to England's command of strength—it is predestined to fail before our will to live. This will is unconquerable, imperturbable. We wait for our enemies to recognize this, confident that this recognition must come.

The position taken by von Bethmann-Hollweg was popular in Germany.

REICHSTAG LEADERS BACK CHANCELLOR—INDORSE HIS PEACE LEAGUE VIEWS AND HIS ANSWER TO VISCOUNT GREY—BELGIAN POLICY IN DOUBT—BUT PRESS COMMENT ASSUMES THAT THE CHANCELLOR MEANT TO RENOUNCE ANNEXATION.

BERLIN, *November 10.*

Leaders in all parties in the Reichstag main committee, after yesterday's speech by Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg, expressed virtually unanimous agreement with the principal points in his address. All emphasized the importance of the Russian order of 1914, according to which, the chancellor said, mobilization meant a declaration of war against Germany. The speakers said that the chancellor's descriptions of the origin of the war ought to be known to the whole world, not only to neutral but also to hostile belligerent countries.

They also indorsed the chancellor's views concerning an international league for the preservation of permanent peace, expressed their agreement with such views, and specified their own ideas in regard to it. In addition, most of the orators stated the views of their parties concerning Belgium, and, incidentally, concerning the Polish trouble.

The first speaker, a member of the Catholic Party, said he welcomed the chancellor's declaration that Germany would join a union of States for the preservation of peace. He added that it was evident that in such a union of States the vital questions of a State or States ought not to be voted down by the majority. He said also that the experiences of the war justified a desire for the better protection of Germany's frontier. The proclamation of the Kingdom of Poland, he said, meant that the Poles would have a chance for free and independent evolution. Belgium, he said, "must never again be used as a starting point for an invasion against Germany."

SOCIALIST SAYS PEACE IDEA GAINS.

In the course of this discussion a member of the Socialist Party said that in all countries the idea that there should be an end to war was gaining ground. The chancellor was correct in stating that the cry for international treaties to prevent recurrence of war would become so strong that eventually it must lead to results.

The speaker said that formerly Germany had attached less importance than France and England to the idea of arbitration. The chancellor had expressed fear that England would frame a peace coalition in accordance with her own desires. Nevertheless the principle ought to be recognized as right. It was an important point, the Socialist member continued, that the chancellor never had spoken of the annexation of Belgium as essential. Germany was at war for defense and not for conquest, he said, and it would be of advantage if Germany should take the lead in a coalition for the prevention of war.

An independent Socialist member said that special importance attached to the chancellor's expression of readiness to participate in attempts to form a coalition which would guarantee peace. He added that Viscount Grey, the British foreign secretary, had never approved the idea of boycotting Germany to annihilate it, but that, on the contrary, he had declined several times to approve such a project. The Socialist member took exception to the ideas of the Conservatives in regard to Belgium and said the chancellor should make it clear that he was opposed to the annexation of Belgium.

A member of the annexationist group expressed sympathy with the principle of arbitration, but added that if Germany had accepted it in 1914 the result would have been to give time to her enemies, whose plan was not to begin the war until 1916.

A Socialist member took up the question of the Russian mobilization, saying that newspaper reports showed it was in progress before the official Russian date of the beginning of mobilization, and quoted several press dispatches from Petrograd to Paris and London on July 29 and 30, 1914, to prove his assertions.

PRESS COMMENT GENERALLY FAVORABLE.

All the morning newspapers commenting on the speech agree that the chancellor clearly established the truth concerning the beginning of the war, says the Overseas News Agency, which gives a symposium of the editorial comment.

The Lokal-Anzeiger says:

"To the whole world the name of Edward Grey is known as the chief instrument of the present war. Anyone who reads between the lines of Grey's banquet speech and his other utterances will perceive that he accuses others in order to exculpate himself, and that all these attempts merely spring from an evil conscience charged with guilt."

The Tageszeitung says that under no circumstances can it consider the question of the causes of the war as bearing upon the end of the war, since the end will be decided by the military situation. It also expresses regret that the chancellor's words concerning Belgium may admit of the idea that the chancellor suggests peace on the basis of the status quo on the west front.

Germania, the Catholic organ, expresses doubt as to Viscount Grey's sincerity on the question of arbitration. It says that the countries hostile to Germany have for years followed an aggressive policy and have fostered a spirit of "revenge." When this is considered in connection with Russia's lust of conquest they can hardly be considered, therefore, as trustworthy guardians of international peace. Germany, it adds, on the other hand, has kept peace since her foundation, which now enables her to give proof of moral strength in war.

The chancellor's remark that he never demanded the annexation of Belgium is generally treated as equivalent to a definite renunciation of annexation. The Kreuzzeitung says it understands his words in this sense and regrets them, along with the other conservative organs like the Post, Tageszeitung, and the Tägliche Rundschau. These papers also regret that the chancellor did not define more clearly his position regarding Belgium.

The Tageblatt indorses the views expressed in the chancellor's speech and in the Reichstag debate concerning arbitration, and quotes British objection against the arbitration idea.

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HOPES FOR PEACE WITHOUT CONQUEST.

BERLIN, *November 10, 1916.*

Vorwärts prints a significant editorial on the chancellor's speech of yesterday. It may be taken as faithfully mirroring the feelings of the masses.

"When will the war end?" the writer asks. "When the nations of Europe shall think as the great mass of the German Nation thinks today. Peace at any price? No! But war—eternal war for conquest? Still less! Defeat, the cutting up of the nation, slavery under the yoke of the victor? No! But the peace of good understanding, assuring the rights of all nations, big and little? Better to-day than to-morrow! So think 99 out of 100 Germans to-day; and when the other nations think so, too, peace will come.

"Perhaps the chancellor's speech yesterday is a step toward the longed-for goal. What the German Government wants is now pretty clear. What is French shall remain French; what is Belgian shall remain Belgian; and what is German shall remain German. That is what the chancellor said yesterday. Poland shall be free from Russia and lean on the central powers.

"The chancellor agrees with the ideas regarding international arbitration courts as President Wilson and Viscount Grey elaborated them, and he uses such strong terms that there can be no doubt of his sincerity. But if all Governments are agreed to avoid future wars by mutual understanding and arbitration, why can not this intention hold good also for the present war? The peace that shall have within it guarantees of permanence and that shall have been concluded in the determination to avoid future wars by arbitration can not be dictated by the victor to the vanquished; it can only be concluded without conquest."

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SEE A WAY OPENED FOR PEACE.

AMSTERDAM, *November 10, 1916.*

Several German newspapers, in commenting on Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg's speech, express the opinion that it opens the way for peace. The Tageblatt says the ideas for the future which the chancellor discussed are more important than the question, "Who is guilty of having caused the war?" and refers to his remark that after the war humanity will demand measures to prevent the recurrence of such conflicts.

"Whoever is convinced," the Tageblatt continues, "that the cry will go through humanity for a peaceful arrangement will not fail to make preparation for a response to this great cry."

The Freisinnige Zeitung says that the chancellor in all seriousness declares his readiness to collaborate in efforts to obtain international

guarantees for lasting peace, adding: "Now is the time for the entente powers, especially Great Britain, to come forward with a program."

Vorwärts says that what the German Government now desires is tolerably clear; that the chancellor expressed it in different words than Philipp Scheidemann, Socialist leader in the Reichstag, who in a speech last month asserted that the belligerent nations desired peace, but that the views of Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg are no less clear than are those of Herr Scheidemann.

"In the chancellor's speech," Vorwärts continues, "one hears the first sound of the future rustling which will signalize the end of war's horrors."

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BLAMES ALLIES' OBSTINACY—BETHMANN-HOLLWEG SAYS IT ONLY HARDENS GERMANY'S RESISTANCE.

AMSTERDAM, *November 10.*

Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg expressed the conviction that Germany was certain of final victory in his speech before the main committee of the Reichstag yesterday, according to reports of the session published here. The chancellor is quoted as saying:

"England and France in 1915 guaranteed to Russia territorial rule over Constantinople, the Bosporus, and the western shores of the Dardanelles, with its hinterland, while Asia Minor was to be divided among the members of the entente. The annexation intentions of our enemies also include Alsace-Lorraine, which the league of peace is to guarantee them. Such a policy, of course, can not form a basis for an effective peace union. Germany is ready at all times to join a union of the peoples, and even to place herself at the head of such a union to restrain a disturber of the peace. Not in the shadow of Prussian militarism did the world live before the war, but in the shadow of a policy of isolation which was to keep Germany down.

"Against this policy, whether it appears diplomatically as an encirclement, militarily as a war of destruction, or economically as a world boycott, we from the beginning were on the defensive. The German people wages this war as a defensive war for the safety of its national existence, for its free development. We never pretended anything else, never intended anything else. Not otherwise can be explained this display of gigantic force, this inexhaustible heroism, unexampled in all human history.

"The enemy obstinately wills to war with the calling up of military material and auxiliary forces from all parts of the world. These efforts harden our resistance to still greater determination. Whatever England can still bring up of strength—and England's command of strength has its limits—it is predestined to fall before our will to live. This will is unconquerable, and we await the enemy's recognition of this, confident that this recognition must come."

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DERNBURG FOR PEACE LEAGUE—URGES GERMANS NOT TO LET GREY "TAKE THE WIND OUT OF OUR SAILS."

BERLIN, *November 10.*

Though evoking practically no favorable comment at the time it was first suggested, the idea of a league of nations to maintain peace by force, if necessary, as championed by President Wilson and latterly espoused by Viscount Grey, has by no means fallen on unfruitful soil here. It is now not only warmly received in out-and-out pacifist circles and among the Social Democrats, but is meeting with thoughtful interest in much wider and more important circles of public opinion.

Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, writing on diplomacy in the Tageblatt, says:

"I ask the question, Why, after President Wilson, before the Taft Peace League, and in his Cincinnati speech, had called on the nations of the world to confess their belief in the importance of super-State agreements, no answering echo came from Germany, either from the Government or Parliament? Or is there anyone who does not agree with Viscount Grey's 'peace treaties guaranteed by force of arms,' or who does not dare to speak his mind? Why must we let the wind be taken out of our sails by Viscount Grey and thereby give him an opportunity of calumniating us in the most impertinent manner? Do we enjoy standing before the world without contradiction as Huns, barbarians, people without faith and loyalty—not only before the English world, which isn't quite a matter of indifference to us, since a peace which in the last analysis is nothing but 'no war' is, after all, not our goal—but especially before the neutral world, which, after all, includes some 140,000,000 cultivated whites?

"I understand quite well the shy pride of our German character, which wants to make no answer to such things and rightly considers them beneath our dignity. But no utterance of this sort should remain in future without refutation. If it can not be done by the Government, there should be sufficient talent among the parties to undertake the task; and if the Reichstag does not happen to be in session, one can learn of the English that when they have anything to say they quickly enough get up a public meeting, a luncheon, or a similar opportunity, or, at the worst, write a letter, in order to give a leading statesman an opportunity to express himself without contradiction.

"For I assert with all conviction that the German nation, too, wills that in future such frightful happenings as the present world war shall be avoided by all possible means, and the German nation wills to have all means employed which may serve this end. Yes; even if we believe that many of these means which one dubs 'pacifist' would in the end have no success, we must not decline them and haughtily close our doors against them, if only out of respect for others who do believe in them.

"We made a poor showing at the various Hague conferences—not, perhaps, because in the final analysis we did not have right on our side, but because we blurted out our views regarding the proposals made there with such brutal objections as deeply to hurt the sensibilities of the other side, which, after all, consisted of the leading men of the rest of the world. That surely was not art and surely was not diplomacy. Good will to a right end we all can have.

"Viscount Grey has characterized as one of England's war aims super-State organizations, and the chancellor in his last speech assented with the phrase, 'That is what we want, too.' But such an expression must go still further; it must be made still clearer, else its effect is lost. A free profession of faith in the idea, however, would create an agreement between enemies on at least one war aim, and even that would be something worth while. Moreover, it would conform with the feelings of the great majority of the German nation."

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SOUGHT CHANCELLOR'S VIEWS—HIS REICHSTAG SPEECH AN ANSWER TO THE PEACE LEAGUE'S INQUIRY.

WASHINGTON, *November 10.*

The indorsement by the German chancellor of the aims of the League to Enforce Peace in the Reichstag yesterday was a direct answer to an inquiry made by the officials of the league to the German Government asking for its views in the matter. This was learned authoritatively to-night.

Some weeks ago an official of the league wrote a letter to Count von Bernstorff requesting that the views of his Government be made known, in the interests of the progress of the league's work. The ambassador at once forwarded the letter to the German foreign office with the recommendation that the request be granted.

In official and diplomatic circles here considerable importance is attached to the chancellor's utterances. It is said that, although the German Government's indorsement of the principles of the league may not hasten the calling of a peace conference, Germany's action may materially aid in the establishment of a more lasting and equitable peace than might otherwise be obtained.

Germany took the initiative to secure through neutrals a conference between the belligerents to discuss peace terms.

TEXT OF THE TEUTONIC NOTES TO THE NEUTRAL POWERS AND THE POPE.

TO THE NEUTRAL POWERS.

BERLIN, *December 12.*

Following is the text of the note addressed by Germany and her allies to the neutral powers for transmission to the entente allies:

"The most terrific war experienced in history has been raging for the last two years and a half over a large part of the world—a catastrophe which thousands of years of common civilization was unable to prevent and which injures the most precious achievements of humanity.

"Our aims are not to shatter nor annihilate our adversaries. In spite of our consciousness of our military and economic strength and our readiness to continue the war (which has been forced upon us) to the bitter end, if necessary; at the same time, prompted by the desire to avoid further bloodshed and to make an end to the atrocities of war, the four allied powers propose to enter forthwith into peace negotiations.

"The propositions which they bring forward for such negotiations, and which have for their object a guarantee of the existence of the honor and liberty of evolution for their nations, are, according to their firm belief, an appropriate basis for the establishment of a lasting peace.

"The four allied powers have been obliged to take up arms to defend justice and the liberty of national evolution. The glorious deeds of our armies have in no way altered their purpose. We always maintained the firm belief that our own rights and justified claims in no way control the rights of these nations.

"The spiritual and material progress which were the pride of Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century are threatened with ruin. Germany and her allies, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, gave proof of their unconquerable strength in this struggle. They gained gigantic advantages over adversaries superior in number and war material. Our lines stand unshaken against ever-repeated attempts made by armies.

"The last attack in the Balkans has been rapidly and victoriously overcome. The most recent events have demonstrated that further continuance of the war will not result in breaking the resistance of our forces, and the whole situation with regard to our troops justifies our expectation of further successes.

"If, in spite of this offer of peace and reconciliation, the struggle should go on, the four allied powers are resolved to continue to a victorious end, but they disclaim responsibility for this before humanity and history. The Imperial Government, through the good offices of your excellency, asks the Government of [here is inserted the name of the neutral power addressed in each instance] to bring this communication to the knowledge of the Government of [here are inserted the names of the belligerents]."

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TO THE VATICAN.

BERLIN, *December 12.*

The note of the German Government, as presented by Dr. von Muhlberg, German minister to the Vatican, to Cardinal Gasparri, papal secretary of state, reads as follows:

"According to instructions received, I have the honor to send to your eminence a copy of the declaration of the Imperial Government to-day, which by the good offices of the powers intrusted with the protection of German interests in the countries with which the German Empire is in a state of war, transmits to these States, and in which the Imperial Government declares itself ready to enter into peace negotiations. The Austro-Hungarian, Turkish, and Bulgarian Governments also have sent similar notes.

"The reasons which prompted Germany and her allies to take this step are manifest. For two years and a half a terrible war has been devastating the European Continent. Unlimited treasures of civilization have been destroyed. Extensive areas have been soaked with blood. Millions of brave soldiers have fallen in battle and millions have returned home as invalids. Grief and sorrow fill almost every house.

"Not only upon the belligerent nations, but also upon neutrals, the destructive consequences of the gigantic struggle weigh heavily. Trade and commerce, carefully built up in years of peace, have been depressed. The best forces of the nation have been withdrawn from the production of useful objects. Europe, which formerly was devoted to the propagation of religion and civilization, which was trying to find solutions for social problems, and was the home of science and art and all peaceful labor, now resembles an immense war camp in which the achievements and works of many decades are doomed to annihilation.

"Germany is carrying on a war of defense against her enemies, which aim at her destruction. She fights to assure the integrity of her frontiers and the liberty of the German nation, for the right which she claims to develop freely her intellectual and economic energies in peaceful competition and on an equal footing with other nations. All the efforts of their enemies are unable to shatter the heroic armies of the (Teutonic) allies, which protect the frontiers of their countries, strengthened by the certainty that the enemy shall never pierce the iron wall.

"Those fighting on the front know that they are supported by the whole nation, which is inspired by love for its country and is ready for the greatest sacrifices and determined to defend to the last extremity the inherited treasure of intellectual and economic work and the social organization and sacred soil of the country.

"Certain of our own strength, but realizing Europe's sad future if the war continues; seized with pity in the face of the unspeakable misery of humanity, the German Empire, in accord with her allies, solemnly repeats what the chancellor already has declared a year ago,

that Germany is ready to give peace to the world by setting before the whole world the question whether or not it is possible to find a basis for an understanding.

"Since the first day of the pontifical reign his holiness the Pope has unswervingly demonstrated in the most generous fashion his solicitude for the innumerable victims of this war. He has alleviated the sufferings and ameliorated the fate of thousands of men injured by this catastrophe. Inspired by the exalted ideas of his ministry, his holiness has seized every opportunity in the interests of humanity to end so sanguinary a war.

"The Imperial Government is firmly confident that the initiative of the four powers will find friendly welcome on the part of his holiness, and that the work of peace can count upon the precious support of the Holy See."

—

AUSTRIA'S SEPARATE STATEMENT.

LONDON, *December 12.*

An official Austrian statement, referring to the peace offer, says:

"When in the summer of 1914 the patience of Austria-Hungary was exhausted by a series of systematically continued and ever-increasing provocations and menaces, and the monarchy, after almost 50 years of unbroken peace, found itself compelled to draw the sword, this weighty decision was animated neither by aggressive purposes nor by designs of conquest, but solely by the bitter necessity of self-defense, to defend its existence and safeguard itself for the future against similar treacherous plots of hostile neighbors.

"That was the task and aim of the monarchy in the present war. In combination with its allies, well tried in loyal comradeship in arms, the Austro-Hungarian Army and fleet, fighting, bleeding, but also assailing and conquering, gained such successes that they frustrated the intentions of the enemy. The quadruple alliance not only has won an immense series of victories, but also holds in its power extensive hostile territories. Unbroken is its strength, as our latest treacherous enemy has just experienced.

"Can our enemies hope to conquer or shatter this alliance of powers? They will never succeed in breaking it by blockade and starvation measures. Their war aims, to the attainment of which they have come no nearer in the third year of the war, will in the future be proved to have been completely unattainable. Useless and unavailing, therefore, is the prosecution of the fighting on the part of the enemy.

"The powers of the quadruple alliance, on the other hand, have effectively pursued their aims, namely, defense against attacks on their existence and integrity, which were planned in concert long since, and the achievement of real guarantees, and they will never allow themselves to be deprived of the basis of their existence, which they have secured by advantages won.

"The continuation of the murderous war, in which the enemy can destroy much, but can not, as the quadruple alliance is firmly confident, alter fate, is ever more seen to be an aimless destruction of human lives and property, an act of inhumanity justified by no necessity, and a crime against civilization.

"This conviction and the hope that similar views may also be begun to be entertained in the enemy camp has caused the idea to ripen in the Vienna Cabinet—in full agreement with the Governments of the allied [Teutonic] powers—of making a candid and loyal endeavor to come to a discussion with their enemies for the purpose of paving a way for peace.

"The Governments of Austria-Hungary, Germany, Turkey, and Bulgaria have addressed to-day identical notes to the diplomatic representatives in the capitals concerned who are intrusted with the promotion of enemy nationals, expressing an inclination to enter into peace negotiations and requesting them to transmit this overture to enemy States. This step was simultaneously brought to the knowledge of the representatives of the Holy See in a special note, and the active interest of the Pope for this offer of peace was solicited. Likewise the accredited representatives of the remaining neutral States in the four capitals were acquainted with this proceeding for the purpose of informing their Governments.

"Austria and her allies by this step have given new and decisive proof of their love of peace. It is now for their enemies to make known their views before the world.

"Whatever the result of its proposal may be, no responsibility can fall on the quadruple alliance, even before the judgment seat of its own peoples, if it is eventually obliged to continue the war."

The note was transmitted to the belligerent powers by President Wilson without comment.

The chancellor explained the purpose in his address to the Reichstag on the same day, December 12.

The chancellor said:

"The Reichstag had been adjourned for a long period, but fortunately it was left to the discretion of the president as to the day of the next meeting. This discretion was caused by the hope that soon happy events in the field would be recorded, a hope fulfilled quicker, almost, than expected. I shall be brief, for actions speak for themselves."

The chancellor said Roumania had entered the war in order to roll up the German positions in the east and those of Germany's allies. At the same time the grand offensive on the Somme had as its object to pierce the German western front, and the renewed Italian attacks were intended to paralyze Austria-Hungary.

"The situation was serious," said the chancellor. "But with God's help our troops shaped conditions so as to give us security which not only is complete but still more so than ever before. The western front stands. Not only does it stand but in spite of the Roumanian campaign it is fitted out with larger reserves of men and material than it had been formerly. The most effective precautions have been taken against all Italian diversions. And while on the Somme and on the Carso the drum fire resounded while the Russians launched troops against the eastern frontier of Transylvania, Field Marshal von Hindenburg captured the whole of western Wallachia and the hostile capital of Bucharest, leading with unparalleled genius the troops that in competition with all the allies made possible what hitherto was considered impossible.

VAST SUPPLIES SEIZED.

"And Hindenburg does not rest. Military operations progress. By strokes of the sword at the same time firm foundations for our economic needs have been laid. Great stocks of grain, victuals, oil, and other goods fell into our hands in Roumania. Their transport has begun. In spite of scarcity, we could have lived on our own supplies, but now our safety is beyond question.

"To these great events on land heroic deeds of equal importance are added by our submarines. The specter of famine, which our enemies intended to appear before us, now pursues them without mercy. When after the termination of the first year of the war the Emperor addressed the nation in a public appeal, he said 'Having witnessed such great events, my heart was filled with awe and determination.' Neither our Emperor nor our nation ever changed their minds in this respect. Neither have they now. The genius and heroic acts of our leaders have fashioned these facts as firm as iron. If the enemy counted upon the weariness of his enemy, then he was deceived.

"The Reichstag, by means of the national auxiliary war-service law, helped to build a new offensive and defensive bulwark in the midst of the great struggle. Behind the fighting army stands the nation at work—the gigantic force of the nation, working for the common aim.

"The Empire is not a besieged fortress, as our adversaries imagined, but one gigantic and firmly disciplined camp, with inexhaustible resources. That is the German Empire, which is firmly and faithfully united with its brothers in arms, who have been tested in battle under the Austro-Hungarian, Turkish, and Bulgarian flags.

"Our enemies now ascribed to us a plan to conquer the whole world, and then desperate cries of anguish for peace. But not confused by those asseverations, we progressed with firm decision, and we thus continue our progress, always ready to defend ourselves and fight for our nation's existence, for its free future, and always ready for this price to stretch out our hands for peace.

NOT DEAF TO PEACE.

"Our strength has not made our ears deaf to our responsibility before God, before our own nation, and before humanity. The declarations formerly made by us concerning our readiness for peace were evaded by our adversaries. Now we have advanced one step farther in this direction. On August 1, 1914, the Emperor had personally to take the gravest decision which ever fell to the lot of a German—the order for mobilization—which he was compelled to give as a result of the Russian mobilization. During these long and earnest years of the war the Emperor has been moved by a single thought: How peace could be restored to safeguard Germany after the struggle in which she has fought victoriously.

"Nobody can testify better to this than I, who bear the responsibility for all actions of the Government. In a deep moral and religious sense of duty toward his nation, and, beyond it, toward humanity, the Emperor now considers that the moment has come for official action toward peace. His Majesty, therefore, in complete harmony and in common with our allies, decided to propose to the hostile powers to enter peace negotiations. This morning I transmitted a note to this effect to all the hostile powers through the representatives of those powers which are watching over our interests and rights in the hostile States. I asked the representatives of Spain, the United States, and Switzerland to forward that note.

"The same procedure has been adopted to-day in Vienna, Constantinople, and Sofia. Other neutral States and His Holiness the Pope have been similarly informed."

The Reichstag adjourned, to be reconvened at the call of the president. Prior to adjournment the president of the chamber declared that the nation and its representatives would always support the chancellor in a policy which was farsighted and intelligent.

AWAIT ANSWER SERENELY.

The chancellor then read the note, and, continuing, said:

"Gentlemen, in August, 1914, our enemies challenged the superiority of power in the world war. To-day we raise the question of peace, which is a question of humanity. We await the answer of our enemies with that sereneness of mind which is guaranteed to us by our exterior and interior strength and by our clear conscience. If our enemies decline to end the war, if they wish to take upon themselves the world's heavy burden of all these terrors which hereafter will follow, then even in the least and smallest homes every German heart will burn in sacred wrath against our enemies, who are unwilling to stop human slaughter in order that their plans of conquest and annihilation may continue.

"In the fateful hour we took a fateful decision. It has been saturated with the blood of hundreds of thousands of our sons and brothers who gave their lives for the safety of their home. Human wits and human understanding are unable to reach to the extreme and last questions in this struggle of nations, which has unveiled all the terrors of earthly life, but also the grandeur of human courage and human will in ways never seen before. God will be the judge. We can proceed upon our way."

The purpose of the note was made known to the German field forces:

KAISER NOTIFIES THE ARMY.

While the announcements were being made in the Reichstag the Kaiser sent the following message to all the commanding generals:

"Soldiers, in agreement with the sovereigns of my allies and with the consciousness of victory I have made an offer of peace to the enemy. Whether it will be accepted is still uncertain. Until that moment arrives you will fight on."

The Russian Duma took action first, it was said, to quiet the rumors that the Czar might be induced to make a separate peace.

By a unanimous vote the Russian Duma to-day went on record against acceptance of the peace proposals of the Teutonic powers.

This news is contained in a Reuter dispatch from Petrograd, which states that formal action of the Duma by resolution followed an address by the new foreign minister, M. Pokrovsky, who announced at the outset that he spoke with full authority in behalf of the Czar. M. Pokrovsky said in his speech:

"In addressing you immediately upon having been appointed minister of foreign affairs, I am not in a position to give you a detailed statement on the political situation, but I feel constrained to inform you without delay and with the supreme authorization of his Imperial Majesty of the attitude of the Russian Government regarding the application of our enemies, of which you have heard through news telegrams.

"Words of peace, coming from the side which bears the whole burden of responsibility for the world conflagration, which it started, and which is unparalleled in the annals of history, however far back one goes, were no surprise to the allies.

FEELERS OFTEN PUT OUT BY BERLIN.

"In the course of the two and a half years of war Germany has more than once mentioned peace. She spoke of it to her armies

and her people each time she entered upon a military operation which was to be decisive. After each military success she put out feelers for a separate peace on one side and another and conducted a propaganda in the neutral press. All these efforts have met with calm and determined resistance by the allied powers.

"Seeing now that she is powerless to make a breach in our unshakable alliance, Germany makes an official proposal to open peace negotiations. In substance, the German proposal contains no tangible indications regarding the nature of the peace which is desired by the enemy armies which devastated and occupied Belgium, Serbia, and Montenegro and part of France, Russia, and Roumania.

"The Austro-Germans have just proclaimed an illusory independence for part of Poland and by this are trying to lay hands on the entire Polish Nation. The motives of the German step will be shown more clearly if one takes into consideration the domestic conditions of our enemies.

"Without speaking of the unlawful attempts to force the population of Russian Poland to take arms against its own country, it will suffice to mention the introduction of general forced labor into Germany to understand how hard is the situation of our enemies.

"To attempt at the last moment to profit by their fleeting territorial conquest before their domestic weakness was revealed—that was the real meaning of the German proposal. In the event of failure they will exploit at home the refusal of the allies to accept peace in order to rehabilitate the tottering morale of their populations.

DECEIVED AS TO RUSSIA'S SPIRIT.

"But there is another senseless motive in that they fail to understand the true spirit which animates Russia. Our enemies deceive themselves with the vain hope that they will find among us men cowardly enough to allow themselves to be deceived, if only for a moment, by the lying proposals.

"That will not be. No Russian heart will yield; all Russia will rally more closely around its august Sovereign, who declared at the very beginning of the war that he would not make peace until the last enemy soldiers had left our country, and for the general collaboration which constitutes the only sure means of arriving at the end we all have at heart, namely, the crushing of the enemy.

"The Russian Government repudiates with indignation the mere idea of suspending the struggle, thereby permitting Germany to take advantage of the last chance she will have of subjecting Europe to her hegemony. The innumerable sacrifices already made would be in vain if premature peace were concluded with an enemy whose forces have been shaken but not broken, and an enemy who is seeking a breathing space by making deceitful offers of a permanent peace.

"In this inflexible decision Russia is in complete agreement with all her valiant allies. We are all equally convinced of the vital necessity of carrying on the war to a victorious end, and no subterfuge by our enemies will prevent us from following this path to the end."

—

DUMA'S REJECTION OF THE TEUTON PEACE PROPOSALS DECLARES THEM PROOF OF FOES' WEAKNESS AND HYPOCRISY.

LONDON, *December 15.*

The Russian Duma's resolution declaring against acceptance of the Teuton peace proposals reads as follows:

"The Duma, having heard the statement by the minister of foreign affairs, unanimously favors a categorical refusal by the allied Governments to enter, under present conditions, into any peace negotiations whatever.

"It considers that the German proposals are nothing more than fresh proof of the weakness of the enemy and a hypocritical act from which the enemy expects no real success, but by which it seeks to throw upon others the responsibility for the war and for what happened during it, and to exculpate itself before public opinion in Germany.

"The Duma considers that a premature peace would not only be a brief period of calm but would also involve the danger of another bloody war and a renewal of the deplorable sacrifices by the people. It considers that a lasting peace will be possible only after a decisive victory over the military power of the enemy and after definite renunciation by Germany of the aspirations which render her responsible for the world war and for the horrors by which it has been accompanied."

On the 18th of December the President addressed his own famous and much-discussed peace note to the belligerents, and which was made public on the 20th:

PRESIDENT WILSON'S NOTE TO THE BELLIGERENT NATIONS.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADORS OF THE CAPITALS OF THE BELLIGERENT POWERS.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, D. C., December 18, 1916.

The President directs me to send you the following communication to be presented immediately to the minister of foreign affairs of the Government to which you are accredited:

The President of the United States has instructed me to suggest to the [here is inserted a designation of the Government addressed] a course of action with regard to the present war, which he hopes that the Government will take under consideration as suggested in the most friendly spirit, and as coming not only from a friend but also as coming from the representative of a neutral nation whose interests have been most seriously affected by the war and whose concern for its early conclusion arises out of a manifest necessity to determine how best to safeguard those interests if the war is to continue.

[The third paragraph of the note as sent to the four central powers—Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria—is as follows:]

The suggestion which I am instructed to make the President has long had it in mind to offer. He is somewhat embarrassed to offer it at this particular time, because it may now seem to have been prompted by a desire to play a part in connection with the recent overtures of the central powers. It has, in fact, been in no way suggested by them in its origin, and the President would have delayed offering it until those overtures had been independently answered but for the fact that it also concerns the question of peace and may best be considered in connection with other proposals which have the same end in view. The President can only beg that his suggestion be considered entirely on its own merits and as if it had been made in other circumstances.

[The third paragraph of the note as sent to the 10 entente allies—Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Russia, Belgium, Montenegro, Portugal, Roumania, and Serbia—is as follows:]

The suggestion which I am instructed to make the President has long had it in mind to offer. He is somewhat embarrassed to offer it at this particular time, because it may now seem to have been prompted by the recent overtures of the central powers. It is, in fact, in no way associated with them in its origin, and the President would have delayed offering it until those overtures had been answered but for the fact that it also concerns the question of peace and may best be considered in connection with other proposals which have the same end in view. The President can only beg that his suggestion be considered entirely on its own merits and as if it had been made in other circumstances.

[Thenceforward the note proceeds identically to all the powers, as follows:]

The President suggests that an early occasion be sought to call out from all the nations now at war such an avowal of their respective views as to the terms upon which the war might be concluded and the arrangements which would be deemed satisfactory as a guaranty against its renewal or the kindling of any similar conflict in the future as would make it possible frankly to compare them. He is indifferent as to the means taken to accomplish this. He would be happy himself to serve, or even to take the initiative in its accomplishment, in any way that might prove acceptable, but he has no desire to determine the method or the instrumentality. One way will be as acceptable to him as another, if only the great object he has in mind be attained.

He takes the liberty of calling attention to the fact that the objects, which the statesmen of the belligerents on both sides have in mind in this war, are virtually the same, as stated in general terms to their own people and to the world. Each side desires to make the rights and privileges of weak peoples and small States as secure against aggression or denial in the future as the rights and privileges of the great and powerful States now at war. Each wishes itself to be made secure in the future, along with all other nations and peoples, against the recurrence of wars like this and against aggression or selfish interference of any kind. Each would be jealous of the formation of any more rival leagues to preserve an uncertain balance of power amid multiplying suspicions; but each is ready to consider the formation of a league of nations to insure peace and justice throughout the world. Before that final step can be taken, however, each deems it necessary first to settle the issues of the present war upon terms which will certainly safeguard the independence, the territorial integrity, and the political and commercial freedom of the nations involved.

In the measures to be taken to secure the future peace of the world the people and Government of the United States are as vitally and as directly interested as the Governments now at war. Their interest, moreover, in the means to be adopted to relieve the smaller and weaker peoples of the world of the peril of wrong and violence is as quick and ardent as that of any other people or Government. They stand ready, and even eager, to cooperate in the accomplishment of these ends, when the war is over, with every influence and resource at their command. But the war must first be concluded. The terms upon which it is to be concluded they are not at liberty to suggest; but the President does feel that it is his right and his duty to point out their intimate interest in its conclusion, lest it should presently be too late to accomplish the greater things which lie beyond its conclusion, lest the situation of neutral nations, now exceedingly hard to endure, be rendered altogether intolerable, and lest, more than all, an injury be done civilization itself which can never be atoned for or repaired.

The President therefore feels altogether justified in suggesting an immediate opportunity for a comparison of views as to the terms which must precede those ultimate arrangements for the peace of the world, which all desire and in which the neutral nations as well as those at war are ready to play their full responsible part.

If the contest must continue to proceed toward undefined ends by slow attrition until the one group of belligerents or the other is exhausted; if million after million of human lives must continue to be offered up until on the one side or the other there are no more to offer; if resentments must be kindled that can never cool and despairs engendered from which there can be no recovery, hopes of peace and of the willing concert of free peoples will be rendered vain and idle.

The life of the entire world has been profoundly affected. Every part of the great family of mankind has felt the burden and terror of this unprecedented contest of arms. No nation in the civilized world can be said in truth to stand outside its influence or to be safe against its disturbing effects. And yet the concrete objects for which it is being waged have never been definitively stated.

The leaders of the several belligerents have, as has been said, stated those objects in general terms. But, stated in general terms, they seem the same on both sides. Never yet have the authoritative spokesmen of either side avowed the precise objects which would, if attained, satisfy them and their people that the war had been fought out. The world has been left to conjecture what definitive results, what actual exchange of guaranties, what political or territorial changes or readjustments, what stage of military success, even, would bring the war to an end.

It may be that peace is nearer than we know; that the terms which the belligerents on the one side and on the other would deem it necessary to insist upon are not so irreconcilable as some have feared; that an interchange of views would clear the way at least for conference and make the permanent concord of the nations a hope of the immediate future, a concert of nations immediately practicable.

The President is not proposing peace; he is not even offering mediation. He is merely proposing that soundings be taken in order that we may learn, the neutral nations with the belligerent, how near the haven of peace may be for which all mankind longs with an intense and increasing longing. He believes that the spirit in which he speaks and the objects which he seeks will be understood by all concerned, and he confidently hopes for a response which will bring a new light into the affairs of the world.

LANSING.

[Copies of the above will be delivered to all neutral Governments for their information.]

On the next day Secretary Lansing made his statements, both of which are here appended:

SECRETARY LANSING'S TWO STATEMENTS REGARDING PEACE NOTE TO BELLIGERENTS.

WASHINGTON, *December 21.*

Robert Lansing, Secretary of State, issued two statements to-day bearing upon President Wilson's action in addressing the belligerent Governments regarding terms for peace. The first statement was as follows:

"The reasons for the sending of the note were as follows:

"It isn't our material interest we had in mind when the note was sent, but more and more our own rights are becoming involved by the belligerents on both sides, so that the situation is becoming increasingly critical.

"I mean by that that we are drawing nearer the verge of war ourselves, and therefore we are entitled to know exactly what each belligerent seeks, in order that we may regulate our conduct in the future.

"No nation has been sounded. No consideration of the German overtures or of the speech of Lloyd George was taken into account in the formulation of the document. The only thing the overtures did was to delay it a few days. It was not decided to send it until Monday. Of course, the difficulties that faced the President were that it might be construed as a movement toward peace and in aid of the German overtures. He specifically denies that that was the fact in the document itself.

"The sending of this note will indicate the possibility of our being forced into the war. That possibility ought to serve as a restraining and sobering force, safeguarding American rights. It may also serve to force an earlier conclusion of the war. Neither the President nor myself regard this note as a peace note; it is merely an effort to get the belligerents to define the end for which they are fighting.

MR. LANSING'S SECOND STATEMENT.

Later in the day the Secretary issued the following statement:

"I have learned from several quarters that a wrong impression was made by the statement which I made this morning, and I wish to correct that impression.

"My intention was to suggest the very direct and necessary interest which this country, as one of the neutral nations, has in the possible terms which the belligerents may have in mind, and I did not intend to intimate that the Government was considering any change in its policy of neutrality, which it has consistantly pursued in the face of constantly increasing difficulties.

"I regret that my words were open to any other construction, as I now realize that they were. I think that the whole tone and language of the note to the belligerents show the purpose without further comment on my part. It is needless to say that I am unreservedly in support of that purpose and hope to see it accepted."

The note conveyed confidence to the German Embassy, as suggested by its reception.

"Now I am perfectly convinced there will be a conference," said Count von Bernstorff, the German ambassador, when he learned the details of President Wilson's undertaking.

Prime Minister Lloyd-George was to have addressed Parliament on the 19th of December on the German note, but was delayed for a short time by illness. His speech follows:

LLOYD-GEORGE'S HISTORIC SPEECH REGARDING PEACE.

I shall have to claim the indulgence of the House in making a few observations that I have to make in moving the second reading of the bill.

I appear before the House of Commons to-day with the most terrible responsibility that can fall upon the shoulders of any living man. As the chief minister of the Crown, and in the midst of the most stupendous war in which this country ever has been engaged, a war upon which its destinies depend, the responsibilities which rest upon the Government have been accentuated by the declaration of the German chancellor, and I propose to deal with that at once.

The statement made by him in the German Reichstag has been followed by a note presented to us by the United States minister, without any note or comment. The answer, which is given by the Government, will be given in full accord with all our various allies. Already there has been an interchange of views, not upon the note itself, because it has only recently arrived, but upon the spirit which impelled the note. The note is only a paraphrase of the speech, so that the subject matter of the note itself has been discussed informally with the allies, and I am glad to be able to say that we arrived separately at identical conclusions.

I am very glad that the first answer was given to the German chancellor by France and by Russia. They have unquestionably the right to give the first answer. The enemy is still on their soil and their sacrifices have been greater. The answer they have given has already appeared in all the papers, and I stand here to-day on behalf of the Government to give a clear and definite support to the statement they have already made. And here let me say that any man or set of men who wantonly and without sufficient cause prolongs a terrible conflict like this has on his soul a crime that oceans could not cleanse; on the other hand, a man or set of men who from a sense of war weariness abandoned the struggle without achieving the high purpose for which we entered upon it would be guilty of the most ghastly poltroonery ever perpetrated by any statesman.

QUOTES LINCOLN'S WORDS.

I should like to quote the well-known words of Abraham Lincoln under similar conditions:

"We accepted the war for an object, a worthy object. The war will end when that object is attained. Under God I hope it will never end until that time."

Are we to achieve that object by accepting the invitations of the German chancellor? That is the only question we have to put to ourselves.

There has been some talk about the proposals of peace. What are those proposals? There are none. To enter on the invitation of Germany, proclaiming herself victorious, without any knowledge of the proposals she intends to make, into a conference, is putting our heads into a noose with the rope end in the hands of the Germans.

This country is not altogether without experience in these matters. It is not the first time we have fought a great military despotism which was overshadowing Europe, and it will not be the first time we shall help to overthrow it. We have an uncomfortable historical memory of these things. We can recall how one of the greatest of these despots, having a purpose to serve in the organization of his nefarious scheme, invariably appeared in the garb of the angel of peace. He usually appeared under two conditions—when he wished for time to assimilate conquest and reorganize for fresh advances, or, secondly, when his subjects showed symptoms of fatigue and war weariness. The appeal was always made in the name of humanity. He demanded an end of bloodshed, at which he professed himself to be horrified, but for which he himself was mainly responsible. Our ancestors were taken in once, and bitterly did they and Europe rue it. The time was devoted to reorganizing his forces for a deadlier attack than ever upon the liberties of Europe.

STANDS BY ASQUITH'S TERMS.

Examples of the kind cause us to regard this note with a considerable measure of reminiscent disquiet. We feel we ought to know before we give favorable consideration to such an invitation that Germany is prepared to accede to the only terms on which it is possible for peace to be obtained and maintained in Europe.

What are these terms? They have been repeatedly stated by all the leading statesmen of the allies. All I can do is to quote what the leader of the house, Mr. Bonar Law, said last week when he made practically the same statement of terms as those put forward by Mr. Asquith—"restitution, reparation, guarantees against repetition.

So that there shall be no mistakes—and it is important that there should be no mistake in a matter of the life and death of millions—let me say complete restitution, full reparation, and effectual guaranties.

Did the German chancellor use a single phrase that would indicate that he was prepared to accept such terms? Was there a hint of restitution? Was there any suggestion of reparation? Was there any indication of any security for the future, that this outrage on civilization would not again be perpetrated at the first profitable opportunity?

The very substance and style of the speech constituted a denial of peace on the only terms on which peace is possible. He is not even conscious now that Germany has committed an offense against the rights of free nations. Listen to this quotation: "Not for an instant had they (the central powers) swerved from the conviction that a respect for the rights of free nations is in any degree incompatible with their own rights and legitimate interests." When did they discover that? Where was the respect for the rights of other nations in Belgium?

That, it is said, was for self-defense. Menaced, I suppose, by the overwhelming army of Belgium, the Germans were intimidated into invading Belgium, burning Belgian cities and villages, massacring thousands of inhabitants, old and young, carrying survivors into bondage—yea, carrying them into slavery at the very moment when the note was being written about the "unswerving conviction of the respect for the rights of other nations."

What guaranty is there that these terrors will not be repeated in the future? That, if we enter into a treaty of peace, we shall put an end to Prussian militarism? If there is to be no reckoning for these atrocities by land and sea, are we to grasp the hand which perpetrated them without any reparation being made?

We have to exact damages.

We have begun; already it has cost us much.

We must exact it now, so as not to leave such a grim inheritance for our children.

CRITICIZES SPEECH AND NOTE.

Much as we all long for peace, deeply as we are horrified at the war, their note and speech give small encouragement to hope for an honorable and lasting peace. What hope is given in that speech? The whole root and cause of this bitterness, the arrogant spirit of the Prussian military caste—will it not be as dominant as ever if we patch up a peace now?

The very speech resounds with the boast of the Prussian military triumph; the very appeal for peace was delivered ostentatiously from the triumphal chariot of Prussian militarism.

We must keep a steadfast eye on the purpose for which we entered the war. Otherwise the great sacrifices we are making will be all in vain. The German note states that for the defense of their existence and for the freedom of national development the central powers were constrained to take up arms. Such phrases can not but deceive those who listen to them. They are intended to deceive the German Nation into supporting the designs of the Prussian military caste.

Who ever wished to put an end to their national existence or to the freedom of their national development? We welcomed their development so long as it was on behalf of peace. The greater their development in that direction, the greater would humanity be enriched by that development.

That was not our design and it is not our purpose now. The allies entered into this war to defend Europe against the aggression of Prussian military domination, and they must insist that the end is a most complete and effective guaranty against the possibility of that caste ever again disturbing the peace of Europe.

Prussia, since she got into the hands of that caste, has been a bad neighbor—arrogant, threatening, bullying, shifting boundaries at her will, taking one fair field after another from weaker neighbors and adding them to her own dominions, ostentatiously piling up weapons of offense, ready on a moment's notice to be used.

NO MORE SWASHBUCKLING.

She has always been an unpleasant, disturbing neighbor to us. She got thoroughly on the nerves of Europe, and there was no peace near where she dwelt.

It is difficult for those who were fortunate enough to live thousands of miles away to understand what it has meant to those who live near. Even here, with the protection of the broad seas between us, we know what a disturbing factor the Prussians were with their constant naval menace. But even we can hardly realize what it has meant to France and Russia. Several times there were threats. There were two of them within the lifetime of this generation which presented an alternative of war or humiliation.

There were many of us who had hoped that internal influences in Germany would have been strong enough to check and ultimately to eliminate this hectoring. All our hopes proved illusory, and now that this great war has been forced by the Prussian military leaders upon France, Russia, Italy, and ourselves, it would be a cruel folly not to see to it that this swashbuckling through the streets of Europe to the disturbance of all harmless and peaceful citizens shall be dealt with now as an offense against the law of nations.

The mere word that led Belgium to her own destruction will not satisfy Europe any more. We all believed it; we all trusted in it. It gave way at the first pressure of temptation, and Europe has been plunged into this vortex of blood. We will therefore wait until we hear what terms and guaranties the German Government offers other than those, better than those, surer than those, which she so lightly broke. Meanwhile we ought to put our trust in an unbroken army rather than in a broken faith.

For the moment I do not think that it would be advisable for me to add anything upon this particular invitation. A formal reply will be delivered by the allies in the course of the next few days.

PAINTS STERN PICTURE OF SITUATION.

What is the urgent task in front of the Government? To complete and make even more effective the mobilization of all our national resources, a mobilization which has been going on since the commencement of the war, so as to enable the nation to bear the strain, however prolonged, and to march through to victory, however lengthy and however exhausting may be the task. It is a gigantic task, and let me give this word of warning—if there be any who have given their confidence to the new administration in expectation of a speedy victory, they will be doomed to disappointment.

I am not going to paint a gloomy picture of the military situation (if I did it would not be a true picture), but I must paint a stern picture because that accurately represents the facts. I have always insisted on the nation being taught to realize the actual facts of this war. I have attached enormous importance to it at the risk of being characterized as a pessimist. I believe that a good many of our misunderstandings have arisen from exaggerated views which have been taken about successes and from a disposition to treat as trifling real setbacks.

To do so, to imagine that you can only get the support and the best help of a strong people by concealing difficulties is to show a fundamental misconception of our people. The British people are just as sweet toothed as anybody, and they like pleasant things being put on the table, but that is not the stuff they have been brought up on, and that is not what the British Empire has been nourished on.

Britain has never shown at its best except when it was confronted with a danger, real and understood.

ROUMANIA AND GREECE.

Let us look at the East for a moment. The Roumanian blunder was an unfortunate one, but at the worst it prolongs the war; it does not alter the fundamental facts of the war. I can not help hoping that it may even have a salutary effect in calling the attention of the allies to the obvious defects in their organization, not merely the organization of each, but the organization of the whole. If it does that and braces them to fresh efforts, it may prove, bad as it is, a blessing. That is the worst. That has been a real setback. It is the darkest cloud, and it is a cloud that appeared on a clearing horizon.

We are doing our best to make it impossible that that disaster should lead to worse. That is why we have taken within the last few days very strong action in Greece. We mean to take no risks there. We decided to take definite and decisive action, and I think it has succeeded. We have decided also to recognize the agents of that great Greek statesman, M. Venizelos.

THE TRIUMPHS ON THE SOMME.

I should like to say one word about the lesson of the fighting on the western front—not about the military strategy, but about the significance of the whole of that great struggle—one of the greatest struggles in the history of the world. It is full of encouragement and of hope.

Just look at it—an absolutely new army! The old had done its duty and spent itself on the achievement of its great task. This is a new army. But a year ago it was ore in the earth of Britain—yea, and of Ireland. It became iron, it has passed through a fiery furnace, and the enemy know that it is fine steel.

Yet this absolutely new army, new men, new officers, generals new to this kind of work, have faced the greatest army the world has ever seen, the best equipped, the best trained, and they have beaten them, beaten them battle after battle, day after day, week after week, from the strongest intrenchments ever devised by human skill. They have driven them out by valor—by valor that is incredible.

When you read the story of it, there is something which is full of hope for the future, which fills you with pride in the nation to which they belong. It is a fact full of significance for us and for the foe. It is part of his reckoning. He sees that army grow under his very eyes. A great French general said to me: "Your army is a new army. It must learn—not merely its generals, not merely its officers, but its men—what to do and how and when to do it."

Therefore, basing our confidence upon these facts, I am as convinced as I ever was of ultimate victory if the nation proves as steady, as valorous, as ready to sacrifice and ready to learn and to endure as that great army of our sons in France.

GOVERNMENT ORGANIZED FOR ACTION.

I should like now to say a word or two about the Government itself. In doing so I am anxious to avoid all issues which excite irritation or controversy. There is no time for that. It must not be assumed, however, if I do so that I accept as complete the accounts which have been given of the way the Government was formed. My attitude toward the policy of the late administration, of which I was a member and for all of whose deeds I am just as responsible as anyone else, has been given in letters or memoranda, and my reasons for leaving it have also been given in a letter. If it were necessary I should on personal grounds welcome the publication of these, but I am convinced that controversies as to the past will not help us as to the future. Therefore, as far as I am concerned, I place them on one side and get on with what I regard as the business of the Government under these trying conditions.

I should like to say something first of all as to the unusual character and composition of the Government as an executive body. The House has realized that there has been a separation between the functions of the prime minister and the leader of the House. That was because we came to the conclusion that it was more than any one man, whatever his energy or physical strength, could do to undertake both functions in the middle of a great war.

The task of leader of the House is a very anxious and absorbing one. I have not been able to attend the House very much during the last two or three years, but I have been here often enough to realize that the task of leader of the House of Commons is no sinecure, even in a war.

There are three characteristics in the present administration in which it may be said that it has departed, perhaps, from precedent. First of all these is the concentration of the executive authority in a very few hands. The second is the choosing of men of administrative and business capacity rather than men of parliamentary experience, where we were unable to obtain both for the headship of Government departments. The third is the franker and fuller recognition of the partnership of labor in the government of this country.

No Government has ever been formed which has had such a number of men who all their lives have been associated with labor and the labor organizations of this country. We realize that it is impossible to conduct a war without getting the unqualified support of labor, and we are anxious to obtain their assistance and counsel for the conduct of the war.

A STRUCTURE FOR WAR.

The fact that this is a different kind of organization from any that preceded it is not necessarily a criticism of its predecessors. They were peace structures; they were organized for a different purpose and for a different condition of things. The kind of craft which you have for river or canal traffic is not exactly the kind of vessel you would construct for the high seas. I have no doubt that the old cabinets (I am not referring to the last cabinet but to the old system of cabinets where you had the heads of every department represented inside the cabinet) were better adapted to navigate the parliamentary river with its shoals and shifting sands, and, perhaps, to cruise in home waters. A cabinet of 23, however, is rather topheavy for a gale.

I do not say that this particular craft is best adapted for parliamentary navigation, but I am convinced that it is the best for war. In war you want quick decisions about everything. Look at the last two and a half years. I am not referring to what has happened in this country. When I say these things, I would rather the House of Commons would look at the war as a whole. Take the concern of the allies as a whole—and here I am certain I will get the assent of my right honorable friend, Mr. Asquith—the allies have suffered disaster after disaster through tardiness in decision and action, very largely for reasons which I will give later on, and in which I know I am in complete agreement with my right honorable friend.

VALUE OF THE SMALL CABINET.

It is true that in a multitude of counselors there is wisdom, but that was written for oriental countries in peace times. You can not run a war with a Sanhedrin. That is the meaning of a cabinet of five, with one of its members doing sentry duty outside, manning the walls and defending the council chamber against attack, while we are trying to do our work inside—and a very difficult task it is.

Some concern has been expressed as to the relations of the small executive with the other members. It has been suggested that there is danger of a lack of coordination and of common direction. It has been wondered how we could ever meet. One very respected newspaper suggested that there ought to be weekly dinners to discuss matters of common concern.

What is the difficulty? Whenever anything concerns a particular department, we follow the time-honored precedent, and the head of that department with his officers attend the executive period. They immediately get into contact with each other and discuss the problem which requires to be discussed.

There is another change—the amalgamation of the old war committee and the cabinet. The old war committee had what the cabinet had not; it had a secretary who kept a complete record of all decisions, which no cabinet ever had. With the cabinet it was always a question of memory. Not even my right honorable friend or any of his predecessors ever took a note of the decisions.

Mr. ASQUITH. It is very desirable that this should be known. It is the inflexible unwritten rule of the cabinet that no member of the cabinet shall take any note or record of its decisions except the prime minister, and he does so for the purpose of sending his letter to the King.

The PRIME MINISTER. I am very much obliged to my right honorable friend for reminding me. That is so. That indicates what a real difference there is between the war committee and the cabinet. In the war committee a full record is taken of every decision. The minutes are sent around to each member for correction. The matters dealt with there are just as confidential—I might say even more confidential—as the vast majority of questions decided in the cabinet.

I come to one point which has caused some dismay—the new ministries. But each minister answers for his department exactly in the same way as under the old system; each minister is accountable for his department, and the Government as a whole is accountable to parliamentary control. The control of Parliament always has been and must be supreme, because it represents the nation, and there is not the slightest attempt to derogate from the complete control of Parliament, which is responsible to the nation.

NEED OF THE LABOR MINISTER.

My right honorable friend, the home secretary, in introducing the bill, and the leader of the house subsequently gave a very detailed account of the public work of the new ministries. The ministry of labor has been urged for 30 years by organized labor unions, and my experience in the ministry of munitions has taught me that it is desirable that there should be a department, which is not altogether in the position of an employer, whenever there is a dispute about labor or wages. I hope that this department will not confine itself simply to disputes, which is but a small part of the industrial problem with which it has to deal. I hope it will become in a real sense a ministry of labor.

At the ministry of munitions I had the duty to set up something, which is known as the welfare department, to make labor conditions better and to make labor less repellent and more attractive and healthful. A number of very able volunteers are organizing that department. I am glad to say that they belong to the Society of Friends, who, though they have a rooted objection to war, have never declared during this war that they could not take part in national work. They are working hard in this department, and I am hoping this department is assisting the mobilization of labor for the purpose of war.

NATIONALIZING SHIPPING.

My right honorable friend has already indicated to the house what we propose to do with regard to shipping. It was never so vital to the life of the nation as now during this war. It is the jugular vein which, if severed, would destroy the life of the nation. We are taking over all the ships of this country on the same conditions as we have taken over the railways, so that during the war shipping will be nationalized in the real sense of the term. The prodigious profits which were made out of freights have contributed in no small measure to the high price of commodities.

One of the greatest shippers in the United Kingdom has undertaken to conduct this great enterprise for the welfare of the country. He is now in conference with the admiralty, and I hope soon to inform the house of the plans he recommends to be taken, not merely the taking of ships already in the country, but for speedy construction of more, so as to make up the wastage which, I think, is inevitable during a great war, especially when you are dealing with those piratical methods which characterize the maritime policy of the German Empire.

In this case the Government says, as the late Government said, they are dealing with a national commodity which is essential to the life of the nation, and I think they are right. The position is being carefully considered, and we shall be able to place our plans before you before we separate.

THE GRAVE FOOD PROBLEM.

Now, I must say something about food. The food problem is a grave problem, and would become graver unless not only the Government but the nation is prepared to grapple with it without loss of time.

The main facts are that the available harvests of the world have failed. In times of peace we could always make up the deficiency of one particular country by resorting to another. If America failed there was Russia, or the Argentine, but the Argentine promises badly as well as Australia, and Russia is not available.

Under the circumstances it was decided by the late Government to appoint a food controller, and we actually appointed him—an able and experienced administrator, a man of great determination and force of character. And he is assisted by one of the greatest agricultural experts in this house. At the head of the board of agriculture we have a man singularly gifted, who has as thorough a knowledge of principles and practices of this question as any man in this or any other country.

I have felt it important that we should secure the best brains in the country to bear on this very difficult and dangerous problem. The problem is a double one. It is one of distribution and of protection. In respect of both we must call on the people of this country to make real sacrifices, but it is essential if we do so that the sacrifice should be equal. Overconsumption by the fortunate must not be allowed to create a shortage for the less well-to-do.

I am sure that we can depend on the men and women of all conditions, to use the ordinary phrase, to play the game. Any sort of concealment hurts the nation when it is fighting for its life. Therefore we must appeal to the nation as a whole (without the help of the nation we can accomplish nothing) to assist us in so distributing our resources that there shall be no man, woman, or child who suffers from hunger because some one has been getting too much.

When it comes to production, every available square yard of land must be made to produce food, and the labor available for tillage should not be turned to mere ornamental purpose until the food necessities of the country have been adequately safeguarded. The best use must be made of the land and of all available labor to increase the food supplies of the country. All those who have the opportunity must feel that it is their duty to the State to assist in producing and contributing to the common stock from which everyone draws. If we do this, we get rid of any privation, everyone having plenty of the best and healthiest food.

CALLS FOR NATIONAL SACRIFICE.

By that means alone will the nation be able to carry on the war to the triumphant issue to which we are all looking forward. It means sacrifice; but what sacrifice! Talk to the man who has returned from the horrors of the Somme or one who has been through the haunting wretchedness of a winter campaign and you will know something of what those gallant men are enduring for their country. They are enduring much; they are hazarding much, while we are living in comfort and security at home.

You can not have absolute equality of sacrifice in war; it is impossible; but you can have equal readiness of sacrifice from all. There are hundreds of thousands who have given their lives; there are millions who have given up comfortable homes and exchanged them for daily communion with death. Multitudes have given up those they love best.

Let the nation as a whole place its comforts, indulgences, and elegances on a national altar, consecrated by such sacrifices as these men have made. Let us proclaim during the war a national Lent. The nation will be better for it—stronger mentally, morally, and physically. It would strengthen its fiber and would ennoble its spirit.

Without it we shall not get the full benefit of this struggle. Our armies might drive the enemy out of the battered villages of France, across the devastated plains of Belgium. They might hurl them across the Rhine in utter disarry, but unless the nation as a whole shoulders part of the burdens of victory they will not profit by the triumph.

FURTHER CURB ON WAR PROFITS.

It is not what a nation gains but what a nation gives that makes it great. While a nation is making such enormous sacrifices, as I have already pointed out, it is intolerable that any section should be permitted to make exceptional profits out of the sacrifices of others, and by that means actually increase the burdens borne by others.

A good deal has already been done by the late administration to arrest unfair profit-taking out of the war; but the Government has come to the conclusion that they can not ask the nation for more sacrifices without taking even more drastic steps than they have yet taken.

There are several ways of dealing with this problem. One is the annexation of war profits. The other is the cutting down of prices so as to make excessive profits impossible. The munitions act adopted both of these expedients. Eighty per cent of the excess profits in controlled firms were annexed, and, in addition, there has been more searching and minute revision of prices in controlled firms, and an enormous reduction already has been achieved in those firms.

The problem is now being carefully examined by the chancellor of the exchequer and others, and we hope to be able to make an announcement of the course the Government intends to adopt shortly. It is quite clear that if the nation is to be asked to make further sacrifices to win the war the way should be cleared by action of this kind.

TO MOBILIZE LABOR RESOURCES.

I now come to a very difficult subject, and one which is equally vital to the success of this country in this great war. I have hitherto talked largely of the mobilization of the material resources of the nation. I now come to the mobilization of the labor resources of the country, which are even more vital to our success than the former. Let there be no mistake about it. Without this we shall not be able to pull through. The mere haphazard supply and demand will not accomplish what is necessary to save the nation within the time that it is essential it should be accomplished.

It is not a question of years; it is a question of months, perhaps of weeks; and unless not only more of the material resources of the country but the labor of the country is used to the best advantage, and every man is called upon to render such services to the State as he can best give, victory may be beyond our reach.

The problem with which we are confronted is a simple one. Nearly a year ago we decided that in order to maintain our armies in the field the nation must have complete control over all its military resources in men. But it is impossible to take men into the army without taking them from civil employment, and it is our object to establish such a system of recruiting as will insure that no man is taken into the army who is capable of rendering more useful service in industry.

To complete our plans and to have the organization of our national resources perfect we ought to have power to see that every man who is not taken into the army, whatever his position or rank, is really employed on one of national importance.

For instance, I was constantly appealed to, when secretary for war, to relieve men for agricultural work. We were quite prepared to do so, but there was absolutely no guarantee, if they were released, that they would be used for agricultural purposes. The moment they were released from the army they were free to go to the munition works or to any other work where they thought they could sell their labor to the best advantage. We could not be sure that these men would be used for agricultural purposes; we must have assurance.

There are a considerable number of people skilled in tillage, but, although they are not producing food, we can not employ them. I believe there are scores, if not hundreds of thousands, of cases of the kind, which, if you could utilize them to the best advantage, would produce great quantities of food in this country.

The difficulty in agriculture is skilled men. You may have two or three skilled men on a particular farm, but you may have other farms where there are no skilled men at all. Would it not be possible for the skilled men to look after not one but several farms, which could be worked with the aid of unskilled men and women or——

Mr. LAMBERT. Will the right honorable gentleman let us know what the Government is going to do about it?

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE. I thought I had made it perfectly clear. Of course, I could not give the whole of the details; but I assure the right honorable gentleman that schemes of very great magnitude have been promulgated and are being put into operation.

The matter was considered by the war committee of the late Government, and it was unanimously decided by them that the time had come for the adoption of the principle of universal national service. It was one of the first matters taken up by the present Government.

The war cabinet has adopted the conclusion come to by the war council, and plans for carrying it into effect have already been prepared.

TO ESTABLISH NATIONAL SERVICE.

In order to do this we propose to appoint a directorate of national service to be in charge both of the military and civil side of the national service. The civil and military sides of the directorate will be entirely separate.

It is not proposed to make any change with regard to military service, but with regard to civil service it is proposed to set up a registration of munition volunteers with similar conditions as to rates of pay and separation allowances.

I have no doubt that we shall get an adequate supply of volunteers, but if it is found impossible to get the numbers we require we shall not hesitate to come to Parliament and ask for powers to make our plan really effective. The nation is entitled to the best services of all its members.

We have been fortunate in inducing the lord mayor of Birmingham, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, to accept the position of director general of national service. It was with difficulty that he was induced to undertake this onerous duty. It is the recognition of its urgency that induced him to undertake the task. He would immediately proceed to organize a system of enrollment for industrial work in the hope that before long he would be able to report that he has secured a sufficiently large army of industrial workers mobilized for war purposes.

HOPES TO END IRISH TANGLE.

I wish it had been possible to say something about Ireland, but circumstances have made it impossible for me to devote my time to the problems which have arisen in that country. I have had one or two interviews with the chief secretary and others, but unfortunately I have had to leave the question in order to attend to so many other pressing matters.

All I have to say is this: I wish it were possible to remove the misunderstanding between Great Britain and Ireland which has for centuries been the cause of misery and embarrassment to one and weakness to the other. I should have considered it a war measure of the first importance, and I should have considered it a great victory for the allied cause.

I tried once to remove the misunderstanding between England and Ireland. I was drenched with suspicion of Irishmen by Englishmen and of Englishmen by Irishmen, and, worse and most fatal of all, suspicion by Irishmen of Irishmen. It was a quagmire of distrust which clogged my footsteps and made progress impossible. That is the real enemy of Ireland. If that could be slain I believe it would accomplish an act of reconciliation that would make Ireland greater and Britain greater and make the United Kingdom and the Empire greater than they ever were before.

That is why I have always thought and said that the real solution of the Irish problem is largely one of better atmosphere, and in that I speak not merely for myself, but for my colleagues.

We shall strive by every means and at many hazards to produce the atmosphere, but we ask the men of all races, of all creeds, to help us, not to solve a political question but to help us to do something that would be a real contribution to the winning of the war.

I must say one word about the dominions——

An HONORABLE MEMBER. What about the navy?

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE. The achievements of the navy speak for themselves. I don't know that anything I could say would be in the least adequate to recognize the enormous and the incalculable services that the great navy of Britain has rendered, not merely to the Empire but to the whole of the allies. Not merely would victory have been impossible, but the war could not have been kept going, even for two years and a half, had it not been for the services of the navy.

TO CALL IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

Now, coming to the dominions—the ministers have repeatedly acknowledged the splendid assistance which the dominions have given of their own free will to the old country in its championship of the cause of humanity. They have recognized throughout that our fight is not a selfish one, that it is not merely a European quarrel, and that there were great world issues which their children were as concerned in as ours.

The new administration is just as full of gratitude as the old for the superb valor which our kinsmen have shown in so many striking fields, but I want to say that we feel that the time has come when the dominions ought to be more formally consulted as to the progress and course of the war, as to the steps that ought to be taken to secure victory, and as to the best methods of garnering its fruits.

We propose, therefore, at an early date to summon an imperial conference to place the whole position before the dominions, to take counsel with them as to what further action we can take together in order to achieve an early and complete triumph for the ideals which they share with us.

As to our relations with the allies, I said earlier in the year that there were two things we ought to seek as allies. One is unity of aim and the other unity of action. The first we have achieved. Never have allies worked in greater harmony and more perfect accord than the allies in this great struggle. There has been no friction, no misunderstand.

TARDINESS IN WAR ACTION.

But when I come to unity of action, I still think there is a good deal left to be desired. I have only to refer to the incidents in Roumania, and each man can spell out for himself what I mean. The enemy has got the two supreme advantages of internal lines and one great dominant power that practically dominates the course of the war. We have neither of these advantages and we must therefore achieve the same end by other means.

Our advantages are advantages which time will improve. No one can say that we have made the best of the time. There has been a tardiness of decision and action. Before we can take full advantage of the enormous resources at the command of the allies there must be some means of arriving at quicker and readier decisions and of carrying them out.

There must be more consultation between men; in the matter of the direction of affairs there must be less feeling that each country has got only its own front to look after. There must be a just policy of a common front as there is on the other side. Austrian guns are helping the German infantry and Germany infantry is stiffening the Austrian Army. The Turks are helping the Germans; Austrians and Bulgarians mix with all. There is an essential feeling that there is but one front, and we have got to get that more and more, instead of having overwhelming guns on one side and bare breasts and gallant hearts on the other.

REGRETS BREAK WITH ASQUITH.

I end with one personal note, I may say, and I say it with all sincerity, that it was one of the deepest regrets of my life that I parted with the right honorable gentleman opposite (Mr. Asquith). Some of his friends know how I strove to avert it. For years I served under the right honorable gentleman, and I never had a kinder or more indulgent chief. If there were any faults of temper they were entirely mine, and I have no doubt that I must have been very difficult at times. No Member of Parliament has greater admiration for his brilliant intellectual gifts, and no man was happier to serve under him than I for eight years. We differed as men of such different temperaments must necessarily differ, but we never had a personal quarrel.

ISSUES THAT ARE ABOVE PARTY.

In spite of serious differences, it was with deep, genuine grief that I felt it to be necessary to tender my resignation to my right honorable friend, but there are moments when personal and party considerations must sink into actual insignificance, and if in this war I have given scant heed to the call of party (and so I have), it has been because I realized from the moment when Prussian cannon hurled death at a peaceable and inoffensive little country that a challenge had been sent to civilization to decide an issue higher than party, deeper than party, wider than all parties—an issue upon the settlement of which will depend the fate of men in this world for generations after the existing parties will be fallen like dead leaves on the highway. These are the issues that I want to keep in front of the nation so that we should not falter in our faith in our cause.

There is a time in every prolonged war, in the passionate rage of the conflict, when men forget the high purpose with which they entered into it.

This is the struggle for international right, international honor, international good faith—the channel along which peace on earth and good will among men must follow. The embattlements, laboriously built up by generations of men against barbarism, were broken, and had not the might of Britain passed into the breach, Europe would have been inundated with a flood of savagery and unbridled lust of power.

The trained sense of fair play among the nations, the growth of an international consciousness for the protection of the weak against the strong, of a stronger consciousness that justice has a more powerful backing in the world than greed, the knowledge that any outrage upon fair dealing between nations, great or small, will meet with prompt and inevitable chastisement—these constitute the causeway along which humanity was progressing slowly to higher fields.

The triumph of Prussia would sweep it all away and leave mankind to struggle, helpless, in the morass of horror. That is why, since this war began, I have known but one political aim. For that I have fought with a single aim. That was to rescue mankind from the most overwhelming catastrophe that has ever yet menaced its well-being.

The English public stands behind the new prime minister, as is suggested by leaders of every political coloring:

LORD CURZON AND EX-PREMIER ASQUITH ON THE PEACE OVERTURES.

Lord Curzon, president of the war council and Government leader, in discussing the German overture in the House of Lords December 19, said:

"The policy of the new Government is that the war must be conducted with the utmost prosecution; that there must be an ample return for all sacrifices; that full reparation must be made by the enemy for his countless crimes, and security given that those crimes will not be repeated, and that the sacrifices made shall not have been in vain.

"The Government's aim is that the peace of Europe shall be reestablished on the basis of the free and independent existence of nations great and small, and that, as regards this country, it shall be free from the menace which the triumph of Germany and the German spirit would entail.

"Our answer to Germany's latest move must be swift and sure. It is not too much to ask the people to take upon themselves for a few months the obligations which Germany has imposed upon herself. The nation is fighting for its life and is entitled to the best and fullest service of its sons."

Alluding to the position of Roumania, Lord Curzon said that Germany's success was by no means so great as she was trying to make it appear:

"Evidence is forthcoming daily of the desperate straits of Germany at home and in the field. The position of the central powers is not so good as they would have the world believe. Our attitude should not be one of despondency or alarm."

Lord Curzon spoke for an hour and twenty minutes, and was followed by the Marquis of Crewe, lord president of the council in the late government, who approved in general terms the policy outlined by his successor, Lord Curzon, touching peace. He said:

"We have not much hope that Germany's peace offer will lead to anything. The offer, however, seems an indication of the strength of the pressure of our blockade. If peace were made on German terms, while the present age may not see war again, nobody can say that our children will not witness another war with greater horrors. We must carry it on to the last man and the last shilling."

Ex-Premier Asquith followed Premier Lloyd-George in his address to Parliament on the 19th, saying:

"I agree with Mr. Lloyd-George that Roumania has been bad business, although it is not possible at this moment, even if it were desirable, to go into the matter precisely to apportion the different degrees of responsibility, and I have no desire to enter into that question. Yet I am heartily in agreement with him. We have often discussed the matter together, and I do say that it is a very good illustration of the desirability, nay, urgent necessity, of more intimate cooperation between the general staff and politics of the allied countries.

"You can not get over, unfortunately, in this world the limitations of time and space and the difficulty of bringing together in constant and intimate communication not only soldiers, but still more the representatives, of four powers so widely separated geographically and otherwise. As those who constitute this alliance know, these difficulties are, I will not say insurmountable, but very great. If the right honorable gentleman, Lloyd-George, and his colleagues can devise some method of bringing about more intimate communication, they will render one of the greatest services it is possible to render to the allies. I wish him all success in that direction."

In all the speeches made by members of the late administration there breathed a spirit of hearty good will for Lloyd-George in his task. Lord Crewe said his Government "was not precisely a dictatorship, but it came not very far from being one." A dictatorship, in Crewe's opinion, demanded complete immunity from criticism of all kinds, whether in Parliament or press. He said:

"There was some idea that when the decrepit figures and tottering intellects of the late government had disappeared from the scene an era of perpetual new enterprises would begin and that lightning decisions would be taken every day, and possibly twice a day. Some felt, however, that the conduct of the war was not such a random and slapdash enterprise as certain gentlemen appeared to think. There had always been a number of wiseacres, writers, and speakers who had urged that we should proceed straight ahead, prepared to ignore our allies or to flout neutrals at any point, if it appeared advantageous to their program to do so."

Mr. Bonar Law, the chancellor of the exchequer, said:

If the spirit of the speech to which we have just listened were to permeate the country, I believe that all the blood and treasure which have been spent in the war would have been spent in vain. * * *

It is all very well to say, "Let us get their terms of peace." Yes, but can you get any terms more binding than the treaty for the protection of the neutrality of Belgium? Can you come to any conclusions on paper or by promises that will give us greater security than we had before this war? * * *

Not this nation alone, but the neutral nations, will, I hope, understand the position at which we have now arrived. Germany has made peace proposals. On what basis? On the basis of her victorious armies. Is there a man who, considering the conditions under which this war was forced on us and the conditions under which the war has been carried on, honestly believes that the dangers and insecurities from which we have suffered can be cured in any way than by making the Germans realize that frightfulness does not pay; that militarism is not going to rule the world?

What are we fighting for? Not territory, not greater strength as a nation. We are fighting for two things—for peace now and for security for peace in time to come. Let the House remember that what has happened in this war—outrages in Belgium, outrages by sea and land, massacres in Armenia which Germany could have stopped by a word—then realize this: The war will have been fought in vain, utterly in vain, unless we can make sure that it shall never again be in the power of any State to do what Germany has done.

Is peace to come in this war on the basis that the greatest crime in the world's history is to go absolutely unpunished? It is my firm belief that unless all the nations in the world can be made to realize that these moral forces must be vindicated there never can be an enduring peace.

I am not afraid. I am sure our troops will fight to the end. If the people at home who up to now have made few sacrifices, except the sacrifices of those dear to them, are determined in this matter, and if they believe that the objects for which they are fighting can be secured, then there is no sacrifice we are not prepared to make.

WAR WILL BE CONTINUED, KAISER TELLS HIS FORCES—OUR ARMS, HE SAYS, WILL ENFORCE PEACE FOE SPURN.

AMSTERDAM, *January 6.*

A Berlin telegram says that the following order of the German Emperor to the army and navy has been officially published:

"Conjointly with the allied (central powers) rulers, I proposed to our enemies to enter forthwith into peace negotiations. Our enemies refused my offer. Their hunger for power desires Germany's destruction.

"The war will be continued. Before God and humanity I declare that on the Governments of our enemies alone falls the heavy responsibility for all the further terrible sacrifices from which I wished to save you.

"With justified indignation at our enemies' arrogant crime and with determination to defend our holiest possessions and secure for the Fatherland a happy future, you will become as steel.

"Our enemies did not want the understanding offered by me. With God's help our arms will enforce it.

"WILHELM, *I. R.*"

On the 21st an attempt was made in the Senate to indorse the President's action by a resolution introduced by Senator

HITCHCOCK. The press carried the following comment on the morning of the 22d:

BORAH BLOCKS VOTE ON PEACE POLICY—HITCHCOCK SEEKS INDORSEMENT OF PRESIDENT'S ACTION, BUT IDAHO SENATOR HAS IT REFERRED—WANTS MORE LIGHT ON IT—FEARS EUROPE WILL GAIN THE IMPRESSION THAT WE ARE SELFISH AND INDIFFERENT TO THE FUTURE.

WASHINGTON, *December 21.*

An attempt to obtain the Senate's formal indorsement of the President's action in sending notes to the belligerent powers with regard to peace was blocked this afternoon by Senator BORAH, of Idaho. Senator HITCHCOCK, of Nebraska, asked consent for the immediate consideration of a resolution by which the Senate "strongly indorses and approves the action taken by the President," and states that "it is the sense of the Senate that this action represents the overwhelming sentiment and earnest desires of the people of the United States." Senator BORAH objected, and the resolution was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Senator BORAH explained that he did not intend in any sense to criticize the action of the President, who had undoubtedly "acted upon full information and after mature reflection." "But when I cast a vote in the Senate upon a matter of this kind," Mr. BORAH said, "it must reflect my judgment and not some one's else. I read the note on my way to the Capitol, and had only partially read it, at that. For the Senate of the United States, pro forma, without the slightest consideration, with no possible time for reflection, to pass a resolution embodying a particular move in so stupendous a matter would convict it of an utter want of appreciation of the delicate and tremendous problem with which we are dealing.

"We all want peace. Nothing would add more to the happiness of our Christmas holidays than to feel that it was on the way. But I think it will be generally conceded that to want peace and to secure it are two different propositions. The one is a question of sentiment, the other requires a vast amount of judgment. I repeat, I do not find fault with the President. But I want to be informed myself when I take part in the proceedings.

FEARS FOR OUR INFLUENCE.

"I sometimes think we do not appreciate what this war is about. We are likely to convince both sides in Europe that we simply want peace regardless of the worth of it, the reliability of it, or the honor of it. If such an opinion of our attitude, selfish, superficial, and indifferent of the future, obtains in Europe, we will have but little influence when the vital hour comes for action. I simply do not propose to cast any vote or take any step myself until I have given the matter every consideration which it is possible for me to give it."

The objection to an immediate consideration of the resolution developed the source of opposition due to the fear of future complications. Attempts were made to amend its form.

The original Hitchcock resolution read as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the Senate approves and strongly indorses the action taken by the President in sending the diplomatic notes of December 18 to the nations now engaged in war, suggesting and recommending that those nations state the terms upon which peace might be discussed."

As amended and adopted the resolution read:

"*Resolved*, That the Senate approves and strongly indorses the request of the President in the diplomatic notes of December 18 to the nations now engaged in war that those nations state the terms upon which peace might be discussed."

DEFEAT REPUBLICAN RESOLUTION.

Before the vote on the amended Hitchcock resolution, a substitute resolution, framed by a group of Republican leaders and offered by Senator GALLINGER, was rejected by a vote of 36 to 27, in which one Democrat, Senator MARTINE, voted with the Republicans, and one Republican, Senator NORRIS, voted with the Democratic majority in opposition. The Gallinger resolution, which avoided any approval of the President's action, read as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the Senate of the United States, in the interest of humanity and civilization, expresses the sincere hope that a just and permanent peace between the warring nations of Europe may be consummated at an early day and approves all proper efforts to secure that end."

The resolution as finally passed on January 6, after several days of debate, reads as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate approves and strongly indorses the request by the President in the diplomatic note of December 18 to the nations now engaged in war that those nations state the terms upon which peace might be discussed."

Before being amended the Hitchcock resolution read:

"*Resolved*, That the Senate approves and strongly indorses the action taken by the President in sending the diplomatic notes of December 18 to the nations now engaged in war, suggesting and recommending that those nations state the terms upon which peace might be discussed."

AVOID GIVING BLANKET INDORSEMENT.

The essential difference lies in the fact that the original resolution approved "the action taken by the President in sending" the note, while the resolution as amended by Senator JONES, of Washington, merely indorses "the request" that the belligerents state the terms on which peace might be discussed.

Thus the amended resolution carefully singles out of the entire note one idea which is approved. The original resolution approved the whole idea of sending the note, carrying with it, in the belief of its opponents, an indorsement of everything in the note.

On the 22d, the day after the Hitchcock resolution was introduced in the Senate, Minority Leader MANN spoke as follows in the House:

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, the war in Europe has now lasted nearly two and one-half years, which is long enough. I wish simply to express my commendation of the President of the United States for the circular note which he recently sent to the various powers engaged in war. [Applause.] I do not know whether it will accomplish the purpose or do any good abroad; but I think it was eminently proper that the President of our country, after this long time that these countries have been engaged in war, should call to the attention of the people of the world the desirability of closing the war; and without regard to partisanship I believe that the whole people of this country will warmly congratulate and commend the President for any effort which he has made or may make toward procuring peace in the world again. [Applause.]

The President's proposal met with sympathy in Germany, as indicated by the following Berlin dispatch of the 24th:

OFFICIAL GERMANY SPEAKS—SYMPATHETIC TO WILSON'S NOTE, UNDERSECRETARY BUSSCHE SAYS—OPPOSED TO ANY PARTITION—HOLDS ALIENATION OF DARDANELLES IN PEACE PARLEYS SHOULD BE PREVENTED—RIGHTS OF SMALL NATIONS—WON'T SPEAK ABOUT BELGIUM, BUT ASKS HOW ABOUT GREECE AND ROUMANIA.

BERLIN, *December 24.*

Baron von dem Bussche-Haddenhausen, Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs and formerly first secretary of the German Embassy in Washington, in an interview with a member of the Overseas News Agency staff regarding President Wilson's note to the belligerents, describes the reception of the note by German official circles as sympathetic.

The undersecretary opened the conversation himself without delay, says the news agency report of the interview, by saying, "I am sure I know what you want to ask me. You want to know our opinion about what I may call President Wilson's peace note. In this case I think it would be best if you asked me regarding those points which impress you as most important."

In complying with his suggestion the interviewer said: "There are two main points in the President's note which, although interwoven with each other, make separate consideration necessary. The first is in relation to the immediate and near future and conveys the meaning that the conditions ought to be made known under which the belligerents consider the conclusion of peace possible. The second problem is further reaching. It takes a broad view of the possibilities of the future in general and asks by what means such catastrophes as the present can be averted."

Baron Bussche, says the account of the interview, agreed to this and said that also to his mind the two points mentioned made a somewhat different treatment desirable.

PROTECTION OF SMALL STATES.

"As to the problem which you mentioned last," he remarked, "that of general arrangements for the future, I dare say that the United States will play an important part in them. The United States always has been among the most enthusiastic and foremost advocates of the idea of arbitration.

"As to the conclusion of peace itself, this must be done by the belligerents. I think I understand President Wilson aright if I say that he does not offer mediation for this point, and that he only shows the interest which the United States, as well as all other neutrals, naturally have to see peace restored. The President says that in this direction it would be of material advantage if conditions could be communicated under which the belligerents consider it possible to make peace. As to these conditions, I may point out one remarkable fact: All the belligerents have insisted that one of their most important aims is the protection of small neutral States.

"I don't want to reopen discussions of the past. I want to be as impartial, as 'neutral,' as it is possible to be in the present hour when I state what must be Germany's standpoint in this respect. All the belligerents agreed in words about this position of neutrals, but as to their action they have been less unanimous. I don't want to speak about Belgium at all. As I've already said, I don't want to speak of the past.

CITES GREECE AND ROUMANIA.

"But how about Greece, how about Roumania? Roumania has been dragged into the war virtually against her will by the entente. Of course, we recognize that Lloyd George in his last speech called the entente's action in Roumania's case a blunder, but that is small comfort. And then about Constantinople? M. Trepoff, the Russian premier, a few days ago announced to the world that possession of this city had been promised to Russia by the entente in 1915. Does this not mean the partition of a State which can not even be called small, and which has assisted vitally during the present war?

"At all events, from our standpoint we must insist that an aggressive coalition of the great powers against one or several others, with the intention of partition or conquest, ought to be prevented."

Finally Baron Bussche, asked to express his general opinion regarding the President's note, said:

"I think I can state now that the President's note has been received with sympathy. This is certainly true of official circles.

"We shall know after a few days what will be the entente's answer to our offer to enter into a conversation on negotiations or a conference in which the belligerents can outline and communicate their conditions. This, I understand, is also President Wilson's opinion, and we shall know whether the entente will avoid answering this, our question, as, according to the latest utterances of entente statesmen, may seem possible, or whether things will take a different course."

TEXT OF GERMANY'S NOTE TO PRESIDENT WILSON, PROPOSING PEACE CONFERENCE OF BELLIGERENTS.

BERLIN, *December 26.*

Germany and her allies, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, replied to-day to the note of President Wilson in which he asked that the belligerent nations state the aims for which they were fighting. The text of the reply, which was handed to James W. Gerard, the American ambassador, says:

"The high-minded suggestion made by the President of the United States of America in order to create a basis for the establishment of a lasting peace has been received and considered by the Imperial Government in the friendly spirit which was expressed in the President's communication.

"The President points out that which he has at heart and leaves open the choice of road. To the Imperial Government an immediate exchange of views seems to be the most appropriate road in order to reach the desired result. It begs, therefore, in the sense of the declaration made on December 12, which offered a hand for peace negotiations, to propose an immediate meeting of delegates of the belligerent States at a neutral place.

"The Imperial Government is also of the opinion that the great work of preventing future wars can be begun only after the end of the present struggle of the nations. It will, when this moment shall have come, be ready with pleasure to collaborate entirely with the United States in this exalted task."

The answer of the central powers concludes with the usual diplomatic terms of politeness.

AUSTRIA JOINS GERMANY IN A DESIRE FOR PEACE.

TEXT OF AUSTRIA'S PEACE NOTE.

The text of the Austrian peace note, sent through Ambassador Penfield, given at the State Department, follows:

"Aide Memoire. In reply to the aide memoire communicated on the 23d instant by his excellency the American ambassador containing the proposals of the President of the United States of America for an exchange of views among the powers at present at war for the eventual establishment of peace, the Imperial and Royal Government desires particularly to point out that in considering the noble proposal of the President it is guided by the same spirit of amity and complaisance as finds expression therein.

DIRECT EXCHANGE ADVISED.

"The President desires to establish a basis for a lasting peace without wishing to indicate the ways and means. The Imperial and Royal Government considers a direct exchange of views among the belligerents to be the most suitable way of attaining this end. Adverting to its declaration of the 12th instant, in which it announced its readiness to enter into peace negotiations, it now has the honor to propose that representatives of the belligerent powers convene at an early date at some place on neutral ground.

"The Imperial and Royal Government likewise concurs in the opinion of the President that only after the termination of the present war will it be possible to undertake the great and desirable work of the prevention of future wars. At an appropriate time it will be willing to cooperate with the United States of America for the realization of this noble aim."

Turkey also joins Germany and Austria:

THE TURKISH REPLY.

The text of the reply of the Turkish Government to the President's note, as received from Ambassador Elkus to-day, is as follows:

"Mr. AMBASSADOR: In reply to the note which your excellency was pleased to deliver to me under date of the 23d instant, No. 2,107, I have the honor to communicate to your excellency the following:

"The general initiative of the President, tending to create bases for the reestablishment of peace, has been received and taken into consideration by the Imperial Ottoman Government in the same friendly (word omitted) which manifests itself in the President's communication. The President indicates the object which he has at heart and leaves open the choice of that path leading to this object. The Imperial Government considers a direct exchange of ideas as the most efficacious means of attaining the desired result.

"In conformity with its declaration of the 12th of this month, in which it stretched forth its hand for peace negotiations, the Imperial Government has the honor of proposing the immediate meeting, in a neutral country, of delegates of the belligerent powers.

"The Imperial Government is likewise of opinion that the great work of preventing future wars can only be commenced after the end of the present struggle between the nations. When this moment shall have arrived the Imperial Government will be pleased (to) collaborate with the United States of America and with the other neutral powers in this sublime task.

"HALIL."

The first formal note in reply to the President was made by Switzerland on the evening of December 24:

Secretary Lansing made public the text of an official communication from the Swiss Government pledging itself to support the efforts of President Wilson to sound the nations of the world, and particularly the belligerents, with respect to the ending of the war, and guarding against such catastrophes in the future. It shows that the Swiss Government has been "in touch," to quote the communication, with President Wilson concerning his desire to bring peace.

The translation of the note made public to-night shows that it was addressed by the Swiss federal council, under date of yesterday, to all belligerents and neutrals, and that the Swiss Government will consider itself happy "if it could act in any, no matter how modest, a way for the rapprochement of the peoples now engaged in the struggle and for a lasting peace." It is the first formal response made by any foreign Government to the note recently forwarded by Secretary Lansing, under instructions from President Wilson, to all belligerents and neutrals.

In diplomatic and official circles it is regarded as the forerunner of a series of notes from neutrals approving and supporting the steps taken by the President in the direction of a better understanding between the nations. The Scandinavian nation, Holland, Spain, and Latin-American nations are expected soon to make responses in which, it is confidently believed in official circles here, they will adopt as favorable an attitude as has Switzerland.

TEXT OF SWISS NOTE.

Here is the text of the note from the Swiss consul, as given out by Mr. Lansing:

"The President of the United States of America, with whom the Swiss federal council, guided by its warm desire that the hostilities may soon come to an end, has for a considerable time been in touch, had the kindness to apprise the federal council of the peace note sent to the Governments of the central and entente powers. In that note President Wilson discusses the great desirability of international agreements for the purpose of avoiding more effectively and permanently the occurrence of catastrophes such as the one under which the peoples are suffering to-day. In this connection he lays particular stress on the necessity for bringing about the end of the present war. Without making peace proposals himself or offering mediation, he confines himself to sounding as to whether mankind may hope to have approached the haven of peace.

"The most meritorious personal initiative of President Wilson will find a mighty echo in Switzerland. True to the obligations arising from observing the strictest neutrality, united by the same friendship with the States of both warring groups of powers, situated like an island amidst the seething waves of the terrible world war, with its ideal and material interests most sensibly jeopardized and violated, our country is filled with a deep longing for peace, and ready to assist by its small means to stop the endless sufferings caused by the war and brought before its eyes by daily contact with the interned, the severely wounded, and those expelled, and to establish the foundations for a beneficial cooperation of the peoples.

"The Swiss federal council is therefore glad to seize the opportunity to support the efforts of the President of the United States. It would consider itself happy if it could act in any, no matter how modest, a way for the rapprochement of the peoples now engaged in the struggle and for reaching a lasting peace."

COUNCIL IS SUPREME.

The Swiss federal council, from which this note emanated, is a Bundesrath to which the chief executive authority in Switzerland is deputed, and consists of seven members elected for three years by the Swiss Federal Assembly. The members of this council must not hold any other office in the Confederation or Cantons of Switzerland nor engage in any calling or business. It is only through this executive body that legislative measures are introduced in the deliberative councils. The seven members of the federal council act as ministers or chiefs of the seven administrative departments of the Republic of Switzerland—the departments of foreign affairs, interior, justice, military, finance, agriculture, and posts.

The belief which has been strong in certain quarters that before sending his peace note President Wilson was in possession of important confidential information and had been in touch with various foreign Governments through confidential reports made by our ambassadors and ministers appears to receive some corroboration from a phrase contained in the officially announced translation of the note from the Swiss federal council. At the very outset this note says: "The President of the United States * * * with whom the Swiss federal council * * * has for a considerable time been in touch." This is the first official intimation that the President had been in touch with the Swiss Federal Council.

Another significant feature of the note is that it emphasizes and gives prominence to what it regards as that portion of President Wilson's note in which he "discusses the great desirability of international agreements for the purpose of avoiding more effectively and permanently the occurrence of catastrophes such as the one under which the peoples are suffering to-day." This appears to be interpreted by the Swiss council as the outstanding feature of the President's note. The Swiss council's note is accepted as meaning that the Swiss Government would be willing to support any effort by the President in the direction both of peace and of international agreements having for their purpose the prevention of the recurrence of great international wars.

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OTHER NEUTRAL NATIONS TAKE OFFICIAL ACTION.

TEXT OF NORWEGIAN NOTE TO WASHINGTON INDORSING PRESIDENT WILSON'S MOVE FOR PEACE.

WASHINGTON, *December* 29.

The text of the note from Norway, as delivered by Norwegian Minister Bryn to Secretary Lansing to-day, follows:

"It is with the liveliest interest that the Norwegian Government has learned of the proposals which the President of the United States has just made with the purpose of facilitating measures looking toward the establishment of a durable peace, while at the same time seeking to avoid any interference which could cause offense to legitimate sentiments.

"The Norwegian Government would consider itself failing in its duties toward its own people and toward humanity if it did not express its deepest sympathy with all efforts which would contribute to put an end to the ever-increasing suffering and the moral and material losses. It has every hope that the initiative of President Wilson will arrive at a result worthy of the high purpose which inspires it."

Identical notes have been sent by Sweden and Denmark.

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NO ACTION BY SOUTH AMERICA.

Most of the South American nations, it was indicated in diplomatic quarters, will not send communications regarding the President's note on the official understanding that it was addressed to them largely for their own information and not to solicit action.

Holland, whose attitude has been the subject of much speculation, also was said to be unlikely to take any action, owing to the feeling there that it might appear unneutral to one side or the other and militate against the location of the eventual peace conference in that country.

Spain's attitude in withholding sympathy is not yet known to the public, as the State Department has not given out her answer for the public eye.

BERLIN AGAIN INVITES—REPLY TO SWISS NOTE REPEATS PEACE CONFERENCE OFFER—LIKE ANSWER TO WILSON—GERMAN PRESS APPROVES EXCLUSION OF NEUTRALS FROM COUNCIL—"PRESIDENT DESIRES PACT THAT WILL LEAVE NO HATRED," SAYS VOSSISCHE ZEITUNG, "AND THEREIN LIES OUR DANGER"—HIGH GERMAN DIPLOMAT EXPECTS ENTENTE TO REJECT OVERTURES—MEETING IN SWITZERLAND.

BERLIN, *December* 27.

The German reply to the Swiss note was handed to the Swiss minister to-day. It is on the same lines as the reply to President Wilson. The text of the answer of Germany to the Swiss note reads:

"The Imperial Government has taken note of the fact that the Swiss federal council, as the result of its having placed itself in communication with the President of the United States, is also ready to take action and side with the United States toward bringing about an understanding between the belligerent nations and toward the attainment of a lasting peace.

RENEWS CONFERENCE OFFER.

"The spirit of true humanity whereby the steps of the Swiss federal council are inspired is fully appreciated and esteemed by the Imperial Government.

"The Imperial Government has informed the President of the United States that a direct exchange of views seems to it to be the most suitable means of obtaining the desired result.

"Led by the same considerations which caused Germany on December 12 to offer her hand for peace negotiations, the Government has proposed an immediate meeting of all the belligerents at a neutral place.

AGREES WITH MR. WILSON.

"In agreement with the President of the United States, the Government is of the opinion that the great work of preventing future wars

can only be taken in hand after the present world war has terminated. So soon as that moment comes they will joyfully be ready to cooperate in this sublime task.

"If Switzerland, which, faithful to its noble traditions, in mitigating the sufferings caused by the present war, has won unending gratitude, will also contribute to safeguarding the world's peace, the German Nation and Government will highly welcome such action."

—

EMPIRE CONFERENCE PROPOSED BY THE BRITISH CABINET.

PEACE TERMS ONE OF THE THEMES AT BRITISH EMPIRE CONFERENCE.

LONDON, *December 26.*

The secretary of state for the colonies has sent a telegram to the dominions explaining the purposes of the forthcoming imperial conference announced by Premier Lloyd-George. The telegram explains that what the Government contemplates is not an ordinary imperial conference, but a special war conference of the Empire.

The prime minister of each of the dominions is "invited to attend a series of special meetings of the war cabinet in order to consider urgent questions affecting the prosecution of the war, possible conditions on which, in agreement with our allies, we could assent to its termination, and problems which would then immediately arise."

The premiers are urged to attend at an early date, not later than the end of February.

The Labor member of the British war council, in an address to French Socialists, says peace now means bondage:

HENDERSON, OF BRITISH WAR COUNCIL, FIRES FRENCH SOCIALISTS BY HIS APPEAL—SEES CRISIS APPROACHING—PREDICTS THE SEVEREST TEST OF DEMOCRATIC IDEALS IN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS.

PARIS, *December 26.*

In addresses at the National Congress of the French Socialist Party, Arthur Henderson, a member of the British war council, and G. H. Roberts, member of the British Parliament, both affirmed amid enthusiastic cheers that the war must be fought out until full guaranties had been obtained for a lasting peace.

"In my opinion"—

Said Mr. Henderson—

"we have now reached the most dangerous and difficult period of the war. During the next few months the democracies of England and France are going to be tested as never before. Do not misunderstand me. I do not mean that the stress and strain of fighting in the field will be more severe, although I do not ignore such a possibility. But the danger is of entirely a different character.

"Our stupendous losses, our unprecedented sacrifices, our horror of war, our love of peace, may lead us to mortgage the future. With such awful experiences we are apt to forget the great moral, eternal principles, and ideals for which we entered the struggle. We are not only fighting a negative action against material forces which are highly organized but we are engaged in a great spiritual conflict upon the result of which depend all our great ideals. If we enter into negotiations now, we do so when Germany is not repentant for her wrongdoing and is glorifying in the success of her military efforts; in fact, in the victory of German imperialism. In my opinion, if France and ourselves were to enter into negotiations under existing conditions, with such a spirit, we should be nations in bondage. Nothing less than that is the price which our enemy would exact for peace to-day.

"I can not tell you how many months and what sacrifices stand between us and victory. But I can tell you what will be the rewards of victory if we are true to ourselves. We shall have asserted the rights of nations, large or small, to live their own lives undisturbed by the ambitions of powerful neighbors. We shall have exacted such reparation for wrongs done them by this war as will be a warning to aggressors for all time to come. We shall have laid the foundations of that league of nations, beginning with those who have fought and suffered at our side, which will deliver Europe and the world from the terror of war.

"We hate war. It is brutal; the negation of everything for which we stand. Therefore we must prevent its recurrence, so far as is in our power. We desire to see the democracies of the world free to progress to their highest ideals. To accomplish this we must stand together for the destruction of militarism, the vindication of national right and liberty, the punishment of national wrong. Be the nations large or small, they must be free."

Emile Vandervelde, the Belgian socialist leader, said:

"Our comrades who have remained in invaded Belgium endure German dominion with admirable firmness. Nothing but encouragement reaches us from them. So that it would seem that the persons most hostile to war are those farthest from it."

M. Vandervelde also declared that the struggle must be carried on until Belgium and Serbia were delivered and "Caesarism is laid low."

The President transmitted the German note of December 12 to the entente powers December 19.

The entente powers replied December 30:

REPLY OF THE ENTENTE ALLIES TO THE CENTRAL POWERS.

PARIS, *December 30.*

The text of the entente reply to the Teuton peace proposal is as follows:

"The allied Governments of Belgium, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Montenegro, Portugal, Roumania, Russia, and Serbia, united for the defense of the liberty of their peoples and faithful to engagements taken not to lay down their arms separately, have resolved to reply collectively to the pretended propositions of peace which were addressed to them on behalf of the enemy Governments through the intermediary of the United States, Spain, Switzerland, and Holland.

"Before making any reply the allied powers desire particularly to protest against the two essential assertions of the notes of the enemy powers that pretend to throw upon the allies responsibility for the war and proclaim the victory of the central powers. The allied Governments can not admit an affirmation doubly inexact and which suffices to render sterile all tentative negotiations. The allied nations have sustained for 30 months a war they did everything to avoid. They have shown by their acts their attachment to peace. That attachment is as strong to-day as it was in 1914. But it is not upon the word of Germany, after the violation of its engagements, that the peace broken by her may be based.

"A mere suggestion, without a statement of terms, that negotiations should be opened is not an offer of peace. The putting forward by the Imperial Government of a sham proposal lacking all substance and precision would appear to be less an offer of peace than a war maneuver. It is founded on calculated misinterpretation of the character of the struggle in the past, the present, and the future.

"As for the past, the German note takes no account of the facts, dates, and figures, which establish that the war was desired, provoked, and declared by Germany and Austria-Hungary.

"At The Hague conference it was a German delegate who refused all proposals for disarmament. In July, 1914, it was Austria-Hungary who, after having addressed to Serbia an unprecedented ultimatum, declared war upon her in spite of the satisfaction which had at once been accorded.

"The central empires then rejected all attempts made by the entente to bring about a pacific solution of a purely local conflict. Great Britain suggested a conference; France proposed an international commission; the Emperor of Russia asked the German Emperor to go to arbitration, and Russia and Austria-Hungary came to an understanding on the eve of the conflict. But to all these efforts Germany gave neither answer nor effect.

"Belgium was invaded by an empire which had guaranteed her neutrality and which had the assurance to proclaim that treaties were 'scraps of paper' and that 'necessity knows no law.'

"At the present moment these sham offers on the part of Germany rest on the war map of Europe alone, which represents nothing more than a superficial and passing phase of the situation and not the real strength of the belligerents. A peace concluded upon these terms would be only to the advantage of the aggressors who, after imagining that they would reach their goal in two months, discovered after two years that they could never attain it.

"As for the future the disasters caused by the German declaration of war and the innumerable outrages committed by Germany and her allies against both belligerents and neutrals demand penalties, reparation, and guaranties. Germany avoids mention of any of these.

"In reality these overtures made by the central powers are nothing more than a calculated attempt to influence the future course of war and to end it by imposing a German peace. The object of these overtures is to create dissension in public opinion in the allied countries. But that public opinion has, in spite of all the sacrifices endured by the allies, already given its answer with admirable firmness and has denounced the empty pretense of the declaration of the enemy powers.

"They (the peace overtures) have the further object of stiffening public opinion in Germany and in the countries allied to her—one and all severely tried by their losses, worn out by economic pressure, and crushed by the supreme effort which has been imposed upon their inhabitants.

"They endeavor to deceive and intimidate public opinion in neutral countries, whose inhabitants have long since made up their minds where the initial responsibilities lie and are far too enlightened to favor the designs of Germany by abandoning the defense of human freedom.

"Finally, these overtures attempt to justify in advance in the eyes of the world a new series of crimes—submarine warfare, deportations, forced labor, and forced enlistment of the inhabitants against their own countries, and violations of neutrality.

"Fully conscious of the gravity of this moment, but equally conscious of its requirements, the allied Governments, closely united to one another and in perfect sympathy with their peoples, refuse to consider a proposal which is empty and insincere.

Once again the allies declare that no peace is possible so long as they have not secured reparation for violated rights and liberties, the recognition of the principle of nationality, and of the free existence of small States, so long as they have not brought about a settlement calculated to end once and for all forces which have constituted a perpetual menace to the nations, and to afford the only effective guaranty for the future security of the world.

In conclusion, the allied powers think it necessary to put forward the following considerations, which show the special situation of Belgium after two and a half years of war. In virtue of the international treaties signed by five great European powers, of which Germany was one, Belgium enjoyed before the war a special status, rendering her territory inviolable and placing her, under the guaranty of the powers, outside all European conflicts. She was, however, in spite of these treaties, the first to suffer the aggression of Germany. For this reason the Belgian Government think it necessary to define the aims which Belgium has never ceased to pursue while fighting side by side with the entente powers for right and justice.

Belgium has always scrupulously fulfilled the duties which her neutrality imposed upon her. She has taken up arms to defend her independence and her neutrality violated by Germany and to show that she remains faithful to her international obligations.

On the 4th of August, 1914, in the Reichstag, the German chancellor admitted that this aggression constituted an injustice contrary to the laws of nations, and pledged himself in the name of Germany to repair it. During two and a half years this injustice has been cruelly aggravated by the proceedings of the occupying forces, which have exhausted the resources of the country, ruined its industries, devastated its towns and villages, and have been responsible for innumerable massacres, executions, and imprisonments.

At this very moment, while Germany is proclaiming peace and humanity to the world, she is deporting Belgian citizens by thousands and reducing them to slavery.

Belgium before the war asked for nothing but to live in harmony with her neighbors. Her King and her Government have but one aim—the reestablishment of peace and justice. But they only desire peace which would assure to their country legitimate reparation, guaranties, and safeguards for the future.

New Year's greeting was sent to the United States by the President of Switzerland, who declared his country stood ready to defend its soil:

HOPES TO SALUTE WITH AMERICA THE DAWN OF PEACE THIS YEAR, HE SAYS—NATION FINDS MORAL SATISFACTION IN CARING FOR THE VICTIMS OF THE WAR, REGARDLESS OF THEIR NATIONALITY.

GENEVA, *January 1.*

President Schulthess, of Switzerland, sends the following message for 1917 to the American people through the Associated Press:

"Switzerland, surrounded by four great nations at war and faithful to its secular traditions, is determined to maintain her absolute and loyal neutrality in this terrible conflict. The Swiss people, banded about their flag, are ready for every sacrifice to protect their independence, the integrity of their territory, their honor, and national dignity.

"WILL NOT PERMIT INVASION.

"They are convinced that all their neighbors will respect their decision, but whatever happens never will they allow a foreign army to invade their soil.

"The oldest democracy in the world sends fraternal wishes to her great sister Republic, to the American people, and to their illustrious President. Switzerland hopes to be able to salute with the United States the coming of peace in the year which commences. In the meanwhile Switzerland finds her moral satisfaction in giving hospitality and caring for the victims of the war, regardless of their nationality, and also in foreshadowing a happier future by showing that peoples of different languages and races can not only live in peace but even form a single nation."

ATTACK FEARED BY ALLIES.

Statements in Paris and Rome papers that Germany might violate Swiss territory have caused anxiety among the Swiss, which President Schulthess and several state councllors thought it necessary to counteract by stating publicly that they had no fear that Switzerland would be forced from her neutrality.

Movements of Italian troops near the Swiss border have been interpreted by the alarmists as proofs that Italy feared an attack by way of the Republic, but high government officials emphatically ridiculed such an assumption.

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ALLIED PREMIERS IN ROME TO DISCUSS BALKAN SITUATION; URGING ITALY TO SAVE SALONIKI ARMY, BERLIN SUGGESTS.

ROME, *January 5.*

Strictest secrecy is maintained about the discussions and decisions of the meeting of allied premiers and ministers which is now in session here, but all agree that their object in coming to Rome is to coordinate their *efforts* for more decisive action, aiming to bring the war to a speedy and successful termination. The present exchange of views in person was rendered necessary by the many changes which have lately occurred in the different cabinets of the allies.

An Italian statesman remarked that from to-day a new phase of the war would begin. At the same time, it is felt that the meeting in Rome contributes to give greater importance to the answer of the allies to President Wilson's note.

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HAILED IN ROME AS A SIGN OF THE ENTENTE'S FIRM PURPOSE.

PARIS, *January 5.*

A dispatch to the Havas Agency from Rome says:

"Premier Briand, Minister of War Lyautey, and M. Thomas, minister of national manufactures, including munitions, representing the French cabinet; Premier Lloyd George and Viscount Milner of the British cabinet, and Gen. Palitzin, representing the Russian staff, are expected to arrive *in Rome to-day* for a war council with the Italian officials.

"The coming of the British and French cabinet ministers is creating a most favorable opinion in the newspapers, which regard the forthcoming conferences as a sign of a closer union of the allies and as marking the beginning of greater and more formidable efforts.

"The Corrière d'Italia says that the meeting will have significance that will not escape Berlin and Vienna, as it will be demonstrated that the entente, instead of being weakened by threats of peace, is resolved firmly to continue the war until the objects of the allies are attained."

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BERLIN BELIEVES IMPENDING DISASTER TO SARRAIL INSPIRED MEETING.

BERLIN, *January 5.*

The Overseas News Agency says to-day with regard to the visit of Premier Lloyd George and Viscount Milner to Rome:

"The Berliner Tageblatt points out that a great war council has been assembled in Rome, probably in order to obtain the necessary Italian cooperation in the Balkans, as otherwise the French Gen. Sarrail's army would be irretrievably lost. This council, the newspaper adds, at least clearly demonstrates the critical situation of the entente powers in the Balkans."

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A private dispatch received here yesterday from Paris stated that the British and French cabinet ministers reached Rome yesterday. The message went on:

"Aside from the general questions and mutual decisions arising for the coming year, the new conference has for its most particular object an examination of the military situation in the East. All other interpretations which shall be suggested by the German propaganda will be entirely erroneous."

The situation demands more concert of action among the allies, as indicated by the Rome conference:

WAR DIET LUNCHEON FOR ALLIES' COUNCIL—CONFERENCE IN ROME HOLDS ALL-DAY SESSION, ITALIAN PREMIER PRESIDING.

PARIS, *January 6, 1917.*

The conference of the entente statesmen, including Premiers Lloyd-George, Briand, and Boselli, was in almost continuous session to-day, according to a Havas dispatch from Rome. Premier Boselli presided at the meeting, which was the first of a number at which the general situation will be discussed by representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy, and Russia.

In honor of the event the Italian Government declared the day a holiday.

ROME, *January 6, 1917.*

At the war council of representatives of the entente powers in Rome there will be neither fetes nor banquets. Premier Boselli will give a luncheon to-morrow to the visiting statesmen. The menu will be drawn up in conformity with the food restrictions now applicable to hotels and restaurants.

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ROME WAR COUNCIL ENDS DIFFICULTIES.

PARIS, *January 8, 1917.*

Although no communication has been made public regarding the conference of the entente allies, says a Rome dispatch to the Temps, private conversations with some of the principal figures in the conference leave no doubt that the result is fully satisfactory and that the representatives of the entente powers separate in full accord and full confidence. The French premier, M. Briand, said to the Temps correspondent:

"Our visit has been most fruitful and was timely. Many difficulties of detail had arisen since the last conference of the allies, and in all directions the attempt was made to becloud the entente and the relations between the allies, without mentioning public events that are known to every one. It was necessary to dissipate the fogs and overcome the difficulties and find a common solution to accord with present and future events. All that was undertaken in a spirit of accord and good faith and we have eliminated all the little difficulties that could hinder our united efforts."

This morning's press carried the anxiously awaited reply to the President by the entente powers.

TEXT OF ALLIES' REPLY TO WILSON.

[Ambassador Sharp to the Secretary of State.]

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
Paris, January 10, 1917.

The following is the translation of the French note:

"The allied Governments have received the note which was delivered to them in the name of the Government of the United States on the 19th of December, 1916. They have studied it with the care imposed upon them both by the exact realization which they have of the gravity of the hour and by the sincere friendship which attaches them to the American people.

"In a general way they wish to declare that they pay tribute to the elevation of the sentiment with which the American note is inspired and that they associate themselves, with all their hopes, with the project for the creation of a league of nations to insure peace and justice throughout the world. They recognize all the advantages for the cause of humanity and civilization which the institution of international agreements, destined to avoid violent conflicts between nations would prevent—agreements which must imply the sanctions necessary to insure their execution, and thus to prevent an apparent security from only facilitating new aggressions.

"But a discussion of future arrangements destined to insure an enduring peace presupposes a satisfactory settlement of the actual conflict. The allies have as profound a desire as the Government of the United States to terminate as soon as possible a war for which the central Empires are responsible and which inflicts such cruel sufferings upon humanity. But they believe that it is impossible at the present moment to attain a peace which will assure them reparation, restitution, and such guaranties to which they are entitled by the aggression for which the responsibility rests with the central powers, and of which the principle itself tended to ruin the security of Europe—a peace which would, on the other hand, permit the establishment of the future of European nations on a solid basis. The allied nations are conscious that they are not fighting for selfish interests, but, above all, to safeguard the independence of peoples, of right, and of humanity.

"The allies are fully aware of the losses and suffering which the war causes to neutrals as well as to belligerents, and they deplore them, but they do not hold themselves responsible for them, having in no way either willed or provoked this war; and they strive to reduce these damages in the measure compatible with the inexorable exigencies of their defense against the violence and the wiles of the enemy.

"It is with satisfaction, therefore, that they take note of the declaration that the American communication is in nowise associated in its origin with that of the central powers transmitted on the 18th of December by the Government of the United States. They did not doubt, moreover, the resolution of that Government to avoid even the appearance of a support, even moral, of the authors responsible for the war.

"The allied Governments believe that they must protest in the most friendly but in the most specific manner against the assimilation, established in the American note, between the two groups of belligerents; this assimilation, based upon public declarations by the central powers, is in direct opposition to the evidence, both as regards responsibility for the past and as concerns guaranties for the future; President Wilson, in mentioning it, certainly had no intention of associating himself with it.

"If there is a historical fact established at the present date, it is the willful aggression of Germany and Austria-Hungary to insure their hegemony over Europe and their economic domination over the world. Germany proved by her declaration of war, by the immediate violation of Belgium and Luxemburg, and by her manner of conducting the war her simulating contempt for all principles of humanity and all respect for small States. As the conflict developed, the attitude of the central powers and their allies has been a continual defiance of humanity and civilization.

"Is it necessary to recall the horrors which accompanied the invasion of Belgium and of Serbia, the atrocious régime imposed upon the invaded countries, the massacre of hundreds of thousands of inoffensive Armenians, the barbarities perpetrated against the populations of Syria, the raids of Zeppelins on open towns, the destruction by submarines of passenger steamers and of merchantmen, even under neutral flags, the cruel treatment inflicted upon prisoners of war, the juridical murders of Miss Cavell, of Capt. Fryatt, the deportation and the reduction to slavery of civil populations, etc. The execution of such a series of crimes, perpetrated without any regard for universal reprobation, fully explains to President Wilson the protest of the allies.

"They consider that the note which they sent to the United States in reply to the German note will be a response to the questions put by the American Government, and, according to the exact words of the latter, 'constitute a public declaration as to the conditions upon which the war could be terminated.'

"President Wilson desires more. He desires that the belligerent powers openly affirm the objects which they seek by continuing the war; the allies experience no difficulty in replying to this request. Their objects in the war are well known; they have been formulated on many occasions by the chiefs of their divers Governments. Their objects will not be made known in detail, with all the equitable compensations and indemnities for damages suffered, until the hour of negotiations. But the civilized world knows that they imply, in all necessity and in the first instance, the restoration of Belgium, of Serbia, and of Montenegro, and the indemnities which are due them; the evacuation of the invaded territories of France, of Russia, and of Roumania, with just reparation; the reorganization of Europe, guaranteed by a stable régime and founded as much upon respect of nationalities and full security and liberty of economic development, which all nations, great or small, possess, as upon territorial conventions and international agreements, suitable to guarantee territorial and maritime frontiers against unjustified attacks; the restitution of provinces or territories wrested in the past from the allies by force or against the will of their populations;

the liberation of Italians, of Slavs, of Roumanians, and the Tcheco-Slovaques from foreign domination; the enfranchisement of populations subject to the bloody tyranny of the Turks; the expulsion from Europe of the Ottoman Empire, decidedly alien to western civilization. The intention of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia regarding Poland have been clearly indicated in the proclamation which he has just addressed to his armies.

"It goes without saying that if the allies wish to liberate Europe from the brutal covetousness of Prussian militarism it never has been their design, as has been alleged, to encompass the extermination of the German peoples and their political disappearance. That which they desire above all is to insure a peace upon the principles of liberty and justice, upon the inviolable fidelity to international obligations with which the Government of the United States has never ceased to be inspired.

"United in the pursuit of this supreme object, the allies are determined, individually and collectively, to act with all their power and to consent to all sacrifices to bring to a victorious close a conflict upon which, they are convinced, not only their own safety and prosperity depend, but also the future of civilization itself.

"SHARP."

BELGIUM'S SEPARATE REPLY TO THE PRESIDENT.

[Ambassador Sharp to the Secretary of State.]

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
Paris, January 10, 1917.

Copy of Belgium note as follows:

"The Government of the King, which has associated itself with the answer handed by the President of the French council to the American ambassador on behalf of all, is particularly desirous of paying tribute to the sentiment of humanity which prompted the President of the United States to send his note to the belligerent powers, and it highly esteems the friendship expressed for Belgium through his kindly intermediation. It desires as much as Mr. Woodrow Wilson to see the present war ended as early as possible.

"But the President seems to believe that the statesmen of the two opposing camps pursue the same object of war. The example of Belgium unfortunately demonstrates that this is in no wise the fact. Belgium has never, like the Central Powers, aimed at conquest. The barbarous fashion in which the German Government has treated, and is still treating, the Belgian nation does not permit the supposition that Germany will preoccupy herself with guaranteeing in the future the rights of the weak nations, which she has not ceased to trample under foot since the war, let loose by her, began to desolate Europe.

"On the other hand, the Government of the King has noted with pleasure and with confidence the assurances that the United States is impatient to cooperate in the measures which will be taken after the conclusion of peace to protect and guarantee the small nations against violence and oppression.

"Previous to the German ultimatum, Belgium only aspired to live upon good terms with all her neighbors. She practiced with scrupulous loyalty toward each one of them the duties imposed by her neutrality. In the same manner she has been rewarded by Germany for the confidence she placed in her, through which, from one day to the other, without any plausible reason, her neutrality was violated, and the chancellor of the Empire, when announcing to the Reichstag this violation of right and of treaties, was obliged to recognize the iniquity of such an act and predetermine that it would be repaired.

"But the Germans, after the occupation of Belgian territory, have displayed no better observance of the rules of international law or the stipulations of The Hague convention. They have, by taxation as heavy as it is arbitrary, drained the resources of the country; they have intentionally ruined its industries, destroyed whole cities, put to death and imprisoned a considerable number of inhabitants. Even now, while they are loudly proclaiming their desire to put an end to the horrors of war, they increase the rigors of the occupation by deporting into servitude Belgian workers by the thousands.

"If there is a country which has the right to say that it has taken up arms to defend its existence, it is assuredly Belgium. Compelled to fight or to submit to shame, she passionately desires that an end be brought to the unprecedented sufferings of her population. But she could only accept a peace which would assure her, as well as equitable reparation, security, and guaranties for the future.

"The American people, since the beginning of the war, has manifested for the oppressed Belgian nation most ardent sympathy. It is an American committee, the Commission for Relief in Belgium, which, in close union with the Government of the King and the national committee, displays an untiring devotion and marvelous activity in revictualing Belgium. The Government of the King is happy to avail itself of this opportunity to express its profound gratitude to the commission for relief as well as to the generous Americans eager to relieve the misery of the Belgian population. Finally, nowhere more than in the United States have the abductions and deportations of Belgian civilians provoked such a spontaneous movement of protestation and indignant reproof.

"These facts, entirely to the honor of the American Nation, allow the Government of the King to entertain the legitimate hope that at the time of the definitive settlement of this long war the voice of the entente powers will find in the United States a unanimous echo to claim in favor of the Belgian nation, innocent victim of German ambition and covetousness, the rank and the place which its irreproachable past, the valor of its soldiers, its fidelity to honor, and its remarkable faculties for work assign to it among the civilized nations.

"SHARP."

The simplest summary of this reply will indicate the following terms:

Restoration of Belgium, Serbia, Montenegro, with indemnities.

Evacuation of invaded territories of France, Russia, and Roumania, with reparation.

Reorganization of Europe under guaranties to insure to all nations respect and liberty of development.

Restitution of territories wrested in the past from the allies by force or against people's will.

Liberation of Italians, Slavs, Roumanians, and Tcheco-Slovaks from foreign domination.

Enfranchisement of populations subject to the Turks.

Expulsion from Europe of the Ottoman Empire.

To these terms the allies add that Russia has already clearly indicated her intentions toward Poland, and that if the allies wish to free Europe from Prussian militarism it has never been their design to "encompass the extermination of the German people and their political disappearance."

The day following the entente reply to the President, Prime Minister Lloyd-George made his second speech on the entente situation.

LLOYD-GEORGE SPEAKS AGAIN—FULL TEXT OF GUILDHALL ADDRESS PREDICTING VICTORY IN "NEXT FEW MONTHS"—ASKS FOR A BIG LOAN—REMINDS HEARERS THAT THE CONFLICT IS "A WAR OF EQUIPMENT" AND CITES ROUMANIA'S FLIGHT—FIGHTING FOR A REAL PEACE—IT MUST BE FOUNDED "ON THE ROCK OF VINDICATED JUSTICE"—PLEADS FOR SELF-DENIAL.

LONDON, *January 11.*

In a 45-minute speech at this afternoon's meeting at the Guildhall to launch the new British loan, Premier Lloyd-George said that the allies, having received from the central powers, not a peace offer but "a trap baited with fine words," could not be charged with having rejected peace terms; that they demanded a real peace, and, after the Rome conference, were satisfied that, though its achievement might be difficult, defeat was impossible. With the financial backing which the Government sought from the projected loan, he said the armies of the entente would "cleave a road to victory" in the next few months. The premier's speech, which was enthusiastically received, was in full as follows:

"My lord mayor, my lords, ladies, and gentlemen, the chancellor of the exchequer, in his extremely lucid and impressive speech, has placed before you the business side of this proposal, and I think you will agree with me, after hearing his explanation of his scheme, that he has offered for subscription a loan which possesses all the essential ingredients of an attractive investment. They are the most generous terms that the Government can offer without injury to the taxpayer. I agree that the chancellor was right in offering such liberal terms, because it is important that we should secure a big loan now, not merely in order to enable us to finance the war effectively, but as a demonstration of the continued resolve of this country to prosecute the war [loud cheers]; and it is upon that aspect of the question that I should like to say a few words.

"The German Kaiser a few days ago sent a message to his people that the allies had rejected his peace offers. He did so in order to drag those whom he could no longer dragoon. [Laughter and cheers.] Where are those offers? We have asked for them. We have never seen them. We were not offered terms; we were offered a trap baited with fair words. They tempted us once, but the lion has his eyes open. [Loud cheers.] We have rejected no terms that we have ever seen. Of course, it would suit them to have peace at the present moment on their terms. We all want peace; but when we get it it must be a real peace. [Cheers.]

WAR BETTER THAN A PRUSSIAN PEACE.

"The allied powers, separately and in council together, have come to the same conclusion. [Cheers.] Knowing well what war means, knowing especially what this war means in suffering, in burdens, in horrors, they have still decided that even war is better than peace at Prussian price of domination over Europe. We made it clear in our reply to Germany; we made it still clearer in our reply to the United States.

"Before we attempt to rebuild the temple of peace we must see now that the foundations are solid. They were built before upon the shifting sands of Prussian faith. Henceforth when the time for rebuilding comes it must be on the rock of vindicated justice. [Applause.]

"I have just returned from a council of war of the four great allied countries upon whose shoulders most of this terrible war falls. I can not give you its conclusions [laughter]; they might be information to the enemy. [Renewed laughter.] There were no delusions as to the magnitude of our task; neither were there any doubts about the results.

VICTORY DIFFICULT, DEFEAT IMPOSSIBLE.

"I think I can say what was the feeling of every man there. It was one of the most businesslike conferences I ever attended. We faced the whole situation, probed it thoroughly, and looked its difficulties in the face, and made arrangements to deal with them. [Laughter and applause.] We separated feeling more confident than ever. [Renewed applause.] All felt that if victory were difficult, defeat was impossible. [Applause.] There was no flinching, no wavering, no faint-heartedness, no infirmity of purpose.

"There was a grim resolution at all costs that we must achieve the high aim with which we accepted the challenge of the Prussian military caste and rid Europe and the world forever of her menace. [Renewed applause.] No country could have refused the challenge without the loss of honor. None could have rejected it without impairing national security. No one would have failed to take it up without forfeiting something which is of greater value to every free and self-respecting people than life itself. Those nations did not enter into the war lightly. They did not embark upon this enterprise without knowing what it really meant. They were not enticed by the prospects of immediate victory.

"Take this country. The millions of our men who enlisted in the army enlisted after the German victories of August, 1914, when they knew the accumulated and concentrated power of the German military machine. That was when they placed their lives at the disposal of their country. [Cheers.] What about the other lands? They knew what they were encountering; that they were fighting an organization which had been perfected for generations by the best brains of Prussia—perfected with one purpose, the subjugation of Europe. [Applause.]

"Why did they do it? I passed through hundreds of miles of the beautiful land of France and of Italy, and as I did so I asked myself this question: Why did the peasants leave by myriads these sunny vineyards and cornfields in France? Why did they quit these enchanting valleys, with their comfort, their security, their charm, in order to face the grim and wild horrors of the battle field? They did it for one purpose, and one purpose only. They were not driven to the slaughter by Kings. These are great democratic countries. No Government would have lasted 24 hours that had forced them into an abhorrent war of their own free will. They embarked upon it because they knew the fundamental issue had been raised which no country could shirk without imperiling all that has been won in the centuries of the past and all that remains to be won in the ages of the future.

"That is why, as the war proceeds and the German purpose becomes more manifest, the conviction is becoming deeper in the minds of those people that they must work their way through to victory in order to save Europe from an unspeakable despotism. [Cheers.] That was the spirit that animated the allied conference in Europe last week. [Renewed cheers.]

ALLIES' INCREASING TRUST IN BRITAIN.

"But I tell you one thing that struck me, and strikes me more and more each time I attend these conferences and visit the Continent: The increasing extent to which the allied peoples are looking to Great Britain. [Loud cheers.] They are trusting her rugged strength and great resources more and more. [Renewed cheers.] She is to them like a great tower in the deep. She is becoming more and more the hope of the oppressed and despair of the oppressor; and I feel more and more confident that we shall not fail the people who put their trust in us.

"But when that arrogant Prussian caste flung the signature of Britain in the treaty in the waste-paper basket as if it were of no account they knew not the pride of the land they were treating with such insolent disdain. They know it now. [Cheers.] Our soldiers and our sailors have taught them to respect it. You had an eloquent account from my colleague, the chancellor of the exchequer, of the achievements of our soldiers; our sailors [loud cheers] are gallantly defending the honor of our country on the high seas. They have strangled the enemy's commerce; they will continue to do so in spite of all the piratical devices of the foe.

PREDICTS VICTORY IN 1917.

"In 1914 and 1915, for two years, a small, ill-equipped army held up the veterans of Prussia, with the best equipment in Europe; in 1916 hurling them back and delivering a blow from which they are reeling. In 1917 the armies of Britain will be more formidable than ever in training, in efficiency, in equipment; and you may depend upon it, if you give them the necessary support they will cleave a road to victory through the dangers and perils of the next few months. [Loud cheers.]

"But we must support them; they are worth it. [Cheers.] Have you ever talked to a soldier who has come back from the front? There is not one of them who will not tell you how he is encouraged and sustained by hearing the roar of the guns behind him.

"I will tell you what I want to do. I want to see checks hurtling through the air, fired from the city of London; fired from every city, town, and village and hamlet throughout the land; fired straight into the intrenchments of the enemy. [Loud cheers.]

"Every well-directed check [laughter] well loaded, properly primed, is a more formidable weapon of destruction than a 12-inch shell. [Cheers.] It clears a path to the barbed-wire entanglements for our gallant fellows to march through. A big loan helps you, insures victory; a big loan will help shorten the war; it will help save lives; it will help save the British Empire; it will help save Europe; it will help save civilization." [Cheers.]

Continuing, the prime minister discussed the industrial situation, of so much importance to the United States. He said:

There are many shortcomings in our business, our commerce, our industry. The war is settling them all right in the most marvelous way. You ask a great business man like my friend, Lord Pirrie, what is going on in those great factories throughout Great Britain and Ireland. Old machinery is scrapped ["Hear, hear!"]; the newest, the best and the latest is set up; slipshod and wasteful methods are scrapped, and hampering customs discontinued. Millions are brought into the labor market to help to produce who were before purely consumers.

I do not know what the national debt will be at the end of this war [laughter], but I will make a prediction: Whatever it is, what is added in real assets to the real riches of the nation will be infinitely greater than any debt we ever acquire. The resources of the nation in every direction have been developed and directed; the nation itself disciplined, braced up, quickened, has become a more alert people. We have thrown off the useless tissues; we are a nation that has been taking exercise. [Laughter.] We are a different people.

I will tell you another thing: The Prussian menace was a running mortgage, which detracted from the value of our national security. Nobody knew what it meant. We know too well now. You could not tell whether it meant millions or hundreds of millions or thousands of millions, or how many of them. You could not tell that it would not mean ruin.

That mortgage will be cleared off forever [loud cheers], better security on a better foundation, safer security and at a better rate of interest. [Laughter.] The world will then be able, when this war is over, to attend to its business in peace. There will be no war or rumors of war to disturb and to distract. We can build up, we can reconstruct, we can till, we can cultivate, and enrich, and the burden and terror and waste of war will have gone. [Cheers.]

PREDICTS A LEAGUE OF PEACE.

The peace and security for peace will be that the nations will band themselves together to punish the first peacebreaker who comes out.

As to the armies of Europe, every weapon will be a sword of justice in the government of men; every arm will be a constabulary of peace. [Cheers.] There were men who had hoped to see this achieved in the way of peace. We were disappointed. It was ordained that you should not reach that golden era except along the path which was paved with gold—yea, and cemented with valiant blood. There are millions who have given of the latter who are ready—nay, millions more ready, myriads more ready—for the sacrifice, if the country needs it.

It is for us to contribute the former. Let no man, no woman, in this crisis of the nation's fate, through indolence, greed, avarice, or selfishness, fail. If they are doing their part, then, when the time comes for the triumphal march through the darkness and terror of the night into the bright dawn of the morning of the new age, they will each feel that they have done their share. [Loud cheers, during which the premier resumed his seat.]

ONUS FOR FURTHER BLOODSHED PUT ON ALLIES BY KAISER—IN NOTE TO NEUTRALS, GERMANY INSISTS SHE MADE HONEST EFFORT TO END WAR—SAYS FORM OF ENTENTE REPLY EXCLUDES ANSWER—WILLING TO LEAVE HISTORY JUDGE WHICH SIDE WAS AGGRESSOR IN WORLD STRUGGLE.

BERLIN, *January 11.*

Germany has handed neutral Governments a note concerning the reply of the entente to the German peace proposals, the Overseas News Agency announces.

It is first stated, says the news agency announcement, that the German Government has received the reply of the entente to the note of December 12, containing a proposition to enter at once into peace negotiations. The note then continues:

"Our adversaries declined this proposition, giving as the reason that it is a proposition without sincerity and without importance. The form in which they clothe their communication excludes an answer to them, but the Imperial Government considers it important to point out to the Governments of neutral powers its opinion regarding the situation.

LEAVES RESPONSIBILITY TO HISTORY.

"The central powers have no reason to enter into any discussion regarding the origin of the world war. History will judge upon whom the immense guilt of the war shall fall; history's verdict will as little pass over the encircling policy of England, the revengeful policy of France, and the endeavor of Russia to gain Constantinople as over the instigation of the Serbian assassination in Sarayevo and the complete mobilization of Russia, which meant war against Germany.

"Germany and her allies, who had to take up arms for defense of their liberty and their existence, consider this, their aim of the war, as obtained.

"On the other hand, the hostile powers always went further away from the realization of their plans, which, according to the declarations of their responsible statesmen, were, among others, directed toward the conquest of Alsace-Lorraine and several Russian Provinces, the humiliation and diminution of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the partition of Turkey, and the mutilation of Bulgaria.

SURPRISED BY REPARATION DEMAND.

"In the face of such war aims the demand for restitution, reparation, and guaranties in the mouth of our adversaries produces a surprising effect.

"Our adversaries call the proposal of the four allied (Teutonic) powers a war maneuver. Germany and her allies must protest in the most energetic fashion against such a characterization of their motives, which were frankly explained. They were persuaded that a peace which was just and acceptable to all the belligerents was possible; that it could be brought about by an immediate, spoken exchange of views; and that, therefore, the responsibility for further bloodshed could not be taken.

"Their readiness was affirmed without reservation to make known their peace conditions when negotiations were entered into, which refutes every doubt as to their sincerity.

"Our adversaries, who had it in their hands to examine the proposition as to its contents, neither attempted an examination nor made counter proposals. Instead they declared that peace was impossible so long as the reestablishment of violated rights and liberties, the recognition of the principle of nationalities, and the free existence of small States were not guaranteed.

LEAVES CASE TO WORLD OPINION.

"The sincerity which our adversary denies to the proposals of the four allied powers will not be conceded by the world to these demands if the world holds before its eyes the fate of the Irish people; the destruction of the liberty and independence of the Boer Republic; the subjugation of northern Africa by England, France, and Italy; the suppression of Russian alien nations; and also the violation of Greece, which is without precedent in history.

"Against the pretended violations of the laws of nations by the four allies (Teutonic), those powers are not entitled to complain, which from the beginning of the war trampled on justice and tore to pieces the treaties upon which it is built. England already during the first weeks of the war repudiated the London declaration, the content of which had been recognized by its own delegates as a valid law of nations, and in the further course of the war violated in the most severe fashion also the Paris declaration, so that by her arbitrary measures for warfare a condition of lawlessness has been created.

ATROCITIES ARE CHARGED.

"The war of starvation against Germany and the pressure exercised in England's interest against neutrals are not less scandalously conflicting with the rules of the laws of nations as with the commands of humanity.

"Likewise, contrary to the laws of nations and incompatible with the usages of civilization, are the use of colored troops in Europe and the extension of the war into Africa, which was done by a breach of existing treaties and which undermines the prestige of the white race on that continent. The barbarous treatment of prisoners, especially in Africa and Russia, and the deportation of the civilized population from eastern Prussia, Alsace-Lorraine, Galicia, and Bukowina are further proof of how our adversaries point out the special situation of Belgium. The Imperial Government is unable to acknowledge that the Belgian Government has always conserved the duties which were enjoined upon her by her neutrality. Already before the war Belgium, under England's influence, sought support in military fashion from England and France, and thus herself violated the spirit (of the treaty) which she had to guarantee her independence and neutrality.

"Twice the Imperial Government declared to the Belgian Government that it did not come as an enemy to Belgium and asked it to spare to the country the terrors of war. Germany offered to guarantee the integrity and independence of the Kingdom to the full extent and compensate for all damages which might be caused by the passage of the German troops. It is known that the royal British Government in 1887 was resolved not to oppose the use of the right of way through Belgium under those conditions.

"The Belgian Government declined the repeated offer of the Imperial Government. Upon her and those powers which instigated her to this attitude falls the responsibility for the fate which befell Belgium.

DECLARES ALLEGATIONS REFUTED.

"The accusations about the German warfare in Belgium and the measures taken there in the interest of military safety have been repeatedly refuted by the Imperial Government as untrue. Germany again offers energetic protest against these calumnies.

"Germany and her allies have made an honest attempt to terminate the war and open the road for an understanding among the belligerents. The Imperial Government asserts the fact that it merely depended upon the decision of our adversaries whether the road toward peace should be entered upon or not. The hostile governments declined to accept this road. Upon them falls the full responsibility for the continuation of the bloodshed.

"Our allied powers, however, shall continue the struggle in quiet confidence and with firm trust in their right until peace is gained which guarantees to their nations honor, existence, and liberty of development, and which to all the nations of the European Continent gives the blessing to cooperate in mutual respect and under equal rights together for the solution of the great problems of civilization."

THE "LEAK" EPISODE.

Coincident with the announcement of the President's peace note, the stock market revealed what appears to be a sensitive appreciation of its speculative possibilities and led to a charge that advance knowledge had reached Wall Street through some leak of the Government. Representative WOOD offered the following resolution on the 22d, two days after the note was made public:

[House resolution 420, Sixty-fourth Congress, second session.]

Resolved, That a committee of five Representatives be appointed by the Speaker of the House to investigate and make report as to whether or not anyone high in the administration of governmental affairs in the United States, or any relative of anyone high in authority in the administration of governmental affairs in the United States, profited financially, either directly or indirectly, by the fluctuation in the stock market occurring on Thursday, December 21, 1916, following the two contradictory interpretations given to the public from the office of the Secretary of State concerning the note of the President of the United States dated December 20, 1916, to the belligerent powers.

On January 3, the second day of meeting after the holiday vacation, Mr. WOOD introduced the following:

[House resolution 429, Sixty-fourth Congress, second session.]

Whereas Thomas W. Lawson, of Boston, gave to the public a statement which appears in the daily newspapers under date of December 28 and 29, 1916, in which he says, amongst other things, that "If it was actually believed in Washington there was to be a real investigation of last week's leak there would not be a quorum in either the Senate or House next Monday and a shifting of bank accounts similar to those in the good old sugar investigation days;" and in another statement which appears in the daily press of December 31, 1916, he says, "The good old Capitol has been wallowing in Wall Street leak grafts for 40 years, wallowing hale and hearty;" and

Whereas the statements of the aforesaid Thomas W. Lawson, and each of them, affect the dignity of this House and the integrity of its proceedings and the honesty of its Members:

Resolved, That the Speaker appoint a select committee of five Members of the House and that such committee be instructed to inquire into the charges made by the aforesaid Thomas W. Lawson, and for such purpose it shall have power to send for persons and papers and enforce their appearance before said committee, and to administer oaths, and shall have the right to make report at any time.

On the 4th the House Rules Committee was instructed by the House to make an investigation of the charge involved in the resolution and report back to the House within 10 days.

Hearings were begun on the 5th and continued to the 11th. The committee had before it the following persons: Representative WOOD, January 5; Representative GARDNER, January 6; Private Secretary Tumulty, January 8; Secretary Lansing, January 8; Mr. Lawson, January 8 and 9; Mr. Sabin, president of the Guaranty Trust Co.; Mr. Otto H. Kahn, New York, Kuhn, Loeb & Co.; Mr. Bernard M. Baruch, 111 Broadway, New York; Mr. R. M. Bolling; newspaper men—Crawford and Jamieson, of the Central News people; Odlin, International News Service, Washington, D. C.; Reily (managing editor), Eland, and Boyle, of Wall Street Journal; Public Printer Ford; Night Superintendent McEvoy, Government Printing Office, January 10.

These hearings consist of 271 pages of printed matter, consisting of parts 1 to 6. The first and second contain the testimony of Mr. WOOD, the author of the resolution, and that of Congressman GARDNER.

Mr. WOOD offered the following letter:

DECEMBER 26, 1916.

Hon. WILLIAM R. WOOD,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The Democratic majority of the House will not, I presume, permit the adoption of your resolution of inquiry, but it is a highly meritorious measure none the less, and, if I can do so, I want to help you.

Bernard M. Baruch, of this city, unquestionably had the news of Secretary Lansing's note as early as Saturday, December 9. The note was dated December 11 and was not dispatched till December 12. How Baruch got it I am not prepared to say, but a gentleman of my acquaintance makes the positive statement that he saw Mr. Tumulty and Baruch breakfasting together at the Biltmore Hotel in this city on two or three occasions coincident with the penning of the note and its secret dispatch. That Baruch at this juncture smashed the market heavily and in all directions admits of no doubt and can be easily demonstrated in this way:

At his offices, No. 111 Broadway, he has a system of private telephone lines to various brokerage houses. Before he has an opportunity to remove these wires you must obtain a list of them. If he is compelled to supply you with a list I would check it by obtaining an identical list from the New York Telephone Co. and the Western Union Telegraph Co., these being the two companies that supply the wires. Having obtained this list you can then obtain from all the brokerage houses connected thereby a transcript of all orders executed for his account within the period in question. This investigation should cover not only his personal accounts but any secret accounts, such as accounts carried by "number," or any fictitious names, all of which, as the brokers' books will show, are controlled by him or guaranteed by him. If the brokers refuse this information Congress has the power to compel it. The stock exchange also has the power to enforce its members to produce their books and accounts, and as the rules of the stock exchange are sufficiently broad and elastic to cover every departure from ethical business methods on the part of its members, an appeal to the governors of that institution will no doubt elicit the desired information. Many reputable members of the exchange are anxious to assist you in running to earth this most unsavory scandal.

There is a great deal more in this matter than you imagine, and if you can once get your machinery in motion I am in a position to say that you will be supplied with all the necessary information.

Very truly, yours,

A. CURTIS.

Part 3 of the hearings gives the statements of Mr. Tumulty, Secretary Lansing, and the first part of Lawson's examination:

LANSING GIVES NOTE'S HISTORY—TELLS OF MEETING CORRESPONDENTS.

Secretary Lansing was called next.

"Possibly I had better start," said Secretary Lansing, "by stating that I assume that confidential communications between the President and myself are not a part of the inquiry. I can give you a physical history of the note. The draft of the note was received by me from the White House at 4 o'clock Monday afternoon. I called up Mr. Polk, counsellor for the department, and Mr. Woolsey, law adviser attached to my office, and discussed the three forms in which the note had to be prepared and sent forth. I then handed it to Mr. Woolsey, enjoining the strictest secrecy, that he might take it to the three confidential stenographers. There it was to be prepared and delivered to Mr. Salmon, chief of the index bureau.

NOTE PUT IN CIPHER.

"The index clerk," continued the Secretary, "was to encipher the note, and said that it would take so long to cipher the three notes that he would have to have an assistant. I directed that we engage his most confidential man for the work. He did so, was given the copies, and the two men locked themselves in the room. They were given the copies at 8 o'clock and at 2.30 Tuesday morning (Dec. 19) the notes were enciphered, delivered to the telegraph room, and sent.

"On Tuesday afternoon I discussed with the President the time when the note should be made public. The reason for secrecy was the courtesy due to the nations who were to receive the note that it should not be published here before they received it. We decided it would take at least two days for it to reach Austria and Roumania, and we decided it should be made public on Thursday morning.

"Tuesday evening about 6 o'clock a copy of the note was handed to Mr. James, chief of the information bureau. He at once took it up with the Printing Office. It was read by one man and then sent to the Printing Office.

CALLS IN CORRESPONDENTS.

"At about 11 o'clock I received the newspaper correspondents and told them that I would have an important communication for them at 5 o'clock to be released the next morning. I told them in confidence, as I was afraid its contents might come back from Europe in garbled form. Further, I thought it courteous not make it public until it had been received by the countries to which it was addressed. I told them it did not contain any proposal of peace nor offer of mediation.

"That evening at my house Ambassador Willard—of Spain—told me he had been advised of the contents of the note by the President, and we discussed the advisability of him addressing Spain on the subject. The next morning the note was made public in the press."

"It's been suggested here that representatives of the newspapers may have sent out information."

"I have seen references to it in the newspapers."

"Has anything been done at the State Department to show whether there is any foundation for that?"

"Nothing at all. I think it would be easy to find out."

LANSING SOUGHT TO FORESTALL RUMORS.

Questioned further about his Wednesday conference with the newspaper men, Secretary Lansing said:

"My statements regarding the note were entirely negative. I said nothing whatever about a request for terms having been made. I gave no details. I stated that at 5 o'clock they would be able to get an important communication sent to belligerent Governments. I said that it was not a proposal of peace or an offer of mediation. Then, I explained the reason I wished them to preserve confidence. I knew the note was in the hands of the printer and wanted to guard against any mere rumor that might get out."

Representative CHIPERFIELD asked Secretary Lansing about his two statements explaining the note after it had been made public.

"Were these statements made entirely on your own initiative?" asked CHIPERFIELD.

LANSING DRAWS LINE.

"See here," Secretary Lansing declared with emphasis, "that is away beyond the scope of this investigation."

Representative GARRETT interjected:

"Such a matter has not the slightest pertinence to this inquiry on the effect of a leak on the stock market."

"Not perhaps any connection with the leak on the note and its effect on the market," said Representative CHIPERFIELD, "but it has been stated that the Secretary's statements did in fact affect the stock market."

Democrats of the committee objected that such a line of questioning was improper and the Chair ruled that the Secretary need not answer.

Resuming his testimony, Secretary Lansing said he did not know if representatives of Wall Street papers were present at the conference of the newspaper men and did not know their duties.

On the 12th the Committee on Rules made its report to the House that there was no foundation for the Lawson charge and recommended that the Wood resolution be tabled. Upon this a debate of 2 hours and 30 minutes was had. The House then recommitted the matter to the committee with instructions to continue the investigation.

Post Office Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. MOON,

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 15, 1917.

Mr. MOON. Mr. Speaker, under the authority given by the House in the discussion of the Post Office appropriation bill to Members to extend remarks in the RECORD, I add to my remarks in extension the following:

In recommending the discontinuance of the pneumatic-tube service in the cities of Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, and a portion of Brooklyn, consideration was given to the following facts:

That the service was born in iniquity and has been maintained by corruption and graft.

First. The public records show, I am advised by the Post Office Department, that a former Second Assistant Postmaster General who held office at the time this service was in its infancy, 'within six weeks, at the outside, after he left the office, was given $1,000 cash and $10,000 in stock for his services at Washington,' but I know nothing personally about this.

Second. That the pneumatic-tube service in New York City was constructed by contractors who took their pay in stock and bonds; that the only value which the stock and those bonds had was the contract with the Government; and it was certainly unfortunate that an owner of the bonds and one of the contractors was a Member of the House of Representatives and a member of the Committee on Appropriations, as I am advised by the department.

Third. Mr. Moody, of Massachusetts, in a discussion of this matter, said:

> I will state that a large block of the stock of this company as a New Year's present was sent to a near relative of an important and influential Member of the House. I am glad to say that the return mail was not allowed to depart from Washington without carrying back that dishonoring and dishonorable gift.

Fourth. Attention is called to the names of persons in public life who in this list of stockholders are now insisting on the continuation of this service.

Fifth. The records show that in Boston more than 4 miles of the service were built for commercial purposes, and they were an entire failure, and were later foisted on the Post Office Department, under what circumstances no one seems to know, at an exorbitant rental, and are to-day a useless expense and a handicap on the postal service of that city.

Sixth. The statement that every Congress which investigated this matter, every commission that investigated the matter, has reported in favor of the tubes, is untrue, because the commission appointed by Congress in 1901 to investigate the Postal Service recommended to Congress that the tube service be discontinued. This report was signed by Edward O. Wolcott, W. B. Allison, THOMAS S. MARTIN, E. F. Loud, W. H. Moody, T. C. Catchings, and William H. Fleming, one member dissenting.

Seventh. Because another committee appointed by the Post Office Department reported under date of December 10, 1908:

> In view of the foregoing we consider it appropriate to advise you that in our opinion it is not feasible and desirable at the present time for the Government to purchase, to install, or to operate the pneumatic tubes, and this is our unanimous judgment.

This was signed by D. A. Campbell, postmaster, Chicago, Ill.; George H. Roberts, postmaster, Brooklyn, N. Y.; E. C. Mansfield, postmaster, Boston, Mass.; Frank Wyman, postmaster, St. Louis, Mo.; Joseph Stewart, Second Assistant Postmaster General; V. J. Bradley, superintendent Railway Mail Service; E. M. Morris, assistant superintendent Division of Salaries and Allowances; and J. M. Masten, assistant superintendent Railway Mail Service.

Eighth. Because the postmaster of Chicago, one of the cities in which the service is to be discontinued, and who was a witness before our committee at the request of the tube companies, stated that it is his opinion, also that of the Chicago postal officials, that the pneumatic-tube service is the most extravagant service in the post office, and that the service could be discontinued and could be replaced with as expeditious service, and result in a saving of at least $140,000 a year in that city alone, and that the people of Chicago would get just as good service as at present.

Ninth. The postmaster at Boston also appeared before the committee, at the request of the tube companies, and testified in a similar manner.

Tenth. The report of the departmental committee shows fully why, in the opinion of the postmaster, the service should be discontinued at Philadelphia.

Eleventh. Because the report of the departmental commission, made up of the ablest postal experts in the service, which report was strongly supported by facts, concurred in by the postmasters who appeared before the committee as witnesses at the request of the tube companies as well as the others where the service is to be discontinued, was conclusive in every particular, and, with the exception of one or two minor features, was not questioned even by the tube companies when a member of the commission was before the committee as a witness by request of the tube representatives.

The committee, therefore, had to decide between the recommendations of the department, the postmasters, and others responsible for the service, on the one hand, and the inspired representations made by the tube companies on the other; and the only practical conclusion would be to follow the recommendations of the Post Office Department. Unless this is done you will within the next 10 years take out of the pockets of the American people more than $5,000,000 to be used in extravagance and waste in continuing a handicap on efficient Postal Service which should have been thrown off years ago and from which the department and postmasters have asked to be relieved.

The uselessness of the tubes can not be better demonstrated than by the fact that although a fully equipped tube line was built between the Capitol and the House Office Building about six years ago, it has never been utilized, and Congress, by approving the proposed amendment, is attempting to foist on the Post Office Department for its use something which the Members themselves have not found practical.

This service is so extravagant and useless that, even if the tube companies offer to give the tubes to the Government, it would be useless extravagance and waste to operate them, because better service could be supplied at much less cost than the Government could even operate the tubes.

The amendment to the pneumatic-tube section of the bill, placed on it on Saturday last, does not, I think, accomplish the purpose for which it was intended. The amendment was that—

> Page 15, line 15, after the word "devices," strike out "$449,500" and insert in lieu thereof "$1,061,000 for continuance of service now existing in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, St. Louis, and Brooklyn."

Of course, the continuance of this service, if at all, must be under existing law; it can not be otherwise or without a change of that law. The existing law provides that before contracts can be made beyond the periods now covered there must be a report by a committee selected by the Postmaster General, and that report must be favorable to the service and must be submitted before the advertisement for contracts can be made or the contracts let. A committee was appointed and its report has been made, and it is unfavorable to the continuance of the service, and therefore, as a matter of law, no new contract or advertisement for contract can be made, notwithstanding a mere appropriation to continue existing service. Under the general law, to which the amendment applies, and which necessarily must be read along with the amendment, no contract can be made without advertisement. The contracts, under the amendment made at the last session of Congress providing for their extension, will expire on the 4th of March. This amendment now passed does not renew that law, but, in effect, provides for continuance of existing general law on the subject. It at least does not repeal it. The existing law is the law to which I have referred, which prevents the making of any contracts until the favorable report in made, as above referred to. It seems clear to me that there is no authority for the Postmaster General, when we construe these statutes together, to make any new contracts for any term of years, notwithstanding money may be provided, until the favorable report required by existing law has been made, and, as stated, this has not been done. The law requiring such favorable report as a condition precedent is still in existence and must be complied with before any appropriation made for the continuance of the service can be lawfully available.

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co. June 10, 1916.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.
Abbey, Charles C	Chicopee, Mass	100	100
Abbey, Halsey E	205 Lincoln Street, Boston, Mass	125	
Abbott, Miss Louisa	10 Quint Avenue, Allston, Mass	4	2
Abbott, Leon M	933 Tremont Building, Boston, Mass.	10	
Abbott, Prentice W	708 Barristers Hall, Boston, Mass		5
Abbott, Reuben	45 Columbia Street, Brookline, Mass.		40
Abbott, W. Herbert	147 South Street, Boston, Mass	2	2
Abraham, Mrs. Rosa	Care of Abraham & Strauss, Brooklyn, N. Y.	100	50
Acomb, Thomas W	14 Crocker Street, Somerville, Mass.	30	
Adams, Abbie O	480 Chestnut Street, Manchester, N. H.	5	2
Adams, Charles Mills	59 Waverly Street, Roxbury, Mass.	16	86
Adams, Edw. F	19 Royal Street, Allston, Mass		20
Adams, Elizabeth J	8 Avon Street, Lawrence, Mass	10	
Adams, Ella A	Camden, Me	10	
Adams, Ella B	1615 Riverside Avenue, Jacksonville, Fla.	30	10
Adams, Harriet L	59 Waverly Street, Roxbury, Mass.	75	25
Adams, Landon	465 Massachusetts Avenue, Boston, Mass.	15	
Adams, Mabel M. N	Derry, N. H		10
Adams, Marie	40 Pine Street, Rensselaer, N. Y	2	27
Adams, Sarah L	80 West Newton Street, Boston, Mass.		50
Adams, Stephen C	133 Grant Avenue, Medford, Mass.		20
Adams, Thomas F	10 Bromfield Street, Newburyport, Mass.	29	32
Addis, Walter I	Care of L. B. Van Wagensen Co., Kingston, N. Y.	4	
Agon, Mrs. Maria L	Canton, N. Y		5
Aiken, Frances H	Brewer, Me		10
Alden, Mrs. Emma F	60 Gorham Street, Cambridge, Mass.	13	6
Alden, Harriet E	21 Church Street, Waltham, Mass.	15	
Alden, Helen D	Bridgewater, Mass	25	
Alden, Mrs. Helen M	97 Longwood Avenue, Brookline, Mass.	75	25
Alden, Mary E	Care of Old Colony Trust Co., 52 Temple Place, Boston, Mass.	45	10
Alexander, Bethiah A	29 Union Street, Peterboro, N. H	3	1
Alexander, Mary E	Care of American Trust Co., Boston, Mass.	20	
Alexander, Max	161 Grove Avenue, Winthrop Highlands, Mass.		50
Alexander, Estate of Robert.	300 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.		2
Alger, Mrs. Alvis J	Atlantic, Iowa		8
Alland, Morse J	Rawson Road, Brookline, Mass	508	1,265
Alland, Samuil	29 Milk Street, Boston, Mass	1,000	400
Allen, Harold D	Care of Case School of Applied Science, Cleveland, Ohio.		12
Allen, Lillie I. B	99 Kirkstall Road, Newtonville, Mass.	71	83
Allen, Mae A	Skowhegan, Me	10	
Allen, Miss Mary W	5 Riedesel Avenue, Cambridge, Mass.	74	10
Allen, Winthrop W	17 Ocean Street, Beverly, Mass	5	
Almy, Emma S	395 Lafayette Street, Salem, Mass.	11	
Ammazeen, Edw. C	112 Ashland Street, Melrose Highlands, Mass.	50	
Ambler, Charlotte S	Naples, N. Y	10	10
Ames, Amos L	Tappenish, Wash	82	12
Ames, Charles F	Mattapoisett, Mass		10
Ames, Mrs. Charlotte A	42 Christopher Street, Montclair, N. J.	5	5
Ames, Clifton	16 Maple Street, Waltham, Mass		25
Ames, Edward S	39 Atlantic Avenue, Boston, Mass		20
Ames, Florence I	591 Bridge Street, Dedham, Mass	127	1
Ames, Hobart	Room 106 Ames Building, Boston, Mass.	500	1,000
Ames, Maria J	Tappenish, Wash	16	1
Ames, Oakes	100 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.	1,610	503
Ames, Sarah E	Hotel Gardner, Asbury Park, N. J.	100	
Ames, Thomas L	Mattapoisett, Mass	11	21
Ames, Wm. H	North Easton, Mass		170
Ames, Wm. H., and Gilmer Clapp, trustees for.	American Pneumatic Service Co., Boston, Mass.		105
Amory, Katharine L	279 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass. (Mrs. Robert Amory.)	10	
Amsden, Geo. A	Petersham, Mass	30	
Anderson, Helen Clark	Suncook, N. H		100
Anderson, Lydia P	Eastham, Mass	2	
Andrews, Edith R	Oakland, Me	15	
Andrews, Frank E	1028 Elm Street, Manchester, N. H		30
Andrews, Geo. W	158 Main Street, Woonsocket, R. I	86	26
Andrews, Herbert P	Northern Avenue, Essex, Mass	20	10
Andrews, Leon E	439 Arch Street, New Britain, Conn		9
Andrews, Mary V	58 Manchester Street, Nashua, N. H	10	5
Andrews, Mrs. Susie A	Manchester, corner Cushing Avenue, Nashua, N. H.	20	
Andros, Isabel W	Glendale Road, Sharon, Mass	10	10
Andros, Sophy M	Sharon, Mass	8	
Angove, Arthur	Care of Sprague Warner Co., Chicago, Ill.	10	210
Annable, Nathaniel U	153 Main Street, Peabody, Mass		20
Anthony, Annie R	9 Massachusetts Avenue, Boston, Mass.	50	
Aplin, Frederick C	52 Paul Gore Street, Jamaica Plain, Mass.		10
Appleton, Francis Henry	251 Marlboro Street, Boston, Mass	100	10

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.
Appleton, Josephine W	Wellesley, Mass		2
Appleton, R. Ross	Fourteenth Street Bank, New York		50
Appleton, Russell	53 State Street, Boston, Mass		1
Appleton, Wm. C	Sandy Cove, Cohasset, Mass	50	
Archibald, Nena G	252 School Street, Watertown, Mass.		100
Arcan, Mrs. Allin E	Post Office 41, Jamaica Plain, Mass.	50	
Armstrong, Louis	611 Postal Telegraph Building, Chicago, Ill.		50
Arnold, Allen & Co	Boston, Mass	210	250
The trustees of the estate of Catherine Ashton.	345 Essex Street, Lawrence, Mass		12
Asiatic National Bank, of Salem, Mass.	As collateral security for loan to Clarence S. Clark.	102	
Atkinson, A. Grace	395 La Fayette Street, Salem, Mass.	10	1
Atkinson, John	1720 Washington Street, West Newton, Mass.	15	
Atkinson, Miss L. D. R	do	27	
Atkinson, Maud L	Baker Apartments, Walnut Street, Newtonville, Mass.	24	
Atz, Jos	55 Liberty Street, New York		5
Austin, Charles E	560 Atlantic Avenue, Boston, Mass.	33	
Austin, Mrs. Ida C	1 Forrest Avenue, Haverhill, Mass.	43	
Austin, John	68 Pleasant Street, Methuen, Mass		1
Austin, Mahlon E	Albion Street, Lawrence, Mass	34	
Avery, Ella C	81 Lancaster Street, Albany, N. Y.	23	
Avery, Emma R	127 North Peoria Street, Chicago, Ill.	4	2
Ayer, Charles F	1004 Oliver Building, Boston, Mass.	300	3
Ayer, Frederick, jr	do	100	
Ayer, Mary Katharine	395 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Mass.	50	
Aylesworth, Mary L	11 Grant Street, Oneonta, N. Y	20	
Babb, Geo. W	85 John Street, New York, N. Y	50	25
Babcock, Mrs. Helen M	22 Maple, Street, Quincy, Mass	9	4
Babcock, Margie H. R	Wakefield, R. I	50	5
Backus, A. Hamilton	Care of L. I. Loan & Trust Co., 44 Court Street, New York (Brooklyn).		10
Backus, Grosvenor H	154 Nassau Street, New York, N. Y		10
Backus, Raymond B	26 Broadway, New York		10
Bacon, Augustus, jr	2193 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.	6	3
Bacon, Charles T	25 Beacon Street, Newton, Mass	4	2
Bacon, Eugene L	65 Alden Street, Waltham, Mass	10	30
Bacon, Helen H	Care of First National Bank, Boston, Mass.		21
Bacon, Horace	2 Symmes Street, Roslindale, Mass	6	3
Bacon, Miss Maud E	1081 Boyslton Street, Boston, Mass		29
Bacon, Samuel H	45 Brown Street, Waltham, Mass		280
Baglee, Albert H	Box 28, 25 Gage Street, Needham, Mass.		40
Bail, John W	1695 Beacon Street, Brookline, Mass.	15	
Bailey, Abby C	90 Babcock Street, Brookline, Mass		60
Bailey, Andrew J	Tremont Building, Boston, Mass	50	
Bailey, John M., deceased, Mr. Dugan, executor of estate, 57 State Street.	93 State Street, Albany, N. Y	100	50
Baker, Abijah	12 Windom Street, Somerville, Mass.		5
Baker, Amelia R	South Yarmouth, Mass	3	1
Baker, Annie R	665 Andover Street, Lowell, Mass	10	
Baker, Bessie M	509 Essex Street, Lynn, Mass	1	
Baker, C. H	589 Essex Street, Lynn, Mass	225	112
Baker, Edmund K	317 Main Street, Springfield, Mass	50	
Baker, Ellen Talbot	37 Newbury Street, Boston, Mass	100	400
Baker, Frank H	Stafford Springs, Conn		25
Baker, G. H. & Co	do		50
Baker, George H	Woonsocket, R. I		200
Baker, Leonard B	Stafford Springs, Conn		25
Baker, Maude A	R. F. D. 1, Box 60, Hudson, N. H	13	35
Baker, Rosie Eva	104 Florence Street, Roslindale, Mass.		150
Baker, Thaddeus	60½ West Cedar Street, Waltham, Mass.		50
Ball, Frank	140 Lowell Street, Waltham, Mass	55	190
Ballem, Jos. M	Marginal Street, East Boston	520	70
Bancroft, Eben D	Hopedale, Mass	100	
Bancroft, Emma J	17 Ware Road, Auburndale, Mass		20
Bancroft, Nellie B	Rochester, N. H		30
Barber, Anna A	21 Gardner Street, Allston, Mass	10	70
Bargoodian, Harry	377 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass		100
Barker, Alice E	117 Ridgewood Avenue, Daytona, Fla.	20	
Barker, Mrs. Julia A	740 Washington Street, Bath, Me	11	5
Barker, Walter H	Chamber of Commerce, Boston, Mass.		10
Barker, Willard	365 Orchard Street, Watertown, Mass.	21	1
Barnard, Charles A	Goffstown, N. H	114	50
Barnard, Henry W	Andover, Mass		100
Barnard, Jos. G	Stratham, N. H	86	50
Barnard, W. E	48 Vernon Street, West Medford, Mass.		2
Barnes, Alvina F	265 West 81st Street, New York City, N. Y.	15	
Barnes, Hattie B	Washington, Conn		103
Barnes Geo. J	28 Prentiss Street, Cambridge, Mass.		55
Barnes, James P	265 West 81st Street, New York City, N. Y.	50	

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Cmm on shares.
Barnes, Mrs. Jennie F.	Wilton, N. H.	15	7
Barnes, John	Newtonville, Mass	110	10
Barnett, Eugenia C	281 Clinton Avenue, Newark, N. J.		100
Barnett, Geo. E	do		150
Barney, Everett H	Springfield, Mass	550	50
Barney, Geo. Fred	Southboro, Mass	86	18
Barney, Geo. M	Masonic Building, Portland, Me	25	
Barney, L. C. Dreyfus	Washington, D. C., American Security & Trust Co.		35
Barney, Natalie C., and S. C. Dreyfus Barney, trustees for Alice P. Barney (with respect to Natalie C. Barney u/w trust agreement dated Feb. 9, 1911).	do		18
Barney, Natalie C., and S. C. Dreyfus Barney, trustees for Alice P. Barney (with respect to S. C. Dreyfus Barney u/t agreement dated Feb. 9, 1911).	do		17
Barney, Natalie C	do		35
Barothy, Francis A	7619 East Lake Terrace, Chicago, Ill.		100
Barrett, Caroline A	81 Myrtle Street, Melrose, Mass	75	
Barrett, Eliza M	Hotel Lenox, Boston, Mass	20	10
Barrows, Fletcher L	Middleboro, Mass	100	
Barrow, Harriet C	3 Oak Street, Brattleboro, Vt	389	67
Barrow, Sarah E	Brattleboro, Vt	90	25
Barry, Jos. A	181 Revere Road, Winthrop, Mass.		50
Bartlett Bros. Co	State Street, Boston, Mass		610
Bartlett, Charles	Derry, N. H.	60	17
Bartlett, D. Wendell	31 Milk Street, Boston, Mass		100
Bartlett, Lewis H	63 Howard Street, Lynn, Mass	100	
Bartlett, Schuyler S. Abel.	Wareham, Mass., care of A. D. Makepeace, D. Makepeace, Simeon Lewis, trustees under will of Geo. F. Baker.	50	
Barton, Alice S	127 Oakleigh Road, Newton, Mass.		100
Barton, Flora H	1880 Elm Street, Manchester, N. H.	25	
Barton, Sarah B	14 Dorset Street, South Boston, Mass.	4	2
Bassett, Wm	53 Baltimore Street, Lynn, Mass		50
Batchelder, Alice S	21 Ash Street, Danvers, Mass	6	3
Batchelder, Caroline E	30 Court Street, Dedham, Mass	100	
Batchelder, Charles F	41 Runford Street, Concord, N. H.	34	19
Batchelder, Grace F	60 South State Street, Concord, N. H.		20
Batchelder, Mary E	Care of W. P. Burpee, Manchester, N. H.		50
Bates, Albert P	60 Brighton Avenue, Allston, Mass	25	13
Bates, Charles S	119 Lincoln Street, Boston, Mass.		200
Bates, Grace M	60 Brighton Avenue, Allston, Mass.	25	12
Bates, Harry H	19 Harris Street, North Cambridge, Mass.	2	1
Bates, Kimball W	Manchester, N. H.	20	
Battles, Jos. P	32 Thomas Street, New York City		7
Baxter, Edwin	West Dennis, Mass	10	5
Beals, Sidney L	Tremont Building, Boston, Mass.	10	
Bean, Forest	15 State Street, Boston, Mass		80
Bean, J. Walter	51 Harvard Avenue, West Medford, Mass.	23	13
Beane, Charles E	South Street, Calais, Me	10	
Beane, Enoch	50 Mount Vernon Street, Cambridge, Mass.	25	12
Beck, Herbert C	71 Kilby Street, Boston, Mass		5
Beckhard, Lester M	1780 Beacon Street, Brookline, Mass.		150
Beddows, Fred L	8 Spring Street, North Adams, Mass.	75	25
Beebe, Katherine M	4 Franklin Terrace, Hyde Park, Mass.	50	
Belleveau, Jos. B	419 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.	30	
Bemis, Thomas	1815 Prospect Street, Indianapolis, Ind.		300
Benjamin, Florence A	West Stockholm, N. Y		5
Benjamin, Miss Lillian I	do		5
Benjamin, Stanley D	do	3	23
Bennett, Arthur J	28 School Street, Boston, Mass		115
Bennett, Daniel C	448 Broadway, Albany, N. Y	136	126
Bennett, Ellen F	11 Edson Street, Lowell, Mass	5	
Bennett, Eleanor M	88 Lancaster Street, Albany, N. Y.		25
Bennett, Emmaline S	do	4	44
Bennett, Noel S	do		25
Bent, Frederick H	20 Milk Street, Boston, Mass		20
Bent, Stedman	Overbrook, Pa	2	
Bently, Cyrus	34-39 Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill.		17
Bentley, Samuel E	69 County Street, New Bedford, Mass.		200
Berenson, Bernard	20 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass.		10
Berger, Carl	54 Tompkins Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.	12	1
Berger, Jos. A., jr	Post-office box 91, Upper Montclair, N. J.	29	9
Berry, Fannie S	Rochester, N. H		50
Berry, Fred P	Rochester, N. H. (15 School Street)		60
Berry, Grace	481 Maple Street, Manchester, N. H.		13
Berry, Walter C	Kennard Building, Manchester, N. H.	25	37
Bevington, Alice B	124 Butler Street, Lawrence, Mass.	5	55
Bevington, John H	92 Ames Street, Lawrence, Mass	20	
Bevington, Thomas	Bay State Building, Lawrence, Mass.	161	91

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.
Bianchetti, Felix	70 Carver Street, Boston, Mass		15
Bickford, Leroy M	17 Warren Avenue, Hyde Park, Mass.	5	
Bickwell, Frank M	14 Leland Street, Malden, Mass	50	60
Bickwell, Frank M. (trustee.	do	8	4
Bidwell, James F	21 Hampden Street, Springfield, Mass.	25	
Bidwell, Raymond A	Main Street, Springfield, Mass	36	
Bigelow, Albert H	Harvard, Mass	5	
Bigelow, Alvah H	121 Federal Street, Salem, Mass	71	100
Bigelow, Mabel W	Federal Street, Salem, Mass	20	
Berger, Joseph A	Upper Montclair, N. J	5	
Benjamin, Wallace W	103 Mystic Street, West Medford, Mass.	3	28
Billings, Charles M	58 Church Street, Salem, Mass		200
Birchard, Charles T	631 Exchange Building, Boston, Mass.		800
Bird, Frank M	Canton, Mass	400	
Bisco, Charles E	593 Maple Street, Manchester, N. H.	20	
Bishop, Noble P	594 Orange Street, New Haven, Conn.		25
Bisland, Wm. A	10 West Erie Street, Chicago, Ill		30
Bissell, Edsell W	Matawan, N. J		100
Bixby, Henry M	Salem, Mass	300	200
Black, Clifton D	700 Harrison Avenue, Boston, Mass.	5	
Black, Edwin	844 Sheridan Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.		5
Black, Elvira S	6622 Apple Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.		5
Blackall, R. C., estate of	Care Jean P. Howe, executor, 20 Lawrence Street, Newark, N. J.	86	43
Blaisdell, Stephen J	163 O Street, South Boston, Mass	10	5
Blake Bros. & Co	Devonshire Street, Boston, Mass	95	170
Blake, Miss Fannie E	Larch Avenue, Inglewood, Cal., R. F. D. Box 636.	12	6
Blake, Helen M	9 Remington Street, Cambridge, Mass.	33	2
Blanchard & Gould	West Acton, Mass		100
Blanchard, Mrs. Fanny W.	Wilton, N. H	12	12
Blanchard, Gordon	61 Nonotuck Street, Holyoke, Mass.	50	
Blanchard, Henry G	1631 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.	5	2
Blanchard, Jos. B	94 Center Street, Milton, Mass		50
Blanchard, Lucy S	Wilton, N. H	4	2
Blanchard, Mary R	do	5	2
Blanrock, Herman	1526½ Champa Street, Denver, Colo.		100
Blatner Bros. & Co	413 Greene Street, Albany, N. Y		100
Bliss, Anna B	22 William Street, New York City.		100
Bliss, Charles F	53 High Street, Waltham, Mass		210
Bliss, James F	91 Broad Street, Boston, Mass	70	
Bliss, Mildred B	Care Farmers Loan & Trust Co., New York City.		5
Bliss, Wm. H	Care Plaza Bank, Fifty-eight Street and Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.		300
Blodget Co	Boston, Mass	222	725
Blodget, Merritt & Co	do		350
Blood, Bryant H	43 Cedar Street, New York, N. Y		5
Blood, Mary J	Groton, Mass	2	
Blume, Andrew	108 Pearl Street, Boston, Mass	200	
Blythe, William	North Adams, Mass	34	34
Bock, Mrs. L. G	171 Union Street, Memphis, Tenn		6
Bodwell, Eunice	Lexington Avenue, South Framingham, Mass.	10	
Bogert, Mrs. Julie B	699 Park Place, Brooklyn, N. Y		10
Bohaker, Andreas W	135 Stratford Street, West Roxbury, Mass.	100	
Bohaker, Annie R	do	30	12
Bolles, M., & Co	Boston, Mass		50
Bolster, Stanley M., & Grace H. McLean.	Trustees u/w Alpine McLean, 2304 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.		350
Bolster, Stanley M., & Clara H. Whitcomb, executrix, u/w Nathaniel O. Whitcomb.	2304 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.		50
Bond, Anna	511 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass		100
Bond, Francis D	Braintree, Mass	10	5
Bonsfield, Liby	1 Whitley Avenue, North Adams, Mass.		20
Bonsfield, Richard	do	30	20
Boody, McLellan & Co	111 Broadway, New York, N. Y		50
Bookheim, Doris S	371 Hamilton Street, Albany, N. Y	4	29
Bookheim, Jeanette M	972 Madison Avenue, Albany, N. Y	5	105
Bookheim, Jos. M	do	7	167
Bookheim, Louis W	98 Green Street, Albany, N. Y		20
Bookheim, Sol	230 South Pearl Street, Albany, N. Y.		33
Booth, Ernest	246 Summer Street, Boston, Mass	81	83
Booth, Frank	17 Ware Road, Auburndale, Mass.	71	83
Booth, Miss Helen	827 Second Street, Detroit, Mich		4
Booth, Henry	436 Fort Washington Avenue, New York, N. Y.		4
Borden, Susan M	219 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.		50
Bordwell, Kathryn L	8 Summer Street, Boston, Mass		100
Borgoodian, Eghia	35 Kneeland Street, Boston, Mass.		15
Boshgazanian, Elias	377 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass.		100
Bosnonian, Jos	43 Main Street, Charlestown, Mass.		45
Bourne, Mrs. Lillian E	Merchants National Bank, New Bedford, Mass.	30	
Boutwell, Frederic S	Andover, Mass	4	

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.
Bowditch, Alfred	111 Devonshire Street, Boston, Mass.	100	
Bowen, J. W. & Co	Boston, Mass		465
Bowen, S. Gilman	1293 Commonwealth Avenue, Allston, Mass.	20	
Bowers, Eugene A	Box 23, Station L, Brooklyn, N. Y.		20
Bowers, Geo	359 Westford Street, Lowell, Mass.	72	36
Bowes, Ellen C	605 Chamber of Commerce Building, Boston, Mass.	10	
Bowker, John R	19 Doane Street, Boston, Mass		10
Bowman, Frances E	Jerseyville, Ill		100
Bowron, Ida M	26 Elm Hill Avenue, Roxbury, Mass.	50	100
Boyd, Lydia S	503 Blue Hill Avenue, Roxbury, Mass.	20	3
Boyden, Charles	50 Congress Street, Boston, Mass		370
Boynton, Geo. E	Waltham, Mass		50
Bradford, Clifton G	556 Cambridge Street, Alton, Mass.	8	
Bradford, Robert F	414 Atlantic Avenue, Boston, Mass	4	
Bradford, Wm. A	14 Wall Street, New York, N. Y	525	
Bradley, Emily M	18 High Street, Newport, R. I	5	2
Bradt, Julia B	Hotel Ludlow, Boston, Mass	9	5
Brady, Annie E	187 Main Street, Brockton, Mass		10
Brainerd, Charles D	Danville, Vt	385	147
Bray, Mary M	Yarmouthport, Mass	3	1
Breck, Charles A	Tilton, N. H		80
Breed, Mary A	26 Broad Street, Lynn, Mass		50
Breitenfeldt, Charles	1713 School Street, Chicago, Ill		50
Brenner, Jos	Hurleyville, N. Y	10	110
Breslin, Michael F	Hotel Ludlow, Boston, Mass	20	
Brett, Herman P	8 Highland Avenue, Beverly, Mass	100	
Brewster, Wm. H., est	24 Central Street, Boston, Mass	77	107
Briggs, Mrs. Charlotte A	2 Lagrange Street, Salem, Mass	40	20
Briggs, Ella M	27 Walnut Street, Onconta, N. Y.	570	60
Briggs, Fred E	Attleboro, Mass	7	0
Brigham, Edmond F	367 Harvard Street, Brookline, Mass.		50
Bright, Sears & Co	Boston, Mass	995	3,027
Brock, Charles F	128 Moody Street, Waltham, Mass.	50	
Bronson, Dillon	Park Street, Brookline, Mass	50	
Bronson, Mrs. Susan H	Care of Mr. Dillon Bronson, 59 Commercial Street, Boston, Mass.	50	
Brooks, Barney L	139 Franklin Street, Portland, Me.	10	
Brough, Alexander	13 Pomona Avenue, Providence, R. I.	35	16
Brough, Jane A	do	31	15
Brough, Louise	do	2	1
Broun, Myrtle L	103 State Street, Chicago, Ill		100
Brown, Albert O., trustee for J. Frank Perkins.	1008 Elm Street, Manchester, N. H.		10
Brown, Albert O., trustee for Ida H. Towle.	do	23	13
Brown, Alice Crane	470 Quincy Avenue, Braintree, Mass.	50	
Brown, Augustus D	Epping, N. H		400
Brown, Bertha B	164 Hicks Street, Brooklyn, N. Y		10
Brown, Carrie S	Millridge, Me	140	
Brown, Charles B	745 Chestnut Street, Manchester, N. H.	70	195
Brown, C. L	Atlantic, Iowa	3	25
Brown, D. Arthur	22 High Street, Everett, Mass		10
Brown, Edith G	Winchester, Mass	13	
Brown, Harold W	73 Tremont Street, Room 524, Boston, Mass.		125
Brown, Herbert P	137 Washington Square, Salem, Mass.	17	158
Brown, John M	16 School Street, Dorchester, Mass.		100
Brown, Jos. P	143 Mountain Avenue, Malden, Mass.	7	
Brown, Lesley D	29 Calumet Road, Winchester, Mass.	50	70
Brown, Mary Stuart	72 Sargent Street, Winthrop, Mass.		20
Brown, Moses M	Valley Falls, R. I	10	110
Brown, Nancy M	745 Chestnut Street, Manchester, N. H.	10	5
Brown, Olive A	Box 65, Rye Beach, N. H	43	28
Brown, Oliver F	71 Williams Street, New Bedford, Mass.	25	13
Brown, Oliver F., trustee u/w Benj. H. Waite.	Box 396, New Bedford, Mass		40
Brown, Otis S	1725 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Mass.	25	12
Brown, Sam. C	104 Walter Street, Roslindale, Mass.		10
Brown, Waldo M	Wellesley Hills, Mass	3	
Brown, Walter J	29 Calumet Road, Winchester, Mass.		50
Brown, Willard H	41 Washington Square, Salem, Mass.	40	20
Brown, Wm. G	Gloucester, Mass		200
Brown Bros. Co	Boston, Mass	200	55
Browning, Charles A	19 Bellevue Street, Medford, Mass.		15
Browning, Sarah E	14 Edison Avenue, Medford, Mass.	25	20
Bryan, Wilbur P	Waterbury, Conn	50	
Buck, Harriet A	324 Myrtle Street, Manchester, N. H.	20	
Buckley, Catherine	378 Clinton Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.	2	77
Buckley, Katherine	do	2	173
Buckley, M. Adelaide	do		40
Buckley, Marceline L	do		40
Buckley, Margaret F	173 South Main Street, Wayland, Mass.		40
Buckley, Margaret M	378 Clinton Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.	3	72
Buckley, Stella	do	3	33
Bugbee, Alice Johnson	76 Bellevue Street, Willimantic, Conn.	410	163
Bugbee, E. Frank	Williamantic, Conn	78	97
Bulkeley, Richard B	Hartford, Conn	3	1

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.
Bulkeley, Wm. E. A	Hartford, Conn	5	1
Bulman, James D	Sweetsburg, Quebec, Canada	53	35
Bulman, Mary E	Manchester, N. H	15	45
Bunker, Willis I	Bangor, Me	50	
Bunnell, Henry G	48 Broad Street, New York		10
Bunnell, Irving	44 Broad Street, New York		20
Bunten, Frederick R	94 Pearl Street, Boston, Mass	50	75
Burch, James Y	19 Davis Street, Syracuse, N. Y		10
Burdett, Alice A	160 Riverway, Boston, Mass	50	
Burdick, Elmer E	40 Wall Street, New York		25
Burgess, Mary Mackie	96 Danforth Street, Portland, Me	20	
Burke, Edw. J	186 Northampton Street, Boston, Mass.		20
Burke, James F	1001 Old South Building, Boston, Mass.		50
Burnam, Curtis F	1418 Eutaw Place, Baltimore, Md	2	28
Burnett, Laura F	Lexington, Mass	50	
Burnett, Robert E	19 Congress Street, Boston, Mass	100	
Burnett, Robert F	61 James Street, Malden, Mass	3	
Burnette, Howard W	State Road, Lexington, Mass	6	
Burnham, Anna G	1419 Cambridge Street, Cambridge, Mass.		511
Burnham, Ellen E	142 Mount Grove Street, Lowell, Mass.	16	4
Burnham, Franklin J	Hotel Somerset, Boston, Mass	700	200
Burnham, Willard A	Box 13, South Essex Mass	58	33
Burnham, William F	31 State Street, Albany, N. Y	10	5
Burnham, Bennett & Co	Boston, Mass		50
Burnes, Geo. S	98 Orchard Street, Boston, Mass		25
Burpee, Frank H	1814 West Venango Street, Philadelphia, Pa	12	12
Burpee, Jennie A	200 Young Street, Manchester, N. H.	5	2
Burpee, Mary C	1814 Venango Street, Philadelphia, Pa.	83	41
Burpee, Wm. B	Manchester, N. H		300
Burr, Annie L	9 Walten Street, Dorchester, Mass.		30
Burr, Geo. H	Care of S. B. Chapin & Co., 10 Wall Street, New York City.		10
Burr, Hattie A	32 Wayne Street, Boston, Mass	150	100
Burr, Henry W	Hingham, Mass	5	
Burrage, Francis J	100 Franklin Street, Boston, Mass.	10	
Burrows, Mrs. Augusta B	70 Fairmount Street, Lowell, Mass.	16	8
Burrows, Percy F	New Rochelle, N. Y	4	2
Burt, Alonzo	Cohannet Street, Taunton, Mass		5
Burt, Clara M	Missouri Botanical Garden, St. Louis, Mo.	207	
Burt, Edward A	do	658	48
Burt, Edward W	32 West Street, Boston, Mass	20	
Burt, Gertrude I	Stateway Apartments, Portland, Me.	70	
Burt, Marion U	do	110	
Burton, Hiram M	19 Milk Street, Boston, Mass	117	200
Butler, Geo. F	79 Main Street, Watertown, Mass		75
Butler, John S	Care of General Electric Co., Boston, Mass.	2	2
Butterfield, Andrew P	45 Upton Street, Boston, Mass	100	
Buttrick, Clara G	307 Wilder Street, Lowell, Mass	100	50
Byers, H. W	Harlan, Shelby County, Iowa		3
Cable, Anna D	2 Park Square, Boston, Mass	20	10
Cain, Cnastina W	Union Trust Co., Springfield, Mass.	50	
Cairns, Laura D	52 Temple Place, Boston, Mass., Care of Old Colony Trust Co.	38	85
Caldwell, Abbie F., administratrix estate Henry J. Caldwell.	R. F. D. No. 1, Derry N. H	20	
Do	do	100	
Caldwell, A. M	East Jaffrey, N. H		5
Callahan, Thomas	Bondsville, Mass		10
Callan, Mrs. Anna M	1 Mountfort Street, Boston, Mass.	9	20
Callender, Walter	239 Westminster Street, Providence, R. I.	63	35
Caller, Miss Lucy L	New Hampshire (Jaffrey)	17	8
Cameron, Susie L. M	49 Winter Street, Fall River, Mass		20
Camp, D. W	116 South Main Street, Middleton, Conn.	10	5
Campbell, Addie C	185 Linden Street, Fall River, Mass	7	4
Campbell, Christia N	Augusta, Me	10	
Campbell, Mrs. Emily H	788 High Street, Dedham, Mass	25	
Campbell, Jennie L	44 West Fourth Street, Williamsport, Pa.	10	5
Campbell, Soloman A	90 Waban Park, Newton, Mass	20	
Canfield, Adelbert J	The Kenwood, 40 Inman Street, Cambridge, Mass.		60
Carciotto, Carlo	272 A. Shawmut Avenue, Boston, Mass.		25
Carey, Jeremiah F	426 Main Street, Woburn, Mass		10
Carey, Wm. B	222 Liberty Street, Lowell, Mass	85	42
Carleton, Geo. H	6 Maple Avenue, Haverhill, Mass	55	5
Carlson, Emil	335 Maple Street, Lynn, Mass	10	
Carlton, Helen D	25 Prescott Street, Newtonville, Mass.	10	
Carney, Grace C	R.F.D. Lock Box 60, Hudson, N.H.	9	33
Carpenter, Agnes W	31 Milk Street, Boston, Mass		2
Carpenter, E.M. (Ernest M)	Salem, Mass	46	26
Carpenter, Frank P	Manchester, N. H	19	300
Carpenter, Miss Mary J	North Chichester, N. H	190	100
Carpenter, Sarah J	31 King Street, Worcester, Mass	20	
Carret, Hannah T., Zilpha D. Smith, and Alfred E. Chase, trustees u/w Esther H. Hanks.	Lexington, Mass	40	20
Carroll, Gilley H	446 Humphrey Street, Swampscott Mass.		10
Carter, Martha J	Care of Hadley & Burgess, Manchester, N. H.	25	12

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.
Carter, Mrs. Mary H. W.	57 Marlboro Street, Newburyport, Mass.	66	30
Carvelle, Ellen G	268 Walnut Street, Manchester, N. H.	30	15
Case, Miss Julia E	373 Wallingford Avenue, Athol, Mass.	2	.....
Casey, Alice F	188 Essex Street, Salem, Mass	.....	5
Casey, Annie A	42 Angell Street, Dorchester, Mass.	.....	55
Casey, Thomas	379 Market Street, Brighton, Mass.	110	.....
Cass, Myra A	527 McDonough Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.	8	4
Cassidy, John M	Tower Street, Jamaica Plain, Mass.	.....	10
Castle, Edwin J	Metheun, Mass	30	15
Caswell, Wm. T	Union Street, New Bedford, Mass.	.....	40
Cates, Leonard A	45 Temple Place, Boston, Mass.	.....	10
Caulkins, Frederick L	Middletown, Conn	20	10
Cavanagh, Edith A	1115 Bergen Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.	.....	100
Cavanagh, Paul F	do	.....	100
Cavanaugh, Edwin F	31 Union Square, New York City	.....	30
Cavenaugh, H. J	Atlantic, Iowa	.....	5
The Central Trust Co. of Indianapolis, trustee for estate of Daniel P. Erwin.	Indianapolis, Ind	.....	132
Chace, Carrie S	Chepachet, R. I.	15	.....
Chace, Henry E	Fall River, Mass	10	.....
Chace, Nathan	do	20	.....
Chadbourne, Elizabeth M.	Chadbourne Farm, North Berwick, Me.	.....	4
Chadwick, Geo. B	53 Rogers Street, Portsmouth, N. H.	40	50
Chadwick, Mrs. Mary E.	117 Milk Street, New Bedford, Mass.	16	8
Chafey, Roland E	100 Franklin Street, Boston, Mass.	100	.....
Chaffin, Wm. E	Egypt, Mass	11	1
Chamberlain, Chester L	81 Dover Street, Lowell, Mass	.....	35
Chamberlain, Frank H	25 Pleasant Street, Hudson, Mass.	12	7
Champlin, Orline	104 Laurel Hill Avenue, Norwich, Conn.	20	10
Champlin, Robert E	110 Progress Avenue, Providence, R. I.	12	6
Chandler, Benj. M	Manchester, N. H. (Peoples Savings Bank).	25	12
Chandler, Byron	1482 Broadway, New York	45	22
Chandler, Eloise P	Corner Bay and North Streets, Manchester, N. H.	83	42
Chandler, Fanny M	Myrtle and Walnut Streets, Manchester, N. H.	20	10
Chandler, Geo. H	Manchester, N. H.	.....	103
Chandler, Lucy R	Bay, corner North Street, Manchester, N. H.	95	47
Chandler, Mary R	Care of The Shepard Co., Providence, R. I.	10	.....
Chapman, Alice L. A	Evanston, Wyo	.....	2
Charak, Thomas	502 Massachusetts Avenue, Central Square, Cambridge, Mass.	.....	20
Charles, Will A	101 Milk Street, Boston, Mass	8	4
Charleton, Robert W	148 Moody Street, Waltham, Mass	.....	400
Chartier, Harriet E	1569 Beacon Street, Brookline, Mass.	.....	200
Chase, Mrs. Alice J	263 Fairmount Street, Lowell, Mass.	5	.....
Chase, Alice M	Pembroke Building, Manchester, N. H.	.....	40
Chase, Miss Alice W	47 Prentiss Street, Cambridge, Mass.	10	.....
Chase, Charles F	79 Cushing Street, Waltham, Mass	.....	45
Chase, Edward N	532 Albany Building, Boston, Mass.	10	.....
Chase, Elenora	Post-office box 57, South Yarmouth, Mass.	5	2
Chase, Geo. M	175 Trenton Street, East Boston, Mass.	.....	50
Chase, John B	Lyndon, Vt	4	2
Chase, Mary E., estate of	Walter E. Parker, administrator, 217 Haverhill Street, Lawrence, Mass.	150	74
Chase & Barstow	Boston, Mass	515	5,700
Chelius, Herman P	Exeter Chambers, Exeter Street, Boston, Mass.	11	1
Cheney, Wm. E	222 Huntington Avenue, Boston, Mass.	.....	50
Chenet, Azelie	175 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass	.....	13
Chesley, T. Jewett	Dover, N. H	15	.....
Chesney, Annie M., Mrs.	2833 North Calvert Street, Baltimore, Md.	220	.....
Chesterton, Arthur W	64 India Street, Boston, Mass	140	440
Chipman Bros	Pearl Street, Cambridge, Mass	.....	10
Choate, Florance S	26 Grove Street, Augusta, Me	5	55
Churchill, Richard F	178 Central Street, Winter Hill, Mass.	1	.....
Clancy, Lottie L	Box 21, Reading, Mass	.....	35
Clancy, Mary A	56 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass	.....	10
Clapp, Gilmer	94 Ames Building, Boston, Mass.	198	3
Clapp, Gilmer, treasurer	do	1	15
Clapp, Gilmer, trustee	do	.....	50
Clapp, Gilmer, trustee for stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co.	Boston, Mass	.....	98
Clapp, Gilmer, trustee for stockholders of Lawson Consolidated Store Service Co.	Boston, Mass	589	295
Clare, Sarah	157 Lincoln Street, Newton Highlands, Mass.	30	.....
Clark, Adele F	1045 Ames Building, Boston, Mass.	24	20

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.
Clark, Edith B	82 Elm Street, Worcester, Mass	.....	75
Clark, Eugene F	103 South Market Street, Boston, Mass.	.....	150
Clark, Frank W	Welleston, Vt	1	.....
Do	165 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass	.....	1
Clark, F. Williams	Gilbertville, Mass	10	10
Clark, I. R	54 Devonshire Street, Boston, Mass.	100	50
Clark, J. Dudley	Sherborn, Mass	.....	5
Clark, John Edwin	Box 366, Baltimore, Md. (care of J. K. Voshell.)	126	66
Clark, Marion A	Care of L. E. G. Green, 54 State Street, Boston, Mass.	28	.....
Clark, Mary	128A Tremont Street, Boston, Mass.	.....	10
Clark, Mary C	do	.....	10
Clark, Patty Lee	1 Fern Street, Hartford, Conn	30	.....
Clark, Walter G	28 Summer Street, Boston, Mass	.....	100
Clarke, Ermina E	Milford, N. H	50	.....
Clarke, Henry W	Box 274, Fall River, Mass	51	18
Clarke, Wm. C	Wakefield, R. I	.....	30
Classen, Maria H	27 Round Hill Street, Roxbury, Mass.	30	.....
Clausen, Ellen A	22 Broadway, Beverly, Mass	10	.....
Clay, Benj. B	Hotel Warren, Roxbury, Mass	.....	20
Cleary, Maria E	56 Norway Street, Boston, Mass	.....	9
Cleaves, Mary A	155 Milk Street, Boston, Mass	.....	10
Cleaves, Sarah D	65 Essex Street, Beverly, Mass	5	2
Clemensson, Knut	916 Guarantee Building, Minneapolis, Minn.	.....	20
Clement, Charles S	Nashua, N. H	.....	5
Clement, Susie P	Box 19, Gorham, Me	25	.....
Clement Parker & Co	70 State Street, Boston, Mass	1,245	995
Clerk, Mrs. A. Gertrude	Pigeon Cove, Mass	10	5
Clough, Herbert T	209 State Street, Bangor, Me	300	.....
Clum, Eliza J	Milton, Mass	10	10
Cobb, estate Abbie L	Care of Chas. E. Walker, 73 Beacon Hill Avenue, Lynn, Mass.	2	1
Cobb, D. Freeman	Hingham, Mass	.....	25
Cobb, Melville L	10 Post Office Square, Boston, Mass.	90	20
Cobb, Sewell R	Congreve Street, Roslindale, Mass.	50	.....
Cobb, Walter D	49 Greenbriar Street, Dorchester, Mass.	4	.....
Cochrane, Isaac A	82 South Market Street, Boston, Mass.	10	.....
Coes, John H	1058 Main Street, Worcester, Mass.	35	20
Coffin, Hattie M	Mrs. Hattie C. Ward, Cherryfield, Me.	5	.....
Cogan, Jennie L	96 Eleventh Street, Providence, R. I.	.....	25
Coggan, M. Sumner	Garland Avenue, Malden, Mass	10	.....
Cogswell, Willis	452 Pine Street, Manchester, N. H.	.....	100
Cohen, Louis	1261 Madison Avenue, New York	.....	100
Cohen Bros	790 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.	10	14
Cohill, David Y	34 Pleasant Street, Salem, Mass	200	.....
Colburn, Caro F	Hotel Westminster, Boston, Mass.	.....	20
Colburn, Josie M	248 Prospect Street, Manchester, N. H.	12	6
Colby, Annie R	362 Hanover Street, Manchester, N. H.	116	58
Cole, Benjamin	46 Commerce Street, Boston, Mass.	10	.....
Cole, Carrie F	456 Broadway, South Boston, Mass.	10	5
Cole, Harry	Avon, Livingston County, N. Y.	3	3
Cole, John N	Locke, Street, Andover, Mass.	.....	100
Coleman, Harry	331 Huntington Avenue, Boston, Mass.	.....	120
Collett, Charlotte E	Bangor, Me	10	.....
Collett, H. Eugene	do	110	.....
Collins, Belle J	Care of H. Collins, 59 St. John Street, New York, N. Y.	6	.....
Collins, Benj. J	Edgartown, Mass	.....	100
Collins, Major	Indianapolis, Ind	.....	200
Collins, Spalding & Co	10 Post Office Square, Boston, Mass	.....	30
Colton, A. L	805 Main Street, Springfield, Mass.	.....	2
Colton, Geo. H	Springfield, Mass	.....	6
Combs, Arthur P	115 Florence Street, Springfield, Mass.	30	.....
Conant, Beatrice E	Salem, Mass	2	22
Conant, James S	394 Atlantic Avenue, Boston, Mass.	30	.....
Conant, James S	125 Summer Street, Boston, Mass	20	.....
Concannon, Patrick	Mattapan, Mass	1	.....
Conkey, W. L	Appleton, Wis	.....	100
Conley, E. Adeline	12 Mellen Street, Ashmont, Mass	6	3
Connell, John J	51 Summer Street, Boston, Mass	5	.....
Connelly, Mary F	93 Dale Street, Roxbury, Mass	.....	50
Conner, Arthur J	Box 2853, Boston, Mass	.....	400
Connolly, Bartholomew J.	93 Dale Street, Roxbury, Mass	.....	50
Connor, Carrie A	West Henniker, N. H	20	.....
Connor, Thomas F	66 Hanover Street, Manchester, N. H.	.....	50
Connor, Walter A	West Henniker, N. H	60	25
Converse, Edith B	Stafford Springs, Conn	7	.....
Converse, J. Carl	do	100	.....
Converse, Susan A	34 Chatham Street, Worcester, Mass.	10	5
Conway, Cecelia J	83 Woodlawn Street, Forest Hills, Mass.	.....	50
Cook, Jos. F	244 Milk Street, Boston, Mass	10	.....
Cook, Mrs. Helena M	31 Vine Street, Roxbury, Mass	18	3
Cook, Orrin W	9 Kings Highway, West Springfield, Mass.	11	.....
Cook, Patrick J	2555 Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.	.....	100
Do	do	.....	300
Cook, William E	10 Lexington Terrace, Waltham, Mass.	1	11

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.
Cooke, Bertha R.	Union National Bank, Lowell, Mass.	15	
Coolidge, Clinton A.	Waltham, Mass., care of Waltham Trust Co.		60
Coolidge, Fanny G.	402 Arlington Street Watertown, Mass.	25	15
Coolidge, Frank W.	38 Highland Street, Portland, Me.		50
Coolidge, H. Adelaide	402 Arlington Street, Watertown, Mass.	25	15
Coolidge, Penelope F.	64 Waumbeck Street, Roxbury, Mass.	3	1
Cooper, Lucinda K.	Post Office Box 303, Orange, Mass.	10	
Cooper, Lydia A.	1195 Beacon Street, Brookline, Mass.		300
Corey, Harold D.	Farlow Road, Newton, Mass	1,100	
Corey, Millken & Co.	15 State Street, Boston, Mass.		10
Corliss, Michael J.	354 West Broadway, South Boston, Mass.	52	266
Corning, Christopher R.	36 Wall Street, New York City	785	
Do	do		3,300
Cory, C. Roy	Jerseyville, Ill.		60
Cota, Geo. W.	106 Chestnut Street, Chelsea, Mass.		50
Cousins, Mrs. Ada L.	18 Linden Street, Salem, Mass	50	330
Cousins, Charles	18 Linden Street, Salem, Mass	15	
Cowles, Harriet W.	108 School Street, Springfield, Mass.	25	
Cowley, Emma F.	Minot, Mass.	40	20
Cowley, James T.	do	20	210
Cowley, Wm. M.	213 New York Block, Seattle, Wash.	5	2
Coyle, Edith W.	Richmond Court, Brookline, Mass.	2	
Crafts, Henry W.	34 River Street, West Newton, Mass.	30	100
Cragin, Emma F.	Peterboro, N. H.	6	
Craggy, Lucy S.	93 Myrtle Street, Manchester, N.H.		50
Craig, Wm.	Front Street, Chicopee, Mass.		35
Craig, Wm. N.	Faulkner Park, Brookline, Mass.		25
Cram, Bertha M.	19 Orchard Street, West Lynn, Mass.	1	1
Cram, Clara L.	Box 103, Darlington, Md.	10	2
Cramm, Helen	15 Commonwealth Avenue, Haverhill, Mass.		10
Crane, Edward M.	Box 204, Hardwick, Vt.		50
Crane, Lucy S. H.	133 State Street, Bangor, Me.	25	
Crane, Philip A.	Stonybrook, Mass.	30	
Crane, Sam. V.	Blackstone, Mass.	10	
Craven, Emily L.	218 Stevens Street, Lowell, Mass.	50	
Crehore, Charles L.	Dedham, Mass	7	
Crehore, Lucy C.	do	10	
Creighton, Geo. A.	261 Ocean Avenue, Lynn, Mass.	100	
Cressy, B. D.	100 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass., care of Oakes Ames.		15
Cressy, Wm. H.	266 Central Street, Manchester, N. H.		10
Crocker, Carleton W.	401 Meridian Street, East Boston, Mass.		50
Crocker, Mrs. Cornelia M.	459 Washington Street, Brookline, Mass.	11	1
Crocker, Eliza A.	Yarmouthport, Mass.	5	2
Crocker, Frederick W.	14 T. Wharf, Boston, Mass		10
Crocker, Josephine D.	72 Professors' Row, Tufts College, Boston, Mass.	4	2
Crocker, Mary S.	Yarmouthport, Mass.	4	1
Crocker, N. Henry	459 Washington Street, Brookline, Mass.	10	
Crockett, Lewis W.	Manchester, N. H.		300
Croissant, Martin	251 Sheridan Avenue, Albany, N. Y.		60
Croissant, Nellie F.	do		45
Crombie, Harriet Slade	Hotel Bretton Hall, 86th and Broadway, New York, N. Y.	16	
Crone, James E.	50 State Street, Boston, Mass.		10
Cronin, Grover	Moody Street, Waltham, Mass		150
Crosby, Annie B.	72 Center Street, Brookline Mass.	5	2
Crosby, Frank M.	57 Quincy Market, Boston, Mass.		250
Do	98 Huntington Avenue, Boston, Mass.	352	50
Crosman, Geo. L.	564 Forest Avenue, Portland, Me.	75	
Crossman, Mary A.	do	125	
Cross, Carrie M.	45 Winthrop Street, Hyde Park, Mass.		25
Cross, Mrs. Ruby G.	Camden, Me.	3	1
Crowell, Charles W.	123 Maryland Avenue NE., Washington, D. C.		20
Crowell, Joshua	East Dennis, Mass	18	5
Crowell, Olga G.	52 Westland Avenue, Boston, Mass		13
Crowell, Susan K.	West Dennis, Mass	10	10
Crozier, Isaac W.	30 West Canton, Boston, Mass	100	
Cruse, Henry	676 Wilder Street, Lowell, Mass.	10	
Cummings, Arthur S.	185 Park Street, West Roxbury, Mass.	50	
Cummings, John	Scituate, Mass.		170
Cummings, Louis W.	88 Dudley Street, Medford, Mass.	15	
Cummings, Luella M.	820 5th Street, South Boston, Mass.		10
Cummings, Mabel H.	16 Kennard Road, Brookline, Mass.	20	
Cummings, Milon D.	Concord, N. H.		100
Cummings, Sarah A.	1 Fisk Street, Concord, N. H.		50
Cundy, Alice A.	26 Elm Hill Avenue, Roxbury, Mass.	50	100
Cunio, Augustus F.	49 Austin Street, Charlestown, Mass.		100
Cunningham, Alan	Milton, Mass	1	
Cunningham, Alice	Boston, Mass	1	
Cunningham, Francis	Lowell, Mass	1	
Cunningham, Geo. C.	Rosemont, Pa.	1	
Cunningham, Mary	Boston, Mass	1	
Cunningham, Stanley	Milton, Mass	1	

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.
Cunningham, Wm. A.	424 West 63d Street, Chicago, Ill.		100
Curnow, Geo. C.	Care of W. A. Perry, Beverly, Mass.	10	
Curran, Robert	15 Oakland Street, Brighton, Mass.		100
Currier, Emily M.	32 Deer Cove, Lynn, Mass	27	
Currier, M. Jennie	Danvers, Mass	50	
Currier, Willard A.	82 Devonshire Street, Boston, Mass.	100	
Currier, Wm. M.	168 Milk Street, Boston, Mass	90	
Curtis, Wm. F.	34 Winthrop Street, Brockton, Mass.	6	3
Curtis & Sanger	Boston, Mass	397	1,217
Cushing, Mae	73 Greenwood Street, Dorchester, Mass.	10	
Cussen, James E.	10 Corona Street, Dorchester, Mass.		25
Cutter, Geo. F.	Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Mass.		50
Dabney, F. L. & Co.	Boston, Mass.	260	210
Dacey, Frank P.	19 Temple Street, Boston, Mass		10
Dacey, Thomas M.	Marlboro, Mass	13	50
Dade, Jason C.	Gloucester, Mass		100
Dailey, Thomas F.	146 Spring Street, East Cambridge, Mass.		15
Dana, Arthur P., and Nathaniel W. Walker.	Trustees, u/w of Geo. M. Dana, 940 Exchange Building, Boston, Mass.	25	
Dane, Smith & Co.	Boston, Mass		10
Daniel, Herman G.	38 Jewett Street, Newton, Mass		20
Danzig, Alfred	36 West Twentieth Street, New York, N. Y.		20
Darling, Grace	40 Hooper Street, Springfield, Mass.		5
Darr & Moore	Boston, Mass		165
Darrah, Geo. W.	Reeds Ferry, N. H.	5	5
Davenport, Julia C.	33 Hope Street, Greenfield, Mass.	10	
Davenport, Julia L.	do	65	
Davenport, Willard P.	32 Oliver Street, Boston, Mass.		20
Davenport, estate of Wm. W.	Greenfield, Mass	100	
Davidson, Alex.	Walpole, N. H.		25
Davis, Charles A.	97 Ward Street, Roxbury, Mass.		250
Davis, Charles E.	260 Union Street, Lynn, Mass.		100
Davis, Chris.	412 Olive Street, St. Louis, Mo.		200
Davis, E. Antoinette	Beverly, Mass.	30	
Davis, Eva S.	Woodstock, Vt.		100
Davis, Francis E.	Care of United Drug Co. (Ltd.), Toronto, Canada.		10
Davis, Gilbert F.	Windsor, Vt.	2	
Davis, John H. & Co.	10 Wall Street, New York City		600
Davis, J. W. & Co.	100 Broadway, N. Y.	15	
Davis, Lane	1211 Maple Avenue, Evanston, Ind.		2
Davis, Laura L.	419 Broadway, Cambridge, Mass.		12
Davis, Mary E.	725 East Fourth Street, South Boston, Mass.		100
Daves, Catherine P.	Pittsfield, Mass	50	20
Day, Charles A. & Co.	Boston, Mass.		47
Day, James A.	17 Spruce Street, Waltham, Mass.		50
Day, J. Herbert	27 State Street, Boston, Mass		100
Day, R. L. & Co.	Boston, Mass.	350	585
Dean, Lillian F.	7 Howland Street, Roxbury, Mass.		150
Dearborn, Mrs. E. C.	Corinna, Me.		12
Dearborn, John	50 Congress Street, Boston, Mass.	400	
Dearborn, Saml. S., trustee u/w of Sarah A. Dearborn.	411 Marlboro Street, Boston, Mass.	60	
Decker, Orlady P.	7450 Normal Avenue, Chicago, Ill.	20	
Delano, Emma L.	453 Meridian Street, East Boston, Mass.	60	
De Laney, Julia A.	West Newton, Mass.	5	10
Dennis, Anna B.	Lakota Hotel, Chicago, Ill.		4
Dennison, Edward S.	35 Carmel Street, Chelsea, Mass.		100
Pomroy, Denny & Co.	30 Pine Street, New York, N. Y.	2	
Devens, Arthur L., and Thomas M. Osborne.	Trustees u/w Charles Devens, 155 Brattle Street, Cambridge, Mass.	141	
Devens, Lyman & Co.	Boston, Mass.		25
Devereux, Frank G.	Kezar Falls, Me.	25	
Devine, Walter S. A.	2488 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.	10	
Dexter, Florence	19 Inman Street, Cambridge, Mass.	15	
Dexter, Geo. F.	Billerica, Mass.		50
Dexter, Miss Harriette L.	17 Inman Street, Cambridge, Mass.	40	
Dexter, Lemuel Le Baron.	Mattapoisett, Mass.	10	5
Diamond, Annie	820 Second Street, Rensselaer, N. Y.		50
Dick, James	14 Tudor Road, Nahant, Mass.		20
Dickerson, Mrs. S. C., trustee.	724 North Eighth Street, Terre Haute, Ind.		4
Dickey, Mary M.	Care of Lee C. Abbott, 936 Elm Street, Manchester, N. H.		5
Dickey, Orrin R.	216 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.		100
Dickie, James	41 Burnham Street, West Somerville, Mass.		5
W. E. Dillaway and A. S. Temple, trustees for American Pneumatic Service Co.	161 Devonshire Street, Boston, Mass.		4
Dillaway, Wm. E. L.	45 Milk Street, Boston, Mass	50	1,000
Dillaway & Co.	Boston, Mass.	1	
Dinsmore, Abbie M.	180 Laurel Street, Manchester, N. H.	20	10
Dinsmore, Miss Amanda F	136 Fenno Street, Revere, Mass.	3	1
Dinsmore, Charles A.	Waterbury, Conn	25	
Dix, Mary A.	293 Fuller Street, West Newton, Mass.		20

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.
Dixon, Alex. John	34 West George Street, Glasgow, Scotland.	200	
Doane, Harry H	Fairfield, Vt		25
Dockham, Frank A	599 Hanover Street, Manchester, N. H.	30	30
Dodge, Mrs. Alice R	391½ Essex Street, Salem, Mass	5	
Dodge, Charles C	do	5	150
Dodge, Frances E	14 Winter Street, Salem, Mass	19	9
Dodge, Geo. I	309 Warren Street, Roxbury, Mass		10
Dodge, Hannah S	161 West College Street, Oberlin, Ohio.	40	
Dodge, Judith A	Larch Street, Wenham, Mass	10	4
Dodge, Wm. P	do	15	7
Doggett, Charles S	West Acton, Mass		1
Doggett, Wm. L			25
Doherty, Jos. E	298 Harvard Street, Cambridge, Mass.	100	50
Dold, Wm. E	River Crest Sanitarium, Astoria, Long Island, N. Y.		50
Donahue, Patrick J	64 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass.		50
Donovan, Cornelius F	4 Calumet Street, Boston, Mass		10
Doody, Catherine A	19 Second Street, Albany, N. Y		20
Dooley, Katherine	274 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass		10
Doran, Harold F	301 Lexington Avenue, Syracuse, N. Y.	4	
Dorion, Louis P. A	Haverhill, Mass	5	
Dorr, Mrs. Eunice A	Somersworth, N. H	30	5
Dorr, Percy O	35 Federal Street, Boston, Mass	100	
Dorward, Ethel M	Methuen, Mass	7	8
Dos Passos, Louis H	61 Broadway, New York		50
Doten, Elmer A	461 Cumberland Avenue, Portland, Me.	100	
Doten, Roswell F	235 State Street, Portland, Me	600	500
Dougherty, Anna E	141 Robbins Street, Waltham, Mass.		50
Dougherty, Hugh M	Waltham, Mass		35
Doughty, Harriet	Box 51, Vineland, N. J	8	
Dow, Frederick C	Manchester, N. H	1	
Dow, Frederick T	9 Arlington Road, Woburn, Mass	25	
Dow, John L	205 Lincoln Street, Boston, Mass		15
Dow, Mabel C	366 Waltham Street, West Newton, Mass.	80	
Dowd, Patrick A	4 Park Avenue Place, Worcester, Mass.		20
Downer & Co	Boston, Mass	205	1,765
Downer, Charles	Sharon, Vt	200	
Downes, Fred A	37 Market Street, Manchester, N. H	12	
Downes, Nettie M	117 Harrison Street, Manchester, N. H.	100	50
Downes, Sarah A	37 Market Street, Manchester, N. H	11	
Doyle, Bernard W	Leominster, Mass		300
Dresser, Harriette P	30 Pleasant Street, Salem, Mass	3	15
Drew, Mrs. Annette H	105 Ashland Street, Manchester, N. H.	9	
Drew, Edgar B	59 Bunard Street, Dorchester, Mass.		50
Driscoll, Frances E	801 West End Avenue, New York City.	10	35
Driscoll, Mary A	Franklin Square House, Boston, Mass.		10
Driscoll, Veronica A	3 Oakdale Street, Jamaica Plain, Boston, Mass.		10
Drossman, Saml. M	616 Old South Building, Boston, Mass.		50
Drought, James G., adms. est. of Lucy M. Drought.	Care Robert C. Fergus, 1058 National Life Building, Chicago, Ill.		600
Drought, James G	1330 Byron Street, Chicago, Ill		100
Drummond, Frank H	Box 15, Bangor, Me	80	400
Dubois, Minna	Needham, Mass	2	1
Dubuc, Miss Ida V	40 Harvard Avenue, Allston, Mass.	40	20
Dudley, Dorothy, u/g of Marguerite D. Stewart.	43 Egerton Street, Rochester, N. Y.		17
Dudley, Paul F	School Street, Milton, Mass		4
Duffy, Sylvester	Central House, Woburn, Mass		10
Du Hadway, Lucia O	Jerseyville, Ill		25
Dukie, James	326 Highland Avenue, Somerville, Mass.		10
Dunaven, Clarence E	National Shawmut Bank, Boston, Mass.		10
Dunbar, Grace H	56 Beach Avenue, Swampscott, Mass.		5
Dunbar, Wm	do		195
Duncan, John W	504 City Hall, Spokane, Wash	20	40
Dunham, Clara E	104 School Street, Roxbury, Mass.		10
Dunleavy, John G	North Easton, Mass	50	
Dunlop, Charles B	Wards Island, New York		20
Dunn, Jos. H	Columbus, Ohio		4
Dunn, Louisa	1 Shepherd Avenue, Roxbury, Mass.	30	40
Dupee, Laura Emma	22 Mansfield Street, Allston, Mass.	40	20
Durfee, Jos. W	600 Sumner Avenue, Springfield, Mass.	10	
Durgin, Charles E	205 Allston Street, Allston, Mass		5
Durgin, Horace A	4 Juniper Terrace, Roxbury, Mass.	10	5
Durmock, Paul	8 Bucklay Avenue, Jamaica Plain, Mass.		100
Dustin, Mrs. G. W	Berlin, Vt	10	5
Dwyer, Mary A	25 Melville Road, Roxbury, Mass		100
Dyche, James E	Walbrook, Station F, Baltimore, Md.	10	
Dyer, Marian	30 Fuller Street, Brockton, Mass		10
Doggett, Walton H. W	11 Idlewild Street, Allston, Mass		500
Earle, Charles B	55 Congress Street, Boston, Mass		10
Earle, Israel C	87 Irving Street, West Somerville, Mass.		10

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.
Earle, Wm. H	Agawan, Mass		10
Eaton, Arthur W	Pittsfield, Mass	5	
Eaton, Charles L	Care of S. S. Pierce Co., Tremont Street, Boston, Mass.		300
Eaton, Ezra S	219 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.		3
Eaton, Harriet M	Seattle, Wash		200
Eaton, Howard F	Blymouth, Mass		100
Eaton, Malcolm H	38 Garrison Road, Brookline, Mass		40
Ecker, Geo. W	Thicket Street, South Weymouth Mass.	45	
Eckstein, Gustave	645 West End Avenue, New York, N. Y.	10	110
Eddy, Clinton L	204 Chamber of Commerce, Boston, Mass.	200	
Eddy, Lawrence R	Bangor, Me	10	
Eddy, Mildred A	Care of F. Eddy, Bangor, Me	10	
Edes, Amanda L	Newport, N. H	20	
Edgerly, Alice S	79½ Bridge Street, Salem, Mass	20	10
Edgerly, Mrs. Ellen A	248 Franklin Street, Cambridgeport, Mass.	60	
Edgerly & Crocker	Boston, Mass	41	342
Ehrman, Walter J	166 West Eighty-seventh Street, New York, N. Y.	5	55
Eichelberger, Cora E	195 West First Street, Mansfield, Ohio.	10	
Eichorn, M. Amelia	550 Massachusetts Avenue, Boston Mass.		200
Eldred, Fred A	Springfield, Mass		1
Eliot, Edith	31 Clinton Street, New Bedford, Mass.	17	2
Elkin, Wm. W	Concord, N. H	28	3
Ellefson, Herman	427 Potomac Avenue, Chicago, Ill		10
Elliott, Florence G	Rock Street, Middleboro, Mass	200	
Elliott, Medora W	Manchester, N. H	2	1
Ellis, Fannie E	17 King Street, Dorchester, Mass	1	
Elmstrom, Robert M	59 Bartlett Street, Malden, Mass		10
Emerson, Alice W	Methuen, Mass	26	13
Emerson, Annie B	42 Pleasant Street, Methuen, Mass.	16	33
Emerson, Anna E	205 Ocean Street, Lynn, Mass	115	65
Emerson, Charles P	Indianapolis, Ind	17	2
Emerson, Mrs. Ella C	18 Ashford Street, Allston, Mass	15	
Emerson, Henry A	Henniker, N. H		50
Emerson, John D	42 Pleasant Street, Methuen, Mass.	12	102
Emerson, John W	465 Atlantic Avenue, Boston, Mass	5	
Emerson, Marion B	Methuen, Mass	31	17
Emerson, Susie R	Millis, Mass		100
Emerton, Gertrude J	Methuen, Mass		10
Emery, Dean	52 Broadway, New York, N. Y	200	
Emery, Sam T	Hotel Bristol, New York, N. Y	50	
Emmet, Greenville	52 Wall Street, New York, N. Y		50
Endicott, Eugene F	30 West Street, Boston, Mass	5	2
Enos, Elizabeth	122 Melville Avenue, Dorchester, Mass.		150
Ensign, Albert G	154 North Pearl Street, Albany, N. Y.	6	3
Ericks, Anna S	Route 2, Box 19, Warner, N. H	10	
Erickson, Frank C	153 Main Street, Peabody, Mass		20
Estabrook, Caroline H	29 Pleasant Street, Rockland, Me	8	
Estabrook, Oscar D	Brattleboro, Vt		25
Estabrook & Co	Boston, Mass	70	723
Estabrook, Edith M	2 Walnut Street, Brattleboro, Vt	25	
Estabrook, Ella C	do	25	
Evans, Charles E	360 Main Street, Watertown, Mass		200
Evans, Thomas B	50 North Street, Boston, Mass		5
Everett, Edward	Manchester, Mass	100	
Everett, Mabel O	16 West Cedar Street, Boston, Mass.	108	
Everett, Wm. G	Kennard Building, Manchester, N. H.		100
Ewer, Alfred	23 Schuyler Street, Roxbury, Mass.	29	16
Ewing, Frank S	Orange, Mass		100
Fader, Fannie W	Peabody, Mass	16	
Fahey, Michael L	14 State Street, Boston, Mass		200
Fairbanks, Henry B	Manchester, N. H	10	5
Fairbanks, James L	Circuit Road, Brookline, Mass		20
Fairbanks, Mrs. Martha J	Care E. T. Pike, Brookfield, Mass.	5	
Fairchild, John, estate of	Care P. D. Fairchild, 855 Broadway Rensselaer, N. Y.		200
Fairfield, Edmund M	Omaha, Nebr		100
Fales, Mary E	48 Maverick Square, East Boston, Mass,	230	
Fales, Mrs. Susan D	47 Oliver Street, Malden, Mass	20	10
Fallon, Wm. F	875 Centre Street, Jamaica Plain, Mass.		100
Falk, Alfred	65 Chester Street, Allston, Mass		50
Faneuf, Alphonse	Orange, Mass		38
Farnham, Charles H	Box 13, North Andover, Mass	18	9
Farnham, Charles T	76 Webster Street, Nashua, N. H		20
Do	Manchester, N. H	14	5
Farnham, Sarah E	Andover Street, North Andover, Mass.	20	10
Farrell, James E	Care Federal Trust Co., Boston, Mass.	1	
Farrell, Thomas F	42 Westminster Street, Providence, R. I.		10
Farrington, Clara E	Corner Multirope Avenue and Humphrey Street, Marblehead, Mass., care H. E. Kenney.	10	
Farwell, Cora A	Rockland, Me	10	5
Favre, Louis	37 Sampson Avenue, Braintree, Mass.	15	
Fay, Sidney B	Hanover, N. H	50	
Do	320 Elm Street, North Hampton, Mass.	20	

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.
Fay, Thornton O. M.	Care New England Trust Co., Boston, Mass.	.....	25
Fegan, Fannie Hall	26 Harvard Avenue, Brookline, Mass.	100	.....
Fegan, William J	....do	100	.....
Feibelman, Emile	68 Summer Street, Boston, Mass	.....	1,000
Fellows, Clara M	Hopkinton, N. H	16	7
Fellows, Deborah T	Skowhegan, Me	.....	200
Fellows, Maria L	345 Montauk Avenue, New London, Conn.	12	6
Felt, John P	92 State Street, Boston, Mass	.....	25
Felton, Wm. S	259 Essex Street, Salem, Mass	25	15
Fenno, Pauline Shaw, Arthur B. Silsbee, Horace D. Chapin, trustees under an indenture, dated Aug. 1, 1910.	50 State Street, Boston, Mass	520	120
Fenton, Patrick	Care of T. J. Coolidge, Coolidge Point, Magnolia, Mass.	2	.....
Fernald, Geo. A. & Co	Boston, Mass	185	560
Field, G. W. & Co	....do	.....	30
Field, Herbert W	Lawrence, Mass	80	45
Finley, Barrell & Co	Jackson and Dearborn Streets, Chicago, Ill.	.....	150
Finn, Morris	Hotel Belmoral, Lenox Avenue and One hundred and thirteenth Street, New York, N. Y.	.....	6
Fisher, Carrie C	St. Johnsbury, Vt	5	2
Fisk, Dianna P	123 South Broadway, Benton Harbor, Mich.	25	.....
Fitts, Frank W	Manchester, N. H	11	455
Fitzgerald, James M	337 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.	100	.....
Fitzgerald, Thomas	324 Madison Avenue, Albany, N.Y	.....	5
Fitzgerald, Wm. F	646 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.	.....	200
Fitzgerald, Hubbard & Co.	Boston, Mass	100	610
Flagg, Edw. L	41 Lowell Street, West Lynn, Mass.	20	.....
Flanders, Howard N	115 Devonshire Street, Boston, Mass.	.....	65
Flanders, Mary A	110 Concord Street, Union, N. H	5	2
Fleming, Max E	769 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass.	.....	100
Fletcher, Helen L	Chelmsford Center, Mass	2	1
Fletcher, John A	Middlebury, Vt	200	.....
Fletcher, Miss Mabel	Exeter, N. H	24	.....
Fletcher, Mary R	Westford, Mass	18	1
Fletcher, Sherman H	....do	5	.....
Flint, Hannah A	33 High Street, Andover, Mass	15	.....
Flint, Herman W	274 Summer Street, Boston, Mass	10	5
Flint, James H	24 Milk Street, Boston, Mass	50	.....
Flynt, Harriet C	Monson, Mass	13	6
Fogg, Anna P. W	94 Summer Street, Waltham, Mass.	10	.....
Fogg, Mrs. Anna W	....do	10	.....
Fogg, Helen W	Bangor, Me	25	80
Fogg, Katherine G	Waltham, Mass	12	.....
Folsom, Florence E	Room 205, Sun Building, Lowell, Mass.	.....	50
Folsom, James A	795 Elm Street, Manchester, N. H.	17	81
Foote, Emerson L	5833 Bartmer Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.	.....	15
Foote & French	Boston, Mass	73	382
Forbush, Ella H	173 Highland Avenue, Somerville, Mass.	45	.....
Ford, Edna M	117 Nicolet Avenue, Detroit, Mich.	.....	25
Fordyce, Edmond A	50 Congress Street, Boston, Mass	.....	50
Forest, Alfred T	70 Kilby Street, Boston, Mass	.....	40
Foster, Arthur L	114 Dudley Street, Roxbury, Mass.	10	5
Foster, Florence K	Care of F. J. Tuttle, 543 Tremont Building, Boston, Mass.	5	.....
Foster, Gideon F	95 Hale Street, Beverly, Mass	170	10
Foster, Lizzie M	Marlboro, Mass	.....	25
Fowler, Timothy H	Box 68, Holyoke, Mass	115	.....
Foye, Helen E	37 Middle Street, Portsmouth, N.H.	2	1
Fradd, Charles Harry	10 Lawson Street, Lowell, Mass	.....	10
Frank, Nathan	Century Building, St. Louis, Mo	100	1,302
Fraser, Mrs. Ella M	Rey Beach, N. H	2	1
Fraser, Hughena	59 Capital Street, Watertown Mass	.....	120
Freeman, Matilda A	409 Harrison Avenue, Boston, Mass	.....	20
Freeman, Jos	64 Waverly Street, Roxbury, Mass.	.....	10
Freeman, Geo. F	442 Lincoln Street, Manchester, N. H.	100	.....
Freese, John F	53 Bartlett, Crescent, Brookline, Mass.	110	50
Freese, L. Gertrude	....do	55	5
Freiberg, Nora	Care of A. M. Freiberg, Sycamore Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.	.....	200
Freitas, John M	Rockport, Mass	.....	100
French, Charles L	Hopkinton, N. H	.....	5
French, Edgar	2841 Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.	.....	100
Fries, Albert	R. 1,000, 52 Broadway, New York, N. Y.	10	10
Fromm, Sidney	15 South Main Avenue, Albany, N. Y.	.....	10
Frost, Agnes G	3 Ellsworth Avenue, Cambridge, Mass.	2	.....
Frost, Miss Charlotte M	230 Huntington Avenue, Boston, Mass.	.....	25
Frost, Mrs. Julia S	1200 Dewey Avenue, Los Angeles, Cal.	.....	5
Frost, Lloyd A	716 Old Southern Building, Boston, Mass.	10	6
Frost, Miss Mary F	Old Colony Transfer Co., Boston, Mass.	25	45
Frost, R. H	Pico Heights, Los Angeles, Cal	.....	1
Fullam, David	45 Milk Street, Boston, Mass	50	15
Fuller, A. J., estate of	Care of B. F. Barker, 740 Washington Street, Bath, Me.	60	30

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.
Fuller, Charles S	Somers, Conn	15	.....
Fuller, Mrs. Eliza W	Care of Bay State Trust Co., 222 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.	7	3
Fuller, M. M	4004 Harnet Street, Omaha, Nebr	.....	4
Fulton, John W	Pittsburg Building, Helena, Mont.	1	.....
Furber, Mrs. J. A	11 Doane Street, Boston, Mass	25	12
Engraving, G. & P. Co	Wollaston, Mass	.....	80
Gale, Florance A	82 Pleasant Street, Concord, N. H.	.....	150
Gallagher, Rollin M	Maple Street, Braintree, Mass	.....	20
Gallivan, James A	House Office Building, Washington, D. C.	.....	80
Gardner, Geo. R	Calais, Me	150	50
Gardner, Helen Ford	117 Nicolet, Avenue, Detroit Mich	.....	25
Gardner, Martha A	Slocum, R. I	5	2
Gartner, Christian	46 Spring Park Avenue, Jamaica Plain, Mass.	65	.....
Gardwood, Frances A	Columbia Trust Co., 358 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.	26	14
Gates, Josiah E	Medford, Mass	10	5
Gay & Sturgis	Boston, Mass	.....	120
Gebhardt, John L	1464 Columbus Avenue, Roxbury, Mass.	15	165
George, Charles P	8 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass	.....	25
George, Emily B	331 Hanover Street, Manchester, N. H.	25	12
George, Charles H	2155 Gladys Avenue, Chicago, Ill	.....	50
Geron, Charles	128 Bartlett Road, Winthrop Center, Mass.	.....	130
Gerry, Josephine A	18 Clifford Street, Roxbury, Mass	5	2
Gesner, Jacob V	599 Hanover Street, Manchester, N. H.	.....	315
Getchell, Fuller J	59 Temple Place, Boston, Mass	.....	25
Gibault, Paul	49 Falmouth Street, Boston, Mass.	5	100
Gibbons, John J	1069 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.	.....	100
Gifford, Ella T	261 Winter Street, Fall River, Mass.	10	.....
Gifford, Frances E	31 Clinton Street, New Bedford, Mass.	22	2
Gilbert, Walter J	Calais, Me	5	.....
Gilcreast, Walter L. S	Methuen, Mass	2	1
Gile, Mrs. Emma F	In care of treasurer, Merchants Trust Co., Lawrence, Mass.	28	3
Gillis, John F	254 Myrtle Street, Manchester, N. H.	.....	50
Gillpatrick, Jos	Marshall Circle, Somerville, Mass	.....	10
Gilman, Lewis G	Lake Avenue, Manchester, N. H	100	100
Gilmore, Bessie A. T	Post-office Box 3, Cambridge, Mass.	.....	15
Gillmore, Horace E	9 Front Street, Charlestown, Mass.	295	5
Gleason, Anna	13 Cedar Street, Waltham, Mass	20	.....
Gleason, Harry C	120 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass.	50	.....
Gleason, Helen A	167 North Avenue, North Abington, Mass.	20	12
Gleason, John J	145 Nassau Street, New York, N. Y.	.....	52
Gleason, Patrick	541 Putnam Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.	.....	100
Gleason, Philip J	35 West Street, Cambridge, Mass	.....	65
Glen, William	31 Auburn Street, Lynn, Mass	.....	10
Glos, Lucy M	Elmhurst, Ill	125	250
Godfrey, Chester S	147 High Street, Taunton, Mass	700	5
Godfrey, Mrs. Huldah I	....do	10	10
Goff, Adelia L	South Royalton, Vt	10	5
Goff, Herbert	Ames Building, Boston, Mass	.....	10
Goff, Ira N	903 Broad Street, Providence, R. I.	255	5
Goldmark, James	83 Warren Street, New York, N. Y.	5	95
Goldthwait, Clarence E	Eastern Avenue, Lynn, Mass	1	36
Good, Thomas	256 Devonshire Street, Boston, Mass.	.....	25
Goodrich, Hattie B	20 White Street, Taunton, Mass	3	.....
Goodman, Jos	551 Longmeadow Street, Springfield, Mass.	.....	50
Goodman, Wm	679 Longmeadow Street, Springfield, Mass.	.....	200
Goodrich, Miss Elizabeth M.	788 High Street, Dedham, Mass	8	.....
Goodrich, Geo. D	Great Barrington, Mass	.....	200
Goodrich, Ira O	161 Devonshire Street, Boston, Mass.	100	800
Goodspeed, Gertrude	115 Mount Auburn Street, Watertown, Mass.	.....	50
Goodwin, Mrs. Arabelle A	Somersworth, N. H	10	.....
Goodwin, Charles, trustee u/w of Charles H. Goodwin, for benefit of Annie B. Goodwin.	54 Washington Street, Marblehead, Mass.	10	5
Goodwin, Homer	53 State Street, Boston, Mass	.....	135
Goodwin, Lyman T	Lincoln Avenue, Amherst, Mass	.....	5
Do	Lynn, Mass	55	.....
Goodwin & Thorndike	Boston, Mass	.....	5
Gordon, Edna F	730 Canton Avenue, Milton, Mass	.....	40
Gordon, Gertrude Pauline	Readville, Mass	70	.....
Gordon, Richard E	Canton Avenue, Milton, Mass	10	.....
Gordon, Robert	496 Essex Street, Lawrence, Mass	400	200
Do	540 Haverhill Street, Lawrence, Mass.	.....	100
Gordon, Walter D., jr	Readville, Mass	.....	40
Gorham, Alfred	248 Franklin Street, Cambridge, Mass.	45	20
Gorham, Mrs. Ella J	....do	110	.....
Gorham, Mary E	Yarmouth, Mass	25	.....
Gorman, James P	South Brewer, Me	5	.....
Gorney, Elijah S	143 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass	.....	35
Gorwalz, A. M	Box 48, Newburyport, Mass	2	1
Gould, Geo. P	Orono, Me	10	.....

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.
Gould, Howard	165 Broadway, New York, N. Y.		15,288
Gould, Priscilla M	Penacook, N. H	10	
Gove, Aroline C	254 Lafayette Street, Salem, Mass.	106	69
Graff, Frederick	304 Lafayette Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.	27	7
Gram, Carl W	Milton Lower Mills, Dorchester, Mass.	60	150
Granger, Mary	226 Huntington Avenue, Boston, Mass.	10	
Grannis, Charles F	185 Pine Street, Waterbury, Conn.	92	46
Grannis, Frederick A	Branford, Conn	2	2
Grant, Edwin E	Box 445, Cornwall, Ontario		10
Grant, Henry R	234 Clarendon Street, Boston, Mass.		10
Grant, Hugh J	54 Wall Street, New York, N. Y.		18
Grant, Julia M. M., as trustee, and Central Trust Co. of New York, as substituted trustee u/w of Hugh J. Grant, deceased.	do	1	
Graves, Miss Elizabeth R	304 Essex Street, Salem, Mass		40
Graves, Francis S	Springfield, Mass		2
Graves, James C	Box 908, Marblehead, Mass		1
Gray, Charles L	Walpole, Mass		10
Gray, Lillah B	170 Summer Street, Boston, Mass.	50	
Gray, Mrs. Nellie F	60 Columbia Heights, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1	
Gray, Thomas H., jr	170 Summer Street, Boston, Mass.	50	
Gray, Wm. J., guardian of Pauline H. Bogardus.	51 State Street, Albany, N. Y		400
Greeley, Eugene O	R. F. D. No. 5, Box 153, Manchester, N. H.	50	20
Greeley, Nora	51 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Mass.	5	
Green, Ellen M	32 Mattapan Street, Mattapan, Mass.		25
Green, Harvey V	35 Dean Street, Everett, Mass	20	100
Green, Henry W	16 Park Avenue, Somerville, Mass.	5	2
Green, Robert E	21 Highland Avenue, Beverly, Mass.	10	
Green, Anna N	28 Brown Street, Springfield, Mass.	10	
Greene, Ellen C	16 Park Avenue, Somerville, Mass.	24	14
Greene, Henry W	do		20
Greene, Katherine J	45 Chestnut Street, Boston, Mass.	15	
Greene, Mary A	30 Waverly Street, Roxbury, Mass.		100
Greensmith, James E	108 Florida Street, Springfield, Mass.		100
Greenwood, Allen	Cypress Road, Wellesley Hills, Mass.	15	
Greenwood, Miss Maud S	43 Concord Street, Nashua, N. H.	5	5
Gregory, Maria P. L	Syracuse, N. Y		5
Grey, W. H	Springfield, Mass		5
Griffin, Mrs. Corabel	R. F. D. No. 5, Box 58, Manchester, N. H.	34	45
Griffin, George B	Thornton Ferry, N. H		50
Griffin, Joseph W	30 Monadnock Avenue, Lowell, Mass.	30	5
Griffin, William J	346 Broadway, New York, N. Y.		100
Grimes, Alfred W	101 Francis Street, Everett, Mass.		30
Groce, Emma F	Parker House, Boston, Mass		20
Groesbeck, Lucia C	Chautauqua, N. Y	50	
Groesbeck, Moses B	Care of Z. T. Barker, 22 Vincent Avenue, Chautauqua, N. Y.		10
Guild, Alice L	Lowell, Mass		14
Guild, Courtenay	26 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, Mass.	12	7
Guilfoy, Catherine A	24 Malvern Street, Manchester, N. H.		10
Guilfoy, Mary	do		10
Gunsenhiser, Abram	83 Coolidge Street, Brookline, Mass	50	
Gunzberger, Delia R	Lakota Hotel, Chicago, Ill		100
Gurnee, Eugene A	471 McDonough Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.	50	
Gurnee, Kate D	do	10	
Guthman, Jerome D	Schenectady, N. Y		10
Guthrie, Mary E	Care of Adams & Co., 13 Congress, Boston, Mass.	10	5
Haas, Rica	459 Audobon Road, Boston, Mass		25
Haas, Rica B	do		25
Hackett, Edward F., Miss Mary Louise Hackett, executrix.	176 Chestnut Street, Albany, N. Y		130
Hackney, Henry C	3416 Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill		20
Haddon, McLachlan B	127 Pleasant Street, North Adams, Mass.	10	30
Hadim, Isabel	1467 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.		80
Hager, Edith F	405 Main Street, Waltham, Mass	68	
Hager, Louis P	do		200
Hale, Arthur H	Manchester, N. H		1,000
Hale, Emmie L. W	20 Marlboro Street, Newburyport, Mass.	53	
Hale, Jos. W. L	1120 Thirteenth Avenue, Altoona, Pa.		42
Hale & Co	Boston, Mass	35	448
Hall, George I., trustee	73 South Market Street, Boston, Mass.	15	
Hall, Harriett A	Bridge Street, Dedham, Mass	86	
Hall, Maria Louise	The Livingtson, Central Park, West Eighty-sixth Street, New York, N. Y.		15
Hall, Robert D	496 First Street, South Boston, Mass.	55	5
Hall, Thomas H	403 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.		5
Hallajian, Jacob	33 Winthrop Street, Charlestown, Mass.		110

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.
Haller, Pauline	1802 Laguna Street, San Francisco, Cal.		8
Hamblen, Charles F	Post Office Box 647, St. Augustine, Fla.	12	42
Hamilton, Alice T	803 White Avenue, Grand Junction, Colo.	40	
Hamlin, Nickerson & Co	Boston, Mass	615	650
Hammett, James H	Newport, R. I.		30
Hammett, Lincoln	11 Whithall Street, Newport, R. I.	21	3
Hammett, Louisa D	32 School Street, Newport, R. I.	15	
Hammett, Sarah T	do	16	
Hammond, Anthony C	123 Haverhill Street, Boston, Mass.	575	850
Hammond, Franklin T	50 State Street, Boston, Mass.	35	9
Hanks, Caroline J	45 Varney Street, Lowell, Mass	2	
Hanks, L. S	Madison, Wis		62
Hanlon, Thomas A	B. A. Club, Exeter Street, Boston, Mass.		100
Hapgood, Georgietta L	Brookville, Mass	5	
Hardie, Eugene D	189 Hudson Avenue, Albany, N. Y		25
Harding, H. L	53 State Street, Boston, Mass	16	8
Hardwick, Margaret S	Care of Hayden Stone & Co., Boston, Mass.	11	
Hardy, Chester S	244 Blossom Street, Fitchburg, Mass.	20	
Hardy, George E	10 Charles Street, Fitchburg, Mass.	15	
Hardy, George H	Mascoma, N. H		50
Hardy, Mary A	do		50
Hardy, Theodore R	28 School Street, Boston, Mass	20	
Hardy, Wm. C	Fitchburg, Mass	19	100
Harmon, Miss Eva	Charlestown, Mass	4	2
Harris, Charles A	Brattleboro, Vt	116	81
Harris, Dora Clark	Salem, Mass	101	50
Harris, Ira	Bogota, N. J	4	
Harris, Mrs. Mariana T	Post-office box 2148, Boston, Mass	5	2
Harris, Winthrop & Co	25 Pine Street, New York, N. Y		10
Hart, Wm. E	Taunton, Mass	2	
Hartford, Lizzie D	65 Ash Street, Manchester, N. H	10	
Hartshorn, Martin B	403 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.		100
Hartshorn, Mrs. Minnie L	Manchester, N. H	20	
Harty, Mary J	1667 Cambridge Street, Cambridge, Mass.	110	10
Haskell, Alice M	190 Main Street, Saco, Me	10	30
Haskell, Katherine M	Box 74, South Hamilton, Mass	5	
Haskell, Frederica E	19 Chester Street, West Somerville, Mass.	15	
Haskell, Geo. A	Post-office box 50, Boston, Mass	60	195
Hastings, Miss Edith	347 Union Street, New Bedford, Mass.		2
Hastings, Isaac W., trustee u/w of the late Oliver Robbins for benefit of Sarah R. Robbins.	Weston, Mass	15	7
Hatch, Charles	35 Irving Place, Quincy, Mass	149	
Hatch, Marcia C	do	6	
Hathaway, Robert T	36 Avalon Road, West Roxbury, Mass.	10	15
Haven, Charles B	Home for Aged Men, Peabody, Mass.	40	20
Hawes, Frank T., trustee under will of Henry Hooker.	115 Clinton Street, Boston, Mass	20	10
Hawkes, Gilbert, agent	South Acton, Mass		10
Hawkes, Sara B	Shelburne Falls, Mass	10	
Hawkins, Cornelius S	Swansea, Mass		10
Hayden, Charles M	96 Ames Building, Boston, Mass		103
Hayden, George W	27 Langford Street, Gloucester, Mass.		10
Hayden, G. Wallace	do		20
Hayden, Stone & Co	Boston, Mass	10,812	7,305
Hayes, Charles C	Manchester, N. H	100	
Hayes, Fannie P	1322 West Fourth Street, Williamsport, Pa.	14	7
Hayes, Helen I	Centre Strafford, N. H		25
Haynes, Cyrus H	Springfield, Mass		25
Haynes, Emma J	6528 Lexington Avenue, Chicago, Ill.	75	37
Haynes, John	29 Oxford Street, Springfield, Mass.		25
Haynes, Ralph	Box 97, Lawrence, Mass		60
Hayward, Abba Child	24 Crafts Street, Chestnut Hill, Mass.		25
Hayward, James W	85 Brattle Street, Cambridge, Mass.	150	75
Hayward, Ralph C	550 Cumberland Avenue, Portland, Me.	50	
Hazen, Laura E	Care of Merchants' National Bank, Salem, Mass.	8	4
Hazen, Martha M	225 State Street, Hackensack, N. J	8	4
Head, Charles & Co	82 State Street, Boston, Mass	290	360
Heath, Vara C	12 Minot Avenue, Cambridge, Mass.		50
Hedlund, Alma C	389 Centre Street, Jamaica Plain, Mass.		200
Heinrichshofen, Otto	1802 Longfellow Boulevard, St. Louis, Mo.		50
Heinrichshofen, Robert	do		100
Heizer, James H	252 West Thirty-fourth Street, New York, N. Y.		10
Helbuig, Mazy W	1208 North Kings Highway, St. Louis, Mo.		30
Henderson, Arabella J	21 Pleasant Street, Salem, Mass.	5	2
Henderson, Edw. F	543 Massachusetts Avenue, Boston, Mass.	100	
Henderson, Ephraim I	21 Pleasant Street, Salem, Mass.	85	17
Henderson, Harriet J	144 Bowman Street, Manchester, N. H.	17	5
Hendricks, Anna R	Red Hook, N. Y	22	11
Henshaw, Francis & Co	Boston, Mass	25	1,470

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.
Henson, Madeleine	Tokio, Japan	8	1
Herbert, John J	12 Boston Fish Pier, Boston, Mass.		100
Herrick, D. Cady	151 Washington Avenue, Albany, N. Y.	19	9
Herrett, Fred E	25 Sharon Street, West Medford, Mass.		40
Hersey, Georgie D	43 Stebbins Street, Springfield, Mass.	10	
Heymer, Frederick W	220 Marlboro Street, Boston, Mass.	20	
Hickey, Garrett	Florence, Mass		100
Hickey, Adeline H	United States Hotel, Boston, Mass.		25
Hickey, John A	144 Saratoga Street, East Boston, Mass.		600
Hidden, Charles P	100 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.	50	
Higgins, Annie Blanche Merrill.	119 Myrtle Street, Manchester, N. H.	26	13
Higgins, Joseph	117 East Twenty-sixth Street, New York, N. Y.		15
Hildreth, Harriet F	South Lincoln, Mass	10	
Hill, Alick S	Care of G. A. P. Codwise, Tremont Temple, Boston, Mass.	2	1
Hill, Antoinette L	1880 North Elm Street, Manchester, N. H.	69	39
Hill, Frederick W	Bangor, Me		100
Hill, George H	319 Rutherford Avenue, Charlestown, Mass.	50	
Hill, George L	Orange, Mass	10	
Hill, George W	Derby House, Boston, Mass	25	
Hill, John J	95 Milk Street, Boston, Mass	965	3,290
Hill, Rowland	331 Main Street, Saco, Me		150
Hinckley, Arthur C	Blue Hill, Me	35	
Hine, Newton	234 Laurel Avenue, Bridgeport, Conn.	9	4
Hines, Frank A	Boston, Mass		15
Hinman, Ella R	Newport, Vt	20	
Hiscock, Frank A	496 Essex Street, Lawrence, Mass	170	
Hitchcock, Frank T	6 Post Office Square, Boston, Mass	50	
Hitchcock, Wm. A	Greenfield, N. H	76	
Hoard, Luther B	Myricks, Mass	1	1
Hobbs, I. Goodwin	Newport, R. I	20	10
Hobbs, Wm. C., trustees u/w of Sarah E. Woodbury for the benefit of M. L. Hobbs and others.	Auburn, R. I		40
Hodson, Mrs. Catherine	11 Grovenor Road, Jamaica Plain, Mass.	15	
Hoitt, Charles A	Biltmore, N. C	100	105
Holbrook, Alice S	Duxbury, Mass	6	
Holbrook, Clinton E	Transcript Office, Boston, Mass	8	4
Holbrook, Levi	Care of Commercial Trust Company of New Jersey, Jersey City, N. J.	220	20
Holm, Charles F	35 Nassau Street, New York, N. Y	330	130
Holmes, Mabel K	21 Rockledge Road, Newton Highlands, Mass.		4
Holt, Louise	Care of P. Bostwick, Squantum, Mass.		10
Holtzer, Charles W	66 Perry Street, Brookline, Mass	500	500
Hood, Lucy B	102 Federal Street, Salem, Mass	10	5
Hooper, Edward P	Ocean Street, Manchester, Mass	10	5
Hooper, George W	Manchester, Mass	30	
Hopigian, Negogohs	14 Pratt Place, Lynn, Mass	30	
Hopkins, Geo. B., & Co	52 Broadway, New York		165
Hopley, Wm	Atlantic, Iowa	4	45
Horn, Emma J	98 Smith Street, Lowell, Mass	22	57
Hornblower & Weeks	Boston, Mass	430	1,327
Horne, Ida B	158 Summer Street, Malden, Mass.	10	
Horrigan, John H	53 North Market Street, Boston, Mass.		300
Horton, Mrs. Abbie M	49 Franklin Street, East Somerville, Mass.		2
Hosmer, Alice C	310 Maple Street, Manchester, N.H.		50
Hotchkiss, Marion C	2 Kendall Green, Washington, D. C	10	
Houlahan, John H	1000 Randolph Avenue, Milton, Mass.		2
Hovey, Frederick H	35 Congress Street, Boston, Mass		20
Hovey, Glenville	904 Middle Street, Lowell, Mass	5	5
Hovey, Kenny & Co	Boston, Mass		55
Howard, Adelia K	395 Lexington Street, Auburndale, Mass.	10	
Howard, Daniel	Dover, Mass	110	10
Howard, Florence C	50 Fairview Avenue, Arlington, Mass.	5	
Howard, Wilbur H	Care of G. F. Butler, 79 Main Street, Watertown, Mass.		10
Howe, Arthur E	Claremont, N. H		5
Howe, Arthur S	Post Office Box 2486, Boston, Mass.	10	
Howe, Clara R	17 Everett Street, Medford, Mass	25	
Howe, Clarence N	85 West Central Street, Natick, Mass.		20
Howe, Elizabeth F	45 Varney Street, Lowell, Mass	2	
Howe, Harriet M	115 Roy Street, Seattle, Wash		10
Howe, Octavius T	154 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass	210	
Howes, Eliza T	Woods Hole, Mass	15	
Howes, Levi A	do	15	
Howes, Ralph H	Belfast, Me	1	
Howison, Arthur W	Milford, N. H	11	1
Howlett, Leroy E	16 Yale Street, Wakefield, Mass	20	
Howley, Edmund J	West Quincy, Mass		20
Hoyle, Thomas	48 Second Avenue, Rensselaer, N. Y.		10
Hoyt, Charles P	4915 Monument Road, Philadelphia, Pa.	40	20
Hubbard, John M	69 North Main Street, Rochester, N. H.	5	
Hubbard, Joseph H	Kittery, Me		30
Hubbard, Margaret E	19 Ware Street, Cambridge, Mass		180

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.
Huested, Amy B	Box 174, Nassau, N. Y	23	13
Hughes, J. Cromwell	Shelburne Falls, 37 Main Street, Mass.	2	
Hughes, Louisa J	30 Highland Avenue, Lawrence, Mass.		6
Humphrey, Kate A., guardian for Alfreda Humphrey.	State Mutual Building, Worcester, Mass.	6	1
Hungerford Charles A	16 Main Street, Kingston, N. Y	100	
Hunkings, Mrs. Anna H	6 Sargent Avenue, Somerville, Mass.	20	100
Hunneman, John A	Box 388, Boston, Mass	10	5
Hunt, Ella J	84 Cabot Street, Beverly, Mass	30	
Hunt, Daniel L	4 Post Office Square, Boston, Mass.	25	
Hunt, Harry R	Care of D. L. Hunt, 4 Post Office Square, Boston, Mass.	70	10 38
Hunt, Laura E	West Medway, Mass		10
Hunt, Nathan P	Manchester, N. H	75	
Hunt, N. P., trustee	do	9	
Hunt, Ellis & Co	Boston, Mass	20	
Hunter, Louis R	97 Wellington Street, Mattapan, Mass.		162 10
Hunter, Wm. Q	203 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass		20
Huntoon, Bessie E	64 Warwick Street, Lowell, Mass	3	
Hurd, Caroline S	27 Winthrop Street, Salem, Mass	10	
Hurley, David J	81 Arlington Street, Boston, Mass.		
Hussey, Dennis B	815 New Bank Commerce Building, St. Louis, Mo.	200	100
Hutchings, Henry M., trustee u/w Silas B. Parker.	Room 1147 Tremont Building, Boston, Mass.	19	9
Hutchins, Mial W	14 Torrey Street, Dorchester, Mass.	3	
Hutchinson, Martha M., estate of Wm. H. Osgood, executor.	113 Elm Street, Marlboro, Mass	10	5
Hutchinson, Mary E	1381 Beacon Street, Brookline, Mass.	17	2
Hyde, Mrs. Kate M. R	23 Union Street, Boston, Mass		30
Hyde, M. Estella	75 Gardner Street, Allston, Mass	67	
Hyde, William L	Salem, Mass	385	
Hydeman, Lina	Care of E. M. Hydeman, 110 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.	11	6
Hyde Park National Bank	Hyde Park, Mass	100	
Imperial, Simon	46 Court Street, Boston, Mass	30	180
Ingalls, J. Branch	Methuen, Mass		25
Ingalls, Mary S., guardian	Marblehead, Mass	2	1
Ingram, Robert S	100 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass		278
Ives, Mary L	492 Blue Hill Avenue, Hartford, Conn.	10	
Irvin, Robert D	256 Prospect Street, Pawtucket, R. I.	16	1
Jackson, Andrew	Salem Street, South Groveland, Mass.		2
Jackson, Henry C	208 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Mass.	1,200	
Jackson, Joe	20 Stafford Street, Lawrence, Mass	10	
Jackson & Curtis	19 Congress Street, Boston, Mass	695	190
Jacobs, George H	Peabody, Mass	100	
James, Arthur H	420 Broadway, South Boston, Mass	20	
James, Lizzie B	297 Manchester Street, Manchester, N. H.	2	1
Janes, Charles W	7 Moody Street, Waltham, Mass		107
Janes, Anna L	2192 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Mass.	90	91
Janes, John E	Moody Street, Waltham, Mass		100
Janes, John E	49 Washington Avenue, Waltham, Mass.	40	236
Jaquith, Forrest L	210 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass		10
Jaquith, Frank L	Fenway Garage, Boston, Mass		400
Jaquith, Jennie S	210 Beaver Street, Keene, N. H		10
Jasper, George W	Care of J. B. Russell, 114 State Street, City.		10
Jeddric, Mary M	South Hamilton, Mass	25	
Jeffery, George W	658 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.		10
Jenkins, Herbert	Chester, Orange County, N. Y	100	200
Jenkins, Mrs. Ida K. M	100 West 80th Street, New York, N. Y.	35	70
Jenks, William W	65 Chatham Street, Boston, Mass	300	300
Jenks, Gwynne & Co	15 Broad Street, New York, N. Y.	20	
Jenness, F. W	Insurance Building, Rochester, N. Y.	13	6
Jennings, Charles E	Stoneham, Mass	5	55
Jennings, Ellen M	Wellesley, Mass	45	90
Jennings, Julia A	Methuen, Mass	20	15
Jennings, Julia F	Wellesley, Mass		85
Jepson, August G	14 Upham Street, Newton, Mass	10	
Jernegan, Elliott C	63 Dearborn Street, Roxbury, Mass	20	
Jewett, George W	Washington Street, Manchester, Mass.	39	4
Jewett, Henry L	45 Milk Street, Boston, Mass	35	
Jewett, Joseph D	120 Jason Street, Arlington, Mass		25
Jewett, Margaret E	Temple Street, West Newton, Mass.	15	
Jewett, Marian D	Massachusetts Avenue, Lexington, Mass.	2	
Johnson, Bertha Mae	Willimantic, Conn	202	
Johnson, Charles H	1 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass	50	
Johnson, George H	New Milford, Conn		20
Johnson, J. H	Atlantic, Iowa		7
Johnson, James W	Care of Johnson & Johnson, Brunswick, N. J.	500	500
Johnson, Mabel H	71 Prospect Street, Willimantic, Conn.	352	
Johnson, Ida M	235 West Newton Street, Boston, Mass.	210	60

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.
Johnson, Oscar O	195 Adams Street, Waltham, Mass.	5	10
Johnston, A. W	Lake Bluff, Ill.		4
Johnston, Frank H	6 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.		90
Johnston, William C	44 Main Street, Bloomsburg, Pa.		20
Johnstone, Charles, jr	477 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester, Mass.		20
Jonas, R. Edwin	247 Fairmount Avenue, Hyde Park, Mass.	250	100
Jones, Annie L	186 Lincoln Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.	85	42
Jones, Caroline B	1 Nelson Street, South Framingham, Mass.		40
Jones, Eben W	Peterboro, N. H.	11	6
Jones, Frank S	115 Devonshire Street, Boston, Mass.	100	20
Jones, Isidore L	6 Waterloo Street, Dorchester, Mass.	10	
Jones, Jennie E	Fitz Terrace, Chelsea, Mass	35	
Jones, John	17 Court Street, Boston, Mass		15
Jones, Mary S	164 Webster Street, Haverhill, Mass.	4	
Jones, M. Grace, care of F. A. Webster.	44 Winter Street, Boston, Mass	40	
Jones, Willard F	South Yarmouth, Mass	5	2
Jordan, Bion S	Framingham, Mass	5	
Kaiser, Henry B	343 Broadway, New York City	100	210
Kaiser, James N	do	100	210
Kaiser, Sol	103 State Street, Chicago, Ill		100
Kalber, Annie	1 Beckler Avenue, South Boston, Mass.		5
Kaler, John M	Prouts Neck, Me	20	
Kane, James J	Times Union, Green Street, Albany, N. Y.	10	210
Katchadurian, Manoog	12 Green Street, Boston, Mass	10	
Kavafian, Stefan	20 Melandy Avenue, Watertown, Mass.		20
Keasbey, Edward Q	Union Building, Newark, N. J	17	9
Keefe, David	7 Spring Street, Peabody, Mass		20
Keene, Harry B	American Trust Co., 50 State Street, Boston, Mass.		5
Keeney, George L	Monson, Mass		70
Keiser, Peter	183 Aspinwall Avenue, Brookline, Mass.	6	3
Keith, Eben S. S	Sagamore, Mass	75	
Kelley, Charles P	175 Jamaica Avenue, Flushing, N. Y.	100	200
Kelley, David	South Yarmouth, Mass	24	12
Kelley, Fannie L	East Dennis, Mass		5
Kelley, John J	55 Circuit Street, Roxbury, Mass	25	100
Kelley, Laura A	10 Clinton Street, Cambridge, Mass	20	
Kelley, Lucy H	East Dennis, Mass	6	3
Kelley, Robert J	569 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.		50
Kelley, Samuel J	10 Clinton Street, Cambridge, Mass	20	
Kelley, Sarah E	11 Grace Street, Malden, Mass	3	1
Kellogg, James L	Williamstown, Mass		50
Kelly, Mrs. Harriet L	216 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass.	20	
Kelsey, Grace I	Care of C. E. Kelsey, Federal Building, Boston, Mass.		5
Kendall, Willis B	867 Elm Street, Manchester, N. H	46	18
Keniston, Davis B	Plymouth, N. H	30	15
Kennard, Alexander D	Room 27, Boston Fruit & Produce Exchange, Boston.		30
Kennard, Charles W	14 Arlington Street, Somerville, Mass.	23	13
Kennedy, James J	220 Broadway, New York		100
Kennedy, Jeremiah J	52 Broadway, New York		100
Kennedy, John	205 North Street, North Adams, Mass.		35
Kennedy, Patrick J	165 Webster Street, East Boston, Mass.		200
Kennington, Henry C	765 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass		50
Kent, Susan A	96 Court Street, Boston, Mass	25	
Kenyon, Alan D	61 Broadway, New York, N. Y	50	25
Kenyon, Clarence B	Elmwood Station, Providence, R. I.		20
Kenyon, H. O	Adams, N. Y		200
Kenyon, Miss Mary H	49 Wall Street, New York	10	5
Kenyon, Wm. H	61 Broadway, New York, N. Y	172	97
Kerr, William R	4922 Washington Avenue, Chicago, Ill.		100
Keveney & Neilon	Post Office Square, Boston, Mass		110
Keveney, Sawtelle & Co	do	20	75
Keyes, Elliot W	Taylor Block, Auburndale, Mass		100
Keyes, Myron H	Southville, Mass	10	
Kibbe, Anna C	Somes, Conn	10	
Kidder, Peabody & Co	Boston, Mass	310	450
Kiely, John	20 St. Peters Street, Salem, Mass		50
Kiely, Mary Elizabeth	46 Chestnut Street, Salem, Mass	100	
Kiessling, Herbert	126 Gibbs Avenue, Newport, R. I	5	
Kilborn, Sarah J	48 Clarendon Street, Malden, Mass		50
Kilbourne, Mrs. Helen H	752 Duroche Street, Autumont, Montreal.	15	
Kilday, Anna	626 Fifth Avenue, New York		63
Kiley, Ellen	Salem, Mass	4	2
Kimball, E. R. & Co	Boston, Mass	425	50
Kimball, Benjamin	15 Exchange Street, Boston, Mass.		100
Kimball, Edwin C	4 Salem Street, Bradford, Mass		17
Kimball, Francis R	15 Orange Street, Waltham, Mass		75
Kimball, Ruel S	Bangor, Me		20
Kimball, Sarah A	32 High Street, Methuen, Mass	5	2
King, Bertha L	14 Abbott Street, Dorchester, Mass.	10	5
King, Eugene M	1169 Bellevue Avenue, Syracuse, N. Y.	9	
King, Florence I	14 Abbott Street, Dorchester, Mass.	10	5
King, Florence M	17 Kensington Avenue, North Hampton, Mass.	6	

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.
King, Frank M	Llanerch, Pa	9	
King, Harvey	222 Summer Street, Boston, Mass	15	
King, Henry F	Box 33, Boston, Mass	500	110
King, Herbert S	East Hampton, Mass	9	
King, Ida F	Crescent Street, Waltham, Mass		50
King, Leon T	High Street, Winsted, Conn	9	
King, Marion L	17 Kensington Avenue, North Hampton, Mass.	6	
King, Victor J	East Hampton, Mass	54	255
Kingman, George M	230 Cottage Street, New Bedford, Mass.		100
Kirby, Amy A	173 Middle Street, New Bedford, Mass.	10	4
Kittredge, Kittie F	232 Charles Street, Waltham, Mass.	50	
Klotten, Albert R	641 State Street, Albany, N. Y		100
Klucken, Ralph	65 Hall Avenue, West Somerville, Mass.		200
Klujla, Adam	Mendota, Ill		150
Knapp, Bel B	170 West 73d Street, New York, N. Y.	10	110
Knapp, Martha W	453 Meridian Street, East Boston, Mass.	5	
Knickerbocker, Thomas A	Waterford, N. Y	100	
Knight, Miss Helen F	161 Laurel Street, Manchester, N. H.	12	7
Knight, Mrs. Mary G	46 Perrin Street, Roxbury, Mass	110	10
Knopp, Max E	368 Warren Street, Roxbury, Mass.		75
Knowles, Edward E	Orleans, Mass		4
Knowles, Henry M	178 Hawthorn Street, New Bedford, Mass.	5	55
Knowles, James H	7 Hardwick Street, Faneuil, Mass.	50	
Knowlton, Amos W	Newburgh, Me	10	
Knox, Adeline Trafton	Box 3, Lexington, Mass	53	25
Kolbe, Catharine	81 Evanston Street, Chicago, Ill		150
Kohn, Henry H	66 State Street, Albany, N. Y		100
Korper, Mary Brigham	Care of L. J. Korper, 11 Front Street, Hartford, Conn.	23	13
Kyle, William S	Plymouth, Mass		55
Lacey, Harriet L	Enfield, Mass	4	
LaCroix, Edward W	243 Ocean Street, Lynn, Mass	10	110
Ladd, Charles T	Fryeburg, Me	5	55
Lalonde, Jean W	96 Main Street, Reading, Mass		10
Lamb, Elizabeth K	Albany, N. Y		5
Lambert, Charles I	Pathological Institute, Ward Island, N. Y.		150
Lampson, Roy	83 Clinton Street, Everett, Mass		40
Lamson, William A	42 Church Street, Lowell, Mass		150
Lamson, W. S	Old South Building, Boston, Mass.		8
Lancaster, Sarah	15 Charlton Street, Worcester, Mass.	11	
Landers, Joseph W	160 Warren Avenue, Cambridge, Mass.		175
Lane, John D	15 Court Square, Boston, Mass		
Lane, Mary E	59 Magazine Street, Cambridge, Mass.	5	
Lane, Mary V	1502 South Trumbull Avenue, Chicago, Ill.		200
Lang, Perley H	Manchester, N. H		30
Latham, Robert G	66 Broadway, New York, N. Y		200
Lawless, Joseph M	35 Lexington Street, West Newton, Mass.		25
Lawley, Geo. F	East 1st Street, South Boston, Mass.	10	
Lawrence, Eddy W	15 Wood Street, Fitchburg, Mass		10
Lawrence, Theodore F	Chester, N. Y		100
Lawrie, William M	507 Shawmut Avenue, Boston, Mass.	125	225
Lawson, Warren G	17 Court Street, Boston, Mass	13	
Leavitt, John C	Brookville, Mass	20	
LeBean, Oscar J	726 South 41st Avenue, Chicago, Ill.		2
Lee, Charles	24 West 59th Street, New York, N. Y.		120
Lee, Charles H	117 West 5th Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.	2	10
Lee Higginson & Co	Boston, Mass	203	583
LeFrancis, Amy D	16 Manchester Road, Brookline, Mass.	15	
LeFrancis, Charles	615 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Mass.	10	5
LeFrancis, Frederick	Care Pettigren, Bright & Co., city.	10	5
Legate, Elmer F	Pratts Junction, Mass		16
Legg, Arthur T	267 Washington Avenue, Chelsea, Mass.	1	
Legg, Charles E. & Co	Boston, Mass		10
Legg, Charles E., trustee u/w Legg, Emily B., beneficiary C. E. Legg et al.	267 Washington Avenue, Chelsea, Mass.	12	3
Lehman Bros	16 William Street, New York City.	100	
Lehmayer, Sylvan	208 West 85th Street, New York City.	55	105
Leighton, Emma C	Augusta, Me	14	7
Leighton, Grace H	55 Morning Street, Portland, Me		5
Leland, Arthur S., & Co	Boston, Mass		250
Leonard, Annie F	Marshfield Hills, Mass		10
Leonard, Clarence H	do	4	4
Leonard, Geo. R	Care of J. B. Russell & Co., Wilkes-Barre, Pa.		10
Leonard, John F	Millville, Mass	200	
Leonard, Mary A	47 Newtonville Avenue, Newton, Mass.	8	4
Leonard, Susan E	Marshfield Hills, Mass	10	
Leslie, William J	213 Essex Street, Salem, Mass		50
Lessard, Henry J	949 Congress Street, Portland, Me.		200
Lesure, Geo. H	144 Manchester Street, Keene, N. H.	50	

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.
Levine, Harris	1132 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston.		100
Levy, Benjamin	Care of Kidder, Peabody & Co., Boston.	150	
Levy, Blanche S	908 Tremont Building, Boston, Mass.		300
Levy, Theodore	2902 State Street, Milwaukee, Wis.		100
Lewis, Archie L	Laconia, N. H	2	27
Lewis, Charles S	36 Highland Avenue, Cambridgeport, Mass.	11	5
Lewis, Harriet	172 Prospect Street, Waterbury, Conn.	2	1
Lewis, Harry	Gardiner, Me		100
Lewis, Harry S	724 Warburton Avenue, Yonkers, N. Y.	60	3
Lewis, Lot G	Box 313, Hyannis, Mass	5	10
Lewis, Louise E	11 Irving Street, Watertown, Mass.		5
Lewis, Marcia West	413 Huntington Chambers, Boston.		10
Lewis, Mary Katherine	Walpole, Mass	100	
Lewis, Orrin H	Lakeport, N. H	10	
Lewis, Quincy P	Otter River, Mass		6
Lewis, Weston	Gardiner, Me	10	
Libby, Arthur F	Putnam, Conn		50
Libby, Freeman A	do		200
Libby, Stephen W	6 Oliver Street, Watertown, Mass.	9	7
Libbey, Ellen M	Littleton, N. H	20	10
Lilley, Charles S	Fairmount Street, Lowell, Mass.	50	50
Lincoln, Mrs. Adaline L	2000 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston.	25	
Lincoln, George L	do		390
Lincoln, Lucy E	Pittsfield, Mass	50	
Lincoln, W. Arthur	79 Kilby Street, Boston, Mass		25
Lincoln, William A	411 Main Street, Springfield, Mass.	100	
Lindquist, Lucy M	44 Rutland Square, Boston, Mass		10
Linthicum, Charles C	1604 First National Bank Building, Chicago, Ill.		250
Lipowitz, Mrs. Ellen M	Crescent City, Cal	18	9
Liscomb, William P	28 Franklin Street, Somerville, Mass.	5	
Littauer, Lucius N	Gloversville, N. Y		500
Little, Mrs. Carrie F	1 Central Place, Cambridgeport, Mass.	30	
Little, Isadore P	Rice Street, South Framingham, Mass.	17	8
Littlefield, Abbie A	35 Hutchings Street, Roxbury, Mass.	20	7
Littlefield, Etta E	1463 Beacon Street, Brookline, Mass.		50
Littlewood, Ernest	70 Kilby Street, Boston, Mass		50
Livingston, Isabel E	25 Wainwright Street, Dorchester, Mass.	6	
Locke, Elvina T	140 Magazine Street, Cambridge, Mass.	33	16
Locke, Ernest L	Waltham, Mass		5
Locke, Worthington	288 State Street, Portland, Me		25
Lockwood, Thomas S	27 State Street, Boston, Mass	50	35
Lodge, William	375 Cabot Street, Newtonville, Mass.	100	
Logan & Bryan	New York, N. Y	4	
Loker Bros	Natick, Mass		100
Lomax, Edith Bradford	Under guardianship of Francis H. Lomax, care of Capt. F. H. Lomax, Jefferson Barracks, Mo.	3	
Longley, Welcome H	205 Lincoln Street, Boston, Mass.	50	
Longstreet, Henry H	Matawan, N. J		200
Looby, William R	Taunton, Mass		200
Look, Frank L	Vineyard Haven, Mass		50
Loomis, Gertrude Moore	Goffs Falls, N. H	1	1
Lord, Frank P	35 Congress Street, Boston, Mass.		25
Lord, Geo. F	Exchange Building, Boston, Mass.		5
Lord, Geo. K	317 Exchange Building, Boston, Mass.		25
Lord, Mary B	Hotel Somerset, Boston, Mass		200
Lord, Mrs. Mary J	9 Maple Street, Roxbury, Mass	59	
Lord, M. J	do	4	
Lord, Samuel D	Box 308, Salem, Mass		50
Loring, Atherton	27 Kilby Street, Boston, Mass		3
Love, Robert	Box 194, Baltic, Conn	50	
Lovejoy, Betsey	98 Lowell Street, Manchester, N.H.	6	3
Lovell & Co	Congress Street, Boston Mass	110	100
Low, John G	14 Gage Street, Methuen, Mass	57	32
Luce, Alice	9 Dorris Street, Dorchester, Mass.		50
Luce, Mrs. Betsey B	Mattapoisett, Mass	11	1
Luce, Mrs. Helen F	19 Walter Street, Winter Hill, Somerville, Mass.	22	4
Luce, James F	21 Francisca Avenue, Somerville, Mass.	50	10
Luce, Miss Susie L	do	35	25
Luce, William D	do	10	5
Luck, John	434 Columbus Avenue, Boston, Mass.		10
Ludwig, Frank P	70 Amhurst Street, Springfield, Mass.	40	
Luftig, Morris	Room 158 Jewelers' Building, Boston, Mass.		25
Luke, Banks & Weeks	Boston, Mass		500
Lunan, William Cable	Southbridge, Mass		220
Lyford, Henrietta A	407 Central Park, West, New York City.		25
Lyman, Herbert	Box 5209, Boston, Mass	58	33
Lynch, Cornelius F	415 Common Street, Lawrence, Mass.	100	
Lyon, Mary J	900 High Street, Williamsport, Pa.	10	5
Macauley, Sarah B	Hartford, Conn		1
MacCormack, Thomas J	Norwood, Mass		10

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.
Mack, Miss Isabella G	Care of Burton W. Buck, executor, 324 Myrtle Street, Manchester, N. H.	20	
Mackay & Co	14 Wall Street, New York, N. Y		100
Mackenzie, Donna W	146 Winthrop Street, Brookline, Mass.	200	
MacLeod, Angus	Newport, R. I	55	5
Maddison, Thomas B	127 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass.	5	5
Magill, Edward W	Philadelphia, Pa		2
Maguire, James	Webster, Mass	10	
Maguire, James J	998 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.	100	
Malley, Arthur E	36 Beacon Hill Avenue, Lynn, Mass.	200	200
Maloney, Joseph E	3 Ashmont Park, Dorchester, Mass.		25
Maloney, Michael	6 Orris Street, Auburndale, Mass.	5	
Manahan, Fannie M	473 Andover Street, Lawrence, Mass.		5
Mandell, Nancy E	4 Auburn Court, Brookline, Mass.	20	
Manger, Ruth	350 Massachusetts Avenue, Boston, Mass.		25
Manheimer, Joseph C	1035 State Street, Chicago, Ill	10	110
Mann, Emma Frost	16 Colliston Road, Brookline, Mass.	75	
Mann, Henry S	297 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.	300	300
Mann, Louis	28 South Pearl Street, Albany, N. Y.	65	215
Manning, Anna J	146 Massachusetts Avenue, Boston, Mass.		25
Manning, Mrs. Elizabeth A.	Salem, Mass	5	2
Manning, Mabel C	191 Alexander Avenue, Upper Montclair, N. J.	20	
Mansfield, Helen H	Mount Vernon Street, Dedham, Mass.	2	1
Mansfield, H. Josephine	do	5	11
Mansfield, Martin J	Pigeon Cove, Mass		5
Manson, Thos. L., & Co	100 Broadway, New York, N. Y		120
Mansur, Frederick W	Groton, Mass		5
Marden, Bessie Webb	Milton, Mass		10
Marden, Claude E	School Street, Milton, Mass		50
Marden, John E	Uphams Corner post office, Dorchester, Mass.		50
Marks, William J	Old Colony Trust Co., Boston, Mass.		10
Marsh, Albert	Park Street, Reading, Mass		100
Marsh, Fannie W	R. F. D., Reading, Mass		10
Marshall, Alba J	Southboro, Mass	360	60
Marshall, Asa O	Beverly Farms, Mass	7	3
Marshall, Edwin R	School Street, Gloucester, Mass		5
Marshall, Georgia M	Laconia, N. H	10	
Marshall, John	17 Pocasest Avenue, Providence, R. I.		100
Marshall, Vilona L	Bradford, N. H	20	10
Martel, Stanislas	1 Pierce Row, Lynn, Mass		200
Martin, Edwin S	111 Suffolk Road, Chestnut Hill, Mass.		20
Martin, Horatio F	18 Addison Street, Arlington, Mass.		50
Martin, Josiah F	Torrey Street, South Weymouth, Mass.	21	5
Martin, Margaret J	11 Barbara Street, Jamaica Plain, Mass.		20
Martin, Mary E	Epping, N. H		50
Mason, Lucretia A., executrix.	Weymouth, Mass	10	5
Mason, Mark	71 High Street, Boston, Mass		100
Mather, Adrian W	Care W. M. Whitney & Co., Albany, N. Y.	150	
Mather, James E	745 Chestnut Street, Manchester, N. H.		50
Mathes, Benjamin, jr	Newmarket, N. H		6
Mathes, George A	South Berwick, Me		15
Matson, Esther	72 Brooklyn Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1	
Matthews, Hope L	Mansfield, Mass	15	15
Matthews, Mildred M	do	20	25
Matthiessen, Lucy Rone	9 Adriance Avenue, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.		2
Maxey, Hosiah S	Gardiner, Me		100
Mayer, Charles	Indianapolis, Ind		7
Maynard, Mabel Eleanor	7 Temple Place, Boston, Mass		2
McAllister, Edith B	600 Beech Street, Manchester, N.H.	28	
McAllister, John G	867 Elm Street, Manchester, N. H.	5	
McAllister, William (estate of).	Manchester, N. H	35	17
McAllister, Edith B	835 Elm Street, Manchester, N. H.		30
McAllister, Gilman	867 Elm Street, Manchester, N. H.	15	25
McAllister, William O	do	100	40
McAuslan, Mrs. Fannie A.	223 Lexington Avenue, Providence, R. I.	5	2
McAvoy, Edward	106 Davis Avenue, Brookline, Mass.	55	5
McCabe, John J	60 Sheridan Street, Jamaica Plain, Mass.	10	
McCann, James M	6 Dale Street, Worcester, Mass		25
McCarten, James E	Newport, Vt		200
McCarthy, Daniel F	18 Avon Street, Lawrence, Mass.	100	
McCarthy, John H	520 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.	110	10
McCarthy, John J	150 Quincy Street, Dorchester, Mass.		50
McCarthy, Joseph J	52 Woodcliff Street, Boston, Mass.		5
McCausland, James F	658 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.		30
McClellan, Geo. E	346 Broadway, New York City	10	10
McComber, Stewart A	226 Parkwood Building, Schenectady, N. Y.		100
McConnell, Caroline J	12 Colbourne Crescent, Brookline, Mass.	25	

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.
McConnell, Mary E	17 Hancock Court, Quincy, Mass	5	2
McCrum, Leslie M	Farmers Loan & Trust Co., New York City.	200	
McCulloch, Joseph G	Columbus Building, Louisville, Ky.	50	
McCusker, Rose	Salem, Mass		25
McDougall, Ezra	8 Grand Street, Oneonta, N. Y	570	60
McDougall, Mary E	do	122	2
McDougherty, Hugh	Waltham, Mass		10
McDowell, Margaret P	Dover, Mass	10	
McGee, Frank	424 Washington Street, Brookline, Mass.		20
McGovern, Mary	19 Marlboro Street, Boston, Mass		15
McGregor, Willard E	900 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass		20
McGuire, James J	859 Broad Street, Newark, N. J		200
McIntee, Mary	42½ East Main Street, Meriden, Conn.	6	6
McIver, Malcolm	Chestnut Hill, Boston, Mass	15	
McKenna, Anna B	74 Humboldt Avenue, Roxbury, Mass.		10
McKenna, James A	Orange, Mass	30	
McKenney, William A	181 Franklin Street, Boston, Mass	600	
McKenzie, John	Adams Street, Milton, Mass		25
McKeown, Peter	281 Blatchley Avenue, New Haven, Conn.		25
McLaughlin, Abbie A	Care of J. E. Holt, 45 Milk Street, Boston, Mass.		95
McLaughlin, Henry H	19 Cornhill, Boston, Mass		25
McLeod, Charles	277 Euclid Avenue, Lynn, Mass	35	9
McMartin, Frank W	6 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.		40
McNamara, Agnes C	36 Woolson Street, Mattapan, Mass.	100	
McQueen, Henry P	New Glasgow, Nova Scotia		50
McQuesten, Frank B	27 Kilby Street, Boston, Mass	50	
McSorley, Annie	40 Huntington Street, Lowell, Mass.	10	5
Mears, Julia S	Essex, Mass	2	
Meehan, Charles R	28 Cliff Street, New York, N. Y	5	
Meehan, John J	Watertown, Mass		50
Melcher, M. Winthrop	100 Chauncy Street, Boston, Mass		10
Melley, Timothy W	69 Adams Street, Milton, Mass	80	5
Meloon, James W	205 Lincoln Street, Boston, Mass	50	
Mensch, Daniel Z	Sluckshinny, Pa		100
Merrick, Fannie M	Wilbraham, Mass	2	1
Merrick, Mrs. Grace E	Andover, Mass	5	
Merrill, Albert H. & Benjamin G. Hall, trustees under will of Albert F. Poor.	3 Main Street, Peabody, Mass	100	50
Merrill, C. Clifford	11 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass.		10
Merrill, Emma W	7 Charles Street, Methuen, Mass		5
Merrill, Louis C	119 Myrtle Street, Concord, N. H	25	12
Merrill, Samuel A	Care Federal Trust Co., Boston, Mass.		25
Mesick, John I	464 Madison Avenue, Albany, N. Y		20
Messenger, Ida	Glencoe, Ill		100
Metcalf, James S	17 West Thirty-first Street, New York, N. Y.	20	
Metzroth, William	Box 439, Syracuse, N. Y	1	130
Mevis, Martin F	Warner, N. H	5	
Meyer, Fred L	Indianapolis, Ind		7
Microyan, Kegham	14 Bartlett Street, Worcester, Mass		40
Middleton, Frederick H	Box 2634, Boston, Mass	10	
Middleton, George A	84 Charles Street, Boston, Mass	135	
Middleton, Gwendolyn P	205 West Sixtieth Street, Seattle, Wash.	5	
Mildram, Henry C	23 Old Court House, Boston, Mass	10	110
Milholland, John E	Care Ladenberg, Thalman & Co., New York City.		5
Miller, Albert Leroy, L.W. Bestil, administrator of estate.	319 Woman's Temple, Chicago, Ill		300
Miller, Charles C	Atlantic Square, Stamford, Conn	57	33
Miller, Gerrit S	Peterboro, N. Y	45	22
Miller, Gerrit S., agent	do	15	7
Miller, Hannie M. H	48 South Street, Stamford, Conn	58	32
Miller, Laura F	84 Seaver Street, Roxbury, Mass	55	
Miller, Stuart B	605 West Ninsteenth Street, Wilmington, Del.	10	
Miller, Mrs. Susan D	Peterboro, N. Y	27	13
Millett, Roe & Hagen	Boston, Mass	3	10
Millett, Henry C	Salem National Bank, Salem, Mass.	5	3
Milliken, Mrs. Alice G	Care of Corey, Milliken & Co., Boston, Mass.	433	
Milliken, Frederic L	15 State Street, Boston, Mass	20	
Milliken, F. L., & Co	Boston, Mass		30
Mills, Ada Combs	40 Maple Street, Springfield, Mass	10	
Mills, Charles W	1444 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Mass.	20	
Mills, Agden	15 Broad Street, New York, N. Y	26	288
Mills, Stella E. J	133 University Avenue, Providence, R. I.	2	
Milner, Harry R	6 Elm Street, Westerly, R. I	5	55
Milton, George B	Weston, Mass	125	125
Milton, Henry S	10 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass	10	110
Miner, Edward F	8 Kenilworth Road, Worcester, Mass.	20	
Miner, Flora E	Care of L. C. Wylie, 16 School Street, Charlestown, Mass.	60	10
Mink, Oliver W	96 Ames Building, Boston, Mass		28
Mitchell, F. J	118 Chestnut Street, Haverhill, Mass.	50	25
Mitchell, Maria J	51 George Street, Manchester, N. H.	55	
Mitten, Mary L	1 Woodville Street, Roxbury, Mass.		15

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.
Moeller, Ferd R	859 Broad Street, Newark, N. J		100
Moir, John	101 Corey Street, West Roxbury, Mass.	10	5
Monahan, John F	32 Dorr Street, Roxbury, Mass		100
Monohan, Catherine A	1762 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.		100
Montgomery, Alice P	87 Brook Street, Brighton, Mass	10	
Montgomery, Robert J	Reading Terminal, Philadelphia, Pa.		160
Mooers, Chellis T	25 Banks Street, West Somerville, Mass.		25
Moore, Grace C	233 Harvard Street, Brookline, Mass.		1
Moore, Hugh R	19 Orchard Street, West Lynn, Mass.	2	
Moore, James M., est. of	Manchester, N. H	25	15
Moore, Mrs. Kate R	28 Highland Avenue, Claremont, N. H.	1	
Moore, Mrs. Mary E	16 Kensington Street, Roxbury, Mass.	6	
Moore, Maude V	1 Columbus Square, Boston, Mass		20
Moore, Mendon P	Manchester, N. H	18	
Moore, Patrick J	35 Pearl Street, Leominster, Mass		25
Moors & Cabot	Boston, Mass	503	205
Moran, I. Edward	57 Grampian Way, Dorchester, Mass.		6
Morgan, Mrs. Eleanor W	10 Rockland Street, Roxbury, Mass	20	
Morrell, Frederick A	Putnam, Conn		50
Morrell, George C	Sharon, ——	500	300
Morrill, John F	Summer Street, Concord, N. H	20	
Morris, Edward	464 Main Street, Springfield, Mass	21	1
Morris, Elizabeth E	100 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass		10
Morrison, A. Perkins	Peterborough, N. H	3	
Morrison, Estelle A	77 Ash Street, Manchester, N. H	15	
Morrison, Frank	Corinth, Me		10
Morrison, Mortin L	Peterborough, N. H	4	
Morse, Chas. A., & Co	44 Broadway, New York, N. Y		40
Morse, Charles H	Hanover, N. H	2	47
Morse, F. Albert	2 Monmouth Court, Brookline, Mass.		25
Morse, Frank E	162 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass		15
Morse, George H	312 Central Street, Lowell, Mass		15
Morse, John N	85 Devonshire Street, Boston, Mass	10	
Morse, Mary E	22 Rockville Park, Roxbury, Mass		10
Morse, Robert M	57 Equitable Building, Boston, Mass.	75	
Moseley, F. S., & Co	Boston, Mass	450	110
Moses, Charles S	119 Milk Street, Boston, Mass	10	
Moses, William H	Tilton, N. H	10	
Mossman, Robert D	1616 Blue Hill Avenue, Boston, Mass.	200	150
Moulton, Charles C. (estate of).	Care of C. H. Cutting, North Adams, Mass.	130	230
Moulton, Wilbur B	Tilton, N. H		50
Mount, George A	Atlantic Highlands, N. J	12	35
Mudgett, Fred L	Sterling Junction, Mass	30	
Mudgett, Henry L	29 Richmond Street, Boston, Mass.	70	100
Muir, John, & Co	61 Broadway, New York, N. Y		5
Mullen, John J	High Street, Canton, Mass		5
Mullen, Patrick J	56 Norway Street, Boston, Mass		18
Muller, Marie Louise	24 Norris Street, North Cambridge, Mass.	19	24
Muller, Ruleman	202 Produce Exchange Building, New York, N. Y.		100
Munroe, Ella H	142 Stanwood Street, Roxbury, Mass.		10
Murch, Erva	1118 Niagara Avenue, Niagara Falls, N. Y.		13
Murdock, Mrs. Hattie E	155 Franklin Street, Boston, Mass	50	
Murfitt, Samuel C	232 Summer Street, Boston, Mass		20
Murphy, Nettie J	Carleton Chambers, Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.		15
Murphy, Stephen F	Care of A. Shuman & Co., Boston, Mass.		25
Murray, Edward J. B	79 Clinton Avenue, Albany, N. Y		10
Murray, George J	30 East 42d Street, New York, N. Y		10
Murray, Thomas W	11 Mackin Street, Brighton, Mass		100
Myers, Jason G	147 Lancaster Street, Albany, N. Y	40	20
Nason, Anna M	18 Bullum Street, Salem, Mass	30	
Nason, Benjamin F	Salem, Mass	20	
Nathan, Aurelia A	386 Ward Square, Newton Center, Mass.		20
National Bank of Methuen	Methuen, Mass	110	55
Naylor, Leslie H	Bank Building, Newton, Mass	20	
Nazro, Mary A	Care of Geo. U. Crocker, 825 State Mutual Building, 50 Congress Street, Boston, Mass.	20	10
Neal, George H	15 Warren Avenue, Somerville, Mass.		50
Neal, Reuben D	23 Sachem Street, Lynn, Mass		125
Nellson, Fred L	219 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.		50
Nelson, Anna L	509 Main Street, Charlestown, Mass.	50	
Nelson, Martin	Care Fidelity Bank, New York, N. Y.	100	
Nelson, Michael C	191 Eliot Street, Boston, Mass		100
Nelson, Thomas, jr	30 Church Street, New York, N. Y		160
Nephen, Peter J	351 Shawmut Avenue, Boston, Mass.		20
Nevin, William C	Edgartown, Mass		100
Newcomb, Fonetta A	33 Hope Street, Greenfield, Mass	20	
Newman, Emil	647 Oakdale Avenue, Chicago, Ill		20
Newman, J. B	Care Tracy & Co., 40 Wall Street, New York City.		50
Newman, John B	42 Broadway, New York City		50

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.
Newsome, William	Vice president, United Fruit, Board of Trade Building, Boston, Mass.		25
Newton, Phinehas S	Royalston, Mass	100	
Nichols, Grace S	880 Washington Street, Dorchester, Mass.	66	6
Nichols, Mrs. Isabelle P	98 Smith Street, Lowell, Mass	64	59
Nichols, James A	1922 Center Street, West Roxbury, Mass.		25
Nichols, Loring P	Salem, Mass		25
Nichols, Leonard B	12 Shailer Street, Brookline, Mass.		200
Nichols, N. Woodburn	45 Columbia Park, Haverhill, Mass.	235	
Nichols, Mrs. W. J	39 Gage Street, Methuen, Mass	19	9
Nicholls, Walter H	250 Devonshire Street, Boston, Mass.	15	
Nicholson, Edward F	New Bedford, Mass	4	2
Nickerson, Carol M	4 Albany Street, Boston, Mass	59	134
Nickerson, Ella F	296 Spring Street, Portland, Me	10	10
Nickerson, W. G. & Co	Shawmut Bank Building, Boston, Mass.	2,285	368
Nohling, Frank W	707 Dundee Avenue, Kenoosha, Wis.		50
Nolan, Edward C	Watertown, Mass		25
Nolen, William W	Box 1, Cambridge, Mass	10	
Nooning, Mrs. Hannah H	86 Morgan Street, New Bedford, Mass.	10	5
Nourse, Franklin	Care of Lawrence Manufacturing Co., Lowell, Mass.	100	200
Noyes, Ada W. B	Dedham, Mass	24	11
Noyes, Lotta Champlin	104 Laurel Hill Avenue, Norwich, Conn.	12	6
Nugent, Mary E	98 Smith Street, Lowell, Mass		35
Packard, Alfred S	Holyoke, Mass	14	14
Page, Annie M	Care of Henry R. Page, 46 High Street, Medford, Mass.	20	
Page, Benjamin I	Haverhill, Mass	10	
Page, Caleb A	Methuen, Mass		10
Page, J. Seaver	101 Fulton Street, New York City		100
Paine, Frances T	83 Lee Street, Brookline, Mass	1	
Paine, William A	82 Devonshire Street, Boston, Mass.	83	55
Paine, William L	21 Haskell Street, North Cambridge, Mass.	10	
Paine, William M	50 Congress Street, Boston, Mass	190	150
Paine, Webber & Co	Boston, Mass	3,807	717
Palmer, Susan S	Main Street, Lisbon, N. H	10	10
Palmer, Walter L	Avenue House, St. Johnsbury, Vt.	10	
Palmer, William H	100 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.	8	
Pannerot, Henri	Cordaville, Mass		4
Papanti, Hector	339 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.		25
Parker, Abbott B. W	174 Adams Street, Waltham, Mass.	150	
Parker, Adelaide Ellen	98 College Avenue, New Brunswick, N. J.	4	
Parker, Alice F	do	60	
Parker, Grace G. H	Post-office box 31, Dorchester Center, Mass.	24	17
Parker, Henry G	New Brunswick, N. J		110
Parker, Miss Katherine D	1 Arlington Street, Boston, Mass	5	
Parker, Mrs. Rebecca Alice	270 Wilder Street, Lowell, Mass	11	6
Parker, S. Augustus	Belfast, Me	10	
Parker, Walter M	Manchester, N. H	75	107
Parker, Morse & Co	Boston, Mass		175
Parkhurst, Ellen T	Box 58, Fayville, Mass	10	
Parkhurst, Laurence H	17 Court Street, Boston, Mass	25	75
Parkinson & Burr	Boston, Mass	670	1,355
Parkman, Grace, estate of Jas. F. Bacon, 77 Franklin Street, Boston, attorney.	108 Train Street, Dorchester, Mass.	94	
Parmelee, Miss Irene E	Room 44, 423 Main Street, Springfield, Mass.	20	
Parsons, Charles L	Durham, N. H		50
Parsons, Charles M	79 Mt. Pleasant Street, Gloucester Mass.		50
Parsons, Edward L	Redhook, N. Y	25	12
Parsons, George F	40 Howard Street, Boston, Mass		20
Parson, Harold F	Care of G. Parsons, East Gloucester, Mass.		100
Parsons, Joseph A	119 Henry Avenue, Lynn, Mass		10
Parsons, Joseph M	25 Washington Square, Salem, Mass.		25
Parsons, William, 3d	Gloucester, Mass		200
Partridge, Fannie C	26 Browne Street, Brookline, Mass		20
Patch, Isaac	Gloucester, Mass	100	
Patch, Lucie M	64 Hawthorne Street, Malden, Mass.	5	2
Paton, Alexander S	Leominster, Mass., 14 Merriam Avenue.	500	
Pateisky, Anna	16 West Eighty-fourth Street, New York City.	10	135
Pattee, Carl B	Goffstown, N. H	20	8
Patten, Charles	436 Washington Street, Wellesley Hills, Mass.		20
Patten, Henry G	28 State Street, Boston, Mass	100	
Patten, Lucy W	1 North Street, Bath, Me	2	1
Patterson, Alfred A	436 Washington Street, Wellesley Hills, Mass.		20
Patterson, Charles	795 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.		65
Patterson, Charlotte H	15 West Avenue, Albany, N. Y		10
Patterson, George A	286 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass		30
Paul, Mrs. Mary R	178 Walnut Avenue, Boston, Mass.	25	12
Peabody, Charles A	276 Boylston Street, Brockton, Mass.		50
Pearl, Clara C	Care of Pentucket Savings Bank, Haverhill, Mass.	22	2

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.
Pearmain & Brooks	Boston, Mass	60	245
Pearson, Gardner W	Hildreth Building, Lowell, Mass	1	1
Pearson, Nettie R	19 Lake Avenue, Melrose, Mass	10	
Peck, Charles A	434 North Waiola Avenue, La Grange, Ill.		100
Peck, Lillian B	do		50
Pecker, George	Stoneham, Mass		1
Pecker, George	Park Avenue, Winchester, Mass		5
Peirce, Annie S	80 Federal Street, Salem, Mass	10	
Pemberton, Frank A	Care of John F. Priest, room 202, 67 Milk Street, Boston, Mass.	25	
Penn, Henry	124 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass		400
Penn, William	do		100
Penniman, Mary C	38 Cushing Avenue, Dorchester, Mass.	20	
Perkins, David F	North Londonderry, N. H	10	5
Perkins, Edwin C	390 Norton Street, New Haven, Conn.		30
Perkins, Evan J	110 North Morgan Street, Chicago, Ill.		10
Perkins, Harriet A	Marlow, N. H	20	
Perkins, J. Henry	120 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass		20
Perkins, Lee E. S	do	10	50
Perkins, Lucy W	Londonderry, Conn	20	10
Perkins, Mary E	1254 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Mass.	10	5
Perrigo, M. Rosella	108 Portland Street, Boston, Mass., care of Hub Wire Cloth Co.	20	
Perrin, Emily F	147 High Street, Taunton, Mass	210	15
Perry, Addie W	241 Lafayette Street, Salem, Mass.	100	
Perry, Arthur D	1444 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Mass.	110	
Perry, Calvin B	Keene, N. H	115	
Perry, Edna H	146 Curtis Street, Tufts College, Mass.		20
Perry, Edward U	830 Washington Street, Dorchester, Mass.		10
Perry, Emma	183 Pleasant Street, Attleboro, Mass.		100
Perry, Gladys	12 South Lincoln Street, Keene, N. H.	5	
Perry, Samuel D	Southbridge, Mass	2	15
Perry, Walter A	Beverly, Mass	230	
Perry, Walter G	Keene, N. H	115	895
Perry, William F	do	141	1,002
Perry, William S	1 Harvard Place, Worcester, Mass		200
Peterson, Laura E	Sharon, Mass	10	
Peterson, Peter	do	10	200
Pettigrew, Bright & Co	Boston, Mass	1,335	1,450
Pettingill, Lucy E	Hotel Beaconfield, Brookline, Mass.	5	
Petty, John C	1421 Harrison Avenue, Des Moines, Iowa.,		4
Pfingst, Martha B	2 Mellen Street, Dorchester, Mass.	50	450
Phelps, William J	617 Chamber of Commerce, Boston, Mass.	100	
Phipps, George V	Waban, Mass		50
Phipps, William W	210 Winthrop Road, Brookline, Mass.		50
Phyfe, James C	400 Simpson Building, Peekskill, N. Y.		50
Pickering, John, & Moseley.	Boston, Mass	50	300
Pickering, Mabel W	Ash Street, Lowell, Mass		100
Pickman, John J	Barrister Hall, Lowell, Mass	23	
Pierce, Chester B	45 Milk Street, Boston, Mass	100	
Pierce, Ethan E	Myricks, Mass	9	3
Pierrepont, R. Stuyvesant.	218 Columbia Heights, Brooklyn, N. Y.		200
Pike, William M	17 Blackstone Market, Boston, Mass.		65
Pillsbury, Jacob B, administrator estate of Mrs. Emily A. Pillsbury.	15 East Cottage Street, Dorchester.	6	3
Pinfield, Carlos E	38 Ridge Street, Roslindale, Mass		5
Piper, Annie M	150 St. Botolph Street, Boston, Mass.	10	
Piscopo, Guy	254 Main Street, Winthrop, Mass		20
Pitcher, John C	17 Milton Street, Springfield, Mass.		10
Pitman, Winthrop M	463 Center Street, Jamaica Plain, Mass.	100	
Plant, Walter N	616 Atlantic Avenue, Boston, Mass.		40
Plummer, Arthur J	50 State Street, Boston, Mass	6	
Plummer, Lizzie A	Dover, N. H	33	3
Poirot, Josephine	Overlook Cottage, Orange, N. J		100
Pomeroy, Adelaide P	310 State Street, Springfield, Mass.		200
Poole, Grace L	Rockland, Mass	10	5
Poor, Alice P	Peabody, Mass	17	
Poor, Mrs. Lillie Oliver	291 Buckminster Road, Brookline, Mass.	9	12
Porter, Alice N	Box 445, Portland, Me	75	
Porter, Mary S. Ingalls, guardian of Walter E. and Harold C. Ingalls.	Marblehead, Mass	2	1
Potter, Flora E	170 Nesbit Terrace, Irvington, N. J.	21	10
Potter, William H., Brown, Cordelia A., Hanscom, Clarence E., trustees u/w Briggs E. Potter for benefit of Cordelia A. Brown.	45 Commercial Street, Boston, Mass.		25
Potter, William H	45 Commercial Street, Boston, Mass.		25
Poulin, Damase M	631 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass.		10
Porter, Esther F	The Warren, Roxbury, Mass	20	
Powers, Mrs. Carroll Hoyt	4 Regent Circle, Brookline	5	2

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.
Powers, Elizabeth Currier.	207 North Main Street, Brewer, Me.	15	.....
Powers, Leland T	4 Regent Circle, Brookline, Mass	5	2
Powis, Mrs. Agnes	Care of David Floyd, 34 School Street, Boston, Mass.	10	.....
Pratt, Alonzo C	157 Essex Street, Boston, Mass	.....	50
Pratt, B. C., & Co	19 Congress Street, Boston, Mass	.....	10
Pratt, Clesson A	Fitchburg, Mass	.....	10
Pratt, Fred I	22 Blagden Street, Boston Mass	25	.....
Pratt, Sarah V	24 Linden Street, Norwood, Mass	11	5
Presby, Mrs. Esther L	51 Maple Street, Malden, Mass	2	.....
Prescott, Carrie H	63 Copeland Street, Campello, Mass.	10	.....
Prescott, John	Calais, Me	51	.....
Preston, Blanche O	84 Packard Avenue, West Somerville, Mass.	.....	10
Preston, F. H	17 East Pennsylvania Street, Norristown, Pa.	26	13
Preston, Jennie F	97 Ward Street, Roxbury, Mass., care C. A. Davis.	.....	10
Preston, William D	311 Fairmont Avenue, Hyde Park, Mass.	25	.....
Price, Elizabeth T	16 Arnold Place, New Bedford, Mass.	.....	55
Prince, F. H & Co	Boston, Mass	25	880
Prince, Henry A	149 Broadway, New York, N. Y	.....	10
Prince, John T	Riverbank Court, Cambridge, Mass.	.....	25
Prince, Miss Lucy M	17 Joy Street, Boston Mass	.....	1
Pringle, Charles G	324 Essex Street, Lawrence, Mass	100	.....
Proctor, Gertrude C	49 Bickerstaff Street, Boston Mass.	10	.....
Proctor, Cook & Co	Boston, Mass	.....	30
Provan, Flora	430 Columbus Avenue, Boston, Mass.	.....	10
Pruyn, Foster	82 State Street, Albany, N. Y	.....	5
Pruyn, Margaret F. E	230 State Street, Albany, N. Y	.....	5
Puffer, Hubert C	45 Dartmouth Terrace, Springfield, Mass.	50	.....
Puffer, Herbert R	138 Harvard Street, Springfield, Mass.	10	.....
Puffer, Laura D., now Mrs. R. B. Morgan.	35 B Street NW., Washington, D. C.	1	.....
Puffer, Louisa W	....do	64	.....
Puffer, William H	40 School Street, Manchester, Mass.	.....	10
Pugh, Anna M	77 Walker Street, Cambridge, Mass.	.....	2
Purbeck, Mary G	Cushing Terrace, Dorchester, Mass.	40	.....
Purmort, Hazel M	Lebanon, N. H	.....	10
Purmort, Mrs. Jennie E	....do	21	101
Purpura, Andrew	73 Gibson Street, Dorchester, Mass.	.....	10
Putnam, Amos B	284 Huntington Avenue, Boston, Mass.	10	.....
Putnam, Miss Betsy	Danvers, Mass	.....	10
Putnam, C. A., & Co	Box 2634, Boston, Mass	.....	15
Putnam, Elizabeth A	18 Winter Street, Salem, Mass	5	2
Putnam, Florence N	Dover, Mass	10	.....
Putnam, Webster F., & Co.	Boston, Mass	5	3
Do	Danvers, Mass	.....	100
Putnam, William E., jr	6 Hancock Avenue, Boston, Mass.	5	.....
Quimby, Alfred	16 Salmon Street, Manchester, N. H.	150	25
Quimby, Fred G	296 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.	20	.....
Quimby, J. Murray	402 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.	.....	5
Quint, Katharine M	86 Benefit Street, Worcester, Mass.	20	10
Raddin, Miss Eva D	Peabody, Mass	105	90
Rakoobian, Dikran M	3115 Washington Street, Roxbury, Mass.	.....	25
Ramsay, Flora M	18 Lowell Street, Reading, Mass	18	9
Rand, Henry L. and William G. Dwinell, trustees u/w of Frank F. Dwinell for Alice J. H. Dwinell.	131 State Street, Boston, Mass	.....	5
Randall, Edna M	84 Commercial Street, Portland, Me.	25	.....
Rand, Minnie L	836 Tremont Building, Boston, Mass.	40	70
Ranlet, Miss Ethel Clark	50 Hancock Street, Malden, Mass	3	.....
Ranlett, Orrin B	301-303 Dutton Street, Lowell, Mass.	35	17
Rau, Alfred M	135 Broadway, New York	20	110
Ray, Tom W	Brandon, Vt	50	.....
Raymond, Abbie N	48 Batchelder Street, Melrose, Mass	10	.....
Raymond, Fred A	1153 Hyde Park Avenue, Hyde Park, Mass.	.....	300
Raymond, Jennie A	438 Lafayette Street, Salem, Mass	125	119
Raymond, John H	346 Merrimack Street, Manchester, N. H.	4	2
Raymond, John M	221 Essex Street, Salem, Mass	50	239
Raymond, Rachel C	8 Mechanics Street, Allston, Mass	.....	5
Rayner, Hanson	215 Robbins Street, Waltham, Mass.	.....	185
Raynes, Harry	Lowell, Mass	1,000	.....
Read, Charles A	Manchester, Mass	160	80
Read, Clara S. C	707 Highland Avenue, Fall River, Mass.	.....	20
Reardon, Elizabeth	11 Price Road, Suite 4, Allston, Mass.	100	.....
Records, Lydia M	11 Newbury Street, Malden, Mass	.....	25
Redhead, Edwin B	311 Middle Street, Elyria, Ohio	5	5
Reed, Arthur T	26 Franklin Street, Boston, Mass	50	.....
Reed, Jennie F	132 Oxford Street, Cambridge, Mass.	.....	60
Reed, Taylor	Reedsville, Pa	10	110
Reed, Thomas E	701 Pleasant Street, Belmont, Mass	5	.....
Reid, Elizabeth Mills	14 Broad Street, New York City	26	289
Reno, Frank H	63 Broadway, Renssaeller, N. Y	.....	10
Reynolds, Jay B	Orange, Mass	490	.....
Reynolds, Josephine	Amsterdam, N. Y	23	13

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.
Reynolds, Marcus T	100 State Street, Albany, N. Y	.....	5
Rice, Albertine P	10 Peabody Street, Newton, Mass	5	.....
Rice, Charles F	24 Moreland Street, Roxbury, Mass.	8	.....
O'Brien, Cornelius	14 Blackstone Market, Boston, Mass.	.....	100
O'Brien, Edward J	9 Thornley Street, Dorchester, Mass.	25	.....
O'Brien, Frederick P	431 North Capitol Avenue, Indianapolis, Ind.	.....	25
O'Brien, Joseph P	890 Huntington Avenue, Boston, Mass.	.....	50
O'Brien, Mary A	535 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.	.....	5
Offield, Charles K	Monadnock Building, Chicago, Ill	.....	100
O'Hara, Mrs. Mary M	West Derry, N. H	1	.....
O'Hare, Charles P	Medway, Mass	.....	10
Ohlson, David	7 East 78th Street, New York, N. Y	.....	200
O'Hearn, Henry	Pigeon Cove, Mass	.....	5
O'Keeffe, David J	260 Charles Street, Malden, Mass	.....	25
Oliphant, Charles H	Methuen, Mass	.....	62
Olmsted, Charles H	651 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.	500	.....
Oppenheimer, Jacob	3 Westminster Court, Roxbury, Mass.	20	.....
Ordway, Clarence	Church Street, Winchester, Mass	2	.....
Ordway, Walter P	Skowhegan, Me	400	200
Ordway, Warren	111 Gibbs Street, Newton Center, Mass.	.....	10
Ormerod, Jonathan	Box 237, Lawrence, Mass	25	.....
Osborn, Charles L	217 North 4th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.	15	.....
Osborn, Lucy M	Peabody, Mass	15	.....
Osborn, Mary A	....do	18	.....
Osborne, Richard A	1056 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass	.....	25
Osborne, Thomas M., surviving trustee, u/w Chas. Devens.	4 Post Office Square, Boston, Mass.	1	.....
Osgood, Harry O	Washington Street, Peabody, Mass.	.....	10
Osterhaut, Emma A	236 La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill	.....	50
Otterson, John I	Hooksett, N. H	.....	10
Ouelette, Pamela S	33 Warwick Street, Lowell, Mass	.....	20
Owen, Mrs. Marion A	105 Quincy Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.	10	.....
Rice, Charles F	53 Newtonville Avenue, Newton, Mass.	12	.....
Rice, Clifford H	71 Kilby Street, Boston, Mass	10	.....
Rice, Edwin W	710 West Fortieth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.	.....	40
Rice, Frank C	Saco, Me	5	2
Rice, Helen C	Lenox Road, Schenectady, N. Y	.....	38
Rice, Horace J	1135 Worthington Street, Springfield, Mass.	5	.....
Rice, Roger C	87 Arlington Street, Hyde Park, Mass.	10	.....
Rich, Charles J	Hollis Street Theater, Boston, Mass.	.....	300
Rich, Edgar E	Eastham, Mass	11	1
Rich, George M	Tuckahoe, N. Y	5	11
Richards, Amy	Care of J. T. Richards, Gardiner, Me.	8	1
Richards, John T	Gardiner, Me	4	.....
Richards, Ruth	....do	8	1
Richardson, Ahira S	St. Albans, Vt	11	5
Richardson, Alice B	21 Wellington Street, Waltham, Mass.	10	.....
Richardson, Sarah B	166 Court Street, Portsmouth, N. H.	4	.....
Richardson, Walter P	9 Crombie Street, Salem, Mass	5	.....
Richardson, Hill & Co	Exchange Place, Boston, Mass	405	704
Richmond, Clifford A	Box 724, Easthampton, Mass	.....	10
Richmond, Percy L	Shelburne Falls, Mass	30	.....
Ricker, Hiram, & Sons	South Poland, Me	53	.....
Riddell, Emma	Massachusetts Chambers, Boston, Mass.	15	100
Ridgway, Joseph	10 Bartlett Street, Haverhill, Mass.	4	2
Rigby, Sarah A	507 Shawmut Avenue, Boston, Mass.	70	125
Riley, Edward A	122 Massachusetts Avenue, Boston, Mass.	.....	100
Riley, Lilla C	161 Devonshire Street, Boston, Mass.	.....	10
Riley, Thomas C	Post-office box 2656, Boston, Mass.	10	.....
Riley, William J	50 Congress Street, Boston, Mass	200	.....
Ripley, Clara M	173 Harvard Street, Dorchester, Mass.	2	1
Rising, Mrs. Minnie A	21 Mountain View Street, Springfield, Mass.	25	.....
Risteen, Susan M	9 Moreland Avenue, Newton Center, Mass.	54	.....
Robbins, Elmer E	Baldwinsville, Mass	1	21
Robbins, Horace M	28 Oak Street, Rockland, Me	2	.....
Roberts, Alexander P	298 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.	.....	10
Roberts, Helen E	65 Jamaica Street, Jamaica Plain, Mass.	15	.....
Robertson, Elizabeth A	142 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.	.....	10
Robertson, George H	Atlantic, Iowa	.....	20
Robertson, John L., and William L., joint tenants.	Prescott Street, Lowell, Mass	.....	500
Robie, Ina M	Candia, N. H	12	6
Robie, Thomas I	7 Raeleigh Road, Faneuil, Mass	15	260
Robinson, Edgar Francis, and Geoffrey Paget.	21 Lombard Street, London, England.	100	50
Robinson, Edward A	987 Broadway, Haverhill, Mass	.....	10

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.
Robinson, Henry W	100 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.	500	700
Robinson, H. W	do	42	6
Robinson, James B	307 Wethersfield Avenue, Hartford, Conn.	23	13
Robinson, Joshua	14 Buswell Street, Lawrence, Mass.	115	65
Robinson, Josie M	Whipple Street, Kittery, Me	3	1
Robinson, Roswell R	84 Linden Avenue, Malden, Mass.	70	53
Robinson, W. H	Newark, N. J		3
Roche, Arabella C	Hermon, N. Y	2	1
Rockefellow, J. B	Atlantic, Iowa		7
Rockwood, Frank A	North Franklin, Conn	300	600
Rockwood, Mrs. Persis A	141 Engle Street, Englewood, N. J.	100	50
Roden, Ephraim H	226 West Superior Street, Chicago, Ill.		750
Rodgers, Spencer C	State Street, Albany, N. Y	40	22
Rodliff, Ferdinand	Pigeon Cove, Mass		100
Rodliff, Mary A. J	20 Dover Street, Lowell, Mass	10	
Rodman, George	Peacedale, R. I	44	4
Rogers, Cornelius E	14 Victoria Street, Dorchester, Mass.	50	
Rogers, Ernest W	90 Middlesex Avenue, Reading, Mass.	25	100
Rogers, George B	Tilton, N. H	10	10
Rogers, George L	Gardiner, Me	22	2
Rogers, Isaac R	General Delivery, Boston, Mass	3	
Rogers, Mary E	15 Royce Street, Rutland, Vt	75	
Rolfe, Percival B	98 State Street, Portland, Me	150	
Rollins, James F	200 Devonshire Street, Boston, Mass.	25	
Rollins, William W	51 Mount Vernon Street, Reading, Mass.		371
Rooney, John J	Station 1, Boston, Mass		20
Rosengarden, Meyer	771 Madison Avenue, Albany, N. Y.	35	17
Rothschild, Mrs. Ida	141 Broadway, New York, N. Y		6
Roulston, Agnes	20 Elm Street, Oneonta, N. Y	24	24
Rowe, Henry S	61 Devonshire Street, Boston, Mass.	20	
Rowe, Wm. A	First National Bank, 119 Main Street, Gloucester, Mass.		150
Rowell, Charles A	128 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass		300
Royce, Eva A	Dedham, Mass	20	
Royce, Frederick P	147 Milk Street, Boston, Mass		3
Rubelmann, Anna	No. 1 Forest Ridge, Wydown and Pennsylvania Avenues, St. Louis County, Mo.	100	
Ruddock, Hattie A	99 Pembroke Street, Boston, Mass.	25	
Rude, Edwin G	42 Stern Terrace, Springfield, Mass.	120	200
Ruggles, Fred A	Union Village, Vt	11	
Rullman, Emilie	351 Belden Avenue, Chicago, Ill		7
Runels, Emma (now Gage).	133 Princeton Street, Lowell, Mass.	10	
Runey, Frank B	Victoria Street, Somerville, Mass	5	
Rush, J. Krebbs, jr	Lowell Building, Baltimore, Md		250
Rushton, Mary A	60 Curtis Street, Waltham, Mass		15
Rusk, J. S	161 Devonshire Street, Boston, Mass.	100	
Russell, Asa C	Wilder Street, Lowell, Mass	25	
Russell, Cyrus W	115 Mount Vernon Street, Lowell Mass.	25	
Russell, G. Carlton	38 Wellsley Park, Dorchester Center, Mass.		20
Russell, G. L	21 East Pearl Street, Nashua, N. H.	5	2
Russell, Louis	Maywood, Ill		20
Russell, Pardon, jr	1107 Rockdale Avenue, New Bedford, Mass.		100
Russell, Wilbur H	182 Langley Road, Newton Center, Mass.	20	
Rust, George	17 Mattoon Street, Springfield, Mass.	22	102
Ryan, Matthew J	Berlin, N. H		40
Ryan, Thomas F	Plymouth, Mass		10
Ryder, Leo F	576 Broadway, South Boston, Mass.		10
Safford, George E	26 Elmwood Avenue, Winthrop, Mass.	20	
Safford, Mary	92 Pleasant Street, Woburn, Mass	20	
St. Denis, Mary E	74 Blue Hill Avenue, Mattapan, Mass.		50
St. Onge, Stanislas	Arctic, R. I		200
Samerjian, Moses	377 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass		100
Sampson, Gaius	Adams House, Boston, Mass	10	
Sanborn, Martha F	Mount Holyoke Hotel, Northampton, Mass.		35
Sanborn, William B	281 Washington Street, Haverhill, Mass.	5	
Sanford, Bertha A	Milton, Mass		50
Sanford, Calvin H	Canton Avenue, Milton, Mass		30
Sautarelle, Alessandro	105 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, Mass.		5
Sargent, Benjamin F	633 Middlesex Street, Lowell, Mass.	50	25
Sargent, Helen S	175 East Haverhill Street, Lawrence, Mass.	159	79
Sargent & Fairchild	Boston, Mass		1,225
Sarkisian, Giragos	42 Washington Street, Worcester, Mass.		25
Sarre, Leon E	539 Merrimack Street, Lowell, Mass.		10
Sasoon, Stephen	478 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.		25
Saunders, Susan G	R. F. D. 1, Hudson, N. H	10	3
Sauriol, Albertine E	Room 19, 175 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass.		2
Savage, Georgine A	Lock Box 6, Greenfield, N. H	40	
Sawin, Harry W	Southboro, Mass	10	
Sawyer, Chester E	150 Huntington Avenue, Boston, Mass.		275
Sawyer, Henry C	53 State Street, Boston, Mass		100
Scales, Albert J	Nantasket, Mass		45
Scanlon, Hugh F	44 State Street, Boston, Mass		25
Scanlon, Jane	233 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Mass.	15	
Schaltenbrand, Louis L	Saxonville, Mass	25	
Schellenberg, Benjamin	Sterns Road, Boston, Mass		50
Schirmer, Chapin & Emmons.	Boston, Mass		100
Schirmer, F. A. & Co	do	200	501
Schmidt, Helen E	125 Mount Auburn Street, Cambridge, Mass.	100	
Schmidt, Herman	do		10
Schmidt, Joseph J	Care of J. R. Dos Passos, 61 Broadway, New York City.		287
Schwartz, Maude B	57 Howard Street, Waltham, Mass.		10
Scott, John H	Care of B. S. Chambers & Co., Kansas City, Mo.		4
Scott, Mrs. Mary H	Blake Street, Belmont, Mass	20	
Scriven, Marjorie W	202 St. Paul Street, Brookline, Mass.	50	100
Searle, Miss Mary L	Care of Bright, Sears & Co., Boston, Mass.	30	40
Sears, Abram W	44 Winslow Road, Brookline, Mass.	205	
Sears, Miss Annie L	85 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, Mass.	4	2
Sears, Annie L. and Francis P., trustees u/w Sarah P.	77 Franklin Street, Boston, Mass.	50	25
Sears, Francis P	do	10	5
Sears, Harry E	274 Friend Street, Boston, Mass	10	5
Sears, Miss Mary P	85 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, Mass.	11	5
Seelig, William L	549 West 113th Street, New York, N. Y.	180	280
Seely, Thomas H	60 Sawyer Street, Dorchester, Mass.		15
Sellman, John H	75 South Street, Boston, Mass		25
Serabian, Murad	67 Portland Street, Worcester, Mass.		100
Severy, Frank E	Monson, Mass		20
Sewall & Woodworth	Boston, Mass		650
Shaffer, Millie B	31 South Main Avenue, Albany, N. Y.	3	48
Shannahan, Margaret	600 South Bridge Street, Worcester, Mass.	7	7
Shattuck, Lucius E	44 Brooks Street, West Medford, Mass.	10	10
Shaw, Robert E	Monson, Mass		50
Shay, Edward A	167 Harrishof Street, Boston, Mass.	65	
Shay, Ellen M	168 Hanover Street, Boston, Mass.		70
Shea, Cornelius	60 Myrtle Street, Boston, Mass		40
Shea, Nellie	56 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass		5
Shearn, John, jr	667 Madison Avenue, New York City.	1	
Shedd, George C	Springfield, Vt	10	
Sheffield, Eliza J., estate of.	Ausable Forks, New York, N. Y.		1
Sheinwald, Bertha	34 Johnston Road, Dorchester, Mass.		50
Sheinwald, Louis	do		100
Sheldon, Miss Lena	135 South 9th Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.		10
Shepard, Eva L	5 Derby Street, Waltham, Mass		300
Shepard, John	786 South Orange Grove Avenue, Pasadena, Cal.		3
Shepard, John, jr	30 Winter Street, Boston, Mass	1,283	1,385
Shepheard, Arthur J	547 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, N. Y.		50
Shepheard, Elizabeth A. A	45 Walker Street, West Somerville, Mass.	30	
Shepherd, Asenath N	69 Central Avenue, Hyde Park, Mass.	85	
Sherburne, Annie C	363 Marlboro Street, Boston, Mass.	250	
Sheridan, John	Berlin, N. H		100
Sheriff, Alexander W	211 Essex Street, Lawrence, Mass		50
Sheriff, John W	do		80
Sherman, Ellen S	463 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Mass.	50	35
Sherman, Ellen S., and William H. Sherman, trustees under will for Ida Sherman Damon and Edith Sherman.	do	100	50
Sherman, Gannett B	7 Rawson Road, Wollaston, Mass		20
Shillady, Robert	Manchester, Mass	10	
Shillito, Stewart	Care of The John Shillito Co., Cincinnati, Ohio.	48	24
Shine, William	23 Pleasant Street, Dorchester, Mass.		100
Shipley, Francis M	16 Manhattan Avenue, New York		80
Shipley, Harry E	Northern Trust Co., Chicago, Ill		240
Shiverick, David	East Dennis, Mass	4	7
Shiverick, Hannah S	do	5	2
Shotwell & Varick	Beacon Building, Manchester, N. H.	10	
Showell, George A	296 Lowell Street, Lawrence, Mass.		50
Shute, Henry L	152 Milk Street, Boston, Mass	105	105
Sibley, Clarissa A	North Windham, Conn	15	
Sidder, Bertha	14 Laungan Street, Chicago, Ill		35
Sidder, Kasel	6342 South Halsted Street, Chicago, Ill.		50
Silberstein, William M	12 Brookford Street, Roxbury, Mass.		20
Silloway, Carrie M	9 Charles Street, Methuen, Mass		75
Silver, Carrie B	7 Charles Street, Methuen, Mass	10	5

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.
Silver, George A	7 Charles Street, Methuen, Mass	15	7
Simmons, Allen S	Care Merchants National Bank, New Bedford, Mass.	30	5
Simmons, Ralph C	26 Pierce Avenue, Beverly, Mass	20	.....
Simmons, Valorus A	Belfast, Me	10	.....
Simmons, Walter C	Post office box 892, Providence, R. I.	50	.....
Simonds, Phillips C	F. A. Schirmer & Co., 79 Milk Street, Boston, Mass.	100	121
Simonson, John E	182 Broadway, N. Y	2	.....
Simpson, Adeline E	Care of E. S. S. Keith, Sagamore, Mass.	25	.....
Simpson, Charles S	Kempton and Pleasant Streets, New Bedford, Mass.	.....	50
Simpson, Marcia V	315 Franklin Street, Newton, Mass.	5	2
Sims, Lillian	101 East Sixty-first Street, New York, N. Y.	.....	100
Sisson, Franklin N	2030 Broadway, Albany, N. Y	55	5
Sisson, Lydia A	Fairview Terrace, West Newton, Mass.	9	5
Skinner, Eugene F	Hingham, Mass	50	.....
Slade, Emma H	1332 West Eighty-seventh Street, New York.	34	.....
Slonovitz, Ellis	2622 Lincoln Avenue, Chicago, Ill	.....	25
Small, William	Box 3273, Boston, Mass	10	.....
Smith, Mrs. Ada F	25 Albion Street, Somerville, Mass.	35	.....
Smith, Adela Wood	5 College Street, Amherst, Mass	45	.....
Smith, Albert P	Box 3223, Boston, Mass	35	20
Smith, Alexander J	Newport, Vt	.....	25
Smith, Alfred E	103 Central Street, Somerville, Mass.	8	.....
Smith, Alice M	1010 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Mass.	13	.....
Smith, Anna H	55 Williston Road, Brookline, Mass.	200	.....
Smith, Chiron W	Marlboro, Mass	20	.....
Smith, Edward J	30 Pine Street, New York City	11	1
Smith, Emma M	Kingston, Mass	.....	30
Smith, Emily, and Raymond, John M., trustees.	221 Essex Street, Salem, Mass	127	63
Smith, Emma E., Archibald L., and Norman B., trustees u/w John B. Smith.	Hillsboro, N. H	135	.....
Smith, Flora M	Tunbridge, Vt	.....	20
Smith, George S	22 Brayton Avenue, Providence, R. I.	10	.....
Smith, George W	92 Bridge Street, Salem, Mass	4	2
Smith, Harold B	5142 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, Pa.	3	1
Smith, Henrietta	80 Willow Street, Waterbury, Conn.	2	2
Smith, Herbert P	1010 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Mass.	3	.....
Smith, Ira A	Tower Court, 5 Tower Street, Somerville, Mass.	.....	5
Smith, James A	Rockport, Mass	.....	10
Smith, J. A. V	72 Prospect Street, Manchester, Mass.	.....	8
Smith, J. Foster	134 Federal Street, Salem, Mass	.....	5
Smith, J. Morean, estate of.	227 East Avenue, Rochester, N. Y.	13	6
Smith, John N	South Edmeston, N. Y	.....	50
Smith, Josephine T. C	134 Federal Street, Salem, Mass	10	.....
Smith, Lucy A. H	199 Winthrop Road, Brookline, Mass.	9	4
Smith, Miss Mary G	Care of Federal Trust Co., Boston, Mass.	.....	58
Smith, Maude E	1010 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Mass.	4	.....
Smith, Murdock C	Lee Hall, Lynn, Mass	20	20
Smith, Nellie Cressy	50 Hanover Street, Manchester, N. H.	.....	140
Smith, S. Florence	378 Clinton Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.	.....	5
Smith, Stanley W	Box 3223, Boston, Mass	35	20
Smith, William H	Care of Mrs. Mitten, Marion, Mass	.....	200
Snow, Albert E	340 East Nineteenth Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.	12	3
Snow, Charles E	Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.	25	.....
Snow, Elmer H	30 Carey Avenue, Chelsea, Mass	22	.....
Snow, Frederic A	West Chelmsford, Mass	6	5
Snow, Florence Homer	College Hall, Northampton, Mass	1	.....
Snow, Grace E	Care of C. E. Snow, South Hadley, Mass.	5	.....
Snow, Homer V	408 Tremont Building, Boston, Mass.	.....	1
Snow, Leslie P	Rochester, N. H	20	100
Snow, Lois E	340 East Nineteenth Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.	4	2
Snow, Lottie L	West Chelmsford, Mass	14	5
Snow, Martha F	826 Main Street, Waltham, Mass	50	.....
Snow, Sara S	Franklin, Mass	15	.....
Snow, William N., estate of.	36 Tanager Street, Arlington Heights, Mass.	100	.....
Somes, A. E	Care of Mrs. E. B. Hyde, 15 Nichols Street, Lynn, Mass.	5	.....
Sondheim, Elias H	87 Kilby Street, Boston, Mass	.....	75
Sornborger, Eugenie E	72 Greenwood Street, Dorchester, Mass.	5	.....
Soule, Augustus W	60 State Street, Boston, Mass	5	1
Soule, Herman C	82 Walnut Park, Newton, Mass	.....	50
Southwick, Edward	Merchants Trust Co., Lawrence, Mass.	.....	20
Southwick, Edward L	do	.....	40
Souval, John	123 Haverhill Street, Boston, Mass.	.....	100
Souvalian, John	12 Green Street, Boston, Mass	5	.....
Spalding, Rebecca A	248 Lenox Avenue, New York, N. Y.	20	.....

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.
Spaulding, Mary B	Peterboro, N. H	3	.....
Spence, Alice E	146 Hemenway Street, Boston, Mass.	.....	10
Spence, George W	90 Canal Street, Boston, Mass	.....	10
Spencer, Albert A	85 Hancock Street, Cambridgeport, Mass.	.....	495
Spencer, Henry B	227 Suffolk Street, Holyoke, Mass.	10	.....
Spencer, Henry F	2 Kilby Street, Boston, Mass	24	14
Spencer, John K	19 Broadway, Rensselaer, N. Y	110	10
Sperber, Hyman I	116 Bedford Street, Boston, Mass	100	.....
Stainsby, Charles	Post-office box 421, Leominster, Mass.	20	.....
Stanley, Ellen F	Scituate, Mass	.....	10
Stanley, Florence M	Kezar Falls, Me	10	.....
Stanley, Harry R	16 State Street, Boston, Mass	441	221
Stanley, Ithamar E	Blue Hill, Me	20	.....
Stanton, William J	33 Main Street, Pawtucket, R. I	5	.....
Starratt, Lida	171 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass.	20	10
Starratt, William Howe	27 Lexington Avenue, Bradford, Mass.	.....	15
Stearns, Arthur E	Wilson Corner, North Andover, Mass.	200	180
Stearns, Russell	115 Devonshire Street, Boston, Mass.	80	305
Stearns, Sarah L	801 West Fourth Street, Williamsport, Pa.	87	43
Stearns, Thomas L	do	133	67
Stebbins, Charles H	53 State Street, Boston, Mass	55	5
Steele, Julia A	41 Spring Street, Springfield, Mass.	.....	15
Steinert, Alexander	162 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.	10	10
Steinmetz, Spencer J	141 Milk Street, Boston, Mass	.....	1
Stenbeck, Charles V	Scituate, Mass	.....	15
Stengel, Harry	Waverly Park, Waverly, N. J	.....	100
Stephens, James	19 Philip Street, Albany, N. Y	.....	2,000
Stephens, Thomas	518 Madison Avenue, Albany, N. Y.	.....	100
Stephenson, Emma F	2 Court Street, Newburyport, Mass.	.....	50
Stetson, Hattie M	52 School Street, Salem, Mass	8	19
Stetson, Ruth B	Bridgewater, Mass	30	.....
Steveley, Lucy M	315 Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill	.....	4
Stevens, Caroline	Winthrop Street, Salem, Mass	5	2
Stevens, Ellen T., executrix u/w William K. Stevens.	192 Norton Street, New Haven, Conn.	10	5
Stevens, Esther E	Oneonta, N. Y	13	.....
Stevens, Frank H	35 Congress Street, ——	.....	20
Stevens, Fred S	78 Chauncy Street, Boston, Mass	200	200
Stevens, Ida M	Suite 5, 11 Haviland Street, Boston.	90	.....
Stevens, Lamont A	Wells Depot, Me	115	50
Stevens, Robert E	32 Sheridan Street, Lawrence, Mass.	.....	47
Stevens & Duncklee	43 North Main Street, Concord, N. H.	5	2
Stevenson, William W	Mutual Life Insurance Co., 32 Nassau Street, New York, N. Y.	.....	100
Stewart, Marguerite D	42 Egerton Street, Rochester, N. Y.	.....	17
Stickney, Edward R., estate of.	Springfield, Mass	.....	2
Stickney, Francis G	19 Wellington Street, Waltham, Mass.	.....	20
Stickney, May C	do	.....	5
Stiff, Herbert Allen	39 Rockingham Street, Lynn, Mass.	15	50
Stockbridge, Lydia S	66 Cambridge Street, Boston, Mass.	20	.....
Stockton, Margaret H	Care of P. Stockton, 17 Court Street, Boston, Mass.	100	.....
Stoddard, Edwin O	North Scituate, Mass	5	.....
Stone, Addie F	16 Briggs Street, Salem, Mass	10	5
Stone, Albert, jr	Box 3209, Boston, Mass	754	638
Stone, Alfred J	890 Broadway, New York, N. Y	.....	2
Stone, Anna F. G	38 Jewett Street, Newton, Mass	25	.....
Stone, Mrs. Anna H	Post Office Box 3209, Boston, Mass.	10	.....
Stone, Arthur K	44 Fairfield Street, Boston, Mass	30	5
Stone, Barbara	149 Buckminster Road, Brookline, Mass.	6	.....
Stone, Carrie M	do	25	.....
Stone, Charles J	2 Summit Avenue, Chelsea, Mass	.....	25
Stone, Charles J	591 Broadway, Chelsea, Mass	.....	50
Stone, Mrs. Edith L	44 Fairfield Street, Boston, Mass	10	5
Stone, Edward H	153 Kent Street, Brookline, Mass	10	.....
Stone, George E	Lexington, Mass	8	4
Stone, Irving	do	80	115
Stone, Margaret	36 Hanson Street, Boston, Mass	.....	10
Stone, Mary E	431 Hanover Street, Manchester, N. H.	40	.....
Stone, Miss Mary P	Box 3209, Boston, Mass	5	.....
Stone, Robert G	149 Buckminister Road, Brookline, Mass.	9	.....
Stone, William R	Del Norte Co., Crescent City, Cal	25	12
Stone & Webster	147 Milk Street, Boston, Mass	.....	37
Story, George L	Pigeon Cove, Mass	.....	20
Stowell, Henry B	45 Milk Street, Boston, Mass	75	55
Stowell, J. B. & Son (notices to Henry B. Stowell).	do	.....	10
Stratton, Frank H	47 Equitable Building, Boston, Mass.	225	.....
Strawbridge, Henry J	Manchester, N. H	.....	12
Streicher, Joseph	31 Grand Street, Cambridge, Mass.	.....	20
Strong, May W	Box 211, Bridgeport, Conn	2	1
Strong, Mary W	211 Main Street, Bridgeport, Conn	90	45
Stuart, Emily	322 Broadway, Somerville, Mass	.....	10
Stuart, J. Rollins, jr	Care Boston Blacking Co., Third and Potter Streets, East Cambridge, Mass.	100	.....

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.
Stuckenburg, estate of J. H. W.	575 University Street, Wooster, Ohio.	30	15
Studley, John H., and Arthur W. Robinson, trustees.	50 Congress Street, Boston, Mass.	9	.....
Studley, Lester L	Needham, Mass	.....	139
Sturgis, Arthur	10 Elm Street, Brookline, Mass	.....	10
Sturgis, George W	415 Congress Street, Portland, Me	.....	25
Sullivan, Daniel A	658 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.	.....	20
Sullivan, Daniel P	624 Green Street, Cambridge, Mass.	.....	10
Sullivan, John P	18 Healy Street, Cambridge, Mass.	20	.....
Sullivan, Julia T	50 Hinckley Street, Somerville, Mass.	.....	50
Sullivan, Martha	65 Jamaica Street, Jamaica Plain, Mass.	25	.....
Sullivan, Mary	5 Groom Street, Dorchester, Mass.	30	.....
Sullivan, Mary A	61 Albany Street, Boston, Mass	6	3
Sullivan, Mary E	Clinton Street, Framingham Center, Mass.	10	.....
Sullivan, Nellie B	Care of Manchester National Bank, Manchester, N. H.	7	7
Sullivan, Miss Nellie F	45 Old Harbor Street, South Boston, Mass.	5	.....
Sullivan, Roger G	803 Elm Street, Manchester, N. H.	130	465
Sullivan, William	Municipal Courthouse, Boston, Mass.	10	5
Sumner, William H	1305 Commonwealth Avenue, Allston, Mass.	5	.....
Sutherland, Annie J	Care of Old Colony Trust Co., Boston, Mass.	25	.....
Swan, William B	Belfast, Me	35	10
Sweeney, Annie J	8 Groom Street, Dorchester, Mass	.....	5
Sweeney, Christopher F	8 Irvington Street, Boston, Mass	700	.....
Sweeney, Mary A	378 Newbury Street, Boston, Mass	15	.....
Sweetland, Almyra F	16 Copley Street, Roxbury	.....	2
Sweetser, Samuel P	35 Arthur Street, Schenectady, N. Y.	2	1
Swett, Lucia G	Care of Kidder Peabody Co	7	3
Swett, Mary C	Care of Kidder Peabody Co., Boston, Mass.	7	3
Swett, Philip C	Summer Street, Haverhill, Mass	20	.....
Swett, Samuel	231 Woodford Street, Woodfords, Me.	11	5
Swett, William L	Care of M. W. Farwell, 274 Devonshire Street, Boston, Mass.	7	3
Swift, Bertha	75 Roberts Street, Roslindale, Mass.	20	.....
Symonds, Walter	Rochester, N. H	.....	15
Taft, Miss Helen W	Uxbridge, Mass	50	25
Taft, William W	28 Yale Avenue, Wakefield, Mass.	1	.....
Taintor, Giles	53 State Street, Boston, Mass	.....	100
Taisey, Fred R	100 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.	6	3
Talcott, James	225 4th Avenue, New York, N. Y.	.....	18
Talcott, James	do	100	.....
Tapley, Wm. W	266 Union Street, Springfield, Mass.	10	.....
Tarbell, Nellie L	521 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.	.....	75
Tarlin, Morris	51 Waldick Street, Dorchester, Mass.	.....	125
Tassell, Geo. W	Waukesha, Wis	.....	100
Tate, William H	100 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.	.....	3
Taylor, Albert B	Care of Bright Sears & Co., Exchange Building, Boston, Mass.	200	.....
Taylor, I. M., & Co	10 Post Office Square, Boston, Mass.	.....	40
Taylor, John A	Georgetown, Mass	.....	10
Taylor, Jennie	222 Hemenway Street, Boston, Mass.	5	.....
Taylor, Lydia S	Falls of Schuylkill, Philadelphia, Pa.	20	.....
Taylor, Marion L	Post office box 246, Ashland, Mass.	40	.....
Taylor, Mary E	15 Allyn Terrace, Lawrence, Mass.	16	8
Taylor, Nettie M	Box 247, Salem Depot, N. H	20	.....
Taylor, Sarah S	357 Harvard Street, Cambridge, Mass.	10	5
Taylor, Auchinclose & Joost.	60 Broadway, New York, N. Y.	.....	22
Taylor, Herbert C., & Co	52 Broadway, New York, N. Y.	.....	100
Taylor, I. M., & Co	8 Congress Street, Boston, Mass	.....	25
Teague, Nancy P	Peabody, Mass	17	.....
Teehan, Maida E	Biltmore, N. C	75	.....
Teichman, Louis M	40 Exchange Place, New York, N. Y.	.....	100
Temperley, Alfred	1210 Chestnut Street, Newton Upper Falls, Mass.	.....	20
Temple, Lucy A	Salem, Mass	100	.....
Tevriz, Garabed T	15 A Maiden Street, Cambridge, Mass.	.....	60
Tevriz, Mary G	327 A Columbus Avenue, Boston, Mass.	1	31
Thacher, Louise W	New Castle, N. H	.....	32
Thayer, Miss Mary C	215 Pearl Street, South Braintree, Mass.	6	3
Thayer, Oscar A	89 Franklin Street, Boston, Mass.	15	.....
Thayer, Ruth Brown	172 Pine Street, Pawtucket, R. I.	.....	30
Theal, Belle S	23 Spring Street, Malden, Mass	.....	10
Thiel, Signe	104 East Twenty-fifth Street, New York, N. Y.	.....	25
Thomas, Annie E	167 Billings Street, Atlantic, Mass.	55	.....
Thomas, C. Edward	166 West Canton Street, Boston, Mass.	5	.....
Thomas, Calvin M	Brewer, Me	5	5
Thomas, Calvin P	do	10	.....
Thompson, Henry	Toledo, Ohio	.....	50
Thompson, Towle & Co	Boston, Mass	.....	390

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.
Thomson, William L	Schuylerville, N. Y	.....	25
Thorndike, Augustus L	Brewster, Mass	20	.....
Thorndike & Allen	Boston, Mass	34	2,167
Thorne, Maud L	12 Marshall Street, Brookline, Mass	.....	7
Thorpe, Fannie B	57 Rutland Square, Boston, Mass	.....	5
Throne, Mary M	130 Hogarth Avenue, Detroit, Mich.	.....	50
Thurston, Arthur	Box 92, Durham, N. H	2	1
Thurston, Carl H. P	13 Lancaster Street, Cambridge, Mass.	30	.....
Thurston, Walter H	50 Congress Street, Boston, Mass	.....	45
Tighe, James T	First Street, foot of Faneuil Hall, South Boston, Mass.	15	7
Tillinghast, Jos. J	Brush Hill Road, Hyde Park, Mass.	55	15
Tilton, F. W	First National Bank, Cambridgeport, Mass.	5	2
Tirrell, Hamilton	53 State Street, Boston, Mass	600	.....
Tobey, Adelaide F	60 Fifth Street, New Bedford, Mass.	6	3
Tobin, Edgar T	60 Nowell Road, Melrose, Mass	.....	2
Tolman, Helen M	176 Lincoln Street, Canton, Mass	14	17
Tongue, Henry	283 Essex Street, Lawrence, Mass	120	67
Topping, Gertrude M	61 Thicket Street, South Weymouth, Mass.	100	.....
Torrey, Amanda	140 Lewis Street, Lynn, Mass	.....	15
Tosdoran, Lazaros	20 Locust Street, Haverhill, Mass	.....	10
Tounge, Lucy E	Saco, Me	2	1
Tower, Clara L	Box 426, Pleasant Street, South Weymouth, Mass.	10	2
Tower & Underwood	Boston, Mass	.....	2,013
Towle, Annie E	708 Washington Street, Dorchester, Mass.	.....	20
Towle, Edward B	Hampton, N. H	.....	100
Towle, Henry S	Monadnock Building, Chicago, Ill.	.....	250
Towle, Ida H	23 Mount Vernon Street, West Roxbury, Mass.	9	.....
Towle & Fitzgerald	Boston, Mass	.....	100
Towne, Jennie L	816 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester, Mass.	25	.....
Townsend, James L	326 Dickinson Street, Springfield, Mass.	.....	50
Townsend, Wm. S	209 West Fayette Street, Baltimore, Md.	55	.....
Townsend, Anthony & Tyson.	8 Congress Street, Boston, Mass	2,670	145
Townsend, J. J., & Co	Rooms 710-714, Continental & Commercial Bank Building, Chicago, Ill.	.....	100
Tracy, F. Bendel	145 High Street, Boston, Mass	30	.....
Tracy, Lewis E	127 Broad Street, Boston, Mass	25	.....
Tracy, Robert Emmet	714 Real Estate Building, Philadelphia, Pa.	.....	10
Tracy & Co	40 Wall Street, New York, N. Y.	.....	50
Trask, Spencer, & Co	Boston, Mass	.....	200
Travers, Francis	Brimfield, Mass	10	.....
Travers, Irving D	1031 Board of Trade Building, Boston, Mass.	10	.....
Tribou, F. C	South Paris, Me	300	.....
Tribou, Frederick C	Box 20, South Paris, Me	200	100
Trott, Joseph M	Bath, Me	10	.....
True, Carl F	Yarmouthville, Me	.....	25
Tuccio, Raphael	29 Hancock Street, Dorchester Mass.	.....	300
Tucker, Charles N	41 North Pearl Street, Albany, N. Y.	2	1
Tucker, Edward T., trustee.	1050 Pleasant Street, New Bedford, Mass.	30	15
Tucker, Hannah A	Care of Samuel T. Tucker, trustee, 19 Allerton Place, Marblehead, Mass.	4	2
Tucker, Anthony & Co	Boston, Mass	1,235	5,422
Tucker, Hayes & Co	8 Congress Street, Boston, Mass	50	785
Tucker, Hayes & Bartholomew.	50 Congress Street, Boston, Mass	310	160
Tukesbury, Ervin McG	15 Milwood Street, Dorchester, Mass.	10	100
Tupper, Mary Akin	South Yarmouth, Mass	20	10
Turner, Geo. B	7 East Main Street, Ayer, Mass	118	159
Tuttle, Charles E	South Market Street, Boston, Mass.	.....	300
Tuttle, Cora A	43 Beaumont Street, Ashmont, Mass.	30	.....
Tuttle, Edward P	Otis Street, Hingham, Mass	300	100
Tuttle, Henrietta M	543 Tremont Building, Boston, Mass.	15	.....
Tuttle, Josiah F., executor of the last will and testament of Edward F. Cronin.	1510 Monadnock Building, Chicago, Ill.	100	.....
Tuttle, Margaret P	350 Charles River Court, Cambridge, Mass.	5	5
Tweed, Brenda	96 Mansur Street, Lowell, Mass	1	.....
Tweed, Gordon	63 Market Street, Lowell, Mass	1	.....
Twitchell, Alice G	Augusta, Me	.....	10
Do	Auburn, Me	.....	8
Twomey, Michael	357 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass., care of Col. Stevenson.	32	2
Tyler, Artemas S	57 Fairmount Street, Lowell, Mass	.....	10
Tyler, Mrs. Louise B	Baldwinsville, N. Y., care of Mrs. Louise B. Owen.	10	5
Tyler, Victoria J	82 Winter Street, Gardiner, Me	.....	1,000
Underwood, Arthur P	41 Mill Street, New Bedford, Mass.	2	56
Upham, Lizzie P	285 Clifton Street, Malden, Mass	5	.....
Upham, Warren Ford	28 Clifton Street, Malden, Mass	.....	10
Valentine, Ethel L	83 St. James Avenue, Springfield, Mass.	10	.....
Valente, Andrew	45 Clay Street, North Cambridge, Mass.	25	.....

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.
Valente, Charles	45 Clay Street, North Cambridge, Mass.	35	150
Van Alstine, Charles W	150 Milk Street, Boston, Mass	60	30
Vandercook, Willard C	Ansonia, Conn		10
Van Schaack, Grace C. B	20 Sycamore Road, Hartford, Conn	5	1
Van Vleck, Charles Peter	Bangor, Me		70
Van Wickle, Daniel E	Mattawan, N. J		100
Ventress, Mrs. Ann Maria	Marshfield, Mass	15	7
Ver Planck, Wm. G	149 Broadway, New York, N. Y		40
Viall, Charles S	25 Exchange Street, Lynn, Mass	6	3
Vickery, Geo. A	Salem, Mass	20	
Vinal, Florence E	Care of Rev. H. G. Buckingham, Whitinsville, Mass.	6	3
Vinton, Charles H	The Judson, 53 South Washington Square, New York City.	25	13
Vorderer, Wm	485 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass		10
Vose, Sarah M	Robbins Street, Mattapan, Mass	30	
Vrooman, Isaac H., jr	294 Hamilton Street, Albany, N. Y	100	50
Wade, Mary Ashton	Care of Mr. Horace S. Wade, East 27 Produce Exchange, New York.	12	6
Wadlin, Laura E	8 Summer Street, Rockland, Me	2	
Waimwright, H. C., & Co	Boston, Mass	1,912	1,571
White, Benj. H	Care of Oliver T. Brown, trustee, Box 396, New Bedford, Mass.	81	
Wakefield, C. Clyde	4481 Broadway, Somerville, Mass	5	
Walcott, Martha Pickman	139 Federal Street, Salem, Mass	4	2
Walcott, Samuel F	do	3	2
Waldecker, Herman	37 Sampson Avenue, Braintree, Mass.	20	
Waldron, Asbury F	216 Vaughan Street, Portland, Me	50	
Walker, Edward A	701 Madison Avenue, Baltimore, Md.		14
Walker, Evalena P., and Henry P. Walker, joint tenants in common.	Southbridge, Mass		5
Walker, Evalena P	do	5	
Walker, Everett H	Care of Lawrence Manufacturing Co., Lowell, Mass.		100
Walker, Florence L	Springfield, Mass	11	1
Walker, Frank H	13 Francesca Avenue, West Somerville, Mass.		25
Walker, Frederick N	285 Manchester Street, Manchester, N. H.	2	2
Walker, George H	do	20	9
Walker, George W	Warren, Me	25	
Walker, Henry P	Southbridge, Mass	5	
Walker, Lulu B	Lee, N. H	5	
Walker, Martha E., estate of.	Fowler Street, Bridgton, Me	30	15
Walker, Sarah R	32 Fairview Street, Lowell, Mass		1
Wallace, Albert	Rochester, N. H	200	500
Wallace, George M	Rensselaer, N. Y		20
Wallace, Kate B	Farlow Road, Newton, Mass	100	
Wallace, Leon M	39 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass	4	2
Wallace, Louisa F	58 Boulevarde Revere, Mass		20
Wallace, Madora V	201 Maple Street, Springfield, Mass	18	10
Wallace, Robert	Winthrop Street, West Newton, Mass.		100
Wallach, Samson	30 Broad Street, New York, N. Y	25	
Wallingford, Richard N	2 Moody Street, Waltham, Mass		1,800
Wallace, James G	10 Pine Street, New York City		50
Walsh, James F	382 Broadway, South Boston, Mass		50
Walstrom, Hilda E	Box 91, Upper Montclair, N. J		2
Ward, Edward	Kennebunk, Me	25	
Ward, James	Scituate, Mass		60
Ward, Mrs. Mary E	203 Kent Street, Brookline, Mass	50	
Ward, Wm. G	70 Fairmount Street, Lowell, Mass	70	35
Ware, Agnes B	63 Rositer Street, New Dorchester, Mass.		2
Ware, Henry I	51 Harrison Avenue, Swampscott, Mass.	5	2
Ware, Sarah M	Hingham, Mass	5	
Wark, Charles E	15 Dexter Street, Waltham, Mass		10
Warner, George M	High Street, corner Ashland Street, Newburyport, Mass.	50	1
Warner, H. A	409 River Street, Decorah, Iowa		20
Warren, Alice R	237 Berkeley Street, Boston, Mass	100	
Warren, Bentley W. and Elmer E Monroe, trustees u/w of Albert N. Monroe for benefit of Lydia F. C. Monroe and others.	Care of E. E. Monroe, 125 Washington Street, Brighton, Mass.	200	50
Warren, Edward W	8 Congress Street, Boston, Mass	100	
Warren, Elsie G	Ward Street, Newton Center, Mass.	25	
Warren, George B	87 Milk Street, Boston, Mass	30	
Warren, Grace H	109 Academy Hill Road, Brighton, Mass.		25
Warren, Henry C	Grafton, Mass	5	
Warren, Nathan	Equitable Building, Boston, Mass	40	
Warren, Wm	23 Old Court House, Boston, Mass		10
Warshauer, Henry W	265 Middlesex Street, Lowell, Mass		100
Warshauer, Sidney M	166 Naples Road, Brookline, Mass		10
Washburn, George H	1 Otisfield Street, Roxbury, Mass	10	
Wason, Charles E	354 Manchester Street, Manchester, N. H.	10	5
Waterhouse, Thomas	Bondsville, Mass		15
Waterhouse, Thomas, jr	do		10
Waterman, Charles O	338 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.		10
Watson, Alice J	140 North Main Street, Attleboro, Mass.	15	57
Watson, Edward H	Naval War College, Newport, R. I	100	
Watts, Mary J	Thomaston, Me		100
Wax, Martin	143 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass	150	200
Waxelbaum, Mrs. Rosanna	Arverne, L. I		8

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.
Wayland, Kitty	59 St. James Street, Boston, Mass	1	
Weatherby, Harry	271 Broadway, N. Y		20
Weaver, Mary A	26 Ten Eyck Avenue, Albany, N.Y.	33	16
Webb, Bertrand F	33 Monument Square, Charlestown, Mass.		10
Webster, Franklin A	Care of Shepard Norwell Co., Boston, Mass.	121	76
Webster, Frances M	Lowell, Mass	2	
Webster, Lavinia	Care of F. A. Webster, Winter Street, Boston, Mass.	25	14
Webster, Mary A	Lowell, Mass	2	
Wedding, Mrs. Thomas	Jerseyville, Ill		25
Weeks, Helen A	57 Federal Street, Salem, Mass	15	7
Welch, Nora R	Northampton, Mass		10
Welch, Thomas J	9 Sherman Avenue, Nahant, Mass	300	300
Weld, Grew & Co	Boston, Mass	306	110
Weller, W. G	300 South Salina Street, Syracuse, N. Y.	32	16
Wells, Anna N	28 Brown Street, Springfield, Mass	10	
Wells, Charles E	do	50	
Wells, Frank E	Waltham, Mass		20
Wells, Mrs. Ruth S	3 Walnut Street, Boston, Mass	10	50
Welsh, Mary A	1911 Center Street, West Roxbury, Mass.		10
Wendell, Hattie M	151 Bridge Street, Salem, Mass		2
Wentworth, Miss Lillie B	Care of Warren Chambers, 419 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.		20
Wentworth, Thomas C	Cornish, Me		50
Wescott, Laura S	35 Washington Street, Winchester, Mass.	10	
Wessels, Catherine M	42 Angell Street, Dorchester, Mass		5
Wessman, Jennie N	137 Main Street, Athol, Mass	5	
West, William C	35 Bracewell Avenue, North Adams, Mass.		25
Weston, Annie S	Dudley Street, Brookline, Mass	2	1
Wheat, Mrs. Irene A	1837 Elm Street, Manchester, N. H.	42	
Wheeler, Miss Charlotte	Lincoln, Mass	25	12
Wheeler, Clifton N	35 Oliver Street, Fitchburg, Mass		50
Wheeler, Edw. W	1654 Massachusetts Avenue, Boston, Mass.	10	
Wheeler, Louise T	Care of E. I. Leads, 13 Ashburton Place, Boston, Mass.	13	
Wheeler, Marietta	722 Merrimack Street, Lowell, Mass.	50	
Wheeler, Martha A	143 Federal Street, Boston, Mass	6	2
Do	77 Summer Street, Boston, Mass	3	7
Wheeler, Mrs. Mary E	722 Merrimack Street, Lowell, Mass.	10	
Wheelock, Andrew C	465 Central Street, Lowell, Mass		132
Wheelock, Stanley H	Uxbridge, Mass	10	
Whipple, Bessie B	54 Mountwood Road, Swampscott, Mass.		10
Whipple, Catherine	40 Dearborn Street, Salem, Mass	9	5
Whipple, Elmore	Franconia, N. H	20	
Whipple, Osman F	Solon, Me	55	
Whitaker, Nat. C	113 Hunnewell Avenue, Newton, Mass.	3	
White, A. J., & Co	3 Board of Trade, Chicago, Ill		125
White, Benj. A	660 Warren Avenue, Brockton, Mass.		10
White, Eliza C., trustee u/w Charles W. White.	Fairhaven, Mass	5	
White, Elizabeth A	151 Humboldt Avenue, Roxbury, Mass.	52	2
White, Frances Beach	St. Pauls School, Concord, N. H	40	
White, Royal P	78 Gates Street, Lowell, Mass	4	2
Whitehouse, Hiram P	62 Mount Vernon Street, Malden, Mass.	30	
Whiting, Alma E	4 Church Street, Framingham, Mass.	20	
Whiting, George	Hingham, Mass		10
Whiting, Mary E	167 Pleasant Street, Worcester, Mass.	25	
Whitmore, Arthur E	35 Congress Street, Boston, Mass		10
Whitney, Alice T	Canton Avenue, Milton, Mass		100
Whitney, Adeline	40 Dartmouth Street, Somerville, Mass.	75	5
Whitney, Henry M	Boston, Mass		3
Whitney, James F	40 Dartmouth Street, Somerville, Mass.		58
Whitney, Martha F	do	80	5
Whitney & Elwell	53 State Street, Boston, Mass	255	175
Whittemore, Emilie P	458 East High Street, Manchester, N. H.	30	10
Whittemore, Samson D	Paddock Building, Boston, Mass	5	
Whittington & Co	53 State Street, Boston, Mass	40	
Whitten, Charles R	Augusta, Me	25	
Wickens, John W	238 Broadway, Rensselaer, N. Y		10
Widenhorn, Fred, jr	200 Seventh Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.		5
Wiesman, Wm. J	416 High Street, Clinton, Mass	15	5
Wiggin & Elwell	Boston, Mass		205
Wight, Charles S	Maryland Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.		100
Wilcock, Edwin	214 Summer Street, Boston, Mass	100	400
Wilder, James R	444 Produce Exchange, New York, N. Y.		100
Wilder, Warren P	131 State Street, Boston, Mass		25
Wilhelm, Mrs. E. C	Atlantic, Iowa		5
Wilkins, Geo. A	23 Barr Street, Salem, Mass	20	25
Wilkins, Mrs. M. B	52 Essex Street, Salem, Mass	4	2
Wilkinson, Edward S	164 Church Street, North Adams, Mass.	174	39
Wilkinson, Edward S., jr	34 Church Street, North Adams, Mass.	50	25
Wilkinson, Eliza C	do	10	60

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Preferred shares.	Common shares.
Willcutt, Edward F., and Joseph N. Willcutt, trustees u/w Lyman D. Willcutt.	146 Summer Street, Boston, Mass.	205	50
Willcutt, Merriel L	Cohasset, Mass	35	5
Williams, Elizabeth D	342 Essex Street, Salem, Mass	5	3
Williams, Frances S	208 Homer Street, Newton Center, Mass.	1	
Williams, Holden P	63 Perrin Street, Roxbury, Mass	88	98
Williams, Lillian W	86 Washington Avenue, North Cambridge, Mass.	100	25
Williams, Mary F	10 Rockland Street, Roxbury, Mass.	22	11
Williams, Richard T	34 G Street, South Boston, Mass	100	
Williams, Stillman P., and Horace D. H. Williams.	Winchester, Mass	60	110
Williams, Stillman P	30 Broad Street, Boston, Mass	25	
Williston, J. R., & Co	Boston, Mass		30
Wilson, Alice L	Care of Union Trust Co., 425 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.	50	
Wilson, Caroline A	285 Broadway, Methuen, Mass		1
Wilson, Florence E	Care of Union Trust Co., 425 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.	50	
Wilson, Frederick A	Andover, Mass	2	1
Wilson, George H	152 East Hollis Street, Nashua, N. H.	2	1
Wilson, James	Wharf Street, Nahant, Mass		25
Wilson, Margaret J	285 Broadway, Methuen, Mass		5
Wilson, Robert	382 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Mass.		10
Winch, Mary Ella	The Chesterfield, Richmond, Va	21	
Wingersky, Abraham	206 Washington Avenue, Winthrop, Mass.	50	40
Winn, William R	Box 91, Upper Montclair, N. J		2
Winward, Elizabeth	26 Sacramento Street, Cambridge, Mass.		10
Wirth, Jacob	Eliot Street, Boston, Mass		10
Wise, Homer N	Long Pond, Me		30
Withington, Margaret	35 Bay State Road, Boston, Mass	51	15
Withington, Paul R	do	52	10
Withington, Robert	do	36	9
Withington, Sidney	do	35	10
Wolcott, James L	Dover, Del		3
Wolcott, Wm. Prescott	Readville, Mass	100	
Wolf, M. E	102 Powers Block, Rochester, N. Y	19	9
Wolf, Sam	343 Broadway, New York City	10	210
Woman's American Baptist Foreign Mission Society.	Boston, Mass	30	15
Wood, Caroline A	1691 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Mass.		30
Wood, Charles E	48 Salem Street, Bradford, Mass	5	2
Wood, Charles N	79 Milk Street, Boston, Mass	100	300
Wood, Eugene D	2030 Broadway, New York City	351	175
Wood, Frederick A. W	55 Kilby Street, Boston, Mass		125
Wood, Fred W	15 School Street, Boston, Mass		100
Wood, Mabel B	88 Greenwood Street, Dorchester, Mass.		5
Wood, Rebecca H	358 Union Street, New Bedford, Mass.	10	5
Wood, Sarah C	59 Masonic Street, Rockland, Me	15	7
Woodbury, Edith Leighton.	62 Upland Road, Cambridge, Mass.	10	
Woodbury, Wm. L	204 Chamber of Commerce Building, Boston, Mass.	105	
Woodcock, Alice W	15 Church Street, Belfast, Me	42	
Woodcock, D. Faunce	Belfast, Me		10
Woodcock, Daniel F	do		10
Woodcock, Hart L	do		150
Woodcock, Hartwell L	15 Church Street, Belfast, Me	20	53
Woodhouse, Edward R	219 Asylum Street, Hartford, Conn		100
Woodman, Elizabeth Le B., administratrix of the estate of Geo. H. Woodman.	200 Brattle Street, Cambridge, Mass.	100	100
Woodman, Frank E	92 State Street, Boston, Mass	5	
Woodman, Fred R	1 Messervey Street, Salem, Mass	6	3
Woodman, Nettie A	Water Street, Fitchburg, Mass	10	10
Woods, Mary F	1038 Beacon Street, Brookline, Mass.	30	100
Woodward, Charles S	9 Faneuil Hall Market, Boston, Mass.	50	
Woodward, Hannah A	Care of Charles T. Woodward, 3 Faneuil Hall Market, Boston, Mass.	10	
Woodward & Lothrop	11th and F Streets NW., Washington, D. C.	120	60
Wrenn Bros. & Co	Boston, Mass	20	33
Wright, Miss Annie E	Care of A. E. Whitney, Bingham, Me.	11	5
Wright, Charles B	Middlebury, Vt	112	
Wright, Charles E	242 Brown Street, Waltham, Mass		20
Wright, Clara A	Middlebury, Vt		200
Wright, Edith F	170 Huntington Avenue, Boston, Mass.		5
Wright, Kate P	704 Belmont Street, Manchester, N. H.		10
Wright, Mrs. Mary E	19 Burton Terrace, South Weymouth, Mass.	69	6
Wrightington, Sidney R	31 State Street, Boston, Mass		20
Wyeth, Wm. B	222-B Washington Street, Maiden, Mass.		75
Wyman, Harry B	Bangor, Me		40
Wyman, Mrs. Hattie S	Henniker, N. H	118	58
Wyman, Isaac C	Salem, Mass		2
Wyman, James T	Melrose, Mass	3	1
Wyman, William B	Marblehead, Mass		1
Wyzanski, Charlotte	Central Square, East Boston, Mass.		10
Wyzanski, Myer	125 Summer Street, Boston, Mass		25
York, Annie M	2808 Puget Sound Avenue, Tacoma, Wash.	5	
Young, Francis M	640 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.		10
Young, Frank C	Wintersport, Me	35	
Young, Hannah E	166 West Canton Street, Boston, Mass.	5	
Zakarian, Hachadoor	115 Summer Street, Worcester, Mass.		15
Zakarian, Sarkis	do		50
Zeemmin, Edward	822 Lawrence Avenue, Chicago, Ill.		180

List of stockholders of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

We hereby certify that the foregoing is, to the best of our knowledge and belief, a true and correct list of the names, addresses, and holdings of the owners of the preferred capital stock of the American Pneumatic Service Co. to the aggregate of 126,577 shares and common capital stock to the aggregate of 199,996 shares at the close of business June 10, 1916, as shown by the stock ledgers in the custody of the undersigned transfer agent.

INTERNATIONAL TRUST CO.,
A. F. HAYDEN,
Assistant Secretary.

Holders of first preferred stock of American Pneumatic Service Co. June 10, 1916—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Shares.
Adams, Charles Mills	57 Waverley Street, Roxbury, Mass	12
Adams, Thomas F	10 Bromfield Street, Newburyport, Mass.	3
Ainslie, Allen	77 North Midland Avenue, Arlington, N. J.	9
Ainslie, Inez E. G	do	35
Alexander, Nannie	51 Philbrick Road, Brookline, Mass	40
Allen, Albion R	Post office box 29, Providence, R. I	40
Allen, Mabel M (Mabelle M.)	33 La Grange Street, Jamaica Plain, Mass.	20
Ames, Elizabeth A	94 Market Street, Lynn, Mass	10
Anderson, Frank E	Nashua, N. H	100
Andrews, Florence M	463 Tremont Avenue, New York, N.Y	15
Andrews, George W	Woonsocket, R. I	30
Anschutz, Emma B	103 South Cliff Street, Ansonia, Conn	20
Atwood, Alice T	126 Princeton Street, East Boston, Mass.	18
Atwood, William E	1253 Beacon Street, Brookline, Mass	100
Ayer, James C. and Frederick, jr., trustees under indenture dated Boston, Feb. 24, 1911.	Care of Frederick Ayer, 141 Milk Street, Boston, Mass.	1,000
Babb, George W	55 John Street, New York, N. Y	7
Bagg, Nellie W	840 Riverdale Street, West Springfield, Mass.	35
Bailey, Laura H	Fidelity Trust Co., Portland, Me	120
Bailey, Laura H	149 Buckminster Road, Brookline, Mass.	20
Baird, Charles L	63 High Street, Boston, Mass	20
Baker, Charles H	599 Essex Street, Lynn, Mass	34
Baker, Katherine F	665 Andover Street, Lowell, Mass	1
Barker, Ralph E	19 Main Street, Taunton, Mass	20
Barker, Willard	365 Orchard Street, Watertown, Mass	2
Barnard, Joseph G	Stratham, N. H	27
Barnes, Harriett A	529 West Park Street, Dorchester, Mass.	10
Barney, George F	Southboro, Mass	12
Barry, Eliza B	Box 1, Fiskdale, Mass	10
Bartlett, Sidney W	63 High Street, Boston, Mass	10
Batchelder, Frank J	Concord, Mass	20
Bayley, Edward B	Room 58, Mason Building, Boston, Mass.	100
Beach, Louise Drummond	24 Morrill Avenue, Waterville, Me	1
Bearse, Horace L	79 Milk Street, Boston, Mass	150
Beddows, Fred L	8 Spring Street, North Adams, Mass	10
Beebe, Junius	129 South Street, Boston, Mass	189
Berry, Albert P	Gardiner, Me	34
Berry, Fannie S	15 School Street, Rochester, N. H	5
Berry, Marion H	180 Main Street, Athol, Mass	12
Bird, Frank M	Canton, Mass	30
Bishop, Everett, R	236 Grand Avenue, New Haven, Conn.	20
Black, Jennie Dix	56 Pleasant Street, Waterville, Me	30
Black, J. William	do	20
Blackinship, Frank C	Marion, Mass	6
Blackinship, Howard S	do	2
Blackstone, Hollis M	State Farm, Mass	20
Bliss, Anna B	6 East 65th Street, New York, N. Y	100
Bliss, Robert Woods	Plaza Bank, 58th and 5th Avenue, New York, N. Y.	25
Blodget & Co	Boston, Mass	15
Blythe, William	North Adams, Mass	7
Boorman, Laura	Palmer, Mass., R. F. D. No. 3	80
Boyd, Eliza G. E	University Road, Brookline, Mass	10
Boyd, Mary R	do	10
Brackett, Charles A	102 Toma Street, Newport, R. I	20
Bradley, Ralph	Dover, Me	10
Brewer, Mabel L	1356 Main Street, Athol, Mass	30
Brewster, Estate, Wm. H	24 Central Street, Boston, Mass	50
Brody, Catherine	136 Merrimac Street, Manchester, N. H.	3
Brown, Ethel W	Peabody, Mass	5
Brown, John M	16 School Street, Dorchester, Mass	10
Brown, Olive A	Rye Beach, N. H	7
Bryan, Wilbur P	Waterbury, Conn	8
Burgess, Hollis	15 Exchange Street, Boston, Mass	10
Burgess, Sarah A	Care of R. Burgess, Esq., Maverick Mills, East Boston, Mass.	20
Burnam, Curtis, F	1418 Eutaw Place, Baltimore, Md	3
Burnham, Willard A	Box 13, South Essex, Mass	9

Holders of first preferred stock of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Shares.
Burr, Hattie A	32 Wayne Street, Boston, Mass	20
Buttolph, Winifred E	37 Claflin Road, Brookline, Mass	10
Cabot, Harry D	Room 1040 Tremont Building, Boston, Mass.	10
Caldwell, Annie F	Bank of Nova Scotia, 48 Wall Street, New York.	20
Callender, Walter	Providence, R. I	10
Campbell, Cassius S	Derry Village, N. H	20
Carlisle, Helen M	Foxboro, Mass	10
Carr, John A	21 Highland Avenue, Somerville, Mass.	35
Cary, Rebecca B	Hingham, Mass	60
Casey, Thomas	381 Main Street, Brighton, Mass	11
Castle, Edwin J	Methuen, Mass	4
Chamberlain, Frederick H	Courthouse, Worcester, Mass	20
Chandler, Charles L. W	Care of the Shepard Co., Providence, R. I.	3
Chandler, Mary R	....do	1
Chase, Mary A	Damariscotta, Me	10
Chesley, T. Jewett	Dover, N. H	1
Childs, Edith H	Waterville, Me	2
Chuchman, John W	303 Crown Street, New Haven, Conn	20
Clare, Sarah	157 Lincoln Street, Newton Highlands, Mass.	20
Clark, Mildred	Care of Old Colony Trust, Boston, Mass.	3
Clark, Rosamond	....do	7
Clarke, Mabel L	South Walpole, Mass	2
Clarke, William H	....do	3
Clement, Lizzie M	Milo, Me	10
Clement, Parker & Co	Boston, Mass	171
Cleveland, Alice Mable	30 Russell Avenue, Watertown, Mass.	15
Cobb, Melville L	10 Post Office Square, Boston, Mass	171
Coes, John H	1058 Main Street, Worcester, Mass	5
Collins, Frank	White River Junction, Vt	40
Cony, Ellen H	Calais, Me	10
Coogan, Orren	Dover, N. H	5
Cook, Effie E	46 Franklin Street, Watertown, Mass.	10
Cook, Kenneth B	609 West One hundred and fifty-eighth Street, New York, N. Y.	20
Cooke, Bertha R	14 Hawthorne Street, Lowell, Mass	1
Cooper, Charlotte E	4 Akron Street, Roxbury, Mass	20
Cooper, Lucinda K	Orange, Mass	20
Cotton, Edwin M	Laconia, N. H	5
Cox, Edwin B., jr	169 Buckminster Road, Brookline, Mass.	1
Cox, Mary S	169 Buckminster Road, Brookline, Mass.	1
Cox, Walter H	Bank Building, Thompson Square, Charlestown, Mass.	5
Crafts, Harriet N	Monson, Me	20
Crowell, Helen M	Bangor, Me	20
Crowell, Jennie Dean (Miss)	Adams, Mass	8
Crowell, Joan	Care of Rice & Miller, Bangor, Me	2
Cummings, Emma G	16 Kennard Road, Brookline, Mass	5
Cummings, Mabel H	....do	30
Cummings, H. Alma	....do	20
Cummings, Leila R	58 Dwight Street, Brookline, Mass	10
Curtis & Sanger	Boston, Mass	902
Cutter, George F	Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Mass.	5
Cutter, Florence Maxim	Taunton, Mass	60
Daley, Olin W	White River Junction, Vt	60
Dalton, Belle	91 Moraine Street, Brockton, Mass	5
Daniel, Harry W	Lakeport, N. H	100
Darvill, Frederick	R. F. D., South Berwick, Me	40
Davels, Mary G	Bowdoin Street, Portland, Me	50
Davenport, Stephen T. K	Greenfield, Mass	100
Davenport, William W	437 Main Street, Greenfield, Mass	10
Davis, Gilbert F	Windsor, Vt	8
Davis, Perley B	218 West Park Street, West Roxbury, Mass.	20
Day, William O	5 Madison Avenue, Springfield, Mass.	20
DeFriez, William Peabody	537 Washington Street, Brookline, Mass.	50
De Laney, Julia A	24 Henshaw Terrace, West Newton, Mass.	1
Dennison, Lucy May	Wilmont, Nova Scotia	20
Dillenback, Henry B	76 South Street, Boston, Mass	20
Dixon, Alexander John	34 West George Street, Glasgow, Scotland.	60
Dodge, Walter B	Lubec, Me	10
Doolittle, Maude R	Princeton, Mass	2
Donworth, John P	Caribou, Me	12
Doten, Ansel R	463 Cumberland Avenue, Portland, Me	15
Doten, Maud A	....do	10
Doten, Roswell F	235 Sate Street, Portland, Me	200
Downs, Elizabeth S	Winchester, Mass	50
Downs, O. Anna	Canton Corner, Mass	20
Drew, Dennis L	Woodfords Station, Me	20
Drew, Watson B	12 Ellsworth Street, Portland, Me	20
Drinkwater, William	25 Arch Street, Boston, Mass	10
Drummond, Anna M	Waterville, Me	21
Drummond, Everett R	....do	6
Drummond, Frank H	Box 15, Bangor, Me	60
Duffy, Jane	25 South Russell Street, Boston, Mass	10
Dunklee, Laura M	The Sycamores, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.	2
Easton, Arthur H	Box 39, Newport, R. I	20
Eaton, Eleanor B	609 Comstock Avenue, Syracuse, N. Y.	10
Eaton, Horace A	....do	40
Eberle, Marcella	47 Columbus Avenue, Somerville, Mass.	15
Ecker, George W	Thicket Street, South Weymouth, Mass.	1
Eddy, Frederick A	242 Cedar Street, Bangor, Me	40
Eddy, Inez E	....do	2
Edwards, Myra E	1121 State Street, Albany, N. Y	4

Holders of first preferred stock of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Shares.
Eldridge, Edric, trustee u/w William G. Fish.	35 Sleeper Street, Boston, Mass	25
Eliot, Edith	31 Clinton Street, New Bedford, Mass	1
Emerson, Merton L	100 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass	4
Estabrook, Elizabeth C	128 Pleasant Street, Arlington, Mass	12
Estes, Nellie G	742 Washington Street, Canton, Mass	1
Fales, Lewis F	Walpole, Mass	60
Fay, Sarah P	Hanover, N. H	20
Fields, Mary B., care of C. W. Fields.	63 High Street, Boston, Mass	10
Fish, Elbert L	Central Trust Co., New York, N. Y	200
Fitz, Adeline F., trustee u/w of David Slade.	Wakefield, Mass	50
Flagg, Arthur	414 Main Street, Worcester, Mass	76
Fleming, Max E	769 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass	10
Fleming, Robert, & Co	8 Crosley Square, London, England	600
	....do	1,000
Fleming, Willis N	5 Clarks Block, Neatick, Mass	6
Follensby, Ellen B	St. Johnsbury, Vt	2
French, Foote	Boston, Mass	25
Foster, Arthur L	114 Dudley Street, Roxbury, Mass	3
Foster, Gidron F	95 Hale Street, Beverly, Mass	16
Fowler, Josiah Minot	57 Stratford Street, West Roxbury, Mass.	20
Fowler, Timothy H	Box 68, Holyoke, Mass	11
Franklin Square House	Boston, Mass	10
Freeman, Mary E	54 Mount Everett Street, Upham Corner, Dorchester, Mass.	40
Gage, Mrs. Emma Runels	133 Princeton Street, Lowell, Mass	1
Gage, Ellena B	Cedar Road, Braintree, Mass	20
Gardner, Annie R	154 Main Street, Calais, Me	2
Gardner, Frederick Mack	Southern Pines, N. C	10
Garland, James A	Bourne, Mass	60
Gates, Florence K	701 Pleasant Street, Belmont, Mass	6
George, Benjamin F	Preble House, Portland, Me	28
George, Joseph O	Gorham, N. H	5
George, Nathan R., jr	Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass.	25
Gibb, Thomas R. P	6 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass	2
Gillette, Mary S	237 Church Street, New Haven, Conn	10
Godfrey, Chester S	Taunton, Mass	20
Godfrey, George L	Oldtown, Me	20
Goff, Ira N., estate	903 Broad Street, Providence, R. I	26
Goldthwaite, Clarence E	Eastern Avenue, Lynn, Mass	3
Goodnow, Charles W	Kennebunk, Me	5
Goodwin, B. Louisa	17 Breed Street, Lynn, Mass	8
Goudey, Seretha A	Care of L. K. Morse, 201 Devonshire Street, City.	90
Greeley, Eugene O	R. F. D. No. 1, Derry, N. H	10
Gregg, David A	Indian Head National Bank, Nashua, N. H.	100
Greene, S. Cuyler	801 Albany Street, Schenectady, N. Y	3
Hadley, Mary A	Care of W. E. Jenks, Box 2037, Boston, Mass.	10
Hagar, Albert C	112 Water Street, Boston, Mass	4
Hall, Carolyn Ladd	Hotel Brunswick, Haverford, Pa	7
Hall, Mary D	Andover, Mass	25
Hall, Orianna A	Care of J. M. W. Hall, 33 Broad Street, Boston, Mass.	10
Hammond, Anthony C	123 Haverhill Street, Boston, Mass	30
Hammond, George B	Rockville, Conn	40
Hancock, Eva S	Franklin, N. H	60
Hancock, Ruth S	....do	50
Hanlon, Thomas A	Boston Athletic Club, Boston, Mass	10
Hardie, Turnbull & Co	43 George Street, Edinburg, Scotland	100
Hardwick, Margaret S	Care of Hayden Stone & Co., Boston, Mass.	86
Hartz, J. D. Aug	315 Thirteenth Street, College Point, N. Y.	20
Hathaway, Charles F	Granite Block, Fall River, Mass	20
Hathaway, Thomas S	Masonic Building, New Bedford, Mass.	50
Hatheway, Nicholas	12 Granite Block, Fall River, Mass	15
Hayden Stone & Co	Boston, Mass	6,822
Hayes, Elizabeth C	93 Greenwood Avenue, Portland, Me	5
Hayes, Isaac A	38 Glenwood Avenue, Portland, Me	4
Hayes, James F	1682 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.	11
Hayes, Mary F	....do	10
Heard, Mary A	248 Warren Street, Roxbury, Mass	10
Heard, Nathan	613 Old South Building, Boston, Mass	20
Hebden Bog & Molineux	64 Wall Street, N. Y	900
Heidelback Ickelheimer & Co	New York	500
Hemenway, Alice S	246 Adelaide Avenue, Providence, R. I	5
Henderson, Helen W	124 North Eighteenth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.	10
Henderson, Oliver J. B	257 Hope Street, Providence, R. I	4
Hersey, Ira G	53 Wareham Street, Boston, Mass	40
Higgins, Charles R	Bath, Me	43
Higgins, Florinda B	132 West Avenue, Los Angeles, Cal	40
Hildreth, Ellen L	Haverhill, N. H	25
Hill, Elson C	44 East Twenty-third Street, N. Y	10
Hill, Rowland	331 Maine Street, Saco, Me	15
Hinckley, Arthur C	Blue Hill, Me	4
Hobbs, I. Goodwin	Newport, R. I	3
Hodsdon, Villa	103 Essex Avenue, Gloucester, Mass	10
Holland, Johannah	224 South Avenue, Whitman, Mass	20
Hooper, George L	7 Belmont Street, Lowell, Mass	10
Horak, Francis	315 North Gaddis Street, Syracuse, N. Y.	2
Howe, De Witt C	3 Depot Street, Concord, N. H	60
Howe, Octavius T	154 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass	160
Hoyt, Inez W	Franklin, N. H	20
Hoyt, Alice Marion	....do	20
Hoyt, Katharine S	310 Tappan Street, Brookline, Mass	100
Hubbard, Ruth S	Wiscasset, Me	5
Huggins, Bertram P	105 West Glenwood Avenue, Hyde Park, Mass.	30
Huggins, Charles E	....do	25

Holders of first preferred stock of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Shares.
Hughes, J. Cromwell	37 Main Street, Shelburne Falls, Mass.	2
Hussey, Dennis B	815 Bank of Commerce Building, St. Louis, Mo.	100
Hyde, Imogene A	79 Beacon Street, Hyde Park, Mass	20
Isbell, C. Harold	North Adams, Mass	10
Jackman, Addie K	Vanceboro, Me	8
Jackman, Bertram	do	12
Jacques, Delphine	Care of C. P. Fay, J. Stephens Arms & Tool Co., Chicopee Falls, Mass.	10
Jenks, Albert J	do	1
Jenkins, Arthur H	20 Keith Street, Campello, Mass	40
Jewett, George W	Manchester, Mass	4
Jewett, Margaret E	Temple Street, West Newton, Mass	1
Johnson, Ilna M	296 Woodward Street, Waban, Mass	5
Johnston, David B	58 Cliff Street, Roxbury, Mass	2
Jonas, Isidore L	6 Waterlow Street, Dorchester, Mass	1
Jones, Marshall W	161 Summer Street, Boston, Mass	20
Keasbey, Edward Q	Union Building, Newark, N. J	2
Keepers, Ernest	4 Winthrop Square, Boston, Mass	5
Kelm, Augusta L	Care of F. D. Taylor, Pittsfield, Mass.	20
Kelm, Augusta L	Care of United States Tire Co., Broadway and Fifty-eighth Street, New York City, N. Y.	20
Kendall, Adelbert F	Orrington, Me	20
Kendall, Florence E	do	4
Kennett, A. Crosby	Conway, N. H	40
Kenney, Delia B	Box 237, Baldwinsville, Mass	10
Kenyon, William H	49 Wall Street, New York, N. Y	46
Ketcham, Phillips	84 State Street, Boston, Mass	5
Kidder, Peabody & Co	Boston, Mass	60
Kimball, George R	Haverhill, N. H	25
Kimball, Sarah E	Easton, Mass	12
Kollock, William B	93 Water Street, Boston, Mass	50
Ladd, Charles T	Fryeburg, Me	5
Ladenburg, Thalmann & Co	25 Broad Street, New York, N. Y	230
Larsen, Louis F	62 West Broadway, Bangor, Me	5
Law, Fanny E	Mount Clemens, Mich	30
Lawrence, Grace E	Littleton, Mass	12
Lee, Alice B	146 Coolidge Street, Brookline, Mass	10
Leighton, Adam P	261 Western Promenarde, Portland, Me.	20
Levey, Blanche S	780 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass	24
Levey, Theodore	2902 State Street, Milwaukee, Wis	6
Lincoln, Alfred V	34 Cordis Street, Charlestown, Mass	20
Linsley, Juliette Peck	The Rectory, Webster, Mass	14
Linsley, Wolcott	do	5
Litchfield, Mary W	Scarboro, Me	20
Littlefield, Frank W	Bartlett, N. H	35
Littlefield, Mary E	181 Milford Street, Manchester, N. H	35
Lohrke, Jennie	101 Prospect Street, East Orange, N. J	100
Do	Title Guarantee & Trust Co., executor, New York City.	280
Lohrke, Otto E	25 Broad Street, New York, N. Y	20
Lombard, M. Annie	31 Clinton Street, South Framingham, Mass.	20
Longley, Arthur C	Spencer, Mass	18
Lord, Celia M	Cornish, Me	10
Lorimer, Addison B	7 Park Street, Lynn, Mass	5
Lowenstein, Lazare Marcus	19 Holborn Viaduct, London, England	200
Lowitz, Robert M	Care Speyer & Co., 24 Pine Street, New York City.	1,000
Ludwig, Frank P	70 Amherst Street, Springfield, Mass	4
Lyons, Michael F	141 Franklin Street, Boston, Mass	5
Mackay, Henry A	71 Kilby Street, Boston, Mass	5
MacKenzie, May	126 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y	35
Maddison, Thomas B	221 Morrison Avenue, West Somerville, Mass.	1
Madeira, Elizabeth D	Rockingham Hotel, Portsmouth, N. H	18
Madigan, Albert W	Houlton, Me	30
Mallory, Henry R	43 Exchange Place, New York City	100
Marcon, Louis B	Berlin, N. H	50
Marshall, Alba J	Southboro, Mass	6
Mason, Charles N	10 Winter Street, Auburn, Me	20
Mason, Ella J	226 4th Avenue, New York, N. Y	10
Mathison, Robert	I. O. F. Temple Building, Toronto, Canada.	60
Mathison, Walter	373 Fulton Street, Brooklyn, N. Y	20
Matthews, Mildred M	Mansfield, Mass	6
Maxim, Hiram Percy	Hartford, Conn	32
Mayo, George D	Laconia, N. H	120
Mayo, Walter H	East Orleans, Mass	20
McCrum, Leslie M	Care Farmers Loan & Trust Co., New York City.	150
McCullough, Emma E	Main Street, Calais, Me	20
McKenzie, Angus G	156 Charles Street, Boston, Mass	10
McLellan, Feroline B	9 Chamblett Street, Dorchester, Mass	40
McQueen, Henry P	New Glasgow, Nova Scotia, Canada	5
Mead, Mary	Hingham, Mass	10
Menzies, Charles D. and P. W. Campbell.	123 George Street, Edinburgh, Scotland.	400
Merrill, Henry F	84 Commercial Street, Portland, Me	40
Merrill, Walter C	Oak Street, Peabody, Mass	40
Middleton, Frederick H	Box 2634, Boston, Mass	5
Millard, Susie E	1180 North Street, Springfield, Mass	20
Miller, Albert Leroy	L. W. Bestel, administrator, 319 Women's Temple, Chicago, Ill.	10
Milner, Harry R	45 East Seventeenth Street, New York City.	31
Milner, John F	185 Summer Street, City	25
Milner, John H	Moosup, Conn	25
Milner, Louis S	381 Wayland Avenue, Providence, R. I.	25
Milton, George B	Weston, Mass	30
Minot, Edgar H	Biddeford, Me	3
Mitchell, Charles B	105 Winter Street, Portland, Me	2
Mitchell, John E	do	2
Moore, Josephine C	Calais, Me	10
Moore, Vesta H	do	10

Holders of first preferred stock of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Shares.
Morris, Fred G	17 Wilmington Street, Montello Station, Mass.	2
Morse, Isabel A	The Warren, Roxbury, Mass	30
Morse, Lewis Kennedy	201 Devonshire Street, Boston, Mass	80
Moses, William H	Tilton, N. H	1
Mueller, William C	Meriden, Conn	10
Murdock, Francis	Newton, Mass	50
Murdock, Kate M	63 Howard Street, Lynn, Mass	6
Nalle, Frank	Somerset, Va	200
Nazro, Mary A	825 State Mutual Building, 50 Congress Street, Boston, Mass.	3
Newell, Bertram S	70 Winter Street, Worcester, Mass	20
Newton, Phinehas S	Royalston, Mass	300
Nichols, Adelaide A	Public Library, Boston, Mass	5
Nickerson, Christine A	Dedham, Mass	20
Nish, Agnes Elliot	Parkside, Princes Park, Liverpool, England.	100
Nowell, George H	Sanford, Me	5
Noyes, Frank V	11 Gray Street, Arlington, Mass	25
Odell, Lucie H	Franklin, N. H	40
O'Sullivan, Mary B	18 Eldors Street, Roxbury, Mass	1
Owen, Edward T	Care of State Bank, Madison, Wis	6
Paine, Edward S	Lakeport, N. H	5
Paine, Kate	Dover, Me	20
Parker, L. Evelyn	18 Lebanon Street, Winchester, Mass	12
Parker, Horace	401 Concord Avenue, Belmont, Mass	16
Parsons, William, 3d	East Gloucester, Mass	5
Paul, Ether S	Care of Androscoggin County Savings Bank, Lewiston, Me.	40
Payne, John H	352 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Mass.	10
Payson, Fanny Sturgis	3 Weldon Street, Roxbury, Mass	10
Penhallow, Charles S., jr	Room 606, Sears Building, Boston, Mass.	8
Penniman, Mary C	Care of International Trust Co., Boston, Mass.	10
Perry, William F	Keene, N. H	7
Pickard, Edw. L	Cumberland Mills, Me	25
Pierce, Mary E	Whitman, Mass	20
Pike, Jacob C	Lubec, Me	6
Pillsbury, Edw. B	Pine Point, Me	20
Plummer, Charles W	79 Milk Street, Boston, Mass	2
Pope, Alice De W	Beacon Street, Brookline, Mass	20
Potter, Eugene V	157 Walnut Street, Somerville, Mass	5
Pratt, Alfred H	Minot Street, Neponset, Mass	10
Pratt, Mary G	257 Steuben Street, Brooklyn, N. Y	2
Prescott, Celia E	46 Park Street, Rockville, Conn	10
Prescott, John	Calais, Me	10
Proctor, Adeline E	Hanover, N. H	40
Proctor, James H	85 Water Street, Boston, Mass	200
Pulsifer, Geo. E	Plymouth, N. H	5
Putnam, Jeanie	Care of W. S. Putnam, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.	20
Quimby, Florence O	84 The Brunswick, Washington, D. C	40
Randall, Clifford S	84 Commercial Street, Portland, Me	20
Reed, Taylor	Reedsville, Pa	2
Reynolds, Geo. W	Waterville, Me	40
Reynolds, Jay B	Orange, Mass	17
Reynolds, Jay B	do	24
Rice, Charles F	53 Newtonville Street, Newton, Mass	2
Richardson, Almyne H. G	The Cecil, corner Fifteenth and L Streets NW., Washington, D. C.	2
Richardson, Arthur G	9 Crombie Street, Salem, Mass	10
Ring, Mary R	372 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass	19
Roach, Wm. H	Hillsboro, N. H	3
Robbins, Chas W	Stony Brook, Mass	25
Robinson, Ada H	Foxcroft, Me	6
Rogers, Geo. B	Tilton, N. H	1
Romilby, Cosmo, & Leonard (Charles Rudolph Messel).	15 George Street, Mansion House, London, E. C., England.	200
Roper, Adeline S	Brookfield, Mass	5
Roper, Thomas A	do	2
Ross, Frank T	Calais, Me	20
Rowe, Henry S	161 Devonshire Street, Boston, Mass	2
Ruggles, Sarah J	Framingham, Mass	4
Russell, Frank A., trustee u/w of Oliver P. Hoyt.	506 Old South Building, Boston, Mass	10
Russell, James W	86 Main Street, Winchester, Mass	40
Russell, Wm. A., & Bro	50 State Street, Boston, Mass	1,000
Salisbury, Evelyn MacCurdy	237 Church Street, New Haven, Conn.	25
St. Onge, Stanislas	Arctic, R. I	20
Sanborn, Fred W	Norway, Me	40
Sanders, Estella M	658 Union Avenue, Lakeport, N. H	20
Sanderson, Neille M	Littleton, Mass	10
Sawin, Harry W	Southboro, Mass	1
Sawyer, Ella A	59 Waverly Street, Roxbury, Mass	40
Sawyer, Geo. A	Tremont Building, Boston, Mass	20
Sayward, Mary P	Wayland, Mass	10
Scott, Alex. Cochrane	Ravenscraig, Broaghty Ferry, Scotland	20
Scott, James	326 Blackness Road, Dundee, Scotland	20
Scottish Northern Investment Trust (Ltd.).	Union Street, Aberdeen, Scotland	100
Scottish Dominions Trust	49 Queen Street, Edinburgh, Scotland	100
Sears, Geo. G	426 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass	50
Seavey, Mary	Dexter Street, Malden, Mass	50
Seeger, Marion Godey	Philadelphia, Pa	40
Seelig, William L	549 West 113th Street, New York	46
Shaw, Sarah L	1 Orange Street, Newburyport, Mass	10
Sheehan, Frank P	113 Spencer Street, Lawrence, Mass	20
Smith, Albert P	Box 3223, Boston, Mass	5
Smith, Bertha T	36 Pitt Street, Woodford, Me	15
Smith, Emily and Mark J., trustees of estate of Mark J. Smith.	81 Washington Street, Salem, Mass	19
Smith, Emma E., Archibald L. Smith, Norman B. Smith, trustees u/w John B. Smith.	Hillsboro, N. H	50
Smith, Geo. S	3 Branton Avenue, Providence, R. I	1

Holders of first preferred stock of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

Name.	Address.	Shares.
Smith, Harry G	Box 53, Waverly, Mass	10
Smith, James Stuart	18 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass	20
Smith, Lillian V	do	50
Smith, Margelia Thomes	241 High Street, Portland, Me	1
Smith, Murdock C	3 Lee Hall, Lynn, Mass	3
Smith, Sarah	Care J. M. W. Hall, 33 Broad Street, Boston, Mass.	25
Smith, Stanley W	Box 3223, Boston, Mass	6
Snow, Albert E	340 East 19th Street, Brooklyn, N.Y	2
Snow, Frederic A	West Chelmsford, Mass	3
Somes, Adelaide E	Care Mrs. E. V. Hyde, 15 Nichols Street, Lynn, Mass.	10
Shepherd, John Watson	Dundee, Scotland	20
Soper, Carrie E	Waterville, Me	25
Soper, Henriette T	75 Pinckney Street, Boston, Mass	2
Southard, Clara T	73 Liberty Street, Manchester, N. H	10
Spencer, Henry F	27 Kilby Street, Room 25, Boston, Mass.	4
Spiller, Agnes M	130 College Avenue, Waterville, Me	40
Stanley, Amelia H	27 Howard Street, Waltham, Mass	10
Stanton, Emma B	706 Hope Street, Bristol, R. I	6
Stanton, Harriet Lewis	do	4
Stasny, Anna	99 Crawford Street, Roxbury, Mass	10
Steinert, Alex	Steinert Hall, Boston, Mass	2
Stephenson, Florance S	3 Warwick Park, North Cambridge, Mass.	1
Stillman, Layette E	272 West Main Street, Meriden, Conn.	40
Stimpson, Estella	22 University Road, Brookline, Mass	10
Stone, Albert, jr	Box 3209, Boston, Mass	217
Stone, Barbara	59 Buckminster Road, Brookline, Mass	86
Stone, Carrie M	149 Buckminster Road, Brookline, Mass.	171
Stone, Galen L., Daniel B. Ruggles, and Burgess Allison Edwards, trustees under a declaration of trust executed Nov. 10, 1913.	87 Milk Street, Boston, Mass	228
Stone, Mary H	519 Van Buren Street, Saginaw, Mich	30
Stone, Robert G	59 Buckminster Road, Brookline Mass.	86
Stowell, Henry B	45 Milk Street, Boston, Mass	115
Strauss, Samuel	137 Washington Street, Boston, Mass	50
Sullowav, Alvah W	Franklin, N. H	50
Swan, Wm. B	Belfast, Me	4
Swanson, Oscar	391 Westminster Street, Providence, R. I.	100
Taylor, Carrie H	181 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass	10
Taylor, Frank D	137 North Street, Pittsfield, Mass	50
Taylor, Josephine A	31 Princeton Street, East Boston, Mass.	19
Taylor, Marion L	Box 246, Ashland, Mass	10
Taylor, Sarah S	357 Harvard Street, Cambridge, Mass	22
Thayer, Frederick C	Waterville, Me	20
Thayer, Mary Cushing	215 Pearl Street, South Braintree, Mass	1
The board of trustees of the Pleasant Street Methodist Episopal Church, Hendrickson fund in trust.	Waterville, Me	10
The Mount Pleasant Home	59 Elm Hill Avenue, Roxbury, Mass	6
Thesiger, Percy M	4 Crosby Square, London, E. C., England.	500
Thomes, Bertha Lang	493 Cumberland Avenue, Portland, Me.	1
Thurston, Minnie H	46 Franklin Street, Watertown, Mass	5
Thyng, William I	528 5th Street, South Boston, Mass	30
Tilton, Elmer S	Laconia, N. H	40
Tilton, Florance May	28 Waban Avenue, Waban, Mass	2
Tilton, Laura F	164 Newberry Street, Boston, Mass	6
Tolman, Olivia	595 Massachusetts Avenue, Arlington, Mass.	10
Travers, Francis	Brimfield, Mass	10
Tredennick, Mary P	Meriden, Conn	10
Trott, Joseph M	Bath, Me	1
Tucker, Anthony & Co	53 State Street, Boston, Mass	40
Tudor, Henry D., and Moses Williams, guardian of Charles Garland, Hamilton Garland, Hope Garland.	35 Congress Street, Boston, Mass	180
Tuttle, Cora A	43 Beaumont Street, Ashmont, Mass	250
Tuttle, Henrietta M	Care of F. J. Tuttle, 540 Tremont Building, Boston, Mass.	13
Tuttle, Ruth E	Care of F. J. Tuttle, 543 Tremont Building, Boston, Mass.	26
Vallandigham, Aveline C	Care of Old Colony Trust Co., Temple Place, Boston, Mass.	40
Van Schaack, Grace C. B	20 Sycamore Road, Hartford, Conn	2
Veth, Alexandrina	Atchison, Kans	8
Veth, Josephine	1117 North 2d Street, Atchison, Kans	5
Veth, Ottilie	do	8
Viles, Jesse S	Montpelier, Vt	100
Vose, Sarah M	Mattapan, Mass	20
Wakefield, John L	John Hancock Building, Boston, Mass.	15
Walker, Alice M	Care of E. C. Walker, Bridgton, Me	20
Walker, Mabel P	Care of Trust Department Boston Security Trust Co., Boston, Mass.	100
Wallace, Annie	Main Street, Rochester, N. H	20
Wambaugh, Miles	22 Berkeley Street, Cambridge, Mass	4
Wardwell, Ashton E	Vanceboro, Me	6
Wardwell, Sheldon, E	84 State Street, Boston, Mass	25
Warner, Geo. M	Newburyport, Mass	5
Warren, Annie B	Plaza Bank, New York	25
Warren, Grace P	Dedham, Mass	17
Wason, Mary I	27 School Street, Boston, Mass	80
Webb, Vida Chase	Lisbon, N. H	10
Weitze, M. Augusta	Boston Avenue, Tufts College, Boston, Mass.	10
Wetherell, Clara J	308 Forest Avenue, Brockton, Mass	6
Wharff, Harriette L	Calais, Me	6
White, Mary E	Skowhegan, Me	40
Whiting, Alfred C	Burlington, Vt	100
Whiting, Maud C	98 Trowbridge Street, Cambridge, Mass	10
Whitney, Adeline	40 Dartmouth Street, Somerville, Mass	10
Whitney, Martha G	do	10
Whitney & Elwell	28 State Street, Boston, Mass	100
Whittier, Lillian E	Waterville, Me	20
Whittier, Louise B	27 Prospect Street, Hyde Park, Mass	80
Wilcox, Bert W	23 Western Avenue, Augusta, Me	10
Williston, J. R., & Co	Boston, Mass	40
Wilkinson, Elizabeth C	Care of R. B. Callender, 68 Chauncy Street, Boston, Mass.	35
Wilson, Edw. C	55 Ridgewood Place, Springfield, Mass	50
Wilson, Grace K	do	20
Wilson, J. Henry	18 Pratt Street, Reading, Mass	20
Winslow, Alice V	Normal Hall, Framingham, Mass	5
Winslow, Arthur	131 State Street, Boston, Mass	100
Winslow, Isabella F	113 Hoe Avenue, New York City	23
Winton, Henry D	46 Cliff Street, Wellesley Hills, Mass	10
Wise, Howard P	139 Webster Street, Malden, Mass	10
Withington, Anna S	17 Auburn Street, Brookline, Mass	24
Withington, Susan E	do	12
Wood, Charles N	79 Milk Street, Boston, Mass	20
Wood, Eunice	First National Bank, Easthampton, Mass.	1
Woods, Jarvis B	Bangor, Me	20
Woodbury, Edwin S., and Ilione F. Woodbury, or the survivor of them.	613 Walnut Street, Newtonville, Mass.	50
Woodworth, Stewart C	84 State Street, Boston, Mass	5
Wright, William W	741 Grand Street, Jersey City, N. J	20
Zehrung, Ethel L	Otisville, N. Y	2
Young, Hannah E	166 West Canton Street, Boston, Mass.	1

Holders of first preferred stock of American Pneumatic Service Co., etc.—Continued.

We hereby certify that the foregoing is, to the best of our knowledge and belief, a true and correct list of the names, addresses, and holdings of the owners of the first preferred capital stock of the American Pneumatic Service Co. to the aggregate of thirty thousand (30,000) shares at the close of business June 10, 1916, as shown by the stock ledgers in the custody of the undersigned transfer agent.

INTERNATIONAL TRUST CO.,
A. F. HAYDEN,
Assistant Secretary.

Pecan Industry.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK PARK,
OF GEORGIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 12, 1917.

Mr. PARK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks by printing in the RECORD information obtained from the Department of Agriculture and the vice president of the National Nut Growers' Association relating to the pecan industry.

The matter referred to is as follows:

Hon. FRANK PARK,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR SIR: I beg to hand you herewith a statement of the pecan situation in a nutshell:

I.

A nut of immense economic value. The pecan furnishes practically a balanced ration. It is a highly concentrated and highly nutritious food. Compared with round steak, it contains one-twelfth as much water, two-thirds as much protein, from four to six times as much fat, and has between three and four times as great fuel value.

Pecans contain most of the elements essential to the building of the frame and body tissues. The food value of pecans is rapidly becoming generally recognized, and it will probably not be long before the pecan will be used extensively not only as a substitute for certain classes of food, such as meats, but also as a substitute for foods of all classes.

II.—THE UNITED STATES NEEDS PECANS.

We are annually importing between 60,000,000 and 70,000,000 pounds of nuts, at a cost of between $12,000,000 and $13,000,000; while we exports nuts worth less than a half a million dollars. Why should we spend millions of dollars each year in buying nuts from foreign countries when we can grow the pecan, the equal of any other nut, either native or foreign, in unlimited quantities?

III.—THE PECAN IS ALREADY OUR GREATEST COMMERCIAL NUT.

It is generally supposed that the Persian (English) walnut is our leading nut, but as a matter of fact the pecan has already overtaken it in production; and the rate of increase in production of pecans is now well ahead of that of walnuts.

In average years our crop of walnuts is now about 25,000,000 pounds, and, conservatively estimated, our total crop of pecans is about 30,000,000 pounds. Therefore, the pecan is already the leading nut in the United States.

It is estimated that there are now 200,000 acres of orchards planted to the so-called "Papershell" pecan, only a small percentage of which have yet reached the age of initial fruit bearing. Pecans are adapted to a vast area of our country and already are being produced in 26 States. The industry is capable of untold expansion, and properly safeguarded should produce all of the nuts our country can consume, with a surplus for export.

IV.—THOUSANDS OF OUR CITIZENS ARE INTERESTED IN PECAN CULTURE.

In 1909, 82,000 citizens of the United States, residing in 26 States, were engaged in growing pecans. This number was 18,000 greater than that of those engaged in orange growing and 72,000 greater than those engaged in growing grapefruit.

Since 1909 many thousands of our citizens have planted pecan orchards, so that the number of people engaged in pecan culture to-day is far in excess of above figures.

V.—PECAN GROWING IS AN INFANT INDUSTRY.

It is only during the last score of years that the cultivated pecan has attracted large capital. Prior to that time the seedling, or the unimproved pecan, was all that could be had. Until within the last year or two the cultivated pecan has been an experiment. To-day it is a commercial reality, and the demand for its product is increasing faster than is the supply. Within a very few years and with reasonable and adequate assistance the pecan should produce annual crops of nuts worth millions of dollars.

VI.—AN INFANT INDUSTRY IN NEED OF EXPERT ASSISTANCE.

The pecan is a native tree recently brought under cultivation. Like all plants when taken out of their "native range," it has become the victim of many diseases and insect pests. To date, a total of 12 diseases and 8 insect pests have attacked the pecan. Some of these are of major moment. Probably 20 per cent of the cultivated pecan trees are affected with rosette, a disease the cause and cure for which are not yet understood. The pecan nut case-bearer threatens to do to the pecan what the boll weevil has done to cotton.

Being a new industry, many of the cultural problems are awaiting solution. It is confidently believed that with a sufficient appropriation, the Department of Agriculture should be able speedily to discover the exact nature of these problems and to work out practical methods of solution. If not promptly attended to, the pests and diseases will certainly do much toward discouraging further development, and may prove disastrous to the vast orchards already planted.

The pecan industry is a husky infant, with almost boundless possibilities. We are building an industry which for generations should yield its bountiful crop of delicious food and bring millions of dollars to our citizens.

PROPOSED FEDERAL AID.

During the last fiscal year the Department of Agriculture has spent on pecan investigations the following amounts:

(a) Cultural and varietal problems	$4,000
(b) Diseases affecting pecans	3,000
(c) Insect enemies of the pecan	4,600

In an amendment to H. R. 19359, intended to be proposed by Senator RANSDELL, it is asked that these sums be increased to the following respective amounts:

(a) To $14,000.
(b) To $8,000.
(c) To $9,600.

This proposed increase is in response to a request of the National Nut Growers' Association, made during their annual meeting held in Jacksonville, Fla., November 24, 1916, and also in accordance with the needs of the industry as seen by the Department of Agriculture. (See letter of Secretary Houston to Hon. FRANK PARK, Member of Congress, in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Jan. 6, 1917, p. 1101. For confirmation of data, see CONGRESSIONAL RECORD above referred to, and also letter of Chief of Bureau of Crop Estimates, also addressed to Mr. PARK under date of Jan. 2, 1917, a copy of which is inclosed herewith.)

Your cooperation in securing the appropriation above mentioned will be greatly appreciated.

J. M. PATTERSON,
Vice President National Nut Growers' Association and Chairman of Committee on Federal Aid, Putney, Ga.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 11, 1917.*

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
BUREAU OF CROP ESTIMATES,
Washington, D. C., January 2, 1917.

Hon. FRANK PARK,
House of Representatives.

DEAR SIR: I inclose the statistics requested by you concerning the United States production of nuts in the census year and the production of almonds and English walnuts only in several subsequent years, together with the imports and exports of nuts by this country during the years 1914, 1915, and 1916.

You will observe that the most important nut crop in the census year was the English walnut, with a production of about 22,000,000 pounds; black walnuts were rated second, with a production of almost 16,000,000 pounds; pecans third, with a production of almost 10,000,000 pounds; almonds fourth, slightly below 7,000,000. It is interesting to observe also, that while the English walnut increased in production during the period between the Twelfth and Thirteenth Censuses slightly over 100 per cent, pecans increased more than 200 per cent from a former production of slightly over 3,000,000 pounds, while almonds showed a slight decline. According to reports issued by the State of California, the English walnut crop in that State, which produces all but 2 or 3 per cent of the country's crop of this nut, was about 22,000,000 pounds in 1913, 18,000,000 in 1914, 29,000,000 in 1915, and 24,000,000 during the past year. In other words, the production of the English walnut has apparently not increased more than 10 or 20 per cent since the census year 1909, whereas recent investigations by this bureau indicate a total present production of pecans in favorable years of at least 25,000,000 to 30,000,000 pounds, speaking conservatively; so that there is evidence that the crop of pecans, including both the wild and cultivated varieties, already exceeds, in favorable pecan years, the production of the English walnut in this country, thus taking the position of the leading nut crop of the United States. With the rapid development of cultivated orchards in your own State of Georgia, and to a less marked but still very great extent in other States of the Gulf coast, the production of the pecan is increasing at an extraordinary rate, and the increase during the next 10 years will probably greatly exceed that taking place during the 10-year period just closed. The value of the two nuts, as reported at the last census, was in the neighborhood of 10½ cents for the English walnut and slightly under 10 cents for pecans. The increasing proportion of improved varieties of the pecan may be expected to bring the average price for pecans higher than that for the English walnut. The average price for the seedling pecans for the season 1915 ranged close to 10 cents, while that for the improved nuts averaged about 28 cents, and the average value of all pecans in that year was probably not far from 12 cents per pound. The average price quoted for the California crop of English walnuts was from 13.6 cents to 17.5 cents for firsts to fancy nuts, and 10.6 cents for No. 2s. The invoice price of imported walnuts for that season was less than 9 cents.

The importance of the nut industry in this country and the necessity for further development of home production of this important and pleasing article of food is shown by the fact that during the past three years we have imported an average of between sixty and seventy million pounds of nuts, of a total value ranging between twelve and thirteen million dollars. Of these almost three-fourths consist of English walnuts and almonds. This country is amply capable of producing all of these two nuts that will be consumed here and vastly more, and, in addition, an almost limitless quantity of pecans, for which, at the reasonable prices to the consumer that may be expected when commercial orchards of improved nuts come to full bearing, the demand may be expected to grow enormously.

Very few of our domestic nuts are exported, the total value of such exports aggregating in value less than a half million dollars.

In all of these figures those relating to peanuts are excluded, although classed with other nuts in the statistics of imports and exports.

The material collected by the bureau during the past season in relation to pecans is being now put in form for printing, and it will doubtless be possible for you to obtain copies of this forthcoming report for distribution to those of your constituents who are interested in this crop.

Very truly, yours,

LEON M. ESTABROOK,
Chief of Bureau.

Post Office Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, January 13, 1917.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, on the ground of personal interest perhaps it were proper for me to remain silent while this proposition to increase the rate on second-class mail matter is under discussion. But permit me to say that if the matter were considered a merely personal one, as it may affect my interests as a publisher, not one word would come from me at this time or in this place. It is because it is felt to be larger than a mere personal concern that these brief remarks are ventured.

It appears to me that it is scarcely fair in estimating the cost of transporting the mails that each class of matter should be considered apart. In doing this we are following a doubtful example set by the railroads in resisting public efforts to secure lower passenger fares. By a process of bookkeeping they have been able to show that passengers have been carried at a loss. They have justified their demand for increased rates on this ground, yet apparently their income from traffic as a whole should be the actual test. And in the case of the Postal Department, it seems to me, the same test should apply. It is not a question whether the revenue from second-class matter is sufficient to meet the cost of transporting and handling it; it is a question of whether the postal revenues as a whole are sufficient to defray all the costs of the service.

As a matter of fact revenues as a whole have been more than adequate. An actual surplus has been covered into the Treasury in recent years. That this is desirable I am not here to argue. I simply refer to the fact. Yet it seems to me that the people of this country have never regarded the Postal Service from the angle of profit. They have desired simply that it should serve the great purpose of easy communication. And this purpose, I am sure, is the one they hold paramount. It is not recalled that I have ever heard complaint among the people regarding the cost of maintaining the Postal Service. The only complaints which have reached me are in regard to any inadequacy which may have obtained.

It is alleged that it costs the Postal Department 8¼ cents a pound to handle second-class mail. That may be. But I may perhaps be permitted to entertain a doubt on the subject, particularly in view of the fact that it has been only a few years back when the express and railroad companies were both vigorously competing for this very class of matter. Just why the express companies ceased this competition I do not know. But I know the railroads are still handling vast quantities of newspapers at the cent-a-pound rate. Would they be anxious to get this business if the cost of handling it were even approximately what it is alleged the Postal Department finds it?

What would happen were the zone system to be incorporated in the measure now before us? Is it not practically certain that a vast volume of what now goes as second-class mail

matter would be diverted either to the railroads or to the express companies? Has it occurred to anyone that possibly one of the reasons for the attacks on the cent-a-pound rate may be found in the desire of private corporations to share in a traffic which has been so largely handled by the post office?

That second-class matter gives rise to great volumes of first and third class matter I think no one will dispute. Perhaps the postal system has no better feeder than that afforded by the newspapers and periodicals whose circulation it is now proposed to curtail by making the cost of transportation through the mails in many instances prohibitive. For that is precisely what the pending proposal would effect. It would tend to parochialize the press of the country. To-day our press is national in its scope.

The humblest hamlet in the Union may be the home of a newspaper or periodical of such peculiar genius that a demand for it has become country wide. Do we intend to strangle it? Is it our desire to limit its circulation to its county, its State, or to the little zone which includes its place of publication? Certainly the 600 per cent increase in the postal rate which is fixed as the maximum in this bill as it stands would not encourage the circulation in New York of a paper published in San Francisco or Portland, or vice versa. Should this zone system actually go into effect, it will have the most adverse influence on the dissemination of public information that this country has seen in the last half century.

There are a hundred arguments against a revocation of the existing rate for second-class matter. Let it be kept in mind that this rate was originally adopted for the very purpose of facilitating the spread of information. The framers of the present law were not subsidizing editors, as the distinguished chairman has intimated, if he did not charge. They were enabling publishers to lower the subscription price of their papers, a thing they very speedily did, weeklies having been reduced from $2 a year as a rule to $1.50 or lower. The average weekly to-day costs a dollar a year. But if the rates proposed in this bill shall go into effect, it is a safe proposition that the average weekly will advance to $1.25 or $1.50. Other publications, of course, will be compelled to make similar advances in their rates of subscription. So, after all, it is the people, the newspaper readers, the patrons of magazines and periodicals, whom we are hitting in our smash at the publisher, who has been charged with being in the receipt of a subsidy.

Has it occurred to anyone that the outcry against this so-called subsidy was never heard until after "muckraking" became the rage a few years ago? For 30 years or more the cent-a-pound rate had been accorded second-class matter without exciting either the saviors of society or the watchdogs of the Treasury. But both these became very much aroused along about the time the cheap magazines were fairly reeking with the muck raked up by Ray Stannard Baker, Ida Tarbell, Lincoln Steffens, and others who had taken the pains to delve into modern industrial, commercial, political, and social affairs. It was contemporaneous with the activities of these and other undesirables that the watchdogs began to bark and the saviors of society to point the accusing finger at a subsidized press.

It is a curious circumstance that the party which so largely profited by the exposures made by the muckrakers is to-day making itself or proposing to make itself responsible for putting into effect the retaliatory measure to which the victims of the exposure attempted to resort when they were writhing under an astonished public eye in the pitiless publicity afforded by the cheap magazine and the independent press.

And right here let me suggest that this 600 per cent maximum increase in the rate for second-class mail will not matter much to that part of the press which is actually subsidized—that part of it which is maintained as an auxiliary by great special interests. Has any protest against the proposed increase come from an organ of Wall Street? Has any organ of the Steel Trust made protest? Has any organ of Amalgamated Copper, of Du Pont Powder, of Standard Oil, or of the great Railroad Trust been heard in denunciation of this startling advance in postage on second-class matter? I think not. And I suspect that every such organ will welcome the proposed change should it be authorized by this Congress. The organs of special privilege must readily recognize in this proposal the death warrant of a great portion of the independent press of the United States. Is this also recognized by proponents of the zone system in this House?

I can not believe it. I can only believe that they have been misled into adopting an idea which on the surface seems so fair. They have failed, it seems to me, to grasp the real intent of the existing law, to understand that we are spending money in spreading information by means of the press precisely as we are spending money for the spread of information by the maintenance of schools and colleges. The citizenship of this country can not reach to its highest level of intelligent action on public matters without adequate information, and if we deny to it a cheap press we deny to it the opportunity so to inform itself as to be fitted for its greatest usefulness in preserving our free institutions and in extending the range of social development.

The Salary Increases in the Postal Service.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY T. RAINEY,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, January 13, 1917.

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD to-day I desire to call attention to the fact that heretofore during this session I have to the very best of my ability on the floor opposed the various salary increases demanded by Government employees, and I have opposed to the very best of my ability the increase in the amount awarded Members of Congress for clerical assistance. All these increases, if carried out according to the scheme proposed by the organizations of Government employees, if their demands are fully met, will make in the aggregate an annual additional charge upon the Treasury of $80,000,000 a year, or perhaps more than that. If carried out according to the plan proposed by the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives, the increase will be at least $40,000,000.

I have insisted to the very best of my ability that these increases should not be now granted for the reasons I have given in my various speeches on this subject delivered in the House of Representatives on the 19th day of December, 1916; the 21st day of December, 1916; and on the 8th and 10th days of January, 1917; my speech on the 8th day of January being printed in the back of the daily CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for January 9. So far I have not discussed on the floor the matter of the increases demanded in the Post Office Department, and some of the data and facts which I have used in my speeches do not apply to the Post Office Department. However, I expect to oppose the 5 and 10 per cent increase for employees of this department if an attempt is made to insert it in this bill as being unscientific and inadvisable at the present time. If the 5 and 10 per cent increase is carried into this bill it will add $16,000,000 per year to the expenses of this Government. The bill already carries increases to clerks aggregating almost $1,000,000 per year. If the 10 and 20 per cent increase demanded by the clerks ultimately goes in the bill, together with the $100 increases which may stay in the bill, this alone will add to the expenses each year of conducting this Government $33,000,000.

I have received to-day a communication from Thomas F. Flaherty, secretary-treasurer of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, with offices at Room 400, American Federation of Labor Building, Washington, D. C., which is so courteous in its terms, contains so much valuable information, and presents in such a fair way the demands of the post-office clerks that I am taking the liberty under the leave extended me of inserting it here in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and I also insert immediately after it a copy of my reply to the same.

The following is the matter referred to:

MR. FLAHERTY'S LETTER.

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF POST OFFICE CLERKS,
Washington, D. C., January 12, 1917.

Hon. HENRY T. RAINEY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have read with interest your speech, "The Salary Grab: Collective Bargaining and the Treasury of the United States," as printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 9, and because I know you to be a fair-minded, honorable legislator, one who would not knowingly wrong your fellow men, I am impelled to acquaint you, through the medium of this communication, with the working conditions of the postal employees.

It is my belief that you share the all too common opinion, both in and out of Congress, that the postal employees, in common with other Government workers are petted, pampered children of fortune, underworked and overpaid. I have sufficient confidence in your sense of justice and fair play to believe you will alter your judgment when you learn some of the facts surrounding their employment.

You make the statement in speaking of the attractiveness of Government positions, "Half holidays on Saturdays, 30 days' sick leave every year at full pay, 30 days' vacation every year at full pay, only 7 hours' work a day if you are assigned to duty here in Washington, insurance policies free, the absolute certainty that you will be retained when advanced in years, the prospect of being retired after 25 years' service at half pay or two-thirds pay; these are the alluring features

which bring every year an army of applicants for the few vacancies which occur."

The postal employees—and they form approximately three-fifths of the Government working force—do not get Saturday half holidays. In fact, it has only been in the past six months that the great bulk of them got any holiday at all. The law now provides that the clerks and city carriers working on the 7 principal holidays shall be compensated with time off on 1 of the following 30 days. This has resulted in insuring a more general observance of holidays in the Postal Service, but the Saturday half holiday is not in effect.

You also said these employees get 30 days' sick leave. This does not apply in the Postal Service. The postal employees get no sick leave whatever. They forfeit their pay when incapacitated through sickness. We have repeatedly tried to get legislation to grant two weeks' sick leave, but without success.

Thirty-day vacations were also mentioned by you. It seems to be the general opinion in Congress that postal employees get 30 days' annual vacations with pay. They do not. Their vacation is limited to 15 days.

The postal workers are not enjoying the benefits of a seven-hour workday. On the contrary, in the case of city letter carriers and many clerks their day's work is spread over 10 hours; 8 hours within 10 usually.

The work of the post-office clerk is performed largely at night. Recently, because of the unwillingness of the department to recruit its force to a proper working quota, there has been much overtime. It is true that the clerk is paid for overtime, but his work is of such an exacting nature that overtime is most burdensome.

In addition to office work, performed mostly at night as stated, the distributor must memorize intricate distribution schemes on his own time.

I have never heard a more eloquent portrayal of the hardship of the work of a typical post-office clerk than that given by Mrs. Frank Halas, wife of a Chicago clerk, in an open meeting of the Chicago Post Office Clerks' Union on December 10, 1916, in the Masonic Temple at Chicago. She said:

"Only the wife of a man who works at night knows what it means for a woman to wait through the night for her man to come home. We know, of course, of the overtime work in the post office, but each time we can not help feeling, 'Is it overtime that is keeping him tonight or has something happened to him?' It was less than a year ago, you know, that one of the clerks, returning from his work, was shot, being mistaken for a hold-up man.

"I remember a few years ago, on the night before Easter, when the work was so rushed at the post office Frank was due home at 2.30. I was waiting for him, but by 3.30 he had not come. By 4.30 the old doubt as to whether it really was overtime this time kept hammering at me, and by 5 o'clock an ambulance drove up to the door and stopped. I was standing by the window and the driver looked up and asked me what the number of the house was. I told him. He turned to the ambulance attendant and said, 'This is the right place all right,' but the attendant said, 'No; it isn't. We're on the wrong street.' It was after 6 when Frank came home to us that night. It was Easter Sunday, and to me he had truly risen from the dead that day.

"Don't you know that the ordinary man or woman doesn't even know that there is such a thing as a postal clerk who has to work at nights, and do overtime work at that?" she asked. "Let us be your mouthpiece to the public. It's a good public—a big-hearted public—and it will act if only it understands what night work means. We can tell them what it means. We can all do what I have been doing in my own feeble way during the last few years. We can prevail upon them to mail their letters early in the day so that they will be delivered early the next day, instead of mailing most of them just at the close of business hours."

You stated, "These positions can be filled, every one of them, in a week's time as well as they are filled now by competent young men and women to be selected from the various States of this Union." In so far as the postal experts, the distributors, money order, parcel post, and registry experts are concerned this is not true.

I am sending you a copy of an Illinois scheme book, which Chicago clerks must master to qualify as mailing distributors. This scheme is typical of thousands that post-office clerks and railway mail clerks are to-day studying throughout the service.

I invite your attention to page 112 of this book. You will find your home town, Carrollton, in a brace with four other offices, each receiving eight dispatches per day from Chicago, as follows:

Berdan	Chicago, Springfield & St. Louis, 3, No. 3. Chicago & Rood House, 71, No. 2, except Sunday.
Carrollton	Chicago, Springfield & St. Louis, 5, No. 2.
Eldred	Chicago & Rood House, via Bloomington.
Kane	Chicago & St. Louis, 23, No. 3.
Fayette	Chicago & Rood House, 15, via San Jose; pouch to Burlington & Peoria, 317. Chicago & C. B., 7, No. 2.

A distributor in the mailing division of the Chicago office assigned to the Illinois section must know how to dispatch mail for Carrollton as well as the other 1,754 post offices in the State. He must know the final minute in which a letter or newspaper can leave the office and the method of dispatch, by wagon or by tube. He must know the train time of each dispatch—there are eight in this instance—on week days as well as on Sundays. He must master at least 5,000 separate and distinct facts on his own time, and he must be able to forget as quickly as he learns, for the schemes are constantly changing. He is examined frequently to determine his knowledge of his scheme, and if he fails within a reasonable time to make the required 98 per cent he is subjected to the penalty—dismissal for inefficiency.

In view of these facts, I hardly believe you could fill the position of the postal distributors in a week's time. Years of constant study and application are required to qualify in this and other exacting post-office work.

You quoted an advertisement in a civil-service paper as follows: "Wanted, young men as railway mail clerks, $75 a month; list free."

To be literally true this advertisement should read, "$75 a month when employed." For the railway mail clerk substitute, like other postal substitutes, is paid only for actual service performed. His salary rate is $900 per annum, but it must be remembered that rarely is he constantly employed.

According to the report of the Second Assistant Postmaster General, the number of regular railway mail clerks during the last fiscal year has decreased 281, while the work has increased 3.69 per cent, indicating that a smaller number of men are doing more work, and, despite the flambuoyant advertisements of the civil-service schools, the opportunities for appointments as regulars are decreasing.

To dispute the claim of the advertisement you quoted, that salaries are $75 monthly in the Railway Mail Service, I am submitting the average monthly salary of Railway Mail Service substitutes in California for 1915. (I am informed that the 1916 earnings are smaller.)

Railway Mail Service.

AVERAGE SALARY PER MONTH OF CALIFORNIA SUBSTITUTES ON THE BASIS OF SUBSTITUTES AVAILABLE FOR DUTY.

Month.	Substitutes available for duty.	Total days.	Average salary per month.
January	109	1,195	$26.14
February	106	978	22.64
March	106	1,125	26.32
April	105	790	18.66
May	102	623	14.97
June	102	1,009	24.16
July	100	1,361	34.20
August	100	1,457	35.25
September	100	1,217	30.45
October	98	784	19.28
November	97	728	18.42
December	98	1,140	29.38

I am submitting for your further information on this subject an editorial from the Railway Post Office, the official publication of the Railway Mail Association, issue of March, 1916; also extracts from the testimony of Mr. Edward Ryan, president of the Railway Mail Association, before a subcommittee of the Committee on Labor, April 3, 1916. (Exhibit A.)

As arduous as the work of the railway mail substitute is, yet he is relatively no worse off than is the substitute post-office clerk and city letter carrier. I am submitting in this connection an excerpt from my testimony before a subcommittee of the Committee on Labor on March 21, 1916.

I call your particular attention to a statement made by a substitute in the San Francisco post office. He was notified, presumably by the Post Office Department, that substitutes earned between $50 and $90 per month. He found they earned between 50 cents and $1 per day. (Exhibit B.)

Let me quote to you from a letter received from some substitute carriers of Philadelphia, under date of December 28, 1916:

"We have to report every morning, rain or shine, about 5.30 or 6 a. m. We are then told to hang around on detail in case of an emergency. When the day is finally over, the chances are we did not catch any work and in the bargain had to spend money for car fare and lunch. This is the same program every day, and it is not unusual to last from 10 days to 2 weeks before we get in a day's work. Our salary throughout the year, on an average, is about $7 or $8 a week and not much more. It is a shame to think that a Government like ours should expect a man to give up all of his time, day in and day out, and get no compensation for it whatever. Everywhere you read of working people receiving bonuses, presents, etc., for Christmas, while we are lucky to have any pay coming to us."

My information is that 80 substitute clerks in Philadelphia earn from $25 to $30 a month and 125 substitute carriers earn $30 a month. In Boston, I am informed, the substitutes are earning from $35 to $40 a month.

Your attention is directed to the testimony before the House Post Office Committee, December 6, 1916, on the hearing on the pending Postal appropriation bill on the subject of substitute service (p. 15).

SUBSTITUTE SERVICE.

"Mr. MADDEN. Let me ask a question right in connection with Mr. Cox's question. What length of time, on the average, is a man required to serve as a substitute in the big centers, at any rate, before he is eligible to appointment at the $800 grade, and what average compensation does he receive for his work during his substitute period of service?

"Mr. KOONS. It would vary at the different offices.

"Mr. MADDEN. Well, it must average up to something.

"Mr. KOONS. Well, we can go over our statistics and make it up for the different offices. We could not tell you what each substitute drew, from our records. He is employed at the rate of 35 cents an hour. Some substitutes do not want regular employment and some do. The great majority of substitutes receive employment enough at the larger offices to earn at least $50 a month.

"Mr. MADDEN. My experience is taken from the record of the Chicago office, which may be said to be a typical office among the first-class offices. My experience is that a man serves on the average, as a substitute, not less than three years.

"Mr. KOONS. Is that the clerk or the carrier?

"Mr. MADDEN. Either. That he does not make, during his period of substitute service, to exceed $400 a year; that he must report every day for duty, and in big cities he has to pay his car fare down and back, and wait around until every regular man is assigned or until it is found that there is a vacancy and work for him to do; and if there is no work for him he goes back home and waits to come down next day. Now, at the end of his substitute period of three years, earning an average of $40 a month, he has had to live; he has had to borrow from everybody that would loan him; he is in debt; he gets a job at $800; and it has only been two or three years since he has been able to get that. Then he is put on as a temporary regular clerk.

"Mr. KOONS. I think that applies to the carriers.

"Mr. MADDEN. I think it applies to the clerks. He has worked for six months presumably as a regular, and at the end of that period of service they find themselves in a position that they want to economize, and they reduce him back to the substitute grade, so that he has got 10 years of real service before he reaches the $1,200 grade; and no part of his regular service under the $800 appointment, when he is put back is counted as a part of his first year's service."

You will observe from the above that your colleague, Mr. MADDEN, probably the best informed man on the floor of the House on matters affecting the postal workers, fixes the average length of service for a substitute at three years; the average compensation at $400 a year. Practically all of the post-office clerks, railway mail clerks, and city letter carriers, against whose wage increase you have so vigorously protested, had to go through this precarious period.

In its report on the pending postal appropriation bill, page 4, the majority of the House Post Office Committee advances the argument that

the postal employees whose promotions are provided for in the bill are justly entitled to this recognition because of the hardships of the substitute period and the length of service it requires before reaching the maximum salary grade. This same argument for the promotion of some of the clerks and carriers applies with equal force to the insertion of the 5 and 10 per cent increases to which you are opposed.

Some of these employees to whom you would deny increases entered the service at $400 per year; many of them entered at $600 a year. The present salary classification law covering post-office clerks and letter carriers was established 10 years ago. I submit that during the past 10 years the cost of living has risen more rapidly than the postal salary scale, so that to-day the employees are relatively no better off than a decade ago.

You will probably ask, "Why don't the men quit if the jobs are so undesirable?" They are quitting. In the larger post offices the substitutes are flitting in and out of the service daily. It is impossible to hold them. The same is true with the men who have recently been appointed to regular positions. The older employees, unfortunately, can not quit. Their post-office training has unfitted them for service elsewhere. There is no other bidder for their knowledge, no rival concern willing to pay them an advanced salary. Unlike the artisan, the stenographer, the lawyer, the dentist, the post-office distributor can not wander far afield with his wares. He must work in a post office. In fact, he must work at the particular distribution section or case to which he is assigned. His knowledge is valueless elsewhere. There is no "hope to spring eternal" in the breast of the post-office clerk. His whole life is circumscribed between the $800 entrance salary and the $1,200 maximum salary. Every year his eyes are turned toward this body with wistful longing. It is Congress alone that can give him renewed hope, encouragement, and cheer.

You mention the "prospect of being retired on half pay or two-thirds pay after 25 years' service." This is only a prospect; a remote one, seemingly. Meanwhile there is in existence an inhumane departmental regulation which terminates a man's connection with the service if he is incapacitated through sickness for a year. Until July 28 last this sick limitation was fixed at 150 days.

Here are a few typical cases of men forced from the service, men with whom I worked, in my home city of San Francisco, as reported in the San Francisco Examiner April 21, 1916:

"The rule made by First Assistant Postmaster General Roper that a letter carrier who is absent more than 150 days from his duties on account of illness must resign has been rigidly enforced in San Francisco, and in the past two years seven men who have devoted years to the service have found themselves without positions. Some of these men have been in the service for 25 years, and because illness has overtaken them, regardless of their financial condition they have been discharged.

"They are Charles Seeburt, 23 years' service, the first to go under the ruling. He has since died. R. T. Donovan, 20 years in the service. W. E. Rosebro, 5 years' service. F. W. Kehoe, 10 years as letter carrier, Spanish War Veteran, now fully recovered from his illness, but without a position because his convalescence was too long to comply with orders. A. J. Field, 10 years an employee of the Government. H. Cusens worked as a carrier for 25 years. He died shortly after his forced resignation."

I would like the opportunity, Mr. RAINEY, to show you through the Chicago post office, and it is typical of any large office housed in an old building. Perhaps you visualize the post-office clerks at work at tidy desks or reading postal cards in swivel chairs. This is a mental picture a great many people have of this class of workers. But you would find the Chicago post office the very antithesis of neatness or order. You would find men clothed in overalls and caps at work in a vile, noisome atmosphere, standing at letter cases or paper racks distributing mail at a feverish pace. The general sanitary conditions of the place are deplorable in the extreme. The chief State factory inspector of Illinois, Oscar F. Nelson, told me that he would not, as a State official charged with seeing the health, safety, and comfort laws of your State properly administered, permit the Chicago post office to continue to operate in its present insanitary state if it were a private establishment. Unfortunately, the State factory inspector has no jurisdiction, and governmental agencies have paid no heed to our numerous protests.

This same disregard for the well-being of the postal workers is found in many of the other larger offices. In Boston the men are crowded into basements and in old ramshackle sheds; in Philadelphia they are jammed up on a mezzanine floor, where the sunlight never penetrates.

The Postal Department forces the railroads in its mail contracts to furnish decent toilet and drinking facilities for the men en route, but it shows no such fine consideration for the clerks in its terminal railway offices, who are compelled to work amid the most unwholesome surroundings.

You state, "The majority of these Government clerks pay no taxes." This can hardly be applied to the postal employees as a class. Despite their meager wage these men pay indirectly, if not directly, their proportionate share for the upkeep of the Government and the local governments of the communities in which they live. It is true that the exigencies of the service at times mitigate against railway mail clerks acquiring a permanent residence. I recently saw an advertisement in a Cheyenne (Wyo.) newspaper, offering for sale the homes of a dozen or more railway mail clerks, who were compelled to move elsewhere because of a reorganization of their line. It is very doubtful if any of them will ever acquire homes elsewhere, owing to the present uncertainties of employment in their service. There has also come to my attention the arbitrary transfer of a half dozen clerks from the Pacific coast to Chicago, necessitating the breaking up of homes, the severing of old ties. If these service conditions were as well advertised as are the attractive features of the service, I dare say the 180,000 people applying for Government positions yearly would be somewhat lessened.

You justified in your speech the wage increases secured by workers from a business which was on a paying basis. In his report to the Sixty-third Congress Postmaster General Burleson said the Postal Service was permanently self-sustaining and there was no danger of further deficiencies. Prior to the recent election and in his last report to the Sixty-fourth Congress the Postmaster General records a total surplus for the past four years of $12,500,000.

In line with the enlightened policy of the manufacturing establishments that you mentioned as having shared their profits with their employees, is it unreasonable for the Congress to grant the temporary wage bonus of 5 and 10 per cent to the postal workers whose efforts have contributed so largely toward the accumulation of this surplus? Moreover, the Postmaster General, in his report, emphatically favors a high wage scale in the Postal Service, saying: "It has been the earnest effort of the department to fix the standard rates of pay for the different classes of work at from 15 to 30 per cent above the average rates paid for similar services by the leading commercial institutions of the country."

The Postmaster General appeared before the House Appropriations Committee in person to ask that the salaries of his four assistants be increased from $5,000 to $7,200 annually. I take it from this that he would not object to a slight increase to his thousands of other faithful assistants—the men in the ranks who are performing their arduous daily tasks.

I have felt, Mr. RAINEY, that some of your strictures on the Government clerks have been made because of a lack of understanding of some phases of their work. Therefore I have gone into the subject, in so far as it affects the postal employees, at some length with you. If you will read what I have written and then investigate fully the different service abuses I have pointed out, I am sure we can count on your cooperation in securing the correction of most of them.

Very truly, yours,

THOS. F. FLAHERTY,
Secretary-Treasurer.

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COPY OF REPLY OF MR. RAINEY TO MR. FLAHERTY'S LETTER.

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., January 13, 1917.

THOMAS F. FLAHERTY,
400 American Federation of Labor Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. FLAHERTY: I am just in receipt of your communication of January 12, which I have carefully read and have read with much interest. The post-office clerks certainly have a very able representative, indeed. In order to get my viewpoint of the salary grab which I am fighting it will be necessary for you to read all of my speeches, and I call attention to my speeches of December 19 and 21 and January 9 and 10. I think the speech of January 8 was printed in the back of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for January 9. If you will read all these speeches as carefully as I have just read your communication, you will understand my motives.

The demands of Government employees carried into all the departments, if they get increases of 10 and 20 per cent—and this is the only thing they will be satisfied with—will cost the country at least $80,000,000. I am aware of the fact that Members of Congress have placed themselves in practically a defenseless position by increasing their own emoluments at this session. These increases, however, will be taken off next year, I predict. These increases were made after I had opposed them most strenuously and in spite of my opposition. I realize that substitute mail clerks do not get much pay. I wish they could get more. They are, however, preparing themselves for the more important positions to which they are in regular course advanced. At the present time we have embarked upon a preparedness program which is exceedingly expensive. This, together with the salary grab which is now in operation, is the sole cause of the prospective deficit in the Treasury. We succeeded in defeating the other day the proposition to increase the compensation of the employees of the Bureau of Animal Industry. It can not come up again at this session. The proposition was submitted with the statement that it would mean an increase of $300,000 a year in the expenses of conducting that service. In a brief analysis I made I was able to show that it meant ultimately, a few years from now, an increase of $8,000,000 or $9,000,000 a year. At the present time there is a perfect craze for getting money out of the Treasury for individuals. The cost of living will decrease after this war is over, but the salaries of Government employees never decreases.

I think employees in the Postal Service are entitled to the same sick leave, the same vacations, and the same salaries as employees in other branches of the service. I understood that most of them got these privileges. I know that it I go to the Post Office Department one minute after 1 o'clock on Saturdays I find it as impossible to do business there as in any other department of this Government on Saturdays. The clerks are all gone. Nobody is there except the heads of departments. It is absolutely impossible to get any papers in order to present anything, and I find them leaving the department at the same hour I find them leaving all the other departments.

Of course I understand that carriers and railway mail clerks can not have half holidays and as regular hours as other classes of Government employees. They know this when they go into the service. When they go into the service they know also what the compensation is and what they can expect in the various grades. Government employees are not required to defend the salary demands they are making. If they are granted, the only thing they will have to do is to collect the increased salaries. Members of Congress and Senators are responsible, however, and will be compelled to go back to their States and defend themselves. I represent an agricultural district. Most Members of Congress do represent agricultural districts.

To-day, with the present high prices of agricultural products, the farmer is receiving an average of less than $600 compensation per year, and that includes the compensation for himself and for all of his family, and they all work with him on the farm. He works not seven or eight hours a day but from daylight in the morning until absolute darkness in the evening, the hardest kind of drudgery, and he pays taxes on everything he owns. Tax assessors and collectors find him always. Why should I vote to levy taxes on him for the purpose of increasing the compensation of men who work, many of them, less than eight hours a day in comfortable surroundings, nearly all of them with half holidays, sick leave, and vacations. I am aware of the fact that railway mail clerks are the most efficient of our Federal employees, and are required to do complicated work, master difficult schemes, etc. They are paid more money, however, than the substitutes, to whom you call attention, and when they entered upon their careers they knew what to expect in the way of compensation and service. There are many thousands of employees in the Government service who are underpaid, but there are many more thousands who are overpaid. A few weeks ago out in my State a great auditorium in Chicago was filled with men who had passed the age of 45 years, whose hair was turning gray, and who could not get employment because they were past 45 years of age. They felt that they were as competent as they ever were. As a matter of fact, however, they are not, as you well know, and younger men who can move faster are taking their places. This is an industrial situation which we all deeply regret, but this unfortunate situation does not apply to Government clerks.

Referring again to the Post Office Department, I frequently go there just at the hour when the clerks are coming out in the afternoon and have finished their day's work. The surprising feature about it is the number of old men and old women coming through the doors of the building, all returning to their homes. I want to say that every time

I see them coming out I am exceedingly pleased. I am glad this Government retains them in their positions even when they are very old and can render but little service. This is, of course, one of the attractions of the service, as it should be. I hope some day in this United States to see an old-age pension. I do not want to see it, however, applied only to Government employees; I want it to reach all classes who are without sufficient income to maintain themselves.

The demands Government clerks are making, however, if successful, will postpone for a hundred years the realization in this country of old-age pensions.

Government clerks are secure in their positions during the period of their natural lives, no matter how much indignation the public may feel if their demands are granted. Members of Congress, however, are answerable to the people, and they ought to be. The granting of salaries is not a matter requiring merely the exercise of generous impulses. Members of Congress are occupying positions of trust and can not be generous with the money of other people. I will be glad at all times to do the best I can to see that salaries are just. This would involve the lowering of more salaries than would be raised, however, if such a plan were carried to its logical conclusion.

I suggest that you can accomplish more by showing, if you can, that Government clerks are not receiving as much compensation as persons in private employment who discharge similar duties receive—bank clerks, bookkeepers, clerks in stores, etc. If they do not receive as much, they ought to receive as much. If they are receiving more, they are receiving too much. No special training is required to deliver lettters in a city or along any rural route. No special training is required for any work in the Post Office Department that I can think of, except the postal clerks on our railway trains. I marvel at their efficiency. At some proper time, when the demands are not so great on the Treasury as they are now, I would be glad to assist in getting them the compensation they ought to receive. I must confess, however, that I am not just at the present moment fully advised as to what they do receive. They may get all they are entitled to get. However, it is hardly fair to compare their work with the very simple duties discharged by other employees of the Post Office Department, and who want the same increase given them.

I thank you for your communication, which furnishes much valuable information. I wish it were possible for me to agree with you, but this year we can not agree. I am on the committee which is charged with the duty of raising the revenue with which to meet all these demands, and I know what is going to happen when we bring in a bill for passage through the House attempting to meet all these varied demands on the Treasury of the United States. The demands of the clerks for increases are badly timed Their advisors and leaders ought to postpone these discussions until after this war ends, with its possible disarmament arrangements, which may apply even to this country.

Very truly, yours,

HENRY T. RAINEY.

Post Office Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD W. AUSTIN,

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, January 13, 1917,

On the bill (H. R. 19410) making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker, in the consideration of the paragraph of the pending bill relating to the compensation of rural letter carriers, and in support of the amendment I have offered, covering an increase for services on routes in excess of 24 miles, I desire to submit a letter from Mr. W. D. Brown, editor of the Rural Free Delivery News, published in this city. While Mr. Brown is, and has always been, an earnest and enthusiastic champion of the rights and interests of the rural letter carriers, his statement is absolutely fair and just, both as to the men in the service and to the Government. I could not possibly state the case stronger, and hence I submit his communication for the favorable consideration of the Members of the House. If relief in the way of an increase in salaries covering routes in excess of 24 miles and fair and adequate allowance to cover the cost of maintenance of outfit, increase in the cost of living, horse feed, and so forth, can not be placed in the pending bill because of points of order under the rules of the House, I earnestly hope the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads will at an early day report out legislation which will give the faithful and efficient rural letter carriers the relief they need and deserve.

MR. BROWN'S LETTER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 11, 1917.*

Hon. R. W. AUSTIN,
House Office Building.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I inclose herewith petitions from a number of your rural letter-carrier constituents, asking your support of a bill in their behalf. These petitions are based upon a large number of letters and suggestions from carriers and fairly represent the consensus of their wishes.

When Congress in 1914 fixed the maximum salary at $1,200 . . r year for standard 24-mile routes, carriers were content and did not contemplate asking for anything further. But the failure of the Postmaster General to observe the scale of pay intended by Congress made additional legislation necessary to enforce the will of Congress. The department then undertook to reorganize the service by discontinuing many routes and covering their territory wholly, or in part, by extension of other routes. Last year Congress ordered that the service be reorganized to the basis of 24-mile standard routes, but from information at hand it appears that the departmental practice of discontinuance and extension of routes still prevails.

The present prices of horse feed, etc., have greatly increased the expense of maintaining rural-delivery equipment, and correspondingly reduced the net salaries left to carriers to meet the increased cost of living, and every mile added to their routes increases the cost to them of performing their service. The compensation for a 30-mile route is the same as for 24 miles, but an additional horse is required to do the work, the cost of which must be borne by the carrier. Is this fair?

In his last annual report the Postmaster General recommended certain rural-delivery legislation, which, he stated, would reduce the cost of the service $4,000,000 below the last appropriation. The Post Office appropriation bill now under consideration in the House carries the provisions asked for, but does not reduce the total amount of the appropriation. However, that is immaterial, as the proposed provisions afford ample authority for such reductions as may be desired. If the bill as reported should become a law it would open the way for a practical contract service in rural delivery. It would make it possible to merge two or more routes into one long route and fix the compensation upon such basis, not exceeding $2,000, as the carrier would be willing to accept. The carrier could then sublet a part of the route to such assistant or subcontractor as he or some one else might wish to favor, thus injecting the spoils system also.

If Congress desires to help rural carriers to meet the greatly increased cost of living and maintenance of necessary equipment for their routes, the amounts should be graded upon some specific basis, and the following is suggested for 24-mile standard routes:

	Per year.
For maintenance of motorcycles without side vans	$60
For maintenance of automobiles or motorcycles with side vans	120
For maintenance of horse-drawn vehicle equipment	180

Allowances for routes greater or less than the standard to be increased or reduced proportionately.

But, regardless of all else, carriers should be paid for routes above the standard length in the same ratio as for routes below the standard. The amounts upon this basis are set out in the inclosed petition, and I earnestly ask for them your favorable consideration.

The time element proposed in the bill is a menace to the efficiency of the service. Quick delivery and prompt dispatch are the essentials of good service, and these can best be accomplished by motor vehicles. But if the use of such vehicles and the consequent saving of time should hurtfully affect their pay, carriers would hardly be inclined to incur the additional expense and reduce their compensation, and especially in view of existing regulations, which prohibit or greatly restrict engagement in other occupations.

Eight-hour daily service in rural delivery is wholly impracticable. A compilation of exact figures probably would demonstrate that rural carriers now average at least eight hours daily throughout the year. During the season of good roads, when motor vehicles can be used, many routes can be served in a total of five or six hours, which is a great advantage to shippers of produce, etc., by parcel post. But in the winter season horse vehicles must be used and double or more time is required. A straight eight-hour day would penalize the rural carrier for providing, at his own cost, the most expeditious service in summer and leave him suspended midway on his route, away from home and the post office, on uncompleted trips in the winter.

It would seem wise, therefore, to make routes of only such length as would insure observance of regular schedules for the delivery and dispatch of mail and fix reasonable compensation for service on same.

I wish to remind you that the first demand upon the rural carrier's pay is for equipment, which must be kept in good condition for service. The increased cost of horse feed, etc., has kept pace with all other necessities, so that the carrier must bear a double burden of the high cost of living. I confidently believe you will agree that something should be done to relieve the situation, and I urge that whatever action is taken should be specific and not left to chance.

I particularly ask your favorable consideration of the salary scale for routes more than 24 miles long as set out in the inclosed petitions. If the scale fixed by Congress for routes less than 24 miles is just, the same scale for routes above the standard is equally just.

A flexible salary scale in civil service is wrong in principle and demoralizing in practice. It is, in effect, a contract system and clears the way for favoritism and spoils.

In closing let me remind you that the Post Office appropriation bill which was passed in March, 1914, carried certain legislation beneficial to rural carriers, but it required two separate subsequent acts (the joint resolution of Mar. 4, 1915, and the act of July 28, 1916) to enforce same. The necessity for plain, specific, and unmistakable legislation is therefore apparent.

Thanking you for your favorable consideration, I am,

Yours, very truly,

W. D. BROWN.

Post Office Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. C. DYER,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, January 13, 1917.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks I insert the following:

ST. LOUIS, MO., *January 8, 1917.*

Hon. L. C. DYER,
Washington, D. C.:

Legislation that tends to embarrass newspaper publishers is seriously threatened by measures now pending. One of these measures fixes without defined regard to the facts a penalty upon the newspaper that publishes an advertisement relating to any kind of liquors. Our contention is that if there is to be a statute of this character the responsibility should be definitely fixed upon the advertiser and not the publisher. We also wish to protest against the new zone rate for postage on the ground that it is practically confiscatory, in view of the new

prices fixed by paper manufacturers. This proposed increase discriminates in favor of points in densely inhabited sections. It would destroy a large volume of circulation now carried by St. Louis newspapers.

THE ST. LOUIS TIMES.
THE WESTLICHE POST.
THE GLOBE DEMOCRAT.
THE ST. LOUIS REPUBLIC.
THE POST DISPATCH.
THE ST. LOUIS STAR.

—

ST. LOUIS, MO., *January 8, 1917.*

Hon. L. C. DYER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

St. Louis Aerie, No. 41, Fraternal Order of Eagles, having 1,200 members, respectfully but urgently petitions you to oppose section 10 of House bill No. 19410, known as Post Office appropriation bill, unless first paragraph is amended to exclude from the operation of bill fraternal magazines published by fraternal orders, not for profit, but solely for purposes of education and information. Such is the Eagle Magazine, official publication of this order. If present bill is passed, the postage on our magazine will be almost prohibitive. Kindly help us.

H. N. MORGAN, *Worthy President.*
WILBUR E. BENT, *Secretary,*
2354 Lafayette Avenue.

—

THE NATIONAL DRUGGIST,
St. Louis, January 2, 1917.

Hon. L. C. DYER, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CONGRESSMAN: I inclose copy of the resolutions of the St. Louis-Southwestern Trade Press Association in regard to the rider on the Post Office appropriation bill which provides for an increase of the second-class postage rate and the application of the zone system thereto.

I sincerely trust you will use your influence to defeat the proposed measure.

This of all times is the least opportune for increasing the postage rate on newspapers and periodicals. As you are aware, the cost of all kinds of printers' supplies has materially advanced on account of the war. The white paper alone on which the National Druggist is printed will cost me approximately $10,000 more for the year 1917, based on the present market price, than in normal times—a very considerable increase for any small business to bear, as you must admit. If, then, the Government adds an additional $2,500 or $3,000 for postage, the burden will be more than I can bear. And it will affect all other trade journals in exactly the same way, and not trade journals only, but all magazines, farm journals, religious journals, etc.—indeed, everything except the country newspapers, which are distributed absolutely free, or, rather, at the Government's expense, though, of course, it would not be as bad on the daily newspapers as it is on papers of national circulation.

If any raise is to be made, it should be made a little at a time and should come gradually, so that the publishers won't feel it so considerably. It takes a considerable time for a business to adjust itself to sudden changes of any kind.

But the zone system for second-class postage is all wrong. It may be right as applied to merchandise, but not as applied to reading matter.

The zone system as applied to reading matter will have a tendency to sectionalize the various publications. The southern publisher will naturally try to confine himself to his own territory. And a northern publisher will do the same, as would the western or eastern. We don't want any such tendency encouraged in this country. What we need is national unity in thought, feeling, and everything, and not sectionalism in anything.

The worst thing about the proposition is that it comes as a rider on the Post Office appropriation bill. If it was a fair and honest measure, it would have been brought up on its merits, so that those whose interests it so seriously affects could have an opportunity to present their objections to it. It would be very unjust to have it railroaded through, as seems to be the purpose of the author. And, by the way, one can not help commenting on the inconsistency of the position of its author, who is the publisher of a local periodical and pays no postage at all, it being distributed to his subscribers at the Government's expense. I say it is inconsistent in a man who enjoys such an abuse of privilege to try to fasten an unjust law, like that under consideration, upon other people.

I trust you will do what you can to defeat the proposition. And, by the way, I notice that Mr. HENRY, chairman of the Rules Committee, has expressed himself in opposition to it, which is encouraging. In a statement published in the morning's paper he says:

"It can not be defended, and we should not thus hamper the freedom of the press and inconvenience the people."

Hoping you will do your best to defeat it,

Yours, very truly,

H. R. STRONG.

—

THE EAGLE MAGAZINE,
South Bend, Ind., January 6, 1917.

Hon. L. C. DYER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN DYER: The Fraternal Order of Eagles is vitally interested in a certain section contained in the appropriation bill reported to the House this week.

Section 10 of this bill provides for a very radical increase in postage on publications, including fraternal publications. If this zone system proposed becomes operative, it will cost the Eagle Magazine $35,000 annually in addition to the present postage to mail the periodical. Such an increase would practically cause the suspension of the publication.

You are familiar with the magazine; you know it is owned and published by the order. As a stockholder in it you know it is not published for profit. As one somewhat acquainted with its contents, you know it has unquestionable educational value. Do you not believe that a publication such as this should be excluded from the operation of section 10 and not be put on the same plane as the Saturday Evening Post, Ladies' Home Journal, mail-order house catalogues, and other reading matter published by private corporations for profit only? If you agree with this view, which is the view of every member of the present administration of the Fraternal Order of Eagles, will you not use your influence in behalf of our publication?

With kindest personal regards, I am,

Sincerely, yours,

FRANK E. HERING,
Managing Editor.

"Drop Penny Postage."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. VARE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, January 13, 1917.

Mr. VARE. Mr. Speaker, the provision in the Post Office appropriation bill for the establishment of a "drop-penny" or local first-class postage rate of 1 cent per ounce or fraction thereof marks another step toward an equitable reclassification of postage rates according to the cost of handling incurred by the Government.

Since the days of the complicated methods for computing postage, when charges were based on the length of haul, the attitude of the American Congress has been to recognize the difference in the cost of handling local mail and that on which transportation charges must be paid.

As early as 1872 a 1-cent rate was established for letters of the first class for delivery from the office of mailing, providing that office did not have carrier-delivery service. At that time the postage rate was based on one-half ounce. When the weight standard was increased to 1 ounce in 1885 the same provision was retained.

During the Sixty-first Congress a bill was introduced by my colleague from Pennsylvania [Mr. GRIEST] providing for a 1-cent tariff on all first-class mail of 1 ounce or fraction, including offices with letter-carrier delivery.

No one questions the logic of the argument that the profits from local mail must be large when one can post a letter to any point in the United States, England, Germany, Canada, or Alaska for the same price that he or she would pay to mail the same letter to a next-door neighbor.

It is an acknowledged fact that the receipts of post offices in our large cities for "drop-letter" mail is far in excess of delivery costs. The time is now ripe for the adjustment of the charge to a reasonable rate corresponding with the actual cost of handling.

The Postmaster General in his last annual report says:

Whereas the department is no longer a tax on the general revenue it is desired to again emphasize its position that it should not be permitted to become a revenue producer for the Government. It should become a fixed policy that all surplus postal revenues should be used for the enlargement of the service, the increase of postal efficiency, and, when justified, to a reduction in rates of postage.

We are not as yet in a position where we can have a universal penny-postage system, but we are able to follow the advice of the Postmaster General to the point where we can support a reduction in the cost of sending local mail matter.

Public Opinion on the Tubes.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, January 13, 1917.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I lay before the committee some editorial comments from leading newspapers of the country demanding the retention of the pneumatic-tube service in the cities affected. I assume these comments may be accepted as public opinion upon the question of taking away from the Postal Service an underground system of transporting first-class mail and substituting therefor the antiquated system of surface or overhead delivery.

A perusal of these expressions of public opinion will show that we are living in a progressive age and are not inclined to return to the horse-car or the mule-train period in the large centers of population. As I desire the committee and the House to deal with this question in its broad or national sense, I shall refrain from publishing numerous letters and telegrams expressing surprise and amazement that the Postmaster General and members of the majority of the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads should contemplate this backward step:

[Editorial from the Philadelphia Ledger, Dec. 12, 1916.]

EXTENSION, NOT EXTINCTION.

There doesn't seem to be anything very convincing in the arguments over the pneumatic mail service in this city. The real trouble seems to be in the limitations of this service. Why not have a real pneumatic mail service, such as is operated in London, where packages as well as letters are sent over the great stretches of territory in the metropolitan district?

In Paris the pneumatic mail system is developed to a greater extent perhaps than in any other large city in the world. Pneumatic stations are scattered all over Paris, just as telegraph offices are here. Any person wishing to communicate quickly by letter with another person in a distant part of the city can, for about the equivalent of 10 cents, purchase what is known as a "petit bleu" at one of these stations, write on it whatever he wishes to say, seal it, hand it in, and immediately it is shot through the pneumatic mail tubes to the station nearest to the address on the outside, and from there is delivered by special messenger. The "petit bleu" has the advantage over a telegram in its perfect secrecy, and a neat writer can find space on it for 50 or even a hundred words. Perhaps the proper solution of the pneumatic mail-tube system for Philadelphia will lie in its extension rather than its extinction.

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[From the Philadelphia Public Ledger, Dec. 11, 1916.]

WHY MAIL TUBES ARE INDISPENSABLE—LARGE CITIES SUBJECTED TO CONDITIONS LITTLE UNDERSTOOD BY REST OF COUNTRY.

Between 5 and 6 o'clock in the evening 3,400 vehicles of all kinds pass Arch Street on Broad, according to Chief Connell, and this is the heaviest traffic in the city. It is heavier than the traffic of any New York street also, as Marcus M. Marks, president of the Borough of Manhattan, recently placed the maximum of Fifth Avenue at 2,500 vehicles an hour.

"The section of Broad Street between Arch and Filbert Streets carries 37 per cent more traffic per hour than Fifth Avenue," Chief Connell continued. And he thinks that Broad Street accommodates the heaviest travel in the United States. Altogether the increased traffic presents many problems, not the least of which is the increase in the appropriations that will be needed to keep the streets in repair.

Before the automobile came into use 4,000 to 5,000 vehicles a day used Broad Street, while now the number is near 30,000. In 1912 there were less than 9,000 motor cars in Philadelphia; in 1914 there were 17,000; and now there are more than 35,000, or four times the number of four years ago and twice the number of two years ago. Consequently it is natural to predict that the number will double again in the next two years, in Chief Connell's opinion, so that the separation of passenger and freight traffic, both on east and west and north and south streets, seems a virtual necessity.

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[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, Dec. 12, 1916.]

MR. BURLESON OBSTRUCTS PROGRESS—"MOST RIDICULOUS SUGGESTION EVER SERIOUSLY MADE BY ANY POSTMASTER GENERAL."

Any suggestion that the underground system be abolished would be met with a perfect hurricane of disapproval. Why, the people of Philadelphia have just authorized the expenditure of $67,000,000 for additional rapid transit.

If street cars and private vehicles are blocked on the surface, how can mail cars or wagons hope to escape them? They can not; and yet here comes Postmaster General Burleson with the astounding proposition to abolish the mail tubes, which operate almost instantaneously underground, and use automobiles on the surface in their place!

It is the most ridiculous suggestion ever seriously made by any Postmaster General since the beginning of the Nation.

Mr. Burleson thrusts himself in the path of progress. If he will not remove himself from it, we look to the Congress of the United States to push him to one side, so that the obstruction may be cleared away and the mails of the United States may not be interfered with.

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[From the Philadelphia Press, Dec. 14, 1916.]

"ALMOST UNTHINKABLE"—ABSOLUTE PROOF THAT TUBE SERVICE IS A PUBLIC NECESSITY.

It is almost unthinkable that the department will persist in its determination to abolish the service in face of absolute proof that it is a public necessity here, the one efficient branch of an otherwise slow and undependable postal system.

It has been shown that the pneumatic tube constitutes an irreplaceable medium for the speedy forwarding of market quotations from the Bourse station to transcontinental trains. It has been shown that the tube service facilitates daily bank clearances in this city on amounts aggregating between twenty and thirty million dollars, and that its abolition would involve a loss of about a thousand dollars a day on clearing-house business alone. It has been demonstrated that mail transferred by the tube route is safer from thieves and from accidental destruction, and that the substitution of surface motor-vehicle routes would further complicate the city's crowded central traffic zones and would constitute an additional menace to pedestrians, who have already suffered so severely from fast-driven mail trucks.

The single argument for the abolition of the pneumatic tube is the supposed economy that may be effected by the substitution of motor vehicles. Assuming that the change would be economical—and all the pneumatic-tube service costs is $100,000 a year—is the saving worth the extra trouble, expense, danger it entails, to say nothing of its effect upon the efficiency of the service? The Philadelphia post office nets the Government an annual profit of $5,000,000. Surely one-fiftieth of that sum is not too much to spend in insuring the city a first-class postal service.

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[From the Philadelphia Record, Dec. 13, 1916.]

ONE THOUSAND ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS LOSS A DAY TO BUSINESS.

Mr. J. Allan Thompson, of the Philadelphia Clearing House, declared that a saving of 2 per cent is effected in certain bank clearings through the use of the pneumatic-tube service, which enables the banks to gain a day's time by expeditious work near the end of the day. He calculated that removal of the tube service would result in an actual loss of approximately $1,100 a day to the banks. He estimated that Philadelphia business men would lose more than twice the cost of the tube service annually if they were deprived of it.

[From the Philadelphia Record, Dec. 13, 1916.]

MAIL TRUCKS IN CROWDED STREETS—LIFE AND DEATH CLOSELY INVOLVED WITH ABOLITION OF MAIL TUBES.

Capt. Mills, of the traffic squad, made a long speech regarding congestion in the Philadelphia streets through which the mail trucks handling the pouches now handled by the tubes would have to pass. He embodied in the record the following interesting data regarding traffic conditions:

"The department I represent is vitally interested in the number of fast-moving delivery vehicles which the proposed abolition of the pneumatic service will cause to be operated upon our city streets, already taxed beyond safe carrying capacity, and so much so that it has been found necessary to place a limit upon the time a vehicle shall stand upon the highway. Vehicles carrying mail from the Bourse Station to the Broad Street Station, from which points tubes are now in operation, will cross 12 intersecting streets where the vehicle traffic numbers from 325, at Fifth Street, to 1,750 per hour, at Broad Street, not including street railway cars, and would also be compelled to pass through seven streams of pedestrians fluctuating between 3,000 and 7,000 per hour.

"Auto vehicles in operation from the Central Station to the southward of the Fairhill Station would be compelled to pass through our most congested centers. This is certainly a matter of vital importance, especially when the Post Office Department has maintained a schedule calling for a rate of speed as high as 10 miles per hour.

"The department of public safety is receiving constant complaints of the operation of mail-service vehicles, and I quote here from an evening paper the statement of a committing magistrate at a hearing following injury to a child:

"'United States mail drivers never go slowly. They fly along our public thoroughfares without the slightest regard for the safety of citizens and little children. They hum around corners and take chances in the thick of traffic as if they had a special permit from Washington to gamble with the lives of the citizens of the Republic.'

"To which statement I must add, in justice to the Postal Department, that they render every assistance possible in locating drivers of vehicles guilty of reckless driving.

"There have been 115 deaths since January 1, 1916, due to motor vehicles. There have been 38 collisions with United States mail vehicles, and 21 persons have been injured by United States mail vehicles in the same period of time."

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[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, Dec. 13, 1916.]

"TUBES SHOULD BE EXTENDED"—PHILADELPHIA AND NEW YORK BUSINESS MEN AROUSED.

Postmaster Morgan, of New York, has come out strongly against the abolition of the pneumatic-tube mail system in that city. He believes, with other reasoning men, that the tubes should be extended instead of being abolished. The peculiar conditions existing in New York at present, with Broadway torn up, traffic blockades becoming more frequent each day, and the dangers of heavy snowfalls, all combine to make it pretty sure that the tubes will be retained there for the present at least.

But Morgan is not alone in opposing the abolition of the pneumatic-tube system. The Merchants' Association of New York and a score of other business organizations have entered their protests. The business men of this city have done their part in going to Washington and filing their protests with the Congressmen. *Mayor Smith, whose experience as postmaster of Philadelphia enables him to speak by authority, has wired his belief that the abandonment of this modern method of conducting the postal business would be a great mistake.* But in spite of all this it is intimated that Burleson will ultimately have his own way about it. It seems to be reduced to a question of whether we are to abolish the tubes or abolish Burleson.

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[From the New York Tribune, Dec. 16, 1916.]

"A VASTLY DETERIORATED MAIL SERVICE" IF CONGRESS BACKS UP POSTMASTER GENERAL BURLESON'S ASSAULT ON TUBES.

If Congress backs up Postmaster General Burleson as the House committee has done there will be a vastly augmented fleet of mail automobile trucks rushing through the streets of this city. *There will be, according to Postmaster Morgan, a vastly deteriorated mail service. There will be, according to Commissioner Woods, a vastly complicated traffic problem, with an almost certain increase of injuries and deaths, due to the incorrigible speeding propensities of the drivers of these huge vehicles.* That is, there will be inflicted on this city, which so far as the post office is concerned is a gold mine, a service uncertain in bad weather, less good in any weather, and perhaps no less expensive than the present one—of that there is scant means of judging; and there will be imposed on the public here the expense of providing for the handling of a more complex and dangerous street situation than the present one, for which the traffic squad now is hardly adequate.

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[From the New York Times, Dec. 30, 1916.]

MOTOR TRUCKS MODERN JUGGERNAUTS.

Mayor Mitchel wrote to Speaker CHAMP CLARK yesterday protesting against the bill to replace with auto vehicles most of the present pneumatic tubes for the transmission of mail.

The mayor wrote that the leading commercial organizations of the city would argue against the proposed measure at the proper time, but he felt it his duty to emphasize one phase of the matter vitally affecting every inhabitant of the city—"the shortsightedness and folly of doing anything which must inevitably add to the great congestion of street traffic and the dangers resulting therefrom." The mayor dwelt upon the number of street accidents, and said that last year 659 persons were killed and 23,000 injured, 281 of those killed being children. Of the killed 105 met death through motor trucks.

"Despite the fact that motor trucks number less than 2½ per cent of the total vehicles," the mayor wrote, "they were chargeable with more than 16 per cent of the fatalitits, a striking evidence of the dangerous character of that class of vehicles, among which are included mail trucks. This annual toll of human life in our city streets has excited public indignation and alarm. Constant and urgent appeals are made for measures of protection. Stringent traffic rules have been adopted, and 650 policemen have been assigned exclusively to the regulation of traffic. Every possible effort is put forth to restrict the speed of vehicles in the street and to secure such regularity of movement as shall permit an even and orderly flow of traffic. By reason,

however, of the enormous number of vehicles and the great population which daily use our streets, the situation is hard to cope with, and is becoming increasingly difficult."

The Postmaster General attempts to justify his amazing recommendation abolishing pneumatic tubes by saying that lobbying has been done. That statement is false and ridiculous. What need of lobbying is there when every intelligent business man, competent postal official, chamber of commerce, business organizations of every kind, every reputable newspaper and other organ of public opinion in Philadelphia and throughout the country has been advocating this service persistently since its inauguration by John Wanamaker nearly 25 years ago, within which period five Government commissions, after exhaustive inquiry, have vindicated the tubes' unique usefulness and their extension and purchase by the Government? Other Burleson charges are equally absurd, and will be met and the real meaning of this propaganda against the tubes will be disclosed.

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[From the New York Evening Post, Dec. 20, 1916.]

"A BRIEF FOR THE PROSECUTION"—POSTAL COMMITTEE IGNORED TWO IMPORTANT CONSIDERATIONS.

Everything turns, therefore, on the question whether the Postmaster General and his committee have or have not correctly appraised the advantages of the pneumatic-tube service. *And here we have to say at once that the committee's report, in spite of its painstaking and elaborate character, distinctly makes the impression of a brief for the prosecution rather than that of a judicial summing up by professional experts.* Of this character there are two evidences that seem to us absolutely conclusive. In the first place, there appear throughout the report emphatic references to the fact that the tube service is not adapted to the carrying of much mail matter other than letters. Now, it seems hardly possible that a man seriously and intelligently occupied with postal problems should forget for a moment that *it is by the test of letter service, and only of letter service, that the question of superior dispatch by such a system as that of the tubes should be judged. Parcels that belong to the second, third, or fourth class are neither entitled by the rates of postage nor, except in rare instances, by their importance to the highest advantages of speed the Post Office can furnish. On letters the Post Office makes an enormous profit, out of which the expense of handling other classes of matter is defrayed; and it is in the prompt delivery of letters, not of parcels, that the public is keenly and constantly interested.* The importance attached in the report to the matter of parcels is not only a defect in itself but seems to us to show that the desire to weigh fully and fairly the merits of the case was interfered with, in the committee's mind, by a bias toward a foregone conclusion.

The second point to which we have referred not only bears out this impression but goes far toward invalidating the committee's condemnation of the tube system above quoted. That condemnation rests entirely on the handling of train mail. Even for that it is not conclusive, and has been subjected to important criticism; but the point we wish to make is that it ignores altogether the use of the tube in the transmission of local mails. This city is of almost imperial magnitude, and its five millions of people have every possible claim to all the facilities for quick postal intercourse among themselves that circumstances make possible. It is almost incredible, but we believe it is literally true—though we may possibly have overlooked some slight reference—that the report makes no mention whatever of this cardinally important function of the tube service, a function which must become increasingly important as the city grows still further in population. The continuity of transmission which the tube system supplies is certainly completely effective as regards the local service, even if its value is impaired for out-of-town service by the consideration mentioned by the report; and yet this first-rate element in the case is completely ignored. Evidently before action is taken it is imperative that the whole matter be subjected to more searching consideration and more judicial appraisal.

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[From the New York Morning Telegraph, Dec. 22, 1916.]

"NOT AFFECTED BY SNOW BLOCKADES"—SERIOUS CONTROVERSY WITH POSTMASTER GENERAL.

As New York City is practically intersected and will soon be entirely criss-crossed with tubes and tunnels for the more rapid transportation of passengers, the suggestion that letters should be sent between post offices by wagon instead of tubular dispatch seems to be archaic. More than seems, is. Yet a serious controversy is in progress with the Postmaster General favoring a return to vehicles—preliminary, perhaps, to a suggested return to horse cars on the streets—and the business interests of New York, the Merchants' Association, Chamber of Commerce, Dry Goods Association, and banks and bankers generally demanding the retention of the present method of quick service by underground metal tubes not affected by snow, ice, floods, breakdowns, or other interruption of street travel.

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[Editorial from the New York American, Apr. 6, 1916.]

MOTOR-TRUCK INTERESTS.

The Postmaster General, who up to that time had expressed himself most favorably toward the tubes, suddenly began to talk about the desirability of supplanting them with the antiquated wagons' successors, motor trucks and automobiles, going back to the old order of things, to conditions existing in the centuries that are gone. The influence of these motor-truck interests had become so potential in the department as to lead to shocking results, one of which was the conviction in the United States court of the leading automobile mail contractor of New York, who had vociferously proclaimed his ability and intention "to smash the tubes" and seize that appropriation for his own business. He was convicted for corrupting postal employees, one of whom was sentenced with him to the Atlanta Penitentiary.

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[From the New York Times, Dec. 15, 1916.]

WANTS TO KNOW THE REASON—NEW YORK TIMES ASKS WHY INVESTIGATORS REFUSED TO HEAR OTHER SIDE.

The Post Office Department may not be relentless in the intention ascribed to it to discontinue the pneumatic-tube service in several leading cities. It would have no support in such intention in New York at least. There are several millions invested in the plant here, which is operating with such efficiency that the service causes no criticism outside the Post Office Department. That is about as high praise as any public utility can command. The department confesses the strength of the position of the tube service in New York at least, for it has replied to inquiries that it has no intention of discontinuing the service, but that it wishes to reconsider the terms of the contract, which is about to expire.

The owners of the plant are in the unfortunate position of having irretrievably invested several millions in facilities otherwise useless, and without the protection of a permanent contract. The returns on the investment are no doubt considerable, and the department would be sustained in any reconsideration of the subject which should be fair to all the parties. It would be on the defensive in any plan to reduce profits of the proprietors at the expense of the service to the public. It is desirable that the department should convince others than itself that the public would be better served by automobiles than by the tubes.

The tubes do not lend themselves to the transportation of such matter as is mailed under the Parcel Post Service. The automobiles necessary for the parcel post could carry letters also without any additional cost which it would be easy to trace. It is even probable that the department would not be eager to apportion the cost of carrying letters and parcels by automobiles. All its practice is against anything like cost accounting and in favor of distributing letter-carrying profits over the losses of other departments. Even if the tube profits could be shown to be larger than the cost to the department of similar service by motors, it would not follow that the tubes should be discontinued, for it would still be necessary to consider comparative efficiency of service. A service which might be good enough for parcels would not be good enough for the carriage of letters over the routes served by the tubes in this city, however it may be in the several other cities, which should speak for themselves. The speed in the tubes is several times that which it is possible to maintain through street traffic. The deliveries by motors are only a few each hour, while there are several departures by tubes each second.

It is not surprising that a score of civic associations of this city went to Washington to protest to the House committee regarding the unconsidered prosecution of the department's plans, whatever they are. It is surprising and not reassuring that the committee was unable to find time for the presentation of the arguments which the associations wished to make. When investigators refuse to hear the other side there is curiosity to know what is the case against the tubes which is so conclusive that Congress, like the department, is prepared to act before the public learns the reasons for action. The public is prepared to hear the department's side, and, in fact, wants very much to hear it.

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[From the New York World, Dec. 14, 1916.]

WHAT NEW YORK HAS TO CONTEND WITH.

Postmaster Morgan states that the department has been trying to restore mail boxes, but that the Municipal Art Commission and the Washington authorities can not get together on the design.

Is not that a fair sample of what New York has to contend with? Is it not appropriate that a world metropolis which is in danger of losing most of its pneumatic mail tubes because a corporation controls the public streets, should lose 7,000 mail boxes because of a difference of opinion about the mere pattern of them?

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[From the New York Times, Dec. 24, 1916.]

NO TIME FOR MOTOR-TRUCK JOY RIDES—NEW YORK ALDERMEN PROTEST AGAINST "EXHUMING INANIMATE MAIL MATTER."

In an effort to retain the pneumatic tube as the chief carrier of the city's mails, the aldermen yesterday adopted unanimously two resolutions to be sent to President Wilson and Congress. The resolutions were introduced by President Dowling and Minority Leader Henry H. Curran, and, as both were identic in substance, were incorporated as one. It follows:

"*Resolved*, That the board of aldermen requests the Postmaster General of the United States to abandon his contemplated reduction of the underground mail-tube service in this city.

"When our people have to burrow like moles through subways and tunnels to escape the perils of traffic congestion on the streets, it is no time to exhume inanimate mail matter and joy ride it about the town in speeding motor trucks, to the still greater peril of those who survive us on the surface of the earth."

—

[From the New York Globe, Dec. 16, 1916.]

"SAVE THE MAIL TUBES"—SHORTSIGHTED POLICY OF COMMITTEE NOT NECESSARILY THE VIEW OF CONGRESS.

The pneumatic tube offers the most rapid means of transporting mail. It has been employed for years with success between the general post office and important branch stations, and it has been an important factor in bringing the service in New York up to what it is, although there is room still for much improvement. To do away with the tubes and substitute for them motor trucks not only will impair the Postal Service, but needlessly add to the congestion of the streets as well.

Because the postal committee of the House is in favor of adopting such a shortsighted policy does not necessarily mean that Congress will see matters in the same light. It is up to the business men of New York to organize a movement that will convince the Senate and the House that the interests of the city demand that hands be kept off its pneumatic mail tube.

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[From the Chicago Examiner, Dec. 12, 1916.]

BUSINESS WORLD V. POSTAL AGENTS—MOTOR-TRUCK SPEED ONE-THIRD THAT OF THE PNEUMATIC TUBES.

In Mr. Burleson's plea that the motor trucks can make 12 miles an hour the committee will punch a big hole by the answer that 12 miles an hour by the autotrucks is just about one-third of the 33 miles an hour underground which the tubes consume in carrying the mails, and that the 12-mile-an-hour speed which he sets for his autotrucks, slow as it is, is much too fast for the congested thoroughfares of the great cities.

And to the specious theories of the inexperienced business man in the Post Office Department the alert Chicago committee will oppose the emphatic statements of some of the greatest business men in Chicago and the world—

Of Samuel Hastings, president of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, that "Chicago, which has the heaviest first-class mail in the country, can not afford to lose the pneumatic-tube service."

Of Angus S. Hibbard, of the Chicago Telephone Co., that "in special-delivery letters, which may be worth thousands of dollars to the sender, 24 hours is saved by the pneumatic-tube service."

Of John W. O'Leary, president Association of Commerce: "Chicago absolutely needs the pneumatic-tube service and is entitled to it."

Of W. A. Curtis, of the great mail-order firm of Montgomery Ward & Co.: "*The discontinuance of the tubes would be a far step backward. In Paris, I understand, the pneumatic tubes make it possible to receive and answer a letter from any part of the city within an hour. How is Chicago ever to enjoy such facilities if Mr. Burleson is to lop off the progressive foundation for it in the tubes?*"

And of William F. Burrows, president of Libby, McNeil & Libby, and of Ward M. Willitts, president of Adams & Westlake Co., and of J. J. Charles, president of Hibbard, Spencer, Bartlett & Co., and of Nelson A. Lampert, vice president Fort Dearborn National Bank, and of H. A. Wilkie, president of the Rotary Club, and of a long list of the greatest names in western business.

Mr. Burleson, the Texas politician, is pitting his political idea of business against the sound judgment of the soundest economic and business builders of the Republic.

Will the politician persist in this illogical theory against the protest of the practical Titans of legitimate trade?

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[From the New York World, Dec. 23, 1916.]

"A BACKWARD STEP"—"DEPARTMENT ABANDONING A COURSE THAT ALL LIVE POSTAL SYSTEMS USE."

The investments of the tube companies can not be commandeered. They should be bought. If the times are not propitious for appropriations or bond issues for such a purpose, the Government could buy them by adding to the yearly rental an amortization allowance to extinguish the principal in 20 or 25 years. With such a bargain the department could take the tubes at once and make extensions and improvements at its own convenience and cost.

The one intolerable course is that the department shall deliberately take a backward step by abandoning a device that all live postal systems use and that is necessary to postal efficiency. Why not buy the tubes by the amortization plan?

—

[From the New York Tribune, Dec. 22, 1916.]

"ENTITLED TO THE BEST"—NEW YORK THE GREATEST SOURCE OF POSTAL REVENUE IN THE COUNTRY WANTS THE TUBES.

It was unfortunate that the Post Office Department did not put in its own tubes at the start, instead of making contracts with an outside corporation formed to do a governmental service. The relation between the corporation and the Government is unnatural and onerous. The corporation can not expect to get absolutely fair treatment from Congress or from the department. It is at the mercy of both every time its short-time contracts run out.

Without Government ownership we never can escape such squabbles as now threaten an unjust and unwise curtailment of pneumatic-tube facilities here. *New York, the greatest single source of postal revenue in the country, is entitled to the best and fullest facilities available. The House of Representatives, under Mr.* MOON'S *captious and prejudiced leadership, may vote to discontinue the use of the down-town tubes here, which even the Post Office Department officials admit to be indispensable. But a saner view is to be expected from the Senate, which for the last six years has been successfully frustrating Mr.* MOON'S *persistent attempts to bedlamize the Postal Service.*

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[From the Chicago Examiner, Jan. 2, 1917.]

BURLESON'S OWN RECORDS REFUTE ATTACK ON TUBES.

Do the fast underground pneumatic tubes expedite the delivery of the mails in Chicago?

That is the question upon which hangs the continuance or the discard of Chicago's fast mail service.

Postmaster General Burleson with amazing positiveness asserts that the tubes do not expedite the mails.

JAMES R. MANN, the Republican leader and a Chicago Congressman, writes to the Examiner that the House of Representatives will vote yes or no upon Mr. Burleson's reactionary proposition as it may be proved true or false.

Therefore the whole policy of the tube managers and of the people should be to prove, and prove quickly, that Mr. Burleson is mistaken, and that the tubes do most emphatically expedite the delivery of the mails.

The proposition that the tubes do expedite the mails seems to be self-evident, and in point of fact it is self-evident.

But let us offer the facts from Mr. Burleson's own official post-office records and from the investigation of fair-minded civic organizations that have given clear and conclusive investigations.

Take Philadelphia. Last week the united business organizations of Philadelphia appointed a great committee, in which they included four of Philadelphia's Representatives in Congress. This fair and fully representative committee spent an entire day in rigid investigation of the tubes. The result smashed almost every claim that Mr. Burleson had made in opposition to the tubes.

In the matter of expedition of the mails a test was made along the several branches of the tube service side by side with the service of the auto trucks.

Take the longest of three branches from the general post office to the North Philadelphia Station of the Pennsylvania Railroad, 4.4 miles. At this point the tube service and the autotruck service starting at the same moment the tube carriers reached their destination more than 25 minutes ahead of the autotrucks, each carton carrying 8¾ pounds of mail and the tube carriers arriving only eight and three-tenths seconds apart.

Is it any wonder that the entire committee and the four Congressmen were completely satisfied that the tubes do vastly expedite the delivery of the mails? So much for Philadelphia.

Now, take Chicago, which with us is much more to the point. In advance of the formal report of the committee that is being formed to investigate, we will take Mr. Burleson's own official records from the Chicago post office. They are entirely sufficient.

The Examiner has before it the "yellow schedule" of the Chicago post office dated November 1. The "yellow schedule" certainly can not be charged with partiality to the tubes. Read its record:

From the general post office to the stockyards is the longest, and therefore the fairest, test of speed. It is about 4 miles or a little more. Upon the printed schedule here is the motortruck record:

Leaves general post office, 12.30 a. m.

Arrives stockyards, 1.06 a. m.

This is at midnight, when the streets are comparatively clear of traffic and travel, and the time is 36 minutes. Take the midday schedule, when the city is in normal activity:

Leaves general post office, 12.15 p. m.

Arrives stockyards, 1.07 p. m.

Therefore, the midday time of the auto trucks is 52 minutes.

On the last page of the "yellow schedule" is the pneumatic-tube schedule, and there is written in the official printed record of Mr. Burleson's own Chicago office the following:

PNEUMATIC-TUBE SCHEDULE—ONE CARRIER.

From general post office to stockyards, 14 minutes.

The "one carrier" means one carton containing 8¾ to 10 pounds of mail. But these carriers follow each other every 8.3 seconds, or a possible six carriers to the minute, or about 70 pounds to the minute of mail.

But why prolong a discussion so self-evident and so completely established by the official records of Philadelphia and Chicago post offices?

Mr. Burleson's attitude in this whole matter so vital to Chicago is, to say the least, astonishing.

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[From the Chicago Examiner, Dec. 9, 1916.]

NOT DESTRUCTION, BUT ENLARGEMENT—NO TIME THIS FOR MR. BURLESON TO COME LOPPING WITH HIS MEAT AX OF PARSIMONY.

Within this period five commissions of the United States Government, including one in the last Congress, after exhaustive inquiry have vindicated the unique usefulness of the tubes and advocated their extension and even their purchase by the Government.

It would be in the nature of a crowning outrage if the Burleson administration of the Post Office Department should lop this essential, progressive feature from the meager equipment of the Chicago post office.

The Chicago office is staggering now under a multitude of difficulties of insufficient equipment. Its hands are lifted in appeal to the Government for enlargement and progressive improvement, not for parsimonious contraction and dangerous surgery upon its essential members.

The great house of Sears, Roebuck & Co. is transporting its own mail to-day to the moving centers, and other great business houses are doing likewise, simply because the Chicago post office is not equipped to do the work that is its own.

Is this a time for Mr. Burleson to come lopping with his meat ax of parsimony at the very arteries of our mail system?

What Chicago wants and what Philadelphia wants and Boston is not the destruction but the enlargement of its pneumatic-tube service, and, if possible, the purchase of the tube service by the Government, in order to improve and perpetuate its value to these tremendous centers of the mails.

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[From the New York World, Dec. 29, 1916.]

MORE TRUCKS, MORE DEATHS—NEW YORK TRAFFIC FATALITIES NUMBERED 765 IN 11 MONTHS.

The health department's record of traffic fatalities during 11 months of the current year shows a total of 765 deaths, as compared with 626 for the corresponding period of last year. Of this formidable increase of 139, or 18 per cent, street vehicles and surface cars contributed 95.

Notwithstanding all the efforts made to protect life in public thoroughfares, the grim fact remains that 765 lives were lost there in 11 months this year. At a proportionate rate of increase the number will be doubled every five years.

Certainly there is no problem of municipal administration more urgent than that of checking this waste of human life in the streets.

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MR. BURLESON'S OWN OFFICIAL RECORDS—STARTLING CONTRADICTION OF STATEMENTS WITH PROOF OF ACTUAL PERFORMANCE IN CHICAGO.

It has also been demonstrated that an automobile can deliver the mail from the general post office to the Stockyards Station in 17 minutes, while for any appreciable quantity of mail it requires 21 minutes by tubes. (*Official report of the Post Office Department on the pneumatic-tube service in Chicago.*)

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[From the Chicago Examiner of Jan. 2, 1917.]

THE ABOVE STATEMENT SHOWN TO BE FALSE BY A RECORD OF ACTUAL PERFORMANCE.

Now, take Chicago, which with us is much more to the point. In advance of the formal report of the committee that is being formed to investigate, we will *take Mr. Burleson's own official records from the Chicago post office.* They are entirely sufficient.

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But why prolong a discussion so self-evident and so completely established by the official records of Philadelphia and Chicago post offices?

Mr. Burleson's attitude in this matter, so vital to Chicago, is, to say the least, astonishing.

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[From the New York American of Jan. 4, 1917.]

BURLESON'S MAIL TESTS DENOUNCED—NEW YORK MERCHANTS' ASSOCIATION CALLS REPORT OF MOTOR TRIALS WORTHLESS AS AGAINST PNEUMATIC TUBES.

The Merchants' Association, in a booklet issued last night, attacked and condemned the recommendation of Postmaster General Burleson to

replace the postal pneumatic-tube service of New York and other cities with an autotruck service.

The comparative tests carried out by postal officials by direction of the Postmaster General before the abolition of the pneumatic tubes was recommended were declared *"false, misleading, and practically worthless."* The statement says:

"In their investigation, vital factors were ignored or suppressed. By reason of their suppression, false inferences were suggested, leading to fallacious conclusions. The utility of the tubes was minimized, and the practicable performance of autos under service conditions was grossly exaggerated."

The specific complaints made out against the tests carried on by Mr. Burleson were: That the auto tests were made in summer, under minimum traffic congestion, and entire absence of obstructions of snow and ice; that excessive speeds were maintained and that "service" stops were omitted.

It was also charged that "the rapidity and capacity of the tubes was understated, the operation of the tubes being retarded on one occasion." The tests were made on Sunday, when there were fewer clerks on duty to handle the tube service, and the autos were favored by the absence of the usual street traffic and congestion.

After giving examples of the alleged unfairness of the tests, the statement continues:

"It has been shown that the so-called tests ignored all factors of obstruction, and that the results were presented as though they were typical and fairly representative of the conditions to be met.

"Such is not the fact. It is proved by the experience of every important post office in the country that the actual service rate of speed of autos is not more than one-third that presented by the report of the committee of post-office employees and accepted by the Postmaster General.

"While the auto mail service in this city was disorganized and inefficient for many days in succession last winter, the pneumatic-tube service continued without interruption, and by reason of its existence, the entire volume of outgoing letter mails originating in this city was dispatched without delay."

[Postmaster Morgan, of New York, before the House Post Office Committee, Dec. 14, 1916.]

PRACTICAL VIEWS OF A PRACTICAL MAN—HOW THE LARGEST CITY IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE WOULD BE AFFECTED BY THE LOSS OF THE TUBES.

The New York mail service is a competitive service. It is opposed by the telegraph, telephone, messenger service, and other agencies. If the tubes are eliminated, $250,000 annual special-delivery revenue will be lost to it. In addition, the frequent snowstorms of New York's winters would make truck service impossible. It would be necessary to double or triple the number of trucks now used. If the tubes were displaced, thousands, if not millions, in gross revenues of the office would be lost because the service would be diminished.

If Congress would make it possible to have hourly mail deliveries all over the city, as I should like to see, we could produce more for the Nation's Treasury. Help us to give the public more service—don't injure the service we have now.

[Washington special to Boston Transcript.]

"WHAT THE TUBES CAN DO"—STATEMENT BEFORE HOUSE COMMITTEE BY A MAN WHO KNOWS.

Delegations of representative citizens were present from Boston, New York, Chicago, St. Louis, and other cities. The attendance was so large that on the motion of Congressman PAIGE, of Massachusetts, the hearing was transferred from the committee's hearing room in the Capitol to the caucus room in the House Office Building.

The tubes were established to carry first-class mail, which pays the Government $1 a pound, but also can carry newspapers and parcel-post packages. Boston, he said, has 7 miles of tube service, while there are 50 miles of service in the country.

In answer to a question by Mr. Whipple, the witness said that the statement in the report that "rapidity of tube containers is limited to intervals of about 15 seconds" was untrue. "Our containers," he continued, "are dispatched at intervals of 8 to 10 seconds, and under certain conditions can be dispatched at even smaller intervals." A member of the committee asked Mr. Emerson what the tubes did do, not what they could do, and he replied that the containers were dispatched at intervals of not more than 10 seconds. The witness denied the statement that only about 20 pounds of letter mail could be dispatched each minute, saying that the truth was that the company could dispatch 60 pounds, or 3,000 letters, each minute.

Mr. Emerson paid considerable attention to the commission's statement that "complaints resulting from damage to mail" in the tube service were frequent. "This statement is not in accordance with the facts," he said. "The truth is that complaints of damage to mail, due to openings of the containers, or any other cause, are very infrequent. Our systems in five cities carry approximately 26,000,000 letters per day. Out of this enormous mass on only eight different occasions during the year has a container come open. These eight containers carried a total of say 4,000 letters, very few of which, perhaps 200, were injured or soiled. The proportion of these letters to the total number of letters carried during the year by mail tubes is so infinitesimal that to make it more easily understood one would have to divide 1 per cent into 2,000,000 parts; in other words, it is two-millionths of 1 per cent." A laugh went about the room as this statement was made.

Picking Uncle Sam's Pocket.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM P. BORLAND.

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 15, 1917.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, Uncle Sam is a liberal old soul. He don't mind spending his money, but he likes to get something for it. He hates like thunder to have his pocket picked. I append here a very strong editorial from a leading newspaper of the South on the timely subject of what becomes of Uncle Sam's money:

JUST ONE WASTE CITED.

On Wednesday, January 3, Hon. WILLIAM P. BORLAND, one of the Representatives of Missouri in the House of Representatives, stood and again called attention to the fact that Uncle Sam should run his business in a businesslike manner.

Mr. BORLAND is not a mere calamity howler. His voice is not one calling for economy without calling attention to a genuine and particular waste. He points the way to a possible saving and an existing poor business arrangement.

This speech of Mr. BORLAND called the attention of the House to the fact that the 30,000 Government clerks in the executive departments at Washington work only seven hours a day instead of a standard business day of eight hours. Those 30,000 business hours are wasted in Washington every day. In addition to this the employees at Washington have a far greater number of holidays than does the average employee.

Outside of Washington the civil-service employees work the regulation eight-hour day as a minimum, sometimes longer, and have none of these special privileges allowed the Washington employees.

The Representative from Missouri goes on to show that this favoritism requires the employment of an unnecessarily large number of clerks to transact the public business at Washington. It necessitates the expenditure of an unnecessary and excessive sum for the proper movement of the mere machinery of government. Mr. BORLAND says: "The army of clerks in Washington is increasing like a swarm of locusts to eat up the substance of the taxpayers. The pay roll of the Federal Government is now $50,000,000 a year in the District of Columbia. Ten per cent of this, or $5,000,000, is a conservative estimate of the amount of this waste."

Mr. BORLAND continues: "If eight hours for a day's labor is fair for the taxpayer, it is fair for the tax eater. If the farmers and business men throughout the country who are not afraid to work at least eight hours a day to pay the taxes that support the Government are advised in truth, they will insist that these public employees—those who are supported by the Government—shall give an honest and standard day's work. This abuse has been going on for years, until it has become a 'vested wrong.' Retrenchment is a matter of specific reform, and here is one upon which all intelligent business men can agree."

At the end of the next fiscal year the Government will be facing a deficit of $370,000,000. Already arrangements are being made for new and additional taxes. The people pay the taxes. In the light of such a thing the administration will do well to heed the words of Mr. BORLAND and try a bit of saving.

Grover Cleveland said: "In concluding this communication its last words shall be an appeal to the Congress for the most rigid economy in the expenditure of the money it holds in trust for the people. The way to perplexing extravagance is easy, but a return to frugality is difficult. When, however, it is considered that those who bear the burdens of taxation have no guaranty of honest care save in the fidelity of their public servants, the duty of all possible retrenchment is plainly manifest."

Thomas Jefferson said: "Public expenditures ought to be honestly and economically made, that labor might be lightly burdened."

The Baltimore platform said: "We denounce the profligate waste of the money wrung from the people by oppressive taxation through the lavish appropriations of recent Republican Congresses, which have kept taxes high and reduced the purchasing power of the people's toil. We demand a return to that simplicity and economy which befits a democratic Government, and a reduction in the number of useless officers, the salaries of which drain the substance of the people."

Mr. BORLAND says: "Every dollar in the Federal Treasury, or that ever will be in the Federal Treasury, comes out of the pockets of the American producer."

Now, this was written without any knowledge of the political affiliation of Mr. BORLAND. His is sound advice whatever his party. For the information of the editor and the readers of the Times the following is read from the Congressional Directory: "WILLIAM PATTERSON BORLAND, Democrat, of Kansas City, Mo." He's a good man. Kansas City will help the Nation by keeping him there.

Constructive Legislation for Financial Preparedness—Federal Banking Consolidation Act.

An act to coordinate, unify, and consolidate the financial system of the United States by creating and establishing a Federal exchange, amending the postal savings act, and amending the Federal reserve act.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. MORIN,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 16, 1917.

Mr. MORIN. Mr. Speaker, on January 9, 1917, I introduced into the House a bill the object of which, as its title states, is to "coordinate, unify, and consolidate" our financial system, in order that the full financial power of the United States may be available to meet the demands, both domestic and foreign, which will be made upon the capital of the country for many years after the close of the war. This bill is based upon the obvious fact that a sound and efficient financial system can be established only by legislation which is properly correlated, and it is therefore designed to create and establish the additional legal mechanism which is required to knit together the financial legislation now in existence in such manner as to create a complete financial

structure, over which the capital of the country may flow in response to the varying demands of our business activities with the greatest safety, freedom, and efficiency.

Specifically, this bill is designed to standardize high-class investment securities as distinguished from speculative securities; to create a central public market restricted entirely to such securities, which would, incidentally, include Federal farm-loan bonds, and thereby make such bonds marketable as "listed securities"; and to make the Federal reserve banks paying institutions, representing the entire financial community, by offering such inducements to membership in the Federal Reserve System as would make it more advantageous for the State banks and trust companies to join the reserve system than to remain out of it.

In the preparation of this bill I have been assisted by a constituent and neighbor of mine, Mr. Earle P. Carman, a lawyer and financial expert and a recognized authority on national and international finance. Mr. Carman is of opinion that this bill, if enacted, would provide us with the most efficient and scientific financial system ever established in any country and enable the United States to retain permanently its present position of primacy as a financial power.

In order that all may become thoroughly familiar with the object of this measure, I would like to submit for consideration a brief analysis of this bill:

Aside from the introduction and the general provisions, which are self-explanatory and comprise sections 1, 10, 11, 12, and 13, this bill is composed of three divisions, which supplement each other in such manner as to make their operation reciprocal and effective; and in like manner, the bill in its entirety is designed to supplement the Federal reserve act and the Federal farm loan act in such manner as to make the three acts—should this bill become law—reciprocal, effective, and scientific in operation.

FEDERAL EXCHANGE DIVISION.

The first division of the bill, comprising sections 2 to 7, inclusive, which may be designated as the "Federal exchange division," has three objects in addition to its reciprocal purposes hereinafter explained. These objects are:

First. To provide the public with a practical means of distinguishing between investment securities and speculative securities, which are hopelessly confused on all existing exchanges and handled in such manner that it is practically impossible for the public to distinguish the one from the other. For the purposes of this bill the term "investment securities" may be said to mean bonds and stocks which are issued under every reasonable restriction as to safety and which represent existing property having an actual value greatly in excess of the total amount of such securities issued against it and a demonstrated earning power sufficient to insure the payment of interest or dividends under the most adverse conditions reasonably conceivable. All stocks and bonds not possessing these requisites must be regarded as speculative securities, for the purposes of this bill.

Second. To establish a central trading mart or national public market for securities issued by the Federal land banks under the provisions of the Federal farm loan act. The Federal farm loan bonds, to be issued under that act, will be investment securities of the highest class and under proper conditions would find a market second only to that of Government bonds. This has been the case with bonds issued by the land banks in France and Germany, and since the beginning of the war such securities in those countries have been preferred to Government bonds. In those countries, however, land-bank bonds are "listed securities," while under our present financial system the Federal farm-loan bonds will be "unlisted securities." An unlisted security has only a private market—that is, it can be sold or transferred by the holder only when a purchaser has been found through private inquiry. A listed security has a public market, where its price is quoted daily, and it can be sold or transferred by simply instructing a broker to sell it. This elementary explanation is made to emphasize the fact that an unlisted security can not compete in the money market with a listed security of equal grade or even of an inferior grade. The farm-loan bonds as unlisted securities can not compete in the security market with listed industrial securities, except when the supply of money or capital is excessive.

Third. To standardize high-class investment securities of all kinds by providing an exchange upon which no other class of securities can be handled, and thus create a safe and sound basis for the extension of the functions of the Federal reserve banks in such manner as to make them paying institutions, representing all the sound financial interests of the Nation. If this bill becomes law, membership in the Federal Reserve System will have such advantages that nearly all of the eligible State banks will join the system.

POSTAL SAVINGS DIVISION.

The second division of the bill, being section 8, which may be designated as the "postal-savings division," has two objects in addition to its reciprocal purposes hereinafter explained. These objects are:

First. To effect a more complete mobilization of our national resources by relieving the Postal Savings System of burdensome and arbitrary restrictions and placing its ultimate control in a committee qualified to administer it in such manner that it will reach all classes of the population, including the foreign element, who for various reasons will not deposit their savings anywhere except in a postal savings bank. This would bring into use and make productive a vast fund of capital which is now idle and in hiding among the prejudiced, ignorant, and timid classes. There does not appear to be any reason why the aggregate of our postal savings deposits should not be relatively as great as they were in France prior to the war. If this were the case, however, the postal savings deposits in this country would amount to about $750,000,000, while, in fact, they did not reach $100,000,000 until quite recently.

Second. To facilitate the deposit by the Government of postal savings funds in private banks, as required by existing law, by authorizing the board of trustees of the Postal Savings System to accept as security for such deposits securities listed on the Federal exchange under such conditions and limitations as the said board of trustees may deem wise.

FEDERAL RESERVE DIVISION.

The third division of the bill, being section 9, which may be designated as the "Federal reserve division," has two objects, in addition to its reciprocal purpose hereinafter explained. These objects are:

First. To make the Federal reserve banks paying institutions by authorizing them to utilize a part of their resources in loans to member banks of the reserve system when such loans are secured by bonds or stocks listed on the Federal exchange. This the bill would accomplish by creating an issue department and a banking department in each Federal reserve bank. The issue department would perform all the functions performed by the bank at the present time, and would control its liquid resources. The banking department would perform the single function of making loans to member banks against Federal exchange securities, and would control the resources of the bank which are of a permanent nature, and therefore adapted to this class of loans.

The exact proportion of the resources which each department would utilize can be ascertained only by a careful compilation of banking statistics, but it is certain that the issue departments, under the terms of the bill, would control considerably more than half of the total resources of the banks. The addition of the eligible State banks to the reserve system, which is practically certain to follow the enactment of this bill, would practically double the resources of the reserve banks, and their issue departments would therefore have resources in excess of the total resources of the reserve banks at the present time. The operations of each department would be kept separate and distinct, but the Federal Reserve Board, under urgent circumstances, could authorize any bank to transfer funds from one department to the other, subject to such penalty as the board should deem it necessary to impose.

Second. To enable the reserve banks to exercise their proper influence in the money market, by indicating the conditions with respect to investment capital, as well as the conditions with respect to liquid capital. At the present time the discount rates of the reserve banks indicate the supply of and demand for liquid capital only, because the banks are restricted in their activities entirely to commercial credit transactions and other operations involving liquid capital. Under this bill the discount rates of the issue departments would continue to indicate the credit situation with respect to liquid capital, while the interest rates of the banking departments would indicate the credit situation with respect to investment capital. The discount rates of the issue departments and the interest rates of the banking departments, when considered together, would constitute a true barometer of the actual financial condition of the country. The reserve board and the reserve banks would thus be able to indicate in advance undue expansion of credits and thus avoid the danger of money stringency or panics.

RECIPROCAL OPERATIONS OF THE THREE DIVISIONS.

The reciprocal operation of the three divisions is obvious.

The first division, by standardizing high-class investment securities, makes the operation of the second and third divisions safe and practicable.

The second division, by authorizing the acceptance of such standardized securities as security for postal-savings funds, creates an inducement to banks throughout the country to buy such standardized securities.

The third division, by authorizing the banking departments of the Federal reserve banks to make loans to member banks against such standardized securities, creates an inducement to member banks to buy such securities.

This inducement to the member banks to buy these standardized securities creates a preferred market for such securities, since the banks are the original purchasers at wholesale of practically all high-grade securities, which they then can sell at retail to individual investors.

The preferred market thus created for such securities furnishes the inducement to corporations and underwriters to list these securities on the Federal exchange, and that inducement would be so great that no firm or corporation could afford not to list any securities which would be eligible.

Thus the three divisions of the bill operate reciprocally, each insuring the success of the other.

RELATION OF THE BILL TO FEDERAL RESERVE ACT AND FEDERAL FARM-LOAN ACT.

The bill in its entirety supplements the Federal reserve act by providing inducements to eligible State banks to join the reserve system, which the State banks could not afford to ignore. These inducements are (1) the right to obtain loans from the Federal reserve banks against high-grade collateral security, in addition to the existing right to discount paper and secure currency; and (2) the right to receive their proportionate share of postal-savings funds, which under this bill would reach several hundred millions of dollars, and which under existing law must be deposited in member banks of the reserve system, if there are any such banks in the communities where the deposits originated.

The admission of the eligible State banks to the reserve system would complete the unification of our banking system, which the Federal reserve act is designed to accomplish.

This bill supplements the Federal farm-loan act by creating a preferred market for securities issued under it, and thus placing such securities on a level with all other high-grade securities. This would enable the land banks to readily sell all the securities they care to issue, and would insure the farmer the benefit of the most favorable rate of interest at all times.

As stated before, in the preparation of this bill I have had the assistance of a neighbor and constituent of mine, Earle P. Carman, one of the ablest financial experts in this country. Mr. Carman has made a very extensive study of finance, both in this country and abroad, and is familiar with the financial systems of all the leading nations. He is an original thinker and his ideas have commanded the attention and received the approval of many of our most eminent financial authorities. I wish to read a paragraph concerning him from Jordan's Encyclopedia of Pennsylvania Biography, which says:

Mr. Carman is a frequent contributor to financial periodicals and an occasional lecturer on financial topics. His insight into financial problems is well illustrated by the fact that he was the first man to publicly advocate important measures in the development of the Federal Reserve Banking System, which were afterwards adopted by the Federal Reserve Board and the National Association of Credit Men. These measures were suggested by Mr. Carman in an article entitled "The change in credit methods made necessary by the Federal reserve act," which was published in the Commercial and Financial Chronicle, of New York, April 24, 1915, later appeared in pamphlet form, and soon found a permanent place in financial literature in the libraries of the American Bankers' Association and of all the Federal reserve banks.

The article above mentioned is also quoted at length in a new financial textbook, recently published by the University of Chicago.

Mr. Carman originated the legislative plan embodied in this bill, and that plan is an adaptation of long established and scientific financial principles to the business and financial conditions existing in this country. This plan was stated and discussed at length by Mr. Carman in an article published in the Annalist, of New York, April 24, 1916. That article was published before the Federal farm-loan act was passed, and it includes a discussion of that act and shows the need of the legislation embodied in this bill and the relation of such legislation to our entire financial system. I wish to read that article in full, which is as follows:

CONSTRUCTIVE LEGISLATION FOR FINANCIAL PREPAREDNESS.

[By Earle P. Carman.]

(NOTE.—As the Federal farm-loan act has been enacted since the following article was written, the other legislation suggested might be combined in a comparatively short and single act, bearing a title such as suggested on the cover hereof and designated (for example) by the short title of "Federal banking consolidation act.")

I.

It can hardly be assumed that the United States will permanently occupy first place in the world as a financial power unless it develops a financial system as efficient and scientific as the financial systems of the great nations with which it must compete for that commanding position.

A nation may be banker to the world only by providing an abundance of capital for foreign investment, and as the development of our internal resources must continue to require a large proportion of the capital of the country for many years to come, the only hope of accumulating any considerable amount of capital for foreign enterprise, without retarding domestic development, lies in the establishment of a financial system which will promote the highest efficiency in credit operations and the greatest economy in the use of capital. Such a system can be established only by legislative acts which are correlated and which supplement each other in such manner as to create a complete structure that will provide lines of communication for the economic movements of capital in response to all the business needs of the country.

Our business activities, considered from a financial viewpoint, naturally divide themselves into three general classes: Commercial operations, agricultural operations, and industrial operations.

As the credit facilities provided by the Federal Reserve System, as at present constituted, are limited practically to commercial operations, and Federal legislation in respect of agricultural operations and industrial operations seems likely to be enacted—either in beneficial or injurious form—we may well profit by examining the principles which should govern such legislation and the objects which it should accomplish.

The ultimate ideal of scientific finance is to make all capital productive in the highest degree. This ideal will never be fully attained, but the nearer the financial system of any nation approaches that supreme perfection the greater will be the prosperity of that nation and the richer and happier its people.

As capital is made up of savings which are constantly accumulating among nearly all classes of people and are therefore very widely scattered, banking institutions are organized for the purpose, inter alia, of mobilizing savings, and financial systems are established for the purpose, inter alia, of utilizing savings as capital.

In financial operations capital is represented by money and credit. This credit is represented by written instruments, varied in value and multitudinous in number, which circulate in somewhat limited, though established, business channels much as the money of the country circulates among the masses. Credit instruments thus constitute a form of currency. For the purpose of comparison we may refer to the money of the country—gold, silver, and paper—as "money currency" and to all forms of credit instruments—whether temporary or permanent in character—as "credit currency."

Money currency is created exclusively by the Government and is always worth its face value in gold, while credit currency is created without limit by private individuals, and its value depends upon the security behind each credit instrument. This security may or may not be worth the face value of the instrument.

Money currency represents only gold in the last analysis, while credit currency may represent any kind of property, fixed or movable, and it may also represent only potential wealth or prospective property values. In the latter case it is speculative credit currency.

This credit currency constitutes the medium of exchange in the great majority of business transactions, which are settled by credit operations in which credits are made to offset each other through the circulation and exchange of credit instruments. Banks and bankers are the intermediaries through whom these credit operations are carried on. The ultimate balances resulting from these exchanges of credit are settled in money, but such balances are relatively so small that their settlement constitutes but a minor part of the banker's duties; and while money is the universal and basic medium of exchange in the last resort, the volume of business transactions settled through credit operations without money is so vast that modern banking may be defined for practical purposes as the "creation, distribution, and exchange of credits."

When these facts are borne in mind, it would appear to be obvious that our financial system, in addition to providing an elastic money currency, should also perform at least the following functions:

1. It should provide legal facilities for the creation and circulation of a sound credit currency in each of the three great fields of business activity—commercial, agricultural, and industrial.

2. It should operate in such manner as to provide the public with a practical means of distinguishing between that credit currency which represents existing property of known value, which we may designate as "scientific credit instruments," and that credit currency which represents only potential wealth or property of unknown value, which we may designate as "speculative credit instruments."

3. It should mobilize our financial resources to the greatest practicable extent by providing depositories for savings which will reach all classes of people, including that considerable number of the population (both native and foreign) who will not intrust their savings to any person or institution except the Government itself.

4. It should unite our strong banking institutions into a single system, in order to effect the greatest efficiency and economy in the utilization of capital when mobilized.

The Federal Reserve System provides credit currency for commercial operations and unites the national banks, but in order that our financial system as a whole may perform the other functions mentioned, the following Federal legislation would appear to be advisable:

1. Legislation which will establish a Federal land credit system, providing for the creation of sound agricultural credit currency.

2. Legislation which will establish a Federal exchange, in order to provide a central public market for (a) industrial securities which have attained the standard of an investment, excluding all speculative securities, and (b) securities issued by the Federal land credit system and all other investment securities; the listing regulations of the Federal exchange to be such that it will operate as the circulation center of investment securities only.

3. An amendment of the postal savings act, which will remove all limitations as to the amount which may be accepted for deposit, the rate of interest paid thereon, and the rate of interest charged on postal savings funds redeposited with private banks, and vest the power to regulate these matters in a committee composed of the governor of the Federal Reserve Board and the chief executive officers of the Federal land-credit system and the Federal exchange.

4. An amendment of the Federal reserve act, which will create an issue department and a banking department in each of the Federal reserve banks; the issue departments to control reserves held against demand deposits, rediscounting, and the issue of currency; and the banking departments to control reserves held against time deposits and the capital of the reserve banks, with authority to make advances to member banks of the reserve system (subject to regulation by the Federal Reserve Board) against securities listed on the Federal exchange.

In order to determine whether such legislation, when combined with existing law, would provide us with a financial system that would perform the functions mentioned, we must now observe the nature and the method of financing commercial operations, agricultural operations, and industrial operations, respectively; then briefly examine the problem of mobilizing savings, and also the problem of unifying our banking system; and in conclusion, observe the probable results of the operation of our financial system, if thus established.

II.

Commercial operations include the transactions involved in the distribution of the marketable products of the land, the factory, and the mine from the time such products come into existence as salable commodities until they reach the consumer, either at home or abroad. Ordinarily there are several sales of the same commodities as they pass from one party to another in the distributing operations which form the connecting links between the producer and the consumer. Each sale may involve a corresponding credit operation; thus the producer may extend credit to the jobber, the jobber may extend credit to the wholesaler, and the wholesaler may extend credit to the retailer, who may pay when the goods are sold to the consumer. In commercial credit transactions the aim is to extend credit to each party only during the period of his possession of the goods, it being assumed that when the goods are sold the loan will be paid out of the money realized; hence, instruments representing commercial credits are said to be "self-liquidating."

Formerly no means existed of identifying commercial credits, which were represented by the same form of instrument used in most other temporary credit transactions; but recently the Federal Reserve Board has provided a means of identifying commercial credit instruments without difficulty by its regulations creating and defining "bank acceptances," "trade acceptances," and "commodity paper," which by their form and origin practically insure their character as commercial instruments, and eventually will doubtless be used exclusively in commercial operations.

As these instruments can be converted into cash at any time by discounting them at the reserve banks, no facilities are needed to expedite their circulation, as in the case of credit instruments of a permanent nature.

III.

Agricultural operations, other than the distribution of products, are financed in other countries through rural-credit societies and land-mortgage banks.

A rural-credit society is an association of producers organized for the cooperative sale of agricultural products and the cooperative purchase of agricultural equipment and supplies. The credit instruments issued by such societies are usually supported by the joint and several liability of all the members and are highly regarded in foreign financial circles, but as such instruments are not secured by any specific assets they must be classified as speculative, for our present purposes, and therefore do not come within the scope of the legislation under consideration.

A system of land-mortgage banks will be provided by the bill reported by the committees of the present (Sixty-fourth) Congress which will be known as the "Federal farm-loan act," if enacted. This bill provides for the division of the United States into 12 districts and the establishment of a Federal land bank in each district and creates a Federal Farm-Loan Board with general supervisory powers. Upon the application of 10 or more persons the farm-loan board may charter national farm-loan associations, to which the land banks may make loans against first mortgages on improved farm land on the amortization plan for periods of from 5 to 40 years, such loans never to exceed half the value of the land mortgaged. Against these mortgages the land banks may issue bonds to be known as "Federal farm-loan bonds," under restrictions which insure that the amount of bonds outstanding shall never exceed the unpaid principal due on the mortgages against which such bonds are issued.

If the Federal farm-loan act proves to be practicable in operation, it will thus provide legal facilities for the creation of sound agricultural credit instruments of the highest class, but the sale of the farm-loan bonds will nevertheless be measured largely by their circulating power, and in order that such bonds or any other investment securities may circulate with ease and rapidity a central public market is absolutely essential. In practical banking operations the value of credit instruments is determined quite as much by the ease and rapidity with which they circulate as by any precise knowledge of the bankers as to the security behind the instruments. The fact that credit instruments can be made to circulate with ease and rapidity is convincing evidence of their soundness, while the fact that they can be sold on a public market at any time for the price quoted at the instant enables bankers throughout the country to make loans against such instruments as security or to realize upon them when necessary if owned outright. The value of such instruments even to the permanent investor is greatly enhanced by their circulating power, which enables him to obtain temporary loans whenever needed without the trouble and expense of changing his investment.

The Federal farm-loan act will not provide the facilities necessary to insure the easy and rapid circulation of land-credit instruments created under it.

IV.

Industrial operations may be said to embrace practically all forms of business activity other than commercial operations and agricultural operations. As industrial enterprises of importance require a vast amount of capital, they are usually owned by a large number of people, each of whom supplies a share of the capital. This distribution of ownership in proportion to the amount of capital contributed is effected by incorporating the enterprise and issuing certificates of ownership in the form of capital stock. Borrowed capital is obtained through the issue and sale of bonds. Although certificates of stock are merely evidences of ownership in the business, while bonds are instruments of credit, yet, in so far as the practical operation of our financial system is concerned, stocks and bonds together may properly be regarded as constituting our "industrial credit currency," used in financing industrial operations.

A great many—perhaps the majority—of industrial enterprises are speculative in their origin. They are designed to develop natural resources in new or only partially developed territory, or to establish new and untried lines of enterprise in existing fields, and are based on possibilities of creating new property values at great profit.

Many industrial enterprises which begin as a speculation develop into an established success. The stocks and bonds used in financing such enterprises are speculative while the enterprises remain speculative and become sound as the enterprises become sound. While an enterprise remains speculative the value of its credit currency can only be guessed at; but after it has attained the dignity of an established business, by growth and development through a period of time, the value of its credit currency becomes fairly definite and can be ascertained with reasonable certainty—that is, as much certainty as ordinarily exists in the line of business followed.

The period during which an enterprise is developing is called the "seasoning period" of its stocks and bonds; and when the enterprise has developed until its power to earn enough, over and above expenses, to pay interest on its bonds and dividends on its stock has been demonstrated with reasonable certainty, such bonds and stocks are said to be "seasoned securities."

"Unseasoned securities" form the basis of speculation, while "seasoned securities" form the basis of investment.

It will be observed that State laws provide ample facilities for the creation of industrial credit currency and existing stock exchanges provide ample facilities for its circulation, but there is no mechanism in our financial system designed to provide the public with a practical means of distinguishing between unseasoned or speculative securities and seasoned or investment securities.

It is contended by some authorities that sufficient facilities for this purpose are provided by existing stock exchanges, which are said to disclose public opinion as to the nature and value of securities listed thereon by quoting the prices which the public is willing to pay for such securities. It is obvious, however, that investors can not determine whether the price quoted for any security discloses the opinion of the speculative public or the opinion of the investing public as to the value of such security. The inability of existing stock exchanges to fairly serve the investing public, as distinguished from the speculative public, is due to the fact that they provide a market for investment securities and speculative securities without distinction. It would appear to be evident that exchanges which operate as circulation centers for both investment credit currency and speculative credit currency, without distinction, can not furnish safe or satisfactory service to those who desire investment credit currency only.

A Federal exchange restricted to investment securities only would appear to create some very desirable connecting links in our financial structure and perform three distinct services of great benefit to sound finance, namely, (1) it would provide the public with a practical means of distinguishing between speculative securities and investment securities, (2) it would standardize high-class investment securities and thus form a basis for the extension of the functions of the reserve banks in such manner as to serve the entire banking community, and (3) it would provide a central public market for securities issued by the Federal land banks and thus impart to such securities the circulating power which is essential to the efficient operation of the agricultural credit system, which the Federal farm-loan act is designed to provide.

Such an exchange should, of course, be governed by a nonpartisan board of governors, and should furnish a voluntary (but not an exclusive) market for all securities which may meet with its listing requirements. Underwriters having such securities to market could be depended upon to list them on the Federal exchange in order to obtain a more ready sale and get their money from investors at a lower rate of interest by reason of the increased public confidence in securities so listed.

It would seem that such an exchange could be located only in Washington because of the absence of constitutional authority for Congress to establish such an institution outside the District of Columbia.

V.

The mobilization of savings is the primary problem in finance in all countries, since savings scattered or hidden are of no public benefit, while savings mobilized become the munitions of finance. This problem is solved quite as much by the variety of the depositories for savings which are provided as by their number. There should be a sufficient variety of depositories to appeal to all classes of people, and a sufficient number to reach all parts of the country.

While there are in the neighborhood of 28,000 private banking institutions in the United States, and they are legally divided into five general classes, yet in respect of the inducements offered to attract savings deposits practically all of these institutions fall within two general classes. Savings are attracted in all countries by the protection offered and the rate of interest paid by the depositories.

In this country four classes of institutions—national banks, State banks, trust companies, and private banks—when considered as classes, offer substantially the same inducements to the public in respect of protection of deposits and interest paid thereon, and thus the effect is the same as if all of these institutions constituted but one general class. Our savings banks form the other general class, and while they sometimes pay a higher rate of interest on deposits than other banks, and are presumed to afford greater protection to depositors by reason of the nature of the investments to which they are limited by law, yet failures of savings banks are frequent enough in most sections to prevent this class of depositories from reaching a very considerable number of our population, especially those of foreign birth.

In respect of the mobilization of savings, the financial system of France outranks all others, the accumulation of savings in that country having long been a wonder of the financial world. In addition to the large number and the variety of private banking institutions which offer inducements to the public for deposits, the Government has provided two classes of savings depositories which it controls to the extent necessary to eliminate practically all risk of loss. The "ordinary savings banks" form one of these classes and the postal-savings banks form the other. The rate of interest paid by the postal-savings banks is always somewhat lower than the rate paid by the ordinary savings banks, although the Government controls the investment of the deposits of both in substantially the same manner. This difference in the rate of interest is designed to encourage deposits in the ordinary savings banks, which are organized by private individuals and thus represent local enterprise.

The postal-savings banks are designed to reach the ignorant, prejudiced, and very timid classes, who look upon governments as omnipotent and either distrust or hate all private bankers or capitalists; and also to reach those sections of the country where the amount of deposits available would not be sufficient to support private depositories, which must necessarily operate at greater expense than the postal depositories.

The deposits of both the ordinary savings banks and the postal-savings banks must be paid into a central institution in Paris which is charged with the control or investment of "all private funds intrusted to the State, either voluntarily or under compulsion." In the investment of savings deposits, this institution is limited practically to Government bonds, municipal bonds, and bonds of the Credit Foncier (land-mortgage bank).

The method of mobilizing savings in France, and the extraordinary success which has attended it, suggest the solution of the problem in

this country. The Federal farm-loan act will be a long step in that direction, as it provides for the establishment of savings departments by the Federal land banks, which in respect of their operation will form a system closely resembling the system of ordinary savings banks of France. The National farm-loan associations (which will be formed in great number if the system is successful) will accept and transmit savings deposits, withdrawable on not less than 30 days' notice, to the land banks of their respective districts, and will make payments of withdrawals to depositors, as agents of the land banks, thus performing substantially the functions of the ordinary savings banks of France; while the savings departments of the land banks will invest their funds in much the same manner that the funds of the ordinary savings banks of France are invested by the central institution in Paris, known as the Caisse Des Depots et Consignations.

Thus the problem of more completely mobolizing our savings, especially in the rural districts, seem to be in fair prospect of solution through the enactment of the Federal farm-loan act, in so far as time deposits are concerned; but the problem in respect of deposits withdrawable on demand (and this includes the savings of a very large number of the foreign element) and, to a considerable extent, the whole problem in the cities remains to be solved.

If the postal savings act were amended, as suggested, and the power to regulate the acceptance of deposits and the rate of interest were thus vested in a proper committee, the postal savings depositories could be made to complete the mobilization of our resources to the greatest possible extent by providing savings depositories which would reach all parts of the country and attract the inactive capital now in hiding among the several classes of people before mentioned.

The records of the Post Office Department show that foreigners now constitute 58.7 per cent of the total number of postal savings depositors and own 71.8 per cent of the total deposits. Under existing restrictions, limiting deposits to $500 and interest to 2 per cent, postal savings deposits at the close of the last fiscal year aggregated less than $66,000,000. If properly regulated the aggregate of such deposits in this country might become relatively as great as in France, in which case our total would be at least $750,000,000.

VI.

No nation can develop its full financial power without a unified banking system. It is evident that the unification of our banking system can be accomplished only by bringing the eligible State banks into the Federal Reserve System, and this can be effected in no other way than by offering inducements which will give the State banks that join the reserve system a decided advantage over those that remain aloof.

The extension of the Postal Savings System in the manner heretofore indicated would swell the aggregate of postal savings funds to several hundred millions, and although these funds must be redeposited ratably with all the banks that qualify in the communities where the deposits originate, yet under the provisions of the reserve act only member banks are eligible to receive such deposits. The right to receive their share of the postal savings deposits would be a strong inducement to State banks to join the reserve system, and if the further inducement were added which would be offered by the banking departments of the Federal reserve banks (should their operations be divided between issue departments and banking departments as suggested) it is difficult to see how any State bank able to get into the reserve system could afford to remain out of it.

If precedent were needed to justify a division of the operations of a central bank into a department of issue and a department of banking, such precedent could be found in the Bank of England, however much conditions in England may differ from conditions here; but the soundness of such a division of functions would appear to be evident upon principle alone, and the wisdom thereof appears to be strongly indicated by existing conditions in this country.

In principle the reserves held against demand deposits are temporary or liquid capital, while the reserves held against time deposits and the capital of the reserve banks partake of the nature of permanent capital. This fact indicates the logical apportionment of the resources of the reserve banks to the issue departments and the banking departments, respectively, and suggests the functions which each department should perform. The issue departments should hold the liquid capital and utilize it in rediscounting and currency operations, and the banking departments should hold the permanent capital and utilize it in advances against investment securities sound enough to be

In respect of existing conditions, although the reserve system has been in operation but a short time and under abnormal conditions, it seems to be clearly evident that the reserves against demand deposits, which will be held in the reserve banks when the reserve act becomes fully operative, will be ample to meet all demands for rediscounts and currency; indeed, this would appear to be above question should such reserves be tremendously augmented by the addition of the strong State banks to the system.

The use of the other resources of the reserve banks by their banking departments would not only reduce idle capital to a minimum and serve the entire banking community, instead of commercial interests only, but would also make the reserve banks paying institutions at all times, while the interest rates in the two departments would always form an accurate index to the general credit situation. So long as the reserve banks are restricted to commercial operations (a restriction not imposed upon the central banks in other countries) their interest rates can scarcely more than indicate the credit situation in respect of liquid capital only.

VII.

It seems reasonable to assume that our financial system, if strengthened by the legislation suggested, would operate substantially as follows:

The issue departments of the Federal reserve banks would provide ample facilities for the creation and circulation of a sound commercial credit currency, while the regulations of the Reserve Board enable the public to distinguish between sound commercial credit instruments and other instruments similar in form but either speculative or nonliquid in character.

A Federal land credit system, such as the Federal farm-loan act is designed to establish, would provide facilities for the creation of a sound agricultural credit currency, easily recognized by the public; while the financing of agricultural enterprises of a speculative character, and of realty operations generally, would continue undisturbed through the facilities already existing or which may be provided by State legislation.

A Federal exchange, if established and operated as suggested, would standardize investment securities, enable the public to distinguish between speculative securities and investment securities without difficulty, and provide facilities for the circulation of the land-credit instruments issued under the Federal land-credit system; while the creation and circulation of industrial securities of a speculative character would continue undisturbed through the facilities provided by existing law.

The savings depositories of the land banks would complete the mobilization of savings of a permanent nature, especially in the rural districts; while the Postal Savings System, if extended as suggested, would complete the mobilization of savings of a temporary nature in all parts of the country and bring into use a vast fund of capital now idle and unproductive.

The Postal Savings System would be operated justly and scientifically by a committee composed of the chief executive officers of the Federal Reserve Board, the Federal land-credit system, and a Federal exchange, which would represent practically all the divergent business interests of the country and would possess that knowledge of conditions which should enable it to operate the system in such manner as to promote the public welfare in the highest degree.

The inducements provided by the deposits of postal savings funds and the banking departments of the reserve banks would bring nearly all the eligible State banks into the reserve system and make it the greatest power in finance that ever existed, while the reserve banks would serve the entire banking community and always indicate the credit situation by their interest rates.

And finally, it is believed that such a system would provide legal channels for the natural movements of capital with the greatest safety, freedom, and efficiency, and thus infuse into domestic finance that economy which, with the increase in national resources effected through the more complete mobilization of savings, would provide the United States with sufficient capital for foreign enterprise to make it a formidable contender for the premier position as a financial power.

Before concluding these remarks it might not be amiss to state that this bill has already created quite a good deal of favorable comment from the press throughout the country. Many inquiries have been made as to the scope of the measure, and I therefore would like to add that its intention is not to assume Federal control of any stock exchange, or affect their operations in any manner, except that it would tend to reduce unintentional speculation by enabling investors to keep out of the speculative market when they really desire to do so. The measure is also absolutely devoid of partisan politics; but foreseeing that in the near future there would be a need for such constructive legislation, I have carefully planned and worked out this bill as the basis for a measure that would be constructive in its every operation and destructive in no sense of the word.

Post Office Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. AYRES,
OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, January 13, 1917.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, the amendment to the Post Office appropriation bill which has for its object the granting of a horizontal increase in salary of 10 per cent to the employees in the Postal Service drawing less than $1,200 per annum and a 5 per cent increase in the salaries of those employees drawing not more than $1,800 and not less than $1,200 per annum is simply an act of justice to these employees and in keeping with the general sentiment of public and private employers to allow their employees a fair wage in return for the services rendered. The wages these men receive to-day were fixed by law some 10 years ago to meet conditions as they existed at that time. The enormous increase in prices of all necessary commodities that go to maintain the average American family has decreased the purchasing value of the dollar to the extent that grave difficulties are experienced in trying to continue a fair standard of living. The contention of these employees that their present pay is utterly inadequate to support their families and themselves is genuine and will be borne out by a close study of statistics compiled by the Department of Labor and by special investigators and committees directed to look into the unsettled affairs to see if a remedy could be had to relieve the situation.

In the report of the Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, No. 194, on page 20, we are informed that rates of wages of the industrial classes of employees covered in their investigation advanced 15 per cent from 1907 to 1915, while the advance in the retail prices of foods for the same period showed a 23 per cent rise. No later data officially compiled is available showing the rates of increase or the number of employees affected in outside industries since 1915, but it is safe to say that increases ranging from 10 per cent to 50 per cent have been allowed and that approximately 6,000,000 employees have benefited thereby. From 1915 to 1916 the Bureau of Labor Statistics show that there has been an increase of 16 per cent in the retail prices of articles of food, or an approximate total of 39 per cent increase in the prices of foods alone since 1907, the time that the present salary schedule went into effect. Another interesting fact shown by the report of the Department of Labor is that

between the months of September and October, 1916, the prices of foods jumped 3 per cent. These reports, however, deal only with articles of food and do not take into consideration other necessary commodities that are needed by the average family. Figures compiled by Bradstreet's, and which we can assume as being reasonably correct, show that at the opening of the month of December commodity prices, collectively considered, were 25 per cent higher than the level registered at the outset of the year, and that in the period November 1 to December 1 alone the increase in commodity prices jumped 7 per cent. Employers in the industrial and commercial world have granted their employees reasonable and fair wage increases as an absolute necessity and as an act of justice.

According to reports the United States Steel Corporation has added $20,000,000 to its annual pay roll, and similar action has been taken by independent steel makers. According to a statement published in the Literary Digest the trend toward wage raising is almost universal. The successive advances of the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey mean that its employees are getting 37 per cent more than they did in August, 1915, while their working days are shorter. Silk mills near Passaic, N. J., have followed up an earlier increase of 20 per cent with one of 10 per cent more. Some 30,000 workers employed by the American Clothing Manufacturers' Association are to get wage increases of from 35 per cent to 40 per cent, and nonmember manufacturers are expected to follow.

The Edison Co. and the Consolidated Gas Co. of New York have devised schemes for paying their workers the same percentages on their quarterly wages that stockholders receive in dividends on their stock. The Westinghouse Electric Co. reports a 12 per cent increase. The Northern Pacific Railroad's less-highly paid workers get a 5 per cent wage raise. New York State glove manufacturers are to give their Fulton County workers from 4 per cent to 25 per cent more than they have been getting. It was recently announced in Chicago that 25 business concerns were putting an additional $10,000,000 per year into the pay envelopes of their 100,000 employees. Some 35,000 employees of the American Woolen Co. get a 10 per cent raise. Others sharing in the widespread distribution of prosperity are rubber workers in Rhode Island; cement workers in New Jersey; coal miners in Kentucky; cotton-mill operatives in Georgia; potters in Ohio; tanners in Pennsylvania; plowmakers in Indiana; Colorado Fuel & Iron employees in Colorado; lumbermen in Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas; explosive makers in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Michigan, Missouri, and Oklahoma; and the scattered employees of the Adams, Wells-Fargo, and Western Express Cos.

From these statements it will be seen that the wages of employees in all branches of industries have more than kept pace with the increased cost of the necessaries of life, but that no increases have been allowed the Government employees to offset the steadily diminishing value of their fixed compensation. We are face to face with a condition that should be remedied. These men have no other alternative than to look to this Congress for relief, and, as has aptly been said by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN], it is in our power to say whether or not the prosperity that is enjoyed by others shall result in a calamity to the Government employees.

The House of Representatives in its wisdom has seen fit to include in the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill a provision to allow similar increases to the employees in the executive departments, as are proposed in this amendment. I believe that we should make no discrimination against the employees in other branches of the Government service. It costs just as much, if not more, to live in other sections of the country as it does in Washington, and the employees in the Postal Service located in every part of the United States should benefit by legislation to allow them this fair advance in pay.

City of Okmulgee—The Creek Capital.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM W. HASTINGS,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 19, 1917.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, in the early part of the last century, about 75 years ago, the Creek Tribe of Indians was induced by treaty to remove west of the Mississippi River and to locate in what is now the State of Oklahoma. A very large tract of land was patented to the tribe by the Government. From time to time, however, their land holdings were reduced, and by the treaty of 1866 alone they were induced to sell to the Government more than 3,000,000 acres of land at the very low price of about 30 cents per acre.

When the Dawes Commission, by the act of March 3, 1893, was sent to the Five Civilized Tribes to get them to give up their tribal government and consent to the allotment of their lands, this tribe consisted of about 16,000 members and held more than 3,000,000 acres of land in the very heart of eastern Oklahoma. Under agreements made the land of this tribe has been allotted and their affairs, in a large measure, have been wound up.

Okmulgee was the Creek tribal capital, where the Creek Legislature met from year to year for more than three-quarters of a century. The item in this bill provides for the purchase of the old capitol building and the block of ground upon which it stands to be used by the Government as a post office and other offices in the city of Okmulgee. Under an agreement with the Creek Tribe this block of ground was appraised about four years ago by representatives of the Government and the Creek Tribe at $65,000. It is in the business district and is easily worth $100,000. A representative of the Government sent to inspect the building and block in his report verified my estimate of the value of the property made before the committee.

The members of the Creek Tribe, whose tribal existence is passing into history, and the white people of Oklahoma earnestly desire to have the exterior of this old capitol building retained in its present form, so far as possible, as a memorial to the Creek Tribe. The purpose of this item is to appropriate money with which to buy it and the ground upon which it stands, rearrange the interior of the building, modernize it and enlarge it, for use as a post office and other Government offices. The additional appropriation reported for the enlargement is upon the estimate made by the Treasury Department.

The city of Okmulgee has now a population of perhaps 15,000 people. It is one of the rapidly growing cities in eastern Oklahoma. It is difficult to explain to the House how rapidly cities grow in my State in the heart of the oil belt. A few years ago oil was discovered in northern Oklahoma, and its development has extended southward throughout the entire State until it has reached the southern border. Within the past four years oil, gas, and coal in very large quantities have been found on all sides of Okmulgee and developed, so that the population has grown phenomenally. A representative of the department verified my estimate of the population a year ago, when these hearings were held, and I am satisfied that since then the population has increased, so that I am safe in estimating it at 15,000.

Since hearings were had upon this bill, new pools of oil have been found almost within the city limits. Wells have been struck in this new field reported to be making 500 barrels of oil per day. You can stand in the city of Okmulgee and see oil derricks piercing the sky in every direction. This fact accounts for the very rapid growth of the city. Another railroad has been built into the city in the past year, connecting the M., O. & G. R. R. and the wonderful coal fields 10 or 12 miles south of there, so that appreciating the growth made in the past few years and anticipating the future growth of the city, the Treasury Department recommended an enlargement of the capitol building, in the event it is purchased.

The postal receipts at Okmulgee for the fiscal year ending July 1, 1915, amounted to $25,767.25. From the statement of the chairman of the committee I see that the receipts for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, were $28,634.30.

When the hearings upon this bill were held there were 13 employees in the post office there, including the city carriers, rural-route carriers, and other employees.

In addition, there are located in the Government service at Okmulgee an examining United States commissioner, a probate attorney with a stenographer and other assistants, a field clerk with an interpreter and stenographer in the Indian Service, and other employees of the Government. It is the purpose to use this building to accommodate not only the post office, but the other offices of the United States.

Okmulgee is one of the most rapidly growing cities in my district, and before this building can possibly be completed, I predict that it will have a population of 25,000. It is in the center of a splendid agricultural country, and, as before remarked, to the south, only a few miles and in the same county, large areas of land are underlaid with coal. This cheap fuel has attracted many industries to Okmulgee, and among them there are a number of oil refineries employing a small army of men, and three or four glass factories, one of which, the Okmulgee Window Glass Co., is said to be the largest of its kind in the United States, employing 640 men. When I visited this plant more than a year ago I saw a large number of cars

of plate glass boxed and addressed for shipment to China. Several foundries and a bottle factory are also located there. All these industries in the aggregate, it is estimated, employ more than 2,000 men.

A large number of oil companies have headquarters at Okmulgee. To indicate the size and importance of these companies, their financial responsibility and the extent of their operations. I call your attention to an article in the Okmulgee Daily Democrat of date January 14, 1917, which I hold in my hand. It is stated therein that the Okmulgee Producing and Refining Co. has been organized with headquarters at Okmulgee, capitalized at $5,000,000, with $2,000,000 of the stock subscribed in the city of Okmulgee alone.

Okmulgee has many magnificent hotels, as well as costly church and school buildings. Okmulgee County recently voted $125,000 in bonds to build a county courthouse, and the county also voted a bond issue of $800,000 to build a fine system of roads throughout the county. It is modern and up to date in every respect. It has up-to-date office buildings, four or five large banks, a street-car system, a daily newspaper, a live commercial club, paved streets, electric lights, and waterworks. There is no more active section of our State or country. No city contains a more intelligent or progressive citizenship.

The tract of ground proposed to be purchased comprises an entire block, 205 feet by 218 feet.

Everyone in my section is familiar with the growth of eastern Oklahoma. The Federal census showing the population of our State is not a fair guide, but, as before stated, the report of the Post Office Department, transmitted through the Treasury Department to the committee, verifies my estimate of it a year ago.

This is a meritorious item. The building is needed for use as a post office and for other employees of the Government. In view of the fact that the Creek Tribe of Indians has contributed so much to civilization by yielding to the demands of the Government in the sale of their lands at a nominal figure and consenting later to an allotment of the remainder, there should be some monument left in their country that for years to come will show to thousands who visit the old Creek capital that this tribe once occupied that country.

With this block of ground sold for commercial purposes and the building destroyed there would be nothing in the future to indicate that a civilized tribe ever possessed it. In closing, I appeal to Congress to give this slight recognition to a tribe whose government is passing into history.

Snobbishness Rampant.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON,
OF ALABAMA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 19, 1917.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, strange to say we have our American lovers of titles and aristocracy. There are citizens of our country who hanker for the false social distinctions of the Old World and would like to import European customs and institutions. They are not content with the plain Democratic customs such as suited the founders of the Republic, but pine for a system of titles and privilege.

The rampant snobbishness of these dissatisfied Americans is illustrated by three bills now pending before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs by which certain Army and Navy officers are seeking permission to accept decorations of knighthood from European governments. The bills in question were recently referred for report to a subcommittee of which Hon. JOHN J. ROGERS is a member. Mr. ROGERS has given the subject matter of these bills diligent and careful consideration, and my purpose here is to set forth a memorandum upon the subject that Mr. ROGERS has prepared, as follows:

MEMORANDUM OF HON. JOHN J. ROGERS.

Three bills are pending before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, each authorizing a United States Army or Navy officer "to accept and wear" a decoration bestowed upon him by a foreign Government. The first, H. R. 7813, introduced by Mr. FLOOD on January 5, 1916, is to authorize Lieut. Col. William E. Horton, United States Army, to accept the decoration of knight commander of the Order of Nichan-el-Anouar bestowed upon him by the President of the French Republic through the Department of State of the United States; the second, H. R. 8312, introduced by Mr. MOTT on January 7, 1916, is to authorize Lieut. Col. John P. Finley, United States Army, to accept the decoration presented to him by the Sultan of Turkey through the Department of War of the United States; the third, H. R. 9651, introduced by Mr. STEELE of Pennsylvania on January 20, 1916, is to authorize Lieut. Commander W. Pitt Scott, United States Navy, to accept the decoration presented to him by the Sultan of Turkey through the Department of State of the United States.

Article I, section 9, of the Constitution of the United States provides, in part:

"And no person holding any office of profit or trust under them [United States] shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State."

The three bills above referred to clearly come within the constitutional prohibition, and therefore require enabling legislation from Congress if the officers in question are to be permitted to receive the decorations. An act of Congress, approved January 31, 1881, provides, in part, as follows:

"SEC. 2. That no decoration or other thing, the acceptance of which is authorized by this act, and no decoration heretofore accepted, or which may hereafter be accepted, by consent of Congress, by any officer of the United States, from any foreign Government, shall be publicly shown or exposed upon the person of the officer so receiving the same.

"SEC. 3. That hereafter any present, decoration, or other thing, which shall be conferred or presented by any foreign Government to any officer of the United States, civil, naval, or military, shall be tendered through the Department of State, and not to the individual in person, but such present, decoration, or other thing shall not be delivered by the Department of State unless so authorized by act of Congress."

This legislation adds two elements to the constitutional provision above quoted: First, that no decoration shall be publicly worn by the recipient, and, second, that all such recognitions by foreign Governments shall be tendered via the Department of State. The permission of Congress is, of course, still requisite.

Congressional permission has been rather sparingly extended to officers of the Army and Navy during past recent years. Herewith is appended what is believed to be a substantially complete list of decorations, the acceptance of which by Army and Navy officers has been authorized by Congress during the past 35 years:

J. W. A. Nicholson, commodore, United States Navy: Decoration conferred by Spanish Government in recognition of his services to the officers and crew of the wrecked warship *Pizarro*. (Approved Jan. 31, 1881.)

Francis V. Greene, lieutenant, United States Army: Decoration conferred by Emperor of Russia for bravery at the Battle of Shipka Pass and at the assault of Plevna; also decoration for bravery under fire during the passage of the Balkans and at the Battle of Philippopolis. (Approved Jan. 31, 1881.)

John J. Almy, rear admiral, United States Navy: Decoration conferred by King of Hawaiian Islands as an evidence of his appreciation of that officer. (Approved Jan. 31, 1881.)

William J. Wilson, assistant surgeon, United States Army: Decoration conferred by Khedive of Egypt for gallantry in battle. (Approved Jan. 31, 1881.)

Joseph Irish, United States revenue marine: Decoration conferred by Spanish Government in recognition of his services to the officers and crew of the Spanish warship *Pizarro*. (Approved Jan. 31, 1881.)

Benjamin H. Buckingham, lieutenant, United States Navy. Decoration conferred by President of France in appreciation of his services in connection with the exposition of 1878 at Paris. (Approved Jan. 31, 1881.)

Henry Metcalfe, lieutenant, United States Army: Decoration conferred by Sultan of Turkey for his services in connection with the inspection of arms and ammunition manufactured for the Imperial Ottoman Government.

Francis A. Walker, general, Superintendent of the Census: Decorations conferred by the Government of Spain and the Government of Sweden, respectively, in recognition of his services at the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia. (Approved Jan. 31, 1881.)

Oliver Otis Howard, major general, United States Army: Decoration conferred by President of France. (Approved Mar. 9, 1894.)

F. W. Dickins, commander, United States Navy: Decoration conferred by King of Spain in recognition of his services in representing the President of the United States, in charge of the courtesies to the Duke of Veragua, Christopher Columbus 13th, while he was the guest of the Nation at the time of the late Columbian Exposition. (Approved Apr. 24, 1894.)

John G. Walker, rear admiral, United States Navy: Decoration conferred by President of Venezuela in acknowledgment of the care and attention shown to the wounded officers and men of both political parties in the vicinity of La Guayra, Venezuela, during the revolution of 1892. (Approved July 23, 1894.)

J. Rufus Tyron, surgeon general, United States Navy: Decoration conferred by President of Venezuela in acknowledgment of the care and attention shown to the wounded officers and men of both political parties in the vicinity of La Guayra, Venezuela, during the revolution of 1892. (Approved July 23, 1894.)

C. H. Davis, commander, United States Navy: Decoration conferred by King of Spain in recognition of his services while detailed to attend the Infanta of Spain during her visit to this country. (Approved July 23, 1894.)

George P. Blow, ensign, United States Navy: Decoration conferred by Hawaiian Government in recognition of services to the King of Hawaii upon his visit to California. (Approved Mar. 3, 1897.)

S. B. Luce, rear admiral, United States Navy: Decoration conferred by King of Spain in recognition of the services rendered by that officer as a delegate of his Government in the commemoration of the fourth century of the discovery of America and his active cooperation toward the brilliancy of the acts with which the event has been celebrated. (Approved Jan. 16, 1895.)

P. M. Rixey, surgeon, United States Navy: Decoration conferred by the King of Spain in recognition of his services to an officer and sailors of the *Santa Maria* injured by an explosion on that ship in New York Harbor. (Approved Jan. 26, 1897.)

George S. Dyer, lieutenant, United States Navy: Decoration conferred by Hawaiian Government in recognition of services to the King of Hawaii. (Approved Mar. 3, 1897.)

George C. Remey, captain, United States Navy: Decoration conferred by Hawaiian Government in recognition of his services to the King of Hawaii. (Approved Mar. 3, 1897.)

George W. Woods, medical inspector, United States Navy: Decoration conferred by Hawaiian Government in recognition of services to the King of Hawaii. (Approved Mar. 3, 1897.)

George Brown, rear admiral, United States Navy: Decoration conferred by Hawaiian Government in recognition of services to the King of Hawaii.

Simon Newcomb, professor, United States Navy: Decoration conferred by France for his services to the French Academy of Sciences as corresponding member. (Approved Mar. 3, 1897.)

Asaph Hall, professor, United States Navy: Decoration conferred by France for his services to the French Academy of Sciences as corresponding member. (Approved Mar. 3, 1897.)

William McCarty Little, lieutenant, United States Navy: Decoration conferred by Spain for his services in connection with the Columbian Exposition. (Approved Mar. 3, 1897.)

In addition to the foregoing, which are all cases of recipients of decorations from foreign Governments, the following men in the service of the United States have received congressional authority to accept medals, diplomas, or gifts tendered by foreign Governments:

Thomas Williamson, surgeon, United States Navy: Awarded a gold medal by Emperor of France. (Approved Aug. 30, 1856.)

James F. Harrison, passed assistant surgeon, United States Navy: Awarded gold medal by Emperor of France. (Approved Aug. 30, 1856.)

M. F. Maury, lieutenant, United States Navy: Awarded gold medals by Governments of Prussia and Holland and the Republic of Bremen, respectively. (Approved Aug. 30, 1856.)

Dr. Elisha K. Kane, passed assistant surgeon, United States Navy: "Token of thankfulness" from Great Britain for search in Arctic Seas for Sir John Franklin. (Approved Aug. 30, 1856.)

Alexander D. Bache, superintendent of Coast Survey, United States: Awarded gold medal by King of Sweden. (Approved Aug. 30, 1856.)

Spencer F. Baird, assistant secretary of Smithsonian Institution: Awarded medal and diploma by King of Sweden in recognition of his scientific services. (Approved June 30, 1878.)

Edmund O. Matthews, commander, United States Navy: Awarded a gilt teapot by Emperor of Siam, as a souvenir. (Approved Dec. 15, 1877.)

Z. L. Tanner, lieutenant, United States Navy: Awarded vases and lacquered box by Japanese Government in recognition of his services to four Japanese seamen whom he rescued. (Approved Jan. 19, 1877.)

William Reynolds, rear admiral, United States Navy: Vases and Chenam box from the Siamese Government. (Approved Mar. 4, 1878.)

T. B. M. Mason, lieutenant, United States Navy: Awarded silver medal by King of Italy in rescuing Italian steamer from fire. (Approved May 16, 1878.)

John E. Johnson, keeper of life-saving station at Hog Island, Va., and members of the life-saving crew were awarded medals of honor and diplomas by the Government of Spain in recognition of their gallant rescue of the crew of the Spanish steamship *San Albano*, wrecked in the vicinity of Cape Charles. (Approved July 23, 1894.)

Dennis W. Mullan, commander, United States Navy: Medal presented to him by Chilean Government as a memento of his presence with the headquarters of the Chilean Army at the battles of Chorillos and Miraflores, in Peru. (Approved Jan. 21, 1895.)

Sidney S. Jordan, lieutenant, Fifth United States Artillery: Awarded medal by Great Britain for humane services to the shipwrecked crew of the British ship Strathblane. (Approved Mar. 7, 1896.)

Edward C. Carter, assistant surgeon, United States Army: Medal from Government of Great Britain for humane services to the shipwrecked crew of the British ship Strathblane. (Approved Mar. 7, 1896.)

Benjamin Harrison: Medals presented to him by the Governments of Brazil and Spain during the term of his service as President of the United States. (Approved Apr. 2, 1896.)

Herbert H. D. Pierce, secretary of legation at St. Petersburg: Medal conferred upon him by the Imperial Russian Government in recognition of his services at the time of the coronation of the Czar. (Approved Mar. 3, 1897.)

W. A. Kirkland, rear admiral, United States Navy: Gold box presented to him by Emperor of Germany. (Approved Mar. 3, 1897.)

Frank Laviere: Awarded medal by Hawaiian Government in recognition of services to the King of Hawaii. (Approved Mar. 3, 1897.)

B. H. McCalla, rear admiral, United States Navy: China war medal from Great Britain and Order of the Red Eagle, with swords, from Germany. (Approved Mar. 4, 1907.)

In the Sixty-first Congress there were pending before the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate 200 requests for the consent of Congress to the acceptance of gifts or decorations tendered by foreign Governments to officers of the United States. Senate Report 373, Sixty-first Congress, second session, presented to the Senate by Mr. Root on March 10, 1910, considers quite fully the underlying principles to be applied to legislation of this sort. In part, this report reads as follows:

"It seems that requests of this character should be passed upon in accordance with some declared principle of action, so that one officer should not have his request refused and another receive authority as the result of accidental circumstances attending the presentation of the request.

"The existence of the prohibition in the Constitution indicates that the presumption is against the acceptance of the present, emolument, office, or title. A habit of general and indiscriminate consent by Congress upon such applications would tend practically to nullify the constitutional provision, which is based upon an apprehension, not without foundation, that our officers may be affected in the performance of their duties by the desire to receive such recognition from other Governments. A strong support for the view that the practice should not be allowed to become general is to be found in the fact that the Government of the United States does not confer decorations or titles or, unless in very exceptional cases, make presents to the officers of other Governments. It is not suitable that we should permit our officers to receive courtesies which we do not reciprocate by extending similar courtesies to the officers of other Governments. We are of the opinion that the following rules should be observed:

"1. That no decoration should be received unless possibly when it is conferred for some exceptional, extraordinary, and highly meritorious act, justifying beyond dispute a special mark of distinction.

"2. That no presents should be received except such articles as are appropriate for souvenirs and marks of courtesy and appreciation and having an intrinsic value not disproportionate to such a purpose.

"3. That the acceptance of presents within the limitation above stated should be further limited to cases in which some exceptional service or special relation justifying the mark of courtesy exists between the recipient and the Government offering the present.

"4. That no offer of any other title or emolument or office should be considered.

"5. We consider that membership in learned societies, even though the appointment thereto may have a quasi governmental origin, should not be considered as coming within the constitutional provision, and it may well be that as to certain trifling gifts, such as photographs, the rule of de minimis lex non curat should be deemed to apply."

Applying the foregoing rules the Committee on Foreign Relations recommended that the consent of Congress to the acceptance of presents offered to officers of the United States be given in some 30 of the 200 cases pending. The report concludes:

"We recommend that consent be refused in all the other cases specified in the pamphlet, including all the offers of decorations."

The bill embodying the recommendations of this report passed the Senate and was referred to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, where it lapsed. Since that time no action along the line indicated has been taken.

In response to a request for information upon the subject, Adjt. Gen. McCain, on January 15, 1916, states:

"No compilation has ever been made by the War Department showing the total number of cases in which acceptance of foreign decorations has been authorized."

If the House should concur in the general principles laid down by the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, it will be observed that no decoration—such as is contemplated by the three pending bills—should be authorized unless the cases present "some exceptional, extraordinary, and highly meritorious act, justifying beyond dispute a special mark of distinction." This, of course, is a question of fact to be considered by the committee in the light of the evidence accompanying the bills.

Philadelphia Customhouse.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 19, 1917.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, in addition to what I said in debate on the public buildings and grounds bill, I desire to insert some interesting data with respect to the famous old Philadelphia customhouse and the work it does for the United States. The appropriation of $750,000 carried in the bill is to purchase a site for a new customhouse. It does not contemplate the destruction or removal of the present building, which is one of the architectural attractions of the Nation. This majestic old structure was built for the Bank of the United States, and in it that bank was housed during the memorable controversy between its president, Nicholas Biddle, and Andrew Jackson, President of the United States. The bank was located in this building when Jackson finally triumphed over it, and for years, at least, determined the fate of a great central bank in this country.

With this brief reference to the history of the customhouse building, I respectfully submit particulars concerning its use, which have been verified by the present collector of the port. They will be found worth reading from a historical as well as from an economical point of view.

MEMORANDA REGARDING PROPOSED NEW CUSTOMHOUSE.

The present customhouse building on Chestnut Street, below Fifth, extending to Sansom Street, was erected in 1821, at a cost of $413,081, by and for the use of the United States Bank. It was purchased by the Government in 1841 for $225,000, and was used for customs purposes exclusively until 1867, in which year the United States Subtreasury was moved into the building and has since occupied the entire rear or Sansom Street end, comprising an area of 87 by 54 feet. This includes offices, record rooms, vaults, and stairways, and is practically one-third of the entire building.

RECEIPTS.

The receipts of the office for 1915 were $11,718,228.95; for 1914, $14,876,952.67; and for 1913, $19,356,120.40, showing a gradual falling off by reason of the war and conditions resulting therefrom. A large sugar refinery has been reopened after 20 years' idleness, and the receipts for 1916, conservatively estimated, will be $18,000,000.

While it is impracticable to report the collections made in this building since its occupancy by the Government in 1841, it has been found, on examination of the available records, that the total customs receipts from January 1, 1881, to January 1, 1916, were $604,386,640.30.

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.

The value of imports for the three years in question decreased from $91,947,390 in 1913 to $69,473,983 in 1915, while for the corresponding period the value of exports increased from $72,236,967 in 1913 to $132,216,106 in 1915. This increase and decrease are due largely to the war.

ENTRIES.

Entries and their accompanying invoices are an index of a part of the work of customs officials. The number of entries filed during the year 1915 was subnormal by reason of the European war. The number of entries filed for the last three years is as follows: 1913, 74,315; 1914, 66,355; 1915, 35,377.

STEAMSHIP LINES, PASSENGERS, AND TONNAGE.

When the war broke out there were 38 regular steamship lines plying between this port and foreign ports. Since that time the German, Austrian, and Belgian lines have been discontinued, and the regular lines to other countries have had very uncertain schedules. Nevertheless, the number of arrivals of vessels from foreign countries has not fallen off to the extent to be expected. The number of such vessels which entered Philadelphia and their tonnage for the last three years is as follows: In 1913, 1,196 vessels arrived, with a tonnage of 2,914,944 tons; in 1914, 1,021 vessels arrived, with a tonnage of 2,305,459; and in 1915, 1,077 vessels arrived, with a tonnage of 2,091,586 tons.

The effect of the war is more pronounced as to the number of passengers arriving at this port than in any other respect. During the year 1913, 74,479 passengers arrived in Philadelphia, while in the year 1915 only 1,338 arrived.

COST OF COLLECTIONS.

The cost of collecting $1 at Philadelphia is $0.042; the cost at the other large ports is as follows: New York, $0.028; Boston, $0.088; San Francisco, $0.096; New Orleans, $0.044; Baltimore, $0.123.

MORE ROOM NEEDED FOR COLLECTOR.

The collector's room is large enough, but the room adjoining which should be used by him as a waiting or anteroom, and was formerly so used, is divided into two offices and occupied by his private secretary and stenographer and the special deputy collector. This was rendered necessary because the room formerly occupied by the special deputy had to be given up in order to relieve a congested condition in the main room.

Persons waiting to see the collector must stand, or, if there be room enough, sit on a bench in the corridor.

ALSO FOR THE SPECIAL DEPUTY.

The special deputy's present office is too small to contain the necessary furniture, such as bookcases, filing cases, office safe, and so forth. Books of reference and other documents that should be in this room are relegated to remote parts of the building for want of room. There is no waiting room to this office save the corridor.

ALSO FOR THE SECRETARY AND STENOGRAPHER.

This office is nearly filled with absolutely necessary furniture, and the accommodations for persons having business to transact therein are ridiculously inadequate.

Neither this office nor the office of the special deputy—which are practically in one room—is properly lighted. Not a single ray of direct sunshine ever finds its way into either office.

MAIN BUSINESS ROOM CRAMPED.

In this office every available spot is being utilized, even to the extent of building filing cases under the windows and wardrobes in the corridors. Everything is crowded, and the working force is seriously incommoded. Additional filing cases and desks are badly needed; in fact, have been ordered by direction of the department, but there is no space to put them. The work of the office is increasing every year, and it is even now necessary to increase the force, but no room can be found for additional employees. The bulk of the correspondence is prepared in this office under great difficulties. There should be a special room for this work.

AUDITING AND STATISTICAL DEPARTMENTS.

These departments are confined to what is practically one room. This room is overcrowded, and the facilities for doing business are very unsatisfactory.

THE CASHIER CROWDED.

In the effort to secure more space for general business, the toilet room was moved into the basement, and the vacated space fitted up as a cashier's office. It is too small, too close and hot, and too generally unfit for the purpose to be satisfactory. The size of this room is 19 by 11 feet. The space occupied by furniture, which consists of three desks, a large counter, wardrobe, safe, chairs, and so forth, reduces the working space for a force of three men to a decidedly uncomfortable limit.

THE NAVAL OFFICE.

The naval officer, his deputy, and 13 employees are crowded into two rooms. The space is entirely inadequate for the work of the office, and much inconvenience is experienced.

THE SURVEYOR'S QUARTERS.

The surveyor, his special deputy, and 11 employees occupy two rooms on the second floor, neither of them large. They are overcrowded, and the work is consequently impeded.

THE FILING OF RECORDS.

The file rooms in the loft of the building are inadequate for the purpose and not at all adapted to modern needs. Owing to want of room, it is necessary, at stated periods, to inclose in packing boxes valuable records and send them for storage in the appraiser's stores building. This makes it very inconvenient when it becomes necessary, as it frequently does, to examine these records for statistical purposes.

THE CUSTOMHOUSE LACKS AN ELEVATOR.

The absence of an elevator in that portion of the building used for customs purposes is a source of great inconvenience, not only to the officials and employees, but to all persons having customs business to transact, and is the subject of frequent comment and complaint. To enter the building on the main business floor it is necessary to ascend a flight of 20 steps, and to reach the second floor a further climb of 35 steps is required. A large amount of business is transacted with the surveyor's office, which is improperly located on the second floor, and which makes it necessary for the importing public to climb a flight of stairs. To ladies and persons advanced in years, many of whom have business transactions with the customhouse, this is a great hardship.

In short, the building is archaic, incommodious, and not at all adapted to the present needs of the service.

PORT STATISTICS UP TO DATE.

As showing the present need for a new customhouse, and in order to bring the Philadelphia port statistics up to date, I also append the following statement of the surveyor of customs at Philadelphia for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1915 and 1916. In this connection I am also pleased to include the words of commendation by the Secretary of Commerce of the work done at the port of Philadelphia:

OFFICE OF THE SURVEYOR OF CUSTOMS,
PORT OF PHILADELPHIA.

Comparative statement of revenue collected, etc., by principal customs districts, compiled from the annual reports of the Secretary of the Treasury for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1915 and 1916 (issued Dec. 4, 1916).

Ports.	Receipts.	Expenses.	Cost of collecting $1.	Number of employees.
New York:				
1915	$148,536,425	$4,224,525	$0.028	3,107
1916	152,943,408	4,207,659	.0275	3,021
1916	[1] 4,406,983	[2] 16,866	[2] .0054	[2] 86
Philadelphia:				
1915	12,058,890	510,296	.042	392
1916	15,121,689	497,688	.0329	384
1916	[1] 3,052,799	[1] 12,613	.009	[2] 8
Boston:				
1915	10,391,891	923,089	.088	697
1916	9,831,646	899,117	.0915	682
1916	[2] 560,245	[1] 23,972	[1] .004	[1] 15
New Orleans:				
1915	7,200,040	321,772	.044	247
1916	6,548,644	311,501	.0476	227
1916	[2] 651,396	[2] 10,271	[1] .004	[2] 20
San Francisco:				
1915	4,887,611	470,279	.096	348
1916	4,754,196	468,910	.099	339
1916	[2] 133,415	[2] 1,387	[1] .003	[2] 9
Baltimore:				
1915	2,310,122	284,270	.123	208
1916	1,784,702	273,000	.1529	204
1916	[2] 525,420	[2] 11,270	[1] .0299	[2] 4
Total, all ports, 1916	215,346,745	9,813,085	.0456	6,776

[1] Increase. [2] Decrease.

The port of New York collects more revenue than all the other districts combined; therefore is in a class by itself. While it collects about ten times as much revenue as Philadelphia, with a vast volume of business in large units, nevertheless the expense of collecting $1 at New York is only $0.0054 less than at Philadelphia.

The expense of administration at Philadelphia is far below that of similar ports, being only $0.0329 to collect $1. The expense of collecting $1 at other ports is: Boston, $0.0915; New Orleans, $0.0476; San Francisco, $0.099; Baltimore, $0.1529.

Philadelphia during 1916 collected $5,290,043 more revenue than Boston, and did it with 298 less employees and at $402,434 less expense. The cost of collection at San Francisco is three times greater than at Philadelphia, while Baltimore is almost five times greater.

During 1916 revenues at New York increased $4,406,983; at Philadelphia, increased $3,052,799; at Boston, decreased $560,245; at New Orleans, decreased $651,396; at San Francisco, decreased $133,415; at Baltimore, decreased $525,420.

During 1916—		
Boston collected	$9,831,646, at expense of	$899,117
San Francisco collected	4,754,196, at expense of	468,910
Baltimore collected	1,784,702, at expense of	273,000
Total	16,370,544, at expense of	1,641,027
Philadelphia collected	15,121,689, at expense of	497,683
Total	1,248,855, at expense of	1,143,344

The following extract is taken from a letter sent by William C. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce, to the Secretary of the Treasury, October 23, 1916:

"SIR: I attach hereto a copy of a report dated the 30th ultimo of the work done in the Philadelphia customs district during the past summer in the enforcement of the navigation laws.

"Their report outlines the most efficient navigation service rendered in any customs district during the year."

CHAS. R. KURTZ, *Surveyor.*

Philadelphia, December 15, 1916.

Public Buildings Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. VARE,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 19, 1917.

Mr. VARE. Mr. Speaker, provision included in the public-buildings bill for an appropriation of $750,000 for the purchase of a site for the erection of a customhouse in the city of Philadelphia, to take the place of a structure erected in 1821 and which has been used by the Government in its present capacity since 1844, fills a long-felt need in maritime activity in that city.

Philadelphia has the same provision to-day, with a population of nearly 2,000,000 persons, for the handling of its customs business that it had in 1844 when its population was but 93,000 persons. The provision is one which should have been made years ago to keep the Philadelphia customs office abreast with the times and its increasing business.

Millions of dollars are being spent by the city of Philadelphia for modern piers to invite new shipping to its doors. Millions are being spent by the State and National Government to deepen the channel for the admittance of the largest vessels afloat.

This work of a progressive city and State government in which Congress has shown every willingness to cooperate is already bearing its fruit. Only this week reports of port activity show that more vessels are awaiting cargoes in the port of Philadelphia than at any time in its history. Philadelphia has taken her place as the second port in the United States.

Notwithstanding war conditions, which have caused a falling off of receipts in customs at virtually every port, Philadelphia during the year of 1916 collected $15,932,340, against $11,718,228 in 1915. In 1916 imports increased to $111,407,851, against $69,473,983 in 1915, while exports increased to $321,054,815, compared with $132,216,106 in 1915.

This increase in imports and exports, which will grow with the completion of additional municipal docks, must be met with additional accommodations for those who handle the Government business connected with customs activities. The Secretary of the Treasury has recommended the purchase of the proposed site, declaring that the present building is fitted for the work of the Federal reserve bank and the Subtreasury.

With this whole-hearted indorsement and the obvious need for additional accommodations for the benefit of maritime activity in Philadelphia, which can be regarded as a benefit for the entire country, using Philadelphia as a port of entry, I see no reason why this provision should not receive the unanimous support of the House, to which, in my mind, it is entitled.

HISTORY.

The present customhouse building, on Chestnut Street below Fifth, extending to Sansom Street, was erected in 1821, at a cost of $413,081, by and for the use of the United States Bank. It was purchased by the Government in 1841 for $225,000 and was used for customs purposes exclusively until 1867, in which year the United States Subtreasury was moved into the building and has since occupied the entire rear, or Sansom Street end, comprising an area of 87 by 54 feet. This includes offices, record rooms, vaults, and stairways, and is practically one-third of the entire building.

It is a two-story building, with basement, which can not be used for business purposes, and a loft, which is used only for the storage of records, books, blanks, and so forth, and is entirely inadequate even for that purpose.

RECEIPTS.

The receipts of the office for 1916 were $15,932,340.34; for 1915, $11,718,228.95; for 1914, $14,876,952.67; and for 1913, $19,356,120.40, showing a gradual falling off by reason of the war and conditions resulting therefrom until last year, when there was a decided increase.

While it is impracticable to report the collections made in this building since its occupancy by the Government in 1841, it has been found, on examination of the available records, that the total customs receipts from July 1, 1880, to January 1, 1917, were $620,827,655.64.

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.

The value of imports decreased from $91,947,390 in 1913 to $69,473,983 in 1915, while for the corresponding period the value of exports increased from $72,236,967 in 1913 to $132,216,106 in 1915.

In 1916 the total value of imports increased to $111,407,851, and the total value of exports increased to $321,054,815, both of these items being the largest in the history of the port.

ENTRIES.

Entries and their accompanying invoices are an index of a part of the work of customs officials. The number of entries filed during the year 1916 was subnormal, by reason of the European war. The number of entries filed for the last four years is as follows: 1913, 74,315; 1914, 66,355; 1915, 35,377; and 1916, 27,398.

STEAMSHIP LINES, PASSENGERS, AND TONNAGE.

When the war broke out there were 38 regular steamship lines plying between this port and foreign ports. Since that time the German, Austrian, and Belgian lines have been discontinued, and the regular lines to other countries have had very uncertain schedules. Nevertheless, the number of arrivals of vessels from foreign countries has not fallen off to the extent to be expected.

The number of vessels which entered Philadelphia, and their tonnage for the last four years, is as follows: In 1913, 1,196 vessels arrived, with a tonnage of 2,914,944 tons; in 1914, 1,021 vessels arrived, with a tonnage of 2,305,459; in 1915, 1,077 vessels arrived, with a tonnage of 2,091,586; and in 1916, 1,092 vessels arrived, with a tonnage of 2,312,879.

COST OF COLLECTIONS.

The cost of collecting one dollar at Philadelphia is 3.3 cents; the cost at the other large ports is as follows: New York, 2.8 cents; Boston, 9.1 cents; San Francisco, 9.9 cents; New Orleans, 4.8 cents; Chicago, 4.8 cents; Baltimore, 15.3 cents.

MORE ROOM NEEDED FOR COLLECTOR.

The collector's room is large enough, but the room adjoining, which should be used by him as a waiting or ante room, and was formerly so used, is divided into two offices and occupied by his private secretary and stenographer and the special deputy collector. This was rendered necessary because the room formerly occupied by the special deputy had to be given up in order to relieve a congested condition in the main room.

Persons waiting to see the collector must stand, or, if there be room enough, sit on a bench in the corridor.

ALSO FOR THE SPECIAL DEPUTY.

The special deputy's present office is too small to contain the necessary furniture, such as bookcases, filing cases, office safe, etc. Books of reference and other documents that should be in this room are relegated to remote parts of the building for want of room. There is no waiting room to this office save the corridor.

ALSO FOR THE SECRETARY AND STENOGRAPHER.

This office is nearly filled with absolutely necessary furniture, and the accommodations for persons having business to transact therein are ridiculously inadequate.

Neither this office nor the office of the special deputy (which are practically in one room) is properly lighted. Not a single ray of direct sunshine ever finds its way into either office.

MAIN BUSINESS ROOM CRAMPED.

In this room every available spot is being utilized, even to the extent of building filing cases under the windows and wardrobes in the corridors. Everybody is crowded and the working force is seriously incommoded. Additional filing cases and desks are badly needed; in fact, have been ordered by direction of the department, but there is no place to put them. The bulk of the correspondence is prepared in this office under great difficulties. There should be a special room for this work.

AUDITING AND STATISTICAL DEPARTMENTS.

These departments are confined to what is practically one room. This room is overcrowded and the facilities for doing business are very unsatisfactory.

THE CASHIER CROWDED.

In the effort to secure more space for general business the toilet room was removed into the basement and the vacated space fitted up as a cashier's office. It is too small, too close, and too hot, and too generally unfit for the purpose to be satisfactory. The size of this room is 19 by 11 feet. The space occupied by furniture, which consists of three desks, a large counter, wardrobe, safe, chairs, etc., reduces the working space for a force of three men to a decidedly uncomfortable limit.

THE NAVAL OFFICE.

The naval officer, his deputy, and 13 employees are crowded into two rooms. The space is entirely inadequate for the work of the office and much inconvenience is experienced.

THE SURVEYOR'S OFFICE.

The surveyor, his special deputy, and 11 employees occupy two rooms on the second floor, neither of them large. They are overcrowded and the work is consequently impeded.

THE FILING OF RECORDS.

The file rooms in the loft of the building are inadequate for the purpose and not at all adapted to modern needs. Owing to want of room it is necessary, at stated periods, to inclose in packing cases valuable records and send them for storage in the appraiser's stores building. This makes it very inconvenient when it becomes necessary, as it frequently does, to examine these records for statistical purposes.

THE CUSTOMHOUSE LACKS AN ELEVATOR.

The absence of an elevator in that portion of the building used for customs purposes is a source of great annoyance, not only to the officials and employees but to all persons having customs business to transact, and is the subject of frequent comment. To enter the building on the main business floor it is necessary to ascend a flight of 20 steps, and to reach the second floor a further climb of 35 steps is required. To ladies and persons advanced in years, many of whom have business transactions with the customhouse, this is a great hardship. A large amount of the business is transacted with the surveyor's office, which is improperly located on the second floor, causing great inconvenience.

In short, the building is archaic, incommodious, and not at all adapted to the present needs of the service.

Increase of Grazing Fees in National Forests.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENIGNO C. HERNANDEZ,

OF NEW MEXICO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 5, 1917.

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Mr. Speaker, before I take leave of this honorable body, in which I have served as the Representative at Large from my State, and where I have been treated most courteously, and have added my mite by voting for a good deal of the constructive legislation enacted by the Sixty-fourth Congress, I would be remiss in my duty to my constituents if at this time I would not enter my solemn protest to the proposed increase of grazing fees in the national forests.

The protest which I am about to enter is not so much in behalf of the well-to-do class of users of the national forests, but is particularly in behalf of the poor ranchman living within or adjacent to the various forests in the State of New Mexico.

The fees now charged are in my opinion not justified.

This is what will happen if the proposed raise is made: The well-to-do stockman, whether engaged in sheep or cattle raising, will be very well able to stand it, because he is making money out of his business, but the poor man who has lived all of his life within what are now national forests or in close proximity to them, and who has pastured his small flock of goats or sheep or a few head of cows, and is really trying to make a small living out of his little farm, depending entirely on his few head of stock—I would say from 50 to 100 head of goats or sheep, or 10, 20, or 30 head of cows—which furnish him in some instances with meat, and so forth, for himself and his family only, will suffer the hardships. As it is now the fees for this class of users of the forest reserve are more than he can afford to pay, and they feel that they are being discriminated against.

One of the district foresters says in support of this advance in fees:

The great criticism of the National Forest administration is that they are not self-supporting, and this change will make them so.

I quote from a letter written by a stockman in Arizona, addressed to Mr. William Babbitt, president of a cattle growers' association in that State:

I have read with interest the article by T. S. Woolsey, jr., in the June, 1916, issue of the Forest Quarterly, "National forest revenue and organization." He makes the statement that grazing fees on national forests should be two or four times as much as at present, and to prove this he cites the following, which I quote:

"For example, on the Apache Indian Reservation the 1916 year-long rates for cattle were $2.50, and 50 cents for sheep. These rates were the result of competitive bid. Forest Service timber sale rates are in theory at least also fixed by competitive bid. On the Sitgreaves, which joins the Apache Indian Reservation, the year-long rate for cattle is 48 cents and for sheep 12 cents."

Such an unqualified statement I believe to be misleading to the public and should not be unchallenged.

Just what is the comparison between grazing on a national forest and an Indian reservation?

Sheep and cattle are not alloted to the same range on an Indian reservation, nor do they allow on the same area more than one permittee, which is of great advantage in the economic use of the area.

On a national forest they do.

On an Indian reservation a permittee may buy the stock and grazing privilege of the whole reservation, if he so desires.

On a national forest he can not.

On an Indian reservation you may construct as many small inclosures as you desire without extra charge for the forest material necessary for its construction or the area involved.

On a national forest you can not.

On an Indian reservation the permittee is reimbursed for permanent improvements made on his allotment by the deduction of that amount from his grazing tax.

On a national forest he is not.

On an Indian reservation the lease and privilege is for a term of five years, and no advance can be made during that time, which is of immense value to the lessee.

On a national forest only an annual lease can be obtained and a raise in fees possible each year.

Mr. Woolsey fails to mention the fact that the Coconino National Forest pays a net return over and above the cost of administration of from $65,000 to $100,000 annually.

The live stock on the Indian reservation may change hands as often as desired without reductions thus permitting the stockman to take every advantage of the live-stock market.

A grazing permit on a national forest must be held three years at least before it is transferable, and is then subject to a cut of 20 per cent.

The Forest Service has to this time expended hundreds of thousands of dollars to perfect and maintain a system for preventing and fighting forest fires, yet this would not be a "drop in the bucket" to what would have to be expended were it not for the live stock that keep the excess under cover and grass down to a point where the spread of fire is minimized. These areas would not be forests, but fire traps instead, which means a direct saving to the Government of vast sums of money in actual cash besides an incalculable amount of valuable timber.

I understand that the service is seriously considering the placing of live stock on parts of some forests where they do not now graze, as the cheapest and most effective way of combating that greatest of all menaces to a forest, fire.

The Forest Service has spent thousands of dollars in an exhaustive study of the timber business, which goes into great detail as to the cost of logging, the cost of transportation, the cost of milling, the depreciation on the plant and rolling stock, capital invested and interest on same, and then sells the timber so that the manufacturer can have a fair profit, which to my mind is sensible and fair.

Has the stockman ever had such a study made of his business?

No; yet the department has more than doubled the present rate on live stock and has set the last date of hearing for February 1, 1917.

The semiarid States of the West must always be the great breeding ground of the United States. National forests in these States will therefore always be a very important factor in the production of live stock and its products. The forests now embrace the high timberland principally adapted for summer use as a grazing ground and they do not control winter forage land in a sufficient quantity to support the summer areas, and they are fully utilized now only because the woolgrowers find winter pasture far removed from the summer areas.

These remarks in my mind are most convincing as to my contention that the Government and not the user is getting the most out of the forests, let alone the enhancing of the value of the forests, its timber, and so forth.

I hope the Forestry Bureau before it finally determines to make a raise will stop and consider the conditions which exist among the poorer ranchmen in New Mexico and other States that will suffer under a higher taxation.

I am giving you some figures taken from the records of the Bureau of Forestry, which disclose the fact that in nearly all of the forests in New Mexico the upkeep or administration of same is fully met by the revenues derived therefrom. By this I mean salaries of supervisors, rangers, and guards, general expenses, supplies, and so forth, and I do not believe that all the items shown in the statement under the head of expenditures should be charged up as administration expense. While the statement submitted to me is in detail, it most certainly fails to give anyone understanding the question a clear conception of the method of handling the matter, when, in my opinion, the improvement of the roads, the planting of trees, and other improvements enhances the value of the forests to such a degree

that it would be impossible to compute the present value of such lands and forests in comparison to their respective value before the establishment of the service.

The United States have taken over these lands not merely for the protection of the individual but to increase the intrinsic value, so that in years to come the future generations may be able to purchase timber and lands from the Government and the money so derived to go into the Public Treasury, but this should not be done so as to work a hardship on those who are hardly able to bear it, even at its present rate of rentals, and so forth.

The receipts of the Carson Forest Reserve amounted in the year 1916 to $27,267.49; the administration expenses were $24,494.26.

The Gila, receipts, $33,786.34; administration expenses, $32,-639.67.

The Manzano, receipts, $16,347.37; administration expenses, $12,403.09.

While it is true that other reserves did not receive enough to cover this class of expense the final totals show that the receipts are within $30,000, in round numbers, of being sufficient to pay the administration expenses, the balance of expenses borne, which has also been charged up to the several reserves, are for land classification, surveys, planting, improvements, and miscellaneous items, the presumption being that they were all for the enhancing of the value of property belonging to the United States.

Address Delivered by Hon. Charles M. Stedman on Robert E. Lee's Birthday in Washington, D. C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. DOUGHTON,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, January 20, 1917.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an address delivered by Hon. CHARLES M. STEDMAN on Robert E. Lee's birthday, in Washington, D. C.

The address is as follows:

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY HON. CHARLES M. STEDMAN ON ROBERT E. LEE'S BIRTHDAY.

Ladies and gentlemen, comrades: I congratulate you upon this, the advent of another anniversary of a day which should ever be canonized in the historic calendar of all who recognize and admire the highest type of chivalric courage and self-abnegation portrayed in history in all the tide of time.

This audience has assembled to observe with fitting and appropriate ceremony the birthdays of Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson. Both were so unrivaled in the splendor of their marvelous achievements, so grand in their mental and moral qualities, that all citizens of our common country might well commemorate the birthday of each. And yet it has ever seemed meet and proper to make one day the occasion of the observance of the birthdays of both, whose names represent a glory and whose deeds have illumined a cause with a radiance which shall never die.

Unlike in many of their personal characteristics, both possessed those great qualities essential to glorious achievements.

No two names will be found in military history more closely linked together; none which appeal more strongly to the sentiment of exalted heroism which holds captive the imagination of mankind.

Both were absolutely fearless morally and physically, and when on the battle field felt the joy of the strife.

Both possessed to a marked degree moral courage, which caused them to assume without hesitancy every responsibility demanded by a sense of duty, regardless of consequences to themselves.

Both inspired their soldiers with a most unbounded love and confidence. It was their own mighty spirit communicated to the army of northern Virginia which made it invincible upon any field of equal combat and gave it immortal renown.

As masters of strategy in war, both ranked with the foremost historic generals through all the ages.

Both were devout Christians, and the private life of each was as stainless as that of a pure woman, and a model for all the world.

Neither was elated by success nor intoxicated by glory. Neither was depressed when disaster and irretrievable ruin threatened destruction to all that was near and dear to him.

A rare and wonderful combination of two soldiers who rose superior to every temptation of ambition or glory, who were equal to any crisis, whose attainments have won the admiration of the brave in every civilized land—each without an alloy of selfishness or unholy greed.

So profound is my love and admiration for the character and attributes of both Lee and Jackson that my heart would rebel were I to attempt to institute a comparison as to the relative merits of these two great commanders, who reflect renown and glory upon the English-speaking race. I prefer to leave to the historian the task of recounting their great deeds and directing the judgment of future ages to a fair and impartial verdict.

All who owe allegiance to this reunited and unrivaled Republic—it matters not from what section they may come—can with just pride claim that both of these illustrious chieftains were children of our common country.

In the imperial "Meditations" of Marcus Aurelius will be found these words: "What has become of all great and famous men and all they desired and loved? They are smoke and ashes and a tale." Such was the language of a Pagan emperor and philosopher, and such is the eternal truth as it comes to us from the highest of all authority—the Holy Bible. Yet man was not created without a design or purpose. Most men drift down the stream of time—mere atoms upon its surface; they pass over the cataract unto death and are forgotten.

The eminent deeds of statesmen, the alluring eloquence of orators, the exploits of warriors become dimmed by the obscurity of time, and flit before us as shadows of the past. But there are a few set apart by Providence from the mass of humanity who stand forever as mighty rocks in the ocean, and as beacon-lights through all ages, that their example may ever cheer the weary and faint of heart in the struggle of life which must come to all. Such were the great leaders whose birthdays you celebrate this day. Yet the chief significance of this occasion arises from the fact that Lee and Jackson symbolize to the world the Confederate soldier. They represent his sternest valor, his highest morality, his most exalted heroism. The cardinal feature of the mental and moral nature of each was his absolute devotion to whatever he deemed to be the cause of right. In this they typify to you the soldier whom the South sent to the battle field. The names of Lee, Jackson, and the Confederate soldier linked together with immortality have ever represented since the close of the Civil War, one great idea. They stand for one principle, unchanging, unconquerable, and imperishable—a supreme sense of duty. The ragged Confederate soldier who carried upon his bayonet the honor, glory, and fortunes of his native land is as tenderly loved as those whose fame has resounded throughout the world, and by the observance of this day, you attest the unfading homage of your hearts for his memory. It would be idle and vain within the space of time which I must allow myself to-night to attempt a eulogy upon the character of either Robert E. Lee or Stonewall Jackson. I must relegate to history their splendid military achievements which have placed both in the front rank of the world's greatest commanders. Their absolute scorn for the vulgar love of money, their sacred observance of every promise, whether made to friend or foe, their strict regard for truth and abhorrence of falsehood, cant, and hypocrisy were some of the elements of character which would have been resplendent in any age, and won love from any people. Of all these, and many other traits which belong only to the noble, I can not speak to you now.

Who was this Confederate soldier—this boy from the South, whose deeds have challenged the wonder and admiration of the world and enlisted the love of his countrymen? Why did he leave a home about which clustered the warmest affections of his heart? Was it hatred of his brethern of the North and an abhorance of the union of the States? Not so! He rejoiced with them in the common glory which belonged alike to all citizens of this great and unrivaled Republic, and was ever ready to march forward with them to a common destiny to perpetuate its power and renown. Tragic, grand, and terrible as was the struggle which immortalized him, it was not of his seeking. Taught by his father to revere the union of the States, he was taught at the same time that it must be a union of love and not of force, and that his first allegiance was to his native State or the State of his adoption. Whether the lesson taught him was right or wrong is not now a subject for discussion, but is left to the unbiased judgment of future ages. When the tread of an invader was heard upon the soil of a sister State whose fate was inseparably connected with that

of his own, he left the plow in the furrow, his harvest ungathered in the field, and hastened to the conflict, whose echoes reverberated throughout the world. Then was seen how sublime and terrible is the courage of a soldier who is not actuated by a desire for conquest or gain, but by a supreme sense of duty. What grander spectacle does the world's history furnish than the unconquerable resolution with which they maintain the fight? They were neither elated by success nor disheartened by disaster, but ever the same unchanged and unchanging men of iron.

When the strife of war was over and peace had come once again to our distracted country, that moral power which had sustained them upon the battle field and won for them imperishable renown gave them strength to bear the terrible calamities which befell them and those they loved at the close of a great and disastrous conflict, and saved them from the vices which generally degrade and ruin the vanquished. They took up the new burden calmly and bravely; they rehabilitated the waste places and desolate fields where once was their boyhood's happy home, when "Life was young and hope's fair flower in bloom." They were the leaders in every enterprise which could increase the wealth and power of their people. They built schoolhouses and were the advocates of morality and education, knowing that without them there is no safety for free government. They made no terms with those who would traffic and barter in commercial dishonesty, but were their uncompromising foes. They have been, are now, and ever will be the steadfast defenders of the honor and integrity of their native land.

With such defenders, how could a cause have gone down in disaster and gloom? It ought not to be accounted strange that this inquiry will find its way from your hearts. Yet it is sufficient for all to realize that God in His wisdom knew what was best, and the methods by which He ofttimes bring about the greatest blessings to a common humanity are neither to be questioned by us nor can they be fathomed until to Him it seems fit that light be given.

Was it all to no purpose that the Confederate soldier died in the red glare of battle; that squalid poverty and hideous want stalked as specters through the desolate fields of his kinsmen; that a mortal agony filled their hearts and that they drank of the cup of bitterness to its dregs? All this sad lesson will yet be made plain. Suffering is necessary to make up a great character to its fullness. No man nor woman, unless by special providence of God, can live in the unbroken sunshine of plenty and prosperity without developing to a greater or less degree selfishness in some of its many monstrous forms, and being debarred from reaching the high state of excellence to which their natures might aspire. Suffering is needed to purify nations as well as individuals. It is from sacrificial flames that have arisen the noblest and grandest spirits which have spread a halo of glory around humanity.

In estimating the merits of the personal conduct of Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson, their moral grandeur and military greatness, the verdict of history has ignored the rule which in every age governs the judgment of the ignorant and vulgar, which awards praise and renown alone to the victor. It has awarded to them that high position to which they are rightfully entitled and which they hold with undisputed claim. The splendor of their fame increases with each revolving year, not only with the citizens of the American Republic but with the educated and brave throughout the civilized world.

They repose in their sleep of glory in the town of Lexington, in the Valley of Virginia, not remote from the theater of conflict immortalized by the campaign of Jackson. The mountains of Virginia, so loved by both, will ever keep watch over their graves, but their resting place will be found in every land where patriotic heroism has a home. The traveler from distant lands who is enamored of great names will not fail to visit the town of Lexington. As he stands with uncovered head before the tomb of Robert E. Lee, the character of that matchless soldier will come in review before him and fasten itself indelibly upon his memory. He will see him with the storm of war upon his face as at the head of a brigade he hurls back the Federal battalions amidst the dense thickets of the wilderness. Again, his face will come before him as, calm and unmoved, at Spotsylvania Court House he directs the shattered regiments of the South to the front and he hears their yell of battle proclaiming above the cannon's roar and the steady rattling of musketry their faith in Robert E. Lee. And still again Chancellorsville and Fredericksburg greet his vision, with the same great master of war unchanged by triumph. And he will not forget Gettysburg, where the air was sulphurous with carnage and death. And there he will find him with demeanor grave but with the fire of battle in his eye, quiet, self-possessed, and gentle, as he speaks kindly to some southern boy who, torn and mangled, lifts his head and cheers him as he passes by. And then he will ask what manner of man was this great captain in his private life, in the early days of his manhood, and when he was in the walks of civil life? And he will be told that during all his days, in peace and in war, a sense of duty was the cardinal feature of his character that he loved truth and scorned the desire for money, that he was a man of simple habits, a sincere and devout Christian—an exemplar for all the world.

With these memories crowding thick and fast upon him, he will stroll to the grave of Stonewall Jackson—his great lieutenant. He will be enthralled by the fascinating story of his life and linger long as he listens to its recital. The green fields of the Valley of Virginia will be before him, ever to be connected with the name of the great soldier whose wondrous deeds have given to them a new and unfading luster. Bull Run, Second Manassas, Fredericksburg, Sharpsburg—every field upon which he fought—pays tribute to his genius. The great charge at Chancellorsville (called by military historians the tactical masterpiece of the nineteenth century), where, as the very incarnation of battle, he rode the storm of war, cannot be forgotten. But grander, more attractive than all the victories on the fields of his renown will be his Christian character and abiding faith in the providence of God. From his tomb goes forth to the young men of our country words which find an echo around the world:

What is life without honor? Degradation is worse than death. We must think of the living and of those who are to come after us, and see that by God's blessing we transmit to them the freedom we have ourselves inherited.

He will learn from the lives of both the lesson of courage, of morality, of self-denial, of virtue in its broadest sense, and he will realize that it is moral grandeur which overshadows physical force which brings genuine success and attracts permanently the attention of mankind.

There is another lesson which has been learned by the entire world: The grandeur and nobility of the American people has been exemplified by their treatment of the Confederate soldier. The great events which have transpired in the lives of different nations, which have added luster to their names, have been marked by an era in their history which dazzled their contemporaries and was cherished by posterity with love, with pride, and with delight. Such an epoch in the life of the American Republic will be the year 1917.

During the entire unfortunate Civil War the courage and sincerity of the Confederate soldier was never questioned by his brave opponents upon the battle field. The ability of Lee, of Jackson, and other great leaders of the South was never questioned or minimized. But the culmination of fraternal feeling between all classes of citizens of this great land of ours has been reserved for the year 1917, when the survivors of Confederate veterans, in response to the recognized wish of our whole country (and it might with truth be said by its invitation), will meet in reunion in this beautiful and attractive Capital in June next.

The man from Maine shall meet in friendly intercourse the man from North Carolina; the man from Minnesota shall rejoice with the man from Mississippi. From ocean to ocean shall be gathered together those who will share in the enjoyment of this auspicious and delightful occasion, which shall proclaim to all the enduring greatness of our common country and the memory of which shall live long after the participants have passed away.

It will further make manifest a truth which none will ever hereafter question, that amongst the people of the South (Confederate soldiers and the descendants of Confederate soldiers), regenerated by fire and blood, will be found that high and broad and lofty patriotism which shall constitute them amongst the strongest, safest, and best defenders of the land of our fathers in its entirety. And as the suffering and oppressed of every land and every clime shall still turn their steadfast gaze toward the Western Hemisphere, they shall rise up and call you blessed.

Was the enthusiastic valor and enduring fortitude of the Confederate soldier who followed the banner of Lee and Jackson all in vain?

Ah, wasted valor! Was it all in vain?
Left it no lesson for the coming years?
From that grim harvest shall there be no gain?
No joy from all the tears?

Not all in vain! The future years shall learn
From you that death is not the greatest ill;
Life not the highest nor the chief concern,
But duty higher still.

Then rest in peace; your memory shall remain
Green in all hearts, in spite of fleeting years;
Time leaves the glory while it heals the pain
And wipes away all tears.

Virginia hills, your fame shall echo long;
Your memory haunt the Carolina shores
And all the streams that, in one countless throng,
The Mississippi pours.

Yet twine a garland, let a shaft upspring,
To those who sleep on mountain or on plain,
Or where the sea may never cease to sing
A requiem for the slain.

The Efforts Toward Peace.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. S. D. FESS,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 22, 1917.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, on January 12, the day the entente reply to the President's peace note was made public, I inserted in the RECORD the several documents detailing the action of both belligerent and neutral countries on the efforts toward peace.

By leave granted me to-day I am here inserting documents showing the sentiment on same matters.

German opinion of the entente reply is expressed by the two dispatches on even date:

[From a staff correspondent.]

[Special cable to the New York Times.]

BERLIN, *January 12.*

Germany's note to the neutrals, as read here, is unambiguously simple of interpretation. In political circles it is regarded from three different angles—as an indirect answer to the entente's refusal of the central powers' peace offer; as a defensive brief submitted to the high tribunal of neutral public opinion; and in the third line for home consumption.

While the substance and the brusque tone of the entente's note made a formal answer impossible to the German mind without a sacrifice of national dignity, yet, certainly, silence would be interpreted as a confession of guilt and an inability to answer the charges and insinuations of bad faith contained in the entente's refusal, and this would alone have been sufficient to determine the Imperial Government to make an indirect answer, despite the protestations of most of the German press that the door had been slammed to further discussions.

Viewed as an indirect answer to the entente, Germany's note, it is said, is to be interpreted as a reiteration of her good faith in making the original peace proposal, with the further unmistakable intimation that the central powers still are willing to talk peace in a businesslike way around a conference table, but that a revival of the old polemic regarding blame for the outbreak of the war is a waste of time, so far as the object of restoring peace to the world is concerned, and that fruitful peace negotiations can be brought no nearer by a mutual flinging of diplomatic billingsgate and venting of rhetorical generalities.

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[From a staff correspondent. Special cable to the New York Times.]

BERLIN, *January 11.*

Coupled with a marked stiffening of the national backbone almost all along the line is the fear in many quarters that a hard and fast peace program may be sprung on the German nation without giving the people, through their elected representatives, a chance to say anything about what the terms shall be. Many patriotic Germans fear that the Bethmann Hollweg Government, which is known to hold relatively moderate peace ideas, may let Germany in for an unfavorable and premature peace merly for the sake of peace.

This feeling is finding almost nation-wide expression, and a stern warning against a premature peace and sacrificing the fruits of victory is being sounded in Hamburg, in Bavaria, and particularly in the Rhineland, whence two utterances indicative of public opinion are worth pondering as corrective of the false notion that may have resulted from the Socialist peace propaganda—that all Germany wants an immediate peace at any price short of honor.

Dr. Marx, a prominent Center Party member of the Reichstag, in a speech to his Catholic voters couched in annexationist terms, charged all those with "a heavy responsibility who demand a premature peace only for the sake of peace."

The Cologne Tageblatt, to counteract the effect of the Socialist peace apostle, Sheldmann, propaganda tour of Germany, issues a call for a similar nation-wide propaganda for a "strong German peace," asserting that 90 per cent of the Socialists at the front are annexationists and quoting Gen. von Gallwitz's words:

"We on the Somme have seen the foe weaken, and we stand firm and confident. Our feelings become depressed only when the echo of newspaper quarrels at home reaches us and we become aware how those who know nothing of the spirit of the front are ready to sacrifice the fruits of our victories on the enemy's altar."

The Cologne organ, further arguing, says: "Even though the entente has scornfully refused our proposal, Mr. Wilson is continuing his work for his peace. Under these circumstances it seems imperative that all those political parties, national associations, and economic and social organizations who see the best guaranty of peace in a strong German peace should finally come forward united and let the German nation speak out regarding its war and peace aims. Two national memorial days are available this month for this purpose. It is not yet too late to give the Government a clear expression of the true war and peace will of the German nation."

On the day following the head of the central powers made a proclamation:

KAISER'S PROCLAMATION DECLARES VICTORY SURE.

AMSTERDAM, *January 13.*

The following proclamation by the Emperor to the German people has been officially published in Berlin:

"Our enemies have dropped the mask. After refusing with scorn and hypocritical words of love for peace and humanity our honest peace offer they have now, in their reply to the United States, gone beyond that and admitted their lust for conquest, the baseness of which is further enhanced by their calumnious assertions. Their aim is the crushing of Germany, the dismemberment of the powers allied with us, and the enslavement of the freedom of Europe and the seas under the same yoke that Greece, with gnashing of teeth, is now enduring.

"But what they could not achieve in 30 months of the bloodiest fighting and unscrupulous economic war they will also fail to accomplish in the future. Our glorious victories and our iron strength of will with which our fighting people at the front and at home have borne all hardships and distress guarantee that also in the future our beloved fatherland has nothing to fear.

"Burning indignation and holy wrath will redouble the strength of every German man and woman, whether it is devoted to fighting, to work, or to suffering. We are ready for all sacrifices. The God who planted His glorious spirit of freedom in the hearts of our brave people will also give us and our loyal allies, tested in battle, the full victory over all the enemy lust for power and rage for destruction.

"WILHELM I. R."

The most notable opinion expressed by an American was that of Ex-Secretary of War Garrison, on the following day. This opinion has more reference to our Nation's attitude:

EX-SECRETARY OF WAR SAYS THAT UNITED STATES HAS ALL IT CAN DO TO GOVERN ITS OWN AFFAIRS—SAFER TO STAND ALONE—BAR ASSOCIATION COMMITTEE, HOWEVER, PRESENTS REPORT FAVORING WORLD ALLIANCE.

Declaring that a nation, like an individual, has all it can do to govern its own affairs wisely and properly, Lindley M. Garrison, former Secretary of War under President Wilson, last night condemned as dangerous and un-American the proposed post-bellum league to insure peace, to which the President has committed himself in his peace notes to the warring powers of Europe. Mr. Garrison was delivering the annual address before the New York State Bar Association in the Academy of Music in Brooklyn.

Some 300 lawyers, members of the association, were gathered in the banquet hall of the Academy to listen to Mr. Garrison, and at the conclusion of his speech filed past him and ex-Justice Charles Evans Hughes, the newly elected president of the association, to shake hands with and congratulate them. Ex-Supreme Court Justice Morgan J. O'Brien, the retiring president, introduced Mr. Garrison.

The former War Secretary expressed the opinion that there would pobably always be wars, and asked if mixing in the affairs of other nations was not a surer way to produce war than to prevent it. This was why he thought a world alliance dangerous. He thought it un-American, because the United States, he said, had always had policies and principles singularly its own, and participation in a league of nations could have no other result than a participation by allens in the management of our affairs and the determination of our destinies.

"I for one would not consent to enter into any such agreement through fear," he said. "Fear, I mean, of what might happen to my Nation if I did not have the support of other nations assured by alliance in the event of aggressions against my Nation. We have the means and the men to provide for our own safety, and if we will not avail ourselves of them we are not worth saving. I would not consent to enter any such alliance purely because of the supposed beneficent effect to other nations unless it was essentially beneficial to my own Nation.

AGAINST MIXING IN.

"A nation, like an individual, has all it can do to govern its own concerns wisely and properly, and that is a task requiring its virtue, its strength, and its intelligence. It can best serve mankind by developing itself along lines of its native and peculiar genius. If each nation so devoted itself, there would be no need of an alliance to prevent war or preserve peace.

"It would hesitate long and consider thoroughly whether mixing in the affairs of other nations of the world was not probably a surer way to produce war than to prevent it. A misalliance is more likely to produce discord than if the respective parties had continued to live separate, self-respecting, self-reliant lives.

"If such an alliance only deals with the trifling, superficial things which lie on the surface, then it never can amount to anything. If it, however, covers all questions between nations, then no nation has a right to enter it unless it is willing to have its own concerns decided by alien minds and alien motives.

"So soon as you get beyond those things which most nations are willing, and all should be willing, to leave to The Hague or other like tribunals, and when you get down to things which vitally matter, I for one doubt if any self-respecting nation should enter such alliance unless it stands ready to accept the inevitable consequences of seeing its destiny determined by other minds and other interests.

"Does our Nation so stand ready? It should be perfectly sure that it does before it says yes.

"The ease of getting into such a situation should mislead no one as to the ease of withdrawing from it and from the consequences of having entered it. Agreements, as we lawyers know, are made in haste and repented at leisure—are broken as often, if not oftener, than they are kept, and are quite as likely to be the beginning of trouble as the ending of it.

"We occupy a conspicuous place on the world's stage," continued Mr. Garrison. "We have the strength of a giant and should use it like a giant."

DEEP THOUGHT NECESSARY.

After reviewing the recent foreign policy of the Nation, he said: "We must not let unregulated sentiment or emotion dictate our course in matters which can only be decided properly by deep thought and broad reasoning.

"Poison taken by mistake," he declared, "is just as deadly as though taken intentionally. A mistaken policy entered upon from the best of motives may be just as disastrous as one entered upon from the worst of motives.

"In any and every event we must remember we are dealing with human nature—with man, who amid all the changing years has changed so little. Civilization has made him more civil and more civic. It has laid an outward covering of refinement over his elemental and primitive

qualities. It has altered his manifestations but not his content. The superstructure, fine and attractive as it is, is still superstructure. The foundation and basic element is primitive human nature with all its innate strength and all its innate weaknesses. Those who direct and determine the destiny of each nation must guide its course in the light of this knowledge.

"The duty of each nation is first and foremost to its own people. Its course should be guided by enlightened self-interest. It knows its own history, its genius, and the traditions of its people and their interests and aspirations. It knows what will tend best to preserve and conserve its strength and virtue.

"It knows also the history of the world. That from the Peloponnesian and the Punic wars until this day the last great war has always been the last great war until the next great war came along and took its place. Nations as seemingly solid and impregnable as the everlasting hills have toppled over, and nothing is now left of them but their names."

After asking what we should do to avoid war, Mr. Garrison said:

"I will waste no time in discussing its avoidance by the supine surrender of our self-respect and by a refusal to maintain and defend the Nation's interests from the Nation's enemies. Of what profit is it to a nation to save its skin if it lose its soul?

"There are, however, other suggestions and proposals proceeding from men who love their country and who have its best interests at heart, and who hope to devise some method of safeguarding it and preserving it and the other nations of the world from the results of unnecessary conflict.

"I do not propose discussing these in detail. They all revolve around the central idea of a world alliance—an alliance to enforce peace or preserve peace or insure peace—a world court or a world parliament.

"The spirit which animates these suggestions is of the finest and best in humanity. But we should not be led by these emotional impulses into any radical departure from what has made us great or has kept us great.

"During the 135 years of the existence of this Nation we have pursued one clear-cut, defined, and consistent policy in our foreign affairs. We have interfered with none and permitted none to interfere with us. We have promulgated a doctrine to cover this hemisphere and have undertaken vast responsibilities in connection therewith. By guiding our own foreign affairs we can be sure that our judgments proceed from justice and equity and fairness and need quarrel with none unless the quarrel is forced upon us against our will.

WISE LEADERSHIP NEEDED NOW.

"I can conceive of no more important question to be passed upon by a nation. Of all questions conceivable, this is the one which should be least dealt with lightly or emotionally. The hardest kind of common sense should be applied to the situation—the most courageous facing of facts and the greatest wisdom and foresight of which men are capable. Wise leadership to-day probably has in its hands the destiny of the Nation."

Mr. Garrison began his speech by urging lawyers to take a more intensive interest in public life, on the ground that the Nation needed more judicial action by its citizens. He said that party lines had ceased to mean anything, and that there would be a realignment of American citizens on the question of how far the National Government should or should not go in concerning itself with the daily life of the citizen. In addition to the question of foreign policies, he thought the matter of national defense was one into which no politics should be allowed to enter.

"Whatever diversity there may properly be upon other matters, here there must be unanimity," he said. "No one is worthy of citizenship in a nation if he is not willing to devote his all to its defense. To deny this is to take all meaning from the word loyalty and to place mankind in the lowest plane of purse selfishness.

"Our people have been slow in considering and deliberate in acting upon this question. Democracies are notoriously and necessarily slow in this as well as in other matters. Appeals to the pocketbook of the citizen, to his fear, and to his prejudices have impeded a proper settlement of this great question. But do not be deceived. Our people are not sunk in sordidness; they are not sapped of their virtue and courage; they are not daunted and afraid. They do believe in some things higher and finer than money and money-making."

The report of the State Bar Association's Committee on International Arbitration, read at the day session of the organization's meeting in the building of the Long Island Historical Society, had praised the idea of a world alliance, condemned by Mr. Garrison.

"The League to Enforce Peace has gone on with its good work," the report said. "A World's Court League has been incorporated in this country for the purpose of promoting a league among nations for the creation of 'An international court of justice representing the nations of the world and, subject to the limitations of treaties, empowered to assume jurisdiction over international questions in dispute that are justiciable in character and that are not settled by negotiation.'"

On the 13th a British authoritative statement was made on her treatment of neutrals:

BRITISH REPLY THAT GERMANY BEGAN WAR—CHARGE REPEATED IN AUTHORITATIVE ANSWER TO BERLIN'S STATEMENT TO NEUTRALS—RUSSIA FORCED TO ACTION—INSIST THAT CONFERENCE WAS REJECTED BY TEUTONS FOUR DAYS BEFORE CZAR CALLED FOR ARMY.

LONDON, *January 13.*

An authoritative statement issued here to-day gives the British view of the German and Austrian notes to neutrals. It repeats the assertion that Germany was responsible for starting the war, inasmuch as the proposal for a conference was rejected. This refusal, it is pointed out, was given on July 27, 1914, while it was not until July 31 that orders were given for a general mobilization by the Russian Government.

The statement deals at length with the German charge that the proposals of the Allies regarding the rights of small nationalities lacked sincerity in view of the treatment of the Irish and the Boers, the subjection of northern Africa, the suppression of foreign nationalities in Russia, and the treatment of Greece. On this point the statement says:

"As for Ireland and South Africa, their sons have shown on many battle fields, as the Germans know to their cost, that whatever differences there may have been between those countries and Great Britain they are now united with the rest of the empire in repelling German aggression. As for northern Africa, at the beginning of the war had not Germany, too, great colonies in Africa? Did not they obtain those colonies by similar means to those which place the French, Italian, and British in coastal northern Africa?"

It is pointed out that the whole of Russia is united against the central powers, while as regards Greece "the allies have done no more than exact in their capacity of protecting powers the guarantees to which they were entitled against German intrigue to protect the safety of their own armies."

Dealing with the charge that the allies were the first to violate the laws of war at sea, the statement says: "From the very beginning the Germans sowed mines indiscriminately on trade routes in defiance of all international law and with total disrespect of the rights and lives of neutrals. * * * The right of cutting off supplies of an enemy is a well-recognized belligerent right practiced by all nations. The avowed purpose of the submarine measures of Germany was to cut off the supplies of these islands. This campaign has been carried out ruthlessly and with total disregard of the rights of neutrals and of their lives. Even the Germans can not pretend to excuse such crimes as those of the Lusitania, the Arabic, the Sussex, and many others. The Germans profess to regard as inhuman the employment of starvation as a weapon. Were they of the same opinion in 1870, when they starved the city of Paris?

LAY WAR IN AFRICA TO GERMANS.

The statement charges that Germany herself started the war in Africa by an attempt to raise an insurrection in South Africa, and says the Germans are better supplied with munitions and machine guns in Africa than are the allies. Denial also is made of the charges of bad treatment of prisoners, and attention is drawn to the events in Belgium, the Armenian massacres, and the alleged illtreatment of prisoners in the Wittenberg camp and elsewhere.

"Have the Germans forgotten," the statement continues, "that the chancellor admitted the violation of Belgian neutrality was wrong, but claimed it was justified by military necessity? As for the treatment of Belgium, the world will not readily forget the massacres of Aerschet and Louvain, the forced levies of Belgian funds, and the inhuman, barbarous deportations which are being carried out this day."

It is improbable the allies will make any further comment on the German and Austrian notes.

The Westminster Gazette says:

"There is no power in the world but Germany which could set up such a defense for such conduct, and that she can do it is proof that her ideas on the subject of treaties and international morality are wholly at variance with those of the rest of the world. The whole of what she gained on the western front is due to this initial foul strike, which was planned and executed with the knowledge that France had trusted her guarantee and had made her defensive preparations accordingly."

On the 15th, two days later, an authoritative statement was made by Germany through her foreign minister:

[By wireless to Sayville.]

BERLIN, *January 15.*

Dr. Alfred Zimmermann, the German foreign minister, informed the Associated Press yesterday that, in his opinion, the entente reply to President Wilson's peace note barred the possibility for the present of further German steps to bring about peace. In particular, he says, it precluded any direct announcement by Germany of her peace conditions, in answer to the terms set forth in the entente note.

Dr. Zimmermann asserted, however, that the answer of the entente to the President did not finally and completely close the door to later efforts for peace before one side or the other was completely crushed.

The foreign minister, in the course of a conversation with the correspondent stated, although with obvious reluctance, that it was impossible for him to give a more definite statement of the peace program of the central powers than that indicated in the declarations of Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, the chancellor, because the German terms were such that the unsolicited promulgation of them in their moderate details, after what he characterized as the aspiring program of conquest and dismemberment outlined by the entente, would be interpreted by the entente powers as a sign of weakness and of a desire for peace at any cost.

Publication of the peace terms of the central powers, therefore, would defeat its every purpose, said Dr. Zimmermann. The foreign minister expressed doubt whether, after what he described as a rebuff to President Wilson's peace efforts given in the reply of the entente, the President could take any further action for the present, adding that the entente answer excluded for the present any possibility of peace.

Expressing a profound conviction that the program of the entente powers never could be carried into effect, Dr. Zimmermann intimated that a failure of the entente's offensive this year, which he expected, might again make it possible to approach the subject of peace on reasonable terms and with some prospect of success.

"The entente powers gave out for themselves a big program," said Dr. Zimmermann in answer to a question as to his opinion on the note to President Wilson. "What more is there for Germany to say regarding it?"

NO "CHASING AFTER PEACE."

"Now that the allies have to a certain extent outlined their plans," said the correspondent, "do you think there is any possibility of Germany declaring in some form or other its program for a peace settlement?"

"No," replied the minister, after an instant's reflection. "I think we can do nothing more. We can not afford to give the impression that we are chasing after peace at all costs. After the entente allies have put out this highly ambitious program, an announcement of the firm and moderate German terms of peace would by contrast probably be interpreted by our adversaries as an indication of weakness and would be used by them to encourage their people to fight on. Our people would not understand any further effort by us for the introduction of peace after the entente's declaration. We have to consider public opinion here."

Dr. Zimmermann said that obviously he could discern the advantages from one point of view in stating Germany's terms and letting the world see by contrast with those to which the entente powers have committed themselves the real state of affairs, but he seemed to be convinced that such advantages were not sufficient to affect the attitude of the entente powers or to outweigh the effect on opinion in enemy countries of the announcement of the terms regarding Belgium and other nations in this war.

To the question as to whether he saw the possibility of Germany's making such a declaration of her intentions, should a further inquiry be made from the neutral side, for example, by President Wilson, the minister replied critically:

"But will he make such an inquiry after the entente reply, which in its nature is, shall we say, insulting?"

MEDIATION POSSIBLE AFTER ALLIES FAIL.

"Do you think that after an interval there will be any possibility of an offer of mediation for peace being accepted by both sides?" the minister was asked.

"Yes," he replied. "The desire for peace of all the peoples—peoples, mind you, I say, not Governments—is so strong that after the entente has had another try with a new offensive, after it has seen the fruitlessness of all the endeavors to crush the military strength of the central powers, there may be a better possibility of negotiating a satisfactory and reasonable peace.

"Of course if the entente powers persist in trying to execute their program the war must be fought out to the bitter end. There is not a German who would not rather die than see the accomplishment of the announced intention of the entente powers with respect to Germany, to see German Provinces with predominant German populations torn from the German Empire, and united Germany, which our fathers so labored to achieve, torn asunder and the country reduced, as the allies have plainly announced as their ambition, to a condition of subjection to rival great powers of Europe.

"The conditions for Austria-Hungary are even more difficult. Its dismemberment to satisfy the passion for territorial aggrandizement of Russia, Italy, Serbia, and Roumania would leave the State not even a third-rate power, while who can say what would be the fate of the 'redeemed small nationalities' when brought under the sway of Russia? Bulgaria, of course, would be bitterly punished, and Turkey would practically cease to exist if the plans contemplated in the entente's answer were attained.

LET ENGLAND SET IRELAND FREE.

"The entente tries to justify its aims of conquest by what it calls liberation, instead of pillaging. Charity begins at home. Why does not England give a practical example of her idea of liberty by setting Ireland free?"

Italy's aim is suggested by the following:

DEFENDS ITALY'S AIM TO GAIN TERRITORY—MINISTER RUFFINI COUNTS ON AMERICAN OPINION TO DECLARE NATION'S DESIRES JUST.

ROME, *January 14 (via Paris January 15)*.

Italy's territorial aspirations in connection with the war were explained and defended to-day by Francesco Ruffini, minister of public instruction and a historian of prominence.

"In the note of the allies to President Wilson," he said, "they make a point which is understandable to neutrals, and particularly to America. Italy, no less than her allies, awaits with calm confidence the realization of the aims set forth in that passage of the note which refers to the redemption of Italians subject to Austria. The German press seeks to depict Italy as desirous of conquests, but American public opinion, so far-seeing, so well educated to freedom, and to a deep spirit of national unity, can not confound brutal lust of conquest with a justified claim to territories with populations like those of the Trentino, Istria, and Dalmatia.

"These territories have had only one civilization in their history, that of Italy, and only one great humiliation—which must cease—that of foreign domination which attempted to destroy the principle of nationality. America knows well that Italy, notwithstanding these just claims, abstained from any provocation before the European conflagration, being occupied only with her peaceful development. Austria was responsible for the outbreak of the conflict, having willed war with Serbia after provoking Italy one hundred times with violent persecution of Italians of Trent, Trieste, Fiume, and Zara, whom she denied even the right to educate themselves in their own language.

"Once the conflagration was ignited, Italy felt that fate called her to complete her national unity and resume her just and holy work and her wars of independence, which have been studied with such enthusiasm by your illustrious American historian. Only those who are ignorant of the history of Austria's violent usurpations were surprised by Italy's action, initiated by her victorious armies, or considered her just claims to be ambition for conquest. Italy faced the terrible sacrifices of blood and riches imposed by the war with that same religious spirit which animated all the deeds of her national resurrection, of which America's attainment of independence was so full.

"Italy counts on the considered and tranquil judgment of American public opinion, which, while justly desiring the return of peace, can not, if it examines the origin of the conflict and the problem raised thereby, wish that the European equilibrium, broken by violence in 1914, be replaced to-day by a premature and unfruitful peace containing the germs of graver conflicts in the future."

The situation of neutral countries becomes more delicate, as indicated by the following:

GREECE TO YIELD WITHOUT RESERVE—TOLD QUALIFIED ACCEPTANCE OF ALLIED ULTIMATUM WON'T DO—ANOTHER ISLAND OCCUPIED.

ATHENS, *January 15.*

The entente powers, through the Italian minister, have insisted on unqualified acceptance of the last entente ultimatum, considering the Greek Government's reply equivocal.

It is stated in Government circles that while maintaining that the observations accompanying Greece's reply in nowise constituted reservations vitiating the fullest acceptance of the ultimatum, the Government is willing to repeat its acceptance categorically, as desired.

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ATHENS, *January 12 (via London, January 15. Delayed)*.

The allies occupied the island of Cerigo on Wednesday.

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Cerigo is the southernmost of the principal of the Ionian Islands, belonging to Greece. It is in the Mediterranean, off the southern extremity of Morea. A number of other Greek insular possessions have been occupied by the allies, supposedly on account of the establishment of bases for hostile submarines.

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SWISS TO MOBILIZE MORE MEN ON BORDER—FEDERAL COUNCIL CALLS OUT THE SECOND DIVISION AND PARTS OF FOURTH AND FIFTH.

BERNE, SWITZERLAND, *January 16.*

Official announcement was made to-day that the Swiss Federal Council had decided, as a measure of protection, to mobilize on January 24 the second division and the contingents of the fourth and fifth divisions, which have not yet been mobilized. The bulletin says:

"The Federal Council declares that circumstances enabled it to reduce very considerably during recent months the forces on the frontier. At the beginning of the year it was considered necessary to take more extensive measures of precaution, and for this reason it ordered the mobilization on January 24 of the second division and the contingents of the fourth and fifth divisions, which have not yet been mobilized. The Federal Council remains fully confident of the intentions of the belligerent parties toward the neutrality of Switzerland."

There have been frequent reports recently of uneasiness in Switzerland regarding possible violation of the country's neutrality. Italy, according to official dispatches, has been strengthening her defenses on the Swiss border. President Schulthess, of Switzerland, said recently that the Swiss people would never allow a foreign army to invade their soil. On account of the reiteration of these reports the French and German Governments renewed their assurances to Switzerland that they would respect her neutrality.

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WAR PERIL GROWING, KING TELLS SWEDES—COUNTRY'S POSITION MORE DIFFICULT THE LONGER IT LASTS, SAYS GUSTAVE.

LONDON, *January 16.*

At the opening of the Riksdag to-day, says Reuter's Stockholm correspondent, King Gustave's speech from the throne constituted a serious appeal to the Swedish nation on the grave circumstances of the third year of the continuance of the war.

"To the present," said King Gustave, "we have been able, by the grace of God, to avoid being drawn into the war. But the effects of the war, none the less, have inflicted on us many sufferings, and the longer it lasts the greater will become our difficulty. We can not shut our eyes to the profound gravity of the present hour."

King Gustave made an appeal for national unity, and the sinking of all internal dissensions, which, he said, had peculiarly aggravated the Government's task of safeguarding the country's liberty, sovereignty, and neutrality. The King announced the need of maintaining the special preparations by the land and sea forces, which hitherto had been judged indispensable, and alluded to the extraordinary measures that had been necessitated by the increasing extent of war operations carried on in territorial waters.

The King added that it was the duty of all the neutral States to maintain international law and care for their common and legitimate interests. He said a desire to contribute to the establishment of a durable peace had induced Sweden to enter into relations with other neutrals, especially the other two Scandinavian kingdoms, with a view to common deliberation. "I trust the cooperation already effected," said the King, "will be further strengthened and extended."

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GREECE SUBMITS TO ALL DEMANDS—ACCEPTS ALLIES' TERMS CATEGORICALLY WHEN BRITISH ENVOY INSISTS—ITALIAN MILITARY MISSION AT ATHENS—CONSTANTINE'S TROOPS VACATING THESSALY AND KING'S FALL IS NEARER.

[By cable to the Tribune.]

LONDON, *January 17.*

Greece has yielded to the demands of the entente in their entirety. This was announced to-day by Sir F. E. H. Elliott, British minister at Athens. Venizelists arrested following the outbreak in Athens are expected to be released immediately.

The decision of the Greek Government was reached after a conference between Premier Lambros and Minister Elliott, at which the British envoy insisted that nothing short of a categorical acceptance of their demands would satisfy the allies.

The first indication of the great part Italy is to play in Macedonia in the near future is seen in the announcement from Athens that an Italian military mission has arrived there to participate in the allied control of Greece.

A mixed commission of entente and Greek officers will begin immediately the carrying out of the military guarantees. The first step will be the completion of the transfer of Greek troops and munitions in Peloponnesus, which must be done by January 23, according to the terms of the ultimatum. It is reported to be proceeding rapidly.

The next move by the entente, according to private advices, will be the removal of King Constantine, who will be supplanted by some one in sympathy with the allied cause. Unless signs fail, the new Greek ruler will be thoroughly in sympathy with the development of Italian plans in the Balkans and will be assured of the support of the Italian people.

Great satisfaction is expressed here over the sudden turn of events in Greece. It is the general opinion that there will be little further trouble from that quarter.

Great Britain amplifies the entente reply in a new note to the President, made public last Thursday, January 18, in which the bases of a durable peace are named:

TEXT OF NEW NOTE FROM GREAT BRITAIN CONCERNING PEACE SENT IN AMPLIFICATION OF ALLIED REPLY TO WILSON.

LONDON, *January 13.*

His Excellency the Right Honorable Sir Cecil Spring-Rice:

In sending you a translation of the allied note I desire to make the following observations, which you should bring to the notice of the United States Government:

I gather from the general tenor of the President's note that, while he is animated by an intense desire that peace should come soon and that when it comes it should be lasting, he does not, for the moment at least, concern himself with the terms on which it should be arranged. His Majesty's Government entirely share with the President's ideas; but they feel strongly that the durability of peace must largely depend on its character and that no stable system of international relations can be built on foundations which are essentially and hopelessly defective.

This becomes clearly apparent if we consider the main conditions which rendered possible the calamities from which the world is now suffering. These were the existence of great powers consumed with the lust of domination in the midst of a community of nations ill prepared for defense, plentifully supplied, indeed, with international laws, but with no machinery for enforcing them, and weakened by the fact that neither the boundaries of the various States nor their internal constitution harmonized with the aspirations of their constituent races or secured to them just and equal treatment.

That this last evil would be greatly mitigated if the allies secured the changes in the map of Europe outlined in their joint note is manifest, and I need not labor the point.

It has been argued, indeed, that the expulsion of the Turks from Europe forms no proper or logical part of this general scheme. The maintenance of the Turkish Empire was during many generations regarded by statesmen of world-wide authority as essential to the maintenance of European peace. Why, is it asked, should the cause of peace be now associated with a complete reversal of this traditional policy?

The answer is that circumstances have completely changed. It is unnecessary to consider now whether the creation of a reformed Turkey, mediating between hostile races in the Near East, was a scheme which, had the Sultan been sincere and the powers united, could ever have been realized. It certainly can not be realized now. The Turkey of "union and progress" is at least as barbarous and is far more aggressive than the Turkey of Sultan Abdul Hamid. In the hands of Germany it has ceased even in appearance to be a bulwark of peace, and is openly used as an instrument of conquest. Under German officers Turkish soldiers are now fighting in lands from which they had long been expelled, and a Turkish Government controlled, subsidized, and supported by Germany has been guilty of massacres in Armenia and Syria more horrible than any recorded in the history even of those unhappy countries. Evidently the interests of peace and the claims of nationality alike require that Turkish rule over alien races shall, if possible, be brought to an end, and we may hope that the expulsion of Turkey from Europe will contribute as much to the cause of peace as the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France, or Italia Irredenta to Italy, or any of the territorial changes indicated in the allied note.

Evidently, however, such territorial rearrangements, though they may diminish the occasions of war, provide no sufficient security against its recurrence. If Germany, or rather those in Germany who mold its opinions and control its destinies, again sets out to domineer the world, they may find that by the new order of things the adventure is made more difficult, but hardly that it is made impossible. They may still have ready to their hand a political system organized through and through on a military basis; they may still accumulate vast stores of military equipment; they may still persist in their methods of attack, so that their more pacific neighbors will be struck down before they can prepare themselves for defense. If so, Europe when the war is over will be far poorer in men, in money, and in mutual good will than it was when the war began, but it will not be safer, and the hopes for the future of the world entertained by the President will be as far as ever from fulfillment.

There are those who think that for this disease international treaties and international laws may provide a sufficient cure. But such persons have ill learned the lessons so clearly taught by recent history. While other nations, notably the United States of America and Britain, were striving by treaties of arbitration to make sure that no chance quarrel should mar the peace they desired to make perpetual, Germany stood aloof. Her historians and philosophers preached the splendors of war; power was proclaimed as the true end of the State; and the general staff forged with untiring industry the weapons by which at the appointed moment power might be achieved. These facts proved clearly enough that treaty arrangements for maintaining peace were not likely to find much favor at Berlin; they did not prove that such treaties, once made, would be utterly ineffectual. This became evident only when war had broken out, though the sought demonstration, when it came, was overwhelming. So long as Germany remains the Germany which, without a shadow of justification, overran and barbarously ill treated a country it was pledged to defend, no State can regard its rights as secure if they have no better protection than a solemn treaty.

The case is made worse by the reflection that these methods of calculated brutality were designed by the central powers not merely to crush to the dust those with whom they were at war, but to intimidate those with whom they were still at peace. Belgium was not only a victim, it was an example. Neutrals were intended to note the outrages which accompanied its conquest, the reign of terror which followed on its occupation, the deportation of a portion of its population, the cruel oppression of the remainder. And, lest the nations happily protected either by British fleets or by their own from German armies, should suppose themselves safe from German methods, the submarine has (within its limits) assiduously imitated the barbarous practices of the sister service. The war staffs of the central powers are well content to horrify the world if at the same time they can terrorize it.

If, then, the central powers succeed, it will be to methods like these that they will owe their success. How can any reform of international relations be based on a peace thus obtained? Such a peace would represent the triumph of all the forces which make war certain and make it brutal. It would advertise the futility of all the methods on which civilization relies to eliminate the occasions of international dispute and to mitigate their ferocity. Germany and Austria made the present war inevitable by attacking the rights of one small State, and they gained their initial triumphs by violating the treaty guaranties of the territories of another. Are small States going to find in them their protectors or in treaties made by them a bulwark against aggression? Terrorism by land and sea will have proved itself the instrument of victory. Are the victors likely to abandon it on the appeal of neutrals? If existing treaties are no more than scraps of paper, can fresh treaties help us? If they be crowned with success, will it not be in vain that the assembled nations labor to improve their code? None will profit by their rulers but powers who break them. It is those who keep them that will suffer.

Though, therefore, the people of this country share to the full the desire of the President for peace, they do not believe peace can be durable if it be not based on the success of the allied cause. For a durable peace can hardly be expected unless three conditions are fulfilled: The first is that existing causes of international unrest should be as far as possible removed or weakened; the second is that the aggressive aims and the unscrupulous methods of the central powers should fall into disrepute among their own peoples; the third is that behind international law and behind all treaty arrangements for preventing or limiting hostilities some form of international sanction should be devised which would give pause to the hardiest aggressor.

These conditions may be difficult of fulfillment. But we believe them to be in general harmony with the President's ideas, and we are confident that none of them can be satisfied, even imperfectly, unless peace be secured on the general lines indicated (so far as Europe is concerned) in the joint note. Therefore it is that this country has made, is making, and is prepared to make sacrifices of blood and treasure unparalleled in its history. It bears these heavy burdens, not merely that it may thus fulfill its treaty obligations, nor yet that it may secure a barren triumph of one group of nations over another. It bears them because it firmly believes that on the success of the allies depend the prospects of peaceful civilization and of those international reforms which the best thinkers of the New World, as of the Old, dare to hope may follow on the cessation of our present calamities.

ARTHUR J. BALFOUR.

At 1 p. m. to-day the President addressed the Senate as a body, as follows:

TEXT OF PRESIDENT WILSON'S ADDRESS BEFORE THE SENATE GIVING HIS IDEAS OF STEPS NECESSARY FOR WORLD PEACE.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE: On the 18th of December last I addressed an identic note to the Governments of the nations now at war requesting them to state more definitely than there had yet been stated by either group of belligerents the terms upon which they would deem it possible to make peace. I spoke on behalf of humanity and of the rights of all neutral nations like our own, many of whose most vital interests the war puts in constant jeopardy. The central powers united in a reply which stated merely that they were ready to meet their antagonists in conference to discuss terms of peace.

The entente powers have replied much more definitely and have stated, in general terms, indeed, but with sufficient definiteness to imply details, the arrangements, guarantees, and acts of reparation which they deem to be the indispensable conditions of a satisfactory settlement.

We are that much nearer a definite discussion of the peace which shall end the present war. We are that much nearer the discussion of the international concert which must thereafter hold the world at peace.

In every discussion of the peace that must end this war it is taken for granted that that peace must be followed by some definite concert of power which will make it virtually impossible that any such catastrophe should ever overwhelm us again. Every lover of mankind, every sane and thoughtful man, must take that for granted.

I have sought this opportunity to address you because I thought that I owed it to you, as the council associated with me in the final determination of our international obligations, to disclose to you without reserve the thought and purpose that have been taking form in my mind in regard to the duty of our Government in these days to come, when it will be necessary to lay afresh and upon a new plan the foundations of peace among the nations.

It is inconceivable that the people of the United States should play no part in that great enterprise. To take part in such a service will be the opportunity for which they have sought to prepare themselves by the very principles and purposes of their policy and the approved practices of their Government ever since the days when they set up a new Nation in the high and honorable hope that it might, in all that it was and did, show mankind the way to liberty. They can not in honor withhold the service to which they are now about to be challenged. They do not wish to withhold it. But they owe it to themselves and to the other nations of the world to state the conditions under which they will feel free to render it.

That service is nothing less than this: To add their authority and their power to the authority and force of other nations to guarantee peace and justice throughout the world. Such a settlement can not now be long postponed. It is right that before it comes this Government should frankly formulate the conditions upon which it would feel justified in asking our people to approve its formal and solemn adherence to a league for peace. I am here to attempt to state those conditions.

The present war must first be ended; but we owe it to candor and to a joint regard for the opinion of mankind to say that so far as our participation in guarantee of future peace is concerned it makes a great deal of difference in what way and upon what terms it is ended. The treaties and agreements which bring it to an end must embody terms which will create a peace that is worth guaranteeing and preserving; a peace that will win the approval of mankind, not merely a peace that will serve the several interests and immediate aims of the nations engaged. We shall have no voice in determining what those terms shall be, but we shall, I feel sure, have a voice in determining whether they shall be made lasting or not by the guarantees of a universal covenant; and our judgment upon what is fundamental and essential as a condition precedent to permanency should be spoken now, not afterward, when it may be too late.

No covenant of cooperative peace that does not include the peoples of the New World can suffice to keep the future safe against war; and yet there is only one sort of peace that the peoples of America could join in guaranteeing.

The elements of that peace must be elements that engage the confidence and satisfy the principles of the American governments, elements consistent with their political faith and the practical convictions which the peoples of America have once for all embraced and undertaken to defend.

I do not mean to say that any American government would throw any obstacle in the way of any terms of peace the governments now at war might agree upon, or seek to upset them when made, whatever they might be.

I only take it for granted that mere terms of peace between the belligerents will not be satisfactory even to the belligerents themselves. Mere agreements may not make peace secure. It will be absolutely necessary that a force be created as a guarantor of the permanency of the settlement so much greater than the force of any nation now engaged or any alliance hitherto formed or projected that no nation, no probable combination of nations, could face or withstand it. If the peace presently to be made is to endure, it must be a peace made secure by the organized major force of mankind.

The terms of the immediate peace agreed upon will determine whether it is a peace for which such a guaranty can be secured. The question upon which the whole future peace and policy of the world depends is this:

And the paths of the sea must, alike in law and in fact, be free. The freedom of the seas is the sine qua non of peace, equality and cooperation. No doubt a somewhat radical reconsideration of many of the rules of international practice hitherto sought to be established may be necessary in order to make the seas indeed free and common in practically all circumstances for the use of mankind, but the motive for such changes is convincing and compelling. There can be no trust or intimacy between the peoples of the world without them. The free, constant, unthreatened intercourse of nations is an essential part of the process of peace and of development.

It need not be difficult to define or to secure the freedom of the seas if the Governments of the world sincerely desire to come to an agreement concerning it.

It is a problem closely connected with the limitation of naval armament and the cooperation of the navies of the world in keeping the seas at once free and safe. And the question of limiting naval armaments opens the wider and perhaps more difficult question of the limitation of armies and of all programs of military preparation.

Difficult and delicate as these questions are, they must be faced with the utmost candor and decided in a spirit of real accommodation if peace is to come with healing in its wings, and come to stay. Peace can not be had without concession and sacrifice. There can be no sense of safety and equality among the nations if great preponderating armaments are henceforth to continue here and there to be built up and maintained.

The statesmen of the world must plan for peace, and nations must adjust and accommodate their policy to it as they have planned for war and made ready for pitiless contest and rivalry.

The question of armaments, whether on land or sea, is the most immediately and intensely practical question connected with the future fortunes of nations and of mankind.

I have spoken upon these great matters without reserve and with the utmost explicitness because it has seemed to me to be necessary if the world's yearning desire for peace was anywhere to find free voice and utterance. Perhaps I am the only person in high authority amongst all the peoples of the world who is at liberty to speak and hold nothing back. I am speaking as an individual, and yet I am speaking also, of course, as the responsible head of a great Government, and I feel confident that I have said what the people of the United States would wish me to say.

May I not add that I hope and believe that I am in effect speaking for liberals and friends of humanity in every nation and of every program of liberty? I would fain believe that I am speaking for the silent mass of mankind everywhere who have as yet had no place or opportunity to speak their real hearts out concerning the death and ruin they see to have come already upon the persons and the homes they hold most dear.

And in holding out the expectation that the people and Government of the United States will join the other civilized nations of the world in guaranteeing the permanence of peace upon such terms as I have named I speak with the greater boldness and confidence, because it is clear to every man who can think that there is in this promise no breach in either our traditions or our policy as a nation, but a fulfillment rather of all that we have professed or striven for.

I am proposing, as it were, that the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world; that no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own polity, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful.

I am proposing that all nations henceforth avoid entangling alliances which would draw them into competitions of power, catch them in a net of intrigue and selfish rivalry, and disturb their own affairs with influences intruded from without. There is no entangling alliance in a concert of power. When all unite to act in the same sense and with the same purpose all act in the common interest and are free to live their own lives under a common protection.

I am proposing government by the consent of the governed; that freedom of the seas which in international conference after conference representatives of the United States have urged with the eloquence of those who are the convinced disciples of liberty; and that moderation of armaments which makes of armies and navies a power for order merely, not an instrument of aggression or of selfish violence.

These are American principles, American policies. We can stand for no others. And they are also the principles and policies of forward-looking men and women everywhere, of every modern nation, of every enlightened community. They are the principles of mankind and must prevail.

Is the present war a struggle for a just and secure peace or only for a new balance of power? If it be only a struggle for a new balance of power, who will guarantee, who can guarantee, the stable equilibrium of the new arrangement? Only a tranquil Europe can be a stable Europe. There must be not a balance of power but a community of power, not organized rivalries but an organized common peace.

Fortunately, we have received very explicit assurances on this point. The statesmen of both of the groups of nations now arrayed against one another have said in terms that could not be misinterpreted that it was no part of the purpose they had in mind to crush their antagonists. But the implications of these assurances may not be equally clear to all—may not be the same on both sides of the water. I think it will be serviceable if I attempt to set forth what we understand them to be.

They imply, first of all, that it must be a peace without victory. It is not pleasant to say this. I beg that I may be permitted to put my own interpretation upon it and that it may be understood that no other interpretation was in my thought. I am seeking only to face realities and to face them without soft concealments. Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished.

It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest not permanently but only as upon quicksand. Only a peace between equals can last. Only a peace the very principle of which is equality and a common participation in a common benefit. The right state of mind, the right feeling between nations, is as necessary for a lasting peace as is the just settlement of vexed questions of territory or of racial and national allegiance.

The equality of nations upon which peace must be founded if it is to last must be an equality of rights; the guaranties exchanged must neither recognize nor imply a difference between big nations and small, between those that are powerful and those that are weak. Right must be based upon the common strength, not upon the individual strength, of the nations upon whose concert peace will depend.

Equality of territory or of resources there, of course, can not be; nor any other sort of equality not gained in the ordinary peaceful and legitimate development of the peoples themselves. But no one asks or expects anything more than an equality of rights. Mankind is looking now for freedom of life, not for equipoises of power.

And there is a deeper thing involved than even equality of right among organized nations. No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand people about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property.

I take it for granted, for instance, if I may venture upon a single example, that statesmen everywhere are agreed that there should be a united, independent, and autonomous Poland, and that henceforth inviolable security of life, of worship, and of industrial and social development should be guaranteed to all peoples who have lived hitherto under the power of governments devoted to a faith and purpose hostile to their own.

I speak of this not because of any desire to exalt an abstract political principle, which has always been held very dear by those who have sought to build up liberty in America, but for the same reason that I have spoken of the other conditions of peace which seem to me clearly indispensable, because I wish frankly to uncover realities. Any peace which does not recognize and accept this principle will inevitably be upset.

It will not rest upon the affections or the convictions of mankind. The ferment of spirit of whole populations will fight subtly and constantly against it and all the world will sympathize. The world can be at peace only if its life is stable, and there can be no stability where the will is in rebellion, where there is not tranquillity of spirit and a sense of justice, of freedom, and of right.

So far as practicable, moreover, every great people now struggling toward a full development of its resources and of its powers should be assured a direct outlet to the great highways of the sea. Where this can not be done by the cession of territory, it can, no doubt, be done by the neutralization of direct rights of way under the general guarantee which will assure the peace itself. With a right comity of arrangement no nation need be shut away from free access to the open paths of the world's commerce.

In order to make this record fairly complete I here insert the President's address on the peace question here in the Capital on the evening of the 27th of last May at the Peace Conference banquet:

When the invitation to be here to-night came to me I was glad to accept it—not because it offered me an opportunity to discuss the program of the league—that you will, I am sure, not expect of me—but because the desire of the whole world now turns eagerly, more and more eagerly, toward the hope of peace, and there is just reason why we should take our part in counsel upon this great theme. It is right that I, as spokesman of our Government, should attempt to give expression to what I believe to be the thought and purpose of the people of the United States in this vital matter.

This great war that broke so suddenly upon the world two years ago, and which has swept within its flame so great a part of the civilized world, has affected us very profoundly, and we are not only at liberty, it is perhaps our duty, to speak very frankly of it and of the great interests of civilization which it affects.

RIGHTS OF NATION AFFECTED.

With its causes and its objects we are not concerned. The obscure fountains from which its stupendous flood has burst forth we are not interested to search for or explore. But so great a flood, spread far and wide to every quarter of the globe, has of necessity ingulfed many a fair province of right that lies very near to us.

Our own rights as a Nation, the liberties, the privileges, and the property of our people have been profoundly affected. We are not mere disinterested lookers-on.

The longer the war lasts the more deeply do we become concerned that it should be brought to an end and the world be permitted to resume its normal life and course again. And when it does come to an end we shall be as much concerned as the nations at war to see peace assume an aspect of permanence, give promise of days from which the anxiety of uncertainty shall be lifted, bring some assurance that peace and war shall always hereafter be reckoned part of the common interest of mankind.

ARE PARTNERS WITH THE REST.

We are participants, whether we would or not, in the life of the world. The interests of all nations are our own also. We are partners with the rest. What affects mankind is inevitably our affair as well as the affair of the nations of Europe and of Asia.

One observation on the causes of the present war we are at liberty to make, and to make it may throw some light forward upon the future as well as backward upon the past. It is plain that this war could have come only as it did, suddenly and out of secret counsels, without warning to the world, without discussion, without any of the deliberate movements of counsel with which it would seem natural to approach so stupendous a contest.

It is probable that if it had been foreseen just what would happen, just what alliances would be formed, just what forces arrayed against one another, those who brought the great contest on would have been glad to substitute conference for force.

MIGHT HAVE AVERTED WAR.

If we ourselves had been afforded some opportunity to apprise the belligerents of the attitude which it would be our duty to take, of the policies and practices against which we would feel bound to use all our moral and economic strength, and in certain circumstances even our physical strength also, our own contribution to the counsel which might have averted the struggle would have been considered worth weighing and regarding.

And the lesson which the shock of being taken by surprise in a matter so deeply vital to all the nations of the world has made poignantly clear is, that the peace of the world must henceforth depend upon a new and more wholesome diplomacy.

Only when the great nations of the world have reached some sort of agreement as to what they hold to be fundamental to their common interest, and as to some feasible method of acting in concert when any nation or group of nations seeks to disturb those fundamental things, can we feel that civilization is at last in a way of justifying its existence and claiming to be finally established.

MUST BE GOVERNED BY HONOR.

It is clear that nations must in the future be governed by the same high code of honor that we demand of individuals.

We must, indeed, in the very same breath with which we avow this conviction admit that we have ourselves upon occasion in the past been offenders against the law of diplomacy which we thus forecast; but our conviction is not the less clear, but rather the more clear on that account.

If this war has accomplished nothing else for the benefit of the world, it has at least disclosed a great moral necessity and set forward the thinking of the statesmen of the world by a whole age.

Repeated utterances of the leading statesmen of most of the great nations now engaged in war have made it plain that their thought has

come to this: That the principle of public right must henceforth take precedence over the individual interests of particular nations, and that the nations of the world must in some way band themselves together to see that that right prevails as against any sort of selfish aggression; that henceforth alliance must not be set up against alliance, understanding against understanding, but that there must be a common agreement for a common object, and that at the heart of that common object must lie the inviolable rights of peoples and of mankind.

NATIONS ARE NOW NEIGHBORS.

The nations of the world have become each other's neighbors. It is to their interest that they should understand each other. In order that they may understand each other it is imperative that they should agree to cooperate in a common cause, and that they should so act that the guiding principle of that common cause shall be even-handed and impartial justice.

This is undoubtedly the thought of America. This is what we ourselves will say when there comes proper occasion to say it. In the dealings of nations with one another arbitrary force must be rejected, and we must move forward to the thought of the modern world, the thought of which peace is the very atmosphere. That thought constitutes a chief part of the passionate conviction of America.

RIGHTS OF THE LITTLE NATIONS.

We believe these fundamental things: First, that every people has a right to choose the sovereignty under which they shall live. Like other nations we have ourselves no doubt once and again offended against that principle when for a little while controlled by selfish passion, as our franker historians have been honorable enough to admit; but it has become more and more our rule of life and action. Second, that the small States of the world have a right to enjoy the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon. And, third, that the world has a right to be free from every disturbance of its peace that has its origin in aggression and disregard of the rights of peoples and nations.

So sincerely do we believe in these things that I am sure that I speak the mind and wish of the people of America when I say that the United States is willing to become a partner in any feasible association of nations formed in order to realize these objects and make them secure against violation.

READY TO CHECK AGGRESSION.

There is nothing that the United States wants for itself that any other nation has. We are willing, on the contrary, to limit ourselves along with them to a prescribed course of duty and respect for the rights of others which will check any selfish passion of our own, as it will check any aggressive impulse of theirs.

If it should ever be our privilege to suggest or initiate a movement for peace among the nations now at war, I am sure that the people of the United States would wish their Government to move along these lines:

First, such a settlement with regard to their own immediate interests as the belligerents may agree upon. We have nothing material of any kind to ask for ourselves, and are quite aware that we are in no sense or degree parties to the present quarrel. Our interest is only in peace and its future guaranties.

Second, an universal association of the nations to maintain the inviolate security of the highway of the seas for the common and unhindered use of all the nations of the world, and to prevent any war begun either contrary to treaty covenants or without warning and full submission of the causes to the opinion of the world—a virtual guaranty of territorial integrity and political independence.

ONLY AVOWS A CREED.

But I did not come here, let me repeat, to discuss a program. I came only to avow a creed and give expression to the confidence I feel that the world is even now upon the eve of a great consummation, when some common force will be brought into existence which shall safeguard right as the first and most fundamental interest of all peoples and all governments, when coercion shall be summoned not to the service of political ambition or selfish hostility, but to the service of a common order, a common justice and a common peace.

God grant that the dawn of that day of frank dealing and of settled peace, concord, and cooperation may be near at hand.

Some Afterthoughts Upon the Public-Buildings Bill Jammed Through the House on Saturday Which May Serve as Forethoughts Upon the Rivers and Harbors Bill Which Has Taken the Front of the Stage With the Same Force Back of It.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. S. D. FESS,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 23, 1917.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, the passage of the public-buildings bill through the House by a vote of 234 to 92 of those voting, 106 not voting, demonstrates in a bald degree the imperative necessity of a radical change in this method of legislation. This bill is condemned widely from every standpoint. The bill itself condemns its passage in the most open manner. The bill provides for a building commission. The law then proceeds—

There shall be in the bureau of public buildings a board of estimates, consisting of three persons, two of whom shall be designated by the Secretary of the Treasury, and the third member shall be the commissioner of public buildings, who shall be the chairman of said board. It shall be the duty of such board of estimates, immediately upon the introduction of a bill in Congress proposing to purchase a site or to construct a Federal building, or both, to institute an investigation, through the field force in the proper group of States and Territories, or otherwise, and, as early as possible, report to the Secretary of the Treasury, who shall at once forward the same to the committee of Congress having jurisdiction of the bill, the following facts:

First. The postal receipts for the last fiscal year.
Second. The different Federal activities to be provided for.
Third. The number of employees for each Federal activity to be housed.
Fourth. The population according to the last Federal census and the preceding one.
Fifth. The estimated population at time of making the report.
Sixth. What important industries, if any, are located in or adjacent to the town or city.
Seventh. How many railroads.
Eighth. Whether county seat or not.
Ninth. Character of public and business buildings.
Tenth. What municipal improvements.
Eleventh. Present needs as to space and probable needs within 10 years.
Twelfth. Character of rented quarters occupied by the Government at time of making report.
Thirteenth. Amount of rent being paid annually in the town or city by the Government at time of making report.
Fourteenth. Distance of post office from union station or depot of railroad to which bulk of mail is brought at time of making report.
Fifteenth. Amount being paid annually by the Government for carriage of mail to and fro between depots and wharves and post office at time of making report.
Sixteenth. Any further fact or facts showing or tending to show advisability of providing for a Federal building at the place named in the bill.

That from and after the passage of this act no city or town in the United States where there are no Federal activities other than the post office shall be considered, either for the purchase of a site or for the construction of a Federal building, by the commissioner of public buildings or the bureau of public buildings or by any committee of Congress, unless it shall appear that the postal receipts for such city or town have amounted to at least $10,000 annually for three successive years: *Provided*, That nothing herein shall apply to cities or towns where sites for public buildings have been acquired or authorized.

It will be noted that the last paragraph fixes $10,000 as the sum of postal receipts as a necessary requirement for a building. However, it expressly declares "hereafter" this shall be the requirement, then to be doubly safe, declares that "nothing herein shall apply to cities or towns where sites for public buildings have already been acquired or authorized." Splendid! Here is a bill that inserts the items which would be excluded by its last provision, a limitation demanded by common sense, but covers them by providing it shall not be operative as to them. If this provision is a correct position why not prove its merit by respecting it by omitting all items in this bill which it excludes in the future?

If this law were operative as to its own items two out of the seven towns in the State of Florida, the home of the chairman of the committee, would be excluded. Not one of them, save a winter resort, according to the estimates upon which this bill was drafted, will reach $15,000 postal receipts. Oh, but we are told there are "other Federal activities," as if those activities could not be carried on without the proposed buildings.

Members upon the committee did well for themselves. Our genial colleague, Judge PARK, of Georgia, has to his credit 19 items—all but 2 would be excluded from the bill if the last clause were operative as to this bill as well as to future bills. One has a population less than 1,000, 7 less than 2,000, and 14 less than 3,000. Our colleague, Judge BURNETT, from Alabama, got 10 items, all but 2, Montgomery and Mobile, would be excluded. Our colleague, Mr. SUMNERS, got for Texas 18 items, 14 of which would not pass the test. Our South Carolina friends secured 12 items, 9 of which would be excluded. Our distinguished friends from Missouri secured 21 items, 13 of which, with less than 3,000 population, would be excluded if the bill was made operative to-day. Congressman HOOD of North Carolina secured 16 items, a dozen of which have a population of less than 3,000, and would be excluded from the present bill if it were self-operative. Judge CANTRILL of Kentucky, aided by our amiable colleague, LANGLEY, cinched 13 items, 10 of which fall under 3,000 people and would not meet the requirements of the present bill. The same can be said of Tennessee, which gets 9 items, every one of which would be excluded. Mississippi's eight districts get 7 items, 6 of which would be excluded. Louisiana's eight districts get 8 items, 3 of which would be excluded. Arkansas receives 8 items, half of which could qualify under the present bill.

The greatest number of towns disqualified by this measure, but included in it, are found in the southern section. This is partly due to the slow growth of towns in that part of the country.

In other words, if this bill were made operative on its own items, it would exclude 80 per cent of those in Alabama, 50 per cent of those in Arkansas, 28 per cent of those in Florida, 90 per cent of Georgia, 92 per cent of Kentucky, 37 per cent of Louisiana, 85 per cent of Mississippi, 75 per cent of North Carolina, 75 per cent of South Carolina, 100 per cent of Tennessee, 20 per cent of Texas, and so forth.

In these 11 States 127 items were allowed, 82 of which would be excluded by the standard of the bill.

In 24 States, North and West, 199 items were allowed, but 10 of which would have been excluded by the standard of the bill.

This feature is the ground for some criticism heard in the debate.

When postal receipts are compared the contrast is apparent.

The 14 towns in Ohio show receipts of $1,509,000—if Columbus is deducted they are $369,850—while the 13 towns in Kentucky show $81,850, or one-fourth.

The 18 towns of Illinois show $818,995, not counting Chicago's $27,000,000, while the 19 towns of Georgia show $142,000, or one-seventh.

The 10 towns in Indiana show $444,310, while the 9 towns of Tennessee show $63,550, or one-seventh.

The 14 towns of Massachusetts show $506,210, not including Boston, while the 16 towns of North Carolina show $157,000, or one-third.

This bill has been charged as sectional. That charge is based on several facts: First, a majority of the members of the Public Buildings Committee are from Southern States. Second, the great bulk of towns not within the limits fixed by this bill for future buildings are in the South. Seventy per cent of the new sites which would be excluded were the bill self-operative are in Southern States. Third, the "pork-barrel" advocates of the South are most vocal in their demands for "our share." Chairman CLARK loudly proclaimed his desire to remedy the evil by the "great reform" proposed in the bill, but denounced the charge that it is sectional, and in proof pointed out that the bill allowed only about $6,000,000 for the South and $25,000,000 for the balance of the country. The bill carries more than $38,000,000.

Mr. Speaker, this angle of legislation is beyond the appreciation of many Members of this House. This is the demand that we have "our share." The brilliant debater, Judge BURNETT, charged me that I was willing to accept my own share, but was unwilling to give others their shares. This method of doing the Government's public business by personal reciprocation, either of Members or of sections of the country, is pernicious. For example, Chicago has an item of $4,500,000 in this bill. The expense of the Chicago post office is $7,000,000 annually. The postal receipts are $27,000,000 per year, a net profit to the Government of $20,000,000 per year. These "our-share" statesmen would demand of me if I vote for the $4,500,000 item for Chicago, where the Government reaps every year $20,000,000 profit, I must in equity vote for such towns at Albertville, Ala., where the postal receipts are $5,663 and the cost of maintenance $3,700. This cost does not include the interest on the money, nor the depreciation and repairs.

The department counts upon 4 per cent for interest and 2½ per cent for repairs and depreciation. If we add to the cost of maintenance the interest on site and building, and repairs, the cost will be equal to, or greater than, the total receipts.

The Post Office Department is running behind. The large cities are paying great profits beyond the cost of the service. The small places can not do this. The Government guarantees the regular mails to towns, great and small, and properly houses the service even at great loss in places for rented quarters. It must appear the height of business folly to increase this loss by building Government buildings in these small places when rented quarters can be secured at a very much smaller cost.

But these "our-share" statesmen say the $4,500,000 for Chicago would build a post-office building at a cost of $50,000 in 90 towns of the country. We are therefore faced with the demand if we expect the needed extension of these offices where the Government's postal business has so greatly outgrown the quarters we must stand ready to reciprocate for the town of one to three thousand, notwithstanding the former covers into the National Treasury great profits while the latter involves great losses. Here is the viciousness of this "pork-barrel" method. The Government's needed extensions can not be granted until the small town's rented quarters are superseded by a Government building, no matter how much profit the former may turn into a depleted treasury, nor how much loss the latter will entail upon the exchequer. They charge that it is patriotism to support a Federal-building program, as one Member said it was the only place where the citizen could see the American flag.

A similar situation faces the Congress in the rivers and harbors bill. Here are many valuable projects loudly demanding extensions, at least continued construction. We are one in our desire to do so. But in order to secure favorable action upon these concededly needed projects, we have put up to us the expenditure of millions of money for wasteful projects and given to understand if we wish the completion of the profitable project we must vote for "our-share" statesmen's claims in this bill. If we refuse to vote for "our share," then we must vote against the whole bill, including the meritorious, or for the whole bill, including all the salvage with which it teems.

The country will support any measure justified by the needs of the people; especially is this true in the matter of the mails, city or rural. The Government loses a great sum on the Rural Mail Service, but the country justifies the delivery of daily mail to our rural population even at a loss, as it justifies a post office in every town, in many of which it costs much more than it pays. This does not mean that the Government should build the roads or own the horses and wagons or automobiles or the mail boxes in order to insure a daily mail service. Likewise a Government building is not essential in every town in order to have our mail each day.

This "our-share" statesmanship refuses the needed extension of mail facilities in the cities where the business is so great that quarters are demanded in order to care for it, even at a great profit to the Government, unless the Congressmen who ask for these extensions are willing to vote for the erection in towns of less than 1,000 people a building to care for the mail the receipts of which may fall below the actual running expenses, including the interest on the investment.

The embarrassment of this situation grows out of the sincerity of these men, who believe their duty is to secure for their town a Government building no matter at what loss to the Government. These Congressmen, acting upon such conviction, not only attempt to defend an indefensible position, but join in a scheme to pass the bill at any cost, even though it be at the price of a "gag" proceeding. During the consideration of the bill opponents of this measure undertook to expose defenseless items by showing their inconsistency with the last clause fixing $10,000 postal receipts as the minimum requirement for a public building hereafter. The chairman of the committee invoked what he claimed was his right to shut off all debate and amendment and at the very moment when the committee was proceeding under a special rule permitting both. He charged that the citation of the facts of an item such as the population of the town, the postal receipts of the office, and the cost of maintenance was a filibuster. He invoked the rule which permits the committee to close debate after the debate had begun.

This fiction was successfully employed, as follows:

The Clerk read the item. The opponents were on their feet for recognition to strike out the item, and under the rules of the House to exercise their right to give the facts about the item in justification of striking it out. The chairman in charge of the bill demanded and secured recognition, and proceeded to say "This is an important item and should be in the bill," and then debate having begun, he, without yielding the floor, moved to close debate, which motion was put, and supported by the House, which during the entire consideration of the bill was surprisingly well filled. When a point of order was made against such procedure, which, carried to its legitimate end, would prevent any consideration of any bill by gagging all opposition, and by forcing a vote upon every item without debate, the chairman of the Committee of the Whole decided in favor of the fiction. I here reprint two columns of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Thursday, January 18. It will tell the story of the procedure when a pork measure is being considered:

The Clerk read as follows:
"United States post office at Fairfield, Iowa, $50,000."
Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I want to say that the proposition ought to be in the bill, and I move that further debate on the paragraph just read be now closed. I refer to the item for Fairfield, Iowa.
The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Florida moves that all debate on the paragraph just read be now closed.
The motion was agreed to.
The Clerk read as follows:
"United States post office at Falmouth, Ky., $25,000."
Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Chairman, that, too, is a very deserving item, and I move that all debate on that item be now closed.
The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman moves that all debate on this paragraph close.
The motion was agreed to.
The Clerk read as follows:
"United States post office and other Government offices at Fargo, N. Dak., $250,000."
Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Chairman, that is also a very deserving item, and I move that all debate on it be now closed.
The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman moves that all debate on the paragraph just read be now closed.
The question was taken, and the Chair announced that the ayes seemed to have it.
Mr. FREAR. Tellers, Mr. Chairman.
Tellers were refused.
The motion was agreed to.
The Clerk read as follows:
"United States post office and other Government offices at Forrest City, Ark., $25,000."
Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.
The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Florida offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

"Page 11, line 20, strike out the figures '$25,000' and insert in lieu thereof the figures '$35,000.'"

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

Mr. JAMES rose.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. I will say, Mr. Chairman, that that is offered because of the fact that other towns of that size have that sum, and in proportion to those the original sum is not sufficient. I move that all debate on the paragraph and amendments thereto be closed.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman can not move to close debate when another gentleman has the floor——

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Another gentleman has not the floor——

Mr. STAFFORD. Another gentleman, demanding recognition. He can not move to close debate until five minutes' debate has been had. The gentleman can not by these tactics foreclose Members from discussing items under the five-minute rule.

The Chair must take cognizance of the fact that five minutes have not been consumed on these respective items. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. JAMES], demanding recognition, should be recognized, and the Chair can not entertain a motion to close the debate before five minutes' debate has been consumed. I call the attention of the Chair to section 6 of Rule XXII, which reads as follows:

"The committee may, by the vote of the majority of the Members present, at any time after the five minutes' debate has begun upon proposed amendments to any section or paragraph of a bill, close all debate upon such sections or paragraphs or, at its election, upon the pending amendments only (which motion shall be decided without debate); but this shall not preclude further amendment, to be decided without debate."

It has always been the practice, Mr. Chairman, to allow at least five minutes' debate under all conditions.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. The very rule that the gentleman quoted says "after debate had begun." I had the floor.

* * * * * * *

The Clerk read as follows:

"United States post office at Georgetown, Tex., $30,000."

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I do that for the purpose of calling attention to the fact that Georgetown, Tex., is a very progressive city in that State. This is certainly an item that is worthy. I desire now to withdraw the pro forma amendment, and I move that all debate upon the paragraph and amendments thereto be now closed.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the pro forma amendment will be withdrawn.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Chairman, I object.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on closing debate upon the paragraph and amendments thereto.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. GARDNER) there were—ayes 114, noes 6.

So the motion was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The question now is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Florida to strike out the last word.

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

"United States post office at Green River, Wyo., $25,000."

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. The town of Green River, Wyo., is a very prosperous place. There are many Federal activities there, and this post office is absolutely essential to that community. I move that all debate upon this paragraph and amendments thereto be now closed.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the motion to close debate upon the paragraph and amendments thereto.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. FREAR) there were—ayes 97, noes 5.

So the motion was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The question now is upon the amendment offered by the gentleman from Florida to strike out the last word.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. JAMES) there were—ayes 0, noes 52.

So the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

"United States post office at Greenville, Ala., $30,000."

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I rise to discuss the item——

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that there is nothing before the House. What question is before the committee?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. The adoption of this item.

Mr. GARDNER. But the gentleman can not be recognized unless he has an amendment to offer.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Then, Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. Mr. Chairman, I desire to say that many years ago I visited Greenville, Ala.——

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that the gentleman is not discussing his motion to strike out the last word.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Yes; I am discussing it. This relates to Greenville, Ala. I want to say——

Mr. GARDNER. But the gentleman is discussing Alabama.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Yes; Greenville, Ala. Having said what I did, that I visited this place several years ago, I can conclude my remarks by stating that it is rightly included in this bill. Mr. Chairman, I move that all further debate upon this paragraph and amendments thereto be now closed.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Florida to close debate on the paragraph and amendments thereto.

The question was taken, and on a division (demanded by Mr. JAMES) there were—ayes 83, noes 4.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Chairman, I demand tellers.

The CHAIRMAN (after counting). Five gentlemen have risen, not a sufficient number.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Chairman, I demand the other side.

Mr. MANN. There is no other side to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

The CHAIRMAN. The rule is one-fifth of a quorum may decide whether there shall be tellers or not.

The town of Falmouth, thus protected from exposure of the facts upon which to judge its needs, had in 1910 a population of 1,180 people, less than any one of a dozen towns in my own district, and postal receipts of $5,638 in the last fiscal year. Forest City, thus protected, had a population in 1910 of 2,484 people. Georgetown, thus guarded, had in 1910 a population of 3,096. Greene River, thus shielded, had but 1,313 people in 1910. Greenville, Ala., but 3,377.

This gag was working in perfect order, with no successful interruption, until Mr. MANN, the minority leader, asked for three minutes and said:

Mr. Chairman, under the rules of the House it is impossible to save time by attempting to stifle debate. Of the procedure of the gentleman from Florida I have no criticism to make. Under the rules the motion to close debate is subject to amendment ad libitum, and upon every one of those you can have a division. After debate is closed you can offer amendments until the Chair goes blind, and I have never seen the Chairman of this committee get blind. Now, two or three gentlemen are here who desire to discuss certain items. The only way to do, after all, will be for the House to let them discuss those items in accordance with the rules. The time is not very great for any one item, and then this body, if it is necessary, might have to sit at night in order to pass the bill. That has occurred frequently in the past and will occur in the future; and if the House becomes satisfied that some Members are attempting to debate purely for filibuster, they never make any progress by that, whereas a filibuster is always successful in the effort to get a chance to debate. Now, Members are pretty well worked up to-night, and I suggest to the chairman of the committee he move to rise, and if necessary sit all to-morrow and to-morrow night and let gentlemen debate if they want to be heard.

The committee soon after rose, and after sleeping over the situation one night, it resumed a normal stage again.

The most significant fact in this legislation was not the boldness necessary to resort to these tactics, but the fact that the Members supported the gag, and did it almost unitedly and with evident enthusiasm.

There were 92 Members of the House to refuse to indorse this sort of legislation. Many of those opposing it placed their opposition upon the ground that the state of the Treasury will not permit an expenditure of $38,000,000. For the same reason these will offer opposition to the rivers and harbors bill, which was made the next in order, with the same enthusiasm displayed over the buildings bill and by the same group. This bill is built upon the same order, urged upon the same grounds, supported by the same people, and carries about the same charge upon the Treasury. The condition of the Treasury did not prevent those Members charged with providing the revenue for the Government from supporting these measures. Mr. KITCHIN, the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, charged with the duty of providing revenue, voted for the legislation. He has notified the country that it is running behind at a frightful speed—about $2,000,000 per day. The next year's deficit is estimated at a figure beyond $300,000,000, a matter that would ordinarily stagger the average Congressman charged with the burden. But the way seems easy. We are notified that the tariff law will be left untouched—the inheritance tax will be increased, the income tax may also get a lift, and an excess-profits tax of 8 per cent above 8 per cent profit will be levied. Of course, no one knows what such a plan will produce. The authority will be given to issue $289,000,000 of bonds. There may be given authority to issue short-time Government checks or certificates to tide over until July when the income tax is expected to care for as much as $300,000,000 of such checks. These enormous sums we talk of borrowing do not include the Panama bonds of nearly $240,000,000, which are already authorized.

Here is high finance—$1,700,000,000 for one session of Congress. In addition to the necessary running expenses such as designated by the various appropriations for the different Government departments we are embarking upon the plane of high finance.

Thirty million dollars for Alaskan Railway.

Fifty million dollars to purchase ships.

Forty-five million dollars for flood control, so far as the House can induce it.

Twenty million dollars for nitrate plant.

Eleven million dollars for armor-plate plant.

Eighty-five million dollars for good roads.

Thirty-eight million dollars for public buildings.

Thirty-eight million dollars for rivers and harbors.

Forty million dollars for extra offices.

Twenty-five million dollars for Danish Islands.

One hundred and sixty million dollars for watchful waiting in Mexico.

These are a few of the high lights of Government finance. They indicate our agility in making debts for the country. What about the pay day?

What is the method to secure the needed revenues? Oh, borrow, of course, what can not be raised by direct tax. Penalize all enterprise by taxing it. Why not? It does not hurt us. We propose to make those who succeed support those of us who have not the time or the patience or else the talent to succeed. We will vote the obligation without the blink of an eye and without limit and then the tax to meet it. What difference if a public building in each of our towns of one or two

thousand people costs the Government millions of money? We can make those who do not live in our towns pay it. We have the votes; then, why hesitate?

It would be refreshing to examine these bills with reference to the towns where we propose to build or the rivers and harbors we propose to improve and the revenue such towns or State where the improvements are to be made pay into the Treasury to help to defray the additional expense.

Mr. Speaker, there is a day of reckoning coming. It can not be long deferred. This craving for "my share" of Federal money and this readiness to penalize the successful enterprise with never-ending new ways to tax will ultimately reach its inevitable end, where there will be no profit to tax, and where the resulting paralyzed industry will cause an army of unemployed to tramp the streets begging for bread. The demand will again be heard to issue more bonds, create more Government certificates, coin more silver, in a word to let Uncle Sam make the money and pay the bills. A nation, no more than an individual, can long maintain her integrity when she spends more than she makes. The outgo must have some connection with the income.

As I said at the outset, this sort of "pork-barrel" legislation makes it evident that a change must be wrought in our governmental management of our business affairs. We to-day are running the greatest business on earth in the most unbusinesslike way conceivable, a fact apparent to every Member of the House. Such methods would not be tolerated a moment by any business concern in the country, and is condemned by the best business sense of the Nation. Yet, in the face of it all, we constantly hear the statement that we must adopt Government ownership and operation of various utilities. This same reciprocity legislation which squares the account by a promise that you will get your share if you will help me to get my share is but a step to the abolition of private enterprise in favor of governmental activity, and is at once the strongest argument against it. If the Government erects buildings in our towns, it costs us nothing, say these statesmen; then why not compel the Government to do so, since we have the votes to do it? No matter about the Treasury nor the unbusinesslike character of such construction. This is the philosophy of the reciprocity legislator. This wicked waste of public money is but the seed sowing. The harvest will be reaped in due time. I am opposed to this legislation not so much because the Treasury can not stand the drain; that is a legitimate objection, but not fundamental. I am opposed to it because the system is wrong—so palpably wrong that its logrolling features have become notoriously obnoxious to the public. Its boldness has led its proponents to personal abuse of those who denounce it—a conclusive proof of its approaching rebuke. Personal ridicule and abuse of those who decline to reciprocate display as nothing else can the uneasy ground occupied by the proponents of such legislative procedure. The "pork-barrel" system will cease.

Inland Waterway Problems.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

BY

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 22, 1917.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it may help a little in the approaching discussion of the rivers and harbors bill to consider some suggestions made last year by Brig. Gen. William M. Black, Chief of Engineers, United States Army, in an address before the Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association, on "Some problems of inland waterway transportation." The convention was held in the city of Philadelphia and was attended by approximately 1,000 delegates coming from all the States along the Atlantic seaboard. In that address Gen. Black said:

HELPING PRODUCER AND CONSUMER.

Ladies and gentlemen of the Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association, it gives me great pleasure to be with you again. Memories are very vivid of interesting meetings of the convention of 1914 in New York and up the beautiful valley of the Hudson. During that convention it was my privilege to speak a few words concerning the wonderful harbor of New York and the works of improvement required there and in the upper Hudson River.

To-day I want to speak on a more general subject, but it is one in which I am sure you are interested. You advocate, and I believe wisely, an increase in the waterways of our country—the linking, artificially, of the various natural bodies of water near our Atlantic coast, until there shall be a continuous and sheltered water highway from New England to the Rio Grande—with branch lines traversing the entire coastal plain. You do this with the very practical desire to facilitate and cheapen the movement of the products of the soil, the mine, and of the factory between the producer and the consumer, North and South, so that all may profit to the greatest extent from the various resources of this coast country which extends for nearly half the distance from the northern limit of the Tropical Zone to the Arctic Circle. This distribution is made to-day by ocean and rail carriers. Transportation by the first named is costly because of the perils of the sea. The interest on the large investments required to build and equip railroads, added to the daily expenses of maintenance and operation, make the minimum cost of railway transportation comparatively high. Thus, a 10,000-ton ocean steamship can, on long voyages, carry freight for three-tenths of a mill per ton-mile, whereas a like carriage by rail would cost from five to ten times that sum.

FREIGHT BY RAIL AND WATER.

To be successful commercially, and therefore to justify its cost, an intracoastal waterway must be able to compete with ocean and rail carriers. Before it will be built the people of the United States must be convinced that it can so compete, and that the annual saving to the people resulting from lowered freight charges will be greater than the sum of the annual interest on the money invested in its construction, plus the annual cost of maintenance. When this is shown, this fact, added to the undoubted value of such a waterway in the plans for national defense, plus the fact that being open to any man or group of men desiring to run a boat, commerce is not easily made subject to paralysis by the threats of any other group of men, will certainly lead to a quick realization of your desires.

The undoubted falling off of commerce in some of the internal waterways of the Nation which has taken place in recent years gives to the opponents of your plan one of their strongest arguments. They do not believe it a good business proposition. Let us see how this argument may be met successfully. The low cost of freight on ocean carriers is admitted and commercial justification of the cost of the Panama Canal can be found in the fact that the merchants of Los Angeles, San Francisco, and other cities on the Pacific coast, can get their wares from the Atlantic seaboard cheaper, in better condition, and in practically the same time, by ocean carrier, than by the much shorter rail route. Oregon fir is now delivered on the shores of the Hudson by an ocean carrier at a lower price than is charged for southern pine. Coal costs less at seaports than it does 50 miles back on the very railway line which may take it to the port. The ships of the Great Lakes carry heavy freight at a cost approximately the same as do ocean tramps, and for their heavy bulk freight railways hardly attempt to compete with them. On the Ohio River coal is transported for less than a mill per ton-mile.

WATER TRANSPORTATION ADVANTAGEOUS.

These two instances of exceedingly economical water transportation have been cited to an extent perhaps wearisome, but they illustrate the underlying economic principles, and for this reason it may be permissible to enlarge upon them. On the Great Lakes a ton of iron ore is transported an average distance of approximately 850 miles for 65 cents, which covers also the cost of loading and unloading, the rate per ton-mile, including terminal charges, being between seven-tenths and eight-tenths of 1 mill, and it should be noted that as a rule the carriers must return empty. Pittsburgh coal is carried to New Orleans by way of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, a total distance of 2,000 miles, for about $1.25 per ton, the ton-mile rate being about six-tenths mill, and here also there is no return cargo. In neither case is there active railroad competition. In the former case the water distance is about the same as the distance by rail. In the latter the rail distance is not much more than half the distance by the water route, so that in fairness the ton-mile rate for river coal should be stated as about 1 mill. As the lowest known rail rate on coal or any other low-grade commodity is about 2½ mills, and the usual rate for such articles is double this figure, it is evident that under proper conditions transportation by water is decidedly advantageous, and it requires no especial discernment to perceive how the condition is brought about.

Plainly it exists when there is available to the water route a large supply of coarse or low-grade freight, or of package freight if a fairly rapid speed can be assured and when, either by a process of slow growth and change, or else by talent of the high order, ways and means have been devised not only for economical transportation but also for cheap and efficient handling of the freight at both ends of the line. On the Great Lakes and on the Ohio the special problems have been skillfully solved; loading is cheap and rapid, the duration of the water journey has been reduced to a minimum, and, finally, cargo is promptly unloaded. Thus overhead charges on the plant are kept low and operating costs are minimized; but all of these advantages have in time been made possible by the intelligent, progressive adaptation of the water route, of the waterway, and of the carrier to the desired ends.

LIMITING THE CARRYING FACILITIES.

The opposite conditions are frequently encountered, and in the study of the decay of our water transportation industry cases are frequently found to support the assertion that neglect, nonprogressiveness, and indifference to their own interests have resulted in real ascertainable damage to the vital prosperity of the people. As an illustration, I have in mind the case of the old Champlain Canal connecting the Hudson River navigation with Lake Champlain points and with Canada by way of the Chambly Canal. Until the adoption of the Barge Canal project by the State of New York this traffic was limited by the size of the locks to the use of boats with extreme dimensions of 100 by 17 by 4½ feet, carrying an average of 150 tons of cargo, with an average rate of $1.10 per gross ton. The tributary territory is fertile and rich in natural resources so that it would supply a large tonnage of freight were the rates such as to permit it to move and to enter the competitive markets open to it. Due, however, to a lack of carriers of even the small size above referred to, and still more to their uneconomical character, the traffic over this route has remained comparatively small, and much that would have moved over it has been diverted to the competing rail lines. As an illustration Port Henry on Lake Champlain has shipped about 1,000,000 tons of iron ore annually, of which 90 per cent has moved by rail and only 10 per cent by water, whereas bearing in mind the length of the navigation season and the fact that rail rates can probably not be materially lowered, it seems reasonable to assume that fully 75 per cent of this iron ore should move over a really economical water route.

CHAMPLAIN ROUTE TO NEW YORK.

As is well known, the Barge Canal improvement now under way has resulted in the reconstruction of the Champlain Canal with locks 328 by 45 by 12 feet, and with minimum canal sections adapted to the use of boats of such size as to justify the prediction that rates to New York

City on coarse freight will be reduced to 58 cents per ton, the distance being 300 miles, or one-fifth mill per ton-mile. The possibility for this marked reduction of rates will depend on a correct choice of the type of carrier to be adopted. Model, size, and power must be considered with care and such a balance struck between the necessity for cargo capacity and the necessity for speed (which depends on the power) as will result in the transportation of a ton of freight at the minimum cost. It seems profitable therefore to consider in some detail the elements upon which to base a correct choice of the type of carrier. Some guidance may be had from a review of changes and progress in the rail-transportation industry, for after all the problem of carrying freight with the utmost economy is common to both rail and water routes.

RAILWAY PROGRESS.

In this country at least, and probably everywhere else, it will be found that improvements in railroads and in their rolling stock have been very gradual, and that sometimes changes with a view to betterment have turned out to be disappointing. The railway as an agency of transportation has existed in this country on a commercial scale for nearly a century, yet it was not until the introduction of the present form of steel rail that high speed and heavy trainloads became possible. The first railroads had comparatively heavy grades and sharp curves; locomotives were small, and freight cars held little more than the load of a large wagon. Moreover, the roads were short in length and had no through routing arrangements. It was only about the time of the opening of the Civil War that the various short lines began to be joined into systems, and the invention of the modern rail at about this time joined to open to railroad managers the opportunity for making changes which the pressure of a rapidly growing traffic had already rendered very desirable. Then came gradual elimination of sharp curves, steep grades, and grade crossings, and hand in hand locomotives and freight cars gradually increased in size, but expenditures were always based upon careful analysis of the resulting economics, and as a rule no changes were made unless it could be conclusively shown that the resulting saving would more than pay interest on the cost. This applies particularly to the right of way, but was, of course, held in view in the replacement of rolling stock, though here obsolescence and destruction would more naturally facilitate the introduction of new ideas.

GREATER SPEED, LARGER LOADS.

As remarked above, not every change in the rolling stock was an improvement resulting in the expected economies, and many expensive experiments soon found their end in the scrap pile. On the whole, however, there has been a continuing and coordinated growth in efficiency to which improvements in the right of way as well as in the carriers and in the motive power have all contributed, and there has been in evidence a deliberate effort to harmonize the sometimes conflicting elements of the problem. The final result is familiar to all, and it is a commonplace of our day that railroads should employ freight cars of 40 and 50 tons' capacity for miscellaneous freight and others of 100 tons' capacity for iron ore and other bulk freight, and that railroads should be so built as to permit the movement of trainloads of from 6,000 to 8,000 tons drawn by a single locomotive. Evidently improvement has been based upon consideration of the diversity and character of traffic to be moved and the economically justifiable and necessary changes both in the right of way, in the carriers, and in motive power. Thus it is a single problem with many variable elements, but its solution has been successful and railroads are to-day carrying freight at rates averaging about 7½ mills per ton-mile, less than two-thirds the average of 30 years ago, and this in spite of enormous advances in wages and in other important elements in cost. Greater speed and larger trainloads, with corresponding reduction in overhead charges and operating costs, have made this possible.

TRAFFIC ON INLAND WATERS.

The same process of reasoning must be applied to the determination of the best means of handling the traffic on the inland waterways, and it must be kept in mind that the carriers adopted should be susceptible of economical use on each class of waterway embraced in a route. Natural waterways of ample depth and width may be linked by canal, with cross sections of limited area. At times the dimensions of locks must be considered. Thus, for example, in providing barges and towboats for use on the Hudson River and the New York State barge canals we should plan to increase dispatch not only by the use of improved appliances for loading and unloading at terminals but also by adopting such designs for the hulls of barges and such details and capacity in the motive power as shall, considering the limits of depth, width, and capacity of channels, reduce the combined ultimate cost of transportation, including interest on the first cost of the waterway and the annual charge for maintaining, to the lowest attainable figure. As thus stated, decision upon the correct solution is plainly not easy, and it is to be expected that errors will be made. While each case of this kind has individual peculiarities, in many respects experience elsewhere will furnish trustworthy data. Thus, if the traffic is to be handled in towed barges of approximately 1,000 tons' capacity, the Hudson is comparable to the Rhine, where a traffic more than twice that ultimately expected on the Hudson is handled largely in fleets of barges of about that size. Experience on the Rhine has led to the adoption of the "ship-shape" or "model" type of barge in preference to "scow" forms, and, as the available channel capacity on the Rhine is somewhat the same as that on the Hudson, it seems reasonable that the carriers should also be similar.

The most common form of towboat on the Rhine and other European rivers is the side-wheel steamer with compound or triple-expansion engines, the largest having from 1,250 to 1,400 indicated horsepower, towing capacity 5,000 to 6,000 tons, at a speed of 2 to 3 miles per hour upstream. In over-all dimensions these boats run about 240 by 63 by 4 feet, obviously not suited either to the Hudson or to the barge canal, whose locks are about 310 by 45 by 12 feet in available dimensions. A different type of towboat must then be sought, and it is probable that the best now in use there will, with some refinements, be found economical, the changes taking the direction of improvements in machinery, boilers, and possibly propellers and hulls. If the barges are to carry their own motive power, then the waterway will permit their use up to about 3,000 tons' capacity, though for such large craft the speed must be low. For these there is to-day perhaps no exact precedent in successful use elsewhere, but cargo steamers on the Great Lakes embody many of the details which should be found in the final design, exempli gratia, large and numerous hatches affording facilities for rapid loading and unloading, easy forms minimizing the driving power required, and good mechanical plants permitting small crews and the maintenance of a comparatively high speed, thus reducing overhead and operating expense and giving dispatch, the necessity for which I again emphasize. Speed as great as 10 miles per hour can be hoped for only on reaches of the natural waterways which form a part of the system.

In my study of the Hudson, I have become convinced that the employment of properly designed towed or self-propelled barges will permit bulk freight to be handled at a ton-mile cost not exceeding 1.35 mills, the present rail rate for the same commodities being somewhat over 6 mills. It should be pointed out that terminal costs are not included in either case, and that while the rail rate is the total charge for the service, the water rate must be increased (very slightly, however) to cover the interest on the cost of the waterway and the cost of its upkeep and operation.

The present combined rail-and-water traffic of this route is over 80,000,000 tons, and the previously stated estimate that the water route will do a business of 20,000,000 tons seems therefore reasonable. With eight months open to navigation, and barges carrying 1,000 tons each, this traffic would require the passage through the channels of 68 barge loads every day. A shorter season would increase these figures, and as the business will not come with uniform regularity, it seems reasonable to assert that the river will frequently be called upon to handle the full capacity of the Troy Lock—about 200 barges per day. It is of interest, therefore, to tell you something of the observed influences of existing channels.

INFLUENCE OF DEPTH OF CHANNEL.

It is a matter of common knowledge that a vessel in motion has a deeper draft than when at rest, this increase being greater in shoal than in deep water; also that to attain a given speed the amount of power required increases as depth decreases. For example, a rapidly moving boat, such as a torpedo destroyer, can not attain her greatest speed in water of less depth than 60 feet. The channel width also has an important influence on this loss of effective power. In the lower reaches of the Hudson, in depths of 40 feet and over, the day-line steamers attain a speed of 22.5 miles per hour. In the upper reaches, with a draft of 9½ to 10 feet in a channel depth of 14 feet, the *Hendrick Hudson* attained a speed of 9.1 miles per hour with the expenditure of 350 engine horsepower. By increasing the power developed to 730 horsepower the speed was increased to only 9.48 miles. It is also of common knowledge that a boat will not steer well unless she has considerable depth below her keel, and, as boatmen say, "feels the bank" when too near a shoal. In Europe from 2 to 3 feet excess of channel depth over boat draft is regarded as desirable for interior waterways. For a given area of cross section the relative influence of channel width is less than of channel depth on the power required to drive a boat at a given speed.

MOVEMENTS OF WATER PRODUCED BY BOAT.

Doubtless many of you have noticed the movement of the water when passing by boat through narrow channels. First a depression in the water surface starting nearly opposite the bow of the boat and becoming greater to a point a little in rear of the stern and then further back a following wave of considerable height. Have you thought what this means? The hull of the boat occupies a certain volume of the cross section of a channel. As the boat moves forward, not only must a corresponding volume of water be pushed aside but also water must flow to fill the space vacated by the boat in its movement forward. Water will not flow excepting by the creation of a head. The more rapid the velocity required, the greater must be this head. If the volume of space occupied by the hull be small relative to the cross section of the channel, water can flow from the sides of the channel and beneath the boat to fill the constantly vacated space previously occupied by the hull. A large supply of water is thus available and the velocity required in the water is small. If, however, the size of the hull is comparatively large with respect to the channel cross section, smaller channels are available for the water flow and the velocity of the water must be greater. The heads of water thus required must be created by the power of the boat. The greater the head, the greater the power required. In addition, in shoal water and narrow channels the water in rapid movement extends to the soil of the sides and bottom.

The resistance to flow of the channel sides and bottoms—or, in other words, the friction—becomes the more felt as the velocity is increased. This, again, requires an increased head of water which must be produced by the power of the boat. Therefore, when you see a great disturbance of water accompanying the movement of a boat, you may know that a large amount of power is being expended uneconomically. For low speeds of 2 to 3 miles per hour, the area of cross section of a channel should be from 3 to 5 times the area of cross section of the boat. For higher speeds, at least from 6 to 10. Of course, in the above analysis, only the main causes of the expenditure of power in restricted channels have been named. Other sources of loss which induce extended and not well-understood movements in the water surrounding a boat have not been mentioned.

BETTER WATER CARRIERS NEEDED.

My object in making the foregoing observations is to emphasize the need of care and the highest order of skill in the design and operation of the carriers for our water routes. It must be plain to you that the factors that contribute to make up the total cost of water transportation are virtually the same as in transportation by rail, and that the same order of ability is required in the design, organization, and operation of the water carriers. The day of second-rate men and inferior means is past, and my judgment is that desirable economy and efficiency will result only from the intelligent expenditure of large sums. This may mean fleets under unified control.

Figures of actual cost of transportation on restricted waterways in the United States are relatively scarce in regard to such waterways as may be considered at all efficient and modern, both in themselves and as to the boats using them. On the old Erie Canal, the boats were 98 by 17½ by 6 feet, and the fleets were usually one steamer and three consorts. In 1897 the ton-mile rate charged on wheat, Buffalo to New York, was 1.22 mills, and from that time up to 1915 there was a more or less regular increase, the rate in the latter year being 2.98 mills. It is known that these rates were kept as near as possible to the rail rate. Even so, the higher rate is comparatively low.

That water transportation properly conducted is economical is well known to railroad traffic men, and they have always owned and used boats whenever the circumstances were favorable. Thus on the Great Lakes, the Pennsylvania, Erie, New York Central, Lehigh, and other railroads formerly operated lines of freight carriers in the package freight trade between the head of the Lakes and Lake Erie points, and these lines have only recently been discontinued in consequence of the provisions of the Panama Canal act. Thus the rail carriers were actually competing with themselves. The situation is the same on Long Island Sound, where the traffic is enormous. Here the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railway operates a fleet of about 90 steamers.

CAUSES OF DECLINE WELL KNOWN.

If traffic has declined upon our waterways, the causes are well known, and I shall refrain from enlarging on this well-worn theme further than to say that failure to analyze costs, to reduce lost motion, and to economize in the manner followed by our successful railroads—these, and the failure to organize the business of water transportation upon sound and broad plans, supported by capital in liberal amounts, are as much the explanation as is the policy of hostility undoubtedly practiced in the past by the railroads, now happily passing away. But even though transportation costs be reduced to the minimum, terminal costs of handling, transferring, and delivering to the consumer must all be correspondingly treated or they may neutralize the best efforts of naval architects, shipbuilders, and vessel managers.

An example of somewhat misapplied energy may here interest you. One of our southern rivers affording access to an excellent coal field has recently been improved by the completion of a comparatively large number of locks and dams, so that a low-water depth of 6 feet is now available from tide water to the coal tipples at the present head of navigation, a distance of about 400 miles. For the upper 300 miles the river is usually crooked and some of its curves present considerable difficulty to navigation, in addition to which the channel is usually narrow, sometimes but little over 100 feet in width.

The local coal operators have exhibited a commendable degree of enterprise and are making a genuine effort to realize the economies which should result from the use of this waterway, which affords access to two large seaports, the rail rates to which are, respectively, $1.10 and $1.25 per ton. While three large coal companies have engaged in the traffic, two of them use the same type of carriers—wooden barges of 500 to 600 tons' capacity, pushed by stern-wheel towboats of the western river type, in fleets of two or three, the latter being the largest number that can be taken through the locks in a single locking with the towboat. The third company uses self-propelled steel barges 200 to 220 by 32 by 8 feet depth and carrying capacities of 735 to 850 tons on 6-feet draft. The loads are carried on deck. Power is supplied to twin screws by two producer-gas engines of 75 horsepower each.

COST OF OPERATING BARGES.

A careful estimate has been made of the operating costs for fleets of two and three barges, and also for the self-propelled barges, covering the most difficult part of the route, a distance of 157 miles—or round trip of 314 miles. The barges, it should be mentioned, usually get no return cargo. Summarizing the results, which are derived from observations over a period of only four months, it may be said that for towboat *No. 1*, with two barges, the average ton-mile cost has been 2.74 mills, the lowest ton-mile cost 2.06 mills. Towboat *No. 2*, with two barges, average ton-mile cost 1.99 mills, lowest ton-mile cost 1.47 mills. Towboat *No. 3*, with two barges, average ton-mile cost 2.23 mills, lowest ton-mile cost 1.53 mills. With three barges towboat *No. 3* shows average ton-mile cost of 1.72 mills, lowest ton-mile cost 1.63 mills. For the self-propelled steel barges, with loads varying from 637 to 797 tons, the ton-mile costs varied between 1.47 mills and 2.17 mills.

These costs all include interest, depreciation, and maintenance of the plant, as well as operating costs, but include nothing for interest on the cost of the improvement and for its operating charges. The improvement cost, about $10,000,000; operating expenses are about $150,000 annually. An analysis of the figures of cost shows that the daily cost of the crews of towboats and self-propelled barges is nearly half the daily cost of transportation, including all overhead expense. The average time consumed on the round trips observed indicate a speed for the tows of 2½ miles per hour, including lockages, and of 3.4 miles for the self-propelled barges. Plainly the opportunity for improvement lies here. Either the relatively large expense of the crew must be distributed over a greater quantity of freight, or else greater speed must be attained through a modification of the design of the carriers.

ATTEMPTS WORTHY OF PRAISE.

Now, I wish to impress upon you the fact that the attempts to utilize the waterway of which I speak are worthy of the highest praise, and that if their success is open to question it is due to failure to analyze costs and to take the steps shown necessary by such an analysis. As further illustrating my point concerning the necessity for careful cost analysis, let me now ask your attention to a case upon one of our western rivers. Here a well-managed corporation, including in its membership most of the business men in the large and prosperous city at the upper end of the route, which is slightly over 400 miles long, has for the past four years been engaged in the attempt to make this water route a serious competitor of the many railroad systems running between the same termini. The difficulties confronting the navigation company are extreme, for the improved river channel has not yet been completed and the available low-water depth is as yet less than 4 feet instead of the 6 feet contemplated. At both termini the water fronts had been practically monopolized by railroads, thus adding to the expense of cartage and to the total cost of transportation. Undismayed by these difficulties and stimulated to persistence in their experiments by the feeling that rail rates to their city were disproportionately high and could be lowered only by demonstrating that the water route could actually carry and deliver freight to ultimate destination at less than the rail rates, the public-spirited men at the head of this enterprise have proceeded with this work along lines that in the end alone can lead to success.

TOWBOAT AND BARGE.

Navigation was begun in 1911, with certain plant secured by purchase, and at the same time it was decided to investigate the types of boats best suited to successful and economical use on this stream. As a result of the studies and advice of experts, it was decided that the towboat and barge method of navigation afforded the greatest promise of success and improved steel vessels of fireproof construction and suitable size and motive power were adopted. The investigations made by this company are of great value and contribute substantially toward the solution of important problems connected with economical transportation upon our shallow-draft rivers. Thus the company has established terminals with rail connections at both termini, and uses mechanical devices for transfer of freight. It has entered into joint traffic and interchange arrangements with connecting carriers, both rail and water, and handles traffic on through bills of lading. It receives and delivers goods on shippers' sidings, pays switching charges within certain limits, transfers freight to and from the boats, assumes carriers' risk in lieu of marine insurance, and does all this at 80 per cent of the corresponding rail rate. The present plant consists of 1 steel packet, 2 steel towboats, and 12 steel barges—with steel fireproof and weatherproof locked deck houses. So far, the traffic receipts have not fully covered operating expenses, but the company believes that when the improvement of the river has advanced sufficiently to permit full cargoes to be carried, their undertaking will be a financial success. In the meantime, the service rendered has been so satisfactory that the volume of freight offered shows a high annual increase. This traffic includes much high-class package freight. This is the most thorough attempt I know of to revive a river traffic that has disappeared in the face of rail competition, and it should go far toward showing the real possibilities in this important field of the transportation problem in this country. I mention this instance in order to show what successful business men familiar with rail-transportation methods and facilities regard as necessary in an efficient navigation enterprise. They recognize that the community has become accustomed to service of a certain character and that a successful water carrier must give at least as complete a service as a railroad and at figures somewhat lower in order to divert traffic from its accustomed routes.

RAIL AND WATER CONTRAST.

To conclude, railway transportation has been brought to a high degree of efficiency by study and experiment which involved large expenditures. Certain classes of water transportation, such as ocean and lake carrying lines and the Ohio and Mississippi coal carriers, have also achieved success through similar means. As yet comparatively little has been done toward the improvement of the methods of the shallow-waterway carriers in general. Railroads show 0.066 pound of fuel expended per ton-mile of freight transported and 2.5 days' labor per 100,000 ton-miles. Great Lakes carriers expend 0.029 pound of fuel per ton-mile, with 0.9 day's labor per 100,000 ton-miles. For an Ohio River towboat the figures were 0.021 pound of fuel and 1.31 days' labor, while for a Mississippi River packet 1.129 pounds of coal and 65.64 days' labor were expended.

The influence of time in increasing operating costs has apparently not been fully appreciated. Ordinarily freight is moved off and on boats by uneconomical and time-consuming methods, and insufficient efforts have been made to adapt the hulls and power of the carriers to the conditions of the channels to be navigated. Excepting when the carriers, working either singly or in fleets, can move low-class freight in very large quantities, speeds of 2 to 3 miles per hour are uneconomical. For bulk freight 4 miles per hour and for package freight 6 miles per hour seem to be a minimum. The United States is now engaged in a series of studies and experiments as to the best forms for hulls for towboats and carriers, and as to the economical relations which should exist between channel width and depth and boat beam and draft. The complete results of their studies can not be available before another year. In the meantime let us all remember that the largest boat which can float on a given waterway is by no means certainly the most economical boat for its navigation, and that if a traffic of great volume is to be provided for the channel, dimensions must be correspondingly large. A waterway of small channel dimensions is as economical as a narrow-gauge railway, and no more. Each has its use, but neither is suitable for a large volume of traffic.

The Lawyer and Democracy.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES G. EDWARDS,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 22, 1917.

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing therein a very interesting and instructive article written by Mr. Charlton G. Ogburn, a prominent member of the Savannah, Ga., bar, entitled "The Lawyer and Democracy," which, in my opinion, is well worth preserving. The article referred to appeared in the American Law Review in the September-October, 1915, issue, and attracted wide attention throughout the country, and is as follows:

THE LAWYER AND DEMOCRACY.

The American Government has been a government of lawyers. Theoretically a government of the people, for the people, by the people, representative participation has made it in practice a government by those to whom authority has been delegated. An overwhelming majority of these representatives of the people have been members of the bar. Lawyers have dominated every Congress and the official family of every President. Out of 27 Presidents of the United States, 22 of the number have been lawyers. The making of the laws and the administration of the laws of this Nation, as truly as the interpretation of these laws, have been in the hands of lawyers.

That this has been a more successful government than governments by militarists, imperialists, bureaucrats, and diplomats none can deny. If lawyers have been the undisputed political leaders of America, they have likewise, in only a slightly lesser degree, been its intellectual leaders also. Except for the brief period when the church dominated thought, the intellectual leadership of this country has clearly rested with the legal profession. The founders of our common schools and of our State universities have been mainly lawyers. The leaders of governmental reform have, with few exceptions, been members of the bar. In every crisis in the life of this Nation, since the days of James Otis and Patrick Henry, lawyers have been at the helm, safely directing the course of affairs and maintaining the fight for popular liberty and national independence.

Lawyers have been the leaders of the people, because they have been in close touch with the life of the people and have understood the needs and aspirations of the people.

This Nation was founded on the idea of personal freedom and was the outgrowth of the struggle to attain it, in connection with economic independence. The right to the enjoyment of individual liberty, free from oppression by the Government, the right to the possession and

accumulation of property, free from interference by the King—these were among the motives that impelled the founders of this Nation to endure many hardships in order that they and their children should not be deprived of these rights without due process of law.

This struggle was only a continuation of the hard fight long waged in the mother country. The men who settled America and their brothers who remained behind in England were fighting the same battle under different conditions by different methods. And it was the same fight their fathers had fought before them.

The victory of the founders of this Nation achieved for the enjoyment of personal liberty and the possession of individual property free from interference by the sovereign was complete. The economic conditions under which they lived were favorable. The resources of the country were bountiful. The advantage that many persons took of the rights thus secured them under circumstances so auspicious was so prompt that soon aggregations of wealth became so amassed as to interfere with the opportunity vouchsafed under a democracy. The fight of the people against the tyranny of the sovereign in this country is a fiction. The people are now turning to the Government for protection against the tyranny of property. Reform has gone deeper into the structure of society, and works for the rescue of nonproperty holders for the freedom denied them by the unequal distribution of wealth.

The problem of government now, therefore, is the development and protection of social rights, and the modification and restriction of individual rights.

Our law, however, was built up around individualism before the theory of collectivism was evolved. Our supreme law is the Constitution. Every clause of it is packed with the history of the struggle of the middle classes against the sovereign. Its distrust of the people is shown clearly in the method it provided for the selection of the President. Its ignoring of human impulses is shown in the system of checks it sought to maintain.

The common law, which is the trunk of our law, with few prunings and few growths, was received directly from England and echoes in its every principle and application the conflict our English ancestors waged with a tyrannical king. The landmarks in the history of our law are such events as the signing of the Magna Charta in 1215, the Petition of Rights in 1628, the Bill of Rights in 1689, etc.—all representing the victory of individual and property rights over the oppression of the sovereign. Even our criminal laws and police regulations reveal their origin by embodying the eighteenth century ideas of punishment, of suppression, of using the State as a policeman.

What effect does this study of the system of law have on the mind of the lawyer and the judge? What influence in turn do the lawyer and judge, saturated with the philosophy of such a legal system, exert on the law's further development? In seeking an answer to this question the writer is guided by his own observations made in the study and the practice of law. He derives from other members of his profession the substance of this answer through their own spoken and written words.

Beginning the study of law, the student devotes himself to textbooks or case books explanatory of the system of law evolved from the individualism of earlier centuries. All of his ideas are obtained from this historical study.

Whether he imbibes these principles directly from the textbook writers or whether under the guidance of the law professor he works out these principles from the "cases" handed down by the judges, his understanding of the law is virtually the same. He is directed to the English and American judges of earlier days, to Erskine, to Blackstone, to Coke, and others, as the fountain head of common-law learning. He becomes saturated in the eighteenth century philosophy, in which the law schools are seeped. Of economics, of politics, of the system of social sciences that have lately grown up he is taught nothing. That these sciences may be as important to an understanding of the laws of society of to-day as are these 200-year-old cases does not concern the law school. Its function is to teach a craft. It prepares the lawyer to win lawsuits.

When he has begun his practice before the courts the young attorney finds this same philosophy of the law his chart. For the settlement of legal principles of to-day he must cite precedents musty with age. He becomes more concerned with the precedents themselves than with the principles back of them. He piles precedent on precedent, as if to overwhelm the court with the weight of them. His desire to serve aggregated wealth is likewise a powerful incentive to conservatism. Then when he is raised to the bench he has become too deep-rooted in the past to be able to shake off the cold grip of the dead judges that have ruled his thinking.

To know the past and to understand the developments through prior centuries is necessary. Unless men acquired and accumulated a knowledge of what has gone before we would still be cave dwellers. On the other hand, to live in continual contemplation of the past, to look solely to history for a criterion of our actions, is fatal. This is true of individuals, of institutions, of peoples. Nothing, for instance, is so obstructive to a city's growth as historic traditions, when they come to mean more to its citizens than the glories of the future. Tablets commemorating the deeds of ancestors, when they take the thoughts away from the needs of posterity, had best be torn down. A city whose chief source of pride is in the monuments to dead heroes that grace its parks had just as well be all monuments. A harbor that becomes of greater significance to a community because it was the scene of some Revolutionary War event than because it is fraught with possibilities, say, for South American trade, had best be filled in and made into farm land.

What we look upon becomes a part of us as much as what we live upon. It is significant, therefore, that in a lawyer's office, or a judge's chamber, among the mural decorations, for instance, we are likely to find a framed copy of the Magna Charta—that instrument 700 years old, exacted by property owners from a despotic king.

The effect this contemplation of the past has upon lawyers and judges is strikingly exhibited in the committee reports, resolutions, and addresses of the American Bar Association. To select this field of research is more fair to the profession than to take the arguments of lawyers before the highest courts or the decisions of learned judges in leading cases. In bar association meetings lawyers speak for themselves, rather than for clients, and they are influenced by motives, not to win cases, but to improve conditions affecting the profession and the Nation.

If we attend meetings of physicians, of engineers, of scientists, of educators, the proceedings impress us with the fact that in these fields wonderful achievement and advancement is being made. If we attend bar association meetings we are forced to the conclusion that lawyers are still "thrashing over old straw." The addresses before the American Bar Association and the reports of its committees, all representative of the best that is in the profession, afford a discouraging answer to our question. The tone of these addresses and reports, almost without exception, is reactionary and narrow. Toryism is noticeable in almost every vote taken by the association. Its members are appealed to to counteract the growth of populistic movements, as dangerous to the permanency of government. There is a constant deploring of the modern attacks on ancient landmarks. It would seem almost that the profession is endeavoring to use the bar association as a broom to sweep back the waters of this rising flood of modernism.

We discern in the addresses no new perception of the needs of the masses. We hear no analysis of the ancient reasons back of the "precedents," no differentiating conditions now and then. There is always the same insistence on the principles of the freedom of contract; the same reliance on the antiquated political and economic philosophy of the eighteenth century; the same eloquent tributes to the Constitution with its safeguards of individual property rights, struck off in the light of eighteenth century politics.

If the great body of lawyers in America are alive to the world-wide movement in liberal democracy that is beginning to shake this new century, their spoken and written words give little indication of it; if their average thinking has been touched by this movement, the tone of these addresses fails to show it. Leaders of the profession, in some instances, have demonstrated their awareness to this revolution by their protests against certain of its manifestations. But these very protests, and the manner of their reception, prove that the American bar is either ignorant of or indifferent to its underlying purposes.

One of the most active committees of the American Bar Association, for instance, is the committee to oppose judicial recall. The writer is not concerned in this article with the merits or the dangers in the recall of judges. What he does want to direct attention to is the a priori thinking which characterizes the reports of the American Bar Association on this subject—the dogmatic assertions in these reports that the movement is vicious, the stressing of the legal phrases of the questions almost to the total elimination of its social features.

Another pointed illustration of the kind of thinking now being done by lawyers is the charge made by the American Bar Association at its 1914 meeting that the Clayton Act of the present Congress, giving the right to labor unions to exist, confers special privilege. This arbitrary characterization of an important law passed by the Congress of the country after long debates, signed by the President, and not yet interpreted by the Supreme Court, is neither lawyerlike nor statesmanlike. The fact is entirely ignored that, in associating themselves into unions laboring men evince the same tendencies toward self-protection that brought about the formation of this Government and that are among the objects to be attained in all Governments.

A further side light on the attitude of the lawyer toward live modern problems is sufficiently discernible in two expressions from a leading lawyer of New York, which are quoted in his language, as follows: "When a man is poor and can not find any other man who, legally or morally, ought to pay him money, his poverty is not a case of injustice, but of hardship." And again: "When the Beef Trust sells beef, is it under an altruistic obligation to the public or to any individual in the community to sell its own property for less than he is willing to pay? In employing its workmen, is it under a similar obligation to pay them higher wages than the workmen are willing to accept?"

In an address before the American Bar Association meeting of 1912, which the writer attended, a very eminent lawyer felt called upon to come to the defense of John D. Rockefeller. His words were as follows: "Well, somebody would have to control all that money if Mr. Rockefeller did not, and I have an abiding faith that it will accomplish much more good for humanity in the hands of Mr. Rockefeller than it would in the hands of Mr. Gompers!" Such a vital issue as woman suffrage the American Bar Association is unwilling even to discuss and treats it as something too dangerous to touch. A few more instances will doubtless suffice for present purposes.

On the subject of inheritance taxes, I think I am justified in saying that the following quotation expresses the attitude of a majority of the members of the American Bar Association: "In any country where a written constitution contains the usual Anglo-Saxon bill of rights there exists an essential repugnancy between the constitution and such legislation" (taxing inheritances). "Private property is taken for public use without compensation. * * * It is not creditable to the American bar that it has allowed this repugnancy to remain unchallenged and has permitted its clients' property to be seized on the flimsy pretext that a man has no right to execute a transfer of his property to take effect at his death without the State's consent."

The phase of the modern movement in democracy which has met the greatest opposition from the bar has been the movement for direct participation in government by the people. Lawyers are strong believers in the sufficiency of representative government to carry on needed reforms. They do not consider that the danger from the selfish vote of the few is greater than from the uninformed vote of the many. Nor do they fully realize the deep determination of the people never again to allow the corporations to get control of representative government and its agencies and establish "a Government of the many by the few and for the few," as was the case several years ago in virtually every State in the Union, brought about by an alliance between party machinery and corporations. Lawyers have apparently not been keenly aware of the admirable trend in political thinking toward a stronger Government, as evinced by Woodrow Wilson's strengthening of the Executive, and of the passing of the negative type of Government and the development of the positive type. And they do not realize that this trend will require as an offset greater direct participation, which, instead of overturning our democracy, will in fact give us our first real democratic Government.

Very strikingly do the proceedings of the bar associations reveal still other evidences of the lawyer's lack of progressive thinking. The eighteenth century idea of private justice is so strongly embedded in the minds of lawyers that they do not fully grasp the modern meaning of "social justice."

The "excessive individualism" abounding when this country was largely agricultural, around which our laws were developed, has so impressed itself upon the members of the American bar that their vision of the social theory of property, established and maintained for social purposes, is obstructed by the large proportions in which the individual idea of private property looms up before them. That private ownership even of land must yield as against public interest, is still inconsistent with their processes of thinking. They are reconciled to the taking of private property for public use under the right of eminent domain, for the reason, doubtless, that public-service corporations which profit by this right are their clients. But that private property can be taken for the use of the State, that forests and land, mineral rights, and water powers can be saved for the whole people from private exploitation; that even the abolition of private property can be achieved, if the good of the people demands it, is as yet contrary to the lawyer's ingrained idea that the State exists for the welfare of the individual.

Possibly nothing obstructs the lawyer's acceptance of the modern theory of social justice more than the principle of individual freedom of contract running through all the law. Here again the lawyer has allowed his rapt contemplation of the past to warp his powers of thinking in applying new conditions to old principles. Hence he fails to see that there can be no individual freedom of contract, when there is such a glaring inequality of economic status.

This refusal to adopt the social theory of contract is a chief reason why the courts uphold the oppression of wage earners, child labor, immoderate hours for laborers, and unhealthy occupations for women.

There are, of course, a number of leading lawyers and judges, students of politics and society of to-day, who are thoroughly alive to merely blind worshipers of the past. But the bulk of the profession have been trained in an environment that has, in a most natural way, so affected their mental processes that they have become, scarcely through any fault of their own, incapable of meeting new conditions in the social order. And these lawyers often fool themselves into thinking that the reading of half a dozen articles on the currency question or the tariff act is keeping in touch with public progress. Likewise they often believe they are nobly serving their community, for example, by presiding over local school boards; that their generous impulse toward education is sufficient. They do not seek for other proofs of fitness.

The number of laws recently enacted in the United States that give expression to the cry of human rights against property rights shows that legislatures are yielding to the demands of modern society. But these steps in progress are taken in spite of the activity of the great body of lawyers, rather than because of it.

The resistance offered by our courts to the onward push of liberal democracy can not be attributed entirely to an antiquated system of law. The common law is elastic and flexible; and it will ordinarily yield under properly directed pressure to modern requirements. Through the power of judges to overrule prior decisions the law contains within itself the ability to reform itself. But the blame should rest rather with the lawyer and the judge, who, lacking in progressive thinking, are influenced in their interpretation of the law by their own inability to grasp modern industrial and social problems, and who believe "that the tendency to err is in the direction of not declaring enough laws unconstitutional."

If orderly government is to endure, we must have the assistance of those who, because of their fundamental knowledge of the law and experience in the law, are particularly able to guide opinion into proper channels of legislative enactment, who are technically capable of framing laws that will embody the demands of modern society and at the same time meet the requirements of the Supreme Court that passes upon their validity.

This need is illustrated by the history of recent legislation known as workmen compensation acts, which at first were so improperly drawn that the Supreme Court declared them void, but when redrawn properly were unanimously upheld. The laymen's efforts at lawmaking will necessarily be crude on the technical side. The advancement of society is made through its use of the services of those most able to minister to its needs. The making and the construing of laws for a society as complicated as is ours of the twentieth century require special training, experience, and effort. If lawyers were in the same degree as formerly leaders in politics and reform undoubtedly the Constitution and the judiciary would come in for much less muckraking.

The need of this leadership will be greater in the future than ever before. The effects of the European war, if nothing else, will make it so. The efforts to better the conditions of living have not been halted by this war, as some believe. The thinking that the war is causing the masses of men and women to do will give a pressure to reform and an impetus to democracy greater than either ever had before.

In qualifying anew for this great leadership, lawyers could satisfy their conservative training and natures, if need be, by studying afresh the purposes of the framers of the Constitution, that its aim should be the control of Government by the people. If this control has been lost, let it be the duty of the lawyers to discover the means by which it can be regained. Let them reread the Declaration of Independence, which declares that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation upon such principles and organizing its powers in such a form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

If lawyers must seek examples in the past, let them remember that the distinguished members of their profession who signed this Declaration of Independence were radicals—and more than radicals. And if the lives of the great lawyers of the past who helped to make this country great have any significance for us now, it should be to inspire the lawyers of to-day to stand with the people in their fight for a real democracy and to devote themselves unhesitatingly to the service of this democracy in the critical period upon which it is now entering.

CHARLTON G. OGBURN.

Savannah, Ga.

Public Buildings.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. COX,
OF INDIANA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 22, 1917.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I am uncompromisingly opposed to this bill, not that I am opposed to public buildings in general, but I am opposed to the vicious system of making authorizations for public buildings as set out in this measure. Everyone knows that it is going to pass, and pass by a large majority. It is so framed by its authors as to make it pass. It takes care of upward of 400 congressional districts in the United States and of every State in the Union except Vermont. Thus riveted with iron and steel it is impossible to even make a dent in it. It could not be defeated with a 42-centimeter gun or destroyed by a German Zeppelin. It will withstand all attacks and assaults made against it, no matter from what source these assaults may come. I am opposed to it for many reasons. First and foremost, it is an inopportune time to pass a public buildings bill, with the Treasury of the United States depleted and a positive deficit confronting us in the near future of not less than $300,000,000, with another assured deficit at the close of the fiscal year 1918 of $500,000,000, which means that additional taxes must be laid upon the people in some form to replenish the Treasury of the United States, and no matter in what form it may be laid taxes always constitute a burden upon the part of those who pay them. There is pending before the Ways and Means Committee now a proposition proposing to impose a tax upon all corporations and copartnerships in excess of 8 per cent profits. This is a tax that the people will feel, and feel it strongly; but this is only one of the means and methods to be adopted by the Ways and Means Committee to raise revenue to meet the ever occurring deficit. Other means of raising revenue, if the papers are to be believed, will be resorted to by the Ways and Means Committee, to wit, the selling of Government bonds and certificates of indebtedness, which means a charge upon the people to pay the interest on the bonds and certificates of indebtedness and to set aside a sinking fund to redeem these obligations at maturity.

It is argued by the friends of this measure that it does not carry an appropriation. Grant this to be true. It carries a fixed obligation on the Treasury soon to be carried out and enforced by appropriations made by proper appropriation committees. There are some meritorious projects in this bill, particularly in the larger cities, where it is often difficult, if not impossible, for the Government to rent suitable quarters to house its various Government activities; but there is no excuse for making appropriations for every little third and second class post office in the United States located in small towns having populations ranging from 1,000 to 3,000 and where the Government can rent quarters at cheap rent suitable to take care of whatever Government agencies may be located in the town.

Section 3 of the bill makes authorizations for buildings to be erected upon sites authorized in the public-buildings bill four years ago. I select only a few of these proposed buildings to be located in small towns with populations ranging from 1,000 to 3,000, and where the postal receipts range from $4,000 to $8,000 per year, and where the rent ranges from $150 to $500 per year. I herein insert:

Lenoir, N. C.: Population, 1910, 3,364; estimated population, 1916, 4,662; receipts, 1915, $9,827.27; receipts, 1916, $10,686; present rental, $650; site authorized, $8,000; site acquired, $4,500; saving, $3,500; pending bill, $30,000; department estimate, $55,000.

Monroe, Ga.: Population, 1910, 3,029; estimated population, 1916, 3,772; receipts, 1915, $7,361.51; receipts, 1916, $8,319; present rental, $450; site authorized, $5,000; site acquired, $5,000; pending bill, $30,000; department estimate, $45,000; decrease in bill from estimate, $15,000; class 2.

Marengo, Iowa: Population, 1910, 1,786; estimated population, 1915, 1,352; receipts, 1915, $7,503.33; receipts, 1916, $10,676.65; rental, $480; site authorized, $5,000; site acquired, $3,500; saving, $1,500; class 3.

Mount Olive, N. C.: Population, 1910, 1,671; estimated population, 1916, 1,357; receipts, 1915, $5,679.28; receipts, 1916, $6,382; present rental, $420; site authorized, $5,000; pending bill, $30,000; department estimate, $35,000; decrease in bill from estimate, $5,000; class 3.

Murray, Ky.: Population, 1910, 2,089; estimated population, 1916, 2,257; receipts, 1915, $6,357.93; receipts, 1916, $6,617; present rental, $510; site authorized, $5,000; site contracted for, $4,000; saving, $1,000; pending bill, $25,000; department estimate, none; class 3.

Nephi, Utah: Population, 1910, 2,759; estimated population, 1916, 3,105; receipts, 1915, $4,936.08; receipts, 1916, $5,190; rental, $280 (post office), $96 (agriculture); total, $376; site authorized, $5,000; site contracted for, $5,000; pending bill, $25,000; department estimate, $30,000; decrease in bill from estimate, $5,000; class 3.

Newcastle, Wyo.: Population, 1910, 975; estimated population, 1915, 651; receipts, 1915, $4,174.70; receipts, 1916, $4,589; present rental, $312; site authorized, $5,000; site contracted for, $4,400; saving, $600; pending bill, $25,000; department estimate, $25,000; class 3.

Newark, Del.: Population, 1910, 1,913; estimated population, 1916, 2,353; receipts, 1915, $11,388.31; receipts, 1916, $10,736; present rental, $1,050; site authorized, $5,000; site acquired, $4,000; saving, $1,000; department estimate, $30,000; class 2.

Pikeville, Ky.: Population, 1910, 1,260; estim ted population, 1916, 1,764; receipts, 1915, $6,149.72; receipts, 1916, $6,804;

present rental, $332; site authorized, $7,500; pending bill, $35,000; department estimate, $25,000; class 3.

Provincetown, Mass.: Population, 1910, 4,369; estimated population, 1915, 4,362; receipts, 1915, $11,191.78; receipts, 1916, $12,378; present rental, $700, and customs service, $100; total, $800; site authorized, $8,000.

Rogersville, Tenn.: Population, 1910, 1,242; estimated population, 1916, ——; receipts, 1915, $7,679.56; receipts, 1916, $6,031; rental, $350; site authorized, $3,000; site contracted for, $2,250; saving, $750; pending bill, $25,000; department estimate, none; class 3.

Forest City, Ark.: Population, 1910, 2,484; estimated population, 1916, 3,191; receipts, 1915, $9,687.77; receipts, 1916, $11,000; rental, $400; site authorized, $5,000; site contracted for, $4,500; saving, $500; pending bill, $25,000; department estimate, $55,000; decrease in bill from estimate, $30,000; second class.

Green River, Wyo.: Population, 1910, 1,313; estimated population, 1916, ——; receipts, 1915, $4,370.18; receipts, 1916, $4,275; rental, $210; site authorized, $6,000; pending bill, $25,000; department estimate, $25,000; third class.

Eminence, Ky.: Population, 1910, 1,274; estimated population, 1916, 1,434; receipts, 1915, $4,402.53; receipts, 1916, $4,437; present rental, $193; site authorized, $8,000; acquired, $6,850; saving, $1,150; pending bill, $40,000; department estimate, $30,000; third class.

Falmouth, Ky.: Population, 1910, 1,180; estimated population, 1916, 1,209; receipts, 1915, $5,638.24; receipts, 1916, $6,318; rental, $340; site authorized, $5,000; site acquired, $5,000; pending bill, $25,000; department estimate, $25,000; third class.

Greensburg, Ind.: Population, 1910, 5,420; estimated population, 1916, 5,662; receipts, 1915, $18,036; rental, $776; site authorized, $12,000; site not yet contracted for; pending bill, $45,000; department estimate, $60,000; decrease in bill from estimate, $15,000; second class.

Greenville, Ala.: Population, 1910, 3,377; estimated population, 1916, 3,511; receipts, 1915, $9,294.81; receipts, 1916, $10,849; rental, $480; site authorized, $5,000; site contracted for, $5,000; pending bill, $30,000; department estimate, $35,000; decrease in bill from estimate, $5,000; second class.

Highland, Ill.: Population, 1910, 2,675; estimated population, 1916, 3,116; receipts, 1915, $9,611.45; receipts, 1916, $9,659; present rental, $650; site authorized, $7,000; site acquired, $4,000; saving, $3,000; pending bill, $25,000; department estimate, $30,000; decrease in bill from estimate, $5,000; second class.

Huntingdon, Tenn.: Population, 1910, 1,112; estimated population, 1916, ——; receipts, 1915, $4,427.28; receipts, 1916, $4,713; present rental, $360; site authorized, $2,500; site acquired, $2,500; pending bill, $25,000; third class.

Huntsville, Tex.: Population, 1910, 2,072; estimated population, 1916, ——; receipts, 1915, $10,707.61; receipts, 1916, $12,126; present rental, $780; site authorized, $5,000; site acquired, $5,000; pending bill, $30,000; department estimate, $25,000; second class.

Kissimmee, Fla.: Population, 1910, 2,157; estimated population, 1915, 4,221; receipts, 1916, $11,296; present rental, $360; site authorized, $6,000; site acquired, $5,000; saving, $1,000; pending bill, $35,000; department estimate, none; second class.

Rossville, Ga.: Population, 1910, 1,059; estimated population, 1916, ——; receipts, 1915, $8,062.48; receipts, 1916, $8,334; rental, $486; site authorized, $4,000; site contracted for, none; pending bill, $25,000; department estimate, $30,000; decrease in bilil from estimate, $5,000; class 2.

Sandersville, Ga.: Population, 1910, 2,641; estimated population, 1916, 3,028; receipts, 1915, $7,855.16; receipts, 1916, $8,618; rental, $540; site authorized, $5,000; site acquired, $5,000; pending bill, $30,000; department estimate, $55,000; decrease in bill from estimate, $25,000; second class.

Sequin, Tex.: Population, 1910, 3,116; estimated population, 1916, 3,551; receipts, 1915, $10,884.68; receipts, 1916, $11,952; rental, $510; site authorized, $7,500; saving, $7,000; pending bill, $30,000; department estimate, $45,000; decrease in bill from estimate, $15,000; second class.

St. Johns, Oreg.: Population, 1910, 4,872; estimated population, 1916, ——; receipts, 1915, $6,751.25; receipts, 1916, $5,205; present rental, $600; site authorized, $5,000; pending bill, $25,000.

Stuttgart, Ark.: Population, 1910, 2,740; estimated population, 1916, 3,671; receipts, 1915, $12,940.02; receipts, 1916, $12,879; rental, $1,000; site authorized, $5,000; site contracted for $4,000; saving, $1,000; pending bill, $30,000; department estimate, $50,000; decrease in bill from estimate, $20,000; class 2.

Sylacauga, Ala.: Population, 1910, 1,456; estimated population, 1916, 1,816; receipts, 1915, $7,256.27; receipts, 1916, $7,699; rental, $534; site authorized, $5,000; site acquired, $5,000; pending bill, $30,000; department estimate, $25,000; increase in bill from estimate, $5,000.

Union Springs, Ala.: Population, 1910, 4,055; estimated population, 1916, 4,942; receipts, 1915, $7,027.98; receipts, 1916, $7,005; rental, $600; site authorized, $5,000; site acquired, $4,500; saving, $500; pending bill, $25,000; department estimate, $45,000; decrease in bill from estimate, $20,000; class 3.

West Point, Va.: Population, 1910, 1,397; estimated population, 1916, 1,453; receipts, 1915, $5,039.37; receipts, 1916, $5,602; rental, $600; site authorized, $5,000; pending bill, $25,000; department estimate, $25,000; class 3.

Waynesboro, Ga.: Population, 1910, 2,729; estimated population, 1916, 3,168; receipts, 1915, $7,450; rental, $400; site authorized, $5,000; site acquired, $4,093.75; saving, $906.25; pending bill, $25,000; department estimate, $30,000; decrease in bill from estimate, $5,000; class 3.

Brinkley, Ark.: Third class; population, 1910, 1,740; estimated population, 1916, 1,796; receipts, 1915, $6,114.53; receipts, 1916, $6,751; present rental, $500; site authorized, $5,000; contracted for, $3,750; saving, $1,250; pending bill, $25,000; department estimate, $25,000.

Boyne City, Mich.: Second class; population, 1910, 5,218; estimated population, 1916, 7,929; receipts, 1915, $11,063.17; receipts, 1916, $10,191; present rental, $750; site authorized, $10,000; site acquired, $8,000; site contracted for, no; saving, $2,000; pending bill, $30,000; department estimate, $35,000; decrease in bill from estimate, $5,000.

Carlinville, Ill.: Second class; population, 1910, 3,616; estimated population, 1916, 3,885; receipts, 1915, $12,566.28; receipts, 1916, $12,401; rental, $600; site authorized, $10,000; site contracted for, $8,000; saving, $2,000; pending bill, $30,000; department estimate, $45,000; decrease in bill from estimate, $15,000.

Carrollton, Ill.: Population, 1910, 2,323; estimated population, 1916, ——; receipts, 1915, $7,854.95; receipts, 1916, $8,234; present rental, $600; site authorized, $7,000; not yet contracted for site; pending bill, $25,000; department estimate, no estimate; second class.

Central City, Ky.: Population, 1910, 2,545; estimated population, 1916, 3,296; receipts, 1915, $5,707.92; receipts, 1916, $5,808; rental, $600; site authorized, $7,500; site acquired, $7,500; pending bill, $30,000; department estimate, $30,000; third class.

Coleman, Tex.: Population, 1910, 3,046; estimated population, 1916, 4,103; receipts, 1915, $10,723.84; receipts, 1916, $11,296; rental, $780; site authorized, $5,000; site acquired, $1; saving, $4,999; pending bill, $30,000; department estimate, $50,000; decrease in bill from estimate, $20,000; second class.

Crockett, Tex.: Population, 1910, 3,947; estimated population, 1916, 4,785; receipts, 1915, $7,801.03; receipts, 1916, $9,203; rental, $360; site authorized, $6,000; site acquired, $6,000; pending bill, $25,000; department estimate, $45,000; decrease in bill from estimate, $20,000; second class.

Dillon, S. C.: Population, 1910, 1,757; estimated population, 1916, 2,223; receipts, 1915, $7,733.63; receipts, 1916, $7,869; rental, $400; site authorized, $7,500; site acquired, $7,500; pending bill, $25,000; decrease in bill from estimate, $5,000; third class.

Edenton, N. C.: Population, 1910, 2,789; estimated population, 1916, ——; receipts, 1916, $9,064; present rental, $600; site authorized, $7,500; site acquired, $4,000; saving, $3,500; pending bill, $25,000; department estimate, $35,000; decrease in bill from estimate, $10,000; post office, second class.

Eldorado, Ark.: Population, 1910, 4,202; estimated population, 1916, 6,170; receipts, 1915, $9,806.93; receipts, 1916, $10,572; present rental, $565; site authorized, $5,000; site contracted for, $5,000; pending bill, $25,000; second class.

Mr. Speaker, the above items are wholly indefensible from any viewpoint whatever. They can not be defended upon the ground of economy or on the ground of necessity. They can only be defended upon the ground that "You have grabbed in the bill, and I will grab, too; you have one of these buildings, and I will take one myself; you have your share in this bill, and I am going to get my share." This policy and system of authorizing public buildings can not be defended. It is wrong; it is vicious; it is immoral; it is exactly what holds the Congress up to ridicule, contempt, if not public scorn. Some may believe it is in the interest of economy to erect these buildings. Those who take this view of the matter lose sight of the proposition that the annual cost and upkeep of these buildings when erected and completed amounts to from five to ten times more per year than the rent which the Government now pays. It will actually cost the Government from $2,500 to $4,000 per year upkeep to keep these buildings—janitor service, interest on the money, depreciation and repair shows this to be true. No business man in any

of the small towns where these buildings are to be erected, when thoroughly acquainted with the facts, would agree to the policy set forth in these bills. The Government should be run as near as practical on business methods and business policies, and any business man who would undertake to run his business upon the plan set forth in this bill would soon be forced into either voluntary or involuntary bankruptcy. No business man would think of erecting a business house in which to conduct his business at a cost of $30,000 for the building and $5,000 for the site if the cost and annual upkeep would aggregate $4,000 per year when he could rent a private building to serve his purpose exactly at an annual rental of not to exceed $500. It would be absurd to think of a business man doing this, and no business man fit to stay out of an insane asylum would think of doing it; but the items as above stated are authorizations for buildings to be erected on sites which the Government now owns. Owning the property, there might be some excuse to erect buildings thereon, because the Government owns the site, has paid the money for it, and the Government must go forward and either erect the buildings on these sites or else permit them to lie there. The mistake was made four years ago in authorizing sites for these small places.

But section 5 of this bill proposes to buy and purchase sites for equally a large number of post offices in little towns of the second and third class. No defense on earth can be made to the items authorized to be purchased in this section.

I set forth a few of these items which gives the name of the place, its population, postal receipts for 1915, and the annual rental which the Government is now paying. The items set out in section 5 is the most daring attempt to raid the Treasury of the United States, and to raid it at a time when the people are overburdened with taxation, that was ever heard of before:

San Benito, Tex., $6,000; population, not given; receipts, 1915, $8,199.12; annual rental, $180.

Sanford, N. C., $7,000; population, 2,282; receipts, 1915, $9,568.04; annual rental, $500.

Sheffield, Ala., $5,000; population, 4,865; receipts, 1915, $7,968.77; annual rental, $660.

Stanford, Ky., $5,000; population, 1,532; receipts, 1915, $6,228.48; annual rental, $396.

York, S. C., $9,000; population, 2,326; receipts, 1915, $8,596.98; annual rental, $600.

Williamston, N. C., $5,000; population, 1,574; receipts, 1915, $6,043.18; annual rental, $300.

Winder, Ga., $5,000; population, 2,443; receipts, 1915, $7,317.19; annual rental, $406.

Windsor, Ga., $4,000; population, 2,241; receipts, 1915, $7,918.08; annual rental, $600.

Winona, Miss., $7,500; population, 2,512; receipts, 1915, $8,584.35; annual rental, $460.

Summerville, S. C., $5,000; population, 2,355; receipts, 1915, $7,796.61; annual rental, $440.

Susanville, Cal., $10,000; population, 688; receipts, 1915, $7,058.08; annual rental, $600.

Thomaston, Ga., $5,000; population, 1,645; receipts, 1915, $6,144.63; annual rental, $360.

Waurika, Okla., $5,000; population, 2,928; receipts, 1915, $6,480.82; annual rental, $420.

McMinnville, Tenn., $5,000; population, 2,299; receipts, 1915, $8,724.74; annual rental, $540.

Milan, Mo., $5,000; population, 2,191; receipts, 1915, $6,684.48; annual rental, $500.

Monticello, Fla., $5,000; population, 1,829; recepts, 1911, $6,065.70; annual rental, $600.

Okolona, Miss., $5,000; population, 2,584; receipts, 1915, $5,425.40; annual rental, $480.

O'Neill, Nebr., $6,000; population, 2,089; receipts, 1915, $8,924.77; annual rental, $720.

Ozark, Ala., $5,000; population, 2,229; receipts, 1915, $6,416.74; annual rental, $400.

Paris, Mo., $5,000; population, 1,474; receipts, 1915, $7,037.89; annual rental, $540.

Pascagoula, Miss., $5,000; population, 3,379; receipts, 1915, $6,179.94; annual rental, $514.

Perry, Fla., $5,000; population, 1,012; receipts, 1915, $6,439.25; annual rental, $360.

Perryville, Mo., $5,000; population, 1,708; receipts, 1915, $5,662.91; annual rental, $400.

Pelham, Ga., $6,000; population, 1,880; receipts, 1915, $6,719.12; annual rental, none.

Pineville, Ky., $5,000; population, 2,161; receipts, 1915, $7,369.33; annual rental, $600.

Rich Hill, Mo., $5,000; population, 2,755; receipts, 1915, $7,831.80; annual rental, $480.

Rockwood, Tenn., $6,000; population, 3,660; receipts, 1915, $5,857.91; annual rental, $360.

Russellville, Ky., $10,000; population, 3,111; receipts, 1915, $7,898.31; annual rental, $448.

Salisbury, Mo., $5,000; population, 1,834; receipts, 1915, $7,438.25; annual rental, $500.

Ely, Nev., $5,000; population, 2,055; receipts, 1915, $8,315.16; annual rental, $900.

Essex, Conn., $6,000; population, 2,745; receipts, 1915, $8,087.39; annual rental, $240.

Greer, S. C., $5,000; population, 1,673; receipts, 1915, $6,643.48; annual rental, $360.

Hartsville, S. C., $3,000; population, 2,365; receipts, 1915, $9,884.33; annual rental, $480.

Hawkinsville, Ga., $8,000; population, 3,420; receipts, 1915, $8,129.91; annual rental, $772.

Henderson, Tex., $5,000; population not given; receipts, 1915, $6,666.76; annual rental, $300.

Hickman, Ky., $5,000; population, 2,736; receipts, 1915, $8,538.80; annual rental, $520.

Indianola, Miss., $5,000; population, 1,098; receipts, 1915, $7,661.88; annual rental, $450.

Jackson, Ga., $5,000; population, 1,862; receipts, 1915, $6,647.65; annual rental, $340.

Lafollette, Tenn., $6,000; population, 2,816; receipts, 1915, $5,425.91; annual rental, 425.

Las Vegas, Nev., $5,000; population, 945; receipts, 1915, $7,198.68; annual rental, none.

Lenoir City, Tenn., $6,000; population, 3,392; receipts, 1915, $5,986.59; annual rental, $500.

Lexington, Miss., $5,000; population, 2,428; receipts, 1914, $8,421.84; annual rental, $600.

Manning, S. C., $5,000; population, 1,854; receipts, 1915, $5,435.28; annual rental, $350.

Marion, N. C., $6,000; population, 1,519; receipts, 1915, $8,315.52; annual rental, $924.

Clinton, N. C., $5,000; population, 1,101; receipts, 1915, $6,254.73; annual rental, $480.

Columbia, Miss., $5,000; population, 2,029; receipts, 1915, $8,505.15; annual rental, $660.

Commerce, Ga., $5,000; population, 2,238; receipts, 1915, $6,290.89; annual rental, $500.

Covington, Ga., $5,000; population, 2,697; receipts, 1915, $7,031.21; annual rental, $400.

Corvallis, Oreg., $10,000; population, 4,552; receipts, 1915, $27,479.83; annual rental, $1,404.

Conway, S. C., $3,000; population, 1,228; receipts, 1915, $6,030.89; annual rental, $490.

Cuthbert, Ga., $6,000; population, 3,210; receipts, 1915, $7,813.40; annual rental, $600.

Decatur, Ga., $8,000; population, 2,466; receipts, 1915, $7,230.65; annual rental, $600.

Dickson, Tenn., $5,000; population, 1,850; receipts, 1915, $7,451.91; annual rental, $425.

Duncan, Okla., $5,000; population, 2,477; receipts, 1915, $8,042.36; annual rental, $480.

Dunn, N. C., $7,000; population, 1,823; receipts, 1915, $9,252.97; annual rental, $500.

Easley, S. C., $5,000; population, 2,983; receipts, 1915, $5,342.35; annual rental, $300.

Eaton Rapids, Mich., $7,500; population, 2,094; receipts, 1915, $8,985.23; annual rental, $800.

Eldorado Springs, Mo., $5,000; population, 2,503; receipts, 1915, $7,626.21; annual rental, $390.

Albemarle, N. C., $6,000; population, 2,116; receipts, 1915, $8,759.99; annual rental, $606.

Alvin, Tex., $6,000; population, 1,453; receipts, 1915, $9,051.14; annual rental, $100.

Bamberg, S. C., $5,000; population, 1,937; receipts, 1915, $4,257.77; annual rental, $220.

Ashburn, Ga., $5,000; population, 2,214; receipts, 1915, $6,468.82; annual rental, $480.

Baxley, Ga., $5,000; population, 831; receipts, 1915, $6,639.50; annual rental, $408.

Beckley, W. Va., $10,000; population, 2,161; receipts, 1915, $9,305.50; annual rental, $600.

Berkeley Springs, W. Va., $10,000; population, 864; receipts, 1915, $6,485.23; annual rental, $450.

Blakely, Ga., $6,000; population, 1,838; receipts, 1915, $6,327.50; annual rental, none.

Brownsville, Tenn., $5,000; population, 2,882; receipts, 1915, $8,111.42; annual rental, $660.

Cairo, Ga., $6,000; population, 1,505; receipts, 1915, $7,273.48; annual rental, none.

Charleston, Mo., $5,000; population, 3,144; receipts, 1915, $9,346.62; annual rental, $810.

Mr. Speaker, not one of the items contained in sections 3 and 5 of this bill standing alone could possibly pass this House. If all the authorizations which I have set forth under section 3 and section 5 was pending in one separate bill, it would never pass in the kingdom come, because they have no merit in them, no necessity for the authorizations, but by combining these authorizations with a large number of other authorizations, so as to take care of upward of 400 congressional districts, these unmeritorious items and projects will pass the House beyond question.

The system of making authorizations in this way is wrong, vicious, and can not be defended. My firm hope is that if the Senate does not checkmate and kill this bill it will meet with a stern veto on the part of the President as quickly as it reaches his desk.

I have asked the Treasury Department to submit a list of items carried in this bill which it would not be advantageous to the country to pass, and I make this list a part of my remarks:

Places where sites and buildings authorized in public building bill, 1916, could not probably be built with profit to the Government.

[The last column, "Maintenance," indicates the approximate cost of the maintenance of a building constructed in accordance with proposed legislation in the bill. Where site only is authorized the estimate is, of course, based upon the supposititious cost of a building which will probably be subsequently authorized.]

Place.	Population.	Receipts.	Present rent.	Bill.	Section.	Maintenance.
Albertville, Ala	1,544	$5,663.04	$500	$25,000	3	$3,700
Alva, Okla	3,688	15,853.05	624	45,000	3	4,800
Attalla, Ala	2,513	4,610.21	460	30,000	3	3,200
Aurora, Mo	4,148	51,210.15	720	65,000	3	6,100
Barbourville, Ky	1,633	4,532.95	406	25,000	3	3,800
Bath, N. Y	3,884	24,992.62	1,220	50,000	3	5,600
Benton Harbor, Mich	9,185	54,702.56	2,000	80,000	3	8,300
Brinkley, Ark	1,740	6,114.53	550	25,000	3	3,500
Boyne City, Mich	5,218	11,065.17	762	30,000	3	4,300
Canon City, Colo	6,162	23,383.58	1,600	55,000	3	6,000
Carlinville, Ill	3,616	12,566.28	660	30,000	3	5,000
Carrollton, Ill	2,323	7,854.95	500	25,000	3	3,600
Central City, Ky	2,545	5,707.92	500	30,000	3	4,100
Coleman, Tex	3,046	10,923.84	876	30,000	3	4,000
Conway, Ark	2,794	13,126.17	644	40,000	3	5,300
Crockett, Tex	3,947	7,801.03	632	25,000	3	4,200
Decatur, Ind	4,471	19,000.73	1,420	45,000	3	5,100
Dillon, S. C	1,757	7,733.63	400	25,000	3	4,000
Edenton, N. C	2,789	8,861.03	660	25,000	3	4,000
Eldorado, Ark	4,202	9,806.93	625	25,000	3	5,700
Eminence, Ky	1,274	4,402.53	193	40,000	3	3,700
Fairfield, Iowa	4,970	28,798.31	750	50,000	3	5,400
Falmouth, Ky	1,180	5,638.24	340	25,000	3	3,400
Forrest City, Ark	2,484	9,687.77	460	25,000	3	5,700
Georgetown, Tex	3,096	12,281.22	984	30,000	3	4,800
Green River, Wyo	1,313	4,370.18	.....	25,000	3	3,800
Greensburg, Ind	5,420	18,477.35	876	45,000	3	5,200
Greenville, Ala	3,377	9,294.81	480	30,000	3	4,300
Havana, Ill	3,525	12,106.02	809	40,000	3	4,600
Highland, Ill	2,675	9,611.45	650	25,000	3	3,700
Hobart, Okla	3,845	14,134.97	884	40,000	3	4,800
Holton, Kans	2,842	12,501.30	750	35,000	3	4,000
Huntingdon, Tenn	1,112	4,427.28	.....	25,000	3	3,300
Huntsville, Tex	2,072	10,707.61	900	30,000	3	4,000
Kissimmee, Fla	2,157	12,048.85	420	35,000	3	4,100
Kittanning, Pa	4,311	24,526.51	1,420	50,000	3	5,600
Lake City, Fla	5,032	11,203.32	660	35,000	3	5,100
Lebanon, Ind	5,474	18,287.34	1,180	45,000	3	5,100
Lenoir, N. C	3,364	9,827.27	846	30,000	3	5,000
Linton, Ind	5,906	11,988.51	1,150	35,000	3	4,900
Long Beach, Cal.[1]	17,809	99,319.04	100	200,000	3	15,800
Lumberton, N. C	3,230	12,433.98	780	30,000	3	4,900
Lyons, N. Y	4,460	16,460.72	860	40,000	3	5,100
Madisonville, Ky	4,966	12,615.03	660	40,000	3	5,200
Manchester, Conn	13,641	10,462.38	425	40,000	3	4,900
Marengo, Iowa	1,786	7,503.33	480	30,000	3	3,800
Modesto, Cal	4,034	34,634.82	840	65,000	3	6,600
Monroe, Ga	3,029	7,361.51	450	30,000	3	4,500
Montrose, Colo	3,254	17,919.54	1,504	150,000	3	11,000
Mount Airy, N. C	3,844	11,092.02	860	55,000	3	5,200
Morgan City, La	5,477	8,370.63	960	40,000	3	3,800
Mountain Grove, Mo	1,722	12,826.07	960	40,000	3	4,900
Mount Olive, N. C	1,071	5,679.28	420	30,000	3	4,000
Mt. Vernon, Ind	5,563	13,233.74	600	40,000	3	5,400
Murray, Ky	2,089	6,357.93	240	25,000	3	3,500
Napoleon, Ohio	4,007	12,854.36	660	35,000	3	4,400
Nephi, Utah	2,759	4,936.08	95	25,000	3	3,800
Newark, Del	1,913	11,388.31	1,110	30,000	3	3,700
Newcastle, Wyo	975	4,174.70	0	25,000	3	3,800
New Martinsville W. Va	2,176	10,538.29	622	40,000	3	4,800
Newton, Iowa	4,616	32,156.54	1,440	55,000	3	5,600
Niles, Ohio	8,361	26,674.27	1,104	55,000	3	5,000
Nyack, N. Y	4,619	25,257.19	824	50,000	3	5,600
Oelwein, Iowa	6,028	16,333.03	1,260	40,000	3	4,700
Oneida, N. Y	8,317	33,153.88	1,900	55,000	3	6,100
Pikeville, Ky	1,280	6,149.72	332	35,000	3	3,500

[1] The conditions here are peculiar, and while as a simple business proposition it is not advisable to erect a building the facts may appear to warrant it. The place is a summer resort and the competition for the advantages accruing to the business firm housing the post office are considered so great by the citizens that an offer has been recently made and accepted by the Post Office Department, to provide post-office quarters after Dec. 1, 1916 for $1 per year. The receipts for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, were $109,303.42.

Places where sites and buildings authorized in public building bill, 1916, could not probably be built with profit to the Government—Contd.

Place.	Population.	Receipts.	Present rent.	Bill.	Section.	Maintenance.
Provincetown, Mass	4,369	$11,191.78	$824	$30,000	3	$5,400
Rogersville, Tenn	1,242	7,679.56	410	25,000	3	3,300
Rossville, Ga	1,059	8,062.48	398	25,000	3	4,200
Sandersville, Ga	2,641	7,855.16	600	30,000	3	4,800
San Bernardino, Cal	12,779	47,247.08	1,892	70,000	3	7,200
Seguin, Tex	3,116	10,884.68	588	30,000	3	4,600
Spring Valley, Ill	7,035	10,372.32	543	30,000	3	4,100
Sterling, Colo	3,044	17,969.35	1,756	55,000	3	6,000
Stuttgart, Ark	2,740	12,940.02	1,072	30,000	3	4,800
Sweetwater, Tex	4,176	14,349.94	675	35,000	3	4,400
Sylacauga, Ala	1,456	7,256.27	534	30,000	3	3,500
Trenton, Mo	5,656	14,387.87	1,020	65,000	3	6,100
Tyrone, Pa	7,176	98,485.58	2,450	80,000	3	8,000
Union Springs, Ala	4,055	7,027.98	0	25,000	3	4,800
Unionville, Mo	2,000	6,950.44	450	30,000	3	4,000
Urbana, Ohio	7,739	22,967.85	1,084	50,000	3	5,600
Vermilion, S. Dak	2,187	13,266.10	850	35,000	3	4,800
West Plains, Mo	2,914	12,174.25	1,596	40,000	3	4,000
West Point, Va	1,397	5,039.37	0	25,000	3	3,400
Waynesboro, Ga	2,729	7,022.26	400	25,000	3	4,200
Winnfield, La	2,925	9,098.12	380	30,000	3	4,200
Algona, Iowa	2,908	15,210.44	800	45,000	4	5,000
Athens, Ala	1,715	9,393.82	508	35,000	4	4,800
Blackfoot, Idaho	2,202	18,414.45	1,468	55,000	4	5,500
Bowling Green, Mo	1,585	8,923.57	780	40,000	4	4,300
Bristol, Va.[1]	6,247	45,283.59	1,500	80,000	4	6,400
Canajoharie, N. Y	2,273	25,913.58	848	60,000	4	5,200
Carbondale, Ill	5,411	15,980.68	1,356	60,000	4	5,300
Clare, Mich	1,350	8,590.91	549	35,000	4	4,500
Claremont, N. H	7,529	22,856.10	1,060	55,000	4	5,000
Circleville, Ohio	6,744	17,505.63	860	65,000	4	5,600
Clearwater, Fla	1,171	10,959.77	1,080	40,000	4	4,000
Columbus, Kans	3,064	13,279.63	684	50,000	4	5,000
Council Grove, Kans	2,545	9,141.27	540	35,000	4	3,900
Corning, Iowa	1,702	10,133.25	660	35,000	4	5,000
Dansville, N. Y	3,938	46,034.18	1,100	60,000	4	5,200
De Ridder, La	2,100	8,854.54	300	30,000	4	4,800
Dodge City, Kans	3,214	21,246.73	1,680	60,000	4	5,200
Duquesne, Pa	15,727	13,740.49	1,020	75,000	4	4,800
Eagle Grove, Iowa	3,387	11,625.90	775	35,000	4	5,000
East Moline, Iowa	2,665	14,252.47	576	45,000	4	5,500
Easton, Md	3,083	20,732.09	1,480	65,000	4	5,600
Eaton, Ohio	3,187	11,290.79	480	35,000	4	3,700
Effingham, Ill	3,898	12,693.76	1,170	45,000	4	5,200
Elko, Nev	1,677	22,255.66	900	59,000	4	5,300
Farmington, Me	3,210	11,924.96	936	45,000	4	4,600
Framingham, Mass	12,948	84,899.01	2,955	100,000	4	8,100
Galva, Ill	2,498	15,691.44	450	45,000	4	4,500
Gardner, Mass	14,699	39,783.65	1,500	90,000	4	7,600
Grand Rapids, Wis	6,521	27,973.83	995	70,000	4	6,200
Great Barrington, Mass	5,926	18,372.93	900	50,000	4	5,100
Greenville, Pa	5,909	31,245.42	1,380	75,000	4	6,400
Harlan, Iowa	2,570	11,809.90	960	35,000	4	5,000
Hartford City, Ind	6,187	15,983.64	650	50,000	4	4,800
Harvey, Ill	7,227	22,017.42	1,202	55,000	4	5,000
Hazard, Ky	537	4,477.43	250	40,000	4	3,800
Hood River, Oreg	2,331	12,455.41	1,020	60,000	4	5,400
Hoquiam, Wash	8,171	23,230.21	2,580	75,000	4	6,100
Houma, La	5,024	12,095.41	900	50,000	4	4,900
Hugo, Okla	4,582	16,275.38	950	58,000	4	5,200
Ilion, N. Y	6,588	25,409.50	1,020	65,000	4	5,600
Junction City, Kans	5,598	17,777.05	900	55,000	4	4,000
Keyser, W. Va	3,705	13,733.39	840	55,000	4	4,900
Kingsville, Tex	(2)	13,261.14	480	40,000	4	5,000
Knoxville, Iowa	3,190	12,949.11	600	40,000	4	5,000
Ladysmith, Wis	2,352	10,304.29	360	35,000	4	4,800
Landsdowne, Pa	4,066	25,667.33	1,080	65,000	4	5,600
Lewisburg, W. Va	803	8,017.37	540	82,000	4	6,800
Liberty, N. Y	2,072	17,948.57	912	55,000	4	5,000
Litchfield, Minn	2,333	12,368.58	740	35,000	4	3,900
Ludington, Mich	9,132	27,069.41	1,386	75,000	4	6,400
Lufkin, Tex	2,749	12,026.43	660	35,000	4	4,900
Mansfield, La	1,799	11,192.23	1,000	35,000	4	3,700
Marshall, Mich	4,236	62,763.35	1,350	75,000	4	6,400
Mechanicsville, N. Y	6,634	17,757.39	952	55,000	4	5,000
Middletown, Pa	5,374	14,468.46	1,104	65,000	4	5,100
Mexia, Tex	2,694	10,500.86	585	35,000	4	4,500
Morganton, N. C	2,712	10,211.35	660	35,000	4	4,000
Mount Vernon, Ohio	9,087	30,729.19	1,650	70,000	4	5,900
Nanticoke, Pa	18,877	13,325.70	924	60,000	4	5,200
Northfield, Minn	3,265	21,099.96	1,100	51,000	4	4,900
Norton, Kans	1,787	9,398.69	450	35,000	4	4,300
Norwalk, Conn	24,211	74,041.20	2,880	140,000	4	10,700
Norwalk, Ohio	7,858	28,659.16	1,890	65,000	4	6,200
Olathe, Kans	3,272	15,919.26	1,320	55,000	4	5,000
Oregon City, Oreg	4,287	20,334.08	2,064	70,000	4	6,200
Painesville, Ohio	5,501	41,738.05	1,160	70,000	4	5,900
Peabody, Mass	15,721	25,130.96	1,375	100,000	4	8,100
Peru, Ill	7,984	16,247.75	708	45,000	4	4,500
Petaluma, Cal	5,880	22,348.61	1,610	60,000	4	5,700
Philipsburg, Pa	3,585	17,016.64	1,144	60,000	4	5,200
Phillipsburg, N. J	13,903	24,243.33	1,320	60,000	4	5,200
Pittsfield, Ill	2,095	11,289.17	750	35,000	4	4,300
Plainview, Tex	2,829	16,330.20	600	45,000	4	4,800
Plaquemine, La	4,955	11,437.05	300	35,000	4	3,700
Portage, Wis	5,440	20,372.61	1,060	57,000	4	5,200
Port Clinton, Ohio	3,007	12,785.02	550	40,000	4	4,800
Princeton, W. Va	3,027	10,252.84	234	45,000	4	4,900
Reedsburg, Wis	2,615	11,840.82	590	40,000	4	4,300
Richmond, Mo	3,664	10,088.92	880	40,000	4	4,900
Sanford, Me	9,049	13,837.02	872	50,000	4	5,000

[1] Federal building now located in Bristol, Tenn., which is really the same town divided only by State line running through street. Original cost, $54,968.75. Extended 1910, at expense of $35,599.20.

[2] Not given.

Places where sites and buildings authorized in public building bill, 1916, could not probably be built with profit to the Government—Contd.

Place.	Population.	Receipts.	Present rent.	Bill.	Section.	Maintenance.
Sapulpa, Okla.	8,283	$25,803.09	$601	$70,000	4	$5,900
Silver City, N. Mex.	3,217	16,518.95	1,720	60,000	4	5,200
Somerset, Pa.	2,612	16,076.75	1,072	58,000	4	5,200
St. Johns, Mich.	3,154	15,792.43	996	55,000	4	5,300
Sturgeon Bay, Wis.	4,262	11,320.89	555	40,000	4	4,800
Superior, Nebr.	2,106	11,495.82	900	35,000	4	4,900
Thief River Falls, Minn.	3,714	20,630.66	600	55,000	4	5,000
Ticonderoga, N. Y.	2,475	11,513.32	710	35,000	4	3,900
Vinita, Okla.	4,082	17,817.53	1,244	100,000	4	8,400
Wadena, Minn.	1,820	11,267.23	780	35,000	4	3,700
Wakefield, Mass.	11,404	21,469.26	960	65,000	4	5,900
Winsted, Conn.	7,754	29,672.37	1,940	60,000	4	5,600
Albemarle, N. C.	2,116	8,759.99	606	8,000	5	4,900
Albion, N. Y.	5,016	18,169.35	904	10,000	5	5,000
Alma, Mich.	2,757	15,658.26	660	5,000	5	5,300
Alvin, Tex.	1,453	9,051.14	100	6,000	5	4,000
Anadarko, Okla.	3,439	10,894.26	540	7,000	5	4,500
Arcadia, Fla.	1,736	14,564.89	500	5,000	5	5,100
Ashburn, Ga.	2,214	6,468.22	480	5,000	5	4,200
Bamberg, S. C.	1,937	5,762.12	468	5,000	5	4,000
Bartlesville, Okla.	6,181	37,892.21	1,560	15,000	5	6,800
Baxley, Ga.	831	6,639.50	408	5,000	5	4,200
Beckley, W. Va.	2,161	9,305.59	600	10,000	5	4,800
Berkeley Springs, W. Va.	864	6,485.23	450	10,000	5	3,700
Bisbee, Ariz.	9,019	33,250.32	1,480	25,000	5	5,400
Blakeley, Ga.	1,838	6,327.50	0	6,000	5	4,400
Blytheville, Ark.	3,849	11,683.91	560	9,000	5	5,200
Broken Bow, Nebr.	2,260	11,948.10	1,600	6,000	5	4,300
Brookville, Pa.	3,003	14,742.57	710	10,000	5	5,100
Brownsville, Tenn.	2,882	8,111.42	660	5,000	5	4,000
Cairo, Ga.	1,505	7,273.48	0	6,000	5	4,400
Cameron, Mo.	2,980	10,330.11	1,056	5,000	5	4,900
Canton, S. Dak.	2,103	10,006.24	500	6,000	5	4,800
Charleston, Mo.	3,144	9,346.62	810	5,000	5	4,900
Clinton, N. C.	1,101	6,254.73	480	5,000	5	3,700
Columbia, Miss.	2,029	8,505.15	660	5,000	5	3,700
Commerce, Ga.	2,238	6,290.89	500	5,000	5	4,200
Conway, S. C.	1,228	6,030.89	490	3,000	5	4,000
Corvallis, Oreg.	4,552	27,479.83	1,404	10,000	5	6,200
Covington, Ga.	2,697	7,031.21	400	5,000	5	4,200
Cuthbert, Ga.	3,210	7,813.40	600	6,000	5	4,400
David City, Nebr.	2,177	11,990.90	780	6,000	5	4,300
Decatur, Ga.	2,466	7,230.65	600	8,000	5	4,800
Dickson, Tenn.	1,850	7,451.91	425	5,000	5	4,200
Dolyestown, Pa.	3,304	15,471.81	1,100	5,000	5	5,100
Duncan, Okla.	2,477	8,272.49	480	5,000	5	4,800
Dunn, N. C.	1,823	9,252.97	500	7,000	5	4,300
Easley, S. C.	2,983	5,342.35	300	5,000	5	4,000
East Palestine, Ohio.	3,537	14,033.52	800	7,500	5	4,300
East Point, Ga.	3,682	11,425.61	400	8,000	5	4,800
Eaton Rapids, Mich.	2,094	8,985.23	800	7,500	5	4,300
Eldorado Springs, Mo.	2,503	7,626.21	390	5,000	5	4,000
Ellicott City, Md.	1,151	6,385.53	600	7,500	5	3,400
Ely, Nev.	2,055	8,315.16	900	5,000	5	5,100
Essex, Conn.	2,745	8,087.34	240	6,000	5	3,600
Flagstaff, Ariz.	1,633	15,850.55	1,680	7,000	5	4,800
Fort Valley, Ga.	2,697	10,408.97	660	8,000	5	4,800
Franklin, Ind.	4,502	12,920.99	660	10,000	5	5,100
Galion, Ohio.	7,214	24,930.60	1,020	15,000	5	5,900
Greer, S. C.	1,673	6,643.48	360	5,000	5	4,000
Hartsville, S. C.	2,365	9,884.33	480	3,000	5	4,000
Hawkinsville, Ga.	3,420	8,129.91	772	8,000	5	4,800
Henderson, Tex.	(1)	6,666.76	300	5,000	5	3,400
Hickman, Ky.	2,736	8,538.80	520	5,000	5	4,800
Indianola, Iowa.	3,283	12,538.14	1,060	5,000	5	5,000
Indianola, Miss.	1,098	7,661.88	450	5,000	5	3,700
Jackson, Ga.	1,862	6,647.65	340	5,000	5	4,200
Jacksonville, Tex.	2,875	12,763.95	660	5,000	5	4,500
Lafollette, Tenn.	2,816	5,065.98	.....	6,000	5	4,000
Las Vegas, Nev.	945	7,198.68	.....	5,000	5	5,100
Laurel, Md.	2,415	7,720.94	340	5,000	5	3,400
Lawrenceburg, Ind.	3,930	13,357.26	1,140	10,000	5	4,300
Lenoir City, Tenn.	3,192	6,460.46	.....	6,000	5	4,000
Lewisburg, Pa.	3,081	15,203.71	1,087	10,000	5	5,000
Lewisburg, Tenn.	1,830	9,430.44	360	5,000	5	4,700
Lewistown, Ill.	2,312	8,311.56	540	5,000	5	4,100
Lexington, Miss.	2,428	8,421.04	600	5,000	5	3,700
Lockhart, Tex.	2,945	10,617.08	660	6,000	5	4,500
Louisburg, N. C.	1,775	8,128.64	600	6,000	5	5,200
Lowville, N. Y.	2,940	14,307.29	1,050	10,000	5	4,900
Mangum, Okla.	3,667	11,023.24	121	6,000	5	4,800
Manning, S. C.	1,854	5,435.28	550	5,000	5	4,000
Mannington, W. Va.	2,672	12,340.00	1,346	10,000	5	4,900
Marion, N. C.	1,519	8,315.52	924	6,000	5	5,000
McMinnville, Tenn.	2,299	8,724.74	540	5,000	5	4,500
Manasha, Wis.	6,081	16,672.44	864	10,000	5	4,800
Midland, Pa.	1,244	10,619.45	300	5,000	5	4,100
Milan, Mo.	2,191	6,684.48	500	5,000	5	4,000
Monticello, Fla.	1,829	6,065.70	600	5,000	5	4,000
Mount Pleasant, Iowa.	3,874	17,011.87	1,500	7,500	5	5,000
Neosho, Mo.	3,661	28,524.15	924	5,000	5	6,100
Norman, Okla.	3,724	17,904.49	936	7,000	5	7,500
Okolona, Miss.	2,584	6,160.70	480	5,000	5	3,700
O'Neill, Nebr.	2,089	8,924.77	720	6,000	5	3,600
Oswego, Kans.[2]	2,317	15,166.97	884	5,000	5	5,000
Owenton, Ky.	1,024	4,368.68	440	7,500	5	4,300
Ozark, Ala.	2,229	6,416.94	400	5,000	5	3,500
Paris, Mo.	1,474	7,037.89	540	5,000	5	4,000
Pascagoula, Miss.	3,379	6,179.94	318	5,000	5	3,700
Pelham, Ga.	1,880	6,719.12	0	6,000	5	4,400
Perry, Fla.	1,012	6,439.25	360	5,000	5	4,000
Perryville, Mo.	1,708	5,662.91	400	5,000	5	4,000
Pineville, Ky.	2,161	7,369.83	600	5,000	5	4,300

[1] Not given.
[2] Changed in new bill to sec. 4, site and building, $50,000.

Places where sites and buildings authorized in public building bill, 1916, could not probably be built with profit to the Government—Contd.

Place.	Population.	Receipts.	Present rent.	Bill.	Section.	Maintenance.
Placerville, Cal.	1,014	$10,038.38	$1,517	$10,000	5	$5,200
Plymouth, Pa.[1]	16,996	12,776.20	1,096	15,000	5	5,100
Ponca City, Okla.	2,521	12,283.13	840	7,500	5	4,800
Potsdam, N. Y.	4,036	19,320.22	780	9,000	5	5,000
Redlands, Cal.	10,449	40,529.68	811	30,000	5	5,800
Rich Hill, N. C.	2,755	7,831.80	480	5,000	5	4,000
Rockwood, Tenn.	3,660	6,242.98	0	6,000	5	4,000
Russellville, Ky.	3,111	8,512.50	709	10,000	5	4,800
Salem, Mo.	1,796	6,142.11	480	5,000	5	4,000
Salisbury, Mo.	1,834	7,438.25	500	5,000	5	4,000
San Benito, Tex.	(1)	8,199.12	180	6,000	5	4,500
Sanford, N. C.	2,282	9,568.04	500	7,000	5	4,800
San Mateo, Cal.	4,384	17,909.63	900	15,000	5	4,800
Santa Monica, Cal.	7,847	41,139.36	1,096	15,000	5	5,800
Seward, Nebr.	2,106	10,191.59	900	6,000	5	4,300
Sheffield, Ala.	4,865	7,968.77	660	5,000	5	3,500
Stanford, Ky.	1,532	6,228.48	396	5,000	5	4,300
Stillwater, Okla.	3,444	15,591.84	995	7,000	5	4,800
Summerville, S. C.	2,355	7,796.61	440	5,000	5	4,000
Susanville, Cal.	688	7,058.08	600	10,000	5	4,800
Thomaston, Ga.	1,645	6,144.53	360	5,000	5	4,200
Two Rivers, Wis.	4,850	15,728.86	584	10,000	5	4,800
Van Buren, Ark.	3,878	9,884.36	1,060	6,000	5	4,800
Venice, Cal. (formerly Ocean Park).	3,119	13,501.77	112	10,000	5	5,200
Waurika, Okla.	2,928	6,480.82	420	5,000	5	3,800
Wayne, Nebr.	2,140	10,709.54	932	5,000	5	4,300
Wellsville, N. Y.	4,382	21,834.16	815	12,500	5	5,000
Westboro, Mass.	5,446	14,552.31	1,275	15,000	5	5,400
West Palm Beach, Fla.	1,743	25,850.58	2,866	10,000	5	5,600
Whitinsville, Mass.	(2)	12,182.30	800	10,000	5	5,400
Williamston, N. C.	1,574	6,043.18	300	5,000	5	3,700
Winder, Ga.	2,443	7,317.19	406	5,000	5	4,200
Windsor, Mo.	2,241	7,918.08	600	5,000	5	4,000
Winnfield, La.[3]	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Winona, Miss.	2,512	8,584.35	460	7,500	5	3,700
York, S. C.	2,326	8,596.98	600	9,000	5	4,000
Yuma, Ariz.	2,914	14,038.77	680	6,000	5	4,800
Okmulgee, Okla.	4,176	25,645.80	1,464	135,000	20	6,800
Total.	.....	.....	252,069	9,516,000	.....	1,490,210

[1] Changed in new bill to sec. 4, site and building, $65,000.
[2] Not given.
[3] For Winnfield, La., see sec. 3.

Charleston, S. C., Harbor and Navy Yard.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD S. WHALEY,
OF SOUTH CAROLINA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 22, 1917.

Mr. WHALEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks on the future development of the harbor and the navy yard at Charleston, S. C., both of which have been unwarrantedly, erroneously, and falsely attacked and misrepresented from time to time by those totally lacking in knowledge of the facts and through dissemination of erroneous facts by interested parties, I insert an article prepared by Hon. R. Goodwyn Rhett, president of the Charleston (S. C.) Chamber of Commerce, and also president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, and presented to the Commission on Navy Yards and Stations:

[Brief by R. G. Rhett, president Charleston Chamber of Commerce.]

THE CHARLESTON NAVY YARD AS A YARD OF THE FIRST MAGNITUDE.

The question as to whether the Charleston Navy Yard should be made a yard of the first magnitude may be divided into two parts:

First. Should a yard of the first magnitude be established on the South Atlantic Coast of the United States?

Second. If so, should the Charleston Navy Yard be developed as such?

Our warships are floating fortresses containing the machinery necessary to wage war, whether offensive or defensive, upon the sea. They are very costly things—about $20,000,000 for a single dreadnaught battleship. Our navy yards are repair shops for these floating fortresses and all their delicate and costly contents. Manifestly they should be placed where they may be needed in time of war. The existence of a suitable harbor and yard within reach of a crippled battleship may mean its salvation, and that salvation may mean infinitely more than the $20,000,000 it costs and the lives it holds.

A first-class navy yard may be built and equipped for but a fraction of the cost of one warship, but it takes a long time to do so. It must, of course, be beyond reach of bombardment from the sea. It must also be safe from capture, either by a direct attack from the sea or by a force landed in its vicinity and attacking in the rear. Otherwise, crippled ships or any ships at all taking refuge within the harbor which holds it and the yard itself might be captured and become the base for an enemy's naval and military operations. Hence all first-class yards ought to be upon our main territory and within the protection of the Army, so as to make their capture impracticable, unless

the enemy has not only obtained the mastery of the sea but of our military forces also.

The Atlantic coast of the United States is about 2,500 miles in extent and about midway projects Cape Hatteras, one of the most dangerous capes known to navigation. On the northern half of this coast there are six navy yards, five of them of the first magnitude; on the southern half there is but one yard, and that yard is located in the harbor of Charleston.

Leaving Hatteras, the coast turns sharply to the southwest, facing the West Indies, the Caribbean Sea beyond, and the Panama Canal. One of the purposes of constructing this canal was to enable us to transfer our ships of war from one coast to the other. At present every naval base for large ships on the Atlantic coast is separated from the Panama Canal by Cape Hatteras.

In the event of war it is not improbable that naval attacks will come via the West Indies, where naval bases may be found and utilized by an enemy. The necessity of establishing a first-class navy yard in a harbor facing these waters and capable of taking in or sending out warships of the largest size must be apparent to everyone.

With all of our large yards concentrated along the northern coast, it would be very much easier for a victorious fleet to bottle up our battleships and battle cruisers than if they were compelled to guard another base south of Hatteras.

Again, our bases for the Navy and our munitions plants for both Navy and Army are now entirely too much concentrated for safety. A sudden coup upon that coast and the capture by surprise of these essentials to naval and military warfare might effectively conquer us without hope of recovery. On the other hand, there is entirely too much of our coast left comparatively unprotected and without the means of either giving refuge to and making repairs upon our great battleships or of constructing new ones if it should become necessary.

The south Atlantic coast is the nearest of all our coasts to the center of population of the country (Bloomington, Ind.). It certainly should receive greater attention and more serious consideration. It faces one of the two quarters from which naval attacks may be expected, and one of its harbors unquestionably should be equipped for the gathering or dispatching of a large fleet in connection with the Panama Canal.

The Navy Department recognized the importance of a naval station on this coast many years ago, and established it at Port Royal. Later on, when the draft of vessels had increased considerably, and one of the battleships found difficulty in entering the dry dock there, the expenditure of money upon its improvement was held up, and a board was appointed by Secretary John D. Long, of Boston, Mass., to investigate the question of transferring the station to Charleston Harbor. In its report this board refers to the work of the former boards in these words:

"We are aware of the fact that in selecting Charleston as a site for a naval station in preference to Port Royal we are departing from the opinion of two boards of naval officers, which have previously considered the question of the establishment of the naval station on the south Atlantic coast, one of which was presided over by Admiral Porter. * * * There is, however, no inconsistency in this connection. When the previous board selected Port Royal as the best site for a naval station on that coast the great scheme for the improvement of southern harbors had not been carried forward to any extent, and Port Royal possessed the only harbor on the coast which large ships could enter under any circumstances. * * * Vessels are now of greater size, and because of their large fixed weights and their steel bottoms are much more liable to damage or disaster if they take the ground in outlying waters than with the wooden ships of former times. Security of entrance and anchorage are therefore of greater relative importance than formerly, etc."

The special board, above referred to, was appointed by Secretary Long in pursuance of the act of June 7, 1900, for the purpose of "examining into the expediency of changing the location of the naval station now at Port Royal, S. C., to some point in the State of South Carolina, at or near the city of Charleston." It uses these words in its report:

"The board interprets the purpose of the law under which it is organized and its instructions from the Navy Department as further limiting its action to the consideration of a naval station capable of accommodating, docking, repairing, and constructing the largest vessels of war, with approaches, anchorage, and shop facilities suitable to a dry dock with 30 feet over the sill, and considers the various questions involved from that point of view. Upon this assumption the above requisites are placed in the order of their relative importance, etc."

This board consisted of the following officers: Rear Admiral Frederick Rogers, Rear Admiral G. W. Sumner, Capt. George A. Converse, Civil Engineer C. P. Asserson, Naval Commander J. H. Linard, Commander E. H. C. Leutze, Lieut. Commander S. A. Staunton.

Again, the commandants at the navy yard have invariably expressed surprise that the Government has not recognized the importance of developing the Charleston Navy Yard, e. g.:

Admiral Helm, when commandant of the yard, used these words in an article prepared by him for the Charleston Chamber of Commerce in 1914:

"During the last 12 years since the establishment of the navy yard at Charleston was determined, the enterprise has come in for a vast deal of misrepresentation, and Senator TILLMAN, who has been its steadfast champion, has been roundly abused because of it. Nevertheless, even under hostile administrations it has grown and expanded. The fact is, as all naval men recognize, that with the opening of the Panama Canal the Charleston Navy Yard becomes an invaluable asset of the Navy. The prime purpose of the canal is to afford a quick means of transferring our battleships from our Atlantic to our Pacific coast. The incomparable superiority of the Charleston Navy Yard lies in the fact that not only is it the nearest yard of first-class equipment to the Panama Canal, but it is the only yard south of Norfolk which is impregnable against an attack by sea. Charleston, although under siege throughout two great wars, has never been captured from the water. Its defenses to-day guarantee it against such a fate in future and make the Charleston Navy Yard sheltered from storm and protected against any hostile fleet, the great strategic base from which any possible naval warfare of the future is most likely to be conducted."

Admiral Edwards used the following words in the article prepared by him for the Engineering Review in 1916:

"It behooves the thoughtful and progressive officer of the Navy to give immediate, extended, and careful consideration concerning the possibilities of development of the Charleston (S. C.) naval station. Whether viewed from a financial, industrial, or strategic standpoint, the progressive, if not the rapid, development of this naval station intimately concerns the efficiency and operation of the fleet.

"For military and strategic reasons it appears of paramount importance that there be developed on the Atlantic coast at some point south of Cape Hatteras a naval station capable of docking and repairing our largest and most important battleships. The protection of the Isthmian Canal, a project that involved an expenditure of about $400,000,000, combined with the general existing belief upon the part of naval experts that if the fleet of the United States will ever be called upon to engage in battle the contest will take place in the Caribbean, makes it a matter of importance to the efficiency of the fleet that there be developed on the mainland of the Atlantic coast (and independent of any projected outlying naval base) a first-class naval station.

"The channel and harbor conditions of the Charleston Navy Yard, together with its industrial possibilities, appear to be measured by some of our naval experts from conditions existing about the period of the close of the Civil War. As evidence of the satisfactory existing character and extent of the channel conditions on the navy-yard water front, it is only necessary to state that the battleship *Connecticut*, about two years ago, with packed bunkers and a fully supply of ammunition and stores, made a complete turn in the channel in front of the navy yard and proceeded to sea without the aid of tugs."

Admiral Benson, chief of naval operations, uses the following words in his evidence before the Committee on Naval Affairs on March 16, 1916:

"I do think that we ought to have a good yard somewhere south of Hatteras, with docks and places where ships in case of injury in battle, or for other reasons, could get into dock without having to come to our northern yards. There is the case of the *Lion*, in the Dogger Bank battle, which is a very good illustration of how a vessel may be saved after she is badly injured by being able to get into dock without having to go too far; and my ideas are not changed—or, I mean to say, the necessity for it has been emphasized—as to having some place down in that vicinity where we could have docks to which vessels could be taken."

Whether an outlying naval base should also be established on some island in the Caribbean is another question. That is of use only in the event we control the sea. This is a question of establishing a yard for use by all ships of the Navy whether we do or do not control the sea. To construct and equip a first-class yard beyond the protection of our land forces would be to make such a yard a dangerous liability instead of an asset in the event of a naval defeat.

The port of Charleston is located about 400 miles south of Hatteras. It is directly north of the Panama Canal, and its sailing distance to the mouth of that canal is 1,564 miles. The sailing distances of the various ports on this coast, as well as the sailing distances from the other yards on the North Atlantic to the Panama Canal via the Windward Channel, are as follows:

	Miles.
Portsmouth, N. H	2,174
Boston, Mass	2,157
New York, N. Y	1,974
Philadelphia, Pa	1,946
Norfolk, Va	1,779
Wilmington, N. C	1,612
Charleston, S. C	1,564
Savannah, Ga	1,574
Jacksonville, Fla	1,527

There is no port on the South Atlantic coast which is nearer and with better rail connection to the centers of industry from which can be rapidly assembled skilled workmen and supplies than the port of Charleston. Nor is there any port better situated with reference to our arsenals and army posts from which could be drawn military forces and ammunition for its protection. While a yard located lower down the coast might be slightly nearer Panama and the West Indies it is seen from the sailing distances above given that this difference is inconsiderable.

On the other hand, there is no harbor on the South Atlantic outside of the harbor of Charleston—and possibly the harbor of Port Royal—wherein a large fleet could be assembled, and one of the essential elements of a yard of the first magnitude is the possibility of assembling a large fleet in its immediate vicinity and in connection with it. But let us take up the requisites of a yard of the first magnitude as given by the Naval Board above referred to in their order of importance as laid down by that board:

"First. Accessibility from the sea, including the depth of water in channels, the facility of approach to these channels, and the certainty and ease with which they may be navigated.

"Second. Immunity from attack, which includes the question of its attack by bombarding at long range from the open sea and the question of its attack by enemies' vessels which may force the entrance to the harbor, the latter question involving a consideration of the defensive works which have been or may be established for the protection of the harbor.

"Third. Its protection from unusual storm tides.

"Fourth. Safe and commodious anchorage in the immediate neighborhood of the naval station.

"Fifth. Health and sanitation, including water supply.

"Sixth. Railroad and steamship facilities. This affects the cost and the time of delivery of material and the certainty and regularity of its supply, and also affects to some degree the question of additional supplies of labor.

"Seventh. The labor supply.

"Eighth. The suitability of the site selected, as to extent of water front and to character of soil for foundations for the docks and heavy buildings which a naval station requires.

"Ninth. Cost of establishment, which includes cost of dredging in the approaches and on the water front, necessary grading, etc."

Now, let us consider each of these requisites in order.

First. The accessibility from the sea, including the depth of water in channels, the facility of approach to these channels, and the certainty and ease with which they may be navigated.

Forty years ago the entrance to the harbor of Charleston was less than 12 feet at low water. A project for the deepening of this channel was adopted consisting of two jetties shaped like a funnel and projecting out into the ocean. This project made little progress at first, but upon the adoption of a plan for continuous work it rapidly drew to completion and resulted in securing, first, a depth of 21 feet at low water, as originaly proposed, and shortly afterwards a depth of 26 feet at low water. At the time of the report of the Naval Board, above referred to, this depth had only reached 23 feet. The board reported, however, that it had no doubt of the depth being further brought to 26 feet, which, in fact, was done within a very short time. This was followed by a project for 28 feet, with a width of 1,000 feet outside of

the jetties, 500 feet within the jetties. This depth of channel, with a width of 800 feet outside and 500 feet within the jetties, has been in existence for about three years. A dredge is now at work increasing the outside width, and the engineer in charge states that within a year the requisite 1,000 feet there will be obtained.

On the 9th of December, 1911, the Secretary of War transmitted to Congress a recommendation that the depth of this harbor be increased to 30 feet at low water. The estimated cost of this increased depth was $140,000. For the past three years this project was pressed upon the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, but was not provided for, because all new projects were excluded from consideration.

The incomparable superiority of the harbor of Charleston to all others on the coast, as to present depth, cost of maintenance, cost of further deepening, and easy accessibility to the ocean is shown in the following tables, made up from the 1915 Report of the Chief of Engineers, War Department, Vol. II:

Table No. 1.

	Depth low water.	Minimum width.	Distance from ocean.	Cost to date.	Total cost of maintenance to date.
	Feet.	*Feet.*	*Miles.*		
Charleston	28	500	7½	$5,022,950	$61,821
Savannah	23	400	28	8,976,214	1,264,986
Wilmington	26	150	30	5,052,254	922,614
Jacksonville	24	300	28	5,681,647	686,661

Mean rise of tide in Charleston Harbor 5.2 feet, giving a high-water depth of 33.2 feet.

Table No. 2.

	Maintenance.				New work, 3 years.	Total expenditures, 3 years.
	1913	1914	1915	Total, 3 years.		
Charleston		$18,702	$1,175	$19,877	$132,909	$152,786
Savannah	$234,925	177,436	178,084	600,445	397,680	998,125
Wilmington	80,000	80,000	80,000	240,000	537,934	777,934
Jacksonville	6,112	87,607	3,729	97,448	1,538,167	1,635,635

For over two years, from May 29, 1914, to September —, 1916, no dredge was at work on the harbor entrance of Charleston. The estimates for maintenance were $40,000 per annum. The actual costs have been practically nothing. The significance of this is not only in the matter of costs. It may be impracticable for work to be done on a harbor entrance in time of war, and the great advantage of having a harbor for a first-class yard with the above record does not need comment. But the question has been raised as to the practicability of increasing the depth of water from the ocean to the Charleston yard to 35 feet or even to 40 feet at low water, and the cost of obtaining such depth, if practicable. The following letter from the district engineer of the War Department on the subject will answer that question:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
UNITED STATES ENGINEER OFFICE,
CUSTOMHOUSE,
Charleston, S. C., October 14, 1916.

From: The district engineer officer, Charleston, S. C.
To: Mr. R. G. Rhett,
President Chamber of Commerce, Charleston, S. C.
Subject: Ship channel from navy yard to the sea.

DEAR SIR: In compliance with your request of October 10, 1916, in reference to the above subject, your attention is invited to the following tabular statement showing the yardage to be excavated to obtain channels of certain depths. All channels are 800 feet wide beyond the jetties, 500 feet wide between them, and 600 feet wide within the harbor up to the navy yard.

Estimate of amount of dredging ship channel to United States navy yard, Charleston.

Locality.	30-foot depth (cubic yards).	35-foot depth (cubic yards).	40-foot depth (cubic yards).
Outside jetties	600,000	4,000,000	8,666,666
End jetties to Sumter	100,000	1,100,000	3,260,000
Sumter to Cooper River	50,000	100,000	1,555,555
Opposite city		450,000	1,066,666
Cooper River to navy yard		1,700,000	5,266,666
Total	750,000	7,350,000	19,815,555

2. It is rather difficult to make any satisfactory estimate of cost of dredging, for the simple reason that this would depend upon the amount of funds available, the character and capacity of dredging machines used, labor conditions during the period of operation, cost of supplies, and the like, which are all variable factors. If Government dredges can be leased from other engineer districts, the unit cost will be below that to be obtained by arrangements with private contractors. On the other hand, if dredges must be built especially for this work, the unit prices will closely approach those to be obtained by contract. I inclose tables showing cost of dredging with various seagoing dredges and pipe-line hydraulic dredges, the former being suitable for work in outer harbor; that is to say, between and beyond the jetties, and the others being adapted to work within the harbor.

3. The question of maintenance also enters, and this is still more difficult of prediction, but it is highly probable that for either the 35-foot or the 40-foot channel it will be necessary to operate, almost constantly, a seagoing hopper dredge of moderate size and a pipe-line or bucket dredge within the harbor. Bearing on this point, the operating cost of the dredge *Atlantic* was $76,576 for the fiscal year 1915, covering 236 days of actual dredging. For the *Manhattan* the cost for the year amounted to $68,734, covering 218 days of actual dredging. Both of these amounts are exclusive of ordinary and extraordinary repairs, additions, and alterations, office expenses, and surveys.

4. As to cost of operating pipe-line dredges, the *Col. A. M. Miller* is taken as a representative dredge. This dredge has a 20-foot discharge pipe, has a displacement of 710 long tons, and is supplied with the necessary attendant plant, such as towboat, launch, and barges. She was operated in Texas City Channel and Port Bolivar Channel on the coast of Texas, dredging mud, sand, and clay to the amount of practically 3,000,000 cubic yards in 280 days of actual dredging, and the total operating cost was $76,367, exclusive of renewals to pump and pipe line and cost of operating towboats and launches, the total field cost being $101,830, which was further increased by office expenses, extraordinary repairs to dredges, to towboats, and to barges, bringing the gross cost for the year to $111,008.

5. Based on cost of maintenance of the existing 28-foot project at the channel entrance, the maintenance of the 35-foot channel might be estimated at $60,000 per annum, and the 40-foot channel at $80,000 per annum, while the maintenance of the channel from the navy yard to the jetties might be covered by similar amounts, bringing total annual maintenance of the 35-foot channel to $120,000 and for the 40-foot channel to $160,000. But, I repeat, that these figures are scarcely better than mere guesses.

6. As a basis of comparison the following information is appended:

(a) For the port of Wilmington, N. C.: The present project provides for a channel 26 feet deep, 300 feet wide in Cape Fear River and 400 feet wide on the ocean bar, at an estimated cost of $572,940, with $80,000 annually for maintenance.

(b) For the port of Savannah: The present project provides for a channel 26 feet deep at mean low water from the sea to the western limits of the city, a distance of 28 miles, with widths varying from 400 to 600 feet, and a channel thence 2 miles to the foot of Kings Island, 21 feet deep at mean low water and 300 feet wide. The original estimated cost of the 26-foot project was $2,705,700 and the 21-foot project was estimated to cost $140,000, with an annual maintenance for both amounting to $250,000.

(c) Jacksonville to the ocean, St. Johns River, Fla.: The present project provides for a channel 30 feet deep at mean low water, width to be 300 feet in the straight reaches, increasing to as much as 600 feet in the bends and through the jetties, with an anchorage basin opposite Mayport (about 4 miles from the mouth) 800 feet in width beyond channel limits. Estimated cost of the work proposed is $2,852,000 for first construction and $60,000 per year for maintenance for the first five years after completion, and this does not include the restoration of the jetties to their original section which may ultimately be required. In addition to the foregoing, a project has been adopted to secure a depth of 24 feet at mean low water from the deep-water line to the pierhead line for the entire frontage between Hogans Creek and the railway bridge, at a total expenditure of $486,500, with $1,000 annually for maintenance.

Yours, truly,

G. A. YOUNGBERG,
Major, Corps of Engineers.

TABLE I.—*Cost of dredging by certain large United States Engineer Department seagoing dredges, based on record for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915.*

Name of dredge.	Displacement (light tons).	Locality.	Gross cost per cubic yard (cents).	Total yardage (cubic yards).
Atlantic	2,670	New York	7.19	1,289,786
Do	2,670	Cape Fear River	9.98	156,400
Benyaurd	2,978	Mississippi Passes	5.3	1,825,281
Delaware	4,200	Delaware River	2.78	3,210,589
Galveston	3,375	Galveston	6.34	1,735,495
Manhattan	2,670	Delaware River	2.11	4,295,583
Navesink	3,150	Providence and Narragansett.	6.582	1,720,000
Raritan	2,930	New York	7.92	1,752,094

It will be noted that in all cases the yardage made for the year was very high, which operates to reduce unit costs.

The average gross cost per cubic yard for all seagoing hopper dredges owned by the Engineer Department and operated during the year named was 7.4208 cents.

TABLE 2.—*Cost of dredging by certain United States Engineer Department pipe-line hydraulic dredges, with discharge pipe 20 inches in diameter and over, based on records for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915:*

24 dredges average ..... 5.82649 inches

The yard was located on the western bank of the Cooper River above the city, because of the splendid facilities which were to be obtained there. For instance, the Government secured both banks of the river for a distance of over 4 miles on one side and over 3 miles on the other. It also acquired 2,250 acres of land for the yard, and at the same time located it out of reach of bombardment and of severe storms. But in doing so it called attention to the fact that the Cooper River would have to be dredged above Drum Island at a cost of about $12,500 in order to give a low-water depth of 25 feet.

The board plainly expected this dredging to be done as a part of the construction of the yard. Its location up the Cooper River was deliberately made and the dredging of the approach was contemplated as one of the necessary expenses to enable the Government to secure the many advantages which the selected site afforded. The failure to have this approach dredged at the trifling expense of a few thousand dollars has been the cause of many misunderstandings and misrepresentations, and has prevented the proper recognition of the great merits as well as the great importance of the yard.

However, the deepening of this approach was provided by Congress in the last naval act. Owing to the increased size and draft of large war vessels it was deemed advisable to make this approach 30 feet at low water, 1,000 feet wide on the turns and 600 feet on the straight stretches. The contract for this work, to be completed within one year, has already been awarded by the Navy Department.

Nowhere on the South Atlantic coast is there any harbor where access to the sea may be had through a channel of such depth as 40 feet

at anything approximating the cost for such access to the Charleston yard—if at all.

Second. Immunity from attack, which includes the question of its attack by bombarding at long range from the open sea and the question of its attack by enemies' vessels which may force the entrance to the harbor, the latter question involving a consideration of the defensive works which have been or may be established for the protection of the harbor.

With reference to this, the above board uses the following language:

"Both stations are secure from bombardment by an enemy's fleet from the open sea. * * * Charleston is strongly fortified and affords ample opportunity for the use of ocean mines, and is wholly secure in this respect."

In the recent allotment of the War Department, $150,000 has been set aside to improve the fortifications of this harbor. This is to be devoted to the carriages of the large guns so as to increase their range to such point as would prevent any possible bombardment even of the city. Charleston has never been captured from the sea. Its defense is easy, and has already been well provided for. Its connections by three railway systems with Washington and the northern yards and Army posts, also by the same systems with the western Army posts, give it ample protection from any force landed on the coast and attempting to attack from the rear.

Third. Its protection from unusual storm tides.

The best evidence on this subject is the history of the yard since its establishment in 1902. We have had a number of the severest storms in the history of the city since that time, and no serious damage has been done to any portion of the yard. It was located up the Cooper River for the purpose of affording it protection against storms as well as for the purpose of removing it from the danger of bombardment from the sea.

Fourth. Safe and commodious anchorage in the immediate neighborhood of the naval station.

Inasmuch as the situation at the time of the investigation of the naval board above referred to was the same in this respect as it is to-day, the conclusions of that board on this subject are very important. This is what the board said:

"At Charleston there is ample anchorage in Rebellion Roads below the city and in the Cooper River above the city opposite Drum Island. In front, on the Cooper River side, there is also room for mooring heavy vessels, the distance between the 24-foot contour line at low water varying between 280 and 400 yards. The heaviest vessels could lie here moored head and stern to fixed moorings without any improvement in the anchorage, and with very little dredging could swing freely at fixed moorings."

In 1905 the coast squadron, under command of Admiral Dickens, spent a part of the winter in Charleston Harbor, and the admiral had a survey made of its capacity for a fleet of battleships of the deepest draft then designed. His statement on the subject, made in a speech at a banquet given to the officers of the cruiser *Charleston*, which came in for its silver service while the coast squadron was there, is as follows:

"After entering the harbor 50 battleships with 26 feet draft can be anchored in Charleston Harbor at single anchor, 400 yards apart, with a scope of 45 fathoms of chain. Sixty-five battleships with the same draft and with the same scope of chain can be moored in Charleston Harbor 1,000 feet apart. Thirty-five battleships can be moored above the Battery." (See Yearbook, City of Charleston, for 1905, p. 33, Appendix.)

Battleships and battle cruisers now draw more than 26 feet, but it can be easily seen by an examination of the harbor that a fleet of the first magnitude, comprising dreadnaughts, battleships, and battle cruisers, together with whatever other vessels would form the necessary complement of such a fleet, could find ample anchorage within its waters.

With reference to an anchorage and turning basin opposite the yard, the Government owns both sides of the river for over 3 miles. The width of the river opposite that portion of the yard which is now developed varies from 1,500 to 2,500 feet. The cost of securing a depth of 30 or even 35 feet for, say, 1 mile in front of the yard would be a comparatively small matter. It would not only give an ample turning basin for the largest battleships but would also give anchorage for a considerable number of them.

Fifth. Health and sanitation, including water supply.

The health and sanitation of the yard can best be described by the medical officer in charge from the records. It is understood that there is no healthier spot to be found anywhere. The climate is described in the annexed statement, taken from the reports of the Chief of the Weather Bureau at Charleston:

Charleston's weather conditions.

[Mean normal records taken from United States Weather Reports since 1871. Figures in italic inches of rainfall.]

	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	Temperature (degrees).
Inches of rainfall:													
7							81 *7.26*	80					80
6					72	78		*6.97*	76				70
5				64		*5.89*			*5.46*	67			60
4		52	57								58	51	50
	3.45	*3.41*	*5.73*		*3.47*					*3.93*		*3.17*	
3	49			*2.99*							*2.87*		40
2													
Temperature:													
8 p. m.	40.5	41.8	52.2	64.9	72.8	76.3	80.0	78.5	77.4	64.3	50.6	49.8	[1]62.4
8 a. m.	45.7	47.3	56.2	66.5	72.6	77.5	80.8	79.3	77.9	68.5	56.4	53.9	[1]65.3
Hours of sunshine	139	188	229	255	295	297	238	287	210	242	250	123	
Possible	317	319	371	390	430	428	436	413	371	351	313	310	

[1] Average.

III. Climatology and Sanitation.

CLIMATOLOGY.

"The climate of Charleston and vicinity is classed as subtropical; neither the protracted and enervating heat of the Tropics or the rigorous winters of higher latitudes are experienced in this section.

"The proximity of the ocean tends to produce a small seasonal range of temperature and reduces the range of accidental variations during summer and winter. Great temperature changes are infrequent.

"Charleston's average annual temperature is 65.6°. The highest monthly average is 81.3° in July and the lowest is 49.3° in January. Extremes of heat during summer months occur when the barometric conditions are such as to counteract the sea breezes, west to southwest winds resulting, accompanied by a natural rise in temperature.

"The mean relative humidity at Charleston, determined by observations at 8 a. m. and 8 p. m., is respectively 79 per cent and 78 per cent.

"The average annual precipitation is stated to be 52.07 inches; monthly averages range from 7.26 inches in July to 2.87 inches in November. Rains are most frequent and profuse from June to September, inclusive. The average annual number of days with rain (0.01 inch or more) is about 117.

"Fog occurs on an average of three or four days per month during the cold season, and is of seldom occurrence in summer. Dense fogs rarely continue as long as 24 hours.

"The prevailing direction of the wind from May to August, inclusive, is south, from seaward, which during this period is cooler than land breezes. Northeast winds prevail during September; from October to January, inclusive, the winds are from the north, and from February to April, inclusive, from the southwest. The average hourly wind movement, in miles, determined from records extending over 38 years, is 10. The wind is seldom of destructive violence except in the case of tropical hurricanes, which are not frequent. Between 1893 and 1911 no cyclonic storms approached sufficiently close to Charleston to be very destructive. The heavy storms during the two years mentioned occurred in the last week of August. Due to the extension of the facilities for obtaining weather data, information relative to the approach of these storms is known well in advance.

"The above data are taken from an account written by Mr. J. H. Scott, United States weather forecaster, and from the Summary of Climatological Data, published by the Weather Bureau."

The water supply comes from the mains of the city water supply on its way into the city. It has always been ample and of good quality, both for potable and manufacturing purposes.

It, of course, would necessarily be ample for any developments which might be made at the yard.

Sixth. Railroad and steamship facilities.

There are three railway systems at Charleston—the Southern Railway, the Atlantic Coast Line Railway, and the Seaboard Railway. Each of these systems extends in all directions; that is, north, west, and south. The Atlantic Coast Line has a double track for a considerable distance of its line toward the north and is double-tracking its entire line in that direction. The distance from the yard to Washington via the Atlantic Coast Line is 505 miles. The distance via the Seaboard is about 530 miles, and the distance via the Southern, through Columbia is 620 miles. All these lines reach out westward to Atlanta. They all also extend via affiliated lines into the coal fields of Kentucky and West Virginia. Two of them, the Atlantic Coast Line and the Seaboard, go directly south to Savannah, Jacksonville, and other points. The Southern Railway has a modern coal exporting and bunkerage terminal, with rates on a parity with Norfolk. The Clinchfield Corporation is preparing to erect a second terminal. In this connection the Standard Oil Co. and the Texas Co. both have a large number of storage tanks in the harbor from which their oils are distributed over North and South Carolina and to points beyond. There is no port in the South which has more or better railway facilities. With reference to steamship facilities, the Clyde Line maintains a service between New York, Charleston, and Jacksonville, giving four sailings a week to and from New York. It also maintains a weekly service to Boston. The Baltimore & Carolina Steamship Co. gives a service of two sailings per month for Baltimore. The Morgan Steamship Line has a service from Galveston which uses Charleston as a port of call on its way to Philadelphia.

In the event of urgent need, forces could be transported from the yards at Norfolk or Philadelphia to the yard at Charleston almost overnight—the distance to the Norfolk yard being under 500 miles and the distance to the Philadelphia yard being about 625 miles. The rail connections with the centers of industries and of supplies are such as would insure quick and economical deliveries of materials and supplies.

Seventh. The labor supply.

The board above referred to has this to say on that subject:

"In order to cope with important repairs to two or three large ships simultaneously, a body of not less than a thousand mechanics skilled in shipbuilding and allied trades must be constantly available. It is well known that such a body of skilled men does not exist anywhere along the South Atlantic coast. Assuming the material equipment

of a first-class navy yard is provided (which is merely a question of sufficient expenditure), it is also necessary to provide the skilled personnel. Experience, both in navy yards and private shipbuilding establishments, shows that this is only possible by offering such inducements to workmen as will lead them to permanently settle in the immediate vicinity. Such conditions include not only steady employment, but suitable homes, schools for their children, and the attractions outside of their working hours to which they have been accustomed. These can only be found in cities. * * * It therefore appears that to successfully establish a first-class navy yard it is necessary to locate it in close proximity to a city capable of accommodating a considerable industrial population. Further, if in such city there does not already exist a large body of workmen, skilled in shipbuilding and allied trades, it will be necessary for the Government to give steady employment in the navy yard to retain such workmen when once settled in the vicinity. * * * A supply of labor at any navy yard or station larger than that which is available from the industries of its vicinity, can be obtained only by colonizing workmen, in which case the yard must be supplied with sufficient work to keep them constantly employed or by securing them on short notice from points more or less distant, whose industries are on so large a scale that sufficient inducements will always attract the necessary number of men. The board considers that at the present time this latter condition is the one which applies to any naval station established on the South Atlantic coast, and therefore attaches considerable importance to the easy and cheap communication which Charleston has with the northern seaboard."

The employees of the yard have been increased in the last three years from less than 700 to over 1,400. Provision has been made by the department to begin the construction of a gunboat on the ways recently erected. There is ample room for doubling the capacity of these ways and, if construction work can be given at the yard, a considerable force of skilled mechanics may be afforded permanent employment, and in the event of a large vessel docking for repairs, can furnish the workmen necessary for such repairs.

It has always been found possible to accumulate the labor necessary for whatever work has been given to the yard, and if the compensation paid at the yard be placed and kept on a parity with that paid at other yards, and steady employment assured, it will not be difficult to acquire and maintain a sufficient force at the yard for all practical purposes. In cases of emergency this could be supplemented by the shipment of labor overnight from other yards or other industrial centers.

There has been some complaint with reference to the housing of labor in the city and the vicinity of the yards, but if we take into consideration the fact that there has been a constant agitation for closing or contracting the yard—and numerous articles have misrepresented it in a most outrageous way—it is not surprising that investors have not been willing to erect attractive houses which would be tenantless in the event of the adoption of a policy of contraction. Assurance has been given that any number of houses desirable, either in the vicinity of the yard or in the city, will be supplied at very reasonable rentals, ranging from $15 to $20, and containing modern conveniences, provided there is any assurance of the yard being developed as a first-class yard.

Eighth. The suitability of the site, as to extent of water front and as to character of soil for foundations for the docks and heavy buildings which a naval station requires:

The area of the yard is 2,250 acres. Its water front is approximately 7 miles, 4 of which are on the west side of the river, where the yard proper is located. It affords ample room for the development of a yard of the first magnitude. As to the character of the soil for foundations, the present dock is constructed without any piling, and no difficulties have been experienced with it. The board has this to say with reference to foundations:

"Eighteen borings were made on the Lawton land and Chicora Park (present site of the navy yard). These borings, after passing through upper strata of marsh mud, sand, and clay, found solid marl at depths varying from 23 to 54 feet, in one hole only the marl being found as low as 62 feet."

A large number of very substantial buildings have been erected at the navy yard and the foundations have invariably been excellent.

The three railway systems all have their tracks running to the limits of the yard and connecting with the yard tracks. Settlements have been made both to the southwest and to the northwest of the yard, where buildings have been erected and are being occupied both by employees of the yard and the employees of industries to the north of the yard. In the latter section a town has been laid out and improvements made at an expense of several hundred thousand dollars. A number of industries have been located there and are developing rapidly. This town furnishes sites for industries with all possible advantages and with low taxation, and has given to the community of Charleston its first opportunity of expanding industrially on a solid foundation. It is therefore not improbable that the number of skilled mechanics engaged in industries around the navy yard and in the city will be very considerably increased in the not distant future.

Ninth. Cost of establishment, which includes cost of dredging in the approaches and on the water front, necessary grading, etc.

There has been expended already upon the Charleston Navy Yard over $5,000,000. It now has one granite dock, which is described as follows: Length, 566 feet; length of the forehead to the outer sill, 548 feet; width and coping, 134 feet; width from the top of the keel blocks, 96 feet 2 inches; width at the coping, 113 feet and the fraction of an inch; governing width, 6 feet above the sill, 101 feet 11⅛ inches; depth at mean high water to sill, 34 feet 1⅛ inches. This would be able to admit our largest dreadnaughts if it were of sufficient length, but at present that is only 548 feet. A provision was inserted in the last naval act for lengthening this dock, but the conferees on the bill concluded that Congress should await the report of the commission to be appointed under the terms of the act as to the advisability of making Charleston a first-class navy yard. In the event of the board concluding that this is the proper thing to do, Congress would have to consider the advisability of lengthening the present dock or of constructing a new dock.

The approaches to the yard have been in need of improvement ever since its location on the Cooper River. The present act provides for this approach to be made 30 feet in depth at low water, 600 feet wide on straight stretches, and 1,000 feet on the turns. No further expense would be necessary in this respect until our ships were made of deeper draft than any of present design. There is now one pier at the yard at which there is 32 feet of water on both sides. Its length at present is only 450 feet, but its extension would be a matter of small expense, and even as it is it could be utilized to moor large ships. There is no additional grading to be done at the yard, and the most of the low places have already been filled. The remainder of such places would be filled without any additional expense, as it is being done with what is taken out of the approaches to the dock by the dredge kept there for that purpose. The cost of operating this dredge per annum has never exceeded $9,000, and has averaged considerably less. The dock having been placed a considerable distance away from the river, an approach of something like a thousand feet had to be excavated to reach it. This excavation has naturally been filled up to a more or less extent each year from the edges of the embankments on each side. With each year, however, these embankments more nearly approach the angle of rest, and the probable cost of maintaining the proper depth to this entrance may be expected to be very much reduced. Especially would this take place in the event of a second dock being installed.

In conclusion, the whole subject may be summarized as follows:

1. A first-class navy yard on the South Atlantic coast is strategically of the utmost importance for the defense of the country.
2. The harbor of Charleston is suitable for the location and development of such a yard, and affords every requisite therefor, except an adequate labor supply from adjacent industries.
3. No other harbor along that coast can supply the two essential requisites, namely, accessibility from the sea, with a depth of 35 and possibly 40 feet at low water, and anchorage for a fleet within the harbor.
4. At no other harbor could so many of the other requisites be fulfilled, and nowhere along the coast would the labor supply be any better.
5. Over $5,000,000 has been already expended upon the Charleston Navy Yard. A dry dock and building ways have been erected there, and a force of skilled workmen sufficient to take care of all work which has been assigned to the yard, and numbering about 1,400, has been assembled there and kept steadily employed.

The Public-Buildings Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DUDLEY DOOLITTLE,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 23, 1917.

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Speaker, I think the expenditure of public money at this time should be confined to public matters of absolute necessity. I voted against the omnibus buildings bill for the same reasons that prompted me to oppose the special rule which the House adopted to take up the bill for consideration, without which rule it could not have been considered this session of Congress.

It is not my purpose now to criticize individual items that go to make up the bill; let it be admitted for the sake of the argument that every item therein contained is meritorious and able to commend itself to us on its own merits—stand on its own bottom—nevertheless, with the exception of the post-office building at Paris, Tex., to replace the one destroyed by fire, separate provision for which could be made in 10 minutes, consideration of every item in the bill could be postponed without violence or damage to any legitimate interest until the finances of the United States Treasury are in better shape and the national deficit eliminated. I oppose adding $38,000,000 carried by this bill to this deficit. We are about to add more and new taxes on the people to pay the huge expenses already incurred for "preparedness," guarding of the Mexican border, national armor-plate plant, Government nitrate plant, the Alaskan Railway, American merchant marine, the good-roads act, the educational-extension laws, the widows' pension law, the Danish West Indies, and many other extraordinary matters, amounting in all to hundreds of millions of dollars, and a Treasury deficit of approximately $300,000,000 faces us in the immediate future as a result thereof. The buildings bill could wait, and it should have waited.

House bill 8931, introduced by me last session for a public building at Council Grove, in the fourth congressional district of Kansas, which I have the honor to represent here, was incorporated in the omnibus bill by the committee at lines 8 and 9, page 18. The postal receipts of the Council Grove post office are well above $10,000 per annum, as required by the rules for post-office buildings in cities, and the city itself more than meets the requirements. Aside from the prospering and ever-expanding agriculture, live stock, and business interests of the surrounding country and the city proper, with its many enterprises, railways, shops, paved streets, water works, sewers, electric lights, historic edifices, public library, magnificent schools, churches, and courthouse, the quaint and interesting history of Council Grove would in itself almost entitle it to some tangible recognition by the Government.

An aggressive citizens' committee has presented some interesting statements in connection with their city, which I shall read into these remarks:

Age, romance, legends of the past, or historical associations, while perhaps having no especial bearings in connection with the claims of a town for Federal recognition in the way of a public building, still Council Grove's story has always begun, and ever will be associated with the beautiful traditions of her past, a past not made up of fiction but of the realities of the founding and building up not only of Kansas but the whole Southwest.

Tradition, long since proven, tells us that the pyramid of rocks on the hilltop adjoining Shadeland Heights and overlooking Council Grove from the southwest, marks the last resting place of Juan Padilla, soldier-poet-priest, who came here with Coronado, and dwelt among the red men in 1541, almost a hundred years before our forefathers established themselves and civic and religious freedom at Plymouth, Mass.

It was at Council Grove, in September, 1806, that Gen. Zebulon Pike halted his Government expedition and made his memorable treaty with the Indian tribes before entering upon his exploration of the newly acquired "Louisiana Purchase."

It was under the "Council Oak," still standing, and marked by a tablet erected by the Daughters of the American Revolution, that Gen. Sibley, in 1822, made a treaty between the Government of the United States and "Wild tribes of the plains" for the right of the white man to use the highway to Mexico, ever to be known to posterity as "The Old Santa Fe Trail," and this route as surveyed and laid out by the Government in 1825–1827, was for half a century the avenue through which the immigration and commerce which built up the West flowed, and Council Grove played an important and lasting part as the last outpost of civilization.

The Government agency for the Kaw or Kansas Indians, established in 1825, was permanently located at Council Grove in 1845. The town had become an important point for Indian trade, and as early as 1817 the Chouteaux of St. Louis had established trading post here, while Storrs, also of St. Louis, opened a supply store in 1821, and after the treaty of 1822 numerous traders ventured into business here. In 1846 a post office was established. This is said to be the second oldest post office permanently established in Kansas, and the patrons of which for a number of years included a territory equal to one-half the State of Kansas. The Indian mission established in 1846 also included a school for the Indians. The first school for white children established in this great State of schools was opened at Council Grove in 1850. In 1854, upon the organization of Kansas as a Territory, Gov. Reeder, after a personal visit, recommended Council Grove for the Territorial capital, but owing to the town site being entirely surrounded by and located on the Kaw Indian Reservation, the chance that would have ultimately made Council Grove the capital of Kansas had to be passed by. Council Grove was the scene of many stirring and exciting incidents in the passing of the "trains" over the trail. The passing of our armies to and from the Mexican War, the California gold rush, and the hordes of adventurous pioneers brought to and through Council Grove a host of characters the like of which the civilized world will never again behold. It was while on their return march from the Mexican War that the soldiers of Gens. Doniphan and Price held a Fourth of July celebration at Council Grove.

The "old trail," now the main street of our city; the "old mission," still standing, and owned and occupied by the descendants of its first teacher; "Council Oak," with its historic marker, "Padilla's monument," erected by his faithful Indian friends in the day of the Spanish dominion of this whole continent; "Custer's Elms," "Fremont Park," "Soldier Hole," "Hermit's Cave," "Belfry Hill," and numerous other relics of that dim past, which we as loyal descendants of a sturdy race look upon with veneration and a just pride, are well; but it is to the city of Council Grove this year of our Lord 1916, with the fine showing of her post office, her banks, railways, fine public schools, her many churches, library, fine courthouse, and other public buildings, her modern sewer system with septic treatment, one of the best pure-water systems in the State, ice plant, one of the finest and best equipped electric power and light plants in the West, but best of all her fine citizenship of progressive, up-to-the-minute residents which extends to the surrounding country rich in fine homes, agricultural and stock resources unexcelled, complete rural delivery over good roads, to all the facts so ably set forth in the financial and commercial statements of this committee, we, as citizens of Council Grove, point with pride, and feel that she is entitled to a public building for her post office, and to the fairness of this proposition we pin our faith.

CITIZENS' COMMITTEE.

The item for Council Grove can stand alone on its merits. Despite the motion of my friend from Wisconsin [Mr. FREAR] to strike it out, based on his old and erroneous figures and data, the Council Grove site and building remained in the bill by a unanimous vote, the gentleman from Wisconsin himself not even voting against it.

Public Buildings Waste.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. FREAR,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 19, 1917.

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Speaker, a most remarkable spectacle has been presented in the discussion of the $38,000,000 public-buildings bill now before the House. Prior to taking up the bill under the five-minute rule the House occupied nearly an hour in discussing a $300 expenditure by the Military Committee and then rushed through items in the public-buildings bill reaching between $5,000,000 and $10,000,000 within four hours and charged opponents of the bill were filibustering when efforts were made to discuss various items in the bill, a large portion of which time was taken up by those who were urging their individual projects.

The opponents of this bill, including members of the committee and both Democrats and Republicans, have shown to the House that the public-buildings bill, with authorizations of $38,191,200, contains over 200 items that are specifically shown to be wasteful by the Treasury Department, and in many cases the increased cost to the Government under separate propositions will reach over 900 per cent annual maintenance charges alone, apart from the original investment.

In addition to the Treasury Department statement, however, many other items are contained in the bill wherein increased cost to the Government makes questionable the construction of public buildings in such localities. This statement is made irrespective of the condition of the Treasury and goes to the merits of the bill itself. There have been presented in the RECORD statements showing that under the report of the House committee, headed by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. CLINE], practically one-half the items of this bill would be eliminated because of the failure of a locality to present the population and receipts recommended in his report, which are found in the report No. 1029 of the House, Sixty-second Congress, second session, and appear on page 1652 of the RECORD of this present session.

The report of the Public Buildings Commission contained in Document No. 936, Sixty-third Congress, second session, on pages 8 and 9, shows conclusively—under even that liberal interpretation—practically half of the items contained in the bill ought to be eliminated. In the minority report filed by Postmaster General Burleson, pages 18 and 19, limitations are placed upon locating public buildings, upon locality conditions, which would, on the basis proposed by him, eliminate, presumably, 75 per cent of the items of this bill. His report is supported throughout by expert testimony submitted in that report. Notwithstanding this arraignment of the waste and extravagance contained in the bill an attempt has been made apparently to justify some of the items by acts of courtesy to different Members, and by insisting that where a small site has been purchased in a crossroad town it is economy for the Government to go on and erect an expensive building rather than sell the site or hold it until the demands of the community require a public building. No law can govern this Congress or future Congresses in the determination of where buildings should be placed, because each Congress is a law unto itself; and, in view of the character of the bill presented to the House, it is a subterfuge to say that it complies even in a remote degree with existing law passed at previous sessions.

GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS FOR "OTHER PURPOSES."

One of the reasons urged for violating the supposed rule which prohibits the erection of buildings in small villages is that which receives support by reason of a claim that other governmental interests are to be housed in the same building. This proposition throws the door wide open to appropriations for any village of the country; and in order to show that it is openly violated and to indicate the present methods of securing appropriations for that violated rule I call attention to the following items contained in bills introduced from one single State, and including nearly a dozen bills introduced by one member of the committee. In nearly every case the post office is united with other purposes, so that the rule is violated in Whitesville, with 321 population and $2,031 receipts; McKee, with 146 population and $526 receipts last year; Boonesville, 236 population and $829 receipts last year; and a number of other proposed projects where other purposes are urged in that particular district.

The following list of items is contained in separate bills filed by Representatives of this one State, wherein 17 out of 22 items proposed are for post office and other Government purposes, and thereby are not to be limited by any amount of receipts named under any law. By this means the proposed limitation is shown to be of no value. Kentucky now has 12 Government courthouses—double the number of either Illinois or Ohio.

Only a limited number of the above items are contained in the pending bill, but "other Government purposes" are usually named:

Kentucky.

Places.	Population.			Post-office receipts.	Kind of building.	Amount asked.	By whom asked.	Amount granted.
	1910	1900	1890					
Shelbyville	3,412	3,016	2,679	$13,044	Post office (1)	$25,000	Representative Helm, Democrat.	$25,000
Stanford	1,532	1,651	1,385	6,228	Post office and other purposes.	10,000	....do	5,000
Barbourville	1,633	1,010	1,162	4,532	Post office and other purposes (3).	100,000	Representative Powers, Republican.	25,000
Pineville	2,161	2,072		7,369	....do	100,000	....do	5,000
Madisonville	4,966	3,628	2,212	12,615	Post office (2)	65,000	Representative Kincheloe, Democrat.	40,000
Eminence	1,274	1,018	1,002	4,402	Post office and other purposes (2).	50,000	Representative Cantrill, Democrat.	40,000
Owenton	1,024	1,014	847	4,760			....do	7,500
Russellville	3,111	2,591	2,253	8,506			Representative Thomas, Democrat.	10,000
Central City	2,545	1,348	1,144	5,707	Post office and other purposes (2).	75,000	....do	30,000
Whitesville	321	194		2,031	Post office and other purposes (3).	75,000	Representative Langley, Republican.	
McKee	146	106		526	....do	75,000	....do	
Hindman	370	231		1,173	....do	75,000	....do	
Saylersville	310	265	339	1,161	....do	75,000	....do	
Jenkins	1,897	2,068		3,847	....do	75,000	....do	
Booneville	236	251		829	....do	75,000	....do	
Inez	(2)			1,016	....do	75,000	....do	
Hazard	537			4,477	....do	75,000	....do	40,000
Pikeville	1,280	508	456	6,149	Post office (2)	70,000	....do	35,000
Paintsville	942	541	506	5,195	....do	70,000	....do	
Prestonsburg	1,120	409	305	3,059	....do	70,000	....do	
Falmouth	1,180	1,134	1,146	5,633	Post office and other purposes (2).	50,000	Representative Rouse, Democrat.	25,000
Campbellsville	1,206	1,341	1,018	5,056	Post office site	10,000	Representative Johnson, Democrat.	
Murray	2,089	1,822	518	6,357	Post office and other purposes (2).	75,000	Representative Barkley, Democrat.	25,000
Hickman	2,736	1,589	1,652	8,538	Post office and other purposes (3).	75,000	....do	5,000

[1] Site.

[2] Not in census of 1910.

According to the Building Commission's report, 12 Federal courthouses have been constructed in Kentucky, or double the number that are contained in the State of Ohio, and yet nine items in this list just quoted were proposed for one single district in Kentucky for other governmental purposes in addition to use as a post office, thereby attempting to escape from a supposed rule which, however, is honored by its nonenforcement.

CONGRESSMEN DETERMINE LOCATIONS.

This single illustration is given to show the vice of the present system of passing omnibus public-buildings bills. In the RECORD it has been shown that the committee refuses to accept any advice from the Treasury Department as to the necessity for the construction of a public building at any particular place, and has directed the department to submit no statement on the subject. This course has prevented any statement of necessity from an unbiased source to receive consideration in the making up of the bill. On the other hand, a statement appears in the RECORD that the Building Committee has called before it in every case the local Congressman representing the locality who introduced the original bill, to ascertain whether or not his community needed the post office, and on his statement as shown by the various hearings, and usually his statement alone, the insertion has been made of a public building for that locality. Notice has been thus given to 300 or 400 Members who have items in the bill. Some of the members of the committee have as high as four items in the bill, but in view of the general character of the bill criticism need not be made against that practice, because all business principles are necessarily violated in the preparation of a bill of this character.

The opponents of this measure have sought to set forth the facts in order that the House and the country may know just what kind of a bill is being passed in the Sixty-fourth Congress, carrying authorizations of over $38,000,000 at a time when the Federal Treasury will show a deficit of $300,000,000, according to the statement of the Secretary of the Treasury. This bill has been condemned by the Secretary of the Treasury in his report. It is also opposed, according to statements on the floor, by the Postmaster General and others in high authority. With this record before us, what can be said in defense of such a bill or the practice which permits legislation through an omnibus measure? I do not care to make any further argument against this bill, which will be passed by the House. In my remarks of December 7, a fairly complete analysis was made of the various items, showing how bad this bill is when measured by the official reports of congressional committees, United States Treasury estimates, and all other data that could be secured on the subject. It will go through the House under the pressure of the steam roller, but as an humble Member of this House, I predict that we will soon see the end of such measures, and that Congress will purge itself of legislation which is wasteful in character and objectionable in its methods of preparation. A reform ought to be instituted at once by those who have the power and influence to bring about a change. The advice of the Speaker of the House, that a limitation of receipts might be established to automatically authorize the department to erect buildings without any further legislation beyond the appropriation, may be urged upon the attention of the House. Under the present methods of preparation probably 2,000 or 3,000 cities and villages in this country are equally entitled to public buildings under the liberal methods pursued. Less than 100 buildings are being erected annually under the present system. How do you propose to catch up? Think of the waste.

What more can be said to show the indefensible character of this bill than that one fact? I am extending these remarks in the RECORD because under the five-minute rule no opportunity is given for any extended argument against the bill; but the facts have been presented and I trust in another House a more thorough scrutiny will be given, and in the interests of economy and wise legislation it is to be hoped that this bill will be defeated and no other of like character ever again offered in the House for passage. I submit letters and statements which speak for themselves:

PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

[From 1916 report of the Secretary of the Treasury.]

May I respectfully say that as a result of my study of the public-buildings question for the past three years and my experience gained in the administration of the laws relating to the designing, construction, and operation of public buildings through the Supervising Architect's Office I am convinced that the methods pursued by the Congress for the past 15 years of providing Federal buildings through so-called omnibus public-buildings bills have resulted in the construction of many public buildings in small towns and localities where they are not needed and at a cost which is clearly unjustified by any actual requirements of the communities in which they are erected. The conclusion is irrestible that authorizations for public buildings in these small communities are too frequently dictated by local reasons and without regard to the best interests of the Government.

In the past two decades the Congress has authorized and appropriated approximately $180,000,000 for public buildings, and the major part of this great sum has been expended on costly structures in small localities where neither the Government business nor the convenience of the people justified their construction; and while the initial cost of these buildings represents a large waste of public funds this is not the worst of it. The most serious aspect is this: The annual operation and maintenance of these buildings impose on the Treasury a permanent and constantly increasing burden.

There are now more than 1,000 Federal buildings to be operated and maintained, and this number is being increased at the rate of a

new building every fourth day in the year. Meanwhile the cities and larger towns have outgrown their Government buildings, and nearly every populous center in the United States is to-day acutely in need of additional space to meet the demands of greatly increased and constantly increasing Government business. To such an extent has the Government business outgrown the old structures in the cities that the rentals for outside space now amount approximately to $3,000,000 annually. This capitalized at 3 per cent represents $100,000,000, and is doubtless the amount required to provide the facilities sorely needed for the prompt, efficient, and economical conduct of the public business in the great centers and large cities of the country.

Common sense and business judgment would seem to demand that structures for the transaction of Government business should be authorized only in localities where they are imperatively needed, and that buildings should not be erected where no public necessity can be shown. This result could be accomplished by divorcing the public-buildings question from all local or political considerations and authorizing no public buildings until a thorough and intelligent investigation of each proposed building or project has been made by this department and a full report thereon has been submitted to the Congress. If such reports were followed by the introduction and passage of separate measures to cover each proposed building project, the abuses and evils of the omnibus-bill method would be eradicated.

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TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, December 28, 1916.

Hon. JAMES A. FREAR,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The department is in receipt of your letter of the 22d instant, requesting further information in regard to the total amount of the authorizations carried in the present public-buildings bill, and especially to the department's tabulated statement received by you, showing the total amount carried in the bill to be $38,794,700.

These figures were based upon the original bill (H. R. 17052) and supplement thereto (H. R. 17188).

This total amount included authorizations for a few places which, while changing existing legislation as to the manner of handling the projects, did not alter the amount previously authorized. Deducting these items from the total authorization in the bill, a net authorization of over $37,000,000 remains. However, the new bill (H. R. 18994) makes several changes and additions to the previous bills in a total amount of over $600,000.

The entire amount therefore authorized in the new bill is $39,376,200. Deducting from this the amount already authorized, which involves only reauthorization of previous amounts with revised method of handling the projects, in amount $1,185,000, the net authorization contained in the bill is $38,191,200. * * *

With this explanation it is believed that you will be able to obtain the full information which you may desire as to any particular building. * * *

Very truly, yours,

B. R. NEWTON,
Assistant Secretary.

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TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, December 18, 1916.

Hon. JAMES A. FREAR,
House of Representatives of the United States.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The department is in receipt of your letter of the 27th ultimo, requesting certain information in connection with the pending public-buildings bill.

Reply to the same has been delayed because of the work involved in making the analysis of the bill which was required in order that a satisfactory response might be submitted to the questions you propound. There is transmitted herewith copies of an analysis which has been made and upon which replies to a portion of your inquiries will be based.

Your first question is whether, upon the basis of the operating costs of the proposed buildings to be erected, including sites and all, less than 20 per cent of them could be provided with profit to the Government. The answer to this question is dependent somewhat upon whether in speaking of sites and buildings to be bought or built you refer to all the items provided for in the bill, including extensions to buildings already constructed and increases in limits of cost for buildings and sites previously authorized. As will be seen from the paper transmitted, the analysis has been confined to sections 3, 4, and 5 of bill H. R. 17052 and sections 2 and 3 of the supplemental bill H. R. 17188. These sections contain 306 items, or over 70 per cent of all the projects provided for in the bill. They provide for buildings on sites previously authorized, for sites and buildings, and for sites only, and it will be noted it is stated that it is not to be assumed that necessarily all contained in the remaining sections of the bill constitute good business propositions. It is difficult to cull from the remaining portions of the bill the ones which may not be business propositions, each one having peculiarities of its own; and conditions that would rule in one place would not apply in others. With this preliminary explanation it is proper to state that, taking into account the total amount of authorizations in the sections analyzed, namely, $21,501,000, it would appear that $9,516,000, or over 44 per cent are not business propositions. If the whole bill, in amount $38,794,700, be taken into consideration, and all but the amount culled from the sections referred to be regarded as the business propositions, which the department is not prepared to allow, the percetage would be nearly 25 per cent.

Your second question, as to whether probably one-half of the amount authorized in the bill could not be saved with profit to the Government, based upon the present Government necessities of the various localities, is rather a difficult one to answer positively. Of course, the figures given above do, to a certain extent, reply to your question, but there are a number of propositions included in the bill providing for large expenditures in certain cities, such as Boston, Dallas, Tex., Chicago, Detroit, Kansas City, and Philadelphia, and while relief of present congestion in public business is called for at these and other places mentioned in the bill and not included in the analysis, it is questionable whether all of the proposed amounts could be expended with profit to the Government. In the case of Chicago the bill provides for an increase in the limit of cost of $4,250,000, whereas this department reported that no increase was considered necessary. Whether the elimination of such questionable amounts would aggregate an additional 25 per cent of nonbusiness propositions contained in the bill can not be definitely stated, but it unquestionably would amount to a considerable sum.

Your third question, as to whether the establishment of a commission, consisting of the Secretary of the Treasury, Postmaster General, and Attorney General, to submit recommendations as to the construction of public buildings, has been given careful consideration; and while the department is heartily in favor of some change in the present methods leading to the authorization and construction of public buildings, as indicated in the remarks of the Secretary of the Treasury in his annual report for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1916, pages 21 and 22, it is not thought that the appointment of a board such as you suggest would accomplish the desired result. The Office of the Supervising Architect has had years of experience in connection with the obtaining and formulating of information upon which to base reports in connection with proposed Federal buildings. All that is needed to perfect this system is a small additional force of investigators under the charge of some one familiar with this class of work to examine local conditions and collect data supplemental to that furnished by the various departments as to their needs in places named. If this were provided and Congress should authorize preliminary investigations, either generally for the entire country or specifically for places named, it would be possible for the Secretary of the Treasury to submit annually to Congress a list of places where new buildings or sites are required or where extensions or remodeling is necessary, together with all the facts bearing upon the questions and estimates relative to the probable cost of each and all projects.

Respectfully,

BYRON R. NEWTON,
Assistant Secretary.

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DECEMBER 28, 1916.

Hon. B. R. NEWTON,
Assistant Secretary, Treasury Department, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. NEWTON: The subject of estimates furnished by the Treasury Department of the probable expense in connection with the erection of public buildings at different points is of importance because it affects the necessity of public buildings at such places.

May I ask you if such information has heretofore been given Congress; and if not, whether the information has been available at all times? This request is made because it seems incredible that the committee or Congress would authorize buildings at places where the maintenance cost will reach from three to ten times the present cost, as shown by the estimates submitted by your department.

Very truly, yours,

JAMES A. FREAR.

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DECEMBER 29, 1916.

Hon. JAMES A. FREAR,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The department is in receipt of your letter of the 28th instant, referring to the subject of estimates furnished by the Treasury Department as to probable expense in connection with the maintenance of public buildings erected at different points, and notes your inquiry as to whether such information has heretofore been given to Congress.

In reply, you are informed that in reporting on the bills which constitute the pending omnibus public-buildings bill this department did furnish estimates of the cost of maintenance of buildings in small villages, but received several letters from the chairman of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds requesting the department to refrain from incorporating this information in its reports, and stating that the committee desired simply the estimate as to probable cost of the proposed building. The department, believing, however, that it was its duty to give Congress the benefit of this information, continued embodying an estimate as to the cost of maintenance of all buildings of the class above referred to.

The department had in mind the fact that with the enactment of each successive omnibus bill the number of post-office buildings in small communities had increased, with a corresponding cost to the Government, while in even ratio the necessity for relief in the cities and larger towns was increasing, and the rental charge to the Government for outside space all the time was growing. Being in position to focus more accurately upon this condition, and to foresee the effect of still further extending it, the department felt warranted in giving to Congress any and all information along these lines for its consideration in dealing with the public-buildings situation.

The department felt further that it might be subjected to criticism for the erection of buildings in places where the Federal activities did not appear to warrant the same, and that it should properly set forth in its report all facts which would show the effect of proposed legislation.

In reporting on these bills the department began by giving in the usual way, first, the estimated cost of site and building in accordance with the space required, and then added the population, postal receipts, and rental paid by the Post Office Department, concluding with the following paragraph:

"The department feels constrained, in view of all the conditions, to advise against the construction of a Federal building in this place at the present time."

After receiving the protests of the chairman of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds against this form of report on bills, the department modified its form of report by giving merely the bare facts, showing the cost of maintenance, including interest on total investment, depreciation and repairs, janitor service, supplies, etc., but omitting the recommendation of the department that no building be erected.

The chairman of the Public Buildings and Grounds Committee, in his letter of March 31, 1916, to the department stated as follows:

"Now, I desire to again ask that we hereafter confine ourselves to our proper jurisdiction. In future reports we only want a simple statement of the activities to be housed, the space needed by each, the postal receipts, the probable cost, etc. If we desire anything further in a particular case, we will ask for it."

In his letter of April 3 he used the following language:

"I desire again, therefore, to most respectfully ask that in making these reports you will confine it to a simple statement of the facts asked for, because that is all the committee desires to have."

The correspondence between this department and the chairman of the committee is contained in letters as follows: Chairman of committee to department, March 18, 1916; departmental reply, March 29, 1916; chairman of committee to department, March 31, 1916; chairman of committee to department, April 3, 1916; departmental reply, May 4, 1916; chairman of committee to department, May 6, 1916.

The letters from the chairman of the committee and the departmental replies are undoubtedly on file, and presumably the chairman of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds will permit you to examine same.

Very truly, yours,

BYRON R. NEWTON,
Assistant Secretary.

MARCH 17, 1916.

CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS,
House of Representatives.

SIR: In response to your request of March 7, the following report is submitted on H. R. 395, which provides for a public building at Sandersville, Ga.

The branches of the service to be accommodated, the space desired, and the rental paid at Sandersville, Ga., are as follows:

Post office, 3,440 square feet, $600 rent.
Civil Service Commission, 500 square feet, no rent.
Department of Agriculture, 512 square feet, no rent.
Internal-Revenue Service, 1,200 square feet, no rent.

The census of 1910 reports a population of 2,641. The postal receipts for the fiscal year 1915 were $7,855.16, and for the fiscal year 1905 were $5,306.52.

It is estimated that a two-story building covering a ground area of 4,300 square feet will be required, and that the cost of such a building, nonfireproof, using the simplest materials, will be $55,000.

Under the authorization of the act of March 4, 1913, a site has been acquired at a cost of $5,000.

The department feels constrained, in view of all the conditions, to advise against the construction of a Federal building in this place at the present time.

Respectfully,

_____,
Secretary.

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APRIL 5, 1916.

CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS,
House of Representatives, United States.

SIR: In response to your request of the 17th ultimo, the following report is submitted on H. R. 8021, which provides for the erection of a public building at Decatur, Ga.

The branches of the service to be accommodated, the space desired, and the rental paid at Decatur, are as follows:

Post office, 2,800 square feet, $600 rent.
Department of Agriculture, 320 square feet, no rent.

The population, according to the census of 1910, was 2,466. The postal receipts for the fiscal year 1915 were $7,230.65, and for the fiscal year 1905 were $2,515.67.

It is estimated that a one-story building, with a ground area of 3,500 square feet, will be required, and that the cost of such a building will be $40,000, and that a suitable site can be purchased for $8,000 additional.

Upon the above basis the estimated fixed annual cost of this project would be as follows:

* Interest on total investment of $51,000, at 4 per cent	$2,040.00
* Depreciation and repairs, at 2½ per cent on $43,000	967.50
Janitor service	960.00
Supplies, etc	900.00
Total	4,867.50

Items marked * include an estimated cost of $3,000 for furniture and safes, which would be paid for out of the annual appropriations for these purposes.

Respectfully,

_____,
Secretary.

This list contains less than one-half of many objectionable items, and in this list are a few of unquestioned necessity.

Postal receipts for all places where sites for Federal buildings are provided under section 5, H. R. 1899.

Places.	Receipts. 1905	Receipts. 1915
Albemarle, N. C.	$2,660.06	$8,759.99
Albion, N. Y.	12,162.93	18,169.35
Alma, Mich.	10,051.56	15,658.26
Alvin, Tex.	3,393.41	9,051.14
Anadarko, Okla.	7,099.30	10,894.26
Arcadia, Fla.	3,986.56	14,564.89
Ashburn, Ga.	3,121.67	6,468.82
Bamberg, S. C.	3,363.43	5,762.12
Bartlesville, Okla.	None.	37,892.21
Baxley, Ga.	2,297.39	6,639.50
Beckley, W. Va.	3,976.57	9,305.50
Berkeley Springs, W. Va.	2,789.24	6,485.23
Bisbee, Ariz.	17,060.18	33,250.32
Blakely, Ga.	4,066.05	6,327.50
Blytheville, Ark.	3,081.38	11,683.91
Boston, Mass.	4,501,163.24	8,069,113.07
Broken Bow, Nebr.	7,242.48	11,948.10
Brookville, Pa.	10,244.86	14,742.57
Brownsville, Tenn.	5,638.00	8,111.42
Cairo, Ga.	2,726.52	7,273.48
Cameron, Mo.	8,400.30	10,330.11
Canton, S. Dak.	6,588.18	10,606.24
Charleston, Mo.	5,942.69	9,346.62
Clinton, N. C.	3,353.54	6,254.73
Columbia, Miss.	3,315.85	8,505.15
Columbus, Ohio.	578,418.99	1,139,149.32
Commerce, Ga.	3,500.57	6,290.89
Conway, S. C.	2,524.66	6,030.89
Corvallis, Oreg.	7,330.98	27,479.83
Covington, Ga.	4,985.75	7,031.21
Cuthbert, Ga.	4,742.91	7,813.40
David City, Nebr.	6,610.87	11,990.90
Decatur, Ga.	2,515.67	7,230.65
Detroit, Mich.	1,253,752.46	3,292,227.62
Dickson, Tenn.	5,078.51	7,451.91
Doylestown, Pa.	9,829.76	15,471.81

***Postal receipts for all places where sites for Federal buildings are provided under section 5, H. R. 1899.*—Continued.**

Places.	Receipts. 1905	Receipts. 1915
Duncan, Okla.	$3,705.97	$8,272.49
Dunn, N. C.	4,535.31	9,252.97
Easley, S. C.	2,752.44	5,342.35
East Palestine, Ohio.	5,809.18	14,043.55
East Point, Ga.	4,358.02	11,425.01
Eaton Rapids, Mich.	7,822.14	8,985.23
Eldorado Springs, Mo.	5,005.26	7,626.21
Ely, Nev.	None.	8,315.16
Essex, Conn.	5,555.08	8,087.39
Flagstaff, Ariz.	5,972.02	15,850.55
Fort Valley, Ga.	5,041.21	10,408.97
Franklin, Ind.	10,118.97	12,920.99
Galion, Ohio.	11,867.56	24,930.60
Greer, S. C.	2,706.32	6,643.48
Hartsville, S. C.	3,508.69	9,884.33
Hawkinsville, Ga.	5,433.54	8,129.91
Henderson, Tex.	4,648.05	6,666.76
Hickman, Ky.	4,346.92	8,538.80
Indianola, Iowa.	9,458.45	12,538.14
Indianola, Miss.	3,722.95	7,661.88
Jackson, Ga.	3,965.84	6,647.65
Jacksonville, Tex.	6,821.52	12,763.95
Kansas City, Mo.	1,307,964.32	3,074,201.78
Lafollette, Tenn.	2,943.36	5,065.98
Las Vegas, Nev.	None.	7,198.68
Laurel, Md.	4,581.60	7,720.94
Lawrenceburg, Ind.	9,738.08	13,257.26
Lenoir City, Tenn.	2,544.29	6,460.46
Lewisburg, Pa.	10,601.33	15,203.71
Lewisburg, Tenn.	4,418.98	9,430.44
Lewistown, Ill.	7,816.41	8,311.56
Lexington, Miss.	4,632.40	8,421.84
Little Rock, Ark.	136,624.58	345,986.12
Lockhart, Tex.	5,876.65	10,617.08
Louisburg, N. C.	3,799.92	8,128.64
Lowville, N. Y.	8,496.20	14,307.29
Mangum, Okla.	6,357.54	11,023.24
Manning, S. C.	3,094.16	5,435.28
Mannington, W. Va.	10,667.92	12,340.00
Marion, N. C.	4,329.83	8,315.52
McMinnville, Tenn.	5,226.29	8,724.74
Menasha, Wis.	9,335.43	16,672.44
Midland, Pa.	None.	10,619.45
Milan, Mo.	4,547.86	6,684.48
Millen, Ga.	2,701.61	5,500.52
Montgomery, Ala.	99,216.10	191,567.19
Monticello, Fla.	3,477.64	6,065.70
Mount Pleasant, Iowa.	11,674.82	17,011.87
Neosho, Mo.	9,825.03	28,524.15
Norman, Okla.	9,151.04	17,904.49
Okolona, Miss.	4,535.07	6,161.70
O'Neill, Nebr.	5,460.86	8,924.77
Owenton, Ky.	3,600.50	4,368.68
Ozark, Ala.	3,629.35	6,416.74
Paris, Mo.	5,023.73	7,037.89
Pascagoula, Miss.	391.57	6,179.94
Pelham, Ga.	4,160.78	6,719.12
Perry, Fla.	2,055.18	6,439.25
Perryville, Mo.	2,813.64	5,662.91
Pineville, Ky.	2,962.57	7,369.33
Placerville, Cal.	6,824.58	10,038.38
Ponca City, Okla.	8,795.20	12,283.13
Potsdam, N. Y.	13,130.91	19,320.22
Redlands, Cal.	28,412.81	40,527.68
Rich Hill, Mo.	6,313.76	7,831.80
Rockwood, Tenn.	3,636.98	6,242.98
Russellville, Ky.	5,427.77	8,512.50
Salem, Mo.	3,352.49	6,142.11
Salisbury, Mo.	4,790.47	7,438.25
San Benito, Tex.	None.	8,199.12
Sanford, N. C.	4,526.38	9,568.04
San Jose, Cal.	77,776.64	143,972.60
San Mateo, Cal.	7,372.92	17,909.63
Santa Monica, Cal.	8,544.79	41,139.36
Seward, Nebr.	6,785.61	10,191.59
Sheffield, Ala.	5,317.79	7,968.77
Stanford, Ky.	3,878.22	6,228.48
Stillwater, Okla.	8,312.79	15,591.84
Summerville, S. C.	4,961.32	7,796.64
Susanville, Cal.	2,762.00	7,058.08
Thomaston, Ga.	3,709.93	6,144.63
Two Rivers, Wis.	9,879.97	15,728.86
Van Buren, Ark.	6,506.99	9,884.36
Venice, Cal. (1906)	[1] 4,361.41	13,501.77
Waurika, Okla.	1,586.50	6,480.82
Wayne, Nebr.	6,262.94	10,709.54
Wellsville, N. Y.	13,308.44	21,834.16
Wellsville, Ohio.	11,184.78	11,681.93
Westboro, Mass.	10,485.19	14,552.31
West Palm Beach, Fla.	6,976.30	25,850.58
Whitinsville, Mass.	6,876.96	12,182.30
Wichita, Kans.	120,575.52	331,093.87
Williamston, N. C.	2,812.25	6,043.18
Winder, Ga.	3,666.36	7,317.19
Windsor, Mo.	6,433.56	7,918.08
Winona, Miss.	5,919.27	8,584.35
York, S. C.	4,484.55	8,596.98
Yuma, Ariz.	5,807.77	14,633.77

[1] Post office not established until Mar. 8, 1905.

The following list handed me of the geographical distribution of sites is interesting, even if valueless:

Locality of sites for public buildings in the 1917 bill.

The present public-buildings bill, which has been reported to the House for passage, carrying $38,000,000, provides sites for several States, as enumerated below:

States.	Sites.	State.	Sites.	State.	Sites.
Colorado	0	Illinois	1	Louisiana	1
Connecticut	0	Oregon	1	Alabama	2
Idaho	0	South Dakota	1	Arkansas	3
Maine	0	Indiana	2	Florida	4
Maryland	0	Iowa	2	Texas	4
Montana	0	Wisconsin	2	Kentucky	4
Minnesota	0	Massachusetts	3	Mississippi	6
New Hampshire	0	Michigan	3	North Carolina	7
New Jersey	0	West Virginia	3	Tennessee	7
North Dakota	0	Arizona	3	South Carolina	8
Rhode Island	0	Ohio	3	Oklahoma	6
Vermont	0	Nebraska	4	Missouri	11
Utah	0	New York	4	Georgia	15
Washington	0	Pennsylvania	5		
Wyoming	0				
Total	0		37		78

This obligates the United States Government in such a way that it will be necessary in the future to build public buildings at each point where a site is now authorized.

The State of Georgia leads all others, securing 15 sites.

Missouri second, with 11 new sites.

South Carolina comes next, with 8 sites.

North Carolina and Tennessee, 7 each.

Public buildings are generously distributed by the 1917 pending bill among these States.

Under the present practice over 2,000 towns, cities, and villages are entitled to new buildings, and the number is rapidly increasing, whereas not more than 100 buildings are provided annually by existing legislation. These buildings are placed wherever the committee decides. The absurdity of facing such a proposition answers itself.

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UNPROFITABLE INVESTMENTS.

Places where sites and buildings authorized in public-buildings bill, 1916, could not probably be built with profit to the Government.

[The last column, "Maintenance," indicates the approximate cost of the maintenance of a building constructed in accordance with proposed legislation in the bill. Where site only is authorized the estimate is, of course, based upon the supposititious cost of a building which will probably be subsequently authorized.]

Places.	Population.	Receipts.	Present rent.	Bill.	Section.	Maintenance.
Albertville, Ala	1,544	$5,663.04	$500	$25,000	3	$3,700
Alva, Okla	3,688	15,853.05	624	45,000	3	4,800
Attalla, Ala	2,513	4,610.21	460	30,000	3	3,200
Aurora, Mo	4,148	51,210.15	720	65,000	3	6,100
Barbourville, Ky	1,633	4,532.95	400	25,000	3	3,800
Bath, N. Y	3,884	24,992.62	1,220	50,000	3	5,600
Benton Harbor, Mich	9,185	54,702.56	2,000	80,000	3	8,300
Brinkley, Ark	1,740	6,114.53	550	25,000	3	3,500
Boyne City, Mich	5,218	11,065.17	762	30,000	3	4,300
Canon City, Colo	6,162	23,383.58	1,600	55,000	3	6,000
Carlinville, Ill	3,616	12,566.28	660	30,000	3	5,000
Carrollton, Ill	2,323	7,854.95	500	25,000	3	3,600
Central City, Ky	2,545	5,707.92	500	30,000	3	4,100
Coleman, Tex	3,046	10,923.84	876	30,000	3	4,900
Conway, Ark	2,794	13,126.17	644	40,000	3	5,300
Crockett, Tex	3,947	7,801.03	632	25,000	3	4,200
Decatur, Ind	4,471	19,000.73	1,420	45,000	3	5,100
Dillon, S. C	1,757	7,733.63	400	25,000	3	4,000
Edenton, N. C	2,789	8,861.03	660	25,000	3	4,000
Eldorado, Ark	4,202	9,806.93	625	25,000	3	5,700
Eminence, Ky	1,274	4,402.53	193	40,000	3	3,700
Fairfield, Iowa	4,970	28,798.31	750	50,000	3	5,400
Falmouth, Ky	1,180	5,638.24	340	25,000	3	3,400
Forest City, Ark	2,484	9,687.77	460	25,000	3	5,700
Georgetown, Tex	3,096	12,281.22	984	30,000	3	4,800
Green River, Wyo	1,313	4,370.18	.....	25,000	3	3,800
Greensburg, Ind	5,420	18,477.35	876	45,000	3	5,300
Greenville, Ala	3,377	9,294.81	480	30,000	3	4,300
Havana, Ill	3,525	12,106.02	809	40,000	3	4,600
Highland, Ill	2,675	9,611.45	650	25,000	3	3,700
Hobart, Okla	3,845	14,134.97	884	40,000	3	4,800
Holton, Kans	2,842	12,501.30	750	35,000	3	4,000
Huntingdon, Tenn	1,112	4,427.23	.....	25,000	3	3,300
Huntsville, Tex	2,072	10,707.61	900	30,000	3	4,000
Kissimmee, Fla	2,157	12,048.85	420	35,000	3	4,100
Kittanning, Pa	4,311	24,526.51	1,420	50,000	3	5,600
Lake City, Fla	5,032	11,203.32	660	35,000	3	5,100
Lebanon, Ind	5,474	18,287.34	1,180	45,000	3	5,100
Lenoir, N. C	3,364	9,827.27	846	30,000	3	5,000
Linton, Ind	5,906	11,988.51	1,150	35,000	3	4,900
Long Beach, Cal.[1]	17,809	99,319.04	100	200,000	3	15,800
Lumberton, N. C	3,330	12,433.98	780	30,000	3	4,900
Lyons, N. Y	4,460	16,460.72	860	40,000	3	5,100
Madisonville, Ky	4,966	12,615.93	660	40,000	3	5,200

[1] The conditions here are peculiar, and while as a simple business proposition it is not advisable to erect a building, the facts may appear to warrant it. The place is a summer resort and the competition for the advantages accruing to the business firm housing the post office are considered so great by the citizens that an offer has been recently made and accepted by the Post Office Department to provide post-office quarters after Dec. 1, 1916, for $1 per year. The receipts for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, were $109,303.21.

Places where sites and buildings authorized in public-buildings bill, 1916, could not probably be built with profit to the Government—Contd.

Places.	Population.	Receipts.	Present rent.	Bill.	Section.	Maintenance.
Manchester, Conn	13,641	$10,462.38	$425	$40,000	3	$4,900
Marengo, Iowa	1,786	7,503.33	480	30,000	3	3,800
Modesto, Cal	4,034	34,634.82	840	65,000	3	6,600
Monroe, Ga	3,029	7,361.51	450	30,000	3	4,500
Montrose, Colo	3,254	17,919.54	1,504	150,000	3	11,000
Mount Airy, N. C	3,844	11,692.02	860	55,000	3	5,200
Morgan City, La	5,477	8,370.63	960	40,000	3	3,800
Mountain Grove, Mo	1,722	12,826.07	960	40,000	3	4,900
Mount Olive, N. C	1,071	5,679.28	420	30,000	3	4,000
Mount Vernon, Ind	5,563	13,233.74	600	40,000	3	5,400
Murray, Ky	2,089	6,357.93	240	25,000	3	3,500
Napoleon, Ohio	4,007	12,854.36	660	35,000	3	4,400
Nephi, Utah	2,759	4,936.08	95	25,000	3	3,800
Newark, Del	1,913	11,388.31	1,110	30,000	3	3,700
Newcastle, Wyo	975	4,174.70	.....	25,000	3	3,800
New Martinsville, W. Va	2,176	10,538.29	622	40,000	3	4,800
Newton, Iowa	4,616	32,156.54	1,440	55,000	3	5,600
Niles, Ohio	8,361	26,674.27	1,104	55,000	3	5,000
Nyack, N. Y	4,619	25,257.19	824	50,000	3	5,600
Oelwein, Iowa	6,028	16,333.03	1,260	40,000	3	4,700
Oneida, N. Y	8,317	33,153.88	1,900	55,000	3	6,100
Pikeville, Ky	1,280	6,149.72	332	35,000	3	3,500
Provincetown, Mass	4,369	11,191.78	824	30,000	3	8,400
Rogersville, Tenn	1,242	7,679.56	410	25,000	3	3,300
Rossville, Ga	1,059	8,062.48	398	25,000	3	4,200
Sandersville, Ga	2,641	7,855.16	600	30,000	3	4,800
San Bernardino, Cal	12,779	47,247.08	1,892	70,000	3	7,200
Seguin, Tex	3,116	10,884.68	588	30,000	3	4,000
Spring Valley, Ill	7,035	10,372.32	543	30,000	3	4,100
Sterling, Colo	3,044	17,969.35	1,756	55,000	3	6,000
Stuttgart, Ark	2,740	12,940.02	1,072	30,000	3	4,800
Sweetwater, Tex	4,176	14,349.94	675	35,000	3	4,400
Sylacauga, Ala	1,456	7,256.27	534	30,000	3	3,500
Trenton, Mo	5,656	14,387.87	1,020	65,000	3	6,100
Tyrone, Pa	7,176	98,485.58	2,450	80,000	3	8,000
Union Springs, Ala	4,055	7,027.98	.....	25,000	3	4,800
Unionville, Mo	2,000	6,950.44	450	30,000	3	4,000
Urbana, Ohio	7,739	22,967.85	1,084	50,000	3	5,600
Vermilion, S. Dak	2,187	13,266.10	850	35,000	3	4,800
West Plains, Mo	2,914	12,174.25	1,596	40,000	3	4,000
West Point, Va	1,397	5,039.37	.....	25,000	3	3,400
Waynesboro, Ga	2,729	7,022.26	400	25,000	3	4,200
Winnfield, La	2,925	9,098.12	380	30,000	3	4,200
Algona, Iowa	2,908	15,210.44	800	45,000	4	5,000
Athens, Ala	1,715	9,393.82	508	35,000	4	4,800
Blackfoot, Idaho	2,202	18,414.45	1,468	65,000	4	5,500
Bowling Green, Mo	1,585	8,923.57	780	40,000	4	4,300
Bristol, Va.[1]	6,247	45,283.59	1,500	80,000	4	6,400
Canajoharie, N. Y	2,273	25,913.58	848	60,000	4	5,200
Carbondale, Ill	5,411	15,980.68	1,356	60,000	4	5,300
Clare, Mich	1,350	8,590.91	549	35,000	4	4,500
Claremont, N. H	7,529	22,856.10	1,060	55,000	4	5,000
Circleville, Ohio	6,744	17,505.63	860	65,000	4	5,600
Clearwater, Fla	1,171	10,959.77	1,080	40,000	4	4,000
Columbus, Kans	3,064	13,279.63	684	50,000	4	5,000
Council Grove, Kans	2,545	9,141.27	540	35,000	4	3,900
Corning, Iowa	1,702	10,133.25	660	35,000	4	5,000
Dansville, N. Y	3,938	46,034.18	1,100	60,000	4	5,200
De Ridder, La	2,100	8,854.54	300	30,000	4	4,800
Dodge City, Kans	3,214	21,246.73	1,680	60,000	4	5,200
Duquesne, Pa	15,727	13,740.49	1,020	75,000	4	4,800
Eagle Grove, Iowa	3,387	11,625.90	775	35,000	4	5,000
East Moline, Iowa	2,665	14,252.47	576	45,000	4	5,500
Easton, Md	3,083	20,732.09	1,480	65,000	4	5,600
Eaton, Ohio	3,187	11,290.79	480	35,000	4	3,700
Effingham, Ill	3,898	12,693.76	1,170	45,000	4	5,200
Elko, Nev	1,677	22,255.66	900	59,000	4	5,300
Farmington, Me	3,210	11,924.96	936	45,000	4	4,600
Framingham, Mass	12,948	84,899.01	2,955	100,000	4	8,100
Galva, Ill	2,498	15,691.44	450	45,000	4	4,500
Gardner, Mass	14,699	39,783.65	1,500	90,000	4	7,600
Grand Rapids, Wis	6,521	27,973.83	995	70,000	4	6,200
Great Barrington, Mass	5,926	18,372.93	900	50,000	4	5,100
Greenville, Pa	5,909	31,245.42	1,380	75,000	4	6,400
Harlan, Iowa	2,570	11,809.90	960	35,000	4	5,000
Hartford City, Ind	6,187	15,983.64	650	50,000	4	4,800
Harvey, Ill	7,227	22,017.42	1,202	55,000	4	5,000
Hazard, Ky	537	4,477.43	250	40,000	4	3,800
Hood River, Oreg	2,331	12,455.41	1,020	60,000	4	5,400
Hoquiam, Wash	8,171	23,230.21	2,580	75,000	4	6,100
Houma, La	5,024	12,095.41	900	50,000	4	4,900
Hugo, Okla	4,582	16,275.38	950	58,000	4	5,200
Ilion, N. Y	6,588	25,409.50	1,020	65,000	4	5,600
Junction City, Kans	5,598	17,777.05	900	55,000	4	4,000
Keyser, W. Va	3,705	13,733.39	840	55,000	4	4,900
Kingsville, Tex	(2)	13,261.14	480	40,000	4	5,000
Knoxville, Iowa	3,190	12,949.11	600	40,000	4	5,000
Ladysmith, Wis	2,352	10,304.29	360	35,000	4	4,800
Lansdowne, Pa	4,066	25,667.33	1,080	65,000	4	5,600
Lewisburg, W. Va	803	8,017.37	540	82,000	4	6,800
Liberty, N. Y	2,072	17,948.57	912	55,000	4	5,000
Litchfield, Minn	2,333	12,368.58	740	35,000	4	3,900
Ludington, Mich	9,132	27,069.41	1,386	75,000	4	6,400
Lufkin, Tex	2,749	12,026.43	660	35,000	4	4,900
Mansfield, La	1,799	11,192.23	1,000	35,000	4	3,700
Marshall, Mich	4,236	62,763.35	1,350	75,000	4	6,400
Mechanicsville, N. Y	6,634	17,757.39	952	55,000	4	5,000
Middletown, Pa	5,374	14,468.46	1,104	65,000	4	5,100
Mexia, Tex	2,694	10,500.86	585	35,000	4	4,500
Morganton, N. C	2,712	10,211.35	660	35,000	4	4,000

[1] Federal building now located in Bristol, Tenn., which is really the same town, divided only by State line running through street. Original cost, $54,968.75. Extended 1910, at expense of $35,599.20.

[2] Not given.

Places where sites and buildings authorized in public-buildings bill, 1916, could not probably be built with profit to the Government—Contd.

Place.	Population.	Receipts.	Present rent.	Bill.	Section.	Maintenance.
Mount Vernon, Ohio	9,087	$30,729.19	$1,650	$70,000	4	$5,900
Nanticoke, Pa	18,877	13,325.70	924	60,000	4	5,200
Northfield, Minn	3,265	21,099.96	1,100	51,000	4	4,900
Norton, Kans	1,787	9,398.69	450	35,000	4	4,300
Norwalk, Conn	24,211	74,041.20	2,880	140,000	4	10,700
Norwalk, Ohio	7,858	28,659.16	1,890	65,000	4	6,200
Olathe, Kans	3,272	15,919.26	1,320	55,000	4	5,000
Oregon City, Oreg	4,287	20,334.08	2,064	70,000	4	6,200
Painesville, Ohio	5,501	41,738.05	1,160	70,000	4	5,900
Peabody, Mass	15,721	25,130.96	1,375	100,000	4	8,100
Peru, Ill	7,984	16,247.75	708	45,000	4	4,500
Petaluma, Cal	5,880	22,348.61	1,610	60,000	4	5,700
Philipsburg, Pa	3,585	17,016.64	1,144	60,000	4	5,200
Phillipsburg, N. J	13,903	24,243.33	1,320	60,000	4	5,200
Pittsfield, Ill	2,095	11,289.17	750	35,000	4	4,300
Plainview, Tex	2,829	16,330.20	600	45,000	4	4,800
Plaquemine, La	4,955	11,437.05	300	35,000	4	3,700
Portage, Wis	5,440	20,372.61	1,060	57,000	4	5,200
Port Clinton, Ohio	3,007	12,785.02	550	40,000	4	4,800
Princeton, W. Va	3,027	10,252.84	234	45,000	4	4,900
Reedsburg, Wis	2,615	11,840.82	590	40,000	4	4,300
Richmond, Mo	3,664	10,088.92	880	40,000	4	4,900
Sanford, Me	9,049	13,837.02	872	50,000	4	5,000
Sapulpa, Okla	8,283	25,803.09	601	70,000	4	5,900
Silver City, N. Mex	3,217	16,518.95	1,720	60,000	4	5,200
Somerset, Pa	2,612	16,076.75	1,072	58,000	4	5,200
St. Johns, Mich	3,154	15,792.43	996	55,000	4	5,300
Sturgeon Bay, Wis	4,262	11,320.89	555	40,000	4	4,800
Superior, Nebr	2,106	11,495.82	900	35,000	4	4,900
Thief River Falls, Minn	3,714	20,630.66	600	55,000	4	5,000
Ticonderoga, N. Y	2,475	11,513.32	710	35,000	4	3,900
Vinita, Okla	4,082	17,817.53	1,244	100,000	4	8,400
Wadena, Minn	1,820	11,267.23	780	35,000	4	3,700
Wakefield, Mass	11,404	21,469.26	960	65,000	4	5,900
Winsted, Conn	7,754	29,672.37	1,940	60,000	4	5,600
Albemarle, N. C	2,116	8,759.99	606	8,000	5	4,900
Albion, N. Y	5,016	18,169.35	904	10,000	5	5,000
Alma, Mich	2,757	15,658.26	660	5,000	5	5,300
Alvin, Tex	1,453	9,051.14	100	6,000	5	4,000
Anadarko, Okla	3,439	10,894.26	540	7,000	5	4,500
Arcadia, Fla	1,736	14,564.89	500	5,000	5	5,100
Ashburn, Ga	2,214	6,468.22	480	5,000	5	4,200
Bamberg, S. C	1,937	5,762.12	468	5,000	5	4,000
Bartlesville, Okla	6,181	37,892.21	1,560	15,000	5	6,800
Baxley, Ga	831	6,639.50	408	5,000	5	4,200
Beckley, W. Va	2,161	9,305.50	600	10,000	5	4,800
Berkeley Springs, W. Va	864	6,485.23	450	10,000	5	3,700
Bisbee, Ariz	9,019	33,250.32	1,480	25,000	5	5,400
Blakeley, Ga	1,838	6,327.50	.....	6,000	5	4,400
Blytheville, Ark	3,849	11,683.91	560	9,000	5	5,200
Broken Bow, Nebr	2,260	11,948.10	1,600	6,000	5	4,300
Brookville, Pa	3,003	14,742.57	710	10,000	5	5,100
Brownsville, Tenn	2,882	8,111.42	660	5,000	5	4,000
Cairo, Ga	1,505	7,273.48	.....	6,000	5	4,400
Cameron, Mo	2,980	10,330.11	1,056	5,000	5	4,900
Canton, S. Dak	2,103	10,006.24	500	6,000	5	4,800
Charleston, Mo	3,144	9,346.62	810	5,000	5	4,900
Clinton, N. C	1,101	6,254.73	480	5,000	5	3,700
Columbia, Miss	2,029	8,505.15	660	5,000	5	3,700
Commerce, Ga	2,238	6,290.89	500	5,000	5	4,200
Conway, S. C	1,228	6,030.89	490	3,000	5	4,000
Corvallis, Oreg	4,552	27,479.83	1,404	10,000	5	6,200
Covington, Ga	2,697	7,031.21	400	5,000	5	4,200
Cuthbert, Ga	3,210	7,813.40	600	6,000	5	4,400
David City, Nebr	2,177	11,990.90	780	6,000	5	4,300
Decatur, Ga	2,466	7,230.65	600	8,000	5	4,800
Dickson, Tenn	1,860	7,451.91	425	5,000	5	4,200
Doylestown, Pa	3,304	15,471.81	1,100	5,000	5	5,100
Duncan, Okla	2,477	8,272.49	480	5,000	5	4,800
Dunn, N. C	1,823	9,252.97	500	7,000	5	4,300
Easley, S. C	2,983	5,342.35	300	5,000	5	4,000
East Palestine, Ohio	3,537	14,043.52	800	7,500	5	4,300
East Point, Ga	3,682	11,425.61	400	8,000	5	4,800
Eaton Rapids, Mich	2,094	8,985.23	800	7,500	5	4,300
Eldorado Springs, Mo	2,503	7,626.21	390	5,000	5	4,000
Ellicott City, Md	1,151	6,385.53	600	7,500	5	3,400
Ely, Nev	2,055	8,315.16	900	5,000	5	5,100
Essex, Conn	2,745	8,087.34	240	6,000	5	3,600
Flagstaff, Ariz	1,633	15,850.55	1,680	7,000	5	4,800
Fort Valley, Ga	2,697	10,408.97	660	8,000	5	4,800
Franklin, Ind	4,502	12,920.99	660	10,000	5	5,100
Galion, Ohio	7,214	24,930.60	1,020	15,000	5	5,900
Greer, S. C	1,673	6,643.48	360	5,000	5	4,000
Hartsville, S. C	2,365	9,884.33	480	3,000	5	4,000
Hawkinsville, Ga	3,420	8,129.91	772	8,000	5	4,800
Henderson, Tex	[1]	6,666.76	300	5,000	5	3,400
Hickman, Ky	2,736	8,538.80	520	5,000	5	4,800
Indianola, Iowa	3,283	12,538.14	1,060	5,000	5	5,000
Indianola, Miss	1,098	7,661.88	450	5,000	5	3,700
Jackson, Ga	1,862	6,647.65	340	5,000	5	4,200
Jacksonville, Tex	2,875	12,763.95	660	5,000	5	4,500
Lafollette, Tenn	2,816	5,065.98	.....	6,000	5	4,000
Las Vegas, Nev	945	7,198.68	.....	5,000	5	5,100
Laurel, Md	2,415	7,720.94	340	5,000	5	3,400
Lawrenceburg, Ind	3,930	13,357.26	1,140	10,000	5	4,300
Lenoir City, Tenn	3,592	6,460.46	.....	6,000	5	4,000
Lewisburg, Pa	3,081	15,203.71	1,087	10,000	5	5,000
Lewisburg, Tenn	1,830	9,430.44	360	5,000	5	4,700
Lewiston, Ill	2,312	8,311.56	540	5,000	5	4,100
Lexington, Miss	2,428	8,421.04	600	5,000	5	3,700
Lockhart, Tex	2,945	10,617.08	660	6,000	5	4,500
Louisburg, N. C	1,775	8,128.64	600	6,000	5	5,200
Lowville, N. Y	2,940	14,307.29	1,050	10,000	5	4,900

[1] Not given.

Places where sites and buildings authorized in public-buildings bill, 1916, could not probably be built with profit to the Government—Contd.

Place.	Population.	Receipts.	Present rent.	Bill.	Section.	Maintenance.
Mangum, Okla	3,667	$11,023.24	$121	$6,000	5	$4,800
Manning, S. C	1,854	5,435.28	550	5,000	5	4,000
Mannington, W. Va	2,672	12,340.00	1,346	10,000	5	4,900
Marion, N. C	1,519	8,315.52	924	6,000	5	5,000
McMinnville, Tenn	2,299	8,724.74	540	5,000	5	4,500
Manasha, Wis	6,081	16,672.44	864	10,000	5	4,800
Midland, Pa	1,244	10,619.45	300	5,000	5	4,100
Milan, Mo	2,191	6,684.48	500	5,000	5	4,000
Monticello, Fla	1,829	6,065.70	600	5,000	5	4,000
Mount Pleasant, Iowa	3,874	17,011.87	1,500	7,500	5	5,000
Neosho, Mo	3,661	28,524.15	924	5,000	5	6,100
Norman, Okla	3,724	17,904.49	936	7,000	5	7,500
Okolona, Miss	2,584	6,160.70	480	5,000	5	3,700
O'Neill, Nebr	2,089	8,924.77	720	6,000	5	3,600
Oswego, Kans.[1]	2,317	15,166.97	884	5,000	5	5,000
Owenton, Ky	1,024	4,368.68	440	7,500	5	4,300
Ozark, Ala	2,229	6,416.91	400	5,000	5	3,500
Paris, Mo	1,474	7,037.89	540	5,000	5	4,000
Pascagoula, Miss	3,379	6,179.94	318	5,000	5	3,700
Pelham, Ga	1,880	6,719.12	.....	6,000	5	4,400
Perry, Fla	1,012	6,439.25	360	5,000	5	4,000
Perryville, Mo	1,708	5,662.91	400	5,000	5	4,000
Pineville, Ky	2,161	7,369.83	600	5,000	5	4,300
Placerville, Cal	1,014	10,038.38	1,517	10,000	5	5,200
Plymouth, Pa.[2]	16,996	12,776.20	1,096	15,000	5	5,100
Ponca City, Okla	2,521	12,283.13	840	7,500	5	4,800
Potsdam, N. Y	4,036	19,320.22	780	9,000	5	5,000
Redlands, Cal	10,449	40,529.68	811	30,000	5	5,800
Rich Hill, Mo	2,755	7,831.80	480	5,000	5	4,000
Rockwood, Tenn	3,660	6,242.98	.....	6,000	5	4,000
Russellville, Ky	3,111	8,512.50	709	10,000	5	4,800
Salem, Mo	1,796	6,142.11	480	5,000	5	4,000
Salisbury, Mo	1,834	7,438.25	500	5,000	5	4,000
San Benito, Tex	[3]	8,199.12	180	6,000	5	4,500
Sanford, N. C	2,282	9,568.04	500	7,000	5	4,800
San Mateo, Cal	4,384	17,909.63	900	15,000	5	4,800
Santa Monica, Cal	7,847	41,139.36	1,096	15,000	5	5,800
Seward, Nebr	2,106	10,191.59	900	6,000	5	4,300
Sheffield, Ala	4,865	7,968.77	660	5,000	5	3,500
Stanford, Ky	1,532	6,228.48	396	5,000	5	4,300
Stillwater, Okla	3,444	15,591.84	996	7,000	5	4,800
Summerville, S. C	2,355	7,796.61	440	5,000	5	4,000
Susanville, Cal	688	7,058.08	600	10,000	5	4,800
Thomaston, Ga	1,645	6,144.63	360	5,000	5	4,200
Two Rivers, Wis	4,850	15,728.86	584	10,000	5	4,800
Van Buren, Ark	3,878	9,884.36	1,060	6,000	5	4,800
Venice, Cal. (formerly Ocean Park)	3,119	13,501.77	112	10,000	5	5,200
Waurika, Okla	2,928	6,480.82	420	5,000	5	3,800
Wayne, Nebr	2,140	10,709.54	932	5,000	5	4,300
Wellsville, N. Y	4,382	21,834.16	815	12,500	5	5,000
Westboro, Mass	5,446	14,552.31	1,275	15,000	5	5,400
West Palm Beach, Fla	1,743	25,850.58	2,866	10,000	5	5,600
Whitinsville, Mass	[3]	12,182.30	800	10,000	5	5,400
Williamston, N. C	1,574	6,043.18	300	5,000	5	3,700
Winder, Ga	2,443	7,317.19	406	5,000	5	4,200
Windsor, Mo	2,241	7,918.08	600	5,000	5	4,000
Winnfield, La.[4]	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Winona, Miss	2,512	8,584.35	460	7,500	5	3,700
York, S. C	2,326	8,596.98	600	9,000	5	4,000
Yuma, Ariz	2,914	14,038.77	680	6,000	5	4,800
Okmulgee, Okla	4,176	25,645.80	1,464	135,000	20	6,800
Total	.....	.....	252,069	9,516,000	.....	1,490,210

[1] Changed in new bill to sec. 4, site and building, $50,000.
[2] Changed in new bill to sec. 4, site and building, $65,000.
[3] Not given.
[4] For Winnfield, La., see section 3.

These are the people who are paying direct taxes to build and maintain the $38,000,000 contained in the pending bill:

ORDINARY, EMERGENCY, AND INCOME-TAX RECEIPTS.

Supplemental statement showing by States and Territories ordinary receipts only, "emergency revenue" (act of Oct. 22, 1914, which was extended to and including Dec. 31, 1916, by public resolution No. 2, approved Dec. 17, 1915), and income-tax receipts under act of Oct. 3, 1913, during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1916.

States, Territories, etc.	Ordinary, exclusive of emergency revenue.	Emergency revenue.	Corporation income tax.	Individual income tax.
Alabama	$91,320.15	$264,967.62	$201,568.82	$109,983.51
Alaska	15,426.94	15,819.01	[1] 26,634.30	10,741.56
Arizona	10,767.72	107,549.46	182,694.64	50,607.07
Arkansas	66,064.81	240,191.64	112,074.11	44,278.79
California	8,385,137.97	3,407,417.56	1,886,379.17	1,488,184.98
Colorado	321,312.31	536,946.50	464,293.67	342,478.80
Connecticut	1,451,227.60	1,123,038.88	1,275,389.68	1,446,218.16
Delaware	332,769.19	223,641.36	1,078,185.89	1,441,431.59
District of Columbia	502,594.93	258,839.18	152,892.39	493,682.99
Florida	1,264,683.73	309,379.62	108,690.12	133,461.34
Georgia	173,855.29	651,579.58	367,291.95	199,546.46
Hawaii	99,514.48	140,540.05	341,938.37	112,144.95
Idaho	27,138.33	109,794.07	129,392.94	40,932.61
Illinois	45,757,773.68	8,783,789.10	5,579,151.99	5,166,689.91
Indiana	28,024,055.01	1,599,705.69	814,207.98	410,320.06

[1] Includes $20,937.10 income tax on Alaska railroads.

Supplemental statement showing by States and Territories ordinary receipts only, "emergency revenue," etc.—Continued.

States, Territories, etc.	Ordinary, exclusive of emergency revenue.	Emergency revenue.	Corporation income tax.	Individual income tax.
Iowa	$586,426.07	$1,181,446.60	$517,887.96	$277,098.45
Kansas	140,997.32	559,136.62	377,189.51	139,303.47
Kentucky	35,870,087.11	795,135.49	411,845.54	165,112.75
Louisiana	8,562,260.33	917,970.24	406,416.45	296,341.35
Maine	75,958.62	248,679.10	320,841.32	193,181.89
Maryland	6,178,812.76	1,248,778.67	555,687.34	806,216.58
Massachusetts	5,586,322.87	3,619,683.91	2,668,189.60	4,193,828.30
Michigan	6,102,953.83	2,370,278.21	2,020,472.80	1,878,745.98
Minnesota	1,939,692.45	2,166,679.89	1,854,447.24	866,557.91
Mississippi	12,443.02	146,883.01	78,096.61	67,456.97
Missouri	10,439,488.85	3,627,064.93	1,583,236.61	1,206,728.67
Montana	369,910.05	347,006.74	174,529.91	99,952.95
Nebraska	3,380,394.38	829,502.60	332,705.69	160,206.31
Nevada	48,651.59	51,149.84	52,367.40	5,224.54
New Hampshire	451,607.48	266,111.01	103,162.65	101,777.92
New Jersey	11,312,065.40	2,788,394.16	1,637,733.80	2,928,300.13
New Mexico	45,796.35	77,937.63	138,868.57	43,916.16
New York	36,579,000.27	23,131,431.50	14,947,802.48	30,252,255.39
North Carolina	18,709,871.51	333,033.35	323,927.03	176,754.33
North Dakota	15,317.23	236,461.59	97,930.34	38,432.79
Ohio	22,968,942.71	4,730,613.99	3,627,218.61	2,416,701.11
Oklahoma	31,251.57	442,021.61	404,575.80	489,440.08
Oregon	381,216.15	334,602.63	197,795.61	118,437.49
Pennsylvania	24,170,235.56	7,544,834.41	6,789,242.89	6,313,191.41
Porto Rico	583,551.73	.....	.....	.....
Rhode Island	758,645.10	541,506.01	416,816.44	686,626.04
South Carolina	112,233.52	236,863.00	173,188.91	76,250.01
South Dakota	105,517.45	253,851.70	78,211.48	20,161.60
Tennessee	1,742,918.51	604,744.63	329,015.11	207,316.37
Texas	944,375.55	1,517,773.42	897,670.97	672,456.10
Utah	172,400.63	246,334.55	430,493.93	85,452.71
Vermont	20,973.03	95,585.08	83,533.01	259,470.85
Virginia	7,982,335.52	647,808.77	647,833.96	289,932.99
Washington	557,739.93	765,485.16	374,240.51	208,425.57
West Virginia	1,276,999.95	357,913.46	332,149.92	132,064.13
Wisconsin	8,474,945.77	3,180,685.91	778,335.91	559,948.98
Wyoming	48,602.98	70,708.23	109,210.07	21,623.57
Philippine Islands	258,097.63	.....	.....	.....
Total	303,507,733.03	84,278,302.13	56,993,657.98	67,943,594.63

And these are the total receipts that were collected to be used in part for erecting unnecessary buildings all over the country:

RECEIPTS BY STATES AND TERRITORIES DURING THE LAST FISCAL YEAR.

Aggregate collection of internal revenue, by States and Territories of the United States and the Philippine Islands, during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1916.

State, Territory, etc.	Aggregate collections.	State, Territory, etc.	Aggregate collections.
Alabama	$667,840.10	Nevada	$157,393.28
Alaska	[1] 68,621.81	New Hampshire	922,659.06
Arizona	351,618.89	New Jersey	18,666,493.49
Arkansas	462,609.35	New Mexico	306,518.72
California	15,167,119.68	New York	104,910,489.62
Colorado	1,665,031.28	North Carolina	19,543,536.25
Connecticut	5,295,874.32	North Dakota	388,141.95
Delaware	3,076,028.03	Ohio	33,743,476.42
District of Columbia	1,408,009.49	Oklahoma	1,367,289.06
Florida	1,816,214.81	Oregon	1,032,051.93
Georgia	1,392,273.28	Pennsylvania	44,817,504.27
Hawaii	694,137.85	Porto Rico	588,551.78
Idaho	307,257.95	Rhode Island	2,403,593.62
Illinois	65,287,404.68	South Carolina	598,535.44
Indiana	30,848,288.74	South Dakota	457,742.23
Iowa	2,562,859.08	Tennessee	2,883,994.62
Kansas	1,216,626.92	Texas	4,032,276.04
Kentucky	37,242,180.89	Utah	934,681.87
Louisiana	10,182,988.37	Vermont	459,561.97
Maine	838,660.93	Virginia	9,567,961.24
Maryland	8,789,495.35	Washington	1,905,891.20
Massachusetts	16,059,024.68	West Virginia	2,099,127.46
Michigan	12,370,450.88	Wisconsin	12,993,916.57
Minnesota	6,827,377.49	Wyoming	250,144.85
Mississippi	304,884.61	Philippine Islands	[2] 258,097.63
Missouri	16,856,519.11		
Montana	991,399.65	Total	512,723,287.77
Nebraska	4,682,808.98		

[1] Includes $20,937.10 income tax on Alaska railroads.

[2] Of this amount $373.34 was collected from the sale of stamps affixed to Philippine products at the port of San Francisco and returned by the collector of the first district of California.

NOTE.—Alabama and Mississippi comprise the district of Alabama; Colorado and Wyoming, the district of Colorado; Connecticut and Rhode Island, the district of Connecticut; Maryland, Delaware, District of Columbia, and the counties of Accomac and Northampton, Va., the district of Maryland; Montana, Idaho, and Utah, the district of Montana; New Hampshire, Maine, and Vermont, the district of New Hampshire; New Mexico and Arizona, the district of New Mexico; North Dakota and South Dakota, the district of North and South Dakota; Washington and Alaska, the district of Washington; and Nevada forms a part of the first district of California.

The collections accredited to Porto Rico were returned from the following districts, viz:

First district of New York	$98,995.71
Second district of New York	489,556.07
Total	588,551.78

The High Cost of Living.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MARTIN DIES,
OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 22, 1917.

Mr. DIES. Mr. Speaker, the present high prices are the effect of a number of well-known causes, chief of which may be mentioned cheap gold, the war in Europe, and the drift of population from the farm to the city.

As to the first of these causes, cheap gold, the world's production of gold is enormously greater than ever before. Indeed, the world's production of gold in the past 25 years has been of greater volume than for the previous 400 years. That is to say, the world has produced more gold in the past 25 years than was produced in the 400 years preceding. Prices are measured in terms of gold, and therefore cheap gold is but another way of saying high prices. The second cause, the European war, not only resulted in the importation of a large amount of gold into the United States, but shifted many millions of men from the ranks of the producers into the ranks of consumers, thereby curtailing the supply and increasing the demand for farm and factory products and all other articles of commerce. The third fundamental cause of high prices may be found in the drift of population from farm to city. That such has been the movement of population is conclusively shown by the census reports for a great number of years, which movement has become more intense in the past 20 years.

As to the first of these causes, gold, it may be remarked that there is nothing which the lawmaking body can do about it. Cheap gold, or, as Dr. Adam Smith puts it, the fertility of the mines, relieves the debtor class by making it easier to pay debts, and burdens the creditor class by reducing the purchasing power of money. Depreciating money is not so much an evil as appreciating money, because if fixed obligations are to be disturbed by the fluctuating value of money it were better to pinch the lender than the borrower, seeing that he is likely to be better able to stand it. Safe reliance may be had upon the laws of nature and the wisdom of Providence against an overproduction of gold.

As to the war in Europe, whereby millions have ceased to produce and have become consumers, there is unfortunately no hope for its termination by an act of Congress.

But the drift of population from farm to city is a matter which statesmen can profitably employ their minds upon. The effect is very plain. The farm no longer attracts the farmers' children, and at the first opportunity they fly to the city. The farmer himself often follows his children to the city, and thus whole families forsake the farm, as producers, and become consumers in the city. Every such remove decreases the food supply and increases the demand. What is the cause? What the remedy? It is vain to cry against the high cost of living, if that condition results from an overproduction of consumers and an underproduction of producers. Men can not be compelled by law to raise beef and pork, chickens and eggs, bread and butter, and other articles necessary to the life and comfort of those who eat and wear. There is something wrong in a system that makes it worth while for the farmer and his family to migrate to the city. There is something wrong when men and women and children dread the farm and sigh for the bright lights of the metropolis. Let us examine some of the objections popularly urged against farm life and see how real they are and whether they are capable of remedy.

The country is lonely, particularly for women and the young folks. Very often schools and churches are not accessible. These are real objections, and may not be lightly cast aside. Man is a social being. It is not in the nature of things for human beings to bury themselves in a neighborless wild. The worship of God is the sweetest solace to many, and only necessity can force such an one to live away from access to church. Education is more and more essential to the rising generations, and parents are quite right in demanding that their children shall have an even chance in the race of life. These objections to country life are real. The remedy lies principally with the people themselves, although the Government can help. Cooperation among farmers and would-be farmers is essential. So long as one farmer insists upon owning hundreds of acres, he may not expect close neighbors, schools, and churches. Land ownership is to be commended. Every man should own land. It is

better for the man and it is better for the Government. But to build up an ideal rural community each family should own a small rather than a large farm. The man who wants schools and churches must have neighbors, and if he would have neighbors he must give others a chance to own land. Otherwise a hateful system of tenantry will fasten itself upon the country. So I may say that cooperation begins with land ownership, for if one man insists upon owning all the land, or a lion's share of it, he can only have landless neighbors, and these will not be permanent. Therefore I would say to those who seek to build up rural communities, begin at the beginning, and forbid excessive land ownership. That can be accomplished in two ways—by a voluntary association of men into communities, where each member shall own a small quantity of land, or by a statute of the State limiting ownership. Both plans could be profitably worked upon. Land monopoly is the deadliest of all monopolies. We are beginning to approach the question, and when we come face to face with it limited ownership will be written upon the statute books.

MONEY AT USURIOUS RATES.

With the question of land and isolation and schools and churches out of the way, there are other problems to be dealt with. The farmer, like every other business man, sometimes finds it necessary to operate on borrowed capital. He may need money to buy land or to build and improve land already owned. No legitimate business can pay a high rate of interest. Farmers in my section have been compelled to pay from 10 to 50 per cent interest, and the result has been that farming has languished and banking flourished. Who cares to embark his capital in the doubtful enterprise of farming when he can become a money lender and be sure of large gains? Has your local bank not been paying dividends of 10 per cent or more and laying up a surplus? Is its stock not far above par? If the business of farming is to attract men, it must not be made the constant victim of usury. Farming is a legitimate business. The farmer is entitled to a reasonable rate of interest. That can be accomplished in part by cooperation and in part by law. If small loans made for the purpose of buying farm land or stocking and improving a farm, at a moderate rate of interest, were exempt from taxation, much good would result. The State legislatures would do well to work out some such plan. The Federal farm loan banks will do good. Some competent man in every community should thoroughly inform himself as to the Federal farm loan law and call a meeting of farmers and explain it to them, to the end that associations may be formed to take advantage of the opportunity it affords to get cheap money with which to acquire or improve farm lands. Farmers should organize and put a stop to the practice of usury at the local bank whenever possible. I do not mean to say that all banks exact usury, but many of them do; and wherever that is the case their customers ought to band together and put a stop to it. Husbandry and usury can not flourish side by side. The usurer must go.

COOPERATIVE MARKETING.

The farm marketing system in my section is woefully deficient. In some cases farmers produce a surplus and have no market, or else they fear to produce largely of certain crops lest there be no market. Take, as example, sweet potatoes. The crop is harvested within a short space of time each year. Those who eat potatoes want them all the year round. Some one must keep them in storage, to be handed out as wanted. The city man can not store them. He has no such facilities, and a few bushels will supply him. He prefers to buy as he consumes, in small quantities. Potato-storage houses are a success, but the individual farmer has no need for a storage house all to himself, even though he were able to construct it. So cooperation is again indispensable. The same is true of peanuts. It is a very profitable crop in my country. But a peanut thrasher costs a large sum, and one farmer's crop does not require the exclusive services of a thrasher. Cooperation is again necessary. Moreover, the Government should constantly make it easier for the farmer and city man to do business together. The parcel-post system should be adjusted to this end. The farmer's produce often passes through the hands of so many middle men and is so price marked up and shopworn down that the ultimate consumer gets but the frazzled remains at a ruinous price. If a farmer in the community where I live has a dozen fat hogs in excess of his own needs he is at a loss how to reach the consumer. Cooperation among farmers would supply the full carload. Collective bargaining would eliminate the waste of numerous middle men and give a profit to the farmer and a reasonable price to the consumer. These, Mr. Speaker, are some of the difficulties that confront farmers and those who wish to become farmers. There must be a spirit of cooperation on all hands or farming will continue at a low ebb in that delightful land I love to call home. It is not enough for the large landowner to cut his acres up and sell it out to farmers in the wild state. The farmer thus attacking a wilderness single handed must needs have a stout heart. There must be a spirit of cooperation all along the line. Nature has done her part. In my section of this empire State of Texas is to be found a good climate, an abundance of pure water, plentiful fuel, cheap land, and a soil which yields abundantly a great variety of those articles which provide mankind with the necessities and the luxuries of life.

In all my travels about I have never seen a fairer and a better home land than east Texas. Let some genius for organization, some friend of his people arise and lead the way to a solution of this problem. Such a man would be honored and rewarded while he lives. Let homeseekers band themselves together to the end that they may live in God's open country without living a life of loneliness, without schools, churches, and markets.

Mr. Speaker, I have briefly outlined some of the disadvantages of country life. These can be overcome. There is another side to the picture. The open country has many advantages. Freedom is there. Pure air and independence is a heritage of the farmer. Deadly disease germs can not thrive in the pure air of the open country. Life lasts longer in the country and it is sweeter while it lasts. The dread and fear of poverty in old age is not so great in the country, for who that is proprietor of a few acres of land need fear the gaunt hand of starvation? The open country has always been the breeding ground for the great men of the land. There is something about a crowded city which seems to stifle genius, contract the mental vision, and turn the genial currents of the soul into sordid channels. Cultivated fields, woodland stretches, expansive prairies, growing grain, ripening fruit, lowing herds, singing birds, the prattling of children—these are the scenes which quicken genius, warm the heart, toughen the body, and strengthen the mind. The summers are cooler in the country and the winters more comfortable. There a neighbor has time to talk with you. There one can tell a story without being forever haunted with the doubt of its freshness. Patriotism hath her seat in the country. The very safety of the Republic demands that the hegira from the farm to the city should cease. The Government is doing much to arouse an interest in agriculture. Lecturers are being sent to the remotest regions to speak to the people. Millions of pieces of farm literature are being printed at Government expense and placed in the hands of the people in the effort to arouse an interest in farm life. A list of farmers' bulletins should be placed in the hands of every man, woman, and child in the United States. No Member of Congress should feel it beneath his dignity to send out these bulletins upon request. The rainy days and wintry weather can be profitably spent by the farmer "studying up" on his business. His son can gather wisdom in the study of plant life and his daughter can find profit in a study of the art of canning.

The high cost of living works many hardships no doubt, but it is the purse which a compensating Providence hangs up to counteract the lure of the city. It is not an unmixed evil. Those who grumble at high-priced cold-storage eggs, which are "stale, flat, and unprofitable," should remember that the country hen is cackling a welcome back to the farm. The neglected cattle are lowing for the master's care, and for the want of it beef is high. The pigs need slop, and if the owner has moved to town they will not get it and pork will come high. The earth demands the touch of the husbandman and is barren without it. There is the open country—broad, fresh, fertile. Nature stretches out her arms in welcome to the overcrowded cities and bids the weary ones find peace and plenty on the farm. It is not a place for idle hands. It is not a place for the money mad. The land must be tilled and farming yields no golden store for Midas or the miser. But toil and frugality will usually be rewarded with plenty on the farm, and who has more than plenty has trouble for his pains.

Universal Military Training.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDMUND PLATT,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 17, 1917.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. Speaker, the sentiment for what is generally, though somewhat inaccurately, called universal military training has undoubtedly gained rapidly among all classes of people in all parts of the United States and is steadily growing

stronger as it comes to be better understood. It appeals to more and more people every day as thoroughly democratic and as fair to all. We at first recoiled against it as the acme of militarism, but many of us have come to the conclusion that such systems as the Swiss and Australian systems are not militaristic; that they prepare for peace more than they prepare for war; that they do not create or foster a desire for war, while they do provide adequately for national defense. In order to promote the spread of information as to just what these systems of training require, I desire to insert the following brief statement, prepared by Maj. Francis J. Landon, a National Guard officer of the State of New York, who has given much thought and study to the subject:

A NATIONAL CITIZEN ARMY.

[By Francis G. Landon, major, Reserve, National Guard, New York.]

There is so much misinformation abroad about universal military service, especially as to the amount of time required, that this statement has been issued, giving the time required for such service in Switzerland and Australia, with suggested periods for this country, based upon their experience and on what is believed to be practical for us.

It is well under the fact to say that at least 500,000 physically and mentally fit men reach the age of 18 every year.

If 50 per cent of them were enrolled, or 250,000, it would not be long before we would have in training a large number of men, fit and efficient.

Too many of us have been trying to get something out of the country and too few of us have been trying to serve it.
Our minds have been filled with the assertion of our rights, and we have thought little of our duties. (Root, Aug. 30, 1916.)

Every male citizen has three duties to his country: First, his education, compulsory without pay; second, his military service, compulsory without pay; third, to vote, compulsory without pay. These are not privileges or rights but duties. Being physically fit, unless he fulfills these three obligations he fails absolutely in his duty as a loyal citizen.

The time required, as herein outlined, based upon the experience of Switzerland and Australia, comes at a time in life when the young man has little or no responsibilities (if, as occasionally happens, a young man of this age has positive responsibilities, he would be exempt), and also when he is physically and mentally fit.

That his principal training should be in the open and not in armories is because the open is the best place to train a soldier, and also because the open appeals more to the young man's enthusiasm and imagination. (It is the only way to train the men who live in the country, as they live so far away and so far apart that it is impossible for them to attend night drills.)

To train this citizen army you must have professional soldiers, Regulars. You must have enough, especially officers, to keep both the Regulars and the citizens in the highest state of efficiency.

SWITZERLAND.

AGES 7 TO 15.

Compulsory gymnasium drill and physical training, without arms, in schools 4 to 8 hours a week.

AGES 15 TO 20.

Voluntary work in military preparation companies, or cadet corps, 100 to 200 hours during summer. Then enrollment and recruit school.

AGE 20.

Recruit school, 60 to 90 days, according to branch of service.

AGES 20 TO 32.

Two weeks every year in camp.
In winter, schools.

AGES 32 TO 40.

Two weeks every other year in camp. In winter, schools.

AGES 41 TO 48.

Are not called into service during ordinary times.

AUSTRALIA.

AGES 12 TO 13.

Junior cadets: Physical training every day in school, not less than 15 minutes, 90 hours a year.

AGES 14 TO 17.

Senior cadets: Elementary naval and military exercises and musketry. Annually, 64 hours; 4 whole days, 12 half days, 24 night drills (quarter days).

In some cases night drills are being abandoned as unsatisfactory. Suggested two continuous periods of daylight drills, not camp. Musketry.

AGES 18 TO 25.

Citizen forces: Annually, 16 whole days, of which at least 8 must be in camp and musketry. In winter, schools.

AGE 26.

Only registration and muster.

AGES 27 TO 60.

Arranged in classes for duty in war times.

NOTE: This system only started in 1911, so was hardly under way when war broke out.

UNITED STATES CITIZEN ARMY.

AGES 12 TO 13.

Compulsory gymnasium drill and physical training without arms in schools, 15 to 30 minutes each school day.

AGES 14 TO 17.

Two weeks each year in camp.
Elementary naval and military exercises.
In winter, schools.

AGES 18 TO 20.

One month each year in camp.
In winter, schools.

AGES 21 TO 22.

Two weeks each year in camp.
In winter, schools.

AGES 22 TO 30.

One week every other year in camp.
Annual inspection and rifle practice.
In winter, schools.

AGES 31 TO 45.

Annual inspection and rifle practice.

The Government should supply uniforms and equipments, should lodge, feed, and transport them when on duty, but there should be no pay.

NOTE.—Following the Argentine system, at the age of 30 years, they would be turned over to the States for duty as a State force, National Guard, in such numbers as each State desired.

Post Office Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALLEN T. TREADWAY,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 22, 1917.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, when one stops to think that for nine years of service for the United States Government, the average remuneration per year is but $742, he can not help but carefully consider any increase that is proposed for such employees. That fact, which is brought out in the committee report on the Post Office appropriation bill, together with the personal knowledge I have of the faithfulness, integrity, and positive loyalty of post-office clerks and letter carriers in my own district, makes me all the more heartily in favor of the item contained in this bill for promotions and advancements for these employees. There are none who show more tenacity and who are to be found more steadily at work throughout the year than our letter carriers and post-office clerks. The rush seasons are trying times for them and especially is this true at Christmas. While others are enjoying the holiday spirit, the carriers and clerks, like the department store workers, are doing their utmost to take care of the enormous increase of business and to see that others are made happy by their efforts.

Up in western Massachusetts the weather at this time of the year is unusually severe, and I read only a day or two ago that the mercury dropped to 20° below zero. Our letter carriers, however, are compelled to brave the elements and make their daily rounds twice or three times a day, and I can assure you these are not pleasure trips in such weather.

These employees are obliged to serve an average period of four years of apprenticeship at about $35 a month, or $420 a year, until they are given a regular appointment. Then they start at $800 a year, and, provided they serve satisfactorily, it takes five years before they arrive at the $1,200 a year grade. This top figure is not reached until after nine years of service. In my opinion, the increases recommended are most meritorious in their character, and will not only aid in improving the post-office service in a general way but will more adequately compensate this capable and valuable class of Government labor.

I sincerely hope this provision in the bill, which gives the men $1,000 per year when they are first regularly appointed, increasing the amount automatically to $1,100, $1,200, and up to $1,500 in the succeeding years, will become law.

All the postal employees throughout my district are, of course, vitally interested in this proposition. I have heard from practically every organization of post-office clerks and carriers in my section of the State, and they unanimously urge the increases recommended on the ground of the high cost of living and because a dollar will not go as far now in the purchase of necessaries of life as it would 10 years ago.

Before closing, I wish to give a list of the organizations that have sent representatives to see me or that have mailed me petitions and letters. They include the following: Branch 286, National Association of Letter Carriers, Pittsfield, Mass.; Branch 379, Holyoke Post Office Employees; Branch 1840, United National Association of Post Office Clerks, Adams, Mass.; Greenfield Post Office Employees; Branch 128, National Association of Letter Carriers, Westfield, Mass.; Westfield Post Office Clerks; Branch 149, United National Association of Post

Office Clerks, Westfield, Mass.; Williamstown Letter Carriers' Association; North Adams Post Office Employees; Branch 261, National Association of Letter Carriers, Greenfield, Mass.; Branch 615, National Association of Letter Carriers, Adams, Mass.; Railway Postal Clerks of the First Division, and others.

I heartily approve the salary features in the Post Office appropriation bill.

Public Buildings.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK CLARK,

OF FLORIDA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 22, 1917.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, under the general leave to print remarks on the omnibus public-buildings bill granted all Members I desire to place in the RECORD an editorial contained in the Manufacturers' Record, of Baltimore, Md., under date of January 11, 1917. The Manufacturers' Record is one of the ablest and most conservative publications in the United States, and I commend this article to the consideration of those diminutive souls who can not see beyond the confines of their own "little pent-up Uticas."

The editorial is as follows:

[From the Manufacturers' Record, Baltimore, Md., Jan. 11, 1917.]

IT IS A PITY FOR THE NEW YORK SUN'S HAPPINESS THAT NATURE DID NOT MAKE THE SOUTH A BARREN LAND.

In its bitter sectional campaign against the South in its fight against what it calls the "pork barrel" the New York Sun seems to be doing its best to destroy the reputation which it once had for honesty and accuracy.

That some of its statements against the construction of public buildings in small towns are justified we freely admit, as we stated last week, but many of the statements which it is publishing are absolutely inaccurate, and are either willfully published for the purpose of misleading the public, or are due to a degree of ignorance which puts to shame all of the Sun's supposed knowledge on business matters.

The Sun undertakes to criticize southern Congressmen, not only for some of the unwise proposals in regard to post-office appropriations in small towns, but it denounces them for the decision to enlarge the navy yard at Portsmouth, Va., as though this decision was simply due to the fact that the present administration is in power. It entirely overlooks the fact that long before this administration existed the naval authorities had recognized the superiority of the naval site at Portsmouth, and desired that it should be made one of the greatest naval bases, if not the greatest, in the United States.

It is possibly unfortunate, from the Sun's point of view, that Nature placed Hampton Roads in the South, but in doing so Nature gave to this section one of the most remarkable harbors to be found in the world, and all naval men have for generations recognized this. If the Sun could have its way we presume that it would have the Government blot out Hampton Roads or fill it up and thus destroy one of the Nation's greatest assets.

The Sun, we believe, in old times was ever a great admirer of the remarkable business acumen of Collis P. Huntington. Now, it so happened that Mr. Huntington, with a full knowledge of every part of the United States, from the Pacific coast to the Atlantic, selected Hampton Roads as a site for building the greatest shipyard in America—a yard which now has under contract $50,000,000 worth of work, and which, since it was established by Mr. Huntington, has nearly always been able to underbid every other shipyard in the country on Government ships, from small boats to great battleships.

The development of the naval yard at Portsmouth, a few miles away from this Newport News shipyard, is merely the carrying out of plans long formulated by the Navy. And this work is only being done now because, while its importance was recognized in the past by other administrations, the country would not support Congress in voting appropriations sufficiently large for the building of a real Navy.

As C. P. Huntington recognized the superior advantages of the Hampton Roads region, so did H. H. Rogers, who deliberately set out to build a low-grade road from that point to the West Virginia coal fields, and this road to-day hauls the largest average trainloads of any railroad in the United States.

In the Sun of December 30 is this vicious sneer: "Several of the other preparedness measures, such as the nitrate plant, the armor-plate plant, and the naval laboratory, have also found a home in the South."

Now, no one knows, unless it be the committees having the matter in charge, where either the nitrate plant or the armor-plate plant will go. The armor-plate-plant board has recognized that this plant should be built somewhere in the interior, and it has named a number of cities in the West as well as in the South as meeting the conditions required; but no decision has yet been made, and the subcommittee which is to undertake to decide the final point of location has not even investigated the different points named, and therefore has not reached any conclusion. This plant will, we are sure, be located at the point recommended by the subcommittee and approved by the board as the best point for its location; and men who are familiar with the life of Admiral Dewey and his associates on the board are not likely to charge them with being controlled by politicians and selecting a location merely to accommodate politicians.

So far as the location of the nitrate plant is concerned, no final decision has been reached; and if this plant should go to a point in the South its location there would be for the simple reason that a board of experts, moved only by their expert knowledge of the subject, have accepted Nature's decision and selected the point where Nature has given the greatest advantage. There are points in the West vigorously contesting with the South for the location of the plant. The final decision, we are sure, will be made purely from the standpoint of the experts who have been appointed to consider the question, and they will not be controlled by the politicians, nor will the effort of the New York Sun to discredit the South be permitted to influence these experts for or against this section.

If we may judge by the viciousness of the way in which the Sun is carrying on this campaign, it looks upon the South as an unfortunate incumbrance to the Nation rather than as the Nation's greatest asset. It overlooks the fact that Nature has more richly endowed this region with coal and iron, with oil and gas and sulphur and salt, with water powers and timber and agricultural capabilities than it has given to any other part of the United States. There are other sections that have some one of these advantages perhaps in excess of the South, but there is no other section that has such a combination. Indeed, there is no other section of the world that can match the South in this respect.

If the Sun were patriotic, if it looked beyond the provincialism of New York, if it saw with a broad vision, as the whole country is beginning to recognize, that there can be no national safety without the largest development of the South, it might get a new vision of things. It might become a power for good instead of degenerating, as it is now doing, into a common scold, apparently moved by a spirit of mean viciousness to the South.

It is unfortunate for national welfare that at this late date such a spirit should be found ruling in the office of any American newspaper.

What a pity that nature did not deny the South any natural advantage! Then indeed might the Sun have been happy. It is a thousand pities, so far as the Sun is concerned, that this section has three-fifths of the Nation's coast line, with many magnificent harbors; that it has limitless stores of ore and coal; that it has great water powers, including one which surpasses in potentiality all of the power thus far developed at Niagara Falls, and that it produces the cotton crop which for generations has been the basis of the Nation's international trade relations.

How gloriously happy, drunk with the joy of the occasion, would the Sun be if nature had denied to the South these rich resources and made it a land barren of advantages, as barren, indeed, as the vicious attacks which the Sun is now making upon the South are barren of fairness and truth!

Unfortunately, however, nature gave to the South this matchless combination of advantages and unfortunately for its own happiness the Sun can not suppress them, nor can its slanderous attacks completely obliterate their relation to the Nation's welfare.

If New York and Boston and the rest of the East are prosperous it is largely because they have had the South as the producer of the raw materials which have furnished the basis for a very large proportion of our manufacturing industry and of our foreign commerce, including all our cotton, more than 50 per cent of our lumber, all our sulphur, more than 50 per cent of our oil, all our cottonseed products, most of our early vegetables and fruits, most of the coal which runs the factories of New England and many of New York's, all of our rice, all of home-produced cane sugar, much of the granites and marbles that go into the greatest buildings of New York and the East, all of our naval stores, and many other products essential to national progress. Blot out the South and the country's prosperity would be destroyed.

If New York and the East want to be safe against danger in time of war, there is no possible way in which this can be secured except through the utilization of the raw materials and the natural advantages of the South for the production of explosives, of iron and steel and munitions of war, and for the men who would be a vital part of any army of defense to protect every part of the country.

But the Sun utterly ignores these facts and raises the cry of sectionalism as it has not been raised for a generation because, forsooth, it finds in some of the bills now before Congress for public buildings proposed appropriations for small southern towns which should not at present be crowded into the list. And it finds some rivers, about which it knows nothing, which it lightly esteems because of this superfluity of ignorance. When it finds that a river has been used for carrying logs it seems to be bereft of ordinary reason and not to know that the rafting of timber is an essential element in supplying the lumber needed by the country, for it is timber which could not be reached or marketed by railroads. When it finds a projected improvement on a river which has as yet no commerce it ignores the fact that facilities for commerce must be created before commerce can develop.

Its display of ignorance on all of these points is a sad reflection upon the intelligence which once prevailed in the office of the Sun.

The attack on the proposed Mississippi River levee work again displays the hopeless ignorance and the bitter prejudice alike which prevail in the Sun office. The Mississippi River drains the richest valley on earth. The fullest utilization of all the land in that valley is essential to the highest national development.

This river, running its course from the extreme northern limit of the country, passing through many States to the Gulf, can only be adequately handled by the National Government. Leveeing and drainage work must go together.

Roosevelt recognized this situation, as have all other intelligent men who have studied it, and vigorously advocated the drainage of the overflowed lands along the Mississippi and the adequate leveeing of the river to make these lands available.

The cotton manufacturers of New England, knowing what the reclamation of these lands would mean in increased production of fine grades of cotton, have been eager for this work to be done by the National Government.

Great trade organizations in the North and West, like the cotton manufacturers of New England, appreciate this situation and have urged that this bill should be passed.

The Mississippi River levee bill is a measure for national improvement, in its scope infinitely beyond all of the irrigation work that has been done by the Government in the semiarid regions of the West. The land that would be reclaimed would add immensely to the wealth of the country. If put into corn, it could produce a crop greater than the total corn yield of the United States at present.

Neither individual landowners nor States can do this combined drainage and levee work, for the Federal Government controls the management of every river which is navigable, and therefore the responsibility of keeping the Mississippi River within its bounds is a national work, so recognized by public men for a generation, as well as by business men, who certainly have had patriotism as broad as that of the Sun, and whose knowledge of the conditions have been so vastly beyond the Sun's knowledge of the subject that theirs might be counted as a mountain beside a mustard seed as representing the Sun's.

The Rainey Mixed-Flour Bill or an Embargo on Wheat.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY T. RAINEY,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 23, 1917.

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, under the permission granted me to-day to extend my remarks in the RECORD I print herewith certain correspondence with Albin E. Plarre, chairman of the United Bakers of Greater New York and Vicinity. The matter referred to is as follows:

COPY OF LETTER FROM MR. RAINEY TO NEW YORK BAKERS.

DECEMBER 31, 1916.

ALBIN E. PLARRE,
Chairman United Bakers of Greater New York and Vicinity,
61 Broadway, New York City.

DEAR SIR: I am in receipt of your circular letters of recent date in which you discuss the alarming bread situation in the United States, and in which you insist that the way to remedy the situation is to "stop the export leak." In other words, your theory is that there should be no further exportations of wheat. A very striking postal card you send out contains the following language printed in red, "Wheat famine an actual fact!" "Feed America first!" "Why shall the people starve?" "O Lord, give us this day our daily bread!" The figures you submit in your various statements indicate a wheat shortage in this country of a little over 10 per cent.

I have been trying now for nearly two years to repeal the old Spanish-American war tax on mixed flour, which, with its moonshine-whisky regulations, prevents the mixing of corn flour, whether made by the dry or wet process, with wheat flour. It has been demonstrated that a mixture of 20 per cent corn flour or cornstarch and 80 per cent wheat flour produces an excellent bread mixture. I have a bill pending which a number of organizations of bakers and millers in the country are fighting bitterly. It provides not only for the repeal of the Spanish-American War tax and the regulations which go with it, but it provides that mixed flour shall only be composed of the ground product of wheat or corn or some other cereal mixed. It absolutely prevents adulteration of flour, and adulteration is possible under the present mixed-flour law. It requires that each package shall be marked with the names and the percentages of the ingredients contained therein. The present mixed-flour law does not so require. The present mixed-flour law yields a revenue of $2,000 or $3,000 a year, and it costs $25,000 or $30,000 a year to collect this small revenue. The bakers in the country who are fighting my bill insist that they want to keep up the purity of the bread they manufacture, and some of these organizations are contributing large sums for the purpose of defeating my bill. The millers' organizations of the country are contributing still larger sums for the same purpose. Just how these large contributions are to be used I do not know. Whenever there is any likelihood of my bill coming out of the committee Members of Congress are flooded with protests from millers and bakers throughout the country. One Member of Congress told me that he received from millers and bakers 200 telegrams of protest in one day against the food measure I propose.

The United States is a great corn-raising country. It is not a particularly great wheat-raising country. They raise three times as much wheat in Europe as we raise in the United States, but we raise more corn than all the rest of the world. We are at the present time the only Nation in the world which prohibits the mixing of corn flour and wheat flour. An order has just been issued in England requiring that the flour imported into England shall contain not more than 76 per cent of pure wheat flour. Bread made out of pure wheat flour has always sold in Europe cheaper than it sells here, and it is selling there to-day, notwithstanding the great war which prevails, cheaper than it sells in this country. The passage of my bill would add at once 20 per cent to the amount of bread flour in the United States and would more than meet the conditions to which you refer in your communications. An embargo on wheat is a legislative impossibility. It can not be accomplished, and even if it were possible to procure such legislation, would it not be a better plan to remove the tax and the restrictions which go with it upon mixed flour and permit this great industry to assume the position it ought to have in this country?

The great commercial bakers are mixing cornstarch with wheat flour at the present time. With power mixers they are prepared to do it. They are also able to buy cornstarch in carload lots. Small bakers are not able to do this, and, of course, the cornstarch which reaches the retail trade in small packages costs just as much as wheat flour. In a recent issue the Milling and Grain News of St. Louis called attention to the fact that "the largest bakers in the leading centers of this country are using a bread mixture containing as much as 30 per cent cornstarch. Other bakers are using only 10 per cent, but the amount varies from 10 per cent to 30 per cent." This article proceeds to call attention to the fact that a representative of one of the largest corn products manufacturers in the country recently reported that he had sold 50 cars of cornstarch to bakers on a 10-day trip. Commenting upon cornstarch as an ingredient in bread making this article proceeds as follows:

"Cornstarch is now selling around $5 per barrel, Mississippi River points, while flour is worth from $8.50 to $9 per barrel. Figuring flour at $8.75 and cornstarch at $5 a baker can save $111 on every 100 barrels of the mixture he uses. Bakers prefer cornstarch to corn flour, because the starch is a lighter product and mixes better with the flour. However, there are some bakers who are using corn flour. How generally starch is being used by bakers can not be determined as there is a tendency on the part of bakers to keep that information to themselves."

Just at the present time cornstarch can be purchased for $5.97 per barrel. Twenty per cent of the same equals $1.19. Straight flour costs $8.75. Eighty per cent of that equals $7, making the total cost of a barrel of this mixture $8.19. The price of patent flour at the present time is $9.60 per barrel. This means a saving per barrel of $1.41. There would, therefore, be available for all bakers, if the mixed-flour law were repealed, a bread material costing $1.41 less per barrel than the material they now use. A barrel of flour will make 4,900 ounces of dough. It takes 16 ounces of dough to make a 14-ounce loaf. Therefore each barrel of flour will make 306 14-ounce loaves. If these loaves reach the ultimate consumer at 5 cents a loaf the finished product of a barrel of flour costing $9.60 would bring in $15.30. I am aware that in this country we have an unusually expensive system of distribution as applied to bread. The commissions, sales accounts, advertising, overhead expenses, and especially the returned "stales" amount in the aggregate to a considerable sum. You, however, do not use patent flour at $9.60 per barrel, but the cheaper grades, and you are not now selling a 14-ounce loaf, but a loaf that weighs considerably less. Therefore, the difference between the cost of a barrel of flour and the completed product when delivered to the producer is considerably more than I have indicated above.

I am not aware that your organization has taken a position yet on my mixed-flour bill. I am sending you some copies of a speech I made on the subject on the 25th of August in the House of Representatives. Inasmuch as the larger bakers of your city, of Boston, and other cities are now mixing cornstarch or corn flour with their flour I desire to submit that it would solve the problem to which you call attention absolutely if the restrictions on the business of mixing flour were removed and if mixed flour was permitted to go on sale in New York and throughout the country. I am calling attention to this situation hoping to obtain the support of your organization for my bill, which secures for the country, if it passes, a purer and a more wholesome flour than anything now on the market, and which supplies absolutely the shortage in bread-making material in this country to which you call attention in your communications.

Very truly, yours,

HENRY T. RAINEY.

REPLY OF NEW YORK BAKERS.

UNITED BAKERS OF GREATER NEW YORK AND VICINITY,
61 Broadway, New York, January 20, 1917.

Mr. H. T. RAINEY, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am in receipt of your letter of December 31 and have noted its contents. I am in favor of your bill and so are most of the retail bakers throughout the country. We believe that the old Spanish-American War tax on flour should be repealed, and also that a correct statement of the contents of a loaf should be made on the wrapper. Opposition seems to come mostly from mills and from the wholesale bakers for obvious selfish reasons. The mixing of wheat with corn, however, would not solve the problem as it presents itself to-day. In the first instance, there is a shortage of corn just as well as of wheat. In the second instance, the wheat shortage will become aggravated as time goes on throughout the world on account of lack of labor, fertilizer, and also a lack of wheat seed of good quality. Another thing, we believe that if the people decide to eat bread composed of mixed flour, say, 80 per cent wheat and 20 per cent corn, they should do so voluntarily and not under compulsion—this country does not want compulsion in any form—public or private, general or special; it wants freedom to eat wheat bread or corn bread just as it likes, and the country is right. Why should the wheat of this country be exported to foreign countries and we go short? If the export is stopped, and then it is found that there is still a shortage, it will then be time to recommend a mixture of wheat and corn.

I hope you will see the fault of your argument and assist in the stopping of the export of wheat.

Yours, very truly,

ALBIN E. PLARRE, *Chairman.*

REPLY OF MR. RAINEY TO NEW YORK BAKERS.

JANUARY 23, 1917.

Mr. ALBIN E. PLARRE,
61 Broadway, New York City.

DEAR SIR: I greatly appreciate your letter of January 20, in the matter of the repeal of the old Spanish-American War tax on mixed flour. Your position is absolutely correct. Opposition to my bill comes mostly from the large millers and from the wholesale bakers for reasons that are entirely selfish.

I would be very glad indeed to have your cooperation in my efforts to get this tax removed, and I ought to have the cooperation of bakers generally throughout the country. The large commercial bakers are using starch to-day in enormous quantities, and consumers of their products do not know the difference. Their position, however, in opposing my bill, which would permit placing on the market a product composed of wheat flour and corn flour, or cornstarch, while they are using cornstarch surreptitiously, is indefensible. The bread they make, of course, is just as good as pure wheat-flour bread; in fact, there are many people who think it is better.

There may be at the present time a slight corn shortage in the country, and that, together with the upward tendency of prices, has brought about the present high price of corn. The fact remains, however, that even at the present high price of corn and wheat a mixture of 20 per cent corn flour or cornstarch with 80 per cent wheat flour will produce a bread mixture which would make it possible for the ultimate consumer to get a 16-ounce loaf for 5 cents, and still preserve the present profit margins for wholesalers and retailers. Of course the people should use mixed flour voluntarily, and there is no possible way of compelling them to use it.

My bill provides for the marking of packages containing mixed flour with the words "mixed flour" and with the percentages of all ingredients also plainly marked on the package. It would be impossible to put mineral substances or any substances other than the ground product of grains in a package of mixed flour under my bill. Under the present laws mineral substances can be mixed with flour, whether pure wheat flour or mixed flour, provided they are not deleterious to health, and one of the largest baking concerns in this country at the present time is placing plaster of Paris in the flour out of which they make their bread, and is brazenly admitting that they are doing so, and while this company is also using at the present time cornstarch in enormous quantities, they are opposing my bill, which would permit small bakers and housewives to purchase mixed flour on the market. Of course the large bakers are able to buy cornstarch in carload lots, and they are doing it. With power mixers they can do their own mixing.

I am not making any argument for corn bread or for corn meal. Corn meal and corn bread has its place in the country. Corn flour, however, whether made by the dry or the wet process, is a different proposition

from corn meal. Very few people in this country ever saw corn flour made by the dry process. Our laws enacted in the interest of the northwestern millers and the large bakers have absolutely killed this industry.

I have no objection to marking the loaves of bread as you suggest, so as to indicate the contents of the package. This, however, would be a matter for local legislation, just as wrapping the bread is a matter for local legislation.

I desire to again repeat that an embargo on wheat is a legislative impossibility. Farmers through the country will not stand for it, and a great majority of the Members of Congress represent farming constituencies. I know of no more reason why there should be an embargo on wheat, because wheat commands to-day a high price than that there should be an embargo on shoes because shoes command a high price. All products produced in this country for exportation are higher to-day than they have been in recent years. If the embargo principle you advocate is to be applied to all articles which have increased in price, the end of our prosperity would come and a period of depression would ensue unparalleled in the history of nations, and there is absolutely no reason why the embargo principle should not be employed as against all articles if it is to be employed as against one. The principle you advocate carried to its legitimate conclusion would end our participation in international trade and commerce. In a half a year from now the new crop of winter wheat will be coming on the market. The winter so far has been mild. There are no reports from the winter-wheat belt of injuries to wheat by freezing. In less than 60 days we will be able to determine with reasonable accuracy the magnitude of the winter-wheat crop of the country, and the situation of the winter-wheat crop soon will affect in all probability to a certain degree the price of wheat. It may go lower or it may possibly go higher; but no matter what the price is, my bill should be passed and a cheaper bread material should be placed upon the market. There is no danger of a surplus of bread products—no nation in the world ever had too much bread.

Inasmuch as your proposition is absolutely impossible, I ought to have, I submit, the active support of your organization and of the small bakers throughout the country for my bill.

Yours, very truly,

HENRY T. RAINEY.

The Public Revenues Should Come From a Natural Fund Resulting From Social Growth and Not From the Earnings of Those Who Toil.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 24, 1917.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, the question of revenue is paramount at this time. Never before in the history of this country in time of peace have the demands upon the Federal Treasury been even approximately what they are to-day. We are confronted with a deficit estimated at almost half a billion. We are proposing to increase taxes before the close of the present session by no less than $200,000,000, yet this will leave us facing the necessity of an increase of more than that a year hence.

It is not necessary for me to repeat what has been said by me on this floor so often before, that I regard the tremendous expenditures to which we have committed and are still committing ourselves as utterly without warrant. They are in response to a mere craze, which has been skillfully and sedulously worked up by those who have profited or who hope in some way to profit. The people whose fears have been played upon are honest enough. They have merely been deceived into an acceptance of the idea that their future safety depends upon the building of a great Navy and the creation of a huge standing Army. If they once become aroused to the deceit to which they have been subjected, they will make short work of the deceivers.

But while the revenue question is the overshadowing one, and while the country is considering taxation with a view to determining what new forms shall be adopted or what new subjects shall be resorted to in meeting a manufactured emergency, may I not venture to invite attention to a fundamental discussion of the matter by presenting in this connection a short article from the pen of the late Henry George, setting forth his philosophy of taxation in clear outlines and enforcing the proposition that there is a natural resource in obtaining public funds in disregarding which society makes itself responsible for a train of evils it seeks in vain to overcome by palliative means?

There is a growing interest all over the world in Henry George's economic philosophy, and for this reason I feel that I am justified in presenting here a short extract from his writings, which I am sure will appeal to thoughtful men of all classes who may to-day be studying the immediate problem confronting this Government. I therefore make no apology for laying before the House and before the country the following:

THE SINGLE TAX—WHAT IT IS AND WHY WE URGE IT.

[By Henry George.]

I shall briefly state the fundamental principles of what we who advocate it call the single tax.

We propose to abolish all taxes save one single tax levied on the value of land, irrespective of the value of the improvements in or on it.

What we propose is not a tax on real estate, for real estate includes improvements. Nor is it a tax on land, for we would not tax all land, but only land having a value irrespective of its improvements, and would tax that in proportion to that value.

Our plan involves the imposition of no new tax, since we already tax land values in taxing real estate. To carry it out we have only to abolish all taxes save the tax on real estate, and to abolish all of that which now falls on buildings or improvements, leaving only that part of it which now falls on the value of the bare land, increasing that so as to take as nearly as may be the whole of economic rent, or what is sometimes styled the "unearned increment of land values."

That the value of the land alone would suffice to provide all needed public revenues—municipal, county, State, and National—there is no doubt.

To show briefly why we urge this change, let me treat (1) of its expediency, and (2) of its justice.

From the single tax we may expect these advantages:

1. It would dispense with a whole army of tax gatherers and other officials which present taxes require, and place in the Treasury a much larger proportion of what is taken from the people, while by making Government simpler and cheaper it would tend to make it purer. It would get rid of taxes which necessarily promote fraud, perjury, bribery, and corruption, which lead men into temptation, and which tax what the Nation can least afford to spare—honesty and conscience. Since land lies out of doors and can not be removed, and its value is the most readily ascertained of all values, the tax to which we would resort can be collected with the minimum of cost and the least strain on public morals.

2. It would enormously increase the production of wealth—

(a) By the removal of the burdens that now weigh upon industry and thrift. If we tax houses, there will be fewer and poorer houses; if we tax machinery, there will be less machinery; if we tax trade, there will be less trade; if we tax capital, there will be less capital; if we tax savings, there will be less savings. All the taxes therefore that we should abolish are those that repress industry and lessen wealth. But if we tax land values there will be no less land.

(b) On the contrary, the taxation of land values has the effect of making land more easily available by industry, since it makes it more difficult for owners of valuable land which they themselves do not care to use to hold it idle for a larger future price. While the abolition of taxes on labor and the products of labor would free the active element of production, the taking of land values by taxation would free the passive element by destroying speculative land values and preventing the holding out of use of land needed for use. If anyone will but look around to-day and see the unused or half-used land, the idle labor, the unemployed or poorly employed capital, he will get some idea of how enormous would be the production of wealth were all the forces of production free to engage.

(c) The taxation of the processes and products of labor on the one hand and the insufficient taxation of land values on the other produce an unjust distribution of wealth, which is building up in the hands of a few fortunes more monstrous than the world has ever before seen, while the masses of our people are steadily becoming relatively poorer. These taxes necessarily fall on the poor more heavily than on the rich; by increasing prices they necessitate a larger capital in all businesses, and consequently give an advantage to large capitals; and they give, and in some cases are designed to give, special advantages and monopolies to combinations and trusts. On the other hand, the insufficient taxation of land values enables men to make large fortunes by land speculation and the increase in ground values, fortunes which do not represent any addition by them to the general wealth of the community but merely the appropriation by some of what the labor of others creates.

This unjust distribution of wealth develops on the one hand a class idle and wasteful because they are too rich and on the other hand a class idle and wasteful because they are too poor. It deprives men of capital and opportunities which would make them more efficient producers. It thus greatly diminishes production.

(d) The unjust distribution which is giving us the hundredfold millionaire on the one side and the tramp and pauper on the other generates thieves, gamblers, and social parasites of all kinds, and requires large expenditures of money and energy in watchmen, policemen, courts, prisons, and other means of defense and repression. It kindles a greed of gain and a worship of wealth and produces a bitter struggle for existence which fosters drunkenness, increases insanity, and causes men whose energies ought to be devoted to honest production to spend their time and strength in cheating and grabbing from each other. Besides the moral loss, all this involves an enormous economic loss which the single tax would save.

(e) The taxes we would abolish fall most heavily on the poorer agricultural districts and tend to drive population and wealth from them to the great cities. The tax we would increase would destroy that monopoly of land, which is the great cause of that distribution of population which is crowding the people too closely together in some places and scattering them too far apart in other places. Families live on top of one another in cities because of the enormous speculative prices at which vacant lots are held. In the country they are scattered too far apart for social intercourse and convenience, because, instead of each taking what land he can use, everyone who can grabs all he can get, in the hope of profiting by its increase of value, and the next man must pass farther on. Thus we have scores of families living under a single roof and other families living in dugouts on the prairies afar from neighbors—some living too close to each other for moral, mental, or physical health, and others too far separated for the stimulating and refining influences of society. The wastes in health, in mental vigor, and in unnecessary transportation result in great economic losses which the single tax would save.

Let us turn to the moral side and consider the question of justice.

The right of property does not rest on human laws; they have often ignored and violated it. It rests on natural laws—that is to say, the law of God. It is clear and absolute, and every violation of it, whether committed by a man or a nation, is a violation of the command, "Thou shalt not steal." The man who catches a fish, grows an apple, raises a calf, builds a house, makes a coat, paints a picture, constructs a machine, has, as to any such thing, an exclusive right of ownership, which carries with it the right to give, to sell, or bequeath that thing.

But who made the earth that any man can claim such ownership of it, or any part of it, or the right to give, sell, or bequeath it? Since the earth was not made by us, but is only a temporary dwelling place, on which one generation of men follow another; since we find ourselves here, are manifestly here with equal permission of the Creator, it is manifest that no one can have any exclusive right of ownership in land, and that the rights of all men to land must be equal and inalienable. There must be an exclusive right of possession of land, for the man who uses it must have secure possession of land in order to reap the products of his labor. But his right of possession must be limited by the equal right of all, and should therefore be conditioned on the payment to the community by the possessor of an equivalent for any special valuable privilege thus accorded him.

When we tax houses, crops, money, furniture, capital, or wealth in any of its forms we take from individuals what rightfully belongs to them. We violate the right of property and in the name of the State commit robbery. But when we tax ground values we take from individuals what does not belong to them, but belongs to the community, and which can not be left to individuals without the robbery of other individuals.

Think what the value of land is. It has no reference to the cost of production, as has the value of houses, horses, ships, clothes, or other things produced by labor, for land is not produced by man; it was created by God. The value of land does not come from the exertion of labor on land, for the value thus produced is a value of improvement. That value attached to any piece of land means that that piece of land is more desirable than the land which other citizens may obtain, and that they are more willing to pay a premium for permission to use it. Justice, therefore, requires that this premium of value shall be taken for the benefit of all in order to secure to all their equal rights.

Consider the difference between the value of a building and the value of land. The value of a building, like the value of goods or of anything properly styled wealth, is produced by individual exertion, and therefore properly belongs to the individual; but the value of land only arises with the growth and improvement of the community, and therefore properly belongs to the community. It is not because of what its owners have done, but because of the presence of the whole great population that land in New York is worth millions an acre. This value, therefore, is the proper fund for defraying the common expenses of the whole population; and it must be taken for public use, under penalty of generating land speculation and monopoly which will bring about artificial scarcity where the Creator has provided in abundance for all whom His providence has called into existence. It is thus a violation of justice to tax labor or the things produced by labor, and it is also a violation of justice not to tax land values.

These are the fundamental reasons for which we urge the single tax, believing it to be the greatest and most fundamental of all reforms. We do not think it will change human nature. That man can never do, but it will bring about conditions in which human nature can develop what is best, instead of as now, in so many cases, what is worst. It will permit such an enormous production as we can now hardly conceive. It will secure an equitable distribution. It will solve the labor problem and dispel the darkening clouds which are now gathering over the horizon of our civilization. It will make undeserved poverty an unknown thing. It will check the soul-destroying greed of gain. It will enable men to be at least as honest, as true, as considerate, and as high-minded as they would like to be. It will remove temptation to lying, false swearing, bribery, and lawbreaking. It will open to all, even the poorest, the comforts and refinements and opportunities of an advancing civilization. It will thus, so we reverently believe, clear the way for the coming of that kingdom of right and justice, and consequently of abundance and peace and happiness, for which the Master told His disciples to pray and work. It is not that it is a promising invention or cunning device that we look for the single tax to do all this, but it is because it involves a conforming of the most important and fundamental adjustments of society to the supreme law of justice, because it involves the basing of the most important of our laws on the principle that we should do to others as we would be done by.

The readers of this article, I may fairly presume, believe, as I believe, that there is a world for us beyond this. The limit of space has prevented me from putting before them more than some hints for thought. Let me in conclusion present two more:

1. What would be the result in heaven itself if those who get there first instituted private property in the surface of heaven and parceled it out in absolute ownership among themselves, as we parcel out the surface of the earth?

2. Since we can not conceive of a heaven in which the equal rights of God's children to their Father's bounty is denied, as we now deny them on this earth, what is the duty enjoined on Christians by the daily prayer, "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done, on earth, as it is in heaven"?

THE SPIRIT OF HENRY GEORGE.

I propose to beg no question, to shrink from no conclusion, but to follow truth wherever it may lead. Upon us is the responsibility of seeking the law, for in the very heart of our civilization to-day women faint and little children moan. But what that law may prove to be is not our affair. If the conclusions that we reach run counter to our prejudices let us not flinch; if they challenge institutions that have long been deemed wise and natural let us not turn back. (Henry George in "Progress and Poverty.")

Post-Office Building, Claremont, N. H.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD H. WASON,

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 19, 1917,

On the bill H. R. 18994, the public-buildings bill.

Mr. WASON. Mr. Speaker, in order that any person who desires to know the facts relative to the item in the so-called "omnibus public-buildings bill," authorizing the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a post-office building at Claremont, N. H., and appropriating for said purpose the sum of $55,000, I desire to say:

The present post office is centrally located in the thickly settled part of this progressive and enterprising town, and its present location has been the location of the office for the last 20 years.

The furnishings thereof are the same furnishings that were installed with the opening of the office at that time, and with the exception of the carriers' cases, which were installed 16 years ago, no changes have been made. The equipment to-day is inadequate and insufficient to meet the needs of the office. Part of this equipment was cheaply constructed and poorly finished in the beginning, and usage all these years have made it rickety and inconvenient for use.

The portion of the room used by the officials and employees of the office is dark and artificial light is necessary all the time while work is being done. The only means of ventilation is by open doors and windows, and the doors and windows are not screened, so that it is unsafe to have any of them open in the portion of the room where the post-office work is being performed.

The sanitary conditions are imperfect and would be condemned by any expert inspector.

In 1900 the post-office force included the postmaster and four clerks. Now it includes the postmaster, assistant postmaster, and seven clerks, with no increase of floor space. In 1901 city delivery was established, and three carriers and one substitute employed. Now, there are five regular carriers and three substitute carriers; two of the substitutes working nearly all of the time and the third works a large portion of the time. A few years ago rural free-delivery service was established, covering 60 miles of highway, consisting of three routes, requiring three carriers. With this addition the office became more congested.

There are no provisions for lockers for carriers and their wardrobes consist of the floor and hooks or nails on the walls. The carriers' delivery window is so far from their cases that every evening the cases have to be moved to the window for delivery service. This delivery window is within 3 feet of the stamp and general-delivery window; the two windows being in such close proximity, does not afford sufficient room for patrons at either window, and on the inside the clerk at the stamp and general-delivery window is crowded by carriers, which encroaches upon the room that each ought to have for the convenient performance of their respective duties.

The postal business is transacted through two stamp windows occupying a shelf space only 21 inches wide and 60 inches long.

The money order, registry, and savings business is conducted through two windows side by side, and occupying shelf space 21 inches wide and 72 inches long.

In 1900 the number of money orders issued was 3,479 domestic orders and 137 international orders. In 1916 the orders issued had increased to 18,396 domestic orders and 330 international orders.

In the postal savings branch of the service there are daily transactions with $16,836 on deposit.

Another activity, the parcel post, has added work and requires additional space, but still the office room is the same as it was 20 years ago. With the rush of extra business at Christmas time it is now necessary to use the whole basement or cellar for parcel-post matter. This basement is without conveniences; is a very cold place to work in at this time of the year, and is poorly ventilated and artificially lighted.

In addition to the foregoing activities there are two star routes from this office, which serve four post offices, which means a large amount of extra work in the distribution of transit mail.

In the storing of the office records the only available place is a small room partitioned off from the workroom; it is not fireproof, is congested, and is an unsafe place for keeping permanent records. Current records are kept in a small safe, that is not large enough for all, and only a small portion of the stock of postage stamps can be kept in this safe in the office. From ten to fifteen thousand dollars' worth of stamps have to be kept in the vault at one of the national banks. All other stamped papers, envelopes, and wrappers are carried in wooden closets, without protection from destruction by fire.

Some indication of the steady and consistent growth of the work necessary for the maintenance of this office will be seen by a glance at the postal receipts: In 1900 they amounted to $10,895.53, in 1910 to $19,142.85, in 1916 to $25,428.09. Thus it will be seen in a period of 16 years the postal receipts of this office have increased nearly 250 per cent, and yet with the increased force to perform the work, with the increase in the volume of business transacted, the quarters and equipment have remained practically unchanged.

There is no building other than the present location that is available or obtainable in the central part of the village suitable for the accommodation of the post office in case it should attempt to change its present quarters.

Can any candid person reason that this office of to-day, thus equipped and maintained, can conveniently, properly, and adequately serve a growing and progressive community like the enterprising town of Claremont?

The population of this town is stable, its growt is normal; it possesses a fine Carnegie library building, eight churches, a modern town hall and auditorium building, suitable school buildings, including a large, modern high-school building, and many substantial business blocks occupied by stores, offices, and lodges, also a splendid hotel structure, with modern conveniences, and this is a very popular and convenient hostelry.

I desire to call your attention to the substantial business and manufacturing establishments: The Sullivan Machine Co., with a capital of $2,000,000, doing a large manufacturing business in iron and steel products, employing more than a thousand skilled mechanics. The Monadnock Mills, a large manufacturing plant, producing cotton and woolen goods and employing nearly the same number of men and women. There are three paper mills—the Claremont Paper Co., the Jarvis Paper Co., and the Coy Paper Co. John Roberts, who operates a woolen mill; Rolla Barney, who owns and operates a shoddy plant. There are two shoe shops—the McElwain Co. and the Maynard Shoe Co.—and three woodworking establishments, all active and furnishing employment to a large number of persons. The pay rolls of these establishments amount to more than $35,000 per week.

Two prosperous national banks and one savings bank are located here.

Claremont is served by two railroad lines, it being the junction of the Concord & Claremont road and the Connecticut River System. An electric street railway was installed a few years ago and is operated the year round in the thickly settled portion of Claremont.

In 1900 the official census showed 7,529 inhabitants. A recent canvass, taken for directory purposes, indicates a population of 10,000 inhabitants.

From the foregoing items I believe that the honorable Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds of this Congress were well within the rule of reason and fair play when they unanimously reported this item in their bill; and critics, if any there are, who may desire to cast reflections upon the judgment of the committee for any portion of this bill I trust will be fair enough to give the committee credit with reference to this item and many others, if not all, of exercising sound judgment and fairness to the appeals from the inhabitants of this enterprising, progressive, substantial, and patriotic town, situate on the southwestern slope of Croydon Mountain, resplendent with the reflected rays of the setting sun upon the waters of the Connecticut River. Here we find the population enjoying the rewards of modern agriculture and industries, a prosperous, contented, loyal people, firm believers in America, her people, her institutions, and her future; and may this slight token of recognition by the Government continue to instill in the hearts and minds of the inhabitants and their successors the love and loyalty to our Government that always has and does exist to-day.

Public-Buildings Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENIGNO C. HERNANDEZ,

OF NEW MEXICO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 19, 1917.

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Mr. Speaker, the bill under consideration contains an item for a public building at Silver City, N. Mex., which State I have the honor to represent in this august body. This is a very meritorious item, which was asked for in a bill introduced by me in the House on March 28, 1916, in which I asked for $100,000, and the committee in its consideration of the various items allowed $60,000, which had been agreed upon.

Silver City is a town of about 5,000 or more people and is growing very fast. It is the county seat of Grant County and is the headquarters of the United States Forest Service for the Gila Forest Reserve. The post-office receipts for the past year

were close unto $18,000, and it is the headquarters and trading center of a very large and wealthy mining district, covering some of the largest mines in the country. The bank deposits for the past year were over $2,500,000, and its mercantile and banking business is as large, if not larger, than any other city in the State.

The State of New Mexico has now two Federal buildings, one in Santa Fe, which was erected in the early eighties and is very small, now used as a land office, United States Surveyor General's office, and the United States court, and one in Albuquerque, used as a post office. Congress in its third session of the Sixty-third Congress provided in its public-building bill for other post-office buildings throughout the State, namely, one in Santa Fe, with an appropriation of $295,000; one in Las Vegas, with $125,000; one in Raton, with $75,000; and one in Las Cruces, the site for which has been provided and accepted by the Government, but all the others are awaiting the action of the Supervising Architect's Office.

I voted for this bill not only for the reason that it carries an appropriation for my State but because I think its provisions are commendable. People living in small towns and cities are entitled to have their post offices and other Government business properly attended to, and in order to have the proper room and accommodations they feel that this class of buildings should be as good and better than any other class of buildings, so that they can point with pride to the homes of the United States officials.

It instills in the citizen a sentiment of patriotism as well as pride—proud of their city and proud of their Government.

The term "pork" in an appropriation bill similar to this one does not appeal to the people.

What is meant by "pork" in an approriation bill like this? If by that term it means the improvement of our seaports, the improvement of a Government building in Washington, or for our public parks, and such like, then I say that it is a mistaken term to use, because Government properties have specific values, besides making a home for the officials, with comfort during their working hours.

I will not say that the term "pork" can not be used in any sense, but most certainly it is not applicable in a meritorious measure like this.

It is high time to call a halt on this absurd cry whenever a measure is introduced for public improvements in the Congress of the United States.

It is also absurd to believe that with an insignificant appropriation of from $50,000 to $200,000 for the erection of a public building here and there for the housing of Government officials the term "pork" would or could be applied.

We are willing to tax ourselves, so that we can construct ships, improve our seaports by building beautiful customhouses, improve our harbors, erect magnificent monuments, and so forth, and we do not begrudge these improvements for the betterment of the service, and we have voted to have these appropriations made, and will vote for the revenue to meet them, but we expect that we of New Mexico should also be assisted in getting sufficient revenue for the erection of our own buildings and improvements of which we are in so much need.

Because certain newspapers are severe and unfair in their criticism, and raise the cry whenever a bill for improvements is presented, insinuating by inuendo that it is legislation of questionable character and not for the benefit of the public at large, are we for this reason going to show our weakness and one-sidedness by trying to defeat measures that are for the good of the public at large, in the communities where such improvements will be had, and for the Government employees in particular? No.

We are all aware of the immense demands now made upon the Treasury from all sources, but this piece of legislation can not cause an immediate demand upon the Treasury of the United States, because the items authorized herein will not be reached in all probability within 18 months to 2 years, although it obligates the Government in a way to comply with the letter of the bill just passed, and we can certainly raise sufficient revenue by that time to cover the authorizations made in this bill and others of like nature.

The cry of "pork" should not frighten us; we have heard the cry before and will hear it again and many times when appropriations are made for such measures as this one.

We are living in a large country, and we must expect to have many millions of dollars in appropriations, in order to handle the business of the Government and beautify our cities and our country.

Public-Buildings Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT C. DICKINSON,
OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 24, 1917.

Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word. I have no desire to take up the time of the House at this time in discussing this bill that provides for the purchase of post-office sites in three cities in the district which I have the honor to represent, to wit, El Dorado Springs, Rich Hill, and Windsor, being cities of about 3,000 inhabitants and the postal receipts of about $8,000 and over—all three thriving, growing, industrial centers, and up-to-date cities, with many business activities therein, and each one surrounded by thickly populated rural communities that are supplied with mail facilities by the post offices therein. Each post office therein is a clearing house for the respective communities and yields revenues far beyond the expenses of said offices, and it is but natural that the people of these communities should desire a public post-office building erected from the surplus postal receipts of said office.

It is not sufficient to say that the Government can rent a storeroom at less expense than it can maintain its own public building. The same argument would hold against the erection of a courthouse building or a public hall or a church or any other building erected to meet the demands and wishes of any community. The same argument would hold against the expenditure of millions of dollars for the erection of public buildings, Federal and municipal, in the great cities of the country. The same argument would hold against the erection of a capitol building in the several States of the Union; against the erection of public-school buildings and of homes, because the costs thereof and maintenance is greater than would or could be expended by the renting of cheaper buildings and rooms for such purposes.

The criticism against this bill is not directed against the appropriation of large sums running into the millions of dollars for the erection of magnificent buildings in the great cities, but is directed against the erection of Federal buildings for comparatively moderate amounts to meet the necessities and conveniences of the rural cities and communities, who daily transact an immense business through these Federal post offices.

Those who are attacking this measure and charge it as a "pork-barrel" measure, because it provides throughout the United States for moderate-sized Federal post-office buildings at possibly a greater price for maintenance than rooms to be rented for the transaction of this business, forget apparently that the same argument could be used against the erection of enormous Federal post-office buildings in great cities, against which they offer no objections whatever.

This bill authorizes the expenditure of a little over $30,000,000, of which about $6,000,000 go to the small cities and towns throughout the United States, or about one-fifth of it. It is the first omnibus public-buildings bill within four years, or about one and a half million dollars a year for each of the four years to the rural communities of this Republic—not now appropriated for, but only authorized and to be appropriated for in the future, when the time comes for the erection of said buildings.

A million and a half dollars annually for rural purposes out of a billion and a half dollars annually for all the demands of Government means $1 contributed to the rural districts out of $1,000 appropriated annually for all other expenditures; and the attack upon it as a "pork-barrel" bill comes largely from the metropolitan press located in the great cities, where millions of dollars are spent for the upbuilding of the great cities and for military and naval preparedness.

They would take all the surplus revenue of the country, gathered from the post offices of the small cities and towns, and spend them in the great cities. They would encourage the upbuilding of the cities, to the detriment of the country districts. They would drive the population from the country into the cities. I believe in the internal development of our country, and particularly of the agricultural sections; Federal buildings of reasonable expense in small cities, to meet the demands of those communities, as well as large buildings at greater expense, to meet the demands of the great cities and the country tributary thereto. Let all develop together and neither unduly at the expense of the other.

If the Government of this country will care for the agricultural sections to the extent that it has cared and is caring for the great cities, and do and aid in the building up and protection of the interests of the farming communities to the extent that it has in the great cities of our land, there would be less centralization and more prosperity throughout the length and breadth of our country. The cities can not live without the farms. The prosperity of the cities depends upon the prosperity of the rural sections.

In every city of $10,000 receipts there ought to be a Federal post-office building where the post-office activities can be handled with more facility and with less congestion than where a rented storeroom is unable to meet the demands and necessities and conveniences of the people. The Post Office Department is the greatest business department of the Government, yielding annually over $300,000,000, and self-supporting. Its receipts come from all sections of the country. Let all sections be treated alike, as far as can be.

While the great cities are being beautified by the lavish expenditures of millions of public money in the erection of magnificent buildings, ornamental as well as useful, spend a fair share of the enormous postal receipts to meet the reasonable necessities of the smaller cities and towns. While spending hundreds of millions of dollars for battleships, mighty engines of war, to protect the great coast cities from possible destruction, let us not forget that agriculture is the chief and most necessary industry of this Nation, and that the life of the Nation depends upon the prosperity of the farm. Internal improvement should not be forgotten amid the cry of preparedness against wars that may never come.

Both in peace and in war the Nation must look to the farm for the necessities of life. If you would avoid the dangers that come from centralization of wealth and power, look to the development of the agricultural sections, and revolutions will be less frequent and the Nation will live longer and be happier and more prosperous.

River and Harbor Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. BROWNING,

OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 22, 1917.

Mr. BROWNING. Mr. Speaker, an objector to practically every item in an omnibus bill serves a very good purpose indeed, for he calls to the attention of the country the character of the items carried in the measure, and I am sure the individual sponsors for these items welcome the opportunity of rising in their places to defend them.

It is quite an easy matter to stand off and criticize this rivers and harbors bill, and it has grown to be the fashion to do so, to dub it the "pork barrel," and to seek to bring discredit upon Members introducing the bills and upon the splendid committee who thrash them out, assemble them, and bring them into this House.

Now, there is never a single item reported that is not fully explained by the various experts who have investigated it, and these explanations are set forth in printed reports, accessible to all Members who desire information concerning them. One might almost believe, from the charges brought by critics of this measure, who spring up from time to time and flourish temporarily in the limelight, that all a Member of Congress has to do is to whisper to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors that he desires an appropriation for a river or rivers in his district, and, presto, out rolls the money. As a matter of fact, there is no legislation so well safeguarded as that for river and harbor improvement. First and foremost, a petition for this assistance must come from responsible people of a location, and they must show conclusively the soundness of their claim for Federal help; their claim and prayers must be presented to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors by the Member introducing the bill, and, provided the necessities of a sufficiently large number of residents seem to warrant an investigation, the committee reports favorably a preliminary survey. The Congress then authorizes and directs the War Department to make the survey, and engineers and experts of the Government proceed with that work. Upon their report, which is submitted to Congress by the Secretary of War, it is decided whether or not an appropriation will be considered for the project. If such report is favorable, a second bill must be introduced, proposing that the appropriation be made. Again the whole matter is thrown upon the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, and they consider and weigh the report or reports of the various War Department officials and submit their report to the House. Now, these Army officers have no connection with the Congress—they are not political appointees—and it is inconceivable that they, together with the people asking for the project, the Member who introduces the bill, and the gentlemen of the Rivers and Harbors Committee are all in collusion and keep the facts out of sight and state conditions which do not exist, for the purpose of wringing money from the Treasury for an unworthy object.

So far as I am concerned, Mr. Speaker, I am proud to stand here and support an appropriation for the deepening of the Delaware River in front of the city of Camden, and I invite all who are skeptical or critical or enterprising to go up there and look from shore to shore of the Delaware River at that point. The skeptical and critical will be convinced of the absolute worthiness of the project, and the enterprising will be mightily tempted to drive stakes there and seek to improve their opportunities along with the developments that are bound to come to Camden as a great port of this country. She is now a city with a population of nearly 103,000. Her manufacturing establishments number about 350, in which are made almost everything wearable, edible, useful, and luxurious. Nobody asks where Camden is located. Everybody knows, for her fame is abroad. "His Master's Voice" has carried far. The little steel pen found on the desk of almost every business man, in countinghouses, on boudoir desks, and in schools and colleges proclaims its birthplace. Campbell's soups—"six plates for 10 cents"—the food that has not "gone up," is familiar refreshment all over the civilized world. Many of the greatest battleships of our Navy slid down "the ways" from the New York Shipbuilding Plant in Camden while being christened. Yes; the enterprise and business activities centered in that city on the Delaware have advertised her broadly.

Camden has a water-borne traffic of three and a quarter million tons of freight, valued at nearly $26,000,000, and this traffic will be wonderfully increased when we have a sufficient depth of water to permit deeper draft vessels to land at our wharves. The water front of Philadelphia, just opposite, is almost beyond expansion, and Camden is bound to become to that great metropolis what Jersey City and Brooklyn are to the city of New York. We have a frontage on the Delaware River of 6 miles, plentifully strewn with large business establishments, dealing in lumber, cork, licorice, chalk, soap, metal polish, whiting, Paris green, ranges and heaters, and talking-machine works, and numerous ship building and repair yards. Flowing through the center of the city, in confluence with the Delaware, is the Cooper River, navigable 9 miles, and likewise dotted with numerous and thriving manufacturing establishments.

The industries of Camden, which are widely diversified, include the most important of the country, some of them the largest of their kind. There are machine shops, large foundries, woolen and worsted mills, leather manufactories, shoe factories, chemical works, candy factories, cigar factories, paint and varnish laboratories, and in fact almost every article known to productive industry has its representative establishment in this wide-awake and enterprising city.

Until 1885 the natural channel of the Delaware River was on the Camden side, but in carrying out the Government project for the improvement of the Philadelphia Harbor a dike was built from Fishers Point, on the Jersey shore, to the eastern point of Pettys Island, a distance of 3,500 feet. This dike, with an opening of only 300 feet, was built notwithstanding the protests of Camden interests, and those of the governor of New Jersey, the State legislature, and the riparian commission. The result of the diversion of the water from its natural channel has been shoaling all along the Camden water front, and the relief by the Government of this condition is not only logical but is really only an act of justice long deferred. The necessities for deeper water are great and pressing.

The city, realizing the importance of developing its commerce, has secured the passage of State laws under which the development of its water front may be carried out; bonds may be issued for the acquisition of water-front property and for the building of docks and other harbor facilities. Pettys Island, a part of New Jersey, situated at the upper end of the Philadelphia Harbor, and partly bordering on the upper portion of the proposed 18-foot channel, has recently been purchased by two very large concerns—the Crew-Levick Co. and the Wm. Cramp & Sons Ship & Engine Building Co. Extensive plans for its development have been made, which will involve an outlay of several million dollars. The island will be connected with the main New Jersey shore by a railroad bridge, and thus

directly link rail and water transportation at this point. The Crew-Levick Co. has announced that they propose to use this property as their principal export station in this country, and as the company is one of the largest engaged in refining and shipping oil and petroleum products, it means the building up of a large export-trade center. Warehouses, wharves, and docks will be built, and as the channel on the Pennsylvania side of the island is none too wide, it is reasonably certain that these piers will have to be erected on the side facing the New Jersey Channel. Vessels going to and from these docks will want to use the east side of the river. and the channel provided for will come none too soon.

Mr. Speaker, I hope and believe that this item will meet with the approval of every Member of the House.

Memorials From the Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIS C. HAWLEY,
OF OREGON,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 24, 1917.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include two memorials from the Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon:

The memorials are as follows:

Senate joint memorial 4.

To the honorable the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:

Your memorialists, the Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon, respectfully represent that—

Whereas it is proposed that the Congress of the United States submit to the various States of the Union a constitutional amendment forever prohibiting the manufacture, sale, and importation within the United States and their dependencies of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes; and

Whereas it is known that the traffic in intoxicating liquors results in great industrial, economic, and moral loss and greatly increases human suffering without compensatory benefits; and

Whereas the abolition of such traffic has, wherever fairly tried, brought about great improvement in the moral and economic condition of mankind; and

Whereas 23 States of the Union have by constitutional amendment or legislative enactment abolished such traffic: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate of Oregon (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Congress of the United States be, and it is hereby, memorialized to submit to the States, as soon as practicable, the said proposed amendment of the National Constitution; and be it further

Resolved, That after concurrence of the house of representatives herein the chief clerk of the senate shall transmit copies of this memorial to the Senators and Representatives from Oregon in the Congress of the United States.

Adopted by the senate January 11, 1917.

GUS C. MOSER,
President of the Senate.

Concurred in by the house January 16, 1917.

R. N. STANFIELD,
Speaker of the House.

STATE OF OREGON,
SENATE CHAMBER.

I, John W. Cochran, chief clerk of the Senate of the Twenty-ninth Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon, do hereby certify that I have carefully compared the annexed copy of senate joint memorial No. 4, Twenty-ninth Legislative Assembly, State of Oregon, with the original thereof as adopted by the senate January 11, 1917, and concurred in by the house January 16, 1917, and that the same is a full, true, and correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand this 18th day of January, 1917.

J. W. COCHRAN,
Chief Clerk Senate,
Twenty-ninth Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon.

Senate joint memorial 5.

To the honorable Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:

Your memorialists, the Twenty-ninth Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon, respectfully represent that—

Whereas there is now pending in the Congress of the United States Senate bill 392, introduced by Hon. CHARLES E. TOWNSEND, known as the Civil War Volunteer retired-list bill, to authorize placing thereon, with retired pay, certain surviving officers who served in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States in the Civil War; and

Whereas the Committee on Military Affairs have reported the same to the Senate with amendments, and as thus amended the committee recommended that the bill do pass; and

Whereas the provisions of said bill are as pledged by Congress and President Lincoln at the opening of the Civil War to the several States and to the volunteers furnished by them; and

Whereas the present policy of the Government is to retire all surviving officers of the Regular Army and Navy at half pay for life, at ages less than any of those who will receive the recognition accorded by this act; and

Whereas full retired pay for life to all survivors of the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, and Indian wars in accordance with rank have been granted and furnishes a commanding precedent; and

Whereas public sentiment of the Nation is shown by the unanimous action of the legislatures of 13 States, speaking for approximately 50,000,000 of our people, recommending the enactment of such a measure: Therefore be it

Resolved by the senate (the house of representatives concurring), That our Senators and Representatives in Congress and the entire Congress of the United States of America be, and are hereby, memorialized and requested that said bill, known as the volunteer retired bill, be speedily taken up and put upon its final passage, and which will give the same aid according to rank as that given to the retired officers of the Regular Army, deducting any pensions that they now receive.

Resolved further, That the chief clerk of the senate is hereby directed to transmit certified copies of this memorial to the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House of Representatives of the National Congress and to each of the Oregon Representatives and Senators in Congress.

Adopted by the senate January 12, 1917.

GUS C. MOSER,
President of the Senate.

Concurred in by the house January 16, 1917.

R. N. STANFIELD,
Speaker of the House.

STATE OF OREGON,
SENATE CHAMBER.

I, John W. Cochran, chief clerk of the Senate of the Twenty-ninth Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon, do hereby certify:

That I have carefully compared the annexed copy of Senate joint memorial No. 5, Twenty-ninth Legislative Assembly, State of Oregon, with the original thereof as adopted by the Senate January 12, 1917, and concurred in by the House January 16, 1917, and that the same is a full, true, and correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand this 18th day of January, 1917.

J. W. COCHRAN,
Chief Clerk Senate,
Twenty ninth Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon.

National Prohibition.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MARTIN A. MORRISON,
OF INDIANA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 24, 1917.

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. Speaker, it is often said that "the obvious is the last thing to be seen and the first to be forgotten." I find a perfect illustration of this truth in the current history in the Congress of the Hobson resolution, now referred to as the Sheppard resolution in the Senate and as the Webb resolution, or the Smith resolution, pending in the House.

When he first read its provisions every student of the temperance question in America recognized at once that the proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution is not a genuine temperance measure in any sense, much less is it a prohibition measure. Professional reformers on the pay roll of the congressional lobby in charge of the resolution persistently refer to it as "national prohibition." So perniciously active have they been in their campaign of misinformation that thousands of earnest temperance workers have been led to assume that it provides for national prohibition of the manufacture, transportation, importation, exportation, gift, sale, barter, exchange, or other traffic in intoxicating alcoholic liquors. Of course no one who has any knowledge of its language can deceive himself into such an opinion, and yet those who know the truth are liable to be swept along by the full tide of persistent public misrepresentation until they begin to assume what they actually know to be untrue.

The proponents of the Hobson resolution justify their claim to its right to be called "national prohibition" by the fact that far down beneath its mass of distractive and sugtractive words and phrases is found the word "prohibited." It would be as logical to assert that every horsefly is by force of its very name a horse. If a few more words had been added to the first section of the Hobson resolution, they would have completely nullified each other and no subject matter whatever would have been left within its purview.

It is probable that there was a time when the members of the congressional lobby and the friends of the distillers and brewers held diametrically opposite views as to the best legislative remedy for the evils of intemperance. They stood back to back and started to walk away from each other, both in deadly earnest and with sincere purpose of adverse advocacy and action. They

became leaders of the two extreme organized temperance activities of the country, and are generally so recognized to-day. One party is now regarded as the champion of the cause of temperance, and the other is universally assumed to be the relentless foe of the cause, and yet so far have these two forces traveled back to back that they have met each other face to face. To-day they stand on common ground, believe in a common legislative creed, and are working hand in glove for the accomplishment of a common purpose. They are a beautiful and touching example of "two souls with but a single thought, two hearts that beat as one."

So far as the Hobson resolution is concerned, the apparent contest between these two contending parties has descended into a "friendly suit" or a sham battle. Both sides desire to be well rid of the licensed saloon, but neither side is willing to permit the abolition of the licensed saloon to include in its sweep the destruction of alcohol itself.

There is a small but respectable group of total abstainers who believe that it is the consumption of alcohol by men that has wrought such frightful disaster to men, women, and children, and to civilization itself. They regard the sale of alcohol by a licensed dealer in a legalized dramshop as an efficient instrumentality for bringing the producer and consumer into convenient business relations, but that it is still the manufacture and use of alcohol that bring sorrow and misery into the world. They believe that alcohol, together with all its agents and instrumentalities, should be banished beyond the pale of the law. As might have been expected, both parties to this perennial sham battle have turned their batteries upon this small but respectable group of strictly nonprofessional, nonprofit-sharing temperance workers. Here, again, the hostile forces occupy common ground and wage a common battle, and it is the only real fighting in which they are now engaged.

In the Literary Digest of March 27, 1915, I find that Mr. T. M. Gilmore, publisher of Bonfort's Wine and Spirit Circular, and who is recognized as authority among the makers of wet goods, used this language:

> This so-called prohibition movement is not prohibition at all, and the millions behind it do not intend to be prohibited, but it is a mighty protest, a blind striking out, and the object aimed at is the saloon.
> The saloon is doomed, and liquors must seek new channels.
> To save the business, we must let go of the saloon.

In the National Enquirer of August 31, 1916, I find a quotation from Mr. Gilmore's paper, Bonfort's Wine and Spirit Circular, in these words:

> The modern saloon has been getting worse instead of better. It has been dragged in the gutter; it has been made the cat's-paw for other forms of vice; it has succumbed to the viciousness of gambling; and it has allowed itself to become allied with the social evil.

Mr. W. H. Austin, secretary of the Wisconsin Brewers' Association, delivered an address before a legislative committee in that State. In that same issue of the National Enquirer I find the following quotation from his address:

> The retail liquor dealers are not worthy of consideration. They are bums and beggars and are not fit to associate with yellow dogs. They go on a drunk and blow in their money every time they get a few hundred dollars and then complain about the high price of beer.

I might multiply such quotations, but every student of the temperance question knows that the distillers and brewers are anxious to be rid of the licensed saloon, which long since became much more a means of competition than a medium of distribution. It is too expensive, and the distillers and brewers have been hunting for some effective organization of reformers that would help them let loose of the licensed saloon without incurring the wrath of the bartenders and bar flies, who might undertake to drag down the distillers and brewers with them. They must have been as greatly amazed as delighted when they found the Hobson resolution and the congressional lobby.

The more secret attitude of the distillers is fairly well understood, while the entirely manifest and indisputable attitude of the congressional lobby, with its sacred and unalterable Hobson resolution, has strangely escaped the attention of many sincere, earnest, money-contributing adherents of the organization.

The language of the resolution leaves no room for doubt. The right to make, transport, barter, exchange, traffic otherwise than for money consideration, to have, to use, and to give away intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes is guarded as tenderly as a mother guards her only child. It seeks to write into the Federal Constitution the doctrine of home manufacture—now outlawed by Federal statute—and the doctrine of "personal liberty" to make, to possess, and to use alcoholic liquors for beverage purposes, an ancient doctrine which finds no support in our present Federal Constitution.

In the light of this manifest truth it requires no superhuman wisdom to discover why the apparent opponents of the Hobson resolution exercised more than one-half the energy and industry required to procure a House committee report on the Hobson resolution in the Sixty-third Congress and a special rule for its consideration. The supreme purpose of the distillers and brewers was to commit the temperance workers of America to the language of the Hobson resolution as the basis for their permanent plan of campaign. It is a pathetic fact that they seem to have succeeded in their sly, selfish, and devilish scheme. If they have, from now on until the plan shall be abadoned the friends of alcohol can not lose.

It is impossible to overestimate the advantage which the distillers and brewers are to reap as their share of the spoils of the bloodless victory which these contending forces have agreed mutually to win each over the other.

They know that there is to-day a dependable public sentiment in this country in favor of effective temperance legislation sufficient to enact and enforce organic and statutory laws for the complete destruction of all liquors available for beverage purposes. They know that such destruction can be averted only by capturing, controlling, and misguiding the organized temperance workers of the country.

They know also that the lawlessness of the licensed saloon is largely responsible for the present attitude of the public mind toward alcohol, and that the abolition of the saloon, with alcohol left unscathed, would take from the temperance forces their most valuable asset and effective weapon. If the distillers and brewers can eliminate the saloon, which no man defends, and force the temperance workers into the appearance of assailing "personal liberty" and "the sanctity of the home," which everyone stands ready to defend, the possibility of a successful legislative campaign against alcohol for beverage purposes will have been postponed at least beyond the life of this generation. Indeed, the leaders of the so-called "dry" organization frankly declare that the "antialcohol fight" is to be waged solely on the basis of "voluntary persuasion," and thereby hangs a tale.

The enemies of alcohol are plainly notified that they are soon to be compelled to turn back to the old days of oratorical crusaders, declaiming portions of "Ten Nights in a Barroom," and begging men to sign the pledge and wear the blue ribbon. Incidentally, of course, the new program will furnish constant demand and liberal compensation for professional reformers and public entertainers until they shall die of old age on the pay roll.

Capt. Hobson never seeks to mislead the public. He believes religiously in his own resolution. He believes that every man ought to have the right to make, have, and use intoxicating liquor within "the sanctity of his own home." He is opposed to "sumptuary legislation." He favors "individual liberty" and stands for the inherent and inalienable right of every man to drink intoxicating alcoholic liquors. Of these seductive but unsound doctrines he is the ablest and most influential of modern advocates. All other professional reformers are to him as mere understudies to their star and chief.

On the evening of December 10, 1915, Capt. Hobson delivered an address in advocacy of his resolution in Tomlinson Hall, Indianapolis, Ind. It was the culmination of a State-wide rally by the local representatives of the congressional lobby. One of my constituents had asked him to read his resolution to the audience. I had asserted that he could not be induced to do that. And he was not. In lieu of such reading he gave a clear statement of its purport and purpose in these words:

> Now, what is the proposition we bring to you? I wish each one of you would make it a point to read for yourself the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States. If you will read it, you will find there is not a word in that amendment that would prohibit a man from drinking liquor. There is no desire to have the Federal Government try to coerce the individual in what he does with himself—eat, drink, and wear; no desire to have any sumptuary legislation; no desire to have the Federal Government invade any man's individual liberty—not at all. There is no word in the amendment that would prohibit a citizen from having intoxicating liquor in his home. We do not wish the Federal Government to be placed in the attitude of invading the sanctity of the home. You will find the language very plain and very simple. It provides that the Constitution shall prohibit the sale, manufacture for sale, of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes. Sale is a transaction between citizens. It is a matter of your own affair as to what you shall drink. You have an inherent right to drink, but not to sell, liquor.

On October 14, 1913, Hon. Eugene W. Chafin, as the last nominee of the Prohibition Party for the Presidency, was its recognized leader and spokesman. On that day and in that capacity he delivered an address at Chicago, which was published in full in the Vindicator, the then official organ of the Prohibition Party, in its issue of October 24, 1913.

In his address he read a copy of the Hobson resolution and denounced it in strong and cutting terms. Among other things, he said:

> Of all the foolish and impossible schemes devised to destroy the liquor traffic, this is certainly the worst. Every minute of time and every dollar expended on this scheme is criminally wasted.
> Such an amendment as that would perpetuate the liquor traffic forever in this country and each home could be a saloon.

Hon. J. Frank Hanly, ex-governor of Indiana, as the last nominee of the Prohibition Party for the Presidency, is now its official head and representative. He is editor in chief of the National Enquirer, which is now the official national organ of that party. He is a man of great ability, is perhaps the most powerful public speaker the Republican Party in Indiana has produced in this generation, and has more courage than any other professional reformer now before the country. Indeed, his courage sometimes leads him dangerously near to an open breach with the congressional lobby. His one weak spot is the fact that he remained in the soap-box primary, or secret caucus, organized in Washington City on July 10, 1915, to seal the lips of temperance workers who were known to be unwilling to advocate the Hobson resolution. That robbed him of a portion of his intellectual independence and moral courage. He still has more than any other man of his profession, and is rendering services of tremendous value to the cause of temperance. He is not, however, completely courageous. If he were, he would write in his editorials what he knows down in the bottom of his heart, to wit, that the Hobson resolution is a trick and a cheat, a delusion and a snare. He regards himself as in honor constrained from doing that. He compromises with his conscience by writing editorials made up of well-balanced sentences in perfectly good English, in the first half of which he condemns the Hobson resolution, and in the second half he condemns all Members of Congress who do not give to the resolution blind but enthusiastic and boisterous support. In spite of the trick he permitted the lobby to play upon him, he is easily the biggest, bravest, and best of them all.

On January 1, 1917, Hon. William A. Brubaker, of Chicago, wrote to the editor in chief a splendid letter, which appears in full in the National Enquirer, under date of January 11, 1917. It is published in these words:

BRUBAKER HITS HOBSON MEASURE—SAYS IT WOULD PUT RECOGNITION OF "PERSONAL-LIBERTY" DOCTRINE IN CONSTITUTION.

CHICAGO, *January 1, 1917.*

Hon. J. FRANK HANLY,
Editor National Enquirer, Indianapolis, Ind.

DEAR MR. HANLY: I have just read your excellent editorial in the Enquirer of the 28th ultimo on the Senate resolution. It is admirable, *with one* exception. You say, "We would favor it (the Hobson amendment) now if it were the best and highest form of prohibition attainable."

But your splendid logic in the preceding paragraphs ought to convince any candid mind that were the Hobson bill placed in the Constitution our condition would be worse than it is now, because, as you clearly show, it would put the liquor in the homes of the people more widely than now, a larger number of children would become familiar with its use, and we would soon have a larger crop of drunkards therefrom.

You also show, and truthfully, that cooperative breweries and distilleries could be established and liquor transported from one end of the land to the other if for personal use. Yuu further show that the enforcement would be exceedingly difficult, because the burden of proof of supposed violations would be upon the Government.

There is another phase of the matter that must not be overlooked. Let us suppose that the Hobson amendment is in the Constitution. Under its provisions I have a legal right to make liquor for my personal use, as your editorial truthfully declares. But it is a principle of law that whatever I may legally do by myself I may legally do conjointly with others. I join with a hundred thousand stockholders for the establishment of a cooperative brewery in Topeka, Kans. The State officials bring action against us under the prohibitory laws of Kansas. But we appeal to our constitutional rights, guaranteed to us in the Hobson amendment, and carry the case to the Supreme Court of the United States. And that court will, of course, decide that no State law or constitution can contravene the Constitution of the United States. Result: The practical nullification of every local, county, and State prohibitory law from one end of the land to the other. Any man who wants liquor may purchase stock in a cooperative brewery or distillery or join a club for the importation of whisky from Scotland, champagne from France, and beer from Bavaria. And the last state of the temperance cause will be worse than the first.

More than all this even: The last argument of the liquor men, as you know, is "personal liberty." The Hobson amendment recognizes such right and places a recognition thereof in the Constitution of the United States. To dislodge it from there will require a struggle of from 50 to 100 years. Of all the schemes proposed for the removal of the curse of drink, the Hobson bill is, far and away, the most iniquitous and diabolical.

I trust that you will devote your great abilities and the influence of your great paper not only to the support of the Senate resolution, but to the defeat of the Hobson bill, because it is worse even than our present license system.

With kind regards and best wishes, I am,

Cordially, yours,

WM. A. BRUBAKER,
6114 Greenwood Avenue, Chicago.

In the same issue of the National Enquirer the editor in chief published a signed editorial in these words:

A JUST CRITICISM.

Among Mr. Brubaker's criticisms of the House resolution for the amendment of the Federal Constitution prohibiting the liquor traffic there is one, which is peculiarly forceful and eminently just. He puts it well:

"The last argument of the liquor men, as you know, is 'personal liberty.' The Hobson amendment recognizes such right and places a recognition thereof in the Constitution of the United States."

The doctrine of "personal liberty" is one which the temperance people are constantly compelled to meet. It can be met and is met daily. We believe it better that any amendment submitted should *squarely face the personal-liberty* argument instead of giving it recognition and *embedding it in the Constitution.*

This, to us, is one of the strongest reasons why the Senate resolution should be submitted instead of the House amendment. The battle must ultimately be fought out on this line. Why not rise to the occasion now, meet the issue squarely, and fight it out?

We are not only opposed to the gainful or commercial traffic in alcohol; *we are opposed to its use as a beverage.* The House resolution meets in an imperfect way half our desire. The Senate resolution meets it all. Once submitted and ratified, it will require no apology and no subsequent amendment. It will stand the test of time and square itself with the years. The fight should be made for it and not for the House measure.

I am heartily glad that this great lawyer realizes the incalculable advantage which alcohol is to derive from the writing of the Hobson resolution into the Federal Constitution. I am taking the liberty of indicating in the several quotations I am using such italics as will be helpful in calling attention to particular parts thereof. I ask as careful second consideration of this sentence from the editorial just read:

We believe it better that any amendment submitted should squarely face the personal-liberty argument instead of giving it recognition and embedding it in the Constitution.

It is manifest that Mr. Hanly agrees, with the attorneys of the distillers and brewers, that the Hobson resolution gives constitutional recognition to the doctrine of "alcoholic personal liberty" and "embeds in the Federal Constitution" by necessary implication the doctrine of the inherent right of man to drink, and therefore to make and have, intoxicating liquors.

Little wonder that the friends of intoxicating liquors are willing to exchange the expensive, uncontrollable, and unpopular licensed saloon for a constitutional guaranty of the right to make, to have, and to use intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes. In the good old days of Blackstone every man's house was his castle. In the still better days that are to come every man's house will also be his distillery. And men are drawing princely salaries out of the eranings of the friends of temperance for their part in this legislative horseplay that would be comic if it were not so sadly tragic.

On the moring of January 8, 1917, there came to the desks of the Members of this House sealed letters and accompanying circulars, issued in behalf of an official National Temperance Council, composed of the official leaders of all well-known temperance societies "and other organizations of social uplift." It came as in the nature of sealed sailing orders from this strictly unofficial body to the chosen representatives of a hundred millions of free and self-governing Americans. The letter announced that this supreme council has unanimously indorsed the Hobson resolution and determined that it shall be left for "moral suasion" to deal with the "personal use" of intoxicating liquors. The following language taken from the circular referred to is more explicit, to wit:

Whether a man who, on his own motion, buys liquors at a distance shall drink them at his own home is left in the realm of moral suasion.

This doctrine is the vital cord that unites the Liquor League and the Antisaloon League into a oneness of vitality and activity like unto that of the Siamese twins.

The first sentence of this circular is illuminating and almost brutally frank. Any minister of the gospel that is deceived thereby is not wise, nor would it be possible by any means or process to put him wise. It reads as follows:

Prohibition is simply no license made more effective by wider application.

That will be startling news to nonprofessional temperance workers. They understand local option in a license State to mean "simply no license," but they have long believed that prohibition is a vastly broader, deeper, and more drastic remedy.

In West Virginia and other serious-minded States the leaders of temperance organizations regard prohibition as an "antialcohol" legislative program. They have not learned that prohibition is exclusively "antisaloon," "simply no license," and that the promised "antialcohol" crusade must rest solely upon oratory and "voluntary persuasion."

If the congressional lobby is to be permitted to continue to exhibit the brazen effrontery of referring to the Hobson resolution as "national prohibition," West Virginia will be compelled to find a new name for its legislative policy. It might be designated as "State abolition." Some new name must be adopted to indicate that it is not a fake and a fraud.

It is evident that professional temperance reformers have decided to hasten the final victory of the legislative campaign for "national prohibition" by writing a new definition that excludes from its very terms every element of the program that has not received the cordial indorsement of the distillers and brewers. Under this definition of terms the advocates of "national prohibition" may easily win complete and final victory with the prayers and ill-concealed assistance of the champions of alcohol. The end of the fight for "prohibition" is in sight, won by the

adroit process of defining it to be an "antisaloon" legislative program as distinguished from a nonlegislative "antialcohol" campaign, to be based solely on fervid oratory and signing the pledge.

The conclusion I have just reached is not a guess or an inference. It is a fact, plainly set forth in this circular in these words:

And the writer thinks that after every antisaloon victory there should be an antialcohol campaign of voluntary persuasion.

It is manifest that temperance programs may be defined and redefined, may begin and end, but that the professional reformer, like the brook, goes on forever. We can not lose him.

The religious press of the country stand unitedly behind the Hobson resolution. It has not been an easy task for them. It has required great will power and much devilish ingenuity. They have chafed under the difficulties and embarrassments of their self-imposed necessities and limitations. Some days ago the daily press carried a story that the Senate Committee on the Judiciary had reported a substitute for the Hobson resolution, which is antialcohol as well as antisaloon. It brought happy relief to the pent-up convictions of many able and conscientious editorial writers. One of the strongest and bravest of them immediately wrote into his editorial columns his personal convictions on the temperance question. In his edition of January 4, 1917, under the caption, "No loopholes in prohibition," this editor published an editorial, both indorsing the Senate substitute and demolishing completely the Hobson resolution. I quote from it the more pertinent portion, to wit:

The only effective enforcement of prohibitory laws in any State has always been and always must be on the principle that drinkable liquors, wherever found, are in and of themselves contraband, and may be destroyed by officers of the law, upon discovery, without need of paltering over intricate doubts in law. And citizens who are determined to deliver this Nation from the handicap of the drinking habit can not be content to put in the hands of the Federal Government any less formidable weapons than have proved necessary in the dry States.

The friends of prohibition therefore should hasten to impress on Congress that they want the Senate form of amendment passed, not the House form. The latter is an inheritance from the sophomoric statesmanship of Richard P. Hobson, who unfortunately had the leadership of the temperance wing in the lower House of Congress when the question of national prohibition was up before. But Mr. Hobson has now gone his way to other occupations, and his overshrewd idea that nominal prohibition could be more easily secured if there was opened through it an obvious loophole for evasion will hardly appeal longer to those who have seen thoroughgoing and decisive prohibition win its tremendous victories in the past autumn.

Even if a lax and apparent suppression of the liquor-traffic business could be more quickly accomplished, discreet tactics would prefer to wait a little longer for really efficient results. And just now the temper of the country indicates that it will adopt the real thing sooner than a half-way measure. It is doubtless to Senator SHEPPARD, of Texas, the temperance leader of the Senate, that the better formula of the upper House is owing, and it will be no misplaced confidence which induces the prohibition forces of the country to trust in him as the wisest and broadest of their champions in Congress.

The language I have just quoted illustrates three facts well known to every man who has been long in public life:

First. That editors of the religious and moral uplift press of the country sometimes catch a true vision of the meaning and merits of pending legislation.

Second. That they have no power to discern the true inwardness of legislative activities in the Congress.

Third. That they are incapable of discovering the attitude of public men toward the fundamental principles involved in the legislative propositions they have in charge, however clearly they may state and restate their opinions and purposes. For that reason they often do unconscious injustice to many public men.

It is probable that the injustice unwittingly done to a public man in the last sentence of the foregoing editorial was directly responsible for a news item published in the Indiana Daily Times, 11 days later, in its issue of January 15, 1917. It is unfortunate that a public man should be compelled to spend so much of his time issuing formal disclaimers and denials to correct inaccurate and misleading editorials in the religious press. The news item referred to is as follows:

SHEPPARD CLAIMS ENOUGH VOTES FOR HIS DRY MEASURE—WORDING OF RESOLUTION FOR CONGRESS TO CONSIDER CAUSING DELAY.

WASHINGTON, *January 15.*

After a careful canvass of the Senate, Senator SHEPPARD, of Texas, announced to-day the prohibitionists have sufficient strength to force consideration at any time of his resolution proposing a nation-wide prohibition amendment to the Constitution. This will be done at this session, he declared, just as soon as the prohibitionists agree on the language of the resolution. The Senate Judiciary Committee has reported the resolution with an amendment designed to make prohibition "air tight" throughout the country by prohibiting the sale, manufacture, and the importation of alcohol. Senator SHEPPARD says he believes the amendment is against the resolution's chance of passage, because it makes it too drastic for acceptance in some of the liberal parts of the country. He declares he will lead a fight to strike out the committee amendment and restore the original language, or its equivalent, to the measure.

In explaining his position on the prohibition question, Senator SHEPPARD says: "I am not a prohibitionist in a strict sense of the word. I am fighting the liquor traffic. I am against the saloon. I am not in any sense aiming to prevent the personal use of alcoholic beverages. I am opposed to the committee amendment which prevents the manufacture and importation of alcohol. I think it goes so far that it is doubtful whether the country would accept it. For instance, it would prevent a farmer from having a little hard cider. I don't think we care to go as far as that. That is too much of an invasion of personal liberty."

Senator SHEPPARD'S resolution requires a two-thirds vote in both Houses. Prohibitionists claim to have the necessary number and wet leaders admit they will come dangerously near it.

Lest anyone shall fear that the friends of alcohol are likely to suffer by being unequally yoked with unbelievers in the joint enterprise of securing the adoption of the Hobson resolution, I call attention to one outstanding, indisputable fact.

In the parlance of professional reformers, who believe that "prohibition" is simply "no license," territory in which there is no licensed saloon is called "dry." In that sense of the term more than 86 per cent of all the counties in the United States have been made "dry." Less than 14 per cent remain "wet." In the meantime there has been no substantial decrease in the production of alcoholic liquors in the United States, no appreciable decrease in its total consumption, and no calculable decrease in its per capita consumption. One who has studied arithmetic "as far as the rule of three" may easily calculate the full result of the complete success of this "antisaloon" program. The total final diminution of the production and consumption of alcohol that is to be is to the total diminution that already has been as 100 is to 86. Of a truth the cause of prohibition can not stand many such victories, but the champions of alcoholic personal liberty can survive an endless series of such defeats.

If the proponents and the pretended opponents of the Hobson resolution are out of harmony on any material question, I have not discovered that fact.

In the Sixty-third Congress they cooperated to procure a report of the Hobson resolution by the House Committee on the Judiciary, and also to procure a special rule from the House Committee on Rules for its consideration.

They all regard the temperance workers of the country as irrevocably committed to the Hobson resolution as the basis of its permanent plan of campaign, and would regard any change of the plan as a breach of good faith.

They all desire to destroy the licensed saloon, without destroying the right to manufacture, procure, possess, and use alcoholic liquors for beverage purposes.

They are all opposed to "sumptuary legislation."

They agreed that "prohibition means simply no license."

They agree that the legislative program of the temperance forces should be limited to "antisaloon" legislation, and should in no event include "antialcoholic" tendencies.

They all agree that, in the language of the National Temperance Council, "whether a man who, on his own motion, buys liquors at a distance shall drink them at his own home is left in the realm of moral suasion."

They agree that, after the "antisaloon" victory has been won, a new "antialcohol" crusade may safely be started, based exclusively on "voluntary persuasion."

They agree that the Government has no right to dictate to the citizen what he shall eat, drink, or wear.

They all dote upon the "sanctity of the home" and resent its invasion by prohibition or other excise laws.

They all agree that an antialcohol legislative program involves a violation of the sacred principle of personal liberty.

They all agree that a man has, in the language of Capt. Hobson, the "inherent right to drink but not to sell liquor."

They are all impatient to write into the fundamental law of the land the language of the Hobson resolution, which will, in the language I have quoted from the editorial of ex-Gov. and Presidential Nominee Hanly, "give recognition" to the principle of alcoholic "personal liberty" and "embed in the Constitution" of the United States a perpetual guaranty of the sacred, inherent, inestimable, inalienable, and inviolable right of the citizen to make, to procure, to possess, and to use intoxicating liquors for personal beverage purposes, as an expression of the genial spirit of genuine hospitality or as an aid to domestic conviviality.

The allied armies of the two belligerent powers lie over against each other in true modern fashion. Their first-line trenches are sinuous, but run in parallel lines, and so close together that the soldiers are able easily to swap tobacco and yarns across the neutral zone.

I marvel that these hostile armies have not before this time mutually wrested from each other the dual victory for which they jointly strive. Why not end the struggle by writing these seductive, deceptive, and disastrous political and moral heresies into the Federal Constitution by unanimous consent?

I know of but one body of men whose influence is effectively adverse. I have in mind that same comparatively small but entirely respectable group of total abstainers who still believe that it is the use, and not merely the licensed sale, of alcohol that is vicious. They are in fighting condition. They have enlisted during the war. They are encamped on a near-by hill equidistant from the contiguous and overlapping camps of the two belligerents, whence they may observe the mysterious movements of both.

Daily this small group draws forth upon itself the gunfire of both hostile camps. Indeed, this is the only genuine fire that issues from either trench. The members of this small group are content, however, to maintain their present position, to remain steadfast, unmoved and immovable under constant fire. They accept their daily punishment as one of the fortunes of war and are inspired and sustained by an unfaltering faith that the time shall yet come when all men, ministers of the Gospel as well as laymen, will again "endure sound doctrine," when the temperance workers of the land will be ready to "see the obvious," when manifest and vital truth will get a hearing, and when untruth will be unhorsed and shorn of its present leadership and well-nigh irresistible power. As long as this their present courage shall abide with them, these men will continue to fight the good fight and to keep the faith.

"Solomon, in All His Glory, Never Made a Raid Like This."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM P. BORLAND,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 24, 1917.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, the taxeaters have formed a union. It includes in its membership the Government clerks employed in the executive offices of the Federal Government in the city of Washington. This organization is different from the associations which have heretofore existed among Government employees for mutual improvement and the good of the service. This new affiliation is frankly designed to bulldoze Members of Congress into granting to the employees in Washington greater pay and privileges regardless of the rights of the taxpayers or the treatment accorded other Federal employees outside of Washington. The way in which this is to be done is to "backfire" the Members—that is, to promise to punish with defeat those who protect the integrity of the people's Treasury and reward with political help those who are unfaithful to their trust.

The merits of the demands do not enter into consideration. It is purely a question of political fear and favor. They also attack all expenditures of money for national defense, or for public improvements of any kind outside the city of Washington, the argument being that the less the Government spends for legitimate activities the more it will have to squander on salaries in Washington. Of course this program has the hearty support of the merchants, the landlords, and the financial interests of Washington. Their interest lies in seeing that the Government spends as much money as possible in Washington and gets the smallest possible return for it. They would like to see the largest number of clerks employed at the highest salaries for the shortest number of hours. In fact, the main strength of this raid on the Public Treasury comes from people in Washington who are not in the Government service at all. The pay roll in the city of Washington is now $50,000,000 a year and is rapidly growing. The merchants and landlords get substantially all of this. The taxeaters' union is bitterly opposed to prohibition, so it must be assumed that the saloons are also valiant supporters of shorter hours, more Government clerks, and higher pay.

The taxpayers outside of Washington must pay the bills. It is high time they formed a union to protect their pocketbooks.

HERE ARE THE FACTS.

The Government clerks in Washington now have shorter hours, higher pay, and more privileges than any set of employees in the known world. This sweeping statement can be made without fear of contradiction.

First. They are paid from 15 to 30 per cent more than similar work commands in the best paid private employ. This is attested by repeated reports of Cabinet officers of both political faiths.

Second. They have 30 days' sick leave, 30 days' annual vacation, all the holidays, general and special, and Saturday half holiday for 13 weeks in the summer. They are paid for full time but may work but 228½ days out of the year. Contrast this with the postal employees all over the Union, who have only 15 days' vacation, no Saturday afternoons, and frequently work Sundays and holidays.

Third. Most of them work only seven hours a day, and with the aid of their financial and political allies have so far resisted any attempt to make them work a standard day of eight hours. This short day costs the Government annually at least $5,000,000 in the employment of extra people, besides incommoding the public business.

The civil-service employees outside of Washington work a minimum of eight hours, and often longer. Most skilled workers nowadays are glad to have a standard day of eight hours and consider it quite a concession.

WHAT DO THEY DEMAND?

What do these Government clerks now demand?

First. They want a horizontal increase of all salaries, aggregating in Washington alone about $15,000,000.

Second. They want Saturday half holidays all the year around. This means 39 half days, or 19½ full days taken off of their brief working time and will cost the Government at least $5,000,000 annually in increased pay roll to run the departments.

Third. They want a minimum wage of $3 per day for all Government employees. This entails another increase in the pay roll of $24,524,000. Every messenger who sits outside a door for seven hours a day is to receive $1,080, minimum. Let us contrast this with the wages of skilled union workmen. Let us take skilled workmen who get as high as $5 a day, working days. Most of such skilled workmen are in seasonal occupations, where they can not work steady time all the year around. They work at least eight hours a day; but if they get 200 days' work a year on the average they consider themselves very lucky. This gives them an average annual earning of $1,000. All lay offs and sick leaves are at their own expense. The average earnings of a head of a family in this country is less than $700. Heaven knows it is too low, but these are the men who must pay the taxes to support the Government clerks in Washington.

HOW PRIVATE EMPLOYERS ACT.

Do private employers in Washington grant to their employees the short hours and high pay they are now demanding from the Federal Government? Of course not. Read these significant statements of actual business conditions in Washington:

[From the Washington Herald, Dec. 24, 1916.]

WANT SHORTER HOURS—GROCERY CLERK SAYS THEY HAVE TO WORK 12 TO 16 HOURS.

Editor the Washington Herald: The lot of the store girls has been greatly ameliorated by the eight-hour law for women in the District of Columbia. It used to be that they worked from 13 to 15 hours a day during the holiday shopping season. Now they work 8 hours, feel better, and make more money for their employer.

There still obtains that deplorable practice of working the grocery clerks and market men to the limit of their endurance.

Can not some arrangement be made to secure for them a decent workday in place of their present 12 to 16 hours daily toil?

Haven't we got brains enough in our number to organize for humane conditions? Of course not! If we had any brains we wouldn't be grocery clerks.

ONE OF 'EM.

—

OUTSIDER SPEAKS IT—NOT A GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEE, BUT DRAWS SMALL PAY.

Editor the Washington Herald: I, an outsider, greatly admire your fight for underpaid Government clerks (those receiving less than $1,200 per year), but think your paper would be giving all a square deal if you would give a little space to the underpaid other workmen in our city.

I receive less than $50 per month and am compelled to make it go as far as the Government clerk, and get no vacation, no holiday, no half day, no half Saturday, no sick leave, and work 10 hours a day.

AN OUTSIDER.

HOW LABOR UNIONS ACT.

Has the American Federation of Labor ever treated its own employees as the Government is now asked to do? Of course not. Nobody has ever accused the union officials of not looking after their own interests. Here is another startling story on that phase of the question:

[From the Washington Times, Jan. 21, 1917.]

A. F. OF L. FACING THREAT OF STRIKE—DEMANDS MADE BY ITS OWN EMPLOYEES ARE REFUSED BY OFFICIALS.

The American Federation of Labor is threatened with a strike among its own employees.

Demands made by the bookkeepers, stenographers, and typewriters employed by the federation and by the International Association of Machinists for increased pay, a minimum-wage scale, a reduction in hours, and a change in the manner of adjusting differences between employers and employees have been refused by the federation officials.

The demands of the union will be laid before the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, in session here this week. If that body turns down the unionists the matter will again be taken before

the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers, and Assistants' Union. The union then will call on President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, tell him that trouble has arisen between the employees and the federation, and he will be asked to use his good graces in adjusting the differences.

STRIKE VOTE WOULD FOLLOW.

If he is unable to do so the union then will take a strike vote. If President Gompers approves of the strike the curious spectacle of the federation paying out money for conducting a strike against itself will result.

Practically all of the demands of the union have been refused by the federation. A minimum wage scale of $3 a day, with a $200 horizontal increase for the employees of the federation and the International Association of Machinists, were the principal demands. These were refused by the federation.

The union asked for a seven-hour day, with a Saturday half holiday throughout the year. The federation agreed to give a seven-and-one-half-hour day with Saturday half holidays, which the employees say has been in effect for the last 13 years.

ASKED FOUR WEEKS' VACATION.

The proposed agreement submitted by the union asked for four weeks' vacation. The federation officials agreed to two weeks' holiday, which has been given in the past.

In framing its second revised demands upon the federation, the union asked for a horizontal increase of $100 a year instead of the original $200. This, too, was refused.

For the stenographers employed by the two organizations, a demand of $18 a week for persons with two years or more experience was refused by the federation, which agreed to the wages but stipulated that the stenographers must have had at least six years' experience, of which three should be in the service of the federation.

The typewriters, now receiving $12 a week, asked for $15 for members having had two years' experience. The federation insists on three years' experience. The federation also demands three years' experience of its bookkeepers, instead of two, as agreed upon by the union, if the raise from $15 to $18 is given.

ADJUSTING OF GRIEVANCES.

The matter of adjusting grievances between employers and employees formed another hitch. The union asked that in case of differences, a board consisting of one representative of the employer, one of the employee, and a third to be selected by this pair, be selected. The federation insists that the three arbitrators be trade-unionists exclusively.

HOW THE TAXPAYER SHOULD ACT.

Let the taxpayer hold Congress to a strict accountability for the expenditure of public funds, as strict as that to which the directors of a private corporation would be held by its stockholders. Of course, every Congressman ought to be big enough to do his duty without having a whip cracked over his head. Those who are afraid of the crack of a whip by some organization should be retired by their constituents.

William R. Hearst Pays High Tribute to Memory of Dewey.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MURRAY HULBERT,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 22, 1917.

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks I desire to put in the RECORD the following article which appeared in to-day's issue of the Washington Post:

WILLIAM R. HEARST PAYS HIGH TRIBUTE TO MEMORY OF DEWEY.

The prayers have been said. The hymns have been sung. The church bells have been mournfully tolled as the long line of Admiral Dewey's funeral cortège filed through the streets of Washington.

The cannons have boomed their solemn salute as the catafalque entered the military cemetery at Arlington.

The volleys of musketry have been fired over the grave.

The last call of the bugle has been sorrowfully sounded, and one of the greatest and truest of our national heroes has passed on.

PEOPLE'S TRIBUTE OF LOVE.

Throughout the long route of the funeral procession, from the Dewey house to the Capitol and from the Capitol along Pennsylvania Avenue, through Washington, through Georgetown, across the Potomac, to the cemetery at Arlington the streets were flanked and banked with great crowds of people, who had stood for hours in the cold of a winter day to render the last tribute of love and honor to the man who had served his country and his countrymen so faithfully and so well.

I have seen the funeral of an emperor, where marched the soldiers of a hundred nations, clothed in all the brilliant colors of the spectrum, shimmering in steel and blazing in gold, led by seven kings—and the people came out to see the show.

Saturday I saw the funeral of a plain American, whose worth was in his work, whose glory lay in duty simply, bravely, and nobly done.

A few regiments, drab-dressed, escorted his remains.

The President of the Republic, the courts, the Congress, the Diplomatic Corps in plain vehicles followed.

There was no pomp, no panoply, no vain display, yet the people came in thousands upon thousands, not merely to gaze but to give of honor, not merely to see but to show the deep and reverent respect in which they held the Nation's hero.

AS MAN AND OFFICER.

Admiral Dewey was undoubtedly the most loved of the popular heroes of our day, but in our affection for him as a man we must not forget a due meed of admiration for him as a captain.

Admiral Dewey possessed all the qualities of a great commander and conspicuously displayed them in his inspiring achievement at Manila Bay.

He was splendidly courageous and capable, admirably resolute and resourceful, quick in decision, prompt in action, superior to circumstances, equal to emergency. Above all, he possessed the supreme power of solving a situation by a master stroke.

It could never be said of Dewey, as was said even of Pompey the Great, that he knew not how to conquer. He knew how to conquer not only the opposition of hostile foreign fleets and forts, but the opposition, or at least the inanition, of the friendly roll-top desk forces at home.

MARK OF TRUE GENIUS.

Alexander cut the Gordian knot. Dewey cut the cable.

It is strokes like these that mark true genius, create heroes, decide the fate of battles and of nations.

A man who had waited for orders would have gotten them. And a man who got them under our republican system of political favorites and bureaucratic incompetence would have been told not so much what to do as what not to do. Thus there would have been no victory at Manila.

The distinguishing characteristics of genius is that it is not bound by the limitations of ordinary men.

The peculiar faculty of genius is to see how an enterprise can succeed while others see only how it can fail.

So Dewey won the battle of Manila when he cut the cable and liberated his own genius.

WHY PEOPLE LOVED HIM.

And the people loved him—loved him for his achievement, loved him for his boldness, loved him for his independence, loved him for his capability and his amiability, for his genius and his generosity.

May the Nation always have in emergencies heroes like Admiral Dewey, ready and able to serve it and protect it, and may every such hero have from the Nation, as Admiral Dewey had, the great and satisfying reward of popular affection and appreciation, for of such affection and appreciation are future heroes born.

WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST.

Omnibus Public-Buildings Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY BRUCKNER,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 19, 1917.

Mr. BRUCKNER. Mr. Speaker, this item appears in the so-called "omnibus public-buildings bill":

United States post office at Borough of The Bronx, New York City, N. Y., $850,000.

Mr. Speaker, in order that any person who desires to know the facts relative to this item authorizing an appropriation of $850,000 for a post-office building to be located in the Borough of The Bronx, New York City, I desire to say that it is to provide for a building project to cover an entire city block, running from East One hundred and forty-ninth Street to East One hundred and fiftieth Street and from Mott Avenue to Spencer Place, in all above 22 city lots. The site has already been purchased by the Government for $283,000, so that the title rests in the Government at this time. It was selected after very careful investigation of this and other sites, for the reason that it will directly connect, by way of a subway, with the railroads coming from the West, and by so doing will save the time and expense of having the mail go direct to the heart of the city, there to be sorted and sent back to The Bronx.

The city of New York is composed of five counties, which are called boroughs. The Boroughs of Manhattan and Bronx were originally New York County. Owing to the enormous increase of population, and the necessity for having greater conveniences, a law was passed by the State legislature creating the county of The Bronx out of that section of New York known as the Borough of The Bronx. The Borough of The Bronx, now the county of The Bronx, is the only subdivision of the city of New York which has not the same postal facilities that all the other boroughs have.

The Borough of The Bronx has been accorded the title of "New York's fastest growing borough." How well this section has deserved this tribute may be better understood when it is considered that in 1895 its population was 33,000 and to-day the population numbers 750,000, a community if it were a separate municipality would be larger than the city of Cleveland, the seventh city in the United States, while the only cities that would be larger would be that of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, and Boston. Mr. Speaker, The Bronx has a

larger population than the combined States of Arizona, Delaware, Nevada, and Wyoming, or the combined New England States of Vermont and New Hampshire.

One hundred and forty-ninth Street and Third Avenue, near which point the new post office building is to be located, is at present the very center of activity in the Bronx. The police department of New York City recently took a count of the number of pedestrians and vehicles passing that point, and reported that in 10 hours—from 8.30 a. m. to 6.30 p. m.—69,640 persons and 7,344 vehicles passed this corner.

According to the following figures we can see how the real estate valuations in The Bronx have grown during the past 15 years: In 1900 they were $123,702,050; in 1905, $274,859,593; in 1910, $493,757,919; and in 1915 grew to $658,632,013, indicating a healthy growth.

As to the postal facilities of The Bronx, I desire to submit some statistics given me by Hon. Edward M. Morgan, the postmaster of New York City:

The gross receipts of the branch post-office stations in The Bronx in 1907 were $376,000, while the total receipts for 1915 were $704,000, showing an increase of nearly 100 per cent in eight years.

The number of clerks and carriers employed in 1907 was 353, while in 1915, 674 were required to take care of the business—an increase of 100 per cent.

A one-horse wagon was used in The Bronx in 1907 in collecting mail from the street package boxes and numbered stations, while to-day seven 1-ton motor trucks are required to take care of the parcel-post delivery and collection service for The Bronx postal stations.

In 1907, 27,000,000 pieces were mailed in The Bronx postal stations, and in 1915 they exceeded 50,000,000.

The deliveries in 1907 for The Bronx numbered 36,000,000, while in 1915 they exceeded 65,000,000 pieces.

The registry division in 1907 showed that 85,000 pieces were sent by registered mail from The Bronx, and in 1915 this business grew to 125,000 pieces.

The record for the delivery of registered pieces in 1907 shows that 110,000 were handled, while in 1915, 210,000 were handled.

In the money-order section 6,000 money orders were issued in The Bronx in 1907, totaling in amount $56,000, while in 1915, 17,000 orders were issued, amounting to $135,000.

The postal savings business for the year ended December 31, 1915, showed that The Bronx people had 19,000 accounts, with deposits amounting to $2,157,000.

Besides using the building for the post office, it will accommodate the internal-revenue office now located at One hundred and forty-ninth Street and Third Avenue. The recruiting station of the Army and the recruiting station of the Navy, now located elsewhere in The Bronx, will be quartered in the building. It will also provide for accommodations for a Federal court and a United States district attorney's office.

The Department of Agriculture has requested space in the building, and the United States pension examining corps will also have space assigned them.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds of this Congress were well within the rule of reason and fair play when they unanimously reported The Bronx post-office item in the bill, and I sincerely trust that it will be enacted into law.

River and Harbor Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK CLARK,

OF FLORIDA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 25, 1917.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I desire to submit a few remarks with reference to the remarkable utterances of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. FREAR] inserted in the RECORD under "leave to print."

Under the privilege granted him by unanimous consent of the House of Representatives on January 23, 1917, to extend his remarks on the subject of the Oklawaha River, in Florida, in the RECORD, Mr. FREAR, of Wisconsin, has made some statements so palpably at variance with demonstrated facts and statistics that are matters of record that it becomes the duty of any Member who knows the facts to see that the records of this House are not permitted to stand with such misstatements uncorrected.

First, as to the census figures for the towns of Leesburg, Eustis, Tavares, and Mount Dora, all located along this waterway under discussion, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. FREAR] says the census of 1910 shows the following figures for those towns—page 2103, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

Leesburg	844
Eustis	529
Tavares	218
Mount Dora	150
Total	1,741

As a matter of fact and of undisputed record, the United States census of 1910 showed the following figures as the population of those towns:

Leesburg	991
Eustis	910
Tavares	175
Mount Dora	371
Total	2,447

Now, as a further fact and also a matter of record, we find that the State of Florida took a census in 1915, and this census shows:

Leesburg	1,360
Eustis	1,148
Tavares	449
Mount Dora	576
Total	3,533

But we still have not arrived at the basis which will "do justice * * * without fear or prejudice," as the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. FREAR] declares himself willing and attempting to do in this particular instance. The improvement of the Oklawaha River is not being planned for 1910, nor even for 1915. It is planned to begin in 1917 and to continue through to the next census time. We find that in the town of Leesburg there have been erected since the census of 1915 no less than 50 new homes; in Eustis, 30; in Tavares, 16; in Mount Dora, 20. With an average of five persons in a home we have an increase in population in the corporate limits of these four towns aggregating 580 persons. Then we find also that a much larger number of persons have established new homes along the shores of the lakes which this Oklawaha River improvement proposes to connect with tidewater, and they are just as much entitled to recognition in this project as if they resided within the borders of one or another of these towns. We find also that Leesburg's corporate limits are very greatly restricted and that the census report does not take into consideration the town of Newtown, peopled by negroes to the number of over 500, nor does it take in other contiguous suburbs with their elegant lakeside homes, such as Sunnyside, El Dorado, Esmeralda, Treasure Island, and Alta Vista. Nor does the census report include the hundreds of residents who own their homes in one or the other of these towns, but hold their citizenship in Northern States, some of them even in Wisconsin. Giving to each of these towns the present estimated population of itself and its immediate environs, and stating conservatively only such figures as are easily demonstrable, we find the following as the actual present population in the towns only upon which are based the benefits to be derived from the work proposed to begin now on the Oklawaha River and the lakes:

Ocala (about)	8,000
Leesburg	2,350
Eustis	1,700
Tavares	750
Mount Dora	875
Total	13,675

GEOGRAPHIC MISINFORMATION.

The gentleman's [Mr. FREAR'S] extension of remarks included an alleged statistical table, headed "Waterway projects credited to the second district," by which we presume the second district of Florida is meant. He has included in that table all of Florida except the Pensacola territory and part of Georgia.

He has charged this district with a waterway from "Savannah to Fernandina." It is 107 miles by rail from Savannah to the Florida State line.

He has included the harbor of Key West, which is over 300 miles from the nearest point, in the second district. And, further, he says Key West is in Dade County, when it is now, and has been heretofore, the county seat of Monroe.

He includes the Indian River, which is far down the east coast of Florida, fully 100 miles south of the second district, and he places it in "St. Lucia" County when there is, as a matter of fact, no such named county in the State of Florida.

This geographical misinformation is exactly on a par with the claim made a few lines further along when he claims "personal knowledge of the Oklawaha." That alleged personal knowledge is at direct variance with formal reports of Government engineers, after thorough and scientific investigation, which included levels, measurements, gradients, and volume of water, and it is contrary to and directly opposite to known and established facts never disputed by any official other than the Member from Wisconsin.

MISPLACED COMMERCE FIGURES.

He also states that the total commerce of the Oklawaha River for 1916, exclusive of logs, was 1,700 tons. These figures, like others in the same and other articles he has published in the RECORD, are absolutely incorrect, as is very easily and readily demonstrable.

Just as an indication of how misleading these figures are, compare them with the 3,400 tons of corn alone which we know went last year over the very portion of the river the proposed work is contemplated to improve. That tonnage existed. It was moved over the Oklawaha. There was no other way to move it.

But this is only a beginning. It has been shown on undisputed authority on the floor of this House within the past week, and was shown to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors when this project was placed in the bill by that committee, that the actual increase in tonnage over the portion of the waterway sought to be improved was over 20,000 tons in 1916. And not a splinter of a log was included in that, except it was in the form of finished lumber, plow handles, wagon wheels, or some other manufactured product.

But the gentleman from Wisconsin loses sight of his "justice and fairness" again, simultaneously with his losing sight of the very purpose of waterway improvement. We have shown that there exists a freight tonnage of not less than a million tons a year awaiting the improvement of this waterway.

We showed that to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, of which the gentleman is a member, but he was not present, and he has since stated that he was busy working "on" the bill itself—not as a constructionist but as a destructionist.

FLAGRANT MISSTATEMENT OF RECORDS.

There is one point in the attack on the Oklawaha project by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. FREAR] that is so clearly and flagrantly a deliberate misstatement that it can not be permitted to pass unchallenged in the manner it deserves.

On page 1866 of the RECORD are these words:

> And for this creek and commerce the Government must now pay $733,000 more, with the single condition that a "boat line" will be put in operation.

As a matter of fact, that statement is absolutely untrue, and anyone who has read House Document No. 514, from which that information was taken, ought to have known it was untrue. He says in the same issue of the RECORD that his attack is based upon the reports contained in this document.

Other conditions imposed are much greater burdens than the single condition cited by the gentleman. In the beginning, a right of way must be furnished and deeded to the United States. Then the United States must be protected against any liability for damages to land which may be overflowed as a result of this waterway improvement. It will be noted that here is something directly opposite to the statement of the gentleman that this is considered a reclamation scheme.

Another condition is that the city of Leesburg deed to the United States not only a right of way, but two canals that are already constructed and in daily use.

Still another condition is that in Leesburg the municipality must provide dock facilities so protected in a legal manner that access to the waterway will be assured to all persons on equal terms. This the city has voted bonds to do. It might be mentioned also that in Leesburg the zone of municipal control, subject to all Federal regulations, and therefore practically the zone of Federal control, is 300 feet in width for the entire length of the canal.

Two of these conditions are stated in the same paragraph as the one condition singled out by the gentleman from Wisconsin. (P. 2, H. Doc. 514.) The others his boasted "personal knowledge" of the Oklawaha should have revealed.

As to the comment of the gentleman from Wisconsin upon the editorial from the Leesburg (Fla.) Commercial, printed in the RECORD of January 3, he is very welcome to any enjoyment he may derive from twisting it to suit his own ideas of declamation. It is very noticeable that the gentleman did not attempt to controvert any statement of fact therein, except the one statement that the town of Kissimmee is not located upon the Kissimmee River, and in that he merely places his own statement against the physical contour of an inhabited, mapped, platted, and surveyed territory, and even admits that his whole source of geographic knowledge is a certain ambiguity in a statement contained in a engineering report. It is but natural to conclude, in view of the parallel misinformation which constitutes the gentleman's "personal knowledge" of the Oklawaha, that it, too, is based upon something equally as nebulous.

In conclusion, let us examine a statement from the gentleman's own extension of remarks. On page 2103 of the RECORD we find this paragraph:

> Any disinterested person who reads the engineer's report—No. 514, Sixty-third Congress—on the Oklawaha must inevitably come to the same conclusion, that the new project is indefensible.

Yet we find in that same document five indorsements of the project, from the local engineers on through all the red tape of the department, even with the signature and recommendation of the Chief of Engineers, and closing with this expressive indorsement:

> Approved.
>
> ROBERT SHAW OLIVER,
> *Assistant Secretary of War.*

Verily the mental processes of the gentleman from Wisconsin are past finding out. With this, Mr. Speaker, I shall dismiss consideration of the impossible gentleman from Wisconsin.

Public Buildings.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. FRANK JAMES,
OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 26, 1917.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. LANGLEY] has said that he has not been able to bring back any building or appropriation for his district. The gentleman from Kentucky has introduced 11 projects, and I take it for granted he would not introduce these projects unless he thought they were meritorious. The gentleman has introduced a good many pension bills, and they have gone to a committee of which I am a member. I do not think the gentleman would introduce a pension bill unless he thought it was meritorious, judging from my conversation with him and from letters. Here are the 11 bills he has introduced, and I judge the gentleman is of the opinion this kind of legislation should go through. It is simply a difference of opinion between the gentleman from Kentucky and some of the rest of us who happen to be opposed to the erection of public buildings in small towns, and towns where the postal receipts are small.

The matter of "sectionalism" has been brought up several times during this debate. Personally I have not raised that question and do not intend to do so.

I am not against the bill because it is from the North or the South, and since I have been in Congress I have never voted for or against a bill because it was from the North or South, and I never expect to draw that line.

Here are the bills which the gentleman has introduced:

Whitesburg, with 321 people; all that is asked for is $75,000, and all the rest are for $75,000: McKee, Ky., 146 people; Hindman, 370; Saylersville, 310; Jenkins, 1,897; Booneville, 236; Inez, Ky., not in the census of 1910; Hazard, 537 people; Pikeville, 1,280 people; Paintsville, 942 people; and Prestonburg, 1,120 people.

Mr. LANGLEY. They are not in this bill, if the gentleman will permit me.

Mr. JAMES. No; but it is not the fault of the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. LANGLEY. Oh, yes; it is. I only asked for what I regarded——

Mr. JAMES. I do not believe that the gentleman from Kentucky would introduce a bill, either for a pension or a building, that he did not think ought to go through.

Mr. LANGLEY. Ultimately, yes; but not all in one lump. [Laughter.] The trouble about the gentleman is that he has not been here long enough to know how business is run. He is wasting his time.

Mr. JAMES. I sincerely hope I shall be here long enough to see McKee, with its 146 people, with a population that will entitle it to a public building.

Mr. LANGLEY. By the time they erect a public building in some of the places——

Mr. JAMES. I refuse to yield.

The gentleman laid a good deal of stress on the fact a short time ago that Hazard was entitled to a building because they were going to use it for a mine rescue station. Now, they do not establish mine rescue stations as permanent propositions. It was so stated at the hearings in behalf of this bill. They are only put there until such time as the operators or the authorities themselves can take them over. So when you give a building for Hazard, Ky., because part of it is going to be used for a mine rescue station you are only wasting your time.

Mr. LANGLEY. Will the gentleman yield at that point?

Mr. JAMES. Not now.

Mr. LANGLEY. I just wanted to correct the gentleman. He is simply mistaken.

Mr. JAMES. The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BURNETT] at a hearing some time ago on Marengo, Iowa, where the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HULL] wanted a public building, said:

They have very small postal receipts and it is a very small town; $7,500 postal receipts and only 1,786 population. That was the population in 1910, of course.

And yet that town of Marengo is larger than the item which the gentleman from Iowa asked to be stricken from this bill.

Mr. HULL of Iowa said:

The population is 2,200 now. They claim 2,500, and, as the town is growing, they may have it.

Mr. BURNETT. But the postal receipts are only about $7,500?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Did I understand the gentleman to say that some gentleman from Iowa asked to have an item stricken from this bill?

Mr. JAMES. I say that this is from the hearing on the bill for Marengo, Iowa.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. I thought he said some gentleman from Iowa asked to have an item stricken from the bill.

Mr. JAMES. I will quote further:

Mr. BURNETT. I notice that their postal receipts have increased only $2,000 in 11 years. In 1905 they were over $5,000, and this last year they were only $7,000. That does not seem to be a very great increase.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

The Clerk read as follows:

CARROLLTON, ILL.

United States post office at Carrollton, Ill., $25,000.

Mr. JAMES. According to the figures furnished by the Treasury Department, Mr. Chairman——

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that unless the gentleman wants to make some motion——

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the paragraph.

The population of Carrollton, Ill., according to the figures furnished by the Treasury Department, in 1910 was 2,323, and the postal receipts $7,854. The postal receipts were $8,324.13 in October last. The present rent is $500, interest at 3 per cent. And the Treasury Department figures that maintenance will be $500 a year.

I want to read how the Treasury Department figures on these small buildings of $25,000, and I will read a letter from the Treasury Department, as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY,
Washington, December 15, 1916.

Hon. W. FRANK JAMES,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Referring further to your letter of the 17th ultimo, in regard to the pending public-buildings bill, and requesting information relative to the probable cost of maintenance, etc., of a Federal building in places similar in size to McKee, Ky., the following data is furnished you:

The department estimate for a building at a place of this size, and of similar postal receipts, for post-office purposes only, would probably be $25,000 for the building itself and $5,000 for the site. It is estimated that to furnish the building would require $3,000 additional, making a total outlay of $33,000.

Calculating 3 per cent on this investment, the interest charge would be $990. The yearly depreciation of the building and furniture, together with the approximate cost of annual repairs, would amount to 2½ per cent on the amount invested in the project, exclusive of cost of site, viz, on $28,000, which would be $700. Janitors are not provided for buildings of this size, but an employee known as fireman-laborer at $660 per annum, with a charwoman at $300 per annum, making a total expenditure for this service of $960. The cost of fuel, lights, and other supplies is estimated at $900 per annum.

Very truly, yours,

B. R. NEWTON,
Assistant Secretary.

I notice on page 4 of the report on the present bill the committee states in part that it is fixed in its opinion that "practically every item can be abundantly justified from the standpoint of economy, efficiency, and patriotism." Therefore, Mr. Chairman, as this particular item can not come under either class, I hope it will be stricken from the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. JAMES].

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

United States post office at Crockett, Tex., $25,000.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Chairman, on October 1, 1916, the postal receipts of this town, according to the statement of the department, were $9,203. This is another item where the present rent is $632, and the cost to the Government to maintain will be $4,200. Of this, $900 will be for maintenance. I would like to read a letter regarding the cost of maintenance. It was stated on the floor the other day that $900 was for soap. I want to read this letter:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, January 8, 1917.

Hon. W. FRANK JAMES,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Referring to your recent call at the department and request for information as to what constituted the item of supplies amounting to $900, contained in reports recently submitted to Congress in connection with various contemplated buildings, the following information is furnished you:

From the experience of the department in connection with the maintenance of small buildings in various parts of the country costing approximately about $50,000 it is estimated that the average cost for supplies amounts to $900, as tabulated below:

Light	$250
Fuel	350
Water	120
Ice, washing of towels, removal of ashes and rubbish, and miscellaneous supplies	180
Total	900

In connection with this estimate there is inclosed herewith a statement comprising the actual experience of the department relative to five buildings located in various sections of the country. As it will be seen, the cost for heating, as well as other items, varies materially, according to whether the building is located in the North or South.

Very truly, yours,

B. R. NEWTON, *Assistant Secretary.*

Aiken, S. C.—Post office; completed in 1912; cost, $47,218.48; cubic contents, 172,320 cubic feet; cost per cubic foot, $0.274.

COST OF INITIAL EQUIPMENT.
[Purchased in 1912.]

Furnishings	$2,233.46
Lighting fixtures	575.75
Safes	579.00
Carpets	31.41
Total	3,419.62

COST OF MAINTENANCE.
[Fiscal year 1914.]

Janitor service	$960.00
Light	191.23
Heat	300.00
Water	198.90
Miscellaneous supplies	76.35
Ice	50.00
Total	1,777.33

Cleveland, Tenn.—Post office; completed in 1911; cost, $46,995.46; cubic contents, 162,763 cubic feet; cost per cubic foot, $0.288.

COST OF INITIAL EQUIPMENT.
[Purchased in 1912.]

Furnishings	$2,308.21
Lighting fixtures	612.45
Safes	603.00
Carpets	29.15
Total	3,552.81

COST OF MAINTENANCE.
[Fiscal year 1914.]

Janitor service	$960.00
Light	122.18
Heat	105.00
Water	46.54
Miscellaneous supplies	34.35
Ice	18.70
Removing ashes and rubbish	4.75
Washing towels	6.60
Total	1,298.12

Malone, N. Y.—Post office; completed in 1912; cost, $46,157.85; cubic contents, 145,140 cubic feet; cost per cubic foot, $0.311.

COST OF INITIAL EQUIPMENT.
[Purchased in 1912.]

Furnishings	$2,164.93
Lighting fixtures	725.00
Safes	829.11
Carpets	69.28
Total	3,788.32

COST OF MAINTENANCE.
[Fiscal year 1914.]

Janitor service	$960.00
Light	251.55
Heat	422.00
Water	80.00
Miscellaneous supplies	97.47
Ice	12.00
Removing ashes and rubbish	54.90
Washing towels	11.77
Total	1,889.69

Rochester, Minn.—Post office; completed in 1912; cost, $49,988.60; cubic contents, 161,439 cubic feet; cost per cubic foot, $0.309.

COST OF INITIAL EQUIPMENT.
[Purchased in 1912.]

Furnishings	$2,124.36
Lighting fixtures	728.05
Safes	548.00
Carpets	31.77
Total	3,432.18

COST OF MAINTENANCE.
[Fiscal year 1914.]

Janitor service	$960.00
Light	231.57
Heat	435.50
Water	132.11
Miscellaneous supplies	74.69
Removing ashes and rubbish	9.75
Washing towels	32.96
Total	1,876.58

San Marcos, Tex.—Post office, completed in 1912; cost, $48,874.99; cubic contents, 164,160 cubic feet; cost per cubic foot, $0.297.

COST OF INITIAL EQUIPMENT.

[Purchased in 1912.]

Furnishings	$1,883.59
Lighting fixtures	485.35
Safes	484.50
Carpets	29.04
Total	2,882.48

COST OF MAINTENANCE.

[Fiscal year 1914.]

Janitor service	$960.00
Light	119.43
Heat	216.64
Water	141.13
Miscellaneous supplies	157.03
Ice	30.00
Removing ashes and rubbish	13.00
Washing towels	3.24
Total	1,640.47

JANUARY 7, 1917.

Hon. B. R. NEWTON,
Assistant Secretary, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. NEWTON: In re public-buildings bill.

Kindly refer to your letter of the 15th of December.

You state that it costs about $900 for fuel, light, and other supplies. It occurs to me that this is rather high, and I should appreciate it very much if you will go into this matter more in detail.

Yours, very sincerely.

_____ _____.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the motion to strike out the item.

The question was taken, and the motion was lost.

The Clerk read as follows:

United States post office at Green River, Wyo., $25,000.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. The town of Green River, Wyo., is a very prosperous place. There are many Federal activities there, and this post office is absolutely essential to that community. I move that all debate upon this paragraph and amendments thereto be now closed.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the motion to close debate upon the paragraph and amendments thereto.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. FREAR) there were—ayes 97, noes 5.

So the motion was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The question now is upon the amendment offered by the gentleman from Florida to strike out the last word.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. JAMES) there were—ayes 0, noes 52.

So the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

United States post office at Greenville, Ala., $30,000.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I rise to discuss the item——

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that there is nothing before the House. What question is before the committee?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. The adoption of this item.

Mr. GARDNER. But the gentleman can not be recognized unless he has an amendment to offer.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Then, Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. Mr. Chairman, I desire to say that many years ago I visited Greenville, Ala.——

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that the gentleman is not discussing his motion to strike out the last word.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Yes; I am discussing it. This relates to Greenville, Ala. I want to say——

Mr. GARDNER. But the gentleman is discussing Alabama.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Yes; Greenville, Ala. Having said what I did, that I visited this place several years ago, I can conclude my remarks by stating that it is rightly included in this bill. Mr. Chairman, I move that all further debate upon this paragraph and amendments thereto be now closed.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Florida to close debate on the paragraph and amendments thereto.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. JAMES) there were—ayes 83, noes 4.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Chairman, I demand tellers.

The CHAIRMAN (after counting). Five gentleman have risen, not a sufficient number.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Chairman, I demand the other side.

Mr. MANN. There is no other side to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

The CHAIRMAN. The rule is one-fifth of a quorum may decide whether there shall be tellers or not.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out "$30,000" and insert "$25,000."

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I moved to close all debate on the paragraph and amendments thereto, and the motion has been agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The motion before the House is that of the gentleman from Florida to strike out the last word. That is the pending motion.

The question was taken, and the Chairman announced the noes appeared to have it.

On a division (demanded by Mr. JAMES) there were—ayes 6, noes 82.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. GOOD. What has become of my motion to strike out $30,000 and insert $25,000?

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 12, line 4, strike out "$30,000" and insert "$25,000."

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I move that all debate close on the paragraph and amendments thereto.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, I ask that I may proceed for three minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent to proceed for three minutes. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, under the rules of the House it is impossible to save time by attempting to stifle debate. Of the procedure of the gentleman from Florida I have no criticism to make. Under the rules the motion to close debate is subject to amendment ad libitum, and upon every one of those you can have a division. After debate is closed you can offer amendments until the Chair goes blind, and I have never seen the Chairman of this committee get blind. Now, two or three gentlemen are here who desire to discuss certain items. The only way to do, after all, will be for the House to let them discuss those items in accordance with the rules. The time is not very great for any one item, and then this body, if it is necessary, might have to sit at night in order to pass the bill. That has occurred frequently in the past and will occur in the future; and if the House becomes satisfied that some Members are attempting to debate purely for filibuster, they never make any progress by that, whereas a filibuster is always successful in the effort to get a chance to debate. Now, Members are pretty well worked up to-night, and I suggest to the chairman of the committee he move to rise, and if necessary sit all to-morrow and to-morrow night and let gentlemen debate if they want to be heard.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. I want to dispose of the pending proposition before taking any steps.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman insist upon his motion?

Mr. GOOD. I shall not only insist upon the motion but I shall make as many motions for each item as I can, as long as the chairman of the committee insists upon filibustering and preventing the committee from discussing these items as long as the committee is not filibustering.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. If the gentleman from Illinois will permit, I would like permission to proceed for about a minute.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I want to make this statement: For the first time in the history of Congress we have brought in an omnibus public-buildings bill here and thrown it wide open to discussion, to amendment, and to consideration. Three or four gentlemen have shown a disposition absolutely to block the progress of Congress. They have gone through this matter and put their whole case in the RECORD——

Mr. LANGLEY. Several times.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. One gentleman persisted in making a tariff speech here for an hour or more by moving practically to strike out the last word at the end of every line——

Mr. CRAMTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. No; I will not—and undertook to make that kind of a speech for the purpose of delaying this bill. These gentlemen, as I say, have had ample opportunity to put their case in the RECORD. They have put it in the RECORD, they have seen the temper of the House, and they know that the House intends to pass this bill.

Now, they have made their arguments, they have presented their case, and why can they not in good conscience allow the

Congress to go forward with its work and do its work? I want to say this, that I am going in a moment to ask the committee to rise, but not out of deference to these gentlemen who have sought to filibuster. I prefer to sit here all night. But some things are bothering some other gentlemen, and out of consideration for them I intend to move to rise. But I want to say this, that we have been perfectly fair, we have opened this bill to amendment for these gentlemen, and if they would offer their amendments and discuss the actual questions involved in the amendments there would be no objection to having the five minutes' debate. But they go out and ramble all over the wide, wide world and talk about rivers and harbors, the tariff, and everything under the sun except the amendments they offer. And I want to put them on notice now that if the House will stand by the committee we will put this bill through to-morrow, if we have to get another rule. We did try to get, and did get, a fair rule and tried to act fairly and squarely, but if gentlemen will insist on filibustering we will try to bring in a rule here that will put this bill through, and, if necessary, we will stay here all night to-morrow night to do it.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I wish to ask the committee to dispose of this item.

Mr. JAMES. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. No; I will not.

Mr. GOOD. I wish to say to the gentleman that I am perfectly willing, inasmuch as the gentleman has stated he is going to rise, and I think that he will permit a limited debate on these things to-morrow, to withdraw my amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

United States post office at Havana, Ill., $40,000.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the section. This seems to be a post office the bill for which was introduced by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RAINEY]. I heard his very eloquent speech several days ago regarding economy, and the fact that the gentleman opposes any large appropriation at this session, I hope, will induce him to agree to my amendment and that it will prevail.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amend, on page 12, by striking out line 5.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment.

The question was considered, and the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

United States post office at Lyons, N. Y., $40,000.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the paragraph. This is another item which the Treasury Department states will not appear to be of any profit to the Government. I want to call attention to the fact that in 1890 this town had a population of 4,475, 4,300 in 1900, and 4,460 in 1915, losing 15 in 20 years.

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

United States post office at Marengo, Iowa, $30,000.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Chairman, this seems to be another town where the population is less in 1910 than in 1900, having a population of 2,070 in 1900 and 1,786 in 1910. I would like to read from the hearings which took place on March 23, 1916, at which were present Mr. CLARK of Florida, chairman; Mr. BURNETT; and Mr. AUSTIN:

Mr. BURNETT. They have very small postal receipts and it is a very small town; $7,500 postal receipts and only 1,786 population.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Will the gentleman permit?

Mr. JAMES. I will.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. I want to call the gentleman's attention to the fact that the postal receipts of this town increased over $3,000 in one year—in 1915. It is something over $7,000 in 1916. They have way over $10,000.

Mr. JAMES. I am talking about the time the gentleman from Iowa appeared before the committee.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. All right.

Mr. JAMES. And it is upon that information that the item for the public building was reported out in this bill.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. If the gentleman will permit me, I stated yesterday distinctly that we not only had that information but we looked into the prospects of the town where it appeared to be undoubtedly true that before this bill could be considered it would reach the limit, and allowed the item. I stated that several times.

Mr. JAMES. What did the gentleman do with the towns of Carlinville, Ill.; with Decatur, Ind.; Green River, Wyo.; with Greensburg, Ind.; with Linton, Ind.; with Newark, Del.; with Niles, Ohio; with Rogersville, Tenn.; where the postal receipts were less in the quarter ending September 30, 1916, than nine months before, January 1, 1916?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. We will answer that when we get to them.

Mr. JAMES. I notice further along Mr. BURNETT repeats:

I notice that their postal receipts have increased only $2,000 in 11 years. In 1905 they were over $5,000, and this last year they were only $7,000. That does not seem to be a very great increase.

And I want to say when $7,500 postal receipts with a population of 1,786 seems small in Iowa it is considered very large for some other State in the Union.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the motion to strike out.

The question was taken, and the motion was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

United States post office at Clare, Mich., $35,000.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the paragraph.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 18, amend by striking out line 1.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Chairman, I notice that this is a Michigan item introduced by one of my colleagues [Mr. LOUD]. The original amount of the bill as introduced was $50,000. The committee has allowed $35,000. Clare, Mich., only had a population of 1,174 in 1890 and 1,326 in 1900 and 1,350 in 1910. I think we ought to have a chance, Mr. Chairman, to criticize undesirable items like this, and I am glad therefore that resolution 400, sponsored by the Public Buildings Committee, and which would have prevented my offering this amendment, was not reported out by the Rules Committee. There is no reason that a town, whether it is in Michigan, Maine, Alabama, or Kentucky, or where it is located, and which only increased 24 in 10 years, that only had postal receipts of $8,590 at the time the bill was introduced by my colleague, is entitled to a $35,000 post office. The bill as introduced will cost $3,600 to maintain, including interest, depreciation of the building and furniture, janitor, heat, electric light, and so forth, or practically three-fourths of the postal receipts of that town. The rent now being paid is $549.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. What did the gentleman say the receipts were in 1915?

Mr. JAMES. Eight thousand five hundred and ninety dollars on January 1, 1916.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. I beg the gentleman's pardon; they were $10,017.88.

Mr. JAMES. The statement I hold from the Treasury Department——

Mr. CLARK of Florida. I got mine from the Post Office Department.

Mr. JAMES. Yes; and when the gentleman's hearings were held, and when Congressmen appeared before the committee on behalf of any item, they quoted to you figures furnished them by the Treasury Department.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. These were the exact figures we had.

Mr. JAMES. So, according to the figures prepared by the Treasury Department, this town only had postal receipts of $8,590.91 on January 1, 1916. I do not believe the people of Clare themselves want a post office of that kind—$35,000.

As I stated, the rent is now only $549. The interest on the proposed $35,000 at 3 per cent would be $1,050. Judging from the experience of the Government, it will cost $960 for janitor-fireman and scrub woman. In addition, it would cost $900 each year for fuel, electric light, and so forth. And judging from the experience of the Government at Newark, N. Y., these figures are correct. For the fiscal year of 1916 at Newark, N. Y., the expenses were as follows:

Light	$303.43
Heat	438.31
Water	24.38
Miscellaneous items	80.92
Ice	15.25
Removing ashes and rubbish	21.75
Washing towels	9.37
Total	893.41

Mr. KELLEY. Mr. Chairman, I notice that my colleague from Michigan [Mr. LOUD] is not on the floor. This town is in his district, and as Mr. LOUD is not here I want to say to my colleague [Mr. JAMES] that I know something about the village or city of Clare, which, I think, perhaps might throw a little light upon the subject of its population. The city of Clare lies partly in Isabella County and partly in Clare County. Now, as I recollect it, only that portion of the city that lies in Clare County is included in the city limits. There are some five or six hundred people who are actually inhabitants of the city of Clare living just across the county line in Isabella County, but are not included in the census for the city of Clare. I think

perhaps that will explain the matter of population. This is quite a rapidly growing, flourishing community in the central part of Michigan. I know if my colleague [Mr. LOUD] were here he could give the House more exact information, but a good many years ago I used to teach school at Mount Pleasant, which is a near-by city, and I know quite a bit about the locality and the location of the town. I particularly recall that it is partly in one county and partly in another, and the portion in Isabella County does not lie within the corporate limits of the city.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Does the gentleman say the population of Clare has increased?

Mr. KELLEY. Oh, yes; I am sure it has increased, but what I am saying particularly is that the figures given by my colleague [Mr. JAMES] may mislead the House as to the actual population of Clare, because perhaps five or six hundred people live across the county line who are not included in the figures which he gave.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The gentleman from Michigan is a highly respected Member of this House and I would take his word on the question. Does the gentleman think there is a necessity for a new post office?

Mr. KELLEY. I would not go as far as to say that. I have not been in Clare for a good many years. I am only directing my remarks to the question of population, which I wanted to state correctly as I understand it.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The rest of the Members are not informed in this matter. Does the gentleman think that item ought to be stricken out?

Mr. KELLEY. I do not. The chairman of the committee [Mr. CLARK] has stated that the receipts of the office of Clare are above $10,000 and I do not see any reason why the item should be stricken out, if other towns where the receipts are no greater are left in the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the motion to strike out.

The question was taken, and the motion was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

United States post office and other Government offices at Morgan City, La., $40,000.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the paragraph. Morgan City, La., seems to have postal receipts, October 1 last, of $8,370.63. It costs $3,800 to maintain this building. This is another building which the Treasury Department states will not be profitable to the Government. The rent now paid is only $960. Interest alone will be $1,200 per annum on the proposed new building.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

Mr. KELLEY. Mr. Chairman, may I ask the gentleman one question?

Mr. JAMES. Yes.

Mr. KELLEY. I understand that my colleague's objection to various items in this bill is to those where the receipts are less than $10,000. Is that correct?

Mr. JAMES. That is partly the reason; yes; partly the fact that we are facing a deficit of over $300,000,000, and also the fact that I am not in favor of erecting public buildings or buying sites in dead, dying, or decadent towns.

Mr. KELLEY. I would like to ask my colleague whether or not he has made a list of all of such cities included in the bill; and if so, what the aggregate appropriations for these places would be?

Mr. JAMES. I will take each item as we come to it. While I have not made such a list, the Treasury Department has.

Mr. KELLEY. I am asking you if you have made a list and if you have made an aggregate? I would like to know the sum total.

Mr. JAMES. If the gentleman would like to know the list of the different projects that the Treasury Department does not recommend, and which they state could not be built with profit to the Government, I shall be pleased to put it in the RECORD.

Mr. KELLEY. You have not the information?

Mr. JAMES. I have a list of what they consider undesirable items, and of which they do not approve. The officials of the Treasury Department are in position to know whether or not these items are desirable.

Mr. KELLEY. I want to know what the aggregate expense provided in this bill for such projects as you are objecting to amounts to.

Mr. JAMES. I shall be pleased to put in the RECORD the different items criticized by the Treasury Department, and the gentleman can figure up the total amount.

Mr. KELLEY. My colleague has not added these items together?

Mr. JAMES. I shall be pleased to put these items in the RECORD. In the meantime I expect to call attention of the House to each undesirable item as we reach it, and will show why a public building should not be built in the town mentioned, or why a site should not be purchased.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Chairman, to show the indiscriminate objection to these items I want to call attention to this one. Here is a town shown by the census of 1910 to have a population of 5,477 people. The amount being paid for rent is $960 a year. There is to be taken care of the post office, the civil service, and the customs service. There is a customs office at Morgan City. The population is vastly more now, and the receipts are $8,700, in addition to the customs, with a population of more than 5,000. And yet gentlemen object. As to these maintenance charges, I think I covered that in my original argument, in which I showed the employment of janitors was folly; that these supplies were folly.

Mr. JAMES. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CLARK of Florida. No. It is simply ridiculous. There are no such maintenance charges as the gentlemen are talking about here.

I ask for a vote on the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

United States post office at Mount Olive, N. C., $30,000.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the paragraph.

The chairman of the committee states that the maintenance charges are folly. I wish to show from quoting Rochester, Minn., that $900 and more is paid on buildings of this kind. The light at Rochester, Minn., was $231.57; heat, $435.50; water, $132.11; miscellaneous supplies, $74.69; removing ashes and rubbish, $32.96, which shows that $900 is being paid in small buildings of this kind.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. JAMES].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. JAMES. To show that it is costing this Government $900 in many cases for fuel, light, water, and so forth, I give the following additional figures furnished by the Treasury Department, as per the letter.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, January 11, 1917.

Hon. W. FRANK JAMES,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The department is in receipt of your inquiry in regard to the cost of maintenance of buildings the construction cost of which was $25,000.

The department has only recently undertaken the construction of buildings having a ground area of less than 4,000 square feet. No such buildings have been in service for any length of time, and it is impossible to give any figures based on actual experience as to the cost of their maintenance.

It may be briefly stated that a cost value of $25,000 does not necessarily indicate a building of smaller capacity than one costing $40,000, the difference being possibly due to a cheaper method of construction or the use of less expensive materials. Because, therefore, a building may cost approximately half the amount of another building, it could not be stated that the cost of maintenance would be accordingly decreased one-half.

Plans are now under way looking to the construction of buildings having a lesser ground area than that given above, and an effort has been made to prepare an estimate as to probable cost of their maintenance. As will be noted, the figures do not differ materially from those given you as the result of actual experience in certain buildings, and it must be understood, as stated, that the figures are simply estimates.

	South.	North.
Janitor service	$660	$960
Light	150	200
Heat	300	400
Water	75	100
Miscellaneous repairs	80	75
Ice	50	50
Ashes and rubbish	40	50
Total	1,355	1,835

In regard to the rental of post-office quarters in small towns, in some cases amounting to $1 per annum, it may be stated that this is undoubtedly due to competition among merchants for the advantages in the way of trade accruing to those who set apart a portion of their structures for post-office uses. This is especially illustrated in the case of Long Beach, Cal., to which you refer. This place is a summer resort, and a rental of $100 per annum has been paid, but recently the Post Office Department, as the result of competition among merchants for the advantages as noted above, has accepted a proposal to rent quarters from December 1, 1916, at $1 per annum.

Very truly, yours,

B. R. NEWTON.
Assistant Secretary.

JANUARY 17, 1917.

Ansonia, Conn.—Post office; completed in 1914; cost, $59,824.14; cubical contents, 171,045; cost per cubic foot, $0.349.

INITIAL EQUIPMENT.

[Purchased 1914.]

Furnishings	$1,880.69
Lighting fixtures	700.00
Safes	958.81
Carpets	19.87
Total	3,559.37

MAINTENANCE.

[Fiscal year 1916.]

Janitor service	$1,260.00
Light	265.54
Heat	316.39
Water	31.10
Miscellaneous supplies	67.83
Ice	12.10
Removing ashes and rubbish	9.00
Washing towels	11.74
Total	1,973.70

Oldtown, Me.—Post office; completed in 1914; cost, $59,603.24; cubical contents, 135,000; cost per cubic foot, $0.441.

INITIAL EQUIPMENT.

[Purchased 1913.]

Furnishings	$1,499.28
Lighting fixtures	286.00
Safes	854.25
Carpets	33.70
Total	2,673.23

MAINTENANCE.

[Fiscal year 1916.]

Janitor service	$1,260.00
Light	139.37
Heat	482.42
Water	45.88
Miscellaneous supplies	73.86
Ice	23.20
Removing ashes and rubbish	7.50
Washing towels	22.93
Total	2,055.16

Newark, N. Y.—Post office; completed in 1913; cost, $39,987.04; cubical contents, 138,000; cost per cubic foot, $0.289.

INITIAL EQUIPMENT.

[Purchased 1913.]

Furnishings	$1,976.72
Lighting fixtures	250.00
Safes	1,150.16
Carpets	35.40
Total	3,412.28

MAINTENANCE.

[Fiscal year 1916.]

Janitor service	$1,260.00
Light	303.43
Heat	438.31
Water	24.38
Miscellaneous supplies	80.92
Ice	15.25
Removing ashes and rubbish	21.75
Washing towels	9.37
Total	2,153.41

Dalton, Ga.—Post office; completed in 1910; cost, $43,116.48; cubical contents, 114,460; cost per cubic foot, $0.376.

INITIAL EQUIPMENT.

[Purchased 1910.]

Furnishings	$2,198.77
Lighting fixtures	420.75
Safes	557.00
Carpets	142.54
Total	3,319.06

MAINTENANCE.

[Fiscal year 1916.]

Janitor service	$660.00
Light	229.58
Heat	165.95
Water	37.60
Miscellaneous supplies	104.41
Ice	6.75
Removing ashes and rubbish	
Washing towels	6.48
Total	1,210.77

Great Bend, Kans.—Post office completed in 1912; cost, $53,991.93; cubical contents, 158,994; cost per cubic foot, $0.339.

INITIAL EQUIPMENT.

[Purchased 1913.]

Furnishings	$1,823.69
Lighting fixtures	550.00
Safes	894.90
Carpets	34.50
Total	3,303.09

MAINTENANCE.

[Fiscal year 1916.]

Janitor service	$1,260.00
Light	93.20
Heat	166.25
Water	$50.80
Miscellaneous supplies	83.01
Ice	22.25
Removing ashes and rubbish	13.47
Washing towels	11.62
Total	1,700.60

Boonville, Mo.—Post office completed in 1915; cost, $49,315.31; cubical contents, 155,500; cost per cubic foot, $0.317.

INITIAL EQUIPMENT.

[Purchased 1915.]

Furnishings	$2,165.02
Lighting fixtures	1,000.00
Safes	790.70
Carpets	55.20
Total	4,010.92

MAINTENANCE.

[Fiscal year 1916.]

Janitor service	$1,260.00
Light	142.71
Heat	214.16
Water	41.66
Miscellaneous supplies	257.73
Ice	52.89
Removing ashes and rubbish	8.00
Washing towels	12.96
Total	1,990.11

Atlantic, Iowa—Post office; completed in 1906; cost, $29,966.49; cubical contents, 101,640; cost per cubic foot, $0.294.

INITIAL EQUIPMENT.

[Purchased, 1907.]

Furnishings	$1,302.08
Lighting fixtures	409.45
Safes	589.00
Carpets	42.30
Total	2,342.83

MAINTENANCE.

[Fiscal year 1916.]

Janitor service	$900.00
Light	136.54
Heat	382.25
Water	19.86
Miscellaneous supplies	54.49
Ice	7.50
Removing ashes and rubbish	15.00
Washing towels	6.40
Total	1,522.04

Bonham, Tex.—Post office; completed in 1914; cost, $49,070.16; cubical contents, 180,000; cost per cubic foot, $0.272.

INITIAL EQUIPMENT.

[Purchased, 1914.]

Furnishing	$2,255.34
Lighting fixtures	375.00
Safes	1,014.45
Carpets	28.28
Total	3,673.07

MAINTENANCE.

[Fiscal year 1916.]

Janitor service	$1,260.00
Light	183.40
Heat	206.25
Water	43.40
Miscellaneous supplies	109.25
Ice	67.50
Removing ashes and rubbish	3.50
Washing towels	8.48
Total	1,881.78

Sulphur Springs, Tex.—Post office completed in 1914; cost, $47,241.88; cubical contents, 143,600; cost per cubic foot, $0.329.

INITIAL EQUIPMENT.

[Purchased, 1914.]

Furnishings	$1,973.39
Lighting fixtures	405.15
Safes	910.00
Carpets	36.73
Total	3,325.27

MAINTENANCE.

[Fiscal year 1916.]

Janitor service	$1,260.00
Light	205.06
Heat	151.69
Water	126.13
Miscellaneous supplies	148.45
Ice	27.85
Removing ashes and rubbish	
Washing towels	8.74
Total	1,927.92

Baker, Oreg.—Post office completed in 1910; cost, $64,995.55; cubical contents, 148,200; cost per cubic foot, $0.438.

INITIAL EQUIPMENT.

[Purchased, 1911.]

Furnishings	$3,536.70
Lighting fixtures	858.35
Safes	1,306.09
Carpets	104.48
Total	5,805.62

MAINTENANCE.

[Fiscal year 1916.]

Janitor service	$960.00
Light	272.25
Heat	535.33
Water	85.05
Miscellaneous supplies	110.30
Removing ashes and rubbish	10.92
Washing towels	8.10
Total	1,981.95

Albany, Oreg.—Post office completed in 1915; cost, $60,359.36; cubical contents, 187,000; cost per cubic foot, $0.322.

INITIAL EQUIPMENT.

[Purchased 1914.]

Furnishings	$3,170.47
Lighting fixtures	641.00
Safes	1,190.88
Carpets	72.76
Total	5,075.11

MAINTENANCE.

[Fiscal year 1916.]

Janitor service	$1,260.00
Light	192.30
Heat	606.55
Water	86.13
Miscellaneous supplies	87.09
Ice	6.63
Removing ashes and rubbish	9.25
Washing towels	19.41
Total	2,267.36

The Clerk read as follows:

United States post office at Union Springs, Ala., $25,000.

Mr. JAMES. I move to strike out the paragraph.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Michigan offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 16, strike out lines 8 and 9.

Mr. JAMES. On October 1, 1916, the postal receipts of Union Springs, Ala., were $7,005.01. On January 1, at the time the bill was introduced, the postal receipts were $7,027. The Government is now paying no rent at all at Union Springs, Ala., and this is one of the items condemned by the Treasury Department, which estimates that it will cost the Government $4,800 a year to maintain the proposed structure.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment.

The amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

United States post office at Blakely, Ga., $6,000.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the paragraph. The population of Blakely, Ga., in 1910 was 1,838. The postal receipts on January 1, last were $6,327.50. At present the Government is paying nothing for rent. The cost of maintenance of the new building will be $4,400. I wish to read regarding this matter of buying sites, from page 68 of the report of the Public Buildings Commission. This Public Building Committee was a very distinguished commission, consisting of the following:

PUBLIC BUILDINGS COMMISSION.

Hon William G. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury, chairman; Hon. James C. McReynolds, Attorney General; Hon. Albert S. Burleson, Postmaster General; Senator CLAUDE A. SWANSON; Senator GEORGE SUTHERLAND; Representative FRANK CLARK; Representative RICHARD W. AUSTIN; Sherman Allen, assistant to the chairman; Jay F. Durham, secretary.

In many instances the authorization for the purchase of the site has been made a commitment——

Mr. CRAMTON. If I may interrupt the gentleman at that point. A few minutes ago the gentleman referred to a rule, sponsored by the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, with reference to debate upon the bill. Was that a different rule from the rule under which we are proceeding?

Mr. JAMES. It was.

Mr. CRAMTON. I would ask if the gentleman would, in extending his remarks, insert the rule to which he referred. I am not asking him to read it here.

Mr. JAMES. The rule, as introduced by the committee, provided for two hours' debate to be controlled by the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CLARK] and two hours by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. AUSTIN], at the end of which time general debate would close, and the only amendments which may be offered may be committee amendments. There would be no discussion of other amendments, and no one but a member of the committee could offer an amendment or even talk on any amendment proposed by the committee.

Mr. CRAMTON. Will the gentleman kindly insert the rule in his extension?

Mr. JAMES. I shall be pleased to do so. The full rule, which is House Rule No. 400, reads as follows:

Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution the House shall resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 17052) to increase the limit of cost of certain public buildings, etc.; that in the committee the first reading of the bill shall be dispensed with; that there shall be not to exceed two hours of general debate to be under the control of the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CLARK] and two hours of general debate to be under the control of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. AUSTIN], said debate to be confined to the subject matter of the bill; that at the conclusion of the general debate the bill shall be read by paragraphs for committee amendments and no others; that at the conclusion of such reading the committee shall rise and report the bill to the House, whereupon the previous question shall be considered as ordered upon the bill and amendments to final passage.

Page 68 of the report of the Public Buildings Commission goes on, as follows:

In many instances the authorization for the purchase of a site has been made as a commitment on the part of the Government to the ultimate erection of a public building. Since towns and cities often change rapidly, especially in the West, in increase or decrease, this has many disadvantages. This was the case at Goldfield, Nev., where a site and building was authorized May 30, 1908, at a cost of $75,000, but has not yet been erected—

At that time Goldfield had a population of about 18,000, and in 1910 it had, I understand, about 5,000. And, I may say, the Government has not even seen fit to buy the site—

There can be scarcely any advantage in the practice to the Government unless it be that the early authorization permits the acquiring of title in ample time for building operations. The acquiring of the title by the Government takes an average of six months to nine months.

Sometimes this period is much shorter and at other times considerably longer. The site for the public building at Passaic, N. J., was acquired in about one month. The site for the building at Palatka, Fla., has been two years in an attempt to furnish title.

Under present conditions, with the work in the Supervising Architect's Office far back of the authorizations for public buildings, there can be no real public gain, through the authorization and acquiring of sites before a building is authorized. It is quite possible that there may be public loss. It is recommended, therefore, that this practice be abandoned and that sites for public buildings be authorized only when the authorization for the building itself accompanies the legislation.

It is recommended that sites for public buildings be not authorized in advance of the authorization for the buildings. The estimated cost of sites now authorized is $11,847,492.30, of which amount there has been appropriated $5,758,992.30. It is estimated by the Supervising Architect that should buildings be authorized for the sites for which none have yet been provided, at a time which would enable the construction work to be continued without break, that at a rate of progress of 75 buildings per year the last of the sites authorized will not be improved until about 1922. The adoption of the recommendations of this report will, however, materially increase the present yearly output of buildings.

There were authorized in the act of 1910 sites for 143 buildings, but buildings were not provided for upon 114 of these sites until the act of 1913. Nineteen buildings were authorized in the act of 1913 to be placed upon sites authorized prior to 1910. There are now 29 sites, the purchase of which was authorized in 1910, for which no buildings have been authorized.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Michigan.

The question was taken, and the amendment was rejected.

Mr. JAMES. Section 15 of the bill provides for the display of the American flag on all secular days. It is not necessary to pass a $38,000,000 public-building bill in order that the flag shall float on our public buildings. The following letter from the Treasury Department explains itself:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, January 10, 1917.

Hon. W. FRANK JAMES,
United States House of Representatives.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Referring to your letter of the 6th instant relative to the use of flags on Federal buildings, the regulations of the department for many years have required the daily display of flags on its public buildings, and flags have been furnished for this purpose. The following is an extract from the addenda to printed "Instructions to custodians, 1905," a copy of which has been furnished to each custodian:

"Flags will be supplied as follows: National ensigns through the Office of the Supervising Architect, Treasury Department, and revenue flags through the Customs Division, Treasury Department. National ensigns should be hoisted 'during the hours of business, except when stormy weather prevents its display.' When stormy weather or high winds prevent the flying of the large flag, the small storm flag should be hoisted, unless the velocity of the wind is such that it is considered inadvisable to do so. Employees in charge of hoisting and lowering flags should be instructed to fold same when not in use and place them where they will not be soiled or torn. If flags are wet when taken down, they should be spread out and thoroughly dried be-

fore being folded and stored. When the flags show signs of wear and tear they should be repaired. When they become so worn and whipped out as to be beyond repair and no longer serviceable, they must be burned, either in the furnace in the building or other available place."

In addition to the above regulations, the building inspectors of this department have instructions to explain to custodians that the flag is to be taken down at sunset and stored for the night, to be hoisted again at the resumption of business on the following workday; also that in addition to being displayed on all working days when the weather permits, it is to be hoisted on holidays (not including Sunday, except on the second Sunday in May, designated as Mothers' Day), and on Memorial Day it is to be half-masted. These inspectors are furthermore instructed to see that the regulations referred to are closely observed.

New national ensigns are furnished by the department to its Federal buildings as frequently as may be necessary to replace those worn out.

Very truly, yours,

B. R. NEWTON,
Assistant Secretary.

The present bill includes buildings or buildings and sites which the Treasury Department states "could not probably be built with profit to the Government" and where the postal receipts were less than $10,000 on January 1, 1916:

WHERE POSTAL RECEIPTS WERE LESS THAN $5,000.

Name of place.	Postal receipts.	Present bill allows—	Population in 1910.	Present rent.	Treasury estimate of maintenance of new building.
Attalla, Ala	$4,610.21	$30,000	2,513	$460	$3,200
Barbourville, Ky	4,532.95	25,000	1,633	406	3,800
Eminence, Ky	4,402.53	40,000	1,274	193	3,700
Green River, Wyo	4,370.18	25,000	1,313	.....	3,800
Huntingdon, Tenn	4,427.28	25,000	1,112	.....	3,300
Nephi, Utah	4,936.08	25,000	2,759	95	3,800
Newcastle, Wyo	4,174.70	25,000	975	.....	3,800
Hazard, Ky	4,477.43	40,000	537	250	3,800

WHERE POSTAL RECEIPTS WERE LESS THAN $6,000.

Albertville, Ala	$5,663.04	$25,000	1,544	$500	$3,700
Central City, Ky	5,707.92	30,000	2,545	500	4,100
Falmouth, Ky	5,638.24	25,000	1,180	340	3,400
Mount Olive, N. C	5,679.28	30,000	1,071	420	4,000
West Point, Va	5,039.37	25,000	1,397	.....	3,400

WHERE POSTAL RECEIPTS WERE LESS THAN $7,000.

Brinkley, Ark	$6,114.53	$25,000	1,740	$550	$3,500
Murray, Ky	6,357.93	25,000	2,089	240	3,500
Pikeville, Ky	6,149.72	35,000	1,280	332	3,500
Unionville, Mo	6,950.44	30,000	2,000	450	4,000

WHERE POSTAL RECEIPTS WERE LESS THAN $8,000.

Carrollton, Ill	$7,854.95	$25,000	2,323	$500	$3,600
Crockett, Tex	7,801.03	25,000	3,947	632	4,200
Dillon, S. C	7,733.63	25,000	1,757	400	4,000
Marengo, Iowa	7,503.33	30,000	1,786	480	3,800
Monroe, Ga	7,361.51	30,000	3,029	450	4,500
Rogersville, Tenn	7,679.56	25,000	1,242	410	3,300
Sandersville, Ga	7,855.16	30,000	2,641	600	4,800
Sylacauga, Ala	7,256.27	30,000	1,456	534	3,500
Union Springs, Ala	7,027.98	25,000	4,055	.....	4,800
Waynesboro, Ga	7,022.26	25,000	2,729	400	4,200

WHERE POSTAL RECEIPTS WERE LESS THAN $9,000.

Edenton, N. C	$8,861.03	$25,000	2,789	$660	$4,000
Morgan City, La	8,370.63	40,000	5,477	960	3,800
Rossville, Ga	8,062.48	25,000	1,059	398	4,200
Bowling Green, Mo	8,923.57	40,000	1,585	780	4,300
Clare, Mich	8,590.91	35,000	1,350	549	4,500
De Ridder, La	8,854.54	30,000	2,100	300	4,800
Lewisburg, W. Va	8,017.37	82,000	803	540	6,800

WHERE POSTAL RECEIPTS WERE LESS THAN $10,000.

Eldorado, Ark	$9,806.93	$25,000	4,202	$625	$5,700
Forrest City, Ark	9,687.77	25,000	2,484	460	5,700
Greenville, Ala	9,294.81	30,000	3,377	480	4,300
Highland, Ill	9,611.45	25,000	2,675	650	3,700
Lenoir, N. C	9,827.27	30,000	3,364	846	5,000
Winnfield, La	9,098.12	30,000	2,925	380	4,200
Athens, Ala	9,393.82	35,000	1,715	508	4,800
Council Grove, Kans	9,141.27	35,000	2,545	540	3,900
Norton, Kans	9,398.69	35,000	1,787	450	4,300

The present bill includes buildings or buildings and sites which the Treasury Department states "could not probably be built with profit to the Government" and where the population of the town was less than 2,000 in 1910.

WHERE POPULATION WAS LESS THAN 2,000.

Name of place.	Population, 1910.	Present bill allows—	Postal receipts, Jan. 1, 1916.	Present rent.	Treasury estimate of maintenance of new building.
Albertville, Ala	1,544	$25,000	$5,663.04	$500	$3,700
Barbourville, Ky	1,633	25,000	4,532.95	406	3,800
Brinkley, Ark	1,740	25,000	6,114.53	550	3,500
Dillon, S. C	1,757	25,000	7,733.63	400	4,000
Eminence, Ky	1,274	40,000	4,402.53	193	3,700
Falmouth, Ky	1,180	25,000	5,638.24	340	3,400
Green River, Wyo	1,313	25,000	4,370.18	.....	3,800
Huntingdon, Tenn	1,112	25,000	4,427.28	.....	3,300
Marengo, Iowa	1,786	30,000	7,503.33	480	3,800
Mountain Grove, Mo	1,722	40,000	12,826.07	960	4,900
Mount Olive, N. C	1,071	30,000	5,679.28	420	4,000
Newark, Del	1,913	30,000	11,388.31	1,110	3,700
Pikeville, Ky	1,280	35,000	6,149.72	332	3,500
Rogersville, Tenn	1,242	25,000	7,679.56	410	3,300
Rossville, Ga	1,059	25,000	8,064.48	398	4,200
Sylacauga, Ala	1,456	30,000	7,256.27	534	3,500
West Point, Va	1,397	25,000	5,039.37	.....	3,400
Bowling Green, Mo	1,585	40,000	8,923.57	780	4,300
Claire, Mich	1,350	35,000	8,590.91	549	4,500
Clearwater, Fla	1,171	40,000	10,959.77	1,080	4,000
Corning, Iowa	1,702	35,000	10,133.25	660	5,000
Elko, Nev	1,677	50,000	22,255.66	900	5,300
Mansfield, La	1,799	35,000	11,192.23	1,000	3,700
Norton, Kans	1,787	35,000	9,398.69	450	4,300
Wadena, Minn	1,820	35,000	11,267.28	780	3,700
Athens, Ala	1,715	35,000	9,393.82	508	4,800

WHERE POPULATION WAS LESS THAN 1,000.

Newcastle, Wyo	975	$25,000	$4,174.70	.....	$3,800
Hazard, Ky	537	40,000	4,477.43	$250	3,800
Lewisburg, W. Va	803	82,000	8,017.37	540	6,800

The present bill includes building or buildings and sites which the Treasury Department states "could not probably be built with profit to the Government" and where the rent was $500 or less on January 1, 1916:

WHERE THE GOVERNMENT PAYS NO RENT.

Name of place.	Present rent.	Population, 1910.	Present bill allows—	Postal receipts, Jan. 1, 1916.	Treasury estimate of maintenance of new building.
Green River, Wyo	.....	1,313	$25,000	$4,370.18	$3,800
Huntingdon, Tenn	.....	1,112	25,000	4,427.28	3,300
Newcastle, Wyo	.....	975	25,000	4,174.70	3,800
Union Springs, Ala	.....	4,055	25,000	7,027.98	4,800
West Point, Va	.....	1,397	25,000	5,039.37	3,400

WHERE RENT IS $100 OR LESS.

Long Beach, Cal	$100	17,809	$200,000	$99,319.04	$15,800

Lately a lease has been signed for $1 per year. On account of advantages accruing to the business firm housing the post office competition is very keen.

Name of place.	Present rent.	Population, 1910.	Present bill allows—	Postal receipts, Jan. 1, 1916.	Treasury estimate of maintenance of new building.
Nephi, Utah	$95	2,759	$25,000	$4,936.08	$3,800

WHERE RENT IS $200 OR LESS.

Eminence, Ky	$193	1,274	$40,000	$4,402.53	$3,700

WHERE RENT IS $300 OR LESS.

Murray, Ky	$240	2,089	$25,000	$6,357.93	$3,500
De Ridder, La	300	2,100	30,000	8,854.54	4,800
Hazard, Ky	250	537	40,000	4,477.43	3,800
Plaquemine, La	300	4,955	35,000	11,437.05	3,700
Princeton, W. Va	234	3,027	45,000	10,252.84	4,900

WHERE RENT IS $400 OR LESS.

Dillon, S. C	$400	1,757	$25,000	$7,733.63	$4,000
Falmouth, Ky	340	1,180	25,000	5,638.24	3,400
Pikeville, Ky	332	1,280	35,000	6,149.72	3,500
Rossville, Ga	398	1,059	25,000	8,062.48	4,200
Waynesboro, Ga	400	2,729	25,000	7,022.26	4,200
Ladysmith, Wis	360	2,352	35,000	10,304.29	4,800
Winnfield, La	380	2,925	30,000	9,098.12	4,200

WHERE RENT IS $500 OR LESS.

Name of place.	Present rent.	Population, 1910.	Present bill allows—	Postal receipts, Jan. 1, 1916.	Treasury estimate of maintenance of new building.
Albertville, Ala	$500	1,544	$25,000	$5,663.04	$3,700
Attalla, Ala	460	2,513	30,000	4,610.21	3,200
Barbourville, Ky	406	1,633	25,000	4,532.95	3,800
Carrollton, Ill	500	2,323	25,000	7,854.95	3,600
Central City, Ky	500	2,545	30,000	5,707.92	4,100
Forrest City, Ark	460	2,484	25,000	9,687.77	5,700
Greenville, Ala	480	3,377	30,000	9,294.81	4,300
Kissimmee, Fla	420	2,157	35,000	12,048.85	4,100
Manchester, Conn	425	13,641	40,000	10,462.38	4,900
Marengo, Iowa	480	1,786	30,000	7,503.33	3,800
Monroe, Ga	450	3,029	30,000	7,361.51	4,500
Mount Olive, N. C	420	1,071	30,000	5,679.28	4,000
Rogersville, Tenn	410	1,242	25,000	7,679.56	3,300
Unionville, Mo	450	2,000	30,000	6,950.44	4,000
Eaton, Ohio	480	3,187	35,000	11,290.79	3,700
Galva, Ill	450	2,498	45,000	15,691.44	4,500
Kingsville, Tex	480	(1)	40,000	13,261.14	5,000
Norton, Kans	450	1,787	35,000	9,398.69	4,300

[1] Not given.

The present bill also provides for the purchase of sites for the following towns, where the population was less than 2,000 in 1910:

WHERE POPULATION WAS LESS THAN 2,000.

Name of place.	Population, 1910.	Amount appropriated.	Postal receipts, Jan. 1, 1916.	Present rent.	Treasury estimate of maintenance of new building.
Alvin, Tex	1,453	$6,000	$9,051.14	$100	$4,000
Arcadia, Fla	1,736	5,000	14,564.89	500	5,100
Bamberg, S. C	1,937	5,000	5,762.12	468	4,000
Blakeley, Ga	1,838	6,000	6,327.50	.....	4,400
Cairo, Ga	1,505	6,000	7,273.48	.....	4,400
Clinton, N. C	1,101	5,000	6,254.73	480	3,700
Conway, S. C	1,228	3,000	6,030.89	490	4,000
Dickson, Tenn	1,850	5,000	7,451.91	425	4,200
Dunn, N. C	1,823	7,000	9,252.97	500	4,300
Ellicott City, Md	1,151	7,500	6,385.53	600	3,400
Flagstaff, Ariz	1,633	7,000	15,850.55	1,680	4,800
Greer, S. C	1,673	5,000	6,643.48	360	4,000
Indianola, Miss	1,098	5,000	12,538.14	1,060	3,700
Jackson, Ga	1,862	5,000	6,647.45	340	4,200
Lewisburg, Tenn	1,830	5,000	9,430.44	360	4,700
Louisburg, N. C	1,755	6,000	8,128.64	600	5,200
Manning, S. C	1,854	5,000	5,435.28	550	4,000
Marion, N. C	1,519	6,000	8,315.52	924	5,000
Midland, Pa	1,244	5,000	10,619.45	300	4,100
Monticello, Fla	1,829	5,000	6,065.70	600	4,000
Owenton, Ky	1,024	7,500	4,368.68	440	4,300
Paris, Mo	1,474	5,000	7,037.89	540	4,000
Pelham, Ga	1,880	6,000	6,719.12	.....	4,400
Perry, Fla	1,012	5,000	6,439.25	360	4,000
Perryville, Mo	1,708	5,000	5,662.91	400	4,000
Placerville, Cal	1,014	10,000	10,038.38	1,517	5,200
Salem, Mo	1,796	5,000	6,142.11	480	4,000
Salisbury, Mo	1,834	5,000	7,438.25	500	4,000
Stanford, Ky	1,532	5,000	6,228.48	396	4,300
Thomaston, Ga	1,645	5,000	6,144.63	360	4,200
Williamston, N. C	1,574	5,000	6,043.18	300	3,700

WHERE POPULATION WAS LESS THAN 1,000.

Baxley, Ga	831	$5,000	$6,639.50	$408	$4,200
Las Vegas, Nev	945	5,000	7,198.68	.....	5,100
Susanville, Cal	688	10,000	7,058.08	600	4,800

The present bill also provides for sites in towns where the postal receipts were less than $10,000 on January 1, 1916:

WHERE POSTAL RECEIPTS WERE LESS THAN $5,000.

Name of place.	1910 population.	Amount appropriated.	Postal receipts.	Present rent.	Treasury estimate of maintenance of new building.
Owenton, Ky	1,024	$7,500	$4,368.68	$440	$4,300

WHERE POSTAL RECEIPTS WERE LESS THAN $6,000.

Bamberg, S. C	1,937	$5,000	$5,762.12	$468	$4,000
Easley, S. C	2,983	5,000	5,342.35	300	4,000
Lafollett, Tenn	2,816	6,000	5,065.98	.....	4,000
Manning, S. C	1,854	5,000	5,435.28	550	4,000
Perryville, Mo	1,708	5,000	5,662.91	400	4,000

WHERE POSTAL RECEIPTS WERE LESS THAN $7,000.

Name of place.	1910 population.	Amount appropriated.	Postal receipts.	Present rent.	Treasury estimate of maintenance of new building.
Ashburn, Ga	2,214	$5,000	$6,468.22	$480	$4,200
Baxley, Ga	831	5,000	6,639.50	408	4,200
Berkeley Springs, W. Va	864	10,000	6,485.23	450	3,700
Blakeley, Ga	1,838	6,000	6,327.50	.....	4,400
Clinton, N. C	1,101	5,000	6,254.73	480	3,700
Commerce, Ga	2,238	5,000	6,290.89	500	4,200
Conway, S. C	1,228	5,000	6,030.89	490	4,000
Ellicott City, Md	1,151	7,500	6,385.53	900	3,400
Greer, S. C	1,673	5,000	6,643.48	360	4,000
Jackson, Ga	1,862	5,000	6,647.65	340	4,200
Lenoir City, Tenn	3,392	6,000	6,460.46	.....	4,000
Milan, Mo	2,191	5,000	6,684.48	500	4,000
Monticello, Fla	1,829	7,500	6,065.70	600	4,000
Okolona, Miss	2,584	5,000	6,160.70	500	3,470
Ozark, Ala	2,229	5,000	6,416.94	400	3,500
Pascagoula, Miss	3,379	5,000	6,179.94	318	3,700
Pelham, Ga	1,880	6,000	6,719.12	.....	4,400
Perry, Fla	1,012	5,000	6,439.25	360	4,000
Rockwood, Tenn	3,660	6,000	6,242.98	.....	4,000
Salem, Mo	1,796	5,000	6,142.11	480	4,000
Stanford, Ky	1,532	5,000	6,288.48	396	4,300
Thomaston, Ga	1,645	5,000	6,144.63	360	4,200
Waurika, Okla	2,928	5,000	6,480.82	420	3,800
Williamston, N. C	1,574	5,000	6,043.18	300	3,700

WHERE POSTAL RECEIPTS WERE LESS THAN $8,000.

Cairo, Ga	1,505	$6,000	$7,273.48	.....	$4,400
Covington, Ga	2,697	5,000	7,031.21	$400	4,200
Cuthbert, Ga	3,210	6,000	7,813.40	600	4,400
Decatur, Ga	2,466	8,000	7,230.65	600	4,800
Dickson, Tenn	1,850	5,000	7,451.91	425	4,200
Eldorado Springs, Mo	2,503	5,000	7,626.21	390	4,000
Indianola, Miss	1,098	5,000	7,661.88	450	3,700
Las Vegas, Nev	945	5,000	7,198.68	.....	5,100
Laurel, Mo	2,415	5,000	7,720.94	340	3,400
Paris, Mo	1,474	5,000	7,037.89	540	4,000
Pineville, Ky	2,161	5,000	7,369.83	600	4,300
Rich Hill, Mo	2,755	5,000	7,831.80	480	4,000
Salisbury, Mo	1,834	5,000	7,438.25	500	4,000
Sheffield, Ala	4,865	5,000	7,968.77	660	3,500
Summerville, S. C	2,355	5,000	7,796.61	440	4,800
Susanville, Cal	688	10,000	7,058.08	600	4,800
Winder, Ga	2,443	5,000	7,317.19	406	4,200
Windsor, Mo	2,241	5,000	7,918.08	600	4,000

WHERE POSTAL RECEIPTS WERE LESS THAN $9,000.

Albermarle, N. C	2,116	$8,000	$8,759.99	$606	$4,900
Brownsville, Tenn	2,882	5,000	8,111.42	660	4,000
Columbia, Miss	2,029	5,000	8,505.15	660	3,700
Duncan, Okla	2,477	5,000	8,272.49	480	4,800
Eaton Rapids, Mich	2,094	7,500	8,985.23	800	4,300
Ely, Nev	2,055	5,000	8,315.16	900	5,100
Essex, Conn	2,745	6,000	8,087.34	240	3,600
Hawkinsville, Ga	3,420	8,000	8,129.91	772	4,800
Hickman, Ky	2,736	5,000	8,538.80	520	4,800
Lewistown, Ill	2,312	5,000	8,311.56	540	4,100
Lexington, Miss	2,428	5,000	8,421.04	600	3,700
Louisburg, N. C	1,775	6,000	8,128.64	600	5,200
Marion, N. C	1,519	6,000	8,315.52	924	5,000
McMinnville, Tenn	2,299	5,000	8,724.74	540	4,500
O'Neill, Nebr	2,089	5,000	8,924.77	720	3,600
Russellville, Ky	3,111	10,000	8,512.50	709	4,800
San Benito, Tex	(1)	6,000	8,199.12	180	4,500
Winona, Miss	2,512	7,500	8,584.35	460	3,700
York, S. C	2,326	9,000	8,596.98	600	4,000

[1] Not given.

WHERE POSTAL RECEIPTS WERE LESS THAN $10,000.

Alvin, Tex	1,453	$6,000	$9,051.14	$100	$4,000
Beckley, W. Va	2,161	10,000	9,305.50	600	4,800
Charleston, Mo	3,144	5,000	9,346.62	810	4,900
Dunn, N. C	1,823	7,000	9,252.97	500	4,300
Hartsville, S. C	2,365	3,000	9,884.33	480	4,000
Lewisburg, Tenn	1,830	5,000	9,430.44	360	4,700
Sanford, N. C	2,282	7,000	9,568.04	500	4,800
Van Buren, Ark	3,878	6,000	9,884.36	1,060	4,800

The present bill also provides for sites in towns where the rent was $500 or less on January 1, 1916:

WHERE THE RENT WAS NOTHING.

Name of place.	Population, 1910.	Amount appropriated.	Postal receipts Jan. 1, 1916.	Present rent.	Treasury estimate of maintenance of new building.
Blakeley, Ga	1,838	$6,000	$6,327.50	.....	$4,400
Cairo, Ga	1,505	6,000	7,273.48	.....	4,400
Lafolette, Tenn	2,816	6,000	5,065.98	.....	4,000
Las Vegas, Nev	945	5,000	7,198.68	.....	5,100
Lenoir City, Tenn	3,392	6,000	6,460.46	.....	4,000
Pelham, Ga	1,880	6,000	6,719.12	.....	4,400
Rockwood, Tenn	3,660	6,000	6,242.98	.....	4,000

WHERE THE RENT IS $100 OR LESS.

Name of place.	Population, 1910.	Amount appropriated.	Postal receipts Jan. 1, 1916.	Present rent.	Treasury estimate of maintenance of new building.
Alvin, Tex.	1,453	$6,000	$9,051.14	$100	$4,000
WHERE THE RENT IS $200 OR LESS.					
Mangum, Okla.	3,667	$6,000	$11,023.24	$121	$4,800
San Benito, Tex.	(1)	6,000	8,199.12	180	4,500
Venice, Cal.	3,119	10,000	13,501.77	112	5,200

[1] Not given.

WHERE THE RENT IS $300 OR LESS.

Essex, Conn.	2,745	$6,000	$8,087.34	$240	$3,600
Henderson, Tex.	(1)	5,000	6,666.76	300	3,400
Midland, Pa.	1,244	5,000	10,619.45	300	4,100
Williamston, N. C.	1,574	5,000	6,043.18	300	3,700

[1] Not given.

WHERE THE RENT IS $400 OR LESS.

Covington, Ga.	2,697	$5,000	$7,031.21	$400	$4,200
East Point, Ga.	3,682	8,000	11,425.61	400	4,800
Eldorado Springs, Mo.	2,503	5,000	7,526.21	390	4,000
Greer, S. C.	1,673	5,000	6,643.48	360	4,000
Jackson, Ga.	1,862	5,000	6,647.65	340	4,200
Laurel, Md.	2,415	5,000	7,720.94	340	3,400
Lewisburg, Tenn.	1,830	5,000	9,430.44	360	4,700
Pascagoula, Miss.	3,379	5,000	6,179.12	318	3,700
Perry, Fla.	1,912	5,000	6,439.25	360	4,000
Perryville, Mo.	1,708	5,000	5,662.91	400	4,000
Standford, Ky.	1,532	5,000	6,228.48	396	4,300
Thomaston, Ga.	1,645	5,000	6,144.63	360	4,200

WHERE THE RENT WAS $500 OR LESS.

Arcadia, Fla.	1,736	$5,000	$14,564.89	$500	$5,100
Ashburn, Ga.	2,214	5,000	6,468.22	480	4,200
Bamberg, S. C.	1,937	5,000	5,762.12	468	4,000
Baxley, Ga.	831	5,000	6,639.50	408	4,200
Berlin, Springs, Wash.	894	10,000	6,485.23	450	3,700
Canton, S. Dak.	2,103	6,000	10,006.24	500	4,800
Clinton, N. C.	1,101	500	6,254.73	480	3,700
Commerce, Ga.	2,238	5,000	6,290.89	500	4,200
Conway, S. C.	1,228	3,000	6,030.89	490	4,000
Dickson, Tenn.	1,650	5,000	7,451.91	425	4,200
Duncan, Okla.	2,477	5,000	8,272.49	480	4,800
Dunn, N. C.	1,823	7,000	9,252.97	500	4,300
Hartsville, S. C.	2,395	3,000	9,884.33	480	4,800
Indianola, Miss.	1,098	5,000	7,661.88	450	3,700
Milan, Mo.	2,191	5,000	6,684.48	500	4,000
Okolona, Miss.	2,584	5,000	6,160.70	480	3,700
Owenton, Ky.	1,624	7,500	4,368.68	440	4,300
Ozark, Ala.	2,229	5,000	6,416.94	400	3,500
Rich Hill, Mo.	2,755	5,000	7,831.80	480	4,000
Salem, Mo.	1,786	5,000	6,142.11	480	4,000
Sanford, N. C.	2,282	7,000	9,568.04	500	4,800
Summerville, S. C.	2,355	5,000	7,796.61	440	4,000
Waurika, Okla.	2,928	5,000	6,480.82	420	3,800
Winder, Ga.	2,443	5,000	7,317.19	406	4,200
Winona, Miss.	2,512	7,500	8,584.35	460	3,700

The last column, "Maintenance," indicates the approximate cost of the maintenance of a building constructed in accordance with proposed legislation in the bill. Where site only is authorized the estimate is, of course, based upon the suppositious cost of a building which will probably be subsequently authorized.

A Code Suggested by the American Institute of International Law to Secure the Freedom of the Seas.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY W. TEMPLE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 26, 1917.

Mr. TEMPLE. Mr. Speaker, in the President's address on "A league of peace," delivered before the Senate on January 22, the following paragraph occurs:

> And the paths of the sea must alike in law and in fact be free. The freedom of the seas is the sine qua non of peace, equality, and cooperation. No doubt a somewhat radical reconsideration of many of the rules of international practice hitherto thought to be established may be necessary in order to make the seas indeed free and common in practically all circumstances for the use of mankind, but the motive for such changes is convincing and compelling. There can be no trust or intimacy between the peoples of the world without them. The free, constant, unthreatened intercourse of nations is an essential part of the process of peace and of development. It need not be difficult either to define or to secure the freedom of the seas if the Governments of the world sincerely desire to come to an agreement concerning it.

In considering this paragraph a question must arise concerning the code which might be offered to the nations for their adoption in lieu of the rules hitherto thought to be established. Perhaps light may be thrown on this question by an examination of the code printed below, which has been proposed by the American Institute of International Law, and which is intended to state in a new way the rights and duties of neutrals on the high seas from the point of view of the neutrals.

The seas are already free in time of peace. The new code provides for the freedom of the seas in time of war. It abolishes blockade entirely, forbids interference with the mails, declares that merchant ships of the enemy, as well as those of neutrals, shall be free from capture and abolishes the right of visit and search. Even vessels carrying contraband may in no case be confiscated or sunk under any pretext whatever, though the contraband itself may be confiscated or destroyed by the captor.

This code was prepared at the suggestion of the Hon. Robert Lansing, Secretary of State, and was submitted to the American Institute of International Law at its meeting in Habana, Cuba, last Monday (January 22, 1917), the day and almost the hour at which the President was delivering his address before the Senate.

The American Institute of International Law is a body of 105 members, made up of delegations of five men chosen by each of the national societies of international law in the 21 American Republics. Its governing board consists of its officers and two elected members and is composed as follows: Honorary president, Elihu Root; president, James Brown Scott; secretary general, Alejandro Alvarez, Chile; elected members, Antonio Bustamente, Cuba; Joaquin de Casasus, Mexico.

The proposed code grew out of a suggestion made to the institute by Mr. Lansing more than a year ago in the following memorandum:

JANUARY 3, 1916.

At the first meeting of the institute I had the honor to direct attention to the imperfect code or rules which define and govern the relations between belligerents and neutrals. These rules, which have grown up during the past 125 years, and have been in some cases differently interpreted by courts of different countries, have been frequently found inadequate to meet new conditions of warfare, and as a result every war has changed, modified, or added to the rules, generally through the process of judicial decisions.

The prize courts of belligerents have thus become the interpreters of belligerent rights and neutral obligations, and their interpretations evidence an unconscious prejudice arising from overappreciation of the needs of the belligerent. Writers on international law have relied upon the prize-court decisions in dealing with the subject of neutrality, so that they have laid down rules formulated indirectly from a belligerent's point of view.

In addition to these influences affecting a code to govern the conduct and treatment of neutrals, international conferences and congresses have generally confided the drafting of rules relating to belligerent and neutral rights to military and naval experts, who naturally approach the subject from the belligerent's standpoint. Thus judicial decisions, text writers, and international agreements have given all the advantage to the belligerent and have shown little regard for the rights of neutrals.

It would appear that it is time to reverse this process of treatment of the subject of neutrality and to deal with it from the point of view of the neutral.

I would, therefore, suggest that a committee be appointed to study the problem of neutral rights and neutral duties, seeking to formulate in terms the principle underlying the relations of belligerency to neutrality, rather than the express rules governing the conduct of a nation at war to a nation at peace.

I would further suggest that the subject might be advantageously divided into two parts, namely, the rights of neutrals on the high seas and the duties of neutrals dependent upon territorial jurisdiction.

In view of the past year and a half of war the present time seems particularly opportune to study this question, and this institute, being composed of members from neutral nations, is especially fitted to do this from the proper point of view and with the definite purpose of protecting the liberty of neutrals from unjustifiable restrictions on the high seas and from the imposition of needless burdens in preserving their neutrality on land.

Mr. Lansing's proposal was accepted by the institute at its meeting in Washington in January, 1916. The code has been prepared and was submitted to the institute at its meeting in Habana, Monday, January 22, 1917. It will be referred to the National Society of International Law in each of the 21 American Republics in the hope that the code may be ready for indorsement by the institute at its annual meeting in 1918.

The code follows as it appeared in the New York Times of January 23, 1917:

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL DECLARATIONS.

ARTICLE 1. Neutrality is the situation of States which, in the course of a war, are not participants therein.

Neutrality, especially maritime neutrality, must hereafter be regulated not merely on the basis of the rights of the belligerents, but

especially on that of the rights of neutrals, by safeguarding commercial liberty and releasing neutrals from the useless burdens resting on them with a view to observing neutrality. This new conception of neutrality is demanded by reason of the bonds of solidarity which exist between all the members of the society of nations.

ART. 2. In case of war between two or more countries, the rest of the States must refrain from increasing the number of belligerents.

If not able to prevent the conflict, they must do all they can to put an early end to it, neutrality not merely being an impartial duty between belligerents equally respectful of right, but a duty of pacification toward mankind.

CHAPTER II.

THE CONFERENCE OF NEUTRALS.

ART. 3. When war is declared, the neutral States of the entire world shall, upon the request of the administrative council of the permanent Hague court, meet in conference in order:

1. To take all necessary measures to maintain the freedom of commerce and navigation of the neutral countries.

2. To determine the list of articles to be regarded as contraband.

3. To see, especially, to the observance of all neutral rights and duties established in these present rules, and to exercise any other powers granted them by the said same rules.

ART. 4. The conference of neutrals shall gather in The Hague Peace Palace, unless the council directs otherwise.

The belligerents shall be invited to send representatives, who may take active part in the discussions and have the right to vote.

Resolutions shall be adopted by a majority vote and bind the minority.

ART. 5. In important cases the conference may authorize severe measures against the belligerent or against the neutrals refusing to respect the rights and duties of neutrality.

Such measures may be public blame, pecuniary indemnity, commercial boycott, and even the use of an international force, to be determined by the conference.

ART. 6. The conference of neutrals may organize in any number of commissions thought necessary, one of these commissions to be especially designated to consider such pecuniary indemnities as are referred to in these rules.

CHAPTER III.

FREEDOM OF COMMERCE IN TIME OF WAR.

ART. 7. The commercial blockade, both of the belligerent ports and the maritime zones along belligerent coasts, is formally forbidden, no matter what the means by which the blockade is to be effected.

ART. 8. Private property in the open sea is inviolable. Belligerent and neutral merchant vessels may in no case be confiscated, nor sunk, under any pretext whatever.

If carrying contraband, this may be confiscated or destroyed by the captor.

ART. 9. The right of search is abolished.

The local authorities of each country shall visé the papers of merchant vessels leaving port for a belligerent port.

Belligerent vessels may not stop neutral merchant vessels or merchant vessels belonging to the other belligerent, except to demand examination of the vessel's papers. Despite the regularity of the said papers, they (belligerent vessels) may proceed to the search of merchant vessels. If shown that the vessel does not carry contraband, the searching vessel shall be condemned to pay to the vessel searched a fine to be determined by the conference of neutrals; and in case the vessel searched carries contraband, the country whose authorities viséed the false passport shall be condemned to pay an indemnity to be determined by the said conference of neutrals.

Vessels not carrying duly viséed papers may be searched conformably to present international practice without the right to an indemnity.

ART. 10. Belligerent merchant vessels may not refuse to carry from one neutral port to another neutral port persons or merchandise under pretext that they (persons or merchandise) belong to a nation with which their (belligerent merchant vessels) country is at war.

Exception to be made regarding persons who by reason of their age or condition might serve their country and who might be presumed to leave in order to join the enemy forces of the country to which the vessel belongs.

ART. 11. The official or private postal correspondence of neutrals or belligerents found in the open sea on board a neutral or enemy vessel is inviolable. It may not be seized, even under the pretext of the police right of warships over merchant ships of their own nationality.

CHAPTER IV.

RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF BELLIGERENTS.

ART. 12. Belligerents are held to respect the sovereign rights of neutral powers and to refrain, within neutral territory or neutral waters, from committing acts which, if tolerated by neutral powers, would constitute a breach of neutrality.

ART. 13. Belligerents are especially forbidden to make of neutral ports and waters the base for naval operations against their adversaries, and particularly to install therein wireless stations or other apparatus intended as a means of communication with belligerent land or naval forces.

ART. 14. Regarding the sojourn, victualing, and provisioning of belligerent vessels in the neutral ports, roadways, and jurisdictional waters, distinction must be made between warships and merchant vessels.

The following dispositions concerning warships are also applicable:

(1) To ordinary auxiliary vessels.

(2) To merchant vessels transformed into war vessels, conformably to convention 7 of The Hague.

(3) To merchant vessels giving continuous or occasional aid to the war vessels of their country, if they have not been transformed into war vessels according to the said convention.

(4) To neutral vessels giving continuous or occasional aid to belligerent vessels, and the following dispositions regarding merchant vessels are likewise applicable to vessels which have been auxiliary vessels, but retransformed into merchant vessels according to article 18.

ART. 15. Belligerent warships shall not have access to the ports, roadways, and territorial waters of neutral powers, except in the duly justified case of force majeure.

They may not there repair beyond what is indispensable to the safety of their navigability, and not in any manner whatever to increase their military capacity. The neutral authorities shall establish the nature of repairs to be effected, and these must be carried out as rapidly as possible. They must depart immediately after the force majeure has ceased to exist.

It is especially forbidden said war vessels to renew or to increase their military provisions or armaments or to complete their crews.

The need of revictualing, of fuel, or provisions does not constitute a force majeure permitting a warship to enter the ports, roadways, or territorial waters of neutral powers.

ART. 16. Belligerent merchant vessels may take fuel and provisions on board in neutral ports subject to the conditions especially determined by the local authorities, or, wanting these special conditions, in the same manner as in time of peace.

ART. 17. If proven that the merchant vessel taking fuel or provisions on board in a neutral port has passed all or part of such provisions to a belligerent warship within or without the territorial waters of the neutral power, no fuel or provisions shall thereafter be furnished in such country to any ship of the company to which belongs the vessel committing such infraction.

ART. 18. If ascertained by its installations or other facts, a merchant vessel is suspected of furnishing to the warships of its country, provisions it asks for, the local authorities may, according to the circumstances, regard it as a naval auxiliary, and on this account refuse to it any provisions, or request the agent of the company to which the vessel belongs to furnish bail guaranteeing that the said vessel will neither help nor assist the belligerent.

When a vessel is suspected, the case must be notified at once to all other countries, through the medium of the conference of neutrals, especially so if the vessel has furtively left a port of the country.

ART. 19. Belligerent auxiliary vessels retransformed into merchant vessels shall be admitted as such into neutral ports, provided:

"1. That the retransformed vessel has not violated the neutrality of the country where it arrives;

"2. That the retransformation has been effected in the ports or in the jurisdictional waters of the country to which the vessel belongs, or in the ports of its allies;

"3. That such retransformation be effective; that is to say, that the vessel, neither through its crew nor through its installations, shows that it can, as an auxiliary, as before, give aid to the armed fleets of its country;

"4. That the Government of the country to which the vessel belongs notify to all the nations interested, through the medium of the conference of neutrals, the names of the auxiliary vessels which shall have lost this quality, to resume that of merchant vessels; and

"5. That the said Government agree that in the future the said vessels shall not again, as auxiliaries, be destined to the service of the armed fleet."

ART. 20. Aeroplanes, dirigibles, or airships of the belligerent countries may not fly over the territory or over the jurisdictional waters of the neutral powers. Infraction of this rule entitles to the confiscation of the craft, if possible, and, at any rate, to an idemnity to be determined by the conference of neutrals.

CHAPTER V.

RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF NEUTRALS.

ART. 21. In a war distinction must be made between the acts of aid on the part of neutral States and acts of commerce on the part of the individual; the former only are contrary to neutrality.

Conveyance, on whatever ground, made directly or indirectly by a neutral power to a belligerent power, of warships, munitions, or war material, is forbidden.

ART. 22. If a neutral power, notified of the opening of hostilities, learns that a belligerent warship is within one of its ports, roadways, or within its territorial waters, it must inform the said vessel that it must clear within 24 hours or within the time prescribed by the local law.

ART. 23. The neutral Government must use all available means to prevent within its jurisdiction the equipping or arming of any vessel which it has reason to believe is intended for cruising purposes or for aiding in hostile operations against a power with which it is at peace. It is likewise bound to exercise the same care in order to prevent the departure from its jurisdiction of any vessel intended for cruising purposes or for aiding in hostile operations, and which vessel, within the said jurisdiction, might have been adapted, in part or in its entirety, to war purposes.

ART. 24. Neutral powers are not bound to prevent the exportation or the transit, for the account of the one or the other belligerent, of arms, munitions, and, in general, of anything that may be of any use to an army or to a fleet.

ART. 25. Neutral Governments must prevent agents of the belligerent Governments from enrolling, within their territory, their (the belligerents') nationals, and especially to prevent their (the nationals) being summoned under the penalty of being declared deserters, should they not answer the summons.

They shall not, however, prohibit the voluntary departure of the nationals of the belligerent States, even when organized on a large scale.

Neutral Governments might, however, forbid the voluntary departure for the purpose of joining the forces of one of the belligerents of persons who, being its (the neutral's) nationals, are also nationals of one of the belligerent countries, except by declaring that in enrolling they intend to lose the nationality of the country from which they leave.

ART. 26. In war time the use of the telegraphs or cables of neutral powers by the nationals of the belligerent powers shall be subject to measures edicted by the local authorities.

ART. 27. Neutral powers must use all available means to prevent violation of their neutrality within their ports or roadways and within their territorial waters.

ART. 28. Belligerent war or merchant vessels entering the ports, roadways, or jurisdictional waters of a neutral country without the right to do so according to the provisions of these rules may be interned by the neutral country.

A vessel shall be deemed interned from the moment it is ordered interned by the neutral local authorities, even in case a request to reconsider is made by the infracting vessel.

ART. 29. Interning of a vessel and of its crew must be effected in the place and in the manner deemed most appropriate by the interning country.

The costs of internment are borne by the infracting vessel.

The country which interns a vessel is not responsible for injuries sustained by the interned vessel, except in the case of gross negligence.

ART. 30. When a merchandise-bearing vessel is to be interned in a neutral country the part of the merchandise destined for the neutral country must be unloaded, and the part destined for other ports must be transshipped.

ART. 31. In case where, in consequence of naval operations taking place without the jurisdictional waters of a country, there should be killed or wounded provisional hospital vessels, under the control and watchfulness of the neutral Government, may be sent to the scene of the action, and the said vessels shall to the end of their mission enjoy absolute inviolability.

The said wounded or wrecked shall not be interned, but given their freedom as soon as possible.

CHAPTER VI.

OBSERVANCE AND SANCTIONS OF THE LAWS OF NEUTRALITY AND BELLIGERENCY.

ART. 32. The belligerent who violates the rights of neutrals established by these rules or by the conference of neutrals shall pay to the State interested a pecuniary indemnity to be determined by the said conference.

In case a belligerent commits at the same time and against the same country several infractions of neutrality, each of such infractions must be indemnified separately.

The conference of neutrals shall determine the manner of payment of the amount of the indemnity, and in case of need determine the measures and means to which neutrals may resort to secure payment of the amount due by the infracting belligerents.

ART. 33. In case of war the local authorities of neutral countries are especially charged with:

(1) Seeing to the observance, within the territory of the country, of the resolutions of the conference of neutrals.

(2) Settling provisionally all controversies of an urgent character that may arise between the belligerents and the country where reside the authorities, especially controversies concerning the interning of vessels, without prejudice as to what may be finally decided by the said authorities.

(3) Viséing the papers of merchant vessels leaving the port of the country. The said documents shall certify as to the nature of the merchandise carried by the vessels, so as to liberate them from the right to search.

(4) Deciding questions concerning requests for the embarkation on board a merchant vessel of a belligerent country of nationals of the other belligerent country or countries, according to article 10.

ART. 34. The conference of neutrals referred to in chapter 2 might appoint commissions composed of neutrals, whose duty it would be to watch in each belligerent country over the manner in which the laws and customs of war are there observed.

Upon the basis of the information and reports of these commissions the said conference, in the name of all the neutral countries, may, if deemed appropriate, protest against the violation of the laws and usages of war.

Omnibus Public-Buildings Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CLARK,
OF FLORIDA,—
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 26, 1917.

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the Florida Times-Union, a morning daily newspaper published at Jacksonville, Fla., and which for many years has been the leading newspaper published in that State, in its issue of January 24, 1917, contains an editorial on the omnibus public-buildings bill which so effectually answers the miserable twaddle lately filling the columns of the New York Sun and other such unreliable sheets that I want the country to read it. The editorial is as follows:

AS TO THE PORK BILL.

From many sides comes the charge that the South is in the saddle and is determined to loot the Treasury. For this we would not care, but that some of our friends who should know better are joining in the cry and pour out the vials of their wrath on a Floridian who has become by virtue of long service the chairman of the committee which has charge of the bill, and does not shrink from the responsibility of advocating the measure, prepared with the sanction of the majority, very largely to supply the demands made by the executive departments. Let us go a little into the situation as it exists.

For the first term of President Wilson Congress has made no general appropriation for Government buildings and grounds. Democrats have attempted in good faith to obey the demand of the party for a decrease of national expenses. For this term the bill carries a proposed appropriation of $32,000,000 for buildings and grounds. Is this sum too large? Does it show that the South is trying to loot the Treasury? Let us make a comparison.

For the years from 1906 to 1910 Presidents Roosevelt and Taft approved appropriations made by a Republican Congress of $94,000,000, wherein the South had only such interest as might be accorded her by her political opponents. In view of the fact that her interests had been neglected for 50 years, her share was much less than just. Were the Republicans "looting the Treasury" when they were in the saddle?

The whole sum carried by the bill now under discussion is $32,000,000. Of this, ostensibly, the 11 States of the Confederacy get $6,367,000. But from this provision must be subtracted $1,000,000 to be received from the sale of Government property at Dallas, Tex.; $50,000 is to come from the sale of property in Columbia, S. C.; $500,000 is to be spent for a quarantine station at New Orleans, which is a national affair entirely. Thus the 11 States usually made responsible for a southern policy will get $4,817,000. Is that extravagant? Let us go further:

The same bill carries an appropriation for the State of Illinois alone of $5,210,000—more than the 11 Southern States will get which are accused of "looting the Treasury" by taking something of what the Government should provide for their Government business after 50 years of neglect. Of the whole sum appropriated by the bill of $32,000,000, the 11 Southern States and the border States, including Oklahoma and West Virginia, get $7,143,000, from which should be taken the half million for the New Orleans quarantine station, while the North and West get $25,000,000, New York and Illinois get $7,478,000, which is $335,000 more than the 16 States usually included in the South.

It is charged that the South gets more than her share in the bill—the charge is made by prejudice and accepted by ignorance or carelessness. It is urged that the South pays little of the income tax, but she contributes her full share and more to the income which under Republican rule have taxed her production and consumption most heavily.

Now, what of the "pork" in pension legislation? The South has made no war on this outlay—partly because her motives would have been criticized. But Gen. Bragg, who was a distinguished Union soldier, said in Congress that the most of it was pure graft—he was Gen. Edward S. Bragg, who commanded "the Iron Brigade." The South's attitude was expressed by her Senator, John T. Morgan, who said in the Senate: "I'll vote for any pension bill you bring in here. That of it which is just is a monument to southern valor that withstood overwhelming numbers, though we were clad in rags and hungered for food. That of it which is mere gratuity, granted for no service, is your disgrace, not ours; I am for the bill."

The proposal to reclaim the swamp lands in the South should be discussed exhaustively, but the cry of southern pork will be a boomerang while the South waits in vain for the return of millions illegally taken from her, and declared to be taken illegally by the courts; what if the South asked for justice?

Vocational Education.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BENJAMIN K. FOCHT,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 26, 1917.

Mr. FOCHT. Mr. Speaker, as the broad, humanitarian purposes of vocational education are becoming better understood the subject is being discussed with enthusiasm by teachers and educators everywhere. As an evidence of the comprehension of the purport of the new phase of training for useful occupations, so that the boys and girls of our land may get a fair start in life and understand how to make an honest and honorable living with no place too high to aspire to, I submit the following letter received from one of Pennsylvania's leading educators, Prof. A. B. Hess, superintendent of the public schools of Chambersburg, Pa.:

CHAMBERSBURG SCHOOL DISTRICT,
Chambersburg, Pa., December 14, 1916.

Hon. B. K. FOCHT, *Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR SIR: In reference to vocational education: This phase of public-school education demands a thorough and intense study of the future effects on American industries, the efficiency of American workers, a full realization of their prosperity. When we consider the fact that a large percentage of our boys and girls must become wage earners, and that they are forced to begin the battle of life at an early age, then some truths must stare us in the face:

(a) The higher the skill possessed by the mechanic, the more valuable his labor both to himself, his employer, and his community.

(b) The more efficient labor becomes, the higher wages it should command.

(c) A large percentage of our students never graduate. Has the public-school system been inadequate?

(d) A large percentage of our graduates have been misfits industrially, socially, economically, and professionally. Would not vocational or industrial training have opened up to them avenues of acquiring a higher elevation of skill and efficiency?

(e) The real object of our system of education—the preparing of all our students for useful citizenship, recognizing no caste or class, but training them for continued growth and increasing efficiency.

(f) Is there a growing need for the vocational schools in the United States? Study the list of graduates from our schools, and above all those children who leave school at the age of 14 or 15 years. We have considered this class but partially, and whether we view it from the standpoint of the child or the State it is of infinite consequence. It is the right of these children to be given an education that will make them efficient and reasonably happy, able properly to maintain themselves and meet the various obligations of life and citizenship. Shall we longer continue to deprive a single child of an education, the fundamentals of right living, accomplishment, and social service?

(g) Modern processes have left our children almost wholly out of touch with practical life. The new conception places the child back into practical life, but retains the cultural, the abstract instruction, and aims to send him out, not hating school, shirking, learning to evade and to fail, but rather to accomplish and succeed. Our public schools must be systematized thoroughly, comprehensively, and with the sole view of utmost efficiency; efficiency in every direction to the last degree and for the last child.

(h) With these thoughts and problems before us, this new conception of public-school education, shall we plan our courses so that we shall become a leader in industrial as well as cultural education, go with the procession, or follow in the wake?

Federal aid will assist tremendously in bringing about better results. The passage of House bill No. 11250, as amended, will be a distinct forward step. With State and Federal aid the individual school district will be enabled to accomplish much for the vast number of boys and girls—the Americans of the future, the immortals of eternity.

Sincerely, yours.

A. B. HESS.

Organizing a New Congress.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES H. SLOAN,
OF NEBRASKA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, January 27, 1917.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Speaker, the approaching end of the Sixty-fourth Congress, the impending question of an extra session, the close race of the two leading parties in the House of Representatives, the important position occupied by Members of minor parties, and the passing of Members elected to the Sixty-fifth Congress all make the organization of the next House of Representatives an interesting subject to the membership and the country at large.

A well-written article, covering the closely contested organization battles of the House since the beginning of the Government, has been written by Hon. E. C. Snyder, Washington correspondent of the Omaha Bee, and was recently published in that great newspaper. It will be of interest to many readers of the RECORD. I therefore submit it:

ORGANIZING A NEW CONGRESS.

[Edgar C. Snyder, Washington correspondent of the Bee.]

For the fifth time in the history of Congress the office of Clerk of the House of Representatives becomes of supreme political importance.

No party has a majority in the House elect of the Sixty-fifth Congress. The process of organization of the new House must begin with the Clerk of the present House presiding until a Speaker is elected. By time-honored practice, fashioned after the rule of the British Parliament, the Clerk in the next former Congress takes the chair and holds it until the Speaker is chosen. That practice, with one exception, has been followed in the American House ever since the first Congress.

Congress had been running along smoothly for 50 years on this understanding when, in 1839, a House was elected which was politically so heterogeneous a mass that just what were the duties of the Clerk as presiding officer came seriously into question. The first Clerk to be entangled by difficulty was Hugh A. Garland, of Virginia, in the Twenty-sixth Congress, 1839. A House had been elected without any party having a majority, the parties then contending for power being Whigs and Democrats. It proved to be the most disorderly and uncontrollable House that had met in the history of Congress. Garland, who had been Clerk in the preceding Congress, according to custom, took the chair at the opening of the Twenty-sixth Congress and proceeded to call the roll. The call had got as far as the State of New Jersey when the Clerk stopped, calling attention to the fact that the claims of five of the seats from that State were in dispute, and saying it was for the House to decide what action should be taken as to them. The Members of the House had been expecting trouble over New Jersey's representation. That State had a law providing for the election of its six Members en bloc, the six receiving the highest number of votes being elected. It had been a very close election, with both Whigs and Democrats claiming victory and charging fraud against each other. One party brought certificates from the governor and the other certificates from the secretary of state. The Whigs had the governor, and when the Clerk failed to call the names of the five Members who had the governor's certificates there was an angry protest from the House Whigs. The Clerk refused to proceed until the House decided the question for itself. The Democrats were quite as insistent and vehement as the Whigs, charging fraud and declaring the Clerk had no right to yield to the dictation of the Whigs. Thereupon arose a long and acrimonious debate as to the duties of the Clerk. It continued 10 days. At times it was characterized by the wildest disorder. The Sergeant at Arms was kept busy with his mace, trying to restore order and prevent Members from riotous conduct. Words led to blows, and there were not a few fisticuff fights.

It was the venerable John Quincy Adams, then in his seventy-second year, and serving his third term in the House since he had been President, who led the way to a settlement. Eloquently rebuking the House for the conduct which destroyed its usefulness, he ventured to put a question to it which called for a vote. Representative R. Barnwell Rhett, of South Carolina, offered a resolution that Mr. Adams preside until a Speaker was elected. The resolution was adopted, and that, after some days of debate, let to the election of Robert M. T. Hunter (Democrat), of Virginia, who had evinced a fair disposition toward the Whigs, on the eleventh ballot.

The next close contest over the organization of the House occurred in the Thirty-first Congress, when Clerk Thomas J. Campbell, of Tennessee, had to preside and Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, was chosen Speaker, and again in the Thirty-fourth Congress, when Clerk John W. Forney, of Pennsylvania, presided until Nathaniel P. Banks, of Massachusetts, was chosen Speaker. Another political conglomerate composed the House. The Whig Party was about to break up, the Republicans were growing, and northern and southern Democrats were at odds, though together they had a plurality of strength. Banks was finally elected after a struggle from early in December until February 1. The next and last great struggle over organization, and the most seriously exciting to the entire country, was in the Thirty-sixth Congress, when James C. Allen, of Illinois, had to preside as Clerk until a choice of Speaker.

In each of the last prolonged contests for Speaker over a hundred different Members received votes in the balloting. In the Thirty-sixth over half the Members were voted for. A resolution to vote for all the Members alphabetically to try out their strength was seriously considered. One Member thought the House ought to resolve to have no light, fuel, or food until a Speaker was elected. On January 30 John Sherman, the Republican candidate, who had been receiving the votes of his party all along, while the Democrats were voting for first one and then another of their leaders, withdrew. On February 1 William Pennington (Republican), who had been governor of New Jersey, was elected Speaker. Then the much-tried Clerk, James C. Allen, found relief. It was some time in April before the other officers of the House were elected. It is a singular fact that Pennsylvanians have held the office of Clerk during half the life of Congress, with Kentucky next in possession.

South Trimble, present Clerk, due to preside at the opening of the next Congress, should approach the ordeal with no misgivings. He has been three terms a Member of the House and has had an experience presiding over a legislative body amid tragically troublous times unequaled by any living man. He was speaker of the Kentucky Legislature during the Goebel contest for governor, when not only Goebel lost his life by assassination, but within a month over 30 men were killed in and around the State capital, when the State militia, backed by 2,500 armed mountaineers, sworn to prevent Goebel's seating, precipitated a period that tried the souls of all Kentuckians. Speaker Trimble so well acquitted himself that his people elected him to Congress. Retiring at the end of his third term, he was elected Clerk in the Sixty-second Congress, a post in which he has more than met the expectations of his Democratic supporters and won the approbation of all parties.

Whether Clerk Trimble will succeed himself largely depends upon himself. Barring death or resignation, he will be confronted with a House composed of 215 Democrats, 215 Republicans, and 5 belonging to neither party. The five not elected by either party and who defeated regularly nominated candidates of both parties are A. V. Fuller, ninth Massachusetts, Independent Republican; THOMAS D. SCHALL, tenth Minnesota, Progressive; MEYER LONDON, twelfth New York, Socialist; CHARLES R. RANDALL, tenth California, Prohibitionist; and WHITMELL P. MARTIN, third Louisiana, a "Progressive Protectionist."

According to expectations of the leaders of the two parties, it is regarded as likely that SCHALL and Fuller will support the Republicans, while LONDON and RANDALL will vote with the Democrats. So the question arises and will grow in importance, What course will MARTIN take?

What "Judge MARTIN," as he is familiarly called, will do he has not given the slightest indication, nor is there any hint as to what side will have his vote on the election of Speaker and the subsequent organization. The Republicans earnestly point to the fact that he has a serious grudge against the Democrats, and that, as given in his biography in the Congressional Directory, he is the "first non-Democratic Congressman to be sent from Louisiana in over 25 years." On the other hand, Democrats claim that Judge MARTIN, coming of Democratic antecedents, from a district and State overwhelmingly Democratic, and himself long a Democrat, will not likely depart from affiliation in their hour of need with his former party associates. Thus the office of Clerk, held by Mr. Trimble, assumes a power and significance it has not had occasion to exercise in nearly 60 years.

Rivers and Harbors Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM KETTNER,
OF CALIFORNIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, January 27, 1917.

Mr. KETTNER. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I was called away from the House for a short time, when I was in attendance at the office of the Secretary of the Navy, with Mr. Rufus Choate, representative of the San Diego Chamber of Commerce, at the ceremony of the opening of the radio station at San Diego, the largest in the United States, and where I had the pleasure of sending the following message:

Washington salutes San Diego, first port of call, by wireless. Felicitations extended through you to people on completion greatest radio station in United States, made possible by our esteemed friends, Secretary Daniels and Admiral Griffin.

On my return to the House I found that Mr. STAFFORD had made a point of order on an item in the rivers and harbors bill reading as follows:

"SEC. 4. That the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co., of Kansas, a corporation created under and by virtue of the laws of the State of Kansas, be, and it is hereby, granted authority to maintain its wharf, known as Long Wharf, in the harbor of San Diego, Cal., where the same extends across certain submerged lands of the United States, ceded to the United States by act of the Legislature of the State of California, approved March 9, 1897, which said submerged lands lie in front of certain upland property of the United States described as lots 1 to 19 of block 18 of the city of San Diego, upon the following conditions and limitations: That the United States shall have free use of the so-called 'west wharf' of the said railway company, adjoining and connected with the said 'long wharf' in the harbor of San Diego, under such rules and regulations as may from time to time be agreed upon between the local representatives of the railway company and the commanding officer of Fort Rosecrans, Cal.: *Provided*, That if, at any time, the said parties shall fail to agree as to said rules and regulations, the then existing status of the occupancy and use of said wharf shall not be disturbed until the controversy shall be referred to the general manager of the railway company and the department commander, Western Department, United States Army, for decision, and an agreement shall have been reached by them in the matter: *Provided further*, That the United States shall have the right to make such improvements to the said 'west wharf' at its own expense as may be necessary to give the United States adequate and reasonable accommodations, provided such improvements shall be made without unnecessary interference with the operation of the railway company in its relations to the public as a common carrier and in its use of the said wharf as such common carrier: *And provided further*, That the railway company shall not be required to add to or alter the

said 'west wharf' or to add to or alter the warehouse and storeroom accommodations connected therewith. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this section is hereby expressly reserved."

The Chairman in sustaining the point of order makes the following statement:

"The Chair understands that the jurisdiction of this committee is over rivers and harbors. This proposition is to grant the use of this wharf as a railroad terminal. The point of order is sustained. The Clerk will read."

The facts of the case are as follows:

The wharf as built under a 20-year franchise, granted in 1878 to Messrs. Babcock & Story, was assigned to the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co. in 1886, and upon the latter's application the franchise was renewed in 1905 for a further period of 20 years.

A strip of land belonging to the United States extending out into the bay some 2,000 feet, a corner of which is crossed by this wharf in 30 feet of water, was ceded by the State of California to the United States in 1897.

The following is a letter from Mr. A. G. Wells, general manager of the company, dated October 7, 1915, addressed to the Secretary of War:

Had the provisions of the California statute of 1897 been brought to our notice, we would in 1905 have sought the consent of the United States Government to occupy this land when application was made for the extension of the franchise. Until our conference with Capt. Quinlan we were under the impression that the acts of the Secretary of War and Chief of Engineers, taken in conformity with the law authorizing them to control navigation under the commerce clause of the Constitution, gave implied authority to occupy the national-defense land so long as the interests of the military were not disturbed.

Understanding that it is not the present desire of the War Department to require the removal of this wharf, application is hereby made in behalf of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co. for a license to occupy, with the wharf, that portion of the land in question, subject to the approval of Congress at its next session, which approval will be sought by this company through a Member of Congress as soon as notice of the grant of the revocable license by the Secretary of War is received.

The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co. in consideration for this grant agrees, in return for the privilege sought and for the period during which it shall enjoy same, to permit the free use of its west wharf in the Bay of San Diego for the accommodation of and without expense to the Federal Government in accordance with such rules and regulations as may be entered into from time to time by the local representatives of the railway company and the proper bureaus of the Federal Government, it being understood that in case of failure of such to agree the status quo shall not be disturbed until decision is made by agreement of the general manager of the railway company and the commanding general of the Western Department of the United States Army.

Further, that nothing shall preclude the Federal Government from, at its sole expense, improving or adding to the accommodations furnished by the railway company upon said west wharf; that the spirit of all arrangements made for the use of the said west wharf and measures thought necessary to be undertaken by the Federal Government for improving such accommodations are to be understood as intending to secure to the Federal Government reasonable accommodations and to permit it to add, at its expense, such necessary and reasonable improvements as will make such accommodations adequate; and all are to be made and used without unnecessary interference with the activities of the railway company in its relations to the balance of public as a common carrier and its use of said wharf.

It is, however, understood and agreed that the railway company shall not be required by anything herein contained to add to or alter the said wharf or to add to or alter the warehouse and storeroom accommodations used in connection with said wharf.

In answer to this letter the Secretary of War granted a revocable license until such time as the Congress should take action, as per the following:

The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co. is hereby granted a license, revocable at will by the Secretary of War, to maintain its wharf, known as Long Wharf, in the harbor of San Diego, Cal., where it extends across certain submerged lands of the United States, ceded to the Government by act of the Legislature of the State of California, approved March 9, 1897, said submerged lands lying in front of certain upland property of the United States described as lots 1 to 19 of block 8 of the city of San Diego, upon the following provisions and conditions:

That the United States, in consideration of the privilege granted by this license, shall have the free use of the west wharf of the licensee, the said railway company, in the harbor of San Diego under such rules and regulations as may from time to time be agreed upon between the local representatives of the railway company and the commanding officer of Fort Rosecrans, Cal., it being understood that if at any time the said parties shall fail to agree as to such rules and regulations the then existing status of the occupancy and use of the wharf shall not be disturbed until the subject in controversy shall have been referred to the general manager of the railway company and the department commander, Western Department, for decision, and an agreement shall have been reached by them in the matter.

That the United States shall have the right to make such improvements to the said west wharf at its own expense as may be necessary to give the Government adequate and reasonable accommodations, said improvements to be made without unnecessary interference with the activities of the railway company in its relations to the public as a common carrier and in its use of the said wharf.

That the railway company shall not be required by anything contained in this license to add to or alter the said west wharf or to add to or alter the warehouse and storeroom accommodations connected therewith.

That this license is granted with the understanding that the licensee will seek to obtain from Congress during its next session its approval of the same, and with the further understanding that it will be subject to such conditions and restrictions as may be imposed in said approval.

When this matter was submitted to me I referred it to the officials of the city of San Diego, and received a letter from the Hon. Edwin M. Capps, mayor of the city of San Diego, addressed to the city attorney of the city, copy of which follows:

In the matter referred to this office concerning my objection, if any, in connection with the application of the Santa Fe Railway Co. to the honorable the Secretary of War for the right to maintain a wharf across certain submerged lands of the United States in the harbor of San Diego, Cal., and all in accordance with a bill to be introduced in the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States entitled "A bill granting to the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co. the right to main a wharf across certain submerged lands of the United States in the harbor of San Diego, Cal."

I desire to say that after examining the application and a copy of the bill referred to I can not see any objection to granting the application.

I also received the following letter from Mr. T. B. Cosgrove, city attorney of the city of San Diego:

Further replying to your esteemed favor of the 29th ultimo, in the matter of the bill submitted by the Sante Fe granting right to maintain a wharf across certain submerged lands of the United States in the harbor of San Diego, Cal., I desire to hand you herewith copies of communications from Mayor Edwin M. Capps and Manager of Operations F. M. Lockwood. In addition to the sentiments expressed by these two gentlemen, I desire to state that from a legal standpoint I can see no reason for making any objection on behalf of the city of San Diego to the permit sought.

I then took the matter up with the Rivers and Harbors Committee and they had it referred to the War Department, and I herewith attach a copy of letter from the Secretary of War on this item:

Referring to your letter of the 26th ultimo, with which you forwarded to this department a copy of H. R. 14790, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session, providing for "granting to the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co. the right to maintain a wharf across certain submerged lands of the United States in the harbor of San Diego, Cal.," and requested to be furnished with the opinion of the War Department on the measure, I have the honor to inform you as follows:

The accompany bill (H. R. 14790) proposes to grant, under certain conditions contained therein, permission to the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co. to maintain its existing "long wharf" in San Diego Bay, a portion of which, in its present location, occupies certain land under water belonging to the United States and forming a part of the San Diego Barracks Reservation.

The matter of securing permission to continue the occupancy of this land was presented in a letter of the railway company dated October 7, 1915, and forwarded to this department by the district engineer officer at Los Angeles on October 13, 1915. In pursuance of this, and in accordance with recommendations of the department commander, a license was granted by the War Department, subject to the action which might be taken by Congress.

The bill to which you refer is drafted substantially in accordance with the conditions heretofore approved by the War Department, but it is understood that the word "eight," in line 1, page 2, should be changed to "eighteen"; and that the word "manner," in line 16 of the same page, should read "matter."

It does not appear that the interests of navigation will be materially affected by the enactment of the proposed legislation, and no objection to its enactment is apparent to this department.

The Government never has used this strip of land; has absolutely no use for it at the present time, as it is submerged 30 feet in water where the wharf crosses the corner of it.

The bill which I have introduced is designed to furnish the necessary ratification by the Congress of the United States, and, as I understand it, is entirely within the province of the Rivers and Harbors Committee.

Wheat and Flour.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, January 27, 1917.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, consumers in the large cities view the question of the food supply from various angles. Some think the high cost of living is due to a scarcity of farm products; others think the supply is ample for domestic purposes, but that prices are being kept up because of European war demands, while others insist there is manipulation somewhere between the farm and the city. That the city people have been paying good prices for farm products goes without saying. That the farmer is getting good prices for what he has to sell is also an undisputed condition.

The problem of costs is always acute in the cities, because, whether times are good or bad, the average city dweller is dependent upon the daily wage to keep the larder going. If the wage fails, he has no storehouse of food supplies to fall back upon, and if the prices rise in good times it is necessary for him to spend for food about as much in proportion as he would have to spend if the prices should fall when times are bad.

IS THE PRICE OF BREAD UNDULY HIGH?

The price of bread has been discussed recently as much as any other question, and an understanding of the bread question necessarily involves the question of the wheat supply. Certain bakers' associations have been contending that we are exporting too much wheat, and that the price of bread to the American consumer is raised because the supply of wheat for domestic use is being curtailed by our exports. Our colleague, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RAINEY], has taken cognizance of the statement of certain New York bakers, and has suggested that the passage of the Rainey mixed-flour bill might relieve the American situation and give the American consumer cheaper bread. The views of the gentleman from Illinois will be found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 23, in a letter addressed by him to Albin E. Plarre, chairman of the United Bakers of Greater New York and Vicinity. Mr. RAINEY's remedy would be to repeal certain laws requiring a careful inspection of wheat flour so that corn might be mixed with wheat for the production of a "mixed flour." The Rainey idea is seriously combated by most of the millers of the country, and would doubtless have rough sledding as a legislative proposition; but as the Rainey bill has not yet been reached, I shall not attempt a further discussion of it at this time. I do recall, however, some of the New York correspondence to which Mr. RAINEY refers in the extension of his remarks January 23. The United Bakers of New York had sent out a statement to Members of Congress calling attention to an apparent shortage in the wheat crop. The letter appealed to me as worthy of careful consideration, and I forwarded it to the Commercial Exchange of Philadelphia, an organization which deals heavily in wheat and corn, in order that it might be commented upon by those who are recognized as experts. The letter of the bakers and the reply thereto from the Commercial Exchange viewpoint contained so much information that I incorporate them in these remarks, as follows:

STATEMENT OF NEW YORK BAKERS.

UNITED BAKERS OF GREATER NEW YORK AND VICINITY,
New York, December 7, 1916.

To the UNITED STATES SENATORS AND THE
MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: Will you please verify, through the Department of Agriculture, the fact that the surplus of last year's billion-bushel wheat crop was 162,000,000 bushels, of which about 37,000,000 bushels are not millable?

Will you please verify, through the Department of Agriculture, the fact that this year's wheat crop was only 605,000,000 bushels—less than 60 per cent of last year's crop?

Will you please verify, through the Department of Agriculture, the fact that the deterioration of this year's wheat crop amounts to 20,000,000 bushels, thus leaving only 585,000,000 bushels, or barely 50 per cent of last year's crop?

Will you please verify, through the Department of Agriculture, the fact that the yearly wheat consumption, including the necessary quantity for seeding, is 659,000,000 bushels?

Will you please verify, through the Department of Commerce, the fact that over 75,000,000 bushels of wheat and flour have so far been exported since July 1?

Will you please verify the fact that over 50,000,000 bushels of this year's wheat supply have already been sold for future delivery?

Will you please verify the fact that this year's supply, which was barely sufficient for the needs of this country, has thus already been shortened over 74,000,000 bushels?

Will you please verify the fact that for lack of an adequate supply of a good quality of wheat for seeding purposes, for lack of labor, for lack of fertilizers, and other causes, the crop prospects for next year are anything but encouraging?

Shall the United States meet the possibility of another crop failure with no reserve stock in the country?

Will you please bear in mind that the crop of Argentina is a bad failure, leaving nothing for export, and that that country is even contemplating an embargo on all foodstuffs?

Will you please bear in mind that the crop of Canada has only produced 50 per cent of last year's crop?

Will you please bear in mind that Europe, on account of bad crops, expects 450,000,000 bushels of wheat from the United States?

Will you please consider what effect all these facts will have on the daily bread of the American people?

Shall the United States be like Russia, when the ukase promulgating the prohibition of the export of grain in the hunger year 1891 was issued only after all the grain had been exported? The sufferings of the Russian people were terrible. Shall the United States have the same experience?

Gentlemen of the Senate and the House of Representatives, feed America first.

Yours, very respectfully, ALBIN E. PLARRE, *Chairman.*

REPLY OF THE COMMERCIAL EXCHANGE.

The reply of the Commercial Exchange of Philadelphia, embodying an analysis of the points made in the statement of the New York bakers, was as follows:

THE COMMERCIAL EXCHANGE OF PHILADELPHIA,
Philadelphia, December 27, 1916.

Hon. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MOORE: Referring to the inclosed letter from the United Bakers of Greater New York and Vicinity, dated December 7, which we received from you last week, we beg to call to your attention the fact that since that letter was written the United States Department of Agriculture has discovered that we raised about 10,000,000 bushels more wheat in 1915 than had been previously placed to the credit of that year's crop; therefore at the time Mr. Plarre wrote his letter the surplus or carry over of last year's wheat crop was 162,000,000 bushels, but since that time, the Department of Agriculture having raised that amount by 10,000,000 bushels, the surplus would be 172,000,000. As to the 37,000,000 bushels of not-millable wheat, mentioned in the first paragraph of his letter, that is really an unknown quantity, some of it at first considered as not millable having been found millable by proper admixture.

Regarding paragraph 2 of his letter, at the time Mr. Plarre wrote the same his figures of 605,000,000 bushels for the wheat crop of 1916 were in accordance with the Department of Agriculture's figures, but within the past week the department has raised that estimate 33,000,000 bushels by reason of a greater acreage than heretofore estimated for the 1916 crop. You will observe these increased figures added to the 10,000,000 bushels additional surplus make a total of 43,000,000 bushels of wheat since the time of Mr. Plarre's writing.

Regarding paragraph 3, we doubt there has been a deterioration of 20,000,000 bushels in the 1916 crop; at any rate it is an unknown quantity.

In reference to paragraphs 4 and 5, the amount as stated for our yearly consumption and for seed, also the amount of wheat and flour exported since the 1st of July, are approximately correct, with the exception of the consumption, which is greatly reduced under high-price conditions, as referred to below.

As to Mr. Plarre's prediction in paragraph 6, that over 50,000,000 bushels of this year's wheat supply have already been sold for future delivery, it is impossible for anyone to verify this assertion; exporters do not disclose the amount of their contracts, neither do the agents of the foreign governments; however, we would suppose it to be a reasonable guess.

In regard to paragraph 7, according to Mr. Plarre's figures there would be a shortage of 74,000,000 bushels, but deducting the Government's estimated increase of last year's surplus, amounting to 10,000,000 bushels, together with the Government's increased estimate of the 1916 crop, amounting to 33,000,000 bushels, would leave a net shortage of 31,000,000 bushels, and we believe this shortage will be more than wiped out and leave an exportable surplus by considering the following facts:

First. That the bulk of the 37,000,000 bushels referred to in his statement as being not millable is actually millable through the process of an admixture with choice wheat.

Second. The deterioration in the 1916 crop of 20,000,000 bushels referred to in paragraph 3 of Mr. Plarre's letter, as previously mentioned, is a very questionable and doubtful estimate and probably would amount to much less than this figure.

Third. High prices are always conducive to conservation on the farm and economy by the consumer, which together will greatly reduce the estimated requirements for consumption.

In regard to his statements in paragraphs 8 and 9, we believe Mr. Plarre is taking a pessimistic view of the crop prospects for next year, from the fact that according to the Government Crop Report issued December 18, 1916, there is an increase in the winter wheat acreage of 887,000 acres over last year; and, for your information, I might say there has also been an increase over last year in the rye acreage of 740,000 acres. In addition to this, if high prices continue the acreage of spring wheat will also undoubtedly be increased very materially.

The statements in paragraphs 10 and 11 we presume are substantially correct.

Regarding the estimated requirements by Europe in paragraph 12, amounting to 450,000,000 bushels of wheat from the United States, we believe this to be absolutely incorrect, from the fact that during the first five months of the present crop year 75,000,000 bushels of wheat and flour have been exported, and it would be a physical impossibility to export during the balance of the crop year, or seven months, the difference between 450,000,000 bushels and 75,000,000 bushels, or 375,000,000 bushels.

Referring to paragraph 13, I would call your attention to the fact that the bread of the American people is costing them a great deal more than it would otherwise, because they prefer buying their bread ready-made and delivered at their doors. Bakers make from 1 barrel of flour 300 loaves of bread, for which they are charging 6 cents per loaf, or the equivalent of $18 per barrel, and the housewife can buy flour to-day for less than $10 per barrel, even in small quantities, or at a saving of $8 per barrel, but as a large majority of them persist in buying ready-made bread it would therefore seem that the American people do not care enough about the high cost of living to economize in this manner.

In view of the foregoing facts we believe there is still quite a considerable amount of exportable surplus of wheat left in this country and that Mr. Plarre's alarming views are without foundation.

Very truly, yours,

L. G. GRAFF, *President.*

On the appearance in the RECORD of the interesting letter of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RAINEY], I invited the Commercial Exchange of Philadelphia to comment upon the suggestions therein made to the New York bakers, with the following result:

THE COMMERCIAL EXCHANGE OF PHILADELPHIA,
Philadelphia, January 26, 1917.

Hon. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MOORE:

* * * * * * *

In re the Rainey bill and Mr. RAINEY's remarks on page 2115 of the RECORD, issue of January 23, I would say that I will stand by my letter of December 27, 1916, and in addition thereto, I find the wheat-flour manufacturers of the city of Philadelphia consider the Rainey bill a most pernicious document, which would, if enacted into law, compel a citizen of the United States to buy something against his wish and desire; an admixture of corn flour with wheat flour is properly prohibited at present, unless it is so branded when offered for sale. The consumer will not buy corn flour mixed with wheat flour; if they were satisfied to do so it would be on the market branded "As Is." The Rainey bill would permit the manufacturer and dealer in flour to fool the public by selling them a counterfeit.

In re my letter of December 27, 1916, the passing of a month's time toward another crop of wheat has substantiated my statement; wheat is not going out of the country as fast at this time as last year. The weekly shipments have dropped from the 10,000,000 mark per week to 7,000,000 bushels, and it is quite apparent that foreign countries have bought sufficient to meet their requirements until the new crop is available, which they expect to buy at very much lower prices.

Please refer to the first paragraph of my letter of December 27: Much unmillable wheat referred to by Mr. Plarre is being made into flour of a bakable quality and is finding a market at lower prices than the higher grades, being sold "As Is"—a low-grade article.

Furthermore, as to carry over from former crops, the Canadian Government to-day made it known that the Canadian wheat crop of 1916 is now known to be 220,367,000 bushels, instead of their former estimate, 159,123,000 bushels; and the crop of 1915 was 426,746,000 bushels, instead of 376,303,000 bushels, as formerly estimated—thus giving Canada 111,587,000 bushels more than former estimates; and as our millers of the United States are buying millions of bushels from Canada, the importance of this increase is obvious.

Since Mr. Plarre wrote his letter early in December, the United States Government has found we raised 10,000,000 bushels more in 1915 than formerly estimated; and the crop of 1916 was found to be 33,000,000 bushels more than the earlier estimates. This 43,000,000 bushels increase in the United States and the 111,000,000 bushels increase in Canada making 154,000,000 bushels more wheat than formerly was supposed to exist in the two countries.

The marketing of wheat this month (January, 1917) reveals the fact that the Government was correct in increasing its estimate of the crop, and personally I have found farmers owning three crops of wheat. I reiterate that there will be enough surplus wheat and flour in this great land of ours for the starving in Europe, whom we have been charged to give of our bountiful supplies by the Provider of all Nations.

Very truly, yours, L. G. GRAFF, *President.*

Rural Credits and Loan Sharks—How the Latter are Striving to Discredit the Farm-Loan Act With the Farmers.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GUY T. HELVERING,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 29, 1917.

Mr. HELVERING. Mr. Speaker, from the time when the Congress of the United States started out in an endeavor to secure a system of rural credits which would give the farmers of this Nation equal opportunities with their competitors in other countries there had been a systematic endeavor on the part of those who have profited at the expense of the farmers to prevent the passage of such legislation, and, failing in that, the same interests are now striving to discredit the law which we have enacted.

In the stress of the recent political campaign our political opponents lent themselves to some extent to the same purpose. Literature was circulated with the intent of showing that the law would be inoperative, and even if it were tried out it would bring no relief to those who wanted to secure money on fairer terms. I paid but little attention to that sort of campaigning. Much is to be overlooked in the heat of political battle, and besides, if we were to grant all that was claimed by the authors of the literature circulated it would be a reflection upon the minority party in this House as well as upon the majority. No excuse could be offered by those who sat silent and permitted the agricultural interests of the country to be buncoed and no excuse need be offered for those who were here and participated in the passage of this legislation knowing that the minority party as well as the majority were sincerely interested in shaping this legislation so that it would bring the maximum amount of benefit to those who were so sadly in need of relief, and if any attempt had been made here to destroy the effectiveness of the bill it would have been resented by the honest membership on both sides of this Chamber.

Recently my attention has been called to literature which is being circulated by the money lenders in the district which I have the honor to represent. In this literature an attempt is made to discredit the farm-loan act. This end is sought by telling half truths with relation to some of the provisions of the act, by deliberately misrepresenting others, and by insidiously striving to convince those who might be tempted to take advantage of the act that the difficulties in the way of securing a loan are so great that it would be far better to ignore it and continue to do business with the "six, eight, and ten per centers." I propose to call attention to these statements as they are set forth in a circular which has just reached me and see if they are intended to enlighten or to deceive.

In detailing the steps needed to secure a loan, the author of the circular says:

1. Go out and see your neighbors and find nine other farmers who also want to borrow money and are ready to say just how much they need and what they want the money for.

The point to be noted in connection with the preceding and with many of the numbered steps which we propose to reproduce is the stress laid upon the necessity of having nine partners before a loan can be secured. The intent seems to be to impress the man who seeks information as to the means to be employed to secure a loan that he must be a member of a society of 10; no mention is made of the fact that it can be an association of any number more than 10, and, as it is unreasonable to assume that few, if any, of the associations will have the minimum number, it begins to look as if the writer of the circular was trying to deceive by the sin of omission as well as that of commission. Furthermore, if the writer had been acquainted with the practical workings of rural-credit systems the world over he would know that the associations are to be found in practically every hamlet in Germany and in other countries where they have an effective rural-credit system. There has been no difficulty in forming these associations abroad, and it is reasonable to assume that there will be no difficulty in the United States.

When we had this legislation under discussion in Congress we desired to protect all classes who would have the wish to secure relief under this law. We realized that at times and under certain conditions it might be impossible to form a local association, and we felt that we should do everything possible to protect the farm owners who might have to face such a contingency. Therefore we wrote into this bill section 15, the first paragraph of which reads:

That whenever, after the act shall have been in effect one year, it shall appear to the Federal Farm Loan Board that national farm-loan associations have not been formed, and are not likely to be formed, in any locality, because of peculiar local conditions, said board may, in its discretion, authorize Federal land banks to make loans on farm lands through agents approved by said board.

All of which goes to prove how earnestly it was the desire of Congress to bring relief to all.

But the circular continues:

2. These nine neighbors and yourself must agree to borrow a total of $20,000. Remember that unless it is that much none of you can borrow a cent—

Which is true, as far as it goes, but that means that in an association of 10 there would be an average loan of $2,000 to each member. And if the association numbers more than 10 the average would be accordingly diminished, no member being able to borrow less than $100 nor more than $10,000.

3. Call a meeting of these 10 farmers who need money, organize yourselves into a "national farm-loan association," and elect officers.

There is nothing wrong about that, but it was evidently put in so as to discourage the would-be borrower by laying stress upon the difficulties in the way. And as in all probability these associations will soon be in full swing all of this preliminary work will be done by the time the great majority are ready to apply for a loan, so that all that will be required will be an application to join the association as formed.

4. You then appoint a committee of three to appraise the 10 farms—

Which is not only a natural step to take but a wise one and one which will tend to facilitate rather than delay.

5. The committee reports its appraisement, and the various blanks are filled in and sent to the farm-loan bank.

All of which will not consume the time now experienced where the local representative has to take up the details with his principal before a loan can be made.

6. Remember that if your farm is appraised at $4,000, you can borrow $2,000; and if the insured improvements are worth $1,500, you can only borrow $300.

That will not impress the borrowers who have had dealings with "loan sharks." In my own section of the country I am familiar with the procedure followed by one of the largest companies which make a practice of loaning eastern money on farm mortgages. The maximum amount of these loans is limited to 40 per cent of the actual value of the land and that is, I understand, the general rule. So it will be seen that what the critic points out as an objection and seeks to create prejudice over is in reality plain proof that the loaning features of the bill are liberal.

7. No; this appraisement doesn't settle it. In due course of time a Federal appraiser, a slick-looking gentleman, will come out and make a second appraisement.

You will notice that the critic is gifted with an extraordinary power to see into the future. He knows that the Federal appraiser will be a "slick-looking gentleman," but the farmers

remember quite well the many "slick-looking gentlemen" with whom they have had to deal when they needed the funds to carry on their business, and in all probability they will prefer to deal with a Federal appraiser, because even if he is "slick looking" they know that he is responsible to this Government of ours and that this Government stands behind to see that he gives a square deal.

8. Perhaps, after driving around and viewing the 10 farms, this Federal appraiser finds that one of the farms was appraised too high.
9. That being the case, under the law, the committee must meet again and make a new appraisement, bringing the amount down to the limit set by the Federal appraiser.

We will consider these two paragraphs together. You will notice how the critic is laying stress upon the number 10. It is significant and is best understood when you consider the next two paragraphs.

10. Perhaps just at this time one of the 10 men dies. This is hard luck all around, for 9 men can not form one of these associations, and so you must go and find another man who wants to get a loan, and the whole process must be repeated.
11. But wait a minute. The Federal land bank sends word that their attorneys find a defect in the title to Bill Jones's land. The title must be corrected through the court or else you must find another man to take Bill Jones's place, for you can not get your loan unless all 10 of the titles are perfect.

Now, you can see the reason why the writer of the circular quoted has harped so constantly on the 10 members of an association and has never even intimated that the association can have more than 10. As we all know, 10 is but the minimum, as we had to have associations to utilize the machinery of this law, and 10 members would be as low as it would be practicable to operate. But we all expect that the number of minimum associations will be negligible, and all indications are that 25, and even more, will be the ordinary membership.

Let us see now what will happen if the initial membership is 20 and the applications for the loans is sent to the farm-loan bank. The appraiser decides that one piece of land is appraised too high. Very well; the owner of that land must wait and have the appraisement corrected before he can get a loan, but that does not delay the other 19 whose appraisements have been approved. They can get their loans at once. Perhaps, as the writer states, 1 may die. Very well; the 18 can get their money on their mortgages. Perhaps there is a flaw in Jones's title. Jones knows that no "loan shark" under the sun would give him a loan on that land until the title is perfected, but that does not interfere with the 17 qualifying and getting the money needed. But, to quote further from the circular:

12. But be patient. In a few more weeks the matter is straightened out and your loan of $3,000 on your $6,000 farm, and your loan of $400 on your $2,000 improvements—this is the limit you can get—are approved. You are to get a loan of $3,400.

And if you had to deal with the "loan shark" you would get a loan of $2,400 on the same $6,000 farm. You would pay 6 or 10 per cent in interest, and with the commissions it would sometimes reach 12. Under this legislation which we have enacted we are assured that at the outset the interest rate will not exceed 5 per cent, and we expect that this will be materially reduced. The law specifies that the interest rate shall not exceed the interest rate on the land bonds by more than 1 per cent, and everyone who has made a study of rural credits knows that such bonds are considered unusually gilt-edge securities. In Germany the Landschaften bonds command a higher premium than Government bonds on many occasions, and it is safe to assume that the bonds to be issued under the terms of the farm-loan bill will be eagerly sought and will command an unusually low interest rate, all of which insures a minimum interest rate to the borrower on land mortgages.

13. But you understand you don't get the $3,400 in cash. No; you are required to subscribe 5 per cent of it for stock in the farm bank. So you only get in cash $3,230.
14. You understand that this $170 in stock in the bank may or may not draw interest—that all depends upon whether the stock earns anything.

But at that you are getting 45 per cent of the appraised value of your land in cash, which is 5 per cent more than the "loan shark" would give you; and he fails to state that when you have complied with the terms of your mortgage and have liquidated your debt you will have the $170 returned to you. He conveniently forgot to speak of that, while he did try to cast doubts on the chances of your $170 earning interest. If these banks do any kind of a business, and the history of the farm-mortgage business assures us that they will, then your $170 is certain to earn for you, and, as stated, you receive the entire sum when your contract is complete and you withdraw from the bank.

15. You also understand that this $170 in stock has a "double liability," just like other bank stock. If your neighbors fail, you may not only have to lose the $170 but you may have to dig up $170 more. But cheer up; the probability is that won't happen.

What if the neighbor fails? Surely his land will not be destroyed, and his land is worth twice the amount of the money he owes the bank. What are the chances of failure to those associated with him in the bank in such a contingency? The writer of that paragraph evidently did not think there was any chance of loss to the association, as he shows in the concluding lines of the paragraph, but just the same it was written with the intent to create suspicion and doubt.

16. As to the rate of interest, there is nothing in the law to show that it is to be below 6 per cent. There is no assurance that it will be below that.

We have the assurance of common sense, which is something that the writer of the preceding seems to lack. The law has placed the maximum rate that can be charged at 6 per cent, but it also provides that the rate can not be greater than the interest rate on the bonds by more than 1 per cent. As we have pointed out, there is every likelihood that these bonds will sell at a very low rate, owing to their solidity and their advantage to investors, and already the Farm Loan Board assures us that the initial interest rate will not exceed 5 per cent. Compare that with the 6 and 10 per cent of the "loan sharks" and it is easy to see why they are trying to bring this legislation into disrepute.

17. No; you can not put a second mortgage on the farm, and you can not sell it unless the Farm Loan Board grants special permission to you to do it.

There is nothing in the legislation which will in any way interfere with the placing of a second mortgage. The assertion that there is has no foundation in fact. As to selling the mortgaged property, the language of the bill is: "In case of the sale of the mortgaged land, the Federal Land Board may permit said mortgage and the stock interests of the vendor to be assumed by the purchaser." There is nothing in that to prevent you from disposing of the mortgaged property, as the writer of the preceding paragraph asserts, but if the mortgage is to be assumed by the party who intends to make the purchase from you then permission must be obtained. Is there anything wrong about that? Is it not liberal in the opportunities it gives? What would happen if you were in the clutches of the "loan shark" and attempted to dispose of the mortgaged property without his knowledge or consent?

18. You must pay off the loan in regular installments, and can not make any payments before five years.

All of which is true. The borrower has a terrible burden placed upon him to the extent that he can, if he desires, secure a loan for 40 years, and by making small payments, much less than the amount which he now pays in straight interest for short-time accommodation, he will at the end of the 40 years have paid off both principal and interest. As it is now, he has to pay exorbitant interest rates during the life of the mortgage, and when it matures he still owes the full amount of the principal. And as to the limitation that the loan can not be paid off inside of a term of five years, where is there any hardship in that? It is but a safeguard to protect the entire system. Everyone knows that in making loans the initial cost of investigation and of safeguarding is the heavy one. Hence the loan should pay interest for a period of time long enough to insure the payment of that initial cost. A five-year loan at 5 per cent or less is certainly more desirable than a similar loan costing 10 per cent, even if the borrower has the privilege of paying it off at will.

19. If you should die, your heirs must assume the obligations in 60 days or the mortgage will be foreclosed.

What is wrong about that? The heirs have 60 days in which to elect whether they care to assume the mortgage or not. Is it the contention that death should wipe out the obligation? And where, under any system of private loaning, could better terms be expected by the heirs?

20. In case of default in payment the mortgage will be foreclosed in 30 days.

That statement is made in defiance of the facts. When we had this bill under consideration many of you will remember that we discussed this very proposition. We remembered that in the past the tillers of the soil on many occasions were overwhelmed by plagues of grasshoppers and of locusts and by periods of severe droughts during which it was impossible to secure a revenue from the land to meet current expenses. We remembered that, and we provided for it. We wrote into the act, section 12, article 8, the following language:

Every borrower shall pay simple interest on defaulted payments at the rate of 8 per cent per annum.

Which means that in case of calamity and inability to pay interest when due the bank will give the borrower time to recover and time in which to win back from his land the means

to protect himself, and during that time the amount of interest due—not the principal, mind you—will bear a rate of 8 per cent. All of which goes to show that the critic in making the assertion quoted either was inexcusably ignorant of the facts or else willfully and deliberately misstated them.

> 21. And you say you want the loan in order to buy feed for your stock? Well, there is nothing doing. The money can not be used for that purpose no matter how good the security you offer may be.

That assertion is intended to deceive. Let us see what the law has to say. Section 12, article 4 (b), reads, in stating the purposes for which loans can be made:

> To provide for the purpose of equipment, fertilizers, and live stock necessary for the proper and reasonable operation of the mortgaged farm; the term "equipment" to be defined by the Federal Farm Loan Board.

Has the Farm Loan Board defined "equipment" as not to mean feed for stock? If not, what right has the critic to assume that the law prohibits a loan for such a purpose? No other meaning can be read into the law than that it is the intent not only to provide for loans to purchase necessary stock, as noted, but also to provide that the loan can be used to purchase feed for that stock. So it was that without going into needless details that the Congress gave to the Farm Loan Board the power to define the term "equipment," and it is an insult to the intelligence of the people to assume that there is anything in the law to bear out the contention of the author of the criticism quoted.

In closing, this man, who is so evidently trying to arouse prejudice against the new law, has this to say:

> And what's your guess? How many farmers of this country are going to avail themselves of its wonderful provisions?

The hope of the "loan sharks" is that none of them will. But the farmers of the United States are not to be swayed by prejudice nor are they to be led astray by those who would keep them in bondage. With the new system in operation and with the organization of each unit the campaign of education will go forward with leaps and bounds. If there are faults in the new system time will develop them, and this Congress will be eager to perfect the legislation in accordance with our sincere desire to bring relief to the agricultural interests of the Nation. We have entered upon the work of emancipating those who have been crushed down under the unjust exactions of those who made profit out of their necessities, and we will take no backward step. And when we find the men whose practices became so obnoxious that we had to stop them in the interests of the public weal, now engaged in the work of misrepresenting the facts, striving to create prejudice, and endeavoring to prevent those we would help from taking advantage of the law, then we know that we must have builded well indeed. The yelp from the dog is proof that the blow must have landed upon him.

Statement of Hon. Zebulon Weaver.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWIN Y. WEBB,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 29, 1917.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a statement by Hon. Zebulon B. Weaver, giving his side of the election controversy between himself and the Hon. J. J. Britt, Representative Britt having made a statement.

The statement is as follows:

STATEMENT OF HON. ZEBULON WEAVER.

In the Greensboro Daily News, under date of December 24, 1916, there appeared a statement from Hon. J. J. Britt relating to the recent election in the tenth congressional district of North Carolina. This statement, with some modifications, has recently, upon the request of Mr. Britt, been printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The allegations in this statement are the same that Mr. Britt and his attorneys recently urged in the courts of North Carolina, where the decision each time was against him, both upon the law and the facts.

This controversy arose over the question as to whether or not certain congressional ballots cast for me and referred to by Mr. Britt as unmarked ballots should be counted. Mr. Britt claims that these were illegal. His whole argument is based upon the assertion that these unmarked ballots should not have been counted. His contention that these unmarked ballots were illegal was overruled by the Supreme Court of North Carolina in the case of James J. Britt *v.* Board of Canvassers of Buncombe County. As to his personal imputations, if I shall content myself here with mere statements of fact, let no man misunderstand me or conclude that I do not resent with every fiber of my being any intimations of wrongful conduct on my part.

In the congressional contest in the tenth North Carolina district separate ballots were provided for the Republican and Democratic candidates. The Democratic ballot had printed thereon my name only for Representative in the Sixty-fifth Congress; the Republican ballot had printed thereon Mr. Britt's name only. Opposite the name of the candidate there was placed a small square, and it is contended by my opponent that to make these ballots legal the voter was required to make a cross mark in the square. He argues this at great length, citing a provision of the primary law, not the general election law, of North Carolina. As a matter of law, under the act of Congress a congressional ballot may be written or printed, and a ticket, either for Mr. Britt or myself, written with a pencil would have been a legal ballot.

He states that I had held the view that an unmarked ballot of this character was illegal. I have never held such view, and on the contrary, prior to the election, when my attention was called to the form of the ballots which had been sent out, I expressed the view that such a ballot, with only one name thereon, deposited by an elector was legal, whether cast for Mr. Britt or myself. But this question has been decided by our Supreme Court. When Mr. Britt inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD his statement declaring that 27 unmarked ballots had been counted for me, and that they were illegal, he had before him the opinion of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, rendered in the case of James J. Britt against the Board of Canvassers of Buncombe County. In that decision it is distinctly held, in construing the statute of North Carolina in regard to these identical 27 ballots, that they were legal and ought to have been counted. And yet so important a decision is not referred to in his statement. The supreme court held, in the opinion rendered on the 19th day of December, 1916, as to the congressional ticket, which had only one name on it, that—

> All unmarked ballots ought to be counted for the respective candidates, because the purpose of an election is to ascertain the will of the voter, and the marking of a ballot can only serve a useful purpose in ascertaining this will when there are more names than one upon a ballot.

The Court further said:

> The voter is interested in the question as well as the candidate, and when his will is expressed it ought not to be set aside on light grounds, and no one can doubt what his purpose and intention was when he voted a congressional ticket with only one name on it.

This decision against Mr. Britt, rendered in an action in which the identical ballots to which he referred in his statement were considered, brought and prosecuted by himself, and to which I was not even a party, determines the validity of these ballots. I hold my certificate of election with the personal consciousness that a majority of the ballots cast, not only in Buncombe County, but in the 13 counties comprising the tenth district, were cast for me.

After the election in the tenth district it was ascertained that the judges of the various precincts in the district exercised their own judgment in counting or rejecting unmarked ballots. In some precincts they had been counted, in others they had not been counted and were not included in the returns. When I had learned of this situation I made a written statement in the press in regard to the unmarked ballots. A portion of this statement is as follows:

> I have read Mr. Britt's statement in regard to the unmarked ballots. I gave as my opinion before the election that a ballot deposited for Mr. Britt or myself with one name only thereon was a legal ballot. I think so now. If I have received a majority of the votes, including these unmarked ballots, there can be no doubt of the intention of a majority of the people of this district to elect me. If Mr. Britt has received a majority, including these unmarked ballots, there can be no doubt of a similar result in his favor. These unmarked ballots have been counted in some places and not counted in others. They should either be entirely rejected or they should all be counted. If they were all counted I do not know how the result would stand. My only desire is that the officers holding the election, and not outsiders, should state upon their oaths how this is. By ascertaining this fact we could then tell who had a majority.

With the purpose of settling any contest, I later made the further proposition in a written statement either to count all the unmarked ballots in the district or reject all, and that he might select which of these propositions he wished. This statement concluded as follows:

> As a matter of law, the act of Congress prescribes what a congressional ticket shall be, and no voter ought to be disfranchised. I merely ask that all unmarked ballots shall be counted or all shall be rejected. It would be comparatively easy to determine by accurate

evidence how many unmarked ballots were thrown out for each in the district. But I am willing to let what Mr. Britt calls the face of the returns be determined, either by rejecting all unmarked ballots or by counting all unmarked ballots.

I never appeared before the Buncombe County canvassing board at any of its meetings. I never suggested to an individual upon the board what he should or should not do. My party was represented by such men as Hon. Julius C. Martin, Judge J. D. Murphy, Marcus Erwin, Esq., and others, whose characters are absolutely above reproach, either as men or as attorneys. Mr. Britt and his counsel were at all of the meetings of the board. They addressed the board time and time again. The board met on November 9. They continued in session on the 10th and 11th canvassing the results of the State, county, and presidential tickets. When the board first met on November 9 the congressional vote from three precincts had not been returned. Mr. Martin on that day stated to the board that it appeared that unmarked ballots had been counted in some precincts and not in others. The board adjourned on the 11th of November until the 16th, the returns from one of these precincts still not being before the board.

The board reconvened on November 16 pursuant to adjournment, and took up the congressional returns and the returns upon certain constitutional amendments. Mr. Britt and his counsel were present. They addressed the board upon the question of the legality of the unmarked ballots from 10 o'clock until 12. Mr. Britt then asked an adjournment until 4 o'clock in order to further consider what position he would take as to the counting of the unmarked ballots. The board patiently waited for him until 4 o'clock, thus giving him the entire day, and at 4 o'clock he returned with a writ of mandamus which he had in the meantime secured from a judge holding court in an adjoining county, and served it upon the board in an attempt to compel the board to count a certain number of votes for him and a certain number of votes for me, or show cause why this should not be done. Cause was shown why this should not be done and the writ later was dismissed.

On November 16 the returns before the board showed that in five precincts, in addition to the marked votes which had been counted, there were 27 unmarked votes for me and 6 for Mr. Britt which had not been counted. These facts had been certified to the board by a majority of the election officers holding the election. Their truth was not contested. The board was then confronted with a legal proposition as to whether or not such ballots were valid or invalid. The writ of mandamus had also been served upon the board. When this situation arose the board refused to act upon Mr. Britt's contention that these ballots were illegal or upon the contention that these ballots were legal and employed independent counsel of its own. The counsel so employed were Hon. Theodore F. Davidson, a former attorney general of North Carolina; Mr. Louis M. Bourne, former city attorney of Asheville; and Mr. A. Hall Johnston, a former solicitor, all men of the highest standing professionally and otherwise. These gentlemen filed a written opinion with the board that these ballots were legal and should be counted. This opinion has been sustained by the Supreme Court of North Carolina, and yet this board, which refused to act until it had employed independent counsel, not connected with either of our claims, is held up in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and to the people of the tenth district as a set of men deliberately bent upon defrauding Mr. Britt.

Let us take the second precinct in Asheville, one of those complained of by Mr. Britt. There were five unmarked ballots cast for me and one for Mr. Britt. The corrected returns showed merely that these unmarked ballots were cast as returned. The judges did not undertake to say whether they were legal or not, but left that to the canvassing board. Mr. Britt asked at whose instance these returns were made. The registrar and one of the judges both stated, and it was not denied, that when they counted this box these unmarked ballots appeared and it was agreed that upon the returns they should be noted and certified; but in their haste to finish their work they failed to make the certification as to the unmarked ballots and that they made their complete returns merely for the purpose of fully performing their official duty. They merely certified to the facts.

In the four other precincts complained of by Mr. Britt the officers merely certified to actual ballots found in the boxes, and returned them to the canvassing board in order that their legality might be determined there. No ballots were so returned that were not actually found in the boxes. The board held that they were legal, and the decision of the supreme court upon the legality of these ballots is decisive, and confirmed their judgment.

But it is contended by Mr. Britt that in precincts other than the five mentioned in Buncombe County there were unmarked ballots for him which the board refused to count. He states that the uncontradicted affidavits showed this fact, and one would infer from his statement that these affidavits, at least, were presented to the board of canvassers. But this is most emphatically not the case. The board of canvassers acted, and could act, only upon returns and not upon affidavits of bystanders and others, even if they had been presented. Certainly, so far as the board of canvassers was concerned, there was not the slightest evidence before them at any time of any unmarked ballots, except the returns from the five precincts mentioned. Mr. Britt was contending that these unmarked ballots were entirely illegal. The board gave him the whole day of November 16 upon this question. He obtained an adjournment at 12 o'clock, after having addressed the board for two hours, openly stating his desire to be allowed time to further consider the question of unmarked ballots. He used this time by rushing to an adjoining county, securing a writ of mandamus in an attempt to prevent the board from counting any unmarked ballots at all; and yet he states that this board openly refused to count unmarked ballots in the remaining 23 precincts in the county. The affidavits which he refers to were not presented to the board, but were presented upon the hearing upon the writ of mandamus, which took place nearly a week after the canvassing board had adjourned.

In a sworn complaint Mr. Britt alleged that the canvassing board had canvassed the returns on November 9 and refused to certify the result. The board denied this, and after a full hearing of the facts Judge Adams found that the facts alleged in the complaint were not true, and this record stands unreversed against Mr. Britt in North Carolina to-day. Instead of asking the canvassing board to consider any other precincts, he undertook to compel the board to count a result predetermined by himself upon facts sworn to by himself, which facts were found against him and his writ of mandamus dismissed.

Every vote to which either was entitled, both marked and unmarked in Buncombe County shown by the returns, was counted by the board. The board did not consider returns as to unmarked ballots from five precincts and refuse to consider similar returns from other precincts. The sworn evidence of the 28 members of this board and of other witnesses contradicts any such absurd contention. The returns are recorded and show for themselves. There was no vote arbitrarily added in Asheville No. 1 or elsewhere.

Mr. Britt attempts by incorrect figures to find for himself a majority of six, but in the mandamus proceeding Mr. Britt asked Judge Adams to find the identical figures set out in his statement upon the very affidavits referred to. The court, while stating that he had no right to add to the returns in Buncombe County, said:

> Moreover, I would not find the facts to be as above stated, even if I were to reread the affidavits, all of which were carefully considered upon the hearing.

But Mr. Britt hastens to close the case outside of Buncombe. He pretends to accept a challenge by me to show that he was elected. The challenge made by me was to show that he was elected by all the votes in all the boxes in the whole district. He says there was no question as to the returns in other counties. But this again is not true. At one precinct in an adjoining county there were nine unmarked ballots for me and one for Mr. Britt not included in the returns. When this box was counted the judges did not know whether to count them or not, and they agreed to label them, put them in the box and hold them until the county canvassing board or the State canvassing board determined their legality. The affidavits in my possession show these facts. The Supreme Court of North Carolina in Mr. Britt's own case has said they ought to be counted and are legal. I am therefore entitled, both legally and morally, to have them added to my vote. These votes in law and in morals, even with the utmost claims of Mr. Britt as to Buncombe County, entitle me to the certificate of election.

In other counties there are still other unmarked ballots which were not counted for me, and these, too, in excess of the unmarked ballots not counted for Mr. Britt. With all of these unmarked ballots in all of the counties included my majority, instead of being nine, will be much larger, and this will be shown by proper evidence at the proper time, and I shall ask Congress in any contest with Mr. Britt to credit me with these ballots actually deposited for me.

Again, many unmarked votes had already been counted in several counties for Mr. Britt. While denouncing unmarked ballots as illegal, he has so far not agonized over those safely included in the returns in these counties.

His talk of messages sent to other counties is idle. He can not show a single vote fraudulently changed. His attack upon the 28 members of the Buncombe County Board in the CONGRES-

SIONAL RECORD is unfair and unjust. In the courts of North Carolina, where both were heard, the facts were found with the board and against Mr. Britt.

I was elected by a majority of all the votes cast in the tenth district. I was elected by a majority of all the ballots, both marked and unmarked. I was elected by a majority of the unmarked ballots alone. I offered to let the result be determined either way and avoid a contest, and he refused to do either.

The congressional vote in Buncombe County was not changed, altered, or considered in any secret meeting. Everything was done in legal sessions of the board, held in the manner provided by statute.

Mr. Britt lost in the courts of North Carolina. The facts sworn to in his complaint were found against him, and the law decided adversely to him. He now seeks to prejudice any further hearing by his ex parte statements.

Rivers and Harbors Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. GARLAND DUPRÉ,
OF LOUISIANA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 29, 1917.

Mr. DUPRÉ. Mr. Speaker, under leave to print obtained by me on January 26, when the rivers and harbors bill was under discussion, I insert herewith entire correspondence, both by letter and telegram, between Mr. Robert R. Barrow, general superintendent of the Barataria & Lafourche Canal—known locally in Louisiana also as the "Company Canal"—and myself. The correspondence appears in the exact form in which it was received and transmitted.

The item in the rivers and harbors bill to which this matter has pertinence reads as follows:

Waterway from Mississippi River to Bayou Teche, La.: For improvement in accordance with the smaller project submitted in House Document No. 1610, Sixty-third Congress, second session, $100,000: *Provided*, That no expense shall be incurred by the United States for acquiring any lands required for the purpose of this improvement: *Provided further*, That this provision shall not be construed as authorizing the purchase or improvement of any privately owned canals or waterways.

[Telegram.]

WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 6, 1917.*

R. R. BARROW,
4938 St. Charles Avenue, New Orleans, La.:

Please wire me by Monday estimated tonnage and value thereof passing through company canal during the years 1915 and 1916, giving separate figures. Important in connection with my effort to obtain appropriation for intercoastal link from Morgan City to New Orleans.

H. GARLAND DUPRÉ.

—

[Telegram.]

NEW ORLEANS, LA., *January 8, 1917.*

Hon. H. GARLAND DUPRÉ,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

We keep no records of tonnage value from Morgan City to New Orleans by this canal. The Harvey people claim to keep records as far as Lafourche, their terminal, which record I presume you have. You will be safe to figure two-thirds more by this canal to Morgan City and intermediate points, there being four sections to this canal from New Orleans to Morgan City, its terminal. Letter will follow.

R. R. BARROW.

—

[Barataria and Lafourche Canal, Jefferson Parish (opposite New Orleans). R. R. Barrow, general superintendent; H. H. Ogborn, assistant superintendent. Phone, Algiers 9134. Walnut Street Ferry.]

WESTWEGO P. O., LA., *Jan. 7th, 1917.*

Hon. H. GARLAND DUPRÉ,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: Your telegram Dec. 6th, received. Replying thereto we wired you as follows: "We keep no records of tonnage value from Morgan City to New Orleans by this canal. The Harvey people claim to keep records as far as Lafourche, their terminal, which records I presume you have. You will be safe to figure two-thirds more by this canal to Morgan City and intermediate points, there being four sections to this canal from New Orleans to Morgan City, its terminal. Letter will follow." It would be impossible almost for us to have an actual record kept of the value of the different tonnage using this waterway; sugar, molasses, cane in bulk, and oil in bulk, lumber, logs, moss, and miscellaneous freights of all kinds passing through this canal in its different sections both day and night, and any estimate made along these lines would be guesswork. This canal, as you will see by the reverse side of this letterhead, runs through the heart of the cultivated country from New Orleans to Morgan City, almost due west, almost an air line, taking advantage, as it does, of the several natural watercourses, and was built and is now operated as a private enterprise. It is possible by this watercourse, as it now is, to leave New Orleans after an early breakfast in a motor boat, have your lunch in Morgan City, and return to New Orleans for dinner the same day, and yet we find our competitor, the Harvey interests, advocating the cutting of a canal practically paralleling us from Des Allemands to Bayou Black in Terrebonne Parish, giving them an outlet to Morgan City at the expense of the Government, and, strange to say, are receiving the support of some of our public officials in their efforts.

Yours, very truly, (Signed) R. R. BARROW.

—

JANUARY 9, 1917.

Mr. R. R. BARROW,
Genl. Supt. Barataria and Lafourche Canal,
Westwego, Louisiana.

MY DEAR MR. BARROW: I received in due course your recent telegram and your letter of the 7th instant written in response to my telegraphic inquiry for information regarding the tonnage and value thereof which had passed through the company canal during the last two years, which information I desired to present to the Rivers and Harbors Committee in support of an appropriation for the inland waterway between the Mississippi River and the Teche.

I do not care to discuss the matter with you further in view of the statement contained in your letter as follows: "* * * We find our competitor, the Harvey interests, advocating the cutting of a canal practically paralleling us from Des Allemands to Bayou Black in Terrebonne Parish, giving them an outlet to Morgan City at the expense of the Government, and strange to say, are receiving the support of some of our public officials in their efforts." Suffice it to say that in my effort to obtain an appropriation for the Mississippi-Teche section of the Intercoastal Canal I have no interest in or hostility to either the Harvey Canal or the company canal, and if you mean to include me in those "public officials" who, you say, are trying to help the Harvey interests at the expense of your own, your insinuation to that effect is entirely gratuitous, wholly unfounded, and gives me no concern. Regardless of what you think on the subject, I shall continue to agitate the question for an appropriation for this canal which the people of my district have long been asking for. I reserve the right to make this letter public.

Very truly, yours, (Signed) H. GARLAND DUPRÉ.

—

[Barataria and Lafourche Canal, Jefferson Parish (opposite New Orleans). R. R. Barrow, general superintendent; H. R. Ogborn, assistant superintendent. Phone, Algiers 9134. Walnut Street Ferry.]

WESTWEGO P. O., LA., *Jan. 14th, 1917.*

Hon. H. GARLAND DUPRÉ,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 9th inst. reaches me only this morning upon my return to my office after several days absence therefrom.

I have never heard you mentioned as one of the public officials assisting the Harvey interests in their efforts to secure, at the public expense, a paralleling line in competition with our own, and hence the discourtesy of your letter, resulting from your utterly unwarranted offense at a perfectly legitimately statement of mine, is as astounding as it is incomprehensible to me.

I never deal in insinuations.

I make specific charges.

In making public your letter to me, I am sure you will do me the justice to make equally public our entire correspondence.

Respectfully,

(Signed) R. R. BARROW.

—

JANUARY 17, 1917.

Mr. R. R. BARROW,
Gen. Supt. Barataria and Laufourche Canal,
Westwego, Louisiana.

DEAR SIR: I am this day in receipt of your letter of the 14th instant. I note that you state therein that you have never heard me "mentioned as one of the public officials assisting the Harvey interests in their efforts to secure, at the public expense, a paralleling line in competition with our (your) own."

I have no intention or desire to do you any injustice, and so when I give publicity to this matter I shall, as requested by you, make public our entire correspondence. Possibly in that way it may be ascertained what "public officials" you have reference to in your letter of the 7th instant, where you say. "* * * We find our competitor, the Harvey interests, advocating the cutting of a canal practically paralleling us from Des Allemands to Bayou Black, in Terrebonne Parish, giving them an outlet to Morgan City at the expense of the Government, and, strange to say, are receiving the support of some of our public officials in their efforts."

Possibly, too, the correspondence may be of interest to those who have been long working to improve the intercoastal canal between the Mississippi River and Bayou Teche, as disclosing the attitude which you, as one of the owners of the privately owned Barataria and Lafourche Canal, have assumed thereto.

Yours, truly,

(Signed) H. GARLAND DUPRÉ.

"Stop-Watch Days Past."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN I. NOLAN,
OF CALIFORNIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 29, 1917.

Mr. NOLAN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following article:

[From the San Francisco Bulletin, Jan. 17, 1917.]

"STOP-WATCH DAYS PAST," BIG EMPLOYERS TOLD BY EFFICIENCY EXPERT—MONTESSORI SYSTEM, AS APPLIED TO LABOR, IS HIS THEME.

The time has come when a boss can't stand over a man with a stop watch.

Efficiency is attained by making it possible for labor to have a modern, comfortable, happy home. This is really the Montessori system applied to work, making play of it.

There is music in the lowest form of work, if we will but recognize the fact and make it true.

The real problem of efficiency is the organization and mutual working together of employer and employee—a real appreciation of the man at the machine as a human being.

Sabotage is wrong, both for employer and employee. The man who throws a monkey wrench into a machine, no matter if he be labor or capital, will find in all instances that his chickens will come home to roost.

The employer who slaves his men will lose in the end.

OAKLAND, *January 17.*

Miner Chipman, an efficiency expert of New York and Boston, told Oakland's biggest employers of labor, members of the chamber of commerce, at a meeting late yesterday, that the day had arrived when capital and labor must cooperate; that "the time has come when a boss can't stand over a man with a stop watch."

Chipman's address was delivered to a crowded meeting, held under the auspices of the advertising bureau of the chamber of commerce. He said in part:

"When Henry Ford made $5 a day the minimum wage in the factory of the Ford Motor Co. he swept away all the orthodox theories of economics. He believed that a man's value could not be measured upon the basis of production alone. He had proven that our bonus, premium, and profit-sharing plans have been mere palliatives—have only gone half way—and that a direct wage as an incentive to the highest possible human efficiency is a producer of profits and a promoter of dividends.

"Argument, strikes, lockouts, and long-drawn-out discussions concerning wage scales, the creation of boards of mediation and arbitration, are all symptoms which indicate that arbitrary wage adjustments are temporary in character and merely put off until to-morrow the settlement demanded to-day.

"I do not claim to have discovered any secret potion which will soothe the pain of our industrial unrest, but I do say that scientific methods of thought and scientific methods of investigation will lead us to a better and clearer understanding of the wage problem in its relation to efficiency and mutual prosperity.

"The employer lacks an intimate appreciation of the worker, and the worker lacks an intimate appreciation of the employer. Both envy the snap enjoyed by the other. The spirit of neighborliness is lacking, and a fictitious and superficial organization spirit is depended upon to bring about a oneness of ideal and a oneness of spirit.

"Efficiency is the ratio existing between an equitable standard and an actual achievement. We have the efficiency of employment and the efficiency of management. In each case the fundamental principle of measurement must be the personal equation. As a man thinks so he works, and as a man works and thinks so shall we measure his efficiency."

Letter From Arthur N. Sager to George W. Perkins.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS S. WILLIAMS,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 30, 1917.

Mr. THOMAS S. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following letter:

NEW YORK, *January 24, 1917.*

Mr. GEORGE W. PERKINS,
71 Broadway, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. PERKINS. I am in receipt of your circular letter of the 17th instant, inclosing copy of "Statement of George W. Perkins and Everett Colby," all relating to your opposition to the election of Mr. John T. Adams as vice chairman of the Republican National Committee, and in compliance with your request to let you have my views "as quickly as possible," I am writing you this letter.

I need not remind you of the circumstances which resulted in the birth and growth of the Progressive Party or of those under which I joined it and contributed my small measure to whatever success it achieved, for all this is well known to you, but as I intend to make this letter public, I will recount them.

The Progressive Party was born of a revolt against the action of the Chicago convention in 1912 when the claims of a candidate for nomination before that convention, who was the preponderant choice of the Republican rank and file, were cynically gagged and denied. There was nothing new in this procedure. It was not different, except in degree, from the action of the convention of 1908 which nominated Mr. Taft or the many other national conventions in which contests were close and spirited, and it never would have caused a ripple of more than temporary excitement or resentment had it not been for the extraordinary personality of the defeated candidate and his vigorous protest against the methods which brought about his defeat. Had he accepted the result in the conventional manner, there would have been no break—no Progressive Party—and Mr. Taft would have been reelected. Not that I approve of the methods employed (I vigorously opposed them in 1908) or criticize Mr. Roosevelt for what he did. He did exactly right, for it was time that such methods be protested regardless of the fact that they had been practiced against that time the memory of man runneth and that indignant and drastic public disapproval such as he, and he alone, could arouse be set against them.

I was not one of those who were brought into the movement because of the outrage against the Colonel's ambitions. I belonged to the great majority of those who comprised our party and made it possible, who were not as much concerned in the wrong done the Colonel as they were in aspirations for the betterment of our social, industrial, and political conditions, so long delayed and denied by the two old parties. Our enlistment was not temporary—to be chilled by a single defeat or abandoned for mere expediency or advantage. We went in, consecrated to our great purpose, fully alive to the sacrifices involved and the hardships entailed. We belonged to those who have been accurately, as events have abundantly proved, designated "the lunatic fringe." We were happy in our delusions and faith, and despite the surrender at Chicago, we are none of us poorer in spirit for the bitter experience. We had our Elysium, and it did our souls good, although the price paid was great to many of us.

Victor Murdock, Henry J. Allen, John W. Parker, Albert J. Beveridge, Joseph M. Dixon, Francis J. Heney, Ben Lindsay, Henry F. Cochems, Francis McGovern, J. A. Falconer, Albert D. Nortoni, Bainbridge Colby, Hal P. Gardner, George Record, Gifford Pinchot, Charles S. Bird, Matthew Hale, Frazer Metzer, and many others cast their lots and their brilliant and assured prospects with the movement, and all lost. No regret is expressed over the wreck of their personal political fortunes, but nothing can atone for their betrayal. It was the spirit of these men and their followers who comprised the great body of the Progressive Party that couldn't be delivered in 1916, and can't be delivered in 1920. Make no mistake about that. The Progressive Party is dead—dead as a dried herring. There are no Progressives, except the hyphenated—"Progressive-Democrats" and "Progressive-Republicans." In dealing with future political events and with political parties we must reckon with either the Democratic or Republican Party.

You and I have elected to work with the Republicans. We differ radically, though, in our attitudes. You cooperate ostensibly as a Progressive ready to break with the organization if its management becomes distasteful. I operate as a regular.

When the Progressive Party was stilled at Chicago I went back home in a spirit of humility. I went back because I realized the Progressive Party was dead, and because I knew that in my days and yours it would be impossible to rally and delude such another gallant membership in the name of reform or behind any leadership however brilliant and commanding.

I was solaced by the thought that our principles, largely concerned with internal affairs and regulation, had been impressed upon the thought of the country and crystallized to large extent into law. We were facing new world problems and issues, calling for the highest quality of statesmanship and soundest business policy. The Republican Party had shown its capacity to govern in many a crisis. Its patriotism had been demonstrated. It was the instrument or vehicle with which to rally the forces and encompass Democratic defeat. This was your judgment and mine, and we cast our lots with the Republicans. You think you have an anchor to the windward. I have none and want none. I am content to go in and work out political salvation from within the party, subject to party organization and discipline, with abiding confidence in the morality, honesty, and patriotism of the great body of Republicans. Having unconsciously lent my aid to a revolt and a bolt, the dire consequences of which can not be even remotely calculated, I felt that my part, when permitted to return to the fold, was a silent one, so I am in the ranks—"a rear private," so to speak, willing to base my claim to recognition solely upon merit and party service. I certainly can not bring myself, in good conscience, to the position you have assumed, that if we don't get what we want we won't play. Then I am not going to be a party to a threat that can't be made good. Who would rally the Progressives? Under what pretense and behind what personality could it be done?

Is it not futile to expect the Progressives to return to their folly? Matthew Hale, John W. Parker, Bainbridge Colby, and Judge Nortoni have been running an auxiliary to the Democratic Party. Victor Murdock, our chairman, delivered Kansas to Mr. Wilson and went to Japan. Hiram Johnson is now the Republican Senator-elect of his State. You and your friends have been cooperating with and assisting in the management of the Republican Party. I can not bring myself to believe that these elements can be reconciled or that you seriously consider it possible to do so. Mr. Hale and his associates claim to be the Progressive Party, and it appears to me, from the point of personnel, organization, and the vote they took to Mr. Wilson, they have decidedly the best of the argument, although we all know they can never accomplish anything as an independent organization.

In the statement of Mr. Everett Colby and yourself, you summarize your objections to the selection of a vice chairman by the executive committee by charging that committee with a two-fold sinister purpose, as follows:

"First, these men wished to keep the control of the machinery of the Republican Party, present and prospective, in the hands of their own little coterie. Second, they wished to shift the responsibility for Mr. Hughes's defeat from their own shoulders, where it rightfully belongs, to the shoulders of Mr. Willcox."

With the first objection, I might be concerned, and I will advert to it later. With the second, I have little interest, although candor compels me to differ with you as to the reasons for the defeat of Mr. Hughes. Mr. Hughes was as good as elected when he was nominated. He was the Progressive-Republican candidate. The causes of his defeat are too numerous to catalogue. Fixing and charging responsibility serves no useful purpose now, but is it not entirely unfair to charge it to men who had no part in the management of the campaign and whose counsel was not heeded? The enumeration of a few of the mistakes of the campaign will fix the responsibility if we are advised as to who is responsible for them. If you will learn who it was that was responsible for the premature tour of Mr. Hughes, you will have one. If you will find the name of the political genius who sent the "Women's Special" to the coast, you will have another. If you ascertain who permitted Mr. Hughes to go to California during a bitter primary fight, and why, when he did go, he was not advised to at least pay Hiram W. Johnson, the governor of a great Commonwealth, the courtesy of a call or greeting, you will have another. If you will place on some one the responsibility for hampering and throttling the speakers' bureau for lack of funds, when funds were so plentiful, you will have another. If you will explain why the Progressive vote went to Mr. Wilson, you will have the best of these few which I have mentioned, any one of which in itself will account for the tragedy of last November.

With respect to the charge that certain members of the executive committee, responsible for the selection of Mr. Adams as vice chairman, seek thereby to "keep the control of the machinery of the Republican Party," I am deeply concerned, but what I would like to know is just who is to take charge of the party machinery in the interim between campaigns if these gentlemen whom you have denounced are not to be intrusted with the responsibility? Just what are your plans with reference to the control of the Republican Party? Personally, I hold no brief for Messrs. Crane, Hemenway, Warren, or Estabrook, and I would like to see the control of the party in the hands of men who are more progressive in their tendencies than these gentlemen have been in the past. On the other hand, I do not believe, and I say this in all kindness, that a man who has been as conspicuously identified with the Progressive Party and the action taken at its convention in Chicago, as yourself, should be conspicuous in the management of the Republican Party or

the dictation of its policies if we are to expect to get back the large element of Progressives who voted the Democratic ticket last fall.

I believe it would be better for the Republican Party if the Progressive members of that party who maintained their allegiance to the organization at all times would be placed in power. I believe that that is the tendency, and that when accomplished we will have no difficulty in uniting the forces necessary to encompass Democratic defeat.

You have pointed out from time to time in most cogent and convincing language, in letters and in interviews widely published, the perils and menaces of the present Democratic administration. You have denounced it as un-American and inefficient, and in your past and present activities, the ardor of which can not be impeached, you have striven according to your lights to bring about its defeat. I, with many others, have been in entire sympathy and accord with you, but at this time I feel that we can best serve that purpose and our country and the party with which we have worked by prompting harmony rather than discord and by striving strictly within the ranks of the party to bring about the reforms which we think necessary in the party organization.

This is going to be my course, in any event, and I have reached this decision after careful consideration of every phase of the matter.

Respectfully, yours,

ARTHUR N. SAGER.

National Defense.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 29, 1917.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me January 29, 1917, I reprint a part of the remarks made by me on the national-defense bill on March 17 and March 27, 1916.

[Extract from remarks on national-defense bill on March 17, 1916.]

Mr. Chairman, this bill makes a noise like preparedness; but it is not a noisy noise.

SUITS ALL THE NEAR PACIFISTS.

It is almost as still and almost as small as the still, small voice of the human conscience. This bill has not even awakened Henry Ford, and it has not brought a dissenting voice from a single one of the near-pacifist members of the Committee on Military Affairs. It seems to suit the pacifists all right.

Plenty of words, but a scarcity of Regular Army men; and yet Regular Army men are exactly what we want and need.

THE REGULAR ARMY MAN.

There is nothing on earth that comes within gunshot of being "practically as good" as the Regular Army man. No amateur soldier can any more compare with a professional soldier than an amateur plumber can compare with a professional plumber. The lawyer who spends six days a week lawyering and one day a week soldiering is pretty certain to be six times as good a lawyer as he is a soldier. That is the fundamental trouble with our militia. Furthermore, I have not yet been carried away with this idea of an army of "has beens," or reserves, as they are called; that is to say, an army largely made up of men who once upon a time have done a turn at soldiering. It may be all right to have a supplementary army of ex-soldiers, but I have a notion that the cheapest thing in the long run will be to maintain a good-sized regular force of about 300,000 men, and then train our boys so that they will all know something about how to fight if need be.

I believe in compulsory military training for every young man, be he the son of a beggar or the son of a multimillionaire. I mean real, hard military training under real, hard military discipline, day in and day out, for a substantial period of time. I do not mean high-school drill and I do not refer to armory evolutions once a week in the long winter evenings. That kind of thing is military drill, not military training, where every youth is compelled to learn to subordinate his will to that of his officers.

* * * * * * *

NEAR FEDERALIZATION.

I think nothing at all of the alleged federalization of the militia provided in the Hay and the Chamberlain bills. You can not really federalize your militia so long as the States appoint the officers, and I confess that I do not see the logic of Uncle Sam paying soldiers that some one else commands. Think of it. This Hay bill, and the Chamberlain bill also, for that matter, actually proposes that the State governors shall continue to command these 48 little armies while the Nation pays a big share of the bill. Suppose that some governor, of Massachusetts, for instance, were to order out his army to suppress a strike, do you not think that Uncle Sam ought to have the right to say "Halt" if he did not approve of the governor's order of "Forward, march"? Well, if you pass either one of these bills, Uncle Sam will not have a word to say about it. He can pay the piper, but he can not name the tune.

WHY NOT LISTEN TO THE WAR COLLEGE?

What in the world is the use of having an elaborate War College here in Washington if we refuse to pay the slightest attention to anything which it says? Last summer the President asked for a report as to our needs in the way of an army. The War College replied that we needed an army of 280,000 Regulars and 380,000 reserve regulars, not reserve militiamen, to make us safe against invasion in case our Navy were unable to retain control of the seas.

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IN THE SPANISH WAR—EX-REGULARS DID NOT FLOCK TO THE COLORS.

Let us not fool ourselves into thinking that former Regulars will flock back to the colors in time of war. Has-been Regulars will not tumble over themselves in their anxiety to get killed any quicker than the rest of us. I hold in my hand a letter from Secretary of War Garrison, dated February 17, 1915. In it he informs me that in the Spanish War only 974 former Regulars returned to the Regular Army from civil life. It is true that many Regulars in all probability returned to the colors in the ranks of the Volunteers. Statistics are incomplete. Unfortunately, they were compiled only for the First Army Corps and for the second division of the Third Army Corps. A liberal estimate based on these incomplete figures would show that about 2,300 former Regulars, coming from civil life, enlisted in the volunteer service at the time of the Spanish War. This makes in all about 3,300 former Regulars who enlisted either in the Regulars or in the Volunteers.

And yet somewhere about 25,000 ex-Regulars who had been in the Army within the preceding 10 years were available for military service.

Here is an extract from Secretary Garrison's letter:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, February 17, 1915.

Hon. A. P. GARDNER,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. GARDNER: I have the honor to furnish you with the following information bearing upon the queries set forth in your letter of the 10th instant:

* * * * * * *

2. How many former Regular Army soldiers reenlisted for the Spanish War either in the Regulars or Volunteers?

The records of this department show that during the 10 years ending June 30, 1898, 53,399 men had been honorably discharged from the Army for causes that would not render them ineligible for further military service. Of this number 26,271 reenlisted so as to make their service in the Regular Army continuous, thus leaving at large in civil life 27,128 men for the entire 10-year period. Of course, this number must have been reduced somewhat by casualties prior to the beginning of the War with Spain.

The records show that from April 1 to August 31, 1898, both dates inclusive, 3,162 men, who had had previous service in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps, enlisted in the Regular Army, but 2,188 of these enlistments were continuous-service reenlistments of recently discharged men, leaving 974 as the number of former enlisted men of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps who entered the Army from civil life during the period from April 1 to August 31, 1898.

The foregoing data, it will be observed, relate solely to reenlistments in the Regular Army and were ascertained only after a protracted examination of the official records. No compilation of data showing the exact number of former Regular Army soldiers who enlisted for the War with Spain in volunteer organizations has ever been made, but assuming that the data set forth in the inclosed table are representative of conditions among all the volunteer forces of the War with Spain, it will be seen that the percentage of men in volunteer organizations who previously served in the Regular Army was approximately a little over 1 per cent.

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Very truly, yours,

LINDLEY M. GARRISON,
Secretary of War.

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THE RECRUITING PROBLEM.

I believe that we are going to have the very greatest difficulty in the future in recruiting a Regular Army, and no wonder. We do not pay our soldiers enough. Fifteen dollars a month

and all found, including quinine and coffins, does not offer men much inducement to hunt Mexican murderers where the ambushing is good. If we want good men for a good Regular Army, we must go right into the labor market and compete for them. By the way, we voted the other day to increase the Regular Army 20,000 men, so that we could meet the Mexican crisis. If we need 20,000 more Regulars to fight Villa, how many more Regulars would we need to fight a real enemy?

DOES THIS BILL FEDERALIZE THE MILITIA?

Not being a lawyer, I do not propose to discuss the constitutional questions in this bill. As far as I can judge from the report made by the chairman, the committee feels that in its near-federalization plan a successful scheme has been hit on for circumventing that clause in the Federal Constitution which reserves to the States the appointment of officers and the training of the militia under Federal regulations.

The Missouri Military Council, whatever that may be, agrees with the committee, and so the committee quotes the council in Chairman Hay's report. On the other hand, Secretary Stimson and Secretary Garrison insist that the Constitution can not be buncoed; and, by the way, Secretary Garrison underlined his opinion by resigning his seat in the Cabinet of the President of the United States.

Each side marshals the decisions and the views of the bigwigs. No one knows what the Supreme Court of the United States will think when it is called upon to decide the question. One man's guess is as good as another's, and my guess is that any plan for federalizing the militia under which every private carries a lawsuit in his knapsack is a pretty good plan to avoid, the executive council of the National Guard Association to the contrary notwithstanding.

[Extract from remarks on national-defense bill on March 27, 1916.]

All through our history there has been a divided control over our militia. When war has come upon us both the Nation and the various States have claimed jurisdiction. When Uncle Sam has given to the militia the order, "Forward, march," it has too often been the case that the States or the militiamen themselves have cried "Halt!" Such was notably the case in the War of 1812.

* * * * * * *

My objection to the Hay plan of building up a national citizen army upon the basis of the National Guard, under the militia clause of the Constitution, is that it results in two great handicaps to efficiency. One of them is the divided control and the other is the constitutional limitation on the use of the citizen army so organized. The divided control results from the fact that the Constitution reserves to the States the right to choose the officers for the militia, and also reserves to the States the right to train the militia under regulations to be prescribed by Congress. Moreover, in times of peace a National Guard made up of the so-called federalized National Guard of the 48 different States will be commanded by 48 different governors, and must therefore consist of 48 different armies. So much for divided control.

Now, as to the limitations on the uses to which the militia may be put in case the Nation seeks to use it in time of danger or stress.

Under the Constitution the Congress of the United States can call out the militia to suppress insurrections, to execute the laws of the United States, and to repel invasions; but the Constitution gives us no power to call out that militia to invade a foreign country, such as Mexico or Canada or Cuba. The Hay bill ingeniously endeavors to obviate that constitutional difficulty of divided control and also that constitutional difficulty of limited use. I shall explain all that presently; but, first, I wish to say a word about the results of divided control and limited use in the past. Probably you all know that in the Revolution it was very hard to get volunteers to serve outside the States from which they came, but in the War of 1812 matters came to a head. I am sorry to say that my own State of Massachusetts and the State of Connecticut behaved in a highly hyphenated way. They would not, either of them, furnish troops to fill their quota to fight Great Britain. The militia of various States on several different occasions, when ordered to invade Canada, refused to do so, resting on their constitutional rights.

Now, of course, the Hay bill undertakes, as much of our legislation has undertaken in the past, to obviate the difficulties arising from the conflict between National and State control of our militia. The framers of the Hay bill feel that a refusal of the militia to obey orders will never occur again, because they have inserted a provision directing a draft of these militiamen into the service of the United States in the event of war.

Now, I think that many good lawyers believe this particular feature of the Hay bill is constitutional. That is a good deal more than can be said about the other features of the bill which undertake to obviate the difficulties arising from divided control in time of peace. Be that as it may, when Uncle Sam gives the order to march in time of war it is a little late in the day to decide constitutional questions. I should a good deal rather have an army of trained citizens whose constitutional status was not a subject of controversy. That is why I introduced the Chamberlain amendment.

When Uncle Sam wants troops in time of war, I do not want his summons to the colors to be answered by an alibi and a search warrant or by a mandamus or by quo warranto proceedings, or whatever the legal processes are—not being a lawyer I do not know. As to the training of militia in time of peace, that is still left with the States under the Hay plan for near federalization. To be sure, it is left to the States under such regulation as the Nation may lay down; but nevertheless the responsibility rests with 48 different States. I admit that in the Hay bill there are provisions which are intended to make it impossible for a State to select an unfit officer; but there is necessarily a very great latitude in determining the fitness of an officer. It can not always be ascertained by a written examination. The framers of this bill hope to compel efficiency by the power of the pocketbook. By money payments they expect to force the various States of the Union to drill, discipline, and maintain their troops in accordance with the ideas of the National Government as to how a citizen army ought to be drilled, disciplined, and maintained. This bill, in effect, says to the 48 States: "We will not pay you a single cent if you do not come up to the national standard which we shall set for you." I do not believe that any such plan will prove effective so long as the commander in chief of each one of these small armies is a different governor and so long as all of the officers are State controlled.

Uncle Sam may scold, Uncle Sam may threaten to fine, he may, as a last resort, order that some State shall be deprived of ordnance or of artillery or of military supplies of some sort. How many of us who have had practical experience of Uncle Sam's relations with the various States honestly believe that those threats will be carried out?

If Uncle Sam really started to punish your State or mine, Mr. Chairman, how quickly we should start a scramble to prevent our States undergoing treatment which probably they might richly deserve. The proof of all this is that to-day, in spite of all our laws designed to bring up the standard of our citizen soldiery, there are only eight States in the Union which have anywhere nearly an efficient National Guard.

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BOUNTIES IN THE CIVIL WAR.

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] on March 21 presented us with figures prepared by the Commissioner of Pensions, Mr. G. M. Saltzgaber, estimating that there were about 2,213,365 different individuals who enlisted in the Northern Army in the Civil War. Of course the total Union enlistments ran a good deal higher than that in actual numbers, because in many cases there were reenlistments. Livermore, in "Numbers and Losses in the Civil War in America," reckons the total Union enlistments, counting duplicates, at 2,898,304. I hold in my hand a letter from The Adjutant General, which shows that out of those soldiers in the Northern Army in the Civil War no less than 1,722,690 received a bounty from the United States, without reckoning the State and local bounties. The amount of bounty paid out by the United States was $300,223,500. Here is the letter:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
THE ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, December 4, 1915.

Hon. A. P. GARDNER,
House of Representatives.

SIR: In further response to your letter of the 27th ultimo, in which you request to be furnished with any information which would indicate the numbers of northern and southern soldiers who received pecuniary inducements to enlist, either in the form of national bounties, State bounties, or substitute money, and of the number of men who were drafted to serve as soldiers, the number who responded to the draft, and the number who furnished substitutes, I am directed by the Secretary of War to submit for your information the following statement:

SOLDIERS OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY—NATIONAL BOUNTIES.

In an estimate of the number of men to whom United States bounty has been paid from May 3, 1861, to the end of the war, printed in the final report of the Provost Marshal General (Ex.

Doc. No. 1, House of Representatives, 39th Cong., 1st sess., vol. 4), the total number of such men is given as 1,722,690 and the total amount of bounty paid to them as $300,223,500.

STATE AND LOCAL BOUNTIES.

This department has no data regarding State and local bounties prior to 1863. Such information as the department has been able to obtain from the State and local authorities on the subject is contained in the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series III, Volume V, pages 740–749.

DRAFTED MEN AND SUBSTITUTES.

The records show that the number of men drafted from the States and Territories during the Civil War under the enrollment act of March 3, 1863, was 776,829, and that this number is accounted for as follows:

Failed to report	161,244
Discharged, quota full	46,101
Discharged by order	47,297
Exempted	315,509
Furnished substitutes	73,607
Paid commutation	86,724
Held to service	46,347

It appears from the above table that 73,607 substitutes were furnished by persons drafted in the Civil War, but no data are in the possession of the department showing the amounts paid to these substitutes.

SOLDIERS OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES ARMY.

Such information as is in the possession of the department in regard to bounties paid to Confederate soldiers has been published in the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series IV, Volume I, pages 825–827, 903, 944, and 1096; Volume II, page 205; Volume III, pages 184 and 1000. From what is there shown it appears that a bounty of $50 was provided for in an act of the Confederate Congress, approved December 11, 1861, and that in another act approved February 17, 1864, it was provided that at the expiration of six months from April 1, 1864, a bounty of $100 in 6 per cent Confederate Government bonds was to be paid to every enlisted man then in service, or, in case of his death previous to such payment, to his legal heirs.

The publications hereinbefore referred to are no doubt readily accessible to you in the Library of Congress.

Very respectfully,

HENRY P. MCCAIN,
The Adjutant General.

[Extract from a letter written by former Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson to the New York Times on March 21, 1916.]

* * * * * * *

In September, 1814, a British force invaded New York and began an attack on Plattsburg. The American commander, Gen. Macomb, called upon the governor of Vermont to send troops to his assistance from across the lake. This governor, Martin Chittenden, was an opponent of the war. He declined to comply. The Vermont militia were anxious to go to the help of their compatriots but could get no order to do so. In the language of the historian Ingersoll:

An officer of the militia, Gen. Newell, tendered his brigade to the governor to repair to Plattsburg or anywhere else to oppose the enemy, to which the governor's cold-blooded answer was that he had no authority to order the militia to leave the State. On the 6th day of September the cannonade then begun was distinctly audible at Burlington and at Gov. Chittenden's residence at Jericho. But housed and recreant there, the chief magistrate still held off when the people on their own spontaneous motion in numbers crossed the lake and following the cannonade hurried to Plattsburg without distinction of party to tender their services for their country.

Unfortunately the militia were not always as patriotic as these men of Vermont. On October 13, 1812, Gen. Van Rensselaer had assembled a force consisting of about 900 Regulars and 2,270 militia on the New York side of the Niagara River for the purpose of attacking a British fort across the river on Queenstown Heights. Early in the morning he sent over the Regulars and a few of the militia to surprise the British. The attack was completely successful, and the Americans took possession of the fort. Later in the day the British commander assembled reenforcements and began an attempt to retake it from the Americans. Gen. Van Rensselaer then sought to bring over the rest of his force to the rescue of the sorely beset advance guard; but in the language of Gen. Upton:

The rest of the militia on our side of the river, although ordered and implored by their commander, absolutely refused to cross over under the plea that, according to the Constitution of the United States, they could only be called out to resist an invasion.

During the rest of that day these men stayed on the bank on the American side and watched their comrades driven out of the fort, down to the river's bank, until they were killed or captured to the last man. Gen. Van Rensselaer, in his report of the action, said:

I can only add that the victory was really won, but lost for the want of a small reenforcement; one-third part of the idle men might have saved all.

In precisely the same way during the same year a body of Ohio Militia refused Gen. Hull's order to cross the boundary at Detroit, "alleging as a reason that they were not obliged to serve outside of the United States." Still another force of militia under Gen. Dearborn refused to cross the line at Plattsburg for the same reason, and still another force acted in the same way under Gen. Smyth.

It is idle to say that such things could not happen to us to-day. These incidents were not the result of chance; they were the fruits of faulty methods. American soldiers in 1812 were no less brave and patriotic than they are to-day. The American people to-day contain within them many more discordant elements than they did a century ago, and the governors of our States in the twentieth century will be quite as quick to listen to local political considerations as those New England governors were during the War of 1812. Indeed, it was less than two years ago when the governor of South Carolina disbanded his entire militia force in order to block the attempts of the National Government to restore discipline out of chaos in those South Carolina Mifitia. It is as true to-day as when Washington was writing from Valley Forge that the safety of this country as a Nation can only be maintained by national forces under undivided national control.

HENRY L. STIMSON,
Former Secretary of War.

Panama Canal.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM C. ADAMSON,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 30, 1917.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following letters:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, January 23, 1917.

Hon. W. C. ADAMSON,
Chairman Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR JUDGE ADAMSON: With reference to House bill 9818, providing that the Panama Canal rules shall govern in the measurement of vessels for imposing tolls, which bill has been committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and is now No. 9 on the Union Calendar, I desire, in view of the great need of this legislation and of the urgent necessity for its early passage, to review briefly the existing situation in respect to the levying of Panama Canal tolls and to urge upon Congress the importance of taking action in regard thereto during the present session.

Briefly, the situation is this: The Panama Canal Act, approved August 24, 1912, authorized the President to prescribe the tolls to be levied by the Panama Canal within certain limits, and to decide upon the measurements to be adopted, but provided that "when based upon net registered tonnage for ships of commerce the tolls shall not exceed $1.25 per net registered ton."

This provision was interpreted by the Panama Canal authorities to mean the net tonnage of vessels as determined by the Panama Canal rules of measurement. These rules had been formulated by an authority on transportation matters who had been engaged by the Panama Canal authorities for this purpose, and they were based on the fundamental principle that commercial vessels should be taxed in accordance with their earning capacities.

The Attorney General, however, when the question was submitted to him, held that the words "net registered tonnage" as used in the Panama Canal act must mean the net tonnage under the United States rules of measurement, and it was decided that if the toll rate established at $1.20 per net ton, when multiplied by the tonnage as ascertained by the Panama Canal rules, exceeds the amount produced by multiplying the net registered tonnage as measured by the rules prescribed in the United States statutes by $1.25, the excess thus produced is uncollectible.

The effect of this ruling has been to vitiate the principle established that vessels should pay tolls according to their earning capacities, to discriminate against certain ships, to decrease materially the revenues of the canal, to increase the difficulties of administration through the measurement of ships under both sets of rules, and (as a large percentage of tolls previously collected were in excess of the amount collectible under the decision) to require the rechecking of all ships' measurements to ascertain the excess.

Practically all countries charge port and light dues, wharfage, etc., on the basis of net tonnage. In view of the fact that these dues are only a few cents per ton, a number of the leading maritime nations, including the United States, have entered into reciprocal relations whereby they recognize each other's tonnage certificates for levying

these dues, notwithstanding the discrepancies in the different rules of measurement. The laws of the United States designate the Commissioner of Navigation as the official who shall prepare the necessary rules and regulations for the measurement of vessels of the United States. Such rules are naturally fixed so as to give our merchant vessels all the benefits possible in the reduction of any dues that may be imposed, and the rules are changed from time to time with this purpose in view. Hence, in a great majority of cases the net tonnage of vessels under United States measurement rules is less than under the Panama Canal rules. Furthermore, the Commissioner of Navigation, in a circular dated March 16, 1915, exempted from measurement under certain conditions shelter-deck and closed-in spaces. These changes, when taken into account in the levying of Panama Canal tolls, still further deviate from the principle that vessels using the canal shall be taxed according to their earning capacities.

The Panama Canal rules, following strictly the principle that the earning capacity of a ship should determine its tolls, take cognizance of the deck spaces utilized for the carrying of cargo, and charges are provided for deck loads, which are not computed in fixing the United States tonnage, as well as all passenger spaces. The exemption of practically all shelter-deck spaces and deck loads of vessels using the canal (deck loads not being included in the United States measurement rules) has resulted in discrimination against most of the United States vessels transiting this waterway, owing to the fact that almost all United States vessels are so constructed that they are unable to take advantage of shelter-deck space, while a large proportion of the foreign ships have been so constructed that they can take advantage of these exemptions. On the other hand, the United States rules provide for the exemption of certain cabin spaces above the upper deck that is not a deck attached to the hull, which would in most cases result in discrimination against foreign vessels in favor of United States passenger steamers if the national register of the vessel were recognized as a factor to be considered in the levying of tolls.

As time goes on and traffic increases, with a resulting increase in the number of classes of vessels using the canal, it becomes more evident that it will be absolutely necessary to adopt some one rule for the levying of tolls, and experience has demonstrated beyond a doubt that the fairest rules for determining the tonnage of a vessel, in order that tolls may be assessed without discrimination, and on a just basis, are the Panama Canal rules for measurement. Furthermore, the Commissioner of Navigation has stated that the Panama Canal rules of measurement are without doubt the most exact application of the scientific principles governing the measurement of vessels yet prepared.

While the monetary loss to the Panama Canal during the fiscal year 1916 due to the Attorney General's ruling, amounting to $390,714.05, or 16.3 per cent of the amount actually collected, is considerable and jeopardizes the success of the canal from a financial standpoint, the present unsatisfactory condition also results in discrimination for and against ships, which discrimination is in violation of our treaty obligations. This condition also results in difficult, as well as unsatisfactory, administration, which, in my opinion, should be promptly remedied by appropriate congressional legislation.

While you are, of course, familiar with the conditions herein described, I have thought it advisable to again emphasize the necessity of securing congressional relief. I am sure you will agree with me that there is every need of this, and I sincerely hope that it will be possible for you to bring the matter before Congress in such a way that it may realize the gravity of the situation and speedily enact appropriate remedial legislation.

Will you kindly advise me as to whether, in your opinion, anything can be accomplished along this line during the present session of Congress?

I am inclosing herewith for ready reference a copy of a letter which I addressed to you under date of April 5, 1916, in connection with House bill 13845, which bears upon this general subject, and I understand that you have already been advised of the views of the Panama Canal officials regarding this matter.

Sincerely, yours,

NEWTON D. BAKER,
Secretary of War.

(Inclosure.)

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, April 5, 1916.

Hon. W. C. ADAMSON,
Chairman Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th ultimo, inclosing copy of bill H. R. 13845, pending before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. You ask for my views concerning this bill, which proposes to amend section 5 of the Panama Canal act by authorizing the President, by proclamation, to make, and from time to time amend, rules for the measurement of the gross and net tonnage of vessels as a basis for tolls which will correspond to and follow similar rules for measurement prevailing at the Suez Canal.

I am advised by the Panama Canal authorities in Washington that when the question of formulating measurement rules for the Panama Canal came up for consideration Dr. Emory R. Johnson, an authority on transportation matters, was employed to make a careful study of the subject and formulate rules that would be fair to all and result in avoiding the difficulties encountered by the Suez Canal authorities when, during the earlier years of its use, the Suez rules were such that steps were taken to so construct ships that exemption from tolls could be claimed for spaces in which cargo could be carried. Dr. Johnson's exhaustive and comprehensive report was published under the title of "Measurement of Vessels for the Panama Canal," a copy of which is being forwarded to you under separate cover. This report, which has been conceded to be the most thorough treatise on admeasurement in any language, sets forth clearly the reasons for the Panama Canal rules which were formulated as a result of these studies. The rules for the measurement of vessels for the Panama Canal recommended by Dr. Johnson were promulgated by the President in a proclamation dated November 21, 1913. The fundamental principle adopted as the basis of these rules was that commercial vessels should be taxed in accordance with their earning capacity.

On pages 7 and 8 of Dr. Johnson's report will be found a statement as to the main reasons why it was not advisable to adopt for the Panama Canal one of the existing measurement codes. It was deemed wise, however, to base the Panama rules upon the principles that underlie those of the Suez Canal Co. and to make the main provisions of the two measurement codes as nearly alike as was warranted by the changes that had been made during recent decades in ship designs, navigation laws, and maritime practice. The two sets of rules correspond closely in their main provisions, although they differ in detail. The variations in the two measurement codes are due chiefly to the fact that the Panama Canal rules were drafted 40 years after the Suez rules were formulated. During that time the progress in shipbuilding has brought about great changes in the designs of ships and entirely new types of vessels have come into existence. The Panama Canal rules, naturally, have been framed with present-day shipbuilding and navigation practices in mind, and, therefore, are up to date in every respect.

The Commissioner of Navigation in his annual report to the Secretary of Commerce for the year ended June 30, 1913, stated (see p. 36) that—

"The system of measurement which has been prepared by Prof. Johnson for the Panama Canal is the result of careful study and investigation and of extended conference with the most competent authorities in England, Germany, and France. It is without doubt the most exact application of the scientific principles which should govern the subject yet prepared."

In view of the foregoing, there would be absolutely nothing to gain on the part of the United States if the Suez rules were adopted as a standard. In fact, such action would be a distinct backward step, whereby the United States would be placed in the position of not taking advantage of the 40 years' experience of the Suez Canal authorities and voluntarily making the Panama Canal rules subordinate to the Suez rules, formulated in a foreign country. Furthermore, if bill H. R. 13845 were enacted into law, it would mean that every time the Suez rules are changed it would also be necessary to change the Panama Canal rules. Any plan which would require the United States Government in operating the Panama Canal to follow rules promulgated in any foreign country is inadvisable. Under these circumstances I do not recommend favorable action by your committee on bill H. R. 13845.

In connection with your consideration of this matter, I would invite your attention to chapter 13 of Dr. Johnson's report, entitled "Comparison of the Panama and Suez measurement rules," which shows that one of the principal differences between the two systems is that the Suez rules exempt from measurement and from the payment of tolls the spaces occupied by deck loads, while the Panama rules require the measurement of such spaces and the addition of the tonnage of such spaces to the net tonnage upon which tolls are imposed. I would also state that I am forwarding a copy of bill H. R. 13845, together with a copy of this letter, to the Governor of the Panama Canal, at Balboa Heights, Canal Zone, requesting that he make additional comments on the bill in question if he so desires.

Referring to the question of measurement rules for the Panama Canal, I wish to take this opportunity to invite your attention to bill H. R. 9818, which was favorably reported from the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce under date of February 11, 1916 (see Rept. No. 173, 64th Cong., 1st sess.). I trust that the introduction of bill H. R. 13845 will not delay the consideration of bill H. R. 9818 when the same is reached on the House Calendar, as there is urgent need of this legislation, for reasons which you fully understand.

Very respectfully,

NEWTON D. BAKER,
Secretary of War.

Speech of Hon. William R. Wood, of Indiana, Before the Pittsburgh Tariff Club.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. COLEMAN,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 31, 1917.

Mr. COLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a speech delivered by Representative WILLIAM R. WOOD, of Indiana, before the Pittsburgh Tariff Club, on Monday of this week, on the subject, "William McKinley."

The speech is as follows:

Mr. Toastmaster and members of the Young Men's Republican Tariff Club, I wish to congratulate the members of this club for their annual observance of this day. By so doing, you not only pay just tribute to the memory of a great man, but you also provide an occasion at which matters of moment in the affairs of the country may be discussed and the future welfare of the great political party to which you belong considered.

Every mountain range has a few lofty peaks that tower high above the mean level. So also has every nation of the world a few great characters who, by reason of the impress made by them in their lifetime, survive the ages. If I were called upon to name three such characters from the Presidents of the United States, I would name Washington, Lincoln, and McKinley.

It is necessary in order that the name of a man may long survive in any country that there be a national crisis of which he makes himself the master. We had our Revolutionary crisis, out of which the Nation was born, and of which Washington was the master. Then, there came a time when that Nation, which was wrought for liberty and dedicated to freedom, was on the verge of destruction and ruin. In that, the

darkest hour of our country's history, there emerged from the prairies of Illinois that great, good man, Abraham Lincoln, who was destined to be the savior of the Union.

In 1896 when the financial condition of this country had reached such a plight that national bankruptcy and dishonor were staring us in the face, and when a very large per cent of our so-called statesmen was advocating that we pay our indebtedness, public and private, with a debased currency; and when the political party then in power, true to its past traditions and present practices, had depleted the Public Treasury and was piling up millions in deficit by reason of its ever destructive policy of a tariff for revenue only, then it was that the country turned to that master mind, William McKinley. McKinley had long stood preeminent as the champion of an honest currency and for a protective tariff that would not only raise revenue to meet all the current expense of government but which would at the same time build up American industries and give employment to American workmen at splendid wage. To carry out these principles William McKinley was chosen as President, and that he performed well his part, the greatest era of real prosperity this country has ever known may be called upon to attest.

It is not my purpose to-night to review the personal or private side of William McKinley's life, interesting as that is and as much as we should desire to see it emulated. But it is my purpose, briefly as I can, to compare some of the political and economic conditions existing at the time he became President with some of the political and economic conditions existing now, that we may see whether like causes produce like effects, and whether the remedies applied then are not just as essential now.

When McKinley became President, the mills and factories of this country were for the most part closed. Men and women who had once found employment therein were idle. Evidences of hunger and want were seen everywhere. The United States Treasury was empty. Bonds had to be issued to pay the current expenses of government. The Democratic majority then in Congress had repealed the McKinley protective-tariff law and had given us in its place a tariff law for revenue only that had proven most disastrous to our industries.

Compare this condition with that which prevailed in 1914, immediately before the war in Europe began, when there were 4,000,000 wage earners in the United States who could find nothing to do. This army of the unemployed was far greater than it was in the nineties when Coxey marched his horde of idle men from the Missouri River to the very steps of the Capitol in Washington, as a protest against the then existing condition of affairs. Soup houses and bread lines were the order of the hour, and the charitable societies and institutions everywhere were taxed to their uttermost to care for those who were actually hungry. Our balance of trade had entirely disappeared. Our imports were many millions in excess of our exports. The surplus which the Taft administration had left in the Treasury had entirely disappeared and we found ourselves again sliding down the deficit plank at the rate of $10,000,000 per month.

In order to meet the current expense of government, the present administration was compelled by special enactment to levy onerous war taxes at a time when we had no war and when we were at peace with all the world. This administration will go down in history with this unique but unenviable distinction. It was the first, and I hope the last, to raise revenue by war taxes in time of peace.

Just at the time when this country was witnessing the most painful demonstration that it has ever had of the baleful influences of a Democratic tariff for revenue only upon the industries of our country, the greatest war in all time broke out in Europe, which was destined to be the good angel of the Democratic Party.

Strange as it may seem, the apologists for the administration for months after this war began attributed our deplorable financial and industrial condition to this war; but after a while when the war was well advanced and the necessities of the warring nations made demand upon every resource that we had or could provide to supply them with all the implements and incidents of warfare; when the blood money of Europe began to pour into our coffers to pay for all this, then all of a sudden these same apologists of the administration discovered that we were in the midst of a most wonderful prosperity that was due entirely to the economic policy of the Democratic Party. But these claims can not long survive under the light of the figures furnished by our customhouse and United States Treasury reports.

It is true that our balance of trade has been retrieved and is greater to-day than it ever was since the beginning of our Government; but what made it so and what is keeping it so? Within the last 12 months I have heard a number of Democratic Congressmen declare in public debate on the floor of the House, that not to exceed 3 per cent of our increased exports is due to the war. But when they made this declaration, if they were honest, they had in mind but two items, gunpowder and cannon balls. We can not maintain armies and conduct warfare with gunpowder and cannon balls alone. These are now and always have been the smallest items of expense in such conduct. The soldier has to be fed and clothed and shod. Transportation facilities have to be furnished, and all the implements and incidents of war have to be had. When we consider all these as being essential to the conduct of this European war, and all of which items we have been furnishing in such large quantities, we find that they make up more than 70 per cent of our exportations. We will also discover that of the articles that are not used either directly or indirectly in the war our exports have decreased nearly 12 per cent.

While we are considering the enormous increase in our exportations, let us look for a moment at the enormous increase of our importations since the adoption of the present tariff schedules, and especially those increases since this war commenced. Our importations in 11 months of 1914, one-half of which time was before the war and one-half after the war commenced, amounted to $1,674,619,456. Our importations for the same 11 months for the year 1916 amounted to $2,186,821,703. The increase of importations of the last 11 months over the first 11 months referred to amounts to $512,202,247. This increase was made possible in spite of the extraordinary obstacles placed in the paths of the sea by reason of the war. What it would have amounted to had there been no war in Europe no one can even conjecture.

We do not get any revenue from our exports, as everyone knows, but we should get quite one-half of the revenue necessary to defray our expense of government from our imports. We are not doing it, even as large as our imports are as compared with what they were under the Taft administration, when we did derive from this source half of the revenue necessary to defray the expense of our Government. Our total imports for the entire year of 1916 was $2,391,716,335. The revenue derived therefrom was $217,589,766.54. It should have been more than twice as much. The increase of imports for the calendar year 1916 exceeds any previous corresponding 12-month period by $571,000,000. Yet the customs receipts collected on these increased imports is a hundred million dollars less than was collected during any 12-month period under the Payne tariff law when the maximum imports for any one year did not exceed three hundred and thirty millions. If the same rate of duty had been applied to the dutiable imports of 1916 that was applied under the Payne law, our revenue derived therefrom instead of being two hundred and seventeen and one-half millions would have amounted to nearly five hundred millions, and there would have been no necessity for the unjust, onerous, and troublesome special taxes resorted to by this administration.

At no time since this Government was founded, either in peace or in war, was the burden of taxation directly levied upon the people as great as it is to-day.

Notwithstanding the extraordinary amount of money that is being raised by reason of this direct taxation, we have a bankrupt Treasury and no money to discharge our current indebtedness. One of the best evidences of this is to be found in the fact that when the revenue bill was enacted into law at the last session of Congress the stamp tax on bank checks and other instruments was repealed and provision made for the redemption of the unused stamps held by the various banks and other institutions throughout the country. This law went into effect in September. Immediately these stamps began to pour into the United States Treasury for redemption, but not a single cent's worth has been redeemed since October, and the Treasury Department does not now even acknowledge receipt of these stamps, for the reason that to acknowledge them would be to confess that they had no money with which to redeem them; and there is now accumulated in the Treasury of the United States nearly $5,000,000 worth of these unredeemed stamps.

The actual deficit in the United States Treasury on the last day of December was $22,000,000. It is practically $50,000,000 to-day. We are creating a deficit at the rate of nearly a million dollars every day.

How does this administration propose to meet this deplorable condition? They propose, first, to increase the inheritance tax 50 per cent. They propose to confiscate practically all the earnings of copartnerships and corporations in excess of 8 per cent. From these sources of increased direct taxation they expect to realize $236,000,000.

They propose to have authorized for sale three hundred million of short-time certificates or bonds. They propose to

authorize and sell one hundred million of long-time bonds; and, in addition to all this, they will use the $240,000,000 of Panama bonds already authorized, and for the sale of which no additional legislation is required. Thus they expect to raise $876,000,000.

That will stop, for a time at least, the leak in the United States Treasury. It has already been admitted that unless this amount of money is raised the deficit in the Treasury on the 30th day of June, 1918, will amount to $382,000,000. How much more than this it will really amount to the Lord only knows; but it is safe to say that they have made it no smaller than it will really be.

It was charged during the recent campaign by the Republican Party that there would be a deficit in the United States Treasury before the close of the Sixty-fourth Congress on March 4 next, and that bonds would have to be issued to meet the current expense of government. Mr. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury, who knew then the exact condition of our finances and what that condition would be by the 4th of March, boldly refuted this charge, declared it was untrue, and that it was gotten up merely for political effect. His statement was published broadcast throughout the country.

When all this money raised by these extraordinary methods is swallowed up by the insatiate maw of this extravagant administration what then are we going to do? How, then, are we going to pay off this bonded indebtedness? There is but one way, and that is by reinstating the Republican Party and reinstalling its policy of protection to American industry. This was the cure that was applied by McKinley in 1896. It worked like magic then, and we will find that there is greater need for this remedy when this European war is over, for the patient will be sicker than it was then. When the 20,000,000 men who were drawn from the factory and farm into this war, and who thereby became consumers entirely, return to their pursuits of peace and become producers again, then we will realize as never before the absolute necessity of a tariff that will protect our manufactures and our farms from the cheap products of foreign factory and farm and our workingmen from the cheap labor of Europe and the Orient.

President Wilson said, just a few days before the last election in one of his Shadow Lawn speeches, that we need give ourselves but little concern about all this, that it would take the nations now engaged in war a decade and perhaps longer to rehabilitate their factories which have been destroyed and to repair their waste places. How he could have made this statement in the light of the then and now existing facts is a mystery to me, for there has not been a factory destroyed in all Germany, Austria, Hungary, or Great Britain, and less than 20 per cent of the industries of France have even been affected. All of the factories in these countries that I have named which are unaffected have been and are running day and night, piling up their surplus products against the coming of the end of this war. In Germany alone 3,000,000 prisoners are engaged in these factory pursuits. All the maimed and crippled who can work at all are contributing their share. If this war should end to-morrow, we would find these factories better equipped than they have ever been in the world before and being operated with greater efficiency.

When the last shot is fired in this war it will be a signal for thousands of interned merchant vessels in our harbors and the harbors of other neutral nations to commence plowing the open seas, going to every trading port in the civilized world, freighted with manufactured goods of all kinds, and in the sale of which we can not hope to compete.

What have we done to help it? What have we done to protect ourselves against this rising storm? Absolutely nothing. When the day comes, as it certainly must come, the millions who were out of employment when this war commenced will be idle again, plus millions more. Then the cup, now filled with the blood-red wine of this war prosperity, will be empty, and we will only taste the lees, the bitter lees. Then again, as in 1896, will there be need for the Republican Party and another McKinley with his policy of protection to save the country from financial disaster.

It seems that the Republican Party was born to save. It saved the Union in 1861, the country's credit in 1876, and the Nation's honor in 1896, and all of its potency to save must be invoked in the months that are shortly to come.

Now is a good time to compare the attitude of William McKinley as President with the attitude of President Wilson in reference to the matter of his own succession. The first term of President McKinley had proven a success even greater than his most sanguine friends had anticipated. The promises made in his party platform had been kept. Mills and factories, long closed, had been opened. The wheels of industry were busy everywhere, giving employment to every person who desired to work, at good wages. Business confidence was restored and capital was seeking investment in business enterprises. Our foreign trade was extended by leaps and bounds. Our increase of exports over imports during McKinley's first term amounted to $2,354,442,213, nearly seven times greater than it had been for the whole period from Washington to McKinley. So colossal these figures that they astounded the world and forever put to rest the fallacy that in order to extend our trade among the nations of the earth we must have free trade with those nations. During these four years we successfully fought the Spanish War, gave Cuba her freedom, and thus proved to the world that there is at least one nation which is not altogether selfish in the prosecution of a war. As McKinley truly said, it was a triumph of American civilization. So universal was the satisfaction of our countrymen with the conduct of public affairs and so great was the prosperity and contentment of all our people that there was little doubt as to President McKinley being reelected, but his majority was far greater than was expected. It was overwhelming. Not long after the commencement of his second term it began to be whispered about in high official circles, and even suggested through the public press, that inasmuch as we now have a President in whom the great masses of our people have the utmost confidence, and who, by reason of his wise and far-seeing statesmanship in so short a time, brought our Nation out of bankruptcy practically and made it one of the largest creditor nations on the face of the earth, he was again to be his own successor. But immediately when the President saw that this scheme was taking definite shape he declared in no uncertain terms, "It must not and it shall not be." And the people knew he meant what he said. Thus by his example did he reaffirm the wise admonition of Washington, that no man should be President more than two terms.

Contrast this conduct of President McKinley with the conduct of the present incumbent of the White House. True, President Wilson has just been elected for his second term, but this is one more term than he should in honor have asked for or accepted. The first platform upon which he was elected contained these positive and definite words:

> We favor a single presidential term, and to that end urge the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution making the President of the United States ineligible for reelection, and we pledge the candidate of this convention to this principle.

William Jennings Bryan, who was responsible for the nomination of Mr. Wilson by the Baltimore convention, and who was his chief spokesman during the campaign of 1912, while discussing this plank of the platform at a great meeting held at Indianapolis on October 17, 1912, said:

> We present him (Mr. Wilson) not only qualified in every way, but we present him pledged to a single term, that he may be your President and spend no time dividing patronage in order to secure delegates; that he need spend no time in planning for reelection; that he may give you all his thought and all his heart and all his energy. I believe that when a man is lifted by his countrymen to this pinnacle of power he ought to tear from his heart every thought of ambition, and on his bended knees consecrate his term to his country's service. That is our ideal President, and we present to you a man who measures up to that ideal.

Mr. Wilson not only accepted this plank and permitted his spokesman to assure the people of the country of his acceptance of the same, but he did all he could himself to impress the people of the virtue of the principle involved therein. As it turned out, however, this plank was just used by him on which to get in, for immediately after the election he repudiated it in toto and commenced paving the way for his own succession. Instead of using his influence to help in carrying out the pledge contained in that plank—to amend the Constitution limiting the President to one term—he set about actively to defeat it, and did defeat it. That he did defeat it is abundantly proven by indisputable evidence. Mr. Wilson was elected President in November, 1912. He was inaugurated March 4, 1913. On February 1, 1913, one month and three days before he was inaugurated, a resolution to amend the Constitution by limiting the President to one term of office passed the Senate of the United States by the necessary majority—17 Republicans voting for it and only 1 Democrat voting against it. The sentiment in the House at the time was overwhelmingly in favor of this resolution and it would have passed that body in short order had it not been for the intervention of Mr. Wilson himself. On the 12th day of February, 1913, 11 days after this resolution had passed the Senate and before there was time for its consideration in the House, he addressed an open letter to A. Mitchell Palmer, a member of the Democratic national committee and a Representative in Congress, in which he said:

> A fixed constitutional limitation to a single term of office is highly arbitrary and unsatisfactory from every point of view. I believe that we should fatally embarrass ourselves if we made the constitutional change proposed.

This letter was immediately brought to the attention of the Democratic committee having the bill in charge in the House. The fact is it was written for that purpose, and it had the desired effect. The bill was put to sleep and still slumbers in the hands of the committee, and the President is elected for a second term.

In the letter above referred to, from Mr. Wilson to Mr. Palmer, the author also said, in substance, that in his opinion a man should be permitted to be President as long and as often as the people want him to be. If the surmises of many who are watching the actions of the President at close range are correct, he is doing his utmost to convince the people that they should want him again, and that he should be his own successor for a third term. Thus has he stultified not only his own but his party's pledge to the people. And he has also demonstrated his willingness to trample in the dust the great example set by Washington and which was so nobly emphasized by McKinley.

There is another comparison between President McKinley and President Wilson that I desire to make. President McKinley believed with the fathers that for a government democratic in form and republican in character to survive the shocks of time and not fall decadent as its predecessor republics had, it should be divided into three separate and distinct parts—the executive, the legislative, and the judicial—each with duties and functions clearly defined, each independent of the other, and without the right of one to encroach upon the others. And from the beginning of his administration to the day of his death he strictly adhered in practice to this principle. He contented himself with the exercise of the prerogative given him under the Constitution by advising Congress, through stated messages, as to what he thought concerning the needs of the country and the desires of its people. In this way he gave to the representatives of the people his recommendations, to be acted upon and determined by them after due deliberation and consideration. At *no time did* he threaten them or cajole them. He respected the Congress and the rights of the Congressmen, and in turn he was respected by Congress and Congressmen, irrespective of party, as few other Presidents before or since have been respected. To this mutual respect of the rights of the two departments of our Government more than to any other cause may justly be attributed the rare good feeling that prevailed throughout the country during the period of the McKinley administration. No one ever heard of President McKinley threatening a Congressman that his patronage would be withheld unless he voted for this bill or against that. No one ever heard of his going to the Capitol and peremptorily demanding that Representatives and Senators of his political faith should surrender their judgment to his will. Such action was not only foreign to his nature, but would have been violative of his sense of duty.

Not so with the present incumbent. He has neither respect nor regard for the constitutional rights of the Congress or of Congressmen, except as the mere instruments to carry out his dictates; and when he changes his mind on any proposition, which is not uncommon, he expects his party adherents in Congress to change their minds with him, and without asking any questions. Thus far they have done it, with here and there only a little rumble of dissension, but never amounting to serious opposition.

By way of example, let us look for a moment at his Panama Canal episode. The Democratic platform of 1912 contained the following plank:

> We favor the exemption from tolls of American ships engaged in coastwise trade passing through the canal.

The Republican platform and the Progressive platform in that campaign contained a similar plank. There was no opposition apparently to this eminently fair discrimination in the United States, and in conformity with this unanimous desire of the people a law was passed exempting American ships engaged in coastwise trade from the payment of tolls. Very soon after Mr. Wilson was inaugurated he sent a message to Congress in which he demanded that this law be repealed. He did not then give, and up to this day has not given, any reason for this extraordinary action on his part. Upon the President's demand Democratic Members in the House and Senate, who not only supported this measure by their votes but also spoke in favor of the same, blindly voted for its repeal. Those Members of Congress who were slow to act to his dictates for the repeal of this law were soon made to understand that if they continued in their opposition they would suffer all the consequences that it was within the power of a President to inflict, and they yielded their own opinions and surrendered their own judgment.

The so-called warning resolution considered at the last session of Congress affords another striking example of the dictatorial manner of our President. More than 90 per cent of the Members of the House and Senate were in favor of passing a resolution to warn Americans to stay off of the armed merchantmen of belligerent nations, feeling that this warning was justified not only for the protection of Americans themselves but above all to protect the United States from becoming involved in this European war. The President himself at one period was in favor of this resolution, but, as in the case of the Panama Canal tolls, for some unexplained reason he changed his mind, and demanded that this warning resolution should be killed. Leading Senators and Representatives were sent for who had expressed themselves openly in favor of this resolution and some of whom had made speeches in their respective bodies in favor of it, and they were plainly informed that this resolution must be defeated, and that no matter what they thought about it as individuals, as Members of Congress they must vote against it. This they did, and the resolution was killed.

When the present Democratic tariff bill was under consideration in the Congress the President demanded that both sugar and wool should be placed upon the free list, and this, too, against the judgment of the leaders of his party in both branches of Congress. On the floor of the House and Senate this remarkable spectacle was presented in the consideration of this bill, Members openly stating that the placing of sugar and wool upon the free list would be destructive and ruinous to these industries in this country, and that in their judgment such action should not be taken, yet they were surrendering their own convictions and their own judgment at the behest of the President. And both of these items were put upon the free list, costing the Government in consequence more than $75,000,000 in revenue, and but for the war and the subsequent action of Congress in placing the tariff back on sugar these industries would have been absolutely ruined.

Another striking example of the President's dictation is afforded by his action with reference to the child-labor bill that passed the House early in the last session, and which passed the Senate but a few days before final adjournment. The Democratic steering committee of the Senate, with the knowledge, consent, and approval of the President, formulated a program and placed thereon the bills that should be taken up for consideration during the remaining days of that session. The child-labor bill was not included in this program. When it became known that it had been omitted criticism was heard generally throughout the North because of its omission. It was not many weeks before the election. The President heard the rumble, and notwithstanding the fact that he was opposed to the child-labor bill himself and had frequently in public speeches and written articles declared it to be unconstitutional, and notwithstanding the further fact that he had agreed with certain southern Senators and Representatives who were opposed to the child-labor bill that the same should not be considered during the first session of the Sixty-fourth Congress, yet when it became apparent that if it was not considered it would be the means of losing him some votes in certain of the Northern States, he, without notice, came out on the Hill, sent for the Democratic leaders in the Senate and demanded that their program of procedure be opened up and the child-labor bill be included therein. When confronted with the promises that he had made these southern Senators and Representatives, and also with his former position with reference to this character of legislation being unconstitutional, he brushed those who had the temerity to speak to him about it aside and informed them that no matter what he had promised or what he had said previously on this subject, this bill must be passed, and it was passed.

The last exhibition of this character that he gave before the adjournment of the first session of the present Congress was with reference to the so-called railroad men's eight-hour bill. His intermediation was not solicited in this matter at any time by anyone. The gentlemen who represented the railroad brotherhoods did not want his interference and those who represented the railroads did not want it. But he took it upon himself, thinking that by so doing he could materially enhance his chances for reelection. The bill that was formulated and presented to Congress did not embody the ideas or desires of the railroad men, and it was opposed by those representing the railroads. He sent it to the House of Representatives and demanded that it be passed within 48 hours. Six months' time was occupied in public hearings on the naval appropriation bill, yet this eight-hour law legislation, which concerned a hundred million people, was not considered for six seconds; it was not considered at all by any committee of the House. It is a mistaken idea to say that this bill was forced through Congress by the railroad men. They had nothing to do with it. It was

forced through Congress by the President himself, and whatever blame should attach for this outrageous piece of business should be laid at the door of the President himself.

The presidents of these railroad brotherhoods are now saying, before the committee hearing with reference to further proposed legislation concerning strikes, that they reluctantly submitted their case to the President at his behest and that what they obtained was a mere shell, empty of any good purpose, and that they now regret that they were duped by him into submitting to his proposal. Everybody now knows that this whole scheme was for the purpose of getting votes and was never intended to afford permanent relief either to the brotherhoods, to the railroads, or to the public.

I have called your attention to but a few of the many examples that might be cited of the President dictating legislation and preventing legislation, but they are certainly sufficient to convince anyone that Mr. Wilson has no respect whatever for that portion of our Constitution which declares in favor of separate and distinct branches of Government and that one shall not encroach upon the duties or deliberations of the other.

I wish that every voter, every schoolboy and schoolgirl in this country could be made to realize and appreciate the enormity of this action of the President of the United States and what it means to the future of this Government if its practice is to be persisted in. I wish that every voter, every schoolboy and schoolgirl would read and conjure what was said by Washington in his farewell address upon this proposition, which is as follows:

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. * * * The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power by dividing and distributing it into different depositories and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against the invasions of the others has been evidenced by experiments, ancient and modern, some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates; but let there be no change by usurpation, for though this in one instance may be the instrument of good it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed.

Was there ever a time since these words of wisdom were spoken when there was greater need that they should be considered and sink deep into the hearts of every lover of his country and his country's institutions than there is now?

If we are to submit to a continuation of the practices of the President of the United States dictating absolutely to Congress what bills it shall pass and what bills it shall not pass, the time is near at hand when the Congress of the United States will be a useless thing. And if the people submit to this thing with reference to the Congress, how long will it be until they will submit likewise to presidential dictation to the Supreme Court of the United States as to what interpretation that body shall give to the laws which were passed under and by virtue of his dictation? When that time comes this Government of ours, which was established by the fathers as an asylum of liberty, will be a depotism pure and simple.

I ask you, therefore, if it is not high time that we pay heed to the wholesome advice of Washington and to the precepts and example of McKinley?

President McKinley was a partisan in the truest sense of that term. He believed in political parties, and that political parties are essential to the very existence of our kind of government. He believed thoroughly in the fundamental principles of the Republican Party, and that these principles are the best that have ever been administered for the greatest benefit of the greatest number. He believed in party organization; that party organization is the only reliable agency through which representatives of party policy can be selected, and that such selections so made can best be depended upon to fully carry out party policies. But he was not a spoilsman. He believed in the fitness of things. He believed in rewarding men for party service and loyalty, but he always required that men so rewarded should measure up to the place they were appointed to fill. In making political appointments he adhered closely to the idea that he could serve his party best by building up the public service rather than by crippling it through mere political expediency. In this sense he was a partisan. But as President and in his treatment of all public questions he occupied the plane of a statesman, and never did even the suspicion of partisan purpose attach to his action with reference to these questions. He was the President of all the people in the broadest possible sense, without distinction as to section or class.

Fortunate would we be in this crisis of our country's history if we had another McKinley, and better far would it have been if we had had a President like him during the last four years. Such a President would have known our whole country and been acquainted with its diversified interests. Such a President would be responsive to the best interests of all our people, and at no time would he resort to mere academic subterfuge.

With the ship of state under the command of such a captain, our people would feel safe from the dangers of shipwreck that have been besetting us and are gravely besetting us to-day. McKinley would never have sailed this ship into the uncertain seas that President Wilson did last week. Rather would he have used the chart and compass left by Washington in his Farewell Address, when he bade us under all circumstances keep ourselves free from all foreign entanglements and alliances, from even the possibility of such.

If we had had a President like McKinley during these last four years and had such a President now, he would be looking to the future welfare and development of our commercial possibilities. He would take advantage of the present war situation to provide better industrial conditions for our people when this war is over. He would put into practice that portion of the last public utterance he ever made to the American people, in which he said:

Our capacity to produce has developed so enormously and our products have so multiplied that the problem of more markets requires our urgent and immediate attention. Only a broad and enlightened policy will keep what we have. No other policy will get more. In these times of marvelous business energy and gain we ought to be looking to the future, strengthening the weak places in our industrial and commercial systems, that we may be ready for any storm or strain.

And a most fitting time this is to have sunk deep in the heart and memory of every loyal American these memorable words of admonition given us by this martyred President:

Let us ever remember that our interest is in concord, not conflict, and that our real eminence rests in the victories of peace, not those of war.

Revenue Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WHITMELL P. MARTIN,

OF LOUISIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 31, 1917.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, I believe that the method of raising the revenues for this Government provided for in this bill will prove a distinct disappointment to the American people.

The people of this country are patriotic and are prepared to make any sacrifice and pay any reasonable and just tax to the end that all governmental activities may be wisely and economically administered and at the same time carry out a "preparedness program" by which we hope to uphold the dignity of and respect for this great country in time of peace and to give a good account of ourselves if war should come.

But, Mr. Speaker, even those who are left untouched by this method of taxation are moved in a spirit of fairness to protest against legislation that, though apparently aimed at the great industrial centers of this country, will in my opinion prove a "boomerang," and the South will be the first to feel the adverse effects of this measure.

The South is now in course of development and needs only capital to build up its industries, exploit its great resources, and make if it a section of this country that nature, by reason of its climate and great fertility, destined that it should be.

Those who seek to invest their money in the South have heretofore been attracted by our liberal corporate laws, purposely enacted in order to attract foreign capital and encourage local capital to venture into new enterprises, and such investments are almost invariably made through the formation of stock companies. Investments in new enterprises are often hazardous, and are made because the investors are not content to accept a minimum return on their money, and are willing to take a chance of either losing or of reaping more than an ordinary profit on their investment.

If no profits are realized or if their entire capital is wiped out they are in no way compensated therefor, but if perchance the investment is successful and a profit is realized then such investors must lose no time in preparing to meet the "tax-gatherer." They must not only pay the corporation tax of 2 per cent assessed by the act of 1916, but they must also pay the additional tax of 8 per cent on all profits over and above 8

per cent, in excess of $5,000, as provided and assessed in this act.

It may be that most of this tax will be paid by the great industrial and manufacturing centers, but it will at the same time prove a great hardship to the South, in that it will discourage the investment of capital and arrest the development of our great resources.

Legislation that is both class and discriminatory can not help but create widespread resentment, and this will be followed by well planned and studied attempts to evade the tax. The "tax dodgers" will now proceed to multiply and water will be in great demand in the stock market.

The party responsible for this legislation can not be censured for its efforts to raise revenue, because all parties have indorsed the program of preparedness and have voted millions of dollars to provide for the increased appropriations for the Army, Navy, and fortifications, and it falls to the majority party to devise ways and means to raise the necessary funds.

But the method proposed in this bill is not only un-American in that it is class and discriminatory legislation, but it is a departure by the Democratic Party from the doctrine that is most conspicuously set forth in the Democratic platforms. The Democratic platform of 1912 contains this plank:

We recognize that our system of tariff taxation is intimately connected with the business of the country, and we favor the ultimate attainment of the principles we advocate by legislation that will not injure or destroy legitimate industry.

It is true that in the light of the Underwood bill that was passed a few months after the adoption of this platform it would seem that this plank was either forgotten or ignored, but certainly some attention will be paid the platform of 1916, which contains this plank:

We reaffirm our belief in the doctrine of a tariff for the purpose of providing sufficient revenue for the operation of the Government economically administered. * * *

Mr. Speaker, I am not looking at this matter from the standpoint of a partisan, as I am prepared to support meritorious measures fathered by either of the dominant parties, but it does strike me that if this plank in the Democratic platform means *anything*, it means that this party believes in a tariff for the purpose of providing the necessary revenues for this Government.

Never in its history has this Government been in such absolute need of revenues, and yet the dominant party now seems about to again abandon its platform and enter upon a method of taxation which, if persisted in, means that all protection to American industries, incidental or otherwise, will under Democratic rule be a thing of the past.

The doctrine of a "tariff for revenue with incidental protection" could be invoked at this time to good purpose. It would do much toward raising the revenue which is now so much needed, and it would at the same time prepare us to meet the struggle for industrial and commercial supremacy, which is sure to follow the restoration of peace in Europe, when our country will be flooded with the products of poorly paid foreign labor, with which we can not successfully compete without a fair and adequate tariff, whether it be imposed for "incidental protection" or for protection pure and simple.

I have voted for and supported all of the measures looking to preparedness, and I now regret that I can not vote for the measure that will finance this program.

I believe the method of taxation proposed in this bill to be un-American, undemocratic, and unpatriotic, because all classes and all sections should contribute toward the support of this Government and should deem it a great and proud privilege to be able to participate in the maintenance of the dignity, honor, and glory of this great Republic.

Memorial of the Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FREDERICK H. GILLETT,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 31, 1917.

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a memorial of the Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Co., of Springfield, Mass., protesting against this bill (H. R. 20573) as applying to mutual life insurance companies.

The memorial is as follows:

Memorial of the Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Co.

The memorial of the Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Co., of Springfield, Mass., is presented to the Congress in protest against the provisions in the pending bill, H. R. 20573, entitled, "A bill to provide increased revenue to defray the expenses of the increased appropriations for the Army and Navy and the extensions of fortifications, and for other purposes," which proposes to increase the Federal tax upon mutual life insurance companies including your memorialist. The mutual life insurance companies of the United States are the outgrowth of the old-time voluntary associations of individuals for the purpose of contributing to repair the misfortunes and losses inflicted upon the dependents of deceased persons through their deceases. These companies have no capital stock and pay no dividends to stockholders from the operations of such companies. All the property and assets belong to the respective policyholders thereof, and any excess of income over expenses and funds necessarily retained, as required by law to safeguard and guarantee the fulfillment of the policy obligations of such companies, are distributed to the policyholders pro rata in accordance with the conditions of their contracts of insurance. Such companies are not conducted for the profit or advantage of any particular individual, or set of individuals, but the business of such companies is purely cooperative and is managed and conducted solely for the purpose of furnishing to the respective policyholders thereof the greatest possible amount of individual benefit in return for the deposits or premium payments received from them.

The bill relieves from this tax all cooperative or mutual savings banks, savings and loan associations, and many other organizations, including hail, cyclone, and fire insurance companies of a local character whose income is used to meet expenses and which are not conducted for the profit, or whose net income does not inure to the benefit of any private stockholder or individual. Apparently the only reason why other mutual insurance companies, whose scope may have extended beyond the limits of the town, city, county, or State where organized, are not likewise exempted from the tax, is not because of the lack of the cooperative or mutual method of conducting business, but rather on account of the larger amount of business done and correspondingly greater amount of gross income received therefrom. Surely if the principle of exempting cooperative or mutual companies transacting business of this character is correct for the purpose of encouraging and building up the practice of forethought and prudence in protecting the individual interest of the insured in the smaller companies, then it should likewise be extended to the larger companies of the same character who, by reason of their wider field of action, do so much more to promote these praiseworthy ends. It is true that the bill proposes to grant to mutual, fire, marine, casualty, employers' liability, and workmen's compensation insurance companies and to all life insurance companies distributing among policyholders any excess premiums that may have been collected, the right of not reporting as income for taxing purposes the amount of deposits or premiums so returned to their policyholders. It is universally recognized at the present day that mutual life insurance companies are preferred to savings banks by many thoughtful and prudent persons as depositories for the fruits of their energy, thrift, and self-sacrifice. This plan for the accumulation of savings, coupled with the provision for death benefits, has far outstripped the savings banks in the opinion of the public, as is clearly evidenced by the larger amounts paid the life insurance companies of our country. Why, therefore, should not all life insurance companies, operated on the mutual plan and not for the benefit or profit of stockholders or other private persons, be placed in the class with cooperative savings banks and savings and loan associations and the other mutual insurance companies whose territory is confined to their local limits?

The great economists of the world have agreed that each progressive and well-intentioned government should encourage its citizens in providing by some kind of insurance against their future misfortunes and losses, as this means distributes these calamities over such a wide circle that the immediate loss to the individual or community is vastly minimized.

Germany has long been recognized as the leading national investigator of the economic conditions and advantages of its people. The attitude of the Imperial German Government is equally well known toward voluntary and involuntary life insurance as an alleviation of public misfortunes and as a preventive of the need for old-age pensions and other similar philanthropies at public expense. Germany, England, France, Switzerland, and several other Governments have recognized the utilitarian character of life insurance, and have fully considered it in their adjustments of the burdens of taxation for the support of their respective Governments.

The State, county, and local taxation of insurance companies in the United States has increased to such a degree that a very substantial portion of the premiums for life insurance is diverted from the purpose for which it was paid by the policyholders in order to meet the demands for taxes made upon such companies. As the policyholders have paid their money for the purpose of protecting themselves by distributing their losses over a large number of individuals in order that each individual portion of such loss might thereby become greatly lessened, so great a portion of their money being required to pay the local taxes demanded, to a corresponding degree this has defeated the purposes and benefits sought by their participation in life insurance greatly to the public disadvantage and consequently to that of the Government.

The National Convention of Insurance Commissioners of the United States in 1914 in the resolution relating to this question of taxation, which was unanimously adopted, used the following language:

"The States should not place a burdensome rate of taxation on the insurance business, which, while not philanthropic in its character, is yet of great importance to the business world, and of immense value to our Government and its citizens in the distribution of the misfortunes and losses of life."

It has frequently been argued with great force that the Government which taxes the insurance business transacted within its territory at any greater rate than is needed to defray the expenses of the proper regulation and supervision of such business is committing a most serious economic error because of the great benefit which its people derive from such business. A tax upon the income of life insurance companies is a direct burden upon the most substantial and valuable citizens of our Government solely because of their prudence and careful forethought in order to be prepared to meet the misfortunes and losses which must inevitably come to all mankind, without the necessity for depending upon public or private charity in their time of distress.

Even the strain and stress of the terrible war now raging in Europe have not seemed to justify the Governments of those countries in multiplying the burdens of taxation under which those nations are now laboring by the imposition of a greatly increased tax upon those insurance companies which are relieving the State through private means of the expense for the care and support of those deprived by the war of their natural supporters and of the cost of the education of their children. Surely conditions in the United States have not reached such a pass that it is necessary for this Government to now increase its tax upon its domestic life insurance companies to the extent of 100 per cent in order to provide means for its necessities during this period of peace and apparent prosperity. If the present need for additional Government revenue is so urgent as to demand the imposition of such a large increase in the tax upon life insurance, then it is urged that for mutual life insurance the tax should be laid upon the policyholders as the direct and immediate owners, to the extent of their policy rights, of all the assets and property of every kind and description held by such companies.

We take the liberty of quoting here in full, as a part of our protest against this large increase in the tax burdens upon this memorialist and the other mutual life insurance companies of the United States, a letter from the Penn Mutual Life Insurance Co. to the chairman of the Senate Committee on Finance, under date of August 1, 1916, as follows:

"Hon. FURNIFOLD McL. SIMMONS,
"*Chairman Senate Committee on Finance, Washington, D. C.*

"DEAR SIR: The Penn Mutual Life Insurance Co. desires to enter its respectful protest against the imposition of an income tax upon the operations of a life insurance company conducted upon the mutual plan, and especially against the increase from 1 to 2 per cent contemplated in House bill 16763, which is now before your committee for consideration.

"As you are doubtless aware, when the insurance departments were organized in the various States—some 50 years or more ago—it was with the purpose of supervising the business and safeguarding the interests of policyholders, but with no intention to impose upon them more than the actual cost of such supervision, and this was the original practice. It has long been recognized that those who carry life insurance are the best citizens of this country, having voluntarily taxed themselves to the extent of their premium payments in order to provide for the welfare of their dependents.

"In the year of 1862 the subject of taxing the funds of life insurance companies was brought before Congress, and, notwithstanding the pressing need for revenue, was defeated after mature consideration by both the Senate and House of Representatives. Mr. Sumner spoke, in part, as follows:

"'The business of life insurance, as it seems to me, is peculiar. It differs from others in being not strictly, if I may say so, a money-making business. I know that persons get up insurance companies in order to advance their own interests, but the primary object of the insurance office is to protect other people, particularly the poor; it is to help the poor. I say, therefore, it is not primarily, as compared with many other businesses, a money-making business. On that account, as it seems to me, it has a title to certain consideration. Now, what is proposed? A tax on premiums. What are the premiums? The premiums are themselves a tax. The premiums constitute the tax which the person insured pays for his insurance. That is the precise case. I state it in this way in order to reduce it, if I may say so, to its most naked form.'

"In 1888 this company's counsel, in successfully opposing an effort to impose additional taxes, used the following argument, which has equal force at the present time:

"'We contend that a purely mutual company, such as this, can not have any net earnings or income; that it is not a corporation for profit, and can have no profit. It has no stockholders among whom any profit can be divided. It is simply an association of individuals, not for the acquiring and distribution of profits but rather for the distribution of losses.

"'Some mutual companies do business upon what is called the mutual assessment plan. That is to say, whenever a member dies each surviving member is assessed a certain amount. It is manifest that such a company can have no net earnings or income. It collects just sufficient to pay the death losses and the attendant expenses. Theoretically, that is insurance pure and simple. Practically, it is seldom successful, for the reason that representatives of the insured are dependent entirely upon the collection of assessments upon surviving members, which is usually a slow and uncertain process, there being no sufficient security that the assessment will be paid.

"'The Penn Mutual does business upon what is termed the "level premium plan," each member being, by the terms of his policy, which must be read in connection with the company's charter, required to pay a certain premium annually, or so much thereof as may be required by the company. There being a fixed rate for all the years of a man's life, it results that those which he pays in the earlier years of his insurance are more than are required to carry his insurance, while those which he pays in later years are less than would be required. The premium is arranged upon a sort of leveling-up process, from which it derives its name, whereby the earlier and later premiums balance each other, the company being required to keep on hand as a reserve fund such a proportion of the earlier premiums as, at 4 or 4½ per cent, interest compounded, will, with the further premiums, suffice to pay his policy at maturity, assuming that he will die, as he ought to die, according to the experience tables of mortality.

"'By this plan the insurance is just as mutual as upon the assessment plan. The difference is that this sort of insurance actually insures, which the other does not. As the members are required to contribute from year to year, there is always on hand a fund from which a death loss can be paid.'

"It has been well said that the Government should insist upon the faithful conservation of life insurance funds and the application to their intended use. It should be as reluctant itself to reduce or divert them as to permit individuals to employ them for political purposes or in extravagance of management.

"Life insurance taxes either increase the cost of insurance or diminish the amount of it. In the one case they fall on the policyholders; in the other, on the beneficiaries of the insurance.

"Having taxed the real estate and other property of these corporations on the same basis as other property is taxed, and imposed upon them in the form of fees the payment of the cost of their own supervision, further and additional taxation is unjustifiable. The mere desire to raise revenue does not warrant imposing upon life insurance conducted upon the mutual plan a special form of premium or other income tax.

"Notwithstanding the original intention of the various legislatures with respect to the supervision of the business of life insurances, additional taxes have been imposed from time to time until esteemed one of the sources of revenue of the various States and of the Federal Government, with little, if any, thought of the effect upon policyholders.

"Mr. John Stuart Mill, in his Principles of Political Economy, says that a tax upon life insurance 'is a direct discouragement of prudence and forethought,' and the magnitude of the present burden is evident, when it is considered that the aggregate fees and taxes paid by the insurance companies annually approximates $15,000,000, while the cost of maintaining the insurance departments in the various States does not exceed $2,000,000. As this vast sum is in the last analysis paid by policyholders, being merely collected by the companies, the result, as stated, is to increase the cost of their insurance or to diminish the resulting benefits.

"Mr. Frederick L. Hoffman, in writing upon this subject, expressed himself as follows:

"'Life insurance is a present means of obtaining a certain advantage of an uncertain event, and it is on this ground, though not on this ground alone, that life insurance or the premiums paid for insurance protection should not be considered a subject of taxation. If we inquire into the objects and nature of life insurance and the relation of life insurance to the State, we find that the primary object of this form of thrift is to provide for dependents, for widows and orphans, who, but for such provision, in the majority of instances, would become charges or wards of the State. By just so much as this is avoided, by just so much as women and children are made independent of such assistance, the revenue of the Nation or of the State is relieved, and can therefore be devoted, and is devoted, to the development of other interests affecting public welfare. In view of this point it is clear that life insurance should not be a subject of taxation, but rather, to the contrary, as a means of diminishing public burdens it should in all respects receive the generous consideration of the States.'

"In 1798, under the income-tax law of England, incomes were exempted from taxation to the extent of premiums paid for life insurance. Hon. William Pitt, in defense of the bill, said:

"'Laying aside the proud idea of the vigor, permanence, and renewing energy which this measure secures, there is one case which, with a view to the class who are really willing to save for the benefit of others for whom they are bound to provide, makes some modification. It is in favor of those who have recourse to that easy, certain, and advantageous mode of providing for their families by assuring their lives. In this bill, as in the assessed taxes, a deduction is allowed for what is paid on this account.'

"With England's great need for revenue this practice has been continued, that country at the present time exempting from tax one-sixth of the income of each citizen, provided it is devoted to the purchase of life insurance protection. Prior to the present war there was no premium income tax in France, Belgium, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Spain, or Russia, and we are led to believe that the same condition still prevails.

"The several States, as well as the Federal Government, seem to fail to recognize the essential qualities and the beneficent character of life insurance and have imposed upon it tax burdens far greater than those imposed upon other institutions. This is no doubt due in large part to the ease with which the needs of the various governments could be met by taxation of this accumulation of assets for later distribution among dependents, in which funds no single individual has a sufficiently large interest to render it worth while to institute a vigorous opposition.

"Hon. Thomas E. Drake, superintendent of insurance of the District of Columbia, in his report of November 30, 1907, thus expresses his view on the subject:

"'Because of the beneficent character of insurance, I consider it equally as unjust to exact from policyholders anything above a sufficient sum to maintain supervision as that of imposing a tax on school, church, or cemetery property, which is everywhere exempt from extortion.'

"A few years ago Hon. E. E. Rittenhouse, then insurance commissioner of the State of Colorado, said:

"'The insurance companies of the United States are paying, through insurance departments, fees and taxes amounting, in round numbers, to $12,000,000 per annum. Approximately $2,000,000 of this amount comes from fees and $10,000,000 comes from license taxes levied chiefly upon premium income. Inasmuch as the fees more than provide for the cost of operating the departments, it is safe to say that this $10,000,000 per year represents the penalty which the law is enforcing against the insurance business.'

"The president of one of the prosperous companies of the country a few years ago wrote to insured members as follows:

"'The policyholders should recognize this (taxation) clearly as an item of expense outside the company's control and as a tax on their individual savings, provision, and thrift. Our tax bills amount to 20.8 per cent of all management and investment costs, including commissions to agents, office maintenance, and, in short, one-fifth of the total expense account. Apart from taxes, there has been a reduction in all other items of expense, making it possible to report a favorable experience in the three great factors of a successful life insurance business—mortality, expenses, and interest.'

"In the report of the special taxation committee adopted by the convention of insurance commissioners at Detroit, August, 1908, this very pertinent inquiry is made:

"'Why should not the State and the public, which wisely and vigorously resent and prohibit by drastic laws in the interest of the policyholders and of the beneficiaries of insurance the diversion of such funds for political campaign purposes or for extravagance in management, see with equal clearness the unwisdom of their diversion at the instance of the State itself from their appropriate use to increase the revenues of the State? Does not $2 taken from the company by the State out of every $100 a policyholder pays for the premium either correspondingly increase the sum the policyholder must pay or reduce the insurance benefits he thereby buys, just the same as if the $2 were diverted by the management to political campaign contribution or used by them in extravagant expenditure?'

"Several of these utterances have special reference to the tax of life insurance premiums by the various State insurance departments, but apply with equal force to any levy made by the Federal Government.

"The present tax law applies specifically to net incomes of over $3,000 only, but inasmuch as the average policy in companies conducted upon the mutual plan, excluding industrial insurance, is less than $3,000, and the annual premium thereon upon the average less than $126, the

effect has been indirectly to tax at least this much of the income of insured members who are otherwise exempt. Where the net income of an individual has exceeded $3,000, the effect has been a double tax upon so much thereof as is devoted to life insurance, and all of this in addition to the State taxation heretofore mentioned—a triple taxation.

"The members of this company through the management protested against the imposition of the present income tax, and repeat this protest with added force in view of the contemplated doubling of the tax rate.

"In view of the fact that every dollar of the funds disbursed by a life insurance company has come from the premium paid by the insured, even the interest receipts being the income derived from the investments of premiums paid in former years, all taxes of whatever nature fall ultimately upon the individual policyholder, and we bespeak the attention of your committee to this phase of the situation in your proposed consideration of H. R. 16763.

"Yours, very truly,

"_____ _____."

In view of all of the foregoing, it is respectfully submitted that if the life insurance business of the United States is to be burdened by the increase in the tax thereon, as here proposed, it will serve as a decided discouragement and a clog to the further exercise of that spirit of energy and thrift which has so strongly characterized the people of the United States in the past and which is so essential to the well-being of every nation. If this tax increase is effected it must necessarily react to the disadvantage of the American public. Your memorialist hereby enters its profound protest against the passage of the proposed increase on mutual life insurance companies as contained in H. R. 20573.

Respectfully submitted.

MASSACHUSETTS MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE CO.

The Pending Democratic Revenue Legislation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE W. FAIRCHILD,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 31, 1917.

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Mr. Speaker, at this time we have to meet the extraordinary situation made by the failure of the revenue legislation already enacted by the party in power to provide the revenue really needed, and by the continued extravagance which is characteristic of the Democratic Party when in power. The striking feature of the Democratic plan for meeting the present revenue situation is that it shows clearly the inability of this party to maintain its own declared principles, whether of revenue or of national welfare, or, in fact, to maintain and enforce any useful principle of governmental policy.

A SACRIFICE OF PRINCIPLE.

The principle of a tariff for revenue only, so long professed by the Democratic Party and advanced in opposition to the Republican principle of a tariff for protection as well as for revenue, means that tariff rates can properly be imposed for the sake of revenue. If they are to be imposed for revenue, the rates must necessarily be determined with regard to the revenue needed and can be adjusted with regard to changing situations as to revenue requirements, whether increasing or diminishing. The rates of the Democratic tariff of 1913 are admittedly too low for revenue purposes, even in normal times of peace, and with the decline in imports incident to the war the existing tariff has become more than ever a failure as a revenue producer. Under the present circumstances, upon the principle of a tariff for revenue, the rates of the present tariff should be adjusted to yield more revenue.

This would mean increasing the rates at this time, for it is admitted that our imports are in no way diminished now by the prevailing tariff rates and the enlarged free list. The imports are diminished for the time being solely by diminished production in foreign countries available for export to this country and by direct impediments in transportation, both factors, of course, entirely due to the war. It has been shown that in the 10 months during which the present Democratic tariff was in effect before the war began—from October 4, 1913, to August 1, 1914—the imports increased greatly in quantity beyond the total during the corresponding 10 months 1 year before under the former Republican tariff, and it is admitted on all sides that this period of the Democratic tariff before the war began affords the only real basis for determining the effect of this tariff on the volume of imports. It is established, therefore, that the existing Democratic tariff in itself encourages abundant importation and yields far too little revenue, yet, notwithstanding these plain facts, the Democratic Party, which under President Cleveland demanded a drastic reduction of the tariff because of superabundant revenue, now refuses to consent to any increase in the tariff to add to the revenues now so sadly deficient.

DEMOCRATIC HOSTILITY TO PROTECTION.

This is sacrificing the principle of a revenue tariff, and the Democratic Party casts aside this principle largely because of the Democratic hostility to the Republican principle of a protective tariff. The Democratic Party fears to increase the tariff rates at this time because it would be an open admission of the failure of the tariff of 1913 as a revenue tariff. Except for special consideration to a number of southern agricultural products, the factor of protection to American industries was almost entirely eliminated from the Democratic tariff of 1913. It was a tariff for revenue, and if it fails as to revenue it fails altogether, except in its very limited and sectional protective benefits. And the practical failure of this Democratic tariff is, in fact, just as clear to all at this time as it would be if it were now amended by increase of rates.

The Democratic Party also refuses to increase the tariff because if it attempted such increase the force of present circumstances and the disturbing prospect of the near future would press almost irresistibly for protective rates of duty, which the Democratic Party is determined not to grant. Pressure of circumstances and the urgent requirements of American industries forced from the reluctant democracy last year, in the revenue legislation then necessary under the failure of their former plans, certain protective rates of duty on dyestuffs, and this fact warns the Democracy of the serious conditions that would face them if the subject of tariff revision were now taken up.

SOCIALISM INSTEAD OF DEMOCRACY.

The conditions of to-day and the prospects of the near future demand a renewed application of the Republican principle of a protective tariff, and because of this the Democratic Party fears to permit any revision of the tariff, and rather than do so turns its back upon its accepted principles of democracy and makes a further plunge into socialism. The essential principle of democracy is contrary to the essential principle of socialism, but we have had already, at the hands of the so-called Democratic Party, a great deal of legislation which is not democratic but admittedly socialistic, and apparently we are to have many more installments of socialism while this party remains in power. The Alaska Railroad Act and the shipping act are very well known instances of such socialistic legislation, and by other acts as well as the Government under the control of the misnamed Democratic Party has proceeded with its program of discouraging and crippling private enterprise.

What has become of the old Democratic axioms that "that government is best which governs least," and that it is private enterprise which must build up and maintain the welfare and progress of the country and which must not be interfered with by government and can not be replaced by government? We find these principles no longer adhered to by the party which formerly championed them. They have been cast aside, and in casting them aside the Democratic Party under its present leadership, seeing that it obtained in the election of 1916 the votes of many thousands of avowed Socialists and former members of the Socialist Party, and that by this means a new lease of power was obtained—seeing this, the Democratic Party is encouraged to go on further in its program of socialism and to make its necessary revenue legislation a part of that program.

NEW BURDENS ON PRIVATE ENTERPRISE.

So we have come under the Democratic administration to a point at which in the exercise of the taxing power the conservation and encouragement of the private enterprise of the country are no longer favorably regarded, but rather marked out as the proper subject of extraordinary burdens. This is the meaning of the heavy tax on "excess profits," so called, which is made the principal feature of the new Democratic taxation at the same time that revision of the tariff is refused. The Democratic Party began by taking away protection from American industry and enterprise, and now goes further in its dangerous progress and piles great burdens on these necessary efforts. Not content in its policy with withdrawing the encouragement of the Goverment from productive enterprise at home, it now adds a substantial discouragement of home industry while continuing to invite into the home market, through its radical low tariff, new and increasing competition which will seriously strain the ability of home industry to meet it.

FOREIGN COMPETITION AFTER THE WAR.

Our home industries are now face to face with the approaching end of the great European war. While it can not be said that peace is now actually in sight, it is practically certain that the further duration of the war is to be reckoned in months only, and it is well known that in all of our industrial enterprises the problems now engaging attention are those relating to the competition that must be met after the war. We are

passing out of the stage of war business and the abnormal encouragement of our home industries that came with the disturbance of imports caused by the war, and we are passing into the stage of less urgent demand by foreign countries for our products and the renewed production abroad and undisturbed transportation to our shores of articles which will enter our home market and there compete with and depreciate or displace the products of our own fields and factories. In a word, we are passing from a period of highly stimulated domestic production, very effectually sheltered from competition in the home market, into a period of unstimulated or normal domestic production, practically unsheltered in the home market from a revived and intensified competition from abroad.

PROTECTION FOR DYESTUFFS CONCEDED.

Last year the Democratic Party conceded protective tariff rates on dyestuffs. It was a measure of protection wrung from reluctant advocates of the free-trade theory by the urgent requirements of domestic industries backed by a strong pressure of public sentiment. The object of this tariff on dyestuffs was to encourage the greater and better production of dyestuffs in this country, and the legislation is already having a good effect in that direction. It is just as important, of course, to sustain and encourage the production in this country of many other commodities besides dyestuffs, and we are this year nearer than we were last year to the end of the war and the period when such legislation to protect becomes really effective and vitally necessary. But this year the Democratic Party, having obtained a renewed lease of power, feels itself strong enough to defy the needs of American industry and to repudiate again the protective principle and to engage in further socialistic attacks on private enterprise.

THE REAL ISSUE.

Thus the issue is again clearly joined in the revenue legislation now under consideration by Congress between the Republican policy of encouraging private enterprise and building up the prosperity and developing the resources of the country and the Democratic policy of discouraging and burdening private enterprise, of disregarding the sources of prosperity, interfering with industry, adding to the inquisitorial and repressive features of the Government, and drawing from the working capital and lifeblood of our own industrial development while freely giving to foreign competitors every possible opportunity to substitute their production for ours in our own market.

THE PRESENT EXTRAORDINARY NEED FOR PROTECTION.

True to its sound and successful principle of protection, to which the present industrial development of our country is largely due, the Republican Party through its representatives in Congress call for a measure carrying higher import duties, a measure which would, if enacted, provide additional revenue and also protection for our home industries. Our country has urgent need of such a measure at this time. The enactment of it would at once inspire confidence in the world of business enterprise and would maintain and increase production, keeping labor abundantly employed at good wages, and by increasing the supply of American-made goods would benefit the consumers.

Without a measure of this kind, the near future brings a great deal of difficulty for us. The situation is really unprecedented. We have experienced the competition of Europe in normal times and found it serious enough, when not subjected to substantial import duties here, to create great depression among our industries, with enforced limitation of our production taking effect in the shutting down of factories or running them on part time, with loss of wages and employment by our working people, business failures, and general distress on all sides. This was the competition of Europe under the old ways of living, with life and industry carried on in old routine and methods, in what was a comparatively easy-going and leisurely manner. With the breaking out of war this competition of Europe in our market practically ceased and Europe called on us for much more of our products than she would ever take in normal times, and likewise she called on the rest of the world for many products that otherwise would have sought our market.

The great industrial nations of Europe, all their faculties and resources being strained to the limit in a war such as never occurred before, have undergone a great industrial transformation. New evidences of this are constantly coming to our attention, and the results are unmistakable. The unprecedented emergencies and needs of this war have accomplished what was believed to be impossible in Europe. They have stricken off the shackles of tradition and changed accustomed grooves of thought and energy in industry. They have forced the adoption of quicker and more productive methods, they have brought about, practically at a bound, the "speeding up" of all industry, bringing in shorter cuts to the desired results, eliminating unnecessary steps in manufacturing and trade processes, introducing labor-saving machinery, and given to the management of industrial and commercial establishments new ideas of progress and development and extraordinary encouragement and assistance in many ways by the various governmental authorities, all of whom are working with great energy in their respective countries to secure the utmost yield and distribution in a given time. It is a true saying that these few years of war have brought to the industries of Europe more of quickening and new inspiration than would have come from a generation of peaceful progress.

THE STIMULATION OF INDUSTRY THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

Similar progress has taken place in the industrial and agricultural production of neutral nations all over the world as a result of the great and urgent demand for supplies needed in the war or to meet scarcities caused by war's requirements. All of this quickened and intensified production, all of this multiplied efficiency, both in the warring and in the neutral nations, must be regarded as a permanent gain in the strength of those who will compete with us in the coming months, both in our American home market and in the markets of the world. The nations at war have suffered severe losses and have greatly increased their debts. They will be compelled to keep up their intensified production all along the line to make up their money losses and to provide for their debts.

It is neither a safe nor warrantable assumption that these warring nations will be less efficient in industry after the war because of the loss of many men. The coming generation replaces the older men very quickly, and there were great numbers of unemployed men in these countries before the war. Moreover, there is an unprecedented employment of women in their industries. The employment of women in great numbers will probably continue, and this has the effect of lowering costs of production. It is well known that one of the surprising features of the war is the great efficiency shown by the women of the belligerent countries in manufacturing processes and in the handling of modern machinery.

A PERMANENT GAIN IN THE STRENGTH OF FOREIGN INDUSTRIES.

When such developments in productive industry have been once made it is very easy to go on and on with the improved situation, maintaining and strengthening it, and this will certainly be done not only in the nations now at war but also in practically all of the neutral nations, which, having profited greatly from increased foreign trade, will seek more of it and cultivate increased production for this purpose. Many of the neutral countries have used their good profits of the last few years to install new and up-to-date machinery and additional equipment that enables them to increase production to a great extent in the future and to reduce producing costs. A well-known example of this, very close to our shores, is found in the remarkable improvement recently established in Cuba in the production of sugar. It is clear, therefore, that throughout the rest of the world beyond our shores a new era of industry has begun, which will continue and which has as its distinctive feature increased production and consequently increased foreign trade, stimulated and assisted by every resource of government, including the liberal use of export bounties and many other methods of special development.

All of this increased production and development in foreign commerce will have as their principal and most favored object the placing of the largest possible quantities of commodities in the United States, known everywhere as the greatest and richest market in the world. The fact that ocean transportation is so largely controlled by foreign interests makes it easy for such interests to increase the shipment of foreign commodities to our shores. Besides, it is practically certain that after the war is over the Teutonic allies will find new barriers and difficulties in the way of their goods entering the markets controlled by the entente allies; also that goods produced by the entente allies will be shut out as much as possible from markets controlled by the Teutonic allies. Hence the goods of each of these great groups of allies, meeting new barriers in former markets, will seek particularly the easily accessible and easily entered market of the United States. This is the situation which our productive industries in the United States must face, and which they are now beginning to realize that they are facing, and they will understand it more clearly as time goes on. A number of our leaders of industry are now seriously examining this situation to determine the rearrangements that will be enforced thereby upon their plans for future production.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY FAILS TO MEET THE CRISIS.

In this crisis for American industry the Democratic Party, obstinately adhering to its free-trade theory and indifferent to every consideration affecting our progress under the new con-

ditions, pursues a policy of twofold injury to the national welfare. On the one hand protective tariff rates are denied and on the other hand a heavy tax on profits is imposed. This tax is on the profits or earnings of our industry and enterprise. Instead of encouraging these indispensable factors of national prosperity by a tariff that would give home industry and home enterprise a reasonable advantage in the home market, in recognition of our higher standard of living and higher costs of production, a positive burden of great severity is imposed upon the home industries deliberately left exposed to all the dangers of an extraordinary foreign-trade competition in this home market and elsewhere.

THE FREE-TRADE THEORY DISCARDED BY OTHER NATIONS.

The theory of free trade among nations has not been accepted throughout the world, as its adherents imagined for many years that it would be. It has been found impracticable as a working policy, and Great Britain alone, among all the great nations, has maintained a free-trade policy in recent years. As is well known, it is simply the remarkable insular position of Great Britain and the small area and very limited natural resources of the British Islands—a situation not found with any other great nation—which have made it possible and desirable for that country to maintain the policy of free trade until now. But now it is beginning to appear that the conditions after the war and the trade policy to be adopted with reference to the Teutonic allies will probably impel great Britain to abandon her free-trade policy and enact a tariff system that will discourage imports into that country or into any British colony except such imports as originate within the British Empire. There seems to be a growing British sentiment for such a policy, which would help to meet fiscal requirements and assist the development of British colonies to contribute to the repair of the ravages of war.

GENERAL INCREASE OF TARIFFS AFTER THE WAR.

It is clear also that there will be a general increase of tariffs in European and other countries, and in this period of the almost universal use of tariffs by other countries, for revenue and for protective purposes, it is a great misfortune that our country is compelled to endure the Democratic policy of sacrificing the tariff system as a means of securing revenue and protection and of piling upon our people burdens that in other countries have not been imposed except when compelled by the necessities arising from actual participation in an exhausting war.

NO JUSTIFICATION FOR THE PROPOSED HEAVY TAX ON PROFITS.

The war—in which we are not engaged and need not be engaged—is not a sufficient justification for the proposed heavy tax on profits in this country. The need for preparedness is not a sufficient justification. Preparedness has been neglected in a shameful way by the Democratic administration, which was in office when the European war began in 1914, and which could readily have set about the gradual increase in our military and naval strength which common prudence would indicate. It is important, of course, to repair as promptly as possible the neglect of former years, and such repair must be paid for, but it can and should be paid for by a rational policy of strict economy, with elimination of unnecessary expenditures dictated by partisan favoritism for certain projects and certain localities, and the raising of the revenue really necessary by approved and successful methods which do not impair industrial efficiency. It is well recognized by the best intelligence of the country that our industrial efficiency is industrial preparedness, which is fundamentally the most important preparedness, for war as well as for peace.

A PENALTY ON PROFITS IS AN IMPAIRMENT OF WORKING CAPITAL.

Considered from the standpoint of economic truth, there is no such thing as an "excess" of profits. The profits of business enterprise, when they exceed the amount necessary to merely maintain and continue that enterprise, form the working capital for the extension of business operations and the creation of new enterprises. Such surplus profits are constantly needed for the progress and development of all of our industry—that is, for the welfare and advancement of the country. The industries of a nation can not stand still; they must either go forward or backward. To impose heavy burdens upon the capital of advancement, to take too much from the funds which make it up and to put penalties upon and discourage the earning of such funds, is to impede progress and to inflict lasting injury upon the country. We may take it for granted that the farsighted statesmen of the foreign countries now at war will at the end of the war proceed as rapidly as possible to put an end to high taxes on profits. They will conserve and encourage profits as a necessary part of their policy of upbuilding and strengthening their countries in industry and commerce.

UNFAIR COMPETITION ENFORCED UPON OUR PEOPLE.

While this wise and constructive policy of increasing tariffs and helping rather than burdening the development of productive enterprise will be followed by the rest of the world, in connection with which they will be pouring their commodities in enormous quantities into the American market, paying practically nothing for entrance fees, our Government will be going on in its dangerous policy of leaving our productive enterprise exposed to the fullest severity of competition from everywhere, in the home market as well as abroad, and at the same time piling up taxes upon taxes on the profits of our domestic enterprise. This is ruthlessly taking away these profits, step by step, from those who have fairly earned them. If such a policy continues, how can our American producers compete successfully in the home market? How can American industry escape depression and decline?

A SECTIONAL AND NOT A NATIONAL POLICY.

It has been made clear already in the course of the revenue legislation enacted by the Democratic Party that the Democratic policy of to-day is not concerned so much with advancing the general and real welfare of all the people of the country as it is with favoring in a special way the people of one part of the country at the expense of all the rest of the people. This sectional favoritism—for it is nothing less—is shown in the existing Democratic tariff, wherein a number of agricultural products of the Southern States are given protective rates of duty such as are denied to farm products of the Northern and Western States.

The same policy is shown in the determination and persistence with which the Democratic Party has at every opportunity increased the taxes on incomes and profits of business enterprise. With the exemptions which the Democratic Congress has granted in such measures, this tax legislation, and especially the additional tax on profits now proposed, constitute heavy taxation which is aimed especially at the Northern and Eastern States. It has been pointed out already that the income tax, with its exemptions, is paid principally by the people of the Northern and Eastern States, while a great deal of the money raised is expended in special projects, with much attending extravagance and waste, which are of advantage principally to the people of the Southern States.

This same sectional favoritism is repeated and intensified in the proposed heavy tax on profits. It is taking more tribute from the same Northern and Eastern States and sparing the Southern States from the payment of their just share. It is not genuine uniformity in taxation. It is the culmination of a narrow and unwise policy that has now gone too far and which will not be approved by the deliberate and best judgment of the country.

The Pacific Halibut Dispute.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 31, 1917.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Speaker, under the authority granted me by the House, I extend my remarks by reprinting an article from the January, 1917, number of the Alaskan Colonist, published in Seattle, Wash.

This article refers to the contest which has been waged for over a year for the fresh-fish trade of the Pacific.

The contest involves the rival activities of the port of Ketchikan, Alaska, the port of Prince Rupert, British Columbia, and the port of Seattle, Wash.

The Senate last year adopted an amendment to the revenue bill discriminating against the British Columbian port. I opposed that amendment, and finally it failed in conference.

My interest in the matter lies in the fact that the Atlantic deep-sea fisheries center in Gloucester, Mass., in the district which I represent. After years of bickering we have reached a tolerable understanding with Canada and Newfoundland, and we hope very much that this understanding may not be imperiled by the quarreling of rival Pacific ports. The Alaska Colonist is published at 83 Pike Street, Seattle, Wash. On its editorial page it states that it is "A monthly publication devoted to colonization, rational government, and business freedom

in the Territory of Alaska." Here is the article to which I invite attention:

[From the Alaska Colonist, Seattle, January, 1917.]

THE HALIBUT FIGHT—SEATTLE VERSUS RUPERT—ALASKA'S VIEW OF DISPUTE—MISREPRESENTATION OF ALASKA'S INTERESTS CARRIED ON BY ALIEN CORPORATIONS WITH THE AID OF LOBBYISTS AND PRESS AGENTS.

HOW IT ORIGINATED.

On the 9th of March, 1915, the Canadian Government published an order in council granting to fishing vessels of United States register the privilege of landing Alaskan fish at Prince Rupert duty free for transshipment in bond to United States markets. Since freight rates to eastern markets are practically the same from Prince Rupert and Seattle, the former can afford to pay substantially the same price as Seattle for Alaskan fish and thus in competing for the market has the insuperable advantage over Seattle of being 600 miles nearer the fishing grounds. As a natural consequence the business of receiving and distributing Alaskan fish has to a large extent gravitated to Prince Rupert.

PARTIES INTERESTED IN THE TRANSITION.

And how are the various parties in interest affected by the readjustment? The consumer is saying nothing; his prices are not affected, for they are always as high as the traffic will stand, limited only by the prices of substitute food products. Moreover, he derives an advantage from wider and more expeditious distribution. Genuine Alaskan interests are not complaining, for even a child can see that if a halibut boat lands its fish in Seattle it will spend its money in Seattle, while if it sells at Prince Rupert it will spend its money, to a large extent, in Ketchikan and other Alaskan ports; that the fisherman has better prices and more money to spend than before; and that the opening of the Grand Trunk Pacific gives Ketchikan or some other point near the boundary the opportunity of succeeding Seattle as a market for Alaskan fish whenever it can free itself from the present unfair restraints of trade. Canadian interests are reaping the merited advantage of a shorter trade route and freedom of trade. And the producer, the fisherman! Why, for him Prince Rupert competition has been a veritable godsend. For the first time in history he enjoys a reasonable approach to fair prices and fair treatment. While Seattle had a monopoly of the market he was accustomed to being skinned to the limit by manipulation of prices and cheating in weights and grades. To-day, thanks to Prince Rupert, Seattle fish buyers are making a painful but healthful acquaintance with fair competition. See quotations of prices paid to halibut fishermen before and after Prince Rupert's entry into the market. They tell their own story.

WHOSE OX IS GORED?

Then, whose ox is gored? Who is responsible for all this clamor? Who is raising this murky cloud of false pretense, half truths and whole lies to mislead the public? Who is spending good money on press agents and lobbyists? Doesn't it look like the slimy reptilian work of our old familiar enemy the octopus? Is there any escape from the conviction that certain arms of the reptile as the Fish Trust and the Alaskan Steamship Trust are responsible for the agitation that is being maintained? Only interests that are hostile to the free development of Alaskan business are seeking to bar American fishermen from Prince Rupert.

KETCHIKAN BUSINESS.

And what is Ketchikan's part in this controversy? Ketchikan is the cat's-paw, the basis of a false pretense. In a business sense Ketchikan is merely a depot, branch, or substation of Seattle. Ketchikan affairs are and have always been controlled by agents of alien corporations to the advantage of those corporations and against the interests of town and Territory. Ketchikan is 90 miles nearer the fishing grounds than Prince Rupert, and the cost of handling fish over this 90 miles should not exceed one-half cent per pound. But if Ketchikan should pay within a half cent of the Rupert price she would get all the fish. Why does she not do it? Let anyone exercise his horse sense and he can see why. Seattle is doing the buying at Ketchikan, and whatever Ketchikan gains as a receiving and distributing point for Alaska Seattle must lose. If the Federal Government can be constrained to keep its hands off the matter Ketchikan or some other point near the boundary that offers freer business conditions is bound to win out.

WHO IS H. C. STRONG?

Since the beginning of the controversy one H. C. Strong, nominal Ketchikan citizen and pseduo-Alaskan, has spent practically all his time on a campaign of false pretenses in Washington having for its aim the exclusion of American fishermen from Prince Rupert. And who is this H. C. Strong who is thus acquiring newspaper fame? Mr. Strong came to Alaska many years ago as the agent of alien capital and has been the agent of alien capital ever since. He is at present agent of Seattle capital in various minor enterprises, of Standard Oil, the Dupont Powder Co., and of the Alaska Steamship Trust. If he is principal in any business whatever his fellow townsmen have not discovered the fact. Now, who is paying Mr. Strong's expenses as lobbyist? Is it Ketchikan? The idea is laughable. Bona fide Ketchikan business is too poor to keep a lobbyist in Washington 15 minutes. A man with Mr. Strong's associations can not possibly do otherwise than work for the element that is jealously restricting Alaska's free development for its own selfish ends.

"THE PROPOSED LAW."

To nullify the advantage Alaska should gain through the completion of the new trade route of the Grand Trunk Pacific and the freedom of the port of Prince Rupert, hostile interests seek the enactment of the following measure:

"Be it enacted, etc., That from and after 90 days after the passage of this act no fresh or frozen halibut or salmon from the North Pacific Ocean or its tributary waters shall be admitted into the United States through any foreign country except when the same shall be in bond from an American port."

And what does it mean?

It means: "Repudiate the principle of freedom of trade, yield to the artificial clamor of hired lobbyists and a reptile press, suppress competition, and give the American fisherman back into the hands of a combination of buyers to be skinned as in the good old days, strangle the small measure of commercial freedom Alaska has derived from a Canadian concession, drive trade out of its natural channel, provoke Canadian recriminations and invite international complications." And all for what end? Why, to help out the poor Guggenheim interests and their allies, to be sure, and incidentally to perpetuate the bonds by which big business keeps Alaska impoverished and thus restricts its settlement and industrial expansion.

THE WASHINGTON ATTITUDE.

The Washington attitude seems to be about as follows: "Why should we give any heed what Alaskans want? They have no votes to club us with nor money to buy us." From all we can learn, it appears the infamous measure cited above would have gone through without a question but for the opposition of the New England Fish Co., which feared Canadian recriminations would injure its international business.

We have used harsh language in speaking of the Federal authorities, for it is hard to believe that Cabinet members, Senators, and Representatives are acting in good faith with us, that they are not intelligent enough to perceive the facts of the situation and the nature of the interests behind this bill. Let it be remembered that it was the Federal Government that sent a district judge to Nome to lend his official aid to the robbery of the placer miners, that is jockeying the homesteader and dishonoring its obligations to him, and that blackmails the pioneer under cover of a forest-reserve bureaucracy. If Alaskans were so disposed they could draw up a list of grievances that would make the Declaration of Independence ashamed of itself. A desperate effort is being made this winter to pass the above bill. Will Congress yield? Heaven only knows; but if it does the Colonist will do its best to make the significance of its action plain to the American public.

Immigration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. MORIN,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 31, 1917.

Mr. MORIN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a copy of the resolution of the Civic Club of Allegheny County, Pa., which contains an article that appeared in the Pittsburgh Post of December 8, 1916, relative to the Americanization work in which Pittsburgh has long been a leader. The question of immigration is one that is engrossing the attention of all at the present time, and any movement that will enable those who come to us from foreign lands to gain an education that will make of them desirable citizens is worthy of the highest words of commendation and praise.

Resolution of the Civic Club of Allegheny County, Pa.

Whereas the Civic Club of Allegheny County, Pa., is deeply conscious of the great need of imparting a reading and speaking knowledge of the English language, as well as a general knowledge of the history and political institutions of the country, to the many aliens in the rapidly increasing communities or settlements of foreigners in the United States, particularly Allegheny County; and

Whereas the following editorial appeared December 8, 1916, in the Pittsburgh Post, which summarizes the utterances of many other newspapers, commanding the efforts of the Bureau of Naturalization working in cooperation with the local public-school authorities in raising the standard of citizenship by educating the prospective candidates for naturalization:

"The helpful attitude of Americans toward immigrants desiring to become citizens is illustrated in the annual report of the Commissioner of the Bureau of Naturalization, which is a part of the Federal Department of Labor. While everyone has heard of instances where certain Americans have imposed upon immigrants, and, on the other hand, of where certain aliens have shown traits of the undesirable, it is recognized that, in the main, there is a strong disposition on both sides to cooperate on wholesome lines wherever possible. It is this mutual good will that the Commissioner of Naturalization describes. It will be recalled that last year officers of the public schools were asked by the Naturalization Bureau to join a nation-wide Americanization movement—to help immigrants qualify upon a higher standard of admission to American citizenship. The bureau proposed that it send the names of candidates for citizenship to the public schools, and that the latter afford them and their wives instruction in American ways, particularly in questions of citizenship and government. Nearly 900 cities and towns have joined the movement, opening their schools to classes of immigrants. The Bureau of Naturalization is sending letters to the applicants for naturalization, urging them and their wives to go to the schools for instruction, learn English as fast as they can, and generally adapt themselves to American ways. Many thousands of the aliens are prompt to grasp the opportunity, and it is believed that as the information of the system spreads the great majority will avail themselves of the instruction.

"Pittsburgh has long been a leader in Americanization work. For years its evening schools have been giving instruction to aliens, and they were prompt to cooperate with the Naturalization Bureau. Nothing emphasizes the American spirit of helpfulness as this free instruction afforded for the aliens. True, the country gains by it through making the newcomers better citizens, but the enthusiasm of the work shows that much of it is due just to the spirit of helpfulness." Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Civic Club of Allegheny County indorses the sentiment expressed in the above editorial and commends the efforts of the joint activities of the Bureau of Naturalization and the public-school authorities in the several communities in the endeavor to prepare the aliens for citizenship; and be it further

Resolved, That the Civic Club of Allegheny County take special cognizance of the above-mentioned needs of the alien communities, and make special efforts to extend its influence in the highly important work, and further the hope is expressed that Congress will authorize the exer-

tion of still further efforts in this line on the part of the Federal Government; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary be directed to forward copies of this resolution to the United States Senators from Pennsylvania and the Members of Congress from the districts of Allegheny County.

For the CIVIC CLUB OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY,
H. M. DENNITT, *Secretary*.

JANUARY 29, 1917.

The Chemical Industries of the United States and Their Relation to National Preparedness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EBENEZER J. HILL,
OF CONNECTICUT,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 31, 1917.

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to print granted me today, the House having under consideration H. R. 20573, a bill entitled "A bill to provide increased revenue, to defray the expenses for the increased appropriations for the Army and Navy and the extension of fortifications, and for other purposes," I submit the following, it being an article from the Journal of Industrial and Engineering Chemistry, prepared by C. A. Browne, and including the "First report upon the chemical industries of the United States and their relation to national preparedness":

[Reprinted from the Journal of Industrial and Engineering Chemistry, vol. 9, No. 2, page 177. February, 1917.]

THE FIRST REPORT UPON THE CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES OF THE UNITED STATES AND THEIR RELATION TO NATIONAL PREPAREDNESS.

[By C. A. Browne. Received December 20, 1916.]

To those who have studied the historical development of chemical industries in the United States the recent discussions and papers upon Industrial preparedness, Chemical statistics, Tariff legislation, etc., that have appeared in this Journal have a strangely familiar sound. The situation which confronts the manufacturer of chemicals in the United States to-day is not a new one, and the present endeavors to make a statistical estimate of the needs of our chemical industries are not the first efforts which have been made in this direction. History has, at times, a strange method of repeating itself. If we of to-day could only transport ourselves to the United States of a century ago we might hear, then, as now, the same fears expressed concerning mushroom prosperity and unpreparedness; we might listen to the same arguments in favor of antidumping laws; and we might read the same resolutions proposed by committees who had met in convention to investigate the industrial situation.

The efforts of our great grandsires to solve a condition of affairs so similar to that of the present is not only interesting but instructive. The first business of the ancient Romans, when they met in conclave, was to determine the consulta patrum; we can do no better than follow their example.

GENERAL INDUSTRIAL CONVENTION HELD IN 1831.

On October 26, 1831, there met in New York City a general convention of the friends of domestic industry, consisting of about 500 delegates from 13 different States. These delegates, who represented all the leading industries of that time, divided themselves into a number of committees, whose work was to prepare a series of reports upon iron and steel, salt, sugar and molasses, glass, chemicals, and other industries. These reports, which were widely distributed as separate pamphlets, were collected the following year into a single volume which was printed as a 200-page book at Baltimore in September, 1832.

This collection of reports is preceded by an appeal to the people of the United States and is followed by a memorial to Congress, in which the recommendations of the various committees are summarized. The volume is carefully edited and contains a vast amount of information, invaluable to historian and statistician. A few extracts from the introductory appeal will serve to illustrate the bearings of this early report upon present conditions.

"The events that followed the French Revolution gave a new and unexpected direction to the enterprise of our citizens. The disturbed state of the continent of Europe, and the prevalence of universal wars throughout the nations of that quarter of the globe, placed the United States in the position of the only neutral among many belligerents and so obviously opened the way to commercial wealth to our citizens that all other interests sank into insignificance compared with those which were concerned in pushing a foreign commerce into every region where the strife of the contending parties excluded the competition of the belligerents themselves and left to the United States the undisputed monopoly of trade. To this unfortunate conjuncture of circumstances is to be ascribed the most rapid growth that has ever been traced in the history of any empire."

This picture of snug prosperity is followed, however, by another picture which should make the present-day apostles of unpreparedness pause and reflect.

"It was one result of this state of things that, while our countrymen were intent upon gathering the harvest which the distracted condition of the world had strewn before them, they were unmindful of the future and neglected to treasure up the elements of strength and prosperity which lay hidden in the bosom of the Nation, and which, as they were independent of foreign legislation or external accidents, were most likely to furnish the means of a stable and enduring happiness.

"Troubles soon afterwards broke out at home. A war threatened and our citizens were suddenly called to meet a tremendous emergency. Our commerce was put in fetters by nonimportation acts and embargoes, and the crisis that succeeded found us without the most ordinary resources of an independent people. Our Armies went to the frontier clothed in the fabrics of the enemy; our munitions of war were gathered as chance supplied them from the four quarters of the earth; and the whole struggle was marked by the prodigality, waste, and privation of a thriftless nation, taken at unawares and challenged to a contest without the necessary armor of a combatant.

"When it pleased heaven to rescue us from the imminent hazards of this doubtful and disproportioned conflict, we saw around us a Nation of 8,000,000 of people possessed of a territory nearly equal to the Continent of Europe, rich in the ungathered resources of every kind of wealth—just emerging from a war of two years and a half with an enemy who had never assembled an army of more than 30,000 men—and yet deranged in all its channels of industry, exhausted, and on the verge of bankruptcy. Nothing but the most perverse neglect of the fundamental precepts connected with the proper administration of the concerns of a commonweaith could have produced such a result.

"These disasters opened our eyes to some important facts. They demonstrated to us the necessity of extending more efficient protection, at least, to those manufactures which were essential to the defence of the Nation."

The New York convention recognized the importance of chemistry to the manufacturers, "essential to the defense of the Nation," for we note upon their minutes for the third day of the meeting the following resolution:

"In convention, October 28, it was—

"*Resolved*, That a committee of five be appointed to report on the subject of chemistry as connected with the manufactures and the mechanic arts."

The chairman of the committee thus appointed was Isaac Tyson, jr., of Baltimore. The name Isaac Tyson (the firm of Howard Sims and Isaac Tyson began the manufacture of chemicals and paints in a laboratory on Pratt Street in Baltimore in 1816, just a century ago. They afterwards removed to Washington Avenue, where they engaged extensively in the manufacture of copperas, chromate of potash, chrome yellow, and other chromic pigments. The raw material for the latter consisted of chromate of iron obtained from Bare Hills, Md., and from Chester County, Pa. The importance of the chrome yellow industry is mentioned in the committee's report) is memorable in the early history of American chemistry, and Baltimore 100 years ago gave promise of becoming a great center in this branch of industrial activity. It is worth a passing note that there were 24 delegates from Baltimore at the New York convention and only 6 from Pittsburgh. The associates of Isaac Tyson upon the chemistry committee were Christian Keener, another Baltimorean; William Permenter, of East Cambridge, Mass.; Edward Roberts, of Philadelphia; and Thomas Bakewell, of Pittsburgh.

The report of the above committee is the first definite statement of any importance regarding the condition of the chemical industries in the United States. As it is inaccessible to most members of the American Chemical Society, the original report is here given in full:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CHEMISTRY, GENERAL CONVENTION FRIENDS OF DOMESTIC INDUSTRY, NEW YORK, OCTOBER 26, 1831.

"The committee, in discharge of the duties assigned them, report that chemistry as connected with the business of life may be considered a modern science. Its early history gives it rather the character of an occult art, associated with the visionary theories of the alchemist. And for a long period it was signalized neither by usefulness nor by dignity. Finally, however, the improved state of society and the progress of civilization excited the genius of a few, who, by a series of brilliant discoveries, astonished the world; and, by the application of these to manufactures and the arts, administered to the comfort and the necessities of mankind. Though long taught in the schools as a science, it is only a short period since the United States were dependent on foreign countries for every article in this interesting and important department of manufactures.

"Intimately connected with science and the healing art and essential to other manufactures, chemistry received very little or no attention from the enterprise and skill of our country until the late war. That event suddenly cut off the usual supplies from foreign countries. The consequent advance in price was excessive and the inconvenience sustained by that class of manufacturers who consumed chemicals incalculable. This state of things gave the first impulse to chemistry in our country.

"The return of peace, however, brought foreign competition, which soon threatened to extinguish the infant and yet inexperienced establishments which had crept into existence during the war. The large importations which at that period inundated the country caused a reduction in prices, alike ruinous to the importer and his competitor, the American manufacturer.

"This depression, however, would have been but temporary had there been no interference on the part of the Government. The foreigner would have prevailed in the contest, and, the market becoming his, the prices would have been in accordance with his own remorseless interests.

"Happily for the Nation, and more particularly for that numerous laboring class who are dependent on chemical manipulations, and the agriculturists, who find in this class a customer instead of a rival, happily also for the other classes of manufacturers which owe their existence to chemistry, the tariff act of 1824 placed the seal upon the policy of the Nation. By this act, and not until after its passage, was the manufacture of chemicals established in the United States.

"Until it became the policy of the Nation to encourage a domestic supply of chemicals prices were constantly fluctuating—were generally high, and oftentimes seized upon for purposes of speculation, to the great injury of consumers. Domestic competition has caused prices to settle at a minimum rate. The manufacturer is now so near the consumer that his wants are anticipated and scarcity is unknown, because the raw material, being unlimited in quanity, and individual enterprise commensurate with it, the demand is seldom allowed to overtake the supply. When alum was an article for import the price was generally $7.50 per hundredweight. During the late war it rose to 18 cents per pound. The price at present is about 3¾ cents per pound.

"Copperas was subject to greater fluctuations, varying with the vacillating policy of the importer or the foreign manufacturer or the contrivance of the speculator. The price was often $7 per hundredweight, and sometimes below the cost of importation. During the war it advanced to 17 cents per pound. It now sells for 2¼ cents per pound.

"Epsom salts, which is one of the leading items in the chemical department, is an offspring of the tariff of 1824. And what is the result of this parental relation? A mineral which had remained for ages unnoticed and even unknown was dug from hills previously considered barren and valueless and, by an admirable process of chemistry, con-

verted into magnesia and Epsom salts of a quality superior to the foreign. But the effect of a protective system is more clearly shown by the following list of prices of Epsom salts at the different periods before and after the duty of 4 cents per pound was imposed by the tariff of 1824:

Price per pound.	Cents.
1820	11–12
1823	7¼
1824	10
1826	7½
1831	3½

"Those who seriously contend that the duty on foreign merchandise is a tax on the consumer to the full amount of that duty, will here find a case difficult to reconcile with their theory, the present price of Epsom salts being 3½, while the duty is 4 cents per pound. Nor is this all—the improved manufacture and reduced price of Epsom salts (one of the numbers of the London Mechanics' Magazine for 1828, said: 'The United States, which used to be furnished with Epsom salts from this country, now have the whole supply from a manufactory established in Baltimore—making a purer salt than in Europe, and at much less price.') has very nearly excluded the use of the coarse and nauseous article, Glauber salts, of which latter only a small quantity is at present made and consumed.

"The usual price of refined saltpeter was about 13 cents per pound before the tariff of 1824, when a duty of 3 cents per pound was laid upon the foreign manufacture, which is its present price. The Treasury tables for 1830 show that only $80 worth of it was imported.

"Sulphuric acid was worth 7 cents per pound previous to 1824—since only 3 and 4 cents.

"The sulphate of quinine, when first manufactured, sold at an enormously high price; and its value in France was said to be $2,000,000 per year. In 1828 it was worth from $7 to $8 per ounce, and its manufacture was soon after commenced in the United States. At the close of 1831 it was selling in Baltimore for $1.50 per ounce, but has latterly advanced to $2.75, because of the increased cost of the material out of which it is made.

"Many other articles show a similar result, but the cases cited will sufficiently illustrate the principle contended for. It may be safely stated that the general price of chemical articles is one-half less than it was before the establishment of their manufacture by the protecting tariff of 1824. Hence it would appear that $1,000,000 per annum have been saved to present consumers in the United States, by this new application of domestic industry, talent, and capital; besides the employment and subsistence of a large number of persons, variously engaged in the laboratories, or furnishing materials; and the chief part of the latter would have remained, as they had been for ages, valueless—but on the account of the encouragement and protection afforded.

"The large consumption caused by the growing wants of our country, if dependent on the laboratories of Europe, would have either enhanced prices or have justified the maintenance of former rates—for, until the business was undertaken in this country, the foreign manufacturers seem not to have discovered how cheaply they could work.

"The intimate connection between chemistry and the arts of dyeing, bleaching, and calico printing, and their mutual dependence on each other, need not here be insisted on. The importance of the former can not be duly estimated without taking into view the various interests into which it diffuses itself.

"The protection offered to several chemicals has not only reduced prices, but almost entirely excluded the foreign articles. Indeed, as to alum and copperas, the exclusion seems complete—for the Treasury tables of 1830 do not show that one pound of either was imported. The prices of many chemical articles are as low in this country as in Europe; but, nevertheless, your committee are of the opinion that it would be unwise to repeal the existing duties, because experience indicates that the foreign competitor, from a disposition to get rid of his surplus stock, and with the less creditable design of strangling the growing establishments which have deprived him of a market, will crowd his productions upon us, regardless of the calculations which usually govern trade—enduring the present loss with the hope of distant gain, which is to be the fruits of victory obtained in prostrating his rival.

"The chemist asks to be protected from such an enemy. Your committee might further illustrate the principles they contend for by a more detailed examination of the department referred to them; but in so doing they would extend this report to an unreasonable length and multiply arguments on a question which, fortunately for the country, is already settled.

"Besides the articles previously noticed, the chemical establishments of this country manufacture calomel and various other mercurial preparations, Glauber salts, Rochelle salts, tartar emetic, ammonia, sulphate of quinine, oil of vitriol, tartaric acid, aqua fortis, Prussian blue, chrome yellow, chrome green, nitric acid, muriatic acid, barilla, oxalic acid, chloride of lime, chloride of soda, refined saltpeter, refined borax, refined camphor, acetic acid, acetate of lead, nitrate of lead, prussiate of potash, bichromate of potash—and the endless developments of the science of chemistry are almost daily adding to the list.

"It is a highly interesting fact that nearly all the materials used in chemical establishments are the produce of our country. Brimstone, saltpeter, quicksilver, cream tartar, and Peruvian bark are the only material exceptions; and it happens that our competitors in manufacturing chemistry are without domestic resources for these same excepted materials. Both draw their supplies from the same sources. Nor is the fact less interesting that the articles used in chemical factories, other than the exceptions just alluded to, are generally of a character useless and sometimes loathsome.

"Clay is used in the manufacture of alum; iron ore and pyrites for copperas; a magnesian mineral for magnesia and Epsom salts; copper ore, old copper, and the scales which occur in the manufacture of copper, for blue vitriol. The blood which flows from the slaughter-house, the horn shavings which are swept from the combmaker's shop, and the trimmings and scraps of leather, which would otherwise encumber the currier, are all converted into Prussian blue, the prussiate of potash, and ammonia.

"Even the atmosphere we breathe is made subservient to the cause, and is converted into merchandise by its combination with brimstone, in the formation of oil of vitriol and other chemicals.

"Your committee, believing that a more particular allusion to a few facts may be useful in causing the subject of chemistry to be appreciated, take the occasion to state that chrome yellow, as a pigment in common use, may be said to be the result of American chemistry. It was originally discovered native in the Uralian Mountains, and sold for its weight in gold. It was first made artificially in France, by Vauquelin, from the chromate of iron, discovered in small quantities in the Department of Var, in 1797. The chromate of iron having been discovered in considerable quantities near Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, extensive works were erected for manufacturing it into chrome yellow. The price was first $3 per pound, but domestic competition and improvements in the process have caused a gradual decline to 35 cents per pound.

"Some years ago the chemists of the United States exported chrome yellow to England, and, for a short time, fancied that a valuable market was opened to them, for the British tariff had not provided for this new article. But the British manufacturer, finding his protection thus encroached on, applied to the board of trade for relief, and an order in council was immediately passed, subjecting foreign chrome yellow to a duty so high as to be prohibitory. An act of Parliament was too tedious a process to give relief to a British manufacturer, subject to the competition of an American manufacturer. "Free trade" was no more the policy of England then than it is her practice now.

"A further evidence of the great resources of this country, as developed by chemistry, is found in the existence of vast masses of alum and copperas ore on the Chesapeake Bay, near Baltimore. In searching for bituminous coal, of which there are strong indications, this mineral was brought to light. It consists of partially decomposed vegetable matter, with clay and sand and iron pyrites distributed through the mass, and the whole covered with a bed of iron pyrites. This mineral, dug and exposed to the atmosphere, undergoes a spontaneous combustion, and gives rise to the formation of sulphate of alumina and iron, which, lixiviated, requires only evaporation and crystallization. Preparations are now being made in Baltimore for manufacturing, from this mineral, alum and copperas to an extent fully adequate to the wants of the community.

"Beds of iron pyrites also exist of great extent in the towns of Strafford and Shrewsbury, Vt., from which the country east of the Allegheny Mountains has been principally supplied with copperas for many years. They are worked by two incorporated companies, manufacture 2,500,000 pounds per annum; employ 75 men, consume 3,000 cords of wood, pay for transportation by wagons, canal, river craft, and coasting vessels, $20,000—using considerable quantities of lead, iron, and gunpowder.

"In the neighborhood of Liberty, in Frederick County, Md., there exists a copper ore, which, besides being adapted to yielding metallic copper, is, by a slight chemical treatment, converted into blue vitriol.

"But it would swell this report beyond its proper limits were your committee to give in detail the history and resources of the manufactures of this country. They are able to enumerate 30 chemical establishments in the United States. The capital invested in these concerns, according to the best estimate that can be made, is $1,158,000. The value of the articles produced may safely be put down at $1,000,000, the number of hands employed at 900, and the number dependent on them for support 4,000. Nearly the whole value of chemicals is paid in labor and fuel, the cost of most of the materials used being inconsiderable.

"Pot and pearl ashes enter into the composition of many chemicals, giving a home market for a large quantity of the product of the forest.

"Almost every chemical process requires the aid of heat. Immense quantities of fuel are consequently consumed in the laboratories. One establishment in Baltimore requires 4,000 cords of wood per annum, besides considerable quantities of anthracite and bituminous coal. The total value of fuel consumed in chemical operations in this country is estimated at $120,000. The benefit accruing to the landed interest, by reason of this great demand on the forests and the mines, and the employment given to the laboring class in cutting the wood and mining the coal, and in transporting both to these new markets, can not but be appreciated by all reflecting persons.

"The smelters of the lead of our own mines in the far West here find an important ally. Large quantities of this metal are used in the construction of chemical works, and some is consumed in the manipulations. But your committee forbear to trespass upon the duties of the committee appointed on lead and its manufactures.

"Your committee have no accurate data by which they can learn the quantity of tonnage employed in transporting the materials used and the chemicals manufactured from them.

"The sulphur from the volcanic mountains of ancient Sicily, the quicksilver from Spain, the saltpeter from the East Indies, and the Peruvian bark from South America form considerable items in our foreign trade, and give no small employment to the shipping interest. But it is the coasting trade that receives the chief benefit.

"The chemical establishments are few, compared with the number of their customers, and their goods are consequently distributed along the whole line of our coast.

"Should any change be made in the existing tariff, your committee suggest some amendments which the new developments of the science have made necessary.

"Sulphate of quinine is manufactured from the Peruvian bark, and promotes the important trade with the Pacific. The consumption in the United States is, in part, supplied by the chemists of France, the duty being only 15 per cent. If the duty on sulphate of quinine were increased and the bark from which it is extracted admitted free of any duty, the entire consumption would be derived from our own laboratories, and the increased trade with Peru would greatly benefit the commercial interest. Instead of importing the quinine in its small bulk, not appreciable as a freight, and by a short voyage, and from a country that excludes almost everything American, cotton excepted, we would, on the other hand, receive from distant Peru the more bulky bark, paying for it in household furniture and various other American manufactures, and even in the quinine itself, extracted from the material.

"Saltpeter is one of the most costly articles used by the manufacturing chemist. Small quantities of very inferior quality are found in the limestone caves of the Western States; but the crude material is limited, and the refining process costly, therefore few are disposed to engage in that business, and these few on a very small scale. There is no interest in this country to be benefited by a duty on saltpeter.

"Your committee are of the opinion that the following articles might safely be admitted free of duty. Some of them, if not strictly within the sphere of the present inquiry, indirectly belong to it: Peruvian bark, crude saltpeter, nitrate of soda, quicksilver, crude borax, crude camphor, cream tartar, galls, gum arabic, gum senegal, gum copal, gum tragacanth, gum shellac, platina, caoutchouc.

"The time and the occasion are suitable to suggest that many foreign chemicals are only charged with the small duty levied on articles not enumerated in the tariff. Such of them as interfere with the establishments of this country, or such as would be produced with a suitable patronage from the Government, ought to bear a heavier duty, and such as are not adapted to our climate or resources might be declared free of duty.

"And, as there is always a strong temptation, by distinguishing them under a name not found in the law, in order to bring them under the ad valorem duty of 15 per cent (that being the duty of nonenumerated articles), it would be expedient to make all nonenumerated chemicals subject to a much heavier duty. Every article would then come in review before the country, and each would be either made free of duty, or be assigned to its proper place in the scale. And specific duties, the committee think, should be always preferred to the ad valorem if practicable.

"Having already named the articles which may, without interfering with any domestic manufacturing interest, be exempted from all duty on their importation, it now becomes proper to furnish a list of such as require further legislation, to relieve the country from an unnecessary dependence on foreigners, as follows: Sulfate of quinine, carbonate of magnesia, sugar of lead, nitrate of lead, acetate of iron, roll brimstone, all the preparations of mercury, sal ammoniac, Rochelle salts, soda, solutions of tin, verdegris, tartar emetic, chromate of potash, bichromate of potash, chloride of lime, chloride of soda, tartaric acid, chrome yellow, Prussian blue, prussiate of potash, barilla, soda, carbonate of soda, magnesia.

"If Congress should determine to abolish the duties on imported articles not coming into competition with similar articles made or produced within the United States, the labor of the officers of the customs would be much diminished; and it is respectfully suggested, whether the contemplated law ought not to require these officers to keep a particular and separate account, accessible to the public, at each customhouse, of the quantity and value of all merchandise imported, whether free of duty or subject to specific or ad valorem duties? The statistical information thus obtained would be of great importance to the manufacturing chemist, as well as to every other class of persons. The law might, with great propriety, also provide for a more prompt diffusion of the information thus obtained. Statistical facts are valuable in proportion to the promptness with which they are known. When delayed they are more a matter of curiosity than of practical usefulness.

"A well-organized system of statistics would not only be a guide to the statesman, enabling him to legislate on the intricate subject of trade understandingly, but it would inform the merchant on the important matter of consumption and supply, and save him from the many errors into which he is liable to be led, by reason of his unavoidable ignorance in this particular. Such intelligence often and promptly communicated would, in a great measure, prevent the occurrence of that scarcity and consequent enhancement of price, which so frequently takes the consumer by surprise, and, on the other hand, would guard against that excessive glut and consequent ruinous reduction of prices, which have done more to involve the enterprising merchant and injure the manufacturer than all the foreign competition that can be combined against them.

"On behalf of the committee.

"ISAAC TYSON, Jr., *Chairman.*"

The remarks which this report of the committee on chemistry makes upon the effects of foreign competition, the necessity of an adequate protective tariff, and the importance of a well-organized system of statistics are as applicable to-day as they were 85 years ago.

But the principal lessons to be drawn from this early report upon industrial preparedness are contained in the memorial which the Friends of Domestic Industry transmitted to Congress.

The thought that the only successful method of combating militarism is by means of an efficient industrialism is not lightly to be dismissed. In reflecting upon the downfall of Napoleon, the memorial asks the following momentous question:

"Has it not been a matter of common remark, since the close of the late wars, that it was not the artillery of Wellington and Blucher, nor even the noble enthusiasm of the youth of Germany, but the mightier machinery of the power loom and spinning jenny, the splendid miracles of Arkwright and Cartwright, that sustained the cause of the alliance in all the fields of Europe for 25 years in succession, and finally overthrew the greatest military empire that ever existed?"

The dangers which threaten domestic industries at the conclusion of a foreign war can be illustrated no better than by the following account of what happened in the United States after the Napoleonic wars:

"Everything goes on prosperously until the war comes to a close. Within a few months after our markets are inundated with British goods, cheaper than we can make them of equal quality, and the manufacturers are, in their turn, involved in one common ruin. It is in this way that the fluctuations incident to these distant and uncertain exchanges reach successively all the great branches of industry. The results which your memorialists have thus described are not accidental, but the regular consequences of the state of things to which they are attributed, and must continue to recur from time to time wherever such a state of things exists."

In commenting to Congress upon the possibility of future occurrences of this kind, in which even the United States might be involved, the memorial sounds an admonition which is almost prophetic:

"At this moment the danger of such an occurrence appears to be again very imminent; but whatever may be the issue of the present crisis, it is at all events clearly the duty of an American statesman to suppose, and to act upon the supposition, that the country is continually liable to be drawn into war with any of the foreign powers with which we have relations. If, then, we look to these foreign powers for our regular supply of the ordinary comforts of life, what is to become of us during these periods of occasional hostilities, which may last 3 years or 30, as the quarrel happens to turn? By what miracle are we to find at a moment's warning resources, before unemployed, which will furnish us with substitutes for this supply? Are we to extemporize at the commencement of every war, as we did at that of the last, a set of manufacturers sufficient to meet the demand of 12, 15, or, looking forward only to the end of the next 5 and 20 years, 20,000,000 consumers, only to see them all shaken to their foundations by the return of peace, and sinking in one general ruin as they did before? Your memorialists can hardly imagine how an intelligent person can be so totally blind to the most obvious considerations of expediency as to counsel such a policy. They leave it with confidence to your honorable body to decide whether it be not the duty of a prudent Government to provide by every imaginable means against the recurrence of such widely spreading disasters; whether, were it even true, as it is not, that domestic manufactures would be in the end dearer than foreign ones, an annual pecuniary sacrifice of considerable extent made in this form would not be decidedly preferable, both on the score of interest and feeling, to supporting the incalculable losses and miseries of every kind produced by these convulsions."

With this final warning we must bring our citations from the Report of the Friends of Domestic Industry to a close. It would be interesting to quote more fully, but enough has been given to indicate the resemblance of conditions a century ago to those of to-day. In addition to the light which the report throws upon the early state of our chemical and other industries, it contains premonitions that are full of meaning, and conveys lessons that are set forth—

"With such a luster he that runs may read."

80 SOUTH STREET, *New York City.*

Revenue Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BENJAMIN C. HILLIARD,
OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 31, 1917.

Mr. HILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, it is far from pleasant to vote taxes in any form. I would save from burdens rather than visit them. The appropriations voted and in prospect make necessary the amount of revenue provided in the pending measure. No more equitable taxation bill being suggested, I find myself obliged to determine whether I shall support this bill or vote to deny to the Government the money which the Congress through other legislation has authorized. Thus stated, my duty is apparent.

There is much misapprehension in some quarters relative to the operation of the bill. It does not seem that serious complaint should be offered to a measure made necessary by the extraordinary preparedness bill of the Government and which operates only on excess profits. Every corporation or other entity to be affected will enjoy an exemption of $5,000, plus 8 per cent net earnings on its invested capital. Of any earnings above $5,000, plus 8 per cent net on invested capital, there will be levied an 8 per cent tax. Stated concretely, a corporation with $100,000 capital will first be allowed all manner of expense items, including taxes by whatever authority levied. Next will be deducted $5,000. To this sum will be added 8 per cent net earnings, or $8,000, making $13,000 of earnings. This is equivalent to a net profit of 13 per cent on the invested capital of $100,000. Supposing that the company actually makes $15,000 net. From this sum must be deducted $13,000 which the company is permitted to make before the law attaches. There would remain $2,000 of so-called excess profits. This measure would require the company to pay into the Government Treasury 8 per cent of $2,000, or $160. Not much of a burden, when analyzed.

Something further of my views is set forth in correspondence which I have had with a constituent of mine, Mr. Paul Hardy, of Denver, Colo., secretary of the Colorado Bankers' Association, and I conclude my remarks with reading the message of protest from that association against this bill and my reply:

[Telegram.]

DENVER, *January 29, 1917.*

Hon. B. C. HILLIARD, Congressman,
Washington, D. C.:

The Colorado Bankers' Association wish to enter their protest against the passage of the proposed amendment to the Federal internal-revenue act providing for a tax of 8 per cent on net incomes. This amendment is most unjust. We request that you use your best efforts to defeat this amendment.

COLORADO BANKERS' ASSOCIATION,
By J. M. B. PETRIKIN, *President,*
PAUL HARDY, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 30, 1917.*

Mr. PAUL HARDY,
Secretary Colorado Bankers' Association,
Denver, Colo.

MY DEAR MR. HARDY: In response to your telegram I have sent you the following wire:

"New tax 8 per cent not attach until earnings $5,000 plus 8 per cent net on capital invested. The revenue imperative for preparedness program. Tax on excess profits seems least burdensome. Would appreciate suggestion for more equitable plan."

I regret very much that additional revenue legislation has been made necessary. This bill would not be required now but for the appropriations for the Army, Navy, and fortifications, as they are estimated to exceed this year those of last year. It is also true that the revenue legislation in the first session of this Congress would not have been needed had it not been for the increased appropriations for the same purposes. In other words, but for the propaganda for the expenditure of hundreds of millions in a very short period far in excess of anything heretofore attempted by the Government the Underwood bill would have produced all the revenue required by the Government. I confess that I have not been in entire sympathy with the preparedness legislation, and I feel now that it is largely a waste of money and

results in visting unwarranted burdens on the people and business activities.

The great difficulty is that the propaganda is financed with unlimited millions by those engaged in the business of manufacturing munitions and shipbuilding. A fair analysis must convince any reasonable and thoughtful man that this combination has succeeded, first, in creating a sentiment for preparedness that can not be denied, and, second, the country in complying with the demand is forced to patronize these very interests at a time when, because of the foreign demand, the prices are the highest ever known.

The further astounding fact is that those interested in creating the sentiment out of which these vast appropriations and tax levies have come, in the same merciless way require the Government to sign contracts for warships, guns, and all sorts of material, but which they do not bind themselves to furnish for from two years to a longer time. Their excuse is that they are running to full capacity supplying contracts already made with foreign Governments. In short, they drive us to the belief that we need something at once which only they can furnish; require us to appropriate money and levy burdens in payment thereof at a time when the prices are the highest; and they postpone us delivery, while they fill the orders of other countries with the very engines of war with which we could be attacked, if we should reach the stage of misunderstanding which they profess to say is imminent.

In a word, the preparation consists almost altogether in awarding favorable contracts at present prices, to be filled when prices will have fallen, and when the demand from abroad no longer obtains.

With everything appointed to their liking in the foregoing these very munition magnates protest against an excess profit tax.

The representative of one of these companies urged to the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee that the charge against his company under the proposed law would amount to $500,000; "an outrageous tax," as he expressed it. Still his company would have $5,000 flat exemption, and then 8 per cent net profit on its invested capital, surplus earnings, and undivided profits, before the new law would attach. It is easy to perceive that if 8 per cent of the surplus net earnings would equal a half million dollars, the company would cover into its own treasury over and above all other items of expense and taxes, in addition to $5,000 and 8 per cent on its investment, the neat sum of eleven, plus, times a half million, or $5,500,000. Naturally we marvel at their nerve.

But no thoughtful man on reflection should be surprised. A combination that has been able, by and through a campaign costing millions to create a sentiment for preparedness to the tune of more than a billion of the people's money, to wring contracts at unconscionable prices, to be filled in the distant future, when its goods are no longer required in other countries, may well claim a proprietary interest in the Government and look with disfavor on any effort to levy a tax that would so much as touch a dollar of its profits.

Of course, I know that none of the banks in your association come within the category of munition factories. But the law must be made uniform, and whatever tax you may have to pay must be borne as your tribute to the ingenuity of the mighty private interests engaged in the most successful "drive" for profits since time began.

With some others I tried to make reasonable and modest protest against the program that has made necessary the tax of which you now complain. But when the fight was on where we could have prevented the necessity for added revenue, I did not receive a word of encouragement from you or any other of my friends engaged in the banking business. I am not complaining on that score, and I mention the fact only that you may appreciate how availing might your influence have been when Congress was reluctantly yielding to the power that finally overcame, and how now the most devoted defender against taxation is powerless to help.

Still I am reluctant to vote for the bill, for I find no pleasure in visiting burdens, even though they are to be borne by those able to pay. I regret it the more, I am frank to say, for while the manner of bringing it about is not now discernable, I fear the ingenuity of organized and invisible cunning will ultimately find a way to shift the load to Lincoln's "common people." One school of statesmen in Congress would place it upon the people at once by levying a tariff tax on the everyday necessities. My sole joy in the premises is that I can exercise a potent influence in preventing, for the present at least, an added increase to the cost of living of the struggling masses of my countrymen.

Yours, very truly, B. C. HILLIARD.

Immigration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. BENNET,
OF NEW YORK,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 1, 1917.

Mr. BENNET. Mr. Speaker, the debate on the President's veto having, against my wishes, been limited to 20 minutes for and 20 minutes against passing the bill over the President's veto, I have declined the brief time which it was possible to allot me and chosen to record my views in this manner. I have fought the literacy test for 12 years. I am always sorry to see it pass the House. To my mind it marks a low level of American thought and national feeling.

The literacy test is a selfish attempt to bar others from enjoying the privileges we enjoy. It is scarcely contended that it is proposed because of its educational features. It is rather grimly advocated for the sole purpose of reducing immigration. That we are sacrificing the American ideal of a refuge for the oppressed and a country free for all to an exclusion which will not exclude is little solace. The principle has been sacrificed, though the results may be of value to no one.

Just at this time this bill is particularly heinous. The starving Mexican on the south is willing to move and, once in this country, furnishes labor of a fair grade. He is not a trouble maker, but he has never learned to read and, therefore, he and his wife and children must remain in unhappy Mexico, though the West needs his labor sorely. The unhappy Jewish children of Russia and Poland, living now on one plate of soup and one slice of bread daily, need not look toward us. We are no longer the home of such as they. The Armenian, the murder of whose relatives has made his native country unbearable to him, can still find in Canada the chance for a new start, which our so-called free country denies him.

The Italian, of the people one of whom discovered our continent, will also still find his skill and industry as a laborer appreciated by our neighbor on the north.

Now is perhaps the worst time we ever had for the passage of such a bill. Labor is scarce. The negro of the South by the hundred thousand is coming North to take his place in industry. This has never occurred before. The States which are most largely responsible for this bill will not be exempt from its evil results.

Japan, when she fully realizes what has been done, will resent our action also, and the diplomatic situation, which the President points out, is fraught with danger and difficulty.

It is strange that the very day that the eloquent gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] urges us to stand by the President is the day which we choose as that on which to repudiate the President's leadership in foreign affairs.

We can still hope that in another body the President's veto will be more highly respected and American ideals find a more effective defense.

Senate Bill 706.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. C. DYER,
OF MISSOURI,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 30, 1917.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, I desire to invite the special attention of the Members of the House of Representatives to Senate bill 706, a bill proposing an amendment to section 260 of an act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," approved March 3, 1911. This bill passed the Senate on December 7, 1916, and was reported by the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union on January 5, 1917, and is as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 260 of an act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," approved March 3, 1911, be, and the same is hereby, amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 260. When any judge of any court of the United States, appointed to hold his office during good behavior, resigns his office, after having held a commission or commissions as judge of any such court or courts at least 10 years continuously, and having attained the age of 70 years, he shall, during the residue of his natural life, receive the salary which is payable at the time of his retirement for the office that he held at the time of his resignation.

"In the event any circuit judge, having so held a commission or commissions at least 10 years continuously, and having attained the age of 70 years as aforesaid, shall nevertheless remain in office, the President, if he finds that any such judge is unable to discharge efficiently all the duties of his office by reason of mental or physical disability of permanent character, shall appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, an additional circuit judge of said circuit, who, notwithstanding the incumbency of the judge so entitled to resign, shall sit customarily as one of the judges of the circuit court of appeals of his circuit. And the judge so entitled to resign shall thenceforth be relieved, save as hereinafter provided, from the duty imposed by section 118 of this title to sit as one of the judges of said circuit court of appeals, and shall be held and treated as if junior in commission to the remaining judges of said court, who shall, in the order of the seniority of their respective commissions, exercise such powers and perform such duties as by law may be incident to seniority: *Provided*, That the presiding judge of the said circuit court of appeals, whenever in his judgment the public good shall so require, may thereafter, from time to time, designate the judge so entitled to resign to sit upon the hearing of any cause or causes in the said circuit court of appeals. And the Chief Justice of the United States may, upon like occasion, thereafter designate and appoint any such circuit judge so entitled to resign to service upon the circuit court of appeals of any other circuit; and he may likewise be designated and appointed, as provided by section 18 of this title, to hold a district court in any district, either within or without his said circuit.

"In the event any such judge of a district court of the United States, having so held a commission or commissions at least 10 years

continuously, and having attained the age of 70 years as aforesaid, shall nevertheless remain in office, the President, if in his opinion the public good so requires, may appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, an additional judge of such court, who, notwithstanding the incumbency of the judge so entitled to resign, shall preside customarily over the said district court and shall exercise such powers as are vested by law in the judge thereof. And the district judge so entitled to resign shall thenceforth be relieved, save as hereinafter provided, from service therein: *Provided*, That the said district judge so entitled to resign as aforesaid may be designated and appointed from time to time to hold any district court, either in his district or within or without his circuit, as provided by sections 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17 of this title, or to sit in the circuit court of appeals of his circuit, as provided by section 120 of this title.

"Upon the death or resignation of any circuit or district judge so entitled to resign following the appointment of any additional judge as herein provided, the vacancy caused by such death or resignation of the said judge so entitled to resign shall not be filled, but the number of judges then in office shall be reduced accordingly."

I consider this bill so important to my country that I have taken great pains to get the views of men learned in the law and otherwise upon the question as to whether or not the bill should become a law. Among others to whom I have appealed to for advice were the bar association of the city of St. Louis. The president of this association, Hon. James C. Jones, caused copies of the bill, and the majority and minority reports, to be printed and placed in the hands of every member, with the request that it be given study and consideration and to attend a special meeting of the bar association on the 22d of January last, when discussion would be had and action taken as to approving or disapproving of it. Under date of January 24, I am in receipt of a letter from Hon. William F. Fahey, secretary of the Bar Association of St. Louis, which is as follows:

THE BAR ASSOCIATION OF ST. LOUIS,
St. Louis, January 24, 1917.

Hon. L. C. DYER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. DYER: Referring to your favor of the 9th instant, addressed to Mr. Jones, I beg to inform you that, at a special meeting of this association, held at the Washington Hotel on Monday evening, January 22, 1917, the association considered at great length Senate bill No. 706, and voted to concur in the minority report of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives.

Very respectfully,

WM. F. FAHEY, *Secretary.*

The minority report of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, which is referred to and indorsed by the Bar Association of St. Louis, is as follows:

MINORITY REPORT.

Messrs. VOLSTEAD, NELSON, MORGAN, DANFORTH, GRAHAM, CHANDLER, DYER, and WALSH are opposed to the passage of S. 706 and recommend that it be indefinitely postponed. Mr. VOLSTEAD, in support of that recommendation, submits the following views:

The report made by a majority of the members of the committee does not meet my views, and the following comments on that report and observations on the bill are respectfully submitted:

The recommendation of Justice McReynolds, while Attorney General, and his successor, the present Attorney General, can not properly be cited in support of this bill, as the legislation they recommended differs materially from that proposed in this measure. They suggest that should a judge who has served 10 years and attained the age of 70 fail to resign the President shall appoint an additional judge who is to have precedence over the old judge. A bill drawn along that line might be so framed as to avoid most of the objections urged against this bill.

A number of acts are referred to in the report in which Congress has created or abolished courts or taken from or added powers and duties to the different courts. But in all of these the official tenure of the judges have been preserved. That this may be done is not in issue and needs no support from the case cited. The question to which I desire to direct attention is not whether Congress may confer much or little power upon any particular court, but whether Congress has the power to remove a person from his place as judge for any other reason than the one for which removal is permitted by the Constitution. The argument of the report appears to proceed upon the theory that the terms "judge" and "court" are synonymous. No citation of cases is necessary to show that a judge is only an officer of the court and is not the court. The Constitution does not limit the number of inferior courts or prescribe their duties, but the Constitution does prescribe the official tenure of Federal judges. To argue that because courts may be created with much or little power, therefore the official tenure of a judge may be destroyed by taking from him the functions that appertain to his office is a non sequitur. The courts in question are not only constitutional because authorized by the Constitution, but also for the reason that it is made the duty of Congress to invest in some court all Federal jurisdiction, and that in obedience to that mandate Congress has conferred all general jurisdiction on the district, circuit, and supreme courts (1 Wheat., 328). It is the tenure of the judges of these courts that the Constitution protects. This bill does not change these courts. Their powers and duties remain the same; nor is there any change in the functions of the judges, but those functions are to be exercised by other judges. Congress can not say that when a judge reaches the age of 70 he shall no longer act as a judge; that is not prescribing new duties for the court, but limiting, in violation of the Constitution, the official tenure of the judge. It is the power of Congress to do this that is questioned.

In urging these considerations it may be observed that the purpose of the bill clearly appears on its face and is frankly argued in the report—that of dismissing from service judges who may retire on pay. The bill provides that the new judges are to take over all the duties of the ones relieved. The old judges will then have no jurisdiction or power to act as judges. They may, however, if specially authorized by some other judge, act. But without such authorization they can not even approve a bail bond. They simply become unnecessary supernumeraries who are not to be replaced by others when they die. Can judges be thus dismissed from service, notwithstanding the provision in the Constitution that their tenure is during good behavior?

The author of this bill evidently recognized that an act simply dismissing these judges would be void and sought to meet that difficulty by providing that those who are to be displaced may be designated to perform certain duties.

If this bill provided that a judge entitled to retire on pay should have no powers or duties unless Congress should thereafter by special act authorize them to act, would anyone seriously contend that such an act would be legal? And still, what real difference is there between such a bill and the one under consideration? This bill simply delegates to some judge the power which Congress would in the supposed bill reserve to itself. In neither case is there any assurance that the judge that is to be relieved will ever have or perform any duties. A position such as that lacks the essential elements of a public office.

Hinds' Precedents, volume 1, page 608, cites among other things the following as bearing upon what is a public officer:

"It (public office) implies a delegation of a portion of the sovereign power to, and the possession of it by, the person filling the office, and the exercise of such power within legal limits constitutes the correct discharge of the duties of such office. (3 Greenleaf (Md.), 481; Mechem's Public Office, etc., sec. 2; Olmstead *v.* The Mayor, 42 N. Y. Sup. Ct., 481; Public Officers, Throop, sec. 6.)

"Again, the employment must not be merely transient, occasional, or incidental.

"In United States *v.* Hartwell (6 Wall., 385), the court held that the term 'public office' embraces the ideas of tenure, duration, emolument, and duties, and that the duties were continuing and permanent, not occasional or temporary.

"In United States *v.* Germaine (99 U. S. Sup. Ct., 508), the question of who is or who is not a public officer was again up, and the court said:

"'If we look to the nature of defendant's employment, we think it equally clear that he is not an officer. In that case (referring to United States *v.* Hartwell) the court said the term embraces the ideas of tenure, duration, emolument, and duties, and that the latter were continuing and permanent, not occasional or temporary. In the case before us the duties are not continuing and permanent, and they are occasional and intermittent.'

"The constitution of the State of New York, 1846, article 6, section 8, prohibits the judges of the court of appeals and justices of the supreme court from exercising any power of appointment to public office.

"Section 16, chapter 280, laws of 1847, conferred upon the chancellor power to issue a commission to some person empowering him to act as a surrogate in a particular case when by reason of statutory disqualifications the officers designated to act could not do so. It was contended that such person when designated to act as surrogate becomes a public officer, inasmuch as for the time being and in the matter before whom he was to act as a judicial officer with full power to hear, try, and determine the particular case, but the court of appeals in the matter of Hathaway (71 N. Y., 238) held:

"'The term "public office," as used in the constitution, has respect to a permanent public trust or employment, to be exercised generally and in all proper cases. It does not include the appointment, to meet special exigencies, of an individual to perform transient, occasional, or incidental duties, such as are ordinarily performed by public officers; as to such appointments the legislature is left untrammeled and at liberty to invest the courts with power to make them.'"

It has likewise been held that a retired military officer who is entitled to retain his official title, receive pay, and is subject to be designated for occasional services, is not an officer except while performing the duties to which he may be assigned.

The official tenure of a judge can not be defeated by abolishing the court or by taking the powers away from the judge. The courts will not permit the Congress to do indirectly what it can not do directly.

The case of the Commonwealth *v.* Gamble (62 Pa., 343) is in point on this question.

The constitution of Pennsylvania provides that judges shall be appointed for 10 years, if he shall so long behave himself. A judge was appointed, but the legislature abolished his district, as it had the power to do, and appointed another judge to perform his duties. Held to be unconstitutional as an attempt to do indirectly what the constitution forbade. In this case the court lays emphasis on the fact that it is the powers and duties that constitute the office and not the title and pay. Speaking on this subject, the court said: "These powers, authority, and jurisdiction constitute the office and are the essence of it and inseparable from it, and are granted to be exercised for the period of 10 years."

In the same case it said, "The only remedy for removal is by impeachment," citing Lowe *v.* Commonwealth (4 Met. (Ky.), 237).

To the same effect is State of Ohio *v.* Geo. W. Choats (11 Ohio, 511). In that case the constitution required that certain judges must reside within the counties for which they should be commissioned. The legislature changed the county lines so as to exclude the territory in which one of the judges was living from the county for which he was commissioned. Held, that though the legislature might legally change or abolish the district for which he was elected, it could not abolish the judge, as his term of office was fixed by the constitution.

In People *v.* Dubois (23 Ill., 547) the Illinois court announces the same doctrine. The constitution of Illinois provided for the election of circuit judges to serve for six years. A judge had been duly elected and qualified. The legislature thereafter, and during his term, abolished his judicial district and attached his territory to another district. Held, that he was still a judge and entitled to pay as such, and that the act of the legislature could not terminate his office.

In the case of People *v.* Howland (45 N. Y. Sup., 347) the court had occasion to consider an attempt on the part of the New York Legislature to confer the criminal jurisdiction of a justice of the peace on a police judge. In holding this attempt futile the court, among other things, said:

"We have here, then, a constitutional officer, the most important of whose powers and functions are conferred upon another officer created by the legislature; the incumbents of the constitutional office relieved from the duty of discharging the functions of that office, deprived of their pay for such services, if they perform them, and with no officers to execute their process if they issue any. Does it need any argument to show that this is utterly destructive of the office? Can a public office be conceived of with no duties to be performed? And what becomes of a court or magistrate whose powers and jurisdiction have been conferred upon another, where the incumbents of the office have no duties to perform?

"The powers and jurisdiction conferred upon the office of the justice of the peace are not for the benefit of the incumbent, but for the public good, and when the occasion arises it is his duty to exercise them.

Powers conferred for the public good and the duty to exercise them are coupled together, and can not be severed.

"The office consists in a right and a corresponding duty to exercise a public or private trust." (3 Kent Comm., 454; People *v.* Nostrand, 46 N. Y., 375.)

So where a State constitution provides for the election of a sheriff and fixes the term of office, but does not define what powers, rights, and duties shall attach to or belong to the office, the legislature has no power to take from the sheriff a part of the duties and functions usually appertaining to the office and transfer them to another. (People *v.* Kieler, 29 Hun., 175.)

That Congress has the power to provide additional judges when necessary is not denied. That is a duty as well as a right that Congress must exercise, but in doing so it can not take from the present judges the powers they can efficiently exercise. It may relieve them to the extent relief is necessary, but that is not what is attempted in this bill. Upon a finding by the President that a circuit judge entitled to retire is not able by reason of some mental or physical disability to efficiently perform all his functions he may be removed, and if in the opinion of the President the public good requires it the like district judge may be removed. A failure by reason of some disability to do as much work as the President may deem desirable permits removal in one case, and the mere opinion of the President that the public good might be subserved by a change permits the removal in the other. Neither of these reasons for removal are recognized by the Constitution. If this bill is to adopt a consistent policy, it should be made to apply not only to the judges entitled to retire but to all, regardless of age. There often is as strong a reason for removal before as after a person reaches the age of 70. Under such a law the President and Senate (and the Senate could be dispensed with) could remove every judge, as no one could question the President's finding, and substitute other judges entitled to reward as his partisans or more subservient to his views. Can anyone doubt the dangerous character of such legislation? It places the judges under the direct influence of the Executive. There are said to be some 16 or 18 places that may be filled under this bill. May it be asked whether politics has any share in urging this legislation? It was to avoid making judges dependent on the President or Congress that life tenure was given them. The sad experience of England under judges dominated by the Crown or subject to the will of partisan passion wrote into our Constitution the provision giving our judges a life tenure.

This bill is a surrender of a long-established policy. Congress must, under the Constitution, provide courts. This power carries with it the duty of determining to what extent additional judges are necessary. In the past Congress has insisted that when an additional judge is appointed that appointment should first be authorized by an act passed for that purpose. This bill is an attempt to delegate to the President the power to discharge that duty. There is no good reason why a district suffering for lack of judges should not in the future, as in the past, apply to Congress for relief. The only reason suggested is the difficulty in securing relief through Congress. Congress has always been liberal in providing judges, but before doing so it insists on knowing that there is some necessity for the additional expenditure that such an appointment always entails. Under this bill one judge could not be made to serve as judge in two districts, while Congress may by an act provide relief by adding one judge where two are now serving, thus saving the expenses incident to an additional judge.

Not only is this bill in contravention of the Constitution, but it would adopt a vicious and dangerous policy, one that if made effective as applied to the judges who may now retire would no doubt in time be applied to all judges. Such a law, if valid, would make the judiciary absolutely dependent on the will of the Executive. It is the duty of Congress to guard the Public Treasury. This bill gives the President power to obligate the Treasury for the salary and other expenses of judges that Congress and not the President should authorize.

This bill should not pass.

In addition to the action of the bar association of my city, I have received a number of letters from individual members of the bench and of the bar of that city. At my request they have written me touching its merits. I have only received two letters that favor the bill. I insert those, as follows:

ST. LOUIS, *January 18, 1917.*

Hon. L. C. DYER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. DYER: Your copy of Senate bill 706 is before me, and I have read it with care. I entirely approve the bill as it stands. It protects the public from judges who have become incapable of full work by providing other judges in their places, and at the same time makes provision for the individual judge whereby he will not be harshly removed from office for total or partial physical incapacity, but will be assigned to the performance of such duties as—in the opinion of others than himself—he can efficiently perform.

Truly, yours,

CHARLES CLAFLIN ALLEN.

—

ST. LOUIS, MO., *January 18, 1917.*

Hon. L. C. DYER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR LEE: I feel very much flattered that you should ask my opinion of Senate bill 706. This bill is evidently intended to take care of those cases, which occur occasionally, where a judge, on account of his advanced years, should resign but refuses so to do. Though I do not think the bill is of vital importance, it gives the opportunity in occasional cases of remedying an unfortunate condition. Though power to appoint an additional judge might be abused, I think, on the whole, it will be apt to be exercised with great caution and only in very exceptional cases. I think, therefore, that it might be well to have this bill become a law.

Yours, truly, J. CLARENCE TAUSSIG.

I will not take the space to print all of those that I have received opposing the bill, and will only include a few of them, as follows:

ST. LOUIS, *January 15, 1917.*

Hon. L. C. DYER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have before me a copy of your letter to Mr. James C. Jones, president St. Louis Bar Association. While I am a member of that body, I rarely attend its meetings, and will not participate in its consideration of Senate bill 706, on which you have asked the views of that body. Speaking for myself, I have read over the bill and the majority and minority reports on it and entirely concur in the views of the minority. I know a number of the judges of the United States court who are over 70 years of age in full possession of their mental faculties, vigorous also in body. Under this bill a President, acting under political pressure, or for political reasons, can arbitrarily retire any circuit or district judge when he is over 70. That is a bad feature of it. Furthermore, in entire accord with the views of the minority of the Judiciary Committee of the House, of which I notice you are a member, I do not believe the proposed law is constitutional, for the reasons set out in the report of the minority of the committee.

In addition to what I wrote you this morning on Senate bill 706, it occurs to me that the practical effect of the law is to allow the President of the United States to impeach a judge as having become disqualified. Disguise it as you may, that is the effect of this bill. Would anyone contend that under the Constitution, as an original proposition, Congress could enact a law that judges shall be appointed to hold office until they attain the age of 70 years? Or that the President, in issuing the commission, could write into that commission that the appointee is to serve in office until he attains the age of 70 years? It seems to me that it therefore would fall under condemnation by virtue of section 3 of Article I, of the Constitution, defining legislative powers, whereby the fifth subdivision of that section "sole power to try all impeachments" is lodged in the Senate.

Section 1, of Article III, of the Constitution, referring to the judiciary, provides that the judges of the Supreme and inferior courts "shall hold their offices during good behavior." While it may be admitted that "good behavior" implies capacity to discharge the duties of the office, failure in that respect is a cause for removal on articles of impeachment presented by the House and sustained by the Senate. Articles of impeachment have, at various times, been lodged against judges for what may be called corruption, partiality, or other violation of duty or of official misconduct. It would seem that capacity to discharge the work of the office should belong to the same category, and that this proposed bill is a violation of the letter and spirit of the Constitution and is contrary to the uniform practice governing such matters from the very organization of our government under our Constitution.

Yours, truly,

GEO. D. REYNOLDS.

—

ST. LOUIS, MO., *January 20, 1917.*

Hon. L. C. DYER,
Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DYER: I have your letter of the 16th instant inclosing copy of Senate bill 706, which is a proposed amendment to the judiciary act of March 3, 1911.

Your letter finds me exceedingly busy and with hardly time to give this matter the attention it deserves. I understand that there is to be a meeting of the St. Louis Bar Association in regard to this bill on the evening of the 22d instant, and I hope to attend that meeting. I may discover other objections to the bill, but those which impress me just now are as follows:

Under this bill the President of the United States is given too much discretionary power in regard to the judiciary, and power which might be susceptible of much abuse. Personally, I do not at all believe in the Dr. Osler theory, especially in regard to the judiciary. I know many judges who are past 70 and who are rendering now the best service that they ever rendered in their lives as judges, who are mentally and physically active, and who, though perhaps not as strong physically as in earlier years, yet, bringing to bear their knowledge and experience, are able, practically, to dispatch more business and do more justice than would be done by younger and less experienced men. This I consider peculiarly true in respect to the Federal judiciary. So many men are appointed Federal judges who antecedently had practically little or no experience in Federal practice and in the branches of law of which the Federal courts have exclusive jurisdiction. Granting, for the sake of argument, that such men are good lawyers when they are appointed, nevertheless it takes them time to be at home on the Federal bench and master the Federal practice and be competent to decide the questions peculiar to Federal jurisdiction. The President of the United States has an immense power over the judiciary as it is, and I am afraid this proposed bill, which has already passed the Senate, is calculated to give the President of the United States too much power over the judiciary.

There is one provision in the proposed bill which I consider particularly objectionable. I quote a part of that section, italicizing and putting in brackets that portion which I consider peculiarly objectionable:

"In the event any such judge of a district court of the United States having so held a commission or commissions at least 10 years continuously, and having attained the age of 70 years as aforesaid, shall, nevertheless, remain in office, the President, if in his opinion the public good so requires, may appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, an additional judge of such court [*who, notwithstanding the incumbency of the judge so entitled to resign, shall preside customarily over the said district court, and shall exercise such powers as are vested by law in the judge thereof. And the district judge so entitled to resign shall thenceforth be relieved, save as hereinafter provided, from service therein.*]"

What follows should go out, too, in view of judiciary act of March 3, 1911.

In the first place, I believe that as a general rule, to which there are few, if any, exceptions, the character of the honorable gentlemen who now constitute our Federal judiciary is such that if any one of them who has held his position 10 years and had attained the age of 70 years and was entitled to retire with full pay felt that he could not do his duty in his position as judge he would resign. If the proposed bill goes through as it stands, as quoted above, it would probably happen that in some instances an excellent Federal judge who had held his position for 10 years and who had attained the age of 70 years, but who had not resigned, could, practically speaking, be shelved by this power given to the President. In any event, wherever the President of the United States saw fit to appoint an additional district judge, in the case contemplated by the above-quoted objectionable clause, such new judge would practically override and supersede the district judge who did not see fit to resign. This, in my opinion, would in many instances work great injustice, and necessarily prove most humiliating to the district judge who did not see fit to resign.

If the clause in question were only as follows it might not be so objectionable:

"In the event any such judge of a district court of the United States, having so held a commission or commissions at least 10 years continuously, and having attained the age of 70 years as aforesaid, shall nevertheless remain in office, the President, if in his opinion the public good

so requires, may appoint, by and with the consent of the Senate, an additional judge of such court."

The above would only amount to authorizing the President, under the circumstances stated, to appoint an additional district judge merely to help out the other district judge in his work. If that were all in it, and it were also governed by the existing section 23 of chapter 1 of the new Federal Judicial Code, it might not be objectionable, because said section 23 of chapter 1 of the act of March 3, 1911, provides:

"SEC. 23. In districts having more than one district judge, the judges may agree upon the division of business and assignment of cases for trial in said district; but in case they do not so agree the senior circuit judge of the circuit in which the district lies shall make all necessary orders for the division of business and the assignment of cases for trial in said district."

I am interested in this matter, because, for the reasons stated herein, I consider the proposed bill very objectionable. I intend to oppose this proposed bill at the St. Louis Bar Association meeting on the 22d instant. It may also be that I shall write you further on the subject, giving you other grounds of objection to this bill after the bar association meeting next Monday and after I have had time to give the matter a little more thought. It so happens that I am under a great stress of work at present. Were it not for this I might be able to go into the matter more fully in the present letter. I may also add that I have been in the active practice of my profession since 1879; that since that time my practice has been almost wholly in the Federal courts of the United States; and that during this time I have actually tried cases in every one of the nine circuits of the United States. It may be an accident, but although I know I have tried many cases before Federal judges who were more than 70 years of age, I have never yet tried any case before any Federal judge who, because of his age, I found incapacitated for the work which he was doing. There may be such cases, but all I can say is that I do not know of any such cases. Right here in St. Louis we have a Federal district judge who is more than 70 years of age, and it is my privilege to appear before him often; he is vigorous, energetic, and alert, and disposes of his cases at least as rapidly as any Federal judge who has been on the bench in St. Louis since I came to the bar in 1879.

Yours, respectfully,

PAUL BAKENELL.

—

ST. LOUIS, *January 20, 1917.*

Hon. L. C. DYER,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR LEE: I received your letter concerning pending bill affecting tenure of judges in the United States circuit court of appeals and in the United States district courts and have read the same carefully.

The provisions of the bill with respect to remand of United States circuit court of appeals are probably sound, but as to the provisions with respect to the judges of the United States district court I think the bill as it stands opens the door for decided wrong. It virtually places in the power of the Chief Executive the authority at his will to dispose any district judge without cause who has served 10 years and is over 70 years of age. Some of our best judges are past 70, and a great many of them do their very best work after reaching that age. Without going into details, I think the bill with respect to district judges is vicious for numerous reasons and should never become a law in its present form. It subjects a good judge to improper attack and opens the door to intrigue. None of us want the judiciary to be thus embarrassed, and I hope it will be defeated.

Very truly, yours,

M. C. EARLY.

—

ST. LOUIS, MO., *January 20, 1917.*

Hon. L. C. DYER, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DYER: In answer to your favor of the 16th, inclosing copy of a bill (S. 706) amending section 260 of the laws relating to the judiciary by providing for an additional judge in case the incumbents are past 70, wish to say I have carefully read the bill and do not believe it should be enacted.

If other judges are needed, I think provision should be made for permanent positions for them, where they will permanently sit.

I am opposed to the plan by which particular judges may be selected and sent around to try particular cases or take up and leave off work of the regular judge from time to time.

Yours, truly,

CHARLES W. BATES.

—

ST. LOUIS, *January 18, 1917.*

Hon. L. C. DYER,
Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. DYER: I have received your letter of January 16, and have given the subject some attention.

While I think that there is an evil to be corrected in the situation which is covered by the proposed amendment to the judiciary act, the method adopted seems to me to be open to serious objections.

The constitutionality appears to be somewhat in doubt because of the presidential discretion involved.

The effect of the proposed amendment would be to place the acting judge in a humiliating position. It practically forces any man with self-respect to resign. In this way the law would covertly accomplish a purpose which the Constitution does not contemplate.

It is somewhat dangerous as a precedent because similar legislation might be aimed at any of the judges and serves to diminish the stability of their tenure of office and independence of action.

I have taken the act and interlined it in a manner which seems to me to remove the objections noted. The effect of my interlineations is to remove the element of discretion, thus requiring the appointment of an additional judge, and to eliminate the features which would make a continued holding of the office humiliating to the incumbent. I have added a clause which would give the presiding judge of the Circuit Court of Appeals the power to apportion the duties in the district court where two judges might be qualified.

Practically, I think that the act as I have amended it would work acceptably. The elderly judge could remain in office, if he so desired, with full power and dignity, and the work of the court would be assisted by the presence of another judge who would have the benefit of the counsel and experience of the incumbent.

I might say parenthetically that my grandfather, Judge William Cranch, remained as presiding judge of the United States Circuit Court for the District of Columbia (now the Supreme Court of the District) until he was 86 years old, and I have never heard that his service was unacceptable.

Very truly, yours,

EDWARD C. ELIOT.

—

ST. LOUIS, *January 18, 1917.*

Hon. L. C. DYER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have your letter of the 16th instant, inclosing copy of Senate bill 706, now pending before the House of Representatives upon favorable report of the Committee on the Judiciary. As you ask for my views as to whether the bill should become a law, I beg to state that in my opinion this bill is a direct invasion of the constitutional provision that Federal judges shall hold their office "during good behavior." In other words, I believe that to shear the judge of all or practically all his judicial powers and duties if he fails to resign from office upon reaching the age limit provided by law, amounts in substance and effect to removing him from office without the benefit or opportunity to defend charges preferred against him and sustained after hearing by competent tribunal. I do not believe that this clause of the Constitution should be thus impaired upon considerations of convenience or expediency in special cases or for the benefit of particular communities which may possibly suffer by reason of their judges holding on to office after they are privileged to retire upon full pay. There are many and strong arguments in favor of granting the relief provided by the bill in question, but I do not believe that all the good to be derived from its passage would offset the harmful effect of thus weakening the most salutary safeguard provided by the Constitution for the tenure in office of the Federal judiciary.

I give you these views for whatever they are worth and shall watch the action of the House in the matter with great interest.

Very truly, yours,

FRANKLIN MILLER.

—

[From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Jan. 28, 1916.]

THE FEDERAL JUDGES—PROPOSED COMPULSORY RETIREMENT AT AGE OF 70.

ST. LOUIS, *January 27.*

A bill amending the Federal judiciary acts has passed the House and is pending in the Senate which attempts to confer upon the President the power to appoint substitute judges in the district and circuit courts, where the incumbent is 70 years old, has served 10 years continuously, and refuses to resign on full pay. The President is given discretion to determine when "any such judge is unable to discharge efficiently all the duties of his office by reason of mental or physical disability of a permanent character."

If the Senate now passes the bill and the President signs it, it is computed that 18 or 20 positions on the Federal bench will become immediately available.

This bill is said to have been prompted by the case of the late Judge Thomas S. Maxey, for the western district of Texas, whose invalidism prevented the discharge of his judicial duties for a considerable length of time, and who refused to avail himself of the statutory privilege of resigning with full pay.

No one familiar with the constitutional history of the United States can view this measure in any other light than as unconstitutional, and, in addition, as a vicious attempt to subordinate the judiciary to the Executive power. It must be kept in mind that the three departments in our governmental system—the executive, legislative, and judicial—are conceived as independent and coequal and that none shall be subordinated to or by the others.

As a means of preserving the independence of the judiciary, the Constitution provides that "the judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall at stated times receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office."

There is no way to dislodge a Federal judge from his office, therefore, except by impeachment for a high crime or misdemeanor. It has never been held that the infirmities of age constitute such an offense. Such instances of impeachment as have actually occurred during our brief career as a Nation have been founded upon acts which are in their nature or consequence subversive of some fundamental principle of government or highly prejudicial to the public interest, involving a violation of law or duty.

The new measure proposes that when the President has appointed the additional judge the septuagenarian incumbent "so entitled to resign shall thenceforth be relieved," while retaining his title and salary. In certain contingencies the relieved incumbent "may be designated and appointed from time to time" to hold court, in spite of his "permanent" disability. At his death the substitute becomes his successor, looking forward in turn to his own seventieth birthday.

Only rapacity for patronage could have blinded Members of Congress to the long line of its own actions and of judicial decisions which reveal this measure as wholly void.

Its effect, in fact, is to remove a Federal judge from office, in spite of the empty title he retains and in direct violation of a constitutional injunction.

It has been judicially determined in a multitude of decisions that the word "office" as used in the Constitution embraces as necessary elements "tenure, duration, emolument, and duties"; that it connotes a permanent trust and the right at all proper times and in all proper cases to exercise the functions of that trust. Conversely, it has been held that employment on behalf of the Government that is merely "transient, occasional, or accidental," without the power to legislate, to execute law, or to hear and determine judicially questions submitted, does not constitute "public office" within the meaning of the Constitution.

If a Federal judge, therefore, is to be relieved of his power to hear and determine judicially questions submitted, he has ceased to be a public officer.

The House of Representatives discussed this question fully during the Spanish-American War, when it declared the seats of Congressman Joseph Wheeler and others vacant after they had accepted commissions in the United States Army. It was held that the acceptance of such commissions constituted holding another office, contrary to the Constitution. In the report on these cases it was said that military officers, after being retired, have been Members of Congress, and properly so, since persons on the retired list are "without the power of command, the right of promotion, or the obligation to perform some duty," and have ceased to hold office by reason of these facts.

It will be seen then that the power to exercise the functions of a public office is what constitutes an officer, and to relieve him of his powers is to remove him from office.

The fact that "relieved" judges "may be designated and appointed" to special work would hardly seem to supply the absence of actual duties, since retired Army officers may be and frequently are so assigned. That fact in their case, however, has not been held to alter their status or to affect their eligibility to "public office" unless the assignment carries with it "the power of command, the right of promotion, and the obligation to perform some duty." A retired Army officer may consequently remain a Member of Congress unless he is reincorporated into the active armed forces.

It is pertinent to recall that in the Constitutional Convention, when the subject of the Federal judiciary was being debated, John Dickinson moved, as an amendment to Article XI, section 2, after the words "good behavior," "*Provided*, That they may be removed by the Executive on the application by the Senate and House of Representatives." It was the prevailing opinion that such a proviso would seriously weaken the independence of the judiciary, and Delaware alone voted for Dickinson's amendment.

The tenure of the judges of the Federal Supreme Court is the same as that of judges of the inferior courts; and if Congress can empower the President to "relieve" the latter it can do so with respect to the former.

As three judges of the Supreme Court, including Chief Justice White, are now past 70, it will be seen how such an extension of the proposed law would make for the Executive dominance of that body.

STERLING E. EDMUNDS.

Cumulative Suffrage, or an Equitable Electorate.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. MURRAY,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 1, 1917.

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. Speaker, for the growth and development of the individual, as well as for his protection, society was organized. By the united strength of all each became secure from the greed and aggressions of one another. By this means alone could the weak survive the aggressions of the strong. This society, in all the experience of man's past, has found its best expression through the formation of the family as the primary unit of the State. Thus to lose the family, as such unit, means the degeneration of society by weakening its moral forces making for progress and development, and final disintegration of the State. Hence whatever will protect the integrity of the family preserves society and perpetuates the State.

The chief object, therefore, of all law—of administration and public policy—is to get every man in love with one woman united for the propagation of the family. When this is accomplished it is called civilization. All things else whatsoever must be surrendered in governmental policy with this end in view. If the character, intelligence, and conditions of a people require monarchy for the safety of the home and society, the appeal for "natural rights" becomes illogical in such society. If a republic or a democracy best serves this purpose, such form becomes wise statesmanship. Nor must we stop here. Only those should rule, or exercise the right to choose such rulers, who will best preserve the family or protect the home, whether this means universal suffrage or franchise limited on account of ignorance, race, or sex. We must know no interest but the family interest, no rights except those of society. In this suffrage at once becomes a duty or a privilege granted for the protection of the family, society, and the State, and not a natural right. If in our Republic, with unlimited suffrage among men, the family and State have become insecure, it can not be made better by doubling the evil. To argue this is but to contend that civilization depends more upon the number of the electorate rather than upon the quality. From such reasoning we could have no fear of the ballot in the hands of the vicious and ignorant if only they were cast in large numbers. Certainly no person would make so bold as to claim that women are better prepared to cast a ballot than men. That they have a greater refined sentiment than men is granted, but we have already too many men in office elected upon sentiment. The most wholesome law comes from the head of the statesman, not his heart. In this we must, like the ancient Romans, never forget the maxims of the Roman law, "Rea publique suprema lex esto"—Let the public good be the supreme law. It also follows that as population increases to the point of congestion and strata of society become fixed, it ofttimes necessitates limiting suffrage rather than extending it, which may be brought about either by denial of the right to some or extending greater power to the most worthy.

My conception of national suffrage, even for men, is that it is unwise. There exists no provision of the Federal Constitution for national suffrage except the indirect provision of the amendments growing out of the Civil War, and this was a mistake. But in the event of the adoption of national woman's suffrage the policy of the founders of the Government will have been changed. Foreseeing this possibility, resulting ultimately in universal suffrage, without respect to race or sex, rather than make further direct resistance I offer a policy to circumscribe national suffrage. I therefore offer as a substitute to the "Susan B. Anthony Amendment" the following amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which has in basic support the foregoing fundamental principles governing the electorate. That amendment would read as follows:

ARTICLE —. Every citizen of the United States over 21 years of age shall be a legal voter in all the elections in the several States of the United States and entitled to cast one vote as such legal voter; and every such legal voter who is lawfully married and who has lived continuously with his or her spouse for at least 12 months prior to any election in any State shall in addition be entitled to one extra vote; and every such legal voter who is head of a family and having at least two minor children depending upon him or her for support and education shall be entitled to one extra vote; and every such legal voter who has been educated or has mastered the curriculum (which curriculum shall be uniform throughout the United States) up to and including the eighth grade fixed for schools, academies, and colleges shall be entitled to one extra vote; and every such legal voter who hereafter shall have served in the naval or military forces of the United States in any war against a foreign enemy and shall have been honorably discharged shall be entitled to one extra vote. The several States shall have power to provide, as a condition of voting, for registration of all legal voters, classifying them with reference to the number of votes to which each may be entitled; and may prescribe as a condition of such registration residence in the State, county, and precinct in which such legal voter desires to vote: *Provided*, That the several States shall have the power to limit suffrage or disfranchise idiots or insane persons and all persons supported in almshouses or other asylums at public expense; persons of debauched, vicious, or licentious habits, and persons convicted of crime: *Provided*, That no citizen of the United States shall be denied the right of suffrage on account of sex, nativity, religion, race, or previous condition of servitude.

It will be observed that the foregoing amendment authorizes a registration and, indeed, it would become essential. This in order to classify the voters according to "talents"—or number of votes—as all voters by "natural right" under this amendment would have one "talent" or vote, some two, others three, even five. All with the exception of one could be acquired by the individual's own efforts as a reward for such efforts, and registration thus authorized would become essential in order to provide that each registered voter should cast one ballot; but those of class two would have their ballot in the final count multiplied by two, those in class three multiplied by three, and so on, thus giving effectuality without requiring the voter to cast more than one ballot.

That such rewards are for those things that make for better citizenship no person can deny, and, if so, why not? A system of rewards in any government invariably proves wholesome. It was for this purpose that Napoleon created the Cross of the Legion of Honor for stimulation toward great achievements in every line. The effect of putting into the United States Constitution a grant of a monopoly for a given period of years to the author of a book and upon the product of the brain of an inventive genius a monopoly in the form of a patent has so stimulated the American inventive genius that it has surpassed all other civilizations of history, solely because of this reward.

This "cumulative suffrage" system is not new. It has existed in no less than six nations of history, just as woman's suffrage is not new. That is more than 3,000 years old; is even modern, and yet abandoned. The State of New Jersey had woman's suffrage for 25 years during the first half century of this Republic, to be abandoned as it was abandoned by the ancients.

The legislator, whether in Congress or the State's assembly, invariably reflects the power that elected him. Members who depend upon commercial interests for success bend their energies to promote the commercial interest. Members who depend for their election upon the labor vote never tire in search of something to satisfy or appease the demands of labor organizations.

The foregoing amendment would unequivocally give the power of the electorate to the families of the country and would lessen the power of the vicious and the hobo (the "proletariat," who is defined by most writers as a person unskilled, uneducated, without property, and having neither home, family, religious, or national ties) by giving to each head of the family—the husband and the wife—from two to five times the strength of the "proletariat," at the same time extending to all citizens, without regard to sex or other conditions, their "natural right" to one vote each. All the rest can be acquired by the citizen and becomes at once a reward for his efforts—a reward in every instance for better citizenship—a reward for education,

for family ties, granted to both the husband and the wife, and in case of war with a foreign enemy a reward for patriotism.

It does more. It in a measure eliminates, without indirect methods, the negro problem of the South, for the reason that the average negro, particularly the dangerous voter of the South, is purely a "proletariat." It would reward the stable element, those who maintain families and homes, and in all experience of the Southern States this class of negroes are not a menace to society. As a rule the Southern negro who owns a home, who continuously maintains family relations, endeavors to educate and support his children, have almost a sacred regard for law, a regard stronger than racial ties, for they as jurors would convict a member of their own race who should violate the laws of society and home. There is quite a distinction between this class of negroes and the liquor-drinking, crap-shooting, coke-eating "coon" of the South.

There is another consideration, and that is no one has fear of a ballot in the hands of the wives and mothers of the country, but all may well fear the vote of the slums woman, and this measure would give the wives and mothers a voting power from two to three times that of the slums woman, and who would for a moment deny that power to the wife and mother?

By giving the wives and mothers this power would eliminate to a greater degree an appeal to the slums woman or man, whilst to give them equal power would cause candidates for public office, politicians, and political committees to ransack the slums section, because securing their votes would be a mere matter of money. Under equal suffrage, as now, a farmer may drive in to market—this producer who is endeavoring to feed the world and clothe mankind to maintain a home, support a family, and preserve society would not more attract a candidate than a veritable saloon bum. He would as likely run after the hobo, with an equal power at the ballot box, as he would this stable citizen. Whereas to give this farmer, in addition to his natural vote, one vote for maintaining family relations, another vote for supporting and educating children, and his wife an equal power, the rule would be reversed. The candidate would make the most strenuous efforts to capture that farmer with his three votes and a like number of his wife's, even though he had to neglect totally the hobo with but one vote. The inexorable rule would follow that the families of the country would constitute the elective power of all candidates to public office. Legislation would proportionately reflect the demands and interests of the homes of the country, and since homes are built among all classes it would tend to place a check upon class legislation based upon occupations or wealth and poverty, but would go directly toward the object of fostering and building the home interest of the country—and why not? Who can deny the wisdom of this course?

I have just stated that this is not new—there is nothing new in government. Point out, if you please, any political policy or principle, or any of the measures of political propaganda, and I will point out in my library to the page of history where just such a principle was once the law of some nation of history, sometimes two or three thousand years in the dim, distant past.

The question may arise, What was the objection to Federal qualification and regulation of suffrage upon the framing of the Constitution? An answer to that question involves a discussion of all the philosophy of government in man's experience, but primarily it was based upon this principle, that qualifications for suffrage could not be made universal; that the requirements of one State might be quite different from that in another because of the difference of race or blood or education or opportunity. Realizing the force of this wisdom, I am unwilling to sacrifice all our future to danger unless the power can be so shifted that the best element of our citizenship, or those possessing more elements of good citizenship, shall have a power greater than the degraded and vicious who have no care for society or for family and home. If we must have national suffrage, let us frame it along rules of safety.

It may be of interest and a surprise to many to note the difference in the qualifications for electors that have existed in the thirteen original American Colonies and the various States of the Union.

When the Federal Constitution was adopted all the States, with the exception of Rhode Island and Connecticut, had constitutions of their own. Those two continued to act under their charters from the Crown. Upon an examination of those constitutions we find that in those States all citizens were permitted tutions we find that in those States all citizens were permitted to vote. Each State determined for itself who should have that power. Thus in New Hampshire "every male inhabitant of each town and parish with town privileges and places unincorporated in the State, of 21 years of age and upward, excepting paupers and persons excused from paying taxes at their own request," were its voters; in Massachusetts "every male inhabitant of 21 years of age and upward, having a freehold estate within the Commonwealth of the annual income of £3, or any estate of the value of £60"; in Rhode Island, "such as are admitted free of the company and society" of the colony; in Connecticut, such persons as had "maturity in years, quiet and peaceable behavior, a civil conversation, and 40-shilling freehold or £40 personal estate," if so certified by the selectmen; in New York, "every male inhabitant of full age who shall have personally resided within one of the counties of the State for six months immediately preceding the day of election * * * if during the time aforesaid he shall have been a freeholder, possessing a freehold of the value of £20 within the county, or have rented a tenement therein of the yearly value of 40 shillings, and been rated and actually paid taxes to the State"; in New Jersey, "all inhabitants * * * of full age who are worth £50, proclamation money, clear estate in the same, and have resided in the county in which they claim a vote for 12 months immediately preceding the election"; in Pennsylvania, "every freeman of the age of 21 years, having resided in the State two years next before the election, and within that time paid a State or county tax which shall have been assessed at least six months before the election"; in Delaware and Virginia, "as exercised by law at present"; in Maryland, "all freemen above 21 years of age having a freehold of 50 acres of land in the county in which they offer to vote and residing therein, and all freemen having property in the State above the value of £30 current money, and having resided in the county in which they offer to vote one whole year next preceding the election"; in North Carolina, for senators, "all freemen of the age of 21 years who have been inhabitants of any one county within the State 12 months immediately preceding the day of election and possessed of a freehold within the same county of 50 acres of land for 6 months next before and at the day of election," and for members of the house of commons, "all freemen of the age of 21 years who have been inhabitants of any one county within the State 12 months immediately preceding the day of election and shall have paid public taxes"; in South Carolina, "every free white man of the age of 21 years, being a citizen of the State and having resided therein two years previous to the day of election, who hath a freehold of 50 acres of land, or a town lot of which he hath been legally seized and possessed at least six months before such election, or (not having such freehold or town lot) hath been a resident within the election district in which he offers to give his vote six months before said election, and hath paid a tax the preceding year of 3 shillings sterling toward the support of the Government"; and in Georgia, "such citizens and inhabitants of the State as shall have attained the age of 21 years, and shall have paid tax for the year next preceding the election, and shall have resided six months within the county."

The Immigration Bill.

REMARKS

OF

HON. ROSCOE C. McCULLOCH,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 1, 1917.

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, I shall vote to pass the Burnett immigration bill over the President's veto. I voted for the Burnett immigration bill when it passed the House, and I voted for the literacy test contained in the bill when it was voted on in the House, and I see no reason why I should not continue to support the bill. I am not impressed with the reasons expressed by the President in his message to the House of Representatives on January 29, 1917, vetoing the immigration bill. Personally I am in favor of restricting immigration. Since we impose a restriction on immigration against the physically, mentally, and morally unsound I think it is but fair and proper that we should provide restriction in the matter of literacy. To provide that an immigrant coming into our land who will receive the benefits of our institutions must be able to read and write 30 or 40 words in his native language or some language is, in my judgment, not an unfair and improper restriction.

The greatest good that we can gain to this country from immigration is to have the immigrants who come here anxious and willing to become American citizens. In this day and age the immigrant who has not learned to read and write 30 words in his own language is not likely to begin to qualify himself in literacy after he reaches this country. I believe that the literacy test is not an unfair restriction, and that it will serve to develop a higher class of immigrants, and will not keep out any deserving person who desires to come to this country and secure the benefits of a residence in America.

Revenue Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ISAAC SIEGEL,
OF NEW YORK,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 31, 1917.

On the bill (H. R. 20573) to provide increased revenue to defray the expenses of the increased appropriations for the Army and Navy and the extensions of fortifications, and for other purposes.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, I shall vote against this bill because I feel that continued direct taxation means the taking away from States of the only means of taxation which they possess. I shall vote against this bill because it discriminates in favor of corporations as against partnerships, and furthermore because it discriminates against corporations and partnerships in favor of individuals.

I shall vote against the bill because I am opposed to the placing of inheritance taxes upon bequests and legacies that are left to charities. The State of New York makes such an exemption, and there is no reason in the world why Uncle Sam should commence to collect taxes from such bequests and legacies, thus in effect robbing the poor who would receive the benefit thereof.

I am of the opinion that all the revenue that is sought to be obtained by this bill can be gotten by the imposition of a protective tariff upon imports.

We have a low tariff at the present time, and I know of no consumer who is purchasing anything at a lesser price than at what he bought it four years ago when a protective tariff was in existence.

The argument that has been advanced that a low tariff would prove of benefit to the consumer has proven fallacious as has been the bitter and trying experience of the ordinary citizen of middle or limited means.

I have heard more said in the debate regarding sectionalism than should have been uttered, and it is to be regretted that, although the war is over for more than 50 years, men seem to forget that the Stars and Stripes float over a country and a people that stand for union now and forever.

That the law is discriminatory was well expressed in a letter that appeared in the New York Sun on January 27, 1917, which I quote in full:

TAXING PROFITS—GREAT INJUSTICE TO PARTNERSHIPS AS AGAINST CORPORATIONS.

NEW YORK, *January 25.*

To the EDITOR OF THE SUN.

SIR: Mr. KITCHIN, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, has stated that: "It is proposed to tax profits of corporations and partnerships when such profits are in excess of 8 per cent of the capital invested." I will say nothing of the general objection to such a tax, but wish to point out the great injustice and hardship of coupling "partnerships" with "corporations" in levying this tax.

A corporation has officers—president, secretary, treasurer, etc.—all of whom may receive very large salaries, which are included in the expenses to be deducted in calculating the profits. It can easily be understood that these salaries and similar expenses may be so great that the profits of the corporation will not exceed 8 per cent on the capital, in which case they will be subject to no tax.

A partnership is another matter. Two or more persons compose it, and do business with some success on a limited capital. The money they earn is due to a very large extent to the personal service they render and not to the capital employed. In the case of the corporation the officers who perform this service receive salaries, which will be deducted as stated above. But in the partnership no such deduction can be made because the compensation of each partner is a share of the profits and not a salary. This shows how much greater hardship such a tax would be to the partnership than to the corporation.

Suppose a corporation with $100,000 capital makes a gross profit of 20 per cent, or $20,000, but the officers' salaries amount to $20,000. There is no profit on the capital, as it has all gone in salaries, and there is nothing to tax. Suppose a partnership has a capital of $100,000, and makes a gross profit of 20 per cent, or $20,000. An allowance of 8 per cent on the $100,000 will be made and $12,000 will be taxed. A still greater hardship would be inflicted in the case of a partnership with a very small capital, where the entire profit results from the most laborious personal effort of the partners. Suppose a corner grocery conducted by two hard workers, who are on the job from 4 o'clock a. m. to 10 o'clock p. m. They have a capital of $5,000 and make $3,500 each, a total of $7,000. They would be taxed on the excess over 8 per cent on $5,000, or on $6,600, while the big corporation with a $20,000 president, taking life easy, and living in luxury, would escape all tax.

There are many partnerships also conducting business on borrowed capital, where the hardship would be still greater. An exemption of $5,000 capital in addition to 8 per cent on capital would not in very many cases remove the discrimination against partnerships. Again, why should a "partnership" be taxed when a similar business next door carried on by a single proprietor is not taxed?

The principle of taxing business men, if a penalty must be imposed for success, on profits in excess of 8 per cent on capital is entirely wrong. If such a tax must be imposed it should be on net profits on sales, say, in excess of 10 per cent of such sales.

H. E. D.

The Evening Sun of January 31, 1917, expresses the opinion regarding this bill far more than I can do in limited space, and I therefore quote it in full:

THE OUTRAGEOUS REVENUE BILL.

Of course the exposure of the revenue bill's wickedness will not prevent its passage. As we pointed out the other day, the present majority in Congress, having nothing more to fear and nothing to hope from the people, has put aside all restraint and all shame. The measure will go through "with bells on." The caucus whip will not have to be cracked. All Wilsonia seems to be of one mind: Draw Mason and Dixon's line and make the North sweat.

But none the less the course of the Republican Congressmen in forcing the facts into the light before the passage of the bill is praiseworthy. It is proper that the truth should be so stated in the House that no Member will be able hereafter to say that he voted in ignorance. It is well that the voters, not merely in the North but also below Mason and Dixon's line, should have their attention riveted upon the exact character of the measure, and should fully understand the sort of financiering that it results from.

There is no real need for this monstrous act of supertaxation if the Democrats in control of the Congress had shown any sort of moderation in appropriations. As Representative FORDNEY pointed out, money has been laid out, or is to be, to the tune of hundreds of millions of sheer waste. Besides the $162,000,000 spent in buying national disgrace in Mexico—for which Congress is not directly blamable—there are the $20,000,000 nitrate plant, the $11,000,000 armor plant, the $50,000,000 shipping law, $20,000,000 in excess of the true value to be paid for the Danish West Indies, perhaps $50,000,000 excess over all proper needs in the public-buildings and rivers and harbors bills, and $50,000,000 or thereabouts for a malapropos flood-control experiment, which may or may not get through the Senate. Perhaps in all a total of $300,000,000 to $360,000,000 has been spent or appropriated, which would have been saved by a thrifty administration and Congress. Such an economy, even the smaller sum, would have rendered the present plunder bill wholly unnecessary.

As for the methods adopted for raising the money, it can only be said that they combine every element of folly and oppression. They are sectional, as Mr. KITCHIN admits; they are discriminatory against business; they are a burden on efficiency and prosperity. They involve offensive inquisition and meddling with the affairs of citizens. They excite anger against the Government and hatred of the law. They are an incentive to evasion, even to fraud, so onerous are they to their victims. They impede the growth of capital and they curb enterprise. They are expensive and difficult in application. Withal they are unnecessary, since a readjustment of the tariff would produce, in the opinion of experts, all the money needed, the burden being distributed evenly, in proportion to the consumption and enjoyment of commodities, over all sections and classes, and being easily and inexpensively collected.

As the 4th of March draws near the people are gaining a truer notion of what Wilsonism and Democracy mean. They will be in a position to enjoy inauguration day in a chastened spirit.

When all hands are asking the question how to raise revenue, a letter which appeared in the New York Evening Post of January 19, 1917, might be worthy of consideration, and as a tariff bill will undoubtedly have to be framed the coming session, I read the letter in full:

TO TAX LUXURIES.

To the EDITOR OF THE EVENING POST.

SIR: Up, up with the high cost of living; down with the consumer! "The destruction of the poor is their poverty." The consumer of necessities has no friends. Let's bang him! The "war bridegrooms" are hastening to their haven with their hoard. Why despoil them of their quick-gotten profits?

A deficit in revenue, over $200,000,000, is facing the United States Treasury. At once the plan is urged upon Congress to increase the duties on necessities like sugar, wool, coffee, rubber, etc.

Why not raise the tax on imported luxuries? In 1915, according to the Commerce Reports, there were brought into the United States importations of precious and semiprecious stones amounting to $15,000,000, paying an average duty of 17 per cent. In 1916, $24,000,000 came to our shores. To this add gold and silver manufactures to the tune of $3,000,000.

This is a free country. If people with surplus moneys want to spend them on these foreign luxuries, let them do so. But let them pay for it. Put duties of 100 and 200 per cent on imported luxuries. This will not deter the well-to-do from buying them. It will only increase the inducements to have them. No luxury was ever taxed out of existence. Increased taxation only enhances its value in the eyes of its purblind devotees. Meanwhile Government, which means you and I, will derive revenue, and the overwhelming burden on the shoulders of the wage earner and the salaried man to make a living will be somewhat relieved.

There are other articles of idle luxury. Take ostrich feathers. If women must have this costly means of decoration to enhance their natural charms, let them pay for it. In 1911, $7,000,000 of crude feathers were imported from South Africa, paying a duty of but 20 per cent. Why should not such a luxury pay 100, 200, even 500 per cent? To him that hath shall be given! Why should the poor perpetually pay? If the plethoric piper must have his pleasures and pastimes, why not let him pay for them?

Enlightened self-interest is the keynote of modern economics as well as philanthropy.

Since our solons are scraping the legislative bins for new sources of revenue, let them consider this. Under the present tariff act importation of plumages, like paradise and gourah from the jungles of Sumatra and the Celebes, is prohibited. There apparently is no dearth of them, however, in this country. View the gorgeous window displays and the stylish headgear of fashion's throngs on Fifth Avenue any afternoon. But lately the newspapers announced the sentence in a Federal court of a ship's steward for smuggling in $50,000 worth. If women are going to have these plumages, let them come in through the regular legitimate channels and let them pay revenue to Government. Being excessive luxury, let them, too, pay excessive revenues.

A searching survey of the luxury imports, like silks, furs, costly fabrics, etc., will soon show our worrying legislators how this $200,000,000 deficit can very easily be made up by those best able to pay it.

"And from him that hath not shall be taken even the little that he hath!" Why pile everything on the back of the unresisting consumer, poor and inarticulate?

Let the legislators shift somewhat the load now straining the wincing shoulders of the galled jade! For once let's play that happy little game, passing the economic buck, in the back yard of the well to do, yclept hard to do.

Let's apportion the economic burden more equitably, and we'll all be happier!

Hands off the necessities!

Make up the Federal deficit through increased taxes on imported luxuries.

B. M. BRIGGS.

NEW YORK, *January 10.*

Resolutions of the Legislature of the State of Oklahoma Memoralizing Congress, First, to Sell the Coal and Asphalt Lands in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations; and, Second, to Lease the Remaining Lands in the Osage Nation for Oil, Gas, Coal, and Other Minerals.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM W. HASTINGS,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, February 2, 1917.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to print granted me I submit two concurrent resolutions passed by the Legislature of Oklahoma. The first is house concurrent resolution No. 12, memoralizing Congress in the matter of the sale of the coal and asphalt deposits of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Tribes of Indians, and setting forth the urgent reasons why the Congress of the United States should at an early date enact legislation providing for the sale of these coal and asphalt lands, as provided in an agreement entered into with the tribes. These Indian tribes are very anxious to have the remainder of their lands sold and their money distributed among them. A bill is now pending in Congress—H. R. 12544—which has the indorsement of the entire Oklahoma delegation. It was introduced by Congressman CARTER and was favorably reported by the House Committee on Indian Affairs. This bill is indorsed by the representatives of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Tribes of Indians, the coal lessees in Oklahoma, and the white citizens of Oklahoma interested in the development of the State.

This concurrent resolution reflects the unanimous sentiment of the people of Oklahoma, and I trust that Congress at an early date will enact the legislation prayed for.

The resolution and bill are as follows:

House concurrent resolution 12. (By Nesbitt, Durant, Neal, and Shores.)

Be it resolved by the Legislature of the State of Oklahoma, That—

Whereas there is in the old Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations of this State approximately 500,000 acres of valuable coal and asphalt deposits belonging to the Choctaw and Chickasaw Tribes of Indians; and

Whereas by the treaty of Atoka, effective September 25, 1902, the Government of the United States became bound by agreement with the Choctaw and Chickasaw Tribes to sell their lands and mineral deposits and distribute the money per capita to the members of said tribes, and although 14 years have passed this solemn obligation made and entered into with the United States in consideration of the performance of which the Choctaw and Chickasaw Tribes of Indians agreed to the allotment of their lands in severalty has not been performed; and

Whereas the mines now operating under lease contracts with said tribes are of such a short duration as to make it impossible for the operators thereof to procure or afford to expend the money necessary for the necessary improvements required to protect the lives of their employees against accident or to mine the said lands economically; and

Whereas the growth and stability of the business interests of that portion of our State wherein are situated these coal and asphalt deposits require that the same be operated upon a stable basis, to the end that the State of Oklahoma and the counties in which these vast deposits are situated may so develop in taxable real estate as to procure, without oppression, sufficient revenue to enforce orderly justice among her citizens: Therefore be it

Resolved, First. That the Congress of the United States be, and it is hereby, respectfully memorialized by this legislature to authorize the sale of the coal and asphalt deposits of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, to the end that the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians may receive the just value thereof, and that our State may be permitted to develop along stable, commercial lines.

Second. That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to each of the Representatives of the State of Oklahoma now in Washington, D. C., with the request that this memorial may be properly presented to the Congress of the United States, and that a copy also be forwarded to the honorable Secretary of the Interior of the United States; Hon. Cato Sells, Commissioner of Indian Affairs; Victor M. Locke, principal chief of the Choctaws; and Douglas H. Johnson, governor of the Chickasaw Tribe of Indians.

Adopted by the house of representatives this 16th day of January, 1917.

PAUL NESBITT,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Adopted by the senate this 18th day of January, 1917.

M. E. TRAPP,
President of the Senate.

A bill (H. R. 12544) providing for the sale of the coal and asphalt deposits in the segregated mineral land in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, Okla.

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to sell the coal and asphalt deposits, leased and unleased, in the segregated mineral area of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, in Oklahoma, in the manner hereinafter set forth.

Before offering such coal and asphalt deposits for sale the Secretary of the Interior, under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe, shall cause the same to be appraised by a board of appraisers, consisting of three members to be appointed by the President, one upon the recommendation of the Secretary of the Interior, one upon the recommendation of the principal chief of the Choctaw Nation, and one upon the recommendation of the governor of the Chickasaw Nation, the compensation of each to be uniform and fixed by the President of the United States, and such appointments shall be made within 60 days after the passage of this act. Such appraisement, both as to leased and unleased lands, shall be described in tracts to conform to the descriptions of the legal subdivisions heretofore designated by the Secretary of the Interior, and shall be completed, sworn to by such appraisers, and final report made to the Secretary of the Interior within six months from the date of the appointment of the appraisers.

SEC. 2. That the sale of such deposits shall be thoroughly advertised, and shall at the end of 90 days from the final report of such appraisers be offered for sale in tracts to conform with the report of such appraisers at not less than the appraised value so fixed, except that isolated tracts of less than 960 acres may be sold separately under like provisions: *Provided,* That 20 per cent of the purchase price shall be paid in cash, and the remainder shall be paid in four equal annual payments from the date of the sale, and all deferred payments on all deposits sold under the provisions of this act shall bear interest at the rate of 5 per cent per annum, and shall mature and become due before the expiration of four years after the date of such sale.

SEC. 3. That immediately after the expiration of one year after the coal and asphalt deposits shall have been offered for sale, or forfeited for nonpayment under the terms of the sale, the Secretary of the Interior, under rules and regulations to be prescribed by him, shall readvertise and cause to be sold to the highest bidder at public auction all coal and asphalt deposits remaining unsold and all coal and asphalt deposits forfeited by reason of such nonpayment of any part of the purchase price: *Provided,* That the Secretary of the Interior, in his discretion, may reject any or all bids which he does not consider adequate, but at the expiration of six months thereafter the Secretary of the Interior may again readvertise and offer the same for final sale to the highest bidder at public auction, upon such terms as he may prescribe and at such valuation, independent of the appraised value, as he may fix.

SEC. 4. *Provided,* That such deposits of coal or asphalt on the leased lands shall be sold subject to all rights of the lessee, and that any person acquiring said deposits of coal or asphalt shall take the same subject to said rights and acquire the same under the express understanding and agreement that the Department of the Interior will cancel and withdraw all rules and regulations and relinquish all authority heretofore exercised over the operation of said mines by reason of the Indian ownership of said property, and that said properties thereafter shall be operated under and in conformity with such laws as may be applicable thereto, and that advance royalty paid by any lessee and standing to the credit of said lessee shall be credited by said purchaser to the extent of the amount thereof, and that no royalties shall be paid by said lessee to said purchaser until the credit so given shall be exhausted at the rate of 8 cents per ton mine run, and that the royalty to be paid thereafter by said lessee to said purchaser shall be 8 cents per ton mine run of coal, and that any lessee may, at any time after completion of such sale, transfer or dispose of his leasehold interest without any restriction whatever; and that any lessee shall have the preferential right, provided the same is exercised within 90 days after the approval of the completion of the appraisement of the minerals as herein provided, to purchase at the appraised value any or all of the surface of the lands lying within such lease held by him and heretofore reserved by order of the Secretary of the Interior and upon the terms as above provided, and shall also have the preferential right to purchase the coal deposits embraced in any lease held by such lessee by taking same at the highest price offered by any responsible bidder at public auction; and if any lessee becomes the purchaser of any coal deposits on any undeveloped lease owned by him, then one-half of the advance royalties paid by any lessee on such lease shall be credited on the purchase price thereof, and the advance royalties heretofore paid by any lessee shall be credited to such lessee on account of any production of coal on any other lease which he may own and operate: *And provided,* That nothing herein contained shall be construed as limiting or curtailing the rights of any lessee from acquiring additional surface lands for mining operations as provided by the act of Congress of February 19, 1912.

SEC. 5. That the surface of any segregated coal and asphalt lands in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, in the State of Oklahoma, which may have been, or may be, condemned under the laws of the State of Oklahoma for State penal institutions, or for county or municipal purposes, as authorized by the Indian appropriation act approved March 3, 1909, shall be construed to include the entire estate, save the coal and asphalt reserved: *Provided,* That the State of Oklahoma shall have the preferential right of purchase, at the appraised value thereof, upon the same terms applying to other coal and asphalt deposit sales under this act, all coal and asphalt deposits underlying the surface heretofore purchased by the said State of Oklahoma, and more particularly described as follows: Southeast quarter and south half of the northeast quarter of section 33; south half of and northeast quarter and south half of northwest quarter, and northeast quarter of northwest quarter of section 34; all of section 35, and southeast quarter of southwest quarter of section 26; and south half of southeast quarter of section 26; and south half of southwest quarter of section 25; and northwest quarter and west half of southwest quarter and west half of east half of southwest quarter and northeast quarter of northeast quarter of southwest quarter and west half of southeast

quarter of northeast quarter of southwest quarter and west half of east half of southeast quarter of southwest quarter of section 36, township 6 north, range 14 east.

SEC. 6. That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized to prescribe such rules, regulations, terms, and conditions, not inconsistent with this act, as he may deem necessary to carry out its provisions, and shall establish an office for such purpose at McAlester, Pittsburg County, Okla.

SEC. 7. That when the full purchase price for any property sold hereunder is paid, the chief executives of the two tribes shall execute and deliver, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, to each purchaser an appropriate patent, conveying to the purchaser the property so sold: *Provided*, That the purchaser of any coal or asphalt deposits shall have the right at any time before final payment is due to pay the full purchase price on said coal and asphalt deposits, with accrued interest, and shall thereupon be entitled to a patent therefor as herein provided.

SEC. 8. That there is hereby appropriated, out of any Choctaw and Chickasaw funds in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $50,000 to pay the expenses of appraisement, advertisement, and sale herein provided for, and the proceeds derived from the sales hereunder shall be paid into the Treasury of the United States to the credit of the Choctaws and Chickasaws.

The second is house concurrent resolution No. 13, memoralizing Congress to lease the remaining lands belonging to the Osage Tribe for oil, gas, and coal, and giving the reasons therefor in the preamble of the resolution:

Engrossed house concurrent resolution No. 13. (By Wismeyer, of Osage; Shores, of Carter; and Hall, of the senate.)

Be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the Sixth Legislature (the Senate concurring therein):

Whereas under the act of Congress approved June 28, 1906 (34 Stat. L., 539), entitled "An act for the division of lands and funds of the Osage Indians in Oklahoma Territory, and for other purposes," there were allotted to the Osage Tribe of Indians about 1,400,000 acres of land; and

Whereas under the provisions of said act all oil, gas, coal, and other minerals upon said allotted lands were reserved to the use of said tribe for a period of 25 years; and

Whereas under the provisions of said act about 180,000 acres of said allotted lands have been leased for oil, gas, and other mining purposes, the royalties therefrom to be paid by the United States under the direction and regulations of the honorable Secretary of the Interior to said tribe of Indians; and

Whereas there remains of said allotted lands about 1,220,000 acres of land yet unleased, and which from recent developments have been proven to be rich in oil and gas and other minerals reserved to said tribe under said act; and

Whereas under the provisions of said act the allottees of said lands, upon proper certificates of competency, are authorized to convey certain of said lands, and under such certificates have conveyed to alien holders about one-third or more than one-third of said lands; and

Whereas under the provisions of said act the said oil, gas, coal, and other minerals of said lands are reserved to said tribe for a period of only 25 years, leaving approximately about 14 years until the expiration of such reservation for the benefit of said tribe, after the expiration of which time all of the oil, gas, coal, and other minerals contained in said land will pass by deed of conveyance to purchasers thereof; and

Whereas after the expiration of said period of 25 years from June 28, 1906, the greater portion, if not almost all, of the titles to said land will have passed to alien holders, together with the titles to the oil, gas, and other minerals therein contained; and

Whereas the royalties now collected from the aforesaid 180,000 acres of leased land amount, according to the estimate of the Secretary of the Interior, annually to about $2,000 per capita to each member of the Osage Indian Tribe; and

Whereas the Secretary of the Interior has persistently discouraged the further leasing of any of said lands upon the theory that the royalties now derived from said lands amounting, under his estimate, to about $2,000 per capita per year, are sufficient for the members of said tribe, and is all that is needed or necessary for the members of said tribe, and that the interest of said tribe would be better conserved by not allowing any further leasing of said land or any further or additional mining on said lands, and on January 10, 1917, a letter from the Secretary of the Interior, dated January 2, 1917, was read to the Osage Tribal Council, holding that in view of the fact that the Osage receive now about $2,000 per capita annually from their royalties, that that was sufficient for their maintenance, and that in his opinion their wealth would be best conserved by allowing it to remain in the earth and not brought to the surface, and for these reasons advised that no further leases on the Osage lands would be made except such leases as were necessary to prevent drainage by wells already in operation around the borders of said lands; and

Whereas we believe that in truth and in fact the opinion and rulings of the honorable Secretary of the Interior is not for the best interests of said tribe, and does not conserve their properties, but for the reason that only about 14 years yet remain of said reservation, and for the reason that the unleased lands of said tribe are rapidly being conveyed, and for the reason that after the expiration of said reservation the title to said oil and gas and coal and other minerals would pass to the purchasers of said lands and said tribe will thereby be deprived of their property rights in the same; that the interests of said tribe would be better subserved and their property rights be better conserved by allowing them to lease said lands under such rules as might be just and fair in the premises in order that they might obtain the use and benefit of said reserved minerals before the expiration of said 25-year period of reservation and before the title to almost all of said lands and the oil and gas and coal and other minerals therein contained passed into alien hands; and

Whereas the honorable Secretary of the Interior has persistently refused to grant a hearing to said tribal council or their representatives for relief in the premises: Therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the Sixth Legislature of Oklahoma (the Senate concurring therein), That the Congress of the United States be, and is hereby memoralized, requested, and urged, to take such steps and adopt such measures as will grant to said Osage Tribe the right to lease any or all of said lands in order that they may derive the full benefit of their property in the oil, gas, coal, and other minerals contained in said land before the expiration of said period of reservation, and before the title to same has passed into alien hands, and beyond their reach and control.

Adopted by the house of representatives this 16th day of January, 1917.

PAUL NESBITT,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Adopted by the senate this 18th day of January, 1917.

M. E. TRAPP,
President of the Senate.

International Leagues to Enforce Peace.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 3, 1917.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Speaker, we have most of the world's money, we have boundless lands, and we have very little military power. European nations have no money, little land, and boundless military power. Yet we actually believe that European statesmen are staying awake at night devising schemes to make us secure against themselves. We even fancy that Japanese statesmen are increasing their navy with a view to turning it over to some international admiral who is to have charge of the "freedom of the seas." And, by the way, speaking of the "freedom of the seas," let us try to be honest about it. To whom in time of peace have the seas been otherwise than free for a hundred years past? Only the pirates have had a just cause for complaint.

Now come these various plans for international leagues to prevent war. The idea is no novelty to readers of history, but that is no reason why it should be rejected. After the European war is over there is to be disarmament, we are told. There is to be an international court to decide disputes among nations and an international army and navy to enforce its decrees. If war breaks out the international army and navy are to suppress the aggressor if they can find out who the aggressor is.

From this time forward everything is going to be left to arbitration. Oh, of course, I know that at present they talk of limiting the scope of these arbitrations; but if you are going to have an international court at all and tie this country up to an international army and an international navy, you had better arbitrate the things which men have strong feelings about and not merely arbitrate questions which no one would fight over, anyway.

Vague as the whole program is, nevertheless its advocacy at the present time can have no other effect than to check the preparedness movement and retard the development of our own Navy and our own Army.

SUPPOSE IT WILL NOT WORK?

Now, let us take a good, square look at both sides of these pictures of international leagues to enforce peace. I can easily see the attractiveness of the program if we look at only one side of the question. Let us consider what might happen if any nation or group of nations were to become dissatisfied with the decrees of the international court and should show a disposition to take to fighting. If our international army and navy could prevent war, well and good; but suppose that they were unable to prevent war; suppose that the international army and navy must actually be used to enforce the court's decree; what then? Is the United States going to let that international court declare war for us in some European or Asiatic quarrel with which we have no concern whatever? Has the people's opinion of their own Congress sunk so low that they are ready to take away from us the power to declare war and hand that power over to a court of European and Asiatic lawyers? A year ago gentlemen were arguing that we ought not to go to war except by vote of the people. To-day those very same gentlemen are arguing in favor of going to war at the command of a council of foreign advocates.

Suppose that we had had this kind of an international court in 1914, and suppose that this international court had decided that Germany and Austria were in the wrong and had then called upon the United States to furnish its quota of men and money and ships to put down the Austrian and German belligerents. Looking the proposition honestly and squarely in the face, what chance is there that Congress would have voted

in 1914 to raise half a million men and send them to war in Europe, to support the allies against Germany and Austria?

But let us ask ourselves whether we are genuine in clamoring for a settlement of international questions by arbitration. Would we, were the issue to arise, consent to the arbitration of the Monroe doctrine? Perhaps so; we are getting pretty wabbly on it.

Supposing Germany goes before that international court and claims the right to restore order in Mexico in order to recover property which has been taken from the Kaiser's subjects; supposing that we refuse to intervene and refuse to let Germany intervene; will the international court support our side or the side of Germany?

If the court decrees that Germany has the right to send an army into Mexico, what are we going to do; submit to the decree or repudiate our international agreement?

THE OPEN DOOR FOR CHINESE CHEAP LABOR.

Would we consent to arbitrate our right to exclude the Chinese and other yellow races from this country? The exclusion of cheap Asiatic labor is a doctrine nearest to the American workingman's heart, yet it is a doctrine under which Japan and China chafe and fume. Suppose you had your international court, with a judge from Japan, and a judge from Great Britain, and a judge from Sweden, and a judge from Germany, and a judge from Austria, and a judge from Russia, and a judge from Italy; and suppose Japan were to go before the court and claim the right of free immigration of Japanese and Chinese into the United States; would our workingmen submit to the decree of that international court opening the door to Chinese cheap labor? I think not. American labor would repudiate such a decision of an international court.

COUNTRIES DO NOT KEEP WORD.

I confess that I have lost confidence in international agreements. Countries do not keep their treaties when the pace gets too hot. Even Uncle Sam's hands are by no means clean.

We violated our treaty with the Chinese when we passed the Chinese exclusion act, and we violated our treaty with the Indians when we drove them from their homestead lands to the country west of the Mississippi River. The march of events was too strong for us.

How should we have fared throughout this Nation's history if, instead of fighting our battles, we had been asked to depend upon decrees of international courts? Would the revolutionists of 1775 have left it to international courts to decide whether or not New England ought to be taxed?

How should we have fared if we had submitted to arbitration the disputes which caused the Mexican War? We assisted Texas to get away from Mexico, and then we proceeded to annex Texas. Plainly and bluntly speaking, our purpose was to get some territory for American development.

How do you think we should have come out before an international court in those days? And yet does even the most extreme pacifist deny that the world has benefited by our rape of Texas?

Would the North have consented to arbitrate the question of slavery? Would this Nation have permitted an international tribunal to decide whether or not the battleship *Maine* was blown up from the inside or from the outside, or whether Spain should be forced to evacuate Cuba? If this question had been submitted to the international court, how would the international court have decided? Does anyone deny that Cuba has a happier present and a happier future because the concert of powers of Europe in 1898 was unable to prevent us from going to war with Spain?

Washington's advice against entangling alliances is not yet a vermiform appendix.

Retirement of Federal Judges.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. COLEMAN,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 3, 1917.

Mr. COLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, in view of the remarks of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DYER], under date of January 30 this year, in connection with Senate bill 706, a bill to amend section 260 of the Judicial Code with reference to the retirement of Federal judges, which remarks are found in the RECORD of February 1, I desire to call attention to House bill 6450, introduced by myself on December 17, 1915, and reported to the House with an amendment on May 5, 1916, and passed on June 10. The bill as amended reads as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 260 of the Judicial Code be, and the same is hereby, amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 260. That when any judge of any court of the United States, appointed to hold his office during good behavior, resigns his office after having held a commission or commissions as judge of any such court or courts at least 10 years continuously, and having attained the age of 70 years, he shall during the residue of his natural life receive the salary which is payable at the time of his resignation for the office that he held at the time of his resignation. But instead of resigning any judge other than a Justice of the Supreme Court, who is qualified to resign under the foregoing provisions, may, by statement addressed to the Attorney General, retire upon full salary from regular active service on the bench, and the President shall thereupon be authorized to appoint a successor; but a judge so retiring may nevertheless be called upon by the circuit judge of that circuit and be by him authorized to perform such judicial duties in such circuit as such retired judge may be willing to undertake, or he may be called upon by the Chief Justice and be by him authorized to perform such judicial duties in any other circuit as such retired judge may be willing to undertake."

This bill does not attempt, like the Senate bill, to coerce any judge into retirement on account of his age, but permits a judge, having attained the age of 70 years and under existing law entitled to resign, to retire from active service with the right of undertaking after such retirement such duties as he may be willing to perform. The bill, therefore, in some degree meets the situation aimed at by the Senate bill, but without interfering with the right of the judge to exercise his own judgment on the question of retirement. Many judges having served a number of years on the bench, and having reached the age at which they are permitted to retire on full pay, are loath to sever their connection with a service to which they have been attached for long years, and perhaps in some instances do hold on after their physical powers have become somewhat impaired.

But under the provisions of House bill 6450 they can retire and yet keep in touch with their work by performing such duties as they are willing to undertake, thereby giving to the Government the advantage of their ripe experience without any additional expense.

The gentleman from Missouri in his remarks inserted a communication from the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, part of which reads as follows:

A bill amending the Federal judiciary act has passed the House and is pending in the Senate which attempts to confer upon the President the power to appoint substitute judges in the district and circuit courts.

It is apparent from the sentence quoted as well as the comments that follow in this communication, that it refers not to the bill that has passed the House and is pending in the Senate but rather to the bill which has passed the Senate and is now pending in the House, for the only bill in this connection that has passed the House is the one introduced by myself, above referred to; and it does not confer upon the President the power to appoint substitute judges or in any manner interfere with the freedom of choice of the incumbent on the question of retirement.

I make this statement for the purpose of directing the attention of the Members of the House to the difference in the two bills, both aiming to amend section 260 of the Judicial Code, with reference to retirement of judges, but the one carefully preserving the right of the judge to exercise his own judgment as to the time of retirement. I am opposed to compulsory retirement and to the Senate bill in so far as it attempts to force judges from office, which in effect it does in the following provisions:

In the event any circuit judge, having so held a commission or commissions at least 10 years continuously, and having attained the age of 70 years as aforesaid, shall nevertheless remain in office, the President if he finds that any judge is unable to discharge efficiently all the duties of his office by reason of mental or physical disability of permanent character, shall appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, an additional circuit judge of said circuit, who, notwithstanding the incumbency of the judge so entitled to resign, shall sit customarily as one of the judges of the circuit court of appeals of his circuit.

While the aim of relieving an incompetent judge may be commendable, yet, in consideration of the greater benefit of the absolute independence of the judiciary from any outward influence and the danger of allowing a coordinate branch of the Government to exercise its judgment on the question of removal, there should be no hesitation on the part of the Members of this House in refusing to extend the power of the Executive over the judiciary. This power is sufficiently exercised in the appointment of judges without adding thereto a discretionary authority as to the time of removal.

Just to be reminded of the age of Crown-made judges removable at pleasure and the decisions rendered to order in purely

civil to say nothing of political affairs, should cause us to carefully guard the independence of the judiciary.

I am therefore in hearty accord with my colleague in his opposition to Senate bill No. 706, and will vote against it if occasion is offered, and thus maintain the dignity and independence of the courts, preferring to endure the evils resulting from an occasional judge holding on to his office after his usefulness has been impaired to giving to the Executive department of the Government authority to exercise its discretion as to when any judge should be relieved of duty with the consequent dangers that such a practice would entail.

What the Junior Officers and the Enlisted Men of the National Guard Think of the Regular Army and of Compulsory Military Training.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 5, 1917.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Speaker, in compliance with permission to extend my remarks granted me to-day, February 5, 1917, I herewith submit a statement which I recently prepared for presentation to the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, as follows:

"A few days after election in November last I started for the Mexican border with two objects in view: First, to study the relations of the National Guard with the Regular Army and, second, to endeavor to ascertain the causes of the disinclination of young men to enlist.

"I found that on October 7, 1916, an order had been issued from the headquarters of the Department of the South directing all Regular officers serving as inspector-instructor or otherwise with the National Guard to make a report on the virtues or defects of the National Guard system. I found that the reports made in compliance with this order were almost invariably exceedingly unfavorable to the National Guard system. Of course, I realized that Regular Army officers are human and that we must expect from them a certain amount of impatience at the fulsome laudation which we politicians so freely bestow on the National Guardsman who votes and so churlishly withhold from the Regular Army man who bears the brunt of battle. But no amount of irritation or prejudice or jealousy or intrigue or of all these things combined could account for the unanimity of the replies to Gen. Funston's circular order of October 7. I can not find that these replies have ever been published, but the report on the mobilization of the National Guard issued by the War Department tells exactly the same story of the inefficiency of all except a few National Guard organizations.

"Realizing as I did that the generalissimos of the National Guard would let loose a storm of criticism of the Regular Army as soon as the mobilization reports were published, I approached Gen. Bell, commanding the district of El Paso, and discussed with him a plan for ascertaining the views of the National Guard toward the Regular Army. The views of the generalissimos I already knew. What I was seeking was the opinion of the junior officers and enlisted men of the National Guard.

"There were at that time 16 National Guard regiments, 4 separate battalions of Artillery, and squadrons of Cavalry, and 296 companies, batteries, troops, and hospital and ambulance units under the command of Gen. Bell. The plan was hit upon of sending a list of questions to each of the 20 officers in command of regiments and separate battalions or squadrons, and to each of the 296 captains commanding companies, batteries, troops of Cavalry, and hospital and ambulance units. In order to get the point of view of the enlisted men, as well as of the commissioned officers, the same list of questions was sent to the 296 first sergeants of the aforementioned companies, batteries, and so forth. List of questions were sent in all to 612 individuals. Ordinarily, when subordinates make reports, they are required to forward them through 'military channels,' as it is called. That is to say, a first sergeant makes his report to his captain, who signs it and forwards it to his colonel. Thereupon the colonel indorses the report and forwards it to the brigade commander, who in his turn forwards it to the division or district commander. In other words, under ordinary circumstances the report of a first sergeant in the El Paso district would pass under the supervision of three different commissioned officers before it reached Gen. Bell's headquarters. In this particular case, however, Gen. Bell gave orders that all reports were to be made to him direct, and it was generally understood that the names of the signers should be confidential. Furthermore, directions were given that each man should make his report without consultation with anyone else.

"Here is Gen. Bell's order:

"HEADQUARTERS EL PASO DISTRICT,
"El Paso, Tex., December 13, 1916.

"1. The following questions will be answered by each regimental commander, company commander, and first sergeant of the National Guard:

"2. The answers will be written with a typewriter or pencil, and the completed paper will then be sealed in an official envelope and mailed without delay *direct* to the 'Commanding General, El Paso District, Mills Building, El Paso Tex.'

"3. The district commander desires that each man called upon for report express his opinions *without consultation with anyone.*

"By command of Brig. Gen. Bell.

"H. H. WHITNEY,
"Lieutenant Colonel, Adjutant General, District Adjutant."

"Here are the questions and answers:

"No. 1. Question. Would the instruction of the National Guard proceed more rapidly if more Regular officers and noncommissioned officers were detailed for service with the National Guard?

"Answer. Yes—Colonels, 18; captains, 190; first sergeants, 180; total yes, 388. No—Colonels, none; captains, 41; first sergeants, 53; total no, 94. Conditional—Colonels, 2; captains, 50; first sergeants, 38; total conditional, 90.

"NOTE.—The noes were qualified in about half of the replies by the statement that there were 'already enough,' meaning that one regular officer and three regular noncommissioned officers, as at present detailed for the instruction of each regiment, were ample.

"No. 2. Question. Are the officers and enlisted men of the National Guard desirous of the instruction from the officers and noncommissioned officers of the Regular Army? If not, what is the reason?

"Answer. Yes—Colonels, 16; captains, 217; first sergeants, 205; total yes, 438. No—Colonels, none; captains, 12; first sergeants, 30; total no, 42. Conditional—Colonels, 4; captains, 49; first sergeants, 17; conditional, 70.

"No. 3. Question. Can you suggest any way in which the officers and men of the Regular Army can cooperate more fully with the National Guard in the development of a citizen army?

"Answer. The answers to this question may be roughly classified as follows: More cooperation by friendly intercourse and a closer relationship, 122; more careful selection of Regular Army instructors, 28; more instruction from Regular Army, particularly at home stations, 83; sundry suggestions, 50.

"NOTE.—Over 70 replies to question No. 3 desired one regular officer with each regiment or separate battalion and one noncommissioned officer with each company instead of only three for the whole regiment, as at present.

"No. 4. Question. Have you formed any opinion on the question of universal military training? If so, what are your ideas?

"Answer. In favor—Colonels, 16; captains, 250; first sergeants, 234; total yes, 500. Against—Colonels, 1; captains, 5; first sergeants, 4; total no, 10.

"No. 5. Any additional remarks you may have to make bearing on the above.

"Many of these remarks are most valuable. They will be made a subject of special study at Gen. Bell's headquarters.

"I have here all the original 572 replies to Gen. Bell's order. They were tabulated by the officers at his headquarters, and I have given you the tabulation figures. If any member of the committee wishes to do any tabulation on his own account, he is welcome to do so, but I request that the names of the signers may be held confidential."

Revenue Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. STANLEY BENEDICT,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 31, 1917.

Mr. BENEDICT. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to the whole policy of this bill, because I do not believe that the National Government should raise its revenue by direct taxation. This course is always discriminatory and inequitable, and, what is

far worse, the amount of the tax returns is never certain. The only equitable method of distributing the burden of taxation over the entire people in the just proportion in which each enjoys the privileges of Government is by a reasonable and adequate tariff, which is an indirect tax. This source of revenue is always certain and the amount of tax returns is reasonably definite. I do not favor a high tariff, nor yet a so-called protective tariff intended to foster our so-called infant industries. I believe in a tariff that equalizes the cost of production abroad and the cost at home, having in mind the difference in living conditions of labor abroad and in our country, plus a fair profit for the manufacturer. A tariff is the only efficient barrier of protection to our manufacturer and laborer against the cheap labor of other countries.

My particular objections to the several provisions of this bill may be specifically stated under the following four heads:

First. It is discriminatory and unfair, particularly in that portion applying to the excess profits tax, in that it lays this tax upon corporations, companies, and partnerships, and excludes those individuals who are enjoying equal excess profits and are favored as fully with all the privileges and advantages of government. I do not favor the taxing of a class, but I think it only equitable that if a class is to be taxed that all persons properly falling within that class should be taxed. Perhaps it was deemed politically expedient by the framers of the bill to tax corporations, because that might be popular, and to avoid taxing individuals, because of the storm of protest that might be raised thereby. I have no more sympathy for corporations than for individuals, but believe that justice requires that both be dealt with on an equal basis. There is an income-tax law affecting corporations and one of like character affecting individuals, but no effort was made in this revenue bill to amend the income-tax law relating to individuals.

Second. It is economically unsound, because the provision for the excess profits tax is relied upon to yield $226,000,000, which estimate is based upon highly prosperous times. The moment the European war ceases and prices return to normal this tax would diminish to almost nothing, and during poor business years no return whatever could be expected from this source. Any governmental policy that depends upon so unreliable a source of revenue is manifestly unsound. Furthermore, provision is made in this bill for the issuance of the balance of the Panama Canal bonds, the proceeds to be used for any of the purposes contained in this bill, and for the issuance of an additional amount of $100,000,000 worth of 50-year bonds, as well as the issuance of $300,000,000 worth of certificates of indebtedness, while no provision whatever is made, so far as I can ascertain, for the ultimate retirement of these bonds and certificates of indebtedness. Such a procedure must be conceded by all to be unbusinesslike and economically unsound. The argument that the issuance of bonds for permanent improvements is justifiable is wholly fallacious. The Federal Government will not engage in profit-making enterprises with these permanent improvements as do private corporations, and therefore can not refund these investments without some specific provision for doing so. I fail to find any provision anywhere for the ultimate retirement of these bonds. They are simply a legacy of debt for posterity to pay.

Furthermore, the certificates of indebtedness are required to be paid within one year's time, doubtless depending upon the uncertain returns hereinbefore mentioned for securing the funds with which to meet these short-time loans. No prudent business man would borrow money, making a definite promise of payment within a certain time, and depend upon so uncertain a source for securing the funds with which to meet his debt. The thought of a new, rich country like ours mortgaging itself to conduct its governmental activities is wholly repugnant to me and, in my judgment, entirely unwarranted. A solvent, prosperous business man is expected to pay as he goes, so also should a Government, especially one so extremely wealthy and whose natural resources are so abundant.

Third. It invades the right of the States in their effort at raising sufficient revenues for maintenance of State government by assuming to collect an estate or inheritance tax, which right has for years been enjoyed by the States and upon which the States have depended for revenue. By this bill the rates to be used in this estate tax have been so increased that the States will ultimately have to discontinue raising revenue by this method. My State has passed resolutions against the invasion of this field by the Federal Government.

Fourth. It levies a double tax, and that, too, in most cases, upon industry, thus discouraging and hampering the growth and development upon which the Nation is so dependent for its prosperity. At the present time the National Government collects a corporation income tax and an individual income tax, in many cases the burden falling upon the same individuals for both these taxes, and now it is proposed to increase the amount of the corporation tax. In addition, the States collect a corporation franchise or license tax which is a duplication of the National Government tax, but which was in operation in the States many years before the National Government adopted it.

The States now collect an estate or inheritance tax, having done so for many years, and the entrance of the National Government into this field is a double tax. The power of direct taxation should be left to the States, and the National Government should acquire its revenue by indirect taxes.

I realize full well that revenue must be raised, and that by reason of the deficit of the present administration and the large appropriations made by it the amount of revenue required is enormous. There is, however, only one certain definite way that has in times past always proved adequate for governmental needs, and that is the tariff. Every time that any other method of raising revenue has been substituted the Government has run behind and fallen into debt. The political party now in power has continually refused to adopt any adequate form of tariff, with the result that it now faces an enormous deficit, and in desperation is seizing upon every available means of raising revenue, including the issuance of the unused Panama Canal bonds, individual income tax, estate or inheritance tax, corporation income tax, general bonds of 50-year maturity, and certificates of indebtedness or temporary one-year loans.

Protests Against Advance in Grazing Fees on National Forests.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL HAYDEN,
OF ARIZONA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 29, 1917.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I desire to print the following memorial lately adopted by the Legislature of the State of Arizona:

THIRD STATE LEGISLATURE.

Senate memorial No. 2.

To the honorable the SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE,
Washington, D. C.:

Your memorialist, the Third Legislature of the State of Arizona, respectfully represents—

That among the greatest industries of the West, and prominent among the activities upon which the prosperity of the country depends, is the live-stock industry.

That its success and therefore its ability to fulfill the demands essential to the maintenance of life made upon it depends in great measure upon the affording of fair grazing facilities within the national forests.

That the recent order of the honorable Secretary of Agriculture, which proposes within three years to double the present fees charged for the grazing of live stock upon the national forests, will, if enforced, work great injustice and irreparable injury to the industry, and greatly restrict the benefits it is now able to confer; that it will, in fact, prove practically confiscatory in its nature.

Your memorialist, the Third Legislature of the State of Arizona, therefore prays that you give the most careful consideration to the order which has been promulgated, with a view to rescinding the same, thus doing common justice to a great industry of the West and avoiding the unreasonable restriction of an important source of food supply.

And your memorialist will ever pray.

Passed by the house January 19, 1917, by the following vote: Thirty-five ayes, no nays, none absent, none excused.

A. A. JOHNS,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
SAM W. PROCTOR,
Chief Clerk.

Passed by the senate January 19, 1917, by the following vote: Eighteen ayes, no nays, none absent, one excused.

D. H. CLARIDGE,
President of the Senate.
C. P. HICKS,
Secretary of the Senate.

The National American Live Stock Association adopted the following resolution at its twentieth annual convention held at Cheyenne, Wyo., on January 20, 1917:

Whereas the American National Live Stock Association has been advised by Hon. David F. Houston, Secretary of Agriculture, of a proposed advance in the fees charged for grazing live stock on the national forests, which in 1919 will amount to a 100 per cent increase; and

Whereas there has been received a large number of protests from the various advisory boards, representing a great majority of the stock grazed on the national forests; and

Whereas these protests are based upon the contention that the permittees are now paying the full value of the forage on the forests on account of (a) the geographical location and physical character of the forests; (b) poisonous plants; (c) predatory wild animals; (d) cost of salting cattle on national forests; (e) range development necessary to utilize our privileges fully; and (f) restrictive grazing regulations; which cause a very substantial increase in the cost of producing our live stock; and

Whereas a study of the live-stock business and the financial incomes of permittees will fully substantiate these contentions; and

Whereas the moneys accrued from the grazing of live stock more than offset the cost of the administration thereof by a 33⅓ per cent net return to the Government; and

Whereas the present grazing regulations and fees have been supported by the hearty cooperation of the American National Live Stock Association, and the various advisory boards now protesting against the said increase, under the assurance of the department that these grazing resources would not be commercialized; and

Whereas the proposed advance in fees is a complete reversal of this policy, which we very much deplore; and

Whereas we believe the reasons advanced by the honorable Secretary of Agriculture in support of this proposed advance are insufficient and unsupported by the facts that actually exist, and that any advance in the grazing fees based upon such reasons is unjust and unfair: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the American National Live Stock Association in convention assembled at Cheyenne, Wyo., January 18–20, 1917, That we most vigorously and unanimously protest against any advance in the fees now charged for grazing privileges on the national forests.

Mr. F. J. Hagenbarth, president of the National Wool Growers' Association, discussed this question in the course of his address at the fifty-third annual convention of that association, held in Salt Lake City, Utah, on January 13, 1917, as follows:

When the law creating forest reserves was passed, in 1896, no reference was made, either in the enacting clause or in any part of the law, to live stock or grazing or anything relating to our industry. No provision was made in the law for the imposition and collection of grazing fees. The use of the forest reserve for grazing has been the upgrowth of natural conditions. The Forest Service has come to learn that instead of being a detriment the grazing of live stock on the national forests is a benefit that progressively increases as time goes on. The forests are guarded, fires prevented, the natural growth of grass increased, and in no instance, under proper administration, have we ever learned of any detrimental results following the use of live stock on the national forests.

In addition to the benefits above enumerated and others arising, both directly and indirectly, which I will not mention, the live-stock interests paid last year approximately a million and a quarter dollars in fees for this grazing privilege. About one-third of this amount, or $400,000, was spent in the various States, either by apportionment of 25 per cent directly to the States and 10 per cent for the building of roads in the forests located within the States. At this time we have before us a proposition on the part of the Forest Service which, if carried into effect, will double the present fees which we are paying. We do not believe that the Bureau of Forestry has fully studied in its farthest reach the unfairness of this proposition. The flockmaster and the herdsman are fully paying all the cost of administration involved in the handling of live stock on the forests.

It is not to be conceived that this great Government under the guise of conservation has gone into the forestry business for the purpose of making money out of the live-stock industry. We believe that every cost of administration which is justly chargeable to us should be paid by us. And we are willing to go further; we are willing to be assessed a reasonable amount for purposes of road construction, development of water, reseeding of the range, building of drift fences, roads, and bridges; but we earnestly protest against the use of the national forests for the purpose of obtaining funds which will go into the National Treasury, to be diverted to other interests than our own. A 50 per cent increase over the present fees would be ample to cover every reasonable necessity of the forests, both for present use and future development, in so far as live stock is concerned. This increase should be made, say, one-half each year for two years, and all moneys so derived should be spent for the forests and in the forests and primarily for the benefit of the industry by which the money is paid.

I also include an open letter from the Tusayan Cattle Growers' Association, addressed to the Secretary of Agriculture, in which a convincing argument is made against the proposed advance in grazing fees on the forest reserves:

WILLIAMS, ARIZ., *January 15, 1917.*

Hon. DAVID F. HOUSTON,
Secretary of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter to T. W. Tomlinson, secretary of the American National Live Stock Association, under date of November 3, 1916, wherein you set forth the reasons offered by the Department of Agriculture for the proposed increase in fees for grazing stock upon national forests, has been called to the attention of the advisory board of the Tusayan Cattle Growers' Association, an organization representing over 80 per cent of the permittees grazing cattle upon the Tusayan National Forest, one of the largest national forests in the State of Arizona.

After a careful consideration of the reasons offered by you for the proposed increase in grazing fees, upon behalf of the members of this association we desire to enter an earnest protest against the proposed action, and in doing so submit our reasons, as hereinafter set forth.

In your letter to Secretary Tomlinson you state that one of the leading criticisms of the management of the national forests is that they are not self-supporting and are a burden upon the National Treasury. In our judgment this is by no means a valid criticism.

If the original objects of forestry, viz, the conservation of the timber and water supplies of the Nation, as were set forth by the National Academy of Sciences in 1897, when that body was requested by the Secretary of the Interior to formulate a national-forest policy, and which resulted in the passage of the act of June 30, 1897 (30 Stat., 34–36), are correct and are a benefit to the people as a whole, and if the timber and water resources of the national forests are insufficient to sustain the cost of administration, why should the national forests not be a legitimate burden upon the National Treasury?

An examination of the organic act authorizing the creation of national forests, the act of March 3, 1891 (26 Stat., 1095), and the act of June 30, 1897 (30 Stat., 34–36), which supplements the same, discloses the fact that neither the words "stock raising" nor "grazing" appear therein. As an asset, therefore, of forestry, grazing is a by-product. It is something that has been thrown into the lap of the national forests which was not contemplated at the time of the passage of the organic act. That this is true is amply testified by the fact that originally—in fact, up to 1905—no fees whatever were charged permittees for the privilege of grazing stock upon national forests.

Again, it is asserted by you that one of the criticisms frequently advanced against the Forest Service is the fact that timber and other resources of the forests are being disposed of at market prices under commercial methods and at competitive prices, while grazing is being disposed of to stockmen at extremely low prices.

The effect of this criticism is that grazing privileges should be disposed of in the same manner as the timber on a forest is sold, viz, to the highest bidder. In reply to this we are loath to believe that the Government would for a moment contemplate such action. It is admitted that under the act of June 30, 1897, the Government has a legal right to take such action should it see fit to do so. However, we do deny the moral and equitable right of it to place the disposal of grazing privileges upon the same plane as is the right to cut and sell timber. In the first place, the highest bidder for the right to cut and sell timber has acquired no right, privilege, or preference to do so in the sense of that acquired by a permittee to graze stock upon a national forest. He has in no sense assisted in the development of the country or the range. He has never been a prior user or occupant of the range, nor in any instance has he been a pioneer in the country, blazing a trail for others to come and assist in making the West what it is to-day. Upon the other hand, the average stockman is a pioneer in the development of the resources of the West. Long, long before such a thing as a national forest was ever contemplated, the stockmen and their predecessors used, occupied, and developed the range upon which to-day they are compelled to pay a fee to graze their stock—a fee which already amounts to a burdensome tax upon their established business—and a fee which in nearly every respect is more than ample to pay for the administration of that branch of forestry which was not contemplated when forestry itself was inaugurated in the United States. In the second place, the highest bidder for the right to cut and sell timber has no established business upon the forest at the time he makes his bid, while the stockman who has an established business upon the forest, and who is dependent upon securing the use of the range for the successful maintenance of that business, might be forced to bid more, much more, than the privilege to graze his stock is worth in order to protect his investment, which would practically amount to confiscation of his property were he not successful in obtaining the same. Third, the bidder for the right to cut and sell timber bids upon something that has already matured—something that he can see, measure, and estimate his probable profit upon, while upon the other hand a stockman would be compelled to bid upon something that may or may not materialize—something that depends upon the sun and rain to produce for him after he has been compelled to pay his money for the same, and which has varying degrees of value. Therefore the disposal of timber and grazing privileges by competitive bidding are not in any way comparable.

It is an admitted fact that the grazing capacity of the forests is limited, and that the number of stock that can be provided for is far less than the number of stock seeking grazing privileges. But is this not equally true of all other privileges the Government has at its disposal for the utilization of its resources?

As to the argument that stockmen who are permittees upon a national forest have an undue financial advantage over other stockmen who must either lease or buy lands upon which to graze their stock, we submit that stockmen possessing grazing privileges upon national forests do not possess any further advantages over other stockmen than privileges earned by them and granted by the Forest Service on account of the investment in and the ownership of ranch property, the prior use and development of the range, or by acquiring such privileges through the purchase of stock from former permittees. The transfer of such rights, privileges, or preferences through the Forest Service with restrictions from one permittee to another are customary and are actually carried into effect by the Forest Service itself. Purchasers of stock upon permits therefore always pay not only for the stock, but also for the privileges which they will secure through the sanction of the Forest Service on account of the purchase of the stock. The money spent by the permittees in the development of the range is, for the most part, spent upon forest lands and usually upon the demand of the Forest Service, and such improvements made by the permittee belong to the Forest Service, and not to the stockman who has spent his time and money in making them. It would therefore practically amount to the confiscation of ranch property of the permittee and of his time and money expended in making improvements and in building up his business or of the purchase price he has paid to charge him the same price that an outsider might be willing to pay for the grazing privilege.

It must be remembered that in the Tusayan National Forest there is comparatively little permanent water, and that the use of the range has to a very great extent been made possible by the development of water by the stockmen, without which such range would be comparatively useless for stock purposes; nor would the Forest Service be receiving fees for the same except for this expensive work done by the stockmen grazing under permit upon it—work which ranges in value to stockmen of from $500 to $10,000 for each dam or reservoir constructed. The natural lakes and water holes, as shown upon maps, sometimes make it appear as though the country is naturally well watered. Whereas, as a matter of fact, these lakes and water holes are, for the most part, merely slight depressions which fill only from the winter storms, last only for a few months in the first part of the year, and are not dependable for stock purposes. Practically none of them are fed by living springs. Most of the natural lakes have been improved at great expense by the stockmen. Furthermore, on account of the sparse and scattering grass and other forage, it is necessary to develop water in a great number of places in order to utilize the small amount of forage, which makes the cost to the stockmen very great, without being compelled to pay increased grazing fees. Also, on account of the light and "spotted" rainfall and the great evaporation in this arid country, expensive dams of large size are absolutely required in order to use the range.

There can be no question but that permittees using national-forest ranges do enjoy certain advantages. But, as has been stated above, these advantages which he is compelled to pay for, are but rights, privileges, or preferences which have been acquired through prior use and

development of the range—a right, privilege, or preference which the Forest Service has acknowledged since its incipiency—or through money invested in ranch property.

As to the complaint by municipalities that owing to the low grazing fees stockmen are being favored over the citizens as a whole, such complaint is unwarranted. It simply amounts to a complaint that the privileges already acquired by stockmen upon national forests should be especially taxed for the benefit of the citizens as a whole, regardless of the fact as to whether or not such an additional tax is warranted.

At the time grazing fees were first established no attempt upon the part of the Forest Service was made to secure more than a nominal fee, which should represent a fair share of the cost of the administration of national forests, and which should be borne by the stockmen using these ranges. The reasons that only nominal fees for grazing were to be exacted of stockmen at the time fees were first charged were that the stockmen had been using and were in possession of the ranges at the time national forests were created, and that it was not the intention of the Government to deprive the stockmen of the use of these ranges nor to interfere with them in any way, save and except where it was absolutely necessary to do so for the protection of the forests and watersheds of the country. This announced policy was in perfect accord with the object and intention of the organic act creating national forests, and it recognizes the fact that up to that time grazing upon a national forest had not been considered as an asset of forestry, but that thereafter it should be made to pay only its just proportion of the cost of administering that particular branch of the service. But, it must be confessed, that within the past few years a change from this policy seems to have manifested itself in the administration of the forests, and if, therefore, that portion of your letter to Secretary Tomlinson relative to the suggestion of submitting grazing privileges to the highest bidder be enacted into a regulation of the service, you would be compelled to completely disregard all rights, privileges, or preferences of stockmen upon national forests that have been acquired by them through the expenditure of their time, their money, and their efforts to establish a successful business.

As to the study made by the Forester of some 900 cases of the comparative charges paid by stockmen for grazing privileges upon private lands and those of national forests, we must confess that we are at a loss to understand the basis as stated by you upon which the Forester arrives at his conclusions. As a matter of fact—and we make the statement without fear of successful contradiction—there is not the slightest degree of comparison in the value of a grazing privilege upon private, State, reclamation withdrawal, Indian reservation, and railroad lands with that of a grazing privilege upon lands within a national forest. In the first place, it is superfluous to argue the advantages that an owner or a lessee has in the control of lands that are completely under his domination with that of a permittee who is compelled to graze his stock upon public lands not under his control, and upon which his stock is compelled to graze in common with other classes of stock. On a national forest cattle and sheep graze together, and almost invariably to the disadvantage of the former. On a national forest cattle are subject to certain restrictions, regulations, reductions in the permitted number, troubles—such as that at present over the question of raising grazing fees—as well as other innumerable annoyances from incidental causes, none of which owners or lessees of private, State, reclamation, Indian reservation, or railroad lands have to contend with. In case of drought the owner or lessee of any of these lands can easily gather his stock for shipment to other points, whereas upon a national forest the owner is unable to gather his entire holding, and for that reason is bound to suffer heavy losses. Furthermore, the study made by the Forester must have included very little, if indeed any, railroad lands. Up to within the past year the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co. lands were leased throughout the State of Arizona at the sum of 1 cent per acre per year, which fact would by no means justify the conclusion arrived at by the Forester in his study of the comparative prices paid for grazing privileges upon national forests and this particular class of lands, to say nothing whatever of the advantages accruing to the lessee of the latter over that of a permittee upon a national forest.

In conclusion we respectfully submit that, since the national forests were created for the purpose of conserving the timber and water supplies of the Nation, there is no reason why the stock industry, which, as has been pointed out, is a by-product of forestry, should be compelled to pay more than its just proportion of the cost of administration of the grazing department of the national forests.

Very respectfully,

TUSAYAN CATTLE GROWERS' ASSOCIATION,
By A. F. POLSON, *President.*

In the hope that the information contained therein may be of interest in connection with the discussion of this question, I also desire to print as a part of my remarks the following letter, which I have lately received from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 26, 1917.*

MY DEAR MR. HAYDEN: In further response to your letter of December 11, 1916, there follows a table giving the desired information regarding existing approved leases and permits for grazing stock on tribal Indian lands:

Name.	Address.	Reservation.	Number of head.	Price per head.
Jno. Hessler	Cut Bank, Mont	Blackfeet, Mont.	30 cattle	$2.25
L. J. Barrington	do	do	27 cattle	2.25
Robt. Ryan	Valier, Mont	do	25 horses	[1] 1.50
C. Ed. Lukens	Libby, Mont	do	50 horses	2.25
Cleve Humes	Cut Bank, Mont	do	10 horses	2.25
Elmer Heatwole	do	do	15 horses	2.25
David Chapsider	do	do	40 horses	[2] .75
Jean Etchinique	do	do	15 horses	2.25
Chas. H. and Orton B. Fuller	Los Angeles, Cal	Colorado River, Ariz	3,500 cattle	2.00
Haywood A. Short and Jos. F. Raney	Parker, Ariz	do	100 cattle	2.00
B. L. Lunceford	Oatman, Ariz	do	250 cattle	2.00
C. A. Whipple	Parker, Ariz	do	60 cattle	2.00
Lazaro Mendez	Needles, Cal	do	90 cattle	2.00
Ernest Copp	Bridgeport, Wash	Colville, Wash	15 cattle	2.00
Grant Elgin	Okanogan, Wash	do	223 cattle	2.00
Claude B. Patterson	Omak, Wash	do	349 cattle	2.00
Henry J. Coleman	do	do	30 cattle	2.00
Emery Alberg	Nespelem, Wash	do	48 cattle	2.00
Harry W. Potter	do	do	21 cattle	2.00
Dennis Colwell	Stowe, Wash	do	42 cattle	2.00
Edward F. Schrock	Okanogan, Wash	do	1,800 cattle	2.00
Harry De Camp	Bridgeport, Wash	do	16 horses	2.50
John C. Frazier	Gifford, Wash	do	30 cattle	2.00
Jacob Stolz	Nespelem, Wash	do	4 cattle	2.00
John N. Strahan	Okanogan, Wash	do	18 cattle	2.00
Peter A. Polley	Nespelem, Wash	do	9 cattle	2.00
V. D. Tidball	Faith, S. Dak	Cheyenne River, S. Dak	11,266 sheep	.40
J. B. Tidball	Isabel, S. Dak	do	5,360 sheep	.40
Burton C. Mossman	Eagle Butte, S. Dak	do	8,000 cattle	2.25
D. B. Zimmerman	Somerset, Pa	do	6,000 cattle	2.25
R. L. Wiley	Badger, S. Dak	do	48 cattle	2.00
E. B. Congdon	Cheyenne Agency, S. Dak	do	7 cattle	2.25
A. C. Bentley	Dupree, S. Dak	do	4 cattle	2.50
Toney Acker	do	do	960 sheep	.40
Spear Zimmerman Cattle Co	Sheridan, Wyo	Crow, Mont	20,900 cattle	3.00
Lee Simonsen	Billings, Mont	do	45,000 sheep	1.03
Do	do	do	50,000 sheep	.90
Geo. B. Kirby and Chas. McDaniels	do	do	9,000 cattle	3.55
Tom Wanslee	Rice, Ariz	Fort Apache, Ariz	200 cattle	2.40
Do	do	do	100 cattle	3.00
Wm. Ryan	Fort Apache, Ariz	do	500 cattle	2.40
Wm. Babbitt	Flagstaff, Ariz	do	1,800 cattle	2.40
H. J. Ramer	Heber, Ariz	do	1,000 cattle	2.40
Adolph Schuster	Holbrook, Ariz	do	18,000 sheep	.40
Do	do	do	50 burros	1.50
White River Land & Cattle Co	Flagstaff, Ariz	do	5,650 cattle	2.40
Do	do	do	30 horses	3.00
W. C. McFadden	Young, Ariz	do	250 cattle	2.40
Matador Land & Cattle Co	Trinidad, Colo	Fort Belknap, Mont	10,000 cattle	1.50
John W. Goodall	Goodall, N. Dak	Fort Berthold, N. Dak	40 cattle	3.00
Math Hager	Garrison, N. Dak	do	29 cattle	3.00
Keogh, Grantier, Banks & Johnston	Williston, N. Dak	do	560 cattle	3.00
Foreman & McCarty	Watford City, N. Dak	do	128 cattle	3.00
John H. Davis	Plentywood, Mont	Fort Peck, Mont	44 cattle	2.00
Do	do	do	42 horses	2.50
C. W. Cooper & Son	Glasgow, Mont	do	2,000 sheep	.20
F. D. Cooper & Son	do	do	1,000 sheep	.20

[1] Summer grazing.

[2] Winter grazing.

Name.	Address.	Reservation.	Number of head.	Price per head.
P. J. Eie	Medicine Lake, Mont	Fort Peck, Mont	25 horses	$2.25
David C. Cooper	Glasgow, Mont	do	150 horses	2.25
Otero Bros	Haynes, N. Mex	Jicarilla, N. Mex	1,000 cattle	[1].50
M. A. Gonzales	Abiquiu, N. Mex	do	7,500 sheep	[1].10
Geo. G. Mace	Kanab, Utah	Kaibab, Ariz	20 cattle	1.50
Fred C. Heaton	Moccasin, Ariz	do	200 cattle	2.00
B. A. Riggs	Kanab, Utah	do	400 cattle	2.00
Abraham Charlie	Chiloquin, Oreg	Klamath, Oreg	800 cattle	1.50
Francis S. Kirkpatrick	Paisley, Oreg	do	1,500 cattle	1.50
James A. Espy	Lobo, Tex	Mescalero, N. Mex	2,000 cattle	2.00
M. T. Everhart	Three Rivers, N. Mex	do	250 cattle and horses	2.00
Lisle B. Tannehill	Roswell, N. Mex	do	2,500 cattle	2.00
E. D. Morgan	New York, N. Y	do	500 cattle	2.00
J. N. Dougherty	Bent, N. Mex	do	30 horses	[2]1.00
Owen F. Boyle	Durango, Colo	Ute Mountain, Colo	2,000 cattle	1.00
Pyramid Land & Stock Co	Reno, Nev	Nevada, Nev	18,000 sheep	.15
			500 cattle	1.00
Ben Roberts	Merriman, Nebr	Pine Ridge, S. Dak	180 cattle	1.20
Jos. and Chas. Allen	Martin, S. Dak	do	45 cattle	1.05
Elizabeth Dixon	Gordon, Nebr	do	75 cattle	1.00
Ed. T. Ross	do	do	721 cattle	1.00
Henry C. Cottier	Martin, S. Dak	do	10 cattle	1.00
Marion O. Metzger	Merriman, Nebr	do	690 cattle	1.00
Chas. E. Potts	Gordon, Nebr	do	59 cattle	1.00
William Weber	Merriman, Nebr	do	155 cattle	1.00
Sam. M. Claybaugh	do	do	390 cattle	1.00
Sam Seveland	Gordon, Nebr	do	45 cattle	1.00
Arthur Browning	Merriman, Nebr	do	19 cattle	1.10
Wm. E. Orr	Cody, Nebr	do	16 cattle	1.00
Helen Coleman	Eli, Nebr	do	48 cattle	1.21
Jake Johnson	Cody, Nebr	do	65 cattle	1.00
Elbridge G. Ward	Lacreek, S. Dak	do	191 cattle	1.05
Thos. Bowman	Cody, Nebr	do	65 cattle	1.00
Maurice Keliher	Rapid City, S. Dak	do	32 cattle	1.00
Julia Kocer	Gordon, Nebr	do	85 cattle	2.26
Hobart Kocer	Porcupine, S. Dak	do	64 cattle	.60
Jas. Ecoffey	Gordon, Nebr	do	70 cattle	1.35
Jas. H. Quigley and Wm. D. Bachelor	Valentine, Nebr	do	369 cattle	1.52
			461 cattle	1.00
Wm. H. Wells	Gordon, Nebr	do	10 cattle	4.00
Ed. Hall	Cody, Nebr	do	2 cattle	1.00
John Green	Merriman, Nebr	do	4 cattle	1.50
Robt. Potter	Covelo, Cal	Round Valley, Cal	100 cattle	2.00
Frank Spurlock	do	do	40 cattle and horses	2.00
Chas. P. Zumwalt	do	do	35 cattle	2.00
H. S. Boice	Los Angeles, Cal	San Carlos, Ariz	20,000 cattle	2.40
			500 horses	3.00
Bonita Creek Land & Cattle Co	Safford, Ariz	do	2,000 cattle	2.40
			50 horses	3.00
Double Circle Cattle Co	Clifton, Ariz	do	13,700 cattle	2.40
			300 horses	3.00
G. A. Bryce	Bryce, Ariz	do	1,300 cattle	2.40
			50 horses	3.00
F. Cattle Co	Globe, Ariz	do	1,100 cattle	2.40
			50 horses	3.00
W. C. & Zee Hayes	do	do	1,000 cattle	2.40
			30 horses	3.00
Coburn Bros. Cattle Co	do	do	8,510 cattle	2.40
			250 horses	3.00
Drumm & Wilson	Clifton, Ariz	do	400 cattle	2.40
Frank A. Welty	Dubois, Wyo	Shoshone, Wyo	346 cattle	1.75
Mort Williams	Wheatland, Wyo	do	50 cattle	1.50
L. A. Phillips	Wind River, Wyo	do	30 cattle	1.50
Edward Stelzner	Lander, Wyo	do	90 cattle	1.50
Ray Kizor	Fort Washakie, Wyo	do	22 cattle	1.50
John D. Williams	do	do	170 cattle	1.50
Fred D. Freeburg	Lander, Wyo	do	25 cattle	1.50
Frank McDowell	do	do	40 cattle	1.50
Rosa Persinger	do	do	do	1.50
Albert C. Harrison	Fort Washakie, Wyo	do	100 cattle	1.50
Frank L. Hudson	Lander, Wash	do	12,000 sheep	.24
Ernest C. Coon	do	do	125 cattle	1.50
Isaac N. Mills	Riverton, Wyo	do	6 cattle	1.67
Wm. R. Jones	do	do	3 cattle	1.75
James Rogers	Hudson, Wyo	do	15 cattle	1.50
Minnie A. Searles	Fort Washakie, Wyo	do	50 cattle	1.50
Mary Haynes	Hudson, Wyo	do	3 cattle	1.50
Gilbert H. McDowel	do	do	35 cattle	1.50
Alby R. Kirkland	Fort Washakie, Wyo	do	100 horses	1.50
Louis W. Bianchi	Thermopolis, Wyo	do	16 horses and cattle	1.50
Emereth A. Boots	do	do	575 sheep	.30
James S. Harris	Lander, Wyo	do	26 cattle	1.50
Charles Silber	do	do	14 cattle	1.50
Watson H. Tidball	Faith, S. Dak	Standing Rock, N. Dak	2,612 sheep	.50
Higgins & McQueen Co	Isabel, S. Dak	do	694 sheep	.50
Ralph L. Parrott	Whitney, S. Dak	do	900 sheep	.50
Charles G. Duncan	Lemmon, S. Dak	do	256 horses	2.50
Geo. E. Lemmon	do	do	2,987 sheep	.50
C. M. Thompson	Whitney, S. Dak	do	427 sheep	.50
John B. Barthold	Coal Springs, S. Dak	do	4,400 sheep	.50
Pearl Hemphill	Watauga, S. Dak	do	10 cattle	2.50
R. A. Caufman	Seligman, Ariz	Truxton Canyon, Ariz	1,000 cattle	1.50
Sanford Live Stock Co	Flagstaff, Ariz	do	6,500 cattle	1.50
Clay Springs Cattle Co	Hackberry, Ariz	do	2,800 cattle	1.50
Carlow Bros	Valentine, Ariz	do	20 horses	2.00
			40 cattle	1.50
C. M. Taintor	New York, N. Y	Tongue River, Mont	5,000 cattle	3.45
A. C. Stohr	Lamedeer, Mont	do	42 cattle and horses	3.45
Homer W. Andrea	Whiterock, Nev	Western Shoshone, Nev	300 cattle	1.25
James Martin	Mountain City, Nev	do	25 cattle	1.25
Burton Jarvis	Owyhee, Nev	do	100 cattle	1.25
William F. Rutherford	Mountain City, Nev	do	40 horses	1.25
Thomas Stinton	do	do	125 cattle	1.25
Garat & Co	White Rock, Nev	do	4,000 cattle	1.25
Chester Tindall	Tindall, Idaho	do	30 cattle	1.25
Joe Ratcliff	do	do	25 cattle	1.25

[1] 6 months.

[2] Winter grazing.

Name.	Address.	Reservation.	Number of head.	Price per head.
J. A. Sewell	Owyhee, Nev	Western Shoshone, Nev.	1,600 cattle	$1.25
Charles Winters	Whiterock, Nev	do	150 cattle and horses	1.25
Earl Riddle	Riddle, Idaho	do	100 cattle	1.25
John S. Winters	Whiterock, Nev	do	125 cattle	1.25
W. J. Tindall	Tindall, Idaho	do	75 cattle and horses	1.25
Riddle Bros	Riddle, Idaho	do	500 cattle	1.25

You will observe that the grazing fees received on the several reservations vary considerably. This is the result of a number of factors over which we have no control but which have great influence in determining the prices received. These factors include the topography of the country, the water supply, amount of fencing necessary, condition of the range, winter protection, and climate. In addition to the foregoing, proximity to the railroad is an important factor.

On some of the reservations the permits now in existence were made several years ago, when prices were considerably lower than at the present time, and it is my intention when the present permits expire to advance the price to a figure commensurate with the reasonable value of the grazing privilege.

I hope the information listed herein will serve your purpose.

Sincerely, yours,

CATO SELLS, *Commissioner.*

HON. CARL HAYDEN,
House of Representatives.

I am glad to know that the Secretary of Agriculture has decided upon an increase of but 25 per cent in the grazing fees for the season of 1917 instead of an advance of one-third, as was originally contemplated. In the following letter recently addressed to the secretary of the American National Live Stock Association, Secretary Houston promises to make a further study of the local conditions on the various forests before considering additional advances in grazing fees:

MR. T. W. TOMLINSON,
Secretary American National Live Stock Association,
515 Cooper Building, Denver, Colo.

DEAR SIR: After a very careful consideration of the statements presented by the committee appointed by your association and the many statements, resolutions, and letters from local stockmen, I have reached a definite conclusion in reference to the proposed increase in grazing fees.

The purposes of the national forests are to improve and protect the forests for the purpose of securing favorable conditions of stream flow, and to furnish a continuous supply of timber for use of the people. The conservation of the national-forest resources should always be given first consideration and their use regulated in the way which will be for the best interest of all the people. The timber, grazing, water power, and other resources which are used for commercial purposes should be charged for at a rate which represents their fair value. If a charge only sufficient to cover the cost of administration were made, all of the profit from the commercial use of the national forests would go to a comparatively few individuals instead of to all of the people, to whom they belong and who are entitled to share in their benefits. This principle applies to the present situation, and the charge for grazing should be based upon the real value of the forage upon the national-forest ranges as determined by a careful survey of all the facts and not by competitive bid, as required in timber sales.

Whether or not the fees charged at present represent a fair value of the forage is the question to be decided. The facts before me clearly indicate that the present charge does not represent the full value of grazing privileges on the national forests. This is conceded by many stockmen. There is, however, a difference of opinion as to the real value. The stockmen representing some localities contend that the present charge represents the full value of the range, while the stockmen of other localities concede that the grazing is worth more than is now being charged, but contend that the proposed increase of 100 per cent would be in excess of its real value.

My attention has been called to many factors which have a bearing on the matter. Among these are the small average ownership of stock in some localities and the possible hardship which the proposed increase would cause new settlers and small owners, the ownership of watering places and other improvements by the stockmen, the losses from predatory animals and poisonous plants, and the uncertainties which attend the issuance of only annual permits or permits subject to annual reduction. This indicates the possibility of a variation in the real value of grazing on different forests or in different general localities, and also that in a few instances the proposed increase might not be justified. I appreciate that there is a possibility of considerable variation in the value of grazing on the different forests. There does not seem to be any doubt, however, that the grazing everywhere is worth more than the present rates.

In view of all these facts, I have concluded to modify the plan outlined in my letter of November 3, 1916. Instead of an increase of 33⅓ per cent for the first year, an increase of 25 per cent will be made on all forests at this time to apply on permits issued for grazing periods beginning on or after March 1, 1917. Further increases will be deferred until a specific study of the existing conditions upon each of the national forests has been made. Upon the basis of the facts thus obtained, after having considered all of the advantages and disadvantages of the locality, additional increases will be made when the real value of the forage upon any forest is found to be more than the amount charged, but no such additional increase will be made effective before March 1, 1918.

The several suggestions which have been made for amendment of the regulations will be most carefully considered and such changes as are deemed advisable will be submitted to you for comment by the advisory board of your association before their final adoption.

Very truly, yours,

D. F. HOUSTON, *Secretary.*

Revenue Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. CARTER,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 1, 1917.

Mr. CARTER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to the method of raising revenue for this Government as provided for in this bill, and will register my protest by voting against it.

I am opposed to everything in this bill, in spite of the eloquence and dispassionate explanations of my Democratic friends.

I am not basing my disapproval of the bill on partisan grounds, as I am always ready to support a good measure, Republican or Democratic.

This bill, like many others which have been passed in this House, penalizes efficient industries and punishes thrift. The people of this country are willing to pay any just and reasonable tax to the end that we may run our Government on businesslike methods.

This bill provides for the raising of $340,000,000 by bonds, $300,000,000 by note certificates, $248,000,000 by new taxation, and $22,000,000 by increased inheritance taxes.

I am for a protective tariff. I believe in a protective tariff, not only for raising revenue but for the protection of American workmen and American industries—a protective tariff that will stimulate American business and one which will provide for enough revenue to run this Government; a protective tariff that will not lower the standard of living of the American workmen.

I believe that if the Democrats in control of this House would stop the wasteful extravagances we would not have to face this situation.

It is interesting to learn that exports from the United States have been averaging for the past six months more than $500,000,000 a month in value. The leading items were as follows:

Brass, and manufactures of	$164,876,044
Wheat	215,532,681
Flour	87,347,805
Oats	47,993,096
Automobiles, aeroplanes, and railway cars	167,743,608
Copper manufactures	173,946,226
Cotton, bales	374,186,247
Cotton manufactures	112,053,127
Explosives	467,081,928
Rubber	35,181,096
Iron and steel manufactures	621,209,453
Leather manufactures	146,613,815
Meat and dairy products	291,051,602
Oils, mineral and refined	166,423,230
Sugar	79,390,147
Tobacco	53,163,595
Wool manufactures	53,983,655
Animals	99,682,213

It is also interesting to learn that for 11 months in 1916 there was imported nearly $600,000,000 more than in the same period in 1913. There were also $100,000,000 less revenue collected this same period.

At the close of this European war I believe that our markets will be flooded with goods and that these same European countries will buy far less from us owing to the fact that they will become practically paralyzed as the result of the long war.

While the soldiers are fighting in the trenches there are millions of women at work in the factories. A great many of these women will retain their places after the war and will work for far less than is paid the men in these countries.

Unless we have a protective tariff we will be a dumping ground of all European nations.

Instead of helping and encouraging business in this country, this Democratic Congress is continually passing laws hindering

it. The successful business man is always being prosecuted and this bill which raises $910,000,000 seems to aim directly at him.

We should stop penalizing the business man and protect the workers and the industries, so that we can compete with the world when this war is over.

Business in this country to-day is good.

In my own particular district, which comprises 2 wards of Boston and 25 suburban towns and cities, prosperity is raging on every side. Workingmen are getting more money for their efforts than ever before. I do not see, however, that we should be misled regarding this prosperity.

A careful examination will show where this prosperity comes from. In my own particular district are large shoe factories, which are turning out millions of pairs of shoes for the European warring nations. The shoe factories that are not engaged in war orders are busy supplying shoes for our own demands.

All through my district machine shops are engaged in the making of shrapnel and other munitions, while the cotton and woolen factories are making clothing, army blankets, and so forth.

Last month our exports amounted to $517,000,000, while the high-water mark previous to the war was about $200,000,000.

See where the prosperity of this country is to-day.

At the Bethlehem Steel Works in Bethlehem, Pa., there are 50,000 extra men at work; at Hopewell, Va., there are employed 20,000 men making guncotton, and they are using a thousand bales of cotton a day.

Two years ago Hopewell, Va., was not on the map. At Eddystone, Pa., there are 42,000 men at work making rifles and sabers; at Bridgeport, Conn., 10,000 men are engaged in a new factory making rifles. The Du Ponts have 50,000 men making powder.

In all sections of the country the factories are enjoying prosperity, such as they have never dreamed of before. But what will happen to these men when the great war is over? Great Britain, France, and Germany have built thousands of factories, which there is no doubt but what they will operate when the war is over.

The industries of those foreign countries have not been destroyed, but their industrial efficiency has been increased manyfold.

We will lose a tremendous amount of foreign business when this war is over, and I believe that Congress should at least preserve for this country our normal domestic trade by imposing a protective tariff.

A protective tariff would tend to reduce the cost of living, as it would encourage domestic production to compete with foreign imports.

I believe that the Democrats are afraid at this time to increase the tariff, for they believe that it would be an admission of the failure of the Underwood bill.

To my mind, one of the most unbusinesslike propositions that I have had to vote on was the public-buildings bill. I opposed this measure last week because of the manner in which the bill was framed. I had an appropriation of $100,000 myself in this bill for a new post office. I believe that this post office is needed. However, in order to get this appropriation I would have had to vote for the whole bill which I believed contained a hundred items that were needless.

I believed that at this time the Government's money should be put to much better advantage, and for that reason I voted against the bill.

I want at this time to insert, as an extension of my remarks, the bill itself as reported from the Ways and Means Committee:

A bill (H. R. 20573) to provide increased revenue to defray the expenses of the increased appropriations for the Army and Navy and the extensions of fortifications, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

TITLE I.—SPECIAL PREPAREDNESS FUND.

SECTION 1. That the receipts from the tax imposed by Title II and one-third of the receipts from the tax imposed by Title III of this act shall constitute a separate fund in the Treasury to be used only for the expenditures incurred under the act entitled "An act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes," approved August 29, 1916; the act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes," approved August 29, 1916; and the act entitled "An act making appropriations for fortifications and other works of defense, for the armament thereof, for the procurement of heavy ordnance for trial and service, and for other purposes," approved July 6, 1916, or any other act or acts subsequent thereto making appropriations for Army, Navy, or fortification purposes. In addition to such receipts from the taxes imposed under Titles II and III of this act, there shall be credited annually, beginning with the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, to such separate fund, the sum of $175,000,000, such sum being the estimated additional revenue to be derived under the act entitled "An act to increase the revenue, and for other purposes," approved September 8, 1916, in excess of the revenue to be derived under then existing laws: *Provided*, That the Secretary of the Treasury may use such fund for other purposes, but such fund shall be reimbursed for any portion thereof so used.

TITLE II.—EXCESS-PROFITS TAX.

SEC. 200. That when used in this title—

The term "corporation" includes joint-stock companies or associations and insurance companies;

The term "United States" means only the States, the Territories of Alaska and Hawaii, and the District of Columbia; and

The term "taxable year" means the 12 months ending December 31, except in the case of a corporation or partnership allowed to fix its own fiscal year, in which case it means such fiscal year. The first taxable year shall be the year ending December 31, 1917.

SEC. 201. That in addition to the taxes under existing laws there shall be levied, assessed, collected, and paid for each taxable year upon the net income of every corporation and partnership organized, authorized, or existing under the laws of the United States, or of any State, Territory, or District thereof, no matter how created or organized, excepting income derived from the business of life, health, and accident insurance combined in one policy issued on the weekly premium payment plan, a tax of 8 per cent of the amount by which such net income exceeds the sum of (a) $5,000 and (b) 8 per cent of the actual capital invested.

Every foreign corporation and partnership, including corporations and partnerships of the Philippine Islands and Porto Rico, shall pay for each taxable year a like tax upon the amount by which its net income received from all sources within the United States exceeds the sum of (a) 8 per cent of the actual capital invested and used or employed in the business in the United States, and (b) that proportion of $5,000 which the entire actual capital invested and used or employed in the business in the United States bears to the entire actual capital invested; and in case no such capital is used or employed in the business in the United States the tax shall be imposed upon that portion of such net income which is in excess of the sum of (a) 8 per cent of that proportion of the entire actual capital invested and used or employed in the business which the net income from sources within the United States bears to the entire net income, and (b) that proportion of $5,000 which the net income from sources within the United States bears to the entire net income.

SEC. 202. That for the purpose of this title, actual capital invested means (1) actual cash paid in, (2) the actual cash value, at the time of payment, of assets other than cash paid in, and (3) paid in or earned surplus and undivided profits used or employed in the business; but does not include money or other property borrowed by the corporation or partnership.

SEC. 203. That the tax herein imposed upon corporations and partnerships shall be computed upon the basis of the net income shown by their income-tax returns under Title I of the act entitled "An act to increase the revenue, and for other purposes," approved September 8, 1916, or under this title, and shall be assessed and collected at the same time and in the same manner as the income tax due under Title I of such act of September 8, 1916: *Provided*, That for the purpose of this title a partnership shall have the same privilege with reference to fixing its fiscal year as is accorded corporations under section 13 (a) of Title I of such act of September 8, 1916: *And provided further*, That where a corporation or partnership makes return prior to March 1, 1918, covering its own fiscal year, and includes therein any income received during the calendar year ending December 31, 1916, the tax herein imposed shall be that proportion of the tax based upon such full fiscal year which the time from January 1, 1917, to the end of such fiscal year bears to the full fiscal year.

SEC. 204. That corporations exempt from tax under the provisions of section 11 of Title I of the act approved September 8, 1916, and partnerships carrying on or doing the same business shall be exempt from the provisions of this title, and the tax imposed by this title shall not attach to incomes of partnerships derived from agriculture or from personal services.

SEC. 205. That every corporation having a net income of $5,000 or more for the taxable year making a return under Title I of such act of September 8, 1916, shall for the purposes of this title include in such return a detailed statement of the actual capital invested.

Every partnership having a net income of $5,000 or more for the taxable year shall render a correct return of the income of the partnership for the taxable year, setting forth specifically the actual capital invested and the gross income for such year and the deductions hereinafter allowed. Such returns shall be rendered at the same time and in the same manner and form as is prescribed for income-tax returns under Title I of such act of September 8, 1916. In computing net income of a partnership for the purposes of this title there shall be allowed like deductions as are allowed to individuals in sections 5 (a) and 6 (a) of such act of September 8, 1916.

SEC. 206. That all administrative, special, and general provisions of law, including the laws in relation to the assessment, remission, collection, and refund of internal-revenue taxes not heretofore specifically repealed and not inconsistent with the provisions of this title are hereby extended and made applicable to all the provisions of this title and to the tax herein imposed, and all provisions of Title I of such act of September 8, 1916, relating to returns and payment of the tax therein imposed, including penalties, are hereby made applicable to the tax required by this title.

SEC. 207. That the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, shall make all necessary regulations for carrying out the provisions of this title, and may require any corporation or partnership subject to the provisions of this title to furnish him with such facts, data, and information as in his judgment are necessary to collect the tax provided for in this title.

TITLE III.—ESTATE TAX.

SEC. 300. That section 201, Title II, of the act entitled "An act to increase the revenue, and for other purposes," approved September 8, 1916, be, and the same is hereby, amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 201. That a tax (hereinafter in this title referred to as the tax), equal to the following percentages of the value of the net estate, to be determined as provided in section 203, is hereby imposed upon the transfer of the net estate of every decedent dying after the passage of this act, whether a resident or nonresident of the United States:

"One and one-half per cent of the amount of such net estate not in excess of $50,000;

"Three per cent of the amount by which such net estate exceeds $50,000 and does not exceed $150,000;

"Four and one-half per cent of the amount by which such net estate exceeds $150,000 and does not exceed $250,000;

"Six per cent of the amount by which such net estate exceeds $250,000 and does not exceed $450,000;

"Seven and one-half per cent of the amount by which such net estate exceeds $450,000 and does not exceed $1,000,000;

"Nine per cent of the amount by which such net estate exceeds $1,000,000 and does not exceed $2,000,000;

"Ten and one-half per cent of the amount by which such net estate exceeds $2,000,000 and does not exceed $3,000,000;

"Twelve per cent of the amount by which such net estate exceeds $3,000,000 and does not exceed $4,000,000;

"Thirteen and one-half per cent of the amount by which such net estate exceeds $4,000,000 and does not exceed $5,000,000; and

"Fifteen per cent of the amount by which such net estate exceeds $5,000,000."

SEC. 301. That the tax on the transfer of the net estate of decedents dying between September 8, 1916, and the passage of this act shall be computed at the rates originally prescribed in the act approved September 8, 1916.

TITLE IV.—MISCELLANEOUS.

SEC. 400. That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to borrow on the credit of the United States from time to time such sums as in his judgment may be required to meet public expenditures on account of the Mexican situation, the construction of the armor-plate plant, the construction of the Alaskan Railway, and the purchase of the Danish West Indies, or to reimburse the Treasury for such expenditures, and to prepare and issue therefor bonds of the United States not exceeding in the aggregate $100,000,000, in such form as he may prescribe, bearing interest payable quarterly at a rate not exceeding 3 per cent per annum; and such bonds shall be payable, principal and interest, in United States gold coin of the present standard of value, and both principal and interest shall be exempt from all taxes or duties of the United States as well as from taxation in any form by or under State, municipal, or local authority, and shall not be receivable by the Treasurer of the United States as security for the issue of circulating notes to national banks: *Provided*, That such bonds may be disposed of by the Secretary of the Treasury at not less than par, under such regulations as he may prescribe, giving all citizens of the United States an equal opportunity therefor, but no commissions shall be allowed or paid thereon; and a sum not exceeding one-tenth of 1 per cent of the amount of the bonds herein authorized is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to pay the expenses of preparing, advertising, and issuing the same: *And provided further*, That in addition to such issue of bonds, the Secretary of the Treasury may prepare and issue for the purposes specified in this section any portion of the bonds of the United States now available for issue under authority of section 39 of the act entitled "An act to provide revenue, equalize duties, and encourage the industries of the United States, and for other purposes," approved August 5, 1909: *And provided further*, That the issue of bonds under authority of this act and any Panama Canal bonds hereafter issued under authority of section 39 of the act entitled "An act to provide revenue, equalize duties, and encourage the industries of the United States, and for other purposes," approved August 5, 1909, shall be made redeemable and payable at such times within 50 years after the date of their issue as the Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion, may deem advisable.

CERTIFICATES OF INDEBTEDNESS.

SEC. 401. That section 32 of an act entitled "An act providing ways and means to meet war expenditures, and for other purposes," approved June 13, 1898, as amended by section 40 of an act entitled "An act to provide revenue, equalize duties, and encourage the industries of the United States, and for other purposes," approved August 5, 1909, be, and the same is hereby, amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 32. That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to borrow, from time to time, at a rate of interest not exceeding 3 per cent per annum, such sum or sums as, in his judgment, may be necessary to meet public expenditures, and to issue therefor certificates of indebtedness in such form and in such denominations as he may prescribe; and each certificate so issued shall be payable, with the interest accrued thereon, at such time, not exceeding one year from the date of its issue, as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe: *Provided*, That the sum of such certificates outstanding shall at no time exceed $300,000,000, and the provisions of existing law respecting counterfeiting and other fraudulent practices are hereby extended to the bonds and certificates of indebtedness authorized by this act."

RETURNS OF DIVIDENDS.

SEC. 402. That Title I of the act entitled "An act to increase the revenue, and for other purposes," approved September 8, 1916, be amended by adding to Part III a new section, as follows:

"SEC. 26. Every corporation, joint-stock company or association, or insurance company subject to the tax herein imposed, when required by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, shall render a correct return, duly verified under oath, of its payments of dividends, whether made in cash or its equivalent or in stock, including the names and addresses of stockholders and the number of shares owned by each, in such form and manner as may be prescribed by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury."

The Revenue Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD COOPER,

OF WEST VIRGINIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 31, 1917.

Mr. COOPER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, representing what I believe is the greatest soft-coal producing district in the world, a district which furnishes the fuel that drives the wheels of industry in many parts of the Nation, a district giving employment to thousands of honest working men, I feel I should protest against the method of raising revenue proposed in this bill. Our industries in West Virginia do not desire to evade taxation, but we believe in equality of taxation. The people of my district believe in collecting the expenses necessary to run this Government at the customhouses, and not by the direct system of taxation that we now have on the statute books of this country. The people of West Virginia favor the indirect system of taxation, known as the "protective-tariff" system, the system of taxation under which West Virginia has prospered until to-day we are the second coal-producing State in the Union. We are opposed to this system of taxation which places a tax upon success, upon brains, upon industry, and upon enterprise.

The price to be paid for success under the Democratic direct system of raising revenue is an income tax of 2 per cent on the earnings of corporations; 50 cents on each $1,000 of the actual value of the stock of corporations; and then 8 per cent on the net earnings of corporations, after making certain allowances on account of legal interest and to evade the legal question of confiscation of property. It is apparent the framers of this bill intend to establish the theory that 8 per cent will finally be the legalized amount business will be permitted to earn in this country.

This class of legislation will do more to stop the wheels of industry than anything which has occurred in many years. Brains will not submit to the theory of taxation which brands enterprise as being allowed to earn only 8 per cent on its best endeavor when in the form of a corporation, and wealth, when standing alone, in an individual capacity, shall be relieved from all taxation. If it is fair to tax the stockholder of a corporation, it is equally fair to force the individual, when engaged in business as such, to pay tribute to the National Government, when it is well known the individual engaged in business as such, is, in many cases, far better able to pay taxes to the support of the Government than the stockholder of a corporation.

I believe the majority of the people in this Nation are in favor of the preparation now being made to defend this country against a foreign foe, and I feel to make the plan ring true with the real American spirit it should be paid for and fostered by all loyal citizens. Every American with earnings sufficient to keep the wolf away from his door will resent the attempt being made here to build up in this country a system of defense supported and paid for only by a selected few. The ordinary citizen will not feel the interest in our Army and Navy he would feel were he allowed to contribute his mite to the support of national defense.

This bill is supposed to raise the money necessary for our national defense, and not for the ordinary expenses of the Government. My experience is that the church that is built with the dollars collected from the churchgoing people is more successful than the church that is built by some wealthy man in the community. Even though a man may be so poor he can afford to pay but for one brick in the church, he feels an interest in the church to just that extent. His one brick paid for with the money made by honest toil represents as much to him as the thousand dollars contributed by a man fully able to pay the thousand dollars.

Under the plea of necessity, brought about by the system of preparedness adopted by the Congress of the United States as a national-defense system, we see the business interests of the Nation again made the target for a further onslaught on their respective industry, business sagacity, and success, again being picked out as an easy mark to make up a deficit caused by the failure of the Democratic method of raising revenue to run the affairs of the Government, all under an extravagant administration of governmental affairs.

We thought preparedness was a national spirit, a spirit that knew no North, South, East, or West, and the expenses to provide the country with an adequate and proper defense would be gladly borne by the entire country, and no discrimination would be attempted in placing the burden of taxation on the business of the country.

The business interests and the people had a right to expect that the Democratic administration would give aid and comfort only to meritorious legislation. All unnecessary appropriations could have been deferred until a later day. The Flood Control, Nitrate Plant, Armor Plate, Ship Purchase, and numerous other appropriation bills could easily have gone over until another term. In view of the unrest in Europe, the terrible conflict going on there, and the danger, as the President informed us, of the sparks blowing this way the good business foresight would most certainly have been to practice economy in all departments of the Government.

We have within a short time realized how simple and easy it is to collect revenues under our present system of taxation. The temptation is strong to ride the good old horse to death. An income tax of 1 per cent on the earnings of corporations

and individuals soon demonstrated to the eager ones how easy it would be to collect double the amount of taxation from this source by the simple method of increasing the rate to 2 per cent, and then how easy to collect more revenue from corporations by imposing a tax of 50 cents per one thousand on the actual value of the capital stock of corporations. Now it is proposed to go still further and impose an additional tax of 8 per cent on the net earnings of corporations, after allowing an exemption of $5,000, and dividends based upon 8 per cent of net earnings.

No account of the character of the business engaged in is taken into consideration. A coal mine operating in West Virginia to-day, after an expenditure of hundreds of thousands of dollars, and having, after years of unproductiveness, succeeded in placing the mine upon an earning capacity of 15 to 20 per cent, must pay its income tax, its capital-stock tax, and will under this bill, pay its excess profits tax before it will be allowed to pay a penny in dividends to its stockholders, notwithstanding the fact that it has been engaged in the business for a number of years and no dividends have been paid its stockholders since its organization. Under the dangers of coal mining an explosion may at any moment wipe out forever the investment of stockholders in a coal mine. No allowance whatever is made for a meritorious enterprise in the event disaster overtakes it.

Investment in a mining property is of a different nature than almost any other business. Every ton of coal or mineral taken from a mining property thereby reduces the value of the property to that extent. You can not mine your coal and have it too. In making allowances for fair earnings on the capital stock of such a corporation it is necessary to figure the life of the property, and unless the dividends earned will pay a fair return on the capital invested and return the capital itself within the life of the property the investment would be considered a poor one indeed.

The farmer with his bag of wheat sells it for $2 per bushel and gets away with the money free from tax under the provisions of this bill. The coal operator with his ton of coal, selling it for $2 per ton, must shake hands with the internal-revenue collector, open wide his books for information, and accept the mandate of the internal-revenue officer on all questions relating to the depreciation of his coal property. In the operation of the plant, in the event of accident to life or destruction of the coal plant by explosion or otherwise, the coal operator can rebuild his plant, answer in the courts for damages, for loss of life, or go into bankruptcy, and perhaps spend the remainder of his days in jail charged with criminal neglect of duty.

I wonder how long this form of taxation would endure if the tax were levied against farm products alone? It would be interesting to see the vote on the roll call on the passage of such a bill. Yet there is as much reason and justice in placing the tax against farm products as against the earnings of corporations. But, in my opinion, a tax placed either against farm products or earnings of corporations would be unjust.

The proposed tax is a tax on industry, a tax on thrift, a tax on enterprise, a tax on the man who by persistence opens the way, blazes the trail, builds railroads, opens mines and mills and industrial plants, risking all in order to develop business enterprise. It is a tax on the man who goes into the wilderness and by foresight, nerve, and energy shows to the world the possibilities hidden away in the hills and mountains, awaiting man's thrift and industry to uncover them. Surely a man who uncovers nature's wealth, after braving all, risking life, property, everything, is entitled to more than 8 per cent on such an investment.

Engineering versus Evolution in the Moral and Civic Uplift of Nations.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN I. NOLAN,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 7, 1917.

Mr. NOLAN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an article having reference to a bill which I introduced (H. R. 8485) for specific training in the Bureau of Education.

The article is as follows:

ENGINEERING VERSUS EVOLUTION IN THE MORAL AND CIVIC UPLIFT OF NATIONS.

[By Wilson L. Gill, C. E., LL. B.]

The invitation to address the National Popular Government League furnishes the first occasion that has ever presented itself to me which seemed to demand or even to justify exactly such a statement as I am about to make, without seeming to be ostentatious and presuming beyond toleration. Certain occasions have been right for the presentation of one of these ideas and other occasions for others, but when I am asked to address a league of State and National associations, all seeking by various means to aid in developing a higher civilization, I feel impelled to say to you that however forceful and valuable your means may be, your ultimate object can not be reached without a general survey of the whole field, and such an application of engineering skill as is necessary to enable us to use to the best possible advantage every factor that exists or can be constructed.

In the course of my work and study as a civil and mechanical engineer and a lawyer, engaged in directing the building of railroad cars, etc., and the conduct of various mercantile establishments, I have made a number of discoveries and inventions which have seemed to me to be of importance. Among these is a group of a half dozen, without which the highest objects of your league can never be reached, for without them popular government can never be made entirely successful, peace at home and abroad can not be made permanent, and civilization itself can not be made to develop continuously and rapidly. There is an enormous force for good that has never yet been organized and utilized for the greatest good of humanity, which is within our reach, only waiting and begging to be used. I refer to the love, the innocence, and the energy of the entire volume of child life of all nations.

How an effective appeal may be made to this vast power has been a subject of my investigations and inventions, and though in the time allotted to me this evening I can not give the details of any, I will mention all six, in the hope that sometime your league may find the way to join me in the important work of developing them.

DEMOCRACY AN ART AND AN EDUCATIONAL FORCE.

This group of a half dozen discoveries and inventions is as follows:

First. Democratic citizenship is a practical art, which can be learned by the practice of the art itself under instruction, and not by academic or sentimental methods alone, of recitations, songs, salute to the flag, precepts, lectures, or sermons. While this same discovery may have been made by a thousand others a thousand years ago, no person previous to 1897 both made the discovery and then worked out a practical system for its application and persisted in pushing it until a large number of public schools put the system into successful operation. This system was at first called the school city. Now we call it the school republic or the boys' and girls' republic, and of this I am to speak to you for a few minutes, but first I will enumerate the remaining five of the half dozen subjects.

Second. Democracy can be used as a valuable educational force to aid an individual to form a strong, clean, efficient, independent character, always in the spirit of the "golden rule" and ready to cooperate effectively for every good purpose.

RIGHT TIME TO TEACH DEMOCRACY.

Third. The right time in an individual's life in which to begin his training in the responsibilities, rights, and pleasures of democracy is any time you can get him—the nearer the cradle the better. Long before a child enters the kindergarten at 4 years of age he is able and glad to respond to a reasonable democratic appeal to do right, and any successful kindergartner can teach to excellent advantage her little circle to make laws and enforce them, to elect officers to serve with enthusiasm and common sense. No later time is so good for the individual, but he had better have systematic training, under authoritative supervision, in the responsibilities of citizenship, in the last weeks of the last term of his senior year in college, than not at all. His entire following life will be more intelligent, forceful, and better in every respect because of it.

TEACH CHILDREN TO TEACH.

Fourth. Children, even the youngest children in the schools, can be taught to teach their classmates; that is, to convey to others the knowledge they have acquired, and to draw out from them an intelligent expression of the same and of other information. Whatever they learn to teach they understand better, and it is more at their command for every purpose. The power thus acquired is invaluable to the individual, whether he be a common day laborer, a mechanic, merchant, or professional man, a spinster or the mother of a family. It is at least as important as "the three R's." Lancaster a hundred years ago hovered near this truth, but did not seem to reach it. If he had done so, I think the ordinary educational conservatism could not have so completely defeated his excellent work. By means of this discovery all schools for children can be made more efficient for their purpose, and the more than $600,000,000 expended annually on the schools of our country can be made to do far more than double the service this amount is now giving.

EFFICIENT NORMAL SCHOOLS WITHOUT COST.

Fifth. The benefits for the public and for individuals that are derived from normal schools may be gained and greatly increased by a process in the public schools, just hinted at, which will nearly if not completely eliminate the cost of maintaining separate normal schools and this without increasing the cost of the public schools.

A CHILDREN'S PALACE.

Sixth. Any community which maintains public schools for 2,000 children or more can establish, without greater expense than that of properly housing them in one school, what might be called with propriety the children's palace, which can be made to serve the multiple purpose of a school for the children, both academic and industrial, in which every child may be helped to make himself in part, if not wholly, independent financially while still in school; a normal school; a free museum of child and home life, to which boys and girls, young men and women, mothers, fathers, and other members of the community could go for assistance in solving the social, industrial, mechanical, and other problems of child and home life.

I succeeded in getting a children's building established at the Chicago World's Fair to demonstrate this idea, and it accomplished my purpose to a considerable extent and made entirely evident, to all who were look-

ing for such lessons, that such a children's palace could be maintained in every city, performing all the functions of a public school with little or no expense beyond that of the cost of maintaining an ordinary public school for a like number of pupils, and also that it would prove to be a civilizer of greatest importance. Gen. Wood authorized me to solve this problem of a children's palace for Habana, and had our occupation of Cuba not been cut so short we should soon have had a splendid example of a children's palace, proving a blessing to the whole city and exerting a wholesome influence upon the people of the entire island.

SOCIAL AND CIVIC CONDITIONS.

On the side of destruction are drunkenness, robbery, murder; civic apathy of educated men, the selling of votes, bossism, and graft everywhere; prisons and insane asylums full; cold storage used to curse instead of to bless the people; strikes, riots, and banditry even to the limit of threatening the Government of our Nation; crime of every nature rampant; and an influx of people ignorant of our language and of our institutions. On the side of construction are schools, colleges, churches, the public press, and our American democratic government, all of which combined with all other good forces have failed to prevent conditions of poverty and crime being as bad as they exist to-day.

Of the constructive institutions the schools are vastly the greatest of all these constructive forces. Are they efficient for the prevention of social and civic apathy and crime in general? Certainly not. The government of the conduct of school children is the school's greatest implement and force for good or for evil. School government in our country, in Prussia, and in all other countries as far back as the history of schools runs has been and is monarchical.

Monarchy in school produces in most cases irresponsible subjection and obedience to force, and in the rest anarchy or the desire and inclination to avoid all obedience to authority, neither of which is compatible with the responsibility of democratic citizenship and government. Did our great-grandfathers recognize this and provide for it when they established the Government of the United States? They did not. They had not the experience that would enable them to anticipate the conditions which have developed. Has it been provided for since? It has not.

In Russia and in Prussia a ukase or an imperial decree can wipe out the sale of intoxicants and deal effectually with crime and inefficiency. The corresponding power in America is the judgment and action of the people, and the people have not been trained in the schools or elsewhere to deal with social and civic crime and inefficiency in such a way as to prevent conditions being as horrid as they have been and are to-day.

NEW CONDITIONS—NEW TREATMENT.

New conditions call for new treatment. The responsibilities of democratic citizenship call for training not in irresponsible subjection to monarchical government but the performance of responsible duties of democratic citizenship. The school republic provides for this. The children in a schoolroom are given printed directions for conducting their government, corresponding to a charter given by a State legislature to the people of a city. The teacher aids them in making the application of this to their daily experiences as he does the rules of arithmetic for the solving of mathematical problems. It is a method of training for the teacher to use, requiring not much intelligence or tact, but a great deal of interest and determination to make the best of it, such as is necessary for success in all other branches of school work. The children if normal can be counted on with certainty to do the rest, whatever may be their nationality, class, creed, or condition—kindergarten children or college students. But in this connection it is well to remember that the boy is father of the man and the little child is parent of the big child.

All honors to the school board, school committee, superintendent, principal, or teacher who will assume the responsibility of doing what is right by our people in this matter, but the fundamental and the final responsibility is not with our school men and women, but with the statesmen of our Nation.

They are the ones who should be familiar with the history of civilization and the developing of democracy and have the insight, foresight, and the force of character to make adequate provisions for the protection and developing of the institutions of our Nation, or, in other words, for responsible and efficient citizenship.

THE BOYS AND GIRLS' REPUBLIC.

I think the following incidents will help you to catch the spirit of this matter:

Tommy Jones, a 9-year-old newsboy, lived in a miserable alley in a near-by city. He smoked cigarettes and was unkempt and dirty. He had but small respect for the school and played truant to such an extent that he was a sore trial to the truant officer, who could not cure his habit of being irregular and tardy in his attendance at school. I organized his school as a republic. To the disgust of their teacher, the children of his room elected him to represent them in their legislature. At recess, after his election, he washed his face at a hydrant in the school yard and wiped it with his cap. Next day he was on time, clean, his hair brushed, buttons all on his clothes. The following day it was the same. His teacher remarked to the other teachers that he was as courteous as it was possible for a boy to be and actually studying for the first time in his life. She said, "The whole thing seems like a miracle, but it is too good to last." Six weeks after his teacher stood at his desk and remarked, "Tommy, I am proud of you. You are never absent or tardy any more. You are neat and polite as any little gentleman, and you have come from the very foot of the class to the head. I congratulate you, Tommy!" The little fellow looked up earnestly into her face and replied, "You know, Miss Sally, they expect so much of a member of the legislature."

TO PROTECT OUR COUNTRY FROM RAVAGES OF YELLOW FEVER.

Gen. Leonard Wood was in command of our Army at Santiago de Cuba. President McKinley cabled him to come to Washington. Arriving at the quarantine station in New York Harbor, he sent me a message asking me to meet him in Washington. I did so before breakfast the next day. He said, "The President has sent for me. I suppose it is to make me military governor of Cuba. If this guess is right, I shall have three problems of special importance to solve. The first is to clean Cuba and rid it of yellow fever, not so much as a philanthropy toward the Cubans as to protect the people of our Southern States from the annual threat of yellow fever, which always comes from a Cuban port. I know how to do that. The next is to get a citizenship that will keep it clean after we shall have cleaned it. Such a citizenship as they have in Mexico and Central America will not answer our purpose and we shall have just that or worse unless we make some forceful move to get something better. There is no direct way by which we can make any practical appeal to the large illiterate part of the population. I believe, however, that by the process you worked out in New York City we can get into every family that has a school child in it and with very considerable force. For this reason, if I get this appointment, I want you to go with me and take charge of the problem of citizenship. Will you do it?" I told him I would, and did so, in the pay of the War Department and with the title of general supervisor of moral and civic training.

Directly and indirectly I organized every public school in Cuba as a republic, of which the children were the citizens. There were over 3,600 schoolrooms. There were only the first four grades, but each year a new grade was added, so that when the government of the island was given over to the new Republic there were six grades. I say this to emphasize the fact that our work was chiefly in the primary grades.

THE GOLDEN RULE, A CIVIC RULE.

I told the Cuban children that there could be no thoroughly successful citizenship in Cuba or any other country unless it should be based upon the practice of the "golden rule." I told them that that rule means many things, but first, that they should be honest, just, and kind to one another in the school, at home, and everywhere; and, secondly, just as much, that they must be clean in every respect, their bodies, clothing, homes, streets, language, everything. This meant a great deal to them, for their streets were deep in filth, the buzzards being the only scavengers, and this they could not avoid tracking into their homes. Moreover, the street language of the boys was filthy beyond anything that one of our street urchins could ever imagine. Teachers and police could not check this filthy custom.

I suggested their adopting certain laws of conduct, and showed them how to elect legislative, executive, and judicial officers. With the greatest eagerness and enthusiasm they did as I suggested. They obeyed their laws, and their indecent language stopped instantly. They scrubbed themselves and ceased to litter the streets. Their enthusiasm for cleanliness was contagious and their parents caught it. Gen. Wood's health and cleanliness squads were at work everywhere. The streets were soon cleaner than I have ever seen in our American cities except those in the hands of Col. Waring. Inside of two years the yellow fever and plague of mosquitoes were gone. Gen. Wood was demonstrated to be not only a great physician, soldier, and executive officer, but a statesman also, and his power of seeing into the heart of things is what revealed to him the necessity of making use of the children to regenerate Cuba and prepare the people for citizenship in a democratic Republic. His work was cut too short. He should have had five years more, and he would have given to the world such an example of civilization as has been dreamed of but never realized.

MEXICO.

Should the Mexicans call on Gen. Wood as the one greatest living specialist in nation building to reconstruct their State, they should give him at least 10 years for the undertaking, and with his brief time in Cuba as their evidence they could rest assured that safety of person and property, of cleanliness, health, peace, justice, intelligence, and prosperity would come and abide with them permanently, and a chief element in these happy national conditions would be the training of every child in the wholesome practices of true democracy and in financial independence through reasonable training in productive industry. Since the beginning of the present strife in Mexico he remarked to a group of officers of the General Staff, "If Mexico had had the school republic in all her schools for 10 years, as we used it in Cuba, the present troubles would never have arisen."

A WARNING—DEPENDENCE V. INDEPENDENCE.

At this point I wish to warn you that in your endeavor to protect the children of our country from slavery in mills and mines that there is serious danger of overstepping the bounds of wisdom and of blocking the way for a greatly needed reform in educational methods in our country. We owe to every child the right to develop his own moral and physical strength and his own moral and industrial independence, and such assistance as he needs to develop the best that is in him.

Our schools with their present methods do much to bless the children, but I fear they do quite as much to handicap them. Of course, their intention is the very best, but ignorantly most schools attempt to do for the children what they should encourage them to do for themselves, and thus tend to break down rather than develop independence of character and the power of initiative. They tend to institutionalize the children as in a more marked way the ordinary orphan asylums and other boarding and Government Indian schools do, and thus bind upon them a heavy handicap or awful incubus from which many never fully free themselves, and they sink, morally unable to resist the curse of liquor, gambling, and dishonesty.

Hampton and Tuskegee have solved the problem of training in industrial independence, yet even as enlightened as they are they fail to develop that moral and civic strength and independence which is in their reach by means of a democratic school government, inculcating the correct spirit and training in the right civic practices of citizenship and American Government under wise instruction and supervision.

At Hampton and Tuskegee, if a building is to be erected or other work done, the pupils are employed and paid wages, and in turn they buy and pay for their clothes and food. They are given the natural incentive to work. They learn to work and to enjoy it, and their knowledge, skill, and character are all built up together. They appreciate the value of money, of their clothing and other property, of the food they eat, and the privilege of being educated. The chance to give them correct civic practice ought not to be wasted.

It is very different in an ordinary orphan asylum or Government Indian school. If a building is to be erected, a contract is given to some outside firm, and the pupils are denied this educational opportunity. The pupils work, but with no natural incentive—just because it is required of them. There is no connection between their work and their board and clothing. They work as slaves, not as freemen. I have seen Indian boys compelled to scrub the floors of a dormitory building twice in one day just to keep them busy, when there was much constructive work needed to be done, such as the boys could have done and would have been glad to do. In that same school, and it is typical, no boy had a spot he could call his own except three nails, one above the other, on which to hang his clothing. This room, for more than 50 boys, is only about 10 by 18 feet. At another place, in a half hour's stroll through a grove that belongs to the school, I found four new coats all issued to the boys within a week, and as I passed the refuse dump I saw a sleeve sticking out here and a collar there. I pulled them out and there were as many more coats of the same lot perfectly good. Moreover, the Indians are taught to live in dormitories, when there are opportunities to have them build and live in houses at the same schools. The Indian children are neatly dressed and generally well fed in the Government schools, but as supervisor at large of the Indian schools I have seen that their processes tend to destroy independence of character and all moral fiber. I have warned again

and again the successors of Indian Commissioner Valentine, but they treat the matter as a small joke.

This is but a hint at the moral and civic irresponsibility produced by bad methods. All children have the right to be trained into independence of character instead of irresponsibility, as is the case not farther away than the public schools right here in the District of Columbia.

NO REASONABLE EXCUSE.

There is no reasonable excuse for this conservatism, hanging onto the methods of past ages, training our children as irresponsible subjects of a monarchical school government, rather than as responsible citizens of a democratic Republic. This is no mere theory, but well-demonstrated practice. Children of every race have responded eagerly to this call of democracy. There is no trouble with the children, nor will there be with the teachers, when they know that they are required to use the methods of democracy. This does not require much skill or tact on the part of the teachers, but it does need as much interest and enthusiasm as is needed for success in any other school work. Reasonably skillful general supervision of the teachers is needed to keep them on the right road.

If this league is to be efficient in developing popular government, it must look after the schools, for day by day they are training the child population away from popular government instead of into responsible, democratic citizenship.

AN APPEAL.

As an engineer I have worked out this great problem of civilization, and I appeal to you to do what you can, through Congress, through the State legislature, and by all other public and private means, to support the work I have started, to help the general movement toward popular government and a better civilization in our own and all other countries by tapping and using that vast reservoir of power for good—the childhood of all nations.

Civil War Volunteer Officers' Retired List.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. S. TAYLOR NORTH,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 5, 1917.

On the bill (H. R. 386) to create in the War Department and the Navy Department, respectively, a roll designated as the "Civil War volunteer officers' retired list," to authorize placing thereon with retired pay certain surviving officers who served in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States in the Civil War, and other purposes.

Mr. NORTH. Mr. Speaker, the volunteer officers whom this legislation will benefit have only a few short years with us, and we should not deny them any longer that which a former Congress promised.

There is a State-wide demand for this legislation in Pennsylvania. During the 1913 session of the Pennsylvania Legislature the house, of which I was a member, asked the senate to concur in a resolution, which they did on April 29, petitioning the Congress of the United States to enact this legislation.

I only know of three of these volunteer officers in my entire district who would be benefited by this act; however, there may be more. One of these officers wrote me that out of 35 officers of his regiment only 3 survive, and their ages average 83 years.

The one hundred and twentieth session of the House of Representatives of the State of Pennsylvania. Harrisburg, April 29, 1913. Concurrent resolution No. 5.

Whereas the Government of the United States, in securing volunteers for soldiers for the Civil War of 1861–1865, offered "the officers, noncommissioned officers, and privates organized in the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps shall in all respects be placed on the same footing as to pay and allowances of similar corps of the Regular Army"; and

Whereas the Congress of the United States passed acts of Congress on the 22d of July, 1861, and of the 3d of August, 1861, and at divers other times embodying and making pledges and promises aforesaid; and

Whereas by the pension laws of the United States, passed by the Congress of the United States, in existence and in force at this date, there is provision made for the redemption practically of the pledges and promises aforesaid in so far as the noncommissioned officers and privates are concerned, mentioned and characterized as such; and

Whereas there has been no provision made for the redemption of the pledges and promises aforesaid to the officers designated as such in the said act or any other acts of Congress contained: Now, therefore, by reason of the promises hereinbefore set forth, be it

Resolved (*if the senate concur*), That the Legislature of Pennsylvania approve of and recommend the Congress of the United States to pass an act of Congress providing for the institution of a roll designated "The Civil War officers' retired list," to be made and kept in the Department of War and the Department of the Navy, respectively, of the Government of the United States, authorizing and directing the placing thereon with retired pay all persons who were organized and served as officers in the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps of the United States, respectively, in and during the Civil War of 1861–1865, and will embody and provide for the redemption of the pledges and promises in said acts of Congress of 1861 and other acts of Congress aforesaid; and be it further

Resolved, That the above-named legislature urge and request the Members of the United States Senate from the State of Pennsylvania and each and every Member of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States from Pennsylvania to vote for and in favor of such act of Congress designated in the preceding resolution.

Resolutions Adopted by Both Houses of the General Assembly of the State of Delaware.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS W. MILLER,
OF DELAWARE,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 7, 1917.

Mr. MILLER of Delaware. Mr. Speaker, the Senate and House of Representatives of the General Assembly of the State of Delaware, at their session on Monday, February 5, 1917, adopted resolutions approving the action of the President of the United States in the present international crisis.

It is my pleasure to present these so that they may be inserted in the RECORD. Both resolutions were adopted unanimously, and as they express conclusively the views of the loyal and patriotic citizens of the State of Delaware, voiced by the General Assembly of the State, no further comment is necessary.

Senate concurrent resolution, General Assembly of the State of Delaware.

Whereas in the judgment of the President of our country, it has become necessary to sever diplomatic relations with a great country with which in the past we have ever maintained the most friendly relations; and

Whereas the people of the State of Delaware and our delegation in Congress, and the members of this general assembly, are divided between the great political parties; and

Whereas the State of Delaware occupies the high and exalted position of being the first State of the Union, in that it was the first to ratify the Constitution of the United States: Therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the State of Delaware (*the House of Representatives concurring therein*), That we pledge to the President of the United States the loyal support of the State of Delaware in any action that may be taken by him in the crisis that now confronts our country; be it further

Resolved, That our Senators and Representative in Congress are hereby requested to cooperate with the President to carry into effect the spirit of this resolution; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of state send a copy of this resolution to the President of the United States and to our Senators and Representative in Congress.

House resolution, General Assembly of the State of Delaware.

Whereas the President of the United States, through his great love of humanity and his utter aversion to war, with all the suffering and sorrows that follow in its wake, has with infinite patience, tact, and diplomacy kept this country at peace with the world; and

Whereas the German Empire, notwithstanding the unspeakable horrors of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, whereby hundreds of innocent men, women, and children were sent without warning to a watery grave; and notwithstanding her repeated pledges since that dastardly tragedy that the rights of American citizens on the high seas would be respected in accordance with international law, has finally been compelled to throw off the mask and by her announcement to the United States Government that she intended to wage her relentless warfare of submarine frightfulness to the limit has left the President of the United States with only one course to pursue, now to sever all diplomatic relations with that Government: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Delaware, That it highly commends the President of the United States for his patriotic action in severing all diplomatic relations with the Government of the German Empire, and we indorse what he is doing in his efforts to protect the rights, liberties, and lives of American citizens upon the high seas, in accordance with international law and the rights of humanity; and be it further

Resolved, That if it be necessary to use force in upholding this principle the State of Delaware will support our Chief Magistrate to a man.

Immigration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER F. TAGUE,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 7, 1917.

Mr. TAGUE. Mr. Speaker, I rise to support the veto of the President on H. R. 10384, the Burnett immigration bill, as I feel that I would be remiss in my duty as a Representative of the people of my district, made up as it is of immigrants from all parts of the Old World, if I did not raise my voice in opposition to the passage of this bill and in support of this able veto. I fully agree with the President in his message to Congress on this all-important subject and have yet to hear ex-

pressed on this floor any argument that would justify this House in passing this bill over the veto.

I realize that many Members have made up their minds, and little could I say that would persuade them in changing their views. It is my contention, nevertheless, that if this bill becomes a law that the day is not far distant when those who vote to make it so will look to Congress to repeal the same. The criticism of the immigrant by many who have spoken is unjustified and unwarranted. It comes from those who know nothing of them and have not had the opportunity to live among them. They would have you believe that to be illiterate is a crime, while at the same time they will permit the thief, the crook, and the immoral man to come into this country simply because he can read and write.

Four times a bill similar to this has been vetoed by a President of the United States, who, having the interest of all the people at heart and realizing the injury that would come to the people of the Government by such a law, has expressed himself very strongly upon the subject.

On March 3, 1897, President Cleveland vetoed the immigration bill containing the illiteracy test, and the House by a vote of 193 yeas to 37 nays passed the bill over the veto. The bill was then sent to the Senate and was referred to the Committee on Immigration, where no action was taken up to the time of the adjournment of Congress.

On February 18, 1913, by a vote of 72 yeas to 18 nays, the Senate passed over the veto of President Taft an immigration bill containing this illiteracy test. The following day the bill was sent to the House where, by a vote of 213 yeas to 114 nays, the House refused to pass the bill over the President's veto. Again on January 29, 1915, President Wilson vetoed the immigration bill containing this illiteracy test and returned it to the House with the following strong message:

To the House of Representatives:

It is with unaffected regret that I find myself constrained by clear conviction to return this bill (H. R. 6060, "An act to regulate the immigration of aliens to and the residence of aliens in the United States") without my signature. Not only do I feel it to be a very serious matter to exercise the power of veto in any case, because it involves opposing the single judgment of the President to the judgment of a majority of both Houses of the Congress, a step which no man who realizes his own liability to error can take without great hesitation, but also because this particular bill is in so many important respects admirable, well conceived, and desirable. Its enactment into law would undoubtedly enhance the efficiency and improve the methods of handling the important branch of the public service to which it relates. But candor and a sense of duty with regard to the responsibility so clearly imposed upon me by the Constitution in matters of legislation leave me no choice but to dissent.

In two particulars of vital consequence this bill embodies a radical departure from the traditional and long-established policy of this country, a policy in which our people have conceived the very character of their Government to be expressed, the very mission and spirit of the Nation in respect of its relations to the peoples of the world outside their borders. It seeks to all but close entirely the gates of asylum which have always been open to those who could find nowhere else the right and opportunity of constitutional agitation for what they conceived to be the natural and inalienable rights of men, and it excludes those to whom the opportunities of elementary education have been denied, without regard to their character, their purposes, or their natural capacity.

Restrictions like these, adopted earlier in our history as a Nation, would very materially have altered the course and cooled the humane ardors of our politics. The right of political asylum has brought to this country many a man of noble character and elevated purpose, who was marked as an outlaw in his own less-fortunate land, and who has yet become an ornament to our citizenship and to our public councils. The children and the compatriots of these illustrious Americans must stand amazed to see the representatives of their Nation so resolved, in the fullness of our national strength and at the maturity of our great institutions, to risk turning such men back from our shores without test of quality or purpose. It is difficult for me to believe that the effect of this feature of the bill was realized when it was framed and adopted, and it is impossible for me to assent to it in the form in which it is here cast.

The literacy test and the tests and restrictions which accompany it constitute an even more radical change in the policy of the Nation. Hitherto we have generously kept our doors open to all who were not unfitted by reason of disease or incapacity for self-support or such personal records and antecedents as were likely to make them a menace to our peace and order or to the wholesome and essential relationships of life. In this bill it is proposed to turn away from tests of character and of quality and impose tests which exclude and restrict; for the new tests here embodied are not tests of quality or of character or of personal fitness, but tests of opportunity. Those who come seeking opportunity are not to be admitted unless they have already had one of the chief of the opportunities they seek, the opportunity of education. The object of such provisions is restriction, not selection.

If the people of this country have made up their minds to limit the number of immigrants by arbitrary tests and so reverse the policy of all the generations of Americans that have gone before them, it is their right to do so. I am their servant and have no license to stand in their way. But I do not believe that they have. I respectfully submit that no one can quote their mandate to that effect. Has any political party ever avowed a policy of restriction in this fundamental matter gone to the country on it, and been commissioned to control its legislation? Does this bill rest upon the conscious and universal assent and desire of the American people? I doubt it. It is because I doubt it that I make bold to dissent from it. I am willing to abide by the verdict, but not until it has been rendered. Let the platforms of parties speak out upon this policy and the people pronounce their wish. The matter is too fundamental to be settled otherwise.

I have no pride of opinion in this question. I am not foolish enough to profess to know the wishes and ideals of America better than the body of her chosen Representatives know them. I only want instruction direct from those whose fortunes, with ours and all men's, are involved.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *January 28, 1915.*

On February 4, 1915, this bill came before the House by a vote of 261 yeas to 231 nays, and the House sustained the veto of President Wilson.

Again for the second time this bill comes before the House of Representatives with the veto of President Wilson, because it contains this objectionable illiteracy test.

To the House of Representatives:

I very much regret to return this bill (H. R. 10384, "An act to regulate the immigration of aliens to, and the residence of aliens in, the United States") without my signature. In most of the provisions of the bill I should be very glad to concur, but I can not rid myself the conviction that the literacy test constitutes a radical change in the policy of the Nation which is not justified in principle. It is not a test of character, of quality, or of personal fitness, but would operate in most cases merely as a penalty for lack of opportunity in the country from which the alien seeking admission came. The opportunity to gain an education is in many cases one of the chief opportunities sought by the immigrant in coming to the United States, and our experience in the past has not been that the illiterate immigrant is as such an undesirable immigrant. Tests of quality and of purpose can not be objected to on principle, but tests of opportunity surely may be.

Moreover, even if this test might be equitably insisted on, one of the exceptions proposed to its application involves a provision which might lead to very delicate and hazardous diplomatic situations. The bill exempts from the operation of the literacy test "all aliens who shall prove to the satisfaction of the proper immigration officer or to the Secretary of Labor that they are seeking admission to the United States to avoid religious persecution in the country of their last permanent residence, whether such persecution be evidenced by overt acts or by laws or governmental regulations that discriminate against the alien or the race to which he belongs because of his religious faith." Such a provision, so applied and administered, would oblige the officer concerned, in effect, to pass judgment upon the laws and practices of a foreign Government and declare that they did or did not constitute religious persecution. This would, to say the least, be a most invidious function for any administrative officer of this Government to perform, and it is not only possible but probable that very serious questions of international justice and comity would arise between this Government and the Government or Governments thus officially condemned should its exercise be attempted. I dare say that these consequences were not in the minds of the proponents of this provision, but the provision separately and in itself renders it unwise for me to give my assent to this legislation in its present form.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *January 29, 1917.*

This message is now before you for consideration, and you are asked to decide this all-important question to-day. I believe that if the Members will take into consideration the importance of the step they are about to take they would stand by the President at this time.

I am opposed to the policy of this legislation and with its departure from the broad and liberal spirit which has hitherto guided our legislation on the subject, and I am also astonished that it should be seriously considered in this National Congress. Ignorance in the foreigner is a misfortune and not a crime. He is ignorant because it has pleased the Almighty to plant him on a barren soil and under an inclement sky, there to live in subjection to a cruel and wicked policy which has kept him in ignorance and darkness.

I would like to take those Members who are advocating this bill to my district. There they would find people of many nationalities—the Italian, Jew, Pole, Greek, Armenian, Hungarian, Irish, Scotch, French, and German—all taking advantage of the splendid institutions of our country. Many of them may have been illiterate, but by persistent efforts have not only educated themselves but are doing all in their power to educate their children. It is to these people that the future of the Nation looks, and they will not look in vain, as these immigrants love America for what she is and what she has done for them.

I will never vote to deny any man the protection of our laws and the benefits of our free institutions on the score of learning. The Committee on Immigration proceeds on the theory that vice and ignorance go hand in hand, and that in order to bar out the vicious it is necessary to bar out the ignorant. It neither requires statistics nor arguments to prove that the ignorant are more prone to vice than the learned, but it will require stronger argument than the friends of this legislation have so far advanced to convince me of the truth of their contention.

BOSTON, MASS., *January 31, 1917.*

Hon. PETER TAGUE,
Washington, D. C.:

The presidents of the Italian societies representing the Italian colony of Boston entirely protest against the literacy test bill, which not only injures the interests of the best immigrants but also the vital interests of this great country. Therefore we feel sure that, for the sake of humanity and justice, you will vote against said bill.

JOS. PISTORINO,
President for the Committee, 178 North Street.

BOSTON, MASS., *January, 1917.*

Hon. PETER F. TAGUE,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We, the undersigned, believing that immigration is needed for our agriculture, industries, and domestic service; believing also that existing laws are sufficient to bar out undesirable immigrants, such as diseased persons and criminals, and considering that the educational test and other like measures will tend to deprive the country of so many honest, sturdy workers, therefore we request you as our Representative in Congress to protest against the enactment of the Dillingham bill, which provides for the educational test, and we pray you to vote to sustain the President's veto.

THE SOUTH END YOUNG MEN'S HEBREW ASSOCIATION,
MAX GOLDMAN, *Secretary.*

BOSTON, *February 5, 1917.*

Hon. PETER F. TAGUE,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In behalf of the Associated Young Men's Hebrew Associations of New England I wish to thank you for your efforts in behalf of the immigrant, and, although unsuccessful, we will never forget your aid. I feel quite certain that if the Senate passes it you will have a chance in the future to take a leading part in a successful fight to repeal that un-American section relating to the literacy test.

Thanking you for all the past favors, and wishing you the greatest of success in this great hour of need, and assuring you that the Young Men's Hebrew Associations in your district are to a man strongly behind you, I am, with best regards to your secretary and yourself,

Sincerely, yours,

BENJAMIN F. EVARTS,
Director of the Department of Immigration and Naturalization of the Associated Young Men's Hebrew Association of New England.

HEBREW SHELTERING AND IMMIGRANT AID SOCIETY OF AMERICA,
Boston, Mass., January 22, 1917.

Hon. PETER F. TAGUE, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: It is with a feeling of great pleasure that I take this opportunity of extending the thanks of the entire Jewish community to your good self for the kindness shown us by honoring us with your presence at our ratification meeting last evening, and your earnest words will ever remain in our memories. May you continue to be a factor in the great good you have constantly striven to do for the poor and oppressed.

Respectfully, yours, J. H. STONE, *Secretary.*

Legislature of the State of Nebraska Unanimously Indorses the Action of the President in Regard to Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ASHTON C. SHALLENBERGER,
OF NEBRASKA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 7, 1917.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Mr. Speaker, I ask to extend my remarks for the purpose of inserting in the RECORD an article from the Daily Star, of Lincoln, Nebr., containing an account of the action of the Legislature of the State of Nebraska in unanimously indorsing the action of President Wilson in the matter of the international crisis with Germany:

DRAMATIC SCENE IN LOWER HOUSE WHEN NEWS BROKE—NEBRASKA LEGISLATORS STAGE A PATRIOTIC DEMONSTRATION IN SUPPORT OF PRESIDENT IN CRISIS—GERMANS PLEDGE LOYALTY—HOFFMEISTER, IN RINGING SPEECH, PRESENTS RESOLUTION APPROVING WILSON'S STAND—JOIN IN SINGING "AMERICA."

All differences of nationality and party were forgotten and swept aside when the members of the Nebraska House, acting from a common impulse of patriotism, pledged themselves unanimously, by rising vote, to the support of President Wilson in the new situation which has arisen between the United States and Germany.

Upon the joint motion of Representative Hoffmeister, himself a native of the Kaiser's realm, and Representative Peterson, the leader of the Republican minority, the house Saturday forenoon declared itself unreservedly behind the Government of the United States in any measures necessary to protect the rights and interests of American citizens and the honor of the American flag.

Led by Mr. Peterson, the legislators sang "America" and, upon his motion, the chief clerk of the house was instructed to telegraph President Wilson of the action that had been taken. As a further expression of its unity in standing behind the President, the house at 11 o'clock recessed until 1.30 p. m.

OUTBURST OF PATRIOTIC FEELING.

A score of speeches voicing the sentiment of undivided allegiance to the Stars and Stripes, and of loyalty to the Government in whatever steps it may deem necessary to maintain American rights and interests were made by different members. Each was followed by loud applause.

The most feeling speech of all was that of Mr. Hoffmeister, when he took the floor to move an amendment to the Lemar-Lampert peace resolution proposed on Friday. His voice shook with emotion as he said:

"It is with a sad heart that I move the adoption of this resolution. Blood ties have bound me to my mother country, and tears were in my eyes when I stood nine years ago upon the place where I was born. But, gentlemen, this is my country. I have three boys—all six-footers—and if necessary I will give them all to the service of the Nation and the defense of our flag. Yesterday I got word that my nephew, who like myself was born across the sea, has just been commissioned as a lieutenant in the Army of our country, the United States of America, and if he is called upon he will go and do his duty. I hope this resolution will be adopted unanimously."

TEXT OF THE RESOLUTION.

The amendment which Messrs. Hoffmeister and Peterson offered to the resolution introduced Friday and which the house adopted unanimously, is as follows:

"*Be it further resolved*, That while we are earnest in our desires for continued peace we do as representatives of the State nevertheless pledge to the President of the United States in the crisis at hand the loyal and undivided support of the entire citizenship of the State of Nebraska, of whatever political party, of whatever blood or place of birth, in whatever measures may be found necessary to maintain the right of Americans, the dignity of our Nation, and the honor of our flag."

GERMAN MEMBERS PLEDGE LOYALTY.

"I was born in Germany and lived there until I was 14 years old," said Jacob Sass, representative from Sarpy County. "It is hard for me to break the ties of my native land, but no matter what happens I am for the Stars and Stripes."

Mr. Greenwalt stated that he was a German, his father having been an officer in the German Army, but announced that in spite of everything he was an American. He still saw some chance of keeping out of war, declaring, however, that an American Army, fighting in the cause of liberty and justice and backed by 100,000,000 people, would be invincible if it should be necessary to fight.

Representative Hoffmeister, who fathered the declaration pledging support to President Wilson, was born in the German State of Brunswick and came to this country in 1879. His nephew, Herman C. Dempewolf, now in the United States Army, was also born in Brunswick and has been in the United States for six years. Neither of them ever served in the German Army. Dempewolf has been attached to an Engineering Corps at Vancouver, Wash., but has been transferred to an Infantry regiment at Fort Leavenworth, Kans., with the rank of lieutenant, and will soon join it there.

City Council Tells President That Cleveland Is With Him in Crisis.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY I. EMERSON,
OF OHIO,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 7, 1917.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks by inserting in the RECORD a copy of the resolution adopted by the City Council of Cleveland, Ohio, as sent me by Hon. Harry C. Gahn, member of said council:

CITY COUNCIL TELLS PRESIDENT THAT CLEVELAND IS WITH HIM IN CRISIS.

Be it resolved by the Council of the City of Cleveland, State of Ohio, That we send word to the President of the United States that in the present national crisis the people of Cleveland are heartily with him and are ready to carry out his orders; and be it further

Resolved, That the text of this resolution be sent to the President by telegraph.

By a rising vote, council last night adopted the foregoing resolution, offered by W. F. Thompson. It was signed by Mayor Harry L. Davis immediately after passage. The text was then telegraphed to the President.

Councilman Harry C. Gahn moved its adoption, but insisted the people of Cleveland are not urging war.

"We ought to make it plain that we are in favor of peace rather than war," Mr. Gahn said. "We should urge the President to ask American citizens to keep off of boats in the danger zone unless it is absolutely necessary that they go on these boats."

Letter and Telegram From the Chamber of Commerce of Casey, Ill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH G. CANNON,
OF ILLINOIS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 7, 1917.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend by remarks in the RECORD I include a letter and telegram from the Chamber of Commerce of Casey, Ill., which is in the center of Illinois oil field.

The letter and telegram are as follows:

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
Casey, Ill., February 5, 1917.

Hon. JOSEPH G. CANNON, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

We inclose copy of telegram herewith.

It is our desire to assist the Nation in the coming crisis, and our level hay country offers a suitable place for an aviation camp. We can

give the free use of a tract of land near the city owned by the commercial club for the use of any buildings that may be needed.

We are located in the midst of the Illinois oil field, and our local refinery desires to herewith offer its plant and equipment to the War Department if it is found necessary.

We have several good business men located here who have spent their entire business life in the production of crude oil. They herewith volunteer their services, if needed, in the production, transportation, or operation of producing oil. Should the Government see fit to take over the crude-oil business, we can be depended upon to do our part.

We have considerable machinery and buildings that can be utilized in assembling and manufacturing many parts of aeroplanes. Our people will quickly respond to organizing our entire city of 3,000 people for any needed work.

We believe that the protection of the immense tanks of crude oil in Casey Township should have consideration. Fanatics with dynamite and a little fire could create great damages.

We desire to go upon record as being behind the President in condemning unrestricted submarine warfare. We shall do everything possible to uphold his actions that may be for honorable and just relations among the nations of the world.

Respectfully,

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF CASEY,
By WM. CHENOWITH, *President*.
H. C. LEGGETT, *Secretary*.

To Hon. JOSEPH G. CANNON, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

We tender the free use of our commercial club grounds at this place to the Government for an aviation field. Will organize our machine shops and mechanics as needed. In event the Government takes charge of our crude-oil fields, will furnish experienced men as a local board, who will serve without pay. Our local refinery holds itself ready and subject to control and desire of the Government. Protection of the millions of gallons of crude oil stored here should be considered.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF CASEY, ILL.

The Immigration Bill and the President's Veto.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BENJAMIN K. FOCHT,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 1, 1917.

Mr. FOCHT. Mr. Speaker, every time this splendid, patriotic measure has been before this House during my eight years of service here I have given it the full support of my voice and vote. This is the first time I have not been able to secure at least a few minutes to argue in its behalf. I agree with those in charge that there is no need of consuming the time of the House and the taxpayers' money in any long argument by all or any Members of this body. It is the thirteenth time the proposition has been voted upon in this House during this generation and the fourth time it has come back from the White House on account of a presidential veto. The measure has passed Congress 4 times in recent years, each time with an increased vote; the Senate 12 times, and, as I said, this body 12 times. No other bill in this or any other country has such a legislative record, and taking advantage of the general leave to extend remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD I want to say that it is about time the people's will was done and this needed legislation was placed upon the statute books, where it belongs.

I agree that there is no need of argument. Every Member knows how he ought to vote and what his constituents want done, and so I am not objecting to the curb that has been put upon discussion at this time, and feel satisfied with bowing to the will of the Democratic leaders in this case, voting in favor of passing the bill over the President's veto, and taking advantage of the general leave to extend remarks in the RECORD in order to point out a few salient facts about the President's veto messages and about the provisions of this 65-page bill.

There is more misinformation and there have been more misstatements made about this bill than any other that has ever come before Congress, in my opinion. Sight seems to have been completely lost by both the President, the press, and the opposition, of the fact that this carefully prepared measure contains much legislation found absolutely necessary by a commission composed of six Members of Congress and three distinguished Federal officials and publicists, who spent a million dollars thoroughly investigating immigration conditions at home and abroad and who made a 42-volume report to Congress several years ago, recommending all the legislation contained in this 65-page bill.

The President in his veto message gives only two reasons for refusing to sign the bill, neither of which, in my humble opinion, are well founded. His veto message of last Monday, as well as his short veto message of two years ago, clearly shows that he is not familiar with the bill and entertains erroneous facts and opinions about it. For instance, in his veto message of January 28, 1915, President Wilson asserted that the bill "seeks to all but close entirely the gates of asylum which have always been open to those who could find nowhere else the right and opportunity of constitutional agitation," when, as a matter of fact, it is the first immigration bill and the first legislative proposal to legalize the right of asylum and the right of entry into this country of political refugees, for in section 3 of that bill and of this bill I find the following proviso:

> That nothing in this act shall exclude persons convicted of an offense purely political.

The President was equally in error in his assertion in the form of an interrogation that no political party had ever declared for the illiteracy test or restriction and had been commissioned with the control of the country's affairs, for as far back as 1896 the Republican Party, which was successful that year, declared in its national platform:

> For the protection of the quality of our American citizenship and of the wages of our workingmen against the fatal competition of low-priced labor we demand that the immigration laws be so extended as to exclude from entrance into the United States those who can neither read nor write.

And the Democratic Party, in its platform that very year, way back in 1896, went the Republicans one better in general terms, declaring:

> We hold that the most efficient way of protecting American labor is to prevent the importation of foreign pauper labor to compete with it in the home market.

Likewise in his message of January 30 this year, President Wilson, in the two reasons he gives for vetoing the bill, shows that he has been misled. He says that he can not sign the bill because the illiteracy test is no test of character and would result in a reversal of our policy and attitude toward immigration, and that, secondly, because the provision exempting religious refugees from the reading test would impose upon our immigration officials "an invidious function" of passing upon whether some law of some country or some overt act of some group of individuals within some country amounted to religious persecution.

Of course, every piece of new legislation, if it amounts to anything and is worth the time it takes Congress to pass it, must be a change in our attitude and legislative policy, and yet the President gives in his message of last week as the first of his two reasons for vetoing the immigration bill the excuse that the test "constitutes a radical change in the policy of the Nation which is not justified in principle." For nearly a half century Congress has from time to time passed immigration legislation restricting the entry of undesirables and objectionables. Not only has the Nation adopted a clearly restrictive attitude toward European immigration, but 30 years ago it put into force the absolute exclusion of Chinese coolie immigration. Gradually we have enacted one test after another, excluding physical, mental, and moral degenerates, until exclusion and restriction seem to me to have become the traditional policy of the American people. We compel our own native born to go to school to learn to read and write in order to better fit them for earning a living and for intelligently participating in our public affairs. It seems only fair and right that we should expect as much from adult foreigners in the matter of ignorance and intelligence as we compel of our own native born. I see nothing un-American or radical in principle in such an attitude toward ignorance, either in compelling our own native born to go to school or checking the entrance of illiterate adult foreigners until they learn to read 30 words in their own language.

It seems to me that the reading test is strictly in keeping with our public-school system principle, and I am glad to vote to thus recognize our public schools in a Federal statute. To exclude illiterate adults is in keeping with the immigration policy of this country during the last half century. We have enough ignorance and illiteracy already in this country without importing it by the hundreds of thousands annually, as we did before the war and certainly will after the present European conflict is ended. But the President writes, and many of the opponents of this splendid 65-page measure talk, as if the reading test were the only provision in the bill, when as a matter of fact it is only about one sixty-fifth part of the bill, and there is a whole grist of new legislation in it that was recommended by the Congressional Immigration Commission, excluding mental, physical, and moral degenerates, strengthening the administrative machinery for their exclusion, stiffening the white-slave-traffic law, fining the foreign steamship companies for bringing undeniably undesirable aliens here whose condition is ascertainable at the time of buying ticket, improving steer-

age conditions, and the like. All these changes have been urged also by immigration officials, as shown in the recent annual reports of the Bureau of Immigration, and even by State officials, New York State having sent experts here to testify before congressional committees and to ask that Congress either exercise its exclusive power to regulate foreign commerce (immigration) by excluding mental, physical, and moral defectives and delinquents that are under the present law being admitted and costing the taxpayers of New York State $5,000,000 a year, or reimburse the people of the Empire State the $5,000,000 annually spent for their care and keep.

Something has been said about the press of the country being opposed to this needed legislation. I have here a number of editorial expressions on the part of leading newspapers throughout the country, from which I will quote.

The Cincinnati Times-Star, reported to be owned by ex-President Taft's brother, had this to say, among other things, editorially:

The immigration bill passed the Senate. It has been said that President Wilson will veto it on account of his opposition to the literacy test. The large majority by which the bill passed the House and the overwhelming majority by which it passed the Senate give the friends of the bill hope that it may be repassed over the President's veto.

The present immigration bill is very similar to the one passed during the last administration. Ex-President Taft's veto was regarded by many good Republicans as the most serious mistake of his administration. Since that time the popular demand that something be done has become more plain. By vetoing the present immigration bill Mr. Wilson would be placing his own ideas above the desires of the country and the opinions of the brainiest and most patriotic men in Congress. * * * With the end of hostilities abroad, if we do not adopt further restrictive legislation, it is probable that the United States will be face to face with the greatest flood of immigration in its history.

There are many Americans who consider immigration as the most pressing problem at present confronting the country. If the immigration bill is unfavorably acted upon at the White House, this newspaper for one will pray for its passage in the House and Senate over the President's veto.

I have here one of several splendid editorials which appeared in the Chicago Tribune, from which I will quote:

Peace may not bring a new influx of aliens to America. Emigration from Europe may be checked by laws of the countries in need of workers or by the employment of workers at home at high wages. But, even if this prove to be true, and war taxes or bitter experience do not drive men and women from the Old World to our shores, the tide may set in from other regions, and these are precisely the sources from which the least assimilable elements are drawn.

The part of common sense and common caution for us is to close our gates for a time. All thinking Americans have become conscious in recent years that the process of Americanization is much slower and more superficial than we have flattered ourselves it was. The amount of foreign nationalism, of unassimilated immigration, is disquietingly, if not alarmingly, large. It is time to prevent our national composition from being further diluted. It is time to concentrate on an undisturbed process of American nationalism. * * * We can not afford to be full of domestic divisions and internal distractions, the only clay pot in the stream. We shall need a robust nationalism, a strong unity against the world.

And there is another reason for closing the gates. If we are to enter a period of prosperity, the fruit of our own energy, restraint, and pacific temper, we want that prosperity to be distributed among our own people, among those who have cast their lot with us and contributed to our welfare. The Tribune believes the absolute restriction of immigration would check the consequences of a reaction after the war and insure a widespread prosperity. It would protect our own wage earners from the competition of cheap labor, insure good wages and the American standard of living, and thereby stimulate the home market and bring about the broadest prosperity.

That is good Republican philosophy. As a Republican believing in a protective tariff, the rational levying of import duties with a view to developing our resources and protecting our working people and producing masses whether in the mine, at the factory, or on the farm, I must be and every Republican must be in favor of protecting our institutions, our industries, and our working people themselves from foreign cheap labor and its ruinous competition.

On the editorial page of the New York Times for last Monday, January 29, is an excellent article that was written by Prof. Robert De Courcey Ward, of Harvard University, which completely answers an editorial attack that has been referred to. I shall quote the entire article, it is such an able exposition of the merits of the immigration bill:

In your editorial article in the Times for January 20, entitled "The Labor Exclusion Bill," you say: "The new bill is against the entry of desirables. It is not in the interest of public morality or public health." May I take the liberty of differing with you most emphatically in this view? I hold no brief at this time for the reading test. It seems to me, however, that most of those who attack this provision have not read the immigration bill at all, and do not realize that this bill covers about 60 pages, of which perhaps 1 or 2 pages concern this much-discussed reading test. With the many exceptions which are made in its application, this provision seems to me a rather unimportant part of the bill as a whole. It certainly is not worth all the fuss that is being made over it. It is in regard to the rest of the bill—the 58 or 59 pages of it not concerned with the reading test—that I wish here to speak. The new bill, in my judgment, is distinctly not "against the entry of desirables," and as certainly is "in the interest of public morality and public health." I take the liberty of repeating here certain statements which I made in print in an article published within the last few months, because they express my views as well to-day as they did when they were first written.

The bill is the result of years of careful study of our present law and of its workings. Its provisions, as the Commissioner General of Immigration says in his annual report (June 30, 1915), "contain the result of experience and investigation—of the experience of administrative officers, extending over nearly a quarter of a century, in the enforcement of various statutes regulating immigration, and of the investigations conducted variously but in particular by the Immigration Commission, created under the act of 1907, the report of which, comprising 42 volumes, was submitted to Congress in December, 1910." The provisions of this bill "have been drawn with great care and thoughtfulness, * * * by them the law is made certain in its definitions and clear in its terms throughout—improvements badly needed in the existing statute." The bill aims to protect the United States against the incoming of mentally and physically and of otherwise unfit and undesirable aliens. It also embodies several provisions which would insure more humane treatment to the aliens themselves, and would, to a large extent, do away with the hardships involved in the deportation of aliens who are excluded at our ports by preventing their original embarkation.

To the excluded classes the bill adds persons of constitutional psychopathic inferiority and persons with chronic alcoholism. That many persons not properly certified as insane but who would, in many cases, become insane soon after arrival, could be kept out under the former provision, has long been the opinion of the physicians, the alienists, and the immigration officials who have made a special study of this subject, and who have for years strongly urged the inclusion of this new provision in our immigration law. Chronic alcoholics, who are surely undesirable members of our community, are often discovered by our examining surgeons, but as the law does not now state specifically that they shall be excluded they must in most cases be allowed to land. The new bill excludes vagrants, and persons afflicted with tuberculosis in any form. It also aims to prevent the embarkation of aliens afflicted with idiocy, insanity, imbecility, feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, constitutional psychopathic inferiority, chronic alcoholism, tuberculosis in any form, or a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease, by imposing upon steamship companies who bring such aliens a fine of $200, plus the amount paid by the excluded alien from his initial point of departure, provided the Secretary of Labor is satisfied that the defects could have been detected by a competent medical examination before embarkation. This is an excellent and humane provision, and would go far toward making these companies more careful in the sale of passage tickets, and would save many unfortunate aliens the disappointment and hardship of being deported after arrival at our ports. The present fine of $100 has been shown to be too small to be really effective, and does not cover as many cases as are above enumerated. A new fine of $25, plus the alien's transportation expenses, is established in cases of certain other less serious mental defects, and of physical defects which may affect an alien's ability to earn his living.

The new bill provides for a very much more thorough medical examination of arriving aliens, especially with reference to the detection of mental diseases; gives the medical inspectors the services of interpreters, and suitable facilities for the detention and examination of the aliens. This amendment has been strongly urged by the united action of the most important scientific bodies in the United States which deal with the prevention and treatment of mental disease, by State medical associations, and by individual physicians all over the country. That our medical inspection has been hopelessly inadequate has long been known to the experts. We have not had enough medical inspectors, and those on duty have not had adequate facilities for their work. Thus it has come about that, in spite of our law prohibiting the admission of insane and mentally defective aliens, our institutions have been filling up with just these people. As Dr. T. W. Salmon, of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, has well said:

"There is no reason for the acceptance of a single insane or mentally undesirable alien except inability to determine his condition."

The new bill extends from three to five years the period during which aliens may be deported who at the time of entry belonged to one or more of the excluded classes, who have become public charges from causes existing prior to landing, and of some other groups. This extension of the deportation period has been urged, year in and year out, by heads of institutions who have had to do with dependent, defective, and delinquent aliens, by organized charitable societies, and, perhaps most strongly, by the former commissioner of immigration at the port of New York, the Hon. William Williams, whose thorough, sane, and illuminating study of the whole immigration problem has contributed greatly to our understanding of the subject. It is the conviction of all the unprejudiced experts who have studied this problem that a five-year deportation period would relieve our penal and charitable institutions of an enormous financial burden, reaching into the millions of dollars, and would rid our communities of large numbers of defectives who otherwise would remain here, many of them a burden upon State or city, and many of them starting long lines of defective and delinquent children.

The new bill strengthens the provisions of existing law regarding the "white slave" traffic, makes the inspection of steerage quarters more thorough, compels steamship companies when deporting aliens to give such aliens as adequate quarters as those for which they paid on the voyage to this country, makes possible the expulsion from the country of alien anarchists and criminals, even when they have become such after entry, and in many other ways provides for the welfare of the alien as well as for the welfare of the United States.

I confess that I can not see how you can regard a bill which embodies the many excellent provisions here very briefly referred to as directed "against the entry of desirables," and as "not in the interest of public morality or public health."

I have here an editorial from the leading Boston paper, the Boston Evening Transcript, of February 2, 1917, as follows:

[From the Boston Transcript, Feb. 2, 1917.]

LOOKING TOWARD RESTRICTION.

The prevailing sentiment of the American people in the matter of the restriction of immigration is likely to have its way, in spite of repeated presidential vetoes. The House of Representatives has passed the immigration bill, with its exclusion of immigrants who can not read in their own language, over President Wilson's veto, by 25 votes more than a two-thirds majority; and as the Senate's vote for the

bill was 64 to 7, the upper House will undoubtedly follow the lower House's suit. There has long been this practical unanimity, taking the country through, in favor of some form of restriction, but a certain fear of alienating the foreign vote in the cities has withheld the House from going to the extent of disregarding the presidential opposition, which is in every case based on what may be called the eastern need of labor in constructive enterprises as well as upon conservative misgivings as to denying the traditional doctrine that America must always be the refuge of the poor and the oppressed of all nations. But we have long since abandoned that doctrine with regard to the poor and the oppressed of Asia, and there is certainly no constitutional reason why we should not pick out the poor and oppressed that we want, even when it comes to immigration from Europe.

The real sentiment which lies at the bottom of the strong congressional support for the literacy test is the belief that some form of restriction must be applied, and no other form being apparently available except that along the line of education, this must be adopted if any is adopted.

But perhaps more representative and much more authoritative from a newspaper or editorial standpoint, in so far as such is in point and material, is the editorial utterances of a periodical like the Saturday Evening Post, of Philadelphia, which has a circulation of over 2,000,000 copies a week and practically goes into every home and is read at every fireside. It was only a few months ago that the following editorial appeared in that conservative and representative periodical—a periodical which unquestionably voices the people's wishes:

THE LITERACY TEST.

In the 10 years 1905–1914 a little over 10,000,000 immigrants reached the United States. A few less than 175,000 were debarred from landing, mainly on account of physical and mental defects proscribed by the present law. Because the inspecting force at Ellis Island was insufficient, tests for mental defects at least have been superficially applied. More scientific examination on a given day disclosed 72 feeble-minded applicants, of whom only 8 had been detected in the regular course. Superficial inspection unfortunately is likely to be more or less a standing condition. But 2,300,000 of these immigrants, by their own statements, were unable to read or write. Probably tests would have disclosed a greater number. It is this 23 per cent or upward of illiterates whom the literacy test in the Burnett bill would exclude.

No possible scheme of exclusion that reaches beyond imbeciles can work with ideal perfection. Any possible scheme must set up an arbitrary standard. We debar the immigrant who can not exhibit a few dollars of cash; but the man with $10 may lose it before night and become a public charge, while the man with empty pockets may in the same time find a good job. The consumptive may recover and be a most useful citizen. The murderer may repent and become a light to the community. So in any individual case the illiterate immigrant may be more desirable than the literate; but there is a broad warrantable presumption that the man who can not read or write is either very stupid or has grown up under poor social and political conditions, with a low standard of living, and is less desirable than the literate man. Practically the whole question is, Do we want any real restriction upon immigration or a wide-open—white—door?

Ten million immigrants in 10 years is too large an order for any national digestive apparatus. The fact that many of them return to Europe affects the essential problem but slightly. (June 24, 1916.)

Essentials for Rural Credit Law.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. MURRAY,
OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 8, 1917.

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. Speaker, I avail myself of the privilege of extending my remarks on the proposed rural-credit legislation by printing a speech delivered on the 11th day of February, 1915, at the Farmers' Union Conference called by President C. S. Barrett at the Powhatan Hotel, Washington City. The speech as reported by the Farmers' Union reporter, is as follows:

"Mr. MURRAY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I shall be as brief as possible to express my views as to a proper rural-credit bill, and that, too, without reference to the speech of President Barrett or the statement made by Mr. Mobley. In my opinion, a rural-credit bill must be written having regard for the following details and principles:

"First. It must be independent of and have no connection with the regional reserve system or any regional reserve bank and must be independent of the Regional Reserve Board.

"Second. It must be under the control of the farmers or of the Government. The former control, in my opinion, is wisest.

"Third. It must be so framed that it will not require subscriptions of stock, because the farmer can not and will not subscribe stock.

"Fourth. It must have no dividends or profit-taking provisions, but the bill must absolutely prohibit such declaration of dividends or profit taking. This to insure lowest rate of interest.

"Fifth. It should make no distinction as to amount in acreage or in value of a loan upon farm lands, but should have a gradation as to the amount that can be loaned on the valuation. To illustrate, when a man buys a small tract of land and intends it for his home, and intends to reside or does reside upon it, say an amount of 40 or 80 acres, he should be permitted to borrow at least 90 per cent of the value of the land stripped of the improvements; otherwise there will be very little opportunity for a poor man to buy a home. To illustrate, if the law should provide that a thousand-dollar farm home was a reasonable home for a farmer, it ought to provide that he might borrow in the beginning $900 with which to pay for this home. Most men could raise $100, but he could not raise half, or $500, and begin the improvements on his home.

"Then, when a loan is sought to be secured upon a larger acreage, provision should be made that up to a certain limit, say $5,000, the farmer could borrow 50 per cent of the value of the land, and that when a loan is to be made in excess of $5,000 he could borrow but 40 per cent of the valuation. I think it extremely unwise to attempt to limit the amount that can be borrowed, because it invites opposition to your measure and final defeat, and would not encourage home owning.

"It must be remembered that 'agrarian' political parties are seldom successful, even for a short while, and this rural credit is wholly an 'agrarian' policy, and if you do not provide both for the landless man and at the same time the man with large acreage you invite defeat. You may overcome this by limiting the amount that may be loaned upon the larger tracts and thus have all owners of agricultural land lined up for your policy. It must be remembered also that when a loan is made to the amount of 90 per cent, provision must be written in the law whereby the rural-credit association, who jointly stand responsible for the payment of the loan, shall have some authority to prevent waste by the owner, just as they have in Europe.

"Now, as to governmental aid. This is desirable, but not essential. Personally, I would rather secure the advantages I have just enumerated and not have any governmental aid than to lose either and secure governmental aid, because in the end your rural-credit system would be subject to the control of commercial banking.

"In the matter of securing the loans, this will have to be done either by a reserve fund or by the guaranty of the Government, and it will be impossible ever to secure the guaranty of the Government. I think the Government could be induced, like Germany has, 'to loan' to the association (I will call it a loan in order to meet the objection of the commercial banker), such loan to be without security, a sum sufficient to create this reserve fund and make it clear to the money lender that the land plus the reserve will always be sufficient to guarantee the payment of the loan upon any particular tract of land. This will insure the ready sale of the 'debentures' or bonds.

"I shall not discuss my method of how I provide a rural-credit association (not a bank) to be the voluntary organization of the farmer and at the same time relieve him from the necessity of subscribing stock, because it takes too much time to do so, but this, in my opinion, is easy of accomplishment. In fact, I think all of the details along the line of the principle that I have here laid out are easy of accomplishment.

"I warn you that any rural-credit system that is satisfactory to the farmer will be difficult of passage, but to-day there is a greater probability of doing so than there was 12 months ago. The farmers must realize the wisdom expressed by Gen. Albert Pike in his work Morals and Dogma when he said: 'Reforms in republics are slow of attainment. First, there must be a propagation of the reform; second, a disagreement as to the objects to be attained and as to details surrounding an agreed object; third, the people must come together for discussion and then deliberation; and in the end the reform may be destroyed by too much deliberation, while a wise and honest monarch can put in operation a reform to the satisfaction of everybody even when the great body of the people will not understand the philosophy of the reform, while the people must be brought to understand its philosophy before they will agree upon a plan.' We have just reached the period of 'disagreement' in the progress toward rural-credit legislation.

"Now, in conclusion, you may rest assured that I am ever ready to do all I can to promote rural-credit legislation. I discussed this question in my campaign in 1910, and again in 1912 in Oklahoma. The subject is not new to me, but to my notion the great problem will be to reach something upon which those in authority will agree.

"Now, just a word as to home ownership. Home ownership can not be brought about by one law, but it requires a group of laws, just as any other policy, which together constitute a policy, and in this case it will require such group of laws not only on the part of the Federal Government, but on the part of

the State governments as well, and the farmers themselves should begin an agitation of a uniform group of State laws, looking toward one object—easy method of acquiring homes. Among these are as follows:

"The State should not tax mortgages on real estate because in the end the borrower must pay the tax. The State ought not to tax the full value of land where purchased on credit, because it discourages credit sales and credit sales are essential to the poor man trying to buy a home, but tax laws should be revised so as to provide that the man who buys a home on credit shall not be compelled to pay on that home any more in taxes, except the amount of equities he owns in it. To illustrate: Suppose he buys a home worth $1,000 and he has paid $500 upon it. He should not be assessed upon $1,000 worth of land, but the assessment should be for $500 worth, the amount he actually owns. Nearly all of the States do tax to the full value, and the poor man is obliged to pay taxes on something he does not own. At the same time the mortgage is taxed and this becomes a double burden, discouraging such sales. Another policy should be provided, and must be provided by State law, and that is the working out of a provision whereby the titles can be known without depending upon the 'opinion' of some lawyer, which may be a good opinion or may not be worth the paper it is written upon. The title to land should be known to a certainty, and that can be done by the adoption of the Torrens Land Registration System.

"Had I the time, I should be pleased to discuss other issues, or laws, all grouped together forming the one policy making for home ownership."

In discussing the question of betterment of farm life, I will attempt to speculate and to "drop" into poetry. So wide is the vision that expands before the mental eye of the effect of the wholesome policy of farm betterment, and particularly the increase of farm-home owners, that I may be pardoned to digress long enough to quote the following poem:

TENNYSON'S LOCKSLEY HALL.

For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see;
Saw the vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be;

Saw the heavens fill with commerce, argosies of magic sails,
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales.

Heard the heavens fill with shouting, and there rained a ghastly dew
From the nations' airy navies grappling in the central blue.

Far along the world-wide whisper of the south wind rushing warm,
With the standards of the peoples plunging thro' the thunderstorm;

Till the war drums throbbed no longer, and the battle flags were furled
In the parliament of man, the federation of the world.

There the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe,
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal law.

Yet I doubt now thro' the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns.

Knowledge comes, but wisdom lingers, and I linger on the shore,
And the individual withers, and the world is more and more.

Thro' the shadow of the globe we sweep into the younger day;
Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay.

Catching the spirit of the last couplet, I had rather say:

Better fifty years of rural credit than a whole century of tenant agriculture.

Revenue Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SEWARD H. WILLIAMS,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 1, 1917.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I shall vote against this revenue bill for the reason that it is discriminatory, unjust, and imposes a system of double taxation. It is absolutely un-American.

It is claimed by the majority members of the Ways and Means Committee in their report on this bill and it is stated on the floor of the House that—

this legislation is made necessary because of the urgent need of funds with which to meet the extraordinarily large appropriation for the Military and Naval Establishments and fortifications.

On page 2 of the majority committee report accompanying this bill we find this statement:

Estimated deficit in the general fund June 30, 1918, $302,389,939.

Now let us see whether it is necessary to impose additional direct taxes upon the people, as proposed in this measure, to meet the expenditures for the "Military and Naval Establishments and fortifications." There has been incurred by the administration extravagant expenditures which no business concern would tolerate in face of an increasing deficit in the Treasury. Among these items may be mentioned:

For the Mexico adventure to "get Villa"	$162,000,000
For the Vera Cruz expedition	25,000,000
For the Alaskan Railroad	35,000,000
For purchasing ships	50,000,000
For new offices	45,000,000
For nitrate plant	20,000,000
For purchase of Danish West Indies	25,000,000
Total	362,000,000

Making a total of $362,000,000, or $60,000,000 more than the estimated deficit in the United States Treasury at the close of the fiscal year 1918, according to the statement of the majority members of the Ways and Means Committee, as set forth in their report before referred to.

It is for these items of expense that the people are to be made to pay through a system of direct and double taxation, as proposed in this bill. But even with these extravagancies, at a time above all others when economy ought to be practiced, let me call the attention of the Members to the fact that had the rates of the last Republican tariff law been in operation there would have been received into the United States Treasury through our customhouses a sum not less than $520,000,000 in excess of the amount which was received under the present tariff act; so that there would have been a surplus of over $200,000,000, in spite of all of these expenditures, instead of a deficit of $300,000,000.

It can not be successfully contended that with the rates of the last protective tariff in force the amount of imports would have been decreased during this period, for the reason that the war has created abnormal demands upon our manufactured articles and a proportionate increase in demand for raw materials entering into these manufactured articles, and a consequent increase in the price of the imported articles. Then, too, the protective tariff would serve the double purpose of raising revenue and of protecting the industries and the working men and women after the close of the war, when conditions become normal and we are not making munitions of war, against an influx of foreign-made goods. By this means only can we prepare ourselves commercially to meet postwar conditions. With this matter in view, on the 17th day of January I introduced in the House a resolution requesting the Ways and Means Committee to consider the propriety of restoring the rates of duties carried in the last protective tariff measure rather than to resort to the imposition of additional direct taxes. The resolution provides as follows:

Whereas the Treasury of the United States is threatened with a constantly increasing deficit, and additional means are being contemplated for the purpose of raising sufficient funds with which to pay the expenses of the Government; and

Whereas experience has proven that the levying and collecting of income taxes is the most expensive system in its administration, while the levying and collecting of customs is the least expensive in its operation of all systems of raising revenue; and

Whereas the United States Tariff Commission has not yet organized; and

Whereas it is evident that the Government of the United States must prepare to meet a gigantic commercial struggle which now threatens and will involve our country seriously upon the close of the European war; and

Whereas this situation can be met successfully through the operation of a tariff sufficiently hight to protect the industries of the United States, the workingmen, and the people generally: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Ways and Means Committee be requested to consider and report to the House of Representatives a bill repealing the act of October 3, 1913, entitled "An act to reduce tariff duties and to provide revenue for the Government, and for other purposes," and restoring the provisions of the tariff act of August 5, 1909, entitled "An act to provide revenue, equalize duties, and encourage the industries of the United States, and for other purposes," with such alterations as conditions may warrant.

While this resolution was referred to the Ways and Means Committee, the minority members of that committee had no opportunity to confer formally with the majority members relative to formulating a revenue measure.

The restoration of the rates of the act of August 5, 1909, as provided in this resolution would raise in custom duties from now until June 30, 1918, upon the present amount of imports, an additional sum in excess of the amount proposed to raise by direct taxation in the pending revenue bill. The introduction of this direct-taxation measure is a confession on the part of the majority party of the failure of the operation of the Underwood tariff law and is a repudiation of that plank in the Democratic platform of 1916, which reads:

We reaffirm our belief in the doctrine of a tariff for the purpose of providing sufficient revenue for the operation of the Government economically administered, and unreservedly indorse the Underwood tariff law as truly exemplifying that doctrine.

As the Democratic Party, in passing the Underwood tariff law, failed to observe the plank in its platform of 1912, which reads:

We recognize that our system of tariff taxation is intimately connected with the business of the country, and we favor the ultimate attainment of the principles we advocate by legislation that will not injure or destroy legitimate business—

so has the party failed to raise "sufficient revenue for the operation of the Government economically (?) administered." It was claimed by the advocates of the Underwood tariff act at the time of its passage that it would do two things—first, "it would reduce the cost of living," and, second, "it would raise revenue sufficient to run the Government."

If these prophesies have been fulfilled why seek to impose additional direct taxes on the people?

Resolutions Adopted by the Legislature of California.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. RAKER,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 8, 1917.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the resolutions adopted by the Legislature of California.

The resolutions are as follows:

Assembly joint resolution 1.

Adopted in assembly January 22, 1917.

B. O. BOOTHBY,
Chief Clerk of the Assembly.

Adopted in senate January 25, 1917.

CLIFTON E. BROOKS,
Secretary of the Senate.

This resolution was received by the governor this — day of ———, A. D. 1917, at — o'clock — m.

ALEXANDER MCCABE,
Private Secretary of the Governor.

CHAPTER —.

Assembly joint resolution 1, relative to the loaning of the funds of the postal-savings banks directly to public-school districts.

Whereas the Federal Government has in its postal-savings department more than $100,000,000, which money is being loaned to banks and banking institutions at 2½ per cent interest, bonds of school districts being acceptable as security for such loans: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the assembly and senate jointly, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress be requested to use all honorable means to secure the passage of laws whereby a portion of the funds of the Postal Savings Bank may be loaned directly to the public-school districts.

C. C. YOUNG,
Speaker of the Assembly.
WM. D. STEPHENS,
President of the Senate.

Attest:
[SEAL.]

FRANK C. JORDAN,
Secretary of State.
By FRANK H. CORY,
Deputy.

Assembly joint resolution 3.

Adopted in assembly January 24, 1917.

B. O. BOOTHBY,
Chief Clerk of the Assembly.

Adopted in senate January 25, 1917.

CLIFTON E. BROOKS,
Secretary of the Senate.

This resolution was received by the governor this — day of ———, A. D. 1917, at — o'clock —. m.

ALEXANDER MCCABE,
Private Secretary of the Governor.

CHAPTER —.

Assembly joint resolution No. 3, relative to the early completion by the United States of hydrographical work on the Pacific coast, and asking that adequate appropriations be made for forwarding the work as speedily as possible.

Whereas more than 60 per cent of the Pacific coast is not yet charted; and

Whereas the hydrographical work of the Coast and Geodetic Survey is far from complete on said Pacific coast; and

Whereas the nature and action of many coast currents are not yet thoroughly understood; and

Whereas shipping and commerce is rapidly increasing on the Pacific coast and ocean; and

Whereas many wrecks have occurred, causing a large loss of human life and involving a great loss of property, not only to private persons or firms, but to the United States Government as well, to wit, in the loss of some of the finest ships of the Navy; and

Whereas this loss of human life and property has been caused largely by reason that the greater portion of said Pacific coast is not charted and that the action and nature of many of the coast currents are not properly understood: Therefore be it

Resolved by the assembly and senate, jointly, That the Legislature of the State of California hereby respectfully memorializes the Congress of the United States for the early completion of the work of charting the Pacific coast and the hydrography work of the Coast and Geodetic Survey on said coast, to carry out all measures necessary for such work, and to make adequate appropriations to forward said work as speedily as possible; and be it further

Resolved, That the Secretary of Commerce be requested to take the necessary measures for hastening the charting and hydrography work on the Pacific coast; and be it further

Resolved, That our Senators in Congress be instructed and our Representatives requested to use all reasonable means to secure the action desired in this matter for the purpose aforesaid; and be it further

Resolved, That the chief clerk of the assembly be, and he is hereby, instructed to forward a copy of these resolutions, respectively, to the President of the United States, the Secretary of Commerce, the respective Houses in Congress, and to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress, including those to assume office on March 4, 1917.

C. C. YOUNG,
Speaker of the Assembly.
WM. D. STEPHENS,
President of the Senate.

Attest:
[SEAL.]

FRANK C. JORDAN,
Secretary of State.
By FRANK H. CORY,
Deputy.

Assemly joint resolution 5.

Adopted in assembly January 25, 1917.

B. O. BOOTHBY,
Chief Clerk of the Assembly.

Adopted in senate January 26, 1917.

CLIFTON E. BROOKS,
Secretary of the Senate.

This resolution was received by the governor this — day of ———, A. D. 1917, at — o'clock — m.

ALEXANDER MCCABE,
Private Secretary of the Governor.

CHAPTER —.

Assembly joint resolution No. 5, relative to a measure pending in Congress, known as H. R. 19291, for the promotion of reclamation of arid and swamp lands, and memorializing Congress for the passage of the bill.

Whereas there has been introduced in the House of Representatives by Mr. SMITH of Idaho a bill known as H. R. 19291, and in the Senate by Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, known as S. 7487, which proposed bill is as follows:

"A bill (H. R. 19291) to promote the reclamation of arid and swamp lands in the United States, and for other purposes.

"*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That beginning with July 1, 1917, there shall be paid out of the receipts of the reclamation fund the sum of $500,000 per annum into a special fund in the Treasury of the United States, to be known as the reclamation guaranty fund, until such reclamation guaranty fund reaches a total of $10,000,000, to be used to reimburse the general funds of the Treasury of the United States for any costs, losses, or expenses not otherwise provided for, which may be incurred under the provisions of this act. Should said reclamation guaranty fund ever become exhausted in the payment of obligations incurred under the provisions of this act, then from such time the sum of $1,000,000 shall be paid each year out of the receipts of the reclamation fund until such reclamation guaranty fund again reaches the sum of $10,000,000.

"SEC. 2. That when the Secretary of the Interior, pursuant to the provisions of the reclamation act of June 17, 1902, and acts amendatory thereof and supplementary thereto, hereinafter referred to as the reclamation law, shall have determined that the construction of a project or unit of a project for the reclamation of arid and semiarid lands is practical and advisable, or if he shall determine that any project for the drainage of any swamp lands is practicable and advisable, and shall have approved of the construction thereof under the provisions of this act, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to enter into contract or contracts with an irrigation or drainage district or districts, including such lands which are duly organized under the laws of the State or States in which such lands are located, and thereafter to provide for the construction of the necessary works under the provisions of this act for the reclamation of such lands.

"SEC. 3. That when such district or districts shall have duly voted and issued bonds bearing interest at a rate to be fixed by the Secretary of the Interior, not to exceed 4 per cent per annum, in sufficient amount to cover the cost of such project as estimated by the Secretary of the Interior, and the legality and validity of such bond issue shall have been duly confirmed by the courts in the manner provided by the State laws and upon the execution of contract or contracts between the district or districts and the Secretary of the Interior, he is authorized to accept such district bonds and deposit the same with the Secretary of the Treasury, who shall collect the principal and interest thereof and apply the same to the payment of the principal and interest of the certificates of indebtedness hereinafter authorized: *Provided,* That the total face value of such irrigation or drainage district bonds accepted by the Secretary of the Interior shall not for any one project exceed the sum of $25,000,000.

"SEC. 4. That upon the receipt by the Secretary of the Treasury of such district bonds he shall issue certificates of indebtedness of the United States in amount equal to the face value of such district bonds and bearing interest at the same rate, in such form as he may prescribe and in denominations of $50 or multiples thereof, the principal and interest to be payable in gold coin of the United States, the principal and interest thereof to become due not less than 60 days after the due date of the principal and interest of the corresponding district bonds, respectively. Such certificates of indebtedness shall run for the same period as the corresponding district bonds.

"SEC. 5. That from time to time, as funds may be required by the Secretary of the Interior for construction purposes, such certificates of indebtedness shall be disposed of by the Secretary of the Interior, under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe, giving all citi-

zens of the United States an equal opportunity to subscribe therefor, but no commission shall be allowed, and the aggregate issue of such certificates shall not exceed the amount of the district bonds deposited with the Secretary of the Treasury, and shall in no event exceed the sum of $25,000,000 for any one project, and the proceeds from the sale of such certificates of indebtedness shall be deposited in a special project fund to be used in carrying out the provisions of this act for said project.

"SEC. 6. That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to expend the moneys in any such project fund for constructing the necessary works in the same manner and under the same conditions as expenditures are provided for in the said reclamation law, which shall be applicable to the said works in all respects, except as herein specifically modified.

"SEC. 7. That should a surplus remain from the proceeds of the sale of such certificates of indebtedness issued in connection with any project after the construction of the works provided for in the contract or contracts, such surplus may be used in the construction of additional works in connection with said project provided for by supplemental contract or contracts, or the same may be used in the operation and maintenance of the works of the project or credited as payment of interest on the district bonds issued on account of said project until exhausted. All contracts hereunder with such districts shall limit the expenditures to be made by the United States to the proceeds of the certificates of indebtedness issued on account of bonds for such district or districts and may provide for the issue and deposit of additional bonds should the bonds originally deposited prove insufficient in amount. If, in the opinion of the Secretary of the Interior, sufficient funds are available in the reclamation fund, the construction of the proposed works for the reclamation of arid or semiarid lands within the States named in the reclamation law may be paid wholly or in part out of the reclamation fund, and the said reclamation fund shall be reimbursed for any sums so used therefrom.

"SEC. 8. That the certificates of indebtedness herein authorized shall be exempt from taxes or duties of the United States as well as from taxation in any form by or under the State, municipal, or local authority, and a sum not exceeding one-tenth of 1 per cent of the amount of the certificates of indebtedness issued under this act is hereby appropriated out of the said reclamation fund to pay the expense of preparing, advertising, and issuing the same: *Provided*, That the reclamation fund shall be reimbursed for such expenditure out of the proceeds of the sale of such certificates of indebtedness, which expense shall be charged to the district or districts in the same manner as all other expenses in connection with the construction of the project works.

"SEC. 9. That should the collections of principal or interest on any district bond issue deposited with the Secretary of the Treasury be insufficient to meet the payment of the principal or interest of the corresponding certificates of indebtedness, then the general funds of the Treasury shall be reimbursed for any such deficiency out of the reclamation guaranty fund, and should any such defaulted bond, interest or principal, be collected after such reimbursement of the general fund, then such collection shall be credited to the said reclamation guaranty fund.

"SEC. 10. That upon default of any installment of the principal and interest of any district bond so accepted and deposited the Secretary of the Interior may declare the entire amount of such issue in default, and through the Attorney General of the United States may cause suit to be instituted for the collection of the amount in default of principal or interest or the entire amount of such bond issue, principal and interest, and the Attorney General shall, upon request of the Secretary of the Interior under this act, cause proceedings to be commenced for the recovery of said amounts within 90 days from the receipt of the application at the Department of Justice.

"SEC. 11. That unentered public lands of the United States proposed to be irrigated or drained under any project under the provisions of this act shall be divided into farm units of areas which, in the opinion of the Secretary of the Interior, may be reasonably required for the support of a family upon the lands in question, and the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to have such farm units appraised and from time to time to advertise and sell the same in such portions or units of the project as he shall deem advisable at public auction for cash to the highest bidder at not less than the appraised value thereof, not more than one farm unit being sold to any one person, and such sale shall be subject to the conditions hereinafter provided in regard to the reclamation and drainage thereof. Should any such land remain unsold at such public auction it may thereafter be sold at private sale for cash at not less than the appraised value, and should any such land remain unsold at private sale it may be reappraised from time to time at intervals of two years and sold at public auction or private sale, as in this section provided.

"SEC. 12. That for lands so sold contracts of sale shall be issued subject to the condition that within two years after the date of notice by the Secretary of the Interior that water is available for the irrigation of such farm unit, or drainage capacity is available therefor, that the purchaser shall have cleared (where clearing is required), drained, cultivated, prepared for irrigation or agricultural uses in the manner required by the Secretary of the Interior at least one-eighth of the irrigable or reclaimable acreage of such farm unit and made proof of the irrigation or drainage thereof satisfactory to the Secretary of the Interior; one-fourth of the irrigable or reclaimable acreage shall be reclaimed and drained within three years, three-eighths within four years, and one-half within five years after the date of such notice by the Secretary of the Interior. Upon proof satisfactory to the Secretary of the Interior of the reclamation and drainage of one-half the irrigable or reclaimable acreage at any time before or after said period of five years patent shall issue to the purchaser or his assignee holding an assignment duly filed in the local land office, but should such purchaser fail to make proof in any year of the irrigation, drainage, and reclamation of the acreage as herein required or to make proof of the irrigation, reclamation, and drainage of one-half the irrigable and reclaimable acreage within a period of 10 years, then such contract, together with all payments made thereon, shall be subject to forfeiture by the Secretary of the Interior, and the land shall revert to the United States to be again appraised and sold in like manner as hereinbefore provided.

"SEC. 13. That from the money received from such sales of land the expense of appraisement and sale paid from the reclamation or project fund shall be deducted, and the balance shall be turned into the reclamation fund and may, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior, be used in the construction of proposed projects either under this act or under the reclamation law.

"SEC. 14. That the unpatented lands of the United States within the limits of any district with which contract is made by the Secretary of the Interior shall be subject to the provisions of the act entitled 'An act to promote the reclamation of arid lands, approved August 11, 1916 (39 Stats., 506).'

"SEC. 15. That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to perform any and all acts and to make such rules and regulations as may be necessary and proper for the purpose of carrying the provisions of this act into full force and effect"; and

Whereas the passage of such bill would be of inestimable benefit to the State of California in aiding in the reclamation of its arid land:

Resolved, That the Senate and Assembly of the State of California respectfully request and urge the Congress of the United States to pass the said bill; and be it further

Resolved, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress be urged to use all reasonable means to secure the passage of this bill; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Senators and Representatives in Congress of California and to the President of the United States.

C. C. YOUNG,
Speaker of the Assembly.
WM. D. STEPHENS,
President of the Senate.

Attest:
[SEAL.]
FRANK C. JORDAN,
Secretary of State.
By FRANK H. CORY, *Deputy.*

Assembly joint resolution 11.

Adopted in assembly January 26, 1917.

B. O. BOOTHBY,
Chief Clerk of the Assembly.

Adopted in senate January 26, 1917.

CLIFTON E. BROOKS,
Secretary of the Senate.

This resolution was received by the governor, this — day of ———, A. D. 1917, at — o'clock —. m.

ALEXANDER MCCABE,
Private Secretary of the Governor.

CHAPTER. —.

Assembly joint resolution 11, relative to the improvement of Crescent City Harbor.

Whereas there has been introduced in the Congress of the United States a bill carrying an appropriation of $390,000 for the improvement of Crescent City Harbor; and

Whereas the shipping interests of the Pacific coast greatly need a harbor midway between the Golden Gate and the mouth of the Columbia River and halfway between Mexico on the south and Canada on the north, into which coastwise vessels may enter with safety in time of storm or in time of distress; and

Whereas a large area of country in northern California and southern Oregon will be greatly benefited by such improvement and the commerce of the United States greatly increased from the now dormant natural resources in mines, horticultural products, agricultural products, and the wonderful timber resources of that country; and

Whereas 140,000 people who live in the territory to be benefited by it are demanding the improvement of Crescent City Harbor; and

Whereas 60,000 square miles of territory in northern California, northern Nevada, southern Oregon, and southern Idaho will be directly benefited by the improvement of this harbor; and

Whereas Rogue River Valley alone will enjoy a saving in freight rates of $7,000,000 a year on 18,000,000 boxes of fruit when the present plantings are in full bearing and the harbor at Crescent City is improved; and

Whereas 84,000,000,000 feet of merchantable lumber will find its way to Crescent City Harbor from the United States forest reserves, provided the harbor is improved, which would mean at least $84,000,000 for the Government from stumpage and $840,000,000 for the people who fell the timber, handle the logs, and manufacture and move the lumber; and

Whereas it is estimated that private parties and corporations own at least 120,000,000,000 feet of timber in this territory, which if manufactured and moved to market would mean over $200,000,000 to the owners and the men who do the work; and

Whereas 1,000,000 tons of copper ore have been blocked out within 60 miles of Crescent City Harbor, which can be profitably moved only with harbor and railroad facilities, which would amount to a million-dollar business, and as yet this section of country has not been thoroughly prospected for minerals; and

Whereas when the sea walls have been completed, according to the engineers' report, the harbor will have an entrance 40 feet deep at low water and a width of 1,000 feet, there will be a strip of water from 500 to 2,000 feet wide and over a mile long, 30 feet deep and over; and

Whereas Crescent City Bay, with the proposed sea walls completed, would be a harbor of refuge for all coastwise craft, and could be economically deepened and widened to make room for a large fleet of heavy-draft vessels; and

Whereas this bay is halfway from San Francisco to the mouth of the Columbia River, and is midway between Canada on the north and Mexico on the south, its geographical location, therefore, especially fitting it for a naval base, and its close proximity to the Coast Range of mountains to the south and east and the high islands 2 miles to the north admirably fitting it for inexpensive defense; and

Whereas the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors has reported favorably upon the project; and

Whereas the resources of an empire await this harbor improvement; and

Whereas the people of Del Norte County, Cal., have provided $100,000 to be used by the Government engineers in the proposed work: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Assembly and the Senate of the Legislature of the State of California, jointly, That our Representatives and Senators in Congress be, and they are hereby, urged and requested to use all honorable means to procure the passage of said bill providing for the improvement of Crescent City Harbor; and be it further

Resolved, That the chief clerk of the assembly be, and he is hereby, directed to forward a certified copy of these resolutions to each of our Representatives and Senators in Congress.

C. C. YOUNG,
Speaker of the Assembly.
WM. D. STEPHENS,
President of the Senate.

Attest:
[SEAL.]
FRANK C. JORDAN,
Secretary of State.
By FRANK H. CORY, *Deputy.*

Assembly joint resolution 12.

Adopted in assembly January 25, 1917.

B. O. BOOTHBY,
Chief Clerk of the Assembly.

Adopted in senate January 25, 1917.

CLIFTON E. BROOKS,
Secretary of the Senate.

This resolution was received by the governor this — day of ———, A. D. 1917, at — o'clock — m.

ALEXANDER MCCABE,
Private Secretary of the Governor.

CHAPTER —.

Assembly joint resolution No. 12, relative to the recession to the State of California by the United States of the right to use any part of the bed of Lower or Little Klamath Lake for the storage of water connected with the operations of the Reclamation Service of the United States, and the recession to said State of all the right, title, interest, and claim of the United States in and to any and all lands uncovered by the lowering of the water level of said lake, or surrounding or connected with said lake, ceded to the United States by an act of the Legislature of the State of California approved February 3, 1905.

Whereas the Legislature of the State of California passed an act, approved February 3, 1905, of which the following is a copy:

"CHAPTER VI.

"An act authorizing the United States Government to lower the water levels of any or all of the following lakes: Lower or Little Klamath Lake, Tule or Rhett Lake, Goose Lake, Clear Lake, situated in Siskiyou and Modoc Counties, and to use any part or all of the beds of said lakes for the storage of water in connection with the irrigation and reclamation operations conducted by the Reclamation Service of the United States; also ceding to the United States all right, title, interest, or claim of the State of California to any lands uncovered by the lowering of the water levels of any or all of said lakes not already disposed of by the State. (Approved Feb. 3, 1905.)

"The people of the State of California, represented in senate and assembly, do enact as follows:

"SECTION 1. That for the purpose of aiding in the operations of irrigation and reclamation conducted by the Reclamation Service of the United States, established by the act of Congress approved June 17, 1902 (32 Stat., 388), known as the reclamation act, the United States is hereby authorized to lower the water levels of any or all of the following lakes: Lower or Little Klamath Lake, Tule or Rhett Lake, Goose Lake, and Clear Lake, situated in Siskiyou and Modoc Counties, as shown by the map of the United States Geological Survey, and to use any part or all of the beds of said lakes for the storage of water in connection with such operations.

"SEC. 2. And there is hereby ceded to the United States all the right, title, interest, or claim of this State to any lands uncovered by the lowering of the water levels of any or all of said lakes not already disposed of by this State; and the lands hereby ceded may be disposed of by the United States free of any claim on the part of this State, in any manner that may be deemed advisable by the authorized agencies of the United States, in pursuance of the provisions of said reclamation act: *Provided*, That this act shall not be in effect as to the lakes herein named which lie partly in the State of Oregon until a similar cession has been made by that State." And

Whereas the Reclamation Service of the United States has not during the 12 years which have elapsed since the approval of the aforesaid act lowered the water level of said Lower or Little Klamath Lake, or used the bed of said lake for the purpose of storing water to use in connection with the reclamation of the land adjacent to said lake, and there are no indications that the Reclamation Service intends to ever reclaim the land, thereby accomplishing the purposes of the Legislature of the State of California as expressed in said act approved February 3, 1905; and

Whereas there is a large body of swamp and overflowed land surrounding said lake in Siskiyou County, unfit for cultivation without reclamation, upon the title to which a cloud has been cast by the ambiguous wording of the above-mentioned act, which it is necessary to remove before such land can be successfully thrown open to entry, reclamation, and cultivation: Therefore be it

Resolved by the assembly and senate jointly, That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully request our Senators and Representatives in Congress to use their influence and to take all proper means to have a bill introduced and passed by Congress and approved by the President of the United States ceding back to the State of California the right to use all or any part of the bed of Lower or Little Klamath Lake for the storage of water connected with the operations of the Reclamation Service of the United States, and also ceding back to the State all the right, title, interest, or claim of the United States in or to any of the lands surrounding or connected with said lake in Siskiyou County, ceded to it by the above-mentioned act of the Legislature of California, to the end that such lake, water, and lands shall be returned to said State, as they were prior to the approval of said act of the legislature approved February 3, 1905, and be governed by the general laws by which they were governed prior thereto, reserving, however, to the United States the right to lower the water level in said lake as provided in said act approved February 3, 1905.

C. C. YOUNG,
Speaker of the Assembly.
WM. D. STEPHENS,
President of the Senate.

Attest:
[SEAL.]
FRANK C. JORDAN,
Secretary of State.
By FRANK H. CORY, *Deputy.*

Senate joint resolution 3.

Adopted in senate January 25, 1917.

CLIFTON A. BROOKS,
Secretary of the Senate.

Adopted in assembly January 26, 1917.

B. O. BOOTHBY,
Chief Clerk of the Assembly.

This resolution was received by the governor this 26th day of January, A. D. 1917, at 11.45 o'clock a. m.

ALEXANDER MCCABE,
Private Secretary of the Governor.

CHAPTER —.

Senate joint resolution No. 3, relative to the establishment of definite lines of division between Federal and State taxes, and the calling of a congress of the States to consider conflicting jurisdictions of the Federal and State Governments.

Whereas in the exercise of its taxing power the Federal Government is embracing the sources of revenue heretofore not availed of by that Government; and

Whereas there exists a line which separates the taxable units that equitably and logically may be left solely to State taxation from the units logically belonging to the broader Federal jurisdiction; and

Whereas the establishment of some reasonable line of division giving to the States sole taxing authority below such line and to the Federal Government sole taxing authority above such line would cure much of the trouble existing because of conflict of jurisdiction between States, would relieve the tension between Federal and State Governments; would result in great economy in the levying and collection of taxes, and would relieve the growing dissatisfaction on the part of the taxpayer resulting from irritating and expensive duplication of accounts and reports and double taxation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, jointly, That we respectfully urge upon the Congress of the United States and the legislatures of the several States the need of holding a congress of the States to consider the subject of Federal and State sources of revenue, with the object of adopting and urging upon the Congress of the United States a definite policy in the segregation of State and Federal revenue; and we urge the legislatures of the other States to provide for attendance of representatives at such congress; and be it further

Resolved, That the President of the United States be invited to appoint a representative and that both Houses of the Congress of the United States be invited to appoint representatives to attend such conference; and be it further

Resolved, That the governor of the State of California is hereby requested to urge the governors of other States to recommend favorable action and to arrange for the time and place of such national meeting; and that the governor of California be authorized to appoint delegates to represent the State of California at such conference; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forthwith transmitted by the secretary of the senate to the President of the Senate of the United States and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, a copy hereof to each Member of Congress from the State of California, and a copy to the president of the senate and to the speaker of the house of representatives of each of the State legislatures in session at this time.

WM. D. STEPHENS,
President of the Senate.
C. C. YOUNG,
Speaker of the Assembly.

Attest:
[SEAL.]
FRANK C. JORDAN,
Secretary of State,
By FRANK H. CORY,
Deputy.

—

Senate joint resolution 4.

Adopted in senate January 23, 1917.

CLIFTON C. BOWERS,
Secretary of the Senate.

Adopted in assembly January 25, 1917.

B. O. BOOTHBY,
Chief Clerk of the Assembly.

This resolution was received by the governor this 26th day of January, A. D. 1917, at 11.45 o'clock a. m.

ALEXANDER MCCABE,
Private Secretary of the Governor.

CHAPTER —.

Senate joint resolution No. 4, relative to amending the act of Congress approved February 28, 1891, providing for an exchange of lands between the United States and the State of California.

Whereas there is now pending in the Congress of the United States H. R. 15096, by SCOTT FERRIS, to amend the act of Congress entitled "An act to amend sections 2275 and 2276 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, providing for the selection of lands for educational purposes in lieu of those appropriated" (act of Congress approved Feb. 28, 1891, 26 Stats., p. 796), and to authorize an exchange of lands between the United States and the several States, including the State of California; and

Whereas the legislation has the approval of the Department of the Interior and the Department of Agriculture, and also of the various States involved; and

Whereas the Department of the Interior has for many years withheld from certification the greater part of the lieu lands selected by the State of California, owing to a doubt and uncertainty as to the proper construction and interpretation of said act of Congress of February 28, 1891, and has determined to withhold further approvals of State selections based on the exchange provisions of said act of Congress pending further and remedial legislation; and

Whereas this situation has resulted in delay and hardship to the State of California and to the purchasers of lieu lands situated in this State and the other States involved, and calls for action which will enable the United States and the States to adjust and settle the school land grants, and said H. R. 15096 will accomplish this object if enacted into law; and

Whereas there remains to be listed to the State of California by certification approximately 320,000 acres of the public domain of the United States selected by the State of California under the authority granted by said act of Congress approved February 28, 1891, for which lands the State of California has issued certificates of purchase to over 2,100 State applicants, but final evidence of title can not be issued to them until the selected lands are conveyed to the State of California by the United States, and which lands, if conveyed by the proper listing and certification from the United States to the State of California, will become subject to taxation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, jointly, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress be, and they are hereby, urged and requested to take all proper means to expedite and secure the passage and enactment into law of the said H. R. 15096; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the senate be, and he is hereby, directed to transmit copies of these resolutions forthwith to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

WM. D. STEPHENS,
President of the Senate.
C. C. YOUNG,
Speaker of the Assembly.

Attest:
[SEAL.]

FRANK C. JORDAN,
Secretary of State,
By FRANK H. CORY,
Deputy.

To Amend the Constitution of the United States so as to Elect President and Vice President by a Direct Vote of the People.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. HUMPHREY,

OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 7, 1917.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Washington. Mr. Speaker, one of the questions that is to-day attracting the attention of the American people is an amendment to the Federal Constitution, so as to permit the election of President and Vice President by a direct vote of the people. One of the best articles that has been written upon this subject is by Judge Julius A. Coleman, of Seattle, Wash. This is a thoughtful article. It shows wide research and an intimate understanding of our Constitution. I think every Member of Congress would find it time well spent to give this article a careful reading. It is worthy of a place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and I shall extend my remarks by incorporating it in full. It is as follows:

AMENDMENT TO ELECT PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT BY THE PEOPLE DIRECT FOR ONE TERM OF SIX YEARS.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That in lieu of Article II of and the twelfth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and to stand as Article II of the Constitution, the following be proposed as an amendment to the Constitution, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part thereof, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States:

ARTICLE XVIII.

SECTION 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office for the term of six years, beginning the 4th day of January next following his election, and shall be elected by the people of the United States. At the same time, for the same term, and in the same manner there shall be elected a Vice President of the United States of America, upon whom, as President, shall devolve the powers and duties of the said office in case of the death or constitutional disability of the President to discharge the powers and duties thereof, or of his resignation or removal therefrom.

SEC. 2. No person except a natural-born citizen of the United States shall be eligible to the offices of President and Vice President; neither shall any person be eligible thereto who shall not have attained to the age of 35 years and been 14 years a resident within the United States. No person once holding the office of President shall be eligible thereto thereafter; nor shall an inhabitant of the same State as the President be eligible to the office of Vice President.

SEC. 3. The Congress shall determine the day on which the election shall be had for President and Vice President, which day shall be the same throughout the United States; shall make uniform laws, regulations, and provisions for such election, and for ascertaining and declaring the results thereof, which the authorities of each State shall carry into execution, but which in their default the Congress shall carry into execution; shall establish or designate, or cause to be established or designated, subject to its approval, tribunals in each of the several States to hear and determine controversies and contests as to such election therein; and shall fix the day on which and the method whereby the votes in all the States shall be counted at the seat of government and the results thereof declared.

SEC. 4. Each State shall be divided into election districts, which districts shall be the same as the districts for the election of Members of the House of Representatives, and citizens of the United States in each district who have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature shall have the right to vote therein at this election; they shall vote by ballot, and shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President and the person voted for as Vice President.

SEC. 5. The executive in each State shall, within 10 days after the results of such election are ascertained, make, in quadruplicate, distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each in each of said districts in such State, which lists he shall sign and certify to under the seal of the State, and dispose of as follows: One list he shall transmit, sealed, to the seat of government of the United States, by registered letter, directed to the President of the Senate; one list he shall transmit, in the same manner, directed to the Secretary of State of the United States; one list he shall deliver to the judge of the district court of the United States for the district in which the seat of government of the State is located; and one list he shall deposit in the archives of his office.

SEC. 6. The President of the Senate, on the day fixed by the Congress, which day shall not be later than 30 days prior to the date of inaugurating the President, shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatievs, open all the certificates, and the votes of all the districts, as certified to, shall then be counted.

Second. The person having the votes of the greatest number in each district for President shall have the vote of such district for President, and the person having the votes of the greatest number of districts for President shall be declared the President, if such number be a majority of all the districts.

Third. If no person have such majority, the House of Representatives elect shall be immediately convened in special session, solely for such purpose, and from the persons, not exceeding three, having the highest numbers on the list of those voted for as President, in case of the death or permanent disability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office of either of such three, in his stead, the person voted for as Vice President in association with him as President shall choose immediately by ballot the President.

A quorum for this purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Representatives elect, and in so choosing the President a majority of the whole number of such Representatives shall be necessary to a choice.

Fourth. In case, however, of the death or permanent disability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office of the person so shown to have been elected President by the people, then the person shown to have been elected Vice President by the people as hereinafter provided, shall be declared the President.

SEC. 7. The person having the votes of the greatest number in each district for Vice President shall have the vote of such district for Vice President, and the person having the votes of the greatest number of districts for Vice President shall be declared the Vice President, if such number be a majority of all the districts. If no person have such majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list of those voted for as Vice President, in case of the death or permanent disability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office of either of such two, in his stead, the person nominated, either by his associate voted for as President, or, if he do not act, by the organized authority of the body of the people that voted for them, the Senate shall choose, by ballot, the Vice President. A quorum for this purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

Second. In case, however, of the death or permanent disability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office of the person so shown to have been elected Vice President by the people; or thereafter holding the said office, the President in office for the term wherein such vacancy shall occur shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint a Vice President.

SEC. 8. The Congress shall, by law, provide who shall temporarily discharge the powers and duties of the said offices in case of the death or permanent disability of both persons so

shown to have been elected President and Vice President, or of both while in office, and their titles, and shall fix the day on which the election of a President and Vice President to fill the unexpired terms occasioned by such calamity shall be had, which day shall not be later than six months after the date that such vacancies occur; the day on which the votes of all the said districts shall be counted at the seat of government and the results thereof declared; and such other proceedings had as are herein provided for that may then be necessary, but no such election shall be had in case the date of the same would fall within one year of the date of the regular succeeding election of President and Vice President by the people of the United States.

SEC. 9. The President and Vice President shall, at stated times, receive a compensation for their services, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which they shall have been elected or chosen, and they shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Second. After the expiration of their terms of office, and during their lives, each of them shall be privileged to frank all correspondence through the United States mail, and shall be paid a pension, as their compensations have been paid—to the former, of an amount not less than one-third the compensation paid the President; to the latter, of an amount not less than the compensation paid the Members of the Congress—which amounts the Congress shall determine: *Provided*, That in case either of such persons shall hold an office of profit under, or be paid any other pension by the United States, his pension herein provided for shall cease and abate during such time to the extent of the emolument of such office or the amount of such pension, and one-half of such pension shall be so paid to their widows, if any, during their widowhood.

Third. The provisions of this amendment shall apply to all persons who have filled or now fill either of said offices, and to their widows, if any, who are not now paid a pension by the United States.

SEC. 10. Before either enters upon the execution of his office he shall take the following oath or affirmation: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully and impartially execute the office of (President or Vice President) of the United States, and will to the best of my ability obey, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

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A PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION.

While the test of time, its use as a pattern by every Republic and federation formed since its adoption, and the consensus of earth's ablest opinion stamp our Constitution as the wisest document ever framed by man, that part of it which earliest provoked complaint, and sought remedy in the twelfth amendment to it, is yet a matter of debate—the method of electing and the term of our President.

President Wilson has suggested a primary law to more definitely decide the people's choice. This would be wise were this amendment in force, but as no law of Congress can abridge or enlarge constitutional powers, so long as presidential electors have the constitutional power both to nominate and elect President and Vice President, they can defy such primary instruction and set at naught even the ultimate voice of the people.

Under section 3 of this amendment primary laws could be enacted that would bar betrayal thereof, and which, if preventive provisions against fraud and cunning were escaped, could undo such designing schemes when discovered.

Do not electors of unlimited and unlimitable powers, as now, create a menace to national welfare that demands removal? Should not that menace be removed before the explosion comes rather than then, mid blinding smoke and falling débris, rush to repair the rents in our national walls?

Since President Jackson in his every annual message urged one term of six years for President, his ineligibility thereafter, his election direct by the people, sentiment in favor thereof has constantly grown. The presidential year is dreaded by every business interest; its less frequent recurrence desired for universal tranquillity. The great majority feel that a term of six years is long enough to test a proposed policy and prompt its preservation, yet a term within which both Senate and House can be so changed as to check, if not wholly change, mistaken policy, while ineligibility to a second term would choke off the mortal greed for personal power that has ever gained appetite on what it fed, and insure patriotic effort for permanent good, instead of scheming for reelection.

The most nagging detriment to, unmitigated nuisance in, every business, organization, and community is the unfortunate who opinionates himself into the delusion that he is indispensable to it; and when a country reaches the stage where it imagines any one man indispensable it has ripened to the rottenness that is ready for despotism.

Mankind has seen earth's apostles netted from common fishermen, a surveyor boy father of his country, a rail splitter rescue it from destruction. There never has been, never will come, a day when the American people can not say, as our second martyr said when the great grasp of the first was stricken from the helm of our ship of state, "God rules, and the Government at Washington City still lives." As long as liberty and culture last this country will be crowded with splendid capacity for presidential or any other exalted service. As long as the people rule and follow the lead of the Statesman of all time—the Nazarene—from the people will come the needed leaders when the crisis calls for their coming. God Almighty knows what He is about, and His children never did and never will need to rest their safety, their continued progress, on any one mortal man.

History rings no truth in louder tone than that the most consuming curse of all time has been hero worship, the frenzied following of the one-man power. It has dragged nations to dishonor of plighted faith, drenched them with blood, and devastated them with wreck and ruin.

The whole country has come to realize that the inauguration in March is a menace to comfort, to health, to life. That the assembling of Congress in December, with the confusion of the holiday break, is a waste of time and money. Should Congress, as it can, change the day of assembling to January, uninterrupted work would supplant the always useless effort of the short December session, which could be held only every six years and solely to count the Presidential vote, and declare the result.

The definite fixing of the Vice President's succession in case of the death, resignation, or removal of the President is retained, but the abhorrent thought of his removal placed last instead of first. Indeed, the words "or removal" might be omitted, for the words "constitutional disability" cover them. Their retention is well, as a reminder that this is a Government of, by, and for the people, and that they retain the right to remove one who may forget that in this country the rule of "masters, not men" can never exist.

It was the evident intent, and is yet the universal desire, that both high offices should not be held by inhabitants of the same State, yet the provisions of the Constitution, instead of precluding, make this calamity possible and probable. Instance the 1912 election.

The Democratc Party had 40 States; could easily have spared the electoral vote of any one State. Had the electors exercised their constitutional power both to nominate and elect President and Vice President, those from 40 States could have voted for Marshall for President; those from Indiana for some equally eminent statesman for Vice President; those from the other 39 States for Kern for Vice President; and thus lawfully elected both from the same State.

Had either wing of the divided Republican Party nominated an inhabitant of New Jersey for Vice President, and, as was much dreaded and predicted, the election been thrown into the House for President, the Senate for Vice President, the House being Democratic would have elected Wilson President, and, had the divided Republicans united in the Senate, they would have elected the New Jersey nominee Vice President, electing both from the same State, for the only prohibition on the Senate in such case is, not that the man it votes for shall not be an inhabitant of the same State as the President, but that he shall not be "constitutionally ineligible to the office of President," and the only qualifications of eligibility therefor are that he shall be native born, 35 years of age, a resident within the United States for 14 years, and not come under the inhibition of the fourteenth amendment.

The proposed amendment settles that intent and universal desire.

That this will never be done is no answer. What can lawfully be done will be done, if the occasion calls for it. Indeed, like conditions as above would compel partisan policy to do this very thing.

All recognize that we hold a dual citizenship, national and State, and vote accordingly. This election is a matter not of State but of national concern. Therefore the common, universal—the national—authority should make the laws and regulations therefor the same in each and every State. The one common action of the whole people should be uniform. The dignity of the State, the universal convenience, are subserved by leaving the execution of these provisions to the States, respectively, but keeping the power of self-preservation

in national hands should any State prove derelict in this high duty.

The Tilden-Hayes eight-to-seven tribunal, a resort to avert revolution, had no warrant in law. It disclosed the explosive perils that yet confront us—the risk of the last resort by an outraged electorate. It reiterated the lesson of all time—a tribunal hastily instituted at a time of universal, intense excitement is certain to be the subject of intrigue for present advantage, of action for the occasion, and to have carried into it the passions and partialities of the hour.

Some tribunal of highest qualification that would command the confidence of all should be prearranged to settle the always heated questions over this election that are certain to arise and to stir States and Nation in the future as they have in the past.

Should one judge from the Federal, one from the supreme court of each State be selected, these two to select a third from an equal number of Federal and supreme court judges, this tribunal be selected every six years a year prior to the nomination, to hear and determine these contests, we would have, without expense, save for the keeping of the records, a tribunal whose decisions would inspire universal confidence and avert hurtful contest thereover in the Congress called to count those votes.

The construction of this tribunal, however, is left to the best thought we have—the advised discretion of Congress.

Our presidential electors are our only national officials for whom, by our national authority, no qualifications are prescribed, no oath or bond binds, no precedents guide. To permit the limitless power that they possess to exist in any other, from President to poundkeeper, would be thought the limit of madness. Not even citizenship is made a qualification. Any incompetent, from Alaska to Cape Horn, or anywhere else, is eligible, if his bray be loud enough, political pull be strong enough to land the prize, and there is no legal hand to stay his kicking over the traces of instruction or scorch any other outbreak of inborn assininity. The national risk is too great to permit such power in incapacity; still more dangerous to permit it in unscrupulous or designing capacity.

In the last election there were 531 electors, and not 10 men in all the country can to-day name the electors of his own State. We are trusting the election of our highest officials to men no one ever heard of before, or will hear of again, unless for conduct that provokes humor or indignation. Could the qualifications of these electors within living memory be collected it would raise a roar of ridicule from border to border, but the continued farce some day may—will—turn into a tragedy.

Is it not high time that we cart off in some garbage can and dump in a place of safety these dynamite sticks of transient, irresponsible, unqualified, autocratic electors of unlimited powers, bury them beyond the power of harm, and give to the owners of our Union home the same and sane right to choose the chief stewards thereof that they have to choose in the Congress the best qualified, the mightiest ministers of their lawmaking?

This amendment will for the first time require by national authority qualifications for presidential electors.

It is economy. It would wipe out all the expense of the election of these worse than useless electors, and of transportation to herd them in some common corral for action, while it would cost less to transmit the two certificates of the people's election by the governor than it now costs to send the straw-drawn messenger of a motley body with its certificates 1 mile, and be less risk. At the same time, it would relieve our Representatives wasting valuable time in what we, the people, sent them to do, over the nagging for office by the misfit whose only recommendation was the windfall of some political gust.

When Horace Greeley died the electors chosen by the people who voted for Greeley and Brown, instead of obeying their voice, voted 3 for Greeley, 42 for Hendricks, 18 for Brown, 2 for Charles J. Jenkins, 1 for David Davis.

This established a precedent, not contrary to the Constitution, however contrary to any sort of intelligence, but consonant to the eternal unfitness of electors destitute of all qualifications, so far as any national law was concerned. A precedent that they could vote for whom they pleased, dead or alive, nominated or not, and regardless of the people's vote—a precedent from which evil will flow unless the system be changed.

In case of the death of the President elect, the Vice President elect is given the vote, and the voice of the people obeyed the same before as after the inauguration of their choice.

The twelfth amendment provides, where there is no election of a Vice President by the electors, and such election is had by the Senate, that the person elected Vice President shall "act as President," and there has been debate as to his title and attestation of documents, whether as President or as Acting President. This amendment removes that debate.

In event of the death of the Vice President elect the President elect is empowered to nominate, when he comes into office, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint a Vice President, as the President is empowered to do in event of a vacancy in that office thereafter.

This provides for the continuous occupancy of the office by a method that has worked well with the Federal judiciary and the Cabinet.

The President now so appoints a Cabinet, seven members of which may succeed him in event of his death, and there being no Vice President. There is no greater risk in so appointing a Vice President who may in a similar, yet more definite manner, succeed the President.

If this office is superfluous and merely ornamental it should be abolished. If not so, the Constitution should provide for keeping it filled. It will never be abolished. Too many in Congress hope—expect—to get it to ever start such proposal. The same reasons exist for its continuous filling as do for the continuous filling of our other offices. The office has its essential and important duties, and the people should have some say beyond the life of one man for their President.

These offices are simply cogs in our national wheel that should never lack a single cog, nor have one too many. If this be one too many, let us save material and complication of machinery by recasting the wheel without the needless cog and get simpler machinery. If not too many, provide means for prompt replacement in case of loss.

The whole history and teaching of our Government is that, while man is everything, the man is but little, purposes much; that the best are but mites in an Almighty hand, giving place to others when the purposes of their creation are accomplished.

In the same accident, 2 of President Tyler's Cabinet and 12 others were killed. Such repeated calamity might wipe out the executive authority and all is succession, as at present provided for. The act of 1886 provides, in case of Cabinet succession, if Congress is not and will not be in session within 20 days, a special session thereof shall be called, but it does not say what for, nor does it say for how long this succession shall last. A capital arrangement for a political squabble that would convulse the whole country and stir up all manner of schemes, hurtful to every interest. Yet this was the best that could be done by Congress without more definite constitutional authority.

In event that, pending the election and the date of declaring the result, or of the inauguration of the newly elected officials, or of both President and Vice President while in office their death should occur, election by the people can be had, provided the same shall not occur within one year of the next regular election by the people. This gives a speedy restoration to the people of their chosen, at the same time avoids the turmoil and expense of near elections.

There is no provision now, either for the compensation or the oath of office of the Vice President. This amendment provides for both. The induction into both great offices should be directed with the same solemnity.

It adopts the growing practice in the business and industrial world as well as with the educational world, of life pensions for deserving service. When learning, labor, and capital practice a policy, Government may well take heed to it.

It is the sentiment of by far the majority of the American people to-day. They are as free from snobbery as any people, yet they do not wish to see those whom they have chosen to head the Government mix in the common struggle to maintain their families any more than set an example of stilted idleness.

They have reached the places where they belong more to the people than to themselves and should be kept in a more exalted service than even when in office. Were they to devote their afterlives to travel among the different States, and the dissemination of trustworthy information about each to all, they would render one of the most needed and useful services to this country. Despite the facilities of travel and communication, how little the people of the different States and sections, even, know of each other!

Their visits would make them missionaries for American patriotism, for fair play, for better understanding by the people of each other, for study of our great system of government.

They would differ on policies to remedy what was esteemed evils in the different States. All the better. Men of similar minds learn but little from each other. The people would get what was better from either, what was best from both.

There is not a toil-hardened hand in a factory or industrial enterprise in all this country but would applaud this policy as a teaching example to the industries to which they were giving their lives.

The amendment changes what is far more important than the term or reeligibility of the President—the method of his election.

Under the present system the following States have been disfranchised by the throwing out of their electoral votes: Indiana, in 1817; Missouri, in 1821; Wisconsin, in 1857; Georgia, in 1869 and 1881; Arkansas and Louisiana, in 1873; while the same year Texas lost half of her electoral vote. A snowstorm prevented the meeting of the electors of Wisconsin on the day fixed; probably the intelligence of the electors in some States during the reconstruction days made it difficult for them to understand when, where, or how to cast their ballots, for no national law required or presumed them to have qualifications for anything.

In 1820 a "Monroe" elector voted for John Quincy Adams in order that Washington should live as the only unanimously elected President.

In 1892 a North Dakota Republican elector voted for Cleveland.

This last year, in Washington, Mr. Stream, Democratic nominee for elector, died during the campaign, and Mr. E. M. Connor was placed on the ticket in his stead. Mr. Stream received 47,977 votes; Mr. Connor, 134,481; Mr. Warren H. Lewis, highest Republican elector, 167,244. This gave Mr. Lewis the seventh highest vote for this State's electors. He, while convinced that he was legally elected, displayed an American manhood and patriotism worthy the Nation's honor by refusing to attend on the day of casting the State's electoral vote, the other electors filling the vacancy by the selection of Mr. Connor. Can this country endure a system where either accident to or ignorance of (unqualified) electors shall disfranchise the intelligent people of a State?

Disqualifications were designated. Any Member of Congress who had made and was making glorious history, or any citizen who had brains enough to hold an office of trust or profit under our Government was, and yet is barred—as near as possible assurance that no judgment or discretion should ever be expected of or exercised by an elector. In view of their faithful living up to the specifications of their political architecture in these latter years, it may be a merciful provision that such was the case, but most of us deem it an unwise oversight.

In an election as close as that of the Tilden-Hayes day, where one vote would decide the election, suppose one bought or bullheaded elector should exercise his uncontrollable constitutional power to vote for whom he pleased, what are we going to do about it? Dare we continue such risk? Not by congressional enactment, solely by constitutional provision, can we avert it.

There is sense in sending to legislate for us men of gained and gaining wisdom, special qualifications, who will have time and opportunity to study great questions of public concern, ferret through the plausible pretexts of seductive self-interest to the very bottom for accurate information, and from the clash and conference of kindred competence and character evolve laws of lasting and equal benefit to all. They can phrase our wishes as we can not. They can pour into the mold of cast and enacted law the melted heart hopes and wants of the people as we can not. They can make us profit by that Pilate who might have had eternal honor, instead of eternal infamy, had he coupled the courage of his own conviction with the matchless justice that could say, "Father, forgive; they know not what they do." Their informed, conscientious courage can resolve us from frenzied, thoughtless mobs to thinking men. It was the greatest of Lawgivers who earned and has the lasting gratitude of mankind for rebuking the call for a golden calf. The truth is not a golden nugget for which the lone prospector with bare hands digs, but the fairest of all the fair in all life's castles, for whom the days of chivalry never die, devoted suitors ever abound, and for whose winning the best and bravest of knight-errants must forever fight, and fight with best and bravest rivals. They must strain not only the born strength of strongest muscle, but be armored with the equipment of best advancement, and must ever carry the consciousness that no weak-hearted wavering ever won. The Representative who has given matters of universal concern that study that we have had neither time, environment, nor opportunity to give and stands by and tells us his honest convictions, gives reasons for his stalwart stand, has been, is, and will be the sheet anchor, the salvation of republican institutions.

This is utilizing the same developed skill and ability that is utilized in every business. There is much sense in it. But there is no sense in delegating to others the power to reexpress the expressed decision of the people. When they have made a choice, what need to have that choice retold by indiscriminate third parties whom we do not know, never heard of before, and most probably will never hear of again? Worse, what sense in setting aside our choice and giving another, an independent, irresponsible, autocratic choice to 531 out of a hundred million people? Should not such impeachment of the sense of the people for self-government, such denunciation of the very theory of government that we so loudly proclaim as the best, that is so repugnant to our entire political sentiment, existence, and experience, be eliminated from the Constitution?

Will not the adoption of this amendment do it?

There is another reason for the change of tremendous moral significance, of governmental significance.

A law that is a dead letter is a detriment. A law that is universally disregarded, a more dangerous evil. It teaches to despise and disregard all laws.

Our Constitution says that our electors shall choose our President and Vice President—commands them to do it.

Our practice says that they are so many automata—wooden Indians—to register the vote of the people.

We disregard and trample upon the letter and spirit of our highest law in the most mighty act of a great people. Our Government, itself, is teaching contempt and disregard of the law.

None of our statesmen ever left us wiser advice than Abraham Lincoln when he said: "Make reverence for the law the political religion of our country." Clothe our laws with sanctity and there will be fewer infractions of them. Let us either follow and enforce this law or repeal it.

We preach that government of, by, and for the people is the best of governments, yet make our Constitution say that the people are unfit, incapable of themselves, to choose their own President.

If incapable of themselves to choose their own President, they are unfit for, incapable of, self-government.

We are making our constant and continued practice give the lie to our professions; something that our Government can not, our people will not, stand for.

The House elect will represent either ratification or rebuke of the sitting House.

If ratification, its choice of the President would be a more fitting and emphatic voicing of the people's vote than the choice of the sitting House.

If rebuke, a displaced and resentful House would naturally choose a President who stood with it, rather than with the people who condemned it, and would, wholly or partially, thwart the final voice of the people, and balk their desired change of policy.

Of necessity the House elect will represent that final voice, and its choice give the incoming President one House in harmony with the policies the people and he stood for.

Whether ratification or rebuke, the choice by the latest elect of the people conforms to our theory of obedience to the voice of the people.

Therefore this amendment changes the existing rule, and transfers such choice from the sitting House to the House elect.

The majority of the House elect always has, and probably always will, come from the sitting House, be on hand ready for instant action, and the temporary organization of the new House for this one purpose be of prompt and economic accomplishment.

There could be no conflict between the two Houses, for the House elect would be convened for the sole purpose of choosing the President—have no powers of legislation.

Will not this amendment, in this and in many other ways, prove a needed proclamation of emancipation for the people themselves; a needed declaration of the complete rule of the people in this the country of their proclaimed rule?

It would simplify and make safe our electoral system; give us a more nonpartisan and independent Executive; lessen the frequency of country-wide agitation; be a measure of economy in dispensing with the expense of a useless and dangerous piece of electoral machinery; dispose of menacing questions of dispute; provide tribunals of highest character to settle electoral disputes in the States of their origin, and keep them from the broader and more dangerous theater of national controversy; give a settled system for the continuous filling of our highest offices, bar an interregnum that could only excite and injure; continue in our service the schooled ability that has been nearest the head and heart of our Government; make our Constitution and our national conduct voice the same sentiment—the people are competent to rule, and they do rule—self-government is not a veiled profession but an actual fact; make our Government teach respect for and obedience to law, and increase the reverence in which all law should be held in making our highest law say what it means and mean what it says; put this election where it belongs—in the direct hands of the people.

JULIUS A. COLEMAN,
Seattle, Wash.

Criminal Record of "Liquor" and "Beer" Counties Compared.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. MURRAY,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 8, 1917.

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. Speaker, I avail myself of the privilege of extending my remarks by publication of the research by Judge Norman G. Kittrell, of Houston, Tex., of the comparative effect, as disclosed by the criminal dockets of what are called "beer" counties and "liquor" counties, as shown in their practical and actual operation in the several portions of Texas. I submit this letter in full, without comment, as worthy of consideration, coming from the investigation of an able jurist and a gentleman whose opinions are worthy of consideration. His letter is as follows:

HOUSTON, TEX., *January 4, 1917.*

MY DEAR SIR: I trust my purpose in sending this letter to you and other national legislators will acquit me of the charge of presumption, which I realize may be suggested by my action.

It is substantially the same letter which, wholly upon my own initiative and at my own expense, I have sent to every member of both houses of the Texas Legislature, and felt that in doing so I was rendering a public service.

It is possible that before you have received this you will have seen it in the public prints. If that should be the case, I trust, nevertheless, it may receive your careful attention in this more personal form.

My reason for preparing and sending it is this:

Just at this time, when Congress is confronted by the prohibition question, I thought it might serve a useful purpose to present facts and figures drawn from official sources, which will enable not only Members of Congress but members of the legislatures of the several States to determine whether "liquor" and "beer" are equally responsible for those consequences which authorize, require, or justify the application, to either or both, of that most elastic and comprehensive power known as the "police power."

That the manufacture of "liquor" is an economic, moral, and social evil no candid or fair-minded man will deny; and there is no legal or economic reason why its manufacture and sale should not be imperatively and without qualification or exception prohibited, while there are manifold reasons why it should be.

The right to prohibit the manufacture and sale of both "liquor" and "beer," and the right to enforce that prohibition, is conceded, because it has been so adjudicated by the judicial tribunal of last resort. That question may therefore be set aside as no longer in the realm of debate or discussion, and the opinion of no man as to the wisdom of such adjudication is now of the slightest consequence.

There is a question, however, in which every voter and every Federal and State legislator has an interest in being correctly informed, and that is whether "liquor" and "beer" are equal offenders against the public welfare, and whether they should be linked in common condemnation and prohibition. There is no way in which to determine that question except by statistics drawn from disinterested official sources. The figures herein set forth were as to taxable values taken from the reports of the comptroller of Texas, and those as to crime and enforcement of the criminal law from the report of the attorney general of that State for 1907 and 1908, which are the last years for which the reports from that office have been printed and distributed. The average population for those years was most carefully computed.

The figures were compiled with the most painstaking care and with absolute impartiality, and without the slightest idea as to what the ultimate figures would show as to the proportionate and relative results as between "liquor" and "beer." They have been verified and reverified, checked and rechecked, and "percentaged" and "repercentaged," so that they are put forth with the assurance that they are correct within a negligible fraction.

It may be proper to say that I use neither liquor nor beer, and never have and will not, and do not even enter a saloon unless imperative business necessity requires me to do so, and I neither recognize nor obey any social custom or usage which involves the drinking or tasting of any kind of liquor, alcoholic, malt, or vinous. I represent as a lawyer no manufacturer of beer, and have no financial interest in its manufacture, and, of course, have no interest in the manufacture of liquor or its sale.

It is proper to say also at this point that this communication was not written at the suggestion or request, or upon employment of any man or corporation, interested in any way in the manufacture or sale of beer.

No attempt will be made to define "liquor" or "beer" in technical or scientific terms. The term "liquor" is used as meaning whisky, brandy, rum, gin, and absinthe, and all brands and combines thereof, and "beer" is used as meaning all malt liquors and light wines. Such designation and distinction is sufficient for all practical purposes, and it will not be difficult to so phrase an amendment to the Federal Constitution that its ratification by the requisite number of States will result in the abolition of the manufacture and sale of liquor in the United States and leave beer to be dealt with by each State, or by the political subdivisions thereof, by the means of State-wide prohibition or by local option, or any other method which the people of those States may deem best. In my judgment the amendment should be so submitted, and this conclusion is based upon the figures herein set forth.

It may be safely assumed that statistics taken from official sources in Texas will, approximately at least, apply to results and conditions in any other State where both "liquor" and "beer" are sold. The only difference in the matter of crime and enforcement of law, if any difference there be, will arise out of the difference generally in public sentiment and social conditions.

Every man knows, because the experience of the ages so attests, that the liquor traffic produces idleness, thriftlessness, poverty, physical inefficiency and moral degeneracy; therefore, its prohibition comes logically within the scope of the "police power" of the Government.

If beer produces like results, then it is properly subject to have applied to it also the prohibitive force of the "police power." If it does not produce like results, and if the facts show that it is "not guilty" of the same evils which the liquor traffic invariably and inevitably brings about, then its manufacture and use should not be prohibited.

"Liquor" and "beer" should not be linked in common condemnation unless "beer" is also guilty of the offenses and results to prevent which the application of the "police power" is necessary for the protection of society. It is submitted that this is sound in logic.

In 1910 the per capita wealth of Texas was $613. The per capita wealth of six counties in which the prohibition vote was heaviest was $548. These counties in every element and incident of material and moral resources and advanced civilization are second to none in Texas. The per capita wealth in those counties in which the anti-prohibition was heaviest, and which fairly represent the most attractive and progressive part of the State, was $643, a fraction over 18 per cent more than that of the first six counties, and 4¾ per cent more than the average of the entire State.

The figures above given make it manifest that the use of beer by the people of those counties does not produce indolence, thriftlessness, or poverty. They reveal, indeed, some remarkable results which could not be, and were not foreseen until the computation was completed.

The vote in Comal County in 1911 was: For prohibition, 28; against prohibition, 1,517. The per capita wealth in that county in 1910 was $704, and the population of that county increased 2 per cent per annum between 1900 and 1910, and if it increased in the same ratio in 1911, the population was in that year 8,602. The per capita wealth of that county in 1911 was $734.

The vote in De Witt County was: For prohibition, 530; against prohibition, 2,855. The per capita wealth of the county was $745.

The fact is, of course, recognized that mere material wealth is not a safe indication of the character and sentiment of the people of any community, as relates to obedience to the law and the preservation of social order. Therefore it is necessary to see how the sale and use of beer affects the question of crime and the enforcement of the law.

There were presented, taking the whole State, one felony indictment for every 340 of population and 1 misdemeanor indictment for every 78 of population. The percentage of convictions in felony trials was 63.5. The percentage of convictions in misdemeanor cases was a very small fraction less than 76. The proportion of felony indictments to population in the six "pro" counties was 1 indictment to every 481 of population. The proportion for the State is 1 to every 340 of population. The proportion of misdemeanor indictments to population was 1 to every 67. The proportion for the State is 1 to every 78. The percentage of convictions in misdemeanor cases in the six "pro" counties was 82 per cent.

The indictments for felonies in the "beer" counties was 1 to every 506 of population. The percentage of convictions in felony cases was 64, or one-half of 1 per cent greater than the average for the entire State. The proportion of indictments for misdemeanors in the "beer" counties was 1 to every 140 of population and that of the State at large 1 to every 78, and that for the six "pro" counties 67. The percentage of conviction in misdemeanor trials was 81 per cent, or 5 per cent more than the average for the entire State and only 1 per cent less than in the "pro" counties.

Taking those counties in which both "liquor" and "beer" are sold, and in which are large cities—large, at least, for Texas—two counties in southwest Texas, two in central Texas, and two in north Texas, the figures show that there was a felony indictment returned for every 266 of population, as against 1 to every 340 for the entire State and 1 for every 481 in the "pro" counties and 1 for every 506 in the "beer" counties. The increase of crime is even more marked as to misdemeanors in the six last-named counties, an indictment being returned for every 49 of population.

"Liquor" is, of course, sold in the "beer" counties, but the population is largely of foreign birth or foreign descent, and it is evident that "liquor" must account for the increase of crime in the six last-named counties.

A summary of the foregoing figures show the following result:

Per capita wealth of the entire State	$613
Per capita wealth of "pro" counties	$548
Per capita wealth of "beer" counties	$642
Number of population for each felony indictment in whole State	340
Number of population for each felony indictment in "pro" counties	481
Number of population for each felony indictment in "beer" counties	506
Number of population for each misdemeanor indictment for whole State	78
Number of population for each misdemeanor indictment for "pro" counties	67
Number of population for each misdemeanor indictment for "beer" counties	140
Proportion of convictions to trials in felony cases for "pro" counties—per cent	63.5
Proportion of convictions to trials in felony cases for "pro" counties—per cent	66⅔
Proportion of convictions to trials in felony cases for "beer" counties—per cent	64
Proportion of convictions in misdemeanors for the whole State—per cent	76
Proportion of convictions in misdemeanors for the "pro" counties—per cent	82
Proportion of convictions in misdemeanors for the "beer" counties—per cent	81
Number of population to each felony indictment in six counties in which are cities in which both "liquor" and "beer" are sold	226
Number of population to each misdemeanor indictment in six counties in which are cities in which both "liquor" and "beer" are sold	49

That is to say, that in the last-named counties it required only 266 population to furnish a felony indictment, and only 49 to every misdemeanor indictment. How much greater the proportion of crime is in those counties, the summary above set forth clearly shows. In Comal County, in which as has been shown, there were cast only 28 votes for and 1,517 against prohibition, it required 671 population to furnish one

misdemeanor case, and the proportion of convictions to trials was 93 per cent.

These figures here submitted are believed to be worthy to be studied by every man who desires to vote intelligently upon a question which is nation-wide in interest and importance. It is, of course, not meant to be argued that the inhabitants of the "beer" counties are more prosperous or more law-abiding because they use beer, but the figures given indisputably show that prosperity and obedience to law are coincident with its use. They might be even more prosperous and peaceful if they did not use beer, but that is a matter for each individual to entertain his own opinion upon. The facts, conditions, and results are revealed by the official figures.

It will naturally be asked: How is it proposed to apply these figures to the question of State or National prohibition? The answer is, that wherever and whenever the question of prohibition is submitted, the question should be submitted separately as to "liquor" and "beer." Let each stand upon its own merits, or fall upon its own demerits. If "beer" is not guilty it should not be condemned for the sins of "liquor."

A separate vote is the only fair method, because it will give millions of good citizens the opportunity they desire to vote against "liquor," who will not so vote if, at the same time, they must vote to deny the privilege of the use of "beer" as a beverage to millions of other peaceful, prosperous, law-abiding citizens who use it as a beverage without apparently harmful results to themselves or society. If the vote could be taken separately over the whole Nation, "liquor" would be driven out by a majority that would be counted in millions, while "beer" would be left to be dealt with by the people of each State, or the subdivisions thereof, by the process of local option.

The prohibition question will not down at the bidding of any man or any party. "Liquor" is doomed, because it can not be defended, but "beer" has the defense of official statistics which show it is not guilty of such results as justify the prohibition of its manufacture and sale by the exercise of the "police power" of the State.

The preparation of this communication was inspired by the desire to place facts and figures, which it is believed will be helpful and instructive, before the representatives of the people who are called upon to deal with a question of profound and far-reaching importance to their constituents.

I feel entirely confident that if an amendment to the Federal Constitution is submitted in the form suggested it will be ratified without struggle or debate by the requisite number of States, if not by all the States, and the result will be that the question of prohibition will be forever removed from the field of National and State politics, "a consummation most devoutly to be wished" by every patriotic citizen.

The hope that such result will be attained prompted the writing of this letter, and trusting that my action will not be misjudged or misunderstood, I remain, with sentiments of respect,

Yours, very truly, MERCER G. KITTRELL.

HOUSTON, TEX., *January 4, 1917.*

Hog Cholera.

SPEECH
OF
HON. CHARLES H. SLOAN,
OF NEBRASKA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 10, 1917.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 15914) to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to license establishments for and to regulate the preparation of viruses, serums, toxins, and analogous products for use in the treatment of domestic animals, and for other purposes.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Chairman, touching the question of the cost suggested by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE], I desire to submit a few facts. On January 1, 1917, we have, according to the estimates, 3,500,000 more hogs in the United States than we ever had before in its history. This represents a value of from $30,000,000 to $50,000,000. During the year 1916 more hogs were slaughtered in the great packing centers of the United States than had ever been slaughtered in any former year in the history of the country. Notwithstanding that fact, there has been a large increase in the swine stock of the country. I think it will be largely attributed to the work that is being prosecuted by the Government, together with the State instrumentalities and those of the various communities, in the work of eradicating hog cholera. It will also be shown that at the end of this year the loss from hog cholera, notwithstanding the large increase of individuals, will be less than it has been since 1894. How this was brought about is easily understood, and I am in hearty accord with this legislation.

These results were brought about largely on account of the work that has been prosecuted in the last three years. I have some tables I desire to submit. The first is a comparison of hogs raised and hogs lost in experimental and nonexperimental counties. It is as follows:

Comparison of hogs raised and hogs lost in experimental and nonexperimental counties.

Counties.	Experimental work begun.	1913			1914			1915		
		Hogs raised.	Hogs lost.	Hogs lost per 1,000.	Hogs raised.	Hogs lost.	Hogs lost per 1,000.	Hogs raised.	Hogs lost.	Hogs lost per 1,000.
Clay, Gage, Johnson, and Renville combined	1914	326,637	86,911	266	327,247	16,251	49	380,434	2,230	5
18 surrounding counties	None.	971,961	301,226	309	792,521	130,145	164	848,047	69,791	82

Members of the House are probably familiar with the fact that some three years ago this work of demonstration was begun. There were selected four areas in each of four different States. Later that has been increased to 14 States. Take the areas of Clay, Gage, and Johnson, Marshall and Renville Counties and 18 surrounding counties and compare them. These are in different States. The number of hogs in the four experimental counties named before any of this work was done was 325,637; in the 18 surrounding, 971,961. Number of hogs lost before this work was done in the experimental counties was 266 per 1,000 and 309 per 1,000 in the 18 nonexperimental counties. The first year's work reduced the loss to 49 out of 1,000 in the experimental counties, while 164 represented the loss per 1,000 in the nonexperimental counties.

Mr. SHERWOOD. Where does the gentleman get his statistics?

Mr. SLOAN. They were presented to me by Dr. M. Dorset, of the Bureau of Animal Industry, the discoverer of the serum concerning which the legislation of this afternoon relates. These statistics were handed to me within the last half hour. During the year 1915 in the experimental areas the loss per thousand was only 5, while in the nonexperimental areas it was 82.

Then, again, I desire to call attention to the increase in the average number of hogs in each of the various experimental and nonexperimental counties. To begin with, in the experimental counties there were in 1913 an average of 81,659; in each of the 18 surrounding counties, 55,000. This gives it for each year; but I call attention to the fact that in the nonexperimental counties for 1915 instead of an increase there was a decrease of hogs by 8,884, while in the experimental counties there was an average increase of 13,449.

I here submit the following table:

Hogs raised and hogs lost per county.

Counties.	Experimental work begun.	1913		1914		1915	
		Hogs raised.	Hogs lost.	Hogs raised.	Hogs lost.	Hogs raised.	Hogs lost.
Average of Clay, Gage, Johnson, Marshall, and Renville	1914	81,659	21,727	61,811	4,062	95,108	557
Average of 18 surrounding counties	None.	53,997	16,734	44,028	7,230	47,113	3,877

Mr. Chairman, I ask permission to proceed for five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman that he be permitted to proceed for five minutes? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. SLOAN. Further than that, taking up the various experimental counties, the number of hogs per thousand lost in 1912 was on the average 177. In 1913, the first year that any work was done in any of those counties, it amounted to 170 per thousand. In 1914 it was reduced to 53 per thousand. In 1915 it was reduced to 22 per thousand, showing very marked progress in those counties. A large part of the work being done during 1916, as I understand it, is not confined to these experimental or demonstration areas, but they include adjoining counties and areas. So that the work is being spread throughout the United States, so when gentlemen spend the afternoon in working upon this legislation they may congratulate themselves that they are accomplishing great results for the country not only to the hog raisers but to the consuming public.

I here submit a table showing statistics of hogs raised and hogs that died of cholera in 14 experimental areas in 14 different States for 1912 to 1915, inclusive:

Statistics of hogs raised and hogs that died of hog cholera in 14 experimental counties, 1912–1915, inclusive.

	Date work began	1912			1913			1914			1915		
		Hogs raised.	Number that died.	Died per 1,000.	Hogs raised.	Number that died.	Died per 1,000.	Hogs raised.	Number that died.	Died per 1,000.	Hogs raised.	Number that died.	Died per 1,000.
Decatur, Ga.	Aug. 25, 1914	48,418	8,546	176	52,797	12,225	231	55,000	11,618	211	80,000	7,595	95
Twin Falls, Idaho	July 6, 1914	47,673	3,163	66	82,563	12,978	157	100,000	1,289	12	150,000	1,487	10
Hendricks, Ind.	Sept. 3, 1914	63,259	13,532	204	72,211	12,908	178	85,955	4,065	42	107,265	3,075	29
Montgomery, Ind.	July 5, 1913	77,403	24,404	315	78,813	5,136	64	85,119	2,296	26	141,000	5,179	37
Clay, Iowa	July 10, 1914	75,065	25,000	342	87,953	30,266	344	89,874	4,209	46	92,703	578	6
Dallas, Iowa	July 1, 1913	84,618	19,821	234	118,550	12,000	101	138,320	6,810	49	124,540	1,939	16
Marshall, Kans.	July 6, 1914	65,294	3,853	59	72,036	7,230	100	65,592	3,432	52	101,207	561	5
Henderson, Ky.	July 22, 1914	35,814	8,743	244	30,866	3,934	127	20,000	2,907	145	20,000	1,980	99
Branch, Mich.	May 28, 1914	46,170	1,209	25	55,338	4,039	72	57,878	715	12	60,000	210	4
Renville, Minn.	May 8, 1914	65,790	8,998	136	85,699	43,463	564	100,722	5,069	50	108,360	347	3
Pettis, Mo.	Aug. 1, 1913	59,661	18,853	316	107,151	6,386	59	136,030	5,847	42	149,633	2,906	19
Gage and Johnson, Nebr.	Mar. 31, 1914	76,591	5,445	70	80,949	6,012	74	71,059	3,541	49	78,164	744	9
Davison, S.Dak.	Oct. 6, 1914	39,920	2,270	36	57,695	16,248	281	45,430	4,891	107	49,000	1,261	26
Maury, Tenn.	July 21, 1914	73,234	8,399	114	69,787	6,360	91	70,250	3,194	45	72,832	3,103	42
Total		856,910	152,236	177	1,052,408	179,125	170	1,121,229	59,863	53	1,334,644	30,965	22

The following letter from Dr. S. E. Cosford, inspector in charge of the Nebraska area, outlines the character of the work being done and gives figures concerning results. Part of the area is in the district which I represent. I am pleased with the results shown and progress made.

It might be well to state that the area for intensive demonstration originally selected by the United States authorities included half of the large county of Gage and all of the small county of Johnson, constituting about equal areas. In 1916 the other half of Gage was added, as was also Pawnee, a county of small area. The combinations of results in these areas, as well as in the later added counties—Richardson, Nemaha, and Jefferson—present interesting facts for consideration.

BEATRICE, NEBR., *January 22, 1917.*

HON. CHARLES H. SLOAN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of recent date, inquiring for figures or compilation on the subject of hog cholera in Gage and Johnson Counties, Nebr., with special reference to work done during 1916.

The original demonstration area included the north half of Gage and the whole of Johnson Counties. During 1916 we have perfected hog-cholera control organizations throughout the southern half of Gage County and in Pawnee, Richardson, Nemaha, and Jefferson Counties, so that we now have six counties in a block in which an organized effort is being made to control hog cholera.

After the organization is completed we hold several meetings with the farmers in each township throughout these counties and explain measures for hog-cholera control. We make investigation of all hog sickness reported to us and advise the farmers in regard to treatment. The free treatment has been discontinued, except for demonstration and organization purposes. We have secured a uniform price for the administration of serum by qualified men. We also encourage each county organization to keep an emergency supply of serum on hand.

Below is a compilation of hogs raised and hogs lost from hog cholera in these counties during the years of 1915 and 1916. Work was started in the southern half of Gage and in Pawnee Counties in the spring of 1916; in Richardson and Nemaha Counties about July 1, 1916; and in Jefferson County on September 1, 1916. In some instances the number of hogs raised in 1915 and 1916 and lost in 1915 are conservative estimates. The losses in 1916 are approximately correct, as we have knowledge of practically all losses during the year:

County.	Hogs raised—		Hogs lost—	
	1915	1916	1915	1916
Gage	78,591	84,876	2,038	488
Johnson	41,900	40,770	463	43
Pawnee	49,722	51,570	978	495
Richardson	105,660	148,917	5,706	2,321
Nemaha	52,755	61,329	4,282	1,909
Jefferson	45,860	61,968	3,000	1,456

Very respectfully,

S. E. COSFORD,
Inspector in Charge.

Mr. RUBEY. They are working now in about 100 counties in the United States.

Mr. SLOAN. The chairman of the subcommittee announces that the Government representatives are working now in about 100 counties. This distinction ought to be made, I think, that in the original 14 they are doing what we call intensive work. In the others it is what they call extensive work. So that the work of the Government officials cooperating with the authorities in the various counties these intensive areas are being gradually extended and the extensive areas ought in the course of a few years to comprehend the whole hog-raising country of the United States.

Mr. TOWNER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SLOAN. I will be pleased to do so.

Mr. TOWNER. In giving your figures of losses there, sometimes you refer to losses per thousand and other times not. As I understand, the number given as to losses is all per thousand?

Mr. SLOAN. All per thousand; yes, sir.

Now, there is another interesting fact. I submit in the table given below the per cent of the hogs that were treated, including those that were known to be sick, and those that were known to have been merely exposed and thought to be well. It is a fact, and has been for years recognized, that the number generally lost where not treated amounted to about 85 per cent of the exposed herd. Now, the sick hogs treated by the simultaneous treatment in these various areas, and which died, were 29.1 per cent. Those treated with serum alone, 28.8 per cent, or an average of 28.6 per cent. Those represent hogs that were known to be sick, and those were treated by the two methods which were explained here this afternoon. I will not take your time with that now:

Results of treatment in infected herds in the years 1913, 1914, and 1915.

	Number treated.	Number died.	Per cent died.
Hogs sick when treated (simultaneous)	2,448	713	29.1
Hogs sick when treated (serum alone)	83,099	23,990	28.8
Total	85,547	24,703	28.8
Hogs apparently well when treated (simultaneous)	81,289	3,070	3.7
Hogs apparently well when treated (serum alone)	67,300	3,063	4.5
Total	148,589	6,133	4.1
Grand total	234,136	30,836	13.1

It will be noted that the other hogs that were in the stricken herds and thought to be well, and also treated by the simultaneous method, showed an average loss of only 3.7 per cent, where otherwise it would have been about 85 per cent; when treated by the serum alone, 4.5 per cent loss; or when 148,529 hogs were treated where they were exposed in the herd known to be afflicted by cholera the loss was only 4.1 per cent, as against the usual loss of 85 per cent where treatment had not been given.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I ask leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD and to submit some other facts.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Nebraska asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SLOAN. It is a remarkable as well as an important fact that there are more hogs in this country now than we ever had before, and more were slaughtered this year than ever before, to meet home consumption and the enormous demand from beyond the seas. During this time, while cattle and sheep have been decreasing all over the United States, swine have under this method of cooperation in eradication of cholera been constantly increasing and measurably keeping the price of the hog products down.

The one important drawback to the work has been that making this serum having been left open to the world by Dr. M. Dorset, its discoverer, many have undertaken to manufacture and sell it for a profit. Many manufacturers have been uniformly successful and good and potent serum produced and sold to the swine owners. But here and there, now and then, bad or impotent serum has been sold, followed by a lack of result or a

damaging one. In each such case last stated it tended to bring the serum and the other work into disrepute and discourage not only the users but a whole community. To obviate this the legislation now being discussed is proposed. I am convinced that it will go far to forward the eradication work.

With the extension of this work of cholera eradication I am very highly gratified, as its entering upon by the Government was the first important legislative enterprise receiving my efforts after entering Congress.

I may be pardoned with here reproducing the generous remarks made by the gentleman from South Carolina, Mr. LEVER, chairman of the Agriculture Committee, on the floor of the House when the Agricultural appropriation bill was being debated.

Referring to the estimate of reduction of cholera of 30 per cent in the country generally and the very large reduction in and about the areas of Government activity he said:

That is my information; and in this connection I want to pay my tribute to the industry of the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SLOAN] in helping to initiate this legislation.

Nobody Wants War!

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT F. HOPWOOD,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 8, 1917.

Mr. HOPWOOD. Mr. Speaker, I desire to say a few words in support of this naval appropriation bill.

To begin with, nobody wants war. By that I mean that no American with common sense wants it, and I am of the opinion *that our people*, from the men who toil in the mines, mills, and factories, and on the farms, to the man who presides over the destinies of the Nation as its Chief Magistrate, are endowed with more of that commodity than the people of any other nation.

This endowment is due to the fact that every man in this land of freedom has the privilege of doing his own thinking, and usually his conclusions are in accord with the principles of right and justice.

Men in other lands have, unfortunately, not had the same freedom of thought and action. Rulers, who claim to rule by Divine right, with whom I feel sure God has no acquaintance, have forced their conclusions on their people and driven them into this war. The result is that millions of men have, by shot and shell, by choking gases, and torturing fires, had their bodies torn to shreds and their souls sent on the long quest, out of a world that was as sweet to them as to us, before their time. Those they loved and cherished, fathers and mothers, wives and children, homeless, hungry, heartbroken, hopelessly drag their weary footsteps to find shelter and food if they may, or a place in which to die.

These men who fight have no quarrel and no hatred in their hearts for each other, yet they fight on and starve and freeze and suffer and die like rats in the holes they have dug in mother earth to cover their defenseless heads against such horrors of war as the barbarians of the early ages never dreamed of.

The earth, the sea, the sky are filled with engines of death, and it matters not that you are a peaceful citizen going about your business in a legitimate way, no laws of civilization may secure your safety. All that mankind deemed as settled and beyond dispute as the law of nations has been ignored, torn in pieces, trampled upon.

The freedom of the seas of which men talked has become an idle dream. No man embarks thereon, no matter how peaceful his mission, nor under what flag he sails, with any assurance that he will ever reach the haven of his desire. This condition became so intolerable that when the threat was made that worse things than we had yet known were about to follow, our President was compelled, after many months of patient forbearance, to sever diplomatic relations with the nation that had been the perpetrator of many crimes against our citizens and now insolently informed us that worse would follow unless we gave up our right to cross the seas, no matter whether called to do so by matters of business or missions of mercy, carrying food and clothing to the millions of homeless and hungry widows and orphans.

To every true American or right-thinking man of any nation his action finds justification in that our people had suffered indignities and outrages such as no self-respecting nation has ever condoned. We had demanded reparation for the lives and property of our citizens wantonly and cruelly sacrificed, and instead of securing it we were met with this new threat.

Our President could have done no less than he did and preserved for the United States the honor and respect not only of its own people but also of its sister nations.

It is now up to Germany to fight her enemies in accordance with the recognized rules of warfare, or otherwise as she may deem best, and abide the consequences. It is also up to her to determine whether she prefers by her own deliberate action, in contravention of our well-known and established rights, to compel us to enter this war against her.

We expect to sail the seas as heretofore on peaceful errands without interference or harm. We defended our rights to sail the seas unmolested about a hundred years ago, when a mere handful of people, in comparison with the one hundred millions that now dwell in this fair land and owe allegiance to the Stars and Stripes, and only once since have we been challenged to fight by a foreign power. Should we be challenged to fight again does any man doubt that the land of Washington and Lincoln is as full of patriotism to-day as in the olden days.

A few days ago under the dome of the Capitol the last sad rites were paid to our greatest admiral. George Dewey has joined the immortals. The glory of his achievements remains to us as a heritage to add to that of the great company of our heroes whose memory will remain with us for the ages to come.

His spirit and theirs will ever abide to inspire the hearts of our captains who walk the decks of our battleships awaiting the day that shall call them to perform great deeds of heroic valor.

Our Navy has never failed us yet, and while some here deplore the fact that we are not better prepared with ships and men, yet when the hour strikes I doubt not the honor and traditions of our sea fighters of other years will be maintained, and that new names will be added to the roll of the great ones who have so grandly sailed the seas and given imperishable renown to our arms on old ocean in the years that are gone.

I have voted for every bill presented in this House since my service began to add to and strengthen our Army and Navy, not that we might become a warlike Nation, but that we might be able to defend ourselves against any attack that might be made on our land, its people, or its institutions.

In 1907–1909 our battleships, 16 in number, made a cruise around the world. It was a great fleet, and we were proud of it.

We have since added to that fleet 14 battleships that have three times the power and efficiency of the original fleet. We have authorized many others now under construction and not yet completed. This bill provides for—

3 battleships, costing $15,500,000 each; 1 battle cruiser, $19,000,000; 3 scout cruisers, at $6,000,000 each; 15 destroyers, at $1,300,000 each; 1 destroyer tender, $2,300,000; 1 submarine tender, $1,900,000; 18 coast submarines, to have a surface displacement of about 800 tons each, at $1,300,000 each; and the limit of the cost of the 4 battle cruisers and 3 scout cruisers authorized heretofore but not yet contracted for are increased to not to exceed $19,000,000 each for the battle cruisers and $6,000,000 each for the scout cruisers, exclusive of armor and armament; and the construction of said vessels shall be begun as soon as practicable.

I favor, Mr. Speaker, the whole naval program as provided for by this bill and preceding bills.

I believe that we should use our utmost endeavors to speed the completion of all vessels now contracted for and let contracts at the earliest possible moment for all now authorized. The patriotism of our great captains of industry has been shown in the past few days by their offers to place their plants absolutely at the Government's service, without profit to themselves, in case of necessity.

We do not want war. We have no hatred of the German people or of any other. If war comes, it will be by open acts of hostility and aggression that leave us no choice but to stand for our essential and undoubted rights against the offender.

It would certainly be the part of wisdom for any nation hunting trouble to go elsewhere to seek it than to compel this Nation to engage in war. While we are not prepared for war, yet our resources are boundless and our people loyal and courageous. If they must fight, they will, and they will never be conquered or defeated. This, I say not in a boasting way, but from a firm and abiding conviction in its truth.

Our hope is, however, that we may not be involved in war, but that we may be able to use our power and influence to bring peace to a distracted world.

The Susan B. Anthony Amendment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIS C. HAWLEY,

OF OREGON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 8, 1917.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the resolutions adopted by the Legislature of the State of Oregon.

The resolutions are as follows:

Senate joint memorial 12.

Whereas 12 States of the Union, among which is Oregon, by constitutional amendment or legislative enactments, have extended the right of suffrage to women; and

Whereas in those States where such privilege has been exercised it has brought about great improvement in the moral welfare and economic conditions throughout said States; and

Whereas there is now pending in the Congress of the United States a measure known as the "Susan B. Anthony amendment to the Constitution of the United States," the purpose of which measure is to propose an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending and giving throughout the United States the right of suffrage to women: Therefore be it

Resolved by the senate (the house of representatives concurring), That the Congress of the United States be, and it is hereby memorialized to take favorable action on said proposed measure; be it further

Resolved, That, after the concurrence of the house of representatives herein, the chief clerk of the senate be, and he hereby is, instructed to transmit copies of this memorial to the members of the Oregon delegation in Congress.

Concurred in by the house January 25, 1917.

R. N. STANFIELD,
Speaker of the House.

Adopted by the senate January 23, 1917.

GUS C. MOSER,
President of the Senate.

—

STATE OF OREGON,
SENATE CHAMBER.

I, J. W. Cochran, chief clerk of the senate of the Twenty-ninth Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon, do hereby certify that I have carefully compared the annexed copy of senate joint memorial No. 12, Twenty-ninth Legislative Assembly, State of Oregon, with the original thereof as adopted by the senate January 23, 1917, and concurred in by the house January 25, 1917, and that the same is a full, true, and correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand this 29th day of January, 1917.

J. W. COCHRAN,
Chief Clerk Senate,
Twenty-ninth Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon.

—

Senate joint memorial 8.

Memorial to the Congress of the United States of America petitioning the United States Government to appropriate $3,000,000 for the purpose of securing a suitable site on the Columbia River, Oreg., and erecting thereon a naval and military base.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States of America:

We, your memorialists, the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Oregon, jointly concurring, respectfully represent that—

Whereas the Government of the United States can and ought to establish a naval base at the mouth of the Columbia River; and

Whereas the people of that portion of the United States known as the inland empire, consisting of eastern Oregon, Washington, and Idaho and other parts of the country immediately affected, have petitioned Congress for an appropriation of $3,000,000 for such purpose, and have given in their petition the followings reasons, which are confirmed by the Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon:

First. That upward of 2,500,000 people who live in the territory sought to be protected by the proposed naval base are demanding its immediate establishment.

Second. That the territory sought to be protected against possible hostile invasion embraces an area of 250,000 square miles of the richest and most fertile lands in the United States, a territory whose natural resources and raw products consist of wheat, corn, lumber, fish, dairy products, wool, live stock, fruit cultivation, as well as the commercial industries naturally flowing from such rich and generous resources, the aggregate value of which is approximately $2,000,000,000 annually.

Third. That the military defenses at the mouth of the river, to wit, Fort Canby and Fort Stevens, while accomplishing the purpose for which they were built at the time of their construction, have since, by reason of the deepening of the channel at the mouth of the river, the construction of the Government jetties, and the completion of the Celilo Canal, become absolutely inadequate as protective measures, for not only is it possible now for boats of the largest tonnage to enter the fresh-water harbor at the mouth of the river, but it is possible for the same boats to proceed through this wide open and inviting gate clear through the granary of the United States and right into the very heart of our country.

Fourth. Coincident with the improvements carried on by the Government at the mouth of the river, there has occurred a healthy and continuous growth, not only in population of the territory affected by this immense area but also in all the fields of industry in which its people are interested; to such an extent, in fact, has the development of this section of our country proceeded that it would now, in the event of foreign difficulties, become the first natural objective point for hostile forces. This is perhaps emphasized by the fact that the mouth of the Columbia River is nearer to Yokahoma by 294 miles than Seattle, and nearly 423 miles than San Francisco on the round trip.

Fifth. Because the harbor at the mouth of the Columbia River meets the five essential requirements of the Joint Army and Navy Board, which, under the direction of Secretary Meyer, investigated the navy-yard situation in the United States. Among the prominent members of this board were Admiral George Dewey and Rear Admiral Bradley A. Fiske. Their report was later indorsed by the General Navy Board, and in substance recommended the following essentials for a naval base:

(a) It should be located at an important strategic point.
(b) It should be accessible from the sea under all conditions.
(c) It should be near by a protected anchorage sufficient for a fleet.
(d) It must be safe from attack.
(e) It should be placed near a commercial center with plentiful labor and supply facilities.

Sixth. Because there are at least four or five sites suitable and available for the purpose which can be procured without cost or purchased at a nominal figure, and the additional revenue which will necessarily accrue to the Government by reason of the increase in commerce and industry throughout the inland empire incident to the construction and establishment of a naval base is well calculated to pay the greater cost of maintenance: Now therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Oregon (jointly concurring), That we do hereby most respectfully urge and request that the Congress of the United States of America immediately appropriate the sum of $3,000,000 to secure a suitable site on the Columbia River, Oreg., as near to the entrance as may be deemed advisable for the construction of a naval base, including the following: Building ways, for building large and small vessels; dry docks, capable of docking the largest dreadnaughts; marine railways; machine shops; boiler shops; electrical shops; pattern shops; paint shop; copper shop; galvanizing shop; joiner shop; ship-fitter shop; smithery and chain shop; sheet-metal shop; boat and aeroplane shop; sail, rigging, and flax shops; oxyhydrogen and acetylene shops; foundry; tracks and rolling stock; barracks; chemical laboratories; radio plant; magazines; hospital, dispensary; fire-engine house; stables and garages; piers; fueling plant; storehouse; office buildings; floating derrick; sawmill; and such other purposes as may be necessary or incidental thereto. Be it further

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this memorial by the house of representatives that the chief clerk of the senate be, and he hereby is, instructed to transmit a copy of the same to each Member of the Oregon delegation in Congress.

Concurred in by the house January 25, 1917.

R. N. STANFIELD,
Speaker of the House.

Adopted by the senate January 19, 1917.

GUS C. MOSER,
President of the Senate.

—

STATE OF OREGON,
SENATE CHAMBER.

I, J. W. Cochran, chief clerk of the Senate of the Twenty-ninth Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon, do hereby certify:

That I have carefully compared the annexed copy of senate joint memorial 8, Twenty-ninth Legislative Assembly, State of Oregon, with the original thereof as adopted by the senate January 19, 1917, and concurred in by the house January 25, 1917, and that the same is a full, true, and correct transcript therefrom and of the whole thereof.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand this 30th day of January, 1917.

J. W. COCHRAN,
Chief Clerk Senate,
Twenty-ninth Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon.

Indorsement of the President's Action in the Present International Crisis.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. P. DAVIS OAKEY,

OF CONNECTICUT,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 8, 1917.

Mr. OAKEY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the resolution passed by the General Assembly of Connecticut, indorsing the action of the President.

The resolution is as follows:

STATE OF CONNECTICUT,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
GENERAL ASSEMBLY,
January Session, A. D. 1917.

Resolution declaring the loyalty of the people of Connecticut to the Government of the United States in the present international crisis.

Resolved by this assembly: That the action of Gov. Marcus H. Holcomb in pledging to the President of the United States the loyal support of the people of Connecticut has the full and complete indorsement and approval of this general assembly.

That copies of this resolution be forwarded by the secretary of state to the five Members of Congress and the two United States Senators from Connecticut, with the request that it shall be read into the RECORD of Congress.

Passed senate February 6, 1917.
Passed house of representatives February 6, 1917.

STATE OF CONNECTICUT,
Office of the Secretary, ss:

I, F. L. Perry, secretary of the State of Connecticut and keeper of the seal thereof, and of the original record of the acts and resolutions of the general assembly of said State, do hereby certify that I have compared the annexed copy of the resolution declaring the loyalty of the people of Connecticut to the Government of the United States in the present international crisis with the original record of the same now remaining in this office and have found the said copy to be a correct and complete transcript thereof.

And I further certify that the said original record is a public record of the said State of Connecticut, now remaining in this office.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said State at Hartford this 7th day of February, 1917.

[SEAL.] F. L. PERRY, *Secretary.*

Dry Dock at Boston.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. GALLIVAN,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Tuesday, February 6, 1917.

Mr. GALLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I regret exceedingly that the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HUDDLESTON] has made a point of order against the item for the dry dock at Boston. It so happens that this dock is located in the congressional district which I have the honor to represent here, and I am familiar with the extraordinary undertaking of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to build this structure, which, when completed, will be the largest dry dock in the world. The gentleman has asked for some information which I did not have at hand at the very moment when he sought it, but I am glad to supply it to him now, and I have no doubt it will have his careful attention.

Mr. Speaker, the story of this great undertaking by the commission on waterways of Massachusetts is an interesting one, and it will be most unfortunate if, in the course of events, the State commission will be compelled to forego the completion of a work which was well begun, well mapped out, and which means so much not only to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the city of Boston but, in my judgment, to the entire Nation.

Mr. Speaker, the estimated cost of the dry dock proper, including caisson, pumping plant and buildings, as made up at the time the contract was let in June, 1914, including the addition of an intermediate sill, all on the basis of bids already received for the excavation and masonry and for the other portions on prices prevailing at that time, is $2,760,000. The cost of caisson, pumping plant, and buildings—contracts for which have not as yet been let—will undoubtedly be increased on account of the increased cost of materials and labor which has occurred since 1914. In addition to the cost of the dock and its appurtenances, the Commonwealth has expended over $500,000 in dredging and wharf construction in the vicinity and in preparation of the dock site, which work would not have been undertaken at this time except to prepare for the construction of the dock.

The cost of the Hunters Point Dry Dock, as near as can be ascertained, is $2,000,000. The Hunters Point Dock is to be about 200 feet shorter, 5 feet shoaler, and 10 feet narrower than the Boston Dock.

At the present time, of the 46 battleships and armored cruisers in commission in the United States Navy, 39 are stationed on the Atlantic coast and 7 on the Pacific coast. On the Atlantic coast dry docks of sufficient size to take the largest battleships are now available at New York, Norfolk, and Newport News. None of these will accommodate the battle cruisers, which are now being designed.

In addition to the above, the following dry docks have been authorized: One at Norfolk, one at Philadelphia, and the Commonwealth Dock at Boston. All of these will be of sufficient size to accommodate the largest proposed naval vessels, the battle cruisers.

On the Pacific coast there is only one dry dock now constructed, that at Bremerton, which will take the largest battleships. This is not large enough to take the proposed battle cruisers. The dry dock under construction at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, and the one at Hunters Point, San Francisco, will be of sufficient size to take these battle cruisers.

The Boston Dock is within 2½ miles of the local navy yard, so that mechanics from the yard are readily accessible, while the San Francisco Dock is located 30 miles from the local navy yard.

The cost of the Boston Dock is larger than the one at Hunters Point; first, because the dock is 200 feet longer, 5 feet deeper and 10 feet wider. Secondly, the walls of the Boston Dock are faced with granite, while those at Hunters Point are faced with concrete. Also, the Hunters Point Dock is excavated almost wholly from rock, therefore requiring but a small amount of concrete compared with the Boston Dock, where simply the foundation is rock and massive side walls of concrete faced with granite have to be built. At San Francisco the natural deep water comes up to the entrance to the dock, while at Boston extensive dredging has to be done in the approach channel. Owing to the character of the excavation there is less filling to be done at San Francisco than at Boston, and the foundations for cranes and buildings are less expensive.

The contract for the Boston Dock called for the completion of the dry dock on August 14, 1918, but the work is now six months behind, due to the delay in the dredging of the site and to delay caused by repairing the break in the cofferdam and further delay in repairing the same in order to make investigations by Messrs. Ripley and Barnes, so that allowing for changed weather conditions it will probably be the spring of 1919 before it is completed ready to dock vessels, and this presupposes that the contracts for pumping plant and caisson will be let soon.

Mr. Speaker, I sincerely hope that before this Congress adjourns some legislation will be passed which will enable this Government of ours to take advantage of the wonderful facilities which will be afforded by this dry dock and at a later date I shall ask the House to consider the proposition anew.

National Park and Forest Reserve at the Head of Red River in Texas.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN H. STEPHENS,
OF TEXAS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Friday, February 9, 1917.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I desire to call the attention of the country and of this House to the necessity existing for a national reserve and public park at the head of Red River, in the Panhandle of Texas, to be known as the "Paloduro National Forest Reserve and Park."

On December 6, 1915, I introduced the following bill for that purpose:

A bill (H. R. 330) providing for the purchase of a national forest reserve and part in the State of Texas, to be known as the "Paloduro National Forest Reserve and Park."

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of Agriculture is hereby authorized and empowered, in his discretion, to purchase land suitable for the purpose of a national forest reserve and park within the counties of Randall and Armstrong, State of Texas, so as to include all or any part of the headwaters of Red River, known as the Paloduro and tributary canyons, in total not to exceed 100,000 acres, and to care for, protect, use, and make accessible the said reserve, the same to be known as the "Paloduro National Forest Reserve and Park."

SEC. 2. That the Secretary of Agriculture shall advertise in the State of Texas in the counties of Randall and Armstrong for lands to be purchased under the provisions hereof, and as between land of equal value, for the purposes of this act, the lowest bids shall be accepted: *Provided,* That the Secretary of Agriculture shall have the right to reject any and all bids: *Provided further,* That the Secretary of Agriculture is hereby authorized and empowered, in his discretion, to contract for and purchase as a part of said forest reserve and park and from the owners thereof the ranch lands or the herd of buffaloes and cataloes known as the Goodnight buffalo herd and ranch, situated in Armstrong County, Tex.

SEC. 3. That in the acquirement of land and other property for the purposes of this act the Secretary of Agriculture shall conform to the conditions prescribed in the present or future act or acts of the Legislature of the State of Texas ceding to the United States the right to acquire and control such land and other property, and the Secretary of Agriculture is hereby authorized and empowered to exercise, as to such lands, all rights and powers granted in said act or acts: *Provided,* That when the owners of lands sought to be acquired for the purpose of this act are unwilling to sell the same on terms satisfactory to the Secretary of Agriculture, condemnation proceedings for the acquirement of such lands shall not be had so long as the said owners shall protect and perpetuate the forests on said lands, under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of Agriculture for the control of the forests on other lands purchased by the Government under this act, so far as the same may be applicable.

SEC. 4. That the Secretary of Agriculture is hereby authorized and empowered to accept gifts of land for the purpose of this act, and such lands shall hereafter be known by such names as the donors, with the approval of the Secretary of Agriculture, may prescribe.

SEC. 5. That the Secretary of Agriculture may do all things necessary to secure the safe title in the United States to the lands herein provided to be purchased; but no payment shall be made for any land pur-

chased under this act until the title to such land shall be satisfactory to the Attorney General and conveyance thereof duly executed and accepted.

SEC. 6. That the Secretary of Agriculture shall make provision for the foresting of the lands purchased under the provisions of this act whenever such planting shall be deemed advisable or found necessary for the protection of the soil or the water supply; and if buffaloes or cataloes are purchased under this act, he shall also care for and protect them.

SEC. 7. That the Secretary of Agriculture is hereby empowered and directed to make such rules and regulations and establish such service as he may deem necessary for the care, protection, control, and use of such forest reserve, and violations of such rules and regulations shall be punished as provided by law for other forest reserves.

SEC. 8. That the Secretary of Agriculture is hereby authorized and empowered to make contracts for the purchase of lands and herd of buffaloes and accept conveyance thereof in accordance with the provisions of this act to the amount of not to exceed $500,000, and the sum of $100,000 thereof to be available immediately and until the expiration of the year ending June 30, 1915, is hereby appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the purchase of lands for a national forest reserve and park and otherwise to carry out the provisions of this act: *Provided*, That the Secretary of Agriculture shall each year make a detail report to Congress of his doings in the premises: *Provided further*, That no part of said sum hereby appropriated shall be expended for the purchase of land in the State of Texas, under the provisions of this act, until a valid title to the same shall be vested in the United States, and until the State in which the land lies shall have ceded to the United States exclusive jurisdiction of the same during the time the United States shall be or remain the owner thereof, for all purposes except the administration of the criminal laws of said State and the service of any civil process therein.

SEC. 9. That this act shall take effect after the approval by Congress of said survey and plats.

Mr. Speaker, this bill is now pending in the Committee on Agriculture, and I desire again to call attention to the necessity for its passage by giving a history of the movement in Texas and in Congress to secure this legislation. Texas is by far the largest State in the Union and has within its boundaries no national park or forest reserve. The Panhandle of Texas has on the headwaters of Red River the finest natural park in the entire Southwest, known as the Palo Duro Canyon, and is fully and well described in one of the reports herewith printed as part of my remarks.

Mr. Speaker, on April 28 the Hereford Brand, a paper published in the Panhandle of Texas, published the following article showing the steps taken by myself and others to secure this legislation. The article is as follows:

[From the Hereford Brand, Apr. 28, 1911.]

FOREST RESERVE IN THE PANHANDLE—TO TAKE QUESTION UP AT ONCE WITH SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE WILSON AND BOARD OF ENGINEERS.

WASHINGTON, *April 24, 1911.*

The Congressional Red River Improvement Association, composed of Members of Congress whose districts touch Red River, met in the office of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds to-day for the purpose of perfecting organization for the Sixty-second Congress. Representative MORRIS SHEPPARD was reelected president and Representative CHARLES D. CARTER, of Oklahoma, secretary.

It was decided that the association would appear in a body before the Secretary of Agriculture at an early date to present the matter of a forest reserve on the headwaters of the Red River. Representative SHEPPARD was requested to arrange a date for the interview with the Secretary. Representative STEPHENS of Texas was designated to be principal spokesman of the association when the interview is held, the proposed reserve being in his district.

PANHANDLE CITIES INTERESTED.

Representative STEPHENS was also requested to notify the people of Amarillo, Canyon City, and other places immediately interested, in order that they might have an opportunity of being heard before the Secretary. It was also decided that the association should call in a body at the office of the Chief of Engineers, Gen. W. H. Bixby, and again urge the establishment of a separate engineering district for Red River, the date of the interview with Gen. Bixby to be arranged by Mr. SHEPPARD.

The question of establishing a national forest reserve at the headwaters of the Red River has been urged by Representative STEPHENS for years, he having had a bill to that effect pending in the past several Congresses. This project, which has a bright prospect under the provision of the Appalachian Forest Reserve bill, is of especial interest to the people of Amarillo, and especially of Canyon City, which place is located at the mouth of the picturesque canyon, where the waters from the Red River watershed are gathered for the formation of the stream. It is the leaching of the gypsum sands of the treeless, alkali plains of this watershed that gives the Red River its murky color, and the foresting of these plains, it is expected, would not only check the disastrous floods, but would tend to clear the waters of the stream.

PROVIDES FOR EXTENSIVE REFORESTING.

The provision of the Appalachian Forest bill, under which the Red River flood-control work might be undertaken, is section 6, which reads as follows:

"That the Secretary of Agriculture is hereby authorized and directed to examine, locate, and recommend for purchase such lands as in his judgment may be necessary to the navigable streams, and to report to the National Forest Reservation Commission the results of such examinations, provided that before any lands are purchased by the National Forest Reservation Commission said lands shall be examined by the Geological Survey and a report made to the Secretary of Agriculture, showing that the control of such lands will promote or protect the navigation of streams on whose watersheds they lie."

The following newspaper article, taken from the Evening Star, published in this city, explaining further the objects of this Red River Association, says:

[From the Washington Evening Star, Apr. 26.]

TO START FOREST RESERVE—MEMBERS OF CONGRESS PLAN ONE ON RED RIVER HEADWATERS.

An association has been formed by several Members of Congress for the establishment of a forest reserve on the headwaters of the Red River. The action will be taken under the provisions of the Weeks bill, whereby the Appalachian Forest Reserve is being created.

The members of the association are Sheppard, Stephens, and Randell, of Texas; Ferris and Carter, of Oklahoma; Craven and Goodwin, of Arkansas; and Watkins, Pujo, and Ransdell, of Louisiana. The chairman of the committee is Representative Sheppard.

A hearing will be given the association soon after May 1.

The city of Amarillo is situated within a few miles of this noted Paloduro Canyon, and on May 1, 1911, its chamber of commerce passed and sent to me as their Representative in Congress the following resolution:

Whereas Hon. JOHN H. STEPHENS, Congressman from the Amarillo district, has introduced in Congress and is pressing forward to passage bill No. 4734, House of Representatives, being a bill for the acquiring of national forests on the headwaters of the Red River, in the State of Texas; and

Whereas the national forests and national parks contemplated to be created by the enactment into law of said bill would include the beautiful and attractive Paloduro Canyon in Randell and Armstrong Counties, in close proximity to Amarillo; and

Whereas the protection and fostering of the cedar and other forest trees in said canyon and at the headwaters of the Red River would, in our opinion, be a decisive step on the part of the National Government in the direction of forest preservation and extension, with its strong influence on climatic conditions, with its tendency to lessen both droughts and floods; and

Whereas the creation and maintenance of a forest reserve and national park, which would be inclusive of far-famed Paloduro Canyon, would serve the additional purpose at this healthful and invigorating elevation of 3,600 feet of supplying an additional national playground that would be accessible to the people of the whole country, whither they might repair for recreation and the restoration of health: Therefore, be it

Resolved by the directors of the Amarillo Chamber of Commerce, That the said House bill 4734 be, and the same is, heartily approved and Congressman STEPHENS is commended for his work in the cause, and we respectfully bespeak for the passage of the bill the aid of Senators Bailey and Culberson and all the Congressmen from Texas, and we would likewise invoke the aid of the Secretary of Agriculture and the National Forest Reserve Commission.

The Secretary is instructed to furnish a copy of this resolution to each of the city papers for publication and to forward a copy of same to Congressman STEPHENS and each other Congressman from Texas and to the two Senators in Washington, and to the Secretary of Agriculture and to the National Forest Reserve Commission.

Passed and approved this 1st day of May, 1911.

F. M. SHAUGHNESSY, *Secretary.*

A little later the Medical Association of Texas indorsed my bill by passing the following resolution:

Be it resolved by the house of delegates of the State Medical Association of Texas, That the Panhandle of Texas is a healthful country and that the Paloduro Canyon is a most beautiful and wonderful natural creation worthy of national recognition and preservation, and it is the sense of this body that the Congress of the United States should take steps toward the creation of a national park and health resort at this wonderful spot.

On November 19, 1912, the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs passed the following resolution:

To the CHAIRMAN TEXAS FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS:

Whereas in the center of the Texas Panhandle, where only the glimmering mirage meets the gaze and the vast treeless plains meet the sky at every turn of our visage, nature has formed the Paloduro Canyon, a sunken garden of grandeur and beauty which winds its way a thousand feet below, covered with the evergreen cedar and other forms of vegetation, and winding, leaping, and flashing from bowlder to bowlder at its lowest depth is the clear, cool headwaters of the Red River which helps bear on its bosom to the sea the vast commerce of the Mississippi Valley; and

Whereas the conservation of this, one of the greatest natural wonders of the American Continent, from the destructive power of the almighty dollar is pressing and of vast public concern: Therefore, be it

Resolved by the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs in convention assembled at Fort Worth, November 19, 1912, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress be urged to support the bill of Mr. STEPHENS of Texas—H. R. 4737—for acquiring a national park on the headwaters of Red River.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be furnished each Texas Member of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

Mrs. R. W. SIMPSON, *Chairman, Gilmer,*
Mrs. R. S. FULLER, *Van Alstyne,*
Mrs. GEO. T. JOHNSON, *Stockdale,*
Committee on Conservation,
Texas Federation of Women's Clubs.

Mr. Speaker, the following letter from Senator SHEPPARD, who was at that time a Member of the House, is self-explanatory, and shows fully the steps taken by myself and the friends of the Paloduro Canyon to secure this forest reserve and park by appropriate departmental work and legislation by Congress as a national park:

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C., June 3, 1911.

Hon. JOHN H. STEPHENS,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The Congressional Red River Improvement Association will meet at the office of Gen. W. H. Bixby, Chief of En-

gineers of the War Department, on Monday afternoon next, June 5, at 1.45 p. m. We will take up with him the matter of a separate engineering district for Red River. After our meeting with him, we will proceed to the Department of Agriculture, where we will have a conference, at 3 p. m., with the Secretary of Agriculture, Hon. James Wilson, in regard to a forest reserve for the headwaters of the Red River. Both of these meetings will be of the greatest importance, and you are urged, as a member of the Congressional Red River Improvement Association, to be present.

Hoping to see you at the times and places herein mentioned, I am, with every expression of regard,

Yours, very truly, MORRIS SHEPPARD.

On June 5 we had the conference referred to with Secretary Wilson, and he agreed to investigate the matter fully and report on my bill No. 4734 to the chairman of the Agricultural Committee as soon as the investigation could be made by him.

This report was made November 29, 1911, and is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., November 29, 1911.

HON. JOHN LAMB,
Chairman Committee on Agriculture, House of Representatives.

DEAR SIR: On August 8 you referred to the Department of Agriculture for examination and recommendation House bill 4734, entitled "A bill for acquiring national forests on the headwaters of the Red River, in the State of Texas." Before stating an opinion as to the advisability of the legislation proposed in this bill, it is desirable first to mention briefly the conditions as to topography, ground cover, and use of the land which prevail on the different portions of the Red River watershed.

So far as the Red River flows through the State of Louisiana, it traverses a comparatively level country. Its course is southeasterly, and on the south it has no important tributary at all. Its northern tributaries in Louisiana are short, originating nearly altogether within that State. All of these drain flat, low-lying country, generally of much fertility, and not especially subject to erosion. At the present time the watersheds of these tributaries are very largely covered with forests of hardwood and pine. The forest growth, however, is being cut away with considerably rapidity, and in many cases cutting is being followed by clearing for cultivation, pasturage, and fruit growing.

In the northwestern corner of Louisiana the Red River has an important western tributary in Sulphur Fork, whose principal watershed is in several counties of northeastern Texas. What has been said as to conditions of the tributaries in Louisiana applies with equal force to the watershed of Sulphur Fork, as conditions are similar in most respects.

In southwestern Arkansas the Red River has an important northern tributary in Little River, two of the principal branches of which drain southeastern Oklahoma and three others the extreme southwestern portion of Arkansas. The latter tributaries extend well into and drain considerable portions of the mountain section of Polk and Howard Counties. Forest still covers most of the mountain section, but many clearings have been made, some of which are on very steep slopes which ought to be kept in timber. The Arkansas National Forest protects a considerable portion of the headwaters of this stream in Arkansas. Within and adjacent to the national forest are many privately owned timber tracts, which are not of value for agriculture and which should be kept under forest cover.

In Oklahoma the Red River has many very important tributaries, some of them, like North Fork, Washita, and Kiamichi Rivers and Boggy Creek, have great length and drain hundreds of square miles of country. As is well known, the country forming the most of the watershed of the Red River in Oklahoma is fertile, rolling prairie, on which rapid agricultural development is taking place. The only important mountain sections within the Oklahoma part of this watershed are the Winding Stair and Kiamichi Mountain sections in Le Flore, Latimer, Pushmataha, and McCurtain Counties, and Wichita Mountain section in Kiowa and Comanche Counties. The Wichita Mountains are now protected by the Wichita National Forest. The Winding Stair and Kiamichi Mountains are unprotected. They are forest-producing lands of value, and to a large extent belong in fee to the Choctaw Indian Nation. In taking their individual allotments the Choctaw Indians chose the more fertile lands in the river and creek bottoms and still retain in tribal ownership the more mountainous and hilly lands above referred to, amounting to about 1,500,000 acres. These lands, with standing timber, have been appraised at $3,540,000, and are now being offered for sale by the Secretary of the Interior as trustee for the Choctaw Nation. The tributaries of the Red River which drain this important mountain section are Little River, already referred to, and Kiamichi River, which has its entire drainage basin in southeastern Oklahoma. Together these two streams drain large portions of the four counties named above.

In Texas the Red River has no important tributaries between Sulphur Fork, already referred to, and Little Wichita River, which flows into it in Clay County. The Little Wichita, Wichita, and Pease Rivers are the only important tributaries in western Texas, unless we include the Salt Fork, which rises in the Panhandle of Texas but comes into the Red River through the North Fork in Oklahoma. The three southern tributaries all take their rise in a prairie section, the topography of which is in places flat, in places rolling, and only at their extreme headwaters considerably broken. They drain a section which has made great agricultural advancement during the past 10 years and promises good results from dry farming and grazing.

There remain to be considered only the extreme headwaters of the Red River. This river rises in the flat, elevated, prairie country of eastern New Mexico. It flows eastward through the same kind of country to Randall County, Tex., where it reaches the escarpment of the high plateau on which it rises. It then drops rapidly into a deep canyon known as Paloduro Canyon, through which it flows for some 20 miles. Paloduro Canyon is a physical feature of great interest occurring in a flat, elevated, prairie country. It is a great chasm 20 miles long and from a half mile to 2 miles or more across at the rim and in places 600 to 800 feet deep. The bed of the canyon proper contains 19,430 acres, with 1,760 acres of sloping ground at the rim. This area all occurs in what is called block 6 of Randall County. A minor portion of the canyon occurs below block 6, but is relatively unimportant. About one-fifth of the canyon bed is covered by forest which consists of cedar and hardwoods.

As showing the character of the canyon bed as to soil and erosion and of the stream as to flow, I quote the following from a Forest Service report prepared in 1903:

"The stream flowing through Paloduro Canyon, called usually Paloduro Creek, is the headwaters of the Red River. It flows continuously, in scanty volume during the dry season, being fed by several permanent springs which issue from the sides of the canyon just at the base of the lower cap rock. In time of sudden heavy rains it is greatly increased in volume. These downpours start streams in all the lesser channels, and a small flood pours down each little gully, heavily charged with sediment, some of which spreads out and is dropped on the red-bed flats, while the rest is swept into the stream to travel east into the Mississippi. On the steeper slopes and exposed red beds the progress of erosion is so rapid that it can be noted from year to year. This is most striking in the case of old roads. In one instance, in the course of 15 years, the entire roadbed has been swallowed up in a peculiar sinkhole, and further up this same road was completely blocked by big pieces split off the upper cap rock. Trails and cow paths offer a channel for the water, and in two or three years become little gullies, necessitating the formation of new paths. On the prairie above, wherever the sod is broken by cattle, the ends of the gullies leading down to the edge of the upper cap extend themselves quite rapidly.

"Sod, as well as brush and tree growth, prevent a certain amount of erosion. The thickets of oak shrub found on certain of the higher slopes are very effective, but are confined to a small area. The general progress of erosion, however, is not and can not be effectually checked by any kind of natural or artificial growth. The slopes are too steep and easily washed away. The difficulties of clothing them with vegetation are too great, on account of their exposure to the sun, and the thinness and rapid shifting of the soil. The gullying and undermining by heavy rains and sudden rises in the streams could not be checked in the canyon by any kind of soil cover."

Unquestionably the two portions of the Red River watershed which are most subject to erosion and which are influential in silting up the channel are Paloduro Canyon and the mountain region of southeastern Oklahoma and southwestern Arkansas. Paloduro Canyon, on account of its comparatively small area, can have but little influence on the navigable stretches of the stream from which it is far removed. That it should be protected there is no doubt, but its protection is probably more desirable on account of its scenic importance than on account of its importance as a watershed. Through forestry, however, the tendency to erosion might to some extent be reduced.

The most important area on the entire Red River watershed is the mountain section of southeastern Oklahoma already referred to as belonging to the Choctaw Indian Nation and now being offered for sale by the Department of the Interior. If this section containing approximately a million and a half acres could be purchased and kept under protection there is no question but what the flow of the Little River and the Kiamichi River would be kept more steady and that their betterment would in turn be influential on the flow of the Red River.

Other sections of the Red River watershed in Texas and Oklahoma are, of course, likely to furnish much sediment which may influence navigation, but this sediment, to a large extent, originates on farm lands, and the problem here must be solved by careful methods of agriculture rather than by taking the lands out of agricultural uses and turning them to forest growth.

I accordingly recommend that if considered practicable by your committee, and the matter meets with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, that House bill 4734 be modified to permit of the purchase of the allotted lands of the Choctaw Indian Nation and of other lands more important for the protection of stream flow than for other uses in Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Texas.

I attach for the use of the committee a copy of an unpublished report by William T. Cox, formerly of the Forest Service, on the unallotted lands of the Choctaw Nation.

Very truly, yours, JAMES WILSON, *Secretary.*

SECTION D.

Mr. Speaker, it will be seen by this report that the Secretary favored my bill, No. 4734, for the creation of this park and forest reserve if coupled with the purchase of the Choctaw land. This adverse report practically killed the bill, for the reason that the amount of money to purchase the Indian lands was more than the committee would recommend. I have continued the fight up to this time, hoping that the time would come when Texas could by act of Congress secure an appropriation for this park without being tied up with the Choctaw land purchase. I would, however, suggest that if the Texas Legislature would pay one-half of the amount appropriated by my present bill, which would amount to only $250,000, I believe Congress will pay a like amount, and thus we would secure one of the finest parks and forest reserve in the country. Congress has set the example of cooperation with the States by paying, on stated terms and conditions, one-half the money for public roads in the States, and I believe that this cooperation should extend to public parks, public Federal buildings, and also to all river and harbor improvements. If this policy were adopted, we would hear no more of pork-barrel legislation, but more of harmony and cooperation between the States and the Federal Government, and of economy in the expenditures of the public funds from the Treasury of the United States.

In conclusion I desire to thank the Chamber of Commerce of Amarillo and its committee, who, in order to secure this reserve and park, attended two of the annual meetings of the Red River Improvement Association and aided me in getting the indorsement of this body for our reserve and park.

Amarillo was represented in these annual meetings by the Hon. W. J. Crugington and W. M. Cunningham, the present postmaster. Mr. Speaker, I will insert as part of my remarks the report of W. T. Cox, mentioned by Secretary Wilson in his letter to Chair-

man Lamb, of the Agricultural Committee of the House. It is as follows:

FAVORABLE REPORT ON THE PROPOSED CHOCTAW NATIONAL FOREST, OKLA.

[By W. T. Cox, forest inspector, Forest Service.]

LOCATION AND AREA.

The proposed national forest is situated in the southeastern part of Oklahoma and in the Cherokee and Choctaw Nations, extending from the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway on the west to the Arkansas line on the east, and from Little River on the south to Illinois River on the north.

The area within which reserve lands should be selected is approximately 4,000,000 acres. Of this it is doubtful if more than 40 per cent, or 1,600,000 acres, will be available for reserve purposes. Definite information concerning allotments will determine how much of the suitable timbered area can still be saved.

TOPOGRAPHY.

The country is mountainous throughout. The series of ranges running generally east and west are cut by numberless rocky gorges, through which tumble the clearest of mountain streams. The ridges are narrow and steep, varying in altitude from 700 to nearly 3,000 feet, and the valleys for the main part are merely canyons or rugged defiles.

CLIMATE.

The climate of the region is almost identical with that of Fort Smith, for which Weather Bureau data is available. In the valleys cotton is grown, corn is an excellent crop, most vegetables do well, and undoubtedly as soon as restrictions are removed and settlement encouraged, much fruit will be produced in certain localities in this part of the Territory.

The moisture-laden winds come mainly from the Gulf, but in the winter season "northers" are liable to sweep down. The precipitation is about 40 inches.

THE FOREST.

The accompanying map, prepared by the Geological Survey, shows the timbered lands. The entire area may be considered merchantable forest. In the southeastern portion shortleaf pine is the most valuable species, and it is found in merchantable quantities most all through the proposed reserve. In the rougher mountain region at the head of Little River, Mountain Fork, and the Kiamichi hardwoods are more important. White oak, hickory, red oak, and excellent post oak are found most all through the mountainous region, both on the ridges and the rocky slopes. Black and sweet gum and black walnut are found in merchantable quantities along most of the streams. Red cedar is also quite common in a number of localities. On the quadrangles have been indicated the most important species of each locality. On 50 per cent of the area merchantable pine averaging a thousand feet to the acre occurs, and on the whole area there is an average hardwood stand of about 800 feet, besides large quantities of immature timber.

At present much of the region is inaccessible for logging, but a number of rivers are drivable, and timber can be marketed in this way to the Choctaw, Oklahoma & Gulf Railway. The upper country will remain inaccessible until the proposed railroad from Antiers to Arkansas is completed. Considerable areas have been cut over, or rather merely culled, for the choice pine and for ash and walnut, and some of the choicest white oak has been cut for staves.

Fires are very common throughout the proposed reserve, nearly the whole area being burned over every year. The fires are caused mainly by reckless hunters from Texas, Arkansas, and cities of the Mississippi Valley. The damage from fires, while important in the mature timber, is exceedingly great in the case of reproduction, mast, and range.

Along the rivers and in places on the hills good land is found, but this is generally very limited. There are but few settlers except in the vicinity of Smithville, Hoochetown, Bethal, and Lukfata. The area in cultivation can probably be doubled, but nearly all the cultivable land is either allotted or has been omitted from the area recommended for reservation.

On the upper slopes of Winding Stair Mountain, Buffalo Mountain, and the Kiamichi Range are a number of sections which might be considered barren land, as it is too rocky even for the growth of timber.

All of the rivers that rise in this mountainous region are swift, and on account of the rocky formations are subject to severe floods. They carry but little silt, but with any attempted clearing on the higher slopes disastrous results may be expected through erosion and increased flood damage. None of the streams are used for development of power, but there are numerous opportunities for such development, especially on Little River, Mountain Fork, and Glover. Irrigation is not practiced, though there are places where undoubtedly it would be profitable.

With the settlement of the country along Red River and the valuable agricultural lands west of the proposed reserve, there will be a demand for all sorts of timber used on ranches; and with the development of the immense coal deposits and asphalt beds, mining timber will be in great demand; and there is already a steady market for railroad ties and fence posts, of which this reserve will have an enormous supply. Lying, as it does, on the edge of the Great Plains, the demand for this material is certain to increase rather than diminish.

The region is crossed by the Frisco Railroad, the Rock Island, and the Kansas City, Pittsburgh & Gulf. Wagon roads have been constructed along some of the streams, but most of the country is accessible only by means of steep, rocky trails, and to a limited extent by canoe.

There has been little actual lumbering, but culling has been done, and the walnut has been cut out except in very inaccessible places. White pine was cut; much young timber remains merchantable, though severely damaged by fire. Undoubtedly the creation of a reserve in this part of the Territory will make lumbering permanent and insure the perpetuation of the small mill industry now found here. Unless a reserve is created, the timber, at the rate it is now being acquired, is certain within two or three years to pass into the hands of a few large timber companies, chief of which are the Chicago Lumber & Coal Co. and the Southern Trust Co. The prices being paid for stumpage are exceedingly low. Oak has scarcely any value in the back districts, and estimates made by cruisers are invariably far below the actual stand. The Indians will, therefore, under present conditions receive practically nothing for their valuable timber holdings, and monopoly of timber in the Territory will be certain.

Some years ago grazing was important throughout this region, but on account of the persistent burning of the woods many of the small ranchers have been compelled to go out of the stock business and others suffer great loss. One of the most desirable results than can be brought about by a forest reserve will be the encouragement of stock raising in this country so well adapted to the industry. At present it is doubtful if there are 3,000 head of cattle in the entire area, and nearly all are owned by residents of the valleys immediately adjacent. Under proper regulations the range is capable of supporting eight times that number during the grazing season. In addition to the cattle, a considerable number of hogs range in the hills, but these, too, are suffering from forest fires, and great losses are reported. Wolves also are causing much loss to the ranchers. Some of the area is well suited to sheep and Angora goats, but none are owned or run here.

Although fires are so prevalent they are easily controlled in this kind of forest and with the help of the ranchers can be almost entirely prevented, the people are heartily in favor of stopping them, and will welcome any regulations that will tend to bring this about. They can also be counted on to render assistance whenever called upon to fight fires.

SITUATION.

From personal observations on the ground and conversation with prominent men in the Territory it is very desirable that an effort be made at once to provide for a reserve in this locality. Principal Chief McCurtain, of the Choctaw Nation, is in favor of the Government buying all unallotted timberlands and administering them according to the regulations now in force on western reserves. This is advisable for many reasons, he says, but principally because it will close up once and for all the unsatisfactory and annoying relations between the Indians and the Government over land. Under present laws there is bound to remain, after all allotments are completed and advertised sales made, a large amount of rough mountain land which will be only a source of trouble, complications, and disproportionate expense. Inspector Wright, of the Indian Service; Hon. Tams Bixby, of the Dawes Commission; Peter J. Hudson, auditor of the Choctaw Nation; Mr. B. F. Hackett, United States commissioner at Antlers; and Judge Humphrey, of Atoka, are all in favor of a reserve. There are said to be about 3,000,000 acres of rough timbered lands remaining unallotted in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations. Possibly one-third of this is suitable for agricultural purposes, but upward of one and one-half million acres are decidedly unfit for farming, although well suited for the growth of timber such as is found here. Practically every man in the Territory who has expressed his sentiments on the subject is most pronounced in his desire to have this wild timberland placed under Government control so that fires may be prevented and the timber and range properly administered.

There is a tremendous future in coal mining in the Territory between Fort Smith and the Chickasaw country. The present and rapidly increasing mining developments and the varied activities of the surrounding region are dependent upon a continuous and convenient supply of timber. The timber resources of these mountains would be entirely adequate if judiciously used and properly protected. Under the present conditions the standing timber will be rapidly destroyed and reproduction rendered impossible; moreover, the denudation of these important watersheds will enormously increase the destruction by floods of the rich bottom lands along the Red and Arkansas Rivers.

The opposition to a reserve will come mainly from speculators, who for some time have been wrongfully taking advantage of the Indians and depriving them of their rights. The activity in this respect is very great, and it will be but a short time until all the valuable timber is lost to the Indians and Government if the present policy is to continue.

Another source from which some opposition may be expected is the so-called Gordon-Choctaw Game Preserve Association. It was through the efforts of this association to obtain title to a large tract of mountain land that the proposition to establish a reserve in this locality was brought up. Considering the nature of the land which Mr. Gordon and his associates desire, it would be inadvisable to permit the purchase by private parties of such a large area in the midst of what should be a Federal reserve. Although the purpose of Mr. Gordon to establish a game preserve may be a worthy one, there is no necessity for a private preserve covering such an immense area, especially when there is a merchantable stand of hardwood over nearly all of it, and great quantities of pine. If Mr. Gordon is to be allowed to purchase any of the land, it should be not to exceed 60,000 acres immediately south and east of Tuskahomma, as indicated on attached map forming a part of this report; and even this tract could be handled more efficiently by Government rangers and the game even better protected under proper regulations than would be possible by an association of citizens. Dr. Miller, one of the charter members of the association, expressed his willingness to have the proposed game preserve reduced to 50,000 acres.

Segregated coal land is said to be worked now by paying Indians a royalty of 8 (?) cents per ton. Why not handle coal land in connection with the timber? The revenues would thus be enormous. Asphalt could be handled in the same way.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

It is respectfully and urgently recommended that all unallotted lands within the lines indicated on the attached map of the Territory be purchased at the value placed upon land and timber by the Dawes Commission. This will be satisfactory to the Indians, to the Dawes Commission, and, no doubt, to the Indian Office; certainly to the white people of the Territory. The valuation varies from 25 cents to about $3 per acre, and the pine is rated at 50 cents per thousand. No value has been placed upon hardwood. It will thus be seen that purchase by the United States will be a good bargain. The revenue from the reserve should, within a very few years, pay for the entire tract besides maintaining an efficient administrative force. Especially would this be true if the coal lands and asphalt can be handled in connection. It is recommended that immediate steps be taken to stop all allotments within the lines indicated on the attached map, for there is plenty of desirable farming land outside this area to complete all allotments.

It is confidently believed that a forest reserve here would be vastly more effective in controlling the Arkansas and Red Rivers than all the contemplated "improvements" and those that have been made at enormous expense in the channels of these streams.

As a game refuge the reserve could be made exceedingly valuable, for then the game laws would be enforced. At present deer are hounded winter and summer until, even in the roughest mountains, they are well nigh exterminated. Two or three years ago turkeys were abundant; now they are everywhere scarce. With the enforcement of even very ordinary game laws, such as a short open season and reasonable bag for turkeys and prohibiting the use of dogs in hunting deer, the reserve would soon become very attractive to sportsmen and a delightful summer camping ground for people of the lower Mississippi Valley. In this connection it is recommended that the patenting of home lots be

provided for in the reserve, so that people from the thickly settled States round about may actually own homes here in the hills, where they can breathe in air that is pure and enjoy mountain scenery which compares favorably with the best of the Appalachians.

The accompanying copies of telegrams, letters, and maps are pertinent and should be considered part of this report.

WM. T. COX.

—

[Telegram.]

FORT SMITH, ARK., *November 28, 1906.*

Inspector WRIGHT, *Muskogee, Ind. T.:*

Are you willing to recommend purchase by Government of large areas of rough timbered land remaining unallotted, to be administered like western forest reserves for conservative lumbering and protection of streams? Good land to be sold at cost to settlers. Please answer this morning, Hotel Main, Government collect.

COX, *Forest Inspector.*

—

[Telegram.]

MUSKOGEE, IND. T., *November 28, 1906.*

COX, *Forest Inspector,*
Hotel Main, Fort Smith, Ark.:

Answering telegram, I should recommend favorable consideration to proposition, although can not say how department would consider same.

WRIGHT, *Inspector.*

—

[Telegram.]

FORT SMITH, ARK., *November 28, 1906.*

TAMS BIXBY, *Muskogee, Ind. T.:*

Are you willing to recommend purchase by Government of large areas of rough timbered land remaining unallotted, to be administered like western forest reserves for conservative lumbering and protection of streams? Good land to be sold at cost to settlers. Please answer this morning, Hotel Main, Government collect.

COX, *Forest Inspector.*

—

[Telegram.]

MUSKOGEE, IND. T., *November 28, 1906.*

Forest Inspector COX,
Hotel Main, Fort Smith, Ark.:

I am willing to recommend purchase by Government of large tracts of rough timbered land in Indian Territory, to be administered like western forest reserves and for protection of streams, the reservation to be reserved as hunting grounds for Indians by blood.

BIXBY, *Commissioner.*

Mr. Speaker, I have in this Congress succeeded in securing a fish hatchery station for my district, which will, I understand, be located on this Paloduro Canyon above and near this park. The small fish escaping from this hatchery will continually stock this park, and ultimately the whole length of Red River and its tributaries will be stocked with the many varieties of Government food fish that are suitable to this climate. The fishing facilities offered by this hatchery will greatly add to the beauty, utility, and value of this wonderful park and health and pleasure resort.

State Game Laws.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DORSEY W. SHACKLEFORD,
OF MISSOURI,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 8, 1917.

Mr. SHACKLEFORD. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter:

STATE OF MISSOURI,
STATE GAME AND FISH DEPARTMENT,
St. Louis, Mo., February 5, 1917.

Hon. DORSEY W. SHACKLEFORD,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: I am taking the liberty of writing you with relation to a bill that is now pending in Congress, and which will affect the present State game laws of the State of Missouri should the bill be enacted into law.

On January 13, 1917, there was introduced into the Senate a bill by Senator HITCHCOCK, which is known as Senate bill 7858, and on the same date there was a bill introduced into the House by Congressman FLOOD, a bill which is known as H. R. 20080. Both bills are identical, and their object is to give effect to the migratory-bird treaty ratified between this country and Canada on December 6, 1916.

The above bill was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Senate and the House, and as you are a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the House I desire to explain to you some of the facts about this bill and its objects.

In the year 1913 there was enacted into law by Congress a bill known as the Weeks-McLean bill for the protection of migratory birds, but the Government has made no effort to enforce that law, due to the fact that two United States district courts and the State Supreme Court of Maine have held the Weeks-McLean law unconstitutional, and no court, State or Federal, has upheld that law. Senator MCLEAN, of Connecticut, has openly stated on the floor of the Senate that his law (Weeks-McLean) is unconstitutional, but the Senator also stated that if Congress would ratify the treaty with Canada then the Weeks-McLean law would be constitutional; but the promoters of the Weeks-McLean law are now mailing out letters to the public advising the public to write or wire their Senators and Congressmen to support the Hitchcock-Flood bill, which your committee now has under consideration, and they state in their letters that if the above bill is not passed at the present session of Congress all Federal legislation for the conservation of migratory birds will become a dead letter; therefore they admit the Weeks-McLean law is unconstitutional, and that the right to legislate for the protection of migratory birds and game is a right within each State and not within the power of the Federal Government, but they are now asking you to support a bill that they openly state will take the sovereign rights of the States under the Federal Constitution and put them in the hands of the Federal Government without the amendment of the Federal Constitution, as set forth by the tenth amendment in the Federal Constitution.

I desire to state that all the above activity is being carried on by the arms and ammunition makers in the East, and they are now making every effort possible to get the Hitchcock-Flood bill passed at the present session of Congress; and I will say that the movement for Federal conservation of migratory birds is being carried on for financial gain by the Winchester Repeating Arms Co., of New Haven, Conn.; Remington Arms-Union Metallic Cartridge Co., of 233 Broadway, New York City; and many other arms and ammunition makers, of which I have a list. The American Game Protective Association, of 233 Broadway, New York City; National Association of Audubon Societies, of 1974 Broadway, New York City; and the Permanent Wild Life Protection Fund, also of New York City, are the official representatives of the large arms and ammunition makers, and the above associations are carrying on the activity at Washington, D. C., for the passage of the Hitchcock-Flood bill, and I can submit the evidence to prove my statements before a committee from Congress.

I have submitted some of the evidence to Senator REED, and as you know, the Senator has always been against this Federal legislation for conservation of migratory birds and will oppose the legislation at this session of Congress.

The arms and ammunition makers, through their representatives, the above associations, have boasted in the newspapers and sportsmen's press that the treaty with Canada and the Hitchcock-Flood measure passed in Congress will bind the hands of the United States Supreme Court from giving a decision in the Shauver case, which is the test of the constitutionality of the Weeks-McLean law.

I feel certain that you are not in favor of a bill (Hitchcock-Flood bill) which will bind the hands of the United States Supreme Court so that the sovereign rights of the great State of Missouri can not be protected and restored to the people of this State by the United States Supreme Court. I assure you that any support you give the people and sportsmen of the State of Missouri will be greatly appreciated.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely, yours,

ARTHUR D. HOLTHAUS,
Deputy Commissioner.

P. S.—You may use this letter as you see fit in the interest of the people of this State.

Appropriations for Army and Navy.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL H. MILLER,
OF PENNSYLVANIA.
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 8, 1917.

Mr. MILLER of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, in the remarks that I shall make on this bill—the Naval appropriation bill—I criticize no member of the Appropriation Committee. At the outstart I desire to state that I approve, without qualification, the action taken by the President as set forth in his address delivered before the joint session of Congress February 2, severing diplomatic relations with the Imperial German Government. Should it become necessary in the future, in the opinion of the President, for the protection of American citizens, to take further and more drastic action, I shall willingly and ungrudgingly support him in every effort put forth by him, and every request made by him, to enable him to maintain the honor of our Nation.

I believe, however, that many of the expenditures recommended by this bill, and a supplement thereto (H. R. 20781) introduced in the House February 6, and referred to the Committee on Appropriations, are not necessary at this time. The two bills recommend an appropriation of the very large sum of $501,453,245.

I believe a résumé of the appropriations for the Army and Navy, including the appropriations for fortification, for the Sixty-second, Sixty-third, and first session of the Sixty-fourth Congresses, and the recommendations for the second session of the Sixty-fourth Congress, would be illuminating at this time.

The appropriations for these purposes—Army, Navy, and fortifications—for the Sixty-second Congress were $466,551,559.

For the Sixty-third Congress, $513,969,563.

For the first session of the Sixty-fourth Congress, $611,556,287.

Recommended for the second session of the Sixty-fourth Congress, $501,453,245. This amount has already been increased by

amendment in the Committee of the Whole House over $10,000,000, and we may reasonably expect that by the time the bills are finally passed by Congress the amount will be much larger. But if the amounts as finally passed do not exceed the amount recommended, the total amounts appropriated by the Sixty-fourth Congress for the Army, Navy, and fortifications will reach the startling sum of $1,420,926,733.

The amounts appropriated for the Army, Navy, and fortifications by the Sixty-second, Sixty-third, and first session of the Sixty-fourth Congresses, and recommended for this session, are as follows:

Year.	Navy.	Army.	Fortifications.	Total.
1913	$129,739,055	$90,558,712	$4,036,235	$224,334,002
1914	142,743,162	94,266,145	5,218,250	242,217,557
1915	148,254,332	101,019,212	5,627,700	254,901,244
1916	151,033,908	101,974,195	6,060,216	259,068,319
1917	318,212,207	267,596,530	25,747,550	611,556,287
1918	351,453,245	247,061,108	60,855,593	659,369,946
Total	1,241,435,909	902,475,902	107,545,544	2,251,447,355

To the amount of $659,369,946 for the second session of the Sixty-fourth Congress, the $150,000,000 recommended by the supplementary bill H. R. 20781, referred to above, brings the total for the second session of the Sixty-fourth Congress to the sum of $809,369,946.

I can not believe the very able and efficient chairman of the Appropriations Committee, Mr. FITZGERALD, of New York, approves of this unusual increase of expenditures.

I do not believe the able and efficient chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, Mr. KITCHIN, of North Carolina, approves of this increased expenditure at this time. He has already exhausted all visible and invisible sources of raising revenue to meet the expected appropriations of this Congress.

And for what purpose are we now so energetically exploiting the preparedness hobby? Does any member of the Naval Committee believe that Germany has an intent to attack any city, or any of the coasts, of the United States? Can she spare a soldier or a battleship to invade or menace our land? She has all, and more, than she can attend to in Europe. Her object is to weaken the allies and if possible destroy, in the ocean zone prescribed by her, shipping carrying munitions, food, and so forth, to the allies, or to neutral countries that may reach the allies.

No one can defend her course. It is inhuman. It is brutal. It is barbarous. But war is all this. Gen. Sherman summed it all up in one word—hell!

But when we appropriate all this money, then what? The war will be over before we can have a battleship built and paid for out of the excess naval appropriation, or an army division raised, armed, and equipped, and the expenses thereof defrayed out of the excess Army appropriation.

Do the gentlemen who advocate these exorbitant appropriations propose to send a battleship or a regiment across the ocean to participate in the European war? Has not our fears warped our judgment? Have we not become hysterical?

We have already in the last four years increased our annual taxes by new sources of revenue over $900,000,000 a year. How many more million dollars new taxes do we propose to assess and collect next year, and each year for the next four years?

Sometime the overburdened taxpayer will "turn," then the deluge.

National Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic.

"How much longer are we, the people of the United States, going to tolerate an institution which is eating at the very heartstrings of the people and undermining the foundations of our Government?"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN G. COOPER,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, February 9, 1917.

THE CHALLENGE OF A CRISIS.

Mr. COOPER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, in the fall of 1914 there came a message across the Atlantic that Europe was at war. To the American people it was like a bolt of lightning coming from the clear sky. But nevertheless it was true, and from that day to this there has been raging in Europe the most inhuman, bloody war since the world began. Millions of men have lost their lives, entire countries have been torn asunder by shot and shell, the life's blood of the best young manhood has clotted upon the battle field, millions of widows and orphans have been left desolate, with no father's hand to guide and protect them. Words would fail me were I to attempt to describe to you the terrible suffering, misery, and want that has been brought to the people of these warring nations during the more than two years of this terrible struggle.

On that eventful day when the bugle sounded the call for men to join the colors and go to the front, there was no hesitating. Brave men left their homes and firesides and answered the call by the millions. Why? They had heard the challenge of a crisis, and that is the message that is being brought to the American people to-day, "The challenge of a crisis."

THE GREAT AMERICAN CRISIS.

The great crisis which is facing the American people at this time is how much longer are we going to tolerate an institution that is eating at the very heartstrings of our people and undermining the foundations of our Government. I refer to the un-American licensed liquor traffic. How much longer will the United States Government be a partner to this evil, which is the greatest enemy to the home, to the church, to the schools, to the State and the Nation that we have to-day? Yes, my fellow countrymen, this is the question that is facing the American people to-day. But we thank God that the battle to drive the liquor traffic out of our land is well under way, and to-day our hearts rejoice as we see the temperance forces steadily marching forward in this great fight to the final victory, when we shall see the total abolition of the liquor traffic from the United States of America.

That day is not very far away, for I believe that when the year 1920 shall have passed there will not be a drop of intoxicating liquor legally manufactured or sold in the United States of America for beverage purposes. Yes, my friends, we have reason to rejoice to-day for the wonderful progress that the temperance movement has made during the last 20 years. Over half the States in the Union have eliminated old John Barleycorn from within their borders; 27 out of the 48 States have entered the dry column; of the 2,543 counties in this country there are only 355 in which liquor is sold; 85 per cent of our country is dry area and 65 per cent of our people live in dry territory. To-day we can travel from coast to coast without going into a wet State; starting at the Atlantic coast in old Virginia we go south into North Carolina, then west through Tennessee, Arkansas, and Oklahoma, then northwest through Kansas, Nebraska, North Dakota, Montana, Idaho, and Oregon to the Pacific coast without touching a wet State. And so the temperance forces have gone steadily marching on, until the prospect for Nation-wide prohibition looks brighter than it ever did before.

The next logical step to progress and the abolition of the liquor traffic will be the submission by Congress to the several States of an amendment to the Federal Constitution for national prohibition, which when ratified by three-fourths of the States of the Union will prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor throughout the Nation.

THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC CORRUPTS POLITICS.

The liquor traffic ought to be abolished from the standpoint of clean politics. Wherever the traffic exists we have corruption in politics. To carry out their corrupt practices the liquor business will resort to anything that is unlawful. It will not stop at violating the laws of God and man, there is no legislator it will not bribe, and no voter it will not buy if it can. It has its powerful lobbies at the doors and on the floors of our legislative halls, hounding our public officials night and day trying to force them to enact laws that will be for its benefit and in the interest of the corrupt business.

The last State-wide fight for prohibition in Texas gives us an example of what it will do in trying to corrupt voters. During this campaign in Texas the liquor interests poured into that State more than $1,000,000 in trying to buy up the electorate. A fearless attorney general in this State was determined to prosecute them. He seized the books of one brewery, and the evidence that he found should make the blush of shame come to every American citizen that believes in clean, honest politics.

When they knew they were caught for violating the election laws they came into court and paid $275,000 fines and $50,000 court costs. In the books that the attorney general seized were some very interesting letters. One of these letters was from Adolphus Busch, the big brewer from St. Louis; and I have here an extract from it in which he says:

It may cost us millions and even more to win this fight, but what of it? I will give $100,000 extra if necessary. I mean to say by the above that everyone interested in the business should be willing to sacrifice all and everything he possesses to save our business from being ruined by a fanatical part of the people.

OTHER EXAMPLES OF CORRUPTION.

My friends, we do not need to go as far as Texas to find this corrupt hand in politics. We have recently heard from them in the States of Indiana and Pennsylvania. The disgraceful record of liquor corruption in Terre Haute is still fresh in the minds of the people of our country. In this city the saloon was the meeting place of corrupt politicians, and they had a great system established for collecting money to help them win at the elections.

An investigation was made with regard to the corrupt condition in politics in this city, and as a result 16 men were sent to the Federal prison at Fort Leavenworth, Kans. When these men were sentenced, the judge who presided at their trials made the statement that 90 per cent of the corruption in politics in Terre Haute could be traced to the saloon.

Again, in Pennsylvania we see the liquor people violating the corrupt-practices law, and out of the 100 indictments made a short time ago for violation of the election laws 70 of those indicted were brewery officials. Now, according to press reports they are trying to have the laws of the United States set aside, claiming they are within their lawful rights when they spend $3,000,000 to corrupt politics in Pennsylvania. And at this point I desire to insert in the RECORD an article which appeared in the daily newspapers on December 16, 1916:

BREWERS UPHOLD USE OF MONEY IN ELECTON—COURT PLEA DENIES NATION'S RIGHT TO CURB ACTIVITIES—"MONEY THEIR ONLY LANGUAGE."

PITTSBURGH, PA., *December 16.*

Attacking the Federal corrupt-practices act as unconstitutional, attorneys for 75 brewing corporations indicted for the alleged illegal use of money in the congressional campaign of 1914 to-day in the United States district court here attempted to have the indictments set aside.

D. P. Hibbard, of Philadelphia, in his argument, declared that Congress had no more right to abridge the rights of the defendants than it had to abridge the right of free speech or a free press, as the campaign carried on by the brewing interests had been "educational, not corrupting."

George E. Shaw, of Pittsburgh, cited principles laid down by Alexander Hamilton in support of his contention that the Federal Government had no right whatever to regulate elections, and in defining the word "money" as used in the act said: "The only language through which a corporation can speak is through spending money."

Mr. Speaker, the liquor people themselves admit the corruption and evil of their business, and to verify this statement I quote from the exact words which appeared in an editorial in the National Liquor Dealers' Journal of September 10, 1913, which is as follows:

[Editorial, National Liquor Dealers' Journal.]

To us there is the handwriting on the wall, and its interpretation spells doom. The liquor business is to blame. It seems incapable of learning any lesson of advancement or any motive but profit. To perpetuate itself, it has formed alliances with the slums that repel all conscientious and patriotic citizens. It deliberately aids the most corrupt political powers, and backs with all of its resources the most unworthy men, the most corrupt and recreant officials. It does not aid to the purification of municipal, State, or National administrations. * * * There are billions of property involved, and an industry of great employing and tax-paying ability; but when the people decide that the truth is being told about the alcoholic liquor trade, the money value will not count, for conscience aroused puts the value of man above all things.

Mr. Speaker, this terrible indictment against the liquor traffic is not the statement of the temperance orator, but the words of the editor of the National Liquor Dealers' Journal.

THE SALOON IS THE BREEDING PLACE FOR PROSTITUTION AND CRIME.

That the saloon is largely responsible for immorality and prostitution was demonstrated by the report of the Chicago vice commission on the social evil in Chicago. On page 34 of the report the commission has the following to say about prostitution and the saloon:

The commission has found in its investigation that the most dangerous immoral influence and the most important financial influence, outside of the business of prostitution as carried on in houses, is the disorderly saloon. The proprietors of these places are using prostitutes as an adjunct to the sale of beer and liquor, and are allowing them to openly solicit for immoral purposes in their rear rooms. This is done in spite of the constant statement of the brewers and liquor dealers that they are against the use of prostitutes in saloons which they supply.

During the period of its investigation the commission has secured definite information regarding 445 saloons in different parts of the city. The investigators have counted 929 unescorted women in these saloons, who by their actions and conversation were believed to be prostitutes. In fact, they were solicited by more than 236 women in 236 different saloons, all of whom, with the exception of 98, solicited for rooms, "hotels," and houses of prostitution over the saloons.

Another feature of the saloon which is pernicious is the vaudeville shows of lewd nature conducted in the rear rooms. This is so widespread in the saloons mentioned in the class above that the public and police seem to have taken the attitude that because it exists it should be allowed to continue. Many young men, to say nothing of women, have been lured by the entertainment provided in these resorts to acts which they never contemplated when they entered the saloon for drinks only. Could the general public know the extent of the saloon's degrading influence in so many instances it would insistently demand an immediate and permanent change in the situation.

Throughout its report the commission cites instance after instance showing how the use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage and immorality are closely associated.

The Chicago vice commission must be regarded as a fair and unbiased authority. It was appointed by the mayor and city council of Chicago to investigate immorality in that city, and was composed of a representative group of business and professional men of all religious beliefs, headed by Dean Walter T. Sumner.

Dr. E. O. Taylor, of Boston, in his message of science to legislatures, says:

The principal agency by which 300,000 girls are led astray every year in this country is liquor. * * * And this statement is confirmed by the report of the legislative antivice committee of Wisconsin, which was filed with the secretary of state December 5, 1914. This report says: "The greatest cause for commercialized vice is the use of intoxicating liquor."

Mr. Speaker, what a revelation this is. That we, the people of the United States, living in a so-called Christian, civilized country should permit such an institution as the saloon, which lures 300,000 of our young girls along the downward path of prostitution every year.

THE SALOON AS A CRIME BREEDER.

Mr. Speaker, that the saloon has no rival as a crime breeder no one will deny. The chaplains of penitentiaries of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois give the following figures showing the percentage of inmates who owe their imprisonment wholly or in part to liquor:

	Per cent.
Ohio Penitentiary	80
Indiana Penitentiary	83
Illinois Penitentiary	90

Mr. Speaker, it is not necessary for me to say any more with regard to the relation of the saloon and crime, but at this time I ask permission to insert as part of my remarks a letter relating to this subject which I received some time ago from a very distinguished Member of this body:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF UNITED STATES,
COMMITTEE ON PATENTS,
Washington, D. C., December 11, 1916.

Hon. JOHN G. COOPER,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I am writing this letter at your request, stating to you the effect of intoxicating liquor as a producer of crime in so far as it has come within my personal observation.

It was my privilege to serve in the courts of the State of Mississippi during a period of about seven years in the several capacities of county attorney, district attorney, and circuit judge. The county attorney is a county prosecuting officer and assistant to the district attorney in the circuit court, the district attorney is a district prosecuting officer trying all misdemeanors and felonies in the circuit court, which has jurisdiction of all civil cases brought at law in contradistinction to equity and also plenary jurisdiction of all misdemeanors and felonies.

It will thus be seen that my opportunities for observation were excellent.

During my service I busied myself in the effort to learn the causes of crime in my district, which I believe to be typical of the State at large. I carefully prepared my cases, as was necessary, and learned the history of the cases as thoroughly as possible.

I found that from 85 to 95 per cent of all crimes committed in my district from murder through the entire category of crime was directly due to whisky or kindred beverages.

In one county, the most populous of the district, I tried from 10 to 20 men for murder each year, and almost without exception I found that whisky was the cause of the homicide. In short, in one county alone, we had each year from 10 to 20 dead men, from 10 to 20 men sent to the penitentiary for life or hanged, from 10 to 20 widows, and from 10 to 20 or 30 or 40, as the case might be, orphans or half orphans thrown more or less upon the mercies of a rather thoughtless world, and all of this with its attendant sorrow, suffering, and heartbreak, with other attendant evils was due to intoxicating liquor. This in respect to murder in one county alone. In addition, there were the rapes, embezzlements, highway robberies, larcenies, assaults and batteries with intent to kill, potential murders, etc.

Whisky is the greatest crime producer, in my opinion.

If we could get rid of whisky in Mississippi we would rid ourselves of from 85 to 95 per cent of our criminal-expense account, of our criminal population, of our inmates of penal institutions, and of the suffering and sorrow that crime brings not alone to the criminal but also to the innocent.

Mississippi is a prohibition State, but I am thoroughly convinced that we can not be dry until our neighboring States also prohibit the sale of liquor.

If you think that this letter can be of use to you in the great and worthy work that you are doing for prohibition, you are at liberty to use it whenever or wherever you like.

Sincerely, yours,
WEBB VENABLE.

ECONOMIC BENEFITS OF PROHIBITION.

Mr. Speaker, the supporters of the liquor traffic are working overtime in trying to leave the impression in the minds of the voters that prohibition is a deplorable thing for any community to adopt. They are forever making the assertion that wherever prohibition has been adopted the result has been a general business depression in all lines of commercial activity; that prohibition has the result of throwing thousands of people out of

work, and that there would be hundreds of vacant store buildings in our large cities, and that there would be more liquor sold and drunk, there would be more crimes committed, and more arrests for drunkenness under prohibition than under license.

Now, no one can blame the liquor people for making these assertions, for to-day they are fighting for the very existence of their business; but let us be fair and examine the facts. Let us call in the witness and examine the testimony. The defendant in this case is prohibition and the prosecutor is the liquor traffic.

The supporters of the liquor traffic, and most of the witnesses on this side are people who are financially interested in the business, say that prohibition tends to retard the development of the community from the social, moral, industrial, and business standpoint.

A good indication as to what prohibition will do is what it has done in the cities, counties, and States where it has been tried. So in order to be fair and give prohibition an impartial trial we should listen to the testimony of the people who live in districts where prohibition of the liquor traffic has been in force, and not listen to the testimony of paid hirelings of the liquor interests, some of whom have never been within thousands of miles of the prohibition territory that they are so eager to condemn.

SOME WET EVIDENCE.

A few days ago I read an article in one of the Washington daily papers which was given to the press by a Col. J. A. Ownbey, in which he states:

Prohibition has been in force just about a year in Colorado. Denver, the metropolis of the State, has suffered perhaps more than any other city. This year, I believe, is the first year in the history of the city that the population has failed to show an increase; instead the number of inhabitants has decreased 15,000 to 20,000.

The value of property has depreciated to a great extent, wages have been reduced, and it is next to impossible to sell real estate. The big hotels that once did a record business now are barely able to pay expenses. Moreover, prohibition has driven fully 80 per cent of the coal miners out of the State. Mine owners have the greatest difficulty getting men to work. Prohibition might be all right in theory, but not in practice, and while the State of Colorado is dry, it is easy for those who want it to get their liquor by sending across the State line into Wyoming or New Mexico. Cheyenne, Wyo., and Raton, N. Mex., are doing a big business in the sale of liquors, one firm in Cheyenne having receipts of $1,500 a day for liquor that goes into Colorado.

You will notice in one place of Mr. Ownbey's statement he says that prohibition has driven thousands of workmen out of Colorado because they could not get their liquor, and then a little later on he makes the statement that anyone who wants liquor in Colorado can get it without any trouble.

EVIDENCE IN REBUTTAL.

But, Mr. Speaker, let us call in citizens of Colorado and Denver of recognized position and credability and hear what they have to say. It is a pretty good idea if you want to find out what are the popular issues that take well with the people of the States to watch the platforms of the political parties. The party leaders always try and insert in their State platforms the issues which are most popular with the people. In 1916 for the first time in the history of Colorado the Democratic and Republican Party platforms indorsed prohibition. Why? Because they knew that the people of Colorado were overwhelmingly in favor of prohibition in their State.

My friends, let us get to the truth about this matter, and let the people of Colorado and Denver speak for themselves. Their opinion is reflected in the votes on prohibition since the year 1910, at which time the city of Denver voted wet by 17,000, in 1912 by 22,000, in 1914 by 8,500, in 1915 for a so-called home-rule amendment by 3,500. When the State of Colorado voted on State-wide prohibition in 1914, although the State as a whole went dry, the city of Denver voted wet by 8,000 majority, and on January 1, 1916, the State prohibition law went into effect, thereby closing the saloons and liquor stores in Denver. In November, 1916, at the general election the liquor people tried to repeal the State-wide prohibition law by submitting to the voters an initiative petition for an amendment to the State constitution declaring beer not to be an intoxicant. Now, please bear in mind that Denver voted 8,000 wet in the State-wide fight, but after the people of this city had lived under prohibition for nine months they went to the polls in 1916 and voted dry by a majority of 10,960. In the same election the majority for prohibition in the State of Colorado was 85,000. Yes, my friends, the people of Colorado and Denver spoke for themselves with regard to what their sentiments were toward prohibition, and yet in face of these facts we still hear the thundering voice of the chief exhorter of the liquor interests who lives down in Cincinnati, 3,000 miles away from Denver, proclaiming with a loud voice that prohibition has been a deplorable thing for Denver. On December 12, 1916, one of the daily papers of Denver had this to say about prohibition after it had made a very careful investigation of conditions in that city during the first 10 months without saloons:

Taxes have decreased.
Finances of municipality never were so good.
Business is better than it has ever been.
Every man who wants work can get it.
There are fewer vacant houses and stores than ever before.
Building permits, especially for the last six months, show a decided gain, particularly in the matter of small homes.
Collections are 40 per cent better.
Savings accounts in Denver have broken all records.
Hotels whose proprietors predicted they would be driven out of business within three months are planning extensions, and two new million-dollar hotels are assured within a year.
Divorce suits filed show a decrease of 40 per cent.
Arrests for all causes have decreased 31 per cent.
Arrests for drunkenness have decreased 59 per cent.
Arrests for vagrancy have decreased 55 per cent.
The cost of maintaining the city jail has decreased 28 per cent.
The cost of maintaining the county jail has fallen 27 per cent.
The number of murders, suicides, and burglaries has fallen off at an astonishing rate.
There has only been two murders in Denver in 1916. One of these was so clearly a case of self-defense against a demented man that the jury reached a verdict of not guilty in less than 20 minutes. The other case has not come to trial. At least a half a dozen murders a year formerly was Denver's average.
Police Chief Hamilton Armstrong says crime is decreasing at a phenomenal rate. He attributes this to prohibition.
District Attorney John A. Bush stated in open court recently that the work of his office has decreased 50 per cent since the city went dry.
Every newspaper in Denver has cut its staff of police reporters from one-half to two-thirds.
The State penitentiary has one-fourth fewer prisoners than formerly, and about February 1 will close one whole wing of its chain of buildings.
Just before Denver went dry saloon interests predicted that property occupied by saloons would remain vacant, as the locations were fit for nothing but saloons; that saloon men, brewery workers, and others dependent upon the liquor trade would move away from Colorado, causing houses to become empty and real estate values to depreciate; that ice plants, which were supposed to rely upon the saloons as their best customers, would reduce their output at least 50 per cent; that merchants in every line would encounter the worst times in the history of the city; that taxes would be heavily increased to make up the loss of $341,000 annually paid by saloon licenses.
Then follows this statement: The best of saloon locations were rented before the bars moved out. Proprietors of other businesses had their fixtures built in advance; saloons closed and moved out on Saturday night; new concerns installed fixtures and stock on Sunday and opened for business Monday.
Merchants in all lines are commenting on the increased business during 1916. Their customers pay their bills promptly, they say. Nearly every merchant tells of accounts owing so long he had written them off the books. Since the saloons closed the men who owed these bills have drifted unsolicited into the stores and commenced to pay up on the installment plan.

MR. WAYNE C. WILLIAMS TESTIFIES.

Mr. Speaker, on December 21 I wrote to Mr. Wayne C. Williams, of Denver, Colo., who is a member of the Industrial Commission of Colorado, and requested him to give to me in writing his views as to what the effect of prohibition had been to the people of that State, and I desire to have printed in the RECORD his answer to my request.

THE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION OF COLORADO,
Denver, December 28, 1916.

Hon. JOHN G. COOPER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. COOPER: It is a pleasure to comply with your request for information about the results of prohibition in Colorado. The Nation has been lied to so flagrantly and persistently on this matter that I welcome a chance to state the truth through such an influential channel as you offer.

Summing up in one sentence, the plain truth is that the success of prohibition in Colorado exceeds the fondest predictions and expectations of its most ardent supporters.

In the early days when we were fighting for prohibition in this State and the saloon was enthroned in power everywhere, the favorite arguments of the "wets" were these:

1. That prohibition would result in a general business depression in all lines.

2. That specifically it would result in throwing thousands of people out of work and leaving hundreds of our store buildings empty and in practically stopping the tourist travel to Colorado.

3. That the drinking of liquor bore no relation to crime, and that there would be more crime and more arrests for crime under prohibition than under the saloon.

These were the arguments which defeated us in the early fights. Without a single exception, they have been utterly shattered by the results under prohibition. There is not a prominent public official or business man in the State of Colorado who will not now admit this.

Taking up these arguments in turn, and the results which have furnished the answer to them, we will look first at the business side of the matter.

Instead of a general business depression in Colorado since prohibition went into effect, we have enjoyed the greatest prosperity the city and State has ever known. This is verified by the weekly reports of Dun and Bradstreet in every line of business, by the bank clearings of Denver, which have practically doubled, and by the unprecedented industrial activities throughout the State. As a member of the industrial commission, I am in the closest touch with all branches of industry, and can state reliably that the wage increases under prohibition have never been equaled in the history of our State, and that these increases amount to millions of dollars. The beneficial effects of prohibition to laboring men are so conspicuous that it is a matter of general comment throughout the State.

Instead of empty stores in Denver, we had our store buildings filled up so rapidly that we now have fewer vacant buildings than ever before, and never have we had so few men out of employment as now.

Instead of prohibition resulting in the tourists refusing to come to Colorado, our tourist travel to Colorado last year was double that of any previous year in the history of the State. The argument which the "wets" made, to the effect that no tourist would drive an automobile up a mountain highway unless he was tanked up with intoxicating liquors, is about the silliest piece of moonshine ever invented, and it has been blasted by the facts. The other false assumption of the "wets" was that if a man could not spend a dollar in a saloon he would never spend that dollar anywhere else.

On the question of crime the success of prohibition is possibly even more satisfying than any other phase of the policy. The arrests in Denver alone have decreased nearly one-half during the past year.

Every assertion that I make above is based upon absolute facts. I am sending you data covering the question of arrests and business conditions to verify the statements I make.

To my mind the two most striking facts which show the success of prohibition are:

1. The fact that this year all political parties in Colorado declared for prohibition without reservation or qualification. I know of no group or bodies of persons that can so quickly and unerringly detect the failure or success of a policy as that group of persons who control a political party.

2. The remarkable vote which Colorado has given against the liquor traffic. I submit a table showing the successive votes on the question of prohibition in Denver and Colorado and the progressive trend of this vote toward prohibition, culminating, as it does, in the overwhelming majority of this year against the beer amendment, presents to my mind an unanswerable argument. When the people voted on the beer amendment in Colorado this year it must be remembered that they were not voting for the return of the open saloon. If that had been the issue the majority against the saloon would have been far greater; but the liquor interests knew that they did not dare to present a proposition for the return of the saloon, so they offered a much milder proposition, and the 85,000 majority against it speaks in trumpet tones for the success of prohibition in Denver and Colorado. The table is as follows:

VOTES IN DENVER.

1910 Denver voted wet by 17,000.
1912 Denver voted wet by 22,000.
1914 Denver voted wet by 8,500.
1915 (home-rule amendment) Denver voted wet by 3,500.
1916 Denver voted dry by 10,960.

VOTES IN COLORADO.

1912 Colorado voted wet by 40,000.
1914 Colorado voted dry by 11,500.
1916 Colorado voted dry by 85,789.

The figures in some cases are exact and in others approximate, but they are so nearly exact that the table may be given as an approximate one, substantially showing the change in sentiment.

Very truly, yours,

WAYNE C. WILLIAMS.

THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC AND LABOR.

Mr. Speaker, now just a word in regard to the liquor traffic and organized labor. There is at this time an effort to leave the impression that the labor unions of our country are opposed to prohibition of the liquor traffic, and the Members of this Congress are being flooded with numerous memorials from certain labor organizations protesting against the passage of prohibition laws.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I deny the statement that the laboring people and the thousands of members of organized labor are in sympathy with the un-American licensed liquor traffic and that the "beer keg and whisky bottle shall become their emblem." It is true that certain labor organizations are opposed to the prohibition of the liquor traffic. But these organizations represent various crafts that are engaged in the manufacture, sale, and distribution of alcoholic liquors. I hold no brief against these men and I have no quarrel with them, and I assure you I would do them a good turn if it lay in my power so to do. But this fact remains, that they are engaged in the manufacture, production, and distribution of that which is the greatest enemy of the workingman to-day. There are many labor organizations in our country that are not opposing prohibition of the liquor traffic, and some of them have gone on record as opposed to the open saloon.

I feel proud of the fact that my name is recorded upon the rolls of one of our great labor organizations, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, which has declared in favor of prohibition of the liquor traffic. At the biennial convention of this organization held in Cleveland in June, 1915, a resolution was introduced and passed unanimously placing this order on record as being in favor of State and National prohibition, and I desire to insert as part of my remarks a statement made some time ago by Warren S. Stone, grand chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, concerning the stand that this organization takes upon this question:

WHY HE FIGHTS LIQUOR—GRAND CHIEF OF BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS SPEAKS.

CLEVELAND, OHIO.

In a letter recently made public, Mr. W. S. Stone, of this city, grand chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, has this to say concerning the position of his organization on the liquor question:

"We fight the liquor evil perhaps as hard as any of the churches. Liquor has no place in our modern railroading. I never expect to be manager of a railroad, but, if I were, a man could not work for me who did take a drink of liquor either on or off duty. I would not make a difference between the two, because a man who will drink off duty is not fit to go on duty when the time comes. I fail to understand why our men do not come out in the open in certain localities and fight this enemy. It tends to destroy the home life, to lower the tone of the citizenship of the community and the morals of the individual as well, to say nothing of his mental and physical health.

On December 21, 1916, I wrote the following letter to—

W. C. Thornton, president of the Denver Trades and Labor Assembly, Denver, Colo.

Chester J. Common, president of the Denver Building Trades Council, Denver, Colo.

Clint C. Houston, editor Denver Labor Bulletin, Denver, Colo. The Bulletin is the official organ of the Colorado State Federation of Labor.

Otto F. Thum, former city clerk, Denver, Colo.

DEAR SIR: I am taking the liberty of writing to you for some information which I would like to secure. At the present time I am a Member of the United States Congress, having been reelected last November to my second term. For 20 years before I began my services in Congress I was employed as a locomotive fireman and engineer. I am a member in good standing in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. I am also a member of the Committee on Labor of the House of Representatives.

For these reasons I am intensely interested in anything that affects the welfare of the working classes.

The information I desire to obtain is this: Will you please state to me in a letter your opinion as to prohibition of the traffic in intoxicating liquors in Colorado and what effect it has had on the working people of your city and State?

Very truly, yours,

JOHN G. COOPER.

Mr. Speaker, I desire to place in the RECORD the answers which I received from these various leaders of organized labor in reply to the inquiries which I made of them:

CLINT C. HOUSTON, EDITOR THE DENVER LABOR BULLETIN.

DENVER, COLO., *December 26, 1916.*

Hon. JOHN G. COOPER,
House of Representatives Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. COOPER: Replying to your letter of the 21st instant, inviting my opinion as to the effect of prohibition in Colorado upon the working people of this city and State, I am pleased to give you the substance of a letter written by me some three months ago, which was used in the antisaloon crusades successfully conducted in Nebraska and Michigan. This letter was written to a Mr. John Josselyn, of Gothemburg, Nebr., from which I quote as follows:

"You ask about the effect of prohibition in Colorado so far as it affects the working people. The law in nine months has worked a wonderful revolution for good, and at least 75 per cent of the union voters who were against the amendment would support it now. The wage earners have ceased to spend their money for booze and are buying bread and clothing for their families. I would say, on the whole, the condition of Colorado working people is at least 50 per cent better as a result of State-wide prohibition and the city of Denver is a great deal more prosperous. All the storerooms vacated by saloons are now occupied by legitimate enterprises, and the citizens only wonder why they tolerated the booze joints as long as they did. The increase in savings deposits has been remarkable, and the merchants report collections from 40 to 60 per cent better.

"It was claimed by the liquor interests that prohibition in Colorado would ruin the summer-tourist business in Colorado. As a matter of fact, statistics of the Denver tourist bureau show that during the past summer the number of tourists visiting and remaining one week and longer in this State was almost double that of any previous year. It was further shown that at least 75 per cent more money was spent in the State by tourists than during any season on record. This notwithstanding the absence of saloons and the "dryness" of hotels. Plans are now under way for the erection of several additional large tourist hotels in this State.

"Take the Bulletin as a concrete illustration. It was prophesied by our 'wet' friends that a labor paper couldn't exist in a dry town. We lost about $50 a month in liquor advertising and some 350 bartender and brewery-worker subscribers. To-day we are doing four times the advertising business and have five times the number of subscribers as when Denver had 350 saloons and 5 breweries in operation. Besides, the subscribers and advertisers pay their bills much more promptly and we don't have to degrade ourselves by 'settin' 'em up' to a lot of barroom flies when we collect a bill.

"One of the notable improvements is the decrease in crime of every grade. There hasn't been a murder in Denver since the saloons were driven out, whereas hitherto the record was from one to five a month. The city has been ridden of bums, pickpockets, and badger gangsters; in fact, it is much more of a privilege than ever to live in Colorado, and other States will find the same cause for congratulation when they drive the saloons and breweries from their border. And I used to be a pretty good patron of the liquor business myself."

During the past year, the first of State-wide prohibition in Colorado, the wage earners have been especially prosperous. Merchants in Denver report new high records for sales. The week preceding Christmas the banks of Denver paid out over half a million dollars to members of Christmas savings clubs, practically all of which had been deposited by wage earners. It is needless to say that this large sum was in a great measure accumulated by reason of saloons being abolished on January 1, 1916.

It is my opinion that abolishment of saloons in America would do as much to advance the wage earner as has organized labor. At the recent November election there was on the ballot in this State a proposition known as the "beer amendment," which would permit the manufacture and sale of beer in this State. It was defeated by a majority of 85,789. I would say that fully 80 per cent of the organized-labor vote in Colorado went against this "beer amendment," and among the 50,000 members of trade and railway labor organizations in this State it would now be a rare exception to find one who would declare himself or herself in favor of rehabilitation of the saloon.

Trusting this information will serve the purpose requested in your letter, I am,

Fraternally, yours,

CLINT C. HOUSTON, *Editor.*

OTTO F. THUM, ONE OF THE PROMINENT LABOR LEADERS AND UNION ORGANIZER IN DENVER FOR YEARS.

THE UNION PRINTING & PUBLISHING CO.,
Denver, Colo., December 28, 1916.

Hon. JOHN G. COOPER, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have your letter of the 21st. You ask for information as to my opinion of prohibition in Colorado, and (2) what effect it has on the working people of the State and of the city (of Denver).

(1) My personal opinion is likely to be prejudiced and warped by my own inclination. I have been a lifelong teetotaler, and have for many years been opposed to the open saloon and opposed to the traffic in liquors of all kinds. When a member of the city council three years ago in Denver I voted against an ordinance to license saloons, largely because I am opposed to the Government deriving taxes from such sources. But temperance man that I am, I must say that the benefits that we have derived since we abolished the saloon are vastly greater than I had any reason to hope for. I am not alone in this. It is a conclusion that you hear on all sides, reached by men in every walk of life—professional, business, and labor.

(2) In reciting the effect the new law has on the working people of the State I can truthfully begin by saying that the things that the liquor interests (and with them the banking and business interests) said would happen to labor and to business never happened at all. They said thousands of laboring men would be thrown out of employment if the saloons were closed. They said the brewery workers' unions would be destroyed, that the plumbers would find less work, that the cooks and waiters would walk the streets, that the musicians would find no jobs, that the barber chairs would be empty, and, lastly, that the rooms occupied by saloons would remain empty (till the crack of doom and 40 days more).

Our law closing the saloons went into effect just one year ago, and we can come to a pretty fair conclusion as to what actually did happen. In the first place, thousands of workers were not thrown out of jobs. In fact, there wasn't even a ripple of that kind. The brewery workers have lost one branch (the brewers). There are no brewers employed in Colorado, and those either found other employment or else went to other States to work at their trades. But the drivers, the stablemen, the bottlers, and the engineers, all connected with the Brewers and Malsters' International, find just as much work in their own line as before. The bottlers work on soft drinks and the drivers deliver the goods as before. The engineers are all employed. So we find no unusual conditions here. The plumbers and pipe men have more members and more men at work than ever before, and the cooks and waiters are so astonished at what has happened that they are all prohibitionists now. When the saloons were closed, patrons immediately began to eat in a natural way, and the culinary trades have benefited probably more than any others. The musicians were wont to play engagements in saloons, now nearly twice as many of them are engaged in the moving-picture houses. (You can readily see that there has been a shift of employment in the amusement fields. We now have a strong moving-picture operators' union, which was not possible before because not so many persons patronized the movies.) And the barbers—they are all tickled at the increased trade. Really, you have no idea, till you experience the results, how much money was released to go into the legitimate channels of trade as soon as the saloon keeper got off the workingman's back. Milk dealers and grocery stores are the most benefited by this result.

We had about 600 saloons in Denver a year ago, and when they closed many of the rooms were empty. Some were kept open as soft-drink parlors, but most of them were rented at once by other and entirely different classes of business, in many cases at a somewhat smaller monthly rental, but the absence of the saloon made it possible to rent other rooms in the same block for more money. This is so palpable that it is a wonder the owners never saw it before. Many of the rooms occupied by saloons are yet empty, and will likely remain empty for a long time, as they are mere hovels and not fit for anything but saloon bums, of which we have no more.

Some workers have left Colorado on account of prohibition—they personally detest the idea of prohibition and would not stay in "gay Paree" under that rule. But Denver has grown during the year both in population and materially. So I should say without hesitation that a dry Denver has been of vast benefit to the city; that a dry Colorado has been of vast benefit to the State.

Yours, fraternally,

OTTO F. THUM.

CHESTER J. COMMON, PRESIDENT DENVER BUILDING TRADES' COUNCIL.

LOCAL UNION, NO. —,
Denver, Colo., December 27, 1916.

Mr. JOHN G. COOPER, *Congressman,*
House of Representatives United States, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of recent date asking my opinion on prohibition in Colorado received, and I am glad to give you any information I can on this subject, and you are at liberty to use it any way that will help prohibition.

Having been a drinking man myself for many years, I, like a great amount of people, was against prohibition, thinking it would be harmful in a general way. However, after the first three months I began to see the benefits it was bringing to the men of labor, their wives, children, and dependents. More efficiency in the men and far more happiness and contentment for everyone. And now, after 12 months, I am absolutely of the opinion that prohibition is the proper thing, and has come to Colorado to stay.

Hoping this is a satisfactory reply to your question, and wishing you and your colleagues on the Labor Committee every success, I am,

Fraternally, yours,

CHESTER J. COMMON,
1340 South Downing Street, Denver, Colo.

W. C. THORNTON, PRESIDENT TRADES AND LABOR ASSEMBLY, DENVER, COLO.

DENVER, COLO., *December 27, 1916.*

Mr. JOHN G. COOPER, M. C.,
House of Representatives, United States of America.

MY DEAR MR. COOPER: Yours of recent date, in re my opinion on prohibition in Colorado, to hand.

I might state primarily that I voted against prohibition. In my humble opinion the workers of Denver and Colorado are a lot better off mentally, morally, financially, and physically than they were when the State was "wet." True, it hurt the trades which depended on the liquor traffic to keep them going, but it can be safely said that business this year is 50 per cent better than it was last year, and as a consequence those who were employed in the liquor traffic here gradually became engaged in other more legitimate lines of endeavor. You can not gather together in this city a good-sized "company" who would proclaim openly for the return of the saloon. It is gone forever in Colorado, and for my part I say, "Good riddance." We are all better off without it, as I stated before, for it never did anybody any good.

Please give my regards to Mr. BEN HILLIARD, if possible. Also to your colleague on the Labor Committee, Mr. JOHN I. NOLAN, of San Francisco, Cal. Tell him I went to school with his wife.

In conclusion, as the fellow said, "I don't know which gang yer wid," but you asked for my opinion and I have given it to you, and anything further I can do for you, Mr. COOPER, I am yours to command.

WILLIAM C. THORNTON,
1766 Lafayette Street.

Mr. Speaker, these letters come from prominent members, leaders, and organizers of labor unions in one of the great States and large cities of the Nation which have experienced the benefits of prohibition. They do not express theories or sentiment, but come as testimony of the actual results of abolishing the liquor traffic in a big center of population, especially upon the welfare of the working men and women.

SYMPATHIZES WITH WORKERS.

Ever since I was a small lad it has fallen my lot to associate with the working people of this country, and I have a warm feeling of brotherly love for all of those that toil. I have no authority to speak for organized labor, but as a member of one of the great labor organizations and as a citizen who has the interests of the working people at heart, I feel that I can render no greater service to my fellow men than to work and vote for an amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for national prohibition of the liquor traffic.

Mr. Speaker, I do not stand on the floor of this House and advocate the adoption of national prohibition because I live in a district that is without saloons. There are saloons in every one of the three counties which comprise the nineteenth Ohio congressional district which I have the honor to represent. There are over 200 saloons in the city in which I live, and many more scattered throughout the three counties. But, Mr. Speaker, I am for prohibition because I believe it will be the greatest step toward the conservation of our people that we have ever taken. I am for it from the standpoint of the preservation of the American home, and, after all, the home is the foundation of all government. I am for it because all over this land of ours to-day there are tens of thousands of mothers down on their knees pleading with the Members of Congress for prohibition legislation in order that our country may be made a better, cleaner, and purer place in which to rear their sons and daughters. I say it is to the everlasting shame of the manhood of our country that God-fearing Christian wives and mothers must go down on their knees and beg of big, strong men to stand for decency, morality, and good government. Mr. Speaker, I have always regarded the liquor question as a moral issue, but at this time I have a firm conviction that the hour is here when the great political parties can not afford to ignore this question any longer. It is sweeping the country by leaps and bounds. As I have stated previously, over half the States of our Union have adopted prohibition, 85 per cent of our country is dry area and 65 per cent of our people live in dry territory. Yes; the time has come when the Republican and Democratic Parties must stand on one side or the other of this great question.

I am glad that my name is recorded as a member of the Republican Party. During the last 60 years, under the leadership of Lincoln, Grant, Garfield, and McKinley, our country has made wonderful progress, and I want to see my party keep up the good work along the lines that it has done in the past. The Republican Party has always stood for the higher, better, and nobler elements in national life; and at this time I want to express my honest conviction to the Republicans of this House and say that I know of no greater service you could render to your God, your country, and its people than to support the resolution to submit to the States an amendment to the Federal Constitution to prohibit the sale and manufacture of intoxicating liquors.

Mr. Speaker, at present there are two measures pending before this Congress with regard to this question. One of them is for prohibition in the District of Columbia and the other is to submit a constitutional amendment for national prohibition. What action Congress may take at this session upon these measures it is impossible to say at this time. Regardless of such action, the fight will go on, and when we are asked how much longer will this fight continue, our answer is we will fight on and on and on and on until we see the dawning of a brighter day when the black shadow of alcohol shall have passed away from over this fair land of ours, and in its place will appear the shining light of sobriety, purity, and righteousness.

Patriotism of the Alien Born—Hibernians Ready to Defend Nation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. MORIN,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Friday, February 9, 1917.

Mr. MORIN. Mr. Speaker, at a time when the shrill alarm of war is in our ears, when hearts are beating in anxiety, when foreboding is casting a dark shadow across our fair land, when fear in its varying form is being expressed and manifested, it is consoling and inspiring to feel that there is a large percentage of foreign born who regard their American citizenship as priceless. Those who, although they can not say, in the words of Scott, "This is my own, my native land," can by their acts prove that patriotism and loyalty for their adopted country is the motive power of every deed. This fact was impressed on my mind by an editorial which appeared in the National Hibernian, organ of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, published in Philadelphia.

The dark visage of war was but seen when Joseph McLaughlin, president of the organization and Congressman at Large elect of Pennsylvania, sent a message to the President pledging the support of all Hibernians in any conflict that might occur between the United States and any nation of the world. In this editorial he said:

Hibernianism, representing through its organization the millions of the Irish race in America, stands to-day, as it has ever stood, unquestioned in its loyalty and foremost in its devotion to the great Republic. In peace our citizenship is notable for its energetic activity in all the areas of social, industrial, and political organization. In war the genius and courage of the Irish soldier have covered the Irish names with immortal luster on every field since the Star-Spangled Banner was first raised by Barry on the sea and since Montgomery fell under its folds on the land.

In this crisis our people will exhibit the ancient character, for we are still "the fighting race." Our proudest memories are of war, and the shrill sound of the pipes on the hills of Ireland never gathered the clans with fiercer enthusiasm than have the drum and fife marshaled the exiles of Erin for the defense of the land which gave them shelter and for whose honor and safety they have ever been eager to die.

The Ancient Order of Hibernians—the whole race in America—stands behind the President and the Government. We are not Democrats, not Republicans, not "hyphenated" by any alien sympathy or chilled by any prejudice. We are Americans, ready to do the full duty and pay the full price of citizenship in the land we helped to create and have ever been eager to defend.

To read of the past is an inspiration in an hour of crisis, for the past is blazoned with Irish-American names which illuminate our annals like splendid stars. When the membership of the Ancient Order of Hibernians rushed to the defense of the Union our order was destroyed, but we gave the names of Meagher, Corcoran, Sweeney, and myriads of lesser names to save the imperiled Nation. Even in the silence of peace the names of Moylan and Wayne speak from the Revolution, of Shields and Kearney from the march into Mexico, and McClellan and Sheridan from the great campaigns that ring their names like a halo.

Yet memories are apt to be dimmed by peace, for the voice of the Irish speaks most loudly and loyally from the mouths of cannon. Let our words of loyalty be uttered now for America, and let our order, which has given all it had to give in other days, once again exhibit the decisive quality of its patriotism.

The United States is frequently called the great melting pot of the world. Into this racial crucible has been poured the people from many lands. From this blending emerged a type whose proudest boast is that they love the land of their adoption and are Americans. Especially is this true of that sterling element of citizenship which hails from the Emerald Isle—a land famed alike by song and verse; a land of high ideals; a land where the one and great desire of its people is for liberty, a principle which is sacred and eternal. And while they glory in American fealty, it is not because they love Ireland less, but because they love America more and the liberty which it insures. America has welcomed them, appreciating fully their true worth. In the fires of persecution the gold of their character has been refined and purified. They are a race ever ready to forgive, but quick to oppose injustice and tyranny. Faithful, even unto death, in their fealty to a cause or in their fidelity to a friend, this happy, buoyant, witty, loyal, patriotic, and God-fearing race is a part of our country's great wealth—not the wealth that men call gold, but the wealth of sterling merit backed by worthy deeds. And should there ever come a times of stress or need to this the country of their adoption there will be no sacrifice too great for the liberty-loving sons of Erin to make.

To-day men are asking each other in tones of concern just what the times portend. We are facing problems which are going to have a far-reaching and potent effect on the future, not only for our own country, but for the world at large. If these problems are solved in a manner that will bring us prestige, peace, and abiding honor, the solution must of necessity be in accordance with those principles for which all Americans stand, which are inherent in the virtues of liberty, equity, and justice, founded on the corner stone of eternal right. These principles can never be obliterated; they will everlastingly endure; and while at times they may appear to be overshadowed, yet they can never be overthrown. These are the principles which form the basic fabric of Irish character and find expression in a willingness to toil, sacrifice, and, if need be, die for their preservation.

Bridge Across Both Arms of Fox River.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE EDMUND FOSS,
OF ILLINOIS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Thursday, February 8, 1917.

Mr. FOSS. Mr. Speaker, on April 8, 1916, I introduced a bill for the construction of a bridge across both arms of Fox River at the point or near the intersection of the Pistakee and Nippersink Lakes. The bill is as follows:

A bill granting the consent of Congress to the village of Fox Lake, in the county of Lake, State of Illinois, to construct a bridge across both arms of the Fox River which passes through Pistakee Lake and Nippersink Lake, a point suitable to the interests of navigation, at or near their point of intersection, in the county of Lake, State of Illinois.

Be it enacted, etc., That the consent of Congress is hereby granted to the village of Fox Lake, in the county of Lake, State of Illinois, and its successors and assigns, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across both arms of the Fox River which passes through Pistakee Lake and Nippersink Lake, a point suitable to the interests of navigation, at or near their point of intersection in the county of Lake, in the State of Illinois, in accordance with the provisions of the act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of bridges over navigable waters," approved March 23, 1906.

SEC. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

On the introduction of said bill I was requested by the officials of the village of Fox Lake not to press the matter, for reasons which seemed best to them, but later, on January 18, I received a letter from the village clerk, in which they requested action, and at once I took the matter up with the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. On the 6th day of February Mr. STERLING, from the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, submitted the following report:

The Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 14074) granting the consent of Congress to the village of Fox Lake, in the county of Lake, State of Illinois, to construct a bridge across both arms of the Fox River which passes through Pistakee Lake and Nippersink Lake, a point suitable to the interests of navigation, at or near their point of intersection, in the county of Lake, State of Illinois, having considered the same, report thereon with amendment, and as so amended recommend that it pass.

The bill as amended has the approval of the War Department, as will appear by the letter attached and which is made a part of this report.

Amend the bill as follows:

Page 1, line 7, strike out the words "which passes through," and insert in lieu thereof the words "where it connects."

Page 1, line 8, after the word "Lake," insert the word "at."

Page 1, lines 8 and 9, strike out the words "at or near their point of intersection."

At the end of section 1 insert the following:

"SEC. 2. That the act approved October 22, 1914, entitled 'An act to authorize Frank H. Gardiner to construct a bridge across the waters of Pistakee Lake and Nippersink Lake at or near their point of intersection,' is hereby repealed."

Renumber section 2 to be section 3.

Amend the title to read as follows: "Granting the consent of Congress to the village of Fox Lake, in the county of Lake, State of Illinois, to construct a bridge across both arms of the Fox River where it connects Pistakee Lake and Nippersink Lake at a point suitable to the interests of navigation, in the county of Lake, State of Illinois."

[Second indorsement.]

WAR DEPARTMENT, *April 18, 1916.*

Respectfully returned to the chairman Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, House of Representatives.

The object of the accompanying bill, H. R. 14074, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session, is to grant the consent of Congress to the village of Fox Lake, in the county of Lake, State of Illinois, to construct a bridge across both arms of the Fox River where it connects Pistakee Lake and Nippersink Lake at a point suitable to the interests of navigation in the county of Lake, State of Illinois.

The Chief of Engineers, to whom the bill was referred, reports that by act of Congress approved October 22, 1914, Public, No. 219, Sixty-third Congress, Mr. Frank H. Gardiner was authorized to construct a bridge in this same locality, plans for which were approved by the

Chief of Engineers and the Secretary of War by instrument dated July 8, 1915, but it appears that the only work so far done by Mr. Gardiner has been to drive half a dozen stakes at one margin of the crossing, presumably to make a technical commencement to retain, under the act of March 23, 1906, the right to construct the bridge. He further reports that the present bill, H. R. 14074, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session, makes ample provision for the protection of the interests committed to the War Department, and I know of no objection to the favorable consideration of the bill by Congress so far as those interests are concerned. The bill has been amended to more accurately describe the geographical location of the proposed bridge and to make its purpose clearer.

In view of the undesirability of having two bridges at this side where apparently one will amply serve the public need, it is suggested that should H. R. 14074, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session, which provides for a free, publicly owned bridge, be now passed, it be also amended so as to repeal the act of Congress approved October 22, 1914, Public, No. 219, Sixty-third Congress, above referred to, which provides for a toll bridge.

JOHN C. SCOFIELD,
Assistant and Chief Clerk.

The following is the letter above referred to from the village clerk, Mr. William G. Nagle, which explains itself:

FOX LAKE, ILL., *January 18, 1917.*

Congressman GEORGE EDMUND FOSS,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 16th instant in reference to bill granting authority to this village to construct a bridge over the Fox River received. I was mistaken when I told you congressional authority was not necessary. At that time I did not know that the War Department considered the Fox River a navigable stream connecting this State and the State of Wisconsin.

I am sending you herewith two blue prints of the proposed bridge—one showing the general location, the other one a plan of the bridge itself.

The village has set aside $7,000 of ths year's income for the construction of this bridge, and we are going to vote on a bond issue of five or six thousand dollars at the next village election, which will be held in April. We will also be able to set aside another seven thousand out of next year's income for the same purpose. As this will be a public bridge, and a big benefit not only to the lake region but to the entire Lake County, we expect the county to stand a part of the cost of the construction. We have had the matter up before the board of supervisors, and while they have taken no official action in regard to appropriating money for this purpose they have signified they are willing to do so when we get the necessary permits.

The entire cost of this improvement is estimated to be about $25,000, and I feel sure we can finance it—in fact, it is asserted by several who have talked to the people living just north of here that $5,000 can be raised by public subscription.

If there are any objections to the passing of the bill because of the consent granted to Mr. Gardner for a toll bridge, I think Col. Judson's report that, in his opinion, Gardner's rights have expired should be sufficient. Further, the bridge the village proposes to build is to be a free public bridge; also, the fact that Gardner has done nothing in the way of even starting his bridge.

Should there be any objections to a stationary bridge, you may state that all bridges over the Fox River, except the railroad bridge at Fox Lake, are stationary, and the clearance of the proposed bridge is as great as the bridge at Johnsburg, Ill., which has the largest clearance of any of the present bridges. There are stationary bridges at McHenry, Johnsburg, and Wilmot. The present drawbridge of the St. Paul Railroad Co. is an old type, and will undoubtedly be replaced by a modern bridge when the life of it runs out. This, I am informed by the railroad company, is about four years more.

We should like to have this bill passed as soon as possible, as we must have all the necessary permits before we can vote on the bond issue.

Trusting this information will help you in securing the passage of the bill, I remain,

Yours, truly,

WM. G. NAGLE.

The Control and Regulation of Niagara River Above the Falls and Its Connecting Waters for Navigation and Other Purposes by the Federal Government.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CYRUS CLINE,
OF INDIANA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Saturday, February 10, 1917.

Mr. CLINE. Mr. Speaker, in order to intelligently discuss the bill which passed the House on February 8, it is necessary to give a brief history of the facts that led to its introduction. The bill was introduced for the purpose of controlling and regulating the waters of Niagara River and its connecting waters above the Falls of Niagara, and for other purposes that will be developed as this discussion proceeds. The direct assumption of jurisdiction over Niagara River by the Federal Government grew out of a message to Congress by President Roosevelt during the first session of the Fifty-ninth Congress. The message was dated March 27, 1906, with which was transmitted a report made to Congress by the International Waterways Commission, regarding the preservation of the Falls of Niagara. The report of the International Waterways Commission was requested by a joint resolution of Congress passed March 15, 1906, directing the commission to report to Congress at an "early date what action is in their judgment necessary and desirable to prevent the further deflection of the waters flowing over Niagara Falls." President Roosevelt's message recommended legislation for the preservation for the Falls of Niagara. The report of the International Waterways Commission was made in answer to a joint resolution reported by the Committee on Rivers and Harbors. This resolution asked for a report on the conditions at the Falls and for the cooperation of three members of the United States with a like number from Canada in taking feasible steps to prevent further depletion of the waters going over the cataract.

The International Waterways Commission was created by Congress in June, 1902, and consisted of three members to act with a like commission from Canada in relation to the boundary waters between the United States and Canada, which belonged to and are connected with the Great Lake system. The report made pursuant to the joint resolution by Congress was transmitted to it by President Roosevelt March 22, 1906. The report exhibits the legislative action of the State of New York and the Canadian Government in granting water rights to numerous corporations for the development of electricity for commercial purposes. This report of the International Waterways Commission disclosed the fact that there were at least five corporations engaged in furnishing or preparing to furnish electricity for commercial purposes, developed by water power. The first two of these are American and three of them Canadian corporations. The total amount of water to be taken from the river then authorized by these corporations is as follows:

	Cubic feet per second.
Niagara Hydraulic Power Co	9,500
Niagara Falls Power Co	17,500
Canadian Niagara Power Co	9,500
The Ontario Power Co	12,000
The Electrical Development Co	11,200
Niagara Falls & Park Ry. Co	500

Or a total of 60,950 cubic feet per second. This constitutes 27 per cent of the average discharge over the cataract. The report further finds "that this discharge will, in general, have an injurious effect upon the Falls, seems self-evident." The summary of the report was expressed, in part, in this language:

(a) The glory of Niagara Falls lies in the volume of its water rather than in its height and in the surrounding scenery.

(b) Works are now authorized and partly completed at the Falls which will divert from the Niagara River above the Falls about 27 per cent of the average discharge. In addition to this, water naturally tributary to the Niagara River is being diverted through the Chicago Drainage Canal and for power in addition to navigation purposes through the Erie and Welland Canals.

(c) The effect of this withdrawal of water is to injure both the American and Horse Shoe Falls to nearly equal proportion.

(d) Improvements in the transmission of electric power and the increased demand will make a market for all the power which can be developed at Niagara Falls.

(e) Charters have been granted to corporations which propose to divert additional amounts in quantities not now limited.

This report alarmed the President, and in transmitting the same to Congress he used the following language:

I earnestly recommend that Congress enact into law the suggestions for the American members of the International Waterways Commission for the preservation of Niagara Falls without waiting for the negotiation of a treaty between the United States and Great Britain.

In less than 100 days from the date of the transmission of the report and message to Congress, namely, June 29, 1906, a law was enacted known as the Burton law for the control and regulation of the waters of Niagara River, for the preservation of Niagara Falls, and for other purposes. The Burton law provides that no waters from the Niagara River or its tributaries in the State of New York could be diverted without the consent of the Secretary of War, except for sanitary or domestic purposes, or for navigation, the amount of which should be fixed by Congress. It also provided that the Secretary of War was authorized to grant permits for the diversion of water for the creation of electrical power to individuals, companies, and corporations, and for the importation of power from Canada. It respectfully requested the President to open negotiations with Great Britain providing for certain treaty relationships for the regulation and control of the waters of Niagara River and its tributaries as shall preserve the scenic grandeur of Niagara Falls and the rapids of said river. The law was to remain in force for three years, during which time it was expected that treaty obligations might be entered into by the two Governments and definite conclusions be reached and a method prescribed upon which legislation would be based to completely

protect each Government in its respective rights. Treaty negotiations were immediately taken up and the treaty between the United States and Great Britain proclaimed May 13, 1910.

The Burton law expired by limitation in June, 1909. It provided for the negotiation of a treaty that I have referred to. The Burton law was enacted only as a modus vivendi until a full and complete investigation could be made by the General Government, with the aid and assistance of the Army Engineers, as a basis for necessary legislation. The Burton law expired before any legislation was had, and it was continued by joint resolution for short periods three different times since it was first enacted. Immediately upon the passage of the Burton law the President directed the Secretary of War to make a thorough investigation covering the amount of water per second flowing over the Falls of Niagara, the effect of the diversion on Niagara River above the Falls, the effects upon the level of Lake Erie and its connecting waters, the amount of water diverted to the several power companies, and the effect of such diversions upon the commerce of the Great Lakes. I submit herewith a copy of the findings of the Chief of Engineers of the War Department to the Secretary of War January 21, 1909, found in Senate Document No. 105, Sixty-second Congress, first session. I quote from pages 7 and 8.

Omitting the first four items of the report by W. L. Marshall, Chief of Engineers, United States Army, and beginning with item 5, as follows:

He further states that, in his opinion, the damage already done and that which may be anticipated from further diversions and from lower stages in Lake Erie may be largely, if not entirely, remedied by a submerged dam placed in the bed of the river immediately above Horse Shoe Falls with the object of diverting a portion of the great volume passing over the center or apex of the Horse Shoe, so as to increase the streams feeding the depleted ends of that fall and incidentally diminishing the rate of recession of the apex.

6. He also shows that the investigations have established a real, though relatively small, reduction in the depth of Lake Erie and all of its harbors amounting to seven-hundredths of a foot for the present authorized diversion. As each inch of draft for a modern lake freighter is the equivalent of from 80 to 100 tons of profitable cargo, the aggregate loss per season for the entire fleet using Lake Erie ports as terminals becomes a very large amount. The harbors on Lake Erie have been dredged and improved at large expense to the United States, and the right of the National Government to prevent even slight injury to these public works would seem a matter absolutely beyond question. He suggests the prohibition of all diversions when the lake reaches elevation 571.5, and the total authorized diversion only when the elevation is 572 or more. In this connection he presents as worthy of consideration the suggestion of Assistant Engineer F. C. Shenehon that the power companies be permitted to use half the flow of the river between sunset and sunrise as compensation for restrictions necessarily imposed.

7. He also discusses the possibility of further concessions to the power companies, and suggests, in case such course seems advisable, certain conditions designed to bring about a greater economy in the production of power and the elimination of unsightly features.

8. These investigations were undertaken primarily for the assistance of the Secretary of War in connection with the responsibilities committed to him by the act of Congress of June 29, 1906 (the Burton Act), but in view of the widespread interest in the matter and the gravity of the situation as disclosed by the careful and unprejudiced observation of the lake survey I recommend that Maj. Keller's report be transmitted to Congress, together with the report of Assistant Engineer Shenahon and its accompanying illustrations.

Very respectfully,

W. L. MARSHALL,
Chief of Engineers, United States Army.

I desire at this place to make a further quotation from Maj. Keller's report, found on page 44, Senate Document No. 105, first session Sixty-second Congress, as follows:

EFFECT ON LAKE ERIE.

If the diversions of water at Niagara Falls for power purposes have the effect of draining Lake Erie to a lower level, navigation interests are correspondingly injured. The freighters of the Lakes load to the limit of existing depth, and every inch of draft lost by reason of shallower harbors or channels makes to each large freighter a loss of over 80 tons in carrying capacity each trip. As the movement of freight on the Lakes has reached an aggregate of over 75,000,000 tons a year, and as 84 per cent of this traverses Lake Erie, any interference with the surface level of this lake is a matter of vital concern to commerce.

Furthermore, the surface levels of the Detroit River and Lake St. Clair, critical links in the lake commerce, are immediately, and those of the St. Clair River, Lakes Michigan and Huron, and St. Marys River to the locks at Sault Ste. Marie are in a measure, dependent on Lake Erie levels. It has been estimated that Lakes Michigan and Huron will be lowered 4 inches by a lowering of 1 foot on Lake Erie.

This bill is submitted to determine the jurisdictional rights of the State of New York and the Federal Government over the waters of Niagara River. Let me state the contention of the power companies now diverting water for the generation of electricity, the State of New York, and the Federal Government, respectively. The contention of the power companies is that they established their respective plants upon their own ground as riparian owners under a charter issued by the State of New York, giving them license to divert enough water to create a given number of horsepower; that the State of New York owns the bed of the river and has sovereign power over the surplus water; that they established their plant in good faith, are pioneers in development, and under their riparian rights and respective charters certain vested rights have accrued to them that they can not now be dispossessed of by legislation.

The State of New York bases its right to divert the surplus water not needed for navigation to whom it pleases under what conditions and what regulations it may elect, and from what point in the river that it may choose to divert the water, on the grounds that it is a sovereign State; that it owns the bed of the river and the use of the surplus water for the State of New York in trust for the people of the State. The Federal Government represents that under the commerce clause of the Constitution it has absolute jurisdiction over the Niagara River, when once asserted, to protect and develop navigation; that its authority is paramount and plenary; that the State of New York in coming into the Union surrendered its sovereign power over the navigable waters of the Niagara River; that its decision is final and not reviewable by any State when it has assumed jurisdiction for the purpose of promoting commerce; that it will not divide jurisdiction with any State with reference to any subject touching navigation or the means necessary to protect navigation, promote or develop it—these rest wholly with the United States. The chief controversy that arises in this bill has been precipitated by the State of New York. That I may correctly represent the State of New York, I will quote from the language used by Attorney General Carmody, representing the State in the hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, January 22, 1913, as follows:

The State of New York is entitled to control, after the Government has decided how much water may be diverted from the Niagara River, the diversion of the water and decide the parties to whom it shall go.

I also supplement this statement by that of Senator JAMES A. O'GORMAN, who appeared before the committee in the same hearing on behalf of the State. I quote from page 17, in which he is discussing the powers of the Federal Government under the Constitution:

Now, therefore, I urge that the State of New York be permitted to make such disposition as the people of that State care to make of this water within the limitations fixed in the treaty, and that the only rights reserved, the only right that should be exercised by the Federal Government, is to so supervise the use of that water afterwards that the treaty entered into between the Federal Government and Great Britain be not violated.

It is admitted that the serious question in the case, if there is a serious one, lies in the claim of the State of New York to the right to invade the jurisdiction of the Federal Government and divert the waters of Niagara River, as before stated, to whom it may elect and under what conditions it may impose. The position of the committee is that the Federal Government has absolute jurisdiction over every interstate navigable river in the United States, and in the exercise of its power to protect, promote, or develop commerce under the commerce clause of the Constitution it is free from the interference of any State.

In the language of Justice Day (194 U. S., 623)—

State legislation which seeks to impose the direct burden on interstate commerce or to interfere unduly with its freedom does encroach upon the exclusive powers of Congress.

The issue is clearly stated. I propose to discuss briefly the absolute and unlimited power of the Federal Government over navigation, in which is involved interstate commerce, and briefly the relative rights of the riparian owner, the State and Federal Government, in navigable interstate waters. It was asserted with much vehemence by the representatives of New York in their appearance before the Committee on Foreign Affairs that the Federal Government was a Government of expressed powers, delegated to it by the several States of the Union at its formation, and unless we could show express authority in the Constitution to divert the surplus waters of Niagara River to whom we might elect and under what limitations we might prescribe, we were precluded from doing so. We admit that the Federal Government is one of delegated powers, but not one of explicitly defined and limited powers; but one sufficiently elastic with reference to the commerce clause, to meet the growing demands of an expanding commerce. It is a Government of expressed powers, in which are resident all those involved powers necessary to make the expressed power effective for the accomplishment of the purposes for which they were delegated. I am surprised that gentlemen who profess to be lawyers demand that the powers vested in the Constitution shall be set out in detail—that there are no presumed powers incorporated into the general comprehensive delegated powers. I bottom what I have to say in these discussions on the feature on what Chief Justice Marshall said in Fourth Wheaton, page 316:

A constitution to contain an accurate detail of all the subdivisions of which its great powers will admit, and of all the means by which they may be carried into execution, would partake of the prolixity of a legal code, and could be scarcely embraced by the human mind. It probably never would be understood by the public. Its nature, there-

fore, requires that only its great outlines be marked, its important objects be designated, and the minor ingredients which compose those objects be deduced from the nature of the objects themselves.

I shall attempt to show the wide and almost unlimited range to which the Congress and the Supreme Court of the United States have carried us in their broad and well-defined legislation and jurisprudence under the commerce clause. I do this to show the utter fallacy and the absolute absurdity and impracticability of the proposition asserted by New York that every power invoked must be specifically designated in the Constitution. I proceed at some length with quotations from decisions and observations upon the same to show that New York, having delegated all her sovereign rights over interstate commerce in her admission to the Federal Government, is powerless now to dictate to the General Government in any respect as to what it may do or not do with the surplus waters of Niagara River.

POWER BROAD AND UNLIMITED.

Before the Constitution was adopted the power of each State to regulate its own commerce was complete and unquestioned, but that power was surrendered by each State to Congress upon the adoption of the Constitution, and Congress succeeded to the power among all the States which each State had formerly possessed over its own commerce. Hence the broad and almost unlimited power of Congress over commerce among the States. (Watson on the Constitution, vol. 1, p. 484.)

I quote from Justice Harlan, One hundred and eighty-eighth United States, page 356, wherein he says:

The power which Congress possesses to regulate commerce among the States is plenary, is complete in itself, and is subject to no limitations except such as may be found in the Constitution.

It was also said in Leovy *v.* United States (177 U. S., 621) that—

the power of Congress to regulate the navigable waters of the United States is an incidental power to the expressed power to regulate commerce.

The court found directly in the case cited that incidental powers are never expressed. Incidental powers are correlative powers always and are as effective in the execution of authority to which they relate as are the expressed powers themselves. With reference to the power with which Congress was invested under the commerce clause of the Constitution, I also quote from the Louisiana Lottery case, One hundred and eighty-eighth United States, page 356. The Court said:

It must not be forgotten that the power to regulate commerce among the States is plenary.

Inasmuch as the courts have found it proper to use the word "plenary" in expressing the power of Congress over the subject of interstate commerce, it is proper to know what that term means. The Standard Dictionary says:

It is a power full in all respects; entire; absolute.

Webster's International Dictionary:

It is a full, complete, absolute, unqualified power.

In Brown *v.* Houston (114 U. S., 622) the Supreme Court, speaking through Justice Bradley, said:

The power to regulate commerce among the several States is granted to Congress in terms as absolute as is the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations.

There is an unbroken line of decisions covering the whole history of American jurisprudence from Gibbons *v.* Ogden (9 Wheat.) adhering to the doctrine announced in the cases cited. If it be true, then the States have no reserve power to exercise under the commerce clause of the Constitution in contravention of the jurisdiction of Congress. The correlative duties of Congress under the power granted to it by the sovereign States is the protection, promotion, and development of navigation. If its power is plenary in the promotion of navigation or in the protection of navigation, it is likewise plenary in the development of navigation. We are not required to consider the powers enumerated in the Constitution as in any manner constituting a limitation on the methods and means of either protecting, promoting, or regulating navigation and commerce. The Constitution does not pretend to set out the means by which this may be done. Means and methods are wholly in the hands of Congress and the administrative officers detailed to carry out the purposes of this power as Congress shall legislate under the authority of the Constitution. I quote from McCulloch *v.* Maryland (4 Wheat., 316):

While our Government must be acknowledged by all to be one of enumerated powers, the Constitution does not attempt to set forth all the means by which such power may be carried into execution. It leaves to Congress a large discretion as to the means that may be employed in executing a given power.

The sound construction of the Constitution, the Supreme Court has said—

must allow to the National Legislature that discretion with respect to the means by which the power it confers are to be carried into execution which will enable that body to perform the high duties assigned to it in the manner most beneficial to the people. Let the ends be legitimate, let it be within the scope of the Constitution, and all means which are appropriate, which are plainly adapted to the end, which are not political but concur with the letter and spirit of the Constitution, are constitutional.

This decision directly confronts New York in its position, namely, that the Federal Government must find expressed warrant for its act in the Constitution by declaring that Congress must be "allowed that discretion with respect to the means by which powers it confers are to be carried into execution."

It can not be denied that in the grant of executory power, as, for example, the power to regulate commerce, that there is necessarily interpolated into that grant the power and authority to adopt all necessary and lawful means to carry the expressed grant into execution. No additional authority need be cited in addition to Fourth Wheaton, 421.

Let us pursue the inquiry. What is this power conferred by the Federal Government upon the States with reference to interstate commerce? I quote again from Justice Harlan, One hundred and eighty-eighth United States, 347, supra:

It is the power to regulate; that is, to prescribe, the rule by which commerce is to be governed. This power, like all other vested in Congress, is complete in itself, may be exercised to its utmost extent, and acknowledges no limitations other than that prescribed in the Constitution.

No man will assume in this discussion to assert that there are any limitations expressed in the Constitution on the methods or manner legitimately required in the protection, regulation, or promotion of commerce set out in the commerce clause of the Constitution. To proceed with the quotation from the same case:

If, as has always been understood, the sovereignty of Congress, though limited to specific objects (delegated powers) is plenary as to these objects, the power over commerce with foreign nations and among the several States is vested in Congress as absolutely as it would be in a single government having in its constitution the same restrictions on the exercise of power as are found in the Constitution of the United States.

What are we to understand by the expression, "The power to regulate commerce," which, it is admitted, was granted respectively by the several States to the Federal Government by their admission to the Union? You understand it was the power that previously existed in the several States; it was the power, the absolute, unconditional power represented in the sovereignty of every individual State. That power the States collectively delegated to the General Government. In the absence of the exercise of jurisdiction by the Federal Government, with the States in full possession of their original undelegated power, the State of New York, in her sovereignty, could have performed every act proposed in this bill to be performed by the Federal Government. If so, and if in any manner the act related to the protection, development, or promotion, then that State may not now exercise any right to interfere in any way with the Federal Government in the discharge of its duty to the people of the United States in the protection and development of commerce. To illustrate, could not the State of New York in the absence of Federal interference control the volume of water in Niagara River, the diversion of its surplus waters, if any; institute the methods of control, the persons to whom its surplus waters may be diverted, and the terms under which the diversion may be made? Are not those acts, each and all of them, acts of sovereignty performed in the interests of all of the people of the State from whom it held in trust the authority to promote and protect navigation? There can be no question about it. If so, then the Federal Government may now do and should do what could have been done by New York, because the State was unqualifiedly supreme, and possessed that power over commerce acknowledged to reside in every sovereign State, and which New York stripped itself of and delegated to the Federal Government on its admission into the Union. Let me inquire what provision exists in the Constitution that can in any manner be regarded as limiting the exercise of that power over the commerce not only of Niagara River but the commerce connected with its chain of vast inland seas that would be directly hazarded if the Federal Government may be subjected by any interference in its regulation by New York? What clause can be cited which even intimates in the slightest degree the suggestion that the State may intervene and control the disposition of surplus waters in interstate navigable streams? The interests are too vast to permit it. Other States with immense commercial interests demand that the complete plenary power of the Federal Government shall be exercised over their waters so long as they or any part of them are within the jurisdiction of the Federal Government. Congress alone, absolutely alone, has the power to occupy and does occupy by legislation the entire field of interstate commerce.

In the face of this observation, however, it is insisted that the Federal Government exceeds its delegated powers in directing whom shall have the surplus waters, because in so doing it is not in that act promoting or developing commerce

or navigation. In other words, unless the act of the delivery of the water to a certain-named person designated by the Secretary of War tends to improve affirmatively the commerce of Niagara River and its connecting waters, the Federal Government was exercising a power without constitutional warrant. The contention can not be a serious one. The act of the Federal Government need not necessarily be an act to develop or promote commerce directly. It may frequently be an act destructive or prohibitive of commerce, and the act still be within the power to regulate. For example, Congress may prohibit the interstate transportation of diseased cattle. It may prohibit the transportation of stock known to be infected with a contagious disease. It may quarantine cattle and stock and prohibit their transportation out of a State in which they were discovered to be diseased, and such prohibition of commerce has been upheld by the Supreme Court. Congress passed the Sherman Antitrust Act, not to increase and develop commerce but to defeat commerce in its abstract sense. The court said, in One hundred and eighty-eighth United States, page 359, supra:

The act was to protect trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopoly.

Congress invaded the field of private contracts and declared them to be illegal. Not that the subject matter of the contract was, per se dangerous, but because it was contrary to sound public policy. The very act was a prohibitive one, and its prohibition has been sustained as a valid exercise of the power to regulate commerce. (Addyston Pipe & Steel Co. *v.* U. S., 175, U. S., 211.)

Let me call your attention to the further expression of the justice in deciding this case in direct connection with the expressed power cited:

Under the grant of power to Congress that body, in our judgment, may enact such legislation as shall declare void and prohibit the performance of any contract between individuals or corporations when the natural and direct effect of such a contract would be, when carried out, to directly, and not as a mere incident to other and innocent purposes, regulate to any substantial extent interstate commerce.

I direct your attention to the fact that no limitation was included in the grant which excludes private contracts in restraint of trade or monopolies from the power of Congress to legislate respecting them. The State of New York clamors for expressed constitutional power on the part of the Federal Government to divert the surplus waters of Niagara River not needed for navigation. Gentlemen concede that regulation of commerce includes regulation of navigation, and there is not a word in the Constitution with reference to navigation.

I am illustrating the almost unlimited power Congress is invested with in developing the means and methods to carry on commerce. Congress covers the entire field in passing the interstate commerce act. It conferred power upon the commission to compel the attendance of witnesses in suits before it, to inquire into the business management of all common carriers, to provide the method of publicity to be given to rates, to require annual reports, to make rules for its own government, to compel by mandamus the officers of railroads to obey the commerce law. But Congress did not prescribe the rules for the enforcement of the law; that was left wholly with the commission—to its judgment in the administration of the law. But if we were to adopt the suggestion made by the Representatives of New York the commission would be powerless, because of the want of express authority declared in the Constitution. Before closing this branch of the discussion I call attention to Green-bay & Mississippi Canal Co. *v.* Patton Paper Co. (172 U. S., p. 80), quoting from the court's opinion, by Justice Shiras, as follows:

So far, therefore, as the water power and appurtenant lots are regarded as property, it is plain that the title of the canal company can not be controverted.

The canal company had reserved those elements of property and the use of the surplus waters above that required to maintain navigation, when the canal company had deeded its other property rights to the United States. Quoting still further from the same opinion, the court said:

And we think it is equally plain that the mode and the extent of the use and enjoyment of such property by the canal company fall within the sole control of the United States. At what points in the dam and canal the water may be withdrawn and the quantity which can be treated as surplus water, with due regard to navigation, must be determined by the authorities which own and control the navigation. There can be in such matters no divided empire.

It would seem that such language foreclosed this entire subject. In the case cited the canal company, by its contract, owned the use of all the surplus water. Yet it did not have such an ownership, such a proprietory interest in but what the "mode and extent of the use and the enjoyment of such property by the canal company fell within the sole control of the United States." It could not use the water it expressly reserved in a written contract with the Government without the Government's supervision. If the Federal Government may determine the mode and extent of the use of the water—when it shall be taken from the canal—may it not be fairly concluded that it may also, in the absence of a contract, determine to whom it may be diverted? Representatives of the State of New York recognizing the fatality of this decision when applied to the theory they were proclaiming, sought to escape the results by saying that the ownership of the canal company grew out of a land grant made by the Federal Government for the purpose of improving the navigability of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, and that therefore a different rule obtained although the rule was not stated. Granted that in the original improvement the Government did set aside land for the promotion of navigation in the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers. What of it? The Federal Government was there engaged in improving navigation. It could not have been there for any other purpose. The doctrine in this case is fully supported by Kankanna Water Power Co. *v.* Green Bay Canal Co. (142 U. S.). This case is not relied upon by the State rights advocates and rarely cited except for avoidance.

What significance is to be attached to the concluding phrase of the citation, "in such matters there can be no divided empire?" For the purpose of this discussion that is the most important declaration in the opinion. It distinctly affirms the proposition that the Federal Government will not divide its jurisdiction with any State in navigable streams when it is promoting or protecting the navigabilty of such a stream under the commerce clause. To emphasize what I desire to say and to show under exactly what conditions the State is precluded from exercising either concurrent or independent jurisdiction, I quote from Leisy *v.* Hardin (135 U. S., 109):

First. When the power is lodged exclusively in the Constitution.
Second. When it was given to the United States and prohibited to the States.
Third. When from the nature and subject of the power it must be necessarily exercised by the National Government exclusively.

Considering the subject under discussion, the State of New York falls wholly within both the first and third exception. It may be insisted, however, that so long as the Federal Government did not act it was presumed that the State had the right to assume the discharge of the same duties that the Federal Government would have been entitled to; but Justice Fuller in this same case met that assumption in the following language:

Whenever, however, a particular power of the General Government is one which must be necessarily exercised by it, and Congress remain silent, this is not only not a concession that the power reserved by the State may be exerted as if the specific power had not been elsewhere reposed, but, on the contrary, the only legitimate conclusion is that the General Government intended that power should not be affirmatively exercised, and the action of the States can not be permitted to effect that which would be incompatible with such contention.

The Federal Government will not open the door to vexatious complications that would be sure to arise. If it did it would destroy its own sovereignty. It is responsible to the whole people of the United States for the protection of Niagara River and its connecting waters. It can not divest itself of that responsibility and shift the burden to a State that has no reciprocal duties to perform. The owners of 200,000,000 tons of freight, the 15,000,000 passengers that annually seek passage over the connecting waters of Niagara demand the highest possible efficiency and authority in the preservation of the normal conditions of navigation; and the Federal Government will not be shorn of any of the agencies or means that are auxiliary to such maintenance. The power of the Federal Government is not confined to the use of the waters within the banks of the stream. It may follow it sufficiently to dispose of it in the public interests if a surplus in any manner arises from the maintenance or improvement of navigation. In support of that declaration, I quote from the One hundred and forty-second United States, page 254, Kaukauna Water Power Co. against Greenbay & Minnesota Canal Co., as follows:

If, for the purpose of improving the navigability of a stream carrying interstate commerce, the Federal Government constructs and maintains a dam with locks and gates, the Government has the undoubted right to establish and maintain in connection with such dam an electrical power plant to operate such locks and gates. And the Federal Government has the right to sell, lease, or rent for compensation any surplus power that may arise from and be incident to such an improvement of navigation.

I can not pass this part of the argument without directing attention to the statute fixing the authority of the Federal Government as paramount to all State authority in protecting commerce. I quote from existing law, section 10 of the river and harbor act approved March 3, 1899 (30 Stat., 1121–1151):

It shall be unlawful to excavate or fill or in any manner to alter or modify the course, location, condition, or capacity of any port, roadstead, haven, harbor, canal, lake, harbor of refuge, or inclosure within

the limits of any breakwater, or of any canal of any navigable water of the United States, unless the work has been recommended by the Chief of Engineers and authorized by the Secretary of War prior to the beginning of the same.

The State of New York in further declaration of its power to appropriate the surplus waters in Niagara River bases that right upon the fact that it is itself a riparian owner, and the further fact that it owns the bed of the river in trust for the people of the State. The riparian owner and the State, although a trustee, must take notice that if they use the water in an interstate navigable river that the Federal Government can, at any moment, displace them and proceed with its own improvement of navigation. Keeping in mind that we are discussing the power of Congress with reference to interstate commerce, the decision of Congress to develop the navigability of an interstate river is absolutely decisive and not subject to review. So unconditionally does Congress possess the full measure of power that it may not be compelled by virtue of any authority to change its purpose. It is not subject to mandate, and no executive can control it. That power was given to Congress by the people. It was the supremest power they possessed. The State of New York claims to be a riparian owner of a considerable portion of land bordering upon Niagara River, and because of that fact asserts some supposed right on an equality with those asserted by the Federal Government. The State, resting its rights on the law governing the rights of the riparian owner, can have no greater rights than the riparian because it is a State for the improvement of the river for navigation. The law expressed in Scranton *v.* Wheeler (179 U. S., 163) is decisive. The Government had constructed a long dike or pier upon submerged land in the river to aid navigation. This cut off access to deep water from the adjoining land of the riparian. He sued for damages, declaring that his rights had been invaded and his property taken without compensation. But the court held that there had been no property "taken" which was not primarily taken for the very use it was put to, and his claim for damages was dismissed. In deciding the case the court said:

The primary use of water and the lands under them was for the purpose of navigation, and the erection of piers in them to improve navigation for the public is entirely consistent with such use and infringes no right of the owner. Whatever the nature of the interest of the riparian owner in these submerged lands in front of his upland, bounding on a public navigable river, his title is not as full and complete as his title to the fast land which has no direct connection with navigation of such waters. It is a qualified title, a bare technical title, not at his absolute disposal as is his upland, but to be held at all times subordinate to such use of submerged lands and the water falling over them as may be consistent with or demanded by the public right of navigation.

So unfettered is the control of Congress over the navigable streams of the country that its judgment as to whether a construction in or over a river is or is not an obstruction or hindrance is conclusive. Such judgment and determination is the exercise of legislative power in respect of a subject wholly within its control. (United States *v.* Dunbar Water Power Co. See opinion, p. 7.)

So the State as a riparian owner has no right against the Federal Government it can enforce when that right would be in conflict with any purpose of the Government to improve navigation. The State also claims to be the owner in trust of the bed of the river, and because of that fact claims to own the water or, at least, a proprietary interest in the water sufficient to control the diversion. Conceding the title to the bed of the navigable rivers to be in the State, it does not have such a title that it may appropriate it to its individual use; it holds it as a trustee for the people, and always in subrogation of the rights of the Federal Government to promote commerce. In United States against Chandler-Dunbar Co., supra, the company was the owner of land along the St. Marys River. The Federal Government condemned the land for the improvement of navigation. This question arose, namely, Had the Chandler-Dunbar Co. any private property rights in the water-power capacity of the rapids and the falls of St. Marys River, because it was the riparian owner, which had been taken and for which compensation must be made under the fifth amendment of the Constitution. The Federal Government paid for the upland. Were there such property rights in the bed of the stream owned by the company that it was entitled to receive pay separate and apart from what it received from the upland? The title of the remote grantors in the bed of the river had passed up to the Chandler-Dunbar Co., which owned the upland on the bank to the middle thread of the stream. Over that bed flowed two-thirds of the water in St. Marys River. By reason of that fact and the ownership of the shore the company's claim was that it was the owner of the water and the inherent power in the falls and rapids subject only to the public right of navigation. Now, I call attention to the following language in the case:

While the company did not deny that the protection or promotion of navigation by the Federal Government was a dominating right, yet the claim was made that in the exercise of the power to regulate commerce the Government may not exclude the right of the riparian owner to construct in the river upon its own submerged land such appliances as are necessary to control and use the current for commercial purposes, provided only that such structure and use does not impede or hinder navigation and the flow of the stream is not so diminished as to leave less than every possible requirement for navigation for present and future.

This property right in the bed of the river and the flow of the stream in excess of the wants of navigation constitute the ground upon which the company asserts that its property has been taken without compensation. The court in deciding the case said:

The title of the owner of the fast land upon the shore of a navigable river to the bed of the river is, at least, a qualified one. It is a title which inheres in the ownership of the shore and, unless reserved or excluded by implication, passes with it as a shadow follows a substance. It is subordinate to the public right of navigation and of no avail against the exercise of the great and absolute power of Congress over the improvement of navigable rivers.

Proceeding with the proposition that the General Government is liable for damages or for compensation for asserting jurisdiction over the bed of the stream and appropriating the inherent water power in the rapids, the court said:

It is little difficult to understand the basis for the claim that in appropriating the upland bordering on the stretch of water the Government not only takes the land but also the great water power which potentially exists in the river. The broad claim that the water power of the stream is appurtenant to the bank owned by it and not dependent upon ownership of the soil over which the river flows has been advanced. But whether this private right to the use of the flow of the water and the flow of the stream be based on the qualified title which the company had to the bed of the river over which it flows, or the ownership of the land bordering on the river, is of no prime importance. In neither event can there be said to arise any ownership of the river. The ownership of a private stream wholly upon the lands of an individual is conceivable, but that the running water in a navigable stream is capable of private ownership is inconceivable.

I recognize that in the Chandler-Dunbar case the ownership was in the riparian and that the title to the bed of the stream was not held in trust by the State. But what difference does it make whether the bed was in the riparian or in the State? The State could not succeed to greater rights than the riparian as against the absolute power of the Federal Government.

But aside from all the foregoing that from every angle I believe constitutes a complete defense to the claims of New York to interfere with the jurisdictional powers of the Federal Government, there is another reason that reaches to the dignity of the highest and soundest public policy. The Niagara and its connecting waters for nearly 2,000 miles is a means of natural defense and constitutes the boundary line between the two greatest Anglo-Saxon races in the world. These waters wash the southern shore of an empire and pass the northern boundary of many of the great States of this Republic, and it is a matter of the highest moment and of the utmost expediency that the power of the Federal Government over our commerce, over our boundary lines—which is also a means of national defense—shall be absolute and plenary.

Sentiment Among the Plain People on War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 10, 1917.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, out of a large number of letters and telegrams which have reached me during the last week it is my desire to lay before Congress and the country a few which are typical of all the rest, reflecting a sentiment among the plain people back home which I feel worthy of consideration. Some of these communications were voluntary, while others were in response to an inquiry directed by me to some of my friends whom I know to be trustworthy and well informed. The letters and telegrams speak for themselves. They follow:

READING, PA., *February 9, 1917.*

Hon. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. BAILEY: In reply to your favor of the 7th instant, relative to sentiment among working people regarding participation in the European war, will say I am without doubt in closer touch with the working class of Pennsylvania than any other man in the State. My official position gives me this advantage.

I am convinced from what I have seen and heard that if this country was threatened with invasion by some foreign nation fully 90 per cent of the workers would unhesitatingly offer their services to repel such invasion. Just as strongly as they are loyal to our country in case of invasion, just so strongly are they opposed to our country becoming entangled in foreign complications or becoming part of the European conflict. It is to be hoped, therefore, that a way out of the unfortunate situation may be found.

Yours, very truly, JAMES H. MAURER,
President Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

ALTOONA, PA., *February 6, 1917.*

Hon. W. W. BAILEY,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I petition you to use your influence and vote against a declaration of war which the papers tell us is pending.

Respectfully,

F. O. NICOLAI.

—

JUNIATA, PA., *February 5, 1917.*

Hon. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Relating to the present crisis, comment is heard on all sides of pity and regret that the English statesmen were cleverer than ours in allowing them to make us a party to their aid. In a group of 35 men, all American born, all but 2 feel that we have no right abroad and could not support the issue as it now stands. But if in defense of the country, to keep out an enemy, it is different. They all think munitions makers are prime leaders in the movement.

Yours, most respectfully,

WALTER SHLUNMIRE.

—

JOHNSTOWN, PA., *February 7, 1917.*

Hon. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BAILEY: My feelings for your conservative policy to keep out of war and your speech which was printed in your Johnstown paper on February 6 is certainly indorsed by thousands of Johnstown people, and I pray the good Lord will give you more power.

Very sincerely, yours,

L. L. LAMBERT.

—

WASHINGTON, D. C., *February 8, 1917.*

Hon. WARREN WORTH BAILEY.

HONORABLE SIR: I have just returned from a visit in your congressional district, and I find the majority of people are averse to a war with Germany if it can possibly be avoided.

Knowing that you represent the common people more than the majority of Representatives, I trust you will use your influence to avert the war if possible.

Very respectfully,

R. L. JACKSON.

—

WASHINGTON, D. C., *February 6, 1917.*

The Hon. W. W. BAILEY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

SIR: May I not take this opportunity to express my appreciation for the stand you have taken against militarism and our entangling alliances with foreign countries? You have had the courage to stand for what you honestly believed to be the opinion of your constituents.

The personal popularity of the President in the election has shown that the people of the United States desire peace and are opposed to militarism.

We agree with Mr. Bryan's views as expressed in his address that the people of this country will not send one boy across the ocean to fight under any European monarch for a foreign cause. If we have any grievances justifying a resort to arms it must be postponed until the close of the present war.

Wishing you success in your independent effort, I am,

Yours, respectfully,

AMOS R. EBERSOLE.
4133 Conduit Road.

P. S.—I am a citizen of the ninth congressional district of Pennsylvania.

—

JOHNSTOWN, PA., *February 9, 1917.*

Hon. WARREN WORTH BAILEY, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

As a traveling salesman, who covers your own and parts of several other congressional districts, and who comes in contact with all classes of business men and workingmen, I assure you that the sentiment of this section is almost unanimously opposed to a declaration of war against Germany or any other country, except only in case of actual invasion. A referendum will substantiate this.

FRANK C. HOERL.

—

ALTOONA, PA., *February 8, 1917.*

Hon. W. W. BAILEY,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I write to you to protest against our country being forced into the terrible war against the desire of the people. I ask you to use your vote to keep Americans at home and out of danger, and finally I demand that the plain people who must do the fighting be allowed to vote on war before it is declared, and that they be not compelled to fight in a war brought on by unscrupulous capitalists and politicians.

Very truly,

THOS. B. WEHRLE,
1234 Nineteenth Ave.

—

NEW YORK, *February 7, 1917.*

Hon. W. W. BAILEY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BAILEY: A most encouraging meeting, which I was invited to address, was held at Columbia University this late afternoon and was attended by a large body of students and faculty representatives. The meeting was called as an open discussion of the present situation in direct contrast to the one of the previous day at which President Butler, Prof. Giddings and Prof. Erskine spoke. The last-named speaker told us that he was completely taken back by the tone of the meeting. His was the only constructive peace talk and he did not have any idea that he was to be a part of an intellectual autocracy whose ideas were to be forced on the world as an expression of the majority of the student body and faculty.

More than 20 speakers rose from the floor, all unanimously for going on record against entering the war, and a motion to that effect was carried unanimously. Among the alternatives suggested were a neutral conference and an embargo. A referendum to the people was demanded and the following resolutions passed unanimously; the first was cabled to Germany:

"*Resolved*, That we, members of Columbia University, are striving to preserve peace and call on you, members of the universities of Germany, to exert your influence to prevent any overt act which may lead us to war.

"*Resolved*, That we, members of Columbia University, in mass meeting assembled, go on record as firmly opposed to any attempt to force conscription upon the country under cover of the present crisis."

The committee asked me to bring this to your attention, with the request that you endeavor to place it before the House as a strong assurance that most of the students and members of the faculty are opposed to departing from neutrality, and are ready to do their utmost in the preservation of peace while the European belligerents are in this their death struggle.

We appreciate the difficulties of the antimilitarist Congressmen and wish we could help in a definite way. But since encouragement is about all we can give, let me assure you that we are pulling strongly against the war tide, and, as a result of the awakening following the autocratic pronouncement of President Butler, I am greatly pleased at the energy behind this movement for sanity.

With appreciation and best personal wishes,

JOHN H. COVER.

—

ALTOONA, PA., *February 8, 1917.*

Hon. W. W. BAILEY,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BAILEY: The time is fast passing when the working class can be roused to pitches of patriotic frenzy by a waving of the flag in the hands of ignorant fanatics or cunning hirelings of those who have commercialized patriotism.

You ask, "What is the sentiment of the working class toward the crisis toward which we are heading?" It is well to ask this question, because in the final analysis it is the working class that will do the fighting and dying; it is upon the working class that the burdens of war will bear most heavily while it is being waged; and it is upon the working class that the final burden of war debt in the shape of taxes will be levied, and in spite of all this the scheming munition makers and market grabbers would coin their blood and tears into gold without even as much as a "by your leave."

Candidly, among the rank and file of the workers with whom I have come in contact there is no desire for war; there is a feeling, deep seated and sullen, that just as in Germany, just as in England, just as in every country in Europe that is striding toward savagery with "seven-league boots" the working class is used merely as pawns, to be manipulated by the skilled hands of the profit mongers.

Do not misunderstand me. I do not mean that they have all arrived at this conclusion through intelligent investigation, but the feeling is there nevertheless, and is really of a more dangerous character, founded as it is on distrust and suspicion, than it would be were it based upon a solid foundation of understanding.

The workers realize that in the past their trustful ignorance has been taken advantage of; that through their love of country they have been taken advantage of and then left to "hold the bag."

My socialistic convictions have nothing whatever to do with my reply to your question. I am answering your query fairly, as the current of feeling among the working class is revealed to me. It may be that some momentous thing would occur that would completely reverse this feeling or that a continuous furore kept up by a perverted press might finally accomplish this end, but as yet little impression has been made by fanatical appeals to race prejudice and bigotry.

Thanking you for this opportunity to convey to you the general trend of thought among the workers, I am,

Sincerely, yours,

H. A. MCCALEB.

—

JOHNSTOWN, PA., *February 9, 1917.*

Hon. W. W. BAILEY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BAILEY: Replying to your inquiry of the 7th instant as to the sentiment of the laboring people regarding our participation in the European war, I would say that, being profoundly stirred myself not only by what has occurred already pointing to our possible entrance into this great world tragedy, but also by what is likely to occur any minute to draw us into the maelstrom, I have taken particular pains to sound out practically every man with whom I can engage in conversation, and I have yet to find a person who takes the stand that we should even think of going to war with Germany over the present controversy. I find absolutely no "war spirit." I find not one who thinks there will be any war. Party lines are scarcely discernible. Somehow everybody seems to think that Wilson, having kept us out of war thus far, will be able to guide the old ship of state clear of the jagged rocks that appear just ahead.

The disturbing thing about this, however, is that Mr. Wilson is hearing from that small but loud and influential minority that is at present moving heaven and earth to bring on war, while the great common people who would be called upon to furnish the boys and pay the bills is not heard. They have no way to crystalize their sentiments and but few mediums through which to reach the President, the great newspapers serving as the mouthpiece of the "patriots for profit."

The feeling here is that the German people have neither cause nor intention to injure us as a people; that the injury that may befall us in her life-and-death struggle with her enemies is incidental; that this injury, if it shall occur, is more than counterbalanced by our shipment of munitions to the allies, also not with any intention to injure Germany, though incidentally all this material is likely to be used in the effort to conquer Germany. Germany has not declared war against us because of our shipments of war material to the allies, simply because it must have been recognized that while in practice it made us one of the allies yet it was not so intended. So why should we not so consider the submarine policy—in practice it injures us but is not so intended.

Here is another difference that we must not fail to consider: Germany can not avoid the injury we do her indirectly and unintentionally in shipping munitions to the allies, while we can avoid injury by our people temporarily foregoing their legal rights. Just as with individuals, there are times when it is wise to forego legal rights; so there are times when a nation should do likewise.

Here comes in the question of national honor. Oh, what horrors have been committed in thy name! The people here in Johnstown with whom I have talked are strongly of the conviction that national honor, like that of the individual, is not a thing that another can injure. Our honor is in our own keeping. Germany can not injure our honor, nor is she trying to. She is in desperate straits. She has proclaimed this to

the world. She now asks neutral nations to stand back just a little while she administers to the allies some more effective doses of the same medicine which they have been forcing down her throat. In view of what we have done in the name of trade to furnish the medicine which the allies have been administering to Germany, we would be doing little enough to step aside temporarily and let them fight it out.

After the war is over and the red disappears from the combatants' eyes will be plenty of time to discuss and settle the matters of dispute.

Let the President make no mistake. If he shall take the blatant yawpings of the war dogs as the sentiment of the great common people, and proceed on the world-old theory that right, honor, and justice can be defended and maintained by physical force, and shall go before Congress and ask that it permit this method to be used against Germany or any other country for any other cause except actual invasion, he will find his mistake when he comes to call for the boys from the factory, the mines, and the farms to go forth to fight a people with whom they have no grievance and who have no grievance against them. We do not want war. We do not expect war. We expect the name Wilson to go down through the ages to come coupled with the old campaign cry of 1916 that reelected him—"He kept his Nation out of war." Oh, what a disappointment, what a loss there would be to the pages of future history if for any reason he should fail now!

If we of the nineteenth district were to send him a message, I imagine it would be something like this: "Fight! Fight! Fight to the last ditch to keep your country out of war!"

Above are the views, expressed as best I can, of the sentiments of the people with whom I have come in contact. Of course in individuals there have been slight variations as to details, but it all amounts to the same general sentiment—no war.

Hoping that the dark clouds that are threatening will pass away, and with kindest personal regards, I remain,

Very truly, yours,

H. S. BENDER.

VINTONDALE, PA., *February 7, 1917.*

Hon. WARREN WORTH BAILEY, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BAILEY: I see by the Democrat of February 6 that you are still advocating peace, and I want to say to you that I am proud of you, standing up in the midst of so many that want war, and giving your honest views on peace as well as your views on war.

I know and you know that the common people do not want war, and they are the ones that would have to bear the burden and the suffering that goes with war.

In our town I haven't heard one person say as yet that they want war, but I have heard many say they only hoped there would be no war.

Even our foreign born ask me what is the matter with the United States that they want to go to war now. So you see, my brother, the common people do not want war, but they are praying that we may stay in peace, for they love their country, but they also love their families and their home, and they know that only peace will leave them in their homes and with their families.

I am also convinced that our President of these United States, Mr. Woodrow Wilson, is feeling the weight of the prayers of all God's people going up to God continually that he may be guided by the hand of God, that we may always have peace.

Most everybody knows the wonderful strain that must be on our President, and the majority of the people, I believe, knows that he loves peace, for there are many that heard him say so, and I believe the people are satisfied that he will keep us out of war just as long as he can with honor.

Further, dear Mr. Bailey, keep on talking peace as you see it and believe in it. Do not be afraid that they will interne you as they wanted to interne Mr. Bryan.

I know that those of us that want peace have just as much right to our views on same for peace as those have that want war.

I sincerely hope that all who have to do with our Government may receive the vision that stands for peace.

Hoping my few lines in the way of remarks may cheer you and make you feel that you are not alone in your peace thoughts, but that many others have the same thoughts but are not in a position that they can give voice to their thoughts the way you can and be heard, will close, with my best wishes to you and God's richest blessing to comfort you and His all-seeing eye to guide you, I remain,

Yours, truly,

J. H. KRUMBINE.

The Submarine Controversy.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. S. D. FESS,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 8, 1917.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, the submarine controversy which induced severance of diplomatic relations with Germany began four months after the war opened.

On November 2, 1914, the announcement of England's blockade of Germany was made as follows:

During the last week, the Germans have scattered mines indiscriminately in the open sea on the main trade route from America to Liverpool via the north of Ireland.

Peaceful merchant ships have already been blown up, with loss of life, by this agency.

The White Star liner *Olympic* escaped disaster by pure luck and but for warnings given by British cruisers other British and neutral merchant and passenger vessels would have been destroyed.

These mines can not have been laid by any German ship of war. They have been laid by some merchant vessel flying a neutral flag, which has come along the trade route as if for purpose of peaceful commerce, and, while profiting to the full by the immunity enjoyed by neutral merchant ships, has wantonly and recklessly endangered the lives of all who travel on the sea.

In these circumstances, having regard to the great interests intrusted to the British Navy, to the safety of peaceful commerce on the high seas, and to the maintenance within the limits of international law of trade between neutral countries, the Admiralty feels it necessary to adopt exceptional measures appropriate to the novel conditions under which this war is being waged.

It therefore gives notice that the whole of the North Sea must be considered a military area. Within this area merchant shipping of all kinds, traders of all countries, fishing craft and all other vessels will be exposed to the gravest dangers from mines it has been necessary to lay and from warships searching vigilantly by night and day for suspicious craft.

All merchant and fishing vessels of every description are hereby warned of the dangers they encounter by entering this area, except in strict accordance with Admiralty directions. Every effort will be made to convey this warning to neutral countries and to vessels on the sea, but from November 5 onward the Admiralty announces that all ships passing a line drawn from the northern point of the Hebrides through the Farne Islands to Iceland do so at their own peril.

Ships of all countries wishing to trade to and from Norway, the Baltic, Denmark, and Holland are advised to come, if inward bound, by the English Channel and the Strait of Dover. There they will be given sailing directions which will pass them safely, so far as Great Britain is concerned, up the east coast of England to the Farne Islands, whence a safe route will, if possible, be given to Lindesnas Lighthouse.

From this point they should turn north or south, according to their destination, keeping as near the coast as possible. The converse applies to vessels outward bound.

By strict adherence to these routes the commerce of all countries will be able to reach its destination in safety so far as Great Britain is concerned, but any straying even for a few miles from the course thus indicated may be followed by fatal consequences. (The New York Tribune, Nov. 3, 1914.)

On February 4, 1915, the German Government announced the famous war-zone order placing the British Isles within the danger zone after the 18th of February, 1915. It will be noted this was not a blockade. The order follows:

Since the commencement of the present war Great Britain's conduct of commercial warfare against Germany has been a mockery of all the principles of the law of nations. While the British Government have by several orders declared that their naval forces should be guided by the stipulations of the declaration of London, they have in reality repudiated this declaration in the most essential points, notwithstanding the fact that their own delegates at the maritime conference of London acknowledged its acts as forming part of existing international law. The British Government have placed a number of articles on the contraband list which are not at all, or only very indirectly, capable of use in warfare, and consequently can not be treated as contraband either under the declaration of London or under the generally acknowledged rules of international law. In addition, they have in fact obliterated the distinction between absolute and conditional contraband by confiscating all articles of conditional contraband destined for Germany, whatever may be the port where these articles are to be unloaded, and without regard to whether they are destined for uses of war or peace. They have not even hesitated to violate the declaration of Paris, since their naval forces have captured on neutral ships German property which was not contraband of war. Furthermore, they have gone further than their own orders respecting the declaration of London and caused numerous German subjects capable of bearing arms to be taken from neutral ships and made prisoners of war. Finally, they have declared the North Sea in its whole extent to be the seat of war, thereby rendering difficult and extremely dangerous, if not impossible, all navigation on the high seas between Scotland and Norway, so that they have in a way established a blockade of neutral coasts and ports, which is contrary to the elementary principles of generally accepted international law. Clearly all these measures are part of a plan to strike not only the German military operations but also the economic system of Germany, and in the end to deliver the whole German people to reduction by famine by intercepting legitimate neutral commerce by methods contrary to international law.

The neutral powers have in the main acquiesced in the measures of the British Government; in particular they have not been successful in securing the release by the British Government of the German subjects and German merchandise illegally taken from their vessels. To a certain extent they have even contributed toward the execution of the measures adopted by England in defiance of the principle of the freedom of the seas by prohibiting the export and transit of goods destined for peaceable purposes in Germany, thus evidently yielding to pressure by England. The German Government have in vain called the attention of the neutral powers to the fact that Germany must seriously question whether it can any longer adhere to the stipulations of the declaration of London, hitherto strictly observed by it, in case England continues to adhere to its practice and the neutral powers persist in looking with indulgence upon all these violations of neutrality, to the detriment of Germany. Great Britain invokes the vital interests of the British Empire, which are at stake, in justification of its violations of the law of nations, and the neutral powers appear to be satisfied with theoretical protests, thus actually admitting the vital interests of a belligerent as a sufficient excuse for methods of waging war, of whatever description.

The time has come for Germany also to invoke such vital interests. It therefore finds itself under the necessity, to its regret, of taking military measures against England in retaliation for the practice followed by England. Just as England declared the whole North Sea between Scotland and Norway to be comprised within the seat of war, so does Germany now declare the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland, including the whole English Channel, to be comprised within the seat of war, and will prevent by all the military means at its disposal all navigation by the enemy in those waters. To this end it will endeavor to destroy, after February 18 next, any merchant vessels of the enemy which present themselves at the seat of war above indicated, although it may not always be possible to avert the dangers which may menace persons and merchandise. Neutral powers are accordingly forewarned not to continue to intrust their crews, passengers, or merchandise to such vessels. Their attention is furthermore called to the fact that it is of urgency to recommend to their own vessels to steer clear of these waters. It is true that the

German Navy has received instructions to abstain from all violence against neutral vessels recognizable as such; but, in view of the hazards of war and of the misuse of the neutral flag ordered by the British Government, it will not always be possible to prevent a neutral vessel from becoming the victim of an attack intended to be directed against a vessel of the enemy. It is expressly declared that navigation in the waters north of the Shetland Islands is outside the danger zone, as well as navigation in the eastern part of the North Sea, and in a zone 30 marine miles wide along the Dutch coast.

The German Government announces this measure at a time permitting enemy and neutral ships to make the necessary arrangements to reach the ports situated at the seat of war. They hope that the neutral powers will accord consideration to the vital interests of Germany equally with those of England, and will on their part assist in keeping their subjects and their goods far from the seat of war; the more so since they likewise have a great interest in seeing the termination at an early day of the war now ravaging.

Six days after the announcement of the war-zone order by Germany the President of the United States sent the famous "strict accountability" note, in the following language:

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR AT BERLIN.

Please address a note immediately to the Imperial German Government to the following effect:

The Government of the United States, having had its attention directed to the proclamation of the German Admiralty issued on the 4th of February, that the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland, including the whole of the English Channel, are to be considered as comprised within the seat of war; that all enemy merchant vessels found in those waters after the 18th instant will be destroyed, although it may not always be possible to save crews and passengers; and that neutral vessels expose themselves to danger within this zone of war because, in view of the misuse of neutral flags said to have been ordered by the British Government on the 31st of January and of the contingencies of maritime warfare, it may not be possible always to exempt neutral vessels from attacks intended to strike enemy ships, feels it to be its duty to call the attention of the Imperial German Government, with sincere respect and the most friendly sentiments but very candidly and earnestly, to the very serious possibilities of the course of action apparently contemplated under that proclamation.

The Government of the United States views those possibilities with such grave concern that it feels it to be its privilege, and indeed its duty in the circumstances, to request the Imperial German Government to consider before action is taken the critical situation in respect of the relations between this country and Germany which might arise were the German naval forces, in carrying out the policy foreshadowed in the Admiralty's proclamation, to destroy any merchant vessel of the United States or cause the death of American citizens.

It is of course not necessary to remind the German Government that the sole right of a belligerent in dealing with neutral vessels on the high seas is limited to visit and search, unless a blockade is proclaimed and effectively maintained, which this Government does not understand to be proposed in this case. To declare or exercise a right to attack and destroy any vessel entering a prescribed area of the high seas without first certainly determining its belligerent nationality and the contraband character of its cargo would be an act so unprecedented in naval warfare that this Government is reluctant to believe that the Imperial Government of Germany in this case contemplates it as possible. The suspicion that enemy ships are using neutral flags improperly can create no just presumption that all ships traversing a prescribed area are subject to the same suspicion. It is to determine exactly such questions that this Government understands the right of visit and search to have been recognized.

This Government has carefully noted the explanatory statement issued by the Imperial German Government at the same time with the proclamation of the German Admiralty, and takes this occasion to remind the Imperial German Government very respectfully that the Government of the United States is open to none of the criticisms for unneutral action to which the German Government believe the governments of certain other neutral nations have laid themselves open; that the Government of the United States has not consented to or acquiesced in any measures which may have been taken by the other belligerent nations in the present war which operate to restrain neutral trade, but has, on the contrary, taken in all such matters a position which warrants it in holding those Governments responsible in the proper way for any untoward effects upon American shipping which the accepted principles of international law do not justify; and that it therefore regards itself as free in the present instance to take with a clear conscience and upon accepted principles the position indicated in this note.

If the commanders of German vessels of war should act upon the presumption that the flag of the United States was not being used in good faith and should destroy on the high seas an American vessel or the lives of American citizens, it would be difficult for the Government of the United States to view the act in any other light than as an indefensible violation of neutral rights which it would be very hard indeed to reconcile with the friendly relations now so happily subsisting between the two Governments.

If such a deplorable situation should arise, the Imperial German Government can readily appreciate that the Government of the United States would be constrained to hold the Imperial German Government to a strict accountability for such acts of their naval authorities and to take any steps it might be necessary to take to safeguard American lives and property and to secure to American citizens the full enjoyment of their acknowledged rights on the high seas.

The Government of the United States, in view of these considerations, which it urges with the greatest respect and with the sincere purpose of making sure that no misunderstanding may arise and no circumstance occur that might even cloud the intercourse of the two Governments, expresses the confident hope and expectation that the Imperial German Government can and will give assurance that American citizens and their vessels will not be molested by the naval forces of Germany otherwise than by visit and search, though their vessels may be traversing the sea area delimited in the proclamation of the German Admiralty.

It is added for the information of the Imperial Government that representations have been made to His Britannic Majesty's Government in respect to the unwarranted use of the American flag for the protection of British ships.

BRYAN.

On the 15th of February, 1915, Germany addressed this country on the question of foodstuffs:

THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

1. The federal council's decision concerning the seizure of food products, which England alleges to be the cause of food products shipped to Germany being treated as contraband, is exclusively on "wheat, rye, both unmixed and mixed with other products," and also "wheat, rye, oats, and barley flour."

2. The federal council makes an express exception in section 45 of the order. Section 45 provides as follows: "The stipulations of this regulation do not apply to grain or flour imported from abroad after January 31."

3. Conjunctively with that saving clause, the federal council's order contains a provision under which imported cereals and flours could be sold exclusively to the municipalities of certain specially designated organizations by the importers. Although that provision had for its object simply to throw imported grain and flour into such channels as supply the private consumption of civilians, and, in consequence of that provision, the intent and purpose of the federal council's order, which was to protect the civilian population from speculators and engrossers, were fully met, it was nevertheless rescinded so as to leave no room for doubt.

4. My Government is amenable to any proposition looking to control by a special American organization under the supervision of the American consular officers, and, if necessary, will itself make a proposition in that direction.

5. The German Government further calls attention to the fact that municipalities do not form part of or belong to the Government, but are "self-administrative bodies," which are elected by the inhabitants of the commune in accordance with fixed rules, and therefore exclusively represent the private part of the population and act as it directs. Although these principles are generally known and obtain in the United States, as well as in England itself, the German Government desired to point out the fact so as to avoid any further unnecessary delay.

6. Hence it is absolutely assured that imported food products will be consumed by the civilian population in Germany exclusively, and there remains no doubt upon which England can prevent the exportation of food products from America to Germany for the use of civilians.

The Imperial Government expresses the firm hope that the American Government will stand on its right in this matter. (The New York Times, Feb. 18, 1915.)

On the same day Germany addressed a second note on three items:

PARAPHRASE OF A NOTE FROM THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

According to absolutely reliable information British merchant ships intend to oppose armed resistance to German men-of-war in the area declared as war zone by the German Admiralty.

Some of these ships were already armed with British naval guns. Now all the others are speedily being equipped in a similar way. Merchant ships have been instructed to sail in groups, and to ram German submarines, while the examination is proceeding, or should the submarines lie alongside, to throw bombs upon them, or else to attempt to overpower the examining party coming on board.

A very high premium has been offered for the destruction of the first German submarine by a British merchant vessel. Therefore, British merchant ships can not any more be considered as undefended, so that they may be attacked by German war vessels without warning or search. The British admitted that instructions had been given to misuse neutral flags. It is almost certain that British merchant vessels will by all means try to conceal their identity. Thereby it also becomes almost impossible to ascertain the identity of neutral ships, unless they sail in daylight under convoy, as all measures suggested by neutrals, for instance painting of the ships in the national colors, may be promptly imitated by British ships. The attacks to be expected by masked British merchant vessels make a search impossible, as the examining party and the submarines themselves would thereby be exposed to destruction.

Under the circumstances, the safety of neutral shipping in the war zone around the British Isles is seriously threatened. There is also an increased danger resulting from mines, as these will be laid in the war zone to a great extent. Accordingly, neutral ships are urgently warned against entering that area, while the course around Scotland will be safe.

Germany has been compelled to resort to this kind of warfare by the murderous ways of British naval warfare, which aims at the destruction of legitimate neutral trade and at the starvation of the German people. Germany will be obliged to adhere to these announced principles till England submits to the recognized rules of warfare established by the declarations of Paris and London, or till she is compelled to do so by the neutral powers. (The New York Times, Feb. 16, 1915.)

Six days after our note and two days before the German order was to take effect the German Government replied to our "strict accountability" note as follows:

THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR.

In reference to the note of the 12th instant, foreign office No. 2260, relative to the German measures respecting the theater of war in the waters surrounding England, the undersigned has the honor to reply to his excellency the ambassador of the United States, James W. Gerard, as follows:

The Imperial German Government have examined the communication of the Government of the United States in the same spirit of good will and friendship which seems to have prompted this communication.

The Imperial German Government are in entire accord with the Government of the United States that it is in the highest degree desirable for all parties to avoid the misunderstanding which might arise from the measures announced by the German Admiralty and to avert the intrusion of events calculated to interrupt the most friendly relations which have so happily existed between the two Governments up to this time.

On this assurance the German Government believe that they may depend on full understanding on the part of the United States, all the more because the action announced by the German Admiralty, as was dwelt upon at length in the note of the 4th instant, is in no wise directed against the legitimate trade and navigation of neutral States, but merely represents an act of self-defense which Germany's vital interests force her to take against England's method of conducting maritime war in defiance of international law, which no protest on the part of neutrals has availed to bring into accordance with the legal status generally recognized before the outbreak of hostilities.

In order to exclude all possible doubt on this cardinal point the German Government beg to set forth once more the actual situation.

Up to now Germany has scrupulously observed the existing provisions of international law relative to maritime war. In particular she assented without delay to the proposal made by the American Government directly after the war began to ratify the declaration of London, and embodied the contents thereof without change in her prize law, even without formally binding herself in this direction. The German Government have adhered to these provisions, even where they conflicted with military interests. Our Government at the same time have permitted the supply of food by Denmark to England until the present, although they could well have prevented this traffic by reason of their naval forces.

In direct opposition to this, England has not shrunk from grave violations of international law wherever she could thereby cripple Germany's peaceable trade with neutral countries. It will not be necessary for the German Government to go into great detail on this point, especially since the American note to the British Government dated December 28, 1914, which has been brought to their knowledge, has dealt with this point very aptly if not very exhaustively on the ground of the experiences of months.

It is conceded that the intention of all these aggressions is to cut off Germany from all supplies, and thereby to deliver up to death by famine a peaceful civilian population, a procedure contrary to law of war and every dictate of humanity.

The neutrals have not been able to prevent this interception of different kinds of trade with Germany contrary to international law. It is true that the American Government have protested against England's procedure, and Germany is glad to acknowledge this; but, in spite of this protest and the protests of the other neutral Governments, England has not allowed herself to be dissuaded from the course originally adopted. Thus, the American ship *Wilhelmina* was recently brought into port by England, although her cargo was destined solely for the civil population of Germany and was to be used only for this purpose, according to an express declaration of the German Government.

In this way the following has been created: Germany is to all intents and purposes cut off from over-sea supplies with the toleration, tacit or protesting, of the neutrals, regardless of whether it is a question of goods which are absolute contraband or only conditional contraband or not contraband at all, following the law generally recognized before the outbreak of the war. On the other hand, England, with the indulgence of neutral Governments, is not only being provided with such goods as are not contraband or merely conditional contraband, namely, foodstuffs, raw material, etc., although these are treated by England when Germany is in question as absolute contraband, but also with goods which have been regularly and unquestionably acknowledged to be absolute contraband. The German Government believe that they are obliged to point out very particularly and with the greatest emphasis that a trade in arms exists between American manufacturers and Germany's enemies which is estimated at many hundred million marks.

The German Government have given due recognition to the fact that as a matter of form the exercise of rights and the toleration of wrong on the part of neutrals is limited by their pleasure alone and involves no formal breach of neutrality. The German Government have not, in consequence, made any charge of formal breach of neutrality. The German Government can not, however, do otherwise, especially in the interest of absolute clearness in the relations between the two countries, than to emphasize that they, in common with the public opinion of Germany, feel themselves placed at a great disadvantage through the fact that the neutral powers have hitherto achieved no success, or only an unmeaning success, in their assertion of the right to trade with Germany, acknowledged to be legitimate by international law, whereas they make unlimited use of their right to tolerate trade in contraband with England and our other enemies. Conceded that it is the formal right of neutrals not to protect their legitimate trade with Germany, and even to allow themselves knowingly and willingly to be induced by England to restrict such trade, it is, on the other hand, not less their good right, although unfortunately not exercised, to stop trade in contraband, especially the trade in arms, with Germany's enemies.

In view of this situation the German Government see themselves compelled, after six months of patience and watchful waiting, to meet England's murderous method of conducting maritime war with drastic counter measures. If England invokes the powers of famine as an ally in its struggle against Germany with the intention of leaving a civilized people the alternative of perishing in misery or submitting to the yoke of England's political and commercial will, the German Government are to-day determined to take up the gauntlet and to appeal to the same grim ally. They rely on the neutrals who have hitherto tacitly or under protest submitted to the consequences, detrimental to themselves, of England's war of famine to display not less tolerance toward Germany, even if the German measures constitute new forms of maritime war, as has hitherto been the case with the English measures .

In addition to this, the German Government are determined to suppress with all the means at their disposal the supply of war material to England and her allies and assume at the same time that it is a matter of course that the neutral Governments which have hitherto undertaken no action against the trade in arms which (sic) [with] Germany's enemies do not intend to oppose the forcible suppression of this trade by Germany.

Proceeding from these points of view, the German Admiralty has declared the zone prescribed by it the seat of war; it will obstruct this area of maritime war by mines wherever possible and also endeavor to destroy the merchant vessels of the enemy in any other way.

It is very far, indeed, from the intention of the German Government, acting in obedience to these compelling circumstances, ever to destroy neutral lives and neutral property; but, on the other hand, they can not be blind to the fact that dangers arise through the action to be carried out against England which menace without discrimination all trade within the area of maritime war. This applies, as a matter of course, to war mines, which place any ship approaching a mined area in danger, even if the limits of international law are adhered to most strictly.

The German Government believe that they are all the more justified in the hope that the neutral powers will become reconciled with this, just as they have with the serious injury caused them thus far by England's measures, because it is their will to do everything in any way compatible with the accomplishment of their purpose for the protection of neutral shipping even within the area of maritime war.

They furnish the first proof of their good will by announcing the measures intended by them at a time not less than two weeks beforehand in order to give neutral shipping an opportunity to make the necessary arrangements to avoid the threatening danger. The safest method of doing this is to stay away from the area of maritime war. Neutral ships entering the closed waters in spite of this announcement, given so far in advance, and which seriously impairs the accomplishment of the military purpose against England, bear their own responsibility for any unfortunate accidents. The German Government, on their side, expressly decline all responsibility for such accidents and their consequences.

Furthermore, the German Government announced merely the destruction of enemy merchant vessels found within the area of maritime war, and not the destruction of all merchant vessels, as the American Government appear to have erroneously understood. This limitation which the German Government have imposed upon themselves impairs the military purpose, especially since the presumption will prevail, even in the case of neutral ships, that they have contraband on board, in view of the interpretation of the idea of contraband in which the English Government have indulged as regards Germany and which the German Government will accordingly apply against England.

Naturally the Imperial Government are not willing to waive the right to establish the presence of contraband in the cargoes of neutral ships and, in cases requiring it, to take any action necessary on the grounds established. Finally, the German Government are prepared to accord, in conjunction with the American Government, the most earnest consideration to any measure that might be calculated to insure the safety of legitimate shipping of neutrals within the seat of war. They can not, however, overlook the fact that all efforts in this direction are considerably hampered by two circumstances: First, by the misuse of the neutral flag by English merchant vessels, which, in the meantime, has probably been established beyond a doubt by the American Government likewise; second, by the above-mentioned trade in contraband, especially war materials, by neutral merchant vessels. In regard to the latter point, the German Government ventures to hope that the American Government, upon reconsideration, will see their way clear to a measure of intervention in accordance with the spirit of true neutrality.

As regards the first point, the secret order of the British Admiralty has already been communicated to the American Government by Germany. It recommends English merchant vessels to use neutral flags and has in the meantime been confirmed by a statement of the British foreign office, which refers to the municipal law of England and characterizes such action as quite unobjectionable. The English merchant marine has followed this counsel without delay, as is probably known to the American Government from the cases of the *Lusitania* and *Laertes*. Moreover, the British Government have armed English merchant vessels and instructed them to resist by force the German submarines. In these circumstances it is very difficult for the German submarines to recognize neutral merchant vessels as such, for even a search will not be possible in the majority of cases, since the attacks to be anticipated in the case of a disguised English ship would expose the commanders conducting a search and the boat itself to the danger of destruction.

The British Government would then be in a position to render the German measures illusory if their merchant marine persists in the misuse of neutral flags and neutral vessels are not marked in some other manner admitting of no possible doubt. Germany must, in the exigency into which she has unlawfully been forced, make her measures effective at all events in order thereby to compel her adversary to conduct maritime warfare in accordance with international law, and thus to reestablish the freedom of the seas, which she has even advocated and for which she is fighting likewise to-day.

The German Government, therefore, welcomes the fact that the American Government have made representations to the British Government relative to the use of their flag contrary to law, and give expression to the expectation that this action will cause England to respect the American flag in future.

In this expectation the commanders of the German submarines have been instructed, as was already stated in the note of the 4th instant, to abstain from violence to American merchant vessels when they are recognized as such.

In order to meet in the safest manner all the consequences of mistaking an American for a hostile merchant vessel, the German Government recommended that (although this would not apply in the case of danger from mines) the United States convoy their ships carrying peaceable cargoes and traversing the English seat of maritime war in order to make them recognizable. In this connection the German Government believe it should be made a condition that only such ships should be convoyed as carry no merchandise which would have to be considered as contraband, according to the interpretation applied by England against Germany. The German Government are prepared to enter into immediate negotiations with the American Government relative to the manner of convoy. They would, however, be particularly grateful if the American Government would urgently advise their merchant vessels to avoid the English seat of maritime war, at any rate until the flag question is settled.

The German Government resign themselves to the confident hope that the American Government will recognize the full meaning of the severe struggle which Germany is conducting for her very existence, and will gain full understanding of the reasons which prompt Germany and the aims of the measures announced by her from the above explanations and promises.

The German Government repeat that in the scrupulous consideration for neutrals hitherto practiced by them they have determined upon the measures planned only under the strongest compulsion of national self-preservation. Should the American Government at the eleventh hour succeed in removing, by virtue of the weight which they have the right and ability to throw into the scales of the fate of peoples, the reasons which have made it the imperative duty of the German Government to take the action indicated; should the American Government in particular find a way to bring about the observation of the declaration of London on the part of the powers at war with Germany and thereby to render possible for Germany the legitimate supply of foodstuffs and industrial raw materials, the German Government would recognize this as a service which could not be too highly estimated in favor of more humane conduct of war, and would gladly draw the necessary conclusions from the new situation thus created.

The undersigned requests the ambassador to bring the above to the attention of the American Government and avails himself of the opportunity to renew, etc.

VON JAGOW.

Four days later our Government proposed simultaneously to both England and Germany mutual concessions on naval warfare as follows:

You will please deliver to Sir Edward Grey the following identic note, which we are sending England and Germany:

In view of the correspondence which has passed between this Government and Great Britain and Germany, respectively, relative to the declaration of a war zone by the German Admiralty and the use of neutral flags by British merchant vessels, this Government ventures to express the hope that the two belligerent Governments may, through reciprocal concessions, find a basis for agreement which will relieve neutral ships engaged in peaceful commerce from the great dangers which they will incur in the high seas adjacent to the coasts of the belligerents.

The Government of the United States respectfully suggests that an agreement in terms like the following might be entered into. This suggestion is not to be regarded as in any sense a proposal made by this Government, for it, of course, fully recognizes that it is not its privilege to propose terms of agreement between Great Britain and Germany, even though the matter be one in which it and the people of the United States are directly and deeply interested. It is merely venturing to take the liberty which it hopes may be accorded a sincere friend desirous of embarrassing neither nation involved and of serving, if it may, the common interests of humanity. The course outlined is offered in the hope that it may draw forth the views and elicit the suggestions of the British and German Governments on a matter of capital interest to the whole world.

Germany and Great Britain to agree:

1. That neither will sow any floating mines, whether upon the high seas or in territorial waters; that neither will plant on the high seas anchored mines except within cannon range of harbors for defensive purposes only; and that all mines shall bear the stamp of the Government planting them and be so constructed as to become harmless if separated from their moorings.

2. That neither will use submarines to attack merchant vessels of any nationality except to enforce the right of visit and search.

3. That each will require their respective merchant vessels not to use neutral flags for the purpose of disguise or ruse de guerre.

Germany to agree:

That all importations of food or foodstufis from the United States (and from such other neutral countries as may ask it) into Germany shall be consigned to agencies to be designated by the United States Government; that these American agencies shall have entire charge and control, without interference on the part of the German Government, of the receipt and distribution of such importations, and shall distribute them solely to retail dealers bearing licenses from the German Government entitling them to receive and furnish such food and foodstuffs to noncombatants only; that any violation of the terms of the retailers' licenses shall work a forfeiture of their rights to receive such food and foodstuffs for this purpose; and that such food and foodstuffs will not be requisitioned by the German Government for any purpose whatsoever or be diverted to the use of the armed forces of Germany.

Great Britain to agree:

That food and foodstuffs will not be placed upon the absolute contraband list and that shipments of such commodities will not be interfered with or detained by British authorities if consigned to agencies designated by the United States Government in Germany for the receipt and distribution of such cargoes to licensed German retailers for distribution solely to the noncombatant population.

In submitting this proposed basis of agreement this Government does not wish to be understood as admitting or denying any belligerent or neutral right established by the principles of international law, but would consider the agreement, if acceptable to the interested powers, a modus vivendi based upon expediency rather than legal right and as not binding upon the United States either in its present form or in a modified form until accepted by this Government.

BRYAN.

On the 28th of February Germany virtually agreed to make concessions, as follows:

THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR.

The undersigned has the honor to inform his excellency, Mr. James W. Gerard, ambassador of the United States of America, in reply to the note of the 22d instant that the Imperial German Government have taken note with great interest of the suggestion of the American Government that certain principles for the conduct of maritime war on the part of Germany and England be agreed upon for the protection of neutral shipping. They see therein new evidence of the friendly feelings of the American Government toward the German Government which are fully reciprocated by Germany.

It is in accordance with Germany's wishes also to have maritime war conducted according to rules which without discriminately restricting one or the other of the belligerent powers in the use of their means of warfare are equally considerate of the interests of neutrals and the dictates of humanity. Consequently it was intimated in the German note of the 16th instant that observation of the declaration of London on the part of Germany's adversaries would create a new situation from which the German Government would gladly draw the proper conclusions.

Proceeding from this view, the German Government have carefully examined the suggestion of the American Government and believe that they can actually see in it a suitable basis for the practical solution of the questions which have arisen.

With regard to the various points of the American note they beg to make the following remarks:

1. With regard to the sowing of mines, the German Government would be willing to agree as suggested not to use floating mines and to have anchored mines constructed as indicated. Moreover, they agree to put the stamp of the Government on all mines to be planted. On the other hand, it does not appear to them to be feasible for the belligerents wholly to forego the use of anchored mines for offensive purposes.

2. The German Government would undertake not to use their submarines to attack mercantile of any flag except when necessary to enforce the right of visit and search. Should the enemy nationality of the vessel or the presence of contraband be ascertained, submarine would proceed in accordance with the general rules of international law.

3. As provided in the American note, this restriction of the use of the submarines is contingent on the fact that enemy mercantile abstain from the use of the neutral flag and other neutral distinctive marks. It would appear to be a matter of course that such mercantile also abstain from arming themselves and from all resistance by force, since such procedure contrary to international law would render impossible any action of the submarines in accordance with international law.

4. The regulation of legitimate importations of food into Germany suggested by the American Government appears to be in general acceptable. Such regulation would, of course, be confined to importations by sea, but that would, on the other hand, include indirect importations by way of neutral ports. The German Government would therefore be willing to make the declarations of the nature provided in the American note so that the use of the imported food and foodstuffs solely by the noncombatant population would be guaranteed. The Imperial Government must, however, in addition (* * *) (apparent omission) having the importation of other raw material used by the economic system of noncombatants including forage permitted. To that end the enemy Governments would have to permit the free entry into Germany of the raw materials mentioned in the free list of the declaration of London, and to treat materials included in the list of conditional contraband according to the same principles as food and foodstuffs.

The German Government ventures to hope that the agreement for which the American Government has paved the way may be reached after due consideration of the remarks made above, and that in this way peaceable neutral shipping and trade will not have to suffer any more than is absolutely necessary from the unavoidable effects of maritime war. These effects could be still further reduced if, as was pointed out in the German note of the 16th instant, some way could be found to exclude the shipping of munitions of war from neutral countries to belligerents on ships of any nationality.

On March 1 England made her statement. It was read by the prime minister to the House of Commons and communicated to the neutral powers:

THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR AT WASHINGTON TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

Germany has declared that the English Channel, the north and west coasts of France, and the waters around the British Isles are a war area, and has officially notified that all enemy ships found in that area will be destroyed, and that neutral vessels may be exposed to danger. This is in effect a claim to torpedo at sight, without regard to the safety of the crew or passengers, any merchant vessel under any flag. As it is not in the power of the German Admiralty to maintain any surface craft in these waters, this attack can only be delivered by submarine agency.

The law and custom of nations in regard to attacks on commerce have always presumed that the first duty of the captor of a merchant vessel is to bring it before a prize court, where it may be tried, where the regularity of the capture may be challenged, and where neutrals may recover their cargoes. The sinking of prizes is in itself a questionable act, to be resorted to only in extraordinary circumstances and after provision has been made for the safety of all the crew or passengers, if there are passengers on board. The responsibility for discriminating between neutral and enemy vessels and between neutral and enemy cargo obviously rests with the attacking ship, whose duty it is to verify the status and character of the vessel and cargo and to preserve all papers before sinking or even capturing it. So also is the humane duty of providing for the safety of the crews of merchant vessels, whether neutral or enemy, an obligation upon every belligerent.

It is upon this basis that all previous discussions of the law for regulating warfare at sea have proceeded. A German submarine, however, fulfills none of these obligations; she enjoys no local command of the waters in which she operates; she does not take her captures within the jurisdiction of a prize court; she carries no prize crew which she can put on board a prize; she uses no effective means of discriminating between a neutral and an enemy vessel; she does not receive on board for safety the crew and passengers of the vessel she sinks; her methods of warfare are therefore entirely outside the scope of any of the international instruments regulating operations against commerce in time of war. The German declaration substitutes indiscriminate destruction for regulated capture. Germany is adopting these methods against peaceful traders and noncombatant crews with the avowed object of preventing commodities of all kinds, including food for the civil population, from reaching or leaving the British Isles or northern France.

Her opponents are therefore driven to frame retaliatory measures in order in their turn to prevent commodities of any kind from reaching or leaving Germany. These measures will, however, be enforced by the British and French Governments without risk to neutral ships or to neutral or noncombatant life and in strict observance of the dictates of humanity. The British and French Governments will therefore hold themselves free to detain and take into port ships carrying goods of presumed enemy destination, ownership, or origin. It is not intended to confiscate such vessels or cargoes unless they would otherwise be liable to condemnation. The treatment of vessels and cargoes which have sailed before this date will not be affected.

CECIL SPRING-RICE.

On the 4th of March Congress adopted a resolution safeguarding the neutrality of American waters:

Resolved, etc., That from and after the passage of this resolution, and during the existence of a war to which the United States is not a party and in order to prevent the neutrality of the United States from being violated by the use of its territory, its ports, or its territorial waters, as the base of operations for the armed forces of a belligerent, contrary to the obligations imposed by the law of nations, the treaties to which the United States is a party, or contrary to the statutes of the United States, the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and empowered to direct the collectors of customs under the jurisdiction of the United States to withhold clearance from any vessel of American or foreign registry, or license, which he has reasonable cause to believe to be about to carry fuel, arms, ammunition, men, or supplies to any warship, or tender, or supply ships of a belligerent nation in violation of the obligations of the United States as a neutral nation.

In case any such vessel of American register or license shall depart or attempt to depart from the jurisdiction of the United States, without clearance, for any of the purposes, the owner or master, or person or persons having charge or command of such vessel, shall severally be liable to a fine of not less than $2,000 nor more than $10,000 or to imprisonment not to exceed two years, or both; and in addition such vessels shall be forfeited to the United States.

That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized and empowered to employ such part of the land or naval forces of the United States as shall be necessary to carry out the purposes of this resolution.

That the provisions of this resolution shall be deemed to extend to all lands and waters, continental or insular, within the jurisdiction of the United States. (The New York Times, Mar. 4, 1915.)

On the next day the American Government inquired how the restraint upon sea-borne commerce with Germany is to be effected:

THE SECRATARY OF STATE TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR AT LONDON.

In regard to the recent communications received from the British and Frencr Governments concerning restraints upon commerce with Germany, please communicate with the British foreign office in the sense following:

The difficulty of determining action upon the British and French declarations of intended retaliation upon commerce with Germany lies in the nature of the proposed measures in their relation to commerce by neutrals.

While it appears that the intention is to interfere with and take into custody all ships, both outgoing and incoming, trading with Germany, which is in effect a blockade of German ports, the rule of blockade, that a ship attempting to enter or leave a German port regardless of the character of its cargo may be condemned, is not asserted.

The language of the declaration is: "The British and French Governments will therefore hold themselves free to detain and take into port ships carrying goods of presumed enemy destination, ownership, or origin. It is not intended to confiscate such vessels or cargoes unless they would otherwise be liable to condemnation."

The first sentence claims a right pertaining only to a state of blockade. The last sentence proposes a treatment of ships and cargoes as if no blockade existed. The two together present a proposed course of action previously unknown to international law.

As a consequence, neutrals have no standard by which to measure their rights or to avoid danger to their ships and cargoes. The paradoxical situation thus created should be changed, and the declaring powers ought to assert whether they rely upon the rules governing a blockade or the rules applicable when no blockade exists.

The declaration presents other perplexities.

The last sentence quoted indicates that the rules of contraband are to be applied to cargoes detained. The rule covering noncontraband articles carried in neutral bottoms is that the cargoes shall be released and the ships allowed to proceed. This rule can not, under the first sentence quoted, be applied as to destination. What, then, is to be done with a cargo of noncontraband goods detained under the declaration? The same question may be asked as to conditional-contraband cargoes.

The foregoing comments apply to cargoes destined for Germany. Cargoes coming out of German ports present another problem under the terms of the declaration. Under the rules governing enemy exports, only goods owned by enemy subjects in enemy bottoms are subject to seizure and condemnation. Yet by the declaration it is purposed to seize and take into port all goods of enemy "ownership and origin." The word "origin" is particularly significant. The origin of goods destined to neutral territory on neutral ships is not and never has been a ground for forfeiture except in case a blockade is declared and maintained. What, then, would the seizure amount to in the present case except to delay the delivery of the goods? The declaration does not indicate what disposition would be made of such cargoes if owned by a neutral or if owned by an enemy subject. Would a different rule be applied, according to ownership? If so, upon what principles of international law would it rest? And upon what rule, if no blockade is declared and maintained, could the cargo of a neutral ship sailing out of a German port be condemned? If it is not condemned, what other legal course is there but to release it?

While this Government is fully alive to the possibility that the methods of modern naval warfare, particularly in the use of the submarine for both defensive and offensive operations, may make the former means of maintaining a blockade a physical impossibility, it feels that it can be urged with great force that there should be also some limit to "the radius of activity," and especially so if this action by the belligerents can be construed to be a blockade. It would certainly create a serious state of affairs if, for example, an American vessel laden with a cargo of German origin should escape the British patrol in European waters only to be held up by a cruiser off New York and taken into Halifax.

Similar cablegram sent to Paris. BRYAN.

On the 13th of March the British Government rejected this Government's proposal for mutual concessions in the following language:

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR.

On the 22d of February last I received a communication from your excellency of the identic note addressed to His Majesty's Government and to Germany respecting an agreement on certain points as to the conduct of the war at sea. The reply of the German Government to this note has been published, and it is not understood from the reply that the German Government are prepared to abandon the practice of sinking British merchant vessels by submarines, and it is evident from their reply that they will not abandon the use of mines for offensive purposes on the high seas as contrasted with the use of mines for defensive purposes only within cannon range of their own harbors, as suggested by the Government of the United States. This being so, it might appear unnecessary for the British Government to make any further reply than to take note of the German answer. We desire, however, to take the opportunity of making a fuller statement of the whole position and of our feeling with regard to it. We recognize with sympathy the desire of the Government of the United States to see the European war conducted in accordance with the previously recognized rules of international law and the dictates of humanity. It is thus that the British forces have conducted the war, and we are not aware that these forces, either naval or military, can have laid to their charge any improper proceedings, either in the conduct of hostilities or in the treatment of prisoners or wounded. On the German side it has been very different.

1. The treatment of civilian inhabitants in Belgium and the north of France has been made public by the Belgian and French Governments and by those who have had experience of it at first hand. Modern history affords no precedent for the sufferings that have been inflicted on the defenseless and noncombatant population in the territory that has been in German military occupation. Even the food of the population was confiscated until in Belgium an international commission, largely influenced by American generosity and conducted under American auspices, came to the relief of the population and secured from the German Government a promise to spare what food was still left in the country, though the Germans still continue to make levies in money upon the defenseless population for the support of the German army.

2. We have from time to time received most terrible accounts of the barbarous treatment to which British officers and soldiers have been exposed after they have been taken prisoner while being conveyed to German prison camps; one or two instances have already been given to the United States Government founded upon authentic and first-hand evidence which is beyond doubt. Some evidence has been received of the hardships to which British prisoners of war are subjected in the prison camps, contrasting, we believe, most unfavorably with the treatment of German prisoners in this country. We have proposed, with the consent of the United States Government, that a commission of United States officers should be permitted in each country to inspect the treatment of prisoners of war. The United States Government have been unable to obtain any reply from the German Government to this proposal, and we remain in continuing anxiety and apprehension as to the treatment of British prisoners of war in Germany.

3. At the very outset of the war a German mine layer was discovered laying a mine field on the high seas. Further mine fields have been laid from time to time without warning, and, so far as we know, are still being laid on the high seas, and many neutral as well as British vessels have been sunk by them.

4. At various times during the war German submarines have stopped and sunk British merchant vessels, thus making the sinking of merchant vessels a general practice, though it was admitted previously, if at all, only as an exception, the general rule to which the British Government have adhered being that merchant vessels, if captured, must be taken before a prize court. In one case already quoted in a note to the United States Government a neutral vessel carrying foodstuffs to an unfortified town in Great Britain has been sunk. Another case is now reported in which a German armed cruiser has sunk an American vessel, the *William P. Frye*, carrying a cargo of wheat from Seattle to Queenstown. In both cases the cargoes were presumably destined for the civil population. Even the cargoes in such circumstances should not have been condemned without the decision of a prize court, much less should the vessels have been sunk. It is to be noted that both these cases occurred before the detention by the British authorities of the *Wilhelmina* and her cargo of foodstuffs which the German Government allege is the justification for their own action. The Germans have announced their intention of sinking British merchant vessels by torpedo without notice and without any provision for the safety of the crew. They have already carried out this intention in the case of neutral as well as of British vessels, and a number of noncombatant and innocent lives on British vessels, unarmed and defenseless, have been destroyed in this way.

5. Unfortified, open, and defenseless towns, such as Scarborough, Yarmouth, and Whitby, have been deliberately and wantonly bombarded by German ships of war, causing in some cases considerable loss of civilian life, including women and children.

6. German aircraft have dropped bombs on the east coast of England where there were no military or strategic points to be attacked. On the other hand, I am aware of but two criticisms that have been made on British action in all these respects: (1) It is said that the British naval authorities also have laid some anchored mines on the high seas. They have done so, but the mines were anchored and so constructed that they would be harmless if they went adrift, and no mines whatever were laid by the British naval authorities till many weeks after the Germans had made a regular practice of laying mines on the high seas. (2) It is said that the British Government have departed from the view of international law which they had previously maintained, that foodstuffs destined for the civil population should never be interfered with, this charge being founded on the submission to a prize court of the cargo of the *Wilhelmina*. The special considerations affecting this cargo have already been presented in a memorandum to the United States Government, and I need not repeat them here. Inasmuch as the stoppage of all foodstuffs is an admitted consequence of blockade, it is obvious that there can be no universal rule based on considerations of morality and humanity which is contrary to this practice. The right to stop foodstuffs destined for the civil population must therefore in any case be admitted if an effective "cordon" controlling intercourse with the enemy is drawn, announced, and maintained. Moreover, independently of rights arising from belligerent action in the nature of blockade, some other nations, differing from the opinion of the Governments of the United States and Great Britain, have held that to stop the food of the civil population is a natural and legitimate method of bringing pressure to bear on an enemy country, as it is upon the defense of a besieged town. It is also upheld on the authority of both Prince Bismarck and Count Caprivi, and therefore presumably is not repugnant to German morality. The following are the quotations from Prince Bismarck and Court Caprivi on this point. Prince Bismarck, in answering, in 1885, an application from the Kiel Chamber of Commerce for a statement of the view of the German Government on the question of the right to declare as contraband foodstuffs that were not intended for military forces, said: "I reply to the chamber of commerce that any disadvantage our commercial and carrying interests may suffer by the treatment of rice as contraband of war does not justify our opposing a measure which it has been thought fit to take in carrying on a foreign war. Every war is a calamity which entails evil consequences, not only on the combatants but also on neutrals. These evils may easily be increased by the interference of a neutral power with the way in which a third carries on the war to the disadvantage of the subjects of the interfering power, and by this means German commerce might be weighted with far heavier losses than a transitory prohibition of the rice trade in Chinese waters. The measure in question has for its object the shortening of the war by increasing the difficulties of the enemy, and is a justifiable step in war if impartially enforced against all neutral ships." Count Caprivi, during a discussion in the German Reichstag on the 4th of March, 1892, on the subject of the importance of international protection for private property at sea, made the following statements: "A country may be dependent for her food or for her raw products upon her trade. In fact, it may be absolutely necessary to destroy the enemy's trade." * * * "The private introduction of provisions into Paris was prohibited during the siege, and in the same way a nation would be justified in preventing the import of food and raw produce." The Government of Great Britain have frankly declared, in concert with the Government of France, their intention to meet the German attempt to stop all supplies of every kind from leaving or entering British or French ports by themselves stopping supplies going to or from Germany by sea. The difference between the two policies is, however, effectively controlling by cruiser "cordon" all passage to and from Germany by sea. The difference between the two policies is, however, that while our object is the same as that of Germany, we propose to attain it without sacrificing neutral ships or noncombatant lives or inflicting upon neutrals the damage that must be entailed when a vessel and its cargo are sunk without notice, examination, or trial. I must emphasize again that this measure is a natural and necessary consequence of the unprecedented methods, repugnant to all law and

morality, which have been described above, which Germany began to adopt at the very outset of the war, and the effects of which have been constantly accumulating. (Dip. Corr., 64–65.)

On the 15th of March Britain replied to the American inquiry as to the sea-borne trade with Germany:

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR.

1. His Majesty's Government have had under careful consideration the inquiries which, under instructions from your Government, your excellency addressed to me on the 8th instant regarding the scope and mode of application of the measures, foreshadowed in the British and French declarations of the 1st of March, for restricting the trade of Germany. Your excellency explained and illustrated by reference to certain contingencies the difficulty of the United States Government in adopting a definite attitude toward these measures by reason of uncertainty regarding their bearing upon the commerce of neutral countries.

2. I can at once assure your excellency that subject to the paramount necessity of restricting German trade His Majesty's Government have made it their first aim to minimize inconvenience to neutral commerce. From the accompanying copy of the order in council, which is to be published to-day, you will observe that a wide discretion is afforded to the prize court in dealing with the trade of neutrals in such manner as may in the circumstances be deemed just and that full provision is made to facilitate claims by persons interested in any goods placed in the custody of the marshal of the prize court under the order. I apprehend that the perplexities to which your excellency refers will for the most part be dissipated by the perusal of this document and that it is only necessary for me to add certain explanatory observations.

3. The effect of the order in council is to confer certain powers upon the executive officers of His Majesty's Government. The extent to which those powers will be actually exercised and the degree of severity with which the measures of blockade authorized will be put into operation are matters which will depend on the administrative orders issued by the Government and the decisions of the authorities specially charged with the duty of dealing with individual ships and cargoes, according to the merits of each case. The United States Government may rest assured that the instructions to be issued by His Majesty's Government to the fleet and to the customs officials and executive committees concerned will impress upon them the duty of acting with the utmost dispatch consistent with the object in view and of showing in every case such consideration for neutrals as may be compatible with that object which is, succinctly stated, to establish a blockade to prevent vessels from carrying goods for or coming from Germany.

4. His Majesty's Government have felt most reluctant at the moment of initiating a policy of blockade to exact from neutral ships all the penalties attaching to a breach of blockade. In their desire to alleviate the burden which the existence of a state of war at sea must inevitably impose on neutral sea-borne commerce, they declare their intention to refrain altogether from the exercise of the right to confiscate ships or cargoes which belligerents have always claimed in respect of breaches of blockade. They restrict their claim to the stopping of cargoes destined for or coming from the enemy's territory.

5. As regards cotton, full particulars of the arrangements contemplated have already been explained. It will be admitted that every possible regard has been had to the legitimate interests of the American cotton trade.

6. Finally, in reply to the penultimate paragraph of your excellency's note, I have the honor to state that it is not intended to interfere with neutral vessels carrying enemy cargo of noncontraband nature outside European waters, including the Mediterranean. (Dip. Corr. 65.)

No. 34. British order in council, March 15, 1915, in restraint of sea-borne commerce with Germany.

Whereas the Germany Government has issued certain orders which, in violation of the usages of war, purport to declare the waters surrounding the United Kingdom a military area, in which all British and allied merchant vessels will be destroyed, irrespective of the safety of the lives of passengers and crew, and in which neutral shipping will be exposed to similar danger in view of the uncertainties of naval warfare; and

Whereas in a memorandum accompanying the said orders neutrals are warned against intrusting crews, passengers, or goods to British or allied ships; and

Whereas such attempts on the part of the enemy give to His Majesty an unquestionable right of retaliation; and

Whereas His Majesty has therefore decided to adopt further measures in order to prevent commodities of any kind from reaching or leaving Germany, though such measures will be enforced without risk to neutral ships or to neutral or noncombatant life and in strict observance of the dictates of humanity; and

Whereas the allies of His Majesty are associated with him in the steps now to be announced for restricting further the commerce of Germany:

His Majesty is therefore pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order and it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. No merchant vessel (sic) which sailed from her port of departure after the 1st March, 1915, shall be allowed to proceed on her voyage to any German port.

Unless the vessel receives a pass enabling her to proceed to some neutral or allied port to be named in the pass, goods on board any such vessel must be discharged in a British port and placed in the custody of the marshal of the prize court. Goods so discharged, not being contraband of war, shall, if not requisitioned for the use of His Majesty, be restored by order of the court, upon such terms as the court may in the circumstances deem to be just, to the person entitled thereto.

2. No merchant vessel which sailed from any German port after the 1st March, 1915, shall be allowed to proceed on her voyage with any goods on board laden at such port.

All goods laden at such port must be discharged in a British or allied port. Goods so discharged in a British port shall be placed in the custody of the marshal of the prize court, and if not requisitioned for the use of His Majesty shall be detained or sold under the direction of the prize court. The proceeds of goods so sold shall be paid into court and dealt with in such manner as the court may in the circumstances deem to be just.

Provided, That no proceeds of the sale of such goods shall be paid out of court until the conclusion of peace, except on the application of the proper officer of the Crown, unless it be shown that the goods had become neutral property before the issue of this order.

Provided also, That nothing herein shall prevent the release of neutral property laden at such enemy port on the application of the proper officer of the Crown.

3. Every merchant vessel which sailed from her port of departure after the 1st of March, 1915, on her way to a port other than a German port, carrying goods with an enemy destination or which are enemy property, may be required to discharge such goods in a British or allied port. Any goods so discharged in a British port shall be placed in the custody of the marshal of the prize court, and, unless they are contraband of war, shall, if not requisitioned for the use of His Majesty, be restored by order of the court upon such terms as the court may in the circumstances deem to be just to the person entitled thereto.

Provided, That this article shall not apply in any case falling within articles 2 or 4 of this order.

4. Every merchant vessel which sailed from a port other than a German port after the 1st of March, 1915, having on board goods which are of enemy origin or are enemy property may be required to discharge such goods in a British or allied port. Goods so discharged in a British port shall be placed in the custody of the marshal of the prize court, and if not requisitioned for the use of His Majesty shall be detained or sold under the direction of the prize court. The proceeds of goods so sold shall be paid into court and dealt with in such manner as the court may in the circumstances deem to be just.

Provided, That no proceeds of sale of such goods shall be paid out of court until the conclusion of peace, except on the application of the proper officer of the Crown, unless it be shown that the goods had become neutral property before the issue of this order.

Provided, also, That nothing herein shall prevent the release of neutral property of enemy origin on the application of the proper officer of the Crown.

5. Any person claiming to be interested in, or to have any claim in respect of, any goods (not being contraband of war) placed in the custody of the marshal of the prize court under this order, or in the proceeds of such goods, may forthwith issue a writ in the prize court against the proper officer of the Crown and apply for an order that the goods should be restored to him, or that their proceeds should be paid to him, or for such other order as the circumstances of the case may require.

The practice and procedure of the prize court shall, so far as applicable, be followed mutatis mutandis in any proceedings consequential upon this order.

6. A merchant vessel which has cleared for a neutral port from a British or allied port, or which has been allowed to pass, having an ostensible destination to a neutral port, and proceeds to an enemy port, shall, if captured on any subsequent voyage, be liable to condemnation.

7. Nothing in this order shall be deemed to affect the liability of any vessel or goods to capture or condemnation independently of this order.

8. Nothing in this order shall prevent the relaxation of the provisions of this order in respect of the merchant vessels of any country which declares that no commerce intended for or originating in Germany or belonging to Germany (sic) subjects shall enjoy the protection of its flag. (Dip. Corr., 66.)

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No. 35. British order in council, March 23, 1915, authorizing the requisition of neutral ships. (Presented by the solicitor of the Crown in an argument in favor of requisitioning the cargo of foodstuffs on the *Wilhelmina*. See Nos. 20 and 25.)

Whereas by section 3 of the prize courts act, 1894, His Majesty in council is authorized to make rules of court for regulating, subject to the provisions of the naval prize act, 1864, and the said act, the procedure and practice of prize courts within the meaning of the naval prize act, 1864, and the duties and conduct of the officers of the courts and of the practitioners therein, and for regulating the fees to be taken by the officers thereof, and the costs, charges, and expenses to be allowed to the practitioners therein; and

Whereas in pursuance of the prize courts act, 1894, certain rules were made by the order of His Majesty in council, dated the 5th day of August, 1914, and amended by the orders of His Majesty in council of the 30th day of September, 1914, and the 28th day of November, 1914, respectively, which said rules and amended rules were by the said orders in council directed to take effect provisionally in accordance with the provisions of section 2 of the rules publication act, 1893, from the dates of the said orders in council, respectively; and

Whereas the provisions of section 1 of the rules publication act, 1893, were duly complied with in respect of the said rules and amended rules, and the same were finally made by the orders of His Majesty in council, dated, respectively, the 17th day of September, 1914, the 28th day of November, 1914, and the 3d day of February, 1915; and

Whereas it is expedient that the said rules and amended rules should be further amended; and

Whereas on account of urgency this order should come into immediate operation:

Now, therefore, His Majesty, by virtue of the powers in this behalf by the said act or otherwise in him vested, is pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, as follows:

1. That in order 9 (discovery, inspection, and admission of documents and facts) of the said rules:

In rule 1, the words "upon filing an affidavit" shall be omitted.

In rule 1, instead of the words "any other party" there shall be substituted the words "any party other than the proper officer of the Crown."

2. That in order 11 (sale, appraisement, safe custody, and inspection of prize) of the said rules, in rule 1, the following words shall be omitted: "On account of the condition of a ship, or on application of a claimant, and on or after condemnation."

3. That in order 15 (evidence and hearing) of the said rules the following rule shall be added:

"21. Notwithstanding anything contained in these rules the proper officer of the Crown may apply to the judge for leave to administer interrogatories for the examination of any person, whether a party to the cause or not."

4. That order 29 (requisition by admiralty) of the said rules, as amended by His Majesty's order in council dated the 28th day of November, 1914, shall be, and the same is hereby, revoked, and in lieu thereof the following order shall have effect:

"ORDER 29.—REQUISITION.

"1. Where it is made to appear to the judge on the application of the proper officer of the Crown that it is desired to requisition on behalf of His Majesty a ship in respect to which no final decree of condemnation has been made, he shall order that the ship shall be appraised, and that upon an undertaking being given in accordance with rule 5 of this order, the ship shall be released and delivered to the Crown.

"2. Where a decree for the detention of a ship has been made in accordance with order 28, the proper officer of the Crown may file a notice (Appendix A, Form No. 55) that the Crown desires to requisition the same, and thereupon a commission (Appendix A, Form No. 56) to the marshal directing him to appraise the ship shall issue. Upon an undertaking being given in accordance with rule 5 of this order the ship shall be released and delivered to the Crown. Service of this notice shall not be required before filing, but copies thereof shall be served upon the parties by the proper officer of the Crown as soon thereafter as possible.

"3. Where in any case of requisition under this order it is made to appear to the judge on behalf of the Crown that the ship is required for the service of His Majesty forthwith, the judge may order the same to be forthwith released and delivered to the Crown without appraisement.

"4. In any case where a ship has been requisitioned under the provisions of this order, and whether or not an appraisement has been made, the court may, on the application of any party, fix the amount to be paid by the Crown in respect of the value of the ship.

"5. In every case of requisition under this order an undertaking in writing shall be filed by the proper officer of the Crown for payment into court on behalf of the Crown of the appraised value of the ship, or of the amount fixed under rule 4 of this order, as the case may be, at such time or times as the court shall declare by order that the same or any part thereof is required for the purpose of payment out of court.

"6. Where in any case of requisition under this order it is made to appear to the judge on behalf of the Crown that the Crown desires to requisition the ship temporarily, the court may, in lieu of an order of release, make an order for the temporary delivery of the ship to the Crown, and subject as aforesaid the provisions of this order shall apply to such a requisition, provided that, in the event of the return of the ship to the custody of the court, the court may make such order as it thinks fit for the release of the undertaking given on behalf of the Crown or the reduction of the amount undertaken to be paid thereby, as the case may be; and provided also, that where the ship so requisitioned is subject to the provisions of order 28, rule 1, relating to detention, the amount for which the Crown shall be considered liable in respect of such requisition shall be the amount of the damage, if any, which the ship has suffered by reason of such temporary delivery as aforesaid.

"7. The proceedings in respect of a ship requisitioned under this order shall continue notwithstanding the requisition.

"8. In any case of requisition of a ship in respect of which no cause has been instituted, any person interested in such ship may, without issuing a writ, provided he does not intend to make a claim for restitution or damages, apply by summons for an order that the amount to be paid in respect of such ship be fixed by the court, and the judge may, on the hearing of such summons, order the ship to be appraised or to be valued, or give such other directions for fixing the amount as he may think fit."

5. That in Form 4 in Appendix A to the said rules there shall be omitted the words "commander of our ship of war" and the words "taken and seized as prize by our said ship of war."

6. This order shall take effect provisionally in accordance with the provisions of section 2 of the rules-publication act, 1893, from the date hereof. (Dip. Corr., 72–73.)

On January 28 the *W. P. Frye* was destroyed by a German auxiliary cruiser. *Prinz Eitel Friedrich*, seeking refuge in Newport News Harbor, brought with her the crew of the *Frye*, a four-masted bark, which had sailed on November 4, 1914, from Seattle with a cargo of wheat consigned to United Kingdom ports.

The *Prinz Eitel* had encountered her on the high seas January 27, 1915, and sunk her, the German captain contending that her cargo was conditional contraband, and that since he had no means of delivering her to a prize court he had the right to sink her, under the provisions of the declaration of London.

The American Government, in April, asked compensation of $228,059 for the destruction of the vessel. The German Government replied on April 8, admitting liability under treaties of commerce between the United States and Prussia. Settlement was left to arbitration, still uninvoked.

The correspondence, which comprises several notes, was printed on January 11, 1916, and is found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, first session of the Sixty-fourth Congress, pages 883 to 913. It is not necessary to reproduce it here.

This dispute does not involve the submarine controversy.

The seizure of the *Wilhelmina*, with a cargo of foodstuffs, was the occasion of several notes on the question of contraband. This correspondence does not involve the submarine controversy, and it is not necessary to insert it here. It will be found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, first session Sixty-fourth Congress, pages 883 to 913.

On April 4 Germany filed a memorandum concerning the British restraint of sea-borne trade with Germany and the American exportation of war material:

THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

The various British orders in council have one-sidedly modified the generally recognized principles of international law in a way which arbitrarily stops the commerce of neutral nations with Germany. Even before the last British order in council, the shipment of conditional contraband, especially food supplies, to Germany was practically impossible. Prior to the protest sent by the American to the British Government on December 28 last, such a shipment did not actually take place in a single case. Even after this protest the Imperial Embassy knows of only a single case in which an American shipper has ventured to make such a shipment for the purpose of legitimate sale to Germany. Both ship and cargo were immediately seized by the English and are being held in an English port under the pretext of an order of the German federal council (Bundesrath) regarding the grain trade, although this resolution of the federal council relates exclusively to grain and flour, and not to other foodstuffs, besides making an express exception with respect to imported foodstuffs, and although the German Government gave the American Government an assurance and proposed a special organization whereby the exclusive consumption by the civilian population is absolutely guaranteed.

Under the circumstances, the seizure of the American ship was inadmissible according to recognized principles of international law. Nevertheless the United States Government has not to date secured the release of the ship and cargo, and has not, after a duration of the war of eight months, succeeded in protecting its lawful trade with Germany.

Such a long delay, especially in matters of food supply, is equivalent to an entire denial.

The Imperial Embassy must therefore assume that the United States Government acquiesces in the violations of international law by Great Britain.

Then there is also the attitude of the United States in the question of the exportation of arms. The Imperial Government feels sure that the United States Government will agree that in questions of neutrality it is necessary to take into consideration not only the formal aspect of the case, but also the spirit in which the neutrality is carried out.

The situation in the present war differs from that of any previous war. Therefore any reference to arms furnished by Germany in former wars is not justified, for then it was not a question whether war material should be supplied to the belligerents, but who should supply it in competition with other nations. In the present war all nations having a war-material industry worth mentioning are either involved in the war themselves or are engaged in perfecting their own armaments, and have therefore laid an embargo against the exportation of war material. The United States is, accordingly, the only neutral country in a position to furnish war materials. The conception of neutrality is thereby given a new purport, independently of the formal question of hitherto existing law. In contradiction thereto the United States is building up a powerful arms industry in the broadest sense, the existing plants not only being worked but enlarged by all available means, and new ones built. The international conventions for the protection of the rights of neutral nations doubtless sprang from the necessity of protecting the existing industries of neutral nations as far as possible from injury in their business. But it can in no event be in accordance with the spirit of true neutrality if, under the protection of such international stipulations, an entirely new industry is created in a neutral State, such as is the development of the arms industry in the United States, the business whereof, under the present conditions, can benefit only the belligerent powers.

This industry is actually delivering goods only to the enemies of Germany. The theoretical willingness to supply Germany also, if shipments thither were possible, does not alter the case. If it is the will of the American people that there shall be a true neutrality, the United States will find means of preventing this one-sided supply of arms or at least of utilizing it to protect legitimate trade with Germany, especially that in foodstuffs. This view of neutrality should all the more appeal to the United States Government, because the latter enacted a similar policy toward Mexico. On February 4, 1914, President Wilson, according to a statement of a Representative in Congress in the Committee on Foreign Affairs, of December 30, 1914, upon the lifting of the embargo on arms to Mexico, declared that "we should stand for genuine neutrality, considering the surrounding facts of the case * * *." He then held that "in that case, because Carranza had no ports, while Huerta had them and was able to import these materials, that it was our duty as a nation to treat Carranza and Huerta upon an equality if we wished to observe the true spirit of neutrality, as compared with a mere paper neutrality."

If this view were applied to the present case, it would lead to an embargo on the exportation of arms. (Dip. Corr., 73–74.)

On April 21 our Government replied to Germany's note of the 4th:

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR.

EXCELLENCY: I have given thoughtful consideration to your excellency's note of the 4th of April, 1915, inclosing a memorandum of the same date, in which your excellency discusses the action of this Government with regard to trade between the United States and Germany and the attitude of this Government with regard to the exportation of arms from the United States to the nations now at war with Germany.

I must admit that I am somewhat at a loss how to interpret your excellency's treatment of these matters. There are many circumstances connected with these important subjects to which I would have expected your excellency to advert, but of which you make no mention, and there are other circumstances to which you do refer which I would have supposed to be hardly appropriate for discussion between the Government of the United States and the Government of Germany.

I shall take the liberty, therefore, of regarding your excellency's references to the course pursued by the Government of the United States with regard to interferences with trade from this country, such as the Government of Great Britain has attempted, as intended merely to illustrate more fully the situation to which you desire to call our attention and not as an invitation to discuss that course. Your excellency's long experience in international affairs will have suggested to you that the relations of the two Governments with one another can not wisely be made a subject of discussion with a third Government, which can not be fully informed as to the facts and which can not be fully cognizant of the reasons for the course pursued. I believe, however, that I am justified in assuming that what you desire to call forth is a frank statement of the position of this Government in regard to its obligations as a neutral power. The general attitude and course of policy of this Government in the maintenance of its neutrality I am particularly anxious that your excellency should see in their true light. I had hoped that this Government's position in these respects had been made abundantly clear, but I am, of course, perfectly willing to state it again. This seems to me the more necessary and desirable because, I regret to say, the language which your excellency employs in your memorandum is susceptible of being construed as impugning the good faith of the United States in the performance of its duties as a neutral. I take it for granted that no such implication was intended, but it is so evident that your excellency is laboring under certain false impressions that I can not be too explicit in setting forth the facts as they are, when fully reviewed and comprehended.

In the first place, this Government has at no time and in no manner yielded any one of its rights as a neutral to any of the present belligerents. It has acknowledged, as a matter of course, the right of visit and search and the right to apply the rules of contraband of war to articles of commerce. It has, indeed, insisted upon the use of

visit and search as an absolutely necessary safeguard against mistaking neutral vessels for vessels owned by an enemy and against mistaking legal cargoes for illegal. It has admitted also the right of blockade if actually exercised and effectively maintained. These are merely the well-known limitations which war places upon neutral commerce on the high seas. But nothing beyond these has it conceded. I call your excellency's attention to this, notwithstanding it is already known to all the world as a consequence of the publication of our correspondence in regard to these matters with several of the belligerent nations, because I can not assume that you have official cognizance of it.

In the second place, this Government attempted to secure from the German and British Governments mutual concessions with regard to the measures those Governments respectively adopted for the interruption of trade on the high seas. This it did, not of right, but merely as exercising the privileges of a sincere friend of both parties and as indicating its impartial good will. The attempt was unsuccessful; but I regret that your excellency did not deem it worthy of mention in modification of the impressions you expressed. We had hoped that this act on our part had shown our spirit in these times of distressing war, as our diplomatic correspondence had shown our steadfast refusal to acknowledge the right of any belligerent to alter the accepted rules of war at sea in so far as they affect the rights and interests of neutrals.

In the third place, I note with sincere regret that, in discussing the sale and exportation of arms by citizens of the United States to the enemies of Germany, your excellency seems to be under the impression that it was within the choice of the Government of the United States, notwithstanding its professed neutrality and its diligent efforts to maintain it in other particulars, to inhibit this trade, and that its failure to do so manifested an unfair attitude toward Germany. This Government holds, as I believe your excellency is aware, and as it is constrained to hold in view of the present indisputable doctrines of accepted international law, that any change in its own laws of neutrality during the progress of a war which would affect unequally the relations of the United States with the nations at war would be an unjustifiable departure from the principle of strict neutrality by which it has consistently sought to direct its actions, and I respectfully submit that none of the circumstances urged in your excellency's memorandum alters the principle involved. The placing of an embargo on the trade in arms at the present time would constitute such a change and be a direct violation of the neutrality of the United States. It will, I feel assured, be clear to your excellency that, holding this view and considering itself in honor bound by it, it is out of the question for this Government to consider such a course.

I hope that your excellency will realize the spirit in which I am drafting this reply. The friendship between the people of the United States and the people of Germany is so warm and of such long standing, the ties which bind them to one another in amity are so many and so strong, that this Government feels under a special compulsion to speak with perfect frankness when any occasion arises which seems likely to create any misunderstanding, however slight or temporary, between those who represent the Governments of the two countries. It will be a matter of gratification to me if I have removed from your excellency's mind any misapprehension you may have been under regarding either the policy or the spirit and purposes of the Government of the United States. Its neutrality is founded upon the firm basis of conscience and good will.

Accept, etc., W. J. BRYAN.

(Dip. Corr. 74–75.)

On April 28 a German aeroplane attacked an American vessel, the *Cushing*, off the Dutch coast. On May 1 another American vessel, the *Gulflight*, was torpedoed off the Scilly Islands, with a loss of two lives. The German Government issued an apology and offered reparation in case the *Cushing* had been attacked by an aeroplane.

On March 28 Leon T. Thrasher, an American citizen, lost his life by the destruction of the English steamship *Falaba* by a German torpedo. This case involved the rights of an American noncombatant on a belligerent unarmed merchantman.

These items do not come under the submarine controversy, but are evidence of the restraints of naval warfare on neutral rights which preceded the submarine activities.

On June 1 the following was sent by Germany:

THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR.

Referring to the note of May 28, the undersigned has the honor to inform his excellency the American (*sic*) ambassador of the United States of America, Mr. James W. Gerard, that the examination undertaken on the part of the German Government concerning the American steamers *Gulflight* and *Cushing* has led to the following conclusions:

In regard to the attack on the steamer *Gulflight*, the commander of a German submarine saw on the afternoon of May 1, in the vicinity of the Scilly Islands, a large merchant steamer coming in his direction which was accompanied by two smaller vessels. These latter took such position in relation to the steamer that they formed a regulation safeguard against submarines; moreover, one of them had a wireless apparatus, which is not usual with small vessels. From this it evidently was a case of English convoy vessels. Since such vessels are frequently armed, the submarine could not approach the steamer on the surface of the water without running the danger of destruction. It was, on the other hand, to be assumed that the steamer was of considerable value to the British Government, since it was so guarded. The commander could see no neutral markings on it of any kind—that is, distinctive marks painted on the freeboard recognizable at a distance, such as are now usual on neutral ships in the English zone of naval warfare. In consequence he arrived at the conclusion from all the circumstances that he had to deal with an English steamer, submerged, and attacked.

The torpedo came in the immediate neighborhood of one of the convoy ships, which at once rapidly approached the point of firing; that the submarine was forced to go to a great depth to avoid being rammed. The conclusion of the commander that an English convoy ship was concerned was in this way confirmed. That the attacked steamer carried the American flag was first observed at the moment of firing the shot. The fact that the steamship was pursuing a course which led neither to nor from America was a further reason why it did not occur to the commander of the submarine that he was dealing with an American steamship.

Upon scrutiny of the time and place of the occurrence described, the German Government has become convinced that the attacked steamship was actually the American steamship *Gulflight*. There can be no doubt, according to the attendant circumstances, that the attack is to be attributed to an unfortunate accident, and not to the fault of the commander. The German Government expresses its regrets to the Government of the United States concerning this incident, and declares itself ready to furnish full recompense for the damage thereby sustained by American citizens. It is left to the discretion of the American Government to present a statement of this damage, or, if doubt may arise over individual points, to designate an expert who would have to determine, together with a German expert, the amount of damage.

It has not yet been possible by means of an inquiry to clear up fully the case of the American ship *Cushing*. Official reports available report only one merchant ship attacked by a German flying machine in the vicinity of Nordhind Lightship. The German aviator was forced to consider the vessel as hostile because it carried no flag, and, further, because of no recognizable neutral markings. The attack of four bombs was, of course, not aimed at any American ship.

However, that the ship attacked was the American steamer *Cushing* is possible, considering the time and place of the occurrence. Nevertheless, the German Government accordingly requests of the American Government that it communicate to the German Government the material which was submitted for judgment, in order that, with this as a basis, a further position can be taken in the matter.

The undersigned leaves it to the ambassador to bring the foregoing to the immediate attention of his Government, and takes this opportunity to renew to him the assurance of his most distinguished consideration.

VON JAGOW, *Minister for Foreign Affairs.*

[The New York Times, June 5, 1915.]

On April 22 the Imperial German Embassy published a warning against embarkation on vessels belonging to Great Britain or her allies:

NOTICE.

Travelers intending to embark on the Atlantic voyage are reminded that a state of war exists between Germany and her allies and Great Britain and her allies; that the zone of war includes the waters adjacent the British Isles; that, in accordance with formal notice given by the Imperial German Government, vessels flying the flag of Great Britain, or of any of her allies, are liable to destruction in those waters, and that travelers sailing in the war zone on ships of Great Britain or her allies do so at their own risk.

IMPERIAL GERMAN EMBASSY.

On May 7 the *Lusitania* was struck, with its frightful consequences. Three days later the German note expressing regret for the loss of American lives through the sinking of the *Lusitania:*

THE GERMAN FOREIGN OFFICE TO THE GERMAN EMBASSY AT WASHINGTON.

Please communicate the following to the State Department: The German Government desires to express its deepest sympathy at the loss of lives on board the *Lusitania*. The responsibility rests, however, with the British Government, which, through its plan of starving the civilian population of Germany, has forced Germany to resort to retaliatory measures.

In spite of the German offer to stop the submarine war in case the starvation plan was given up, British merchant vessels are being generally armed with guns and have repeatedly tried to ram submarines, so that a previous search was impossible.

They can not, therefore, be treated as ordinary merchant vessels. A recent declaration made to the British Parliament by the parliamentary secretary in answer to a question by Lord Charles Beresford said that at the present practically all British merchant vessels were armed and provided with hand grenades.

Besides, it has been openly admitted by the English press that the *Lusitania* on previous voyages repeatedly carried large quantities of war material. On the present voyage the *Lusitania* carried 5,400 cases of ammunition, while the rest of her cargo also consisted chiefly of contraband.

If England, after repeated official and unofficial warnings, considered herself able to declare that that boat ran no risk and thus lightheartedly assumed responsibility for the human life on board a steamer which, owing to its armament and cargo, was liable to destruction, the German Government, in spite of its heartfelt sympathy for the loss of American lives, can not but regret that Americans felt more inclined to trust to English promises rather than to pay attention to the warnings from the German side.

FOREIGN OFFICE.

The next day Germany made a statement in regard to the treatment of neutral vessels in the war zone:

THE GERMAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR.

First. The Imperial German Government has naturally no intention of causing to be attacked by submarines or aircraft such neutral ships of commerce in the zone of naval warfare, more definitely described in the notice of the German Admiralty staff of February 4 last, as have been guilty of no hostile act. On the contrary, the most definite instructions have repeatedly been issued to German war vessels to avoid attacks on such ships under all circumstances. Even when such ships have contraband of war on board they are dealt with by submarines solely according to the rules of international law applying to prize warfare.

Second. Should a neutral ship nevertheless come to harm through German submarines or aircraft on account of an unfortunate (X) [mistake?] in the above-mentioned zone of naval warfare, the German Government will unreservedly recognize its responsibility therefor. In such a case it will express its regrets and afford damages without first instituting a prize-court action.

Third. It is the custom of the German Government as soon as the sinking of a neutral ship in the above-mentioned zone of naval warfare is ascribed to German war vessels to institute an immediate investigation into the cause. If grounds appear thereby to be given for association of such a hypothesis, the German Navy places itself in communication with the interested neutral Government, so that the latter may also institute an investigation. If the German Government is thereby convinced that the ship has been destroyed by Germany's war vessels,

it will not delay in carrying out the provisions of paragraph 2 above. In case the German Government, contrary to the viewpoint of the neutral Government, is not convinced by the result of the investigation, the German Government has already on several occasions declared itself ready to allow the question to be decided by an international investigation commission, according to chapter 3 of The Hague Convention of October 18, 1907, for the peaceful solution of international disputes. (The New York Times, May 12, 1915.)

Two days later, May 13, our Government sent the first note on the *Lusitania* case. This was the famous "omit no word or act" declaration:

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR AT BERLIN.

Please call on the Minister of Foreign Affairs and after reading to him this communication leave with him a copy.

In view of recent acts of the German authorities in violation of American rights on the high seas which culminated in the torpedoing and sinking of the British steamship *Lusitania* on May 7, 1915, by which over 100 American citizens lost their lives, it is clearly wise and desirable that the Government of the United States and the Imperial German Government should come to a clear and full understanding as to the grave situation which has resulted.

The sinking of the British passenger steamer *Falaba* by a German submarine on March 28, through which Leon C. Thrasher, an American citizen, was drowned; the attack on April 28 on the American vessel *Cushing* by a German aeroplane; the torpedoing on May 1 of the American vessel *Gulflight* by a German submarine, as a result of which two or more American citizens met their death; and, finally, the torpedoing and sinking of the steamship *Lusitania*, constitute a series of events which the Government of the United States has observed with growing concern, distress, and amazement.

Recalling the humane and enlightened attitude hitherto assumed by the Imperial German Government in matters of international right, and particularly with regard to the freedom of the seas; having learned to recognize the German views and the German influence in the field of international obligation as always engaged upon the side of justice and humanity; and having understood the instructions of the Imperial German Government to its naval commanders to be upon the same plane of humane action prescribed by the naval codes of other nations, the Government of the United States was loath to believe—it can not now bring itself to believe—that these acts, so absolutely contrary to the rules, the practices, and the spirit of modern warfare, could have the countenance or sanction of that great Government. It feels it to be its duty, therefore, to address the Imperial German Government concerning them with the utmost frankness and in the earnest hope that it is not mistaken in expecting action on the part of the Imperial German Government which will correct the unfortunate impressions which have been created and vindicate once more the position of that Government with regard to the sacred freedom of the seas.

The Government of the United States has been apprised that the Imperial German Government considered themselves to be obliged by the extraordinary circumstances of the present war and the measures adopted by their adversaries in seeking to cut Germany off from all commerce, to adopt methods of retaliation which go much beyond the ordinary methods of warfare at sea, in the proclamation of a war zone from which they have warned neutral ships to keep away. This Government has already taken occasion to inform the Imperial German Government that it can not admit the adoption of such measures or such a warning of danger to operate as in any degree an abbreviation of the rights of American shipmasters or of American citizens bound on lawful errands as passengers on merchant ships of belligerent nationality; and that it must hold the Imperial German Government to a strict accountability for any infringement of those rights, intentional or incidental. It does not understand the Imperial German Government to question those rights. It assumes, on the contrary, that the Imperial Government accept, as of course, the rule that the lives of noncombatants, whether they be of neutral citizenship or citizens of one of the nations at war, can not lawfully or rightfully be put in jeopardy by the capture or destruction of an unarmed merchantman, and recognize also, as all other nations do, the obligation to take the usual precaution of visit and search to ascertain whether a suspected merchantman is in fact of belligerent nationality or is in fact carrying contraband of war under a neutral flag.

The Government of the United States, therefore, desires to call the attention of the Imperial German Government with the utmost earnestness to the fact that the objection to their present method of attack against the trade of their enemies lies in the practical impossibility of employing submarines in the destruction of commerce without disregarding those rules of fairness, reason, justice, and humanity which all modern opinion regards as imperative. It is practically impossible for the officers of a submarine to visit a merchantman at sea and examine her papers and cargo. It is practically impossible for them to make a prize of her; and, if they can not put a prize crew on board of her, they can not sink her without leaving her crew and all on board of her to the mercy of the sea in her small boats. These facts, it is understood, the Imperial German Government frankly admit. We are informed that in the instances of which we have spoken time enough for even that poor measure of safety was not given, and in at least two of the cases cited not so much as a warning was received. Manifestly, submarines can not be used against merchantmen, as the last few weeks have shown, without an inevitable violation of many sacred principles of justice and humanity.

American citizens act within their indisputable rights in taking their ships and in traveling wherever their legitimate business calls them upon the high seas, and exercise those rights in what should be the well-justified confidence that their lives will not be endangered by acts done in clear violation of universally acknowledged international obligations, and certainly in the confidence that their own Government will sustain them in the exercise of their rights.

There was recently published in the newspapers of the United States, I regret to inform the Imperial German Government, a formal warning, purporting to come from the Imperial German Embassy at Washington, addressed to the people of the United States, and stating, in effect, that any citizen of the United States who exercised his right of free travel upon the seas would do so at his peril if his journey should take him within the zone of waters within which the Imperial German Navy was using submarines against the commerce of Great Britain and France, notwithstanding the respectful but very earnest protest of his Government, the Government of the United States. I do not refer to this for the purpose of calling the attention of the Imperial German Government at this time to the surprising irregularity of a communication from the Imperial German Embassy at Washington addressed to the people of the United States through the newspapers, but only for the purpose of pointing out that no warning that an unlawful and inhumane act will be committed can possibly be accepted as an excuse or palliation for that act or as an abatement of the responsibility for its commission.

Long acquaintance as this Government has been with the character of the Imperial German Government and with the high principles of equity by which they have in the past been accentuated and guided, the Government of the United States can not believe that the commanders of the vessels which committed these acts of lawlessness did so except under a misapprehension of the orders issued by the Imperial German naval authorities. It takes it for granted that, at least within the practical possibilities of every such case, the commanders even of submarines were expected to do nothing that would involve the lives of noncombatants or the safety of neutral ships, even at the cost of failing of their object of capture or destruction. It confidently expects, therefore, that the Imperial German Government will disavow the acts of which the Government of the United States complains; that they will make reparation so far as reparation is possible for injuries which are without measure; and that they will take immediate steps to prevent the recurrence of anything so obviously subversive of the principles of warfare for which the Imperial German Government have in the past so wisely and so firmly contended.

The Government and people of the United States look to the Imperial German Government for just, prompt, and enlightened action in this vital matter with the greater confidence because the United States and Germany are bound together not only by special ties of friendship but also by the explicit stipulations of the treaty of 1828 between the United States and the Kingdom of Prussia.

Expressions of regret and offers of reparation in case of the destruction of neutral ships sunk by mistake, while they may satisfy international obligations, if no loss of life results, can not justify or excuse a practice the natural and necessary effect of which is to subject neutral nations and neutral persons to new and immeasurable risks.

The Imperial German Government will not expect the Government of the United States to omit any word or any act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment.

BRYAN.

On May 28 the first German note on the *Lusitania* case was transmitted to our Government. This note did not admit the right of Americans on the merchantman and made no offer for reparation:

THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR.

The undersigned has the honor to make the following reply to the note of his excellency, Mr. James W. Gerard, ambassador of the United States of America, dated the 15th instant, on the subject of the impairment of many American interests by the German submarine war.

The Imperial Government has subjected the statements of the Government of the United States to a careful examination, and has the lively wish on its part also to contribute in a convincing and friendly manner to clear up any misunderstandings which may have entered into the relations of the two Governments through the events mentioned by the American Government.

With regard firstly to the cases of the American steamers *Cushing* and *Gulflight*, the American Embassy has already been informed that it is far from the German Government to have any intention of ordering attacks by submarines or flyers on neutral vessels in the zone which have not been guilty of any hostile act; on the contrary, the most explicit instructions have been repeatedly given the German armed forces to avoid attacking such vessels. If neutral vessels have come to grief through the German submarine war during the past few months by mistake, it is a question of isolated and exceptional cases, which are traceable to the misuse of flags by the British Government in connection with carelessness or suspicious actions on the part of the captains of the vessels. In all cases where a neutral vessel through no fault of its own has come to grief through the German submarine or flyers according to the facts as ascertained by the German Government, this Government has expressed its regret at the unfortunate occurrence and promised indemnification where the facts justified it. The German Government will treat the cases of the American steamers *Cushing* and *Gulflight* according to the same principles. An investigation of these cases is in progress. Its results will be communicated to the embassy shortly. The investigation might, if thought desirable, be supplemented by an international commission of inquiry, pursuant to title 3 of The Hague convention of October 18, 1907, for the pacific settlement of international disputes.

In the case of the sinking of the English steamer *Falaba*, the commander of the German submarine had the intention of allowing passengers and crew ample opportunity to save themselves.

It was not until the captain disregarded the order to lay to and took to flight, sending up rocket signals for help, that the German commander ordered the crew and passengers, by signals and megaphone, to leave the ship within 10 minutes. As a matter of fact he allowed them 23 minutes and did not fire the torpedo until suspicious steamers were hurrying to the aid of the *Falaba*.

With regard to the loss of life when the British passenger steamer *Lusitania* was sunk, the German Government has already expressed its deep regret to the neutral Governments concerned that nationals of those countries lost their lives on that occasion. The Imperial Government must state for the rest the impression that certain important facts most directly connected with the sinking of the *Lusitania* may have escaped the attention of the Government of the United States. It therefore considers it necessary in the interest of the clear and full understanding aimed at by either Government primarily to convince itself that the reports of the facts which are before the two Governments are complete and in agreement.

The Government of the United States proceeds on the assumption that the *Lusitania* is to be considered as an ordinary unarmed merchant vessel. The Imperial Government begs in this connection to point out that the *Lusitania* was one of the largest and fastest English commerce steamers, constructed with Government funds as auxiliary cruisers, and is expressly included in the navy list published by British Admiralty. It is, moreover, known to the Imperial Government, from reliable information furnished by its officials and neutral passengers, that for some time practically all the more valuable English merchant vessels have been provided with guns, ammunition, and other weapons and reinforced with a crew specially practiced in manning guns. According to reports at hand here, the *Lusitania* when she left New York undoubtedly had guns on board which were mounted under decks and masked.

The Imperial Government furthermore has the honor to direct the particular attention of the American Government to the fact that the British Admiralty, by a secret instruction of February of this year, advised the British merchant marine not only to seek protection behind neutral flags and markings, but even when so disguised to attack German submarines by ramming them. High rewards have been offered by the British Government as a special incentive for the destruction of the submarines by merchant vessels, and such rewards have already been paid out. In view of these facts, which are satisfactorily known to it, the Imperial Government is unable to consider English merchant vessels any longer as "undefended territory" in the zone of maritime war designated by the admiralty staff of the Imperial German Navy. The German commanders are consequently no longer in a position to observe the rules of capture otherwise usual and with which they invariably complied before this. Lastly, the Imperial Government must specially point out that on her last trip the *Lusitania*, as on earlier occasions, had Canadian troops and munitions on board, including no less than 5,400 cases of ammunition destined for the destruction of brave German soldiers who are fulfilling with self-sacrifice and devotion their duty in the service of the Fatherland. The German Government believes that it acts in just self-defense when it seeks to protect the lives of its soldiers by destroying ammunition destined for the enemy with the means of war at its command. The English steamship company must have been aware of the dangers to which passengers on board the *Lusitania* were exposed under the circumstances. In taking them on board in spite of this the company quite deliberately tried to use the lives of American citizens as protection for the ammunition carried and violated the clear provisions of American laws which expressly prohibit and provide punishment for the carrying of passengers on ships which have explosives on board. The company thereby wantonly caused the death of so many passengers. According to the express report of the submarine commander concerned, which is further confirmed by all other reports, there can be no doubt that the rapid sinking of the *Lusitania* was primarily due to the explosion of the cargo of ammunition caused by the torpedo. Otherwise, in all human probability the passengers of the *Lusitania* would have been saved.

The Imperial Government holds the facts recited above to be of sufficient importance to recommend them to a careful examination by the American Government. The Imperial Government begs to reserve a final statement of its position with regard to the demands made in connection with the sinking of the *Lusitania* until a reply is received from the American Government, and believe that it should recall here that it took note with satisfaction of the proposals of good offices submitted by the American Government in Berlin and London with a view to paving the way for a modus vivendi for the conduct of maritime war between Germany and Great Britain. The Imperial Government furnished at that time ample evidence of its good will by its willingness to consider these proposals. The realization of these proposals failed, as is known, on account of their rejection by the Government of Great Britain.

The undersigned requests his excellency, the ambassador, to bring the above to the knowledge of the American Government and avails himself of the opportunity to renew, etc.

VON JAGOW.

On June 9th the American Government sent a second note on the *Lusitania* case. This note was the occasion for the resignation of Mr. Bryan and the promotion of Mr. Lansing:

THE SECRETARY OF STATE AD INTERIM TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR AT BERLIN.

You are instructed to deliver textually the following note to the minister of foreign affairs:

In compliance with your excellency's request I did not fail to transmit to my Government immediately upon their receipt your note of May 28, in reply to my note of May 15, and your supplementary note of June 1, setting forth the conclusions so far as reached by the Imperial German Government, concerning the attacks on the American steamers *Cushing* and *Gulflight*. I am now instructed by my Government to communicate the following in reply:

The Government of the United States notes with gratification the full recognition by the Imperial German Government, in discussing the cases of the *Cushing* and the *Gulflight*, of the principle of the freedom of all parts of the open sea to neutral ships and the frank willingness of the Imperial German Government to acknowledge and meet its liability where the fact of attack upon neutral ships "which have not been guilty of any hostile act" by German aircraft or vessels of war is satisfactorily established; and the Government of the United States will in due course lay before the Imperial German Government, as it requests, full information concerning the attack on the steamer *Cushing*.

With regard to the sinking of the steamer *Falaba*, by which an American citizen lost his life, the Government of the United States is surprised to find the Imperial German Government contending that an effort on the part of the merchantman to escape capture and secure assistance alters the obligation of the officer seeking to make the capture in respect of the safety of the lives of those on board the merchantman, although the vessel had ceased her attempt to escape when torpedoed. These are not new circumstances. They have been in the minds of statesmen and of international jurists throughout the development of naval warfare, and the Government of the United States does not understand that they have ever been held to alter the principles of humanity upon which it has insisted. Nothing but actual forcible resistance or continued efforts to escape by flight when ordered to stop for the purpose of visit on the part of the merchantman has ever been held to forfeit the lives of her passengers or crew. The Government of the United States, however, does not understand that the Imperial German Government is seeking in this case to relieve itself of liability, but only intends to set forth the circumstances which led the commander of the submarine to allow himself to be hurried into the course which he took.

Your excellency's note, in discussing the loss of American lives resulting from the sinking of the steamship *Lusitania*, adverts at some length to certain information which the Imperial German Government has received with regard to the character and outfit of that vessel, and your excellency expresses the fear that this information may not have been brought to the attention of the Government of the United States.

It is stated in the note that the *Lusitania* was undoubtedly equipped with masked guns, supplied with trained gunners and special ammunition, transporting troops from Canada, carrying a cargo not permitted under the laws of the United States to a vessel also carrying passengers, and serving, in virtual effect, as an auxiliary to the naval forces of Great Britain. Fortunately these are matters concerning which the Government of the United States is in a position to give the Imperial German Government official information. Of the facts alleged in your excellency's note, if true, the Government of the United States would have been bound to take official cognizance in performing its recognized duty as a neutral power and in enforcing its national laws. It was its duty to see to it that the *Lusitania* was not armed for offensive action; that she was not serving as a transport; that she did not carry a cargo prohibited by the statutes of the United States; and that if in fact she was a naval vessel of Great Britain she should not receive clearance as a merchantman; and it performed that duty and enforced its statutes with scrupulous vigilance through its regularly constituted officials. It is able, therefore, to assure the Imperial German Government that it has been misinformed. If the Imperial German Government should deem itself to be in possession of convincing evidence that the officials of the Government of the United States did not perform these duties with thoroughness, the Government of the United States sincerely hopes that it will submit that evidence for consideration.

Whatever may be the contentions of the Imperial German Government regarding the carriage of contraband of war on board the *Lusitania* or regarding the explosion of that material by the torpedo, it need only be said that in the view of this Government these contentions are irrelevant to the question of the legality of the methods used by the German naval authorities in sinking the vessel.

But the sinking of passenger ships involves principles of humanity which throw into the background any special circumstances of detail that may be thought to affect the cases, principles which lift it, as the Imperial German Government will no doubt be quick to recognize and acknowledge, out of the class of ordinary subjects of diplomatic discussion or of international controversy. Whatever be the other facts regarding the *Lusitania*, the principal fact is that a great steamer, primarily and chiefly a conveyance for passengers, and carrying more than a thousand souls who had no part or lot in the conduct of the war, was torpedoed and sunk without so much as a challenge or a warning, and that men, women, and children were sent to their death in circumstances unparalleled in modern warfare. The fact that more than 100 American citizens were among those who perished made it the duty of the Government of the United States to speak of these things and once more, with solemn emphasis, to call the attention of the Imperial German Government to the grave responsibility which the Government of the United States conceives that it has incurred in this tragic occurrence, and to the indisputable principle upon which that responsibility rests. The Government of the United States is contending for something much greater than mere rights of property or privileges of commerce. It is contending for nothing less high and sacred than the rights of humanity, which every Government honors itself in respecting and which no Government is justified in resigning on behalf of those under its care and authority. Only her actual resistance to capture or refusal to stop when ordered to do so for the purpose of visit could have afforded the commander of the submarine any justification for so much as putting the lives of those on board the ship in jeopardy. This principle the Government of the United States understands the explicit instructions issued on August 3, 1914, by the Imperial German Admiralty to its commanders at sea to have recognized and embodied, as do the naval codes of all other nations, and upon it every traveler and seamen had a right to depend. It is upon this principle of humanity as well as upon the law founded upon this principle that the United States must stand.

The Government of the United States is happy to observe that your excellency's note closes with the intimation that the Imperial German Government is willing, now as before, to accept the good offices of the United States in an attempt to come to an understanding with the Government of Great Britain by which the character and conditions of the war upon the sea may be changed. The Government of the United States would consider it a privilege thus to serve its friends and the world. It stands ready at any time to convey to either Government any intimation or suggestion the other may be willing to have it convey, and cordially invites the Imperial German Government to make use of its services in this way at its convenience. The whole world is concerned in anything that may bring about even a partial accommodation of interests or in any way mitigate the terrors of the present distressing conflict.

In the meantime, whatever arrangement may happily be made between the parties to the war, and whatever may in the opinion of the Imperial German Government have been the provocation or the circumstantial justification for the past acts of its commanders at sea, the Government of the United States confidently looks to see the justice and humanity of the Government of Germany vindicated in all cases where Americans have been wronged or their rights as neutrals invaded.

The Government of the United States therefore very earnestly and very solemnly renews the representations of its note transmitted to the Imperial German Government on the 15th of May, and relies in these representations upon the principles of humanity, the universally recognized understandings of international law, and the ancient friendship of the German Nation.

The Government of the United States can not admit that the proclamation of a war zone from which neutral ships have been warned to keep away may be made to operate as in any degree an abbreviation of the rights either of American shipmasters or of American citizens bound on lawful errands as passengers on merchant ships of belligerent nationality. It does not understand the Imperial German Government to question those rights. It understands also it to accept as established beyond question the principle that the lives of noncombatants can not lawfully or rightfully be put in jeopardy by the capture or destruction of an unresisting merchantman, and to recognize the obligation to take sufficient precaution to ascertain whether a suspected merchantman is in fact of belligerent nationality or is in fact carrying contraband of war under a neutral flag. The Government of the United States therefore deems it reasonable to expect that the Imperial German Government will adopt the measures necessary to put these principles into practice in respect of the safeguarding of American lives and American ships, and asks for assurances that this will be done.

ROBERT LANSING.

On July 8th the German Government sent a second note on the *Lusitania*, in which she declined to admit responsibility for loss of American lives on the merchantman and suggested "free and safe" passage under certain specified conditions:

THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR.

The undersigned has the honor to make the following reply to His Excellency Ambassador Gerard to the note of the 10th ultimo re the impairment of American interests by the German submarine war:

The Imperial Government learned with satisfaction from the note how earnestly the Government of the United States is concerned in seeing the principles of humanity realized in the present war. Also this appeal finds ready echo in Germany, and the Imperial Government is quite willing to permit its statements and decisions in the present case to be governed by the principles of humanity just as it has done always.

The Imperial Government welcomed with gratitude when the American Government, in the note of May 15, itself recalled that Germany had always permitted itself to be governed by the principles of progress and humanity in dealing with the law of maritime war.

Since the time when Frederick the Great negotiated with John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson the treaty of friendship and commerce of September 9, 1785, between Prussia and the Republic of the West, German and American statesmen have, in fact, always stood together in the struggle for the freedom of the seas and for the protection of peaceable trade.

In the international proceedings which since have been conducted for the regulation of the laws of maritime war, Germany and America have jointly advocated progressive principles, especially the abolishment of the right of capture at sea and the protection of the interests of neutrals.

Even at the beginning of the present war the German Government immediately declared its willingness, in response to proposals of the American Government, to ratify the declaration of London and thereby subject itself in the use of its naval forces to all the restrictions provided therein in favor of neutrals.

Germany likewise has been always tenacious of the principle that war should be conducted against the armed and organized forces of an enemy country, but that the enemy civilian population must be spared as far as possible from the measures of war. The Imperial Government cherishes the definite hope that some way will be found when peace is concluded, or perhaps earlier, to regulate the law of maritime war in a manner guaranteeing the freedom of the seas, and will welcome it with gratitude and satisfaction if it can work hand in hand with the American Government on that occasion.

If in the present war the principles which should be the ideal of the future have been traversed more and more, the longer its duration, the German Government has no guilt therein. It is known to the American Government how Germany's adversaries, by completely paralyzing peaceable traffic between Germany and neutral countries, have aimed from the very beginning and with increasing lack of consideration at the destruction not so much of the armed forces as the life of the German nation, repudiating in doing so all the rules of international law and disregarding all rights of neutrals.

On November 3, 1914, England declared the North Sea a war area, and by planting poorly anchored mines and by the stoppage and capture of vessels, made passage extremely dangerous and difficult for neutral shipping, thereby actually blockading neutral coasts and ports, contrary to all international law. Long before the beginning of submarine war England practically completely intercepted legitimate neutral navigation to Germany also. Thus Germany was driven to a submarine war on trade.

On November 14, 1914, the English premier declared in the House of Commons that it was one of England's principal tasks to prevent food for the German population from reaching Germany via neutral ports. Since March 1 England has been taking from neutral ships without further formality all merchandise proceeding to Germany as well as all merchandise coming from Germany, even when neutral property. Just as it was also with the Boers, the German people is now to be given the choice of perishing from starvation with its women and children or of relinquishing its independence.

While our enemies thus loudly and openly proclaimed war without mercy until our utter destruction, we were conducting a war in self-defense for our national existence and for the sake of peace of an assured permanency. We have been obliged to adopt a submarine warfare to meet the declared intentions of our enemies and the method of warfare adopted by them in contravention of international law.

With all its efforts in principle to protect neutral life and property from damage as much as possible, the German Government recognizes unreservedly in its memorandum of February 4 that the interests of neutrals might suffer from the submarine warfare. However, the American Government will also understand and appreciate that in the fight for existence, which has been forced upon Germany by its adversaries and announced by them, it is the sacred duty of the Imperial Government to do all within its power to protect and save the lives of German subjects. If the Imperial Government were derelict in these its duties, it would be guilty before God and and history of the violation of those principles of highest humanity which are the foundation of every national existence.

The case of the *Lusitania* shows with horrible clearness to what jeopardizing of human lives the manner of conducting war employed by our adversaries leads. In the most direct contradiction of international law all distinctions between merchantmen and war vessels have been obliterated by the order to British merchantmen to arm themselves and to ram submarines, and the promise of rewards therefor, and neutrals who use merchantmen as travelers thereby have been exposed in an increasing degree to all the dangers of war.

If the commander of the German submarine which destroyed the *Lusitania* had caused the crew and passengers to take to the boats before firing a torpedo, this would have meant the sure destruction of his own vessel. After the experiences in sinking much smaller and less seaworthy vessels it was to be expected that a mighty ship like the *Lusitania* would remain above water long enough, even after the torpedoing, to permit passengers to enter the ship's boats. Circumstances of a very peculiar kind, especially the presence on board of large quantities of highly explosive materials, defeated this expectation.

In addition, it may be pointed out that if the *Lusitania* had been spared, thousands of cases of munitions would have been sent to Germany's enemies and thereby thousands of German mothers and children robbed of breadwinners.

In the spirit of friendship wherewith the German nation has been imbued toward the Union (United States) and its inhabitants since the earliest days of its existence the Imperial Government will always be ready to do all it can during the present war also to prevent the jeopardizing of lives of American citizens.

The Imperial Government, therefore, repeats the assurances that American ships will not be hindered in the prosecution of legitimate shipping and the lives of American citizens in neutral vessels shall not be placed in jeopardy.

In order to exclude any unforeseen dangers to American passenger steamers, made possible in view of the conduct of maritime war by Germany's adversaries, German submarines will be instructed to permit the free and safe passage of such passenger steamers when made recognizable by special markings and notified a reasonable time in advance. The Imperial Government, however, confidently hopes that the American Government will assume to guarantee that these vessels have no contraband on board, details of arrangements for the unhampered passage of these vessels to be agreed upon by the naval authorities of both sides.

In order to furnish adequate facilities for travel across the Atlantic for American citizens, the German Government submits for consideration a proposal to increase the number of available steamers by installing in passenger service a reasonable number of neutral steamers under the American flag, the exact number to be agreed upon under the same condition as the above-mentioned American steamers.

The Imperial Government believes it can assume that in this manner adequate facilities for travel across the Atlantic Ocean can be afforded American citizens. There would, therefore, appear to be no compelling necessity for American citizens to travel to Europe in time of war on ships carrying an enemy flag. In particular the Imperial Government is unable to admit that American citizens can protect an enemy ship through the mere fact of their presence on board.

Germany merely followed England's example when she declared part of the high seas an area of war. Consequently, accidents suffered by neutrals on enemy ships in this area of war can not well be judged differently from accidents to which neutrals are at all times exposed at the seat of war on land, when they betake themselves into dangerous localities in spite of previous warnings. If, however, it should not be possible for the American Government to acquire an adequate number of neutral passenger steamers, the Imperial Government is prepared to interpose no objections to the placing under the American flag by the American Government of four enemy passenger steamers for passenger traffic between North America and England. Assurances of "free and safe" passage for American passenger steamers would then extend to apply under the identical preconditions to these formerly hostile passenger steamers.

The President of the United States has declared his readiness, in a way deserving of thanks, to communicate and suggest proposals to the Government of Great Britain with particular reference to the alteration of maritime war. The Imperial Government will always be glad to make use of the good offices of the President, and hopes that his efforts in the present case, as well as in the direction of the lofty ideal of the freedom of the seas, will lead to an understanding.

The undersigned requests the ambassador to bring the above to the knowledge of the American Government, and avails himself of the opportunity to renew to his excellency the assurance of his most distinguished consideration.

VON JAGOW.

The submarine situation was for the moment made more acute by the attack upon the American steamer *Nebraskan* on May 21.

July 15, the German Government submitted the following memorandum:

THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR.

The German Government received from newspaper reports the intelligence that the American steamer *Nebraskan* had been damaged by a mine or torpedo on the southwest coast of Ireland. It therefore started a thorough investigation of the case without delay, and from the result of the investigation it has become convinced that the damage to the *Nebraskan* was caused by an attack by a submarine.

On the evening of May 25 last the submarine met a steamer bound westward without a flag and no neutral markings on her freeboard, about 65 nautical miles west of Fastnet Rock. No appliance of any kind for the illumination of the flag or markings was to be seen. In the twilight, which had already set in, the name of the steamer was not visible from the submarine. Since the commander of the submarine was obliged to assume from his wide experience in the area of maritime war that only English steamers, and no neutral steamers, traversed the war area without flag and markings, he attacked the vessel with a torpedo, in the conviction that he had an enemy vessel before him. Some time after the shot the commander saw that the vessel had in the meantime hoisted the American flag. As a consequence he, of course, refrained from any further attack. Since the vessel remained afloat, he had no occasion to concern himself further with the boats which had been launched.

It results from this that, without a doubt, that attack on the steamer *Nebraskan* was not meant for the American flag, nor is it traceable to any fault on the part of the commander of the German submarine, but is to be considered an unfortunate accident. The German Government expresses its regret at the occurrence to the Government of the United States of America and declares its readiness to make compensation for the damage thereby sustained by American citizens. (The New York Times, July 16, 1915.)

The third American note on the *Lusitania* case was sent July 21, in which Germany's proposals of last note were rejected. This is the "deliberately unfriendly" declaration in which the specific language quoted recently by the President occurs:

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR AT BERLIN.

You are instructed to deliver textually the following note to the minister for foreign affairs:

The note of the Imperial German Government, dated the 8th of July, 1915, has received the careful consideration of the Government of the United States, and it regrets to be obliged to say that it has found it very unsatisfactory, because it fails to meet the real differences between the two Governments, and indicates no way in which the accepted principles of law and humanity may be applied in the grave matter in controversy, but proposes, on the contrary, arrangements for a partial suspension of those principles which virtually set them aside.

The Government of the United States notes with satisfaction that the Imperial German Government recognizes without reservation the validity of the principles insisted on in the several communications which this Government has addressed to the Imperial German Government with regard to its announcement of a war zone and the use of submarines against merchantmen on the high seas—the principle that the high seas are free; that the character and cargo of a merchantman must first be ascertained before she can lawfully be seized or destroyed; and that the lives of noncombatants may in no case be put in jeopardy unless the vessel resists or seeks to escape after being summoned to submit to examination, for a belligerent act of retaliation is per se an

act beyond the law, and the defense of an act as retaliatory is an admission that it is illegal.

The Government of the United States is, however, keenly disappointed to find that the Imperial German Government regards itself as in large degree exempt from the obligation to observe these principles, even where neutral vessels are concerned, by what it believes the policy and practice of the Government of Great Britain to be in the present war with regard to neutral commerce. The Imperial German Government will readily understand that the Government of the United States can not discuss the policy of the Government of Great Britain with regard to neurtal trade except with that Government itself, and that it must regard the conduct of other belligerent Governments as irrelevant to any discussion with the Imperial German Government of what this Government regards as grave and unjustifiable violations of the rights of American citizens by German naval commanders.

Illegal and inhuman acts, however justifiable they may be thought to be, against an enemy who is believed to have acted in contravention of law and humanity, are manifestly indefensible when they deprive neutrals of their acknowledged rights, particularly when they violate the right to life itself. If a belligerent can not retaliate against an enemy without injuring the lives of neutrals, as well as their property, humanity, as well as justice and a due regard for the dignity of neutral powers, should dictate that the practice be discontinued. If persisted in it would in such circumstances constitute an unpardonable offense against the sovereignty of the neutral nation affected.

The Government of the United States is not unmindful of the extraordinary conditions created by this war or of the radical alterations of circumstance and method of attack produced by the use of instrumentalities of naval warfare which the nations of the world can not have had in view when the existing rules of international law were formulated, and it is ready to make every reasonable allowance for these novel and unexpected aspects of war at sea; but it can not consent to abate any essential or fundamental right of its people because of a mere alteration of circumstances. The rights of neutrals in time of war are based upon principle, not upon expediency, and the principles are immutable. It is the duty and obligation of belligerents to find a way to adapt the new circumstances to them.

The events of the past two months have clearly indicated that it is possible and practicable to conduct such submarine operations as have characterized the activity of the Imperial German Navy within the so-called war zone in substantial accord with the accepted practices of regulated warfare. The whole world has looked with interest and increasing satisfaction at the demonstration of that possibility by German naval commanders. It is manifestly possible, therefore, to lift the whole practice of submarine attack above the criticism which it has aroused and remove the chief causes of offense.

In view of the admission of illegality made by the Imperial Government when it pleaded the right of retaliation in defense of its acts, and in view of the manifest possibility of conforming to the established rules of naval warfare, the Government of the United States can not believe that the Imperial Government will longer refrain from disavowing the wanton act of its naval commander in sinking the *Lusitania* or from offering reparation for the American lives lost, so far as reparation can be made for a needless destruction of human life by an illegal act.

The Government of the United States, while not indifferent to the friendly spirit in which it is made, can not accept the suggestion of the Imperial German Government that certain vessels be designated and agreed upon which shall be free on the seas now illegally proscribed. The very agreement would, by implication, subject other vessels to illegal attack, and would be a curtailment and therefore an abandonment of the principles for which the Government contends, and which in times of calmer counsels every nation would concede as of course.

The Government of the United States and the Imperial German Government are contending for the same great object; have long stood together in urging the very principles upon which the Government of the United States now so solemnly insists. They are both contending for the freedom of the seas. The Government of the United States will continue to contend for that freedom, from whatever quarter violated, without compromise and at any cost. It invites the practical cooperation of the Imperial German Government at this time, when cooperation may accomplish most and this great common object be most strikingly and effectively achieved.

The Imperial German Government expresses the hope that this object may be in some measure accomplished even before the present war ends. It can be. The Government of the United States not only feels obliged to insist upon it, by whomsoever violated or ignored, in the protection of its own citizens, but is also deeply interested in seeing it made practicable between the belligerents themselves, and holds itself ready at any time to act as the common friend who may be privileged to suggest a way.

In the meantime, the very value which this Government sets upon the long and unbroken friendship between the people and Government of the United States and the people and Government of the German Nation impels it to press very solemnly upon the Imperial German Government the necessity for a scrupulous observance of neutral rights in this critical matter. Friendship itself prompts it to say to the Imperial Government that repetition by the commanders of German naval vessels of acts in contravention of those rights must be regarded by the Government of the United States, when they affect American citizens, as deliberately unfriendly.

LANSING.

(The New York Times, July 24, 1915.)

On the 27th day of July the American steamer *Leelanaw* was attacked by a German submarine.

[Telegram.]

AMERICAN CONSULATE,
Dundee, July 28, 1915.

Leelanaw's crew here all safe. Sail Saturday *Saint Paul*. Master under oath stated sighted German submarine July 25, 60 miles northwest Orkneys. Endeavored to escape. Fired on at distance 2 miles, shot falling short; hove to and stopped. Submarine signaled for ship's papers, which were sent. After examining them submarine signaled abandon ship. Ample time given crew to leave ship. Five shots then fired at *Leelanaw* without effect, followed by torpedo. Crew then taken on submarine with lifeboats in tow, after which two more shots were fired, last one setting fire to ship. Submarine headed toward Orkneys. *Leelanaw* was seen to sink 1 hour 20 minutes later. Eight-thirty another steamer being seen approaching, crew ordered to boats, in which they proceeded remainder distance to Kirkwall, arriving 6.30 following morning. *Leelanaw* laden with flax and tow only. Before leaving submarine, master demanded ship's papers. Request refused, his register, customs manifest, and bills of lading being retained. Master has no complaint of treatment on submarine.

DENNISON.

Three months later Germany submitted the following:

AMBASSADOR GERARD TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 1672.] AMERICAN EMBASSY,
Berlin, October 19, 1915.

With reference to the department's telegram No. 2022, dated July 31, 1915, 3 p. m., and to my telegram of even date, No. 3023, I have the honor to transmit herewith a translation of a note received to-day from the imperial foreign office, dated October 16, 1915, relating the facts of the sinking of the American steamer *Leelanaw* by a German submarine on July 25, 1915.

I have, etc.,

J. W. GERARD.

[Inclosure—Translation.]

No. IIIa. 17397.
153453. FOREIGN OFFICE,
Berlin, October 16, 1915.

NOTE VERBALE.

The foreign office has the honor to make the following reply to the note verbale of the Embassy of the United States of America, dated August 2, 1915, F. O. No. 4536, relative to the sinking of the American steamer *Leelanaw*.

The steamer mentioned was stopped by a German submarine at 2.10 o'clock on the afternoon of July 25, 1915, in 59° 55′ latitude north and 4° 22′ longitude west. According to the ship's paper she was on a voyage from Archangel to Belfast; the cargo consisted of flax. The commander of the submarine considered the cargo contraband and decided accordingly to sink the vessel and cargo. He saw to it that the crew of the vessel was safely taken ashore and took the ship's papers of the steamer *Leelanaw* on board the submarine.

Under article 21, No. 22 of the German Prize Ordinance, as amended by the ordinance of April 18, 1915 (Reichs-Gesetzblatt, p. 227), flax is to be considered absolute contraband. The ordinance of April 18, 1915, was communicated to the Embassy of the United States of America by note verbale of April 22, 1915 (IIIa. 8434), with the request that the contents be brought to the knowledge of the American Government. It was possible therefore for the shippers and captain of the steamer *Leelanaw* to have knowledge of the German contraband regulations. The goods were destined for an English port; thus the contraband was liable to seizure without further formality (vide art. 30 of the German Prize Ordinance; art. 31 of the Declaration of London). According to value and bulk the contraband formed more than half the whole cargo; consequently the vessel herself was liable to confiscation (vide art. 41, par. 2 of the German Prize Ordinance; art. 40 of the Declaration of London). Since the German commander was unable to take the steamer into a German port without exposing the submarine to danger or impairing the success of the operations in which it was engaged, he was justified in destroying the vessel (art. 113 of the German Prize Ordinance; art. 49 of the Declaration of London). He fulfilled his obligation of placing all persons on board and the ship's papers in safety. (Art. 116 of the German Prize Ordinance; art. 50 of the Declaration of London.)

The commander therefore acted in conformity with the principles of international law. The legality of the measures taken by him is examinable by German prize jurisdiction according to article 1, No. 2, of the German Prize Ordinance; article 51 of the Declaration of London. The ship's papers have already been sent to the prize court at Hamburg. This court will have to decide the questions whether the destruction of the vessel and cargo was legal, whether the property sunk was liable to confiscation, and to whom and in what amount indemnity is to be awarded, provided any claim therefor is before it. It is true that in the present case, as in the case of the *William P. Frye*, the special provisions of article 13 of the Prussian-American treaty of July 11, 1799, are to be considered, pursuant to which property belonging to citizens of the United States of America may only be confiscated when its value is restored.

It appears from information received from the prize court that the American shipping interests have already intrusted a Hamburg attorney with a representation of their rights before the prize court. The foreign office begs to reserve a note concerning the outcome of the proceedings of the court.

On the 19th of August the *Arabic*, of the White Star Line, was torpedoed and sank in 11 minutes. On the same day Count Bernstorff addressed a communication to our Government, in which he said:

In case Americans should actually have lost their lives this would naturally be contrary to the intention of the German Government, who would deeply regret this fact and has instructed me to extend its sincerest sympathy to the Government of the United States.

Later this communication followed:

AMBASSADOR W. H. PAGE TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

[Telegram—Paraphrase.]

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
London, August 19, 1915.

Mr. Page informs Mr. Lansing that he has just received word that the steamer *Arabic*, of the White Star Line, was torpedoed at 9 o'clock this morning and sank in 11 minutes. He reports that 15 lifeboats from the vessel are proceeding to Liverpool and that he will send details of the incident as soon as possible.

Although I know that you do not wish to discuss the *Lusitania* question till the *Arabic* incident has been definitely and satisfactorily settled, I desire to inform you of the above, because this policy of my Government was decided on before the *Arabic* incident occurred.

I have no objection to your making any use you may please of the above information

I remain, etc.,

J. BERNSTORFF.

Six days later the following was sent from Ambassador Gerard to the Secretary of State:

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
Berlin, September 7, 1915.

Foreign office sends me the following report of the sinking of the *Arabic*, with the request that it be brought to the knowledge of the American Government:

On the 19th of August a German submarine stopped the English steamer *Dunsley* about 60 nautical miles south of Kinsale and was on

the point of sinking the prize by gun fire after the crew had left the vessel. At this moment the commander saw a large steamer making directly toward him. This steamer, which, as developed later, was identical with the *Arabic*, was recognized as an enemy vessel, as she did not fly any flag and bore no neutral markings. When she approached she altered her original course, but then again pointed directly toward the submarine. From this the commander became convinced that the steamer had the intention of attacking and ramming him. In order to anticipate this attack he gave orders to have the submarine submerge and fired a torpedo at the steamer. After firing he convinced himself that the people on board were being rescued in 15 boats.

According to his instructions the commander was not allowed to attack the *Arabic* without warning and without saving lives unless the ship attempted to escape or offered resistance. He was forced to conclude from the attendant circumstances that the *Arabic* planned a violent attack on the submarine. This conclusion was all the more obvious, as he had been fired upon at a great distance in the Irish Sea on August 14—that is, a few days before—by a large passenger steamer apparently belonging to the British Royal Mail Steam Packet Co., which he had neither attacked or stopped.

The German Government most deeply regrets that lives were lost through the action of the commander. It particularly expresses this regret to the Government of the United States on account of the death of American citizens. The German Government is unable, however, to acknowledge any obligation to grant indemnity in the matter, even if the commander should have been mistaken as to the aggressive intentions of the *Arabic*. If it should prove to be the case that it is impossible for the German and the American Governments to reach a harmonious opinion on this point, the German Government would be prepared to submit the difference of opinion as being a question of international law to The Hague tribunals, pursuant to article 38 of The Hague Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes. In so doing it assumes that as a matter of course the arbitral decision shall not be admitted to have the importance of a general decision on the permissibility or the converse under international law of German submarine warfare. Berlin, September 7, 1915.

GERARD.

The *Arabic* controversy was continued by the following memorandum:

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO AMBASSADOR GERARD.

[Telegram.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, September 1½, 1915.

You are instructed to deliver to the foreign office the following summary of the evidence on file in the department in regard to the sinking of the *Arabic*.

(1) It is generally agreed that the course of the *Arabic* drew her nearer to the *Dunsley* from the time the *Dunsley* and *Arabic* sighted each other until about the time the *Arabic* was torpedoed. (Affidavits of master, first, second, and third officers, mess steward and seamen of *Dunsley;* affidavits of captain and second officer of the *Arabic;* unsworn statements of three American passengers.) The officers of the *Dunsley* agree that the *Arabic* altered her course somewhat toward the *Dunsley*, but that her course was variable or zig-zag. (Affidavits of master, first, second, and third officers and mess steward and one seaman of the *Dunsley;* affidavits of captain and second officer of *Arabic;* affidavit of one American passenger.) The third officer stated that the *Arabic* began the zig-zag course 4 miles away from the *Dunsley*. Though the *Arabic* at times necessarily pointed toward the *Dunsley*, at the time the torpedo struck she was moving away from the *Dunsley*. (Affidavit of captain and second officer of *Arabic*, third officer of *Dunsley*, and one passenger of unknown nationality, and unsworn statement of one American passenger.)

(2) The passengers on the *Arabic* variously estimated that the *Arabic* approached the *Dunsley* to within 1 to 5 miles. (Affidavits of three American passengers; unsworn statements of three American passengers and one passenger of unknown nationality.) While the *Dunsley* was sighted several miles away, the officers of that vessel estimated that the *Arabic* approached to 1½ to 3 miles from the *Dunsley*. (Affidavits of master, first, and second officers.) And one *Dunsley* seaman swore the first distance was only one-half mile. The affidavits of the captain and the second officer of the *Arabic* agree that the *Arabic* did not approach nearer than 2 miles to the *Dunsley*.

(3) It appears that the submarine, after shelling the *Dunsley* and after sighting the *Arabic*, hid behind the *Dunsley* and submerged before the explosion of the torpedo which sank the *Arabic*. (Affidavits of master, first and second officers, mess steward, and one seaman of *Dunsley*.)

(4) Witnesses are in agreement that the submarine was not seen from the *Arabic* (affidavits of the captain and second officer of the *Arabic*, affidavits of three American passengers, and unsworn statement of passenger of unknown nationality), and that the *Arabic* could not have seen the submarine from its position behind the *Dunsley* prior to submerging. (Affidavit of second officer of the *Dunsley*.)

(5) All agree that the *Arabic* received no warning. (Affidavit of six American passengers and two passengers of unknown nationality, and the unsworn statements of four American passengers and two passengers of unknown nationality, and the affidavits of captain and second officer of the *Arabic*.)

(6) The torpedo was first seen by the passengers at an estimated distance of 150 to 300 yards away. (Affidavit of passenger of unknown nationality; unsworn statements of two American passengers, and one passenger of unknown nationality.) The captain of the *Arabic*, however, swears that the air bubbles and the torpedo were only 300 feet away when he saw them. (It appears that Consul Washington at Liverpool, in conversation with Capt. Finch and the second officer of the *Arabic*, learned that they saw bubbles of air at the time they first noticed the torpedo, which were taken to indicate the air escaping at the time the torpedo was expelled from the tube, and that therefore the submarine was supposed to have been only 300 feet from the *Arabic* and about 2 miles from the *Dunsley* when the torpedo was fired. Consul Washington's three telegraphic reports of August 24.)

(7) All agree that the torpedo struck the *Arabic* near the stern on the starboard side. (Affidavit of captain, second officer of *Dunsley*, and two American passengers and a passenger of unknown nationality, and unsworn statement of one American passenger.)

From a diagram made by the second officer of the *Arabic*, who observed the approach of the torpedo from the navigating bridge, the course of the torpedo was almost at right angles to the course of the *Arabic*.

Germany issued the following instructions on October 5, 1915:

THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

GERMAN EMBASSY,
Washington, October 5, 1915.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Prompted by the desire to reach a satisfactory agreement with regard to the *Arabic* incident my Government has given me the following instructions:

The orders issued by His Majesty the Emperor to the commanders of the German submarines—of which I notified you on a previous occasion—have been made so stringent that the recurrence of incidents similar to the *Arabic* case is considered out of the question.

According to the report of Commander Schneider of the submarine that sank the *Arabic*, and his affidavit as well as those of his men, Commander Schneider was convinced that the *Arabic* intended to ram the submarine. On the other hand, the Imperial Government does not doubt the good faith of the affidavits of the British officers of the *Arabic*, according to which the *Arabic* did not intend to ram the submarine. The attack of the submarine, therefore, was undertaken against the instructions issued to the commander. The Imperial Government regrets and disavows this act and has notified Commander Schneider accordingly.

Under these circumstances my Government is prepared to pay an indemnity for the American lives which to its deep regret have been lost on the *Arabic*. I am authorized to negotiate with you about the amount of this indemnity.

I remain, etc.,

J. BERNSTORFF.

Three months later Germany issued further instructions, as follows:

COMMUNICATION FROM GERMAN GOVERNMENT DELIVERED BY GERMAN AMBASSADOR, UNDER INSTRUCTIONS.

GERMAN EMBASSY,
Washington (Received January 7, 1916).

1. German submarines in the Mediterranean had, from the beginning, orders to conduct cruiser warfare against enemy merchant vessels only in accordance with general principles of international law and in particular measures of reprisal, as applied in the war zone around the British Isles, were to be excluded.

2. German submarines are therefore permitted to destroy enemy merchant vessels in the Mediterranean—i. e., passenger as well as freight ships as far as they do not try to escape or offer resistance—only after passengers and crews have been accorded safety.

3. All cases of destruction of enemy merchant ships in the Mediterranean in which German submarines are concerned are made the subject of official investigation and, besides, submitted to regular prize-court proceedings. In so far as American interests are concerned, the German Government will communicate the result to the American Government. Thus also in the *Persia* case if the circumstances should call for it.

4. If commanders of German submarines should not have obeyed the orders given to them, they will be punished; furthermore, the German Government will make reparation for damage caused by death of or injuries to American citizens.

The submarine controversy was expanded by the sinking of the Italian liner *Ancona* November 7, in which nine Americans perished. This incident was intensified by the fact that Dr. Dumba, the Austrian ambassador, had been called home, at the insistence of the United States, on September 27, as the result of the discovery, through the seizure of papers on the person of James F. J. Archibald, an American citizen, of a letter from the ambassador to his home Government suggesting the incitement of strikes in American munition factories. Archibald was arrested by the British authorities when the *Rotterdam*, on which he was traveling to Holland, put into Falmouth.

The following communication from the American Government to the Austrian Government was sent December 6, 1915:

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO AMBASSADOR PENFIELD.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, December 6, 1915.

Please deliver a note to the minister of foreign affairs, textually as follows:

"Reliable information obtained from American and other survivors who were passengers on the steamship *Ancona* shows that on November 7 a submarine flying the Austro-Hungarian flag fired a solid shot toward the steamship; that thereupon the *Ancona* attempted to escape, but being overhauled by the submarine, she stopped; that after a brief period and before the crew and passengers were all able to take to the boats the submarine fired a number of shells at the vessel and finally torpedoed and sank her while there were yet many persons on board; and that by gunfire and foundering of the vessel a large number of persons lost their lives or were seriously injured, among whom were citizens of the United States.

"The public statement of the Austro-Hungarian Admiralty has been brought to the attention of the Government of the United States and received careful consideration. This statement substantially confirms the principal declaration of the survivors, as it admits that the *Ancona*, after being shelled, was torpedoed and sunk while persons were still on board.

"The Austro-Hungarian Government has been advised, through the correspondence which has passed between the United States and Germany, of the attitude of the Government of the United States as to the use of submarines in attacking vessels of commerce, and the acquiescence of Germany in that attitude, yet with full knowledge on the part of the Austro-Hungarian Government of the views of the Government of the United States as expressed in no uncertain terms to the ally of Austria-Hungary, the commander of the submarine which attacked the *Ancona* failed to put in a place of safety the crew and passengers of the vessel which they purposed to destroy because, it is presumed, of the impossibility of taking it into port as a prize of war.

"The Government of the United States considers that the commander violated the principles of international law and of humanity by shelling and torpedoing the *Ancona* before the persons on board had been put in a place of safety or even given sufficient time to leave the vessel. The conduct of the commander can only be characterized as wanton slaughter of defenseless noncombatants, since at the

time when the vessel was shelled and torpedoed she was not, it appears, resisting or attempting to escape; and no other reason is sufficient to excuse such an attack, not even the possibility of rescue.

"The Government of the United States is forced, therefore, to conclude either that the commander of the submarine acted in violation of his instructions or that the Imperial and Royal Government failed to issue instructions to the commanders of its submarines in accordance with the law of nations and the principles of humanity. The Government of the United States is unwilling to believe the latter alternative and to credit the Austro-Hungarian Government with an intention to permit its submarines to destroy the lives of helpless men, women, and children. It prefers to believe that the commander of the submarine committed this outrage without authority and contrary to the general or special instructions which he had received.

"As the good relations of the two countries must rest upon a common regard for law and humanity, the Government of the United States can not be expected to do otherwise than to demand that the Imperial and Royal Government denounce the sinking of the *Ancona* as an illegal and indefensible act; that the officer who perpetrated the deed be punished; and that reparation by the payment of an indemnity be made for the citizens of the United States who were killed or injured by the attack on the vessel.

"The Government of the United States expects that the Austro-Hungarian Government, appreciating the gravity of the case, will accede to its demand promptly; and it rests this expectation on the belief that the Austro-Hungarian Government will not sanction or defend an act which is condemned by the world as inhumane and barbarous, which is abhorrent to all civilized nations, and which has caused the death of innocent American citizens."

LANSING.

The Austrian reply:

AMBASSADOR PENFIELD TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

[Telegram.]

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
Vienna, December 15, 1915.

Department's 1011, December 6, 6 p. m.

Following note received from Minister for Foreign Affairs noon to-day:

"In reply to the much esteemed note, No. 4167, which his excellency, Mr. Frederic Courtland Penfield, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United States of America, directed to him in the name of the American Government under date of the 9th instant in the matter of the sinking of the Italian steamer *Ancona*, the undersigned, preliminary to a thorough, meritorious treatment of the demand, has the honor to observe that the sharpness with which the Government of the United States considers it necessary to blame the commanding officer of the submarine concerned in the affair and the firmness in which the demands addressed to the Imperial and Royal Government appear to be expressed might well have warranted the expectation that the Government of the United States should precisely specify the actual circumstances of the affair upon which it bases its case. As is not difficult to perceive, the presentation of the facts in the case in the aforesaid note leaves room for many doubts; and even if this presentation were correct in all points and the most rigorous legal conception were applied to the judgment of the case, it does not in any way sufficiently warrant attaching blame to the commanding officer of the war vessel or to the Imperial and Royal Government.

"The Government of the United States has also failed to designate the persons upon whose testimony it relies and to whom it apparently believes it may attribute a higher degree of credibility than to the commander of the imperial and royal fleet. The note also fails to give any information whatsoever as to the number, names, and more precise fate of the American citizens who were on board of the said steamer at the critical moment.

"However, in view of the fact that the Washington Cabinet has now made a positive statement to the effect that citizens of the United States of America came to grief in the incident in question, the Imperial and Royal Government is in principle ready to enter into an exchange of views in the affair with the Government of the United States. It must, however, in the first place, raise the question why that Government failed to give juridical reasons for the demands set forth in its note with reference to the special circumstances of the incriminating events upon which it itself lays stress, and why, in lieu thereof, it referred to an exchange of correspondence which it has conducted with another Government in other cases. The Imperial and Royal Government is the less able to follow the Washington Cabinet on this unusual path, since it by no means possesses authentic knowledge of all of the pertinent correspondence of the Government of the United States, nor is it of the opinion that such knowledge might be sufficient for it in the present case, which, in so far as it is informed, is in essential points of another nature than the case or cases to which the Government of the United States seems to allude. The Imperial and Royal Government may therefore leave it to the Washington Cabinet to formulate the particular points of law against which the commanding officer of the submarine is alleged to have offended on the occasion of the sinking of the *Ancona*.

"The Government of the United States has also seen fit to refer to the attitude which the Berlin Cabinet assumed in the above-mentioned correspondence. The Imperial and Royal Government finds in the much esteemed note no indication whatever of the intent with which this reference was made. Should, however, the Government of the United States thereby have intended to express an opinion to the effect that a precedent of whatever nature existed for the Imperial and Royal Government with respect to the juridical consideration of the affair in question this Government must, in order to preclude possible misunderstandings, declare that as a matter of course it reserves to itself full freedom of maintaining its own legal views in the discussion of the case of the *Ancona*.

"In having the honor to have recourse to the kindness of his excellency the ambassador of the United States of America, with the most respectful request to be good enough to communicate the foregoing to the American Government, and on this occasion to state that the Imperial and Royal Government, in no less degree than the American Government and under all circumstances, most sincerely deplores the fate of the innocent victims of the incident in question, the undersigned at the same time avails himself of this opportunity to renew the expression of his most distinguished consideration to his excellency the ambassador.

"(Signed) BURIAN."

PENFIELD.

The American reply:

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO AMBASSADOR PENFIELD.

[Telegram.]

No. 1039.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, December 19, 1915.

You are instructed to address a note to the Austro-Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, textually as follows:

"The Government of the United States has received the note of your excellency relative to the sinking of the *Ancona*, which was delivered at Vienna on December 15, 1915, and transmitted to Washington, and has given the note immediate and careful consideration.

"On November 15, 1915, Baron Zwiedenek, the chargé d'affaires of the Imperial and Royal Government at Washington, transmitted to the Department of State a report of the Austro-Hungarian Admiralty with regard to the sinking of the steamship *Ancona*, in which it was admitted that the vessel was torpedoed after her engines had been stopped and when passengers were still on board. This admission alone is, in the view of the Government of the United States, sufficient to fix upon the commander of the submarine which fired the torpedo the responsibility for having willfully violated the recognized law of nations and entirely disregarded those humane principles which every belligerent should observe in the conduct of war at sea. In view of these admitted circumstances the Government of the United States feels justified in holding that the details of the sinking of the *Ancona*, the weight and character of the additional testimony corroborating the admiralty's report, and the number of Americans killed or injured are in no way essential matters of discussion. The culpability of the commander is in any case established, and the undisputed fact is that citizens of the United States were killed, injured, or put in jeopardy by his lawless act.

"The rules of international law and the principles of humanity which were thus willfully violated by the commander of the submarine have been so long and so universally recognized and are so manifest from the standpoint of right and justice that the Government of the United States does not feel called upon to debate them and does not understand that the Imperial and Royal Government questions or disputes them.

"The Government of the United States therefore finds no other course open to it but to hold the Imperial and Royal Government responsible for the act of its naval commander and to renew the definite but respectful demands made in its communication of the 6th of December, 1915. It sincerely hopes that the foregoing statement of its position will enable the Imperial and Royal Government to perceive the justice of those demands and to comply with them in the same spirit of frankness and with the same concern for the good relations now existing between the United States and Austria-Hungary which prompted the Government of the United States to make them."

LANSING.

Seeond Austrian reply:

AMBASSADOR PENFIELD TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

[Telegram.]

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
Vienna, December 29, 1915.

The following reply to my note of the 21st instant, communicating textually the contents of the department's telegram No. 1039 of December 19, 1 p. m., was received this afternoon:

[Translation.]

"In reply to the very esteemed note No. 4307, of the 21st instant, the undersigned has the honor most respectfully to communicate to his excellency the ambassador of the United States of America, Mr. Frederic Courtland Penfield, the following:

"The Imperial and Royal Government thoroughly agrees with the Washington Cabinet that even in war the sacred demands of humanity must be complied with. Just as it has hitherto never given anyone occasion to doubt its respect for these demands, it has also given numerous proofs of its most humane sentiments, both toward enemies and neutrals, throughout the entire course of this war, which is presenting such convulsive pictures of moral confusion, and it was not its fault that not long ago it did not agree with the Washington Cabinet on a question which it, in unison with the entire public opinion in Austria-Hungary, regarded principally as a question of humanity.

"Also as concerns the principle expressed in the very esteemed note that hostile private ships, in so far as they do not flee or offer resistance, may not be destroyed without the persons on board having been placed in safety, the Imperial and Royal Government is able substantially to assent to this view of the Washington Cabinet.

"The Imperial and Royal Government is very responsive to the assurance that the Government of the United States attaches value to the maintenance of the good relations which happily exist between Austria-Hungary and the United States of America; it reciprocates this assurance most warmly and is now as ever, as far as lies within its power, zealous to render these relations still more cordial.

"Guided by the same spirit of candor as is the American Government, the Imperial and Royal Government, although it does not find in the aforesaid note a reply to all of its justified questions, is ready to communicate to the Government of the United States the result of the investigation which was instituted, in accordance with the existing internal regulations, immediately after the receipt of the naval report on the sinking of the *Ancona* and which has been very recently concluded. The results of this investigation may be summarized as follows:

"On November 7, 1915, at 11.40 a. m., in thick weather, the commander of the submarine saw the outlines of a large Italian steamer suddenly emerge from the fog one point to the starboard at a distance of about 3,000 meters, in latitude 38° 40′ north and longitude 10° 8′ east. He first took it for a transport steamer and put about and then fired a wide warning shot from the after gun; at the same time he displayed the signal 'leave the ship.' The steamer did not stop, but on the contrary turned away and attempted to escape. The commander at first remained stationary several minutes in order to increase the distance, as he feared that the steamer might have a stern gun and use it against the submarine. When the distance had increased to 4,500 meters, he took up the pursuit at full power and fired from the bow gun 16 shells at decreasing range and observed three hits. During the pursuit the steamer steered a zigzag course and did not stop until after the third hit. Thereupon the commander ceased firing. Even during the flight the steamer while at full speed dropped several boats with people, which immediately capsized; after stopping it began to rig out the boats. At a distance of about 2,000 meters the commander saw that six boats were completely filled and rapidly pulled away from the

steamer. Another boat had capsized and was floating keel upward; the people were hanging on to the lines and to the capsized boat. During the further approach of the submarine the commander saw that great panic was prevailing on board and that he was dealing with a passenger steamer, viz, the *Ancona*, of Genoa. He therefore accorded the people on board of the steamer more than the necessary time for leaving the ship in the lifeboats. There were still on board at least 10 lifeboats, which would have more than sufficed for the rescue of the people still on board. One of these boats was completely filled and hung on the half-rigged out boat davits. As no further measures were being taken to rig out the boats, the commander decided, after the lapse of 45 minutes, to torpedo the ship in such a way that it would still remain above water for a considerable length of time, so that, on the one hand, the rigging out of the boats would be accelerated and, on the other hand, sufficient opportunity would remain for rescuing the people still on board.

"Shortly thereafter a steamer was sighted heading for the *Ancona* developing a great amount of smoke and which apparently had been summoned to the *Ancona* by radiotelegraphy. As the commander of the submarine had to count upon an attack from the steamer, which he took to be an enemy cruiser, he submerged after having had a torpedo launched at 12.35 p. m. from a distance of 800 meters at the forehold of the *Ancona*. After that torpedo shot the latter listed about 10° to starboard. At this time an attempt was made to completely lower the half rigged-out lifeboat; it carried away, however, and fell into the water. The boat remained afloat, keel downward, and the people clung to the gunwale. None of the remaining boats were lowered to the water, although people were still seen on board. The steamer gradually righted itself to an even keel and sank so slowly that the commander of the submarine at first doubted whether the steamer would go down; as late as 1.20 it sank, bow first, after slowly submerging parallel to the water line. During this further period of 45 minutes it would have been easily possible to rescue, by means of the available boats, persons still on board. From the circumstances that, contrary to expectations, this did not happen, commander concluded that, contrary to all seamanlike custom, the crew had effected their own rescue in the first boats and left the passengers intrusted to their protection to themselves.

"At the time of the incident the weather was good and the sea was smooth, so that the lifeboats could have reached the nearest coast without danger, as, in fact, lifeboats were damaged only through inexpert lowering, but not after reaching the water. The loss of human lives is in no way to be attributed in the first instance to the sinking of the ship, but—and according to all probability in a much higher degree—to the dropping of the first boats while under way at full speed, as well as to the fact that the crew, thinking only of themselves, did not rescue the passengers of the capsized boats, and also possibly to the projectiles which struck the fleeing ship. But also the death of the persons who went down with the steamer is, above all, to be attributed to the conduct of the crew, which was contrary to the requirements of their duty.

"As is apparent from above-cited facts of the case, the very esteemed note of the 9th instant proceeds in several points from incorrect assumptions. The information reaching the American Government that a solid shot was immediately fired toward the steamer is incorrect. It is incorrect that the submarine overhauled the steamer during the pursuit. It is incorrect that only a brief period was accorded for the disembarkation of the people; to the contrary, an unusually long time was given the *Ancona* for the disembarkation of the passengers. Finally, it is incorrect that a number of shells were still fired at the steamer after it had stopped.

"The facts in the case further permit it to be recognized that the commander of the submarine granted the steamer full 45 minutes; that is more than sufficient time to afford the persons on board opportunity for disembarkation. Then when the people had still not been rescued he effected the torpedoing in such a way that the ship would remain above water as long a time as possible; this with the intention of enabling the disembarkation in the boats still available. As the steamer remained above water 45 minutes more he would, indeed, have accomplished this purpose if the crew had not in violation of their duty left the passengers in the lurch.

"Notwithstanding all appreciation of this procedure of their commander aiming at the rescue of the crew and passengers, the imperial and royal naval authorities came to the conclusion that he had failed to take into sufficient consideration the panic which occurred amongst the passengers rendering the embarkation more difficult, and the spirit of the regulation that imperial and royal naval officers should not refuse help to anyone in distress, not even to the enemy. Hence the officer has been punished in accordance with the rules in force in this matter for exceeding his instructions.

"In this state of affairs the Imperial and Royal Government does not hesitate to draw the appropriate conclusions with reference to the indemnification of the American citizens affected by the sinking of the prize.

"In this respect it must, however, make the following observations: As a matter of course the investigation into the sinking of the *Ancona* could not establish to what degree American citizens are entitled to a claim for indemnity. Even according to the view of the Washington Cabinet, the Imperial and Royal Government can not be held answerable for the injuries which were caused by the undoubtedly justified firing upon the fleeing ship. Just as little might it have to answer for the injuries which occurred before the torpedoing due to the faulty rigging out of the boats or to the capsizing of the boats which had been lowered.

"The Imperial and Royal Government must assume that the Washington Cabinet is able and willing to furnish it with the information which is required in this respect and which is certainly not immaterial. However, should the more precise circumstances under which the American citizens were injured be unknown to the Government of the United States due to a lack of the proper material evidence, the Imperial and Royal Government in consideration of the humanely deeply deplorable incident, and guided by the desire of again manifesting to the Government of the United States its friendly sentiments, would be readily willing to overlook this gap in the evidence and to extend the indemnity also to those injuries the direct cause of which could not be ascertained.

"While the Imperial and Royal Government may well regard the *Ancona* case as cleared up by the foregoing representations, it at the same time reserves to itself for a future time the discussion of the difficult questions of international law in connection with submarine warfare.

"The undersigned has the honor to have recourse to the kindness of his excellency the ambassador of the United States of America with the most respectful request that he be good enough to communicate the foregoing to the Government of the United States, and at the same time avails himself, etc.

"BURIAN."
PENFIELD.

Our relation with Austria was again disturbed by the attack on the steamer *Petrolite*. Our note follows:

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO AMBASSADOR PENFIELD.

[Telegram.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, June 21, 1916.

Evidence obtained from the captain and members of crew of the steamer *Petrolite*, and from examination made of the vessel under direction of the Navy Department, convinces this Government that the Austro-Hungarian Government has obtained an incorrect report of the attack on the steamer. With particular reference to the explanation made by the foreign office, the following information, briefly stated, has been obtained from sworn statements of the captain and members of crew:

No shot was fired across the bow of the steamer as a signal to stop. When the first shot was fired the captain was under the impression that an explosion had taken place in the engine room. Not until the second shot was fired did the captain and crew sight the submarine, which was astern of the steamer and therefore they positively assert that neither the first nor the second shot was fired across the bow of the vessel.

The steamer did not swing around in a course directed toward the submarine as alleged in the report obtained by the Austro-Hungarian Government, but the captain at once stopped the engines and swung the vessel broadside to the submarine and at right angles to the course of the vessel, in order to show its neutral markings, which was manifestly the reasonable and proper course to follow, and it ceased to make any headway. On the steamer was painted its name in letters approximately 6 feet long, and the name of the hailing port, and, as has previously been made known to Austro-Hungarian Government, the steamer carried two large flags some distance above the water line which it is positively stated by the officers and crew were flying before the first shot was fired, and were not hoisted after the first shot, as stated by the submarine commander.

The submarine commander admits that the steamer stopped her engines. The captain of the *Petrolite* denies that the vessel was ever headed toward the submarine, and the examination of the steamer made by an American naval constructor corroborates this statement, because, as he states, the shell which took effect on vessel, striking the deck house which surrounds the smokestack, was fired from a point 45° on the starboard bow. This was one of the last shots fired, and indicates that ship was not headed toward the submarine even up to the time when the submarine ceased firing. The captain states that the submarine appeared to be maneuvering so as to direct her shots from ahead of the steamer. The submarine fired approximately 12 shots. The majority of the shots were fired after the ship had stopped and had swung broadside, and while, as even the commander of submarine admits, the steamer was flying the American flag. The captain of the steamer denies that he advised the commander of the submarine that the damage to the steamer was insignificant. He states that he advised him that steamer had been damaged, but that he not then had an opportunity to ascertain the extent of the damage. The seaman who was struck by a fragment of shell sustained severe flesh wounds.

If the ship had intended to ram the submarine, she would not have stopped her engines, and this must have been evident to the submarine commander. Naval authorities here agree that there could have been no danger of the ship ramming the submarine until it was headed straight for the submarine and was under power, and even then the submarine could have so maneuvered as to avoid collision. The *Petrolite* was 2 miles away from the submarine. The engines and funnel of the *Petrolite* were at the stern, and from the general appearance of the ship no experienced naval officer could have believed that it had opportunity or sufficient speed to attack, even if it had been steaming directly toward the submarine. The conduct of the submarine commander showed lack of judgment, self-control, or willful intent amounting to utter disregard of the rights of a neutral.

According to the sworn statements of the captain of steamer and a seaman who accompanied him to the submarine, the commander of the latter stated that he mistook the steamer for a cruiser. This statement is at variance with the statement in the Austro-Hungarian Government's note that the captain of the submarine asserted a false maneuver on the part of the steamer prompted the submarine to continue to fire.

The captain of the steamer swears that he informed the commander of the submarine that he had only sufficient provisions to reach the port of Algiers, and that he would deliver provisions only under compulsion. He states positively in his affidavit and in conversation with officials of the department that he did not give provisions readily nor did he say it was the duty of one seaman to help another, and that he refused payment because he felt that he was being compelled to deliver food in violation of law. The statement of the captain of the *Petrolite* is entirely at variance with the report of the submarine commander. The correctness of the captain's opinion that the wounded seaman was held as a hostage to guarantee the delivery of food seems clear. Obviously the commander of the submarine had no right to order the seaman to remain on board. The fact that this order was given showed that the commander insisted that food was to be delivered to him, otherwise the seaman would naturally have accompanied the captain back to his vessel. The outrageous conduct of the submarine commander and all the circumstances of the attack on the *Petrolite* warranted the captain in regarding himself as being compelled in order to avoid further violence to deliver food to the commander of the submarine.

In the absence of other and more satisfactory explanation of the attack on the steamer than that contained in the note addressed to you by the foreign office, the Government of the United States is compelled to regard the conduct of the commander of the submarine in attacking the *Petrolite* and in coercing the captain as a deliberate insult to the flag of the United States and an invasion of the rights of American citizens for which this Government requests that an apology be made; that the commander of the submarine be punished; and that reparation be made for the injuries sustained by the payment of a suitable indemnity.

Please communicate with foreign office in sense of foregoing.

You may add that this Government believes that the Austro-Hungarian Government will promptly comply with these requests, in view

of their manifest justness and the high sense of honor of that Government which would not, it is believed, permit an indignity to be offered to the flag of a friendly power or wrongs to its nationals by an Austro-Hungarian naval officer without making immediate and ample amends.

LANSING.

About this time the question of the armed merchantmen came up. The custom of permitting merchant vessels to arm for defense was contested by Germany. This matter had received careful and detailed attention soon after the war began, as shown by the following diplomatic correspondence with both England and Germany:

DEFENSIVE ARMAMENT AND THE RIGHT OF DEPARTURE FROM NEUTRAL PORTS OF BELLIGERENT MERCHANT SHIPS TO ARM AT SEA.

File No. 763.72111/85.

THE BRITISH CHARGÉ TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 252.] BRITISH EMBASSY,
Washington, August 4, 1914.

SIR: In view of the state of war now existing between Great Britain and Germany, I have the honor, under instructions from His Majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, to make the following communication to you in respect to the arming of any merchant vessels in neutral waters.

As you are aware it is recognized that a neutral Government is bound to use due diligence to prohibit its subjects or citizens from the building and fitting out to order of belligerent vessels intended for warlike purposes and also to prevent the departure of any such vessel from its jurisdiction. The starting point for the universal recognition of this principle was the three rules formulated in article 6 of the treaty between Great Britain and the United States of America for the amicable settlement of all causes of differences between the two countries, signed at Washington on May 8, 1871. These rules, which His Majesty's Government and the United States Government agreed to observe as between themselves in future, are as follows:

"A neutral Government is bound—

"First. To use due diligence to prevent the fitting out, arming, or equipping, within its jurisdiction, of any vessel which it has reasonable ground to believe is intended to cruise or to carry on war against a power with which it is at peace; and also to use like diligence to prevent the departure from its jurisdiction of any vessel intended to cruise or carry on war as above, such vessel having been specially adapted, in whole or in part, within such jurisdiction to warlike use.

"Secondly. Not to permit or suffer either belligerent to make use of its ports or waters as the base of naval operations against the other, or for the purpose of the renewal or augmentation of military supplies or arms, or the recruitment of men.

"Thirdly. To exercise due diligence in its own ports and waters, and, as to all persons within its jurisdiction, to prevent any violation of the foregoing obligations and duties."

The above rules may be said to have acquired the force of generally recognized rules of international law, and the first of them is reproduced almost textually in Article VIII of The Hague convention No. 13 of 1907 concerning the rights and duties of neutral powers in case of maritime warfare, the principles of which have been agreed to by practically every maritime State.

It is known, however, that Germany, with whom Great Britain is at war, favors the policy of converting her merchant vessels into armed ships on the high seas, and it is probable, therefore, that attempts will be made to equip and dispatch merchantmen for such conversion from the ports of the United States.

It is probable that, even if the final completion of the measures to fit out merchantmen to act as cruisers may have to be effected on the high seas, most of the preliminary arrangements will have been made before the vessels leave port, so that the warlike purpose to which they are to be put after leaving neutral waters must be more or less manifest before their departure.

In calling your attention to the above-mentioned "Rules of the treaty of Washington" and The Hague convention, I have the honor to state that His Majesty's Government will accordingly hold the United States Government responsible for any damages to British trade or shipping, or injury to British interests generally, which may be caused by such vessels having been equipped at, or departing from, United States ports.

I have, etc.,

COLVILLE BARCLAY.

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File No. 763.72111/87.

THE BRITISH CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 259.] BRITISH EMBASSY,
Washington, August 9, 1914.

SIR: With reference to my note No. 252 of the 4th instant, I have the honor to inform you that I have now received instructions from Sir Edward Grey to make a further communication to you in explanation of the position taken by His Majesty's Government in regard to the question of armed merchantment.

As you are no doubt aware, a certain number of British merchant vessels are armed, but this is a precautionary measure adopted solely for the purpose of defense, which, under existing rules of international law, is the right of all merchant vessels when attacked.

According to the British rule, British merchant vessels can not be converted into men-of-war in any foreign port, for the reason that Great Britain does not admit the right of any power to do this on the high seas. The duty of a neutral to intern or order the immediate departure of belligerent vessels is limited to actual and potential men-of-war, and, in the opinion of His Majesty's Government, there can therefore be no right on the part of neutral Governments to intern British armed merchant vessels, which can not be converted into men-of-war on the high seas, nor to require them to land their guns before proceeding to sea.

On the other hand, the German Government have consistently claimed the right of conversion on the high seas, and His Majesty's Government therefore maintain their claim that vessels which are adapted for conversion and under German rules may be converted into men-of-war on the high seas should be interned in the absence of binding assurances, the responsibility for which must be assumed by the neutral Government concerned, that they shall not be so converted.

I have, etc.,

COLVILLE BARCLAY.

File No 763.72111/543.

THE BRITISH CHARGÉ TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 264.] BRITISH EMBASSY,
Washington, August 12, 1914.

SIR: With reference to my notes Nos. 252 and 259 of August 4 and August 9, respectively, stating and explaining the position taken up by His Majesty's Government in regard to the question of armed merchantmen, I have the honor to state that I have now been informed by Sir Edward Grey that exactly similar instructions were at the same time issued by him to His Majesty's representatives in practically all neutral countries to address the same communications to the respective Governments to which they were accredited.

I have, etc.,

COLVILLE BARCLAY.

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File No. 763.72111/85.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE BRITISH CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, August 19, 1914.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication No. 252 of the 4th inst., which was made to this Government in pursuance of instructions from His Majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, with respect to the arming of merchant vessels in neutral waters.

The communication states the principles of neutrality, as contained in the treaty signed at Washington on May 8, 1871, by representatives of the United States and Great Britain, and reproduced, as you say, almost textually in Article VIII of The Hague convention, signed October 18, 1907, concerning the rights and duties of neutral powers in case of maritime warfare, the principles of which have been, as you state, agreed to by practically every maritime power.

The communication next considers the question of conversion of enemy merchantmen on the high seas, a policy which your Government opposes. It is then stated that Germany favors the policy of conversion; that it will probably attempt to use the ports of the United States to equip and dispatch merchantmen for conversion from such ports; and that most of the preliminary arrangements leading to conversion will have to be made within neutral ports before the vessels proceed to the high seas to complete their transformation into vessels of war.

The purpose of the communication is apparently to lay down the principles of law which your Government believe should be applied by the United States in fulfilling its neutral obligations, especially in the matter of conversion of merchant vessels into war vessels, and, assuming these principles to be correct, to tax this Government with damages to British trade or shipping, or injury to British interests generally, if these principles, the correctness of which you assume, are not applied to German merchant vessels "equipped at, or departing from, United States ports."

In acknowledging this communication, it does not seem appropriate to enter into any discussion as to what may or what may not be the policy of Germany in the matter of converting its merchant ships, which may be within the jurisdiction of the United States, into ships of war after they have left American ports and have reached the high seas. The assertion of the right so to convert merchant ships upon the high seas, made by Germany at the second Hague conference and maintained at the London naval conference, does not of itself indicate an intention on the part of the German Government to exercise this right, and this department does not feel justified in its correspondence with foreign Governments to assume, in the absence of specific information, an intention on the part of Germany so to do. The department will, however, carefully examine the facts and circumstances of any particular case when it is called to its attention.

The question of the place where the belligerent right of conversion may be exercised, difficult in itself, is complicated by the fact that there has been a difference of opinion among the maritime states parties to the present war, and that at the conferences, to which reference has been made, the British delegation stated that there was no rule of international law on the question. Germany and Austria-Hungary insisted at the conferences upon the right to convert merchant vessels upon the high seas. France and Russia, allies of Great Britain in the present war, likewise insisted upon the right so to convert. Great Britain and Belgium intimately associated with France and Russia in the prosecution of hostilities against Germany and Austria-Hungary, opposed the right of conversion on the high seas at the Second Hague Conference, where both these nations were represented; and at the London Naval Conference, to which Belgium was not invited and in which it did not participate, Great Britain maintained its previous attitude. It is thus seen that the right to convert merchant vessels upon the high seas was asserted in international conferences by four of the maritime countries now at war and that two of the maritime nations now at war opposed this contention. It is further seen that the maritime nations at war with Germany and Austria-Hungary are evenly divided on this question.

At the Second Hague Conference, the British delegation, opposing conversion on the high seas, stated that there was no rule of international law on the question; that in its carefully prepared memorandum presented to the powers invited to the London Naval Conference, the British Government held that "no general practice of nations has prevailed in the past on this point from which any principles can be deduced and formulated as the established rules of international law. So far as can be ascertained there are no precedents on the subject."

In the official report of the conference, drafted by Mr. Renault, it is stated that agreement on conversion upon the high seas was impossible; and, in the report of the British delegates to their Government, it is said:

"We were met with a refusal to make any concessions or to abate one jot from the claim to the absolutely unfettered exercise of the right, which its advocates vindicate as a rule forming part of the existing law of nations. In these circumstances we felt that we had no option but to decline to admit the right, and the result is that the question remains an open one."

It is obvious that the subject of conversion must be carefully examined and considered, and in view of these circumstances it is deemed by the Department of State inexpedient to declare a policy as to what measures it will take in a contingency which has not yet arisen, and that it may well content itself, in so far as this matter is concerned, with an acknowledgment of your note.

In the course of your communication it is stated as recognized "that a neutral Government is bound to use due diligence to prohibit its sub-

jects or citizens from the building or fitting out to the order of belligerents vessels intended for warlike purposes, and also to prevent the departure of such vessels from its jurisdiction." It is asserted in this connection that "the starting point for the universal recognition of this principle was the three rules formulated in Article VI of the treaty between Great Britain and the United States of America for the amicable settlement of all causes of difference between the two countries, signed at Washington on May 8, 1871." After quoting the three rules of Washington the note thus continues:

"The above rules may be said to have acquired the force of generally recognized rules of international law, and the first of them is reproduced almost textually in Article VIII of The Hague Convention No. 13 of 1907 concerning the rights and duties of neutral powers in case of maritime warfare, the principles of which have been agreed to by practically every maritime State."

As the communication apparently lays great stress on the expression "due diligence," contained in the treaty of Washington, it is believed material to the present occasion to quote the following definition of it contained in the Geneva award of 1872:

"The 'due diligence' referred to in the first and third of the said rules ought to be exercised by neutral Governments in exact proportion to the risks to which either of the belligerents may be exposed from a failure to fulfill the obligations of neutrality on their part."

The expression "due diligence" was contained in the draft submitted by the British delegation to the Second Hague Conference, upon which Article VIII was based. Article VIII as finally adopted is as follows:

"ARTICLE VIII.

"A neutral Government is bound to employ the means at its disposal to prevent the fitting out or arming of any vessel within its jurisdiction which it has reason to believe is intended to cruise, or engage in hostile operations against a power with which that Government is at peace. It is also bound to display the same vigilance to prevent the departure from its jurisdiction of any vessel intended to cruise or engage in hostile operations, which had been adapted entirely or partly within the said jurisdiction for use in war."

As the expression "due diligence" was considered obscure, it was rejected, as the learned reporter of the convention, Mr. Louis Renault, says in the elaborate report which accompanies the convention, and which is, in accordance with the practice of international conferences, to be considered as the official and authoritative interpretation of the convention which it explains, justifies, and interprets. "The expression of due diligence," he says, "which has become celebrated by its obscurity since its solemn interpretation, was rejected. The convention merely requires in the first instance (On se contente de dire d'abord) that the neutral is bound to employ the means at its disposal * * * then, to display the same vigilance."

It is to be presumed that Article VIII which "reproduced almost textually" the first rule of the Treaty of Washington, is to be interpreted in the sense in which Mr. Renault's report shows it to have been adopted, especially as Great Britain and the United States have ratified the convention without any objection or reservation as to Article VIII thereof.

It seems obvious therefore that by neither the terms nor the interpretation of the provisions of the treaties on this point is the United States bound to assume the attitude of an insurer. Consequently the United States disclaims as a correct statement of its responsibility the assertion in your note that "His Majesty's Government will accordingly hold the United States Government responsible for any damages to British trade or shipping, or injury to British interests generally, which may be caused by such vessels having been equipped at, or departing from, United States ports."

The United States has always looked upon the three rules of Washington as declaratory of international law, and as the necessary and natural consequences of the doctrine of neutrality, proclaimed and enforced by the United States since the wars of the French Revolution, to which Great Britain was a party. The three rules can, in the opinion of this Government, only be considered as the starting point of the doctrine of that degree of diligence which a neutral should observe in the sense that its recognition by Great Britain in an important international controversy called marked attention to an existing doctrine, and furnished an incentive to its incorporation and definition in The Hague Convention concerning the rights and duties of neutral powers in case of maritime warfare.

The United States, since the earliest days of its existence, has been as solicitous of its neutral duties as of its neutral rights, and without further consideration of your communication at this time I request you to state to your Government that there is no reason to anticipate that the United States will be less mindful of its duties or of its rights as a neutral in the present case than it has been in the past.

I have, etc.,

W. J. BRYAN.

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File No. 763.72111/87.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE BRITISH CHARGÉ.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, August 20, 1914.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication No. 259 of the 9th instant, made to the Department of State under instructions from Sir Edward Grey, in regard to the question of armed merchantmen, informing this Government that a certain number of the British merchant vessels are armed as a precautionary measure for the purpose of defense, and maintaining that such merchant vessels can not be considered as vessels of war or subjected to the treatment properly accorded to vessels of the latter category in neutral ports.

In the last paragraph of this communication you call attention to the right claimed by the German Government, in accordance with its rules, to convert its merchant vessels upon the high seas into vessels of war, and the communication states the contention of the British Government that the neutral Government concerned is taxed with responsibility if it does not intern such vessels, in the absence of binding assurances that they will not be converted into men of war on the high seas.

The Department of State acknowledges without comment the statement of British policy in such matters and also the British understanding of Germany's intentions and policy, but as to the responsibility of the United States in the premises, you are referred to department's note of the 19th instant replying to your note No. 252 of the 4th instant.

I have, etc.

For the Secretary of State:

ROBERT LANSING.

File No. 763.72111/88.

THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 289.]

BRITISH EMBASSY,
Washington, August 25, 1914.

SIR: With reference to Mr. Barclay's notes Nos. 252 and 259 of the 4th and 9th of August, respectively, fully explaining the position taken up by His Majesty's Government in regard to the question of armed merchantmen, I have the honor, in view of the fact that a number of British armed merchantmen will now be visiting United States ports, to reiterate that the arming of British merchantmen is solely a precautionary measure adopted for the purpose of defense against attack from hostile craft.

I have at the same time been instructed by His Majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs to give the United States Government the fullest assurances that British merchant vessels will never be used for purposes of attack, that they are merely peaceful traders armed only for defense, that they will never fire unless first fired upon, and that they will never under any circumstances attack any vessel.

I have, etc.

CECIL SPRING-RICE.

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File No. 763.72111/88.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, August 29, 1914.

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 25th instant in which, referring to previous correspondence, you state that, in view of the fact that a number of British armed merchantmen will now be visiting United States ports, you desire to reiterate that the arming of British merchantmen is solely a precautionary measure adopted for the purpose of defense against attack from hostile craft. You add that you have been instructed by His Majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs to give the Government of the United States the fullest assurances that British merchant vessels will never be used for purposes of attack; that they are merely peaceful traders armed only for defense; that they will never fire unless first fired upon, and that they will never under any circumstances attack any vessel.

I have, etc.,

W. J. BRYAN.

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File No. 763.72111/144.

THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 302.]

BRITISH EMBASSY,
Washington, September 4, 1914.

SIR: I have the honor to inform you that at the request of your department I drew the attention of my Government to the fact that two British merchant vessels—the *Adriatic* and the *Merrion*—were at present in United States ports, and that they were carrying guns—the former four and the latter six. I added that the fact of these vessels carrying guns was likely to lead to the raising of difficult questions as to the enforcement by the United States Government of the neutrality of American ports, although an assurance had been given that these guns would only be used for defensive purposes and in case the merchant vessels in question were attacked by an enemy ship when on a commercial voyage.

I have now received a reply from Sir Edward Grey, in which he informs me that His Majesty's Government hold the view that it is not in accordance with neutrality and international law to detain in neutral ports merchant vessels armed with purely defensive armaments. But in view of the fact that the United States Government is detaining armed merchant vessels prepared for offensive warfare, and in order to avoid the difficult questions of the character and degree of armament which would justify detention, His Majesty's Government have made arrangements for landing the guns of the *Merrion*, the *Adriatic* having already sailed before the orders reached her. In the case of the latter ship, the passenger list and cargo had proved that she was proceeding to sea on ordinary commercial business. These and other papers relative to the case will be duly communicated to your department.

This action has been taken without prejudice to the general principle which His Majesty's Government have enunciated and to which they adhere.

It is presumed that no objection will be raised by your Government to the guns being shipped subsequently to England as cargo in some vessel without mountings or ammunition.

I have, etc.,

CECIL SPRING-RICE.

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File No. 763.72111/156.

MEMORANDUM FROM THE BRITISH EMBASSY.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
Washington, September 7, 1914.

The British ambassador presents his compliments to the Secretary of State of the United States and, with reference to his note No. 302 of September 4, has the honor to state that he is informed by the British consul general that the steamship *Adriatic*, which sailed from New York on September 3 with four guns mounted and 200 rounds of ammunition, took 28 first-class passengers, 43 second, and 89 third. She also took 637 bags of mail and a general cargo of provisions and manufactured goods. She had no war material on board and no army reservists.

These data bear out the assurances that the *Adriatic* is bound on a peaceful commercial voyage and that her armament is destined solely for defensive purposes.

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File No. 763.72111/410.

MEMORANDUM FROM THE BRITISH EMBASSY.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
Washington, September 9, 1914.

The German Government have openly entered upon the policy of arming merchant ships as commerce destroyers and even claim the right to carry out the process of arming and equipping such merchant ships in neutral harbors or on the high seas. It is in consequence of this that the British Admiralty have been compelled, in accordance with

the practice followed in the great wars of history, to arm a certain number of British merchant ships for self-defense only.

The practice of arming ships in self-defense is very old and has been ordered by Royal proclamation in England from early in the seventeenth century. During the Napoleonic wars the right to arm in self-defense was recognized by British and United States prize courts in the cases of the *Catherine Elizabeth* (British) and the *Nereide* (United States). The right of a merchant ship of a belligerent to carry arms and resist capture is clearly and definitely laid down in modern times. The right of resistance of merchant vessels is recognized by the United States Naval War Code, by the Italian Code for Mercantile Marine, and by the Russian Prize Regulations. Writers of authority in many European countries also recognize the right. To mention a German authority, it may be stated that the late Dr. Perels, at one time legal adviser to the German Admiralty, quotes with approval article 10 of the United States Naval War Code, which states "the prisoners of merchant vessels of an enemy who in self-defense and in protection of the vessel placed in their charge resist an attack, are entitled to the status of prisoners of war." The Institute of International Law at its meeting in 1913 prepared and adopted a manual of the laws of naval warfare, article 10 of which expressly declared that private ships are allowed to employ force to defend themselves against the attack of an enemy ship.

A merchant vessel armed purely for self-defense is therefore entitled under international law to enjoy the status of a peaceful trading ship in neutral ports and His Majesty's Government do not ask for better treatment for British merchant ships in this respect than might be accorded to those of other powers. They consider that only those merchant ships which are intended for use as cruisers should be treated as ships of war and that the question whether a particular ship carrying an armament is intended for offensive or defensive action must be decided by the simple criterion whether she is engaged in ordinary commerce and embarking cargo and passengers in the ordinary way. If so, there is no rule in international law that would justify such vessel even if armed being treated otherwise than as a peaceful trader.

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File No. 763.72111/411.

MEMORANDUM FROM THE BRITISH EMBASSY.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
Washington, September 9, 1914.

In a memorandum of to-day's date the British ambassador has set forth the grounds upon which His Majesty's Government hold that British merchant vessels which are armed for defensive purposes only are entitled to be treated as peaceful trading vessels.

In urging this view upon the consideration of the United States Government the British ambassador is instructed to state that it is believed that German merchant vessels with offensive armament have escaped from American ports, especially ports in South America, to prey upon British commerce in spite of all the precautions taken. German cruisers in the Atlantic continue, by one means or another, to obtain ample supplies of coal shipped to them from neutral ports, and if the United States Government take the view that British merchant vessels which are bona fide engaged in commerce and carry guns at the stern only are not permitted purely defensive armament, unavoidable injury may ensue to British interests and indirectly also to United States trade which will be deplorable.

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File No. 763.72111/226a.

THE ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR.

(Same to the British, French, and Japanese ambassadors in Washington, and the Belgian minister.)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, September 19, 1914.

DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR: I am inclosing for your information two memoranda which the department has issued to-day and which define the general rules which this Government will follow in dealing with cases involving the status of armed merchant vessels visiting American ports, and with cases of merchant vessels suspected of carrying supplies to belligerent warships from American ports.

I am, etc.,

ROBERT LANSING.

[Inclosure 1.]

THE STATUS OF ARMED MERCHANT VESSELS.

A. A merchant vessel of belligerent nationality may carry an armament and ammunition for the sole purpose of defense without acquiring the character of a ship of war.

B. The presence of an armament and ammunition on board a merchant vessel creates a presumption that the armament is for offensive purposes, but the owners or agents may overcome this presumption by evidence showing that the vessel carries armament solely for defense.

C. Evidence necessary to establish the fact that the armament is solely for defense and will not be used offensively, whether the armament be mounted or stowed below, must be presented in each case independently at an official investigation. The result of the investigation must show conclusively that the armament is not intended for, and will not be used in, offensive operations.

Indications that the armament will not be used offensively are:

1. That the caliber of the guns carried does not exceed 6 inches.
2. That the guns and small arms carried are few in number.
3. That no guns are mounted on the forward part of the vessel.
4. That the quantity of ammunition carried is small.
5. That the vessel is manned by its usual crew, and the officers are the same as those on board before war was declared.
6. That the vessel intends to and actually does clear for a port lying in its usual trade route, or a port indicating its purpose to continue in the same trade in which it was engaged before war was declared.
7. That the vessel takes on board fuel and supplies sufficient only to carry it to its port of destination, or the same quantity substantially which it has been accustomed to take for a voyage before war was declared.
8. That the cargo of the vessel consists of articles of commerce unsuited for the use of a ship of war in operations against an enemy.
9. That the vessel carries passengers who are as a whole unfitted to enter the military or naval service of the belligerent whose flag the vessel flies, or of any of its allies, and particularly if the passenger list includes women and children.
10. That the speed of the ship is slow.

D. Port authorities, on the arrival in a port of the United States of an armed vessel of belligerent nationality, claiming to be a merchant vessel, should immediately investigate and report to Washington on the foregoing indications as to the intended use of the armament, in order that it may be determined whether the evidence is sufficient to remove the presumption that the vessel is, and should be treated as, a ship of war. Clearance will not be granted until authorized from Washington, and the master will be so informed upon arrival.

E. The conversion of a merchant vessel into a ship of war is a question of fact which is to be established by direct or circumstantial evidence of intention to use the vessel as a ship of war.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
September 19, 1914.

[Inclosure 2.]

MERCHANT VESSELS SUSPECTED OF CARRYING SUPPLIES TO BELLIGERENT VESSELS.

1. A base of operations for belligerent warships is presumed when fuel or other supplies are furnished at an American port to such warships more than once within three months since the war began, or during the period of the war, either directly or by means of naval tenders of the belligerent or by means of merchant vessels of belligerent or neutral nationality acting as tenders.

2. A common rumor or suspicion that a merchant vessel laden with fuel or other naval supplies intends to deliver its cargo to a belligerent warship on the high seas, when unsupported by direct or circumstantial evidence, imposes no duty on a neutral government to detain such merchant vessel even for the purpose of investigating the rumor or suspicion, unless it is known that the vessel has been previously engaged in furnishing supplies to a belligerent warship.

3. Circumstantial evidence supporting a rumor or suspicion that a merchant vessel intends to furnish a belligerent warship with fuel or other supplies on the high seas is sufficient to warrant detention of the vessel until its intention can be investigated in the following cases:

(a) When a belligerent warship is known to be off the port at which the merchant vessel is taking on cargo suited for naval supplies, or when there is a strong presumption that the warship is off the port.

(b) When the merchant vessel is of the nationality of the belligerent whose warship is known to be off the coast.

(c) When a merchant vessel which has on a previous voyage between ports of the United States and ports of other neutral States failed to have on board at the port of arrival a cargo consisting of naval supplies shipped at the port of departure seeks to take on board a similar cargo.

(d) When coal or other supplies are purchased by an agent of a belligerent Government and shipped on board a merchant vessel which does not clear for a port of the belligerent but for a neighboring neutral port.

(e) When an agent of a belligerent is taken on board a merchant vessel having a cargo of fuel or other supplies and clearing for a neighboring neutral port.

4. The fact that a merchant vessel, which is laden with fuel or other naval supplies, seeks clearance under strong suspicion that it is the intention to furnish such fuel or supplies to a belligerent warship is not sufficient ground to warrant its detention, if the case is isolated and neither the vessel nor the warship for which the supplies are presumably intended has previously taken on board similar supplies since the war began or within three months during the period of the war.

5. The essential idea of neutral territory becoming the base for naval operations by a belligerent is repeated, departure from such territory by a naval tender of the belligerent or by a merchant vessel in belligerent service which is laden with fuel or other naval supplies.

6. A merchant vessel, laden with naval supplies, clearing from a port of the United States for the port of another neutral nation, which arrives at its destination and there discharges its cargo should not be detained if, on a second voyage, it takes on board another cargo of similar nature.

In such a case the port of the other neutral nation may be a base for the naval operations of a belligerent. If so, and even if the fact is notorious, this Government is under no obligation to prevent the shipment of naval supplies to that port. Commerce in munitions of war between neutral nations can not, as a rule, be a basis for a claim of unneutral conduct, even though there is a strong presumption or actual knowledge that the neutral State in whose port the supplies are discharged is permitting its territory to be used as a base of supply for belligerent warships. The duty of preventing an unneutral act rests entirely upon the neutral State whose territory is being used as such a base.

In fact this principle goes further in that, if the supplies were shipped directly to an established naval base in the territory or under the control of a belligerent, this Government would not be obligated by its neutral duty to limit such shipments or detain or otherwise interfere with the merchant vessels engaged in that trade. A neutral can only be charged with unneutral conduct when the supplies furnished to a belligerent warship or furnished directly to it in a port of the neutral or through naval tenders or merchant vessels acting as tenders departing from such port.

7. The foregoing propositions do not apply to furnishing munitions of war included in absolute contraband, since in no event can a belligerent warship take on board such munitions in neutral waters, nor should it be permitted to do so indirectly by means of naval tenders or merchant vessels acting as such tenders.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
September 19, 1914.

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File No. 763.72111/156.

THE ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR.

No. 590.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, September 26, 1914.

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 4th instant, in which, with reference to the presence in American ports of the British armed merchant vessels *Adriatic* and *Merion*, you advise the department of the receipt of a dispatch from Sir Edward Grey in which he states that His Majesty's Government holds the view that it is not in accordance with neutrality and international law to detain in neutral ports merchant vessels armed with purely defensive armaments.

In reply I have the honor to state that this Government has had the matter of the status of armed merchant vessels under consideration, and that it has already made a public announcement thereon.

In this relation I have also the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your embassy's memorandum of the 7th instant, announcing the departure of the *Adriatic* from New York, and pointing out that, as she had no war material on board and carried no army reservists, these data bear out the assurances that the *Adriatic* was bound on a peaceful commercial voyage and that her armament was destined solely for defensive purposes.

I have, etc.,

ROBERT LANSING.

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File No. 763.72111/227.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO AMBASSADOR GERARD.

No. 143.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, September 29, 1914.

SIR: I transmit herewith, for the information of the German Government, copies of two memoranda issued by this department which define the general rules which the Government of the United States will follow in dealing with cases involving the status of armed merchant vessels visiting American ports, and with cases of merchant vessels suspected of carrying supplies to belligerent warships from American ports.

Copies of these memoranda were also sent to the German ambassador here, and it is at his request that the copies herewith are sent for communication to his Government.

I am, etc.,

For the Secretary of State:

ROBERT LANSING.

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File No. 763.72111/473.

AMBASSADOR GERARD TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

[Telegram—Paraphrase.]

AMERICAN EMBASSY.
Berlin, October 15, 1914—7 p. m.

Mr. Gerard transmits the following memorandum, which he says he has received from the German foreign office:

"An official notice appearing in the Westminster Gazette of September 21, 1914, states that the Department of State at Washington has ruled that ships of belligerent nations when equipped with ammunition and armament shall be treated, nevertheless, while in American ports, as merchant ships, provided the armament serves for defensive purposes only. This ruling wholly fails to comply with the principles of neutrality. The equipment of British merchant vessels with artillery is for the purpose of making armed resistance against German cruisers. Resistance of this sort is contrary to international law, because in a military sense a merchant vessel is not permitted to defend itself against a war vessel, an act of resistance giving the warship * * * [omission] with crew and passengers. It is a question whether or not ships thus armed should be admitted into ports of a neutral country at all. Such ships, in any event, should not receive any better treatment in neutral ports than a regular warship, and should be subject at least to the rules issued by neutral nations restricting the stay of a warship. If the Government of the United States considers that it fulfills its duty as a neutral nation by confining the admission of armed merchant ships to such ships as are equipped for defensive purposes only, it is pointed out that so far as determining the warlike character of a ship is concerned, the distinction between the defensive and offensive is irrelevant. The destination of a ship for use of any kind in war is conclusive, and restrictions as to the extent of armament affords no guaranty that ships armed for defensive purposes only will not be used for offensive purposes under certain circumstances."

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File No. 763.72111/473.

THE ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE TO AMBASSADOR GERARD.

[Telegram.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, November 7, 1914.

Your 515, October 15. The Government of the United States is obliged to dissent from the views of the German Government as expressed in your telegram in regard to the treatment to be accorded armed merchant vessels of belligerent nationality in neutral ports. The practice of a majority of nations and the concensus of opinion by the leading authorities on international law, including many German writers, support the proposition that merchant vessels may arm for defense without losing their private character and that they may employ such armament against hostile attack without contravening the principles of international law.

The purpose of an armament on a merchant vessel is to be determined by various circumstances, among which are the number and position of the guns on the vessel, the quantity of ammunition and fuel, the number and sex of the passengers, the nature of the cargo, etc. Tested by evidence of this character the question as to whether an armament on a merchant vessel is intended solely for defensive purposes may be readily answered and the neutral government should regulate its treatment of the vessel in accordance with the intended use of the armament.

This Government considers that in permitting a private vessel having a general cargo, a customary amount of fuel, an average crew, and passengers of both sexes on board, and carrying a small armament and a small amount of ammunition, to enjoy the hospitality of an American port as a merchant vessel, it is in no way violating its duty as a neutral. Nevertheless it is not unmindful of the fact that the circumstances of a particular case may be such as to cause embarrassment and possible controversy as to the character of an armed private vessel visiting its ports. Recognizing, therefore, the desirability of avoiding a ground of complaint this Government, as soon as a case arose, while frankly admitting the right of a merchant vessel to carry a defensive armament, expressed its disapprobation of a practice which compelled it to pass upon a vessel's intended use, which opinion if proven subsequently to be erroneous might constitute a ground for a charge of unneutral conduct.

As a result of these representations no merchant vessels with armaments have visited the ports of the United States since the 10th of September. In fact, from the beginning of the European war but two armed private vessels have entered or cleared from ports of this country, and as to these vessels their character as merchant vessels was conclusively established.

Please bring the foregoing to the attention of the German Government, and in doing so express the hope that they will also prevent their merchant vessels from entering the ports of the United States carrying armaments even for defensive purposes though they may possess the right to do so by the rules of international law.

LANSING.

In August of last year, 1916, the status of belligerent submarines in American waters was announced.

File No. 763.72111/3958.

MEMORANDUM FROM THE FRENCH EMBASSY.

(Identic memoranda were received from the embassies of Great Britain, Russia, and Japan, and on Sept. 2, 1916, from the Italian Embassy, and on Sept. 11, 1916, from the Portuguese Legation.)

[Translation.]

FRENCH EMBASSY,
Washington, August 21, 1916.

MEMORANDUM.

In the presence of the development of submarine navigation, under existing circumstances and by reason of what may unfortunately be expected from enemy submarines, the allied Governments deem it necessary, in order to protect their belligerent rights and the freedom of commercial navigation, as well as to remove chances of conflict, to exhort the neutral Governments, if they have not already done so, to take efficacious measures tending to prevent belligerent submarines, regardless of their use, to avail themselves of neutral waters, roadsteads, and harbors.

In the case of submarines the application of the principles of international law offers features that are as peculiar as they are novel, by reason, on the one hand, of the facility possessed by such craft to navigate and sojourn in the seas while submerged and thus escape any supervision or surveillance, and, on the other hand, of the impossibility to identify them and determine their national character, whether neutral or belligerent, combatant or innocent, and to put out of consideration the power to do injury that is inherent in their very nature.

It may be said, lastly, that any submarine war vessel far away from its base, having at its disposal a place where it can rest and replenish its supplies, is afforded, by mere rest obtained, so many additional facilities that the advantages it derives therefrom turn that place into a veritable basis of naval operations.

In view of the present condition of things the allied Governments hold that—

Submarine vessels must be excluded from the benefit of the rules heretofore accepted in international law regarding the admission and sojourn of war and merchant vessels in the neutral waters, roadsteads, and harbors; any submarine of the belligerents that once enters a neutral harbor must be held there.

The allied Governments take this opportunity to warn the neutral powers of the great danger to neutral submarines attending the navigation of waters visited by the submarines of belligerents.

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File No. 763.72111/3958.

MEMORANDUM TO THE FRENCH EMBASSY.

(Same to the embassies of Great Britain, Russia, and Japan, and, mutatis mutandis, to the Italian Embassy, Sept. 8, 1916, and to the Portuguese Legation, Sept. 13, 1916.)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, August 31, 1916.

MEMORANDUM.

The Government of the United States has received the identic memoranda of the Governments of France, Great Britain, Russia, and Japan in which neutral Governments are exhorted "to take efficacious measures tending to prevent belligerent submarines, regardless of their use, to avail themselves of neutral waters, roadsteads, and harbors." These Governments point out the facility possessed by such craft to avoid supervision or surveillance or determination of their national character and their power "to do injury that is inherent in their very nature," as well as the "additional facilities" afforded by having at their disposal places where they can rest and replenish their supplies. Apparently on these grounds the allied Governments hold that "submarine vessels must be excluded from the benefit of the rules heretofore accepted under international law regarding the admission and sojourn of war and merchant vessels in neutral waters, roadsteads, or harbors; any submarine of a belligerent that once enters a neutral harbor must be held there," and therefore the allied Governments "warn neutral powers of the great danger to neutral submarines attending the navigation of waters visited by the submarines of belligerents."

In reply the Government of the United States must express its surprise that there appears to be an endeavor of the allied powers to determine the rule of action governing what they regard as a "novel situation" in respect to the use of submarines in time of war and to enforce acceptance of that rule, at least in part, by warning neutral powers of the great danger to their submarines in waters that may be visited by belligerent submarines. In the opinion of the Government of the United States the allied powers have not set forth any circumstances, nor is the Government of the United States at present aware of any circumstances, concerning the use of war or merchant submarines which would render the existing rules of international law inapplicable to them. In view of this fact and of the notice and warning of the allied powers announced in their memoranda under acknowledgment it is incumbent upon the Government of the United States to notify the Governments of France, Great Britain, Russia, and Japan that, so far as the treatment of either war or merchant submarines in American waters is concerned, the Government of the United States reserves its liberty of action in all respects and will treat such vessels as, in its opinion, becomes the action of a power which may be said to have taken the first steps toward establishing the principles of neutrality and which for over a century has maintained those principles in the traditional spirit and with the high sense of impartiality in which they were conceived.

In order, however, that there should be no misunderstanding as to the attitude of the United States, the Government of the United States announces to the allied powers that it holds it to be the duty of belligerent powers to distinguish between submarines of neutral and belligerent nationality, and that responsibility for any conflict that may arise between belligerent warships and neutral submarines on account of the neglect of a belligerent to so distinguish between these classes of submarines must rest entirely upon the negligent power.

On January 18, 1916, our Government addressed its famous note to all belligerents on the issue of defensively armed merchant vessels. It is as follows:

It is a matter of deepest interest to my Government to bring to an end, if possible, the dangers of life which attend the use of submarines

as at present employed in destroying enemy commerce on the high seas, since on any merchant vessel of belligerent nationality there may be citizens of the United States who have taken passage or members of the crew in the exercise of their recognized rights as neutrals. I assume your Government is equally solicitous to protect their nationals from the exceptional hazards which are presented by their passage on merchant vessels through these portions of the high seas in which undersea craft of the enemy are operating.

While I am fully alive to the appalling loss of life among noncombatants, regardless of their sex, which has resulted from the present method of destroying merchant vessels without removing the persons on board to places of safety, and while I view that practice as contrary to those humane principles which should control belligerents in the conduct of their naval operations, I do not feel that a belligerent should be deprived of the proper use of submarines in the invasion of commerce, since those instruments of war have proved their effectiveness in this practical branch of warfare on the high seas.

In order to bring submarine warfare within the general rules of international law and the principles of humanity without destroying their efficiency in the destruction of commerce, I believe that a formula may be found which, though it may require slight modification of the precedent generally followed by nations prior to the employment of the submarine, will appeal to the sense of justice and fairness of all the belligerents in the present war.

Your Government will understand that in seeking the formula or rule of this nature I approach it of necessity from the point of view of a neutral, but I believe that it will be equally efficacious in preserving the lives of noncombatants on merchant vessels of belligerent nationalities.

My comments on this subject are predicated on the following propositions:

First. A noncombatant has a right to traverse the high seas in a merchant vessel entitled to fly a belligerent flag, to rely upon the observance of the rules of international law and principles of humanity, and if the vessel is approached by the naval vessel of another belligerent the merchant vessel of enemy nationality should not be attacked without being ordered to stop.

Second. An enemy merchant vessel, when ordered to do so by a belligerent submarine, should immediately stop.

Third. Such vessel should not be attacked after being ordered to stop unless it attempts to flee or to resist. In case it ceases to flee or to resist the attack should be discontinued.

Fourth. In the event that it is impossible to place a prize crew on board of an enemy merchant vessel or to convoy her into port the vessel may be sunk, provided the crew and passengers have been removed to a place of safety.

In complying with the foregoing principles, which, in my opinion, embody the principal rule, the strict observance of which will insure the life of a noncombatant on a merchant vessel which is intercepted by a submarine, I am not unmindful of the obstacles which would be met by undersea craft as commerce destroyers.

Prior to the year 1915 belligerent operations against enemy commerce on the high seas had been conducted with cruisers carrying heavy armaments. In these conditions international law appeared to permit a merchant vessel to carry armament for defensive purposes without lessening its character as a private merchant vessel. This right seems to have been predicated on the superior defensive strength of ships of war, and the limitation of armament to have been dependent on the fact that it could not be used effectively in offensive against enemy naval vessels, while it could defend the merchantmen against the generally inferior armament of piratical ships and privateers.

The use of the submarine, however, has changed these relations. Comparison of the defensive strength of a cruiser and a submarine shows that the latter, relying for protection on its power to submerge, is almost defenseless in point of construction. Even a merchant ship carrying a small-caliber gun would be able to use it effectively against the submarine.

Moreover, pirates and sea rovers have been swept from the main trade channels of the sea and privateering has been abolished. Consequently the placing of guns on merchantmen at the present date of submarine warfare can be explained only on the ground of a purpose to render merchantmen superior in force to submarines and to prevent warning and visit and search by them. Any armament, therefore, on a merchant vessel would seem to have the character of an offensive armament.

If a submarine is required to stop and search a merchant vessel on the high seas, and in case it is found that she is of an enemy character and that conditions necessitate her destruction and the removal to a place of safety of persons on board, it would not seem just nor reasonable that the submarine should be compelled, while complying with these requirements, to expose itself to almost certain destruction by the guns on board the merchant vessel.

It would therefore appear to be a reasonable and reciprocally just arrangement if it could be agreed by the opposing belligerents that submarines should be caused to adhere strictly to the rules of international law in the matter of stopping and searching merchant vessels, determining their belligerent nationality, and removing the crews and passengers to places of safety before sinking the vessels as prizes of war, and that merchant vessels of belligerent nationality should be prohibited from carrying any armament whatsoever.

In proposing this formula as a basis of conditional declarations by the belligerent Government, I do so in the full conviction that each Government will consider primarily the humane purposes of saving the lives of innocent people rather than the insistence upon doubtful legal rights which may be denied on account of new conditions.

I would be pleased to be informed whether your Government would be willing to make such a declaration conditioned upon your enemies making a similar declaration.

I should say that my Government is impressed with the reasonableness of the argument that a merchant vessel carrying an armament of any sort, in view of the character of the submarine warfare and the defensive weakness of undersea craft, should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser and so treated by a neutral as well as by a belligerent Government, and is seriously considering instructing its officials accordingly.

The contents of this note was made public on the 18th of February, 1916. Ten days before this note was made public, and just one year from the day of our "strict accountability" note, Germany announced her intention to attack armed merchantmen without warning:

BERLIN ATTITUDE TO U-BOAT WAR—TEXT OF GERMAN WARNING TO NEUTRALS AND EVIDENCE BACKING IT IS GIVEN OUT—ATTACKS ON SUBMARINES—GERMAN DETAILS OF CLASHES WITH ARMED MERCHANT SHIPS OF ALLIES—INSTRUCTIONS THEY FOUND—DOCUMENTS TAKEN FROM THE ADMIRALTY TRANSPORT "WOODFIELD" MADE PUBLIC IN WASHINGTON.

WASHINGTON, *March 17.*

Frank L. Polk, Acting Secretary of State, to-day made public the official text of the memorandum issued by the German Government on February 10, which announced to the neutral powers the purpose of Germany to treat all armed enemy merchantmen as belligerents liable to attack without warning after February 29.

At the same time the State Department made public for the first time the official copies of all the so-called "appendices" to the memorandum in the form of a dozen exhibits, embracing what are declared by the German Government to be secret instructions issued by the British Admiralty to British merchant ships armed for defense, advising them to use their guns against enemy submarines pursuing or approaching them. One appendix is a recital of instances in which merchant ships are alleged to have fired on German and Austrian submarines.

The alleged secret instructions covered by these exhibits are declared to have been found on the British steamer *Woodfield*, which was sunk by a submarine in the western Mediterranean on November 3 last and on the British steamer *Linkmoor*. These instructions differ materially from the British version of the admiralty orders to armed merchantmen, the full text of which was made public by the British Admiralty

At the outbreak of the war the German Government, acting upon the suggestion of the United States, immediately expressed its readiness to ratify the declaration of London. At that time a German prize code had already been issued, which was entirely—and without modification—based upon rules of the declaration of London. Germany thereby proved her willingness to recognize full and existing rules of international law, which insure the freedom of the sea for the legitimate trade of neutral nations not only among themselves but also with belligerent countries.

GERMANY UTILIZES NEW WEAPON.

Great Britain, on the other hand, declined to ratify the declaration of London, and after the outbreak of the war began to restrict the legitimate trade of the neutrals in order to hit Germany. The contraband provisions were systematically extended on August 5 and 20, September 21, and October 29, 1914. On November 3, 1914, the order of the British Admiralty followed, declaring the whole North Sea a war zone, in which commercial shipping would be exposed to most serious danger from mines and men-of-war. Protests from neutrals were of no avail and from that time on the freedom of neutral commerce with Germany was practically destroyed.

Under these circumstances Germany was compelled to resort, in February, 1915, to reprisals in order to fight her opponent's measures, which were absolutely contrary to international law. She chose for this purpose a new weapon, the use of which had not yet been regulated by international law, and in doing so could and did not violate any existing rules, but only took into account the peculiarity of this new weapon—the submarine boat.

NEW DANGER TO NEUTRALS.

The use of the submarine naturally necessitated a restriction of the free movement of neutrals and constituted a danger for them, which Germany intended to ward off by a special warning analogous to the warning England had given regarding the North Sea.

As both belligerents—Germany in her note of February 17 and Great Britain in those of February 18 and 20, 1915—claimed that their proceeding was only enacted in retaliation for the violation of international law by their opponents, the American Government approached both parties for the purpose of trying to reestablish international law as it had been in force before the war. Germany was asked to adapt the use of her new weapon to the rules which had been existing for the former naval weapons, and England not to interfere with the food supplies intended for the noncombatant German population, and to admit their distribution under American supervision.

GERMANY OFFERS TO COMPLY.

Germany, on March 1, 1915, declared her willingness to comply with the proposal of the American Government, while England, on the other hand, declined to do so. By the order in council of March 11, 1915, Great Britain abolished even what had remained of the freedom of neutral trade with Germany and her neutral neighbors. England's object was to starve Germany into submission by these illegal means.

Germany, after neutral citizens had lost their lives against the wish and intention, nevertheless, in the further course of the war, complied with the wishes of the American Government regarding the use of her submarines. The rights of neutrals regarding legal trading were, in fact, nowhere limited by Germany.

Then England made it impossible for submarines to conform with the old rules of international law by arming nearly all merchantmen and by ordering the use of guns on merchant vessels for attack. Photographic reproduction of those instructions have been transmitted to neutral Governments with the memorandum of the German Government of February 8, 1916. These orders are obviously in contradiction with the note delivered by the British ambassador in Washington to the American Government on August 25, 1914.

On account of the proposals made by the United States on January 23, 1916, regarding disarmament, the Imperial Government hoped that these facts would enable the neutral Governments to obtain the disarmament of the merchant ships of her opponents. The latter, however, continued with great energy to arm their merchantmen with guns.

SHIELDED BY AMERICANS.

The principle of the United States Government not to keep their citizens off belligerent merchant ships has been used by Great Britain and her allies to arm merchant ships for offensive purposes. Under these circumstances merchantmen can easily destroy submarines, and if their attack fails still consider themselves in safety by the presence of American citizens aboard.

The order to use arms on British merchantmen was supplemented by instructions to the masters of such ships to hoist false flags and to ram U boats. Reports on payments of premiums and bestowals of decorations to successful masters of merchantmen show the effects of these orders. England's allies have adopted this position.

SITUATION CONFRONTING GERMANY.

Now Germany is facing the following facts:

(a) A blockade contrary to international law (compare American note to England of Nov. 5, 1915) has for one year been keeping neutral trade from German ports and is making German exports impossible.

(b) For 18 months, through the extending of contraband provisions in violation of international law (compare American note to England of Nov. 5, 1915) the over-seas trade of neighboring neutral countries, so far as Germany is concerned, has been hampered.

(c) The interception of mails in violation of international law (compare American memorandum to England of Jan. 10, 1916) is meant to stop any intercourse of Germany with foreign countries.

ATTEMPT TO STARVE NATION.

(d) England, by systematically and increasingly oppressing neutral countries, following the principle of "might before right," has prevented neutral trade on land with Germany so as to complete the blockade of the central powers, intended to starve their civil population.

(e) Germans met by our enemies on the high seas are deprived of their liberty, no matter whether they are combatants or noncombatants.

(f) Our enemies have armed their merchant vessels for offensive purposes, theoretically making it impossible to use our U-boats according to the principles set forth in the London declaration (compare American memorandum of Feb. 8, 1916).

TRADE CUT OFF BY BRITAIN.

The English White Book of January 5, 1916, on the restriction of German trade, boasts that by British measures Germany's export trade has been stopped almost entirely, whilst her imports are subject to England's will.

The Imperial Government feels confident that the people of the United States, remembering the friendly relations that for the last hundred years have existed between the two nations, will, in spite of the difficulties put into the way by our enemies, appreciate the German viewpoint as laid down above.

The German text of instructions to her submarine captains, issued February 10, was as follows:

FOREIGN OFFICE,
Berlin, February 10, 1916.

NOTE VERBALE.

The foreign office has the honor to transmit herewith to the embassy of the United States of America three copies of a memorandum of the Imperial German Government on the treatment of armed merchantmen, with inclosures, and to request that the embassy be good enough to bring the essential contents of the memorandum to the members of its Government by telegraph, stating at the time that the order to the German naval forces mentioned in Section IV, No. 1, of the memorandum will not be carried into effect until the 29th instant, in the interest of neutrals already on board armed merchant vessels.

Memorandum of the Imperial German Government upon the treatment of armed merchantmen:

I. Even before the outbreak of the present war the British Government had given English shipping companies the opportunity to arm their merchant vessels with guns. On March 26, 1913, Winston Churchill, then first lord of the Admiralty, made the declaration in the British Parliament (Exhibit 1) that the Admiralty had called upon the shipowners to arm a number of first-class liners for protection against danger menaced in certain cases by fast auxiliary cruisers of other powers; the liners, were not, however, to assume the character of auxiliary cruisers themselves. The Government desired to place at the disposal of the shipowners the necessary guns, sufficient ammunition, and suitable personnel for the training of the gun crews.

II. The English shipowners have readily responded to the call of the Admiralty. Thus Sir Owen Phillipps, president of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Co., was able to inform the stockholders of his company in May, 1913, that the larger steamers of the company were equipped with guns; furthermore, the British Admiralty published in January, 1914, a list, according to which 29 steamers of various English lines carried guns aft. For example, the crew are not to wear uniforms in neutral ports and thus plainly belong to the British Navy. Above all, it is shown by the instructions that these armed vessels are not to await any action of maritime war on the part of the German submarines, but are to attack them forthwith. In this respect the following regulations are particularly instructive:

(a) The instructions for guidance in the use, care, and maintenance of armament in defensively armed merchant ships, Exhibits 5 and 6, provide in the section headed "Action," in paragraph 4: "It is not advisable to open fire at a range greater than 800 yards unless the enemy has already opened fire." From this it is the duty of the merchantman in principle to open fire without regard to the attitude of the submarine.

(b) The instructions regarding submarines applicable to vessels carrying a defensive armament, Exhibits 9 and 10, prescribed under No. 8: "If a submarine is obviously pursuing a ship by day and it is evident to the master that she has hostile intentions, the ship pursued should open fire in self-defense, notwithstanding the submarine may not have committed a definite hostile act, such as firing a gun or torpedo." From this also the mere appearance of a submarine in the wake of a merchantman affords sufficient occasion for an armed attack.

In all these orders, which do not apply merely to the zone of maritime war around England, but are unrestricted as regards their validity, see Exhibit 12 for the Mediterranean, the greatest emphasis is laid on secrecy, plainly in order that the action of merchantmen, in absolute contradiction of international law and the British assurances, Exhibit 2, might remain concealed from the enemy as well as the neutrals.

III. It is thus made plain that the armed English merchantmen have official instructions to attack the German submarines treacherously wherever they come near them; that is to say, orders to conduct relentless warfare against them. Since England's rules of maritime war are adopted by her allies without question, the proof must be taken as demonstrated in request of the armed merchantmen of the other enemy countries also.

IV. In the circumstance set forth above enemy merchantmen armed with guns no longer have any right to be considered as peaceable vessels of commerce. Therefore the German naval forces will receive orders within a short period, paying consideration to the interests of the neutrals, to treat such vessels as belligerents.

The German Government brings this status of affairs to the knowledge of the neutral powers in order that they may warn their nationals against continuing to intrust their persons or property to armed merchantmen of the powers at war with the German Empire.

APPENDICES TO THE NOTE.

The so-called appendices to the note verbale, above quoted, embrace 12 exhibits, the most interesting of which are what purport to be the secret and confidential orders issued by the British Admiralty to British merchantmen. Germany's note points out that on March 26, 1913, Winston Churchill, then first lord of the British Admiralty, called on British shipowners to arm a number of first-class liners for defense. Churchill's statement is the first exhibit submitted by the German Government, as follows:

EXHIBIT 1.

Declaration of the first lord of the admiralty, Winston Churchill, at the session of the British lower house of March 26, 1913. Parliamentary debates, official report, third session of the Thirtieth Parliament, House of Commons, 1913 (Bd., 1 S., 1775 Bis., 1776):

"I turn to one aspect of trade protection which requires special reference. It was made clear at the Second Hague Conference and the London conference that certain of the great powers have reserved to themselves the right to convert merchant steamers into cruisers, not merely in national harbors but, if necessary, on the high seas. There is now good reason to believe that a considerable number of foreign merchant steamers may be rapidly converted into armed ships by the mounting of guns. The sea-borne trade of the world follows well-marked routes, upon nearly all of which the tonnage of the British mercantile marine largely predominates. Our food-carrying liners and vessels carrying raw material, following these trade routes, would, in certain contingencies, meet foreign vessels armed and equipped in the manner desirable. If the British ships had no armament, they would be at the mercy of any foreign liner carrying one effective gun and a few rounds of ammunition. It would be obviously absurd to meet the contingency of considerable numbers of foreign armed merchant cruisers on the high seas by building an equal number of cruisers. That would expose this country to an expenditure of money to meet a particular danger altogether disproportionate to the expense caused to any foreign power in creating that danger. Hostile cruisers, wherever they are found, will be covered and met by British ships of war, but the proper reply to an armed merchantman is another merchantman armed in her own defense.

"This is the position to which the admiralty have felt it necessary to draw the attention of leading shipowners. We have felt justified in pointing out to them the danger to life and property which would be incurred if their vessels were totally incapable of offering any defense to an attack. The shipowners have responded to the admiralty invention with cordiality, and substantial progress has been made in the direction of meeting it by preparing a defensive measure to equip a number of first-class British liners to repel the attack of armed foreign merchant cruisers.

"Although these vessels have, of course, a wholly different status from that of the regularly commissioned merchant cruisers, such as those we obtain under the Cunard agreement, the admiralty have felt that the greater part of the cost of necessary equipment should not fall upon the owners, and we have decided, therefore, to lend the necessary guns, to supply ammunition, and to provide for the training of members of the ship's company to form the gun crews. The owners on their part are paying the cost of the necessary structural conversion, which is not great. The British mercantile marine will, of course, have the protection of the Royal Navy under all possible circumstances, but it is obviously impossible to guarantee individual vessels from attack when they are scattered on their voyages all over the world. No one can pretend to view these measures without regret or without hoping that the period of retrogression all over the world, which has rendered them necessary, may be succeeded by days of broader international confidence and agreement than those through which we are now passing."

Exhibit No. 2 is the text of the note delivered August 25, 1914, by Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, British ambassador at Washington, to the State Department, in which he gave fullest assurances that British merchant vessels "will never be used for purposes of attack; that they are merely peaceful traders armed only for defense; that they will never fire unless first fired upon; and that they will never under any circumstances attack any vessel."

Exhibit No. 3 is the text of a memorandum delivered by the German Government to Ambassador Gerard on October 15, 1914, concerning the treatment of armed merchant vessels in neutral ports.

SHIPS ATTACKED.

Exhibit No. 4 of the German appendices is a list of cases in which armed enemy merchant ships are alleged to have fired on German or Austrian submarines. It follows:

"Digest of cases in which enemy merchant ships have fired on German or Austro-Hungarian submarines.

"April 11, 1915: Unknown steamer, south North Sea, near the Nordhinder Lightship; steamer without a flag. Steamer saw periscope, opened gunfire at about 3,000 meters and turned on *U* (boat). Report of shells could be heard near the boat—about 15 or 20 shots.

"April 28, 1915: Unknown steamer of medium size, North Sea, about 60 nautical miles northeast of the mouth of the Tyne. Steamer was sighted running onward; suddenly opened fire at about 3,000 meters without hoisting flag. On account of her head-on position it could not be seen whether she bore neutral marks. From the impact of the shots the guns were from 5 to 7 centimeters. *U* escaped the well-directed fire by speedily submerging.

"May 29, 1915: English steamer *Demerara*, west entrance to the English Channel, near Ouessant (Ushant Island). *U* chased the steamer and tried when 4,500 meters off to bring her to a halt by firing warning guns. Steamer turned off and returned the fire.

"June 3, 1915: Unknown steamer, west entrance to the English Channel, 50 nautical miles south of the Scilly Isles. *U* tried to bring the steamer to a halt by firing warning shots with her artillery. The steamer returned the fire with a poop gun.

"June 14, 1915: Two unknown steamers, west of the Hebrides (about 30 nautical miles off Lewis). The two steamers were running close together, at about 4,000 meters; both opened fire on *U* with small-caliber poop guns. Shots hit sideways very bad. Speedy submerging, running deep; so submarine attack hopeless.

"August 14, 1915: Large English steamer of the Royal Mail Line, Irish Sea. *U* was fired on suddenly by the steamer without provocation, from a distance of 8,000 meters. Shots fell short. No attack was attempted on the steamer.

"August 18, 1915: Unknown steamer, Bristol Channel. Tried to bring steamer to halt by gunfire, after warning. When steamer saw that U boat was waiting she suddenly opened fire with a gun from the promenade deck.

"September 10, 1915: Unknown steamer, western Mediterranean. Steamer was challenged to show her flag. She turned away without hoisting the flag and opened fire with a 10-centimeter poop gun on the U boat, which escaped the firing by speedily submerging.

"October 7, 1915: French steamship *Amiral Hametin*, middle Mediterranean. U signaled the steamer to stop. She turned away and ran on a zigzag course. The U boat tried to bring the steamer to a halt by artillery fire. When about 3,000 meters distant she returned the fire. It was some time before the steamer stopped. She was sunk later.

"November 3: English transport steamer *Woodfield*, western Mediterranean. The steamer did not stop at the warning gun. At a distance of 6,000 meters she returned the fire with a small gun. She was forced to stop by artillery fire, and her crew list showed that the steamer carried gunners and enlisted men of the navy as members of her crew.

"November 5: Unknown steamer, western Mediterranean. A large steamer was chased by U boat after being challenged in vain. The steamer returned the fire with a large gun. The chase had to be given up.

"November 6: Eastern Mediterranean, English tank steamer *Lumina*. The steamer was challenged to stop by a warning gun. She turned about, ran away, and returned the fire with a poop gun. She was compelled to stop by artillery fire and later was sunk.

"November 11: English steamship *City of Marseilles*, western Mediterranean. U boat after warning tried to stop a large freight steamer by artillery fire. The steamer turned away and returned the fire with two guns of about 10 centimeters. The U boat had to give up the chase: the steamer got away. A press telegram of January 1, 1916, from Bombay told the incident in detail. The steamer claimed she had sunk the U boat.

"November 30: Unknown steamer, middle Mediterranean. U boat after a warning gun tried to stop a large steamer by artillery fire. The steamer turned away and returned the fire with a small gun.

"December 8: Unknown steamer, eastern Mediterranean. The steamer was approached under water. She fired with a poop gun on the periscope as soon as it emerged.

"December 13: Unknown English steamer, middle Mediterranean. U boat tried to stop by artillery fire a large steamer, with poop guns, that showed no flag. The steamer hoisted the English flag and returned the fire with two guns.

"December 14: Unknown steamer, middle Mediterranean. U boat approached the steamer, which stopped at sight of the boat, and ordered her to show her flag. The steamer speeded away, keeping up a brisk fire from a poop gun.

"January 17, 1916: Unknown steamer, middle Mediterranean. U boat ordered steamer, apparently in ballast, that was sighted on a westerly course, to stop. The steamer turned about, ran away, and fired with a poop gun.

"January 17: English steamer *Melanic*, middle Mediterranean. U boat signaled a flush-decked freight steamer, with raised forecastle and cabin, of about 3,000 tons, sailing under the Dutch flag, to send a boat and have the ship's papers examined. This was done after a while. As U boat, which for safety's sake had gone under, came to the surface about 1,000 meters away from the steamer, near the ship's boat, the steamer opened fire with two guns of medium caliber and machine guns so briskly that the U boat barely saved herself by speedily submerging. Throughout the action the steamer displayed the Dutch flag. She bore the name of *Melanic*, which is found not in the Dutch by the English marine list."

BRITISH ORDERS TO MERCHANTMEN.

Exhibit No. 5 is what purports to be the text of confidential instructions to British defensively armed merchantmen regarding the use of their armament. These instructions are declared to have been found on the British steamer *Woodfield* and are given as follows:

"CONFIDENTIAL.

"Instructions for guidance in the use, care, and maintenance of armament in defensively armed merchant ships.

"GENERAL.

"1. Ratings embarked as gun's crew will sign the ship's articles at the rate of pay communicated.

"2. They are to obey the orders of the master and officers of the ship. If they think it necessary to make a complaint against any order, they are to obey the order and make their complaint in writing, asking that it may be forwarded to the proper authorities.

"3. The ratings are not required for duties unconnected with the armament, except in case of emergency, but they are to assist at all times in the welfare of the ship and look after the cleanliness of their berths.

"4. They are to keep watch and watch at sea and also when the ship is anchored in any place liable to attack by submarines.

"5. They will receive their pay through the master of the ship. They will not mess with the crew, but in one of the officers' messes, as the master may decide.

"6. Uniform is not to be worn in neutral ports.

"7. A brief report is to be rendered by the senior rating on the first of each month, countersigned by the master, and sent to the Director of Trade Division, Admiralty, Whitehall, S. W.

"DRILL AND MAINTENANCE OF GUN.

"8. The ratings embarked are entirely responsible for the efficiency in all respects of the gun and ammunition, which should be ready day and night.

"9. The senior rating is to arrange with the master to detail the necessary additional men to complete the gun's crew up to the numbers required by the drill book.

"10. One of the ratings is to act as gun layer and the other as breech worker. The remaining numbers should be told off to act as sight setter, projectile loader, and cartridge loader, etc.

"11. Arrangements are to be made with the master to detail a sufficient number of hands, over and above the gun's crew, to supply ammunition to the gun on going into action.

"12. A ready supply of 10 complete rounds, with percussion tubes in the cartridges, is to be kept at the gun day and night. Care should be taken that a supply of one percussion tube to each cartridge is kept aside for action, and this supply of tubes is never to be encroached on for practice firing.

"13. The senior rating should arrange with the master for the instruction of the ratings told off as gun's crew and ammunition supply party.

"14. A drill book is supplied for information, but it is not necessary that the gun's crew should be burdened with details, provided that they understand what is required when the gun is to be fought.

"15. Percussion firing should always be used, as it is the most certain means of discharging the gun; and, therefore—

"(a) Cartridges in ready supply only should be kept ready tubed with percussion tubes. Tubes not required for ready supply of cartridges should be retained in their sealed boxes to preserve them from damp.

"(b) Aiming practice with a percussion lanyard should be carried out daily. It is not necessary to fire a tube in this practice, but the breech worker should be exercised at the same time in cocking the striker while the breech is open and in hooking on the firing lanyard and passing it to the gun layer.

"NOTE.

"The present allowance of percussion tubes is one per cartridge. Electric firing mechanism and batteries are therefore to be kept efficient in every respect, in case the supply of percussion tubes becomes insufficient from damp or other causes.

"16. Great attention is to be paid to the ready supply of ammunition, to keep it clean and dry. If tubes and cartridges are not kept dry there is considerable danger of hanging fire. The projectiles are to be lightly oiled. In case the cartridges are suspected to have become wet, they should be laid aside until return to harbor.

"17. For the maintenance of the gun and mounting, it is to be borne in mind that 'lubrication is the secret of efficiency in gun machinery.' All oil channels should be seen clear of vaseline and filled with oil. It is to be remembered that vaseline is a preservative only; oil is a lubricant.

"Each morning and evening the bore is to be seen clear, recoil cylinders filled, striker protrusion gauged, and the gun trained and elevated to both extremes.

"The gun is to be cleaned twice a day, gear being supplied by the master.

"Brick dust is not to be used on machined surfaces.

"ACTION.

"The master is responsible for handling the ship and for opening and ceasing fire. He has been furnished with instructions which will enable him to do this to the best advantage. The duty of the gun's crew is to fire the gun under the general direction of the master, who will communicate to them so much of the instructions as he may consider necessary to enable them to fire the gun to the best advantage.

"In action the following instructions should be carried out:

"1. When in submarine waters everything should be in a state of readiness, but the gun should not be kept actually loaded.

"2. When the enemy is engaged:

"(a) The point of aim should be the center of the water line.

"(b) It is to be remembered that 'over' shots are useless. A short shot by causing a splash confuses the enemy. It may ricochet into the enemy. If the shell bursts on striking the water—as it usually does—some fragments are likely to hit the enemy. To get the best results at least half of the shots fired should fall short.

"3. The master will probably keep the submarine astern, so that little deflection will be necessary.

"4. It is not advisable to open fire at a range greater than 800 yards, unless the enemy has already opened fire, for the following reasons:

"(a) The ammunition supply is limited.

"(b) Accurate shooting under probable existing conditions can not be expected at greater range.

"5. When in action and a misfire occurs with a percussion tube the following procedure is to be adopted:

"(a) The B. M. lever is to be tapped to insure it is closed.

"(b) The striker is to be recocked.

"If the gun does not then fire the striker is to be taken out to insure that the point is not broken. If unbroken, the breech is to be opened and the cartridge is to be thrown overboard, it having been ascertained that the percussion tube has been inserted.

"The gun is then to be reloaded.

"INSTRUCTIONS FOR CARRYING OUT FIRING PRACTICE.

"1. In order to insure that the gun is maintained in an efficient condition one round is to be fired every two months.

"2. In order to prevent false alarms it is essential that the firing referred to in paragraph 1 shall take place in clear weather and out of sight of land and of other ships.

"3. If convenient, a cask or other suitable object should be dropped as a target, and the gun should be fired when the range is about 600 yards.

"4. The gun's crew and ammunition-supply party should be exercised on the day previous to the practice, and also immediately before firing.

"5. Before practice firing the following procedure is to be carried out:

"(a) Recoil cylinders and tanks are to be seen filled.

"(b) Bore is to be seen clear.

"(c) Movable objects in the way of blast from the gun are to be removed.

"(d) The striker is to be reexamined to see (1) that sheet net is screwed up and keep pin in place and intact; (2) that needle set and check nuts are screwed up; (3) that striker does not protrude with B. M. lever in open position; (4) that striker does not move forward till marks on breechblock and gun are in line; (5) that safety stop is correct and keep screw is in place.

"ADMIRALTY.

"MAY 7, 1915."

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INSTRUCTIONS TO SHIP MASTERS.

Exhibit No. 6 gives the text of a separate set of confidential British instructions for guidance in the use of armament on defensively armed merchantmen, said to have been found on the steamer *Woodfield*, and is similar to the secret instructions given in Exhibit No. 5, except that the instructions described as Exhibit No. 6 appears to be a reprint of the instructions described as Exhibit No. 5, with several slight technical rules concerning the guns.

Exhibit No. 7 embraces brief supplementary instructions of a confidential nature, also said to have been found on the steamer *Woodfield*, as follows:

"Confidential addenda to instructions for guidance in the use, care, and maintenance of armament in defensively armed merchant ships:

"1. The master should arrange, wherever possible, that the space in the immediate vicinity of the gun is railed off, and passengers and other unauthorized persons should not be allowed near the gun.

"2. A notice to this effect should be posted up near the gun.

"3. When the ship is in harbor one of the two ratings is always to be on board to keep guard on the gun and ammunition, and the master is to use his discretion as to keeping both ratings on board, should he consider such a course to be desirable.

"4. The gun is to be kept covered at all times when not in use.

"5. Whenever the ships anchor in the vicinity of a man-of-war a request should be made to the commanding officer of the man-of-war for an armorer to inspect the gun and mounting.

"ADMIRALTY.

"MAY 27, 1915."

LEAF FROM DRILL BOOK.

Exhibit No. 8 is a facsimile of the title-page of the "Drill book for 12-pounder quick-fire guns, issued to defensively armed merchant ships, issued by the gunnery branch of the British Admiralty in May, 1915." This book is alleged to have been found on the steamer *Woodfield*.

Exhibit No. 9 is a copy of secret instructions No. 45 regarding submarines, applicable to vessels carrying a defensive armament, issued by the British Admiralty on February 25, 1915, and also found on the steamer *Woodfield*. It follows:

"CONFIDENTIAL—NO. 45.

"In no circumstances is this paper to be allowed to fall into the hands of the enemy.

"This paper is for the master's personal information. It is not to be copied, and when not actually in use is to be kept in safety in a place where it can be destroyed at a moment's notice.

"Such portions as call for immediate action may be communicated verbally to the officers concerned.

"FEBRUARY 25, 1915.

"Instructions regarding submarines applicable to vessels carrying a defensive armament:

"1. Defensively armed vessels should follow generally the instructions for ordinary merchant ships.

"2. In submarine waters guns should be kept in instant readiness.

"3. If a submarine is obviously pursuing a ship by day and it is evident to the master that she has hostile intentions, the ship pursued should open fire in self-defense, notwithstanding the submarine may not have committed a definite hostile act, such as firing a gun or torpedo.

"4. In view of the great difficulty in distinguishing a friend from an enemy at night, fire should not be opened after dark unless it is absolutely certain that the vessel fired at is hostile.

"5. Before opening fire the British colors should be hoisted.

"It is essential that fire should not be opened under neutral colors."

FURTHER RULES FOR ATTACKS.

Exhibit 10 is a copy of British secret instructions No. 291 and is similar to and repeats instructions No. 45, printed above, with the addition of the following instructions:

"CONFIDENTIAL—NO. 291.

"In no circumstances is this paper to be allowed to fall into the hands of the enemy.

"This paper is for the master's personal information. It is not to be copied, and when not actually in use is to be kept in safety in a place where it can be destroyed at a moment's notice. Such portions as call for immediate action may be communicated verbally to the officers concerned.

"APRIL, 1915.

"Instructions regarding submarines applicable to vessels carrying a defensive armament.

"6. If a defensively armed vessel is pursued by a submarine, the master has two alternatives:

"a. To open fire at long range immediately it is certain that the submarine is really in pursuit.

"b. To retain fire until the submarine has closed to a range, say 800 yards, at which fire is likely to be effective.

"In view of the very great difficulty of distinguishing between friendly and hostile submarines at long range (one British submarine has already been fired at by a merchant vessel which erroneously supposed herself to be pursued by the submarine) it is strongly recommended that course be should be adopted by all defensively armed ships.

"7. A submarine's flag is no guide to her nationality, as German submarines frequently fly British colors.

"8. Vessels carrying a defensive armament and proceeding to neutral ports must not be painted in neutral colors or wear a neutral flag.

"9. It is recommended that in neutral ports, particularly those of Spain, the armament should be concealed as far as possible. A canvas cover is recommended for this purpose."

ORDERS TO TROOP TRANSPORTS.

Exhibit No. 11 purports to be the text of secret instructions to masters of transports carrying troops, issued by the British Admiralty, May 31, 1915, and found on the steamer *Woodfield*. The document follows:

"SECRET.

"Memorandum for issue to masters of transports carrying troops.

"Use of rifle and machine-gun fire by troops on board transports against enemy submarines or torpedo crafts.

"1. In daylight a submarine will probably attack while submerged, with only her periscope showing.

"At night, in moonlight, a submarine may attack while on the surface, or with only her conning tower above water, owing to the difficulty of seeing through the periscope at night.

"2. In either case heavy rifle or machine-gun fire will make it more difficult for a submarine to make a successful shot with a torpedo. If submerged, no injury will be done to her, but a good volume of fire falling just short of the periscope will make splashes which will render it difficult for the observer to see clearly through the periscope.

"3. When a destroyer escort is accompanying a transport troops should not open fire on a submarine, as it may prevent a destroyer from ramming her, nor should their weapons be loaded, in order to avoid the possibility of an escorting vessel being fired on by mistake, especially at night.

"4. When no escort is provided machine guns should be in readiness to open fire, and a strong party of riflemen should also be on duty.

"5. Military officers should be in command both of the machine guns and riflemen to control the fire.

"6. A military officer of the watch should be in command of the troops on deck. He should not order fire to be opened on a hostile submarine or torpedo vessel without the previous assent of the master or his representative—the ship's officer of the watch.

"7. The object of those controlling the fire should be to keep the center of the pattern just short of the hostile vessel.

"8. Machine-gun tripods can be lashed to the rails or other deck fittings. If there is motion on the ship and machine guns are fitted with elevating or training gear, it is advisable to disconnect it and point the gun by hand.

"9. Field guns with recoil mountings might possibly be secured on deck in such a manner as to permit of their being fired, but their arc of training would be very restricted, and it is unlikely that gun layers, without previous training afloat, could make satisfactory practice from a ship with motion on. Their use is not, therefore, recommended.

"10. In men-of-war it has been the practice for many years to station sentries with ball cartridge on deck opposite the boats in the event of collision or other serious emergency likely to the boats being required. Their duties are to prevent anyone getting into the boats or attempting to lower the boats without orders from the captain or his representatives. This practice should be followed in transports.

"ADMIRALTY.

"31st MAY, 1915."

The last of the appendices, Exhibit No. 12, purports to be instructions to British merchant vessels in the Mediterranean, alleged to have been found on the English steamer *Linkmoor*. It follows:

"ADMIRALTY SUPERINTENDENT'S OFFICE,
"*Malta, June, 1915.*

"Instructions to British merchant vessels passing through the Mediterranean Sea.

"It is now certain that there are enemies' submarines at sea in the Mediterranean.

"In order to avoid attack you are to keep out of the track of shipping.

"You are to darken ship at night and are not to show navigation lights except at discretion to avoid collision, and all lights are to be extinguished when necessity is passed.

"You are to carry out the procedure recommended by the Admiralty in their printed instructions if a hostile submarine is sighted."

The armed merchantmen an issue in Congress:

THE LETTER FROM SENATOR STONE TO WHICH THE PRESIDENT'S IS A REPLY.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, February 24.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Since Senator KERN, Mr. FLOOD, and I talked with you on Monday evening I am more troubled than I have been for many a day. I have not felt authorized to repeat our conversation, but I have attempted, in response to numerous inquiries from my colleagues, to state to them, within the confidence that they should observe, my general understanding of your attitude. I have stated my understanding of your attitude to be substantially as follows:

That while you would deeply regret the rejection by Great Britain of Mr. Lansing's proposal for the disarmament of merchant vessels of the allies, with the understanding that Germany and her allies would not fire upon a merchant ship if she hauled to when summoned, not attempting to escape, and that the German warships would only exercise the admitted right of visitation and capture, and would not destroy the captured ship except in circumstances that reasonably assured the safety of passengers and crew, you were of the opinion that if Great Britain and her allies rejected the proposal and insisted upon arming her merchant ships she would be within her right under international law.

Also that you would feel disposed to allow armed vessels to be cleared from our ports. Also that you are not favorably disposed to the idea of this Government taking any definite steps toward preventing American citizens from embarking upon armed merchant vessels. Furthermore, that you would consider it your duty if a German warship should fire upon an armed merchant vessel of the enemy upon which American citizens were passengers to hold Germany to strict account.

Numerous Members of the Senate and the House have called to discuss this subject with me. I have felt that the Members of the two Houses who are to deal with this grave question were entitled to know the situation we are confronting as I understand it to be.

I think I should say to you that the Members of both Houses feel deeply concerned and disturbed by what they read and hear. I have heard of some talk to the effect that some are saying that after all it may be possible that the program of preparedness, so called, has some relation to just such a situation as we are called upon to meet.

I have counseled all who have talked with me to keep cool; that this whole business is still the subject of diplomacy, and that you are striving to the utmost to bring about some peaceable adjustment, and that in the meantime Congress should be careful not to "ball up" a diplomatic situation by any kind of hasty and ill-considered action. However, the situation in Congress is such as to excite a sense of deep concern in the minds of careful and thoughtful men.

I have felt that it is due to you to say this much. I think you understand my personal attitude with respect to this subject. As much and deeply as I would hate to radically disagree with you, I find it difficult from my sense of duty and responsibility to consent to plunge this Nation into the vortex of this world war because of the unreasonable obstinacy of any of the powers upon the one hand, or, on the other hand, of foolhardiness, amounting to a sort of moral treason against the Republic, of our people recklessly risking their lives on armed belligerent ships. I can not escape the conviction that such would be so monstrous as to be indefensible.

I want to be with you and to stand by you, and I mean to do so up to the last limit; and I want to talk with you and Secretary Lansing with the utmost frankness—to confer with you and to have your judgment and counsel—and I want to be kept advised as to the course of events, as it seems to me I am entitled to be.

In the meantime I am striving to prevent anything being done by any Senator or Member calculated to embarrass your diplomatic negotiations. Up to the last you should be left free to act diplomatically as you think for the best to settle the questions involved. I need hardly say that my wish is to help, not to hinder, you.

With the highest regard and most sympathetic consideration, I have the honor, Mr. President, to be,

W. J. STONE.

On the same day the President addressed the Senator as follows:

THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO SENATOR STONE MADE PUBLIC FEBRUARY 24.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, February 24, 1916.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I very warmly appreciate your kind and frank letter of to-day and feel that it calls for an equally frank reply.

You are right in assuming that I shall do everything in my power to keep the United States out of war. I think the country will feel no uneasiness about my course in that respect. Through many anxious months I have striven for that object, amidst difficulties more manifold than can have been apparent upon the surface, and so far I have succeeded. I do not doubt that I shall continue to succeed. The course which the central European powers have announced their intention of following in the future with regard to undersea warfare seems for the moment to threaten insuperable obstacles, but its apparent meaning is so manifestly inconsistent with explicit assurances recently given us by those powers with regard to their treatment of merchant vessels on the high seas that I must believe that explanations will presently ensue which will put a different aspect upon it. We have had no reason to question their good faith or their fidelity to their promises in the past, and I, for one, feel confident that we shall have none in the future.

But in any event our duty is clear. No nation, no group of nations, has the right while war is in progress to alter or disregard the principles which all nations have agreed upon in mitigation of the horrors and sufferings of war; and if the clear rights of American citizens should ever unhappily be abridged or denied by any such action we should, it seems to me, have in honor no choice as to what our own course should be.

For my own part I can not consent to any abridgment of the rights of American citizens in any respect. The honor and self-respect of the Nation are involved. We covet peace, and shall preserve it at any cost but the loss of honor. To forbid our people to exercise their rights for fear we might be called upon to vindicate them would be a deep humiliation indeed. It would be an implicit, all but an explicit, acquiescence in the violation of the rights of mankind everywhere and of whatever nation or allegience. It would be a deliberate abdication of our hitherto proud position as spokesmen, even amidst the turmoil of war, for the law and the right. It would make everything this Government has attempted and everything that it has achieved during this terrible struggle of nations meaningless and futile.

It is important to reflect that if in this instance we allowed expediency to take the place of principle the door would inevitably be opened to still further concessions. Once accept a single abatement of right, and many other humiliations would certainly follow, and the whole fine fabric of international law might crumble under our hands, piece by piece. What we are contending for in this matter is of the very essence of the things that have made America a sovereign Nation. She can not yield them without conceding her own impotency as a Nation and making virtual surrender of her independent position among the nations of the world.

I am speaking, my dear Senator, in deep solemnity, without heat, with a clear consciousness of the high responsibilities of my office and as your sincere and devoted friend. If we should unhappily differ, we shall differ as friends; but where issues so momentous as these are involved we must, just because we are friends, speak our minds without reservation.

Faithfully, yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

On the 29th the President wrote Acting Chairman POU, of the Rules Committee:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, February 29, 1916.

MY DEAR MR. POU: Inasmuch as I learn that Mr. HENRY, the chairman of the Committee on Rules, is absent in Texas, I take the liberty of calling your attention, as ranking member of the committee, to a matter of grave concern to the country which can, I believe, be handled, under the rules of the House, only by that committee.

The report that there are divided counsels in Congress in regard to the foreign policy of the Government is being made industrious use of in foreign capitals. I believe that report to be false, but so long as it is anywhere credited it can not fail to do the greatest harm and expose the country to the most serious risks. I therefore feel justified in asking that your committee will permit me to urge an early vote upon the resolutions with regard to travel on armed merchantmen, which have recently been so much talked about, in order that there may be afforded an immediate opportunity for full public discussion and action upon them and that all doubts and conjectures may be swept away and our foreign relations once more cleared of damaging misunderstandings.

The matter is of so grave importance and lies so clearly within the field of Executive initiative that I venture to hope that your committee will not think that I am taking unwarranted liberty in making this suggestion as to the business of the House, and I very earnestly commend it to their immediate attention.

Cordially and sincerely, yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

The McLemore warning resolution was tabled, which was equivalent in parliamentary effect to a refusal to warn American citizens from defensively armed belligerent vessels.

The British Admiralty issued the following instructions to her merchantmen:

FULL TEXT OF BRITISH INSTRUCTIONS TO ARMED LINERS—APPROACH OF SUBMARINE TO BE DEEMED HOSTILE ACT.

LONDON, *March 2.*

The British Admiralty to-night officially made public the admiralty orders to armed merchantmen given October 2, 1915.

The orders say that the armament of such vessels must be used solely for resisting an attack by an armed vessel and for no other purpose. As British submarines and aircraft are ordered not to approach merchantmen, the orders say the approach to a British merchantman of a submarine is to be regarded as done with a hostile intention.

The official statement reads as follows:

"In view of the recent issue by the German Government of a memorandum on the treatment of armed merchant ships, the admiralty has decided to make public the instructions actually governing the actions of British merchant vessels armed for self-defense:

"Instruction, dated 20th of October, 1915, in re the status of armed merchant ships:

"(1) The right of the crew of a merchant vessel to forcibly resist visit and search and fight in self-defense is well recognized in international law and expressly admitted by the German prize regulations in an addendum issued June, 1914, at a time when it was known that numerous merchant vessels were being armed for self-defense.

"(2) Armament is supplied solely for the purpose of resisting attack by an armed enemy vessel and must not be used for any other purpose whatsoever.

"(3) An armed merchant vessel, therefore, must not in any circumstances interfere with or obstruct the free passage of other merchant vessels or fishing craft, whether these are friendly, neutral, or hostile.

"(4) The status of a British armed merchant vessel can not be changed upon the high seas.

"Rules to be observed in the exercise of the right of self-defense:

"(1) The master or officer in command is responsible for opening and ceasing fire.

"(2) Participation in armed resistance must be confined to persons acting under the orders of the master or the officer in command.

"(3) Before opening fire the British colors must be hoisted.

"(4) Fire must not be opened or continued from a vessel which has stopped, hauled down her flag, or otherwise indicated her intention to surrender.

"(5) The expression 'armament' includes not only cannon but also rifles and machine guns in cases, where these have been supplied.

"(6) The ammunition used in rifles and machine guns must conform to article 23, Hague Convention, 1907; that is, bullets must be cased in nickel or other hard substance and must not be split or cut in such a way as to cause them to expand or set up on striking a man. The use of explosive bullets is forbidden.

"Circumstances under which armament should be employed:

"(1) The armament is supplied for the purpose of defense only. The object of the master should be to avoid action whenever possible.

"(2) Experience has shown that hostile submarines and aircraft have frequently attacked merchant vessels without warning. It is important, therefore, that craft of this description should not be allowed to approach to short range, at which a torpedo or bomb launched without notice would almost certainly be effective. British and allied submarines and aircraft have orders not to approach merchant vessels; consequently it may be presumed that any submarine or aircraft which deliberately approaches or pursues a merchant vessel does so with hostile intention. In such cases fire may be opened in self-defense in order to prevent the hostile craft from closing to a range at which resistance to a sudden attack with bomb or torpedo would be impossible.

"(3) An armed merchant vessel proceeding to render assistance to the crew of a vessel in distress must not seek action with any hostile craft, though if she herself is attacked while doing so fire may be opened in self-defense.

"(4) It should be remembered that the flag is no guide to nationality. German submarines and armed merchant vessels have frequently employed the British, allied, or neutral colors to approach undetected. Though, however, the use of disguise and false colors to escape capture is a legitimate ruse de guerre, its adoption by defensively armed merchant ships may easily lead to misconception. Such vessels, therefore, are forbidden to adopt any form of disguise which might cause them to be mistaken for neutral ships."

Admiralty comment:

"These instructions, which are those at present in force, are the latest issued. Successive issues have been made, not by reason of a change in policy—the policy throughout has remained unaltered—but by improvement in wording and greater clearness of expression, to emphasize the purely defensive character of the armament of merchant vessels.

"It is because of the distorted interpretation given these instructions as a whole and the very forced character of the interpretation given by the German Government to portions which they quote from an earlier issue of the instructions that the admiralty felt it desirable, with a view to allaying neutral anxiety, to publish these in extenso.

On the 24th of March the steamer *Sussex* was attacked without warning. On the following day our Government sent a note to Germany, which was not made public until the 27th of April. The note defines armed-liner law:

NOTIFIES BELLIGERENTS THAT UNITED STATES RECOGNIZES RIGHT OF DEFENSE BY MERCHANTMEN—LIMITS ACTS OF WAR CRAFT—MUST NOT ATTACK WITHOUT WARNING UNTIL STATUS OF VESSEL IS FULLY DETERMINED—AND MUST DISPLAY COLORS—MERCHANTMEN WITH MANDATORY ORDERS TO ATTACK WAR CRAFT NOT IMMUNE THEMSELVES.

TEXT OF THE MEMORANDUM.

The memorandum, which sets forth the attitude of the administration in clear detail, follows:

MEMORANDUM ON ARMED MERCHANT VESSELS.

By direction of the President a memorandum was prepared during March, 1916, in regard to the status of armed merchant vessels in neutral ports and on the high seas. This memorandum is now made public as a statement of this Government's attitude on that subject:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 25, 1916.

I.

The status of an armed merchant vessel of a belligerent is to be considered from two points of view: First, from that of a neutral when the vessel enters its ports; and, second, from that of an enemy when the vessel is on the high seas.

First. An armed merchant vessel in neutral ports.

(1) It is necessary for a neutral Government to determine the status of an armed merchant vessel of belligerent nationality which enters its jurisdiction, in order that the Government may protect itself from responsibility for the destruction of life and property by permitting its ports to be used as bases of hostile operations by belligerent warships.

(2) If the vessel carries a commission or orders issued by a belligerent Government and directing it under penalty to conduct aggressive operations, or if it is conclusively shown to have conducted such operations, it should be regarded and treated as a warship.

(3) If sufficient evidence is wanting a neutral Government in order to safeguard itself from liability for failure to preserve its neutrality may reasonably presume from these facts the status of an armed merchant vessel which frequents its waters. There is no settled rule

of international law as to the sufficiency of evidence to establish such a presumption. As a result a neutral Government must decide for itself the sufficiency of the evidence which it requires to determine the character of the vessel. For the guidance of its port officers and other officials a neutral Government may therefore declare a standard of evidence, but such standard may be changed on account of the general conditions of naval warfare or modified on account of the circumstances of a particular case. These changes and modifications may be made at any time during the progress of the war, since the determination of the status of an armed merchant vessel in neutral waters may affect the liability of a neutral Government.

Second. An armed merchant vessel on the high seas.

(1) It is necessary for a belligerent warship to determine the status of an armed merchant vessel of an enemy encountered on the high seas, since the rights of life and property of belligerents and neutrals on board the vessel may be impaired if its status is that of an enemy warship.

(2) The determination of warlike character must rest in no case upon presumption but upon conclusive evidence, because the responsibility for the destruction of life and property depends on the actual facts of the case and can not be avoided or lessened by a standard of evidence which a belligerent may announce as creating a presumption of hostile character. On the other hand, to safeguard himself from possible liability for unwarranted destruction of life and property the belligerent should, in the absence of conclusive evidence, act on the presumption that an armed merchantman is of peaceful character.

(3) A presumption based solely on the presence of an armament on a merchant vessel of an enemy is not a sufficient reason for a belligerent to declare it to be a warship and proceed to attack it without regard to the rights of the persons on board. Conclusive evidence of a purpose to use the armament for aggression is essential. Consequently an armament which a neutral Government, seeking to perform its neutral duties, may presume to be intended for aggression might in fact on the high seas be used solely for protection. A neutral Government has no opportunity to determine the purpose of an armament on a merchant vessel unless there is evidence in the ship's papers or other proof as to its previous use, so that the Government is justified in substituting an arbitrary rule of presumption in arriving at the status of the merchant vessel. On the other hand, a belligerent warship can on the high seas test by actual experience the purpose of an armament on an enemy merchant vessel and so determine by direct evidence the status of the vessel.

SUMMARY.

The status of an armed merchant vessel as a warship in neutral waters may be determined, in the absence of documentary proof or conclusive evidence of previous aggressive conduct, by presumption derived from all the circumstances of the case.

The status of such vessel as a warship on the high seas must be determined only upon conclusive evidence of aggressive purpose, in the absence of which it is to be presumed that the vessel has a private and peaceable character, and it should be so treated by an enemy warship.

In brief, a neutral Government may proceed upon the presumption that an armed merchant vessel of belligerent nationality is armed for aggression, while a belligerent should proceed on the presumption that the vessel is armed for protection. Both of these presumptions may be overcome by evidence—the first by secondary or collateral evidence, since the fact to be established is negative in character; the second by primary and direct evidence, since the fact to be established is positive in character.

II.

The character of the evidence upon which the status of an armed merchant vessel of belligerent nationality is to be determined when visiting neutral waters and when traversing the high seas having been stated, it is important to consider the rights and duties of neutrals and belligerents as affected by the status of armed merchant vessels in neutral ports and on the high seas.

First. The relations of belligerents and neutrals as affected by the status of armed merchant vessels in neutral ports.

(1) It appears to be the established rule of international law that warships of a belligerent may enter neutral ports and accept limited hospitality there upon condition that they leave, as a rule, within 24 hours after their arrival.

(2) Belligerent warships are also entitled to take on fuel once in three months in ports of a neutral country.

(3) As a mode of enforcing these rules, a neutral has the right to cause belligerent warships failing to comply with them, together with their officers and crews, to be interned during the remainder of the war.

(4) Merchantmen of belligerent nationality, armed only for purposes of protection against the enemy, are entitled to enter and leave neutral ports without hindrance in the course of legitimate trade.

(5) Armed merchantmen of belligerent nationality under a commission or orders of their Government to use, under penalty, their armament for aggressive purposes, or merchantmen which, without such commission or orders, have used their armaments for aggressive purposes, are not entitled to the same hospitality in neutral ports as peaceable armed merchantmen.

Second. The relations of belligerents and neutrals as affected by the status of armed merchant vessels on the high seas.

(1) Innocent neutral property on the high seas can not legally be confiscated, but is subject to inspection by a belligerent. Resistance to inspection removes this immunity and subjects the property to condemnation by a prize court, which is charged with the preservation of the legal rights of the owners of neutral property.

(2) Neutral property engaged in contraband trade, breach of blockade, or unneutral service obtains the character of enemy property and is subject to seizure by a belligerent and condemnation by a prize court.

(3) When hostile and innocent property is mixed, as in the case of a neutral ship carrying a cargo which is entirely or partially contraband, this fact can only be determined by inspection. Such innocent property may be of uncertain character, as it has been frequently held that it is more or less contaminated by association with hostile property. For example, under the declaration of London—which, so far as the provisions covering this subject are concerned, has been adopted by all the belligerents—the presence of a cargo which in bulk or value consists of 50 per cent contraband articles impresses the ship with enemy character and subjects it to seizure and condemnation by a prize court.

(4) Enemy property, including ships and cargoes, is always subject to seizure and condemnation. Any enemy property taken by a belligerent on the high seas is a total loss to the owners. There is no redress in a prize court. The only means of avoiding loss is by flight or successful resistance. Enemy merchant ships have therefore the right to arm for the purpose of self-protection.

(5) A belligerent warship is any vessel which, under commission or orders of its Government imposing penalties entitling it to prize money, is armed for the purpose of seeking and capturing or destroying enemy property or hostile neutral property on the seas. The size of the vessel, strength of armament, and its defensive or offensive force are immaterial.

(6) A belligerent warship has, incidental to the right of seizure, the right to visit and search all vessels on the high seas for the purpose of determining the hostile or innocent character of the vessels and their cargoes. If the hostile character of the property is known, however, the belligerent warship may seize the property without exercising the right of visit and search, which is solely for the purpose of obtaining knowledge as to the character of the property. The attacking vessel must display its colors before exercising belligerent rights.

(7) When a belligerent warship meets a merchantman on the high seas, which is known to be enemy owned, and attempts to capture the vessel, the latter may exercise its right of self-protection either by flight or by resistance. The right to capture and the right to prevent capture are recognized as equally justifiable.

(8) The exercise of the right of capture is limited, nevertheless, by certain accepted rules of conduct based on the principles of humanity and regard for innocent property, even if there is definite knowledge that some of the property, cargo, as well as the vessel, is of enemy character. As a character of these limitations, it has become the established practice for warships to give merchant vessels an opportunity to surrender or submit to visit and search before attempting to seize them by force. The observance of this rule of naval warfare tends to prevent the loss of life of noncombatants and the destruction of innocent neutral property, which would result from sudden attack.

(9) If, however, before a summons to surrender is given a merchantman of belligerent nationality, aware of the approach of an enemy warship, uses its armament to keep the enemy at a distance, or after it has been summoned to surrender it resists or flees, the warship may properly exercise force to compel surrender.

(10) If the merchantman finally surrenders, the belligerent warship may release it or take it into custody. In the case of an enemy merchantman it may be sunk, but only if it is impossible to take it into port, and provided always that the persons on board are put in a place of safety. In the case of neutral merchantman, the right to sink it in any circumstance is doubtful.

(11) A merchantman entitled to exercise the right of self-protection may do so when certain of attack by an enemy warship, otherwise the exercise of the right would be so restricted as to render it ineffectual. There is a distinct difference, however, between the exercise of the right of self-protection and the act of cruising the seas in an armed vessel for the purpose of attacking enemy naval vessels.

(12) In the event that merchant ships of belligerent nationality are armed and under commission or orders to attack in all circumstances certain classes of enemy naval vessels for the purpose of destroying them, and are entitled to receive prize money for such service from their Government, or are liable to a penalty for failure to obey the orders given, such merchant ships lose their status as peaceable merchant ships and are to a limited extent incorporated in the naval forces of their Government, even though it is not their sole occupation to conduct hostile operations.

(13) A vessel engaged intermittently in commerce and under a commission or orders of its Government imposing a penalty, in pursuing and attacking enemy naval craft, possesses a status tainted with a hostile purpose which it can not throw aside or assume at will. It should, therefore, be considered as an armed public vessel and receive the treatment of a warship by an enemy and by neutrals. Any person taking passage on such a vessel can not expect immunity other than that accorded persons who are on board a warship. A private vessel, engaged in seeking enemy naval craft, without such a commission or orders from its Government, stands in a relation to the enemy similar to that of a civilian who fires upon the organized military forces of a belligerent, and is entitled to no more considerate treatment.

On the 10th of April Germany made reply to our memorandum of the 25th of March, in which responsibility for the destruction of the *Sussex* was not admitted:

BERLIN, *April 12, 1916.*

The following is the text of the German note on the *Sussex*, dated April 10:

"The undersigned has the honor to inform your excellency, Ambassador Gerard, in response to communications of the 29th and 30th ultimo and the 3d instant regarding the steamers *Sussex*, *Manchester Engineer*, *Englishman*, *Berwindvale*, and *Eagle Point* that the mentioned cases, in accordance with our notes of the 30th and 31st ultimo and the 4th and 5th instant, have been subjected to careful investigation by the admiral staff of the navy, which has led to the following results:

"First. The English steamer *Berwindvale:* A steamer, which was possibly the *Berwindvale*, was encountered on the evening of March 16 in sight of Bull Rock Light, on the Irish coast, by a German submarine. The steamer, as soon as she noticed the submarine, which was running unsubmerged, turned and steamed away. She was ordered to halt by a warning shot. She paid no attention, however, to this warning, but extinguished all lights and attempted to escape. The vessel was then fired upon until halted, and without further orders lowered several boats. After the crew entered the boats and received enough time to row away the ship was sunk.

"The name of this steamer was not established; it can not be stated with assurance, even with the help of the details which were furnished by the American Embassy, that the above-described incident concerns the steamer *Berwindvale*. Since, however, the steamer sunk was a tank steamer like the *Berwindvale*, the identity of the ship may be assumed. In this case, however, the statement made that the *Berwindvale* was torpedoed without warning would conflict with the fact.

"Second. The British steamer *Englishman:* This steamer on March 24 was called upon to halt by a German submarine, through two warning shots, about 20 sea miles west of Islay (Hebrides). The vessel proceeded, however, without heeding the warning, and was therefore forced by the submarine by artillery fire to halt after an extended chase, whereupon she lowered boats without further orders.

"After the German commandant had convinced himself that the crew had taken to the boats and rowed from the ship, he sank the steamer.

"Third. The British steamer *Manchester Engineer:* It is impossible to establish through the investigation up to the present whether the attack on this steamer, which, according to the given description, occurred on March 27 in the latitude of Waterford, is attributable to a German submarine. The statement regarding the time and place of the incident gives no sufficient basis for investigation. It would therefore be desirable to have more exact statements of the place, time, and attendant circumstances of the attack reported by the American Government, in order that the investigation might thereupon be brought to a conclusion.

"Fourth. The British steamer *Eagle Point:* This steamer in the forenoon of March 28 was called upon to halt by a German submarine through signal and shot about 100—not 130—sea miles from the southwest coast of Ireland, but proceeded. She was thereupon fired upon until halted, and without further orders lowered two boats, in which the crew took their places. After the commandant convinced himself that the boats, which had hoisted sails, had gotten clear of the steamer, he sank the steamer.

"At the time of the sinking a north-northwest wind of the strength of two, not 'a storm wind,' and a light swell, not 'a heavy sea,' as stated in the given description, prevailed. The boats therefore had every prospect of being picked up very quickly, because the place of the sinking lay on a much-used steamer path.

"If the crew of the steamer used only two small boats for saving themselves the responsibility falls upon themselves, since there were still upon the steamer, as the submarine could establish, at least four big collapsible boats.

"Fifth. The French steamer *Sussex:* Ascertainment of the fact whether the Channel steamer *Sussex* was damaged by a German submarine was rendered extremely difficult, because no exact details of time, place, and attendant circumstances of the sinking were known, and also because it was impossible to obtain a picture of the ship before April 6. Consequently the investigation had to be extended to all actions undertaken on the day in question—March 24—in the Channel in the general region between Folkstone and Dieppe."

In that region, on March 24, a long, black craft without a flag, having a gray funnel, small gray forward works and two high masts, was encountered about the middle of the English Channel by a German submarine. The German commander reached the definite conclusion that it was a war vessel, and, indeed, a mine layer of the recently built English *Arabic* class. He was led to the conviction by the following facts: First, by the plain, unbroken deck of the ship; second, the form of the stern, sloping downward and backward like a war vessel; third, she was painted like a war vessel; fourth, the high speed developed, about 18 knots; fifth, the circumstance that the vessel did not keep a course northward of the light buoys between Dungeness and Beachy Head, which, according to the frequent and unvarying observations of German submarines, is about the course of commercial vessels, but kept in the middle of the channel, on a course about in the direction of Le Havre.

Consequently he attacked the vessel at 3.55 in the afternoon, middle European time, 1½ sea miles southeast of Bull Rock (Bullock?) Bank, the submarine being submerged. The torpedo struck and caused such a violent explosion in the forward part of the ship that the entire forward part was torn away to the bridge.

The particularly violent explosion warrants the certain conclusion that great amounts of munitions were aboard.

The German commander made a sketch of the vessel attacked by him, two drawings of which are inclosed. The picture of the steamer *Sussex*, two copies of which are also inclosed, is reproduced photographically from the English paper, the Daily Graphic of the 27th ultimo.

A comparison of the sketch and the picture shows that the craft attacked is not identical with the *Sussex*. The difference in the position of the stack and shape of the stern is particularly striking.

No other attack whatever by German submarines at the time in question for the *Sussex* upon the route between Folkstone and Dieppe occurred. The German Government must therefore assume that the injury to the *Sussex* is attributable to another cause than an attack by a German submarine.

For an explanation of the case the fact may perhaps be serviceable that no less than 26 English mines were exploded by shots by German naval forces in the channel on the 1st and 2d of April alone. The entire sea in that vicinity is, in fact, endangered by floating mines and by torpedoes that have not sunk. Off the English coast it is further endangered in an increasing degree through German mines which have been laid against enemy naval forces.

Should the American Government have at its disposal further material for a conclusion upon the case of the *Sussex*, the German Government would ask that it be communicated, in order to subject this material also to an investigation.

In the event that differences of opinion should develop hereby between the two Governments, the German Government now declares itself ready to have the facts of the case established through mixed commissions of investigation, in accordance with the third title of The Hague agreement, for the peaceful settlement of international conflicts, November 18, 1907.

The undersigned, while requesting that you communicate the above to the Government of the United States, takes occasion to renew to the ambassador the assurance of his distinguished esteem.

JAGOW.

On the 18th day of April our Government addressed Germany the now famous note, considered by many as an ultimatum:

TEXT OF THE AMERICAN NOTE TO GERMANY.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, April 18, 1916.

The SECRETARY OF STATE TO AMBASSADOR GERARD:

You are instructed to deliver to the secretary of foreign affairs a communication reading as follows:

"I did not fail to transmit immediately, by telegraph, to my Government your excellency's note of the 10th instant in regard to certain attacks by German submarines, and particularly in regard to the disastrous explosion which, on March 24 last, wrecked the French steamship *Sussex* in the English Channel. I have now the honor to deliver, under instructions from my Government, the following reply to your excellency:

"Information now in the possession of the Government of the United States fully establishes the facts in the case of the *Sussex*, and the inferences which my Government has drawn from that information it regards as confirmed by the circumstances set forth in your excellency's note of the 10th instant. On the 24th of March, 1916, at about 2.50 o'clock in the afternoon, the unarmed steamer *Sussex*, with 325 or more passengers on board, among whom were a number of American citizens, was torpedoed while crossing from Folkestone to Dieppe. The *Sussex* had never been armed, was a vessel known to be habitually used for the conveyance of passengers across the English Channel, and was not following the route taken by troopships or supply ships. About 80 of her passengers, noncombatants of all ages and sexes, including citizens of the United States, were killed or injured.

"A careful, detailed, and scrupulously impartial investigation by naval and military officers of the United States has conclusively established the fact that the *Sussex* was torpedoed without warning or summons to surrender, and that the torpedo by which she was struck was of German manufacture. In the view of the Government of the United States these facts from the first made the conclusion that the torpedo was fired by a German submarine unavoidable. It now considers that conclusion substantiated by the statements of your excellency's note. A full statement of the facts upon which the Government of the United States has based its conclusion is inclosed.

"The Government of the United States, after having given careful consideration to the note of the Imperial Government of the 10th of April, regrets to state that the impression made upon it by the statements and proposals contained in that note is that the Imperial Government has failed to appreciate the gravity of the situation, which has resulted not alone from the attack on the *Sussex* but from the whole method and character of submarine warfare as disclosed by the unrestrained practice of the commanders of German undersea craft during the past 12 months and more in the indiscriminate destruction of merchant vessels of all sorts, nationalities, and destinations. If the sinking of the *Sussex* had been an isolated case, the Government of the United States might find it possible to hope that the officer who was responsible for that act had willfully violated his orders or had been criminally negligent in taking none of the precautions they prescribed, and that the ends of justice might be satisfied by imposing upon him an adequate punishment, coupled with a formal disavowal of the act and payment of a suitable indemnity by the Imperial Government. But though the attack upon the *Sussex* was manifestly indefensible and caused a loss of life so tragical as to make it stand forth as one of the most terrible examples of the inhumanity of submarine warfare as the commanders of German vessels are conducting it, it unhappily does not stand alone.

"On the contrary, the Government of the United States is forced by recent events to conclude that it is only one instance, even though one of the most extreme and most distressing instances, of the deliberate method and spirit of indiscriminate destruction of merchant vessels of all sorts, nationalities, and destinations which have become more and more unmistakable as the activity of German undersea vessels of war has in recent months been quickened and extended.

"The Imperial Government will recall that when, in February, 1915, it announced its intention of treating the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland as embraced within the seat of war and of destroying all merchant ships owned by its enemies that might be found within that zone of danger, and warned all vessels, neutrals as well as belligerent, to keep out of the waters thus proscribed or to enter them at their peril, the Government of the United States earnestly protested. It took the position that such a policy could not be pursued without constant gross and palpable violations of the accepted law of nations, particularly if submarine craft were to be employed as its instruments, inasmuch as the rules prescribed by that law, rules founded on the principles of humanity and established for the protection of the lives of noncombatants at sea, could not in the nature of the case be observed by such vessels. It based its protest on the ground that persons of neutral nationality and vessels of neutral ownership would be exposed to extreme and intolerable risks, and that no right to close any part of the high seas could lawfully be asserted by the Imperial Government in the circumstances then existing. The law of nations in these matters, upon which the Government of the United States based that protest, is not of recent origin or founded upon merely arbitrary principles set up by convention. It is based, on the contrary, upon manifest principles of humanity and has long been established with the approval and by the express assent of all civilized nations.

"The Imperial Government, notwithstanding, persisted in carrying out the policy announced, expressing the hope that the dangers involved, at any rate to neutral vessels, would be reduced to a minimum by the instructions which it had issued to the commanders of its submarines, and assuring the Government of the United States that it would take every possible precaution both to respect the rights of neutrals and to safeguard the lives of noncombatants.

"In pursuance of this policy of submarine warfare against the commerce of its adversaries, thus announced and thus entered upon in despite of the solemn protest of the Government of the United States, the commanders of the Imperial Government's undersea vessels have carried on practices of such ruthless destruction which have made it more and more evident as the months have gone by that the Imperial Government has found it impracticable to put any such restraints upon them as it had hoped and promised to put. Again and again the Imperial Government has given its solemn assurances to the Government of the United States that at least passenger ships would not be thus dealt with, and yet it has repeatedly permitted its undersea commanders to disregard those assurances with entire impunity. As recently as February last it gave notice that it would regard all armed merchantmen owned by its enemies as part of the armed naval forces of its adversaries and deal with them as with men-of-war, thus, at least by implication, pledging itself to give warning to vessels which were not armed and to accord security of life to their passengers and crews; but even this limitation their submarine commanders have recklessly ignored.

"Vessels of neutral ownership, even vessels of neutral ownership bound from neutral port to neutral port, have been destroyed, along with vessels of belligerent ownership, in constantly increasing numbers. Sometimes the merchantmen attacked have been warned and summoned to surrender before being fired on or torpedoed; sometimes their passengers and crews have been vouchsafed the poor security of being allowed to take to the ship's boats before the ship was sent to the bottom. But again and again no warning has been given, no escape even to the ship's boats allowed to those on board. Great liners like the *Lusitania* and *Arabic* and mere passenger boats like the *Sussex* have been attacked without a moment's warning, often before they have even become aware that they were in the presence of an armed ship of the enemy, and the lives of noncombatants, passengers and crew, have been destroyed wholesale and in a manner which the Government of the United States can not but regard as wanton and without the slightest color of justification. No limit of any kind has, in fact, been set to their indiscriminate pursuit and destruction of merchantmen of all

kinds and nationalities within the waters which the Imperial Government has chosen to designate as lying within the seat of war. The roll of Americans who have lost their lives upon ships thus attacked and destroyed has grown month by month until the ominous toll has mounted into the hundreds.

"The Government of the United States has been very patient. At every stage of this distressing experience of tragedy after tragedy it has sought to be governed by the most thoughtful consideration of the extraordinary circumstances of an unprecedented war and to be guided by sentiments of very genuine friendship for the people and Government of Germany. It has accepted the successive explanations and assurances of the Imperial Government as, of course, given in entire sincerity and good faith, and has hoped, even against hope, that it would prove to be possible for the Imperial Government so to order and control the acts of its naval commanders as to square its policy with the recognized principles of humanity as embodied in the law of nations. It has made every allowance for unprecedented conditions and has been willing to wait until the facts became unmistakable and were suspectible of only one interpretation.

"It now owes it to a just regard for its own rights to say to the Imperial Government that that time has come. It has become painfully evident to it that the position which it took at the very outset is inevitable, namely, the use of submarines for the destruction of an enemy's commerce, is, of necessity, because of the very character of the vessels employed and the very methods of attack which their employment of course involves, utterly incompatible with the principles of humanity, the long-established and incontrovertible rights of neutrals, and the sacred immunities of noncombatants.

"If it is still the purpose of the Imperial Government to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines, without regard to what the Government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue: Unless the Imperial Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels, the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether. This action the Government of the United States contemplates with the greatest reluctance, but feels constrained to take in behalf of humanity and the rights of neutral nations.

"LANSING."

On the day after sending the note to Germany, the President addressed the Congress on the issue, as follows:

Gentlemen of the Congress, a situation has arisen in the foreign relations of the country of which it is my plain duty to inform you very frankly.

It will be recalled that in February, 1915, the Imperial German Government announced its intention to treat the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland as embraced within the seat of war, and to destroy all merchant ships owned by its enemies that might be found within any part of that portion of the high seas, and that it warned all vessels, of neutral as well as belligerent ownership, to keep out of the waters it had thus proscribed, or else enter them at their peril. The Government of the United States earnestly protested. It took the position that such a policy could not be pursued without the practical certainty of gross and palpable violations of the law of nations, particularly if submarine craft were to be employed as its instruments, inasmuch as the rules prescribed by that law, rules founded upon principles of humanity and established for the protection of the lives of noncombatants at sea, could not in the nature of the case be observed by such vessels. It based its protest on the ground that persons of neutral nationality and vessels of neutral ownership would be exposed to extreme and intolerable risks, and that no right to close any part of the high seas against their use or to expose them to such risks could lawfully be asserted by any belligerent Government. The law of nations in these matters, upon which the Government of the United States based its protest, is not of recent origin or founded upon merely arbitrary principles set up by convention. It is based, on the contrary, upon manifest and imperative principles of humanity, and has long been established with the approval and by the express assent of all civilized nations.

Notwithstanding the earnest protest of our Government, the Imperial German Government at once proceeded to carry out the policy it had announced. It expressed the hope that the dangers involved, at any rate the dangers to neutral vessels, would be reduced to a minimum by the instructions which it had issued to its submarine commanders, and assured the Government of the United States that it would take every possible precaution both to respect the rights of neutrals and to safeguard the lives of noncombatants.

What has actually happened in the year which has since elapsed has shown that those hopes were not justified, those assurance insusceptible of being fulfilled. In pursuance of the policy of submarine warfare against the commerce of its adversaries thus announced and entered upon by the Imperial German Government despite the solemn protest of this Government, the commanders of German undersea vessels have attacked merchant ships with greater and greater activity, not only upon the high seas surrounding Great Britain and Ireland but wherever they could encounter them, in a way that has grown more and more ruthless, more and more indiscriminate as the months have gone by, less and less observant of restraints of any kind, and have delivered their attacks without compunction against vessels of every nationality and bound upon every sort of errand. Vessels of neutral ownership, even vessels of neutral ownership bound from neutral port to neutral port, have been destroyed along with vessels of belligerent ownership in constantly increasing numbers. Sometimes the merchantman attacked has been warned and summoned to surrender before being fired on or torpedoed; sometimes passengers or crews have been vouchsafed the poor security of being allowed to take to the ship's boats before she was sent to the bottom. But again and again no warning has been given, no escape even to the ship's boats allowed to those on board. What this Government foresaw must happen has happened. Tragedy has followed tragedy on the seas in such fashion, with such attendant circumstances as to make it grossly evident that warfare of such a sort, if warfare it be, can not be carried on without the most palpable violation of the dictates alike of right and of humanity. Whatever the disposition and intention of the Imperial German Government, it has manifestly proved impossible for it to keep such methods of attack upon the commerce of its enemies within the bounds set by either the reason or the heart of mankind.

In February of the present year the Imperial German Government informed this Government and the other neutral Governments of the world that it had reason to believe that the Government of Great Britain had armed all merchant vessels of British ownership and had given them secret orders to attack any submarine of the enemy they might encounter upon the seas, and that the Imperial German Government felt justified in the circumstances in treating all armed merchantmen of belligerent ownership as auxiliary vessels of war, which it would have the right to destroy without warning. The law of nations has long recognized the right of merchantmen to carry arms for protection and to use them to repel attack, though to use them in such circumstances at their own risks; but the Imperial German Government claimed the right to set these understandings aside in circumstances which it deemed extraordinary. Even the terms in which it announced its purpose thus still further to relax the restraints it had previously professed its willingness and desire to put upon the operations of its submarines carried the plain implication that at least vessels which were not armed would still be exempt from destruction without warning, and that personal safety would be accorded their passengers and crews; but even that limitation, if it was ever practicable to observe it, has in fact constituted no check at all upon the destruction of ships of every sort.

Again and again the Imperial German Government has given this Government its solemn assurances that at least passenger ships would not be thus dealt with, and yet it has again and again permitted its undersea commanders to disregard those assurances with entire immunity. Great liners like the *Lusitania* and the *Arabic* and mere ferryboats like the *Sussex* have been attacked without a moment's warning, sometimes before they had even become aware that they were in the presence of an armed vessel of the enemy, and the lives of noncombatants, passengers, and crew have been sacrificed wholesale in a manner which the Government of the United States can not but regard as wanton and without the slightest color of justification. No limit of any kind has, in fact, been set to the indiscriminate pursuit and destruction of merchantmen of all kinds and nationalities within the waters, constantly extending in area, where these operations have been carried on, and the roll of Americans who have lost their lives on ships thus attacked and destroyed has grown month by month until the ominous toll has mounted into the hundreds.

One of the latest and most shocking instances of this method of warfare was that of the destruction of the French cross-channel steamer *Sussex*. It must stand forth, as the sinking of the steamer *Lusitania* did, as so singularly tragical and unjustifiable as to constitute a truly terrible example of the inhumanity of submarine warfare as the commanders of German vessels have for the past 12 months been conducting it. If this instance stood alone, some explanation, some disavowal by the German Government, some evidence of criminal mistake or willful disobedience on the part of the commander of the vessel that fired the torpedo might be sought or entertained, but unhappily it does not stand alone. Recent events make the conclusion inevitable that it is only one instance, even though it be one of the most extreme and distressing instances, of the spirit and method of warfare which the Imperial German Government has mistakenly adopted and which from the first exposed that Government to the reproach of thrusting all neutral rights aside in pursuit of its immediate objects.

The Government of the United States has been very patient. At every stage of this distressing experience of tragedy after tragedy in which its own citizens were involved it has sought to be restrained from any extreme course of action or of protest by a thoughtful consideration of the extraordinary circumstances of this unprecedented war; and actuated in all that it said or did by the sentiments of genuine friendship which the people of the United States have always entertained and continue to entertain toward the German nation. It has of course accepted the successive explanations and assurances of the Imperial German Government as given in entire sincerity and good faith and has hoped, even against hope, that it would prove to be possible for the German Government so to order and control the acts of its naval commanders as to square its policy with the principles of humanity as embodied in the law of the nations. It has been willing to wait until the significance of the facts became absolutely unmistakable and susceptible of but one interpretation.

That point has now unhappily been reached. The facts are susceptible of but one interpretation. The Imperial German Government has been unable to put any limits or restraints upon its warfare against either freight or passenger ships. It has therefore become painfully evident that the position which this Government took at the very outset is inevitable, namely, that the use of submarines for the destruction of an enemy's commerce is of necessity, because of the very character of the vessels employed and the very methods of attack which their employment, of course, involves, incompatible with the principles of humanity, the long-established and incontrovertible rights of neutrals, and the sacred immunities of noncombatants.

I have deemed it my duty, therefore, to say to the Imperial German Government that if it is still its purpose to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines, notwithstanding the now demonstrated impossibility of conducting that warfare in accordance with what the Government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue, and that unless the Imperial German Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of warfare against passenger and freight carrying vessels this Government can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the Government of the German Empire altogether.

This decision I have arrived at with the keenest regret; the possibility of the action contemplated I am sure all thoughtful Americans will look forward to with unaffected reluctance. But we can not forget that we are in some sort and by the force of circumstances the responsible spokesmen of the rights of humanity, and that we can not remain silent while those rights seem in process of being swept utterly away in the maelstrom of this terrible war. We owe it to a due regard for our own rights as a Nation, to our sense of duty as a representative of the rights of neutrals the world over, and to a just conception of the rights of mankind to take this stand now with the utmost solemnity and firmness.

I have taken it, and taken it in the confidence that it will meet with your approval and support. All sober-minded men must unite in hoping that the Imperial German Government, which has in other circumstances stood as the champion of all that we are now contending for in the interest of humanity, may recognize the justice of our demands and meet them in the spirit in which they are made.

On the 5th of this month Germany made reply to our note, which in the main seems to meet our demand. The significant statement is in the following words:

In accordance with the general principles of visit and search and the destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared a naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives, unless the ship attempt to escape or offer resistance.

TEXT OF GERMANY'S REPLY TO OUR NOTE.

BERLIN, *May 5, 1916.*
(By wireless to Sayville.)

Following is the text of the note of the German Government in reply to the American note respecting submarine warfare, delivered yesterday by Gottlieb von Jagow, the foreign secretary, to Ambassador Gerard:

The undersigned, on behalf of the Imperial German Government, has the honor to present to his excellency the ambassador of the United States, Mr. James W. Gerard, the following reply to the note of April 20 regarding the conduct of German submarine warfare:

"The German Government handed over to the proper naval authorities for early investigation the evidence concerning the *Sussex*, as communicated by the Government of the United States. Judging by the results that the investigation has hitherto yielded, the German Government is alive to the possibility that the ship mentioned in the note of April 10 as having been torpedoed by a German submarine is actually identical with the *Sussex*.

"The German Government begs to reserve further communication on the matter until certain points are ascertained, which are of decisive importance for establishing the facts of the case. Should it turn out that the commander was wrong in assuming the vessel to be a man-of-war, the German Government will not fail to draw the consequence resulting therefrom.

"In connection with the case of the *Sussex* the Government of the United States made a series of statements, the gist of which is the assertion that the incident is to be considered but one instance of a deliberate method of indiscriminate destruction of vessels of all sorts, nationalities, and destinations by German submarine commanders.

"The German Government must emphatically repudiate the assertion. The German Government, however, thinks it of little avail to enter into details in the present stage of affairs, more particularly as the Government of the United States omitted to substantiate the assertion by reference to concrete facts.

"The German Government will only state that it has imposed far-reaching restraints upon the use of the submarine weapon, solely in consideration of neutrals' interests, in spite of the fact that these restrictions are necessarily of advantage to Germany's enemies. No such consideration has ever been shown neutrals by Great Britain and her allies.

"The German submarine forces have had, in fact, orders to conduct the submarine warfare in accordance with the general principles of visit and search and the destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, the sole exception being the conduct of warfare against enemy trade carried on enemy freight ships encountered in the war zone surrounding Great Britain. With regard to these, no assurances have ever been given to the Government of the United States. No such assurances are contained in the declaration of February 8, 1916.

"The German Government can not admit any doubt that these orders were given or are executed in good faith. Errors actually occurred. They can in no kind of warfare be avoided altogether. Allowances must be made in the conduct of naval warfare against an enemy resorting to all kinds of ruses, whether permissible or illicit.

"But apart from the possibility of errors, naval warfare, just like warfare on land, implies unavoidable dangers for neutral persons and goods entering the fighting zone. Even in cases where the naval action is confined to ordinary forms of cruiser warfare, neutral persons and goods repeatedly come to grief.

"The German Government has repeatedly and explicitly pointed out the dangers from mines that have led to the loss of numerous ships.

"The German Government has made several proposals to the Government of the United States in order to reduce to a minimum for American travelers and goods the inherent dangers of naval warfare. Unfortunately the Government of the United States decided not to accept the proposals. Had it accepted, the Government of the United States would have been instrumental in preventing the greater part of the accidents that American citizens have met with in the meantime.

"The German Government still stands by its offer to come to an agreement along these lines.

"As the German Government repeatedly declared, it can not dispense with the use of the submarine weapon in the conduct of warfare against enemy trade. The German Government, however, has now decided to make a further concession, adapting methods of submarine war to the interests of neutrals. In reaching its decision the German Government is actuated by considerations which are above the level of the disputed question.

"The German Government attaches no less importance to the sacred principles of humanity than the Government of the United States. It again fully takes into account that both Governments for many years cooperated in developing international law in conformity with these principles, the ultimate object of which has always been to confine warfare on sea and land to armed forces of belligerents and safeguard as far as possible noncombatants against the horrors of war.

"But although these considerations are of great weight, they alone would not, under present circumstances, have determined the attitude of the German Government. For in answer to the appeal by the Government of the United States on behalf of the sacred principles of humanity and international law, the German Government must repeat once more, with all emphasis, that it was not the German, but the British, Government which ignored all accepted rules of international law and extended this terrible war to the lives and property of noncombatants, having no regard whatever for the interests and rights of neutrals and noncombatants that through this method of warfare have been severely injured.

"In self-defense against the illegal conduct of British warfare, while fighting a bitter struggle for national existence, Germany had to resort to the hard but effective weapon of submarine warfare.

"As matters stand, the German Government can not but reiterate regret that the sentiments of humanity, which the Government of the United States extends with such fervor to the unhappy victims of submarine warfare, are not extended with the same warmth of feeling to many millions of women and children who, according to the avowed intention of the British Government, shall be starved, and who by sufferings shall force the victorious armies of the central powers into ignominious capitulation.

"The German Government, in agreement with the German people, fails to understand this discrimination, all the more as it has repeatedly and explicitly declared itself ready to use the submarine weapon in strict conformity with the rules of international law as recognized before the outbreak of the war, if Great Britain likewise was ready to adapt the conduct of warfare to these rules.

"Several attempts made by the Government of the United States to prevail upon the British Government to act accordingly failed because of flat refusal on the part of the British Government. Moreover, Great Britain again and again has violated international law, surpassing all bounds in outraging neutral rights. The latest measure adopted by Great Britain, declaring German bunker coal contraband and establishing conditions under which English bunker coal alone is supplied to neutrals, is nothing but an unheard-of attempt by way of exaction to force neutral tonnage into the service of British trade war.

"The German people knows that the Government of the United States has the power to confine the war to armed forces of the belligerent countries, in the interest of humanity and maintenance of international law. The Government of the United States would have been certain of attaining this end had it been determined to insist, against Great Britain, on the incontrovertible rights to freedom of the seas. But as matters stand the German people is under the impression that the Government of the United States, while demanding that Germany, struggling for existence, shall restrain the use of an effective weapon, and while making compliance with these demands a condition for maintenance of relations with Germany, confines itself to protests against illegal methods adopted by Germany's enemies. Moreover, the German people knows to what considerable extent its enemies are supplied with all kinds of war material from the United States.

"It will, therefore, be understood that the appeal made by the Government of the United States to sentiments of humanity and principles of international law can not, under the circumstances, meet the same hearty response from the German people which such an appeal otherwise always is certain to find here. If the German Government, nevertheless, is resolved to go to the utmost limit of concessions, it has been guided not alone by the friendship connecting the two great nations for over 100 years, but also by the thought of the great doom which threatens the entire civilized world should the cruel and sanguinary war be extended and prolonged.

"The German Government, conscious of Germany's strength, twice within the last few months announced before the world its readiness to make peace on a basis safeguarding Germany's vital interests, thus indicating that it is not Germany's fault if peace is still withheld from the nations of Europe. The German Government feels all the more justified in declaring that responsibility could not be borne before the forum of mankind and in history if after 21 months of the war's duration the submarine question, under discussion between the German Government and the Government of the United States, were to take a turn seriously threatening maintenance of peace between the two nations.

"As far as lies with the German Government, it wishes to prevent things from taking such a course. The German Government, moreover, is prepared to do its utmost to confine operations of the war for the rest of its duration to the fighting forces of the belligerents, thereby also insuring the freedom of the seas, a principle upon which the German Government believes, now as before, that it is in agreement with the Government of the United States.

"The German Government, guided by this idea, notifies the Government of the United States that German naval forces have received the following order:

"'In accordance with the general principles of visit and search and the destruction of merchant vessels, recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared a naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives unless the ship attempt to escape or offer resistance.'

"But neutrals can not expect that Germany, forced to fight for existence, shall, for the sake of neutral interests, restrict the use of an effective weapon, if the enemy is permitted to continue to apply at will methods of warfare violating rules of international law. Such a demand would be incompatible with the character of neutrality, and the German Government is convinced that the Government of the United States does not think of making such a demand, knowing that the Government of the United States repeatedly declares that it is determined to restore the principle of freedom of the seas, from whatever quarter it has been violated.

"Accordingly, the German Government is confident that in consequence of the new orders issued to the naval forces the Government of the United States will also now consider all impediments removed which may have been in the way of a mutual cooperation toward restoration of the freedom of the seas during the war, as suggested in the note of July 23, 1915, and it does not doubt that the Government of the United States will now demand and insist that the British Government shall forthwith observe the rules of international law universally recognized before the war, as are laid down in the notes presented by the Government of the United States to the British Government December 28, 1914, and November 5, 1915.

"Should steps taken by the Government of the United States not attain the object it desires, to have the laws of humanity followed by all belligerent nations, the German Government would then be facing a new situation in which it must reserve to itself complete liberty of decision.

"The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity to renew to the American ambassador assurances of highest consideration.

"VON JAGOW."

This position on the sensitive submarine issue indicated clearly Germany's desire to avoid the steps which might lead to severing diplomatic relations. It was partially anticipated in the address of the chancellor, Von Hollweg, in the Reichstag on the 5th of April, about 10 days after our note on the *Sussex*, out of which the latest controversy arose. The address in part, as given out from Berlin, is as follows:

BERLIN, *April 5, 1916.*
(By wireless to Sayville.)

In the Reichstag to-day Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg, in the most comprehensive speech he has delivered since the war began, derided the reports—calumniously circulated by the allies, he said—that Germany contemplated an attack upon the United States after the European war was ended, and had designs upon the territory of South American States.

The chancellor, whose address was delivered to a crowded house, also spoke of the questions presented in relation to the principle of nationality, considering the Polish, Lithuanian, Livonian, Belgian, and Flemish problems. He insisted upon the necessity of guaranteeing the peace of Europe after the war, and also of securing this result by giving to these races opportunity of free evolution along the lines of their natural individualities and mother tongues.

"TOWARD A FUTURE OF LIBERTY."

At the conclusion of his address the chancellor elicited great applause by saying:

"The spirit of union shall lead us, as it shall lead our children and grandchildren, through the struggles of their fathers, toward a future of strength and liberty."

The chancellor began his address with a review of the military situation. He said that since his last speech in the Reichstag the Dardanelles enterprise had ended as a failure; that the Serbian campaign, with the assistance of Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria, had been brought to a victorious conclusion, and that Montenegro and Albania likewise were now in the hands of Germany's allies; that the British attempt to relieve Kut-el-Amara, in Mesopotamia, had been vain; that the Russians, although they had succeeded in occupying Erzerum with superior numbers, had found their advance checked by strong Turkish forces; that Russian attacks against the front in East Galicia and Italian attacks against the Isonzo positions had been beaten back. Moreover, he said, the Russians had driven columns against the German lines, but their assaults had broken down before Field Marshal von Hindenburg and his "heroes."

The chancellor declared that the reports of the enemies of this nation that the German military force had been expended were erroneous, as the Verdun battle had proved that where operations were prepared with great foresight and where the bravery of German troops was called into play one advantage after another had been obtained. He then expressed the nation's thanks to the soldiers and their leaders.

Discussing attempts which he said were being made to starve Germany, Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg continued:

"I understood that in 1915 our enemies would not give up this hope, but I do not understand how cool heads, after the experience of 1915, can cling to it. Our enemies forget that, thanks to the organizing powers of the whole nation, Germany is equal to the task of distribution of food supplies.

"MORAL RESERVES" AGAINST STARVATION.

"Our enemies forget that in cases in which there is a real shortage the German Nation is able to make use of moral reserves which enable us to lower our standard of life, which has risen remarkably during the last decades. What would it mean, for instance, if the consumption of meat should temporarily be lowered to the level of the seventies? I should think our adversaries would remember how strong was the German race of those days."

Conditions of life in Germany were not easy, the chancellor continued, but the difficulties were being met in admirable fashion by the entire nation, especially the poorer classes. The crop reports indicated, he said, that all the winter crops were good; in fact, the reports had not been so favorable for many years previously. The harvest of 1915 was the worst of decades; nevertheless, the stocks of grain for bread-making not only would be sufficient, but provided for a considerable reserve with which to begin the new year.

"We shall not run short of anything in the future, as we have not done in the past," he said.

The chancellor asserted that it was the intention of Germany's enemies to extend the war to the women and children of the nation by starving them, and that for this purpose Great Britain and her allies had interfered with the trade of neutrals.

"The American note of November 5, 1915, gave an exact description of British violations of the nations' laws," he continued, "but as far as I know it has not been answered up to this day.

"No fair-minded neutral, no matter whether he favors us or not, can doubt our right to defend ourselves against this war of starvation, which is contrary to international law. No one can ask us to permit our arms of defense to be wrested from our hands. We use them, and must use them. We respect legitimate rights of neutral trade and commerce, but we have a right to expect that this will be appreciated, and that our right and our duty be recognized—to use all means against this policy of starvation, which is a jeering insult not only to all laws of nations but also to the plainest duties of humanity."

"THERE MUST BE A NEW BELGIUM."

Amid profound silence and the deep attention of the whole house the chancellor turned to the Polish problem and to that of nationalities in general, saying:

"Neither Germany nor Austria-Hungary intended to touch the Polish question, but the fate of battles brought them in contact with it. Now this problem stands before the world and needs to be solved. Germany and Austria-Hungary must and will solve it. History will not admit that after such earthquakes things will ever become what they were before.

"After the war there must be a new Belgium.

"Formely Poland was left in the hands of the tchinovnik [Russian police agent]. Even members of the Russian Duma have frankly admitted that he ought not to return to the place where Germans, Austrians, and Poles have honestly labored in the interests of this unfortunate land.

"Mr. Asquith also mentions the principle of nationality. If he puts himself in the position of this unconquered and unconquerable adversary, can he really suppose that Germany will ever of her own free will deliver into the hands of reactionary Russia the nations between the Baltic and the Volhynian swamps who have been freed by her and by her allies—no matter whether they are Poles or Lithuanians or Livonians of the Baltic?"

DENIES HOPE OF AMERICAN CONQUESTS.

Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg protested vigorously against the report that Germany now or in the future contemplated aggression against the United States.

"The latest offspring of the calumniating campaign directed against us," he said, "is a report that after the end of this war we shall rush against the American Continent, and that we shall attempt to conquer Canada.

"This is the silliest of all the imputations invented against us. Equally silly are the reports that we contemplate the acquisition of any territory on American soil, as in Brazil, or in any American country whatsoever.

"We fight for our existence and for our future. For Germany and not for space in a foreign country are Germany's sons bleeding and dying on the battle field. Every one among us knows this, and it makes our hearts and nerves so strong. This moral force strengthens our will in order not only to weather the storm but also to achieve final victory."

The chancellor intimated that any suggestions of peace on the basis of the destruction of Prussian military power would make possible only one answer—the German sword.

Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg turned to the subject of eventual conditions of peace after a brief reference to the entrance of Portugal into the war. He pointed out that in his speech of September 9 he had declared readiness to enter into discussion of peace, but that then, as now, Germany's enemies declined his offer.

"Let us suppose I suggest to Mr. Asquith to sit down with me at a table and examine the possibilities of peace," he continued, "and Mr. Asquith begins with a claim of definitive and complete destruction of Prussia's military power. The conversation would be ended before it began. To these peace conditions only one answer would be left, and this answer our sword must give.

FUTURE SLAUGHTER BLAMED ON ALLIES.

"If our adversaries want to continue the slaughter of human beings and the devastation of Europe theirs will be the guilt, and we shall have to stand it as men."

The chancellor introduced a personal touch in the following passage:

"When I was last at headquarters I stood with the Emperor at a place to which I had accompanied him one year previously. The Emperor remembered this and, deeply moved, pointed out the enormous changes that had taken place since that time. Then the Russians were on the ridge of the Carpathians. At Corlice we had just begun to break through the enemy's lines, and Hindenburg's powerful offensive had just been started. Now we are deep in Russia.

"The British and French at that time had attacked Gallipoli, and were hoping to arouse the Balkans against us. Now the Bulgarians stand firmly on our side. Then we were engaged in the defensive Champagne battle, and now, at the Emperor's word, the cannon resound in the Verdun battle. Deep gratitude to God, to the army, and to the nation filled the Emperor's heart.

AIMS TO RESCUE EUROPE FROM CHAOS.

"Our enemies wish to destroy united, free Germany," the chancellor went on. "They desire that Germany shall be again as weak as during past centuries, a prey of all lusts of domination of her neighbors, and the scapegoat of Europe, beaten back forever in the dominion of economic evolution, even after the war. That is what our enemies mean when they speak of definitive destruction of Prussia's military power.

"And what is our intention? The sense and aim of this war is for us the creation of a Germany so firmly united, so strongly protected, that no one ever will feel the temptation to annihilate us; that every one in the world will concede to us the right of free exercise of our peaceful endeavors. This Germany, and not the destruction of other races, is what we wish. Our aim is the lasting rescue of the European Continent, which is now shaken to its very foundation."

SAYS PEACE MUST BE LASTING.

Referring to the conditions which he wished to see prevail at the end of the war, the chancellor said:

"This new Europe in many respects can not resemble the past. The blood which has been shed will never be repaid and the wealth which has been destroyed can only slowly be replaced. But whatever else this Europe may be it must be for the nations that inhabit it a land of peaceful labor. The peace which shall end this war shall be a lasting peace. It must not bear the germ of new wars, but must provide for a peaceful arrangement of European questions."

The chancellor declared that England wished to see military operations ended, but hoped then to continue the commercial war with redoubled violence, adding:

"First the British endeavor to destroy our military and then our economic policy. Everywhere there is brutal lust of destruction and of annihilation and domination to cripple a nation of 70,000,000 people."

As to colonial questions, he quoted Bismarck to the effect that the fate of colonies was decided on the Continent. He asserted that Germany's enemies were now actively engaged in inventing new formulas in order to maintain the spell of illusion, hatred, and deception which bound them.

ALLIES' "LUST OF REVENGE."

"Of all the nations in the war," he continued, "only Germany has been threatened by her enemies and by their responsible spokesmen with annihilation, with partition of her realm, with destruction of her essential political and economic forces, no matter whether they called them Prussianism or militarism or barbarism. The forces which before the war bound together the anti-German coalition were lust of conquest, lust of revenge, and jealousy against German competition in the world's markets. During the war they have remained powerful with the Governments of our enemies in spite of all defeats.

"This is still the object and aim of the war alike in St. Petersburg (Petrograd), Paris, and London.

"To this we oppose that Germany in this war had only one aim, namely, to defend herself, to maintain her existence, to hold her enemies back from the German frontiers, and whenever their lust of destruction had shown itself to drive them back as quickly as possible.

"We did not want this war. We felt no desire to change our frontiers when the war began against our will. We threatened no nation with annihilation of her existence or with destruction of her national life."

"LOVED PEACE MORE THAN ALL OTHERS."

The chancellor pointed out the roots of Germany's present strength, saying:

"And what gives us this force to conquer and overcome the difficulties caused by the interruption of our over-seas trade and, on the front, numerically superior enemies? Who can readily believe that greed of land inspires our columns at Verdun and makes them accomplish every day new deeds of heroism, or shall a nation which gave to the world so many valued intellectual and useful gifts, which during 44 years loved peace more than all the others—shall this nation overnight be transformed into barbarians and Huns?

"No, gentlemen; these are the inventions of the evil conscience of those who are guilty of the war and are now fearing for their power an influence in their own countries."

With respect to the intentions of Germany in the case of Belgium, the speaker said:

"We must create real guaranties that Belgium never shall be a Franco-British vassal; never shall be used as a military or economic fortification against Germany. Also in this respect things can not be

what they were before. Also here Germany can not sacrifice the oppressed Flemish race, but must assure them sound evolution which corresponds to their rich natural gifts, which is based on their mother tongue and follows their national character.

"We want neighbors that do not form coalitions against us, but with whom we collaborate and who collaborate with us to our mutual advantage. Remembrance of the war will still echo in the sadly tried Belgian country, but we shall never allow that this will be a new source of wars—shall not allow it in our mutual interests."

On the 8th the President sent his answer to the German Government, which is an acceptance of the German position, so long as the instructions to the submarine commanders as outlined above are respected:

PRESIDENT WILSON'S ANSWER TO GERMANY.

WASHINGTON, *May 8, 1916.*

The American ambassador in Berlin was instructed to-day by cable to deliver the following note to the German minister of foreign affairs:

"The note of the Imperial German Government under date of May 4, 1916, has received careful consideration by the Government of the United States. It is especially noted, as indicating the purpose of the Imperial Government as to the future, that it 'is prepared to do its utmost to confine the operations of the war for the rest of its duration to the fighting forces of the belligerents' and that it is determined to impose upon all its commanders at sea the limitations of the recognized rules of international law upon which the Government of the United States has insisted.

"Throughout the months which have elapsed since the Imperial Government announced, on February 4, 1915, its submarine policy, now happily abandoned, the Government of the United States has been constantly guided and restrained by motives of friendship in its patient efforts to bring to an amicable settlement the critical questions arising from that policy. Accepting the Imperial Government's declaration of its abandonment of the policy which has so seriously menaced the good relations between the two countries, the Government of the United States will rely upon a scrupulous execution henceforth of the now altered policy of the Imperial Government, such as will remove the principal danger to an interruption of the good relations existing between the United States and Germany.

"The Government of the United States feels it necessary to state that it takes it for granted that the Imperial German Government does not intend to imply that the maintenance of its newly announced policy is in any way contingent upon the course or result of diplomatic negotiations between the Government of the United States and any other belligerent Government, notwithstanding the fact that certain passages in the Imperial Government's note of the 4th instant might appear to be susceptible of that construction. In order, however, to avoid any possible misunderstanding, the Government of the United States notifies the Imperial Government that it can not for a moment entertain, much less discuss, a suggestion that respect by German naval authorities for the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high seas should in any way or in the slightest degree be made contingent upon the conduct of any other Government affecting the rights of neutrals and noncombatants. Responsibility in such matters is single, not joint; absolute, not relative.

"LANSING."

The State Department made the following statement for the public after the note was sent to Berlin:

STATEMENT BY MR. LANSING.

The greater part of the German answer is devoted to matters which this Government can not discuss with the German Government. The only questions of right which can be discussed with that Government are those arising out of its action or out of our own, and in no event those questions which are the subject of diplomatic exchanges between the United States and any other country.

The essence of the answer is that Germany yields to our representations with regard to the rights of merchant ships and noncombatants on the high seas and engages to observe the recognized rules of international law governing naval warfare in using her submarines against merchant ships. So long as she lives up to this altered policy we can have no reason to quarrel with her on that score, though the losses resulting from the violation of American rights by German submarine commanders operating under the former policy will have to be settled.

While our differences with Great Britain can not form a subject of discussion with Germany, it should be stated that in our dealings with the British Government we are acting as we are unquestionably bound to act, in view of the explicit treaty engagements with that Government. We have treaty obligations as to the manner in which matters in dispute between the two Governments are to be handled. We offered to assume mutually similar obligations with Germany, but the offer was declined. When, however, the subject in dispute is a continuing menace to American lives it is doubtful whether such obligations apply unless the menace is removed during the pendency of the proceedings.

The treaty with the British Government referred to is the convention negotiated by ex-Secretary Bryan under which the two nations agree that any dispute arising shall be submitted to an investigating commission for one year before entering into hostilities. An offer to enter into such a treaty with Germany brought a request for information, but formal negotiations never were instituted.

In May Germany announces her submarine captains must abide by international law:

THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

GERMAN EMBASSY,
Washington, May 12, 1916.

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE: A German submarine in January last signaled with flags from a distance the Dutch steamer *Bandoeng* to stop. Instead of immediately complying with that summons, permissible under international law, the Dutch steamer turned at high speed on the submarine, whose commander, on the assumption warranted by the circumstances that he had to do with an English ship in disguise bent on attacking him, then opened fire on her. The steamer *Bandoeng* then stopped and sent over a boat for the examination of the ship's papers. On being asked about his captain's proceeding the Dutch officer in command of the boat explained that he wanted to come nearer the submarine so as to shorten the visitation formalities.

The Imperial Government finds in the incident occasion to suggest to the neutral Governments that the masters of their merchant ships be given to understand that in the event of thus being stopped by German public vessels the provisions of international law must be observed to the letter, and that their special attention be called to the danger incurred by turning their ships on a submarine. Thus alone can incidents of the foregoing description be avoided, the responsibility for which would exclusively lie upon the neutral shipmaster.

Accept, etc.,

BERNSTORFF.

Notwithstanding this feeling of assurance that Germany had acceded to our rights in the defensive-armed merchantmen issue, as well as the submarine contention, the following paragraph was not reassuring:

Accordingly, the German Government is confident that, in consequence of the new orders issed to its naval forces, the Government of the United States will now also consider all impediments removed which may have been in the way of a mutual cooperation toward the restoration of the freedom of the seas during the war, as suggested in the note of July 23, 1915, and it does not doubt that the Government of the United States will now demand and insist that the British Government shall forthwith observe the rules of international law universally recognized before the war as they are laid down in the notes presented by the Government of the United States to the British Government on December 28, 1914, and November 5, 1915. Should the steps taken by the Government of the United States not attain the object it desires to have the laws of humanity followed by all belligerent nations, the German Government would then be facing a new situation, in which it must reserve itself complete liberty of decision.

It will be noted that Germany has never disavowed the *Lusitania* sinking.

The American Government's note of April 18, 1916, was looked upon as a final statement, and it was thought to be so regarded by Germany. The possibility of the great neutral power being drawn into the vortex was thought to be negligible.

The world's interests were centered at Berlin when on the 12th of December the famous peace conference was proposed by the Kaiser.

BERLIN, *December 12.*

Following is the text of the note addressed by Germany and her allies to the neutral powers for transmission to the entente allies:

"The most terrific war experienced in history has been raging for the last two years and a half over a large part of the world—a catastrophe which thousands of years of common civilization was unable to prevent and which injures the most precious achievements of humanity.

"Our aims are not to shatter nor annihilate our adversaries. In spite of our consciousness of our military and economic strength and our readiness to continue the war (which has been forced upon us) to the bitter end, if necessary, at the same time, prompted by the desire to avoid further bloodshed and to make an end to the atrocities of war, the four allied powers propose to enter forthwith into peace negotiations.

"The propositions which they bring forward for such negotiations, and which have for their object a guarantee of the existence of the honor and liberty of evolution for their nations, are, according to their firm belief, an appropriate basis for the establishment of a lasting peace.

"The four allied powers have been obliged to take up arms to defend justice and the liberty of national evolution. The glorious deeds of our armies have in no way altered their purpose. We always maintained the firm belief that our own rights and justified claims in no way control the rights of these nations.

"The spiritual and material progress which were the pride of Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century are threatened with ruin. Germany and her allies, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, gave proof of their unconquerable strength in this struggle. They gained gigantic advantages over adversaries superior in number and war material. Our lines stand unshaken against ever-repeated attempts made by armies.

"The last attack in the Balkans has been rapidly and victoriously overcome. The most recent events have demonstrated that further continuance of the war will not result in breaking the resistance of our forces, and the whole situation with regard to our troops justifies our expectation of further successes.

"If, in spite of this offer of peace and reconciliation, the struggle should go on, the four allied powers are resolved to continue to a victorious end, but they disclaim responsibility for this before humanity and history. The Imperial Government, through the good offices of your excellency, asks the Government of [here is inserted the name of the neutral power addressed in each instance] to bring this communication to the knowledge of the Government of [here are inserted the names of the belligerents]."

—

TO THE VATICAN.

BERLIN, *December 12.*

The note of the German Government, as presented by Dr. von Muhlberg, German minister to the Vatican, to Cardinal Gasparri, papal secretary of state, reads as follows:

"According to instructions received, I have the honor to send to your eminence a copy of the declaration of the Imperial Government to-day, which by the good offices of the powers intrusted with the protection of German interests in the countries with which the German Empire is in a state of war, transmits to these States, and in which the Imperial Government declares itself ready to enter into peace negotiations. The Austro-Hungarian, Turkish, and Bulgarian Governments also have sent similar notes.

"The reasons which prompted Germany and her allies to take this step are manifest. For two years and a half a terrible war has been devastating the European Continent. Unlimited treasures of civilization have been destroyed. Extensive areas have been soaked with blood. Millions of brave soldiers have fallen in battle and millions have returned home as invalids. Grief and sorrow fill almost every house.

"Not only upon the belligerent nations, but also upon neutrals, the destructive consequences of the gigantic struggle weigh heavily. Trade and commerce, carefully built up in years of peace, have been depressed. The best forces of the nation have been withdrawn from the production of useful objects. Europe, which formerly was devoted to the propagation of religion and civilization, which was trying to find solutions for social problems, and was the home of science and art and all peaceful

labor, now resembles an immense war camp in which the achievements and works of many decades are doomed to annihilation.

"Germany is carrying on a war of defense against her enemies, which aim at her destruction. She fights to assure the integrity of her frontiers and the liberty of the German nation, for the right which she claims to develop freely her intellectual and economic energies in peaceful competition and on an equal footing with other nations. All the efforts of their enemies are unable to shatter the heroic armies of the (Teutonic) allies which protect the frontiers of their countries, strengthened by the certainty that the enemy shall never pierce the iron wall.

"Those fighting on the front know that they are supported by the whole nation, which is inspired by love for its country and is ready for the greatest sacrifices and determined to defend to the last extremity the inherited treasures of intellectual and economic work and the social organization and sacred soil of the country.

"Certain of our own strength, but realizing Europe's sad future if the war continues; seized with pity in the face of the unspeakable misery of humanity, the German Empire, in accord with her allies, solemnly repeats what the chancellor already has declared a year ago, that Germany is ready to give peace to the world by setting before the whole world the question whether or not it is possible to find a basis for an understanding.

"Since the first day of the pontifical reign his holiness the Pope has unswervingly demonstrated in the most generous fashion his solicitude for the innumerable victims of this war. He has alleviated the sufferings and ameliorated the fate of thousands of men injured by this catastrophe. Inspired by the exalted ideas of his ministry, his holiness has seized every opportunity in the interests of humanity to end so sanguinary a war.

"The Imperial Government is firmly confident that the intiative of the four powers will find friendly welcome on the part of his holiness, and that the work of peace can count upon the precious support of the Holy See."

On the 18th of December the President addressed his own famous and much-discussed peace note to the belligerents, and which was made public on the 20th:

PRESIDENT WILSON'S NOTE TO THE BELLIGERENT NATIONS.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADORS OF THE CAPITALS OF THE BELLIGERENT POWERS.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, D. C., December 18, 1916.

The President directs me to send you the following communication to be presented immediately to the minister of foreign affairs of the Government to which you are accredited:

The President of the United States has instructed me to suggest to the [here is inserted a designation of the Government addressed] a course of action with regard to the present war, which he hopes that the Government will take under consideration as suggested in the most friendly spirit, and as coming not only from a friend but also as coming from the representative of a neutral nation whose interests have been most seriously affected by the war and whose concern for its early conclusion arises out of a manifest necessity to determine how best to safeguard those interests if the war is to continue.

[The third paragraph of the note as sent to the four central powers—Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria—is as follows:]

The suggestion which I am instructed to make the President has long had it in mind to offer. He is somewhat embarrassed to offer it at this particular time, because it may now seem to have been prompted by a desire to play a part in connection with the recent overtures of the central powers. It has, in fact, been in no way suggested by them in its origin, and the President would have delayed offering it until those overtures had been independently answered but for the fact that it also concerns the question of peace and may best be considered in connection with other proposals which have the same end in view. The President can only beg that his suggestion be considered entirely on its own merits and as if it had been made in other circumstances.

[The third paragraph of the note as sent to the 10 entente allies—Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Russia, Belgium, Montenegro, Portugal, Roumania, and Serbia—is as follows:]

The suggestion which I am instructed to make the President has long had it in mind to offer. He is somewhat embarrassed to offer it at this particular time, because it may now seem to have been prompted by the recent overtures of the central powers. It is, in fact, in no way associated with them in its origin, and the President would have delayed offering it until those overtures had been answered but for the fact that it also concerns the question of peace and may best be considered in connection with other proposals which have the same end in view. The President can only beg that his suggestion be considered entirely on its own merits and as if it had been made in other circumstances.

[Thenceforward the note proceeds identically to all the powers, as follows:]

The President suggests that an early occasion be sought to call out from all the nations now at war such an avowal of their respective views as to the terms upon which the war might be concluded and the arrangements which would be deemed satisfactory as a guaranty against its renewal or the kindling of any similar conflict in the future as would make it possible frankly to compare them. He is indifferent as to the means taken to accomplish this. He would be happy himself to serve, or even to take the initiative in its accomplishment, in any way that might prove acceptable, but he has no desire to determine the method or the instrumentality. One way will be as acceptable to him as another, if only the great object he has in mind be attained.

He takes the liberty of calling attention to the fact that the objects which the statesmen of the belligerents on both sides have in mind in this war are virtually the same, as stated in general terms to their own people and to the world. Each side desires to make the rights and privileges of weak peoples and small States as secure against aggression or denial in the future as the rights and privileges of the great and powerful States now at war. Each wishes itself to be made secure in the future, along with all other nations and peoples, against the recurrence of wars like this and against aggression or selfish interference of any kind. Each would be jealous of the formation of any more rival leagues to preserve an uncertain balance of power amid multiplying suspicions; but each is ready to consider the formation of a league of nations to insure peace and justice throughout the world. Before that final step can be taken, however, each deems it necessary first to settle the issues of the present war upon terms which will certainly safeguard the independence, the territorial integrity, and the political and commercial freedom of the nations involved.

"In the measures to be taken to secure the future peace of the world the people and Government of the United States are as vitally and as directly interested as the Governments now at war. Their interest, moreover, in the means to be adopted to relieve the smaller and weaker peoples of the world of the peril of wrong and violence is as quick and ardent as that of any other people or Government. They stand ready, and even eager, to cooperate in the accomplishment of these ends, when the war is over, with every influence and resource at their command. But the war must first be concluded. The terms upon which it is to be concluded they are not at liberty to suggest; but the President does feel that it is his right and his duty to point out their intimate interest in its conclusion, lest it should presently be too late to accomplish the greater things which lie beyond its conclusion, lest the situation of neutral nations, now exceedingly hard to endure, be rendered altogether intolerable, and lest, more than all, an injury be done civilization itself which can never be atoned for or repaired.

"The President therefore feels altogether justified in suggesting an immediate opportunity for a comparison of views as to the terms which must precede those ultimate arrangements for the peace of the world, which all desire and in which the neutral nations as well as those at war are ready to play their full responsible part.

"If the contest must continue to proceed toward undefined ends by slow attrition until the one group of belligerents or the other is exhausted; if million after million of human lives must continue to be offered up until on the one side or the other there are no more to offer; if resentments must be kindled that can never cool and despairs engendered from which there can be no recovery, hopes of peace and of the willing concert of free peoples will be rendered vain and idle.

"The life of the entire world has been profoundly affected. Every part of the great family of mankind has felt the burden and terror of this unprecedented contest of arms. No nation in the civilized world can be said in truth to stand outside its influence or to be safe against its disturbing effects. And yet the concrete objects for which it is being waged have never been definitely stated.

"The leaders of the several belligerents have, as has been said, stated those objects in general terms. But, stated in general terms, they seem the same on both sides. Never yet have the authoritative spokesmen of either side avowed the precise objects which would, if attained, satisfy them and their people that the war had been fought out. The world has been left to conjecture what definitive results, what actual exchange of guaranties, what political or territorial changes or readjustments, what stage of military success, even, would bring the war to an end.

"It may be that peace is nearer than we know; that the terms which the belligerents on the one side and on the other would deem it necessary to insist upon are not so irreconcilable as some have feared; that an interchange of views would clear the way at least for conference and make the permanent concord of the nations a hope of the immediate future, a concert of nations immediately practicable.

"The President is not proposing peace; he is not even offering mediation. He is merely proposing that soundings be taken in order that we may learn, the neutral nations with the belligerent, how near the haven of peace may be for which all mankind longs with an intense and increasing longing. He believes that the spirit in which he speaks and the objects which he seeks will be understood by all concerned, and he confidently hopes for a response which will bring a new light into the affairs of the world.

"LANSING.

The President transmitted the German note of December 12 to the entente powers December 19.

The entente powers replied December 30:

REPLY OF THE ENTENTE ALLIES TO THE CENTRAL POWERS.

PARIS, *December 30.*

The text of the entente reply to the Teuton peace proposal is as follows:

"The allied Governments of Belgium, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Montenegro, Portugal, Roumania, Russia, and Serbia, united for the defense of the liberty of their peoples and faithful to engagements taken not to lay down their arms separately, have resolved to reply collectively to the pretended propositions of peace which were addressed to them on behalf of the enemy Governments through the intermediary of the United States, Spain, Switzerland, and Holland.

"Before making any reply the allied powers desire particularly to protest against the two essential assertions of the notes of the enemy powers that pretend to throw upon the allies responsibility for the war and proclaim the victory of the central powers. The allied Governments can not admit an affirmation doubly inexact and which suffices to render sterile all tentative negotiations. The allied nations have sustained for 30 months a war they did everything to avoid. They have shown by their acts their attachment to peace. That attachment is as strong to-day as it was in 1914. But it is not upon the word of Germany, after the violation of its engagements, that the peace broken by her may be based.

"A mere suggestion, without a statement of terms, that negotiations should be opened is not an offer of peace. The putting forward by the Imperial Government of a sham proposal lacking all substance and precision would appear to be less an offer of peace than a war maneuver. It is founded on calculated misinterpretation of the character of the struggle in the past, the present, and the future.

"As for the past, the German note takes no account of the facts, dates, and figures, which establish that the war was desired, provoked, and declared by Germany and Austria-Hungary.

"At The Hague conference it was a German delegate who refused all proposals for disarmament. In July, 1914, it was Austria-Hungary who, after having addressed to Serbia an unprecedented ultimatum, declared war upon her in spite of the satisfaction which had at once been accorded.

"The central empires then rejected all attempts made by the entente to bring about a pacific solution of a purely local conflict. Great Britain suggested a conference; France proposed an international commission; the Emperor of Russia asked the German Emperor to go to arbitration, and Russia and Austria-Hungary came to an understanding on the eve of the conflict. But to all these efforts Germany gave neither answer nor effect.

"Belgium was invaded by an empire which had guaranteed her neutrality and which had the assurance to proclaim that treaties were 'scraps of paper' and that 'necessity knows no law.'

"At the present moment these sham offers on the part of Germany rest on the war map of Europe alone, which represents nothing more than a superficial and passing phase of the situation and not the real strength of the belligerents. A peace concluded upon these terms would be only to the advantage of the aggressors who, after imagining that they would reach their goal in two months, discovered after two years that they could never attain it.

"As for the future the disasters caused by the German declaration of war and the innumerable outrages committed by Germany and her allies against both belligerents and neutrals demand penalties, reparation, and guaranties. Germany avoids mention of any of these.

"In reality these overtures made by the central powers are nothing more than a calculated attempt to influence the future course of war and to end it by imposing a German peace. The object of these overtures is to create dissention in public opinion in the allied countries. But that public opinion has, in spite of all the sacrifices endured by the allies, already given its answer with admirable firmness and has denounced the empty pretense of the declaration of the enemy powers.

"They (the peace overtures) have the further object of stiffening public opinion in Germany and in the countries allied to her—one and all severely tried by their losses, worn out by economic pressure, and crushed by the supreme effort which has been imposed upon their inhabitants.

"They endeavor to deceive and intimidate public opinion in neutral countries, whose inhabitants have long since made up their minds where the initial responsibilities lie and are far too enlightened to favor the designs of Germany by abandoning the defense of human freedom.

"Finally, these overtures attempt to justify in advance in the eyes of the world a new series of crimes—submarine warfare, deportations, forced labor, and forced enlistment of the inhabitants against their own countries, and violations of neutrality.

"Fully conscious of the gravity of this moment, but equally conscious of its requirements, the allied Governments, closely united to one another and in perfect sympathy with their peoples, refuse to consider a proposal which is empty and insincere.

"Once again the allies declare that no peace is possible so long as they have not secured reparation for violated rights and liberties, the recognition of the principle of nationality, and of the free existence of small States, so long as they have not brought about a settlement calculated to end once and for all forces which have constituted a perpetual menace to the nations, and to afford the only effective guaranty for the future security of the world.

"In conclusion, the allied powers think it necessary to put forward the following considerations, which show the special situation of Belgium after two and a half years of war. In virtue of the international treaties signed by five great European powers, of which Germany was one, Belgium enjoyed before the war a special status, rendering her territory inviolable and placing her, under the guaranty of the powers, outside all European conflicts. She was, however, in spite of these treaties, the first to suffer the aggression of Germany. For this reason the Belgian Government think it necessary to define the aims which Belgium has never ceased to pursue while fighting side by side with the entente powers for right and justice.

"Belgium has always scrupulously fulfilled the duties which her neutrality imposed upon her. She has taken up arms to defend her independence and her neutrality violated by Germany and to show that she remains faithful to her international obligations.

"On the 4th of August, 1914, in the Reichstag, the German chancellor admitted that this aggression constituted an injustice contrary to the laws of nations, and pledged himself in the name of Germany to repair it. During two and a half years this injustice has been cruelly aggravated by the proceedings of the occupying forces, which have exhausted the resources of the country, ruined its industries, devastated its towns and villages, and have been responsible for innumerable massacres, executions, and imprisonments.

"At this very moment, while Germany is proclaiming peace and humanity to the world, she is deporting Belgian citizens by thousands and reducing them to slavery.

"Belgium before the war asked for nothing but to live in harmony with her neighbors. Her King and her Government have but one aim—the reestablishment of peace and justice. But they only desire peace which would assure to their country legitimate reparation, guaranties, and safeguards for the future."

On the 22d of January the President addressed the Senate as follows:

TEXT OF PRESIDENT WILSON'S ADDRESS BEFORE THE SENATE GIVING HIS IDEAS OF STEPS NECESSARY FOR WORLD PEACE.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE: On the 18th of December last I addressed an identic note to the Governments of the nations now at war requesting them to state more definitely than there had yet been stated by either group of belligerents the terms upon which they would deem it possible to make peace. I spoke on behalf of humanity and of the rights of all neutral nations like our own, many of whose most vital interests the war puts in constant jeopardy. The central powers united in a reply which stated merely that they were ready to meet their antagonists in conference to discuss terms of peace.

The entente powers have replied much more definitely and have stated, in general terms, indeed, but with sufficient definiteness to imply details, the arrangements, guaranties, and acts of reparation which they deem to be the indispensable conditions of a satisfactory settlement.

We are that much nearer a definite discussion of the peace which shall end the present war. We are that much nearer the discussion of the international concert which must thereafter hold the world at peace.

In every discussion of the peace that must end this war it is taken for granted that that peace must be followed by some definite concert of power which will make it virtually impossible that any such catastrophe should ever overwhelm us again. Every lover of mankind, every sane and thoughtful man, must take that for granted.

I have sought this opportunity to address you because I thought that I owed it to you, as the council associated with me in the final determination of our international obligations, to disclose to you without reserve the thought and purpose that have been taking form in my mind in regard to the duty of our Government in these days to come, when it will be necessary to lay afresh and upon a new plan the foundations of peace among nations.

It is inconceivable that the people of the United States should play no part in that great enterprise. To take part in such a service will be the opportunity for which they have sought to prepare themselves by the very principles and purposes of their policy and the approved practices of their Government ever since the days when they set up a new Nation in the high and honorable hope that it might, in all that it was and did, show mankind the way to liberty. They can not in honor withhold the service to which they are now about to be challenged. They do not wish to withhold it. But they owe it to themselves and to the other nations of the world to state the conditions under which they will feel free to render it.

That service is nothing less than this: To add their authority and their power to the authority and force of other nations to guarantee peace and justice throughout the world. Such a settlement can not now be long postponed. It is right that before it comes this Government should frankly formulate the conditions upon which it would feel justified in asking our people to approve its formal and solemn adherence to a league for peace. I am here to attempt to state those conditions.

The present war must first be ended; but we owe it to candor and to a joint regard for the opinion of mankind to say that so far as our participation in guarantee of future peace is concerned it makes a great deal of difference in what way and upon what terms it is ended. The treaties and agreements which bring it to an end must embody terms which will create a peace that is worth guaranteeing and preserving; a peace that will win the approval of mankind, not merely a peace that will serve the several interests and immediate aims of the nations engaged. We shall have no voice in determining what those terms shall be, but we shall, I feel sure, have a voice in determining whether they shall be made lasting or not by the guarantees of a universal covenant; and our judgment upon what is fundamental and essential as a condition precedent to permanency should be spoken now, not afterwards, when it may be too late.

No covenant of cooperative peace that does not include the peoples of the New World can suffice to keep the future safe against war; and yet there is only one sort of peace that the peoples of America could join in guaranteeing.

The elements of that peace must be elements that engage the confidence and satisfy the principles of the American Governments, elements consistent with their political faith and the practical convictions which the peoples of America have once for all embraced and undertaken to defend.

I do not mean to say that any American government would throw any obstacle in the way of any terms of peace the Governments now at war might agree upon, or seek to upset them when made, whatever they might be.

I only take it for granted that mere terms of peace between the belligerents will not be satisfactory even to the belligerents themselves. Mere agreements may not make peace secure. It will be absolutely necessary that a force be created as a guarantor of the permanency of the settlement so much greater than the force of any nation now engaged or any alliance hitherto formed or projected that no nation, no probable combination of nations, could face or withstand it. If the peace presently to be made is to endure, it must be a peace made secure by the organized major force of mankind.

The terms of the immediate peace agreed upon will determine whether it is a peace for which such a guaranty can be secured. The question upon which the whole future peace and policy of the world depends is this:

And the paths of the sea must, alike in law and in fact, be free. The freedom of the seas is the sine qua non of peace, equality, and cooperation. No doubt a somewhat radical reconsideration of many of the rules of international practice hitherto sought to be established may be necessary in order to make the seas indeed free and common in practically all circumstances for the use of mankind, but the motive for such changes is convincing and compelling. There can be no trust or intimacy between the peoples of the world without them. The free, constant, unthreatened intercourse of nations is an essential part of the process of peace and of development.

It need not be difficult to define or to secure the freedom of the seas if the Governments of the world sincerely desire to come to an agreement concerning it.

It is a problem closely connected with the limitation of naval armament and the cooperation of the navies of the world in keeping the seas at once free and safe. And the question of limiting naval armaments opens the wider and perhaps more difficult question of the limitation of armies and of all programs of military preparation.

Difficult and delicate as these questions are, they must be faced with the utmost candor and decided in a spirit of real accommodation if peace is to come with healing in its wings, and come to stay. Peace can not be had without concession and sacrifice. There can be no sense of safety and equality among the nations if great preponderating armaments are henceforth to continue here and there to be built up and maintained.

The statesmen of the world must plan for peace, and nations must adjust and accommodate their policy to it as they have planned for war and made ready for pitiless contest and rivalry.

The question of armaments, whether on land or sea, is the most immediately and intensely practical question connected with the future fortunes of nations and of mankind.

I have spoken upon these great matters without reserve and with the utmost explicitness because it has seemed to me to be necessary if the world's yearning desire for peace was anywhere to find free voice and utterance. Perhaps I am the only person in high authority amongst all the peoples of the world who is at liberty to speak and hold nothing back. I am speaking as an individual, and yet I am speaking also, of course, as the responsible head of a great Government, and I feel confident that I have said what the people of the United States would wish me to say.

May I not add that I hope and believe that I am in effect speaking for liberals and friends of humanity in every nation and of every program of liberty? I would fain believe that I am speaking for the silent mass of mankind everywhere who have as yet had no place or opportunity to speak their real hearts out concerning the death and ruin they see to have come already upon the persons and the homes they hold most dear.

And in holding out the expectation that the people and Government of the United States will join the other civilized nations of the world in guaranteeing the permanence of peace upon such terms as I have named I speak with the greater boldness and confidence, because it is clear to every man who can think that there is in this promise no breach in either our traditions or our policy as a nation, but a fulfillment rather of all that we have professed or striven for.

I am proposing, as it were, that the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world; that no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its

own polity, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful.

I am proposing that all nations henceforth avoid entangling alliances which would draw them into competitions of power, catch them in a net of intrigue and selfish rivalry, and disturb their own affairs with influences intruded from without. There is no entangling alliance in a concert of power. When all unite to act in the same sense and with the same purpose all act in the common interest and are free to live their own lives under a common protection.

I am proposing government by the consent of the governed; that freedom of the seas which in international conference after conference representatives of the United States have urged with the eloquence of those who are the convinced disciples of liberty; and that moderation of armaments which makes of armies and navies a power for order merely, not an instrument of aggression or of selfish violence.

These are American principles, American policies. We can stand for no others. And they are also the principles and policies of forward-looking men and women everywhere, of every modern nation, of every enlightened community. They are the principles of mankind and must prevail.

Is the present war a struggle for a just and secure peace or only for a new balance of power? If it be only a struggle for a new balance of power, who will guarantee, who can guarantee, the stable equilibrium of the new arrangement? Only a tranquil Europe can be a stable Europe. There must be not a balance of power but a community of power, not organized rivalries but an organized common peace.

Fortunately, we have received very explicit assurances on this point. The statesmen of both of the groups of nations now arrayed against one another have said in terms that could not be misinterpreted that it was no part of the purpose they had in mind to crush their antagonists. But the implications of these assurances may not be equally clear to all—may not be the same on both sides of the water. I think it will be serviceable if I attempt to set forth what we understand them to be.

They imply, first of all, that it must be a peace without victory. It is not pleasant to say this. I beg that I may be permitted to put my own interpretation upon it and that it may be understood that no other interpretation was in my thought. I am seeking only to face realities and to face them without soft concealments. Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser—a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished.

It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest not permanently but only as upon quicksand. Only a peace between equals can last. Only a peace the very principle of which is equality and a common participation in a common benefit. The right state of mind, the right feeling between nations, is as necessary for a lasting peace as is the just settlement of vexed questions of territory or of racial and national allegiance.

The equality of nations upon which peace must be founded if it is to last must be an equality of rights; the guaranties exchanged must neither recognize nor imply a difference between big nations and small, between those that are powerful and those that are weak. Right must be based upon the common strength, not upon the individual strength, of the nations upon whose concert peace will depend.

Equality of territory or of resources there, of course, can not be; nor any other sort of equality not gained in the ordinary peaceful and legitimate development of the peoples themselves. But no one asks or expects anything more than an equality of rights. Mankind is looking now for freedom of life, not for equipoises of power.

And there is a deeper thing involved than even equality of right among organized nations. No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand people about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property.

I take it for granted, for instance, if I may venture upon a single example, that statesmen everywhere are agreed that there should be a united, independent, and autonomous Poland, and that henceforth inviolable security of life, of worship, and of industrial and social development should be guaranteed to all peoples who have lived hitherto under the power of governments devoted to a faith and purpose hostile to their own.

I speak of this not because of any desire to exalt an abstract political principle, which has always been held very dear by those who have sought to build up liberty in America, but for the same reason that I have spoken of the other conditions of peace which seem to me clearly indispensable, because I wish frankly to uncover realities. Any peace which does not recognize and accept this principle will inevitably be upset.

It will not rest upon the affections or the convictions of mankind. The ferment of spirit of whole populations will fight subtly and constanly against it and all the world will sympathize. The world can be at peace only if its life is stable, and there can be no stability where the will is in rebellion, where there is not tranquillity of spirit and a sense of justice, of freedom, and of right.

So far as practicable, moreover, every great people now struggling toward a full development of its resources and of its powers should be assured a direct outlet to the great highways of the sea. Where this can not be done by the cession of territory, it can, no doubt, be done by the neutralization of direct rights of way under the general guarantee which will assure the peace itself. With a right comity of arrangement no nation need be shut away from free access to the open paths of the world's commerce.

In order to make this record fairly complete I here insert the President's address on the peace question here in the Capital on the evening of the 27th of last May at the Peace Conference banquet:

When the invitation to be here to-night came to me I was glad to accept it—not because it offered me an opportunity to discuss the program of the league—that you will, I am sure, not expect of me—but because the desire of the whole world now turns eagerly, more and more eagerly, toward the hope of peace, and there is just reason why we should take our part in counsel upon this great theme. It is right that I, as spokesman of our Government, should attempt to give expression to what I believe to be the thought and purpose of the people of the United States in this vital matter.

This great war that broke so suddenly upon the world two years ago, and which has swept within its flame so great a part of the civilized world, has affected us very profoundly, and we are not only at liberty, it is perhaps our duty, to speak very frankly of it and of the great interests of civilization which it affects.

RIGHTS OF NATION AFFECTED.

With its causes and its objects we are not concerned. The obscure fountains from which its stupendous flood has burst forth we are not interested to search for or explore. But so great a flood, spread far and wide to every quarter of the globe, has of necessity engulfed many a fair province of right that lies very near to us.

Our own rights as a Nation, the liberties, the privileges, and the property of our people have been profoundly affected. We are not mere disinterested lookers-on.

The longer the war lasts the more deeply do we become concerned that it should be brought to an end and the world be permitted to resume its normal life and course again. And when it does come to an end we shall be as much concerned as the nations at war to see peace assume an aspect of permanence, give promise of days from which the anxiety of uncertainty shall be lifted, bring some assurance that peace and war shall always hereafter be reckoned part of the common interest of mankind.

ARE PARTNERS WITH THE REST.

We are participants, whether we would or not, in the life of the world. The interests of all nations are our own also. We are partners with the rest. What affects mankind is inevitably our affair as well as the affair of the nations of Europe and of Asia.

One observation on the causes of the present war we are at liberty to make, and to make it may throw some light forward upon the future as well as backward upon the past. It is plain that this war could have come only as it did, suddenly and out of secret counsels, without warning to the world, without discussion, without any of the deliberate movements of counsel with which it would seem natural to approach so stupendous a contest.

It is probable that if it had been foreseen just what would happen, just what alliances would be formed, just what forces arrayed against one another, those who brought the great contest on would have been glad to substitute conference for force.

MIGHT HAVE AVERTED WAR.

If we ourselves had been afforded some opportunity to apprise the belligerents of the attitude which it would be our duty to take, of the policies and practices against which we would feel bound to use all our moral and economic strength, and in certain circumstances even our physical strength also, our own contribution to the counsel which might have averted the struggle would have been considered worth weighing and regarding.

And the lesson which the shock of being taken by surprise in a matter so deeply vital to all the nations of the world has made poignantly clear is, that the peace of the world must henceforth depend upon a new and more wholesome diplomacy.

Only when the great nations of the world have reached some sort of agreement as to what they hold to be fundamental to their common interest, and as to some feasible method of acting in concert when any nation or group of nations seeks to disturb those fundamental things, can we feel that civilization is at last in a way of justifying its existence and claiming to be finally established.

MUST BE GOVERNED BY HONOR.

It is clear that nations must in the future be governed by the same high code of honor that we demand of individuals.

We must, indeed, in the very same breath with which we avow this conviction admit that we have ourselves upon occasion in the past been offenders against the law of diplomacy which we thus forecast; but our conviction is not the less clear, but rather the more clear on that account.

If this war has accomplished nothing else for the benefit of the world, it has at least disclosed a great moral necessity and set forward the thinking of the statesmen of the world by a whole age.

Repeated utterances of the leading statesmen of most of the great nations now engaged in war have made it plain that their thought has come to this: That the principle of public right must henceforth take precedence over the individual interests of particular nations, and that the nations of the world must in some way band themselves together to see that that right prevails as against any sort of selfish aggression; that henceforth alliance must not be set up against alliance, understanding against understanding, but that there must be a common agreement for a common object, and that at the heart of that common object must lie the inviolable rights of peoples and of mankind.

NATIONS ARE NOW NEIGHBORS.

The nations of the world have become each other's neighbors. It is to their interest that they should understand each other. In order that they may understand each other it is imperative that they should agree to cooperate in a common cause, and that they should so act that the guiding principle of that common cause shall be even-handed and impartial justice.

This is undoubtedly the thought of America. This is what we ourselves will say when there comes proper occasion to say it. In the dealings of nations with one another arbitrary force must be rejected, and we must move forward to the thought of the modern world, the thought of which peace is the very atmosphere. That thought constitutes a chief part of the passionate conviction of America.

RIGHTS OF THE LITTLE NATIONS.

We believe these fundamental things: First, that every people has a right to choose the sovereignty under which they shall live. Like other nations, we have ourselves no doubt once and again offended against that principle when for a little while controlled by selfish passion, as our franker historians have been honorable enough to admit; but it has become more and more our rule of life and action. Second, that the small States of the world have a right to enjoy the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon. And, third, that the world has a right to be free from every disturbance of its peace that has its origin in aggression and disregard of the rights of peoples and nations.

So sincerely do we believe in these things that I am sure that I speak the mind and wish of the people of America when I say that the United States is willing to become a partner in any feasible association of nations formed in order to realize these objects and make them secure against violation.

READY TO CHECK AGGRESSION.

There is nothing that the United States wants for itself that any other nation has. We are willing, on the contrary, to limit ourselves along with them to a prescribed course of duty and respect for the

rights of others which will check any selfish passion of our own, as it will check any aggressive impulse of theirs.

If it should ever be our privilege to suggest or initiate a movement for peace among the nations now at war, I am sure that the people of the United States would wish their Government to move along these lines:

First, such a settlement with regard to their own immediate interests as the belligerents may agree upon. We have nothing material of any kind to ask for ourselves, and are quite aware that we are in no sense or degree parties to the present quarrel. Our interest is only in peace and its future guaranties.

Second, an universal association of the nations to maintain the inviolate security of the highway of the seas for the common and unhindered use of all the nations of the world, and to prevent any war begun either contrary to treaty covenants or without warning and full submission of the causes to the opinion of the world—a virtual guaranty of territorial integrity and political independence.

ONLY AVOWS A CREED.

But I did not come here, let me repeat, to discuss a program. I came only to avow a creed and give expression to the confidence I feel that the world is even now upon the eve of a great consummation, when some common force will be brought into existence which shall safeguard right as the first and most fundamental interest of all peoples and all governments, when coercion shall be summoned not to the service of political ambition or selfish hostility but to the service of a common order, a common justice, and a common peace.

God grant that the dawn of that day of frank dealing and of settled peace, concord, and cooperation may be near at hand.

On January 31 Germany sent a note to the United States, as follows:

TEXT OF GERMANY'S NOTE TO THE UNITED STATES.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 31, 1917.*

Mr. SECRETARY OF STATE:

Your excellency was good enough to transmit to the Imperial Government a copy of the message which the President of the United States of America addressed to the Senate on the 22d instant. The Imperial Government has given it the earnest consideration which the President's statements deserve, inspired, as they are, by a deep sentiment of responsibility.

It is highly gratifying to the Imperial Government to ascertain that the main tendencies of this important statement correspond largely to the desires and principles professed by Germany. These principles especially include self-government and equality of rights for all nations. Germany would be sincerely glad if, in recognition of this principle, countries like Ireland and India, which do not enjoy the benefits of political independence, should now obtain their freedom.

The German people also repudiate all alliances which serve to force the countries into a competition for might and to involve them in a net *of selfish intrigues.* On the other hand, Germany will gladly cooperate in all efforts to prevent future wars.

The freedom of the seas, being a preliminary condition of the free existence of nations and the peaceful intercourse between them, as well as the open door for the commerce of all nations, has always formed part of the leading principles of Germany's political program. All the more the Imperial Government regrets that the attitude of her enemies, who are so entirely opposed to peace, makes it impossible for the world at present to bring about the realization of these lofty ideals.

Germany and her allies were ready to enter now into a discussion of peace, and had set down as basis the guarantee of existence, honor, and free development of their peoples. Their aims, as has been expressly stated in the note of December 12, 1916, were not directed toward the destruction or annihilation of their enemies and were, according to their conviction, perfectly compatible with the rights of the other nations. As to Belgium, for which such warm and cordial sympathy is felt in the United States, the chancellor had declared only a few weeks previously that its annexation had never formed part of Germany's intentions. The peace to be signed with Belgium was to provide for such conditions in that country, with which Germany desires to maintain friendly, neighborly relations, that Belgium should not be used again by Germany's enemies for the purpose of instigating continuous hostile intrigues. Such precautionary measures are all the more necessary, as Germany's enemies have repeatedly stated, not only in speeches delivered by their leading men, but also in the statutes of the economical conference in Paris, that it is their intention not to treat Germany as an equal, even after peace has been restored, but to continue their hostile attitude, and especially to wage a systematical economic war against her.

The attempt of the four allied powers to bring about peace has failed, owing to the lust of conquest of their enemies, who desired to dictate the conditions of peace. Under the pretense of following the principle of nationality, our enemies have disclosed their real aims in this way, viz: To dismember and dishonor Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria. To the wish of reconciliation they oppose the will of destruction. They desire a fight to the bitter end.

A new situation has thus been created which forces Germany to new decisions. Since two years and a half England is using her naval power for a criminal attempt to force Germany into submission by starvation. In brutal contempt of international law, the group of powers led by England does not only curtail the legitimate trade of their opponents but they also, by ruthless pressure, compel neutral countries either to altogether forego every trade not agreeable to the entente powers or to limit it according to their arbitrary decrees.

The American Government knows the steps which have been taken to cause England and her allies to return to the rules of international law and to respect the freedom of the seas. The English Government, however, insists upon continuing its war of starvation, which does not at all affect the military power of its opponents, but compels women and children, the sick and the aged, to suffer for their country pains and privations which endanger the vitality of the nation. Thus British tyranny mercilessly increases the sufferings of the world, indifferent to the laws of humanity, indifferent to the protests of the neutrals whom they severely harm, indifferent even to the silent longing for peace among England's own allies. Each day of the terrible struggle causes new destruction, new sufferings. Each day shortening the war will, on both sides, preserve the lives of thousands of brave soldiers and be a benefit to mankind.

The Imperial Government could not justify before its own conscience, before the German people, and before history the neglect of any means destined to bring about the end of the war. Like the President of the United States, the Imperial Government had hoped to reach this goal by negotiations. After the attempts to come to an understanding with the entente powers have been answered by the latter with the announcement of an intensified continuation of the war, the Imperial Government—in order to serve the welfare of mankind in a higher sense and not to wrong its own people—is now compelled to continue the fight for existence, again forced upon it, with the full employment of all the weapons which are at its disposal.

Sincerely trusting that the people and the Government of the United States will understand the motives for this decision and its necessity, the Imperial Government hopes that the United States may view the new situation from the lofty heights of impartiality and assist on their part to prevent further misery and unavoidable sacrifice of human life.

Inclosing two memoranda regarding the details of the contemplated military measures at sea, I remain, etc.

J. BERNSTORFF.

TEXT OF THE ANNEX TO GERMAN NOTE, OUTLINING BARRED ZONES AND PRESCRIBING CONDITIONS FOR AMERICAN VESSELS.

[By wireless to Sayville.]

BERLIN, *January 31.*

Following is the annex referred to in the German note:

"From February 1, 1917, within barred zones around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the eastern Mediterranean, as outlined in the following, all sea traffic forthwith will be opposed. Such barred zones are:

"In the North Sea, the district around England and France, which is limited by a line 20 nautical miles; the district along the Dutch coast as far as the Terschelling Lightship, the degree of longitude of the Terschelling Lightship to Udsir; a line from there across the point 62° north latitude, 5° longitude, westward along 62° to a point 3 nautical miles south of the south point of Farove: (Faroe Island?), from there across the point 62° north, —° west, to 61° north, 15° west; then 57° north, 20° west, to 47° north, 20° west; further, to 43° north, 15° west; then on degree latitude 43° north to the point 20 nautical miles from Cape Finisterre and 20 nautical miles distant along the Spanish north coast as far as the French frontier.

"Concerning the south, in the Mediterranean: For neutral shipping there remains open the sea district of a line from Point de les Paquett to 38° 20′ north and 6° east, as well as north and west of a zone 60 sea miles broad along the north African coast, beginning on (?) degrees west longitude.

"In order to connect this sea district with Greece, the zone leads 20 sea miles in width north or east, following this line: Thirty-eight degrees north and 6° east, 38° north, and 11° 30′ east, to 34° north and 11° 30′ east to 34° north and 22° 30′ east. From there it leads to a zone 20 sea miles broad west of 22° 30′ east longitude into Greek territorial waters.

"Neutral ships plying within the barred zones do so at their own risk. Although precautions are being taken to spare neutral ships which on February 1 are on the way to ports in the barred zone, during an appropriate delay, yet it is urgently to be advised that they should be warned and directed to other routes by all means available.

"Neutral ships lying in ports of the barred zones can with the same safety abandon the barred zones if they sail before February 5 and take the shortest route into the open district.

"Traffic of regular American passenger steamers can go on unmolested if—

"(a) Falmouth is taken as the port of destination; and if

"(b) On the going and return journey the Scilly Islands, as well as the point 50° north, 20° west, be steered on. Along this route no German mines will be laid.

"(c) If steamers on this journey bear the following special signals, which only they will be permitted to display in American ports: A coating of paint on the ship's hull and the superstructure in vertical stripes three meters broad, alternating white and red; on every mast a large flag of checkered white and red, on the stern the American national flag; during darkness the national flag and the coat of paint to be as easily recognizable as possible from a distance; and the ships must be completely and brightly illuminated.

"(d) If only one steamer runs each week in each direction, arriving at Falmouth on Sundays, leaving Falmouth on Wednesdays.

"(e) If guaranties and assurances are given by the American Government that these steamers carry no contraband (according to the German list of contraband).

"Two copies of maps on which the barred zones are outlined are added."

The meaning of the new order as interpreted by the chancellor in his address to the Reichstag:

The chancellor opened the sitting with a speech of which the keynote words were:

"We have been challenged to fight to the end. We accept the challenge; we stake everything; and we shall be victorious."

He indicated that Germany was ready to accept the consequences of unrestricted U-boat warfare which had been decided upon. He wound up by saying:

"As regards all that human strength can do to enforce success for the fatherland, be assured, gentlemen, that nothing has been neglected. Everything in this respect will be done."

At the outset of his address the chancellor explained why in March and May, 1916, he opposed unrestricted submarine war, and why again in September, "according to the unanimous judgment of the political and military authorities, the question was not thought ripe for decision." On this matter he said:

"By the development of the situation the decision concerning submarine warfare has been forced into the last acute stage. The question of U-boat war, as members of the Reichstag will remember, has occupied us three times in this committee, namely, in March, May, and September of last year. On each occasion in an exhaustive statement I expounded the points for and against in this question. I emphasized on each occasion that I was speaking pro tempore, and not as a supporter in principle or opponent in principle of the unrestricted employment of U boats, but in consideration of the military, political, and economic situation as a whole.

"I have always proceeded from the standpoint of whether U-boat war would bring us nearer victorious peace or not. Every means, I said in March, that was calculated to shorten the war constitute the most humane policy to follow. When the most ruthless methods are considered best calculated to lead us to victory, and swift victory, I said, then they must be employed.

MUST STRIKE NOW.

"This moment has now arrived," he continued. "Last autumn the time was not yet ripe, but to-day the moment has come when, with the greatest prospect of success, we can undertake the enterprise. We must, therefore, not wait any longer.

"Where has there been any change in the situation?" the chancellor asked. "In the first place, the most important fact of all is that the number of our submarines has been very considerably increased as compared with last spring, and thereby a firm basis for success has been established.

"The second codecisive reason is the bad cereal harvest of the world This fact already confronts England, France, and Italy with serious difficulties, which by means of unrestricted U-boat war will be brought to a point of unbearableness.

"The coal question, too, is a vital question in war. Already it is critical in Italy and France, as you know. Our submarines will make it still more critical.

"To this must be added, especially as regards England, the supply of ore for the production of munitions, in the widest sense, and of timber for coal mines. The enemy's difficulties are rendered still more acute by the increasing lack of enemy cargo space. In this respect time and U-boat and cruiser warfare have prepared the ground for the decisive blow.

"The entente suffers owing to lack of cargo space. The lack makes itself felt in Italy and France, no less than in England. If we may now venture to estimate the positive advantages of unrestricted U-boat war at a very much higher value than last spring, the dangers which arise for us from U-boat war have correspondingly decreased since that time.

READY TO ACCEPT ALL CONSEQUENCES.

The chancellor discussed in detail the political situation, and then referred to military affairs as follows:

"A few days ago Field Marshal von Hindenburg described the situation to me thus: Our front stands firm on all sides. We have everywhere the requisite reserves. The spirit of our troops is good, and confident. The military situation as a whole permits us to accept all the consequences which unrestricted U-boat war may bring, and as this U-boat war is the means of injuring our enemies the most greviously, it must be begun.

"The Admiralty Staff and the high seas fleet entertain the firm conviction (a conviction which has practical support in the experience gained in U-boat cruiser warfare) that Great Britain will be brought to peace by arms. Our allies agree with our views. Austria-Hungary adheres to our procedure also in practice. Just as we lay a blockaded area around Great Britain and the west coast of France, in which we will try to prevent all shipping traffic to the enemy countries, Austria-Hungary declares a blockaded area around Italy.

"To all neutral countries a free path for mutual intercourse is left outside the blockaded area. To America we offer, as we did in 1915, safe passenger traffic under definite conditions, even with Great Britain."

The chancellor here read the note to the United States and said that corresponding notes had been sent to the other neutral States. He concluded as follows:

"No one among us will close his eyes to the seriousness of the step we are taking. That our existence is at stake everyone has known since August 4, 1914, and this has been brutally emphasized by the rejection of our peace offer. When, in 1914, we had to seize and have recourse to the sword against Russia's general mobilization, we did so with the deepest sense of responsibility toward our people and conscious of resolute strength, which says: 'We must and, therefore, we can.' Endless streams of blood have since been shed, but they have not washed away the 'must' and the 'can.'

"BEST AND SHARPEST WEAPON."

"In now deciding to employ our best and sharpest weapon, we are guided solely by sober consideration of all the circumstances that come into the question and by the firm determination to help our people out of the distress and disgrace which our enemies contemplate for them.

"Success lies in a higher hand, but as regards all that human strength can do to enforce success for the fatherland, be assured, gentlemen, that nothing has been neglected. Everything in this respect will be done."

The chancellor was followed by the secretary of state for the admiralty, who spoke of the situation from the technical military and naval viewpoint. Detailed statistical data in regard to the economic position of the world was supplied by the secretary of the interior, and the foreign secretary, Herr Zimmermann, replied to several special questions.

After the ministers had spoken the committee went into secret session at which speeches were made by representatives of the Centrist, National Liberal, and Progressive Parties.

On the 1st of February the following memorandum was given out:

MEMORANDUM DRAWN BY BERNSTORFF DELIVERED WITH NOTE; IT SAYS ALL SHIPS WITHIN BARRED ZONES "WILL BE SUNK."

WASHINGTON, *February 1.*

A second memorandum, delivered yesterday with the German note, and made public late to-day by the State Department, differs in some respects from the substance of the note itself. The understanding is that it was prepared at the German Embassy on instructions from Berlin prior to President Wilson's peace address to the Senate, and withheld then on account of the address. When Count von Bernstorff received the note and memorandum yesterday from Berlin he decided to deliver with them the original document prepared by him. The memorandum reads:

"After bluntly refusing Germany's peace offer the entente powers stated in their note addressed to the American Government that they are determined to continue the war in order to deprive Germany of German Provinces in the west and east, to destroy Austria-Hungary, and to annihilate Turkey. In waging war with such aims the entente allies are violating all rules of international law, as they prevent the legitimate trade of neutrals with the central powers and of the neutrals among themselves. Germany has so far not made unrestricted use of the weapon which she possesses in her submarines. Since the entente powers, however, have made it impossible to come to an understanding based upon equality of rights of all nations, as proposed by the central powers, and have instead declared only such a peace to be possible which shall be dictated by the entente allies, and shall result in the destruction and the humiliation of the central powers, Germany is unable further to forego the full use of her submarines.

"The Imperial Government therefore does not doubt that the Government of the United States will understand the situation thus forced upon Germany by the entente allies' brutal methods of war and by their determination to destroy the central powers, and that the Government of the United States will further realize that the now openly disclosed intention of the entente allies gives back to Germany the freedom of action which she reserved in her note addressed to the Government of the United States on May 4, 1916.

"Under these circumstances Germany will meet the illegal measures of her enemies by forcibly preventing after February 1, 1917, in a zone around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the eastern Mediterranean all navigation, that of neutrals included, from and to England and from and to France, etc. All ships met within that zone will be sunk.

"The Imperial Government is confident that this measure will result in a speedy termination of the war and in the restoration of peace, which the Government of the United States has so much at heart. Like the Government of the United States, Germany and her allies had hoped to reach this goal by negotiations. Now that the war, through the fault of Germany's enemies, has to be continued, the Imperial Government feels sure that the Government of the United States will understand the necessity of adopting such measures as are destined to bring about a speedy end of the horrible and useless bloodshed. The Imperial Government hopes all the more for such an understanding of her position, as the neutrals have under the pressure of the entente powers suffered great losses, being forced by them either to give up their entire trade or to limit it according to conditions arbitrarily determined by Germany's enemies in violation of international law."

Two days after the publication of the German submarine order the President addressed Congress as follows:

TEXT OF PRESIDENT WILSON'S ADDRESS.

WASHINGTON, *February 3.*

The President's address to the joint session of Congress to-day was as follows:

"GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS: The Imperial German Government on the 31st day of January announced to this Government and to the Governments of the other neutral nations that on and after the 1st day of February, the present month, it would adopt a policy with regard to the use of submarines against all shipping seeking to pass through certain designated areas of the high seas, to which it is clearly my duty to call your attention.

"Let me remind the Congress that on the 18th of April last, in view of the sinking on the 24th of March of the cross-channel steamship *Sussex* by a German submarine, without summons or warning, and the consequent loss of the lives of several citizens of the United States who were passengers aboard her, this Government addressed a note to the Imperial German Government, in which it made the following declaration:

"'If it is still the purpose of the Imperial German Government to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines, without regard to what the Government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue. Unless the Imperial Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight carrying vessels, the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether.'

"In reply to this declaration the Imperial German Government gave this Government the following assurance:

"'The German Government is prepared to do its utmost to confine the operations of war for the rest of its duration to the fighting forces of the belligerents, thereby also insuring the freedom of the seas, a principle upon which the German Government believes now, as before, to be in agreement with the Government of the United States.

"'The German Government, guided by this idea, notifies the Government of the United States that the German naval forces have received the following orders: "In accordance with the general principles of visit and search and destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared a naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives, unless these ships attempt to escape or offer resistance."

"'But [it added] neutrals can not expect that Germany, forced to fight for her existence, shall, for the sake of neutral interest, restrict the use of an effective weapon if her enemy is permitted to continue to apply at will methods of warfare violating the rules of international law. Such a demand would be incompatible with the character of neutrality, and the German Government is convinced that the Government of the United States does not think of making such a demand, knowing that the Government of the United States has repeatedly declared that it is determined to restore the principle of the freedom of the seas from whatever quarter it has been violated.'

"To this the Government of the United States replied on the 8th of May, accepting, of course, the assurance given, but adding:

"'The Government of the United States feels it necessary to state that it takes it for granted that the Imperial German Government does not intend to imply that the maintenance of its newly announced policy is in any way contingent upon the course or result of diplomatic negotiations between the Government of the United States and any other belligerent Government, notwithstanding the fact that certain passages in the Imperial Government's note of the 4th instant might appear to be susceptible of that construction. In order, however, to avoid any misunderstanding the Government of the United States notifies the Imperial Government that it can not for a moment entertain, much less discuss, a suggestion that respect by German naval authorities for the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high seas should in any way or in the slightest degree be made contingent upon the conduct of any other Government, affecting the rights of neutrals and noncombatants. Responsibility in such matters is single, not joint; absolute, not relative.'

"To this note of the 8th of May the Imperial German Government made no reply.

"On the 31st of January, the Wednesday of the present week, the German Ambassador handed to the Secretary of State, along with a formal note, a memorandum which contained the following statement:

"'The Imperial Government, therefore, does not doubt that the Government of the United States will understand the situation thus forced upon Germany by the entente allies' brutal methods of war and by their determination to destroy the central powers, and that the Government of the United States will further realize that the now openly disclosed intention of the entente allies gives back to Germany the freedom of action which she reserved in her note addressed to the Government of the United States on May 4, 1916.

"'Under these circumstances Germany will meet the illegal measures of her enemies by forcibly preventing after February 1, 1917, in a zone around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the Eastern Mediterranean, all navigation, that of neutrals included, from and to England and from and to France, etc. All ships met within the zone will be sunk.'

"I think that you will agree with me that in view of this declaration, which suddenly and without prior intimation of any kind deliberately withdraws the solemn assurance given in the Imperial Government's note of the 4th of May, 1916, this Government has no alternative consistent with the dignity and honor of the United States but to take the course which, in its note of the 18th of April, 1916, it announced that it would take in the event that the German Government did not declare and effect an abandonment of the methods of submarine warefare which it was then employing and to which it now purposes again to resort.

"I have therefore directed the Secretary of State to announce to his excellency the German ambassador that all diplomatic relations between the United States and the German Empire are severed and that the American ambassador at Berlin will immediately be withdrawn, and, in accordance with this decision, to hand to his excellency his passports.

"Notwithstanding this unexpected action of the German Government, this sudden and deplorable renunciation of its assurances given this Government at one of the most critical moments of tension in the relations of the two Governments, I refuse to believe that it is the intention of the German authorities to do in fact what they have warned us they will feel at liberty to do. I can not bring myself to believe that they will indeed pay no regard to the ancient friendship between their people and our own or to the solemn obligations which have been exchanged between them, and destroy American ships and take the lives of American citizens in the willful prosecution of the ruthless naval program they have announced their intention to adopt. Only actual overt acts on their part can make me believe it even now.

"If this inveterate confidence on my part in the sobriety and prudent foresight of their purpose should unhappily prove unfounded; if American ships and American lives should in fact be sacrificed by their naval commanders in heedless contravention of the just and reasonable understandings of international law and the obvious dictates of humanity, I shall take the liberty of coming again before the Congress to ask that authority be given me to use any means that may be necessary for the protection of our seamen and our people in the prosecution of their peaceful and legitimate errands on the high seas. I can do nothing less. I take it for granted that all neutral Governments will take the same course.

"We do not desire any hostile conflict with the Imperial German Government. We are the sincere friends of the German people and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the Government which speaks for them. We shall not believe that they are hostile to us unless and until we are obliged to believe it, and we purpose nothing more than the reasonable defense of the undoubted rights of our people. We wish to serve no selfish ends. We seek merely to stand true alike in thought and in action to the immemorial principles of our people, which I have sought to express in my address to the Senate only two weeks ago—seek merely to vindicate our right to liberty and justice and an unmolested life. These are the bases of peace, not war. God grant that we may not be challenged to defend them by acts of willful injustice on the part of the Government of Germany."

The dismissal of the German ambassador was couched in the following note:

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, *February 3, 1917.*

EXCELLENCY: In acknowledging the note, with accompanying memoranda, which you delivered into my hands on the afternoon of January 31, and which announced the purpose of your Government as to the future conduct of submarine warfare I would direct your attention to the following statements appearing in the correspondence which has passed between the Government of the United States and the Imperial German Government in regard to submarine warfare.

Then follow the quotations used by the President in addressing Congress, including the citations from the memorandum accompanying the German note of January 31, giving notice of unrestricted naval warfare.

In view of this declaration, concludes the State Department note, which withdraws suddenly and without prior intimation the solemn assurance given in the Imperial Government's note of May 4, 1916, this Government has no alternative consistent with the dignity and honor of the United States but to take the course which it explicitly announced in its note of April 18, 1916, it would take in the event that the Imperial Government did not declare and effect an abandonment of the methods of submarine warfare then employed, and to which the Imperial Government now purpose again to resort.

The President has therefore directed me to announce to your excellency that all diplomatic relations between the United States and the German Empire are severed, and that the American ambassador at Berlin will be immediately withdrawn, and in accordance with such announcement to deliver to your excellency your passports.

I have the honor to be your excellency's obedient servant,

ROBERT LANSING.

Neutral countries were sounded by the President:

PRESIDENT, NOTIFYING NEUTRALS OF THE BREAK, HOPES THEY "CAN FIND IT POSSIBLE TO TAKE SIMILAR ACTION."

WASHINGTON, *February 4.*

The State Department has sent to American diplomatic representatives in neutral countries the following instructions to announce the break with Germany and suggest that they take similar action:

"You will immediately notify the Government to which you are accredited that the United States, because of the German Government's recent announcement of its intention to renew unrestricted submarine warfare, has no choice but to follow the course laid down in its note of April 18, 1916 (the *Sussex* note).

"It has, therefore, recalled the American ambassador to Berlin and has delivered passports to the German ambassador to the United States.

"Say also that the President is reluctant to believe Germany actually will carry out her threat against neutral commerce, but if it be done the President will ask Congress to authorize use of the national power to protect American citizens engaged in their peaceful and lawful errands on the seas.

"The course taken is, in the President's view, entirely in conformity with the principles he enunciated in his address to the Senate January 12 (the address proposing a world league for peace).

"He believes it will make for the peace of the world if other neutral powers can find it possible to take similar action.

"Report fully and immediately on the reception of this announcement and upon the suggestion as to similar action."

German official attitude toward American reception of her new submarine policy:

ZIMMERMANN HOPES WILSON WILL PREVENT CONFLICT.

BERLIN, *February 6.*

Foreign Secretary Zimmermann gave the following interview to the Overseas News Agency:

"We regret this measure taken by President Wilson all the more since, against all traditions and all international law, we are cut off from all direct communication and regular intercourse with the trans-Atlantic world. We also remember that American diplomats during the last months and years of the war have cared for German interests, by proxy, in several hostile countries with efficiency and great success.

"The text of the President's message, in the absence of other official documents, has therefore been examined most minutely. Having no real reason for hostility to the United States, remembering the traditional friendship which has existed between the countries practically from the first days of the United States, we naturally appreciate the words of a rather nonhostile character, which, among others of a different character, are found in that message, as transmitted by Reuters.

"In them President Wilson gives assurances that he wishes no 'hostile conflict' with Germany, and I can add that we appreciate this and other paragraphs in the message, joining in this respect with President Wilson's note.

"While we think to a certain extent that we can see by what reasons the United States Government was prompted to its present attitude, on the other hand, we expect that President Wilson to the same extent may recognize the reason which prompted us to take our decision."

Dr. Karl Helfferich, vice chancellor and minister of the interior, gave the following interview to-day to a Norwegian correspondent:

"We consider submarine warfare to be an effective means of shortening the war and breaking once for all British tyranny on the seas. It is true that neutrals will have to suffer in some respects, but do they not suffer already? You can be sure that the difficulties caused to your country by our submarine war will be little compared with those caused by Great Britain.

"Ask your countrymen by what brutal methods Great Britain coerces Norwegian shipowners to carry contraband, and how with all means she strangles the Norwegian fishing industry, as well as paralyzes Norwegian industry by holding back coal.

"We shall do everything to diminish these difficulties. We know that the coal question is most important for you. Notwithstanding the difficulties from which we now suffer in regard to transportation, we shall help you as we can.

"As to the submarine war, there is no way back for us. We shall go on in the way which we have chosen to the end, and we are convinced that later neutrals will be thankful to us."

On the 6th of February the following provision was submitted to the House:

EMERGENCY LEGISLATION.

(a) Definition: The word "person" as used in paragraphs (b), (c), (d), (e), (f) next hereafter shall include any individual, trustee, firm, association, company, or corporation. The word "ship" shall include any boat, vessel, and submarine, and any form of aircraft and the parts thereof. The words "war material" shall include arms, armament, ammunition, stores, supplies, and equipment for ships and aeroplanes, and everything required for or in connection with the production thereof. The word "factory" shall include any factory, workshop, engine works, building used for manufacture, assembling, construction, or for any process, and any shipyard or dockyard. The words "United States" shall include the Canal Zone and all territory and waters, continental and insular, subject to the jurisdiction of the United States.

(b) In time of war or of national emergency, to be determined by the President by proclamation or Executive order, the President is hereby authorized and empowered, through the Secretary of the Navy, in addition to all other existing provisions of law and within the limit of amounts appropriated therefor—

(1) To place an order with any person for such ships or war material as he may require and which are of the nature and kind usually produced or capable of being produced by such person. Compliance with all such orders shall be obligatory on any person to whom such order is given, and such order shall take precedence over all other orders and contracts theretofore placed with such person, except orders and contracts of or for the United States. If any person owning, leasing, or operating any factory equipped for the building or production of ships or war material for the Navy shall refuse or fail to give to the United States such preference in the execution of such an order, or shall refuse to build, supply, furnish, or manufacture the kind, quantity, or quality of ships or war material so ordered at such reasonable price as shall be determined by the Secretary of the Navy, the President may take immediate possession of any factory of such person, or of any part thereof without taking possession of the factory itself, and may use the same at such times and in such manner as he may consider necessary or expedient, and the occupier and every officer and servant of the occupier of the factory, or part thereof, shall obey his directions.

(2) To modify or cancel any existing contract for the building, production, or purchase of ships or war material; and if any contractor shall refuse or fail to comply with the contract as so modified the President may take immediate possession of any factory of such contractor, or any part thereof without taking possession of the factory itself, and may use the same at such times and in such manner as he may consider necessary or expedient, and the occupier and every officer and servant of the occupier of such factory, or part thereof, shall obey his directions.

(3) To require the owner or occupier of any factory in which ships or war material are built or produced to place at the disposal of the United States the whole or any part of the output of such factory, and to deliver such output or parts thereof in such quantities and at such times as may be specified in the order, at such reasonable price as shall be determined by the Secretary of the Navy.

(4) To requisition and take over for use or operation by the Government the factory, or any part thereof without taking possession of

the factory itself, whether the United States has or has not any contract or agreement with the owner or occupier of such factory.

(5) To waive all provisions of law restricting the hours of labor of persons in the employ of the United States and of persons in the employ of contractors therewith when employed on work in connection with such ships or war material, and to waive all other restrictions and limitations affecting the labor of such persons, with a view to increase output or prevent delay.

(c) No person shall, directly or indirectly, induce any person employed in any factory and engaged on work for the United States to leave his employment or to cease such work.

(d) In time of actual war the President is hereby authorized and empowered, through the Secretary of the Navy, to draft into the naval service of the United States and to place under naval control any or all of the officers, agents, or employees of any factory equipped for the building or production of ships or war material for the Navy, and said officers, agents, and employees shall be thenceforth considered as members of the Naval Establishment of the United States, subject to all the conditions and restrictions imposed by the articles for the government of the Navy. The draft of the officers, agents, and employees of said factories shall be accomplished upon proclamation by the President requiring all such officers, agents, and employees of any factory therein named to submit themselves to draft and directing such officer or officers of the Naval Establishment as he may select for the purpose to prepare either by designation or by lot, as may be most expedient, a roster or rosters of the individual officers, agents, and employees so to be drafted. Upon the making of such roster or rosters notice shall be given to each person so enrolled of the place where and the time when he shall appear and enter upon his service; and any persons who shall in any manner willfully evade or resist such notice or shall fail to present himself for duty at the time and place named therein or within such time thereafter as may be necessary to accomplish his journey to the place appointed by the most expeditious route, shall be punished as hereinafter provided. And any officers, agents, or employees of such factory who may be drafted into the Naval Establishment of the United States hereunder shall during their service for the United States in the manufacture or production of ships or war materials receive for their services so rendered such compensation as they were theretofore accustomed to receive for similar services.

(e) Any person who violates or fails to comply with any provision of paragraphs (b), (c), (d), or any order given, direction, regulation, or restriction made or imposed thereunder, shall be subject to a fine of not more than $10,000 or to imprisonment for not more than two years, or both.

(f) Whenever the United States shall cancel or modify any contract, make use of, assume, occupy, requisition, or take over any factory or part thereof, or any ships or war material, in accordance with the provisions of the foregoing paragraphs (b), (c), (d), it shall make just compensation therefor, and in default of agreement upon the damages, compensation, price, or rental due by reason of any action hereunder, the person to whom the same is due shall be entitled to sue the United States to recover his fair and reasonable damages, in the manner provided for by section 24, paragraph 20, and section 145 of the Judicial Code.

Submarine activity since February 1, as reported for the five days February 1 to 6:

45 VESSELS, WITH A TOTAL TONNAGE OF 86,304, HAVE BEEN DESTROYED IN WAR ZONE SINCE FEBRUARY 1.

A compilation of results of the German submarine campaign since February 1, the day the new blockade order went into effect, follows:

Reported sunk.	Tonnage.
Port Adelaide, British	8,181
Bravalla, Swedish	1,553
Belford, British	1,955
Warley Pickering, British	4,196
Floridian, British	4,777
Wartenfels, British	4,511
Cerea, Russian	3,512
Palmleaf, British	3,206
Cliftonian, British	4,303
Thor II, Norwegian	2,144
Tamara, Norwegian	453
Rizel, Norwegian	1,771
Wasdall, Norwegian	1,856
Songdal, Norwegian	2,089
Total tonnage	44,427

Previously reported sunk.	Tonnage.
Eavestone, British	1,850
Isle of Arran, British	1,918
Hurstwood, British	1,918
Lars Kruse, Danish	1,460
Garnet Hill, Russian	2,272
Housatonic, American	2,022
Butron, Spanish	2,434
Elekon, Greek (tonnage as estimated)	1,500
Helicot, Greek (tonnage as estimated	1,500
Heimland I, Norwegian	505
Gamma, Dutch	2,198
Ravensbourne, British (tonnage as estimated)	1,500
Jerv, Norwegian	1,112
Hecla, Norwegian	524
Algorta, Spanish	2,116
Portia, Norwegian	1,127
Essonite, British	589
Violet, British	150
Marcelle, Belgian	219
Trevean, British	2,081
Euphrates, Belgian	2,809
Dunde, British	2,278
Ida, British	500
Epsilon, Dutch	3,211
Dosde Noviembre, Spanish (tonnage as estimated)	1,500
Ymer, Norwegian	1,123
Two trawlers, British (tonnage as estimated)	1,000
Three smacks, British	150
Total tonnage previously	41,877
Grand total since February 1	86,304

Action of the Senate February 7, indorsing the President's position in breaking off diplomatic relations:

ACTION IS APPROVED.

By a vote of 78 to 5 the Senate late yesterday afternoon recorded its emphatic approval of the President's severance of diplomatic relations with Germany. This action came after six hours of debate. A number of Senators expressed the view that the resolution was unnecessary, but declared they would vote for it so there might be no suspicion in Europe that the Senate and the American people were not solidly behind the President.

TEXT OF RESOLUTION.

The text of the resolution follows:

"Whereas the President has, for the reasons stated in his address delivered to the Congress in joint session on February 3, 1917, severed diplomatic relations with the Imperial German Government by the recall of the American ambassador at Berlin and by handing his passports to the German ambassador at Washington; and

"Whereas, notwithstanding this severance of diplomatic intercourse, the President has expressed his desire to avoid conflict with the Imperial German Government; and

"Whereas the President declared in this said address that if in his judgment an occasion should arise for further action in the premises on the part of the Government of the United States he would submit the matter to the Congress and ask the authority of Congress to use such measures as he might deem necessary for protection of American seamen and people in the prosecution of their peaceful and legitimate errands on the high seas: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That the Senate approves the action taken by the President as set forth in his address delivered before the joint session of Congress, as stated above.

Neutrals decline to follow the American Government. Diplomats and press of small countries point to peril for them. They still fear the power of Germany. Dutch comment that the United States is far from war, with ample food and war material:

LONDON, *February 6.*

The attitude of European neutrals in regard to the American suggestion that they break off diplomatic relations with Germany is being awaited with keen interest, but a canvass of the diplomatic representatives of these nations showed there was a general disposition to take time for consideration of the suggestion. Notwithstanding reports that Spain has taken action, the Spanish ambassador, Señor Merry del Val, who is being kept advised by his Government, had not received word up to noon to-day of any measures taken by his Government. The view prevailed in Spanish quarters that several days would be taken up with consideration of the various questions involved.

There are some indications already that Spain does not contemplate a rupture. They include the taking up of part of the Belgian relief work which the American rupture with Germany is deranging.

At the Swiss Legation it was said that although a preliminary note, in the nature of an inquiry, has been sent to Washington, it was not Switzerland's final reply. It has not been expected by entente diplomats that Switzerland would take action which might involve her in the war, inasmuch as her frontiers would be exposed on three sides. From a military standpoint such action by Switzerland, it is pointed out, would not be wholly advantageous for the entente, and particularly for France, as it probably would mean that Germany would menace the unfortified French frontier adjoining Switzerland.

At the Scandinavian legations the general view, in the absence of definite advices, was that the exposed Baltic frontages of these countries made their situation much more dangerous than that of America, which would tend to restrain them from any decisive action.

As a result of this attitude on the part of the various European neutrals, the best-informed entente diplomats are inclined to believe that the American move will not be followed by these nations, although it is expected to exert strong moral influence on them.

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HOLLAND TO TAKE TIME TO CONSIDER SITUATION—NO REASON AT THIS MOMENT FOR SPECIAL ANXIETY, THE PREMIER TELLS PARLIAMENT.

THE HAGUE, *February 6.*

Premier Cort van der Linden made the following statement in the Second Chamber of the Dutch Parliament to-day:

"Serious events occupy the Government's attention. At the present moment it is impossible to give information regarding them, but the Government will not neglect to give the chamber information so soon as expedient. There is no reason at this moment for special anxiety."

—

[Special cable to the New York Times—Dispatch to the London Times.]

AMSTERDAM, *February 6.*

Unquestionably President Wilson's words echo from the hearts of the freedom-loving Dutch, but it must not be forgotten that their position is one of extreme difficulty. Exposed as they are on the eastern frontier to an invasion from German troops and menaced with a complete stoppage of supplies by German submarines, they not unnaturally hesitate to take any steps calculated to expedite their annihilation at German hands.

President Wilson's words respecting the course other neutrals are likely to follow is widely reproduced here, where sympathy is entertained for the attitude adopted by the United States, though the difference in circumstances of that country and Holland are pointed out generally in the press of various shades of opinion from the Socialist Volk to the Catholic Tyd.

The Handelsblad intimates that the Dutch Government's previous record does not encourage the supposition that it will proceed to extreme lengths in the event of complications arising from the sinking of Dutch vessels. America is not exposed to the perils of immediate invasion by an enemy who has proved himself absolutely devoid of the bowels of mercy, but Holland, which has already suffered much, is prepared to suffer a great deal more rather than incur the fate of Louvain, Dinant, and Liege. She does not want to give the Kaiser the chance to proclaim to the world, "My heart bleeds for the poor Dutch."

PRESIDENT WILSON CRITICIZED.

[Special cable to the New York Times.]

THE HAGUE, *February 6.*

Commenting on the breaking off of diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany, the Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant says:

"We are somewhat surprised that President Wilson allows himself to meddle in the affairs of other neutral states in suggesting that they follow America's example. There is every possibility that our Government, which has to meet the exigencies of our country, sees things in a different light than the American Government does.

"America is a country well provided with iron, steel, grain, fats, and other food products. America does not border on belligerent countries. On the contrary, she is separated by a wide ocean, almost unattainable by the Central Powers. In American ports are countless German vessels, among them the largest and most magnificent of the German merchant fleet. All these, in the eventuality of war, could fall booty to America. Whereas America is self-supplying, Holland must rely on overseas and imports from Germany.

"But our over-seas imports have been reduced to a minimum by the allies' policy. Germany delivers practically nothing. We have been prevented from laying in supplies for a rainy day. There is a scarcity of coal, grain, most food products, and fats. We have not enough iron and steel, and we are neighbors of Germany. President Wilson can well set an example without risking much. These are only a few points of the difference by which it can be seen that our international position is quite other than that of America.

"Our Government has not been sitting still during the last week, but has been in touch with other neutrals whose position is more similar to ours than is America's. Mr. Wilson's step has certainly awakened much feeling here. There are many who greet it as the dawning of a new day."

The Nieuwe Courant says:

"The neutrals have been robbed of their natural leader in peace action. The small nations of Europe that have kept out of the world-wide madness have been thrown on their own resources. Both for the future and present the position of the neutrals has grown decidedly worse.

"We need have no illusions about criticizing the 'seizure' of German ships in American ports. Confiscating vessels must be regarded as an action of war. Therefore we can not believe in this interpretation. It is perhaps only with the possibility of war in sight that special precautionary measures are taken. That the ships are still in German possession can not be doubted.

"The President does not intend to let American citizens be dictated to as to which ships to travel on, nor American ships as to which route they may follow. Mr. Wilson demands the right for them to travel peacefully on the free seas, and demands an acknowledgment of this right from Germany. American correspondents retain the right to remain in Germany, according to the Prussian-American treaty of 1798."

The Nieuwes Van Den Dag says:

"In any case the fact remains that if America goes to war the magnificent ships which are the pride of Germany's merchant fleet are lost for Germany. They would surely be most welcome as an increase to the entente's merchant fleet, and Germany would then be able to torpedo her own fine ships."

—

HOLLAND STOPS TRAFFIC WITH ENGLAND.

LONDON, *February 6.*

The port authorities of Holland have been notified, according to a Reuter dispatch from The Hague, that, until further notice, Dutch steamers will not be allowed to proceed to England.

The Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant says that several shipowners have received the following telegram from The Hague: "The naval staff announces that the German Admiralty has informed them that Dutch ships, which had already left North America on February 1 for English ports will be allowed to pass thereto, but can not leave those ports without risk." The Courant adds that as the telegram was not clear some of the shipowners have gone to The Hague to seek an explanation.

The Dutch Legation in Paris issued the following public notice to-day:

"All Dutch subjects having military obligations to fulfill, whether in the militia reserve or territorials, must present themselves without delay to the Dutch consulate."

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FEAR WILSON'S PEACE VIEWS—SOME RUSSIANS THINK HIS INFLUENCE IN NEGOTIATIONS WILL NOT BE WELCOME.

[Special cable to the New York Times.]

PETROGRAD, *February 6.*

[Dispatch to the London Daily Chronicle.]

Russian opinion was very agreeably surprised by the rupture between America and Germany. The general impression is one of unqualified pleasure and all speculations as to the possible consequences of the German submarine campaign are completely obscured by the moral effect of Wilson's act.

Numbers of statesmen, including the minister for foreign affairs, M. Pokrovsky, M. Sazonoff, and Count Kokovtsoff, have expressed their views on the probable results of American intervention. For the most part they confine themselves to an estimate of the measures by which America could actively help the allies in the event of a declaration of war. Pokrovsky declines to forecast the future and dwells on the moral effect of the rupture of diplomatic relations. I am bound to add, however, that in some quarters a certain anxiety is expressed lest America's participation in the peace negotiations should have the effect of rather tying the hands of the entente powers in the matter of the reconstruction of Europe. This attitude must be regarded as the result of the impression left on many minds by Wilson's peace notes.

Among the comments the most interesting are those which attempt to give a national estimate of Germany's desperate action. Deputy Rodicheff, for instance, considers that the German declaration of merciless submarine warfare was either a gesture of insanity or was an intentional provocation of America in the hope of a speedy conclusion of peace. The Novoe Vremya develops this view more fully. The German Government, it assumes, was driven to despair, but for dynastic reasons dared not give up the struggle and accept the allies' terms. Its declaration of merciless submarining, the paper says, was directly calculated to provoke action on the part of America, so that with the whole world made hostile it could turn to its people and demonstrate the physical and moral impossibility of continuing the war.

TO INSURE FOREIGN SHIPS—SWEDEN ADOPTING MEASURES TO ENCOURAGE IMPORTS.

STOCKHOLM, *February 6.*

The first step for the encouragement of imports has been taken by the Riksdag by the adoption of a bill materially extending the powers of the State Insurance Commission. This commission was empowered, under the law of July, 1915, to insure Swedish vessels only for an amount not exceeding 80 per cent of their value, and in no case exceeding 2,000,000 crowns for steamers and 200,000 crowns for sailing vessels, at a premium rate not exceeding 7 per cent.

The new measure permits the insurance of foreign vessels as well as Swedish, and the commission may insure for the full value of the vessel and cargo. No maximum is set. The new law removes the limitation on the premium rate and authorizes the commission also to issue accident policies for masters and seamen.

The shipping companies are still waiting to see what the next few days will bring forth.

The railway authorities have decided to withdraw, beginning February 10, passenger trains having runs aggregating 13,000 kilometers daily.

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ATHENS GREATLY EXCITED—SOME PAPERS SEE IN OUR MOVE CUTTING OFF OF THEIR FOOD SUPPLIES.

[Special cable to the New York Times.]

ATHENS, *Monday, February 5.*

[Dispatch to the London Daily Chronicle.]

The rupture of diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany, reported here at a late hour last night from a German source, created great excitement. All papers comment on the situation at length this morning; the opinions vary a good deal. Embros thinks the rupture would not affect the provisioning of Greece, as the danger for Greek vessels would be the same after such an event as they are now. The Nea Himera, on the other hand, believes the consequences for Greece will be very disagreeable, as the food supplies for the country come mainly from the United States, and, in addition, all emigration will cease.

The Greek press has been placing great faith in Wilson's ability to bring about peace, and all newspapers point out with regret that his efforts have come to an end with the breaking of diplomatic relations. Chronos, a military organ, argues that the rupture will increase the prestige of the central empires, because they stand forth as a terrible and invincible colossus, standing up against their adversaries, greatly superior in force. On this point Embros says the entry of the United States into the war will be of great moral value to the entente, and that it is not impossible that other neutral states, especially Spain, will follow the example.

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ROME LOOKS TO NEUTRALS—HOPES OTHERS WILL FOLLOW THE EXAMPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

[Special cable to the New York Times.]

ROME, *February 6.*

Many citizens of neutral countries living here, especially Spaniards, Swiss, and South Americans, strongly sympathize with President Wilson's attitude and are using all their influence to induce their respective countries to follow the American lead, which is expected to make a league of neutral states master of the situation.

The Tribuna says: "The present moment furnishes an excellent chance for the neutrals to use their influence not to enlarge the conflict but to bring to reason the German Kaiser and his generals and statesmen."

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ROME, *February 5 (via Paris, delayed).*

All the newspapers comment extensively on the German-American crisis and express the hope that neutrals without exception will associate themselves with the United States. The attitude of America has influenced subscriptions to the fourth war loan, which opened to-day, it being felt that intervention of the United States would hasten the conclusion of the war.

Ambassador Page has received many letters from soldiers at the front, some of them written in English by Italians who formerly lived in America, expressing approval of the attitude of Washington.

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BARS SHIPS FROM SPAIN—BUT GERMANY WILL ALLOW THOSE ON WAY TO ENGLAND TO REACH THERE.

LONDON, *February 6.*

Reuter's Madrid correspondent cables that the note of the Spanish Government to the central powers will be delivered to-day and published in Madrid to-morrow.

The Correspondencia de Espana announces that Germany has consented to allow Spanish fruit ships now on their way to England with safe conducts to reach their destinations, but can not allow them to return to Spain.

The minister of marine has instructed the authorities at all ports to allow no ship to clear unless provided with proper appliances for saving life in the event the vessel is sunk.

The cruiser *Catalonia* is guarding the entrance to Las Palmas Bay to prevent the German and Austrian ships moored there from leaving. No vessel is allowed to enter or leave port between sunset and sunrise.

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DENMARK TO SAY NO—WILL TELL PRESIDENT POSITION OF AMERICA IS DIFFERENT, IT IS SAID.

[Special cable to the New York Times.]

COPENHAGEN, *February 6.*

According to an authentic report, the Danish Government's reply to President Wilson's note will say that there is so great a difference between the position of the United States and that of Denmark that no comparison is possible, and that the three Scandinavian Governments are consulting together in Stockholm on the basis of international law about their attitude to the new German blockade.

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SWISS ANSWER NEGATIVE—COUNCIL'S REPLY TO PRESIDENT WILSON WIRED TO WASHINGTON.

LONDON, *February 6.*

Switzerland, says a Berne dispatch given out by the Wireless Press to-day, has sent a negative reply to President Wilson's invitation to follow the lead of the United States in breaking off diplomatic relations with Germany.

GENEVA, *February 6.*

President Wilson's special note to the Swiss Government inviting it to join the United States in action regarding Germany was discussed at length at an extraordinary meeting of the federal council. The text of the Swiss reply has been telegraphed to Washington and will be published here as soon as received by President Wilson. The Swiss Telegraphic Agency says that the report that Switzerland will take charge of German and Austrian interests in the United States is premature, although the federal council will probably accept the task.

Commenting on President Wilson's communication to Switzerland, the Journal de Genève says:

"Switzerland is bound by engagements differing from those of America, whose neutrality does not depend upon formal treaties. In these circumstances it can not be admitted that Switzerland can follow President Wilson and, without solidarity with other neutrals and without direct provocation, break either her relations with Germany or engagements entered into by Switzerland during the war, or abandon the multiple international interests which represent at present the clearly expressed will of the Swiss people.

"That, however, is not a reason to prevent Switzerland from protesting strongly to Berlin and Vienna against measures which threaten neutral commerce, and there is no doubt that the federal council will make its voice heard."

The Neue Zuricher Zeitung says that President Wilson's action was the only solution to the situation caused by the German note. It remarks that the fact that execution would follow the German threat within a few hours left the United States no time to protest. The Zeitung regards the situation as most serious and looks for a declaration from President Wilson announcing reprisals that he will resort to in the event of Germany putting her threats into execution.

Votes in Some of the Woman-Suffrage States.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY I. EMERSON,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 10, 1917.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, I desire to give some facts and figures in votes for some of the woman-suffrage States of the Union.

In analyzing the election returns, it is found that women voters responded loyally to the appeal not to give support to Mr. Wilson because of his opposition to national woman suffrage. In Illinois, the only State where the vote of women is counted separately, over 70,000 more women voted against Mr. Wilson than for him. Mr. Wilson received 58,578 less women's votes than did Mr. Hughes. The combined Socialist and Prohibition vote cast by women in Chicago and Cook County alone was 10,783, making the total woman's vote against Mr. Wilson throughout the State well over 70,000.

Illinois was conceded to the Democrats some weeks before the election by Republicans and Democrats both. Both parties agreed that the large woman's vote of that State would go to President Wilson because of his peace record. Months of work by the Woman's Party told, however, and on election day the expected landslide to Wilson did not take place, because of the counter appeal the Woman's Party had spread over the State that "Wilson kept us out of suffrage."

In none of the other suffrage States can the woman's vote be separated from that of the men. In Nevada, however, such a close parallel exists between the 1914 and 1916 elections that results there are almost equally conclusive. The successful Democratic candidate for the United States Senate received in 1914 in Nevada about 8,000 votes. In 1916 about 12,000 new women voters voted for the first time, but the successful Democratic candidate for United States Senate in 1916, with the men's vote having meanwhile increased and the party alignment far more favorable to the Democrats than in 1914, received only 12,700 votes, showing that women voted against Senator PITTMAN at least 3 to 1. Without doubt Nevada women voted against Mr. Wilson in nearly the same proportions, according to the election returns.

While 10 of the suffrage States went for Wilson, they did not do so, as has been claimed, by the woman's vote. It must be remembered that rock-ribbed Republican New Hampshire, where men only vote, and Ohio went Democratic. Mr. Wilson received in the suffrage States almost the solid labor vote, the Progressive and the farmers' vote. The popular majority which Mr. Wilson received in the 12 suffrage States amounted to only 27,000 in round numbers out of a popular vote, according to the latest returns, of more than 5,350,000 in the same States. Moreover, in each of these States the men outnumbered the women; in some by more than 2 to 1. In these States the landslide of the Progressive, the labor, and the farmer's vote to Wilson was sufficient to give most of these States to him by narrow margins, despite the fact that hosts of women who would normally have supported him refused to do so because of his suffrage record. In a very close election Oregon and Illinois with 34 electoral votes were carried against President Wilson in spite of the Wilson landslide, undoubtedly in great part by means of the woman's vote.

The High Cost of Living.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS D. SCHALL,
OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 10, 1917.

Mr. SCHALL. Mr. Speaker, as the brilliant English writer, H. G. Wells, opines, things keep on keeping on. Even in our memories, the old familiar order of things has passed away. Minneapolis celebrated its fiftieth birthday last month. It is a big city, a beauty spot. It has lost its provincial ways. But it is not so long ago that herd boys were convoying their several herds through its streets to pasturage, and brought the milk to our doors in its coverless tin pail. Now, the one-cow milkman, the small dairy, has been eaten up by the big competitors, two or three companies, who control the price of milk.

The countrywoman does not ride in with her eggs and butter on top of the load any more, when her man comes to town. The creameries handle her cream and the big produce companies sweep up her eggs.

The little gristmills, that once clacked briskly all through the country, are silent, idle, and dilapidated. The small tobacco shop, fuel company, bakery even, are yielding before the advance of the big fellows. The day of the small enterprise has almost passed away. All of which has its advantages, but all of which tends to center price control outside of the hands of the people.

The cost of living began to increase some 10 or 15 years ago. At that time a 5-cent soup bone was a meal. Now there is no such thing. Cautiously, stealthily, one article after another began to add a cent or two on the pound, the box, or the gallon. The purchasing power of our dollar began to dwindle. The steady procession changed to a run, a gallop, a mad rush. Now it is a giddy scramble to see which can rise to the most outrageous height.

The subject served to spice up a new set of jokes, but it has long ceased to be a joke to the poor man on a small salary, the widow with a little fixed income from a few bonds or invested money. The newspaper man in the small town, the retail grocer, the butcher, the baker, and the dressmaker feel the tug of diminished profits first. They are the buffers to receive the angry protests of outraged consumers. Obliged to raise profits or go out of business, they are the ultimate and obvious price raisers, who get the heavy end of the blame and the abuse that belong to quite another division of this orgy of price raising.

There has not been a regular rise in the level of prices. The rise in pay lags behind the rise in prices. The cost of commodities has gone up quickly, of wages slowly. The rise in prices hits all classes, while the rise in wages hits only a few. This great current of wealth is sweeping into the coffers of a few. So strikes and demand for higher wages add to the vicious circle.

The following table from Bradstreet's gives the increase in prices for the last four years:

	1912	1916
Flour, per barrel	$4.65	$8.40
Beans, per 100 pounds	4.95	9.45
Potatoes, per 180 pounds	1.50	2.75
Sugar, per pound	.049	.08
Lard, per pound	.10	.15

Further comparisons are made in Current Opinion, October, 1916:

Bread that was 5 cents, is 10 cents.
Sugar was 22 pounds for a dollar, now 12 pounds for $1.
Steak was 18 cents, now 32 cents.
Veal was 15 cents, now 25 cents.
Butter was 20 cents. now 40 cents.
Eggs now 45 cents.

Clothes, shoes, wool, cotton, and silk have advanced from 20 to 40 per cent. Lumber that was $15 to $25 a thousand is now

selling at from $28 to $60 a thousand. Wood that was $4 a cord is now $10. Flour that was $5 a barrel three years ago is $10.50 a barrel now. Sugar was 6 cents a pound post hominum memoriam; it is 8¾ cents a pound now. The price of sandwiches and pie and beans in restaurants has joined the aeroplaning crew. Catsup and bread and butter are charged for extra.

Many and various are the causes adduced for the present abnormal level of prices. One factor that is always present is the undeniable upward trend of prices. High prices were an alarming fact long before the war. A mass of serious literature considering the subject was in print by 1911. People tend to live better, to require pure food, demand quicker service. Women want their goods, even down to a spool of thread, or three different purchases in a day, delivered instanter. The item of delivery, with its special messengers, automobile service, numerous trips, and reduplication adds greatly to the cost of modern living. Better conditions for workers in the way of hours, window lighting, and sanitation of buildings all cost money and tend to elevate prices.

But this alone would not cause prices to attain the present level.

The war has interposed itself as a grim, gigantic factor, disturbing the whole normal world to its very foundation, and affecting supply and demand in countless conceivable and inconceivable ways. The diversion of an army of men from production to destruction, the migration of nations to the front, the slaughter of millions, the absolute waste of money going up in powder and shot, are all factors that bear directly on the labor end of the problem. Immigration has dropped off. They tell us that labor is scarce, therefore high. All this apart from the demand for our exports from abroad. What goes over the sea can not be used here. The vast quantities of foodstuffs shipped to Europe have reduced the supply in this country. The first nine months of 1914 exports of breadstuffs amounted to $172,000,000; in 1916, $337,000,000.

Three hundred million bushels of potatoes have been exported this year.

Producing energy, both here and in Europe, is diverted to one special line, namely, munitions and kindred war needs. Aside from legitimate and natural rise of prices due to the war there has been an attendant sympathetic increase. The war is made an excuse of where real reason or necessity for boosting prices is absent.

A partial factor is found in the crop shortage of last season. The long, cold, rainy spring, the excessive dry hot spell, then the heavy rainfall just at the time to develop rusts and smuts; last, a frost so early as to prevent corn and fruit from ripening, all combined to produce not only a shortage of crops but also an inferior crop.

This condition, combined with the deluge of gold flowing into this country from Europe, worked to make high prices higher. For where gold is plentiful and crops are scanty the tendency will be to boost the value of the scarce commodity.

Another factor contributing to present high prices is the beef shortage. Individual producers of beef have been frozen out by the high-handed methods of the packing houses. Cash price and newspaper price vary so dishearteningly that it does not pay to raise beef. The stock raiser gets around 4 cents a pound for his beef; the consumer pays 20 to 30 cents. As the grazing land became less in extent a custom sprang up of driving young herds of beef cattle across from Mexico in the spring and selling them in the fall. But the war in Mexico has put an end to the cattle business. It will take 10 years after the war ceases before Mexico can be counted as a source for young beef. A still further element in the beef situation is the enormous loss of live stock through drought in summer and storms in winter. Only the Government can afford to forefend against conditions of such magnitude. Here, as Kipling says, is another story we have not time to dwell on.

Loss of live stock through frequent plagues and diseases might be overcome by the adoption of such a system of veterinary service as they have in Europe. To be sure, one of the principal aims of the Department of Agriculture has been to increase the production of meat. Their endeavors have been along the line of prevention of disease and of improving the breed. Sheep scabies, cattle scabies, cattle tick, hog cholera, are all coming under control, due to the efforts of this department.

Cattle raising in every part of the United States received a setback when in the quarantine in Chicago for hoof-and-mouth disease thousands of blooded animals, the best of the flock, were shot. These animals came, on invitation, to the cattle show from uninfected localities. But no step has ever been taken to recompense their owners.

A factor which has contributed heavily to the present crisis is lack of transportation facilities and exorbitant and prohibitive transportation costs. All over the West fruit was allowed to rot because it cost more to box and ship than to let it lie. There was more profit in cider at 30 cents a gallon than in apples at $3 a barrel when cost of handling and freight to the East had to be deducted. So that is why the city man pays $6 a barrel for apples if he is rich or reckless enough to buy that quantity. The railroads are ready with a plan of increasing demurrage and per diem charge in order to relieve car shortage. And they are about to raise the cry, according to the Railway Review, that the car shortage is due to old-style equipment, is too slow; therefore they need more money for new engines.

I must pay my respects to those Members from corn States who see in this exigency a necessity for pressing their bill to legalize putting impurities into flour. They affirm that a cheaper bread will result. A cheaper quality does not guarantee a lower price. Along with Congressman GEORGE R. SMITH and ex-Gov. John Lind I voiced my opposition against this measure before the committee last year. I said then and I say now this mixed product will not furnish a cheaper food. As well put oleomargarine on the market for butter because it is cheaper.

Blame for present conditions does not lie with the farmer. He gets 2 and 3 cents a quart for milk he sends to town, while the city man pays 9 to 15 cents for a pale imitation of a quart of it. The farmer is glad to get 85 cents a bushel for potatoes at the same time that the city man is paying $2. The farmer's profits are very little in advance of what they were two years ago, because labor, fertilizer, and machinery have risen so prodigiously. If the farmer got half the price the city man pays for his food, he could afford to pay high wages to his hired man. The farmer has to take the lean years, the mortgage years, without help and without grumbling. That is why he protests against an embargo as falling heaviest on him. He says there is no necessity of declaring a further embargo than the railroads have already declared.

Most comprehensive and far-reaching suggestions are embodied in the report of the New Zealand Commission, which are in outline as follows:

Municipalization of markets.
Encouragement of small holdings of land.
Abolition of duty on foodstuffs.
Vocational education.
Improvement of Government statistics.
Supply of money outstripping trade.

The creation of State market departments are being urged in many cities.

A report sent out from New York says:

A central market was advocated here by John J. Dillon, commissioner of the State department of foods and markets, who declared that such a market so situated that steamships might unload directly under its roof, while railroads might be connected with it through spurs, would do more to reduce the present soaring prices than any other expedient. By eliminating the excessive cost of rehandling food prevailing prices for food would be reduced.

The market and credit conference at Chicago on December 9 sent to Congress the following resolutions:

We urge upon Congress municipal abattoirs and cooperatively owned packing plants. We recommend that the market service of the office of markets be extended to include all farm products. We believe that the office of markets should require all handlers of farm products to report prices, receipts, and supplies on hand.

We recommend that the Agricultural Department extend its work of establishing market grades to cover all farm products and that in each of the principal markets official inspectors enforce the use of official grades. We recommend that the States promote organization among farmers.

All suggestions of relief bear upon the one great problem of marketing, of distribution. When the parcel post was first talked of, its advocates hoped that it would speedily become a channel of distribution. I am heartily in favor of enlarging and improving the parcel post, and so voted last year when the Madden amendment was up for consideration. No man can foresee the future benefits and possibilities of the parcel post to farmers. But the vista should not be in any way restricted.

Germany has solved the food problem. Her rural-credit system gave cheap money and fertilizer to the farmer long before the war was under way. Food is just as important as bullets, and Germany owes her ability to hold out as much to her economic forethought as to her military preparedness. England would be in a precarious condition were it not for her command of the seas. In this last deadly grapple her very life depends upon her maintaining this command. The biggest lesson of preparedness to us should be to learn to be sufficient unto ourselves, to feed ourselves, to furnish all our needs, to be self-supporting, in America for the American. We must evolve an adequate national food policy. Embargoes, investigations, indictments, and boycotts are only temporary. They do not go to the root of the matter. We want a cure, not a palliative; something which will delve deep below the surface, organize our whole system, and render food strikes forever unnecessary.

But all causes put forth only skirt the one big cause of high prices. There is a gradually tightening ring about the throat of our cities. Its clutch is spreading to every village, every farming community. No branch of the necessities of life, from food to fuel and clothing, is free from its effects. It is the great big menace of the present, a new octopus, a Frankenstein, the product of the times, a monster that its maker can no longer control. That is the universal Food Trust, which manipulates markets, holds food in cold storage for a rise in price. The agents of this Food Trust were sent all over the United States to buy up pumpkins, potatoes, cucumbers, apples, and other fruits and vegetables for cash, and then allowed them to rot unpicked in order to cause a shortage and increased prices. The cost of living is higher here than it is in the belligerent countries. Eggs are being shipped from England to sell in the Chicago market, with millions of dozens of eggs in cold storage there.

At Peoria, Ill., 28 carloads of potatoes were dumped into the river. In Minnesota when a coal famine occurred in the little towns, due to lack of freight cars, the railroads averred, there were any number of cars loaded with coal on the sidetracks. With my guide, I walked along and counted on the Northern Pacific tracks 32 cars loaded with coal and marked "hold." This was the situation: The dealers had made contracts for delivery when the price was under what it later developed to be. Consequently they were unwilling to make deliveries under the contracts when they could force a sale under the advance price. In the Minneapolis Tribune of November 22 the following appeared:

B. L. Brundage, a farmer of Gary, Ind., sold his pumpkin crop for cash. When the crop ripened he tried to find the buyer and learned that the name and address given were fictitious. A combination to raise the price of beans exists. Large quantities of canned and bulk beans are being held in Norfolk, Va., and Saginaw, Mich., which has increased the price of beans 60 per cent in the last six months.

The greed, the selfishness, the cruelty, that would encourage such waste is unthinkable. High prices have reached a point almost beyond the endurance of the American people. They have affected seriously the welfare of workers everywhere. Proper and sufficient food is the most vital necessity of our people. It is one of the ironies of the situation that the poor are urged to eat less in order to reduce the cost of living, and sprightly diet squads experiment to see if it really is necessary to spend more than 25 cents per day for food. The fact is the poor have retrenched, willy-nilly, and the result is an ever-increasing wave of pellagra and kindred diseases, directly traceable to insufficient and improper food.

Is there no way to get together, put our backs against the avalanche of descending dollar values? What is to become of our middle class, our laboring class, if this level of prices continues? The strife that has slumbered for so long between class and mass must with this new fuel burst forth into fresh strikes, riots, and revolution. Already we hear sharp evidence of discontent. Each day we read of new labor demands, refusals by capital, and resulting strikes. The air is full of speculation, disquiet, and doubt. We live in troublous times; a time of wealth and squalid poverty, extravagance and misery, ostentation and wretchedness, dishonesty and trickery.

If a monopoly has control of our food supply, what course have we but to pay the price they demand? If a time comes when personal gain is too exacting, when the burden is past all bearing, private enterprise can not complain if the Government step in. Greed that can not curb itself, history has ever shown, will inevitably suffer a curb.

Armor-Plate Plant at Knoxville, Tenn.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD W. AUSTIN,

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

February 12, 1917.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker, now that we are considering the naval appropriation bill, it will not be out of order to call attention to the proposed construction of the armor-plate plant authorized by Congress during the last session. The board appointed by the Secretary of the Navy, headed by Admiral Fletcher, will at an early date personally visit and examine the sites or locations suggested, with a view of making a recommendation to the Secretary of the Navy, who is clothed with power to make the final decision. I believe a full, thorough, and impartial investigation, which we are to have, will result in the selection of Knoxville, Tenn., pronounced by President Lincoln, whose anniversary birthday is being observed throughout the United States to-day, as—

the most central or converging point in the more defensible mountain districts where the seven States of North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and West Virginia come together.

The statement by the War College Division of the General Staff, made September 11, 1915, emphasizes the importance of the location of supply depots, arsenals, munition plants, and so forth, west of the Appalachian Mountains, which brings Knoxville within its recommendation as to location.

In conclusion, I wish to call attention to the impartial and disinterested opinion of the Detroit Free Press, in its issue of May 29, 1916, which makes Knoxville the ideal place for the armor-plate plant:

For the benefit of the impartial citizen, interested in securing the best place, here are the several points:

HAS NATURAL DEFENSES.

Knoxville lies in the center of a valley 60 to 80 miles wide and 250 miles long.

The outer rim of this valley in all directions is protected with rugged mountains, the highest lying between Knoxville and the seacoast. The approach from Knoxville to these mountains is comparatively gradual, but on the coastal side it is abrupt and furnishes a defense against attack from the outside.

RAW MATERIALS.

Raw materials are there in abundant quantities, such as aluminum, coal, copper, cotton, iron, limestone, manganese, zinc, etc., used in the making of arms and munitions.

The city is close to the great hydroelectric plant which it is proposed the Government shall erect to extract nitrate from the air.

Furthermore, in the manufacture of explosives several chemicals that are largely used are obtained as by-products from coal and copper. Sulphuric acid is being extensively produced in the district, and the undeveloped water power of the territory is enormous.

In addition to all this, Knoxville is the exact center of the territory of the eastern United States—the territory to which munitions will have to be shipped in time of war.

Niagara Power Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERTRAND H. SNELL,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 13, 1917.

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, the present bill under discussion, in my judgment, is one of the most important measures that have been before us during the present session of Congress, and is worthy of the most careful and considerate attention from each Member of this House. I know of no public question in which the people of the whole country are more earnestly and actively interested than the further development of the undeveloped water powers of this country. We have been told on the floor of this House a great many times of their enormous value, and while I agree as to their potential value, I still maintain that they are not of one dollar actual value as long as they run idle to the sea. And I am one of those men who believe that the people of the present generation should have the opportunity to take advantage of the enormous natural resources with which we have been so abundantly provided. I also well know that it is impossible to do this until there has been some positive progressive legislation along this line.

I want to state in the beginning that I am not in favor of any legislation that gives away any of the people's rights, neither am I in favor of any law which ignores the State of New York or confiscates the rights of the riparian owners along any navigable stream in any State in this Union.

I shall not try to discuss this bill from a legal standpoint, but from the practical common-sense, business standpoint of any man who might be interested in developing power.

WHAT DOES THE GOVERNMENT OWN?

The first question I would want to know if I were interested in the development of any one of these powers is, What does the Federal Government own and what does it propose to sell or lease? If the Federal Government owns the power or all the water, does it own the bed of the stream? If it owns the bed of the stream, does it own the shore to low or high water marks? If it owns it to high-water mark, does it own 1 inch or 10 feet along the shore; and if it does, where do the State and the riparian owner come in? These are practical questions, and questions that must be decided before any man or set of men will develop your powers. That is the reason I asked the

gentleman from Indiana if there was anything in this bill or in existing law that definitely defines what are State rights, what are the Federal rights, what are the rights of the riparian owners. The gentleman replied:

I will state to the gentleman that the position of the committee is that when the Federal authority takes jurisdiction of a water power or of a navigable river that authority supersedes the rights of all riparian owners and whatever rights the State has. That is, the Federal Government will not divide its jurisdiction in a question of this kind with a State.

Still, this same committee, whose chairman made this reply, said in its majority report:

In the opinion of the committee the provisions of the accompanying bill do no violence to any interest, and fully conserve, promote, and protect the rights of the United States, the State of New York, the companies operating at the Falls.

Now, I do not think there is a member of this committee or a man on the floor of this House but who believes that the State of New York and the riparian owners have some rights here, and if they do, no matter how small, I maintain that any legislation that is fair to all parties and of any lasting or permanent benefit to the people of this country must first be based on a proper defining of the rights of the Federal Government, State, and riparian owner.

In considering an important public question like the future development of water power I do not believe it should be considered from the extreme viewpoint of the Socialist or municipal ownership advocate any more than it should be from the sole viewpoint of the individual or corporation desiring to get possession of all the power in the country, but, on the other hand, it should be considered in a sane and sensible manner. Place all the facts of both sides fairly before the House. Do not try to distort them to create a wrong impression, but tell the whole story just as it is and then let the Members of the House make their own decision. Desiring to do this, and for no other reason, I have decided to call your attention to certain statements made when this bill was being discussed by the gentleman from Alabama and the gentleman from Wisconsin in regard to the generation and distribution of electricity in the State of New York and other countries, that in my judgment are neither germane to the proposition, entirely misleading, not founded on actual conditions as they exist, and in many cases show a lamentable lack of real knowledge or comprehension of the subject under discussion.

The gentleman from Alabama, in his impassioned tirade against this bill, says, "It is full of faults." "You can drive a four-horse team through it in a dozen places." If I am not mistaken, you can drive at least a pony cart through his speech in more than one place. He says, "The voice of the inarticulate mass of the people of western New York has come to me to plead against this." I would like to ask this gentleman from Alabama when he became so interested in the people of New York State? Did he show any interest in the people of New York when he voted for the nitrate plant, armor-plate plant, good-roads bill, and several other bills, and then voted for the revenue bill that is intended to make New York State stand practically one-half of it all? Why does he care so much more about what the people of New York pay for their electricity than he does the people of his own district? Why is he spending so much time looking up the prices the people of Buffalo pay for electricity when he does not know the price the people of his own home city pay for similar service. In the city of Buffalo, where he says the people are so shockingly abused, they pay (according to his statement in the RECORD, p. 1916) from $22 to $100 per horsepower. In his own home city of Birmingham, Ala., from power developed on Coosa River the people are paying from $48.75 per horsepower minimum to $487.50 per horsepower maximum. This information was received by wire to-day from a responsible officer in that city. Now, in my judgment, it would be a good idea for the gentleman from Alabama to give some attention to the downtrodden, suffering people in his own district and not shed any more crocodile tears over the people of New York State.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I desire to call your attention to further statements of the gentleman from Alabama, that are not only inconsistent with each other, but can not be confirmed by the actual facts as shown by the reports of the Hydroelectric Commission of Canada for the year 1915, the last one published, and the report of the Public Service Commission of New York for 1914, the last one available. On page 1916 of the RECORD he states as follows:

Over on the American side, at Buffalo, one-fourth of the distance from the point of generation that Toronto is, they are charging $20 to $200 per horsepower, and the basis is 8 cents a kilowatt hour. It is a sliding scale that goes down to about 4 cents. The price on the American side is more than double what is being charged in Canada. And this does not apply to the city of Toronto alone.

This statement not only contradicts itself but shows that the gentleman does not know the subject he is talking about. He states they charge as high as $200 per horsepower; basis, 8 cents per kilowatt hour. Any man who knows electricity and horsepower knows that 8 cents per kilowatt hour is a great deal more than $200 per horsepower. He says they charge as low as 4 cents per kilowatt hour, which is a great deal more than $20 per horsepower, which the gentleman says is the low price. In next column, same speech, he says, "Lowest price per horsepower, Buffalo, is $22 and highest $100." In same column he says, "I have been able to learn of no American consumer who gets power for less than $16 per horsepower." Right in next column, in his exuberance, he says, "Their American competitors are fleecing the people to the extent of a minimum price of $20 a horsepower, right in Niagara, delivered at the company's bus bar." Or, in plain English, he contradicts himself four times in the first five minutes.

Now, let us look for a minute at his statement that they are charging more than double in Buffalo than they are in Toronto. These cities are practically the same size, and in comparing the actual statistics for consumption of electricity of one year, I find as follows: Toronto used 18,843,055 kilowatt hours of electricity at a cost of $623,714, or at an average price of 3.31 cents per kilowatt hour. Buffalo used 39,421,480 kilowatt hours at a cost of $1,489,789, or an average cost of 3.78 cents per kilowatt hour, or at an average cost of 10 per cent more than Toronto, while the distributing company in Buffalo pays a franchise tax, corporation income tax, and a local city and State tax, and the municipal plant of Toronto does not pay one dollar of any name or nature, and it has had some assistance from direct taxation on the people. Therefore, in my judgment, if you added to their present price the additional taxes an American company has to pay, with a proper depreciation and sinking-fund charge, to the Toronto municipal plant the people of Buffalo, on the average price of all power used in that city, are not paying a single fraction more than the people of Toronto.

For further information of the committee, I beg to submit the following table showing the average price paid per kilowatt hour in the seven largest places in Ontario supplied by the hydroelectric commission during the year 1915, and seven cities in New York State during the year 1914 (last statistics available), and all supplied by privately owned public utility companies that pay franchise tax, corporation income tax, and local city and State tax as against the tax-exempt municipal-owned plants in Canada:

	Cents.
Toronto, year 1915, average price per kilowatt hour	3.31
Ottawa, year 1915, average price per kilowatt hour	3.4
Hamilton, year 1915, average price per kilowatt hour	2.9
London, year 1915, average price per kilowatt hour	2.9
Brantwood, year 1915, average price per kilowatt hour	3.65
Berlin, year 1915, average price per kilowatt hour	3.34
Stratford, year 1915, average price per kilowatt hour	4.21
STATE OF NEW YORK.	
Niagara Falls, year 1914, average price per kilowatt hour	1.7
Buffalo, year 1914, average price per kilowatt hour	3.78
Geneseo Light & Power Co., year 1914, average price per kilowatt hour (distributes in several small towns)	1.74
Rochester, year 1914, average price per kilowatt hour	2.14
Syracuse, year 1914, average price per kilowatt hour	3.53
Utica, year 1914, average price per kilowatt hour	2.72
Schenectady, year 1914, average price per kilowatt hour	3.45

The city of Prescott, Canada (which is just across the St. Lawrence River from Ogdensburg in my own district), is furnished current from the Hydroelectric Commission of Canada and paid an average price of 5.4 cents per kilowatt hour, while the city of Ogdensburg, supplied with current from a privately owned company, paid only 3.66 cents per kilowatt hour.

As I said before, these are the actual figures taken from Hydroelectric Commission of Canada's report for 1915 and public service commission's report, State of New York, for 1914, and I leave it to the judgment of the Members of this House whether the statements made by the gentleman from Alabama were true or not when he said that the people of Canada were getting electric current at one-third to one-half the price of the people in New York State.

When the gentleman from Alabama was making his impassioned appeal for the people of New York State, I asked him this question: "Can the gentleman tell how much any of these Canadian cities have lost in distributing this power?" Mr. HUDDLESTON, "They have lost nothing." The detailed report of the 99 municipalities doing business in Canada in 1915 (last published report) shows that 12 municipalities did business at a loss, without making one dollar charge for depreciation or a dollar taxes. It shows, further, that 25 others, or 37 in all out of 99, did not charge one dollar to depreciation account in the year 1915. This committee's report goes on further to state

that they never charge anything to depreciation account during first year's operation. I also find that the Hydroelectric Commission of Canada, exclusive of the municipal plants, has an investment in transmission lines, transformers, meters, etc., of $12,600,000. It has been in operation eight years, has never paid one dollar in any kind of taxes, and only claims to have on hand $634,561 that is applicable for sinking fund, depreciation, and reserve. This amount is only 5 per cent, or just about the amount that should be charged to depreciation each year in such a hazardous business and a business whose plant is subject to such destructive elements as the distribution of electricity.

Later in the same day the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. COOPER] tried to answer my question to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HUDDLESTON]. He said:

Here is a correct statement of the facts taken from the report dated October 31, 1915, of the Canadian Commission. The municipalities own their own distributing systems and sell the power to consumers substantially at cost.

That was no answer to my question. That was simply what the committee said in its report when it was complimenting itself, and the distinguished gentleman would have soon discovered his error if he had taken time to study the itemized reports published in the same book he was quoting from. He goes on further to compare rates, and says:

The average cost for all Ontario was 3.9 cents for domestic and 3.1 cents for commercial current. In this country for the electric power generated at the same cataract the people pay 8, 9, 10, or 12 cents.

This statement is not only absolutely unfair, but it creates a false impression, for the gentleman compares the average price paid by all kinds of consumers for both manufacturing and lighting in Canada with the highest price paid by the individual consumer in an extreme case for lighting, and I can not find a place where anyone pays as high a price as he quotes for lighting.

This same gentleman from Wisconsin said in his discussion of the Falls development:

At this point let me direct attention to important testimony, still unprinted, which was taken day before yesterday before the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Secretary of War Baker said:

"Gen. Black has handed me some figures showing that 20,000 cubic feet per second used below the Falls would develop 600,000 horsepower, while the same diversion of water as now used develops 250,000 horsepower, showing that the gain from using the same water below instead of above would be about 75 per cent, or 150 per cent."

This statement in itself, or in any explanation he made of it, meant absolutely nothing to the Members of this House, and I do not believe that it meant anything to the gentleman himself or to the Secretary of War when he made it to the committee. Then the gentleman goes on to read a lengthy report of a hydroelectric company in Switzerland, which also meant nothing to the Members of this House as far as this discussion is concerned, for no one knew anything about the kind or quality of service the company was giving or the conditions under which it was being operated, the last part of which statement, referring to prices, I will quote:

Prices for a 500-volt current for industrial purposes are quoted per kilowatt hour as follows: For the first 10,000 kilowatt hours, $0.0214; 10,001 to 20,000 kilowatt hours, $0.019; 20,001 to 30,000 kilowatt hours, $0.0166; 30,001 to 50,000 kilowatt hours, $0.0142; 50,001 to 80,000 kilowatt hours, $0.0119; 80,001 to 120,000 kilowatt hours, $0.0107; 120,001 to 150,000 kilowatt hours, $0.0099; 150,001 and more kilowatt hours, $0.0095.

This is a statement of rates for industrial purposes, which to me means manufacturing.

Now, once more, if the gentleman had given careful consideration to this subject and had translated these prices per kilowatt hours to prices for horsepower per year—what he was talking about earlier in his remarks, when he was lamenting over the charges at Buffalo and said:

For the power at Niagara the lowest rate in Buffalo is $22 per horsepower, from which the price ranges as high as $100 per horsepower. The lowest price paid there that anyone could find—and I take this from my colleague, Mr. HUDDLESTON, who told me that it was the result of his inquiry—the lowest price charged there to an American consumer was $16 per horsepower—

He would have discovered that the prices quoted by him for industrial purposes, in this model municipal Swiss plant, ranged from $61.75 per horsepower to $139.10, or an average of nearly twice as much as is being paid, according to his own statement, by his much-abused people of Buffalo.

Mr. Speaker, I have gone into this extensive detail of figures for two reasons: First, to show the glaring discrepancies of the figures quoted by the gentleman from Alabama and the gentleman from Wisconsin, and the false conclusions that they tried to draw from the same; second, to show that it is absolutely foolish to try to make comparisons between public-utility companies by simply comparing rates and paying no attention whatever to the kind or quality of service and the conditions under which the individual companies work and are controlled. In not a single instance during the discussion of this bill have the gentlemen from Alabama and Wisconsin considered anything but the rate, and have given no consideration at all to the really important questions that determine the ultimate price of electric current, namely:

How far has the current been transmitted?

How many times transformed?

How distributed and delivered; whether in small quantities to the individual consumer, involving large losses in the transforming and distribution, large proportionate investment and operating expenses; or whether it is delivered in large blocks of high-voltage power to some near-by place at practically no loss or expense?

The gentleman from Alabama all through his speech tries to create the impression that he is the direct representative of the small user, the small manufacturer; as he says, the common people. He does not care about the large fellow, for he can take care of himself. Now, certainly there is not any electric current distributed to this class of people anywhere in the State of New York that does not come under the public-service commission, and the commission is always open to receive complaints from any justified person and never fails to give such complaints careful consideration.

For the purpose of determining the conditions as they exist in regard to power and rates in the Niagara district, I have examined the public service commission's reports and hearings quite extensively. I find about 95 per cent of all power generated there is used for manufacturing and about 5 per cent for lighting. Also that the commission has never received a complaint from the purchasers of power for manufacturing, and it is a matter of common knowledge that purchasers are very anxious for the power at present prices. As regards the power or current used in Buffalo, there was an investigation made by the public service commission about four years ago and rates reduced to the present level, which the commission characterizes as follows:

These rates were so adjusted as to allow, in addition to operating expenses, only a fair return upon the actual physical property devoted to the purpose of distributing electricity.

And I submit this testimony of the Public Service Commission of New York as to the present rates in the city of Buffalo to refute the charge made by the gentleman from Alabama that these people are being "robbed" and "skinned alive."

The Cline bill is far from satisfactory to me, but perhaps it is a step in the right direction and will lead toward more definite and progressive legislation along this line.

I believe the rights of the Federal Government stop with navigation and national defense, and that their authority ceases with proper legislation along this line. If anyone has a right to charge for use of water it is New York State, and I believe that the State of New York has a perfect right to make any contract she desires with the riparian owners for the use of water in navigable streams in her own State.

Now, just a word about the Hydroelectric Commission of Canada and I am through. This commission and its work have been discussed a great deal in my State, and there is, of course, an honest difference of opinion, not only among competent engineers but also among the people buying electricity. However, I think it is the opinion of the majority of the best engineers that the hydroelectric commission has not as yet proved a great success nor is yet on a sound financial basis. In my own judgment, while it may appear that they are temporarily getting electricity in Canada at a cheaper rate through the hydroelectric commission and municipal ownership than their American neighbors, when they make due allowances for replacements and depreciation, the rapid obsolescence of all electrical equipment, the loss of taxes, and the other aid given the commission and municipalities by the Provincial Government without charge, the credit will be on the side of the New York State town that purchases its electric current from a privately owned and operated utility company under the jurisdiction of a watchful public service commission.

Furthermore, until the Federal Government shows more efficiency than at present in managing its ordinary governmental activities I am absolutely opposed to a general plunge into Government ownership. The Federal Government has all it can attend to managing its naval and military affairs, public buildings, river and harbor improvements, foreign affairs, and a thousand other things connected with a big country like ours that it can not delegate to anyone else without encroaching upon the work and domain of the private individual. And if the time ever does come when the people of the United States desire to try Government ownership I am sure they will not begin by entering upon a business that involves as many complex, difficult, and technical problems as the generation, transmission, and distribution of electricity.

Legislature of West Virginia Indorses the President's Action in Severing Diplomatic Relations With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. M. M. NEELY,

OF WEST VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 10, 1917.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a short resolution adopted by the House of Delegates of West Virginia indorsing the course of this Government in severing diplomatic relations with the Imperial Government of Germany.

The resolution is as follows:

House joint resolution No. 13, indorsing the course of the President of the United States in severing diplomatic relations with the Imperial German Government.

Be it resolved by the House of Delegates of West Virginia (the Senate concurring therein):

First. That we, the Legislature of West Virginia, deeply deploring the international crisis that has called it forth, hereby express our hearty approval of the course pursued by President Wilson and the Department of State at Washington, in severing diplomatic relations with the Imperial German Government, following its note of January 31, repudiating the pledges heretofore given to respect the lives and property of American citizens, and to insure the freedom of the seas. Believing that to submit to a violation of the fundamental rights involved would bring lasting humiliation and a loss of self-respect, we indorse the clear and patriotic declaration by the President of a fixed purpose to invoke the power of the Nation to maintain our honor and independence as a sovereign people. In an hour like the present our usual personal and party differences are leveled before an exalted patriotism; and to maintain its rights and sacred honor among the nations of the earth, we pledge to our Government the united support of the people of West Virginia.

Second. That a copy of this resolution, duly authenticated, be sent to the President of the United States, and a copy to each of our representatives in the Congress of the United States, with the request that they communicate the same to their respective Houses.

Adopted by the house of delegates, February 5, 1917.

ROBERT L. HAMILTON,
Clerk of the House.

Adopted by the Senate, February 5, 1917.

JOHN T. HARRIS,
Clerk of the Senate.

River and Harbor Appropriation Bill.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. SEARS,

OF FLORIDA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 23, 1917.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 20079) making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes.

Mr. SEARS. Mr. Chairman, I arise to oppose the motion made by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. FREAR]. I dislike to take up the time of the committee in speaking against his motion, because I am satisfied his argument will not have much weight. I reach this conclusion because the laborious minority report is only signed by the distinguished gentleman himself. My sole purpose in rising is to correct some of the misstatements he has made. Last year in my speech before this House, in which they kindly gave me 15 minutes to explain the Kissimmee River project, I undertook to explain to the gentleman from Wisconsin what the Kissimmee River was, what it meant to that section of the country, and at that time I said I believed the gentleman was misinformed. This year, however, the gentleman from Wisconsin has again made the same unfair attack on the Kissimmee River project, and I have no comment to make except as follows: After serving two years on the Rivers and Harbors Committee, claiming as he does that he has worked laboriously, I find in a speech delivered on the public-buildings bill the gentleman does not even know where the Kissimmee River is located, for he states that Kissimmee, a little village of two thousand one hundred and some-odd souls, is on a river dry eight months out of the year, when, as a matter of fact, Kissimmee is 85 miles or more from the Kissimmee River. About 2,124 souls is as near the truth as he gets in any statement he makes regarding the Kissimmee River, for I have a telegram from one of our State officers giving the census of Kissimmee, for 1915, which was taken under a State law providing for same, in which he states that the census of Kissimmee for that year was 4,221. The gentleman from Wisconsin only missed it a little over 2,000.

Mr. FREAR. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SEARS. Certainly.

Mr. FREAR. I gave the report in 1910 in all those cases. That is what I stated.

Mr. SEARS. When you gave it you got it from the census of 1910?

Mr. FREAR. That is what I stated in that speech in several places.

Mr. SEARS. Oh, by implication, at least, the gentleman conveyed the impression he was speaking of the present. Of course, I realize the other gentlemen of the House understood that Kissimmee was not such a small place, because it was not possible for anyone in the United States, except possibly the gentleman from Wisconsin, who does not know that Florida is growing more rapidly than any other section of the country, and unless the gentleman wakes up, my friends, "old Rip Van Winkle" may well be on his guard or he will be a back number in comparison with the gentleman from Wisconsin.

The people of this country need these water improvements, and they are going to have them regardless of the newspaper articles condemning these propositions.

This river is about 125 miles long, and the Government has spent on it $35,000. Taking as true, which it is not, the statement of the gentleman that the river is dry eight months out of the year, I submit it to my colleague if a river that has navigation only four months out of a year and still has a commerce of 73,565 tons, with a valuation of over $1,000,000, with only $35,000 spent in improving it, is it not entitled to have the small sum of $47,000 appropriated and thereby make navigation possible throughout the entire year?

The statement that only two steamboats ply this river is not correct. There are four steamers on the river at this time. The gentleman's statement was true some years ago. There are also many launches engaged in the fishing business and numerous boats hauling freight back and forth. As I said in my speech last year, and I do not desire to repeat it and thereby unnecessarily take up your time, I will at this time only say when my colleagues realize that from Kissimmee by boat you can go to Tampa, Pensacola, or Mobile, and that by boat you can go to Miami and Jacksonville, and, if the boat could draw a sufficient depth, to New York, you can realize the importance of this appropriation. I also desire to call your attention to the fact that there is no railroad at present paralleling this river.

Mr. SWITZER. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SEARS. I will.

Mr. SWITZER. Is it not a fact that on many of the northern rivers and the Great Lakes navigation, on account of ice in the winter season, is interfered with two or three or four months? Navigation on some of these streams and on the Great Lakes closes for that length of time.

Mr. SEARS. That is true, I presume.

Mr. SWITZER. I presume that possibly for three or four months, on account of the dry season in the South, there may be no navigation. Is there any particular difference, so far as navigation being closed, on a northern stream than on one in Florida?

Mr. SEARS. The gentleman is absolutely correct, and there is no difference, and should not be any. But I would remind my friend that this river, as stated before, has no railroad paralleling it. There is no railroad within 15 or 20 miles of this river, and, in fact, there is a 15 to 20 mile haul when the river is not navigable; it is never dry; and the only way citizens residing there have to secure their supplies, their groceries, and other freight one or two months instead of eight months out of the year is to haul them with teams. Whether that should be the case or not I will leave it to the fairness of my colleagues to decide. It is your constituents who are moving into this section of the country and buying lands and improving them. It is for them I speak as well as for my own constituents, who have lived there for years. I know this is a worthy project, and I trust the motion of the gentleman from Wisconsin to strike out same will not prevail. I do not care, Mr. Chairman, to now take up more of the time of the House on the appropriation for the Kissimmee River, because I believe the committee will pass it, as it is one of the most worthy projects in this bill. But the New York Sun recently published an editorial in which they start out with "Nothing too trifling for pork chasers. Logging streams and partly dry streams in bill. Representative SPARKMAN asks," and so forth.

They then go on and refer to "creeks sometimes dry," referring to the Kissimmee River. Then they say "Agitation may prevent steal." Then they refer to more little steals, and, in line with the distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin, they under-

take to jump on the South and southern projects and make the statement that this is a sectional bill. The gentleman from Wisconsin denies this, but in his speech on the public-buildings bill he specifically states that the bill was full of sectionalism.

Mr. FREAR. That is a different bill than this one.

Mr. SEARS. It does not matter. It is along the same line. Last year in his discussion on the river and harbor bill the gentleman referred to the fact that southern men were in the saddle, and the New York Sun, taking up that line of argument, tries to get this House to cut out small appropriations throughout the South in order that their large appropriations may be placed in.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Florida has expired.

Mr. SEARS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent for five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SEARS. It may, Mr. Chairman, be of interest to the Members of this House and the country to know just what the facts are. Since we have had river and harbor appropriations, for the 11 Southern States there has been appropriated $128,138,008.14; for 11 Northern States during that same time there has been appropriated $231,460,079.97, or $103,322,071.83 more for 11 of the Northern States than for the 11 Southern States. During that time there has been appropriated for Massachusetts, Michigan, and New York, $137,951,139.61 for rivers and harbors, or approximately $9,000,000 more for those three States than all of the Southern States. I give you the States as follows:

Eleven Southern States.	
Alabama	$9,115,230.60
Arkansas	1,871,501.05
Florida	17,536,579.88
Georgia	15,388,219.57
Louisiana	5,296,829.57
Mississippi	5,848,490.95
North Carolina	11,190,257.92
South Carolina	10,600,636.64
Tennessee	356,853.00
Texas	40,135,890.38
Virginia	10,797,518.58
Total	128,138,008.14
Eleven Northern States.	
Connecticut	$6,799,123.81
Illinois	19,874,736.72
Maine	7,399,565.99
Massachusetts	21,410,898.91
Michigan	59,378,884.50
New Jersey	7,311,272.71
New York	57,161,356.20
Ohio	22,423,769.53
Pennsylvania	5,082,468.73
Rhode Island	8,134,002.82
Wisconsin	16,484,000.05
Total	231,460,079.97
Northern States	231,460,079.97
Southern States	128,138,008.14
Difference	103,322,071.83

Mr. HULBERT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SEARS. I have not much time.

Mr. HULBERT. I wanted to ask the gentleman a brief question, whether he has made any comparison between the numerical representation of the 11 States of the South and the 11 States of the North, and the commercial statistics of the States of the North and the States of the South?

Mr. SEARS. I will get to that in a moment. For New York there has been appropriated for rivers and harbors $57,161,356.20, and in this bill there are appropriations amounting to $2,299,000 for New York City alone. For public buildings for 4 Northern States—Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania—$102,421,481.79 has been appropriated; for 4 Southern States—Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, and South Carolina—$14,977,033.94, or a difference in favor of the 4 Northern States of $87,444,447.85. Showing, Mr. Chairman, that we of the South have not been trying to get all of the "pork."

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield there?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Florida yield to the gentleman from New York?

Mr. SEARS. I regret I can not yield. I want to say right here, and I think this will answer the question that the gentleman from New York would ask, I trust I shall never become so narrow that I will vote against any bill because the appropriation does not affect my district, or solely because it only affects some other Member's district. I trust that I shall not become so narrow that I will vote against any bill because the appropriation goes to the North and does not come to the South. My vision has always been too broad for that, and I will not now become so small that I would fight an appropriation on those grounds. If it was not for the business that we give to the great city of New York—and as a southern man, coming from the extreme South, the land of flowers, I want to say that I am as proud of New York City as the gentleman, Mr. HULBERT, my able colleague, is himself—perhaps New York would not be the great city it is. If these appropriations had not been made in the past, New York could not have handled the business and would not be the city it is to-day. It is such appropriations as contained in this bill that have made large cities possible, and this should teach us, my colleagues, that we should go on with this great work and, by so doing, make other great cities possible.

I want to say that I do not believe the citizens of New York indorse any such editorial as the one I have called your attention to. On the contrary, I believe they rather condemn such editorials. I do not believe the citizens of New York would like to array against them the good merchants of the South, who now go there annually and spend their money for merchandise, and by doing so cause them to spend it somewhere else. Let us all be broad minded. I trust that some day the scales will fall from the eyes of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. FREAR], and instead of being a pessimist of the deepest type he will wake up to optimism and assist us in making this great country of ours even greater. I would rather be an optimist, my friends, and make lemonade out of the lemons in the shape of the misstatements that are persistently spoken by the gentleman from Wisconsin than to be a pessimist trying to find something that would raise a foul stench and vex mankind. I would rather chase the rainbow than watch the snake as he makes his crooked trail through the slush, and filth, and mud. I would rather believe all men are honest until their dishonor is proven than to believe all men are dishonest until their honor has been proven. I would rather believe that my colleagues are not guilty of theft, are not guilty of stealing, are not pork-barrel chasers, simply because they endeavor to get an appropriation for their districts, than to make a charge that this is only a big grab for money and made for the purpose of getting votes and deceiving the people back home. I would rather ask that my colleagues try to make this great country a greater country if possible than to try to drag into disrepute my fellow Members who have simply endeavored to secure for their districts meritorious appropriations. I would not array one section of the country against another for selfish gain, and I fear, though I trust I am mistaken, this must be the sole reason which actuates the gentleman from Wisconsin. I would rather unite my country as one great brotherhood, under one flag, under one Government, under one Nation we all love. [Applause.]

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Florida yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin?

Mr. SEARS. Yes.

Mr. FREAR. The gentleman has referred to me many times, and put many words in my mouth that I did not use.

Mr. SEARS. I have not put any words in the gentleman's mouth. He never lacks for words.

Mr. FREAR. I have told the gentleman that I struck out these items in the North just the same as in the South, and yet if it helps him or helps his constituents I am willing that he should say such things. But, of course, if it helps him I have no objection. He speaks of my standing here in this way. I do, and I get abuse from a lot of people. I am simply doing what I believe to be a public duty. I present from the official reports the conditions that exist, and base my argument entirely on these reports.

Mr. SEARS. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Wisconsin still insists upon making misstatements. If he can point to one single item that he has stricken out in either of the bills since I have been in Congress, I would like to have him do so.

Mr. FREAR. I have not claimed that.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SEARS. Under leave granted me to extend my remarks, as an appendix, solely that the Members may know of some of the criticisms that have been made, I call their attention to an editorial which appeared in the Chattanooga Times, dated Sunday, January 16, 1916:

[From the Chattanooga Times, Sunday, Jan. 16, 1916.]

A Washington dispatch in Saturday's Times gave an instance fairly illuminating what is meant by the "pork barrel" in congressional legislation. The Times says: "Congressman SEARS to-day introduced a bill appropriating $50,000 for a post office at West Palm Beach, Fla." It need hardly be said that Congressman SEARS is from Florida and that West Palm Beach is in his district. We are told that West Palm Beach is somewhat larger than Wauhatchie, but not quite as large as Sherman Heights, and yet the people of the United States are asked to tax themselves $50,000 to build the post office at West Palm Beach,

not to meet the necessities of a popular community but that a Congressman may have a record of doing something for his district—and that is what constitutes the "pork barrel."

The only criticism I care to make or will make as to the above editorial will be to call your attention to the following letter in reply to said editorial:

WEST PALM BEACH—A CHATTANOOGA FRIEND OF THE LITTLE FLORIDA CITY COMES TO ITS DEFENSE.

To the CHATTANOOGA TIMES:

In Sunday's issue of the Times appeared an editorial under the heading of "The Pork Barrel," one paragraph of which I append without copying, which refers to West Palm Beach, Fla.

This editorial unwittingly does so much injustice to that place, to the congressional Representative, Mr. SEARS, and to the fair and impartial editor of the Times, that I am moved to ask its correction, fearing that it may result injuriously to a much needed and deserved improvement in that thriving and most delightful little city in southern Florida.

I do this from two considerations. Your correspondent fully appreciates the power and influence of the able editorials which distinguish the Times, and their wide circulation and weight among thoughtful men, and especially in Washington, and feels, therefore, that such a statement might have a practical bearing against a most prosperous section. The effort of the Florida Representative to accomplish a good work for a constituency so noted, so liberal, so hospitable, and so flourishing as West Palm Beach; and, second, because having last year spent four months in Florida, one of which was at West Palm Beach, and having been so kindly and hospitably entertained there, I owe to that city the grateful obligation to try to avoid for it the inadvertent injury which might be done it by so good a friend as the editor, and so influential a paper as he adorns in editing in my home city.

West Palm Beach is one of the most delightful little cities on the east coast. It has a population of over 5,000 resident people. It has grown greatly, miraculously, since the census of 1910. It has numerous hotels, fine schools, two or three banks (of one a former Tennessean and possibly at one time a neighbor of the editor is president). This gentleman—Mr. Reece—was from upper east Tennessee. There are many Tennesseans there, and it has as fine, wholesome, active, and liberal a citizenship as there is in Florida or any other Southern State. During the late spring and late fall and winter months it has a transient population (getting mail there) of from 10,000 to 20,000.

The post office is a very important, busy affair, and will grow busier with lapse of time, until even a $50,000 post office will be wholly inadequate. The one at present there is, I assume, in a rented building. It is under good management and your correspondent enjoyed courtesies from it which he gratefully remembers, and hopes to enjoy them later in a more commodious and fitting structure, commensurate with the merits of the city and the needs of the Government.

West Palm Beach, just across Lake Worth from Palm Beach proper, is the main residential and business section of the two places. Very few people at present reside in Palm Beach, but residents and business men, of which latter there are many, in many large houses, do much business in Palm Beach across the lake, which is reached by two bridges and innumerable boats. The Continental Hotel is located there—the largest one built by Mr. Flagler—containing 2,200 rooms, and said to be the largest in the world. For the last of the winter months it is thronged by thousands, as are the other hotels, both large and small.

Whatever the demerits of the "pork barrel"—and it has doubtless many—this is not one of them, and I hope your keen sense of propriety and justice will cause you to so correct your admirable article by giving place to this communication.

D. L. SNODGRASS,
Chattanoogan.

I have never met Mr. Snodgrass, but I desire at this time to thank him for the evident spirit of fairness which prompted his reply to said editorial.

Lincoln's War Speech—As a Member of Congress He Freely Criticized the President Who Took Us Into a War With Mexico.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 12, 1917.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, in 1848, when James K. Polk was President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln was a Member of the House of Representatives from the State of Illinois. Although every phase of Lincoln's character will doubtless be discussed throughout the length and breadth of this land on this his natal day, it is nevertheless interesting to here recall that the immortal President, as a Member of Congress, was not afraid to stand up for what he believed to be righteous, even though it became necessary in doing so to criticize a President. Since all things bearing upon Lincoln's life are appropriate for discussion to-day, I take the liberty, in view of the wretched position in which the Government finds itself along the Mexican border in this year of our Lord 1917, to draw attention to Lincoln's speech on the Mexican situation as it appears in the Congressional Globe of January 12, 1848.

It will be observed by those perusing this speech that Lincoln as a Member of Congress did not hesitate to exercise his constitutional right of saying what he thought. "The military glory," which he intimates in this speech might have influenced the President in his declaration of war, does not seem to have materialized after 20 months of strife in Mexico and an increasing anxiety and distress on the part of mothers, wives, and children in the United States. Lincoln also had the opportunity to observe that war was costly as well as destructive. All this, of course, without regard to that momentous war experience into which he was later to be plunged as President of the United States.

LINCOLN WANTED TO BE RIGHT.

Throughout the whole of Lincoln's speech it appears that the Illinois Congressman was not sure that the President was right in declaring war, and that, although he would like to "stand by the President," there was such an uncertainty as to what the war was about that to enter into it on such grounds as the President had given was unjustifiable in justice or patriotism. At this critical period in American history, when influences, more or less subtle, are endeavoring to hurry the United States into a European war, the words of Lincoln may be read with profit:

THE WAR WITH MEXICO.

[Speech of Mr. A. Lincoln, of Illinois, in the House of Representatives Jan. 12, 1848, on the resolutions referring the President's message to the various standing committees.]

Mr. Lincoln addressed the committee as follows:

Mr. Chairman, some if not all the gentlemen on the other side of the House, who have addressed the committee within the last two days, have spoken rather complainingly, if I have rightly understood them, of the vote given a week or 10 days ago declaring that the War with Mexico was unnecessarily and unconstitutionally commenced by the President. I admit that such a vote should not be given in mere party wantonness, and that the one given is justly censurable, if it have no other or better foundation. I am one of those who joined in that vote; and I did so under my best impression of the truth of the case. How I got this impression, and how it may possibly be removed, I will now try to show. When the war began it was my opinion that all those who, because of knowing too little, or because of knowing too much, could not conscientiously approve the conduct of the President (in the beginning of it), should, nevertheless, as good citizens and patriots, remain silent on that point, at least till the war should be ended. Some leading Democrats, including ex-President Van Buren, have taken this same view, as I understand them; and I adhered to it and acted upon it, until since I took my seat here; and I think I should still adhere to it were it not that the President and his friends will not allow it to be so. Besides, the continual effort of the President to argue every silent vote given for supplies into an indorsement of the justice and wisdom of his conduct; besides that singularly candid paragraph in his late message, in which he tells us that Congress, with great unanimity (only 2 in the Senate and 14 in the House dissenting), had declared that "by the act of the Republic of Mexico a state of war exists between that Government and the United States"; when the same journals that informed him of this also informed him that, when that declaration stood disconnected from the question of supplies, 67 in the House, and not 14, merely, voted against it; besides this open attempt to prove by telling the truth what he could not prove by telling the whole truth, demanding of all who will not submit to be misrepresented, in justice to themselves, to speak out; besides all this, one of my colleagues [Mr. Richardson], at a very early day in the session, brought in a set of resolutions expressly indorsing the original justice of the war on the part of the President. Upon these resolutions, when they shall be put on their passage, I shall be compelled to vote; so that I can not be silent if I would. Seeing this, I went about preparing myself to give the vote understandingly when it should come. I carefully examined the President's messages to ascertain what he himself had said and proved upon the point. The result of this examination was to make the impression that, taking for true all the President states as facts, he falls far short of proving his justification; and that the President would have gone further with his proof if it had not been for the small matter that the truth would not permit him. Under the impression thus made, I gave the vote before mentioned. I propose now to give concisely the process of the examination I made and how I reached the conclusion I did.

PRESIDENT'S ATTITUDE WAS MISLEADING.

The President, in his first message of May, 1846, declares that the soil was ours on which hostilities were commenced by Mexico; and he repeats that declaration, almost in the same language, in each successive annual message—thus showing that he esteems that point a highly essential one. In the importance of that point I entirely agree with the President.

To my judgment it is the very point upon which he should be justified or condemned. In his message of December, 1846, it seems to have occurred to him, as is certainly true, that title, ownership to soil, or anything else is not a simple fact, but is a conclusion following one or more simple facts; and that it was incumbent upon him to present the facts from which he concluded the soil was ours on which the first blood of the war was shed.

Accordingly, a little below the middle of page 12, in the message last referred to, he enters upon that task; forming an issue and introducing testimony, extending the whole to a little below the middle of page 14. Now, I propose to try to show that the whole of this—issue and evidence—is, from beginning to end, the sheerest deception. The issue, as he presents it, is in these words: "But there are those who, conceding all this to be true, assume the ground that the true western boundary of Texas is the Nueces instead of the Rio Grande; and that, therefore, in marching our army to the east bank of the latter river we passed the Texan line, and invaded the territory of Mexico." Now, this issue is made up of two affirmatives and no negative. The main deception of it is that it assumes as true that one river or the other is necessarily the boundary, and cheats the superficial thinker entirely out of the idea that possibly the boundary is somewhere between the two, and not actually at either. A further deception is that it will let in evidence which a true issue would exclude. A true issue made by the President would be about as follows: "I say the soil was ours on which the first blood was shed; there are those who say it was not."

CLAIMING SOMETHING THAT WAS NOT OURS.

I now proceed to examine the President's evidence, as applicable to such an issue. When that evidence is analyzed it is all included in the following propositions:

1. That the Rio Grande was the western boundary of Louisiana, as we purchased it of France in 1803.
2. That the Republic of Texas always claimed the Rio Grande as her western boundary.
3. That, by various acts, she had claimed it on paper.
4. That Santa Anna, in his treaty with Texas, recognized the Rio Grande as her boundary.
5. That Texas before and the United States after annexation had exercised jurisdiction beyond the Nueces, between the two rivers.
6. That our Congress understood the boundary of Texas to extend beyond the Nueces.

Now for each of these in its turn:

His first item is that the Rio Grande was the western boundary of Louisiana, as we purchased it of France in 1803; and, seeming to expect this to be disputed, he argues over the amount of nearly a page to prove it true; at the end of which he lets us know that, by the treaty of 1819, we sold to Spain the whole country, from the Rio Grande eastward to the Sabine. Now, admitting, for the present, that the Rio Grande was the boundary of Louisiana, what, under heaven, had that to do with the present boundary between us and Mexico? How, Mr. Chairman, the line that once divided your land from mine can still be the boundary between us after I have sold my land to you is, to me, beyond all comprehension. And how any man, with an honest purpose only of proving the truth, could ever have thought of introducing such a fact to prove such an issue is equally incomprehensible. The outrage upon common right, of seizing as our own what we have once sold, merely because it was ours before we sold it, is only equaled by the outrage on common sense of any attempt to justify it.

A CASE OF CLAIM AGAINST CLAIM.

The President's next piece of evidence is that "the Republic of Texas always claimed this river (Rio Grande) as her western boundary." That is not true, in fact. Texas has claimed it, but she has not always claimed it. There is at least one distinguished exception. Her State constitution—the Republic's most solemn and well-considered act; that which may, without impropriety, be called her last will and testament, revoking all others—makes no such claim. But suppose she had always claimed it. Has not Mexico always claimed the contrary? So that there is but claim against claim, leaving nothing proved until we get back of the claims, and find which has the better foundation.

Though not in the order in which the President presents his evidence, I now consider that class of his statements, which are, in substance, nothing more than that Texas has, by various acts of her convention and Congress, claimed the Rio Grande as her boundary—on paper. I mean here what he says about the fixing of the Rio Grande as her boundary, in her old constitution (not her State constitution), about forming congressional districts, counties, etc. Now, all of this is but naked claim; and what I have already said about claims is strictly applicable to this. If I should claim your land by word of mouth, that certainly would not make it mine; and if I were to claim it by a deed which I had made myself, and with which you had had nothing to do, the claim would be quite the same in substance, or rather in utter nothingness.

PUTTING IT UP TO SANTA ANNA.

I next consider the President's statement that Santa Anna, in his treaty with Texas, recognized the Rio Grande as the western boundary of Texas. Besides the position so often taken that Santa Anna, while a prisoner of war—a captive—could not bind Mexico by a treaty, which I deem conclusive; besides this, I wish to say something in relation to this treaty, so called by the President, with Santa Anna. If any man would like to be amused by a sight at that little thing, which the President calls by that big name, he can have it by turning to Niles's Register, volume 50, page 336. And if anyone should suppose that Niles's Register is a curious repository of so mighty a document as a solemn treaty between nations, I can only say that I learned, to a tolerable degree of certainty, by inquiry at the State Department, that the President himself never saw it anywhere else. By the way, I believe I should not err if I were to declare that during the first 10 years of the existence of that document it was never by anybody called a treaty; that it was never so called till the President, in his extremity, attempted, by so calling it, to wring something from it in justification of himself in connection with the Mexican War. It has none of the distinguishing features of a treaty. It does not call itself a treaty. Santa Anna does not therein assume to bind Mexico; he assumes only to act as the President, commander in chief of the Mexican Army and Navy; stipulates that the then present hostilities should cease, and that he would not himself take up arms, nor influence the Mexican people to take up arms, against Texas, during the existence of the war of independence. He did not recognize the independence of Texas; he did not assume to put an end to the war, but clearly indicated his expectation of its continuance; he did not say one word about boundary, and most probably never thought of it. It is stipulated therein that the Mexican forces should evacuate the territory of Texas, passing to the other side of the Rio Grande; and in another article it is stipulated that to prevent collisions between the armies the Texan army should not approach nearer than within 5 leagues—of what is not said—but clearly, from the object stated, it is of the Rio Grande. Now, if this is a treaty recognizing the Rio Grande as the boundary of Texas, it contains the singular feature of stipulating that Texas shall not go within 5 leagues of her own boundry.

PRESIDENT INDEFINITE AS TO BOUNDARY LINES.

Next comes the evidence of Texas before annexation, and the United States afterwards, exercising jurisdiction beyond the Nueces and between the two rivers. This actual exercise of jurisdiction is the very class or quality of evidence we want. It is excellent so far as it goes; but does it go far enough? He tells us it went beyond the Nueces, but he does not tell us it went to the Rio Grande. He tells us jurisdiction was exercised between the two rivers, but he does not tell us it was exercised over all the territory between them. Some simple-minded people think it possible to cross one river and go beyond it, without going all the way to the next; that jurisdiction may be exercised between two rivers without covering all the country between them. I know a man, not very unlike myself, who exercises jurisdiction over a piece of land between the Wabash and the Mississippi; and yet so far is this from being all there is between those rivers, that it is just 152 feet long by 50 wide, and no part of it much within a hundred miles of either. He has a neighbor between him and the Mississippi—that is, just across the street, in that direction—whom, I am sure, he could neither persuade nor force to give up his habitation; but which, nevertheless, he could certainly annex, if it were to be done, by merely standing on his own side of the street and claiming it, or even sitting down and writing a deed for it.

But next, the President tells us, the Congress of the United States understood the State of Texas they admitted into the Union to extend beyond the Nueces. Well, I suppose they did—I certainly so understand it—but how far beyond? That Congress did not understand it to extend clear to the Rio Grande is quite certain by the fact of their joint resolutions for admission expressly leaving all questions of boundary to future adjustment. And, it may be added, that Texas herself is proved to have had the same understanding of it that our Congress had by the fact of the exact conformity of her new constitution to those resolutions.

COVERED ISSUE "WITH MANY WORDS."

I am now through the whole of the President's evidence; and it is a singular fact that if anyone should declare the President

sent the army into the midst of a settlement of Mexican people, who had never submitted by consent or by force to the authority of Texas or of the United States, and that there and thereby the first blood of the war was shed, there is not one word in all the President has said which would either admit or deny the declaration. In this strange omission chiefly consists the deception of the President's evidence—an omission which, it does seem to me, could scarcely have occurred but by design. My way of living leads me to be about the courts of justice; and there I have sometimes seen a good lawyer, struggling for his client's neck in a desperate case, employing every artifice to work round, befog, and cover up with many words some position pressed upon him by the prosecution, which he dared not admit and yet could not deny. Party bias may help to make it appear so; but, with all the allowance I can make for such bias, it still does appear to me that just such, and from just such necessity, is the President's struggles in this case.

DRAWING THE PRESIDENT OUT.

Some time after my colleague [Mr. Richardson] introduced the resolution I have mentioned I introduced a preamble, resolution, and interrogatories (see CONGRESSIONAL GLOBE, 1st sess. 30th Cong., p. 64) intended to draw the President out, if possible, on this hitherto untrodden ground. To show their relevancy I propose to state my understanding of the true rule for ascertaining the boundary between Texas and Mexico. It is that wherever Texas was exercising jurisdiction was hers; and wherever Mexico was exercising jurisdiction was hers; and that whatever separated the actual exercise of jurisdiction of the one from that of the other was the true boundary between them. If, as is probably true, Texas was exercising jurisdiction along the western bank of the Nueces, and Mexico was exercising it along the eastern bank of the Rio Grande, then neither river was the boundary, but the uninhabited country between the two was. The extent of our territory in that region depended not on any treaty-fixed boundary—for no treaty had attempted it—but on revolution. Any people anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable, a most sacred right—a right which, we hope and believe, is to liberate the world. Nor is this right confined to cases in which the whole people of an existing Government may choose to exercise it. Any portion of such people that can may revolutionize and make their own of so much of the territory as they inhabit. More than this, a majority of any portion of such people may revolutionize, putting down a minority intermingled with or near about them who may oppose their movements. Such minority was precisely the case of the Tories of our own Revolution. It is a quality of revolutions not to go by old times, or old laws; but to break up both and make new ones. As to the country now in question, we bought it of France in 1803, and sold it to Spain in 1819, according to the President's statement. After this, all Mexico, including Texas, revolutionized against Spain; and still later Texas revolutionized against Mexico. In my view, just so far as she carried her revolution by obtaining the actual, willing or unwilling, submission of the people, so far the country was hers and no farther.

WANTED TO JUSTIFY WAR VOTES.

Now, sir, for the purpose of obtaining the very best evidence as to whether Texas had actually carried her revolution to the place where the hostilities of the present war commenced, let the President answer the interrogatories I proposed, as before mentioned, or some other similar one. Let him answer fully, fairly, and candidly. Let him answer with facts, and not with arguments. Let him remember he sits where Washington sat; and, so remembering, let him answer as Washington would answer. As a nation should not, and the Almighty will not, be evaded, so let him attempt no evasion, no equivocation. And if, so answering, he can show that the soil was ours where the first blood of the war was shed—that it was not within an inhabited country, or, if within such, that the inhabitants had submitted themselves to the civil authority of Texas, or of the United States, and that the same is true of the site of Fort Brown—then I am with him for his justification. In that case I shall be most happy to reverse the vote I gave the other day. I have a selfish motive for desiring that the President may do this; I expect to give some votes, in connection with the war, which, without his so doing, will be of doubtful propriety, in my own judgment, but which will be free from the doubt if he does so. But if he can not or will not do this—if, on any pretense, or no pretense, he shall refuse or omit it—then I shall be fully convinced, of what I more than suspect already, that he is deeply conscious of being in the wrong; that he feels the blood of this war, like the blood of Abel, is crying to Heaven against him; that he ordered Gen. Taylor into the midst of a peaceful Mexican settlement purposely to bring on a war; that originally having some strong motive—what I will not stop now to give my opinion concerning—to involve the two countries in a war, and trusting to escape scrutiny by fixing the public gaze upon the exceeding brightness of military glory—that attractive rainbow that rises in showers of blood—that serpent's eye that charms to destroy—he plunged into it, and has swept on and on, till, disappointed in his calculation of the ease with which Mexico might be subdued, he now finds himself he knows not where.

CHALLENGES THE PRESIDENT'S POLICIES.

How like the half-insane mumbling of a fever dream is the whole war part of the late message. At one time telling us that Mexico has nothing whatever that we can get but territory; at another, showing us how we can support the war by levying contributions on Mexico. At one time urging the national honor, the security of the future, the prevention of foreign interference, and even the good of Mexico herself as among the objects of the war; at another, telling us that, "to reject indemnity by refusing to accept a cession of territory would be to abandon all our just demands, and to wage the war, bearing all its expenses, without a purpose or definite object." So, then, the national honor, security of the future, and everything but territorial indemnity, may be considered the no-purposes and indefinite objects of war. But, having it now settled that territorial indemnity is the only object, we are urged to seize, by legislation here, all that he was content to take a few months ago, and the whole Province of Lower California to boot, and to still carry on the war—to take all we are fighting for and still fight on. Again, the President is resolved, under all circumstances, to have full territorial indemnity for the expenses of the war; but he forgets to tell us how we are to get the excess after those expenses shall have surpassed the value of the whole of the Mexican territory. So, again, he insists that the separate national existence of Mexico shall be maintained; but he does not tell us how this can be done after we shall have taken all her territory. Lest the questions I here suggest be considered speculative merely, let me be indulged a moment in trying to show they are not.

PRESIDENT DID NOT CALCULATE THE COST.

The war has gone on some 20 months; for the expenses of which, together with an inconsiderable old score, the President now claims about one-half of the Mexican territory, and that by far the better half, so far as concerns our ability to make anything out of it. It is comparatively uninhabited; so that we could establish land offices in it and raise some money in that way. But the other half is already inhabited, as I understand it, tolerably densely for the nature of the country; and all its lands, or all that are valuable, already appropriated as private property. How, then, are we to make anything out of these lands with this encumbrance on them, or how remove the encumbrance? I suppose no one will say we should kill the people, or drive them out, or make slaves of them, or even confiscate their property? How, then, can we make much out of this part of the territory? If the prosecution of the war has, in expenses, already equaled the better half of the country, how long its future prosecution will be in equaling the less valuable half is not a speculative but a practical question, pressing closely upon us; and yet it is a question which the President seems never to have thought of.

WAR STARTED; NO PEACE IN SIGHT.

As to the mode of terminating the war and securing peace, the President is equally wandering and indefinite. First, it is to be done by a more vigorous prosecution of the war in the vital parts of the enemy's country; and, after apparently talking himself tired on this point, the President drops down into a half-despairing tone, and tells us, that "with a people distracted and divided by contending factions, and a Government subject to constant changes, by successive revolutions, the continued success of our arms may fail to obtain a satisfactory peace." Then he suggests the propriety of wheedling the Mexican people to desert the counsels of their own leaders, and, trusting in our protection, to set up a government from which we can secure a satisfactory peace, telling us that "this may become the only mode of obtaining such a peace." But soon he falls into doubt of this, too, and then drops back onto the already half-abandoned ground of "more vigorous prosecution." All this shows that the President is in no wise satisfied with his own positions. First, he takes up one, and, in attempting to argue us into it he argues himself out of it; then seizes another, and goes through the same process; and then, confused at being able to think of nothing new, he snatches up the old one again, which he has some time before cast off. His mind, tasked beyond its power, is running hither and thither, like some tortured creature on a burning surface, finding no position on which it can settle down and be at ease.

"A BEWILDERED, CONFOUNDED, AND MISERABLY PERPLEXED MAN."

Again, it is a singular omission in this message that it nowhere intimates when the President expects the war to terminate. At the beginning Gen. Scott was, by this same President, driven into disfavor, if not disgrace, for intimating that peace could not be conquered in less than three or four months. But now, at the end of about 20 months, during which time our arms have given us the most splendid successes—every department, and every part, land and water, officers and privates, Regulars and Volunteers, doing all that men could do, and hundreds of things which it had ever before been thought men could not do; after all this, this same President gives us a long message without showing us that, as to the end, he has himself even an imaginary conception. As I have before said, he knows not where he is. He is a bewildered, confounded, and miserably perplexed man. God grant he may be able to show there is not something about his conscience more painful than all his mental perplexity.

APPENDIX.

ARTICLES OF AN AGREEMENT ENTERED INTO BETWEEN HIS EXCELLENCY DAVID G. BURNET, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF TEXAS, OF THE ONE PART, AND HIS EXCELLENCY GEN. SANTA ANNA, PRESIDENT-GENERAL IN CHIEF OF THE MEXICAN ARMY, OF THE OTHER PART.

ARTICLE 1. Gen. Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna agrees that he will not take up arms, nor will he exercise his influence to cause them to be taken up, against the people of Texas, during the present war of independence.

ART. 2. All hostilities between the Mexican and Texan troops will cease immediately, both by land and water.

ART. 3. The Mexican troops will evacuate the territory of Texas, passing to the other side of the Rio Grande del Norte.

ART. 4. The Mexican Army, in its retreat, shall not take the property of any person without his consent and just indemnification, using only such articles as may be necessary for its subsistence, in cases when the owner may not be present, and remitting to the commander of the army of Texas, or to the commissioners to be appointed for the adjustment of such matters, an account of the value of the property consumed, the place where taken, and the name of the owner, if it can be ascertained.

ART. 5. That all private property, including cattle, horses, negro slaves, or indentured persons, of whatever denomination, that may have been captured by any portion of the Mexican Army, or may have taken refuge in the said army, since the commencement of the late invasion, shall be restored to the commander of the Texan Army, or to such other persons as may be appointed by the Government of Texas to receive them.

ART. 6. The troops of both armies will refrain from coming into contact with each other; and to this end the commander of the army of Texas will be careful not to approach within a shorter distance than 5 leagues.

ART. 7. The Mexican Army shall not make any other delay, on its march, than that which is necessary to take up their hospitals, baggage, etc., and to cross the rivers; any delay not necessary to these purposes to be considered an infraction of this agreement.

ART. 8. By an express to be immediately dispatched, this agreement shall be sent to Gen. Vincente Filisola, and to Gen. T. J. Rusk, commander of the Texan Army, in order that they may be apprised of its stipulations; and to this end they will exchange engagements to comply with the same.

ART. 9. That all Texan prisoners now in the possession of the Mexican Army, or its authorities, be forthwith released and furnished with free passports to return to their homes; in consideration of which a corresponding number of Mexican prisoners, rank and file, now in possession of the Government of Texas, shall be immediately released—the remainder of the Mexican prisoners that continue in the possession of the Government of Texas to be treated with due humanity; any extraordinary comforts that may be furnished them to be at the charge of the Government of Mexico.

ART. 10. Gen. Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna will be sent to Vera Cruz as soon as it shall be deemed proper.

The contracting parties sign this instrument for the abovementioned purposes, in duplicate, at the port of Velasco, this 14th day of May, 1836.

DAVID G. BURNET, *President.*
JAS. COLLINGSWORTH,
Secretary of State.
ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA.
B. HARDIMAN,
Secretary of the Treasury.
P. W. GRAYSON, *Attorney General.*

Lincoln and Gettysburg.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. COLEMAN,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 12, 1917.

Mr. COLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, time rolls on. A century has passed and eight years more since Abraham Lincoln was born. More than half a century has gone since the life of that little babe in the fullness of its manhood went out. These years have served to increase our reverence and love for this great and good and gentle man. Yesterday I read, or more correctly, reread "The Perfect Tribute," by Mary Raymon Shipman Andrews, and the thoughts it prompted in conjunction with the inspiring words to which we have this day listened impels me to give expression to some views I hold relative to this greatest battle of the Civil War that caused the utterance of Lincoln's great speech and the writing of the little book to which I have just referred.

It was on the 19th day of November, 1863, at the consecration of the Gettysburg National Cemetery that Lincoln delivered his since famous speech. Everett, who for two hours had entertained the vast throng assembled, hastened to congratulate the President, who seemed to feel that his speech had been a failure, and on receiving congratulations from the President in turn, Everett replied:

I should be glad if I could flatter myself that I came as near the central idea of the occasion in two hours as you did in two minutes.

And, with due regard to the greatness of Everett and his speech of that day, his judgment has become the judgment of the world.

That speech, one of the greatest in history, reads as follows:

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new Nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great Civil War, testing whether that Nation, so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of it as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that Nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But in a larger sense we can not dedicate, we can not consecrate, we can not hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or to detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us; that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth.

Now, call to mind the battle that gave occasion for Lincoln's speech and how on the first day Hancock arrived to take temporary command as the Union troops were retreating to Cemetery Ridge, where they renewed their stand. Being later relieved by a superior officer, Hancock rode back and reported to Meade that Gettysburg was a proper place to give battle. The second day of battle raged, with both armies in their full strength fighting desperately for victory. Then came the third day of contest and the spectacular and gallant charge of Pickett's band of 14,000 men. They covered a front of 1,600 yards, with a distance of 1,400 yards to traverse before reaching the Union lines. The heavy cannonading slackened and the men began their march. The Union artillery opened upon them with shot and shell, but on they marched, filling up the great gaps torn in their lines. As they came nearer canister did its deadly work, but on the brave men continued. Approaching the Union lines, a fire of musketry burst forth before which it was impossible for men to stand, and the cause of the South was lost as Pickett's men, in honorable retreat, gave way before the fusillade. It is true that the war was not yet ended, but it was also certain that Appomattox was bound to follow the retreat of Lee from this famous battle field.

And now I call your attention not to the scene of battle but rather to the questions settled on this famous battle field and the results that have flowed therefrom.

At this distant day we of the North are apt to see but one side of that controversy. Let me direct your attention to the formation of the new Government in 1789 to replace the confederation under which the States had been so loosely held together, and in doing so to remind you of the struggle early in

the history of the Constitutional Government between the Federalists and States-rights men.

No power was granted in the Constitution to coerce a rebellious State, nor was authority found in that instrument for a State to secede. Nationalism versus State sovereignty was the issue causing the formation of our first political parties. The alien and sedition laws brought forth from Thomas Jefferson the doctrine of nullification in his authorship of the Kentucky resolutions. Nullification was the seed that bore the fruit of secession. The belief in the right of the State to secede prompted Jefferson Davis in 1861 to say:

There are no laws of the United States to be executed within the limits of a seceded State. We recur to the principles upon which our Government was founded; and when you deny the right to us to withdraw from a Government which, thus perverted, threatens to be destructive of our rights, we but tread the path of our fathers when we proclaim our independence and take the hazard.

Between the writing of the Kentucky resolutions and the utterance of Jefferson Davis there were more than 60 years of development and discussion of this problem. Nor was it an issue like that of slavery, upon which men differed largely as a result of a fixed boundary line. The doctrine of secession was first asserted on the floor of Congress in 1811 by Josiah Quincy, of Massachusetts, in his speech opposing the admission of Louisiana into the Union. Rhode Island, in language almost as strong as the Virginia resolutions, declared:

The powers of government may be resumed by the people whenever it shall become necessary to their happiness.

Judge Rawle, of my own State of Pennsylvania, wrote:

The States may wholly withdraw from the Union, but while they continue they must retain the character of representative republics.

With statements like these from northern people the Virginia resolutions do not seem so rebellious, as they in substance declare the Federal Government to be a compact to which the States are parties, and in case of a dangerous exercise of powers not granted by the said compact the States have the right and are in duty bound to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil.

Even at the outbreak of the war Horace Greeley, in his New York Tribune, said:

The right to secede may be a revolutionary one, but it exists nevertheless.

And the New York Herald in a similar strain:

Each State is organized as a complete government, holding the purse and wielding the sword, possessing the right to break the tie of the Confederation and to repel coercion as a nation might repel invasion.

Such an opinion was largely entertained by northern as well as southern people, notwithstanding the work of Hamilton and Marshall and other great Federalists. Notwithstanding that in 1830 the whole theory of our Government was fully and thoroughly debated in the United States Senate in one of the greatest oratorical contests that ever took place in that historic body, when Robert Hayne, eloquently and ably sustaining the cause of State sovereignty, was masterfully and effectively answered by Daniel Webster in defense of the Federal Union.

The lifeblood of our Government—

Said Hayne—

is the independence of the States, and if the General Government were the sole judge of the extent as well as limitation of its power, then the States have lost their sovereignty and independence.

To this the great Webster replied:

If the Government of the United States be the agent of the State governments, then they may control it, provided they can agree in the manner of controlling it. If it be the agent of the people, then the people can control it, restrain it, modify, or reform it.

And then in positive assertion:

It is, sir, the people's government—made for the people and answerable to the people. And the people have declared this Constitution to be the supreme law of the land and have never given authority to any State legislature to construe or interpret it.

While the debate was still in progress a political dinner was held in honor of Thomas Jefferson, and the President, Andrew Jackson, was a guest. Called on for a toast, the President proposed:

Our Federal Union—it must and shall be preserved.

That prophecy was fulfilled by the success of the Union arms at Gettysburg, costing, however, in this battle and those by which it was preceded and followed, the sacrifice of 700,000 lives, composed of the noblest manhood of the Northern States and the best chivalry of the Southland.

What was it, then, that was settled by the Civil War? First and foremost that the Government of the Constitution was in fact a Nation and that the laws made in pursuance thereof were the supreme laws of the land. Next, that the States were not independent sovereigns, but subject to the Nation's laws within the limits of the Constitution, as interpreted not by the States but by the Supreme Court of the United States. Third, that the moral wrong of slavery be obliterated and the cause of human liberty advanced to the general good of human kind.

Among the fruits of this war is our reunited Nation with its tremendous power for good—a world power in truth which would have been impossible without the preservation of the Union. As such we have given freedom to Cuba, maintained the open door in China, contributed to the enlightenment of the Philippines, upheld the Monroe Doctrine, built the Panama Canal—an achievement of peace to the lasting benefit of man, one of the results of our twentieth century nationalism made possible by the successful outcome of the Civil War, in which Gettysburg was the deciding factor.

Not only has it accomplished all of these things, but also, as a natural outcome of the Nation there perfected, with its love of peace and friendly attitude toward all other powers has placed us in the forefront of the world movement to effect an endurable peace through international boards of arbitration or courts for the settlement of disputes between governments, and thereby abolishing a greater scourge than slavery itself, the awful, the horrible, the barbarous scourge of war.

You say to me that this is an idle dream, and in view of the readiness with which the Christian nations of Europe, saved at Tours from the military fanaticism of the Saracen hosts, have leveled their guns against each other, I would be inclined to agree with you. But judged by the impetus gained by the forces of peace in the past 25 years, with the two Hague conferences now history and their splendid results—I say this in spite of European conflicts—written in living records; with the best thought of modern civilization directing its energies against war, and the certainty of a Third Hague Conference to be convened soon after the present fearful conflict is ended, I say to you it is more than idle dream and may be a vision real of the Third Hague Conference joining the world's nations in peace as effectually as the third attempt of Cyrus West Field joined the continents in his successful laying of the Atlantic cable. And the devastating war now raging may be the principal means to this desirable end.

Let us hope that as the treaty of Portsmouth, which settled the Japanese-Russian War, was followed by the calling of the Second Hague Conference by the Czar of Russia (which permission was granted him through the chivalry of Roosevelt, who had previously suggested the conference) so the treaty that concludes the present struggle shall lead to a prompt calling of the third conference, at which the warring nations shall join hands with the neutrals and each other to prevent another such conflict, and that the message flashed across the Atlantic cable may be repeated and flashed by wireless to all the world—"What hath God wrought!"

The present war of nations, surpassing anything in warfare heretofore known, may cause you to doubt the growing power of peace, but do not forget that before the Second Hague Conference the President of the United States (William Howard Taft) in 1904 inserted in impending treaties with other countries these words:

That all questions, without reservation, shall be settled by arbitration rather than by a resort to war.

This was advanced ground, and though it failed, does not the fact of the attempt having been made indicate the tremendous progress of the peace movement and bid us hope for an early attainment of desired results?

While thus giving praise to President Taft for his efforts in the cause of peace, let us also give credit to our present Chief (Woodrow Wilson) for his splendid efforts to maintain neutrality and preserve the peace of this Nation. And in this critical hour, when the question of peace or war is trembling in the balance, may he be guided by the God of Lincoln and the God of nations in the course that he should follow. And my earnest prayer is that that course will preserve peace to the people of this Nation and lead to the peace of the world.

It was William T. Sherman who said:

I confess without shame that I am tired and sick of war; its glory is all moonshine. * * * It is only those who have not heard a shot nor the shrieks and groans of the wounded, friend or foe, who cry aloud for more blood, more vengeance, more desolation.

Members of Congress, many of you sons of the men who engaged in that war in which Sherman fought, followed as it was by splendid achievements and wonderful good, would these good results have come without that war? I can not answer! I do not know! Perhaps it could have been! But at any rate we know that great good did follow the awful carnage that was wrought. And I hope that out of the present giant conflict, with the sacrifice of millions of men, women, and children, something of good will come to future generations. With my limited vision I can think of nothing that can in any sense repay for the horror of this war, unless it be the realization of the world's leading nations of the folly of such conflicts, and their entering into an

agreement each with the other that disputes hereafter will be settled as recommended by President Taft—by arbitration rather than by a resort to war.

I feel strongly on this thought of peace, and hope that this Nation of ours will not become involved in the war now raging, but that from our vantage ground we may be permitted in the near future to bring the warring nations to an understanding and reestablish the peace of the world and restore good will among men.

The Battle of Gettysburg and the Civil War have long since ended. Fifty-three years and more have passed since Lincoln's Gettysburg address. The hatreds born of that war have been largely overcome, and in the celebration to-day of this one hundred and eighth anniversary of Lincoln's birth the sons of Confederate and Union soldiers will join in singing the praises of this martyr to the cause of union.

The fact that feelings of hostility are no longer entertained between the sections was beautifully illustrated at the fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg, when 50,000 veterans met on that hallowed ground. What a change had come. It was not enemies, but friends, that there assembled. They were brothers, all reviewing the past and paying worthy tribute to each other's valor as they rehearsed the deeds of 50 years before. What a transformation had taken place on that bloody battle field, where such splendid heroism had been displayed in face of grape and canister and fire of musketry. Behold now the magnificent spectacle of former warriors engaged in a wonderfully impressive demonstration under the folds of the flag of peace.

See again the charge of Pickett's men. They form—or what was left of them—and march toward the Federal position. Watch them as they traverse that same old ground. They approach the Union lines. They have reached the bloody angle, but no blood is spilled this day. Instead of shot and bayonet they meet the outstretched arms of Yankee soldiers as with cheers the grizzled veterans clasp each other in warm embrace. No discord, enmity, or strife, but all was harmony, friendship, peace. Wearer of blue joined hands with those who wore the gray, and with united hearts and hands paid tribute to one flag, one land, to them one Nation evermore.

It was a remarkable pageant, an unprecedented earthly scene, like unto a celestial gathering of which I dearly love to dream, a gathering of Lee and Grant and the 700,000 brave who died a soldier's death, joined now by the great body of their comrades since gone to their last rest. They mingle there in grand reunion on the other side of Jordan's shore, where, away from the noise and conflict of battle, away from prejudice and misunderstanding, each shall look upon the other, realizing that all fought for what they believed the right. Oh, it will be a grand assemblage; all hearts now loyal to the flag victorious that waved triumphant at Appomattox. And the stripes of the flag for that reunion will be made of blood that flowed down here and the robes of white they wear up there, with the sky above as the field of blue, set rich with stars that shine all true. And there in the midst of that vast host enthroned the one they love the most, greater by far than Grant or Lee, the foremost figure in that vast throng, kindliness beaming from his eyes, his face resplendent with a loving smile, his soul brimful of heavenly joy. If my dream is true, what a fitting tribute to the wise and gentle Lincoln, who led his people through four years of bitter strife, and then, with the dawn of peace, to which he so much contributed, yielded up his noble life. Like Moses, who had led the people of Israel almost to the promised land, which from Mount Pisgah he was permitted to view, so Lincoln, from the viewpoint of Gettysburg, and later Appomattox, raised his eyes and beheld, though he could not enter, the promised land of peace.

Address of the Secretary of State.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY D. FLOOD,

OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 12, 1917.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I incorporate in them an address made by the Secretary of State before the alumni of Amherst College on Saturday night.

The address is as follows:

COLLEGE SPIRIT.

[Delivered at Amherst alumni dinner Feb. 10, 1917, at the New Willard, Washington, D. C., by Secretary of State Lansing.]

Mr. Toastmaster, Ladies, and Gentlemen, This gathering in honor of Old Amherst has come at a critical time for our country, a time which was not forseen when the date was chosen. It is a time of anxiety for us all, a time of heavy responsibility for some of us. We are looking forward into the uncertainties of the future and we are striving to read what it holds in store for us and for our country. We can hardly close our eyes to the fact that we are standing near to the verge of the war which has for two and a half years wasted the great empires of Europe and brought untold woes to mankind. Ominous though the situation may seem, there is always the hope that our country may be spared the terrible calamity of being forced into the conflict. It is now as it has been from the beginning the wish and endeavor of this Government to remain at peace with all the world if it can do so with honor.

I can not discuss here the supreme subject of American thought to-day, either to review the past or to prophesy for the future. In the existing uncertainties you must realize that it would be unwise for me to do so. It is not a time to speak. It is a time to think, to think earnestly and deliberately. It is a time for coolness and self-restraint rather than for surrender to the natural impulses which are aroused by great events affecting the national honor, the national duty, and the national welfare of our country.

Contrary to the natural inclination of one whose every thought has been filled with the momentous happenings of the past few days I shall not talk to you of these events which means so much to the American people. I can only say this, that with the same patience, the same forbearance, the same deliberation and care, with which he has met the previous difficulties in our foreign affairs, the President will meet the present crisis. The Nation can trust him to act justly and honorably and fearlessly whatever may lie before us. In his hands the destiny of the United States is sure; the national honor is safe.

When I knew some months ago I was to attend this dinner I determined to say a few words to you on a subject which has been in my mind for a long time, and, though it does not apply directly to the present international situation, it has a very direct relation to it, so that I feel justified in presenting to you the thought.

As a son of Old Amherst addressing his brothers I wish to speak to you about the Amherst spirit and how it finds its counterpart in other relations of life, particularly in the relation which each one of us as a citizen of the United States bears to his country.

College spirit springs from a sentiment of affection for the institution to which we, its graduates, owe so much. It is not based on material interest or on selfish considerations. There is no ulterior motive to arouse that spirit or to deprive it of its generous nature or unselfish purpose. It comes from the heart rather than from the head. It is essentially emotional and wholly sentimental. We should rejoice in that fact. We should rejoice that in some things at least we can be sentimental in an age when the general disposition of men is to reduce everything to terms of utility, and when the standard of excellence is sought in answering the question, "To what material use can it be put?" That question embodies to my mind the general tendency of modern thought toward the various phases of the relationship of man to man and of man to society.

The American people—and I think they are no different from other peoples—have been growing more and more utilitarian in these later years; their thoughts and acts more and more influenced by what is called the practical, and less and less by what is called the ideal. Immediate and tangible benefit is the apparent goal of American effort. To a large extent, a very large extent, it has absorbed the thought and energy of our people. In every sphere of human activity—social, religious, political, and industrial—this conception of the thing desirable in our national life has become increasingly potent.

We who are living in this period, particularly at a time like the present, ought to take stock of the spiritual as well as material resources of this Nation. It may be said that the average man to-day has been wont to weigh in the scales of expediency national duty and national honor—all those intense sentiments which in the old days kindled the souls of men and made the United States a great, independent Nation, dedicated to human liberty.

To Americans who cherish the spirit which inspired the fathers of the Republic, to Americans who revere the memory of those

who half a century ago laid down their lives for the right as they saw it, to Americans who measure conduct by a sense of duty rather than by material benefit, this tendency of present-day thought has been viewed with apprehension for the future of the Republic.

It is, indeed, a commentary on the American people that not a few thinking men have been asking with serious concern: Have American eyes grown dim to the achievements of the past? Has the blood of patriotism ceased to throb in American veins? Have we forgotten that our heritage of liberty was sealed with the lives of devoted men, and that it is a sacred trust which we must hold and transmit unimpaired to the generations to come?

I believe most firmly that every one of these questions can be answered in the negative. I believe that at heart the American people are loyal and patriotic. Put to the test, I do not fear the outcome. I know that the people are to be trusted and that to them the honor of the Nation is dearer than life itself. And yet I feel that the spread of materialism has been a menace to our national character to which we should not be indifferent, a menace which ought not and must not continue.

The greatness of this Nation does not lie in the immensity of its territory nor in its millions of population nor in the vastness of its resources nor in the intellectual and economic progress which finds no parallel in history. The greatness of America lies in the hearts of its citizens. If those hearts beat true, nothing else matters. We should recognize this and if we do recognize it, do you not perceive that it depends upon the potent influence which sentiment exercises over the American people?

Sentiment may be scoffed at as useless by materialists—indeed, "sentimentalist" and "idealist" have become terms of contempt, almost of reproach, in these latter days—but was it not sentiment which gave independence to America; which made us free and powerful? The sentimental love of country is the noblest passion which can possess a people. It is that sentiment which is exalted by history, which is the theme of song and poetry, and which is preserved for the ages in molded bronze and chiseled marble. In the potency of that sentiment rest the destinies of the United States.

To preserve in their high place in the life of the Republic those great impulses which have made us a virile and proud Nation, we must cultivate sentiment and emphasize the ideal more than we have done in recent years. We must cease measuring accomplishment by dollars and cents. We must remember that character is not built on accumulated riches but on ideals. It is so in the individual. It is equally so in the nation.

Sentiment of every sort, provided its object is noble, is worth while. It is worth cultivating and encouraging, for the sentimentalist is the man who will always subordinate his own interests to those of the nation. He thinks in terms of the ideal and not in terms of the material. In bettering his own character he does his part toward upbuilding the character of his country.

While every noble sentiment should be strengthened, I see in the sentiment which we call "college spirit," one that is closely akin to patriotism. It is true that its sphere is much smaller and the possible demand for personal sacrifice is far less, but there is the same loyalty, the same enthusiasm, the same desire to serve without reward. I can not imagine a man who possesses college spirit being other than a patriot. True to his alma mater, he will always be true to his country.

Every man who has come forth from the halls of Amherst ought to retain sentiment in his life and to give to it a higher place than to the material things for which we must all labor but to which we should not sacrifice our manhood or the ideals on which real manhood rests. It is not enough that a man should wait till a time of crisis to give expression to sentiment; it should be with him always a living force in his daily life. I believe, therefore, that an Amherst man, imbued with the true spirit, can perform no more patriotic service than to do all that he can to destroy the influence of utilitarianism, which is a menace to national life, a corrupter of national aspirations, in that it sets up a false standard of values.

We should never forget that the future of the United States is in the hands of those of its citizens who are loyal to its traditions, who are devoted to its ideals, and who love their country not because it is rich and powerful and offers opportunity, but because it stands for human liberty, for righteousness, and for eternal justice. Men who look beyond the material things are the ones who place the Nation above all and who are the first to stand forth when the call comes for service.

May the old college spirit, which has burned in our hearts since our college days, flame forth with new fervor. May it spread beyond the confines of the college until the love of Amherst is transformed into the love of country, and may the same sentiment which to-night draws us together broaden and deepen until it becomes the loftiest patriotism of which the human heart is capable.

It is thus I read the place which college spirit should take in the Nation, and it is thus I read our duty as Amherst men and as true-hearted Americans, not only to-day under the stress of unusual circumstance but also when daily life is uneventful and commonplace. We owe a service, a continuing service, to our country which we will faithfully perform, or I am deceived in the power of the spirit of Amherst and in the type of men which Amherst has sent forth into the world. Let us prove by the part we play in our community, in our State, and in the Nation that "Amherst man" is a synonym for "American patriot," and that devotion to the purple and white means first, last, and always unwavering devotion to the Red, White, and Blue.

Outraging American Commerce With Neutral Countries.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN K. FOCHT,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 10, 1917.

Mr. FOCHT. Mr. Speaker, we have heard much that is vague and unsubstantiated regarding the outrages committed against American commerce by the British Government and how our business men and manufacturers have suffered in consequence of England's interference with trade with neutral countries, but it has been hard to ascertain and support facts. There are many reasons for this, and the principal one doubtless is that our shippers are glad conditions are no worse or that it would be useless to enter complaint with our home government. We have a correspondent who has suffered great losses and inconveniences and who states his complaint in a more or less emphatic way in the following letter which is substantiated by accompanying data:

MOUNT UNION, *December 18, 1916.*

Hon. B. K. FOCHT,
Lewisburg, Pa.

DEAR B. K.: I inclose two notices from the trade department of the British Embassy, Washington, advising of cabling expenses necessary in order to find if the two parties named therein may have permission from the British Government to receive the goods which we want to send them.

It is very humiliating that American citizens must repeatedly ask Great Britain before any goods can be shipped to the neutral countries of Europe. Great Britain needs a good "beating up." Unfortunately, Germany has not had a square deal through the American press. We are no special descendants of Germany, but our opinion is that she is no worse than Great Britain.

With kindest regards and wishes for a happy Christmas,

Yours, very sincerely,

EDWARD M. GREENE,
Mount Union Tanning & Extract Co.

—

TRADE DEPARTMENT, BRITISH EMBASSY,
Washington, D. C., December 15, 1916.

MOUNT UNION TANNING & EXTRACT CO.,
Mount Union, Pa.:

(J. H. Goldschmidt, Copenhagen.)

The trade department of the British Embassy beg to advise you that the cabling expenses in connection with your application of the 12th instant amount to $3.95 and that it would be convenient if you would remit this sum at your earliest opportunity.

—

TRADE DEPARTMENT—BRITISH EMBASSY,
Washington, D. C., December 15, 1916.

MOUNT UNION TANNING & EXTRACT CO.,
Mount Union, Pa.:

(Norwegian Tanners' Association (notify John Jerndahl), Christiania; A. S. Bergens, Skofabrik, Bergen.)

The trade department of the British Embassy beg to advise you that the cabling expenses in connection with your application of the 12th instant amount to $6.65, and that it would be convenient if you would remit this sum at your earliest opportunity.

—

1112 RHODE ISLAND AVENUE NW.,
Washington, D. C., February 4, 1917.

Hon. B. K. FOCHT,
Representative, Seventeenth District of Pennsylvania.

DEAR SIR: As a constituent, I beg leave to express an opinion on the danger now threatening.

It is unreasonable to go to war with a nation which does not want to go to war with us, but has used every possible effort up to this last declaration to keep the friendship of the United States. In this war the principle of freedom of the seas has been also violated by England. It is stultifying to go to war with Germany for her violation

and at the same time to lend the force of our Army and Navy to England in support of her violation. Under the influence of British diplomacy, British business, and an American-British press, and under the leadership of British sympathizers we are in danger of becoming united with the British union.

America has preached peace, humanity, agreement on some terms of peace, ceasing from horrible bloodshed. Now she is about to exemplify this pure doctrine by plunging into and increasing this same horrible bloodshed and inhumanity. This is not our war. Switzerland, in far worse situation, but with far better management, has successfully maintained her neutrality. It may not yet be too late (also it may be too late) to retrieve our blunders in statecraft.

"He kept us out of war!" He is not doing so now. The common people now look to Congress to guard their interests. Please do not permit them to be sacrificed.

I live near Lewistown. Went home last fall to vote for you and the rest of the ticket.

Very respectfully,

M. F. F. SWARTZELL.

NEWPORT, PA., *February 7, 1917.*

Hon. BENJAMIN FOCHT, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

Expect you to do all you can to keep us out of war. Honor not at stake. We want peace, not to be enslaved by old England.

C. A. RIPPMAN.

LEWISTOWN, PA., *February 5, 1917.*

Hon. B. K. FOCHT, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. FOCHT: If the United States enters into war with the central powers upon the pretext offered, it will be a most miserable blot upon the escutcheon of American history. Are we a race of barbarians that at the least difficulty we shall grasp arms and sally forth to the shedding of the blood of our fellow men?

The plain people of this country know full well that the "vulture class," who have been stripping the country of food and other supplies needed at home, are instigating the present clash because the continuance of their war-profit graft is threatened. If the American people sanction war upon such contemptible grounds, may God pity civilization.

We look to such as you, Mr. FOCHT, to keep the Nation within the bounds of sanity and reason. War involving America would be a world calamity. Verily the rights of humanity call louder than the yelping of the jingo press and the gnashing of the munition "patriots."

Faithfully, yours,

L. F. SESINGER.

WOMAN'S PEACE PARTY,
PENNSYLVANIA BRANCH,
Philadelphia, February 7, 1917.

Hon. B. K. FOCHT,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Believing that the sentiment of the country is in favor of peace rather than war, the Pennsylvania Woman's Peace Party urge you to do your utmost to bring about a settlement of our differences with Germany by mediation or other peaceful means.

Very sincerely, yours,

MRS. HANNAH CLOTHIER HULL,
Chairman.

MRS. E. B. DONALDSON,
Corresponding Secretary.

GAINESVILLE, N. Y., *February 9, 1917.*

Hon. B. K. FOCHT,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am an old resident of Lewisburg, Pa. Your brother has been our family physician for 30 years. Your brother, John B. Focht, has his name on my diploma, which I received at State University in 1905. Your paper, Saturday News, has been in our home for a great many years.

I feel that I can claim a right to write to you expressing my deep regret in the President's foreign policy. We deplore the fact that he has so hastily broken diplomatic relations with Germany, and still more that he has called upon other neutrals to follow his policy. The action of other neutrals declares clearly the absurdity of Wilson's attitude. England is exultant already over the President's action, and, if possible, will either lead or drag us into war, which is inevitable unless restraining influence be brought to bear upon the President.

We do not believe that American soldiers should help England fight her battles. We are Americans first, last, and always, but we believe in Americans for America and America for Americans. Will you kindly use your high office to warn Americans off the high seas and under all circumstances maintain neutral and friendly relations with all belligerents?

Respectfully, yours,

W. W. HEIM.

NEW YORK, N. Y., *February 10.*

Congressman BENJAMIN K. FOCHT,
Washington, D. C.:

Lottie, Lola, and George M. Kleckner and the undersigned, all born Americans, are for peace at any price except invasion.

W. H. KLECKNER.

MERCERSBURG, PA., *February 9, 1917.*

The Hon. B. K. FOCHT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. FOCHT: In view of the possibility of the United States being drawn into the war, I am writing you, as my Representative in Congress, to ask that you use every means in your command and all the time that it may require, to keep this country from engaging at the last moment in a struggle for mastery which is not its own.

I strongly urge also that, except in case of invasion of our country, you demand that the President give a clear statement of the conditions leading to our possible entrance into the war and of the results, present and future; and that the President and Congress submit to the people in a referendum the question whether we shall engage in a war to protect our right to enter a war zone or whether we shall keep out of this disastrous and endless entanglement in the imperialistic politics of Europe.

The President and Congress ought to use every expedient of diplomacy and economic pressure to bring the fighting nations into a conference. Regardless of any disaster to our shipping, Congress ought to debate deliberately whether it would not be better for this country to adjust its commerce to the war zone than dishonorably to enter the war in its final stage.

The fiery speeches of certain citizens and the unneutral articles of certain newspapers, especially in the Atlantic Coast States, have not in the past represented the true feeling of the people. I believe that the men who elected you are largely people who desire peace, and that they will back you to the limit in keeping this country clear of the war.

I am not writing this letter as a pro-German or a pro-ally or a Socialist, but as a United States citizen whose ancestors fought in the Revolution and who, with his father and brothers, has served in the Army.

Trusting that you will give this matter your most serious attention, I am,

Very truly, yours,

NED OSTHAUS.

Military Training.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY I. EMERSON,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 12, 1917.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker. I desire to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing therein a very interesting letter received by me from John G. White, one of the leading attorneys of the Cleveland (Ohio) bar on "Military training."

The letter is as follows:

CLEVELAND, OHIO, *February 6, 1917.*

Hon. H. I. EMERSON,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR EMERSON: I write to urge you to support any bill which may be introduced providing for universal compulsory military training, and any providing that the raising of whatever soldiers may be necessary shall be done by conscription, as distinguished from either volunteering or draft.

I can only urge the stock arguments, but these are none the less valid and strong because they are obvious. I am old enough to remember how things went during the rebellion and also during the Spanish War, and I have read enough of true history of the United States as distinguished from school-book histories to know how things have gone in the past.

In the Revolution it was only the drilling by Baron Steuben that made soldiers out of the American Army. Except when behind entrenchments the Volunteers, when attacked by Regulars, fled like sheep. The only exception which I recall was in the operations which led to the capture of Burgoyne, and the men who there did the fighting, although nominally untrained, were men who had had experience and training in the French and Indian wars. The term of service of the Volunteers was continually expiring and the men going home, notwithstanding that it was at crucial periods when their services were most required.

In Greene's campaign in the South the militia was not expected to stand more than one or two volleys. In the War of 1812 everybody will recall how the New York militia saw their comrades being beaten and driven into the river on the opposite side of the Niagara and refused to cross to their aid on the plea that they could not be sent outside of the State. We have all heard of the "Races of Bladenburg," when a really superior force of militia hardly waited for the first volley before it fled before the English regulars and marines, leading to the capture of Washington.

In the rebellion, in the first part of the war, our soldiers were merely an armed mob; brave but not knowing how to use their valor and hopelessly inefficient, and it was only the equal inefficiency of the rebels that prevented defeat. Of course at the end of the war the soldiers on each side were tempered veterans, equals, or probably the superior, of any troops in the world.

Volunteering, as you remember, in the rebellion broke down. Then came drafting, with all the accompanying scandals, the buying of substitutes, and bounty jumping. Commissions were ordinarily given to elective officers or to men who raised a company or parts of a company or regiment, and, with few exceptions, these proved inefficient. There was a similar record of inefficiency in the Spanish War; plenty of undirected courage, inefficiency of officers, inefficiency of soldiers, all for want of previous training; and in each case the bravest, most zealous, most patriotic ones first, because of volunteering, therefore bore an undue proportion of the loss.

Every man owes a duty to defend his country; owes it as a duty to his country to spend the time which is necessary to enable him to make his services valuable to his country.

I do not myself see how so small a time of training as that required by the Swiss system is sufficient; but those who know more than I do say that it trains them so that good soldiers are turned out, or at least soldiers who, with a very small amount of training, are good soldiers. It must be because they are taken young.

Notwithstanding the Constitution provides for the control of the militia by the States, I find nowhere in it any prohibition of the United States requiring all its citizens to sufficiently train to make them efficient in the protection of the country. With the immense forces now in vogue, and with the easy and swift transportation across the ocean, we can no longer rely upon our small standing Army, and it is necessary that it should be reinforcible at once with men sufficiently trained to be at once useful in the firing line. Without this training, they are a mere armed mob, and it is nothing less than murder to send them against trained soldiers.

But not only is it necessary to have these men trained, but it is necessary to have officers trained. Not only is it necessary to have men and officers trained, but it is necessary to have uniforms, arms, munitions—everything that is necessary to equip and supply an army, ready in the arsenals, so that they can be at once made efficient.

The volunteering system broke down. The National Guard system broke down last summer. Those who could least be spared volunteered;

those who ought to have gone and who could be best spared stayed at home.

Two young men went from our office. We not only held their places open but paid their salaries while gone. Two sons of Mr. McCaslin went. They lost their positions. Whether they will get them when they come back or not I do not know. One was a student at Case School; the other a law student. Both have lost a year at a time when it was most important to them. All four went cheerfully and have suffered cheerfully the loss incident thereto. But why should they suffer this loss and others go scot free because they did not have the patriotic instinct which stimulated these boys.

I urge, therefore, that you support any well-considered bill which requires universal, compulsory military training to an extent sufficient to make persons subjected to it efficient; that you also support and urge a system providing adequate armament and equipment for an adequate army of defense, and I do not mean by "adequate army of defense" one of a few hundred thousand men; I mean enough to equip such an army as England is putting in the field, with arsenals placed in such parts of the country as will be best protected from at least the first stress of attack; that the construction of the Navy be speeded up; that the supply of munitions be speeded up until we have enough to make us secure.

I am told that in active service a rifle does not last more than five or six weeks. I am unable to see why this should be so, yet those who know how things go in the great European war say that it is so; and we must prepare, therefore, upon that basis.

You observe I am not urging a large standing Army. I am urging a large citizen Army which is capable of meeting on an even footing with any professional soldiers who invade us, and which, if occasion shall arise and opportunity present itself, may be able to make our rights respected either beyond any of our borders, or beyond the ocean.

Yours, respectfully,

JOHN G. WHITE.

Investigation in the Supply and Control of Food Products.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM P. BORLAND,
OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 12, 1917.

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave of the House I desire to insert here the correspondence between the President and the Federal Trade Commission in regard to the proposed investigation into the supply and control of food products.

The correspondence is as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, February 7, 1917.

MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: An adequate supply of food products is a matter of concern to the Nation at all times. It is of peculiar importance at present. Our domestic food supply is normally very large and has become increasingly varied. In some respects it has steadily expanded and has kept pace with the increasing population. Unfortunately, this is not true, however, of a number of important staple products, including certain cereals, and particularly meats. While the population of the Nation has increased 26,000,000 since 1900, the production of the two leading cereals, corn and wheat, while tending to increase, has shown only a slight advance; and that of the meat products in the same period has shown an increase of only 3,500,000,000 pounds—a decrease of 29 pounds per capita.

Much can be done, and is being done, to change this situation through improved methods of production and through the control or eradication of plant and animal diseases. But there are problems also of distribution; and in some respects the problems presented in this field are the more difficult. Only recently have official agencies been created to deal systematically with this side of the difficulty. Much work has been done, and considering the limited nature of the powers under which it has been conducted, no little headway has been made, particularly in obtaining and diffusing useful information. Nevertheless, it is not yet clear in many directions just what the nature of the difficulty is or what measures should be adopted to effect fundamental improvements. Many necessary facts are not available, and it is questionable whether any single agency of the Government at present possesses the requisite power and equipment to secure the information needed to enable both public and private instrumentalities to render their fullest service to the people. It is obvious that there will be no sufficient incentive to enlarge production if there does not exist an unobstructed and economical system of distribution. Unjustifiable fluctuations in prices are not merely demoralizing; they inevitably deter adequate production.

It has been alleged before committees of the Congress and elsewhere that the course of trade in important food products is not free, but is restricted and controlled by artificial and illegal means. It is of the highest public concern to ascertain the truth or falsity of these allegations. No business can be transacted effectively in an atmosphere of suspicion. If the allegations are well-grounded, it is necessary that the nature and extent of the evils and abuses be accurately determined, so that proper remedies, legislative or administrative, may be applied. If they are not true, it is equally essential that the public be informed, so that unrest and dissatisfaction may be allayed. In any event, because of the grave public interests which the food supply affects, the efficient performance of the duties imposed upon agencies of the Government requires that all the pertinent facts be ascertained. To this end the power of such agencies should be made adequate, if in any respect they are now deficient.

Pursuant to the authority conferred upon me by the act creating the Federal Trade Commission, therefore, I direct the commission, within the scope of its powers, to investigate and report the facts relating to the production, ownership, manufacture, storage, and distribution of foodstuffs and the products or by-products arising from or in connection with their preparation and manufacture; to ascertain the facts bearing on alleged violations of the antitrust acts, and particularly upon the question whether there are manipulations, controls, trusts, combinations, conspiracies, or restraints of trade out of harmony with the law or the public interest.

I am aware that the commission has additional authority in this field, through the power conferred upon it to prevent certain persons, partnerships, or corporations from using unfair methods of competition in commerce. I presume that you may see fit to exercise that authority upon your own initiative, without direction from me.

The Department of Agriculture has been engaged for several years in studying problems of distribution. I have noted that it has been proposed in the Congress to add to the funds of the department and give it larger powers to conduct its investigations. As its activities will touch phases of the problem I am calling to your attention which may not be covered by your inquiry and may furnish information of great importance for the purposes contemplated, I shall direct that department to cooperate with you in this enterprise.

For the adequate prosecution of the inquiry by both your commission and the Department of Agriculture it is essential that sufficient funds be available. I accordingly request that you furnish me at the earliest possible moment an estimate for an appropriation, if one is needed, to supplement existing appropriations, to enable you successfully to carry out the investigation.

A copy of this letter is being sent to the Secretary of Agriculture, with the direction that his department cooperate with you and with the request that he furnish an estimate for the funds needed by his department.

Sincerely, yours, WOODROW WILSON.

Hon. WILLIAM J. HARRIS,
Chairman Federal Trade Commission,
Washington, D. C.

FEBRUARY 9, 1917.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Your letter of February 7 relative to an investigation concerning foodstuffs, addressed to me as chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, has been presented to the commission, and I am directed to advise that it will gladly undertake the investigation you have directed and will at once prepare an estimate, for submission to Congress, for an additional appropriation necessary to the successful doing of this work.

In accordance with your plan for cooperation between the commission and the Department of Agriculture, the Secretary of Agriculture has been asked for a conference to arrange the measures to be taken.

Very respectfully,

WM. J. HARRIS, *Chairman.*

The PRESIDENT,
The White House, Washington, D. C.

Rates for Transportation on Steamship Lines.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM J. CARY,
OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 12, 1917.

Mr. CARY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a certified copy of resolutions relative to rates for transportation on steamship lines.

CERTIFIED COPY OF RESOLUTIONS.

Resolutions relative to rates for transportation on steamship lines.

Whereas steamship lines operating between Milwaukee and various ports of the Great Lakes and connecting with and interchanging traffic with eastern rail lines have afforded in the past transportation facilities and rates which have been of great advantage and value to the commerce of Milwaukee and the vast territory west of this gateway; and

Whereas the enactment of the Panama Canal act and decisions of the Interstate Commerce Commission relating thereto have compelled almost complete discontinuance of service by steamship lines owned and operated by railroads and during the past season of lake navigation resulted in entirely unsatisfactory transportation service; and

Whereas it has been officially announced that during the ensuing season of lake navigation there will be no regular package freight carriers operated between Milwaukee and eastern lake ports, with the possible exception of one Canadian and one American line; and

Whereas the city of Milwaukee is spending and contemplates spending large sums of money to improve the inner and outer harbor, which money will be needlessly expended if the package-freight business is discontinued; and

Whereas the Interstate Commerce Commission, in its annual report to the Congress, December 1, 1916, on pages 63, 64, and 65, after reviewing conditions created by the provisions of the Panama Canal act, says:

"We think that these facts should be brought to the attention of the Congress, so that in the light of those facts it may determine whether or not authority shall be conferred upon the commission to permit, in such cases and under such circumstances, a continuance of the railroad ownership, control, or operation of the water lines, subject to such further and different orders as the commission may subsequently enter upon a further hearing and a showing of substantially changed circumstances and conditions": Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Common Council of the city of Milwaukee respectfully petitions the Congress of the United States to enact legislation as early as may be that will afford greatly needed relief to this community in the direction indicated by the aforesaid report of the Interstate Commerce Commission; be it further

Resolved, That the attention of all Members of Congress from the State of Wisconsin be called to that part of the report of the Interstate Commerce Commission above referred to and urged to take immediate action to secure the amendment of the Panama Canal act as recommended by the commission; also

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the Members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives from the State of Wisconsin.

The German-American Controversy.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM W. RUCKER,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 12, 1917.

Mr. RUCKER of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a patriotic letter received from a very distinguished and intelligent German citizen of my district, expressing some views with regard to the present international situation.

The letter is as follows:

DALTON, MO., *February 9, 1917.*

Hon. W. W. RUCKER,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR AND FRIEND: Allow me to express my appreciation to you and your colleagues in Congress who have so ably stood by our President in these strenuous times.

I ascertain from yesterday's papers that President Wilson will hold our Nation aloof from international entanglements regarding the German-American controversy in that we will endeavor to settle our differences without the advice and aid of England, France, and Russia.

This is what I call real American statesmanship, and something to be proud about, and a move which the German and Austrian nations must and will respect.

No doubt, to my mind, if we "go it" alone, respect Germany in the future as we have in the past (from an American standard viewpoint), and not entangle ourselves with their questionable embroilments with other nations, neither give ear to such as would too gladly use us as their tool, then we will retain the respect of every sane citizen of this vast Republic, beside in the final adjustment and summing up of affairs, Old Glory will unfurl itself to the breezes of the world, proclaiming in one universal language that every inhabitant of the globe may understand that justice and mercy were the bulwarks in which we trusted, the defense that defied the world, the arm of strength that won that glory that was due us.

I must admit I can not help but feel proud of the fact a Missourian, Hon. WILLIAM J. STONE, had much to do in bringing about that sturdy patience exercised by our worthy President up to this hour. It means so much to have men of cool and rare judgment at the head of our Government, and it means yet more to have such men in Congress at a time like this.

To my mind it matters not whether we declare war against Germany for their offenses or withhold our grievances until peace overtures become the order of the day. Every American citizen who has any respect for his home, his State, his country, will uphold President Wilson's actions, not alone in sentiment but with his life if need be. As long as the American Government adheres to the policy of taking care of its own troubles, not mixing itself in alliances where strife and contention exist, so long will every patriotic subject within her domain be willing to shed his blood for her honor and glory.

As units in a Christian Nation, we assure you that in our approach to the throne of grace, at the feet of the High and Lofty One, we humbly bring our heart's petition, that He might grant all of you godly patience and wisdom, together with tact and skill, to so order and guide our ship of state that it may safely pass over the troubled waters now raging, and soon enter once more the sweet haven of peace.

Respectfully, yours,

CHARLES W. STEIMAN.

Post Offices of the First, Second, and Third Classes Under Civil Service.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT C. DICKINSON.

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 13, 1917.

Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to the Senate amendments 61 and 62 on page 120 of the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriations bill, as it comes back to the House from the Senate, which amendments read as follows:

The office of postmaster in each class shall hereafter be a nonpolitical office and shall be within the classified civil service, and appointments thereto shall be made in accordance with the civil-service rules and, so far as practicable, by promotion or transfer upon merit, without regard to politics, from the employees of the Post Office Department, subject to the permanent civil-service regulations and requirements.

In order to promote economy in the distribution of supplies, and in auditing and accounting, the Postmaster General may designate districts and central offices in such districts through which supplies shall be distributed and accounts audited, but in no case shall the postmaster at the central station be given authority to abolish offices, to change officers or employees in offices included in such district.

I am opposed to further extending the civil-service law so as to place the post offices of the first, second and third classes under the civil service. These are presidential offices, and the appointments are made under the Constitution by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. I prefer to leave the law as it is.

The provisions of the civil-service law have already been extended far enough—too far, I fear. Over 60 per cent of the employees of the Government are already covered under the civil-service law. I am opposed to turning over the control of these presidential offices to the Civil Service Commission, and the right of the people to express by petition and otherwise their choice as to who shall serve them as postmasters be thereby nullified, so that they shall have no voice in their selection. They are entitled to be heard and to express through their Representatives in Congress, or directly to the appointing power, their wishes and judgment as to who should serve them daily in handling their mails.

I believe in consulting the people with reference to the selection and appointment of the inferior Federal officers as well as those of higher degree. I am opposed to life tenure in office or to covering any public official into office for long periods of time, without giving the people most nearly affected an opportunity to express themselves as to the competency and fitness of those who serve them.

You do not take away this right in the higher Federal offices. The President of the United States can not hold high office except for four years at a time—his selection is subject to popular choice and the will of the people, as expressed at the ballot box; the United States Senators for six years and Representatives in Congress only for two years, without coming back to the people for an expression of their will and desire. The same limitations for State, county, and city officials.

I was opposed to President Taft's order in the closing days of his administration by which he covered into the civil service all fourth-class post offices, and I am opposed to any further extension of this law at this time. I am opposed to striking down the voice of the people and centralizing all power here in Washington into the hands of the head of any department or any commission, that under certain rules and regulations would certify a list of three names to the Postmaster General, from which the appointment should be made.

I am opposed to limiting the right of choice to such an extent, that very probably those excluded from the certified lists would be far more acceptable to the community to be served than those certified. Let us keep the Government and its administration in closer touch with the people, and you will be more liable to preserve this Republic than you will by serving notice on the people that it is none of their concern as to who handles their mail and serves them as their local postmaster.

Let the heart throb of the people be felt in every department of Government, and the Republic will live longer. Put in official life no man by civil-service rules or otherwise who feels that he is independent of and owes no obligation to the people whom he serves. Popularize your General Government in all its departments by consulting the will and judgment of those best qualified to determine who is best fitted to serve them. Personal touch and daily association is worth more than mere rigid rules and selection by far-away officials without knowledge or care of those best fitted to know.

The people are rightfully jealous of their right to be consulted in the naming of public officials to serve them and with whom they will come in daily contact. There is no public officer with whom the people come in closer and more frequent touch than the postmaster, who hands to them their daily mail, and the people of each community ought to have some voice in his selection.

If put under the civil service some man unknown and undesired and personally unfitted by temperament and otherwise might be named, merely because he secured a high rating by being able to pass an examination; that does not give the best evidence as to who would make the best postmaster. It has been well said that the civil-service doctrine with life tenure is violative of the fundamental principles of the American Government and should not prevail. It is undemocratic. It is against the spirit of party government, whether Democratic or Republican.

The presidential post offices are administrative offices, not merely clerical positions, such as are now covered by tens of thousands into the civil service and made subject to certain civil-service examinations in order to determine their clerical ability to fill said positions. I believe that Federal officers who hold administrative offices should be in accord with the party in power, and thus better aid to make successful that administration chosen by the people to control and administer the affairs of Government. Those selected to help administer the affairs of Government should not be those who would tear down, but

those who would help build up and make successful the administration which they are supposed to serve. In this way the country is best served.

Let the ideals of the fathers of our Republic be preserved. Popular government will pass away when the consent of the governed is no longer sought or regarded by those in control. The people of this country have been so jealous of their right to control their own affairs and to name their own public officials that they have refused to permit public officers to hold office except for short terms at one time without reelection, for fear they will become too independent of those who gave them office or will fail, because of long tenure, to faithfully discharge the duties of their office. This power at short periods to select their officials—Federal, State, county, and city—they have retained to themselves. The principle ought to be preserved in its application to the selection of postmasters as far as practicable, so that the wishes of the public to be served may be known and considered along with the fitness and qualification of the applicant for appointment.

Preparedness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEWIS L. MORGAN,
OF LOUISIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 13, 1917.

Mr. MORGAN of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I suppose all of us at least to-day realize that the greatest problem that confronts the body politic is preparedness.

Now, I am no adept in military or naval science, nor am I versed in the arts of war; therefore I shall look to that great personage who holds in his hands the destinies of the Nation—the President of the United States—and our military and naval consultants and experts for guidance in this gravest of all matters.

If their statements are to be given due credence, we are justified in actively supporting the measure under consideration and thus prevent our Navy from falling below the strength which would render this country reasonably secure against foreign invasion.

I am averse to relying in the merest degree upon the magnanimity or the presumable military disadvantages under which potential antagonists might labor in a struggle against this Government.

However, I shall carefully refrain from undertaking to impugn the motives or questioning the patriotism of those who may differ with me on this question. Nevertheless it is distressing that there should be any effort made to lull our people into thinking that our forces are on a parity with the forces of possible foes; that is, since there is a serious doubt in the minds of thoughtful men touching the adequacy of our own land and sea forces. Under the circumstances, it occurs to me that it is the part of wisdom to immediately increase the efficiency of our own forces and thus remove all doubt on this score.

We must be so palpably prepared that all nations might readily foresee the complete futility of attempting to desecrate American soil.

There is one inescapable fact upon which most of us agree, and that is that the rank and file of the American people, to whom the future of our country can be safely intrusted, have reached the inexorable conviction that the United States is not wholly prepared to cope with a powerful enemy; and you can not convince them otherwise, for the reason that their collective judgment is based upon statements made by no less authority than our military and naval experts, whose personal intimacy with the strength and efficiency of our forces gives their counsel great value.

I am not a disciple of the peace-at-any-price propaganda, yet I decry war and hope that our own sword has been unsheathed for the last time.

Who is there among us that would not rejoice to see the people of the world raised from the degredation of militarism and navalism. If that devoutly wished-for day ever comes, no one will exult over its realization more enthusiastically than the American people. However, in the meantime we must not allow our implements of defense to corrode, for the good and sane reason that autocratic nations have manifested from the earliest days a preference for adjusting their differences with the sword rather than by rational arrangement. Hence, our naval expansion, at least, ought to continue coequal with our political development and commensurate with our political responsibilities. Now, when there is a simultaneous, mutual, coincident abandonment of excessive naval programs by all nations and we have in our possession substantial proof that international peace is to be established on a predurable basis we should then, but not until then, cease to provide against the unforeseen.

Apparently there is an impression in the public mind that the South is opposed to preparedness. Now, I hold no brief to speak for the South; yet I do know that that section of the country is of opinion that the Nation ought to have a Navy in point of personnel and material second to Great Britain as a purely defensive policy. And right here I wish to add with great emphasis that all questions affecting the honor and the prestige of our common country shall always find a responsive chord down in the land of Dixie, and preparedness being a question which inherently affects our national honor I can say that my section of the South stands for preparedness.

Now, it is well known that war is not one of our national pastimes. We have never manifested any such cannibalistic instinct, and to gratuitously insist that preparedness will inspire a spirit of militarism in our people is to utter a slander against the greatest peace-loving people the world has ever known. There is Mexico, many of whose citizens can be likened to cannibals in their insatiable thirst for blood. They have done their utmost to prod this Nation into declaring war against their country. Do you question this Republic's ability to tame and bring those savages to their knees, leaders and minions alike, at whose hands we have endured injuries and suffered innumerable insults? Yet this liberty-loving, valorous, God-fearing Nation stands, in face of it all, willing and ready to assist the Republic of Mexico to defend itself against its native barbarians. Therefore, how can it be said that a few more guns and several more battleships will transform the United States into a military camp?

Now, the exponents of a small navy insist that preparedness is a propaganda vitalized and carried on by the predatory interests. In all probability these interests favor preparedness, and I venture to assert that if they do, they are largely actuated in their advocacy thereof by a sense of avarice. Yet two wrongs have never made a right. I am unwilling to impair to any extent our Navy, upon the efficiency of which our national existence depends, simply because its expansion may incidentally or directly, if you please, benefit certain industries. In other words, I am unwilling to penalize the American people by jeopardizing their safety because of the avaricious practices of the so-called predatory interests.

I do not believe that the United States ought to impoverish itself or its people by the expenditure of ponderous sums of money for armaments not necessary to its need. But, in my judgment, an Army and Navy capable of engaging in a successful warfare with a mighty nation will have a mighty restraining influence upon the ambitions of imperialistic nations, and personally I have no fear that such an Army and Navy will either impoverish the Government or economically cripple the people.

In the interest of the General Government, the individual citizen from time to time may be required to make some small sacrifice of his personal wealth. But are we not ready to concede that every American, worthy in every particular of that great appellation, will cheerfully make this sacrifice.

We must not at any time forget that soldiers and cannons and personal sacrifices brought this free and independent country into existence. The lack of them may be our undoing. When our fathers wrested our independence from Great Britain they then and there assumed certain duties, responsibilities, and obligations, which we must not undertake to cowardly shirk. The ideals of liberty and free government, for which they fought, must be maintained, else we are recreant to the highest duty of patriotism.

We know that Mexico, Central and South America are commercially and strategically of some importance to other nations. These countries are under the political sovereignty of the United States. Now, the question is, Do you think that this Government should, as a matter of safety, maintain the inviolability of the Monroe doctrine; or, on the other hand, is it your judgment that we should repudiate it? So long as we uphold the Monroe doctrine; so long as we urge its observance by other nations, war, at least, is possible. Every lawyer on the floor of the House knows that law presupposes the exercise of force in its execution. This being true, how are we going to enforce our law, the Monroe doctrine, if we are without an effective Navy? Why it would be like David Copperfield trying to sleep with one eye open.

> Oh, sad estate,
> Of human wretchedness; so weak is man,
> So ignorant and blind that did not God
> Sometimes withhold in mercy what we ask
> We should be ruined at our own request.

The court must have an officer to enforce its decision else its decree is a fraud and a delusion. This Nation must have an efficient Army and Navy to enforce its decisions, founded upon the eternal principles of right, justice, and humanity, else the Government itself will become an object of the saddest contempt.

We are confronting this moment the most critical period in our Nation's history. We know that international complications are continuously arising and that these entanglements are growing in tension and frequency and, perchance, may terminate in war at any time. We have just severed our diplomatic relations with Germany. However, we hope that Germany does not purpose to draw us into that horrible vortex of human slaughter. But be that as it may, you can not honorably urge your country to forego those rights and privileges guaranteed to it by the usage of international law, rather than become involved in a dangerous diplomatic dispute that may lead to war. You are woefully uninformed regarding the character of the American people if you think that they will ever peacefully bear the odium of any such ignoble policy. The American people will never allow the President of the United States to yield a right; and if he does, the hue and cry of an outraged people will be heard in disquieting tones from ocean to ocean and from the ice-clad mountains of Canada to the burning Tropics. We are not going to barter one tittle of our national honor for the peaceable adjustment of any international dispute. Our people will, and well you know it, uphold their honor, defend their free institutions, and maintain their rights in every land and on every sea, even though the draft upon their national happiness be appalling.

These indefensible encroachments have become entirely too numerous. Our ships ply the seas at the sufferance of no nation. The sea is the property of no nation; hence we are going to challenge the right of any nation to interfere with our legitimate utilization of the seas. Independence and sovereignty belong to the American people, and no nation will longer be permitted to desecrate our rights. However, I fervently hope that the Members of the Congress will not permit the intemperate utterances of designing men and newspapers "to put an enemy in their mouths to steal away their brains."

It is unfortunate that some splendid citizens are willing to see their country's Navy, which is in a large measure the sole maintenance of our national peace, deteriorate and become obsolete because its upkeep is a burden which devolves upon and must be sustained by the General Government, the richest Government the sun has ever shown upon. It seems to me that the adoption of their theories would promote rather than avoid human bloodshed and destruction. We must maintain an effective Navy else we shall perish as a force in the world. When we break down the effectiveness of our armed forces that day in all human probability we shall write the obituary notice of American peace. In other words, when you destroy the efficiency of your armed forces you thereby expose your country to the horrors and dangers of war, nay, you invite it, for any pretext will serve as a casus belli; that is, whenever this country becomes defenseless against foreign invasion.

What reason is there for being so cocksure that no effort will be made to force this country to drink the dregs of that bitter cup of which other nations are now tasting under the pretext of redressing some fancied wrong? Absolutely no reason.

I do not think, however, that the day will ever come when the American manhood will signify its willingness to subordinate American honor to American mammon; but if it does, which God forbid, this Nation will then decay and become the scorn of the world.

Mr. Speaker, in spite of what has been said and what shall hereafter be said on this subject, I am still inclined to think there lies in the consciousness of practically every man the belief, fixed and imperishable, that the tenure of this country's peace will continue just so long as it is prepared to hold its own on the field of battle.

Some of us are alive to the dangers of war and also to the dangers with which we are now threatened. Nevertheless I should rather undertake to induce the Sultan to abdicate his Mohammedanism than to convince some Members that preparation for war imports preparation for peace.

I am one of those who believe that when you neutralize the other fellow's force by a corresponding force you thereby make it possible to wend your way through life undisturbed and uncoerced. Why? Because it is the law of the beasts of the forest; it is the law of the fish of the sea; it is the law of the fowl of the air—that the strong prey upon the weak; and with all our boasted civilization, it seems to be the law of nations, even down to this very day. In my opinion that cannabalistic war now in full blast in Europe ought to be an object lesson to the United States. Does it not unerringly point to the fact that American security is wholly contingent upon America's armed forces? For Heaven's sake, do not wait until our people are cringing and bleeding under the enfilading fire of the enemy guns before you undertake to safeguard them.

The proletarians have their eyes open and they see. They are sensible of the fact that if this country is finally drawn into a defensive warfare, unprepared to defend itself against the onslaughts of an invading enemy, the human toll will be infinitely greater than if we were adequately equipped to successfully grapple with a first-class power. Therefore the expenditures involved in the proposed program must be measured by their value to those who must fight their country's battles.

Mr. Speaker, the President of the United States has been able by reason of his scrupulous fairness and great statesmanship to pilot our ship of state over some dangerous and threatening diplomatic rocks, in consequence of which his name will remain enshrined in the hearts of his countrymen long after his detractors cease to rant and rave. He is essentially a man of peace, and yet he urges Congress to prepare this Nation for any eventuality that may arise. Now, do you suspect his patriotism? Do you question his wisdom? Will you impugn his integrity, or do you doubt the sincerity of his purpose?

It is a matter of common knowledge that Great Britain, by reason of her naval efficiency, has without any color of right undertaken to circumscribe our commerce with neutral nations. On the other hand, Germany, obviously assuming that we have no means of enforcing our rights, has arrogated to herself the right to prohibit in toto our commerce with the belligerent nations. In her recent pronunciamento she substantially declared that "I am going to do that which is most advantageous to me, irrespective of right." Yet the unrestricted exportation of our surplus products is absolutely essential to our national prosperity. Our industrial and agricultural development is largely dependent upon our foreign trade; hence we can ill afford to acquiesce in these outrages.

Again, representatives of other nations have colluded, conspired, and plotted with traitors here in this country to destroy our public buildings, dynamite our munition factories, burn our machine shops, and destroy vessels carrying food and ammunition to the allied countries simply because this free and independent Commonwealth has wisely elected to remain neutral and to administer its internal affairs according to its own lights, uncontrolled and untrammeled by any imperialistic nation on the face of the earth. Yet, in spite of the record which you may read as you run, we are given to understand, with the volume of a foghorn, that all nations are friendly disposed toward us and in return desire our friendship. Now, if this be friendship, may Heaven save us from our friends.

Now, we can not know whether any nation will ever attempt to extend or enrich itself at our expense. We possess no such sagacity, no such foresight. However, we do know that there are nations whose growth and development will make expansion ultimately imperative. When that time arrives and these nations realize that expansion by amicable means is impossible, the great laws of necessity may drive them to aggression. Hence, we need a Navy which will leave no lurking doubts in the minds of such nations touching the futility of attempting to invade this country or any portion of any country over which we exercise political sovereignty.

Mr. Speaker, if this Nation is greater than any other, it has become so not by reason of war but by virtue of peace. The verity of this statement no one will undertake to gainsay. But peace, due not to the superiority of our forces, but in the main ascribable to our geographical position. We must not wheedle ourselves into believing that our position is practically invulnerable to-day because of the distance of possible enemies. Conditions have changed. The ingenuity of man has reduced the difficulties of transportation to a mere trifle. A great expanse of waters is no longer an obstacle to a successful invasion of a foreign country. By reason of the rapid transportation facilities available to-day intervening seas are wiped out and nations are made contiguous, as it were. Seas, even broad and fathomless, are treacherous and unsafe allies in this day.

Mr. Speaker, it is urged that if we undertake to fortify and prepare ourselves against the possibility of foreign invasion other nations might be inclined to view our program as an act of hostility, and by way of retaliation augment their own forces. This is unadulterated rubbish. It is notoriously known that other nations are not only maintaining but are increasing both their land and sea forces. This country, as a matter of fact, has no wish to incite the hate or envy of any country. It desires no additional dead weight in the form of new dependencies, no more discontented people to foster. We have no desire to further add to our now endless frontier, no desire to provoke a fight, and no desire to extend our geographical area. However, we are firmly determined to conserve our

national existence; that is, if the Congress of the United States does not permit our armed forces to fall to such a point of inefficiency that they will be entirely incapable of successfully performing their appointed functions.

Mr. Speaker, all our traditions and all our training range us against the inauguration of an aggressive warfare, and all nations conversant with the precedents of our past are not only justified in assuming that it is not our purpose to promote war, but, on the contrary, our determination to prevent war and to promote fraternity between the nations of the earth, if that, in the nature of things, be possible.

So far as we are concerned, Mr. Speaker, preparedness is not suggestive or prophetic of war, but it is a peremptory notice to the world that the United States will continue to exercise all the functions of sovereignty unmolested by any alien power.

The Making of a Representative.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CALEB POWERS,
OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 14, 1917.

Mr. POWERS. Mr. Speaker, leave has been granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing a speech made by yourself on the subject of "The making of a Representative" at a reception given to "baby Congressmen," March 16, 1916.

The Speaker of this House, the Hon. CHAMP CLARK, of Missouri, has served for the last 22 years as a Member of this body. He has been its Speaker for the last six years, and is, by reason of his long and distinguished service here, well qualified to give excellent advice upon this important subject. I shall quote his speech in full, adding merely such thoughts of mine here and there as my more or less limited experience as a Member of this body may suggest. Mr. CLARK said:

"I most heartily congratulate you gentlemen in being even what are facetiously denominated 'baby Congressmen.' It is a high honor to be a Representative in Congress, if for only one term, and with the number of terms the honor increases in geometrical rather than in arithmetical proportion. A Member's usefulness to his country should increase in the same proportion. A man has to learn to be a Representative, just as he must learn to be a blacksmith, a carpenter, a farmer, an engineer, a lawyer, or a doctor."

"Poeta nascitur, non fit"—the poet is born, not made—says Horace; but Congressmen—that is, useful and influential Congressmen—are made largely by experience and practice.

"The old Charlotte district in Virginia knew this, and kept John Randolph, of Roanoke, in the House till he became a great national figure. Then the Old Dominion sent him to the Senate and Gen. Jackson sent him to St. Petersburg. There are sporadic cases of similar action in other districts.

"It is an unwise performance for any district to change Representatives at short intervals. A new Congressman must begin at the foot of the class and spell up. Of course, the more brains, tact, energy, courage, and industry he has the quicker he will get up. If he possesses these qualities, and if his constituents will keep him in the House, he is as certain to rise as the sparks are to fly upward. No human power can keep him down. It is only fair and rational to assume that every Representative's constituents desire to see him among the 'top-notchers.'"

It should be noted that Speaker CLARK lays special stress upon the idea that "a man has to learn to be a Representative just as he must learn to be a blacksmith, a carpenter, a farmer, an engineer, a lawyer, or a doctor," and that it takes time, practice, and experience in order to do it. James A. Garfield, our martyred President, voiced the same great truth when he said: "For all the great professions known among Americans special training schools have been established or encouraged by law except for that of statesmanship; and yet no profession requires for its successful pursuit a wider range of general and special knowledge and a more thorough and varied culture." Statesmanship can not be taken on and off like a coat. It comes only after years of arduous mental toil. A new Member of Congress has about as much chance to make a "record" as a green "plug" turned out into a field with trained racers. He is about as useful to his constituents in framing and passing legislation as a blacksmith in extracting teeth or a lawyer in administering medicine to the sick. Statesmanship is as much of a profession as dentistry. It has got to be learned before it can be applied; and there is so much to be learned about so many things that years, not months and days, are needed in which to do it. The records of Congress show that it is only men of long service who have been able to accomplish much; and, therefore, Speaker CLARK says that "it is an unwise performance for any district to change Representatives at short intervals." Listen to him further on that:

"Let us take the present House and see how long the men who hold the high places have served. I can not name all, but will cite a few as samples:

"Mr. Speaker CANNON is serving his fortieth year. He holds the record, or, in pugilistic parlance, "he holds the belt," for length of service in the House in our entire history. In several Congresses he was chairman of the great Committee on Appropriations and then was Speaker eight years, only one man, Henry Clay, having been Speaker longer.

"I am serving my twenty-second year; Minority Leader MANN is serving his twentieth year; Mr. KITCHIN, chairman of Ways and Means, his sixteenth; Mr. FITZGERALD, chairman of Appropriations, his eighteenth; Mr. MOON, chairman of the Post Office and Post Roads, his twentieth; Mr. JONES, chairman of Insular Affairs and "father of the House," his twenty-sixth; Mr. FLOOD, chairman of Foreign Affairs, his sixteenth; Mr. HAY, chairman of Military Affairs, his twentieth; Mr. GLASS, chairman of Banking and Currency, his sixteenth; Mr. WEBB, chairman of the Judiciary, his fourteenth; Mr. ADAMSON, chairman of Interstate and Foreign Commerce, his twentieth; Mr. STEPHENS, chairman of Indian Affairs, his twentieth; Mr. SLAYDEN, chairman of Library, his twentieth; Mr. LEVER, chairman of Agriculture, his sixteenth; Mr. PADGETT, chairman of the Navy, his sixteenth; Mr. BURNETT, chairman of Committee on Immigration, his eighteenth; Mr. LLOYD, chairman of Accounts, his twentieth; and Mr. SPARKMAN, chairman of Rivers and Harbors, his twenty-second. There are other big chairmanships, but these will suffice to show that as a rule the big places go to old and experienced Members, and most of the men who rank close to the chairman are old-timers. The same thing holds good with reference to Members of the minority. As an illustration, Messrs. GILLETT and COOPER, who are serving their twenty-fourth year, are the ranking Republicans on Appropriations and Foreign Affairs. Both are almost certain to be chairmen of these committees, respectively, should the Republicans ever again have a majority in the House. And in that event, in all probability, Mr. MANN will be Speaker, unless he is nominated for President next June.

"Go through the whole list and you will find, with few exceptions, that the men of long service have the high places.

"New England and the cities of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh have understood the value of long service all along, and, having elected a fairly good man to Congress, they keep him in the harness.

"The Member of longest consecutive service is called 'the father of the House.' Five Philadelphians in immediate succession bore that honorable title—Randall, Kelley, O'Neill, Harmer, and Bingham. Then it went to Mr. Dalzell, of Pittsburgh. When Gen. Bingham announced the death of Gen. Harmer, his immediate predecessor as 'father of the House,' he stated that five Philadelphia 'fathers of the House' had served a total of 147 years, and he served 8 or 10 years after making that interesting statement.

"In the second and third Congresses in which I served Maine, with only four Members, had the Speakership and the chairmanship of the great Committees on Ways and Means, Navy, and Public Buildings and Grounds—a most remarkable circumstance—giving the Pine Tree State an influence in the House and the country out of all proportion to her population and wealth. These four men—Reed, Dingley, Boutelle, and Millikin—each served in the House 20 years or more. Other States might profit by her example.

"No man should be elected to the House simply to gratify his ambition. All Members should be elected for the good of the country. The best rule, it seems to me, is for a district to select a man young enough to learn and to grow, with at least fair capacity, industrious, honest, energetic, sober, and courageous, and keep him here so long as he discharges his duties faithfully and well. Such a man will gradually rise to high position and influence in the House. His wide acquaintance with Members helps him amazingly in doing things. We live in parlous times. Abraham Lincoln's favorite argument for his own reelection was that it is unwise to swap horses in the middle of the stream, which applies to Congressmen as well as Presidents.

"I can speak freely on this subject without violating the proprieties, for my constituents have kept me here 22 years, and for 20 years have given me nominations without opposition, for all of which favors I thank them from the bottom of my heart. Their generous action and unwavering friendship have

enabled me to devote all my time to the public service. I have not been compelled to spend any portion of my time in 'mending my fences.' My constituents have attended to that. God bless them!"

Even though it should not take years of patient study and unflagging industry, which it always does, for a new Member to acquaint himself with the rules and procedures of the House, the varied and various subject matters of legislation, the history and legal effect, as construed by the courts, of laws which are sought to be amended or repealed, and a thousand other things which time forbids me to mention, still the new Member would be greatly handicapped. The real work of legislation takes place in the various committees of the House of Representatives and not on the floor of the House, as too many suppose. A Member's rank on the committee depends upon his length of service in the House and the party in power. A new Member always takes his place at the foot of the class, and generally in the low-grade class at that. Neither political party is willing to risk its raw recruits on the firing line. Only trained regulars are put at the important posts. It is they, and they alone, who are made chairmen of important committees. No new Member is ever made chairman of any committee, not even of the small and relatively unimportant ones. It is the chairmen of the important committees and the ranking members on them that frame, direct, and pass the important laws for the country. When the Democrats are in power Democrats alone are made chairmen of the committees of the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States. Even the Republicans of the longest service rank on the committees below Democrats of the shortest service, but if we organize the next House we will put our men at the top and theirs at the bottom. I am now the ranking Republican on the great Committee on Education, and will be its chairman if we elect the next Speaker and organize the committees. My promotion has been rapid. Luck has played into my hands. I have been in Congress now only six years and am now in line for the chairmanship of the important Committee on Education. Speaker CLARK tells us that he was in Congress eight years and "never advanced a peg, so far as committees went." Here is what he said in the way of committee assignments: "One other thing. I do not know what committee assignments you new Members secured. If they are good, you are to be congratulated. If bad, do not be cast down. No congressional tenderfoot ever had poorer assignments than I had—Claims and Old Pensions—but I never complained or kicked. I went to work as though those committees suited me exactly.

"Here is an illustration of what may happen and how luck plays an important part: I was next-to-top Democrat on both Foreign Affairs and Patents for eight years—never advanced a peg so far as committees went. Just when, at the beginning of the ninth year on those two committees, I was about to become top Democrat on Foreign Affairs, Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS, then minority leader, assigned me to the foot of Ways and Means, and at the end of four years, through the happenings of politics in five different States, I jumped from the foot to the head of the Democratic minority on Ways and Means. So it may be with you. Events over which you have no control may advance you more rapidly than you dream of or hope for. My advice is this: 'Whatever your hand finds to do, do it with your might.'"

The advice that the Speaker gives that "whatever your hands find to do, do it with all your might," is well worth remembering. It is impossible to describe the various duties that a Member of Congress is called upon to perform. Usually his correspondence is heavy and takes a good deal of his time. On yesterday I received 55 letters, which were opened, read, and answered. I receive on an average 40 or 50 letters every day. The bulk of the Congressman's work the public never hears of nor knows about. Realizing that this is true, shrewd opponents seeking to succeed him go over his district and ask, "What has he done since he has been in Congress?" The opponent even asks this question when the opposite political party is in power and responsible for the legislation enacted. I am glad to know that constituents in many districts, my own included, are wise enough to make the candidate who asks such a question say what he would have done that the other fellow failed to do.

When the candidate and his friends are forced to say what he would have done had he been a Member of Congress that the incumbent did not do, it usually takes the wind out of their sails.

Speaker CLARK fully answers the objection often raised against a Congressman that "he has been there long enough" and shows conclusively that the long-time men are the ones who become experienced legislators, chairmen of committees, and the real powers in legislation.

Speaker CLARK says that "no man should be elected to Congress simply to gratify his ambition." Rotation in office is never advisable unless the man to be put in office can be of more service to his constituents and the public than the man to be put out. Who can be of the most service to his constituents and the country ought to be and is fast becoming the real question in all congressional races.

Donation of a Location by the City of Cleveland for a Sanatorium.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY I. EMERSON,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 14, 1917.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, the City Council of the City of Cleveland, Ohio, having offered to donate space for the location of a sanatorium to discover, if possible, a cure for the white plague, I ask to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting the resolution adopted by the City Council of the City of Cleveland as forwarded to me by Richard E. Collins, city clerk.

The resolution is as follows:

Resolved by the Council of the City of Cleveland, State of Ohio, That—

Whereas the statistics published by the United State Census Office show that about 11 per cent of all deaths are caused by tuberculosis, and that the average age at death is 34 years; and

Whereas these facts show that about one-ninth of all our people are robbed of one-half of their life by this one disease; and

Whereas the director of public welfare has communicated with a Cleveland Congressman and obtained the introduction in the House of Representatives at Washington of a resolution (H. J. Res. 355, 64th Cong., 2d sess.) which provides that the United States Government shall appropriate $1,000,000, to be expended under the direction of the President, for the purpose of constructing a laboratory and calling together the best experts in the world in an effort to discover a cure for the white plague: Be it further

Resolved, That the Council of the City of Cleveland hereby urges the adoption by Congress of the above-named resolution; and be it further

Resolved by the Council of the City of Cleveland, That a space of land of 50 or 100 acres near the sanatorium at Warrensville be, and is hereby, offered to the United States Government as a suitable location for such a laboratory; and be it further

Resolved, That the clerk of council is hereby authorized to communicate a copy of this resolution to the three Cleveland Representatives in Congress and the two United States Senators from Ohio.

Adopted by the council February 5, 1917.
Approved by the mayor February 9, 1917.

I, Richard E. Collins, clerk of Council of the City of Cleveland, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of resolution, file No. 43002, adopted by the council of the city of Cleveland February 5, 1917.

Witness my hand, at Cleveland, Ohio, this 10th day of February, 1917.

[SEAL.] RICHARD E. COLLINS,
Clerk of Council of City of Cleveland.

The Rivers and Harbors Appropriation Bill.

SPEECH

OF

HON. MURRAY HULBERT,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 23, 1917.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 20079) making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes.

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Chairman, I no less revere and admire the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, under whom it has been a pleasure to have served, than my colleague advocating the adoption of this amendment, and, although I have on frequent occasions felt impelled to disagree with him, I have never done so with more justification and less misgivings than now.

I am and have been since my appointment upon the committee a consistent advocate of the principle of placing all projects upon a continuing contract basis, for the reason that the committee which adopts the project goes further into an investiga-

tion of its merits and is therefore better able to determine its commercial importance and economic advisability than successive committees constantly changing in personnel, who, under our present system, appropriate from year to year. Moreover, the continuing contract insures a great saving to the Government, and enables the work to progress much more expeditiously.

But, Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Florida will, on March 4 next, bring to a close his long, successful, and highly commendable career upon the sea of congressional activities. He has been buffeted upon the waves of endless strife, but he has negotiated the squalls, storms, and tempest of legislative complexity, until now he is making for the calm harbor of comfortable retirement with a cargo rich in value to the people of the country, as well as in honor to himself.

We can symbolize the high regard and great esteem in which we hold him in no better way than by providing, within his period of service, for the completion of the project for the improvement of the harbor of Tampa, where he has long resided, and where he intends to resume the practice of the law; let him give to his people this greatly needed improvement which, during his service as chairman of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, it shall be one of his last acts to conclude, not, however, because he chose to exercise his influence, but in spite of it, and due solely to a genuine appreciation of his high conception of the performance of his duties, his adherence to principle, his genial and kindly spirit, and good will toward all. May he live long to enjoy the fruits of his labor and give counsel by his wisdom and advice.

Elements of the Country's Defense.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHAS. POPE CALDWELL,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 20, 1917.

Mr. CALDWELL. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

We are fourth naval power in ships; fifth naval power in men!

TAKE A HAND IN UPBUILDING THE NATION'S DEFENSES AND BE AN AMERICAN!

POST YOURSELF AND TELL YOUR CONGRESSMAN.

[Issued by the Conference Committee on National Preparedness. Compiled principally from data furnished by the United States Government for publication. Henry A. Wise Wood, chairman; Raymond B. Price, treasurer; James E. Clark, secretary. Headquarters, Forty-second Street Building, New York City.]

To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace.—George Washington.

Said Light Horse Harry Lee, an officer of the Revolution, "A government is the murderer of its citizens which sends them to the field uninformed and untaught, where they are to meet men of the same age and strength mechanized by education and discipline for battle."

Nor paper ships afloat upon seas of ink; nor troops of paper not yet of flesh and blood; nor guns and shells still writ in documents—nor these, nor cowering words, ever a nation did defend.

The Navy—Ships under construction or not yet begun.

[Work on the consruction of a ship starts coincidently with the award of contract, which is generallyseveral weeks in advance of the actual date of contract. In the construction of a ship there is no one definite event which may be designated as the starting of actual construction work.]

Name and official number.	Year authorized.	Bids opened.	Contract let or assigned to navy yard.	By whom or where built or building.	Percentage of completion.	Probable date of commission.	Remarks.
BATTLESHIPS (DREADNAUGHTS.)							
New Mexico (40)	1914		Oct. 20, 1914	N. Y. Navy Yard	52.6	June 1, 1918	Keellaid Oct. 15, 1915.
Mississippi (41)	1914	Oct. 8, 1914	Nov. 23, 1914	Newport News S. B. Co.	59.6	Apr. 1, 1918	
Idaho (42)	1914	Oct. 6, 1914	Nov. 9, 1914	N. Y. S. B. Corp., Camden, N. J.	65.5	May 1, 1918	
Tennessee (43)	1915		Dec. 28, 1915	Navy Yard, N. Y	1.4	Jan. 2, 1919	
California (44)	1915		do	Mare Is. Navy Yard, S. F.	6.1	do	Keellaid Oct. 25, 1916.
Maryland (46)	1916	Oct. 25, 1916	Dec. 5, 1916	Newport News S. B. Co.		Mar. 5, 1920	
West Virginia (48)	1916	do	do	do		Sept. 5, 1920	
Colorado (45)	1916	do	Nov. 29, 1916	N. Y. S. B. Corp		May 5, 1920	
Washington (47)	1916	do	do	do		Nov. 5, 1920	
BATTLE CRUISERS.							
Number (1)	1916	Dec. 6, 1916					Not awarded; see note "Delay on seven ships."
Number (2)	1916	do					
Number (3)	1916	do					
Number (4)	1916	do					
SCOUT CRUISERS.							
Number (4)	1916	Nov. —, 1916	Dec. 26, 1916	Seattle C. & D. Co		June 26, 1919	
Number (5)	1916	Jan. —, 1917					Not awarded; see note "Delay on seven ships."
Number (6)	1916	do					
Number (7)	1916	No bid					
DESTROYERS.							
Allen (66)	1914		Jan. 30, 1915	Bath, Me., Iron Works	91.4	Jan. 30, 1917	
Shaw (68)	1914		Dec. 24, 1914	Mare Is. Navy Yard, S. F.	89.0	Jan. 1, 1917	
Caldwell (69)	1915		Oct. 20, 1915	do	27.8	Dec. 1, 1917	
Craven (70)	1915		do	Navy Yard, Norfolk	9.1	Sept. 1, 1918	
Gwin (71)	1915		Mar. 8, 1916	Seattle C. & D. Co	10.7	Nov. 8, 1917	
Conner (72)	1915		Jan 5, 1916	Cramp & Sons, Philadelphia, Pa.	16.1	Aug. 20, 1917	
Stockton (73)	1915		do	do	16.1	Sept. 5, 1917	
Manley (74)	1915		Dec. 30, 1915	Bath, Me., Iron Works	35.4	Aug. 30, 1917	
Number (75)	1916	Oct. 25, 1916	Nov. 30, 1916	do		Sept. 30, 1918	
Number (76)	1916	do	do	do		Oct. 30, 1918	
Number (77)	1916	do	do	do		Nov. 30, 1918	
Number (78)	1916	do	do	do		Dec. 30, 1918	
Number (79)	1916	do	Dec 26, 1916	Fore River S. B. Co., Quincy, Mass.		Dec. 26, 1918	
Number (80)	1916	do	do	do		June 26, 1919	
Number (81)	1916	do	do	do		do	
Number (82)	1916	do	do	do		do	
Number (83)	1916	do	do	do		do	
Number (84)	1916	do	do	do		do	
Number (85)	1916	do	do	do		do	
Number (86)	1916	do	do	do		do	
Number (87)	1916	do	Nov. 16, 1916	Union Iron Works, S. F.		Oct. 30, 1918	
Number (88)	1916	do	do	do		Nov. 30, 1918	

DELAY ON SEVEN SHIPS.

The Secretary of the Navy on Jan. 8 wrote to the chairman of the House Naval Committee stating that 4 private companies made proposals for the construction of 4 battle cruisers and 2 scout cruisers at cost plus a percentage to cover indirect costs, plus another percentage for profit, amounting in all to about 35 per cent. The Navy Department considered all bids high and, as the cost would exceed the limit authorized, did not accept the proposals. For 1 scout cruiser no proposal was received.

The time required by the bidders on these 7 ships did not in the opinion of the Department conform to the Congressional requirement for speedy construction. In two cases construction was offered within 48 months, in one case within 51 months, and in the other case no time was named.

The naval construction program therefore faces a setback of the gravest nature. The enlargement of Government navy yards is suggested by the Secretary of the Navy as the best way to solve the difficulty.

On Aug. 29, 1916, the sum of $6,000,000 was authorized for the improvement of Government navy yards so that increased efficiency and capacity might be attained in the upbuilding of the Navy. Ships already assigned to Government yards fully engage all the facilities of these yards. To meet the new conditions the Secretary of the Navy recommended on Jan. 8, 1917, to the House Naval Committee that $12,000,000 be appropriated to be immediately available for further increasing the yards.

The Navy—Ships under construction or not yet begun—Continued.

Name and official number.	Year authorized.	Bids opened.	Contract let or assigned to navy yard.	By whom or where built or building.	Percentage of completion.	Probable date of commission.	Remarks.
DESTROYERS—continued.							
Number (89)	1916	Oct. 25, 1916	Nov. 16, 1916	Union Iron Works, S. F		Dec. 30, 1918	
Number (90)	1916	do	do	do		Jan. 30, 1918	
Number (91)	1916	do	do	do		Feb. 28, 1919	
Number (92)	1916	do	do	do		Feb. 28, 1918	
Number (93)	1916	do	Nov. 22, 1916	Mare Is. Navy Yard, S. F			
Number (94)	1916	do	do	do			
COAST SUBMARINES (600 tons).							
L-5 (44)	1912		Apr. 24, 1914	Lake T. B. Co., Bridgeport, Conn.	88.2	Feb. 1, 1917	Was due for delivery Apr. 24, 1916.
L-6 (45)	1912		do	Craig S. B. Co., Long Beach, Cal.	85.3	Apr. 1, 1917	Do.
L-7 (46)	1912		do	do	85.0	May 1, 1917	Do.
M-1 (47)	1912		Feb. 4, 1913	Fore River S. B. Co., Quincy, Mass.	99.4	Apr. 1, 1917	
L-8 (48)	1913			Navy Yard, Portsmouth, N. H.	91.8	do	Was due for delivery Nov. 27, 1916.
Schley (52)	1914		Mar. 19, 1915	Electric Boat Co	29.3	Sept. 15, 1918	
N-1 (53)	1914		do	do	73.8	May 19, 1917	
N-2 (54)	1914		do	do	68.9	June 19, 1917	
N-3 (55)	1914		do	do	76.9	July 19, 1917	
N-4 (56)	1914		Feb. 18, 1915	Lake T. B. Co., Bridgeport, Conn.	73.8	Aug. 1, 1917	
N-5 (57)	1914		do	do	72.4	Sept. 1, 1917	
N-6 (58)	1914		do	do	72.1	Oct. 1, 1917	
N-7 (59)	1914		do	do	5.3	Nov. 1, 1917	
Number (60) 800 tons	1915		Oct. 2, 1916	Fore River S. B. Co., Quincy, Mass.	5.3	Oct. 2, 1918	Fleet submarines.
Number (61) 800 tons	1915		do	do	0.0	do	
O-1 (62)	1915		Oct. 21, 1915	Navy Yard, Portsmouth, N. H.	0.0		Engines 15.08 per cent completed.
O-2 (63)	1915		do	Navy Yard, Puget, Sound, Wash.	23.8		Do.
O-3 (64)	1915		Jan. 3, 1916	Electric Boat Co	23.8	Jan. 3, 1918	
O-4 (65)	1915		do	do	23.7	Jan. 18, 1918	
O-5 (66)	1915		do	do	23.7	do	
O-6 (67)	1915		do	do	23.7	Feb. 12, 1918	
O-7 (68)	1915		do	do	23.3	do	
O-8 (69)	1915		do	do	23.3	Mar. 1, 1918	
O-9 (70)	1915		do	do	23.3	do	
O-10 (71)	1915		do	do	38.1	Mar. 24, 1918	
O-11 (72)	1915		Dec. 28, 1915	Lake T. B. Co., Bridgeport, Conn.	36.9	Oct. 28, 1917	
O-12 (73)	1915		do	do	35.6	Nov. 28, 1917	
O-13 (74)	1915		do	do	25.8	Dec. 28, 1917	
O-14 (75)	1915		Dec. 31, 1915	Calif. S. B. Co., Long Beach	25.0	Mar. 1, 1918	
O-15 (76)	1915		do	do	24.0	Apr. 1, 1918	
O-16 (77)	1915		do	do	0.0	May 1, 1918	
Number (78)	1916	Nov. —, 1916	Nov. 23, 1916	Electric Boat Co		Dec. 8, 1918	
Number (79)	1916	do	do	do		Dec. 23, 1918	
Number (80)	1916	do	do	do		Jan. 8, 1919	
Number (81)	1916	do	do	do		Jan. 23, 1919	
Number (82)	1916	do	do	do		Feb. 8, 1919	
Number (83)	1916	do	do	do		Feb. 22, 1919	
Number (84)	1916	do	Nov. 23, 1916	do		Mar. 8, 1919	
Number (85)	1916	do	do	do		Mar. 23, 1919	
Number (86)	1916	do	do	do		Apr. 8, 1919	
Number (87)	1916	do	do	do		Apr. 23, 1919	
Number (88)	1916	do	do	do		May 8, 1919	
Number (89)	1916	do	do	do		May 23, 1919	
Number (90)	1916	do	do	do		June 8, 1919	
Number (91)	1916	do	do	do		June 23, 1919	
Number (92)	1916	do	do	do		July 8, 1919	
Number (93)	1916	do	do	do		July 23, 1919	
Number (94)	1916	do	do	do		Aug. 8, 1919	
Number (95)	1916	do	do	do		Aug. 23, 1919	
Number (96)	1916	do	Dec. 1, 1916	Lake T. B. Co., Bridgeport, Conn.		Sept. 8, 1919	
Number (97)	1916	do	do	do		Sept. 23, 1919	
Number (98)	1916	do	do	do		Nov. 30, 1918	
Number (99)	1916	do	do	do		Dec. 22, 1918	
Number (100)	1916	do	do	do		Jan. 14, 1919	
Number (101)	1916	do	do	do		Feb. 7, 1919	
Number (102)	1916	do	do	Calif. S. B. Co., Long Beach		Feb. 28, 1919	
Number (103)	1915	do	Dec. 1, 1916	Calif. S. B. Co., Long Beach		Mar. 22, 1919	
Number (104)	1916	do	do	do		Apr. 30, 1919	
Number (105) 800 tons	1916	do	Nov. 23, 1916	Electric Boat Co		May 8, 1919	
Number (106) 800 tons	1916	do	Dec. 1, 1916	Lake T. B. Co., Bridgeport, Conn.		Apr. 30, 1919	
Number (107) 800 tons	1916	do	Nov. 14, 1916	Navy Yard, Portsmouth N. H.			
Number (109-145) (A)	1913						(A) Authorized but not appropriated for.
FUEL SHIPS.							
Cuyama (15)	1915		Apr. 19, 1915	Mare Is. Navy Yard, S. F	84.3	Apr. 1, 1917	Keel laid Dec. 15, 1915
Number (16)	1915		Aug. 29, 1916	Boston Navy Yard	0.0	No estimate	
TRANSPORTS.							
Henderson (1)	1913		Feb. 19, 1914	Navy Yard, Phila., Pa	86.7	Apr. 1, 1917	
Number (2)	1916						Authorized but not appropriated for.
SUPPLY SHIP.							
Bridge (1)	1913	Oct. —, 1913	Feb. 19, 1914	Navy Yard, Boston	87.3	June 1, 1917	
HOSPITAL SHIP.							
Number (1)	1913		Aug. 29, 1916	Navy Yard, Phila., Pa		June 12, 1919	
GUN BOAT.							
Number (21)	1916		do	Navy Yard, Charleston, S. C.	0.0	No estimate	
AMMUNITION SHIP.							
Number (1)	1913		Jan. —, 1917	Navy Yard, Puget Sound		do	

NITRATE PLANT.

Preliminary to the establishment of a Government nitrate plant for the manufacture of nitrates, essential for ammunition, a committee was appointed to investigate the various nitrate manufacturing processes. This committee has not yet reported.

ARMOR-PLATE PLANT.

An appropriation of $11,000,000, included in the Navy bill of August 29, 1916, provided for the establishment of a plant to manufacture armor plate for the Navy. Coinciding with a military principle laid down by the Army War College, the General Board of the Navy has advised that the plant shall not be located east of the Appalachian Mountains, west of the Cascade or Sierra Nevada Mountains, nor within 200 miles of the Canadian or Mexican frontiers. A board of three officers—Read Admiral Frank F. Fletcher, Commander Frank H. Clark, and Civil Engineer Reuben E. Bakenhus—is now canvassing the many sites proposed within the approved zone.

NAVAL CONSULTING BOARD.

The Naval Consulting Board of 24 civilians, headed by Thomas A. Edison, and whose members were selected because of eminence in science, was organized for the purpose of obtaining from men of industrial achievement expert advice in the many problems entailed in the upbuilding of the Navy. The board held its first meeting on October 5, 1915. The Secretary of the Navy states that of the many problems presented to this board "some have been solved and others are in process of investigation."

The committee of production, organization, manufacture, and standardization of the Naval Consulting Board, popularly known as the committee on industrial preparedness, has completed a confidential industrial inventory of the manufacturing resources of the country. Twenty-seven thousand reports, covering the leading manufacturing concerns in this country, have been secured by this committee. They are completely indexed for the use of the Army and Navy, and have been turned over to the Council of National Defense.

The board has passed upon the value of many inventions offered to the Navy Department. Congress, in the Navy bill approved August 29, 1916, appropriated $1,500,000 for the establishment of a laboratory for the Naval Consulting Board. On September 19, 1916, the board was requested to investigate and report upon a site and plans. A committee of the board has since made extensive study and investigations, which were made the basis of a recommendation as to the best site for the construction of this laboratory.

The existing Navy.

SHIPS IN FULL COMMISSION.

Battleships (13 dreadnaughts, 1 predreadnaught)	14
Armored cruisers	3
Cruisers, second class	2
Cruisers, third class	8
Destroyers	38
Monitors	4
Submarines	38
Transports	3
Gunboats	18
Supply ships	4
Fuel ships	20
Converted yachts	5
Tugs	47
Tenders to torpedo vessels	5
Mine training ship	1
Surveying ship	1
Ammunition ship	1
Repair ship	1
Mine depot ships	2
Hospital ship	1
Unserviceable for war purposes, but acting as station ships, training ships, and receiving ships	7
Total in full commission	224

SHIPS NOT IN FULL COMMISSION.

In commission in reserve.

Battleships	10
Armored cruisers	7
Cruisers, first class	4
Cruiser, second class	1
Cruisers, third class	5
Destroyers	11
Torpedo boat	1
Monitors	2
Gunboats	2
Special types	2
Unserviceable for war purposes, but serving as receiving ships and station ship	3

In commission in ordinary.

Cruiser, third class	1
Destroyers	2
Monitor	1
Submarines	3
Torpedo boats	12
Unserviceable for war purposes (operating with reduced complement)	1
Destroyers	18

Out of commission.

Battleships	3
Cruiser, first class	1
Cruiser, second class	1
Cruisers, third class	2
Destroyer	1
Torpedo boats	4
Submarines	2
Gunboats	7
Transport	1
Fuel ship	1
Tenders to torpedo vessels	2
Converted yachts	9
Unserviceable for war purposes	9
Total not in full commission	127

DEFINITION OF TERMS.

"Ships in full commission" are fully officered and manned, either under orders or liable to orders for service without previous notice.

"Ships in commission in reserve" are maintained at some designated navy yard or other suitable place and kept ready for sea on short notice. They have reduced complements of officers and men, and they fly the flag and pennant. No repair work shall be undertaken on them that will render them unable to move upon the expiration of four working days after the receipt of orders without first obtaining permission from the department.

"Ships in commission in ordinary" are maintained at some designated navy yard under the commandant and "in such condition as will best tend to keep them in efficient condition for service if needed, under detailed instructions from the department." They have complements of officers and men aboard only large enough to enable them to be properly cared for in the condition in which ordered to be maintained. They fly the flag and pennant.

"Ships out of commission" have no personnel on board, are under full control of the commandant of the navy yard at which they lie, and do not fly the flag or pennant. Repairs on them may be carried on as authorized by the department or they may be simply held out of commission and not under repair awaiting the department's instruction to commission or otherwise dispose of them.

Included in the ships "Out of commission" are the first-class cruiser *Milwaukee* and the submarine *H–3* recently wrecked off Eureka, Cal., and probably a total loss.

MEN NEEDED TO PUT EXISTING SHIPS IN COMMISSION.

The Secretary of the Navy states that to put all existing ships into commission "the Navy would be short approximately 938 officers, 8,049 regulars, and 23,330 reserves after using 9,000 militia and 463 fleet reserves. The shortage will increase for each new ship commissioned in 1917 and 1918, and the three-year program alone will require 29,127."

Personnel of the Navy.

[Bureau of Navigation, excepting figures indicated by reference mark.]

	Authorized strength.	Present strength.	Required on completion of 3-year program.
Officers	[1]3,200	2,111	4,487
Enlisted men	81,322	55,445	99,809
Enlisted men reserves	.....	.....	45,870

[1] 4 per cent of authorized enlisted strength.

Estimated present shortage—Officers, 1,099; men, 25,877.

Marine Corps.

Present strength:	
Officers	337
Enlisted men	11,618
Authorized increase:	
Officers	600
Enlisted	14,981

Navy aeronautics.

The appropriation for Navy aeronautics available under the acts of August 29 is $3,500,000.

PERSONNEL.

Officers authorized	150
Enlisted men authorized	350
Present number of officers	53
Present number of enlisted men	163

MACHINES (IN SERVICE).

Seaplanes	37
Kite balloons	2
Seaplanes awaiting decision as to disposition	8

ORDERED.

Seaplanes on order or awaiting acceptance	40
Kite balloon on order	1
Kite balloon awaiting survey	1
Dirigible undergoing trials	1

Plan of the 3-year program—1917, 1918, 1919.

[Authorized by act of Congress of Aug. 29, 1916.]

Type.	Authorized in 3-year program.	Appropriated for in naval bill for 1917.	Recommended to be appropriated for in naval bill for 1918.	Remaining to be provided for in naval bill, 1919.
Battleships	10	4	3	5
Battle cruisers	6	4	1	3
Scout cruisers	10	4	3	1
Destroyers	50	20	15	13
Fleet submarines	9	.....	4	5
Coast submarines	58	30	14	14
Fuel ships	3	1	.....	2
Repair ships	1	.....	.....	1
Transports	1	.....	.....	1
Hospital ships	1	1	.....	.....
Destroyers' tenders	2	.....	1	1
Submarine tenders	1	.....	1	.....
Ammunition ships	2	1	.....	1
Gunboats	2	1	.....	1
Total	156	66	42	48

CHANNELS TO IMPORTANT NAVY YARDS.

To give free and safe passage of capital ships to and from the Brooklyn Navy Yard on the Atlantic coast and the Mare Island yard on the Pacific 35-foot channels are necessary. The War Department says:

"East River: The present project for through channel provides for a depth of only 26 feet through Hell Gate, but the river and harbor act of July 27, 1916, adopted a project providing for a channel 35 feet deep at mean low water and 1,000 feet wide from deep water in the Hudson River off the Battery, New York City, to deep water in East River off Coenties Slip, Manhattan Borough, in order to give this depth of 35 feet to the Brooklyn Navy Yard. Preliminary steps are now being taken with a view to making a contract covering this work. No actual field operations have yet been commenced. Further congressional authority will be required in order to work on the project for a through channel of 35 feet between New York Harbor and Long Island Sound.

"Mare Island Channel: The present project for the channel in the approach to Mare Island, through San Pablo Bay, Pacific coast, provides for a depth of only 30 feet. This depth was secured, but shoaling has taken place, and work of restoration of channel is now in progress with a new Government dredge built for this purpose. Further congressional authority will be required before work can be undertaken for a depth greater than 30 feet."

The Army.

The Army needs men; help to recruit! The Army needs guns, shells—everything; tell your Congressman!

THE REGULAR ARMY.

The following statement shows the authorized strength of the Army and the actual strength and the number of vacancies on December 31, 1916. Complete returns for December have not been received, but the figures given are based on the best data now obtainable:

Arm or corps.	Authorized strength.	Actual strength.	Vacancies.
Engineers	2,198	2,089	109
Cavalry	17,357	17,556	[1]199
Field Artillery	7,881	7,090	791
Infantry	51,224	39,288	11,936
Coast Artillery	21,423	18,748	2,675
Total line	100,083	84,771	15,312
Recruiting parties and unassigned recruits	11,539	8,866	2,673
Quartermaster Corps	8,000	5,863	2,137
Ordnance	1,241	741	500
Signal Corps	3,369	1,757	1,612
Medical Department	6,614	6,203	411
Miscellaneous organizations (service school detachments, prison guards, Indian scouts, etc.)	2,320	1,758	562
Total	133,166	109,959	23,207

[1] Excess.

Authorized strength on July 1, 1920.

Under the five-year increment plan the strength of the Regular Army on July 1, 1920, should be—

Peace strength:		
Officers		11,450
Enlisted men		175,000
Noncombatant troops, including unassigned recruits		42,750
Philippine Scouts		5,733
Approximate total in 1920		223,589
Maximum war strength:		
Officers		12,030
Enlisted men, including Philippine Scouts		298,000
Total		310,030

Aggregate strength of National Guard troops in the service of the United States.

June 30, 1916	82,927	82,927
July 31, 1916:		
On border duty	110,957	
In State mobilization camps	40,139	151,096
Aug. 31, 1916:		
On border duty	111,954	
In State mobilization camps	26,643	138,597
Sept. 30, 1916:		
On border duty	108,018	
In State mobilization camps	35,684	143,702
Oct. 31, 1916:		
On border duty	102,527	
At home stations for muster out	19,711	122,238
Aggregate strength of National Guard organizations not called into the service of the United States		20,021

The "Unorganized Militia," so called, is the entire eligible male population of the country, being all those male citizens between the ages of 18 and 45, and not disqualified, physically or otherwise, from performing military service in time of war.

PRESENT STATUS OF ORDNANCE.

Procurement of gauges, dies, and jigs necessary for the manufacture of arms and munitions of war. (Appropriation, $200,000.) The War Department says:

"In addition to placing orders for small-arms ammunition through private manufacturers, which necessarily results in these establishments being equipped with gauges, dies, and jigs for the manufacture of said small-arms ammunition, steps are being taken to manufacture master gauges, inspection gauges, and working gauges sufficient to equip five small-arms ammunition plants.

"The procurement of gauges, etc., for the manufacture of .30-caliber rifles has not yet reached the point where orders for these have been given. Specifications governing the manufacture of rifles by private manufactures have, however, been prepared and final action along these manufacturers have, however, been prepared and final action along these in this country.

"Small-arms ammunition on hand or provided for up to June 30, 1916, 227,000,000 rounds; on hand or provided for up to June 30, 1917, 387,000,000 rounds. United States rifles, caliber .30, model of 1903: On hand or provided for up to June 30, 1916, 725,000; on hand or provided for up to June 30, 1917, 836,000."

FIELD ARTILLERY AMMUNITION.

The department states that the manufacture of ammunition for both mobile and seacoast artillery has been inaugurated on a scale that will furnish the prescribed allowances of ammunition within the time allotted for the completion of the program. The increases in the capacity of the various Government arsenals manufacturing ammunition which were authorized by the last Congress are well under way, so that their capacity will be greatly increased in the near future. In addition, large orders have been placed for the various components of ammunition with many of the private manufacturers in the country equipped for this work.

Batteries of 3-inch and 4.7-inch guns and 6-inch howitzers have been ordered, either to be manufactured at the arsenals or to be procured under contract, and awards for additional material heavier than 6-inch will be made in a few days. The department hopes that in addition to the American designs representatives in this country of foreign companies may be able to submit designs of material now used in the European war.

Army aeronautics.

[Total appropriation, $13,281,666.]

PERSONNEL.

Officers authorized	77
Enlisted men authorized	1,800
Present number of officers, including those detailed and retired officers on active duty	96
Present number of enlisted men	600
Machines in service:	
Land machines	67
Hydroaeroplanes	4
Flying boats	2
Total	73
Machines ordered:	
Land machines	206
Hydroaeroplanes	80
Flying boats	16
Total	302

In addition, 5 captive balloons for field artillery fire control have been ordered.

ONE ZEPPELIN TO BE CONSTRUCTED.

A large dirigible of the Zeppelin type is to be constructed by a joint board of Army and Navy officers. They are not ready to say what it will cost or to give its dimensions.

THE VOLUNTEER SYSTEM.

The volunteer system can not now under the most favorable circumstances produce anything like the number of men required for the national defense. It is undemocratic, unreliable, inefficient, and extravagant. It is undemocratic, because it shifts the burden of national defense from the shoulders of the many, where it rightfully belongs, to the shoulders of the few whose financial condition in life or whose patriotism impels them to offer themselves to accept the risks and hardships of war. Furthermore, instead of unifying our people to the extent where all individuals are willing to undergo sacrifice for the national good, it affords great opportunity for the selfish and unpatriotic to stay at home in time of war and to fatten on the adversity of the Nation and on the necessities of the families of better men who have volunteered for the country's defense. (Hugh L. Scott, major general.)

COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE.

The Council of National Defense "for the coordination of industries and resources for the national security and welfare," and which is composed of the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Commerce, and the Secretary of Labor, held its first meeting on December 6, 1916. Upon the nomination of the council the President has appointed an advisory commission to the council, each of whom has special knowledge of some industry, public utility, or the development of some national resource. The advisory commission of the Council of National Defense is composed of Dr. Hollis Godfrey, Drexel Institute, Philadelphia, Pa.; Dr. Franklin H. Martin, Chicago, Ill.; Howard E. Coffin, Hudson Motor Co., Detroit, Mich.; Julius Rosenwald, Sears Roebuck Co., Chicago, Ill.; Bernard M. Baruch, New York City; Samuel Gompers, American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.; Daniel Willard, the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Co., Baltimore, Md.

Headquarters have been established in the Munsey Building, Washington, and Walter S. Gifford has been appointed director of the council. The council has actively entered upon its work of coordination.

Unofficial statement of our needs.

WE NEED A NAVY NOW.

1. An emergency appropriation of $250,000,000 should be made at once to be used in rushing all work on new vessels and the repair of old; for the purchase and manufacture of armament, ammunition, torpedoes and accessories; for the purchase or charter of fast yachts and motor boats for use as auxiliaries; for the purchase or charter of colliers and transports; for hydroaeroplanes; for developing wireless control of torpedoes; for mine layers and mines, and for the accumulation of coal and fuel oil.

2. All Government and civilian yards which are building warships should be required at once to work double shift. They are now working but one eight-hour shift a day.

3. All vessels of the three-year program should be begun at once.

4. The three-year program is short of scout cruisers, destroyers, seagoing submarines, and many auxiliary vessels. There should be authorized and begun at once:

Twenty-five additional scout cruisers.
Seventy-five additional destroyers.
Forty additional seagoing submarines.

A proportionate number of auxiliary vessels.

The British Navy has over 1,000 colliers in commission and as many destroyers.

5. Command of the sea involves command of the air. A great air navy should be begun at once. Congress has failed to make adequate provision for an air navy. This we must have without delay.

6. The Navy is now short 1,000 officers. Many additional officers are needed to handle the new vessels being finished. Ships can not be used or fought without officers. Prompt action of wide scope is imperative. The size of the Naval Academy and the number of midshipmen should be quadrupled at once.

7. The Navy is 26,000 men short. Many additional men are needed to man new vessels being finished. Ships can not work themselves. Means must be found to get these men at once and train them.

WE NEED AN ARMY NOW.

1. Some action must be taken at once looking toward universal training and the organization of our people and resources which will tend to convince other nations that we are a united people prepared to make sacrifices for our country.

2. There should be issued an immediate call of the National Guard, with orders to recruit up to maximum strength and form depot battalions.

3. There should be issued at once a call for 500,000 volunteer troops immediately following the call for the National Guard, these to be organized and trained so as to become dependable troops in six months.

4. There should be applied immediately section 120 of the national-defense act, so as to enforce precedence of all orders given manufacturers for military equipment for the United States.

5. An emergency appropriation of $250,000,000 should be made at once for the purchase and manufacture of arms, ammunition, and equipment, especially the following: Artillery, especially heavy mobile artillery of long range, and great stores of ammunition for the same; machine guns, especially of the light, portable type, and ammunition; aeroplanes in large numbers; antiaircraft guns and ammunition; small arms and ammunition; portable searchlights; field telephones and other equipment for communication; radio pack sets; motor tractors for artillery and trucks for transportation; animals for mounted troops and for animal transportation; entrenching tools and material for obstacles; clothing, blankets, tentage, and individual equipments; high explosives; armored cars and land dreadnaughts; and the full equipment of our coast defenses.

Time Study and Premium-Payment System.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM GORDON,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 15, 1917.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me today I print a letter from Gen. Crozier, and from Mr. N. P. Alifas, president of District No. 44, International Association of Machinists, on the subject of the Taylor or time-study and premium-payment system and extracts from the hearings before our committee on that subject. They are as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *February 1, 1917.*

Hon. WILLIAM GORDON, M. C.,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: In compliance with your suggestion during our interview of January 30, I submit herewith some of the reasons why we are opposed to the Taylor system of shop management being adopted by the United States Government.

The Taylor system of shop management consists of an aggregation of measures designed to work men at their highest practicable speed and to pay them the lowest wage in accordance with the "law of supply and demand." The scheme as outlined by Mr. Frederick W. Taylor, and as apparently approved by some officials of the War Department, contemplates:

1. A time study, the purpose of which is to ascertain the quickest possible time in which work can be done.

2. The adoption of a premium or bonus system designed to bribe them to work as hard as they can at the least expense.

3. A disciplinary system designed in every way to intensify competition among the workmen.

4. The maintaining of a force sufficiently large to enable the employer from time to time to discharge a workman who fails to meet his task.

5. The setting of the task as high as the condition of the labor market

6. The displacing of well-paid and skilled labor by unskilled and semi- and the endurance of the workman will allow.

skilled labor whose wages are low, but, if taken in conjunction with a premium or bonus, will be somewhat higher than the ordinary laborer's pay, but not as high as the class of employees displaced.

7. The employment of foremen in such a way that each employee has eight different bosses, the duties of each one of whom are to secure the utmost out of the employee in the particular part of his work under that supervisor's jurisdiction.

The Taylor system contemplates at its inception the establishment of a mild form of premium or bonus, a form which will not unduly speed up the employee and as the machinery of the system is improved to gradually adopt one form of bonus after another until the most drastic form is secured.

As proof of the above assertions, I beg to invite your attention to extracts from the writings of Mr. Frederick W. Taylor, the author of the Taylor system, contained in Exhibit A herewith inclosed, on pages 9 to 12, inclusive.

It has never been contended by us that the War Department has as yet succeeded in introducing the Taylor system in its most drastic form. However, when the fight against the Taylor system was first begun we were unable to secure from the officials at the War Department a positive statement that they would not go the full length recommended by Mr. Taylor in his writings.

In your capacity as a Member of Congress you are oftentimes called upon to pass upon what the probable effect of certain legislation will be. If a scheme of management for employees of the United States Government were presented to you for your consideration having for its aims and objects those indicated in the paragraphs to which I have invited your attention on pages 9 to 12 of Exhibit A, it would seem to me that it would be your duty as a responsible official to protect the well-being of the American people to resist any such program being even started.

The mere fact a Government official states in one breath that he is going to introduce a system of shop management such as herein described and then in another breath tells you he is not going to oppress any workman with it should be judged in the light of probability.

As a member of the Military Affairs Committee I am sure you would not be willing that a foreign power should transmit and maintain in this country large bodies of troops and ammunition and so locate themselves as to take possession of our strongholds even though they gave you positive assurance that they would not press their advantages.

I have read with much interest your address on the floor of the House on January 29 in connection with the anti-Taylor system clause incorporated in the fortifications bill, and feel that if the objections raised by you were the principal ones you had against this legislation that your opposition ought to be withdrawn, because they almost in their entirety appear to rest on a misconception of the matter at issue.

Taking them up seriatim, I desire to comment as follows:

1. The purpose of the legislation is not to make the Government arsenals inefficient, but to protect workmen against undue speeding up.

Exhibit B, herewith inclosed, shows that the Rock Island Arsenal, for instance, in which the Taylor system has never been introduced, is turning out work far cheaper than the same materials can be purchased for from contractors. This in itself is an indication that the men are not loafing. When an arsenal is turning out work for from 25 to 60 per cent less than the same thing can be made for when done by contract, there is no necessity to charge the employees with loafing or to introduce a system of intensive production such as the Taylor system.

2. The legislation we are asking to have inserted in the Army bill and which was incorporated in last year's bill does not prevent cost keeping, since it permits the ascertaining of when work is started and when it is completed, but prevents detailed time study between the starting and completion of work. Both the arsenals and navy yards have accurate cost-keeping systems which are independent and no part of the Taylor speeding-up system. The time study contemplated by the Taylor system is designed to ascertain how quickly work should be done. Cost keeping is keeping tab of how long it is taking to turn out the work. The Taylor system time study does not furnish reliable information about the cost of work, since it only prophesies how long the work should take. The ascertaining of how long it does take is an afterconsideration and is not the practice we are endeavoring to prohibit.

3. The opposition to the Taylor system does not originate with representatives of labor. The numerous petitions filed with the Chief of Ordnance and the Committee on Labor by the employees at the arsenals against the Taylor system are proof of this and can be readily ascertained upon inquiry.

4. The assertion that the cost of work has increased enormously at the Watertown Arsenal since the abolition of the Taylor system is not supported by facts, except such as those that have been gotten up by persons whose special desire is to discredit any move to abolish the system, and upon investigation it would no doubt be found that the conclusions were based upon one-sided information or that there were other contributing causes to it. For instance, at the time the Taylor system was abolished at Watertown the average wages for machinists was $3.13; the average wages at the Boston yard, in the same vicinity, was $3.84. The Ordnance Department refuses to increase the wages, possibly wanting the employees to feel the sting of losing the premium, and in this way they lost many of their best men and killed incentive in the rest because they would not pay the prevailing rate. After this was done for several months they increased wages. It has been our contention that the existence of the premium system has been a bar to securing increases, and that is partially borne out by the fact that the Watertown Arsenal, where the Taylor system was in operation, the basic pay rate was far below what were being paid in other Government establishments in that same vicinity. The Watertown Arsenal, which had virtually been the battle ground upon which the Taylor-system question was fought out, was not at all unlike the condition of the South after the Civil War—that is, in a deplorable state of affairs.

5. The opposition of the employees would have prevented the Ordnance Department from setting the highest possible tasks, even though they had desired to. The fact that they did not set the highest tasks possible is no guaranty that they would not do it had they the opportunity.

6. While the system had not attained the speed which, no doubt, is ultimately desired at the Watertown Arsenal, I know of at least one man personally who suffered a nervous breakdown through being harrassed in his work at the Watertown Arsenal while the Taylor system was in operation; but, regardless of whether or not that be true, it does not detract from the strength of our contention that no such practices as contemplated by the Taylor system should be inaugurated in the Government plants.

7. The isolated cases of increased cost being referred to, I have been advised by employees, can be duplicated in instances where men have materially exceeded the task set under the premium system, due to the fact that the fear no longer existed that the new accomplishments would be held over their heads as a task to be lived up to ever afterwards or which, under an unjust premium system, could be used at times to make up time lost on poor premium jobs.

Certain questions asked of the Chief of Ordnance by the members of the Military Affairs Committee on page 957 of the hearings this year contains the suggestion that possibly such loafing as indicated in the horrible examples cited were allowed for the purpose of furnishing ammunition with which to criticize Congress and their employees in their combined effort to maintain sane labor conditions at the arsenals and to avoid such excesses as the Taylor system contemplates. Certainly any supervisor can prevent men from sitting around on nail kegs if he wants to without the use of the Taylor system.

In conclusion, I desire to assure you that the employees are entirely satisfied with the abolition of the Taylor system and intend to resist any effort to reintroduce it.

Assuring you that I shall be glad to discuss this matter with you personally should you desire and supply you with any information I

may have on hand, and hoping that you can give us your support in the matter of securing again the proposed legislation this year through the Army bill, I am,

Very respectfully, yours,

N. P. ALIFAS,
President District No. 44,
International Association of Machinists.

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WAR DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF ORDNANCE,
Washington, February 3, 1917.

Hon. WILLIAM GORDON,
House of Representatives.

DEAR SIR: I return herewith the letter addressed to you under date of February 1 by Mr. N. P. Alifas, president District No. 44, International Association of Machinists, arraigning the "Taylor system" of scientific shop management, as it was in practice at the Watertown Arsenal before the prohibition by Congress of certain of its features. I inclose a copy of Senate document No. 800, Sixty-third Congress, third session, which relates the experience of the Ordnance Department with the Taylor system, and I have indicated on the first page of the document the order in which I think the other pages would best be read so as to secure the best understanding of the document's contents.

The answers to most of the criticisms of the system made in Mr. Alifas's letter will be found in this document, and, therefore, because of your desire for a prompt answer, I shall refer only briefly to the most prominent of them.

It is not the design of the Taylor system to "work men at their highest practicable speed and to pay them the lowest wage in accordance with the 'law of supply and demand'" but to decrease the cost of production while increasing the wages of labor and improving the lot of both employer and employee.

It is not the object of time study "to ascertain the quickest possible time in which work can be done," but to ascertain the time in which work can reasonably be expected to be done, without injury or disagreeable effect to the workman.

The premium or bonus system is not designed to bribe workmen "to work as hard as they can at the least expense," but to give them a substantial reward for attaining a reasonable time in which work should be expected to be done or for measurably approaching it.

It is not designed to "intensify competition among the workmen," but to ascertain accurately what a good workman, well suited to his job, can reasonably be expected to do, without reference to competition with other workmen.

It does not differ from other systems of employing labor in its attempt to maintain a force of such size that an unsatisfactory workman may be discharged for any sufficient failure.

It does not aim to set tasks "as high as the condition of the labor market and the endurance of the workman will allow," but sets them reasonably and scientifically, so as not to task the endurance of the workman or to require him to work at an unpleasant rate.

It does not differ from other systems in common practice of employing, when practicable, less skilled, in place of highly skilled, workmen to perform certain operations frequently repeated, instead of the variety of operations for which a skilled journeyman is required. In this respect it follows, as do all successful systems, the methods which are so prominently illustrated in the shoe industry and in the gun-making industry.

The system employs foremen who concern themselves with different features of the work being done in an establishment instead of having one foreman in charge of every feature of the work done in a particular section. For instance, there is one foreman who is concerned with the rate at which various machines shall be run, the feed and speed of cutting tools, etc., who is called the "speed boss"; another who is concerned with the order and sequence of assignments of various jobs, and the order of performance, to the different machines in his part of the shops, who is called the "gang boss"; etc. It is believed that this system of "functional foremanship" is more efficient than that of having each foreman attend to every kind of thing, for the reason that it requires of a foreman only the class of superintendence for which he is best fitted.

The extracts from the writings of Mr. Taylor, which are quoted from pages 9 to 12 of House Report No. 1175, Sixty-third Congress, second session, being separated from their context, are in many cases misleading and in many inconclusive. If carefully read, I do not think that they should serve to condemn the system, and in order to give some other indications of the spirit of Mr. Taylor's system I give below some quotations from a treatise on "Shop management," by Mr. Taylor:

"18. It is safe to say that no system or scheme of management should be considered which does not in the long run give satisfaction to both employer and employee which does not make it apparent that their best interests are mutual, and which does not bring about such thorough and hearty cooperation that they can pull together instead of apart. * * *

"30. It must be distinctly understood that in referring to the possibilities of a first-class man the writer does not mean what he can do when on a spurt or when he is overexerting himself, but what a good man can keep up for a long term of years without injury to his health and become happier and thrive under.

"420. He is firmly convinced that the best interests of the workmen and their employers are the same, so that in his criticism of labor unions he feels that he is advocating the interests of both sides.

"423. In the writer's judgment the system of treating with labor unions would seem to occupy a middle position among the various methods of adjusting the relations between employers and men.

"426. The amount of work which a man should do in a day, what constitutes proper pay for this work, and the maximum number of hours per day which a man should work together form the most important elements which are discussed between workmen and their employers. The writer has attempted to show that these matters can be much better determined by the expert time student than by either the union or a board of directors, and he firmly believes that in the future scientific time study will establish standards which will be accepted as fair by both sides.

"432. * * * The worst thing that a labor union can do for its members, in the long run, is to limit the amount of work which they allow each workman to do in a day. * * *

"434. Promotion, high wages, and, in some cases, shorter hours of work are the legitimate ambitions of a workman, but any scheme which curtails the output should be recognized as a device for lowering wages in the long run.

"439. Some method of disciplining the men is unfortunately a necessary element of all systems of management. It is important that a consistent, carefully considered plan should be adopted for this, as for all other details of the art. No system of discipline is at all complete which is not sufficiently broad to cover the great variety in the character and disposition of the various men to be found in a shop."

It is true that the arsenals of this department have frequently been able to do manufacturing work at less cost than the price to be paid for similar work from private manufacturers. This is true of the Rock Island Arsenal, as stated in Mr. Alifas's letter; but at that arsenal there is a good deal of piecework, which is a system which makes the same efforts to pay labor in accordance with output as does the Taylor system of scientific management, but which does not permit as accurate ascertainment of what should constitute a reasonable job and does not permit guaranteeing a minimum wage to the workman, as does the premium system. The Watertown Arsenal, which is the only one where the time-study and premium system has been in operation, did not before the introduction of the Taylor system of management exhibit as economical production as the arsenals at which piecework was in practice.

It is true that the abolition of time study and premium payment has never interfered with cost keeping, but it has seriously interfered with keeping costs down.

It is also true that there have been numerously signed petitions from the employees of this department against the time-study and premium system, but there is a good deal of evidence that these petitions do not represent the real sentiment of the workmen, and you will see by reading Senate Document No. 800, inclosed, the kind of influence which was brought to bear upon the workmen by labor organizations in connection with these petitions. You will also find in this document the principal petitions which have been received and the answers to them, which will show you that the reasons advanced against the system are so trivial and flimsy that they either can not have been properly understood by the signers or can not have been the real reasons for their signatures.

The table published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (pp. 2375 and 2376) shows the increased time required in a number of instances, taken from the records, to do jobs of work after premium payment had been abolished by Congress as compared with the time taken under the premium system. These cases were taken at random and represent the average condition very fairly.

The Watertown Arsenal has always paid the wages of the vicinity for work of like character, and has made the best efforts possible to ascertain what the wages of the vicinity have been. The last ascertainment was made by a representative of the Department of Labor, appointed by the Secretary of Labor, who found that the wages already paid at the arsenal differed but little from those of the vicinity, although the investigation was made at a time when the rising scale of the period since the commencement of the European war had made considerable progress. It is true that in many instances the wages at the arsenal are not as high as those paid at the Charlestown Navy Yard, but the representative of the Department of Labor has sustained the rate of wages at the arsenal. The wages which I am speaking of have been the base wages, upon which percentages have been computed as premiums and paid in addition to these wages under the Taylor system.

No workman has ever claimed to be overworked at the Watertown Arsenal in connection with the Taylor system, and no such case of overwork exists.

I do not know of any case in which tasks set under the premium system have been materially exceeded since the abolition of that system, and I should be glad to investigate any such cases which may be submitted and to give official confirmation of their existence, if they can be found.

Hoping that you may find the information herein given useful, I am,
Sincerely, yours,

WILLIAM CROZIER,
Brigadier General, Chief of Ordnance,
United States Army.

Mr. OLNEY. The bonus system has been done away with at the arsenals under a rider to our bill?

Gen. CROZIER. Yes, sir.

Mr. OLNEY. Has that interfered with the efficiency and economy of manufacturing arms and ammunition?

Gen. CROZIER. Yes, sir; it has interfered considerably. The legislation which was included in the Army bill last year and the year before, and which was included in the fortification bill, and other bills affecting the Ordnance Department, forbids the use of what is known as the time study in setting rates of pay for each piece of work, and forbids the payment of any premium or bonus or cash reward to an employee in addition to his regular day's pay. Now, the time study is a method for ascertaining the time in which a given piece of work can reasonably be expected to be performed. It is a scientific method of ascertaining what output ought to be in reason, and the premium or bonus is one of the methods of paying the employee an extra amount for attaining this reasonable output or for measurably approaching it. Both of those things have been forbidden. At the Watertown Arsenal I had the system of time study and of premium payments in operation to a more complete extent than at any other arsenal.

A short time ago I called upon that arsenal for a report as to the effect upon output which had been had by the legislation forbidding the payment of premiums since that legislation went into effect last summer, and I have received from the arsenal a report giving a number of instances in which the identical job of work had been done under the premium system and under the regular day-rate system. I will say that our method of paying these premiums was so adjusted that if a workman should do a piece of work in the time which had been ascertained to be reasonable he received a premium which amounted to 33 per cent of his pay, in addition to his regular pay, and his regular pay was adjusted with reference to the rate in the vicinity for work of like character and for a man of like skill. Now, there are reported here 49 instances, selected at random, of the same job done under the premium system of payment and under the regular day-rate system of payment, and in many cases—I think in about one-third of the cases—the jobs were done by the same man. I will not read this table, but I will just cite one or two of the examples as illustrative of the general effect. Taking the first job which is mentioned in the list, which is a job of retapping the base of some 4.7-inch shell, a man last August did 100 of those shell in 10 hours under the premium system of payment.

As soon as he had finished that job he was given the next day another 100 to do, but the second 100 were to be paid for out of funds

appropriated in the act forbidding the payment of premiums, and to do the second 100 he took 22.95 hours. The first 100 were done in 10 hours and the second 100, done immediately afterwards, were done in 22.95 hours. That is to say, it took him two and three-tenths times as long to do the same amount of work under the day-rate system of payment as it took him under the premium system.

Mr. KAHN. How much did he get under the premium system and how much did he get under the day-rate system for doing the same work?

Gen. CROZIER. Under the premium system he had earned for the six months preceding the time which I am speaking of an average of 35 per cent over and above his regular pay; that is to say, his average earnings had been 35 per cent, which means that he had done the different jobs of work assigned to him in just a little less than the time which had been set as the reasonable time, and if he had met that time it would have involved an increase in his pay of 33 per cent; but he actually made on an average 35 per cent.

Mr. QUIN. Do you mean to say it took him 22.95 hours to do what he had done in 10 hours?

Gen. CROZIER. Yes, sir.

Mr. QUIN. Ought he not to have been discharged for "laying down" on his job?

Gen. CROZIER. That is not the worst case.

Mr. QUIN. Give us the worst case, because I may change my opinion about this matter.

Gen. CROZIER. The case I have just given you is the case of a job being done by the same man. The worst case which I have of a job done by the same man was a job of cutting a slot in 4.7-inch base plugs. A man did 100 of those in 2.66 hours under the premium system, and then afterwards he did 20 under the day-rate system in 2.25 hours; that is to say, it took 2.66 hours to do 100 and it afterwards took 2.25 hours to do 20, one-fifth the number. It took four and two-tenths times as long to do one under the day-rate system as it took under the premium system.

Mr. OLNEY. It would be a pretty difficult matter to restore the Taylor efficiency system, would it not?

Gen. CROZIER. All that would be necessary would be to have this legislation left out of the bill.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Why did he not take twice as much time? Why did he not take 44 hours instead of 22 hours, if there is no restriction upon him in the amount of work he is required to do? If he had taken 30 hours, would you still have retained him, or did you retain him when he took this long time?

Gen. CROZIER. I think all of these men have been retained.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Did he know he was doing the job for the purpose of meeting this question? Did he know he was making two competitions there?

Gen. CROZIER. He knew that in one case he was going to get a premium if he met the time or approached it, and in the other case he knew he would not get any premium, no matter what his output was.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. He did not know you were going to come before us with this case?

Gen. CROZIER. No; he did not know that; nobody knew that; even the officers did not know it.

Mr. GORDON. Did his superiors ever remonstrate with him about these conditions?

Gen. CROZIER. I have not any record of that, but I have a statement in a letter which has come with this report, which is as follows:

"It is perfectly evident by mere observation that a great change has taken place in our shops, the atmosphere that was so noticeable of industry and application has changed materially, there is much more loafing and a much greater tendency to sit around on kegs, etc., than has existed here for several years, but I do not think any of us appreciated just how much the falling off had been until we had the data indicated on the tabulation which I am sending you. There is no doubt at all now that the men have no desire now to exert themselves, and in one case which has recently been brought to my attention the machinist, when taken to task for doing such slow work, stated that now that the premium had been taken away he did not propose to exert himself."

Now, Gov. SHALLENBERGER, in reference to your question, of course the question immediately arises in anybody's mind why should you retain such a man when he is not a good worker and should be discharged. I do not think we are justified in wholesale discharge, because the drop back which we have experienced as illustrated by this record upon the removal of the premium almost exactly corresponds with the improvement which we found when we first instituted the premium.

After the premium system had been in operation at the Watertown Arsenal a year or more we made some comparison of identical jobs done before the premium had been introduced and afterwards, and we found that on an average the men did 2.7 times as much work when working under the premium system as they did when working under the day-rate system. Going back and using these records, we find that in the machine shop where most of these jobs recorded were done the time required for doing the same job of work after the removal of the premium system averages 2.2 times as much as it had averaged for the same job under the premium system, which very closely agrees with the record when we first went up to the premium system. That is, performance went up and down in very much the same ratio.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Upon what rule of procedure in armories would you have kegs around for the men to sit on?

Gen. CROZIER. Kegs have to be there for different purposes. As far as sitting on the keg is concerned, that would not indicate that the man was loafing.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Why does the superintendent permit a man to loaf under one system? I would not permit a man to do that in private work for me.

Gen. CROZIER. It is almost impossible to tell when a man is loafing. There is no way of telling that absolutely and accurately.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. When a man is sitting on a keg he is loafing.

Gen. CROZIER. A man might be working his machine very efficiently.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. But the statement of the superintendent is that the man was sitting on the keg when he should have been attending to his work.

Gen. CROZIER. Yes, sir; undoubtedly. All of the experience which we have had, and I think every other manufacturer has had, is that good work can not be gotten out of workmen by the disciplinary process alone; you have to have the stimulating process. You can reach a certain stage of efficiency by the disciplinary process, but you can go no further, and it is particularly difficult to arrive at a very efficient stage by the disciplinary process in a Government establishment, because all of the men in these establishments have a civil-service tenure of office and when anyone is discharged for cause he must be furnished with a statement of why he is discharged, and that statement must be such that the man making it can sustain it.

Mr. TILSON. What do you know, if anything, about how the men feel in regard to this matter, are they better satisfied under the present system than under the old system?

Gen. CROZIER. There is evidence both ways as to that. These men are, many of them, members of labor organizations. Organized labor is bitterly opposed to this premium system. Organized labor has consistently opposed any system which was intended to increase the productivity of the individual. They have always been opposed to any form of payment for output. They are opposed to any form of measuring what one gives in a day of labor as a basis for payment in accordance with what is received. These men are members of the unions, and they have presented various petitions against this system. Now, on the other hand, there is the general observation of the spirit and contentment of the force, which is to the effect that they have never been so good as they were during the three or four or five years when this premium system was in operation at the arsenal. In addition to that, there have been men, small in number it is true, who have expressed themselves in favor of the premium system.

Mr. TILSON. Have you increased the wages of the men any in the last year?

Gen. CROZIER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MCKENZIE. The wages of the men in private factories have been increased, and you have to pay them a corresponding increase?

Gen. CROZIER. Yes, sir; and the premiums would be a percentage of the increased wages if they were bestowed, just as they were a percentage of the previously existing wages.

Mr. MCKENZIE. Is the wage that you are paying now, after granting the advance, equal to the amount these workmen received prior to the repeal of the law?

Gen. CROZIER. I think that, on the average, the wages may not be very different. For several years the average earning of premiums of the workmen was about 27 per cent of their pay. I think in the last two years I have increased the pay of the men at this establishment, in order to keep up with the vicinity, I should say, something like 20 per cent.

Mr. MCKENZIE. If the system had been permitted to remain, you would have increased those wages just the same?

Gen. CROZIER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MCKENZIE. And with the premium added they would have been making very much more money than at any time?

Gen. CROZIER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MCKENZIE. The Government would have received a great deal more in return according to your table, if that is correct?

Gen. CROZIER. Yes, sir.

A little further in reply to Gov. SHALLENBERGER'S question, I think I can say this in regard to the ordinary wages for work. The ordinary wages as they are paid in any community are not based on the workman's best efforts, but they are based on the kind of efforts under which the wage scale has grown up, which were demonstrated by every kind of test to be very far from their best. For the workman's best efforts he is entitled to something better than the ordinary rate of pay, and it is upon that theory that we give these premiums. We ask from every man his best effort; we measure that effort and we pay him for the better effort. When we cease to pay him for the better effort we have lost the right to demand it. We have not the right to demand anything more than what long experience has shown to be the average—for the regular day wages. I give that as a reason why we do not at once discharge all these men. I do not think it would be fair.

* * * * * * *

Mr. HULL. Going back to the question of efficiency, is it not true that whenever we pay a man an extra amount to finish a job in less time than he would ordinarily take that the quality of the goods is liable to be slighted?

Gen. CROZIER. I think, in general, haste may at any time interfere with the quality, but the quality ought to be insured by inspection.

Mr. FIELDS. It should always be inspected?

Gen. CROZIER. Yes, sir; everything should be inspected carefully enough to insure the proper quality.

Mr. GREENE. There would be no advantage to the workman in slighting the job?

Gen. CROZIER. If a workman spoils his work, the value of it, up to a certain limit, under the usual practice is charged against his pay.

Mr. GREENE. Then there would be no advantage to slight it?

Gen. CROZIER. Generally, the risk is too great. Then, again, the times which we ascertain as the reasonable ones in which it is possible that the work shall be performed are intended to be the times in which it can be performed properly. To the extent that the determination is scientifically made they will be the reasonable times in which the work can be properly performed. The most scientific method of ascertaining the time is to divide the job into its components and study them separately.

Mr. HULL. There is a large increase in your expenses if you have to hire inspectors, etc., for keeping track of all this?

Gen. CROZIER. There is an overhead expense connected with it which is more than offset by the greater output which is secured.

Mr. OLNEY. Please put into the record two or three concrete examples of the work under the old and new systems.

Gen. CROZIER. I am perfectly willing to have this whole table included in the record.

Mr. GORDON. And show the efficiency of the work under the old and new systems also—I mean the quality.

Gen. CROZIER. The work would not be recorded here at all unless it was of the accepted quality.

Mr. GORDON. Is there anything in your records that would disclose whether or not while under the premium system the work performed was more or less defective than under the day-rate system?

Gen. CROZIER. That has been done at various times very carefully.

Mr. GORDON. What is the result?

Gen. CROZIER. The result has been to show that the work done under the premium system was more carefully done.

Mr. GREENE. You cited one instance which so far from the time limit being unfair, one man, whose work you referred to, easily exceeded it?

Gen. CROZIER. Yes, sir.

Last year when this particular item of legislation was under discussion on the floor of the House there was quoted in the debate some testimony which had been given before the Committee on Labor, with

the object of showing that these time studies were very far from being scientific, and that the times which were set for the performance of jobs of work were irregular and varied unreasonably. The testimony, then, goes to show that the same man working on different jobs had an efficiency that varied between very wide limits. Sometimes he was only 45 per cent efficient and at other times almost 200 per cent. The assumption was that the man was an even worker, and that thereafter his varying efficiency was owing to the fact that the standard set for him was varying and uneven. That was rather an important assumption.

The evidence was good as far as it went. That is to say, the facts were correct. The man's efficiency had varied in this way on these different jobs. Upon examining the question we were able to identify the man, whose name was not given but indicated by a number, and we found that the man instead of being an even worker was a very uneven worker, and that upon the same job done at different times his efficiency had varied from something like 60 per cent to something like 180 per cent. In other words, that his efficiency varied all over the time table even when he had the same job under the same circumstances. The value of the evidence for the purpose of showing a variation of the standard was worthless.

I will add, with reference to the liberality of the times which are allowed, that the evidence which was submitted to show that the standards were ununiform, and this point was dwelt upon, showed that the average efficiency of this man during the time when these variations in efficiency occurred was 121 per cent. One hundred per cent would have secured him a premium of 33 per cent over his pay during this period, and 121 per cent gave him a premium over and above his pay of considerably more than 33 per cent. That shows conclusively that the time allowed was very liberal on the average.

Mr. MCKENZIE. You do not want the committee to understand that your purpose in putting in this system in the arsenals of the country was to make use of what is known as the speeding-up process, but it was rather done to secure greater efficiency in the plant?

Gen. CROZIER. Most decidedly.

Mr. MCKENZIE. Am I right about that?

Gen. CROZIER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MCKENZIE. There was a great deal said about speeding up?

Gen. CROZIER. We have avoided everything that could be justly characterized as a speeding-up system or sweatshop system. In all the experience we have had with this system we have had no single instance in which a man has complained of overwork. We have had the general charge made that it was a sweatshop system, but never supported by any specifications.

Mr. QUIN. By revoking the system Congress has opened the gap for a man to do just as little work as possible in order to get by and get the money

Gen. CROZIER. Of course I would not like to say that no matter how poor the return of work the man would be retained, because we do discharge men for idleness and inefficiency; but it is true that the bars have been let down to such an extent that the amount of work which is returned per day is not more than one-half what it was under the premium system, nor is it done as cheerfully and willingly.

Mr. GORDON. I understood you to say that there never has been an individual complaint against this system to the effect that it was bad and resulted in overworking the men?

Gen. CROZIER. Yes, sir.

Mr. GORDON. There never has been one?

Gen. CROZIER. No, sir.

Mr. GORDON. The effect of abolishing the Taylor system prevents you from locating the slackers, if you have any in your employ?

Gen. CROZIER. It makes it very much more difficult to do so; yes, sir.

Mr. GORDON. For that reason the whole institution—that is, the whole factory or set of men—are compelled to bear the odium of the material reduction in the product turned out?

Gen. CROZIER. That is undoubtedly the case.

Mr. TILSON. Has not the cost of manufacture in the arsenals, as the cost of manufacture outside, considerably increased since this system was abolished?

Gen. CROZIER. That must be necessarily the case. I am warned that I must expect reports of deficits and requests for additional allotments as to particular pieces of work.

Mr. FIELDS. What percentage of the men favor the restoration of the Taylor system?

Gen. CROZIER. I do not know. I have never polled the men on that subject, because the men would not be free agents in stating their opinion. Many of the men would like to see the system restored, but they would not care to say so and would not care to be asked.

Mr. MORIN. How much did the man earn who finished the work on the 100 shells in 10 hours?

Gen. CROZIER. He earned 16.50 per cent over and above his pay.

Mr. MORIN. You do not know the amount?

Gen. CROZIER. No, sir.

Mr. MORIN. How much did he earn under the premium system in 10 hours and how much was he paid when he took over 22 hours for the same work?

Gen. CROZIER. In each case he was paid his regular day's pay. When he did the work in 10 hours he was paid 16.50 per cent over and above his pay, and when he took 22.95 hours he only received his day pay.

Mr. MORIN. You do not know how much that was?

Gen. CROZIER No, sir.

Mr. MORIN. And the Government is put to the additional expense of maintaining the plant and factory while the job is being done which is not included in his pay at all?

Gen. CROZIER. The Government loses a great deal more than the amount paid to him.

Mr. MORIN. It costs more for the 10 hours or the 22 hours work; is it a loss of money or just a loss of time?

Gen. CROZIER. The Government loses money in both ways.

Mr. HULL. What proportion of the work at the different arsenals was done under this efficiency scheme?

Gen. CROZIER. At the Watertown Arsenal where I had the most careful records kept the proportion was progressively increased, and I think at the time the premium system stopped it had reached about 50 per cent of the work, as I remember.

Mr. HULL. How much work was done at the Rock Island Arsenal under that system?

Gen. CROZIER. At the Rock Island Arsenal I had never introduced the time study or premium system, but I had employed a piece-rate system.

The People Are Opposed to War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. CARY,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 13, 1917.

Mr. CARY. Mr. Speaker, I am hearing every day from my constituents, by letter and by telegraph, about this country being about to engage in war with a foreign country on account of a different interpretation of international law. From these communications, a number of which under the leave to extend my remarks granted to me by the House I will insert, it is easy to come to the conclusion that my constituents are, like myself, opposed to war and in favor of peace. The prevailing sentiment of my constituents must guide me in my official actions now and in the future.

MILWAUKEE, WIS., *February 7, 1917.*

Hon. WILLIAM J. CARY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: What stand do you take in regard to the President's recent action? We trust that you are not in accord with this policy, and that you will oppose more drastic measures to the utmost. It requires courage to do something which others may claim is unpatriotic. Why should this country permit itself to be dragged into untold distress simply to gratify the whims of those who would be directly benefited by such a calamity? The manufacturers of ammunition and all other war accessories are already wealthy, but they want more war to further enrich themselves. They doubtless are the dominating stockholders in the papers which cry for war. These jingo papers certainly do not voice the sentiment of the people at large.

We are told that this is a government for the people and by the people; but is this true? Is it not a fact that we are subject to altogether too much one-man power, vested in the President? Matters affecting the national welfare such as the present crisis certainly should not be subject to the decision of practically one man. In the event of war who bears the burden and who is compelled to face the bullets? The common people, and they do not want war. To prove this a referendum vote should be taken and the decision of the majority then should rule. Only in this manner would the true will of the Nation be known.

It is said the President insists upon justice and freedom of the high seas. This issue can not be made the basis of a conflict with Germany because of our Government's inconsistency. Ever since the beginning of the war our mail has been rifled and our shipping interfered with. There has been no freedom on the high seas, and American citizens have no business to travel in the danger zone. Those doing this are, in our estimation, not worthy of the protection of this Government. Their action can be considered criminal, because it is with the intent of inducing international complications. The writer has talked with a number of men who voted for the President, and these men are now sorry they did so. Had this issue come up before election, there would have been a different result. We trust that you will continue in your efforts and that they may be productive of good results.

Thanking you, we are,
Yours, truly,

E. C. KROPP CO.,
F. J. SCHMIDT,
General Manager.

MILWAUKEE, WIS., *February 10, 1917.*

Hon. WILLIAM J. CARY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The inclosed resolution was adopted at a regular meeting of the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee, Wis., held February 7, 1917.

The object of the resolution is to be helpful in an advisory way, as patriotic citizens—ever ready to serve and protect our country—in outlining a plan by which we believe the present crisis confronting our country, and may cause us to enter the present European war, can be avoided.

Yours, very truly,

THE FEDERATED TRADES COUNCIL,
By FRANK J. WEBER,
Corresponding Secretary.

Whereas the Government of the United States has broken off relations with one of the central powers of Europe and our country stands upon the brink of the abyss into which all the civilization of Europe is in danger of disappearing; and

Whereas we know that if war is declared by the United States it will be declared only to safeguard the shipments of ammunition, war supplies, and food to foreign countries; and

Whereas the workingmen of America do not want to submit to being murdered or to murder others, in order to protect the profits of our greedy enemies within our own Nation: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Federated Trades Council, representing the trades-unions of Milwaukee County, That we are for peace and against taking away our food to feed the soldiers of Europe; that we protest against any declaration of war against the central powers or any other powers; and that we protest against the murderous and inhuman agitation of the capitalist press for war; further be it

Resolved, That we demand that American citizens and American ships be forbidden to enter the war zone except at their own risk; and be it also

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to President Wilson, the two United States Senators from the State of Wisconsin, the two Congressmen from Milwaukee County, and also to the daily press of Milwaukee for publication.

Respectfully submitted.

THE FEDERATED TRADES COUNCIL,
By FRANK J. WEBER,
Corresponding Secretary.

BRICKLAYERS, MASONS, AND PLASTERERS' PROTECTIVE INTERNATIONAL UNION, NO. 8, WISCONSIN,
Milwaukee, Wis., February 9, 1917.

RESOLUTION OF PROTEST.

Whereas this country has always been neutral and our honorable President, Woodrow Wilson, has always been advocating peace, and was elected on the peace slogan; and

Whereas the workers of the State of Wisconsin—who are also the fighters and sufferers in war—have no interest in the quarrels of Europe: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the Masons & Bricklayers Union, No. 8, Wisconsin, of Milwaukee, do hereby assemble this date, Friday, February 9, 1917, to emphatically protest against any measures that may involve this country in any entanglements or war and bloodshed with any foreign countries or powers.

Signed by officers of No. 8, Wisconsin, of Milwaukee.

AUG. VANSLOW, *President.*
WM. ERDMANN, *Vice President.*
CHAS. HOEFS, *Recording Secretary.*
PAUL F. FRITSCHE, *Corresponding Secretary.*

MILWAUKEE, *February 10, 1917.*

Congressman WILLIAM J. CARY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: Considering the present important situation that our country is in, we ask you to kindly file our protest against war of any kind against any of the European nations.

It seems to us that our country does not have sufficient cause for such actions just now and it should be saved the burden of a calamity like war.

Kindly do your utmost to prevent war, and rest assured you will ever have the thanks of,

Yours, truly,

THE STANDARD BEDDING CO.,
PAUL J. HETTWER,
907 Fourth Street.
ERNST SIEDENTOPFF,
176 Twenty-sixth Street.

MILWAUKEE, WIS., *February 10, 1917.*

Hon. WILLIAM J. CARY, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE AND DEAR SIR: For various reasons we are opposed to the presently proposed increase in the postal rates for newspapers. We therefore respectfully request that you endeavor to defeat the bill relating to such increase. If an increase is to be brought about, we would suggest that the privilege of mailing publications in the county of their origin free of charge be abolished.

In view of our relations with the German Government, we further wish to ask you to do all that is in your power to prevent our country from becoming involved in a war which, on account of the disputed privilege of a few, might result in the sacrifice of thousands of American lives and the loss of millions in treasure.

Most respectfully, yours,

EXCELSIOR PUBLISHING CO.,
Per JOS. SPRINGOB, *Manager.*

MILWAUKEE, WIS., *February 11, 1917.*

Congressman CARY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: For God's sake keep our country out of war.

AN AMERICAN MOTHER
(MRS. EMMA SCHOENFELD,
485 Clement Avenue).

MILWAUKEE, *February 11, 1917.*

Hon. WILLIAM CARY.

DEAR SIR: I beg you for God's sake to do all in your power to keep this country out of war.

AN AMERICAN MOTHER
(Mrs. JULIUS HABECK,
120 Lincoln Avenue, Milwaukee, Wis.).

MILWAUKEE, WIS., *February 8, 1917.*

Hon. WILLIAM J. CARY,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR WILL: The inclosed clipping, taken from the Sentinel, as well as the editorial of the Milwaukee Leader, I wish you would please hand to Hon. W. H. STAFFORD to read. You and Brother STAFFORD are our Representatives, and as such I have placed my explicit confidence in you both and worked for you before election, cast my vote, and caused my friends to cast their votes for you both, because of our confidence, merited by your record while representing us in Congress. In my humble judgment it would be an insult to Congress's intelligence to consult the people by referendum whether we should create another 100 millionaires during the ensuing year under the excuse of declaring war against Germany. While as you know that I am not a believer in Socialism, yet I confess that their editorial sent you herewith about hits the nail squarely on the head. I want to back up our President; I want to back up our Senate and Congress, but I admire the stand the five Senators took during the recent action on the matter of our breaking with Germany. I am much afraid that Johnny Bull slipped one over on Woodrow, but you know to slip a cog occasionally is only human. For Johnny Bull to say keep off my ocean is all right. I am going to starve out Germany, why that's all right; and I am going to do it with the aid of Mr. Morgan and Charlie Schwab; but Germany found a way to prevent being starved, and instead now threatens to starve England. Germany, by its present action, is working in the direction of opening the waters of the world for the free use of all the world, and without being obliged in future to go to Mr. Lloyd-George and ask him whether or not he thought King George would allow us to run a boat on his ocean. Who under the sun gave King George my navy, my army, my ocean, my England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, and all his other claimed possessions in civilized and uncivilized countries?

I want to say in conclusion, use your own head, do as your best judgment guides you, but I sincerely trust you will fight to the last ditch in order to keep this country out of war. Getting back to referendum, let that apply to the prohibition bill the Senate tried to saddle onto Washington. I don't wish to go into a prohibition argument with you nor Mr. STAFFORD, because both have shown the people you represent just where you get off at. This much I wish to say, however, and my remarks are not to the credit of our brewers anywhere in the United States. Can you for a moment imagine, considering the hundreds of millions of dollars invested in the brewing industries throughout the country, and not brains enough back of the entire brewing industries to cope with a few fellows like William Jennings Bryan and the likes of Billy Sunday? Did you ever stop to think about my last remark? "Give" a little think. The whole matter of prohibition is a huge joke at the expense of the brewers and allied trades. Can you imagine that a man like Joseph Uihlein, heading a brewing company with an investment of possibly $30,000,000, can not devise ways and means to prevent his business being destroyed by a few fanatics? Now, Joe Uihlein is a brainy man, a good business man, a success in business, yet he possesses the weakness and submits to his vast business being destroyed. The brewers now want to clean up the saloons, close them up near our soldiers' home—anything at all to please the prohibitionists. I told some of our Milwaukee brewers recently it seems rather strange that they did not know of the existence of disreputable saloons until some crusader informed them about the existing conditions, and the very informant has never seen the inside of a saloon, yet this fellow's talk is the basis for putting saloons out of business, and closing breweries, too, in every State of the Union. An old rum soak does no harm to society, for he hurts himself only, but the prohibition crank that tears down and destroys the liquor traffic and its manufacture is the fellow that does the harm, fills his coffers with shekels under the plea of unlifting society, and by his act causes more poverty and the enlarging of our poorhouses. We need no laws to close saloons. Keep out of them if one don't like them. If you go into a saloon to buy a drink or a pretzel, that's your business. What in de hotel is it my business? While I don't think national prohibition will carry for some years to come, yet if the cranks are real sincere and know their business they can get away with it during the next session of Congress. You know all our brewers are scared to death and haven't enough grit left in them, than the fellow in a fight who is just taking the count. Don't lose heart, Bill, because we need a few who displayed the courage you have in the past.

Yours, truly,

OTTO E. SCHULZ.

[From the Milwaukee Leader.]

A DAY OF RECKONING.

With the threat of war hanging over the country Congress is considering means to meet the extraordinary expenditures which will be required to prepare for eventualities.

The first method proposed, and the one that likely will be adopted, is to authorize an immense issue of bonds. By issuing bonds the Government will enable our capitalists to finance the war and yet be none the poorer for it. Every cent that the Government may spend will be owed to them. They will have their bonds and at the same time their profits.

It is notorious that war contracts are filled with graft. Most of America's swollen fortunes had their origin in the corruption flowing out of the Civil War.

The house of Morgan came into prominence in the Civil War when the late J. Pierpont Morgan, then winning his spurs as a fledgling financier, bought condemned muskets from the Government for $2.75, and without even unpacking them turned around and resold them to the War Department for $19.50.

In the Spanish-American War, old hulks were sold to the Government for treble their value. The embalmed beef and other scandals are yet fresh in the public memory.

We have made some progress since Hanna and the Republican campaign fund ceased to be the determining factors in the favors of Government. But the recent leak investigations have not been altogether reassuring. There is need for vigilance.

If Congress should do its full duty to the people, it would devise a system of taxation that would relieve all necessity for bond issues. Our great capitalists should be made to pay the cost of war from their war profits. Instead of being permitted to grow rich from the public's necessities, they should be held in restraint.

There is no justice whatever in asking the boys from the mills and shops and mines and farms to place their lives at the Government's disposal and at the same time give the capitalist a bond for the wealth that he may contribute to the public defense.

A man will give all that he has to save his life. When he is brought to the foot of the gallows or when his life is placed in jeopardy he hesitates at no expenditure to obtain his freedom. He will strip himself bare to prolong his life for a few days or years. Yet, in case of war, the capitalist ordains that it shall be his opportunity to pile up greater profits and that the cost shall be borne by the men who serve in the field and survive when they return to peaceful pursuits and find a mortgage issued by the Nation hanging over them.

If the United States should be so unfortunate as to be plunged into the war, our capitalist class will find that a different spirit exists than has been present before in the United States. The American people have the example of Europe before them. They know what European Governments have been doing to force the capitalist to surrender his profits and his accumulations to national needs. It is highly improbable that the people will remain silent while they are being plundered or acquiesce in the graft and favoritism that heretofore have characterized the prosecution of our wars.

The Morgans and Schwabs and their greater and lesser associates may be in high feather as they see even greater profits than they have yet reaped flowing into their coffers, but their elation may be short lived. Nemesis is close at hand.

A day of reckoning is at the threshold of the world's lords and masters.

[From the Milwaukee Leader.]

WHO WAVES THE FLAG?

Declaring the United States has "not been neutral," that Great Britain has persistently violated rights of the United States to the seas, that the United States has borne these violations as if it had been an ally of Great Britain, and that Germany had no reason to feel friendly toward the United States, Senator JOHN D. WORKS, California, Republican, has voiced the opposition in Washington to the President's action in severing diplomatic relations with Germany.

Senator WORKS said the action of the President in stating in the *Sussex* note that diplomatic relations would be severed unless Germany abandoned her methods of submarine warfare was "unwise." He justified Germany's submarine methods on the grounds that the rules of the old international law can not stand in case of the changes of the methods of actual warfare.

In order to deal frankly with the situation "we must search our own national conscience and learn how far our own conduct has gone to place us in the present crisis.

"The first wrong done to the right of American citizens by the German Government was in sinking the *Lusitania*. But at the very time of this occurrence we were supplying to the enemies of Germany arms and munitions of war to enable them to carry on the war against that country, with whom we were at peace.

"The *Lusitania*, a passenger ship, was loaded with these missiles of death."

Senator WORKS criticized the administration "for permitting the *Lusitania* to sail, in view of the warnings given, carrying American citizens into the very jaws of death." He said he questioned "the moral right of the United States to tempt Germany to sink the *Lusitania*.

"This Government can not shield itself from the fearful responsibility it is bound to accept for this dreadful tragedy. Certainly Germany has no reason to feel kindly toward us.

"Germany must be judged as we must, by the conditions as they then existed, conditions brought about by us for mere ill-gotten commercial gain at the expense of German lives."

Senator WORKS also questioned the President's right to sever relations with Germany.

"There is another and far better choice open to us," said Senator WORKS. "I say keep our ships and our people out of this danger zone until the war is over. American citizens in Mexico have been compelled by the Government to abandon their permanent homes, lose everything they had in the world, and become homeless and destitute refugees to keep us out of war with that country."

Senator WORKS insisted that neither a private citizen nor the President nor Congress is justified in driving the Nation into war by "any such false sense of courage or national prestige or dignity."

We are not going to criticize or justify WORKS's position on the *Lusitania* affair.

Every unprejudiced observer will agree with Senator WORKS, however, that our country is guilty of participation in the bloodshed of this war.

It can not be denied that from the beginning of the war the United States has not been neutral. Our Government nominally has obeyed the letter of international law, but our ruling class has constantly and viciously violated its spirit and received the encouragement of our Government and the protection of the American flag in every instance.

Our manufacturers and speculators have been shipping munitions and other supplies to the allies, while they were prevented by the allies from shipping them to the other side. To claim it was not the fault of America that these munitions and supplies could not also be sent to the central powers is dishonest quibbling, of course. As a matter of fact, Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, the agent of Great Britain, from the beginning of the war acted as if he were also the agent of our Government. He practically monopolized the supply of metals and other war material in this country.

A hardware merchant in a town out West who would willingly furnish guns and ammunition to a dozen cowboys that are fighting with two others in the street would undoubtedly be considered guilty of accessory to murder, although he might plead that he was in no position to furnish guns and ammunition also to the other two. Court and jury would justly hold that by not furnishing it to either side he might have prevented the murder entirely.

It is a violation of neutrality to help only the allies and to injure only the Germans. It is all the more so when we have it in our power to stop the war within a short time by refusing to furnish ammunition, war material, and food to both sides.

Our Government has not done so because our ruling class was glad to give some of our trust magnates a chance to gather in a few billion dollars by the war traffic. Our "kept press" calls this war prosperity. That bloody and criminal traffic has not only killed many hundred thousands of men in Europe—most of them workingmen—but it has also doubled the cost of living for the working class of our country.

Are we now to fight to protect this war traffic?

Are we to finance the Czar of Russia, as is now suggested by the English press?

Are we to go to war to protect the profits of our worst exploiters, of our worst enemies at home?

Are we to shed our blood that the high cost of living might continue to rise and the profits of some freebooters grow still larger?

Or are we to withdraw our ships from the war zone?

Has reason flown to the beasts? Are our workingmen to stifle what little brains they have the moment a crook or a foll waves the flag before them?

—

[From the Milwaukee Free Press.]

QUESTIONS.

Editor FREE PRESS:

Having yielded peacefully our right to ship noncontraband to Germany, why should we now go to war to defend our shipments of contraband to England and France?

Is our Government more interested in getting war munitions into England and France than it was in getting American grain and cotton into Germany?

Having surrendered our sea rights to England's "illegal and indefensible" blockade, conducted not along German but along American shores, why must we go to war for the privilege of passing our munition-laden ships to England and France through Germany's actual and legal blockade of their shores?

If our "national honor" was smirched by Germany's refusal to let us ship war munitions to England and France, what happened to our national honor when England refused to let us ship noncontraband food, or even Red Cross hospital supplies, to Germany?

If we could remain calm while England's warships were trying to starve the women and children of Germany, why do we become suddenly ferocious when Germany's warships try to starve the women and children of England?

Is the pro-English press campaign for universal military conscription a campaign for the defense of the United States; and, if so, against whom?

Or is it a pro-English scheme to raise a vast army of American boys to be sent to slaughter in France?

England and her allies having declared they will make peace only on terms ruinous to the central powers, do we wish to send an American army to Europe to help them conquer that kind of peace?

Germany and her allies having offered a peace guaranteeing freedom and reparation to Belgium, restoration of conquered territory to France, freedom for Poland, and equal rights for all powers on the seas, do we wish to send an American army to Europe to prevent that kind of peace?

The issue of peace or war between the United States and Germany having been made automatically dependent upon the commission by Germany of an "overt act," ought not our Government to inform the American people exactly what is meant by an "overt act"?

Is our Anglo-French-Russian ammunition trade really worth a war?

FRANK PUTNAM.

ST. LOUIS, MO., *February 9.*

—

[Telegram.]

MILWAUKEE, WIS., *February 12, 1917.*

Congressman CARY,
Washington, D. C.:

Do everything you can to prevent Congress from being stampeded into a declaration of war.

MAX GRIEBSCH,
JOHN EISELMEIER,
HERBERT LOSSE,
RALPH OWEN,
JOHN ANDRESSOHN,
Faculty of the National German-American Teachers' Seminary.

—

[Telegram.]

MILWAUKEE, WIS., *February 12.*

Hon. W. J. CARY, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

The great mass of American citizens want peace, and I ask that you use all your effort in this behalf and keep our country out of war.

W. G. RAUSCHEMBERGER.

—

[Telegram.]

MILWAUKEE, WIS., *February 13, 1917.*

Hon. WILLIAM J. CARY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Expect you to do all you can to keep us out of war. Honor not at stake. We want peace.

Edward Court, 594 Prospect Avenue, Milwaukee, Wis.; Fred W. Krueger, Station D, Route No. 3, Milwaukee, Wis.; P. J. Wallace, 541 Thirty-sixth Street, Milwaukee, Wis.; Fred C. Schmidt, 1353 Julia Street, Milwaukee, Wis.; Curt H. Dietze, 1463 Twenty-third Street, Milwaukee, Wis.; Joseph Schinner, 1271 Twelfth Street, Milwaukee, Wis.; F. H. Klinglei, 850 Fifteenth Street, Milwaukee, Wis.; Tony Potts, 2433 Walnut Street, Milwaukee, Wis.; W. J. Vizay, 805 First Street, Milwaukee, Wis.; R. Wittenan, 256 Twenty-fifth Street, Milwaukee, Wis.; Benno Beyer, 504 Twenty-ninth Street, Milwaukee, Wis.; Julius Kerber, 4605 Woodlawn Court, Wauwatosa, Wis.; Adolf H. Meyer, 2517 Cedar Street, Milwaukee, Wis.; Clarence L. Miller, 553 Thirty-sixth Street, Milwaukee, Wis.

—

MILWAUKEE, WIS., *February 12, 1917.*

Hon. WILLIAM J. CARY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I hope you will do your best to keep us out of war. War is not necessary for us. Let the Europeans fight if they want to. If our country is attacked or in danger of being attacked I am willing to sacrifice my life and that of my six sons for it, but until that time comes let us have peace. Our boys are too valuable an asset to this country to be sacrificed for any nation in Europe.

All the belligerents are doing unlawful deeds, but there is no law for anybody whose life is threatened, so let them do as they think they have to in order to save their existence, but let us stay out of the fray.

Very truly, yours,

OTTO L. KUEHN.

TO BE SUBMITTED TO A REFERENDUM.

I have also received a large number of votes cast by some of my constituents on the following questions submitted to them by a newspaper published in my district:

Shall we resort to arms to protect Americans traveling in the so-called danger zone?
Shall Americans be permitted to travel in the danger zone?
Shall we continue to export munitions and food supplies?
Shall war be declared without a referendum vote by the people?

Ninety-nine out of every hundred of my constituents to whom these questions were submitted voted "no" on the first three of these propositions and "yes" upon the question of a referendum. The following constituents have mailed their votes to me: H. W. Freund, 494 Twenty-seventh Street; Paul Bluhm, 917 Twenty-second Avenue; J. C. Cummings, 2809 Wells Street; Fred. W. Hein, South Milwaukee; B. W. Bigley, 686 Dover Street; Emil R. Lochman, 785 Cass Street; Otto E. Schulz, 341 Twenty-sixth Street; Herbert Hultz, care of F. Kestner, rural route 1, Station D. box 117; E. C. Schulz, 414½ Twenty-fifth Avenue; Ludwig C. Kreiss, 1129 Cedar Street; Henry Biezel,

555 Sixty-eighth Avenue, West Allis; A. S. Schroeder, St. Francis, Wis. While on the subject of deciding the question of war or peace by a referendum vote of the people, I insert here the following resolutions adopted at a mass meeting in Newark, N. J., on February 10, 1917:

Animated by the same sentiments of unsullied loyalty which have ever marked the Germanic elements in America, and to which every contest for justice and liberty on American soil bears witness;

Appealing to the blood poured out by our Germanic fathers and predecessors in the war of independence and the war of the Union;

Pointing with just pride to the 200 years of loyal Germanic cooperation with all the other elements that have been engaged in the peaceful task of building the Nation;

We join those millions of our countrymen who to-day in this hour of anguish have formally appealed or in mute desire and trust look to the Representatives of the Nation for assurance that we shall not be swept into the hell of war.

We call upon you not merely to remember, but also to let operate upon your action and determination a reasonable appreciation of that "ancient friendship" between the people of Germany and our own, to which the President has so properly referred, and which has hitherto remained unbroken.

We call upon you to keep ever in sight that neither the German people nor the German Government desire conflict with us.

We call upon you to hold steadfast to this cardinal fact against every endeavor to cloud your mind or to sweep you along against your better judgment in a temporary tide of passion.

In weighing the future conduct of the German people can you ignore the keen perception of President Wilson, voiced on a notable occasion, when he said:

"No man can rationally live, worship, or love his neighbor on an empty stomach; and if he is in doubt where the food is to come from, if he fears he will be without work and sustenance, it is impossible that he should have a rational attitude toward the life of the community or toward his own life."

In weighing the future conduct of the German people can you ignore that if the course adopted by their Government in naval warfare is the result of madness, as our President intimated to you in his address, it is the madness induced by the fear of starvation, which obliterates a "rational attitude toward the life of the community"; that such fear of starvation is a product of the course maintained by Germany's enemy against the protests of our own Government?

Can you ignore that the madness of hunger or fear of starvation in Germany is increased a thousandfold by the plenty which has been vouchsafed us and of which the German people are not permitted to partake—against our will and the protests of our Government?

Can we as a Nation ignore those facts and still be a Nation "always guided by exalted justice and benevolence," as the Father of his Country enjoined upon us?

We affirm our solemn belief that if a census of the whole American people were taken the overwhelming mass would be opposed to the inauguration of a war between our country and Germany, or any European belligerent, because of the methods by which each seeks to master the other's might at sea.

We find that such belief is as deep as it is general and widespread. And equally deep and widespread is the belief that the dangers to our unprejudiced and continued existence and vital interests come from another part of the world.

We therefore appeal that before you think to set in motion the dread machinery, whose course, when once released, no living man can tell, there be taken, under provision of a law to be enacted by you, a secret vote of the 100,000,000 people whose lives and fortunes rest in your hands.

Such vote will show the national will.

Against the majesty of that decision no voice would dare be raised nor subtle tongue nor power of gold prevail.

—

MILWAUKEE, WIS., *February 13, 1917.*

Hon. W. J. CARY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: As one of your constituents I ask you to do all in your power to keep our Nation out of the European war and thereby avoid unnecessary and needless suffering and hardship, especially where we can find absolutely no just cause for throwing this country into warfare.

I trust sincerely that this may meet with your views.

I expect no reply to this letter, only hope that you will do all in your power to avoid such a threatened conflict.

Very respectfully, yours,

A. H. ANGER.

—

WEST ALLIS, WIS.

Hon. WM. J. CARY.

MY DEAR MR. CARY: As an American I appreciate the stand taken by you as regards the present crisis. We do not want a war as is waged on the other side of the ocean; we do not want to favor or help one side or the other; but we do want to keep at peace and, if possible, stop trading arms with the belligerent. We have, of course, people who, for reasons of their own, wish a war; but they are a small minority and should not be counted.

Thanking you for your efforts in this direction, I am,

Yours, truly,

CARL SCHINDLER.

—

MILWAUKEE, WIS., *February 12, 1917.*

Hon. WM. J. CARY.

DEAR SIR: As a wife and mother, an American-born citizen of the United States, I earnestly entreat you to do everything in your power to keep this country out of the European war. In my opinion nothing has happened that would justify our participation in this terrible European carnage. Sincerely hoping that you may be successful in your unceasing efforts in behalf of peace, I am,

Yours, sincerely,

Mrs. WM. D. TYRE.

—

CONCORDIA COLLEGE,
Milwaukee, Wis., January 12, 1917.

Hon. WILLIAM J. CARY,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We, as loyal citizens of the United States, most earnestly request you to use all your influence to prevent our country from becoming involved in a war with the central powers. While we can not see that the attitude of our Government with reference to the belligerent countries of Europe has been one of strict and absolute neutrality, we nevertheless wish to state that whatever the outcome of the present crisis may be we will faithfully support the action of the administration. We beg to add, however, that in the event of hostilities the question of the declaration of war should, in our opinion, be submitted by referendum to the voice of the people.

On behalf of the faculty of Concordia College,

Very respectfully, yours,

M. J. F. ALBRECHT, *President.*
CARL HOMANN, *Secretary.*

—

MILWAUKEE, WIS., *February 12, 1917.*

Hon. WILLIAM J. CARY,
Congressman Fourth District of Wisconsin,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The members of this organization do hereby solemnly and emphatically protest against the entanglement of this country in the European war.

We hold that the life of a single American is worth more than the billions which will be made by the war speculators who are so anxious that this country be drawn into this inhuman and bloody conflict.

Let those Americans who take passage in boats carrying contraband in the war zone do so at their own risk.

We demand a strict embargo on all necessities. *Starve the war and feed America is our motto.

Hoping the above will receive your earnest consideration, we remain,

Respectfully, yours,

CAP MAKERS, No. 16,
Per D. ROSENTHAL, *Secretary.*

—

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 387) warning American citizens from taking passage or employment on board vessels of belligerent registry.

Whereas by recent measures of the European powers at war the distinction between peaceful traders and vessels in Government service has been practically obliterated: Therefore be it

Resolved, etc., That American citizens taking passage or employment on any ship of belligerent registry do so at their own risk and place themselves outside the pale of the protection of the Government of the United States.

The President's Peace Message.

SPEECH

OF

HON. MEYER LONDON,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, January 27, 1917.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 20453) making appropriations for fortifications and other works of defense, for the armament thereof, for the procurement of heavy ordnance for trial and service, and for other purposes.

Mr. LONDON. Mr. Chairman, I wish to say a few words. A great deal has been said about the message of the President to the Senate relating to the European situation. The President is an artist of the written and spoken word. There is so much in his message that many a man will find more than one meaning in it. We must, however, first of all look upon that message as one of the steps in the peace negotiations; and when we look upon the message as a step in that direction the whole world is bound to applaud the President for having taken that step. There is another thing in that message which is to be commended by all, and that is that a serious attempt is made to introduce a moral principle into international law.

The difficulty with international law is that it concerns itself only with the rules of the game of war. It does not lay down principles that justify war under certain circumstances and condemn it under others. For instance, the general opinion of the world has condemned the invasion of Belgium and the attack upon Serbia, but there is no principle in the textbooks on international law which would condemn any big nation for invading the territory of a small nation. As a matter of fact, all of the great European nations have been busy invading the territories of small and helpless nations. As a matter of fact, the United States of America is to-day in possession of the Philippine Islands and Porto Rico, and our Navy is now at Santo Domingo trying to establish a stable form of Government. The establishment of a stable form of government for a small nation by a big one is usually followed by the swallowing of the little nation by the big one. It would have been a fine thing if, following the message of the President of the United States to the Senate proclaiming to the world a new moral principle of international ethics, there had been a withdrawal of the Navy from Santo Domingo, just as the President has decided to withdraw the Army from Mexico. Of course by withdrawing the Army from Mexico he has invited the criticism of some people who think that in addition to having expended more than $100,000,000

in Mexico we should have done some killing and grabbed some Mexican territory.

While the President attempts to introduce this new principle of international ethics, there is one thing in his proposition which is dangerous, and that is the proposition that was indorsed by the able gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT] who spoke a little while ago. There is nothing more dangerous than the entry of the United States into an international alliance if membership in the alliance would involve the use of the armed forces of the United States in the joint enterprises of the alliance. I certainly favor a league of nations, but my contention is that as long as each member of the international league maintains an army and navy, and as long as the nations of the world have the power to loose these forces, just so long will there be no opportunity for permanent international peace. It is the possession of armies by nations which have conflicting interests that is bound to lead to war.

Mr. GILLETT. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. LONDON. I will.

Mr. GILLETT. Does the gentleman think there is any possibility of doing away with armament except by some concert of nations?

Mr. LONDON. Exactly so.

Mr. GILLETT. So is not this a first step toward that?

Mr. LONDON. The first step which must be taken in the direction of international peace is to lay down a principle which is to guide nations in their relations to one another, particularly in their relations toward the smaller and helpless nationalities. Then it will be necessary to provide means of enforcing this principle. An agreement to use the armed forces of nations in order to secure obedience to this fundamental principle is bound to lead to new alliances, to new combinations, which is after all new combinations of armies and navies, and therefore dangerous. I suggested in the resolution which I introduced on the 6th of December, 1915, that the commercial boycott be used as a means to punish the recalcitrant or offending nations. If the United States should now join an international league, it would simply mean that there will be one more member of the entente, for surely there is no possibility of the United States ever joining the other side. If I had a little more time, 5 or 10 minutes, though I may not desire to use it, I would feel a little freer——

Mr. SHERLEY. I will yield the gentleman three more minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has two minutes remaining and the gentleman is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. LONDON. We are dealing with a big proposition. What has been the bone of contention among the nations of the world, if not the desire of powerful nations to aggrandize themselves at the expense of small nations, or of nations occupying large territories but industrially undeveloped, and therefore offering an easy prey.

Morocco, Tunis, Tripoli, the Balkans, Persia, China tell the same story and have the same grievance against the so-called civilized nations.

Now, if we lay down the principle that no big nation should be permitted to attack the rights of any little nationality, you have eliminated the principal cause of modern war. What should we adopt as the next principle? The reduction of armaments, and you have international peace very near to realization. I can not agree with the man who believes international peace is impossible. I can not agree with the man who looks upon every effort in the direction of a brotherhood of nations as the effort of dreamers. On the contrary, just as true as civilization has consolidated small nationalities into big nations, just as true as the thirteen little Colonies found it necessary to unite into one great Republic, extending its influence over a continent, just as surely can a foundation be laid for a universal concert of nations. Let us understand the causes of war, and we will be able to eliminate it. Let us understand that the principal cause of modern war is the clash and conflict of economic interests, and we will find a way of making war impossible. In nine cases out of ten what is supposed to be a question of national honor is but a question of national interests. When it is a question of national interests let the democracies of the world decide whether the national interests involved are serious enough to justify the country in entering into war. [Applause.] That is the long and short of it. That is why I welcome the President's message as a step in the direction of peace, as a step in the enunciation of a great moral law for the guidance of the nations of the world, as an invitation to the democracies of the world to study the causes of war and to take up these great questions of international relations. There can be no safety until they have been democratized. [Applause,]

Mr. AUSTIN. What about the President's proposition about the United States entering into combination with other nations by armament and arms to enforce peace?

Mr. LONDON. The gentleman came in after I had started. I opposed that suggestion. The President's message is welcome, because it attracts the attention of the world to the fundamental principle of international peace.

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to correct and extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Books for Growing Boys.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT M. McCRACKEN,

OF IDAHO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 19, 1917.

Mr. McCRACKEN. Mr. Speaker, for some years past I have been deeply interested in the selection of suitable books for growing boys, and I have no doubt but that there are many parents and teachers in this country who would like to have a list of books for such a purpose which has been prepared by some one of experience and with a full appreciation of the literary tastes of boys. Not long ago I heard Mr. Fred E. Woodward, of Washington City, read a paper upon the subject of "Books for growing boys," which greatly impressed me as containing some timely observations upon the subject, and I submit the same under a privilege heretofore granted to me by the House to extend my remarks.

The paper is as follows:

BOOKS FOR GROWING BOYS.

"Books should to one of these four ends conduce,
For wisdom, piety, delight, or use."
—John Denham, 1615–1668.

In speaking of books for growing boys, one is inclined to transpose the order of Denham's four great "ends" and place delight first in order, then may follow use, wisdom, and piety, as three later upward steps. To the youth having small knowledge of books at large, all books must at first sight appear very much alike.

Up to a certain age, varying according to circumstances, boys have books put into their hands; that is, selected and purchased by parents or older persons, and in this particular are under obligations to such persons for making a suitable selection.

A little later there comes a time when a partial choice is put into the hands of the boy, to be followed in the course of time by a period when the boy selects, as he will, his own reading.

This does not imply that others may not even then advise him as to styles and courses of reading, but means that by the process of selection, even after being advised, the boy is, in many instances, left to his own and final choice.

Richard Steele says:

"Reading is to the mind what exercise is to the body," and those of you who are in any sense frequenters of the Y. M. C. A. and who have seen and enjoyed its physical opportunities, have a good chance to carry to its logical sequence this striking comparison.

The world is full of books—thousands, hundreds of thousands, millions. Some one has estimated that 80,000,000 books have been issued since the invention of printing from movable type, and probably 1,000,000 books are in print at this time and are more or less available.

The average number of books issued in the United States is about 10,000 annually, and of this number those classed as juvenile are about 600 per year.

These books are not all good; very few of them are bad and many of them are indifferent, coming as they do from writers of every variety and quality of education, or, in some cases, by writers of very small educational promise.

These books carry no certificate of character, as neither the name on the title page nor the color of the binding nor the attractive colored wrappers can atone for dullness or worse.

Then, there are many unworthy books—unwholesome, vicious books, the kind which Herbert Spencer calls "Books written not for any good purpose; unhealthy literature," and such we are to avoid.

In this day, when good books abound, when good literature is so comparatively inexpensive, when the little red schoolhouse equips every pupil with the necessary stock of knowledge, and when good companionships opens the way for readings of various kinds, and when, to our sorrow also, there are so many unworthy books thrust into our hands and flaunted before our eyes, lacking as these are oftentimes in the first principles of book construction, defiant of the rules of syntax, debasing in tone, untrue in fact and theory; with the knowledge of these things at our command, we are only too glad to speak a word to growing boys. Therefore, out of the mass choose the good, the healthy, the vital. Let the sunlight of purity illumine every page. Then, out of a wise choice of good books, the companionships of life become broader and grander as the years roll on.

BOOKS THAT DELIGHT.

The books that delight us are uniformly the ones chosen for us by our elders, not that every book given by an elderly person to a boy is

always a delight, but that generally the book that does delight us is the one selected for us by an older mind. This comes from experience.

Phaedrus, an old Latin author, writes: "The book has a double portion; it moves to laughter and by its counsel teaches a wise man how to live."

If a book delights us we laugh over it and invite others to join in the delight, so insidiously the moral; the wise counsel finds a lodgment in our minds.

First of all, we may mention fairy tales, the food of extreme youth. And what a debt we owe to Hans Christian Andersen and to the brothers Grimm for the delightful tales of childhood, the facts of which were impressed upon our youthful mental states, to be recalled later in life as wise counsel.

The charge has been made that they are dreams, but Wordsworth, the late poet, says in this connection:

"Dreams—books are each a world, and books we know are a substantial world, both pure and good."

Readers of a later age than the fairy tales find increasing joy in the two ever-welcome stories called "Robinson Crusoe" and "The Swiss Family Robinson," and these two books occupy a well-used shelf in nearly every boy's room.

They never fail to delight, and there are always to be found older friends to suggest the books of their own youth. What matter if in later years we find that our companions on the desert isle performed the impossible, we can well believe, even now, that under the same circumstances we could perform the same or similar feats. Such is the boon of hopefulness.

Boys books pertaining to the earlier years of American history are thinly scattered, especially when we look for good quality at an early period. The Rollo books, written by Jacob Abbott in the fifties and sixties of the last century, are well remembered and helpful first-aid books, giving much information.

Oliver Optic, who wrote in the seventies and later, was one of the first who produced abundantly and in a serial or successive form, and his books were singularly free from cant and from vicious suggestions, and virtue always triumphed.

Prior to this J. Fenimore Cooper had written his famous Leather Stocking Tales, and while they are sold to-day to boys and largely read by boys, they were written for adult readers; Walty Bumpo was a man.

The first man who made literature a profession in the United States was Charles Brockden Brown, and one of his books called the Green Mountain Boys still survives. It is of the same type as Cooper's tales and not extremely youthful.

Oliver Optic contributed nearly 100 books before his long career was closed.

This same period brought into prominence Horatio Alger, jr., Edward S. Ellis, and Harry Castleman, with some others of lesser note.

Some of these mentioned were able to write and market three books in a year.

The books of these men were extravagant in action and statement, for nearly everyone of them tell the story of very youthful boys, hardly young men in any instance, performing deeds of valor, having wonderful escapes, and making hair-breadth rescues in incredible short spaces of time.

Vice appears hideous and virtue uniformly wins the prize.

Their immediate successors have been, in the first place, Boy Scout writers, and in this class there are so many books, so many series, and so many writers that one stands amazed.

It sometimes seems that every man who had a pad of paper and a pencil was writing a Boy Scout book.

In the second place, there has come into great prominence a group of writers who aim to supplement the schoolhouse by providing a short cut to success, in the line of practical lifework stories. They are showing "How to make good" and teaching efficiency. Some take the form of "How to make things," "How to do things," and the Square-dollar Boys is on the same shelf with the Range and Grange Hustlers.

Life as depicted in the various years at school, at college, at Annapolis, and West Point make as many more, while the various departments of the United States governmental service are shown fully.

The newest one is The Boy with the United States Mail: Romantic episodes of life in the United States Postal Service, with graphic explanations of its workings, past and present, throughout the country, and a reviewer adds "for boys of 10 to any age."

Time fails to more than mention the names of The Rover Boys, The Motor Boys, The Motor Girls, The Submarine Boys, Aviator Boys, and a host of other similar titles which are being rushed from the presses at a simply astounding rate.

The impending crisis in the paper trade, if it succeeds in curtailing the production of such books, may be, instead of a calamity, a genuine blessing in disguise, especially if in the curtailment in numbers, there comes an improvement in the quality.

With it all there are some good books, and George A. Henty, of blessed memory to some of us older boys, may be mentioned as one who produced 70 historical novels of juvenile age of more than ordinary merit.

Black Beauty is a simple story of a horse told in the first person, which has had a very wide circulation, and Beautiful Joe is a dog story, of which more than 1,000,000 copies have been sold, and this was after it had been rejected by several publishers.

The Boys of Liberty series depicts in somewhat extravagant manner two score notable incidents of the Revolutionary War, The French and Indians Wars and the naval wars of 1812, imparting at the same time much valuable information concerning these little known historical facts.

Robert Louis Stevenson contributed two robust and heroic books to a growing boy's shelf in Kidnapped and Treasure Island. They abound in strange oaths and extraordinary feats of strength or muscle, and, however objectionable they may seem from a prudish point of view, they are so true to life as to find an echoing lodgment in every man's heart.

In earlier days Dana's Two Years Before the Mast had been thought to show the hardship of a sea voyage under such unfavorable colors that one doubted whether a seafaring life was at all desirable.

One of the books for all time is Little Lord Fauntleroy, by Mrs. Burnett, and this with Little Women and Little Men, by Louisa M. Alcott, almost constitute a library of themselves. If ever the people who have read these books have an opportunity of voting in a body they would carry any resolution. These books have each made fortunes for their authors.

The last 20 years has seen the growth of a forest of books on athletic sports, and in this connection the names of Ralph Barbour and A. T. Dudley are prominent.

Baseball, football, school athletics, camping, and boating all are exploited in manly fashion.

Christy Matthewson even has entered the arena with three baseball stories under his name.

The classics are made easy by educators like E. S. Brooks and others, who have put in readable form the stories of the Odyssey and the Iliad, the story of Seigfried as well as King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table, and Robin Hood, that prince of good fellows.

Books pertaining to the higher sciences are much in evidence for growing boys' reading in these recent days, especially books on electricity and its relation to our everyday life; its application to various forms of warfare, mechanical devices, etc. Others show the wonders of machines and shops, great works of engineering, the conquests of the gasoline engine, automobiling, and chemistry, and astronomy.

Joel Chandler Harris created a high niche for himself in the delineation of Uncle Remus, and his stories of Br'er Rabbit and Br'er Fox will surely go down to posterity with the Tar Baby enshrined in the hearts of thousands of growing boys.

Thomas Nelson Page has written two books of the Civil War, called Two Little Confederates and Among the Camps, which are continually called for in the bookstores and are worth having.

Jules Verne was a pioneer in extravagant dreams of what science might do, and some of us used to read his Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea with bated breath, but the rapidity with which we have outstripped his vivid imagination by our actual experiences of the day is a rebuke to us all.

His books teem with scientific speculation and are good reading for everyone.

The Jungle Books, by R. Kipling, are in a class by themselves and the reviewer who proclaimed them as suitable for boys from 9 to 90, builded better than he knew.

The Just So Stories need to be placed on the same shelf, for they afford the same pleasure in reading.

Religious books sometimes make a name for themselves and some of us can remember the immediate successes of The Simple Life, by Wagner, and What Would Jesus Do? by Sheldon.

The Bishop's Shadow, by Mrs. I. T. Thurston, is a sweet and helpful story of a street waif who was made to follow a very high ideal in his life by the life and example of Bishop Phillip Brooks.

The growing boy may possibly read theology, but that, as Mr. Kipling says, "is another story." However, such books as Ben Hur, Quo Vadis, Titus the Comrade of the Cross may be read as not as theology, but as biblical novels of more than ordinary interest and merit.

Ben Hur has sold upward of a million copies, and has been the foundation of a substantial fortune. This is also true of Dr. Van Dykes's book Out of Doors in the Holy Land.

Novels for growing boys calls for an hour of itself alone, yet I shall venture to say in the few remaining moments that growing boys should read some sentimental stories, of which the Cloister and the Hearth, by Charles Reade; The Mill on the Floss, by George Eliot; are good types. Two others are Told in Hills, by Marah Ellis Ryan; and The Way of an Eagle, by E. M. Dell.

Rosa N. Carey's novels, and there are many, are eminently satisfying.

Mystery stories should be read sparingly, and The Woman in White and The Moonstone are good examples.

Good detective stories should find some place in a reading course. No one has excelled Anna Katherine Green in this field, although Sir A. Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes stories delighted a past generation and are good reading to-day.

Edgar Allen Poe with his Murders in the Rue Morgue and the Gold Bug may be said to have paved the way over which a host of imitators have since passed.

Historical novels are legion, but some of the good ones easily obtainable are Richard Carvel and The Crossing, by Winston Churchill; Order No. 11, by Olmstead; as well as many by Stanley Weyman like Under the Red Robe and the White Company.

Mark Twain has bettered the world of boys by two wonderful books of boy life—Tom Sawyer and the Adventures of Huckleberry Finn—and these books will be read and remembered long after his Joan of Arc, which he hoped would be his masterpiece, has been forgotten.

Every boy has read Tom Brown's School Days and Tom Brown at Oxford, and nearly every boy has read a little book called the Man Without a Country, by E. E. Hale.

No other book that I know so stirs the heart's blood and thrills one's being with waves of patriotism.

Hans Brinker or The Silver Skates, by Mrs. M. M. Dodge, is a universal favorite, as the author has happily blended a sketch of boy life in Holland with a series of semihistorical incidents of a very picturesque country.

The growing boy should have a few of what the world calls standard authors, such as Ivanhoe and Kenilworth, by Scott; Tale of Two Cities, Barnaby Rudge, and David Copperfield, by Dickens; Henry Esmond, by Thackeray; Adam Bede, by George Eliot, one of the best novels ever written by a woman; The Three Musketeers, by Dumas; and Les Miserables, by Victor Hugo.

The growing boy should read poetry by all means, but discriminate. For stirring enthusiasm, read Scott's border legends, like The Lady of the Lake and Marmion; or The Ride of Paul Revere, by H. W. Longfellow.

Tennyson will be found to be a boon companion to the boy in love, and for joyous hours seek Eugene Field and James Whitcomb Riley.

The boy should have a good Bible with a concordance, a good English dictionary, a book of synonyms, a book on good form or etiquette, and quite as important as any, three books on personal purity, called What a Young Boy Ought to Know, What a Young Man Ought to Know, What a Young Husband Ought to Know.

I began by saying that good reading might lead to wisdom and piety.

Lord Bacon says "Reading is converse with the wise," and an ancient Greek maxim says "The fountain of wisdom flows through books."

If I read the signs aright, the fountain of wisdom which flows through books has its source in supreme wisdom, and this leads us very close to piety, and the longings of the heart are sure to be satisfied only by the good things which God has prepared.

May the words of Denham become true in our life and purpose and prepare us to listen to John Milton, the dear old blind poet of all peoples.

"A good book is the precious lifeblood of a master spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life."

Speech of Hon. William Barnes, delivered at the Lincoln Dinner, at Albany, N. Y.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROLLIN B. SANFORD,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 19, 1917.

Mr. SANFORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks I insert the speech of Hon. William Barnes, delivered at the Lincoln dinner, at Albany, N. Y., February 15, 1917.

The speech is as follows:

SPEECH OF HON. WILLIAM BARNES, DELIVERED AT THE LINCOLN DINNER, AT ALBANY, N. Y.

Everyone in this room knows that the United States of America may become engaged in war with Germany at any moment.

I can contribute nothing to your inherent patriotism. This is a Republican meeting. But possibly I may be able to refresh your minds a little on one or two subjects.

America, unlike most of the other nations of the world, is not the outcome of countless tribal conflicts or wars, but was practically born full grown. Our form of government, which has remained the same since its inception, was the outcome of deliberation, not the result of internal revolution, the victory of one king over another, or an assimilation of races or a conquest, like the Norman conquest of England. A theory of government, to which all the people agreed, was the basis of the union of the States, after independence had been achieved, into a central government.

WRITTEN DOCUMENT.

What was that theory? It was laid down in the Declaration of Independence and embodied, 11 years later, in our written document known as the Constitution, which contained not only the instrument of government, but provisions for the protection of the rights of its citizens against others and against that Government itself.

The theory that citizens had rights of their own upon which the legislative and the executive bodies could not infringe was absolutely unique at that time. The theory has not been adopted by the European nations, whether they are republics or monarchies. There the conception of the State is that it does not consist of the individuals comprising it, but of a separate entity represented in various ways, from absolutism to the highest development of legislative power, as in Great Britain and France.

You are, of course, aware that in the last decade there has been a distinct tendency on the part of the Government of the United States and the States to depart from the theory of the individual right against the legislative power, when that power transcends those established rights. We frequently hear that, in order to be an efficient country, we should copy legislation which has been enacted in Europe; first in Germany, under Bismarck, and now generally throughout the whole of Europe.

We are celebrating to-day the anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, who understood the American principle as thoroughly as any great American ever has.

THE AMERICAN IDEAL.

In the midst of the doubtful outcome of the War of the Rebellion, Mr. Lincoln in his perfect speech at the dedication of the battle field at Gettysburg, expressed the American ideal with such lucidity and simplicity that no one has ever attempted to improve upon it. It stands as the declaration of the American purpose in the relations of government to life.

The word nation is derived from the Latin participle natus, meaning born. So in the very derivation of the word we find a parallel between the individual and the nation comprised of individuals.

As the individual can not exist without birth, and is in the years of his life a constant visual expression of his birth, so a nation must in its growth and development be the visual expression of the meaning of its birth or must be reborn.

PRINCIPLE ASSAULTED.

The constant aggression of groups of our citizens to secure privileges denied to others; the weakness of legislative bodies to cater to or be ruled by such punitive groups, reflect violent assaults upon the American principle of equality, and must, if persisted in, inevitably lead to the election of weak executives who will promise, legislatures which will perform, and judges who will interpret as the ballot box thoughtlessly may declare. Large groups, not realizing that in securing what they desire at the expense of other citizens, are placing themselves in a position where at some future day the tables may be turned upon them.

The swift retribution impending upon those who advocated the passage of the Adamson wage-increase law last September in the threatened action of Congress to take from them their right to quit work when they desire, is the most remarkable demonstration of the truth that those who succeed in securing privilege may be deprived of their rights.

There are some laws which no Congress and which no legislature can amend or repeal, and those are the laws of nature. One can not have his cake and eat it too. No humanitarian impulse, no noble aspiration, no sympathy for others, can change that law.

It is generally believed that in the event of a conflict our Army is hopelessly unprepared and insufficient in numbers. Our Navy has fallen below the standard of marksmanship that prevailed some time ago, is weak in a number of departments, and the doubt is expressed in naval circles as to what account it may give of itself if put to the test.

But whatever there may be of military unpreparedness, the mental unpreparedness of a part of the people unquestionably exists. Their stamina has been sapped to such an extent that only the real spark of conflict can awaken the afflicted to the spirit of American nationality and the reason for our independence and our life.

POSITION BRYAN TAKES.

I am not questioning the motive of any man or set of men, but I must read you the words that Mr. Bryan uttered in Madison Square Garden only a few days ago and since the breaking off of diplomatic relations with Germany:

I have faith not only in the President's desire to keep us out of war but in his ability to do so—

Said Mr. Bryan in part—

But if the time ever comes when we can not settle a dispute by peaceful means, and that we must have a war, I believe that we should postpone it until the present war is over. We should postpone it because it is not fair to ask a nation engaged in a death struggle to consider things calmly. If we postpone it till the war is over the chances are many to one that we can settle the dispute.

But if, after all, we must have a war, I would rather wait and have a war of our own, one that would be our own war, in which we should have something to say about when to commence, when to get through, and the terms of peace. This is everybody's war. They did not consult us about the beginning of it or about the conduct of it. If we enter it, we will have to stay in until they come out of it, and when we are in we must fight for what they fight for. God forbid that we should entangle ourselves in the quarrels of the Old World.

Mr. Bryan has never achieved the Presidency, and doubtless never will; but he represents a large body of opinion which lives in the atmosphere of piffle and scuttle.

His first campaign was an appeal to voters that the Government, if he was elected, would by legislation make it possible for them to pay their debts 50 cents on the dollar. His second campaign was in advocacy of the abandonment of the Philippine Islands to their fate. His third was an attack upon American industry and development; and now he occupies a portion of the stage with pacifist idiocies while the *St. Louis* and the *St. Paul* lie at their docks in New York under the threat of another nation that if American ships and American people pursued their rightful errands upon the high seas—as Mr. Wilson put it in his utterance to Congress on the 3d of February—they will be sunk at sight, contraband or no contraband.

What insensate provincialism, cowardice, and ignorance can exist, when I tell you that 5,000 people in Madison Square Garden applauded Mr. Bryan's utterances.

Insidiously the virus of submission and abasement in the name of humanity, in the name of peace at any cost, has crept, inch by inch, into the thoughts of some of our people.

NOTHING NEW.

This is nothing new. In the year 1864, the Democratic Party at Baltimore declared, just a year after Lincoln's speech at Gettysburg, that the war was a failure, and that peace at any price should be secured. For a long time the issue was in doubt. As the weeks went by it appeared that McClellan might be elected on that platform and the Nation dismembered. Sherman marched with the victorious troops of the United States from Atlanta to the sea, and when the votes were counted a few weeks later, Mr. Lincoln was reelected and the Nation was safe. But in that very election, the State of New York, which had given Mr. Lincoln 60,000 majority in 1860, gave him a beggarly 6,000.

There were Vallandighams in the North then, who cried for peace at any cost; peace with dishonor; peace without vic-

tory. But peace came without dishonor, with victory, with the Nation saved.

We that were born in that war period of loyal parentage, the men who are between 50 and 60 years of age, are imbued with the spirit of heroism and inveterate national will which our mothers felt and transferred to us even in embryo. The younger generation which will be called to defend the Nation has no such precious physical heritage as has the generation to which I belong, but that is no reason why it should not disclose the vigor, the character, and the spirit of the generation which preceded mine and fought the battles of the Union.

Our controversy at this time is exactly the same in principle as is the controversy for the protection of individual rights within the United States. The United States of America as an individual in the group of nations demands its rights for its people to traverse the high seas without fear of violence and death.

It does not matter how extreme is Germany's necessity, how dire her condition may be, or that the methods of warfare may have changed since the rules were laid down in the declaration of Paris in 1856 relative to the right of visit and search.

As the Declaration of Independence and the American Constitution laid down the doctrine of inalienable individual right, so the United States must lay down to-day her inalienable devotion to the doctrine of the national right, whoever may assail it.

I can not close with any words better than those of Senator Root, delivered at Carnegie Hall last October: "The Nation which will not protect its own citizens has already begun to die."

Resolutions Adopted by the Colored Citizens of New Hampshire.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CYRUS A. SULLOWAY,
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 19, 1917.

Mr. SULLOWAY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include resolutions adopted by the colored citizens of New Hampshire February 12, 1917.

The resolutions are as follows:

Resolutions adopted by the colored citizens of New Hampshire, February 12, 1917.

In accordance with the wishes of ex-Governor Spaulding, of New Hampshire, expressed through the appointment of Mr. William T. Pattillo, of Portsmouth, N. H., as the New Hampshire appointee of the National Memorial Commission affiliating with the National Memorial Association at Washington, D. C., which association has caused to be introduced in the Congress of the United States a bill (H. R. 18721) invoking Congress to appropriate $100,000 for erecting a suitable monument to the memory of the soldiers and sailors of Negro blood who have so conspicuously served the Nation in all her wars, a meeting was called by Commissioner Pattillo on Lincoln's birthday, February 12, 1917, and the following resolutions were adopted:

"Whereas whenever our country's welfare has been in jeopardy and a call for men either to win her independence, to defend her honor, or to preserve her as an inseparable Union was issued, the Negro has always been among the first to respond: Therefore, be it

"*Resolved*—

"First. That the colored citizens of New Hampshire unite their plea with those of their race of other States and Territories of the United States of America in urging upon Congress the appropriateness and justice of erecting at Washington, D. C., the National Capital, a suitable monument to the bravery, loyalty, and fidelity of Negro soldiers and sailors who have served their country so well in her hours of peril.

"Second. That this assembly instruct our representatives at Washington to do all in their power to have Congress act favorably on bill (H. R. 18721) introduced by Representative DYER of Missouri.

"Third. That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the headquarters of the National Memorial Association at Washington, D. C., to be handed to the Committee on the Library; that a copy be sent to the press of Portsmouth, Manchester, and Concord, N. H., for publication; that a copy be spread upon the minutes of this assembly, a copy sent to the governor of New Hampshire and ex-Governor Spaulding, and a copy sent to each of the New Hampshire Representatives and Senators now in Congress."

Done by order of the colored citizens of Portsmouth, N. H., assembled February 12, 1917.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.
Rev. JOHN L. DAVIS, B. D., *Chairman.*
Mrs. ALBERTA C. VIRGIL.
GEORGE M. KING, *Secretary.*
WILLIAM T. PATTILLO,
Commissioner of New Hampshire.

Army Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY I. EMERSON,
OF OHIO,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 17, 1917.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, I desire to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing an article written by Daniel C. Stearns, of Cleveland, Ohio, one of the best-posted men in this country on National Guard affairs:

THE NATIONAL GUARD AND ITS CRITICIZERS.

[By Maj. Daniel C. Stearns, formerly lieutenant colonel, United States Volunteers.]

Permit a guardsman who has served more than 35 years as an enlisted man and officer in the guard and Volunteer forces of our country to comment on the National Guard as now organized and the criticisms that are being made relative to its merit as a part of the armed force of our country. The opinion of one so closely associated, and drawing conclusions from various sources of information and observation, ought to carry weight similar to that of those who have already given expression.

The national-defense act had been approved just two weeks when the State forces coming under the provisions of the act were called into the service of the United States. The call recognized the fact that some of the organizations were below the minimum strength and more that were barely above minimum peace strength. The call came at a time of unusual prosperity. Every commercial industry was (and still continues) offering pay of more than $15 per week for just such men as the Government is willing to pay only $15 per month and keep. Thus is the usual yearning for adventure and exploitation (generally so well defined in young men) overcome by the much greater pay. The question may be asked, "But where does patriotism play its part?" This is well answered by Gen. Scott in his report, wherein he says, "Hundreds of thousands marched in so-called preparedness parades to the plaudits of onlookers, but when the militia was called out in June to protect our border it was with the utmost difficulty that its units were recruited to the small number required, and some were never filled. The spirit was rife to let somebody else do it." Evidently patriotism with the masses has reached an ebb where it is in many places only "scum deep." Viewing the situation with the above aspects in mind, it is unfair for those opposed to the guard as a part of the national force to criticize it for lack of numerical strength or for being otherwise unprepared, inasmuch as the Government had never completely equipped them as Organized Militia. Even the charge of a lack of recruits after the mobilization order of June 18 applies no more to the guard than it does to the Army, as neither, for the reasons stated above, have been able to recruit to war strength, and skeleton organizations are to be found in the Army as well as in the guard. As well organized as is the recruiting service of the Army, even to this day it has not been able to recruit anywhere near the increment authorized by the defense act for the Army, so that it would seem quite unfair to charge the guard with something that the Army can not do. Hence, if the National Guard system is wrong, inefficient, and unpopular by reason of its inability to increase its numerical strength at this time, why not make the same charge against the Army and let the master minds of the Congress devise a more popular system for both? No opportunity having been given, with events and business normal, for recruitment under the pay section of the defense act it is not known whether the young men of the States would have readily enlisted, so it would be unfair to condemn this part of the act until it can have a fair trial. It is also unfair to charge that the guard will gradually disintegrate by reason of the long-term enlistment of the defense act and the long period of service on the border. Such predictions were made during the Spanish-American service, but the guard survived and became a better force, many of the objectors becoming its most ardent supporters.

The guardsman is primarily a man of commercial pursuits, and that is the direction in which his best efforts should lie. The Army man desires distinction in the field. Take the soldier from the Army and he is as restless as the guardsman in service, unless, in either case, kept alert by unusual activities. The desire of the guardsman to return to his trade or professional duty, after an apparent crisis has passed, is no stronger than that of an Army man to return to his duty at the end of his furlough. Consequently most of these negative criticisms pertaining to the National Guard are quite fallacious and come at a time when recruitment and equipping have been at a disadvantage. The service, however, of the guardsmen now on duty can best be told by those of the Army under whom they are serving.

The Army and guard should be brought into closer association by longer periods for development, so that a finer comradeship may be cemented between the officers and men of both organizations. This lack of fellowship may possibly result from a feeling that the Army is a superior fighting force and the belief of the guardsman that the guard lacks many of these qualifications, thus causing a situation akin to an aristocrat and a commoner. However, it is noticeable that this feeling does not prevail where members of the Army and guard are thrown into association for long periods and are enabled to exchange confidences. Some of the best officers in the Army are the strongest friends and factors in the maintenance of the guard. There are some officers in the guard, however, who can not bring themselves to believe that the Army is in any sense a friend of the guard. The officer and soldier of the guard must recognize the officer and soldier of the Army as the trained fighter and with the technical knowledge to carry on warfare. This is the daily work of the Army. On the other hand, the Army must look upon the rank and file of the guard as the commercially trained body—that is their daily employment—but ready to adapt itself by periodical training for emergencies. If each will look upon the other in this consistent light a gracious comradeship will cement a bond that all the powers on earth will not be able to break through.

To return again to the lack of enlistments in ordinary times to the guard, the following points are conceded: The necessity for acting in

aid of the civil authorities for the States; the lack of a natty uniform for parades; inefficient officers and unsuitable quarters, all of which can be counteracted. There seems to be no real reason for condemning the guardsman features of the defense act nor for changing its intent, unless it be for the purpose of expanding it to make universal training compulsory for boys and girls, beginning in their sixteenth year, and followed by national-defense work in their eighteenth year. As Gen. Scott says in his report: "A young man between 18 and 21 is at the least earning capacity of his career. It is a time of anxiety to the parent and uncertainty for the son. During these years few settle in their life's vocation. They are an expense to their parents; their average earnings will not pay for their board and clothes. They can begin military training without the slightest disruption to business, etc."

This will apply in many ways to the young woman and will give to both a more robust body and a much better physique. The training would be along lines of discipline, hygiene, gymnastics, and other matters that would lead to a real military training and Red Cross work, giving us men for national defense and women for Red Cross work. The preliminary work can be done in our schools (public or otherwise) by and under the supervision of Army and guard officers and Red Cross workers. This would be followed later by the young men taking service in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps for a fixed period and then transferred to the National Guard or Naval Militia as a reserve, doing incidental service at the armory for a certain number of years with national maneuvers, military and naval, every few years. The young women, too, to receive advance training under the supervision of the Government. This would necessitate some special training in special schools for guard officers, and some enlisted men and women, the details of which could be worked out by the War and Navy Departments. If this were done no mother's son would be depending on some other mother's son for his defense, but in case of unfortunate circumstances a mother's daughter would be an able aid in the comfort and care of the injured.

District Prohibition Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTIN A. MORRISON,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, February 16, 1917.

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. Speaker, in anticipation of early and favorable action by the House Committee on the District of Columbia on the so-called District prohibition bill, I desire to discuss it briefly.

I shall vote for the pending bill in whatever form it may come up for final passage, but I prefer that it be perfected before it shall come to a final vote. It is constantly referred to as a "dry bill" and a bill to make the District of Columbia "dry." The temperance workers of the country have been led to believe that it is all of that in its present form. The Members of this House know, however, that the bill in its present form is an "antisaloon" measure as distinguished from "antialcohol" legislation. The men and women who are the real supporters of temperance legislation now being successfully urged throughout the country, believe in and demand effective legislation against all alcoholic liquors available for beverage purposes, including the abolition of the licensed saloon. I earnestly hope that our action may respond fully to their judgment and confident expectations.

In order to make the pending bill genuine "prohibition," I desire so to amend the bill as to prohibit the importation into the District of any intoxicating liquors to be used for beverage purposes.

The present state of the public mind and its present attitude toward alcohol are due primarily to two organizations, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, which was organized almost four and a half decades ago, and the Prohibition Party. The latter organization is a political party, having a national party organization and State party organizations. It was organized as a national party in September, 1869, and held its first presidential convention in 1872. The Women's Christian Temperance Union is nonpolitical, but has wrought more mightily in the creation of public sentiment and ultimately in the enactment of temperance legislation than all the strictly professional political prohibitionists that have sought to ride into public office on the back of a public sentiment they did not have the desire or the courage to help to create. Of course, no student of the temperance question will class the members of the Prohibition Party along with the professional prohibitionists to whom I have referred. Theirs has always been a labor of love and self-sacrifice. They have campaigned for a principle, not for personal political advantage. In 44 years they have elected but one Member of this House, our colleague, the gentleman from California, Hon. CHARLES H. RANDALL. I congratulate the party on its first Member of the Congress. He is, of course, a true exponent of the principles of his party, but he is much more. He is broad-minded, intellectually endowed and equipped, industrious, and efficient in the whole range of his duties as a Representative and legislator.

The fundamental principles of these two organizations are substantially identical and include the prohibition by law of the manufacture, importation, transportation, sale, or barter of alcoholic beverages, or other traffic therein. In popular parlance, the word "prohibition" includes and means just that and all of that.

During the intervening years, the work of these two organizations has been supplemented by the work of many organizations that have been faithful and efficient. I will not undertake to enumerate them or to estimate their comparative services to the cause. In my own State, the Indiana branch of the Antisaloon League has long rendered valuable services in a series of battles for the enactment and enforcement of temperance legislation. It is at this time cooperating with the Indiana Dry Federation, into which the temperance forces of the State have thrown their combined force and power, so that there is now complete harmony among the temperance organizations of the State.

The District of Columbia is not a political subdivision of the Republic in the sense that it has, or ought to have, local self-government. It is the National Capital, belongs to the Nation, and ought to represent and reflect all that is highest and best in the thought and purpose of the people of America. Legislation by the Congress affecting alcohol in the District of Columbia ought to be the perfection of human wisdom on that subject. Many serious-minded friends of temperance are not fully persuaded that a city of 300,000 people can be made actually dry, but they desire to see the experiment given a fair trial under favorable conditions. No city in America is so favorably situated for the effective administration of a "bone-dry" law as is the city of Washington. In no other city are there more elements that make for the success of such an undertaking or fewer elements that would tend to make the administration of such a law difficult. In the circumstances, the Congress can not in fairness enact a law patterned after the weakest of the weak States. It is rather our duty to make the dry law for the District of Columbia as strong as the strongest.

The pending bill as it came to the House is fatally weak at two points. It permits the manufacture of alcohol within the District for beverage purposes and its exportation from the District. Of course, alcohol once carried beyond District lines passes beyond the control of the officers of the District and beyond the control of the Congress under the pending bill.

The bill as it came to us also writes into the dry bill for the District of Columbia the fatal weakness that has for many years made States nominally dry actually wet, to wit, the right of interstate shipment of liquors into the District for beverage purposes. Until recently States have had no power to prevent the evasion and practical nullification of State constitutions and statutes by interstate shipments, and until recently the Congress has refused to place it within the power of the States so to protect themselves. Just now, for the first time, the several States are in position to enact and enforce laws that are completely and effectively prohibitory.

The weak spot in State legislation has always been the failure of the Congress to outlaw interstate shipments in violation of State laws. For the District of Columbia the Congress exercises both the general police power exercised by the legislatures of the several States and its own general plenary power over interstate and foreign commerce. If the otherwise drastic provisions of the pending bill are to be legally subject to nullification by importation of alcoholic liquor for beverage purposes, it can be accomplished only by the deliberate refusal of the Congress to exercise for the benefit of the people of the District of Columbia the power it indisputably has and has already exercised for the protection of the people of every State of the Union.

The bill as it stands is distinctly and exclusively "antisaloon," but is in no true sense "antialcohol." If it shall remain substantially unchanged it will be little less than a ghastly joke to continue to refer to it as a "dry bill" or as a bill "to make the District dry."

I have heard it charged that the Anti-Saloon League prepared the present bill and has resisted all attempts to amend it so as to prohibit importation of alcoholic liquors for beverage purposes. I am not supposed to sustain confidential relations with the officers of this body of reformers, and express no opinion as to the probable truth or untruth of this most serious charge. The bill is so scrupulously limited to the one purpose of eliminating the licensed saloon as a means of distribution, without denying the right to make, to procure, to import, to possess,

and to use liquors for beverage purposes, that it bears strong internal evidence of having been written by the friends of alcohol.

Every student of the temperance question knows that the makers of intoxicating liquors and the men who desire to preserve the right to drink them have long since become reconciled to the elimination of the licensed saloon, and have been seeking some highly respectable institution that would join in the movement and be satisfied to go no further. They feared that the reform, if openly advocated by the makers and users of beverage liquors would be looked upon with suspicion by the temperance workers of the country. In that event the bartenders and bar flies, who were selected for solitary sacrifice, were liable to join with the nonprofessional temperance workers of the country in destroying completely all alcoholic beverages.

With this fact in mind, I desire to submit a strong item of evidence to sustain my contention that the present bill is the work of the distillers and brewers. In the Literary Digest, of March 27, 1915, I find that Mr. T. M. Gilmore, publisher of Bonfort's Wine and Spirit Circular, and who is recognized as authority among the makers of wet goods, used this language:

This so-called prohibition movement is not prohibition at all, and the millions behind it do not intend to be prohibited, but it is a mighty protest, a blind striking out, and the object aimed at is the saloon.
The saloon is doomed, and liquors must seek new channels.
To save the business we must let go of the saloon.

This statement is authoritative and typical. I submit that the pending bill, skillfully framed to work the will of the makers of alcoholic liquors, can not in fairness be charged against an organized company of gentlemen to whom the friends of temperance have committed the leadership of a great and growing public sentiment against all intoxicating alcoholic beverages.

Four times I have been nominated and elected on a platform declaring for prohibition in the District of Columbia and for the exclusion of intoxicating alcoholic liquors from interstate and foreign commerce. On these propositions there has never been any division of sentiment among temperance workers. Indeed, the word "prohibition" includes both propositions. The man who does not favor both propositions may be a reformer of some character or in some degree, but it is certain that he does not stand for prohibition. A reformer who is willing to go no further than the distillers and brewers in a temperance legislative program is not a genuine, thoroughgoing prohibitionist. He may be of an uncertain degree of wetness, but he certainly is not "dry."

The Prohibition Party has always included in the prohibition it favored the exclusion of intoxicating beverages from interstate commerce; so has the Women's Christian Temperance Union.

Hon. Eugene W. Chafin, presidential nominee of the Prohibition Party in 1912, expressly so declared. In an editorial in the National Enquirer, official organ of the Prohibition Party, on December 28, 1916, Hon. J. Frank Hanly, editor of the National Enquirer, and last nominee of the Prohibition Party for President, declared in favor of barring alcoholic beverages from all shipments, State or interstate.

If any temperance organization has declared for prohibition in the District of Columbia or elsewhere and for the right of interstate shipment of alcoholic beverages, I have not learned of that fact.

On December 21, 1914, the Anti-Saloon League in a signed letter mailed to the Members of this House expressly pledged the "organized prohibition and temperance forces" of the country to support a bill to exclude from interstate commerce all shipments of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes.

In May, 1916, the Methodist Episcopal Church, in general conference assembled, adopted a declaration in these words:

We urge upon the Federal Congress the immediate passage of laws prohibiting all interstate commerce in intoxicating liquors and forbidding the use of the United States mails both to liquor shipments and to liquor advertisements.

The Amethyst is the official temperance organ of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. In its issue of September, 1916, the attitude of that church on the temperance question was declared to be "antialcohol," and to call for "the absolute prohibition of the manufacture, importation, sale, and transportation of alcoholic beverages in all forms."

These two express declarations by religious bodies are typical of all declarations by churches and religious boards or official assemblies.

On July 9, 1915, the Anti-Saloon League of America was holding a national convention at Atlantic City, N. J. On that day the national board of trustees of the league unanimously adopted a declaration in these words:

We believe that the Congress of the United States should bar all intoxicating beverages from interstate commerce.

On July 19, 1915, Rev. Edwin C. Dinwiddie, legislative superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of America, expressly declared the attitude of the league in these words:

Our organization is in favor of a law which will deny to intoxicating liquors the facilities of interstate commerce.

Quotations might be multiplied indefinitely, but these will suffice to show that "prohibition" for the District of Columbia of necessity includes prohibition of importation from beyond District lines for beverage purposes. These quotations make it impossible to believe that any temperance organization, and least of all the Anti-Saloon League, prepared the pending bill and stands sponsor for the doctrine of prohibition for the District of Columbia, coupled with the right to nullify the prohibition by the importation of alcoholic liquors for beverage purposes. The preposterous story that this is the bill of the Anti-Saloon League will not justify the Members of this House in working the ill-concealed and selfish will of the distillers and brewers. Let us resent a trick so transparent as this one. Let us vindicate the good name of the Anti-Saloon League by striking from the pending bill the palpable fake and fraud which the enemies of the league are seeking to include in the bill by the unwarranted use of the good name and popularity of the league in its pretended indorsement.

Revenue Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN R. FARR,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 17, 1917.

Mr. FARR. Mr. Speaker, by right of leave to extend, I am inserting in my remarks the following communications from constituents concerning provisions in the pending revenue measure, House bill 20573, expressing opposition to the same and giving reasons for their disapproval. Knowing these petitioners as substantial business men of high character, I ask the most careful consideration of the facts and arguments they present:

SCRANTON LIFE INSURANCE CO.,
Scranton, Pa., January 31, 1917.

Hon. JOHN R. FARR,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: This week we received the telegram of which you will find copy inclosed. It is in essence as well as substance a protest against Federal taxation of life insurance premiums. If enacted, this tax must be derived from premiums paid by individuals who on the average are able to provide less than $2,000 of insurance for their dependents. To make matters worse, the tax does not appear to fall impartially on all policyholders, but is vitiated by unreasonable exemptions.

Since the Scranton Life Insurance Co. has thousands of policyholders in the tenth congressional district, I feel sure you will exert your influence to resist for them this unwarranted imposition.

It is worthy of note that in England life insurance premiums, being a function of thrift and personal economic independence, are immune from tax. The rule there is, I believe, that even income tax holds exempt that part of an income which is paid for life insurance up to one-sixth of such income.

It is also interesting to note that the State of Pennsylvania collects about $2,000,000 annually in taxes from policyholders, and of that amount spends only $80,000 to maintain its insurance department; the balance is general revenue.

With kind regards,
Yours, very truly,
WM. E. NAPIER.

NEW YORK, *January 27, 1917.*

JAMES S. MCANULTY,
President Scranton Life Insurance Co., Scranton, Pa.:

Democratic House caucus last night ratified provisions of proposed Federal emergency revenue measure, which applies to all life insurance companies except those doing the business of life, health, and accident insurance combined in one policy issued on weekly premium payment plan. Tax imposed by act is computed as follows: From amount of taxable income as reported under Federal income-tax law deduct $5,000; also 8 per cent of your paid-in capital and paid-in or earned surplus and undivided profits. The remainder, called excess profits, is taxed at the rate of 8 per cent. Three pertinent fundamental facts apparently ignored by Congress: First, over 70 per cent of the life insurance in the United States is mutual; second, including participating business of stock companies, over 86 per cent of all life insurance policies are participating; third, the burden of all taxes upon the income of life insurance funds falls upon the individual policyholder. Bill exempts industrial insurance where life policyholder is insured also against sickness and accident, but taxes policyholder who insures only his life for benefit of family. Average size of ordinary life insurance policy in United States has decreased from $2,580 in 1894 to $1,850 in 1915, showing that 7,000,000 ordinary policyholders of United States on whom tax would fall are providing only this modest sum for their dependents. The 25,000,000 industrial policyholders who would also be taxed are providing but $134 each for their families. Would suggest that your officers, agents, and representative policyholders immediately communicate their views by wire and letter to their Representatives and Senators. Kindly advise what action is taken.

ASSOCIATION OF LIFE INSURANCE PRESIDENTS.

AMERICAN SURETY CO., OF NEW YORK,
Scranton, Pa., February 5, 1917.

Hon. JOHN R. FARR, M. C.,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. FARR: The proposed 8 per cent excess profits tax in the Federal revenue bill would add enormously to the burden of overtaxation already borne by surety companies. This burden now consists of:

(a) State, county, and city taxes on real estate and nonexempt personality.
(b) State franchise taxes.
(c) License tax on agents in practically all States.
(d) State premium taxes.
(e) Municipal license taxes.
(f) Special district franchise taxes.
(g) Federal 2 per cent income tax.
(h) Federal franchise tax on capital and surplus.

These taxes will probably cost our company $200,000 this year. This sum is disproportionately large to the capital stock and gross premium receipts of the company. It is also out of all proportion to the returns to our stockholders who risk their money in the enterprise. Other surety companies are undoubtedly taxed in the same proportion.

The imposition, therefore, of the proposed additional 8 per cent excess profits tax on surety companies would, in my opinion, be extremely unjust, and would undoubtedly adversely affect every interest identified with the surety business.

In my opinion, the Federal taxing authorities can readily provide the revenue required for governmental purposes by taxes that are more general in their nature and less burdensome to those who are already overtaxed.

I should be pleased to have you oppose this measure if you can consistently do so without any embarrassment to yourself.

Thanking you in advance for your courtesy in this matter, I am,

Very truly, yours,

D. R. THOMAS, *Manager.*

SCRANTON, PA., *February 14, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN R. FARR,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We desire to enter our protest against the passage of revenue bill H. R. 20573 in its present form, and we trust this will receive your earnest consideration.

This bill we believe to be inequitable, because of its exemption to certain classes of income. Furthermore, it discriminates against partnerships as compared with corporations. You will realize that as members of the New York Stock Exchange our business can not be conducted as a corporation. A conservatively conducted business of this class must of necessity provide a large surplus and undivided profit account to protect it against unforeseen business conditions in periods of depression and financial disturbance. This forces organizations of the character of ours to maintain small capitals and large surplus and undivided profit accounts. As a matter of fact, the good will and all of the assets of such an organization are essentially capital, but should not be capitalized. This bill necessitates an unconservative increase in capital account, which in turn through the Federal income-tax law places a burden upon such an organization, necessitating a capitalization of all its assets which exist only at their full values for short periods.

We oppose no bill which levies alike upon all interests to provide funds for the maintenance of our Government, but this specific bill, which penalizes conservatism in capitalization of business, and in effect is a special tax upon a business which of its nature involves hazards and is reasonably profitable but about two years in ten, should be defeated and supplanted by a taxation measure which includes partnerships, corporations, and all classes of business alike. Include income from agriculture, professional services, from business conducted by individuals, and tax every corporation and you will effect a measure which will reflect the sincerity of your purpose.

An acknowledgment of this communication will be appreciated by,

Very truly, yours,

BROOKS & CO.

Danish West Indian Islands.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MURRAY HULBERT,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 19, 1917.

On the bill (H. R. 20755) to provide a temporary government for the West Indian Islands, acquired by the United States from Denmark by the convention entered into between said countries on August 4, 1916, and ratified by the Senate of the United States on September 7, 1916, and for other purposes.

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, several Members of this House feel that $25,000,000 is too much for this country to pay for the islands of St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix. The first proposal to purchase these islands was made during the administration of President Lincoln by Secretary of State Seward, who afterwards consummated negotiations for the purchase of the Territory of Alaska, for which we paid Russia $7,200,000 in 1867. In 1866 the United States made a definite offer of $5,000,000 for the three Danish West Indian Islands, which Denmark refused to accept, and made a counter proposal to sell St. Thomas and St. John for $10,000,000, or $15,000,000 for the three islands.

A compromise was subsequently effected whereby the United States would secure the islands of St. Thomas and St. John for $7,500,000, provided the consent of the people of the islands should be formally given before the sale was consummated, and on January 9, 1868, out of 1,039 votes cast in St. Thomas there were but 22 opposed, while in St. John there were 205 votes in favor and not one against the cession. The treaty was subsequently ratified by the Rigsdag and signed by the King of Denmark, but the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate reported adversely, and the Senate declined to ratify it. The purchase of the islands was again considered during the administrations of Presidents Harrison and Cleveland. During the administration of President McKinley the Committee on Foreign Relations reported to the Senate a bill authorizing the Senate to purchase the islands for use as a naval and coaling station. In 1902 a convention was signed for the cession to the United States of the islands for $5,000,000, which was ratified by the United States Senate but failed to secure the approval of the Danish Government.

In my opinion the United States should raise the money, pay the price, acquire the islands, and provide a temporary form of government without further delay. If the value of the Danish West Indian Islands corresponds to-day proportionately to the value of Alaska, as it did in 1867, at the time of its purchase, we shall not have lost anything; but, on the contrary, just as there are conditions which make the acquisition of these islands more desirable now so do these conditions enhance the purchase price; and I have no doubt that there are other Governments more willing to acquire these islands at the price they are offered to us than some of us think the Government ought to be.

At the close of the Spanish-American War, notwithstanding the fact that our victory was full and complete, we paid $20,000,000 to the vanquished King of Spain for the privilege of exercising temporary sovereignty over the Philippine Islands until such time as we might have educated them for citizenship and independence to govern themselves. The acquisition of the Philippines, temporary in its nature, was likely to embroil us at any time in international complications. The purchase of the Danish West Indies is designed to be a permanent acquisition to help keep us out of war, and in the event of war to better enable us to protect and defend the Panama Canal.

I shall vote for the bill.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include an editorial from the Gazette of January 20, 1917, published in my district:

THE UNITED STATES WEST INDIES.

A recent dispatch from Washington states that the above is the name which it is said the administration intends to adopt for the newly acquired possessions in the West Indies, St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John, and Crab Island and the islands adjacent thereto. Porto Rico is not to be included in this new designation, but it probably will in time.

In deciding to name this newly acquired territory "the United States West Indies" the United States is following the example of European countries which have colonies in the Caribbean. And viewed from a historical and sentimental point of view, it is well that the new name be adopted, for no matter what flag may float over the islands the name "West Indies" will always cling to them. And in this connection it is worth while recalling what may or may not be true—that Columbus named the lovely group of islands which dot the Caribbean "West Indies" because of his belief that he had reached the East Indies by a western route.

But there is a greater significance which attaches to the proposed name. It is that the first serious step has been taken whereby all of the West Indian Islands will be acquired by the United States either by purchase, cession, or conquest. Nothing is more certain. Just as Denmark has become tired of her far-off possessions in the West Indies and has rid herself of what was undoubtedly a burden to her, so in time the other European Governments that still have possessions down there that are a liability to them rather than an asset will turn them over to the United States for the best price this country is willing to offer. If this is not done voluntarily, then the other two alternatives—cession or conquest—will bring them under the jurisdiction of the country to which they logically belong, geographically, politically, and commercially.

But, nevertheless, we do not think the name "The United States West Indies" should be applied to the former Danish islands or the other islands when they shall have been transferred to the United States. The style smacks of colonialism and is indicative of an intention to govern the islands after the fashion now in vogue there. Colonialism should have no place in the government of a republic. St. Thomas and her sister islands, as soon as the transfer from Danish to United States rule has been effected, should be organized into a Territory, their inhabitants made citizens of the United States, with all that that carries with it, and as soon as possible created a State of the Union, with Representatives in the Congress of the United States. Any other procedure is likely to prove unsatisfactory alike to the people of the newly acquired possessions and to this country.

Of course, a very large percentage of the people of the three islands are British, not Danish, subjects, and care will have to be exercised in conferring citizenship upon the islanders that no blanket grant be made less many receive it who will not be entitled thereto and matters be complicated for this country. But those entitled to it should receive it immediately, and Congress owes it to the country to see to it that no such anomalous condition is created in our newest possessions as still exists in the case of Porto Rico.

The same dispatch stated that Secretary of State Lansing, the Secretary of War, and Members of Congress were debating the form of government best suited to the islands at the present time. Our belief, based upon knowledge of West Indian conditions, is that the most helpful and the one that will prove the most beneficial to the islands, and which will at the same time show our good intentions and superior

methods of government over those that have prevailed, will be a form of government such as we maintained in Cuba after the close of the Spanish-American War and later in Panama. And the type of governor whom we should send to the islands should not be a mere politician; he should be a Gen. Wood or Gen. Goethals, with a corps of sanitary engineers. With a governor of this type and sanitary experts to assist him, the islands should soon become healthy, attractive places, both for business and as pleasure resorts for people from this country.

Problems of War and the Possibilities of Peace.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES H. DAVIS,
OF TEXAS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 19, 1917.

Mr. DAVIS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, to maintain the stability of our Union, repel invasion, and perpetuate the sublime ideals of our democracy, our national soul, I am willing to vote billions from the Treasury and surrender my life and all I have if needs be. But to line up with the lions and bears, kings and tyrants of Europe in defense of a doubtful technical right and waste untold American blood and treasure in a war the chief result of which will mean more millions for Morgan and the war-mad munition makers followed with untold debt and despair, I would suffer my body torn limb from limb and my flesh fed to vultures before I would cast such a vote. However, a majority of Congress rules in such matters under our Constitution. In their action all loyal Americans must concur. Though their action may fill my life with deepest regret I shall accept their verdict as the binding power of my country and acquiesce. In the midst of war's most woeful calamities our President had the courage, the unalloyed love of democracy, and the glorious ideals of our Republic—which find their grandest essence and basic foundation in that immortal declaration which says "all political power is inherent in the people and all just powers of government are derived by consent of the governed"—to urge these warring nations to consider the questions of permanent peace, based upon that sacred principle that "all just powers of government rest upon the consent of the governed," glorious, grand, wonderful thought, divine in concept, immortal in truth. The courage of the expression at that time is typical of the devoted Americanism of our President. But why, oh, why, should we now ignore that doctrine and plunge this country into a foreign war and become the military consort of cold-blooded and cruel kings who look with disdain upon common manhood and consider "the people mere chattels to serve their royal rapacity?"

The great normal desire of all mankind is peace. The difference between heaven and hell is the difference between peace, with its placid and sweetened life, and hell, with its turmoil of suffering and strife. For nearly 2,000 years the followers of Christ have prayed and begged for peace. Millions of prayers wafted on the winged winds have gone to Heaven in fervent supplication to that end. All civilized countries have peace officers and courts in which they punish people for disturbing the peace. Following all this clamor and anguishing heart throbs for peace, why is it that practically the whole earth is in a baptism of fire and fury, engrossed in the turmoils of a wicked world-wide war? The answer is that greed and gold, kings and crowns, emperors and aristocrats, and cold-blooded corporations and combines control the earth for their own aggrandizement, profit, and preferment, and with a stoic indifference and a total disregard for all human rights are decimating and devastating the earth in a rivalry for world power. This they do to augment their special privilege, pile more wealth in their already plethoric coffers, and spread their dominion for plunder. Take the profits out of war and the aggrandizement to the few out of conquest and give the people control of their governments and establish all governments to rest upon the consent of the governed and war will cease.

Recounting the terrifying horrors of the present war and looking back over the pages of history, I stand abashed and amazed at man's inhumanity to man. Man's genius demonstrated by modern achievement makes him not only the image of his God but in his prowess is almost rivaling Deity itself. He has reached his deft hand in the azure blue, plucked the very lightnings that flash around the thrones in heaven and brought it to earth tame and submissive. But instead of devoting this great discovery to bless humanity he gears it up to the touch of a trigger, stores it away dormant in bombs and shells, and makes the most powerful instruments known for the destruction of human life and property. This discovery which ought to be a blessing is converted into an instrument of calamity and a curse to the race, all to satisfy the covetous greed of ungodly passions. He has extracted the flames from the very furnaces of hell and these he has made to obey his commands, yet this massive power, so sublime and supreme, which ought to be used to bless the world with industrial energy, is applied, in great part, as a great motive power for the wholesale murder of mankind. Gunboats and transports, dreadnaughts and leviathans, great naval mammoths and mastodons ride the bosoms of the ocean, puffing and panting a hot and furious breath, seeking whom they may destroy and lying in wait, watching for the time when they can belch forth a thousand pounds of shot and shell to batter down the homes and houses and consume the lives and labor of men. The whole genius of the human race seems to have been invested in devising ways and means to curse, blight, and kill humanity. Put the world under the white flag of peace, turn these vast powers into whirling the wheels of industries and beautifying the earth and rendering it more healthful and habitable, and you would make the world a paragon of beauty, a paradise of contentment, and an Eden of joy, and progress and advancement in the wonderful prosperity under such a program is almost immeasurable.

While man has been able to conquer space and distance and can make the very air bear his messages around the world, he has yet never been able to conquer himself. His greed, his avarice, his passions and prejudices are still the controlling elements of his life. It is these in man that make for war.

After two years' experience in the horrors of our own fratricidal conflict of the sixties, one of the leading generals of that war, in a term of stolid philosophy, said, "War is hell." Without feeling profane in the use of the term, with strict reverence for my God and His laws, I want to add that if war is hell, then it is hellish indeed to provoke war and put our country in hell.

When war prevails the golden rule becomes a myth, the decalogue a dead letter, the love of God and the love of man is lost in a riot of revenge and rapacity,

> The Golden Rule is a hollow sham—
> The lions turned loose to feed on the lambs;
> Laws to protect humanity's right
> Are lost in the frenzy of the fight,
> And the right to kill, slaughter, and slay
> Is the battle cry of the raging fray.
> The man who pleads for the laws of God
> Is goaded away with a savage prod.
> "To hell with peace!" We must win the fight;
> In the rules of war might is right.
> Your pacifist dreams and prattle for peace
> Must be silenced, you must cease.

When Napoleon stood in front of his half-starved and ragged legions and told them the enemy had plenty upon which they might feast, if they would only slaughter the foe and take what he had, he was laying down the law of loot and lust that has actuated most of the wars of history. All these things only show how false, fickle, and fraudulent is the flummery and pretence of hell when the devil assumes to be clothed in righteousness under a hypocritical pretense to vindicate national honor in the brutal savagery of war.

Standing in the dreadful prospect or possibility of war today, in which we are to take part and become embroiled in the ruinous, ravenous, rapacious rows of kings in the Old World, the cry comes up over the four quarters of the land to stand by the President.

Friends, I think we have a wonderful man at the head of our Government—a splendid embodiment of American life. I love him for his greatness and his goodness. But if you want me to stand by the President, show me that the President is right; show me that the program to be played will best serve the millions of people for whom I, in a humble way, am commissioned to speak. The fathers who made our Republic, many of them fresh from the gory fields of battle, taking into account the woeful wars that have drenched the earth in blood, clothed Congress and the people's representatives with the sole power to declare and provide for war.

I have the highest respect and regard for our President, but under my oath and the obligation I assumed I am expected to exercise my own judgment in matters of war. When I think of declaring war I think of the blanched faces and bleeding bodies of millions of men. I think of the murder machines that fill the air and rave over the land, floating over the bosom of the ocean, and even crawling on the very bottoms of the seas in their search for human victims. I hear the widows' wails and the mothers' moans. I hear the cries of despair and the dying groans that make the earth a maelstrom of misery in war. I see the dead and the dying in a hundred miles of trenches, where liquid fire, poisonous fume, leaden hail, and shot and shell make that trench a veritable hell. I see millions

of orphan children holding out the withered hand of hunger to a cold and cruel war-mad world, while billions of dollars' worth of food and raiment and all the blessings of life are being burned and blasted, go up in flames, or sink to the bottom of the seas.

Therefore, before I cast my vote for war I must know that every honorable means to prevent war has been exhausted.

The war-mad fiends, whose judgment, beclouded by the smoke from the Steel Trust, Powder Trust, and munition plants, who are already coining the blood and butchery of the European war into millions of dollars, cast away with scorn the man who pleads for cool, calm consideration and prefers an honorable peace to a deadly, damnable alignment among kings in war. This element, whose heart and conscience seem to be petrified in hate and aflame with fury, calls with imperious demand to "stand by the President." I answer, the voters last November stood by Wilson against war. This callous, cold-blooded call seems to imply that the President intends to plunge us in war. This I deny. But their call to stand by the President is but the accented echo of the same call that makes the poor, benighted, and oppressed Russian stand back of the Czar in his tyranny, that makes the German stand back of the Kaiser and support him in his cruelty, that has made kings and tyrants in every land the masters and murderers of millions of people.

I thank God that in 1776 there were brave and noble men, who preferred to stand for liberty rather than stand by their president—their king. Patrick Henry, Washington, Jefferson, Hancock, and hundreds of others preferred to follow the dictates of their own conscience and part company with their president—their king. There was a large element of educated, strong, and wealthy men who raised the same cry then that the war-mad maniacs raise now, branding as traitors men who refused to stand by the king. They were Tories, and their very name to-day is a stench in the nostrils of liberty-loving America. Thanks be to the grandeur of those men who refused to stand by their president—the king—calling upon God on high to witness the rectitude of their conduct, they parted company with him, and through seven years of struggle and misery, passing through fire and blood at Bunker Hill, Brandywine, Valley Forge, and Yorktown, they brought forth from the womb of eternity a Glorious Republic.

These rampant ranters for war spread glowing headlines across the papers and with imperious unction lecture Congress about the sacredness of international law. If international law is sacred and its willful violation is a crime, then I affirm that England as well as Germany has from the beginning shown an insolent disregard for American rights and has spurned, contemned, and overrun every principle of international law. And long before Germany created a war zone or threw her soulless submarines in the sea, England had forbidden the people of the earth to use the North Sea except as she, in her damnable designs, was willing to admit.

For more than two years she forbade us to trade with her enemies, dragged our commerce from the seas, and with pusillanimous perfidy kept us from trading with Germany and Austria, and, through her minister of munitions and international financial agent in this country, Pierpont Morgan, she killed the cotton market of the South, robbed the Southland of nearly $400,000,000, bought our cotton on a dead market at 5 and 6 cents a pound, then, by the strategy of their business control of our country and the seductive power of their press, they induced this Government to insure that cotton against German attacks, while they carried it to England, France, and Italy, and sold it at a price ranging around 17 cents. This diabolical outrage was perpetrated while Germany was begging for the privilege of dealing with us as a free people and offering the southern farmer from 15 to 40 cents a pound for his cotton. But the jingoes tell us that England did not kill any of our citizens on the high seas. Ah, that is true. A part of Mr. Morgan's plan was to prevent such conduct as that. We were saved from murder, we were simply robbed of our money. On the high seas we Americans met two unscrupulous, insolent, and murderous robbers, England and Germany. England scuttled our ships, rifled our mails, took us by the throat, and dragged us to her ports, robbed us of our money, then had Morgan, her minister of munitions in this country, issue cards of thanks spread across the pages of the press in great gusto, because she left us alive. Germany, unable with her submarines to rob us without killing us, too, after warning us of her intentions to rob, kill, slaughter, and slay, carried out her hellish designs with merciless cruelty. But when they talk to me about the sacred rights of international law I ask myself and ask men, "How does it come that we have been forbidden for two and one-half years to land a cargo of our commerce on German, Austrian, or Turkish shores?" I ask, too, with earnest solicitude under what international law, and under what law of God, England has had the right to forbid us delivering goods to neutral Governments?

Let us suppose a parable which bears a perfect analogy to our condition regarding the treatment Germany and England have given us.

The American Goddess of Liberty, the Holy Virgin of our national Union and democracy, was crossing the high seas. She met John Bull, who assumes to be the militant master of the seas, who with shameless lechery and lust, by force of arms, outraged her, but condescended to leave her alive. Injured by the brutal treatment, but undismayed, she went on her course, but soon met William, the conquering Kaiser, who, with lecherous lust and depraved design, not only outraged and despoiled her but mangled and murdered her. The treatment of both these heartless fiends is a dastardly crime never paralleled before except by pirates, pagans, and heathens. But when we condone and excuse England and put up with her infamous, insolent, and infernal outrages for two years it does not strain my mental faculties to at least refuse to go raving mad and rush into war because of our unholy, ungodly, and inhuman treatment by Germany. The intolerant bigotry and brazen effrontery of both of these usurpers is reprehensible, inexcusable, and unjustified by any rule of civilization.

Why should we grow so frantic and frenzied over Germany's infamous blockade and insulting defiance of our natural rights of trade? England has had one of her royal round-up agents, one of her political popinjays, strutting around the English Embassy here under the royal flummery and cockades of the Crown, forbidding our people to carry American commerce on American ships under the American flag to European ports without his consent for nearly two years. Under the arrogant orders of this insolent cockswain cock-a-doodle-doo or royal rooster, I am told millions of dollars' worth of cargoes, including the ships, have been dragged from the seas confiscated. American freemen here on American soil are forced in ignominy to get the gracious consent of this grandee before they are allowed to exercise the inalienable right of trade for which our forefathers fought, bled, and died, and for which we are now preparing to fly at the throat of Germany.

Abraham Lincoln said in discussing slavery under our flag:

He who willfully denies liberty to another deserves it not himself and under the dispensations of a just God can not long retain it.

This Nation had denied liberty to the black man for a hundred years, but under the laws of God's retribution it paid the penalty in four years of bloody war that justice might be retrieved. Feeling to the fullest the providence of God, I assert without hesitation that nations like individuals must atone for their sins.

The greater part of all this fulsome, flamboyant verbiage about war for "national honor" is but the designing lingo of munition manufacturing, money loaning, bond clipping "jingoes" who want to continue to puff their purse with war profits. Of course they want war. Every time a ship is destroyed the Steel Trust sees the hope of another contract and chance to scoop millions out of the miseries of murderous war. War means untold misery and misfortune for the masses, but it means mansions and palaces for the classes. Of course all the money-mad munition makers are war mad.

If I wanted to court laudation and praise from the Tory element of the press and be glorified by the jingoes, my name heralded as a great statesman and patriot by those who deal in war stocks and hope to coin the woeful calamities of our country into cash, I would clap my hands in a frenzy for war, make a furious, foaming, frothing speech, bloodthirsty and seething with vengeance and slaughter, and close by proposing to turn billions of money and bonds and our whole manhood in conscription over to the Steel Trust, munition makers, and Money Trust with instruction to save our "national honor." I would propose to mortgage the unborn for 50 years bound, gagged, and looted by coupon clippers in bond syndicates and soulless corporations.

I can agree with the press and the patriots who arraign Germany for her brutal treatment. Germany has been savage, brutal, and bestial. England has been cold-blooded and criminal, but has been cunning enough to keep her scoundrelism concealed; whether under the influence of Morgan, her minister of finance and munitions in this country, or otherwise, I am not prepared to say, but her venal conduct has been smothered while Germany's has been headlined and heralded as hideous beyond description.

The United States met two pirates, highway robbers on the seas—Germany and England—both malignant, mercenary, and voracious. England waylaid us with gunboats and tugs, scuttled our ships, and took millions of our property, but con-

descended to let us pass with our lives if we would raise no row about the robbery, turning us loose on parole of honor to be quiet, submissive.

Germany, more stern, rabid, resentful, rapacious, and bigoted, waylaid us with submarines, savage sea dogs, claiming we carried contraband, shot dynamic thunder under us, tore us asunder, and sent persons and property to the bottom of the sea.

Now, it seems Morgan and his minions and some good people and all the jingoes who demand war at any price want us to generously forgive England's infamous robberies and send our noble Army over to help her catch and kill the other robber. To do so, in my opinion, would well befit the ethics of hell and merit the admiration of the devil. The whole structure of our large cities is infested with big business marplots and war plots. Wall Street, Morgan, and his plunderbund want to reguild and emboss their allied war bonds with the blood of American soldiers and seamen in helping England to vanquish Germany.

My father had seven granduncles in the Revolutionary War; 200 years of American ancestry make up my title to American citizenship. I am neither pro-German nor pro-English; I am an American who believes war is hell and feel that I am serving my God in the grandest degree and serving my country in the sublimest sense when I insist on using all honorable means to keep my country out of that hell.

I refuse to be stampeded by the abnormal and unnecessary war spirit that is raging through our country.

"Vengeance is mine," saith the Lord, and I refuse through vengeance and other exciting influences to become embroiled in a war conducted by kings, emperors, and despots for conquest and aggrandizement in an effort to determine which among those despots shall be able to dominate as a world power.

The present war experience has convinced me that though a nation may have the biggest fleet, with the biggest gunboats afloat, it is helpless in a sea infested with submarines.

England's experience in trying to land on Turkey convinced me that even a helpless country, so far as the navy is concerned, can with a few hundred thousand dollars' worth of submarines and mines make it impossible for the most powerful navy afloat to land on her shores.

The international laws were made when the whole world was filled with slaves, serfs, and peons, when the seas were covered with pirates, and when piracy, under letters of marque, made highway robbery on the seas legal, when the conscience of civilization made cold-blooded and premeditated murder honorable by the codes of dueling. All things have changed. Modern warfare and implements of war are so immeasurably more destructive, means of communication and transportation so vastly more rapid, that it is unreasonable to expect nations in war to-day to be governed by those obsolete, inapplicable, and effete rules of warfare. Nations in war are expected to put forth their most efficient and effective service. When a nation must use its best and be at its best to grapple with its enemy in conflict it may be expected to use its most terrible instruments and use them in their most terrible and destructive capacity. To talk to them as Sunday-school pupils and point them to the laws of God and the principles of humanity is sweetness not wasted on the desert air, but poured into a rotten sink hole of savage brutality.

Now, in this hour of agitation and anxiety, while we are yet supposed to have our consciousness and our senses, the damnable war craze runs so rampant that the man who dares to talk of peace and stands for the glory of God and pleads with prayerful anxiety for calm and conscientious consideration is met with insolent jibes, jeers, and calumny covered with condemnation and scorn by the war-crazed cranks who clamor and scream for blood and butchery, craving to revel in the brutalities of war. If we as Americans thus manifest such reckless disregard for the laws of God and the rules of righteousness, what can be expected of the nations already drawn in battle line and mowing each other down by the million. Friends, I stand without tremor or dread to declare myself a man of peace. The God of the universe, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob—our God—knows no double standard of honor, mercy, love, and justice. What did God mean when He said from the mystic heights of Mount Sinai, "Thou shalt not kill"? Did He mean that some lonely man out in the fastness of some forest should be forbidden to kill, then turn nations loose to kill by the millions? Did He mean that men acting as individuals must not kill, and intend that nations should manufacture great monster machines of war to plow the earth and plunge the oceans in their savage rage of murder, death, and desolation? Did He mean that when you murder an individual and destroy his property you are a villain and a criminal, but when you organize in the name of government and prate about "national honor" and national dignity and lead a ravenous rampage of carnage and conquest and murder millions in heartless cruelty, despoil the virtue of their women, rob them of their homes, that you are a patriot and a hero? Let me answer—ten thousand times, no! I am one of those who believe that nations, like individuals, must atone for their sins. "The wages of sin is death" applies to nations as well as individuals. When a nation spurns, contempts, reviles, defies, denies, and repudiates the laws of God and goes on a maddened rage of murder to stifle, strangle, and crush the life out of millions and with wanton, woeful, unscrupulous venality tears asunder helpless homes, kills the people, and confiscates their property, I say now to that nation, "The wages of sin is death. Whatsoever a nation soweth, that shall it also reap." When a nation sows to the flesh, sows to the base, vicious, venal life of the flesh, it challenges the vengeance of God, and under the laws of a just God does not deserve to live, and of its own depravity corrodes, cankers, and rots at the base and tumbles into wreaking ruin like Babylon, the mother of harlots, filled with "abomination and filthiness." When God Almighty told man that he should forgive his brother who offended him seventy times seven he put 490 offenses between the offender and the offended before a row should occur. With this wonderful care and anxiety that our God manifests to keep down a row, keep down war, can it be conceived that He meant for a Nation like the United States to fly into a fury and plunge millions of people into untold agony and death, simply because Germany committed some overt act of violence when we had been condoning and forgiving England's nefarious, insulting robbery for two years? Nay, verily.

A fiery evangel of democracy has been sweeping over the earth for a generation. It has been spreading universal education, intelligence, and social elevation. It has laced and interlaced the world in commercial communication and business relation. It has broken down the barriers that prevented the free intercourse of governments in the past and has put humanity on a higher plane, moving onward and upward, and this, in my opinion, is a direful death grapple, instigated by kings and their clans to decide which shall be the supreme world power. But, sirs, I believe that in this age of intelligence and information the dispensations of a just God will intervene and deny any nation the right to be the dominating world power. The world itself will make a world court, a system of world colleges, and, finally, a world parliament to control the world's international affairs, so as to prevent any two or more nations from interfering with the world's peace, prosperity, and happiness by instigating and perpetrating a cruel war.

It has only been a short while back in our own history when the anthems of peace, universal peace, were sung in a glad refrain throughout our land, along with the heart swells of a new freedom, championed by Woodrow Wilson, W. J. Bryan, and a thousand tongues known to fame in our country. This glorious sentiment, born of the love of God and the God-given rights to life, liberty, and happiness, must not be supplanted, overthrown, and cast aside for the pernicious rules, laws, and customs, the ruinous relics of paganism known as war. Let this Government, standing by the people and for the people, representing a government of the people, whose foundations are laid in the grandest principles of heaven on earth, set the pace and in the name of God, in the name of humanity, acting under the transcendent principles of the golden rule and the decalogue, abolish the hellish doctrine that makes wholesale murder, slaughter, rapine, and plunder honorable under the cruel codes of war.

The jingoes and champions of war at any price tread the front deck of the ship of state and prance up and down the highways of our country looking with scorn upon men who say war is cruel, cold-blooded, and calamitous and who beg for calm consideration. They tell us with an air of unctious disdain that they stand for national honor, national dignity. These terms have a charming, sweet, and savory meaning. With such terms the war fiends and murder-mad maniacs expect to cajole the careful, conscientious men of our country into standing still while they and their pals stampede us into a terrible war. "National honor and national dignity." These terms would have far more sacred meaning to me if I did not know that every page of history certifies that many of the most heinous crimes, ruthless and venal conduct ever committed by men have been perpetrated under these terms. Whole nations, innocent and helpless, have been ravaged, ruined by some murderous conquering tyrant, who, like a cold-blooded colossus, trampled it to death in the name of national honor and national dignity. I might begin with Xerxes, come down the bloody pages with Alexander, Cæsar, Napoleon, and a thousand others who drenched the earth with blood, prostituted every law of justice, mercy, and honor, debased every decree that was made

to protect the rights of men, making greed their god and vengeance and venality their virtue, murdered millions in cold blood, spreading terror and devastation throughout the known earth. All this calamitous, egregious, and unscrupulous conduct was committeed in the name of national honor and national dignity.

Rome with ruthless rapacity pounced down on the sacred city of Jerusalem, the seat of government of God's chosen people, the people who had saved the history of creation and civilization, the people who had given to earth the glorious codes the hand of God had chiseled in tablets of stone on Mount Sinai, a people who had walked with and talked with God. With torchlight and terror, in conflagration and crime, Rome burned, ravaged, and desolated the holy city, sacked its sacred temples and shrines, confiscated and appropriated the accumulated wealth of ages, manacled and bound tens of thousands of her sons and daughters as slaves, plowed up their fields and gardens and sowed them in salt to render them sterile and barren, seeking to enforce starvation on all who might have escaped her slaughter and her slave pens. She then issued an edict exiling forever from the sacred soils of Judea and Jerusalem the remnant of the Jewish race that the Roman eagles could not catch or kill. All this was done in the name of the honor, the glory, the dignity, the patriotism of Rome.

Scipio, a Roman proconsul and general, returned to Rome in a great pageant as one of the earth's most monstrous and mighty murderers. He came with the most stupendous and dazzling display of dress parade, pomp, and splendor the world has ever known, having looted in merciless, marauding warfare two continents, murdering and robbing in cruel cupidity millions of victims, making their flower of manhood slaves and the flower of their womanhood liaisons-concubines, to serve the lust of the venal conquerors. All these crimes against God and man, unscrupulous villanies against feminine virtue and chastity were enacted under the sweet terms of national honor, national dignity, and patriotism, and then, as now, if a man dared to plead for peace he was pointed to as a political reprobate, void of all national honor, and guilty of every stage of treason. And if men like Mr. Bryan and myself had lived in those days and plead for the glory of God and the grandeur of men for peace on earth and good will among men and asked for calm consideration in the name of God and humanity we would have been condemned as guilty of traitorous treason and fed alive—as they did then—to wild beasts in the amphitheaters, while the conscienceless crowd, the Roman aristocracy, and foes of humanity shouted in fiendish joy.

All honor to President Wilson when he urged a peace among the belligerent nations of Europe, resting upon the sacred ground—the foundation for all democracy—the consent of the governed. When he put that plea on the wires and shot it with lightning speed into the face of the kings and crowns of the earth, it served as the bedrock and foundation of his note for peace, which was one of the grandest epochs in the history of statecraft. The Declaration of American Independence, in which that sacred principle was first laid, stands like a beacon light on the ocean of life to guide the liberty-loving sons and daughters of men everywhere to the God-given goal of freedom. To send such a declaration to the kings and crowns, so-called royal rulers, who have made and are now making the whole Continent of Europe a round-up station of royal robbers and rapacious rulers, seemed like the irony of fate. Every tongue in the page of her history tells us how they have vanquished the weaker nations, apportioned the earth's surface among themselves. Its teeming treasures of natural wealth they have confiscated and called it their own. The people themselves are political peons, serfs, subordinates, and slaves to the infamous system.

The present war, the most dreadful and ruinous the world has ever known, is an unscrupulous scramble for pelf and plunder, a death grapple in which millions are forced to struggle and die in order to increase the territory of enthroned tyrants and extend the sway of royal satraps. That war is a king's highway of horrors, in which millions are murdered and maimed and wounded, that kings may continue their carnival of royal rapacity, princes prolong their pillage, lords extend their lootings, while they live in leisure and luxury under forms of law, legally devouring the substance of humanity that they may surfeit their voluptuous life in royal splendor. It is—

A pell-mell of perfidy, a bedlam of strife;
Where millions are robbed of property and life;
Where women are forced into lives of shame,
And all that done in government's name.

But the jingoes jibe, jeer, sneer, and sniff at the peace-loving patriots of America and tell us that we ought to join the allies, for they are fighting for liberty and freedom; that the allies are fighting for the liberty and life of small and helpless nations. My God! What a travesty on truth! Was Russia fighting for liberty and the right of small and helpless nations when she ground the life out of Poland under the iron heel of her tyranny? Was she fighting for liberty when she put the midnight of death into the heart of half a dozen other small nations in the last half a century? Does she stand for liberty when she sends a man who dares to read the American Declaration of Independence in exile to the frozen icebergs of the north, to strave or be devoured by polar bears? Was England fighting for liberty and freedom and rights of small governments when she marched her millions into South Africa and snuffed out the light that blazed in the heart of two young Republics in the Boer War, and made them conquered dominions of the king? Was England fighting for the liberty of small and helpless governments when she has stood for an age with her iron heel on the throat of Ireland and with her strong right arm rifled the pockets of her people? England might debate and defend her rule in India and black man's Africa upon the same doubtful philosophy that we defend our rule in the Philippines—that we are holding a dark and benighted people under the sunlight of civilization and lifting them to a higher plane. But how can she defend her tyrannical rule over Ireland? The Irish were famous in song, art, letters, learning, poetry, and patriotism and stood among the nations of the earth like a charm and a magnet, dazzling in intelligent splendor when she was crushed and conquered. England, with merciless avidity, murdered her and robbed her of her national life. In every land and in every tongue throughout the civilized world the Irishman has measured well and made good in every contest.

Ireland! Ireland! Erin's Isle,
Where the serpent was banished by a Saint,
Where martyrs to freedom
Still march to the stake,
Without blemish or blush or taint,
Where patriots perish for freedom's cause,
While tyrants triumphant stand,
For might is right in tyrant's laws,
And usurpers rule the land.

Do you mean to tell me that Russia, the most absolute, arrogant, and damnable despot on earth, is fighting for liberty and the rights of man? My God, what must be the condition of the perverted mind that makes the claim. You had as well tell me that the Devil is preaching the Gospel of Christ.

I have no resentment in person against the mad clamors for war at any price. I am sure that Morgan and men like him, who make millions out of war, want more war and want America in the midst of war. It means that they and their bond-holding brigades can move into mansions and clip coupons for 50 years and devour the substance, toil, energy, and enterprise of the American people on the interest account for war loans. Of course they want war. God has told us wherever a man's treasure is, his heart is there also. Morgan and his clan's treasure, nearly two billion strong, is invested in the government bonds and securities of the allies. When they made that investment they underwrote the stability and perpetuity of these Governments. Hence their heart is with the allies. Their treasure is there, and whether Mr. CALLAWAY, of Texas, Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania, and other splendid peace-loving Americans, ever make good their charge that a large portion of the metropolitan press is under control of Morgan's money and leading us headlong into war or not, it is reasonable to suppose that when these "big-business" bankers, who have extorted hundreds of millions from the American people through corporate commercial cannibalism, would readily feel it necessary to organize a vast press syndicate to prostitute the conscience of the American people, smother the truth of England's offense, magnify the smallest offense of Germany into national outrage, and use every means possible to produce such a condition as would force this great Republic to help crush Germany and make that investment secure. These myrmidons of mammon, these mercenary minions of the war gods, maddened by their thirst for blood and lust for loot, would gladly plunge this Nation into war, baptize it in blood, submerge it in sorrow, fill the land with desolation and despair, in order to add more millions to their already huge piles of sordid wealth and gather more gold as the heart of our Nation bled. Of course, it is very natural for them to want and have a "patriotic" press. Oh, no; I mean a "paidriotic" press. Set that press apart, sanctify it to the service of "national honor, national dignity," all of which must mean that the United States must become an ally to the allies and help whip Germany. The metropolitan press, sanctified and made pure patriots by Morgan's millions, could by cunning deception, fiction, and fraud beguile the conscience of the country and, through the boards of trade in big cities dominated by big business, sandbag the people, malign and traduce grand, glorious, and good men like

Bryan, covering them with falsehood, villification, and slander, cry down every real friend of the people, the lovers of God and humanity, and magnify every political puppet as a great patriot who with blatant bravado and bigotry boasted and prattled about how he loved the national honor and national dignity.

Let the subtle tongues of those that crave murder and misery rail and vaunt for war if they choose, but I stand with Washington, Jefferson, and a thousand glorious statesmen and thank God that 3,000 miles of briny deep rolls between us and those gory battle fields, and say to you that when the English lion, the German dachshund, the French bear, the grizzly bear of Russia, and the rest of those devouring carnivorous beasts are engaged in this deadly struggle let Uncle Sam take the advice of Washington's Farewell and Jefferson's glorious teachings and refuse to be embroiled in the rapacious rows. By so doing we can save our national honor, save our national dignity, stand for the glory of God and the grandeur of men, and refuse to become a part of that ravenous war which demands that the law of God must give way to the law of lust and loot while the continent runs red with human blood and reeks in cruel and criminal corruption. But they tell us with a loud acclaim that Germany, without the love of God or the dread of hell, began this war. To that I answer that the Christ I adore said, "Let him that is without guilt cast the first stone." Tested by this law can anyone say that England, Russia, or any of the allies are not guilty? Can they stand up in Christian purity and punish Germany when a score of dead, destroyed, and desolated governments are skeletons in their closets as the result of wars they themselves in consciousless cruelty started? But let it be admitted that with malice aforethought, murder in her heart, longing for cruel conquest, she—Germany—started the slaughter. And yet I answer that the crown on every head and the titles that give them seats on every throne in Europe has been bought and held in butchery by crushing, killing, destroying, outraging every known principle of liberty, democracy, and the rights of man in which the whole continent has been saturated and soaked in the blood of millions of innocent victims. And if Germany started that war, and started it with venal design for conquest, she was only following a common custom that has been enacted by kings, emperors, and tyrants through all the whole pages of history. Hardly a page in the history of continents that has not been made gory, gruesome, dark, direful, and damnable by the action of conquering kings, whose depraved lives have led to untold misery, outrage, and wrong. History tells us a thousand times where the tramping legions of conquering kings swooped down on some helpless country, like the eagle on the lamb, and bore it away as a victim of prey.

If Germany started the war, it is useless, an idle dream, to expect her now to acknowledge the guilt, confess her wrong, quit fighting, and ask for terms. You could as well expect the wolf that broke into your sheepfold and took away your lamb to stop fighting your dogs. The wolf got the lamb, but she would stand at the door of the cave in which lie her whelps and fight a thousand hounds until death destroyed her power. Germany, like the wolf, is standing at the door of her cave; She hears the pitiful wail of her hungry whelps in the cave, and in that condition the dachshund of Germany will fight a thousand British lions and Russian bears till death destroys her power to resist. But in God's name, why should we cross the ocean and mix in the miseries of that war? We are now at peace in the midst of a wonderful prosperity; then let us have contentment and speak and think of kindness; let us be sane and not savage; let us be reasonable and not rapacious; let us be kind and not cruel; let us have some respect for righteousness; let us remember that over the archway that spans the golden gate of heaven is enscrolled in letters of living light those transcendent terms given by an omnipotent God for the guidance of men when he said, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." There are a thousand honorable ways to keep out of this war. Then let us keep cool. Malice, hatred, and vengeance poison the fountains of humanity and put mankind under the passions of a brutal instinct in which reason is lost and rapacity runs rampant.

If war is hell, every nation at war is in hell. Germany, surrounded by battle lines on every side in which a holocaust of savage slaughter is swathing down thousands of soldiers, the allies having her whole empire under siege through an almost world-wide war zone, sees herself in close proximity to absolute ruin. She sees her homes and the loved ones therein standing just in front of approaching starvation, in which the wolf of hunger is to haunt a hundred thousand homes. In this condition, if war is hell, she realizes that she must soon slide down into the bottomless pits of that hell. In such a case every ferocious and fiendish element of animal life is kindled into action.

A drowning man will catch at a straw,
A dreadful necessity knows no law,
Hence moral rules and moral creeds
Must all give away to direful needs,
Virtue gives way to venality, then,
With no regard for the rights of men.

Contemplating the marching millions and the stifling, starving, innocent mothers and children, the heartaches and heartburns, the woe and want, the travail and tears, the indescribable sorrow, and the heinous crimes and horrors that make up the record of that war which now blights the Continent of Europe, I pray God and plead with the controlling influences of my country to let us stand erect undismayed on our own shores, doing in Europe as we did in Mexico—warn our people out of the war zone—and let those bloodthirsty tyrants carry on their cruel and calamitous war. It is bad enough, ungodly enough, for them to spill each other's blood; but that is their country, the country in which God gave them birth and existence, and it is not my province to forbid them action. Would to God that they could be persuaded to stop their bloody strife! A few weeks ago we were leading the world and pleading for peace, setting a most glorious example for the world's war-mad peoples. To-day we are the only neutral nation that has broken off relations with Germany. Sad, indeed. To-day we are asking the neutral nations of the world to join us in severing relations with Germany, which the world considers a prelude to war. May God intervene. May peace prevail. May Woodrow Wilson walk the paths of peace, resisting all blandishments, allurements, and beguiling environments which would lead us into war. For more than two years he, with the wisdom of his council and Congress, has kept us out of war, for which 20,000,000 mothers and glorious people throughout our land gave to him heart blossoms of gratitude in his reelection. While the maelstrom of war rages in woeful disaster and reckless ruin desolates the continent in despair, my heart mingles with the muses in melancholy forebodings:

O "dove of peace," where hast thou flown?
Is there no peace on earth?
Did the angles sing a false refrain
When they sang at our Savior's birth?

Will greed and gold forever rule
And fill the world with strife?
Is there no way to stay these wars
And reckless waste of life?

Shall gun thunders never cease
And dying millions moan,
While we feed the dogs of war
On human flesh and bone?

Then answering back from other shores
I heard the whisperings say:
We're now in the darkness that precedes
A glorious coming day,

When man shall take his murderous guns
And make of them plowshares;
And loving God be free from war
With all its toils and snares;

When men and women everywhere
Will love and trust each other
And look to God as father of all
And all mankind as brother.

Establishment of a Probation System in the United States Courts, Except in the District of Columbia.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MURRAY HULBERT,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 19, 1917.

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me, I desire to extend my remarks by printing an exchange of communications between Hon. James J. Hoey, of the Catholic big-brotherhood movement, of New York, who has been actively interested in aiding the enactment of this legislation, and myself.

The communications are as follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., December 29, 1916.

Hon. JAMES J. HOEY,
80 Malden Lane, New York City.

MY DEAR COMMISSIONER: In October, 1915, on an occasion that you and I visited the New York Catholic Protectory with United States Marshal Thomas D. McCarthy, you suggested to me the advisability

of introducing a bill authorizing the appointment of probation officers to take care of just such cases.

I gave a great deal of consideration to this subject, but upon the convening of Congress on December 6, 1915, a bill was introduced by Congressman HAYDEN, of Arizona (H. R. 42), a copy of which is herewith inclosed, and a similar bill was introduced the following day by Senator OWEN (S. 1092), a copy of which is also herewith inclosed.

I concluded to direct my efforts to the consideration of whichever of these bills would be first reached for consideration in the respective Houses in which they have been introduced.

On January 21, 1916, Congressman SEIGEL, of New York, introduced a similar measure, in which he proposed the designation of a marshal instead of the appointment of the probationary officer.

None of these bills have passed, but on March 20, 1916, Charles L. Chute, secretary of the New York State Probation Commission, addressed a letter to Senator OWEN, inclosing a brief in support of the bill introduced by him and Mr. HAYDEN, and the same has been made a Senate document, and I take pleasure in inclosing a copy therewith.

I believe that some action by the Catholic Brotherhood would help in securing favorable consideration in this legislation, and I should be very glad to know its position in the matter and to be of any service possible in aiding its cooperation.

With kind personal regards, I am,

Sincerely, yours,

MURRAY HULBERT.

NEW YORK, *January 2, 1917.*

HON. MURRAY HULBERT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I wish to thank you very much for your letter of December 29, inclosing copies of bills now before Congress relative to the establishment of a probation system in the Federal courts.

The necessity of a probation system in the Federal courts is a subject which you and I have often discussed and are agreed upon. I am sure that if such a system receives the sanction of the law it will be due in no small measure to the earnest and active support which you are giving the proposition.

It is my purpose to call the attention of various Catholic societies, who are interested in social-welfare work, to this matter and urge them to use their influence in behalf of the bill.

Thanking you for your splendid help in so worthy a cause, I am,

Yours, very truly,

JAMES J. HOEY.

Address of Hon. William S. Bennet Before the Young Men's Republican Club of New Haven, Conn., on Lincoln's Birthday.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN Q. TILSON,

OF CONNECTICUT,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 19, 1917.

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an address delivered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. BENNET] on Lincoln's Birthday before the Young Men's Republican Club of New Haven, Conn.

The address is as follows:

ADDRESS OF HON. WILLIAM S. BENNET BEFORE THE YOUNG MEN'S REPUBLICAN CLUB OF NEW HAVEN, CONN., ON LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY.

Peace is the normal condition of our country. Its problems never cease. War is an abnormal condition. Its problems are few. In war we knowingly sacrifice economic, industrial, and governmental advance to the present need of the country. While there may be advance in a country during a war, such advance is accidental or incidental. The one fundamental aim of government during a war is and ought to be the successful prosecution of that war and its ultimate success.

For two reasons, therefore, I make no allusion to the present disturbed condition of our relations with Germany. First, the problems of the German situation are not permanent problems; and, second, now that the Government has taken its stand in a matter affecting our foreign relations, a good citizen has but one duty—stand by the Government.

But side by side with the war go on the same pursuits as in more peaceful times. It is to matters affecting these that I wish to address myself.

Are such pursuits affected by political parties? What is a political party? Are political parties necessary? What is the Republican Party, and what are some of its present duties?

A political party is a group or aggregation of men drawn together by a common belief in a set of principles usually affecting governmental, industrial, or economic conditions.

There is no pursuit in peaceful times that is not affected by the party in power at any given period. The two questions of the tariff and of methods of internal taxation alone touch every industry of our land. As the two great parties differ as to these, the question of which party is in power always affects every industry.

When principles are believed in by any set of men it is, in a free country, a duty which they owe to government to assert and defend such principles, so that if sound they can be adopted for the common good and if unsound their fallacy may be demonstrated. There is no better way for the proper presentation of a political principle than through a political party.

For many years past the two great permanent national parties have been the Democratic and Republican Parties.

The time was when the Democratic Party advocated principles. It was for free trade, for State rights, for a revenue tariff, for free silver, against imperialism. Jefferson was for a limited central government. Though the Republican Party has always stood against each and every one of these doctrines, it has recognized at all times that each presented a question at least of a gravity sufficient to make it worth the while for our party to prove either its fallacy or its inferiority as a political principle. In power the Democratic Party has applied none of its principles, and has abandoned most. It has put neither free trade nor free silver on the statute books. It has not written a revenue tariff. So far as it can be done under the Constitution it has abolished State lines and extended highly centralized government in power.

Under Congresses controlled by the professed followers of Jefferson power has in four brief years been conferred on the Central Government to control within the several States the building of roads, the operation of factories, the course of study in schools, the grading of cotton and of grain, the operation of warehouses, and to some extent the way in which cotton may be bought and sold. Every principle which Democracy ever asserted has been abandoned. We now find it claiming as its own the powerful central government which Jefferson feared and denounced; a central national bank, such as Jackson destroyed; and even a protective tariff, such as Cleveland so solemnly warned the country against, for this very Congress has enacted a protective tariff on dyestuffs for the express purpose of establishing the dyestuffs industry in this country.

The Democratic Party does not now stand for any political principle which it has ever advocated in the past. Apart from the personality of its candidate for the Presidency, it had nothing to discuss in the recent campaign except the Ten Commandments and the beatitudes. To the discussion of these religious topics the Democratic Party brought all the emotional enthusiasm natural to very recent knowledge. Democratic orators induced men to vote for Mr. Wilson by arguments which, followed to their logical conclusion, would more properly have induced them to join the church.

There can be no party division on the laws of Sinai or the beautiful and tender ethics of Jesus.

The Democratic Party having now officially discovered the existence of these great truths, can never win another campaign by discovering them again.

The rapid conversion of the Democratic Party to the passage even of protective-tariff laws has unquestionably had its effect on the Republican Party. Men say, "What is the difference, any way?" If the Democratic Party is now passing laws such as those which we have always advocated and has abandoned, in practice, the enactment into law of the theories which we know to be dangerous, why is not the choice simply one between candidates?

Unless we can clearly demonstrate the difference, men will ask that question in 1920 as they did in 1916.

What then are our distinctive principles? Are we the heirs of the social-justice features of the 1912 platform of the Progressive Party? Neither our party nor the Democratic Party is. That part of the Progressive Party platform of 1912 represented views held and still held by men and women not only in the two great parties but in the Prohibition and Socialist Parties as well. That part of the Progressive platform was really a religious propaganda. It was first expressed by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, meeting at Atlantic City in 1910. Subsequently it was indorsed by the federal council of the Churches of Christ in America, representing substantially all Protestant Christian denominations.

It brought many adherents to the Progressive Party in 1912 because the aim and purpose of that propaganda was and still is high and unselfish. So far as experience proves them to be governmentally sound and useful those proposals will be enacted into law, no matter what party is in power.

Possibly the Republican Party is a little more permanently friendly to such legislation than is the Democratic Party, but it can not honestly claim that there are not men in the Democratic Party who really believe in them also.

Men say we must have more than one or two issues. Have we as a people become so volatile and frivolous that it requires the presence of many issues to insure our attention?

I am not afraid of only one or two issues if they are good ones. In 1896 we had but two—sound money and a protective tariff. But they were fundamental issues which we made the people understand.

Our stand on so-called imperialism and the tariff and in protection of the courts won for us again in 1900. Mr. Roosevelt won largely on his personality in 1904, and our momentum of 12 years of wise and good government carried us through the campaign of 1908, with Mr. Taft well liked and respected as our candidate and Mr. Bryan as the candidate of Democracy. We split in 1912, reunited in 1916, and wherever we made the tariff the issue, as in this State, we won. The first great principle, then, which differentiates us from the Democrats is our advocacy of a protective tariff. Why is the tariff more important as a party principle than the so-called social-justice plan? Because unless we maintain the American wage we can not maintain American ideals, including social justice.

After the war we shall face a desperate commercial strife, with men sharpened by stress, disciplined by drill, hardened by hardship, and under the compelling urgency of the payment of large war indebtedness. Under our present 9 per cent tariff we are naked to our industrial enemies.

The Democratic Party, under stress, may occasionally pass an inadequate and imperfect tariff bill for a particular industry, but it will never attempt a bill of a protective character framed in every schedule to meet the situation after the European war.

The second serious but homely issue which we shall be called upon to raise is that of economy.

With the Democratic Party in power economy is to be found in its platform only, never in its performance.

President Wilson has made many addresses to Congress and sent many messages, but in no single instance has he vigorously advocated economy, and under his administration expenditures have increased by leaps and bounds.

Representative RAINEY, a prominent Democratic Member of the House, said several weeks ago that our next year's budget, in a time of peace, would be greater than that of Russia, entering by that time on her fourth year of war. No Democrat attempts to defend his party's riotous record of expenditure.

Our third great issue is an old-fashioned one, bedded in honor and justice. It is 50 years since our country made the negro a citizen and by constitutional provision guaranteed him every right of a citizen. In a number of the States this provision is notoriously disregarded. As Republicans we have been criminally negligent in our neglect to enforce this constitutional provision. What greater issue can there possibly be than that of sturdy and efficient support of our Federal Constitution?

Now the results of failing to enforce it are being made patent to us. The negro does not vote in the South, but he exists as an individual when the census taker comes around, and the black citizen counts as much as the white citizen in making up the total number of people in a State. As representation in Congress is based upon population alone, injustice is doubled. The negro is deprived of his rights as a citizen, and the fact of his existence as a human being is used to nullify the votes of men in the North in the party with which he would vote if he were permitted. The South, with the colored vote suppressed, is overrepresented. Deduct this overrepresentation and the present House would be Republican. Has the South used generously and magnanimously her power secured through open violation of the Constitution? On the contrary, she has used her power to levy direct taxes on the Northern States out of proportion to both population and wealth. In speaking of the new revenue bill Mr. KITCHIN, the Democratic leader, said very frankly, both in the Democratic caucus and on the floor, that the new taxes had been so framed as to be paid largely in the North. It is to our discredit that our sense of justice to the negro has slumbered until the power which his disfranchisement gives the Democratic Party has touched our pockets in the North; but even so, the issue is there; it is large and fundamental, and our place is firmly and efficiently on the side of right and justice. The South must either permit the negro the right to vote or submit to a reduction in its representation proportionate to the ratio which the negro population in any State bears to the entire population of that State. I have no feeling of bitterness toward the South. Some of my best friends in Congress are from there. What I am contending for is simply the rights of my State which self-respect and common decency demand.

Here are three great problems. The first has to do with the maintenance of the prosperity of the country, the second with the proper expenditure of its moneys, the third with a proper enforcement of the Constitution. I will admit that they are not picturesque; but the daily life of the ordinary individual is not picturesque, and it is for the ordinary individual that the Government should have its chiefest care and solicitude. Legislation should be well considered and statutes enacted to meet substantial and certain needs of the great mass of people.

In this presentation of issues I have not forgotten the need for adequate national defense. But the demand for that is now so universal that, like sound money, it has ceased to be an issue because its acceptance, in theory at least, has become practically general.

Neither have I forgotten Gov. Hughes's magnificent fight against such cowardly governmental surrender to force as was exemplified in the craven passage of the Adamson law. Gov. Hughes lost, but his fearless leadership on this issue alone raised the comprehension of the limitations of government among all our people.

The fight against the rising tide of socialism ought also to engage the attention of the Republicans of New York State. No Democrat dares attack socialism just now, because Democracy depends upon the lone Socialist Member as its sole chance of organizing the next House. In its present position as a purely opportunist party without one fixed principle the Democratic Party sees no danger in enlisting Socialist aid. The Socialist Party is a social menace. A true Socialist must, of necessity, be opposed to all organized religion, every present form of government, including ours, against the family and virtue and chastity in women, against the ordinarily recognized rights of the parent with his child and of the child with his parent, against the right of private property, saving, thrift, business, and commercial progress. The 1916 platform of the Socialist Party is, in its relation to the feeding and transportation of troops, disloyal and possibly treasonable. Its plan if put into effect would be industrial slavery for us all.

These questions that I have so briefly sketched are some on which the Republican Party has a definite faith and a clear duty. This faith it must assert and, from platform and street corners, through book, pamphlet, and paper give reasons for it; this duty it must discharge fully, adequately, and fearlessly.

Are we, as men, qualified to assert a faith and discharge a duty? We hear emphatic statements of the need of a revival of religion. Just as greatly we need a revival of genuine pure party partisanship. We need it because, Republicans and Democrats alike, we are breaking away from the advocacy of political principles and following the personal fortunes of brilliant or superficial leaders. Our thought is becoming Mexicanized. We worship strength. We care not if it crushes down the necessary safeguards which the centuries have erected around the rights of minorities and individuals.

Mexico with her 16,000,000 prospered under Diaz the strong, but his 30 years of despotism had taken virility and fiber from the men of Mexico, and when he passed their inexperience and weakness could neither produce a strong leader nor evolve a single party of strength sufficient to be the rallying point of the law-abiding. I dread to think of the future of our country if we commit our destinies to a succession of brilliant leaders who are not leaders of parties, but who base their power on their individual strength among personal followings.

A candidate, at least for a national office, ought to ask for support not because of his personal character and ability but because such character and ability will fit him to properly strive for the adoption of the principles of the party to which he belongs. An intelligent man pays a candidate a greater compliment by voting against him because he does not believe in the principles of the party to which the candidate belongs than he does by voting for him, despite party principles, because he admires the character and ability of the candidate.

An inferior man who will at least vote for correct principles of government is always to be preferred in a legislative assembly to a man of superior character and attainments whose vote on the same principles will be wrong.

I want to see Republican candidates win, but I want them to win because they are Republicans.

I want Republican success, but I want it not because it is success but because it means the success of sound principle. I want the Republican Party to be what it always has been—a party which earnestly, patiently, persistently seeking after those governmental principles which are true and sound, right and American, honest and foresighted, and, finding them, brings to their advocacy a courage which is dauntless, a zeal which is tireless, a party loyalty linked with the bonds of personal sacrifice, a fanatical love of America; that Republican Party which can say, Our country; ours to enjoy if right, ours to correct if wrong; and, right or wrong, our country still.

The Swiss Military System.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES B. SMITH,
OF NEW YORK,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 19, 1917.

Mr. SMITH of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I incorporate an article on the Swiss system of military training, prepared by Theodore A. Christen, former officer of the Swiss army.

The article is as follows:

THE SWISS MILITARY SYSTEM.

"It is a law of nature common to all mankind, which no time shall annul or destroy, that those who have more strength and excellence shall bear rule over those who have less."—Dionysius.

These words of the ancient thinker, uttered 20 centuries ago, may well be put at the head of a short consideration of the most important problem before the American people at the present time. Unpleasant as they may sound and disagreeable as they may be to contemplate, the history of the world bears ample witness to their wisdom and truth. When looking over the past or when looking over the world in its present form, there is only one trend of events to be discerned, and that is a continuous change of clans, tribes, nations, the stronger ones replacing the others, the strong and vigorous ones pushing away, absorbing, and covering with oblivion the weak and the worn-out.

In no other way have events of the past taken place, from the dawn of history to the present day. It has always been the better and stronger taking the place of the less good, less vigorous, and that is all.

Where are the empires of old? Where is Egypt, once a state on a high plane of social organization, where a form of socialism ruled and the distribution of wealth was regulated? Her high organization did not protect her. Where are the empires of the East and the West that once were the shrines of wealth, wisdom, and culture? Babylon, Persia, Carthage, Rome, and Byzantium? They all fell, never to rise again, smashed at the hands of a more vigorous and warlike people, covered forever with oblivion; their cultures became memories, their cities ruins, their temples still standing monuments only to their past. Where are Peru and old Mexico? A handful of bold and crafty invaders destroyed them and with them their independence, their culture, their institutions, their nationality.

Look at only yesterday! Where is the Empire of Korea, standing until recently a monument to past greatness? Gone forever. Her protests went out into the world unheeded, for the conqueror was of a more vigorous stamp.

And saddest to us of the Christian world is the loss of Byzantium, the eastern part of the Roman Empire of old; when Constantinople fell, the seat of learning, pleasure, and wealth, and all the corruption and weakness that go with it, a pall fell over western Asia and southeastern Europe that has never been lifted; wars have been fought these nearly five centuries, and war is fought to-day, that has for at least one of its goals the bringing back under the influence and dominion of western progress and civilization that part of the world lost to a wild horde of a few thousand daring adventurers on horseback, whom hunger and the unkind climate of their steppes had driven to seek more fertile regions. The thousand years of existence of the Byzantine Empire, its size and the wealth of its capital city were only additional attractions and incentives for the impecunious conqueror. For wealth is no protection to a nation against aggression; it is no more an augury of military and defensive strength in a people than it is an attribute of health in an individual. Success in war depends on men, not money; no nation was ever subdued through the lack of it.

And every nation swept away has always been swept away by force of arms. Once each was strong and militant. Each one had risen by conquest and military prowess; each one went down by corruption through wealth and through degeneracy of military capacity. The battle field has been the bed on which they were born into this world and the couch on which their worn-out body finally expired.

The past is nothing but an uninterrupted procession of nations taking each other's places, some rising at the expense of the others. Have not the United States done the same; is not our own history the exact counterpart of all nations that have risen? The beginning has been built up from the spoils of combat and conquest of defenseless tribes; the same causes that have produced the decay of other nations will shorten our own national existence. No state is destroyed except through those avertible conditions that mankind dreads to contemplate. As physical vigor constitutes health in individuals, so it does in nations. A brilliant mind and skill of hand have nothing to do with the health and duration of life in an individual, nor the brilliancy and high aims of its culture with the prolongation of a nation's existence. Its periods of greatness are entirely coincident with its military powers, and the decline with the decay of the military spirit, the subordination of national to individual supremacy.

"Nothing, indeed, is more insolent and provocative, or more likely to lead to a breach of the peace than undefended riches among armed men."

And this is what confronts us here in America to-day. We are still under the impression that our military system which was sufficient in the bygone past is adequate for present-day conditions. However, we are suddenly awakening to the realization that conditions are vastly different.

Their chief difference lies in the following:

The first is the change in relative strength and numbers of other nations. All those with whom we might come in conflict have grown vastly superior in strength and equipment on land and sea. Their superiority is still more pronounced through the state of preparedness and the immense reserves in trained men. The disproportion is the greater as new nations have sprung up since our military strength was the last time put to the test. Germany and Italy were then loose aggregations of independent principalities, mere racial and geographical conceptions, as yet unrealized dreams of poets and thinkers. Japan, which, 60 years ago, had no contact with any of the nations outside its Island Empire in the Pacific Ocean, has sprung up and has since vanquished the two vastest empires in hard-fought warfare, and has driven China, Russia, and Germany from their share in the dominion of the eastern seas; she is looming up on the horizon as the future sole and supreme mistress of the Pacific and the owner through conquest of its shores in the Eastern and Western Hemispheres. And all this, in spite of her poverty in money, which to us has seemed a source of security and a barrier to her far-reaching plans for the expansion of her power.

The second is the abolition of distance and the rapidity and ease of transportation. Distance in a military sense is the time required to transport bodies of troops to a desired point. Formerly transportation was very slow and over-sea transportation difficult and hazardous. The result was that countries were separated from each other and isolated. And this isolation afforded us a protection from other nations which, unfortunately, is now gone forever, and we are brought close to the armed camps of Europe and Japan. Our own War College has considered the possibilities of transportation of troops for the invasion of our shores, and has come to the conclusion that England could send 170,000 men in two weeks, France 160,000 in 16 days, Germany 387,000 in 16 days, Japan 95,000 in 23 days, and in subsequent trips of their ships these invaders' numbers would swell to the stupendous number of 237,000 from Japan in 63 days and 827,000 from Germany in 46 days, to whom we would be able to oppose 40,000 first-line American troops to be divided on two shores.

The third difference in conditions is the development of science and its application to warfare. The time has passed when the hardy frontiersman, used to the chase and hardship of pioneer life, had only to take his trusted rifle and shift the stage of his activity to be an efficient defender of his country. Military science has become the most difficult and intricate of occupations, and the day of volunteer forces has passed forever. Nations that expect to make war in the future with hastily raised levies of volunteers against trained armies are doomed to disaster.

If the present world war has proved nothing else, it has proved this. The most terrible words in any language, living or dead, and at the same time the most futile of all, "too late," have become the constant and direful reproach of the nation that has put its trust in a small volunteer army, and nothing is more true than the bitter denunciation of this antiquated system by a French officer who said to an Englishman: "The triumph of the voluntary system is a German triumph; it is the ruin of Belgium and the devastation of France."

The sudden awakening to the realization of our own danger and of changed conditions not only as affects our defensive forces, but our diplomatic relations with the rest of the world, has seized our whole people and steps are demanded and discussed in the remotest corners of this vast country. But, unfortunately, we are left without leadership, and our Congress seems to be waiting for the people to demand measures to remedy the situation. Public opinion is to demand from our Representatives that which it wants; and what it demands it will get.

But what shall we demand? Military matters are not within the range of vision and understanding of the ordinary citizen whose life is spent in peaceful pursuits and the activities of his trade or profession. Let us therefore consider what another people of similar institutions, where the love of liberty and self-government is not less developed, has done and whose military institutions have stood the test of emergency.

I am speaking now of Switzerland, my native country, in whose army I had the honor to serve, first as a private, then as an officer. I may add at once that I have also served in the National Guard of the State of Ohio, and this has given me an opportunity for comparison quite exceptional.

The "Swiss military system" is at present much discussed in the public press and in the halls of legislation, and it was my privilege recently—January 27, 1916—to have the opportunity to explain the workings of the system, so to speak, "from the inside" to the Committee on Military Affairs of the United States.

A great deal of misinformation exists as to the workings of the Swiss system of military organization and training. There is nothing mysterious about it. It is as simple as can be—based upon the fundamental principle of obligation for all and on common sense, uninterrupted effort, and the hearty cooperation and approval of the entire Nation, combined with and reinforced by the most intricate and painstaking attention to details. These few characteristics form the basis of the organization of the defensive strength of the Swiss, and they have worked in such a way that when the great test came they met all the expectations which the Swiss people had in them.

Let us see how it worked and what it did for the Swiss Nation.

"Si vis pacem, para bellum." (If you want to see peace preserved, prepare as if for war.)—Julius Cæsar.

"To be prepared for war is the most effectual means of preserving peace."—George Washington's first annual address.

The history of this war begins on July 23, 1914, when an ultimatum was sent by Austria to Serbia. Within a week most unexpected and direful events had shaped themselves in such a way that a catastrophe was imminent. The Government of the Swiss Republic, watchful and aware of the difficulty, decided upon the most momentous step they had taken in many a decade—complete mobilization of the national forces. Such a decision is the gravest a government can make and none is followed with more anxiety than this one, for upon its successful outcome depends the future of nations. The decree of mobilization was published on August 1, a Saturday. The 1st of August is a solemn day with the Swiss every year, for it is our national holiday. On that day we celebrate in our simple way the anniversary of that first meeting of representatives of the small mountain Cantons of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden in 1291, when they formed an alliance for the defense of their rights and preservation of their liberties against the encroachments of a proud neighbor—the Lords of the House of Hapsburg. Every year the church bells are rung on this day in commemoration of the birth of our independence, and they ask the people to think gratefully of their hardy and brave ancestors. They called the Swiss people out on this day in 1914 not to celebrate the deeds of their forefathers but by their own deeds to preserve their country with arms in hand.

In other words, mobilization was proclaimed and every man up to the age of 48 who had ever had military training and was enrolled in a unit of the army was called out for the 3d of August, Monday morning at 9 o'clock.

Even on the same day the local landsturm—that is, the older men not members any more of any troop in the army, and the youths of 16 to 19, who had undergone rudimentary, so-called preliminary or preparatory training with the rifle—were mobilized for the protection of

railroad tunnels, bridges, and stations, and at once took over these guard duties.

On August 2 the railroads of the country were still open for civilian travel. All the soldiers and officers who lived away from their appointed places of assembling returned to their homes, and on Monday morning at 9 o'clock everybody was at his post. From the distant chalets in the high mountains, from the farms on the creeks and in the level lands, from the factories and workshops, from the houses of the wealthy and the dwellings of the poor, thousands upon thousands poured out to the public places of the little towns or to some meadow in a village, where they knew they had to assemble. Each one was armed and equipped, ready from head to foot. At the same time the horses and wagons, which even in peace time in Switzerland are registered for just such an emergency and for nothing else, were brought out, examined, and taken over by committees of experts, former cavalry officers and veterinary surgeons appointed beforehand for that purpose. The supernumerary horses went into "horse depots," to be immediately available for use in the army and to replace those used up.

After this assemblage was completed, concentration of the smaller units (battalions of infantry, batteries of artillery, squadrons of cavalry) in larger units (brigades, divisions, and army corps) began on the same day. The railroads stopped for civilian travel and transportation and completed the work of mobilization by carrying on timetables, long before prepared by the general staff, to the exposed posts on the frontier the army fully organized, equipped, and officered, from the highest command down to the man in the ranks, to the frontiers and places of strategical importance, long before selected, and the work of putting them into a state of defense, by building observation towers, digging trenches, executing field fortifications, began at once. At some places even the building of new roads or the enlarging of old ones was undertaken by the soldiers, obstacles to the defense were removed, at one place even a forest was cut down—all this on plans and orders long before prepared.

In the meantime our powerful neighbors who were to enter the war themselves as belligerents had started their mobilizations also, but ours was completed before theirs, and we know of proclamations posted in parts of southern Germany, where a surprise attack through Swiss territory from France was possible, telling the people that such need not be feared for the Swiss Army was quite ready to prevent such a surprise.

The success of the mobilization was thus complete. In 48 hours the full strength of the army had been assembled and transported with all the reserves, all the equipment, all the horses, to the full number of 300,000 men. (Three hundred thousand is a fairly conservative estimate. The official figures of the Government are not known. Some experts claim that the mobilization yielded even larger numbers, some going as high as 425,000. We will have to await the official report of the general staff after the termination of the war.)

Three hundred thousand men! One might say, "What do 300,000 men mean in this terrible war, where millions are fighting?" Three hundred thousand men mean 9 per cent of the citizens of Switzerland, 18 per cent of the male population. Three hundred thousand are the equivalent of 9,000,000 in proportion to the population of 100,000,000 in the United States, a number hardly conceivable at present. Three hundred thousand men, trained and equipped to defend so small a country, are a force with which even the strongest military power has to reckon, for to the extent of our full strength would we strengthen our aggressor's adversary. Which one of the belligerents could afford to see the Swiss Army swell its adversary's strength?

For the 300,000 men really meant three armies, as modern armies must always be understood; that is, instruments in the hands of a Government or a commander available for immediate use against a similarly prepared enemy. An army that has first to be organized is no army, though the soldiers be ever so brave or even well trained, and an enemy well organized whose forces are ready to strike, whose armies are on the march perhaps even before a declaration of war, can not be expected to forego his advantage by waiting for his adversary to get ready; immediate striking power alone is preparedness in the heart of Europe and not less elsewhere. The Swiss military forces were in this state of availability on the 3d of August, 1914; that is, they were an army.

And this army knows its ground well. I remember in 1894, when I attended maneuvers for the last time, in Battalion 28 in the Tenth Regiment of Infantry, the supposition of the campaign for maneuvers was that an enemy from the northeast had crossed the Rhine at Basle and was breaking through and moving south of the Alsatian frontier going west toward the French fortress of Belfort over Swiss territory. The supposed Swiss army of defense was going over the Jura Mountains to attack and, if possible, repulse them right there. If an army in this war had tried to invade France that way, it would probably have come through there, and the Swiss officers would have known that territory thoroughly and would have opposed the invading army at positions all selected beforehand.

Complete mobilizations are always an experiment, they are never and can never be attempted in peace time, for they upset and completely paralyze the economic life of a nation. They are a part of war, the first part, often that part where the war is won or lost. The blunders and losses due to a slow and unsuccessful mobilization frequently are hard, often impossible, to retrieve in spite of the bravery of the troops and of their leaders. Successful and quick or tardy and slow mobilizations in the present war are still weighing down the scales of destiny. And a mobilization is a test not only of war time but also of peace time patience and endurance, honesty and application of officialdom, of contractors, of the purchasing and storage departments, and the thousand and one attentions to minor details so prosaic, so plodding, and grinding in the long years of peace. And only one cog has to slip to upset all the plans.

The complete success of the Swiss mobilization must be considered a living proof of the thoroughness and the efficiency of the organization and the soundness of the system. Had it not been a success, Switzerland would have become the battle ground of nations for the advantages to be gained from an occupation of the country, which is a country of passes and routes of transit from one country to the other in the heart of Europe. In one of his sayings, which remain so true forever, and which show his deep insight into conditions, Napoleon the First called Switzerland the key to Europe, and he acted upon his conviction thus expressed by annexing those parts of our national domain which contained these important routes from one country to the other. It was he who took Geneva and the Valley of the Rhone, built the Simplon Pass over the Alps, connecting France with Italy on territory taken from Switzerland; who annexed the northwestern part of the country, which contains a short route from France to southern Germany just south of the French stronghold of Belfort. These and other routes are important to-day just as much as ever, and no belligerent could afford to see them fall into an enemy's hands. Therefore, to prevent this, after Napoleon's downfall, they were intrusted by the Congress of Vienna, when the balance of power of Europe was reestablished, to a buffer State endowed with "guaranteed neutrality," willing and capable of defending them. Neutrality is the foundation of Switzerland's international relations, and it puts her as a neutral State under the obligation strictly and strongly to defend it, and since 1815, when neutrality and the obligation to defend it were instituted and accepted as a part of our international obligations, the Swiss nation has been preparing.

"Neutrality" was "guaranteed" by the great powers of Europe parties to the Congress of Vienna. But at no time has the word "guarantee," though signed by kings and emperors, deceived the Swiss into believing that neutrality merely had that now thoroughly discredited meaning of freedom from war and invasion by voluntarily not interfering or taking part in the struggles between others, or by passively observing international laws, customs, or impartiality. The saying attributed to Bismarck that only the neutrality of the strong deserves to be respected has been a national belief long before Bismarck's time, and the meaning of neutrality with the Swiss has always been coupled with the idea of being strong enough to defend it, and not to rely on the imaginary protection of treaties and signatures, which are not and have never been worth more than the paper on which they are written. Nor did the Swiss at any time indulge in the pleasant pipe dream that on the violation of their territory "indignation of an outraged world—public opinion" would force the invader to abandon his prey or that any "League to Enforce Peace" would spring up and sacrifice the blood of its own men for the protection and salvation of any other nation in trouble. On the contrary, the national creed of the Swiss has always been self-reliance, self-defense, and they always expected to trust to their own strength to accomplish it.

Their state of preparedness has not always been as thorough as it was at the beginning of the present world war. In the year 1798 we were defeated and conquered by two armies of the French Republic, one coming from the west, the other from the north. Our military strength at that time was not unified; the different Cantons, corresponding to the different States of the United States, each had its own military organization and its own army. There was lack of unity; valuable time was lost; some of the Cantons deliberated on the advisability of helping while the enemy was on his way into the heart of the country. The forces of the Swiss were scattered and too small to resist; the victorious French armies effected a junction, and the downfall of the defense took place; and then Switzerland was partly disrupted and untold suffering and humiliation for 17 years were her lot. Army after army marched through Switzerland and fought over our land; the French under Massena, the Russians under Sumorow, ransacked the people. In 1814 the Emperors of Russia and of Austria and the King of Prussia marched through to France; starving war orphans were as numerous then in Switzerland as they are in Belgium to-day. And what was the cause of it all? Control of the army by the different Cantons, translated into terms familiar to us here in America—State control of the army. This is what "State control" has done for the Swiss, and they have learned their lesson well in the hard school of experience. Since that time Federal control of the national defense became more and more developed; "State control" practically ceased, and with good results, for, happily, through untiring effort, preparedness had reached the highest point of efficiency when the world war broke out.

This saved the country. Had we not been able to shut the door that led to the neighbor's domain those neighbors would have had to come in, and in self-protection would have had to close it against their enemies. It would have been a race between France and Germany as to who would get to Switzerland first. Her strong army and the unshakable determination of the Swiss nation to defend herself to the last man have given our neighbors the assurance that they were safe from that side. More than this, our neighbors did not have to await a successful mobilization of the Swiss Army; they were sure of it long before.

In September, 1912, the German Emperor, with Gen. von Moltke and other members of his general staff attended the maneuvers of the Swiss Army. These maneuvers, which I had the privilege to follow personally as an officer in civilian state, were on a large scale and were very inspiring. His Majesty, whom I saw at such close range as to hear his voice, was very favorably impressed with the troops, the organization, and the leadership. A short time afterwards he told "somebody"—some man, woman, or child—"somewhere in Europe", that "another route to France would be chosen." That "somebody"—man, woman, or child—repeated the words to "somebody whom I know" and from whom I have it. It is more than plausible that to the trained eyes of the "war lord" and his suite the endurance and earnestness of effort and the spirit which animates the Swiss soldiers and officers—to the officers he paid the highly appreciated military compliment of "schneidig" (elert, energetic, spick-and-span)—was an indication of the kind of resistance they would be not only willing but capable of offering.

In April, 1913, a report of the German general staff that the Swiss had the will and power successfully to prevent invasion fell into the hands of the French Government. France, too, counted on our readiness, and in this way we have protected both Germany and France from each other, and last, not least, ourselves. The Swiss Army, without firing a shot, has attained a victory more brilliant because it was an entirely bloodless one. The Swiss "army-in-being" did not have to fight; its state of readiness was sufficient.

This is the first time in a century that the readiness, the thorough organization which alone means the ability to "strike," has saved the national existence of Switzerland. In 1847 the small Alpine Republic preceded her big sister on this Continent with a "secession" of some of the Cantons—States—from the rest. The disunion did not arise over the question of slavery, but over a question of religion and the exertion of political influence by the papal legate; in other words, the Catholic Cantons seceded from the Protestant.

The latter, like the North of the United States, 14 years later started to reconquer the seceding parts by immediately taking the field. The quickness of action, the overwhelming victory attained in a few weeks by which Lucerne, the center of the "sonderbund"—as this miniature "confederacy" called itself—fell and the resulting collapse of the movement and the return to the fold of Mother Helvetia of her misguided children put a stop to the threatened interference by some of the strong Catholic countries, notably Austria, whose leading statesman, Prince Metternich, tried to induce other nations to interfere. Had unpreparedness prolonged the state of war, our hostile neighbors would have had time to form a coalition and foreign intervention would have changed the course of history as far as Switzerland is concerned.

The second time preparedness saved the country was in 1857 and again in 1871. Bourbaki, the French general, during the Franco-German War, with 80,000 men, tried to break through Switzerland to invade southern Germany in the rear of the German Armies and thus to relieve the pressure on France. The Swiss Army, ready, stood in the way, and disarmed and interned the French and again saved the country from the curse of war.

"A free people ought not only to be armed but disciplined, to which end a uniform and well-digested plan is requisite."—George Washington's first annual address.

How was it possible to mobilize in such a short time such an immense army, immense, indeed, in proportion to the number of inhabitants? It was only possible through obligatory military service for all and through the fact that all ages of men called to arms had received training in the course of time. If to-day a Swiss dies at the ripe old age of 75 or 80, you may be sure that as a young man of 20 he underwent military service. In this way many men of different ages had been enrolled, equipped, and could be called to the colors at once. What an advantage have countries with this institution, where preparation is going on all the time, one year after the other, one generation after the other, without interruption, over those where training only begins at the outbreak of war? As a matter of course, one might almost say automatically all the young men are trained when they reach a certain age. The Swiss military system is simple and at the same time inexorable.

The military resources and the strength and characters of our four neighbors as revealed by past history, the political and governmental ideals and customs of the Swiss nation, and the limited financial resources of the country made necessary a military system that in its simplest expression had to aspire to the following cardinal desiderata:

1. As large an army in proportion to the number of inhabitants as possible through universal obligatory service in accordance with the traditions of our forefathers dating back over 500 years.
2. As thorough training as the short time allotted by the will of the nation permits and the financial resources of the country justify.
3. Speediest possible mobilization through complete organization and territorial formation of the units.
4. Encouragement of all efforts to foster the military spirit in the nation.

Let us see how it works.

When he reaches his nineteenth year the young Swiss is examined for fitness. He has to appear before a committee of experts who travel around to the remotest districts, and on a date long before advertised the young man presents himself. This date is the most epochal in a young Swiss's life. He looks forward to it with tremendous expectation and his one great concern is that he may fill the requirements upon his physical fitness. If he should not be accepted he would feel himself inferior, and he would be so in the eyes of his friends. His standing with the young ladies of his set would be impaired, and forever afterwards he would have to apologize in some way for his not being a soldier, for likely his father, his uncles, his brothers are, or have been, in the army, and most of his friends and schoolmates will be there, too, and this is the one thing in which he wishes to be their equal. From their earliest youth they have a goal before their eyes—their nineteenth year. Something occupies their mind and consciousness that does not consist in selfish satisfaction of their own wishes, but which brings before their eyes something honorable, yet at the same time demanding sacrifice in time, effort, fatigue, and subordination of their own wills to the will of a qualified and legally appointed superior. This looking forward to their nineteenth year makes all the boys of the same age somewhat solidary. It creates a collective feeling, not collective in the sense of social class, wealth, or education, but collective in the sense of a duty before them which they have to perform together. The same expectations, hopeful and otherwise, permeate their consciousness. They give their thoughts and aspirations something of earnestness which prevents indulgence in thoughtless frivolity. With what impatience does not every young man expect this important moment in life. His friends and relatives likewise take part in it, for future duties and position in the State and society depend greatly upon the outcome of physical and mental examination for fitness for service in the army.

At the age of 20 training begins—the so-called first training or recruit service, in which a raw recruit is molded into a full-fledged soldier. The recruits of a district are assembled in sufficient numbers to organize a full infantry battalion. It takes place in barracks and lasts, for the infantry, 67 days, including one day of entry and one for dismissal; for the Artillery, 77; for the Cavalry, 92; and for the Medical Corps, 62 days. The training is gone through with great energy. In the course of many years a system has developed which brings out of the men in a minimum of time a maximum of results. No time is lost with unnecessary frills or playful games. The young men are there for one purpose only, and that is to receive military training at the least cost in time to them and money to the State. The reproach made against the Regular, or standing, Army of the United States, that the soldier's life is one of deadly tedium for lack of sufficient occupation, does not apply to the Swiss soldier or recruit. His time is so fully occupied that he has no time for thought of desertion, and when he leaves the service he has gone through a school of training that has given him no time to acquire the habits of loafing; on the contrary, he has had to give every moment of his time to some useful purpose.

The day begins in summer at 5.30, in the Cavalry at 3.30; they work until 11.30, then eat and clean up and rest until 1.30, and work again until 5.30. The men receive ample food, and their night rest is long enough, for they must be in at 9. Their treatment is good, not harsh. The only criterion is willingness. The young man does not have to be a genius to satisfy his superiors. The requirements are simple, but woe betide the shirk, the laggard, especially him who offers passive resistance and seems a danger of contagion to the others who would do well. He has no easy time; he is made to change his way; his life is not made pleasant for him. But on the other hand to him who shows willingness to do what is asked, or even a little more than is asked of him, reward comes.

The training is practical and thorough and up to date. Shooting, marching, outpost duty, entrenching, and maneuvering, under day or night time conditions, in squads, company, and battalion, are practiced, together with drill gymnastics, and last but not least, discipline that is the virtue of cooperation with others for a common goal singly or in masses. The moral training in soldierly honor and truthfulness is not less important than the acquisition of physical stamina and technical knowledge, and some of this he will take back into civilian life. And what practical lessons in democracy does he not receive? Class distinctions are abolished, all are wearing the same clothing, live in the same rooms, eat the same food. The son of the wealthy and the poor, perhaps for the first time, are on absolutely equal footing; no distinction is made as to their ancestry or social standing. They are put into the ranks according to height and not according to individual wishes or the whims of mutual attraction. Their military superior may in civilian life be their inferior, but while in service honor and obedience is due them according to their rank; there are no classes, only grades; no social, only military distinctions.

The duties are the same; whether it be washing the kitchen or some other place needing scrubbing as badly, or splitting wood or wheeling refuse, it makes no difference; the knowledge of Greek and Latin or future honors in society do not dispense from any kind of work. As soon as the service is over the man returns to civilian life and its distinctions of individual and social, economic and cultural differences. But, at least for a time, he has seen and lived in conditions where all were equal and of the same standing, the same footing, as regards duty and service.

The military training these men receive has been to many their making. Many a one has been brought out for the first time according to his merit. Those overestimated at home will be found out. Bashfulness and shame will not go. Many a one comes home with new resolutions. He has formed acquaintances which establish his standing and which he will have to live up to. Many a one has seen the light for the first time as to his duties toward others and his position in the whole, his importance as an individual and as a part of the State.

Shall we not, rather, pity the young man who does not have to serve? Pity him because such an experience will never come to him in his life, an experience which is unique, and which can not be replaced by anything else? Shall we not pity him because he has never had the consciousness that there are moments and conditions when his dear self is not of the slightest importance, when he is a mere atom amongst thousands, and, again, others where the responsibility for the whole rests upon his shoulders and his ability to do the right thing at the right moment? Shall we not, rather, pity him because he never had the anticipation nor the remembrance of this important time and important duty?

After this original recruit service the young man is a full-fledged soldier, and takes his uniform, his rifle, bayonet, saber, and revolver, and whatever his equipment is, home with him. In the cavalry even his horse is given to him, and he takes it to his stable on the farm, for only such young men are taken in the cavalry whose fathers or who themselves have stables and facilities to keep a horse. This naturally limits the cavalry to the farmers. This is a distinctive and unique feature, which, as far as I know, is not found anywhere else. It is based on traditions of centuries, for the Swiss have always been armed and have kept their arms in their own hands. It is an evidence of the great confidence the Government has in the individual for the proper care of this valuable and expensive equipment. But the confidence is fully deserved, and the quick mobilization, which was possible through the fact that every man was able to present himself fully equipped and armed, justified the measure a thousandfold. The man is personally responsible for the condition of his equipment, and annually on a certain day in his immediate neighborhood it is inspected, and whatever has not been well taken care of must be replaced at his own expense.

The recruit, on leaving his recruit battalion, is then enrolled into the battalion of his own home district. The Swiss military system is based upon the principle of territoriality; that is, the units are formed of men in a contiguous district. They are assembled in that district where they have grown up or where they are living and which they know thoroughly. Upon his return home he takes off his uniform, and after an absence of just 67 days in the infantry—and that is the majority—he takes up again his work or his studies as a civilian, and he is a better man in every respect, physically developed, intellectually more alert, morally with an added sense of responsibility, and spiritually filled with pride over a task well performed. He loves his country better for having served it with his person and has an added personal interest in it; it is truly part of himself.

The memory of the recruit service will accompany him to his grave, and as the years go by and when the sun of life is declining it will add luster to the past.

His duties as defender of the nation are, however, not over. From now on every year until he is 27—that is, seven times—he has to serve 13 days a year with his regiment, in so-called repeat service and in maneuvers. The repeat service is in the smaller units and is devoted mainly to the training of the individual soldier under his immediate subofficer and officer. Repeat service alternates every other year with regular maneuvers. These maneuvers are in large units, as large as army corps, and they are so warlike that only the shooting of actual bullets would be required to bring about the dire reality of actual warfare. Long marches, rainy nights spent in deep trenches, outpost duty on high mountain passes, and heavy equipment on their shoulders and backs. These maneuvers furnish an opportunity to the commanders and to the administration, and to the staff officers as well as to the railroads, to be tested as to their efficiency and readiness. The army in maneuvers have their own bread furnished them from the army bakeries that are erected at the base of supplies in the rear of the army. The meat cattle are slaughtered by army butchers and bread and meat are carried forward to the units on requisitioned wagons, just as in war time. It is up to the staff and commissary officers of each unit to see that their supplies get there in time, for if they do not the men have nothing to eat just as in war time. Moving kitchens on wheels follow each unit. In villages occupied the soldiers take shelter in whatever building they need, and the medical corps establishes infirmaries for the troops and hospitals in the rear, just as if on the morrow a big battle were going to take place and thousands of wounded were to pour in upon them. There is nothing except actual war that is more soul-stirring than these maneuvers, and for the Swiss they are of the highest interest. The newspapers' space is taxed by detailed descriptions and the names of the commanding officers are known to every one. These annual maneuvers are really annual mobilizations, not complete over the whole extent of the country nor of all age classes, but mobilizations over part of the country, of part of the ages, and while all of the men are not mobilized annually, the material, equipment of units, cannon, supply train, and bridge building supplies are annually taken out of the storehouses and put to the test. If anything is missing or destroyed it at once is replaced or repaired.

Now we come to the training of officers and subofficers, and as every young man is a recruit in the ranks all the officers have started their careers from these ranks; therefore an aristocratic corps of officers that had its training away from the ranks in some secluded officers' college does not exist. It is one of the elements making for democracy in the army and the nation. The young men who in their recruit service have shown greater interest and talent for executive ability are asked to become noncommissioned officers and commissioned officers. Great care

is taken in their selection, as the acquisition of a grade entails great sacrifice, not only in effort but also in money and chiefly in time, and as acceptance of the call, formerly optional, now is obligatory, no one is asked to assume the burden whose shoulders are unable to carry it. They are selected mainly from among the educated men of Switzerland, and among them are found the leading men of every profession and business.

Their career for higher degrees begins at the special training course for corporals. This training course lasts 22 days. After this short course the young corporal has to go now as a corporal to a training course for recruits, and he at once becomes the instructor of the raw recruits in a responsible position in the same way as in his own recruit course his superiors were his instructors. He learns the practical handling of men at once. After that he serves as a corporal in his home battalion when his home regiment assembles. The future officer, after his training school as a corporal, has to go through a training school for lieutenants, which in the infantry and cavalry lasts 82 days, in the artillery and engineer corps 107 days. There he acquires all the knowledge necessary for a lieutenant—army organization, map reading, commanding, hygiene, and all the technical military knowledge that is necessary for a young officer. He then returns to a recruit course, where he at once handles and trains young recruits as a lieutenant. In this way both the officers and subofficers in the shortest possible time become responsible instructors and leaders of their men. The training might be longer, but it certainly is not too long for these young men to stifle their energy and enthusiasm by too tedious and impractical studies. The sciences and mathematics enter their studies only so far as they are necessary for practical purposes. Probably none of them, after he is through such a course, could build a Panama Canal; but then none of them will ever be asked to do that. On the other hand, he is put on his own feet as a practical instructor, moral teacher, and military leader of his men, the men he would lead in battle, and is at once held responsible to his superiors for those under him. The leading men in the Swiss Army seem to consider now, after the experience of the long mobilization, that the theoretical training of the young officers is sufficient; that what is needed is still more service with the men, not away from them.

Afterwards the young lieutenant, after a total of 241 days of instruction of the most intensive kind, is assigned to some troops, preferably to the home regiment of his neighborhood and district in which he lives. From time to time he has to go to some special course before an advancement. No one is allowed to attain a higher degree without having passed through service in the lower and having suitably qualified for the higher. In the course of years he will become a captain, a major, a lieutenant colonel, and a colonel, and successively command larger and larger units, but in between his time of service he always enters civilian life again, just as much as his subofficers and simple soldiers do; only more frequent and longer periods of service and higher requirements distinguish his duties from those of the rest. He is a civilian most of the time and an officer part of the time. It is only in the higher degrees that the officers have to devote all of their time to their military duties, and where they have to leave civilian life altogether. These higher officers, together with some professional officers who act as instructors in the various courses, are not numerous, probably less than 300. These permanent instructors are the teachers of officers and they are interchanged and distributed about frequently in order to produce that uniformity of instruction everywhere, which is essential to produce an evenly-developed whole. They are professional officers who are carefully selected as to their aptitude and who devote their entire time to military matters.

The army is divided into three age classes: First, the so-called "elite," or first line of fighting troops—12 years, from 20 to 32; second, the so-called "landwehr"—from 33 to 40; third, the "landsturm"—from 41 to 48.

Let us see what is asked of a simple soldier of the Swiss Army serving in that branch of the army which always must be the most numerous—the infantry. At his nineteenth year, he spends 1 day in physical examination; in his twentieth year, 67 days in recruit service; from his twenty-first to his twenty-seventh year, seven times 13 days of repeating service and maneuvers—91 days. Hereafter in the "landwehr," once repeating service—13 days—and an annual inspection of clothes and arms, each of one day during the years in which he has no repeating service up to his forty-eighth year—12 days; that is a grand total of 192 days. In addition, if armed with a rifle, every year he has to practice shooting under the supervision of local shooting societies, which receive a subvention from the Government for rifle pits. He has to shoot 30 shots at the target. This is usually done some Sunday morning, takes about two hours of his time all told and interferes in no way whatever with the man's occupation. The full extent of sacrifice in time to the simple soldier—that is, the laboring man, the farmer, the school-teacher, and the large majority of men in general—is 192 days, or one-half year, altogether in 30 years and the only really long continuous period of 67 days is in one year, his twentieth, when his responsibilities are light and when as yet he has no family to support. Truly this is not a sacrifice of forbidding magnitude.

What is asked of the man who is not found fit to serve in the army? Does he simply get by the universal obligation he owes to the country without anything being asked of him? "No," the Swiss say, "if he can not serve in the army he has to help support it." He is, therefore, made to pay a small tax, $1.20 a year for men of small means (this tax during this war time has been doubled), rising with the means, earning capacity, and financial standing of the man or his parents; this tax does not yield a large sum; it has been instituted much more to emphasize "a universal obligation." It goes without saying that only physical unfitness frees from the rank; no influence whatever can interfere with the findings and decisions of the examining committee, either for or against exemption, and no option exists to substitute the military tax for actual service. This tax is quite a distinctive feature of the Swiss military system; I hear that it is to be introduced in other countries.

The whole army organization is based on the principle of territoriality—that is, a certain army unit is formed by the men of a certain district; this is another valuable aid to quick mobilization. The stores and material are kept within that district, are easily moved, and everything makes for simplicity. In this way the territory is subdivided into many districts of battalion size, with a central assembling place designated and known to every man. A number of battalions contiguous in territory form a regiment, a number of regiments a brigade, and a number of these latter a division, recruited from the divisional district. This is the highest we have and there are six of these; in each of these six districts a full army division of the first line, with all the brigades of the first and second reserves, are recruited and trained and equipped; they have all the "matériel" within that district; the officers and staffs, from the lowest to the highest, are not only appointed but have repeatedly commanded in those annual maneuvers—really partial, annual mobilizations; every man knows where he belongs and this gives him that confidence in the army to which he belongs and in his leaders and commanders which can only come from thoroughness in organization and the knowledge that everybody and everything is equally ready.

Any army that is not fully organized and subdivided into its various parts and whose component parts at the same time are not united and coordinate, that is where the basic and tactical units lead a separate existence without working together and combining their different functions in one task under a common command, is no army at all. It is wrong and denotes complete ignorance of military matters to lay stress exclusively on numbers and their training and ignoring the equally or perhaps more important matter of the formation, organization, command of the higher combined units and their staffs. An army not so organized is nothing but a mob and an incumbrance and has the same relation to a completely organized and officered army as a pile of bricks has to a stately cathedral; the real work of construction only can then start. It takes a long time to form and build up the divisions and army corps, with all their officers and staffs working together intelligently and successfully. It would be infinitely more easy to train 50,000 green recruits than to form an efficient army corps ready to go to war with an equal number of trained soldiers without their officers and commanders.

After the divisional commanders are the army corps commanders, with their staffs, the general staff, the minister of war, and finally, in time of general mobilization or war, the general commander in chief elected by congress. His power is supreme and unlimited; he not only commands the armies in the field but all and every means of transportation and the physical and material resources of the country and the nation are at his disposal. The present incumbent of this high office is Gen. Wille, a man of 68 years of age. He is, of course, a soldier who has served all his life and advanced to the highest commands through promotion through merit; there is no civilian commander in chief, though of the highest political position and no war council to hamper him. His powers are dictatorial.

The people, who love freedom most and who do not even allow their chosen representatives to legislate for them without referendum vote during peace time, have thus shown their wisdom, that, in order to have unity of command, singleness of responsibility, and quickness of decision, those three cardinal necessities for the conduct of war—but alas, how often neglected in past and present wars—power has to be conferred unstintedly.

This, in a few words, is the organization of the Swiss Army, a mere outline of how it works and what it is. A few words have to be said as to what it is not.

It is not a schoolboy army. Many people in America have believed and thought they had heard it was. The misunderstanding has its origin in a superficial interpretation of the fact that some attention is given schoolboys and youths which has an ultimate military purpose and which is intended and instituted and carried through with the idea to benefit the army.

Let us see what this attention consists of:

First, the teaching of gymnastics in the schools. The schools of Switzerland are Cantonal and communal, in the same way as they are controlled by the States and municipalities in the United States, and the Federal Government in neither country may prescribe their curriculum. Considering, however, the desirability of physical training for the future defender of the country, the constitution contains an article which gives the Confederation—that is the National Government—the right to see to it that such physical training is generally given in the State and municipal schools by competent teachers. Therefore the National Government prescribes the curriculum of both teachers and pupils, and through a system of inspection sees to it that it is carried through adequately. The curriculum consists of simple exercises of about two hours per week, but it is not military training; it is, to use a modern term, physical culture. Aside from their obligatory school gymnastics the Government encourages private voluntary gymnastic associations and contests, which, by raising the physical standard of the young men are a benefit to the army, but only indirectly.

In a number of schools, however, some military training is given to boys quite young, from about their eleventh to their fifteenth year, in so-called cadet corps. But these cadet corps are neither general nor are all or even most of them "compulsory." It is mostly the smaller towns, not the countryside and the villages and hamlets, that have them. Where they are to be found some of the younger civilian Army officers give instruction, mostly on Saturday afternoons, in military discipline and drill, manual of arms, setting-up exercises, even rifle shooting and sham-battle maneuvering. In my fourteenth and fifteenth years I myself was the captain of the cadet corps of my small, native town; I had "the honor to command" a company of about 120 "men" of from 11 to 15 years of age. At that time I did not dream that this training—although we took it quite seriously—would ever be considered of such importance as to be honored in the Congress of the United States with bills intended to introduce it here. When serving later as a recruit in the Army I found out by experience that real military training is quite a different matter from cadet training, which is really only intended to create enthusiasm for things military in their members, and that a real soldier's duties are infinitely more varied and his instruction more thorough.

There is one more institution which concerns itself with military training before entrance in the Army, and that is the so-called "preliminary instruction." Youths at the age of from 16 to 19 are drilled somewhat similarly to the cadets. This "preliminary instruction" neither is general nor obligatory, and the number and proportion of those that submit themselves to it are not very large. They lack the experience of military life, together with others in large bodies of troops, which is so important for the molding of a soldier, for they live at home and drill once or twice a week, and only in the good season of the year; they can not be considered real soldiers. During the recent mobilization they were called out with the local landsturm to do local guard duty on public buildings, railways, bridges, etc., and thus made it unnecessary to deplete the real Army, which alone is intended to do the fighting, through the furnishing of these guardians.

A word must be said on the Swiss love for target shooting and the rifle clubs. They are one of the national traditions which the Government and the people always have fostered and encouraged in every way. The sweetest music to the ear of the Swiss is the cracking of the rifle and the whizzing of bullets on Sunday when he practices his national sport. There are about 250,000 active members of the rifle clubs—in the same proportion, rifle clubs in the United States would have over

5,000,000 members—and the names of the best shots of the country are as well known as our baseball stars. The National Government furnishes ammunition at reduced rates, and the communes—that is, even the smallest hamlets and townships—have to furnish rifle pits.

The clubs which are private societies receive a subvention for the training of youths in membership, for to that extent the task of the army to give proficiency in aiming, and hitting is made easier. However, the impression that to be able to shoot is equivalent to being a soldier and that the Swiss think this to be so is erroneous. Shooting is only one single requirement of a soldier, and a good shot lacking the other accomplishments and virtues of a soldier would be of slight value to the army; to know how to shoot does not dispense or make unnecessary all the rest of the teachings and instructions of the training service.

Rifle clubs and target practice, as well as gymnastic and preliminary and cadet training are not to be underrated; in the hands of the Swiss they round out, so to speak, a system of short-time service and add efficiency to the training of the individual. As long as a nation does not deceive itself with such aids into believing that this is an army, which it is not, these measures may be of great benefit. The present way has shown the value of organized units and large numbers; the tendency to shorten the length of time under the colors for the soldiers and to increase the number of trained and organized men is apparent, and such propositions are even now discussed and considered both in Japan and Germany.

Most of the recruits, especially those from the country districts, have had neither gymnastics since they left school nor undergone "preliminary instruction" after their school days, but join the colors quite "raw" and untrained.

The fundamental principle of the Swiss system is adult manhood service for all, for only adults can be expected to have their sense of responsibility developed sufficiently to give obedience under military law and the physical development to stand hardship of maneuvers with benefit and not injury to their health. Large maneuvers could not be conducted with schoolboys. A commanding officer in large maneuvers must be sure when he gives orders for troops to march a certain distance in a certain time, in order to have them at a given time and place, that they can do it; and to do it with a view to its applicability to actual warfare the maneuvering troops must have the physical fitness required for actual warfare, and that is not a schoolboy's measure of endurance. And it takes steady nerves to face death under a hail of shrapnel, not to flinch at machine-gun fire, and not to be dismayed by clouds of greenish gases or spouts of liquid fire. Would we want boys to face such dangers, and would it be wise to trust the Nation's fate to their care? The present war has demonstrated the great military virtues and bravery of the older men, who though long ago returned to civilian life have nobly shared the hardship and reaped the glory at the side of those who were still in active service.

We would do well here in America to speedily forget our false ideas about school and college boy military training in the Swiss Army. A well-trained invader could wish nothing better than to have an army of schoolboys oppose him, whether Swiss or American; he would laugh them out of his path in no time.

We do not want to intrust the defense of the country to schoolboys any more than its government.

Obligatory service has existed in Switzerland in one form or another for over 600 years. The Swiss last November celebrated their first battle in their long war of independence from the house of Austria and the old German Empire—the Battle of Morgarten, which took place in 1315; even at that time the men around Lake Lucerne had obligatory service, yet it has not made them a servile race. It has not impaired their capacity to assert themselves and insist upon their individual and political rights. Militarism is not a portion of the Swiss nation, and no country on earth could be more opposed to it than Switzerland. Of all countries Switzerland is surely the one that contemplates the least of all territorial expansion. What we want is to form a community on the basis of common political institutions and traditions, mutual regard for each other in spite of our three different languages, and the setting of an example to the world of lasting democratic institutions. To fulfill this ideal we have to have independence and the ability to defend it, and that is what our Army is for.

This "a citizenry trained and accustomed to arms" through preparedness and obligatory military service has done for over 600 years, amid powerful neighbors and absolute monarchies, during all these dark centuries when feudalism and despotism and even serfdom formed the political institutions of the countries around the small but indomitable Alpine Republic, who alone preserved democratic institutions. In some parts of the country—in 6 out of the 25 local parliaments—even their most ancient form—the "landsgemeinde"; that is, the legislative assembly of all the citizens held outdoors, each freeman armed with a sword as a sign of his freedom—still prevails. One of these assemblies (Uri) as recently as last month was attended by 2,000, another (Gloris) by 5,000, and a third (Appenzell) even by 11,000 men, who discussed and voted on laws submitted to them.

The free institutions of Switzerland have exerted their influence in the world, and even the great and glorious Republic over which the Star-Spangled Banner waves has benefited by her institutions. When the time had arrived and the world was ripe for the message, the words of Rousseau—a citizen of Geneva—"freedome" and "the inalienable rights of man" sounded from the shores of Lake Geneva, and, reaching the shores of America, found their echo in the document forever memorable—the Declaration of Independence, penned by men who were admirers and disciples of Rousseau in the very words of Rousseau.

The Swiss are a military nation, but they abhor war and militarism—that is, the mental attitude of an oligarchic military caste. They are a military people in the sense that they like soldiering and are receptive of discipline and easily trained and molded into soldiers; but in civilian and political life they watch jealously over their traditions of freedom and local customs and reject energetically all semblance of interference. Obligatory service has not robbed them of their self-reliance nor weakened their backbone.

Inseparable from a military force is the cost thereof. The Swiss Army not only furnishes the largest possible number of trained, equipped, and thoroughly organized men, with the quickest mobilization, but it furnishes these at the least cost. For the last few years before the world war the annual cost was about $6,600,000; that is $1.75 per head of the population; and if we divide this sum of $6,600,000 by the number of men now mobilized, the army of 300,000 men has cost on the average $22 a head a year. This is only possible, of course, because the older men who are included in the 300,000 now ready have not cost the Government anything for many years past, yet they are still there, ready, available, and useful, too. This annual budget of $6,600,000, of course, does not include such extraordinary expenses, as, for instance, an entirely new artillery or fortifications, but it includes the running expenses and the new equipment every man entering the army receives. Compared with the war budget of the United States, we see that last year about an hundred and sixty millions were spent for the Army, yet we could not mobilize in a short time 100,000 men. This large sum represents about $1.50 per head of the population. If we take 1913 Army, one hundred and sixty millions; Navy, one hundred and thirty-three millions; and pensions, one hundred and seventy-five millions, we have a grand total for military purposes of $468,000,000; that is, about $4.60 per head, and with what small results in actual preparedness.

We have at present the aggregate of 30,000 men and officers of our standing Regular Army within the confines of the United States proper, mobile and available wherever needed; the rest are in the colonies and immobile at our coast defenses. Reserves for these there are none; in other words, the gaps in the ranks through losses in battle and through disease could not be filled but with entirely different material, vastly inferior, if at all. Under 48 different sovereignties we have on paper about 129,000 men of the State National Guards, with no uniform standard of efficiency in training and command; of these hardly half, according to the expert opinion of a former Secretary of War—not more than 60,000—could in any way be counted upon; these 90,000 men at the utmost have never maneuvered together, have never been under a unified command, no commander in chief knows them, and their material has not been brought together; they are smallest units, that would have first to be taken in hand, reequipped, better trained and officered; coordination and cooperation with each other they know not. How long would it take to do that? Would the enemy patiently wait till we are ready? How many of our American generals have ever had the opportunity to lead in warlike maneuvers an army corps of 40,000 men? And what tremendous sums does it not cost to recruit our Army. In the year 1913 to 1914 the cost of recruiting alone for every new recruit to the United States Army was $60.

Not only have we no Army but we have no military system, deficient equipment, no organization. Our "military system" in the past has been to wait for the emergency and then to begin getting ready. At what cost in treasure and valuable blood it is not here the place to relate. And what disasters have attended warfare with untrained volunteers, military history, and the statistics on the number of desertions in the field relate; they do not make popular reading. In the future conditions will be entirely different. Our future enemy is not going to send untrained volunteers, poorly equipped, against us, but hardened veterans, well led and thoroughly ready to strike. And in what numbers I have mentioned before. What could we oppose to these formidable foes? What would they do to us? Would they not be able to advance and conquer as much as they wanted of our national domain, and then be able by intrenching to hold it indefinitely, ransacking our treasuries, levying contributions in millions and billions?

In such an emergency no amount of patriotic wrath could supply an excited populace with the ability and means for defense against a steel-shod, disciplined invader. Military science is the most complex of all, and when science entered into warfare volunteers made their exit. Volunteers become soldiers only when they cease to be volunteers. Disastrous wars are the failures of peace. And this is to-day more true than ever. All preparations must be made in time of peace even to the minutest details. Improvising armies is a thing of the past. They are technical entities of such a complex nature that it takes years to organize them, 20 and 30 and more years to form officers of the higher ranks. And the organization of the armies, army corps, divisions, and brigades, with all the staff officers and material, the sources of supply, ammunitions, stores, all this must be ready in time of peace. What attracts the attention and gains the admiration of the world more in the present world war, the preparedness of the continental nations or the undignified efforts of recruiting in England? And admire we should, for it denotes not only foresight and forethought, but the spirit and patriotism of personal sacrifice which a country is able to demand of its people and which a people is willing to make.

The benefits that universal training bestows on a nation are not only military and moral, they are also economic. As far as the simple soldier is concerned, he has had the opportunity to see that which perhaps has been completely lacking in his home and surroundings—efficiency of management. A basic army unit, for instance, a company, is really a sort of a family and an economic unit where all the various functions of a common household are assigned and exercised under strictest observation of the principles of economy, efficiency, and accountability. Each grade is responsible to superiors for the acts of those under them, and for each mistake held accountable to the smallest detail.

The habits of orderliness so essential in any army and so severely insisted upon are of lasting benefit and economic advantage, and not only this, but a great many useful things are taught and acquired which will make a more efficient civilian of a soldier. There is, of course, some personal financial sacrifice connected with service, but it almost loses its disadvantage by the very fact of its universality; and as far as the burden on the shoulders of the very poor is concerned, the Swiss law provides that in case of need the family of the soldier called to the colors has a right to claim financial relief from his commune. This help is not to be considered as poor relief and leaves no stigma of shame. The underlying principle is that of solidarity of interest between citizen and state. As for officers and noncommissioned officers, they have to bring a not inconsiderable sacrifice both in time and money, for the pay is not very high; but this is by far outweighed by the stimulating influence of their responsibility as superiors; they have in military service an opportunity to exercise executive ability which will be of use to them in business. The desire, the necessity, to live in civilian life up to the dignity and responsibility of a grade makes for honorable and laudable ambition that finds economic rewards, for an officer or subofficer who is not of the most minute correctness in financial matters in civilian life is not allowed to serve in the army any longer. The greatest efforts are made and economics practiced to avoid such dishonor.

And there is still another advantage which Americans especially will appreciate at its true value, for we in this country are believers in the benefits accruing from vacations. To a foreign observer the hopeless tedium, the monotony of life, and lack of healthful amusement of the laboring classes of this country is apparent; inexpensive Sunday amusements there are none, and for obvious reasons trips away from home are out of the question. A Swiss in the same economic circumstances has, at least during his active years of service, from 20 to 27 years of age, an annual outing at Government expense. It makes no difference that neither the man nor the Government consider it as an outing for pleasure, but, just the same, it brings the benefit which a change of surroundings, occupation, company, and food has on a tired worker. The work of soldiering has to be in the open, and it has the

character of "roughing it" to a high degree. The looks and manners of soldiers returning from their annual 13 days is the visible outward sign of its benefits in health.

The men returning from service are as full of cheer and new energy as if they had been on a fishing trip; they have seen new scenery, not to speak of the trenscendant beauty and spectacular grandeur of warfare in peace conditions, and they tell about it, about their fatigues and exertions, their defeats and their victories, their retreats and their advances. But what they keep for themselves and which in their own breasts acts as a stimulant. a leaven, is the past association with all kinds of men.

Have we an institution where the day laborer, the farm hand, the porter has an opportunity to stand in ranks and work and eat and sleep and rub elbows for two weeks and share life and rebuke and reward with the student, the school-teacher, the clerk, the mechanic? And for him to compete in cleanliness, effort, endurance, and performance with those in better living conditions in civilian life can have only a favorable influence, the desire for emulation. All receive pay from the Government for their service; those not much used to handle money can see how others, perhaps their betters and to whom they may secretly be looking up to, repress their impulses for spending and save. Might not this be a beneficial lesson to many young Americans who pride themselves getting rid of their hard-earned funds as quickly as possible treating others at the bar? It may not lift him sky-high, but who knows, perhaps it makes slower or prevents altogether a descent that otherwise would be inevitable. Thousands of American travelers and sociologists have commented upon the absence of the horrors of city slums in Germany, France, and Switzerland and compared conditions in these countries with the hopeless degradation of the slums in English and American cities. Has perhaps not the training, schooling, and experience of army life something to do with these differences? The time spent in military training is not lost in an economic sense, if it does not last too long, any more than school time is lost, if it does not last too long. Both may be harmful if too long, but the short-time Swiss service is not so. European workers who have served are not inferior as to their producing efficiency, or else their competition would not be such a menace, and fears from the effect of their return after the war to productive labor need not concern our economic prophets as they do.

In an industrial way, in the larger sense of the word, the benefit is apparent; the stimulation through universal service makes of the Swiss a nation of people who want to be independent economically; this is one of the reasons why there are so many small business houses and firms. The man who in military life has attained a grade has the ardent desire of rising in civilian life.

The army as such has no political influence in Switzerland. One of the reasons for this is the fact that it is not a standing army, but really exists only temporarily during training and maneuver service, and afterwards dissolves itself into its many thousand units of civilians returned to their home life, and in civilian garb it completely loses its identity.

Members of the army are members of the legislature and are officials of the Government. As officers they may bring technical knowledge into their deliberations on military measures. But a military party or clique or even "coterie" does not exist and officer members are members of the different political parties and vote with these.

The time officers serve away from their troops and train together in officers' courses is so short that they have no time to develop that feeling of social and professional class distinction that could either socially or politically find expression in well-directed concerted efforts; they come from all sorts of conditions; their mentality is varied; they stay together too short a time and scatter to their own fields too soon to acquire the mental attitude called militarism. For militarism first of all is a mental attitude as to the relative importance of things and becomes a power only when it finds political and social expression. A professional officer and a pupil in a military or naval academy, secluded for several years from the rest of the population, is more apt to nurse militaristic dreams and to set up an imaginary barrier to his own great disadvantage, for unfortunately our own American officers, as fine a lot of men as there is, to a large extent have lost touch with public life, and this, I think, is a loss to them and to us, the public and body politic.

In Switzerland it is quite different. Our officers, individually, not as a class, are the intelligence of the nation, many as civilians are in politics, are renowned as orators, legislators, administrators, and business and professional men; they are not separated from the rest, neither socially nor politically, but they stand in the midst of life and endow our political life with that soldier's honor and uprightness, that faithfulness to principles, and an incorruptibility which freedom from obligatory service does not necessarily give to the social and political customs of the countries where the volunteer system prevails. When temptation asks for favors the honor due to the rank and grade in the army proves a shield and armor not easily pierced by the poisoned arrows of graft and corruption. Whether or not the well-known honesty of Swiss political life and municipal state and federal government is due to the fact that so many of our leading men are officers in the army is difficult to say; but army life has certainly had no weakening influence on character and political ideals and personal conduct in office.

The only organization exclusively of and for officers is the Swiss Officers' Association, with branches all over the country; membership, I think, now is compulsory; its purpose is the giving of supplementary instruction. The "war game" is played under the supervision of superior officers, papers are read, innovations discussed, etc.; it is no social club with exclusive club life. Subofficers, too, have their associations for similar purposes, and it would take too much space to enumerate all the voluntary associations of simple soldiers of the different arms who meet voluntarily to give additional instruction or to keep in practice in some special branch of the service; there is even one of the drummers, and one of the chaplains where the Protestant and Catholic clergy meet in friendly deliberation on the widening of the scope and the enlargement of their usefulness. It is superfluous to say that none aim at political influence. The army is not in politics nor are politics in the army. The officers are promoted entirely on their merit and length of service and according to a strict law. This law provides that any nomination or promotion is subordinate to the possessions of a certificate of capacity given after special courses of instruction by their instructors or commanding officers. Only after such certificate is attained may the proper authorities (for lieutenants of the infantry, cavalry, artillery, etc., the chief of the arm concerned) make the nomination, which in turn is submitted to the highest commanders for their approbation; and for officers above the grade of captain, the nominating body is the committee on national defense. There are therefore no nominations by the political authorities, neither of officers in the army to higher posts, nor of civilians or soldiers, to the rank and degree of officers.

Space does not permit a lengthy chapter on the relations between the Federal and Cantonal Governments in army matters, although this subject is of great interest to us in America and discussions on the control by the various States versus control by the National Government will not end for a long time. Switzerland has had her sad experience from so-called "State control," and gradually though slowly has completely eliminated the latter. The Cantons have retained only strictly administrative functions; they give commands to certain lower officers, but only on the certificates given by Federal authorities, and they may not recommend anybody for promotion; they—the Cantons or States in America—can not appoint any officer to a command without a Federal certificate, and should an appointment be made by mistake, the Federal authorities have the right to invalidate it.

Formerly it was different, and the power of the Cantons over the men recruited from their territory was considerable; but the lessons of history and the requirements of modern conditions have brought about a change, and although the cantonal traditions—historical and cultural, even religious—are dear to the Swiss heart, and a Swiss more loudly and fervently proclaims himself to be a man from the Canton of Berne, or Geneva, or Uri, etc., than from the common "patrie" of Switzerland, he has had the wisdom to eliminate cantonal control to such a degree that the army is federal. The few remaining cantonal functions may occupy much space in the law and seem important, but in reality they are a mere shadow. Certain functions like the keeping of the list of the men living at a place is of course local, and therefore cantonal; but the very blanks are prescribed by federal authorities, and so are all the rest. To look to Switzerland for an example of a "State-controlled" national defense is pure self-deception.

Universal service does not stifle and eradicate patriotism, if by patriotism we mean sentiment and love for one's country ready to spring into action. In the world war, which nations have buried their private and party quarrels more readily in the presence of the common danger to their country, have concluded a truce amongst themselves to last till the country's existence will be safe again, have been willing to and did sacrifice their all more generously for the idea of the common interest of the nation? Those where universal obligatory service is the rule or the one where tradition and custom allowed each man to decide for himself whether the common heritage was worth his personal sacrifice and trouble or not? And which ones grasped the portent more intelligently and with truer appreciation of its meaning?

Even the workers of all the continental belligerents have at once realized that war affected them all as national units and not as parties with apparently divergent interests. German and French, Austrian and Italian socialists have given the answer to cosmopolitanism and internationalism. They have found out that their interests, spiritual and material, bind them closer to their own country and its past, present, and future than to an Utopian state of universal brotherhood, alas, so far away, and that their countrymen of different economic and political faiths are more closely related to them in heart and soul than the men of similar ideas in other countries.

The workingmen in those countries have made common cause from the beginning with the class they formerly antagonized, and their immediate and hearty cooperation with the junkers, the bourgeois, the landowners has afforded us a picture of brotherhood—brotherhood of national common interests and ideals—that in its revelation of the true and underlying sentiments in the hearts of man has been as beautiful and inspiring as it was startling and surprising.

Have not we in America felt, to our own great and not always pleasant surprise, that men from nations with compulsory service have rallied to the cause of their native countries with a degree of enthusiasm that has at times blinded them to the dictates of hospitality enjoyed in this country and its neutrality? The various "plots" to blow up this and that on land and sea had no difficulty of attracting men to execute them at the risk of life and liberty. Where communication was not interrupted, thousands upon thousands flocked to the colors of their countries who could easily have stayed out of the war by remaining where they were. It must have been both heartrending and inspiring to see the thousands of men who had lived in Switzerland for years, married Swiss girls, brought up families of children in Swiss schools under Swiss teachers, go to join their regiments in France, Germany, Austria; even the ties of blood were of no avail, cases being known where sisters, married to men of opposing camps, had to see their husbands leave in opposite directions, ready to die for their countries. Heartrending yet inspiring. And it required no great urging to make them go; no flamboyant posters had to awaken their patriotism.

Universal service is a mighty tonic that exerts its action through the whole body politic in more than one way. It does not necessarily mean militarism and the rule of a military caste; the Swiss system is quite free from it.

Universal service and training as the Swiss practice it is a truly democratic institution. It makes all men equal in duty and rights, and at the same time it is a moral principle and an expression of individual sovereignty; every citizen has the right and claims the right to serve his country as a free man in a free State that he wants to see kept free. Universal service is the law of his own making. The history of universal service and nations in arms in modern times had its origin in the times of the dawn of freedom during the first French Republic. The only freedom that is abolished by it is the freedom to shirk and to let others defend our homes and hearthstones for us instead of doing it ourselves. Don't let us forget that voluntaryism includes the choice to serve the country as well as to shirk our duty to help preserve the Nation. Which system is more noble, more inspiring, more moral, and which one shall we have chosen when fate knocks at our gate and our national destiny is to be decided?

"If we desire to secure peace, one of our most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known that we are at all times ready for war."—George Washington.

The principal problem before the American people is to decide what requirements our preparedness has to meet and how we shall meet them; in other words, that old desideratum of George Washington:

"A uniform and well-digested plan is requisite."

Thus, a discussion of the subject must lead us to the consideration of the necessities of our situation as regards defense by land and sea.

Once more, as so often in the past, good fortune is smiling on this blessed country of ours and a kind Providence is favoring America, inasmuch as many of the questions about which we seem to be in the dark are answered for us and decided by other nations at this very moment, not at our cost but at theirs, in treasure, blood, humiliation, and suffering, and all Columbia has to do is to profit by their experience.

The first and principal problem before us is to decide if possible the question as to the relative value of Army and Navy for the defense of American peace and protection from invasion.

Nations no less than individuals are addicted to fancies and like to follow imaginings pleasing to them. One of these national fancies in which the American people like to indulge is the idea that the Navy will be of sufficient protection to us, and that with our untold resources and our almost unlimited wealth in money, we can and should have the largest Navy in the world. Let us analyze for a moment this proposition.

Let us first consider the function of navies in general. The chief function of navies is to keep open or destroy communications on sea and to protect landing parties on the shore; they can not conquer on land. The history of the last two years has proven this, if nothing else. One side of the belligerents, the allies in the west, have been able to keep open the lanes of communication between themselves and the outside world, between the outside world and themselves. This has enabled them to transfer unhindered troops to the Continent and elsewhere, and to get all the food necessary for the population at home. It has at the same time interrupted the intercourse by sea of the enemy with the outside world. Their navy has not been able to conquer on land, as the early part of the campaign against the Dardanelles has proven to the world. Navies therefore have a limited use, and the necessity to have them supreme on the sea depends largely upon the character and geographical position of the countries involved. In this respect there are two kinds of empires, the exigencies of which are fundamentally different as to the relative usefulness of navies.

On one hand there are continental empires bordering on other countries by land which produce almost all of their food and raw materials within their borders and which can get what they need by communication on land from neighbors—as Germany is importing grain from Roumania—and on the other hand there are island empires whose sole means of communication is by sea and which depend on the command of the sea entirely to feed their millions with foodstuffs bought abroad. Each of these two kinds of empires in a different way depends upon an open sea. The history of this war furnishes ample evidence of this condition of affairs. Let us, however, first go back to the Russo-Japanese war. Japan, the island empire of the East, after having successfully bottled up and crippled by surprise attack the Russian fleet and destroyed it in separate units, even though a land campaign against the sea port of Port Arthur was able to land huge armies on the Continent of Asia, driving back the Russians in many a bloody victory. A Russian fleet from Europe finally reached the Japan Sea. Had this Russian squadron been victorious in the battle of the Straits of Tsusima, and, by gaining control of the sea, destroyed communication between Japan and her armies in the field on the Continent of Asia, the land armies that were victorious heretofore, now shut off, would have faced destruction through lack of food and ammunition and the Russians would have won the war. The annihilation of the Russian fleet, however, did not decide the war against Russia. It merely destroyed Russia's chance to end the war in her favor by this one bold stroke. She might still have won the war on land had not internal dissentions at home made an early peace desirable. Nor did the victory of the Japanese Navy end the war for Japan. The destruction of the Japanese Navy, however, would have at once ended the war in her disfavor. In this we see the relative importance of a navy in geographically differently situated countries. Similarly Napoleon, after the battle of Trafalgar, was not defeated through the loss of his fleet. He merely had to give up the idea of an invasion of England. His downfall was the result of defeats on land, the overwhelming superiority in numbers of his adversaries, and the numerical exhaustion of France.

The same is true to-day in this world war. The destruction of the German fighting vessels—dreadnaughts and cruisers—would not have materially affected Germany's position in the war. Her internal resources and production of food and ammunition would have been the same and her campaigns east, west, and south would have gone on as they went on with probably exactly the same results. How different would have been the position of the British after their fleet had been destroyed. Her communication for the replenishment of her empty storehouses would have been impossible, and England—there can not be the slightest doubt about it—would have been forced to her knees. This short exposition of the importance of sea power in differently situated countries is for the purpose of showing the vital necessity of predominant sea power for England and Japan.

The national existence of these two countries depends upon the free communication in time of war on the sea. Neither of them, therefore, can afford to permit others, not even America, to outdistance them in sea power, but would have to strain every nerve to keep their present enormous superiority. England before August, 1914, had 50 dreadnaughts, against 17 of the United States, and the disproportion with all the other naval powers is probably still greater now.

In considering possible future conditions and alignments of powers, alliances, and friendships between nations, we can not help admitting that almost anything is within the range of possibility. Who would have thought that Russia and Japan, in less than 10 years after their bloody struggle, would be allies fighting a common enemy? Who will say that after this world war is over some of the bitter enemies of to-day may be—if not the friends of to-morrow, have at least some agreement as to giving each other a free-hand and standing tacitly by. In fact, nothing is more true than that if the United States are threatened at all they will be so by a combination of powers in which some of them may be aggressors and invaders, whereas at the same time the rest of them must have agreed to stand aside and not to interfere. England, Germany, Austria, Russia, France, Italy, or Japan, or any combination of two or more of these powers, whosoever they may be, will have to have their back free before they can think of crossing the ocean toward our shores, and our sea power will not be sufficient if it only outdistances the greatest navy now afloat. The "two-navies standard" of England would have to be replaced by the "three-navies standard" of America.

This "three-navies standard," to meet successfully any combination of hostile fleets in the future, would require such immense amounts of money, such facilities for building ships in a shorter time than other powers could do, not to speak of the number of men to man the fleet, that it is beyond the power of imagination and calculation to compute it, and, in spite of all our efforts, it would be of no avail, for it would merely set the pace for the other powers to build more and faster than we would do or could do.

Besides, as world conditions are or may be in the future, perhaps not so very long after the present war, the possibility—"the quite conceivable event," as Prof. Paul Rohrbach, of Berlin, writes January 13, 1916, in the now famous letter read by Col. Theodore Roosevelt on May 19, 1916, in Detroit—of aggression by Japan is not so remote. May we be sure that we would not have to divide our fleet between the Atlantic and Pacific to oppose two adversaries, each equally strong as our entire undivided fleet? And what would happen to us then if our divided Navy should not be able to prevent landing on our shores but should have sacrificed itself in the vain attempt?

To rely, therefore, on the Navy of the future, which it would take years and years to build, is but a day dream—a very pleasant one, for it permits us to evade the main issue which our politicians so hate to approach; that is, to demand from our public, from every young man, that personal sacrifice of personal service in the Army of the country. It is self-deception of a most dangerous kind, for it disregards the outstanding fact that the "strongest navy in the world" that is to be victorious against any and all adversaries—and it would have to be that—is not to be attained by us.

How different a defender would be a large mobile army, rapidly mobilizable! No matter how large a fleet the enemy could command, it would never be sufficient to bring enough troops to our shores to effect more than a temporary landing of short duration, such as took place on the Gallipoli Peninsula. The danger of being driven into the sea by the fully prepared mobile American land forces, ready to strike anywhere, would be so apparent that a permanent success of landings in America, in the same way as the landing on the shores of Gallipoli against the superior Turkish land forces proved unsuccessful and disastrous, would be out of the question. Just as the "fleet in being" of England has saved England without fighting, so the "army in being" of the United States would save the United States without fighting. We would not be attacked, because nobody could think of doing so with any chance of success. While we need a Navy of a size to command respect and to be able to imperil landings and transports of troops, a sufficiently large Army would be less expensive, a better protection, and could be organized in a few years under the protection of the world war now going on while our potential future enemies are occupied elsewhere.

We must therefore look to our land forces as that peace insurance that will forever protect our territory from successful invasion and remove the chief attraction for conquest—the combination of wealth and weakness.

In order to do this it is essential that the Army be large enough. The time of small professional armies is passed, now and forever. War in its simplest definition is the supreme effort of nations, and modern conditions and facilities of transportation, the immense and still increasing wealth of the nations, the diversity and availability of their means of production for the production of war material, and last, not least, the spiritual forces of modern times, the energy and strength of national consciousness and cohesion makes that supreme effort. War—quite a different thing from what it was in the past. The armies of Frederick the Great and George Washington were small; lack of the means of transportation, lack of the fluid wealth, and the fact that the only industry at that time was agriculture, which absorbed so much man labor to produce enough food for the Army and the people that only a small part of the males could be spared for campaigning without exposing the population to starvation—Frederick the Great had to import foreign mercenaries—made large armies in the past impossible; to-day this is changed, and will remain so; armies will increase in size still more, for numbers decide, not length of service.

It is of no use to decree by laws on paper an increase in numbers. If men will not enlist, the increase can not take place and the law becomes futile. There are extremely potent reasons why we may doubt that voluntary enlistments will even fill the ranks of our standing army to 200,000 men. First, on account of the bidding of industry for labor at higher wages, then on account of the tedium and lack of outlook of the professional soldiers' life, and finally on account of the stigma attached to service; the soldier feels, and is made to feel, himself as of minor quality and standing in the community, almost as outside of it; therefore the incredibly numerous desertions, the sprees, and infractions of discipline; and the despicable practice of judges to let men go unpunished if they promise to join the Army, makes things still worse; can we blame the young man for not wanting to enlist? Obligatory service for all changes all this at once; the training being of short duration must be intensive, and leaves no time for thoughts of desertion, for the man knows that in a short time he will be in his customary surroundings again and he will be free to follow his career and pursue his ambitions as before; it will be the natural and honorable thing to be in the Army, because it denotes physical fitness and for the same reason undesirable to be outside of it, and all classes being represented, it will represent the high-average standard of American manhood.

Just as in Switzerland certain offenses committed in civilian life disqualify the offender from belonging to the army, so will in America dishonorable deeds exclude the doer from the honor to belong to the institution that is to guard and keep inviolate our national domain and independence. Universal service alone makes a sufficiently large-sized army possible.

The adoption of the principle of universal obligation once decided upon, we may well ask whether the other features of the Swiss system do or do not commend themselves equally for adoption in the United States.

The Swiss system aims, through universal obligation, at a large army, through short time but intensive training at producing this army at the least cost of time to the individual citizens and of money to the state and through thorough, complete organization to the formation of a complete army ready to take the field at a moment's notice, with the aid of the territorial arrangement of its component units.

The same desiderta hold good for the defensive forces of this country, and we may well ask ourselves the question:

Can the Swiss system of military organization and universal training be applied to the United States, or are we over here so radically different from the Swiss? Differences, of course, here are political and economical, but the points of similarity are indefinitely more numerous than the differences. Both countries have a republican form of government and believe in individual rights and in self-government on democratic principles. Both are extremely jealous of their liberties. The main political differences of the two Commonwealths are that the Swiss people, through initiative and referendum, have greater control over the legislative branch of the Government, whereas we in the United States, through frequent elections, are more concerned over the personnel of the executive branch. Otherwise I see no deep-seated difference politically. Temperamentally, the Swiss are rather more serious minded, probably from racial differences and a more inclement climate and poorer soil, and Switzerland is a country the different parts of which speak different languages, but in other respects the two peoples have very much in common.

The size of the country has nothing to do with the introduction of the Swiss military system. Size is merely an incident. The Swiss military system could very well and should be adopted in the United States, not only its underlying principles but even in detail is this possible and desirable. And one of the first principles which we must adopt is exclusive Federal control of the Army. Federal control alone makes uniformity in training, standard of quality, and promotion. Forty-eight different State armies would be the death of any effort; the Swiss have tried it and had to give it up. Federal control alone makes possible the formation of the largest army units, divisions, and army corps. Federal control for the last century had to supersede State control in Switzerland, until to-day it has vanished to a mere shadow.

The second fundamental principle must be adult-manhood service for all. Enrollment and examination for fitness at 18 or 19, first training service 19 or 20, preferably in barracks, continuous for a few months only, and for a number of years afterwards annual assembly and tactical maneuvers and brushing-up service of short duration up to a certain age, then entry into a reserve with occasional mobilizations similar to those of Switzerland. No reliance on voluntary enlistment or other subterfuges and evasions of the main issue by school-boy, college-boy, "business men's camps," and Saturday afternoon rifle clubs. They do not produce soldiers, still less armies, and it is armies we are in need of.

At present the proposition is made to substitute for service with the army instruction of a quasi military character in private academies and to give the pupil credit for this instruction. For two reasons this should be discouraged: First, because it is a class institution; poor parents can not afford such advantages for their sons and the favors afforded the rich would create a gulf and cause class distinction. The favored ones would look down upon the others and resentment might follow where equality should rule. The other reason is that the training for a soldier can only be adequate under real army conditions, and these include in a democracy especially the living, sleeping, and working together of all sorts of men; a future officer has to have gone through real not attenuated soldiers' duties in order to be an instructor of his men. And the "camps," while at present valuable for creating enthusiasm and interest in those who would otherwise have no opportunity to taste military service, have the immense drawback to create the impression that we are on the right way to preparedness for national defense. They, too, are for the so-called upper classes, for the participants have to pay certain sums of money and buy their own outfit. Generally speaking, the participants are too old, for first training should not be given to men much beyond the age of 25 or 30. A soldier's training requires a receptive frame of mind, and a man is more receptive to digest and absorb the elements of military training and the principles of strict discipline, unquestioning obedience, and willing subordination when *he is young*. This first training service ought to be given in barracks. For in such only can bodies of men be housed in wintertime and discipline and thoroughness may be better enforced than in the free and easy life of camps; the maneuvers later, of course, will be outside of barracks and independent of them, in the "terrain" under warlike conditions throughout. In order not to burden the people too heavily with taxes, the pay of the soldiers should not be too high; the young man is performing a duty not only to the country but also to himself and high pay will lower the value of the service in his own and the people's eyes. If we begin to pay our soldiers big wages and increase the cost beyond a reasonable amount, we shall feel tempted to save on the number of recruits.

Third. Adoption of a certain tax for those excused from service for any cause, the tax to be proportionate to the financial means. No possibility of choice between the military tax and personal service. The tax emphasizes the universal obligation.

Fourth. Promotion to any grade, only on the principle of having earned it through service in the lower and after having qualified suitably in special courses through sufficient length of service and command for the higher degree. This would mean a final abolition in this country of appointments of men to high command from civilian life through social or political influence. The science of warfare is so complex and technical that only systematic training from the very ground up will enable the mentally gifted to master it.

Fifth. Territorial recruiting and organization of units. The country should be subdivided into 25 Army Corps districts of approximately equal number of inhabitants. The boundaries of these districts to be determined on geographical lines, independent entirely of boundaries of political, State, or election districts. This is quite essential, for nothing could be more detrimental to the interest of the Army than the suggestive influence of a coincidence of the boundaries of military and election districts; the call on Members of Congress for administrative interference is burdensome enough as it is, and Senators and Representatives should be protected from further encroachment on their time and energy; election districts having become military districts, the clamor of constituents would multiply a thousand times and destroy both the usefulness of the Congressman and the Army; for the Army might enter politics or politics invade the Army, and that would be disastrous for both. These districts should be formed in such a way that mountain ranges or deep rivers should not run through them. They are to form geographical units for the quickest possible mobilization and concentration. Each district should have barracks, storehouses, all the war material, its maneuvering grounds, and general headquarters at a place chosen for its location, as to railway communications and safety from surprise attacks. Most of our many Army posts could be retained and either be used as storehouses for additional supplies, remount depots, training posts of the units of special arms, bridge builders, or medical companies, or officers' schools, while still others might be enlarged to the proposed headquarters of the future Army Corps districts.

Within these districts of about 4,000,000 inhabitants the units of the army corps will be recruited, trained, and organized. The army-corps district is to be subdivided into smaller districts—two or more division districts, each of these into two or more brigade districts, each of these into regimental districts, and finally these latter into the last subdivision for the tactical unit, the Infantry battalion. Within this battalion district the men are recruited for that battalion, and in addition for a certain unit of the Cavalry (perhaps one-fourth part of a squadron), for a certain unit of Artillery and train troops (perhaps one-fourth or one-half a battery), some part of engineering troops (sappers, bridge builders, etc.), the necessary medical troops (litter carriers), and supply troops and artisans (bakers, butchers, horseshoers, wagon makers, shoemakers, etc.). On the seashore certain districts would furnish less Infantry and Cavalry, but more Artillery for the coast defenses, for it would not do to recruit these "at large"—that is, over the larger district—for the simple reason that quick mobilization would suffer if the Coast Artillery men had to travel to their post from a distant interior city.

Thirty-six of these battalion districts in an army-corps district would give each a population of about 110,000 inhabitants. Of these there would be yearly about a crop of 1,000 young men of the age of 19 or 20; and if we suppose 60 per cent of these to be fit for military duty, it would give us an annual contingent of about 600 recruits; 400 to 500 of these would be assigned to the Infantry, in the entire army-corps district about 16,000 (the proportion varies according to changing views on the proportionate number and importance of the various arms). Should first training or recruit service in the Infantry be of two and one-half months' duration, that would give four periods (with cleaning and fumigation of barracks between courses), training of 4,000 men each time, if they were to be trained all in one place. It is to be expected, however, that within an army corps Infantry barracks would be in the divisional districts (let us say two in each army-corps district). That would fill each of the two Infantry training grounds four times a year with a new set of about 2,000 recruits each time. These would be divided into three parts of about 700 each to form a battalion, and three battalions would form a regiment. All the officers and suboffícers of a regiment would undertake the training, and Army life on the basis of a full regiment would be given the recruits, the suboffícers, and the officers. Should there be more training ground—and probably the solicitude of Congressmen would see to it that there would be—a training unit might be a battalion of 700 to 1,000 men. Below the battalion one ought not to go, for both recruits and officers get a better, and especially a truer, idea of Army life in large units.

The recruits would be assigned, if possible, to the courses according to their occupations; farmers would be called to the courses in winter when they can be spared on the farms, students in the summer, etc. Nor should the recruits of one locality all go at once, on account of the too great depletion of the workers; as little inconvenience should be caused as the purpose—best training in the shortest time—will permit. After this training service the recruits return home and are then put on the register of their home battalion, with which they will drill and maneuver in the future (in the recruit service they were assembled from the recruits of the district "at large"), and they are civilians again for a year. Their next service is the following year in the fall after the harvest, when the fields are bare and maneuvers do little or no damage to agriculture. During recruit service the officers and subofficers had their eyes open to discover those that would make likely suboffícers and officers. About one-tenth would be so picked, and the same year or as soon as possible these would in a short course of, say, four weeks be made corporals. This corporals' course would take place either in the same barracks or in some other Army post, and a unit would again be formed. After this course a test determines their merit, not too severe, and they are all made corporals; about one-fifth of the more apt pupils in this corporals' course were asked to become lieutenants from corporals. They all go home and are assigned to "corporalcies" in their home battalion. The next year those corporals who have not been asked to become lieutenants will have two services—a recruit course of two and one-half months as corporal instructors in a recruit battalion and a maneuver service with their home battalion. Hereafter these corporals only serve once a year with the battalion till they go to the reserve. Those corporals, however, who have been selected to become lieutenants have to go to a lieutenant's course of perhaps three months' duration, and after they have attained a certificate of efficiency are assigned to a lieutenancy in their own home battalion or one of the other ones short of officers. They, too, have two services in the following year—one as lieutenant instructors of a recruit course of two and one-half months and one of two weeks in the fall maneuvers of the battalion in which they have a command. This battalion does not maneuver alone but with two or three others in a regiment, two regiments forming a brigade, two or three brigades a division; in addition to the Infantry officers and soldiers, there are in every battalion a number of litter carriers and male nurses, who take courses from the medical department.

Under their officers the two doctors; drivers from the train service with the battalion and company ammunition wagons and field kitchen on wheels and the wagons with the intrenching tools; the Infantry regiment has its staff wagons, wagons for the wounded, etc. And the division is a combination of all the arms, Cavalry, Artillery, Engineers, Medical Corps, Field Hospital, and Supply Department, with their commanders and their staffs, which all work from the top down, transmitting and coordinating the orders given by commander of the division. This is now a complete entity standing on its own feet, ready with officers, staffs, men, horses, and material (guns, wagons, supplies, bakeries, etc.) to take the field. Below the division unit there is no combination with other arms. And these maneuvers are not only for the training of the men, they are just as much, even more, a test of the officers and the working together of all units. The two or more divisions of any Army corps may maneuver together against an imaginary enemy or against each other, as the case may be, and as is done in Europe, even in Switzerland. Not before we have attained this stage of annual mobilizations for peace maneuvers can we say we have an Army worth having ready to take the field. We must think in Army corps, not numbers of men.

To return to our lieutenant; he serves as such for some years, then becomes a first lieutenant and serves as such before becoming a captain (at the age of about 30). He has to take a special course for captains, after which, his certificate attained, he receives a company and advances further, as far as his aptitude, judged by his superiors, will permit him.

The simple soldier, after a few years, say eight, goes to the reserves and swells that important body. Reserves are of immense importance. I regret that space does not permit me to dwell on this subject—too little appreciated and understood in America.

It is sufficient to point out briefly, however, the importance of reserve officers; it is said, and probably with truth, that the lack of such in sufficient numbers has played an important rôle and had a detrimental influence on the success of Russian and British arms. It takes longer to train an officer and his training must be thorough, for only in this way will the men in the ranks have sufficient confidence in the wisdom of their leadership and will the officers easily enforce that discipline in their men that balks at nothing. When the lieutenant says to his men, "Now, we have to advance to die together, come on boys," they will have to have the discipline born of supreme confidence. Germany, France, and Austria seem to have sufficient officers to fill the gaps, and their warfare has not failed them on account of a lack of them.

The "material" is stored within the Army corps or division district complete, so that on mobilization nothing has to be ordered or sent for

from Washington or elsewhere, perhaps with the exception of the flying machines attached to the highest command. All this requires the building of barracks and storehouses and the selection of their location and will cost huge sums.

This is what the territorial organization of the Army means and the division of the country in, say, 25 districts means—if less than 25 they would become unwieldy.

Sixth. Utilization of the officers of the present Regular Standing Army to command the new-formed units of the universal army until the latter can furnish its own lower grades.—The officers of the standing Army to be the first to advance to high command. Of course, there will be a period of transition which will present a number of difficulties. Units will have to be formed from which qualified officers would first have to be trained—regiments, brigades, divisions, army corps. For these the West Pointers should be taken from the standing Army and be given the command of these new units. These new units, of course, would not be under arms all the time; only during annual maneuvers. For the rest of the year, the officers of the standing Army would return to their commands in the latter. The regular officers and subofficers, and even some of the privates of the standing Army, might be used to help train the recruits of the new universal army. After the first year, the universal army would begin to produce its own noncommissioned officers and officers, and these would gradually advance until in a few years the whole machinery could be put into thorough working condition. Until that condition will have been attained the present standing Army would form chiefly the complicated technical branches, flying corps, and the horse services—Cavalry, Artillery, etc.—and also be used for service in our few colonies. The question whether we should give the full equipment to the men and intrust it to their care at home, as the Swiss have done with such success, for almost lightninglike mobilization is a question of detail.

America, fortunately, is much less exposed to sudden attack, coming like a thief in the night, and therefore this question is less overwhelmingly important to us here than it is to the Swiss Republic, amongst and in the midst of the great powers of Europe.

And what would be the result of the above simple proposition? In the military sense we would get an annual contingent of about 900,000 young men of the age of 19. If we assume that 60 per cent would be fit, we would have an annual crop of about 550,000 men to be given training and to be organized into the national defense forces. It would give us in a few years a few million men, and after we had attained a sufficient number we could then reduce the number of years during which the men could be called out, or increase the standard of bodily fitness in recruiting, give exemption to widows' only sons, etc., and mobilize part of the men for so-called industrial preparedness by securing their services for ammunition factories. We would not lack men.

In a larger sense we would gain infinitely by such a training. Every man would get physical, moral, and intellectual training, which would be a benefit to him outside of purely military considerations. The preparedness of body would make for the preparedness of the soul and the spirit, as it does elsewhere.

It would act as a tonic and energizing fluid in the veins and arteries of the Nation. I have no hesitation in saying that once introduced as a national institution the American people will, no less than the Swiss, look upon it as a blessing. It will act as a bridge between the different classes of our population that now have little connections and few points of contact with each other, and it will help making and molding the Nation into one whole. Schools and churches have their influence in this direction, but the Army is the strongest. The antagonism of our labor element—organized and unorganized—to our defensive forces on whom they, too, depend for safety, would disappear, for they, too, would be the Army and the Army would be of them, too; and the American universal Army then would cease to be looked upon as a class institution, as which unfortunately the present National Guard and militia are regarded by the laborers. It ought not to be used for duty in economic struggles at the request and order of State governors and act in strikes under martial law. A police force of the civil power and State constabularly ought to supplement the local police force where the latter is sufficient to stop violence and bloodshed. The unpopularity of the National Guard and the fear of labor—organized and unorganized—of a large army, such as the country, including labor, needs for the defense of its independence, is largely based on the fact that it has frequently been used as a means to interfere in the right to strike in the hands of panic-stricken governors. Federal control of the Army and a rigid limitation for its use in internal affairs would in time do away with labor's comprehensible but nevertheless unnatural position of hostility toward the Army of national defense.

What do we all hope for the future of America—all of us, both laborers and professional men? The abolitions of abuses of all sorts, greater social justice, more just distribution of the fruits of labor, greater equality of opportunity—briefly, the aims of all of us is to make America some day a better country to live in. It does not matter in which form and by what legal means this highly desirable goal be attained, whether by further exploitation and development of our natural resources in the old capitalistic way or by some new form of effort, be it socialism, trade-unionism, feminism, prohibition, single tax, confiscatory inheritance taxes, or whatever remedy may ultimately be found effectual—all aim at the same goal—to make this a better country to live in at some future day.

But in order to be able to do so we need two conditions: Independence that is the freedom to solve our problems in our own way and peace, which means that this country should not become the battle ground for the coming struggle between the white and the yellow races. Only adequate military preparedness will assure us permanent independence, permanent peace, will permit us to fulfill our destiny in the service of humanity.

Of course, it would mean, to a certain extent, a sacrifice. True patriotism should consist in more than self-praise and boasting of the deeds of our ancestors. True patriotism should have the endurance and unflinching energy which have to be inseparably linked to preparedness and training in peace time. In times of stress and national danger it is time enough to shout about bleeding and dying for the country; but in time of peace the slow and heavy work must be performed, which efficient preparedness requires.

Is the goal not worth the effort? Shall we be praised by future generations for our far-sight, sagacity, and energy, or deserve the blame as selfish shirkers of duty and blind cowards, afraid to look facts straight in the eye? Has not warning been given us?

What shall it be?

The Sisal Situation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS D. SCHALL,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 20, 1917.

Mr. SCHALL. Mr. Speaker, about 80 per cent of all the henequen in the world is raised in Yucatan. In the beginning of the binder-twine industry, the source of fiber supply was Manila, Calcutta, New Zealand, and German East Africa. A small quantity was raised in Yucatan, and the Yucatan planters were glad to dispose of it at low price. Because of this lower price, we bought more and more from this source, until through our demand the raising of henequen became the chief industry of Yucatan, formerly a barren and ill-producing region.

According to the testimony of Dr. Rendon, attorney for the Sisal Trust, before the Senate investigating committee last February, during this formative period of the industry the International Harvester Co. and the Plymouth Cordage Co. forged ahead in marketing this product. Planters were obliged to sell to these two companies, because of their superior facilities for handling crops and supplying money. Even in the event that some few planters were rich enough to ship to New York, in hopes to get an advance in price, in the end they would find it to their advantage to sell to one or the other of these two companies.

The young industry needed financial backing, and these two veteran companies understood the lay of the ground and by furnishing the sinews managed to keep control of the situation.

The varying fortunes of the Philippines managed to hold the price up, what with revolution and a drought, followed by a typhoon which destroyed a great quantity of the plants. It takes seven years for a plant to mature, so that the natural laws of supply and demand worked to keep the price up. When normal conditions returned, the planters were loath to give up their high prices; so as a result they organized a characteristic bit of government monopoly—the Comision Reguladora del Mercado de Henequen, made up of five persons appointed by the governor—to buy and sell henequen. Up to 1915 the Reguladora had but indifferent success. At that time the Carranza government drew up a contract, which they forced all planters to sign, to turn over to them all their crop, for which they were to receive 4 cents a pound.

This concern, backed by American bankers, has rapidly increased the price to American buyers. The Pan American Commission, organized by two American bankers, has agreed to furnish a credit of up to $10,000,000 for a five-year period. In return they are to receive interest of not more than 6 per cent and a brokerage of $1.125 upon at least 400,000 bales of sisal. There is absolutely no sisal obtainable except through its hands. In the language of Chairman Cox, who introduced the House resolution:

> The ability of this commission to hold its deadly grip on this monopoly depends on its ability to finance the scheme through certain high financiers in the United States. If this merciless trust is permitted to operate, financed by American capital, it will be able to exact any price it sees fit from the American farmer.

Consider that every advance of a cent on a pound means that the American farmer has to pay $2,500,000; and Dr. Rendon, though cross-questioned in vain by the committee, would not give an opinion as to what should be a just price for sisal. He openly expressed it as his conviction that a man had the right to use his position to advance the price of a commodity; anyone would, he thinks. He declined to give assurance as to what we might hope for the future or whether even the present high price was the crest of the wave.

Since the committee closed its investigations the price rose rapidly from 7⅞ cents a pound to 16 cents a pound.

This year farmers paid $4,000,000 more than they paid last year, and they stand to pay $16,000,000 next summer. The committee of the Senate in its report delays action instead of recommending drastic and immediate procedure against those American bankers. They hold back on a technicality. They want further action and investigation by the Department of Justice. They want diplomats to take the matter up. In fact, they seem to want to defer final decision. Evidence filling 804 pages was collected. Even though the administration is back of the Carranza government, which has instituted the Reguladora, the vast farmer populace should be considered, and whether they must be robbed at such a high-handed rate. Why

seek additional information? The time to act is now. The original complaints were put before the Government in December of last year. If the farmers are not to be robbed another and yet another season, with pyramiding prices, let something be done now beyond turning the matter over to the Department of Justice and recommending the farmers to "find something just as good." There is yet time in the present session to act. We should have learned by this time that it is bootless to look to the Mexican Government for justice. But we have a remedy within our own land against these bankers who, in restraint of trade, are giving aid and comfort to an institution so iniquitous.

In this morning's mail I received the following petition, signed by over 70 reputable farmers of Mille Lacs County:

The honorable United States Senators and Members of the House of Representatives from the State of Minnesota:

We, the undersigned farmers of the State of Minnesota, users of binder twine, an indispensable article in the harvesting of our wheat, oats, rye, barley, and corn, respectfully call your attention to the conditions affecting the price of this commodity.

In 1916 we paid an advance of 2 cents per pound over the price of 1915, and we are informed that the price of 1917 will show an additional advance of 5 cents or more. These advances, which have added heavily to the cost of harvesting, resulted from the control and manipulation of the sisal fiber market by a Yucatan fiber commission which receives financial backing from American bankers. This commission has advanced the price of sisal fiber more than 8 cents a pound since it obtained control of the market in the fall of 1915. By action of the Government of Yucatan competition has been completely destroyed, and the bulk of the binder twine output of our country is made from Yucatan sisal.

For additional information concerning the organization and operations of this fiber combination we respectfully refer you to the proceedings of hearings held in February, March, and April, 1916, by a subcommittee of the United States Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Believing that nearly all of the advance in the price of sisal fiber is unwarranted and that the combination, consisting of the Yucatan commission and the American bankers, exists in violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act, we earnestly ask your consideration and investigation of the situation with a view to obtaining relief for the grain growers from excessive prices on binder twine, of which approximately 30,000,000 pounds are used annually by the farmers of the State of Minnesota and 250,000,000 pounds by the farmers of the United States.

Arthur Christenson, John E. Broberg, R. W. Rogers, Gust Sjostrom, H. A. Smith, Jonas Skansa, F. E. Paisler, H. Kjodien, Carl Shofin, And. Hokanson, B. Wedener, John Rosen, Martin Gilbertson, Andrew Thilquist, O. G. Johnson, S. Folwick, H. W. Neubauer, F. Z. Johnson, Alfred P. Kjiglion, D. L. Watt, George D. Shuete, F. Anderson, David Rydell, Axel Berg, Chas. G. Johnsen, Henry Anderson, A. J. Oliver, Chas. Palmquist, Ole Soderquist, Oscar Erickson, C. M. Carlson, C. O. Gustafson, Axel Broman, L. G. Goad, R. C. Wilkes, Emil Anderson, Ole Barhaug, Halvor O. Halvorson, Harry Halvorson, G. A. Lundine, A. B. Nordquist, O. F. Landberg, R. J. Henderson, Mr. Hansen, Elmer Ortquist, Iver S. Lee, W. E. Pogue, John P. Asp, E. A. Karpar, Peter Strom, P. F. Bristol, O. H. Helmen, J. W. Platt, Haans H. Lee, T. D. Rauland, P. J. Erickson, N. C. Christenson, F. Hendricksen, John F. Anderson, George E. Mattson, J. Powell, A. W. Johnson, Charles Stromwell, Andrew Anderson, Joe N. Nielson, C. G. Samuelson, Thomas Nelson, George Christenson, W. M. Carpenter, Chris Ell, F. R. Linchbrom, John Jackson.

People Want No War—How Peace May Be Assured.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. FULLER,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 20, 1917.

Mr. FULLER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave given me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit for printing in the RECORD the following two editorials from the Morris (Ill.) Herald of February 5 and February 12, 1917, as follows:

[From the Morris (Ill.) Daily Herald, Feb. 5, 1917.]

PEOPLE WANT NO WAR.

It is the duty of every American to-day to support the Government in the crisis at hand. What the future has in store no man can foresee. How many lives are to be sacrificed, how much American blood may be spilled in carrying out the conceived policy of President Wilson in upholding national honor, can not now be told. Whether we agree with what has come or not, each citizen has the patriotic duty of loyal support to country as represented by official action.

Mr. Wilson has severed diplomatic relations with Germany; in other words, he has slapped Germany in the face, and in his address to Congress concludes with the statement that he "hopes Germany will not strike back and thus actual war may be avoided."

It is certainly the prayer of peace-loving citizens and the mothers and fathers of this land that there may be no actual war. If war follows, right or wrong as the individual may differ or see it, the Government must be supported and the flag upheld.

That there is a wide difference of opinion can not be denied. No one has the hardihood to contend that Germany or any other nation may attack and sink American vessels and kill American citizens without warning on the basis "provided by international law." But does not the American citizen owe something to his fellow men? Because some citizen, or some group of citizens, in the pursuit of the almighty dollar sees fit to imperil life by insisting on running amuck in the very maelstrom of this world war must millions of lives be sacrificed for it?

Citizens have before now been guaranteed safe passage to and from Europe on American ships flying the American flag. Many have defied ordinary caution and insisted upon sailing on ships of nations at war, and upon ships laden with munitions of war. American ships have carried munitions to the allies. Ships of belligerent nations have made it a practice to have on board American citizens, and the apparent deliberate attempt has been to involve this Nation in the war, and against Germany.

Mr. Wilson himself made it plain that Americans who exposed themselves to the risks of revolution-torn Mexico could expect no protection from the United States. When United States citizens, seeking to expand the sphere of American influence and better their own financial condition by pushing peaceful and legitimate enterprises in Mexico, were robbed, outraged, and driven from their homes, the President of the United States told them, in substance, "Americans shall not be killed because you chose to take the risks involved in order to make money. Get out of Mexico." And the bones of those who did not or could not heed this warning are whitening in Mexican hills and deserts—the murders are unavenged.

No less a national figure than William J. Bryan resigned from the Wilson Cabinet as Secretary of State because of the danger. He insisted "fool citizens" of this country had no right to disregard conditions and by so doing involve this Nation in war. He insisted American citizens be warned to keep away from Europe and out of the war zones unless their business was so urgent they must go, and in that event they sail on American vessels under the American flag, and that the administration see to it these ships carried no munitions or contraband of war to involve any possibility of attack.

The present action of President Wilson may be only to emphasize the fact to Germany that ships on the seas with American passengers must not be sunk without warning, as was the *Lusitania*. God grant none shall be.

American ships are no different than others in time of war. All may be sunk if they carry contraband of war. International law, as learnedly expounded, seems to be that the only requirement to sinking any vessel under such conditions is that it first be warned, its crew and passengers taken care of before it is sunk or towed into port as a prize. The submarine has brought about new conditions.

With all that may be justly said in criticism of German methods on the sea, what of other nations at war with her? Men who have personally been on the ground recite that the atrocities of war are by no means confined to any one of the nations—that one is as bad as the other. We all are quickest to appreciate conditions when "our own toes are stepped on."

It must be admitted the people of this country are indifferent to the world war. There is no conception of its horrors or scope. But if there is a single well-settled opinion in the minds of all people of this country it is that this Nation should be strictly neutral. We submit that the administration has failed in this particular.

When England and the allies two years ago gave notice of the blockade of German ports, there was no outcry by the administration. There was no statement the ports of the world must be open to American ships and American commerce. Germany asked food for starving women and children, for noncombatants, and went so far as to offer to leave distribution in the hands of an American commission to insure the armies should get none of it. England objected, and there was no protest about freedom of the seas from Washington. On the contrary, England has interfered with all American business and shipments that did not directly benefit that country or its allies.

Instead of this country saying then, at a time when many people believe the administration could have wielded a mighty force for peace, "Shipments from America go to all ports of the world; step aside, England and the rest of you; if you do not, you shall have no shipments, no ammunition, no money from America." England dictated the ports to which American commerce might go. American as well as vessels of belligerent nations carried ammunition and contraband of war. It is no secret American prosperity of two years has been based on the manufacture of powder and bullets for the enemies of Germany; that vast sums of money have been loaned by Morgan and others to the English cause.

War is not a social parlor diversion; men in personal combat do not stop to reckon consequences of their acts. They seek annihilation of their adversaries. Germany, in the flush of an army victorious, offered peace. The reply of the allies in effect was, "No discussion of peace until we win and lick Germany and can dictate the peace that is made."

Less than three months ago Mr. Wilson was reelected to the Presidency because of the plea, "He kept us out of war." It was charged then, and with apparent basis, that he used the office to call out the militia and send them to the Mexican border to help establish this idea in the minds of the American people—kept them there and sent them home. The Regular troops have been recalled from Mexico. American bullets have been supplied Mexicans to make war on America, if it comes, and who knows now what will come from that quarter?

Let us look at another condition that has arisen. How much has Wall Street to do with forcing the policy of this Government? Everybody knows big newspapers of this country, representing unquestionably money interests in corporation stocks and bonds and the Morgan war loans, have consistently tried to guide the public mind to the necessity of war—and insistently against Germany. A few days ago a public stock-gambling house with which the brother-in-law of the President was connected "with prophetic accuracy," the testimony was, forecast a peace note.

Barney Baruch, a Wall Street stock gambler, testified he made nearly half a million dollars as the result of the "leak," and then electrified the world with the statement he had been asked by Mr. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury and son-in-law of the President, to name a "suitable man from Wall Street to head a Federal reserve bank." And Mr. McAdoo is also shown to be a heavy stockholder in an English corporation operating ships between this country and Great Britain.

Prior to November the campaign cry was that Mr. Wilson was antagonistic to Wall Street and the money interests represented there. Were the people fooled, and is that influence strong enough to sway this Government into a war policy to protect its millions for which the youth of this country must be the sacrifice?

Time will tell. There is not a citizen but hopes Germany will yield to the policy of "international warfare," give notice, and seek to protect life before sinking vessels. This country should adhere to a strict neutrality, and not become involved in this world war. The burdens on the people are heavy enough financially now without the added cost of human sacrifice.

Heedless American citizens should be forced from belligerent vessels by Government action, and American vessels should not be permitted to sail with contraband of war; or, if they do, passengers of every nation should be barred. The crew knows the risks taken.

Many American citizens realize and believe in all this. Yet in the hour of national crisis, whatever the sacrifice, they will consecrate themselves on the altar of their country, even in the belief their Government could have averted the need of it by insisting on the same treatment from all nations they seem determined to exact from one, though that one admittedly has in the exigencies of its situation committed acts on the seas that have horrified humanity and for which it is justly censurable.

If the situation may only develop an early peace, with this Nation in position to insure fair treatment to all interests, the people of the whole world will be duly thankful.

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[From the Morris (Ill.) Daily Herald, Feb. 12, 1917.]

HOW PEACE MAY BE ASSURED.

This is the anniversary of the birth of Lincoln. He was chosen by the people to direct the destinies of this Nation in the strife of civil conflict.

History tells us of the sacrifice of a patriotic people to loose the shackles of slavery and make men free. It was not a war of commercialism. The sacrifice of human life was not asked to insure the safety of merchandise nor the security of adventurers upon the sea of speculative profits in deals of shrapnel and shell to kill and maim men, women, and children.

Lincoln, the most humane character in the government of all nations, is revered by the people of the Nation, who this day have worshiped at the shrine of his memory and paid tribute to his greatness.

It was Lincoln who proclaimed might did not make right; that right made might, and that you could fool some of the people all the time, part of the people some of the time, but not all the people all the time.

American people have much to be thankful for to-day. The Nation has not yet been plunged into war. It is dangerously near it. While all people, whether with the blood of German ancestry, English, Irish, Scotch, French, or others coursing in their veins, are showing their patriotism and proclaiming their fealty to the American Government and flag, a majority of people do not believe there is necessity for war.

Those who give voice to this sentiment are well aware this is not popular with certain elements of citizenship of the country. Truth publicly spoken is seldom popular, but often salutary. Truth is distasteful to the war propagandists, who have been at work in this country for months with no greater impulse of human consideration than the almighty dollar that blazons their way. All who speak the truth are promptly placed in the category of pacifists, traitors to country, or cowards. They are neither.

The people of the United States do not want war. The sentiment against it is overwhelming. The people will answer the call to the colors if conditions lead the President to go the full course he has started. While men will fight, though they believe plunging this Nation into war is wrong, it will be from a sense of duty and not with the fire of patriotism in their hearts.

The people of this country heard no protest about the freedom of the seas when England closed the ports of Germany to this country. Why silence then and now demand that Germany shall not interfere with commerce to English and French ports? Pray, what is the difference, if this be a strictly neutral Nation?

Admit that Germany assumed too much of the dictator in proclaiming to the United States it could have but one passenger ship a week and only to certain specified ports. The American people can not be misled and fooled into the false idea that American ships carrying ammunition and contraband of war have greater rights on the sea than ships of other nations with like cargoes. The American ship with ammunition and contraband of war is, under all rules of warfare, subject to seizure and destruction by countries at war as those of other nations. The crew of such vessels know full well when they sail from an American port that they are gambling with death. This Nation should not be plunged into war because gamblers lose.

Demand has been repeatedly made in Congress and by the people of this country that American citizens be told by this Government they must not take passage on ships of belligerent nations. And ships of American registry, carrying passengers, should be positively prohibited carrying ammunition and contraband of war. If this had been done or if done now, all chance of war with any European nation would be removed. We insist this Government has a duty to perform in this respect, and that if it does not first do this it has fallen short of the first protective step, and there should be no expectation of the people of this Nation backing up war proclamations.

England refused protection to its people who, in the Japanese-Russian war, took passage on ships of those nations, and strongly urged her people to keep away from the scene of war activities. President Wilson himself has recognized the perils of war and proves the rule of international construction when he announced the same policy toward Americans who went to Mexico to protect their property. Americans can be given no greater rights as against German methods of warfare. War is barbarous. It means death and suffering. No one advocates attack that means death to citizens of neutral nations or women and children even of combatant nations. Death comes because it is a part of war. People of this country should avoid the perils. If they are on ships flying the American flag and this Government saw to it ships carrying passengers carried neither ammunition or contraband of war, that alone would be ample safe conduct through the war zones of the world. If such neutrality and restriction is not enforced by the administration at Washington, it assumes a responsibility that grandiloquent phrasing and declarations of "the cause of humanity" and "victory without peace" can not hide.

If there was a blockade of English ports as there is to-day of German ports, do you think England would hesitate to use submarines and sink vessels in any manner it could? In our own Congress only Saturday was uttered protest on the proposed contention of President Wilson for restriction of submarine effectiveness, for it was stated there if his contention was sound, there was no need of building submarines for this country, as they would be useless for attack of little value for defense if thus restricted.

Little by little the truth comes to the people. As a matter of fact, the newspapers of the larger cities of the country are and have been for months urging war, and their effort has been entirely for war with Germany. They progressed so far the President has severed diplomatic relations. Some of these newspapers recognize the temper of the people and are now toning down their utterances. Others are still clamoring for war. All of them are prompted by financial consideration. They either represent men and interests with loans, contracts, or investments, or are being paid by Wall Street and other financial interests that fear losses, and hence seek to involve this country that they may not suffer money loss. It is stated on good authority that one Chicago newspaper has been paid a sufficient sum for its campaign for war to be made independent—and it cries for war, for the sacrifice of the young men of America, to save the dollars of the plutocratic speculators of Wall Street.

The United States has not been joined by a single neutral country in its break with Germany. All of them have ignored the request of President Wilson for support. Each has announced it would maintain a strict neutrality. Many of them are much closer to the actual conflict of war than America. It is rather a reflection on the statesmanship of America that such countries can keep out of war while this Nation allows the money changers to force us into it.

One Chicago newspaper gives expression only Saturday to the sentiment of all its kind in America, and for which they are being paid with English gold directly or indirectly. That is "that since the United States is not joined and backed by the other neutral countries it can not stand alone and must now of necessity join with the fortune of England and its allies." Is this neutrality?

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What do thinking people see in all this? Well may we ask where are we drifting? Well may we ask how much the ammunition makers and war shouters have had to do with this program? They have been working for two years to force the people to vast expenditures for preparedness. The people did not see the necessity of adding war burdens in the way of taxes. They are already paying the cost in the high prices of everything. But the war scare has now been turned loose. Congress is appropriating billions of dollars to build ships and for coast defenses. The ammunition factories and the shipbuilders are busy. The people will pay the debts which have been voted upon them and which they do not believe necessary. The money changers of the East are harvesting the dollar crop.

Many people believed two years ago, and still believe, if this Government would stop shipments of ammunition to warring nations, would put embargoes on foodstuffs, for which petition after petition has been sent the Government by the toiling masses, this world war could be brought to a close.

This Nation could, by imposed restrictions, have forced the war to a close. Loans could have been refused. But the vast financial power of the Morgans and others has directed affairs. Judas sold his Master out for 30 pieces of silver. We have preached humanity in one breath in this Nation and in the other have seen men chasing the dollar, ready to plunge this Nation into the seething hell of war to get it within their grasp.

Stop this commercialism, withdraw Government protection from those engaged in it, enact a law that will compel newspaper owners and writers and those who commit any act that would bring about war with any nation, so far as America is concerned, to be the first to enlist and sacrifice their lives, and there will be no more danger of war than there would be of a conflagration from the burning of a match in the open air.

Vocational Education.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS D. SCHALL,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 19, 1917.

Mr. SCHALL. Mr. Speaker, vocational education is the training of boys and girls over 14 for useful employment and greater efficiency and understanding in that employment. The passage of the pending bill is overwhelmingly favored. It is indorsed by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States; it is favored by the various trades-unions; the New Zealand Commission urges it as one means to combat the distress due to the high cost of living. It was advocated by our President in his last message to the Congress.

The bill proposes to grant to the States the sum of $500,000 for the year 1916 and 1917, to be divided on the basis of their urban population, for the salaries of teachers of trade and industrial subjects; this amount to be increased till the maximum of $3,000,000 is reached in 1924–25; $500,000 for the year 1916–17, for the salaries of teachers of agricultural subjects, to be divided among the States on the basis of their rural population, this amount to be increased till the maximum of $1,000,000 is reached in the fiscal year 1919–20; $200,000 annually for the Federal Bureau for Vocational Education, for making investigations of service to vocational schools.

The bill provides for three types of schools to cover various needs: All-day schools, where half of the time is put in on practical work in the vocations; half-time schools, where boys at work may supplement their education by half a day's school training in their vocation; and evening work, where workers of 16 and over may have the benefit of vocational training.

In order to receive the Federal grant the States create State boards through which the national board will work. The States

must formally accept the conditions which the Federal board imposes. For each dollar paid from Federal grants the States must pay an equal amount, and shall, in addition, pay the cost of all plant, equipment, and maintenance. Minnesota will receive for the fiscal year 1916–17, $33,650, while the maximum allotment in the year 1924–25 will be $156,700.

About the age of 12, the youth who is practical minded rather than studious, who is faced by the real necessities of life, finds his interest waning. It must be gripped by a reality or he will quit school, because the studies prescribed do not help in making a living. He will take any job he can get, take the easiest way to pick up a meager pittance, and add one more untrained worker to our problem.

There is a waste to the Nation and a waste to the employer in using young and untrained workers. Young labor is more wasteful, requires more supervision, and suffers more accidents than older, trained labor; hence what the employer saves in wages he loses in these less obvious but no less certain ways. A boy who gets a job at a young age finds only a few occupations open to his untried powers. They are not jobs that lead anywhere. A messenger boy at 20 is still only a messenger boy. The result to the Nation is an ever-increasing army of untrained, sliftting, restless young men.

An alarming proportion of the pupils who enter do not continue after reaching the age when they are allowed to work. Eighty-five per cent of the boys and girls drop out before they are 16. Only about 8 per cent of those who do enter high school succeed in getting through. Only a small per cent of that 8 go to the higher schools and colleges. A large percentage of college graduates fail in life, are misfits; should be doing other things than the work into which the limitations of their education has forced them. Now, the boys and girls who leave school have a right to their share of the public money set aside for education, but no provision is made to take care of them. The schools make no pretense of providing training for employment. They are rather framed all the way up for the small percentage who go to college. Real democracy is not possible where the needs of the select few are so ministered to.

The failure in school that comes from trying to fit the square child into the round hole is senseless and unnecessary. It weakens the child. School failure doesn't mean life failure. Often the classroom "dub" outdistances his ready-learning seat mate when it comes to the practical business of life.

The difference between the good child and the bad child is just a matter of directed energy.

Our schools lead away from life instead of up to life. They fail to impart accuracy. They fail to give knowledge of how to become good citizens. They train students not to love and respect industry, but rather to dislike and despise it. Education is looked upon as a path to a "soft snap." Above all, the schools do not develop a spirit of individual responsibility. The schools, in fact, have fallen into a rut; their perspective is backward. They are slow to break the bonds that fetter them.

Business has changed; old conditions are gone; education must change to adapt our children to their changing environment. A right to vocational training is one of the sacred rights of youth. The world is full of opportunities for the man who is ready for them. Our youth must be equipped with an intelligent brain back of intelligent fingers. Industrial success based on industrial intelligence will aid them not only to make a living but also to make a life.

We need training schools for workers. The day of the apprentice, when a man labored seven years or more to learn the details of his craft, are gone. Industry no longer trains its workmen. Yet we must have skilled workmen, or we can not keep our place in the commercial world. The prosperity of the country economically, its success in trade, relates back to the quality of goods made by its workers. Before the war we got skilled workers from abroad. Before the war it was said that in two years there would not be an unskilled worker in the whole of Germany. The committee, in its report on the bill, notes that we are so far behind Germany that there are more trade schools in Bavaria, whose population is less than New York City, than in the whole United States. We have no national system of training for any occupation in which the masses toil. There is no opportunity any more to learn the business. Workers are taught only the one operation they perform. A boy in trade must be very ambitious and active, while doing his own work, to learn the operation next above him and get that fellow's job.

There should be vocational schools of agriculture within the reach of every farmer boy. The facts of the science of farming, of improving the soil, of increasing crop yield, prevention of blights and pests should be put in possession of the men who till the soil. The farmer boy should grow up with such knowledge. It should be part of his daily training. The little red schoolhouse must about face; its day is past; it is being outgrown. The few months the growing farmer boy can spend in school are too precious to be frittered away under unskilled training. He must be taught, and taught exactly, the things he needs to know—not after he has muddled along somehow, till he can go down for the "short course," but along with the three R's he should take in the principles of scientific farming.

When the Nation prepares its youth for the battle of life it is establishing its first line of defense. It is making an investment that will be returned a thousandfold. It is beyond and above charity, for our present attempts at charity only relieve poverty temporarily. Vocational training will remove poverty by giving the necessary push to the youth without initiative who otherwise would drift into the army of untrained workers.

One occupation depends in its output on the output of all others of its kind and on the demand of all in the community for that output. No other way can social understanding come so quickly to a pupil as through the questions and problems indissolubly connected with vocational education.

Knowledge must interest, or its pursuit is time wasted. To learn a trade is the broadest education possible to the practical type of mind. It is real life, not make believe. There is a zest in the work that brings joy to the worker.

The goal of the vocational school is not alone high mechanical efficiency; not at all the making of first-class tools out of our boys and girls, that more and better goods can be produced at less time and expense to the manufacturer. The chief concern before America to-day is that business shall be for the people, not the people for business.

The chief objection to the vocational school comes from those who say that its aim is material and does not make for culture. Personal culture alone is a selfish ideal. Our supply of merely cultural is overstocked. The truth of culture does not come to those who, in the words of Lowell, lavished life's best years amid the dust of books to find her content at last with the cast mantle Truth has left behind her. The thinker is the man who attains culture, no matter whether he is thinking along mechanical lines or literary, just so long as he is not what Emerson called the parrot of other men's thinking. That is what too many pedants have been satisfied to be. Students have run to weeds in bookish lines.

Reading Greek and Latin is not ample qualification for the world's business. There is a culture of the hand and of the eye, as well as of the memory. When the eye and hand are directed by a clean-cut thinking and concluding brain, the result is culture, even though that brain is unable to express itself in the language of those long since dead.

A man who can mold an instrument of use is as much a man of culture as the man who can mold a perfect English sentence. A school that gives the mind a training in the theory, then applies that theory to the actual experience in helping to perfect the eye and shape the cunning of the hand has a more perfect aim than to give the theory without the practical experience. An ounce of practical experience is worth a ton of theory. The head, the hand, and the heart are all essential, and should be evenly developed to make a great nation. The heart and hand must have head training.

The establishment of such a school would give to our youth faith in his ability to accomplish. An estimable service to the man that has it, and to the nation that has such men. The man that knows that he can do and do well is educated, cultured, has understanding. Opportunity comes to such a man.

Vocational education best expresses the complete development that ideal culture should signify. A man's work is his means of returning to the world what it gave him.

The aim of the vocational school is to train boys and girls to fit their environment; train them to earn good wages, and to know how much their services are worth. Show them a way out and up, light the fire of ambition. Industrial and social efficiency should go hand in hand. The vocational school will teach not only a vocation but the social value of that vocation and the ethical character of the community where the vocation will be carried out. In the old days of the guild no one lived to himself. The members of the guild were one great family. They banded together for mutual benefit and protection. As they gained in individual skill and wealth they gained in commercial wealth, and reared great guild halls that were a monument to the social spirit.

So all vocational training is feeling toward cooperation. A trade feeds the want of the community, ministers to the want of many. The results hoped for from vocational education are these: The average at which the child leaves school will be raised. He will consequently enter his vocation at an age when he will be stronger and more able to cope with toil, will bring to his employment a greater physical fitness. The general aver-

age of education will be higher, when to go on in school will not mean to sacrifice so many more years of wage earning.

There will be a saving of valuable time and a directing of valuable energy when the choice of vocation is based on actual experience, not on mere whim. Aptitude will be discovered early, and the futile and aimless hunting for a job, any old job, the false starts and the discouragements and failures, the dread twilight between graduation and adjustment to one's niche in life will be avoided.

Half the failures in life are a matter of not knowing how to work or how to think, so it does not matter if the ultimate vocation be not immediately discovered. A vocational aim will be inculcated. Deficiencies and bad habits can be noted early and corrected before they become a permanent handicap. The qualities for success in one vocation are not amiss in another.

This system of training will provide compulsory training for the idle. Two classes of waste, national waste, will tend to be eliminated, those who wish to be idle, and those who do not wish to be, but who lack training to command a position. It will bring back into school many of the boys and girls already at work. Another benefit will be that education will not cease when the youth goes to work. There will be a constant incentive to improve, to specialize. A result that will inevitably react on our national life. We are superficial as a nation. With the passing of arts and handicraft we have lost thoroughness and depth and careful efficiency. Here is an opportunity for a broad and deep foundation; the character building that comes through thinking and doing, the culture and depth of the performance of useful and beautiful crafts. "Labor, all labor shall be noble and holy, and our great deeds our prayers to our God."

Ruskin advises girls who would be queens to make every day some fine, strong bit of sewing, make it as well as it can be made, and through doing every day one's best there comes the lesson of the dignity of labor and the value of handicraft.

Modern industry, modern farming, modern trade, look to science for perfection and improvement. Therefore a scientific knowledge of methods and materials, a trained skill, and good mental habits are the need of American education. It is in the vocational schools that the gospel of work can best be taught, its ethical as well as its intellectual message.

In spite of the crushed, mangled, overworked little children that toil in the factories, in spite of the butchery of little ones in the Kongo Free State, in spite of the filth and misery and squalor of the Russian peasantry, and of the immigrants here and in their native haunts—these are but isolated peaks of misery. The fact remains that this is the era of the child. Children are engaging the attention of wise men as never before. There is more thought for the health of the children, their care, their training, their toys even, than ever before. There is an awakening in the conscience and a widening of vision. Society feels its responsibility for the education of the young worker. There is concern as to conditions under which a man or a woman or a child shall work; people are beginning to think about factory inspection, occupational diseases, and old-age and mothers' pensions. The State should see to it that every child is adequately prepared to meet the physical as well as the mental emergencies of life. Ignorance and idleness and incapacity are dangers that menace us. We must meet the social problems of the future by training the children of to-day. Social unrest, the decay of cities, pauperism, and unemployment have existed always and are increasing alarmingly.

The root of the trouble we are facing in the almost continuous series of strikes and labor troubles lies in too unequal a distribution of the goods of this world.

Vocational education is planned to lessen the gap between the few thinking men at the top and the great army of automatic toilers. It will evolve profitable servants of society, not dumb toilers on the one hand and exclusive culturists on the other.

When in Sing Sing Prison an opportunity was given the men to learn a trade over 700 responded. It was the first chance they had ever had to know how to make an honest living. The whole social system of a nation is wrong when a man must go to jail before the State will teach him how to live. Who can say what proportion of these crimes would have been prevented if the same opportunity for training had been given them in youth?

What we now waste through ignorance might in time be prevented by intelligent training in vocational education. The American Nation is the most prodigal and extravagant in the world. We have wasted our natural resources. We have squandered the fertility of our soil without return. We have slaughtered our game till bison to moose, partridge to quail, are all but extinct. We have thrown away great tracts of valuable lands; we have exploited our coal till the supply is limited. measured—we know how many tons remain. The rest is gone. Our forests have been denuded, plundered, ruthlessly cut without reforestation. Vast areas of great valuable timber have been burned through lack of adequate forest protection, or to clear the land for crops.

The tendency of the age in education, as in our national resources, has been one of extravagant waste. There is no conservation of our youth. There is no calculation to eliminate the wanton destruction of material. We eat into the future without regard to what kind of a living place we are making for our children's children. We have wasted our natural resources; let us preserve our youth. Let us stop burning great valuable men by educating them to mental work which they loathe. We have all been created to do one thing better than another. Ruskin says, "Happy is he who has found his work." Let us save our coming men, directing misspent and misguided energies into economic independence and civic usefulness.

Aeronautics.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MURRAY HULBERT,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 19, 1917,

On the bill (H. R. 20783) making appropriations for the support of the Army.

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, when the Army appropriation bill was under consideration in the House on the 21st of last June, I offered an amendment increasing the appropriation for aeronautics from $3,775,000 to $14,552,900, and in support thereof stated:

When we remember the fact that it was an American who invented the steamship, and yet that it remained for us to adopt a policy of watchful waiting until other nations had demonstrated its practicability in gaining the supremacy of the seas before we brought into this House and enacted only a few weeks ago the shipping bill, looking to the upbuilding and restoration of a merchant marine, which had fallen away until we found ourselves among the lowest of the maritime nations on earth; when we consider that it was an American citizen who invented the submarine, while we have stood silently by and watched and waited for the nations of Europe now in the throes of armed conflict to demonstrate its utility; when we remember that it was an American who invented the airship, and that we are now taking lessons in its development and demonstration from the other nations of the Old World, it seems high time to me that at least as to this great achievement, given to science, as I have said, by an American, we ought to be the first to appreciate our heritage and take it up in a serious manner and endeavor to demonstrate to the people of the world that we are not ungrateful to our citizens who sacrifice their time and talent in order that they may place at the disposal of their Government these great products of scientific research. I predict that the aeroplane in the future will be the real means for the defense of our country. * * *

Not through any unwillingness on the part of the House, but rather because we have not been progressive in the amendment of our rules of procedure, the immediate consideration of this amendment in the House was prevented on a point of order, but after bringing the facts to the attention of the Commander in Chief of our armed forces and the Secretary of War affirmative action was taken by the Senate, with the result that the House was called upon to, and be it said to its credit did, accept the amendment incorporated in the Senate appropriating $13,281,666.

I had hoped that the Committee on Naval Affairs, which last year allotted but $3,500,000, would profit by this example in making up the naval appropriation bill for 1918, but it seems, however, that they have failed to do so. Sooner or later we will realize that the real naval power of the future will not be able to maintain her supremacy by control of the seas, but must be the mistress of the air and aeronautics.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert a telegram from the president of the Aero Club of America to the Secretary of the Navy and the chairman of the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs:

FEBRUARY 18, 1917.

Hon. JOSEPHUS DANIELS,
Secretary of the Navy, Washington, D. C.:
Hon. BENJAMIN R. TILLMAN,
Chairman Senate Committee on Naval Affairs,
Washington, D. C.:

The naval appropriation bill under consideration entirely overlooks the importance of aeronautics. This bill allows only $5,300,000 for aeronautics out of an appropriation of $531,000,000, or less than 1 per cent of the total appropriation. It should be between 10 and 20 per cent, which is the proportion allowed by other countries. Great Britain has been spending an average of $250,000,000 a year on her air service. There is being spent $80,000,000 for aeronautics in Canada alone. Great

Britain, France, and Germany have each over 10,000 aviators, one-third of whom are in daily service. Each of these countries has between 100 and 150 aeronautic stations. The administration of the British air service alone occupies large buildings with not less than 340 offices; the Russian naval air service is in charge of seven rear admirals. The United States Army and Navy combined have less than 200 aviators, including the aviation officers who are in charge of administration work. We should have at least 2,000 aviators and 1,000 operators of military balloons. We should also have 20 aeronautic stations for the Army and at least 1 aeronautic station for each of the 15 naval districts. The most economic solution of getting and training personnel is the establishing of universal training. But if there is a possibility that universal training will not be adopted at this session of Congress, then provision must be made for training 2,000 civilian aviators and 1,000 balloon operators as a reserve. A committee of the Aero Club of America which investigated the possibilities of developing the naval air service are advised that the Navy has not the personnel needed to establish immediately even two additional aeronautic stations, but the problem can be solved by having civilian aeronautic stations established which will train the aviators under the direction of naval officers. Therefore, if the more economic universal training plan is not adopted, provision should be made to establish civilian aeronautic stations under the direction of the Army and Navy, and the appropriations for aeroplanes should be increased to allow three aeroplanes for each aviator. We again urge the adoption of universal training and increasing the appropriation for aeronautics.

ALAN R. HAWLEY,
President Aero Club of America.

River and Harbor Bill.

SPEECH
OF
HON. STEPHEN M. SPARKMAN,
OF FLORIDA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, January 22, 1917.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill H. R. 20079, the river and harbor bill.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Chairman, this is the eighth annual river and harbor bill to be introduced into this body since the policy of annual bills was adopted in 1910, and it carries the sum of $38,167,339, all in cash, as there are no continuing contracts contained in its provisions, it being expected that the amount appropriated will be sufficient to carry on the various works of improvement and of maintenance until the end of the fiscal year 1918, when it is supposed another measure will have been passed.

The estimates furnished by the War Department for works of improvement on old projects and for maintenance, examinations, surveys, and contingencies, amounted to $31,123,000, of which $25,220,000 was for works of improvement and maintenance combined, $5,572,600 for maintenance alone, and $350,000 for examinations, surveys, and contingencies. In going over these estimates, however, in the preparation of the bill the committee found it possible without hampering the work in any way, as it believes, to make reductions in the estimates amounting to $2,059,500. But the committee at the same time found it necessary to add to the estimates in a few instances amounts aggregating $136,000, which leaves a net reduction of the estimates amounting to $1,423,500, thus leaving the amount for works of improvement, maintenance, examinations, surveys, and contingencies at $29,199,500. In addition to this provision for old projects, surveys, and contingencies we have included 81 new projects requiring, to complete, the sum of $47,050,112.

The initial appropriations, however, amount only to $8,967,839, which, with the sums for old projects, examinations, surveys, and contingencies, make the aggregate carried in the bill. These 81 new projects were selected from a list of 167 unadopted projects which had been accumulating since the passage of the bill of 1913, that being the last to carry new projects, with the exception of the one of 1916, which contained a few inserted in the Senate, and which remained there as the measure became a law. The list of new projects from which those in the bill were taken call for sums to complete amounting to about $136,000,000. But it is not expected that all of these projects will be adopted. Some of them will likely not be, while others will require reexamination and revision if they are to be favorably considered at any time. Many of them remaining, however, are worthy and should be adopted in the near future. And right here I wish to say to those who may be disappointed at the action of the committee in leaving these projects out of this bill that they will not have long to wait if the policy of annual bills should continue, because they may be taken care of, those of them that are worthy, in the next bill; if not, then in some subsequent measure of the near future.

In face of the criticism against river and harbor legislation during the past two or three years, unjust and unfair though it has been; in face of the hysteria, if I may call it such, growing out of Treasury conditions, and in view of the fact that nearly all these new projects were worthy, the committee experienced considerable difficulty and embarrassment in the selection of the 81 new projects contained in this bill, but we believe that we have inserted all that are urgent, though not all that are worthy by any means, because, as I have just said, many of those left out are meritorious and should receive early consideration. Our purpose was to select and include in this bill only the more urgent of these new projects, and that we believe we have done.

While it was not the intention of the committee, of course, to select these projects with reference to any particular locality or section of the country, the only basis of choice being that of urgency combined with merit, it will nevertheless be seen that, following that policy, the projects selected are pretty well scattered over the country—on the Atlantic, on the Pacific, on the Gulf, on the Lakes—wherever navigable waters exist.

The largest and most important group of projects in the bill is that embracing New York Harbor and its connecting waters, in which we have included eight new projects, aggregating, to complete, something like $18,000,000, only furnishing, however, about $2,600,000 as the initial cash appropriation. The amount involved is a large sum of money, to be sure, but no larger than the conditions justify. New York Harbor is the most important port in the country, if not in the world. It contains a larger amount of shipping and accommodates a greater tonnage than any other harbor in either hemisphere, not excepting those of Hamburg, Liverpool, and London, the three next largest and most important harbors in the world. Indeed, this harbor, with its connecting waters, is in a class by itself. It gathers from and sends commerce to every part of the world. It is benefited by every section and in turn helps all sections of the country, and is therefore national in its scope. Of course, that may be said in varying degrees of every other navigable waterway in the country, all of which benefit the whole country to a greater or less extent, but I risk nothing in saying that none of them is as important to the commerce of the country as is the harbor of New York and its connecting waters, which we can not afford to neglect now or at any time. Nor have we ever neglected them, at least not for the past two decades. For instance, during the time I have been in Congress, now about 22 years, we have appropriated for New York Harbor something like $27,000,000 or $28,000,000, which, being increased by the expenditures which the adoption of the projects in this bill entail, will amount to about $44,000,000 in all. That, of course, is a large sum of money for any harbor, and yet this harbor needs and deserves it.

Anyone who has visited New York Harbor and taken note of the shipping there has observed its congested condition, a situation more acute than is to be found anywhere else. Nor is it possible to entirely remedy this trouble, for owing to the topographical features there it would be difficult to put that harbor in such condition that the shipping would not be crowded to a greater or less extent, and yet it is our duty to do all we can for that port, which will likely continue to lead all other ports in commerce and shipping.

Now, Mr. Chairman, in this connection I wish to call attention to a class of criticisms indulged in by a few, and, I am glad to say, only a few. The charge has been made, for instance, that the Committee on Rivers and Harbors has, at least, for some time, been controlled in its actions by political considerations. That claim was first made a year or two ago, but at the time I paid little attention to it, although I did once, I believe, refer to it on this floor. I, however, thought it was born largely of political exigencies, and that as soon as the election of last year was over that class of criticisms would cease. But it seems that has not been the case, because in at least one speech recently delivered here—maybe there are others—I notice similar claims are made. But what I want to call particular attention to is an article, or perhaps I should say articles, I saw in one of the great New York dailies a short while ago in which the claim was seemingly made that a spirit of sectionalism was dominant in the preparation of river and harbor bills, and that as a consequence certain waters in what is termed the Northern States are neglected. The argument, if such it may be called, runs something like this:

New York contributes so much to the United States Treasury; Chicago, so much; this State, so much; and that State, so much; and yet they only get so much, a very small amount, in the river and harbor bills.

In answer to that I want to say, in the first place, that neither the State of New York, nor the city of New York, the city of Chicago, nor the State of Illinois contributes one cent to the Treasury of the United States. What goes into the Federal Treasury comes from customs receipts collected upon articles brought into the country from foreign lands upon which duties are levied, but those commodities are carried into every part of the United States for consumption by the people who ultimately pay those duties—indirectly, we will say, but they pay them, nevertheless. I do not wish, however, to enter the domain of tariff discussion or give a great subject like river and harbor improvements a political turn; but I think we will agree that somebody pays these taxes, and that it is the consumers who do it; certainly it is not the States or the cities of the country.

Mr. MADDEN. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Certainly.

Mr. MADDEN. One of the statements that I understood the gentleman from Florida to make was that while the receipts came into the city of New York and the State of New York and into the city of Chicago and the State of Illinois, that neither of these cities nor States, any of them, as such, pay anything?

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is what I said.

Mr. MADDEN. Nor the people of these cities or States?

Mr. SPARKMAN. No. I did not go that far.

Mr. MADDEN. The gentleman would concede, however, that the city and the State as such would be entitled to credit for what its citizens pay as income tax, at any rate?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Oh, no; I would not, for the reason that the people who pay income taxes are citizens of the United States and do not pay those taxes as citizens or residents of any particular city or State. They do not pay them alone for the benefit of New York or Chicago or any particular place but as citizens and for the benefit of the entire country. Patriotism should and, I trust, does have something to do with it. Moreover, these heavy income-tax payers live and do business in those great centers as a matter of choice, many of them for business reasons and because they can increase their earnings and incomes there, which, by the way, come from and are contributed by all sections of the country—North, South, East, and West.

Let me illustrate in part my position by a reference to the city of Tampa, or rather to the harbor upon which the city of Tampa is located. It is my home town and, incidentally, I will say, is the seventh port in the country in the matter of customs receipts. New York, Philadelphia, Boston, New Orleans, Chicago, and San Francisco are the first six, Tampa coming next and ahead of Baltimore, Seattle, Buffalo, Cleveland, Savannah, Charleston, Norfolk, Mobile, Galveston, and every other place except those first above mentioned.

Now, since I have been a Member of this body, the income to the Government through the port of Tampa and her industries has been fifteen or twenty times what the harbor of Tampa has received from the General Government for its improvement and three or four times as much as the waterways in the entire State of Florida have received. Yet, Mr. Chairman, I have never thought of contending here or elsewhere that we were being improperly treated because we did not get every dollar back, or even a considerable part of what the customhouse and the industries at Tampa paid into the Treasury or contributed to the support of the Government. Suppose that contention were carried to its legitimate results? Why, there would be nothing left for the support of the Government. The argument is fallacious and carries with it its own refutation.

Another complaint takes about this shape:

> The South is in the saddle; the chairman and a large number of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors are from that section, not to mention other committees, and therefore the projects in the South receive better treatment than those elsewhere.

Aside from the unpleasant inference one might draw from the charge, or insinuation, if you please, the deduction is not a fair one, nor do the facts justify the claim. The chairman of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors does live in Tampa, which is situated in Florida, one of the Southern States, while six other members of that committee are also from the same section, and, according to the claim of this class of critics, the chairman and these 6 other members dominate the remaining 15 members and take the most of the appropriations to the districts and States represented by them. Do you believe that the other members of that committee are of so little influence or of such weak voting strength that they are absolutely dominated by the chairman and the other six members from the Southern States? Certainly no one else believes that, and I feel confident that upon reflection those who give voice to such a claim will change their views.

Mr. Chairman, I can say of a truth that during the 22 years of my membership here and the more than 20 years that I have been on the Committee on Rivers and Harbors I have never thought that any member of that body was influenced in the least by sectional motives in the making up of river and harbor bills. Each member of that important committee, no matter from what section he came, whether from the North, South, East, or West, has in that great work been influenced alone, in my judgment, by the merits of the project under consideration and what he considered his duty to the whole country.

Among the members of that committee during those years have been such men as D. S. Alexander, of New York; George P. Lawrence, of Massachusetts; James H. Davidson, of Wisconsin; Roswell P. Bishop, of Michigan; Gen. Thomas C. Catchings, of Mississippi; Rufus E. Lester, of Georgia; Walter Reeves, of Illinois, besides a number of other distinguished Representatives, including the Hon. Theodore E. Burton, of Ohio, long chairman of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, all of whom have, in dealing with the great problems presented to that committee, shown that they were above sectionalism, and could, and did, take a broad and patriotic view of the work they were called upon to do.

Mr. Chairman, let us turn again to Florida, as that is the State from which I come and, on this account, has received some attention by critics of river and harbor legislation, at least, during the last two or three years, the claim being, as I have just stated, that the projects in that State have received more than their share of attention. Now, during the entire history of Florida as a State her navigable waterways, comprising more than 25 harbors and upward of fifteen hundred miles of rivers, have received about $18,000,000, of which about $15,000,000 have been appropriated since I entered Congress in 1894. But of that $15,000,000 only about $4,000,000 has been furnished since I have been chairman of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, leaving the much larger sum of about $11,000,000 as the amount appropriated for Florida waters after I entered Congress and before I became chairman of the committee.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman just state the shore line of Florida while he is on the subject?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes. Counting the sinuosities of the shore line it is more than 1,800 miles; not following them, but running on straight lines from headland to headland, we have about 1,500 miles of seacoast.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Fifteen hundred miles from one end of the State to the other?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes.

Now, how much of that $4,000,000 do you suppose has been appropriated for the projects in my own district since I became chairman of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, outside of those adopted prior thereto? The insignificant sum of $51,000. That is to say, of the entire amount appropriated for projects in that State since I became chairman only $51,000 have been furnished for projects in that district adopted since that time. But I am not complaining of the treatment accorded to Florida projects at any time, for most of those indorsed by the engineers have, up to this time, been very properly adopted and carried to completion. But this treatment has not been the result of any discrimination in her favor or against any other State or section.

In this connection I wish to call attention to a table I have here and which I will print with these remarks showing the amounts appropriated for projects in the different sections since I have had the honor of presiding over the deliberations of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors. I find that $45,899,056 have gone to projects in what might be called the Northern States, $41,181,721 to those in the Southern States, and $19,000,000 for projects in the Pacific Coast States, which in the sectional sense meant by such critics are properly classed with the Northern States, so that we would have $65,000,000, in round figures, as the amount appropriated for works in what you might call the Northern States since I have been chairman of the committee and $41,000,000 for the Southern States.

These figures do not include the Mississippi, Ohio, and Missouri Rivers, which, being essentially and broadly national, should, in my opinion, not be charged to any section. The projects for the improvement of these rivers were adopted prior to the time I became chairman of the committee, which was subsequent to the passage of the bill of 1911; but since and including the bill of 1912 there had been appropriated for these streams, as will be seen, sums ranging as follows: $36,353,000 for the Mississippi, $7,175,000 for the Missouri, and $22,068,500 for the Ohio, or upward of $65,000,000 in all.

I may add further that appropriations for these three rivers have for the past several years made up more than a third of each river and harbor bill, and that more than one-half of the amounts yet to be appropriated for old projects is to go toward the completion of the projects for their improvement adopted in the bill of 1910. So that, eliminating them, you dispose of the larger part of the work yet to be done outside of the new projects in this measure.

Table showing amounts appropriated and allotted under river and harbor acts from 1912 to 1916, inclusive, for the country by sections.

Year.	North.	South.	Pacific coast.	Alaska, Hawaii, and Porto Rico.	Mississippi River.	Missouri River.	Ohio River.
1912	$7,429,070	$7,619,050	$3,196,750	$206,000	$8,945,000	$1,025,000	$5,600,000
1913	13,010,855	12,040,321	6,051,218	225,000	9,001,000	2,325,000	5,550,000
1914	4,125,530	5,103,750	2,442,500	100,000	4,954,000	900,000	1,760,000
1915	6,863,246	5,678,050	3,483,175	43,000	5,371,000	1,100,000	3,640,000
1916	14,470,355	10,740,550	4,242,200	376,800	8,082,000	1,825,000	5,509,500
Total	45,899,056	41,181,721	19,415,843	1,050,800	36,353,000	7,175,000	22,068,500

So you will see, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, that there is no ground whatever for this charge of sectionalism. Every section of the country has received the same treatment, the purpose always being to adopt projects and make appropriations upon the merits of a proposition and in accordance with the demands of the commerce to be accommodated. To these considerations we have looked, and to nothing else, and as long as I remain in this body and have responsibility here I shall adhere to that rule and never consciously depart from it. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I wish further to call attention to the small number of surveys carried in this bill, being only 51 in all. These may be increased on the floor or in the Senate; I do not know as to that. But at present the bill carries only 51, which is quite a falling off from those carried in other and recent bills. The act of 1915, for instance, contained 209 surveys. The act of 1916 128, while this bill only provides for 51.

Another matter to which I wish to direct attention in this connection is the small number of surveys, relatively speaking, that have been reported favorably by the engineers. I hold in my hand a statement from the War Department, which I will also print herewith. This statement, prepared recently, shows the number of surveys ordered since and including the year 1902 down to and embracing the year 1916. They aggregate 1,934. Of those, 1,723 have been examined, 637 being reported favorably, 1,066 unfavorably, leaving only 231 yet to be considered. So you will see that about 36 or 37 per cent only of the surveys ordered by Congress during the years mentioned have met with favorable action at the hands of the engineers:

Statement showing number of surveys ordered since and including 1902, together with disposition made of them.

Authority for investigation.	Number of investigations ordered.	Number reported on to Dec. 1, 1916.	Number favorable.	Number unfavorable.	Per cent of favorable reports.
Act of—					
June 13, 1902	170	170	52	118	30.6
Mar. 3, 1905	176	176	74	102	42.0
June 28, 1906	2	2	1	1	
Mar. 2, 1907	200	200	108	92	54.0
May 28, 1908	1	1	1		
Mar. 3, 1909	274	274	120	154	43.8
June 25, 1910	187	187	63	124	33.7
Feb. 27, 1911	90	89	28	61	31.5
July 25, 1912	226	215	70	145	32.5
Mar. 4, 1913	122	115	42	73	36.5
Mar. 4, 1915	219	152	24	128	15.8
July 27, 1916	128	5	1	4	20.0
Resolutions, fiscal years—					
1904	13	13	5	8	
1905	6	6	4	2	
1906	4	4	1	3	
1907	26	26	13	13	
1908	7	7	3	4	
1909	14	14	5	9	
1910	15	15	7	8	
1911[1]	9	9	2	4	
1912	5	5	3		
1913[2]	12	12	2	6	
1914[3]	14	14	5	2	
1915[4]	4	4	1	3	
1916	8	6	2	1	
1917[5]	2	2		1	
Total	1,934	1,723	637	1,066	36.9

[1] No recommendation regarding worthiness in 2 cases; reduction in 1 case.
[2] No recommendation regarding worthiness in 4 cases.
[3] No recommendation regarding worthiness in 7 cases.
[4] No recommendation regarding worthiness in 3 cases.
[5] No recommendation regarding worthiness in 1 case.

It is interesting also to one so minded to note the percentages of favorable recommendations during the several years mentioned. In 1902 there were 30 per cent of the surveys of that year favorably reported. In 1905, 42 per cent. In 1907, 54 per cent; that is on the bill of 1907. Then they began to fall off. In 1909 there were 43 per cent favorably reported; in 1910, 33 per cent; in 1911, 31 per cent; in 1912, 32 per cent; in 1913, 36 per cent; in 1915, 15 per cent; while for 1916 there were 20 per cent.

The point I wish to stress, however, is that while the number of surveys has been of late decreasing from year to year, the percentage of those favorably reported has likewise been decreasing, which shows, to my mind—as I have contended heretofore—that we have reached the high-water mark of river and harbor improvements and that soon we will have arrived at the point where the annual appropriations for the improvement of rivers and harbors will be reduced to small sums compared with what they are now. That can also be easily demonstrated by a study of the reports, noting the character of the improvements heretofore made and being made, together with the present condition of the various waterways throughout the country.

I risk nothing, I think, in saying that the great bulk of river and harbor work for purposes of navigation alone has been done, and that after the completion of the projects herein adopted and those yet before Congress little of original work of improvement will then be left. Of course completed projects will have to be maintained, but the cost will not be great. Then, too, some channels will have to be lengthened, others deepened and widened from time to time, so as to keep pace with the increased commerce and the growth in dimensions of vessels, but the expense of this work will not be enormously large.

I called attention to this condition and made a prediction of the future of river and harbor work when the bill of 1914 was under consideration. I then stated that, with the projects heretofore adopted and under way—calling for completion something like $250,000,000—together with those adopted in that bill and other projects likely to be presented in the near future, the amount of expenditures in the next 25 years would not exceed much, if any, $450,000,000 for legitimate river and harbor work. Since then I have had no occasion to materially change these figures, as I still believe they are approximately correct, unless we go into other schemes of waterway improvement not strictly for the purposes of commerce and navigation. Then, of course, the cost will be increased in proportion to the extent of these added activities. But, if this is done, it is to be hoped that the people will reap adequate benefit therefrom.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Certainly.

Mr. STAFFORD. The gentleman is just about completing 22 years of very useful service to the country, and we are all deeply regretful that he is going to terminate his service in the House, and especially in this work. I would like to get some valuable information, which I know he can give me. Can the gentleman now estimate the total amount which he believes will be required to complete all the projects, as far as river and harbor improvement is concerned? The gentleman was just on that subject. What is the maximum amount that the gentleman estimates will be necessary to complete those projects which have been recommended as worthy?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Not going beyond those that have heretofore been recommended?

Mr. STAFFORD. Not going beyond those that have been recommended.

Mr. SPARKMAN. There are at this time on the books projects calling for $182,000,000 to complete. This bill adds about

$47,000,000 more, making $229,000,000 in all. Now, this $47,000,000, taken from $136,000,000, the amount of the new projects before Congress, leaves $89,000,000 for future consideration, which, added to the $229,000,000, makes $318,000,000, the sum for which we would be liable if we should adopt all the projects recommended, something we are not likely to do; and I think it safe to eliminate from that amount at least $50,000,000 for projects not likely to be undertaken in the next quarter of a century. Adding to this list, then, of $318,000,000 thus reduced $75,000,000 for contingencies would leave the amount necessary to make all needed improvements for navigation purposes during the next 20 years, which, in my judgment, is a conservative estimate, unless some contingency should make a more radical treatment of some of our harbors necessary.

Of course, the gentleman understands, that even when the unadopted projects are completed the channels in some of the harbors will, in the not distant future, have to be deepened and widened and some of them lengthened, but not to any great extent, as I believe. The channels in New York Harbor, for instance, or at least the most of them, will have to be deepened to 40 feet. The channels in some others may also have to be improved beyond the dimensions required by existing projects, but this can all be done, I believe, well within the estimate I have made.

Mr. KINCHELOE. The gentleman speaks of $75,000,000 for contingencies. What field of improvement would those contingencies cover?

Mr. SPARKMAN. When I used the word "contingencies," I meant work that we can not foresee now, but which may be found necessary. This I illustrated by reference to New York Harbor, saying, further, that in some places channels would have to be lengthened and widened and in a few places deepened, but not to any great extent, during the next two decades, at least.

Mr. KINCHELOE. The point I wanted to ask about was: In these contingencies, would improvements be included which would enable a boat on an inland river to get to some landing or harbor? Would that be included in the purview of such contingencies?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I should say, yes; wherever it is a class of work proper to be undertaken by the Government.

There are places where a channel has been constructed near to a wharf and where Congress has left to individual or local enterprise the carrying of the channel up to the wharf, while in other instances the Government has done the work itself. At Tampa, for instance, my home town, the Government, under a project now about completed, has constructed a channel having a space of 50 feet between the channel and the wharf, to be deepened by the owners of the wharves. That may be a hardship on those people, but the engineers recommended it, and Congress has not seen proper to override their recommendations. The gentleman from Kentucky perhaps has in mind a piece of work at a town in his district on the Ohio River. I have looked into that matter somewhat, and it occurs to me that it is work which could readily and properly be done by the War Department under the appropriations made for open channel work in that river.

Mr. KINCHELOE. If the gentleman will permit a further interruption, that was the project I had in mind. Now, as far as business is concerned, this place is second between Evansville and Cairo, but the engineers have made an adverse report. We have asked that the sand bar be not all of it removed, but that there be a place wide enough for the boats to get in and out. Yet I am sorry to say we have been unsuccessful in having that little work done.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I know little about the matter except what I learned from the gentleman and a conversation I had with one of the engineers who, not having his attention called to it until recently, had not investigated to any great extent. He promised, however, to look into it and advise me later, but has not yet done so. Being under the impression the work could be taken care of out of the appropriation we make for open-river improvement, we did not put anything in this bill for it. As there is a large sum on hand for that class of improvement, sufficient to last until another bill can be passed, I should think the engineers could take care of that work to the extent needed under some equitable arrangement between the Government and local interests.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I want to call the attention of the committee to a provision in the bill creating a commission composed of four departmental secretaries, those of War, the Interior, Commerce, and Agriculture, together with three Members of the Senate, to be appointed by the President of that body, and three Members of the House, to be named by the Speaker, for the purpose of investigating as to the feasibility and advisability of coordinating all the different uses of navigable waters, especially rivers, with their development for the purpose of navigation. This commission is required to investigate, and if they find such a thing practicable and advisable to report a plan therefor to Congress for such action as it may deem advisable. In addition to this the commission is required to investigate and report as to the advisability of a more comprehensive plan for waterway improvement in the interest of navigation, and, if the same is advisable, to report plans for that purpose.

I think this very important and ought to remain in the bill. Several considerations lead me to that conclusion. In the first place, there seems to be quite a sentiment in favor of such a plan. Just how numerous its advocates may be we need not stop to inquire. It is sufficient that they are quite numerous and constantly growing in numbers. For that reason I think we should appoint the commission and have the investigation made.

But, Mr. Chairman, what is more to the point so far as I am concerned is that I think we have about reached the place, not only in river and harbor improvement, but in the development of the country as well, when such work as that contemplated by the creation of this commission might well be undertaken. There is also a demand, more or less insistent, for connecting by canals the various improvements already made or under way.

Now, one to which I will refer particularly, and which has been strongly recommended not by Government engineers, I believe, but by civil engineers, is a plan to cut a channel across from Lake Erie to the Ohio River, thus connecting those two great waterways. There is also another for a channel from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi River. These may not be undertaken this year, nor the next, nor yet the next, but, in my opinion, the work will be done sooner or later. Then, there is the intracoastal system, condemned by some in unmeasured terms, which, however, if completed, would connect nearly every harbor in the country, one with another. Embraced in this is a plan not yet recommended, however, by the engineers in its entirety, for a waterway from Boston to Key West, Fla. Another has been projected and recommended in part across the State of Florida, while a third already before Congress runs from St. Andrews Bay to the Rio Grande. When these plans are carried out and the different links completed there will be a continuous system of waterways from the northern part of the Atlantic seaboard clear around to the Rio Grande, connecting all the harbors of that immense stretch of seacoast and the rivers that flow into the Gulf and Atlantic from Boston to our southern boundary.

Water-power development by the building of reservoirs is another thing, as we know, that can be properly undertaken in connection with improvements for the purposes of navigation and for flood protection. I have one such place in mind just now, that of the Allegheny River, where engineers have thought that the flood waters could be collected in reservoirs constructed up toward the head of the stream and the water used for the development of hydroelectric power, thus conserving the coal supply in that section, a very praiseworthy object, and one well worthy the attention of Congress and the careful study of such a commission as is provided for in this bill.

Then there are also places, many of them, where land can be reclaimed in connection with the improvement of rivers for the purposes of navigation without increasing the expense of such improvement to the Government, as the cost of the reclamation made would be borne by local and private parties.

So, viewed in all its bearings, I think the provision we have in this bill for the appointment of a commission—not a permanent commission at present, but one simply to investigate and report to Congress a plan for the various purposes mentioned—a very important one, and that it should remain in the bill. Let me also add that I sincerely trust it may not be stricken out.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I wish to refer again to the spirit of criticism more or less prevalent against river and harbor legislation. I do not object, and no one else should, to fair and legitimate criticism of any measure presented to Congress, but in order that criticism may be fair it must have a legitimate basis. It must be predicated upon facts. I do not care, provided the facts are correctly stated, what deductions a critic may draw from those facts, for then the members here, as well as the reading public, will know whether the deductions are correct and the argument sound; but the trouble with the most of these criticisms is that the facts are not always correctly given. Too much of loose statements are presented for facts, and these statements, with the arguments founded upon them, going out over the country have done great harm to legitimate river and harbor work and the legislation necessary to carry it on.

I have not the time to call attention to all of the statements which I regard as unfair and inaccurate. I do not claim that anybody has willfully made them. Indeed, I am sure no one has intended to do so, and yet, I fear, they will not bear the test of close scrutiny. I see my good friend, Mr. FREAR, of Wisconsin, is present, and I wish to call attention to several mistakes, or what I regard as such in a document recently submitted by him to this body, as it will illustrate the point I am making. I have in my hand the minority views filed by the gentleman, and I wish to read a little from some of the statements made in it: First, I want to say, as I have already said, that I have no idea that my friend intended to convey any erroneous impressions. My knowledge of him, gained while sitting with him here, and my association with him upon the committee during the last two years, have convinced me he does not intend at any time to mislead. I quote first from his minority report, page 1:

Nowhere will be found evidence of wasteful methods in governmental affairs to be compared with the autocratic demand of Army engineers in 1917 for the following amounts from Congress.

Now, sending such a statement as that out through the newspapers, or by printed document, to the public, to be read by people who do not understand the functions and duties of the engineers would tend to create the impression that these engineers are in position to autocratically demand appropriations from Congress, while nothing could be further from the actual facts. The engineers submit estimates to Congress; they make no demand upon it. They present estimates in obedience to our demands, as they are required by law to make them. They are not autocrats in any sense of the word, but are the servants of Congress in such matters, and can not, and do not, make any demands upon us; and yet, one unfamiliar with the facts, and reading my friend's report, would naturally believe that we are actually subject to the demands of the engineers of the War Department and must do their bidding. Now, I submit that it is unjust to us and to these engineers to hold them up as autocrats, as having and exercising the power to come before Congress and demand action at its hands. The tendency is to create erroneous impressions in the minds of the people and thus to weaken us in our efforts to serve them.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Washington. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Washington. As a matter of fact, the engineers never make any recommendation or reports except those which they are required to make by law.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is correct.

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes.

Mr. FREAR. Just to bring this clearly before us, what the gentleman objects to is the term "autocratic demand," as I understand it so far. Is it not true that practically all of the recommendations, or whatever you may choose to call them, of the Army engineers have been accepted entire by the committee—practically all, with the exception of the upper Mississippi, where I recommended that $800,000 be stricken out, and a few other smaller projects. Have we not accepted their figures almost entire in the average case?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I will say to the gentleman that his own report shows that we have not done that. I also have here a list of the reductions, some 30 or 40 of them in all, showing that we were not tied down to the estimates of the engineers, but have in various instances departed from them, cutting them quite freely.

Mr. FREAR. Immediately in connection with that statement appears the list of $18,000,000, or very nearly that, recommended by the Army engineers for eight projects. Is there more than one project in that list in which a change is made by the committee, and that one project the one that I recommended?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I will come to that presently.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Washington. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield at that point?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Certainly.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Washington. I would like to call the gentleman's attention—and I hope he will impress it upon the committee—to the absurd position taken by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. FREAR] in these minority views. Congress has nothing upon which to base an estimate of what these projects will cost except the report of the engineers. The engineers are experts, and they are there for that purpose. It seems to me that if the committee attempted to follow somebody else we would be not only derelict, but verging on idiocy. These engineers are experts, and they have expert knowledge, and it is only proper that we should follow what they recommend.

Mr. FREAR. I want to submit that the argument of the gentleman from Washington [Mr. HUMPHREY] justifies absolutely the proposition that I make, and I accept it. There is no question about that.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Washington. The impression that the views of the gentleman from Wisconsin would make upon the average reader, and upon the newspapers of the country, is that the engineers have the right to demand this money, and that they come before the committee and that we submit to their autocratic demands without regard to the fact of whether they are just, and without his explaining that they are only experts who are required to pass on these projects, which are technical, and that they have expert knowledge and that they are there for that purpose, and they are the only reports we have.

Mr. SPARKMAN. It was just that feature to which I wish to direct the attention of the House.

Mr. McKENZIE. What has been the policy of the gentleman's committee where a survey has been ordered by the House or recommended by the committee and the engineers report adversely upon the project? Has it been the policy of the committee to follow strictly the recommendations of the engineers in all such cases, or does the committee assume the right occasionally to make the appropriation over the heads of the engineers?

Mr. SPARKMAN. It has not been the custom of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors for several years to recommend the adoption of any project that has been reported upon adversely by the engineers.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I want the gentleman to respond as to one or two cases in point. Is it not a fact—as showing that the committee does exercise judgment in these matters—that in the Schuylkill River project while the engineers recommended upwards of $600,000 and that the committee allowed only $300,000?

Is it not a fact also that in that other very great improvement, the Delaware River, where it is important to complete the work and save money to the Government, that on several occasions the committee has cut down the estimates of the engineers when they desired larger appropriations in order to hasten the work?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes; that has been done.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Is it not a fact, too, in respect to the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal, which has been reported upon several times, where the engineers recommended the appraised price of $2,500,000, that the committee in this bill has allowed only $1,300,000?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. So that this committee on important projects does exercise some judgment. Is not that a fact?

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is correct.

Mr. FREAR. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I will.

Mr. FREAR. I now wish to ask the gentleman from Pennsylvania, is it not true that this bill four years ago provided the identical figures of $1,300,000 in the House, and it was immediately doubled to $2,500,000 in the Senate, for the very reason that this does not meet the requirements of the Army engineers for the original purchase? It means nothing at all.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The gentleman from Pennsylvania answers that the House committee has too often attempted to pare down items that were deserving of better treatment, in order to bring down the total appropriations. It does not always work economy.

Mr. SPARKMAN. When we reach that item under the five-minute rule I suppose there will be some discussion on it, and I will then give, if it should become necessary, the reasons for reducing the amount to $1,300,000.

Mr. DUPRÉ. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I will.

Mr. DUPRÉ. Is it not a matter of fact the appropriation recommended by the engineers for Southwest Pass was $2,000,000 and it was reduced to $1,675,000?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I do not recall the figures, but the reduction was something like that. Replying further to my friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE], we did make these reductions, but we did not to make them arbitrarily. We had reasons for every reduction we made. Now, if the great work of improving the Delaware River had been put under a continuing contract originally, I think it could have been done much more cheaply and would no doubt have been finished long ago. Now, one further matter referred to in the report of my friend from Wisconsin.

The gentleman, referring to other projects, the Norfolk and Beaufort waterway, the lower Missouri, upper Mississippi, the

central Mississippi, Mississippi Passes, Ohio canalization, lower Mississippi, and Cumberland Rivers, has this to say:

Deducting from glittering commercial statistics sand, timber, and coal, all actual river commerce reported on the eight projects probably does not equal that handled at the little harbor of Ashland, Wis., nor one-half that of Milwaukee, nor Chicago, nor one-quarter that of Boston, Buffalo, Cleveland, or many other harbors that could be named.

Well, if coal and iron are not actual commerce I do not know what the gentleman would designate as such. I do not know of anything more important than coal and iron in this country to-day, and while sand is a very low grade of freight, it is of very great importance and ought to be counted not deducted from the reported commerce of a stream or other waterway.

Mr. FREAR. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I will.

Mr. FREAR. I concede all the gentleman has said in regard to that, but will the gentleman read the second paragraph of the subheading explaining why that deduction is made?

Mr. HUMPHREY of Washington. Will the gentleman yield before he gets to that?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Certainly.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Washington. I just wanted to ask the gentleman whether in the minority report of the distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin if he counted out iron ore——

Mr. FREAR. No.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Washington. How much commerce would be handled at the great port of Ashland and Milwaukee and on the Great Lakes if it was not for the iron ore there?

Mr. FREAR. I say in my report:

The reason for deducting sand, coal, ferriage, timber, and duplications from absurd river reports furnished by the Chief of Engineers is because sand and gravel dug from the river and hauled from a half mile to 1 mile, together with ferriage statistics across the Mississippi, Missouri, and Ohio Rivers, in no way require deep channels, yet such items make up the major part of the elaborate commerce and of freight valuations reported by the Chief of Engineers on these rivers.

That is the idea.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The gentleman, I believe, said coal, sand, and ore.

Mr. FREAR. I have not mentioned iron ore.

Mr. SPARKMAN. If you deduct that from the harbor of Ashland there would not be much left. Iron ore constitutes four-fifths of the commerce of Ashland, and if you deduct it from the commerce at one place why not deduct it from that of the other? But, I say it ought not to be deducted. Iron and coal are important articles of commerce, so also is sand when transported to be used, as it often is, for building and other purposes.

Mr. FREAR. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Certainly.

Mr. FREAR. For 40 years that coal went down the Ohio River in larger quantities than it does to-day with a larger increased depth. That is the point I want to impress.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Well, I am an optimist, I am not a pessimist. I think, however, one pessimist in a community is a good thing. Similarly I think one pessimist in the House of Representatives, with its 435 Members, is also a good thing, but not more than one ought we to have here. [Applause.] That remark is entirely impersonal. I am not a pessimist; I am an optimist, here as elsewhere. When I look at the work on the Mississippi River and glance into the future of the country through which it runs I can but regard that as one of the most important improvements we are making. By these improvements of the lower, the middle, and the upper reaches of the river, more than 2,000 miles in extent, we have created, with its tributaries, one of the greatest systems of waterways in the world, and it is well worth the money we are spending upon it.

Mr. DYER. Will the gentleman yield for a suggestion?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes.

Mr. DYER. I just wanted to state that I thoroughly agree with the statement made by the chairman, and that St. Louis is now building docks and terminals and getting ready to use them for commercial purposes, hauling freight to New Orleans, and laying it upon ocean vessels, to take advantage of the water route to China and the Far East.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is true, and I am glad to know it. I am informed other places are doing the same thing. I saw the other day the statement that the people of Minneapolis were getting ready to utilize the river for navigation above the high dam and the lock constructed between Minneapolis and St. Paul. They are also preparing all up and down that river to utilize the improvements we are making, all going to prove that the work we are doing is important and will result in great benefit to the people through those sections of the country. [Applause.]

Mr. FOSTER. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Certainly.

Mr. FOSTER. I notice that last year the bill carried, on page 14, a provision for the levees, and so forth, on the upper Mississippi River. Does the gentleman carry that in this year's bill?

Mr. SPARKMAN. We think the language used sufficient to take care of that.

Mr. FOSTER. Is the language broad enough to carry it?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I think so. The reason we repeated in substance the language of the act of 1916 in dealing with other places and left out that covering the stretch of the Mississippi River between the mouth of the Ohio and Rock Island was because the improvement of the river on that portion for the purposes of navigation, except as to the building of levees, is under the Chief of Engineers, whereas the improvement of the same stretch for purposes of flood protection is under the jurisdiction of the Mississippi River Commission. Hence we thought it best to omit the language used in the bill of 1916, being of the opinion that having once adopted the project and placed that particular work under the jurisdiction of the Mississippi River Commission it would retain jurisdiction without further legislation. I will say, however, that if there is any doubt about it, I would willingly consent to an amendment to make the matter certain.

Mr. FOSTER. Does the gentleman think the language carried in last year's bill, which says:

Any funds which are herein, or may hereafter be, appropriated by Congress for improving the Mississippi River between the Head of Passes and the mouth of the Ohio River, and which may be allotted to levees, may be expended, under the direction of the Secretary of War, * * * for levees upon any part of said river between Head of Passes and Rock Island, Ill.—

broad enough to cover it?

Mr. SPARKMAN. The gentleman means in the 1916 bill?

Mr. FOSTER. The 1916 bill, to carry appropriation hereafter.

Mr. SPARKMAN. We thought so at the time, and I still think so; but when we reach that item under the five-minute rule, if the gentleman thinks the language not sufficient, I will be willing to cooperate with him in inserting language that will make the matter certain.

Now, one more reference to the minority report of the gentleman from Wisconsin to illustrate further the inaccuracy of some of my friend's statements. For instance, under the heading "Waterways that carry commerce," on page 2, he says, "Ashland, 6,534,410 tons, nothing; Milwaukee, 8,119,875 tons"; and then a little farther down he comes to "New York, 100,000,000 tons, $500,500." As a matter of fact, New York gets $2,600,000 in this bill. Now, a statement of that kind——

Mr. FREAR. Will the gentleman yield? The gentleman neglects to read that they are both for old projects.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I was going to come to that in a moment, and what I intended to illustrate is the careless and loose statements which characterize this report. Perhaps the gentleman intended to refer to the estimates for old projects, but the paragraph is so separated from the preceding paragraph by the heading that the average reader would not see the connection. I was at first misled, and I think anyone might readily come to the conclusion, more readily than otherwise, that he was referring to the appropriations in this bill and not to the recommendations of the engineers.

Mr. FREAR. I contend, Mr. Chairman, that there can be no question as to the exact meaning of what appears upon the second page. And I wish to say this in addition, that that was prepared before I knew the committee were bringing in the new projects. It is an accurate statement of facts, I submit.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That fits in with the excuse that I offered for the gentleman a while ago. I know he does not intend to misstate facts. I am sure he is above that, but the trouble is my friend has not the time to look into these things as he would like. Here he prepares the statement before the bill is finished, and after it is finished the statement does not entirely fit the bill.

Mr. FREAR. But is not that absolutely accurate, just as it is stated there?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I think not entirely. I think it can be read either way.

Mr. FREAR. There was no such intention, I assure you.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Washington. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Certainly.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Washington. Can the gentleman state about when it was the committee decided to take on new projects?

Mr. SPARKMAN. We did not decide to take on any new projects until some time in January. I do not remember the exact date.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Washington. This minority report is dated January 13. I know it was several days before——

Mr. FREAR. January 5 was the day.

Mr. HULBERT. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield to my colleague on the committee.

Mr. HULBERT. I notice in the minority report, at the bottom of page 15 and at the top of page 16, the gentleman who prepared the report in calling attention to the commerce, emphasizes the fact that New York Harbor, with 110,000,000 tons of commerce, is provided with only $40,000 for Ambrose Channel. I would like to ask the gentleman if it is not a fact that no further sum could possibly be utilized during the fiscal year for the improvement of Ambrose Channel?

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is correct, and we gave what the engineers estimated for that and all other places in New York Harbor.

Mr. HULBERT. And it is also true, is it not, that no sum could be appropriated for the improvement of the Hudson River if there had not been previously adopted a project for that improvement, and that the engineers have stated that the sum of $210,500 for the improvement of the Hudson River Channel on the New Jersey side is all that can be possibly expended during the fiscal year ending in 1918?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I do not recall the figures, but the bill carries the estimate of the engineers. We take the estimates of the engineers, but do not follow them absolutely. Where we think they are right we follow them, but not otherwise.

I want to say again to my friend from Wisconsin [Mr. FREAR], and speaking of the upper Mississippi River, that he did make a motion, I think, to cut out the entire sum for that portion of the river, or to have it reduced.

Mr. FREAR. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. My friend says he did not. I take his word for it. He has a better recollection of the occurrence probably than I have. But the amount was reduced, no matter upon whose motion, much below the estimate of the Chief of Engineers. Possibly it was not wise to do so, but we did it, and we think we were right in so doing.

Mr. Chairman, as I said a moment ago—and I must hasten to a conclusion—I do not object to criticism, if it is a legitimate criticism. But in order to criticize an appropriation in a rivers and harbors bill or any project in such a measure one ought to have some kind of a standard of merit. Yet we have never been able to erect one. Now, in the case of a public-building bill one can say, as I believe it was provided in the last bill, that no building shall be authorized for a post office alone unless the total post-office receipts amount to a certain figure, $10,000, I believe. Now, that is a safe guide. It may be arbitrary, but once established, you know where you will land. One can readily determine whether a proposition falls inside or outside of the rule. But neither my friend nor anyone else has ever been able to suggest any particular proportion or relation between an appropriation and the tonnage or freight carried. It can not be done in justice to the entire country. We might say that for every dollar, or for every thousand, or for every million, there should be a ton for freight. But that would not be fair, because such a rule could only deal with present conditions and would not look to the future. And no one should undertake to legislate for the rivers and harbors in the country who can not go beyond the present and a long way into the future. And, looking into the future, I believe I am safe in saying that every appropriation in this bill is justified. I may be mistaken, but am optimistic enough to believe I am not.

Now, Mr. Chairman, this is a very important measure, more important, if possible, than any other recent river and harbor bill. For the past three years we have adopted no new projects except a few in the bill of 1916. During these years many important projects have been reported the adoption and completion of which are urgently demanded by the commerce of the country. If this bill should fail or these projects should be eliminated great damage, direct and indirect, would be the result. Not only would the commerce of the country suffer, but the loss to the Government by the cessation of work would be great. In this connection I can not do better than to quote from my remarks here when the bill of 1916 was before the House. Calling attention to the same matter, I then said:

Now, this bill, or one substantially like this, should become a law before the end of the fiscal year, otherwise great loss to the Government will occur. I notice the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. FREAR] would arbitrarily cut the bill down to $15,000,000, while the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TREADWAY] would postpone the whole matter indefinitely. Both of these recommendations evince a regrettable lack of information on the subject, especially by those clothed with the duty of legislating for our navigable waterways. Why, Mr. Chairman, it has been estimated by those competent to judge that the delay in passing the river and harbor bill of 1914 for a period of about four months, or one-third of a year, caused a direct and definite loss of about $400,000—to be exact, $395,554.23—and what might be called an indirect loss of nearly $500,000 more.

Now, this does not include the loss to the people from the continuation for a longer period of time of unfavorable waterway conditions which the work is intended to remedy, but the direct loss would be sufficient to make the early passage of the bill very desirable. Work of that nature is going on all over the country; plants have been assembled at many places which are being used by the Government; at others work is being done from year to year under contract with parties who, having assembled plants, would also have to tie them up and disband their forces, making the contract price higher when work by them is again desired.

The Government has on hand to-day an aggregate of dredging plants consisting of 153 dredges, with a complement of auxiliary plants numbering more than a thousand vessels of various kinds, the whole costing originally upward of $15,000,000, with a present value of more than $12,000,000. In addition the Government has in its employ to operate these plants, and to carry on works of improvement, more than 1,700 officers and upward of 14,000 men, the most of whom would be thrown out of employment were this bill to fail of passage. Outside the Government plants the department rents more than a hundred boats of various kinds at a cost of approximately $175,000 per year, all of which would likely have to disband if an adequate amount of money to keep them going is not furnished.

I have presented all this to give the House an idea of the nature and extent of the preparedness of the Government for the work it is now doing in river and harbor development, and what it would mean to stop this great work even for a few months. But that does not tell the whole story, for it is only a part of the loss the people would sustain. The country is developing rapidly along every line of human activity. Earth and air, forest and stream, are all being invaded by man in his efforts to cheapen the cost of living and add to the comfort and happiness of the people. The output of farm and garden, or factory and mine, is increasing rapidly, all demanding cheaper and more commodious means of transportation and distribution. The railroads, though we have the finest system in the world, can not do all this work; so the people must look, and are looking, to their harbors and navigable streams to supplement the railroads in their efforts to carry our products to the consumer at home and abroad. The people are primarily responsible for the efforts we are making to deepen their harbors and improve their inland waterways. Their wishes should be heeded and the demands of commerce for ample transportation facilities given without unnecessary delay.

It is much to be regretted that the work on our rivers and harbors has not gone on more rapidly, although during the past three years, with two lump-sum appropriations, about $128,000,000 have been expended, but when we consider the loss occasioned by these lump-sum appropriations, which was much below what was actually needed, those who have been instrumental in making them are hardly to be congratulated.

In this connection I may say that although we are having annual bills it might be a good idea, as soon as conditions become normal again, to place many of the projects for which provision to complete is not made in this or former bills under the continuing-contract system. This would not only be in the interest of economy, but of the commerce of the country as well.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I have very little patience, permit me to say, with the argument that is made against river and harbor legislation, based upon present Treasury conditions. Of course, we consider all that, and it should never be overlooked, but there is nothing alarming in those conditions now, as our critics would have you believe. Those who are frightened on that score, whether they are Members of this House or not, do not take into consideration the almost unlimited resources of this country. Why, Mr. Chairman, our national wealth amounted last year, according to a statement I saw a few days ago, to the enormous sum of $250,000,000,000, or only $22,000,000,000 short of the combined wealth of the allies in the present European war. The entire wealth of England, France, Russia, Italy, Japan, and the other smaller countries allied with them, with all their possessions, does not, according to the same statement, amount to more than $272,000,000,000. France has only $42,000,000,000 and Germany about $60,000,000,000; and yet those countries, in the midst of one of the most devastating wars that have ever afflicted the world, are spending money freely to continue improvements begun before the outbreak of hostilities, and to initiate others in addition. Certainly if little France, with only $42,000,000,000 of national wealth, and Germany, with only $60,000,000,000, can, in the midst of a war taxing their resources to the utmost, find the money to carry on improvements such as rivers and harbors we can do so.

Does anyone believe that there is going to be a deficit in the Treasury a year from now? Does not everyone know that the Committee on Ways and Means is now discussing and devising methods for the purpose of meeting the threatened heavy draft upon the Treasury of the United States, a draft, however, not caused by river and harbor work but largely by our preparedness plans? I am not going to criticize those plans. If it had been left to me, perhaps I would not have gone so far as we have gone, but we went into it with our eyes open, and we will find the money to meet the heavy cost. But, while that is going on, let us not stop these works of internal improvements. We are able to carry them on, and let us do it wherever the commerce of the country, present or prospective, demands the work. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, 22 years ago I entered this body, and soon thereafter sought and obtained a position on the Rivers and Harbors Committee—not that the class of work a position on that committee entails was especially congenial to me; on the contrary, my vocation in life had been such that I would, in other circumstances, have preferred a different committee assignment; but I sought and accepted a position on that committee because I thought I could be of more service there to the people of Florida and to the country than on any other committee.

During the years I have remained here Congress has appropriated more than half a billion dollars for waterway improvement, the most of which has been expended on more than 200 harbors and upward of 25,000 miles of navigable waters, including canals, with the result that the waterways of our country have been improved from original and unserviceable conditions to the point where many of them are meeting the demands of even our fabulous commercial growth. During this time our commerce has grown from less than 250,000,000 to nearly 1,000,000,000 tons, valued at $30,000,000,000, while freight rates have been reduced, it has been estimated by some, as much as $1 per ton on water-borne commerce alone. Placing it, for the sake of argument, at 50 cents per ton—and we are carrying 900,000,000 tons each year—you can readily see the saving thus made to the producer, to the shipper, and to the consumer.

All this shows more clearly than any logic or language at my command can demonstrate the absurdity of the claim that the money, or even any considerable part of it, thus expended has been thrown away. But suppose a portion of it has been unwisely spent, and it would be a wonder if some waste did not occur, because in the expenditure of that large sum of money in any kind of work mistakes will be made resulting in loss. It may be that improper projects have, from time to time, been adopted, and I think they have been, but in going over the various river and harbor bills for the purpose of determining as best I could the merits of all the projects undertaken during the past 20 or 22 years I have come to the conclusion that not more than 2 per cent of these projects, if so much, has, in the light even of subsequent events, proven to be without merit. I venture the assertion that in no line of governmental activity has there been as little waste as in our waterway improvements. Still, with the great benefits coming to the people from those expenditures, what difference does it make if a few thousands or even a few millions, of the money used has not been properly expended? The people even then are largely the gainers and can well afford the loss, for the producers, the shippers, and the consumers of our country have been paid a hundred times over for every dollar of this great expenditure in increased shipping facilities and the reduction of freight rates, which, while lowering the cost to the consumers, has increased the value of the product to the producer.

This, Mr. Chairman, has been a great work and is an honor to the membership, Democrats and Republicans, who have responded so generously during the past quarter of a century to the demands of the people for improved water transportation facilities. And, Mr. Chairman, in leaving Congress, as I will after the 4th of next March, I shall look back upon even the small and inconspicuous part I have taken in this work as the most important of the services I have rendered as a Member of this distinguished body. I could ask no greater honor or higher privilege than an humble place in the ranks of those who have thus added to the Nation's wealth and to the happiness and prosperity of the people. [Applause.]

Public Buildings and Grounds.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS D. SCHALL,
OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 20, 1917.

Mr. SCHALL. Mr. Speaker, there is an overwhelming feeling of resentment throughout the country against any and all forms of pork. This is a wholesome and patriotic change from the spirit that sent down to defeat a Congressman who did not show his caliber by grabbing off for his district a large and succulent slab. It is a hopeful sign when legislators are encouraged to look beyond the local demand to the national good. If the people could only realize that what their Representatives desire is the good of all the people and to do the will of the men who sent them down here. Sometimes these two aims conflict, when a particular section is bent upon fostering a pet enterprise, at the expense of the rest of the country. It is not fair to impugn the motive of individual Congressmen that this inefficient system has obtained, for had the people desired a change in the spirit in which they now demand it, and had they made the voice "back home" sufficiently heard, their Representatives would have perforce responded, and this inefficient system of providing indiscriminately for public buildings would have been discarded long ago. There is no growing figs from thistles, and you will not get broad-minded, fearless Representatives till constituents are unselfish.

The two so-called pork-barrel measures are the river and harbor bill and the public-buildings bill. I voted for the river and harbor bill a year ago and would again this year were we not facing a grave crisis. There were many objectionable items in the bill, yet one fact is obvious. Water freight rates are cheaper than railroad rates. Big mass is easier moved in water than by rail. Any improvement which tends to increase water transportation is a blow at our ancient enemy, high prices. So I am for improvement of the upper Mississippi. I favor making it possible for ships to come from the Gulf of Mexico to Minneapolis, to furnish a further outlet for the vast stream of products of this rich Northwest. I am not in favor of dredging every little rill, then digging a well to furnish water to keep it going.

It is right that the United States should erect beautiful and costly buildings. It stimulates a citizen's pride in his country when he can point to a noble piece of architecture and associate it with his Government. But it is not appropriate at this time, with a deficit of nearly $400,000,000, which has mysteriously popped up since election, staring us in the face, to provide with lavish prodigality post offices of large cost for cities of small size.

A study of the appropriations made, the additions asked for and enlargements later required, throw light on the flaws of such a haphazard system. A man asks for all he thinks he can get. The building is cut to fit the cloth. Perhaps conditions change even before the appropriation is granted. Or a man asks for a site and gets a building, or a town that needs a building very badly gets none at all.

The Postmaster General recommends that the receipts of a post office should be at least $15,000 annually before a building should be erected. But even this arbitrary rule will not meet the issue. The whole question of public buildings is one which had better be dealt with by experts. It is a technical subject. It should be developed scientifically, with system, not at random. All the questions of construction and art, the plan and development, should reflect one grand system. The buildings individually and as a whole should embody all that is best in American architecture. They should stand as examples of all that is finest in modern architecture. A commission of thoughtful, earnest, honest, capable men could frame a building policy for the Nation. They could bring to the problems expert training. Waste would be eliminated. The bad effects on national character, the appetite for pork in constituent, and the consequent angling for it by Congressmen would cease, and at the same time the beauty of our national architecture would be safeguarded.

The pork-barrel method is not good sense, it is not good business, it is not American, and the best minds of the country are agreed that this archaic method should be abandoned.

The Reed Prohibition Amendment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. S. D. FESS,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 21, 1917.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, I shall vote to concur in the Senate amendment. While it goes further than the friends of the temperance movement had hoped, it is such a step as will insure results we all strive for in a shorter time than we could have expected. I shall vote for any measure that promises to reduce the evil of the liquor traffic. The attempt of liquor men to load it down so as to produce reaction will avail nothing save good results. If I vote to deny my fellow man his liquor, I should not hesitate to extend the prohibition to myself.

As to the Sherley amendment, I would be inclined to support such measure were it not presented at a time when it will jeopardize the entire measure.

Mr. Speaker, there has been much said here about the opposition of friends of antiliquor legislation—the antisaloon forces. These people take the position that it is wise to conserve all temperance sentiment and extend it as rapidly and as substantially as the state of public opinion will warrant.

This matter I took up with the representatives, as the report reached me to the effect that they were not favorable to the bill now before us. I here insert the answer to my request from Dr. Edwin C. Dinwiddie, superintendent of the Antisaloon League in America:

THE NATIONAL TEMPERANCE BUREAU,
Washington, D. C., February 20, 1917.

Hon. SIMEON D. FESS,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. FESS: In answer to your inquiry permit me to give you, as briefly as possible, a succinct statement of facts concerning the proposed antiadvertising mails legislation and my relation to it.

The allied temperance forces of the country have consistently contended that the mail facilities of the Federal Government should not be utilized by outside liquor makers and dealers to partially vitiate the policy of the prohibition States. I do not hesitate to admit that just as we would naturally like to see the facilities of interstate commerce throughout the country denied to the alcoholic-beverage liquor traffic, so we should like to see the facilities of the United States mails denied to this traffic. When the matter became acute, however, in the present Congress, somewhat over a year ago, because of strenuous opposition by those who appeal for fair play for the liquor interests, both in and outside of Congress, the proponents of this legislation yielded their convictions for the time far enough to limit the prohibition of outside liquor advertising through the mails to States which themselves had or might enact legislation forbidding the advertisement or solicitation of orders for intoxicating liquors within their bounds.

While, therefore, subscribing in principle to the Randall bill, which would prohibit the use of the mails for these purposes altogether, we practically united upon the Abercrombie bill in the House and the Bankhead bill in the Senate. These bills were originally identical in language, and their basic principle was that underlying the so-called Webb-Kenyon law as to interstate commerce. I mean by that that the prohibition of mailing liquor advertisements and solicitations into States was made to depend upon the presence of antiliquor-advertising laws in the States themselves.

The House Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads January 11, 1917, authorized a favorable report on the Randall bill to exclude all such advertising from the mails. The Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads December 21, 1916, favorably reported the Bankhead bill to the Senate, and within a few days this measure was passed by the Senate, with some amendments, practically without division, and the same is now pending before the House Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads. Meanwhile, in connection with the bill (H. R. 19410) making appropriations for the Post Office Department for the coming fiscal year, Senator JONES offered this proposition as an amendment to the appropriations bill, and the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads added it thereto. When the bill was taken up in the Senate, the point of order being made against the item, upon the motion of Senator JONES, the Senate, by the required two-thirds vote, suspended its rules so as to make in order the consideration and adoption of the amendment. During its consideration, however, Senator REED, of Missouri, offered and championed an amendment which, if finally enacted, would have the effect of prohibiting the ordering, purchasing, or causing intoxicating liquors to be transported for beverage purposes into any State or Territory in which the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes is prohibited.

The Jones antiadvertising amendment therefore, with the addition of the Reed amendment just referred to, will be before the House in connection with the Post Office appropriation bill. This latter amendment goes outside the subject of the mail service, and its effect would be to make all the States which have prohibited the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors "bone dry," irrespective of whether the States have proceeded that far in their legislation or not.

There is an honest difference of opinion among friends of the prohibition movement as to the present expediency of the Reed amendment. By some it is feared that this proposed amendment will not be helpful to the prohibition cause, but that its enactment might not only produce some reaction in prohibition States which are not "bone dry" but might deter other States from passing advanced prohibition legislation. They have been content temporarily with legislation which permits limited shipments under certain conditions, because it was thought in some States it would not have been possible otherwise to abolish the saloon, whereas experience has shown that when the saloon has once been abolished the educative effect has always tended to secure the passage of a "bone dry" law later on. Many who hold this view are undoubtedly as earnest and conscientious in maintaining it as those who are immediately in favor of "bone dry" legislation, State and National.

Personally, having had opportunity to weigh the whole matter carefully, and with such knowledge as I possess of conditions throughout the country, I am not as fearful of such results as I have just named. I firmly believe that the improved moral and material conditions which experience universally shows follow effective prohibition will not only make for the retention of prohibition and its permanence in the States, but I believe that the reflex influence from these prohibition States upon those which still tolerate the saloon will facilitate the spread of prohibition in present wet territory. I think also that the loss of such market for intoxicating liquors as the liquor men are now claiming in the dry States will be a serious blow to the traffic itself and will render less formidable their opposition in State-wide and Nation-wide campaigns.

Since the matter has been thrust into the bill upon the initiative of those not friendly to our general prohibition proposition, if I were a Member of the House I should personally support it, without, however, in any wise reflecting upon our friends who, because of their own convictions or the attitude of their States or the sentiments of their constituents, feel they can not do so. At the same time, while this has come to be my personal conviction in the matter, I am here, as you know, in a representative capacity, and the situation is so novel and conditions are so diverse in many of the States that the legislative committee of the league only feel warranted in setting forth the facts to our friends in the House so that their decision can be arrived at with this information in hand.

I do not hesitate to say that since the proposition has come that the Federal Government shall decide that the States shall go "bone dry" whether they have such legislation themselves or not, I would favor an amendment which would extend this prohibition to the wet States as well and deny entirely the facilities of interstate commerce to the beverage liquor traffic throughout the whole country, were it not for the fact that the adoption of any amendment under the existing parliamentary situation in the Congress might jeopard the passage of the antiadvertising amendment itself. I am in fullest accord, therefore, with the idea expressed in the closing paragraph of a communication from our legislative committee to Members of Congress under date of February 19, which is as follows:

"What we hope, above all, in connection with the pending postal legislation is that our friends in the House, irrespective of how they feel constrained to vote on the Reed amendment per se, from their personal convictions and their relation to their constituents and this cause, may be able effectively to cooperate to the end that this Congress may pass an antiadvertising mails law which will deny the mail facilities to the beverage liquor traffic in its nefarious work of flaunting its wares in States that have outlawed it."

Very cordially, yours,

EDWIN C. DINWIDDIE,
Superintendent.

Claim of Mrs. Ellen A. Strom.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH WALSH,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 21, 1917.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, recently the Comptroller of the Treasury has interpreted the phase "in line of duty" in a decision allowing the claim of Mrs. Ellen A. Strom, as widow of Alfred O. Strom, late gunner, Coast Guard cutter *Acushnet*, under the provisions of section 8 of the act of May 4, 1882 (22 Stat., 57), as amended by the act of March 26, 1908 (35 Stat., 46), and made applicable to men in the Coast Guard Service by section 3 of the act of January 28, 1915 (38 Stat., 802).

Inasmuch as the decision sets forth clearly the meaning of the statute, and is in some respects a precedent, I believe it ought to be set forth in the records of the Congress. I am therefore, under the consent granted me, inserting as a part of my remarks the decision of the comptroller referred to.

All who are familiar with this most important branch of the Government service realize the dangers encountered by the men engaged in this meritorious work, and it is gratifying to know that the provisions of the law relative to the dependents of those who lose their lives while in the service are capable of a liberal interpretation, and that prior declaration of legislative intent can be harmonized.

The decision follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE COMPTROLLER OF THE TREASURY,
Washington, February 13, 1917.

Appeal No. 26622.

Ellen A. Strom applied January 11, 1917, for revision of the action of the Auditor for the Treasury Department in disallowing, by settlement No. 54137, dated December 5, 1916, her claim as widow of Alfred O. Strom, late gunner, Coast Guard cutter *Acushnet*, for $1,491, being the amount alleged to be due her under the provisions of section 8 of the act of May 4, 1882 (22 Stat., 57), as amended by the act of March 26, 1908 (35 Stat., 46), and made applicable to men of the Coast Guard by section 3 of the act of January 28, 1915. (38 Stat., 802.)

The laws just cited provide that if any officer, warrant officer, or enlisted man of the Coast Guard shall "die by reason of perilous service or any wound or injury received or disease contracted in the Coast Guard Service in line of duty leaving a widow, * * * during a period of two years, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe, the same amount * * * the husband * * * would be entitled to receive as pay if he were alive and continued in the service."

The auditor disallowed this claim upon the ground that the cause of this man's death was other than "by reason of perilous service or any wound or injury received or disease contracted in the Coast Guard Service in line of duty."

The material facts in the case appear to be as follows:

On the afternoon of July 24, 1915, Gunner Strom left the vessel on which he was serving alone in his skiff to go fishing. After leaving the ship he was seen in a catboat, with his skiff towing astern, standing out into the Sound toward Marthas Vineyard. When near Nobska, about 2 o'clock in the afternoon, he left the catboat and started rowing toward shore, saying he was going fishing. He did not return that night, and on the afternoon of July 25, 1915, his body was found on the shore near the Nobska Light. His oars and white uniform cap had washed ashore near his body. His skiff was found later and was in good condition. The commanding officer expressed the belief that

either of two things had happened—(1) that he capsized in deep water, swam ashore on the oars, and was so injured in contact with the rocks that he drowned on the beach; or (2) that he tried to land in his skiff after dark, found himself among bowlders in a moderate swell which was running during the afternoon and evening, and was injured, and drowned in attempting to reach the shore.

It is understood that at the time of the man's death he was not on leave or furlough in the usual acceptation of those terms, but that he was temporarily absent from the vessel for a few hours' recreation at a time when his regular duties would not require him to remain aboard. His action in leaving the vessel in his skiff to go fishing was not in violation of any order, rule, or regulation of the service, but was in accordance with the recognized custom of permitting the men, for the good of the service, to indulge occasionally in such pastimes.

Since the act of 1882 was passed there has been no decision, so far as can be found, by which any Comptroller of the Treasury has held that a death happening under conditions similar to the one in this case was or was not in the line of duty. There have been decisions with reference to disability pay under section 7 of said act discussing whether a disease resulting in a disability was contracted in the line of duty (7 Comp. Dec., 567; id., 770).

My attention has been called to section 4 of the act of March 3, 1865 (13 Stat., 488), providing for bounty for soldiers discharged for wounds received in line of duty, and to the joint resolution of April 12, 1866 (14 Stat., 352), in which it was directed that the true intent and meaning of the words "in line of duty" in said act of 1865 was that the benefit should be extended when the discharge was by reason of a wound received while actually in the service under military orders, not at the time on furlough or leave of absence, nor engaged in any unlawful or unauthorized act or pursuit.

This legislative interpretation of the phrase "in line of duty," as used in the act of 1865 is not conclusive as to the meaning of said phrase when used in any other law.

The phrase "in line of duty" has appeared in various laws of the United States since 1799, and in 1855 it was made the subject of a well-considered and comprehensive opinion by Caleb Cushing, Attorney General of the United States (7 Op. Att. Gen., 149). In the course of this opinion it is said (p. 155):

"* * * An officer or soldier, who is neither under arrest, nor in confinement, nor on furlough, nor absent without leave, may yet die in a thousand ways, which will be neither of disease contracted, nor of casualties by drowning or otherwise, nor of wounds received, while in the line of duty, as, for example, in a chance quarrel or in dangerous amusements * * *."

In the same opinion, on page 156, the following language appears:

"* * * It is impossible to say that the phrase casualties or injuries received 'in the line of duty' comprehends all the possible misadventures of mere private life which may happen to an officer in his personal affairs, and wholly disconnected from his public duty, though he be not on furlough. Suppose, for instance, that an officer is proprietor of a stock farm, or of a dwelling or storehouse on rent, or is interested in a manufactory, as he has a perfect right to be, and to which private property, without neglect of any public duty, he gives occasional attention; and suppose that in the care of this property he is killed by the kick of a vicious horse of his stock, or by fall from the scaffolding of one of his tenements in the course of reparation; can it be pretended that such a casualty or injury occurs 'in the line of duty,' as that phrase is employed in the pension acts? Most assuredly not."

The whole tenor of this opinion is to the effect that a disability or death can not be held to be the result of an injury or disease received or contracted "in line of duty" unless it is shown that an act of duty performed had relation of causation, mediate or immediate, to the wound, the casualty, the injury, or the disease producing the disability or death. (See also 17 Op. Atty. Gen., 172; Rhodes *v.* United States, 79 Fed. Rep., 740.)

In the opinion reported in 17 Op. Atty. Gen., it was said (p. 173):

"The phrase 'in the line of duty' has been uniformly used in the statutes from 1799 to the present time in defining the right of pensions. It received elaborate discussion from Mr. Attorney General Cushing in 1855 (7 Opin., 149), and as Congress, since the publication of that opinion, has not seen proper to substitute any other expression we are justified in concluding that it stands in the statutes invested with the meaning expressed by Mr. Cushing."

In this connection it is noted that the act of May 13, 1908 (35 Stat., 128), which authorized the payment of six months' pay in the case of an officer or enlisted man of the Navy or Marine Corps who should die thereafter from wounds or disease contracted in the line of duty, was amended by the act of August 22, 1912 (37 Stat., 329), by substituting for the phrase "contracted in the line of duty" the phrase "not the result of his own misconduct," and also that the act of May 11, 1908 (35 Stat., 108), providing for similar relief in the case of officers and enlisted men of the Army, was likewise amended by the act of March 3, 1909 (35 Stat., 735).

The reason for the change in these Army and Navy laws is not known. The effect is to increase the number of cases in which payments will be due, and it may be that Congress intended that for the payment of this six months' gratuity there should be no necessity for proving the origin of disease, but the grant was to be dependent only on the fact that the officer or enlisted man was in the service, and the wound or disease from which he died was not the result of his own misconduct.

This office had under consideration the claim of a beneficiary of an officer of the Army who had died in September, 1908, after a leave of absence and while returning to duty under orders. Upon the certification by the War Department that the officer died from disease not contracted in the line of duty, the comptroller held that as the death occurred before the amendment by the act of March 3, 1909, of the act of May 11, 1908, no payment could be made and that the act of 1909 had no retroactive effect (15 Comp. Dec., 896).

The same case was before the Court of Claims upon a suit against the United States for the six months' gratuity, and that court rendered an opinion (Moore *v.* United States, 48 Ct. Cls., 110), to the effect that a soldier is "in line of duty" until separated from the service by death or discharge, if during such period he has submitted to all of its laws and regulations; that he is "in line of duty" while on leave of absence; but that the wounds or disease must not be the result of his own misconduct. The court ordered judgment for the plaintiff, construing the act of May 11, 1908, to mean the same thing as was meant after it was amended, and holding that the act of March 3, 1909, makes certain the intent of the act of 1908.

Having in view the case that was before the court, I doubt if the decision is authority for the proposition that the act of 1909 did not broaden the application of the act of 1908 or that a soldier is in line of duty when on leave of absence. The facts stated in the case indicate that the officer was proceeding under orders to rejoin his regiment.

In each of the cases hereinbefore cited, in which a narrow construction was given to the phrase "in line of duty," (7 Op. Atty. Gen., 149; 17 id., 172; 79 Fed. Rep., 740), the opinion was rendered with reference to pension laws. But an examination of the numerous rulings by the Department of the Interior in pension cases, with reference to the meaning of the said phrase, indicates that notwithstanding these opinions it has not been the practice to refuse a pension in a case where the injury was received while the man was engaged temporarily in a reasonable form of recreation or exercise not required as a part of his regular duty.

It appears to have been the practice of the Auditor in the settlement of claims for benefits under the act of 1882 to construe the phrase "in line of duty" along the lines of the interpretation given by direction of Congress to said phrase in the bounty law, supra, and the interpretation placed upon pension laws by the Department of the Interior. Some cases have been found of claims allowed by the Auditor to beneficiaries when the employees were killed by accident while returning from temporary leave or when they were otherwise not actually in the performance of the duties required of them.

In the present case it appears that Strom lost his life as the result of an accident. He was in the service more than 20 years, with a record marked "excellent" for proficiency, attention to duty, sobriety, ability, and in every other particular. In the circumstances there can be no presumption that his death was due to misconduct.

The fact of his proficiency in handling a boat is well established, and his conduct in leaving his vessel for but a few hours was in accordance with the usual custom of the service. His intention was to engage in a harmless amusement or recreation very properly connected with his service, tending to increase his efficiency in the service, and to keep himself in good physical condition. For a man of his occupation, training, and experience there was nothing hazardous or unusual in going alone in a skiff.

In view of the practice hereinbefore referred to, I believe this claim should be allowed. It is true that there may be many cases not coming within the phrase "in line of duty," but it is unnecessary and will serve no useful purpose now to discuss hypothetical cases. Such discussion does not prove of great value when an actual case, with its attendant facts and circumstances, is presented for decision. It is sufficient to hold that the present case comes within the law.

The papers in this claim bear the following indorsement by direction of the Captain Commandant of the Coast Guard.

"Referred to the Surgeon General, Public Health Service, with the request that he will state hereon whether, in his opinion, the inclosed evidence of death, and that it resulted from disease contracted in the line of duty in the Coast Guard, should be considered sufficient."

The next indorsement is by direction of the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service and reads as follows:

"Returned to the Captain Commandant Coast Guard, with the opinion that the evidence of death herewith submitted, and that it resulted from disease contracted in the line of duty in the Coast Guard, should be considered sufficient."

In view of the fact that there is no evidence with the claim indicating that the deceased suffered from any disease, it is not understood why the claim was referred to the Surgeon General nor why the latter expressed the opinion as to disease shown in the indorsement. Indorsements on other claims for sudden death by accident appear in the same form. Such a pro forma printed indorsement used indiscriminately weakens the value of any opinion upon a real case of death from disease.

From an examination of a list of cases which have been allowed by the Auditor for the Treasury Department where the death was found to be due to disease, it would appear that the question of whether in each case the disease was contracted in line of duty was determined by the auditor largely, if not entirely, upon the opinion of the Public Health Service.

The opinion of a medical officer is of value and is usually to be accepted, but it does not relieve the auditor of responsibility when he allows or disallows a claim if the evidence before him makes it uncertain whether or not the disease was contracted in line of duty or was the cause of death. This responsibility is shared by the Comptroller of the Treasury if he approves the action of the auditor on revision or fails to revise accounts upon his own motion.

The action of the auditor in disallowing this claim is reversed, and a certificate of differences will issue for $1,491.

W. W. WARWICK, *Comptroller.*

The Reed Amendment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK W. MONDELL,

OF WYOMING,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 21, 1917.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, a motion has been made to concur in a Senate amendment to the Post Office bill which contains a number of important provisions. If the House votes to concur in that Senate amendment, the House conferees can do nothing else than to accept the Senate amendment and all of its provisions will become a law. If, on the other hand, we vote down concurrence in the Senate amendment as a whole, the House conferees will be free to agree to certain provisions of the Senate amendment and to disagree to other provisions, and if they can get an agreement on those lines, we shall have whatever is good and desirable in the Senate amendments without those things which are objectionable.

As I believe there are certain provisions in the Senate amendment embodied in the so-called Reed amendment which should not be enacted into law, I shall vote against instructing the House conferees to concur in the amendment as a whole, with the expectation that we may then secure the good without the objectionable features of the Senate amendment.

The Senate amendment as originally offered in the Senate prohibited and punished the sending through the mails of letters, postal cards, circulars, newspapers, pamphlets, or publications of any kind containing liquor advertisements into any State or Territory in which it was at the time unlawful to advertise or solicit orders for liquors. That is a proper and righteous provision. It prevents the United States from being a party to what amounts to a violation of State law. I am heartily for that provision and all of the provisions of the Senate amendment relating thereto.

When this amendment to which I have referred was under discussion in the Senate, an amendment was offered to it, known as the Reed amendment, which is entirely unrelated to the amendment in question. It is as follows:

Whoever shall order, purchase, or cause intoxicating liquors to be transported in interstate commerce except for scientific, sacramental, medicinal, and mechanical purposes into any State or Territory the laws of which State or Territory prohibit the manufacture or sale therein of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes shall be punished as aforesaid.

This amendment was frankly offered and frankly defended, on the proposition that it was the purpose of those offering it and supporting it, while they did not believe in prohibition, to make prohibition obnoxious by making prohibition territory "bone-dry," as it is called, even though the prohibition laws of the State do not themselves provide for or attempt to create a so-called "bone-dry" condition; that is, a condition under which no liquor in any quantity can be secured in any way.

I am opposed to this provision for various reasons:

First. Until and unless we shall have uniform prohibition all over the country through a Federal amendment, for which I have heretofore voted and for which I would vote again, I do not think that the Congress of the United States has any business to make the prohibition laws of a State any more drastic than the State itself has made them.

Quite a number of the prohibition States, while prohibiting the manufacture and sale of liquor, have made no attempt to interfere with the personal use of liquor if one can secure it. A number of the prohibition States have provided by statute that a certain amount of liquor can be imported into the State by individuals for their own use. There may be some ground for difference of opinion as to the wisdom, logic, or propriety of provisions of that sort, but in the main really sincere temperance and prohibition workers have been inclined to favor such provisions, for a time at least, rather than to attempt an absolutely "bone-dry" condition.

Whatever may be our views with regard to these provisions, however, they are provisions which have been adopted by the people of the States with full knowledge of what they mean, and it is my opinion that Congress is not at this time justified in attempting to make prohibition conditions in a State more drastic than the State itself has made them.

Second. I am always suspicious of measures that, while they may be supported by a certain number of the friends of the cause they are assumed to promote, are also supported by the enemies or opponents of such a cause. From what was said in another body and what we have heard here to-day, it is very clear that the Reed amendment has its support largely among those who are not favorable to prohibition. I think the roll call will develop that it will be voted for by many who are not favorable to prohibition and have not voted for prohibition measures. On the other hand, a number of the most active advocates of temperance and prohibition in this House have spoken and will on the roll call be recorded as against the Reed amendment.

There is no doubt, in my opinion, but what it is hoped and expected by some that the adoption of the Reed amendment will check the prohibition movement. The idea is that if States which have not absolutely prohibited all importation and have not endeavored to entirely prevent limited personal use of liquors under their prohibition laws are to be made "bone-dry" by Federal prohibition of importation, there will be a demand for the repeal of prohibition laws, and that if prohibition when adopted shall, without regard to the character of the State's statutes, be made "bone-dry" by Federal enactment, an increased sentiment against prohibition will be developed in the States that shall hereafter vote on prohibition amendments. That is the view of some, at least, of the supporters of this proposition frankly stated.

No such provision as this is necessary in States that have in connection with their prohibition laws made it unlawful to have or possess liquor shipped in from outside States. The Webb-Kenyon law, which I supported, provides for that. In other words, it invokes the aid of the Federal Government to make the State law effective. The Reed amendment, on the contrary, invokes the aid of the Federal Government to prevent what the State law authorizes.

If the proponents of the Reed amendment really wanted to invoke the authority of the Federal Government in an effective way to prevent the transportation of liquor, why did not they present a measure making it unlawful to transport liquor through interstate commerce for beverage purposes anywhere and everywhere? The Reed amendment does not interfere with the shipment of liquor in any quantity into a "wet" State. It simply proposes in accordance with the frank acknowledgment of its original supporters to make prohibition unpopular and thus prevent its further spread by saying to the people who have adopted laws which do away with the saloons and prevent the sale of liquor, "having gone that far, we will give you a touch of the real thing by seeing that no one in your State gets a drop of liquor from outside the State."

Many temperance advocates, many of the strongest supporters of prohibition here in Washington and elsewhere, have warned against the Reed amendment. Many men who believe in prohibition will nevertheless vote for it, but along with them will be many gentlemen who have been conspicuous in their opposition to restrictive or prohibition measures. If I believed that the legislation prohibiting liquor advertising where the State prohibits it would fail by my voting against the Reed amendment, I would be tempted to vote for the Reed amendment in order to save the other provision, but there is no danger of that, and therefore I shall vote against adopting the Senate amendment as a whole in order to voice my opposition to the Reed amendment.

Migratory-Bird Treaty Act.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MURRAY HULBERT,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 20, 1917.

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following letter in reply to a communication which the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. SHACKLEFORD] received from Deputy Commissioner Arthur D. Holthaus, of the State game and fish department of Missouri, and inserted in the RECORD of February 9, 1917, page 308:

PERMANENT WILD LIFE PROTECTION FUND,
New York, February 13, 1917.

Hon. MURRAY HULBERT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. HULBERT: On February 9 the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (p. 308) was made an instrument for the dissemination of certain false statements regarding the Permanent Wild Life Protection Fund, of which the writer hereof is a trustee. Representative SHACKLEFORD, of Missouri, printed, by request, a letter from Arthur D. Holthaus, of St. Louis, Mo., which contains various untruthful statements that now require refutation by the same means that was employed for their dissemination.

After reciting the fact that the promoters of the Weeks-McLean Federal migratory-bird law are actively supporting the Flood bill (H. R. 20080) providing for carrying into effect the terms of the treaty recently ratified with Canada, Mr. Holthaus says:

"I desire to state that all the above activity is being carried on by the arms and ammunition makers in the East," etc.

I hereby declare to you, and to Congress, that the above statement is false and misleading.

Mr. Holthaus also says:

"The American Game Protective Association, of 233 Broadway, New York City; National Association of Audubon Societies, of 1974 Broadway, New York; and the Permanent Wild Life Protection Fund, also of New York City, are the official representatives of the large arms and ammunition makers," etc.

I desire to place on record the fact that the above statement regarding the Permanent Wild Life Protection Fund is totally false and misleading, and without a shadow of foundation in fact. To the best of my knowledge and belief there is not one person in the list of founders, subscribers, or occasional contributors to the Permanent Wild Life Protection Fund who owns even one share of stock in the Remington, or Winchester-U. M. C. Companies, or who ever has owned any interest in either of them. On account of the long-standing fight of the undersigned against the automatic and pump-shot guns of those companies, he is cordially hated by the officers and stockholders of those companies; and that state of hostility is perpetual, because of my perpetual war on those murderous guns.

To the best of my knowledge and belief, the statement of Mr. Holthaus is equally false regarding the National Association of Audubon Societies.

The letter of Mr. Holthaus is a fair sample of the reckless, vindictive, and untruthful methods that have been employed on various occasions by Mr. Holthaus and others in and from Missouri to force upon Congress the rule-or-ruin policy of the spring shooters of Missouri. Many Members of Congress are already familiar with the attacks that have been made on the undersigned by one of the members of another body, who all along has willfully and intentionally concealed the truth regarding my zoological field work in India and Borneo. He has carefully refrained from stating that the animals shot and preserved by me were taken solely as museum specimens, and to-day help to enrich the collections of many American and foreign museums.

Fortunately, however, the Congress of the United States is not easily fooled by the enemies of wild life; and up to date the records of both the House and the Senate as continuous and unfailing defenders of wild life remain absolutely unbroken.

I move that the Flood-Hitchcock bill do pass.

Faithfully, yours,

WILLIAM T. HORNADAY,
Campaigning Trustee.

The Present Crisis in Our International Affairs.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 22, 1917.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me, I wish to print as a part of my remarks a number of letters, resolutions, articles, and other expressions bearing upon the present crisis in our international relations, prefacing them with a report of the results of a postal-card referendum in my district up to Thursday morning, February 22. It is thought proper for me to say in connection with the referendum that practically every class of citizens is represented, including ministers, lawyers, doctors, bankers, merchants, mill workers, trainmen, factory operatives, miners, farmers, and laborers, many of them known to me personally. I am convinced that the sentiment developed by the referendum is fairly representative of that of the entire community from which it comes. The figures follow:

Against entering the war and for a national referendum	539
Against entering the war	362
Total against entering the war	901
In favor of entering the war	89
Total number of cards received	990

MASS MEETING AT JOHNSTOWN, PA.

Upward of 700 residents of Johnstown and vicinity assembled in the Majestic Theater, Johnstown, Cambria County, Pa., at 3 o'clock Sunday afternoon, February 18, 1917, in response to the following call:

The men and women of Johnstown are asked to assemble in mass meeting at the Majestic Theater, Sunday afternoon, February 18, at 3 p. m.

PURPOSE.

To encourage President Wilson and the Congress of the United States in their efforts to keep our country out of the European war:

1. By voicing our protest against the agitation by the metropolitan press and other powerful interests which would persuade our Government that war with Germany is inevitable.

2. By emphasizing the fact that our national honor, like our individual honor, can be sullied only by our own acts; that our national ideals on which alone our honor as a nation must rest would be endangered by being drawn into the mighty struggle that is drenching Europe with human blood.

The Rev. J. N. Scholes, First Christian Church; the Rev. R. D. Clare, First English Lutheran Church; the Rev. S. N. Carpenter, Trinity Lutheran Church; the Rev. David Berkey, Beulah United Evangelical Church; the Rev. H. C. Michael, Moxham Lutheran Church; the Rev. A. K. Travis, Grove Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church; the Rev. E. W. Rishel, United Evangelical Church; the Rev. Father Stephen Ward St. John Gualbert's Catholic Church; Rabbi Hyman H. Kaminsky, Rodef Sholem Congregation; C. W. Gould, W. F. Patch, Fred Krebs, Thos. Barnes, P. S. Fisher, B. Elkins Longwell, M. J. Boyle, P. H. Mahaffey, H. S. Bender, Jos. R. Swope, John E. Gable, J. N. Adee, George W. Swank, Henry W. Salus, John S. Gaffney, Albert J. Owen, W. F. Murdock, R. G. Rose, Joseph T. Kelly, Fred W. Church, James E. Kress, Curt Barnhart, Jas. A. Warren.

H. S. Bender presided at the meeting. Addresses were delivered by Prof. J. N. Adee, superintendent of Johnstown city schools; the Rev. J. N. Scholes, pastor of the First Christian Church; the Rev. Stephen A. Ward, of St. John Gaulbert's Catholic Church; the Rev. S. L. Postlethwait, pastor of the First United Brethren Church; John H. McCann, Esq., of Ebensburg, Pa., and Judge Francis J. O'Connor.

Chairman Bender named as members of a committee on resolutions: John E. Gable, Fred Krebs, P. H. Mahaffey, Joseph R. Swope, and the Rev. S. N. Carpenter.

From the committee on resolutions, Mr. Gable reported as follows:

"*Resolved*, That copies of the resolutions here adopted be made, together with a minute of the call for this meeting and of the proceedings, and that they be sent to the President of the United States, to Representative WARREN WORTH BAILEY, and to United States Senator BOIES PENROSE."

On motion the resolution was adopted.

The committee further reported:

"We, the people of Johnstown, Cambria County, Pa., in mass meeting assembled, send greetings to the President and the Congress of the United States, and assurances of our fervent sympathy with and our foldest hopes for the complete success of their honorable efforts to keep our country out of the European war.

"We note that it has been charged on the floor of Congress that a concerted effort of interests, finding expression through a part of the metropolitan press, is being made 'to create sentiment and coerce the Government of the United States into an attitude of hostility to one of the belligerent powers,' and we pray that the war clamors of such interests be not mistaken for the voice of the American people.

"We believe that our national honor can be sullied only by official acts inconsistent with the ideas of democracy set forth in the Declaration of Independence, and that the loss of life and shipping in the European war zone incident to attempted blockade can not be construed as attacks upon our national honor justifying a declaration of war."

On motion the resolution was unanimously adopted.

The committee further reported, for the purpose of testing the sentiment of the meeting on the subject involved, but not as a part of the resolutions to be transmitted to the President and Congress, the following resolution:

"We believe the time to be past when the horrors of war may be visited on a people by their rulers, and that the United States should declare to the world the principle that except to resist invasion no government has the moral right to declare war save by referendum vote of the people."

On motion, the resolution was adopted.

Mr. S. H. Scott moved and it was seconded that the resolution referring to a referendum vote on the question of war be transmitted to the President and to Congress together with the resolution previously adopted. The motion prevailed, and it was so ordered.

(This minute is written by John E. Gable.)

I hereby certify to the correctness of these minutes and to the facts as set forth.

H. S. BENDER,
Chairman of Mass Meeting.

JOHN H. McCANN,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
EBENSBURG, PA., *February 19, 1917.*

Hon. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BAILEY: I want to be one of the people back home to send you a word of encouragement in this hour when you are fighting for us the greatest battle of your life. I want you to feel that we appreciate your struggle to the utmost.

On Saturday, Mr. Bailey, you proved your worth. We knew it was in you, but the world knows it now, and the service you rendered Saturday to the cause of humanity will not be in vain. Even the vote on expunging the record shows that there is hope that the House of Representatives, when the crucial test comes, will be with you and the people.

Yesterday afternoon in Johnstown the mention of your name was applauded to the echo by an audience of 700. It was a representative audience. There was not one dissenting voice. Johnstown loves you; your district loves you; your people know you are fighting their battles now, and they thank God for you in this hour of need.

The man in the street, the plain man, who earns his bread in the sweat of his brow, does not want this war, and you know, and I know, that he is the one who must bear the burden of the fight, and the economic burden that follows. And these plain men are the ones who possess the physical courage that war needs, but they have the moral courage, too, of which you speak, and they do not want war. From a moral standpoint, they do not feel that our national honor has been insulted. They feel that we might inconvenience ourselves temporarily, in trade, that a great service to the cause of humanity might be performed, by keeping the great arbiter of nations out of the war, and in a position, where it can render the greatest and most disinterested service to the cause of world peace in the future.

The hearts of the mothers of America turn to you to-day, and you voice their prayer that God will let this chalice pass from them.

There is a cumulative quality, or power, in a nation that in great emergencies gathers together all that is best and noblest in a people, and thus we have the "man of the hour," and we believe that you have come to us out of the very soul of the Nation in this hour of distress.

With sincerest regard, I remain, sincerely, your friend,

JOHN H. McCANN.

GERMAN BENEFICIAL UNION,
Portage, Pa., February 19, 1917.

Hon. WARREN W. BAILEY.

DEAR SIR: We, the members of the German Beneficial Union, of Portage, Pa., expect you to do all you can to keep us out of war. Honor not at stake. We want peace.

Yours, truly,

JACOB KREUTZBERGER, *President.*
JOHN ENDERLEIN, *Secretary.*

[From the Johnstown (Pa.) Leader.]

JOHNSTOWN ON WAR.

Upward of 700 citizens of Johnstown assembled Sunday afternoon and declared by resolution addressed to the President and the Congress of the United States that "the loss of life and shipping in the European war zones incident to attempted blockades can not be construed as attacks upon our national honor justifying a declaration of war."

Upon this a representative audience, made up largely of young men, was unanimous.

Johnstown protests that so far as it knows there is not now a state of war or a condition of hostility which makes war inevitable or unavoidable. Johnstown protests against what Senator STONE, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, described as a concerted effort of interests finding expression through the metropolitan press to create sentiment and coerce the Government of the United States into an attitude of hostility with one of the belligerent powers.

Men of high standing did the speaking, and men and women of high ideals of citizenship and of undoubted patriotism did the voting. They addressed themselves to the issue of war or peace. Theirs was no pacifist or militarist affair; they did not discuss preparedness, compulsory military training and service, a large or small Army, a strong or a weak Navy. They deliberatly recorded the verdict of their best judgment that no foreign power has wantonly made war upon American interests, American citizens, and the American flag, and that short of this they are for peace.

In the action taken we believe this Johnstown audience approximated the majority view of the country as a whole. Two years ago it might have been different. At that time the best sentiment of the people was overwhelmingly in favor of asserting and unholding our rights as neutrals under all circumstances and against all powers. The people were ready for much more emphatic action than was forthcoming from the Wilson-Bryan administration in our quarrels with Germany and Great Britain. They felt then that belligerents could have been compelled to respect the American flag. When insults and injuries were tolerated month after month they accepted the declared policy of neutrality as having been laid down in good faith.

But recently they have doubted. Now they are certain that this Government is in danger of being swept off its feet and hurled into the war on the side of the allies. They do not want to go to war on any existing grounds, and they refuse to agree that this Nation shall be involved without their consent.

Ordinarily we doubt the wisdom of burying the White House under a flood of memorials and petitions. This, however, is no ordinary occasion. As a speaker said, "Once war is declared, we can do nothing, think of nothing, but to support the Government's armed efforts. Protest then will be treason. Protest now in behalf of truth and justice should be heard at Washington."

"I think we can trust the President" is a fine sentiment. We trust him to do his best for his country. But he and Congress can not do their best unless every step of the way, either toward war or toward peace, is justified in the minds of the people. If Mr. Wilson is denied the benefit of frank expression of public sentiment, if he is to be left in the dark as to whether his people are ready and willing to follow a course which seems to them unwise and uncalled for, the confidence we have in him is worth a great deal less to the country than is the motto stamped upon our coins, "In God We Trust."

—

TYRONE, PA., *February 16, 1917.*

Hon. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We, as constituents of your congressional district, and as citizens of the borough of Tyrone, Pa., and as employees of the Tyrone Daily Herald office, hereby commend your efforts for peace.

We hope you will continue to do all you can to keep our country out of war. Honor is not at stake. We want peace. With you, we believe "it is more patriotic to live for our country than to die for it," and that "Strife only means life."

Very respectfully submitted.

GEORGE OBERLY.
EARL W. HART.
W. C. HUSTON.
JOHN H. BRINDLE.
S. E. KELLOGG.
T. C. SMITH.
U. G. LEHMAN.

—

CHICAGO, *February 17, 1917.*

Hon. WARREN WORTH BAILEY:

Your position that a referendum vote should be taken before war is declared is absolutely correct.

Ours is a Government "Of the people, for the people, and by the people," and we are going to have that vote, because in war it is the people who spend their blood.

Stick to it; the people are with you.

CHAS. L. PARKER.

—

MOYLAN, PA., *February 17, 1917.*

Congressman BAILEY, of Pennsylvania.

ESTEEMED FRIEND: I have noted with sincere approval your action in voting against the naval appropriation bill. It is fortunate for our country that we have some men who can not be stampeded and who realize that democracy and war are incompatible, as also are Christianity and war. If we go to war with any country, we must give up our civil and religious liberty and submit to the most exacting kind of autocracy. I would like to be a citizen of a nation having the courage and conviction to declare to all the world: "We stand for the principle of brotherhood; we will not render to any nation evil for evil; we prefer to suffer for well-doing rather than for evil doing. We will take our chances of being 'gobbled up,' in order that we may lead the world to justice, love, and peace."

Please do all you can to keep us out of war and to kill conscription and all other devices of a like nature.

Very truly,

BENJ. F. WHITSON.

—

ST. LOUIS, MO., *February 18, 1917.*

Congressman WARREN W. BAILEY,
Washington, D. C.:

A native American whose father was among first to enlist when our Union was in danger. Accept my congratulations and thanks for showing up Mr. GARDNER and his pro-British friends. There is not now, nor can likely arise, an adequate cause for war involving our Nation's real honor.

ROLAND F. KREBS.

HOLLIDAYSBURG, PA., *February 17, 1917.*

Hon. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Hearing of a war advertisement in one of the papers I am writing to say that I am personally opposed to this country declaring war so long as there is any honorable way out of it.

In so writing I am positive I express the sentiment of your district.

Yours, respectfully,

WM. MCKILLIP.

—

CHICAGO, *February 19, 1917.*

Your position on the war is right. Stick to it. Ours is a Government "of the people, for the people, by the people," and we are going to have that referendum vote before war is declared. The people are in no mood to be monkeyed with.

GARDNER is wrong.

CHAS. L. PARKER.

—

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *February 21, 1917.*

Congressman WARREN WORTH BAILEY,
Washington, D. C.

I wish to thank you for your efforts to keep us out of war. Considering the present state of mind of the people, I believe it would be unwise for this country to enter the European war without a referendum.

ARTHUR BOHN,
610 Indiana Trust.

—

OBERLIN, OHIO, *February 20, 1917.*

Hon. MR. BAILEY, of Pennsylvania.

DEAR SIR: I see with much gratification some extracts from remarks or speeches recently made by you in the House in the line of opposition to our country being maneuvered into war with Germany. Millions of voters in our country will approve of your attitude and hope that there may prove to be an overwhelming majority in Congress who will stand firmly against war.

Will you kindly send me the copies of CONGRESSIONAL RECORD that contain your speech and similar speeches of the past few days? I will much appreciate the courtesy.

Yours, sincerely,

Rev. H. A. TODD,
Of Scotch (not German) Origin.

—

HOLLIDAYSBURG, PA., *February 20, 1917.*

Hon. WARREN WORTH BAILEY.

MY ESTEEMED FRIEND: I have read in our daily papers of your speech and the action taken by Congress regarding it, and I can not help but write you a few lines to say that I am more than proud of you. Surely you are a man that we all can be proud of. Wish to God we had more men like you. I am only too sorry you will not be in your seat the next term, and hope that my boys and I will have the opportunity to vote for you and to see you returned to where you justly belong and have merited a right to be.

Believe me, I am, sincerely, your friend. You voice my sentiments exactly.

A. REISER.

—

JOHNSTOWN, PA., *February 19, 1917.*

Hon. WARREN W. BAILEY.

DEAR FRIEND: Allow me to thank you and congratulate you on the able address you made before Congress for our country, and I hope your work and influence will keep this country from getting mixed up in this war.

Respectfully, yours,

HENRY J. RAAB.

—

UNION FURNACE MANUFACTURING CO. (INC.),
UNION FURNACE, PA., *February 20, 1917.*

Hon. WARREN W. BAILEY.

DEAR SIR: I, a voter in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, am opposed to the United States going to war over the present submarine issue with Germany.

Yours, truly,

H. HIMMELWRIGHT.

—

WEST PHILADELPHIA, PA., *February 19, 1917.*

Hon. WARREN W. BAILEY,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: The stand that you have taken during this present crisis is highly commendable. It is a pleasure to know that we still have a few men who have the courage of their convictions.

Very respectfully,

JOHN BABIS, Jr.

—

C. F. BLANKE TEA & COFFEE CO.,
St. Louis, February 19, 1917.

Hon. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,
Congressman from Pennsylvania,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I wish to congratulate you on the speech you made in Congress on our relations with the belligerent countries. If more men in public life would have the courage to give their views publicly like you have, it would be better for this country and help keep this country out of trouble. For this country to throw itself into those European troubles at this time would be a crime that should rest upon the shoulders of those guilty of bringing the country into trouble and should be held responsible, for there will be some day when this country will wake up and realize the awful mistake they have made.

Respectfully, yours,

C. F. BLANKE.

—

ALTOONA, PA., *February 20, 1917.*

Hon. WARREN W. BAILEY,
Congressman.

DEAR SIR: I trust that you will do all in your power to avoid our beloved country being drawn into war with Europe or any other country; also that you will oppose with all your force the proposed law

making it obligatory for all young men to spend six months in military training. My sentiments are peace at any price, for there is nothing in war but misery, no matter who wins, and the final outcome is decided by men sitting around a table. So why not sit around the table in the first place and save these countless millions the awful misery that is sure to follow.

Very truly, yours,

H. C. NAGLE,
No. 311 Willow Avenue.
SHARBAUGH & LIEB,
Barnesboro, Pa., February 19, 1917.

—

Hon. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I wish to congratulate you on your speech delivered in Congress on Saturday, February 17. You certainly voiced the sentiments of many true Americans. We are proud of a man from our district who has the moral courage to stand up against the crowd who would be foolish enough to get the United States mixed up in the war-mad countries of Europe.

Wishing you success in your noble battle for peace, I beg to remain,

Your admiring friend,

A. A. LIEB.

—

JOHNSTOWN, PA., *February 19, 1917.*

Hon. W. W. BAILEY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: It is my desire to express my approval and commendation to you for the emphatic and patriotic stand taken in Congress the 17th instant to keep our people from being rushed into this accursed conflict raging in all Europe; a condition that no man can see the end or predict the outcome other than the destruction of the white man entirely—who now is fast bleeding to death—if we shall become involved.

We have other menaces, if forced to an issue, that are big enough for America.

I believe that you feel as I do that it is the autocratic, plutocratic, and the so-called aristocratic element that propagate jingoism and the war spirit.

My position is: Not one penny for offensive war, but my all for defensive if war be waged on us.

Sincerely, yours,

S. H. CAUFFIEL.

—

CONEMAUGH, PA., *February 19, 1917.*

Hon. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR BAILEY: Accept my hearty congratulations on your very able address before Congress the other day. It surpasses every other address I have read this winter by long odds. Stick to your ground. The best people are with you in your noble stand.

Yours, very sincerely,

GEORGE MARTIN.

—

FARMINGTON, MO., *February 19, 1917.*

Mr. W. W. BAILEY,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR FRIEND: I write to commend your action in regard to inclosed slip. I am glad to know you take the stand with the Hon. W. J. Bryan for peace. It is a pleasure to know there are a few left who defy British gold; a few who hold principle above a punctilio.

Yours, truly,

E. M. LAAKMAN.

Our Diplomatic Struggle for the Freedom of the Seas as Revealed in Our Controversy With Great Britain.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. S. D. FESS,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, February 9, 1917.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, by permission of the House I printed on the 8th of this month the documents detailing the controversy with Germany on the submarine issue. On the following day the House granted my request to assemble and print the documents detailing our controversy with Great Britain on contraband, blockade, and neutral rights upon the sea. These controversies between this Government and the two belligerent powers have been treated separately, and having already inserted the German controversy I now propose to insert a logical arrangement of our controversy with England.

The rights of a neutral country in times of war are invariably invaded by belligerents whose incursions, oblivious of international practices, approach the limit where endurance breaks down. This is always placed upon the ground of actual necessity and such necessity as the violator decrees.

To establish rules of the sea for both belligerent and neutral to observe, attempts have been made by groups of nations to agree upon a code.

Such was the Declaration of Paris in 1856, coming at the close of the Crimean War, in which Russia, Turkey, England, and France were interested. This famous agreement which has stood as the law of the rights of neutrals for 60 years was as follows:

ARTICLE 2.

The neutral flag covers enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war.

ARTICLE 3.

Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under the enemy's flag.

ARTICLE 4.

Blockades in order to be binding must be effective; that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coasts of the enemy.

The chief defender of the neutrals' rights has been Great Britain, primarily because the sea is her chief highway of commerce. Her endeavors have been as a neutral to keep open the lanes of trade. One of the most stubborn questions was that of contraband.

In 1898, when she was a belligerent, then in the Boer War, she took the following position:

Foodstuffs, though having a hostile destination, can be considered as contraband of war only if they are for the enemy's forces; it is not sufficient that they are capable of being so used, it must be shown that this was in fact their destination at the time of their seizure.

The most important and widely heralded announcement of naval operations touching the rights of neutrals and privileges of belligerents was the famous Hague pronouncements of 1907, in which 46 nations were represented, including all the sea powers. It is interesting to note Britain's position on the question of contraband as embraced in Grey's instructions to her delegates:

His Majesty's Government recognize to the full the desirability of freeing neutral commerce to the utmost extent possible from interference by belligerent powers, and they are ready and willing for their part, in lieu of endeavoring to frame new and more satisfactory rules for the prevention of contraband trade in the future, to abandon the principle of contraband of war altogether, thus allowing the oversea trade in neutral vessels between belligerents on the one hand and neutrals on the other to continue during war without any restriction, subject only to its exclusion by blockade from an enemy's port. They are convinced that not only the interest of Great Britain but the common interest of all nations will be found on an unbiased examination of the subject to be served by the adoption of the course suggested.

The recommendation here was made that the delegates to The Hague convention use their power to induce the convention to abolish contraband.

In the event of the proposal not being favorably received, an endeavor should be made to frame a list of the articles that are to be regarded as contraband. Your efforts should then be directed to restricting that definition within the narrowest possible limits and upon lines which have the point of practical extinction as their ultimate aim.

Continuing the instructions of Grey:

If a definite list of contraband can not be secured, you should support and, if necessary, propose regulations intended to insure that nations shall publish, during peace, the list of articles they will regard as contraband during war, and that no change shall be made in the list on the outbreak of or during hostilities.

I here insert the findings of the conference touching the points of interest to us as a neutral power, insisting upon neutral rights upon the sea.

CHAPTER I.—POSTAL CORRESPONDENCE.

ARTICLE 1.

The postal correspondence of neutrals or belligerents, whatever its official or private character may be, found on the high seas on board a neutral or enemy ship, is inviolable. If the ship is detained, the correspondence is forwarded by the captor with the least possible delay.

The provisions of the preceding paragraph do not apply, in case of violation of blockade, to correspondence destined for or proceeding from a blockaded port.

ARTICLE 2.

The inviolability of postal correspondence does not exempt a neutral mail ship from the laws and customs of maritime war as to neutral merchant ships in general. The ship, however may not be searched except when absolutely necessary, and then only with as much consideration and expedition as possible.

CHAPTER II.—THE EXEMPTION FROM CAPTURE OF CERTAIN VESSELS.

ARTICLE 3.

Vessels used exclusively for fishing along the coast or small boats employed in local trade are exempt from capture, as well as their appliances, rigging, tackle, and cargo.

They cease to be exempt as soon as they take any part whatever in hostilities.

The contracting powers agree not to take advantage of the harmless character of the said vessels in order to use them for military purposes while preserving their peaceful appearance.

ARTICLE 4.

Vessels charged with religious, scientific, or philanthropic missions are likewise exempt from capture.

CHAPTER III.—REGULATIONS REGARDING THE CREWS OF ENEMY MERCHANT SHIPS CAPTURED BY A BELLIGERENT.

ARTICLE 5.

When an enemy merchant ship is captured by a belligerent, such of its crew as are nationals of a neutral State are not made prisoners of war.

The same rule applies in the case of the captain and officers likewise nationals of a neutral State, if they promise formally in writing not to serve on an enemy ship while the war lasts.

ARTICLE 6.

The captain, officers, and members of the crew, when nationals of the enemy State, are not made prisoners of war, on condition that they make a formal promise in writing not to undertake, while hostilities last, any service connected with the operations of the war.

ARTICLE 7.

The names of the persons retaining their liberty under the conditions laid down in article 5, paragraph 2, and in article 6, are notified by the belligerent captor to the other belligerent. The latter is forbidden knowingly to employ the said persons.

ARTICLE 8.

The provisions of the three preceding articles do not apply to ships taking part in the hostilities.

CHAPTER IV.—FINAL PROVISIONS.

ARTICLE 9.

The provisions of the present convention do not apply except between contracting powers, and then only if all the belligerents are parties to the convention.

ARTICLE 10.

The present convention shall be ratified as soon as possible.

The ratifications shall be deposited at The Hague.

The first deposit of ratifications shall be recorded in a procès verbal signed by the representatives of the powers taking part therein and by the Netherland minister for foreign affairs.

Subsequent deposits of ratifications shall be made by means of a written notification, addressed to the Netherland Government and accompanied by the instrument of ratification.

A duly certified copy of the procès verbal relative to the first deposit of ratifications, of the notifications mentioned in the preceding paragraph, as well as of the instruments of ratification, shall be at once sent by the Netherland Government, through the diplomatic channel, to the powers invited to the second peace conference, as well as to the other powers which have adhered to the convention. In the cases contemplated in the preceding paragraph, the said Government shall inform them at the same time of the date on which it received the notification.

ARTICLE 11.

Nonsignatory powers may adhere to the present convention.

The power which desires to adhere notifies its intention in writing to the Netherland Government, forwarding to it the act of adhesion, which shall be deposited in the archives of the said Government.

This Government shall at once transmit to all the other powers a duly certified copy of the notification as well as of the act of adhesion, mentioning the date on which it received the notification.

ARTICLE 12.

The present convention shall come into force in the case of the powers which were a party to the first deposit of ratification 60 days after the procès-verbal of that deposit, and in the case of the powers which ratify subsequently or which adhere 60 days after the notification of their ratification has been received by the Netherland Government.

ARTICLE 13.

In the event of one of the contracting powers wishing to denounce the present convention, the denunciation shall be notified in writing to the Netherland Government, which shall at once communicate a duly certified copy of the notification to all the other powers, informing them of the date on which it was received.

The denunciation shall only have effect in regard to the notifying power and one year after the notification has reached the Netherland Government.

ARTICLE 14.

A register kept by the Netherland ministry for foreign affairs shall give the date of the deposit of ratifications made in virtue of article 10, paragraphs 3 and 4, as well as the date on which the notifications of adhesion (art. 11, par. 2) or of denunciation (art. 13, par. 1) have been received.

Each contracting power is entitled to have access to this register and to be supplied with duly certified extracts from it.

In faith whereof the plenipotentiaries have appended their signatures to the present convention.

Done at The Hague, the 18th October, 1907, in a single copy, which shall remain deposited in the archives of the Netherland Government, and duly certified copies of which shall be sent, through the diplomatic channel, to the powers invited to the second peace conference.

[Here follow signatures.]

RATIFICATIONS, ADHESIONS, AND RESERVATIONS.

The foregoing convention was ratified by the following signatory powers on the dates indicated:

Austria-Hungary, November 27, 1909.
Belgium, August 8, 1910.
Brazil, January 5, 1914.
Denmark, November 27, 1909.
France, October 7, 1910.
Germany, November 27, 1909.
Great Britain, November 27, 1909.
Guatemala, March 15, 1911.
Haiti, February 2, 1910.
Japan, December 13, 1911.
Luxemburg, September 5, 1912.
Mexico, November 27, 1909.
Netherlands, November 27, 1909.
Norway, September 19, 1910.
Panama, September 11, 1911.
Portugal, April 13, 1911.
Roumania, March 1, 1912.
Salvador, November 27, 1909.
Siam, March 12, 1910.
Spain, March 18, 1913.
Sweden, November 27, 1909.
Switzerland, May 12, 1910.
United States, November 27, 1909.

Then, Mr. Speaker, the activities of the prize courts make it necessary to review the latest international agreement upon the powers of such a court as outlined by The Hague Conference in 1907.

PART I.—GENERAL PROVISIONS.

ARTICLE 1.

The validity of the capture of a merchant ship or its cargo is decided before a prize court in accordance with the present convention when neutral or enemy property is involved.

ARTICLE 2.

Jurisdiction in matters of prize is exercised in the first instance by the prize courts of the belligerent captor.

The judgments of these courts are pronounced in public or are officially notified to parties concerned who are neutrals or enemies.

ARTICLE 3.

The judgments of national prize courts may be brought before the International Prize Court—

1. When the judgment of the national prize courts affects the property of a neutral power or individual;

2. When the judgment affects enemy property and relates to—

(a) Cargo on board a neutral ship;

(b) An enemy ship captured in the territorial waters of a neutral power, when that power has not made the capture the subject of a diplomatic claim;

(c) A claim based upon the allegation that the seizure has been effected in violation, either of the provisions of a convention in force between the belligerent powers, or of an enactment issued by the belligerent captor.

The appeal against the judgment of the national court can be based on the ground that the judgment was wrong either in fact or in law.

ARTICLE 4.

An appeal may be brought—

1. By a neutral power, if the judgment of the national tribunals injuriously affects its property or the property of its nationals (art. 3, No. 1), or if the capture of an enemy vessel is alleged to have taken place in the territorial waters of that power (art. 3, No. 2b);

2. By a neutral individual, if the judgment of the national court injuriously affects his property (art. 3, No. 1), subject, however, to the reservation that the power to which he belongs may forbid him to bring the case before the court, or may itself undertake the proceedings in his place;

3. By an individual subject or citizen of an enemy power, if the judgment of the national court injuriously affects his property in the cases referred to in article 3, No. 2, except that mentioned in paragraph b.

ARTICLE 5.

An appeal may also be brought on the same conditions as in the preceding article, by persons belonging either to neutral States or to the enemy, deriving their rights from and entitled to represent an individual qualified to appeal, and who have taken part in the proceedings before the national court. Persons so entitled may appeal separately to the extent of their interest.

The same rule applies in the case of persons belonging either to neutral States or to the enemy who derive their rights from and are entitled to represent a neutral power whose property was the subject of the decision.

ARTICLE 6.

When, in accordance with the above article 3, the international court has jurisdiction, the national courts can not deal with a case in more than two instances. The municipal law of the belligerent captor shall decide whether the case may be brought before the international court after judgment has been given in first instance or only after an appeal.

If the national courts fail to give final judgment within two years from the date of capture, the case may be carried direct to the international court.

ARTICLE 7.

If a question of law to be decided is covered by a treaty in force between the belligerent captor and a power which is itself or whose subject or citizen is a party to the proceedings, the court is governed by the provisions of the said treaty.

In the absence of such provisions, the court shall apply the rules of international law. If no generally recognized rule exists, the court shall give judgment in accordance with the general principles of justice and equity.

The above provisions apply equally to questions relating to the order and mode of proof.

If in accordance with article 3, No. 2c, the ground of appeal is the violation of an enactment issued by the belligerent captor, the court will enforce the enactment.

The court may disregard failure to comply with the procedure laid down in the enactments of the belligerent captor, when it is of opinion that the consequences of complying therewith are unjust and inequitable.

ARTICLE 8.

(See art. 2 of the additional protocol.)

If the court pronounces the capture of the vessel or cargo to be valid, they shall be disposed of in accordance with the laws of the belligerent captor.

If it pronounces the capture to be null, the court shall order restitution of the vesel or cargo, and shall fix, if there is occasion, the amount of the damages. If the vessel or cargo have been sold or destroyed, the court shall determine the compensation to be given to the owner on this account.

If the national court pronounced the capture to be null, the court can only be asked to decide as to the damages.

ARTICLE 9.

The contracting powers undertake to submit in good faith to the decisions of the International Prize Court and to carry them out with the least possible delay.

PART II—CONSTITUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL PRIZE COURT.

ARTICLE 10.

The International Prize Court is composed of judges and deputy judges, who will be appointed by the contracting powers, and must all be jurists of known proficiency in questions of international maritime law, and of the highest moral reputation.

The appointment of these judges and deputy judges shall be made within six months after the ratification of the present convention.

ARTICLE 11.

The judges and deputy judges are appointed for a period of six years, reckoned from the date on which the notification of their appointment is received by the administrative council established by the convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes of the 29th July, 1899. Their appointments can be renewed.

Should one of the judges or deputy judges die or resign, the same procedure is followed for filling the vacancy as was followed for appointing him. In this case the appointment is made for a fresh period of six years.

ARTICLE 12.

The judges of the International Prize Court are all equal in rank and have precedence according to the date on which the notification of their appointment was received (art. 11, par. 1), and if they sit by rota (art. 15, par. 2), according to the date on which they entered upon their duties. When the date is the same the senior in age takes precedence.

The deputy judges when acting are assimilated to the judges. They rank, however, after them.

ARTICLE 13.

The judges enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities in the performance of their duties and when outside their own country.

Before taking their seat the judges must swear, or make a solemn promise before the administrative council, to discharge their duties impartially and conscientiously.

ARTICLE 14.

The court is composed of 15 judges; 9 judges constitute a quorum.

A judge who is absent or prevented from sitting is replaced by the deputy judge.

ARTICLE 15.

(Reservation of this article was made by Chile, Cuba, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Persia, Salvador, Siam, Turkey, and Uruguay.)

The judges appointed by the following contracting powers, Germany, the United States of America, Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, and Russia, are always summoned to sit.

The judges and deputy judges appointed by the other contracting powers sit by rota as shown in the table annexed to the present convention; their duties may be performed successively by the same person. The same judge may be appointed by several of the said powers.

ARTICLE 16.

If a belligerent power has, according to the rota, no judge sitting in the court, it may ask that the judge appointed by it should take part in the settlement of all cases arising from the war. Lots shall then be drawn as to which of the judges entitled to sit according to the rota shall withdraw. This arrangement does not affect the judge appointed by the other belligerent.

ARTICLE 17.

No judge can sit who has been a party, in any way whatever, to the sentence pronounced by the national courts, or has taken part in the case as counsel or advocate for one of the parties.

No judge or deputy judge can, during his tenure of office, appear as agent or advocate before the International Prize Court nor act for one of the parties in any capacity whatever.

ARTICLE 18.

The belligerent captor is entitled to appoint a naval officer of high rank to sit as assessor, but with no voice in the decision. A neutral power, which is a party to the proceedings or whose subject or citizen is a party, has the same right of appointment; if as the result of this last provision more than one power is concerned, they must agree among themselves, if necessary by lot, on the officer to be appointed.

ARTICLE 19.

The court elects its president and vice president by an absolute majority of the votes cast. After two ballots, the election is made by a bare majority, and, in case the votes are equal, by lot.

ARTICLE 20.

The judges on the International Prize Court are entitled to traveling allowances in accordance with the regulations in force in their own country, and in addition receive, while the courts is setting or while they are carrying out duties conferred upon them by the court, a sum of 100 Netherland florins per diem.

These payments are included in the general expenses of the court dealt with in article 47, and are paid through the International Bureau established by the convention of the 29th July, 1899.

The judges may not receive from their own Government or from that of any other power any remuneration in their capacity of members of the court.

ARTICLE 21.

The seat of the International Prize Court is at The Hague, and it can not, except in the cases of force majeure, be transferred elsewhere without the consent of the belligerents.

ARTICLE 22.

The administrative council fulfills, with regard to the International Prize Court, the same functions as to the Permanent Court of Arbitration, but only representatives of contracting powers will be members of it.

ARTICLE 23.

The International Bureau acts as registry to the International Prize Court and must place its offices and staff at the disposal of the court. It has charge of the archives and carries out the administrative work.

The secretary general of the International Bureau acts as registrar.

The necessary secretaries to assist the registrar, translators, and shorthand writers are appointed and sworn in by the court.

ARTICLE 24.

The court determines which language it will itself use and what languages may be used before it.

In every case the official language of the national courts which have had cognizance of the case may be used before the court.

ARTICLE 25.

Powers which are concerned in a case may appoint special agents to act as intermediaries between themselves and the court. They may also engage counsel or advocates to defend their rights and interests.

ARTICLE 26.

A private person concerned in a case will be represented before the court by an attorney, who must be either an advocate qualified to plead before a court of appeal or a high court of one of the contracting States, or a lawyer practicing before a similar court, or, lastly, a professor of law at one of the higher teaching centers of those countries.

ARTICLE 27.

For all notices to be served, in particular on the parties, witnesses, or experts, the court may apply direct to the Government of the State on whose territory the service is to be carried out. The same rule applies in the case of steps being taken to procure evidence.

The requests for this purpose are to be executed so far as the means at the disposal of the power applied to under its municipal law allow. They can not be rejected unless the power in question considers them calculated to impair its sovereign rights or its safety. If the request is complied with, the fees charged must only comprise the expenses actually incurred.

The court is equally entitled to act through the power on whose territory it sits.

Notices to be given to parties in the place where the court sits may be served through the international bureau.

PART III.—PROCEDURE IN THE INTERNATIONAL PRIZE COURT.

ARTICLE 28.

(See art. 5 of the additional protocol.)

An appeal to the international prize court is entered by means of a written declaration made in the national court which has already dealt with the case or addressed to the international bureau; in the latter case the appeal can be entered by telegram.

The period within which the appeal must be entered is fixed at 120 days, counting from the day the decision is delivered or notified. (Art. 2, par. 2.)

ARTICLE 29.

(See art. 6 of the additional protocol.)

If the notice of appeal is entered in the national court, this court, without considering the question whether the appeal was entered in due time, will transmit within seven days the record of the case to the international bureau.

If the notice of the appeal is sent to the international bureau, the bureau will immediately inform the national court, when possible, by telegraph. The latter will transmit the record as provided in the preceding paragraph.

When the appeal is brought by a neutral individual the international bureau at once informs by telegraph the individual's Government, in order to enable it to enforce the rights it enjoys under article 4, paragraph 2.

ARTICLE 30.

In the case provided for in article 6, paragraph 2, the notice of appeal can be addressed to the international bureau only. It must be entered within 30 days of the expiration of the period of 2 years.

ARTICLE 31.

If the appellant does not enter his appeal within the period laid down in article 28 or 30, it shall be rejected without discussion.

Provided that he can show that he was prevented from so doing by force majeure and that the appeal was entered within 60 days after the circumstances which prevented him entering it before had ceased to operate, the court can, after hearing the respondent, grant relief from the effect of the above provision.

ARTICLE 32.

If the appeal is entered in time, a certified copy of the notice of appeal is forthwith officially transmitted by the court to the respondent.

ARTICLE 33.

If in addition to the parties who are before the court there are other parties concerned who are entitled to appeal, or if, in the case referred to in article 29, paragraph 3, the Government who has received notice of an appeal has not announced its decision, the court will await before dealing with the case the expiration of the period laid down in article 28 or 30.

ARTICLE 34.

The procedure before the international court includes two distinct parts, the written pleadings and oral discussions.

The written pleadings consist of the deposit and exchange of cases, countercases, and, if necessary, of replies, of which the order is fixed by the court, as also the periods within which they must be delivered. The parties annex thereto all papers and documents of which they intend to make use.

A certified copy of every document produced by one party must be communicated to the other party through the medium of the court.

ARTICLE 35.

After the close of the pleadings a public sitting is held on a day fixed by the court.

At this sitting the parties state their view of the case both as to the law and as to the facts.

The court may, at any stage of the proceedings, suspend speeches of counsel, either at the request of one of the parties or on their own initiative, in order that supplementary evidence may be obtained.

ARTICLE 36.

The international court may order the supplementary evidence to be taken either in the manner provided by article 27, or before itself, or one or more of the members of the court, provided that this can be done without resort to compulsion or the use of threats.

If steps are to be taken for the purpose of obtaining evidence by members of the court outside the territory where it is sitting, the consent of the foreign Government must be obtained.

ARTICLE 37.

The parties are summoned to take part in all stages of the proceedings and receive certified copies of the minutes.

ARTICLE 38.

The discussions are under the control of the president or vice president, or, in case they are absent or can not act, of the senior judge present.

The judge appointed by a belligerent party can not preside.

ARTICLE 39.

The discussions take place in public, subject to the right of a government who is a party to the case to demand that they be held in private.

Minutes are taken of these discussions and signed by the president and registrar, and these minutes alone have an authentic character.

ARTICLE 40.

If a party does not appear, despite the fact that he has been duly cited, or if a party fails to comply with some step within the period fixed by the court, the case proceeds without that party, and the court gives judgment in accordance with the material at its disposal.

ARTICLE 41.

The court officially notifies the parties of decrees or decisions made in their absence.

ARTICLE 42.

The court takes into consideration in arriving at its decisions all the facts, evidence, and oral statements.

ARTICLE 43.

The court considers its decision in private and the proceedings are secret.

All questions are decided by a majority of the judges present. If the number of judges is even and equally divided, the vote of the junior judge in the order of precedence laid down in article 12, paragraph 1, is not counted.

ARTICLE 44.

The judgment of the court must give the reasons on which it is based. It contains the names of the judges taking part in it, and also of the assessors, if any; it is signed by the president and registrar.

ARTICLE 45.

(See art. 7 of the additional protocol.)

The sentence is pronounced in public sitting, the parties concerned being present or duly summoned to attend; the sentence is officially communicated to the parties.

When this communication has been made the court transmits to the national prize court the record of the case, together with copies of the various decisions arrived at and of the minutes of the proceedings.

ARTICLE 46.

Each party pays its own costs.

The party against whom the court decides bears, in addition, the costs of the trial, and also pays 1 per cent of the value of the subject matter of the case as a contribution to the general expenses of the international court. The amount of these payments is fixed in the judgment of the court.

If the appeal is brought by an individual, he will furnish the international bureau with security to an amount fixed by the court, for the purpose of guaranteeing eventual fulfillment of the two obligations mentioned in the preceding paragraph. The court is entitled to postpone the opening of the proceedings until the security has been furnished.

ARTICLE 47.

The general expenses of the International Prize Court are borne by the contracting powers in proportion to their share in the composition of the court as laid down in article 15 and in the annexed table. (Post, p. 203.) The appointment of deputy judges does not involve any contribution.

The administrative council applies to the powers for the funds requisite for the working of the court.

ARTICLE 48.

When the court is not sitting the duties conferred upon it by article 32, article 34, paragraphs 2 and 3, article 35, paragraph 1, and article 46, paragraph 3, are discharged by a delegation of three judges appointed by the court. This delegation decides by a majority of votes.

ARTICLE 49.

The court itself draws up its own rules of procedure, which must be communicated to the contracting powers.

It will meet to elaborate these rules within a year of the ratification of the present convention.

ARTICLE 50.

The court may propose modifications in the provisions of the present convention concerning procedure. These proposals are communicated, through the medium of the Netherland Government, to the contracting powers, which will consider together as to the measures to be taken.

PART IV—FINAL PROVISIONS.

ARTICLE 51.

The present convention does not apply as of right except when the belligerent powers are all parties to the convention.

It is further fully understood that an appeal to the International Prize Court can only be brought by a contracting power or the subject or citizen of a contracting power.

In the cases mentioned in article 5 the appeal is only admitted when both the owner and the person entitled to represent him are equally contracting powers or the subjects or citizens of contracting powers.

ARTICLE 52.

The present convention shall be ratified and the ratifications shall be deposited at The Hague as soon as all the powers mentioned in article 15 and in the table annexed are in a position to do so.

The deposit of the ratifications shall take place, in any case, on the 30th June, 1909, if the powers which are ready to ratify furnish nine judges and nine deputy judges to the court, qualified to validly constitute a court. If not, the deposit shall be postponed until this condition is fulfilled.

A minute of the deposit of ratifications shall be drawn up, of which a certified copy shall be forwarded through the diplomatic channel, to each of the powers referred to in the first paragraph. (See art. 8 of the additional protocol, post, p. 207.)

ARTICLE 53.

The powers referred to in article 15 and in the table annexed are entitled to sign the present convention up to the deposit of the ratifications contemplated in paragraph 2 of the preceding article.

After this deposit they can at any time adhere to it, purely and simply. (See art. 9 of the additional protocol, post, p. 207.) A power wishing to adhere, notifies its intention in writing to the Netherlands Government, transmitting to it, at the same time, the act of adhesion, which shall be deposited in the archives of the said Government. The latter shall send, through the diplomatic channel, a certified copy of the notification and of the act of adhesion to all the powers referred to in the preceding paragraph, informing them of the date on which it has received the notification.

ARTICLE 54.

The present convention shall come into force six months from the deposit of the ratifications contemplated in article 52, paragraphs 1 and 2.

The adhesions shall take effect 60 days after notification of such adhesion has been received by the Netherlands Government or as soon as possible on the expiration of the period contemplated in the preceding paragraph.

The international court shall, however, have jurisdiction to deal with prize cases decided by the national courts at any time after the deposit of the ratifications or of the receipt of the notification of the adhesions. In such cases the period fixed in article 28, paragraph 2, shall only be reckoned from the date when the convention comes into force as regards a power which has ratified or adhered.

ARTICLE 55.

The present convention shall remain in force for 12 years from the time it comes into force, as determined by article 54, paragraph 1, even in the case of powers which adhere subsequently.

It shall be renewed tacitly from six years to six years unless denounced.

Denunciation must be notified in writing, at least one year before the expiration of each of the periods mentioned in the two preceding paragraphs, to the Netherlands Government, which will inform all the other contracting powers.

Denunciation shall only take effect in regard to the power which has notified it. The convention shall remain in force in the case of the other contracting powers, provided that their participation in the appointment of judges is sufficient to allow of the composition of the court with nine judges and nine deputy judges.

ARTICLE 56.

In case the present convention is not in operation as regards all the powers referred to in article 15 and the annexed table, the administrative council shall draw up a list on the lines of that article and table of the judges and deputy judges through whom the contracting powers will share in the composition of the court. The times allotted by the said table to judges who are summoned to sit in rota will be redistributed between the different years of the six-year period in such a way that, as far as possible, the number of the judges of the court in each year shall be the same. If the number of deputy judges is greater than that of the judges, the number of the latter can be completed by deputy judges chosen by lot among those powers which do not nominate a judge.

The list drawn up in this way by the administrative council shall be notified to the contracting powers. It shall be revised when the number of these powers is modified as the result of adhesions or denunciations.

The change resulting from an adhesion is not made until the first January after the date on which the adhesion takes effect, unless the adhering power is a belligerent power, in which case it can ask to be at once represented in the court, the provisions of article 16 being, moreover, applicable if necessary.

When the total number of judges is less than 11, 7 judges form a quorum.

ARTICLE 57.

Two years before the expiration of each period referred to in paragraphs 1 and 2 of article 55 any contracting power can demand a modification of the provisions of article 15 and of the annexed table, relative to its participation in the composition of the court. The demand shall be addressed to the administrative council, which will examine it and submit to all the powers proposals as to the measures to be adopted. The powers shall inform the administrative council of their decision with the least possible delay. The result shall be at once, and at least 1 year and 30 days before the expiration of the said period of 2 years, communicated to the power which made the demand.

When necessary, the modifications adopted by the powers shall come into force from the commencement of the fresh period.

SIGNATURES AND RESERVATIONS.

[The deposit of ratifications provided for in art. 52, par. 2, has not yet taken place.]

Both the 1907 convention and the 1910 additional protocol have been signed by the following powers:

Argentine Republic, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Denmark, Ecuador, France, Germany, Great Britain, Guatemala, Haiti, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Persia, Peru, Portugal, Salvador, Siam, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United States, and Uruguay.

Reservations: Chile, Cuba, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Persia, Salvador, Siam, Turkey, and Uruguay signed the convention with reservation of article 15.

Mr. Speaker, in view of the much-discussed question of warships or auxiliaries in neutral waters, I herein insert the findings of The Hague conference on the "Rights and Duties of Neutral Powers in Naval War," as adopted October 18, 1907.

ARTICLE 1.

Belligerents are bound to respect the sovereign rights of neutral powers and to abstain, in neutral territory or neutral waters, from any act which would, if knowingly permitted by any power, constitute a violation of neutrality.

ARTICLE 2.

Any act of hostility, including capture and the exercise of the right of search, committed by belligerent warships in the territorial waters of a neutral power, constitutes a violation of neutrality and is strictly forbidden.

ARTICLE 3.

When a ship has been captured in the territorial waters of a neutral power this power must employ, if the prize is still within its jurisdiction, the means at its disposal to release the prize with its officers and crew and to intern the prize crew.

If the prize is not in the jurisdiction of the neutral power, the captor Government, on the demand of that power, must liberate the prize with its officers and crew.

ARTICLE 4.

A prize court can not be set up by a belligerent on neutral territory or on a vessel in neutral waters.

ARTICLE 5.

Belligerents are forbidden to use neutral ports and waters as a base of naval operations against their adversaries, and in particular to erect wireless telegraphy stations or any apparatus for the purpose of communicating with the belligerent forces on land or sea.

ARTICLE 6.

The supply, in any manner, directly or indirectly, by a neutral power to a belligerent power or warships, ammunition, or war material of any kind whatever is forbidden.

ARTICLE 7.

A neutral power is not bound to prevent the export or transit, for the use of either belligerent, of arms, ammunition, or, in general, of anything which could be of use to an army or fleet.

ARTICLE 8.

A neutral Government is bound to employ the means at its disposal to prevent the fitting out or arming of any vessel within its jurisdiction which it has reason to believe is intended to cruise or engage in hostile operations against a power with which that Government is at peace. It is also bound to display the same vigilance to prevent the departure from its jurisdiction of any vessel intended to cruise or engage in hostile operations which had been adapted entirely or partly within the said jurisdiction for use in war.

ARTICLE 9.

A neutral power must apply impartially to the two belligerents the conditions, restrictions, or prohibitions made by it in regard to the admission into its ports, roadsteads, or territorial waters of belligerent warships or of their prizes.

Nevertheless, a neutral power may forbid a belligerent vessel which has failed to conform to the orders and regulations made by it, or which has violated neutrality, to enter its ports or roadsteads.

ARTICLE 10.

(See the declarations of Turkey as to the Dardanelles and Bosphorus.)

The neutrality of a power is not affected by the mere passage through its territorial waters of warships or prizes belonging to belligerents.

ARTICLE 11.

(Germany made reservation of article 11.)

A neutral power may allow belligerent warships to employ its licensed pilots.

ARTICLE 12.

(The Dominican Republic, Germany, Persia, and Siam made reservation of article 12.)

In the absence of special provisions to the contrary in the legislation of a neutral power, belligerent warships are not permitted to remain in the ports, roadsteads, or territorial waters of the said power for more than 24 hours, except in the cases covered by the present convention.

ARTICLE 13.

(Germany made reservation of article 13.)

If a power which has been informed of the outbreak of hostilities learns that a belligerent warship is in one of its ports or roadsteads or in its territorial waters, it must notify the said ship to depart within 24 hours or within the time prescribed by local regulations.

ARTICLE 14.

A belligerent warship may not prolong its stay in a neutral port beyond the permissible time except on account of damage or stress of weather. It must depart as soon as the cause of the delay is at an end.

The regulations as to the question of the length of time which these vessels may remain in neutral ports, roadsteads, or waters do not apply to warships devoted exclusively to religious, scientific, or philanthropic purposes. (China may reservation of this paragraph.)

ARTICLE 15.

In the absence of special provisions to the contrary in the legislation of a neutral power, the maximum number of warships belonging to a belligerent which may be in one of the ports or roadsteads of that power simultaneously shall be three.

ARTICLE 16.

When warships belonging to both belligerents are present simultaneously in a neutral port or roadstead, a period of not less than 24 hours must elapse between the departure of the ship belonging to one belligerent and the departure of the ship belonging to the other.

The order of departure is determined by the order of arrival, unless the ship which arrived first is so circumstanced that an extension of its stay is permissible.

A belligerent warship may not leave a neutral port or roadstead until 24 hours after the departure of a merchant ship flying the flag of its adversary.

ARTICLE 17.

In neutral ports and roadsteads belligerent warships may only carry out such repairs as are absolutely necessary to render them seaworthy, and may not add in any manner whatsoever to their fighting force. The local authorities of the neutral power shall decide what repairs are necessary, and these must be carried out with the least possible delay.

ARTICLE 18.

Belligerent warships may not make use of neutral ports, roadsteads, or territorial waters for replenishing or increasing their supplies of war material or their armament or for completing their crews.

ARTICLE 19.

(China, Great Britain, Japan, Persia, and Siam made reservation of article 19.)

Belligerent warships may only revictual in neutral ports or roadsteads to bring up their supplies to the peace standard.

Similarly these vessels may only ship sufficient fuel to enable them to reach the nearest port in their own country. They may, on the other hand, fill up their bunkers, built to carry fuel, when in neutral countries which have adopted this method of determining the amount of fuel to be supplied.

If, in accordance with the law of the neutral power, the ships are not supplied with coal within 24 hours of their arrival, the permissible duration of their stay is extended by 24 hours.

ARTICLE 20.

(Germany made reservation of article 20.)

Belligerent warships which have shipped fuel in a port belonging to a neutral power may not within the succeeding three months replenish their supply in a port of the same power.

ARTICLE 21.

(Persia made reservation of article 21.)

A prize may only be brought into a neutral port on account of unseaworthiness, stress of weather, or want of fuel or provisions.

It must leave as soon as the circumstances which justified its entry are at an end. If it does not, the neutral power must order it to leave at once. Should it fail to obey, the neutral power must employ the means at its disposal to release it, with its officers and crew, and to intern the prize crew.

ARTICLE 22.

A neutral power must similarly release a prize brought into one of its ports under circumstances other than those referred to in article 21.

ARTICLE 23.

(Reservations as to this article were made by Great Britain, Japan, Siam, and the United States.)

A neutral power may allow prizes to enter its ports and roadsteads, whether under convoy or not, when they are brought there to be sequestrated pending the decision of a prize court. It may have the prize taken to another of its ports.

If the prize is convoyed by a warship, the prize crew may go on board the convoying ship.

If the prize is not under convoy, the prize crew are left at liberty.

ARTICLE 24.

If, notwithstanding the notification of the neutral power, a belligerent ship of war does not leave a port where it is not entitled to remain, the neutral power is entitled to take such measures as it considers necessary to render the ship incapable of taking the sea during the war, and the commanding officer of the ship must facilitate the execution of such measures.

When a belligerent ship is detained by a neutral power the officers and crew are likewise detained.

The officers and crew thus detained may be left in the ship or kept either on another vessel or on land, and may be subjected to the measures of restrictions which it may appear necessary to impose upon them. A sufficient number of men for looking after the vessel must, however, be always left on board.

The officers may be left at liberty on giving their word not to quit the neutral territory without permission.

ARTICLE 25.

A neutral power is bound to exercise such surveillance as the means at its disposal allow to prevent any violation of the provisions of the above articles occurring in its port or roadsteads or in its waters.

ARTICLE 26.

The exercise by a neutral power of the rights laid down in the present convention can under no circumstances be considered as an unfriendly act by one or other belligerent who has accepted the articles relating thereto.

ARTICLE 27.

(China made reservation of this article.)

The contracting powers shall communicate to each other in due course all laws, proclamations, and other enactments regulating in their respective countries the status of belligerent warships in their ports and waters, by means of a communication addressed to the Government of the Netherlands, and forwarded immediately by that Government to the other contracting powers.

ARTICLE 28.

The provisions of the present convention do not apply except between contracting powers, and then only if all the belligerents are parties to the convention.

ARTICLE 29.

The present convention shall be ratified as soon as possible.

The ratifications shall be deposited at The Hague.

The first deposit of ratification shall be recorded in a procès verbal signed by the representatives of the powers which take part therein and by the Netherland minister for foreign affairs.

The subsequent deposits of ratifications shall be made by means of a written notification addressed to the Netherland Government and accompanied by the instrument of ratification.

A duly certified copy of the procès verbal relative to the first deposit of ratifications, of the ratifications mentioned in the preceding paragraph, as well as of the instruments of ratification, shall be at once sent by the Netherland Government, through the diplomatic channel, to the powers invited to the Second Peace Conference, as well as to the other powers which have adhered to the convention. In the cases contemplated in the preceding paragraph, the said Government shall inform them at the same time of the date on which it received the notification.

ARTICLE 30.

Nonsignatory powers may adhere to the present convention.

The power which desires to adhere notifies in writing its intention to the Netherland Government, forwarding to it the act of adhesion, which shall be deposited in the archives of the said Government.

That Government shall at once transmit to all the other powers a duly certified copy of the notification as well as of the act of adhesion, mentioning the date on which it received the notification.

ARTICLE 31.

The present convention shall come into force, in the case of the powers which were a party to the first deposit of the ratifications, 60 days after the date of the procès verbal of that deposit, and in the case of the powers who ratify subsequently or who adhere, 60 days after the notification of their ratification or of their decision has been received by the Netherland Government.

ARTICLE 32.

In the event of one of the contracting powers wishing to denounce the present convention, the denunciation shall be notified in writing to the Netherland Government, who shall at once communicate a duly certified copy of the notification to all the other powers informing them of the date on which it was received.

The denunciation shall only have effect in regard to the notifying power, and one year after the notification has been made to the Netherland Government.

ARTICLE 33.

A register kept by the Netherland Ministry of Foreign Affairs shall give the date of the deposit of ratification made by article 29, paragraphs 3 and 4, as well as the date on which the notifications of adhesion (art. 30, par. 2) or of denunciation (art. 32, par. 1) have been received.

Each contracting power is entitled to have access to this register and to be supplied with duly certified extracts.

In faith whereof the plenipotentiaries have appended their signatures to the present convention.

Done at The Hague the 18th October, 1907, in a single copy, which shall remain deposited in the archives of the Netherland Government, and duly certified copies of which shall be sent, through the diplomatic channel, to the powers which have been invited to the Second Peace Conference.

[Here follow signatures.]

RATIFICATIONS.

The foregoing convention was ratified by the following signatory powers on the dates indicated:

Austria-Hungary, November 27, 1909.
Belgium, August 8, 1910.
Brazil, January 5, 1914.
Denmark, November 27, 1909.
France, October 7, 1910.
Germany, November 27, 1909.
Guatemala, March 15, 1911.
Haiti, February 2, 1910.
Japan, December 13, 1911.
Luxemburg, September 5, 1912.
Mexico, November 27, 1909.
Netherlands, November 27, 1909.
Norway, September 19, 1910.
Panama, September 11, 1911.
Portugal, April 13, 1911.
Roumania, March 1, 1912.
Russia, November 27, 1909.
Salvador, November 27, 1909.
Siam, March 12, 1910.
Sweden, November 27, 1909.
Switzerland, May 12, 1910.

Two years after The Hague conference upon the motion of Great Britain a conference of nations was held at London for the purpose of agreeing upon a code of rights upon the sea. The work of this famous conference is known as the declaration of London. While it is true that not all the countries ratified the work of the conference, the document is illuminating at this time. I here insert that portion which touches the rights upon the sea of both neutral and belligerent powers. Since the declaration had not been ratified by all the countries, including England, our Government soon after the outbreak of the war addressed a note simultaneously to the belligerents asking whether they would adopt the declaration of London as the rule for naval action toward neutrals:

(The Secretary of State to the American ambassador at London.)

Mr. Bryan instructs Mr. Page to inquire whether the British Government is willing to agree that the laws of naval warfare as laid down by the declaration of London of 1909 shall be applicable to naval warfare during the present conflict in Europe, provided that the Governments with whom Great Britain is or may be at war also agree to such application. Mr. Bryan further instructs Mr. Page to state that the Government of the United States believes that an acceptance of these laws by the belligerents would prevent grave misunderstandings which may arise as to the relations between neutral powers and the belligerents. Mr. Bryan adds that it is earnestly hoped that this inquiry may receive favorable consideration.

The note was addressed on the 6th of August, 1914.

On the 22d of August England replied as follows:

(The secretary of state for foreign affairs ad interim to the American ambassador.)

YOUR EXCELLENCY: On the 7th instant you were so good as to address to me a note inquiring, pursuant to instructions from the Secretary of State at Washington, whether His Majesty's Government were willing to agree that the laws of naval warfare, as laid down by the declaration of London, 1909, should be applicable to naval warfare during the present European conflict, provided that the Governments with whom Great Britain is at war, or with whom her relations are not normal, also agree to such application.

Your excellency added that it was the belief of your Government that the acceptance of these laws by the belligerents would prevent the possibility of grave misunderstandings as to the relations between belligerents and neutrals.

I have the honor to inform your excellency that His Majesty's Government, who attach great importance to the views expressed in your excellency's note and are animated by a keen desire to consult so far as possible the interests of neutral countries, have given this matter their most careful consideration, and have pleasure in stating that they have decided to adopt generally the rules of the declaration in question, subject to certain modifications and additions which they judge indispensable to the efficient conduct of their naval operations. A detailed explanation of these additions and modifications is contained in the inclosed memorandum.

The necessary steps to carry the above decision into effect have now been taken by the issue of an order in council, of which I have the honor to inclose copies herein for your excellency's information and for transmission to your Government.

I may add that His Majesty's Government, in deciding to adhere to the rules of the declaration of London, subject only to the aforesaid modifications and additions, have not waited to learn the intentions of the enemy Governments, but have been actuated by a desire to terminate at the earliest moment the condition of uncertainty which has been prejudicing the interests of neutral trade.

I have, etc.,

E. A. CROWE.

England having rejected the declaration of London, our Government sent the following note, withdrawing our suggestions:

(The Secretary of State ad interim to the American ambassador at London.)

Inasmuch as the British Government consider that the conditions of the present European conflict make it impossible for them to accept without modification the declaration of London, you are requested to inform His Majesty's Government that in the circumstances the Government of the United States feels obliged to withdraw its suggestion that the declaration of London be adopted as a temporary code of naval warfare to be observed by belligerents and neutrals during the present war; that, therefore, this Government will insist that the rights and duties of the United States and its citizens in the present war be defined by the existing rules of international law and the treaties of the United States irrespective of the provisions of the declaration of London; and that this Government reserves to itself the right to enter a protest or demand in each case in which those rights and duties so defined are violated or their free exercise interfered with by the authorities of His Britannic Majesty's Government.

LANSING.

It will be noted that a fixed list of articles as contraband was enumerated. Articles 22 and 23 specified what should be regarded as contraband and article 28 declared what should not be contraband.

CONTRABAND OF WAR.

Article 22.

The following articles may, without notice, be treated as contraband of war, under the name of absolute contraband:

(1) Arms of all kinds, including arms for sporting purposes, and their distinctive component parts.
(2) Projectiles, charges, and cartridges of all kinds, and their distinctive component parts.
(3) Powder and explosives especially prepared for use in war.
(4) Gun mountings, limber boxes, limbers, military wagons, field forges, and their distinctive component parts.
(5) Clothing and equipment of a distinctively military character.
(6) All kinds of harness of a distinctively military character.
(7) Saddle, draft, and pack animals suitable for use in war.
(8) Articles of camp equipment, and their distinctive component parts.
(9) Armor plates.
(10) Warships, including boats, and their distinctive component parts of such a nature that they can only be used on a vessel of war.
(11) Implements and apparatus designed exclusively for the manufacture of munitions of war, for the manufacture or repair of arms, or war material for use on land or sea.

Article 23.

Articles exclusively used for war may be added to the list of absolute contraband by a declaration, which must be notified.

Such notification must be addressed to the Governments of other powers or to their representatives accredited to the power making the declaration. A notification made after the outbreak of hostilities is addressed only to neutral powers.

Article 24.

The following articles, susceptible of use in war as well as for purposes of peace, may, without notice, be treated as contraband of war, under the name of conditional contraband:

(1) Foodstuffs.
(2) Forage and grain, suitable for feeding animals.
(3) Clothing, fabrics for clothing, and boots and shoes, suitable for use in war.
(4) Gold and silver in coin or bullion; paper money.
(5) Vehicles of all kinds available for use in war, and their component parts.
(6) Vessels, craft, and boats of all kinds; floating docks, parts of docks and their component parts.
(7) Railway material, both fixed and rolling stock, and material for telegraphs, wireless telegraphs, and telephone.
(8) Balloons and flying machines and their distinctive component parts, together with accessories and articles recognizable as intended for use in connection with balloons and flying machines.
(9) Fuel; lubricants.
(10) Powder and explosives not specially prepared for use in war.
(11) Barbed wire and implements for fixing and cutting the same.
(12) Horseshoes and shoeing materials.
(13) Harness and saddlery.
(14) Field glasses, telescopes, chronometers, and all kinds of nautical instruments.

Article 25.

Articles susceptible of use in war as well as for purposes of peace, other than those enumerated in articles 22 and 24, may be added to the list of conditional contraband by a declaration, which must be notified in the manner provided for in the second paragraph of article 23.

Article 26.

If a power waives, so far as it is concerned, the right to treat as contraband of war an article comprised in any of the classes enumerated in articles 22 and 24, such intention shall be announced by a declaration, which must be notified in the manner provided for in the second paragraph of article 23.

Article 27.

Articles which are not susceptible of use in war may not be declared contraband of war.

Article 28.

The following may not be declared contraband of war:

(1) Raw cotton, wool, silk, jute, flax, hemp, and other raw materials of the textile industries, and yarns of the same.
(2) Oil seeds and nuts; copra.
(3) Rubber, resins, gums, and laces; hops.
(4) Raw hides and horns, bones, and ivory.
(5) Natural and artificial manures, including nitrates and phosphates for agricultural purposes.
(6) Metallic ores.
(7) Earths, clays, lime, chalk, stone, including marble, bricks, slates, and tiles.
(8) Chinaware and glass.
(9) Paper and paper-making materials.

(10) Soap, paint, and colors, including articles exclusively used in their manufacture, and varnish.
(11) Bleaching powder, soda ash, caustic soda, salt cake, ammonia, sulphate of ammonia, and sulphate of copper.
(12) Agricultural, mining, textile, and printing machinery.
(13) Precious and semiprecious stones, pearls, mother-of-pearl, and coral.
(14) Clocks and watches other than chronometers.
(15) Fashion and fancy goods.
(16) Feathers of all kinds, hairs, and bristles.
(17) Articles of household furniture and decoration; office furniture and requisites.

Article 29.

Likewise the following may not be treated as contraband of war:
(1) Articles serving exclusively to aid the sick and wounded. They can, however, in case of urgent military necessity and subject to the payment of compensation, be requisitioned if their destination is that specified in article 30.
(2) Articles intended for the use of the vessel in which they are found, as well as those intended for the use of her crew and passengers during the voyage.

Article 30.

Absolute contraband is liable to capture if it is shown to be destined to territory belonging to or occupied by the enemy, or to the armed forces of the enemy. It is immaterial whether the carriage of the goods is direct or entails transshipment or a subsequent transport by land.

Article 31.

Proof of the destination specified in article 30 is complete in the following cases:
(1) When the goods are documented for discharge in an enemy port, or for delivery to the armed forces of the enemy.
(2) When the vessel is to call at enemy ports only, or when she is in touch at any enemy port or meet the armed forces of the enemy before reaching the neutral port for which the goods in question are documented.

Article 32.

When a vessel is carrying absolute contraband her papers are conclusive proof as to the voyage on which she is engaged, unless she is found clearly out of the course indicated by her papers and unable to give adequate reasons to justify such deviation.

Article 33.

Conditional contraband is liable to capture if it is shown to be destined for the use of the armed forces or of a Government department of the enemy State, unless in this latter case the circumstances show that the goods can not in fact be used for the purposes of war in progress. This latter exception does not apply to a consignment coming under article 24 (4).

Article 34.

The destination referred to in article 33 is presumed to exist if the goods are consigned to enemy authorities, or to a contractor established in the enemy country, who, as a matter of common knowledge, supplies articles of this kind to the enemy. A similar presumption arises if the goods are consigned to a fortified place belonging to the enemy, or other place serving as a base for the armed forces of the enemy. No such presumption, however, arises in the case of a merchant vessel bound for one of these places if it is sought to prove that she herself is contraband.
In cases where the above presumptions do not arise the destination is presumed to be innocent.
The presumptions set up by this article may be rebutted.

Article 35.

Conditional contraband is not liable to capture, except when found on board a vessel bound for territory belonging to or occupied by the enemy, or for the armed forces of the enemy, and when it is not to be discharged in an intervening neutral port.
The ship's papers are conclusive proof both as to the voyage on which the vessel is engaged and as to the port of discharge of the goods, unless she is found clearly out of the course indicated by her papers, and unable to give adequate reasons to justify such deviation.

Article 36.

Notwithstanding the provisions of article 35, conditional contraband, if shown to have the destination referred to in article 33, is liable to capture in cases where the enemy country has no seaboard.

Article 37.

A vessel carrying goods liable to capture as absolute or conditional contraband may be captured on the high seas or in the territorial waters of the belligerents throughout the whole of her voyage; even if she is to touch at a port of call before reaching the hostile destination.

Article 38.

A vessel may not be captured on the ground that she has carried contraband on a previous occasion if such carriage is in point of fact at an end.

Article 39.

Contraband goods are liable to condemnation.

Article 40.

A vessel carrying contraband may be condemned if the contraband reckoned either by value, weight, volume, or freight, forms more than half the cargo.

Article 41.

If a vessel carrying contraband is released, she may be condemned to pay the costs and expenses incurred by the captor in respect of the proceedings in the national prize court and the custody of the ship and cargo during the proceedings.

Article 42.

Goods which belong to the owner of the contraband and are on board the same vessel are liable to condemnation.

Article 43.

If a vessel is encountered at sea while unaware of the outbreak of hostilities or of the declaration of contraband which applies to her cargo, the contraband can not be condemned except on payment of compensation; the vessel herself and the remainder of the cargo are not liable to condemnation or to the costs and expenses referred to in article 41. The same rule applies if the master, after becoming aware of the outbreak of hostilities or of the declaration of contraband, has had no opportunity of discharging the contraband.

A vessel is deemed to be aware of the existence of a state of war or of a declaration of contraband, if she left a neutral port subsequently to the notification to the power to which such port belongs at the outbreak of hostilities or of the declaration of contraband, respectively, provided that such notification was made in sufficient time. A vessel is also deemed to be aware of the existence of a state of war if she left an enemy port after the outbreak of hostilities.

Article 44.

A vessel which has been stopped on the ground that she is carrying contraband, and which is not liable to condemnation on account of the proportion of contraband on board, may, when the circumstances permit, be allowed to continue her voyage if the master is willing to hand over the contraband to the belligerent warship.
The delivery of the contraband must be entered by the captor on the log book of the vessel stopped, and the master must give the captor duly certified copies of all relevant papers.
The captor is at liberty to destroy the contraband that has been handed over to him under these conditions.

10. Great Britain modifies her contraband lists:

British proclamation, October 29, 1914, revising the list of contraband of war.

Whereas on the 4th day of August, 1914, we did issue our royal proclamation specifying the articles which it was our intention to treat as contraband of war during the war between us and the German Emperor; and
Whereas on the 12th day of August, 1914, we did by our royal proclamation of that date extend our proclamation aforementioned to the war between us and the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary; and
Whereas on the 21st day of September, 1914, we did by our royal proclamation of that date make certain additions to the list of articles to be treated as contraband of war; and
Whereas it is expedient to consolidate the said lists and to make certain additions thereto: Now, therefore,

We do hereby declare, by and with the advice of our privy council, that the list of contraband contained in the schedules to our royal proclamations of the 4th day of August and the 21st day of September aforementioned are hereby withdrawn and that in lieu thereof during the continuance of the war or until we do give further public notice the articles enumerated in Schedule I hereto will be treated as absolute contraband and the articles enumerated in Schedule II hereto will be treated conditional contraband.

SCHEDULE I.

1. Arms of all kinds, including arms for sporting purposes, and their distinctive component parts.
2. Projectiles, charges, and cartridges of all kinds, and their distinctive component parts.
3. Powder and explosives specially prepared for use in war.
4. Sulphuric acid.
5. Gun mountings, limber boxes, limbers, military wagons, field forges, and their distinctive component parts.
6. Range finders and their distinctive component parts.
7. Clothing and equipment of a distinctively military character.
8. Saddle, draft, and pack animals suitable for use in war.
9. All kinds of harness of a distinctively military character.
10. Articles of camp equipment and their distinctive component parts.
11. Armor plates.
12. Hematite iron ore and hematite pig iron.
13. Iron pyrites.
14. Nickel ore and nickel.
15. Ferrochrome and chrome ore.
16. Copper, unwrought.
17. Lead, pig, sheet, or pipe.
18. Aluminum.
19. Ferrosilica.
20. Barbed wire and implements for fixing and cutting the same.
21. Warships, including boats and their distinctive component parts of such a nature that they can only be used on a vessel of war.
22. Aeroplanes, airships, balloons, and aircraft of all kinds and their component parts, together with accessories and articles recognizable as intended for use in connection with balloons and aircraft.
23. Motor vehicles of all kinds and their component parts.
24. Motor tires; rubber.
25. Mineral oils and motor spirit, except lubricating oils.
26. Implements and apparatus designed exclusively for the manufacture of munitions of war, for the manufacture or repair of arms, or war material for use on land and sea.

SCHEDULE II.

1. Foodstuffs.
2. Forage and feedings stuff for animals.
3. Clothing, fabrics for clothing, and boots and shoes suitable for use in war.
4. Gold and silver in coin or bullion; paper money.
5. Vehicles of all kinds, other than motor vehicles, available for use in war, and their component parts.
6. Vessels, craft, and boats of all kinds; floating docks, parts of docks, and their component parts.
7. Railway materials, both fixed and rolling stock, and materials for telegraphs, wireless telegraphs, and telephones.
8. Fuel, other than mineral oils. Lubricants.
9. Powder and explosives not specially prepared for use in war.
10. Sulphur.
11. Glycerine.
12. Horseshoes and shoeing materials.
13. Harness and saddlery.
14. Hides of all kinds, dry or wet; pigskins, raw or dressed; leather, undressed or dressed, suitable for saddlery, harness, or military boots.
15. Field glasses, telescopes, chronometers, and all kinds of nautical instruments.

11. Modifying the declaration of London on the question of contraband.

British order in council, October 29, 1914, adopting the declaration of London, exclusive of the lists of contraband and noncontraband, and inclusive of certain other modifications:

Whereas by an order in council, dated the 20th day of August, 1914, His Majesty was pleased to declare that during the present hostilities the convention known as the Declaration of London should, subject to certain additions and modifications therein specified, be adopted and put in force by His Majesty's Government; and

Whereas the said additions and modifications were rendered necessary by the special conditions of the present war; and

Whereas it is desirable and possible now to reenact the said order in council with amendments in order to minimize, so far as possible, the interference with innocent neutral trade occasioned by the war: Now, therefore, His Majesty, by and with the advice of his privy council, is pleased to order, and it is hereby ordered, as follows:

1. During the present hostilities, the provisions of the convention known as the Declaration of London shall, subject to the exclusion of the lists of contraband and noncontraband, and to the modifications hereinafter set out, be adopted and put in force by His Majesty's Government.

The modifications are as follows:

(i) A neutral vessel, with papers indicating a neutral destination, which notwithstanding the destination shown on the papers proceeds to an enemy port, shall be liable to capture and condemnation if she is encountered before the end of her next voyage.

(ii) The destination referred to in article 33 of the said declaration shall (in addition to the presumptions laid down in article 34) be presumed to exist if the goods are consigned to or for an agent of the enemy State.

(iii) Notwithstanding the provisions of article 35 of the said declaration, conditional contraband shall be liable to capture on board a vessel bound to a neutral port if the goods are consigned "to order," or if the ship's papers do not show who is the consignee of the goods, or if they show a consignee of the goods in territory belonging to or occupied by the enemy.

(iv) In the cases covered by the preceding paragraph (iii) it shall lie upon the owners of the goods to prove that their destination was innocent.

2. Where it is shown to the satisfaction of one of His Majesty's principal secretaries of state that the enemy Government is drawing supplies for its armed forces from or through a neutral country, he may direct that in respect of ships bound for a port in that country, article 35 of the said declaration shall not apply. Such direction shall be notified in the London Gazette and shall operate until the same is withdrawn. So long as such direction is in force, a vessel which is carrying conditional contraband to a port in that country shall not be immune from capture.

3. The order in council of the 20th August, 1914, directing the adoption and enforcement during the present hostilities of the convention known as the Declaration of London, subject to the additions and modifications therein specified, is hereby repealed.

4. This order may be cited as "the Declaration of London order in council, No. 2, 1914."

And the lords commissioners of His Majesty's treasury, the lords commissioners of the admiralty, and each of His Majesty's principal secretaries of state, the president of the probate, divorce, and admiralty division of the high court of justice, all other judges of His Majesty's prize courts, and all governors, officers, and authorities whom it may concern, are to give the necessary directions herein as to them may respectively appertain.

12. Two months later, December 23, Britain again changed her list of contraband, as follows:

Whereas on the 4th day of August, 1914, we did issue our royal proclamation specifying the articles which it was our intention to treat as contraband of war during the war between us and the German Emperor; and

Whereas on the 12th day of August, 1914, we did by our royal proclamation of that date extend our proclamation aforementioned to the war between us and the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary; and

Whereas on the 21st day of September, 1914, we did by our royal proclamation of that date make certain additions to the list of articles to be treated as contraband of war; and

Whereas on the 29th day of October, 1914, we did by our royal proclamation of that date withdraw the said lists of contraband and substitute therefor the lists contained in the schedules to the said proclamation; and

Whereas it is expedient to make certain alterations in and additions to the said lists:

Now, therefore, we do hereby declare, by and with the advice of our privy council, that the lists of contraband contained in the schedules to our royal proclamation of the 29th day of October aforementioned are hereby withdrawn, and that in lieu thereof during the continuance of the war or until we do give further public notice the articles enumerated in Schedule I hereto will be treated as absolute contraband, and the articles enumerated in Schedule II hereto will be treated as conditional contraband.

SCHEDULE I.

1. Arms of all kinds, including arms for sporting purposes, and their distinctive component parts.
2. Projectiles, charges, and cartridges of all kinds and their distinctive component parts.
3. Powder and explosives specially prepared for use in war.
4. Ingredients of explosives, viz, nitric acid, sulphuric acid, glycerine, acetone, calcium acetate and all other metallic acetates, sulphur, potassium nitrate, the fractions of the distillation products of coal tar between benzol and cresol, inclusive, aniline, methylaniline, dimethylaniline, ammonium perchlorate, sodium perchlorate, sodium chlorate, barium chlorate, ammonium nitrate, cyanamide, potassium chlorate, calcium nitrate, mercury.
5. Resinous products, camphor, and turpentine (oil and spirit).
6. Gun mountings, limber boxes, limbers, military wagons, field forges, and their distinctive component parts.
7. Range finders and their distinctive component parts.
8. Clothing and equipment of a distinctively military character.
9. Saddle, draft, and pack animals suitable for use in war.
10. All kinds of harness of a distinctive military character.
11. Articles of camp equipment and their distinctive component parts.
12. Armor plates.
13. Ferro alloys, including ferrotungsten, ferromolybdenum, ferromanganese, ferrovanadium, ferrochrome.
14. The following metals: Tungsten, molybdenum, vanadium, nickel, selenium, cobalt, hematite, pig iron, manganese.
15. The following ores: Wolframite, scheelite, molybdenite, manganese ore, nickel ore, chrome ore, hematite iron, zinc ore, lead ore, bauxite.
16. Aluminum, alumina, and salts of aluminum.
17. Antimony, together with the sulphides and oxides of antimony.
18. Copper, unwrought and part wrought, and copper wire.
19. Lead, pig, sheet, or pipe.
20. Barbed wire and implements for fixing and cutting the same.
21. Warships, including boats and their distinctive component parts of such a nature that they can only be used on a vessel of war.
22. Submarine sound-signaling apparatus.
23. Aeroplanes, airships, balloons, and aircrafts of all kinds, and their component parts, together with accessories and articles recognizable as intended for use in connection with balloons and aircraft.
24. Motor vehicles of all kinds and their component parts.
25. Tires for motor vehicles and for cycles, together with articles of materials especially adapted for use in the manufacture or repair of tires.
26. Rubber (including raw, waste, and reclaimed rubber) and goods made wholly of rubber.
27. Iron pyrites.
28. Mineral oils and motor spirit, except lubricating oils.
29. Implements and apparatus designed exclusively for the manufacture of munitions of war, for the manufacture or repair of arms, or war material for use on land and sea.

SCHEDULE II.

1. Foodstuffs.
2. Forage and feeding stuffs for animals.
3. Clothing, fabrics for clothing, and boots and shoes suitable for use in war.
4. Gold and silver in coin or bullion; paper money.
5. Vehicles of all kinds, other than motor vehicles, available for use in war, and their component parts.
6. Vessels, craft, and boats of all kinds; floating docks, parts of docks, and their component parts.
7. Railway materials, both fixed and rolling stock, and materials for telegraphs, wireless telegraphs, and telephones.
8. Fuel, other than mineral oils. Lubricants.
9. Power and explosives not specially prepared for use in war.
10. Horseshoes and shoeing materials.
11. Harness and saddlery.
12. Hides of all kinds, dry or wet; pigskins, raw or dressed; leather, underssed, or dressed, suitable for saddlery, harness, or military boots.
13. Field glasses, telescopes, chronometer, and all kinds of nautical instruments.

12. I here print the compilation of articles scheduled as contraband, both absolute and conditional, as compiled to November 5, 1915. It will be noted that 80 per cent of the articles are absolute. It shows the intention of elimination of the conditional class completely:

Contraband of war.

ABSOLUTE CONTRABAND.

[Articles printed in *italics* have been varied or withdrawn by later proclamations.]

A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Number of article in this list.	Article.	References and notes.	Date of the proclamation first declaring article absolute contraband.	Number of paragraph of Schedule I in proclamation in column D.	Date of proclamation under which article is now absolute contraband.	Number of paragraph of Schedule I in proclamation in column F.
1	Acetate, calcium, *and all other metallic acetates*	*Words in italics omitted May 27, 1915. See also No. 2.*	Dec. 23, 1914	4	Oct. 14, 1915	8
2	Acetates		Oct. 14, 1915	8	do	8
3	Acetic acid		do	8	do	8
4	Acetic ether		do	8	do	8
5	Acetone		Dec. 23, 1914	4	do	8
6	Acids:					
7	Acetic		Oct. 14, 1915	8	do	8
8	Carbolic (phenol) and its mixtures and derivatives	See No. 65	do	8	do	8
9	Fuming sulphuric (oleum)		do	8	do	9
10	Hydrochloric		do	9	do	8
11	Nitric		Dec. 23, 1914	4	do	
12	Sulphuric		Oct. 29, 1914	4	do	8
13	Aeroplanes and their component parts, etc	See No. 15	Aug. 4, 1914	11	do	25

Contraband of war—Continued.

ABSOLUTE CONTRABAND—continued.

A Number of article in this list.	B Article.	C References and notes.	D Date of the proclamation first declaring article absolute contraband.	E Number of paragraph of Schedule I in proclamation in column D.	F Date of proclamation under which article is now absolute contraband.	G Number of paragraph of Schedule I in proclamation in column F.
14	*Aircraft of all kinds and their component parts, together with accessories and articles recognizable as intended for use in connection with balloons and aircraft.*	*See No. 15*	*Aug. 4, 1914*	*11*	Oct. 14, 1915	25
15	Aircraft of all kinds, including aeroplanes, airships, balloons and their component parts, together with accessories and articles suitable for use in connection with aircraft.	See No. 14	Oct. 14, 1915	25	do	25
16	Airships and their component parts, etc	See No. 15	Aug. 4, 1914	11	do	25
17	Alcohol, ethyl		Oct. 14, 1915	8	do	8
18	Alcohol, methyl		do	8	do	8
19	Alumina		Dec. 23, 1914	16	do	35
20	Aluminum		Oct. 29, 1914	18	do	35
21	Aluminum, salts of		Dec. 23, 1914	16	do	35
22	Alundum (corundum, natural and artificial, in all forms)		Oct. 14, 1915	4	do	4
23	*Ammonia and its salts, whether simple or compound*	*Varied Oct. 14, 1915. See Nos. 24 and 27.*	*Mar. 11, 1915*		do	8
24	Ammonia liquor		Mar. 11, 1915		do	8
25	*Ammonium nitrate*	*Included in "Nitrates," Oct. 14, 1915.*	*Dec. 23, 1914*	*4*	do	8
26	*Ammonium perchlorate*	*Included in No. 27, Oct. 14, 1915.*	*Dec. 23, 1914*	*4*	do	8
27	Ammonium salts		Oct. 14, 1915	8	do	8
28	*Aniline*	*See Nos. 29 and 30*	*Dec. 23, 1914*	*4*	do	8
29	*Aniline and its compounds*	*See No. 30*	*Mar. 11, 1915*			
30	Aniline and its derivatives		Oct. 14, 1915	8	Oct. 14, 1915	8
31	*Animals, saddle, draft, and pack, suitable for use in war*	*See No. 32*	*Aug. 4, 1914*	7	do	15
32	Animals, saddle, draft, and pack, suitable, or which may become suitable, for use in war.		Oct. 14, 1915	15	do	15
33	Animal hair of all kinds, and tops, noils and yarns of animal hair	See "Wool"	do	19	do	19
34	Antimony, together with the sulphides and oxides of antimony		Dec. 23, 1914	17	do	36
35	Apparatus and implements designed exclusively for the manufacture of munitions of war, or for the manufacture or repair of arms or of war material for use on land or sea.	See also No. 151	Aug. 4, 1914	12	do	2
36	Apparatus, submarine sound-signaling		Dec. 23, 1914	22	do	23
37	Armor plates		Aug. 4, 1914	9	do	24
38	Arms of all kinds, including arms for sporting purposes, and their *distinctive* component parts.	*"Distinctive" omitted Oct. 14, 1915.*	do	1	do	1
39	Arms, implements and apparatus designed exclusively for the manufacture or repair of.	See No. 35	do	12	do	2
40	Arsenic and its compounds		Oct. 14, 1915	9	do	9
41	Arsenical ore		do	41	do	41
42	Asbestos		do	34	do	34
43	Balata, any preparations containing	See "Rubber"	do	30	do	30
44	Balloons and their component parts, etc	See No. 15	Aug. 4, 1914	11	do	25
45	Barbed wire, and the implements for fixing and cutting the same		Oct. 29, 1914	20	do	12
46	Barium chlorate		Dec. 23, 1914	4	do	8
47	Barium perchlorate		Oct. 14, 1915	8	do	8
48	Bauxite		Dec. 23, 1914	15	do	41
49	Belting, leather		Oct. 14, 1915	17	do	17
50	Benzine		do	28	do	28
51	*Benzol*	*See Nos. 52, 84*	*Dec. 23, 1914*	*4*	do	8
52	Benzol and its mixtures and derivatives	See No. 84	Oct. 14, 1915	8	do	8
53	Boats and their *distinctive* component parts of such a nature that they can only be used on a vessel of war.	See No. 283; *"Distinctive" omitted Oct. 14, 1915.*	Aug. 4, 1914	10	do	22
54	Borneo rubber	See "Rubber"	Oct. 14, 1915	30	do	30
55	Bromine		do	9	do	9
56	Buffaloes, hides of		Mar. 11, 1915		do	17
57	Calcium acetate *and all other metallic acetates*	*Words in italics omitted May 27, 1915; "acetates" inserted Oct. 14, 1915.*	Dec. 23, 1914	4	do	8
58	Calcium carbide		Oct. 14, 1915	8	do	8
59	Calcium nitrate		Dec. 23, 1914	4	do	8
60	Calves, skins of		Mar. 11, 1915		do	17
61	Camp equipment, articles of, and their *distinctive* component parts	*"Distinctive" omitted Oct. 14, 1915.*	Aug. 4, 1914	8	do	11
62	Camphor (oil and spirit)		Dec. 23, 1914	5	do	29
63	Caoutchouc, all substances containing	See "Rubber"	Oct. 14, 1915	30	do	30
64	Capsicum and peppers		do	10	do	10
65	Carbolic acid (phenol and its mixtures and derivatives)	Included in *"Coal tar products," Dec. 23, 1914.*	do	8	do	8
66	Carbon disulphide		do	9	do	9
67	Carbonyl chloride (phosgene)		do	9	do	9
68	Carborundum, in all forms		do	4	do	4
69	Cartridges of all kinds and their *distinctive* component parts	*"Distinctive" omitted Oct. 14, 1915.*	Aug. 4, 1914	2	do	5
70	*Castor oil*	*Included in "Lubricants," Oct. 14, 1915.*	*Mar. 11, 1915*		do	32
71	Cattle, hides of		Mar. 11, 1915		do	17
72	Caustic potash		Oct. 14, 1915	8	do	8
73	Caustic soda		do	8	do	8
74	Celluloid		do	8	do	8
75	Charges of all kinds and their *distinctive* component parts	*"Distinctive" omitted Oct. 14, 1915.*	Aug. 4, 1914	2	do	5
76	Chlorate, barium		Dec. 23, 1914	4	do	8
77	*Chlorate, potassium*	*Included in "Potassium salts," Oct. 14, 1915.*	*Dec. 23, 1914*	*4*	do	8
78	Chlorate, sodium		Dec. 23, 1914	4	do	8
79	Chloride, carbonyl (phosgene)		Oct. 14, 1915	9	do	9
80	Chloride of tin		Mar. 11, 1915		do	39
81	Chlorine		Oct. 14, 1915	9	do	9
82	Chrome ore		Oct. 29, 1914	15	do	41
83	Clothing of a distinctively military character		Aug. 4, 1914	5	do	14
84	*Coal tar, the fractions of the distillation products of, between benzol and cresol, inclusive.*	*See also No. 268. Varied Oct. 14, 1915, when certain of the products are specified, viz:* Benzol, toluol, xylol, solvent naphtha, phenol (carbolic acid), cresol, naphthalene, their mixtures and derivatives; aniline and its derivatives.	*Dec. 23, 1914*	*4*		

Contraband of war—Continued.

ABSOLUTE CONTRABAND—continued.

A Number of article in this list.	B Article.	C References and notes.	D Date of the proclamation first declaring article absolute contraband.	E Number of paragraph of Schedule I in proclamation in column D.	F Date of proclamation under which article is now absolute contraband.	G Number of paragraph of Schedule I in proclamation in column F.
85	*Coal tar, toluol, and mixtures of toluol derived from*	*See Nos. 268 and 269. Varied Oct. 14, 1915.*	*May 27, 1915*	.....	*Oct. 14, 1915*	8
86	Cobalt		Dec. 23, 1914	14	.....do.....	33
87	*Copper, unwrought*	*See No. 88*	*Oct. 29, 1914*	*16*	.....do.....	37
88	Copper, unwrought and part wrought, and copper wire	*See No. 89*	Dec. 23, 1914	18	.....do.....	37
89	Copper, alloys and compounds of		Oct. 14, 1915	37	.....do.....	37
90	*Copper iodide*	*Included in "Iodine and its compounds," Oct. 14, 1915.*	*Mar. 11, 1915*	.....	.....do.....	9
91	Copper ores		Oct. 14, 1915	41	.....do.....	41
92	Copper pyrites		.....do.....	41	.....do.....	41
93	Corundum, natural and artificial (alundum), in all forms		.....do.....	4	.....do.....	4
94	Cotton, raw, linters, cotton waste, and cotton yarns	See No. 95	Aug. 20, 1915	.....	.....do.....	20
95	Cotton piece goods and other cotton products capable of being used in the manufacture of explosives.		Oct. 14, 1915	20	.....do.....	20
96	*Cresol*	*See Nos. 84 and 97*	*Dec. 23, 1914*	4	.....do.....	8
97	Cresol and its mixtures and derivatives	See No. 84	Oct. 14, 1915	8	.....do.....	8
98	Cyanamide		Dec. 23, 1914	4	.....do.....	8
99	Cyanide, sodium		Oct. 14, 1915	9	.....do.....	9
100	Cycles, tires for	See No. 275	Dec. 23, 1914	25	.....do.....	27
101	Deer, skins of		Mar. 11, 1915	.....	.....do.....	17
102	*Dimethylaniline*	*Included in "Aniline and its derivatives," Oct. 14, 1915.*	*Dec. 23, 1914*	4	.....do.....	8
103	Dioxide, manganese		Oct. 14, 1915	9	.....do.....	9
104	Dioxide, sulphur		.....do.....	9	.....do.....	9
105	Disulphide, carbon		.....do.....	9	.....do.....	9
106	Electrolytic iron		.....do.....	33	.....do.....	33
107	Emery in all forms		.....do.....	4	.....do.....	4
108	Equipment of a distinctively military character		Aug. 4, 1914	5	.....do.....	14
109	Equipment, articles of camp, and their *distinctive* component parts	*"Distinctive" omitted Oct. 14, 1915.*	.....do.....	8	.....do.....	11
110	Ether		Oct. 14, 1915	8	.....do.....	8
111	Ether, acetic		.....do.....	8	.....do.....	8
112	Ethyl alcohol		.....do.....	8	.....do.....	8
113	*Explosives, ingredients of, viz:* Nitric acid, sulphuric acid, glycerine, acetone, calcium acetate, *and all other metallic acetates*, sulphur, *potassium nitrate, fractions of the distillation products of coal tar between benzol and cresol, inclusive*, aniline, *methylaniline, dimethylaniline, ammonium, perchlorate*, sodium perchlorate, sodium chlorate, barium chlorate, *ammonium nitrate*, cyanamide, *potassium chlorate*, calcium nitrate, mercury.	*See No. 114.* Refer to each ingredient for date when first declared contraband.	*Dec. 23, 1914*	4	.....	.....
114	Explosives, materials used in the manufacture of, including: Nitric acid and nitrates of all kinds; sulphuric acid; fuming sulphuric acid (oleum); acetic acid and acetates; barium chlorate and perchlorate; calcium acetate, nitrate, and carbide; potassium salts and caustic potash; ammonium salts and ammonia liquor; caustic soda, sodium chlorate and perchlorate; mercury; benzol, toluol, xylol, solvent naphtha, phenol (carbolic acid), cresol, naphthalene, and their mixtures and derivatives; aniline, and its derivatives; glycerine; acetone; acetic ether; ethyl alcohol; methyl alcohol; ether; sulphur; urea; cyanamide; celluloid.	See also No. 115. Refer to each material for date when first declared contraband.	Oct. 14, 1915	8	Oct. 14, 1915	8
115	Explosives, the following forms of cotton capable of being used in the manufacture of, viz: Raw cotton, linters, cotton waste, cotton yarns, cotton piece goods, and other cotton products.	Refer to Nos. 94 and 95 for date when first declared contraband.	.....do.....	20	.....do.....	20
116	Explosives specially prepared for use in war		Aug. 4, 1914	3	.....do.....	7
117	Ferroalloys, including ferrotungsten, ferromolybdenum, ferromanganese, ferrovanadium, and ferrochrome.	Refer to each alloy for date when first declared contraband.	Dec. 23, 1914	13	.....do.....	40
118	Ferrochrome		Oct. 29, 1914	15	.....do.....	40
119	Ferromanganese		Dec. 23, 1914	13	.....do.....	40
120	Ferromolybdenum		.....do.....	13	.....do.....	40
121	*Ferrosilica*	*Not specified in later proclamations.*	*Oct. 29, 1914*	19	.....	.....
122	Ferrotungsten		Dec. 23. 1914	13	.....do.....	20
123	Ferrovanadium		.....do.....	13	.....do.....	40
124	Field forges and their *distinctive* component parts	*"Distinctive" omitted Oct. 14, 1915.*	Aug. 4, 1914	4	.....do.....	11
125	Flax		Oct. 14, 1915	21	.....do.....	21
126	Fuming sulphuric acid (oleum)		.....do.....	8	.....do.....	8
127	Glycerine		Dec. 23, 1914	4	.....do.....	8
128	Goats, skins of		Mar. 11, 1915	.....	.....do.....	17
129	Guayule rubber	See "Rubber"	Oct. 14, 1915	30	.....do.....	30
130	Gun mountings and their *distinctive* component parts	*"Distinctive" omitted Oct. 14, 1915.*	Aug. 4, 1914	4	.....do.....	11
131	Gutta-percha, any preparations containing	See "Rubber"	Oct. 14, 1915	30	.....do.....	30
132	Hematite iron ore		Oct. 29, 1914	12	.....do.....	41
133	Hematite pig iron		.....do.....	12	.....do.....	33
134	Hair, amimal, of all kinds, and tops, noils and yarns of animal hair	See "Wool"	Oct. 14, 1915	19	.....do.....	19
135	Harness, all kinds of, of a distinctively military character		Aug. 4, 1914	6	.....do.....	16
136	Hemp		Oct. 14, 1915	21	.....do.....	21
137	Hides of cattle, buffaloes, and horses		Mar. 11, 1915	.....	.....do.....	17
138	Horses, hides of		.....do.....	.....	.....do.....	17
139	Hydraulic leather		Oct. 14, 1915	17	.....do.....	17
140	Hydrochloric acid		.....do.....	9	.....do.....	9
141	Implements and apparatus designed exclusively for the manufacture of munitions of war, or for the manufacture or repair of arms or of war material for use on land or sea.	See also No. 151	Aug. 4, 1914	12	.....do.....	2
142	Implements, the, for fixing and cutting barbed wire		Oct. 29, 1914	20	.....do.....	12
143	*Iodide, copper*	*Included in No. 144, Oct. 14, 1915.*	*Mar. 11, 1915*	.....	.....do.....	9
144	Iodine and its compounds		Oct. 14, 1915	9	.....do.....	9
145	Iron, electrolytic		.....do.....	33	.....do.....	33
146	Iron ore, hematite		Oct. 29, 1914	12	.....do.....	41
147	Iron, hematite pig		.....do.....	12	.....do.....	33
148	Iron pyrites		.....do.....	13	.....do.....	41
149	Jelutong rubber	See "Rubber"	Oct. 14, 1915	30	.....do.....	30
150	Kapok		.....do.....	21	.....do.....	21
151	Lathes and other machines or machine tools capable of being employed in the manufacture of munitions of war.	See also No. 141	May 27, 1915	.....	.....do.....	3
152	Lead, pig, sheet, or pipe		Oct. 29, 1914	17	.....do.....	38
153	Lead ore		Dec. 23, 1914	15	.....do.....	41

Contraband of war—Continued.

ABSOLUTE CONTRABAND—continued.

A Number of article in this list.	B Article.	C References and notes.	D Date of the proclamation first declaring article absolute contraband.	E Number of paragraph of Schedule I in proclamation in column D.	F Date of proclamation under which article is now absolute contraband.	G Number of paragraph of Schedule I in proclamation in column F.
154	Leather, undressed or dressed, suitable for saddlery, harness, military boots, or military clothing.	See No. 155	Mar. 11, 1915	.....	Oct. 14, 1915	17
155	Leather belting, hydraulic leather, and pump leather		Oct. 14, 1915	17	do	17
156	Limbers and their *distinctive* component parts	*"Distinctive" omitted Oct. 14, 1915.*	Aug. 4, 1914	4	do	11
157	Limber boxes and their *distinctive* component parts	do	do	4	do	11
158	Linters, cotton		Aug. 20, 1915	.....	do	20
159	Lubricants		Mar. 11, 1915	14	do	32
160	Machines capable of being employed in the manufacture of munitions of war.	See No. 151	May 27, 1915	.....	do	3
161	Machine tools capable of being employed in the manufacture of munitions of war.	do	do	.....	do	3
162	Manganese		Dec. 23, 1914	14	do	33
163	Manganese dioxide		Oct. 14, 1915	9	do	9
164	Manganese ore		Dec. 23, 1914	15	do	41
165	Maps and plans of any place within the territory of any belligerent, or within the area of military operations, on a scale of 4 miles to 1 inch or any larger scale, and reproductions on any scale, by photography or otherwise, of such maps or plans.		May 27, 1915	.....	do	42
166	Mercury		Dec. 23, 1914	4	do	8
167	*Metallic acetates, all*	*Varied May 27, 1915. See No. 57.* "Acetates" specified Oct. 14, 1915.	*Dec. 23, 1914*	4	Oct. 14, 1915	.....
168	Metals, the following: Tungsten, molybdenum, vanadium, nickel, selenium, cobalt, hematite, pig iron, manganese.	Refer to each metal for date when first declared contraband.	Dec. 14, 1914	.....	do	32
	Sodium, electrolytic iron, and steel containing tungsten or molybdenum	Added to the above	Oct. 14, 1915	33	do	33
169	Methyl alcohol		do	8	do	8
170	*Methylaniline*	*Included in "Aniline and its derivatives," Oct. 14, 1915.*	*Dec. 23, 1914*	4	do	8
171	Military wagons and their *distinctive* component parts	*"Distinctive" omitted Oct. 14, 1915.*	Aug. 4, 1914	4	do	11
172	*Mineral oils and motor spirit, except lubricating oils*	*Lubricants made absolute contraband Mar. 11, 1915. Further varied Oct. 14, 1915. See No. 173.*	*Oct. 29, 1914*	25	do	28
173	Mineral oils, including benzine and motor spirit		Oct. 14, 1915	28	do	28
174	Molybdenite		Dec. 23, 1914	15	do	41
175	Molybdenum		do	14	do	33
176	Molybdenum, steel containing		Oct. 14, 1915	33	do	33
177	Motor spirit		Oct. 29, 1914	25	do	28
178	Motor tires	See also No. 275	do	24	do	27
179	Motor vehicles of all kinds and their component parts		do	23	do	26
180	Munitions of war, implements and apparatus designed exclusively for the manufacture of.	See No. 141	Aug. 4, 1914	12	do	2
181	Munitions of war, lathes and other machines or machine tools capable of being employed in the manufacture of.	See also No. 141	May 27, 1915	.....	do	3
182	Naphtha, solvent, and its mixtures and derivatives	Included in "*Coal-tar products, Dec. 23, 1914.*	Oct. 14, 1915	8	do	8
183	Naphthalene, and its mixtures and derivatives	do	do	8	do	8
184	Nickel		Oct. 29, 1914	14	do	33
185	Nickel ore		do	14	do	41
186	Nitrates of all kinds		Oct. 14, 1915	8	do	8
187	*Nitrate, ammonium*	*Included in No. 186, Oct. 14, 1915.*	*Dec. 23, 1914*	4	do	8
188	Nitrate, calcium		Dec. 23, 1914	4	do	8
189	*Nitrate, potassium*	*Included in No. 186, Oct. 14, 1915.*	*Dec. 23, 1914*	4	do	8
190	Nitric acid		Dec. 23, 1914	4	do	8
191	Noils of animal hair	See "Wool"	Oct. 14, 1915	19	do	19
192	Noils, wool	do	Mar. 11, 1915	.....	do	19
193	Oil, camphor		Dec. 23, 1914	5	do	29
194	*Oil, castor*	*Included in "Lubricants," Oct. 14, 1915.*	*Mar. 11, 1915*	.....	do	32
195	*Oils, mineral, except lubricantig oils*	*Lubricants made absolute contraband Mar. 11, 1915. Further varied Oct. 14, 1915; see No. 196.*	*Oct. 29, 1914*	25	do	28
196	Oils, mineral, including benzine and motor spirit		Oct. 14, 1915	28	do	28
197	Oil, turpentine		Dec. 23, 1914	5	do	29
198	Oil, wood-tar		Oct. 14, 1915	29	do	29
199	Oleum (fuming sulphuric acid)		do	8	do	8
200	Ores, the following: Wolframite, scheelite, molybdenite, manganese ore, nickel ore, chrome ore, hematite iron ore, zinc ore, lead ore, bauxite.	Refer to each ore for date when first declared contraband.	Dec. 23, 1914	15	do	41
	Iron pyrites, copper pyrites, and other copper ores, arsenical ore	Added to the above	Oct. 14, 1915	41	do	41
201	Ore, tin		Mar. 11, 1915	.....	do	39
202	Oxides of antimony, the		Dec. 23, 1914	17	do	36
203	Palembang rubber	See "Rubber"	Oct. 14, 1915	30	do	30
204	Paraffin wax		Mar. 11, 1915	.....	do	6
205	Peppers		Oct. 14, 1915	10	do	10
206	*Perchlorate, ammonium*	*Included in "Ammonium salts," Oct. 14, 1915.*	*Dec. 23, 1914*	4	do	8
207	Perchlorate, barium		Oct. 14, 1915	8	do	8
208	Perchlorate, sodium		Dec. 23, 1914	4	do	8
209	*Petroleum, toluol and mixtures of toluol derived from*	*See No. 268. Varied Oct. 14, 1915.*	*May 27, 1915*	.....	do	8
210	Phenol (carbolic acid) and its mixtures and derivatives	*Included in "Coaltar products," Dec. 23, 1914.*	Oct. 14, 1915	8	do	8
211	Phosgene (carbonyl chloride)		do	9	do	9
212	Phosphorus		do	9	do	9
213	Pig iron, hematite		Oct. 29, 1914	12	do	33
214	Pigs, skins of		Mar. 11, 1915	.....	do	17
215	Plans (see Maps)		May 27, 1915	.....	do	42
216	Pontianac rubber	See "Rubber"	Oct. 14, 1915	30	do	30
217	Potash, caustic		do	8	do	8

Contraband of war—Continued.

ABSOLUTE CONTRABAND—continued.

A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Number of article in this list.	Article.	References and notes.	Date of the proclamation first declaring article absolute contraband.	Number of paragraph of Schedule I in proclamation in column D.	Date of proclamation under which article is now absolute contraband.	Number of paragraph of Schedule I in proclamation in column F.
218	*Potassium chlorate*	*Included in No. 220, Oct. 14, 1915.*	*Dec. 23, 1914*	4	Oct. 14, 1915	8
219	*Potassium nitrate*	*Included in "Nitrates," Oct. 14, 1915.*	*Dec. 23, 1914*	4	do	8
220	Potassium salts		Oct. 14, 1915	8	do	8
221	Powder and explosives specially prepared for use in war		Aug. 4, 1914	3	do	7
222	Projectiles of all kinds and their *distinctive* component parts	*"Distinctive" omitted Oct. 14, 1915.*	do	2	do	5
223	Prussiate of soda		Oct. 14, 1915	9	do	9
224	Pump leather		do	17	do	17
225	Pyrites, copper, and other copper ores		do	41	do	41
226	Pyrites, iron		Oct. 29, 1914	13	do	41
227	Quebracho wood		Oct. 14, 1915	18	do	18
228	Ramie		do	21	do	21
229	Range finders and their *distinctive* component parts	*"Distinctive" omitted Oct. 14, 1915.*	Oct. 29, 1914	6	do	13
230	Rattans		Oct. 14, 1915	31	do	31
231	Resinous products, camphor and turpentine (oil and spirit)		Dec. 23, 1914	5	do	29
	Wood tar and wood-tar oil	Added to the above	Oct. 14, 1915	29		
232	*Rubber*	*See No. 233*	*Oct. 29, 1914*	24	do	30
233	*Rubber (including raw, waste, and reclaimed rubber), and goods made wholly of rubber.*	*See No. 234*	*Dec. 23, 1914*	26	do	30
234	Rubber (including raw, waste, and reclaimed rubber, solutions and jellies containing rubber, or any other preparations containing rubber, balata, and gutta-percha, and the following varieties of rubber, viz: Borneo, Guayule, Jelutong, Palembang, Pontianac, and all other substances containing caoutchouc), and goods made wholly or partly of rubber.		Oct. 14, 1915	30	do	30
235	Salts of aluminium		Dec. 23, 1914	16	do	35
236	*Salts, ammonia and its, whether simple or compound*	*Varied Oct. 14, 1915. See Nos. 237 and 24.*	*Mar. 11, 1915*		do	8
237	Salts, ammonium		Oct. 14, 1915	8	do	8
238	Salts, potassium		do	8	do	8
239	Scheelite		Dec. 23, 1914	15	do	41
240	Searchlights and their component parts		Oct. 14, 1915	13	do	13
241	Selenium		Dec. 23, 1914	14	do	33
242	Sheep, skins of		Mar. 11, 1915		do	17
243	Signaling apparatus, submarine sound		Dec. 23, 1914	22	do	23
244	Skins of calves, pigs, sheep, goats, and deer		Mar. 11, 1915		do	17
245	Soda, caustic		Oct. 14, 1915	8	do	8
246	Soda, prussiate of		do	9	do	9
247	Sodium		do	33	do	33
248	Sodium chlorate		Dec. 23, 1914	4	do	8
249	Sodium cyanide		Oct. 14, 1915	9	do	9
250	Sodium perchlorate		Dec. 23, 1914	4	do	8
251	Solvent naphtha and its mixtures and derivatives	Included in *"Coal-tar products" Dec. 23, 1914.*	Oct. 14, 1915	8	do	8
252	Spirit, camphor		Dec. 23, 1914	5	do	29
253	Spirit, motor		Oct. 29, 1914	25	do	28
254	Spirit, turpentine		Dec. 23, 1914	5	do	29
255	Steel containing tungsten or molybdenum		Oct. 14, 1915	33	do	33
256	Submarine sound-signaling apparatus		Dec. 23, 1914	22	do	23
257	Sulphides of antimony, the		do	17	do	36
258	Sulphur		do	4	do	8
259	Sulphur dioxide		Oct. 14, 1915	9	do	9
260	Sulphuric acid		Oct. 29, 1914	4	do	8
261	Sulphuric acid, fuming (oleum)		Oct. 14, 1915	8	do	8
262	Tanning substances of all kinds, including quebracho wood and extracts for use in tanning.		do	18	do	18
263	*Tar, coal.* (*See under "Coal tar and toluol."*)					
264	Tar, wood and wood-tar oil		do	29	do	29
265	Tin		Mar. 11, 1915		do	39
266	Tin, chloride of		do		do	39
267	Tin ore		do		do	39
268	*Toluol, and mixtures of toluol, whether derived from coal tar, petroleum, or any other source.*	*See No. 269 and also No. 84*	*May 27, 1915*		do	8
269	Toluol and its mixtures and derivatives	See No. 268	Oct. 14, 1915	8	do	8
270	Tops of animal hair	See "Wool"	do	19	do	19
271	Tops, wool		Mar. 11, 1915		do	19
272	Tungsten		Dec. 23, 1914	14	do	33
273	Tungsten, steel containing		Oct. 14, 1915	33	do	33
274	Turpentine (oil and spirit)		Dec. 23, 1914	5	do	29
275	Tires for motor vehicles and for cycles, together with articles or materials especially adapted for use in the manufacture or repair of tires.		do	25	do	27
276	*Tires, motor*	*See No. 275*	*Oct. 29, 1914*	24	do	27
277	Urea *and its compounds*	*Words in italics omitted Oct. 14, 1915.*	Mar. 11, 1915		do	8
278	Vanadium		Dec. 23, 1914	14	do	33
279	Vehicles, motor, of all kinds and their component parts		Oct. 29, 1914	23	do	26
280	Vehicles, tires for motor	See No. 275	Dec. 23, 1914	25	do	27
281	Wagons, military, and their *distinctive* component parts	*"Distinctive" omitted Oct. 14, 1915.*	Aug. 4, 1914	4	do	11
282	War material for use on land or sea, implements and apparatus designed exclusively for the manufacture or repair of.	See No. 141	do	12	do	2
283	Warships, including boats and their *distinctive* component parts of such a nature that they can only be used on a vessel of war.	*"Distinctive" omitted Oct. 14, 1915.*	do		do	22
284	Waste, cotton		Aug. 20, 1915		do	20
285	Waste rubber		Oct. 14, 1915	30	do	30
286	Waste, wool		do	19	do	19
287	Wax, paraffin		Mar. 11, 1915		do	6
288	Wire, barbed, and the implements for fixing and cutting the same		Oct. 29, 1914	20	do	12
289	Wire, copper		Dec. 23, 1914	18	do	37
290	Wolframite		do	15	do	41
291	Wood, quebracho		Oct. 14, 1915	18	do	18
292	Wood, tar and wood-tar oil		do	29	do	29
293	*Wool, raw, wool tops and noils and woolen and worsted yarns*	*See No. 294*	*Mar. 11, 1915*		do	19

Contraband of war—Continued.

ABSOLUTE CONTRABAND—continued.

A Number of article in this list.	B Article.	C References and notes.	D Date of the proclamation first declaring article absolute contraband.	E Number of paragraph of Schedule I in proclamation in column D.	F Date of proclamation under which article is now absolute contraband.	G Number of paragraph of Schedule I in proclamation in column F.
294	Wool, raw, combed or carded; wool waste; wool tops and noils; woolen or worsted yarns; animal hair of all kinds, and tops, noils and yarns of animal hair.	See No. 293	Oct. 14, 1915	19	Oct. 14, 1915	19
295	Yarns of animal hair		do	19	do	19
296	Yarns, cotton		Aug. 20, 1915		do	20
297	Yarns, woolen or worsted		Mar. 11, 1915		do	19
298	Zinc ore		Dec. 23, 1914	15	do	41
299	Xylol, and its mixtures and derivatives	*Included in "Coal-tar products," Dec. 23, 1914.*	Oct. 14, 1915	8	do	8

CONDITIONAL CONTRABAND.

[Articles printed in *italics* have been varied or withdrawn by later proclamations.]

A Number of article in this list.	B Article.	C References and notes.	D Date of proclamation first declaring article conditional contraband.	E Number of paragraph of Schedule II in proclamation in column D.	F Date of proclamation under which article is now conditional contraband.	G Number of paragraph of Schedule II in proclamation in column F.
1	*Barbed wire, and implements fixing and cutting the same*	*Made absolute contraband Oct. 29, 1914.*	*Aug. 4, 1914*	*10*		
2	Boats of all kinds	See No. 283 of absolute contraband.	Aug. 4, 1914	6	Oct. 14, 1915	12
3	Boots and shoes, if suitable for use in war		do	3	do	1
4	Bullion, gold or silver		do	4	do	14
5	*Cakes and meals made from oleaginous seeds, nuts, and kernels*	*See No. 21; included in "Feeding stuffs for animals" Oct. 14, 1915.*	*Mar. 11, 1915*		do	7
6	Chronometers		Aug. 4, 1914	13	do	13
7	Clothing and fabrics for clothing, if suitable for use in war		do	3	do	9
8	Coin, gold, or silver; paper money		do	4	do	14
9	*Copper, unwrought*	*Made absolute contraband Oct. 29, 1914.*	*Sept. 21, 1914*			
10	Craft of all kinds	See No. 283 of absolute contraband.	Aug. 4, 1914	6	Oct. 14, 1915	12
11	Docks, floating, and their component parts		do	6	do	12
12	Docks, parts of		do	6	do	12
13	Explosives not specially prepared for use in war		do	9	do	6
14	Fabrics for clothing, if suitable for use in war		do	3	do	9
15	*Fats, animal and vegetable (other than linseed oil), suitable for use in the manufacture of margarin.*	*Linseed oil made conditional contraband May 27, 1915. Varied Oct. 14, 1915. See No. 16.*	*Mar. 11, 1915*			
16	Fats, animal, fish, and vegetable, other than those capable of use as lubricants	See No. 52	Oct. 14, 1915	4	Oct. 14, 1915	4
17	Feeding stuffs for animals	*See No. 21*	Oct. 29, 1914	2	do	2
18	*Ferrochrome*	*Made absolute contraband Oct. 29, 1914.*	*Sept. 21, 1914*			
19	Field glasses		Aug. 4, 1914	13	Oct. 14, 1915	13
20	Floating docks and their component parts; parts of docks		do	6	do	12
21	Foodstuffs		do	1	do	1
	The terms "foodstuffs" and "feeding stuffs for animals" declared to include oleaginous seeds, nuts, and kernels; animal and vegetable oils and fats (other than linseed oil) suitable for use in the manufacture of margarin; and cakes and meals made from oleaginous seeds, nuts, and kernels.	*This definition not included Oct. 14, 1915.*	*Mar. 11, 1915*			
22	*Forage and grain, suitable for feeding animals*	*Varied on Oct. 29, 1914. See No. 23.*	*Aug. 4, 1914*	*2*	Oct. 14, 1915	2
23	Forage and feeding stuffs for animals	*See No. 21*	Oct. 29, 1914	2	do	2
24	*Fuel*	*See No. 25*	*Aug. 4, 1914*	*8*		
25	Fuel, other than mineral oils		Oct. 29, 1914	8	Oct. 14, 1915	5
26	Furs utilizable for clothing, if suitable for use in war		Oct. 14, 1915	9	do	9
27	Glasses, field		Aug. 4, 1914	13	do	13
28	*Glycerin*	*Made absolute contraband Dec. 23, 1914.*	*Sept. 21, 1914*			
29	*Grain, suitable for feeding animals*	*Varied on Oct. 29, 1914. See No. 23.*	*Aug. 4, 1914*	*2*	Oct. 14, 1915	2
30	Gold, in coin or bullion		Aug. 4, 1914	4	do	14
31	*Hematite iron ore*	*Made absolute contraband Oct. 29, 1914.*	*Sept. 21, 1914*			
32	Harness and saddlery	See No. 135 of absolute contraband.	Aug. 4, 1914	12	Oct. 14, 1915	8
33	*Hides, raw or rough tanned (but not including dressed leather)*	*Varied Oct. 29, 1914. See Nos. 34 and 42.*	*Sept. 21, 1914*			
34	*Hides of all kinds, dry or wet*	*See No. 137 of absolute contraband for certain hides made absolute contraband on Mar. 11, 1915. Hides not included in conditional contraband Oct. 14, 1915.*	*Oct. 29, 1914*	*14*		
35	Horseshoes and shoeing materials		Aug. 4, 1914	11	Oct. 14, 1915	7
36	*Implements for fixing and cutting barbed wire*	*Made absolute contraband Oct. 29, 1914.*	*Aug. 4, 1914*	*10*		
37	Instruments, all kinds of nautical		Aug. 4, 1914	13	Oct. 14, 1915	13
38	*Iron ore, hematite*	*Made absolute contraband Oct. 29, 1914.*	*Sept. 21, 1914*			
39	*Iron ore, magnetic*	*Not specified in later lists*	*Sept. 21, 1914*			
40	Kernels, nuts and	*See also No. 5*	Mar. 11, 1915		Oct. 14, 1915	3
41	*Lead, pig, sheet, or pipe*	*Made absolute contraband Oct. 29, 1914.*	*Sept. 21, 1914*			

Contraband of war—Continued.

CONDITIONAL CONTRABAND—continued.

A Number of article in this list.	B Article.	C References and notes.	D Date of proclamation first declaring article conditional contraband.	E Number of paragraph of Schedule II in proclamation in column D.	F Date of proclamation under which article is now conditional contraband.	G Number of paragraph of Schedule II in proclamation in column F.
42	*Leather, undressed or dressed, suitable for saddlery, harness, or military boots*	*Made absolute contraband Mar. 11, 1915.*	*Oct. 29, 1914*	*14*		
43	*Linseed oil*	*Included in "Oils, vegetable," Oct. 14, 1915.*	*May 27, 1915*		Oct. 14, 1915	4
44	*Lubricants*	*Made absolute contraband Mar. 11, 1915.*	*Aug. 4, 1914*	*8*		
45	*Magnetic iron ore*	*Not specified in later lists*	*Sept. 21, 1914*			
46	*Meals made from oleaginous seeds, nuts, and kernels*	*See No. 21. Included in "Feeding stuffs for animals" Oct. 14, 1915.*	*Mar. 11, 1915*		Oct. 14, 1915	2
47	Money, paper; gold and silver in coin or bullion		Aug. 4, 1914	4	do	13
48	Nautical instruments, all kinds of		Aug. 4, 1914	13	do	13
49	Nuts and kernels	*See also No. 5*	Mar. 11, 1915		do	4
50	*Oil, linseed*	*Included in "Oils, vegetable," Oct. 14, 1915.*	*May 27, 1915*		do	4
51	*Oils, animal and vegetable (other than linseed oil), suitable for use in the manufacture of margarine.*	*Linseed oil made conditional contraband May 27, 1915. Varied, Oct. 14, 1915. See No. 52.*	*Mar. 11, 1915*			
52	Oils, animal, fish, and vegetable, other than those capable of use as lubricants, and not including essential oils.	See No. 16	Oct. 14, 1915	4	Oct. 14, 1915	4
53	Oleaginous seeds	*See also No. 5*	Mar. 11, 1915		do	3
54	*Ore, hematite iron*	*Made absolute contraband Oct. 29, 1914.*	*Sept. 21, 1914*			
55	*Ore, magnetic iron*	*Not specified in later lists*	*Sept. 21, 1914*			
56	Paper money		Aug. 4, 1914	4	Oct. 14, 1915	14
57	*Pigskins, raw or dressed*	*Made absolute contraband Mar. 11, 1915.*	*Oct. 29, 1914*	*14*		
58	Powder and explosives, not specially prepared for use in war		Aug. 4, 1914	9	Oct. 14, 1915	6
59	Railway materials, both fixed and rolling stock		do	7	do	11
60	Rolling stock, railway materials		do	7	do	11
61	*Rubber*	*Made absolute contraband Oct. 29, 1914.*	*Sept. 21, 1914*			
62	Saddlery	See No. 135 of absolute contraband.	Aug. 4, 1914	12	Oct. 14, 1915	8
63	Seeds, oleaginous	*See also No. 5*	Mar. 11, 1915		do	3
64	Shoeing materials		Aug. 4, 1914	11	do	7
65	Shoes, if suitable for use in war		do	3	do	9
66	Silver in coin or bullion		do	4	do	14
67	*Skins, raw or rough tanned (but not including dressed leather)*	*Varied Oct. 29, 1914. See Nos. 42, 68, and 69.*	*Sept. 21, 1914*			
68	*Skins (pig), raw or dressed*	*Made absolute contraband Mar. 11, 1915.*	*Oct. 29, 1914*	*14*		
69	Skins utilizable for clothing, if suitable for use in war	See No. 244 of absolute contraband for certain skins made absolute contraband Mar. 11, 1915.	Oct. 14, 1915	9	Oct. 14, 1915	9
70	*Sulphur*	*Made absolute contraband Dec. 23, 1914.*	*Oct. 29, 1914*	*10*		
71	*Tanning substances of all kinds (including extracts for use in tanning)*	*Made absolute contraband Oct. 14, 1915.*	*Mar. 11, 1915*			
72	Telegraphs, wireless telegraphs, and telephones, materials for		Aug. 4, 1914	7	Oct. 14, 1915	11
73	Telephones, materials for		do	7	do	11
74	Telescopes		do	13	do	13
75	Vehicles of all kinds, other than motor vehicles, available for use in war, and their component parts.	"Other than motor vehicles" added.	*Aug. 4, 1914* Oct. 29, 1914	*5* 5	Oct. 14, 1915	10
76	Vessels, craft, and boats of all kinds	See No. 283 of absolute contraband.	Aug. 4, 1914	6	do	12
77	*Wire, barbed, and implements for fixing and cutting the same*	*Made absolute contraband Oct. 29, 1914.*	*Aug. 4, 1914*	*10*		
78	Wireless telegraphs, materials for		Aug. 4, 1914	7	Oct. 14, 1915	11

(Consul General Skinner to the Secretary of State.)

[Extract.]

No. 1140.] AMERICAN CONSULATE GENERAL,
London, February 1, 1916.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of department's instruction. (Not printed.)

I am inclosing herewith a supplement of the London Gazette, No. 29452, issued January 27, 1916, containing the official text of the proclamation referred to in the foregoing.

I have, etc. ROBERT P. SKINNER.

12c. Another revision was published in April, 1916:

[Inclosure.]

LIST OF ARTICLES DECLARED TO BE CONTRABAND OF WAR—PRESENTED TO BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT BY COMMAND OF HIS MAJESTY, APRIL, 1916.

The articles declared to be contraband of war in the proclamations now in force have been arranged alphabetically in the accompanying list. It is hoped that this will be convenient to all parties concerned.

The list comprises the articles which have been declared to be absolute contraband as well as those which have been declared to be conditional contraband. The circumstances of the present war are so peculiar that His Majesty's Government consider that for practical purposes the distinction between the two classes of contraband has ceased to have any value. So large a proportion of the inhabitants of the enemy country are taking part, directly or indirectly, in the war that no real distinction can now be drawn between the armed forces and the civilian population. Similarly, the enemy Government has taken control, by a series of decrees and orders, of practically all the articles in the list of conditional contraband, so that they are now available for Government use. So long as these exceptional conditions continue our belligerent rights with respect to the two kinds of contraband are the same and our treatment of them must be identical.

FOREIGN OFFICE, *April 13, 1916.*

LIST OF ARTICLES.

Acetic acid and acetates.
Acetic ether.
Acetones, and raw and finished materials usable for their preparation.
Aircraft of all kinds, including aeroplanes, airships, balloons, and their component parts, together with accessories and articles suitable for use in connection with aircraft.
Aluminum, alumina, and salts of aluminum.
Ammonia liquor.
Ammonium salts.
Aniline and its derivatives.
Animals, saddle, draft, or pack, suitable or which may become suitable for use in war.
Antimony, together with the sulphides and oxides of antimony.
Apparatus designed exclusively for the manufacture of munitions of war or for the manufacture or repair of arms or of war material for use on land or sea.
Armor plates.
Arms of all kinds, including arms for sporting purposes, and their component parts.
Arsenic and its compounds.
Arsenical ore.
Articles especially adapted for use in the manufacture or repair of tires.
Asbestos.
Barbed wire.
Barium chlorate and perchlorate.

Bauxite.
Benzol and its mixtures and derivatives.
Bladders, guts, casings, and sausage skins.
Bones in any form, whole or crushed, and bone ash.
Boots and shoes suitable for use in war.
Borax, boric acid, and other boron compounds.
Bromine.
Calcium acetate, calcium nitrate, and calcium carbide.
Camp equipments, articles of, and their component parts.
Camphor.
Capsicum.
Carbon disulphide.
Carbon, halogen compounds of.
Carbonyl chloride.
Carborundum in all forms.
Casein.
Caustic potash and caustic soda.
Celluloid.
Charges and cartridges of all kinds and their component parts.
Chloriden, metallic (except chloride of sodium) and mettaloidic.
Chlorine.
Chrome ore.
Chronometers.
Clothing and fabrics for clothing suitable for use in war.
Clothing of a distinctively military character.
Cobalt.
Copper pyrites and other copper ores.
Copper unwrought and part wrought, copper wire, alloys and compounds of copper.
Cork, including cork dust.
Corundum, natural and artificial (alundum), in all forms.
Cotton (raw), linters, cotton waste, cotton yarns, cotton piece-goods, and other cotton products capable of being used in the manufacture of explosives.
Cresol and its mixtures and derivatives.
Cyanamide.
Docks, parts of.
Emery in all forms.
Equipment of a distinctively military character.
Ethyl alcohol.
Explosives, whether specially prepared for use in war or not.
Ferro alloys, including ferro-tungsten, ferro-molybdenum, ferro-manganese, ferro-vanadium, and ferro-chrome.
Field forges and their component parts.
Field glasses.
Flax.
Floating docks and their component parts.
Foodstuffs.
Forage and feeding stuffs for animals.
Formic ether.
Fuel, other than mineral oils.
Fuming sulphuric acid.
Furs utilizable for clothing suitable for use in war.
Glycerine.
Gold.
Gun mountings and their component parts.
Hair, animal, of all kinds, and tops, noils, and yarns of animal hair.
Harness and saddlery.
Harness of a distinctively military character, all kinds of.
Hemp.
Hides of cattle, buffaloes, and horses.
Horseshoes and shoeing material.
Hydrochloric acid.
Implements designed exclusively for the manufacture of munitions of war or for the manufacture or repair of arms or of war material for use on land or sea.
Implements for fixing and cutting barbed wire.
Iodine and its compounds.
Iron, electrolytic.
Iron, hæmatite and hæmatite iron ore.
Iron pyrites.
Kapok.
Lathes capable of being employed in the manufacture of munitions of war.
Lead and lead ore.
Leather belting, hydraulic leather, pump leather.
Leather, undressed or dressed, suitable for saddlery, harness, military boots, or military clothing.
Limbers and limber boxes and their component parts.
Lubricants.
Machines capable of being employed in the manufacture of munitions of war.
Manganese and manganese ore.
Manganese dioxide.
Maps and plans of any place within the territory of any belligerent, or within the area of military operations, on a scale of 4 miles to 1 inch or any larger scale, and reproductions on any scale, by photography or otherwise, of such maps or plans.
Materials especially adapted for use in the manufacture or repair of tires.
Materials used in the manufacture of explosives.
Mercury.
Methyl alcohol.
Military wagons and their component parts.
Mineral oils, including benzine and motor spirit.
Molybdenum and molybdenite.
Motor vehicles of all kinds and their component parts and accessories.
Naphthalene and its mixtures and derivatives.
Nautical instruments, all kinds of.
Negotiable instruments.
Nickel and nickel ore.
Nitric acid and nitrates of all kinds.
Oils and fats, animal, fish, and vegetable, other than those capable of use as lubricants, and not including essential oils.
Oleaginous seeds, nuts, and kernels.
Oleum.
Paper money.
Paraffin wax.
Peppers.
Phenol (carbolic acid) and its mixtures and derivatives.
Phosphorus and its compounds.
Phosgene.
Potassium salts.
Powders, whether specially prepared for use in war or not.
Projectiles of all kinds and their component parts.
Prussiate of soda.
Railway materials, both fixed and rolling stock.
Ramie.
Range finders and their component parts.
Rattans.
Realizable securities.
Resinous products.
Rubber (including raw, waste, and reclaimed rubber, solutions and jellies containing rubber, or any other preparations containing rubber, balata, and gutta-percha, and the following varieties of rubber, viz, Borneo, Guayule, Jelutong, Palembang, Pontianac, and all other substances containing caoutchouc) and goods made wholly or partly of rubber.
Sabadilla seeds and preparations therefrom.
Scheelite.
Searchlights and their component parts.
Selenium.
Silver.
Skins of calves, pigs, sheep, goats, and deer.
Skins utilizable for clothing suitable for use in war.
Soap.
Sodium.
Sodium chlorate and perchlorate.
Sodium cyanide.
Solvent naphtha and its mixtures and derivatives.
Starch.
Steel containing tungsten or molybdenum.
Submarine sound signalling apparatus.
Sulphur.
Sulphur dioxide.
Sulphuric acid.
Sulphuric ether.
Tanning substances of all kinds, including quebracho wood and extracts for use in tanning.
Telegraphs, materials for.
Telephones, materials for.
Telescopes.
Tin, chloride of tin, and tin ore.
Toluol and its mixtures and derivatives.
Tools capable of being employed in the manufacture of munitions of war.
Tungsten.
Turpentine (oil and spirit).
Tires for motor vehicles and for cycles.
Urea.
Vanadium.
Vegetable fibers and yarns made therefrom.
Vehicles of all kinds, other than motor vehicles, available for use in war, and their component parts.
Vessels, craft, and boats of all kinds.
Warships, including boats and their component parts of such a nature that they can only be used on a vessel of war.
Wireless telegraphs, materials for.
Wolframite.
Wood tar and wood-tar oil.
Wool, raw, combed, or carded; wool waste; wool tops and noils, woolen or worsted yarns.
Xylol and its mixtures and derivatives.
Zinc ore.

13. On the 2d of November Great Britain announced the North Sea a military area.

During the last week, the Germans have scattered mines indiscriminately in the open sea on the main trade route from America to Liverpool via the north of Ireland.

Peaceful merchant ships have already been blown up, with loss of life, by this agency.

The White Star liner *Olympic* escaped disaster by pure luck and but for warnings given by British cruisers other British and neutral merchant and passenger vessels would have been destroyed.

These mines can not have been laid by any German ship of war. They have been laid by some merchant vessel flying a neutral flag, which has come along the trade route as if for purpose of peaceful commerce, and, while profiting to the full by the immunity enjoyed by neutral merchant ships, has wantonly and recklessly endangered the lives of all who travel on the sea.

In these circumstances, having regard to the great interests intrusted to the British Navy, to the safety of peaceful commerce on the high seas, and to the maintenance within the limits of international law of trade between neutral countries, the Admiralty feels it necessary to adopt exceptional measures appropriate to the novel conditions under which this war is being waged.

It therefore gives notice that the whole of the North Sea must be considered a military area. Within this area merchant shipping of all kinds, traders of all countries, fishing craft and all other vessels will be exposed to the gravest dangers from mines it has been necessary to lay and from warships searching vigilantly by night and day for suspicious craft.

All merchant and fishing vessels of every description are hereby warned of the dangers they encounter by entering this area, except in strict accordance with Admiralty directions. Every effort will be made to convey this warning to neutral countries and to vessels on the sea, but from November 5 onward the Admiralty announces that all ships passing a line drawn from the northern point of the Hebrides through the Farne Islands to Iceland do so at their own peril.

Ships of all countries wishing to trade to and from Norway, the Baltic, Denmark, and Holland are advised to come, if inward bound, by the English Channel and the Strait of Dover. There they will be given sailing directions which will pass them safely, so far as Great Britain is concerned, up the east coast of England to the Farne Islands, whence a safe route will, if possible, be given to Lindesnas Lighthouse.

From this point they should turn north or south, according to their destination keeping as near the coast as possible. The converse applies to vessels outward bound.

By strict adherence to these routes the commerce of all countries will be able to reach its destination in safety so far as Great Britain is concerned, but any straying even for a few miles from the course thus indicated may be followed by fatal consequences. (The New York Tribune, Nov. 3, 1914.)

14. On December 26 our Government addressed her first lengthy note on England's violations of neutral rights. It was this note in which Secretary Bryan gave the great belligerent the handle of necessity in the following words:

The commerce between countries which are not belligerent should not be interfered with by those at war unless such interference is manifestly an imperative necessity to protect their national safety, and then only to the extent that it is a necessity.

The note is as follows:

American note, December 26, 1914, in reference to the seizure and detention of American cargoes destined for neutral European ports. (Delivered at London Dec. 28 and published three days later. See Nos. 12 and 17.)

(The Secretary of State to the American ambassador at London.)

The present condition of American foreign trade resulting from the frequent seizures and detentions of American cargoes destined to neutral European ports has become so serious as to require a candid statement of the views of this Government in order that the British Government may be fully informed as to the attitude of the United States toward the policy which has been pursued by the British authorities during the present war.

You will, therefore, communicate the following to His Majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, but in so doing you will assure him that it is done in the most friendly spirit and in the belief that frankness will better serve the continuance of cordial relations between the two countries than silence, which may be misconstrued into acquiescence in a course of conduct which this Government can not but consider to be an infringement upon the rights of American citizens.

The Government of the United States has viewed with growing concern the large number of vessels laden with American goods destined to neutral ports in Europe which have been seized on the high seas, taken into British ports, and detained sometimes for weeks by the British authorities. During the early days of the war this Government assumed that the policy adopted by the British Government was due to the unexpected outbreak of hostilities and the necessity of immediate action to prevent contraband from reaching the enemy. For this reason it was not disposed to judge this policy harshly or protest it vigorously, although it was manifestly very injurious to American trade with the neutral countries of Europe. This Government, relying confidently upon the high regard which Great Britain has so often exhibited in the past for the rights of other nations, confidently awaited amendment of a course of action which denied to neutral commerce the freedom to which it was entitled by the law of nations.

This expectation seemed to be rendered the more assured by the statement of the foreign office early in November that the British Government were satisfied with guaranties offered by the Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish Governments as to nonexportation of contraband goods when consigned to named persons in the territories of those Governments, and that orders had been given to the British Fleet and customs authorities to restrict interference with neutral vessels carrying such cargoes so consigned to verification of ship's papers and cargoes.

It is therefore a matter of deep regret that, though nearly five months have passed since the war began, the British Government have not materially changed their policy and do not treat less rigorously ships and cargoes passing between neutral ports in the peaceful pursuit of lawful commerce, which belligerents should protect rather than interrupt. The greater freedom from detention and seizure which was confidently expected to result from consigning shipments to definite consignees rather than "to order" is still awaited.

It is needless to point out to His Majesty's Government, usually the champion of the freedom of the seas and the rights of trade, that peace, not war, is the normal relation between nations and that the commerce between countries which are not belligerents should not be interfered with by those at war unless such interference is manifestly an imperative necessity to protect their national safety, and then only to the extent that it is a necessity. (Sec. 20.) It is with no lack of appreciation of the momentous nature of the present struggle in which Great Britain is engaged and with no selfish desire to gain undue commercial advantage that this Government is reluctantly forced to the conclusion that the present policy of His Majesty's Government toward neutral ships and cargoes exceeds the manifest necessity of a belligerent and constitutes restrictions upon the rights of American citizens on the high seas which are not justified by the rules of international law or required under the principle of self-preservation.

The Government of the United States does not intend at this time to discuss the propriety of including certain articles in the lists of absolute and conditional contraband which have been proclaimed by His Majesty. Open to objection as some of these seem to this Government, the chief ground of present complaint is the treatment of cargoes of both classes of articles when bound to neutral ports.

Articles listed as absolute contraband, shipped from the United States and consigned to neutral countries, have been seized and detained on the ground that the countries to which they were destined have not prohibited the exportation of such articles. Unwarranted as such detentions are, in the opinion of this Government, American exporters are further perplexed by the apparent indecision of the British authorities in applying their own rules to neutral cargoes. For example, a shipment of copper from this country to a specified consignee in Sweden was detained because, as was stated by Great Britain, Sweden had placed no embargo on copper. On the other hand, Italy not only prohibited the export of copper, but, as this Government is informed, put in force a decree that shipments to Italian consignees or "to order" which arrive in ports of Italy can not be exported or transshipped. The only exception Italy makes is of copper which passes through that country in transit to another country. In spite of these decrees, however, the British foreign office has thus far declined to affirm that copper shipments consigned to Italy will not be molested on the high seas. Seizures are so numerous and delays so prolonged that exporters are afraid to send their copper to Italy, steamship lines decline to accept it, and insurers refuse to issue policies upon it. In a word, a legitimate trade is being greatly impaired through uncertainty as to the treatment which it may expect at the hands of the British authorities.

We feel that we are abundantly justified in asking for information as to the manner in which the British Government propose to carry out the policy which they have adopted in order that we may determine the steps necessary to protect our citizens engaged in foreign trade in their rights and from the serious losses to which they are liable through ignorance of the hazards to which their cargoes are exposed.

In case of conditional contraband, the policy of Great Britain appears to this Government to be equally unjustified by the established rules of international conduct. As evidence of this attention is directed to the fact that a number of the American cargoes which have been seized consist of foodstuffs and other articles of common use in all countries which are admittedly relative contraband. In spite of the presumption of innocent use because destined to neutral territory, the British authorities made these seizures and detentions without, so far as we are informed, being in possession of facts which warranted a reasonable belief that the shipments had in reality a belligerent destination, as that term is used in international law. Mere suspicion is not evidence and doubts should be resolved in favor of neutral commerce, but against it. The effect upon trade in these articles between neutral nations resulting from interrupted voyages and detained cargoes is not entirely cured by reimbursement of the owners for the damages which they have suffered after investigation has failed to establish an enemy destination. The injury is to American commerce with neutral countries as a whole through the hazard of the enterprise and the repeated diversion of goods from established markets.

It also appears that cargoes of this character have been seized by the British authorities because of a belief that, though not originally so intended by the shippers, they will ultimately reach the territory of the enemies of Great Britain. Yet this belief is frequently reduced to a mere fear in view of the embargoes which have been decreed by the neutral countries to which they are destined on the articles composing the cargoes.

That a consignment "to order" of articles listed as conditional contraband and shipped to a neutral port raises a legal presumption of enemy destination appears to be directly contrary to the doctrines previously held by Great Britain and thus stated by Lord Salisbury during the South African war:

"Foodstuffs, though having a hostile destination, can be considered as contraband of war only if they are for the enemy's forces; it is not sufficient that they are capable of being so used, it must be shown that this was in fact their destination at the time of their seizure."

With this statement as to conditional contraband the views of this Government are in entire accord, and upon this historic doctrine, consistently maintained by Great Britain when a belligerent as well as a neutral, American shippers were entitled to rely.

The Government of the United States readily admits the full right of a belligerent to visit and search on the high seas the vessels of American citizens or other neutral vessels carrying American goods and to detain them when there is sufficient evidence to justify a belief that contraband articles are in their cargoes; but His Majesty's Government, judging by their own experience in the past, must realize that this Government can not without protest permit American ships or American cargoes to be taken into British ports and there detained for the purpose of searching generally for evidence of contraband or upon presumptions created by special municipal enactments which are clearly at variance with international law and practice.

This Government believes, and earnestly hopes, His Majesty's Government will come to the same belief; that a course of conduct more in conformity with the rules of international usage, which Great Britain has strongly sanctioned for many years, will in the end better serve the interests of belligerents as well as those of neutrals.

Not only is the situation a critical one to the commercial interests of the United States, but many of the great industries of this country are suffering because their products are denied long-established markets in European countries, which, though neutral, are contiguous to the nations at war. Producers and exporters, steamship and insurance companies are pressing, and not without reason, for relief from the menace to trans-Atlantic trade which is gradually but surely destroying their business and threatening them with financial disaster.

The Government of the United States, still relying upon the deep sense of justice of the British nation, which has been so often manifested in the intercourse between the two countries during so many years of uninterrupted friendship, expresses confidently the hope that His Majesty's Government will realize the obstacles and difficulties which their present policy has placed in the way of commerce between the United States and the neutral countries of Europe, and will instruct its officials to refrain from all unnecessary interference with the freedom of trade between nations which are sufferers, though not participants in the present conflict, and will in their treatment of neutral ships and cargoes conform more closely to those rules governing the maritime relations between belligerents and neutrals which have received the sanction of the civilized world, and which Great Britain has, in other wars, so strongly and successfully advocated.

In conclusion, it should be impressed upon His Majesty's Government that the present condition of American trade with the neutral European countries is such that, if it does not improve, it may arouse a feeling contrary to that which has so long existed between the American and British peoples. Already it is becoming more and more the subject of public criticism and complaint. There is an increasing belief, doubtless not entirely unjustified, that the present British policy toward American trade is responsible for the depression in certain industries which depend upon European markets. The attention of the British Government is called to this possible result of their present policy to show how widespread the effect is upon the industrial life of the United States and to emphasize the importance of removing the cause of complaint.

BRYAN.

14a. On January 7 a tentative reply was made by Great Britain, with a promise that a fuller reply would be made in time. In this reply Grey seized the handle of necessity extended by Bryan in the following words:

His Majesty's Government cordially agree in the principle enunciated by the Government of the United States, that a belligerent, in dealing with trade between neutrals, should not interfere unless such interference is necessary to protect the belligerent's national safety, and then only to the extent to which this is a necessity.

The tentative note is as follows:

(The secretary of state for foreign affairs to the American ambassador.)

YOUR EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your note of the 28th of December.

It is being carefully examined and the points raised in it are receiving consideration, as the result of which a reply shall be addressed to your excellency dealing in detail with the issues raised and the points to which the United States Government have drawn attention. This consideration and the preparation of the reply will necessarily require some time, and I therefore desire to send without further delay some preliminary observations which will, I trust, help to clear the ground and remove some misconceptions that seem to exist.

Let me say at once that we entirely recognize the most friendly spirit referred to by your excellency and that we desire to reply in the same spirit and in the belief that, as your excellency states, frankness will best serve the continuance of cordial relations between the two countries.

His Majesty's Government cordially concur in the principle enunciated by the Government of the United States that a belligerent, in dealing with trade between neutrals, should not interfere unless such interference is necessary to protect the belligerent's national safety, and then only to the extent to which this is necessary. We shall endeavor to keep our action within the limits of this principle on the understanding that it admits our right to interfere when such interference is, not with "bona fide" trade between the United States and another neutral country, but with trade in contraband destined for the enemy's country; and we are ready, whenever our action may unintentionally exceed this principle, to make redress.

We think that much misconception exists as to the extent to which we have, in practice, interfered with trade. Your excellency's note seems to hold His Majesty's Government responsible for the present condition of trade with neutral countries, and it is stated that, through the action of His Majesty's Government, the products of the great industries of the United States have been denied long-established markets in European countries which, though neutral, are contiguous to the seat of war. Such a result is far from being the intention of His Majesty's Government, and they would exceedingly regret that it should be due to their action. I have been unable to obtain complete or conclusive figures showing what the state of trade with these neutral countries has been recently, and I can therefore only ask that some further consideration should be given to the question whether United States trade with these neutral countries has been so seriously affected. The only figures as to the total volume of trade that I have seen are those for the exports from New York for the month of November, 1914, and they are as follows, compared with the month of November, 1913:

Exports from New York for November, 1913, [and] November, 1914, respectively.

Denmark	$558,000	$7,101,000
Sweden	377,000	2,858,000
Norway	477,000	2,318,000
Italy	2,971,000	4,781,000
Holland	4,389,000	3,960,000

It is true that there may have been a falling off in cotton exports, as to which New York figures would be no guide, but His Majesty's Government have been most careful not to interfere with cotton, and its place on the free list has been scrupulously maintained.

We do not wish to lay too much stress upon incomplete statistics; the figures above are not put forward as conclusive; and we are prepared to examine any further evidence with regard to the state of trade with these neutral countries, which may point to a different conclusion or show that it is the action of His Majesty's Government in particular, and not the existence of a state of war and consequent diminution of purchasing power and shrinkage of trade, which is responsible for adverse effects upon trade with the neutral countries.

That the existence of a state of war on such a scale has had a very adverse effect upon certain great industries, such as cotton, is obvious; but it is submitted that this is due to the general cause of diminished purchasing power of such countries as France, Germany, and the United Kingdom, rather than to interference with trade with neutral countries. In the matter of cotton, it may be recalled that the British Government gave special assistance through the Liverpool Cotton Exchange to the renewal of transactions in the cotton trade of not only the United Kingdom but of many neutral countries.

Your excellency's note refers in particular to the detention of copper. The figures taken from official returns for the export of copper from the United States for Italy for the months during which the war has been in progress up to the end of the first three weeks of December are as follows:

1913, 15,202,000 pounds; 1914, 36,285,000 pounds. Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Switzerland are not shown separately for the whole period in the United States returns, but are included in the heading "Other Europe" (that is, Europe other than the United Kingdom, Russia, France, Belgium, Austria, Germany, Holland, and Italy). The corresponding figures under this heading are as follows:

1913, 7,271,000 pounds; 1914, 35,347,000 pounds.

With such figures the presumption is very strong that the bulk of copper consigned to these countries has recently been intended, not for their own use, but for that of a belligerent who can not import it direct. It is therefore an imperative necessity for the safety of this country while it is at war that His Majesty's Government should do all in their power to stop such part of this import of copper as is not genuinely destined for neutral countries.

Your excellency does not quote any particular shipment of copper to Sweden which has been detained. There are, however, four consignments to Sweden at the present time of copper and aluminum which, though definitely consigned to Sweden, are, according to positive evidence in the possession of His Majesty's Government, definitely destined for Germany.

I can not believe that with such figures before them and in such cases as those just mentioned the Government of the United States would question the propriety of the action of His Majesty's Government in taking suspected cargoes to a prize court, and we are convinced that it can not be in accord with the wish either of the Government or of the people of the United States to strain the international code in favor of private interests so as to prevent Great Britain from taking such legitimate means for this purpose as are in her power.

With regard to the seizure of foodstuffs to which your excellency refers, His Majesty's Government are prepared to admit that foodstuffs should not be detained and put into a prize court without presumption that they are intended for the armed forces of the enemy or the enemy Government. We believe that this rule has been adhered to in practice hitherto, but if the United States Government have instances to the contrary we are prepared to examine them, and it is our present intention to adhere to the rule, though we can not give an unlimited and unconditional undertaking in view of the departure by those against whom we are fighting from hitherto accepted rules of civilization and humanity and the uncertainty as to the extent to which such rules may be violated by them in future.

From the 4th of August last to the 3d of January the number of steamships proceeding from the United States for Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Italy has been 773. Of these there are 45 which have had consignments or cargoes placed in the prize court, while of the ships themselves only 8 have been placed in the prize court, and 1 of these has since been released. It is, however, essential under modern conditions that where there is real ground for suspecting the presence of contraband the vessels should be brought into port for examination; in no other way can the right of search be exercised, and but for this practice it would have to be completely abandoned. Information was received by us that special instructions had been given to ship rubber from the United States under another designation to escape notice, and such cases have occurred in several instances. Only by search in a port can such cases, when suspected, be discovered and proved. The necessity for examination in a port may also be illustrated by a hypothetical instance, connected with cotton, which has not yet occurred. Cotton is not specifically mentioned in your excellency's note, but I have seen public statements made in the United States that the attitude of His Majesty's Government with regard to cotton has been ambiguous, and thereby responsible for depression in the cotton trade. There has never been any foundation for this allegation. His Majesty's Government have never put cotton on the list of contraband; they have throughout the war kept it on the free list; and on every occasion when questioned on the point they have stated their intention of adhering to this practice. But information has reached us that precisely because we have declared our intention of not interfering with cotton, ships carrying cotton will be specially selected to carry concealed contraband; and we have been warned that copper will be concealed in bales of cotton. Whatever suspicions we have entertained, we have not so far made these a ground for detaining any ship carrying cotton, but should we have information giving us real reason to believe in the case of a particular ship that the bales of cotton concealed copper or other contraband the only way to prove our case would be to examine and weigh the bales, a process that could be carried out only by bringing the vessel into a port. In such a case, or if examination justified the action of His Majesty's Government, the case shall be brought before a prize court and dealt with in the ordinary way.

That the decisions of British prize courts hitherto have not been unfavorable to neutrals is evidenced by the decision in the *Miramichi* case. This case, which was decided against the Crown, laid down that the American shipper was to be paid even when he had sold a cargo c. i. f. and when the risk of loss after the cargo had been shipped did not apply to him at all.

It has further been represented to His Majesty's Government, though this subject is not dealt with in your excellency's note, that our embargoes on the export of some articles, more especially rubber, have interfered with commercial interests in the United States. It is, of course, difficult for His Majesty's Government to permit the export of rubber from British Dominions to the United States at a time when rubber is essential to belligerent countries for carrying on the war, and when a new trade in exporting rubber from the United States in suspiciously large quantities to neutral countries has actually sprung up since the war. It would be impossible to permit the export of rubber from Great Britain unless the right of His Majesty's Government were admitted to submit to a prize court cargoes of rubber exported from the United States which they believe to be destined for an enemy country, and reasonable latitude of action for this purpose was conceded. But His Majesty's Government have now provisionally come to an arrangement with the rubber exporters in Great Britain which will permit of licenses being given under proper guaranties for the export of rubber to the United States.

We are confronted with the growing danger that neutral countries contiguous to the enemy will become on a scale hitherto unprecedented a base of supplies for the armed forces of our enemies and for materials for manufacturing armament. The trade figures of imports show how strong this tendency is, but we have no complaint to make of the attitude of the Governments of those countries, which, so far as we are aware, have not departed from proper rules of neutrality. We endeavor in the interest of our own national safety to prevent this danger by intercepting goods really destined for the enemy without interfering with those which are "bona fide" neutral.

Since the outbreak of the war the Government of the United States have changed their previous practice and have prohibited the publication of manifests till 30 days after the departure of vessels from the United States ports. We had no "locus standi" for complaining of this change, and did not complain. But the effect of it must be to increase the difficulty of ascertaining the presence of contraband and to render necessary in the interests of our national safety the examination and detention of more ships than would have been the case if the former practice had continued.

Pending a more detailed reply, I would conclude by saying that His Majesty's Government do not desire to contest the general principles of law on which they understand the note of the United States to be based, and desire to restrict their action solely to interferences with contraband destined for the enemy. His Majesty's Government are prepared, whenever a cargo coming from the United States is detained, to explain the case on which such detention has taken place, and would gladly enter into any arrangement by which mistakes can be avoided and reparation secured promptly when any injury to the neutral owners of a ship or cargo has been improperly caused, for they are most desirous in the interest both of the United States and of other neutral countries that British action should not interfere with the normal importation and use by the neutral countries of goods from the United States.

I have, etc. E. GREY.

16. On February 10, 1915, Britain made her promised detailed reply to our note of December 26, 1914.

British note, February 10, 1915, replying finally to the American note of December 26, 1914, in regard to the seizure and detention of American cargoes:

(The secretary of state for foreign affairs to the American ambassador.)

YOUR EXCELLENCY: Your excellency has already received the preliminary answer, which I handed to you on the 7th January, in reply to your note of the 28th December on the subject of the seizures and detentions of American cargoes destined for neutral European ports.

Since that date I have had further opportunity of examining into the trade statistics of the United States, as embodied in the customs returns, in order to see whether the belligerent action of Great Britain has been in any way the cause of the trade depression which your excellency describes as existing in the United States, and also whether the seizures of vessels or cargoes which have been made by the British Navy have inflicted any loss on American owners for which our existing machinery provides no means of redress. In setting out the results of my investigation I think it well to take the opportunity of giving a general review of the methods employed by His Majesty's Government to intercept contraband trade with the enemy, of their consistency with

the admitted right of a belligerent to intercept such trade, and also of the extent to which they have endeavored to meet the representations and complaints from time to time addressed to them on behalf of the United States Government.

Toward the close of your note of the 28th December your excellency describes the situation produced by the action of Great Britain as a pitiful one to the commercial interests of the United States and said that many of the great industries of the country were suffering because their products were denied long-established markets in neutral European countries continguous to the nations at war.

It is unfortunately true that in these days when trade and finance are cosmopolitan any war—particularly a war of any magnitude—must result in a grievous dislocation of commerce, including that of the nations which take no part in the war. Your excellency will realize that in this tremendous struggle, for the outbreak of which Great Britain is in no way responsible, it is impossible for the trade of any country to escape all injury and loss, but for such His Majesty's Government is not to blame.

I do not understand the paragraph which I have quoted from your excellency's note as referring to these indirect consequences of the state of war, but to the more proximate and direct effect of our belligerent action in dealing with neutral ships and cargoes on the high seas. Such action has been limited to vessels on their way to enemy ports or ports in neutral countries adjacent to the theater of war, because it is only through such ports that the enemy introduces the supplies which he requires for carrying on the war.

In my earlier note I set out the number of ships which had sailed from the United States for Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Italy, and I there stated that only 8 of the 773 had been placed in the prize court, and that only 45 had been temporarily detained to enable particular consignments of cargo to be discharged for the purpose of prize-court proceedings. To measure the effect of such naval action it is necessary to take into consideration the general statistics of the export trade of the United States during the months preceding the outbreak of war and those since the outbreak.

Taking the figures in millions of dollars, the exports of merchandise from the United States for the seven months of January to July, 1914, inclusive, were 1,201, as compared with 1,327 in the corresponding months of 1913, a drop of $126,000,000.

For the months of August, September, October, and November—that is to say, for the four months of the war preceding the delivery of your excellency's note—the figures of the exports of merchandise were $667,000,000 as compared with $923,000,000 in the corresponding months of 1913, a drop of $256,000,000.

If, however, the single article of cotton be eliminated from the comparison, the figures show a very different result. Thus the exports of all articles of merchandise other than cotton from the United States during the first seven months of 1914 were $966,000,000 as against $1,127,000,000 in 1913, a drop of $161,000,000, or 14½ per cent. On the other hand, the exports of the same articles during the months August to November amounted to $608,000,000 as compared with $630,000,000 in 1913, a drop of only $22,000,000, or less than 4 per cent.

It is therefore clear that if cotton be excluded the effect of the war has been not to increase but practically to arrest the decline of American exports which was in progress earlier in the year. In fact, any decrease in American exports which is attributable to the war is essentially due to cotton. Cotton is an article which can not possibly have been affected by the exercise of our belligerent rights, for, as your excellency is aware, it has not been declared by His Majesty's Government to be contraband of war, and the rules under which we are at present conducting our belligerent operations gives us no power in the absence of a blockade to seize or interfere with it when on its way to a belligerent country in neutral ships. Consequently no cotton has been touched.

Into the cause of the decrease in the exports of cotton I do not feel that there is any need for me to enter, because whatever may have been the cause it is not to be found in the exercise of the belligerent rights of visit, search, and capture, or in our general right when at war to intercept the contraband trade of our enemy. Imports of cotton to the United Kingdom fell as heavily as those to other countries. No place felt the outbreak of war more acutely than the cotton districts of Lancashire, where for a time immense number of spindles were idle. Though this condition has now to a large extent passed away, the consumption of the raw material in Great Britain was temporarily much diminished. The same is no doubt true of France.

The general result is to show convincingly that the naval operations of Great Britain are not the cause of any diminution in the volume of American exports, and that if the commerce of the United States is in the unfavorable condition which your excellency describes the cause ought in fairness to be sought elsewhere than in the activities of His Majesty's naval forces.

I may add that the circular issued by the Department of Commerce at Washington on the 23d of January admits a marked improvement in the foreign trade of the United States, which we have noted with great satisfaction. The first paragraph of the circular is worth quoting verbatim:

"A marked improvement in our foreign trade is indicated by the latest reports issued by the Department of Commerce through its Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, sales of foodstuffs and certain lines of manufactures having been unusually large in November, the latest period for which detailed information is at hand. In that month exports aggregated $206,000,000, or double the total for August last, when, by reason of the outbreak of war, our foreign trade fell to the lowest level reached in many years. In December there was further improvement, the month's exports being valued at $246,000,000, compared with $233,000,000 in December, 1913, and within $4,000,000 of the high record established in December, 1912."

A better view of the situation is obtained by looking at the figures month by month. The exports of merchandise for the last five months have been (in millions of dollars):

August	110
September	156
October	194
November	205
December	246

The outbreak of war produced in the United States, as it did in all neutral countries, an acute but temporary disturbance of trade. Since that time there seems to have been a steady recovery, for to-day the exports from the United States stand at a higher figure than on the same date last year.

Before passing away from the statistics of trade, and in order to demonstrate still more clearly, if necessary, that the naval operations of Great Britain and her allies have had no detrimental effect on the volume of trade between the United States and neutral countries, it is worth while to analyze the figures of the exports to Europe since the outbreak of hostilities. For this purpose the European countries ought to be grouped under three heads: Great Britain and those fighting with her, neutral countries, and enemy countries. It is, however, impossible for me to group the countries in this way satisfactorily, as the figures relating to the export trade of the United States with each country have not yet been published. In the preliminary statement of the export trade of the United States with foreign countries only principal countries are shown, and various countries which are tabulated separately in the more detailed monthly summary of commerce and finance are omitted. Those omitted include not only the Scandinavian countries, the exports to which are of peculiar importance in dealing with this question, but also Austria.

So far as it is possible to distribute the figures under the headings which I have indicated above (all the figures being given in thousands of dollars), the results are as follows:

Total exports to Europe from the 1st of August to the 30th of November, 413,995, as against 597,342 in 1913. Of these, Great Britain and her allies took 288,312, as against 316,805 in 1913. Germany and Belgium took 1,881, as against 177,136 in 1913; whereas neutral countries (among which Austria-Hungary is unavoidably included) took 123,802, as against 103,401 in 1913.

The general complaint in your excellency's note was that the action of Great Britain was affecting adversely the trade of the United States with neutral countries. The naval operations of Great Britain certainly do not interfere with commerce from the United States on its way to the United Kingdom and the allied countries, and yet the exports to Great Britain and her allies during those four months diminished to the extent of over $28,000,000, whereas those to neutral countries and Austria increased by over $20,000,000.

The inference may fairly be drawn from these figures, all of which are taken from the official returns published by the United States Government, that not only has the trade of the United States with the neutral countries in Europe been maintained as compared with previous years, but also that a substantial part of this trade was, in fact, trade intended for the enemy countries going through neutral ports by routes to which it was previously unaccustomed.

One of the many inconveniences to which this great war is exposing the commerce of all neutral countries is undoubtedly the serious shortage in shipping available for ocean transport and the consequential result of excessive freights.

It can not fairly be said that this shortage is caused by Great Britain's interference with neutral ships. At the present time there are only seven neutral vessels awaiting adjudication in the prize courts in this country and three in those in the British dominions. As your excellency is aware, I have already instructed our ambassador at Washington to remind the parties who are interested in these vessels that it is open to them to apply to the court for the release of these ships on bail, and if an application of this sort is made by them it is not likely to be opposed by the Crown. There is therefore no reason why such an application should not be favorably entertained by the court, and if acceded to, all these vessels will again be available for the carriage of commerce. Only one neutral vessel is now detained in this country in addition to those awaiting adjudication in the prize court.

Every effort has been made in cases in which it has been found necessary to institute proceedings against portions of the cargo to secure the speedy discharge of the cargo and the release of the ship, so as to enable it to resume work. Great Britain is suffering from the shortage of shipping and the rise in freights as acutely as, if not more than, other nations, and His Majesty's Government have taken every step that they could consistently with their belligerent interests to increase the tonnage available for the transport of sea-borne commerce. The enemy ships which have been condemned in the prize courts in this country are being sold as rapidly as possible in order that they may become available for use; and those which have been condemned in the prize courts oversea are being brought to this country in order that they may be disposed of here and again placed in active employment.

The difficulties have been accentuated by the unforeseen consequences of the convention which was signed at The Hague in 1907 relative to the status of enemy merchant vessels at the outbreak of war. This convention was a well-intentioned effort to diminish the losses which war must impose upon innocent persons, and provided that enemy merchant ships seized by a belligerent in whose ports they lay at the outbreak of war should not be condemned, but should merely be detained for the period of the war, unless they were liberated in the days of grace. We could come to no arrangement with the German Government for the reciprocal grant of days of grace, and the German merchant vessels lying in British ports when the war broke out have therefore been sentenced to detention in lieu of condemnation. The normal result would have been still further to reduce the volume of shipping available for the commerce of the world. To ease the situation, however, His Majesty's Government are resorting to the power of requisitioning which is given by the convention, so that these ships may again be placed in active service.

Your excellency will see, therefore, that His Majesty's Government are doing all in their power to increase the volume of shipping available. I hope it will be realized that the detention of neutral ships by His Majesty's Government with a view to the capture of contraband trade on its way to the enemy has not contributed nearly so much to the shortage of shipping as has the destruction of neutral vessels by submarine mines indiscriminatey laid by the enemy on the high seas, many miles from the coast, in the track of merchant vessels. Up till now 25 neutral vessels have been reported as destroyed by mines on the high seas; quite apart from all questions of the breach of treaties and the destruction of life, there is far more reason for protest on the score of belligerent interference with innocent neutral trade through the mines scattered by the enemy than through the British exercise of the right of seizing contraband.

I trust that what I have said above will be sufficient to convince Your Excellency's Government that the complaints that the naval policy of Great Britain has interfered with the shipments of American products to long-established markets in neutral European countries is founded on a misconception.

In justice to the peoples of both countries, I feel that this opportunity should be taken to explain the lines on which His Majesty's Government has been acting hitherto, so as to show that the line they have followed is in no way inconsistent with the general fundamental principle of international law and to indicate the care with which they have endeavored to meet the representations which have been made by the United States Government from time to time during the war on these questions.

No one in these days will dispute the general proposition that a belligerent is entitled to capture contraband goods on their way to the enemy; that right has now become consecrated by long usage and general acquiescence. Though the right is ancient, the means of exercising it alter and develop with the changes in the methods and machinery of commerce. A century ago the difficulties of land transport rendered it impracticable for the belligerent to obtain supplies of sea-borne goods through a neighboring neutral country. Consequently the belligerent actions of his opponents neither required nor justified any interference with shipments on their way to a neutral port. This principle was recognized and acted on in the decisions in which Lord Stowell laid down the lines on which captures of such goods should be dealt with.

The advent of steam power has rendered it as easy for a belligerent to supply himself through the ports of a neutral contiguous country as through his own and has therefore rendered it impossible for his opponent to refrain from interfering with commerce intended for the enemy merely because it is on its way to a neutral port.

No better instance of the necessity of countering new devices for dispatching contraband goods to an enemy by new methods of applying the fundamental principle of the right to capture such contraband can be given than the steps which the Government of the United States found it necessary to take during the American Civil War. It was at that time that the doctrine of continuous voyage was first applied to the capture of contraband; that is to say, it was then for the first time that a belligerent found himself obliged to capture contraband goods on their way to the enemy, even though at the time of capture they were en route for a neutral port from which they were intended subsequently to continue their journey. The policy then followed by the United States Government was not inconsistent with the general principles already sanctioned by international law, and met with no protest from His Majesty's Government, though it was upon British cargoes and upon British ships that the losses and the inconvenience due to this new development of the application of the old rule of international law principally fell. The criticisms which have been directed against the steps then taken by the United States came, and come, from those who saw in the methods employed in Napoleonic times for the prevention of contraband a limitation upon the right itself, and failed to see that in Napoleonic times goods on their way to a neutral port were immune from capture not because the immediate destination conferred a privilege but because capture under such circumstances was unnecessary.

The facilities which the introduction of steamers and railways have given to a belligerent to introduce contraband goods through neutral ports have imposed upon his opponent the additional difficulty, when endeavoring to intercept such trade, of distinguishing between the goods which are really destined for the commerce of that neutral country and the goods which are on their way to the enemy. It is one of the many difficulties with which the United States Government found themselves confronted in the days of the Civil War, and I can not do better than quote the words which Mr. Seward, who was then Secretary of State, used in the course of diplomatic discussion arising out of the capture of some goods on their way to Matamoros which were believed to be for the insurgents:

"Neutrals engaged in honest trade with Matamoros must expect to experience inconvenience from the existing blockade of Brownsville and the adjacent coast of Texas. While this Government unfeignedly regrets this inconvenience, it can not relinquish any of its belligerent rights to favor contraband trade with insurgent territory by insisting upon those rights; however, it is sure that that necessity for their exercise at all, which must be deplored by every friendly commercial power, will the more speedily be terminated."

The opportunities now enjoyed by a belligerent for obtaining supplies through neutral ports are far greater than they were 50 years ago, and the geographical conditions of the present struggle lend additional assistance to the enemy in carrying out such importation. We are faced with the problem of intercepting such supplies when arranged with all the advantages that flow from elaborate organization and unstinted expenditure. If our belligerent rights are to be maintained, it is of the first importance for us to distinguish between what is really bona fide trade intended for the neutral country concerned and the trade intended for the enemy country. Every effort is made by organizers of this trade to conceal the true destination, and if the innocent neutral trade is to be distinguished from the enemy trade it is essential that His Majesty's Government should be entitled to make, and should make, careful inquiry with regard to the destination of particular shipments of goods even at the risk of some slight delay to the parties interested. If such inquiries were not made, either the exercise of our belligerent rights would have to be abandoned, tending to the prolongation of this war and the increase of the loss and suffering which it is entailing upon the whole world, or else it would be necessary to indulge in indiscriminate captures of neutral goods and their detention throughout all the period of the resulting prize-court proceedings. Under the system now adopted it has been found possible to release without delay, and consequently without appreciable loss to the parties interested, all the goods of which the destination is shown as the result of the inquiries to be innocent.

It may be well that the system of making such inquiries is to a certain extent a new introduction, in that it has been practiced to a far greater extent than in previous wars; but if it is correctly described as a new departure, it is a departure which is wholly to the advantage of neutrals, and which has been made for the purpose of relieving them, so far as possible, from loss and inconvenience.

There was a passage in a note which the State Department addressed to the British ambassador at Washington on the 7th November, to which I think it may be well to refer:

"In the opinion of this Government, the belligerent right of visit and search requires that the search should be made on the high seas at the time of the visit, and that the conclusion of the search should rest upon the evidence found on the ship under investigation, and not upon circumstances ascertained from external sources."

The principle here enunciated appears to me to be inconsistent with the practice in these matters of the United States Government, as well as of the British Government. It certainly was not the rule upon which the United States Government acted either during the Civil War or during the Spanish-American War, nor has it ever been the practice of the British Government, nor so far as I am aware, of any other Government which has had to carry on a great naval war; as a principle I think it is impossible in modern times. The necessity for giving the belligerent captor full liberty to establish by all the evidence at his disposal the enemy destination with which the goods were shipped was recognized in all the leading decisions in the prize courts of the United States during the Civil War.

No clearer instance could be given than the reporter's statement of the case of the *Bermuda* (3 Wallace, 514):

"The final destination of the cargo in this particular voyage was left so skillfully open . . . that it was not quite easy to prove, with that certainty which American courts require, the intention, which it seemed plain must have really existed. Thus to prove it required that truth should be collated from a variety of sources, darkened and disguised; from others opened as the cause advanced, and by accident only; from coincidences undesigned, and facts that were circumstantial. Collocations and comparisons, in short, brought largely their collective force in aid of evidence that was more direct."

It is not impossible that the course of the present struggle will show the necessity for belligerent action to be taken in various ways which may at first sight be regarded as a departure from old practice. In my note of the 7th January, I dealt at some length with the question of the necessity of taking vessels into port for the purposes of carrying out an effective search, where search was necessary; to that subject I feel that I need not again recur.

The growth in the size of steamships necessitates in many cases that the vessel should go into calm water, in order that even the right of visit, as apart from the right of search, should be exercised. In modern times a steamer is capable of pursuing her voyage irrespective of the conditions of the weather. Many of the neutral merchantmen which our naval officers are called upon to visit at sea are encountered by our cruisers in places and under conditions which render the launching of a boat impossible. The conditions during winter in the North Atlantic frequently render it impracticable for days together for a naval officer to board a vessel on her way to Scandinavian countries. If a belligerent is to be denied the right of taking a neutral merchantman, met with under such conditions, into calm water in order that the visiting officer may go aboard, the right of visit and of search would become a nullity.

The present conflict is not the first in which this necessity has arisen. As long ago as the Civil War the United States found it necessary to take vessels to United States ports in order to determine whether the circumstances justified their detention.

The same need arose during the Russo-Japanese War and also during the second Balkan War, when it sometimes happened that British vessels were made to deviate from their course and follow the cruisers to some spot where the right of visit and of search could be more conveniently carried out. In both cases this exercise of belligerent rights, although questioned at first by His Majesty's Government, was ultimately acquiesced in.

No power in these days can afford during a great war to forego the exercise of the right of visit and search. Vessels which are apparently harmless merchantmen can be used for carrying and laying mines and even fitted to discharge torpedoes. Supplies for submarines can without difficulty be concealed under other cargo. The only protection against these risks is to visit and search thoroughly every vessel appearing in the zone of operations, and if the circumstances are such as to render it impossible to carry it out at the spot where the vessel was met with the only practicable course is to take the ship to some more convenient locality for the purpose. To do so is not to be looked upon as a new belligerent right, but as an adaptation of the existing right to the modern conditions of commerce. Like all belligerent rights, it must be exercised with due regard for neutral interests, and it would be unreasonable to expect a neutral vessel to make long deviations from her course for this purpose. It is for this reason that we have done all we can to encourage neutral merchantmen on their way to ports contiguous to the enemy country to visit some British port lying on their line of route in order that the necessary examination of the ship's papers, and, if required, of the cargo, can be made under conditions of convenience to the ship herself. The alternative would be to keep a vessel which the naval officers desired to board waiting, it might be for days together, until the weather conditions enabled the visit to be carried out at sea.

No war has yet been waged in which neutral individuals have not occasionally suffered from unjustified belligerent action; no neutral nation has experienced this fact more frequently in the past than Great Britain. The only method by which it is possible to harmonize belligerent action with the rights of neutrals is for the belligerent nation to provide some adequate machinery by which in any such case the facts can be investigated and appropriate redress can be obtained by the neutral individual. In this country such machinery is provided by the powers which are given to the prize court to deal not only with captures, but also with claims for compensation. Order V, rule 2, of the British prize court rules, provides that where a ship has been captured as prize, but has been subsequently released by the captors, or has by loss, destruction, or otherwise ceased to be detained by them, without proceedings for condemnation having been taken, any person interested in the ship (which by Order I, rule 2, includes goods) wishing to make a claim for costs and damages in respect thereof, shall issue a writ as provided by Order II. A writ so issued will initiate a proceeding which will follow its ordinary course in the prize court.

This rule gives the prize court ample jurisdiction to deal with any claim for compensation by a neutral arising from the interference with a ship or goods by our naval forces. The best evidence that can be given of the discrimination and the moderation with which our naval officers have carried out their duties is to be found in the fact that up to this time no proceedings for the recovery of compensation have been initiated under the rule which I have quoted.

It is the common experience of every war that neutrals whose attempts to engage in suspicious trading are frustrated by a belligerent are wont to have recourse to their Government to urge that diplomatic remonstrances should be made on their behalf, and that redress should be obtained for them in this way. When an effective mode of redress is open to them in the courts of a civilized country by which they can obtain adequate satisfaction for any invasion of their rights which is contrary to the law of nations, the only course which is consistent with sound principle is that they should be referred to that mode of redress, and that no diplomatic action should be taken until their legal remedies have been exhausted, and they are in a position to show prima facie denial of justice.

The course adopted by His Majesty's Government during the American Civil War was in strict accordance with this principle. In spite of remonstrances from many quarters, they placed full reliance on the American prize courts to grant redress to the parties interested in cases of alleged wrongful capture by American ships of war, and

put forward no claims until the opportunities for redress in those courts had been exhausted. The same course was adopted in the Spanish-American War, when all British subjects who complained of captures or detentions of their ships were referred to the prize courts for relief.

Before leaving the subject may I remind your excellency of the fact that at your request you are now supplied immediately by this department with particulars of every ship under American colors which is detained, and of every shipment of cargo in which an American citizen appears to be the party interested. Not only is the fact of detention notified to your excellency, but so far as is practicable the grounds upon which the vessel or cargo has been detained are also communicated to you—a concession which enables any United States citizen to take steps at once to protect his interests.

His Majesty's Government have also done all that lies in their power to insure rapid action when ships are reported in British ports. They realize that the ship and cargo owners may reasonably expect an immediate decision to be taken as to whether the ship may be allowed to proceed, and whether her cargo or any part of it must be discharged and put into the prize court. Realizing that the ordinary methods of interdepartmental correspondence might cause delays which could be obviated by another method of procedure, they established several months ago a special committee, on which all the departments concerned are represented. This committee sits daily, and is provided with a special clerical staff. As soon as a ship reaches port full particulars are telegraphed to London, and the case is dealt with at the next meeting of the committee, immediate steps being taken to carry out the action decided upon. By the adoption of this procedure it has been found possible to reduce to a minimum the delays to which neutral shipping is exposed by the exercise of belligerent rights, and by the necessity, imposed by modern conditions, of examining with care the destination of contraband articles.

Particular attention is directed in your excellency's note to the policy we are pursuing with regard to conditional contraband, especially foodstuffs, and it is there stated that a number of American cargoes have been seized without, so far as your excellency's Government are informed, our being in possession of facts which warranted a reasonable belief that the shipments had in reality a belligerent destination, and in spite of the presumption of innocent use due to their being destined to neutral territory. The note does not specify any particular seizures as those which formed the basis of this complaint, and I am therefore not aware whether the passage refers to cargoes which were detained before or since the order in council of the 29th of October was issued.

Your excellency will no doubt remember that soon after the outbreak of war an order of His Majesty in council was issued under which no distinction was drawn in the application of the doctrine of continuous voyage between absolute contraband and conditional contraband, and which also imposed upon the neutral owner of contraband somewhat drastic conditions as to the burden of proof of the guilt or innocence of the shipment.

The principle that the burden of proof should always be imposed upon the captor has usually been admitted as a theory. In practice, however, it has almost always been otherwise, and any student of the prize courts' decisions of the past or even of modern wars will find that goods seldom escape condemnation unless their owner was in a position to prove that their destination was innocent. An attempt was made some few years ago, in the unratified declaration of London, to formulate some definite rules upon this subject, but time alone can show whether the rules there laid down will stand the test of modern warfare.

The rules which His Majesty's Government published in the order in council of the 20th August, 1914, were criticized by the United States Government as contrary to the generally recognized principles of international law, and as inflicting unnecessary hardship upon neutral commerce, and your excellency will remember the prolonged discussion which took place between us through the month of October with a view to finding some new formulæ which should enable us to restrict supplies to the enemy forces, and to prevent the supply to the enemy of materials essential for the making of munitions of war, while inflicting the minimum of injury and interference with neutral commerce. It was with this object that the order in council of the 29th October was issued, under the provisions of which a far greater measure of immunity is conferred upon neutral commerce. In that order the principle of noninterference with conditional contraband on its way to a neutral port is in large measure admitted; only in three cases is the right to seize maintained, and in all those cases the opportunity is given to the claimants of the goods to establish their innocence.

Two of those cases are where the ship's papers afford no information as to the person for whom the goods are intended. It is only reasonable that a belligerent should be entitled to regard as suspicious cases where the shippers of the goods do not choose to disclose the name of the individual who is to receive them. The third case is that of goods addressed to a person in the enemy territory. In the peculiar circumstances of the present struggle, where the forces of the enemy comprise so large a proportion of the population, and where there is so little evidence of shipments on private as distinguished from Government account, it is most reasonable that the burden of proof should rest upon the claimant.

The most difficult questions in connection with conditional contraband arise with reference to the shipment of foodstuffs. No country has maintained more stoutly than Great Britain in modern times the principle that a belligerent should abstain from interference with the foodstuffs intended for the civil population. The circumstances of the present struggle are causing His Majesty's Government some anxiety as to whether the existing rules with regard to conditional contraband, framed as they were with the object of protecting so far as possible the supplies which were intended for the civil population, are effective for the purpose or suitable to the conditions present. The principle which I have indicated above is one which His Majesty's Government have constantly had to uphold against the opposition of continental powers. In the absence of some certainty that the rule would be respected by both parties to this conflict, we feel great doubt whether it should be regarded as an established principle of international law.

Your excellency will, no doubt, remember that in 1885, at the time when His Majesty's Government were discussing with the French Government this question of the right to declare foodstuffs not intended for the military forces to be contraband, and when public attention had been drawn to the matter, the Kiel Chamber of Commerce applied to the German Government for a statement of the latter's views on the subject. Prince Bismarck's answer was as follows:

"In answer to their representation of the 1st instant, I reply to the chamber of commerce that any disadvantage our commercial and carrying interests may suffer by the treatment of rice as contraband of war does not justify our opposing a measure which it has been thought fit to take in carrying on a foreign war. Every war is a calamity, which entails evil consequences not only on the combatants but also on neutrals. These evils may easily be increased by the interference of a neutral power with the way in which a third carries on the war, to the disadvantage of the subjects of the interfering power, and by this means German commerce might be weighed with far heavier losses than a transitory prohibition of the rice trade in Chinese waters. The measure in question has for its object the shortening of the war by increasing the difficulties of the enemy and is a justifiable step in war if impartially enforced against all neutral ships."

His Majesty's Government are disposed to think that the same view is still maintained by the German Government.

Another circumstance which is now coming to light is that an elaborate machinery has been organized by the enemy for the supply of foodstuffs for the use of the German Army from overseas. Under these circumstances it would be absurd to give any definite pledge that in cases where the supplies can be proved to be for the use of the enemy forces they should be given complete immunity by the simple expedient of dispatching them to an agent in a neutral port.

The reason for drawing a distinction between foodstuffs intended for the civil population and those for the armed forces or enemy Government disappears when the distinction between the civil population and the armed forces itself disappears.

In any country in which there exists such a tremendous organization for war as now obtains in Germany there is no clear division between those whom the Government is responsible for feeding and those whom it is not. Experience shows that the power to requisition will be used to the fullest extent in order to make sure that the wants of the military are supplied, and however much goods may be imported for civil use it is by the military that they will be consumed if military exigencies require it, especially now that the German Government have taken control of all the foodstuffs in the country.

I do not wish to overburden this note with statistics, but in proof of my statement as to the unprecedented extent to which supplies are reaching neutral ports I should like to instance the figures of the exports of certain meat products to Denmark during the months of September and October. Denmark is a country which in normal times imports a certain quantity of such products, but exports still more. In 1913, during the above two months, the United States exports of lard to Denmark was nil, as compared with 22,652,598 pounds in the same two months of 1914. The corresponding figures with regard to bacon were: 1913, nil; 1914, 1,022,195 pounds; canned beef, 1913, nil; 1914, 151,200 pounds; pickled and cured beef, 1913, 42,901 pounds; 1914, 156,143 pounds; pickled pork, 1913, nil; 1914, 812,872 pounds.

In the same two months the United States exported to Denmark 280,176 gallons of mineral lubricating oil in 1914, as compared with 179,252 in 1913; to Norway, 335,468 gallons in 1914, as against 151,179 gallons in 1913; to Sweden, 896,193 gallons in 1914, as against 385,476 gallons in 1913.

I have already mentioned the framing of the order in council of the 20th October, and the transmission to your excellency of particulars of ships and cargoes seized as instances of the efforts which we have made throughout the course of this war to meet all reasonable complaints made on behalf of American citizens, and in my note of the 7th January I alluded to the decision of our prize court in the case of the *Miramichi* as evidencing the liberal principles adopted toward neutral commerce.

I should also like to refer to the steps which we took at the beginning of the war to insure the speedy release of cargo claimed by neutrals on board enemy ships which were captured or detained at the outbreak of war. Under our prize court rules release of such goods can be obtained without the necessity of entering a claim in the prize court if the documents of title are produced to the officer representing His Majesty's Government and the title to the goods is established to his satisfaction. It was shortly found, however, that this procedure did not provide for the case where the available evidence was so scanty that the officer representing the Crown was not justified in consenting to a release. In order, therefore, to ameliorate the situation we established a special committee, with full powers to authorize the release of goods without insisting on full evidence of title being produced. This committee dealt with the utmost expedition with a large number of claims. In the great majority of cases the goods claimed were released at once. In addition to the cases dealt with by this committee a very large amount of cargo was released at once by the procurator general on production of documents. Claimants therefore obtained their goods without the necessity of applying to the prize court and of incurring the expense involved in retaining lawyers and without the risk, which was in some cases a considerable one, of the goods being eventually held to be enemy property and condemned. We have reason to know that our action in this matter was highly appreciated by many American citizens.

Another instance of the efforts which His Majesty's Government have made to deal as leniently as possible with neutral interests may be found in the policy which we have followed with regard to the transfer to a neutral flag of enemy ships belonging to companies which were incorporated in the enemy country, but all of whose shareholders were neutral. The rules applied by the British and by the American prize courts have always treated the flag as conclusive in favor of the captors in spite of neutral proprietary interests. (See the case of the *Pedro*, 175 U. S., 354.) In several cases, however, we have consented to waive our belligerent rights to treat as enemy vessels ships belonging to companies incorporated in Germany which were subsidiary to and owned by American corporations. The only condition which we have imposed is that these vessels should take no further part in trade with the enemy country.

I have given these indications of the policy which we have followed, because I can not help feeling that if the facts were more fully known as to the efforts which we have made to avoid inflicting any avoidable injury on neutral interests many of the complaints which have been received by the administration in Washington, and which led to the protest which your excellency handed to me on the 29th December, would never have been made. My hope is that when the facts which I have set out above are realized, and when it is seen that our naval operations have not diminished American trade with neutral countries, and that the lines on which we have acted are consistent with the fundamental principles of international law, it will be apparent to the Government and people of the United States that His Majesty's Government have hitherto endeavored to exercise their belligerent rights with every possible consideration for the interests of neutrals.

It will still be our endeavor to avoid injury and loss to neutrals, but the announcement by the German Government of their intention to sink merchant vessels and their cargoes without verification of their nationality or character and without making any provision for

the safety of noncombatant crews or giving them a chance of saving their lives has made it necessary for His Majesty's Government to consider what measures they should adopt to protect their interests. It is impossible for one belligerent to depart from rules and precedents and for the other to remain bound by them.

I have the honor, etc.,

E. GREY.

17. Britain's change of lists of contraband so as to embrace most of the sea-borne commerce, and her insistence of the exercise of her prize-court proceedings encompassed almost the entire neutral trade as indicated by the following lists of vessels seized and detained by her order:

The first list includes the cases of 155 vessels brought into British ports or otherwise detained for examination. Of these, 40 were forced to discharge their cargoes, which were held for prize-court proceedings. Thirty more were subjected to protracted detention at great loss. One American vessel carrying oil to Copenhagen was run aground by the English prize crew aboard her off the coast of Scotland.

It will be noted that this list does not include cases like that of the *Wilhelmina*, which, when seized by the British, was bound for Hamburg with an innocent cargo, and the *Dacia*, which was seized by the French Navy under British instructions.

Nor does this list include the vessels, 273 in number, recorded by the Government of the United States in an appendix to its note of October 21 as having been detained in the port of Kirkwall alone between March 11 and June 17. The Government list is appended, bringing this merely illustrative record of ships detained up to a total of 428.

From March 11, 1915, to June 16, 1915, 271 vessels carrying American cargoes were compelled to stop at Kirkwall, England.

A PARTIAL LIST OF SHIPS DETAINED.

S. S. *Kumeric* (British): Sailed from Galveston July 17, 1914 (via Newport News July 24), for Bremen. Cargo, 49,000 bushels of grain. Taken to Queenstown August 2; detained at Liverpool August 19.

S. S. *Berwindmoor* (British): Sailed from New Orleans July 21, 1914, for Rotterdam. Cargo, 196,000 bushels of grain. Diverted to Falmouth August 5; at London August 21.

S. S. *Campanello* (British): Sailed from New York July 30, 1914, for Rotterdam. Sent to Cardiff August 12; detained.

S. S. *Spenser* (British): Sailed from New York July 31, 1914, for Rotterdam. Sent to Liverpool.

S. S. *Saint Helena* (British): Sailed from Galveston July 16, 1914 (via Norfolk, Va., July 24), for Bremen and Hamburg. Cargo, phosphate rock, wheat, and cotton. Diverted to Manchester. Cargo seized August 12. Phosphate rock released, as well as part of cotton. Large quantity of cotton and the wheat not released, including 50 bales of cotton shipped by Alexander Spunt & Co., of Houston, Tex., and Bremen; claimed belonging to neutral subjects and as such not subject to seizure; also on ground that contract of sale between American citizens dated May 8, 1914. These goods, including wheat, condemned in prize court.

S. S. *Penlover* (British): Sailed from Galveston July 18, 1914, for Rotterdam. Cargo, 264,000 bushels of grain. Diverted to Falmouth and ordered to London August 15.

S. S. *Kalomo* (British): Sailed from New Orleans July 24, 1914, for Rotterdam. Cargo, 64,000 bushels of grain. Detained at Falmouth; at London August 15.

S. S. *Andijk* (Dutch): Sailed from New Orleans July 30, 1914, for Rotterdam. Cargo, 136,000 bushels grain. Sent to Falmouth for orders; arrived at Rotterdam August 16.

S. S. *Noruega* (Norwegian): Sailed from Galveston July 30, 1914, for Christiania. Cargo, 40,000 bushels grain. Diverted to Falmouth; arrived at Christiania August 26.

S. S. *Orteric* (British): Sailed from Galveston July 27, 1914 (Newport News August 4). Detained at Queenstown August 17; arrived at Liverpool August 21. Cargo for Bremen and Hamburg seized.

S. S. *Nitonian* (British): Sailed from New Orleans July 31, 1914, for Antwerp. Cargo, 142,000 bushels grain. Diverted to Falmouth; arrived at London August 22, at Antwerp September 5.

S. S. *Glenfinlas* (British): Sailed from New Orleans August 1, 1914 (via Norfolk August 7), for Rotterdam. Cargo, 108,000 bushels grain. Diverted to Falmouth August 26; at London September 1.

S. S. *St. Dunstan* (British): Sailed from Galveston August 4, 1914, for Rotterdam. Cargo, 122,400 bushels grain. Diverted to Cork for orders; at Liverpool August 27; at Manchester September 5.

S. S. *Miramichi* (British): Sailed from New York July 3, 1914 (via Galveston July 23), for Rotterdam. Cargo, 16,000 bushels of wheat (part of cargo), shipped by Muir & Co., for Rotterdam, to be delivered to George Fries & Co. in Colmar, Germany, and Gebrueder Zimmern & Co., Mannheim, Germany. Vessel not permitted to proceed to Rotterdam. Taken to Eastham and cargo consigned to Germany seized. Prize court decided that goods seized were property of the American claimants and not subject to seizure. Ordered released to claimants December, 1914.

S. S. *Klosterfos* (Norwegian): Sailed from New York August 28, 1914, for Christiania. Cargo, flour in barrels. Vessel stopped and boarded by British officers off the north coast of Scotland and ordered to Aberdeen. Held several days until neutral ownership of cargo was established. Arrived at Christiania September 17.

S. S. *Vitalia* (Norwegian): Sailed from New York August 19, 1914, to Rotterdam. Cargo, meat. Detained at Falmouth September 7.

S. S. *Lorenzo* (American, New York and Porto Rico Line): Chartered on August 2, 1914, by Gans Steamship Line. Sailed from New York August 6, 1914, for Buenos Aires. Cargo, coal. Captured by British and taken to St. Lucia September 12. October 16, cargo condemned; October 30, vessel condemned.

S. S. *Heina* (Norwegian): Sailed from Philadelphia August 7, 1914, for St. Thomas. Cargo, coal. Seized September 13 off St. Thomas by French cruiser *Conde;* detained six months; released at Fort de France March 20, 1915; reached New York April 15, 1915.

S. S. *Vestfos* (Norwegian): Sailed from New York August 28, 1914, for Christiania. Cargo, flour in barrels. Stopped and boarded by British officers. Taken to Kirkwall; left September 14; arrived Christiania September 17.

S. S. *Ryndam* (Dutch, Holland-America Line): Sailed from New York September 8, 1914, for Rotterdam. Seized by British warship and brought into Cork Harbor September 17; released September 20 at Queenstown. Again held up and ordered by British cruiser (September 21) to enter Falmouth. Arrived at Rotterdam September 24.

S. S. *Amsteldyk* (Dutch, Holland-America Line): Sailed from Philadelphia September 10, 1914, for Rotterdam. Captured by British cruiser and taken to Queenstown September 25; released; arrived at Rotterdam October 12.

S. S. *Rotterdam* (Dutch): Sailed from New York September 15, 1914, for Rotterdam. Cargo, copper. Shippers, American Smelting & Refining Co., United Metals Selling Co., American Can Metal Co., L. Vogelstein & Co., and Norfolk Smelting & Refining Co. Seized September 26, en route while copper was made conditional contraband (absolute contraband only since October 29). Copper bought by Great Britain. Arrived Rotterdam October 12.

S. S. *Slolerdijk* (Dutch): Sailed from New York September 9, 1914, for Rotterdam. Cargo, copper. Shippers, American Metal Co. (Ltd.) and L. Vogelstein & Co. Seized September 26, en route while copper was made conditional contraband (absolute contraband only since October 29). Copper bought by British Government. Arrived Rotterdam October 6, 1914.

S. S. *Potsdam* (Dutch): Sailed from New York September 22, 1914, for Rotterdam. Cargo, copper. Shippers, American Smelting & Refining Co., United Metals Selling Co., American Metal Co. (Ltd.), and L. Vogelstein & Co. Seized October 9. Copper bought by British Government. Arrived Rotterdam October 15.

S. S. *Westerdyk* (Dutch): Sailed from Baltimore September 21, 1914, for Rotterdam. Cargo, copper. Shipper, American Smelting & Refining Co. Seized October 9. Copper bought by British Government. Arrived Rotterdam October 18.

S. S. *Beta* (Swedish): Sailed from Philadelphia September 23, 1914, for Helsingborg and Oscarshamn. Detained and taken to Kirkwall for examination October 12. Arrived at Helsingborg October 21.

S. S. *Aquila* (Norwegian): Sailed from New York September 23, 1914, for Christiansand, Korsoer, and Copenhagen. Detained at Kirkwall October 12 for examination. Arrived at Copenhagen October 24.

S. S. *Nicholas Cuneo* (Norwegian): Sailed from New York September 26, 1914, for Christiania. Detained and taken to Kirkwall for examination October 12. Arrived at Christiania October 19.

S. S. *Noordam* (Dutch, Holland-America Line): Sailed from New York October 6, 1914, for Rotterdam. Cargo of about 13,000 tons consigned to Dutch Government. Wheat, flour, foodstuffs diverted to Falmouth October 15.

S. S. *Leander* (Norwegian): Sailed from New York September 25, 1914, for Copenhagen. Cargo, grain. Arrived at Kirkwall October 16; detained for general inspection; left October 17.

S. S. *Brindilla* (under American flag): Sailed from Bayonne, N. J., on October 13, 1914. Cargo, kerosene for Alexandria, Egypt. Steamer bought by Standard Oil Co. from Riedermann Line and transferred from German to American registry under Underwood amendment to the Panama Canal act of 1914. Seized by British cruiser *Caronia* just outside 3-mile limit off Sandy Hook October 18 and taken to Halifax, Nova Scotia. Submitted to prize court. Released. Left Halifax October 30.

S. S. *Dania* (Danish Scandinavian-American Line): Sailed from Philadelphia September 26, 1914, for Copenhagen. Cargo, general. Detained about one week at Kirkwall.

S. S. *John D. Rockefeller* (American): Sailed from Philadelphia September 27, 1914, for Copenhagen, Denmark. Captured and taken to Orkney Islands. At Kirkwall October 17. Released upon protest by United States after considerable delay.

S. S. *Prinz der Nederlanden* (Dutch, Royal Dutch West India Mail): Sailed from New York September 4, 1914, for Havre and Amsterdam by way of West Indian and Venezuelan ports. Taken at Falmouth on October 21; arrived at Amsterdam October 26.

S. S. *San* (American oil tank; Sun Oil Co., Philadelphia): Sailed from Philadelphia October 8, 1914, for Amsterdam. Diverted to Falmouth and released on October 25 at request of American Government; arrived at Amsterdam October 29.

S. S. *Marengo* (British): Sailed October 10, 1914, for Sweden. Cargo, copper. Shipper, L. Vogelstein & Co. Held at Hull October 25.

S. S. *Ascot* (British): Sailed from New York October 10, 1914, for Genoa. Cargo, copper. Consigned to order, but intended for delivery to Brown, Borari & Co. in Baden, Switzerland.

Shippers:	Tons.
American Smelting & Refining Co	450
United Metals Selling Co	500
American Metal Co. (Ltd.)	300
L. Vogelstein & Co	50
Norfolk Smelting & Refining Co	40
Total	1,340

Held at Gibraltar October 26 and seized; to prize court.

S. S. *San Giovanni* (Italian): Sailed from New York October 14, 1914, for Naples. Cargo, copper. Shippers, American Smelting & Refining Co. Held at Gibraltar October 26. Cargo suspected to be intended for reexport to Germany. Arrived Naples November 5.

S. S. *Regina D'Italia* (Italian): Sailed from New York October 15, 1914, for Naples and Genoa. Cargo, copper; 200 tons consigned to order, but intended for delivery to U. Vedorelli, Milan, Italy. Seized on October 26 at Gibraltar and held for prize court. Cargo suspected to be intended for reexport to Germany. Arrived Genoa November 11.

S. S. *John D. Archbald* (American, tank steamer, Standard Oil Co.): Sailed from New York September 23, 1914, for Italy. Cargo, oil. Held up by French cruiser and convoyed to Antibes, France; detained two days pending decision as to whether cargo was contraband; finally released and allowed to proceed.

S. S. *Prosper III* (Norwegian): Sailed from New York October 3, 1914, for Copenhagen and Gothenburg. Cargo, copper; 1,343,895 pounds of copper, valued at $166,649, for Copenhagen; 246,361 pounds, valued at $30,559, for Gothenburg; also foodstuffs and crude rubber. Arrived at Leith October 27; detained at Scottish port and placed before the prize court, copper being suspected for reexport to Germany; arrived at Copenhagen November 12.

S. S. *Security* (American; Standard Oil Co., tug): On or about October 27, 1914, boarded and searched at St. John, New Brunswick, by Canadian soldiers, who detained three German members of the crew. Upon protest of captain men were released, but not allowed to leave Canada.

S. S. *Tyr* (Norwegian): Sailed from New York October 29, 1914, for Sweden. Cargo, copper. Shippers, United Metals Selling Co., L. Vogelstein & Co. Held at Glasgow November 2; arrived Gothenburg December 17.

S. S. *Francisco* (British): Sailed from New York October 17, 1914, for Sweden. Cargo, copper. Shippers, L. Vogelstein & Co. Held at Hull November 2.

S. S. *Uller* (Norwegian): Sailed from Savannah, Ga., October 26, 1914, for Gothenburg. Cargo, cotton. Detained for inspection at Kirkwall and allowed to proceed.

S. S. *Italia* (Italian): Sailed from New York October 24, 1914, for Italy. Cargo, copper. Shippers, American Smelting & Refining Co.,

United Metals Selling Co., Norfolk Smelting & Refining Co. Held at Gibraltar November 8.

S. S. *Verona* (Italian): Sailed from New York October 24, 1914, for Naples, Genoa, and Palermo. Cargo, copper. Shippers, American Smelting & Refining Co., United Metals Selling Co. Held at Gibraltar November 8.

S. S. *Palermo* (Italian): Sailed from Boston October 20, 1914, to Naples and Genoa. Cargo, copper. Shippers, American Metal Co. (Ltd.); 300 tons; 200 tons of copper consigned to order, but intended for Schweizer Metallwerke, Thonne, Switzerland. Held at Gibraltar November 2; to prize court; arrived November 7 at Naples.

S. S. *San Guglielmo* (Italian): Sailed from New York October 21, 1914, for Naples. Cargo, copper. Shippers, United Metals Selling Co. Held at Gibraltar November 8.

S. S. *Duca di Genoa* (Italian): Sailed from New York October 17, 1914, for Naples and Genoa. Cargo, copper. Shippers, American Smelting & Refining Co. Held at Gibraltar, November 8.

S. S. *Antares* (Norwegian): Sailed October 22, 1914, for Sweden. Cargo, copper. Shippers, United Metals Selling Co., L. Vogelstein & Co. Held at Liverpool; arrived at Ardrossan November 9, for Gothenburg.

S. S. *Kroonland* (American): Sailed from New York October 15, 1914, for Italy. Cargo, copper and rubber. Copper shippers, American Smelting & Refining Co., United Metals Selling Co. Held November 8 at Gibraltar; ordered before prize court; arrived Naples November 11.

S. S. *Platuria* (American; entered under American registry in October, 1914, Standard Oil Co.; belonged formerly to Deutsch Amerikanische Petroleum Gesellschaft, controlled by Standard Oil Co.): Sailed from New York October 5, 1914, for Aarhus, Denmark. Cargo illuminating oil. Seized and taken to Stornoway, Lewis Islands, Scotland.

S. S. *Kiruna* (Swedish; Scandinavian-American Line): Sailed from New York October 25 for Swedish ports. Cargo, general. Detained four days at Kirkwall.

S. S. *Europa* (Italian; La Veloce Line): Sailed from New York October 28, 1914, for Naples and Genoa. Cargo, copper. Shippers, American Smelting & Refining Co. Detained at Gibraltar November 9; alleged contraband; arrived at Naples November 13.

S. S. *Bjornetjerne Bjornson* (Norwegian; Gans Steamship Line): Sailed from New York October 28, 1914, for Copenhagen. Cargo, general. Taken into Kirkwall November 10; left Kirkwall November 15; ordered to Leith November 16; cargo discharged and seized December 21; steamer detained till May 25, 1915.

S. S. *Fridland* (Swedish): Sailed from New York October 28, 1914, for Copenhagen. Cargo, general, including meat. Taken into Kirkwall November 10; left Kirkwall November 27; ordered to Newcastle November 29; cargo discharged January 5, 1915; steamer detained till early in May, 1915.

S. S. *Idaho* (British): Sailed from New York October 24, 1914, for Sweden. Cargo, copper. Shippers, L. Vogelstein & Co. Held at Hull November 10; left Hull November 30 for New York.

S. S. *Perugia* (British): Sailed from New York November 8, 1914, for Italy. Cargo, copper. Shippers, United Metals Selling Co. Held at Gibraltar November 13.

S. S. *Fram* (Norwegian; Gans Steamship Line): Left Charleston, S. C., October 22, 1914, for Danish ports. Cargo, cotton. Taken into Aberdeen November 13; ordered to Hull; left Newcastle December 8; arrived at Nyborg December 18.

S. S. *Jos. W. Fordney* (American; American Exporters' Line): Sailed from New York November 7, 1914, for Copenhagen. Cargo, general. Taken into Falmouth and detained two days, then allowed to proceed.

S. S. *Taurus* (Norwegian): Sailed from New York November 1, 1914, for Italy. Cargo, copper. Shippers, United Metals Selling Co. Held at Glasgow November 13.

S. S. *Tabor* (Norwegian): Sailed from New York October 26, 1914, for Italy. Cargo, copper. Shippers, United Metals Selling Co. Norfolk Smelting & Refining Co. Held at Gibraltar November 13. To prize court. Left Gibraltar November 29.

S. S. *Alfred Nobel* (Norwegian, Gans Steamship Line): Sailed from New York October 20, 1914, for Copenhagen. Cargo, general, including meat. At Lerwick November 7. Left Lerwick November 14. Ordered to Liverpool; cargo discharged and seized November 17. Prize court. Released May 13, 1915.

S. S. *Toronto* (British): Sailed from New York October 31, 1914, for Sweden. Cargo, copper. Shippers: L. Vogelstein & Co. Held at Hull November 15.

S. S. *Sif* (Norwegian): Sailed from New York October 30, 1914, for Gothenburg. Cargo, copper. Four hundred tons sold and consigned to B. Ursells' successors, Stockholm, in order to meet objections to consignments "to order." Held at Glasgow November 18 for prize court. Arrived at Gothenburg December 17.

S. S. *Norheim* (Norwegian): Sailed October 17, 1914, for Italy. Cargo, copper. Shippers: United Metals Selling Co., L. Vogelstein Co. Held at Gibraltar November 18.

S. S. *Sigrun* (Norwegian): Left New York November 9, 1914, for Gothenburg and Malmoe. Seized November 26 and taken into Newport, England, December 2. Vessel detained pending search for suspected contraband. Cargo held for prize court included, for Gothenburg, 560,894 pounds of copper, valued at $70,047; 222 packages crude rubber, valued at $21,414; 1,596 barrels lubricating oil, valued at $8,778. For Malmoe; 1,009,532 pounds of copper, valued at $126,871; 600 barrels lubricating oil, valued at $3,300. For balance of cargo, consisting of oilcake, paraffine, corn oil, oats, cocoa, feed, tea, furs, engines and machinery, sewing machines, and oleo, reshipment allowed. Sailed for Gothenburg January 15, 1915. Arrived Gothenburg January 25. Arrived Malmoe February 16.

S. S. *Galileo* (British): Sailed from New York November 7, 1914, for Sweden. Cargo, copper. Shippers: L. Vogelstein & Co. Held at Hull November 26. Left Hull December 13 for New York.

S. S. *Kim* (Norwegian, Gans Steamship Line): Sailed from New York November 11, 1914, for Copenhagen. Cargo, general, including meat. Taken into Falmouth November 27; left December 4. Ordered to Newcastle December 8; cargo discharged and seized January 5, 1915. March 27 prize court ordered payment for cargo. Steamer detained until May 23, 1915.

S. S. *Tancred* (Norwegian, Gans Steamship Line): Left Port Arthur, Tex., November 13, 1914, for Danish ports. Cargo, cotton. Arrived at Falmouth; detained for inspection November 28. Left November 30. Arrived at Aarhus, Denmark, December 10, where cargo discharged.

S. S. *Strinda* (Norwegian, Gans Steamship Line): Sailed from New York November 14, 1914, for Copenhagen. Cargo, general. Taken into Falmouth November 29; after inspection allowed to proceed. Left December 8.

S. S. *Ran* (Norwegian): Sailed from New York November 13, 1914, for Liverpool and Sweden. Cargo, cottonseed products, copper, and leather; part for Liverpool, balance for Gothenburg and Malmoe. Taken into custody by British authorities November 29 and held as a prize; released December 26.

S. S. *Sandefjord* (Norwegian): Sailed from New York November 27, 1914, for Copenhagen. Cargo, cotton. Prize crew put on board outside of Sandy Hook. Arrived at Halifax November 30. Cargo partly discharged; suspected contraband. Arrived at Kirkwall January 15, 1915. Sailed January 16. Arrived at Copenhagen January 19.

S. S. *George Hawley* (American, American Exporters' Line; C. H. Sprague & Sons, Boston): Sailed from New York November 15 for Copenhagen. Cargo, general. Taken into Falmouth November 30; gave up ship's papers voluntarily for examination. Reason for detention: None given to master officially. Released January 2, 1915, and proceeded with full cargo to destination. Other circumstances: Master protested in writing on December 5, 1914. Master was verbally informed by customs officers that they would have to hold the vessel on account of the flour, wheat, and oil on board. Later master was simply informed verbally that trouble was because the consignee of the 550 barrels of oil was at that time under suspicion by the British Government. On January 1, 1915, master was told to proceed with his full cargo on board, and no excuse or reason given for the 33 days' detention at Falmouth. Damage for detention at charter rates, etc., amounted to $14,000.

S. S. *Canton* (Swedish): Sailed from New York November 17, 1914, for Stockholm and Gothenburg. Cargo, copper, 375 tons. Shipper: American Smelting & Refining Co. Held December 1, the Tyne.

S. S. *Edward Pierce* (American, American Exporters' Line; C. H. Sprague & Son, Boston): Sailed from New York November 24, 1914, for Gothenburg and Copenhagen. Cargo, general. Taken into Falmouth December 8. On December 13 proceeded with full cargo. Master was told verbally he was detained on account of flour and peas on board, although both were consigned direct to parties in Copenhagen. No other reason or reason given for delay. Master was shown a telegram to customs officers reading, "American S. S. *Edward Pierce* with suspected cargo from New York expected Falmouth about 6th instant. If she comes in, send her immediately into harbor. (Signed) F. C. December 3, 6 p. m." Detention premeditated days ahead on mere suspicion. Damage for detention at charter rates, etc., amounted to $7,000.

S. S. *Herm* (Norwegian, Gans Steamship Line): Sailed from New York November 12, 1914, for Balboa, Oporto, Lisbon, Genoa, and Barcelona. Cargo, general. Stopped outside Lisbon; ordered to Gibraltar December 8. Released and sailed December 14.

S. S. *Maracas* (American): Sailed from New York December 9, 1914, for Genoa via Gibraltar and Naples. Brought into Halifax, Nova Scotia, by prize crew from British warship December 12. No reason given for detention by officer in charge. Later allowed to proceed to destination upon assurance that cargo not destined to enemy ports. Arrived Genoa January 10, 1915.

S. S. *Brindilla* (American, Standard Oil Co.): Sailed from Alexandria, Egypt, on or about November 26, 1914. Arrived at St. Michaels, Azores, to take an oil cargo from a German steamer on December 12. Reported leaving St. Michaels December 20 for Copenhagen. Intercepted off the coast of Scotland and taken to Aberdeen. (Second seizure.)

S. S. *Tellus* (Norwegian): Sailed from New York November 18, 1914, for Genoa. Cargo, 200 tons of copper; sold and consigned to U. Vedorelli, Milan. Seized and held at Gibraltar. Arrived Genoa December 28.

S. S. *A. A. Raven* (American): Sailed from Wilmington, Del., December 5, 1915, for Rotterdam. Cargo, cotton. (First steamer since war to reach Dutch port with cotton for Germany.) Arrived at Rotterdam December 24, 1914. Held up by British warship in channel; delayed 24 hours for examination of papers.

S. S. *Mirjam* (Norwegian): Sailed from New York November 24, 1914, for Copenhagen. Detained at Kirkwall December 16. Released January 15, 1915.

S. S. *Soriand* (Norwegian): Sailed from New York November 27, 1914, for Gothenburg. Cargo, 600 tons copper. Arrived at Leith December 27. Detained. Arrived at Gothenburg January 22, 1915.

S. S. *New Sweden* (Swedish): Sailed from New York December 6, 1914, for Sweden. Cargo, copper. Shippers: American Smelting & Refining Co. Arrived at Kirkwall December 21. Held at Shields December 28. Sailed January 10, 1915. Arrived at Gothenburg January 13.

S. S. *Ramsdal* (Norwegian): Sailed from New York November 28, 1914, for Christiania. Taken to Kirkwall December 21. Arrived at Leith December 24 in charge of a prize crew. Arrived at Christiania February 8, 1915.

S. S. *Zamora* (Swedish): Sailed from New York December 8, 1914, for Copenhagen. Cargo, copper. Arrived at Kirkwall December 29. Arrived at Copenhagen January 11, 1915.

S. S. *Kentucky* (Danish): Sailed from Baltimore November 24, 1914, via New York for Copenhagen. Detained at Kirkwall December 16. Arrived at Leith December 29; 714 tons of meat consigned to Denmark thrown into prize court. Arrived at Copenhagen February 2, 1915.

S. S. *Virginia* (Danish): Sailed from Philadelphia December 3, 1914, for Copenhagen. At Kirkwall December 23. Arrived at Shields December 30, 1914.

S. S. *Greenbrier* (American, C. L. Dimon, New York): Sailed from New Orleans December 11, 1914 (via Norfolk December 17), for Bremen. Cargo, cotton; under certificate of British consul at New York. Stopped on December 30 by British cruiser; boarded and searched. British flag hoisted and taken to Kirkwall. Detained three days and then taken to Leith and allowed to proceed to Bremen. Arrived at Bremen January 9, 1915.

S. S. *Tula* (American; Crucible Steel Co.): Sailed from New York December 1, 1914, for Copenhagen. Cargo, grain and flour. Seized by the British and detained at Leith. Upon investigation as to ultimate destination of cargo permitted to proceed on December 31. Sailed January 7, 1915, and arrived at Copenhagen January 11.

S. S. *Helig Olav* (Danish; Scandinavian-American Line): Sailed from New York December 3, 1914, for Christiansand and Copenhagen. Boarded at Kirkwall by British marines and detained eight days pending investigation as to character of cargo. Arrived at Copenhagen December 23, 1913.

S. S. *Arkansas* (Danish; chartered by Gans Steamship Co.): Sailed from New York December 11, 1914, for Copenhagen. Cargo, meat. Arrived at Shields, in charge of a prize crew, January 2, 1915. Arrived at Copenhagen January 22.

S. S. *Augusta* (Swedish): Sailed from New York December 9, 1914, for Gothenburg and Malmoe. Taken to Kirkwall. Arrived at New-

castle January 4, 1915, in charge of a prize crew. At Hartlepool January 10. Arrived at Gothenburg February 1.

S. S. *Oneka* (British): Sailed from New York January 2, 1915, for Piraeus, Greece. Cargo, American oil (Standard Oil Co.), partly for Bulgaria and Greece. Detained at Malta, being suspected delivery to Turkey.

S. S. *Denver* (American: Mallory Steamship Co., New York): Sailed from Norfolk December 23, 1914, for Bremen. Cargo, cotton, loaded under supervision of British consul at Norfolk. Detained January 6, 1915, at Kirkwall. Released on representation.

S. S. *Governor* (American; Pacific Coast Co., New York): Detained by Canadian customs officials January 13, 1915, at Vancouver, British Columbia. Cargo, hides for San Francisco, Cal. Released after unloading hides.

S. S. *Oscar II* (Danish): Sailed from New York February 4, 1915, for Christiania and Copenhagen. Taken into Kirkwall and held for examination as to her cargo. Arrived at Copenhagen February 20.

S. S. *Vitalia* (Norwegian): Sailed from New York February 3, 1915, for Rotterdam. Cargo, packing products. Taken into Falmouth February 20. Released after cargo was consigned to Netherlands Oversea Trust.

S. S. *Antilla* (American; New York & Cuba Mail Steamship Co.): Sailed from New York February 9, 1915, for Malmoe and Copenhagen. Cargo, cattle food of various kinds. On February 24 stopped by British cruiser when in latitude 59–58 N., longitude 9–14 W. No reason given. British cruiser ordered vessel to proceed to Kirkwall with a prize crew on board, after four hours' detention while examining ship's papers. On March 9 was taken by British prize crew to Dundee. March 23 Admiralty discharged part of cargo in Dundee and reloaded the balance. On April 27 vessel was allowed to proceed with remainder of cargo. Alleged damage to vessel for detention, etc., amounted to $98,000. Certified to both by Danish and British consuls.

S. S. *Platuria* (American registry; controlled by Standard Oil Co.): Sailed from Philadelphia February 13, 1915, for Malmoe and Helsingborg. Detained at Kirkwall March 2.

S. S. *Pass of Balmha* (American): Sailed from New York January 30, 1915, for Bremen. Cargo, cotton. Detained at Kirkwall March 8. Released after inspection. Arrived at Bremen March 31.

S. S. *Vigilancia* (American: Walker, Armstrong & Co., Savannah): Sailed from Savannah, Ga., February 22, 1915, for Bremen. Cargo, cotton. Intercepted at sea by British cruiser; taken into Kirkwall. Arrived at Kirkwall March 8. Arrived at Bremen March 15.

S. S. *Grekland* (Swedish): Sailed from New York February 18, 1915, for Gothenburg. Cargo, American meat products. Held in Kirkwall from March 10 because destination of cargo suspected. Released and sailed April 1 for Gothenburg.

S. S. *A. A. Raven* (American): Sailed from New York February 13, 1915, for Rotterdam. Cargo, meat. Held at Deal March 12. Reconsigned to the Netherlands Oversea Trust. Arrived at Rotterdam April 2.

S. S. *Spyros Vallianos* (Greek): Sailed from Savannah, Ga., March 10, 1915, for Rotterdam. Cargo, cotton. Detained at Falmouth.

S. S. *Livonia* (Danish): Sailed from Galveston March 20, 1915, for Aalborg and Copenhagen. Held at Falmouth April 14; Bristol, May, 6, pending settlement of price of cotton cargo.

S. S. *Seguranca* (American): Sailed from New York on March 9 for Holland. Cargo, general. Consigned to consignees in Holland. Detained by the British in April. The Department of State protested against the detention of the *Seguranca*, stating that the shipper's manifest showed that the entire cargo was consigned to Dutch consignees and was accompanied by a certificate from the British consul general at New York, and that the loading of the vessel, moreover, had been supervised by the British consul general's inspector. The United States Government could not admit the right of the British Government to require that this cargo be reconsigned to the Netherlands Oversea Trust.

S. S. *Ogeechee* (American): Sailed from Bremen April 4, 1915, for New York. Arrived at Sharpness April 18. Cargo confiscated as being of German origin. Sailed for New York May 1. Arrived May 18.

S. S. *Southerner* (Danish): Sailed from Charleston, S. C., March 31, 1915, for Rotterdam. Cargo, cotton. Detained at Falmouth pending negotiations by Great Britain for the purchase of cotton on board. Arrived at Rotterdam April 28

S. S. *Giovannig* (Italian): Detained, but allowed to proceed on April 20, 1915, without discharging her cargo.

S. S. *Kelbergen* (Dutch): Sailed from New York April 26, 1915, for Rotterdam. Taken into Kirkwall. Innocence of cargo established and released.

S. S. *Marie* (Swedish): Sailed from Galveston, Tex., March 13, 1915, for Malmoe, Sweden. Arrived at Clyde in charge of prize crew. Was stopped on suspicion regarding destination of cargo.

S. S. *Athinal* (Greek): Sailed from New York May 16, 1915, for Palermo and Piraeus. Arrived and seized at Gibraltar May 29. Permitted to proceed after discharging 400 bales of cotton and 1,200 reels of barbed wire. Placed before prize court, charge being destination for Germany.

S. S. *Gargoyle* (American; Vacuum Oil Co.; changed from German to American registry): Sailed from New York May 10, 1915, for Alexandria. Cargo, bulk oil. Reported at Malta May 31. Seized by British authorities and prize-court writ issued.

S. S. *F. J. Lisman* (American): Sailed from New York May 23, 1915, for Rotterdam. General cargo, consigned to Netherlands Oversea Trust. Held at London June 8 and 1,000 barrels of phosphate removed for disposition by prize court.

S. S. *Portland* (American): Sailed from San Francisco April 25, 1915, for Stockholm (via New York). Cargo general. Detained at Kirkwall June 16. Taken to Blyth June 19, where 34 tons of dried fruit were sent to prize court. Arrived at Stockholm July 8.

S. S. *Varing* (Swedish): Sailed from Savannah, Ga., May 30, 1915, for Swedish ports. Cargo general. Detained at Kirkwall June 19.

S. S. *Bergensfjord* (Norwegian): Sailed from New York June 12, 1915, for Bergen. Cargo, general. Taken to Kirkwall June 21. Arrived at Bergen June 24.

S. S. *Nor* (Norwegian): Sailed from New York June 5, 1915, for Rotterdam. Held in the Downs for examination of cargo June 28.

S. S. *Muskogee* (American): Sailed from New Orleans June 7, 1915 (Newport News, June 14), for Gothenburg. Taken into Kirkwall July 5 and released July 7, for Gothenburg. Arrived July 9.

S. S. *Bratland* (Norwegian): Sailed from Baltimore June 15, 1915, for Aalborg, Denmark. Taken into Kirkwall July 6. Arrived at Aalborg July 12.

S. S. *Janna* (Norwegian): Sailed from San Francisco March 4, 1915, for Bergen, Norway. Cargo, grain. Taken into Kirkwall July 8. Arrived at Bergen July 19.

S. S. *Gurre* (Danish): Sailed from Baltimore July 1, 1915, for Aalborg, Denmark. Taken into Kirkwall July 19. Released July 23 and sailed for Aalborg and Randers.

S. S. *Hulda Maersk* (Danish): Sailed from Savannah, Ga., July 10, 1915 (Norfolk, July 13), for Malmoe. Cargo, cotton seed. Detained at Kirkwall. Arrived at Malmoe August 12.

S. S. *Neches* (American): Sailed from Rotterdam to the United States. Cargo, general. Detained at the Downs and brought to London, where cargo was discharged. The United States Government, July 15, 1915, made vigorous protest against the detention of the vessel and the unloading of the cargo, which was the property of American citizens, at London.

S. S. *Buffalo* (British): Sailed from New York August 18, 1915, for Christiania. Cargo, hacksaws. Arrived at Hull September 5. Thrown into prize court on the assertion that cargo was bound for Germany.

S. S. *Vitalia* (Norwegian): Sailed from New York August 19, 1915, for Rotterdam. Cargo, meat. Detained at Falmouth, September 7, and thrown into prize court, the British Government's contention being that there were fats and oils in the cargo not consigned to the Netherlands Oversea Trust.

S. S. *Corning* (American; Standard Oil Co.): Sailed from Baton Rouge, La., August 17, 1915, to Malmoe. Cargo, refined petroleum and naphtha. Detained at Kirkwall September 7. Standard Oil Co. placed the case in the hands of the American Government. Released. Arrived at Malmoe September 28.

S. S. *Oscar II* (Swedish): Sailed from New York September 9, 1915, for Christiansand. Taken to Kirkwall. Sailed September 21.

S. S. *Louisiana* (Danish): Sailed from New York September 15, 1915, for Copenhagen. Arrived at Kirkwall "prior to October 1, 1915," and sent to Aberdeen to discharge part of her cargo.

S. S. *United States* (Danish): Sailed from New York August 26, 1915, for Copenhagen. Cargo, general. Had unloaded at Copenhagen when British Government ordered her to reload and to take cargo back to England under penalty of seizure.

S. S. *Helsingborg* (Swedish): Sailed from Port Arthur, Tex., August 28, 1915, via Norfolk for Aarhus, Denmark. Cargo, cotton seed. Detained at Kirkwall September 28. Arrived at Blyth October 3.

S. S. *California* (Danish): Sailed from New York August 31, 1915, for Christiania. Cargo, general. Detained September 29 at Leith.

S. S. *Absalom* (Danish): Sailed from Philadelphia September 12, 1915, for Copenhagen. Detained at Kirkwall.

S. S. *Origin* (Norwegian): Sailed from New York September 14, 1915, for Kirkwall and Vallo. Detained at Kirkwall.

S. S. *Petrolite* (American; Standard Oil Co.): Sailed from Philadelphia September 15, 1915, for Copenhagen. Detained at Kirkwall September 29. Arrived at Copenhagen October 8. (Had been previously detained by British authorities and released August 17, 1915.)

S. S. *St. John* (Swedish): Sailed from Baltimore September 12, 1915, for Gothenburg. Detained at Kirkwall. Arrived at Gothenburg October 8.

S. S. *Ester* (Swedish): Sailed from Port Tampa, Fla., September 5, 1915, for Newport News and Malmoe. Detained at Kirkwall September 30.

S. S. *Frederick VIII* (Danish): Sailed from New York September 22, 1915, for Copenhagen. Cargo, bacon. Ordered to unload at Kirkwall September 30.

S. S. *Osman* (Swedish): Sailed from New Orleans September 11, 1915, via Norfolk, for Copenhagen. Arrived at Kirkwall October 6. Released. Arrived at Copenhagen October 12, 1915.

S. S. *Conrad Mohr* (Norwegian): Sailed from Baton Rouge, La., September 15, 1915, via Norfolk, for Bergen. Arrived at Kirkwall October 7. Released. Arrived at Bergen October 11.

S. S. *Fram* (Norwegian): Sailed from Baltimore September 18, 1915, for Vaksdal. Arrived at Kirkwall October 7. Released. Arrived at Bergen October 11, 1915. Second seizure.

S. S *Aladdin* (Norwegian): Sailed from New York September 21, 1915, for Stockholm. Brought to Kirkwall October 7. Released.

S. S. *Orion* (Swedish): Sailed from Philadelphia September 22, 1915, for Stockholm. Cargo, coal. Brought into Kirkwall October 10. Released October 14.

S. S. *Virginia* (Danish): Sailed from New York September 25, 1915, for Christiania and Copenhagen. Cargo, general. Taken to Kirkwall October 10. Taken to Grimsby October 19. To prize court.

S. S. *Mexicano* (Norwegian): Sailed from New Orleans September 24, 1915, for Christiania and Copenhagen. Cargo, general. Detained at Kirkwall. Sailed October 12, 1915, for Christiania.

S. S. *Hocking* (American; formerly Danish, purchased and transferred by American Transatlantic Steamship Co. to American registry July 31, 1915): Objected to by British alleging that she was purchased with German capital. Sailed from New York October 29, 1915, for Norfolk. Seized by British cruiser and taken to Halifax, N. S., October 31, in charge of prize crew convoyed by British warships. In charge of Admiralty Court.

S. S. *Hamborn* (Dutch; Munson Line): Sailed from New York October 27, 1915, for Cuba. Cargo, general. Halted 85 miles from New York by British cruiser. Taken to Halifax, N. S., October 31, by prize crew, convoyed by British warships. In charge of Admiralty Court.

S. S. *Llama* (American; Standard Oil Co.; formerly German, transferred to American registry): Sailed from New York October 14, 1915, for Copenhagen. Cargo, oil. Seized by British prize crew and afterwards run aground (October 31) on Skae Skerries, Westray Firth, Scotland.

S. S. *Athamas* (Greek): Sailed from Galveston October 15, 1915 (Norfolk Oct. 24), for Rotterdam. Seized and taken into British port November 18.

Andrew Welch (American bark; George W. McNear, San Francisco): Sailed from San Francisco August 19, 1915, for Halstad, Sweden. Cargo, beans. Boarded by British crew off the Shetland Islands and ordered into Lerwick. On account of storms carried toward Norway and towed into Christiansand by S. S. *Russland* November 17.

S. S. *Zealandia* (American): Sailed from Tampa September 15, 1915, for Sweden. Cargo, rosin, hides, rubber. Arrived at Pensacola September 27; left for Tampico October 3; arrived at Progreso October 25 bound for Malmoe, Sweden. Boarded and searched by British crew, according to captain, within 3-mile limit. Steamer still remains at Progreso on account of fear of capture.

S. S. *Kristianiafjord* (Norwegian): Sailed from New York November 6, 1915, for Bergen and Christiania. Cargo, general. Detained at Kirkwall; arrived at Bergen November 21. Compelled to return to England 6,000 cases of American pork, 1,800 bags of coffee, the ultimate destination of which having been questioned by British authorities.

S. S. *Genesee* (American; owned by American Transatlantic Co., New York): Sailed from New York October 11, 1915. Left Norfolk October

14 with cargo of coal for Montevideo. Seized and boarded by British prize crew. Ordered to St. Lucia November 20.

Statement of Secretary Lansing regarding vessels detained by British authorities:

SEPTEMBER 10, 1915.

(1) Vessels whose cargoes and papers have been of such a character as to require but brief time for examination have been held in British ports, according to this Government's information, for prolonged periods, in some instances for more than a month, and then released without the institution of prize court proceedings.

The steamer *Chester*, which sailed from Baton Rouge for Rotterdam with a cargo of illuminating oil, was taken into Falmouth, September 21, 1914, and held until November 4 of that year.

The steamer *Ocean*, carrying the same kind of a cargo, from New York to Rotterdam, was taken into Plymouth September 23, 1914, and similarly released November 5.

The steamer *Charlois* and the steamer *New York*, carrying similar cargoes, were taken into British ports on September 30 and October 12, 1914, respectively, and similarly released on October 27.

The steamers *American* and *Rotterdam*, carrying cargoes of oil to Rotterdam, were also detained under conditions similar to those of the vessels just mentioned in the fall of 1914.

The steamer *Christian Knudsen*, carrying a cargo of oil in bulk, consigned to a Danish corporation in Copenhagen, was brought into the port of Kirkwall, detained for 11 days, and then released.

Vessels carrying oil from the United States to long-established markets in Scandinavian countries have repeatedly been detained without being sent to the prize court for adjudication. Among them may be mentioned the *Brindilla*, the *Platuria*, the *Wico*, the *Polarine*, the *Pioneer*, the *Llama*, the *Muskogee*, and the *John D. Rockefeller*.

The steamer *Denver*, which carried a full cargo of cotton from Norfolk to Bremen and which had been loaded under the supervision of a British consular officer, was taken into Kirkwall in January last, as the department was informed by the British Government, just to examine her papers and to verify her cargo.

The *George W. Hawley* was held for a month because she refused to comply with a requirement of the British authorities to discharge a single shipment, the illegal destination of which does not appear to have been disclosed by any evidence. The vessel carried a mixed cargo, including a shipment of oil. The British authorities insisted that the vessel should discharge the oil, which, the shipper represented, was consigned to one of its long-established agents in Sweden. Finally, it was announced that the vessel would be released as an act of grace.

The steamer *Wico* was held by the British authorities last March. This Government was advised that the British minister at Stockholm had informed the Swedish foreign office that the vessel had arrived in a British port with a full cargo of oil for a concern in Stockholm, and that, in view of the recent seizure by a German man-of-war of the steamship *Bryssel* and her cargo, the British Government required complete assurances from the Swedish Government before the *Wico* could be allowed to proceed to destination that she would not share the fate of the *Bryssel*.

Subsequently this Government was informed that the vessel had been allowed to proceed, but that the British Government felt that, in the event of further cargoes going to Stockholm being seized by German ships, the whole question of permitting oil cargoes to proceed to that destination would have to be seriously reconsidered.

The steamer *Llama*, carrying a cargo of oil to a Scandinavian port, was taken into Kirkwall and subsequently released on June 5 last. After departing from Kirkwall the ship was again arrested on June 6, and although the officer of the war vessel which seized the *Llama* apparently was shown the ship's release papers, he placed a prize crew on board and ordered the vessel to Aberdeen and thence to Leith, where she was finally released on June 12, although she could not proceed until June 15, owing to a shortage of coal.

(2) Vessels have been held until they have reconsigned their cargoes to a consignee in a neutral country designated by the British Government.

The steamer *Seguranca*, which carried a general cargo from New York to the Netherlands, was detained at a great loss to the owners of the vessel and to the shippers in a British port for the greater part of last April, in order that her cargo might be reconsigned to the Netherlands Oversea Trust. The manifest showed that the entire cargo was consigned to named consignees in the Netherlands and was accompanied by a certificate of the British consul general in New York, stating that the loading was supervised by his inspector and that the vessel contained no cargo other than that specified in the manifest. A large part of the cargo, consisting of fresh fruit stored in the hold of the vessel, was subject to decay with great rapidity.

A similar requirement was imposed on the steamer *F. J. Lisman*, which during last June was detained at London. It appears that, after a prolonged detention of the ship of over a month, representatives of the shippers were compelled to discharge both contraband and noncontraband articles, and that the captain and the shippers finding their efforts to comply with the requirements of the British authorities hopeless, abandoned the voyage.

The steamers *A. A. Raven* and *Vitalia*, carrying articles listed as conditional contraband, were detained in a British port in March last until the goods shipped to specified consignees in Holland could be consigned to the Netherlands Oversea Trust.

The steamer *Neches* was detained last May for about two weeks in order that a shipment of cotton destined for Rotterdam might be consigned to the Netherlands Oversea Trust.

The steamer *Zzandjik* was detained last June, as the department was informed, while the British minister at The Hague made inquiries as to whether the Netherlands Oversea Trust had accepted the consignment of the cargo.

(3) Detentions have been made without evidence amounting to probable cause.

The steamer *Annam*, which was detained at Kirkwall last April, carried a cargo of food products from the United States to Swedish ports. She was detained owing to a "suspicion," as the British Government stated, that a part of its cargo was destined for Germany.

The steamer *Dronning Olga* was detained at Kirkwall in April last and the cargo, which consisted of cotton and food products, was placed in the prize court on the ground, as the department was informed by the British Government, that it was "believed" that it was ultimately destined for Germany.

The steamer *Hilding*, which sailed from New York for Copenhagen with a general cargo consisting largely of food products, was seized and taken into Leith last April, and this Government was informed that the cargo had been seized as contraband with the expectation of holding it under the order in council of March 11, 1915, if the charge that the goods were contraband should fail.

Numerous similar instances might be cited.

The steamers *Christian Knudsen* and *Platuria*, carrying oil from New York to Denmark, were detained by the British authorities last fall, taken into British ports, and held until the British Government, as they stated, could make an investigation as to the destination of the cargoes. Furthermore, this Government was informed that the vessels had been detained pending the receipt of guaranties from Denmark against the exportation of the cargoes and that the orders were given for the release of the vessels on the receipt of satisfactory guaranties.

The steamer *Brindilla*, which sailed from New York October 13 last, with a cargo of oil for Alexandria, was taken into port at Halifax and later released, as the department was informed, when the British authorities received information that the ship's cargo was expected at Alexandria.

The steamer *Ambra* was taken into a British port in July last, and this Government was informed that this vessel was held pending inquiries that had been instituted concerning destination of certain items of her cargo. About a week later the vessel was allowed to proceed.

In July last this Government was informed by the British Government that the prolonged detention of the oil steamers *Polarine*, *Platuria*, and *Pioneer* was due to the fact that His Majesty's Government's attention had latterly been drawn to the very large quantities of oil which had been shipped to Scandinavian countries during the last few months; that there had been every reason to suspect that some of the oil was destined for enemy countries; and that the arrival of the steamers in quick succession necessitated the institution of inquiries as to the ultimate destination of the oil.

The owners of these vessels and their cargoes complained to the Government of the United States against their detention, stating that the vessels carried the usual cargoes consigned in good faith to long-established subsidiaries in neutral countries, and further representing that, since supplies from Russia and Roumania had been prevented from entering Scandinavian ports, a large increase of business with them had been expected, but it had been found that during the first five months of the year 1915 total shipments of all petroleum products to these countries were less than for the same period last year, although business in previous years had steadily increased.

(4) Vessels have been held, according to statements of the British Government, because of the manner in which shipments have been consigned.

The steamer *Einerjarl* was brought into Kirkwall last May and its cargo of cottonseed cake, shipped from Newport News to Denmark, which the shippers represented was to be used exclusively for consumption in Denmark, was seized. This Government was informed that the cargo was discharged because it was consigned "to order."

The steamers *Alfred Nobel*, *Bjorstjerne Bjornsen*, and *Friedland* were seized last autumn because their cargoes were consigned "to order."

The shipments on the steamers *America* and *Artemis* have been placed in prize court under the order in council of March 11, 1915, because, the goods being consigned by the shippers to themselves, there was no guaranty of their ultimate destination.

(5) Goods have been seized by the British Government on the ground, as this Government has been informed, that the country to which they were shipped had not prohibited their export.

In the fall of the year 1914 copper shipped from the United States to Sweden on the steamers *Francisco*, *Antares*, *Idaho*, *Tyr*, and *Toronto* was seized by the British authorities because, as the British Government stated, the Swedish Government had not yet prohibited the reexportation of copper from Sweden.

A consignment of rubber on the Swedish ship *Zamore* had been placed in prize court last January, because, as the British Government stated, of the absence of a comprehensive prohibition on the exportation of rubber in all its forms from Denmark.

(6) The British authorities have repeatedly seized articles classified as contraband articles classified as conditional contraband, as well as noncontraband goods, shipped to Scandinavian countries, to the Netherlands, and to Italy, then neutral, although the reexportation of such commodities from these countries had been forbidden.

In December last the steamer *Tellus* was ordered to discharge a shipment of copper shipped from New York directly to a consignee in Milan, Italy, although by an Italian decree of November 13, 1914, the exportation of goods shipped in this manner was forbidden.

The steamer *Joseph W. Fordney* was seized 4 miles off the coast of Norway, and in charge of a prize crew brought into Kirkwall April 8 last. The ship's manifest showed that the cargo consisted entirely of cattle fodder consigned to a person in Malmo, Sweden. It appeared from information presented to this Government that an affidavit regarding the character and destination of the cargo, made by the shipper of the entire cargo, was attached to the bill of lading, and that this affidavit contained a certification by the British consul general and the Swedish consul, and also a statement by the latter to the effect that the exportation from Sweden of the goods of which the cargo consisted was prohibited. The vessel was brought into a British port and her cargo discharged. This Government was informed by the British Government that, apart from the uncertainty of the address of the consignee of the cargo of this vessel, His Majesty's Government had evidence that the cargo was not destined for bona fide Swedish consumption, but was intended for Germany.

Numerous other similar instances might be cited, including those of the detention of vessels carrying oil to Scandinavian ports which have been mentioned.

(7) Detentions have been made pending assurances that embargoed goods would be allowed to pass through a neutral country to Great Britain's allies.

The steamer *Leelanaw*, which carried a cargo of cotton from Galveston to Gothenburg for transshipment to Moscow, was detained in a British port early in June last. Relative to the detention of this vessel the British Foreign Office said:

"In view of the fact that cotton has now been placed on the Swedish prohibition of export list, His Majesty's Government have not considered it advisable to allow this large cargo to go on to Gothenburg until they are assured that there is a fair chance of it reaching its declared ultimate destination."

After nearly a month's detention the vessel was released on the understanding that she should proceed directly to Archangel.

The steamers *Jentland* and *Syrius* appear to have been recently detained under circumstances similar to those of the steamer *Leelanaw*.

(8) From time to time this Government has been informed of the seizure of cargoes on the ground that consignees have been known to trade with the enemy or because they were suspected of doing so.

In January last this Government was advised by the British Government that the British Government had been compelled to place in prize court a consignment of rubber on board the Swedish vessel *Zamora*, the consignee of these goods being regarded with grave suspicion, and there being reason to believe that the ultimate destination of the rubber was the enemy forces.

(9) Vessels have been seized and brought into port and have been required by the British authorities to pay pilotage, harbor, unloading, warehouse, storage, or other dues, costs and expenses in advance of a judicial determination of the validity of the seizure of vessel or cargo.

Instances of such treatment of vessels may be found in the cases of the detention of the steamer *Neches* last May, the *Ogeechee*, which was seized last April, and the *Antilla*, which was seized in February last and subjected to a prolonged detention. In the case of the last-mentioned ship it appears, however, that the cost of discharging was borne by the British Government.

(10) Detention of vessels proceeding from European ports.

The steamer *Ogeechee*, which left Bremen April 3 last for the United States was detained at Sharpness and compelled to discharge its entire cargo, which consisted of approximately 200 shipments of goods urgently needed by American citizens. In most, if not all, cases it appears that ownership of these goods at the time of the seizure had passed to American consignees. In many instances American citizens had contracted for the sale of the goods consigned to them and were prevented from carrying out their contracts.

The release of shipments on the vessel has been allowed on the production of proofs of American ownership of the goods prior to March 11, 1915. American consignees in order to avoid loss have endeavored to comply with the requirements in the presentation of proofs.

The steamer *Neches*, which sailed from Rotterdam to the United States, was brought to London and compelled, in June last, to discharge cargo, on the ground, apparently, that the goods originated partly in Belgium. The vessel was detained about a month, and after having been damaged to the extent of approximately £1,500 as a result of a collision with another vessel while under the control of the British Admiralty, and after having been involved in litigation growing out of such collision was allowed to proceed.

The following is a list of the vessels detained prior to March 11 last, among which are some regarding the detention of which details have been briefly stated in this memorandum:

Platuria, Brindilla, John D. Rockefeller, Kroonland, Noordam, Rotterdam, Sandefjord, Thomas J. Fordney, Fram, Edward Pierce, Ellen, Tellus, Sif, Kim, Canton, Ogeechee, Friedland, Gallileo, Uller, Verona, Zuiderdijk, Greenbrier, Herm, Arkansas, Ascot, Carolyn, Breiford, Bergensfjord, Bjornstjerne Bjornsen, Ida Cuneo, Kentucky, General Minetonka, General Caloric, Denver.

18. It will be noted how the various orders in council were modifying the rules of international law by gradually eliminating almost all the conditional contraband by declaring it absolute.

This question came up for a test in the case of the *Wilhelmina*, a vessel loaded with foodstuffs, consigned to an American citizen for distribution to the noncombatants in Germany:

American note, February 15, 1915, regarding the *Wilhelmina*.

(The Secretary of State to the American ambassador at London.)

The department notes that you have been informed by the British Government that the cargo of the American steamer *Wilhelmina* has been sent to prize court, but is not yet unloaded. The Government of the United States, of course, has no intention of interfering with the proper course of judicial procedure in the British prize courts, but it deems it proper to bring to the attention of the British Government information which has been received in relation to the character and destination of the cargo and to point out certain considerations prompting the supposition that the seizure may not be justified.

This Government is informed that the W. L. Green Commission Co., an American corporation organized in 1891, which in the past has made extensive shipments of goods to Germany, is the sole owner of the cargo which consists entirely of foodstuffs consigned to the W. L. Green Commission Co., Hamburg, and that the company's manager, now in Europe, has instructions to sell the cargo solely to the civilian population of Hamburg. A copy of the ship's manifest has been submitted to this Government, accompanied by a sworn statement from the company's manager in which he represents that he was instructed to proceed to Germany to dispose of the cargo to private purchasers in that country, and not to any belligerent government nor armed forces of such government, nor to any agent of a belligerent government or of its armed forces.

According to well-established practice among nations, admitted, as this Government understands by the Government of Great Britain, the articles of which the *Wilhelmina's* cargo is said to consist, are subject to seizure as contraband only in case they are destined for the use of a belligerent government or its armed forces. The Government of the United States understands that the British authorities consider the seizure of the cargo justified on the ground that a recent order of the Federal Council of Germany, promulgated after the vessel sailed, required the delivery of imported articles to the German Government. The owners of the cargo have represented to this Government that such a position is untenable. They point out that, by a provision of the order in question as originally announced, the regulations in relation to the seizure of food products are made inapplicable to such products imported after January 31, 1915. They further represent that the only articles shipped on the *Wilhelmina* which are embraced within the terms of these regulations are wheat and bran, which constitute about 15 per cent of the cargo as compared with 85 per cent consisting of meats, vegetables, and fruits. The owners also assert that the regulations contemplate the disposition of foodstuffs to individuals through municipalities; that municipalities are not agents of the Government, and that the purpose of the regulations is to conserve the supply of food products and to prevent speculation and inflation of prices to noncombatants.

The German Government has addressed a formal communication to the Government of the United States in relation to the effect of the decree issued by the German Federal Council, and this Government deems it pertinent to call to the attention of the British Government a material portion of this communication, which is as follows:

"1. The federal council's decision concerning the seizure of food products, which England alleges to be the cause of food products shipped to Germany being treated as contraband, bears exclusively on wheat, rye, both unmixed and mixed with other products, and also wheat, rye, oats, and barley flour.

"2. The federal council makes an express exception in section 45 of the order. Section 45 provides as follows: The stipulations of this regulation do not apply to grain or flour imported from abroad after January 31.

"3. Conjunctively with that saving clause the federal council's order contains a provision under which imported cereals and flours would be sold exclusively to the municipalities or certain specially designated organizations by the importers. Although that provision had for its object simply to throw imported grain and flours into such channels as supply the private consumption of civilians and, in consequence of that provision, the intent and purpose of the federal council's order which was to protect the civilian population from speculators and engrossers were fully met, it was nevertheless rescinded so as to leave no room for doubt.

"4. My Government is amenable to any proposition looking to control by a special American organization under the supervision of the American consular officers and, if necessary, will itself make a proposition in that direction.

"5. The German Government further calls attention to the fact that municipalities do not form part of or belong to the Government, but are self-administrative bodies, which are elected by the inhabitants of the commune in accordance with fixed rules and therefore exclusively represent the private part of the population and act as it directs. Although those principles are generally known and obtain in the United States as well as in England itself, the German Government desired to point out the fact so as to avoid any further unnecessary delay.

"6. Hence it is absolutely assured that imported food products will be consumed by the civilian population in Germany exclusively."

It will be observed that it is stated in this communication, which appears to confirm the contentions of the cargo owners, that a part of the order of the German Federal Council relating to imported food products has now been rescinded.

This Government has received another communication from the German Government giving formal assurance to the Government of the United States that all goods imported into Germany from the United States, directly or indirectly, which belong to the class of States in the sea area defined in the German declaration, since such practice would greatly endanger the vessels of a friendly power navigating those waters and would even seem to impose upon the Government of Great Britain a measure of responsibility for the loss of American lives and vessels in case of an attack by a German naval force.

Please present a note to Sir Edward Grey in the sense of the foregoing and impress him with the grave concern which this Government feels in the circumstances in regard to the safety of American vessels and lives in the war zone declared by the German Admiralty.

You may add that this Government is making earnest representations to the German Government in regard to the danger to American vessels and citizens if the declaration of the German Admiralty is put into effect.

BRYAN.

19. On the 19th of February, nine days after our note was dispatched, Great Britain replied as follows:

British memorandum, February 19, 1915, regarding the *Wilhelmina*.

(The secretary of state for foreign affairs to the American ambassador.)

The communication made by the United States ambassador in his note to Sir Edward Grey, of the 16th instant, has been carefully considered, and the following observations are offered in reply:

2. At the time when His Majesty's Government gave directions for the seizure of the cargo of the steamship *Wilhelmina* as contraband they had before them the text of the decree made by the German Federal Council on the 25th of January, under article 45 of which all grain and flour imported into Germany after the 31st of January was declared deliverable only to certain organizations under direct government control or to municipal authorities. The vessel was bound for Hamburg, one of the free cities of the German Empire, the government of which is vested in the municipality. This was one of the reasons actuating His Majesty's Government in deciding to bring the cargo of the *Wilhelmina* before the prize court.

3. Information has only now reached them that by a subsequent decree, dated the 6th of February, the above provision in article 45 of the previous decree was repealed, it would appear for the express purpose of rendering difficult the anticipated proceedings against the *Wilhelmina*. The repeal was not known to His Majesty's Government at the time of detention of the cargo, or, indeed, until now.

4. How far the ostensible exception of imported supplies from the general Government monopoly of all grain and flour set up by the German Government may affect the question of the contraband nature of the shipment seized is a matter which will most suitably be investigated by the prize court.

5. It is, however, necessary to state that the German decree is not the only ground on which the submission of the cargo of the *Wilhelmina* to a prize court is justified. The German Government have in public announcements claimed to treat practically every town or port on the English east coast as a fortified place and base of operations. On the strength of this contention they have subjected to bombardment the open towns of Yarmouth, Scarborough, and Whitby, among others. On the same ground a number of neutral vessels sailing for English ports on the east coast with cargoes of goods on the German list of conditional contraband have been seized by German cruisers and brought before the German prize court. Again, the Dutch vessel *Maria*, having sailed from California with a cargo of grain consigned to Dublin and Belfast, was sunk in September last by the German cruiser *Karlsruhe*. This could only have been justified if, among other things, the cargo could have been proved to be destined for the British Government or armed forces, and if a presumption to this effect had been established owing to Dublin or Belfast being considered a fortified place or a base for the armed forces.

6. The German Government can not have it both ways. If they consider themselves justified in destroying by bombardment the lives and property of peaceful civil inhabitants of English open towns and watering places and in seizing and sinking ships and cargoes of conditional contraband on the way thither on the ground that they were consigned to a fortified place or base, "a fortiori," His Majesty's Government must be at liberty to treat Hamburg, which is in part protected by the fortifications at the mouth of the Elbe, as a fortified town and a base of operations and supply for the purposes of article 34 of the declaration of London. If the owners of the cargo of the *Wilhelmina* desire to question the validity in international law of the

action taken by order of His Majesty's Government, they will have every opportunity of establishing their case in due course before the prize court, and His Majesty's Government would in this connection recall the attention of the United States Government to the considerations put forward in Sir Edward Grey's note to Mr. Page of the 10th instant as to the propriety of awaiting the result of prize-court proceedings before diplomatic action is initiated. It will be remembered that they have from the outset given a definite assurance that the owners of the *Wilhelmina*, as well as the owners of her cargo, if found not to be contraband, would be equitably indemnified.

7. There is one further observation to which His Majesty's Government think it right and appropriate in the present connection to give expression. They have not so far declared foodstuffs to be absolute contraband. They have not interfered with any neutral vessels on account of their carrying foodstuffs, except on the basis of such foodstuffs being liable to capture if destined for the enemy forces or Governments. In so acting they have been guided by the general principle, of late universally upheld by civilized nations and observed in practice, that the civil populations of countries at war are not to be exposed to the treatment rightly reserved for combatants. This distinction has to all intents and purposes been swept away by the novel doctrines proclaimed and acted upon by the German Government.

8. It is unnecessary here to dwell upon the treatment that has been meted out to the civil population of Belgium and those parts of France which are in German occupation. When Germany, long before any mines had been laid by British authorities, proceeded to sow mines upon the high seas, and by this means sunk a considerable number not only of British but also of neutral merchantmen, with their unoffending crews, it was, so His Majesty's Government held, open to them to take retaliatory measures, even if such measures were of a kind to involve pressure of the civil population—not, indeed, of neutral States, but of their enemies. They refrained from doing so.

9. When subsequently English towns and defenseless British subjects, including women and children, were deliberately and systematically fired upon and killed by ships flying the flag of the Imperial German Navy, when quiet country towns and villages void of defenses and possessing no military or naval importance were bombarded by German airships, His Majesty's Government still abstained from drawing the logical consequences from this form of attack on defenseless citizens. Further steps in the same direction are now announced, and, in fact, have already been taken by Germany. British merchant vessels have been torpedoed at sight, without any attempt being made to give warning to the crew or any opportunity being given to save their lives; a torpedo has been fired against a British hospital ship in daylight, and similar treatment is threatened to all British merchant vessels in future, as well as to any neutral ships that may happen to be found in the neighborhood of the British Isles.

10. Faced with this situation, His Majesty's Government consider it would be altogether unreasonable that Great Britain and her allies should be expected to remain indefinitely bound, to their grave detriment, by rules and principles of which they recognize the justice if impartially observed as between belligerents, but which are at the present moment openly set at defiance by their enemy.

11. If, therefore, His Majesty's Government should hereafter feel constrained to declare foodstuffs absolute contraband or to take other measures for interfering with German trade by way of reprisals, they confidently expect that such action will not be challenged on the part of neutral States by appeals to laws and usages of war whose validity rests on their forming an integral part of that system of international doctrine which as a whole their enemy frankly boasts the liberty and intention to disregard, so long as such neutral States can not compel the German Government to abandon methods of warfare which have not in recent history been regarded as having the sanction of either law or humanity. (Dip. Corr., 82–83.)

19a. A month and a half later, April 8, Britain submitted the following memorandum:

British memorandum, April 8, 1915, in reference to the *Wilhelmina*.

(The prime minister to the American ambassador.)

His Majesty's Government share the desire of the United States Government for an immediate settlement of the case of the *Wilhelmina*. This American ship, laden with foodstuffs, left New York for Hamburg on January 22. She called at Falmouth of her own accord on February 9, and her cargo was detained as prize on February 11. The writ instituting prize-court proceedings was issued on February 27, and claimed that the cargo should be condemned as contraband of war. No proceedings were taken or even threatened against the ship herself, and in the ordinary course the cargo would have been unloaded when seized, so that the ship would be free to leave. The owners of the cargo, however, have throughout objected to the discharge of her cargo, and it is because of this objection that the ship is still at Falmouth with the cargo on board.

His Majesty's Government have formally undertaken that, even should the condemnation of the cargo as contraband be secured in the prize court, they would none the less compensate the owners for any loss sustained in consequence of the ship having been stopped and proceedings taken against the cargo.

It was understood at the time that the proceedings in the prize court would be in the nature of a test case, the decision in which would govern the treatment of any subsequent shipments of food supplies to Germany in similar circumstances. Since then the situation has, however, materially changed by the issue of the order in council of March 11, 1915, and the measures taken thereunder which prevent further supplies being sent from America to Germany, whether contraband or not.

In these circumstances there is no longer an object in continuing the judicial proceedings in the case of the *Wilhelmina*, for it can no longer serve as a test case, and it is really agreed that the owners of the cargo, even if proved to have no claim, are to be treated as if their claim was good. Nothing therefore remains but to settle the claim on proper and just conditions, and this would, in the opinion of His Majesty's Government, be secured most expeditiously and with the least inconvenience to all parties by an agreement between the Crown and the claimants for the disposal of the whole matter. His Majesty's Government accordingly propose that such an agreement be arrived at on the following terms: "His Majesty's Government having undertaken to compensate the claimants by paying for the cargo seized on the basis of the loss of the profit the claimants would have made if the ship had proceeded in due course to Hamburg, and by indemnifying them for the delay caused to the ship so far as this delay has been due to the action of the British authorities, all proceedings in the prize court shall be stayed on the understanding that His Majesty's Government buy the cargo from the claimants on the above terms. The cargo shall be discharged and delivered to the proper office of the Crown forthwith. The sum to be paid shall be assessed by a single American and His Majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, who shall certify the total amount after making such inquiries as he may think fit, but without formal hearing or arbitration." His Majesty's Government would be grateful if the United States ambassador would inform the claimants of the above proposal at his early convenience and obtain their acceptance.

20. In the meantime the United States undertook to protect the use of the American flag from belligerent vessels.

On the 10th of February, 1915, the following note was addressed to Great Britain:

American memorandum, February 10, 1915, concerning the use of the American flag by British vessels. (See No. 24.)

(The Secretary of State to the American ambassador at London.)

The department has been advised of the declaration of the German Admiralty on February 4, indicating that the British Government had on January 31 explicitly authorized the use of neutral flags on British merchant vessels presumably for the purpose of avoiding recognition by German naval forces. The department's attention has also been directed to reports in the press that the captain of the *Lusitania*, acting upon orders or information received from the British authorities, raised the American flag as his vessel approached the British coasts, in order to escape anticipated attacks by German submarines. To-day's press reports also contain an alleged official statement of the foreign office defending the use of the flag of a neutral country by a belligerent vessel in order to escape capture or attack by an enemy.

Assuming that the foregoing reports are true, the Government of the United States, reserving for future consideration the legality and propriety of the deceptive use of the flag of a neutral power in any case for the purpose of avoiding capture, desires very respectfully to point out to His Britannic Majesty's Government the serious consequences which may result to American vessels and American citizens if this practice is continued.

The occasional use of the flag of a neutral or an enemy under the stress of immediate pursuit and to deceive an approaching enemy, which appears by the press reports to be represented as the precedent and justification used to support this action, seems to this Government a very different thing from an explicit sanction by a belligerent government for its merchant ships generally to fly the flag of a neutral power within certain portions of the high seas which are presumed to be frequented with hostile warships. The formal declaration of such a policy of general misuse of a neutral's flag jeopardizes the vessels of the neutral visiting those waters in a peculiar degree by raising the presumption that they are of belligerent nationality regardless of the flag which they may carry.

In view of the announced purpose of the German Admiralty to engage in active naval operations in certain delimited sea areas adjacent to the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland, the Government of the United States would view with anxious solicitude any general use of the flag of the United States by British vessels traversing those waters. A policy such as the one which His Majesty's Government is said to intend to adopt, would, if the declaration of the German Admiralty is put in force, it seems clear, afford no protection to British vessels, while it would be a serious and constant menace to the lives and vessels of American citizens.

The Government of the United States, therefore, trusts that His Majesty's Government will do all in their power to restrain vessels of British nationality from the deceptive use of the flag of the United States in the sea area defined in the German declaration, since such practice would greatly endanger the vessels of a friendly power navigating those waters and would even seem to impose upon the Government of Great Britain a measure of responsibility for the loss of American lives and vessels in case of an attack by a German naval force.

Please present a note to Sir Edward Grey in the sense of the foregoing and impress him with the grave concern which this Government feels in the circumstances in regard to the safety of American vessels and lives in the war zone declared by the German Admiralty.

You may add that this Government is making earnest representations to the German Government in regard to the danger to American vessels and citizens if the declaration of the German Admiralty is put into effect.

BRYAN.

21. On the 19th, or just nine days later, Britain sent the following reply:

British memorandum, February 19, 1915, concerning the use of the American flag by British vessels. (See No. 19.)

(The secretary of state for foreign affairs to the American ambassador.)

The memorandum communicated on the 11th of February calls attention in courteous and friendly terms to the action of the captain of the British S. S. *Lusitania* in raising the flag of the United States of America when approaching British waters and says that the Government of the United States feel a certain anxiety in considering the possibility of any general use of the flag of the United States by British vessels traversing those waters since the effect of such a policy might be to bring about a menace to the lives and vessels of United States citizens.

It was understood that the German Government had announced their intention of sinking British merchant vessels at sight by torpedoes without giving any opportunity of making any provision for saving the lives of noncombatant crews and passengers. It was in consequence of this threat that the *Lusitania* raised the United States flag on her inward voyage and on her subsequent outward voyage. A request was made by the United States passengers who were embarking on board her that the United States flag should be hoisted presumably to insure their safety. Meanwhile the memorandum from your excellency had been received. His Majesty's Government did not give any advice to the company as to how to meet this request, and it is understood that the *Lusitania* left Liverpool under the British flag.

It seems unnecessary to say more as regards the *Lusitania* in particular regard to the use of foreign flags by merchant vessels. The British merchant shipping act makes it clear that the use of the British flag by foreign merchant vessels is permitted in time of war for the purpose of escaping capture. It is believed that in the case of some other nations there is a similar recognition of the same practice with regard to their flags and that none have forbidden it. It would therefore be unreasonable to expect His Majesty's Government to pass legis-

lation forbidding the use of foreign flags by British merchant vessels to avoid capture by the enemy. Now that the German Government have announced their intention to sink merchant vessels at sight with their noncombatant crews, cargoes, and papers, a proceeding hitherto regarded by the opinion of the world not as war, but as piracy, it is felt that the United States Government could not fairly ask the British Government to order British merchant vessels to forego the means—always hitherto permitted—of escaping not only capture, but the much worse fate of sinking and destruction. Great Britain has always when neutral accorded to the vessels of other States at war liberty to use the British flag as a means of protection against capture, and instances are on record when United States vessels availed themselves of this facility during the American Civil War. It would be contrary to fair expectation if now, when the conditions are reversed, the United States and neutral nations were to grudge to British ships liberty to take similar action The British Government have no intention of advising their merchant shipping to use foreign flags as general practice or to resort to them otherwise than for escaping capture or destruction.

The obligation upon a belligerent warship to ascertain definitely for itself the nationality and character of a merchant vessel before capturing it and a fortiori before sinking and destroying it has been universally recognized. If that obligation is fulfilled, hoisting a neutral flag on board a British vessel can not possibly endanger neutral shipping, and the British Government hold that if loss to neutrals is caused by disregard of this obligation it is upon the enemy vessel disregarding it and upon the government giving orders that it should be disregarded that the sole responsibility for injury to neutrals ought to rest. (Dip. Corr. 59.)

22. On the following day, February 20, our Government addressed simultaneous notes to both Great Britain and Germany proposing mutual concessions on the sea:

[American note, Feb. 20, 1915, proposing mutual concessions in the conduct of naval warfare.]

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR AT LONDON—SAME TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR AT BERLIN.

You will please deliver to Sir Edward Grey the following identic note, which we are sending England and Germany:

In view of the correspondence which has passed between this Government and Great Britain and Germany, respectively, relative to the declaration of a war zone by the German Admiralty and the use of neutral flags by British merchant vessels, this Government ventures to express the hope that the two belligerent Governments may, through reciprocal concessions, find a basis for agreement which will relieve neutral ships engaged in peaceful commerce from the great dangers which they will incur in the high seas adjacent to the coasts of the belligerents.

The Government of the United States respectfully suggests that an agreement in terms like the following might be entered into. This suggestion is not to be regarded as in any sense a proposal made by this Government, for it, of course, fully recognizes that it is not its privilege to propose terms of agreement between Great Britain and Germany, even though the matter be one in which it and the people of the United States are directly and deeply interested. It is merely venturing to take the liberty which it hopes may be accorded a sincere friend desirous of embarrassing neither nation involved and of serving, if it may, the common interests of humanity. The course outlined is offered in the hope that it may draw forth the views and elicit the suggestions of the British and German Governments on a matter of capital interest to the whole world.

Germany and Great Britain to agree:

1. That neither will sow any floating mines, whether upon the high seas or in territorial waters; that neither will plant on the high seas anchored mines except within cannon range of harbors for defensive purposes only; and that all mines shall bear the stamp of the Government planting them and be so constructed as to become harmless if separated from their moorings.

2. That neither will use submarines to attack merchant vessels of any nationality except to enforce the right of visit and search.

3. That each will require their respective merchant vessels not to use neutral flags for the purpose of disguise or ruse de guerre.

Germany to agree:

That all importations of food or foodstuffs from the United States (and from such other neutral countries as may ask it) into Germany shall be consigned to agencies to be designated by the United States Government; that these American agencies shall have entire charge and control without interference on the part of the German Government, of the receipt and distribution of such importations, and shall distribute them solely to retail dealers bearing licenses from the German Government entitling them to receive and furnish such food and foodstuffs to noncombatants only; that any violation of the terms of the retailers' licenses shall work a forfeiture of their rights to receive such food and foodstuffs for this purpose; and that such food and foodstuffs will not be requisitioned by the German Government for any purpose whatsoever or be diverted to the use of the armed forces of Germany.

Great Britain to agree:

That food and foodstuffs will not be placed upon the absolute contraband list and that shipments of such commodities will not be interfered with or detained by British authorities if consigned to agencies designated by the United States Government in Germany for the receipt and distribution of such cargoes to licensed German retailers for distribution solely to the noncombatant population.

In submitting this proposed basis of agreement this Government does not wish to be understood as admitting or denying any belligerent or neutral right established by the principles of international law, but would consider the agreement, if acceptable to the interested powers, a modus vivendi based upon expediency rather than legal right and as not binding upon the United States either in its present form or in a modified form until accepted by this Government.

BRYAN.

23. Eight days later Germany agreed to concede. This reply is printed in the submarine controversy and will not here be reprinted. On the 13th of March, or three weeks later, the British reply was received:

British memorandum, March 13, 1915, rejecting the American proposal of February 20 (No. 26).

(The secretary of state for foreign affairs to the American ambassador.)

On the 22d of February last I received a communication from your excellency of the identic note addressed to His Majesty's Government and to Germany, respecting an agreement on certain points as to the conduct of the war at sea. The reply of the German Government to this note has been published, and it is not understood from the reply that the German Government are prepared to abandon the practice of sinking British merchant vessels by submarines, and it is evident from their reply that they will not abandon the use of mines for offensive purposes on the high seas as contrasted with the use of mines for defensive purposes only within cannon range of their own harbors, as suggested by the Government of the United States. This being so, it might appear unnecessary for the British Government to make any further reply than to take note of the German answer. We desire, however, to take the opportunity of making a fuller statement of the whole position and of our feeling with regard to it. We recognize with sympathy the desire of the Government of the United States to see the European war conducted in accordance with the previously recognized rules of international law and the dictates of humanity. It is thus that the British forces have conducted the war, and we are not aware that these forces, either naval or military, can have laid to their charge any improper proceedings either in the conduct of hostilities or in the treatment of prisoners or wounded. On the German side it has been very different.

1. The treatment of civilian inhabitants in Belgium and the north of France has been made public by the Belgian and French Governments and by those who have had experience of it at first hand. Modern history affords no precedent for the sufferings that have been inflicted on the defenseless and noncombatant population in the territory that has been in German military occupation. Even the food of the population was confiscated until in Belgium an international commission, largely influenced by American generosity and conducted under American auspices, came to the relief of the population and secured from the German Government a promise to spare what food was still left in the country, though the Germans still continue to make levies in money upon the defenseless population for the support of the Germany Army.

2. We have from time to time received most terrible accounts of the barbarous treatment to which British officers and soldiers have been exposed after they have been taken prisoner while being conveyed to German prison camps; one or two instances have already been given to the United States Government, founded upon authentic and first-hand evidence which is beyond doubt. Some evidence has been received of the hardships to which British prisoners of war are subjected in the prison camps, contrasting, we believe, most unfavorably with the treatment of German prisoners in this country. We have proposed, with the consent of the United States Government, that a commision of United States officers should be permitted in each country to inspect the treatment of prisoners of war. The United States Government have been unable to obtain any reply from the German Government to this proposal, and we remain in continuing anxiety and apprehension as to the treatment of British prisoners of war in Germany.

3. At the very outset of the war a German mine layer was discovered laying a mine field on the high seas. Further mine fields have been laid from time to time without warning, and, so far as we know, are still being laid on the high seas, and many neutral as well as British vessels have been sunk by them.

4. At various times during the war German submarines have stopped and sunk British merchant vessels, thus making the sinking of merchant vessels a general practice, though it was admitted previously, if at all, only as an exception, the general rule to which the British Government has adhered being that merchant vessels, if captured, must be taken before a prize court. In one case already quoted in a note to the United States Government a neutral vessel carrying foodstuffs to an unfortified town in Great Britain has been sunk. Another case is now reported in which a German armed cruiser has sunk an American vessel, the *William P. Frye*, carrying a cargo of wheat from Seattle to Queenstown. In both cases the cargoes were presumably destined for the civil population. Even the cargoes in such circumstances should not have been condemned without the decision of a prize court, much less should the vessels have been sunk. It is to be noted that both these cases occurred before the detention by the British authorities of the *Wilhelmina* and her cargo of foodstuffs which the German Government allege is the justification for their own action. The Germans have announced their intention of sinking British merchant vessels by torpedo without notice and without any provision for the safety of the crew. They have already carried out this intention in the case of neutral as well as of British vessels, and a number of noncombatant and innocent lives on British vessels, unarmed and defenseless, have been destroyed in this way.

5. Unfortified, open, and defenseless towns, such as Scarborough, Yarmouth, and Whitby, have been deliberately and wantonly bombarded by German ships of war, causing in some cases considerable loss of civilian life, including women and children.

6. German aircraft have dropped bombs on the east coast of England where there were no military or strategic points to be attacked. On the other hand, I am aware of but two criticisms that have been made on British action in all these respects: (1) It is said that the British naval authorities also have laid some anchored mines on the high seas. They have done so, but the mines were anchored and so constructed that they would be harmless if they went adrift, and no mines whatever were laid by the British naval authorities till many weeks after the Germans had made a regular practice of laying mines on the high seas. (2) It is said that the British Government has departed from the view of international law which they had previously maintained that foodstuffs destined for the civil population should never be interfered with, this charge being founded on the submission to a prize court of the cargo of the *Wilhelmina*. The special considerations affecting this cargo have already been presented in a memorandum to the United States Government, and I need not repeat them here. Inasmuch as the stoppage of all foodstuffs is an admitted consequence of blockade, it is obvious that there can be no universal rule based on considerations of morality and humanity which is contrary to this practice. The right to stop foodstuffs destined for the civil population must therefore in any case be admitted if an effective "cordon" controlling intercourse with the enemy is drawn, announced, and maintained. Moreover, independently of rights arising from belligerent action in the nature of blockade, some other nations, differing from the opinion of the Governments of the United States and Great Britain, have held that to stop the food of the civil population is a natural and legitimate method of bringing pressure to bear on an enemy country, as it is upon the defense of a besieged town. It is also upheld on the authority of both Prince Bismarck and Count Caprivi, and therefore presumably is not repugnant to German morality. The following are the quotations from Prince Bismarck and Count Caprivi on this point. Prince Bismarck, in answering, in 1885, an application from the Kiel Chamber of Commerce for a statement of the view of the German Government on the question of the right to declare as contraband foodstuffs that were not intended

for military forces, said: "I reply to the chamber of commerce that any disadvantage our commercial and carrying interests may suffer by the treatment of rice as contraband of war does not justify our opposing a measure which it has been thought fit to take in carrying on a foreign war. Every war is a calamity which entails evil consequences not only on the combatants but also on neutrals. These evils may easily be increased by the interference of a neutral power with the way in which a third carries on the war to the disadvantage of the subjects of the interfering power, and by this means German commerce might be weighted with far heavier losses than a transitory prohibition of the rice trade in Chinese waters. The measure in question has for its object the shortening of the war by increasing the difficulties of the enemy and is a justifiable step in war if impartially enforced against all neutral ships." Count Caprivi, during a discussion in the German Reichstag on the 4th of March, 1892, on the subject of the importance of international protection for private property at sea, made the following statements: "A country may be dependent for her food or for her raw products upon her trade. In fact, it may be absolutely necessary to destroy the enemy's trade." * * * "The private introduction of provisions into Paris was prohibited during the siege, and in the same way a nation would be justified in preventing the import of food and raw produce." The Government of Great Britain have frankly declared in concert with the Government of France their intention to meet the German attempt to stop all supplies of every kind from leaving or entering British or French ports by themselves effectively controlling by cruiser "cordon" all passage to and from Germany by sea. The difference between the two policies is, however, that while our object is the same as that of Germany, we propose to attain it without sacrificing neutral ships or noncombatant lives or inflicting upon neutrals the damage that must be entailed when a vessel and its cargo are sunk without notice, examination, or trial. I must emphasize again that this measure is a natural and necessary consequence of the unprecedented methods, repugnant to all law and morality, which have been described above, which Germany began to adopt at the very outset of the war, and the effects of which have been constantly accumulating. (Dip. Corr., 64–65.)

24. On the 1st of March, 1915, the British prime minister read a statement to Parliament on the restraint of commerce on the seas:

British and French delclaration, March 1, 1915, in restraint of seaborne commerce with Germany. (Statement read by the British prime minister in the House of Commons and communicated to the neutral powers.)

(The British ambassador at Washington to the Secretary of State.)

Germany has declared that the English Channel, the north and west coasts of France, and the waters around the British Isles are a war area and has officially notified that all enemy ships found in that area will be destroyed and that neutral vessels may be exposed to danger. This is in effect a claim to torpedo at sight, without regard to the safety of the crew or passengers, any merchant vessel under any flag. As it is not in the power of the German admiralty to maintain any surface craft in these waters, this attack can only be delivered by submarine agency.

The law and custom of nations in regard to attacks on commerce have always presumed that the first duty of the captor of a merchant vessel is to bring it before a prize court where it may be tried, where the regularity of the capture may be challenged, and where neutrals may recover their cargoes. The sinking of prizes is in itself a questionable act, to be resorted to only in extraordinary circumstances and after provision has been made for the safety of all the crew or passengers, if there are passengers on board. The responsibility for discriminating between neutral and enemy vessels and between neutral and enemy cargo, obviously rests with the attacking ship, whose duty it is to verify the status and character of the vessel and cargo and to preserve all papers before sinking or even capturing it. So also is the humane duty of providing for the safety of the crews of merchant vessels, whether neutral or enemy, an obligation upon every belligerent.

It is upon this basis that all previous discussions of the law for regulating warfare at sea have proceeded. A German submarine, however, fulfills none of these obligations; she enjoys no local command of the waters in which she operates; she does not take her captures within the jurisdiction of a prize court; she carries no prize crew which she can put on board a prize; she uses no effective means of discriminating between a neutral and an enemy vessel; she does not receive on board for safety the crew and passengers of the vessel she sinks; her methods of warfare are therefore entirely outside the scope of any of the international instruments regulating operations against commerce in time of war. The German declaration substitutes indiscriminate destruction for regulated capture. Germany is adapting these methods against peaceful traders and noncombatant crews with the avowed object of preventing commodities of all kinds, including food for the civil population, from reaching or leaving the British Isles or northern France.

Her opponents are therefore driven to frame retaliatory measures in order in their turn to prevent commodities of any kind from reaching or leaving Germany. These measures will, however, be enforced by the British and French Governments without risk to neutral ships or to neutral or noncombatant life and in strict observance of the dictates of humanity. The British and French Governments will therefore hold themselves free to detain and take into port ships carrying goods of presumed enemy destination, ownership, or origin. It is not intended to confiscate such vessels or cargoes unless they would otherwise be liable to condemnation. The treatment of vessels and cargoes which have sailed before this date will not be affected.

CECIL SPRING RICE.

25. Three days later, March 4, Congress passed the following resolution:

Resolution of Congress, March 4, 1915, safeguarding the neutrality of American waters.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That from and after the passage of this resolution, and during the existence of a war to which the United States is not a party, and in order to prevent the neutrality of the United States from being violated by the use of its territory, its ports, or its territorial waters, as the base of operations for the armed forces of a belligerent, contrary to the obligations imposed by the law of nations, the treaties to which the United States is a party, or contrary to the statutes of the United States, the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and empowered to direct the collectors of customs under the jurisdiction of the United States to withhold clearance from any vessel of American or foreign registry or license which he has reasonable cause to believe to be about to carry fuel, arms, ammunition, men, or supplies to any warship, or tender, or supply ships of a belligerent nation in violation of the obligations of the United States as a neutral nation.

In case any such vessel of American register or license shall depart or attempt to depart from the jurisdiction of the United States without clearance for any of the purposes, the owner or master or person or persons having charge or command of such vessel shall severally be liable to a fine of not less than $2,000 nor more than $10,000, or to imprisonment not to exceed two years, or both; and in addition such vessels shall be forfeited to the United States.

That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized and empowered to employ such part of the land or naval forces of the United States as shall be necessary to carry out the purposes of this resolution.

That the provisions of this resolution shall be deemed to extend to all lands and water, continental or insular, within the jurisdiction of the United States. (New York Times, Mar. 4, 1915.)

The next day, March 5, inquiry was directed to Great Britain on the proposed restraint of sea-borne commerce:

American note, March 5, 1915, inquiring how the restraint upon seaborne commerce with Germany is to be effected.

(The Secretary of State to the American ambassador at London.)

In regard to the recent communications received from the British and French Governments concerning restraints upon commerce with Germany, please communicate with the British foreign office in the sense following:

The difficulty of determining action upon the British and French declarations of intended retaliation upon commerce with Germany lies in the nature of the proposed measures in their relation to commerce by neutrals.

While it appears that the intention is to interfere with and take into custody all ships both outgoing and incoming, trading with Germany, which is in effect a blockade of German ports, the rule of blockade, that a ship attempting to enter or leave a German port regardless of the character of its cargo may be condemned, is not asserted.

The language of the declaration is: "The British and French Governments will therefore hold themselves free to detain and take into port ships carrying goods of presumed enemy destination, ownership, or origin. It is not intended to confiscate such vessels or cargoes unless they would otherwise be liable to condemnation."

The first sentence claims a right pertaining only to a state of blockade. The last sentence proposes a treatment of ships and cargoes as if no blockade existed. The two together present a proposed course of action previously unknown to international law.

As a consequence neutrals have no standard by which to measure their rights or to avoid danger to their ships and cargoes. The paradoxical situation thus created should be changed and the declaring powers ought to assert whether they rely upon the rules governing a blockade or the rules applicable when no blockade exists.

The declaration presents other perplexities.

The last sentence quoted indicates that the rules of contraband are to be applied to cargoes detained. The rule covering noncontraband articles carried in neutral bottoms is that the cargoes shall be released and the ships allowed to proceed. This rule can not, under the first sentence quoted, be applied as to destination. What then is to be done with a cargo of noncontraband goods detained under the declaration? The same question may be asked as to conditional contraband cargoes.

The foregoing comments apply to cargoes destined for Germany. Cargoes coming out of German ports present another problem under the terms of the declaration. Under the rules governing enemy exports only goods owned by enemy subjects in enemy bottoms are subject to seizure and condemnation. Yet by the declaration it is purposed to seize and take into port all goods of enemy "ownership and origin." The word "origin" is particularly significant. The origin of goods destined to neutral territory on neutral ships is not and never has been a ground for forfeiture except in case a blockade is declared and maintained. What then would the seizure amount to in the present case except to delay the delivery of the goods? The declaration does not indicate what disposition would be made of such cargoes if owned by a neutral or if owned by an enemy subject. Would a different rule be applied according to ownership? If so, upon what principles of international law would it rest? And upon what rule if no blockade is declared and maintained could the cargo of a neutral ship sailing out of a German port be condemned? If it is not condemned, what other legal course is there but to release it?

While this Government is fully alive to the possibility that the methods of modern naval warfare, particularly in the use of the submarine for both defensive and offensive operations, may make the former means of maintaining a blockade a physical impossibility, it feels that it can be urged with great force that there should be also some limit to "the radius of activtiy," and especially so if this action by the belligerents can be construed to be a blockade. It would certainly create a serious state of affairs if, for example, an American vessel laden with a cargo of German origin should escape the British patrol in European waters only to be held up by a cruiser off New York and taken into Halifax.

Similar cablegram sent to Paris.

BRYAN.

26. Ten days later—March 15—the British reply, as follows, was received:

British note, March 15, 1915, replying to the American inquiry about the restraint on sea-borne commerce with Germany.

(The secretary of state for foreign affairs to the American ambassador.)

1. His Majesty's Government have had under careful consideration the inquiries which, under instructions from your Government, your excellency addressed to me on the 8th instant regarding the scope and mode of application of the measures, foreshadowed in the British and French declarations of the 1st of March, for restricting the trade of Germany. Your excellency explained and illustrated by reference to certain contingencies the difficulty of the United States Government in adopting a definite attitude toward these measures by reason of uncertainty regarding their bearing upon the commerce of neutral countries.

2. I can at once assure your excellency that, subject to the paramount necessity of restricting German trade, His Majesty's Government have made it their first aim to minimize inconvenience to neutral commerce. From the accompanying copy of the order in council, which is to be published to-day, you will observe that a wide discretion is afforded to

the prize court in dealing with the trade of neutrals in such manner as may in the circumstances be deemed just and that full provision is made to facilitate claims by persons interested in any goods placed in the custody of the marshal of the prize court under the order, I apprehend that the perplexities to which your excellency refers will for the most part be dissipated by the perusal of this document and that it is only necessary for me to add certain explanatory observations.

3. The effect of the order in council is to confer certain powers upon the executive officers of His Majesty's Government. The extent to which those powers will be actually exercised and the degree of severity with which the measures of blockade authorized will be put into operation are matters which will depend on the administrative orders issued by the Government and the decisions of the authorities specially charged with the duty of dealing with individual ships and cargoes, according to the merits of each case. The United States Government may rest assured that the instructions to be issued by His Majesty's Government to the fleet and to the customs officials and executive committees concerned will impress upon them the duty of acting with the utmost dispatch consistent with the object in view and of showing in every case such consideration for neutrals as may be compatible with that object, which is, succinctly stated, to establish a blockade to prevent vessels from carrying goods for or coming from Germany.

4. His Majesty's Government have felt most reluctant at the moment of initiating a policy of blockade to exact from neutral ships all the penalties attaching to a breach of blockade. In their desire to alleviate the burden which the existence of a state of war at sea must inevitably impose on neutral sea-borne commerce, they declare their intention to refrain altogether from the exercise of the right to confiscate ships or cargoes which belligerents have always claimed in respect of breaches of blockade. They restrict their claim to the stopping of cargoes destined for or coming from the enemy's territory.

5. As regards cotton, full particulars of the arrangements contemplated have already been explained. It will be admitted that every possible regard has been had to the legitimate interests of the American cotton trade.

6. Finally, in reply to the penultimate paragraph of your excellency's note, I have the honor to state that it is not intended to interfere with neutral vessels carrying enemy cargo of noncontraband nature outside European waters, including the Mediterranean.

27. On the same day the order in council in restraint of sea-borne trade was issued:

British order in council, March 15, 1915, in restraint of sea-borne commerce with Germany.

Whereas the German Government has issued certain orders which, in violation of the usages of war, purport to declare the waters surrounding the United Kingdom a military area, in which all British and allied merchant vessels will be destroyed, irrespective of the safety of the lives of passengers and crew, and in which neutral shipping will be exposed to similar danger in view of the uncertainties of naval warfare; and

Whereas in a memorandum accompanying the said orders neutrals are warned against entrusting crews, passengers, or goods to British or allied ships; and

Whereas such attempts on the part of the enemy give to His Majesty an unquestionable right of retaliation; and

Whereas His Majesty has therefore decided to adopt further measures in order to prevent commodities of any kind from reaching or leaving Germany, though such measures will be enforced without risk to neutral ships or to neutral or noncombatant life and in strict observance of the dictates of humanity; and

Whereas the allies of His Majesty are associated with him in the steps now to be announced for restricting further the commerce of Germany:

His Majesty is therefore pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order and it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. No merchant vessel (sic) which sailed from her port of departure after the 1st of March, 1915, shall be allowed to proceed on her voyage to any German port.

Unless the vessel receives a pass enabling her to proceed to some neutral or allied port to be named in the pass, goods on board any such vessel must be discharged in a British port and placed in the custody of the marshal of the prize court. Goods so discharged, not being contraband of war, shall, if not requisitioned for the use of His Majesty, be restored by order of the court, upon such terms as the court may in the circumstances deem to be just, to the person entitled thereto.

2. No merchant vessel which sailed from any German port after the 1st of March, 1915, shall be allowed to proceed on her voyage with any goods on board laden at such port.

All goods laden at such port must be discharged in a British or allied port. Goods so discharged in a British port shall be placed in the custody of the marshal of the prize court, and if not requisitioned for the use of His Majesty shall be detained or sold under the direction of the prize court. The proceeds of goods so sold shall be paid into court and dealt with in such manner as the court may in the circumstances deem to be just.

Provided, That no proceeds of the sale of such goods shall be paid out of court until the conclusion of peace, except on the application of the proper officer of the Crown, unless it be shown that the goods had become neutral property before the issue of this order.

Provided also, That nothing herein shall prevent the relase of neutral property laden at such enemy port on the application of the proper officer of the Crown.

3. Every merchant vessel which sailed from her port of departure after the 1st of March, 1915, on her way to a port other than a German port, carrying goods with an enemy destination or which are enemy property, may be required to discharge such goods in British or allied port. Any goods so discharged in a British port shall be placed in the custody of the marshal of the prize court, and, unless they are contraband of war, shall, if not requisitioned for the use of His Majesty, be restored by order of the court upon such terms as the court may in the circumstances deem to be just to the person entitled thereto.

Provided, That this article shall not apply in any case falling within articles 2 or 4 of this order.

4. Every merchant vessel which sailed from a port other than a German port after the 1st of March, 1915, having on board goods which are of enemy origin or are enemy property may be required to discharge such goods in a British or allied port. Goods so discharged in a British port shall be placed in the custody of the marshal of the prize court, and if not requisitioned for the use of His Majesty shall be detained or sold under the direction of the prize court. The proceeds of goods so sold shall be paid into court and dealt with in such manner as the court may in the circumstances deem to be just.

Provided, That no proceeds of sale of such goods shall be paid out of court until the conclusion of peace, except on the application of the proper officer of the Crown, unless it be shown that the goods had become neutral property before the issue of this order.

Provided also, That nothing herein shall prevent the release of neutral property of enemy origin on the application of the proper officer of the Crown.

5. Any person claiming to be interested in, or to have any claim in respect of, any goods (not being contraband of war) placed in the custody of the marshal of the prize court under this order, or in the proceeds of such goods, may forthwith issue a writ in the prize court against the proper officer of the Crown and apply for an order that the goods should be restored to him, or that their proceeds should be paid to him, or for such other order as the circumstances of the case may require.

The practice and procedure of the prize court shall, so far as applicable, be followed mutatis mutandis in any proceedings consequential upon this order.

6. A merchant vessel which has cleared for a neutral port from a British or allied port, or which has been allowed to pass, having an ostensible destination to a neutral port, and proceeds to an enemy port, shall, if captured on any subsequent voyage, be liable to condemnation.

7. Nothing in this order shall be deemed to affect the liability of any vessel or goods to capture or condemnation independently of this order.

8. Nothing in this order shall prevent the relaxation of the provisions of this order in respect of the merchant vessels of any country which declares that no commerce intended for or originating in Germany or belonging to Germany (sic) subjects shall enjoy the protection of its flag.

28. Eight days later, on March 23, the order in council authorizing the requisition of neutral ships was published:

British order in council, March 23, 1915, authorizing the requisition of neutral ships. (Presented by the solicitor of the Crown in an argument in favor of requisitioning the cargo of foodstuffs on the *Wilhelmina*.

Whereas by section 3 of the prize courts act, 1894, His Majesty in council is authorized to make rules of court for regulating, subject to the provisions of the naval prize act, 1864, and the said act, the procedure and practice of prize courts within the meaning of the naval prize act, 1864, and the duties and conduct of the officers of the courts and of the practitioners therein, and for regulating the fees to be taken by the officers thereof, and the costs, charges, and expenses to be allowed to the practitioners therein; and

Whereas in pursuance of the prize courts act, 1894, certain rules were made by the order of His Majesty in council, dated the 5th day of August, 1914, and amended by the orders of His Majesty in council of the 30th day of September, 1914, and the 28th day of November, 1914, respectively, which said rules and amended rules were by the said orders in council directed to take effect provisionally in accordance with the provisions of section 2 of the rules publication act, 1893, from the dates of the said orders in council, respectively; and

Whereas the provisions of section 1 of the rules publication act, 1893, were duly complied with in respect of the said rules and amended rules, and the same were finally made by the orders of His Majesty in council, dated, respectively, the 17th day of September, 1914, the 28th day of November, 1914, and the 3d day of February, 1915; and

Whereas it is expedient that the said rules and amended rules should be further amended; and

Whereas on account of urgency this order should come into immediate operation:

Now, therefore, His Majesty, by virtue of the powers in this behalf by the said act or otherwise in him vested, is pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, as follows:

1. That in order 9 (discovery, inspection, and admission of documents and facts) of the said rules:

In rule 1, the words "upon filing an affidavit" shall be omitted.

In rule 1, instead of the words "any other party" there shall be substituted the words "any party other than the proper officer of the Crown."

2. That in order 11 (sale, appraisement, safe custody, and inspection of prize) of the said rules, in rule 1, the following words shall be omitted: "On account of the condition of a ship, or on application of a claimant, and on or after condemnation."

3. That in order 15 (evidence and hearing) of the said rules the following rule shall be added:

"21. Notwithstanding anything contained in these rules the proper officer of the Crown may apply to the judge for leave to administer interrogatories for the examination of any person whether a party to the cause or not."

4. That order 29 (requisition by Admiralty) of the said rules, as amended by His Majesty's order in council dated the 28th day of November, 1914, shall be, and the same is hereby, revoked, and in lieu thereof the following order shall have effect:

"ORDER 29.—REQUISITION.

"1. Where it is made to appear to the judge on the application of the proper officer of the Crown that it is desired to requisition on behalf of His Majesty a ship in respect of which no final decree of condemnation has been made, he shall order that the ship shall be appraised, and that upon an undertaking being given in accordance with rule 5 of this order, the ship shall be released and delivered to the Crown.

"2. Where a decree for the detention of a ship has been made in accordance with order 28, the proper officer of the Crown may file a notice (Appendix A, Form No. 55) that the Crown desires to requisition the same, and thereupon a commission (Appendix A, Form No. 56) to the marshal directing him to appraise the ship shall issue. Upon an undertaking being given in accordance with rule 5 of this order the ship shall be released and delivered to the Crown. Service of this notice shall not be required before filing, but copies thereof shall be served upon the parties by the proper officer of the Crown as soon thereafter as possible.

"3. Where in any case of requisition under this order it is made to appear to the judge on behalf of the Crown that the ship is required for the service of His Majesty forthwith, the judge may order the same to be forthwith released and delivered to the Crown without appraisement.

"4. In any case where a ship has been requisitioned under the provisions of this order, and whether or not an appraisement has been made, the court may, on the application of any party, fix the amount to be paid by the Crown in respect of the value of the ship.

"5. In every case of requisition under this order an undertaking in writing shall be filed by the proper officer of the Crown for payment into court on behalf of the Crown of the appraised value of the ship, or of the amount fixed under rule 4 of this order, as the case may be, at such time or times as the court shall declare by order that the same or any part thereof is required for the purpose of payment out of court.

"6. Where in any case of requisition under this order it is made to appear to the judge on behalf of the Crown that the Crown desires to requisition the ship temporarily, the court may, in lieu of an order of release, make an order for the temporary delivery of the ship to the Crown, and, subject as aforesaid, the provisions of this order shall apply to such a requisition; provided that, in the event of the return of the ship to the custody of the court, the court may make such order as it thinks fit for the release of the undertaking given on behalf of the Crown or the reduction of the amount undertaken to be paid thereby, as the case may be; and provided also that, where the ship so requisitioned is subject to the provisions of order 28, rule 1, relating to detention, the amount for which the Crown shall be considered liable in respect of such requisition shall be the amount of the damage, if any, which the ship has suffered by reason of such temporary delivery as aforesaid.

"7. The proceedings in respect of a ship requisitioned under this order shall continue notwithstanding the requisition.

"8. In any case of requisition of a ship in respect of which no cause has been instituted, any person interested in such ship may, without issuing a writ, provided he does not intend to make a claim for restitution or damages, apply by summons for an order that the amount to be paid in respect of such ship be fixed by the court, and the judge may, on the hearing of such summons, order the ship to be appraised or to be valued, or give such other directions for fixing the amount as he may think fit."

5. That in form 4 in appendix A to the said rules there shall be omitted the words "commander of our ship of war" and the words "taken and seized as prize by our said ship of war."

6. This order shall take effect provisionally in accordance with the provisions of section 2 of the rules-publication act, 1893, from the date hereof. (Dip. Corr., 72–73.)

29. Three days later, March 30, 1915, our Government addressed a note on the British violation of neutral rights:

American note, March 30, 1915, regarding British violation of neutral rights.

(The Secretary of State to the American ambassador at London.)

You are instructed to deliver the following to His Majesty's Government in reply to your Nos. 1795 and 1798 of March 15:

The Government of the United States has given careful consideration to the subjects treated in the British notes of March 13 and March 15, and to the British order in council of the latter date.

These communications contain matters of grave importance to neutral nations. They appear to menace their rights of trade and intercourse not only with belligerents but also with one another. They call for frank comment in order that misunderstandings may be avoided. The Government of the United States deems it its duty, therefore, speaking in the sincerest spirit of friendship, to make its own view and position with regard to them unmistakably clear.

The order in council of the 15th of March would constitute, were its provisions to be actually carried into effect as they stand, a practical assertion of unlimited belligerent rights over neutral commerce within the whole European area, and an almost unqualified denial of the sovereign rights of the nations now at peace.

This Government takes it for granted that there can be no question what those rights are. A nation's sovereignty over its own ships and citizens under its own flag on the high seas in time of peace is, of course, unlimited; and that sovereignty suffers no diminution in time of war, except in so far as the practice and consent of civilized nations has limited it by the recognition of certain now clearly determined rights, which it is conceded may be exercised by nations which are at war.

A belligerent nation has been conceded the right of visit and search, and the right of capture and condemnation if, upon examination, a neutral vessel is found to be engaged in unneutral service or to be carrying contraband of war intended for the enemy's government or armed forces. It has been conceded the right to establish and maintain a blockade of an enemy's ports and coasts and to capture and condemn any vessel taken in trying to break the blockade. It is even conceded the right to detain and take to its own ports for judicial examination all vessels which it suspects for substantial reasons to be engaged in unneutral or contraband service, and to condemn them if the suspicion is sustained. But such rights, long clearly defined both in doctrine and practice, have hitherto been held to be the only permissible exceptions to the principle of universal equality of sovereignty on the high seas as between belligerents and nations not engaged in war.

It is confidently assumed that His Majesty's Government will not deny that it is a rule sanctioned by general practice that, even though a blockade should exist and the doctrine of contraband as to unblockaded territory be rigidly enforced, innocent shipments may be freely transported to and from the United States through neutral countries to belligerent territory without being subject to the penalties of contraband traffic or breach of blockade, much less to detention, requisition, or confiscation.

Moreover the rules of the Declaration of Paris of 1856—among them that free ships make free goods—will hardly at this day be disputed by the signatories of that solemn agreement.

His Majesty's Government, like the Government of the United States, have often and explicitly held that these rights represent the best usage of warfare in the dealings of belligerents with neutrals at sea. In this connection I desire to direct attention to the opinion of the Chief Justice of the United States in the case of the *Peterhof*, which arose out of the Civil War, and to the fact that that opinion was unanimously sustained in the award of the arbitration commission of 1871, to which the case was presented at the request of Great Britain. From that time to the declaration of London of 1909, adopted with modifications by the order in council of the 23d of October last, these rights have not been seriously questioned by the British Government. And no claim on the part of Great Britain of any justification for interfering with these clear rights of the United States and its citizens as neutrals could be admitted. To admit it would be to assume an attitude of unneutrality toward the present enemies of Great Britain which would be obviously inconsistent with the solemn obligations of this Government in the present circumstances; and for Great Britain to make such a claim would be for her to abandon and set at naught the principles for which she has consistently and earnestly contended in other times and circumstances.

The note of His Majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs which accompanies the order in council, and which bears the same date, notifies the Government of the United States of the establishment of a blockade which is, if defined by the terms of the order in council, to include all the coasts and ports of Germany and every port of possible access to enemy territory. But the novel and quite unprecedented feature of that blockade, if we are to assume it to be properly so defined, is that it embraces many neutral ports and coasts, bars access to them, and subjects all neutral ships seeking to approach them to the same suspicion that would attach to them were they bound for the ports of the enemies of Great Britain, and to unusual risks and penalties.

It is manifest that such limitations, risks, and liabilities placed upon the ships of a neutral power on the high seas, beyond the right of visit and search and the right to prevent the shipment of contraband already referred to, are a distinct invasion of the sovereign rights of the nation whose ships, trade, or commerce is interfered with.

The Government of the United States is, of course, not oblivious to the great changes which have occurred in the conditions and means of naval warfare since the rules hitherto governing legal blockade were formulated. It might be ready to admit that the old form of "close" blockade with its cordon of ships in the immediate offing of the blockaded ports is no longer practicable in face of an enemy possessing the means and opportunity to make an effective defense by the use of submarines, mines, and aircraft; but it can hardly be maintained that, whatever form of effective blockade may be made use of, it is impossible to conform at least to the spirit and principles of the established rules of war. If the necessities of the case should seem to render it imperative that the cordon of blockading vessels be extended across the approaches to any neighboring neutral port or country, it would seem clear that it would still be easily practicable to comply with the well-recognized and reasonable prohibition of international law against the blockading of neutral ports by according free admission and exit to all lawful traffic with neutral ports through the blockading cordon. This traffic would of course include all outward-bound traffic from the neutral country and all inward-bound traffic to the neutral country except contraband in transit to the enemy. Such procedure need not conflict in any respect with the rights of the belligerent maintaining the blockade since the right would remain with the blockading vessels to visit and search all ships either entering or leaving the neutral territory which they were in fact but not of right investing.

The Government of the United States notes that in the order in council His Majesty's Government give as their reason for entering upon a course of action, which they are aware is without precedent in modern warfare, the necessity they conceive themselves to have been placed under to retaliate upon their enemies for measures of a similar nature which the latter have announced in their intention to adopt and which they have to some extent adopted; but the Government of the United States, recalling the principles upon which His Majesty's Government have hitherto been scrupulous to act, interprets this as merely a reason for certain extraordinary activities on the part of His Majesty's naval forces and not as an excuse for or prelude to any unlawful action. If the course pursued by the present enemies of Great Britain should prove to be in fact tainted by illegality and disregard of the principles of war sanctioned by enlightened nations, it can not be supposed, and this Government does not for a moment suppose, that His Majesty's Government would wish the same taint to attach to their own actions or would cite such illegal acts as in any sense or degree a justification for similar practices on their part in so far as they affect neutral rights.

It is thus that the Government of the United States interprets the language of the note of His Majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs which accompanies the copy of the order in council which was handed to the ambassador of the United States near the Government in London and by him transmitted to Washington.

This Government notes with gratification that "wide discretion is afforded to the prize court in dealing with the trade of neutrals in such manner as may in the circumstances be deemed just, and that full provision is made to facilitate claims by persons interested in any goods placed in the custody of the marshal of the prize court under the order"; that "the effect of the order in council is to confer certain powers upon the executive officers of His Majesty's Government"; and that "the extent to which these powers will be actually exercised and the degree of severity with which the measures of blockade authorized will be put into operation are matters which will depend on the administrative orders issued by the Government and the decisions of the authorities especially charged with the duty of dealing with individual ships and cargoes according to the merits of each case." This Government further notes with equal satisfaction the declaration of the British Government that "the instructions to be issued by His Majesty's Government to the fleet and to the customs officials and executive committees concerned will impress upon them the duty of acting with the usual dispatch consistent with the object in view, and of showing in every case such consideration for neutrals as may be compatible with that object, which is, succinctly stated, to establish a blockade to prevent vessels from carrying goods for or coming from Germany."

In view of these assurances formally given to this Government it is confidently expected that the extensive powers conferred by the order in council on the executive officers of the Crown will be restricted by "orders issued by the Government" directing the exercise of their discretionary powers in such a manner as to modify in practical application those provisions of the order in council which, if strictly enforced, would violate neutral rights and interrupt legitimate trade. Relying on the faithful performance of these voluntary assurances by His Majesty's Government the United States takes it for granted that the approach of American merchantmen to neutral ports situated upon the long line of coast affected by the order in council will not be interfered with when it is known that they do not carry goods which are contraband of war or goods destined to or proceeding from ports within the belligerent territory affected.

The Government of the United States assumes with the greater confidence that His Majesty's Government will thus adjust their practice to the recognized rules of international law, because it is manifest that the British Government have adopted an extraordinary method of "stopping cargoes destined for or coming from the enemy's territory," which, owing to the existence of unusual conditions in modern warfare at sea, it will be difficult to restrict to the limits which have been here-

tofore required by the law of nations. Though the area of operations is confined to "European waters, including the Mediterranean," so great an area of the high seas is covered and the cordon of ships is so distant from the territory affected that neutral vessels must necessarily pass through the blockading force in order to reach important neutral ports which Great Britain, as a belligerent, has not the legal right to blockade, and which, therefore, it is presumed she has no intention of claiming to blockade. The Scandinavian and Danish ports, for example, are open to American trade. They are also free, so far as the actual enforcement of the order in council is concerned, to carry on trade with German Baltic ports, although it is an essential element of blockade that it bear with equal severity upon all neutrals.

This Government, therefore, infers that the commanders of His Majesty's ships of war engaged in maintaining the so-called blockade will be instructed to avoid an enforcement of the proposed measures of nonintercourse in such a way as to impose restrictions upon neutral trade more burdensome than those which have been regarded as inevitable when the ports of a belligerent are actually blockaded by the ships of its enemy.

The possibility of serious interruption of American trade under the order in council are so many and the methods proposed are so unusual, and seem liable to constitute so great an impediment and embarrassment to neutral commerce, that the Government of the United States, if the order in council is strictly enforced, apprehends many interferences with its legitimate trade which will impose upon His Majesty's Government heavy responsibilities for acts of the British authorities clearly subversive of the rights of neutral nations on the high seas. It is therefore expected that His Majesty's Government, having considered these possibilities, will take the steps necessary to avoid them, and, in the event that they should unhappily occur, will be prepared to make full reparation for every act which under the rules of international law constitutes a violation of neutral rights.

As stated in its communication of October 22, 1914, "this Government will insist that the rights and duties of the United States and its citizens in the present war be defined by the existing rules of international law and the treaties of the United States, irrespective of the provisions of the declaration of London, and that this Government reserves to itself the right to enter a protest or demand in each case in which those rights and duties so defined are violated or their free exercise interfered with by the authorities of the British Government.

In conclusiion, you will reiterate to His Majesty's Government that this statement of the views of the Government of the United States is made in the most friendly spirit, and in accordance with the uniform candor which has characterized the relations of the two Governments in the past, and which has been in large measure the foundation of the peace and amity existing between the two nations without interruption for a century.

BRYAN.

30. Four months later, July 23, Britain made reply to our note on neutral rights:

[The New York Times, July 24, 1915.]

British note, July 23, 1915, replying to the American note of March 30, in regard to British violation of neutral rights (No. 36).

The secretary of state for foreign affairs to the American ambassador:

1. On the 2d of April your excellency handed to me a copy of a communication containing the criticisms of the United States Government on the measures we have been constrained to take on account of the menace to peaceful commerce resulting from the German submarine policy. This communication has received the most careful consideration of His Majesty's Government.

2. I fully appreciate the friendly spirit and the candor which are shown in the communication, and, replying in the same spirit, I trust that I may be able to convince your excellency, and also the administration at Washington, that the measures we have announced are not only reasonable and necessary in themselves but constitute no more than an adaptation of the old principles of blockade to the peculiar circumstances with which we are confronted.

3. I need scarcely dwell on the obligation incumbent upon the allies to take every step in their power to overcome their common enemy, in view of the shocking violation of the recognized rules and principles of civilized warfare of which he has been guilty during the present struggle. Your excellency's attention has already been drawn to some of these proceedings in the memorandum which I handed to you on the 19th February. Since that time Lord Bryce's report, based on evidence carefully sifted by legal experts, describing the atrocities committed in Belgium; the poisoning of wells in German Southwest Africa; the use of poisonous gases against the troops in Flanders; and, finally, the sinking of the *Lusitania* without any opportunity to passengers and noncombatants to save their lives, have shown how indispensable it is that we should leave unused no justifiable method of defending ourselves.

4. Your excellency will remember that in my notes of the 13th and 15th March I explained that the allied Governments intended to meet the German attempt to stop all supplies of every kind from leaving or entering British or French ports by themselves intercepting goods going to or from Germany. I read the communication from your excellency's Government, not as questioning the necessity for our taking all the steps open to us to cripple the enemy's trade, but as directed solely to the question of the legitimacy of the particular measures adopted.

5. In the various notes which I have received from your excellency the right of a belligerent to establish a blockade of the enemy ports is admitted, a right which has obviously no value save in so far as it gives power to a belligerent to cut off the sea-borne exports and imports of his enemy. The contention which I understand the United States Government now puts forward is that if a belligerent is so circumstanced that his commerce can pass through adjacent neutral ports as easily as through ports in his own territory, his opponent has no right to interfere, and must restrict his measures of blockade in such a manner as to leave such avenues of commerce still open to his adversary.

This is a contention which His Majesty's Government feels unable to accept and which seems to them unsustainable, either in point of law or upon principles of international equity. They are unable to admit that a belligerent violates any fundamental principle of international law by applying a blockade in such a way as to cut off the enemy's commerce with foreign countries through neutral ports if the circumstances render such an application of the principles of blockade the only means of making it effective. The Government of the United States, indeed, intimates its readiness to take into account "the great changes which have occurred in the conditions and means of naval warfare since the rules hitherto governing legal blockade were formulated," and recognizes that "the form of close blockade, with its cordon of ships in the immediate offing of the blockaded ports, is no longer practicable in the face of an enemy possessing the means and opportunity to make an effective defense by the use of submarines, mines, and aircraft."

6. The only question, then, which can arise in regard to the measures resorted to for the purpose of carrying out a blockade upon these extended lines is whether, to use your excellency's words, they "conform to the spirit and principles of the essence of the rules of war"; and we shall be content to apply this test to the action which we have taken, in so far as it has necessitated interference with neutral commerce.

7. It may be noted in this connection that at the time of the Civil War the United States found themselves under the necessity of declaring a blockade of some 3,000 miles of coast line, a military operation for which the number of vessels available was at first very small. It was vital to the cause of the United States in that great struggle that they should be able to cut off the trade of the Southern States. The Confederate armies were dependent on supplies from overseas, and those supplies could not be obtained without exporting the cotton wherewith to pay for them.

To cut off this trade the United States could only rely upon a blockade. The difficulties confronting the Federal Government were in part due to the fact that neighboring neutral territory afforded convenient centers from which contraband could be introduced into the territory of their enemies and from which blockade running could be facilitated. Your excellency will no doubt remember how, in order to meet this new difficulty, the old principles relating to contraband and blockade were developed, and the doctrine of continuous voyage was applied and enforced, under which goods destined for the enemy territory were intercepted before they reached the neutral ports from which they were to be reexported.

8. The difficulties which imposed upon the United States the necessity of reshaping some of the old rules are somewhat akin to those with which the allies are now faced in dealing with the trade of their enemy. Adjacent to Germany are various neutral countries which afford her convenient opportunities for carrying on her trade with foreign countries. Her own territories are covered with a net work of railways and waterways, which enable her commerce to pass as conveniently through ports in such neutral countries as through her own. A blockade limited to enemy ports would leave open routes by which every kind of German commerce could pass almost as easily as through the ports in her own territory. Rotterdam is, indeed, the nearest outlet for some of the industrial districts of Germany.

9. As a counterpoise to the freedom with which one belligerent may send his commerce across a neutral country without compromising its neutrality, the other belligerent may fairly claim to intercept such commerce befort it has reached, or after it has left, the neutral State, provided, of course, that he can establish that the commerce with which he interferes is the commerce of his enemy and not commerce which is bona fide destined for or proceeding from the neutral State. It seems, accordingly, that if it be recognized that a blockade is in certain cases the appropriate method of intercepting the trade of an enemy country, and if the glockade can only become effective by extending it to enemy commerce passing through neutral ports, such an extension is defensible and in accordance with principles which have met with general acceptance.

10. To the contention that such action is not directly supported by written authority, it may be replied that it is the business of writers on international law to formulate existing rules rather than to offer suggestions for their adaptation to altered circumstances, and your excellency will remember the unmeasured terms in which a group of prominent international lawyers of all nations condemned the doctrine which had been laid down by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of the *Springbok*, a doctrine upheld by the Claims Commission at Washington in 1873. But the United States and the British Government took a broader view and looked below the surface at the underlying purpose, and the Government of this country, whose nationals were the sufferers by the extension and development of the old methods of blockade made by the United States during the Civil War, abstained from all protest against the decisions by which the ships and their cargoes were condemned.

11. What is really important in the general interest is that adaptations of the old rules should not be made unless they are consistent with the general principles upon which an admitted belligerent right is based. It is also essential that all unnecessary injury to neutrals should be avoided. With these conditions, it may be safely affirmed that the steps we are taking to intercept commodities on their way to and from Germany fully comply. We are interfering with no goods with which we should not be entitltd to interfere by blockade if the geographical position and the conditions of Germany at present were such that her commerce passed through her own ports. We are taking the utmost possible care not to interfere with commerce genuinely destined for or proceeding from neutral countries. Furthermore, we have tempered the severity with which our measures might press upon neutrals by not applying the rule, which was invariable in the old form of blockade, that ships and goods on their way to or from the blockaded area are liable to condemnation.

12. The communication made by the United States Embassy on April 2 describes as a novel and quite unprecedented feature of the blockade that it embraces many neutral ports and coasts and has the effect of barring access to them. It does not appear that our measures can be properly so described. If we are successful in the efforts we are making to distinguish between the commerce of neutral and enemy countries, there will be no substantial interference with the trade of neutral ports, except in so far as they constitute ports of access to and exit from the enemy territory. There are at this moment many neutral ports which it would be mere affectation to regard as offering facilities only for the commerce of the neutral country in which they are situated, and the only commerce with which we propose to interfere is that of the enemy who seeks to make use of such ports for the purposes of transit to or from its own country.

13. One of the earlier passages in your excellency's memorandum was to the effect that the sovereignty of neutral nations in time of war suffers no diminution, except in so far as the practice and consent of civilized nations have limited it "by the recognition of certain now clearly determined rights" which it is considered may be exercised by nations at war, and these it defines as the right of capture and condemnation for unneutral service, for the carriage of contraband, and for breach of blockade. I may, however, be permitted to point out that the practice of nations on each of the three subjects mentioned has not

at any time been uniform or clearly determined, nor has the practice of any maritime nation always been consistent.

14. There are various particulars in which the exact method of carrying a blockade into effect has from time to time varied. The need of a public notification, the requisite standard of effectiveness, the locality of the blockading squadrons, the right of the individual ship to a preliminary warning that the blockade is in force, and the penalty to be inflicted on a captured blockade runner, are all subjects on which different views have prevailed in different countries and in which the practice of particular countries has been altered from time to time. The one principle which is fundamental and has obtained universal recognition is that by means of blockade a belligerent is entitled to cut off, by effective means, the sea-borne commerce of his enemy.

15. It is the same with contraband. The underlying principle is well established, but as to the details there has been a wide variety of views. As for unneutral service—the very term is of such recent introduction that many writers of repute on international law do not mention it—it is possible, in the view of His Majesty's Government in these circumstances, to maintain that the right of a belligerent to intercept the commerce of his enemy is limited in the way suggested in your excellency's communication.

16. There are certain subsidiary matters dealt with in your excellency's communication to which I think it well to refer. Among these may be mentioned your citation of the declaration of Paris, due, no doubt, to the words which occur in the memorandum sent by me to your excellency on the 1st of March, wherein it was stated that the allied Governments would hold themselves free to detain and take into port ships carrying goods of presumed enemy destination, ownership, or origin, and to our announcement that vessels might be required to discharge goods of enemy ownership as well as those of enemy origin or destination.

17. It is not necessary to discuss the extent to which the second rule of the declaration of Paris is affected by these measures or whether it could be held to apply at all as between Great Britain and the United States. In actual practice, however, we are not detaining goods on the sole ground that they are the property of an enemy. The purpose of the measures we are taking is to intercept commerce on its way from and to the enemy country. There are many cases in which proof that the goods were enemy property would afford strong evidence that they were of enemy origin or enemy destination, and it is only in such cases that we are detaining them. Where proof of enemy ownership would afford no evidence of such origin or destination we are not in practice detaining the goods.

18. His Majesty's Government have been gratified to observe that the measures which they are enforcing have had no detrimental effect on the commerce of the United States. Figures of recent months show that the increased opportunities afforded by the war for American commerce have more than compensated for the loss of the German and Austrian markets.

19. I trust that in the light of the above explanations it will be realized that the measures to which we have resorted have been not only justified by the exigencies of the case, but can be defended as in accordance with general principles which have commended themselves to the Governments of both countries. I am glad to be able to assure your excellency that we shall continue to apply these measures with every desire to occasion the least possible amount of inconvenience to persons engaged in legitimate commerce.

I have, etc.,

E. GREY.

(The New York Times, Aug. 4, 1915.)

31. On May 20, 1915, the British submitted a memorandum touching upon interference with neutral rights:

British memorandum, May 20, 1915, in reference to the detention of American ships and cargoes. (The memorandum has a paragraph attached comparing the exports of the United States to belligerent and neutral countries in January and February, 1914, with those in the same months of 1915. An additional table shows an increase in the American exportation of bacon and lard to neutral countries in March, 1915.)

First. There are at the present moment three American ships detained in this country. Two of them are cotton ships, which are dealt with below. The third is the steamer *Joseph W. Fordney*. This vessel, with a cargo of foodstuffs consigned to E. Klingener at Malmo (Sweden), was brought into Kirkwall on April 8. She had been sighted by His Majesty's ships about 10 miles from the Norwegian coast, and had thereupon endeavored, with the evident desire to evade search, to escape rapidly into Norwegian territorial waters, but without success.

On the vessel's arrival in Kirkwall inquiries were at once addressed to His Majesty's minister at Stockholm with regard to the consignee of the cargo, and a reply was received to the effect that no person of that name could be identified at Malmo, though there was a person of that name who resided at Gothenburg, and was manager of the Gothenburg branch of Hugo Hartvig, and who had stated that the consignments addressed to him on board the *Joseph W. Fordney* were intended for storage in Malmo.

Second. The suspicious conduct of the vessel in endeavoring to elude His Majesty's patrols and the known connections of the consignee of her cargo have tended to confirm other evidence which has come to the knowledge of His Majesty's Government that the foodstuffs were in reality destined for Germany. It was accordingly decided that the cargo must be placed in the prize court, and the vessel is at present discharging at Portishead, England, on the completion of which operation she will be released.

His Majesty's Government feel satisfied that in the circumstances of this case undue interference with American interests can not with reason be imputed to them.

Third. The number of neutral vessels carrying American cargoes and at present held up is 36. Of these, 23 carry cargoes of American cotton. The United States Government are aware that since the enforcement of the blockade measures announced in the supplement to the London Gazette of the 12th of March last His Majesty's Government have acted as regards shipments of American cotton in accordance with the provisions of an arrangement arrived at in collaboration with representatives of the American cotton interests. The terms of the arrangement are as follows:

A. All cotton for which contracts, sale, and freight engagements already have been made before March 2 is to be allowed free transit or bought at the contract price if stopped, provided the ship sails not later than the 31st of March.

B. Similar treatment is to be accorded all cotton insured before the 2d of March, provided it is put aboard not later than the 16th of March.

C. All shipments of cotton claiming the above protection are to be declared before sailing and documents produced and certificates obtained from consular officers or other authorities fixed by the Government.

Fourth. In accepting this scheme, which, it may be noted, applies to shipments of cotton for a neutral destination only, the principal representatives of the American cotton interests described it to His Majesty's ambassador at Washington as conceding all that the American interests could properly ask. It was never suggested that vessels or cargoes with an enemy destination should be allowed to proceed. His Majesty's Government were, moreover, given to understand that the provisions of the arrangement were acceptable to the United States Government.

Fifth. It is intended shortly to furnish a statement showing precisely what cargoes or portions of cargoes His Majesty's Government have dealt with under the above arrangement, and as regards those which they have decided to purchase at the contract price under the terms of paragraph A of the arrangement direct discussions have already been opened with the special representatives of the American parties interested in London.

Sixth. A considerable portion of the cotton has already been sold, and arrangements are being made for handing over the proceeds to the parties entitled to receive the total value as a first installment of the completed transaction. It is obvious that all these arrangements require some time for adjustment. Meanwhile it is not believed that the original owners can, as appears to be apprehended, be suffering acutely by the delay of full payment. It is to be presumed that in accordance with the customs of trade the owners drew bills to the value of their goods before or at the time of shipment; and, if such bills have been negotiated in the usual way, it is difficult to understand why the drawers should be put to inconvenience on this account, at least before the date when the bills fall due.

Seventh. On an impartial review of the facts it will, His Majesty's Government feel sure, be admitted that no arbitrary interference with American interests has, in regard to these cargoes, occurred, seeing that His Majesty's Government has acted throughout in conformity with the terms of an arrangement agreeable to the interests concerned and that United States citizens will suffer no pecuniary loss.

Eighth. As regards other American cargoes or portions of cargoes which have been placed in the prize court, His Majesty's Government resort to this measure in cases where either the goods concerned are contraband or there is evidence that although ostensibly consigned to a person in neutral countries they are in reality destined to the enemy in contravention of the rules of blockade. The right to submit such cases to the public investigation of a judicial tribunal is one which His Majesty's Government can not forego, and they feel convinced that the enlightened opinion in the United States can not adversely criticize their course of action in this respect.

Ninth. It is true that a number of these cases have been pending in the prize court for some time. This is notably the case in regard to certain vessels carrying large shipments of meat and lard ostensibly consigned to Scandinavian ports. The United States Government are, however, no doubt aware that much of the delay involved in these instances is due to the fact that the negotiations have been carried on for many weeks with a representative of the principal American meat packers, for an arrangement designated to limit importation into neutral countries adjacent to Germany, to quantities actually required in those countries for bona fide home consumption. The American meat packers have demanded as a part of the settlement to be agreed upon that His Majesty's Government should buy the cargoes of several ships now held up in the prize court. Hence the delay in bringing these cases to adjudication.

The negotiations for an amicable settlement have, unfortunately, come to a standstill owing to the exorbitant terms insisted upon by the representative of the American packers. This stage having now been reached, His Majesty's Government have decided to go on with the prize-court proceedings in these cases, and it is not expected that a decision will be much longer delayed.

Tenth. It may finally be pointed out that repeated complaint, as to injury suffered generally by American trade in consequence of interference due to British naval measures, derives little substance from the published American trade returns. A table of figures taken from these returns and showing the amount of recent American trade with Germany and with neutral countries supplying Germany is annexed hereto. It certainly tends to disprove any contention that American trade with neutral countries has recently suffered. It will be seen that whereas American exports to Germany and Austria in February, 1915, fell by $21,500,000, as compared with the same month in 1914, American exports to Scandinavia, Holland, and Italy rose by the enormous figure of $61,100,000.

Eleventh. Similar figures for the month of March have not yet reached His Majesty's Government, but they have received statistics for that month of the value of exports and imports through New York, as issued by the collector of the port, and while pointing out a large increase in the value of exports in 1915, compared with those of 1914, as shown in the tables annexed, they desire especially to call attention to a separate statement indicating the increase in the amount of the export to Scandinavian and Dutch ports of two commodities only—bacon and lard. These figures show that as against 1,253 boxes of bacon and 9,816 tierces of lard exported to the ports noted in the above countries in March, 1914, there were exported in March, 1915, 32,222 boxes of bacon and 95,676 tierces of lard.

Twelfth. His Majesty's Government consider that the abnormal increase in supplies imported by neutral countries, as shown in these statistics, alone justifies their assumption as to the ultimate destination of many items in cargoes consigned to one or the other of the countries in question in the vessels which they have detained, but they would call attention to the fact that it is only when they have believed themselves to be in possession of conclusive evidence of the enemy destination of a cargo that they have seized such a cargo, and that American interests, as for instance in the case of cotton, have received especially sympathetic consideration. (The New York Times, May 21, 1915.)

The Secretary of State, on May 21, made the following statement touching an error in the foregoing:

The foreign-trade advisers' attention has been called to the statement of the foreign office of Great Britain, published in this morning's papers, an extract from which follows:

"Fourth. In accepting this scheme, which, it may be noted, applies to shipments of cotton for a neutral destination only, the principal representatives of the American interests described it to His Majesty's ambassador at Washington as conceding all that the American interests could properly ask. It was never suggested that vessels or cargoes with an enemy destination should be allowed to proceed. His Majesty's

Government were, moreover, given to understand that the provisions of the arrangements were acceptable to the United States Government."

The plan referred to is the one which was entered into between the cotton shippers of this country and the British embassy, a portion of which is quoted in the statement of the British foreign office.

Without discussing at this time the statement that "it was never suggested that vessels or cargoes with an enemy destination should be allowed to proceed," the foreign-trade advisers, who informally and unofficially represented the cotton shippers in the negotiations which led to the so-called cotton arrangement, state that it was distinctly understood between Sir Arthur Cecil Spring-Rice, the British ambassador, and Robert F. Rose, the foreign-trade adviser conducting this discussion on behalf of the American cotton exporters, that nothing done by the foreign-trade advisers should be regarded as official, and that everything done was to be considered as informal and unofficial, and in no way binding the United States Government to any arrangement reached, or be construed as a recognition of the order in council to be issued or the declaration of March 1 which has been issued. This statement was made to the British ambassador on March 3 when the first conference in the matter was held, was repeated at each subsequent conference, and each time the absolute assurance from the British ambassador was received that, in acting for the cotton shippers in any way, the foreign-trade advisers were to be regarded as not representing the United States Government in any manner. (The New York Times, May 22, 1915.)

No. 49. Statement of the British Embassy, May 21, 1915, correcting the error in No. 47.

The terms of the arrangement quoted in the British statement as telegraphed were arrived at in London between a private representative of the American cotton interests in London and British officials in London. The reference to the British ambassador in paragraph 4 is, therefore, an error.

The arrangement in question formed the subject of conversations between the ambassador and representatives of the cotton interests in this country. There never was any question of a formal and official understanding between the United States Government and the British Embassy. (The New York Times, May 22, 1915.)

A further statement of England upon the treatment of neutral rights on the sea, June 17, 1915:

(Dip. Corr.—leaflet.)

British memorandum, June 17, 1915, in reference to the treatment of American commerce. (According to the letter of the American ambassador, transmitting the memorandum, "it is not an answer to the principles set forth in the note * * * of March 30, but merely an explanation of concrete cases and the regulations under which they are dealt with."

(The secretary of state for foreign affairs ad interim to the American ambassador.)

1. His Majesty's Government have on various occasions, and notably in the communication which was addressed to the United States ambassador on March 15 last, given assurances to the United States Government that they would make it their first aim to minimize the inconvenience which must inevitably be caused to neutral commerce from the existence of a state of war at sea, and in particular from the measures taken by the allied Governments for the restriction of the enemies' over-sea trade. In view of the representation and complaints made to this department by the ambassador from time to time as to the peculiar hardships alleged to have been wrongly inflicted on American trade and shipping by the operation of those measures, His Majesty's Government desire to offer the following observations respecting the manner in which they have consistently endeavored to give practical effect to those assurances.

2. It will be recalled that at the moment when His Majesty's Government announced their measures against enemy commerce, they declared their intention to refrain altogether from the exercise of the right to confiscate ships or cargoes which belligerents had always previously claimed in respect to breaches of blockade; that, under article 1 of the the enactment of March 11 it was expressly provided that any person claiming to be interested in goods placed in the prize court in pursuance of the provision of that enactment, might forthwith issue a writ against the proper officers of the Crown, the object being to confer upon claimants the right to institute proceedings without waiting for the writ of the procurator general, and thus to remove all possible cause of legitimate grievance on account of delay; and that, finally, a pacific assurance was given to the United States Government that the instructions to be issued by His Majesty's Government to the fleet and to the customs officials and executive officials concerned, would impress upon them the duty of acting with the utmost dispatch consistent with the object in view and of showing in every case such consideration for neutrals as might be compatible with that object, namely, to prevent vessels carrying goods for or coming from the enemy's territory.

3. The above measures were all designed to alleviate the burdens imposed upon neutral sea-borne commerce in general. Various special concessions, over and above those enumerated, have, moreover, been made in favor of United States citizens.

4. Thus His Majesty's Government have acted as regards shipments of American cotton in accordance with the provisions of an arrangement arrived at in direct collaboration with representatives of the American cotton interests. In accepting this scheme the principal representative of those interests described it as conceding all that American interests could properly ask. The provisions of the arrangement were, as the United States ambassador is aware, as follows:

"1. All cotton for which contracts of sale and freight engagements have already been made before the 2d of March is to be allowed free (or bought at contract price is stopped), provided the ship sails not later than the 31st of March.

"2. Similar treatment is to be accorded to all cotton insured before the 2d of March, provided it is put on board not later than the 16th of March.

"3. All shipments of cotton claiming the above protection are to be declared before sailing and the documents produced to and certificates obtained from consular officers or other authority fixed by the Government.

5. Considerable shipments of cotton have already been dealt with under this arrangement, and in certain cases the dates specified have been extended in favor of American shippers. The board of trade have already paid a sum exceeding £450,000 to various American claimants, and all claims are being and will continue to be paid as rapidly as they are presented and the proofs of title can be checked. If in some cases progress has been delayed, this has been due to the fact, which has seriously embarrassed His Majesty's Government, that a number of consignments, for which the American shippers had specifically invoked the protection of the arrangement, are now claimed by Swedish and Dutch firms, whose title of ownership, notwithstanding the action of the American shippers, appears in some cases to be valid, and in others has led to the issue of writs in the prize court.

6. It has been explicitly acknowledged by the special representatives of the American claimants, who have been in constant and direct communication with the board of trade, that all the claims so far submitted under the cotton arrangement have been settled with the utmost promptitude, so soon as the production of the necessary documents by the claimants allowed of this being done. There is at the present moment no claim before His Majesty's Government that has not been paid, and the sums so paid over are already considerably in excess of the amounts realized by the sale of the goods.

7. As regards the more general allegation of delay in dealing with cases of detained cargoes, the following facts and figures may be quoted:

The total number of vessels which, having cleared from United States ports since the initiation of the retaliatory measures against German trade, are still detained in United Kingdom ports is 27; of this number 8 are discharging cotton which His Majesty's Government has agreed to purchase under the above arrangement. Of the remaining 19 vessels, 7 are free to depart as soon as the items of their cargo placed in the prize court have been discharged. The other 12, of which 3 only are American ships, are detained pending inquiries as to suspicious consignments, and particulars as to the dates and approximate causes of detention are furnished in the accompanying list. It will be observed that 8 have been detained for a period of less than a week and 3 for a period of less than a fortnight, while the detention of 1 is due to the difficulties in regard to transit across Sweden and Russia.

8. His Majesty's Government remain convinced that, on an impartial review of the facts, it will be admitted that no arbitrary interference with American interests has, in regard to cotton cargoes, occurred; while, if due regard be paid to the enormous volume of American and neutral shipping which is continually engaged in the trans-Atlantic trade, the figures and dates quoted in the preceding paragraph will emphasize the restricted nature of any interference which has taken place and the close attention with which the officials concerned have adhered to their instructions to act in all cases with expedition and with every possible consideration for neutrals.

9. Since His Majesty's Government have been compelled to adopt their present measures against German commerce, they have given special consideration to the question of avoiding as far as possible unnecessary damage to the interests of neutrals in regard to the export of goods of German origin, and here, again, liberal concessions have been made to United States citizens. Under the rules enacted on the 11th of March provision is made for the investigation of all neutral claims respecting such goods in the prize court, and it is obvious that these claims can receive due and equitable consideration most properly before a judicial tribunal. Nevertheless, in deference to the express desire of the United States Government, arrangements were made toward the end of March whereby United States citizens, who might desire to import goods of German origin via a neutral port, were enabled to produce proof of payment to His Majesty's Embassy at Washington. If such proof were deemed satisfactory, His Majesty's Government gave an undertaking that the goods concerned should not be interfered with in transit, and the American importer was freed from the necessity of submitting his claim to the prize court in London for adjudication. A few days later His Majesty's Government further agreed to recognize the neutral ownership of goods of enemy origin even if not paid for before the 1st March, provided they were the subject of a f. o. b. contract of earlier date, and had arrived at a neutral port before the 15th March.

10. Special treatment has also been accorded to cargoes of particular produce destined for the United States and stated to be indispensable for the industries of the country, and in notes addressed to the United States ambassador in April and May, undertakings were given not to interfere during transit with certain cargoes of dyestuffs, potash, and German beet seed.

11. When it became apparent that large quantities of enemy goods were still passing out through neutral countries His Majesty's Government felt it necessary to fix a definite date after which such shipments must cease to enjoy the special immunity, theretofore granted, from liability to being placed in the prize court. It had been observed that a large increase had taken place in the number of vessels sailing from neutral countries to America, and one of the principal lines of steamships advertised a daily in place of a weekly service. In such circumstances it appeared scarcely possible that goods of enemy origin bought and paid for prior to the 1st March should not have already been shipped to their destination. First June was accordingly fixed as the date after which the privilege allowed in the case of such shipments should cease; but once more a special favor was granted by extending the date in exceptional cases to the 15th June.

12. Importers in the United States having now had three months in which to clear off their purchases in enemy territory, His Majesty's Government trust that, in presence of the circumstances enumerated, the United States Government will acknowledge the great consideration which has been shown to American interests.

13. Nevertheless a fresh appeal has now been made to His Majesty's Government that shipments of American-owned goods of enemy origin, if paid for before the beginning of March, should be allowed to be shipped without molestation after the 15th June. The appeal is based principally upon the contentions, (a) that insufficient time has already elapsed; (b) that no mention of a time limit is made in the enactment of the 11th March; (c) that the proofs of ownership required by His Majesty's Government are of an exacting nature and involve much time for preparation.

14. The first contention (a) has already been dealt with. As regards (b) and (c) it is true that the enactment of the 11th March contains no mention of a time limit. But it seems to be overlooked that the time limit had been fixed only for the special immunity granted as an exception from that enactment. It was as a friendly concession to American interests that His Majesty's Government agreed to an investigation of claims outside the prize court. As for the exacting nature of the proofs required by His Majesty's Government, experience has shown that such proofs were necessary.

15. In deference, however, to the renewed representations of the United States Ambassador, His Majesty's Government have given further directions that in all such cases, as may have been specially submitted through the British Embassy at Washington or to His Majesty's Government direct on or before June 15 and passed, the goods shall be allowed to proceed without interference, if shipped from a neutral port on the conditions already laid down, notwithstanding the fact that shipment may not have been made before June 15.

16. His Majesty's Government will also be prepared hereafter to give special consideration to cases presented to them and involving particular hardships, if the goods concerned are required for neutral Governments or municipalities, or in respect of works or public utility, and where payment can be shown to have been made before March 1, 1915.

17. With the above exceptions, His Majesty's Government regret they can not continue to deal through the diplomatic channel with individual cases, but they would again point out that special provision is made for the consideration of such cases in the prize court.

18. Complaints have not infrequently been made that undue delay occurs in dealing with American cargoes in the prize court. An interesting comment on this subject was made by the president of the prize court in the case of the cargo ex-steamship *Ogeechee* on the 14th instant. His lordship, according to the transcript from the official shorthand writer's notes, made the following observations:

"It is a very extraordinary thing that, when the Crown are ready to go on the claimants come here and say, 'We can not proceed for six weeks.' Some day toward the end of the last term I had a row of eminent counsel in front pressing me to fix a case at once. I fixed it very nearly at once—that is to say, the second day of the following term. They all came and said, 'We want an adjournment for six weeks.'"

19. The solicitor general hereupon remarked: "If I might say so on that, one of the reasons I applied to-day on behalf of the Crown that the matter should be dealt with as soon as possible is for that very reason. There has been such a strong desire on the part of America and American citizens that there should be no delay, but one finds, in fact, the delay comes from there."

20. The President then stated: "I know that. I do not know what the explanation is, but I am anxious that there should be no delay."

21. It is true that a number of cases, principally relating to cargoes which, though ostensibly consigned to a person in a neutral country, are in reality believed to be destined for the enemy, have been pending in the prize court for some time. The United States Government is aware that most of these cargoes consist of meat and lard, and that much of the delay in bringing these cargoes to adjudication was due to the fact that negotiations were being carried on for many weeks with a representative of the principal American meat packers for an amicable settlement out of court. When at length, owing to the failure of the negotiations, His Majesty's Government decided that they would continue the prize-court proceedings and had at the request of the claimants fixed the earliest possible date for the hearing, counsel for the latter asked for an adjournment in their interests, despite the fact that the Crown was, by his own admission, ready to proceed.

22. His Majesty's Government are earnestly desirous of removing all causes of avoidable delay in dealing with American cargoes and vessels which may be detained, and any specific inquiries or representations which may be made by the United States Government in regard to particular cases will always receive the most careful consideration, and all information which can be afforded without prejudice to prize-court proceedings will be readily communicated, but they can scarcely admit that on the basis of actual facts any substantial grievance on the part of American citizens is justified or can be sustained, and they therefore confidently appeal to the opinion of the United States Government as enlightened by this memorandum. (The New York Times, June 25, 1915.)

34. On July 14, 1915, our Government addressed a note declaring its intention to insist upon respect for international law in time of war:

Summary of American "caveat," July 14, 1915, against British prize-court procedure.

(The Secretary of State to the American ambassador at London.)

In view of differences which are understood to exist between the two Governments as to the principles of law applicable in prize-court proceedings in cases involving American interests, and in order to avoid any misunderstanding as to the attitude of the United States in regard to such proceedings, you are instructed to inform the British Government that, in so far as the interests of American citizens are concerned, the Government of the United States will insist upon their rights under the principles and rules of international law, as hitherto established, governing neutral trade in time of war, without limitation or impairment by orders in council or other municipal legislation by the British Government, and will not recognize the validity of prize-court proceedings taken under restraints imposed by British municipal law in derogation of the rights of American citizens under international law. (The New York Times, Aug. 4, 1915.)

The case of the seizure of the *Neches* called forth the following:

Paraphrase of American note, July 15, 1915, protesting against the seizure of the cargo of the *Neches*.

(The Secretary of State to the American amdassador at London.)

Ambassador Page is informed that it has been brought to the attention of the department that the steamship *Neches*, of American register, sailing from Rotterdam for the United States, carrying a general cargo, after being detained at the Downs, was brought to London, where it was required by the British authorities to discharge cargo, the property of American citizens.

It appears that the ground advanced to sustain this action is that the goods originated, in part at least, in Belgium, and fall, therefore, within the provisions of paragraph 4 of the order in council of March 11, which stipulates that every merchant vessel sailing from a port other than a German port, carrying goods of enemy origin, may be required to discharge such goods in a British or allied port.

Ambassador Page is instructed in this case to reiterate the position of the Government of the United States as set forth in the department's instruction of March 30, 1915, with respect to the order in council mentioned, the international invalidity of which the Government of the United States regards as plainly illustrated by the present instance of the seizure of American-owned goods passing from the neutral port of Rotterdam to a neutral port of the United States, merely because the goods came originally from territory in the possession of an enemy of Great Britain.

Mr. Page is also instructed to inform the foreign office that the legality of this seizure can not be admitted and that, in the view of the Government of the United States, it violates the right of the citizens of one neutral to trade with those of another, as well as with those of belligerents, except in contraband or in violation of a legal blockade of an enemy seaport; and that the right of American owners of goods to bring them out of Holland, in due course, in neutral ships must be insisted upon by the United States, even though such goods may have come originally from the territories of enemies of Great Britain. He is directed further to insist upon the desire of this Government that goods taken from the *Neches*, which are the property of American citizens, should be expeditiously released to be forwarded to their destination, and to request that he be advised of the British Government's intended course in this matter at the earliest moment convenient to that Government. (The New York Times, Aug. 4, 1915.)

On July 31 the British Government replied to our protest against the seizure of the *Neches:*

(The New York Times, Aug. 4, 1915.)

(The secretary of state for foreign affairs to the American ambassador.)

The note which your excellency addressed to me on the 17th instant respecting the detention of the cargo of the steamship *Neches* has, I need hardly say, received the careful attention of His Majesty's Government.

The note which I had the honor to send to your excellency on the 23d instant has already explained the view of His Majesty's Government on the legal aspect of the question, though it was prepared before your excellency's communication of the 17th had been received, and, pending consideration by the Government of the United States of the views and arguments set forth in the British note of the 23d, it is unnecessary for me to say more on the question of right or of law.

There is, however, one general observation that seems relevant to the note from your excellency respecting the cargo of the *Neches*.

It is the practice of the German Government, in the waters through which the *Neches* was passing, to sink neutrals as well as British merchant vessels, irrespective of the destination of the vessel or origin of the cargo, and without proper regard or provision for the safety of passengers or crews, many of whom have lost their lives in consequence. There can be no question that this action is contrary to the recognized and settled rules of international law, as well as to the principles of humanity.

His Majesty's Government, on the other hand, have adhered to the rule of visit and search, and have observed the obligation to bring into port and submit to a prize court any ships or cargoes with regard to which they think they have a good case for detention or for condemnation as contraband.

His Majesty's Government are not aware, except from the published correspondence between the United States and Germany, to what extent reparation has been claimed from Germany by neutrals for loss of ships, lives, and cargoes, nor how far these acts have been the subject even of protest by the neutral Governments concerned.

While those acts of the German Government continue, it seems neither reasonable nor just that His Majesty's Government should be pressed to abandon the rights claimed in the British note of the 23d and to allow goods from Germany to pass freely through waters effectively patroled by British ships of war.

If, however, it be alleged that, in particular cases and special circumstances, hardships may be inflicted on citizens of neutral countries, His Majesty's Government are ready in such cases to examine the facts in a spirit of consideration for the interest of neutrals, and in this spirit they are prepared to deal with the cargo of the *Neches*, to which your excellency has called attention, if it is held that the particular circumstances of this case fall within this category.

[I have, etc., E. GREY.]

35. On the last day of July the British made reply to the "caveat" of July 14:

(The New York Times, Aug. 5, 1915.)

(The secretary of state for foreign affairs to the American ambassador.)

YOUR EXCELLENCY: (1) I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the note dated 16th instant, in which you were good enough to communicate to me for the information of His Majesty's Government the opinion held by the Government of the United States that, in view of differences which they understand to exist between the two countries as to the principles of law applicable in cases before the prize court, they could not recognize the validity of proceedings taken in His Majesty's prize court in derogation of the rights of citizens of the United States.

(2) I do not understand to what divergence of views as to the principles of law applicable in cases before the prize court the Government of the United States refers, for I am not aware of any differences existing between the two countries as to the principles of law applicable in cases before such courts.

(3) British prize courts, according to the ancient form of commission under which they sit, are to determine cases which come before them according to the course of admiralty and the law of nations and the statutes of rules and regulations for the time being in force in that behalf.

As to the principles applied by the American prize courts, I note that in the case of the *Amy Warwick* (2 Sprague, 123) it was held that prize courts are subject to the instructions of their own sovereign. In the absence of such instructions their jurisdiction and rules of decision are to be ascertained by reference to the known powers of such tribunals and the principles by which they are governed under the public law and the practice of nations. It would appear, therefore, that the principles applied by the prize courts of the two countries are identical.

(4) As illustrating further the attitude adopted by the judges of British prize courts toward these two sources of law, the municipal legislation of its sovereign on the one hand and the principles of international law on the other, I should like to refer your excellency to a classical passage in the judgment of Lord Stowell, in the case of the *Fox*, in which that famous judge observed in the course of the discussion:

"A question has been stated: What would be the duty of the court under orders in council that were repugnant to the law of nations? It has been contended on one side that the court would, at all events, be bound to enforce the orders in council, on the other that the court would be bound to apply the rule of the law of nations adapted to the particular case, in disregard of the orders in council.

"This court is bound to administer the law of nations to the subjects of other countries in the different relations in which they may be placed toward this country and its Government. That is what others have a right to demand for their subjects, and to complain if they receive it not. This is its unwritten law, evidenced in the course of its decisions and collected from the common usage of civilized States. At the same time it is strictly true that by the constitution of this country the King in council possesses legislative rights over this court and has power to issue orders and instructions which it is bound to obey and enforce; and these constitute the written law of this court.

"These two propositions, that the court is bound to administer the law of nations and that it is bound to enforce the King's orders in council, are not at all inconsistent with each other, because these orders and instructions are presumed to conform themselves, under the given circumstances, to the principles of its unwritten law. They are either directory applications of those principles to the cases indicated in them—cases which, with all the facts and circumstances belonging to them and which constitute their legal character, could be but imperfectly known to the court itself; or they are positive regulations, consistent with these principles, applying to matters which require more exact and definite rules than those general principles are capable of furnishing.

"The constitution of this court, relatively to the legislative power of the King in council, is analogous to that of the courts of common law relatively to that of the Parliament of this Kingdom. These courts have their unwritten law, the approved reasons, principles of natural reason and justice; they have likewise the written or statute law in acts of Parliament, which are directory applications of the same principles to particular subjects or positive regulations consistent with them upon matters which would remain too much at large if they were left to the imperfect information which the courts could extract from mere general speculations.

"What would be the duty of the individuals who preside in these courts if required to enforce an act of Parliament which contradicted those principles is a question which, I presume, they would not entertain a priori because they will not entertain a priori the supposition that any such will arise. In like manner this court will not let itself loose into speculations as to what would be its duty under such an emergency; because it can not, without extreme indecency, presume that any such emergency will happen. And it is the less disposed to entertain them because its own observation and experience attest the general conformity of such orders and instructions to its principles of unwritten law."

(5) The above passage has recently been quoted and adopted by the president of the prize court in the case of the *Zamora*, in which Sir S. Evans said: "I make bold to express the hope and belief that the nations of the world need not be apprehensive that orders in council will emanate from the Government of this country in such violation of the acknowledged laws of nations that it is conceivable that our prize tribunals, holding the law of nations in reverence, would be called upon to disregard and refuse obedience to the provisions of such orders."

(6) In the note which I handed to your excellency on the 23d of July, I endeavored to convince the Government of the United States, and I trust with success, that the measures that we have felt ourselves compelled to adopt, in consequence of the numerous acts committed by our enemies in violation of the laws of war and the dictates of humanity, are consistent with the principles of international law. The legality of these measures has not yet formed the subject of a decision of the prize court; but I wish to take this opportunity of reminding your excellency that it is open to any United States citizen whose claim is before the prize court to contend that any order in council which may affect his claim is inconsistent with the principles of international law, and is, therefore, not binding upon the court. If the prize court declines to accept his contentions, and if, after such a decision has been upheld on appeal by the judicial committee of His Majesty's privy council the Government of the United States of America consider that there is serious ground for holding that the decision is incorrect and infringes the rights of their citizens, it is open to them to claim that it should be subjected to review by an international tribunal.

(7) This principle, that the decisions of the national prize courts may properly be subjected to international review, was conceded by Great Britain in article 7 of the Jay treaty of 1793 and by the United States of America under the treaty of Washington of 1871. Your excellency will no doubt remember that certain cases (collectively known as the "Matamoros cases") were submitted to the commission established under articles 12–17 of the treaty of Washington. In each of these cases proceedings in prize had been instituted in the prize courts of the United States, and in each case the judgment of the Supreme Court, the court of last resort in cases of prizes, had been obtained. The United States filed a demurrer in these cases, alleging that, as they had been heard by the prize courts of the United States of original and appellate jurisdiction, the decision of the appellate court was final, and no claim based upon it could be made before the commission. The demurrer was unanimously overruled and the cases heard, and the agent of the United States, in his reports of the proceedings of the commission, stated that he, personally, maintained no doubt of the jurisdiction of the commission as an international tribunal to review the decisions of the prize courts of the United States where the parties alleging themselves aggrieved had prosecuted their claims by appeals to the court of last resort; as this jurisdiction, however, had been sometimes questioned, he deemed it desirable that a formal adjudication by the commission should be held upon this question.

(8) The same principle was accepted both by the United States Government and His Majesty's Government in 1907 in connection with the proposed establishment of an international prize court, although certain constitutional difficulties have led the United States Government to propose that the right of recourse to the international prize court in connection with a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States should take the form of a direct claim for compensation.

(9) It is clear, therefore, that both the United States Government and His Majesty's Government have adopted the principle that the decisions of a national prize court may be open to review if it is held in the prize court and in the judicial committee of the privy council, on appeal, that the orders and instructions issued by His Majesty's Government in matters relating to prize are in harmony with the principles of international law; and, should the Government of the United States unfortunately feel compelled to maintain a contrary view, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to concert with the United States Government in order to decide upon the best way of applying the above principle to the situation which would then have arisen. I trust, however, that the defense of our action, which I have already communicated to your excellency, and the willingness of His Majesty's Government (which has been shown in so many instances) to make reasonable concessions to American interests, will prevent the necessity for such action arising.

(10) In any case I trust that the explanations given above will remove the misapprehension under which I can not but feel the Government of the United States are laboring as to the principles applied by British prize courts in dealing with the cases which come before them.

I have, etc.,

E. GREY.

On the 18th of August England, after frequent declarations against declaring cotton contraband, included it in the list by the following proclamation:

(The New York Times, Aug. 18, 1915.)

British proclamation, August 21, 1915, declaring cotton contraband of war:

Now, therefore, we do hereby declare, by and with the advice of our privy council, that during the continuance of the war, or until we do give further public notice, the following articles will be treated as absolutely contraband, in addition to those set out in our royal proclamation aforementioned: Raw cotton, cotton linters, cotton waste, and cotton yarn.

And we do hereby further declare that this our royal proclamation shall take effect from the date of its publication in the London Gazette. (The New York Times, Aug. 22, 1915.)

The following communication was to clear up an alleged misunderstanding over the *Neches:*

NOTE VERBALE FROM THE BRITISH EMBASSY.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
Washington, August 6, 1915.

Comments have reached His Majesty's Government from various quarters that a misapprehension seems to have arisen with regard to the British note of July 31 concerning the steamer *Neches*, which it was asserted had been interpreted as stating that the cargo of the vessel had been seized as a reprisal measure against Germany's submarine policy.

Sir Edward Grey has requested me to explain that the misunderstanding arises no doubt from the brevity of the note. The note admits no illegality of procedure. The seizure was not meant in the nature of a reprisal but was based solely on the British contention of the absolute legality of the Orders in Council as explained in the note of July 23, to which the *Neches* note refers.

It is also explained that in stating that the British Government does not yet know what steps neutrals have taken against German submarine policy, no reference was intended to the action of the United States Government but to other neutrals, who have lost more ships than the United States but of whose action nothing is known by the British Government.

It should be further explained that in making reference to the German submarine policy the British Government only desired to point out that from its standpoint it was hardly just or reasonable that it should be asked by neutrals to abandon any of its legal rights while Germany commits illegalities both on Great Britain and on neutrals, though it is admitted and regretted that interference with German trade however legal may be inconvenient to neutrals.

39. One of the stock claims of the British right to blockade neutral ports was the increased exportation as proof of reexport to Germany. The following communication is pertinent:

[Memorandum.]

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
London, June 3, 1915.

The American ambassador presents his compliments to His Majesty's secretary of state for foreign affairs and has the honor to acquaint him that he is in receipt of a communication from the consul general in London, in which he requests that he may be informed regarding the amount of raw cocoa and preparations of cocoa exported from Great Britain to Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Italy during the four months ending April 30, 1915, as compared with the same perior of 1914 and 1913. Mr. Page ventures to hope that should no inconvenience be found in so doing, Sir Edward Grey may be so good as to cause him to be furnished with the desired information in this connection.

THE BRITISH SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO AMBASSADOR PAGE.

FOREIGN OFFICE, *August 13, 1915.*

YOUR EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to refer to the memorandum which you were good enough to communicate on the 3d June last, in which you informed me of the desire of the United States consul general in London to be furnished with figures showing the amount of raw cocoa and preparations of cocoa exported from Great Britain to Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Italy during the four months ending April 30, 1915, as compared with the same period in 1914 and 1913. Your excellency will remember that I had the honor to communicate to you tabular statement of these figures on the 16th ultimo.

His Majesty's ambassador at Washington reported on the 22d July that the acting counselor of the State Department had referred in conversation to the unfavorable impression created at Washington by reports as to the increase in British exports to northern European neutral ports since the outbreak of war received from Mr. Consul General Skinner, these reports having given figures showing increases in the British exports of some commodities to those countries. I am therefore communicating to Sir C. Spring-Rice statistics showing what the exports of the United Kingdom were in comparison with those of the United States during the first five months of this year, in order that this impression may be removed as soon as possible; but as I hear that statements, no doubt inspired by German agents, are being circulated in America to the effect that His Majesty's Government are trying to stop the legitimate trade of the United States with neutral countries in order to capture the trade for the British Empire, and are therefore allowing goods to be exported from the United Kingdom which they have not allowed to be imported into the same countries from the United States, I think it well to inform your excellency immediately of the true state of the case, and with this view to invite attention to the following data and figures:

The increased reexport of cotton from the United Kingdom to Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and the Netherlands during the months of January to May, 1915, as compared with the same period in 1914, amounted to 503,995 centals of 100 pounds. The United States exported to the four countries mentioned during this period in 1915 as much as 3,353,638 centals, as compared with 204.177 centals during January to May, 1914, an increase of 3,149,461 centals, or six times the increase in the export of cotton from the United Kingdom.

The above figures for the United Kingdom are taken from the official customs returns; those for the United States have been carefully compiled by the war trade department from the manifests of those ves-

sels which actually arrived with cargo from the United States in Scandinavian and Dutch ports during the five months, February to June, 1915, as compared with five-twelfths of the total recorded exports from the United States to those countries in the year ended June 30, 1914. It has been necessary to adopt this method, as the Monthly Summary of Foreign Commerce, issued by the United States Government, gives very few details with regard to American trade with those countries. It is evident that some shipments must have taken place from the United States to Scandinavia and the Netherlands which could not come within the scope of even the most circumstantial compilation of statistics drawn up from the manifests of examined ships alone, and I would therefore lay particular stress on the fact that the figures thus obtained by the war trade department are necessarily understatements of the total amounts actually shipped. But even from the figures thus obtained it is possible to show conclusively how much greater the increases in the American exports to Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands have been than those of Great Britain during the first five months of this year, not only in the case of cotton but in that of almost every other important commodity.

Reexports of rubber from the United Kingdom to Scandinavia and the Netherlands declined from 17,727 centals of 100 pounds in January–May, 1914, to 16,693 centals in January–May, 1915; on the other hand, exports of rubber from the United States to the same destinations increased from 1,579 centals to 5,040 centals. Larger reexports of rubber to the United States from this country have indeed taken place, but all other reexports of rubber have declined during this period, as the following figures show:

United Kingdom—Reexports of rubber.

	Centals of 100 pounds.		
	January–May, 1914.	January–May, 1915.	Increase in 1915 over 1914.
To all destinations	553,864	667,509	[1]113,645
Of which to United States	248,435	418,619	[2]170,184

[1] Or 20.5 per cent. [2] Or 68.6 per cent.

It will, therefore, be seen that this country has actually been supplying more rubber to the United States at the expense of other neutrals, while American exporters have taken advantage of this to ship increased quantities of rubber to Scandinavia and the Netherlands.

In the case of lubricating oils, the increase of United Kingdom exports to Scandinavia and Holland was 703,370 gallons; the increase of the United States exports during the same five months was 3,857,593 gallons, being five times as great as the British increase.

The increase in the reexports of unmanufactured tobacco from the United Kingdom to the same countries and over the same period was 2,937,244 pounds; the corresponding United States increase was 6,081,848 pounds. The British increase is mainly due to the diversion of tobacco grown in the British Dominions from continental to United Kingdom ports. The reexports of manufactured tobacco from the United Kingdom have actually declined, while exports of this commodity from the United States to Scandinavia and the Netherlands have hitherto been relatively insignificant. It is therefore altogether improbable that the United States can have lost trade in tobacco in consequence of the measures taken by His Majesty's Government.

United Kingdom reexports of cocoa have risen from 2,976,143 pounds in January–May, 1914, to 14,504,013 pounds in January–May, 1915, an increase, in round numbers, of 11,500,000. Exports from the United States for the same months have risen from 12,300 pounds in 1914 to 16,016,000 pounds in 1915, an increase of 16,000,000. These figures speak for themselves.

In the first five months of 1914 the United Kingdom reexports of coffee to the same countries amounted to 80,407 hundredweight, and the exports from the United States to 7,376 hundredweight. In the corresponding five months of 1915 the United Kingdom reexports were 263,488 hundredweight, while the imports from the United States were 285,760 hundredweight, showing that the United States exports, which were formerly much less, are now greater than those of the United Kingdom.

In the case of rice, the increased reexport from the United Kingdom, which amounted to 193,458 hundredweight for the period under review, was entirely due to the diversion to the United Kingdom ports of the large trade in Indian rice formerly carried on through Hamburg and other continental ports. The exports from the United States have increased from 262 hundredweight in January–May, 1914, to 27,800 hundredweight in January–May, 1915, an increase of 27,538 hundredweight.

The United Kingdom increase in the export of wheat flour to Scandinavia and the Netherlands during January–May, 1915, compared with 1914, was 47,045 hundredweight; the United States increase was 2,555,593 hundredweight for the same period.

For the same period the United Kingdom increase in the export of barley to Scandinavia and the Netherlands was 249,512 hundredweight; the United States increase, 2,016,892 hundredweight.

I could point to many other instances of similar proportionate increases in the exports of the United States to Scandinavia and the Netherlands as compared with exports to the same countries from the United Kingdom during the last five months. In respect to the great majority of articles for which figures of United States trade can be given the increases in this trade are greater, and in some cases very considerably greater, than the increases in the United Kingdom trade.

In many cases increases in United Kingdom reexports are due to the fact that the products of British Indian and colonial products which formerly went direct to continental ports, such as Hamburg, Rotterdam, or Copenhagen, are now sent to the United Kingdom and thence distributed to old customers in Scandinavia and the Netherlands. Among such may be mentioned pepper, cinnamon, and other spices (largely the product of the British East Indies), Indian tea, palm kernels (mainly from British West Africa), and copra (mainly from the Straits Settlements and Australia). The direct trade of British overseas Dominions with the port of Hamburg alone is very great in normal times.

In many other instances our reexport trade for the first five months of this year shows a large decline. The following statement gives a few examples of such decreases in reexports from the United Kingdom to all destinations:

		1915 (5 months).	1914 (5 months).
Tallow, unrefined	hundredweight	190,179	378,925
Quicksilver	pounds	258,075	784,650
Machinery:			
Agricultural	tons	163	8,396
Sewing machines	No.	853	6,681
Cotton waste	pounds	205,960	469,235
Carpet and carpet rugs	square yards	58,161	181,105
Silk, thrown	pounds	656	15,582
Beef, chilled	hundredweight	3,262	274,151
Meat, preserved	do	19,531	61,009
Butter	do	19,253	66,340
Bananas	bunches	127,217	258,319
Hemp	tons	19,399	25,674
Palm oil	hundredweight	177,529	382,513
Gas oil	gallons	9,809	241,724
Fuel oil	do	169,884	515,170

Everything in the statistics I have quoted tends to show that the mercantile community of the United States has made profits proportionately equal to or greater than those of the mercantile community of Great Britain in respect to all those demands which have inevitably arisen in Scandinavia and the Netherlands as a consequence of the closing of German ports. The total volume of the trade of the United States with these countries has increased 300 per cent, as Your Excellency will see from the accompanying table, taken from the United States official Monthly Summary of Foreign Commerce, which shows the comparative value of the total exports of the United States to Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands during the first five months of 1914 and 1915. The value of the total increase in those exports during this period amounted to $145,658,000.

I have, etc.,

E. GREY.

Value of United States exports.

To—	In January–May, 1914.	In January–May, 1915.	Increase in 1915 over 1914.
Norway	$3,679,000	$22,478,000	$18,799,000
Sweden	5,875,000	52,217,000	46,342,000
Denmark	6,421,000	41,321,000	34,900,000
Netherlands	44,114,000	89,731,000	45,617,000
Total	60,089,000	205,747,000	145,658,000

The same question was the subject of a British memorandum covering the items of seizure of cargoes of meats consigned to Copenhagen sent from Chicago:

[Memorandum from the British Embassy (received at the Department of State Oct. 12, 1915).]

BRITISH EMBASSY, *Washington.*

It has been frequently suggested and sometimes actually asserted that the seizure of the cargoes consigned by the meat packers of Chicago to Copenhagen and other Scandinavian ports in the four ships which were the subject of the recent proceedings in the prize court and in the other ships in regard to which these negotiations have taken place, was a seizure effected under orders in council the validity of which is disputed by the Government of the United States, the implication being that in some way these cargoes were seized under the order in council of March 11, 1915. It seems hardly necessary to point out that this was not so. The cargoes were seized for the greater part long before March, 1915, and the ground for the seizure was that they were conditional contraband destined from the first by the packers who shipped them largely for the use of the armies, navies, and government departments of Germany and Austria, and only sent to neutral ports with the object of concealing their true destination. This is a ground for seizure which has been asserted and upheld by none more strongly than American courts and the leading American authorities on international law for over 50 years. That foodstuffs on a ship bound for enemy territory may be seized and condemned if there can be shown to be (in the words of Lord Stowell) a "highly probable" destination for military or naval use has long been a universally recognized and admitted principle of international law, and it was the American courts which first insisted upon the further principle that if that destination is shown it does not matter that the goods were found upon a ship sailing to a neutral port. In the application of this doctrine—the doctrine of continuous voyage—the British Government had acquiesced at the time of the American Civil War, and the circumstances of modern warfare, the development of international trade, and the increase in the rapidity of and the facilities for transport both by land and sea have made the doctrine the more reasonable and indeed essential if a belligerent is to be allowed to exercise at all his undoubted right of interrupting the supply of foodstuffs to his enemy's military and naval forces.

At the outbreak of the present war and up to the time when the German methods of warfare had by their reckless disregard of all the principles of law hitherto recognized and all the dictates of ordinary humanity made it necessary to adopt by way of retaliation measures calculated to cut off all German trade it was open to neutrals to continue to supply the civil population of that country openly by consignments to named merchants and dealers in Germany, and if that course had been adopted the case would have assumed a very different complexion, and it would then have been no doubt for the British Government to establish that the consignees in fact were known to be engaged in supplying the German Government. This, however, was not the course adopted by the Chicago packers. Vast quantities of lard, meat, bacon, and oils, far in excess of any possible requirements of the Scandinavian countries, were shipped to Copenhagen in part to named consignees but for the greater part to the packers' own agents or their order, and it was from the first claimed that all these consignments were shipped on or with a view to bona fide sales to neutrals. From the evidence, how-

ever, of cablegrams and letters in the possession of the British Government, which were ultimately produced in court, it was clear that the packers' agents in these neutral countries and also several of the consignees, who purported to be genuine neutral buyers, were merely persons engaged by the packers on commission or sent by the packers from their German branches for the purpose of insuring the immediate transit of these consignments to Germany. The whole scheme was disclosed in a series of letters from a Hamburg correspondent of Messrs. Cudahy, who was obviously in touch with the representatives in Hamburg and Rotterdam of practically all the packers. Agents and managers were sent from Germany to Copenhagen, where they established themselves in hotels. Two of these agents formed themselves into a Danish importing company, who had an enormous trade; the importance was emphasized of using the names of persons already in the provision trade; neutrals were induced for a consideration to lend their names as pretended consignees; careful instructions were given as to the names to be inserted in the bills of lading and other documents; and these agents kept the packers informed from time to time as to the prohibitions against export in the various neutral countries and as to the ports (including Genoa) to which it was most desirable to ship the goods. Some agents were found, on special instructions, to be moving about from place to place in Europe; and in one case the name of a German agent was in the cables changed to the innocent name of "Davis" when it was discovered that the original name was regarded as suspicious by the British censorship. The telegram showed orders given from Rotterdam for delivery to Copenhagen and Scandinavian ports, from Copenhagen for delivery to Swedish and Norwegian ports, and from Rotterdam and Copenhagen for delivery to Genoa; so that it obviously mattered little what the port of delivery was so long as it was conveniently situated for transit to Germany. Offers were, on special instructions, made in German currency for the convenience, obviously, of German buyers. There were clear indications of consultation with the packers' German houses as to the ports to which goods should be sent. A special cable code was invented, as to which, however, nothing more was disclosed than that "Arnhem" meant "ship to Copenhagen." Special and hastily devised arrangements were made for payment by the establishing of large credits in Scandinavian banks, arrangements which from the urgency of the cables connected with them were obviously no part of the ordinary course of the packers' business, and in some cases there were payments which clearly came directly or indirectly from Germany and from the Deutsche Bank. Indeed, it was stated to Messrs. Cudahy by their Hamburg correspondent that German bankers had evidently accumulated large balances in New York, Rotterdam, and Copenhagen; and as to the object of this there could be no doubt. There were indications sometimes of insurance of the goods in Germany, sometimes of precautions taken to insure in other than German companies; but, with a few unimportant exceptions, no insurance policies were produced. The Holland-America Line was seen to be refusing the packers' shipments, for it required a guarantee against reexport to Germany, which they could not give; and at an early stage the line was approached with a proposal that it should for the convenience and greater safety of the packers transfer some of its vessels to the American flag, a proposal to which it declined to accede. The consequence was that a special line was formed to engage in this trade. In spite of all this the pretense was stoutly kept up to the end that the whole business was bona fide neutral trade and that the packers had no interest beyond that of selling and consigning to neutral buyers, and it was not till the actual trial that the admission was made on behalf of some of them that a large part of the goods was probably intended to go through to Germany. And there were strong indications that it was not merely a civilian German destination which was contemplated. The German ports to which the goods were going, Hamburg, Lubeck, and Stettin, were all military or naval depots and headquarters of troops; the fat bacon, besides being of value for army rations, was, as the British Government were informed, in such demand in Germany as being the raw material of glycerine, which is the most important constituent of explosives. The meat was packed suitably for army use, and, indeed, the case of the smoked bacon and Armour's tinned boiled beef was of the kind supplied or offered to the British Army, and on the case put forward by the packers it was necessary to imagine that while engaged in supplying the armies of Great Britain, France, and Russia they had by some explicable oversight omitted to turn their attention to the opportunities for enormous profits offered by Germany and Austria. Messrs. Cudahy's Hamburg correspondent expressly stated with regard to the cargo on the four ships whose cases were tried that this information was that most of the goods had long ago been sold to Germany. He reported that Messrs. Morris's German agent was skeptical about the release of the *Alfred Nobel* cargo, as it was "too open-faced a case of the lard being intended for Germany," and that apparently this same German agent had suggested that the packers should make "a big noise" in the American press, and that the picture drawn in these frank communications was one of German agents eagerly awaiting the release of their goods and calculating the prospects of their being promptly passed through Danish and Scandinavian ports to Germany. Yet, in spite of all this, the claim was put forward and firmly maintained to the end that everything that had been done was perfectly bona fide trade, but documents which could easily have been produced had this been true were never forthcoming.

With perhaps a few minor exceptions, the packers produced no contracts, no invoices, no insurance policies, and no checks or other proof of sale or payments; their affidavits were in the most general terms and were put in at the very last moment, some of them even after the trial had begun, and no attempt was made by any written or other evidence to explain away the damning evidence of the telegrams and letters disclosed by the Crown. The inference was clear and irresistible that no such attempt could be made, and that any written evidence there was would have merely confirmed the strong suspicion, amounting to a practical certainty, that the whole of the operations of shipment to Copenhagen and other neutral ports were a mere mask to cover a determined effort to transmit vast quantities of supplies through to the German and Austrian Armies. It is claimed, therefore, that the seizure of all the cargoes was amply justified by the facts known at the time, the facts subsequently discovered and disclosed, and the conduct of the packers throughout, and that the British Government required to call in aid nothing but the long-recognized and elementary principles of international law.

41. Frequently the question has been asked whether our country has ever declared officially that the British blockade was illegal. The Lansing note of October 21, 1915, so declared. In paragraph 33 of this document the strongest possible words are employed—"that the blockade upon which such methods are partly founded is ineffective, illegal, and indefensible."

The entire note is here inserted:

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO AMBASSADOR W. H. PAGE.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, October 21, 1915.

SIR: I desire that you present a note to Sir Edward Grey in the sense of the following:

(1) The Government of the United States has given careful consideration to your excellency's notes of January 7, February 10, June 22, July 23, July 31 (2), August 13, and to a note verbale of the British Embassy of August 6, relating to restrictions upon American commerce by certain measures adopted by the British Government during the present war. This Government has delayed answering the earlier of these notes in the hope that the announced purpose of His Majesty's Government "to exercise their belligerent rights with every possible consideration for the interest of neutrals" and their intention of "removing all causes of avoidable delay in dealing with American cargoes" and of causing "the least possible amount of inconvenience to persons engaged in legitimate trade," as well as their "assurances to the United States Government that they would make it their first aim to minimize the inconveniences" resulting from the "measures taken by the allied Governments," would in practice not unjustifiably infringe upon the neutral rights of American citizens engaged in trade and commerce. It is therefore a matter of regret that this hope has not been realized but that, on the contrary, interferences with American ships and cargoes destined in good faith to neutral ports and lawfully entitled to proceed have become increasingly vexatious, causing American shipowners and American merchants to complain to this Government of the failure to take steps to prevent an exercise of belligerent power in contravention of their just rights. As the measures complained of proceed directly from orders issued by the British Government, are executed by British authorities, and arouse a reasonable apprehension that if not resisted they may be carried to an extent even more injurious to American interests, this Government directs the attention of His Majesty's Government to the following considerations:

(2) Without commenting upon the statistics presented by His Majesty's Government to show that the export trade of the United States has increased in volume since the war began further than to point out that the comparative values fail to take into account the increased price of commodities resulting from a state of war or to make any allowance for the diminution in the volume of trade which the neutral countries in Europe previously had with the nations at war, a diminution which compelled them to buy in other markets, I will pass directly to the matters which constitute the specific complaints of this Government.

(3) First. The detentions of American vessels and cargoes which have taken place since the opening of hostilities have, it is presumed, been pursuant to the enforcement of the orders in council, which were issued on August 20 and October 29, 1914, and March 11, 1915, and relate to contraband traffic and to the interception of trade to and from Germany and Austria-Hungary. In practice these detentions have not been uniformly based on proofs obtained at the time of seizure, but many vessels have been detained while search was made for evidence of the contraband character of cargoes or of an intention to evade the noninter-course measures of Great Britain. The question, consequently, has been one of evidence to support a belief of—in many cases a bare suspicion of—enemy destination, or occasionally of enemy origin of the goods involved. Whether this evidence should be obtained by search at sea before the vessel or cargo is taken into port, and what the character of the evidence should be, which is necessary to justify the detention, are the points to which I direct your excellency's attention.

(4) In regard to search at sea an examination of the instructions issued to naval commanders of the United States, Great Britain, Russia, Japan, Spain, Germany, and France from 1888 to the beginning of the present war shows that search in port was not contemplated by the Government of any of these countries. On the contrary, the context of the respective instructions shows that search at sea was the procedure expected to be followed by the commanders. All of these instructions impress upon the naval officers the necessity of acting with the utmost moderation—and in some cases commanders are specifically instructed—in exercising the right of visit and search, to avoid undue deviation of the vessel from her course.

(5) An examination of the opinions of the most eminent text writers on the laws of nations shows that they give practically no consideration to the question of search in port, outside of examination in the course of regular prize-court proceedings.

(6) The assertion by His Majesty's Government that the position of the United States in relation to search at sea is inconsistent with its practice during the American Civil War is based upon a misconception. Irregularities there may have been at the beginning of that war, but a careful search of the records of this Government as to the practice of its commanders shows conclusively that there were no instances when vessels were brought into port for search prior to instituting prize court proceedings, or that captures were made upon other grounds than in the words of the American note of November 7, 1914, "evidence found on the ship under investigation and not upon circumstances ascertained from external sources." A copy of the instruction issued to American naval officers on August 18, 1862, for their guidance during the Civil War is appended.

(7) The British contention that "modern conditions" justify bringing vessels into port for search is based upon the size and seaworthiness of modern carriers of commerce and the difficulty of uncovering the real transaction in the intricate trade operations of the present day. It is believed that commercial transactions of the present time, hampered as they are by censorship of telegraph and postal communication on the part of belligerents, are essentially no more complex and disguised than in the wars of recent years, during which the practice of obtaining evi- vessels were brought into port for search prior to instituting prize-proceedings was not adopted. The effect of the size and seaworthiness of merchant vessels upon their search at sea has been submitted to a board of naval experts, which reports that—

"At no period in history has it been considered necessary to remove every package of a ship's cargo to establish the character and nature of her trade or the service on which she is bound, nor is such removal necessary. * * *

"The facilities for boarding and inspection of modern ships are in fact greater than in former times, and no difference, so far as the necessities of the case are concerned, can be seen between the search of a ship of 1,000 tons and one of 20,000 tons—except possibly a difference in time—for the purpose of establishing fully the character of her cargo and the nature of her service and destination. * * *

This method would be a direct aid to the belligerents concerned in that it would release a belligerent vessel overhauling the neutral from its duty of search and set it free for further belligerent operations."

(8) Turning to the character and sufficiency of the evidence of the contraband nature of shipments to warrant the detention of a suspected vessel or cargo for prize proceedings, it will be recalled that when a vessel is brought in for adjudication courts of prize have heretofore been bound by well-established and long-settled practice to consider at the first hearing only the ship's papers and documents, and the goods found on board, together with the written replies of the officers and seamen to standing interrogatories taken under oath, alone and separately, as soon as possible and without communication with or instruction by counsel, in order to avoid possibility of corruption and fraud.

(9) Additional evidence was not allowed to be introduced except upon an order of the court for "further proof," and then only after the cause had been fully heard upon the facts already in evidence or when this evidence furnished a ground for prosecuting the injury further. This was the practice of the United States courts during the War of 1812, the American Civil War, and the Spanish-American War, as is evidenced by the reported decisions of those courts, and has been the practice of the British prize courts for over a century. This practice has been changed by the British prize court rules adopted for the present war by the order in council of August 5. Under these new rules there is no longer a "first hearing" on the evidence derived from the ship, and the prize court is no longer precluded from receiving extrinsic evidence for which a suggestion has not been laid in the preparatory evidence. The result is, as pointed out above, that innocent vessels or cargoes are now seized and detained on mere suspicion while efforts are made to obtain evidence from extraneous sources to justify the detention and the commencement of prize proceedings. The effect of this new procedure is to subject traders to risk of loss, delay, and expense so great and so burdensome as practically to destroy much of the export trade of the United States to neutral countries of Europe.

(10) In order to place the responsibility for the delays of vessels and cargoes upon American claimants, the order in council of October 29, 1914, as pointed out in the British note of February 10, seeks to place the burden of proof as to the noncontraband character of the goods upon the claimant in cases where the goods are consigned "to order" or the consignee is not named or the consignee is within enemy territory. Without admitting that the onus probandi can rightfully be made to rest upon the claimant in these cases, it is sufficient for the purposes of this note to point out that the three classes of cases indicated in the order in council of October 29 apply to only a few of the many seizures or detentions which have actually been made by British authorities.

(11) The British contention that in the American Civil War the captor was allowed to establish enemy destination by "all the evidence at his disposal," citing the *Bermuda* case (3 Wall., 515), is not borne out by the facts of that case. The case of the *Bermuda* was one of "further proof," a proceeding not to determine whether the vessel should be detained and placed in a prize court, but whether the vessel, having been placed in prize court, should be restored or condemned. The same ruling was made in the case of the *Sir William Peel* (5 Wall., 517). These cases, therefore, can not be properly cited as supporting the course of a British captor in taking a vessel into port, there to obtain extrinsic evidence to justify him in detaining the vessel for prize proceedings.

(12) The further contention that the greatly increased imports of neutral countries adjoining Great Britain's enemies raise a presumption that certain commodities, such as cotton, rubber, and others more or less useful for military purposes, though destined for those countries, are intended for reexportation to the belligerents, who can not import them directly, and that this fact justifies the detention for the purpose of examination of all vessels bound for the ports of those neutral countries, notwithstanding the fact that most of the articles of trade have been placed on the embargo lists of those countries, can not be accepted as laying down a just or legal rule of evidence. Such a presumption is too remote from the facts and offers too great opportunity for abuse by the belligerent, who could, if the rule were adopted, entirely ignore neutral rights on the high seas and prey with impunity upon neutral commerce. To such a rule of legal presumption this Government can not accede, as it is opposed to those fundamental principles of justice which are the foundation of the jurisprudence of the United States and Great Britain.

(13) Before passing from the discussion of this contention as to the presumption raised by increased importations to neutral countries, this Government directs attention to the fact that His Majesty's Government admit that the British exports to those countries have also materially increased since the present war began. Thus Great Britain concededly shares in creating a condition which is relied upon as a sufficient ground to justify the interception of American goods destined to neutral European ports. If British exports to those ports should be still further increased, it is obvious that, under the rule of evidence contended for by the British Government, the presumption of enemy destination could be applied to a greater number of American cargoes, and American trade would suffer to the extent that British trade benefited by the increase. Great Britain can not expect the United States to submit to such manifest injustice or to permit the rights of its citizens to be so seriously impaired.

(14) When goods are clearly intended to become incorporated in the mass of merchandise for sale in a neutral country, it is an unwarranted and inquisitorial proceeding to detain shipments for examination as to whether those goods are ultimately destined for the enemy's country or use. Whatever may be the conjectural conclusions to be drawn from trade statistics, which, when stated by value, are of uncertain evidence as to quantity, the United States maintains the right to sell goods into the general stock of a neutral country, and denounces as illegal and unjustifiable any attempt of a belligerent to interfere with that right on the ground that it suspects that the previous supply of such goods in the neutral country, which the imports renew or replace, has been sold to an enemy. That is a matter with which the neutral vendor has no concern and which can in no way affect his rights of trade. Moreover, even if goods listed as conditional contraband are destined to an enemy country through a neutral country, that fact is not in itself sufficient to justify their seizure.

(15) In view of these considerations, the United States, reiterating its position in this matter, has no other course but to contest seizures of vessels at sea upon conjectural suspicion, and the practice of bringing them into port for the purpose, by search or otherwise, of obtaining evidence, for the purpose of justifying prize proceedings, of the carriage of contraband, or of breaches of the order in council of March 11. Relying upon the regard of the British Government for the principles of justice so frequently and uniformly manifested prior to the present war, this Government anticipates that the British Government will instruct their officers to refrain from these vexatious and illegal practices.

(16) Second. The Government of the United States further desires to direct particular attention to the so-called "blockade" measures imposed by the order in council of March 11. The British note of July 23, 1915, appears to confirm the intention indicated in the note of March 15, 1915, to establish a blockade so extensive as to prohibit trade with Germany or Austria-Hungary, even through the ports of neutral countries adjacent to them. Great Britain, however, admits that it should not, and gives assurances that it will not, interfere with trade with the countries contiguous to the territories of the enemies of Great Britain. Nevertheless, after over six months' application of the "blockade" order, the experience of American citizens has convinced the Government of the United States that Great Britain has been unsuccessful in her efforts to distinguish between enemy and neutral trade. Arrangements have been made to create in these neutral countries special consignees, or consignment corporations, with power to refuse shipments and to determine when the state of the country's resources requires the importation of new commodities. American commercial interests are hampered by the intricacies of these arrangements, and many American citizens justly complain that their bona fide trade with neutral countries is greatly reduced as a consequence, while others assert that their neutral trade, which amounted annually to a large sum, has been entirely interrupted.

(17) It makes this practice even more harrassing to neutral traders that the British authorities require a consignor to prove that his shipments are not bound to an enemy of Great Britain, even when the articles are on the embargo list of the neutral country to which they are destined, and that notwithstanding the assertion in the last British note that interference with such trade by a belligerent can only take place "proveded, of course, that he (the belligerent) can establish" that the commerce is with the enemy.

(18) While the United States Government was at first inclined to view with leniency the British measures which were termed in the correspondence but not in the order in council of March 11 a "blockade," because of the assurances of the British Government that inconvenience to neutral trade would be minimized by the discretion left to the courts in the application of the order in council and by the instructions which it was said would be issued to the administrative and other authorities having to do with the execution of the so-called "blockade" measures, this Government is now forced to the realization that its expectations, which were fully set forth in its note of March 30, were based on a misconception of the intentions of the British Government. Desiring to avoid controversy and in the expectation that the administration of the order in council would conform to the established rules of international law, this Government has until now reserved the question of the actual validity of the order in council of March 11, in so far as it is considered by the Government of Great Britain to establish a blockade within the meaning of that term as understood in the law and the practice of nations; but in the circumstances now developed it feels that it can no longer permit the validity of the alleged blockade to remain unchallenged.

(19) The declaration of Paris in 1856, which has been universally recognized as correctly stating the rule of international law as to blockade, expressly declares that "blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective; that is to say, maintained by force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy." The effectiveness of a blockade is manifestly a question of fact. It is common knowledge that the German coasts are open to trade with the Scandinavian countries and that German naval vessels cruise both in the North Sea and the Baltic and seize and bring into German ports neutral vessels bound for Scandinavian and Danish ports. Furthermore, from the recent placing of cotton on the British list of contraband of war, it appears that the British Government have themselves been forced to the conclusion that the blockade is ineffecive to prevent shipments of cotton from reaching their enemies, or else that they are doubtful as to the legality of the form of blockade which they have sought to maintain.

(20) Moreover, it is an essential principle which has been universally accepted that a blockade must apply impartially to the ships of all nations. This was set forth in the declaration of London, is found in the prize rules of Germany, France, and Japan, and has long been admitted as a basic principle of the law of blockade. This principle, however, is not applied in the present British "blockade," for, as above indicated, German ports are notoriously open to traffic with the ports of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. So strictly has this principle been enforced in the past that in the Crimean War the judicial committee of the privy council on appeal laid down that if belligerents themselves trade with blockaded ports they can not be regarded as effectively blockaded. (*The Franciska*, Moore P. C., 56.) This decision has special significance at the present time, since it is a matter of common knowledge that Great Britain exports and reexports large quantities of merchandise to Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland, whose ports, so far as American commerce is concerned, she regards as blockaded. In fact, the British note of August 13 itself indicates that the British exports of many articles, such as cotton, lubricating oil, tobacco, cocoa, coffee, rice, wheat flour, barley, spices, tea, copra, etc., to these countries have greatly exceeded the British exports of the same articles for the corresponding period of 1914. The note also shows that there has been an important British trade with these countries in many other articles, such as machinery, beef, butter, cotton waste, etc.

(21) Finally, there is no better settled principle of the law of nations than that which forbids the blockade of neutral ports in time of war. The declaration of London, though not regarded as binding upon the signatories because not ratified by them, has been expressly adopted by the British Government without modification as to blockade in the British order in council of October 29, 1914. Article 18 of the declaration declares specifically that "the blockading forces must not bar access to neutral ports or coasts." This is, in the opinion of this Government, a correct statement of the universally accepted law as it exists to-day and as it existed prior to the declaration of London. The meaning of this statement is elucidated by Mr. Renault in the report of the drafting committee upon the convention, in which he states:

"This rule has been thought necessary the better to protect the commercial interests of neutral countries; it completes article 1, according to which a blockade must not extend beyond the ports and coasts of the enemy, which implies that as it is an operation of war it must not be directed against a neutral port, in spite of the importance to a belligerent of the part played by that port in supplying his adversary."

As the conference assembled at London upon the invitation of the British Government, it is important to recall the instruction of Sir Edward Grey to the British delegates, "setting out the views of His

Majesty's Government, founded on the decisions of the British courts," in which he says:

"A blockade must be confined to the ports and coast of the enemy, but it may be instituted of one port or of several ports or of the whole of the seaboard of the enemy. It may be instituted to prevent the ingress only or egress only, or both."

He added:

"Where the ship does not intend to proceed to the blockaded port the fact that goods on board are to be sent on by sea or by inland transport is no ground for condemnation."

In support of this announcement Sir Edward Grey referred to several decisions of British prize courts, among which an early one of 1801 held that goods shipped from London to Emden, thence inland or by canal to Amsterdam, then blockaded by sea, were not subject to condemnation for breach of blockade. (*Jonge Pieter*, 4 C. R., 79.) This has been the rule for a century, so that it is scarcely necessary to recall that the *Matamoras* cases, well known to the British Government, support the same rule, that neutral ports may not be blockaded, though "trade with unrestricted inland commerce between such a port and the enemy's territory impairs undoubtedly, and very seriously impairs, the value of a blockade of the enemy's coast."

(22) Without mentioning the other customary elements of a regularly imposed blockade, such as notification of the particular coast line invested, the imposition of the penalty of confiscation, etc., which are lacking in the present British "blockade" policy, it need only be pointed out that, measured by the three universally conceded tests above set forth, the present British measures can not be regarded as constituting a blockade in law, in practice, or in effect.

(23) It is incumbent upon the United States Government, therefore, to give the British Government notice that the blockade, which they claim to have instituted under the order in council of March 11, can not be recognized as a legal blockade by the United States.

(24) Since the Government of Great Britain has laid much emphasis on the ruling of the Supreme Court of the United States in the *Springbok* case, that goods of contraband character seized while going to the neutral port of Nassau, though actually bound for the blockaded ports of the South, were subject to condemnation, it is not inappropriate to direct attention to the British view of this case in England prior to the present war, as expressed by Sir Edward Grey in his instructions to the British delegates to the London Conference in 1908:

"It is exceedingly doubtful whether the decision of the Supreme Court was in reality meant to cover a case of blockade running in which no question of contraband arose. Certainly if such was the intention the decision would pro tanto be in conflict with the practice of the British courts. His Majesty's Government sees no reason for departing from that practice, and you should endeavor to obtain general recognition of its correctness."

It may be pointed out also that the circumstances surrounding the *Springbok* case were essentially different from those of the present day, to which the rule laid down in that case is sought to be applied. When the *Springbok* case arose the ports of the Confederate States were effectively blockaded by the naval forces of the United States, though no neutral ports were closed, and a continuous voyage through a neutral port required an all-sea voyage terminating in an attempt to pass the blockading squadron.

(25) Third. It appears to be the position of Great Britain that if, as the United States alleges, American citizens or American interests are directly and adversely affected by the British policies of contraband and nonintercourse, resulting in interference with ships and cargoes, they should seek redress in the prize courts which the British Government have established, and that, pending the exhaustion of such legal remedies with the result of a denial of justice, the British Government "can not continue to deal through the diplomatic channels with the individual cases."

(26) It is declared that this was the course followed by the United States during the American Civil War and the Spanish War, and that both countries have supported the practice by allowing their prize-court decisions, when shown to be unjust or inadequate, to be reviewed by an international tribunal, as was done under the treaties of 1794 and 1871. The ground upon which this contention is put forth, and the results which would follow, if the course of procedure suggested were accepted, give the impression that His Majesty's Government do not rely upon its soundness or strength. Nevertheless, since it has been advanced, I can not refrain from presenting certain considerations which will show that the proposed course embodies the form rather than the substance of redress. The cases which the British Government would have claimants present to their prize courts are essentially different from cases arising wholly within the jurisdiction of a foreign country. They result from acts committed by the British naval authorities upon the high seas, where the jurisdiction over neutral vessels is acquired solely by international law. Vessels of foreign nationality, flying a neutral flag and finding their protection in the country of that flag, are seized without facts warranting a reasonable suspicion that they are destined to blockaded ports of the enemy or that their cargoes are contraband, although the possession of such facts is by international law essential to render a seizure legal. The officers appear to find their justification in the orders in council and regulations of the British Government, in spite of the fact that in many of the present cases the orders in council and the regulations for their enforcement are themselves complained of by claimants as contrary to international law. Yet the very courts which, it is said, are to dispense justice to dissatisfied claimants, are bound by orders in council. This is unmistakably indicated to be the case in the British note of July 31, which states that—

"British prize courts 'according to the ancient form of commission under which they sit are to determine cases according to the course of admiralty and the law of nations and the statutes, rules, and regulations for the time being in force in that behalf.'"

This principle, the note adds, has recently been announced and adhered to by the British prize court in the case of the *Zamora*. It is manifest, therefore, that if prize courts are bound by the laws and regulations under which seizures and detentions are made, and which claimants allege are in contravention of the law of nations, those courts are powerless to pass upon the real ground of complaint or to give redress for wrongs of this nature. Nevertheless, it is seriously suggested that claimants are free to request the prize court to rule upon a claim of conflict between an order in council and a rule of international law. How can a tribunal, fetered in its jurisdiction and procedure by municipal enactments, declare itself emancipated from their restrictions and at liberty to apply the rules of international law with freedom? The very laws and regulations which bind the court are now matters of dispute between the Government of the United States and that of His Britannic Majesty. If Great Britain followed, as she declares that she did, the course of first referring claimants to local remedies in cases arising out of American wars, it is presumed that she did so because of her knowledge or understanding that the United States had not sought to limit the jurisdiction of its courts of prize by instructions and regulations violative of the law and practice of nations or open to such objection.

(27) The British note of February 10 states that the British Government of the American Civil War, "in spite or remonstrances from many quarters, placed full reliance on the American prize courts to grant redress to the parties interested in cases of alleged wrongful capture by American ships of war and put forward no claim until the opportunity for redress in those courts had been exhausted."

The Government of the United States recalls that during the progress of that war Great Britain, in several instances, demanded through diplomatic channels damages for seizures and detentions of British ships alleged to have been made without legal justification. Among these may be mentioned the cases of the *Magicienne*, the *Don Jose*, the *Labuan*, and the *Saxon*. Two of these cases were, at the time the demands were made, before American prize courts for adjudication. It is understood also that during the Boer War, when British authorities seized the German vessels, the *Hertzog*, the *General*, and the *Bundesrath*, and released them without prize proceedings, compensation for damages suffered was arranged through diplomatic channels.

(28) There is, furthermore, a real and far-reaching injury for which prize courts offer no means of reparation. It is the disastrous effect of the methods of the allied Governments upon the general right of the United States to enjoy its international trade free from unusual and arbitrary limitations imposed by belligerent nations. Unwarranted delay and expense in bringing vessels into port for search and investigation upon mere suspicion has a deterrent effect upon trade ventures, however lawful they may be, which can not be adequately measured in damages. The menace of interference with legal commerce causes vessels to be withdrawn from their usual trade routes and insurance on vessels and cargoes to be refused, while exporters for the same reason are unable or unwilling to send their goods to foreign markets, and importers dare not buy commodities abroad because of fear of their illegal seizure or because they are unable to procure transportation. For such injuries there can be no remedy through the medium of courts established to adjust claims for goods detained or condemned. For specific injuries suffered by private interests prize courts, if they are free to apply the law of nations, might mete out an adequate indemnity, but for the injury to the trade of a nation by the menace of unwarranted interference with its lawful and established pursuit there can manifestly be found no remedy in the prize courts of Great Britain, to which United States citizens are referred for redress.

(29) There is another ground why American citizens can not submit their wrongs arising out of undue detentions and seizures to British prize courts for reparation which I can not pass over unnoticed. It is the manner in which British courts obtain jurisdiction of such cases. The jurisdiction over merchant vessels on the high seas is that of the nation whose flag it rightfully flies. This is a principle of the law and practice of nations fundamental to the freedom of the high seas. Municipal enactments of a belligerent power can not confer jurisdiction over or establish rules of evidence governing the legality of seizures of vessels of neutral nationality on the high seas. International law alone controls the exercise of the belligerent right to seize and detain such vessels. Municipal laws and regulations in violation of the international rights of another nation can not be extended to the vessels of the latter on the high seas so as to justify a belligerent nation bringing them into its ports, and, having illegally brought them within its territorial jurisdiction, compelling them to submit to the domestic laws and regulations of that nation. Jurisdiction obtained in such a manner is contrary to those principles of justice and equity which all nations should respect. Such practice should invalidate any disposition by a municipal court of property thus brought before it. The Government of the United States has, therefore, viewed with surprise and concern the attempt of His Majesty's Government to confer upon the British prize courts jurisdiction by this illegal exercise of force in order that these courts may apply to vessels and cargoes of neutral nationalities, seized on the high seas, municipal laws and orders which can only rightfully be enforceable within the territorial waters of Great Britain or against vessels of British nationality when on the high seas.

(30) In these circumstances the United States Government feels that it can not reasonably be expected to advise its citizens to seek redress before tribunals which are, in its opinion, unauthorized by the unrestricted application of international law to grant reparation, nor to refrain from presenting their claims directly to the British Government through diplomatic channels.

(31) This Government is advised that vessels and cargoes brought in for examination prior to prize proceedings are released only upon condition that costs and expenses incurred in the course of such unwarranted procedure, such as pilotage, wharfage, demurrage, harbor dues, warehousage, unlading costs, etc., be paid by the claimants or on condition that they sign a waiver of right to bring subsequent claims against the British Government for these exactions. This Government is loath to believe that such ungenerous treatment will continue to be accorded American citizens by the Government of His Britannic Majesty; but in order that the position of the United States Government may be clearly understood, I take this opportunity to inform your excellency that this Government denies that the charges incident to such detentions are rightfully imposed upon innocent trade or that any waiver of indemnity exacted from American citizens under such conditions of duress can preclude them from obtaining redress through diplomatic channels or by whatever other means may be open to them.

(32) Before closing this note, in which frequent reference is made to contraband traffic and contraband articles, it is necessary, in order to avoid possible misconstruction, that it should be clearly understood by His Majesty's Government that there is no intention in this discussion to commit the Government of the United States to a policy of waiving any objections which it may entertain as to the propriety and right of the British Government to include in their list of contraband of war certain articles which have been so included. The United States Government reserves the right to make this matter the subject of a communication to His Majesty's Government at a later day.

(33) I believe it has been conclusively shown that the methods sought to be employed by Great Britain to obtain and use evidence of enemy destination of cargoes bound for neutral ports and to impose a contraband character upon such cargoes are without justification; that the blockade, upon which such methods are partly founded, is ineffective, illegal, and indefensible; that the judicial procedure offered as a means of reparation for an international injury is inherently defective for the purpose; and that in many cases jurisdiction is asserted in violation of the law of nations. The United States, therefore, can

not submit to the curtailment of its neutral rights by these measures, which are admittedly retaliatory, and therefore illegal, in conception and in nature, and intended to punish the enemies of Great Britain for alleged illegalities on their part. The United States might not be in a position to object to them if its interests and the interests of all neutrals were unaffected by them, but, being affected, it can not with complacence suffer further subordination of its rights and interests to the plea that the exceptional geographic position of the enemies of Great Britain require or justify oppressive and illegal practices.

(34) The Government of the United States desires, therefore, to impress most earnestly upon His Majesty's Government that it must insist that the relations between it and His Majesty's Government be governed, not by a policy of expediency but by those established rules of international conduct upon which Great Britain in the past has held the United States to account when the latter nation was a belligerent engaged in a struggle for national existence. It is of the highest importance to neutrals not only of the present day but of the future that the principles of international right be maintained unimpaired.

(35) This task of championing the integrity of neutral rights, which have received the sanction of the civilized world against the lawless conduct of belligerents arising out of the bitterness of the great conflict which is now wasting the countries of Europe, the United States unhesitatingly assumes, and to the accomplishment of that task it will devote its energies, exercising always that impartiality which from the outbreak of the war it has sought to exercise in its relations with the warring nations.

I inclose as supplements to this instruction the United States Navy order of August 18, 1862, and a statement regarding vessels detained by British authorities. These two documents should be transmitted as inclosures in your note to Sir Edward Grey.

I am, etc.,

ROBERT LANSING.

The reference in the note to our instructions to our naval authorities in the Civil War is that of August 18, 1862, which is as follows:

INSTRUCTIONS OF THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY TO FLAG OFFICERS COMMANDING SQUADRONS AND OFFICERS COMMANDING CRUISERS RELATIVE TO THE RIGHT OF SEARCH.

NAVY DEPARTMENT, *August 18, 1862.*

SIR: Some recent occurrences in the capture of vessels, and matters pertaining to the blockade, render it necessary that there should be a recapitulation of the instructions heretofore from time to time given, and also of the restrictions and precautions to be observed by our squadrons and cruisers.

It is essential, in the remarkable contest now waging, that we should exercise great forbearance, with great firmness, and manifest to the world that it is the intention of our Government, while asserting and maintaining our own rights, to respect and scrupulously regard the rights of others. It is in this view that the following instructions are explicitly given:

First. That you will exercise constant vigilance to prevent supplies of arms, munitions, and contraband of war from being conveyed to the insurgents, but that under no circumstances will you seize any vessel within the waters of a friendly nation.

Second. That, while diligently exercising the right of visitation on all suspected vessels, you are in no case authorized to chase and fire at a foreign vessel without showing your colors and giving her the customary preliminary notice of a desire to speak and visit her.

Third. That when that visit is made, the vessel is not then to be seized without a search carefully made, so far as to render it reasonable to believe that she is engaged in carrying contraband of war for or to the insurgents, and to their ports directly or indirectly by transshipment, or otherwise violating the blockade; and that if, after visitation and search, it shall appear to your satisfaction that she is in good faith and without contraband, actually bound and passing from one friendly or so-called neutral port to another, and not bound or proceeding to or from a port in the possession of the insurgents, then she can not be lawfully seized.

Fourth. That, to avoid difficulty and error in relation to papers which strictly belong to the captured vessel, and mails that are carried, or parcels under official seals, you will, in the words of the law, "preserve all the papers and writings found on board and transmit the whole of the originals unmutilated to the judge of the district to which such prize is ordered to proceed"; but official seals, or locks, or fastenings of foreign authorities are in no case, nor on any pretext, to be broken, or parcels covered by them read by any naval authorities, but all bags or other things covering such parcels, and duly sealed and fastened by foreign authorities, will be, in the discretion of the United States officer to whom they may come delivered to the consul, commanding naval officer, or legation of the foreign Government, to be opened, upon the understanding that whatever is contraband or important as evidence concerning the character of a captured vessel will be remitted to the prize court, or to the Secretary of State at Washington, or such sealed bag or parcels may be at once forwarded to this department, to the end that the proper authorities of the foreign Government may receive the same without delay.

You are specially informed that the fact that a suspicious vessel has been indicated to you as cruising in any limit which has been prescribed by this department does not in any way authorize you to depart from the practice of the rules of visitation, search, and capture prescribed by the law of nations.

Very respectfully,

GIDEON WELLES,
Secretary of the Navy.

The famous *Zamora* case referred to in the October 21 note, which virtually declared orders in council in contravention of international law as invalid and which virtually conceded our position as held from the beginning, is printed in the April number of the American Journal of International Law, and is too long to insert here. All students of this controversy should study that decision.

October 28, just seven days after our famous note, the British Government announced another order in council, known as the "Declaration of London Order in Council."

AMBASSADOR W. H. PAGE TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

[Telegram.]

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
London, October 28, 1915.

Following is text of order in council, dated October 20, 1915:

"Whereas by the Declaration of London Order in Council No. 2, 1914, His Majesty was pleased to declare that during the present hostilities the provisions of the said Declaration of London should, subject to certain exceptions and modifications therein specified, be adopted and put in force by His Majesty's Government; and

"Whereas by article 57 of the said declaration it is provided that the neutral or enemy character of a vessel is determined by the flag which she is entitled to fly; and

"Whereas it is no longer expedient to adopt the said article:

"Now, therefore, His Majesty, by and with the advice of his privy council, is pleased to order, and it is hereby ordered, that from and after this date article 57 of the Declaration of London shall cease to be adopted and put in force.

"In lieu of the said article, British prize courts shall apply the rules and principles formerly observed in such courts.

"This order may be cited as 'The Declaration of London Order in Council, 1915.'

"And the lords commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, and each of His Majesty's principal secretaries of state, the president of the probate, divorce, and admiralty division of the high court of justice, all other judges of His Majesty's prize courts, and all governors, officers, and authorities whom it may concern, are to give the necessary directions herein as to them may respectively appertain."

PAGE.

Further requisition orders were issued on November 9, 1915, touching the carriage of foodstuffs:

[Inclosure.]

[Extract from the second supplement to the London Gazette of Tuesday, November 9, 1915.]

REQUISITION OF SHIPS (CARRIAGE OF FOODSTUFFS)—ORDER IN COUNCIL, 1915.

At the Court at Buckingham Palace, the 10th day of November, 1915.

Present: The King's most excellent majesty in council.

Whereas a state of war exists between His Majesty and the German Emperor, the Emperor of Austria King of Hungary, the Sultan of Turkey, and the King of the Bulgarians;

And whereas His Majesty holds it to be his prerogative duty as well as his prerogative right to take all steps necessary for the defense and protection of the realm;

And whereas it has been made to appear to His Majesty that it is essential to the defense and protection of the realm that all British ships registered in the United Kingdom should be made liable to requisition in manner hereinafter appearing for the carriage of foodstuffs and of any other articles of commerce:

Now, therefore, His Majesty is pleased, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, and in exercise of his prerogatives as aforesaid and of all other powers him thereunto enabling, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that any British ship registered in the United Kingdom may until further order be requisitioned by and on behalf of His Majesty for the carriage of foodstuffs and of any other articles of commerce, and such requisition is to take effect upon notice of requisition being served as hereinafter provided on the owner of any such ship;

And His Majesty is further pleased, by and with the advice aforesaid, to authorize and direct the president of the board of trade to give effect to this order by causing notice of requisition to be served on the owner of any such ship;

And His Majesty is further pleased, by and with the advice aforesaid, to declare that service of notice of requisition on an owner shall be deemed sufficient and effective if served in the case of an individual owner by being addressed to such individual owner and left at his last-known place of business or abode, and in the case of joint owners by being addressed to such joint owners and left at the last-known business addresses or places of abode of such joint owners, and in the case of a company or corporation by being addressed to such company or corporation and left at the registered or other address of such company or corporation, or in any of the aforesaid cases by being addressed to the managing owner, ship's husband, or other the person to whom the management of the ship is by law intrusted by or on behalf of the owners, and left at the registered or other last-known address or place of abode of such managing owner, ship's husband, or other such person, as the case may be.

And His Majesty is further pleased, by and with the advice aforesaid, to declare that any notice of requisition which the president of the board of trade may cause to be served hereunder may be signed by any person or persons from time to time authorized for such purpose, either generally or specially by the president of the board of trade.

And the president of the board of trade is to give instructions and directions accordingly.

ALMERIC FITZROY.

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[Inclosure 2.]

[Extract from the second supplement to the London Gazette of Tuesday, Nov. 9, 1915.]

CARRIAGE OF CARGOES ON BRITISH VESSELS BETWEEN FOREIGN PORTS—ORDER IN COUNCIL.

At the court at Buckingham Palace, the 10th day of November, 1915.

Present: The King's most excellent majesty in council.

Whereas a state of war exists between His Majesty and the German Emperor, the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary, the Sultan of Turkey, and the King of the Bulgarians; and

Whereas His Majesty holds it to be his prerogative duty as well as his prerogative right to take all steps necessary for the defense and protection of the realm; and

Whereas it has been made to appear to His Majesty that it is essential to the defense and protection of the realm that, in the exercise of his prerogatives as aforesaid, he should prohibit, as from and after the 1st day of December, 1915, the carrying of cargo from any foreign port to any other foreign port by any British steamship registered in the United Kingdom exceeding 500 tons gross tonnage—and whether or not such ship while carrying such cargo calls at any intermediate port within His Majesty's dominions—unless the owner or charterer of such steamship has been granted exemption by license as hereinafter provided: Now, therefore,

His Majesty is pleased, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, and in exercise of his prerogatives as aforesaid, and of all other powers him thereunto enabling, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that from and after the 1st day of December, 1915, no British steamship registered in the United Kingdom exceeding 500 tons gross tonnage shall carry any cargo from any foreign port to any other foreign port—and whether or not such ship while carrying such cargo calls at any intermediate port within His Majesty's dominions—unless the owner or charterer of such steamship has been granted exemption by license as hereinafter provided.

And His Majesty doth hereby declare that the expression "foreign port" herein used shall mean and include any port outside His Majesty's dominions.

And His Majesty, by and with the advice aforesaid, and in exercise of his prerogatives and powers as aforesaid, is further pleased to authorize and direct the president of the board of trade to appoint a committee of persons to carry out and give effect to the provisions hereof, and that the said committee shall have power to grant licenses of exemption therefrom to or in favor of owners or charterers of such steamships as aforesaid, which licenses may be general in reference to classes of ships or their voyages or special.

And His Majesty is further pleased to authorize the president of the board of trade from time to time to add other persons as members of such committee, and to substitute as members thereof other persons for such members as may from time to time die, resign, or be or become incapable of acting thereon.

And the president of the board of trade is to act and to give instructions and directions accordingly.

ALMERIC FITZROY.

In the beginning of the year 1916 Great Britain extended her restrictions of commerce on the sea by a proposed black list, called "The enemy trading act."

AMBASSADOR W. H. PAGE TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

[Telegram.]

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
London, January 19, 1916.

Trading with the enemy (extension of powers) act, 1915: An act is provide for the extension of the restrictions relating to trading with the enemy to persons to whom, though not residents or carrying on business in enemy territory, it is by reason of their enemy nationality or enemy associations expedient to extend such restrictions (23d December, 1915). Be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

1. (1) His Majesty may by proclamation prohibit all persons or bodies of persons, incorporated or unincorporated, resident, carrying on business, or being in the United Kingdom, from trading with any persons or bodies of persons not resident or carrying on business in enemy territory or in territory in the occupation of the enemy (other than persons or bodies of persons, incorporated or unincorporated, residing or carrying on business solely within His Majesty's dominions), wherever by reason of the enemy nationality or enemy association of such persons or bodies of persons, incorporated or unincorporated, it appears to His Majesty expedient so to do; and if any person acts in contravention of any such proclamation he shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, triable and punishable in like manner as the offense of trading with the enemy; (2) any list of persons and bodies of persons, incorporated or unincorporated, with whom such trading is prohibited by a proclamation under this act, may be varied or added to by an order made by the Lords of the Council on the recommendation of a secretary of state; (3) the provisions of the trading with the enemy acts, 1914 and 1915, and of the customs (war powers) (No. 2) act, 1915, and all other enactments relating to trading with the enemy shall, subject to such exceptions and adaptations as may be prescribed by order in council, apply in respect of such persons and bodies of persons as aforesaid, as if for references therein to trading with the enemy there were substituted references to trading with such persons and bodies of persons as aforesaid, and for references to enemies there were substituted references to such persons and bodies of persons as aforesaid, and for references to offences under the trading with the enemy acts, 1914 and 1915, or any of those acts there were substituted references to offences under this act; (4) for the purpose of this act a person shall be deemed to have traded with a person or body of persons to whom a proclamation issued under this act applies if he enters into any transaction or does any act with, to, on behalf of, or for the benefit of such a person or body of persons, which, if entered into or done with, to, on behalf of, or for the benefit of an enemy, would be trading with the enemy.

2. This act may be cited as the trading with the enemy (extension of powers) act, 1915.

PAGE.

Six days later, January 25, our Government warned against acts "pregnant with possibilities of undue interference with American trade," and reserved the right to make protest:

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO AMBASSADOR W. H. PAGE.

[Telegram.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, January 25, 1916.

Your 3601 and 3602, January 19.

Department has given consideration to enemy trading act approved December 23 last, the apparent object of which is to prevent any person doing business in the United Kingdom from trading with the enemies of Great Britain or persons having enemy association in any other part of the world, and the department has reached the conclusion that this act is pregnant with possibilities of undue interference with American trade, if in fact such interference is not now being practiced. As it is an opinion generally held in this country, in which this Government shares, that the act has been framed without a proper regard for the right of persons domiciled in the United States, whether they be American citizens or subjects of countries at war with Great Britain, to carry on trade with persons in belligerent countries, and that the exercise of this right may be subject to denial or abridgment in the course of the enforcement of the act, the Government of the United States is constrained to express to His Majesty's Government the grave apprehensions which are entertained on this subject by this Government, by the Congress, and by traders domiciled in the United States. It is, therefore, necessary to bring these views to the attention of Sir Edward Grey and to present to him a formal reservation on the part of this Government, of the right to protest against the application of this act, in so far as it affects the trade of the United States, and to contest the legality or rightfulness of imposing restrictions upon the freedom of American trade in this manner.

LANSING.

Three weeks later—February 16, 1916—the British Government made reply, in which it declared its intention to consider the rights of neutrals not inconsistent with the claims of a controlling belligerent. It reaffirmed the enemy trading act:

AMBASSADOR W. H. PAGE TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 3092.] AMERICAN EMBASSY,
London, February 19, 1916.

SIR: With reference to the department's cablegram No. 2774, of January 25, and my telegraphic reply No. 3913, of the 18th instant, relative to the possible effects of the trading with the enemy (extension of powers) act, 1915, on the commerce of the United States, I have the honor to transmit herewith, for the information of the department, a copy of the note dated the 16th instant, which has been addressed to the embassy by the foreign trade department of the foreign office in this connection.

I have, etc., WALTER HINES PAGE.

[Inclosure.]

THE BRITISH SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO AMBASSADOR W. H. PAGE.

No. 15404/45.] FOREIGN OFFICE,
FOREIGN TRADE DEPARTMENT,
LANCASTER HOUSE, ST. JAMES, S. W.,
February 16, 1916.

YOUR EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your excellency's note of the 26th ultimo relative to the possible effects of the trading with the enemy (extension of powers) act, 1915, on United Sates commerce.

The act was framed with the object of bringing British trading with the enemy regulations into greater harmony with those adopted by the French Government since the commencement of the war by applying in some degree the test of nationality in the determination of enemy character in addition to the old test of domicile, which experience has shown can not provide a sufficient basis under modern commercial conditions for measures intended to deprive the enemy of all assistance, direct or indirect, from national resources.

His Majesty's Government realized, however, that the application of this principle to its fullest extent, while entirely legitimate and in accordance with the practice of other countries, might, if applied at the present time to commercial activities as widespread as those of British subjects, involve avoidable inconvenience and loss to innocent traders.

They were careful, therefore, in devising the necessary legislation not only to avoid any definition which would impose enemy status upon all persons of enemy nationality and associations, but also to take powers of discrimination which would enable them to apply the purely commercial restrictions contemplated only in regard to those persons from whom it was necessary in British interests to withhold the facilities afforded by British resources.

His Majesty's Government have therefore abstained from a course of action admittedly within their rights as belligerents, which is not only the existing practice of the French Government but in strict accordance with the doctrine openly avowed by many other States to be the basis upon which their trading with the enemy regulations would be founded in the event of war, and have confined themselves to passing a piece of purely domestic legislation empowering them to restrict the activities and trade of persons under British jurisdiction in such a manner and to such an extent as may seem to them to be necessary in the national interest.

His Majesty's Government readily admit the right of persons of any nationality resident in the United States to engage in legitimate commercial transactions with any other persons. They can not admit, however, that this right can in any way limit the right of other Governments to restrict the commercial activities of their nationals in any manner which may seem desirable to them by the imposition of prohibitions and penalties which are operative solely upon persons under their jurisdiction.

In claiming this right, which appears to them to be inherent in sovereignty and national independence, His Majesty's Government desire to assure the United States Government that they will exercise it with every possible care to avoid injury to neutral commerce, and they venture to think that the voluntary limitation of their powers by the terms of the trading with the enemy (extension of powers) act, 1915, is evidence of their desire and intention to act with the greatest possible consideration for neutral interests.

I have, etc.,

L. WORTHINGTON EVANS,
For the Secretary of State.

Three days later, February 19, Ambassador Page communicated the following report on the detention of American goods by the authorities of prize courts.

Following this report is a statement of James Flett, consular agent at Kirkwall, detailing procedure there by the authority of the admiralty touching vessels diverted to that port:

AMBASSADOR W. H. PAGE TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 3093.] AMERICAN EMBASSY,
London, February 19, 1916.

SIR: I have the honor to report to the department the following facts which have presented themselves with reference to goods belonging to American citizens which have been detained by the British Government authorities and placed in the prize court.

The foreign office has undertaken to inform the embassy of the seizure of any vessel carrying American goods and also of the items of these goods which have been detained and placed in the prize court. Upon the receipt of such information as to the vessel or a list of the goods detained and held for prize-court proceedings, the embassy is in the practice of immediately cabling it to the department.

The Department of State, it is understood, informs the American shipper that the embassy has cabled that the goods have been placed in the prize court. In a great many instances the shipper telegraphs or writes direct to the embassy requesting it to arrange for the release of their goods.

The embassy understands that, inasmuch as prize-court proceedings are to take place, no diplomatic representations will be received by the British Government in connection with these goods, unless such representations are pursuant to special instructions of the Government at Washington.

In almost all cases where such representations are made to the foreign office under instructions from the department, the foreign office replies that the procurator general finds that it is impossible to comply with the request for release, and that the claimants must communicate with the procurator general's office, where, if satisfactory proof is produced the goods will be released; or, if the proofs appear to be unsatisfactory, the goods will be held until the sitting of the prize court, which will then pass its judgment on the goods.

As the procurator general's office will receive no official communication from the embassy in matters of this kind, the shipper must either transmit his evidence direct or employ his agents or a solicitor in London.

The larger American shippers usually have an office or an agent in London who understands prize-court proceedings, and is capable of appearing at the procurator general's office in support of the claim for the release of the goods. The smaller shippers who have no office in London are in this way placed at a disadvantage.

In view of the fact that the consul general is in the practice of communicating directly with the procurator general's office in regard to all claims of American citizens, I respectfully suggest that the department advise the shipper to send the necessary papers to him direct, unless the department wishes further diplomatic representations to be made.

In all cases where the shipper writes direct to the embassy, and it is found that communication with the foreign office would be of no avail, I shall advise the shipper to address himself directly to the consul general, and shall send him a list of the documents which he should transmit with his letter.

I also feel that the American exporter should be informed as to the exact status of prize courts in international relations, and of the position of goods actually in the prize court, and that the British Government will receive no diplomatic representations in these cases except under instructions from the Government in view of special circumstances involved.

The procurator general's office has advised me informally that the documents which should be submitted to it in support of claims for the release of goods are as follows: The originals of—

1. Bills of ladings.
2. Invoices.
3. All previous correspondence with firms in the country to which the goods are shipped.
4. Contracts.
5. Insurance policies.
6. An affidavit setting forth all facts of the case.

I feel sure that this procedure will be the quickest and easiest way of disposing to the satisfaction of the shipper such cases as the British Government will not release from the prize court on diplomatic representations, or where goods are in the prize court and no diplomatic representations are in order.

I have, etc.,

WALTER HINES PAGE.

CONSUL GENERAL SKINNER TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 1248] AMERICAN CONSULATE GENERAL,
London, February 24, 1916.

SIR: I have the honor to inclose herewith copy of a letter received from the American consular agent at Kirkwall setting forth the routine practice of the British authorities on the arrival of vessels diverted to that port by the Admiralty.

I have, etc.,

R. P. SKINNER.

[Inclosure.]

CONSULAR AGENT FLETT TO CONSUL LATHAM.

KIRKWALL, *February 14, 1916.*

SIR: I find I have to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 7th instant:

So soon as a vessel from an American or other port arrives here she is boarded by an Admiralty officer, who examines the ship's papers and also the crew. She is also boarded by the customs officials, who examine the ship's papers and search the ship in the ordinary way. The whole ship's papers are removed by the customs officials and brought ashore with them and retained in the customs office here. The papers are then examined by the indoor staff of the customs here and all particulars relating to ship and cargo are telegraphed to London. The papers are retained by the customs until they receive instructions whether the vessel is to be allowed to proceed or whether the whole cargo or part thereof is to be placed in the prize court. If the vessel is allowed to proceed, the ship's papers are then handed over by the customs to the Admiralty port officer, and he either hands them over to the captain personally or sends them on board the vessel. In the event of part or the whole of the cargo being placed into the prize court, the ship's papers are handed by the Admiralty port officer to the prize officer, who is sent on board that vessel to whichever port she might be ordered to discharge.

If the vessel is cleared the customs authorities give the master of the vessel a clearance card to that effect. It is very seldom that a vessel ever breaks bulk here. I have known of a small quantity of cargo that has been prize courted being taken out of a vessel here, so as to allow the vessel to proceed and avoid unnecessary delay and expense in sending her to another port to discharge. It is, however, very seldom that this happens. If I have not made myself sufficiently clear, I shall be very pleased on hearing from you to give you further information on any points that you may wish further information.

I am, etc.,

JAMES FLETT, *Consular Agent.*

THE ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE TO AMBASSADOR W. H. PAGE.

No. 3374.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 16, 1916.

SIR: The department is in receipt of your No. 3093, of February 19, 1916, reporting facts which have presented themselves with reference to goods belonging to American citizens which have been detained by the British authorities and placed in the prize court.

In this relation there is inclosed herewith for your information a copy of the letter sent by the department to the William Amer Co. under date of March 9, 1916.

With a view to having the consul general render such assistance as may be possible and proper in an endeavor to bring about the release of goods which have been seized by the British authorities, the department has addressed similar communications to other American shippers who have complained respecting the seizure of goods shipped by them to European ports.

I am, etc.,

FRANK L. POLK.

On the 16th of March our Government communicated with the American ambassador at London on the matter of detention of goods, and inclosed a communication of the Secretary of State to the William Amer Co. of a week before.

The communication follows:

[Inclosure.]

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE WILLIAM AMER CO.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 9, 1916.

GENTLEMEN: The department has received your letter of March 1, 1916, in regard to the seizure by the British authorities of a quantity of glazed kid shipped by you to Sweden on the steamship *Alexandria.*

The department incloses for your information a print containing an order in council issued by the British Government March 11, 1915, regarding the stopping of goods shipped to or from Germany. This order, which is at present the subject of diplomatic discussion between the Government of the United States and the Government of Great Britain, shows the action which the British Government declare their intention to take in the matter of stopping goods which they desire to have taken by interested persons to obtain the restoration of their goods or payment therefor.

The American consul general has informed the department that if shippers will communicate with him directly regarding shipments which have been detained under this order in council he will ascertain the status of the goods, and, when possible, endeavor to effect their release. The consul general states that, even though goods may be classified as contraband, the procurator general will consider evidence indicating innocent ultimate destination of such goods, and has advised him (the consul general) to obtain, wherever possible, original correspondence with buyers or consignors. The consul general further states that when claims for goods are submitted through the consulate general there is always hope that the release of the property will follow without formal proceedings or expense, and that if such release is not brought about the papers in any given case in which prize-court proceedings may be instituted may be turned over to British solicitors. The consul general points out that in all cases it is futile to forward requests for release of goods unsupported by documentary history showing the ownership and destination of the consignment which it is sought to have released. The procurator general has suggested that the papers which should be presented are the originals of invoices, contracts, insurance policies, bills of lading, all correspondence with concerns in the country to which the goods are shipped, and an affidavit setting forth the facts in a given case.

As has just been stated, the order in council regarding the stopping of goods shipped to or from Germany is at present the subject of diplomatic discussion between the Government of the United States and the Government of Great Britain. And neither anything contained in this letter nor any action of the consul general in connection with his efforts to bring about the release of goods which have been detained should be construed as an admission on the part of the Government of the United States of the legality of the action taken by the British Government under this order.

It is suggested that you might deem it advisable to communicate directly with the consul general regarding the shipment referred to in your letter. On the other hand, if these goods have been sent to the prize court, it may be well for you to take prompt steps to establish your rights before the court. The department can not undertake to assist private persons in the conduct of proceedings before the court.

Should you desire to consult private counsel in England regarding this matter, the American counsel general at London will doubtless be able to furnish you on your request with the names of a number of reputable attorneys, one of whom may be employed in the matter. It should be stated in this connection, however, that obviously neither the consul general nor the department can be responsible for the integrity or ability of any lawyer who may be employed as a result of the information furnished by the consul general.

I am, etc.,

ALVEY A. ADEE,
For the Secretary of State.

Six months after our "ineffectual, illegal, and indefensible" blockade note the British Government replied as follows. Our note was of date October 21:

THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 107.] BRITISH EMBASSY,
Washington, April 24, 1916.

SIR: I have the honor, in obedience to instructions received from Sir Edward Grey, His Majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, to transmit to you herewith a memorandum embodying the reply to the representations of your Government in regard to restrictions on trade, which were communicated to Sir Edward Grey in Mr. Page's note of November 5 last, in pursuance to your instructions dated October 21.

I have, etc.,

CECIL SPRING-RICE.

[Inclosure.]

MEMORANDUM.

The communication addressed by the United States ambassador in London to Sir E. Grey on the 5th of November, 1915, has received the careful attention of His Majesty's Government, in consultation with their allies, the French Government, and His Majesty's Government have now the honor to make the following reply:

2. The first section (pars. 3–15) of the United States note relates to cargoes detained by the British authorities in order to prevent them from reaching an enemy destination, and the complaint of the United States Government is summarized in paragraph 33 to the effect that the methods sought to be employed by Great Britain to obtain and use

evidence of enemy destination of cargoes bound for neutral ports and to impose a contraband character upon such cargoes are without justification.

3. The wording of this summary suggests that the basis of the complaint of the United States Government is not so much that the shipments intercepted by the naval forces were really intended for use in the neutral countries to which they were dispatched, as that the dispatch of goods to the enemy countries has been frustrated by methods which have not been employed by belligerent nations in the past. It would seem to be a fair reply to such a contention that new devices for dispatching goods to the enemy must be met by new methods of applying the fundamental and acknowledged principle of the right to intercept such trade.

4. The question whether the exercise of the right of search can be restricted to search at sea was dealt with in Sir E. Grey's note of the 7th of January, 1915, and His Majesty's Government would again draw attention to the facts that information has constantly reached them of attempts to conceal contraband intended for the enemy in innocent packages, and that these attempts can only be frustrated by examination of the ship and cargo in port. Similarly, in Sir E. Grey's note of the 10th of February, 1915, it was pointed out that the size of modern steamships, and their capacity to navigate the waters where the allied patrols have to operate, whatever the conditions of the weather, frequently render it a matter of extreme danger, if not of impossibility, even to board the vessels unless they are taken into calm water for the purpose. It is unnecessary to repeat what was said in that note. There is nothing that His Majesty's Government could withdraw or that the experience of the officers of the allied fleets has tended to show was inaccurate.

5. When visit and search at sea are possible, and when a search can be made there which is sufficient to secure belligerent rights, it may be admitted that it would be an unreasonable hardship on merchant vessels to compel them to come into port, and it may well be believed that maritime nations have hesitated to modify the instructions to their naval officers that it is at sea that these operations should be carried out, and that undue deviation of the vessel from her course must be avoided. That, however, does not affect the fact that it would be impossible under the conditions of modern warfare to confine the rights of visit and search to an examination of the ship at the place where she is encountered without surrendering a fundamental belligerent right.

6. The effect of the size and seaworthiness of merchant vessels upon their search at sea is essentially a technical question, and accordingly His Majesty's Government have thought it well to submit the report of the board of naval experts, quoted by the United States ambassador in paragraph 7 of this note, to Admiral Sir John Jellicoe for his observations. The unique experience which this officer has gained as the result of more than 18 months in command of the grand fleet renders his opinion of peculiar value. His report is as follows:

"It is undoubtedly the case that the size of modern vessels is one of the factors which renders search at sea far more difficult than in the days of smaller vessels. So far as I know, it has never been contended that it is necessary to remove every package of a ship's cargo to establish the character and nature of her trade, etc.; but it must be obvious that the larger the vessel and the greater the amount of cargo the more difficult does examination at sea become, because more packages must be removed.

"This difficulty is much enhanced by the practice of concealing contraband in bales of hay and passengers' luggage, casks, etc., and this procedure, which has undoubtedly been carried out, necessitates the actual removal of a good deal of cargo for examination in suspected cases. This removal can not be carried out at sea except in the very finest weather.

"Further, in a large ship the greater bulk of the cargo renders it easier to conceal contraband, especially such valuable metals as nickel, quantities of which can easily be stowed in places other than the holds of a large ship.

"I entirely dispute the contention, therefore, advanced in the American note that there is no difference between the search of a ship of 1,000 tons and one of 20,000 tons. I am sure that the fallacy of the statement must be apparent to anyone who has ever carried out such a search at sea.

"There are other facts, however, which render it necessary to bring vessels into port for search. The most important is the manner in which those in command of German submarines, in entire disregard of international law and of their own prize regulations, attack, and sink merchant vessels on the high seas, neutral as well as British, without visiting the ship, and therefore without any examination of the cargo. This procedure renders it unsafe for a neutral vessel which is being examined by officers of a British ship to remain stopped on the high seas, and it is therefore in the interests of the neutrals themselves that the examiantion should be conducted in port.

"The German practice of misusing United States passports in order to procure a safe conduct for military persons and agents of enemy nationality makes it necessary to examine closely all suspect persons, and to do this effectively necessitates bringing the ship into harbor."

7. Sir John Jellicoe goes on to say:

"The difference between the British and the German procedure is that we have acted in the way which causes the least discomfort to neutrals. Instead of sinking neutral ships engaged in trade with the enemy, as the Germans have done in so many cases in direct contravention of article 113 of their own Naval Prize Regulations, 1909, in which it is laid down that the commander is only justified in destroying a neutral ship which has been captured if—

(*a*) "She is liable to condemnation, and

(*b*) "The bringing in might expose the warship to danger or imperil the success of the operations in which she is engaged at the time—

we examine them, giving as little inconvenience as modern naval conditions will allow, sending them into port only where this becomes necessary.

"It must be remembered, however, that it is not the allies alone who send a percentage of neutral vessels into port for examination, for it is common knowledge that German naval vessels, as stated in paragraph 19 of the American note, 'seize and bring into German ports neutral vessels bound for Scandinavian and Danish ports.'

"As cases in point, the interception by the Germans of the American oil tankers *Llama* and *Platuria* in August last may be mentioned. Both were bound to America from Sweden and were taken into Swinemünde for examination."

8. The French Ministry of Marine shares the views expressed by Sir J. Jellicoe on the question of search at sea, and has added the following statement:

"UNAUTHORIZED TRANSLATION OF PARAGRAPH 8 OF THE BRITISH MEMORANDUM.

"Naval practice, as it formerly existed, consisting in searching ships on the high seas, a method handed down to us by the old navy, is no longer adaptable to the conditions of navigation at the present day. Americans have anticipated its insufficiency and have foreseen the necessity of substituting some more effective method. In the instructions issued by the American Navy Department, under date of June 20, 1898, to the cruisers of the United States, the following order is found (clause 13):

"'If the latter (the ship's papers) show contraband of war, the ship should be seized; if not, she should be set free, unless by reason of strong grounds for suspicion a further search should seem to be requisite.'

"Every method must be modified having regard to the modifications of material which men have at their disposal, on condition that the method remains humane and civilized.

"The French Admiralty considers that to-day a ship, in order to be searched, should be brought to a port whenever the state of the sea, the nature, weight, volume, and stowage of the suspect cargo, as well as the obscuiity and lack of precision of the ship's papers, render search at sea practically impossible or dangerous for the ship searched.

"On the other hand, when the contrary circumstances exist, the search should be made at sea.

"Bringing the ship into port is also necessary and justified when the neutral vessel having entered the zone or vicinity of hostilities, (1) it is a question, in the interests of the neutral ship herself, of avoiding for the latter a series of stoppages and successive visits and of establishing once for all her innocent character and of permitting her thus to continue her voyage freely and without being molested; and (2) the belligerent, within his rights of legitimate defense, is entitled to exercise special vigilance over unknown ships which circulate in these waters."

9. The question of the locality of the search is, however, one of secondary importance. In view of His Majesty's Government the right of a belligerent to intercept contraband on its way to his enemy is fundamental and incontestable, and ought not to be restricted to intercepting contraband which happens to be accompanied on board the ship by proof sufficient to condemn it. What is essential is to determine whether or not the goods were on their way to the enemy. If they were, a belligerent is entitled to detain them, and having regard to the nature of the struggle in which the allies are engaged they are compelled to take the most effectual steps to exercise that right.

10. The United States note then passes to the subject of the procedure in the prize courts, and maintains that courts of prize have hitherto been bound, by well-established and long-settled practice, to consider at the first hearing only the ship's papers and documents and the answers to the standing interrogatories, and to exclude all other evidence unless and until an order has been made for "further proof." Attention is drawn to the fact that the above practice, which had been followed by the British prize courts for over a century, and also by the prize courts of the United States, was changed by the prize-court rules issued by His Majesty's Government at the outbreak of the present war. Upon this matter His Majesty's Government have to point out that they recognized some years ago that modern conditions had rendered the old rules obsolete, and new rules had been prepared under the guidance and supervision of the late Lord Gorell, whose experience as president of the admiralty division of the high court of justice rendered him well qualified to deal with the subject. Twenty months' experience of the working of the new rules in the prize court has served to show the utility of the changes.

11. It may further be pointed out that the practice and procedure adopted in prize courts are not settled or regulated by international law, but they are determined by each nation for itself. The procedure described in the United States note was gradually evolved in the British courts, and though it was adopted by the United States it has never been followed in the prize courts of France or of any other continental nation, nor does the fact that the United States followed the British practice prevent Great Britain or any other of the allied nations from introducing such changes in the procedure as modern circumstances may call for. International law only requires that the practice in prize courts of the belligerent nation should afford a fair hearing to all claims put forward by neutrals, and should enable the court to arrive at a just conclusion upon the evidence. Subject to that condition, each nation may regulate the practice to be followed in its prize courts. As an instance, the recent Italian decree of May 30, 1915, may be quoted in article 6 of which it is enacted that the prize court "will draw up rules of procedure for its future guidance." The division of prize-court proceedings into two distinct phases, the first hearing and the hearing on further proof, under the early British and American practice, was merely a rule of procedure. Similarly the exclusion of extraneous evidence until the making of an order for further proof was only a rule of procedure. His Majesty's Government were, therefore, not only at liberty but felt bound to alter these rules so soon as they were advised that the rules were obsolete and might work injustice.

12. The old practice and procedure had become archaic in form and belonged to days long before the modern improvements in legal procedure were developed, days when, for instance, the parties interested were prevented from giving any evidence as witnesses in actions which affected their rights. The alterations in the prize-court practice and rules were conceived and made in the spirit of those improvements. The objects with which the old practice was abolished were to prevent delay, to eliminate technicalities, and to enable the parties to prove all the true and material facts, and to place their respective cases fully before the court.

13. Moreover, it must be remembered that the conditions under which goods are conveyed by sea from one country to another have completely changed. In the days when the old rules were developed the ship's papers were a safe and satisfactory guide as to the nature and destination of the cargo. If the ship's papers had not indicated the true object and purpose of the consignment, the consignee would have been uncertain what to do with the goods when they arrived and the commercial transaction would have been hampered, for there were in those days no fast mails or telegraph cables by which supplementary information could be conveyed. If there were no ship's papers, or if they obviously were not genuine, it was a ground for condemnation. When there was no reason to doubt them, the court could safely take the papers as indicating the real transaction. Nowadays the conditions have changed; the papers may outwardly be perfectly genuine and complete, yet they may have been prepared with the express purpose of concealing the real nature of the transaction. These misleading papers would not, however, occasion any difficulty in dealing with

the goods on their arrival, because the necessary instructions to the consignee can be conveyed by other means. Consequently the old rule that the papers on board the ship must alone be taken into consideration, and evidence from other sources excluded, is no longer practicable; indeed, the system of attributing to the ship's papers the character of final and conclusive proof upheld in the United States note would encourage shippers of contraband to falsify the papers, as they would thereby insure obsolete immunity from capture. It is in the same way due to change of circumstances that the evidence of the master and members of the crew has ceased to be of much importance in the majority of prize cases; they usually now know nothing of the real destination of the cargo they are transporting, and the more skillfully the dispatch of goods with an enemy destination is contrived the more effectually will it be concealed from those on board.

14. It may be doubted whether any belligerent Government would be ready to forego the right of capture of goods on their way to an enemy in every case where such destination was not disclosed in the ship's papers or the evidence of those on board the ship. The difficulty which United States naval officers found even as early as 1862 in complying with the old rule is illustrated by the quotation from Lord Lyons's note of April 22, 1863, in connection with the case of the *Magicienne*, one of the cases which is dealt with in the appendix to this note, in which he drew attention to the habit of the United States cruisers of seizing vessels on the chance that something might possibly be discovered ex post facto which would prevent the captors from being condemned to pay damages.

15. The contention advanced by the United States Government in paragraph 9 of their note, that the effect of this new procedure is to subject traders to risk of loss, delay, and expense so great and so burdensome as practically to destroy much of the export trade of the United States to neutral countries in Europe, is not borne out by the official statistics published in the United States, nor by the reports of the Department of Commerce. The first nine months of 1915 may be taken as a period when the war conditions must have been known to all those engaged in commerce in the United States of America, and when any injurious effects of the prize-court procedure would have been recognized. During that period the exports from the United States of America to the three Scandinavian countries and Holland, the group of neutral countries whose imports have been most affected by the naval operations of the allies and by the procedure adopted in their prize courts, amounted to $274,037,000 as compared with $126,763,000 in the corresponding period of 1913. It is useless to take into account the corresponding figures of 1914 because of the dislocation of trade caused by the outbreak of the war, but taking the prewar months of 1914, the figures for 1913, 1914, and 1915 were as follows:

1913	$97,480,000
1914	88,132,000
1915	234,960,000

16. In the face of such figures it seems impossible to accept the contention that the new prize-court procedure in Great Britain has practically destroyed much of the export trade of the United States to neutral countries in Europe, and the inference is suggested that if complaints have been made to the administration of Washington by would-be exporters, they emanated not from persons who desired to engage in genuine commerce with the neutral countries, but from those who desired to dispatch goods to the enemy under cover of a neutral destination, and who found it more difficult to conceal the real facts from the prize courts under the new procedure.

17. At this point it would have been opportune to introduce a reply to the contention that appears at first sight to be advanced in paragraph 13 of the United States note that Great Britain, while interfering with foreign trade, has increased her own with neutral countries adjacent to Germany, but this is rendered unnecessary by the explanation given by Mr. Page at the time that he presented the note, and since confirmed by a statement given out to the press at Washington, that no such meaning is to be attributed to the paragraph. Moreover, the subject has been dealt with in the note which Sir E. Grey sent to Mr. Page on the 13th August, last, and again in the note given to the State Department by the British ambassador at Washington on the 27th December.

18. The next passage in the United States note (par. 14) relates to the principle of noninterference with goods intended to become incorporated in the mass of merchandise for sale in a neutral country, or, as it is more commonly known, with goods intended to be incorporated in the "common stock" of the country. The United States Government urge with some force that trade statistics are not by themselves conclusive in establishing an enemy destination, and that such statistics require careful scrutiny. On the other hand, the mere fact that goods, no matter of what description or in what quantities, are ostensibly destined to form part of the common stock of a neutral country, can not be regarded as sufficient evidence to prove their innocence or to justify the assertion that any attempt to raise questions as to their ulterior destination is unwarranted and inquisitorial. It is a matter of common knowledge that large quantities of supplies have, since the war broke out, passed to our enemy through neutral ports. It was pointed out in Sir E. Grey's note of the 17th July, 1915, that it would be mere affectation to regard some of those ports as offering facilities only for the commerce of the neutral country in which they are situated. They have, in fact, been the main avenues through which supplies have reached the enemy from all parts of the world. In the case of goods consigned to these ports, the ships' papers convey no suggestion as to their ultimate destination, and every device which ingenuity can suggest, or which can be contrived by able and unscrupulous agents, is resorted to for the purpose of giving to carefully organized arrangements for supplying the enemy the appearance of genuine transactions with a neutral country. His Majesty's Government can not bring themselves to believe that it is the desire of the United States Government that traffic of this kind should be allowed to proceed without hindrance.

19. The question whether goods dispatched to a neutral port were intended to become part of the mass of merchandise for sale in that country is one of fact. Quite apart from the conclusions suggested by the figures, there is a considerable body of evidence that many of the goods which have been shipped to neutral ports during the war were never intended to become part of the common stock of that country, but were earmarked from the beginning for reexport to the enemy countries. If they had been intended to form part of the common stock, they would have been available for use in that country; yet at one time in the early days of the allies' efforts to intercept all the commerce of the enemy, when they found it necessary to hold up certain cargoes of cotton on their way to Sweden, it transpired that though the quays and the warehouses of Gothenburg were congested with cotton, there was none available for the use of the spinners in Sweden.

20. Confirmation of the fact that many of the shipments to neutral ports were never intended to become part of the common stock of the country is also to be found in some of the contracts which have come to light since the policy of intercepting all commodities on their way to or from the enemy country was introduced. One of those which has been disclosed is a contract with a firm in Germany for the sale of no less than 50,000 bales of cotton linters at a price which was about double that which linters were fetching in any other country than Germany. The whole quantity was to be shipped to neutral ports. Various shipments made under this contract have been held up, and in all cases the goods were shipped with papers and under conditions which concealed the enemy destination altogether. Sweden is not in normal times a large importer of cotton linters, and it certainly would not be reasonable to maintain that, because the ship's papers did not disclose this contract of sale or the enemy destination, shipments of linters under this contract should be regarded as intended to become part of the mass of merchandise for sale in Sweden.

21. However sound the principle that goods intended for incorporation in the common stock of a neutral country should not be treated as contraband may be in theory, it is one that can have but little application to the present imports of the Scandinavian countries. The circumstances of a large number of these shipments negative any conclusion that they are bona fide shipments for the importing countries. Many of them are made to persons who are apparently nominees of enemy agents, and who never figured before as importers of such articles. Consignments of meat products are addressed to lightermen and dock laborers. Several thousands of tons of such goods have been found documented for a neutral port and addressed to firms which do not exist there. Large consignments of similar goods were addressed to a baker, to the keeper of a small private hotel, or to a maker of musical instruments. Will it be contended that such imports ought to be regarded as bona fide shipments intended to become part of the common stock of the country?

22. Similarly several of the shipments which the allied naval forces are now obliged to intercept consist of goods for which there is in normal circumstances no sale in the importing country, and it has already been pointed out in a recent decision in the British prize court that the rule about incorporation in the common stock of a neutral country can not apply to such goods. The same line was taken in some of the decisions in the United States prize courts during the Civil War.

23. In the presence of facts such as those indicated above, the United States Government will, it is believed, agree with His Majesty's Government that no belligerent could in modern times submit to be bound by a rule that no goods could be seized unless they were accompanied by papers which established their destination to an enemy country, and that all detentions of ships and goods must uniformly be based on proofs obtained at the time of seizure. To press any such theory is tantamount to asking that all trade between neutral ports shall be free, and would thus render nugatory the exercise of sea power and destroy the pressure which the command of the sea enables the allies to impose upon their enemy.

24. It is, of course, inevitable that the exercise of belligerent rights at sea, however reasonably exercised, must inconvenience neutral trade, and great pressure is being put upon the United States Government to urge the technical theory that there should be no interference at all with goods passing between neutral ports, and thus to frustrate the measures which the allies have taken to intercept commerce on its way to or from the enemy. It may not be out of place to recall that the position is somewhat similar to that which arose in the United States in the war between the North and the South. All students of international law and of military history are aware that the blockade of the Southern States was the most important engine of pressure possessed by the North, and that it was on the point of being rendered ineffective through the use by blockade runners of neutral ports of access. It is well known that the United States Government took immediate steps to stop such trade, and that the United States Supreme Court extended the doctrine of continuous voyage so as to cover all cases where there was an intention to break the blockade by whatever means, direct or indirect.

25. The configuration of the European coast is such as to render neutral ports the most convenient for the passage of German commerce, and just as it was essential to the United States in the Civil War to prevent their blockade from being nullified by the use of neutral ports of access, so it is essential to the allied powers to-day to see that the measures which they are taking to intercept enemy commerce shall not be rendered illusory by the use of similar ports. The instructions issued by Mr. Seward during the Civil War show that he regarded the continuance of the blockade against the Southern States as absolutely vital, and he repeatedly instructed American representatives abroad to assure foreign Governments that, while he was fully alive to the great inconveniences caused by the cutting off of the supplies of cotton from Europe, yet he could not, as American Secretary of State, "sacrifice the Union for cotton." The American representatives in Europe in their published reports again and again expressed the opinion that, whatever might be the policy of the Government, the peoples of Europe would never consent to side with the power that upheld slavery against the power which represented freedom. Their opinion was entirely justified by the result, and in fact neither the French nor the English Governments took and decided steps toward breaking the blockade, in spite of the tremendous pressure which was brought to bear upon them and the terrible suffering of the cotton operatives of this country. Indeed, President Lincoln himself acknowledged, in a message to the laboring classes of Manchester, his high sense of the spirit of self-sacrifice which they had exhibited in their policy toward America. His Majesty's Government have, of course, no desire to enter upon any examination of the issues involved in that historic conflict, but no one will question the respect which is due to the determination then shown by the French and British peoples not to range themselves on what they believed to be the side of slavery or consent to action which they held might be fatal to the democratic principle of government, however great the pressure exerted by commercial interests might be.

26. His Majesty's Government desire to assure the United States Government that every effort is being made to distinguish between bona fide neutral commerce and that which is really intended for the enemy.

The task is one of exceptional difficulty, and the statistics show that a great volume of imports intended for the enemy must have passed through adjacent neutral countries during the war. As an instance, the imports of lard into Sweden during the year 1915 may be taken. In that year the total import of lard into Sweden from all sources was 9,318 tons, of which no less than 9,029 tons came from the United

States. In the three years before the war, 1911–13, the annual average import of the same article was only 888, of which 638 tons came from the United States. It is difficult to believe that the requirements of Sweden in respect of lard, even when every allowance is made for possible diversions of trade due to the war, could suddenly have increased more than tenfold in 1915. The inference, indeed, is irresistible that the greater part of these imports must have had another and an enemy destination.

27. It may readily be conceded that the efforts to intercept enemy commerce passing through neutral countries can not fail to produce some soreness and dissatisfaction. His Majesty's Government have therefore spared no pains in their endeavor to mitigate the inconvenience which must inevitably be occasioned to neutral traders. In pursuance of this object they are resorting to the policy of ascertaining the total requirements of the country concerned, and intercepting such imports as may be presumed, because they are in excess of those requirements, to form no part of the normal trade of the country, and therefore to be destined for the enemy.

28. The total net imports of a particular commodity by any country in normal times gives a satisfactory index to its requirements, and where these are provided for on a generous scale, suitable allowance being made for the commercial dislocation inseparable from a state of war, it is not unfair, after 18 months of war and in the light of the experience which has now been gained, to invite the prize court to regard with suspicion further consignments of any kind of goods of which the imports have already exceeded a figure ample to satisfy the country's requirements.

29. It ought not to be difficult to arrive at a satisfactory understanding with all parties on the subject, as the official statistics afford information not only as to the quantities of particular commodities required by neutral countries, but also of the sources from which they are usually obtained. Arrangements of this nature will be of great service in removing the friction and misunderstanding which now arise, as it will help the commercal classes in the neutral countries to form an idea of the limits within which their trading operations are not likely to encounter difficulty.

30. The adoption of such a system, although not unattended by difficulty, has been greatly facilitated by agreements made with the organizations which control imports in the neutral countries, as well as by arrangements with some of the shipping lines, and with several of the interests concerned in the import of particular commodities from neutral countries. His Majesty's Government intend to avail themselves of every opportunity which may present itself in order to bring about a more extended adoption of this equitable system.

31. Moreover, the fact that a neutral country adjacent to the enemy territory is importing an abnormal quantity of supplies or commodities, of which her usual imports are relatively small, of which the enemy stands in need, and which are known to pass from that neutral country to the enemy, is by itself an element of proof on which the prize court would be justified in acting, unless it is rebutted by evidence to the contrary. Hostile destination being a question of fact, the court should take all the relevant circumstances into consideration in arriving at its decision, and there seems to be no reason in principle for limiting the facts at which the court is entitled to look in a case of this kind.

32. The second section of the United States note (paragraphs 16–24) deals with the validity of the measures against enemy commerce which were embodied in the British Order in Council of March 11, 1915, and in the French decree of March 13, and maintains that these measures are invalid because they do not comply with the rules which have been gradually evolved in the past for regulating a blockade of enemy ports, and which were summarized in concrete form in articles 1–21 of the Declaration of London.

33. These rules can only be applied to their full extent to a blockade in the sense of the term as used in the Declaration of London. His Majesty's Government have already pointed out that a blockade which was limited to the direct traffic with enemy ports would in this case have but little, if any, effect on enemy commerce, Germany being so placed geographically that her imports and exports can pass through neutral ports of access as easily as through her own. However, with the spirit of the rules His Majesty's Government and their allies have loyally complied in the measures they have taken to intercept German imports and exports. Due notice has been given by the allies of the measures they have taken, and goods which were shipped or contracted for before the announcement of the intention of the allies to detain all commerce on its way to or from the enemy countries have been treated with great liberality. The objects with which the usual declaration and notification of blockade are issued have therefore been fully achieved. Again, the effectiveness of the work of the allied fleets under the orders referred to is shown by the small number of vessels which escape the allied patrols. It is doubtful whether there has ever been a blockade where the ships which slipped through bore so small a proportion to those which were intercepted.

34. The measures taken by the allies are aimed at preventing commodities of any kind from reaching or leaving Germany, and not merely at preventing ships from reaching or leaving German ports. His Majesty's Government do not feel, therefore, that the rules set out in the United States note need be discussed in detail. The basis and the justification of the measures which the allies have taken were dealt with at length in Sir E. Grey's note of July 23, and there is no need to repeat what was there said. It need only be added that the rules applicable to a blockade of enemy ports are strictly followed by the allies in cases where they apply, as, for instance, in the blockades which have been declared of the Turkish coast of Asia Minor or of the coast line of German East Africa.

35. Some further comment is perhaps necessary upon the statements made in paragraph 19 of the United States note, where it is said that because German coasts are open to trade with Scandinavian countries the measures of the allies fail to comply with the rule that a blockade must be effective. It is no doubt true that commerce from Sweden and Norway reaches German ports in the Baltic in the same way that commerce still passes to and from Germany across the land frontiers of adjacent States, but this fact does not render the measures which France and Great Britain are taking against German trade the less justifiable. Even if these measures were judged with strict reference to the rules applicable to blockades, a standard by which, in their view, the measures of the allies ought not to be judged, it must be remembered that the passage of commerce to a blockaded area across a land frontier or across an inland sea has never been held to interfere with the effectiveness of the blockade. If the right to intercept commerce on its way to or from a belligerent country, even though it may enter that country through a neutral port, be granted, it is difficult to see why the interposition of a few miles of sea as well should make any difference. If the doctrine of continuous voyage may rightly be applied to goods going to Germany through Rotterdam, on what ground can it be contended that it is not equally applicable to goods with a similar destination passing through some Swedish port and across the Baltic or even through neutral waters only? In any case, it must be remembered that the number of ships reaching a blockaded area is not the only test as to whether it is maintained effectively. The best proof of the thoroughness of a blockade is to be found in its results. This is the test which Mr. Seward, in 1863, when Secretary of State, maintained should be applied to the blockade of the Confederate States. Writing to Mr. Dayton, the United States minister in Paris, on the 8th of March, he said: "But the true test of the efficiency of the blockade will be found in its results. Cotton commands a price in Manchester and in Rouen and Lowell four times greater than in New Orleans. * * * Judged by this test of results, I am satisfied that there never was a more effective blockade." Similar language was used in the dispatch to Mr. Adams in London. The great rise in price in Germany of many articles most necessary to the enemy in the prosecution of the present war must be well known to the United States Government.

36. Attention is drawn in the same paragraph to the fact that cotton has since the measures announced on the 11th of March been declared to be contraband, and this is quoted as an admission that the blockade is ineffective to prevent shipments of cotton from reaching the enemy countries. The reason for which cotton was declared to be contraband is quite simple. Goods with an enemy destination are not, under the order in council, subject to condemnation; they are restored to the owner. Evidence accumulated that it was only for military purposes that cotton was being employed in Germany. All cotton was laid under embargo, and its use in the textile factories was prohibited except in very special cases or by military permission. In these circumstances it was right and proper that cotton with an enemy destination should be subjected to condemnation and not merely prevented from passing, and it was for this reason that it was declared to be contraband. The amount of cotton reaching the enemy country has probably not been affected in the least by its being made contraband on the 20th of August, as supplies from overseas had been cut off effectually before that date. Even the Konfektionär, a German technical paper, dealing with the textile industry, admitted in its issue of the 1st of July that not a gram of cotton had found its way into Germany for the preceding four weeks.

37. Before leaving the question of the validity of the measures which France and Great Britain have taken against enemy commerce, reference must be made to the statement made in the thirty-third paragraph of the United States note that "the curtailment of neutral rights by these measures, which are admittedly retaliatory, and therefore illegal, can not be admitted. His Majesty's Government are quite unable to admit the principle that to the extent that these measures are retaliatory they are illegal. It is true that these measures were occasioned and necessitated by the illegal and unjustifiable proclamation issued by the German Government on the 4th of February, 1915, constituting the waters surrounding Great Britain, including the whole English Channel, a "war zone," into which neutral vessels would penetrate at their peril, and in which they were liable to be sunk at sight. This proclamation was accompanied by a memorandum alleging that the violation of international law by Great Britain justified the retaliatory measures of the German Government owing to the acquiescence of neutrals in the action of this country. The legitimacy of the use of retaliatory measures was thus admitted by the Germans, although His Majesty's Government and their allies strongly deny the facts upon which their arguments were based. But although these measures may have been provoked by the illegal conduct of the enemy, they do not in reality conflict with any general principle of international law, of humanity, or civilization; they are enforced with consideration against neutral countries, and are therefore juridically sound and valid.

38. The more abstract question of the legitimacy of measures of retaliation adopted by one belligerent against his opponent, but affecting neutrals also, is one of which His Majesty's Government think the discussion might well be deferred. It is a subject of considerable difficulty and complexity, but His Majesty's Government are surprised to notice that the Government of the States seem to regard all such measures of retaliation in war as illegal if they should incidentally inflict injury upon neutrals. The advantage which any such principle would give to the determined lawbreaker would be so great that His Majesty's Government can not conceive that it would commend itself to the conscience of mankind. To take a simple instance, suppose that one belligerent scatters mines on the trade routes so as to impede or destroy the commerce of his enemy—an action which is illegitimate and calculated to inflict injury upon neutrals as well as upon the other belligerents—what is that belligerent to do? Is he precluded from meeting in any way this lawless attack upon him by his enemy? His Majesty's Government can not think that he is not entitled by way of retaliation to scatter mines in his turn, even though in so doing he also interferes with neutral rights. Or take an even more extreme case: Suppose that a neutral failed to prevent his territory being made use of by one of the belligerents for warlike purposes, could he object to the other belligerent acting in the same way? It would seem that the true view must be that each belligerent is entitled to insist on being allowed to meet his enemy on terms of equal liberty of action. If one of them is allowed to make an attack upon the other regardless of neutral rights, his opponent must be allowed similar latitude in prosecuting the struggle, nor should he in that case be limited to the adoption of measures precisely identical with those of his opponent.

39. The third section of the United States note deals with the question of the means of redress which are open to United States citizens for any injury or loss which they suffer as the consequence of an unjustifiable exercise of the belligerent rights of the allies. The contention put forward in these paragraphs appears to be that there is no obligation on neutral individuals who maintain that they have been damnified by the naval operations of the belligerents to appeal to the prize courts for redress, because the prize courts are fettered by municipal enactments which are binding upon them, whereas the very question which those individuals wish to raise is the validity of such enactments when tested by the canons of international law.

40. These arguments seem to be founded on a misunderstanding of the situation and to overlook all that was said in Sir E. Gray's note of the 23d of July on this subject. The extract there quoted from the decisions given by Lord Stowell shows that in Great Britain the prize court has jurisdiction to pronounce a decision on the very point which the United States note indicates, viz: Whether an order or instruction to the naval forces issued by His Majesty's Government is inconsistent with those principles of international law which the court is bound to apply in deciding cases between captors and claimants and is entitled, if satisfied that the order is not consistent with those principles, to decline to enforce it. The jurisdiction of the prize court in Great Britain therefore affords every facility to a United States citizen whose goods are detained and dealt with under the order in council of

the 11th of March to take his case to the prize court and there claim that the order under which the naval authorities have acted is invalid and that its enforcement entities him to redress and compensation.

41. In some matters, it is true, that the prize court is bound by the municipal enactments of its own country. It is the territorial sovereign who sets up the court and who therefore determines the matters which are incidental to its establishment. His Majesty's Government have already pointed out that each country determines for itself the procedure which its prize courts shall adopt; but certainly under the British system—and His Majesty's Government were under the impression that in this matter the United States had taken the same course—the substantive law which the court applies as between captor and claimant consists of the rules and principles of international law, and not the municipal legislation of the country. If reference is made to the case of the Recovery (6 C. Rob., 341), it will be seen that Lord Stowall refused to enforce in the prize court against a neutral the British navigation laws.

42. Sir E. Grey's note of the 23d of July was intended to make this point clear, and so far from having intended to "give the impression that His Majesty's Government do not rely upon its soundness or strength," His Majesty's Government wish to lay stress on the fact that the principle that no encroachment should be made upon the jurisdiction and the competence of the price court is one which they regard as vital.

43. Apart from the cases where a question may arise as to the validity of orders or instructions on which naval action was based, circumstances frequently give rise to claims for compensation on behalf of individuals who consider they have suffered unjustly from the exercise of rights jure belli, as, for instance, from the delay in releasing their ships, or so forth. His Majesty's Government desire therefore to repeat what was said in Sir E. Grey's note of the 10th of February, that the British prize court rules give the court ample jurisdiction to deal with any claims for compensation by a neutral arising from the interference with a ship or goods by the naval forces.

44. His Majesty's Government attach the utmost importance to the maintenance of the rule that when an effective mode of redress is open to individuals in the courts of a civilized country by which they can obtain adequate satisfaction for any invasion of their rights recourse must be had to the mode of redress so provided before there is any scope for diplomatic action. This is the course which His Majesty's Government have always themselves endeavored to follow in previous wars in which Great Britain has been neutral, and they have done so because it is the only principle which is correct in theory and which operates with justice and impartiality between the more powerful and the weaker nations. To that principle His Majesty's Government proposes to adhere now that they are themselves the belligerent and that it is against them that the claims are advanced.

45. Inquiry has been made into the four cases of the *Magicienne*, the *Don José*, the *Labuan*, and the *Saxon*, mentioned in the United States note (paragraph 27) as instances during the American Civil War where His Majesty's Government put forward, through the diplomatic channel, claims for damages for seizure and detention of British ships alleged to have been made without legal justification. In two of these instances it is said at the time the demands were made the cases were before the American prize courts for adjudication. The results of the inquiry are contained in an appendix to this note. The cases have there been dealt with in some detail because they are cited as indicating that it was the practice of Her Majesty's Government during the American Civil War to claim, through the diplomatic channel, damages for seizures of British ships alleged to have been made without legal justification. The cases do, in fact, establish the very proposition for which his Majesty's Government are now contending, viz: That in the cases where the prize court has power to grant relief there is no ground for putting forward claims through the diplomatic channel. In two of the cases the United States Government themselves discontinued the prize court proceedings and admitted the right to compensation, and in the others they maintained the jurisdiction of the prize court, and His Majesty's Government acquiesced.

46. The statements contained in paragraph 31 of the United States note have led to a careful review of the practice which is now followed in the British courts with regard to vessels and cargoes which are released. It has been ascertained that in the case of vessels brought in for examination and allowed to proceed without discharging any part of their cargo no dues are charged. Where part of the cargo is discharged and passes into the jurisdiction of the prize court, the terms of the release are, of course, subject to the control of the court, and His Majesty's Government are therefore hardly in a position to give any definite undertaking with regard to the incidence of the expenses and charges which may have been incurred. In general, however, they realize that, in cases where goods are released and it transpires that there were no sufficient grounds for their seizure, no dues or charges should fall upon the owner. The statement that waivers of the right to put forward claims for compensation are exacted as a condition of release is scarcely accurate, but they are prepared to concede that such waivers would be a hardship to the owners of the goods released. In these circumstances His Majesty's Government will abstain from exacting any such undertakings in future, and will not enforce those which have already been given.

47. Attached to the United States note are voluminous appendices containing lists of various vessels of all nationalities whose cargoes have been examined by the naval forces of the allies. These lists are a strong testimony to the vigor and effectiveness with which the naval forces are carrying out the measures which the allies have deemed it necessary to take against the commerce of their enemies. Perhaps the most striking conclusion which can be drawn from these lists is the rapidity with which the vessels are released and the very small amount of loss and inconvenience to which they are, as a rule, exposed.

48. Into the facts of each particular case His Majesty's Government feel sure the Government of the United States will agree that there is no need for them to enter, for the lists comprise only ships dealt with by the British authorities; no corresponding lists are given of those dealt with by the French forces, and a detailed examination of these cases would be of no assistance in explaining the general principles which are being followed and which are common to both the allies. Furthermore, any discussion of the cases in this note might prejudice the chances of the claimants of recovering compensation through the prize court in cases where they consider that they are entitled to redress.

49. Finally His Majesty's Government desire to assure the United States Government that they will continue their efforts to make the exercise of what they conceive to be their belligerent rights as little burdensome to neutrals as possible. Some suggestions have already been referred to in this note which, it is believed, would have that effect, and they are quite ready to consider others. For instance, they have already appointed an impartial and influential commission to examine whether any further steps could be taken to minimize the delays involved in the present methods of dealing with neutral vessels. Again, it has been suggested that it would be a great commercial convenience if neutral shippers knew, before they made arrangements for ship space and for financing their consignments, whether they would be held up by belligerent patrols. A scheme is already in operation which ought to succeed in accomplishing this object. Other suggestions of a like nature might perhaps be made, and the allied Governments would be prepared to give favorable consideration to any proposal for the alleviation of the position of neutrals, provided that the substantial effectiveness of the measures now in force against enemy commerce would not be thereby impaired.

50. His Majesty's Government are of opinion that it is to such mitigations that the allies and the neutrals concerned should look for the removal of the difficulties now encountered rather than to abrupt changes either in the theory or application of a policy based upon admitted principles of international law carefully adjusted to the altered conditions of modern warfare. Some of the changes which have been advocated would, indeed, if adopted in their entirety, render it impossible for the allies to persist with effect in their endeavors to deprive the enemy of the resources upon which he depends for the prosecution of operations carried on both by land and sea with complete disregard of the claims of humanity; for instance, the practice of visiting exclusively at sea, instead of in port, vessels reasonably suspected of carrying supplies to the enemy, or, again, the adoption of the principle that goods notoriously destined for the enemy may not be intercepted if they happen to be carried by a neutral vessel and addressed to a neutral consignee could not fail to have this result.

51. His Majesty's Government have noted with sincere satisfaction the intimation contained in the concluding passages of the United States note of the intention of the United States to undertake the task of championing the integrity of neutral rights. The first act of this war was the unprovoked invasion by the enemy of neutral territory—that of Belgium—which he was solemnly pledged by treaty to protect. The occupation of this territory was accompanied by abominable acts of cruelty and oppression in violation of all the accepted rules of war, atrocities the record of which is available in published documents; the disregard of neutral rights has since been extended to naval warfare by the wanton destruction of neutral merchant ships on the high seas, regardless of the lives of those on board. In every theater and in each phase of the war has been visible the same shocking disregard by the enemy of the rights of innocent persons and neutral peoples. His Majesty's Government would welcome any combination of neutral nations, under the lead of the United States, which would exert an effective influence to prevent the violation of neutral rights, and they can not believe that they are their allies have much to fear from any combination for the protection of those rights which takes an impartial and comprehensive view of the conduct of this war and judges it by a reasonable interpretation of the generally accepted provisions of international law and by the rules of humanity that have hitherto been approved by the civilized world.

APPENDIX.

CASES OF THE "MAGICIENNE," THE "DON JOSÉ," THE "LABUAN," AND THE "SAXON."

1. The *Magicienne* was captured on the 27th of January, 1863, about 400 miles from the Cape Verde Islands, while on a voyage to Matamoras. She was taken to Key West and relesed on March 2, the distric attorney of the United States stating that he could see nothing in the depositions, invoices, and other papers on which to base a demand for condemnation or even for a certificate of probable cause of seizure. On April 3 Lord Lyons was instructed to ask for compensation, and did so in a note to Mr. Seward, dated April 22. In reply, Mr. Seward admitted that compensation ought to be made. The course of procedure suggested by Mr. Seward was adopted, and ultimately the compensation was fixed at $8,645. No suggestion was made that any other mode of redress was open to the injured party or that it was not a case where compensation should be asked for through the diplomatic channel. On the contrary, the admission that the seizure was illegal was made by the United States, and Mr. Seward himself admitted that compensation should be made.

2. The *Don José* was a small British schooner of 35 tons, which was captured on July 2, 1863, off Cuba, when on a voyage to Habana. She was released on July 15 because the district attorney was unable, on examination of the ship's papers and of the depositions of the witnesses, to find any grounds on which to file a libel against the vessel. On January 2, 1864, Lord Lyons wrote a note to Mr. Seward, pointing out that the seizure appeared to have been one of a very unjustifiable character, and saying that he hoped that the United States Government would have no difficulty in admitting that compensation was due. Mr. Seward, in his reply, admitted that the case seemed to be a strong one. On May 18 Lord Lyons again pressed for compensation, and based his claim upon the ground that the United States law officer could find no ground for bringing the case before the prize court, and that it must be presumed that the court, if the case had come before it, would, in the execution of its duty, have awarded costs and damages. Mr. Seward promised to give the matter attentive consideration. He does not appear to have suggested that the claimant could himself have applied to the prize court for compensation, or to have challenged the point urged by Lord Lyons that it was the failure of the United States authorities to bring the case before the prize court which deprived the court of the opportunity of awarding redress.

3. The case of the *Labuan* gave rise to a voluminous diplomatic correspondence. She was a British steamer which was seized by the United States steamer *Portsmouth* on February 1, 1862, when lying off the mouth of the Rio Grande within the limits of the port of Matamoros and probably therefore within the territorial waters of Mexico. She had landed a cargo of British goods and was loading a cargo of cotton and other articles. Copies of the reports which Lord Lyons had received as to this case were given to Mr. Seward privately with a suggestion that the United States Government might perhaps think it advisable to release the vessel and give her compensation without subjecting the vessel to judicial proceedings. In another unofficial communication Mr. Seward admitted that a perusal of the information in the Navy Department had not satisfied him that the capture was legal, but preferred that nothing should be done until a judicial decision had been given. The official correspondence that ensued dealt mainly in its earlier stages with the contention urged by Her Majesty's Government that unless the United States Government were going to

maintain that the capture was justifiable and valid, it was unreasonable to expose the parties interested to the delay and the expense of judicial proceedings. The United States Government, however, insisted that the cast must take its course in the prize court, and in the circumstances Her Majesty's Government could only acquiesce. The trial took place on May 20 in the district court at New York, when the immediate release of vessel and cargo was ordered, and the question of damages against the captors reserved for consideration. The subsequent official correspondence was occupied chiefly with the delays in getting the damages assessed. As early as April 9, 1863, Mr. Seward wrote to Lord Lyons a note reviewing the whole correspondence, in which he said, "I freely admit that I believe the claimants entitled to damages and cost," but he maintained that it was regular and legal to wait for the court to decree them, and that the court would decide the question with more exact justice than could the executive Government. The period which elapsed before the prize court dealt with the damages payable certainly justified the complaints which Lord Lyons was instructed to make, for the decree awarding $141,902 was not issued until March, 1868, more than six years after the capture, nor was the sum paid until a further period of over two years had elapsed.

4. The case of the *Saxon* also gave rise to a voluminous diplomatic correspondence, but I am at a loss to know what ground there can be for citing the action of Her Majesty's Government in this case as a precedent for maintaining the right of a Government to ignore the prize court and to claim compensation through the diplomatic channel. The *Saxon* was seized on October 29, 1863, by the U. S. S. *Vanderbilt* while lying at anchor off Penguin Island, on the coast of South Africa. Some confusion occurred at the time of capture, and the mate of the *Saxon* was shot dead by an officer of the *Vanderbilt*. The vessel was sent to New York, and arrived there on December 22. Some doubt seems to have arisen as to why the vessel had been captured, and Lord Lyons was instructed by Lord Russel early in 1864 to ask the United States Government either to direct the immediate release of the *Saxon*, with proper compensation to the owners, or at least to explain the ground on which her seizure and detention were supposed to be justified. Meanwhile further information had come into the possession of Her Majesty's Government, and on February 15 Lord Lyons was instructed on the advice of the law officers of the Crown, that Her Majesty's Government saw no ground for seeking to withdraw the case from the jurisdiction of the prize court. On March 7 Judge Bettes, in the district court at New York, decreed the restitution of the vessel and cargo free of all costs, charges, and expenses, reserving for future consideration the question of probable cause of seizure. Lord Lyons was subsequently informed that Her Majesty's Government saw no reason to complain of this sentence. They understood the question of damages still to be open, but they were not prepared to say that, if these should be refused, they would, in the peculiar circumstances of the case, be any necessity for an official complaint on their part. The only suggestion which Her Majesty's Government made through the diplomatic channel as to payment of compensation was a request that some relief might be granted to the widow of the mate of the *Saxon* who was shot by an officer of the *Vanderbilt*, but the request was refused with asperity.

On the 10th of May our Government addressed a communication to England to inquire whether it had decided "to repudiate their promise respecting the treatment of these vessels which in good faith has been relied on by this Government."

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, May 10, 1916.

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your excellency's note of April 22, 1916, in which you refer to the fact that your Government, in December last, promised not to detain certain vessels belonging to the American Transatlantic Co. unless they should carry contraband pending the decision of the British prize court in the cases of the steamer *Hocking* and the steamer *Genesee*, which also belong to this company, and in which you state that Sir Edward Grey has instructed you to inform me that the vessels which have not been seized can no longer enjoy immunity from seizure unless certain assurances respecting their use are given by the company.

These vessels are owned by an American corporation organized under laws which presumably are similar to British laws respecting incorporation. In the name of this corporation these vessels were registered under the American flag, in accordance with laws which, it is understood by this Government, are similar to British laws governing registration of vessels under the British flag. Under the laws of the United States the American Transatlantic Co. is regarded as a citizen of the United States and must doubtless be so regarded in accordance with the custom of nations.

British prize court decisions in relation to the ownership of different kinds of property, including vessels, appear to make it clear that a British corporation is British in character regardless of what the political nationality of its shareholders may be.

This Government has observed that in a recent case a British prize court, applying an apparently well-established rule, condemned a vessel flying the German flag and refused an application of neutral claimants to establish that they were the beneficial owners of the vessel, owning the entire capital stock of the nominal owners, a subsidiary concern established according to the laws of Germany. The court ruled that the fact sought to be proved would not benefit the claimants.

This Government has also observed that the British authorities have in several instances requisitioned vessels flying the British flag, although the entire beneficial interest in them was owned by American citizens, and in connection with requests on the part of such beneficial owners for the release of such vessels the British Government apparently has taken the position that the vessels, flying the British flag and being owned by British corporations, must, of course, be regarded as British and not as American vessels.

It appears, therefore, from different cases of the character just mentioned that the British judicial and administrative authorities have, as a rule, attached no importance to beneficial ownership in determining the nationality of the vessels owned by corporate organizations, but have uniformly proceeded on the theory that nationality in each case must be determined by the flag the vessels fly or by their corporate ownership.

On the other hand, the British authorities in now seeking to condemn the ships of the American Transatlantic Co., which are owned by an American corporation and fly the American flag, on the ground, as they state, that they believe these vessels to be entirely, or to a large extent, enemy owned, apparently attach great importance to beneficial ownership and no importance to the flag or corporate ownership.

In this relation it should be observed that the company has presented to this Government evidence to show that all the company's stock is owned by American citizens. This Government has no information that the stock is not so owned.

Having in mind these and other facts as well as the applicable principles of international law, the seizure of these vessels appeared to this Government arbitrary and unwarranted. However, after having informed the British Government to that effect, this Government decided to let the matter rest after receiving from the British Government a promise that they were, in the language of a note addressed by Sir Edward Grey to the American ambassador at London, "willing not to capture the remaining ships of the company, unless they were found to be carrying contraband until the prize court has given a decision in the cases which are now pending, provided, of course, that the proceedings in court are not unduly prolonged by the defendants." The owners of the vessels have informed the department that they have complied strictly with the British Government's conditions, and the department has no information to the contrary.

If any one of these vessels should carry contraband, the British Government would be warranted in exercising their belligerent right to detain such vessel. But the carrying of contraband by one of these vessels would, of course, furnish no legal justification for interference with other vessels carrying innocent cargoes, and the observance by the British Government of the express language of their promise respecting the immunity of these vessels would prevent any such interference.

I observe from your note that you have been instructed by Sir Edward Grey to inform me that "the immunity from capture at present enjoyed by the American Transatlantic Co.'s vessels can only be continued provided that an assurance is given by the company that the vessels will not trade with Scandinavia or Holland."

Under these circumstances, before giving further consideration to the matters referred to in your note I would like to be informed whether, as would appear from your note, it is the intention of the British Government to repudiate their promise respecting the treatment of these vessels which in good faith has been relied on by this Government and by the owners of these vessels.

I am, etc.,

ROBERT LANSING.

The real significance of these incursions upon the commercial rights of neutrals upon the "high seas" was greatly accentuated by the publication of the recommendations of the entente conference held in Paris in June, 1916, in the matter of trade after the war. These resolutions called forth adverse criticism from such men as Ambassador Francis, who declared there was no reason why better commercial relations should not exist between us and European commercial nations, speaking especially for the trade with Russia. Continuing, he said:

That end can not be accomplished, however, if the principles of resolutions of the economic conference of the allies at Paris last June are confirmed and carried out.

Those resolutions, while inspired by the desire to prevent a revival of economic supremacy, as it were, of the countries with which the allies are at war, are at the same time a discrimination against commerce with all neutral countries, many of which have been supplying the allies with requirements for a successful prosecution of the war, and in so doing have provided much material without which the allies would not have been as successful as they have been.

The idea that America has experienced nothing but benefit from the war is a mistake, and the charge that America desires to see the war continue because of the profits she derives has so little foundation that it needs no explanation or defense.

On March 30 another order in council modifying the declaration of London in numerous details was promulgated. It was styled "The declaration of London order in council, 1916." On the 7th of July another order in council was announced, as follows:

AMBASSADOR W. H. PAGE TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 4181.] AMERICAN EMBASSY,
London, July 10, 1916.

SIR: I have the honor to inclose herewith, for the information of the department, a copy, in duplicate, of the text of an order in council dated the 7th instant, which has been received from the foreign office, called "The maritime rights order in council, 1916," which effects a change in the rules hitherto adopted by the British Government to govern their conduct of warfare at sea during the present hostilities.

There is also transmitted herewith a copy, in duplicate, of a memorandum which has been drawn up by the British and French Governments explaining the grounds for the issue of the aforementioned order in council.

I have, etc.,

WALTER HINES PAGE.

[Inclosure 1.]

ORDER IN COUNCIL.

At the court at Buckingham Palace, the 7th day of July, 1916. Present: The Kings Most Excellent Majesty in council.

Whereas by an order in council dated the 20th day of August, 1914, His Majesty was pleased to declare that during the present hostilities the provisions of the declaration of London should, subject to certain additions and modifications therein specified, be adopted and put in force by His Majesty's Government;

And whereas the said declaration was adopted as aforementioned in common with His Majesty's allies;

And whereas it has been necessary for His Majesty and for his allies from time to time to issue further enactments modifying the application of the articles of the said declaration;

And whereas orders in council for this purpose have been issued by His Majesty on the 29th day of October, 1914, the 20th day of October, 1915, and the 30th day of March, 1916;

And whereas the issue of these successive orders in council may have given rise to some doubt as to the intention of His Majesty, as also as to that of his allies, to act in strict accordance with the law of nations,

and it is therefore expedient to withdraw the said orders so far as they are now in force;

Now, therefore, His Majesty, by and with the advice of his privy council, is pleased to order, and it is hereby ordered, that the declaration of London order in council No. 2, 1914, and all orders subsequent thereto amending the said order are hereby withdrawn;

And His Majesty is pleased further to declare, by and with the advice of his privy council, and it is hereby declared, that it is and always has been his intention, as it is and has been that of his allies, to exercise their belligerent rights at sea in strict accordance with the law of nations;

And whereas on account of the changed conditions of commerce and the diversity of practice doubts might arise in certain matters as to the rules which His Majesty and his allies regard as being in conformity with the laws of nations, and it is expedient to deal with such matters specifically;

It is hereby ordered that the following provisions shall be observed:

(a) The hostile destination required for the condemnation of contraband articles shall be presumed to exist, until the contrary is shown, if the goods are consigned to or for an enemy authority, or an agent of the enemy State, or to or for a person in territory belonging to or occupied by the enemy, or to or for a person who, during the present hostilities, has forwarded contraband goods to an enemy authority, or an agent of the enemy State, or to or for a person in territory belonging to or occupied by the enemy, or if the goods are consigned "to order," or if the ship's papers do not show who is the real consignee of the goods.

(b) The principle of continuous voyage or ultimate destination shall be applicable both in cases of contraband and of blockade.

(c) A neutral vessel carrying contraband, with papers indicating a neutral destination, which, notwithstanding the destination shown on the papers, proceeds to an enemy port, shall be liable to capture and condemnation if she is encountered before the end of her next voyage.

(d) A vessel carrying contraband shall be liable to capture and condemnation if the contraband, reckoned either by value, weight, volume, or freight, forms more than half the cargo.

And it is hereby further ordered as follows:

(i) Nothing herein shall be deemed to affect the order in council of the 11th March, 1915, for restricting further the commerce of the enemy or any of His Majesty's proclamations declaring articles to be contraband of war during the present hostilities.

(ii) Nothing herein shall affect the validity of anything done under the orders in council hereby withdrawn.

(iii) Any cause or proceeding commenced in any prize court before the making of this order may, if the court thinks just, be heard and decided under the provisions of the orders hereby withdrawn so far as they were in force at the date when such cause or proceeding was commenced, or would have been applicable in such cause or proceeding if this order had not been made.

This order may be cited as "The maritime rights order in council, 1916."

And the lords commissioners of His Majesty's treasury, the lords commissioners of the admiralty, and each of His Majesty's principal secretaries of state, the president of the probate, divorce, and admiralty division of the high court of justice, all other judges of His Majesty's prize courts, and all governors, officers, and authorities whom it may concern are to give the necessary directions herein as to them may respectively appertain.

ALMERIC FITZROY.

[Inclosure 2.]

MEMORANDUM.

At the beginning of the present war the allied Governments, in their anxiety to regulate their conduct by the principles of the law of nations, believed that in the declaration of London they would find a suitable digest of principles and compendium of working rules. They accordingly decided to adopt the provisions of the declaration not as in itself possessing for them the force of law but because it seemed to present in its main lines a statement of the rights and the duties of belligerents based on the experience of previous naval wars. As the present struggle developed, acquiring a range and character beyond all previous conceptions, it became clear that the attempt made at London in time of peace to determine not only the principles of law but even the forms under which they were to be applied had not produced a wholly satisfactory result. As a matter of fact, these rules, while not in all respects improving the safeguards afforded to neutrals, do not provide belligerents with the most effective means of exercising their admitted rights.

As events progressed, the Germanic powers put forth all their ingenuity to relax the pressure tightening about them and to reopen a channel for supplies; their devices compromised innocent neutral commerce and involved it in suspicions of enemy agency. Moreover, the manifold developments of naval and military science, the invention of new engines of war, the concentration by the Germanic powers of the whole body of their resources on military ends, produced conditions altogether different from those prevailing in previous naval wars.

The rules laid down in the declaration of London could not stand the strain imposed by the test of rapidly changing conditions and tendencies which could not have been foreseen.

The allied Governments were forced to recognize the situation thus created, and to adapt the rules of the declaration from time to time to meet these changing conditions.

These successive modifications may perhaps have exposed the purpose of the allies to misconstruction; they have therefore come to the conclusion that they must confine themselves simply to applying the historic and admitted rules of the law of nations.

The allies solemnly and unreservedly declare that the action of their warships, no less than the judgments of their prize courts, will continue to conform to these principles; that they will faithfully fulfil their engagements, and in particular will observe the terms of all international conventions regarding the laws of war; that mindful of the dictates of humanity, they repudiate utterly all thought of threatening the lives of noncombatants; that they will not without cause interfere with neutral property; and that if they should, by the action of their fleets, cause damage to the interests of any merchant acting in good faith, they will always be ready to consider his claims and to grant him such redress as may be due.

FOREIGN OFFICE, *July 7, 1916.*

Our Government's first communication on the proposed "blacklist" policy was made on July 19. After several communications on the subject the Government dispatched the following note, giving our position on the matter in controversy:

THE ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE TO AMBASSADOR W. H. PAGE.

[Telegram.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, July 26, 1916.

You are instructed to deliver to Sir Edward Grey a formal note on the subject of the enemey-trading act, textually as follows:

"The announcement that His Britannic Majesty's Government has placed the names of certain persons, firms, and corporations in the United States upon a proscriptive 'blacklist' and has forbidden all financial or commercial dealings between them and citizens of Great Britain, has been received with the most painful surprise by the people and Government of the United States, and seems to the Government of the United States to embody a policy of arbitrary interference with neutral trade against which it is its duty to protest in the most decided terms.

"The scope and effect of the policy are extraordinary. British steamship companies will not accept cargoes from the proscribed firms or persons or transport their goods to any port, and steamship lines under neutral ownership understand that if they accept freight from them they are likely to be denied coal at British ports and excluded from other privileges which they have usually enjoyed, and may themselves be put upon the blacklist. Neutral bankers refuse loans to those on the list and neutral merchants decline to contract for their goods, fearing a like proscription. It appears that British officials regard the prohibitions of the blacklist as applicable to domestic commercial transactions in foreign countries as well as in Great Britain and her dependencies, for Americans doing business in foreign countries have been put on notice that their dealings with blacklisted firms are to be regarded as subject to veto by the British Government. By the same principle Americans in the United States might be made subject to similar punitive action if they were found dealing with any of their own countrymen whose names had thus been listed.

"The harsh and even disastrous effects of this policy upon the trade of the United States and upon the neutral rights upon which it will not fail to insist are obvious. Upon the list of those proscribed and in effect shut out from the general commerce of the world may be found American concerns which are engaged in large commercial operations as importers of foreign products and materials and as distributors of American products and manufactures to foreign countries and which constitute important channels through which American trade reaches the outside world. Their foreign affiliations may have been fostered for many years, and when once broken can not easily or promptly be reestablished. Other concerns may be put upon the list at any time and without notice. It is understood that additions to the proscription may be made 'whenever on account of enemy nationality or enemy association of such persons or bodies of persons it appears to His Majesty expedient to do so.' The possibilities of undeserved injury to American citizens from such measures, arbitrarily taken, and of serious and incalculable interruptions of American trade are without limit.

"It has been stated on behalf of His Majesty's Government that these measures were aimed only at the enemies of Great Britain and would be adopted and enforced with strict regard to the rights of neutrals and with the least possible detriment to neutral trade, but it is evident that they are inevitably and essentially inconsistent with the rights of the citizens of all nations not involved in war. The Government of the United States begs to remind the Government of His Britannic Majesty that citizens of the United States are entirely within their rights in attempting to trade with the people of the Governments of any of the nations now at war, subject only to well-defined international practices and understandings which the Government of the United States deems the Government of Great Britain to have too lightly and too frequently disregarded. There are well-known remedies and penalties for breaches of blockade, where the blockade is real and in fact effective, for trade in contraband, for every unneutral act by whomsoever attempted. The Government of the United States can not consent to see those remedies and penalties altered or extended at the will of a single power or group of powers to the injury of its own citizens or in derogation of its own rights. Conspicuous among the principles which the civilized nations of the world have accepted for the safeguarding of the rights of neutrals is the just and honorable principle that neutrals may not be condemned nor their goods confiscated except upon fair adjudication and after an opportunity to be heard in prize courts or elsewhere. Such safeguards the blacklist brushes aside. It condemns without hearing, without notice, and in advance. It is manifestly out of the question that the Government of the United States should acquiesce in such methods or applications of punishment to its citizens.

"Whatever may be said with regard to the legality, in the view of international obligation, of the act of Parliament upon which the practice of the blacklist as now employed by His Majesty's Government is understood to be based, the Government of the United States is constrained to regard that practice as inconsistent with that true justice, sincere amity, and impartial fairness which should characterize the dealings of friendly governments with one another The spirit of reciprocal trade between the United States and Great Britain, the privilege long accorded to the nationals of each to come and go with their ships and cargoes, to use each the other's shipping, and be served each by the other's merchants is very seriously impaired by arbitrary and sweeping practices such as this. There is no purpose or inclination on the part of the Government of the United States to shield American citizens or business houses in any way from the legitimate consequences of unneutral acts or practices; it is quite willing that they should suffer the appropriate penalties which international law and the usage of nations have sanctioned; but His Britannic Majesty's Government can not expect the Government of the United States to consent to see its citizens put upon an ex parte blacklist without calling the attention of His Majesty's Government, in the gravest terms, to the many serious consequences to neutral rights and neutral relations which such an act must necessarily involve. It hopes and believes that His Majesty's Government, in its natural absorption in a single pressing object of policy, has acted without a full realization of the many undesired and undesirable results that might ensue."

POLK.

The clear indications of a purpose to ignore neutral rights by the controlling powers in the war in Europe induced the Congress at the close of the first session of the Sixty-fourth

Congress to enact legislation to protect American rights. After many suggestions, some of which were very drastic, the revenue law of September 8, 1916, containing the following provisions was adopted:

That whenever during the existence of a war in which the United States is not engaged the President shall be satisfied that there is reasonable ground to believe that under the laws, regulations, or practices of any country, colony, or dependency contrary to the law and practice of nations, the importation into their own or any other country, dependency, or colony of any article the product of the soil or industry of the United States and not injurious to health or morals is prevented or restricted, the President is authorized and empowered to prohibit or restrict during the period such prohibition or restriction is in force the importation into the United States of similar or other articles, products of such country, dependency, or colony as in his opinion the public interest may require; and in such case he shall make proclamation stating the article or articles which are prohibited from importation into the United States; and any person or persons who shall import, or attempt or conspire to import, or be concerned in importing, such article or articles into the United States contrary to the prohibition in such proclamation, shall be liable to a fine of not less than $2,000 nor more than $50,000, or to imprisonment not to exceed two years, or both, in the discretion of the court. The President may change, modify, revoke, or renew such proclamation in his discretion.

That whenever during the existence of a war in which the United States is not engaged the President shall be satisfied that there is reasonable ground to believe that any vessel, American or foreign, is, on account of the laws, regulations, or practices of a belligerent Government, making or giving any undue or unreasonable preference or advantage in any respect whatsoever to any particular person, company, firm, or corporation, or any particular description of traffic in the United States or its possessions, or to any citizen of the United States residing in neutral countries abroad, or is subjecting any particular person, company, firm, or corporation or any particular description of traffic in the United States or its possessions, or any citizens of the United States residing in neutral countries abroad to any undue or unreasonable prejudice, disadvantage, injury, or discrimination in regard to accepting, receiving, transporting, or delivering, or refusing to accept, receive, transfer, or deliver any cargo, freight, or passengers, or in any other respect whatsoever, he is hereby authorized and empowered, in his discretion, to direct the detention of such vessels by withholding clearance or by formal notice forbidding departure, and to revoke, modify, or renew any such direction as in his opinion the public interest may require.

That whenever during the existence of a war in which the United States is not engaged the President shall be satisfied that there is reasonable ground to believe that under the laws, regulations, or practices of any belligerent country or Government American ships or American citizens are not accorded any of the facilities of commerce which the vessels or citizens of that belligerent country enjoy in the United States or its possessions, or are not accorded by such belligerent equal privileges or facilities of trade with vessels or citizens of any nationality other than that of such belligerent, the President is hereby authorized and empowered, in his discretion, to withhold clearance from one or more vessels of such belligerent country until such belligerent shall restore to such American vessels and American citizens reciprocal liberty of commerce and equal facilities of trade; or the President may, in his discretion, direct that similar privileges and facilities, if any, enjoyed by vessels or citizens of such belligerents in the United States or its possessions be refused to vessels or citizens of such belligerent; and in such case he shall make proclamation of his direction, stating the facilities and privileges which shall be refused, and the belligerent to whose vessels or citizens they are to be refused, and thereafter the furnishing of such prohibited privileges and facilities to any vessel or citizen of the belligerent named in such proclamation shall be unlawful; and he may change, modify, revoke, or renew such proclamation as in his opinion the public good may require; and any person or persons who shall furnish or attempt or conspire to furnish or be concerned in furnishing or in the concealment of furnishing facilities or privileges to ships or persons contrary to the prohibition in such proclamation shall be liable to a fine of not less than $2,000 nor more than $50,000, or to imprisonment not to exceed two years, or both, in the discretion of the court.

In case any vessel which is detained by virtue of this act shall depart or attempt to depart from the jurisdiction of the United States without clearance or other lawful authority, the owner or master or person or persons having charge or command of such vessel shall be severally liable to a fine of not less than $2,000 nor more than $10,000 or to imprisonment not to exceed two years, or both, and, in addition, such vessel shall be forfeited to the United States.

That the President of the United States is hereby authorized and empowered to employ such part of the land or naval forces of the United States as shall be necessary to carry out the purposes of this act.

Three months later, October 12, the British Government made formal reply. This reply clearly indicates the purpose of the mistress of the seas to prove her primacy.

THE BRITISH EMBASSADOR TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 307.] BRITISH EMBASSY,
Washington, October 12, 1916.

SIR: In conformity with instructions received from Viscount Grey, of Fallodon, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, I have the honor to transmit herewith copy of the memorandum (identic memorandum received from the French Embassy), agreed upon by His Majesty's Government and the French Government, embodying the joint reply of the allies to your note of May 24 regarding the examination of the mails.

I have, etc.,

CECIL SPRING RICE.

[Inclosure—Translation.]

CONFIDENTIAL.

1. By a letter of May 24 last the Secretary of State of the United States was pleased to give the views of the American Government on the memorandum of the allied Governments concerning mails found on merchant ships on the high seas.

2. The allied Governments have found that their views agreed with those of the Government of the United States in regard to the postal union convention, which is recognized on both sides to be foreign to the questions now under consideration; post parcels respectively recognized as being under the common rule of merchandise subject to the exercise of belligerent rights, as provided by international law; the inspection of private mails to the end of ascertaining whether they do not contain contraband goods, and, if carried on an enemy ship, whether they do not contain enemy property. It is clear that that inspection which necessarily implies the opening of covers so as to verify the contents could not be carried on on board without being attended with great confusion, causing serious delay to the mails, passengers, and cargoes, and without causing for the letters in transit errors, losses, or at least great risk of miscarriage. That is the reason why the allies had mail bags landed and sent to centers provided with the necessary force and equipment for prompt and regular handling. In all this the allied Governments had no other object in view than to limit, as far as possible, the inconvenience that might result for innocent mails and neutral vessels from the legitimate exercise of their belligerent rights in respect to hostile correspondence.

3. The Government of the United States acknowledges it agrees with the allied Governments as to principles, but expresses certain divergent views and certain criticism as to the methods observed by the allies in applying these principles.

4. These divergencies of views and criticisms are as follows:

5. In the first place, according to the Government of the United States, the practice of the allied Governments is said to be contrary to their own declaration, in that, while declaring themselves unwilling to seize and confiscate genuine mails on the high seas, they would obtain the same result by sending, with or without their consent, neutral vessels to allied ports, there to effect the seizures and confiscations above referred to, and thus exercise over those vessels a more extensive belligerent right than that which is theirs on the high seas. According to the Government of the United States, there should be, in point of law, no distinction to be made between seizure of mails on the high seas, which the allies have declared they will not apply for the present, and the same seizure practiced on board ships that are, whether willingly or not, in an allied port.

6. On this first point and as regards vessels summoned on the high seas and compelled to make for an allied port, the allied Governments have the honor to advise the Government of the United States that they have never subjected mails to a different treatment according as they were found on a neutral vessel on the high seas or on neutral vessels compelled to proceed to an allied port; they have always acknowledged that visits made in the port after a forced change of course must in this respect be on the same footing as a visit on the high seas, and the criticism formulated by the Government of the United States does not therefore seem warranted.

7. As to ships which of their own accord call at allied ports it is important to point out that in this case they are really "voluntarily" making the call. In calling at an allied port the master acts, not on any order from the allied authorities, but solely carries out the instructions of the owner; neither are those instructions forced upon the said owner. In consideration of certain advantages derived from the call at an allied port, of which he is at full liberty to enjoy or refuse the benefits, the owner instructs his captain to call at this or that port. He does not, in truth, undergo any constraint. In point of law the allied Governments think it a rule generally accepted, particularly in the United States (United States v. Dickelman, United States Supreme Court, 1875; 92 U. S. Rep., 520; Scott's cases, 264), that merchant ships which enter a foreign port thereby place themselves under the laws in force in that port, whether in time of war or of peace, and when martial law is in force in that port. It is therefore legitimate in the case of a neutral merchant ship entering an allied port for the authorities of the allied Governments to make sure that the vessel carries nothing inimical to their national defense before granting its clearance. It may be added that the practice of the Germans to make improper use of neutral mails and forward hostile correspondence, even official communications dealing with hostilities, under cover of apparently unoffensive envelopes mailed by neutrals to neutrals, made it necessary to examine mails from or to countries neighboring Germany under the same conditions as mails from or to Germany itself; but as a matter of course mails from neutrals to neutrals that do not cover such improper uses have nothing to fear.

8. In the second place, according to the Government of the United States the practice now followed by the allied Governments is contrary to the rule of convention 11 of The Hague, 1907, which they declare their willingness to apply, and would, besides, constitute a violation of the practice heretofore followed by nations.

9. In regard to the value to be attached to the eleventh convention of The Hague, 1907, it may first of all be observed that it only refers to mails found at sea and that it is entirely foreign to postal correspondence found on board ships in ports. In the second place, from the standpoint of the peculiar circumstances of the present war the Government of the United States is aware that that convention, as stated in the memorandum of the allies, has not been signed or ratified by six of the belligerent powers (Bulgaria, Italy, Montenegro, Russia, Servia, and Turkey); that for that very reason Germany availed itself of article 9 of the convention and denied, so far as it was concerned, the obligatory character in these stipulations; and that for these several reasons the convention possesses in truth but rather doubtful validity in law.

In spite of it all, the Allied Governments are guided in the case of mails found on board ships in ports by the intentions expressly manifested in the conferences of The Hague sanctioned in the preamble to convention 11, and tending to protect pacific and innocent commerce only. Mails possessing that character are forwarded as quickly as circumstances permit. In regard to mails found on vessels at sea the Allied Governments have not for the present refused to observe the terms of the convention reasonably interpreted; but they have not admitted and can not admit that there is therein a final provision legally binding them, from which they could not possibly depart. The Allied Governments expressly reserve to themselves the right to do so in case enemy abuses and frauds, dissimulations, and deceits should make such a measure necessary.

10. As for the practice previously followed by the powers in the time of former wars, no general rule can easily be seen therein prohibiting the belligerents from exercising on the open seas, as to postal correspondence, the right of supervision, surveillance, visitation, and, the case arising, seizure and confiscation, which international law confers upon them in the matter of any freight outside of the territorial waters and jurisdiction of the neutral powers.

11. On the high seas, under international law, it is for the belligerents to seek and prevent transportation or other acts by which neutral

vessels may lend their cooperation and assistance to hostile operations of the enemy. Now, as has long ago been observed (among others, Lord Stowell, in The Atalanta, 6 Robinson, 440, 1, English prize cases, 607; Scott's cases, 780), a few lines of a letter delivered to an enemy may be as useful as or even more useful than a cargo of arms and ammunition to promote his war operations. The assistance rendered in such cases by the vessel carrying such a letter is as dangerous for the other belligerents as the assistance resulting from the transportation of military cargoes. As a matter of fact, experience has in the course of the present war demonstrated the truth of this remark. Hostile acts which had been projected in mails have failed. Dangerous plots, from which even neutral countries are not safe at the hands of the enemy, were discovered in the mails and baffled. Finally the addressees of certain letters which the allies had seen fit to respect have evidenced a satisfaction the hostile character of which removed every doubt as to the significance of those letters.

12. The report adpoted by the Conference of The Hague in support of convention 11 leaves little doubt as to the former practice in the matter: "The seizure, opening the bags, examination, confiscation if need be, in all cases delay or even loss, are the fate usually awaiting mail bags carried by sea in time of war." (Second Peace Conference, acts and documents, vol. 1, p. 266.)

13. The American note of May 24, 1916, invokes the practice followed by the United States during the Mexican and Civil Wars; the practice followed by France in 1870; by the United States in 1898; by Great Britain in the South African War; by Japan and Russia in 1904; and now by Germany.

14. As regards the proceedings of the German Empire toward postal correspondence during the present war, the Allied Governments have informed the Government of the United States of the names of some of the mail steamers whose mail bags have been—not examined to be sure—but purely and simply destroyed at sea by the German naval authorities. Other names could very easily be added—the very recent case of the mail steamer *Hudikswall* (Swedish) carrying 670 mail bags, may be cited.

15. The Allied Governments do not think that the criminal habit of sinking ships, passengers, and cargoes, or abandoning on the high seas the survivors of such calamities is, in the eyes of the Government of the United States, any justification for the destruction of the mail bags on board; and they do not deem it to the purpose to make a comparison between these destructive German proceedings and the acts of the Allies in supervising and examining enemy correspondence.

16. As to the practice of Russia and of Japan, it may be permitted to doubt that it was at variance with the method of the Allied Governments in the present war.

17. The imperial Russian decree of May 13–25, 1877, for the exercise of the right of visit and capture, provides, paragraph 7: "The following acts which are forbidden to neutrals are assimilated to contraband of war; The carrying * * * of dispatches and correspondence of the enemy." The Russian imperial decree of September 14, 1904, reproduces the same provision. The procedure followed in regard to the mail steamers, and the prize decisions bear witness that public or private mails found on board neutral vessels were examined, landed, and, when occasion arose, seized.

18. Thus, in May and July, 1904, postal correspondence carried on the steamships *Osiris* (British) and *Prinz Heinrich* (German) was examined by the Russian cruisers to see whether it contained Japanese correspondence. Thus, again, in July, 1904, the steamer *Calchas* (British) captured by Russian cruisers, had 16 bags of mail that had been shipped at Tacoma by the postal authorities of the United States seized on board and landed and the prize court of Vladivostock examined their contents, which it was recognized it could lawfully do. (Russian prize cases, p. 139.)

19. As regards the practice of Japan, the Japanese rules concerning prizes, dated March 15, 1904, made official enemy correspondence, with certain exceptions, contraband of war. They ordered the examination of mail bags on mail steamers unless there was on board an official of the post office, making a declaration in writing and under oath that the bags contained no contraband; it was even added that no account should be taken of such a declaration if there existed grave suspicions. On the other hand, the Japanese prize court rules acknowledged the power of those courts in the examination of prize cases to examine letters and correspondence found on board neutral vessels. (Takahashi, "International Law Applied to Russo-Japanese War," p. 568.)

20. The French practice during the war of 1870 is found outlined in the naval instructions of July 26, 1870, under which official dispatches were on principle assimilated to contraband, and official or private letters found on board captured vessels were to be sent immediately to the Minister of Marine. Subsequently the circumstances of war permitted of the rule in additional instructions, under which, if the vessel to be visited was a mail steamer having on board an official of the post office of the Government whose flag she displayed, the visiting officer might be content with that official's declaration regarding the nature of the dispatches.

21. During the South African War the British Government was able to limit its intervention in the forwarding of postal correspondence and mails as far as the circumstances of that war allowed, but it did not cease to exercise its supervision of the mails intended for the enemy.

22. As to the practice followed by the Government of the United States during the American Civil War, particularly in the *Peterhoff* case, cited in the American memorandum of May 24, 1916, the following instructions issued in that case by the Secretary of State of the United States do not seem to imply anything but the forwarding of correspondence which has been found to be innocent: "I have, therefore, to recommend that in this case, if the district attorney has any evidence to show the mails are simulated and not genuine, it shall be submitted to the court; if there be no reasonable grounds for that belief, then that they be put on their way to their original destination." (Letter of Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, to Mr. Welles, Secretary of the Navy, April 15, 1863; VII Moore's Dig., p. 482.)

23. Finally, as regards the free transit granted to mails by the United States during the Mexican War, one may be allowed to recall the circumstances under which this proceeding was adopted. By a letter dated May 20, 1846, notified on the following 10th of July, the commander of the United States cruiser *St. Mary*, announced the blockade of the port of Tampico. Although that measure authorized, without a doubt, the seizure and confiscation of all correspondence for the blockaded port, the American naval authorities, on learning the circumstances of the case, declared "neutral noncommercial mail packets are free to enter and deport," and it was even added that "Mexican boats engaged exclusively in fishing will be allowed to pursue their labor unmolested." (British State Papers, vol. 35, 1846–47.)

24. It seems difficult to compare the blockade of the port of Tampico in 1846 with the measures taken by the allies in the course of this war to reduce the economic resistance of the German Empire, or to find in the method then adopted by the United States a precedent which condemns the practice now put in use by the allied Governments.

25. To waive the right to visit mail steamers and mail bags intended for the enemy seemed in the past (Dr. Lushington, "Naval Prize Law," Introd., p. 12) a sacrifice which could hardly be expected of belligerents. The allied Governments have again noted in their preceding memorandum how and why, relying on certain declarations of Germany, they had thought in the course of the second peace conference of 1907 they could afford to waive that right. They have also drawn the attention of the Government of the United States to the fraudulent use Germany hastened to make of this waiver of the previous practices above mentioned.

26. After pointing to a certain number of specific cases where American interests happened to be injured from the postal supervision exercised by the British authorities, forming the subject of the special memorandum of the Government of His Majesty, dated July 20, 1916, the Government of the United States was pleased to make known its views as to what is to be and is not to be recognized as not possessing the character of postal correspondence.

27. In this respect the Government of the United States admits that shares, bonds, coupons, and other valuable papers; money orders, checks, drafts, bills of exchange, and other negotiable papers, being the equivalent of money, may, when included in postal shipments, be considered as of the same nature as merchandise and other property, and therefore be also subjected to the exercise of belligerent rights.

28. Yet the American memorandum adds that correspondence, including shipping documents, lists of money orders, and documents of this nature, even though referring to shipments to or exports by the enemy, must be treated as mail and pass freely unless they refer to merchandise on the same ship that is liable to capture.

29. As regards shipping documents and commercial correspondence found on neutral vessels, even in an allied port and offering no interest of consequence as affecting the war, the allied Governments have instructed their authorities not to stop them, but to see that they are forwarded with as little delay as possible. Mail matter of that nature must be forwarded to destination as far as practicable on the very ship on which it was found or by a speedier route, as is the case for certain mails inspected in Great Britain.

30. As for the lists of money orders to which the Government of the United States assigns the character of ordinary mail, the allied Governments deem it their duty to draw the attention of the Government of the United States to the following practical consideration:

31. As a matter of fact, the lists of money orders mailed from the United States to Germany and Austria-Hungary correspond to moneys paid in the United States and payable by the German and Austro-Hungarian post offices. Those lists acquaint those post offices with the sums that have been paid there which in consequence they have to pay to the addressees. In practice, such payment is at the disposal of such addressees and is effected directly to them as soon as those lists arrive and without the requirement of the individual orders having come into the hands of the addressees. These lists are thus really actual money orders transmitted in lump in favor of several addressees. Nothing, in the opinion of the allied Governments, seems to justify the liberty granted to the enemy country so to receive funds intended to supply by that amount its financial resisting power.

32. The American memorandum sees fit firmly to recall that neutral and belligerent rights are equally sacred and must be strictly respected. The allied Governments, so far as they are concerned, wholly share that view. They are sincerely striving to avoid an encroachment by the exercise of their belligerent rights on the legitimate exercise of the rights of innocent neutral commerce, but they hold that it is their belligerent right to exercise on the high seas the supervision granted them by international law to impede any transportation intended to aid their enemy in the conduct of the war and to uphold his resistance. The rights of the United States as a neutral power can not, in our opinion, imply the protection granted by the Federal Government to shipments, invoices, correspondence, or communications in any shape whatever having an open or concealed hostile character and with a direct or indirect hostile destination, which American private persons can only effect at their own risk and peril. That is the very principle which was expressly stated by the President of the United States in his neutrality proclamation.

33. Furthermore, should any abuses, grave errors, or derelictions committed by the allied authorities charged with the duty of inspecting mails be disclosed to the Governments of France and Great Britain, they are now as they ever were ready to settle responsibility therefor in accordance with the principles of law and justice which it never was and is not now their intention to evade.

Aside from the controversy over commercial rights growing out of the British control of the seas, the dispute over the treatment of mails and telegraphic communication is important. This matter became the subject of diplomatic discussion, as shown by our communication, January 4, 1916:

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO AMBASSADOR W. H. PAGE.

[Telegram.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, January 4, 1916.

Department advised that British customs authorities removed from Danish steamer *Oscar Second* 734 bags parcel mail en route from United States to Norway, Sweden, and Denmark; that British port authorities have removed from Swedish steamer *Stockholm* 58 bags parcel mail en route Gothenburg, Sweden, to New York; that 5,000 packages of merchandise, American property, have been seized by British authorities on the Danish steamer *United States* on her last trip to the United States; that customs authorities at Kirkwall, on December 18, seized 597 bags of parcel mail from steamer *Frederich VIII* manifested for Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. Other similar cases might be mentioned, such as that of the steamer *Heligolav*. Department inclined to regard parcel-post articles as subject to same treatment as articles sent as express or freight in respect to belligerent search, seizure, and condemnation. On the other hand, parcel-post articles are entitled to the usual exemptions of neutral trade, and the protests of the Government of the United States in regard to what constitutes the unlawful

bringing in of ships for search in port, the illegality of so-called blockade by Great Britain, and the improper assumption of jurisdiction of vessels and cargoes apply to commerce using Parcel Post Service for the transmission of commodities. Please bring this matter of parcel post formally to the attention of the British Government.

The department is further informed that on December 23 the entire mails, including sealed mails and presumably the American diplomatic and consular pouches, from the United States to the Netherlands were removed by British authorities from the Dutch steamer *New Amsterdam;* that on December 20 the Dutch vessel *Noorder Dyke* was deprived at the Downs of American mail from the United States to Rotterdam, and that these mails are still held by British authorities. Other similar instances could be mentioned, as the cases of the steamers *Rotterdam* and *Noordam*. The department can not admit the right of British authorities to seize neutral vessels plying directly between American and neutral European ports without touching at British ports, to bring them into port, and, while there, to remove or censor mails carried by them. Modern practice generally recognizes that mails are not to be censored, confiscated, or destroyed on high seas, even when carried by belligerent mail ships. To attain same end by bringing such mail ships within British jurisdiction for purposes of search and then subjecting them to local regulations allowing censorship of mails can not be justified on the ground of national jurisdiction. In cases where neutral mail ships merely touch at British ports, the department believes that British authorities have no international right to remove the sealed mails or to censor them on board ship. Mails on such ships never rightfully come into the custody of the British mail service, and that service is entirely without responsibility for their transit or safety.

As a result of British action, strong feeling is being aroused in this country on account of the loss of valuable letters, money orders, and drafts, and foreign banks are refusing to cash American drafts owing to the absence of any security that the drafts will travel safely in the mails. Moreover, the detention of diplomatic and consular mail is an aggravating circumstance in a practice which is generally regarded in this country as vexatiously inquisitorial and without compensating military advantage to Great Britain. Please lay this matter immediately before the British Government in a formal and vigorous protest and press for a discontinuance of these unwarranted interferences with inviolable mails. Impress upon Sir Edward Grey the necessity for prompt action in this matter.

LANSING.

The following notes was received from the French ambassador and was identical to a note received from the British Government April 3, 1916:

[Inclosure—Translation.]

MEMORANDUM RELATIVE TO POSTAL CORRESPONDENCE ON THE HIGH SEAS.

FEBRUARY 15, 1916.

The treatment of mail correspondence carried by sea has, in the course of the present war, been the object of various uncertainties, has occasioned some confusion, and at times given rise to criticisms, which, for the sake of international relations and neutral commerce, the allied Governments deem it advisable to dispel.

It has always been and is the paramount object of postal services to receive, carry, and distribute written correspondence or missive letters. By degrees recourse was had to the same services for the transmission of printed documents, then samples, valuables, and finally, under the name of "post parcels," almost every kind of merchandise, provided only that certain conditions were met in respect of weight, bulk, and packing.

It is also known that, when bearing postage stamps, any sealed wrapper, irrespective of its contents, weight, or bulk, may be mailed and is treated as a letter by the postal administrations.

The reflex action of the war on that state of things suggests the following remarks:

At the time of the second conference of The Hague in 1907, the Imperial German Government argued that the telegraph offering belligerents much quicker and safer means of communication than the post, there was no longer any interest in regarding, as theretofore, postal correspondence as apt to prove contraband by analogy and in disturbing its transmission through seizure and confiscation. Their confidence won by a proposition that looked so pacific, the other powers concurred. Article I of the Eleventh Convention of The Hague of 1907 stipulates, as is known, that thenceforward postal correspondence on the high seas is "inviolable."

A first remark must be made with respect to the "post parcels."

The shipment of merchandise by "parcel post" is a mode of shipment and transportation analogous to shipment and transportation on way bills or bills of lading, with this difference, that the transportation is undertaken by the mail service, which moreover sometimes turns it over to common carriers, as is the case in France.

In no wise do such "parcels" constitute "letters" or "correspondence" or "dispatches," and they are clearly not withdrawn in any way from the exercise of the rights of police, supervision, visitation, and eventual seizure which belong to belligerents as to all cargoes on the high seas.

This was shown notably in a communication of the Post Office Department of the United States addressed on April 8, 1915, to the French authorities and transmitting a statement in conformity therewith from the commander of the *Prinz Eitel Friedrich*, a vessel of the Imperial German Navy, regarding the post parcels shipped on the French mail steamer *Floride*, which the first-named cruiser had captured. (See Exhibit 1.)

The allied Governments have also adopted this view, which in their opinion is fully founded in law and superabundantly justified by the facts.

Among many other examples it will be sufficient to cite: 1,302 post parcels, containing together 437.510 grams of india rubber for Hamburg (steamers *Tijuca, Bahia, Jaguaribe, Maranhao, Acre, Olinda, Para, Brazil*); or again, 69 post parcels, containing 400 revolvers for Germany via Amsterdam (S. S. *Gelria*).

As regards the forwarding of letters, wrappers, envelopes, and others intrusted to the postal services and generally contained in the mail bags of the post office of the countries which send them forth, the allied Governments bring the following consideration to the notice of the neutral Governments:

Between December 31, 1914, and December 31, 1915, the German or Austro-Hungarian naval authorities destroyed, without previous warning or visitation, 13 mail ships (see Exhibit 2) with the mail bags on board, coming from or going to neutral or allied countries, without any more concern about the inviolability of the dispatches and correspondence they carried than about the lives of the inoffensive persons aboard the ships.

It has not come to the knowledge of the allied Governments that any protest touching postal correspondence was ever addressed to the Imperial Governments.

Under dates of August 11, 17, and 18, 1915, the neutral mail steamers *Iris* (Norwegian), *Haakon, VII* (Norwegian), *Germania* (Swedish) had the mail bags they carried from and to all places seized on the high seas by the German naval authorities; the letters and correspondence were censored by the German authorities, as proven by the photograph herein inclosed by way of illustration (Exhibit 3). (Not printed.)

The allied Governments understand that subsequently the Imperial German Government, while announcing its intention to desist from such seizures, declared that the said seizures were and would be fully warranted in its opinion. According to the Imperial German Government, the Eleventh Convention of The Hague of 1907, not having been ratified by all the powers at present engaged in the war, would be inapplicable.

Finally the supervision within the territories of the allies of various mail bags shipped on mail steamers that call at certain ports in the said territories more recently disclosed the presence in the wrappers, envelopes, and mail matter of contraband articles particularly sought after by the enemy, and notably: On board the S. S. *Tubantia,* arriving in Europe, 174½ pounds of India rubber, of which 101 pounds of the Para, highest grade, and seven parcels of wool; on board the S. S. *Medan,* seven parcels of crude rubber. That same supervision, exercised under the same conditions on mail bags from Europe which at first sight might have been supposed to contain nothing but correspondence, uncovered in the bags put on board the single mail steamer *Zaandyjk* (Dutch) not less than 368 parcels of miscellaneous goods.

The following letter from the German firm of G. Vogtman & Co., dated from Hamburg, No. 16, Glockengiesserwall, December 15, 1915, is particularly instructive:

[Translation.]

"For some time past we have been receiving regularly from Para invoices of crude india rubber, and you might turn your attention to that line of business. The shipments are made in the shape of 'Samples without value,' registered, about 200 parcels in every mail, each containing about 320 grams of rubber, net. The trouble of doing up the parcels and the high cost of postage are amply covered by the high price commanded by the commodity here."

It is known that on December 15, 1915, crude india rubber, which the German State took all up, was worth about 25 marks per kilog, and, as the Hamburg merchant remarked, "ein guter verdienst nicht ausgeschlossen ist" (a handsome profit is not barred out).

Hostile traffic, shut out of the mastery of the seas, thus resorted to hide in mail matter in order to get through all kinds of merchandise, contraband of war even included, apparently by imposing on the post-office department of the neutral states.

From a legal standpoint, the right of belligerents to exercise police and supervision powers over vessels and particularly over what they carry has never, to the knowledge of the allied Governments, been subject to exceptions, not any more in regard to mail bags than in regard to any other cargo; nay, more, as late as 1907 the letters and dispatches themselves could be seized and confiscated.

By the eleventh convention of The Hague, and for the reasons above stated, the signatory powers waived the rights to so seize dispatches and declared postal correspondence to be inviolable.

The said inviolability only detracted from the public law as far as "correspondence"—that is to say, dispatches or "missive letters"—are concerned, because, as we have seen, it was thought, rightfully or wrongfully, that belligerents having in the telegraph a better medium of correspondence, correspondence by mail was of no interest in warfare. The result is, on the one hand, that inviolability does not apply to any mail matter that is not "correspondence"—that is to say, "missive letters"—and, on the other hand, that this inviolability would be given a wider scope than it possesses if it were regarded as exempting from any supervision goods and articles shipped by mail, even though they were contraband of war.

Under these condtions the allied governments announce:

1. That from the standpoint of their right of visitation and eventual arrest and seizure, merchandise shipped in post parcels needs not and shall not be treated otherwise than merchandise shipped in any other manner.

2. That the inviolability of postal correspondence stipulated by the eleventh convention of The Hague of 1907 does not in any way affect the right of the allied governments to visit and, if occasion arise, arrest and seize merchandise hidden in the wrappers, envelopes, or letters contained in the mail bags.

3. That true to their engagements and respectful of genuine "correspondence," the allied governments will continue, for the present, to refrain on the high seas from seizing and confiscating such correspondence, letters, or dispatches, and will insure their speediest possible transmission as soon as the sincerity of their character shall have been ascertained.

EXHIBIT I.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
SECOND ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL,
DIVISION OF FOREIGN MAILS,
Washington, April 8, 1915.

I have the honor to inform you that the German auxiliary cruiser *Prinz Eitel Friedrich* delivered to the postmaster of Newport News, Va., on March 12, 144 mail bags for places in South America which had been transhipped from the French steamer *Floride* to the said cruiser before it sank the steamer. The dispatches, which appeared to be intact, were sent to the New York office, whence they were forwarded to destination in the same condition and at the first opportunity.

In delivering to the officials at Newport News the aforesaid dispatches the commander of the *Prinz Eitel Friedrich* declared that the post parcels on board the steamship *Floride* had been regarded as merchandise and not as correspondence; that is the reason why he did not have them taken out of the *Floride* as the other mail matter was, but allowed them to sink with the vessel, basing his action on the declaration of London, according to which parcels are merchandise and not correspondence.

I further inform you that the New York post office advised the Bordeaux office of these facts by means of a check slip.

EXHIBIT II.

Mails destroyed by enemies from December 31, 1914, to December 31, 1915.

Names of ships.	Tonnage.	Dates.	Enemy ships.	Remarks.
3. Highland Brae	7,634	Dec. 31, 1914	Kaiser Wilhelm	Mails and post parcels from Buenos Aires, Santiago, and Montevideo.
1. Tokomaru	6,084	Jan. 30, 1915	Torpedoed by a German submarine	Parcels and printed matter from New Zealand
2. Aguila	2,114	Mar. 27, 1915	do	Mail for Madeira and the Canary Islands.
4. Falaba	4,806	Mar. 28, 1915	do	Mail and post parcels for West Africa.
5. Lusitania	30,396	May 6, 1915	do	United States mail.
6. Candidate	5,858	May 7, 1915	do	Post parcels for Jamaica.
7. Arabic	15,801	Aug. 19, 1915	do	Mail for the United States, Canada, etc.
8. Hesperian	10,920	Sept. 4, 1915	do	Mail and post parcels for the United States and Canada.
9. Silver Ash	3,753	Oct. 6, 1915		Mail of His British Majesty's ships.
10. Linkmoor	4,303	Sept. 20, 1915		Do.
11. Persia	7,964	Dec. 29, 1915	Torpedoed	Mail and post parcels for the Near East.
12. Ville de la Ciotat (French)	6,390	Dec. 24, 1915	Sunk by a German submarine	Far East mail.
13. Author	3,496			Africa mail.

THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 85.] BRITISH EMBASSY,
Washington, April 3, 1916.

SIR: I have the honor, by direction of Sir Edward Grey, His Majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, to transmit to you herewith a memorandum (not printed); identical with memorandum transmitted with the note of the French ambassador Apr. 3, 1916, supra, p. 406) stating the contentions of His Majesty's Government and the French Government in regard to their right to detain and examine parcels and letter mails on neutral vessels.

I have, etc.,
CECIL SPRING RICE.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR.

[Same to the French ambassador.]

No. 1186.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, May 24, 1916.

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your excellency's note of April 3 last, transmitting a memorandum dated February 15, 1916, and communicated in substance to the American ambassador in London on February 28, in which are stated the contentions of the British and French Governments in regard to the right to detain and examine parcel and letter mails en route by sea between the United States and Europe.

After a discussion of the use of the mails for the transmission of "parcels" and of the limitations to be placed on "inviolable mail," the joint memorandum of February 15 closes with the following assertions:

"1. That from the standpoint of their right of visitation and eventual arrest and seizure, merchandise shipped in post parcels needs not and shall not be treated otherwise than merchandise shipped in any other manner.

"2. That the inviolability of postal correspondence stipulated by the eleventh convention of The Hague of 1907 does not in any way affect the right of the allied Governments to visit and, if occasion arise, arrest and seize merchandise hidden in the wrappers, envelopes, or letters contained in the mail bags.

"3. That true to their engagements and respectful of genuine 'correspondence,' the allied Governments will continue, for the present, to refrain on the high seas from seizing and confiscating such correspondence, letters, or dispatches, and will insure their speediest possible transmission as soon as the sincerity of their character shall have been ascertained."

In reply the Government of the United States desires to state that it does not consider that the Postal Union Convention of 1906 necessarily applies to the interference by the British and French Governments with the oversea transportation of mails of which the Government of the United States complains. Furthermore, the allied powers appear to have overlooked the admission of the Government of the United States that post parcels may be treated as merchandise subject to the exercise of belligerent rights as recognized by international law. But the Government of the United States does not admit that such parcels are subject to the "exercise of the rights of police supervision, visitation, and eventual seizure which belongs to belligerents as to all cargoes on the high seas," as asserted in the joint note under acknowledgment.

It is noted with satisfaction that the British and French Governments do not claim, and, in the opinion of this Government, properly do not claim, that their so-called "blockade" measures are sufficient grounds upon which to base a right to interfere with all classes of mail matter in transit to or from the central powers. On the contrary, their contention appears to be that, as "genuine correspondence" is under conventional stipulation "inviolable," mail matter of other classes is subject to detention and examination. While the Government of the United States agrees that "genuine correspondence" mail is inviolable, it does not admit that belligerents may search other private sea-borne mails for any other purpose than to discover whether they contain articles of enemy ownership carried on belligerent vessels or articles of contraband transmitted under sealed cover as letter mail, though they may intercept at sea all mails coming out of and going into ports of the enemy's coasts which are effectively blockaded. The Governments of the United States, Great Britain, and France, however, appear to be in substantial agreement as to principle. The method of applying the principle is the chief cause of difference.

Though giving assurances that they consider "genuine correspondence" to be "inviolable," and that they will, "true to their engagements," refrain "on the high seas" from seizing and confiscating such correspondence, the allied Governments proceed to deprive neutral Governments of the benefits of these assurances by seizing and confiscating mail from vessels in port instead of at sea. They compel neutral ships without just cause to enter their own ports or they induce shipping lines, through some form of duress, to send their mail ships via British ports, or they detain all vessels merely calling at British ports, thus acquiring by force or unjustifiable means an illegal jurisdiction. Acting upon this enforced jurisdiction, the authorities remove all mails, genuine correspondence, as well as post parcels, take them to London, where every piece, even though of neutral origin and destination, is opened and critically examined to determine the "sincerity of their character," in accordance with the interpretation given that undefined phrase by the British and French censors. Finally the expurgated remainder is forwarded, frequently after irreparable delay, to its destination. Ships are detained en route to or from the United States or to or from other neutral countries, and mails are held and delayed for several days and, in some cases, for weeks and even months, even though not routed to ports of north Europe via British ports. This has been the procedure which has been practiced since the announcement of February 15, 1916. To some extent the same practice was followed before that date, calling forth the protest of this Government on January 4, 1916. But to that protest the memorandum under acknowledgment makes no reference and is entirely unresponsive. The Government of the United States must again insist with emphasis that the British and French Governments do not obtain rightful jurisdiction of ships by forcing or inducing them to visit their ports for the purpose of seizing their mails, or thereby obtain greater belligerent rights as to such ships than they could exercise on the high seas, for there is, in the opinion of the Government of the United States, no legal distinction between the seizure of mails at sea, which is announced as abandoned, and their seizure from vessels voluntarily or involuntarily in port. The British and French practice amounts to an unwarranted limitation on the use by neutrals of the world's highway for the transmission of correspondence. The practice actually followed by the allied powers must be said to justify the conclusion, therefore, that the announcement of February 15 was merely notice that one illegal practice had been abandoned to make place for the development of another more onerous and vexatious in character.

The present practice is a violation not only of the spirit of the announcement of February 15, but of the rule of The Hague Convention, upon which it is concededly based. Aside from this, it is a violation of the prior practice of nations which Great Britain and her allies have in the past assisted to establish and maintain, notwithstanding the statement in the memorandum that "as late as 1907 the letters and dispatches themselves could be seized and confiscated."

During the war between the United States and Mexico the United States forces allowed British steamers to enter and depart from the port of Vera Cruz without molesting the mails intended for inland points. During the American Civil War Lord Russell endeavored to induce the United States to concede that "Her Majesty's mails on board a private vessel should be exempted from visitation or detention." This exemption of mails was urged in October, 1862, in the case of British mails on board the *Adela*. On October 31 Secretary Seward announced that "public mails of any friendly or neutral power duly certified or authenticated as such shall not be searched or opened but be put as speedily as may be convenient on the way to their designated destination." In accordance with this announcement, the Government of the United States, in the case of the British steamship *Peterhof*, which had been seized with her mails against the protest of Her Majesty's Government, had her mails forwarded to destination unopened.

The same rule was followed by France, as I am advised, in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870; by the United States in the Spanish-American War of 1898; by Great Britain in the South African War, in the case of the German mail steamers *Bundesrath* and *General*; by Japan and substantially by Russia in the Russio-Japanese War of 1904. And even in the present war, as the memorandum of Great Britain and France states, their enemy, Germany, has desisted from the practice of interfering with neutral mails, even on board belligerent steamers. This is illustrated by the case of the French steamer *Floride*, captured by the auxiliary cruiser *Prinz Eitel Friedrich*, cited by the British and French Governments in support of their argument regarding parcel mails. In this case the letter mails of the *Floride*, amounting to 144 sacks, were forwarded to their destination by the commander at the first opportunity upon arriving in the United States. It would seem, therefore, to be conclusively established that the interferences with mails of which this Government justly complains are wrong in principle and in practice.

The arbitrary methods employed by the British and French Governments have resulted most disastrously to citizens of the United States. Important papers which can never be duplicated, or can be duplicated only with great difficulty, such as United States patents for inventions, rare documents, legal papers relating to the settlement of estates, powers of attorney, fire insurance claims, income tax returns, and similar matters have been lost. Delays in receiving shipping documents have caused great loss and inconvenience by preventing prompt delivery of goods. In the case of the MacNiff Horticultural Co., of New York, large shipments of plants and bulbs from Holland were, I am informed, frozen on the wharves because possession could not be obtained in the absence of documents relating to them which had been removed from the *New Amsterdam*, *Oosterdyk*, and *Rotterdam*. Business opportunities are lost by failure to transmit promptly bids, specifications, and contracts. The Standard Underground Cable Co., of Pittsburgh, for example, sent by mail a tender and specifications for certain proposed electrical works to be constructed in Christiania; after several weeks of waiting, the papers having failed to arrive, the American company was told that the bids could not be longer held open and

the contract was awarded to a British competitor. Checks, drafts, money orders, securities, and similar property are lost or detained for weeks and months. Business correspondence relating to legitimate and bona fide trade between neutral countries, correspondence of a personal nature, and also certain official correspondence, such as money-order lists and other matter forwarded by Government departments, are detained, lost, or possibly destroyed. For instance, the Postmaster General informs me that certain international money-order lists from the United States to Germany, Greece, and other countries, and from Germany to the United States, sent through the mails, have not reached their destination, though dispatched several months ago. It was necessary to have some of these lists duplicated and again dispatched by the steamship *Frederick VIII*, which sailed from New York on April 19, and from which all the mails intended for Germany have been taken and held in British jurisdiction. As a further example of the delay and loss consequent upon the British practice, the Postmaster General also sends me a copy of a letter from the British postal administration admitting that the mails were removed from the steamer *Medan* in the Downs on January 30 last, and not forwarded until some time "between the 2d of February and the 2d of March," and that 182 bags of these mails "were lost during transmission to Holland on the 26th day of February by the Dutch steamship *Mecklenburg*." The *Medan* arrived safely at Rotterdam a day or two after she left the Downs. Numerous complaints similar to the foregoing have been received by this Government, the details of which are available, but I believe I have cited sufficient facts to show the unprecedented and vexatious nature of the interference with mails persisted in by British and French authorities. Not only are American commercial interests injured, but rights of property are violated and the rules of international law and custom are palpably disregarded. I can only add that this continuing offense has led to such losses to American citizens and to a possible responsibility of the United States to repair them, that this Government will be compelled in the near future to press claims for full reclamation upon the attention of His Majesty's Government and that of the French Republic.

The principle being plain and definite, and the present practice of the Governments of Great Britain and France being clearly in contravention of the principle, I will state more in detail the position of the Government of the United States in regard to the treatment of certain classes of sealed mails under a strict application of the principle upon which our Governments seem to be in general accord. The Government of the United States is inclined to the opinion that the class of mail matter which includes stocks, bonds, coupons, and similar securities is to be regarded as of the same nature as merchandise or other articles of property and subject to the same exercise of belligerent rights. Money orders, checks, drafts, notes, and other negotiable instruments which may pass as the equivalent of money are, it is considered, also to be classed as merchandise. Correspondence, including shipping documents, money-order lists, and papers of that character, even though relating to "enemy supplies or exports," unless carried on the same ship as the property referred to, are, in the opinion of this Government, to be regarded as "genuine correspondence," and entitled to unmolested passage.

The Government of the United States, in view of the improper methods employed by the British and French authorities in interrupting mails passing between the United States and other neutral countries and between the United States and the enemies of Great Britain, can no longer tolerate the wrongs which citizens of the United States have suffered and continue to suffer through these methods. To submit to a lawless practice of this character would open the door to repeated violations of international law by the belligerent powers on the ground of military necessity of which the violator would be the sole judge. Manifestly a neutral nation can not permit its rights on the high seas to be determined by belligerents or the exercise of those rights to be permitted or denied arbitrarily by the Government of a warring nation. The rights of neutrals are as sacred as the rights of belligerents and must be as strictly observed.

The Government of the United States, confident in the regard for international law and the rights of neutrals, which the British and French Governments have so often proclaimed and the disregard of which they have urged so vigorously against their enemies in the present war, expects the present practice of the British and French authorities in the treatment of mails from or to the United States to cease and belligerent rights, as exercised, to conform to the principle governing the passage of mail matter and to the recognized practice of nations. Only a radical change in the present British and French policy, restoring to the United States its full rights as a neutral power, will satisfy this Government.

I have, etc.

ROBERT LANSING.

THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 307] BRITISH EMBASSY,
Washington, October 12, 1916.

SIR: In conformity with instructions received from Viscount Grey, of Fallodon, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, I have the honor to transmit herewith copy of the memorandum (identic memorandum received from the French Embassy), agreed upon by His Majesty's Government and the French Government, embodying the joint reply of the Allies to your note of May 24 regarding the examination of the mails.

I have, etc.,

CECIL SPRING RICE.

[Inclosure—Translation.]

CONFIDENTIAL.

1. By a letter of May 24 last the Secretary of State of the United States was pleased to give the views of the American Government on the memorandum of the Allied Governments concerning mails found on merchant ships on the high seas.

2. The Allied Governments have found that their views agreed with those of the Government of the United States in regard to the Postal Union Convention, which is recognized on both sides to be foreign to the questions now under consideration; post parcels respectively recognized as being under the common rule of merchandise subject to the exercise of belligerent rights, as provided by international law; the inspection of private mails to the end of ascertaining whether they do not contain contraband goods, and, if carried on an enemy ship, whether they do not contain enemy property. It is clear that that inspection which necessarily implies the opening of covers so as to verify the contents could not be carried on on board without being attended with great confusion, causing serious delay to the mails, passengers, and cargoes, and without causing for the letters in transit errors, losses, or at least great risk of miscarriage. That is the reason why the Allies had mail bags landed and sent to centers provided with the necessary force and equipment for prompt and regular handling. In all this the Allied Governments had no other object in view than to limit, as far as possible, the inconvenience that might result for innocent mails and neutral vessels from the legitimate exercise of their belligerent rights in respect to hostile correspondence.

3. The Government of the United States acknowledges it agrees with the allied Governments as to principles, but expresses certain divergent views and certain criticism as to the methods observed by the allies in applying these principles.

4. These divergencies of views and criticisms are as follows:

5. In the first place, according to the Government of the United States, the practice of the allied Governments is said to be contrary to their own declaration, in that, while declaring themselves unwilling to seize and confiscate genuine mails on the high seas, they would obtain the same result by sending, with or without their consent, neutral vessels to allied ports, there to effect the seizures and confiscations above referred to, and thus exercise over those vessels a more extensive belligerent right than that which is theirs on the high seas. According to the Government of the United States there should be, in point of law, no distinction to be made between seizure of mails on the high seas, which the allies have declared they will not apply for the present, and the same seizure practiced on board ships that are, whether willingly or not, in an allied port.

6. On this first point and as regards vessels summoned on the high seas and compelled to make for an allied port, the allied Governments have the honor to advise the Government of the United States that they have never subjected mails to a different treatment according as they were found on a neutral vessel on the high seas or on neutral vessels compelled to proceed to an allied port, they have always acknowledged that visits made in the port after a forced change of course must in this respect be on the same footing as a visit on the high seas, and the criticism formulated by the Government of the United States does not therefore seem warranted.

7. As to ships which of their own accord call at allied ports it is important to point out that in this case they are really "voluntarily" making the call. In calling at an allied port the master acts, not on any order from the allied authorities, but solely carries out the instructions of the owner; neither are those instructions forced upon the said owner. In consideration of certain advantages derived from the call at an allied port, of which he is at full liberty to enjoy or refuse the benefits, the owner instructs his captain to call at this or that port. He does not, in truth, undergo any constraint. In point of law the allied Governments think it a rule generally accepted, particularly in the United States (United States *v.* Dickelman, United States Supreme Court, 1875; 92 U. S. Rep., 520; Scott's cases, 264), that merchant ships which enter a foreign port thereby place themselves under the laws in force in that port, whether in time of war or of peace, and when martial law is in force in that port. It is therefore legitimate in the case of a neutral merchant ship entering an allied port for the authorities of the allied Governments to make sure that the vessel carries nothing inimical to their national defense before granting its clearance. It may be added that the practice of the Germans to make improper use of neutral mails and forward hostile correspondence, even official communications dealing with hostilities, under cover of apparently unoffensive envelopes mailed by neutrals to neutrals, made it necessary to examine mails from or to countries neighboring Germany under the same conditions as mails from or to Germany itself; but, as a matter of course, mails from neutrals to neutrals that do not cover such improper uses have nothing to fear.

8. In the second place, according to the Government of the United States the practice now followed by the allied Governments is contrary to the rule of conventin 11 of The Hague, 1907, which they declare their willingness to apply, and would, besides, constitute a violation of the practice heretofore followed by nations.

9. In regard to the value to be attached to the eleventh convention of The Hague, 1907, it may first of all be observed that it only refers to mails found at sea and that it is entirely foreign to postal correspondence found on board ships in ports. In the second place, from the standpoint of the peculiar circumstances of the present war, the Government of the United States is aware that that convention, as stated in the memorandum of the allies, has not been signed or ratified by six of the belligerent powers (Bulgaria, Italy, Montenegro, Russia, Serbia, and Turkey); that for that very reason Germany availed itself of Article IX of the convention and denied, so far as it was concerned, the obligatory character in these stipulations; and that for these several reasons the convention possesses in truth but rather doubtful validity in law.

In spite of it all, the allied Governments are guided in the case of mails found on board ships in ports by the intentions expressly manifested in the conferences of The Hague sanctioned in the preamble to convention 11, and tending to protect pacific and innocent commerce only. Mails possessing that character are forwarded as quickly as circumstances permit. In regard to mails found on vessels at sea the allied Governments have not for the present refused to observe the terms of the convention reasonably interpreted; but they have not admitted and can not admit that there is therein a final provision legally binding them from which they could not possibly depart. The allied Governments expressly reserve to themselves the right to do so in case enemy abuses and frauds, dissimulations and deceits, should make such a measure necessary.

10. As for the practice previously followed by the powers in the time of former wars, no general rule can easily be seen therein prohibiting the belligerents from exercising on the open seas as to postal correspondence the right of supervision, surveillance, visitation, and, the case arising, seizure and confiscation which international law confers upon them in the matter of any freight outside of the territorial waters and jurisdiction of the neutral powers.

11. On the high seas under international law it is for the belligerents to seek and prevent transportation or other acts by which neutral vessels may lend their cooperation and asistance to hostile operations of the enemy. Now, as has long ago been observed (among others, Lord Stowell in *The Atalanta*, 6 Robinson, 440, 1, English Prize cases, 607; Scott's cases, 780), a few lines of a letter delivered to an enemy may be as useful as or even more useful than a cargo of arms and ammunition to promote his war operations. The assistance rendered in such cases by the vessel carrying such a letter is as dangerous for the other belligerent as the assistance resulting from the transportation of military cargoes. As a matter of fact, experience has in the course of the present war demonstrated the truth of this remark. Hostile acts which had been projected in mails have failed. Dangerous

plots, from which even neutral countries are not safe at the hands of the enemy, were discovered in the mails and baffled. Finally the addressees of certian letters which the allies had seen fit to respect have evidenced a satisfaction the hostile character of which removed every doubt as to the significance of those letters.

12. The report adopted by the conference of The Hague in support of convention 11 leaves little doubt as to the former practice in the matter: "The seizure, opening the bags, examination, confiscation, if need be, in all cases delay or even loss, are the fate usually awaiting mail bags carried by sea in time of war." (Second Peace Conference, Acts and Documents, vol. 1, p. 266.)

13. The American note of May 24, 1916, invokes the practice followed by the United States during the Mexican and Civil Wars; the practice followed by France in 1870; by the United States in 1898; by Great Britain in the South African War; by Japan and Russia in 1904; and now by Germany.

14. As regards the proceedings of the German Empire toward postal correspondence during the present war, the allied Governments have informed the Government of the United States of the names of some of the mail steamers whose mail bags have been—not examined, to be sure, but purely and simply destroyed at sea by the German naval authorities. Other names could very easily be added. The very recent case of the mail steamer *Hudikswall* (Swedish), carrying 670 mail bags, may be cited.

15. The allied Governments do not think that the criminal habit of sinking ships, passengers, and cargoes, or abandoning on the high seas the survivors of such calamities, is in the eyes of the Government of the United States any justification for the destruction of the mail bags on board; and they do not deem it to the purpose to make a comparison between these destructive German proceedings and the acts of the allies in supervising and examining enemy correspondence.

16. As to the practice of Russia and of Japan, it may be permitted to doubt that it was at variance with the method of the allied Governments in the present war.

17. The imperial Russian decree of May 13–25, 1877, for the exercise of the right of visit and capture, provides, paragraph 7: "The following acts which are forbidden to neutrals are assimilated to contraband of war, the carrying * * * of dispatches and correspondence of the enemy." The Russian imperial decree of September 14, 1904, reproduces the same provision. The procedure followed in regard to the mail steamers and the prize decisions bear witness that public or private mails found on board neutral vessels were examined, landed, and, when occasion arose, seized.

18. Thus, in May and July, 1904, postal correspondence carried on the steamships *Osiris* (British) and *Prinz Heinrich* (German) was examined by the Russian cruisers to see whether it contained Japanese correspondence. Thus, again, in July, 1904, the steamer *Oalchas* (British), captured by Russian cruisers, had 16 bags of mail that had been shipped at Tacoma by the postal authorities of the United States seized on board and landed and the prize court of Vladivostok examined their contents, which it was recognized it could lawfully do. (Russian Prize Cases, p. 139.)

19. As regards the practice of Japan, the Japanese rules concerning prizes, dated March 15, 1904, made official enemy correspondence, with certain exceptions, contraband of war. They ordered the examination of mail bags on mail steamers unless there was on board an official of the post office, making a declaration in writing and under oath that the bags contained no contraband; it was even added that no account should be taken of such a declaration if there existed grave suspicions. On the other hand, the Japanese prize court rules acknowledged the power of those courts in the examination of prize cases to examine letters and correspondence found on board neutral vessels. (Takahashi, International Law Applied to Russo-Japanese War, p. 568.)

20. The French practice during the war of 1870 is found outlined in the naval instructions of July 26, 1870, under which official dispatches were on principle assimilated to contraband, and official or private letters found on board captured vessels were to be sent immediately to the minister of marine. Subsequently the circumstances of war permitted of the rule in additional instructions, under which, if the vessel to be visited was a mail steamer having on board an official of the post office of the government whose flag she displayed, the visiting officer might be content with that official's declaration regarding the nature of the dispatches.

21. During the South African War the British Government was able to limit its intervention in the forwarding of postal correspondence and mails as far as the circumstances of that war allowed, but it did not cease to exercise its supervision of the mails intended for the enemy.

22. As to the practice followed by the Government of the United States during the American Civil War, particularly in the *Peterhoff* case, cited in the American memorandum of May 24, 1916, the following instructions issued in that case by the Secretary of State of the United States do not seem to imply anything but the forwarding of correspondence which has been found to be innocent: "I have, therefore, to recommend that in this case, if the district attorney has any evidence to show the mails are simulated and not genuine, it shall be submitted to the court; if there be no reasonable grounds for that belief, then that they be put on their way to their original destination." (Letter of Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, to Mr. Welles, Secretary of the Navy, Apr. 15, 1863; VII Moore's Dig., p. 482.)

23. Finally, as regards the free transit granted to mails by the United States during the Mexican War, one may be allowed to recall the circumstances under which this proceeding was adopted. By a letter dated May 20, 1846, notified on the following 10th of July, the commander of the U. S. cruiser *St. Mary* announced the blockade of the port of Tampico. Although that measure authorized without a doubt the seizure and confiscation of all correspondence for the blockaded port, the American naval authorities, on learning the circumstances of the case, declared "Neutral noncommercial mail packets are free to enter and depart." and it was even added that "Mexican boats engaged exclusively in fishing will be allowed to pursue their labor unmolested." (British State Papers, vol. 35, 1846–47.)

24. It seems difficult to compare the blockade of the port of Tampico in 1846 with the measures taken by the allies in the course of this war to reduce the economic resistance of the German Empire, or to find in the method then adopted by the United States a precedent which condemns the practice now put in use by the allied Governments.

25. To waive the right to visit mail steamers and mail bags intended for the enemy seemed in the past (Dr. Lushington, Naval Prize Law, Introd., p. vii) a sacrifice which hardly could be expected of belligerents. The allied Governments have again noted in their preceding memorandum how and why, relying on certain declarations of Germany, they had thought in the course of the second peace conference of 1907 they could afford to waive that right. They have also drawn the attention of the Government of the United States to the fraudulent use Germany hastened to make of this waiver of the previous practices above mentioned.

26. After pointing to a certain number of specific cases where American interests happened to be injured from the postal supervision exercised by the British authorities forming the subject of the special memorandum of the Government of His Majesty, dated July 20, 1916, the Government of the United States was pleased to make known its views as to what is to be and is not to be recognized as not possessing the charter of postal correspondence.

27. In this respect the Government of the United States admits that shares, bonds, coupons, and other valuable papers; money orders, checks, drafts, bills of exchange, and other negotiable papers, being the equivalent of money, may, when included in postal shipments, be considered as of the same nature as merchandise and other property, and therefore be also subjected to the exercise of belligerent rights.

28. Yet the American memorandum adds that correspondence, including shipping documents, lists of money orders, and documents of this nature, even though referring to shipments to or exports by the enemy, must be treated as mail and pass freely unless they refer to merchandise on the same ship that is liable to capture.

29. As regards shipping documents and commercial correspondence found on neutral vessels, even in an allied port and offering no interest of consequence as affecting the war, the allied Governments have instructed their authorities not to stop them but to see that they are forwarded with as little delay as possible. Mail matter of that nature must be forwarded to destination as far as practicable on the very ship on which it was found or by a speedier route, as is the case for certain mails inspected in Great Britain.

30. As for the lists of money orders to which the Government of the United States assigns the character of ordinary mail, the allied Governments deem it their duty to draw the attention of the Government of the United States to the following practical consideration:

31. As a matter of fact the lists of money orders mailed from the United States to Germany and Austria-Hungary correspond to moneys paid in the United States and payable by the German and Austro-Hungarian post offices. Those lists acquaint those post offices with the sums that have been paid there which in consequence they have to pay to the addressees. In practice, such payment is at the disposal of such addressees and is effected directly to them as soon as those lists arrive and without the requirement of the individual orders having come into the hands of the addressees. These lists are thus really actual money orders transmitted in lump in favor of several addressees. Nothing, in the opinion of the allied Governments, seems to justify the liberty granted to the enemy country so to receive funds intended to supply by that amount its financial resisting power.

32. The American memorandum sees fit firmly to recall that neutral and belligerent rights are equally sacred and must be strictly respected. The allied Governments, so far as they are concerned, wholly share that view. They are sincerely striving to avoid an encroachment by the exercise of their belligerent rights on the legitimate exercise of the rights of innocent neutral commerce, but they hold that it is their belligerent right to exercise on the high seas the supervision granted them by international law to impede any transportation intended to aid their enemy in the conduct of the war and to uphold his resistance. The rights of the United States as a neutral power can not, in our opinion, imply the protection granted by the Federal Government to shipments, invoices, correspondence, or communications in any shape whatever having an open or concealed hostile character and with a direct or indirect hostile destination, which American private persons can only effect at their own risk and peril. That is the very principle which was expressly stated by the President of the United States in his neutrality proclamation.

33. Furthermore, should any abuses, grave erors, or derelictions committed by the allied authorities charged with the duty of inspecting mails be disclosed to the Governments of France and Great Britain, they are now as they ever were ready to settle responsibility therefor in accordance with the principles of law and justice which it never was and is not now their intention to evade.

The Government has had a lengthy correspondence touching the matter of censorship of telegrams and cablegrams, transmitted by wireless and cable, which need not here be reproduced. The points of controversy indicate the difficulty of any neutral country securing unbiased information as news when these avenues of transmission are not open.

Another source of controversy with England grows out of the exercise of the power to take from American steamships German citizens:

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO AMBASSADOR W. H. PAGE.

[Telegram—Paraphrase.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, February 23, 1916.

Mr. Lansing informs Mr. Page that the department is advised by American consuls in Hongkong, Nagasaki, and Shanghai, and by the owners of the American steamship *China*, that on the 18th instant the British cruiser *Laurentic* stopped the *China* on the high seas, about 10 miles from the entrance to the Yangtzekiang, boarded her with an armed party, and, despite the captain's protest, removed from the vessel 28 Germans, 8 Austrians, and 2 Turks, including physicians and merchants, and took them to Hongkong, where they are detained as prisoners in the military barracks. As it is understood that none of the men taken from the *China* were incorporated in the armed forces of the enemies of Great Britain, the action of the *Laurentic* must be regarded by this Government as an unwarranted invasion of the sovereignty of American vessels on the high seas. After the notice given to the British Government of this Government's attitude in the *Pirpenbrink* case in March last, which was based upon the principle contended for by Earl Russell in the *Trent* case, this Government is surprised at this exercise of belligerent power on the high seas far removed from the zone of hostile operations. Ambassador Page is directed to present this matter to the Government of Great Britain at once and to insist vigorously that if facts are as reported orders be given for the immediate release of the persons taken from the *China*.

(File No. 341.622a/84.)

AMBASSADOR W. H. PAGE TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

No. 3259.] AMERICAN EMBASSY,
London, March 17, 1916.

SIR: With reference to the department's telegram No. 2924, of February 23, 1916, protesting against the removal of 38 enemy subjects of Great Britain by the British ship *Laurentic* from the steamship *China* on the high seas off the entrance to the Yangtse River, I have the honor to inclose herewith a copy of a note, deated the 16th instant, from the foreign office in reply to the representations I made to Sir Edward Grey in the premises.

I have, etc. WALTER HINES PAGE.

[Inclosure.]

THE BRITISH SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO AMBASSADOR W. H. PAGE.

FOREIGN OFFICE, *March 16, 1916.*

YOUR EXCELLENCY: His Majesty's Government have given the most careful consideration to the memorandum which your excellency was good enough to communicate to me on the 24th ultimo, conveying a protest from the United States Government against the removal of 38 enemy subjects by His Majesty's ship *Laurentic* from the steamship *China* on the high seas off the entrance to the Yangtse River, and I now have the honor to offer the following observations as an expression of the views of His Majesty's Government in regard to the matter.

The latest attempt to define by common agreement the limits within which a belligerent naval power may remove enemy persons from neutral ships on the high seas is represented by article 47 of the Declaration of London, 1909. This article permitted the arrest of such persons if "embodied in the armed forces of the enemy," without regard to the destination of the ship on which they were found traveling. The commentary on article 45 of the declaration contained in the report of the drafting committee of the London naval conference states that on practical, not legal, grounds it was agreed that the terms "embodied in the armed forces of the enemy" should be considered as not including reservists not yet attached to their military units.

At the beginning of the war His Majesty's Government adhered to articles 45 and 47 of the Declaration of London, as interpreted by the report of the drafting committee. They took this step as a matter of convenience, being at liberty, as the declaration was an unratified instrument, to cancel at any time their adherence, provided always that their subsequent action did not conflict with the general principles of international law. When the German authorities began to remove able-bodied persons of military age from the occupied portions of France and Belgium, His Majesty's Government, as indicated in the circular note which I had the honor to address on the 4th November, 1914, to the representatives of neutral powers in London, felt that they could no longer accept the restrictive interpretation placed for practical reasons on the terms of article 47 of the Declaration of London by the report of the drafting committee, and that they must arrest all enemy reservists found on board neutral ships on the high seas, no matter where they might be met.

I am aware that the United States Government, after their suggestion early in the war that the belligerent powers should adopt the Declaration of London in its entirety as a code of international naval law, did not find general acceptance, having declared that they no longer consider the declaration as being in force. I have referred at some length to the bearings of the declaration on the position of His Majesty's Government in this question, because article 47 represents the latest, if not the only, attempt to arrive at a definition, by common consent of the chief maritime nations of the law in regard to the matter. The attempt was necessarily conditioned by the experience of previous wars, and the definition was reached after weighing the claims and the convenience of neutral shipping against the importance to belligerent powers, as shown by the experience of previous wars, of preventing enemy subjects from proceeding to their destination and pursuing the hostile purposes for which they were organized.

It is evident, however, from the foregoing observations that the principle (often contended for in the past by certain continental nations) that there are certain classes of persons who are not protected by a neutral flag on the high seas and may therefore, without any invasion of the sovereign rights of the neutral, be removed from a neutral ship is now generally admitted. The carriage of such persons may in some cases amount to unneutral service, rendering the ship liable to condemnation; but even when this is not so, the removal of such persons from a neutral ship by a belligerent does not justify any complaint by the neutral State concerned. The question in the present case is, therefore, whether the character and position of the persons removed from the *China* were such as to bring the case within the principle enunciated above.

The present war has shown that the belligerent activity of the enemies of this country is by no means confined to the actual theaters of military and naval operations and that there is no limit to the methods by which Germany in particular seeks to secure a victory for her arms. The hostile efforts of the enemy have shown, and continue to show, themselves on neutral soil in many parts of the world in political intrigues, revolutionary plots, schemes for attacking the seaborne trade of this country and her allies, endeavors to facilitate the operations of ships engaged in this task, and in criminal enterprises of different kinds directed against the property of neutrals and belligerents alike. War has in effect been extended far beyond the bounds of the area in which opposing armies maneuver, and an unscrupulous belligerent may inflict the deadliest blows on his enemy in regions remote from actual fighting. It may be recalled that a certain Lieut. Robert Fay, of the German Army, was reported in the press last autumn to have been detected experimenting with bombs designed to destroy merchant ships leaving America and operating in the interests of the enemies of Germany. He was said to have admitted that he was sent by the German authorities to the United States expressly for this purpose. His Majesty's Government are not aware what degree of truth there may be in this story, but numerous incidents in America and elsewhere have shown that the facts may be as stated and may be typical.

It is then evidently of the greatest importance for a belligerent power to intercept on the high seas not only mobilized members of the opposing army who may be found traveling on neutral ships, but also those agents whom the enemy sends to injure his opponent abroad or whose services he enjoys without having himself commissioned them. Practical considerations from the belligerents' point of view have changed, and the change necessarily implies a modification in the precise description of enemy subjects whom it is lawful to arrest, supposing such a precise description can be said to have existed in any binding form.

I may add that the action of the United States Government in forwarding requests for safe conducts for agents of states at war with this country whose actions had been such that their continued presence in the United States could no longer be tolerated affords a strong indication that the right to remove certain classes of persons from neutral ships can, in the circumstances of this present war, not be confined to persons embodied in the armed forces of a belligerent.

I may add for the confidential information of the Government of the United States that from actual occurrences and from reliable information received it has been definitely established that the Germans resident in Shanghai have been engaged for some time past in the collection of arms and ammunition, both for clandestine transmission to India and, if possible, for the arming of a ship to play the part of a Far Eastern *Moewe*. His Majesty's Government were able to cope with this activity to a considerable extent and obtained the arrest of various German agents caught in the act of attempting to smuggle arms out of Shanghai; further, the Germans became aware that His Majesty's Government knew of their plots. The commander in chief, China station, received information that owing to this fact the Germans were planning to shift the center of their activity from Shanghai to Manila. Subsequently he was definitely informed that 35 Germans had planned to leave Shanghai in the steamship *China* and proceed to Manila.

His Majesty's ships were sent to patrol off the mouth of the Yangtze with the view of intercepting this party. The date of the *China's* departure was more than once postponed, but she eventually sailed, was intercepted by His Majesty's ship *Laurentic* and found to have on board Germans and Austrians corresponding to those concerning whom information, as mentioned above, had been received. The *Laurentic*, therefore, had no hesitation in removing them. The next ostensible port of call of the *China* was Nagasaki, a convenient place at which to transfer to another vessel proceeding to Manila.

It may be added that subsequent information fully confirms that the movement of the body of Germans in question was an integral part of the plot referred to above.

I do not think it will be disputed that persons of this description must be placed within the category of individuals who may, without any infraction of the sovereignty of a neutral state, be removed from a neutral vessel on the high seas. The object of their journey was to find another neutral asylum in which they might continue their operations against the interests of this country. The acts which they desired to perform upon the soil of the United States were such as possibly to compromise the neutrality of that country or to constitute an offense against its criminal laws. They were in effect persons whose past actions and future intentions deprived them of any protection from the neutral flag under which they were sailing.

In your excellency's note reference is made to the case of the *Trent*. I venture to hope that the preceding observations show clearly that the present case is of an entirely different nature to that on which the United States Government rely. At the date when the *Trent* case occurred no agreement had been reached as to the claim put forward by certain countries that a belligerent is entitled to remove certain classes of individuals from a neutral ship without bringing the vessel in for adjudication in the prize court; since then, as I have pointed out above, a considerable measure of agreement had been reached on this point. In any case the nature of the persons concerned in the episode of the *Trent* was entirely different from that of the individuals removed from the *China*. Messrs. Slidell and Mason were proceeding to Europe, according to their contention, as the diplomatic representatives of a belligerent; at that time the suggestion that the functions of a diplomatic representative should include the organizing of outrages upon the soil of the neutral country to which he was accredited was unheard of, and the removal of the gentlemen in question could only be justified on the ground that their representative character was sufficient to bring them within the classes of persons whose removal from a neutral vessel was justifiable. The distinction between such persons and German agents whose object is to make use of the shelter of a neutral country in order to foment risings in British territory, to fit out ships for the purpose of preying on British commerce, and to organize outrages in the neutral country itself is obvious.

It is hardly necessary for me to state that it is far from the wish and intention of His Majesty's Government to take any action involving an invasion of the sovereign rights of the United States Government; the above observations will have made it clear that in the view of my Government no such invasion was involved in the action of His Majesty's ship *Laurentic*, and I feel confident that after the foregoing explanations in regard both to the general question involved and to the removal of enemy subjects from the *China* the United States Government will not feel disposed further to contend that this action was not justified.

I have, etc.,

E. GREY.

Our latest effort to insure neutral rights upon the high seas is the following proposed code for the freedom of the seas. Coming at this time it can only serve as a suggestion for the future.

INTERNATIONAL LAW INSTITUTE RECEIVES DRAFT MADE AT LANSING'S SUGGESTION—BARS COMMERCE BLOCKADE—NO MERCHANT SHIP TO BE SEIZED OR DESTROYED IF IT BEARS VISÉED PAPERS.

HABANA, CUBA, *January 22.*

A code of rules of maritime neutrality which should govern the relations between belligerents and neutrals, prepared at the suggestion of Secretary of State Robert Lansing of the United States, was submitted to the American Institute of International Law in annual session here to-day.

The proposed regulations practically provide for freedom of the seas in time of war. Commercial blockades would be forbidden and mails inviolate; merchant ships without contraband, whether of belligerent or neutral registry, would be unmolested if they bore viséed papers; right of search at sea would be abolished. The mandates would be enforced by a neutral conference with authority to take "severe measures" against violators.

The code was drafted by Dr. Alejandro Alvarez, secretary general of the institute, and who formerly was juriconsult to the Chilean foreign office and counselor to the Chilean legations abroad. It will be referred to the national society of international law in each of the 21 American Republics, and final action on it will be taken by the institute at its next annual meeting.

The code follows:

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL DECLARATIONS.

ARTICLE 1. Neutrality is the situation of States which, in the course of a war, are not participants therein.

Neutrality, especially maritime neutrality, must hereafter be regulater not merely on the basis of the rights of the belligerents but especially on that of the rights of neutrals, by safeguarding commercial liberty and releasing neutrals from the useless burdens resting on them with a view to observing neutrality. This new conception of neutrality is demanded by reason of the bonds of solidarity which exist between all the members of the society of nations.

ART. 2. In case of war between two or more countries, the rest of the States must refrain from increasing the number of belligerents.

If not able to prevent the conflict, they must do all they can to put an early end to it, neutrality not merely being an impartial duty between belligerents equally respectful of right but a duty of pacification toward mankind.

CHAPTER II.

THE CONFERENCE OF NEUTRALS.

ART. 3. When war is declared, the neutral States of the entire world shall, upon the request of the Administrative Council of the Permanent Hague Court, meet in conference, in order:

1. To take all necessary measures to maintain the freedom of commerce and navigation of the neutral countries.

2. To determine the list of articles to be regarded as contraband.

3. To see especially to the observance of all neutral rights and duties established in these present rules, and to exercise any other powers granted them by the said same rules.

ART. 4. The conference of neutrals shall gather in The Hague Peace Palace unless the council directs otherwise.

The belligerents shall be invited to send representatives, who may take active part in the discussions and have the right to vote.

Resolutions shall be adopted by a majority vote and bind the minority.

ART. 5. In important cases the conference may authorize severe measures against the belligerent or against the neutrals refusing to respect the rights and duties of neutrality.

Such measures may be public blame, pecuniary indemnity, commercial boycott, and even the use of an international force to be determined by the conference.

ART. 6. The conference of neutrals may organize in any number of commissions thought necessary, one of these commissions to be especially designated to consider such pecuniary indemnities as are referred to in these rules.

CHAPTER III.

FREEDOM OF COMMERCE IN TIME OF WAR.

ART. 7. The commercial blockade, both of the belligerent ports and the maritime zones along belligerent coasts, is formally forbidden, no matter what the means by which the blockade is to be effected.

ART. 8. Private property in the open sea is inviolable. Belligerent and neutral merchant vessels may in no case be confiscated, nor sunk, under any pretext whatever.

If carrying contraband, this may be confiscated or destroyed by the captor.

ART. 9. The right of search is abolished. The local authorities of each country shall visé the papers of merchant vessels leaving port for a belligerent port.

Belligerent vessels may not stop neutral merchant vessels or merchant vessels belonging to the other belligerent except to demand examination of the vessel's papers. Despite the regularity of the said papers, they (belligerent vessels) may proceed to the search of merchant vessels. If shown that the vessel does not carry contraband, the searching vessel shall be condemned to pay to the vessel searched a fine to be determined by the conference of neutrals; and in case the vessel searched carries contraband, the country whose authorities viséed the false passport shall be condemned to pay an indemnity to be determined by the said conference of neutrals.

Vessels not carrying duly viséed papers may be searched conformable to present international practice without the right to an indemnity.

ART. 10. Belligerent merchant vessels may not refuse to carry from one neutral port to another neutral port persons or merchandise under pretext that they (persons or merchandise) belong to a nation with which their (belligerent merchant vessels) country is at war.

Exception to be made regarding persons who by reason of their age or condition might serve their country and who might be presumed to leave in order to join the enemy forces of the country to which the vessel belongs.

ART. 11. The official or private postal correspondence of neutrals or belligerents found in the open sea on board a neutral or enemy vessel is inviolable. It may not be seized, even under the pretext of the police right of warships over merchant ships of their own nationality.

CHAPTER IV.

RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF BELLIGERENTS.

ART. 12. Belligerents are held to respect the sovereign rights of neutral powers and to refrain, within neutral territory or neutral waters from committing acts which, if tolerated by neutral powers, would constitute a breach of neutrality.

ART. 13. Belligerents are especially forbidden to make of neutral ports and waters the base for naval operations against their adversaries, and, particularly, to install therein wireless stations or other apparatus intended as a means of communication with belligerent land or naval forces.

ART. 14. Regarding the sojourn, victualing, and provisioning of belligerent vessels in the neutral ports, roadways, and jurisdictional waters, distinction must be made between warships and merchant vessels.

The following dispositions concerning warships are also applicable:

(1) To ordinary auxiliary vessels.

(2) To merchant vessels transformed into war vessels, conformable to Convention VII of The Hague.

(3) To merchant vessels giving continuous or occasional aid to the war vessels of their country, if they have not been transformed into war vessels according to the said convention.

(4) To neutral vessels giving continuous or occasional aid to belligerent vessels, and the following dispositions regarding merchant vessels are likewise applicable to vessels which have been auxiliary vessels, but retransformed into merchant vessels according to article 18.

ART. 15. Belligerent warships shall not have access to the ports, roadways, and territorial waters of neutral powers, except in the duly justified case of force majeure.

They may not there repair beyond what is indispensable to the safety of their navigability, and not in any manner whatever to increase their military capacity. The neutral authorities shall establish the nature of repairs to be effected, and these must be carried out as rapidly as possible. They must depart immediately after the force majeure has ceased to exist.

It is especially forbidden said war vessels to renew or to increase their military provision or armaments or to complete their crews.

The need of revictualing, of fuel, or provisions does not constitute a force majeure permitting a warship to enter the ports, roadways, or territorial waters of neutral powers.

ART. 16. Belligerent merchant vessels may take fuel and provisions on board in neutral ports subject to the conditions especially determined by the local authorities, or, wanting these special conditions, in the same manner as in time of peace.

ART. 17. If proven that the merchant vessel taking fuel or provisions on board in a neutral port has passed all or part of such provisions to a belligerent warship within or without the territorial waters of the neutral power, no fuel or provisions shall thereafter be furnished in such country to any ship of the company to which belongs the vessel committing such infraction.

ART. 18. If, ascertained by its installations or other facts, a merchant vessel is suspected of furnishing to the warships of its country provisions it asks for, the local authorities may, according to the circumstances, regard it as a naval auxiliary, and on this account refuse to it any provisions or request the agent of the company to which the vessel belongs to furnish bail guaranteeing that the said vessel will neither help nor assist the belligerent.

When a vessel is suspected, the case must be notified at once to all other countries, through the medium of the conference of neutrals, especially so if the vessel has furtively left a port of the country.

ART. 19. Belligerent auxiliary vessels retransformed into merchant vessels shall be admitted as such into neutral ports, provided—

1. That the retransformed vessel has not violated the neutrality of the country where it arrives;

2. That the retransformation has been effected in the ports or in the jurisdictional waters of the country to which the vessel belongs, or in the ports of its allies;

3. That such retransformation be effective; that is to say, that the vessel, neither through its crew nor through its installations, shows that it can, as an auxiliary, as before, give aid to the armed fleets of its country;

4. That the government of the country to which the vessel belongs notify to all the nations interested, through the medium of the conference of neutrals, the names of the auxiliary vessels which shall have lost this quality, to resume that of merchant vessels; and

5. That the said government agree that in the future the said vessels shall not again, as auxiliaries, be destined to the service of the armed fleet.

ART. 20. Aeroplanes, dirigibles, or airships of the belligerent countries may not fly over the territory or over the jurisdictional waters of the neutral powers. Infraction of this rule entitles to the confiscation of the craft, if possible, and, at any rate, to an indemnity to be determined by the conference of neutrals.

CHAPTER V.

RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF NEUTRALS.

ART. 21. In a war distinction must be made between the acts of aid on the part of neutral States and acts of commerce on the part of the individual; the former only are contrary to neutrality.

Conveyance, on whatever ground, made directly or indirectly by a neutral power to a belligerent power, of warships, munitions, or war material, is forbidden.

ART. 22. If a neutral power, notified of the opening of hostilities, learns that a belligerent warship is within one of its ports, roadways, or within its territorial waters, it must inform the said vessel that it must clear within 24 hours or within the time prescribed by the local law.

ART. 23. The neutral Government must use all available means to prevent within its jurisdiction the equipping or arming of any vessel which it has reason to believe is intended for cruising purposes or for aiding in hostile operations against a power with which it is at peace. It is likewise bound to exercise the same care in order to prevent the departure from its jurisdiction of any vessel intended for cruising purposes or for aiding in hostile operations, and which vessel, within the said jurisdiction, might have been adapted, in part or in its entirety, to war purposes.

ART. 24. Neutral powers are not bound to prevent the exportation or the transit, for the account of the one or the other belligerent, of arms, munitions, and, in general, of anything that may be of any use to an army or to a fleet.

ART. 25. Neutral Governments must prevent agents of the belligerent Governments from enrolling, within their territory, their (the belligerents') nationals, and especially to prevent their (the nationals) being summoned under the penalty of being declared deserters, should they not answer the summons.

They shall not, however, prohibit the voluntary departure of the nationals of the belligerent States, even when organized on a large scale.

Neutral Governments might, however, forbid the voluntary departure, for the purpose of joining the forces of one of the belligerents, of persons who, being its (the neutral's) nationals, are also nationals of one of the belligerent countries, except by declaring that in enrolling they intend to lose the nationality of the country from which they leave.

ART. 26. In war time the use of the telegraphs or cables of neutral powers by the nationals of the belligerent powers shall be subject to measures edicted by the local authorities.

ART. 27. Neutral powers must use all available means to prevent violation of their neutrality within their ports or roadways and within their territorial waters.

ART. 28. Belligerent war or merchant vessels entering the ports, roadways, or jurisdictional waters of a neutral country, without the right to do so according to the provisions of these rules, may be interned by the neutral country.

A vessel shall be deemed interned from the moment it is ordered interned by the neutral local authorities, even in case a request to reconsider is made by the infracting vessel.

ART. 29. Interning of a vessel and of its crew must be effected in the place and in the manner deemed most appropriate by the interning country.

The costs of internment are borne by the infracting vessel.

The country which interns a vessel is not responsible for injuries sustained by the interned vessel, except in the case of gross negligence.

ART. 30. When a merchandise-bearing vessel is to be interned in a neutral country, the part of the merchandise destined for the neutral country must be unloaded and the part destined for other ports must be transshipped.

ART. 31. In case where, in consequence of naval operations taking place without the jurisdictional waters of a country, there should be killed or wounded, provisional hospital vessels, under the control and watchfulness of the neutral Government, may be sent to the scene of the action, and the said vessels shall to the end of their mission enjoy absolute inviolability.

The said wounded or wrecked shall not be interned, but given their freedom as soon as possible.

CHAPTER VI.

OBSERVANCE AND SANCTIONS OF THE LAWS OF NEUTRALITY AND BELLIGERENCY.

ART. 32. The belligerent who violates the rights of neutrals established by these rules or by the conference of neutrals shall pay to the State interested a pecuniary indemnity to be determined by the said conference.

In case a belligerent commits at the same time and against the same country several infractions of neutrality, each of such infractions must be indemnified separately.

The conference of neutrals shall determine the manner of payment of the payment of the indemnity, and in case of need determine the measures and means to which neutrals may resort to secure payment of the amount due by the infracting belligerent.

ART. 33. In case of war the local authorities of neutral countries are especially charged with:

1. Seeing to the observance, within the territory of the country, of the resolutions of the conference of neutrals.

2. Settling provisionally all controversies of an urgent character that may arise between the belligerents and the country where reside the authorities, especially controversies concerning the interning of vessels, without prejudice as to what may be finally decided by the said authorities.

3. Viséeing the papers of merchant vessels leaving the part of the country. The said documents shall certify as to the nature of the merchandise carried by the vessels, so as to liberate them from the right to search.

4. Deciding questions concerning requests for the embarkation on board a merchant vessel of a belligerent country, of nationals of the other belligerent country or countries, according to article 10.

ART. 34. The conference of neutrals referred to in chapter 2 might appoint commissions composed of neutrals, whose duty it would be to watch in each belligerent country, over the manner in which the laws and customs of war are there observed.

Upon the basis of the information and reports of these commissions, the said conference, in the name of all the neutral countries, may, if deemed appropriate, protest against the violation of the laws and usages of war.

Secretary Lansing addressed a memorandum to Dr. Scott as follows:

"At the first meeting of the institute I had the honor to direct attention to the imperfect code or rules which define and govern the relations between belligerents and neutrals. These rules, which have grown up during the past 125 years, and have been in some cases differently interpreted by courts of different countries, have been frequently found inadequate to meet new conditions of warfare, and as a result every war has changed, modified, or added to the rules, generally through the process of judicial decisions.

"The prize courts of belligerents have thus become the interpreters of belligerent rights and neutral obligations, and their interpretations evidence an unconscious prejudice arising from overappreciation of the needs of the belligerent. Writers on international law have relied upon the prize court decisions in dealing with the subject of neutrality, so that they have laid down rules formulated indirectly from a belligerent's point of view.

"In addition to these influences affecting a code to govern the conduct and treatment of neutrals, international conferences, and congresses have generally confided the drafting of rules relating to belligerent and neutral rights to military and naval experts who naturally approach the subject from the belligerent's standpoint. Thus judicial decisions, text writers, and international agreements have given all the advantage to the belligerent, and have shown little regard for the rights of neutrals.

"It would appear that it is time to reverse this process of treatment of the subject of neutrality and to deal with it from the point of view of the neutral.

"I would, therefore, suggest that a committee be appointed to study the problem of neutral rights and neutral duties, seeking to formulate in terms the principle underlying the relations of belligerency to neutrality rather than the express rules governing the conduct of a nation at war to a nation at peace.

"I would further suggest that the subject might be advantageously divided into two parts, namely, the rights of neutrals on the high seas, and the duties of neutrals dependent upon territorial jurisdiction.

"In view of the past year and a half of war, the present time seems particularly opportune to study this question, and this institute, being composed of members from neutral nations, is especially fitted to do this from the proper point of view, and with the definite purpose of protecting the liberty of neutrals from unjustifiable restrictions on the high seas and from the imposition of needless burdens in preserving their neutrality on land."

63. On the 25th of January, 1917, radical Admiralty action was taken by England in which a wide area of the North Sea was declared dangerous for shipping. The real reason for the change was not announced. The action was made public two days later in the following language:

American Embassy, London, has received information from the British Government that on account of belligerent operations the undermentioned area in the North Sea is dangerous to shipping:

Area comprising all the waters, except Netherlands and Danish territorial waters, lying to the southwestward and eastward of a line commencing 4 miles from the coast of Jutland, in latitude 56° N., longitude 8° E. from Greenwich, and passing through the following positions: Latitude 56° N., longitude 6° E., latitude 54° N., longitude 45′ E., thence to a position in latitude 53° 37′ N., longitude 5° E., 7 miles off the coast of the Netherlands. (New York Times, Jan. 27, 1917.)

On the 16th of February a new Admiralty decree suggesting intensified action in the North Sea was announced, in which it was officially declared the zone will be made perilous by operations against the enemy.

Ambassador Page's dispatch reads:

Following revised notice, dated February 13, received from the Foreign Office respecting dangerous area in North Sea, which is intended to replace notice of January 25, 1917:

"Caution with regard to dangerous area.

"In view of the unrestricted warfare carried on by Germany at sea by means of mines and submarines not only against the allied powers, but also against neutral shipping, and the fact that merchant ships are constantly sunk without regard to the ultimate safety of their crews, His Majesty's Government gives notice that on and after the 7th of February, 1917, the undermentioned area in the North Sea will be rendered dangerous to all shipping by operations against the enemy, and it should therefore be avoided.

"Dangerous area: The area comprising all the waters, except Netherland and Danish territorial waters, lying to the southward and eastward of a line commencing 4 miles from the coast of Jutland in latitude 56° north, longitude 8° east, and passing through the following positions: Latitude 56° north, longitude 6° east, and latitude 54° 45′ north, longitude 4° 30′ east; thence to a position in latitude 53° 27′ north, longitude 5° east, 7 miles from the coast of the Netherlands.

"To met the needs of the coastal traffic which can not strictly confine itself to the territorial waters owing to navigational difficulties, it will be safe to navigate between the coast of Jutland and a line passing through the following positions: Latitude 56° north, longitude 8° east, and latitude 55° 40′ north, longitude 8° east; latitude 55° 36′ north, longitude 7° 15′ east; latitude 55° 32′ north, longitude 7° 15′ east; latitude 55° 22′ north, longitude 7° 45′ east; latitude 55° 19′ north, longitude 8° 4′ east; latitude 55° 22′ north, longitude 8° 19′ east, which is 3 miles from the coast of Fano Island.

"Also a safe passage will be left along the Netherland coast southward of a line joining the following positions: Latitude 53° 27′ north, longitude 5° east; latitude 53° 31½′ north, longitude 5° 30′ east; latitude 53° 34′ north, longitude 6° east; latitude 53° 39′ north, longitude 6° 23′ east." (New York Times.)

The press to-day, February 22, 1917, carries another order in council which declares neutral vessels must be examined by allies or face confiscation.

The order in council is as follows:

Whereas these enemy orders are in flagrant contradiction of the rules of international law, the dictates of humanity, and treaty obligations of the enemy, and render it necessary for further measures to be adopted in order to maintain the efficiency of those previously taken to prevent commodities reaching or leaving enemy countries.

His Majesty has ordered that the following directions shall be observed respecting all vessels which sail from their port of departure after the date of this order:

"First. A vessel which is encountered at sea on the way to or from a port in any neutral country affording means of access to enemy territory without calling at a port in British or allied territory shall, until the contrary is established, be deemed to be carrying goods with enemy destination or of enemy origin, and shall be brought in for examination, and, if necessary, for adjudication before a prize court.

"Second. Any vessel carrying goods with enemy destination or of enemy origin shall be liable to capture and condemnation, in respect of the carriage of such goods: *Provided*, That in the case of any vessel which calls at an appointed British or allied port for examination of her cargo no sentence of condemnation shall be pronounced except on carriage of goods of enemy origin or destination, and no such presumption as laid down in article 1 shall arise.

"Third. Goods which are found on examination of any vessel to be goods of enemy origin or destination shall be liable to condemnation."

Criticism of H. R. 18984.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM W. HASTINGS,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 12, 1917.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, I herewith submit a letter from S. H. Harris, president of the Oklahoma Game and Fish Protective Association, inviting attention to some objections to House bill 18984. The objections urged in his letter seem to me to be serious and worthy of careful consideration. I submit same, in order to invite the attention of Members of the House to the amendment he suggests should be made.

The letter is as follows:

OKLAHOMA GAME AND FISH PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION,
Oklahoma City, Okla., February 3, 1917.

Hon. WILLIAM W. HASTINGS,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: I wish to call your attention to House bill 18984 by Mr. MEEKER. There are some serious objections to this bill. In section 6 you will notice that game can not be carried from one State to another except by the person or in the personal baggage of the individual who has lawfully procured the same. I believe all the States, with the exception of Arkansas, issue hunting licenses to nonresidents, and all these States have some provision or regulation calculated to insure compliance with the law with reference to the amount of game taken and the method of transporting the same. For example, in Texas,

where I usually go duck shooting in the winter, the game which I desire to send to my home is exhibited to a game warden, with whom I leave an affidavit setting forth full compliance with the game law and my purpose in shipping the game. This game is then iced and packed under the supervision of the warden and sent by express to my home. This game could not possibly be carried in my possession nor in my personal baggage, for the reason that it would spoil before reaching my home. This is practically always the case with reference to transporting game from one State to another. In Oklahoma the nonresident license has attached to it a certificate, which must in turn be attached to the package containing the game lawfully killed and to be shipped to the home of the licensee.

The provision referred to in section 6 should be stricken out or so modified as to permit the icing and shipping of game as the only way it can be transported from one State to another.

Again, in section 9, there is a provision against the use of "automatic, pump, or repeating guns." This provision is foolish and highly unreasonable. The bill in question carries a very strict bag limit, and this is the case with all State laws. There is no reason why this bag limit should not be acquired by means which are now practically universal. The so-called pump or repeating gun is the poor man's gun. There are probably more than 100,000 of these weapons in Oklahoma to-day, costing on an average of about $25. To duplicate this 100,000 with equally safe and efficient double guns it would cost three times as much as the original cost of more modern guns. This would amount to an enormous confiscation of property without any logical beneficial results. If the hunter can lawfully take 15 birds in one day, it is really immaterial to the birds and the public whether he kills them with a cheap pump gun or with a fancy engraved and inlaid gentleman's double gun. I have no fault to find with other provisions of this bill, but it appears to me that Senate bill 7858 and House bill 20080, about which I wired you some days ago, really cover the ground as far as necessary. The State can very well take care of the other details.

Very truly, yours,

S. H. HARRIS, *President.*

Conference Report on the Indian Appropriation Bill—Unfitness of R. C. Allen to Serve as National Attorney for the Creek Nation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES S. DAVENPORT,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 21, 1917.

Mr. DAVENPORT. Mr. Speaker, when the Indian appropriation bill was under consideration in the House on December 12, 1916, I offered an amendment, the effect of which would have been to employ no tribal attorney for the Creek Nation after the end of the present fiscal year, June 30, 1917. The amendment was overwhelmingly adopted in the House. I offered it, as frankly stated by me at that time, because in my judgment the records show the present Creek tribal attorney, R. C. Allen, should never have been employed and should not now be employed to represent the Creek Tribe of Indians, a number of whom live in my district.

At that time I had incorporated in the RECORD a letter from S. M. Brosius, agent Indian Rights' Association, addressed to the Secretary of the Interior, dated July 9, 1915, which goes into details why Allen was not a fit person to be employed. I also submitted a statement, a certified copy of the docket of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Oklahoma, showing that a large number of suits were pending against Allen and the Coweta Realty Co., of which he was the principal if not the sole owner.

I invited special attention to the letter of Mr. Brosius, as he had no interests to serve other than the best interests of the tribe. No one has ever attempted to answer the facts set forth in his letter.

Now, it will be remembered that one of the principal duties of the attorney for the Creek Tribe of Indians is to bring suit and help restricted Indians in clearing the title to their lands. I submit that in view of the court records Allen was the chief offender in clouding titles to lands, and is an unfit person to be employed. He does not dispute that he was the holder of a large number of spurious titles. He does not state that these suits were not instituted against him. He does not deny that he was the principal owner of the Coweta Realty Co., as charged by Brosius. If this be true, I do not see how the Secretary of the Interior can justify his recommendation of the approval of a contract with a man who is the chief offender against the law he is to enforce.

When called upon to explain, Allen never answers the statements made by Brosius. He begs the question and dodges the issue by calling attention to the fact that a large number of suits are pending, where members of the Creek Tribe of Indians are interested; and he tries, of course, to insinuate that objections to him arise from bad motives. However, this is no answer on the part of Allen. Why does he not say whether or not these suits were pending against him in the United States Court for the Eastern District of Oklahoma; and also whether or not he was at the time the chief owner and legal adviser of the Coweta Realty Co., or the company that clouded so many titles to lands in the Creek Nation? The truth is, Allen first started the clouding of titles in Wagoner County. He had the Coweta Realty Co. organized for this very purpose. He was the chief offender.

J. S. Bilby is another large land speculator. He owned whole townships of land in the northwestern part of Wagoner County and in various other parts of Oklahoma, as well as other States. He has the reputation of being one of the largest landowners in America, and was reported five or six years ago to have more doubtful titles, except perhaps Allen himself, than any other man in Oklahoma.

Mr. Brosius, in his statement to the Secretary, called attention to the fact, as showing Allen's unfitness, that while he was a candidate for the nomination of district judge in 1910 he secured a loan from this same J. S. Bilby of $10,000, and that Bilby had brought suit to recover upon the note. Brosius states that this note was secured by mortgages on lands held by Allen, the titles to which were spurious. Realizing that a foreclosure on them would not avail anything, Bilby did not foreclose but brought a suit on the notes. The records of the district court in Wagoner County show that two judgments were rendered against R. C. Allen and Lillian Allen, his wife, on December 22, 1916. This was 10 days after my amendment was adopted in the House. One of these judgments was for $7,622.22, with an attorney's fee of $100; and the other was for $770 and an attorney's fee of $50, as follows:

COWETA, OKLA., *June 1, 1910.*

Six months without grace, after date, for value received, we, as principals, promise to pay to the order of John S. Bilby, at his office, $10,000 in lawful money of the United States of America, of or equal to the present standard of value, with interest at 8 per cent per annum from date, interest to become as principal when due and bear the same rate of interest. The makers and indorsers of this note hereby severally waive presentment for payment, notice of nonpayment, protest and notice of protest, and consent that time of payment may be extended without notice thereof. Appraisement and all exemptions waived. If suit be instituted we agree that judgment be rendered for 10 per cent additional as attorney's fees, and we hereby give full authority to said John S. Bilby, or his assigns, to sell any collateral security assigned or attached at public or private sale, without notice, upon nonpayment of this note.

R. C. ALLEN.
LILLIAN ALLEN.

Post office: Coweta, Okla.
Indorsed.
June 2, credit $5,000.

STATE OF OKLAHOMA,
County of Muskogee, ss:

[In the district court. John S. Bilby, plaintiff, *v.* R. C. Allen and Lillian Allen, defendants. No. 4100.]

JUDGMENT.

Now, on this 22d day of December, 1916, the same being a judicial day of the regular September term of this court, the above-entitled cause coming regularly on for hearing, and the plaintiff appearing by his attorneys, Rittenhouse & Brown, and the defendants, although duly served with summons herein personally as required by law, and having heretofore appeared in this cause, appear not at this time, nor anyone for them, but make default, and the defendants and each of them being three times called in open court appear not and default is here and now entered against them, and the court having heard the pleadings, the evidence offered by plaintiff, and being well and sufficiently advised in the premises, finds that the allegations contained in plaintiff's petition are true and that the defendants, R. C. Allen and Lillian Allen, are justly indebted to the plaintiff herein in the sum of $7,622.22, together with interest thereon from this date at the rate of 8 per cent per annum, and the further sum of $100 attorney fees herein.

It is therefore considered, ordered, and adjudged that the plaintiff, John S. Bilby, do have and recover of and from the defendants, R. C. Allen and Lillian Allen, the principal sum of $7,622.22, together with interest thereon from this date at the rate of 8 per cent per annum until paid, and all costs of this action, including an attorney fee in the sum of $100, for all of which let execution issue.

CHAS. G. WATTS,
District Judge.

WAGONER, OKLA., *March 19, 1910.*

Two years after date, for value received, we promise to pay to J. S. Bilby, or order, $500, at Broken Arrow, Okla., with interest after date at 8 per cent per annum until paid, and 10 per cent on the entire amount at attorney's fees if placed in the hands of an attorney for collection or suit is filed thereon. The makers and indorsers hereby severally waive protest, demand and notice of protest and nonpayment in case this note is not paid at maturity, and agree to all extensions and partial payments before or after maturity without prejudice to the holder.

Secured by:

R. C. ALLEN.

Due: March 19, 1912.
Post office: Coweta, Okla.
No indorsements.

[In the district court. John S. Bilby, plaintiff, v. R. C. Allen, defendant. No 4101.]

JUDGMENT.

Now, on this 22d day of December, 1916, the same being a judicial day of the regular September term of this court, the above-entitled cause coming regularly on for trial and the plaintiff appearing in person and by his attorneys, Rittenhouse & Brown, and the defendant, although having been personally served with summons, as required by law, appears not, nor anyone for him, and being three times called in open court appears not, and default is here now entered against him; and the plaintiff having waived a jury and submitting his cause to the court, and the court having heard the pleadings and evidence of plaintiff and being well and sufficiently advised in the premises, finds that the plaintiff's petition is true and that defendant is indebted to plaintiff in the principal sum of $500, with interest thereon, as therein alleged;

It is therefore considered, ordered, and adjudged that the plaintiff, John S. Bilby, do have and recover of and from the defendant, R. C. Allen, the sum of $770, together with interest thereon from this date at the rate of 8 per cent per annum, and all costs of this action, including an attorney fee in the sum of $50, for all of which let execution issue.

CHAS. G. WATTS,
District Judge.

It is interesting to see upon what these judgments were founded. One note was for $10,000. It is dated June 1, 1910, and signed by R. C. Allen and Lillian Allen, his wife. You will notice that the next day after it was signed, or June 2, 1910, the sum of $5,000 was credited upon it. This may have been a campaign contribution of $5,000 or an actual loan of only $5,000. The next note was dated March 19, 1910, and was for $500.

Three things stand out prominently, as follows: First, Bilby was one of the large land speculators, the holder of a great number of disputed titles to land; second, R. C. Allen was seeking the nomination for district judge at the time of the very district in which 39 suits on disputed titles were pending against Bilby, and the primary was to be held the first Tuesday in August, 1910; and third, the judgments show that no appearance was entered by Allen at the time the judgments were entered, or, in other words, they were entered by default, as he made no defense. I submit that this transaction alone shows Allen is entirely unfit to be employed as attorney for the Creek Tribe of Indians. What would anyone think of a candidate for a judicial position going to the violators of the law to borrow money to pay his campaign expenses during a primary election? People do not do something for nothing. There is always a motive prompting their actions. I again insist that one who does not see the impropriety in soliciting loans from a man who had more disputed land titles, perhaps, than anyone else, is not a fit person to represent the Creek Tribe of Indians.

I invite attention again to the letter of S. M. Brosius, as follows:

DENVER, COLO., *July 9, 1915.*

Hon. FRANLIN K. LANE,
Secretary of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Several weeks since we were advised, by letter, of numerous charges which had been filed by certain Creek Indians of Oklahoma, protesting against the reappointment of Mr. R. C. Allen to the position of attorney for the Creek Tribe of Indians.

Within the past fortnight I was in the State of Oklahoma and gathered additional information regarding conditions among the Creek Indians, together with matters which bear upon the fitness of Mr. Allen for the position of attorney for that tribe.

As a result of official investigation of the case, it is no doubt conceded by the Indian Department of the Government that the conduct of Mr. R. C. Allen prior to his appointment as Creek attorney for the year ending June 30 last in his transactions in matters directly concerning the interests of the Creek Indians was such as to render him totally unfit to represent these Indians in any capacity.

As proof of the alleged unfitness of Mr. Allen, brief mention may be made of the charges filed in your department by Messrs. Cowe, Brown, and Hodge, citizens of the Creek Nation, during the month of May last. In part these charges, chiefly in the form of affidavits and certified official records, show that on May 15, 1915, there were 20 cases pending in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Oklahoma against the Coweta Realty Co. to cancel deeds and conveyances affecting titles of Creek Indian allotted lands. It is charged that one-third of the Coweta Realty Co.'s stock was at the time of the organization of the company owned by Mr. R. C. Allen, and it is now understood that he is the owner of all of the stock of said company.

It is further officially certified that there were 26 cases pending against said Allen in the United States district court of the said district in Oklahoma on May 15, 1915, all, or nearly all, of such cases affecting title to the allotted lands of these Indians. We submit that the fact that such suits are now pending renders the interests of Mr. Allen antagonistic to those of the Indians and disqualify him for the position of Creek attorney.

Another feature of the case, which has been called to your attention, is that Mr. Allen borrowed large sums of money from various persons and is alleged to be heavily indebted at this time and is further believed to be execution proof. It is shown that shortly prior to his appointment as Creek attorney Mr. Allen was a candidate for district judge in Wagoner County, Okla., and that during the time of the canvass and previous to the election to the judgeship said Allen is charged with borrowing the sum of $10,000 from one John S. Bilby, a large landowner in said district, and who had numerous cases then pending affecting Creek Indian lands located in the district in which Mr. Allen would preside if elected to such judgeship. The court cases referred to then pending were 39 in number, as shown by the inclosed statement of causes pending in the court at Wagoner, Okla., over which Mr. Allen would preside as judge if elected, and over which he did preside as judge in due course. It is further asserted that said Allen mortgaged various tracts of Indian allotted lands, which the Government at that time or afterwards contested his title to, the mortgages running in favor of said John S. Bilby to secure payment of the loan of the $10,000 referred to. I am informed that quite recently Mr. Bilby had brought suit to recover personal judgment against Mr. Allen for the money loaned to him as aforesaid, and that this suit did not comprehend a foreclosure of the mortgage allotments, which is evidence that Mr. Bilby considers that Mr. Allen's title to the mortgaged lands is of little value.

We submit that no comment is necessary in reference to the foregoing transactions to show the unfitness of either of the principals therein to hold any position affecting or relating to the property right of the Creek Indians.

Mention has been made by those in favor of Mr. Allen's appointment as Creek attorney that he has secured a large number of indictments during his term in that capacity against alleged violators of law. It is asserted that in no case has a conviction been secured under these indictments, thus showing that Mr. Allen may be making a spectacular demonstration or that he may not be a keen attorney, such as should be secured for the Indians if an attorney is deemed necessary.

In the celebrated "Tommy Atkins" case, in which Mr. Allen seeks to set aside a fictitious Creek allotment, which is now very valuable by reason of its rich deposits of oil, etc., it is understood that Mr. Allen, if not actually favoring, has acquiesced in the contest being prosecuted by a noncitizen Creek Indian, who seeks to secure this allotment by showing it was improperly allotted to Atkins. If the allotment to Atkins is canceled and a noncitizen is declared entitled to the property, the Creek Tribe of Indians will apparently not profit thereby, since the property goes to an outsider. This, we submit, indicates that the energy seemingly displayed by Mr. Allen in the case and the large amount of money belonging to the Creek Indians which has been expended by him in this matter will not benefit the Creek Tribe in the least, these being the Indians whose interests he is employed to protect.

During my recent visit to Oklahoma I called upon Chief Moty Tiger, at Okmulgee, on June 30 last. The chief stated very plainly to me that he was opposed to the reappointment of Mr. Allen as the Creek Tribe attorney. He said that while on account of the persuasions of Mr. Allen he had at first agreed to recommend the latter as attorney for another year, upon reflection and after securing more definite views from the members of the Creek Tribe he was now opposed to Mr. Allen's appointment.

At the time I called upon Chief Tiger he was clear-headed and sober, a fact which to my mind set at rest some of the stories I had heard regarding his condition and habits. I was impressed with his conscientious convictions in the matter of the attorneyship, which was interpreted to me by Samuel Haines, a Creek citizen.

We call attention to the fact that by a section of the Federal statutes the United States district attorney for the district in which the lands are located shall represent all Indians in matters pertaining to their allotted lands.

The history of Mr. Allen's connection with transactions involving the interests of the Creek Indians probably were not well known at the time he was first appointed as Creek attorney for the term which expired June 30 last. Now that these transactions are of public notice, we submit that it would be a distinct step backward in Indian administration to reappoint him as attorney.

It seems unnecessary to suggest that the same rules should apply for the protection of the interests of the Creek Indians as are promulgated for the government of employees among other Indian tribes. These rules and regulations, which have been in force for perhaps two years or more, subject any employee in the Indian Service to dismissal for dealing in Indian lands.

We believe a consideration of all the conditions of the case render it advisable at this time to place the legal matters affecting the Creeks under the exclusive jurisdiction of United States district attorney for the district where the lands are located, who by law, as heretofore noted, is charged with the protection of the Indians in matters pertaining to their allotted lands.

The statements made herein which are within my own knowledge are true, and those given upon information are believed to be true.

Very respectfully,

S. M. BROSIUS,
Agent Indian Rights Association.

I also invite attention to the following certified record of suits pending in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Oklahoma against R. C. Allen and the Coweta Realty Co., of which he was the principal owner:

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Eastern District of Oklahoma, ss:

I, R. P. Harrison, clerk of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Oklahoma, do hereby certify that the following is a list of the suits pending to cancel deeds and conveyances in the name of the Coweta Realty Co. only:

Case No. 479 (p. 86): United States *v.* August Land Co. et al., Coweta Realty Co., special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Sam Simon to Coweta Realty Co.

Case No. 479 (p. 88): United States *v.* August Land Co. et al., Coweta Realty Co., special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Wisey Lovett Scott and Sanford Scott to Coweta Realty Co.

Case No. 479 (p. 90): United States *v.* August Land Co. et al., Coweta Realty Co., special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Ida Williams to Coweta Realty Co.

Case No. 493 (p. 182): United States *v.* John Bright et al., Coweta Realty Co., special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Sam Simon to Coweta Realty Co.

Case No. 496 (p. 183): United States *v.* John Bright et al., Coweta Realty Co., special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Peter McKellop and Betsie McKellop to Coweta Realty Co.

Case No. 496 (p. 184): United States *v.* John Bright et al., Coweta Realty Co., special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Ben White to Coweta Realty Co.

Case No. 496 (p. 185): United States *v.* John Bright et al., Coweta Realty Co., special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Wisey Scott, née Lovett, and Lucy Lovett to Coweta Realty Co.

Case No. 496 (p. 186): United States *v.* John Bright et al., Coweta Realty Co., special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Lucey Lovett to Coweta Realty Co.

Case No. 496 (p. 188): United States *v.* John Bright et al., Coweta Realty Co., special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Peter McKellop and Betsy McKellop to Coweta Realty Co.

Case No. 496 (p. 189): United States *v.* John Bright et al., Coweta Realty Co., special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Peter McKellop to Coweta Realty Co.

Case No. 496 (p. 190) : United States *v.* John Bright et al., Coweta Realty Co., special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Joseph Pike to Coweta Realty Co.

Case No. 496 (p. 191) : United States from John Bright et al., Coweta Realty Co. Ben White to Coweta Realty Co.

Case No. 496 (p. 195) : United States *v.* John Bright et al., Coweta Realty Co., special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Lucy Lovett to Coweta Realty Co.

Case No. 496 (p. 198) : United States *v.* John Bright et al., Coweta Realty Co., special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Ben White to Coweta Realty Co.

Case No. 496 (p. 199) : United States *v.* John Bright et al., Coweta Realty Co., special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Ben White to Coweta Realty Co.

Case No. 500 (p. 50) : United States *v.* L. D. Vance et al., Coweta Realty Co., special defendant; suit to cancel deed from John Martin to Coweta Realty Co.

Case No. 902 (p. 258) : United States *v.* J. L. Adair et al., Coweta Realty Co., special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Ben White to Coweta Realty Co.

Case No. 911 (p. 40) : United States *v.* W. E. Dixon et al., Coweta Realty Co., special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Sophia Thompson and husband to Coweta Realty Co.

Case No. 911 (p. 41) : United States *v.* W. E. Dixon et al., Coweta Realty Co., special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Ben White to Coweta Realty Co.

Case No. 945 (p. 21) : United States *v.* Bert G. Greer et al., Coweta Realty Co., special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Austin Frank and Lizzie Frank to the Coweta Realty Co.

As the same appears from the records in my office.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said court, at my office in the city of Muskogee, in said district, this 15th day of May, A. D. 1915.

[SEAL.]

R. P. HARRISON, *Clerk.*
By H. E. BOUDINOT, *Deputy.*

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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Eastern District of Oklahoma, ss:

I, R. P. Harrison, clerk of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Oklahoma, do hereby certify that the following is a true list of cases pending and undetermined against R. C. Allen:

Case No. 294 (p. 16) : United States *v.* H. O. Malot et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Ben White to Ellis H. Hammett, R. C. Allen, and J. C. Pinson.

Case No. 356 (p. 27) : United States *v.* Perry McKay et al., R. Clyde Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel mortgage with power of sale from James Bustar and Becca Bustar to R. Clyde Allen.

Case No. 479 (p. 38) : United States *v.* August Land Co. et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Annie Childers to R. C. Allen.

Case No. 479 (p. 220) : United States *v.* August Land Co. et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Joe Childers to Ellis H. Hammett, R. C. Allen, and J. C. Pinson.

Case No. 479 (p. 221) : United States *v.* August Land Co. et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Lucy Lovett to Ellis H. Hammett, R. C. Allen, and J. C. Pinson, Coweta Realty Co.

Case No. 479 (p. 222) : United States *v.* August Land Co. et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Joe Childers and Googe Childers to Ellis H. Hammett, R. C. Allen, and J. C. Pinson.

Case No. 482 (p. 197) : United States *v.* Levi Ackley et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Googie Childers and Eliza Childers to Ellis H. Hammett, R. C. Allen, and J. C. Pinson, Coweta Realty Co.

Case No. 482 (p. 200) : United States *v.* Levi Ackley et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Ben White to Ellis H. Hammett, R. C. Allen, and J. C. Pinson, Coweta Realty Co.

Case No. 482 (p. 201) : United States *v.* Levi Ackley et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from James Buslar Chockley and Rebecca Chockley to Ellis H. Hammett, R. C. Allen, and J. C. Pinson.

Case No. 482 (p. 202) : United States *v.* Levi Ackley et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from James Buslar Chockley and Rebecca Chockley to Ellis H. Hammett, R. C. Allen, and J. C. Pinson.

Case No. 482 (p. 205) : United States *v.* Levi Ackley et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Ben White to Ellis H. Hammett, R. C. Allen, and J. C. Pinson, Coweta Realty Co.

Case No. 482 (p. 204) : United States *v.* Levi Ackley et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Ben White to Ellis H. Hammett, R. C. Allen, and J. C. Pinson, Coweta Realty Co.

Case No. 482 (p. 203) : United States *v.* Levi Ackley et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Joe Childers and Google Childers to Ellis Hammett, R. C. Allen, and J. C. Pinson, Coweta Realty Co.

Case No. 487 (p. 156) : United States *v.* Jos. F. Atchley et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Johnson Martin to Ellis H. Hammett, R. C. Allen, and J. C. Pinson, Coweta Realty Co.

Case No. 487 (p. 157) : United States *v.* Jos. F. Atchley et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from George Childers and Eliza Childers to Ellis H. Hammett, R. C. Allen, and J. C. Pinson, Coweta Realty Co.

Case No. 487 (p. 158) : United States *v.* Jos. F. Atchley et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Johnson Martin to Ellis H. Hammett, R. C. Allen, and J. C. Pinson, Coweta Realty Co.

Case No. 492 (p. 118) : United States *v.* Joe Abraham et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Johnson Martin to Ellis H. Hammett, R. C. Allen, and J. C. Pinson.

Case No. 494 (p. 377) : United States *v.* T. T. Owens et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Austin Frank and Lizzie Frank to Ellis H. Hammett, R. C. Allen, and J. C. Pinson, Coweta Realty Co.

Case No. 494 (p. 381) : United States *v.* T. T. Owens et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Ben White to Ellis H. Hammett, R. C. Allen, and J. C. Pinson, Coweta Realty Co.

Case No. 494 (p. 382) : United States *v.* T. T. Owens et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Nancy Simon to Ellis H. Hammett, R. C. Allen, and J. C. Pinson.

Case No. 494 (p. 383) : United States *v.* T. T. Owens et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Joe Pike to Ellis H. Hammett, R. C. Allen, and J. C. Pinson, Coweta Realty Co.

Case No. 494 (p. 385) : United States *v.* T. T. Owens et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Mandy Simon to Ellis H. Hammett, R. C. Allen, and J. C. Pinson.

Case No. 496 (p. 191) : United States *v.* John Bright et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Ben White to Coweta Realty Co., Ellis H. Hammett, R. C. Allen, and J. C. Pinson.

Case No. 498 (p. 152) : United States *v.* C. E. Foley et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Mandy Simon to Ellis H. Hammett, R. C. Allen, and J. C. Pinson, Coweta Realty Co.

Case No. 902 (p. 316) : United States *v.* J. L. Adair et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Ben White to Ellis H. Hammett, R. C. Allen, and J. C. Pinson, Coweta Realty Co.

Case No. 911 (p. 105) : United States *v.* W. E. Dixon et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Austin Frank and Lizzie Frank to Ellis H. Hammett, R. C. Allen, and J. C. Pinson, Coweta Realty Co.

As the same appears from the records in my office.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said court, at my office in Muskogee, in said district, this 15th day of May, A. D. 1915.

[SEAL.]

R. P. HARRISON, *Clerk,*
By H. E. BOUDINOT, *Deputy.*

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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Eastern District of Oklahoma, ss:

I, R. P. Harrison, clerk of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Oklahoma, do hereby certify that the following is a correct list of cases which were pending in the name of the Coweta Realty Co., but which have been dismissed, either in part or as a whole:

Case No. 479 (p. 87) : United States *v.* August Land Co. et al., Coweta Realty Co., special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Watie Marshall to Coweta Realty Co. Suit dismissed June 1, 1911.

Case No. 496 (p. 187) : United States *v.* John Bright et al., Coweta Realty Co., special defendant; suit to cancel deed from James Buslar Chockley and Rebecca Chockley to Coweta Realty Co. Partial dismissal entered September 10, 1913.

Case No. 496 (p. 192) : United States *v.* John Bright et al., Coweta Realty Co., special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Ida Childers to Coweta Realty Co. Suit dismissed February 1, 1915.

Case No. 496 (p. 193) : United States *v.* John Bright et al., Coweta Realty Co., special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Ida Childers to Coweta Realty Co. Suit dismissed February 1, 1915.

Case No. 496 (p. 194) : United States *v.* John Bright et al., Coweta Realty Co., special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Ida Childers to Coweta Realty Co. Suit dismissed February 1, 1915.

Case No. 496 (p. 196) : United States *v.* John Bright et al., Coweta Realty Co., special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Marchie Tiger and Josephine Tiger to Coweta Realty Co. Suit dismissed April 30, 1913.

Case No. 500 (p. 49) : United States *v.* L. D. Vance et al., Coweta Realty Co., special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Minnie Walker Island, née Walker, to Coweta Realty Co. Suit dismissed September 11, 1909.

Case No. 500 (p. 51) : United States *v.* L. D. Vance et al., Coweta Realty Co., special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Nancy Bird Childers to Coweta Realty Co. Suit dismissed May 28, 1909.

Case No. 500 (p. 52) : United States *v.* L. D. Vance et al., Coweta Realty Co., special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Watie Marshall to Coweta Realty Co. Suit dismissed June 1, 1911.

As the same appears from the records in my office.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said court at my office in the city of Muskogee, in said district, this 15th day of May, A. D. 1915.

[SEAL.]

R. P. HARRISON, *Clerk.*
By H. E. BOUDINOT, *Deputy.*

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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Eastern District of Oklahoma, ss:

I, R. P. Harrison, clerk of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Oklahoma, do hereby certify that the following is a list of cases which were pending against R. C. Allen, but which have been dismissed either in part or in whole:

Case No. 357 (p. 67) : United States *v.* Scott Yeatman et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel mortgage with power of sale from Joe Barnwell to James Chockley and R. C. Allen. Dismissed.

Case No. 479 (p. 39) : United States *v.* August Land Co. et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from March Tiger and Josephine Walker Tiger to R. C. Allen and J. C. Pinson. Suit dismissed April 30, 1913.

Case No. 479 (p. 40) : United States *v.* August Land Co. et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Marchie Tiger and Josephine Tiger to R. C. Allen and J. C. Pinson. Suit dismissed April 30, 1913.

Case No. 479 (p. 180) : United States *v.* August Land Co. et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from James Buslar Chockley and Becca Buslar Chockley to Ellis H. Hammett, R. C. Allen, and J. C. Pinson, the Coweta Realty Co. Suit dismissed September 10, 1913.

Case No. 479 (p. 219) : United States *v.* August Land Co. et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Marchie Tiger to Ellis H. Hammett, R. C. Allen, and J. C. Pinson. Suit dismissed April 30, 1913.

Case No. 482 (p. 16) : United States *v.* Levi Ackley et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from James Buslar Chockley and Rebecca Chockley to R. C. Allen. Suit dismissed September 10, 1913.

Case No. 482 (p. 190) : United States *v.* Levi Ackley et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Cornelius Boudinot and Susanna Boudinot to Ellis H. Hammett, R. C. Allen, and J. C. Pinson, Coweta Realty Co. Suit dismissed April 1, 1914.

Case No. 482 (p. 195) : United States *v.* Levi Ackley et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from March Tiger and Josephine Walker Tiger to Ellis H. Hammett, R. C. Allen, and J. C. Pinson. Suit dismissed April 30, 1915.

Case No. 482 (p. 196) : United States *v.* Levi Ackley et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Marchie Tiger to Ellis H. Hammett, R. C. Allen, and J. C. Pinson, Coweta Realty Co. Suit dismissed April 30, 1913.

Case No. 482 (p. 199) : United States *v.* Levi Ackley et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from March Tiger and Josephine Tiger to Ellis H. Hammett, R. C. Allen, and J. C. Pinson. Suit dismissed April 30, 1913.

Case No. 485 (p. 10) : United States *v.* Charles Bagg et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Noah Davis to R. C. Allen. Suit dismissed April 1, 1914.

Case No. 487 (p. 17) : United States *v.* Joseph F. Atchley et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel quitclaim deed from Joe

Barnwell to R. C. Allen; partial dismissal September 10, 1913. Decree (partial) March 16, 1915.

Case No. 490 (p. 149): United States *v.* Albert Anderson et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel quitclaim deed from Commercial Land Co. to Ellis H. Hammett, R. C. Allen, and J. C. Pinson. Suit dismissed April 30, 1913.

Case No. 494 (p. 384): United States *v.* T. T. Owens et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Marchie Tiger to Ellis H. Hammett, R. C. Allen, and J. C. Pinson. Suit dismissed in part April 30, 1913.

Case No. 902 (p. 12): United States *v.* J. L. Adair et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Lewis Deere and Hattie Deere to R. C. Allen. Suit dismissed December 4, 1913.

Case No. 902 (p. 13): United States *v.* J. L. Adair et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Lewis Deere to R. C. Allen. Suit dismissed December 4, 1913.

Case No. 902 (p. 331): United States *v.* J. L. Adair et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel deed from Marchie Tiger to Ellis H. Hammett, R. C. Allen, and J. C. Pinson. Partial dismissal April 30, 1913.

Case No. 917 (p. 13): United States *v.* Frank L. Mars et al., R. C. Allen, special defendant; suit to cancel mortgage, power of sale from Joe Barnwell and Emma Barnwell to R. C. Allen and W. G. Robertson. Suit dismissed September 10, 1913.

As the same appears from the records in my office.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said court at my office in the city of Muskogee, in said district, this 15th day of May, A. D. 1915.

[SEAL.] R. P. HARRISON, *Clerk.*
By H. E. BOUDINOT, *Deputy.*

I also invite and direct your attention to the following affidavit of Martha McKinley (née Verner), Creek freedwoman, as to a transaction of Mr. Allen with her regarding an attempted purchase of a portion of her allotment as a Creek allottee. This woman is an uneducated ignorant colored woman, and some argument might be made that she was induced to make this affidavit and statement in order to prejudice or injure Mr. Allen, but should that be done your attention is directed to a copy of the marriage record which is hereto attached, showing that the marriage was solemnized on the 20th day of January, as stated in the affidavit, and your attention is further directed to a copy of a warranty deed signed by Martha McKinley (née Verner), by Mark and Cecil McKinley, to R. C. Allen, the date of the deed being the same as given in the affidavit of Martha McKinley, and the same date as the date of the justice of the peace who certified to having married Martha Verner and Cecil McKinley, which was the 20th day of January, 1909, and the marriage certificate purports to be witnessed by Joe Hawkins, the same colored man who is mentioned in Martha McKinley's affidavit, as coming to her home with Mr. Allen on the 20th day of January, 1909, before the marriage ceremony was performed.

Your attention is also directed to a certified copy of a probate proceeding, wherein the guardian of Martha Verner applied to have her lands sold through the probate court, the order confirming the sale and the bill of Mr. Allen presented against the estate of $1,801 for alleged improvements and money furnished.

[Copy.]

AFFIDAVIT OF MARTHA M'KINLEY, NÉE VERNER, A CREEK FREEDWOMAN, ROLL NO. 2409.

STATE OF OKLAHOMA,
County of Wagoner, ss:

Martha McKinley, née Verner, of lawful age, being first duly sworn, on oath deposes and says: That I am a citizen of the Creek Tribe of Indians, duly enrolled as Creek freedman on the rolls of the Dawes Commission, after roll number 2409, of the freedman rolls of the said Creek Tribe of Indians, in the office of the Superintendent of the Five Civilized Tribes at Muskogee, Okla., and by virtue of such citizenship I had allotted to me and received as my proportionate share of the lands of the said Creek Tribe of Indians the following-described lands, to wit:

"The northeast quarter of section 16, township 17 north, range 16 east, of the Indian base and meridian, and containing 160 acres according to the Government survey thereof, and which is situated in what is now Wagoner County, Okla."

That my age, according to the roll on file in the said office of the Superintendent of the Five Civilized Tribes at Muskogee, Okla., at the time of the application for such enrollment was made by my father, Ben Verner, to wit, September, 1898, was 4 years of age, thus making the date of my birth in the month of September, 1894; that I attained my majority, to wit, 18 years of age in the month of September, 1912.

That in the month of January, to wit, the 20th day, 1909, R. C. Allen, who was then living in the town of Coweta, Okla., 3 miles from where my father lived, and who was at that time engaged in buying and selling land, came to my father's house in a surrey in company with one Joe Hawkins, a colored man, who was then working for R. C. Allen, and with Cecil McKinley, a young colored boy whom I had known only about one month, and took me to the town of Coweta. When we got to the town of Coweta Cecil McKinley had a marriage license to marry me and R. C. Allen had a warranty deed already prepared covering 80 acres of my allotment. They all three prevailed and induced me to marry the said Cecil McKinley and to sign the warranty deed so prepared by the said R. C. Allen to 80 acres of my allotment, being a part of the land above described, and the said R. C. Allen gave me $150 and promised to pay me more money later on, and did afterwards pay me $500, and making a total of $650 I got for the 80 acres.

Joe Hawkins and R. C. Allen had well knew me and all my family for a number of years prior, and both well knew my age at that time, and both knew I had a legal guardian at the time.

That I was at the time and am at this time an ignorant and illiterate colored person, unable to read or write the English language.

Nearly three years thereafter my legally appointed and acting guardian filed a petiton in the probate court in Wagoner County, Okla., praying permission to sell my allotment; that an order of the said probate court was made directing my guardian to advertise and sell all of my allotment; that due notice was published, according to law, of the sale thereof; that on the day of sale the said R. C. Allen, then being the judge of the third judicial district of the State of Oklahoma, Wagoner County being a part of said district, and by virtue of his official position and influence procured an appraisement at a much smaller valuation than the land was really worth, and that he prevented competitive bidding on the day of sale, and had his agent buy the 80 acres he claimed to be the owner of by virtue of his aforesaid deed for the sum of $1,800, being a very much less sum than its actual value. The remaining 80 acres of my allotment and adjoining the Allen 80, and being of the same character and value, sold the same day for $30 per acre.

That after said sale was made he, the said R. C. Allen, judge of the district court for Wagoner County, Okla., did procure an order from the probate court of Wagoner County, Okla., directing and ordering my guardian to turn over to him, the said R. C. Allen, all the money derived from the sale of the said Allen 80 acres, and which order was complied with by my guardian, and that I did not receive one cent from said sale thereof by my guardian, R. C. Allen, or any other person. That said order of the probate court was made and complied with without my knowledge or consent, and that I did not justly owe R. C. Allen one cent for any cause or reason, and that I have been for the past three years, or ever since I have attained my majority, trying to employ different lawyers to bring a suit to recover my land or its value, but by reason of the official capacity of the said R. C. Allen and his influence by virtue of being the Creek national attorney I have been unable to get any lawyer to so prosecute any suit against him.

Further affiant sayeth not.

The name of Martha McKinley was written by me at her request and in her presence, and mark made by her in my presence.

MARTHA (her x mark) MCKINLEY (née VERNER),
Affiant.

Attest:

LYNN MCGUIRE, *Witness to Mark.*
T. J. SHIM, *Witness to Mark.*

—

STATE OF OKLAHOMA,
County of Wagoner, ss:

Before me, a notary public in and for said county and State, on this 3d day of May, 1915, personally appeared Martha McKinley, née Verner, to me known to be the identical person who executed the within and foregoing instrument, and to me known to be the identical person who executed the within and foregoing instrument by her mark in my presence and in the presence of Lynn McGuire and T. J. Shim, as witnesses, and the said Martha McKinley, née Verner, acknowledged to me that they executed the same as their free and voluntary act and deed for the uses and purposes therein set forth.

[SEAL.] ESTELLE SIMPSON,
[Revenue stamp.] *Notary Public.*

My commission expires December 10, 1918.

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(Copy.)

MARRIAGE RECORD.

APPLICATION FOR MARRIAGE LICENSE.

STATE OF OKLAHOMA,
Wagoner County, ss:

I, Cecil McKinley, of Wagoner County, State of Oklahoma, aged 21 years, and legally competent to make and take an oath, do solemnly swear that I am acquainted with Mr. ——— ——— myself and Miss Martha Verner, who are parties for the marriage of whom a license is hereby applied for. The said parties, and each of them, are of sound and contracting mind and unmarried and not disqualified or incapable under the law of entering into the marriage relation. That said parties are not of the relations prohibited by law and may lawfully contract and be joined in marriage.

I furthermore do solemnly swear that the following schedule, containing the names of the aforesaid parties, their age, color, place of birth, and residence, is correct in every particular, to the best of my knowledge, information, and belief, to wit:

NAMES OF PARTIES.

Cecil McKinley, groom; age, 21; color, black; place of birth, ———; residence, Coweta, Okla.

Martha Verner, bride; age, 15; color, black; place of birth, ———; residence, Coweta, Okla.

CECIL MCKINLEY, *Applicant.*

Subscribed and sworn to before me January 20, 1909.

W. T. DRAKE, *County Judge,*
By HENRY M. BROWN, *Clerk.*

WAGONER, OKLA.,
January 12, 1909.

I do give my permission and consent for the marriage of Miss Martha Verner, age 15, to Cecil McKinley.

(Signed) BEN VERNER.

Subscribed and sworn to January 12, 1909, before me, a notary public.

N. V. LEONARD, *Notary Public.*

My commission expires April 12, 1912.

—

MARRIAGE LICENSE.

IN THE COUNTY COURT.

STATE OF OKLAHOMA,
Wagoner County, ss:

To any person authorized to perform the marriage ceremony, greeting:

You are hereby authorized to join in marriage Mr. Cecil McKinley and Miss Martha Verner of the county aforesaid, whose ages, residence, etc., are as follows:

NAMES OF PARTIES.

Cecil McKinley, groom; age, 21; color, black; place of birth, ———; residence, Coweta, Okla.

Martha Verner, bride; age, 15; color, black; place of birth, ———; residence, Coweta, Okla.

And of this license you will make due return to my office within 30 days from this date.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said court in Wagoner, in said county, this 20th day of January, 1909.

W. T. DRAKE, *Judge of the County Court.*
By HENRY M. BROWN, *Clerk.*

CERTIFICATE OF MARRIAGE.

STATE OF OKLAHOMA,
Wagoner County, ss:

I, J. E. Jerome, justice of the peace for Coweta Township, of Coweta, in Wagoner County, Okla., do hereby certify that I joined in marriage the persons named in and authorized by this license to be married on the 20th day of January, A. D. 1909, at Coweta, in Wagoner County, Okla., in the presence of Joe Hawkins, of Coweta, Okla., and George Williams, of Coweta, Okla.

J. E. JEROME,
Justice of the Peace for Coweta Township.

Witnesses:
JOE HAWKINS,
GEORGE WILLIAMS.

(Recorded in Marriage Record No. 1, p. 282.)

CERTIFICATE OF TRUE COPY.

STATE OF OKLAHOMA,
County of Wagoner, ss:

I, O. M. Bryant, court clerk in and for the county and State aforesaid, do hereby certify that the instrument hereto atttached is a full, true, and correct copy of page 282 of Marriage Record No. 1, marriage license application, license, and certificate of Cecil McKinley and Martha Verner, as the same now appears of record in this office.

Witness my hand and the seal of said court at Wagoner, Okla., on this 3d day of May, 1915.

[SEAL.] O. M. BRYANT, *Clerk.*
MABLE M. SMITH, *Deputy.*

(Revenue stamp.)

(Copy.)

DEED, GENERAL WARRANTY.

OKLAHOMA.

This indenture, made this 20th day of January, A. D. 1909, between Martha McKinley, née Verner, and Cecil McKinley, her husband, of Wagoner County, in the State of Oklahoma, of the first part, and R. C. Allen, of the second part.

Witnesseth the said parties of the first part, in consideration of the sum of $2,000, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, do, by these presents, grant, bargain, sell, and convey unto said party of the second part, his heirs and assaigns, all the following-described real estate, situated in the county of Wagoner and State of Oklahoma, to wit:

West half of the northeast quarter of section sixteen, township seventeen north, range sixteen east.

To have and to hold the same, together with all and singular the tenements, hereditaments, and appurtenances thereunto belonging or in any wise appertaining, forever.

And said Martha McKinley and Cecil McKinley, for their heirs, executors or administrators, do hereby covenant, promise, and agree to and with the said party of the second part that at the delivery of these presents they are lawfully seized in their own right of an absolute indefeasable estate of inheritance, in fee simple, of and in all and singular the above granted and described premises with the appurtenances; that the same are free, clear, discharged, and unincumbered of and from all former and other grants, titles, charges, estates, judgments, taxes, assessments, and incumbrances of what nature and kind soever, and that they will warrant and forever defend the same unto the said party of the second part, heirs and assigns, against said parties of the first part, their heirs, and all and every person or persons whosoever lawfully claiming or to claim the same.

In witness whereof the said parties of the first part have hereunto set their hands the day and year first above written.

MARTHA (her x mark) MCKINLEY (née Verner).
CECIL MCKINLEY.

Witnesses to mark of Martha McKinley and signature of Cecil McKinley:

C. K. LESLIE, *Coweta, Okla.*
J. W. PHELPS, *Coweta, Okla.*

STATE OF OKLAHOMA,
County of Wagoner, ss:

Before me, C. E. Killmer, a notary public in and for said county and State, on this 20th day of January, 1909, personally appeared Martha McKinley and Cecil McKinley, to me known to be the identical persons who executed the within and foregoing instrument and acknowledged to me that they executed the same as their free and voluntary act and deed for the uses and purposes therein set forth.

[SEAL.] C. E. KILLMER,
Notary Public.

My commission expires June 13, 1912.

[Copy.]

STATE OF OKLAHOMA,
County of Wagoner, ss:

AFFIDAVIT OF CECIL M'KINLEY.

Cecil McKinley, of lawful age, being first duly sworn, on oath deposes and says: That my post-office address is Coweta, Wagoner County, Okla.; that I am 25 years of age. That in January, 1909, I was living on the farm and working for Jacob Nelson, a colored man, near Coweta, Okla.; that Jacob Nelson had been summoned as a juror and I had drove him to Wagoner to attend court; arriving in Wagoner, I spent the night there in company with the said Jacob Nelson. The following morning before sunup R. C. Allen came to the rooming house where the said Jacob Nelson and myself had stopped over night and told said Nelson that if he would get me to marry Martha Verner, and that if Martha and myself would then give him, the said R. C. Allen, a deed to 80 acres of her allotment, that he, R. C. Allen, would give the said Nelson $50. After R. C. Allen left the rooming house Jacob Nelson talked to me about marrying Martha and explained to me that whatever money she received one-half would be mine. I was at that time an illiterate negro boy 21 years old and had known Martha Verner only about a month, but was not engaged to be married to her, and at the same time Joe Hawkins, who was a relative of Martha Verner, came in the rooming house and told me that if I wanted to marry he would speak a good word for me to her; after we all talked the matter over for a few minutes R. C. Allen and myself went to the county judge's office and procured a marriage license for me to marry Martha Verner, and R. C. Allen paid the clerk for the license.

R. C. Allen procured a surrey in Wagoner, and he, together with Joe Hawkins and myself, drove to the home of Martha Verner and persuaded her to go to Coweta with us; on arriving at Coweta, Allen and Hawkins persuaded her to marry me.

Immediately after the marriage ceremony Allen taken us to an office where he had a warranty deed prepared for our signatures conveying to him 80 acres of Martha Verner's allotment, and for which he gave us $150.

Further saith not.

CECIL MCKINLEY, *Affiant.*

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 3d day of May, 1915.

[SEAL.] ESTELLE SIMPSON,
Notary Public.

[Revenue stamp.]
My commission expires December 10, 1918.

CERTIFICATE OF TRUE COPY.

STATE OF OKLAHOMA,
County of Wagoner, ss:

I, C. M. Bryant, court clerk in and for the county and State aforesaid, do hereby certify that the instrument hereto attached is a full, true, and correct copy of petition to sell real estate, order confirming sale, bill of R. C. Allen (claim of R. C. Allen, probate, No. 321), as the same now appears of record in this office.

Witness my hand and the seal of said court at Wagoner, Okla., on this 8th day of July, 1915.

[SEAL.] C. M. BRYANT, *Court Clerk.*

[Revenue stamp.]

PETITION TO SELL REAL ESTATE BY GUARDIAN.

STATE OF OKLAHOMA, *County of Wagoner, ss:*

IN COUNTY COURT.

In the matter of the guardianship of Martha Verner, now Martha McKinley. Comes now J. H. Thigpen, guardian of Martha Verner, now Martha McKinley, a minor, and shows to the court the condition of the estate of the above-named ward, to wit:

The personal property of said ward consists of nothing, of the approximate value of none; that the annual income therefrom is approximately none.

That said ward owns the following described real estate, of the approximate value of $———, to wit: Northeast quarter of section 16, township 17 N., range 16 E., Wagoner County, Okla.; that the annual income therefrom is approximately $50; that said estate is encumbered to the amount of none, with an annual interest charge of none; that the annual expense chargeable against the estate of said ward for maintenance and education is approximately $600; that it is necessary and for the best interest of the minor that the hereinafter described portion of said real estate should be sold, for the following reasons, to wit, to maintain, educate, and support the ward, and that the surplus over the amount necessary for her support and education be invested in productive stock and other productive investments.

That the next of kin and persons interested in the estate of said ward, together with their respective places of residence, are as follows: Ben Verner, father; Rachel Verner, mother; Cecil McKinley, husband; Bella Hines, sister; Ernest Allen, brother; Bessie Verner, sister; Lucy Verner and Julia Verner, sisters, all of Coweta, Okla.; and Nellie Sellers, a sister, of Porter, Okla.

Wherefore, petitioner prays the court that upon hearing had hereon he be authorized to sell the northeast quarter of section 16, township 17 N., range 16 E., Wagoner County, of said real estate, at public or private sale, as shall be deemed most beneficial and for the best interest of said ward.

J. H. THIGPEN.

STATE OF OKLAHOMA, *Wagoner County, ss:*

J. H. Thigpen, petitioner above named, being duly sworn, says that he has read the foregoing petition and knows the contents thereof, and the same is true of his own knowledge, except the matters therein stated to be on information and belief, and as to those matters he believes to be true.

J. H THIGPEN.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 3d day of July, 1911.

[SEAL.] ESTELLE SIMPSON, *Notary Public.*

My commission expires December 10, 1914.

IN THE MATTER OF THE GUARDIANSHIP OF MARTHA VERNER, NOW MARTHA MCKINLEY, A MINOR.

STATE OF OKLAHOMA, *Wagoner County, ss:*

IN THE COUNTY COURT.

ORDER CONFIRMING SALE OF REAL ESTATE BY GUARDIAN.

Now, on this 20th day of September, 1911, there coming on for hearing the return of sale made by J. H. Thigpen, as the guardian of the estate of Martha Verner, now Martha McKinley, a minor, said hearing of said return of sale having been regularly continued by order of this court from the 11th day of September, 1911, to the 18th day of September, 1911, and on said 18th day of September, 1911, having been regularly continued by order of this court from said 18th day of September, 1911, to this day, and said J. H. Thigpen appearing in person and by his attorneys, J. H. Sutherlin and B. J. Beavers, and no one appearing in opposition hereto; and the court having examined said return of sale and having heard and considered the evidence of witnesses in support of said return, and it being proven that notice of sale was given as prescribed in the order of sale made and entered herein on the 2d day of August, 1911, and according to law, and it

being further proven that notice of the hearing of said return of sale has been given by posting three notices in three of the most public places in Wagoner County, Okla., for at least 10 full days prior to said September 11, 1911, as prescribed by the order for hearing said return of sale made and entered on August 31, 1911, and according to law, and the court being fully advised in the premises, finds:

That in pursuance of said order of sale said J. H. Thigpen on the 28th day of August, 1911, sold the following parcels of real estate of said estate, all lying and being situated in Wagoner County, Okla., at private sale in accordance with said order of sale to the following persons, for the following sums, to wit:

The northeast quarter of the northeast quarter of section 16, in township 17 north, range 16 east, to E. E. Lewis, for the sum of $1,100.

The southeast quarter of the northeast quarter of section 16, in township 17 north, range 16 east, to E. E. Lewis for the sum of $1,100.

The west half of the northeast quarter of section 16 of township 17 north, range 16 east, to E. E. Lewis for the sum of $1,800; and said sums of $1,100, $1,100, and $1,800, respectively, being at least 90 per cent of the appraised value of said parcels of land, respectively.

And on the 11th day of September, 1911, and before hearing is had for the confirmation of the sales of said parcels of real estate, A. J. Barnes appearing and filing herein his bid in writing for the southeast quarter of the northeast quarter of section 16, in township 17 north, range 16 east, of said real estate for a sum of 10 per cent in excess of said sum of $1,100, bid by said E. E. Lewis for said parcel of land as aforesaid, the last bid of said A. J. Barnes for said parcel of real estate being the sum of $1,210, and said sum of $1,210 being the highest and best bid received for said southeast quarter of the northeast quarter of section 16, in township 17 north, range 16 east, and being more than the appraised value of said parcel of real estate, the same, to wit, the southeast quarter of the northeast quarter of section 16 of township 17 north, range 16 east, is hereby sold at private sale to A. J. Barnes for the sum of $1,210; and all of said parcels of real estate being sold on the following terms, to wit: Cash upon confirmation of sales by the county court of Wagoner County, State of Oklahoma.

That said sales were made, after due notice, as prescribed by said order of sale; that said purchasers, E. E. Lewis and A. J. Barnes, were, respectively, the highest bidders for said parcels of real estate, respectively; and said sum of $1,100 bid by said E. E. Lewis for the said northeast quarter of the northeast quarter of section 16, in township 17 north, range 16 east; and said sum of $1,210 bid by said A. J. Barnes for the said southeast quarter of the northeast quarter of section 16, in township 17 north, range 16 east; and said sum of $1,800 bid by said E. E. Lewis for the said west half of the northeast quarter of section 16, in township 17 north, range 16 east, being the highest and best sums bid for said respective parcels of real estate, that said sales were legally made and fairly conducted; that said sums, respectively, are not disproportionate to the value of said parcels of real estate respectively sold; and that a sum exceeding any of said bids, respectively, for said parcels of real estate, respectively, of at least 10 per cent, exclusive of the expenses of a new sale, can not be obtained; and that said J. H. Thigpen, as such guardian, in all things proceeded and conducted and managed such sales as required by the statutes in such cases made and provided and as by said order of sale required and directed.

It is therefore ordered, adjudged, and decreed by the court that the said sale of the southeast quarter of the northeast quarter of section 16 in township 17 north, range 16 east, to A. J. Barnes, and of the northeast quarter of the northeast quarter, and west half of the northeast quarter of section 16, in township 17, range 16 east, to E. E. Lewis, be, and the same is hereby, confirmed and approved and declared valid, and said J. H. Thigpen, guardian, is directed to execute to said purchasers, E. E. Lewis and A. J. Barnes, proper and legal conveyances of said respective parcels of real estate so sold and confirmed to them, respectively.

[SEAL.] LEON B. FANT, *County Judge.*

(Indorsed:) No. 321. In the matter of the guardianship of Martha Verner, now Martha McKinley, minor. Order confirming sale of real estate by guardian. Filed Oct. 12, 1911. A. F. Evans, court clerk. Journal 4, pp. 361 and 362.

BILL OF B. C. ALLEN AGAINST THE ESTATE OF MARTHA VERNER, NOW MARTHA M'KINLEY, A MINOR.

Jan. 20, 1909, cash paid to Martha McKinley (née Verner)	$1,000.00
Improvements placed upon the premises during the year 1909–10 (see testimony of D. M. Hauser hereto)	801.50
Total	1,801.50

R. C. Allen, being duly sworn, deposes and says that the annexed claim against the estate of Martha McKinley, a minor, as justly owing to said R. C. Allen; is due and wholly unpaid.

R. C. ALLEN.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 20th day of September, 1911.

[SEAL.] LEON B. FANT, *County Judge.*

The documents herein referred to clearly disclose the method used by Mr. Allen in dealing with these poor unfortunate Creek freedmen, for whose tribe he is now acting as Creek national attorney.

No effort has been made to explain the necessity of requiring the Creek Tribe of Indians to continue to employ a national attorney, nor has anyone undertook to justify the actions of Mr. Allen in his methods and dealings with the Creek lands as hereinbefore set out, nor has he himself undertook to justify such actions. My contention is that if the Creeks are to have an attorney to represent them and protect their interests, they should have a man who had not been engaged in clouding the titles to the lands of the allottees, and especially one that, when he had sought and secured the marriage and found that his purchase or attempted purchase was then unlawful, would wait a year or two until the guardian of the colored woman that he had assisted in getting married had advertised her allotments for sale, and then present a bill against her to the guardian amounting to more than one-half of what her entire allotment sold for. If this is protecting the uneducated and ignorant allottee of an Indian tribe, be he Indian, intermarried citizen, or freedman, then, I say, may the Divine Providence have mercy upon the allottee.

He goes early in the morning to where the negro, Cecil McKinley, was rooming, before sunup, and tells Jacob Nelson if he would get Cecil McKinley to marry Martha Verner and then get them to give him a deed to 80 acres of Martha's land he, Allen, would give Jacob Nelson $50. Was he protecting the Indian then or running a matrimonial bureau? He knew this negro girl was under age. He knew he was violating every principle of law—at least, he should have known he was violating the law. Yet he secures these negroes to marry. The same day he takes a deed to 80 acres of her land. All the time we find him going from one home of these colored people to the other, until the marriage takes place and the deeds are secured from these colored people. Then the curtain drops and later we find him, on the 20th day of September, 1911, presenting to the probate court of Wagoner County a claim against Martha Verner for $1,801. Having failed in his efforts to get her land by his first move he seeks to use up the funds the lands sold for in another way. You be your own judge as to whether his actions were proper and honest when he presented his claim for $1,801 for cash and improvements. He was then clothed with the judicial ermine and was supposed to see that justice was administered to all without fear or favor and that no one was imposed upon. How oft does justice go astray and injustice reign in the house of the mighty.

After the report of Brosius to the Secretary of the Interior was made, the Department of the Interior dispatched a special confidential officer, E. B. Linnen, to investigate the question of the fitness of the said R. C. Allen for the position he holds. I have tried in every possible way to get the report of E. B. Linnen from the department, in order to read it, and even introduced the following resolution requesting the Secretary of the Interior to transmit copies of the reports made by Inspectors Linnen and Cook to the House of Representatives:

Whereas there is now a bill pending to repeal all laws giving to the acting chief or governor of the Muskogee or Creek Nation of Indians the authority to employ a national attorney for the Muskogee or Creek Tribe of Indians, subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior and the President of the United States; and

Whereas the said chief or governor has an existing contract with Judge R. C. Allen, of Muskogee, Okla., as Creek national attorney, which will expire by the terms of the contract on June 30, 1916; and

Whereas all the lands of the Muskogee or Creek Tribe of Indians have been alloted and disposed of except a small portion, and there is not funds enough in the Treasury of the United States belonging to the said Creek Tribe to equalize the allotments to the respective members of the said tribe of Indians; and

Whereas there is no further business of said tribe to be transacted, excepting such business as must be transacted in the name of the Department of Justice of the United States, by and with the assistance of the representatives of the Interior Department; and

Whereas there were charges filed against the said Judge R. C. Allen last year with the Interior Department protesting against his reemployment as Creek national attorney, and the Interior Department, through its representatives, investigated those charges made by the different parties against the said Judge R. C. Allen, the representatives of the Government making such investigations being Judges Linnen and Cook, and the said Linnen and Cook made a report of their investigations to the Secretary of the Interior, and it is understood that the said reports were adverse to the reemployment of the said Judge R. C. Allen, but notwithstanding said reports a contract was entered into with the said Allen as national Creek attorney for the Creek Tribe of Indians for a year, which contract will expire on June 30, 1916; and

Whereas the report of the special Government officers named herein is now in the files of the Interior Department and considered by the Interior Department to be confidential reports; and

Whereas it is understood that the said chief or governor of the Muskogee or Creek Tribe of Indians is about to enter into a contract with the said Judge R. C. Allen for another year, beginning July 1, 1916, and it is believed that a contract will soon be submitted to the Secretary of the Interior for his recommendation for approval by the President of the United States; and

Whereas the charges show, and it is understood, that the reports of the special representatives of the Government making the investigations confirm the charges that the said Judge R. C. Allen, prior to his appointment as Creek national attorney, was engaged in such transactions, dealing in lands belonging to the Creek Tribe of Indians, and that out of such transactions there were a number of suits brought in the United States Court for the Eastern District of Oklahoma to set aside the transactions which took place in violation of law, a number of which suits are now pending on the docket of the United States Court for the Eastern District of Oklahoma: Now therefore be it

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Interior, if not incompatible with the public interest, transmit to the House of Representatives, copies of the reports made by the Government representatives, Judges Linnen and Cook, and also by Hon. S. M. Brosius, agent of the Indian Rights Association, together with copies of all charges and papers pertaining thereto, together with a copy of all the evidence taken by the said Government representatives in investigating the charges against the said Judge R. C. Allen and his fitness to represent the Creek Tribe of Indians as national attorney before the courts and the departments of the Government and the Congress of the United States.

Everybody knows that these reports are very detrimental to Allen and conclusively show his unfitness for the position he

holds, or else the department would be glad to make them public. I challenge anyone attempting to defend the employment of R. C. Allen as Creek national attorney to have the investigations of Inspectors Linnen and Cook made public. They are the trusted agents of the department.

I am further advised that Mr. Allen attempts to defend himself by inviting attention to the suits pending in the various courts in Oklahoma which involve very large amounts. Some of them are to cancel allotments and to recover the lands for the Creek Tribe. I am reliably informed that Allen is not now permitted to join with the United States district attorney in handling these cases, as the district attorney will not divide responsibility with him. All these suits are brought by the district attorney and handled by him or his assistants. Allen has no part in them and will not have in the future.

I submit that this record shows conclusively to any fair-minded man the absolute unfitness of R. C. Allen to hold any public position or represent the Creek Tribe of Indians. It justifies my action in offering the amendment on December 12 last to the Indian appropriation bill.

Compulsory Military Training.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JESSE D. PRICE,

OF MARYLAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 21, 1917.

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, in these days of wars and rumors of wars it behooves the American people and the American Congress to exercise the greatest patience, wisdom, and conservatism lest we be swept off our feet, forsake all our inherited traditions, abandon all our century-old ideals, and commit national suicide. We are essentially a peaceful and peace-loving people, but history shows that we have not been too proud to fight when our own sacred rights or the rights of weaker peoples are involved. We have never sought war, nor started a fight, and I do not believe that we ever will; but any nation, large or small, which will tamely submit to insult and loss of honor and self-respect is not deserving of national existence.

Our ideals were to build a nation that should stand out for its humanitarianism and its love of liberty and peaceful progress, free from the taint of militarism and selfish conquest. I am glad to say that we have maintained these ideals. In order to do so we have never found it necessary to maintain a large standing army in times of peace or to invoke the military spirit among our people.

We have been successful in all the wars that we have undertaken with other nations because we have been right, and not merely because we were better prepared or that we have cultivated the militant spirit. That we should be prepared to defend ourselves and to protect the priceless institutions of America there should be no question, but in providing for this defense and protection let us not allow ourselves to be swept into the spirit of conquest and aggression and lose thereby the very ideals that have made us great. I believe and am sure that the great majority of American people believe in thorough preparedness to meet ordinary emergencies, but it is impossible for America to be always prepared for abnormal and extraordinary emergencies, without sacrificing the national spirit and degenerating into a nation of militarism.

If, then, we agree that we should be prepared, the only question is as to adequate preparation and that is the point about which there is great diversity of opinion. The one great lesson which we have learned from the European war, is that we were not adequately prepared as a nation to defend ourselves, and I am glad to see that men of all parties, led by the President and the administration, have fully realized it and have grasped the situation and are trying to meet the requirements of the country. No Member of Congress is willing to go further in the proper national defense than am I, and I have voted for all the appropriations for the Army and Navy and I am willing to go the limit in necessary protection, but when it comes to fastening upon this country a system of compulsory military training and service in times of peace, then, I must dissent, and it is to this proposed feature of the national defense that I wish to address my remarks. It is un-American, undemocratic, and wholly unnecessary. It violates every American tradition, every American impulse, and would eventually destroy American liberty. It would fasten upon this country a military system that would eventually dominate all civil government. It would abridge the fundamental rights and liberties of a hundred million free people and would be a blight upon democracy the world over.

In all our history such a system has been considered as inconsistent with the theory of a democracy, and until recently has never been seriously considered. I regret to say, however, that many patriotic Americans honestly believe that to be the only solution to our present situation, and for that reason, and before it is too late, I want to voice my protest as an American who believes in and reveres the traditions of his country against any such radical departure; from the policies and ideals that have made us what we are and which has brought us safely thus far. I would caution those who advocate this system whether they are not fastening upon posterity a blight that centuries will not eradicate. I would ask you to refuse to consider such a step unless and until all other plans have been tried out and have failed. I want to say to you, gentlemen, that all other plans have not been tried out and failed. Those who advocate this strange doctrine cite for proof of the merit of it various countries where some such plan exists. We have heard a great deal about the Swiss system, the Australian system, and the Argentine system. I wish briefly to call your attention to these various systems and to show that none of them would be applicable to the United States or in any way meet the needs of this Nation. It is obvious that because a system is suitable to one nation it does not necessarily prove that it is good for another. Various things should be taken into consideration—geographical location, ideals of the people, size of the nation, and so forth. It is just as idle to contend that a system that may be good for Switzerland, Argentina, or Australia is also good for America as it would be to contend that the same kind of government would be applicable to New York City as it would be in a village in Alaska or the Philippines.

SWISS SYSTEM.

Let us look at the Swiss system and see how it would meet the requirements of America. This is the system that we have heard so much about from our militarist friends, who laud it as a democratic system whenever the question of compulsory training and service are referred to as being antagonistic to the spirit of democracy.

It is claimed for it that it helps to break down "class distinction," but when examined closely it appears to be too democratic for America, in that it conscripts not only enlisted men but officers as well, and that without pay. Does anyone contend that the United States should compel its youth to enlist for military training and service without compensation? We would hang our heads in shame should this rich Republic deal thus with its citizens, and if we paid them, which we undoubtedly would, it would prove very expensive and more burdensome than even this rich Nation could stand.

Let us take into consideration the size and geographical location of Switzerland as compared to the United States. Switzerland is a nation of less than 4,000,000 people in the midst of four powerful nations which have a conscript military system, namely, Germany, Austria, Italy, and France. Naturally, the Swiss people imbibe the spirit of their neighbors and realize that with their small population it is impossible to recruit and maintain a standing army of any size or to have a reserve force that would be in any way formidable unless by a compulsory military system such as neighboring nations have, and no doubt had they undertaken to rely upon a voluntary system of service would have been unable to make any sort of a military showing.

On the other hand, the United States is a nation of 100,000,000 people not surrounded by militaristic people but with large bodies of water and thousands of miles removed from military nations. It does not require a very fertile imagination to observe a great difference in the position of the two nations nor in the spirit of their people. As stated, the Swiss nation is too poor to maintain a large standing army and necessarily must rely for protection upon some sort of a reserve force; and, as a matter of fact, they have no large standing army, and their entire military strength is their reserve force, which corresponds to the National Guard of the United States.

The Cantons of Switzerland, which are virtually to Switzerland what our States are to the Union, have control of the military, except in times of war, the same as our States have over the National Guard; so that it becomes evident that the only real practical difference between the Swiss military system and our own military system is that we have more of a standing army in proportion, that we rely upon voluntary service,

and that we pay our soldiers, while the Swiss have practically no standing army, use compulsory conscription, and do not pay either enlisted men or officers. I have no doubt that the system which they have established is better for Switzerland than ours would be. I am also equally certain that our system is better for America than the Swiss system would be.

Without going into the details of the service required for training a Swiss soldier, suffice it to say he receives about six months training, covering a period of 12 years, which would not appear to the average mind as being the sort of training necessary to produce a seasoned soldier. In fact, it is not nearly so effective a training, to my mind, as that at present received by our own National Guard. In our National Guard, as at present organized, a man serves nearly 600 hours covering a period of 3 years, while the Swiss serve less than 1,500 hours, covering a period of 12 years.

ARGENTINE SYSTEM.

There are a number of our militarist friends in this country who are fond of holding up to our gaze the Argentine military system, which also has as its basis the compulsory conscription and which also has as its only redeeming feature, the National Guard feature of the United States. They train their young men in the military service and, judging from their history, it has tended to incite revolution and disorder, and has no doubt been the cause of the numerous revolutions in that country, resulting in almost perpetual conflict between the military and civil authorities.

With the history of that country so plainly written I can not conceive why the advocates of compulsory military training should want to transplant such a system into the United States.

AUSTRALIAN SYSTEM.

The other system of compulsory military training, so often held up for our admiration, is the Australian system. This system was established in 1910, and if it is good for Australia it has not as yet been demonstrated. Australia is an island with a territory greater than that of the United States and with a population of less than 5,000,000, and it is evident that a system which would be good for Australian conditions would not necessarily be effective in the United States. This is the system, however, most seriously considered and most generally advocated by our militarist friends in this country to-day and it is the most undemocratic of any of the systems referred to. The training proposed is inadequate for the purpose intended; the exemptions are unfair and undemocratic and do not deserve consideration at the hands of a free people. The provisions are susceptible to great abuse and in the hands of unscrupulous officials could be made very objectionable. The provisions of it could also be administered so that the rich could get their children exempted by sending them to certain schools, while the poor man's children would be turned over to the military authorities for military service.

It will be seen from these brief references to the different systems of compulsory military training and service and without going into minute details, that none of them would bear transplanting to the soil of this free Republic, and that we do not have to go to South America or those other countries for a military system suitable for the needs of our country. I do not believe that the time has come when we should uproot our present system and all that we have accomplished and put in its place something new and untried and foreign to our institutions and conditions. We do not claim to be a militarist Nation, and we are not. I do not believe that we ever will be, and while we have never maintained a large standing army, we have always been able to maintain our national prestige and have been successful in every war that we have waged.

I believe that we should hold on to our present system, profiting by the experiences of the past; that we should enlarge upon it and perfect it. It is the system established by the founders of the Republic and if properly amplified and supported by the Government will fully meet the requirements of the Nation in the future.

It is distinctly an American system and I am proud of its Americanism.

We have undertaken in this Congress to improve and extend our military system in what is known as the national-defense act of last year. Under that act we now have a standing army of 135,000 men capable of expansion to 225,000. In addition to that we have a National Guard of some hundred and sixty thousand men, capable of expansion to 400,000 men, giving us an effective military strength of nearly 300,000 men. Under that act we have given the President authority, in times of war or threatened disaster, to conscript sufficient men to fill the National Guard organizations. We have doubled the capacity at West Point and Annapolis; we are training 30,000 young men every year in military tactics in land-grant colleges throughout the country. Under this same act we have provided reserve officers' corps in the various colleges of the Nation which will train many thousand more young men in military practice, and that number will be constantly increased until in a few years we will be training young men at the rate of 250,000 a year. Under the national-defense act referred to we have provided for training every year about 300,000 young men, and it must be borne in mind that this is all being done under a voluntary system. We are not taking unwilling people but men who are situated, domestically, financially, and physically, to undergo this test, so that in time to come, and in a very few years at that, this Nation will have a very formidable reserve force of trained men. It is estimated that in 10 years, under our present system and plan, we will have a reserve force of trained men of 3,000,000. We have appropriated vast sums of money within the past year to build up our Military and Naval Establishments.

Great attention is being paid to the Aviation Service, and vast sums are being appropriated for aircraft, aircraft guns, and ammunition. We have provided already sufficient guns and ammunition to instantly equip an army of a million men. In this same national-defense act provision was made for federalizing the National Guard, for making it an effective national force, and providing for their pay. This guard was mobilized on the Mexican border during the past year, which has proved its value as a national asset, and too much praise can not be given for the manner in which this mobilization was conducted on such short notice and the behavior of this force on the line of duty. Can it be said, then, that we have no military system worthy the name, and that it should be uprooted and something foreign and untried substituted? The only thing needed to perfect our defense as a Nation is for those who are criticizing our present system, and who would uproot our American democratic system, to withhold their criticism and encourage Congress and the Military Establishment in their efforts to perfect and extend our present organization. If the experience of over a hundred years is of any value, it should teach us that our present system is, and can be made, effective for the requirements of the American Nation. Our history shows that in all the wars in which we have been implicated we have been able to secure sufficient men and to train them in a short time to more than take care of themselves on the field of battle. We are proud of the achievements of the American soldier, and they have almost always been volunteers. It is claimed by the militarists that it is criminal to send raw recruits to face an enemy, all of which is true, but, as a matter of fact, in practice this is not done. Should the time come when we should need to engage in war to defend our rights the volunteers would be trained before being sent to the front, and history also shows that the American is easily susceptible to military training, and it is my contention that very few months of intensive military training will be more effective and produce a better soldier than the sort of training proposed by the advocates of compulsory conscription.

It is claimed also that the recruiting and training of an army which has to be done quickly and intensively is more costly. This is no doubt true, but at the same time this consideration should not compel us to abandon our traditions and experience of over a hundred years, and we had better make some sacrifices occasionally and temporarily, both in blood and treasure, than to fasten upon this country a system so repulsive to our sense of freedom and liberty as a compulsory military training and service. It is my belief that whenever this country is threatened with invasion by a foreign foe, or the rights and liberties of our people are endangered, there will be found volunteers enough and to spare to repel such invasion and to protect such rights and liberties. If there should not be sufficient volunteers, it is an inherent right in nations to conscript for such purposes, so there need be no fear of proper protection in times of national emergency. Every citizen recognizes that obligation to his Government, but the average American will be slow in recognizing the right of his Government to compel him to undergo military training in times of peace. I believe in our present military system. Our difficulties are not due to the system, but to the fact that we have not developed it as we should, and it took the European war and its lessons to open our eyes to our remissness. I have shown you how we are meeting the situation and how, by the national-defense act of 1916, we are preparing ourselves, and how by that act we have fixed our military policy, I hope, for all time. At any rate, let us not throw it into the discard until we have tried it out. I do not want to be misunderstood as to my attitude toward military training. I believe in it, and believe that our laxness in this respect should be condemned.

I am heartily in favor of training, at the expense of the Government, every young man who is so situated as to offer him-

self for training and service, and we are lending encouragement in this direction by establishing training camps, and we should go just as far in this direction as is necessary, and we should be more liberal in the future than in the past. I believe we should train everyone who will offer himself and that we should encourage all to offer themselves, but I do object to turning this Nation into a great military camp. I object to making professional soldiers of our boys. I sympathize with the American mother who would feel that every son born to her must submit himself to miltary training and discipline at the very time in his life that would interfere with his education and training in the peaceful pursuits and often change the whole current of his life's work. In other words, I believe in preparedness along volunteer lines and not compulsory lines. We are a great Nation and are destined to even greater things in the future if we adhere to the fundamental principles laid down by the fathers of the Republic and not go off after strange gods. But just so sure as we try to imitate militant nations by fastening this undemocratic policy upon ourselves we will strike the rocks of militarism and go the way of other nations that have tried it and failed. Let us not be carried away by clamor or scare headlines in the newspapers, but let us adhere to our time-honored faith by maintaining a strictly democratic military system, without the objectionable features of a monarchy, which always relies on the strength of their arms for perpetuation. Let us rely, rather, upon a relatively small standing Army, a continuously trained volunteer reserve force, a powerful Navy, and the patriotism of a hundred million free people. Let us preserve unsullied by militarism this great Nation and its ideals which we have inherited from our fathers, and hand it down to future generations of unborn Americans without the taint and blight of this hydraheaded monster which is seeking to fasten itself upon us under the guise of preparedness.

Army Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. GALLIVAN,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 21, 1917.

Mr. GALLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I understand that examinations are being held from time to time, in accordance with legislation included in the national-defense act of June 3, 1916, which provided for an increase in the number of officers in the Army to the extent of 1,600 for the year 1916 and 1,200 annually for the next five years. These examinations are not overdifficult, being much easier than even the entrance examinations to West Point. If I am not mistaken, the successful candidates are given provisional commissions for two years, at the end of which, if they can pass another similar simple examination, they are regularly commissioned; and I am told that their commission dates from the commencement of their service.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I want this House to know that because of this practice the cadets who are now at West Point are discriminated against. These young fellows entered the academy after signing for eight years' service with the Government, four at the academy and four in the service. You all know that the entrance requirements at West Point are very rigid, and that the work of the four years' course calls for about all the efforts the cadets can put forth to keep up with their studies and their physical and military training. It is safe to say that every boy who is now in the academy entered there with the prospect of a certain promotion which would in time bring him a respectable rank and the salary accompanying it. I am told that there are now about 1,200 officers above the rank of captain. Under the national-defense act the graduating class of 1917 at West Point will have 1,600 officers from civil life outranking them. The class of 1918 will have 2,800 officers from civil life outranking them, and so on, with an increasing amount for each class. Let it be understood that the standing of the students in their class governs their standing in the service for the rest of their lives, but, under the present system, what will a few points up or down in the standing of the individual amount to in the matter of promotion? Unless I am very much mistaken every incentive for good work, intensive study, and careful training has been practically taken from under their feet.

Mr. Speaker, if it has been thought necessary in the past for an officer to have four years at West Point for the good of the service, of what particular benefit, under the present conditions, is the training at the academy, if there will be so many officers outrank its graduates that there will be very few of them come to that rank in the service where the training will really count for what it should? In my judgment, these young men for the most part will be outranked by men from civil life whose training has been like that of a primary-school education compared with the career of a college graduate. Supposing a private corporation made contracts with young men for eight years, four as an apprentice and four as a workman, and that certain chances of promotion were held out to them as an inducement for that service; and then suppose that the corporation suddenly decided to enlarge its entire plant and engage its workmen and its prospective foremen from among persons outside of the corps of apprentices and would not even permit the apprentices any chance to give up their contracts and come in on an even basis with the outsiders. You would call that a pretty raw deal, would you not? And yet, I can not conceive any other term for it even if the Government is one of the contracting parties in the proposition that I now set forth.

To show you how unjustly it works out I want to cite the case of one young man who was found deficient and was dismissed from the academy. He later took the examination as a civilian, passed it, and was commissioned, and is now a first lieutenant. He will outrank for the rest of his life not only his own class but the members of the class immediately preceding his entering class; outranking, you see, about 300 or more of his classmates who by diligent work and perfect conduct were qualified to remain and finish their four years' course.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that this injustice ought to be remedied and it can be if legislation will be adopted dating the commission of the West Point graduates from the day of their entering West Point instead of from the date of their graduation, and I want to go on record as being strongly in favor of the bill introduced by the gentleman from New York [Mr. CALDWELL], which proposes to rectify the present unfair and unjust system. Our boys at West Point are handicapped, and unless a change is brought about, in my opinion, it will be difficult for us hereafter to secure candidates for West Point when the young men of the country learn that with equal or even less knowledge than it requires to enter the academy they can obtain a commission in the Regular Army which will be dated four years earlier than that which would come to them after a course at West Point.

This matter ought to be given serious consideration now, and I trust that the House will do something in fairness to our cadets at the academy.

The Reed Prohibition Amendment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES J. BRITT,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 21, 1917.

Mr. BRITT. Mr. Speaker, I shall vote for the Senate amendment because I believe it means a further restriction of the liquor traffic. A good deal has been said here about the motives of its author, whether his purpose was to promote or to hinder the cause of prohibition. With that I am not greatly concerned. It is results more than motives that count. The question in which I am interested is whether the cause of temperance will be promoted. If it was in fact his purpose to advance the cause of prohibition, then he should be commended; but if he meant to retard it, then he should be pitied, for the one would be a fit and timely response to a great moral public demand, while the other would disclose a woeful disregard of prevailing public opinion. It would indeed require a dull and unobserving mind not to detect the irresistible march of prohibition in this country to-day. Neither blind statesmanship, nor commercial greed, nor the cohorts of wickedness, nor any other earthly power can stay it. There is nothing for its opponents to do but join the procession, stand aside, or be crushed by its on-treading hosts.

It is the first and most imperative duty of the American people to see that all their laws, both State and Federal, are fully and implicitly obeyed, and that all their constituted authorities are duly respected. This amendment would be a great

aid to that end. It would be of incalculable service to the States in the enforcement of their prohibition laws. That, as I understand it, is its primary purpose. But it would also vastly extend and promote general temperance reform.

In the discussion of our State antiliquor laws we hear a great deal of silly cant about the right of local self-government. That this is a fundamental principle of our institutions no one will, of course, deny. But it was never intended, either by us or by our forefathers, to be a barrier to the moral progress of the people or a cloak for vicious and immoral legislation. Local self-government is a sound principle only where the questions involved begin and end in their practical effect in a given locality, but it is wholly unsound where the object to be controlled, however destructive it may be, may, like a noisome wind, rise in one community and sweep uncontrollably over another, leaving the people to its cruel mercies without remedy. That is precisely the case with the liquor traffic in this country to-day. Our units of government are so numerous and our interstate trade so great that the regulation of our internal affairs can not, from its very nature, be left solely to single communities. It is because of this fact that prohibition in America can never be fully and wholly enforced until Congress prohibits its manufacture and sale in every nook and corner of the land.

Mr. Speaker, nine years ago the people of North Carolina, by an overwhelming vote, decreed that no person, firm, or corporation in that State could make, transport, or sell any intoxicating liquors whatever. I gave to that movement my heartiest and most active support. The people of the State were profoundly in earnest. Temperance reform with them has become a new order of life, and the sentiment in favor of prohibition has gained strength with each passing year. True, under our laws, we have permitted the shipping into the State by outsiders of a quantity not in excess of one-half gallon per month to one person, but this was done, not because the people of North Carolina approved it, but because they were unable, under the Interstate Commerce power of the Federal Constitution, to control it, and it was permitted by law rather than forbidden by a provision that could not be enforced, but which would be a mere dead letter. Does anyone suppose for a moment that the people of North Carolina would deny to their own citizens the right to make, ship, and sell intoxicating liquors, and at the same time willingly concede that right to nonresidents of the State? The suggestion is preposterous. We merely provided for uncontrollable conditions as they were. But, happily, these conditions have now been remedied by the Webb-Kenyon law, the validity of which has just been upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States.

If a man's home were attacked by robbers and despoilers, he would be justified in the use of every possible instrument of defense—fists, clubs, firearms, explosives, and every other means of destruction. It would be his duty to strike fore and aft, right and left, up and down, in defense of those whose protection God had devolved upon him. Intoxicating liquor is the greatest enemy, the most insidious foe, the most ruthless invader, that ever crossed a State line or passed the threshold of any man's home. It is our duty to use every weapon in our power to repel this invader. I may vote mistakenly here, even blindly, but so long as I am a Member of this House I will cast my vote and lift my voice for the destruction of this enemy of the American home. Just as I attained my majority I cast my first vote in opposition to the liquor traffic, and I have so voted continuously from that day to this, and, by God's help, I intend that my last vote on earth, whether as legislator or citizen, shall be recorded in protest against the manufacture, sale, and use of this enemy of the human race.

We have made tremendous progress. One by one the great Commonwealths of America are passing from the dark map of liquor to the white map of prohibition, but there is yet a great work to do. The strongest citadels remain to be taken. We must put on our armor, draw our girdles about us, and get ready for the last fierce struggle. The ramparts of the enemy will fall before our determined onslaughts.

The Old World is furnishing us some shining prohibition examples, some mighty temperance inspirations. In Russia, dark Russia, the deadly vodka has been outlawed; in France, gay, luxurious France, absinthe has been tabooed; and even in China, heathen China, the deadly opium has been prohibited. Is it possible that America is to lag behind this procession of the world's march to moral redemption?

Mr. Speaker, a great and overshadowing duty devolves upon this House. We owe it to the people to give them this legislation. In a large sense we are the conservators of the Nation's morals, health, and happiness. Particularly are we the constitutional guardians of this Capital city and the District of Columbia. We have here the most beautiful city in all the world, and it is our duty to make it the cleanest and most livable. It is a city prettier than Babylon, with its swinging gardens; more beautiful than Naples, with its golden bays; grander than Paris, with its gorgeous splendors; more imposing than London, with its majestic buildings and solemn temples. But it is a shame to the Nation that our sons and daughters, coming here from every part of the Republic to see their Nation's Capital, to behold its beauty, to receive its inspiration, must first have their senses offended by the fumes of whiskies and the stench of liquors that smell to high heaven. It is our duty to help make this city and this District as dry as a bone, as clean as snow, and as beautiful as a fairy court.

Much of our legislation is poor, unsound, and ill-advised. We have just made a great national tax levy, and in doing so we have taxed heavily the earnings of toil, the fruits of industry, honest savings, and sundry legitimate businesses, some of it being done recklessly and without inquiry. We have made a great national blunder. We have utterly failed to find the proper subjects of taxation. We should have raised every additional dollar by an increased tax on whisky, beer, tobacco, and other luxuries. We should then have served two great purposes. We should have put the burden of taxation on needless luxuries and at the same time have promoted national morality. It was cowardly in this House, cowardly in you, gentlemen of the majority, cowardly in us, gentlemen of the minority, that we did not do it. Of one thing the American Congress must take notice. The legislation of the future, of whatever sort and on whatever subject, must respond more heartily to the moral and humane demands of the people. Archaic phrases and outworn shibboleths will not suffice. The people are going to demand wholesome legislative food, and will not be satisfied with Dead Sea fruit. If we who are here now do not respond to these needs, then the scepter will pass from Judea and other and more worthy legislators will be called to shape the course of national legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I hope this amendment will receive the unanimous vote of the House.

"Stand by the President."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. S. TAYLOR NORTH,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 21, 1917.

Mr. NORTH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing a concurrent resolution adopted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, sitting in General Assembly at Harrisburg, conveying to the President and Federal Government assurances of loyal support in the present national crisis, which was offered by Hon. William C. Sproul, a member of the Senate:

Concurrent resolution conveying to the President and Federal Government assurances of loyal support in the present national crisis and calling upon citizens of Pennsylvania to give to the President and Federal Government patriotic support and assistance.

Whereas the President of the United States has informed the Congress that a very grave crisis exists in the international relations of the country, which, in his opinion, may lead to the necessity of defending our national rights, dignity, and honor by force of arms, all other reasonable and honorable means having failed after patient and forbearing negotiations: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, sitting in General Assembly at Harrisburg, do send to the President and Government of the United States assurances of the loyal support and full cooperation of Pennsylvania in every national undertaking which in their wisdom may be necessary to meet the situation and to protect and vindicate American rights, dignity, and honor, wherever or by whom they may be endangered; and be it further

Resolved, That the general assembly calls upon the people of Pennsylvania to give to the President and the Federal Government in all ways their patriotic support and assistance in whatever plans or measures may be required in the present emergency, as they have done in the past in every crisis in the Nation's history; and be it further

Resolved, That the governor of the Commonwealth be, and he is hereby, requested to forward copies of these resolutions to the President of the United States and to the presiding officers of both of the Houses of Congress.

The Newlands Commission.

SPEECH
OF
HON. OTIS WINGO,
OF ARKANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 9, 1917.

The House had under consideration the following resolution:
"*Resolved*, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution the House shall proceed to the consideration of S. J. Res. 190, reported by the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. The first reading of the resolution shall be dispensed with, there shall be general debate not exceeding one hour, to be equally divided between those favoring and those opposing the resolution. During the general debate any Member may be recognized by the Chair to offer germane amendments to the resolution. At the end of said general debate the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the resolution and all amendments to final passage without any intervening motion except one motion to recommit."

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Speaker, I voted against the rule the other day, and I voted against the rule to-day, and I shall vote against the resolution. I take it that there is no one, unless it be my good friend from Texas, Mr. BLACK, who is misled as to what the scope of this inquiry will be and what the result of it will be. It is not quite so puzzling as this rule, which, in my opinion, is like the ways of God, in that it passes all understanding; and I am not surprised that the Speaker was somewhat puzzled to determine who was to be heard upon the resolution, either for or against, or who controlled the time. I think I can reassure my friend from Texas, Mr. BLACK, that there is no serious intention on the part of those who advocate the continuation of this hearing to force him to accept Government ownership.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS], I think, has very frankly stated what is commonly understood and what the understanding is of this investigation and hearing, and that is that it is to direct public opinion. I take it that we all understand that public opinion is fairly well settled upon each and every one of the multitudinous questions set out in the public resolution No. 25 of this Congress, which was the resolution that originally constituted this subcommittee, and the gentleman from Ohio, I repeat, has frankly stated the object of the continuation of this hearing, and that is to direct public opinion. This subcommittee has had a few hearings since it was constituted. About five months ago they asked Mr. Thom, a railroad attorney, a question, and he has been ever since then making a speech to the committee answering that question, and he has not yet concluded nor will he conclude unless this resolution is adopted to-day. One of the plans of the railroads, which they frankly state—and it is not my object to abuse them for that—is to direct public opinion by taking the speech which Mr. Thom made before the committee and carrying it as plate matter in all the country newspapers in the United States, and I presume it is their intention if this hearing continues until next December, as proposed by this resolution, to continue to try to direct public opinion by letting the gentleman conclude his speech and carrying the remainder of it as plate matter in the country papers. That gentleman has made the same speech, word for word, twice before a committee of Congress, but he thinks no doubt it will have a better effect on public opinion if that speech is printed as it is now being printed, purporting to be the statement of a gentleman before a Government commission charged to investigate all these numerous questions. Do they intend to direct public attention and opinion away from its present convictions upon all these questions? No, Mr. Speaker; one of them is upon the question of change in the organization of the Interstate Commerce Commission. We are not waiting for that. Those who favor this line of thought and this line of action are perfectly satisfied that public opinion is correct now, and they need no additional information of that kind, because this House has already passed a bill to increase the personnel of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and that matter, if report is to be believed, is being pressed very vigorously by the same influences in the United States Senate that is pressing this resolution, and very likely before the 4th of March that change will have been brought about. But on the question of the Rayburn bill, upon which public opinion is pretty well fixed at this time, a subject upon which every member of this committee, both Senate and House, no doubt has a fixed opinion, and I have no doubt that every Member of the House has a fixed opinion upon it—on that question they want to direct public opinion, and they are not ready to have that bill brought up at this session of Congress, but the whole intent is to simply enter in Congress a motion for a continuance, and if this resolution be adopted it will be in effect a motion for a continuance in their behalf, and it will permit these gentlemen to continue to direct public opinion.

Mr. DILLON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WINGO. I yield for a question.

Mr. DILLON. Will the gentleman tell us, in this connection, why the Rayburn bill was sidetracked in the United States Senate in the Sixty-third Congress?

Mr. WINGO. Possibly when I shall have been here as long as the distinguished gentleman I shall be able to give that information. Frankly, I do not have any idea at the present time.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WINGO. For a question.

Mr. ADAMSON. I know the gentleman is always fair, and I want to remind him that our committee, disregarding the claim that the inquiry operated as a restraining order, disregarding it as a restraining order, reported the Rayburn bill to the House, and disregarding the order we reported the bill to increase the commission, which was opposed by the same influences that opposed the Rayburn bill; and we also reported the Cummins amendment and passed it through the House, and one or two bills and put them on the calendar.

Mr. WINGO. Will the gentleman state the date the Rayburn bill was reported to the House?

Mr. ADAMSON. At the same time that this resolution was reported, and it was understood in the committee that the gentlemen of the subcommittee should not hinder the passage of the Rayburn bill.

Mr. WINGO. This resolution has just been reported this session of Congress.

Mr. ADAMSON. All this resolution does is to extend the time in which to finish the investigation under the original resolution.

Mr. WINGO. I understand that.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, will the gentlemen permit me to ask the gentleman from Georgia one question?

Mr. WINGO. Yes.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Does the gentleman from Georgia and his committee propose hereafter to allow witnesses to go on and testify for two or three weeks at a time, as just stated by the gentleman from Arkansas? If so, I do not want this investigation to go on by that committee.

Mr. ADAMSON. Replying to the gentleman, when a witness finishes the committee insists upon the right to cross-examine him.

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Speaker, with all due deference, I must insist on not yielding further. Of course it is to be presumed that the committee will do as the gentleman says, and I am not questioning the good faith or the actions of the committee, but I am questioning their judgment. I do not agree with their judgment.

Mr. ADAMSON. We do not agree in judgment, either.

Mr. WINGO. The committee will necessarily be compelled to permit Mr. Thom to complete his testimony, and if they did not they would be charged with trying to suppress it.

Mr. ADAMSON. But Mr. Thom completed his general statement and now the committee insists on cross-examining him, and we think we are doing the country good by cross-examining him.

Mr. WINGO. I understand that. Now, they will start this cross-examination of this witness, and I venture the assertion that with the cross-examination of this witness upon the multitudinous questions involved in his original statement it will be physically impossible for the committee, if it does not sit more regularly than it has already, to get half through the examination of this one witness before next December. Then what will we have? We will have the same old story of these special joint commissions. Every Member of this House knows it is a favorite method of Congress by which they put off questions of this kind. They will come in here next December and ask for a continuance again, and especially if those who ask a continuance are opposed to bills that are then pending—like the Rayburn bill. The only excuse I have heard here for the nonconsideration of the Rayburn bill and its immediate passage is that they ought to wait until this commission has reported the result of their examination. I do not think it will ever get to Government ownership. Government ownership, I will say to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLACK], is the sugar coating of this resolution. I will say in all seriousness I do not believe it was ever intended to make a report advocating Government ownership. I will say to the gentleman that men upon this

floor who voted for the resolution, if they thought there was the slightest danger of the committee bringing in a report even intimating that Government ownership was to be desired, that those men instead of favoring would be opposed to this rule to-day.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS] has been frank about it. Those who oppose Government ownership in this House, with the exception of the gentleman from Texas, are in favor of this resolution. They want to direct public attention. They frankly believe the public is in favor of Government ownership. They think the unfortunate conditions which have existed in the railroad world recently has caused the public to come to a wrong conclusion, and they want to draw the public away from that conclusion. How? By bringing testimony, by holding out expectations of Federal incorporation, by wiping out of State control, by wiping out State railroad commissions, and so forth. The whole object, Mr. Speaker, in my candid judgment, and if it is not the object it will be the effect, is to force upon Congress a vote upon the question, and when it does vote upon it there can not be anything in the mind of any candid man present but that the American Congress under the report that will be brought in, with the testimony that this man Thom submitted, with the figures he submits, will be voting upon a bill to carry into effect the theory and principles laid down by Mr. Justice Hughes in the Shreveport case. That is the whole object of the railroads. I am not criticizing and saying that they are doing anything wrong. I am differing with the policy of those who advocate this, and for the reason that when this question is first raised and the first step is taken in it, I am going to take my stand, and I know where we will have to stand when the original question comes before Congress. I know the ultimate issue out of this program is whether Congress by congressional action will carry into full force and effect the principles and theories Mr. Justice Hughes laid down in the Shreveport case. Not being one who agrees with those theories, believing it is dangerous, believing it will ultimately bring chaos in the regulation of the railroads of this country and in their efficiency, I at the very beginning voice my protest against it and refuse to be a party to any proceeding or to approve of any proceeding intended to bolster up that proposition. [Applause.]

"Bone-Dry" Amendment to the Post Office Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL H. MILLER,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 21, 1917.

Mr. MILLER of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I desire to give my approval to the Senate amendment to the Post Office appropriation bill, and which has been reported to the House by the conference committee, and now being considered under a motion to concur. The text of the amendment is as follows:

SEC. 5. That no letter, postal card, circular, newspaper, pamphlet, or publication of any kind containing any advertisement of spirituous, vinous, malted, fermented, or other intoxicating liquors of any kind or an order or orders for said liquors, or any of them, shall be deposited in or carried by the mails of the United States, or be delivered by any postmaster or letter carrier, when addressed or directed to any person, firm, corporation, or association, or other addressee, at any place or point in any State or Territory of the United States at which it is by the law in force in the State or Territory at that time unlawful to advertise or solicit orders for such liquors, or any of them, respectively.

If the publisher of any newspaper or other publication or the agent of such publisher, or if any dealer in such liquors or his agent, shall knowingly deposit or cause to be deposited, or shall knowingly send or cause to be sent, anything to be conveyed or delivered by mail in violation of the provisions of this section, or shall knowingly deliver or cause to be delivered by mail anything herein forbidden to be carried by mail, shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than six months, or both; and for any subsequent offense shall be imprisoned not more than one year. Any person violating any provision of this section may be tried and punished, either in the district in which the unlawful matter or publication was mailed or to which it was carried by mail for delivery, according to direction thereon or in which it was caused to be delivered by mail to the person to whom it was addressed.

Whoever shall order, purchase, or cause intoxicating liquors to be transported in interstate commerce, except for scientific, sacramental, medicinal, and mechanical purposes, into any State or Territory the laws of which State or Territory prohibit the manufacture or sale therein of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes shall be punished as aforesaid: *Provided*, That nothing herein shall authorize the shipment of liquor into any State contrary to the laws of such State: *Provided further*, That the Postmaster General is hereby authorized and directed to make public from time to time in suitable bulletins or public notices the names of States in which it is unlawful to advertise or solicit orders for such liquors.

It will be observed that the first paragraph of the amendment prohibits the sending of a letter, postal card, circular, newspaper, pamphlet, or publication of any kind containing any advertisement of spirituous, vinous, malted, fermented, or other intoxicating liquors of any kind through the United States mail, and that such publication or newspaper shall not be delivered by any postmaster or letter carrier when addressed or directed to any person, firm, corporation, or association at any place or point in any State or Territory of the United States at which it is by the law in force in the State or Territory at that time unlawful to advertise or solicit orders for such liquors.

The second section provides for inflicting a penalty upon the publisher of any newspaper or other publication or the agent of such publication, and upon the dealer in such liquors, or his agent, who shall knowingly cause to be sent anything to be conveyed or delivered by mail in violation of the provisions of the amendment.

In addition thereto, the second paragraph prohibits the importation, in either small or large quantities, of intoxicating liquors, as designated in the first paragraph, for personal use, into any State or Territory the laws of which State or Territory prohibit the manufacture or sale therein of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes, and imposes the same penalty for the violation of this provision as for sending such liquors or advertisement by mail.

The amendment, when agreed upon by the Senate and House and approved of by the President, will add immediately to the "bone-dry" territory about one-third of the continental United States.

Mr. Speaker, the amendment is a just, wise, and humane provision. It is entirely in harmony with the interstate-commerce provisions of the Constitution of the United States. It has been brought about by the indiscriminate and unwise acts of the manufacturers and dealers in intoxicating liquors in sending by mail their literature soliciting orders for their supplies, from business men, mechanics, and professional men, not exempting ministers of the gospel. It has also been hastened by newspapers, periodicals, magazines, and other publications that come into our homes, flaunting in the faces of their readers, old and young, temperate and intemperate, the well-displayed and decoratively illustrated advertisement of the wares of the liquor manufacturer and dealer.

It will help to make a publication clean and wholesome that for a few paltry and unclean dollars polluted its pages with advertisements which were an offense to a vast number of clean-living and clean-minded readers. It restrains the liberty of no man, unless to make men better, to make homes happier, to make the lives of young men purer and sweeter, and the helping of all to live better, happier, and more prosperous lives is a restraint on the liberty of the individual.

I have the hope and faith that the House will concur in this amendment and to help secure that end shall vote for concurrence.

Washington.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. COLEMAN,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 22, 1917.

Mr. COLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, Washington, more than any other American, has been the recipient of the reverence and the veneration of his countrymen. As his memory is revered by the people of his own land, so it is honored by the people of many nations.

Greene, the English historian, wrote of him:

No nobler figure ever stood in the forefront of a nation's life.

Von Moltke, an authority on military affairs, called Washington one of the world's foremost strategists, and in reference to his movements on the Delaware:

No finer movement was ever executed than the retreat across the Jerseys, the return across the Delaware the first time, and then a second time, so as to draw out the enemy in a long thin line.

Napoleon, in his day, gauged Washington's place in history, and said in conversation to some Americans that the fame of

Washington would endure when that of his own was lost in the vortex of revolution.

Frederick Harrison, an Englishman, comparing him with Cromwell and William the Silent, said:

All three carried on in mature life a long and desperate struggle in a fierce civil war against the tyranny of a retrograde King. All three after beating back the tyrant were chosen by their people to be the first chiefs of a new Commonwealth. All three showed an organizing genius of the first order in welding into a nation the broken sections of the people whom they had saved from slavery by their armies.

Then showing a closer analogy between the careers of William the Silent and Washington, and pointing out some of the conditions that each of them faced, he continued:

On the other hand, in the grand point of character, Washington will ever stand out in history as greater than William, greater than almost any statesman in supreme place in the whole record of the modern world. His unshaken devotion to right, his perfect justice, his transparent truthfulness and lofty sense of honor will ever place him above even the best of modern statesmen in virtue. That which sets him in a rank by himself among chiefs of state is the unfailing honor and guileless candor of his whole public career toward both home and foreign opponents.

If foreigners thus praise him, where shall we find words with which to extol his name? Among the list of American patriots his name stands to the fore. Great in his isolation, grand in his solitude, there are none among all the great heroes of our land whom we dare compare with him save only the honored Lincoln. As we read of his achievements as patriot, warrior, and statesman; as we are impressed with his integrity of soul, well may we give expression to the language of the poet when he said:

How shall we rank thee on glory's page?
Thou more than patriot and just less than sage.

With only an elementary schooling, and summoned before age to protect a family of orphans, he at 27 years had become the foremost man in all Virginia. It was in May, 1759, his first war over, that Mr. Robinson, the speaker of the House of Burgesses in the State of Virginia, in behalf of the people of that State, expressed their gratitude to Washington for the splendid services he had performed on the field of battle. Washington was so overcome by the speaker's words that he was unable to reply, causing Mr. Robinson to remark:

Your modesty is equal to your valor, and that surpasses the power of any language that I possess.

To think that such words as these, under such circumstances, were spoken of a young man but 27 years of age gives us some idea of the greatness of George Washington.

He was serious, reserved, and dignified to an unusual degree. Even the famed Judge Marshall, foremost among the jurists of America, within three months of his own death, stated that he was never free from restraint in Washington's presence, such was the stateliness and dignity of the man.

Robert Morris, one of the leading patriots of the Revolution, whose name is an honor to the old State of Pennsylvania, said that—

In the presence of Washington he ever stood in awe.

If men like these were thus impressed we can reason that the effect upon ordinary men must have been most pronounced. The magnifying of this attribute of Washington has led some of his biographers to extreme statements, leaving the impression that his nature was cold and at times even harsh. That such is not a true view of the man is soon discovered by the student of his life. On the contrary, he was kindly disposed to his fellow men, and most loyal in his friendships. It is true that he was just and even close in all his business dealings, but at the same time generous to those in need.

One of the best examples of his friendship, as well as of his generosity, is contained in the history of his relations with Lafayette. Because of his love for the man he kept up a regular correspondence with the French patriot, and when misfortune overtook the latter, and he was confined in an Austrian prison, Washington sent money to his wife, having her believe that it was the payment of an obligation due her husband. Through his friends he entertained Lafayette's son in this country until he himself could do so in a private capacity, freed from his state duties as President. He sent to the Marquis himself 1,000 guineas, and wrote a letter to the Emperor of Germany, soliciting his discharge, in which he used these words:

As it is a maxim with me never to ask what under similar circumstances I would not grant, your Majesty will do me the justice to believe that this request appears to me to correspond with those great principles of magnanimity and wisdom which form the basis of sound policy and durable glory.

A short time after this letter was written his friend was released from prison.

It is not to be wondered at that Washington was of a serious turn of mind, for at an age in life when most young men are leaving school he was intrusted with important State duties by the colony of Virginia, and from this time on his life was well filled in the performance of official duties. He was thus cheated out of his boyhood, and influences around him tended to make him serious and thoughtful.

It is not true, however, that he was cold in his dealings with his fellows, for evidence of his kindly disposition is found on frequent occasions and is well illustrated by incidents like the following: When on a journey in 1789 he met an old servant whom he had not seen for 30 years, and at once put him at ease by his kindly recognition. Such always was his attitude to the Revolutionary soldier, and these were sure of a cordial greeting wherever he chanced to meet them. He contributed freely to the needy, and when himself away from his Mount Vernon home, left instructions with those in charge that poor persons should have help from his kitchen and his granaries.

The attempt that has at times been made to make him appear too dignified to enjoy life as ordinary men is an exaggeration of the true situation, for Washington when freed from the cares of state acted as other men and enjoyed all things human. From some statements we would be led to believe that he scarcely knew how to laugh, but I call your attention to an incident in which this great man so completely forgot his dignity as to prove that he was fully capable of enjoying the funny side of things. Judge Marshall, in company with Judge Washington, a nephew of the general, arrived at Mount Vernon. They were attended by a servant who had charge of a portmanteau containing their clothes. At their previous stopping place there happened to be a Scotch peddler with a bag of goods which resembled their portmanteau. Just as they had prepared themselves for their new garments, the servant opened up his bag and out flew some fancy soap and various other articles belonging to the peddler whose goods had been brought along instead of their own. They were so struck by the consternation of their servant and the ludicrousness of their position that they burst into loud and repeated shouts of laughter. Washington, who happened to be out on his grounds near by, heard the noise and came to see what it meant. When finding his friends in that strange plight, he was so overcome with laughter that he actually rolled upon the ground.

Some writers seem to think that it is unbecoming the dignity of Washington that such instances as these be related, but for myself, I am glad to know that so great a man possessed human traits similar to those which run through all of us.

As a McKeesporter, I refer with pride to the occasion on which he marched through what are now the streets of our city with the famous Braddock expedition, and made his present of a match coat and bottle of rum to Queen Aliquippa, which latter he remarked was thought to be much the better present of the two. I will not discuss this expedition and the disastrous battle of Braddocks Fields, which is also in the district which I represent, further than to say that Washington saved the army from complete annihilation, and in the contest had two horses shot under him and his coat pierced with four bullets, prompting a minister to preach a sermon, in which he said:

That heroic youth, Col. Washington, whom I can not but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner for some important service to his country.

To Washington various religious views have been attributed. By some he is claimed to have been a most devout churchman, and others have not hesitated to class him as an atheist. But that he was a man of deep religious convictions is not to be doubted. Aside from the many references in state papers indicating his reliance upon God, there are numerous passages to be taken from his private letters which prove beyond question his abiding faith in the Deity. At one time he wrote to a friend:

The Great Ruler of events will not permit the happiness of so many millions to be destroyed.

At another time, to another friend:

At disappointments and losses which are the effects of Providential acts I never repine, because the all-wise Designer of Events knows better than what we do that which is best for us and what we deserve.

And still stronger, perhaps, than either of these the following quotation:

The hand of Providence has been so conspicuous in all this that he must be worse than an infidel that lacks faith, and more than wicked that has not gratitude enough to acknowledge his obligations.

And what, perhaps, speaks more eloquently still of his religious convictions were the words that he spoke to the doctor just before he died:

Doctor, I am dying, and have been dying for a long time; but I am not afraid to die.

But while he had deep religious convictions he did not deny himself reasonable enjoyment during those years of his life when relief from pressure of duties permitted him to do so. Among other things, he indulged in theater-going, enjoyed rac-

ing, and from his earlier to his later years dearly loved to dance.

He was married to Mrs. Custis on January 6, 1759, and was rewarded by finding a good wife, to whom he was ever after devoted. They lived happily together, and throughout all the stress of his after career there was nothing that appealed to him more than to return to his home and be, in his favorite expression, "Under his own vine and fig tree."

On receiving his commission as Commander in Chief of the Army he wrote to his wife in these words:

I have used every endeavor in my power to avoid it, not only from my unwillingness to depart from you, but from a consciousness of its being a trust too great for my capacity, and that I should enjoy more real happiness in one month with you at home than I have the most distant prospects of finding abroad. I shall feel no danger of the campaign; my happiness will result from how you will feel in being left alone.

At the age of 43 years, in the year 1775, our hero was called to head the Continental Army. There was placed before him a mighty task of organizing into an army a body of raw volunteers, and with that army to fight a stupendous conflict with the foremost power of the world, and wring from that power an assent to the independence of the colonies.

His tact and judgment quickly won the confidence of his troops, and it was well for him that he had their confidence in the trying difficulties that were to follow, for after the successful Boston siege there was little for a time in the way of encouragement to the troops or the country. But whatever failures came, it was Washington who propped up disconsolate generals and encouraged the friends of the Government on every hand. To the sorely troubled Schuyler he wrote in the time of his bitter experiences:

We must bear up and make the best of mankind as they are, since we can not have them as we wish.

But in these dark days there was none to prop the courage or the confidence of Washington, on whom responsibility most heavily rested.

In the year 1776, the Army had been obliged to retreat from place to place, beginning at Long Island, N. Y., until they crossed the Delaware to Pennsylvania. Gen. Reed, at this critical juncture, addressing Gen. Washington, said:

My God, how long shall we retreat? Where shall we stop?

To which the great Washington replied:

Why, sir, if we can do no better, we will retreat over every river in America, and last of all over the mountains, whence we shall never lack space to annoy, and finally, I hope to expel the enemy from our country.

The winter was coming on, the trials were almost too much to bear. The English, flushed with their successes, felt that the end must soon be near.

Howe is now stationed at Trenton with his 4,000 men, and at this time when confidence was at so low an ebb, Washington resolved to strike a blow for his country. It was on Christmas night that he divided his soldiers into three divisions, one under Gen. Ewing, the other under Gen. Cadwallader, and the other under his personal direction. Everything was arranged, and the armies started on their course, with the intent of crossing the Delaware and striking a blow at the enemy at Trenton. When the river was reached it was found to be filled with ice, and the progress of Ewing and Cadwallader was arrested, they being unable to transport their troops over the rushing waters. Washington, on approaching the river, heard the unwelcome roar of ice and the loud crash under the angry flood, but the object before him was too vast to allow one thought about the difficulties.

The troops were embarked, the river was crossed. Many of the soldiers frost bitten as they reached the other side of the river on the same shore with the enemy. Forming into line they pressed forward to the contest. The sun was just rising over the hilltops as the army of the enemy came into sight. His soldiers on sight of the enemy, with pale cheeks, turned their wistful looks to him. The eager wish for battle flushed over his burning face, and rising on his stirrups he waved his sword toward the hostile enemy and said:

There, my brave friends—there are the enemies of your country, and now all I ask of you is to just remember what you are about to fight for. March.

Soon they were in the thick of the contest, and while many a brave soldier and splendid leader fell, victory perched on the banners of Washington. Had Ewing and Caldwallader crossed the river like Washington, nothing of the whole of the enemy's lines would have been spared. As it was, with the thousand prisoners that fell into their hands, Washington marched into the city of Philadelphia, making a triumphal entry with his prisoners, and this encouraged the people of the country to continue the contest for the great prize that was before them.

His treatment of the enemy, especially the Hessian soldiers, was most diplomatic, and the courtesies shown them completely dispossessed their minds of the poisonous statements that had been made to them of the American people by the British soldiers with whom they were engaged.

This victory gained on the 26th of December, the work having been begun on Christmas night, was scarcely over until we find Washington again on the 1st day of January, with his country's flag still waving over the heights of Trenton, being rapidly hemmed in by the forces under Lord Cornwallis. It really seemed as if there could be no escape, and as Cornwallis saw the position of Washington's forces he said to one of his inferior officers:

The old fox can't make his escape, for with the help of the Delaware, now filled up with the ice, we have completely surrounded him. To-morrow morning we will fall upon him and take him and his ragamuffins all at once.

Night came on, the artillery ceased to roar, and both armies proceeded to supper and to sleep. About midnight, having renewed all the fires, Washington put his little army in motion, and passing along the enemy's rear, hastened to surprise a large body of their troops at Princeton, on the other side of the river. As the day broke, Cornwallis was greatly mortified to find there was no American Army on the banks of the Sand Pink at Trenton, and presently he heard the roar of Washington's cannon at Princeton. On hearing the cannons, Sir William Erskine said to Cornwallis:

There is Washington now cutting our troops up.

And so he was, for on arriving at Princeton about sunrise, Washington met three British regiments who were coming on in high spirits to take him at Trenton. Both parties attacked like heroes at the first, until the Americans gave way, but realizing that all was at stake, Washington snatched the standard and advancing on the enemy called to his countrymen to follow. His countrymen heard, and rushed on to the charge. When the battle was over Washington again had been victorious. Four hundred prisoners were taken, but the battle was won at the cost of many gallant heroes who fell in the strife. For the splendid generalship thus displayed Gen. Washington was given full credit by his British opponents, and from that time on they took notice, realizing that they were confronted by a worthy foe. The tide was now turning, England was awakening from her sleep, the world was looking on, and Washington was exalted to the highest pitch not only among the people of his own country but throughout all the nations of Europe.

But notwithstanding this success many dark days yet remained, during which it seemed impossible that the Colonial forces could be successful. One of the darkest periods of the war was the winter spent at Valley Forge. Hope had almost ceased to beat in the hearts of the faithful, and all seemed to have been lost. It was at this time that Washington in a letter to Gov. Clinton wrote:

A part of the army has been a week without any kind of flesh, and the rest for three or four days. Naked and starving as they are, we can not enough admire the incomparable patience and fidelity of the soldiery, that they have not been ere this excited by their suffering to a general mutiny and dispersion.

But notwithstanding the darkness of the hour, as in the early years of the contest, he gave support to discouraged generals, so now he strove to engender in the hearts of the faithful renewed hope in the successful final outcome. It was during these days that it is reported he was seen wandering from headquarters out into the darkness and gloom of the night where with the trees as companions he knelt upon the earth and poured out his heart to the great God of battles. From this time forth he continued to encourage his troops and appealed to the people in all sections of the country, succeeding eventually in extricating himself and his army from their difficulties, and finally crowning their efforts with success. Throughout the whole of his career as General of the Army he was continually pleading for powder with which to fight, for food and clothing for his soldiers, and deplored the short enlistments which were continually breaking up the efficiency of his army. It was under such difficulties as these that he strove, and the wonder is that out of these difficulties he was able to wrest a victory.

Without dwelling further upon the details of that struggle, the surrender of Cornwallis, or other incidents during the war, I wish to call your attention to a situation at its close in which Washington rose to his grandest height.

The Army was at Newburgh without pay, almost without food and suffering in rags, Washington himself described its condition in a letter to the Secretary of War, in which he said:

Under present circumstances, when I see a number of men goaded by a thousand stings of reflection on the past and anticipations of

the future about to be turned on the world, forced by penury and by what they call the ingratitude of the public, involved in debt without one farthing to carry them home, after spending the flower of their days and many of their patromonies in establishing the freedom of their country and suffering everything this side of death, I repeat that when I consider these irritating circumstances without one thing to soothe their feelings or dispel their prospects, I can not avoid apprehending that a trend of evils will follow of a very serious and distressing nature. You may rely upon it, the patriotism and long-suffering of this Army is well-nigh exhausted, and there never was so great a spirit of discontent as at present.

There he stood between the Army and the Congress sympathizing with his comrades in arms, deploring their condition, and at the same time in their presence and in all of his relations with them upholding Congress and finding excuses for its failure to make provisions for the Army. While standing thus between these forces, a movement in the Army was begun to shake the faith of the soldiers in their leader, and in the manifesto that was scattered among these soldiers were found these words:

Suspect the man—

Meaning Washington—

who would advise to more moderation and longer forbearance. Tell Congress that with it rests the responsibility of the future, that if peace returns, nothing but death shall separate you from your arms, and that if war continues you will retire to some unsettled country to smile in turn and mock when their fear cometh.

Such was the critical situation in the hour of apparent triumph. Washington appreciated its gravity. He issued a peremptory order postponing a meeting which had been called without his knowledge for a period of four days, and then when the meeting was held on March 15, 1783, he walked into the presence of those assembled, unrolled his manuscript, and began to feel for his glasses, and just before adjusting them, with words full of emotion, said:

These eyes, my friends, have grown dim, and these locks white in the service, yet I never doubted the justice of my country.

And then, referring to the manifesto that had been issued, he continued:

My God! What can this writer have in view in recommending such measures? Can he be a friend of the country and the Army? No; he is plotting the ruin of both. Let me conjure you in the name of our common country, as you value your own sacred honor, as you respect the rights of humanity, as you regard the military or national character of America, to express your utmost horror and detestation of the man who wishes, under any specious pretense to overturn the liberties of our country, and who wickedly attempts to open the floodgates of civil discord and deluge our rising empire in blood.

Such an appeal from such a man had its effect. The officers at once adopted resolutions of thanks reciprocating the affectionate expressions of their commander and indignantly refuting the manifesto. Civil war which seemed imminent was at that moment averted. Washington himself, speaking of this matter, has said that it was the darkest day of all his life.

After this he soon retired to Mount Vernon to enjoy again the peace and quiet that he loved. It was impossible, however, that he should completely sever himself from the great problems which now confronted the States. It became more apparent every day that some stronger government must be formed if the benefits obtained by the Revolution were to be retained. Washington, as much, perhaps more than any man of his time, realized the need of a stronger Union, and from the quiet of his Mount Vernon home, by means of letter writing, impressed this thought on many great men of the day. Washington was no longer a Virginian, but was now an American in the larger sense, realizing that there must be a nationality distinct from and superior to the individual States. With the gradual failure of the confederacy it became more and more impressed upon the country that such a union as Washington and Hamilton and others had in mind must be adopted. The result was the Convention of 1787, to which Washington was elected a delegate from the State of Virginia. He declined the honor, but little heed was paid to his declination. His State insisted that he accept and give way to the general demand. He finally accepted and made his way to Philadelphia, arriving there on the 13th of May, 1787. About a week later, when enough delegates had arrived to constitute a quorum, the convention organized, with Washington unanimously chosen as the presiding officer.

The work was steadily carried on from that time until September 17, when Washington's signature was affixed to the Constitution of the United States. It was not such a document as he desired, but was the best that could be obtained under the circumstance, and he did his part to bring about its adoption by the people.

With the adoption of the Constitution and the first election for President of the United States, Washington was unanimously chosen and was inaugurated on the 30th of April, 1789, in the city of New York.

On May 1, 1789, George Washington, the President, with the Congress and an army of a few hundred men, was all there was of the Government of the United States. No Navy, no traditions, no funds with which to carry on work. It was January 4, 1790, before the new Government was fully organized, and perplexing were the questions with which it was called upon to deal.

The Indian question was one of the most troublesome. And speaking in a general way in order that we may gather an idea of what that question then meant we may say that west of the Alleghanies all belonged to them. Washington, better than any man, understood the American Indian, and knew him as a dangerous, treacherous, and fighting foe. There were the Six Nations around New York; the tribes of the Wabash west of Kentucky; the Creeks surrounding Georgia; the Cherokees south of the Ohio, and all of them stirred up and urged on to activity against our Government either by the Spaniards or the English. Thus Washington was not only confronted with the work of establishing a new government, but he was called on to face the serious Indian problem; to quell the pirates of Morocco who were then destroying our commerce in the Mediterranean; to meet and treat with the Spaniard, who was endeavoring to shut us out of the Mississippi; to deal with the old enemy, the British, who were still threatening war, and to impress upon the States a loyalty to the new Government which was necessary for their protection against these foes. And to face all of these dangers there was an Army of about 600 regular troops, with the Government $80,000,000 in debt.

I shall not dwell upon the manner in which he met and solved these problems as President of the United States, but suffice it to say that he brought to this high office that same sound judgment and rectitude of character that had aided him during the trying years through which he had already passed. His unselfish devotion to country guided him safely throughout the stormy years of his two administrations. He had but one thought and aim in view—the welfare of the Nation—and there was present in his make-up no madness of ambition to wreck his course.

He looked beneath the surface of the people's whims, and was heedless of their gusts of passion, keeping ever in view their final good and remained unmoved by the sharp criticisms that were so frequently and forcefully hurled at him. He looked forward to posterity and trusted the good sense of the Nation to approve his work when they could judge free from the prejudices and the passions of the hour.

As if our domestic troubles were not sufficient, with the breaking out of the French revolution, and the sympathy of our people for the cause, his cup of tribulation was filled to the brim. And when this was followed by war between England, our old enemy, and France, our former ally, his judgment, ability, and power were tried as they had never been tried before. You have heard to-day from the gentleman from Iowa [Judge TOWNER], in the splendid address delivered in this House, of the troublesome Genet, of the unjust attitude of the English, and how Washington, knowing that peace was the right policy for this Government and neutrality the true course to pursue, held steadily to his course. His calm, considerate judgment surmounted the difficulties, and all dangers were safely passed.

Jay, the special envoy to Britain, procured a treaty which, though not what could have been desired, brought about the surrender of the Western British posts and enabled us to keep peace with England. Unpopular as the treaty proved to be, the course of Washington in ratifying it was the true course and gave to the new Government time to establish itself before being thrown, as it was in after years, into the second war with England.

In his proclamation of neutrality, in his signing of the Jay treaty, and in his attitude toward Genet, he was on the unpopular side, standing aloof from the demands of the people and insisting upon the course of action contrary to the popular clamor. But he remained steadfast in his course, and took what posterity now knows to have been the right line of action for the welfare of the new struggling Republic.

When he left the Presidency it was with prosperity abounding at home and with his Nation honored abroad. Peace had been established with England, Spain, France, and the American Indians. Our ships were sailing on every sea, revenues were rapidly increasing, and national glory and happiness were found on every hand.

It was in such a condition as this that he, before the time for the election of a successor, decided not to be a candidate, and issued his famous farewell address, which made so profound an impression upon his countrymen. From that address, which has been read in this House to-day, I shall call to your special attention only the following sentence:

Citizens by birth, or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections.

This address was in truth a father bidding farewell to his children. How they had looked up to him through the stormy years of the Nation's life, and now they realized that they were to lose his services as he retired to a much-needed rest ere he himself, in his own words, was to be received into the final mansion of rest. This act of retiring voluntarily from the high office of President, in the language of another, "is the one act of abdication of power in recorded history that was based on public duty and not on personal motive."

On the day on which his successor, John Adams, took the oath of office, when the ceremony was over, Washington turned to leave the assembly, passing through the crowd, who cheered him, to the street, where in answer he waved his hat. From the lips of an eyewitness, Irving gives this account:

The crowd followed him to his door. There, turning around, his countenance assumed a grave and almost melancholy expression. His eyes were bathed in tears; his emotions were too great for utterance, and only by gestures could he indicate his thanks and convey his farewell blessing.

His remarkable success throughout the various positions which he was called upon to fill has been attributed to various causes. Weems, in his Life of Washington, says:

That his success was due to his great talents, constantly guided and guarded by religion.

It is certainly true that throughout the course of his career, in his younger days, in the midst of war, and as President of the United States, he frequently called upon Divine Providence to guide him in his undertakings. He had been brought up in the Protestant Episcopal Church, and to that church he always adhered. Yet he was far from being a sectarian, and there is not a word of his which shows anything but the most entire liberality and toleration.

Greene in his English history, writing of the American people, said:

The greatness of their leader, his clear judgment, his heroic endurance, his silence under difficulties, his calmness in the hour of danger or defeat, the patience with which he watched, the quickness and hardness with which he struck, the lofty and serene sense of duty that never swerved from its task through resentment or jealousy, that never through war or peace felt the touch of a meaner ambition, that knew no aim save that of guarding the freedom of his fellow countrymen, and no personal longing save that of returning to his own fireside when their freedom was secured.

Thomas Jefferson, a member of his Cabinet, and not always in sympathy with his measures, has said of him:

His integrity was the most pure, his justice the most inflexible I have ever known, no motive of interest, of consanguinity, of friendship, or hatred being able to bias his decision. He was, indeed, in every sense of the word a wise, a good, and a great man.

Chief Justice Marshall, in his biography of Washington, says:

No man has ever appeared upon the theater of public action whose integrity was more incorruptible or whose principles were more perfectly free from the contamination of those selfish and unworthy passions which find their nourishments in the conflicts of party.

He further said of him:

Trusting to the reflecting good sense of the Nation for approbation and support, he had the magnanimity to pursue its real interests in opposition to its temporary prejudices.

In more instances than one we find him committing his whole popularity to hazard and pursuing steadily in opposition to a torrent which would have overwhelmed a man of ordinary firmness that course which had been dictated by a sense of duty.

Such, my friends, was the character of the great man, who more than any other guided the destinies of this people in the trying years of the Revolution and in the organizing of the new Republic and the shaping of its policies in the early years of its existence, and who is honored to-day in more lands than any other figure in the history of the world.

The Military Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. STEELE,

OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 20, 1917.

Mr STEELE of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on the military bill which has just passed the House, I desire to have printed an address recently delivered before the Rotary Club of Sioux City by Dr. William Jepson, who was mustered out of the Army service of the United States on December 31, 1916, after having served six months on the border as major in the Medical Corps of the Iowa National Guard. Maj. Jepson has made a careful study of military training and conditions in the National Guard and the Regular Army, and his remarks which follow ought to be of interest to Members of Congress and to the country at large:

Mr. President and fellow rotarians, I feel that I would be false to my obligations to our country if I did not accept this opportunity to acquaint you with the state of preparedness as it appears to me. To my mind it seems far from adequate to afford our country that security to her integrity and the pursuit of her ideals which is justly hers and which many of her citizens believe her possessed of.

In making preparations for a state of preparedness for eventualities we must have a clear conception of what those eventualities may be, namely, what forces may threaten us. Those forces inimical to our integrity may be, first, such as arise within, seeking to put at naught the law and order of our land; second, such as arise through other Governments taking umbrage at some act of ours. Until 1898, when we acquired possessions in the distant Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, we could consider ourselves most fortunately located geographically as a Government, for occupying as we did the most sanitary and fertile territory on the North American Continent—if not of the world—our wants were supplied with little effort; and, being bordered on the south by a small nation of Indians, or practically so, with a population of from 13,000,000 to 15,000,000, and to the north by a dependency of a foreign country, with a population of nine or ten millions, and as we outnumbered either of the nations 7 to 1, we had every reason to feel safe from attack, while against all other nations, except England, we were protected by vast expanses of water which would have made an attack upon us impracticable, except by England—and even by her, by reason of her unpreparedness—as she, like us, lacked trained men. So we were quite secure from molestation.

Alaska was then not known to be worth much, nor our island possessions in the Pacific Ocean. That condition has been changed most materially, for to-day we find ourselves the largest nation of Caucasians, dominated by the same civic ideals and speaking the same language, occupying this globe. Furthermore, we are probably the most opulent in accumulated wealth and natural resources of any of the nations, while the territory which we seek to control is scattered far from our shores, to the north, east, south, and west, part of which territory, namely, Panama, is most vital to us, unless we will bear the burden of maintaining a fleet in each ocean large enough to protect us from attack by way of either route.

Up to the time that we acquired our Colonial possessions our standing Army of less than 100,000 men, supported by our militia of possibly twice as many men with some training and organized so as to be susceptible of being called out and given additional training, might have been sufficient preparation for any eventualities. Until that time only two nations could have attacked us with any hope of success, namely, Japan on the west, who could probably only have taken our possesions in the Pacific Ocean, including Alaska; and only after taking, holding, and using those possessions as a base could she have gained access to our shores; and England, to the east, which could have used Canada as a base. No other powers could well have dreamed of or sanely contemplated an attack on us.

We now see Europe, Asia, and Africa, divided into two camps, contending for supremacy. Which of these allied forces are going to gain that supremacy none may at this time divine; but certain it is that if peace is secured only after the crushing of one or the other of these forces the victorious one will, in so far as might makes right, dominate the world, or, rather, to whatever extent it wishes. Whether our relations with the countries of the successful allied forces have always been so satisfactory in the past and will always be so in the future as to leave nothing further to be desired as between us and them I am not in a position to say.

If, on the other hand, there exists a possibility of differences of opinion as to what may be just and right as between us and such victorious forces we might be prepared to resist by might any unjust demands with such power might seek to enforce upon us unless we are willing to accept of their viewpoint as to what is right. We must be prepared to defend ourselves against being robbed of our rights. Such preparation to be efficient must be upon a scale which few men would have contemplated prior to the European war, for the victorious forces would be able to hurl against us, should they act in unison, as they are now doing, at least from eight to ten million seasoned troops, if not twice that number. Contemplate what it would mean if the allied forces of England, Japan, France, and Russia were to attack us! Why, Canada alone could be a source of worry to us if she had her trained troops back home and acted quickly.

In the light of such possible needs, what is our state of preparedness at this time? As you know, our defensive and offensive land forces consist of two distinct military organizations, one of which is designated as the Regular Army, probably so named in order to accentuate the impression that the other is irregular or no army at all, it being dubbed the National Guard. I may say that between these two military organizations there apparently does not exist that bond of fraternity which would be advantageous to a country in arms. Each organization is no doubt responsible in part at least for the antipathy which they show one another.

As the Regular Army is the exponent of all things military, you may ask the question as to whether it is of faults. Gentlemen, it is not proper that I should attempt any criticism, were I even capable of this, yet for our country this is all important, for upon its efficiency in the performance of the various duties which may devolve upon it will depend our success or failure in any struggle with foreign powers which may befall our lot.

Without in any sense desiring to criticize, I may possibly be permitted to point out a few facts as they appear to me. Military science and art in any of its branches is a highly specialized and technical knowledge and is not to be obtained overnight by dreaming about it, and for this reason our country has provided facilities for the acquisition of this knowledge on the part of selected students at its Military Academy at West Point, and it is deemed that the acquisition of this knowledge by a young man will require four years, and such as have completed said course of instruction are the repository of the science and art of warfare, in so far as we have any in this country, and through them others must acquire this knowledge, if it is necessary for additional numbers to have it. As I view it, the West Point graduate should consider himself as a repository for the Government of such knowledge of the science or art of warfare as it has intrusted to his keeping by it and at its expense, and such knowledge should be freely delivered to others when the need arises for others to have it. In so far as my observation has gone, I must question whether but a very small per cent of West Point graduates have arisen to this conception of their duties.

But a small per cent of such as I have seemed willing or possessed of the ability to impart knowledge to others, unless the constant finding of fault because things or conditions do not suit their pleasure could be so construed. Let me cite an example of this tendency to fault-finding: Soon after entering camp at Brownsville an order was issued that each kitchen must have four flytraps, with the information that they might be secured of the quartermaster. Requisition disclosed the fact there were no flytraps in his possession; so, of course, none received. Well, the poor fellows in the kitchen were harrassed by the sanitary inspector for not having the traps, and I (in common with others, I suppose) kept after the quartermaster, so that after two or three weeks he had some made, and they were issued to the companies; so everything went well on this score, until one day the sanitary inspector was ill and another appeared in his place. Now the poor chaps were censured because the traps were no good; the legs were too long. They have rather impressed me as feeling that they were members of a limited aristocracy with whom no common mortal might come in contact. A superior being, so to say. But can we blame the poor fellows much for this impression of themselves? For the country for which they are hired to serve (they would resent the idea that they serve) does everything, or, at least, much, to give them this impression. Thus we are supposed to pick from the various parts of our country the choicest boys, physically and mentally, and place them in West Point for four years' training, and after they enter its walls they lose all individuality and responsibility except as they are commanded, the parental government looking after their every want. When he has finished his course, with a commission of second lieutenant, he finds himself suddenly vested with command of men who have, with few exceptions, enlisted either because they are unwilling or unable to compete with their brothers in the everyday activities of life for a livelihood, or of some deluded youth. And as he passes from rank to rank, which he does, not in consequence of merit, but time serving, his authority correspondingly increasing, until he finds himself the ruler of ever increasing masses of men, with practically unlimited authority, all of which must tend to the creation of an exalted opinion of himself. But can we blame him for this, especially as rarely does he get into actual contact with the business and intellectual everyday activity of life about him, so that he can get a fair valuation of himself and his real worth compared with his brother in civil life. Were we subjected to the same environment we no doubt would react to it as he has done; so we must not blame him, but the system.

Did the guard represent a perfectly efficient and equipped military organization at the time of the President's call last June? No; far from it. Some defects existing in it, it, as an organization, may have been responsible for; others our Government or the Regular Army representing it, or both together, were certainly responsible for. Let us see what some of those defects were:

First, the National Guard, like the Regular Army, was supposed to be enlisted up to peace strength, but in neither of the organizations was this true. In our State (Iowa) companies had five days, namely, *the time* given between the President's call and leaving for the mobilization camp, in which to recruit their organizations up to as near war strength as possible. This resulted in many organizations having their number increased by one-third or more of new recruits without previous training or equipment. That such organizations should suffer in comparison with Regular Army organizations, where recuits have received three months' preliminary training before entering organizations and are fully equipped, goes without saying. Yet such odious comparison is constantly made. To me it appears that in place of holding the organizations blameworthy for not being better, though to an extent justifiable, they are entitled to some commendation for having done as well as they did. Thus the officers of the National Guard (and be it remembered they were not educated at the public expense for four years, but men who, impelled by patriotism, did at their own expense in money and time acquire whatsoever knowledge of military science and art which they had) brought into the field a body of troops between two and three times as large as our Regular Army within a week after the President's call, and that, too, without the same having been a source of previous expense to the Government, except for such equipment in the way of clothing and armament as had been issued and the 10 days annually. You may say this is no achievement. Possibly not; but what, then, shall we say of the officers of the Reguuar Army not being able to keep their little organization recruited up?

Thus, in October they lacked 14,307 men to complete their peace strength and 34,307 their war strength, and that, too, after having recruiting stations opened all over our country at great expense. If I am correct it costs our Government about $80 for each enlisted man it secures—furthermore, having employed every means to secure recruits from among the militia organizations, with whom they were encamped. In fact, so marked was this activity that personally I felt as if I had been lured into getting an organization together and taking it (in common with others) to the border and holding it there while it was being pawed over by the Regular Army officers for recruits to fill up their organizations. I may state that none of my men left me nor did any leave the regiment that I heard of, though we did nothing to prevent it. I said none left me; no, not voluntarily, but the Regular Army officers know of other methods. I had not been in Brownsville but a few days until six of my efficient men, one-fourth of my organization, were directed by superior authority to do work in Regular Army organizations, and I could get along as best I might with what I had left.

You may be interested in knowing something about the physical condition of this organization, one-third of which was thus hastily picked up by the officers without much regard for any qualifications except willingness to serve. I shall only speak of conditions as found in our own State. They were all subjected to a critical physical examination, with the result, as I recall, of about 6 per cent being rejected on account of physical and mental unfitness. The percentage should have been somewhat higher, as the Government forced the acceptance of some who should have been rejected. Compare this with the rejections of applicants for Regular service, which, if I am correctly informed, is at least 2 out of every 3. You will say that we could certainly not have the best men; probably not. Yet these men were taken into the Tropics or semi-Tropics at the hottest period of the year, without the slightest regard for climatic or sanitary conditions, and put at the hardest kind of work in the way of clearing ground and drilling, and yet throughout the whole stay, month after month, the percentage of illness and ineffectiveness for duty of the militia troops has been less than that of Regular troops serving there by their side. In six months my regiment had only two deaths, one from drowning and one from a gunshot wound, and not a single death from a preventable disease, and similar favorable conditions existed in other militia organizations.

At the end of six months these hastily assembled troops represented military organizations which, from every point of view, were probably as good soldiers as the Regulars. Who trained them; officers of the Regular Army? No. Did we have no aid? Yes; for example, our regiment had a lieutenant serving as inspector—a very nice fellow—whose time was largely devoted to paper work.

A word to the preparedness of our Regular Army or Government to receive us. The Government called these troops out on the 19th of June, and must have known approximately the number it would have to equip in the way of clothing, armament, etc. Let us see how well this was done, for it is quite as much an index of preparedness as is the men's training.

Hats and khaki suits for the newly enlisted men began to reach us in small quantities after a couple of weeks; so did shoes, consisting of plowing shoes and stable shoes of all descriptions, gathered apparently from discarded stocks where everything could be found, and while men might stand in them, they certainly could not march in them without ruining their feet. Had we treated the feet of our Government-owned mules with no more consideration than the Government did the feet of our men in their shoeing, I have no doubt we would have been court-martialed, and rightly so. It was so with many things. We got our first cots after having been in the service about four months, and was given mosquito netting after about five months, and both were highly necessary, for the ground was frequently flooded and mosquitoes were a constant pest and menace as disease carriers, in spite of our efforts to prevent their breeding. In this connection I shall mention one fact which to me seems an inconsistency. Thus, after having permitted the men to be subjected for nearly four months to the danger of malaria and other infections from mosquito bites through failure of the Government to supply the netting, soon after it was supplied an order came out that anyone failing to keep himself protected would be subjected to punishment, and nightly inspections were made to see that the order was not violated. A Regular Army officer in calling my attention to the violation of this order on the part of some men received the reply that I was sure that it was difficult for them to understand that it could be such a serious crime to be found temporarily unprotected when the Government had seen fit to have them unprotected so long. Gentlemen, I must not tire you with a continued recital of our lack of preparedness in various directions.

In conclusion, I may say that after spending six months in the effort we probably added about 160,000 troops, fully equipped and fairly well trained to our material preparedness, and much experience has been gained in various directions; as to whether this experience will ever prove an assistance through being utilized remains to be seen. If it is, the price is too high. While these men have progressed in the matter of military training, many have retrogressed in the matter of patriotism, and though they would unquestionably give their country, in event of need, the benefit of their services, yet I am inclined to believe that many will want to know that there is a real need before they respond, and having responded that they are not to be penalized for their patriotism by being forced to hold themselves at the beck and call of their country to do police duty for a period of six years. The sacrifice made by the men on the border this summer can be best conceived by each of you if you will contemplate what would happen to you if each of you were to suddenly be stricken with illness and incapacitated from doing a solitary thing for from six to nine months, your physician being unwilling to give you any idea as to when you might resume management of affairs. It would not be far short of a catastrophe in many instances. With these thoughts fresh in their minds, will not many militia officers in the future be a little slow in soliciting men to join their organizations or forming new ones, as will be necessary if the organization is to reach the size called for by the bill passed by Congress last winter? How they can do so without being conscience stricken I do not understand. That the National Guard organization will be able to augment its numbers to meet the requirements of the above-mentioned bill does not seem to me possible. Even if it did, it would represent a degree of preparedness far short of our needs. In my opinion, there are not enough men in our country who value their citizenship and all the blessings that go with it to voluntarily submit to military training in such numbers as to form an adequate force for defense against attacks by such forces as we now recognize might be hurled against us. There is only one other solution—that of compulsory military training. If no other lesson than this has been learned during the summer, it will be worth the price.

Woman's Division, Department of Labor.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. CASEY,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, February 23, 1917.

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, on June 9, 1916, I introduced in the House a bill to establish in the Department of Labor a division to be known as a woman's division, of which the following is a copy:

[Sixty-fourth Congress, first session.]

A bill (H. R. 16358) to establish in the Department of Labor a division to be known as a woman's division.

Be it enacted, etc., That there shall be established, under the direction and control of the Secretary of Labor, within the Department of Labor, a division to be known as a woman's division.

SEC. 2. That the said division shall be under a chief, a woman, to be appointed by the Secretary of Labor, and shall receive an annual compensation of $3,500. The said division shall investigate and report to

the said department upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of wage-earning women and shall especially investigate the questions of the competitive influence of women in the several industries, the adjustment of modern industrial mechanism and management to the nervous organization of women, and the influence of industrial employments upon the subsequent home life of wage-earning women.

SEC. 3. That the chief of such division shall, when investigating subjects also involving children, consult and cooperate with the Chief of the Children's Bureau. She shall also, whenever possible, cooperate with the Chief of the Bureau of Labor Statistics when coöperation is necessary to eliminate needless duplication of expense in the conduct of investigations. The chief of said division may, from time to time, publish the results of these investigations in such manner and to such extent as the Secretary of Labor may prescribe.

SEC. 4. That there shall be in said division, until otherwise provided by law, an assistant chief and editor, to be appointed by the Secretary, who shall receive an annual compensation of $2,500; one field expert at $2,280; one field expert, at $2,000; one field expert, at $1,800; three special agents at $1,600; three special agents, at $1,400; three special agents, at $1,200; three stenographer-clerks, at $1,000; two clerks, at $900.

This bill was referred to the Committee on Labor, and after careful consideration, on December 5, 1916, was reported to the House with the unanimous recommendation of the committee that it be passed without amendment. (H. Rept. No. 1205.) This bill has also the indorsement of the Secretary of Labor, the Chief of the Children's Bureau, and the Chief of the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

THE PURPOSE OF THE BILL.

The bill is designed to create a division charged with the duty of ascertaining the facts concerning wage-earning women of the country, what they are getting for their work, the conditions under which it is being done, and the effect upon the health of such women.

The need for the division rests mainly on three propositions:

1. The growing army of wage-earning women creates problems in the industrial world of far-reaching importance to the public as a whole.

2. Solutions of these problems can only be achieved by recognizing the essential differences in conditions surrounding wage-earning women and wage-earning men.

3. The record of 25 years shows that without statutory existence the work for women in industry can not be continuous and coherent, because the resources for it are uncertain and its very existence is a matter of chance.

NEW DIVISION WILL SECURE NEEDED INFORMATION.

Information concerning women in industry is necessary if the country is to know what work and what conditions make for healthy womanhood; if industry is to know in what work and under what conditions women can give their best service; if the schools are to know what industrial training their young people should receive; if the public is to know what need there is for remedial legislation and the effect of such legislation upon the women and upon the industry. Organizations which are working for reform laws are handicapped by lack of exact data regarding the very conditions which they are trying to improve.

We must know how women fit into the great army of wage earners, and where and under what conditions they join in the industrial conflict with danger to themselves, to their brother wage earners, and to the public. We must know in a given industry whether women suffer more or less from unemployment than men in that industry.

We must know to what extent the equipment of machinery and the general management of the various industries take into consideration the physical and nervous organization of women wage earners. We must know the effects of speed, complexity, and monotony—all factors in modern industry—on the physical and nervous organization of women. The division's greatest value will lie in its ability to settle questions of fact by furnishing accurate descriptions of the demands of various occupations upon women; in its cooperation with Federal and State agencies in the effort to determine the extent to which these demands endanger the health of women wage earners; and in devising and suggesting practicable means to lessen these dangers.

For instance, it is known that handling heavy machinery is ruinous to the health of women. What is known about practical and inexpensive changes in foot-treadle machines in power laundries so as to lessen the strain?

What is known of the effect of reaching and stretching the arms at the looms in the textile mills? Is it not reasonable to suppose that a study of this fatiguing industry would show how the machinery could be readjusted so as not to undermine the health of the women operatives?

It is known that operatives in textile mills become deaf. What is known of practical means of varying the pitch of the machinery in order to lessen the harm done to the operatives' ears?

It is known in general that a reasonably short working day is an efficient working day, yet women all over the country are working 10 and 12 hours and ruining their health and their chances of wholesome motherhood because we lack accurate knowledge of what is the most efficient workday in each industry and in the various processes of the complex industries. Is it not reasonable to look to the Government of the United States for the facts which will keep the employer from ignorantly opposing reform laws which will really work out in the end to his benefit and at the same time protect the health of his employees?

It is known that unceasing high-speed work in one position at a power sewing machine is ruinous to women's health. Do we know how, with little expense to the employer, this type of work can be varied by relief periods so as to lessen the strain?

Do we know whether work in stores, factories, and mills affect the health of women during their years of childbearing unfavorably? Do we know whether such employment during the formative years of their early youth affects their subsequent health during later life? If it should be found that certain occupations are impairing the motherhood of women, should not every effort be made to safeguard and modify these occupations and to direct women into other lines?

Do we know whether and why unemployment varies in different industries—less, for example, in department stores than in factories? Do we know in what occupations it is important for women to have one day's rest a month?

Can legislation on unemployment insurance or fixing of wages be drafted intelligently without a thorough knowledge of the facts as their basis?

ESSENTIALLY DIFFERENT INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS OF WOMEN AND MEN REQUIRE SEPARATE TREATMENT.

There are already enough recognized differences in the problems of men and women in industry to indicate the need of special studies into the problems peculiar to women. Some of the essential differences are:

First. Men enter industry in their youth and stay there until old age. Women seek a temporary income during the period of transition from their fathers' to their husbands' home. The natural pull for women is toward a home, a husband, and children. The very fact that the individual woman stays only a few years in industry means that she does not reap the benefit of bonus and pension systems.

Second. Irregularity of employment among women and men is due to different causes. Family demands and illnesses peculiar to women cause much unemployment among them and do not enter the problem of irregularity of employment among men. We do not as yet know to what degree women are more susceptible to industrial depressions than men.

Third. The attitude assumed by the public and the courts toward women in industry is distinct from the attitude toward men in industry. The State has police powers to protect maternal functions against injury from industrial demands in order to conserve the well-being of the race. Therefore facts as to the effect of industrial conditions upon women must be secured to create the public sentiment upon which such protective legislation must be based.

Fourth. The physical strength and endurance and physiology of women and men are very different.

Fifth. Wage questions for men and women are different, in that the youth of women wage earners and their attitude toward industry makes their organization into unions difficult; therefore they lack this necessary protection enjoyed by men wage earners.

WARRING COUNTRIES OF EUROPE RECOGNIZE URGENCY OF WOMEN'S INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS.

Recognition of these differences between men and women has been forced upon England by the conditions arising from the war. The committee on the health of munition workers, appointed "to consider and advise on questions of industrial fatigue, hours of labor, and the matters affecting the personal health and physical efficiency of the workers in munition factories and workshops," has made a special study of the conditions of the women in the munition plants. It says in part:

Conditions of work are accepted without question and without complaint which are immediately detrimental to output and would, if continued, be ultimately disastrous to health. It is for the nation to safeguard the devotion of its workers by its foresight and watchfulness lest irreparable harm be done to body and mind, both in this generation and the next.

The imperative necessity of war has revived night work for women in factories, with the disastrous results reported, showing deterioration in health, disturbance of home life, with its injurious effect upon the children, and diminished value of the work done.

That the industrial situation abroad has been entirely changed since August, 1914, is indicated by the following table:

	Estimated number of females employed in July, 1914.	Estimated increase in the number of females employed since July, 1914.		Estimated number of females reported by employers as directly replacing men.	
		April, 1916.	July, 1916.	April, 1916.	July, 1916.
Industrial occupations	2,117,000	275,000	362,000	213,000	263,000
Commerical occupations	454,000	166,000	198,000	152,000	201,000
Professional occupations (mail clerks)	67,000	13,000	15,000	12,000	15,000
Banking and finance (mail clerks)	9,500	23,000	30,000	21,000	26,000
Hotels, places of entertainment, etc.	175,000	12,000	19,000	27,000	71,000
Agriculture, Great Britain only	130,000	14,000	66,000	37,000	66,000
Transportation (other than municipal)	15,000	23,000	31,000	24,000	31,000
Civil service	66,000	39,000	48,000	30,000	38,000
Arsenal, dock-yards	2,000	25,000	69,000	13,000	69,000
Local government (including teachers and municipal transportation workers)	184,000	21,000	28,000	18,000	26,000
Total	3,219,000	583,000	866,000	547,000	766,000

Since the war about 866,000 additional women and girls, or 27 per cent of the number employed in July, 1914, have been drawn into industry. Women are now substituting for men in all sorts of occupations, from agriculture to mining, through the entire gamut of industry, in tanning and leather work, sawmilling and woodwork, glass, china, earthenware, rubber, etc.

That this condition is not confined to England is indicated by the following report from Russia:

The Journal of the Central Committee on War Industries of Petrograd, in its issue for the 20th of June (N. S.), discussing the great increase of women's labor in the factories and works in Russia since the war, states that in the early days of mobilization the engagement of women to fill the places of skilled men was resorted to only by means of experiment, but the work at the various machines was found so simple that in a short time it was possible to fill up the cadres of trained women workers. The first women fitters were employed in the autumn of 1914 at well-known private works in Petrograd. The women began to be employed at lathes in the Government workshops, and men taken from drilling, planing, milling, and other machines were more and more frequently replaced by women without any complaints being heard from the employers as to reduced productivity of labor. At the time of reporting from 4 to 5 times as many women were being employed in factories and workshops in Petrograd as before the war, the total number being estimated to exceed 50,000. (Board of Trade Labor Gazette, London, Aug., 1916, Vol. XXIV, No. 8, p. 275.)

In some machine shops and manufacturing plants as many as 80 per cent of the operatives are women. * * * The success of women in industry in Germany has led to a movement to favor compulsory Government service for women analogous to military service for men, required of all except those physically incapacitated or prevented by motherhood. Yet this participation of women in industry has been attended by disadvantages, for it is claimed that so apt have the women proved at their work, that with small wages their labor has been exploited. * * *

With women even excelling men in the use of automatic machinery, it is intensely probable that they will play a still more important part in manufacturing and a consideratble readjustment of social conditions must ensue. (Review of Reviews, September, 1916, p. 337.)

POSSIBLE REACTION OF EUROPEAN CONDITIONS ON AMERICA.

Inevitably these changed conditions in Europe will react on America—in just what ways or to what extent we can not foresee—and on that account it seems imperative that we have an agency, thoroughly equipped, to give to the country all the facts of women in industry, so that our national readjustment may be as free as possible from the friction which would otherwise follow any great industrial changes.

So far as any one knows some effects of these changes may already have been felt in the munition factories and metal industries of this country. Plans should be started immediately to prevent any injury to the women workers.

In the present international crisis, when all Federal agencies are using every resource for adequate preparation, we should have some agency equipped to tell us how the 8,000,000 women workers of the country may be utilized to give the greatest service to the country without detriment to themselves. We should profit by the mistakes of the European countries and be prepared for the necessary readjustments before it is too late.

CONTINUOUS STUDY OF CONDITIONS INSTEAD OF SPASMODIC INQUIRIES.

In 1907, through the efforts of the women of the country, Congress made a special appropriation for a comprehensive investigation into the condition of wage-earning women and children. This investigation, made in 1907–1909, covered conditions surrounding wage-earning women in selected industries for a year or less and was designed to supply the widespread demand for information concerning women in industry, which information had been furnished through no regular governmental agency. This investigation, costing the people approximately half a million dollars, developed partial pictures of employment conditions of women during sharply restricted periods and showed the need, not of big, spasmodic, drag-net investigations made at great cost, but of continuous, coherent, and constructive studies.

In 1909 the National Women's Trade Union League officially requested the creation of a separate woman's division within the Department of Commerce and Labor, which would devote itself to studies of women in industry. As an answer to this request and to the increasing sentiment throughout the country in favor of an independent woman's division, a subordinate division was created in the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and there was apportioned thereto such of the bureau's resources as other work previously organized and under way would permit.

Only very recently has the public come to recognize the importance of women in industry, and before that recognition had become articulate the bureau had inaugurated lines of work which are valuable and which it can not well drop, but which interfere with an adequate allotment of funds to the work for women. This allotment remained small in proportion to the importance of the work, and the very existence of the division became more and more difficult until early in 1916 its life was suspended altogether on account of the resignation of the chief of the division and of her successor and the unwillingness of efficient women to undertake the work until the division is created by statute with the proper provision for salaries and with adequate appropriation for its work.

That is what the bill under consideration insures. It merely guarantees the continuous development of an organization, the need of which has been proved, which was started five years ago, which has been engaged in an unequal struggle for existence during the entire period. The weaknesses of subordinating the work of the division to that of the Bureau of Labor Statistics has been demonstrated in its experience in three different ways.

1. As part of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, its bulletins were naturally forced into the form of reference books for experts only, whereas the woman's division should tell the very human story of women wage earners in a way that every intelligent person can easily understand.

2. A just apportionment of the funds for the development of the work of the woman's division could not be obtained because the bureau had a traditional field of investigation which took most of its appropriation. Inasmuch as these investigations, although frequently into industries employing large numbers of women, uniformly failed to reveal the factors especially affecting their welfare, the large expenditure of funds involved in such studies yield little or no value to wage-earning women as differentiated from wage-earning men.

3. Without statutory existence there could be no certainty of the continuance of the woman's division, which might live or die at the pleasure of each commissioner of labor.

SECRETARY OF LABOR INDORSES BILL.

It should not be considered, however, that the proposed division involves the establishment of a new agency; but rather a change of organization within the Department of Labor, which is indorsed by the Secretary of Labor in the following terms:

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., July 26, 1916.

Hon. DAVID J. LEWIS,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: In accordance with your request, I am giving you the following expression of my views on H. R. 16358, a bill to establish in the Department of Labor a division to be known as a woman's division.

With the purpose of this bill we can all no doubt agree. My first impulse, however, was to suggest that, in view of the fact that the Bureau of Labor Statistics has a jurisdiction covering all of this field, the division should be created within that bureau rather than directly attached to the department. Upon more mature deliberation I am convinced that while there are no sharp lines of demarcation between women in industry and men in industry, so far as certain phases are concerned, and the same machinery which is established to collect and compile wage schedules of men could, with superior efficiency, be utilized for collecting and compiling the wages of women in the same industry, there is a vast field for investigation and study which specially and peculiarly affects women in industry which could be more effectively handled under the immediate direction of women than under the direction of men. I have particular reference to the physical and mental effects of certain lines of modern industry upon those who are to be the mothers of the future generations and the effect of that effect upon those generations themselves.

For this reason I favor the enactment of the Casey bill, H. R. 16358.

Sincerely, yours,

W. B. WILSON, *Secretary.*

Neither will it mean a wasteful duplication or illogical separation of functions, since the bill under consideration provides for adequate cooperation and since the organization within the Department of Labor is such that the chief of this division, the Chief of the Children's Bureau, and the Commissioner of Labor

Statistics could constitute themselves a commission on industrial investigations, reenforcing and supplementing each other's programs. That such cooperation is the desire of the existing bureaus is indicated by the following statements:

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
Washington, February 3, 1917.

The Hon. JOHN J. CASEY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. CASEY: In my judgment, the provisions of the bill to create a women's division in the Department of Labor are well calculated to insure effective and economical cooperation between that division and the Children's Bureau. No duplication is possible if the provisions of the bill are carried out in good faith by the bureau and the proposed division.

Yours, respectfully, JULIA C. LATHROP, *Chief.*

The Commissioner of Labor Statistics, in a letter to Senator JONES, under date of January 26, 1917, wrote:

Seemingly, the only possibility of securing sufficient appropriations to carry on these much-needed studies for women in industry is through the creation of an independent woman's division. If this is the case, an independent woman's division should be created immediately. If such a division is created by Congress, it will, of course, be my duty to cooperate in every possible way with the chief of this division, and I shall do so with enthusiasm to the extent of my ability.

FUNDS NECESSARY FOR THIS WORK.

Women constitute approximately one-fifth of the total number of wage earners in manufacturing, mechanical, and mercantile employment. It is not necessary to argue that their importance to society is much greater than this proportion represents, for these women are not only the mothers of men, but to a large extent they are the mothers of wage-earning men of future years.

This Congress has been in the habit of giving about $212,000 to the Bureau of Labor Statistics yearly, and has just given about $300,000 to the Children's Bureau. It certainly is not an extravagance to provide one-fifth of the Bureau of Labor's appropriation for the work for women in industry. This is practically the amount of money provided in the bill, namely, $46,920. The chief's salary was placed at $3,500 a year. Many chiefs of divisions subordinate to other bureaus get salaries as large and even larger than this, while chiefs of independent divisions, where the responsibility and the demand for initiative are much greater, get $5,000 and more. The staff is so constructed as to permit of its organization into three sections, two of which would be free to answer calls for special investigations, and one of which could keep continually at the work of building up a body of information which would be coherent and would furnish convincing demonstrations of the direction in which lies sure progress toward betterment of conditions of woman labor. The miscellaneous expense fund is based on eight months of field work for special agents and a general fund of $3,000 for miscellaneous expenses. It is not intended that the statutory appointees should be in the field necessarily for eight months, but the expense fund may be used in hiring local service available from the civil-service registers in special investigations.

The arrangement for temporary services with work of this character has a double advantage, inasmuch as in such cases per diem and expenses are eliminated, and the employment of local talent temporarily affords the opportunity of training investigators in different localities in the country. The repeated employment of local help for short periods would in time have a very constructive influence in developing an investigating standard throughout the country.

AUTHORITATIVE DATA AS BASIS FOR LEGISLATION.

Owing to the limited resources and uncertain conditions, the subordinate woman's division in the Bureau of Labor Statistics was never able to build up a continuous and coherent plan of investigation, but the possibilities for its practical usefulness are indicated by some of its past achievements.

In 1913, when Congress was considering a bill to establish an eight-hour day for women in the District of Columbia, no one knew how long women were actually working, nor was this information available until the woman's division secured from both employers and employees the unbiased facts, on the basis of which Congress granted the eight-hour day for women workers in February, 1914.

Again, in 1914, a State commission in Indiana called upon the woman's division for advice and cooperation in securing data concerning the condition of wage-earning women. Without such cooperation it would have been impossible for the State, with the funds at its disposal, to secure the necessary facts upon which to base legislation. It is interesting to note that among the supporters of the bill is a prominent Indiana manufacturer.

To make these practical aids continuous and available to the entire country will be one of the functions of the proposed division.

We must know more about minimum wage laws, the extent of night work and its results, the employment of married women in industry, and the health effects of dangerous processes. The difficulties of varying legislation in different States may be made to serve a useful purpose if the Federal Government will draw conclusions as to their relative merits. The creation of a woman's division seems to be a promising first step in a more coherent, nation-wide program for protecting women in industry.

Women all over the country are urging the passage of the bill. It has, moreover, the indorsement of numerous labor organizations and the four following national women's organizations: The National Women's Trade Union League, the National Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Consumers' League, and the women's division of the National Civic Federation.

It is my earnest hope that this important piece of legislation will be placed on the statute books before this Congress adjourns.

Armor Plant.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. C. BASCOM SLEMP,

OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, February 23, 1917.

Mr. SLEMP. Mr. Speaker, the proper location of the armor-plate plant is now being considered by the Armor Plant Board, and the merits of Big Stone Gap, Va., are so great and so apparent that I have asked unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a statement on the subject by the Board of Trade of Big Stone Gap. This statement is as follows:

ARMOR-PLANT HEARING.

The Armor Plant Board, composed of Admiral Fletcher, Commander Clark, and R. C. Backenhaus, engineer, gave a hearing to the committee of the Board of Trade of Big Stone Gap at Bristol on Monday.

Messrs. C. S. Carter, J. M. Goodloe, John W. Chalkley, Horace Fox, H. L. Miller, John Fox, R. E. Taggart, R. T. Irvine, and R. A. Ayers represented Big Stone Gap.

The board gave a very earnest and attentive hearing and were greatly impressed with the showing made for Big Stone Gap as a location. Indeed, the brief prepared by Gen. R. A. Ayers, which was filed with the board, was a clear exposition of the wonderful advantages to be derived from this location, which is so strong and forceful that we reproduce it as follows:

TO ARMOR PLANT BOARD, *Washington, D. C.:*

The following table filled out is returned to the board as requested:

Material.	Freight per ton.	Remarks.
Coal, gas producer	25 cents per ton	See A.
Coal, steam	do	See B.
Pig iron, Bessemer		See C.
Pig iron, local market		See D.
Ferromanganese	36 cents per 100 pounds	See E.
Ferrochrome	do	See F.
Nickel ingots	95 cents per 100 pounds	See G.
Limestone	25 cents per ton	See H.
Dolomite		See I.

For general remarks see M et seq.

A—COAL, GAS-PRODUCER.

Coal, gas-producer, will be supplied from the Black Mountain field, which has no superior in the United States. The freight rate now in force and in daily use is 25 cents per ton. The following analysis was made a few days ago from a carload being shipped in regular course of business by one of our mining companies:

Moisture	per cent	1.16
Volatile	do	34.10
Ash	do	2.54
Fixed carbon	do	62.20
Sulphur	do	.582
Phosphorus	do	.002
British thermal units		15,014
Fusing point, ash	° F	2,337

B—COAL, STEAM.

Coal, steam, will be supplied by the Black Mountain field, which is without a superior. The freight rate now in daily use is 25 cents per ton. The following analysis was recently made from car samples in regular course of business:

Moisture		Dry.
Volatile	per cent	34.50
Ash	do	5.17
Fixed carbon	do	60.33
Sulphur	do	.75

We also refer to J, K, and L, where will be found analysis and tests made by the Government with both gas-producer and steam coals from this field, mined and shipped under its supervision.

C.

Pig iron, Bessemer, will be supplied by the furnaces here up to the following analysis:

Silicon	1.00 to 2.00
Sulphur, under	.05
Phosphorus, under	.10
Manganese	.50 to 1.00

D.

The pig iron from native ores will be supplied from the furnaces here. The following is the analysis:

From native ores.

Phosphorus	0.65
Manganese	.05
Sulphur	.007
Silicon	1 to 1 or 2 points above.

There will be no freight upon either, as the proposed site adjoins furnace yards, and the iron can be delivered in the cars of the plant either in pigs or hot direct from the stacks, avoiding reheating.

E—FERROMANGANESE.

Ferromanganese will be supplied from Lebanon or Sheridan, Pa., at a freight rate of 36 cents per hundred pounds.

F—FERROCHROME.

Ferrochrome will be supplied from Niagara Falls, N. Y., at a freight rate of 36 cents per hundred pounds.

G—NICKEL INGOTS.

Nickel ingots will be supplied from Bayonne, N. J., at a freight rate of 95 cents per hundred pounds.

H—LIMESTONE.

Limestone will be supplied from an adjacent quarry, very high grade and free from impurities, at a freight rate of 25 cents per ton.

I—DOLOMITE.

Dolomite will be supplied from a quarry adjoining the site, and the cost of delivery will be negligible, as it will be handled by a locomotive of the plant.

J.

Government test of coal from Black Mountain field, mined and shipped under Government supervision.

[Boiler test No. 248. State: Virginia, No. 4.]

Duration of test, 8.02 hours.
Kind of coal, lumps.
Kind of grate, plain.

Size of coal, average in inches	0.96
British thermal units per pound dry coal	14,677
Per cent of rated horsepower of boiler	97.50
Efficiency, per cent	68.52
Water evaporated per pound of coal as fired	8.23
Equivalent water evaporated:	
Per pound of coal as fired	9.86
Per pound of dry coal	10.18
Per pound combustible	10.86
Water in furnace, inch	.11
Furnace temperature, ° F	24.83
Equivalent pounds of coal used per individual horsepower hour at steam engine:	
Dry	2.78
As fired	2.88
Equivalent pounds of coal used per engine horsepower hour developed at switchboard:	
Dry	3.43
As fired	3.56
Dry coal burned per square foot of grate surface per hour, pounds	17.14

Analyses.

PROXIMATE.

Fixed carbon	56.58
Volatile matter	35.84
Moisture	3.62
Ash	3.96
Sulphur, separately determined	.44

ULTIMATE.

Carbon	81.15
Hydrogen	5.03
Oxygen	7.86
Nitrogen	1.39
Sulphur	.46
Ash	4.11
Equivalent pounds water evaporated per square foot of water-heating surface per hour	3.48

K.

Government test of coal from Black Mountain field, mined and shipped under Government supervision.

[Coking test No. 62. State: Virginia, No. 4.]

Analyses.

Duration of test, 56 hours.
Kind of coal, raw lump.

COAL.	Per cent.
Moisture	38.70
Volatile matter	36.39
Fixed carbon	55.60
Ash	4.14
Sulphur	.39

COKE.	
Moisture	0.16
Volatile matter	1.14
Fixed carbon	92.90
Ash	5.80
Sulphur	.42

Amount of coal charged	pounds	10,000
Amount of coke produced	do	6,272
Amount of breeze produced	do	241
Percentage of coke produced		62.72
Percentage of breeze produced		2.41
Total percentage yield		65.13

L.

Government test of coal from Black Mountain field, mined and shipped under Government supervision.

[Gas-producer test No. 74. State: Virginia, No. 4.]

Duration of test, 50 hours.
Kind of coal, lump.

	Coal per horsepower per hour.		
	Coal as fired.	Dry coal.	Combustible.
Pounds consumed in producer per electrical horsepower available for outside purposes	1.31	1.28	1.24
Pounds consumed in producer per electrical horsepower available at switchboard	1.24	1.21	1.18
Pounds consumed in producer per boiler horsepower available for outside purposes	1.12	1.09	1.05
Pounds consumed in producer per boiler horsepower developed at engine	1.06	1.03	1.00
Equivalent pounds used by producer plant per electrical horsepower available for outside purposes	1.38	1.35	1.30
Equivalent pounds used by producer plant per electrical horsepower developed at switchboard	1.31	1.27	1.24
Equivalent pounds used by producer plant per boiler horsepower available for outside purposes	1.17	1.14	1.11
Equivalent pounds used by producer plant per boiler horsepower developed at engine	1.11	1.08	1.05

Average electrical horsepower	196.3
Average B. t. u. gas per cubic foot	167.2
Total coal fired	12,200

Analyses.

AVERAGE COMPOSITION OF COAL.	Per cent.
Moisture	2.72
Volatile matter	36.79
Fixed carbon	57.72
Ash	2.77
	100.00
Sulphur	0.42

AVERAGE COMPOSITION OF GAS VOLUME.	
Carbon dioxide (CO_2)	7.50
Carbon monoxide (CO)	23.50
Hydrogen (H_2)	13.80
Methane (CH_4)	3.30
Nitrogen (H_2)	51.90
	100.00

M.

We are filing herewith "Map of Coal Fields of Southwestern Virginia and Southeastern Kentucky," which shows the location of the immense deposits of Black Mountain coal and native red fossil ores tributary to Big Stone Gap, the location of the proposed site with reference to Louisville & Nashville, Southern, Norfolk & Western, and Carolina, Clinchfield & Ohio Railroads, great trunk lines of the South, and Interstate Railroad, which connects with all of them and also serves a large number of the mining and coke oven plants, from which it will be seen clearly that the transportation facilities are unequaled by any site proposed to the board. This map shows the proposed site for the plant, its location with reference to the furnaces producing the bessemer and local pig irons, the large area (10 square miles) of adjoining flat lands available for indefinite expansion and the high mountains surrounding Powells Valley, rendering it practically impregnable from attack by any foe.

We propose to furnish for drinking and domestic purposes the water from a pure spring upon a hillside, above all possibility of pollution, having a normal flow of over 300,000 gallons a day, shown by actual tests, situated one-half mile from the plant. The water for the plant will be taken from the same stream used by the furnaces of Intermont Coal & Iron Corporation, which has a flow of 2,500,000 gallons per day, tested during one of the most severe drouths ever experienced in this section. Should the plant expand and require it, there is a natural reservoir over 2 miles long, 1,000 feet wide, and over 100 feet high, which when closed by a dam at a narrow gorge will store many billions of gallons of water 1,000 feet above the valley, which would not only guarantee against any shortage but would produce enormous power at the point it would pass over water wheels and be thoroughly aerated before entering the mains.

The proposed site is easily accessible to railroads, is located upon an improved macadam and asphalt finished road, is practically all underlaid with black shale from 1 to 3 feet below the surface, affording strength to support extraordinary heavy structures; it adjoins a boundary of flat land extending up Powells Valley, embracing 10 square miles suitable for indefinite plant extension, and 10 square miles of rolling land suitable for residential purposes. In fact, it would be easy to build a city like Essen and a plant like Krupp's and then have land to spare.

We propose to furnish brick in such quantities as may be required for construction work, classed A1 by United States Government expert, at prices which shall equal any f. o. b. price obtainable, to be delivered at 25 cents per ton rate.

We understand that the board expects the town near which the plant is located to absorb the people employed at the plant, and we therefore propose that as soon as the plant is definitely located here to commence the erection of comfortable dwelling houses to accommodate all the employees, estimated at from 1,500 to 2,000, which will be either rented at fair rates or sold to employees payable upon long time in monthly installments about equal to rent.

We propose that as soon as the plant is definitely located here and construction work commenced that the town of Big Stone Gap and Wise County will commence and complete as soon as may be necessary a large free-school building with sufficient capacity to accommodate all school children of employees in primary and high school departments.

Wise County has a complete public-school system, embracing a larger number of high schools than any county in the State of Virginia, out-

side of the larger cities, which makes it very attractive to intelligent labor and easy to secure and retain it.

This is shown by the fact that, although the coal mines of this section have been developed for more than a quarter of a century, we have never had a strike, which speaks volumes for the section and the quality of the labor.

Adjacent to the proposed site is a large area of rich and fertile lands, producing enormous quantities of foodstuffs, and there will be no shortage of provisions, or anything necessary to a good living and a contented and happy people.

Having shown that we can furnish 367,000 tons of material out of the total of 371,000 tons required, at less than 25 cents per ton freight rate; a site capable of practically indefinite expansion; a reserve of raw material which will last for centuries, we submit with the utmost confidence that armor plate can be manufactured at Big Stone Gap for less cost than at any other point in the United States.

THE BOARD OF TRADE OF BIG STONE GAP, VA.

The Cost of Living.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM J. SEARS,
OF FLORIDA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 26, 1917.

Mr. SEARS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me, I insert the following article from the Florida Times-Union of February 23, 1917:

FLORIDIAN RETORT IS GIVEN TO THE NORTH ON THE COST OF LIVING.

That it took a Jacksonville woman to call the hand of W. J. Lampton, who has daily an essay on some section of the United States in print on the editorial page of the New York Herald, is shown in a reply communication from Mrs. A. D. Parker. The issue of this paper, February 20, carries the reply under the caption "A Floridian retort."

The friendly but sharply handled battle is shown as follows:

"In Florida here lately where the orange blossoms blow, where the grapefruit and the 'piney' in a large luxuriance grow, where the lemons come in clusters and the berries from the straw are surely and certainly the best you ever saw, where the kitchen vegetables put a cover on the land so thick that only experts would know that it was sand, where conditions are ideal and the farmer cultivates all sorts of stuff for shipment, except the shipping crates; where they tell us in their folder which they send us here, in luscious limpid language it is summer all the year—in Florida, take notice, they have had a killing frost and they're sending forth the tidings that their eating truck is lost.

"Perhaps they're talking truthful, but in rising times like these they can raise some other products than the kind they raise on trees, and without their affidavits we are certain to believe that the stories they are telling are intended to deceive.

"Or, if their tales are truthful and the growing things are killed and we get their testimony in the way what's left is billed, we shall know by that for certain that they've subsidized Jack Frost to join with them agin us to jack up the living cost. It may be we're mistaken, thus far we do not know; but watch, please, which direction that later prices go."—Was the opinion of W. J. Lampton, a writer on the editorial page of the New York Herald, February 13.

Under the caption "A Floridian retort," printed in the New York Herald of February 20, Mrs. Fannie M. Parker, wife of Dr. A. D. Parker, 22 East Monroe Street, has the following to say:

"Oh, yes, Mr. Lampton, 'we have had a killing frost,' but not all of our vegetables or citric fruit was lost. The prices may go higher than they have been before, but you'll at least admit that we don't blame it on the war. For some time past we've paid your price on beans and cheese and meat, as it is very necessary to have these things to eat. Of course we grumbled sometimes, and expect the same of you, when you pay for one pineapple what you used to pay for two. We did not raise these prices until we got a tip from Mr. Johnny Frost on his most recent trip. He whispered as he took a bite of alligator pear, 'I'm here to teach a lesson, friends—wake up and get your share!' It really was most generous in you to send him here. So do not criticize us if we hold our produce dear. We are very much obliged to him for opening up a way to bring our shekels home again, the ones we had to pay. So if we've raised our prices, didn't 'you all' do the same? We've some excuse, you hadn't, and we beat you at your game."

Speech of Mr. George M. Clark.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. M. C. SMITH,
OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 24, 1917.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I wish to incorporate a part of the splendid speech of Mr. George H. Clark, temporary chairman of the Republican State convention of Michigan, held at Detroit on the 20th day of February, 1917, as it appeared in the Detroit Free Press the next day. In comparing the national parties, Mr. Clark spoke in part as follows:

COMPARES NATIONAL PARTIES.

Nationally the party has much responsibility even when we are defeated and out of power. It must be remembered that the Republican Party is a party of progress, a party of achievement, and its appeal has been to men of that spirit. Our platforms have made common use of the words "We favor," "We propose," "We support," while the other party may have by long use the exclusive right to such words as "We oppose," "We deplore," "We condemn." By an adroit opposition or by our own folly our party must not be made a party of obstruction. We must not employ indiscriminate criticism and complaint. We must not desert principle for seeming expedience.

Fidelity to Republican principles alone will retain the continued support of Republicans and assure our ultimate success.

Can the American laborer maintain his high standard of living in open and free competition with the cheap labor of Europe and Asia? He can not. As water seeks a common level, mankind tends toward a common equality. Under normal conditions when this truth shall be borne home by the business disaster that has always attended a free-trade law Americans will turn to the "Grand Old Party," as they did in the days of William McKinley, and our vindication and victory will be certain and complete.

Gentlemen of the convention, there is something that we prize beyond loyalty to party beyond our desire for power and even beyond our faith as Republicans, and that is our country, the United States of America. First and above all else we are Americans. In this time of national peril party difference will be forgotten. In this hour of national distress our watchword will be "America first." The party of Lincoln, the party of Grant, the party of McKinley will not be un-American. It will not give aid and comfort to our enemies. It favors peace; but in the name of peace it will not advocate treason and dishonor. By strife or criticism it will not add to the burdens of those in authority. It will be true, loyal, patriotic, and dependable.

The convention also adopted the following patriotic resolution to stand by the President:

We approve of the declaration of our temporary chairman that the Republican Party is not an organization of obstruction nor of opposition. In all the line of its history it has affirmed and enacted and accomplished. At this time of national stress and of deepest concern we are not less persuaded than on any former day in the value of Republican policy and of our party's principles. But we recognize also the higher call of country and the larger demand for unity in purpose and in expression on the part of all our people. We therefore pledge to the President of the United States and to its Congress prompt and loyal acceptance of every national mandate intended to establish the rights of our people and the position of our country. There will be no wavering or hesitation on the part of the men of to-day who have upon their lips the names of Lincoln and Grant and Garfield and McKinley as interpreters of American obligation and American duty in responding to the wishes of our Nation's rulers and in upholding their decrees and their desires before the nations of the world.

H. R. 20573—The Revenue Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY W. WATSON,
OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Tuesday, February 30, 1917.

Mr. WATSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the daily statement of the United States Treasury does not convey to the untutored public a clear understanding of the country's finances, as the system of bookkeeping adopted by the department since October 1, 1915, is quite different from the rules prescribed by the Comptroller of the Currency for national banks and those observed by commercial institutions.

March 4, 1913, when the Democratic administration assumed control of the Treasury of the United States, there was an actual cash balance of $126,664,000, as I have heretofore stated, over and above all liabilities of the Government, and by September 30, 1915, this balance had dwindled to $40,898,894.97, thus in two years and a half over two-thirds of the sum left in the Treasury by the Republican administration had been drawn to meet the current expenses of the Government, demonstrating very clearly that the taxes collected under the Democratic revenue bill were not sufficient to pay the Nation's obligations.

The statement of September 30, 1915, we find, included in the liabilities of the Government the following:

To the credit of disbursing officers	$60,409,181.11
Treasurer's checks outstanding	4,863,924.24
To redeem national-bank notes	23,096,069.50
Total	88,369,174.85

The succeeding day, when the new system of bookkeeping was inaugurated, the statement defined a net balance of $126,741,279.21, although not one dollar had been visibly added to the Treasury account except the liabilities as above stated.

I have tabulated the receipts and disbursements of the Government for the years 1914, 1915, and 1916, the first three years of the present administration, which are as follows:

Statement of receipts and disbursements fiscal years 1914 to 1916, inclusive.

Receipts.	1914	1915	1916
Ordinary receipts:			
Customs	$292,320,014.51	$209,786,672.21	$213,185,845.63
Internal revenue—			
Ordinary	308,659,732.56	283,398,760.85	303,486,474.04
Emergency revenue		52,069,126.29	84,278,302.13
Corporation excise tax	10,671,077.22		
Corporation income tax	32,456,662.67	39,155,596.77	56,993,657.98
Individual income tax	28,253,534.85	41,046,162.09	67,943,594.63
Total internal revenue	380,041,007.30	415,669,646.00	512,702,028.78
Sales of public lands	2,571,774.77	2,167,136.47	1,887,661.80
Miscellaneous	50,740,370.13	64,860,990.44	51,889,016.23
Total ordinary receipts.	734,673,166.71	692,484,445.12	779,664,552.49
Panama Canal receipts: From tolls, etc		4,130,215.15	2,869,995.28
Public debt receipts:			
Deposits for postal savings bonds	3,118,940.00	633,540.00	1,803,500.00
Deposits to retire national-bank notes	19,902,282.50	21,553,415.00	56,648,902.50
Total public debt receipts	23,021,222.50	22,486,955.00	58,452,402.50
Total receipts, exclusive of postal	757,694,389.21	719,101,615.27	840,986,950.27
Postal revenues, under control of Postmaster General	287,934,565.67	287,248,165.27	312,057,688.83
Total receipts, including postal	1,045,628,954.88	1,006,349,780.54	1,153,044,639.10
DISBURSEMENTS.			
Ordinary disbursements	700,254,489.71	730,103,591.80	724,492,998.90
Panama Canal disbursements	34,826,941.76	29,187,042.22	17,503,728.07
Public debt disbursements:			
National-bank notes retired	$26,852,200.00	$17,205,958.00	$24,633,010.50
Miscellaneous redemptions	109,127.00	47,533.00	35,903.00
Total public debt disbursements	26,961,327.00	17,253,491.00	24,668,913.50
Total disbursements exclusive of postal	762,042,758.47	776,544,125.02	766,665,640.47
Postal service disbursements from postal revenues under control of Postmaster General	283,558,102.62	[1] [2] 287,248,165.27	[1] 306,228,452.76
Total disbursements, including postal	1,045,600,861.09	1,063,792,290.29	1,072,894,093.23

[1] Exclusive of grants from the Treasury for deficiencies in postal revenues, included in ordinary disbursements, as follows: For 1915, $6,636,592.60 and for 1916, $5,500,000.
[2] An additional sum of $4,696,716.37 was paid in 1915 by the Post Office Department from postal balances of prior years.
The Postmaster General deposited in the Treasury on account of surplus revenues of the Post Office Department, as follows:
In the year 1914, $3,800,000 for 1913.
In the year 1915, $3,500,000 for 1914.
In the year 1917, $5,200,000 for 1916.

The statement shows a deficit in each of the above periods, except in 1916, when an apparent net balance of $81,000,000 was indicated. The administration approved of another method of bookkeeping, which went into effect October 1, 1915, and developed the above figures. A person unfamiliar with this new and expansive rule of the Secretary of the Treasury would be very easily misguided and suppose the money that had been appropriated to the credit of disbursing officers, checks that had been drawn but not returned, and cash available for redeeming national-bank notes were all to be considered as available assets in the Treasury.

I believe that the financial statement of the people's moneys should be clear and explicit for all to understand, without being obliged to refer to footnotes for explanations that the net balance, as stated, is not correct.

The statement for Monday, January 29, 1917, indicated that there was a net balance of $93,156,307.58, but upon careful examination I find that there was actually a deficit of $38,204,833.41. The above balance includes $75,594,526.81 to the credit of disbursing officers and $4,665,383.18 of Treasurer's checks outstanding. It is proper that these checks should be deducted from the balance, although the warrants had not been returned. Deducting these two items reduces the balance for January 29, 1917, to $12,896,397.59. Included also in this balance is the amount on deposit in the Treasury for the redemption of national-bank notes, which at the close of business on January 29, 1917, amounted to $51,101,231, and deducting this amount leaves an actual deficit of $38,204,833.11, as above set forth. The very grave questions of a public debt and excessive taxation are now confronting us. The Democratic Party is responsible for these conditions, and if they continue their policies during the remaining years they are in power the Government must issue many millions of bonds to pay for the extravagance and incompetency of the present administration, and half a century will pass before these debts are canceled and the heavy load of taxation is lifted from the shoulders of the American people.

During the year ending December 31, 1916, the total value of all merchandise imported for consumption into the United States amounted to $2,391,716,000. The Payne tariff yielded an average ad valorem rate of duty of 19½ per cent, whereas the present Underwood tariff law yields an average ad valorem rate of duty of but 9$\frac{1}{10}$ per cent. Had the Payne law been in effect during 1916 there would have been collected on the above imports approximately $468,000,000, over $250,000,000 more than the Underwood tariff provided.

Our Fighting Editors.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Friday, February 23, 1917.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting a short editorial from the Washington Post of this morning advising the people to go slow on war; also one from the Akron Beacon-Journal, of Ohio, which suggests the mobilization of the editors of the country for fighting purposes. [Laughter.]

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The editorials are as follows:

[From the Washington Post.]

PRELIMINARY TO WAR.

The newspapers that are nagging President Wilson because he does not arm merchant vessels, furnish them with convoys, and forthwith ask for a declaration of war against Germany are doing him and the country poor service.

If there is to be war, there need be no hurry in getting into it. There is plenty to do beforehand, and no doubt the war will last long enough to satisfy the most enthusiastic bellicist.

Presumably the President is taking the steps that are obviously suggested by the threatening situation. The fleet must be placed where it will be safe against submarine attacks. No one knows where German submarines may be. The spreading of nets at the principal harbors is an indication that the Government is active in defense measures. The President would be foolish, indeed, to precipitate a crisis while the fleet was exposed to submarine attack and before measures had been taken to rescue Americans in Turkey and elsewhere who would be exposed to deadly danger in case of war.

The country can well afford to curb its indignation so long as Germany does not hasten a crisis by destroying American lives and ships. The time is not wasted. Necessarily the President can not take the country into his confidence in regard to precautionary steps he may be taking. It is well to recall the period before the Spanish-American War, when President McKinley was criticized for his apparent inaction. He was actually making vital preparations. He expended a great many millions before Congress appropriated the $50,000,000 which was supposed to have been expended afterwards. He did this after consulting Senators and Representatives and showing them the necessity of celerity and secrecy in taking certain precautions and obtaining from them the assurance that any expenditures he might make would be approved by Congress. The same situation may exist now, for all that the public knows.

When Germany destroys an American ship or American lives the crisis will be at hand. The President will not ask Congress to declare that a state of war exists, but his request for authority to use force to defend American life and property will be equivalent to beginning a state of war. Whatever pacifists may say now in Congress, there will be few legislators who will dare to brave the wrath of the people by voting against the measure designed to enforce American rights.

Every day of delay before the inevitable break with Germany is of value in making preparation for war. The country can well afford to be patient.

[From the Akron Beacon-Journal.]

MOBILIZE THE EDITORS.

The Beacon-Journal a few days ago published an editorial which expressed a regret that the great papers of the country had ceased to lead sane thought in the country, but on the contrary are doing their best to force us into war by publishing sensational stuff that is not wise and making biased, radical, and often wholly untrue comment often upon situations that have no existence except in their bellicose brains. Forthwith we were assailed as a strange and spiritless creature, without patriotism, that wanted peace at any price. Of course that argument can not be answered and we were about to admit that probably we are wrong, join the war party, and petition Congress to pass a bill

to conscript all editors and send them to the front with the first fighting contingent when we ran across the speech of Senator STONE on this very subject. Here is the account of it:

"The Senate turned its attention to the international crisis again to-day, a debate on the administration bill to curtail activities of foreign agents developing many references to the situation with Germany and drawing from Chairman STONE of the Foreign Relations Committee a bitter denunciation of newspapers which circulate false statements in order to create a sentiment for war.

"'There is no shadow of doubt in the mind of any fair-thinking man,' said Senator STONE, 'that there is a cabal of great newspapers in this country seeking to create sentiment and coerce the Government of the United States into an attitude of hostility with one of the belligerent powers. I believe anyone who makes such false statements is a public enemy and that he should be punished.'

"The Foreign Relations chairman made this statement in discussing a section of the bill which would make it a crime to willfully or knowingly not under oath make an untrue statement intended to influence the measures or conduct of a foreign Government in relation to any dispute or controversy with the United States.

"He argued that the same punishment should apply to any person, including editors or publishers, who knowingly or willfully made such statements not under oath."

Now, STONE seems to be also a poor, spiritless creature that wants peace at any price; but he is company anyway, and unless he puts on a red cap and jumps astride a cannon and yells, "On to Berlin!" we believe we will stick around our original opinion for a while. The trouble with our great editors is very much like that of the Second Congress, under the Jefferson administration, as described by John Randolph. Mr. Beecher, of Ohio, was trying to shut off debate on an administration measure while Randolph had the floor, and every minute or so he yelled, "Question!" With withering contempt Randolph turned upon him and said: "Mr. Speaker, in Holland they make a cheap and ingenious toy out of a little wood and leather that upon being pressed cries out 'Cuckoo!' 'Cuckoo!' The people of Ohio, with not nearly as good material, have made a cheaper toy that is not ingenious, which, when this House is trying to attend to business not wanted by the administration, continually interrupts it by crying 'Question!' 'Question!'" And so with our editorial cuckoos. When the aspirations in one's mind, the yearning in one's heart turn in loathing away from the ghastly horrors of war; when one believes that Jesus Christ was a safer guide than Bismarck; when one wants to believe that peace is a saner philosophy than that preached by Bernhardi; and when one suggests that we try to keep out of war so long as that course may be consistent with national honor, then these valorous gentlemen, as invincible in peace as some of them would be invisible in war, offend the ears of heaven by calling us poor, spiritless creatures, and a lot of polite names like cowards and poltroons who want peace at any price. We have long fought the new idea of giving the General Government unlimited powers. We have also been against conscription. But we are now for conscription if Congress will specifically provide to mobolize the editors and give them the first chance to defend the honor of the country. They might not be able to handle a musket, and no doubt they could carry a baseball bat with far more dignity than a sword, but what a power of strength they would lend to the poisoned-gas division.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, as the Washington Post presented strong editorial views opposing Great Britain's war tactics during January, 1916, and was equally strong for war with Germany in February, 1917, it is good to have it now advise those newspapers that have been "nagging the President" for "a declaration of war" to let the President alone. The Post is an influential newspaper, and its suggestion that "the people can well afford to be patient" before plunging the country into war is significant.

As to the Akron Beacon-Journal, it seems to be incorrigible. The suggestion that any of the "great editors" would have time to leave their sanctums for the battle field in Europe is untenable.

If they placed themselves under military discipline how could they continue to direct Congress and the President?

Query: If an editorial writer on an American newspaper owes allegiance to some other country than the United States could he be expected to fight for the United States?

American editors who are free from "entangling alliances" will please copy.

Revenue Bill—Oleomargarine Tax.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD E. BROWNE,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 24, 1917.

Mr. BROWNE. Mr. Speaker, as one of the Representatives of Wisconsin, a State whose dairy industry surpasses that of any other State in the Union, I wish to oppose the Underwood amendment to the revenue bill, H. R. 20573.

In my speech in opposition to this amendment delivered before this House on Thursday I said that I believed that the legislation proposed in this amendment would be destructive of the great dairy industry, an industry in which four and one-half million farmers in this country are engaged, an industry that produces each year a billion dollars in national wealth.

The more I study this amendment the more thoroughly am I convinced of its harmful effects to the dairy interests of the country.

Proposed legislation similar to that in the Underwood amendment has been introduced in every Congress for a number of years. After having public hearings upon such proposed legislation and upon due consideration of the committees in Congress such legislation has been considered mischievous and ill advised, and has consequently not been enacted into law.

The great Meat Trust, packing factories, and cottonseed oil manufacturers have not been discouraged by their many defeats, and their organs, some of which bear the name of "pure-food journals," have been active in trying to create public sentiment in favor of oleomargarine and this Underwood amendment.

This seems to be an opportune time to get the legislation they have desired for so many years and have been heretofore unable to obtain.

The attention of the people of the United States and Congress is fixed upon preparedness.

Our relations with Germany have been severed and the United States is confronted with a crisis greater than at any time in its history since the days of the Civil War.

A great revenue bill which proposes to raise over $400,000,000 passed the House of Representatives, and while in the Senate committee this bill is amended so as to reduce the 10-cent tax on colored oleomargarine to 2 cents.

The purpose of this amendment is expressed in the title, to wit, "To provide increased revenue to defray expenses of the increased appropriations for the Army and Navy and the extension of fortifications, and for other purposes." A fitting title for this amendment would be "An amendment to destroy the great dairy industry of this country in the interests of the Meat Trust, oleomargarine and cottonseed-oil interests."

UNTIMELY LEGISLATION.

It does not seem like the proper time, with only another week before Congress is compelled to adjourn, with the rush and confusion in legislation which always attends the closing days of Congress, to legislate on a matter so vitally affecting the agricultural interests of the United States without having such legislation thoroughly considered by the Agricultural Committees of each House.

COLORING WILL INCREASE THE PRICE OF OLEOMARGARINE.

For every million dollars of revenue received under this amendment $10,000,000 would be taken by the oleomargarine interests, the Beef Trust, above a legitimate profit from the people who use oleomargarine.

Congress placed the tax on oleomargarine to protect the consuming public from fraud and deception in the purchase of butter. The present law of the United States places a tax of 10 cents a pound on oleomargarine when it is colored to imitate butter. It is taxed only one-fourth of a cent a pound when it is put up and sold in its natural color.

This one-fourth of a cent a pound tax was placed on oleomargarine so as to bring it under the Internal Revenue Department, as this department of the Federal Government has police facilities for enforcing the law and protecting the public against fraud.

OLEOMARGARINE.

The question is asked often "What is oleomargarine"? I once asked this question of Mr. J. Q. Emory, a great chemist, who was dairy and food commissioner of Wisconsin, a man who has done as much as anyone in the United States to enforce the pure-food laws and protect the people from impure foods, and who is known throughout the United States as a chemist and food expert, and he informed me that as many chemical analyses would be required to answer that question as there are multitudinous articles that can legally enter into the manufacture of oleomargarine, and he referred me to section 2 of the present oleomargarine law, which states the articles that legitimately can be entered into the composition of oleomargarine. The statute reads as follows:

All substances heretofore known as oleomargarine, oleo, oleomargarine oil, butterine, lardine, suine, and neutral; all mixtures and compounds of oleomargarine, oleo, oleomargarine oil, butterine, lardine, suine, and neutral; all lard extracts and tallow extracts; and all mixtures and compounds of tallow, beef fat, suet, lard, lard oil, vegetable oil, annotto, and other coloring matter, intestinal fat, and offal fat.

From this it is apparent that no chemical analysis can reveal the constituents of the various articles offered to the public as oleomargarine, unless an analysis is made of every single output of every factory manufacturing oleomargarine.

Now, I do not propose to discuss the question of whether oleomargarine is wholesome or not. I desire to direct my argument to the question of the fraud connected with its manufacture and sale as an imitation of a genuine article.

HISTORY OF "OLEO."

Oleomargarine originated in France during the Franco-Prussian War. France has twice had to amend its laws to protect the public from fraud in the sale of oleomargarine.

Germany, France, and Belgium require oleomargarine to be sold in separate stores.

Germany and France prohibited the coloring of the product in imitation of butter.

Every country where oleomargarine is sold or manufactured has certain restrictive measures controlling its sale and manufacture.

Denmark, a great dairy country, prohibits the coloring of oleomargarine in imitation of butter and compels it to be sold in oblong packages to distinguish it from butter.

I am opposed to oleomargarine masquerading and pretending to be butter, and the fact that the manufacturers of oleomargarine desire to color it and make it look as nearly as possible like butter, and place upon it such marks as "Butterine," "Jersey brand," "Holstein brand," "Guernsey brand," "Cottage Dairy," and other such names, implying that it is made from milk, stamp with fraud the entire oleomargarine business.

PRESENT LAW REGARDING OLEOMARGARINE NOT STRICT ENOUGH.

The present law permits oleomargarine manufacturers to use the cheaper fats, such as intestinal fats and vegetable oil, and does not limit the amount of water that may be incorporated in oleomargarine, and also allows them to use names indicating that it is made from milk and cream.

On the other hand, if a dairyman by mistake sells butter that contains more than 16 per cent moisture, he is required to pay a tax of 10 cents a pound and a license of $600 a year, and to brand it "Adulterated butter."

A creamery in my congressional district that produces a high grade of butter had some of its butter condemned in this way by the United States Government because it had a small amount of moisture in excess of that specified in the law, and was fined $900, when it had the requisite amount of butter fat, no adulteration, but the butter maker accidentally allowed more moisture than the Government allows.

What good reason is there to discriminate against a genuine article in favor of an imitation? And yet the present United States law governing oleomargarine allows the oleomargarine manufacturer to color his product so it resembles butter, place upon it "Jersey brand," leave as much moisture in it as he desires, and allows him to put intestinal fat and vegetable oil in its composition, and place it upon the market, when it compels a dairyman to stamp upon his genuine product the label "Adulterated butter" if by chance it contains a small per cent more of moisture than the internal-revenue agent recognizes as legitimate.

TAXING OLEOMARGARINE.

We hear a great many arguments advanced that by taxing oleomargarine we are taxing the poor consumer. They say, "Why tax a thousand families that one dairy farmer may make money?" Let us see whether that argument is sound.

In the first place, as I have stated, we only tax oleomargarine one-fourth of a cent a pound when it is put up and sold in its natural color; and this tax, as I have stated, is only placed on oleomargarine to bring it under the Internal-Revenue Department, as this department of the Federal Government has police facilities for enforcing the law and protecting the public against fraud.

Thus there is practically no tax on oleomargarine, unless the manufacturers desire to color it and have it pass as butter.

There was manufactured, according to the report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, during the last year 145,760,973 pounds of uncolored oleomargarine, which paid a tax of only one-fourth of a cent a pound. Of this enormous amount of oleomargarine produced only 3,403,287 pounds were taxed at 10 cents a pound, or a little less than 2¼ per cent of the total manufacture.

UNDERWOOD AMENDMENT AS A TAX MEASURE.

The Underwood amendment would increase the tax from one-fourth of a cent to 2 cents per pound on the 145,760,973 pounds, and would reduce the tax 8 cents a pound on only 3,403,287 pounds of the colored oleomargarine, which pays the 10-cent tax. This is an increase to the consumer on the uncolored product of $2,550,817.03 annually in taxes alone, provided the output remains the same. Thus the people who are eating the uncolored oleomargarine and buying it as oleomargarine, who are the people who feel they can not afford butter, would be paying over $2,500,000 annually if this proposed amendment becomes a law.

Thus the poor consumer would pay more than he does at the present time, and the only ones profiting would be the oleomargarine factories, the packing houses, and the cottonseed-oil people.

WHAT THIS AMENDMENT WOULD ACCOMPLISH.

The only purpose of coloring oleomargarine is to deceive the public and make them think they are eating butter, and thus raise the price of oleomargarine.

To-day dairy butter sells at the creamery at 45 cents a pound and oleomargarine without color at 20 cents a pound and with color 32 to 35 cents per pound. Remove the restriction upon color and the difference in the price of genuine butter and imitation butter would disappear, because no one would know when they were buying or eating pure butter. It would bring up the price of oleomargarine and lower the price of butter. The poor consumer that can now buy his uncolored oleomargarine for 20 cents a pound would get the same product with a little coloring in it and have to pay from 30 to 35 cents per pound. The article would be no better than he is getting at the present time.

WHAT EFFECT WOULD THIS HAVE ON THE FARMER?

The dairy farmers of the country, as I have stated, are adding around a billion dollars in wealth to the country each year. By raising stock they are keeping up the fertility of their land and making it more productive for their crops.

Dairying is a basic fundamental industry; butter is only one of its products.

To strike a blow at our great dairy industry in this country, such as I believe this legislation will do, would injure every agriculturist, whether he is engaged in dairying or any other industry, and would help no one except the cottonseed-oil interests and the packers' trust.

President Cleveland, in a message to Congress concerning the proposed tax of 10 cents per pound on oleomargarine, said:

I am convinced that the taxes which it creates can not possibly destroy the open and legitimate manufacture and sale of the thing on which it is levied. If the article has the merit which its friends claim for it, and if the people of the land, with full knowledge of its character, desire to purchase and use it, the taxes exacted by this bill will permit a fair profit to both manufacturer and dealer. If the profits of its manufacture and sale depend upon disposing of it to the people for something which it deceitfully imitates, the entire enterprise is a fraud and not an industry.

WOULD OVERRIDE STATE LAWS.

Wisconsin's strong protective laws (sec. 4607c, Revised Statutes of Wisconsin) prevents the sale of colored oleomargarine. This and the other provisions in the law have been contested in the highest courts by the oleomargarine people, and our State laws have been sustained.

Meyer against State (134 Wis., 156) is the leading case on the subject.

DANGER TO STATE LAWS.

The second section of the Underwood amendment, known as No. 501, which provides that "manufacturers' original packages shall not be broken, and shall have the revenue stamp thereon," if enacted into law, in my opinion would allow these packages to go into any State in the Union and be sold by retail dealers in original packages in violation of any State law.

BUTTER OF GREAT FOOD VALUE.

We hear some complaint about the price of butter being higher than it should be. The food value of butter is greater than the food value of most any food that can be obtained for the same money.

Until recent years butter sold for much less than its food value warranted, sometimes below the real cost of production.

With increased land values, increased labor, and increased price of dairy cows, and the cost of employing skilled butter makers, the farmer is making no more than a legitimate profit on his dairy products, and the purchasers of milk, butter, and cheese are getting value received.

Prof. F. B. Osborne, of the Connecticut Experiment Station; Dr. Mendel, of Yale University; and Prof. E. B. McCollum, of the University of Wisconsin, have made experiments which prove beyond any doubt that butter fat not only yields energy and heat, as do other fats, but that in addition it contains other elements more vital than other fats which supply growth and life itself.

SUCCESSFUL EXPERIMENTS.

The experiments of these disinterested scientists in the employment of the State demonstrated that young animals when fed on mixtures composed of chemically pure protein, starch, fat, sugar, and various salts thrived for a short time, then they lost appetite and fell off in growth, and finally became sickly, and in some cases died.

When milk was added to the ration, the animal that was sickly immediately began to recuperate and regained its normal condition and grew and thrived.

It has been demonstrated beyond fair controversy that butter fat supplies something necessary for growth, which lard and other fats and oils can not supply.

Hoard's Dairyman gives an account of two instances in which two public institutions had, in the interest of economy, substituted oleomargarine for butter in the diet of the inmates. It was noticed that when oleomargarine was used the inmates were not in as good physical condition and required a physician's services much more frequently than before. When the oleomargarine was replaced by butter it was reported that the health of the inmates was materially improved.

Thus it is scientifically established that fats obtained from the living protoplasm of the animal have the property of inducing growth after growth has ceased, a quality that in other fats is lacking.

COST OF OLEOMARGARINE.

Oleomargarine can be manufactured according to the most competent experts for from 8 to 12 cents per pound. I herewith attach a formula for the cost of low-grade oleomargarine, which is a little less than 8 cents per pound.

Formula for and cost of low-grade oleomargarine.

Material and quantities.	Cost per pound.	Total cost.
350 pounds No. 2 oleo oil	$0.08	$28.00
250 pounds cottonseed oil	.04	10.00
450 pounds neutral lard	.08125	36.54
60 gallons 2½ per cent milk	[1].12	7.20
Labor and package		12.00
Salt and color		1.00
Total		94.74

[1] Per gallon.

This formula will yield 1,200 pounds of oleomargarine. Therefore, the cost of producing and packing for shipment will be $0.0789 per pound.

It will be seen from the cost of production that if oleomargarine was allowed to be colored in imitation of butter and only taxed 2 cents a pound the days of the dairy farmer would be numbered.

The manufacturers of oleomargarine admit that it will bring down the price of butter 50 per cent, but say the farmer can sell his milk to the condensed-milk factories.

[See letter from Johnson Soap Co. inserted in RECORD by Mr. BROWNE, February 22, p. 3954.]

ALL FOOD PRODUCTS SHOULD BE TRUE TO NAME.

Under our pure-food laws we have prevented manufacturers from labeling foods untrue to name.

Before the enactment of our pure-food laws people did not know what they were eating. I remember seeing in the city of Chicago, a few years ago, printed on the side of a large brick building the letters "Pure Vermont Maple Sirup." The pure-food commissioner analyzed this product and found that there was no maple sugar in it, that it was not even remotely connected with the product of the maple tree or even the State of Vermont. Down came the sign, and in place of it was another sign, reading "Karo, the best sirup in the world."

FARMERS ONLY ASK WHAT IS JUST.

The farmer asks only what has been conceded to every other producer of any food product, to wit, that his genuine article, butter, be protected from an imitation article that can be produced very much cheaper and of inferior nutritive value.

CONSUMER.

The millions of people who are consumers of butter are also deeply interested in being able to know with a certainty that the product they use, both in their homes and where they take their meals, is the real, genuine dairy product, and not the product of the cottonseed-oil factory or the product of the slaughter-house.

VERY LITTLE IMPURE BUTTER.

The same interests that are seeking this legislation are extensively circulating literature attacking the purity of butter.

Why do they wish to color their oleomargarine in imitation of butter and place upon the package "Jersey or Guernsey Brand," if butter is so impure?

There is very little impure butter. The great dairy States, like Wisconsin, New York, and Minnesota, have the most stringent inspection of dairies and creameries and dairy herds. Inspectors visit every dairy barn, every place where cream or milk is separated or allowed to remain. They examine every separator that separates the cream from the milk, every dairy cow and every creamery in Wisconsin under the laws of that State, and a heavy penalty falls upon anyone that violates the law. Every butter maker must be qualified and have a license before he can operate a creamery. If anyone who has any question about the purity of butter or cheese or milk will look up the dairy and pure-food laws of the dairy States, they will be satisfied that no purer or more wholesome food products are placed on the market than butter, cheese, and milk. In Wisconsin, the leader of all the States in the value of its dairy products, that annually produces one-half the cheese and one-sixth of the butter produced in the United States, the statutes regu- and the inspection of dairy barns and dairy herds are section 4601e to section 4607d, inclusive, Revised Statutes of Wisconsin. Upon application to the dairy and food commissioner of that State these laws will be gladly sent.

I have received letters from the National Grange and Society of Equity and other organizations composed of farmers opposing this amendment.

I offer in the RECORD a telegram received from the Society of Equity, that has its offices in my district:

WAUSAU, WIS., *February 21, 1917.*

Congressman E. E. BROWNE,
437 House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

Representing 50,000 farmers in dairy districts, I earnestly protest against tax reduction on oleomargarine.

J. W. LONG,
National Secretary-Treasurer American Society of Equity.

Rural Sanitation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LADISLAS LAZARO,

OF LOUISIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 24, 1917.

Mr. LAZARO. Mr. Speaker, I am glad the sundry civil bill carries an increase in the appropriation for rural sanitation.

The careful student of sanitary progress in the United States to-day is early impressed with the difference between sanitary conditions in the country districts and those in the cities. Recent years have witnessed great progress in the cities. Effective health departments have been organized, and the effect of measures, such as the supervision of water and milk supplies, the visiting nurse, and the tuberculosis dispensary, medical inspection of schools, and the control of contagious diseases, has been so pronounced as to place their work on a firm foundation. While much remains to be done in the cities, the foundations have been laid and the methods of work standardized. The solution of many of the problems of municipal sanitation are taking place every day.

While these facts are true of the cities, conditions have not been so much improved in the country. While the country districts have made a great deal of progress during recent years, we still lack the organization and cooperation we should have. In only a few States is there real health supervision of the rural communities. The great contributions of modern science to the prevention of disease are for the most part lost to the people of the country by the lack of organization and cooperation. There are, of course, exceptions to this statement.

The reasons for this contrast, in the main, is perfectly obvious. There is in the first place a greater survival of the individualistic idea of life in the country than in the city. Government touches the life of the individual in the country to a limited degree only. His personal liberty, so called, is seldom interfered with. In the city the communal idea prevails. The Government interferes to a greater degree with the citizen. In the second place the very isolation of the country makes it more difficult to educate the people in the importance of health measures. In the third place the difference between country and city is due to the fact that health measures are more obviously necessary in the city where people are crowded than in the country. In other words, where we are separated from contagious diseases only by the thin wall of an apartment house, we feel the necessity for and yield more readily to preventive measures.

The explanation for this contrast, however, is not its justification. The country, no less than the city, needs education in health matters. The bearing of rural sanitation on the health of our cities is a good reason why we should devote special attention to the health of the people in the country. The health of the city depends in a very large measure on the health of the country. We know that practically all the food

products of the city come from the country districts. A single case of typhoid fever on a dairy farm may, if neglected, infect a whole town or city. Then, again, there is a great need for better rural sanitation, because of the more or less general residence of city people in the country during vacation time. If, therefore, the health of the people of the cities is to be improved, the health of the people of the country must be bettered. And if we are ever to stamp out disease, it must be by a general attack in both the city and the country.

In addition to the need for such work, conditions in the country offer to the sanitarian the attraction of almost unparalleled opportunities for research work in the transmission of disease. To trace the means of dissemination of typhoid germs in a city, with its many sources of food supply, with the daily contact between so many people, and with the constant temptation to attribute the disease to the water supply, is surrounded with so many difficulties as to make it almost hopeless.

In the country and the small towns conditions are very different. Given a country district free from typhoid for several years, the first case is easily discovered and the transmission of the disease may often be worked out with accuracy.

Nor is typhoid the only disease which can be advantageously studied in the country. We have found the study of the transmission of smallpox easy. Diphtheria, studied case by case in the rural districts, should throw great and much needed light on the transmission of this disease. Malaria offers a large field in the study of its transmission and prevention.

The country districts, however, offer even greater possibilities in practical prevention than as a field for studies. With trained men, and an adequate system for collecting and studying statistics, preventive work in the country may be made to have the efficiency of a well-oiled machine.

If we are to study rural hygiene for its own importance, and if we must limit our study, we must begin our study on the farm. We should not, of course, omit the small towns as they offer problems intermediate between those of the country and those of the city.

The first question is that of education. At the outset it should be insisted on that such health education should be an education regarding established facts and not regarding individuals or experimental ideas. The physicians who are to educate the people in health matters and in the prevention of diseases should be especially trained and competent to do this work. By their influence the whole community becomes rapidly interested in the work; the worst cases are soon treated; and with the spread of the truth regarding the prevalence of the disease and methods of its spread comes the desire for better sanitary conditions.

As long as man was compelled to battle with hosts of enemies, the stings of whose shafts he could feel and whose ravages in his ranks he could realize, but of whose character and location he knew nothing, it was hard, dull, and uphill fight; but since the microscope and the science of bacteriology have driven away the surrounding mists and revealed the enemy in plain sight, so that to-day we know just what we have to battle against—the different germs which invade our bodies and cause different diseases—and their exact location, we are on better ground, better armed and prepared, not only to treat disease, but to prevent it as well. It is only with this knowledge that we can say hygiene is a science; that hygiene is the most neglected and most important of all the sciences. Who can deny its importance when we are told in words that are true, that its aim is to render growth more perfect, decay less rapid, life more vigorous and happy, and death more remote.

Knowing the remedy to be applied is not all, we must find a way to get the people to apply the remedy. In our country the sovereign people are the fountainhead of all authority, and to get the authority in the form of law and money, which is necessary in war against disease as well as war against our fellow men, it is absolutely necessary to go to the fountainhead. In other words, a public-health system, like any other arm of the government, must derive its power from where power exists—in a monarchy, from the king; in a democracy, from the people. Of course those who expect a sudden change will be disappointed; they will be like Pelias's daughters. An old fable tells us that Pelias's daughters, desiring to at once make their aged father young again, injected young blood in his vein; the result was, naturally, the old blood ran out and the young blood would not stay. So it is with the State; the new and better elements (ideas) must enter the system and gradually drive out the unwholesome particles (old ideas) slowly. The people must be educated up to the new forms, just as they were for centuries brought up to the old. It is contended by some that it is useless to try and convert old people to new ideas on the theory that an old dog can not be taught new tricks, and that we should go after the children. Oliver Wendell Holmes, however, when asked the question as to what age he considered best to begin the education of children, answered, "One hundred and twenty-five years before birth."

After the wisdom and good to be derived from education in sanitation is understood by the public they will demand that the work of preventing disease and preserving health be placed in the hands of sanitarians who will devote all of their time to the work and get their pay for services from the State. These sanitarians will work under the State and Federal authorities, each department within strict constitutional limits. Suppose each parish or county had a trained sanitarian with the authority of the State health department, in cooperation with the Federal Government, back of him, and whose permanent residence, office, and laboratory would be at the parish or county seat instead of on a passing train, and whose business it would be to educate the people in the prevention and checking of epidemics—why, the work of this department would return directly to the people even twenty times the amount in proportion to its cost that is returned by any other department of our Government. We protect our forests, waterways, fish, and game; we protect our cattle, hogs, and plants. Why not protect human life?

I repeat, however, our health laws must have their origin in the work of an enlightened public opinion, such as can be had only as a result of a campaign of education. Laws are a success or a failure in direct ratio to the extent to which they are backed by public sentiment. Think of the vast amount of work it will require to make some people understand the relation between individual liberty and public welfare—to make them understand that effective freedom is built up as much of limitations as of opportunities; that supervision over food and drugs, the enforcement of quarantine, the reporting of contagious diseases, and the keeping of vital statistics—which is really the bookkeeping of humanity—in fact, almost all measures for the public welfare which are bitterly decried in some quarters as infringement on the liberty of the individual, when in reality they are for the good and happiness of humanity. Confucius said, "Study the past if you would divine the future"; and this maxim applies with special force to our subject. The final triumph of scientific medicine will be the victories of preventive medicine. We know that the ancient physicians had a very small or no conception of prevention; their time, talents, and energies were given in devising ways of curing diseases; they were filled with the Shakespearean idea, "We can not hold mortality's strong hand," and were too willing to admit the pessimistic precept, "The lot of man—to suffer and die," of Pope. From the beginning of time the medical profession has always had the welfare and happiness of mankind at heart, but owing to a lack of knowledge concerning the real causes of disease very little could be expected in the way of prevention. It was bacteriology that explained the mystery and showed the way. The world is full of hero worship, and the ones who have slain the largest number on the field of battle and have won the greatest victories are the ones who are immortalized in the pages of history and whose statues fill public halls and public parks. The school child is familiarized with the lives and achievements of Cæsar, Hannibal, and Napoleon; but these heroes won their fame, their victories, and their glory by sacrificing thousands of lives and causing untold suffering and misery, and all for selfish ends. Peace has its heroes and victories as well as war. To my way of thinking three of the greatest heroes who ever lived were Pasteur, Lister, and Koch. Their names are eminently worthy of being placed in the world's hall of fame, for "great is the victory without bloodshed." These men had no selfish motives, no bright uniforms, no flags, no brass bands, nor cheering crowds—their victories were won at the bedside and in the silent laboratories, in bloodless battle with the most stubborn, most dangerous, and most bitter enemy of man—disease.

Think of the lives saved by vaccination from that loathsome and fatal disease, smallpox. We owe this boon to humanity to the immortal Jenner. Think of the Pasteur treatment for the prevention of hydrophobia and the consequent number of people saved from that horrible death! Think of wound infection; recall the fate of the wounded in the Civil War and the high death rate! How all of this has changed since the light of science has shed its bright rays on the bloody battle fields! We can truly assert that military surgery has reduced itself largely into prevention. In private practice the blessings of aseptic surgery are even greater. Think of the lives saved from that dreadful and fatal disease, puerperal fever; also from typhoid, lockjaw, cholera, and bubonic plague, yellow and malarial fevers. Think of the building of the gigantic Panama Canal, which has resulted in the wedding of the At-

lantic and Pacific. Without the intervention of sanitation the second attempt by Americans would have ended as disastrously as the first under the French. As this new waterway is being opened to commerce it is not the President, nor the United States Congress, nor the engineers, but Col. Gorgas who is entitled to the greeting "Hail to the chief who in triumph advances!" as without his wise and sanitary intervention the whole scheme would have remained an idle dream. This indeed was a beautiful and fitting illustration of the saying that in the ability to conquer environment lies civilized man's chief claim to superiority in the animal kingdom.

Let us hope that from now on there will be cooperation and coordination of all educational factors with the physicians and sanitarians in lifting the reproach of sanitary ignorance which stands as an obstacle to the fullest development of the unlimited and unrivaled resources of our country. It does not behoove us to soothe ourselves with self-praise because of what nature has done for us—we are entitled to no credit for our unexcelled climate, products, and resources. It is only the manner in which we are conserving and developing our resources and the degree of health and happiness and liberty we are giving our people that can confer distinction upon our citizenship, raise our standard, and fix our place in history.

Human life in its beginning, its duration, and its ending is the predominant consideration in all personal, social, State, and National problems. It is the most valuable asset of the individual and the State. The standard of a nation is finally to be measured by the standard of human lives. The man who, next to Pitt, was probably England's greatest premier, said:

> You can take the richest and most beautiful of kingdoms, cover it with temples and palaces, defend it with armies and navies of the most advanced type, do all things else to forward its interests and its glory, and despite all these things, if its people decline in stature and vigor, or its birth rate falls below its mortuary rate, that nation is doomed.

Hence the very highest obligation of statesmanship is public health.

The Present Crisis in Our International Affairs.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 19, 1917.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me, I desire to extend my remarks further by the printing of a few of the many telegrams, letters, newspaper notices, and resolutions which have reached me, bearing on the subject of the present crisis in our international affairs. They are fair samples of many others relating to the same great issue, but before laying these before the House, permit me to submit the result up to Monday morning, February 19, of the results of a postal-card referendum on the subject of war taken in my district, the nineteenth Pennsylvania:

Against entering the war and in favor of a national referendum	478
Against entering the war	318
Total	796
In favor of entering the war	80

The letters, resolutions, telegrams, and so forth, are appended:

[From the Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat.]

APPEAL ISSUED ON BEHALF OF MEETING TO SUPPORT PEACE—GATHERING AT MAJESTIC THEATER NEXT SUNDAY AFTERNOON WILL DISCUSS AVOIDANCE OF WAR.

Indications multiply that there will be a tremendous outpouring of the people of this city and vicinity at the Majestic Theater Sunday afternoon, when questions of grave moment will be discussed by able speakers. This outpouring will reflect the great wave sweeping this country now in favor of avoiding war with Germany or with any other country and of maintaining our ideals as a peace-loving people.

The men and women of Johnstown and vicinity are asked to assemble in mass meeting Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock at the Majestic Theater. Purpose:

To encourage President Wilson and the Congress of the United States in their efforts to keep our country out of the European war.

1. By voicing our protest against the agitation by the metropolitan press and other powerful interests which would persuade our Government that war with Germany is inevitable.

2. By emphasizing the fact that our national honor, like our individual honor, can be sullied only by our own acts. That our national ideals, on which alone our honor as a Nation must rest, would be endangered by being drawn into the mighty struggle that is drenching Europe with human blood.

The Rev. J. N. Scholes, the Rev. R. D. Clare, the Rev. S. N. Carpenter, the Rev. David Berkey, the Rev. H. C. Michael, the Rev. A. K. Travis, the Rev. E. W. Rishel, the Rev. Stephen A. Ward, the Rev. Hyman Kaminsky, C. W. Gould, W. F. Patch, Fred Krebs, Thos. Barnes, P. S. Fisher, Henry W. Salus, M. J. Boyle, P. H. Mahaffey, H. S. Bender, J. R. Swope, John E. Gable, J. N. Adee, Geo. W. Swank, Curt Barnhart, John S. Gaffney, Albert J. Owen, W. F. Murdock, R. G. Rose, Joseph T. Kelly, Fred W. Church, B. Elkins Longwell, James E. Kress, Jas. A. Warren.

BLAIR COUNTY CENTRAL LABOR UNION,
Altoona, Pa., February 11, 1917.

Hon. W. W. BAILEY,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The Blair County Central Labor Union by resolution declares for:

1. Abolition of secret diplomacy.
2. Reparation for damages only after war.
3. Asks Congress or the President to advise Americans not to travel in any war zone.
4. Referendum to determine war or peace.

Very truly, yours,

[SEAL.] C. L. BRUMBAUGH, *Secretary,*

ALTOONA, PA., *February 8, 1917.*

Hon. W. W. BAILEY,
Congress Hall, Washington, D. C.:

Expect you to do all you can to keep us out of war. Honor not at stake. We want peace.

GEORGE BREISACHER.

PRICE LEATHER CO.,
Boston, Mass., February 8, 1917.

Hon. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. BAILEY: I have a feeling that a letter of this kind to you will do more good than it would if I sent it to Mr. RICHARD OLNEY, 2d, who is the Congressman from my Massachusetts district, or to either Senators LODGE or WEEKS, from Massachusetts.

Be that as it may, I want to set forth my concern over the present situation and its possibilities with respect to the central powers and the allies.

Perhaps my position is best outlined by saying that I am almost wholly in accord with Mr. Bryan's proposal, and particularly that part in which he urges a referendum before any declaration of war is made. In this last connection, however, I think that the women of the country are as deeply, and perhaps more deeply, concerned than the men. Consequently, they should have an opportunity to express their opinion on this matter.

If you think it would be of the slightest importance for me to address other officials in Washington along these lines, I should be pleased to have you designate such individuals.

With best wishes and personal regards, I am,

Yours, fraternally, H. C. JOY.

WESTPHALIA, MO., *February 8, 1917.*

Hon. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,
Washington, D. C.

MOST ESTEEMED SIR: Keep up your good and noble work, such as the inclosed clipping shows. Your name shall go down in history. We, as true American citizens, appreciate kind work of your kind.

Many thanks.

Your servant, Dr. L. F. BIESMEYER.

PEACH BOTTOM, PA., *February 10, 1917.*

WARREN WORTH BAILEY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

With consummate courage and skill you have so far in these trying circumstances kept us free from war and we are confident that you will continue to strive for peace with honor. We send you this telegram to let you know that the metropolitan press in urging immediate war is not representing the feelings of our people, who deplore the possibility of war at all, and certainly not until every peaceful alternative has been tried. Have sent a copy of this telegram to President Wilson.

OLIVER WILSON,
B. JOHN BLACK,
JOHN A. MCSPARRAN,
Legislative Committee National Grange.

JOHNSTOWN, PA., *February 12, 1917.*

Hon. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,
Washington, D. C.:

Inasmuch as this Nation is at present in danger of being precipitated into war, we, as a Bible class of the First English Lutheran Church of Johnstown, wish to express our sincere approval of the conservatice course that you have pursued and hope that in the future the principles of the religion of Jesus Christ and the desire for the extension of the ideal of brotherhood of man may guide your thoughts and actions to the end that this country may take its place among the nations as the standard bearer of universal peace, liberty, and love.

METROPOLITAN BIBLE CLASS.

PITTSBURGH, PA., *February 9, 1917.*

HONORABLE SIR: This message relative to foreign relations voices the opinion of thousands of Pittsburghers as well as millions of Americans. First, let it be understood that we are every inch Americans, but we have studied the situation conscientiously without discrimination and give our objections to action already taken.

For the past two and one-half years England has ruled the seas, contrary to international law, interfering with our rights as well as all neutrals, in their commerce and mails and also in blacklisting them, and we have allowed (under protest) this interference for two and one-

half years and there does not exist any law or treaty allowing for such interference to be continued. We know that this interference has also worked to the disadvantage of the Central Powers and the question arises whether international laws changed to suit the purpose of England should take preference over a new law to suit the purposes of Germany, or whether relations should be broken off with England as well as with Germany.

In the spirit of fairness and conscious that we are right, if any international law is considered which is founded on real principle without prejudice, we protest most vigorously against any war under the present circumstances and we appeal for a measure warning Americans and American ships to stay out of the war zone.

Also that before any declaration of war is made over any issue, it should be referred first to the referendum vote of the people. We are very much aware that a strong press propaganda has for two and a half years endeavored to drag us into war and now it is rumored, and very possibly true, that strong financial interests are lending every effort to involve us. We protest most vigorously against this propaganda as being one of the most cowardly crimes in all history. Our conscience and our unbiased principles speak in these lines in the true spirit of undiluted Americanism without prejudice.

The majority of the American people will unquestionably appreciate your efforts to keep Americans out of the war zone, which will in turn keep America out of the war.

Sincerely, yours,

CHAS. S. SMITH.

—

COLONIAL PRINTING CO.,
Johnstown, Pa., February 8, 1917.

Hon. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BAILEY: Your letter of the 7th instant inquiring about the sentiment of the working people (of which I am one) came to me this morning.

I am glad to tell you that, as far as I can find out, the working people do not want any trouble, for God knows we have always to pay the price.

Personally, I can see no reason so far for our country taking up arms to fight with Germany.

I agree with you that there is a powerful force trying to push us into the present conflict. Men whose God is the god of gold and greed should not be allowed to dictate to the great big majority of common people.

I pray God that we will never be called into the present war, and I know that you and our dear President will do everything that can be done to keep our boys at home in peace; but if we are called to keep the enemy off our shore I assure you that the working class will do their duty now as they have always done in the past.

I hope Almighty God will give you strength and years to continue to fight the noble battle for the common people.

Truly, your friend,

CHAS. A. MCKEOWN.

—

BEAVER, PA., *February 9, 1917.*

Hon. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BAILEY: I am persuaded that the forward-looking men and women are dead against going to war with Germany on such pretexts as the violation of American rights on the high seas in times like these. * * * I hope that there will be an honorable way out.

* * * * * * *

Yours, truly,

CHARLES R. ECKERT.

—

BLAIR COUNTY CENTRAL LABOR UNION,
Altoona, Pa., February 11, 1917.

Hon. W. W. BAILEY, *Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR MR. BAILEY: Yours regarding local sentiment to hand.

Permit me to state that opinion is practically unanimous among the workers and business and professional men against our participation in the war on any side.

There is no demand for war: there is a tremendous feeling against war.

There is a growing distrust of secret diplomacy, fearing its connection with commercial interests.

We are expecting to hear your voice against both and also against conscription, compulsory training, and all the hellish military enterprises.

Labor feels that once again in our beloved country capitalism is attempting, at a time when to protest is to have loyalty questioned and at a time when a great furor in favor of war is set by the press in the interest of special privilege, to destroy through legislation the economic betterments secured by organized labor during centuries of effort and suffering.

But let all politicians and parties beware! Labor is not asleep. It will at the first opportunity strike mightily at the ballot box those who dare so to tyrannize at such time as this.

I believe that, if the autocracy go too far, the answer will be internal revolution, for I have never known so much embitterment against the attempted despotism of the big interests.

The toilers may be depended upon to defend the right at all costs, but they will first be convinced of what is right. Jingoism or junkoism will not fool them any longer.

Let us have a referendum on war.

Very truly, your,

C. L. BRUMBAUGH.

—

WILLIAM PENN HOTEL,
Pittsburgh, February 12, 1917.

DEAR MR. BAILEY: There is no need to "manufacture peace sentiment," as a dispatch from Washington says is being done.

Ninety per cent of the voters are opposed to war to maintain a duelist's concept of honor.

If those favoring war doubt this, let them submit the question to a vote of the people.

Truly, yours,

WILL ATKINSON.

—

BARNESBORO, PA., *February 12, 1917.*

Hon. W. W. BAILEY,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. BAILEY: I have received a referendum card from the American Union Against Militarism, and to No. 1 I have voted no. My reason for so doing is that war never settles anything, but good common sense and moral reasoning along lines of justice will bring us peace and justice. But some say if militarism and overbearing monarchy are allowed to win this war, what chance have reason and morals. If this country only had reason and morals, we would simply refuse to have anything to do with any country that had chosen the barbarity of old ages to settle their troubles. What we are concerned in is the causes and reasons and the moral foundation upon which peace can be built that will be lasting. It is almost unthinkable there should be any nation upon the face of the earth that would be so degraded in morals that they would overrun a peaceable habitation who offered no resistance and conquer them against their will. That should be one stipulation in the peace treaties, that no country should annex without a referendum vote of the population what their wish was. Mr. BAILEY, I want you to stand for the moral indignation of our country against any of the countries at war, for any unlawful act, and that our relation is severed until such time that full and satisfactory settlement is effected; that, if he have to, not a single ship from America will enter Germany, nor will we allow a German ship to enter American ports. If she chooses to become an outlaw, let us show her the effect.

To No. 2 I voted yes. How nice would I not have felt if this card would have come from my Government at Washington, recognizing me as a citizen, asking me how I stood in regard to the welfare of our beloved country. Would I not have been proud that I was an American citizen, and by my vote help to direct its destiny?

Very respectfully,

A. HAMMARSTROM.

—

ALTOONA, PA., *February 10, 1917.*

Hon. WARREN WORTH BAILEY, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BAILEY: My hand to you as I see you standing foursquare against the world murderers who are stretching out their blood-bespattered talons toward this corner of this sad old world. Yes! Whose "honor," whose "rights," are the governmental powers, the paid press prostitutes and the caviling, chattering, human apes sniveling about? Not yours; not mine; not 100,000,000 others that need no "routes to Falmouth"; that need themselves the wealth, the food and clothing and shelter they themselves produce, and have no blood crying out to be coined into dollars.

How can a President or Congress voice the will of the 100,000,000 when that 100,000,000 have not spoken? Does Congress speak for the people or for the money lords? Has it not been enough that the profit mongers have robbed us of our food, our clothing, our every need, that they must now take toll of our blood and tears? Is America about to perpetrate the most tragic farce of the ages? Is democracy about to turn back and thrust itself into the midst of the hellish maelstrom of murder created by the plutocracies and their tools, the autocracies and aristocracies of Europe? Not with your yes, not with my yes, not with the yes of the great unconsulted crowd, the people; only with the yes of capitalism and its thousand times accursed mercenaries and trade mongers, now wallowing to the armpits in the blood of the race. Stand by the great common crowd, the men, women, and children of this land that have nothing to gain and everything to lose.

My hand to you,

FREDERIC J. SHALLOR.

—

608 SIXTH AVENUE,
Juniata, Pa., February 11, 1917.

Mr. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Am inclosing herewith a clipping from a local paper. I think we have enough of misery without a war.

There is a Federal statute against carrying explosives on passenger trains, but there does not seem to be any objection to that practice on liners; in fact, we seem to aid it, in a sense. This trouble seems to arise in carrying the munitions to France.

I can not understand the American press for the past two weeks—so very eager for war. I always supposed they were truthful and can not think they are being paid for such misstatements.

You have a great many friends in our town, and I believe I can truthfully say they are very much opposed to us entering the world war. In defense of our country they are ready.

Yours, most respectfully,

WALTER S. DUNMIRE.

—

No. 1225½ SEVENTH AVENUE,
Altoona, Pa., February 12, 1917.

WARREN WORTH BAILEY, M. C.,
Nineteenth District, Pennsylvania.

DEAR SIR: I have just read a letter from you addressed to Mr. McCaleb, in which you ask the question: "What is the sentiment among the railroad men in regard to our participation in the European war?" I presume those I come in immediate contact with are typical of the masses of them, and, as usual, they are passive, as workingmen are in a problem that covers such a vast scope as to become universal. Workingmen have never been consulted in a matter where they are only asked to furnish the corpses, widows, cripples, and orphans, and so-called business interests furnish the bonds at 4 to 6 per cent (guaranteed gold). The mixture of these two is called "patriotism." The railroad workingman will do the same as all workingmen when the time arrives for strife—become inoculated with passion, excitement, and prejudice, banish reason, and march off to the shambles. The powers that control the money and press will prevail, if they want war (and it looks as if they desire it). Then I am afraid all the forces that a poor workingman (who is struggling to make a meager salary meet the soaring prices) will not avail to prevent it, and he will be caught in the whirlpool of blind enthusiasm. If the influence of the working class is all that stands between strife or no strife, then I am afraid the former will win, as I think it is safe to say 90 per cent of the laboring class never reason, and if here and there you find one who does, and gives expression to his thoughts, he only is sacrificed to Mammon or Mars.

Personally I hope with you that there will be no war. I abhor it. I abhor the causes that lead to it; but, like many things, I, no less than you, am often more a creature of a condition than a creator of it. It looks as if corporate capitalists are about as easy stampeded as range cattle. They see hobgoblins, etc., where none exist, and from

preparations to guard inland transportation, I think if some person would at the present time throw a pack of shooting crackers in the air it would set something off. Mr. BAILEY, it will take a braver man to oppose war in a week or two than to advocate it.

Again trusting we may pass through it without strife, I remain,

Respectfully, yours,

J. H. MCGRAIL.

Following is a copy of resolutions adopted at a meeting of the Blair County (Pa.) Pomona Grange, No. 37, held at Altoona February 15, 1917:

Whereas all just government is based upon the consent of the governed; and

Whereas such consent we believe to be fundamental to political and industrial democracy; and further

Whereas history has uniformly shown that war and military systems have ever autocratically withdrawn all means of discovering such consent or lack of consent; and

Whereas in the present world war one of the first acts of said dictatorial power has been the loss of the economic and industrial power which labor has struggled centuries to obtain with untold suffering and persecution: Be it

Resolved, That the Pomona Grange No. 37, of Blair County, believes that the secret diplomacy of statecraft should be abolished, the United States making a lead in that direction; and be it also

Resolved, That unless in case of actual invasion or threat of invasion a referendum should be taken to determine the course of our Government in the matter of entering upon war; and be it finally

Resolved, That the Pomona Grange No. 37 communicate its support of the Callaway resolution, introduced in the House of Representatives at Washington, to the President of the United States, Senators, and Congressmen.

—

NEW YORK, *February 15, 1917.*

Hon. WARREN W. BAILEY,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

In voting "no" on the recent increased naval appropriation bill you have refused to play the Wall Street game. May we congratulate you and those who voted with you and suggest that you consider yourselves a committee to keep Congress from declaring war and, in the last emergency, to demand a policy of armed neutrality, as did the Congress of 1798?

COMMITTEE FOR DEMOCRATIC CONTROL,
AMOS PINCHOT, *Chairman.*

—

SOUTH FORK, PA., *February 14, 1917.*

Congressman W. W. BAILEY,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am returning to you my card which was sent to me to give you my opinion of peace or war.

I say peace, as for this country to enter the war would be something that would not be right.

Suppose we were in war with another country, and Germany was supplying the other country with ammunition and food, would we not do the same as Germany is doing? Of course we would.

I do not have any use for the German Government. I am not siding in with them.

Another thing is if we would enter the war it would only be for the capitalist, as our Government does not manufacture war material for the allies; we need all the war material we can get for ourselves. Why ship abroad?

And for our people to risk their lives on merchant ships, I say let them go to it and take a chance.

They do not have to go on merchant ships, as Germany offers safe passage for all American passenger ships. What else should we ask for?

I think it would be wiser to protect ourselves from Mexico, as they are doing more damage to us than Germany.

Thanking you for this privilege, I am,

Yours, truly, JAS. W. LOHR.

—

ALLENTOWN, PA., *February 15, 1917.*

Hon. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Having seen your letter to Hon. James H. Maurer in the Reading Labor Advocate, inquiring as to what stand labor takes in regarding the war.

I am the bookkeeper of one of the silk mills of this city, and am personally acquainted with every one of the employees, and can vouch for it that the employees of this estab..shment are against going to war almost to a man.

These employees, who are unorganized, sent a petition to the President of the United States last week, asking him to place a complete embargo, if necessary, upon all shipments to the belligerent countries in order to preserve peace. This petition was signed by all the adult males with the exception of five men. These five men, when questioned, all say that they do not expect to do any fighting in case of war.

These employees are also opposed to compulsory military training with the exception of three men.

Respectfully, yours,

EDWIN H. KUDER,
Box 313, Allentown, Pa.

—

CAMBRIA PLUMBING & HEATING CO.,
Johnstown, Pa., February 14, 1917.

Hon. W. W. BAILEY, *Washington, D. C.*

FRIEND BAILEY: If there is any sentiment hereabouts favorable to war, the zero weather is keeping it pent up. True, there are some who, while they profess to abhor war, would accept its horrors rather than witness unavenged any infraction of "the tradition of the elders." To them the dueling code is still sacred among nations, and the sacrifice of war alone can atone for an offense against national honor.

Would that President Wilson might add to his other great democratic pronouncements the truth that, as with individuals, so is it with nations—their honor can be sullied only by their own acts, and the injustices of other nations will return most to plague them and call not on us for vengeance.

Yours, very truly,

P. H. MAHAFFEY.

HYNDMAN, PA., *February 14, 1917.*

DEAR SIR: The inclosed card received and I am interested in it. I have signed it and am returning it.

I will say that I stand firmly not for war. I will stay by this conclusion to the end, unless the enemy invades the country, and at that time we will stay to the end. Myself and my sons as well.

Very sincerely, yours, A. J. SHROYER.

—

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *February 13, 1917.*

MY DEAR MR. BAILEY: Permit me to second heartily your efforts to avoid the injury the United States must necessarily suffer should it enter the war now maintaining in Europe. We are suffering less by far than all the other neutrals of Europe. Their honor is as keen as ours. Under the circumstances prevailing in the world, our honor demands entering the war only in case of invasion or threatened invasion of our country by either faction of the war. God speed your efforts.

Respectfully, S. MAHLON UNGER.

—

NEW YORK CITY, *February 12, 1917.*

Representative BAILEY, *Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: I have read something about your interest in referendum on war. This is just as it should be. Why should any King or any President and his Secretary of State so involve us in trouble with any country that we would have to back him up against our convictions?

It is as much as making a dictator out of Wilson and Lansing by allowing them to go ahead in the threatening way they have treated Germany all the time in order to provoke trouble and then allow England to do as she pleases by way of contrast. No wonder the thinking people of the country are disgusted at such an exhibition of spite work and partisanship which we call neutrality.

I understand that Lansing has on several occasions refused to furnish information to Congress about what he was doing. Now, if Lansing is the emperor or dictator of about 100,000,000 people, why don't Congress and the Senators adjourn and go home? If I were a Member of Congress I would either be fired out of Congress or Lansing be fired for such a refusal, as I would raise hell from my toe nails up.

If this is a republican form of government, let the people and the people's Representatives have some influence in its most important affairs, and not allow the so-called Department of State to act as if we were a lot of boobs without understanding.

I must commend your course and hope that you will vigorously pursue it.

For some time I have been wondering which was the most useless body in actual influence; that is, the American Congress or the Russian Duma. I have finally concluded that the Russian Duma has more courage, as some of them are sent to Siberia when they kick too hard, and I suppose after the censored bills are put into effect some of you people will be landed into jail for daring to open your mouths for the people.

One of the reasons why the British diplomacy is successful is the fact that all that she has to do is to make it interesting for the secretary of foreign affairs of any country and the little clique that runs the roost, and then they can make treaties which the people have got to pay for in blood, iron, and money.

Supporting the President is one thing when he is right. But let the people of the United States say whether he is right or not. Supporting him in partisan or unneutral acts is certainly against the people of the United States.

Sincerely, yours, D. F. PENINGTON, M. D.

—

DUNLO, PA., *February 15, 1917.*

Hon. W. W. BAILEY,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I feel it my duty at this critical moment to ask you, as our Representative, to use all the influence possible within your power to prevent us from entering this war.

I can say from the conversations I hear that the sentiment is 10 to 1 for peace. For my part I heartily sympathize with Mr. Bryan and Senators Lane, Works, and others. If one blockade is international law, why is another not? If we are barred from one country, why not another? I would consider our Government insane if we were in Germany's place and would allow ammunition and other deadly supplies that would destroy our people to land for our enemies, if we had the means to prevent the landing.

Hoping you will use all your influence for the defense of American shores first and last, I am,

Respectfully, yours, JAS. RHOADS.

—

24 SECOND STREET NE.,
Washington, D. C., February 5, 1917.

Hon. W. W. BAILEY, M. C.

DEAR SIR: My husband and I have watched and seconded your efforts in behalf of arbitration and peace. We are loyal Pennsylvanians and have no coward blood, having ancestors and near relatives in every war this country has ever engaged in. Please continue your efforts for peace, both in the press and in the House, and may God bless your efforts.

Very respectfully, yours,

ANNA R. ARNOLD.

—

DAWSON HARDWARE & SUPPLY CO.,
Gallitzin, Pa., February 10, 1917.

W. W. BAILEY,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE AND DEAR SIR: Realizing the enormity of the present crises, having all faith in our Government, and in particular the President of these United States and his advisers, I take it for granted they fully understand the situation and will be very slow in making any move that would cause us (the United States) to enter the "Hell on earth," or in other words, the awful war in Europe.

Now, my dear Mr. BAILEY, we, up here on the mountain top, in peaceful Cambria County, realize what it would mean to have war from any cause whatever, but to declare war under the existing circumstances because some thoughtless person risked his or her life to go on a vessel, or because some large corporation hired some person to try to make the voyage knowing full well that if the ship was sunk we (the United States) would take up the question of destroying American lives, declare war, and they (the big concerns) would reap big monetary returns.

As a father of a family I protest (through you) against war, only when it is necessary for our own protection.

When it comes to protecting our homes and families you can count on mine and me coming to the front and dying for our country.

But to go to war to uphold a few people that are not patriotic enough to stay at home and mind their own business while Europe is insane, I can see no justice and protest most emphatically.

Yours, very truly,

FRANK P. DAWSON.

Resolutions.

We, American citizens, assembled in mass meeting at the call of the mayor of Minneapolis, beg to address the President and Congress of the United States, as follows:

"1. We appreciate the difficulties confronting the administration in the conduct of our foreign affairs. We are grateful that our beloved America is not a party to the awful war which is devastating Europe and pray you will use your great influence and authority to keep our land at peace.

"2. We desire respectfully to recall the fact that in the election of November the citizens of this country strongly favored our keeping out of the war in Europe, and the administration then elected was committed to a policy of peace. Now to abandon that policy and plunge us into war we hold is to make a solemn mockery of the great American principle of the consent of the governed.

"3. We denounce the attempt of a large portion of our press to stampede our great Nation into war, and therefore we believe that the time for the citizens and the Government to take counsel is now, for as loyal men and women of America we shall stand by our country, but as thoughtful men and women we realize and repeat the time of sane counsel is now, for when the fateful plunge is taken our lips must and shall be sealed.

"4. We favor the use of the influence of this country in every proper way to end the horrible conflict in Europe, reminding the world that we stand for the American principle of equal justice to both sides, fair play to all. To that end we favor a conference of all the neutral nations to consider peaceful ways and means of terminating the war at the earliest possible moment.

"5. We urge all American citizens, and believe it their duty in behalf of their country to keep out of the barred zones of all belligerents.

"6. We believe that those citizens who object to being dragged into fighting other nations' battles are not lacking in patriotism for America, and we denounce the idea promulgated by the press that only the desire for war is the test of loyalty.

"7. We hold to the principle laid down by Washington, Father of his Country, to avoid entangling alliances with European countries, and in our dealings with other nations to deal justly by all and make favorites of none, and if during this awful war our Nation in its dealings with either or any belligerent has done anything that savors of favoritism to any country we do not approve of it, and we hope and pray all such things shall cease, so that our beloved land may stand before the judgment bar of history without a stain upon her flag, the flag we love.

"*Resolved*, That copies hereof be forwarded to the President and Congress of the United States and the press."

I certify above resolution was enthusiastically and unanimously adopted by meeting of 3,500 citizens, limit of hall capacity. Seven thousand more could not gain entrance.

CHAS. A. DALBY,
Chairman of the Mass Meeting.

Torrens Land Title System.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. MURRAY,
OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 19, 1917.

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. Speaker, a subject of great importance to the various States, but which properly does not come under the control of Congress, is some method by which titles to real estate may be more definitely known. This becomes doubly so because of the rural-credit law, for the reason that all of the countries of Europe which have adopted the rural-credit system have adopted this law. Such is essential in order to reduce the loss to a minimum. The smaller the loss the lower the rate of interest in the end would be.

For this purpose I offer a speech I delivered in the House of Representatives of the First Legislature of Oklahoma, May, 1908. The speech is as follows:

"Gentlemen, I desire briefly to explain that system of land registration known as the Torrens land system, a system of registering titles as distinguished from registering evidence of title, such as deeds, which system brings about our cumbersome, expensive, and uncertain abstract system. The Torrens system had its origin in Australia in 1854. It first came to the United States and received official notice by Gov. Russell, of Massachusetts, where it is in force in its fullest vigor of any State in the American Union, although it is in force in modified form in the States of California, Colorado, Illinois, Minnesota, Oregon, and Washington, and by the Philippine Commission, and acts of Congress has been adopted in Hawaii and the Philippine Islands, a copy of which last laws I have in my possession. It is now adopted in New York and the Republic of Mexico. It was extended throughout the German Empire by the code of 1900. It is also used in Denmark, Austria-Hungary, and most of the Cantons of Switzerland, the county of London, England, and in most of the Provinces of Canada; in fact, in my opinion, the law as it is in force in the Province of Ontario is the best on this continent. It is in force in some form in all of these States, notwithstanding the stubborn opposition with which it has been met by the abstract companies and by land attorneys. When once understood, it is irresistible, because it is the one law, and the only one with which I am acquainted, upon which the richest man in the State as well as the poorest in the State unite their indorsements. It is true it is hurtful to the abstract system, and they fight it. It is hurtful to the land lawyer, and, of course, he fights it; however, for the first generation it will assist the land lawyer and give him an increased amount of litigation; that is, until the system is completely installed, after which a land suit involving title is practically unknown. Suits, of course, will occur to foreclose liens for taxes and for the loan of money, and also to probate wills and estates, but the title is at every stage known to every citizen who can read; not so with the abstract system. By the method of abstracting generally in force in the United States everything is uncertain and attended with great expense. Any farmer or business man desiring to purchase land first demands of the landowner to procure an abstract, which usually costs $1 a page, with the minimum price of $5; there is one page for every transfer; hence in the course of a hundred years, say, there may be 20 or 100 more of these transfers, each costing 50 cents to $1 a page; every step since the beginning of the sale of that land is recited in an abstract. A friend of mine recently told me of one abstract in the State of Kansas that cost him $1,400. There was an abstract made out in the City of Mexico a short while ago that weighed 500 pounds and cost thousands of dollars. The next step of the purchaser is to present that abstract to a lawyer and retain him to look it over and render an opinion as to the title. The lawyer does so and gives an opinion that may be good and it may be absolutely worthless; the man goes upon the land—perhaps it is unimproved—he builds a home upon it, and after he is fixed and feels that he is safely anchored once in a home. Years rolled by; a defect in the title is discovered; the real owner sued him for possession; he goes into court, is defeated in the first trial; he sells some of his personal property and appeals the case and his home. This is not overdrawn; hundreds of occurrences of this kind have happened; it is not an exception even to the rule; it is the rule. Again, under the abstract system a man desires to borrow some money quickly to save him, perhaps, from financial ruin; he goes to the bank; the bank is afraid of the title; the bank has no certain means of knowing, especially at the moment, perhaps by reason of not being able to get the loan when he had landed security he meets with financial ruin. Now, the Torrens system is the reverse; it is not a registration of deeds and evidence of title; it is an absolute register of title. First, however, there must be a trial to determine the ownership, and then all deeds are canceled and all except loans or liens upon the land; a certificate is issued to the owner for the decree, and after that there is never but one outstanding certificate, and that certificate shows every condition of title. Any man, as soon as he sees the certificate and it is marked 'Torrens land,' knows that it is good; it is just as sound and as safe as buying a Government bond; in fact, the Wall Street Journal last spring said that 'the Torrens land certificate is the safest security that could be made by law.' I have but recently a letter from the Governor General of Ontario, in one of the Provinces of Canada, in which he said, 'Of all the many things of which we are proud in this Province, we are most proud of our Torrens land law.' Now, suppose the holders of a Torrens certificate desired to borrow some money upon a tract of 160 acres of land, say $100, and he'd go to Representative Briggs's bank over there and say, 'I desire to borrow $100.' Mr. Briggs would say, 'Is your land abstract land or Torrens?' If he should reply, 'abstract,' Mr. Briggs would say, 'I would like to submit that to my attorney first'; and perhaps at the end of a week he might get an opinion and then refuse the loan; but if he said, 'It's Torrens,' he would say, 'Let me see the certificate.' The moment he looked upon the certificate he knew every condition of the title without a single cent of expense. Now, the only thing he would want to know would be the kind of land or about what the land was worth.

"If he knew of the land he would be ready then, as he would ever be, to make the loan, because he would know the whole power of the State was behind that property to protect the title. Now, suppose he would loan the $100, the owner would have that certificate canceled on the clerk's records and a new one issued to the owner, whom we will suppose to be Representative

Rainey, here. On the face of that certificate issued to Rainey would be this statement: 'G. W. Briggs holds a first lien for the sum of $100 on this tract of land.' Then, if Mr. Rainey would show that certificate to anyone it could be seen easily what the condition of the title is; that is to say, that the title in fee belonged to R. M. Rainey, of Atoka, but that G. W. Briggs, of Granite, holds a first lien for $100. Now, suppose Mr. Rainey at a later date would desire to borrow another $100, and he should go to Representative Robert Johnson's bank in the town of Chickasha. Mr. Johnson would ask, 'What kind of land is it, abstract or Torrens?' Mr. Rainey would answer, 'It is Torrens.' Then he would ask to see the certificate. When Johnson looked at the certificate he would know the condition of title, and the only question that he would want to know is whether or not the land would stand one more hundred dollars. If he knew, from traveling over the land or from his personal knowledge previously gained, it to be valuable land, he would be as ready then as he ever would be to loan on that piece of land. Should he make the loan that certificate would be canceled and a new one issued showing that the land belonged to R. M. Rainey, that the first lien was held by G. W. Briggs for $100, and that a second lieu was held by Robert H. Johnson for $100. Now, as Mr. Rainey paid off that lien, the same process of canceling the certificate and the issuance of new ones eliminating the payments until all had been paid and no liens existing, there would not be any mortgages filed; but all liens would show themselves on the face of the certificate. The transfers made would cost the ordinary fee of 50 cents or $1, of getting certificates of any matter or copies of ordinary certificates of any matter of record. It is just as simple, and, indeed, works on the same plan of transferring stock in a corporation on the books of the company, except the land is transferred on the books of the Torrens land records by a bonded officer of the State, usually made by the register of deeds. Now, opponents of this system, when they make an argument against it, begin to recite that it is declared unconstitutional in Illinois and Ohio. Yes; that is true. True, because there was some kind of sympathy, in one instance, between the lawyer and the court, in others, because of the State constitution; but it has been tested before the Supreme Court of Massachusetts and has gone to the Supreme Court of the United States in the case wherein the Supreme Court of the United States has said that it complied with the due process of law of the land and that it did not violate the Constitution of the United States if it did not violate the constitution of the State. It was declared unconstitutional in Illinois because there were judicial powers placed upon the clerk, although it is in force in a defective way in Cook County, Ill., and yet I hold before me a book from a real estate dealer of Illinois, in which there are the names of some 300 business men, bankers, real estate dealers, railroad magnates, capitalists, and other citizens of Chicago, all stating that they were satisfied with the Torrens land certificate under the Illinois plan, even in its defective form. Railroad presidents say in this booklet that they would accept a Torrens land certificate in preference to a warranty deed backed up by bond to guarantee title, because it is safer, and, as you know, bonds are supposed to be the safest thing in the business world.

"Now a word as to the guaranty proposition. One might say that it is subject—and the charge has been made—to a liability of bankruptcy itself to guarantee these titles. The method of guarantee is similar to the bank-guaranty law enacted by this legislature; that is, when the suit is filed to clear the title a certain very small per cent—in Massachusetts one-half of 1 mill—of the value of the land is put into a fund known as a 'Torrens guaranty fund,' and remains there with which to pay the owner should the court make a mistake in the land after it is registered. The real owner might turn up and prove that the court erred in its decision, but he would have to do this in the limit of time—in most laws within one year—or he is forever barred from bringing the suit. If he should do so, he can't recover the land, but from this guaranty fund he is paid the value that is placed upon the land at the time the title was cleared up by the court. If we continue the present method, and we will have to do so unless we amend the State constitution, of loaning the school fund on real setate, we will run into extreme danger of losing a lot of that fund unless we had a very certain system, such as the Torrens land system would afford us. We need the system in Oklahoma for that reason more than any other. For another reason, the titles are young; that is, transfers have been made but a short time. We could start out issuing certificates upon the 3,000,000 acres of school land, and by that means start big heavy acreage under the system at practically no expense. We could take the allotted lands and do the same way, so there would be absolute certainty as to their title, and within a generation every piece of land in the State would be carried into the court and its title cleared up by itself, when the school fund being loaned upon that would thus be protected. In brief, the Torrens land system is a quick, inexpensive, certain method of ascertaining titles and a quick, easy method of transfer."

FORM OF CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

In view of the necessities above recited and those that are likely to arise, the legislature must be given ample power by any amendment ratified for the installation of the Torrens system. I offer the following as one of proper form and with such power:

SECTION —. The legislature shall have power to provide for the investigation and determination of the ownership of real estate and for the registration of the titles thereof; and shall have power to create a court or courts with special and original or appellate jurisdiction, or both; and shall have power to appoint State and county registrars or to empower any State or county officers to act as such registrars.

Ship Subsidy.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. LINDBERGH,
OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 12, 1917.

Mr. LINDBERGH. Mr. Speaker, I have given much thought to the high cost of living and already have given to the House many of the reasons. Aside from the monopoly of money control, which is the underlying cause of it all, there are very prominent elements to be considered. Ship subsidy has been much discussed and many seek to remedy some defects in ocean transportation by giving subsidy. I have always opposed ship subsidy because it is not a fundamental way to deal with the problem; besides the subsidy is merely another item in taking more from the poorer to give to the richer.

It is not so easy for everybody to study shipping conditions as might seem. It involves investigation into conditions that we can get little report on. I looked into this problem in 1908, but was not able to give time enough to it to satisfy me that I could give the House any satisfactory information. Luckily, in some way Dr. J. E. Engstad, of Minneapolis, happened to write me, and as a result we had considerable correspondence regarding ocean traffic. Dr. Engstad, I learned through the most reliable sources, is a doctor with extensive information, has traveled much, is a careful investigator of subjects relating to economics and social problems generally. His own letters make it clear that he knows what he writes and only writes what he knows. I now quote important paragraphs from Dr. Engstad's letters, as follows:

At the close of the war our Nation will be handicapped for markets, for the allies now own or control most of the world as colonies or dependencies, and, further, every harbor and railway in South America is owned in England and France, making the system a bar against our commerce. We will find the world a very small and tight globe.

Terminals are as vital for ocean traffic as for railways, and more so. Land is plentiful around almost any city, but harbors are often small, and frontage is as a rule owned by a strong interest, which, with interlocking directorates as we know them in this country, prevents outsiders from getting a share of the traffic, except at ruinous harbor dues.

There are only a few free harbors in the world. In Europe we have Copenhagen, Hamburg, Antwerp, and now Christiania is establishing a free harbor.

There are no free harbors in all Asia, if my information is correct.

By free harbors is understood docks and warehouses owned by the commune and with equal rates for all.

New York is practically a free harbor, while Philadelphia is burglar proof, and is made so by the Pennsylvania Railway Co. Boston has recently established a small free harbor.

On the coast, Hill and the Hill interests own all water frontage in Seattle, Portland, and Tacoma. San Francisco is theoretically free. Los Angeles gave all they had to the Southern Pacific Railway, and the Government had to build an extra dock for the southern metropolis.

San Diego is at the mercy of Santa Fe Railway, except 300 feet which the company had spurned as worthless.

The same conditions prevail all over the world.

Without equal opportunities for our shipping with our competitors we will be in the same predicament that the Goulds' Wabash Railway was when it was extended to Pittsburgh. George Gould got to the city limits and no farther, and this venture almost broke the Gould family.

And, further, all the world submarine cables are owned by English capital with the exception of a few short lines owned by Danish capital.

An exception may be made to this, for we own a number of cables laid to serve between England and our country, but this means of communication does not serve any new territory.

Then the wireless and English Marconi Co. has the monopoly of air communications. All messages are sent by code and can be read by

English officials. If sent in secret code, the rates are higher. Every message sent to western Asia and Africa are relayed at Valetta and are read by our competitors, which may not be of advantage to us.

Then the trade follows the flag (?), and there we are at a disadvantage. The world has been divided since the days of the Civil War. The pie was cut, and we did not get a piece of it.

The docks and the harbors of Santos River, Buenos Aires, the only free territory in the world, are owned by the Pearson's interest, London.

All the railways, with the exception of a few short lines, are owned by the same interest.

In the World's Work for January, 1915, an article was published wherein the author explains how the Brazilian Lloyd Steamship Line had a deficit every year of half a million dollars.

This deficit was due to excessive dockage charged in their own country by the owners of the docks.

Of course Brazil has objected, and for its complaint one European Government compelled a prime minister of Brazil, M. Moller, to resign. Brazil needed credit, and a poor borrower has to submit to usury.

In Hongkong British vessels get a rebate and our ships must pay the full charges and are not granted any rebate.

I send you a map of China, which is drawn and colored to show the "sphere of influence" of each great power. An article was published a short time ago in a leading magazine on this very question, and the division is, in the main, as he explained it.

Tibet was conquered by Lieut. Younghusband with a mixed force of Indians and English troops in 1912, and without a word of protest from Washington.

This gives England entrance to China from the back door; the back door is right in the kitchen of the Celestial Kingdom.

Granting that the trade, the investment of capital follows the trade, and trade is shipped in home bottoms, where do we get our piece of pie?

To the British Empire belongs the following colonies, nations, and trading spheres of semiownership:

Wee Hei Wei, commanding the Gulf of Pechili (this is a second Port Arthur), and with this key northern China, Shanghai, not fortified, but the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, with two hundred millions of capital and branch banks all through China, keeps us out of central China. Hongkong, the Gibraltar of the East, commands the whole southern China. Amoy is also English and all its hinterland.

Tibet taken a year before the war, and with this the back door to China; Borneo; half of the Kingdom of Siam; the Straits Settlements; Singapore; Burma; the Continent or Empire of India, with 318,000,000 inhabitants; Kashmir; Nepal; Afghanistan; the southern Persia; the mouth of Euphrates; the Garden of Eden; Aden and fortress, the key to the Red Sea; Suez Canal (English shipping gets a rebate, but this is a secret one); lower, middle, and upper Egypt; Sudan; Cyprus, the key of the eastern Mediterranean Sea; Malta; island of Manos, the key of the Dardanelles; the world fortress of Gibraltar; Port Guinea, Dahomey; Nigeria; Kamerun; German West Africa; German East Africa; Sierra Leone; Basutoland; Cape Colony; Rhodesia.

South African Republic; Transvaal; Uganda and Nigeria; Zanzibar; English East Africa; Sokoto Island; Gilbert Islands; Central Africa and the Gold Coast; Australia; Tasmania; New Zealand; New Guinea; Tahiti, and about a thousand islands in the Pacific Ocean; the island of Bermuda, threatening New York City; the Bahamas, group of about a hundred islands; the greater and lesser Antilles; Jamaica, with the impregnable Kingstown; the Mosquito territory, reaching to within a few miles from the Panama Canal; British Honduras; British Guiana; British Venezuela and the mouth of Orinoco River; Newfoundland; Nova Scotia; the Empire of Canada; St. Helena, the key to southern Atlantic Ocean; Falkland Islands; Ceylon.

FRANCE.

Algiers; Morocco; French Congo; Central Africa, French Guiana, in South America; Madagascar; Indo-China, right of policing and sphere of influence in Younnan and Sechuen, the richest Province in China; the city of Tientsin; two islands near the coast of Maine.

RUSSIA.

Unhappy Finland; Kourland; nineteen-twentieths of Poland; Little Russia, with 30,000,000 Ukranians; Caucasus; Esthonia; three-fourths of Manchuria; Siberia, 5,000 miles long; and Mongolia, taken after the war; Armenia; and Basarabia.

JAPAN.

Formosa; the iron works and trading rights in Fuklen; part of Shantung; Korea; southern Manchuria, to within 20 miles of Habeer.

GERMANY.

Lost: East and West Africa; part of Shantung; the Danish part of Holstein; one-nineteenth of Poland; Alsace and Loraine, retaken from France in 1871. These Provinces were taken from Germany in 1746. They had been German since the time of Cæsar.

UNITED STATES.

Luzon and the other islands making the Philippine Group, Porto Rico, and the two Negro Republics.

* * * * * * *

The inclosed map will show how we are out of China. It will also show that it would be to an advantage for a certain power to kill off one of the late comers in the game of grab. But the pie is cut, and therefore where shall we start our ships for with a full cargo both ways?

These are the statements of Dr. Engstad. He informs me that he has had neither the time nor the opportunity to verify to an absolute certainty the accuracy of each and every one of the facts stated, but that they are substantially correct. I have examined into the circumstances that control under the conditions involved, and I am certain that the conditions would logically result in what Dr. Engstad states. Combinations of capital and their associations bring about exactly that condition.

I give some further extracts from Dr. Engstad's letters, which are very instructive—the following paragraphs:

Of course, the so-called sphere of influence in China is a sealed book to all outsiders, but judging from history, treaties, manifestos, trade privileges obtained, settlements, fortifications, and occupation, the territory allotted to each power can be approximately mapped out.

It must also be remembered that commercial supremacy is often of more value and potency than purely military possession.

And China is mortgaged, trade of, and hypothecated, until there is not a free acre of land in the whole Celestial Republic.

We know that Russia notified our minister to Petrograd a short time ago that in the Czar's dominions were 40,000,000 Mongols, and of course they inhabited Mongolia, taken from China since the war.

And the disintegration still goes on. If this war could have been postponed 20 years China could have prevented her spoliation, and by that time the giant would have been able to defend himself against his enemies.

The other statements quoted are historical or financial news and can be proven.

When we permitted England to take Tibet and the Chinese hinterland we lost all our rights and privileges.

* * * * * * *

Russia's 40,000,000 Mongols are the inhabitants of Mongolia, the half of China's territory.

I wish that you would read an article on Japan in the last issue of Everybody's, which is an inspired article against the Empire.

Of course, England and Russia desire us to kill off the miserable Japs. Do you see the point?

If I had a chance to let the world know the fact from the floor of Congress, I would on the first occasion speak plainly and state that foreign money—and millions of it—is and will be spent here to get us war crazy with the object in view to getting us to destroy Japan. Of course, it is cheaper and safer for them to hire us to do it than for them to do it themselves.

High finance—no; frenzied, bloody finance.

I would urge you to show the map to Senator STONE. It tells the story, and it is a true one.

* * * * * * *

Inclosed clipping from pro-English paper, the Journal, confirms what news or statements I have given you about China.

China is partitioned, and we are helpless.

The clipping referred to is from the Minneapolis Journal. The doctor inclosed another clipping from the same paper, and commented upon that in the following language:

Inclosed clipping explains itself. Of course, all the big papers are against the so-called "pork," they having obtained post-office buildings and other Government structures are not in the line for "pork," but are clamoring for Army and Navy "porterhouse steak."

The Journal is, as you know, a Hill and Steel Trust paper, and steel orders for battleships is not only "pork" but plain stealing.

This shipping problem is not a subject upon which the public generally informs itself, and I think it is very important that it should be brought to the attention of the people and Congress.

A world commerce would be desirable if it was governed by natural selection and rules for equitable exchanges. That is not, however, the kind of commerce that we now have. Nevertheless let us hope that the cut-throat barbarity and false economic trade and barter will before long be thrown into the discard. Surely civilization ought soon to discover itself and set up shop. When it does the freedom of the seas will be of little value if the ports are not open to all nations on like as well as just terms.

Talk of Saving Daylight.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM C. ADAMSON,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, February 23, 1917.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial from the Enquirer-Sun, Columbus, Ga.

The editorial is as follows:

TALK OF SAVING DAYLIGHT.

Considerable discussion is being indulged in concerning the setting forward of the hands of the clock in order to save an hour of daylight. Of course, as everyone knows, it would not actually save an hour of daylight. That would be impossible. So far as the records show there has been only one man in the history of the world who has saved daylight, and that was Joshua, who commanded the sun to stand still until he could whip the army of the enemies of the Lord.

It is more amusing than otherwise, therefore, to hear people discuss this question. There is no reason why the hands of the clock should be set forward in the first place. If a man wants to begin his day's work an hour earlier all he has to do is to begin it. If a large industrial plant wants to begin work at 5 o'clock in the morning instead of 6 all it has to do is to begin at the earlier hour.

There is no class of workers who value daylight more than the tiller of the soil. In fact he can not do farm work except during the daylight hours.

But the farmer has never had to set his clock an hour ahead of time in order to deceive himself into going to work. On the farm the time for rising is about 4 o'clock, and in very few instances are farmers found abed after that hour in the morning.

The farmer has never so much as given the matter of moving up the hands of his clock a thought. In other words, the farmer does not let his clock govern his movements. He works by the sun. When daylight comes he is ready to begin his day's duties and when it begins to get dark he "takes out" for the day.

Post Office Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ISAAC SIEGEL,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 21, 1917.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, it is because this bill carries with it a small increased salary for most deserving employees and the men to be benefited thereby are in no position to wait much longer for financial relief that I vote for it. I regret exceedingly that there was no way of dividing up what was known as the first part of the so-called Reed amendment.

I hope that in the Sixty-fifth Congress a bill along the lines of H. R. 17806 will receive favorable consideration at the hands of Congress. That bill reads as follows:

A bill (H. R. 17806) to regulate the payment of salaries of post-office clerks in first and second class post offices and letter carriers in the City Delivery Service.

Be it enacted, etc., That after the passage of this act clerks in first and second class post offices and letter carriers in the City Delivery Service shall be divided into six grades, as follows: First grade, salary $1,000; second grade, salary $1,100; third grade, salary $1,200; fourth grade, salary $1,300; fifth grade, salary $1,400; sixth grade, salary $1,500. Clerks and carriers shall be promoted successively to the sixth grade.

SEC. 2. That after the passage of this act all promotions of both clerks and carriers shall be made at the beginning of the quarter following the expiration of one year's service in the next lower grade. No clerk or carrier shall be denied promotion until he has been notified by his postmaster in writing of the reasons why and the employee has been given an opportunity to submit an answer in writing. The recommendation of the postmaster withholding the promotion of a clerk or carrier, together with all correspondence, including the answer of the clerk or carrier, must be forwarded to the Post Office Department for review before final action is taken. The Post Office Department may reduce a clerk or carrier from a higher to a lower grade whenever necessary for purposes of discipline. A clerk or carrier charged with any infraction of the postal laws or rules or regulations shall be furnished with a copy of the charges and all evidence in the case, and shall be given a reasonable length of time to answer same. The charges and answer must be made a part of the records of the post office and a copy of the record must be mailed to the Post Office Department for review. Before any recommendation for demotion or for removal from the service shall be approved the accused employee shall have the right to a hearing by a board, which shall be designated by the United States Civil Service Commission for that purpose, and the decision of said board shall be final. When a clerk or carrier has been reduced in salary he may be restored to his former grade or advanced to an intermediate grade at the beginning of any quarter following the reduction on evidence that his record has been satisfactory during the intervening period. Should a clerk or carrier fail of promotion because of unsatisfactory service he may be promoted at the beginning of any quarter thereafter on evidence that his record has been satisfactory during the intervening period. Clerks and carriers of the highest grade in their respective offices shall be eligible for promotion to the higher positions in said post offices, and the recommendations of postmasters shall be based on the record and qualifications of the employees, and no discrimination shall be made against either clerks or carriers in making recommendations for promotion to the higher positions. All positions in the classified civil service in the supervisory grades in post offices shall be filled by promotion from the ranks of the employees in said offices, and no position shall be filled by the transfer of an employee from another office or from another bureau or department unless the postmaster certifies in writing to the Post Office Department officials that there is no employee in his office who is competent to fill the place.

SEC. 3. That after the passage of this act any clerk shall be eligible for transfer to the service of a carrier and any carrier shall be eligible for transfer to the service of a clerk upon the recommendation of the postmaster to the Post Office Department, such transfer to be made to the corresponding grade of salary, and the time which such clerk or carrier shall have served in the grade from which transfer was made shall be counted in connection with the service to which such transfer may be made in computing the time of service necessary to entitle such employees to promotion: *Provided*, That no clerk or carrier shall be promoted more than one grade within one year's period of service.

SEC. 4. That all acts or parts of acts inconsistent with this act be, and the same are hereby, repealed.

I also insert, Mr. Speaker, the statement made by me before the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, wherein I said:

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE ISAAC SIEGEL BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON THE POST OFFICE AND POST ROADS IN RE H. R. 17806.

Mr. Chairman, I am in favor of the bill introduced by Mr. MADDEN to regulate the payment of salaries of post-office clerks in first and second class post offices and letter carriers in the City Delivery Service because it will be extending to these hard-working and conscientious servants of the Government that fair measure of treatment which is theirs by right. It will eliminate immediately the proposition of favoritism, prejudice, ill will, and in some cases bigotry, which exists at the present time before some of the men can obtain an increased salary. In addition thereto it will give the men an opportunity to be heard before a board before they are demoted or removed from the service, and what is more important, once the board shall have rendered its decision, by the language of the bill, namely, "shall be final," it means the end of the constant and numerous requests which men of the service are compelled to make to their Representatives in Congress in order that unfair and unjust demotions and dismissals be taken up before higher officials in the Post Office Department.

That under the present system, intentionally or unintentionally, men have been the victims of gross injustice in treatment accorded to them in the Post Office Department. I could point out one case where an inspector alleged that a clerk who had been a long time in the service had taken 25 cents from a letter. A search of the clerk failed to reveal the money. He was removed from the service, arrested, indicted, but a jury of his peers acquitted him forthwith. The clerk in question was not in financial straits, was fairly well to do, having inherited some money, was known to be economical, had a good reputation and character, and although acquitted by 12 men and believed to be innocent by his fellow employees, he can not obtain reinstatement in the Postal Service because the word of the inspector is deemed of greater weight than the man's previous good character and the decision and opinion of 12 jurors. This man certainly learned nothing while in the Postal Service that can be of any use to him in obtaining employment elsewhere. He was kept by the Government for 10 years and now he finds himself suddenly compelled to seek another line of employment, when for 10 years he gave the best that was in him to the Government.

I could point out another case where a clerk was slated for dismissal because he had taken a magazine from what is known as the trash waste in the post office. There was no address on the magazine and it would have been thrown out with the rest of the waste in the office. The value of the magazine at retail, if in good condition, would have been 15 cents. Yet here was a clerk with a wife and family dependent upon him, with never a charge of any kind or description against him, and with good reputation and character, about to be thrown out of employment for a charge of this kind. This was also an inspector's case. After being out of employment as a result of suspension for nearly two months the request for dismissal was denied, but his salary was reduced.

I could point out a case of a letter carrier who has been in the service for nearly 20 years, who is suffering from asthma, yet who is trying to do his work properly, but is being constantly annoyed by charges that are untrue but which are made against him with the idea of piling up a record against him so that he can be dismissed from the service.

There are a number of other cases which could be pointed out, some in New York City, some in Baltimore, and some in the other cities of the country, where inspectors, desiring to make a record, prefer charges, and whether the men be innocent or guilty the word of the inspectors is taken as against the man every time. Before a board the testimony of both could be taken, the demeanor of the men, their manner of testifying, with surrounding circumstances of each case, their previous records in the department, their character and reputation, would all be taken into consideration, and such a decision would be bound to command respect not only amongst the men themselves but also amongst the people. It would tend to help the Government maintain discipline, and the grumblings and expressions of dissatisfaction which are now heard regarding demotions and dismissals would be eliminated.

The fact that under this bill promotions and increases in salaries would be automatic are the very things which will help to make men remain in the employ of the Government and give them a feeling of contentment, which is bound to reflect itself in the quicker and better handling of the mail by them.

I sincerely hope that the committee will report this bill favorably and endeavor to have it enacted into law.

Mr. Speaker, nothing that I might say would express the feeling of the general public in the East on the "bone-dry" amendment than that which was contained in an editorial that appeared in the New York Times on February 23 last, reading as follows:

THE "BONE-DRY" AMENDMENT.

The affirmation by the Supreme Court in January of the constitutionality of the Webb-Kenyon law giving effect to State laws prohibiting the transportation in interstate commerce of liquor consigned to persons in prohibition States abandoned the principle, long held by that tribunal, that the regulation of interstate commerce belongs to the Congress exclusively. It was approved even by opponents of prohibition, in spite of the obvious danger of future diminutions of the Federal power over interstate commerce, for which it might serve as a precedent. The enforcement of prohibition in States that believe in prohibition is in every way more desirable than the imposition of it by a Federal amendment on States that are opposed to prohibition. This Congress seems to be as enthusiastic for prohibition by all methods as too many Members of it are lukewarm or hostile to the enforcement of American rights. A week ago a majority of the House Judiciary Committee conceived it to be the duty of Congress to submit a prohibition amendment to the States. Now the House has passed, by a vote of 319 to 72, the amendment to the Post Office appropriation bill offered by Senator REED and passed by the Senate, absolutely prohibiting the shipment of intoxicants to any State or Territory that prohibits the manufacture or sale of them for "beverage purposes."

Prohibition is a term of varying meaning in the States classed as "dry." Some States allow a certain monthly ration of strong or milder waters to be imported for personal use. Other States put no limit on that use. "Bone-dry" prohibition is, or soon will be, the law in 10 States, and similar measures are before 7 or 8 legislatures, and there is a bill in Congress to make Alaska "bone-dry." At present, however, only 8 of 22 States now or soon to become "dry" prohibit the importation of liquor for individual consumption.

The decision on the Webb-Kenyon law courtesies to State rights yields to prohibition States a part of the exclusive Federal power to regulate interstate commerce. "We can have no doubt," said Mr. Chief Justice White, "that Congress has complete authority to prevent paralyzing of State authority." Now Congress uses complete authority to paralyze in more than a dozen States the authority of the State to permit the importation of liquors for personal use. Both by the assertion and by the waiver of the Federal power over interstate commerce is "bone-dry" prohibition to be served.

It would be interesting to speculate on the respective shares of sincerity, of politics, of the desire of statesmen to "get on the band wagon" now that prohibition is become popular, and of "wet" finesse in the great vote by which this measure was passed. Many opponents of prohibition hold cynically that the best way to fight it is to make it unpopular and odious by making it as severe, hampering, and absolute as it can be made. They hold that many prohibitionists hate the saloon but not the drink; that they wish to benefit others, to improve the good order and economy of the community without sacrifice of their personal habit, the Times has no means of knowledge as to the merits of that theory and no objections save on principle to a prohibition that rests on the belief and practice of the majority. It passes over here

the questions of property rights and loss of Federal revenue under this bill. Grave doubts must arise, however, as to some of its provisions and implications.

It excludes from the mails "every letter, postal card, circular, newspaper, pamphlet, or publication of any kind containing any advertisement" of or order for intoxicants of any kind if the addressee is in a State or Territory where such advertising or soliciting of orders is forbidden by law; and it enacts that:

"If the publisher of any newspaper or other publication, or the agent of such publisher, or if any dealer in such liquors or his agent, shall knowingly deposit or cause to be deposited, or shall knowingly send or cause to be sent, anything to be conveyed or delivered by mail in violation of the provisions of this section, or shall knowingly deliver or cause to be delivered by mail anything herein forbidden to be carried by mail, he shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than six months, or both; and for any subsequent offense shall be imprisoned not more than one year. Any person violating any provision of this section may be tried and punished, either in the district in which the unlawful matter or publication was mailed or to which it was carried by mail for delivery according to direction thereon or in which it was caused to be delivered by mail to the person to whom it was addressed."

The question of revenue from liquor advertisements in newspapers is here beside the purpose, but it is worth noting that an advertisement lawful in New York, for example, is made unlawful if the journal in which it appears is mailed to Alabama. A Federal statute is to make a publisher, innocent in New York, a criminal in Alabama. The alternative haling of the innocent-guilty, the criminal (limited), publisher to another jurisdiction is characteristic of the sentiments of too many politicians toward newspapers. That is a mere expression of zeal or malice; but is the freedom of the press safe under legislation of this kind? If the Government can edit advertisements, why can't it edit news and editorials? Take out liquor advertisements, and accounts of a meeting of brewers or distillers or an editorial opposing prohibition might be next to be excised.

The Postmaster General is to make known by bulletins from time to time the names of States that prohibit liquor advertising. The map of innocence and crime by mail will change from year to year. It will be curious to see, in case this bill is signed by Mr. Wilson, whether it impairs any constitutional rights or guaranties.

The Ruthenians (Ukrainians).

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. HAMILL,

OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 21, 1917.

On Senate joint resolution (S. J. Res. 201) requesting the President to appoint a day for the relief of the Ruthenians (Ukrainians).

Mr. HAMILL. Mr. Speaker, this resolution was conceived in a spirit of humanity. It explains its own purpose. Millions of Ruthenians have been sorely oppressed and scourged by the ravages of war in eastern Europe, and no helping hand has thus far been extended to them, save the feeble assistance which a few of their own people from the Ukrain now residing in America have been able to render.

The matter was first brought to my attention by the very reverend administrator of the Ruthenian Catholic Diocese in the United States, the Rev. Father P. Poniatishin, through his counsel, Mr. William J. Kearns, of the New Jersey bar. Before the Christmas holidays Mr. Kearns consulted me with reference to the adoption of some measure of relief for the Ukrainians, especially for those in war-stricken Galicia, Bukowina, and other Provinces of Austria. Then I received a letter from the very reverend administrator, which I beg to insert, as follows:

NEWARK, N. J., *December 27, 1916.*

Hon. JAMES A. HAMILL, M. C.,
Jersey City, N. J.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I have to thank you most cordially for the deep interest you are taking in the cause of our Ruthenian war sufferers, and to say that the Ruthenians who have made their homes in this country will always feel that they owe you a sincere debt of gratitude. In our diocese in the United States there are at least 600,000 souls from Galicia, besides some 500,000 more Ruthenians, who are also of Ukrainian origin, from Hungary, Bukowina, and other parts of Austria. I know I speak the true sentiment of my people in expressing our warmest appreciation of your efforts in their behalf. These people deeply sympathize with their afflicted brothers, but have been unable to render them much practical assistance in their great misfortunes and terrible sufferings. Millions of our people in Galicia have been deprived of all their property and belongings and are in actual need of the necessaries of life. In Galicia alone, prior to the war, there was a Ruthenian population of some 4,000,000. At least 1,000,000 of these former inhabitants have been driven out of their country through the scourge of war, and are wandering without home or friends through other parts of the Austrian Empire. These Ukrainians seem to have been forgotten, or overlooked, for notwithstanding that measures of relief have been undertaken for other nationalities, nothing whatever of a systematic, regular character has yet been done for them. If the President of the United States would designate a day for the collection of funds to relieve their destitution I feel that America out of its great, generous heart would respond nobly. May I, therefore, supplement the request of my counsel, Mr. Kearns, that you stand sponsor for a resolution requesting the President so to act?

With sentiments of deep respect, I am,

Very sincerely, yours,

P. PONIATISHIN, *Administrator.*

On January 3, 1917, Very Rev. P. Poniatishin, with his counsel, came to Washington with reference to this measure and enlisted my interest more thoroughly. On January 23, 1917, they visited the Capitol again, and on January 24, 1917, the resolution was introduced in this House and simultaneously in the Senate. Senator HUGHES of New Jersey stood sponsor for it in the other House, and the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations reported it with unanimous approval. It passed the Senate and has now been substituted on the House calendar for my measure. It appeals to the humanitarian instinct of every Member of this House. It breathes the spirit of a broad charity. The great American heart will unquestionably respond with a warm and generous sympathy, and prompt the citizens of our country, irrespective of racial origin, to aid materially millions of their fellow human beings whose sufferings are simply incredible and who are unable to help themselves.

Probably no section in all war-stricken Europe has undergone so terrible an affliction as has the country inhabited by the Ruthenians in eastern Galicia and the northwestern part of Bukowina. Before the war, in Galicia alone there dwelt 4,000,000 of these people. Their country has been so terribly ravaged by war that it may be regarded as almost irretrievably ruined, for its people are scattered and hundreds of thousands of them are to-day homeless and lack the very necessaries of life. College professors, clergymen, lawyers, doctors, and merchants have been deprived of their all and their families reduced to destitution, and compelled actually to beg for bread. They lack necessary clothing to protect them against the cold of an Austrian winter, and many of them, according to reliable reports, are absolutely without shoes and stockings. Their country has been overrun and raked fore and aft by the most terrible war ever known, not only three or four times in general military movements, but by innumerable deadly and devastating minor skirmishes, entailing vast suffering and destitution. Since the taking of Lemberg and its recapture, and both prior to and since the siege and fall of Przemysl, there has been an uninterrupted, desolating warfare raging throughout this region, which has told most terribly upon the Ruthenian population.

No contributions or measures of relief collected or intended for the other war sufferers ever reach these Ruthenians. Theirs is a typical instance of a people who have been actually submerged; they are, in fact, a forgotten race, and yet these Ukrainians constitute a nation just as clearly and sharply defined as do the Poles, the Russians, or the Bulgarians. There are few people who understand that the Russian tongue is a language as foreign to a Ruthenian as French is to an Italian. Unfortunately these people and their country are little known either in Europe or America, although they have existed for centuries as a distinct race and nation, while their ancient capital of Kiev, on the river Dneiper, rivaled at one time in wealth and magnificence the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire, but that was before it was pillaged and destroyed by the Muscovites.

The Ukraine covers about 328,185 square miles, and its territory is therefore one and one-half times as large as the present-day Germany. In eastern Galicia, the northwest of Bukowina, and the northeast of Hungary there is a Ruthenian population of 4,200,000 souls, or rather there was such a population there before the war began, while the Ruthenian race, populating the Ukraine, numbers, or rather did number prior to the war, nearly 40,000,000 souls. Millions of them have been slain, maimed, crippled, and irreparably ruined by the belligerents on both sides, and no hand has been raised as yet in any regular or systematic way to relieve the distress of this particular people.

The first Ukrainian immigrants came to America about 40 years ago. Many of them came here to better their economic conditions; some of them fled before the political and religious persecution. This tide of immigration has immensely increased in late years, and continued until the war began. At present there are a million Ukrainians in the United States, and 200,000 in Canada. In Canada they are mostly farmers, having settled in the great wheat-producing Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. In the United States they are laborers, miners, farmers, skilled workmen, and business men. The conditions in America from the very beginning favored the development of the Ukrainian immigrant. The man that under the oppressive circumstances in the old country seemed doomed to eternal dependence had here in America a chance. As it is usually the case with all the Slavonic immigrants, the Ukrain-

ians settled in large colonies in different industrial centers. Having provided homes for their families, their next endeavor was to provide for their own spiritual needs, and on this they never spare money and sacrifice. So the churches were built, beneficial and educational organizations were founded, economical, cooperative institutions were started, and many Ukrainian papers founded. The Ukrainians are very much interested in all these institutions, and it is considered as a national duty to be the member of at least one of them. Usually at the churches parochial schools are organized, for the purpose of teaching the children the Ukrainian language as well as the principles upon which the American civilization is built. The Ukrainians have a full confidence in the American schools, and are eager to send their children there.

CONCLUSION.

Now, however, that the terrible plight of these people, who were almost a forgotten race, has been brought to the attention of the American Congress, and that the American President has raised his voice in behalf of the submerged peoples of the world, a glimmer of hope has even come to the Ruthenians, who were well-nigh on the brink of despair—in fact, who were actually in despair—of their receiving some temporary provisional relief. Therefore, may they hopefully look forward to some amelioration of their present condition of misery and wretchedness. Hence, Mr. Speaker, I bespeak for this resolution the unanimous vote of the House. In this appeal I am joined by my colleague, Mr. FARR, of Pennsylvania, who has enthusiastically supported and aided me in all my endeavors to have this resolution enacted.

Maj. Gen. George Armstrong Custer.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 26, 1917.

Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, availing myself of the liberality of general debate, I desire to submit a few observations on the life and character and my efforts in Congress to secure the erection of a suitable memorial to the memory of Maj. Gen. George Armstrong Custer, a native of my home county and district, from which he was appointed to West Point by my predecessor, Hon. John A. Bingham, one of the civic pillars of Lincoln's administration, and who, with Secretary of War Stanton, also a native of my district and before his appointment as a member of Buchanan's Cabinet prosecuting attorney and a resident of my home town, gave to the great President steadiness of purpose and stern resolve to finish the task before him when sentimental pacifists during the Civil War urged upon him peace without victory, always a dangerous thought in war if there be basic principles of right involved.

Gen. Custer was barely 25 years of age when the Civil War closed, and considering his youth was perhaps the highest ranking officer in either army. At Appomattox he lead the advance column of Gen. Grant and was first to sight the white flag of Lee's army raised as a token of approaching military exhaustion. He remained in close attendance on the two rival commanders during the negotiations which followed, resulting in peace with honor to both armies, although an acknowledged victory for the Union forces. It was the end of the war; it heralded a reunion of the States, in fact and in sentiment, North and South.

It was the greatest epoch-marking period in American annals. Gen. Custer, loyal to his oath and the Government that educated him, chose to remain in its service, and did not, as many of his companions in arms did, follow the lure of civic honors, then easily wthin his reach. He went bravely to the frontier and, with all the enthusiasm of his nature, supplementing his Civil War experience and his West Point education, engaged in the fierce struggle then at its height between civilization and savagery until his death, in June, 1876, when a climax was reached and the Custer massacre startled the whole civilized world. Although a seeming victory for savagery, Custer's entire command being annihilated, it really marked the beginning of the end of savage warfare in America. It so aroused the latent forces of civilization that, relentlessly and speedily, the red man was hunted to his lair and Indian warfare in the United States became a matter only of history.

The tragedy of the Custer massacre, like the surrender at Appomattox, marks an epoch-making period in the life of the Nation.

When I came to Congress, in 1909, I was familiar with the successes and tragedies of Gen. Custer's life, the pathos of his pitiless but heroic death, and, finding on investigation at Washington that the Government he had so faithfully served had neglected to recognize by monument or otherwise his distinguished services in the Civil War or his sacrificial offering to civilization, I early resolved to introduce a bill to erect a modest monument to his memory here in Washington, where many costly memorials had already been built to the memory of national heroes.

The amount asked was small—$25,000—and, confidently relying upon the generosity and patriotism of Congress, I had my bill referred to the Library Committee, a committee composed of men of intelligence and lofty ideals, who, I felt sure, would appreciate an opportunity to thus honor one of the country's most worthy heroes.

But time passed and I heard nothing from the committee. Reluctantly I began to realize that a change in public sentiment had come to the National Capital since my hero led the grand review along Pennsylvania Avenue in 1865. Anxiously, by letter to the chairman and otherwise, I began to urge consideration of my bill, but the committee doors remained absolutely closed. I was never given opportunity to present its merits. A clerk in the anteroom was prolific in promises, but no report of any kind on the bill was ever made to the House.

I was not a Member of the Sixty-second or Sixty-third Congress, and my successor, a young man, possibly lacking sentiment as he did comradeship with the heroes of the Civil War, chose not to revive the subject. At any rate, all efforts to do honor to this knightly hero, this sacrificial offering of civilization to frontier savagery, ended with my services in the Sixty-first Congress.

But the currents of Ohio politics are uncertain, and in 1914 I found myself coming back to this Congress without any loss of comradeship or sentiment on my part for the war heroes of the sixties, and almost my first bill offered was a renewal of my efforts to obtain just recognition from Congress of Gen. Custer's distinguished services, this time in a Congress of Custer's own political faith and with a President in agreement with it.

Sensible, however, of what seemed to be a change in public sentiment in Washington City since that greatest of all days in the history of the Nation, when the volunteer legions of Grant and Sherman, Sheridan and Hancock, sturdy veterans, their work accomplished, marched in review before the President, anxious only to lay down their arms and return to the peaceful pursuits of private life; and, thinking as I did, that possibly this change of sentiment might have to some extent influenced the Commission on Fine Arts, which assumes, by its advice, to control the placing of monuments at the National Capital, not to encourage any further monuments therein of this kind, I thought it better to provide for the placing of the memorial I contemplated where there would be no divided sentiments, where it would certainly be appreciated, at the birthplace of Gen. Custer, in the picturesque village of New Rumley, Ohio, on a hilltop, possibly the highest point in the State, and overlooking scenic environments and beauty rivaling any to be found in the Alps.

My bill read as follows:

A bill to provide for the erection of a statue to Maj. Gen. George Armstrong Custer at his birthplace in New Rumley, Ohio.

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to erect at such suitable point as may be selected by him at New Rumley, Ohio, the birthplace of Maj. Gen. George Armstrong Custer, a suitable statue or monument to his memory.

SEC. 2. That to provide for the expenses thereof there is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $50,000.

It was introduced December 14, 1915, and referred to the committee on the same day. I waited hopefully, without making any inquiry of the committee until it had passed five regular meeting days, when, fearing my bill was to be again quietly pigeonholed, I prepared a statement of facts which, with a letter asking consideration, I sent to the committee. They were as follows:

JANUARY 17, 1916.

Hon. JAMES L. SLAYDEN,
Chairman Committee on the Library,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SLAYDEN: I have introduced and have pending before your committee H. R. 4688, authorizing the erection of a modest statue to Maj. Gen. George Armstrong Custer, at his birthplace in New Rumley, Ohio. Gen. Custer is not only one of the most distinguished of Northern officers in the War between the States, but he was the commanding officer in 1876 at the Custer Indian massacre, and his friends think it only

due, at this late date, that some recognition of this character should be given him by the Government.

I have prepared and am sending you herewith a statement of facts relative to the merits of this bill, which I should appreciate if you would read and call the attention of the other members of your committee to. It presents in a weak way the full merits of this bill, but I would also appreciate an opportunity of appearing at a convenient time before your committee further to explain.

Thanking you in advance for any courtesy you may be able to show me in this matter, I am,

Very sincerely, yours,

D. A. HOLLINGSWORTH,
Member of Congress, Eighteenth Ohio District.

STATEMENT OF HON. D. A. HOLLINGSWORTH, OF OHIO, IN SUPPORT OF BILL TO ERECT MONUMENT TO MAJ. GEN. GEORGE ARMSTRONG CUSTER AT HIS BIRTHPLACE IN NEW RUMLEY, OHIO.

George Armstrong Custer was, at the outbreak of the War between the States, in 1861, an undergraduate at West Point Military Academy, but, following a youthful impulse and firm conviction of duty, he immediately entered the Federal Army and served with distinguished gallantry until the close of the war, when, at the early age of 25, having risen to the rank of major general of Cavalry, he led the final charge at Appomattox, meeting on the way, happily for our beloved land, the white flag of Lee's army.

He remained in close attendance upon Grant and Lee until the final peace stipulations were signed by the two chieftains.

Gen. Sheridan, his immediate superior, said of him at the time that he was "the greatest Cavalry general of ancient or modern times."

He was born at New Rumley, Harrison County, Ohio, of Democratic parentage, but was appointed to West Point on merit by a former Republican Congressman from my district, Hon. John A. Bingham. His standing and grades after entering the Government school were practically perfect, but his patriotic spirit would not permit him to remain longer in training when his country, as he believed, called him to active service.

A soldier by nature, instinct, and training, he did not, after the war, like many others of both armies, seek civic and political honors, which at that time came easily to deserving ex-soldiers. Had he done so, a Custer Square or a magnificent monument of bronze or marble here at the National Capital, instead of blankness everywhere, might have borne mute testimony to his sterling qualities as a military leader of distinction.

The Government he served so well on the tented field could never have been guilty of such ingratitude toward him had he sought the limelight of civic renown, as did many of his comrades whose names and fame are now perpetuated in the monumental shafts and sculptured marble of the most magnificent capital city of the world.

This is not all. On the 25th day of June, 1876, Gen. Custer, still an officer in the United States Army, in command of an inadequate Cavalry force, was surrounded in the "bad lands" of the frontier by a horde of savage Indians, and, resisting to the death like brave men, he and his troopers, numbering 254, were brutally massacred. With him perished two brothers and one brother-in-law. Not a soul of his command escaped except a friendly Indian scout.

It proved, however, fortunately for American civilization, the beginning of the end of savage warfare on our frontier. It attracted the attention of the Government to a most serious condition of life in sparsely settled regions of the West, and hostile savages were soon hunted down and destroyed, while the peaceably inclined tribes were in a sense adopted as wards of the Nation to be cared for, as they still are.

Again, in death as in life, at Appomattox he proved himself a hero of marked and intrepid courage.

Gen. Custer was not a member of any of the exclusive Army societies organized among officers during and since the war, and hence those societies have not, as they have with their own distinguished members, undertaken to erect any monument to his memory.

At the grand review in Washington, in 1865, Gen. Custer with his command was given the position of honor, the right of the line, and head of the column of 200,000 veterans fresh from Appomattox, all of whom knew that he had fairly and rightfully won it by his gallantry and heroic bearing throughout the war and at the closing scenes of the mighty struggle between the sections.

Essentially a soldier like his chief, Gen. Grant, and his rival, Gen. Lee, Custer was also like them a man of peace. Grant's famous words, "Let us have peace," rang out no clearer on that historic occasion at Appomattox than did Custer's words along the same line on the same day in an address to his brave troopers announcing the near approach of peace.

Let me quote it in part:

HEADQUARTERS THIRD CAVALRY DIVISION,
Appomattox Court House, Va., April 9, 1865.

SOLDIERS OF THE THIRD DIVISION: With profound gratitude toward the God of Battles, the commanding general avails himself of this, his first, opportunity to express to you his admiration of the heroic manner in which you have passed through the series of battles which to-day resulted in the surrender of the enemy's entire army.

The record established by your indomitable courage is unparalleled in the annals of the war. Your prowess has won for you even the respect and admiration of your enemy.

You have never lost a gun, never lost a color, and have never been defeated.

The near approach of peace renders it improbable that you will again be called upon to undergo the fatigues of the toilsome march or the exposures of the battle field, but should the assistance of keen blades wielded by your sturdy arms be required to hasten the coming of that glorious peace for which you have been so long contending, the general commanding is proudly confident that, in the future as in the past, every demand will be met with a hearty and willing response.

Let us hope that our work is done and that, blessed with the comforts of peace, we may soon be permitted to enjoy the pleasures of home and friends.

For our comrades who have fallen let us ever cherish a grateful remembrance. To the wounded and those who languish in Southern prisons let our heartfelt sympathy be tendered.

And now, speaking for myself alone, when the war is ended and the task of the historian begins, when those deeds of daring which have rendered the name and fame of the Third Cavalry Division imperishable are inscribed upon the bright pages of our country's history, I only ask my name be written as that of the commander of the Third Cavalry Division.

G. A. CUSTER, *Brevet Major General.*

Heroic and modest, he was not thinking or looking forward to monumental fame. He was content that history only should record his deeds. The tragic massacre of 1876, which rendered his name immortal, was in the future.

Of his immediate family friends, only one remains whose heart would be made glad by this delayed recognition. A faithful widow in her loneliness, as the evening shadows gather, still steadfastly cherishes with all the loving intensity of youth the memory of her soldier husband who died, some 40 years ago, a martyr, if there ever was one, to his country and to civilization. A personal letter of appreciation is my warrant for assuring the committee that the passage of this bill by Congress would be highly gratifying to her. It would also be regarded by a happily reunited country, 50 years after the last hostile shot was fired in the dreadful war drama of the sixties, and after all the departments of the Government, politically speaking, have undergone a change, for this Congress to thus honor a worthy soldier of the Northland whose command, April 9, 1865, on the last real battle line between the contending armies, received, modestly and without unseemly exultation, the white token, supposed to indicate approaching military exhaustion, from Gen. Lee, the greatest chieftain of the South, still its idol, and carried it between the lines to the commanding general of the northern Army, Gen. Grant, still believed to be the greatest military figure in American history.

It would be an honor both to the men who won and the men who lost at Appomattox.

I could not do more. Anxiously I waited, but weeks lengthened into months and months into a year or more without a word of information being vouchsafed by the committee.

Finally, with the near approach of adjournment and the crowding of the calendar with vitally important administration measures, I wrote a note of inquiry to the chairman, which he was good enough to answer promptly, but clearly indicating that I was doomed to another disappointment.

My note and the answer follow:

JANUARY 23, 1917.

Hon. JAMES L. SLAYDEN,
Chairman Committee on the Library,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SLAYDEN: Recalling that in January, 1916, soon after the meeting of the Sixty-fourth Congress, I introduced and had referred to the Library Committee H. R. 4688, to authorize the erection of a modest monument to the memory of Maj. Gen. George Armstrong Custer, and, although I filed with it a written brief, I also requested, by letter and otherwise, the privilege of appearing before the committee, at its convenience, in further support of the measure; and, not having been given such opportunity and no action having been taken by the committee, I presume I may as well conclude, with the near approach of the close of Congress, favorable action need no longer be expected by me.

I should, however, Mr. SLAYDEN, appreciate it if you would have a report of some kind made to the House, so that the attitude of the committee may be known to the friends and supporters of the bill, and thus relieve me of seeming neglect of a proposition which I deem very worthy.

Thanking you in advance for any consideration you or your committee may give the subject, I am,

Very truly, yours,

D. A. HOLLINGSWORTH,
Member of Congress, Eighteenth District, Ohio.

COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY,
Washington, D. C., January 24, 1917.

Hon. D. A. HOLLINGSWORTH,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. HOLLINGSWORTH: I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your favor of the 23d instant with regard to the bill introduced by you to provide for the erection of a monument to Maj. Gen. George A. Custer at New Rumley, Ohio.

I regret exceedingly that circumstances have prevented favorable action on the bill in which you are interested, but you may be assured there has been no discrimination against the measure.

During the six years I have been chairman of the Committee on the Library the necessity for economy has been urged upon the committee, and repeatedly we have been asked not to report bills carrying appropriations if it could be avoided.

Consequently we have had to defer favorable consideration of many worthy projects, and in six years there have been reported from this committee but two bills carrying appropriations, one for $7,500 and the other $35,000.

At the beginning of this session I received a letter from the Speaker of the House, from which I quote:

"In view of the enormous expenses of the Government and the certainty of a great deficit, I take the liberty of suggesting to you as chairman of the Committee on the Library that it would, in my judgment, be well to refuse to entertain the idea of reporting bills that involve an expense on the Treasury for the procurement of ornaments and luxuries. Such things can very well wait until we can better afford to make such investments."

We have more than a hundred bills pending before the committee seeking to provide money for the erection of monuments, memorials, etc. Under the circumstances I do not believe the committee will report favorably any one of them.

When you filed your statement concerning the Custer monument with the committee last January I called it to the attention of the members, and I shall be glad to arrange a hearing for you. I have not previously done so for the reason that I thought you would not care to have the hearing at a time when it was improbable the measure would receive consideration.

It has not been due to lack of diligence on your part that the bill has not been reported.

Yours, most truly, JAMES L. SLAYDEN, *Chairman.*

The courtesy of this answer challenged my admiration, but when, a few days afterwards—February 9—I read in the Washington Post a report of an address made the evening before by the honorable gentleman to the Washington Society of Fine Arts all my hopes vanished. I quote one brief paragraph which,

possibly erroneously, may be thought to have a slight personal tinge:

As soon as a national hero dies there is always some one who runs to Congress for an appropriation for a memorial. Why, this city is crowded now with statues, figures, and monuments to the memory of our heroes. We should wait.

Gen. Custer's admirers have waited already over 40 years since his death to secure national recognition of his services and sacrifices.

Note also the quotation in this letter to the chairman. No bills for "ornaments or luxuries" to be reported. Shades of the Washington Monument, piercing the sky in majestic grandeur as a memorial to the memory of the Father of our Country, has sentiment for the Nation's heroes become extinct? Are patriotic memories hereafter to be wholly ignored? Have commercialism and modern art societies crushed out national ideals and sentiment among the people? Is the erection of a modest memorial by the Government he served and for which he died to the memory of a neglected hero of the type of Gen. Custer to be classed simply as an "ornament or luxury" for the living? Is there a time limit fixed on national gratitude?

I refuse, Mr. Speaker, to believe such an atrocious libel on American patriotism. It is inconceivable.

I have mentioned a possible change in public sentiment as having taken place at the National Capital since 1865, when Gen. Custer, with dusty uniform but every inch a soldier, rode down Pennsylvania Avenue the cynosure of a grateful citizenship, leading the victorious forces of the Union in review before the President, and the thought occurs that perhaps my mention of this change may call for or at least justify a brief reference to details.

Historic comparisons if truthful are instructive and ought not to be regarded as offensive. It is nether pleasant nor profitable to stir, or be charged with stirring, the embers of an embittered past. Generally, in all contests, there is some fault on both sides and forbearance is a real virtue.

Before the Civil War Washington was distinctively a southern city in sentiment and controlling influences, and this fact, to northern minds, seemed to be emphasized in many objectionable ways not now to be referred to except by students of history. During and after the war there was a change in this respect and northern control replaced southern sentiment, except in the self-satisfied exclusive circles of ancient lineage, found in all cities except in a few progressive ones where old family distinctions are not regarded.

Few excesses marked this period of change, and even in the supreme hour of victory for the Union cause exultation was avoided and no attempts were made to humiliate those in the city who had in quiet seclusion nursed a vain hope of victory for their friends of the Southland.

The seasoned veterans of the North, chastened by thoughts of the awful carnage they had witnessed, marched quietly in review down Pennsylvania Avenue thinking only of home and muster out when they would become again a part of the great civic citizenship of the Republic they had saved from destruction. Few unpleasant reminders of the war were left behind. No arc de triumph was permitted to span any of the magnificent avenues of the National Capital. No picture cut or carving was allowed to be placed in the Capitol Building to remind anyone of Vicksburg or Appomattox, of Sherman's march to the sea or the capture of Richmond. The dominant element of the Government was thoughtful and considerate of the vanquished; the right hand of fellowship and forgetfulness was freely extended after the tragic furling of the stars and bars at Appomattox.

The pact of peace between Grant and Lee has been kept inviolate in spirit and in fact, and is still held sacred by the Northland.

But, presto change. Beginning with the early deflection of President Johnson, a quiet, peaceful, persistent, but perfectly legal prosouthern agitation was instituted, resulting finally in the conditions we have to-day at Washington, aptly called by some the "southern restoration," something like the restoration of monarchy in England after the republican virtues of Cromwell were forgotten. Ante bellum emblems reappeared, ante bellum sentiment and ante bellum dominance gradually replaced the public sentiment of the war period and became as pronounced, although not so tragic, as in the dark days which led up to the Civil War when personal violence sometimes took the place of rational argument.

As suggestive of the high points of expectation in this southern renaissance, from the viewpoint of its friends, I beg to quote the words of an honorable Member of this House in a speech recently delivered at one of the numerous Confederate centers in this city and by unanimous consent printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The occasion was the joint anniversary of the births of Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson, "whose names," said the speaker, "represent a glory, and whose deeds have illumined a cause with a radiance which shall never die."

Further quoting:

It was their own mighty spirit communicated to the Army of Northern Virginia which made it invincible upon any field of equal combat and gave it immortal renown.

Their last resting place will be found in every land where patriotic heroism has a home.

During the entire Civil War the courage and sincerity of the Confederate soldier was never questioned by his brave opponents on the battle field. The ability of Lee, of Jackson, and other great leaders of the South was never questioned or minimized. But the culmination of fraternal feeling between all classes of citizens of this great land of ours has been reserved for the year of 1917, when the survivors of Confederate veterans, in response to the recognized wish of our whole country, and it might with truth be said its invitation, will meet in reunion in this beautiful and attractive Capital in June next. The man from Maine shall meet in friendly intercourse the man from North Carolina; the man from Minnesota shall rejoice with the man from Mississippi. From ocean to ocean will be gathered together those who will share in the enjoyment of this auspicious and delightful occasion.

Beautiful thought; happy inspiration. In the unique but expressive language of our good friend from Texas, I feel like saying amen.

Yes; men of the Northland come to Washington in June, not as you came in the sixties, but as friends in the spirit of joint reunion suggested by this eloquent eulogist of Lee and Jackson. It is staged by Confederate enthusiasm, and by a resolution and appropriation of this Congress, for an epoch-marking period in American history; it is to mark the final renaissance of the "good old days before the war." You will be royally entertained, and in return courtesy requires that you overlook any regrettable changes which have taken place in the National Capital during the last half century.

Only one suggestion have I to make to the survivors of the Northern Army, and this I trust may not be regarded as out of harmony with the high points of expectancy in Maj. STEDMAN'S address:

To the gray-haired veterans who followed Gen. Custer in their youth and were with him in the last charge at Appomattox and know how richly he deserves the gratitude of the Republic, I suggest that you ask the managers of this reunion why no memorial or other recognition of the services and sacrifices of Gen. Custer appears among the many "statues, figures, and monuments to the memory of our heroes," with which, according to Chairman SLAYDEN, the city is crowded. The answer, ten chances to one, will be a blank stare and an inquiry as to who Custer was. Do not appear shocked at this, for it is only in keeping with the action of this Congress in denying him a mite of just recognition.

You men who followed Grant from Donelson to Vicksburg and from Vicksburg through the Wilderness to Appomattox, ask to be directed to his monument, and you will find near but off a short distance from the base of Capitol Hill an unfinished foundation commenced many years ago, with only a few meaningless pedestals thereon, but nothing to remind you that it is intended as a site for a memorial to the great commander of the Union forces, and no one will be found to tell you how many years this unfinished foundation has remained in its present condition, a disgrace to the Nation whose armies he led to victory and of which he was twice elected President.

Go out to Arlington, a place peculiarly sacred to Union soldiers, over 35,000 of whom lie buried there, many of them in unmarked graves, and where you have been told the Government has provided a holy sanctuary or exclusive place, as it were, for an annual display of patriotic sentiment by those who delight to remember and honor the Union dead of the Republic, and you will also find, recently erected on the same grounds, another shrine, in size and magnificence excelling all others, a veritable Confederate center for rival displays of Confederate sentiment. Do not criticize; times have changed.

Go to the Capitol Building and examine the records of this present Congress and you will find many things of which you read little in the public newspapers. You will learn that there are now pending measures to annul the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution, vital questions supposed to have been settled by the war; bills to grant pensions to Confederate soldiers at a higher average rate than now paid to Union soldiers, and many other measures calculated to make good to the Southland the damages you are still believed to have ruthlessly caused in the sixties. Peer a little further into the record and see how complacent Congress has been toward this sentiment in fixing a special date for the delivery of enthusiastic eulogies on the life and character of Jefferson Davis.

If, after this, a lingering doubt remains of this so-called southern restoration, go into Statuary Hall and you will find a bronze statue of Grant's famous rival at Appomattox, in full

Confederate uniform, garlanded and decked with flowers, the most conspicuous figure in a group of 100 or more of the Nation's distinguished notables who have added renown to the Republic in both civil and military life.

Maj. STEDMAN and I each saw this heroic bronze figure of the Southland in life, on the battle field, but from different angles, and, in all kindness, his viewpoint as an officer in the Confederate Army being better than mine as a private soldier on the other side, I leave solely to him the pleasing task of eulogy.

But, comrades, after cordial greetings and happy exchanges of reminescence shall have brought the reunion to a close, and you get back home in the Northland, ask yourselves in all seriousness whether the changes of a half century which you have witnessed in Washington do not in fact justify all that has been said of southern renaissance and the restoration of southern ideals and sentiment at the National Capital.

Yes, Union veterans of the Northland, especially those who were at the grand review in 1865, come to Washington again in June, 1917, and hear the jubilee notes of rejoicing, pitched on a high scale but attuned, as explained by Maj. STEDMAN to strike a chord of harmony reaching from ocean to ocean and in sweetest accents acclaiming the beauties of a new day for the Southland.

It may not be epoch-marking, but it will certainly be a day long to be remembered.

Meantime, in taking leave for the present of my efforts to secure from the Government proper recognition and a modest memorial to the memory of Maj. Gen. George Armstrong Custer, hero and martyr, I repeat, as in my statement to the committee, if this Democratic Congress were to do him this simple act of justice it would be an honor both to the men who won and the men who lost at Appomattox.

It would also be a valued guaranty, a patriotic inducement to the men now asked to join the big preparedness armies of which we hear more loud talk than we see of actual enlistments, to know that they would not be forgotten or their memories be neglected by the Government if they should come home after the battle laden with laurels of victory and honor for their country.

Justice, honor, and gratitude are as essential to the well-being of a republic as they are to individual good citizenship; without these high ideals patrotism weakens, volunteer enlistments lag when most needed, and the Government is forced to resort to arbitrary methods of forcing men to join the colors, conditions in which history admonishes freemen to beware of the man on horseback.

Opposition to Borland Amendment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALLEN T. TREADWAY,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 27, 1917.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, the futility of passing the Borland amendment appropriating $400,000 to be expended by the Federal Trade Commission for the purpose of a so-called investigation into the high cost of living is well borne out by the examples we have of investigations now in progress. The price of gasoline has, I believe, been under a so-called investigation by that commission for a somewhat indefinite period. With what result? It is practically at top-notch price to the consumer to-day. The coal situation has likewise been under investigation for a lengthy period. A resolution was adopted by the Senate on June 22, 1916, and a similar resolution was adopted by the House on August 18, 1916. What is the present status? Coal never was as high, except for a brief period during the great strike in New England and, I believe, elsewhere, as to-day. I happened to become inquisitive as to what was being done, and introduced a privileged resolution of inquiry, but have finally given up as hopeless securing any information at the present time that would be of any benefit to a poor coal consumer. A letter from the secretary of the Federal Trade Commission, under date of February 8, 1917, shows the progress that has been made along this line:

The commission has for some time been engaged on an investigation of the anthracite industry under Senator HITCHCOCK'S resolution, S. Res. 217, and of the bituminous under Representative RAINEY'S resolution, H. Res. 352. Work on the anthracite investigation under the Hitchcock resolution has been extended by the commission to cover the abnormal fall and winter prices that have developed since the date of that resolution. This work on anthracite is being pushed energetically, the field work having been completed and the results now being compiled with all possible speed in the office. The first, second, and third questions of your resolution, so far as concerns anthracite, will be covered in the commission's report. However, the third question, which relates to car shortage, is within the remedial jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and that body has already taken action, as set forth in Interstate Commerce Commission docket 9284, decided January 18, 1917.

As regards bituminous coal the commission has been compelled to delay somewhat the investigation in order to push the anthracite work, because the staff was not large enough to pursue both investigations actively at the same time. Very soon it is expected that a number of men now engaged on anthracite can be detailed to bituminous, and the investigation carried on as rapidly as possible. The bituminous study looks to full ascertainment of economic conditions in that industry and to recommendations for economic remedies that will tend to prevent the future occurrence of unwarranted price increases. The commission could not at the present time make any adequate presentation of facts in response to questions 1, 2, and 3 of your resolution.

With this situation before you, the commission believes that you will agree with it that the objects you have in mind in your resolution will be attained at the earliest possible date without pressing its adoption, and that the adoption of the resolution would be inadvisable under the circumstances.

This letter practically says that "considerable progress has been made" under the Hitchcock resolution in eight months in one branch of the coal industry, and practically none in the other branch in six months under the Rainey resolution.

With this record before us of the rate at which information is secured by the Federal Trade Commission, the Members can draw their own conclusions as to the length of time an inquiry will require covering the details of the Borland amendment. The people will have starved to death, and the only beneficiaries will be the undertakers if we are to await action by this well-paid board.

But the title, "investigation," sounds well, and no doubt there are still plenty of "deserving Democrats" willing to accept their share of $400,000 in the way of remunerative salaries. This will be another slice of Democratic patronage and extravagance to be added by the Democratic apologists to the list of so-called "war expenses," having no bearing whatever on the war except as it adds to the taxpayers' burdens.

The advocate of this most recent suggestion of an investigation states that it will require at least eight months to make the inquiry. Should the prices of every known commodity decrease through natural conditions by that time, this result will be a more satisfactory one to the people than any paper explanation the Federal Trade Commission could ever make.

There are a few very evident facts which we do not need to expend $400,000 in discovering. The producer is not the benefactor of the present high prices. The farmer may be receiving a slight increase over normal market prices, but there has not been nor never will be a time when the farmer will secure any adequate proportion of extravagant values. What he sells may advance slightly, but what he buys at the same time will advance tremendously.

The greedy hand of monopoly is becoming bolder and more grasping every day. There are ample laws to meet this situation, but lack of enforcement which no investigation will ever improve. The American people have been long-suffering in the abuse of monopolies and speculations. I am not a believer in governmental ownership, but if the close alliance between coal companies and railroads is allowed to continue the people will demand relief. Natural resources of the country should not be used as means of making the rich richer and the poor poorer. Abuse of private ownership will eventually force public regulation of a kind that will regulate the cost to the consumer.

The past winter in New England and in Massachusetts has brought on untold suffering, in spite of plenty of employment. It is an established fact that the coal companies have deliberately broken contracts in order to secure high prices from so-called independents who have stood ready to sell the identical coal which should have been delivered under contract at a much greater profit both to the mining companies and to themselves than would be possible. The coal dealers are as helpless in the hands of these grasping monopolists as is the public.

The condition has been so acute in Massachusetts that Gov. McCall appointed a commission which in a very short time was able to offer a very suggestive report, from which I quote herewith:

The commission on the cost of living begs to submit the following report upon the anthracite-coal situation in the Commonwealth:

The price of anthracite coal in Boston is now $9.50 a ton. One year ago the price was $8 a ton, and in December, 1914, $7.75 a ton. In many other cities and towns in Massachusetts the price is now $12 a ton or even higher. The immediate causes for these high prices are the increases in the prices charged by the mining companies, the high freight rates on water-borne coal, and the difficulty of securing addi-

tional supplies. Underlying these immediate causes are conditions and influences which seem to warrant legislative action.

A serious aspect of the situation is the domination of the anthracite coal trade by nine large companies, each of which is closely allied or at least in sympathetic operation with the railroad company on whose line it is located. These nine large companies produce about 75 per cent of the anthracite coal mined in Pennsylvania, the only source.

Although prices charged by these nine companies have been increased only 40 cents a ton over the December, 1915, prices, it appears that several of them sell their coal in markets which will best serve the revenues of the railroads to which the coal companies are subsidiary. In some cases this results in a discrimination against New England. Two or three of the companies have curtailed their shipments to New England during the present year presumably in the interests of the railroads that could secure a longer haul and more revenue by delivering coal elsewhere. This year the demand has been so heavy in markets which yield more remunerative hauls to the railroads that the orders of many Massachusetts retailers have been only partially filled and a serious shortage has resulted in numerous cities and towns in the Commonwealth.

In buying coal from these large mining companies a retailer can not follow the ordinary business practice of safeguarding himself by contracts. These companies do not make any contracts guaranteeing delivery or price. They ship coal at their own convenience on whichever orders they choose, to be paid for at the price current on the day of shipment. No matter when a retailer orders coal, he can not be sure when the coal will be delivered or what it will cost him. He is at the mercy of the coal company.

During the last few months some of the mining companies have failed to fill any considerable part of their orders from Massachusetts. As a result coal retailers have had to pay late-season prices for coal ordered early and many retailers have been driven to buy coal, frequently of poor quality, at high and perhaps exorbitant premiums from merchants and brokers representing the small independent coal-mining companies. While some of the large companies refuse to fill orders from Massachusetts on the ground that no cars are available for transportation, there seems to be no serious difficulty in securing cars for "premium" coal. So far as the coal retailers are concerned, the high prices appear to have brought hardship rather than prosperity to many of them.

Because of the conditions here summarized your commission believes that it is not only to the interest of the citizens of Massachusetts but also for the general welfare of large sections of the United States that the production and marketing of anthracite coal should be freed entirely from the control or influence of the railroads that are the initial carriers of the coal. The commission believes that the ownership of the anthracite-coal mines has become so concentrated that public interest requires that the sale and distribution of anthracite coal should be under Federal regulation. For this purpose, in addition to the existing powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission to regulate rates and allot cars to the different mines, some Federal authority should be given power: (1) To supervise the distribution of loaded coal cars and the return of empty coal cars; (2) to direct the railroads in an emergency to give the right of way to coal over other merchandise, such as stone and lumber, that is not an immediate necessity of life; and (3) to fix the maximum price at which anthracite coal may be sold at the mines.

After discussing other phases of the situation in Massachusetts and stating "that not only in the interest of the citizens of Massachusetts, but also for the general welfare of large sections of the United States, the production and marketing of anthracite coal should be freed entirely from the control or influence of the railroads that are the initial carriers of the coal," the commission offers, among others, the following recommendations:

(1) We advise that the legislature memorialize Congress in behalf of legislation which will give power to the proper Federal authorities—

(a) To separate effectively the anthracite-coal business from control, direct or indirect, by any railroads.

(b) To secure the prompt return of empty coal cars.

(c) To direct the railroads, in case of emergency, to give the right of way to coal over other traffic not involving the immediate necessities of life.

(d) To prevent discrimination in the distribution of coal to different markets.

(e) To regulate the prices at which anthracite coal is sold by the mining companies or their agents.

Another great iniquity is speculation in the necessaries of life. The gambling spirit of a certain percentage of our people will always demand an opportunity to vent itself through Wall Street. Speculation in stocks is not apt to seriously hurt anybody but the speculator. The speculation in grain, as it is so extensively indulged in in Chicago and elsewhere, is not only likely to injure the speculator but may affect the price of the bread of the workingman. I am not in favor of the Borland resolution, but if it could offer legislation to prohibit this sort of thing it would be money well expended. We all know, however, that that is not the kind of a result we will secure.

There is to-day ample coal in the country, both above and below ground, but it is not to the advantage of the companies to permit it to be readily accessible to the consumer. There is no shortage of foodstuffs, but it is not to the financial advantage of those who have control of it to permit it to reach the markets and the consumers in sufficient quantities.

Regulation of those responsible for such conditions will soon be demanded by the people, but the $400,000 so-called "investigation" by the Federal Trade Commission will not bring it about.

A Boston newspaper, The Christian Science Monitor, on Saturday, February 24, published a strong editorial on this very subject, which I insert herewith at the conclusion of my remarks:

THE REAL FOOD EMBARGO.

There is no shortage of foodstuffs or of fuel in the United States. The supply is equal to every demand for home consumption and for export. This is no mere dogmatic assertion. Government reports confirm what private investigation has long since established, namely, that inadequate distribution, rather than underproduction or overconsumption, is the cause of depleted food and fuel stocks in populous centers. An important contributory cause of the so-called shortage of food is, of course, the tying up of commodities in storage warehouses to increase prices, but this also would be removed by a free flow of transportation. Inadequate distribution makes monopoly possible. "Every city in the East," says a Washington dispatch purporting to be based upon official Federal information, "so far as known, has plenty of food for immediate requirements," and rising prices can not, it is declared, "be justly attributed to shortage."

There is plenty of food in the country, but it is largely unavailable. There are practically inexhaustible stores of coal in the country, but, except at exorbitant prices, it is beyond the reach of the people. The Leiter wheat corner of the winter of 1898 was organized on the theory that a great shortage in the cereal existed in the Northwest. Philip D. Armour reopened navigation in the Great Lakes and rivers, with the result that grain poured into Duluth, Milwaukee, and Chicago in amazing quantities. Only two things were necessary to the release of the wheat stored in the barns and small-town elevators, namely, assurance of a ready market and good prices. The West, the Southwest, and the Northwest are stocked with all kinds of foodstuffs to-day, but there is little or no assurance to the individual producer that he can get his surplus to the market. The car shortage, annually offered by the railroad companies as an excuse for their failure to handle commodities promptly, and never corrected, has left the average western producer with little opportunity of getting the things he has to sell to those who wish to buy them in reasonable time or at reasonable terms.

Forty million bushels of grain are reported from Chicago as being held up in local elevators, and 7,000,000 bushels additional are in cars, some of which should have been shipped three months ago. There is a statement from the greatest produce center in the Western Hemisphere that "Chicago is virtually closed to the farmers of the West."

It ought to be clear enough that the cause of the present so-called foodstuff shortage is the failure to bring the farm and the open market together; this, in turn, enables the food monopolists and manipulators, free as they are from wholesome competition, to name their own prices. Internal commerce is clogged. The flow of foodstuffs and fuel is impeded. With bountiful supplies in the Nation a gulf has been created between the producer and the consumer, and it is an artificial gulf that will probably never be spanned until the Government shall open and keep open every possible means of communication, by land and water, in the country.

The present transportation and distribution system has been outgrown.

The World's Food Shortage.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL C. VAN DYKE,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 27, 1917.

Mr. VAN DYKE. Mr. Speaker, the world is faced with a shortage in its food supply. Except by food economies unusual and in many countries most drastic will the food reserves carried over from the recent harvests hold out to feed the world's population until next season's crop. We have arrived at a condition where over half the world meat has become so costly a luxury that it is within reach of the comparatively few and for them at limited intervals; where bread is issued in rations fixed by government, and where the general food scarcity of some of the leading nations of Europe is such that it is a misdemeanor punishable by law to peel a vegetable. We have been informed by cable that even Great Britain, whose brag has always been that her merchant fleet commands the seas and the markets of the world, has prohibited all public eating places from serving any meal of more than two courses up to the 6 o'clock dinner, and that even the latter is restricted to three courses for the most aristocratic diner.

In addition to the disasters of war, which has reduced the productive capacity of one-half the civilized globe, the harvests of the world have been curtailed by drought, rust, and blight. The International Institute of Agriculture, established at Rome and representing 90 leading nations, including our own, reports the wheat production of the principal countries of Europe at only 72.5 per cent of last year's crop; while rye, barley, oats, and corn are all materially below last year's crop. Meat and dairy products throughout Europe are to-day classed as luxuries; while the shortage of crop moisture which cut down cereal production has naturally affected also the production of fruit and vegetables.

The 100,000,000 people who dwell in peace and prosperity under the flag of our Republic may well congratulate them-

selves that, to the evils of food shortage due to the failure of Jupiter Pluvius to properly furnish moisture for the crops, there is not added the havoc of war to devastate the fields, decimate the toilers, and burden the survivors with war debts and war taxes to shackle industry even unto unborn generations. But even with the blessings of peace and prosperity, our food supply has been so shortened by adverse climatic conditions that the facts of food supply, prices, and distribution have become a subject of national concern.

The Department of Agriculture reports that our wheat crop, which last year exceeded 1,000,000,000 bushels, has been reduced by the recent harvest to a little over 600,000,000 bushels. Last year's export surplus of 400,000,000 bushels has been practically wiped out. The November 1 farm price, which last year was 93 cents per bushel, has risen to $1.58, an increase of 65 cents, and the highest farm price since the establishment of the Department of Agriculture, if not in the history of American agriculture.

The damage from black rust to the spring wheat crop alone of Minnesota, North and South Dakota, and Nebraska is estimated by the Department of Agriculture at 181,000,000 bushels. The export surplus of Minnesota and the Dakotas, which last year was 240,000,000 bushels, has been cut down to 45,000,000, or reduced over 80 per cent. The total wheat export surplus of the United States, which in 1915 was 404,000,000 bushels, with a five-year previous average of 140,000,000, has been reduced, according to the department's November estimate, to 9,471,000, which would barely suffice for one week of export shipments. In other words, at the present time we have no wheat at all to spare other countries, and must see to it that we retain sufficient grain for seeding the next crop.

The per capita wheat consumption of the United States, as estimated by the Department of Agriculture, was 6.55 bushels last year, and the 15-year average is a little over 6 bushels for each person. But the production in 1916 is given as only 6 bushels per capita, as against 10 bushels in 1915, 9 bushels in 1914, and a 15-year average of 8 bushels per capita. Consequently the disaster to our 1916 wheat crop has cut off our usual export surplus of 2 to 4 bushels per capita and reduced us to the single duty of providing for our own bread wants with practically no balance to ship to the world's hungry across the sea.

The grain situation would not be so bad did it not extend to other cereals than wheat. But, compared with 1915, we have also a shortage of nearly 400,000,000 bushels in the corn crop, over 300,000,000 in oats, over 50,000,000 in barley, with parallel reductions in rye, beans, and buckwheat. Potatoes likewise show a crop reduction of 70,000,000 bushels, with similar declines in practically all vegetable crops, as well as fruit.

The natural result of this shortage in food production has been to raise the farm price of practically every staple crop. The farm price of corn, oats, barley, rye, and buckwheat on November 1, 1916, ranged 20 per cent to 50 per cent higher than in 1915. Wheat on November 1 was about 70 per cent higher than on the same date last year, and potatoes were over 100 per cent higher than a year before and still higher at the present time.

Notwithstanding decreased production and rising prices, however, our export of food productions has continued unabated. This indicates that however serious may be the conditions of food supply and prices on this side of the Atlantic the European situation is still more critical. Our exports of foodstuffs, both crude and manufactured, for the 10 months ending October last, as shown by the Department of Commerce, reached the vast total of $866,000,000. This was larger by $10,000,000 than the food exports for the corresponding 10 months' period a year ago, when our agricultural production was so heavy. For the full calendar year ending December, at the above rate, the food exports of 1916 will exceed a round $1,000,000,000. This is double the annual average value of food exports for the 15 years, 1900–1914, inclusive, and $40,000,000 greater even than the food export total for the fiscal year 1915. Part of this increase in value of food exports—in fact, a large factor in the valuation total—is the rise in price; and yet also there has been a strong increase in quantity of products exported as compared with previous years, except only the banner year of export volume—1915.

So far as the past two years are concerned, we rejoice in the fact that the American farmer has enjoyed the greatest export trade and the best prices in history. We are proud of the record that the American farm for two years past has realized approximately $1,000,000,000 per annum from its food products alone and thereby doubled the average record of the previous 15 years. We rejoice not only in the splendid trade volume, the greatest on record, but in the good prices, giving the American farm for its export surplus not a mere return for actual cost to keep the farm from mortgage foreclosure but a liberal margin of profit on the capital, such as capital would expect to enjoy in other lines of business.

We are now faced with a new situation: The bulk of most of the staple food crops of the season of 1916 has passed from farmers' hands into the control of warehousemen, wholesale dealers, and speculators. The market question now is not what the farmer shall receive but what the consumer shall pay. The middleman is in control, save in so far as the law and public protection shall interpose. The controlling volume of the country's food supply is so largely locked up in the warehouses and future contracts of middlemen that other supply factors appear of little comparative consequence.

Here, then, are the three big factors of the food equation:

First. One hundred million consumers demanding sufficient food at a just and living price to enable them to do the Nation's work.

Second. A fairly well organized body of middlemen—including warehousemen, dealers, commission men, brokers, exporters, carriers, and the financial institutions which finance them, as well as the speculators and investors who buy products, futures, shares, and other securities—in sufficient control of the country's food supply to practically dictate prices so far as the law will permit.

Third. There are the public makers and administrators of the law, whose duty it is to see that justice shall prevail and that the Nation, during the nine months before another harvest can be garnered, shall not suffer for want of food.

In facing this problem there are certain facts which begin to stand out in bold relief. Among these are the following:

First. That our total food supply is but little more than sufficient to meet the requirements of our 100,000,000 consumers until the next harvest.

Second. That the chances for importation from other countries are very poor.

Third. That the demands of Europe for food supplies are comparatively unlimited.

Fourth. That the opportunities of American middlemen to produce a general price uplift of all food supplies are exceptional and, indeed, without precedent, and, except as the law intervenes, the price is practically a question of what the traffic will bear.

Fifth. That the commercial organization and equipment of the professional and speculative interests in control of the food supply and market are such that, except for the intervention of law and public agencies, either one or both of two results may befall the country—the suffering of thousands of needy people for lack of food, and food prices for the remainder of our population at terms which will rob our industrial population and the great rank and file of our citizenship generally of the lion's share of the benefits of the prevailing prosperity.

The present and preceding Congress have fulfilled important public duties in passing the Clayton antitrust law and the act creating the Federal Trade Commission, as well as in strengthening the hands of the Department of Justice in the enforcement of law and prosecution of malefactors, and in equipping the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor with greater facilities for gathering data for public enlightenment on industrial, commercial, and food problems.

The question is, Has Congress done enough? Is the equipment furnished efficient? Are the measures taken sufficient? Can we safely rest the cases with what has been done and trust Providence for the result?

We know that over across the Atlantic every nation of consequence has gone much further than we have in protecting its food supply and protecting the consumer against extortionate prices. We know that in Europe, both in belligerent and neutral nations, the problems of food supply and food prices are the dominant questions of the hour, both for the furtherance of the ends of war and peace. We know that the food question throughout Europe is a government question controlled by law and governmental agencies. Not only the production and transportation of food supplies but the marketing and consumption of food are prime subjects of governmental regulation.

There is no call for this country to go as far as Europe in governing food supply and prices, but we should go far enough to insure the public welfare. That is our paramount duty. The Nation's food supply is paramount to all other economic problems. What are tariffs, currency systems, railway regulation, banking laws, or even government itself to a people who have not food enough to sustain life until the next harvest?

The resolutions which I have submitted do not pretend to name a remedy for the conditions which confront us. They simply ask for report of facts by the executive authorities intrusted with the various phases of the subject, that we may

proceed to a thorough study of the problem with the best available data at hand as a guide to the consideration of remedies. With a wide and disinterested presentation of facts before us, we not only will be better prepared to consider measures to meet the emergencies of the day but to avoid the pitfalls and blunders of false remedies.

Among the measures that may be worth consideration for the development and conservation of the national food supply occur the following:

An organized movement, in which the Nation and the States may cooperate, to secure sufficient high-quality seed for an increased crop acreage of food supplies for the ensuing farm season.

An organized movement to prevent the slaughter of breeding stock and young animals of the various classes of food animals, with a view to building up the live-stock industry of the 48 States.

Extension of the Parcel Post System by amending the zone schedules for the more efficient and economical distribution of food products.

An effective administration of the waterways, in conjunction with railways, to relieve traffic congestion and reduce freight cost of transportation for heavy commodities.

Increased efficiency facilities for the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor, with extended powers to reach more directly the problems of food production and distribution.

The limited use of the embargo for temporary periods and specified commodities when other measures fail to stem the serious loss of the Nation's food supply and the imposition of monopoly prices.

Finally, the strengthening of existing Government agencies, in particular the Federal Trade Commission and Department of Justice, in coping with the practical phases of food monopoly.

The President in his recent message to Congress has recommended conferring upon the executive arm of Government the power to commandeer the railways when the military defense of the Nation may require. There is no military requirement paramount to the problem of food supply. Food is the first military requirement which supersedes all others. If it is proper to commandeer commercial facilities for military purposes, it is proper to take similar efficient and necessary measures to insure the Nation's food supply, because military uses and purposes include the food supply. The conservation of the Nation's food supply, moreover, is both a war measure and a peace measure. It is essential to the prosecution of war; it is essential to the pursuit of industry. As long as man is a terrestrial animal and subsists on food the paramount material question of every nation is the production, distribution, protection, and conservation of the national food supplies.

It is elemental as regards the installation of any measure seeking to meet the present emergency of food supply and prices that in checking present evils it does not create other as great evils. For example, an embargo or other remedy to check present prices would accomplish little were it to check production and thereby extend the cause of high prices by curtailing the supply. On the other hand, such freedom of export as would exhaust the seed supplies and breeding stock of the country would likewise perpetuate high prices through curtailment of production. Therefore the executive departments, from which my resolution asks detailed facts and expert testimony, have no easy duty to perform. It is not an academic question which they have to answer, but a concrete problem on which it is hoped they have at hand the practical working data.

The present food problem of the country would not be so difficult were it solely governed by the simple law of supply and demand. It would not be difficult at all were all the human factors of the problem—producers, carriers, middlemen, and consumers—working together in unselfish harmony for the public good and national advancement.

The difficult, and I may say the sinister, phase of the problem looms up when one class of the human factors organizes to "do" the others and attempt to defy public agencies in the bargain. This is the phase of the problem which defeats ordinary and simple measures of treatment. It is the phase which European government has solved by drastic governmental measures. It is hoped that we may be saved from the compulsion of adopting similar drastic measures on this side of the ocean.

As an example of the dog-in-the-manger class of merchants who take advantage of conditions to organize a national holdup of the American people, take the autumn egg monopoly. It has now been well organized for a number of years. Its special habitat is the large cities, and its favorite season for extortion is just before the holidays, or before the hens begin their winter laying season.

The fall egg monopoly is not a new phenomenon. It has been in operation a number of years. The eggs are bought in the spring and early summer when the farm price is 10 to 15 cents per dozen, and they are put into cold storage and "cornered" until the price around Thanksgiving is forced up to 40 and 60 cents per dozen. This is not commerce; it is "holdup" pure and simple. The Government not long ago seized one of these cold-storage egg nests in Chicago with contents aggregating 72,000,000 eggs. A Federal grand jury hearing conducted by the Department of Justice resulted in a drop of 10 cents per dozen in the wholesale price of cold-storage eggs. In sympathy with the break-up of the egg monopoly, the Chicago price of butter dropped 4 cents per pound within a week, and potatoes 8 cents per bushel.

A study of the egg market shows that during the early spring and summer months, when there is an open market, the New York City price is only about 2 cents per dozen over the St. Louis price, which doubtless represents the cost of transportation from St. Louis to New York. But the November 1 price of eggs in New York, as shown by the Department of Agriculture, has ranged during the past eight years from 10 cents to even 30 cents above the St. Louis price. Were there a free market uncontrolled by the professional interest this November 1 disparity between St. Louis and New York would be impossible.

In April, May, and June, 1916, the average New York market price, as quoted in the monthly crop report of the Department of Agriculture, was 20 cents to 24 cents. The December 1 price of fresh eggs in New York is 40 cents to 62 cents. The November wholesale price, even of the refrigerator article, was from 33 cents to 38 cents, or 60 per cent higher than the June price of fresh eggs.

Capital is entitled to just returns on the investment, and in the egg business there may be a somewhat larger margin of risk than in some other lines of business; but certainly there is no just warrant for a profit of 50 per cent to 100 per cent on a six months' investment when money on good commercial paper may be obtained at 4 per cent.

Mr. Speaker, in common with nine other Members of this body, I represent a great agricultural State, the Commonwealth of Minnesota, which in value of farm property ranks as the tenth greatest State in the Union. I have not consulted with my colleagues of the Minnesota delegation, but I have no doubt that I voice their sentiments, as well as the sentiments of the 200,000 farm owners of Minnesota, who operate 30,000,000 acres of farm land, valued, with live stock, machinery, and improvements, at this time in the neighborhood of $2,000,000,000, when I say that if there is one thing which the middle western farmer resents more than another it is the fact that the product for which he has toiled and from which he has realized but a meager margin of profit is used as the football of the gambling pit and the jimmy of the professional trader to rob the general public.

There are thousands of consumers in the Atlantic States, and even many editors of daily and trade papers, who appear to think that it is the farmer who is holding up the workingman and the general consumer on the food staples of life. Anyone who compares the farm price, as reported by the Department of Agriculture, with the market price of the wholesaler and retailer can see at a glance who is responsible for the great bulge in price between harvest time and the holiday season. It is doubtful if the average farm in the United States, even in the most prosperous sections, earns over 6 per cent on the investment, and there are hundreds of thousands which make no returns on the investment and only a bare living for the farmer's family.

When we turn from the farm to the speculative aggregation in Chicago or Wall Street and see margins of upward of 50 per cent won by a hold-up game, in which the necessaries of life are held as hostages to extort from a hungry public an unearned share of the Nation's industrial income; when we see the great food product of America for which a rural population of 50,000,000 has toiled 12 months in the year to insure subsistence for a Nation of 100,000,000 held up by a bunch of speculative middlemen for a price, it is time for the Government to call a halt, and no one will more heartily second the call than the farmers of Minnesota and of the entire agricultural West.

Splendid work is being done in the public behalf by the various departments named in these resolutions of which the general public knows little. Congress has made liberal appropriations and furnished with high-grade equipment the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Labor, and Justice, and it has enacted a good antitrust law and created the Federal Trade Commission to administer it. The data collected and the results achieved remain practically unknown to the general public

until some crying evil or special emergency like the present brings this progressive work into the limelight. The adoption of this resolution will bring from our executive departments, I trust, such reports and findings as to justify the wisdom of Congress for its liberal equipment of these public bureaus and departments.

Resolution of Oklahoma Legislature.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM W. HASTINGS,
OF OKLAHOMA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Saturday, February 24, 1917.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, the Oklahoma Legislature recently passed house concurrent resolution No. 18, expressing confidence in President Wilson and indorsing his stand for a world-wide Monroe doctrine and his support of a league of nations to preserve the peace of the world I submit it herewith for the information of Members of Congress:

House concurrent resolution 18. (By Mr. Hodges.)

Whereas for two years the whole world has been shaken with the roar of the cannons of war across the seas, and
Whereas the bloodshed of the human family has been appaling, and
Whereas before peace is declared the United States Government should formulate the conditions upon which it would feel justified in asking the American people for their formal and solemn adherence, and
Whereas a lasting peace in Europe can not be a peace of victory for either side, and
Whereas peace must be followed by definite action to assure the world that no horrors of war shall overwhelm it again, and
Whereas by such definite action the United States can not withhold its participation to guarantee life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness throughout the world, and
Whereas our Monroe doctrine has stood the test of time and is proved to have been one of the wisest acts of our former illustrious President Monroe, and
Whereas our President, Woodrow Wilson, in continuance of his policy of equal rights to all and special privileges to none, and his policy for world-wide peace with honor, has addressed the United States Senate, announcing in no uncertain terms his uncompromising stand for world-wide adoption of the Monroe doctrine: Therefore be it

Resolved by the house of representatives (the senate concurring therein), That we publicly express our confidence in President Woodrow Wilson in the action he has taken for the adoption of a world-wide Monroe doctrine, that we indorse his support of a league of nations to preserve the peace of the world, and urge Congress to uphold his hands seeking the adoption of such worthy measure; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be spread upon the journal of both houses, and that a copy of same be sent to the President of the United States, and each of our Representatives in Congress from Oklahoma.

Adopted by the house of representatives this 29th day of January, 1917.

PAUL NESBITT,
Speaker House of Representatives.

Adopted by the senate this 2d day of February, 1917.

M. E. TRAPP,
President of the Senate.

Prohibition in the District.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Monday, February 26, 1917.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, an address on the subject of prohibition recently delivered before the District Committee by D. Clarence Gibboney, Esq., of Philadelphia, president of the Law and Order Society of that city, is of such peculiar significance at this time that I have asked leave to extend it in the RECORD. Mr. Gibboney is a man of character and courage, whose long experience as an advocate of law enforcement entitles his utterances to careful consideration.

The address is as follows:

HEARING ON PROPOSED PROHIBITION LAW FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (FEB. 19, 1917).

[Address by D. Clarence Gibboney, Esq., of Philadelphia.]

Before proceeding to an analysis of the bill before you, which designs to prohibit the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors in the District of Columbia, I want to thank the committee for the privilege extended me to appear here.

I am an opponent of the proposed measure. I speak for the cause of real temperance, and upon that ground and in behalf of that cause, urge that your legislative action shall be consistent with common justice, and, to that extent, divert into just, honest, equitable, and effective channels the big drive now being made in this country toward the elimination of the liquor traffic.

I ask nothing more nor less, gentlemen, than that this committee and this Congress—the highest law-making body in the land—shall proceed upon the fundamental principles of equity to lay the groundwork for the ultimate and effective and permanent and honest abolition of the liquor business in the entire United States.

I am opposed to this measure because it not only fails to do that, but, if enacted into statute, would make law the instrument of the most dangerous sort of injustice, and instead of aiding would hinder and obstruct honest prohibition upon a broader scale.

In the first place, this bill was passed by the Senate and now comes before this committee of the House of Representatives without the people of the District of Columbia, whom it is designed to affect, having been permitted any voice in the proceedings, or the slightest opportunity to indicate whether such an act would or would not have the support and sanction of a majority of the community.

In a matter so inseparably involving the rights and liberties and personal habits and desires of a people, obviously and beyond the possibility of successful contradiction, this bill proposes to legalize an action that is absolutely antagonistic to the whole theory and principle of a Government such as ours, which, from the beginning, has "rested upon the consent of the governed."

The proposed action would substitute for democracy the most dangerous form of paternalism, and in so doing would, at the same time, reincorporate into our national life, and in a legislative way sanction, the hated principle of "taxation without representation," which we once wiped out with the blood of the nation—the opposition to, and refusal to accept which, well might be said to have formed the cornerstone of this Nation.

It seems to me that at no time could Congress afford to sanction such procedure, and that particularly it is to be frowned upon and summarily rejected in this hour of the country's crisis, when unquestioned respect for the wisdom and justice of the Government is to be desired above all things, and when, at any moment, national unity may be the instrument through which national honor and integrity are to be sustained and conserved.

The objections can not be overruled, nor could the potential wrong of such a law be righted, by saying, as is being said by some, that the Congress of the United States throughout the entire past has been the law-making body for the District of Columbia.

I bow to the superior knowledge of you men in an interpretation of the Federal Constitution; but as a lawyer I am frank to say that I find nothing in that section which gives to Congress the authority "to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over the District," to discourage, much less prohibit, the holding of a referendum in which the people of the said District might be permitted properly and with legal safeguards to register their approval or disapproval of a law such as this, which Congress has proposed for them.

Gentlemen, that's mere Americanism; nothing more, nothing less. I ask, therefore, can you, with a clear sense of duty and justice, even though so permitted by the letter of the law, ignore the spirit of the law and deprive the people of one section of this country of an inalienable right held by the people of every other section of the same country?

I fail to see how such action could be made consistent with clear reason or sound logic, or that spirit of American justice and patriotism which we will not allow any other people to flaunt.

These are days when much is being said, when the blood of men is crimsoning half the world, and human life is held cheaply in the balance again "inalienable rights." It seems to me that we could not do better at this time than to practice at home that which we have insistently, and sometimes loudly, proclaimed to the chancelleries of every other nation on earth.

This measure proposes, without the consent or approval of those to be affected, to deprive a large number of American citizens of certain personal privileges which have been theirs to use or reject since the Nation came into being, and for many years even prior thereto. I say to you that no matter how desirable a prohibitive law may be—and surely I do not underestimate its desirability, nor would I do anything but with my utmost ability urge and aid the passage of such a law, based upon that sort of justice which carried with it the promise of permanence—great dangers lie behind the methods by which it is attempted to be enacted in this instance.

If the question of personal rights—the right of the majority to first indicate to the law-making body its own desires on the subject—was the only one involved in this issue, I repeat that that question in itself still would be sufficient to justify a rejection of this proposal by this committee and by the House of Representatives.

But there is another and a more far-reaching issue involved in this measure. It is the question of property investments and property rights, legally made and legally held.

You are confronted with the necessity of an analysis of the entire liquor business—what it is, who are engaged in it, and who legalized it—if you are to act with knowledge, deliberation, and justice, and, as I already have said, by that action greatly aid the real temperance movement that aims at ultimate and permanent and effective and honest abolition of the liquor traffic of the whole United States.

This bill plans permanently and beyond redress virtually to confiscate many hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of property values, and of property investments, legally made and legally held, without providing for a penny of compensation being granted to those who made those investments under the sanction and under the full protection of the law.

It is not even argued that violation of the law by the one party, the liquor men collectively, is the justification for an utter disregard of law and the principles and precepts of justice by the other party, the people collectively, acting through their Government.

As a matter of fact, no argument is offered, no excuse is given, no alleged justification is put forward, in extenuation of this proposal deliberately to deprive a certain class of American citizens—certain American citizens engaged in a particular business—of properties established and money invested for the conduct of a business, not only condoned but actually invited, by law.

Gentlemen, as I said before, you are called upon to consider and recommend the solution of a problem far greater, much bigger, than might appear upon the surface. As a preliminary to that solution are you quite sure that you have gotten down to the elementals and the fundamentals of the entire proposition?

Have you ever asked yourselves, and answered for yourselves, the question:

Who established the legalized liquor business in the United States?

If you haven't asked yourselves that, or asking haven't answered the question, permit me to put the reply for you.

We did!

We, the people of the United States, and in lesser units of the States of the United States, established, and from the moment of establishment have maintained, the legalized liquor business of this country.

But far more important and to the point than that we have, throughout that entire period and at every stage of the procedure, been not only the profit-sharing partners, but the dominating and term-naming partners, of the legalized liquor business.

No man can deny that. No man who has given the slightest thought to the question would attempt to. It is written into the records and the history of this Nation in flaming, whisky-red letters, and it only can be effaced by a process of equitable elimination.

It seems to me that the great fallacy, the great injustice, and ultimately the cause of the great failure, of all our efforts toward an abolition of the liquor business, lie in the fact that either through ignorance or deliberate design we pretend to place all the responsibilities for the asserted evils of the liquor business upon those who engaged in it only after we had made that business a legal and law-sanctioned and law-protected one.

Have you ever realized, gentlemen, that the liquor business only was engaged in by reputable and law-abiding citizens in this country after we had made that business legal?

Have you ever realized that when we made the business legal we at the same time established ourselves as the lawful and profit-sharing partners of those who, now characterized as the liquor men, were nothing more nor less, are now nothing more nor less, than our agents in the business?

To say $3,000,000 is to speak in rather large figures, even in these days of great national wealth and sudden and vast private fortunes—yet that figure represents only what the United States alone took last year from the liquor business as its prearranged share of the profits from the whisky and wine and ale and beer and gin business.

You men who have sat in the Nation's legislative halls know without my telling you that not only have we, year in and year out, largely financed our Government from the proceeds of rum, but that in every national emergency we have looked to, and absolutely depended upon, the liquor business as a surer source of income than anything else to carry us through the hour or the year of financial or even national or governmental crisis.

The whisky business may be, as some men say, a plague. From one aspect it undoubtedly is. But it is a plague from which we have not been too good, or too moral, or too righteous, or too conscientious to take a large share of the profits for our national subsistence. And if it is a plague now, it was equally a plague when we established it and made it legal, and the danger of it was known then as well as it is known now. It is the same traffic, attended by the same evils, and the business is the same now as it was when we established and legalized it.

The records of the Nation, as I already have said, forestall any successful denial of these facts.

Let no limited or twisted viewpoint misinterpret my attitude or my argument. I am not speaking as an advocate of the rum business. I bespeak the cause of national temperance. But in doing so I have, I think, both the vision and the courage to say that the ultimate and permanent and effective end that all sincere abolitionists seek is not to be found except through a frank recognition and admission of our own responsibilities and obligations, and a course laid consistent therewith.

Sober consideration and the experience of more than a quarter of a century have convinced me that if real success, and not insincere and temporary political advantage, is our motive, it is high time that we draw a distinction between the evils of the liquor business and our heretofore evil characterization of the men who we have invited to engage in that business—our only qualification or provisions or requirement being that they share with us, the whole people, a part of the profits of every drink distilled or brewed or served across a bar.

Why, men of this committee, we, the Government of the United States have been actively and on a profit-sharing basis engaged in the booze business ever since, and even long before, the Nation was formed.

Every war that the country has engaged in since that time has been financed largely from the proceeds of our liquor business. In every national emergency we have increased the levy we took from rum. We have done it boldly, apparently with clean consciences, convinced in our own judgment that our conduct was correct and beyond reproach. The men engaged in that business, sirs, were the ones who toed the mark and produced the revenue at our every demand.

They were welcome and respected and patriotic cooperators then. Are they conspirators and dangerous criminals now?

If the liquor men have suddenly metamorphosed into conspirators engaged in a dangerous and criminal business justifying the treatment now being accorded them, what, I ask you, is the position of this Government, which has been engaged with them in the same business in a partnership for profit?

The business has not changed. Its effects are not different. The law is the same. Only our own moral conception and political attitude recently have undergone a change.

Can we, because of a changed viewpoint, with any sense of justice, or any expectation of cooperation or success, or with any degree of self-respect, say now that we, the big money-getting partners in the proposition, demand an abolition that would leave with us all the millions we have taken from the business, without having invested a dollar in the business, and not only give nothing to the other partner, but actually deprive him not only of his means of livelihood, but also of the investments made to insure that livelihood?

I believe that but one answer can be made. Such a course is inconsistent to the point of impossibility.

We have hurled anathema at the liquor business and the men engaged in it, but oh, the hypocrisy, the deceit, the downright and cold-blooded and brutal immorality with which we, the people, have tried not only to cover up our own dirty deals, but at the same time have attempted to retain to ourselves all the tainted cash that we so graspingly have turned to our own purposes after it has come to us from the gin mill, the groggery, and even the house of ill fame.

For did you ever know that in every brothel, in every club, in every speak-easy, or blind tiger in this country where liquor is sold without a license the Federal Government has collected its rum divvy, even if the city or county or State has not?

And did you ever know that in every such house of prostitution and other illegal dive or den Uncle Sam—and that means us—has placed his sign of revenue collection as evidence that he is a partner there in that business of moral and physical destruction?

To you, gentlemen of this committee, I wish to say—and I would like this statement to go over the length and breadth of the Nation—the great trouble in this whole liquor problem has been that the men who have most persistently asserted themselves the moralists of their community and time have either deliberately or through ignorance so juggled and confused the moral and the monetary aspects of the liquor question as to leave the whole issue an inconglomerate mass in which they would have you measure morality in dollars, and dollars by a moral foot rule.

Gentlemen, I feel sure that I need go no further with you into that phase of the question dealing with, yes, proving, our own actual and financial participation in the legalized liquor business of this Nation. Indeed, so far as concerns the United States Government, I need not, probably should not, qualify the sentence with the word "legalized."

For the Government of this Nation has not concerned itself, after getting its booty out of the booze business, whether it reached the consumer through legal or illegal channels. This Government—our Government—has been concerned only in getting for itself that share of liquor profits which it has declared it should have.

And, gentlemen, while you are weighing this problem remember also this: That the Federal Government which now, through you, would apply to the District of Columbia an act of confiscation without compensation against American citizens engaged in the legalized liquor business, remember, I say, that this is the same Government that empowers men, if necessary, to shoot and to kill other men who attempt to deprive the said United States Government of one farthing of what our Government by statute has ordained shall be its portion of rum profits, regardless, mind you, of where or to whom such rum is sold.

Of course, we attempt to cloak our hypocrisy under the flimsy excuse that we are trying to see that the illicit whisky distilled by the moonshiner is up to standard.

That's a lie. You know it, and I know it. We're not even slightly interested, from a governmental viewpoint, whether the whisky drinker gets good rum or bad rum. But we are very vitally concerned, from a governmental viewpoint, in squeezing out of the whisky business, legal or illegal, every penny that we can get.

Can anyone say that we have not been partners in this traffic—profit-sharing and term-naming partners—can anyone assert that in view of the whole history of the liquor business and our governmental alliance with it for profit?

Can anyone logically argue that citizens who invested money in properties used for the conduct of the legitimate liquor business were not encouraged and indeed compelled to do so?

Gentlemen, we've been the same sort of partners in the liquor business that every other nation has been that, like us, has legalized it and taken profits from it.

And yet we of this country, in this "land of the free and home of the brave," are the only Nation under the sun, so far as my knowledge goes—and I think I know the subject rather well—that has attempted to put men out of that legalized, law-fostered, law-sanctioned, law-protected, law-supervised business without some sort of just reimbursement for the inevitable property losses they would suffer thereby.

Switzerland showed a splendid example of national conscience when, desiring to abolish the absinthe business, the Swiss Confederacy, in 1910, passed an act to compensate not only the owners of distilleries and retail establishments but also the farmers and the farmers' hired hands who were engaged in the absinthe industry.

England, in the "consolidation liquor act" of 1910, provided for reducing the number of saloons, and in so doing included a scale of full compensation for those who thus would be put out of business.

And even now, in the throes of the greatest war in the whole world's history, and confronted with a national debt of more than twenty billions of dollars, and increasing daily, the lawmakers of that country are considering the total acquisition of the liquor business of that nation, under a plan that includes purchase and full compensation for those suffering property losses thereby.

Russia, regarded as the land of autocratic oppression, acquired the vodka business by purchase in 1862, and in a night, after the outbreak of the present war, clamped the lid of sobriety upon that nation without a single dollar of property loss to any individual, for the reason that, it being a Government-owned business, no individual had any money invested in it.

In 1915 France destroyed its absinthe market, but in so doing compensated the distillers and dealers whose property investments were destroyed or depreciated through abolition of the business.

Montreal and Quebec, in Canada, in 1915, also decided to reduce the number of saloons in those Provinces, but in doing so they set a standard of compensation for the reimbursement of those to be ousted from a legalized business in which they had violated none of the Government-imposed legalization qualifications or restrictions.

Australia and Denmark—we are not accustomed to look upon either as great powers or the preceptors in important governmental actions—both have adopted and have put into operation systems of abolition of the liquor traffic, with compensation for the property value thus destroyed.

We stand alone, in the galaxy of nations, we, the free and liberty-loving United States, as the only one under God's sun that, having established and profited by the liquor business, having invited men to engage in it entirely under terms of our own making, attempt to end that business with all the profits remaining in the Public Treasury, and all the losses saddled upon the men who thought, and had every reason to believe, that they were law protected when they engaged, in a law-abiding way, in a law-sanctioned business.

Sometimes men fear being swindled and tricked when they engage in a partnership business. But certainly citizens have a right to expect a square deal when they enter into a business arrangement with the United States of America.

Can you expect permanent or effective prohibition by such methods as are proposed in this bill? Can you ever divorce booze and politics by such means? Is there any justice, any equity, any American spirit of fair play in such procedure?

I speak in the cause of temperance and national prohibition, gentlemen; but I want to see it come to stay, and I want to see it made effective by the hearty cooperation and the honest effort of every law-abiding citizen.

The Bible tells us that no house can endure that is built upon foundations of sand. Jesus Christ was the world's greatest preacher, and He

preached justice and equity and square dealing. He never sought to gain converts or an advantage by sharp practices or underhand dealings. He it was who said to the world: "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and unto God the things that are God's." He it was, too, who gave to the world the great precept: "Let him among you who is without sin cast the first stone."

We of America stand upon a self-erected platform of justice and human rights. We gave to mankind the first Government guaranteeing real principles of personal liberty and property protection to each individual.

Our forefathers fought and bled and died, but conquered and rejected "taxation without representation."

Many of our own fathers fought in the tremendous civil conflict brought about when the so-called moralists of the North, having nothing themselves at stake, demanded the confiscation of human property held in the South, but ignored the wisdom and the pleas of that great American, Abraham Lincoln, who urged acquisition by Government purchase and ultimate freedom for the black slaves by compensation.

In the bill before you to-day there is incorporated both those hated principles, "taxation without representation" and "confiscation without compensation."

As an advocate of national temperance, as a worker for real prohibition, as an American desiring American justice and American patriotism above all things, I ask you to report this measure with your most emphatic rejection, except and only that it first be approved by a majority of the qualified electors of the District of Columbia participating in a referendum on the subject.

I thank you for the time you have given me.

Free Energy.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY T. HELGESEN,
OF NORTH DAKOTA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 24, 1917.

Mr. HELGESEN. Mr. Speaker, on February 22, in Congress, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. TAGUE] offered an amendment to the military bill, having for its object the consideration of Mr. Gäräbëd T. K. Giragossian's offer to give to this Government his claimed discovery of free energy. When Mr. TAGUE presented this amendment the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. HOWARD] said:

This is very interesting, because it is a proposition that we all desire to know something about.

As I heartily concur in that opinion, I shall present in full the two resolutions which have been introduced in Congress by Senator CHAMBERLAIN and Congressman TAGUE, respectively, also a statement by Mr. Giragossian relative to his claimed discovery, which he has named the "Gäräbëd":

Joint resolution (S. J. Res. 172) authorizing the acceptance and free use of a free-energy generator by the United States Government, and for the special protection of its discoverer.

Whereas Mr. G. T. K. Giragossian claims to have discovered a means by which energy can be generated without expense; and

Whereas the said discovered means, the free-energy generator, to be called the "Gäräbëd," can be manufactured with less expense and occupies less space and is very much lighter than the steam engine with its numerous appliances and can be used in ships and aircrafts as well as in machinery used in industrial production; and

Whereas it is claimed that heat and light can be generated through the instrumentality of this discovered means, and expenditures for heat, light, and motive power practically eliminated and human energy as well as natural wealth promoted and saved; and

Whereas the discoverer desires to give and grant to the Government of the United States for any purposes and uses of its own, free of charge, the said discovered means in consideration that he, his representatives and assigns, shall be protected in the use and disposition of the discovered means and any improvement that may be made by himself or others for the better use and application of said discovered means: Therefore be it

Resolved, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized to accept, as trustee, for the use and benefit of the United States Government, so far as it may desire to utilize the same for its purposes, assignment from the said Gäräbëd T. K. Giragossian of the use of said discovery, except as hereinafter specified: *Provided*, That the Secretary of the Interior shall also be authorized to accept, as trustee, for the use and benefit of the United States Government, so far as it may desire to utilize the same for its purposes, the assignment of the use of any device, improvement, process, equipment, apparatus, or other matter or thing developed or acquired by Gäräbëd T. K. Giragossian, his successors, representatives, or assigns, in the use of said discovered means.

SEC. 2. That the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to perform any and all acts and to make such rules and regulations and enter into such contracts as may be necessary to carry this resolution into effect: *Provided, however*, That the said Gäräbëd T. K. Giragossian shall demonstrate the entire practicability of his discovery before a commission of five eminent scientists to be appointed by the said Gäräbëd T. K. Giragossian, to be approved by the Secretary of the Interior, and if such demonstration shall prove successful, in the opinion of said scientists and the Secretary of the Interior, the United States shall recognize the said Gäräbëd T. K. Giragossian as the only original inventor, discoverer, and legal owner of said discovered means and any improvements that may be made therein or thereon, and will not issue any patent for any device, improvement, process, equipment, apparatus, or other matter or thing developed in the use of said discovery or based upon the system or correlative principle of said discovery, and will protect the said Gäräbëd T. K. Giragossian's rights and interests thereto for a period of 17 years, as well as of his representatives and assigns, in the United States and in foreign countries where such protection is afforded by treaty obligation, international law, and diplomatic representations.

The period of the special protection granted to Gäräbëd T. K. Giragossian by this resolution will expire at the end of 17 years, counting from the date of successful demonstration of the said "Gäräbëd."

The United States Government will not be placed under any expense in the demonstration of the "Gäräbëd," or for the services of the commission to attend such demonstration and examine the "Gäräbëd."

SEC. 3. That any sale or attempted sale by the said Gäräbëd T. K. Giragossian, or by his representatives or assigns, of any interest in or any title to said discovered means, or any part thereof, before the approval of the same by said commission of scientists appointed as hereinbefore prescribed and as approved by the Secretary of the Interior is hereby declared to be invalid and void, and any attempt made by the said Gäräbëd T. K. Giragossian, his representatives or assigns, to sell or dispose of any right to or interest in said discovered means shall have the effect, without further legislation, to authorize any Federal court of competent jurisdiction, upon information of the Attorney General, to enter a decree forfeiting the rights of the said Gäräbëd T. K. Giragossian, his representatives or assigns, in or to any protection that may be afforded him under the terms of this resolution in said discovered means as well as in the appliances necessary to utilize the same.

SEC. 4. That the United States Government will have the right to exercise the above-mentioned privilege simultaneously with the beginning of the public and general use of the said garabed system.

SEC. 5. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby reserved to the Congress of the United States.

House joint resolution 317.

Whereas Mr. Gäräbëd T. K. Giragossian, an American citizen, a resident of Boston, Mass., claims to have discovered a means by which unlimited energy can be generated without expense, said generator called by its discoverer the "Gäräbëd";

Whereas for the extraction of nitrogen from the air, the energy is the prime necessity and main source of expense;

Whereas it is claimed that the use of said "Gäräbed" will greatly facilitate the work of the Government nitrogen plants and increase the production of nitrogen, by eliminating the necessity for the use of fuel or water power;

Whereas the Government is now forced to establish its nitrogen plants in those localities where water power is available, but by the use of the aforesaid "Gäräbëd" it is claimed that these nitrogen plants could be established in any locality whatsoever;

Whereas, as mentioned in section 124 of Public statute No. 85, Sixty-fourth Congress (H. R. 12766), called "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," the Congress has authorized the President of the United States to expend $20,000,000, or any part thereof, for an investigation into the best and cheapest method by which nitrates can be manufactured, and for other purposes;

Whereas an estimated appropriation of many millions of dollars for fuel-storage space is recommended by Admiral Harris; but by the use of the "Gäräbëd" its discoverer claims that such expense to the Government would be saved, as the "Gäräbëd" requires no fuel; furthermore, the building of tanks at various points between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts for the purpose of storing fuel to be used by War Department tractors would be rendered unnecessary;

Whereas since it is claimed by its discoverer that the "Gäräbëd" needs no fuel whatever, and that the heaviest automobile truck that the War Department may require can be run from coast to coast without any expense whatsoever for motive power;

Whereas it is also claimed by its discoverer that by the use of the "Gäräbëd" the greatest obstacle to the use of aircraft is eliminated, as any air machine can be operated by its use without fuel.

* * * * * *

SEC. 3. That, owing to the pressing need for the manufacture of nitrates, which by present processes will involve the expenditure of many millions of dollars, the Secretary of War is hereby authorized to immediately accept the offer of Mr. Gäräbëd T. K. Giragossian to demonstrate his "Gäräbëd," since he claims that by its use the aforesaid millions of dollars can be saved to the Government of the United States and the nitrates manufactured at any point within the territory of the United States without the use fuel or water power.

I omit the balance of Mr. TAGUE's resolution, as it is identical with the one introduced by Senator CHAMBERLAIN.

These resolutions were introduced because Mr. Giragossian is unwilling to acquire a patent for his invention or discovery, although it is patentable. Any person fully conversant with the procedure necessary to obtain a patent could not expect him to secure one.

Our patent laws are useful to cover simple devices, improvements, and so forth, but do not offer adequate protection to great inventions, particularly to such an epoch-making discovery as a free-energy generator.

So long as an original invention can be imitated and stolen by the use of a few changes in its shape or form, under the pretext of improvement, which can likewise be patented; so long as the litigation of a patent lawsuit is unbearably expensive; and so long as a patent case can be dragged from court to court and prolonged from 10 to 20 or 30 years, there is no adequate legal protection for important inventions or discoveries. Whether or not we admit the fact, our inventive geniuses are left to the unmerciful grasp of the professional invention stealers and legal patent pirates.

Referring to existing patent laws and conditions, Mr. Thomas A. Edison says in the New York Herald of May 9, 1915:

Unhappily, there is absolute certainty that under our present patent laws the poor devil of an inventor would never receive any reward for it.

I have never made anything out of inventing. The money that keeps all these men busy in the works here I got from manufacturing, and I have long ceased to expect anything else. I suppose I invent as much as ever, but the pathway to the Patent Office isn't quite so hot with my footsteps as it used to be.

So far as I am aware, the principal objection to the resolutions to which I have referred is that their passage would establish a precedent, as a consequence of which the Congress would be flooded with requests or bills of a similar character. But we must remember that the affairs of the Congress are conducted with careful and rational discrimination and discernment. With due regard for and appreciation of even the smallest devices, they should not be confounded with original and rarely exceptional inventions.

Such a precedent as the passage of these resolutions would establish, would naturally create, a great incentive and give a forcible impetus to the inventive geniuses among our people that would serve to bring forward yet undreamed-of exploits, upon which depend the progress, happiness, and economic salvation of mankind.

Apparently, President Wilson is also interested in this subject. Two letters which I herewith quote, signed by the President, indicate such interest:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, June 27, 1916.

MY DEAR MR. GIRAGOSSIAN: I am very glad indeed to learn that you had a helpful conference with the Secretary of Commerce, and I beg leave to acknowledge with appreciation the receipt of your letter of June 22. I sincerely hope it will be possible for you to make satisfactory proof of your invention.

Cordially, yours, WOODROW WILSON.

Mr. GĂRĂBĔD T. K. GIRAGOSSIAN,
815 Twelfth Street NW., Washington, D. C.

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THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, July 4, 1916.

MY DEAR SIR: I thank you for your letter of July 1. I am sorry to say that I can not do all that you have suggested, but I would like very much to be of such service to you as I can, and my suggestion is this: That you demonstrate your invention to Secretary Redfield and Dr. Stratton, of the Bureau of Standards. I can assure you of the absolute integrity of these gentlemen, and that the knowledge of what you have invented will be perfectly safe from disclosure in their hands. After seeing the thing demonstrated, they will be able, I hope and believe, to advise you what it is best for you to do.

Very truly, yours, WOODROW WILSON.

Mr. GĂRĂBĔD T. K. GIRAGOSSIAN,
815 Twelfth Street NW., Washington, D. C.

The suggestion is made in these letters that Mr. Giragossian disclose the secret of his discovery or demonstrate its practicability before some body of men, after which, if it is found satisfactory, the Congress may consider the matter; but, without questioning the integrity of any person, what assurance or protection is thereby offered Mr. Giragossian against a possible "leak"? We are only too familiar with the new and official definition of this word. Were such a plan adopted, Mr. Giragossian would be obliged to place himself at the mercy of some man or men and take his chance on the possible loss of his work, without any protection whatsoever.

There are many persons of such great integrity that all the riches of the world can not corrupt them; but, unfortunately, we are often disappointed in this respect. Moreover, this is not alone a question of morale or integrity but of the resistant capacity of a brain against a powerful temptation. Without an actual trial the resistant power of any man can not be decided or positively relied upon. Furthermore, a person may repeatedly prove his unshaken integrity or honesty against many great and attractive enticements only to become corrupted by others of even slighter temptation.

Therefore for many reasons this suggestion is unfair, unjust, and unpractical, and will remain fruitless.

A man who has meditated and studied over a discovery or invention for more than a quarter of a century, who has toiled for more than 17 years amid heartrending hardships and sacrifices to develop his ideas can not be expected to surrender or disclose the secret of his final accomplishment without the desired protection.

I do not believe in perfection, but progress. As every sage has his own faults, likewise no parliament can be wholly free from errors. The United States Congress has erroneously sacrificed in the past some valuable discoveries and inventions through its mistaken doubts and indifference. For instance, the Loomis aerial-telegraph bill for the exploitation of Dr. Loomis's discovery of wireless telegraphy, was introduced in the United States by Senator Charles Sumner, who asked for an appropriation of $50,000 to assist in its further development. In 1873, on January 16, the Loomis bill for $50,000 was passed by the United States Congress and received the signature of President Grant, but Congress failed to provide the money, and Dr. Loomis died in despondency. The Congressional Globe of January 13, 1869, gives a full account of the discussion before the Senate.

By the disappointment and death of Dr. Loomis the United States lost its claim to the honor of the world-famous discovery of wireless telegraphy, for the system of Dr. Loomis involved every principle claimed to be of more recent discovery. The Scientific American Supplement of January, 1911, says:

A description of the actual conditions under which wireless telegraphy is to-day commercially successful would differ little from the theory advanced in the debates on [Loomis aerial] wireless telegraphy to which the House of Representatives listened with dreamy indifference 38 years ago.

Many similar cases can be enumerated of inventions which have been lost to the United States and to mankind through lack of necessary encouragement and adequate protection; yet, notwithstanding so many great losses and bitter experiences, I fear that to-day we are repeating the same indifferent, repellent, and discouraging attitude toward the claim of the discovery of free energy.

Any responsible man who has opposed or may oppose an opportunity for this claimant, Mr. Giragossian, or who may prevent the promised advent of such a great achievement may well ask himself what equivalent he can give in return to mankind and science, or what reparation he can make for the possible great loss to humanity for which his effort may be responsible.

If Mr. Giragossian is not granted the desired opportunity by our Congress, he will be forced by these unfavorable circumstances to withhold his secret from the public. Truly, it will be a most deplorable loss if his claimed discovery shall some day perish with him—this discovery which the entire army of scientists and inventors may not be able to rediscover in an eternity, as is the case with many of the ancient "lost arts."

In event of failure to receive due consideration, Mr. Giragossian is justified in his determination to cross the Atlantic and dispose of his discovery in a foreign country. In such an undesirable eventuality, if his claimed discovery is genuine, the greater number of our manufacturers must close the doors of their factories, or pay a heavy royalty for free energy, the discovery of which is now claimed in America.

Let us consider for a moment the possible moral and material effect on the Government, in case of the failure of Mr. Giragossian to verify his claim.

Mr. Giragossian's request is not for money, belief, or credence, but for moral and political assistance against an infringement, assistance which can be granted solely on the principle of fairness, generosity, and encouragement, therefore with no possible loss of any kind to the Government.

On the other hand, what will be the probable gain to the Government or to mankind by the success of his claims?

First of all, let it be distinctly and clearly understood that Mr. Giragossian's claimed discovery is not the so-called "perpetual motion," nor is it spontaneous movement.

Mr. Giragossian claims that one of his free-energy generators, built at the same expense as a good cooking stove, can supply five ordinary families with sufficient heat, light, and energy for domestic purposes without expense.

It is claimed that the free-energy generator will furnish the motive power for automobiles and tractors of farmers, thus eliminating the expense of traveling and transportation motive power, while at present, owing to the difficulty and expense of transportation, farm products to the value of immense sums of money are annually lost.

It is claimed that by the use of the free-energy generator our largest ships can be made to travel over 100 knots an hour, without expense for motive power. By this new agent aerial navigation, it is said, will be made a greater success and the mastery of the air accomplished.

If this discovery, as stated in Congressman TAGUE'S resolution, can eliminate the necessity for the use of fuel or water power in the production of nitrogen, then it will make possible the establishment of nitrate plants in any locality whatsoever, consequently this country will be provided with abundant fertilizer and the productivity of the land multiplied. The realization of this promise means the dawn of a new era, the beginning of an age of real prosperity.

Mr. Giragossian's claimed discovery will render to irrigation and reclamation of lands incalculable service which the entire wealth of the civilized world can not render.

A simple and conservative computation will indicate the gigantic rôle which this claimed discovery will play in agricultural circles alone.

If every one of our millions of farms should use on an average a 50-horsepower free energy generator, it would make a total of about 350,000,000 horsepower. The production of 350,000,000 horsepower by steam at $50 per single horsepower 12 hours per day for one year would cost $17,500,000,000 per annum.

According to the opinion of competent experts, New York City alone can utilize as much free energy as the United States is now consuming yearly at a cost of about $3,000,000,000 for the present expensive energy.

Leaving aside the herein-mentioned extra services of the claimed discovery, if it can only eliminate the "smoke nuisance" and save from daily consumption in this country approximately 2,000,000 tons of coal and more than a half million barrels of petroleum, and can in the meantime supply us with the same amount of heat, light, and energy which are now supplied by the coal and petroleum, and that, too, without expense and without toil, it is a magnificent work and worthy of especial attention.

The ever-increasing demand and consequent higher price of fuel is disturbing the mind of the Nation and is attracting the attention of the United States Congress. Instead of expending in vain so much energy, time, and money for the purpose of reducing the oppressive price of fuel or gasoline, is it not infinitely better for the United States Congress to give to Mr. Giragossian the proper opportunity and protection to demonstrate his claimed discovery? Who knows? He may be able to abolish fuel by eliminating forever the necessity for fuel in the production of motive power, heat, and light.

Taking into serious consideration the incalculable utility and inconceivable value of such a singularly exceptional invention or discovery, I hope that the Congress of the United States will accept the offer and grant the desired protection to this claimant, Mr. Giragossian, in order that his claimed discovery may not be longer withheld from the public.

I would call your attention to the following description of this claimed discovery, entitled "The Doom of the Steam Engine," which is written by Mr. Giragossian:

THE DOOM OF THE STEAM ENGINE.

It is a self-evident fact that motive power or energy, the prime necessity of life and progress, is a source of wealth, comfort, and happiness. The question of energy is as old as humanity, and, owing to the progress of civilization and human development, has become a very important and powerful one.

The ever-growing demand for energy has attracted the profound attention of thinkers both of ancient and modern times, and this truly seductive problem has baffled numberless masterful minds which have given this subject much thought and has ever been regarded as most difficult of solution; indeed, one never likely to be solved. But with the onward march of science and the ever-increasing acquaintance with the hitherto unknown laws of nature and the mysteries of the universe we become more qualified to make incredible discoveries and inventions. Theories which were yesterday considered, even by scientists, as fanciful and ridiculous have to-day been experimentally proven as facts and are now in practical use.

There were problems the solution of which was once regarded as beyond the possible, but which have been now solved in a most wonderful manner. And so at last, in spite of the opinion of every class of skeptics and smatterers, this, one of the greatest problems of the centuries, has been solved in Boston by a discovery which has determined the doom of steam as a motive power and put an end to the era of the steam engine, giving birth to a new epoch.

This historical change will take place when we produce energy by the Gäräbĕd, the power of which is unlimited, inexhaustible, and inexpensive, except for the usual trifling expense of wear and tear of machinery. When it is said without expense, or free energy, it is not implied that power is to be produced from nothing. It is not the so-called perpetual motion, nor is it spontaneous movement.

In order to form an idea of the Gäräbĕd we have to imagine a working engine the motive power of which is not steam, but something else which can be obtained freely.

The size of this motor and the quantity of energy to be produced by it are dependent upon our will and enterprise. It can be manufactured with less expense and occupies less space and is very much lighter than the steam engine, with its numerous appliances. It is portable and can be placed and put into operation wherever there exists a spark of human life. Consequently the steam engine will become obsolete and the innumerable legion of them will vanish as the dew before the morning sun.

The future generation will see it only in museums and curiosity halls. They will stand before its huge boilers and will with skeptical eyes stare blankly upon the monstrous instruments which have rendered incalculable services to humanity and at the same time left behind its victims, toilers worn to a skeleton, and disastrous and innumerable destructions.

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The Gäräbĕd being free from boiler and furnaces, there wil be no more explosions, no more victims, no more smoke, no more danger, and no more toilers to produce energy.

In an area not larger than Boston Common (48 acres) sufficient power can be produced under the new system to supply the wants of the whole industrial world.

Temperature, place, and time will have no effect on the action of the Gäräbĕd. It can work with equal advantage in the Arctic or the Torrid Zone; it can work on high mountain tops with the same regularity and order as in a dense forest; it will work without human assistance, automatically, ceaselessly, by day and by night.

The conditions are so favorable that from pole to pole, from east to west, in every place, and for every time the entire surface of the globe will be inundated with free energy. The ideas of man shall no longer be bound and his enterprise be limited and prevented as they are to-day on account of scarcity of energy.

Housekeepers in their cellars or inhabitants of a district in a center can jointly asign a place for the Gäräbĕd and use luxuriously free energy for domestic purposes. It will also afford excellent facilities for pumping water from natural wells, rivers, and seas, thus increasing the supply for artificial ponds and for washing the streets of cities.

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The fire and lights of cities and farms, as well as the whole civilized world, will be supplied by electricity through free energy. Coal stoves, oil heaters, furnaces and fireplaces, gas pipes, lamps, and chandeliers will forever be expelled from houses. Smoke and ashes will disappear from rooms and chimneys will vanish from housetops.

The enormous quantity of material which we are to-day destroying by burning will serve more or less to benefit humanity, and it is most probable that petroleum will supply the soap of the entire world. The present communities, seeing with their own eyes these wonderful revolutions, will be filled with profound regret for the miseries of modern men, as we feel sorry for our ancestors who suffered in the

The world's production of coal in 1900, as nearly as could be ascertained, was 844,680,413 tons. The production of petroleum in the United States in 1900 was over 63,000,000 barrels; in Russia, 77,230,561 barrels. Adding to these two latter products the amount of petroleum and lignites produced in Germany and other countries and reducing them theoretically to coal in proportion to their heat-raising power, the coal consumed in one year would be more than 1,000,000,000 tons.

Except in times of coal famine and in improper places, the price of coal is from $3 to $6 for the wholesale consumers, from $6 to $9 for the well-to-do, and for the poor from $9 to $15 per ton. The average price of coal being from $5 to $6 per ton, the coal-consuming communities are paying from $5,000,000,000 to $6,000,000,000 annual taxes for fuel.

More than that, fuel can not be burned without additional expense and sacrifice, while, on the other hand, the imperious demand of the insatiable monster of fire is growing steadily and rapidly. The authoritative estimate has already passed the colossal mark of two thousand millions of dollars which the United States is spending yearly for energy, i. e., heat, light, and motive power.

Most truly the expenditure and sacrifices of the inhabitants of this earth in this respect are too enormous. Fortunately, however, the garabed can deliver the human race once and for all from such an unbearable burden, as it will save from waste the most useful and precious natural wealth, fuel, for the destruction of which the United States alone is paying daily $6,000,000.

Furthermore, it is very obvious that naturally the use of energy increases if the cost of generating it diminishes. But when it can be acquired without expense and without toil, then the magnitude and extent of its utilization would be beyond conception and calculation. Inasmuch as there is a boundless field for the use of energy, upon a conservative computation it can be said that one of our States would utilize more free energy than the whole federation is now consuming regularly. Hence, one State of the Union will become, through free energy, richer than the United States is to-day.

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Free energy will put cities, countries, and farms on an equal level of civilization, destroying utterly the formidable wall which stands between them, as it will be of great service in communication and reviving home industries by eliminating the expense for motive power in travel, transportation, etc.

The present system of agriculture will be materially changed. Besides a good many novelties, every farmer will have ever-pouring spring water and an artificial pond on his farm and abundant fresh water to irrigate his fields. Graziers, who are handicapped in the arid fields on account of scarcity of water, not only will find water to appease the thirst of their cattle but will also have water to construct ponds where they can bathe their flocks.

The garabed will naturally be a most capable factor, and an ever-inspiring and stirring stimulus for the reclamation of sterile lands, as well as for a general higher cultivation of our planet. There are millions of square miles of sterile lands, some of which are not only useless but are detrimental to the best interests of man.

It is obviously plain that the fundamental cause of that barrenness is the want of water, while through the heart of some barren or semifertile regions great rivers run useless and defiant, as well as the soundless and invisible subterranean streams which also flow beneath the same arid lands, as here and there under the scorching sands can be often found so-called underground lakes or waters.

In fact, splendid mechanical improvement and its scientific application offers excellent facilities to draw water from hitherto inaccessible rivers or underground waters, but the excessive cost of motive power makes it generally prohibitive and unprofitable.

As nature has once more revealed a valuable secret to man so he can, with great advantage and benefit, not only draw water from rivers or underground waters for irrigation, but can have additional abundant free energy or electricity for the development of natural resources, etc.

The enterprising and adventurous spirit of man never hesitates to take advantage of such unique opportunities, therefore he will, in the proper time, put into active operation and useful service every available instrument or contrivance which human toil or ingenuity can ever produce so as to flood every profitable arid land.

When the streams of animating water rush upon the parched soil and appease the thirst of ages, then the sandy bare earth will be covered with delightful verdure, as it will bloom out into flowers and gradually become ornamented with spices, vines, groves, and trees abounding in fruits and perfumes.

When the uncontrollable mighty torrent of civilization deluges the deserts and wilderness of Africa as elsewhere, when the operation of the mines or the development of natural resources commences, and when the electrical handsaws or useful instruments of many descriptions get ready for their marvelous services of clearing swamps and jungles, then the banishment or extermination of all wild, ferocious, and mischievous or useless animals, as well as venomous reptiles, is foredoomed.

To the hissing of the serpents and snakes will succeed the sweet and captivating warbling of nightingales or other chanting birds. The dreadful roarings and howlings of the brutes will fade away and vanish about the time of the advent of the bleating flocks of sheep, goats, gazelles, etc., and the deathly silence and stillness of the solitary deserts will be stirred by the melodious sounds of music and cheerful songs of children.

Splendid houses will rise on the meadows surrounded with orchards and vineyards. These ideal garden homes, steadily growing in number and spreading wide and far, will create, one after another, flourishing and thriving garden cities.

By virtue of her opulent, cultivated lands, prosperous industries, and rich cities, once obscure, poor, and darkest Africa will become one of the brightest spots of the world, as well as more wealthy than the combined wealth produced by all civilized nations to-day.

Australia, or any other suitable colony or protectorate, can be more prosperous and wealthier than the British Empire is at present.

The agricultural, mineral, and industrial gain of incalculable value which one considerable Province of Russia can enjoy by free energy

will make the whole produced wealth of the mighty Slavic Empire appear as a pigmy in comparison with it.

Our deserted farms or arid regions, aggregating millions of acres, will be transformed into vineyards, orchards, meadows, and groves.

Thus the garabed will offer to our agricultural States, South America, Australia, Africa, and similar regions more benefit and blessings by just supplying them with abundant water than all the mines of gold and diamonds could have done in the past.

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The working class will be immensely benefited by the garabed, as it will become a great factor in the solution of the labor problem. The millions of employees who are toiling, directly or indirectly, to produce energy will become idle, and on the other hand free energy will be lavishly used in every possible work and will naturally give a forcible impetus to the unrestrainable tendency to invent labor-saving machines. The inevitable result of the industrial improvement will enforce the abolition of labor at both tender and mature ages and will reduce the hours of labor.

Under the free-energy system, the present employees, working slowly three hours per day, will be able to produce more than ten times the whole product of to-day. The inexhaustible dust will easily be transformed into immense wealth, as well as the atmosphere indirectly into food, by extracting its nitrogen for fertilizer, and by electrifying the plants, so as to grow faster and be more fruitful.

To the exuberance of the necessities of life, clay, too, promises to be indirectly a most generous contributor with its everlasting and boundless source of illimitable aluminum. While it has fallen from $200 to 35 cents per pound, it can yet be produced exceedingly cheaper and more and more abundantly by free electricity. Therefore, it seems as if aluminum is predestined to supersede wood, particularly in ship or house building, and also in the manufacture of wooden materials, as furniture, cars, etc. This substitution can not fail to have a far-reaching beneficent effect on plants, as in reforesting, increasing fruit trees, expanding pastures, etc., as it will decrease the calamities of conflagrations, the burning of ships at sea, and diminish the ravages of floods and droughts.

However, in a thousand ways free energy, multiplying the producing capacity of industry and increasing many times the productivity of our earth, will sink the present prosperity and world's produced wealth into insignificance. Consequently, it can be safely said that poverty will be abolished. Thanks to the advancement of science and art, there will be no poverty wherever free energy may have free exercise. Everything becoming abundant, the question of "bread and butter" will be perfectly solved. The cruel war for the necessities of life will cease. The uneducated, ragged, destitute persons and beggars will disappear from the streets.

Thus the splendid industrial and social reforms which free energy will afford in 10 years, all the factors of the entire world could not have accomplished in centuries.

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A great revolution in the navigation world is inevitable. The problem of a fast vessel is not yet substantially solved, and the solution is confronted with great difficulties. The speed of a ship has not increased in proportion to the fuel combustion. To increase the speed of a ship which requires 15 hours to cover a certain distance and the consumption of 100 tons of coal, so that it can travel the same distance in 10 hours, requires the consumption of about 200 tons of coal.

To obtain this higher speed it becomes necessary to make several changes. For example, the carrying capacity for cargo and fuel must be decreased; the engine and boiler room staff would likewise have to be materially increased. Because of these disadvantages a trans-Atlantic steamship of average size has 4 single and 12 double-ended boilers, 20 feet 4 inches in length and 16 feet in diameter. She has 112 furnaces burning daily 570 tons of coal. The coal bunkers hold about 5,000 tons.

The Gärăbĕd will remove these troubles and unnecessary expenses and the propelling power and the speed of a ship will easily be increased. Thanks to the circumstances that the larger the ships are the higher the rate of speed at which they are propelled, and the higher the rate of speed the greater the increase of safety. Then, the future ship will be larger, faster, safer, and more profitable than we can even desire to-day. She will be without dirty coal, infernal fires, annoying smoke, and at the same time free of from four or five thousand tons of superfluous burden and numerous toilers. She will cease to be a "naval monster, breathing flames and smoke," and will become a graceful queen, a floating paradise.

Some of the trans-Atlantic trips are made in five and one-half or six days by the fastest ships. The maximum speed is 23 knots an hour. In the immediate future the minimum speed will be 100 knots an hour. It will take 30 hours to sail from Boston to London and 40 hours to Constantinople.

Manila will be nearer to us than San Francisco is to-day. The East Indies will be regarded as close a neighbor as the West Indies are now. Asiatic fruits will reach Boston fresher than we can get them from California to-day. Boston and Constantinople, San Francisco and Manila will become close neighbors, and the stream of civilization will take a wider, more powerful, and more general spread. The dawn of universal prosperity and knowledge will succeed to the darkness of poverty and ignorance.

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The service of the Gärăbĕd in aerial navigation will be very great and highly valuable.

Nothing as yet has more fascinated and more attracted the human mind than the soaring eagle or its rivals in the air.

Man's fanciful dreams and lofty aspirations have put into ceaseless motion his imitative instinct and inventive genius, so as to contrive a flying device. Through the centuries, with enormous sacrifices and hardships, once ridiculed, the visionary illusion of the past is a demonstrated fact to-day. Man has at last created a flying instrument.

However, it is yet an object of wonder and curiosity, and not generally in useful service, mostly through the lack of an adequate engine and sufficient motive power. The existing appliances can not provide it with abundant energy and powerful propeller so as to overcome the difficulties and to meet the requirement of aerial navigation.

Fortunately, the Gärăbĕd possesses all those requisites and necessary qualities for the successful conquest of the air. It can supply the airship with an immense quantity of energy, tens of thousands of horsepower, or as much as necessary. The airman will be able to encircle the globe as many times as he pleases without descending to the ground because of scarcity of energy.

The abundance of energy will make it possible to equip aircraft with huge and powerful gyroscopes, if they would assist its stability. Furthermore, there is said to be already the possibility of lifting substances from the ground by electricity, neutralizing or counteracting gravity. It will not be altogether visionary to hope that the airship some day may be floated aloft by electrical means.

The genius and exertion of man has developed from the simple crude log the magnificent floating palace of to-day, and undoubtedly all that long experience and accumulated useful knowledge of the centuries, as well as the present scientific learning and practice, will assist the same ingenuity for the creation of a more sublime and more charming flying mansion.

If ever man has imagined that some day he will pilot a flying *Titanic*, he should be congratulated on his being on the threshold of the realization of his most fantastic dream by the advent of the Gärăbĕd. Man's sacrifices will be rewarded, as his aspiration for the mastery of the air will be appeased and satisfied, when he sees the majesty of the air fly from Arctic to Antarctic, above the stormy clouds, over inaccessible mountains, untrodden deserts, and as yet impenetrable forests.

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Let it be remembered that these words, "The doom of the steam engine" express only a small fraction of the obvious and countless probabilities of the Gärăbĕd. Then what blissful and miraculous possibilities has it in store for mankind? Its inventor disclaims the wisdom of prophesying or conjecturing about them. But without great foresight or deep scientific knowledge any man of common sense can easily discern that when scientists and inventors have at their disposal unlimited free energy they will create many kinds of undreamed of worlds of wonders. It is entirely reasonable also to hope confidently that under the Gärăbĕd system the redeeming angels of science and art will establish happiness at home and fraternity among mankind.

GĂRĂBĔD T. K. GIRAGOSSIAN.

BOSTON, MASS., P. O. BOX 1597.

Yale Corporation Places Itself on Record as Supporting the President.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN Q. TILSON,

OF CONNECTICUT,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 26, 1917.

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include brief resolutions passed by the Yale University Corporation.

The resolutions are as follows:

Voted, That the Yale Corporation places itself on record as supporting the President of the United States in the steps he has taken to uphold international law and American rights.

Voted, That the Yale Corporation assures the governor of the State of its readiness to cooperate with him by placing the facilities of the university at his disposal in any ways that may seem feasible in carrying out the plans he has initiated for helping to safeguard the interests of the State and Nation. (Corporation records, Feb. 19, 1917.)

Mines and Submarines.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 15, 1917.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, during all this preparedness discusssion I have supported increases of the Army and Navy, particularly of the Navy, because that constitutes our first line of defense. I have favored the construction of submarines and have voted with those who wanted the largest number of submarines constructed. But many of our big newspapers are warring against submarines as used by other nations, and are dating their complaints back to the incident of the sinking of the *Lusitania*. This opposition to the use of submarines by foreign powers has induced me on several occasions to ask the exponents of international law on this floor why the United States is building submarines. I can not conceive that we are building them for joy rides or to keep as ornaments, not to be used in an emergency or to defend or assert our rights upon the high seas. I believe the submarine is a fighting craft and that this Government is building them for fighting purposes, if need be.

But to clear up much of the haze that has enveloped the *Lusitania* case I have been looking up the facts. A short newspaper paragraph from the Philadelphia Record of February 8 gave point to this inquiry. It referred to the defenses set up by the Cunard Steamship Co., a British corporation, to avoid the payment of damages resulting from the sinking of this great British ship. This newspaper notice was as follows:

"LUSITANIA" CLAIMS CLOSED—LIMIT FOR FILING EXPIRED DECEMBER 26 LAST COURT DECIDES.

NEW YORK, *February 7.*

All persons, except two, who failed to file their claims on or before December 26 last will be debarred from participation in damages against the Cunard Steamship Co. resulting from the sinking of the passenger liner *Lusitania*, according to an order of the Federal district court here to-day. Already claims aggregating $5,000,000 have been filed, and the steamship company has made a stipulation to pay only $100,000, the extent of its liability on freight and passenger money.

LUSITANIA—CUNARD CO.'S BRIEF.

Now, what is the international law status as revealed by the court proceedings? First, let us turn to the petition of the Cunard Steamship Co. (Ltd.), as filed by Messrs. Lord, Day, & Lord, proctors for that company in their request for a "limitation of liability," as filed September 19, 1916, in the United State district court, southern district of New York. That petition tells the story from the viewpoint of the Cunard Steamship Co. more accurately than it has yet been told. The whole petition, which seeks to avoid the payment of a possible $5,000,000 of claims, is as follows:

To the honorable the judges of the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York:

The petition of the Cunard Steamship Co. (Ltd.), as owner of the steamship *Lusitania* in a cause of limitation of liability, civil and maritime, alleges as follows:

First. At all the times hereinafter mentioned the petitioner, The Cunard Steamship Co. (Ltd.), was and still is a corporation duly organized and existing under and by virtue of the laws of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, having its principal office in Liverpool, England, and an agent at 21 State Street, in the Borough of Manhattan, city of New York, in this district. At the times hereinafter mentioned it was the sole owner of the British steamship *Lusitania* and her pending freight.

The steamship *Lusitania* was a steel turbine steamship, built by John Brown & Co., at Clydebank, Scotland, in 1907, and was classed 100 A1 at Lloyd's. She was 785 feet in length over all, and 760 feet between perpendiculars, 88 feet in beam and 60 feet 4½ inches in depth of hold, of 30,395 tons gross and 12,611 tons net register, and 41,440 tons displacement. She had a cellular double bottom and was divided transversely by eleven principal bulkheads into twelve sections; the two forward bulkheads were collision bulkheads without doors; the remaining bulkheads had water-tight doors, which were closed from the bridge by hydraulic pressure; a longitudinal bulkhead on each side of the vessel separated the side coal bunkers from the boiler room and engine rooms. At the time of the occurrence hereinafter mentioned she had 48 lifeboats on board, accommodating 2,607 persons, and in addition she had on board 2,325 life jackets and 35 lifebuoys.

The boats, life jackets, and lifebuoys were inspected at Liverpool March 17, 1915, by the British Board of Trade engineer and surveyor, and again on April 16 and 17, 1915, by the British Board of Trade emigration officer, and on both occasions were found to be in good order and seaworthy condition. The boats were also examined by the ship's carpenter at New York at the commencement of the voyage in question and were then found to be in good order and seaworthy condition. At the times hereinafter mentioned, the *Lusitania* was engaged in the regular service of the petitioner as a passenger liner between New York and Liverpool, carrying passengers, cargo, and mails.

Second. On May 1, 1915, the *Lusitania* being fully and efficiently manned, equipped, and supplied, in charge of a duly licensed and competent master, who had been in the service of the petitioner since 1883, and having completely fulfilled all the requirements of both the British and the United States laws, and being in all respects seaworthy, sailed from New York with 290 first-cabin passengers, 600 second-cabin passengers, 367 third-cabin passengers and a crew of 702 members, making a total of 1,959 persons on board, together with about 1,400 tons of general cargo and United States mail, bound for Liverpool, England. The *Lusitania* was unarmed and had the status and was entitled to the rights, privileges, and immunities of a merchant vessel, among which are freedom from attack by an enemy vessel without previous visitation, search, or warning, and without provision being made for the safety of her passengers and crew.

Third. The *Lusitania* proceeded on her usual course until she was off the south coast of Ireland. At that time all the vessel's lifeboats under davits had been swung out ready for lowering, all her bulkhead doors had been closed except such as were required to be kept open in order to work the ship, and all her portholes had been closed. The lookout on the ship was doubled, two men being stationed in the crow's nest and two men in the eyes of the ship. Two officers were on the bridge and a quartermaster was on each side on the lookout. Up to 8 a. m. on the morning of May 7, 1915, the vessel had maintained a speed of about 21 knots. The speed was then reduced to 18 knots, in order to effect the ship's arrival outside the bar at Liverpool at about 4 o'clock on the morning of the 8th, when the tide would be sufficiently high to enable the vessel to cross the bar into the Mersey without delay at that point. A little before noon land was sighted which the captain took to be Brow Head, but as he could not identify it with sufficient certainty to enable him to fix the position of his vessel on the chart, he kept the ship on her course, which then was south 87° east and about parallel with the land, until 12.40 p. m., when, in order to make a better land fall he altered his course to north 67° east, and shortly thereafter sighted the Old Head of Kinsale. He then at 1.40 p. m. altered his course back to south 87° east. At about 2.15 p. m., when the vessel was 10 or 15 miles off the Old Head of Kinsale, and proceeding at 18 knots an hour, the weather being clear and the sea smooth, a lookout on the starboard side of the forecastle head saw a burst of foam about four points off the starboard bow followed by the wake of two torpedoes which were rapidly approaching the vessel, one a little behind the other, approximately at a right angle to the ship's course. He immediately called through a megaphone to the bridge: "Torpedoes coming on the starboard side." Within a few seconds thereafter the *Lusitania* was struck by the torpedoes on the starboard side between the third and fourth funnels, the explosions of the torpedoes tearing a great hole in her hull, and causing the sea to rush in. Both these torpedoes were discharged by a German submarine or submarines. Shortly afterwards a torpedo was launched from another German submarine on the port side of the *Lusitania*, but this torpedo did not strike the vessel. The hostile attack by the German submarine or submarines was not preceded by visitation and search, by a signal to heave to, or by any warning or signal of any nature or kind, and no submarine had been sighted before the torpedoes were discharged.

The master was on the bridge at the time the *Lusitania* was struck and remained there giving orders until the ship sank. He went down with the ship and was subsequently rescued. When the *Lusitania* was struck he immediately ordered the lifeboats lowered to the rail and ordered that the women and children be placed in them first. Almost immediately the *Lusitania* took a heavy and increasing list to starboard. Her engines were disabled by the explosion of the torpedoes and could not be reversed. There was, therefore, no way of checking the headway of the vessel. The Marconi operator immediately sent out an S. O. S. call, and another message reading, "Come at once, big list, 10 miles south Head Old Kinsale," which messages were repeated continuously and were acknowledged. All the collapsible boats were loosened from their lashings and freed so that they could float if the vessel should sink, and the crew distributed lifebelts to the passengers. On account of the vessel's list to starboard and her continued headway difficulty was experienced with the launching of the boats. The port boats were thrown inboard and the starboard boats swung outboard. Some of the boats, with great difficulty, were lowered with passengers, but in spite of all possible efforts to save all on board the vessel sank within a few minutes, with a heavy loss of life.

Fourth. The sinking of the *Lusitania* and the loss of the lives of some of her passengers and crew, the injuries sustained by others, and the loss of her cargo, baggage, and mail, resulting therefrom, occurred without the privity or knowledge of the petitioner and were due to and caused solely by the act of a public enemy, to wit, by the unlawful torpedoing of the *Lusitania* by a German submarine or submarines without any previous signal or warning and without making provision for the safety of her passengers and crew, in violation of the law of nations and of the laws and usages of war as recognized by civilized nations. The losses occasioned by the sinking of the vessel as aforesaid were not caused or contributed to by any fault or negligence on the part of the petitioner, its servants or agents, or of anyone for whose acts the petitioner is responsible.

Fifth. Sixty-seven actions at law and suits in admiralty have been begun against the petitioner in various courts in the United States, including the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, the New York Supreme Court, the United States District Court for the District of Massachusetts, and the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Illinois, for loss of life, personal injuries, loss of baggage, and other damages and injuries, respectively, resulting from said attack and the consequent sinking of the *Lusitania*. The total amount claimed in the said actions and suits so far as at present known to the petitioner is $5,883,479. Other claims may be made and actions begun against the petitioner for losses and damage resulting from said attack and the consequent sinking of the *Lusitania*. A detailed list of the actions and suits pending against the petitioner in the United States, together with the amount of each claim, the name of the proctors or attorneys, and the court in which each action or suit is pending, is hereto annexed, marked "Schedule A," and is made a part of this petition. The said amount of $5,883,479 greatly exceeds the value of the wreck strippings saved from the *Lusitania* and her pending freight and passage money.

Sixth. By reason of said attack upon and the consequent sinking of the *Lusitania* she became an actual total loss, and her value in her sunken condition is therefore nothing. The value of the wreck strippings from the *Lusitania*, consisting of lifeboats and life rafts which reached shore, does not exceed the sum of $768. The freight earned on cargo shipped on the voyage does not exceed the sum of $5,904. The passage money received on the voyage amounted to the sum of $84,624. The total amount of the petitioner's interest in the steamship *Lusitania* and in her pending freight does not for the purposes of this proceeding exceed the sum of $91,296. There are no demands, unsatisfied liens, or claims of liens against the vessel or her strippings on her pending freight, nor any suits pending in the United States, so far as is known to the petitioner, except such as are referred to in article fifth of this petition. Subject to an appraisal of its interest on a reference, the petitioner offers herewith an ad interim stipulation for value in the sum of $100,000.

Seventh. The petitioner denies that it is liable to any extent, as owner of the *Lusitania*, for the losses, damages, or injuries occasioned or resulting from said attack or the consequent sinking of the vessel as aforesaid, or for the claims for damages that have been made, or may hereafter be made on account of the said attack or sinking, and it alleges that it has a valid defense to all such claims; but if this court shall adjudge that the petitioner is liable to any extent in the premises, then the petitioner claims the benefit of the limitation of liability provided for in sections 4283, 4284, and 4285 of the Revised Statutes of the United States and the various statutes amendatory thereof and supplementary thereto, and to that end is ready and willing to give a stipulation with sufficient surety for the payment into court of the amount of its interest in said steamship and her pending freight whenever the same shall be ordered by this court as provided by the statutes aforesaid, by general rule 54 in admiralty and by the rules and practice of this court.

Eighth. All and singular the premises are true and within the admiralty and maritime jurisdiction of the United States and of this honorable court.

Wherefore the petitioner prays—

1. That this court will cause due appraisement to be made of the amount or value of the petitioner's interest in the steamship *Lusitania* and her pending freight upon a reference to be ordered herein.

2. That the court will make an order directing the petitioner to file a stipulation with surety to be approved by the court for the payment into court of the amount of the petitioner's said interest whenever the same shall be ordered by the court.

3. That the court will make an order directing the issuance of a monition to all persons claiming damages for any loss, damage, or injury caused by or resulting from said attack and the consequent sinking of the *Lusitania* aforesaid, citing them to appear before a commissioner to be named by the court in said order, and to make due proof of their respective claims, and also to appear and answer the allegations of this petition, according to law and the practice of this court at or before a certain time to be fixed by the said monition.

4. That the court, on the filing of such stipulation as may be determined to be proper, or on the filing of an ad interim stipulation, will issue its injunction restraining the prosecution of all actions and suits now pending against the petitioner in the United States, and the commencement or prosecution hereafter of any suit, action, or legal proceeding of any nature or description whatever, except in the present proceeding, against the petitioner or against the wreck strippings of the *Lusitania* or her pending freight in respect of any claim or claims arising out of the said attack or the sinking of the *Lusitania*.

5. That the court will adjudge that the petitioner is not liable to any extent for any loss, damage, or injury, nor for any claim whatsoever in any way arising out of or in consequence of the said attack or the sinking of the *Lusitania;* but if this court shall adjudge that the petitioner is liable, than that the liability of the petitioner be limited to the amount or value of the petitioner's interest in the steamship *Lusitania* and her pending freight, and that the moneys paid or secured to be paid as aforesaid be divided pro rata among the claimants as provided by law, and that a decree may be entered discharging the petitioner from all further liability.

6. That the petitioner may have such other or further relief as may be just.

LORD, DAY & LORD,
Proctors for Petitioner.
J. PARKER KIRLIN,
LUCIUS H. BEERS,
Advocates.

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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Southern District of New York, County of New York, ss:

Richard L. Walker, being duly sworn, says: I am assistant to the general agent in the United States of the Cunard Steamship Co. (Ltd.), the petitioner herein. The foregoing petition is true to the best of my knowledge, information, and belief. The sources of my information and the grounds of my belief as to the matters not within my own knowledge, are statements made by surviving officers and members of the crew of the steamship *Lusitania,* and reports of investigations made by the petitioner and by the British court of inquiry into the sinking of the *Lusitania.* The reason that this verification is not made by the petitioner is that it is a foreign corporation, and none of its officers is in the United States. The reason that it is not made by the general agent is that he is not at present within this district.

RICHARD L. WALKER.

Sworn to before me this 14th day of September, 1916.
[SEAL.] J. DEL GIUDICE,
Notary Public, Westchester County.

Certificate filed in New York County.

ANOTHER VIEW OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

On behalf of one of the claimants, the widow and children of Mr. Albert Lloyd Hopkins, who was president of the Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co., a denial is set up that "the torpedoing was unlawful or that the same was in violation of the law of nations or of the laws and usages of war as recognized by civilized nations." The answer filed on behalf of the Hopkins family and others by A. Gordon Murray, a proctor in admiralty, in New York, presents an entirely different view of international law from that asserted by the proctors of the Cunard Co. I append this answer, which charges the owners of the *Lusitania* with endeavoring to avoid responsibility, in full. In addition thereto I append a further statement by Mr. Murray, with certain citations of international law:

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT.
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK.

IN THE MATTER OF THE PETITION OF THE CUNARD STEAMSHIP CO. (LTD.), AS OWNER OF THE STEAMSHIP "LUSITANIA" FOR LIMITATION OF ITS LIABILITY. IN ADMIRALTY NO. 69–169. ANSWER.

To the honorable the judges of the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York:

The answer of May Davies Hopkins, individually and as administratrix of the goods, chattels, and credits of Albert Lloyd Hopkins, deceased; Anna B. Mills, individually and as administratrix of the goods, chattels, and creditors of Charles Veitch Mills, deceased; Winifred H. Brown, individually and as administratrix of the goods, chattels, and credits of William H. H. Brown, deceased; Elizabeth Burke, individually and as mother and next of kin of Alice Burke and Dora Burke; and Allison Buchanan, individually and as representative of the parent and descendants and next of kin of Mary Buchanan, deceased; having duly filed claims herein against the above-named petitioner with Alexander Gilchrist, jr., Esq., the commissioner appointed to take proof of claims to the petition of the Cunard Steamship Co. (Ltd.), as owner of the steamship *Lusitania* for limitation of liability, civil and maritime, allege on information and belief as follows:

First. They admit the allegations of the first article of the petition, except that they have no knowledge or information sufficient to form a belief as to whether the equipment was inspected and examined as in said article mentioned.

Second. They admit the allegations of the second article of the petition, except that they deny that the said steamship *Lusitania* was fully and efficiently manned.

They have no knowledge or information as to whether the *Lusitania* was unarmed, but they deny that among the rights, privileges, and immunities of a belligerant merchant vessel, in times of war, are immunity from attack by an enemy vessel without previous visitation, search, or warning, or without provision being made for the safety of her passengers and crew.

Third. They admit the allegations of the third article of the petition, except that they have no knowledge or information as to whether the lifeboats under davits had been swung out ready for lowering, or bulkhead doors had been closed or her portholes closed, or that the lookout had been doubled, or that two officers were on the bridge or a quartermaster stationed on each side on the lookout.

They have no knowledge or information as to the speed of the vessel prior to 8 a. m. on the morning of May 7, 1915. They admit, however, that her speed was reduced, but whether to 21 or 18 knots or below they know not, but they allege that at the time of the torpedoing hereinafter mentioned, she was not proceeding at a greater speed than 18 knots, and probably less.

Fourth. They deny that the sinking of the *Lusitania* or the losses incurred thereby occurred without the privity or knowledge of the petitioner, as stated in the fourth article of the petition, and they admit that it was due and caused by the act of a public enemy, but they deny that the said torpedoing was unlawful or that the same was in violation of the law of nations or of the laws and usages of war as recognized by civilized nations, and they deny that the losses occasioned by the said sinking were not caused or contributed to by any fault or negligence on the part of the petitioner, its servants, or agents, or of any one for whose acts the petitioner is responsible.

Fifth. They have no knowledge or information as to the allegations of the fifth article of the petition, except they severally admit that they had each begun an action in admiralty against the petitioner to recover their damages occasioned by the sinking of the steamship *Lusitania* in the United States District Court for the Southern of New York.

Sixth. They have no knowledge or information sufficient to form a belief as to the allegations of the sixth article of the petition, except that they admit that the sinking of the *Lusitania* was the result of a hostile submarine attack.

Seventh. By way of answer to the allegations of the seventh article of the petition, they allege the liability of the petitioner herein for the losses occasioned by the sinking of the steamship *Lusitania,* and they deny that the petitioner is entitled to the benefits of the limitation of liability provided for in sections 4283, 4284, and 4285 of the Revised Statutes, or any statute amendatory thereof or supplementary thereto, as alleged in the said seventh article.

Eighth. The claimants above named for a further answer to the petition and by way of contest thereof, upon information and belief, allege:

1. That the loss and damage occasioned to them as stated in their respective claims duly filed herein, as hereinbefore mentioned, by the sinking of the steamship *Lusitania* while on the voyage mentioned in the petition herein was caused by the fault and negligence of the petitioner, the Cunard Steamship Co. (Ltd.), its agents and servants, in that with the knowledge or privity of the petitioner, the said steamship *Lusitania* was being navigated imprudently and negligently in that she was well within the war zone duly proclaimed by the Imperial German Government and was not maintaining her usual full, maximum, or ordinary speed, but on the contrary and in fact had reduced her speed to 18 knots or less, by reason of which reduction she became an easy mark for attack by hostile submarine vessels, and in addition thereto, as claimants are advised and believe, the said steamship *Lusitania* was not otherwise being navigated as prudence required in that she was not following the course prescribed by the British admiralty as a proper course at that time for vessels destined to and from the port of Liverpool and the ports of North America, but on the contrary the course actually pursued by the steamship *Lusitania* was dangerous as exposed to attack by hostile submarine torpedo boats, and the region was known to be infested with such hostile torpedo vessels, and, further, such course was not protected by the British admiralty for freight and passenger vessels of British nationality.

2. Petitioner, as owner of and operating the said steamship *Lusitania,* was negligent in that it gave no directions to the commander of the steamship *Lusitania* that he should follow such designated course or courses, or obey implicitly any warnings, orders, advices, or instructions that he might receive by wireless telegraph or otherwise from the British admiralty, or any of its ships or agencies whatsoever, and as a consequence of such neglect, recklessness, and imprudence the said steamship *Lusitania* was sunk, and claimants' intestates lost their lives and claimants and claimants' minor children or dependents lost the care and protection and support of the decedents.

Ninth. The above-named claimants allege that on or about August 4, 1914, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland formally declared war on the Imperial German Government and the people composing the German Empire, and that subsequent thereto the Imperial German Government formally declared war upon the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and her subjects.

That on or about February 5, 1915, the war thus declared was still in full and bitter force, and on May 7, 1915, the state of war was still existing between the two nations as aforesaid and their respective allies. That on or about February 5, 1915, the Imperial German Government duly proclaimed to the world that the commanders of its submarine torpedo boats had received instructions that on and after February 18, 1915, all vessels of Britain or enemy nationality would be torpedoed upon sight when encountered within a radius of 30 miles around the British Isles, and that the said declaration or decree, duly promulgated, was in full force and effect May 7, 1915, the day upon which the said steamship *Lusitania* was torpedoed, and the petitioner well knew that such was the case.

The said steamship *Lusitania* was a British vessel and was sailing under the British flag, and consequently under the circumstances prevailing at that time the said steamship was being navigated imprudently and negligently in the war zone as aforesaid and was not using her utmost speed to traverse the said zone, within which she had ample reason to believe that she was open to attack.

Tenth. The petitioner and its agents had duly advertised and made known that the said steamship *Lusitania* was capable of achieving and maintaining a speed of 25 knots or more, but at the time of the claimants' losses, by reason of being shorthanded in manning and in order to effect a saving in the consumption of coal, a portion of her boilers had been uncoupled from the main engines and were cold, in consequence of which the *Lusitania* was not capable of accomplishing 25 knots or anything approximating thereto, and no notice had been given to the traveling public, and especially to the claimants' decedents, that the said steamship *Lusitania* would be so reduced or curtailed in power, but claimants' decedents took passage on the said steamship *Lusitania* with the full knowledge and understanding and in the belief that the said steamship *Lusitania* was capable of accomplishing a speed of 25 knots and relied upon such knowledge, understanding, and belief, not knowing that the same had been in any respect reduced or curtailed.

Claimants allege that the said reduction in power was done for the purpose of economizing labor and coal consumption, but that there was no consequent reduction in the passage money that the claimants' decedents were required to pay as a necessary consequence of the relation of passengers and carriers.

Eleventh. The said reduction was made as a result of due deliberation on the managing director or directors of the petitioners, and the said reduction was continued after the said managing director or directors had full knowledge that hostile submarine torpedo boats were around bent upon the destruction of British vessels, including merchant and passenger vessels.

Twelfth. Claimants allege that the said steamship *Lusitania* was designed to be a British auxiliary cruiser; that the said vessel was carried on the British admiralty list and was capable at all times of quick conversion into a cruiser, and at the time of the sinking aforesaid she was or had been painted with the war colors of all British naval vessels and she had from time to time sailed under neutral flags as a ruse deguerre.

Wherefore the claimants herein pray that the court will decree that the sinking and loss at sea of the said steamship *Lusitania* was due to the fault and negligence of those in charge of her operation and management; that such fault and negligence was done with the knowledge and privity of the petitioner; that the loss and damage to these claimants were done, occasioned, and occurred not without the knowledge and privity of the petitioner or its actual fault.

That the petitioner is not entitled to limitation of its liability as prayed for in the petition, or otherwise.

That these claimants may be awarded their damages as indicated by the claims heretofore filed with the commissioner herein and duly proved according to law, together with interest and costs out of any fund that may now be or hereafter come into the hands of the trustee herein, or generally for any deficiency thereof, and that they may have such other and further relief as may be just, and that the court will further decree that the petitioner unto the end that the facts may appear to the court, answer the interrogatories annexed to this answer according to the rules and practice of this court.

A. GORDON MURRAY,
Office and Post Office Address, No. 68 William Street, Borough of Manhattan, City of New York, N. Y.

Proctor for May Davies Hopkins, individually, and as administratrix of the goods, chattels, and credits of Albert Lloyd Hopkins, deceased; Anna B. Mills, individually, and as administratrix of the goods, chattels, and credits of Charles Veitch Mills, deceased; Winifred H. Brown, individually, and as administratrix of the goods, chattels, and credits of William H. H. Brown, deceased; Elizabeth Burke, individually, and as mother and next of kin of Alice Burke and Dora Burke, and Allison Buchanan, individually, and as representative of the parent and descendants and next of kin of Mary Buchanan, deceased.

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SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK, *ss:*

A. Gordon Murray, being duly sworn, deposes and says that he is the proctor for all of the above-named claimants, and that none of them are within the city of New York. The sources of deponent's knowledge and information are letters, communications, and instructions received by him from the various claimants and each of them, and from his knowledge of the proceeding and proceedings which have preceded this proceeding, and from his knowledge as proctor, and he declares that the document affirmed to is true to the best of his knowledge, information, and belief.

A. GORDON MURRAY.

Sworn to before me this 4th day of January, 1917.

FREDERICK W. STELLE,
Notary Public, New York County.

WAS INTERNATIONAL LAW VIOLATED?

On May 7, 1915, Mr. Albert Lloyd Hopkins, an American citizen, lost his life because of the sinking of the steamship *Lusitania*. Mr. Hopkins was 42 years of age, was the president of the Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co., and he left a wife and a daughter aged 7 years. Mr. Hopkins's body was recovered and returned to this country.

May Davis Hopkins, the wife, was in due time appointed administratrix of the estate. On April 27, 1916, she began a suit in personam in admiralty in the United States district court for the southern district of New York against the Cunard Steamship Co. (Ltd.) to recover damages for the death of her husband, as indicated. I was duly retained as proctor in admiralty to conduct Mrs. Hopkins's suit. There can be no doubt of the right of Mrs. Hopkins to maintain an action. (La Bourgogne, 210 U. S., 93; The Titanic, 233 U. S., 718.)

On September 19, 1916, instead of interposing an answer, the Cunard Steamship Co. (Ltd.) filed a petition for limitation of its liability, as owner of the steamship *Lusitania*, and thereby sought to contest, as well as to limit, its liability. This proceeding was pursuant to sections 4283, 4284, and 4285 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, and the general admiralty rules of practice, duly promulgated by the Supreme Court of the United States.

The company set up three general grounds of exemption from liability:

First. "The *Lusitania* was unarmed and had the status and was entitled to the rights, privileges, and immunities of a merchant vessel, among which are freedom from attack by an enemy vessel without previous visitation, search, or warning, and without provision being made for the safety of her passengers and crew." (Par. 2.)

Second. "The hostile attack by the German submarine or submarines was not preceded by visitation and search, by a signal to heave to, or by any warning or signal of any nature or kind, and no submarine had been sighted before the torpedoes were discharged." (Par. 3.)

Third. "The sinking of the *Lusitania* and the loss of the lives of some of her passengers were due to and caused solely by the act of a public enemy, to wit, by the unlawful torpedoing of the *Lusitania* by a German submarine or submarines, without any previous signal or warning, and without making provision for the safety of her passengers and crew, in violation of the law of nations and of the laws and usages of war as recognized by civilized nations." (Par. 4.)

In view of the fact that a serious controversy has arisen between this country and Germany as to its policy of conducting submarine warfare, will you permit me, in the interest of the citizens of the United States who are maintaining in the courts of the United States suits on causes of action which they are advised lies open to them, to outline the legal aspects that would seem to lead to the conclusion that the position of our Government in regard to such controversy is at least not free from serious doubt.

In "Outlines of International Law," by Charles H. Stockton, rear admiral, United States Navy, retired, Scribner's, 1914, chapter 20, entitled "Maritime warfare," section 151, page 333, it is stated:

"151. Laws and usages of war at sea: The special objects in maritime warfare are the capture or destruction of the military and naval forces of the enemy, of his fortifications, arsenals, dry docks, and dockyards, of his various military and naval establishments, and of his maritime commerce; to prevent his procuring war material from neutral sources; to aid and assist military operations on land; and to protect and defend the national territory, property, and sea-borne commerce."

In Elements of International Law, by George B. Davis, Judge Advocate General, United States Army, Harper & Bros., 1908, Chapter XI, page 364, it is stated:

"Destruction of captured vessels: As the present tendency of neutral States is to close their ports to maritime prizes, such disposition of prizes is more likely to increase than decrease in frequency. The practice of destroying prizes has been objected to, but rather on the ground of humanity than legality. If the right to capture enemy property at sea be admitted, the right to destroy it follows as a natural consequence. The title of the original owner has been forcibly divested by an act of war. If any injury has been inflicted upon the belligerent, that injury consists in the fact of capture, which amounts to a destruction of the property in so far as the owner and his Government are concerned. It can matter little to either what disposition is made of the property after the owner's title has been extinguished. The right to destroy neutral prizes and their cargoes stands upon a different footing, however, and has not received such general acceptance as to warrant the practice to be regarded as a lawful disposition of captured neutral property."

And in Chapter XV, page 483:

"THE RIGHT OF SEARCH.

"Nature of the right: The belligerent rights which have already been discussed—of capturing enemy property at sea, of seizing contraband of war, and of blockading the coasts and harbors of an enemy—could none of them be made effective were not belligerents also accorded the right to stop and search all neutral merchant vessels on the high seas, for the purpose of ascertaining their nationality and destination, the character and ownership of their cargoes, and to effect their capture, should the result of such examination show a liability to capture to exist.

"How exercised: The manner in which the belligerent right of search is to be exercised is determined by the usage of nations, except in those cases in which it has been made the subject of treaty stipulation. The duty of submitting is only incumbent upon neutral merchant vessels. Public armed vessels are not subject to visitation, either in time of peace or war, and the merchant vessels of a belligerent are justified in resorting to any measures, either of flight, resistance, or deception, which are calculated to enable them to escape search and inevitable capture. The right of search may be exercised by the regularly commissioned ships of war of a belligerent, or by duly authorized privateers in the service of those States which still retain the right to use that species of naval force in time of war."

In the convention providing for the establishment of an international prize court, adopted at The Hague October 18, 1907, Article VII provides that where there is a treaty in force between a belligerent captor and power, any controversy must conform to the requirements of such convention. In default of such stipulations, however, the court applies the rules of international law. On account of certain divergency of view as to what constituted international law, which became apparent at the conference at The Hague, Sir Edward Grey, Great Britain's principal secretary for foreign affairs, invited the various maritime powers to a conference to be held in London on December 4, 1908, and a declaration was framed, known as the declaration concerning the laws of naval war, and known commonly as the declaration of London, which bears date February 20, 1909. The declaration of London was never ratified by Great Britain and therefore never became effective, but its principal value is that it contains a codification of the international maritime law as understood at that time. It was signed by the delegates of all the principal powers, including Great Britain, Germany, the United States, France, Russia, and Japan. It consists of nine chapters of 71 articles. Chapter I, article 1, provides.

"A blockade must not extend beyond the ports and coasts belonging to or occupied by the enemy."

Chapter IV, articles 49, 50, 51, and 52, refer to the subject of the destruction of neutral prizes. Article 50 provides:

"Before the vessel is destroyed all persons on board must be placed in safety, and all the ship's papers and other documents which the parties interested consider relevant for the purpose of deciding on the validity of the capture must be taken on board the warship."

In no other provision is reference made to the lives and safety of passengers or crew. It will be noted, therefore, that this provision applies only to the destruction of neutral prizes.

Under the authority of the law of 1884 a prize code for the German Empire was promulgated August 3, 1914. Part VIII deals with the disposition of captured vessels. Section 113 deals with the destruction of neutral vessels. Where the same is subject to condemnation, and the bringing her into port would subject the capturing vessel to danger or would impede the success of the operations in which it is at the time engaged, destruction is permitted.

Section 115 deals with the damages for illegal destruction of a neutral vessel and section 116 deals with the safety of persons on board:

"116. Before proceeding to a destruction of the vessel, the safety of all persons on board and, so far as possible, their effects, is to be provided for, and all ship's papers and other evidentiary material which, according to the views of the persons at interest, is of value for the formulation of the judgment of the prize court are to be taken over by the commander."

This provision clearly refers only to the destruction of neutral vessels. This view is substantiated by what purports to be its foundation, upon article 50 of the declaration of London.

In the second note of protest, dated June 9, 1915, and signed by Robert Lansing, as Secretary of State ad interim, to Ambassador Gerard in Berlin, occurs these words:

"Only her actual resistance to capture or refusal to stop when ordered to do so for the purpose of visit could have afforded the commander of the submarine any justification for so much as putting the lives of those on board the ship in jeopardy. This principle the Government of the United States understands the explicit instructions issued on August 3, 1914, by the Imperial German Admiralty to its commanders at sea to have recognized and embodied, as do the naval codes of all other nations, and upon it every traveler and seaman had a right to depend. It is upon this principle of humanity as well as upon the law founded upon this principle that the United States must stand."

It is obvious that there was a confusion as to the rights of destruction to a belligerent and to a neutral vessel. There can be no question of the belligerent character of the *Lusitania*, and nowhere in all the law and writings that have been commented upon and examined does there appear any prohibition against putting in jeopardy the lives of

passengers and crew on a belligerent vessel. The lines of travel are kept open, however, by strict provision for the securing of the lives of passengers on a neutral vessel. I personally have been unable to see any inhumanity in requiring passengers to travel on an American or a neutral vessel.

The determination of the German Imperial Government to embark on its course of submarine warfare was notified to the world in a proclamation of February 4, 1915, as follows:

"Proclamation 1. The waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland, including the whole English Channel, are hereby declared to be war zone. On and after the 18th of February, 1915, every enemy merchant ship found in said war zone will be destroyed without its being always possible to avert the dangers threatening the crew and passengers on that account.

"2. Even neutral ships are exposed to danger in war zone, as, in view of the misuse of neutral flags, ordered on January 31 by the British Government, and of the accidents of naval war, it can not always be avoided to strike even neutral ships in attacks that are directed at enemy ships.

"3. Northward navigation around the Shetland Islands, in the eastern waters of the North Sea, and in a strip of not less than 30 miles width along the Netherlands coast is in no danger.

"VON POHL,
"Chief of the Admiralty Staff of the Navy."

Accompanying the same was a memorial of the Imperial German Government respecting retaliatory measures rendered necessary by the means employed by England contrary to international law in intercepting neutral maritime trade with Germany. This memorial complains bitterly of the conduct of Great Britain in disregarding the declaration of London and violating the declaration of Paris, and it concludes as follows:

"Finally they have declared the North Sea in its whole extent to be the seat of war, thereby rendering difficult and extremely dangerous, if not impossible, all navigation on the high seas between Scotland and Norway, so that they have in a way established a blockade of neutral coasts and ports, which is contrary to the elementary principles of generally accepted international law. Clearly all these measures are part of a plan to strike not only the German military operations but also the economic system of Germany, and in the end to deliver the whole German people to reduction by famine, by intercepting legitimate neutral commerce by methods contrary to international law.

* * * * * * *

"The German Government have in vain called the attention of the neutral powers to the fact that Germany must seriously question whether it can any longer adhere to the stipulations of the declaration of London, hitherto strictly observed by it, in case England continues to adhere to its practice, and the neutral powers persist in looking with indulgence upon all these violations of neutrality to the detriment of Germany. Great Britain invokes the vital interests of the British Empire which are at stake in justification of its violations of the law of nations, and the neutral powers appear to be satisfied with theoretical protests, thus actually admitting the vital interests of a belligerent as a sufficient excuse for methods of waging war of whatever description.

"The time has come for Germany also to invoke such vital interests. It therefore finds itself under the necessity, to its regret, of taking military measures against England in retaliation of the practice followed by England. Just as England declared the whole North Sea between Scotland and Norway to be comprised within the seat of war, so does Germany now declare the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland, including the whole English Channel, to be comprised within the seat of war, and will prevent by all the military means at its disposal all navigation by the enemy in those waters.

"To this end it will endeavor to destroy, after February 18 next, any merchant vessels of the enemy which present themselves at the seat of war above indicated, although it may not always be possible to avert the dangers which may menace persons and merchandise.

"Neutral powers are accordingly forewarned not to continue to intrust their crews, passengers, or merchandise to such vessels. Their attention is furthermore called to the fact that it is of urgency to recommend to their own vessels to steer clear of these waters. It is true that the German Navy has received instructions to abstain from all violence against neutral vessels recognizable as such; but in view of the hazards of war, and of the misuse of the neutral flag ordered by the British Government, it will not always be possible to prevent a neutral vessel from becoming the victim of an attack intended to be directed against a vessel of the enemy.

* * * * * * *

"The German Government announces this measure at a time permitting enemy and neutral ships to make the necessary arrangements to reach the ports situated at the seat of war, etc."

A perusal of the correspondence between the Government of the United States and the Imperial German Government, in the matter of the danger to passengers on vessels at sea, shows clearly that the German Government has consistently insisted that its submarine warfare was aimed at enemy shipping, and in the note of May 4, 1916, to the American ambassador in Berlin in which the German Government notifies the Government of the United States that they had instructed their naval commanders to observe the general principles of visit and search as to all merchant vessels both within and without the war zone and that the same should not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives unless these ships attempt to escape or offer resistance. The note concludes:

"Accordingly the German Government is confident that in consequence of the new orders issued to its naval forces, the Government of the United States will now also consider all impediments removed which may have been in the way of a mutual cooperation toward the restoration of the freedom of the seas during the war as stated in the note of July 23, 1915, and it has no doubt that the Government of the United States shall now demand and insist that the British Government shall forthwith observe the rules of international law, universally recognized before the war as they are laid out in the notes presented by the Government of the United States to the British Government on December 28, 1914, and November 5, 1915. Should the steps taken by the Government of the United States not attain the object it desires to have the laws of humanity followed by all belligerent nations, the German Government would then be facing a new situation in which it must reserve itself complete liberty of decision."

The Secretary of State, under date of May 7, 1916, to Ambassador Gerard, referred to this intimation by saying:

"In order, however, to avoid any possible misunderstanding the Government of the United States notifies the Imperial German Government that it can not for a moment entertain, much less discuss, a suggestion we receive by German naval authorities that the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high seas should in any way or in the slightest degree be made contingent upon the conduct of any other Government affecting the rights of neutrals and noncombatants."

The German Government have insisted that the blockading of the neutral ports of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Holland is a violation of their rights under international law and is directly contrary to Chapter I, article 1, of the declaration of London, and that England's attempt to starve the civilian population of Germany is no less inhuman than Germany's effort to bring about the same condition in the British Isles by a rigorous and relentless submarine warfare against their ocean carrying power.

There would seem to be no answer to their position except an arbitrary demand on the part of the Government of the United States that American citizens are entitled at will to travel on belligerent vessels in a time of war in a duly proclaimed dangerous area.

It would seem, furthermore, that the United States is, to use the Secretary of State's language, on the very verge of war on a mistaken conception of the law of nations on a question which is vitally material under the allegations of the petitioner, the Cunard Steamship Co. (Ltd.), in its suit to free itself from responsibility for the losses by the steamship *Lusitania*.

Our courts would therefore be in the necessity of determining, if the claimants' position were sound in effect, that the United States was engaged in an unjust war and that it did not have the duly recognized sanction of the usage and practice of nations. The United States has no right to say what England or what Germany shall do. It has a right to rely upon the practice of nations in times past so uniform that such practices have become the custom of nations, but it is not right to say to another nation such and such a practice is inhuman and therefore will not be permitted, any more than it has to say to another nation that a practice of starvation is equally inhuman and should not be permitted. In such cases the United States would be setting itself up as a general international policeman, which it is not the desire of any to see.

We have for a century maintained the Monroe doctrine in America that aggressions by European nations in America would not be looked upon as anything but an unfriendly act. The corollary of this proposition is equally true and therefore entails the duty of abstinence from interference in the affairs of Europe.

A. GORDON MURRAY,
68 William Street, New York.

(Armed ships. See the *Nereide*, 9 Cranch., U. S. Repts.; Chief Justice Marshall.)

IF NOT SUBMARINES, WHY MINES?

So much for the case of the *Lusitania* as it comes to us through the court records. I now submit two very pertinent letters on mines and submarines from Mr. George H. Earle, jr., of Philadelphia, one of our foremost financiers and business men:

FEBRUARY 13, 1917.

Hon. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. MOORE: I have been reading your illuminating discussions relating to the question of whether we should go to war because of the sinking of foreign ships without notice by submarines because of the presence of citizens of this country, even though those ships were engaged in carrying munitions for one or the other of the combatants; but I have been disappointed that the discussion has not cleared up a point in which I am sure many of us are deeply interested, and I would like to ask you whether Congress or the President may not explain why, if it is a cause of war and uncivilized to sink merchantmen through submarines without notice, it is not equally so to sink them by mines without notice? Where is the difference, either in cruelty or danger? If there be a difference, is it not rather in favor of the submarines? A submarine, certainly in most cases, must give a little more chance of escape, for the mine is instantaneous; and, no matter how cruelly submarines have acted, there are many instances where they have given assistance, whereas a mine leaves a boat sinking, often with nothing living within sight or call.

If we are to be guided by the substance of things, I repeat I would like to be enlightened as to why the strewing of the sea with mines is not a cause of war if a noncombatant is killed, whilst a thing no more destructive seems to be. Can you or Congress enlighten me upon this matter? I am sure that you will place many other citizens, besides myself, under deep obligation.

If we have the right to sail the high seas free from the danger of sudden, unexpected death, what difference does it make whether the mine that kills you unaware is left to strike you or floats to you? Except in the motion of the mine, where does a submarine differ from other mine layer?

Believe me to be,
Very respectfully,

GEORGE H. EARLE, Jr.

FEBRUARY 14, 1917.

Hon. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. MOORE: Replying to your valued favor of the 14th, I beg leave to say that if my very hasty and crude letter will be of any service to you in the very good work that you are doing it is at your disposal.

What I wanted to make plain, and what I think you are doing effectively, is to show that if we are acting on the basis of civilization and making that the controlling consideration that is to shift us into an uncivilized and bloody war we have a very large field to cover, only one phase of which is not being contested. Enormous areas of the sea have been mined without any effective protest or suggestion of war, although the only difference between mine layers and submarines is that the torpedoes are dropped by undersea boats in the one case and surface boats in the other. In all other particulars the mines are the most deadly and uncivilized. If we are fighting to keep the great highway of the world—that is, the ocean—open or fighting because of humane principles, we should certainly declare war on mine laying as well as on ejecting mines from submarines.

As to international law, this war has demonstrated that there is no such thing. Both parties to it now are trying to win by starving the women and children of the other. You can have a code of ethics with no sanction to enforce it and call it "international law," if you please; but as the only way to enforce it is war, which is an end to

law and a resort to violence, all this talk about what international law does or does not do seems to me trivial and wasted breath.

I have read the account of the Belgium relief ship sinking from a mine, and I have read the account of the *Lusitania* sinking from a submarine mine. One seems to me as good a cause of fighting as the other. I meet no one that wants us to remedy bloodshed by joining in ourselves. I meet very few who are impartial and do not want one side or the other whipped by somebody else. But personally I agree with you that we should not be swayed by these harrowing tales, most of which prove to be untrue and put out for a purpose, into becoming a bloody nation ourselves. If we have rights to defend, that is well and good; but if we defend them all by force it must be obvious to any fair man that we will have to fight both sides, which I do not think this country is at all ready for.

Believe me to be,

Your obedient servant, GEORGE H. EARLE, Jr.

ENGLAND'S SUBMARINE DISCUSSION BEFORE THE WAR.

But even more to the point as affecting the foreign submarine controversy and our own relation to it since the German submarine blockade of British ports, I submit some very remarkable antewar articles from the London Times, which have been forwarded to me by Miss Fannie R. M. Hitchcock, of Philadelphia, a student of war problems and a writer of distinction.

I am taking the liberty—

Says Miss Hitchcock—

of sending you a copy of the discussion on the submarine and its use in warfare, published in the London Times during June and July, 1914, before war was declared. The main part of it comprises a review by Admiral Scott, of the British Naval Board, answering, as he says, the numerous questions that had come to the board and to himself on various points connected with the uses and limitations of the submarine as a war vessel. He took up the subject very exhaustively in his second letter of June 10, but all of the letters are worth reading, as being practically an official statement of the way the naval board of the British Government would view the use of the submarine. England herself had no need of instituting such a warfare against Germany, as German commerce was practically destroyed at the beginning of the war by English war vessels; but, so far as I have been able to ascertain, the British Government has never officially criticized the mode of the German blockade, and the naval board is given a free hand in naval matters, as it refused to be subject to the counsel of landsmen, who they said did not understand naval warfare and its needs. The letter from Lord Sydenham published on July 14, and included in this discussion, was an open one to Admiral Scott and stigmatizes the rules of warfare by submarines as laid down by Sir Percy Scott as barbarous, but Sir Scott's answer is very suggestive. It seems to me that if our Government is going to make the German submarine warfare against England a cause of war between this country and Germany, we are going to tie our hands in case of war in such a manner as to prevent our making use of the submarine in such mode as is outlined in these letters, while any other nation will be at liberty to do so. Great Britain has always carefully refrained from committing herself to any restrictions that she might regret in time of need.

[From the London Times letters, edition of June 5, 1914.]

THE SUBMARINE MENACE—SIR PERCY SCOTT'S VIEWS—THE USELESSNESS OF GREAT BATTLESHIPS—FUTURE NAVAL WARFARE.

"But the strength of navies can be reckoned not only in dreadnaughts, and the day may come when it will be reckoned in dreadnaughts not at all." (Mr. Churchill, Mar. 26, 1913.)

"The whole system of naval architecture and the methods of computing naval strength are brought under review by the ever-growing power, radius, and seaworthiness of the submarine, and by the increasing range and accuracy of its fatal torpedoes." (Mr. Churchill, Mar. 17, 1914.)

The communication which we print below must attract general attention, both at home and abroad alike, from the personality of the distinguished writer and the crucial importance of his subject. Admiral Sir Percy Scott is a naval officer who has not only shown himself on several occasions able to think ahead of his contemporaries but has made good his prophecies. To him we owe the presence of the naval guns at Ladysmith, which saved the situation—if not South Africa. He it was who made possible the advance in marksmanship with heavy guns which has been such an important feature in naval efficiency of late years. To him, too, it is due that the navy was recently provided with a "director," which has enormously increased the possibilities of hitting at long ranges, and enabled broadside salvo fire to be carried out with a precision before unknown.

Sir Percy Scott now tells us that everything that he has done to enhance the value of the gun is rendered useless by the advent of the submarine, a vessel which has for its principal weapon the torpedo. Battleships, and, indeed, all vessels which have not the quality of submersion are to become obsolete. Dreadnaughts and superdreadnaughts are doomed, because they can no longer be safe from the submarines at sea nor find security in harbor. On the ocean, as in narrow waters, they are at the mercy of the submersible torpedo carrier.

Sir Percy Scott goes still further in his forecast of the future, for, assuming that submarine can not fight submarine, he sees the end of sea warfare altogether. Neither numbers nor skill are to avail. Nothing will live afloat, for if opposing nations have provided themselves with a sufficiency of submarines they can destroy everything which can not hide from these vessels below the surface. The position, apparently, will become one of the greatest disadvantage to the nation which depends for its existence upon water-borne supplies. Indeed, the only obvious benefits which these islands will derive from the change is the removal of all fear of invasion, seeing that if battleships and cruisers can not cross the submarine-infested harbors neither, of course, can transports.

Sir Percy brings a very serious charge against those in authority who waste the nation's money on ships that will be unable to fight. It is for them, he suggests, to defend that policy by explaining what part the battleship will play in war. How she can be made safe from destruction by the submarine at sea or in port, and how her situation is to be kept secret from aircraft. He would have the money voted for their construction spent on building more submarines and aeroplanes.

The questions raised by Sir Percy Scott are not, of course, new. They have, as our columns have testified for some time past, much exercised naval architects. They are directly concerned with the problem of warship design, which, as our readers will remember, formed the subject of a series of articles published last October by an exceptionally well-informed correspondent, who wrote: "There has never been a time when the application of scientific methods to the illustration of naval questions was so imperatively demanded as the present day." Last year another writer pointed out in these columns that the big ship's guns were admittedly insufficient protection against the use of the torpedo, and that now the seaplane had given eyes to the submarine the latter bade fair to exert a supreme influence upon the volume of floating and water-borne commerce within the area disturbed by war. This aspect, he said, demanded the attention of merchants and shipowners and many others not professionally interested in naval affairs.

The following is the text of Sir Percy Scott's communication:

LARGE SHIPS OR SMALL?

To the EDITOR OF THE TIMES:

SIR: Although I have retired from His Majesty's Navy, many people have written and are still writing to me as to whether we should build small battleships or large. My opinion is that we should not be building either. My reason for holding this opinion will be found in a letter which I wrote you some time ago, and a copy of which I herewith inclose.

I am, yours, very truly, PERCY SCOTT.

52 SOUTH AUDLEY STREET, *May 31, 1914.*

52 SOUTH AUDLEY STREET,
December 15, 1913.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter, I have seen the correspondence in the press suggesting building smaller battleships, and also the arguments as to whether two or four battleships should be laid down in 1914. If we have battleships, we must have thick armor on them to keep out the enemy's shot, and we must have speed to give tactical advantage in bringing our fire on the enemy; these are axioms among naval officers. For battleships our nation and all other nations have very properly decided to have big ships, big guns, thick armor, and high speed.

The other question is, Are we in 1914 to build two or four battleships? The "little navyites" say two, in order to save money; the "big navyites" say four, to, as they think, save the country. If battleships are of use in saving the country, the "little navyites" are foolish and unpatriotic. If battleships are of no use, then the "big navyites" are wrong in putting the country to the expense of building four more; the real question to settle before even talking about building more battleships is, Are they of use or are they not?

For some thousands of years armored vessels floating on the surface of the water have been used for attack and defense; these vessels vary in size to-day from the canoe carrying one man armed with a spear to the 32,000-ton battleship armed with 15-inch guns. And these craft, whether large or small, all float on the water and are visible. In this island we depend upon our food supply coming from oversea, hence it has been necessary for us to have a large number of armored ships to protect our commerce and safeguard our food supply. This protecting force or insurance of our country is called the "royal navy," and to-day consists of a large number of ships that swim on the water and can be seen, and a few that swim under the water and can not be seen.

The introduction of vessels that swim under the water has, in my opinion, entirely done away with the utility of the ships that swim on top of the water. The functions of a vessel of war were:

DEFENSIVELY.

1. To attack ships that came to bombard our ports.
2. To attack ships that came to blockade us.
3. To attack ships convoying a landing party.
4. To attack the enemy's fleet.
5. To attack ships interfering with our commerce.

OFFENSIVELY.

1. To bombard an enemy's ports.
2. To blockade the enemy.
3. To convoy a landing party.
4. To attack the enemy's fleet.
5. To attack the enemy's commerce.

The submarine renders 1, 2, and 3 impossible, as no man-of-war will dare to come even within sight of the coast that is adequately protected by submarines; therefore the functions of a battleship as regards 1, 2, and 3, both defensively and offensively, have disappeared. The fourth function of the battleship is to attack the enemy's fleet; but there will be no fleet to attack, as it will not be safe for a fleet to put to sea. This has been demonstrated in all recent maneuvers, both at home and abroad, where submarines have been employed, and the demonstration should have made us realize that now that submarines have come in, battleships are of no use, either for defensive or offensive purposes. And, secondly, building any more in 1914 will be a misuse of the money subscribed by the citizens for the financing of the empire.

As regards the protection of our commerce on the high seas, we must examine who can interfere with it.

Turkey, Greece, Austria, and Italy must pass through the narrow Straits of Gibraltar to get at our commerce. Cypress, Malta, and Gibraltar, well equipped with aeroplanes to observe the enemy's movements and submarines to attack him, would make egress from the Mediterranean very difficult. Spain and Portugal have ports open to the Atlantic and could interfere with our commerce, but war with those countries seems very improbable, and they are not very far from Gibraltar. France, from Brest, could harass our commerce; but if the homeward-bound ships gave that port a wide berth and signaled by wireless if they were attacked, fast cruisers and submarines from Plymouth could be very soon on the spot. Rome and Germany are very badly placed for interfering with our commerce. To get to the Atlantic they must either run the gantlet of the channel or pass to the north of Scotland, and even if they get out they have nowhere to coal. America could attack our commerce, but they would have a long way to come. If by submarines we close egress from the North Sea and the Mediterranean, it is difficult to see how our commerce can be much interfered with.

It has been suggested to me that submarines and aeroplanes could not stop egress from the Mediterranean; that a fleet could steam there at night. With aeroplanes that would report the approach of the fleet and 30 or 40 invisible submarines in the narrow Straits of Gibraltar, trying to pass through them at night would be a very risky operation.

Submarines and aeroplanes have entirely revlutionized naval warfare. No fleet can hide itself from the aeroplane eye and the submarine can deal a deadly attack even in broad daylight. Under these circumstances

I can see no use for battleships and very little chance of large employment for fast cruisers. The Navy will be entirely changed. Naval officers will no longer live on the sea, but either above or under it, and the strain on their nerves and system will be so great that a very lengthy period of service will be not advisable; it will be a Navy of youth, for we shall require nothing but boldness and daring. In war time the scouting aeroplanes will always be high above on the lookout and the submarines in constant readiness, as are fire engines at a fire station. If an enemy is sighted, the gong sounds and the leash of the flotilla of submarines will be slipped. Whether it be night or day, fine or rough, they must go out in search of their quarry; if they find her she is doomed and they give no quarter; they can not board her and take her as a prize, as in the olden days. They now wait until she sinks and then run home without even knowing the number of human beings they have sent to the bottom of the ocean. Will any battleship expose herself to such a dead certainty of destruction? I say no.

Not only is the open sea unsafe. The battleship is not immune from attack even in a close harbor, for the so-called protecting boom at the entrance can be easily blown up. With a flotilla of submarines, manned by pushing young officers, of which we have plenty, I would undertake to go through any boom, into any harbor, and sink or materially damage all the ships in that harbor.

If a battleship is not safe, either on the high seas or in harbor, what is the use of the battleship? It has been argued to me that if a foreign power destroys our submarines we are at the mercy of the dreadnaughts. There can be no doubt about the accuracy of this statement, but submarines are difficult to destroy, because it is difficult to attack what you can not see. The power that sends out ships to look for and destroy submarines will be courting disaster. The submarine when in the water must be kept away from, not looked for. Submarines will be hauled up on land, with arrangements for instantly launching them when required; they can only be attacked by airships dropping bombs on them. What we require is an enormous fleet of submarines, airships, and seaplanes, and a few fast cruisers, provided we can find a place to keep them in safety during war time.

It has been argued to me that our enemy will seize some island in the Atlantic, get some fast cruisers there with plenty of coal, and from this island prey upon our commerce. This is ridiculous. The moment we hear of it we send a flotilla of submarines towed by an Atlantic liner, she drops them when just in sight of the island, and she brings them back to England when they have sunk everything they found at the island.

If we go to war with a country that is within striking distance of submarines, I am of the opinion that that country will at once lock up their dreadnaughts in some safe harbor; we shall do the same; their aeroplanes and airships will fly over our country; they will know exactly where our ships are and their submarines will come over and destroy anything and everything that they can get at. We shall, of course, do the same; but an island with many harbors and large shipping is at a great disadvantage if the enemy has submarines.

I do not think that the importance of submarines has been fully recognized, neither do I think that it has been realized how completely their advent has revolutionized naval warfare. In my opinion, as the motor vehicles has driven the horse from the road so has the submarine driven the battleship from the sea.

PERCY SCOTT.

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[From the Times, Friday, July 10, 1914.]

THE SUBMARINE MENACE—SIR PERCY SCOTT'S REPLY—FOOD AND OIL SUPPLIES THREATENED—UNDERWATER WARFARE.

The question has often been raised whether existing naval types will change and whether the great ships of dreadnaught architecture will some day follow the mammoth and the mastodon into a convenient and highly desirable distinction. Those who believe that that time will come—and they are a considerable school—point with a warning finger to the ever-growing power of the submarine and to the new and expanding possibilities of the air, and they ask whether the day will not come when, guided by information out of the sky, a blow may not be struck beneath the water which will be fatal to the predominance of great battleships—at any rate in the narrow seas.

The time has not come yet for an ultimate decision and a naval war still rests with them who can place in the line of battle fleets and squadrons which in number and quality, in homogeneity, in organization, in weight of metal, and in good shooting are superior to anything they may be called upon to meet.—Mr. Churchill, November 10, 1913.

The opinions with regard to future naval warfare which Admiral Sir Percy Scott expressed in a letter which we published on June 5 have created widespread discussion. The questions he raised were not new, but his uncompromising reply gives to them fresh point and enhanced importance. Sir Percy Scott is admittedly a vigorous thinker, a man of stimulating ideas, and a naval officer with a distinguished record of activity. When, therefore, he announced his belief that the introduction of vessels that swim under the water had entirely done away with the utility of ships that swim on top of the water, it would have indeed been surprising if such a sweeping pronouncement from such a quarter had not raised a storm of controversy and dissent.

To the widespread attention which Sir Percy Scott's declaration has received everywhere our columns bear testimony; not only in this country but on the Continent and in America the subject has been and is being debated and a wide diversity of opinion revealed. Very few appear to have reached the precise position which the admiral has taken up, though many recognize to the full the possibilities of the new weapons, but deprecate hasty conclusions. By far the largest number, however, desire further enlightenment, or utilize the admiral's declaration and follow his tactics for advocating a larger expenditure on submarines and aircraft and the effort to watch for and take advantage of every fresh development of naval warfare.

In a letter we publish this morning Sir Percy Scott replies severally to those who have little faith in the torpedo as a decisive weapon and to those who find the limitations in the powers of the submarine a bar to its being the arbiter of sea supremacy and to those who question the capacity of any instrument which dare not come out in the open, but acts by stealth to achieve the dominion of the seas. The following is the text of his communication:

SUBMARINES AND SEA PLANES—THE PRIMARY WEAPONS OF SEA POWER.

To the EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

SIR: The question of whether battleships shall be large or small was publicly under discussion. Many people wrote to me for my views upon the subject. I replied that in my opinion the time had arrived when we should cease building battleships and spend the money in increasing the number of our aircraft and submarines. You, sir, were kind enough to publish in your paper of June 5 my reasons for coming to this conclusion. Many naval officers have written that they agree with me. On the other hand, many critics have expressed themselves that I am premature; that I have assumed what might be a possibility in the future to be a fact to-day; that in warfare the torpedo has been disappointing; and that the submarine is blind, slow, and easily destroyed. None of my criticics has given a satisfactory explanation of what our battleships would or could do if we should be at war with a nation well equipped with submarines.

Annexed are replies to some of the remarks that have appeared in the press.

I fully realized that my appraisals would be commented upon and criticized. I hoped that I was ignorant. I hoped that the battleship was still "lord of the ocean," and that we were right in continuing to build them instead of submarines. I hoped that this would be clearly demonstrated by many far more able men than

Your obedient servant,

PERCY SCOTT,
52 South Audley Street, Grosvenor Square W.

JULY 9, 1914.

I.—THE TORPEDO IN REAL WAR.

1. In the Russo-Japanese War the damage done by the torpedo fell far short of reasonable expectation. (Lord Sydenham.)

On the first evening after the declaration of war the Japanese, with torpedoes very inferior to those in use now, did sufficient damage to the Russian battleships to drive them into Port Arthur, and the menace of another torpedo attack prevented this fleet from again coming out of harbor at night.

II.—THE INEFFICIENCY OF SUBMARINES.

2. The submarine periscope is plainly visible at a very great distance.

My experience is that even at a short distance it is difficult to see the periscope of the submarine. The periscope is small and painted much the same color as water.

Naval officer writes: "During the last maneuvers I was in a first-class armored cruiser in the North Sea. We had an idea that submarines were about because several of our ships had been sunk somewhere about where we had been the previous day. We consequently were keeping a particularly bright outlook for them. The day was ideal for seeing them, nearly calm and quite clear. To our dismay one came to the surface less than a hundred yards from us and signaled: 'I have fired two torpedoes into you and claim you out of action.'"

3. Submarines can not find their prey at night.

A submarine lying on the surface at night would have no difficulty in seeing a battleship or any other ship. The difficulty would be for the ships to see the submarine.

4. Submarine torpedoes being fixed, straight firing with them is difficult.

The submarine modifies this difficulty by firing at such short range that there is very little chance of missing.

5. Attacks by submarines upon ships lying in a defended harbor would in all probability entail disaster to the submarine.

As submarines can enter a harbor without being seen, I don't see why attacking ships in a harbor should entail disaster only to the submarine; but if it does, the loss of a submarine is very small in comparison with the loss of a battleship.

6. If the number of ships claimed to have been struck by torpedoes from submarines in recent naval maneuvers were examined in detail by a competent and impartial critic, I imagine that they would be heavily discounted. (Lord Sydenham.)

The actual number of battleships claimed to have been sunk by submarines is, of course, confidential. Lord Sydenham imagines that the claims should be discounted. From what I know, Lord Sydenham has no good ground for contending that their claims should be discounted.

7. All maneuvering experience is too laughably uncertain to attach any importance to the results obtained.

Maneuvering experience is, I know, sometimes unreal, but I can not go so far as to admit that we should not attach any importance to the results obtained.

8. Submarines require for their existence a parent ship. (Lord Sydenham.)

Submarines, like all other ships, require to replenish their ammunition and fuel, and must have a base to work from; the base need not necessarily be a ship; it may be a harbor. The suggestion, therefore, that a submarine always requires a parent ship in attendance on her is erroneous.

9. Submarines can easily be destroyed by gunfire when on the surface.

Submarines do not wait upon the surface to become targets for guns; they dive and watch for another opportunity.

III.—THE EFFECT OF THE INTRODUCTION OF SUBMARINES AND AIRCRAFT ON NAVAL ATTACK AND DEFENSE, AND WHETHER THE INTRODUCTION OF SUBMARINES AND AIRCRAFT HAS CAUSED A REVOLUTION IN NAVAL WARFARE.

10. Submarines and aircraft are only adjuncts to naval forces. Their advent has not produced any material change in the problems of attack and defense.

Submarines have, in my opinion, entirely changed the problems of attack and defense. "R. N." admits that "the submarine will affect grand tactics profoundly," and Admiral Bacon asks us to realize that it "will undoubtedly exercise a vast influence on naval operations, both tactical and strategical."

11. The idea of attacking commerce by submarines is barbarous. (Admiral Bacon.)

All war is, of course, barbarous; but in war the purpose of the enemy is to crush his foe; to arrive at this he will attack where his foe is most vulnerable. Our most vulnerable point is our food and oil supply. The submarine has introduced quite a new method of attacking these supplies. Will feelings of humanity restrain our enemy from using it?

12. The question is rather how we shall use the instruments of war we have than what instruments of war we require.

The introduction of the submarine and aircraft has certainly compelled us to consider whether our battleships are of use or not. Does it not also compel us to consider what instruments of war we require to meet the new conditions?

IV.—THE NECESSITY OF HAVING BATTLESHIPS.

13. Sir Percy Scott does not provide for the important duties which devolve upon the battleship in war, viz, the support of the cruisers protecting our food and raw material supply, as well as of the squadrons blockading the ports of the enemy.

If battleships in war attempt to blockade the ports of an enemy who has submarines, the battleships will probably go to the bottom. Battleships must keep away from the ports of the enemy if he has submarines.

14. We must have battleships and large cruisers to send out to capture our enemy's colonies.

If the enemy has submarines at their colonies, it will be futile to send out battleships and large cruisers.

15. There must be battleships and cruisers to protect our commerce on the high seas.

Why protect it on the high seas if we can not protect it at the entrance of our harbors; and why should our enemy go out into space to find our food ships? Why not wait at the mouth of the Thames, or any other port, where he will find them coming in like railroad trains?

16. During the first part of a war the fight will all be between the mosquito craft, such as torpedo boats and submarines; when these have been exterminated the battleships will come out.

To exterminate the submarines is a difficult task. An easier task would be for the enemy's submarines to exterminate us by stopping our food supply.

17. We must still look to the gun for a decision between organized sea forces of rival nations, as it surpasses the torpedo almost infinitely.

I like the gun and I have done all that I can for it; but if the submarine destroys the ship, which is the floating gun carriage, then the gun is, within certain limitations, gone.

18. The ports of a country, adequately protected by submarines, would certainly be immune from bombardment; but our battle ships are not built only for bombarding ports.

If it be allowed—and I think it should be—that submarines preclude ports from being bombarded, then one of the functions of a battleship is gone.

19. Our shipping can be made quite safe against attack of submarines by mining the entrance to our harbors.

To lay mines at the entrance of all our harbors will take a long time; the enemy's submarines will operate at once.

20. The safety of battleships in harbor is not the all-important consideration.

If there is no ultimate use for the battleship, it is not the all-important consideration.

21. It is the seaman's business to find the enemy and destroy him.

It was the seaman's business to find the enemy; now it is the airman's business. It is still the seaman's business to destroy the enemy if he can. The seaman's difficulty will be to destroy the submarine.

22. The submarine has introduced a factor of proven invisibility. Searchlights are useless, the gun is helpless, and the submarine can wait outside the boom if it can not get over it. Dreadnaughts will not be driven from the ocean, but they will be driven out to the ocean. (Lieut. A. C. Dewar, retired.)

These remarks imply that when war is declared our dreadnaughts, for fear of submarines, will be driven out to ocean. If so, they must come back sometime or another to coal. Then what a harvest for the submarines! I think our dreadnaughts had better be shut up in a harbor, if we have a safe one.

V—THE QUESTION OF COST.

23. According to the theory of Sir Percy Scott, the inexpensive submarine will replace the expensive battleship. This will be a great saving of money. We shall not require fortresses, as submarines will guard the coast from invasion. This will be a further saving in money.

On the contrary, the additional expense will be enormous, as we shall require such a great number of submarines. The "little navyites" must not think that it is going to cheapen our defense. It is going to make it more expensive and more efficient. It will save money in fortresses, because a fort will only keep a battleship 4 miles off. The submarine will keep her 40 or more miles off.

24. Sir Percy Scott suggests scrapping our dreadnaughts.

I have never suggested scrapping our dreadnaughts, but I should have great pleasure in reading that Canada was going to give us £8,000,000 worth of submarines and aircraft instead of three dreadnaughts.

Sir PERCY SCOTT.

—

[From the Times, July 14, 1914.]

THE FUTURE OF NAVIES—LORD SYDENHAM'S REPLY TO SIR PERCY SCOTT—A DANGEROUS DOCTRINE.

To the EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

SIR: The interesting correspondence which has been evoked by Admiral Sir Percy Scott's manifesto illustrates the difficulty of discussing questions of such wide scope and intricacy in the columns of a newspaper. Considerations of space cause each contributor to deal only with a few aspects of the matter, drive him to express his views in dogmatic fashion, and exclude the close reasoning which is essential to sound conclusions. Thus none of your contributors has attempted to show how an attack by a slow craft on a fast-moving vessel in motion has to be carried out in such a way as—chance apart—to give high probability of success. Nauticus points out that the submarine must approach from ahead of the target and must fire its torpedo at close range, which is certain. Admiral Bacon, writing with great experience, shows the special and inherent difficulty of navigating the submarine, and he significantly adds that "operations on paper are so simple without sea conditions to contend with." The tactical problem to which I refer would require more than a page of the Times for its elucidation, even if an attack on a ship holding a zigzag course were excluded, and it goes to the root of the whole matter.

Speaking broadly, it may be said that the balance of opinion expressed in your columns turns heavily against the theory of Sir Percy Scott, and that the naval contributors are practically unanimous in this sense. Mr. Arnold White, on the strength of a story of maneuvers disposed of effectively by "R. N.," begs the whole question by asking: "What is the use of a ship that can not remain in harbor and can not come out of harbor?" But Mr. John Layland, who has studied history, recalls Admiral Aube's dangerous mistake, and wisely decides that "we must hasten slowly." I think it may be said with confidence that the young naval officers who are accustomed to handle our submarines do not follow Sir Percy Scott, although they naturally and rightly believe in the efficacy of their weapons within due limitations.

It is impossible within the limits of a letter to deal with all of the statements in Sir Percy Scott's second manifesto, many of which require lengthy treatment in order to bring their accuracy to the test of the knowledge and experience which we have at our disposal at the present time. The whole of section 4, headed "The necessity for having battleships," is based upon the initial assumption that "the submarine has driven the battleship from the sea." Accepting the theory, we must agree with Sir Percy Scott's estimate of what must necessarily follow. This theory, however, remains in the region of pure conjecture, unsupported by war experience or by reasonable probability.

Sir Percy Scott takes me to task for saying that in the Russo-Japanese War the performance of the torpedo "fell far short of reasonable expectations," and he refers to the damage effected on the "first evening." He omits to recall the fact that the Russian fleet on this occasion culpably neglected the precautions available and suffered in consequence. The unprepared opponent may give the torpedo craft its opportunity, but the plain moral is not the efficacy of the torpedo but the danger of unpreparedness. In the interesting discussion at the Institute of Naval Architects, Admiral Sir R. Constance stated that of 5½ per cent of torpedo hits obtained in this war 3½ per cent were upon ships at anchor or not in motion. A further deduction must be made for hits obtained in the absence of due precautions or upon ships previously rendered hors de combat by gunfire; but net results show the war efficacy of the torpedo to be distinctly disappointing.

Again, Sir Percy Scott will not admit that the submarine's success in naval maneuvers must be "heavily discounted," as I claimed. From his point of view he is right, because if these successes can not be trusted the only foundation of his theory must disappear. In maneuvers the most anxious care is exercised to avoid injuring the submarine. In war the utmost eagerness to destroy the submarine will be manifested. It requires little imagination to understand the inevitable effect of this vital difference of conditions upon the action of the submarine. A touch from a ship's stem will send her to the bottom. The entry of a single small shell, and the destroyer can fire 100 such in a minute, and may be enabled to add immensely to this total, would render the submarine helpless. The submarine, if she is to attempt any offensive action, must frequently rise to the surface, may then be drenched with small projectiles and lose her periscope, and in addition be liable to aeroplane attack. No naval maneuvers can give the faintest idea of the terrible strain which will be thrown on the personnel of the submarine in war, and this strain alone must tell heavily upon her theoretical efficiency.

Sir Percy Scott does not refer to the amazing strategy which formed a part of his original thesis, but he reasserts his belief in the employment of submarines to attack commerce, which Admiral Bacon stigmatizes as "barbarous." The capture of vessels at sea is an old right of war. The right to kill unresisting noncombatants, engaged in peaceful avocations, has never been recognized. The submarine can not capture and must destroy. We do not believe that the sentiment of the world in the twentieth century would tolerate for a moment proceedings which have hitherto been associated only with piracy in its blackest form. Considerations of humanity apart, there are strong reasons for believing that this relapse into savagery would not serve the purpose of the navy which so far degraded itself, and I doubt whether Sir Percy Scott has thought out this part of his program. I do not gather that he claims that the submarine can destroy the submarine, and it must follow, on his theory, that our food supply is already defenseless against the attack of any power which possesses a fleet of submersible craft.

The general conclusions which I am prepared to defend at length, but which I am compelled to state in a dogmatic form that I greatly regret, are the following: There is at present no valid reason to suppose that the surface ship, especially the battleship, is doomed to disappear, and it would be most dangerous to act upon the theories of Sir Percy Scott. Only a very foolish person would attempt to set limits to future developments, whether of aircraft or of submarines. While continuing to maintain our naval strength in its present form we must go steadily on improving the new weapons. The war performances of surface-torpedo craft have fallen far short of the confident expectations which were once prevalent. It would not be possible now to create a scare based upon the potentiality of the surface vessels, and only the introduction of submersible boats has led to the present controversy. We are prevented from carrying out practical experiments with these boats because of the grave risk to life which they would involve. This is unfortunate because some of the claims set up for them—that of breaking into a protected harbor, for example—might otherwise be brought to an effective test. Our true policy is perfectly plain. As we did when the advent of the torpedo boat was regarded as a serious menace, so now, when the submarine is extolled, we must endeavor by all possible means to increase our powers of attacking the newcomer. "Wars," as Lord Charles Beresford truly says, "were always won by attack and never by defense." It is the essential weakness of the submarine in its present form that it seeks to operate by evasion, and such methods, whether on sea or land, have never obtained more than local and partial success. The introduction of the submarine entails a new risk upon fleets at sea. The measure of that risk we have at present no means of determining with accuracy; but judging from all past experience it will prove much less than the protagonists of the submarine now imagine. As matters stand, I firmly believe that any naval administration which acted upon the discredited doctrine now revived would court disaster, and that any naval commander in chief who locked up his battle fleet in port could securely count upon defeat. On one point I agree with Sir Percy Scott. "The additional expense" involved in translating his theory into practice "will be enormous." Had this been made clear at starting, support to his views might not have been forthcoming in some quarters.

I am, sir, yours, obediently,

SYDENHAM.

JULY 11.

—

A REMARKABLE BEFORE THE WAR PREDICTION.

[From the London Times, edition of July 10, 1914.]

SIR PERCY SCOTT'S REPLY TO LORD SYDENHAM.

To the EDITOR OF THE TIMES:

In a letter which you published from me of July 10 I replied to most of the criticisms of my views which had already appeared. Yesterday Lord Sydenham raised a further question in your columns which seems to call for an answer. With the greater part of this letter it is unnecessary for me to deal. Lord Sydenham is not a seaman, but a soldier, and he can not be expected to appreciate the technical points in my argument. With reference, however, to the question of an attack on our commerce by submarines, he says:

"The capture of vessels at sea is an old right of war. The right to kill unresisting noncombatants engaged in peaceful avocations has never been recognized. The submarine can not capture, but must destroy. I do not believe that the sentiment of the twentieth century would tolerate for a moment proceedings which have hitherto been associated only with piracy in its blackest form. Considerations of humanity apart, there are strong reasons for believing that this relapse into

savagery would not serve the purpose of the navy which so far degraded itself, and I doubt whether Sir Percy Scott has thought out this part of his program."

This I consider a most dangerous and misleading doctrine, because it is calculated to make the British public believe that their food supply would be safe in time of war. In order to make this fallacy manifest I will quote the following extract from a letter written by a foreign naval officer:

"If we went to war with an insular country dependent for its food supplies from overseas, it would be our business to stop that supply. On the declaration of war we should notify the enemy that she should warn those of her merchant ships coming home not to approach the island, as we were establishing a blockade of mines and submarines. Similarly, we should notify all neutrals that such a blockade had been established and that if any of their vessels approached the island they would be liable to destruction, either by mines or submarines, and therefore would do so at their own risk."

Such a proclamation would, in my opinion, be perfectly in order; and once it had been made, if any British or neutral ships disregarded it and attempted to run the blockade, they could not be held to be engaged in the peaceful avocations referred to by Lord Sydenham, and if they were sunk in the attempt it could not be described as a relapse into savagery or piracy in its worst form. If Lord Sydenham will look up the accounts of what usually happened to the blockade runners into Charleston during the Civil War in America, I think he will find that the blockading cruisers seldom had any scruples about firing into the vessels they were chasing, or driving them ashore, and even peppering them when stranded with grape and shell. The mine and the submarine's torpedo will be a surer deterrent. Trade is timid. It will not need more than one or two ships sent to the bottom to hold up the food supply of the country.

I am, sir, your obedient servant, PERCY SCOTT.

52 SOUTH AUDLEY STREET, GROSVENOR SQUARE W., *July 15, 1914.*

STILL THE QUERY: WHY OUR SUBMARINE?

Any American student of war or international law will find these "before-the-war" letters in the London Times intensely interesting in association with our present submarine discussions. Evidently, Sir Percy Scott, whom the London Times highly eulogized in its edition of June 5, 1914, foresaw the development of the submarine as a menace to Great Britain. He read the military and naval trend with more accuracy than his critics, and the London Times gave publicity to his views. In the light of these letters, might we not again ask why we are building submarines in the United States? And might we not go one step further and ask why we are not building more aircraft? It is evident from this before-the-war discussion in England that England was taking too much for granted in the matter of both submarines and aircraft. The lesson to the United States is obvious.

Under a False Flag—Advocates of the Proposed Flat Rate of Taxation on Margarine Ignore the Real Points at Issue.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GUY T. HELVERING,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 27, 1917.

Mr. HELVERING. Mr. Speaker, in common with other Members of this body I have given considerable attention to the amendment proposed in the other legislative branch of this Government, an amendment which proposes to change the present law with regard to the tax on margarine or oleomargarine from a rate of one-fourth cent per pound on the uncolored and 10 cents per pound on the colored to a flat rate of 2 cents per pound on all oleomargarine.

For the past 10 days I have been in receipt of a great deal of literature and of correspondence with regard to this proposal and it has led me to make a careful study of the facts. I am in sympathy with every movement designed to reduce the cost of living, for I recognize that this burden falls the heaviest on those least able to bear it. Likewise I am concerned with every legitimate proposition to provide revenue in order to meet the unusual expenditures which have been made necessary as the result of unusual world conditions. Therefore, from my standpoint, the proposition to change the rate of taxation on oleomargarine should be judged from these two angles: Is it a legitimate source of revenue? Will it reduce the cost of living to those who can least afford the present burden of providing a living?

I would be willing to have the decision as to the adoption of this tax measure rest on the evidence available as to either of these propositions. In my opinion taxes should be levied on articles of consumption only when absolutely necessary. Taking the maximum amount of revenue which it is expected we will derive under the proposed amendment—some $5,000,000—and the gain over the amount derived from the present tax does not commend it from a revenue-producing standpoint. Therefore the question simmers down to this one proposition: Will the proposed tax reduce the cost of oleomargarine to the consumer? If it does not, then the proposition to make a change is indefensible.

During the past year there were manufactured in this country 149,164,260 pounds of oleomargarine which were taxed. Of this amount, just 3,403,287 pounds paid the 10 cents a pound tax as colored oleomargarine, and the balance, 145,760,973 pounds paid a tax of only one-fourth cent per pound. Under the proposed change in the rate the tax on the vast amount of uncolored oleomargarine sold would amount to $2,550,817.03. As this would be on the grade of oleomargarine which is referred to often as "the poor man's butter," how is it to be expected that this increased taxation will result in a reduction in price? I have a sincere regard for the gentleman who is the author of the proposed amendment and admire his intellect, but if he has discovered a method by which the consumer can be taxed into prosperity then he is in position to overturn all of our ideas as to political economy and will have to turn his back upon the very things he has been standing for in the years which have passed.

Any question as to the food value of oleomargarine should not enter into this discussion, but I notice that the men who favor the proposed amendment are basing their arguments almost wholly upon that very proposition. We will admit that oleomargarine is a wholesome article of food, but it is so, and if we are assured that it is to continue to be so then we need the most rigid Government inspection in the factories, for the chances of fraud are too great and human life must be conserved. In that case, I am firmly of the opinion that the claim of the friends of oleomargarine, to the effect that it is "the poor man's butter," should be carefully analyzed, and if we agree to that contention then in the interest of the great mass of the people we should remove the tax in its entirety and put no barrier between producer and consumer, other than the cost of the inspection which is essential in the interest of the same consumers.

From the foregoing it can be plainly seen that instead of endeavoring to prevent the manufacture and sale of oleomargarine, I would encourage it to the end that those who can least afford to pay the price of dairy butter can get a substitute guaranteed as to quality and at a price which is within reason. But I will not favor any proposition which will legalize the offering of this oleomargarine, not as a substitute for butter, but as the article which it is supposed to come in competition with. Selling oleomargarine as oleomargarine is legitimate, but to sell oleomargarine as butter is indefensible, and this Congress should not do anything which would aid in bringing such a thing to pass.

To limit the sizes of the package in which oleomargarine is to be sold is good, and we should do that no matter whether we adopt the proposed amendment, retain the present rate of taxation, or prohibit the manufacture of artificially colored oleomargarine and remove all tax, which is the method that I would suggest.

To make it imperative that all packages should be plainly stamped so as to indicate the nature of their contents is good and, in my opinion, should be adopted.

But if the advocates of the proposed change are sincere in their desire to protect the consumer, as they say they are, then they will join with me in urging the adoption of a few changes in the law which will absolutely protect consumers as far as it is the ability of legislators to do.

First, let us adopt the French law which prohibits artificial coloration of oleomargarine. Furthermore it provides that no store which handles butter can sell oleomargarine and that the product must be handled in special stores. As with Government inspection in the factory we could easily trace the sales and thus restrict it to these special stores we would remove largely the present objection that creameries are able to buy oleomargarine, "doctor" it up, and sell it as creamery butter.

Second, let us provide that every hotel, restaurant, and lunch room which handles oleomargarine should so state in every bill of fare, and that a sign printed with letters of a specified size should be in a conspicuous place so that all who visit these places can understand what they are to expect. Surely this would be a protection to the millions who of necessity are forced to live in hotels, lunch rooms, and boarding houses. If they want butter, they will go where it is served and pay for it; if they prefer oleomargarine, then they will know where to be accommodated. Surely the advocates of the proposed amendment who are so solicitious with regard to the "poor man's butter," can not object to these safeguards. If they are advocates of an honest food product—and I believe that it is—then let it be sold and used for just what it is.

I have no patience with those who demand a flat tax rate, for the reason that under the present scale of taxation the Government is being defrauded. If it is defrauded, it is because men are striving to sell oleomargarine as butter and for gain, and to make it easier for them to do this is merely to save to Government officials the worry of law enforcement while it is made all the easier for the consumer to be deceived. Legislation of that nature does not appeal to me. It would be just as legitimate to demand that we take off all internal revenue on whisky or reduce it to a negligible amount, so as to put an end to moonshining, as it would be to propose to permit coloration of oleomargarine, for the reason that the law which taxed such coloration is now violated.

And the argument which is so often made that if we prohibit the coloration of oleomargarine we should do the same thing with regard to butter does not appeal. Butter is never colored so as to sell as oleomargarine, but oleomargarine is colored for the one and only reason that it can be sold as butter, and thus command a higher price than if it were put on the market for what it really is.

Now, with reference to the effect on the price, if we enact the amendment to the revenue act which is proposed: At the outset we know that the tax on the uncolored oleomargarine, which constituted 97¾ per cent of all that was sold in this country last year, will be increased 700 per cent. Surely no one will pretend that such an action will reduce the selling price. But the more you throw down the barriers between butter and oleomargarine the more you will aid in bringing the price of the two to a more equal level. Undoubtedly, in my opinion, the price of 40-cent butter would be reduced to a point which would probably destroy the dairy business, but at the same time the price of the imitation butter would inevitably rise. Uncolored oleomargarine now sells at about 20 cents per pound and the colored article at about 30 cents. Put it on an equal footing with a flat rate of taxation and you inevitably increase the price. What, then, becomes of the contention that the poor man will be the gainer?

I firmly believe that the adoption of the flat rate will drive butter out of the market, except to the extent that the rich are willing to pay for what they know is real butter, and in that event we will be at the mercy of oleomargarine manufacturers whose price will be regulated by only their greed and by the necessity of the consumer.

It was a matter of amusement to me to read one argument made by a distinguished gentleman who favors the reduction in the tax on colored oleomargarine. He is in the habit of camping out on his vacation trips and finds that butter will not keep, when he occupies a dirty camp. Therefore he wants oleomargarine on such trips. For the life of me I can not see why the uncolored oleomargarine would not suit his purpose just as well, but the point I do want to emphasize is this: Butter absorbs the poison in the dirty camp and gives fair warning of it to the taste and smell. If the camper uses it under such conditions he knows the risk he is taking. But oleomargarine absorbs just the same poison and gives no warning. Is it not an insult to our intelligence to bring such an argument as a means of convincing us of the necessity of making it easier to color oleomargarine?

The proponent of the change in the present tax is frank in stating that one of the objects aimed at by him is to reduce the cost of colored oleomargarine. Taking him at his own word if reducing the tax on 2¼ per cent of the amount now sold will correspondingly reduce the price to the consumer, does it not inevitably follow that by increasing the tax on the 97¾ per cent to the extent of 700 per cent the price will be increased to the consumer? Can you escape the logic of that?

And while I do not desire to enter into any controversy as to the merits of oleomargarine as a food product, in fact would be willing to admit that it is all that its friends claim for it, for the sake of argument, I do protest against the statements made which would tend to discredit butter and its manufacturers. I will join with any person who seeks to throw every safeguard around the manufacture and sale of butter, will advocate the most rigid inspection, and am ready to vote for any measure designed to protect the consumer of this or any other food product. But I do object to the means taken to discredit the great majority of the manufacturers of butter, for the reason that I do not believe their statements are grounded on fact.

To quote a report of the Department of Agriculture made in 1912 as the result of an inspection of 1,554 lots of cream and to deduce from that that 61 per cent of the cream used in butter making is now impure is not warranted. It is a far cry in the way of pure-food products from 1912 to 1917 and the conditions are entirely different. We have acquired knowledge with the passing of the years and the various States have passed laws supplementary to our national legislation in order to safeguard human health. But I prefer to let one who has knowledge of the facts to a greater extent than I have deal with this and I submit to your attention a letter written to Senator PAGE, of Vermont, by Mr. Carl Vrooman, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, on July 27, 1916. Mr. Vrooman wrote as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY,
Washington, July 27, 1916.

MY DEAR SIR: Your letter of June 14, with reference to House resolution 137, popularly known as the Linthicum resolution, is at hand. I agree with you that it is decidedly unfortunate that the report referred to in this resolution is being made use of without more adequate explanations.

To begin with, this report was based upon an investigation made by the Bureau of Animal Industry over four years ago, the investigation having been begun on April 10 and having ended June 30, 1912, before either Secretary Houston or I became connected with the Department of Agriculture. Furthermore, the report itself was based on an investigation of but 144 creameries and cream-buying stations out of a total of 6,000 creameries and some 40,000 cream-buying stations.

The Federal Department of Agriculture is completely out of sympathy with current misunderstandings and misinterpretations of the 1912 report. That report does not mean to say or to infer that the dairy industry is on a lower level or has lower standards of purity and cleanliness than the other industries of the country. If the department were to make out a score card for the different foods and drinks that are being produced and consumed throughout this country to-day, and especially for the vegetables, fruits, and other foods exposed for sale at the average market and grocery store, it would find that in a majority of cases similar conditions exist to those disclosed in the dairy industry. In other words, it would be shown: First, that ideal conditions do not exist; second, that existing conditions can be greatly improved; and, third, that the improvements recommended are commercially feasible. These are the three points that the Department of Agriculture attempted to bring out in its 1912 creamery report, and any attempt to read other meanings into that report, any attempt to discredit the dairy industry, is an attempt that the Federal Department of Agriculture does not sympathize with and will have no part in.

Moreover, a lot of work has been done by the Federal Department of Agriculture and the State and municipal boards of health and by the various dairy organizations during the past four years to improve dairy conditions. Plans are now being worked out which we are satisfied will steadily improve dairy conditions by raising the standard of cleanliness and purity in dairy products from one end of the country to the other. If worked out intelligently there is no reason why these improvements can not be rapidly introduced without cutting down the legitimate profits of dairymen and creamery men. It is true that some additional capital will be called for, but it is also true that the plans of the department involve a provision for a proper return to the dairy interests on all additional capital required.

It seems to me a self-evident fact that better results can be attained through the active cooperation of dairymen and creamery men, Federal department officials, and State and municipal authorities, in a winning campaign in favor of recognized essentials of cleanliness and purity than can be secured by frittering away our energies working at cross-purposes and bickering over nonessentials and unnecessary misunderstandings of each other's motives and purposes.

Very sincerely, yours,

CARL VROOMAN,
Assistant Secretary.

Mr. Vrooman's letter is sufficient answer to those who would strive to arouse prejudice as the result of investigations made in the past. We are profiting in this country by evolution, and the faults of yesterday are not indicative of the faults of to-day. The dairy industry of this country is legitimate in every sense, and it is an industry which we should encourage if we are to secure diversity and get away from the idea of our farmers depending upon one crop or upon one branch of agriculture. In encouraging it we aid in securing fertilizers for the soil, and we can do this without in any way assailing oleomargarine. There is a great field for the use of that commodity, and we have no desire to curtail it, but we do insist that it make the fight as oleomargarine and not as butter.

In conclusion I would say that I can not support any measure designed, as the proposed tax is, to encourage fraud and to increase the cost of living to those who can least afford it. As a revenue measure it is not defensible, for the reason that it makes an increase in cost on a staple article of food. As a measure designed to protect the Government it can not be defended, for it throws the door open for fraud. As a measure designed to increase the cost of oleomargarine, it can be defended, for that would inevitably be its result; and can we here afford to do this at a time when the cost of living is a source of anxiety to all of us, and at a time when necessity is driving many to riot in protest against the fate which is theirs?

Not one legitimate argument has been advanced as to the necessity of the proposed change in the tax on oleomargarine. Its advocates are sailing under a false flag, and their arguments disprove their own contentions. I will join with any man or combination of men who are legitimately striving to reduce the cost of living and throw proper safeguards around the health of the consuming public, but I will not join with men who strive to legislate to the end that substitution in food products can be made easier and at the same time the consumer is exploited to the greed of a combination of manufacturers or of dealers.

Naval Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OSCAR CALLAWAY,
OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 27, 1917.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Mr. Speaker, if we could rid these war and preparedness questions of promotions, profits, and politics, it would not be difficult to reach a sane and sound conclusion as to what we ought to have nor as to what the danger of invasion is. I know better than to argue with the man who has a personal interest or the man who takes orders.

I do not expect to give peace of mind to either, nor convince those who have a different idea of the relation of the masses to the Government, nor to convince those who want a military establishment to change the traditional policies and purposes of this Republic. Many do not agree with my confidence in the willingness and readiness of the masses to defend their country in time of danger. They look at the military establishment as our sole defense should the unforeseen happen. I look to the American citizen in such case who has always been our defense and will necessarily always constitute our Army in times of war. They think a Regular soldier, paid to fight, can alone be depended on. We are not going to maintain a sufficient number in times of peace to constitute the needed force in times of war; besides, I had rather depend upon a citizen defending his country and his home in time of supreme test than paid soldiers fighting for pay or fear.

If the Government were an entity which called the citizens when it felt the need, instead of the machinery of the citizens through which they call themselves when they think there is need, the entity might call them many times to defend its imaginary ills and have no response. When the masses no longer regard this Government as their institution, serving their interests, and refuse to defend it, the Government will not be worth defending. When it has to maintain a military force subject to its call, which can be ordered to do its bidding irrespective of what the masses think of the cause, it will have ceased to be a truly representative Republic.

We want sufficient military establishments to protect us against every danger of invasion to be reasonably expected. We do not consider all the dangers possible to conceive of. Many dangers might be imagined. What are the probable dangers? That is the question. That is tangible. We can discuss the dangers reasonably to be apprehended. I have too much confidence in the sober judgment and sound common sense of the people to believe they are willing to spend real money to maintain a military establishment to protect us against imaginary dangers.

YOU CAN NOT BY FALSE GUISE MAKE A CAT'S-PAW OF PEOPLE.

I deny the right of profit seekers to disguise their real purpose and march under the banner of patriotism. If each of their leaders will disclose his exact connection with the concerns expecting profit, a great light will fall on their patriotism. If they will state definitely what they want as preparedness, what they want it for, and how they want and ultimately expect to obtain it, they will be entitled to more confidence.

We do not want a military establishment for conquest nor aggrandizement. We do not want to grind the faces of the masses to build up an army and navy to protect one class against another. We should not build up an army and navy at the expense of the whole people for the benefit of a preferred few.

Some contend that we should extend our trade by force. Bismarck said:

> Commerce obtained and maintained by force always costs the Government more than it is worth.

He said:

> A nation which can not obtain and maintain commerce with the price mark and diplomacy should strengthen its diplomacy and work on its price mark instead of attempting to force it with a military establishment.

He said that—

> Commerce obtained by the price mark and diplomacy was the only commerce worth while.

THE NEED MUST BE REAL.

I can not agree with those who desire a military establishment to "protect and further some imaginary destiny of this Republic not to be seen with the physical eye; some intangible and visionary thing written in the lines of poets." When we vote money for an army and navy, when we vote to put citizens on the battle line, when we call on women to surrender their husbands, sons, and brothers, it should not be for some intangible, visionary destiny that you can not see; it should be real, practical, substantial danger. When we vote to send the tax-gatherer to every home to support a military establishment on land and sea, it should not be to carry out some visionary destiny of America which lies written in the lines of poets; it should be for some real purpose that is tangible.

Mr. Speaker, with the people who want a military force to protect us from invasion, to protect our country, to protect our homes from every real danger to be reasonably apprehended, to protect our institutions, I join hands, and so do the earnest, honest citizens of the land from sea to sea. We are willing and ready to protect our homes and to protect our Government, but we are not willing to support a military establishment for conquest, nor to fight our own people, nor to force commerce, nor to further some intangible and visionary destiny of America which lies written in the lines of poets.

WE HAVE AN ADEQUATE MILITARY FORCE.

We have a military force at the present time ample to protect us against every danger which may be reasonably expected. Our ships, ship for ship, and our guns, gun for gun, at the time they were made are as good as any in the world. We excel in the weight of a broadside from our major guns every nation except England. The weight of a broadside from our major guns is, according to Admiral Badger (hearings, p. 1962), 289,430 pounds. The weight of a broadside from the German guns, same class, is 284,610 pounds. We exceed the Germans by 4,820 pounds.

"Our Navy is in good condition," said all the experts before the committee. Some thought it could be improved by this and others by that, but all were agreed that it was in good shape. All of them wanted more navy; they wanted all they could get. They do not consider the cost of it. They said the expense of it was a matter of policy for Congress and the taxpayers to consider and not for them to take cognizance of.

We have 42 battleships, 75 submarines, 74 torpedo boats, 22 gunboats, and "more auxiliary craft," says Admiral Blue, "than any other nation maintains in time of peace."

We have—

Says Gen. Weaver, Chief of Coast Artillery—

> the best coast defenses in the world. The guns now mounted and those contemplated will give us an entirely satisfactory defense.

Gen. Miles said:

> During the last 30 years the Government has spent approximately $200,000,000 for our coast defense. I am prepared to say that our coasts are as well defended as the coasts of any country and with the same class of high-power guns and heavy projectiles. They are better in some respects than the guns that are mounted at the Dardanelles, which have resisted the most powerful ships of war of the British and French Navies.

We have back of that—

Says Gen. Miles—

> 10,000,000 men capable of doing effective military service should the demand come, more than a million men, considering those of military age who were in the Spanish-American War, those who have passed through the Army and the National Guard, who have received military instruction; 136,000 graduates from our agricultural colleges, drilled and instructed under Regular Army officers.

If we have in our Navy, in our fortifications, in our Army, and in 10,000,000 men capable of doing effective military service sufficient force, as it is to-day, to protect us, why further grind the faces of the people to maintain a more expensive organization and one that is a menace to our institutions?

THE DIFFICULTIES OF WAGING WAR ACROSS SEAS.

It is next to impossible to wage war across a great expanse of water. It has never in the history of mankind been successfully done against a Nation of anything like equal size.

Admiral Knight, president of the War College and member of the Navy General Board, said:

> It would take me a very long time to go into that subject at all satisfactorily, Mr. CALLAWAY, and show you the difficulties under which a fleet 7,000 miles from its home ports would labor. Ships break down. Out of a large number of ships a certain number are bound to be crippled in one way or another. The supplies needed to maintain the fleet would be very extensive. Five or six hundred thousand tons of coal would be needed as a minimum for a very short campaign there. That coal must be delivered and transferred from colliers to ships. It can not be done at sea except under the most favorable possible conditions. It must be done in sheltered waters. The bottoms of the ships would gradually get foul. They ought to have docks where the bottoms can be cleaned. They are subject in their progress over that 7,000 miles, throughout a large part of the time, to the possibilities of attack from the enemy's torpedo craft and other craft of that kind. Their lines of communication, after they get to the point 7,000 miles away, are constantly liable to interruption and would inevitably be interrupted; and yet they depend on those long lines, stretching away back to the home ports, for the very vital things necessary to their life—for coal and

supplies and reenforcements, if reenforcements become necessary, and all sorts of things. A fleet going out there would be accompanied, necessarily, by a tremendous attendant fleet, a train, as we call it, of auxiliary ammunition ships, hospital ships, and so forth. The problem of conducting such a train as that in going thousands of miles through hostile waters is probably the most serious problem that could possibly be put up to a commander in chief.

The personnel, the officers and men, of a fleet moving under those conditions would be subject to conditions which are so trying that it is very difficult to picture them without some little experience. Constantly on the watch, constantly threatened, constantly on the alert to guard against some danger which may come out of the darkness or out of the fog at any moment upon them, after moving that distance they would be broken down, they would be tired, they would need rest. They would have no secure place to rest. Your fleet would get out there with its material in very bad condition, its personnel in perhaps worse condition, and when it got there it would have no place to go for refitting or for any purpose whatever. It would be not unlike the proposition which confronted Admiral Rojestvensky when he went out to the East and met the Japanese fleet, and you know what happened to him. He had a larger fleet than the enemy had, distinctly.

I would not like to be considered as attempting anything like a complete answer to your question, nor could I give such an answer without talking here all day.

If it is well-nigh impossible for this country to wage war against Japan because of the ocean, why fear Japan?

NO DANGER FROM GERMANY.

The German Imperial Chancellor, Von Bethmann-Holweg, and Von Jagow say the idea of Germany having any thought of war against the United States is preposterous. Germany can not even get milk from outside for her babies; we can not get analine dyes from her to color our Easter eggs. No danger from that quarter now. After the war is over, is she going to brave 4,000 miles of the deep, the perils of which have been infinitely multiplied by submarine and torpedo, in an effort to levy tribute on us? Germany, bankrupt and a cripple, with a navy, measured by the weight of a broadside from her guns, smaller than ours?

She has lost in this war in killed, wounded, and imprisoned more than 2,000,000 of her sons. There is crape on every door. There is a cripple in every home. She is bankrupt. Her mothers, sisters, daughters, and fathers are horrified by the grim ports, for the very vital things necessary to their life—for coal and specter of war. Is she going to cross 4,000 miles of ocean, with an enemy at her back, and attack the United States?

All the nations engaged in this war have incidentally injured us during its progress. We have been patient. We have sent them supplies, from bread and meat to Christmas presents. We have done what we could to alleviate their sufferings. Are they for that and in their condition at the close of the war going to arrange their differences, bury their hatreds, grudges, and suspicions and combine against us? Will the others of them forget their jealousies and allow one, if one of them could, to attack us for the purpose of recouping its bankrupt treasury? No; and no sane man thinks they are.

I will tell you the danger. It is not from any foreign power. It is that powder stocks, ordnance stocks, steel stocks, shipbuilding stocks, General Electric stocks, and International Nickel stocks will slump at the close of this war unless a new market is developed for their products. The stockholders, knowing full well the value of advertising, are working up a new customer. When the market abroad ceases they hope to have one developed here that will buy "all they can construct."

Admiral Knight said:

The dangers of transporting a fleet across a great expanse of water and maintaining it are almost insuperable. (Hearings, p. 2084.)

Admiral Fletcher said:

It has been recently forcibly demonstrated that ship attack on forts are futile. This war has conclusively demonstrated what every military strategist knew before—that it is impossible for sea craft to successfully attack land fortifications.

Gen. Miles said:

The results at Alexandria, Port Arthur, and at the Dardanelles furnish sufficient evidence that guns on board ship are no match for coast fortifications and submarine guns.

Germany would have 4,000 miles of ocean to cross, a navy, in weight of shells greater than her own, to put out of the way, the perils of the deep, which Admiral Knight says are almost insuperable, to brave, and then the forts to pass, which Admiral Fletcher and Gen. Miles say this war has demonstrated can not be done, before they could invade this country.

But that is not all. If a foreign country, bankrupt and on crutches, should leave homes that have crape on every door, horrified by the grim specter of war, brave the perils of the deep, and with an enemy at her back, sweep our fleet from the ocean, and pass our fort guns and mines, have they any chance still to imperil this country? We can live indefinitely and build almost without limit whatever we need for defense or offense without having access to the seas. When some country has braved the perils of the deep, annihilated or bottled up our Navy, and passed our land fortifications, they have still, said Gen. Miles—

to meet the physical strength of this Nation—10,000,000 men capable of doing effective military service, 1,000,000 who have received military instructions under Regular Army officers, and 136,000 graduates from our agricultural colleges to officer them.

Gen. Miles has a right to know what the American citizen is when called to arms. He had service with the Volunteers fighting by his side against volunteers during the Civil War. They were Americans meeting Americans. He went through four years of it. He is able to speak with authority on the citizen soldiers of the United States:

Mr. KAHN. You think the German conscript is a pretty good soldier, do you not?

Gen. MILES. Yes, sir. However, I would match a volunteer American, defending his liberties and his Government, against any German soldier.

Again, he says about landing troops on our shores:

I will suppose an unsupposable case. Suppose they could put an army on a fleet of 500 ships and move it across the Atlantic without being disturbed by any naval power and they could land. They certainly could not go into any port. They could not go into our ports any more than they could go through the Dardanelles. That has been demonstrated. Our forts are equipped and fortified as well as the Dardanelles. Suppose they got that far—as to land at some remote point—if we could not gather enough men in the Army and militia and by other means to destroy that army before they could send their ships back and get another load, I would want to move to some other country.

APPLY SOME COMMON SENSE.

Preparedness advocates contend that nothing but the experts should be heard. We have heard the experts. A civilian ought to be able to reason. If he has munitions to sell or stocks affected by "preparedness," I do not expect him to reason, and I hope the American people know better than to expect him to reason or to be just. He can talk, he can advertise, he can shout, he can villify, he can complain, he can march in a parade and write a book, but never delude yourself into the belief that he can reason. The matter hits him at the pocket, below the reasoning faculty. It strikes him at the place to make him active but not logical.

One of the ridiculous phases of this preparedness agitation is the attitude of the New Yorkers, Bostonians, and Philadelphians. They are really all for preparedness; and what they mean by preparedness is what the Army and Navy bluntly ask, "all they can get." The money is poured out along the Atlantic seaboard. It goes straight into the pockets of the Bostonians, New Yorkers, and Philadelphians, and other places along the Atlantic coast. Of course, they are for preparedness. It is money to their locality. They have had books written, moving-picture shows staged showing New York, Boston, and Philadelphia taken without the firing of a gun or the loss of a life; but when the question of turning loose the Philippine Islands—the most dangerous military liability the United States Government has—came up every mother's son of them voted against it. They are not only a liability from a military and naval standpoint—they cost this Government a hundred million dollars a year—but there is some trade to New York, Boston, and Philadelphia in them, and some citizens of those places have investments there. It has cost us since we have had them more than a billion dollars, yet these scared ones from Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania fought desperately against turning this scarecrow loose. Are they scared? Their wail to me has the sound of self-interest and hypocrisy.

REASON FOR NAVAL BOARD'S REPORT.

I think the public generally ought to know what led the Navy General Board to prepare the report which changed the program they had been following since 1903. They *did not* voluntarily change the policy and present a new program. They did not do it because of an emergency. They did not do it because of any apparent danger. They did it in obedience to an order.

Admiral Badger said:

Yes; the July program was only for one year, and the order by which that program was drawn up was stated as follows [reading]: "In July last the General Board was called upon to express its opinion to the department 'as to what the Navy must be in the future in order to stand upon an equality with the most efficient and practically serviceable,' and to submit 'a program * * * formulated in the most definite terms.'"

It was on that order that the July program was drawn up, based on utilizing all the facilities for building that could be obtained.

THE FIVE-YEAR PROGRAM.

Admiral Badger says, page 1967, hearings, that recommendation was not approved, and—

The board was instructed to get up a five-year program, to cost for new construction $500,000,000, or about a hundred million dollars a year, and the October recommendation was made in view of that instruction and to comply with it.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Then the board submitted, in accordance with that request, a five-year plan?

Admiral BADGER. Yes, sir.

Mr. CALLAWAY. And submitted it in accordance with that request to submit a five-year plan that would cost so much?

Admiral BADGER. Yes, sir.

Mr. CALLAWAY. This five-year program did not have in contemplation any emergency, did it, Admiral?

Admiral BADGER. No, sir. That program was made according to order.

Now let us review this program and the reason for it. The Navy General Board was called on in July by the Secretary of the Navy "to express its opinion to the department as to what the Navy must be in the future in order to stand upon an equality with the most efficient and practically serviceable." The board, encouraged by that request, submitted a plan which would "utilize all the facilities for building until our Navy reached the first place." What was the reason for the change from a normal and regular growth in 1914 to "the most adequate in the world" in 1915? Had any new dangers suddenly loomed up? Had there been any sudden change in our national or international policies? Had there been any sudden change in the relative size of the navies of the world?

The President in his annual message, December 7, 1915, said:

I have had in mind no thought of any immediate or particular danger arising out of our relations with other nations. We are at peace with all the nations of the world. I am sorry to say that the gravest threats against our national peace and safety have been uttered within our own borders.

No witness pointed out any emergency, nor any new danger, nor any new-developed reason for changing the policy of normal, regular growth. The President said there was none. Then why the call for a change?

The Secretary himself was before the committee. He did not give a reason. He sent the first order. The July program was furnished, based on what could be built by all the shipyards and ordnance factories working to the limit. Then a specific five-year program, costing $500,000,000 was called for. It was furnished in October. What reason for the first call? What reason for the second call? No danger is pointed out. The only reason I have heard was given in the News and Observer, Secretary Daniels's paper at Raleigh, N. C., under a Washington date line of October 20, as follows:

The plan of Secretary Daniels to increase the Navy for five years, until it is able to compete with that of any other nation, with one exception, has taken the wind out of the sails of the critics who say that the Wilson administration is neglecting national defense.

The President approves Mr. Daniels's plan and will urge Congress to adopt it. President Wilson and Secretaries Daniels and Garrison have virtually destroyed the "issue" of "preparedness" thrust upon the United States by the European war and seized by certain desperate Republicans for the political capital they could make out of it. Leading Republicans must now work and vote for the Daniels program or eat their words.

Five hundred million dollars to take the wind out of the sails of the critics! I can not agree to such a scheme to take the wind out of their sails. It is too expensive.

NAVAL BOARD AND MUNITIONS MEN IN HARMONY.

Mr. Speaker, what the Navy General Board wants is all the building facilities of the country can accommodate. They bluntly state it. I am going to read from the testimony of the president of the War College and a distinguished naval officer, Admiral Knight:

Mr. BUTLER. Admiral Knight, do you think that the number of ships you have recommended here at this time would enable us to catch up with the other fleets if they would continue to build as they have done?

Admiral KNIGHT. I do not. May I enlarge?

Mr. BUTLER. You may. It will be a pleasure to have you do it.

Admiral KNIGHT. I took some care this morning to make it clear that the program which I suggested to you was the program which I believed could be laid down at once. I also urged that a committee be appointed to investigate, organize, and mobilize the shipbuilding reserve of this country, so that next year we might be ready to do a tremendously greater amount than we can do now. If Mr. Browning is right in believing that the establishments of this country can this year lay down a larger number of capital ships than I have recommended, please understand me as recommending them with all possible emphasis. In general terms, I think that this year's program should provide for every ship that can possibly be laid down this year.

Mr. BUTLER. When would you have it in your own mind that it would be advisable for us to have on hand, ready for operation, the largest fleet in the world?

Admiral KNIGHT To-morrow.

Mr. BUTLER. Would you advise calling upon all the industrial facilities of the United States to assist us in constructing a great fleet?

Admiral KNIGHT. I should. That is what I have already advised.

Mr. BUTLER. Let me ask you—I want to ease my own mind, if the committee will permit me—why should we prepare any defense if it is not one that will succeed? Anything short of actual defense means defeat, does it not?

Admiral KNIGHT. Yes. The General Board, in studying this subject, had before it two sides to the shield. First, what do we want and when do we want it? We want a Navy equal to the largest maintained by any nation in the world, and we want it now. That is one side of the shield. The other side of the shield is, When can we get it? We questioned them as to the present facilities of the shipbuilding yards of this country, including the navy yards, the facilities of the armor plants, etc. We then said in substance this: We are limited this year with regard to the amount of work that can be done, apparently. Let us provide for the doing of that amount of work this year. Let us at the same time encourage Congress and the Navy Department to get very busy to see if they are by any happy chance larger than we think they are, getting the shipbuilders together. Let us try to get everybody working together, in the hope that very soon we may be able to develop facilities which will enable us to enter upon an accelerated program.

* * * * * * *

We can go on from year to year, each year taking advantage of the best that we know at that time. Build all we can this year with what we know now. Build all we can next year with what we know next year.

Mr. KELLEY. And in view of the uncertainty of our needs, and the long time it would take to reach the point where you say we ought to be, don't you think this would be a good time to stick to the original plan we have followed for 20 years and just try to get into second place as quickly as we can?

Admiral KNIGHT. I do not think we ought to stop there. I think the situation is such that we ought to try to get everything that can possibly be built this year. I think it ought to be provided for. We will not make any mistake. It will not carry us too far.

Mr. KELLEY. Do you think the plan for building, for five years, a certain number, such as the General Board worked out, at the request of the department, is a better arrangement than the second-place plan which we have held to for so long?

Admiral KNIGHT. I think the plan which the General Board had in mind, of building every ship that it is possible to build this year and every ship that it is possible to build next year, and to keep on building as fast as possible, is the most rational plan.

I will also quote Admiral Blue, head of the personnel bureau:

Mr. HENSLEY. Do you mean to tell me that you shape your views, your views as expressed here before the committee with reference to the needs of the Navy, upon what you glean to be the sentiment of the people of the country?

Admiral BLUE. To some extent: yes, sir. It has always been an axiom that we have to cut the cloth according to what we are likely to get. That is the principle upon which the Navy has been run ever since I have known it.

That is all the steel and ordnance manufacturers and shipyards want. They do not ask for more orders than they can take care of. The munition manufacturers seem to be in perfect accord. The Raleigh News and Observer said the five-year program would "take the wind out of the sails of the critics."

IT COSTS NOTHING.

That five-year program did not "take the wind out of the sails of the critics." The critics continued to demand a market for all the war materials the munition manufacturers could turn out, all they could furnish, and the naval officers are with them and argue that it costs nothing. That is the consolation they give the public. That is the sugar coating over the pill.

The Army and Navy News, published at San Francisco, Cal., December, 1915, in the discussion of the same subject, says:

The second alleged reason is utterly without foundation. Military preparedness costs us nothing. The few hundred dollars we spend for imported drugs for the medical departments of the Army and Navy is an entirely negligible item. Everything else we get right in the United States, and the money is kept right at home. We construct our own ships and guns in our own yards and factories from materials that come from our own mines. The wool and cotton for clothing come from our own fields; the provisions come from our own farms and ranches. No money leaves the country. It stays right at home, making our shipyards and factories hum with activity and providing employment for thousands of good Americans. Instead of being hoarded, the money is kept in circulation and everybody is benefited.

But for fear somebody would say these were not up to the standard, I want to quote from an admiral who is regarded as one of the biggest in the Navy, Admiral Grant. I quote from his testimony before the Committee on Naval Affairs:

Mr. CALLAWAY. If one has to have his bigger than the other, and the other has got to have his bigger than the one, then what?

Admiral GRANT. You may not know, Mr. CALLAWAY, but I do not see that we are running ourselves to death by building a battleship. Some people consider that money thrown away. I do not, because of every cent that goes into a battleship half of it goes into the labor product and the other half for material goes originally for the labor and material to produce that material. It is not money wasted, in my opinion. You will find it universally stated—that is, a great many men state it—that this $18,000,000 for this battleship is money wasted and thrown away. I do not consider it so. That is my opinion only.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Your opinion is that the money is still among us?

Admiral GRANT. Yes, sir.

Mr. CALLAWAY. And that the $18,000,000 put into labor and put into material is still with us, and that money is laid out here and there has been no waste at all?

Admiral GRANT. That is my opinion. That is the way I look at it.

Mr. HENSLEY. On the same theory, why should we not tear down these magnificent buildings and reconstruct them again?

Admiral GRANT. I do not think that is on the same line at all.

Mr. BRITTEN. We are using the buildings.

Admiral GRANT. I have known in the West, in the early days, of men who furnished money to laboring men to move sand from one side of a lot to the other to give them employment.

Mr. HENSLEY. Do you regard that as a necessity?

Admiral GRANT. Very philanthropic.

Mr. HENSLEY. A good investment?

Admiral GRANT. Good charity.

Hudson Maxim, in his book, Defenseless America, either an economic fool himself or taking the public for such, says:

The result is that the Nation as a whole is not impoverished in the least by the burden of armaments, but is rather benefited by their support. * * *

The money spent by the Government in building fighting ships could not be esteemed so much money lost, even if the ships were useless. The Government taxes the people for the money to build the ships, and then pays the money back to the people again for the ships. The people get their money all back and the Government gets the ships. The peo-

ple lose nothing, and the Government is the gainer to the value of the ships. The result is that the fighting ships have cost nothing. On the contrary, their production has benefited all. Everybory is made better and richer through the building of them. When we have looked upon our Navy, remembering what the pacifists have told us about its enormous cost, we are strongly impressed with the colossal expenditure, not realizing that the Navy has actually cost nothing. Its production has been a source of profit and benefit to the people.

If Maxim, Grant, and the Army and Navy News be correct, then why not stimulate all the industries of the country by feeding them from the Treasury? When all industries are fed from the Treasury, then pension all individuals and we will all live fat and easy.

The President said in his message of December 7, 1915, "These are the essential first steps." Was he at St. Louis indicating a second step when he said, "I want incomparably the most adequate navy in the world"?

Secretary Daniels said, according to newspaper reports on the naval appropriation bill, that his five-year program was considered by him the minimum that should be provided, not the maximum. The Secretary made a speech at Philadelphia on April 28 before the American Academy of Social and Political Science. He said:

My prediction is that Congress will authorize as many battleships, submarines, and destroyers as public and private yards can construct. We are beginning to take an inventory of every factory in America to see what it can do for preparedness. We must spend billions for munitions.

Take that statement with the President's statement at St. Louis February 3, "The American Navy ought, in my judgment, to be incomparably the most adequate navy in the world," and that ought to "take the wind out of the sails of the critics." Munition manufacturers and naval officers have not asked for more than that. They do not want any building to go abroad. They want it all done in this country and by themselves.

The paid and interested critics do not disturb me. I can not follow the President nor the Secretary nor the naval officers; neither do I have any sympathy nor tolerance for the munition manufacturers' demands that we furnish them a market for their wares when the foreign war closes. What the American people want and all they ought to have of militarism is enough to protect their country. More than that is more than the faces of the people should be ground to maintain; more than that is more power than should be concentrated in the Commander in Chief; more than that is more tax on the resources of the country in money and men than is justified; more than that is an unnecessary development of militarism, the thing that has destroyed every free government that has gone down; more than that is an unnecessary menace to our democratic institutions.

We buried the five-year program. The only reason I have ever heard for it was given in the Raleigh News and Observer:

The plan of Secretary Daniels to increase the Navy for five years has taken the wind out of the sails of the critics who say the Wilson administration is neglecting national defense.

The experts who testified before our committee state that the size of a navy is a relative matter and that no man can tell what the relative size of the navies of the world will be when this war is over. They said that in all human probability the war would close within a year. Secretary Daniels said the conclusion of the war would likely be the best time in the history of the world to bring about a general agreement for disarmament. All were agreed "that was a consummation devoutly to be wished." Admiral Badger said:

No man could tell how soon this war abroad would end; no man could tell what the relative size of our Navy and the other navies of the world would be at the conclusion of it.

That is the statement of Admiral Badger, ex-commander in chief of the Atlantic Fleet and member of the board, and regarded as one of the ablest men in the Navy. He says the five-year program was made up on an order.

Mr. CALLAWAY. This five-year program did not have in contemplation any emergency, did it, Admiral?

Admiral BADGER. No, sir. That program was made according to order, without the General Board having under consideration anything outside, but being a direct order to produce such a program with those limitations.

There is no testimony in the hearings showing any reason whatever for a five-year program. On the contrary, the hearings are replete with testimony like Admiral Badger's, which shows that no man can tell what the navies of the world will be at the conclusion of the foreign war; that at its conclusion will be the best time to bring about a general agreement for disarmament; that none of the building authorized by the five-year program can, in all human probability, be completed for use either during or immediately on the conclusion of the war; and that the relative fighting value of ships now built may be shown by the lessons of this war to be obsolete altogether; that all building material is 50 to 100 per cent higher now than ever before. Then, why a five-year program? The only reason is that given in the Raleigh News and Observer, that it would "take the wind out of the sails of the critics." It did not even do that. The Secretary said on April 29:

Congress will authorize, in my judgment, all public and private yards can construct.

The President said at St. Louis, February 3:

I want incomparably the most adequate Navy in the world.

Secretary Daniels said, Washington Post, May 19:

The program I presented to Congress represented a minimum and not a maximum of each type.

The war was going on December 10, 1914. At that time the Secretary of the Navy recommended two battleships and said:

I think the war in Europe is going to exhaust the resources of the countries engaged in it, and I think there is less likelihood—I do not think there was much likelihood before—of our country in the future having trouble with these nations.

A YEAR AGO AND NOW.

With our policies and our American ideas, I think the policy recommended in my report and adopted by the last session of Congress is the steady development that is needed.

Two capital ships the year before and two capital ships that year. What has wrought the change?

The President said on December 8, 1914, speaking of our military needs:

There is no new need to discuss it. We shall not alter our attitude toward it because some amongst us are nervous and excited. The question has not changed its aspects, because the times are not normal. Our policy will not be for an occasion.

What is the difference in conditions now and then that made a two-battleship program sufficient and proper then and wholly inadequate at this time? The President has spoken; the Secretary of the Navy has spoken; the sea captains have spoken. What is the difference in conditions now and then? None of them have pointed it out. I have looked, listened, and asked for reasons for the change, but no reason has come from any source except the Raleigh News and Observer, and that does not appeal to me.

Last year the R. M. Thompsons and S. Stanwood Menkens, and the Roosevelts, with their Navy League and their American Defense League, the officers of the Army and Navy, always "prepared" for promotions, were clamoring to Congress for additions to the Military Establishment, but they had not attempted to arouse the electorate, to frighten the people. It was not election year. The only place they could work then was on Congress. The arguments of the R. M. Thompsons, the S. Stanwood Menkens, the Roosevelts, the Navy Leagues, the American Defense Leagues disturbed it not. But, oh, what a difference on election year, when those same forces, with the same motives, have gone to the country with J. Bernard Walker's book, America Fallen; Hudson Maxim's book, Defenseless America; and the powder manufacturers' moving-picture show, the Battle Cry of Peace, shouting patriotism! It is not patriotism; it is promotions, profits, and politics.

The President said on his western trip that the peace which followed this war would be a prolonged peace; that the world would not endure another war like this. Secretary Daniels said before the Naval Affairs Committee:

The conclusion of this war would be the best time in the world's history to bring about a general agreement for disarmament.

Admiral Fletcher said before the committee that the conclusion of this war would be the best time in the world's history to bring about an agreement for disarmament. All the sea captains said that the lessons as to the fighting value of the different types of vessels learned from this war are not yet to be obtained and will not be until the war is over. All are agreed that the developments of this war may make obsolete our fighting ships. No man can tell what the relative strength of the world's navies will be at the conclusion of this war. All are agreed that in all human probability it will close within a year. None of the ships we are now authorizing will be ready for service within that time. Then why lay out a program and make authorizations for continuing contracts for five years in the future?

FEAR OF STOCK SLUMP AFTER WAR.

Mr. Grace, president of the Bethlehem Steel Co., and Mr. Barba, vice president of the Midvale Steel Co., stated that the question with the steel, shipbuilding, ordnance, and powder concerns was how they would utilize their extra forces, their extra equipment, and their extra men that had been added to meet the war's demands when the war stopped. Mr. Grace testified that Bethlehem Steel stock had gone from $30 a share to $530 a share, and like conditions prevailed throughout the entire steel, shipbuilding, ordnance, and powder industries. The board's program would utilize the entire building facilities of the steel concerns, the shipbuilding concerns, the ordnance concerns, and the powder concerns. The Secretary's predic-

tion of what Congress would do and the board's program would solve the question for the munition manufacturers. Will you solve the problem for them? Then to them you are a patriot. I refuse to rake their chestnuts out of the fire at the expense of those who produce and at the expense of our representative Government.

"Billions for munitions!" Of course, to the ordinary mind, billions is meaningless. Analyze it. See how many thousand-dollar homes billions of dollars would buy. "We must spend billions for munitions," says Secretary Daniels. When I think of the underfed, the poorly clad, the badly housed, and the overworked producers that must in the end pay that bill I balk—I can not stand for it. I will not stand for it. The paid newspapers may criticize, abuse, ridicule, and malign me. The representatives of the steel, shipbuilding, ordnance, and powder concerns belittle and belie me; the coat-tail riding politicians may denounce me, but I will not, if I can help it, permit such a bill to be presented to those who commissioned me to represent them.

BUILD FOR POLITICS.

You tell me that it is politics, and we must do it to carry New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Delaware? I am representing 250,000 citizens who want their Government to do even-handed justice and not play politics.

A billion dollars—just one billion—would buy a million thousand-dollar homes. There are 219,575 tenant farmers in Texas. It would buy a thousand-dollar home for every tenant farmer in Texas and leave $780,425,000, or more than three times as much, unspent. There are 2,354,676 tenant farmers in the United States. Three billion, the amount Admiral Fletcher said it would take to build the largest Navy in the world and maintain it for two years, would buy every farm tenant in the United States a thousand-dollar home and stock it.

Do you get any idea of what these munition makers are trying to obtain? More than the annual cotton crop for the Navy alone. Unselfish patriots! These patriots held a meeting in New York on the night of June 10, 1915, and at this one meeting raised thirty-odd thousand dollars in less time than it takes to tell it to push this propaganda.

BANKRUPTCY OR WAR.

The biggest Navy in the world? Admiral Fletcher says it will cost a billion and a half dollars to build it and $750,000,000 a year to maintain it, provided other nations do not go on building. If they go on building there is no telling what it will cost. Will they go on building? Admiral Fiske said in the North American Review of February:

It is vital to Great Britain,whose major policy is that she must be mistress of the seas, that she should be.

Admiral Badger said (hearings, p. 1974) that—

England's very existence depends on her supremacy on the seas.

Lord Roseberry said:

I know nothing more disheartening than the announcement made that the United States, the only great country left in the world free from the hideous, bloody burden of war, is about to embark upon the building of a huge armada. It means that the burden will continue upon the other nations and be increased exactly in proportion to the fleets of the United States.

Will the other nations go on building? If "England's very existence depends on her supremacy on the seas," if "it is vital that she be mistress of the seas," if "it means that the burden will continue in proportion to the fleet of the United States," and we must have "incomparably the most adequate Navy in the world," Admiral Fletcher's estimate is no guide.

Where does such a policy lead to? Admirals Fletcher and Badger testified:

Mr. CALLAWAY. If we start to build against them and they build against us, where will the end be?

Admiral FLETCHER. That is simply repeating the history of the world.

Mr. CALLAWAY. You stated the other day that it meant bankruptcy for the weaker nation, and since we were the most wealthy we would be able to bankrupt all of them.

Admiral FLETCHER. That is one phase it might take.

Mr. CALLAWAY. What is the other phase it might take?

Admiral FLETCHER. That one side would force the issue.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Is it your only hope that we are wealthier than any other nation in the world?

Admiral FLETCHER. That is the only hope of any nation.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Admiral Fiske states in the North American Review for this month that military and naval men have seen for years that these competing nations—that is, England and Germany, competing in naval strength and for commerce—would have to go to war some day in self-defense. Do you agree with that statement?

Admiral FLETCHER. Yes, sir. That has been regarded by many experts as the inevitable outcome of conflicting interests and the expansion of Germany upon the sea.

Mr. CALLAWAY. And as soon as they began to build against each other that became apparent to military and naval men, did it not?

Admiral FLETCHER. Yes, sir.

Mr. CALLAWAY. If they entertain the same general views that you entertain with reference to it, would it be possible for us to ever equal their navy, with the start they have?

Admiral BADGER. I think that the financing burden of greater expansion would hamper them, and that if we adopted such a policy we certainly have the money in this country to carry it out. When we come near equality there might be some racing.

Tolstoi, in his open letter to the world, said:

No enlightened man can help knowing that the universal competition in the armament of States must inevitably lead them to endless wars or to a general bankruptcy, or else to both the one and the other.

Here you have the experts and a philosopher. Building for what? Take it from them, "bankruptcy or war."

They ask us to follow them. We ask where they are leading us. They answer, "Bankruptcy or war." "This is repeating the history of the world," says Admiral Fletcher. God of our fathers, is that what their system promises? That is not only what it promises, that is what it insures. Is the sweat of the masses to be coined into dollars for munitions manufacturers, shipbuilders, ordnance producers, powder makers, and officers bedecked with gold braid, that they may finally lead those whose faces they have ground to the trenches with pick and shovel, to bloody mines, to insanity, to slaughter? Tell me I must vote for it?

Go to, thou wretched babbler, and put thy gall in pickle; pour thy tale into the dull ears of ancient "toadeaters," and with it rob confiding partisans of their sense; but tempt not the righteous indignation of reasoning men.

Tell me I must be a party to it? No; I will not do it. If I must feed into the hopper depicted by Admirals Fletcher, Badger, and Fiske the masses that I represent or be the victim of the newspapers, the steel, the shipbuilding, the ordnance makers, the R. M. Thompsons, the S. Stanwood Menkens, and the Hudson Maxims, then victim let it be. And those who, cringing before the shining teeth of these vicious profit takers, surrender those they were elected to represent, have my pity and contempt.

THE REAL PREPAREDNESS LEADER.

Who is the real leader of this grand galaxy of self-styled patriots? Hudson Maxim. He wrote Defenseless America. He got up the picture show, the Battle Cry of Peace. He put it on in every town in the country, showing foreign soldiers in your bedchambers. Let us look at him. He says in his book he is a patriot. He is the crown prince of this band of preparedness patriots. I want to read a few extracts from his book. You all got one—

This country must first be whipped in order to prepare sufficiently to prevent being whipped. Therefore our business at the present time is to pick our conqueror. I choose England. She would be satisfied with a good big indemnity, which we could well afford to pay for the benefit that we should gain from the war.

He was born in Maine, married an English woman, invented smokeless powder, sold his patents to the Du Pont Powder Co., became stockholder and chief mechanical engineer in the Du Pont Powder Co. He has a brother in England, Sir Hiram Maxim, who is an inventor of ordnance and a partner in the Vickers Limited Ordnance Co., of England. He is the inventor of the Maxim rapid-fire gun, and was knighted because of his inventions. Of course, Hudson Maxim wants England to be the one to whip us. Sir Hiram would want us to be the one to whip England. Hudson and Hiram would furnish the ordnance at both ends of the line.

That is not all the interest that this Maxim bunch has in war materials. A Maxim munition company was incorporated on August 24, 1915, in Delaware, with a capital of $10,000,000. (Standard Corporation Service, Vol. IV, p. 939.)

Hudson Maxim, president (Standard Corporation Service, Vol. V, p. 1306), stated:

We have already acquired the services of a very efficient scientific mechanical staff. Hiram Percy Maxim, the inventor of the Maxim silencer and the son of Sir Hiram Maxim, and his business partner, M. H. Hazler, are among our different technical advisers and supervisors. Edwin B. Hotchkiss, who has had charge of large munition works both here and abroad, and J. S. Cornradi, who was for some time superintendent of the Vickers Gun Works at Dartford and Erith, England, is under contract to do similar work for us. We have sold to a very strong financial syndicate in this city (New York) 200,000 shares of our treasury stock.

Maxim Munitions Co. states:

Hudson Maxim has taken the old Maxim gun and made many very important improvements in it, transforming it practically into a new gun. We have a provisional contract with the Russian Government, which is only awaiting confirmation, to manufacture 15,000 of these guns. The price of them I am not at liberty to state, but a regiment of men would be mowed down if in range of one of them. (Nov. 10, 1915, Standard Corporation Service, Vol. V, p. 1248.)

Says Hudson Maxim—

We could well afford to pay a big indemnity for the benefit we should gain from the war.

Can you imagine what benefit we common-sense common people would get from the war?

Here are the beauties he sees:

The unpleasant truth should be realized that invading armies must, with other luxuries, have women. As a result they leave a large progeny, wrens in the nests of the doves of peace. Hence, inasmuch as soldiers are the pick of the manhood of their country, they are likely to do about as much toward securing the survival of the fit in an enemy's country as they would have in their own country.

There is another very important consideration, which is that war is a great mixer of races, and that usually mixed types benefit enormously from their compound blood.

Furthermore, the mingling of races and peoples serves greatly to spread knowledge of one another, and they have always profited largely from the mingled knowledge.

He should have told us what benefits he expects for himself. He should let us know if he will be satisfied with a bunch of illegitimates. He is the real preparedness leader. He has done more with his moving-picture show to frighten the timid and make the public believe we were defenseless than any other dozen men in America.

We only have to read his book to find the benefits that interest him personally. On page 73 he says:

We have between forty and fifty million pounds of smokeless powder at the present time, whereas we ought to have 500,000,000 pounds.

He is chief mechanical engineer of the Du Pont Powder Co. Five hundred million pounds of smokeless powder, at 53 cents a pound, would amount to something like $250,000,000. Powder stock has gone, in some instances, from $8 a share to $1,100 a share since the foreign war started. The stockholders, of course, fear an invasion of their stock prices at the close of the war. The Book of Books says that where a man's treasure is, there will his heart be also.

Maxim says:

Every Congressman goes to Washington in the interest of his constituents. He goes there to dicker for them, to swap votes with other Congressmen in exchanging congressional concession for congressional concession.

On page 18 Mr. Maxim gives his conception of the temperament and intelligence of the American people. He says:

In a small paragraph in an obscure place on the back page of a leading Boston paper I once saw the announcement that Herbert Spencer, the great philosopher, was very ill and not expected to live. On the front page of the same paper, under bold headlines, was a three-column article on the physical condition of John L. Sullivan. John L. Sullivan was a fighter, while Herbert Spencer was only a philosopher; hence the difference in public interest.

He and those who are like interested with him are trying to organize, crystallize, and capitalize the fighting public interest he saw manifested in that Boston newspaper and frighten the cowardly Congressmen by causing sentiment in their districts.

CONGRESS OBEYS PUBLIC SENTIMENT.

Nine Michigan Representatives voted for a standing army of 250,000 when the Army bill was on its first passage through the House. When it came back from the Senate, after the Ford vote in Michigan, only two voted for 250,000.

Congress is a barometer of public sentiment, if it can determine what the public sentiment is. In this instance these Michigan Representatives got scared too quickly. The Ford vote gave them a different idea from the newspapers of what the public sentiment was.

THE FEAR THAT DISTURBS NEW YORK'S PEACE OF MIND.

The Maxims, Menkins, and Thompsons have attempted to frighten the people into the belief that we were in danger of invasion. That is not the fear that disturbs the peace of mind of the gentlemen on the Naval Affairs Committee who heard the evidence. The fear that disturbs the peace of mind of the gentlemen from Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts is not that our homes will be invaded, our cities bombarded, or our coasts laid waste; it is that the stocks of the Bethlehem, Midvale, Carnegie, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New Jersey steel, ordnance, and ship manufacturing concerns will shrink when the foreign war closes unless a new market is developed. Bethlehem Steel stock increased, due to war, from $30 a share to $530 a share. Certain powder stocks increased from $8 a share to $1,100 a share.

Mr. Grace, president of the Bethlehem Steel Co., stated before our committee that like conditions existed throughout the entire steel, ordnance, and shipbuilding industries, and that the question with the directors of those industries was what they would do at the close of the foreign war to avoid a slump.

If we should follow the prophecy of Secretary Daniels, or the advice of the Navy General Board, and authorize all the building that shipbuilding, ordnance, and steel concerns in the country could take care of, the problem that confronts them would be solved, and the Congress of the United States, in their eyes, would be a galaxy of patriots for relieving them of the most serious problem that now confronts them.

The fear of a slump in stock values is the thing that is making New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Trenton, Paterson, and other Atlantic coast cities lie awake at night. Think of the concern of an individual who has 100 shares of Bethlehem stock, worth $3,000 before the war, to-day worth $53,000. Let him contemplate during his sleepless hours the sudden proclamation of peace abroad and $50,000 knocked out of his 100 shares of stock. Do not you know he is willing to parade and wants other people to parade? He is willing to encourage newspapers, and wants other people to encourage newspapers; he is willing to be taxed, and wants to encourage other people to be taxed to maintain that stock.

Fear of invasion? I have heretofore referred you to the statement of Admiral Knight, president of the War College, on the difficulties of transporting a fleet across a great expanse of water.

I want also to quote from Capt. McKean, a graduate of the War College, on the manner in which transports would be convoyed across a great expanse of water:

Mr. CALLAWAY. How much area would a fleet of 100 transports cover, with their accompanying fleet? That would carry about 100,000 troops?

Capt. MCKEAN. With the average transport; yes. They might, with bigger ships, actually accommodate more troops, but the transports you would not dare put in columns closer than a thousand yards apart, and 100 of them in a single column would be 100,000 yards long, or, if you put them in four columns a thousand yards between columns, that would be 25,000 yards long, or 5 miles one way and 4 miles the other way, and they would cover 20 square miles of the ocean.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Twenty-five thousand yards is lots more than 5 miles, is it not?

Capt. MCKEAN. It is 12½ miles; yes.

Mr. CALLAWAY. It would be 12½ miles long and how wide?

Capt. MCKEAN. In four columns it would be 3,000 yards wide; but you would probably put them closer together than that and shorten it up. You would probably put five columns.

Mr. CALLAWAY. You would have to have a screen fleet around them?

Capt. MCKEAN. You would have to have an escort that would screen them; yes.

Mr. CALLAWAY. To protect that troop of transports you would have to have a fleet one and one-half times greater than the opposing man's fleet to afford any character of protection, wouldn't you?

Capt. MCKEAN. To be reasonably safe: yes.

You will get from the above the difficulties that confront a commander in chief in an effort to carry troops across an ocean. You will get from Capt. McKean the immense area covered by the transports, surrounded, as they necessarily have to be, by a screen fleet. I now want to quote Capt. Sims, in my judgment one of the most capable men who appeared before our committee, certainly the most direct and straightforward, showing the impossibilities of protecting a fleet from night attack from torpedoes, scouts, and submarines. He said, in a letter of April 2, 1915, specifically describing the operations of a fleet attacked by torpedoes:

From the experience to date I think it may fairly be concluded that there is no solution to the problem of protecting a fleet against torpedo attack in the open sea. It seems equally clear that under similar conditions fatal damage could be inflicted by floating mines alone, and this without material risk to the attacking destroyers. As for seagoing submarines of high speed, it would be quite useless to try to keep them out at night by any form of screen at present known.

He stated to the committee:

It is true if you drive the scouts back on the fleet and your scouts are reporting to you every half hour the course and speed of that fleet, it enables you to wait until the sun goes down and launch an attack of destroyers through that screen, and we do not know of any means by which that attack can be resisted.

I also want to quote Admiral Fletcher, commander in chief of the Atlantic Fleet, and Admiral Badger, ex-commander in chief of the Atlantic Fleet, and at present a member of the Navy General Board:

Mr. CALLAWAY. You stated a moment ago that a fleet of battleships in the face of the auxiliaries would be in a most precarious condition. Now, analyzing that if the screen of the enemy is superior to your screen and drives it in, your battleships are unprotected in the face of the screen of the enemy?

Admiral FLETCHER. If the screen is annihilated, our battleships rely on their speed and the power of their secondary batteries. Under these conditions our battleships would probably withdraw from the scene of operations.

Mr. CALLAWAY. I understood you yesterday that, when we had driven the screen fleet in and the battleships stood bare in the face of destroyers, swift cruisers, and submarines, that it was in a most precarious condition?

Admiral FLETCHER. If all our auxiliaries are destroyed and the enemy's auxiliaries and destroyers are still intact, our fleet would be at a serious disadvantage.

Mr. CALLAWAY. I understood you to say, when I asked you what they would do under conditions of that kind, that they would retire?

Admiral FLETCHER. They probably would; yes, sir; if they could not bring on a day action with the enemy's fleet of battleships.

Mr. CALLAWAY. My attention was called to a statement by Beresford in the Betrayal, in which he said that battleships are worthless against a night attack by cruisers and destroyers. I take it that statement was made prior to the development of the submarine, and to add to that submarines would make it much more forcible, would it not?

Admiral FLETCHER. That is true for unscreened battleships.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you accept that statement as true?

Admiral FLETCHER. He is assuming, and I am willing to agree with the conclusions.

Mr. CALLAWAY. I will follow that out. Do you consider Beresford as an A1 authority?

Admiral FLETCHER. He states that a battleship alone at night is helpless in the presence of destroyers, and I quite agree with that statement.

Mr. CALLAWAY. That is true?

Admiral FLETCHER. Yes, sir.

Mr. CALLAWAY. How about a battleship fighting a submarine?

Admiral BADGER. She will get out of the way just as quickly as she can. There is nothing for her to do but to charge or run, using her guns, of course, when possible; but the best thing is to run, if conditions permit.

Mr. CALLAWAY. How about a battle cruiser fighting a submarine?

Admiral BADGER. The same thing; there is only one way, as far as I know. The submarine, being submerged, can not be hit by gunfire. The only thing to do is to charge it; go for it end on, with the hope that you will ram it, or to run.

If a fleet of battleships in the open sea can not protect themselves against night attack, and no screen fleet has as yet been devised capable of protecting them against night attack by torpedo and submarine, if speed and changing course continuously is their only protection, I can not understand how any sane mortal can get anxious for fear some foreign power will come across either the Atlantic or the Pacific and land on our shores until our entire fleet of destroyers, scouts, and submarines have been cleaned from the ocean. No man who knows the facts has any fears of any foreign power reaching our shores and making a successful landing.

THE INABILITY OF BATTLESHIPS TO STAY IN SUBMARINE TERRITORY.

It has been conclusively demonstrated that battleships can not stay in submarine territory. The statement is often made that when you control the surface of the sea you can destroy the effectiveness of submarines. A look at the operations of the British fleet at the Dardanelles will convince the most obstinate that submarines can drive a battleship fleet, however well protected by small craft, from any place from which submarines are not shut out by means other than the mere control of the surface by destroyers and scouts.

The British made the landing at the Dardanelles April 25, 1915. There were no submarines there. Ashmead-Bartlett, famous English war correspondent, says:

The Dardanelles expedition, if it served no other purpose, is an object lesson on the difficulties encountered by a hostile fleet operating many hundreds of miles from its base in the face of submarine attack.

Up to May 20 an immense fleet of predreadnaught battleships was able to lie off the coast and render the expeditionary army immense moral support by protecting its flanks and encouraging the troops who love to hear the great shells whistling over their heads. On May 13 the *Goliath* was sunk in the Straits during the night by torpedo attack. On May 20 the first submarine was sighted. The entire fleet had to weigh anchor and steer about to avoid giving a sitting shot.

And now we come to these superdreadnaughts that my friend from Illinois [Mr. Foss] told you were the fighting strength of the Navy. Dreadnaughts! The dread nothing. Watch what they did at the Dardanelles:

The more valuable battleships, like the *Queen Elizabeth*, the *Agamemnon*, and the *Lord Nelson* (they are among the finest ships afloat) faded away toward the west and were not seen again. On May 25 the *Vengeance* was narrowly missed by a torpedo, and the battleship *Triumph* was sunk. On May 27 the battleship *Majestic* was also sunk. On the following day there was not a single battleship off the Gallipoli coast. All had been obliged to fly to protected harbors for safety.

The facts are plain; dreadnaught fleets are useless for offensive purposes, provided you are dealing with an enemy supplied with submarines. They are a poor defense as well, because they can only deal with the enemy's fleet as a whole, provided it chooses to come out and fight. Local defense must be left to the submarines destined to remain in home waters.

Now for the submarine in attack. Supposing the United States were engaged in war against a European power or an oriental. If there is to be a naval war at all, it necessitates one of the belligerents crossing either the Atlantic or the Pacific. It would be utterly useless for either a European power or an oriental to dispatch a fleet to the Atlantic seaboard or the Pacific unless they were already in possession of a prepared base where that fleet could lie at anchor in security against submarine attack. * * * To send a great fleet of modern dreadnaughts to an indefinite objective, namely, to cruise up and down the enemy's seaboard on the off-chance of the enemy coming out to risk an engagement would be merely courting disaster. Such a fleet would be in the nerve-racking position of being exposed to submarine attack from the moment it left its own shores to the moment the survivors regained the shelter of home waters. * * * Even supposing there was a base available within short distance of its objective, the attacking force would be little better off, and you would merely have a repetition of the stalemate which exists in the North Sea at the present time.

Col. Isaac Newton Lewis, United States Army, retired, whose machine gun has practically revolutionized certain phases of operations in the European war, and who has just returned from the scene of hostilities, said:

The effectiveness of the submarine as a weapon can never again be disputed. It has now come to the point where it must be considered as the controlling element in sea power.

Admiral Knight, testifying before the Naval Affairs Committee of the House, was asked:

What show has a battleship against a submarine? What can it do in submarine territory?

Admiral KNIGHT. Of course, it is in danger; and that is all you can say of it. The battleship running at high speed and changing course frequently is not in much danger from a submarine.

Capt. Sims, reporting on the practice of our fleet trying out the different craft, said:

As for sea-going submarines of high speed, it would be quite useless to try to keep them out at night by any form of screen at present known.

If the only thing a fleet of battleships can do in submarine territory is run, what value would battleships be in protecting a fleet of transports when they can do nothing in the presence of submarines but run? If submarines are the controlling element in sea power, if it is useless to try to keep them out at night by every form of screen known, and if they are destined to remain in home waters because they must have a base from which to operate, what reason have we to fear attack from across either the Atlantic or Pacific Ocean?

THE VICIOUSNESS AND INTOLERANCE OF THE PREPAREDNESS PATRIOTS.

Col. R. M. Thompson, proprietor and operator of the Navy League, spoke at Poli's Theater May 28, 1916, in behalf of preparedness. He claims to be a man of very high character, inspired in his work by purely patriotic motives. He was discussing the Army bill just passed and the contemptible inadequacy of it, and said sneeringly that Virginia was a great State, once the mother of Presidents, but now she was satisfied with Jim Hay—just Hay. Hay was the chairman of the Military Affairs Committee of the House, one of the purest and best men in the House of Representatives. Parade, pomp, street shows, and make-believe do not appeal to him. He does not suit the chairman of the board of directors of the International Nickel Co., Col. R. M. Thompson.

He does not suit the New York and Chicago papers, either. Referring to the bill, they make the following observations about the measure and those responsible for it:

The New York Globe (Independent) declares that "it will not provide for an adequate system of military defense," and "in the event of trouble it would be necessary to scrap it." The Chicago Herald makes the calm, scientific observation that "a chemist could run the brains of HAY and his little Army pals through a Pasteur filter without getting a trace of an intellectual process above the mental grade of the *Pithecanthropus erectus*."

The preparedness patriots want universal military service. They know a larger force than we now have can not be kept up by voluntary enlistment. That has been clearly shown within the last few months. Expirations and desertions from the Army have been as many as new enlistments. The only way to have a larger force is to force them in by law.

It has become proverbial that the daily press of the country follows its financial interest, but this is the first time it has been so nearly a unit on any question.

It not only puffs everything favoring enormous additions to our Military Establishment but taboos everything coming from the other side.

Members of Congress in private conversation freely state that there is no danger from without and the danger is from within, but they say the country is wild, and they fly before what they think is popular opinion. They get their conception of public opinion from the daily press.

A few independent newspapers have stood out against it. May their tribe increase.

TAX FOR INCREASE IN ARMY AND NAVY.

The President suggested in his December message that the stamp tax on notes, deeds, telephone calls, telegrams, medicines, etc., be continued, and that the tax be extended to bank checks, gasoline, and power engines to get money for Army and Navy increase. I protested against that, and, with 31 other Democrats, notified Mr. KITCHIN, chairman of Ways and Means Committee, that we could and would defeat the measure should that committee report it. We notified him that tax for increase of Army and Navy would have to be placed on war munitions, inheritances, and incomes. He and members of the committee, realizing the potency of that statement from 32 Democrats, placed or agreed to place such tax on munitions, inheritances, and incomes. I am proud of this accomplishment.

GENERAL AGREEMENT FOR DISARMAMENT OF ALL NTIONS.

We have secured a provision in this bill that, I think, may be of inestimable value to the nations of the world in the future. When war abroad ceases, when they are exhausted, sick, and horrified by the grim slaughter, and have stopped long enough to coolly survey the fruitless wreckage, I think they will be ready to consider the question of abandoning the competition in armament.

We have provided in this bill for a commission from this country to intercede for such purpose, and we further provide, should such an agreement be reached, that all building authorized by this bill shall cease.

Nations at peace have already begun to recognize the efficiency and farsightedness of this provision, and wires are coming from across the ocean showing their appreciation.

Think not that helm and harness are signs of valor true,
Peace hath higher tests of manhood than battles ever knew.

SUMMARY.

Our Navy, coast defenses, and Army, equipped as they are, backed by the citizens of the land, are amply adequate to defend this country against any and every assault.

No great nation wants to attack us. They want our friendship. It is necessary to them.

We are divided by great oceans, which the development of torpedoes and submarines makes it impossible to transport great bodies of troops across.

It is necessary before this country can be conquered that great bodies of troops be conveyed across broad oceans.

If you want a Navy or Army to force our trade around the world, or for aggrandizement and conquest, you may elevate your sights—a billion and a half for the Navy and a billion for the Army will not give it to you; and a billion per year will not maintain it.

If you want a military establishment to obtain or defend "something intangible and visionary, some vision of the mind never seen by the physical eye," I can not tell, you can not tell, and no mortal man can tell, where we are going nor what will be necessary.

I can not follow the Army and naval officers who state that they do not consider the amount of money it costs, nor where it is to come from, and that their plan leads in the end to bankruptcy or war.

The High Cost of Living.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LADISLAS LAZARO,

OF LOUISIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 27, 1917.

Mr. LAZARO. Mr. Speaker, I have listened with a great deal of interest to the discussions on the high cost of living, food riots, and the proposed embargo on food products. The differences of opinion as to the causes and remedies make it absolutely necessary that the President's request for an immediate and thorough investigation of this whole question be complied with before permanent legislation can be enacted.

Congressman FITZGERALD, of New York, wants Congress to place an embargo on food products. I think Members of Congress, and especially we of the agricultural South, should look at this question very carefully before we act on it. It may be that it would relieve the situation in his congested city of New York, but at the expense of the agricultural sections of the country, by striking a severe blow at the farmers of the South and West, who, as a result of the demand for their products and the high prices they are receiving for them, are enjoying prosperity for the first time in many years.

Manufacturers of munitions of war are profiting by the European war. Do their Representatives from the East ask for an embargo on their products? No. But now that the agricultural sections are reaping some profit from their products is it just for one of their Representatives from the East to come here and ask for an embargo on agricultural products? "Consistency thou art a jewel." We are not here to legislate in the interests of any one section of our country; we are here to enact laws for all sections of our country and for all the people. No man is fit to be a lawgiver for a great people who yields to the demands under solicitations from the few having access to his ears but is forgetful of that vast multitude who may never hear his voice nor look into his face.

If the Government proceeds to prevent the agricultural products of the country from reaching foreign markets when there is a demand there at good prices, it must assume to protect the farmers in those years when there is an abundance produced, less demand, and low prices. In other words, if it prevents the farmer from making profits in years favorable to him, it should protect him against losses in years unfavorable to him.

Besides, the Representatives from the congested centers should bear in mind, when they bring up this legislation, that the basic prosperity of the United States as a whole depends upon the prosperity of the farmers, because in its last analysis this country is an agricultural country and any laws which will prove detrimental to the farmers will be felt in the factories, mines, and business establishments.

Another matter which should receive the attention of Congress is the alleged combination of certain middlemen who take advantage of just such a situation as exists to-day to demand abnormal prices from the consumers for products which they have bought much cheaper. If there are individuals or corporations violating the antitrust law and robbing the people, the Department of Justice should prosecute them to the fullest extent of the law, and they should not be given the glove but they should be given the gaff of the law. They should not be fined, but they should be sentenced to imprisonment.

But I do not believe it is a good idea to mislead people into believing that the high cost of living can be reduced by law only. There are many causes which should be understood and removed, but which can not be removed by legislation. First, we must become a more economical people. Second, we must produce more, by encouraging our people to remain on the farms instead of moving to the already congested towns and cities. The first census of our country showed about 8 per cent of the population in the towns and cities; the last, about 50 per cent. Of course, we can not expect to keep our boys and girls on the farm unless we give them more advantages, such as comfortable homes, good roads, schools, libraries, and churches. We can not have these improvements unless we derive a fair profit from our farms. I think, too, that our people should be impressed with the importance of living more at home right now. Every head of every family who can should raise all that he can at home, and he should consider certain changes which can be made in his mode of living.

In this connection I notice that a good many people are complaining about the present cost of wheat bread. Bread riots are taking place in some of the cities. Why should they not learn how to cook and eat rice? A pound of rice, which can be bought at a reasonable price, cooked as it should be cooked, will serve as bread for one meal of an average family. The United States, itself a large producer of rice, is one of the poorest consumers of it. The greater consumption of rice as a food for the American people, as in other lands, would mean the saving of millions of dollars annually by providing them with a food as healthy, nutritious, and inviting as any we use. I hope that the rice people will seize the present opportunity to educate the people of this country how to cook and eat rice.

While New Yorkers are rioting for bread and complaining bitterly of paying 5 cents apiece for potatoes, the people of the Argentine Republic are solving the problem by turning to Louisiana for rice, the price of which, as I said before, has advanced but a little. And for the first time in the history of New Orleans a solid cargo of rice will leave the port for Buenos Aires. The cargo will consist of 2,700 tons of rice accumulated along the Southern Pacific Railroad in Louisiana and assembled in Algiers by the Louisiana State Rice Milling Co. It is being loaded on the steamer *Mobila*, for which A. K. Miller & Co. are the agents. The increase in the size of the orders is attributed directly to the systematic campaign of education on the value of rice as a food conducted by the milling company, which was assisted by the Southern Pacific. Everyone lending aid in educating the people to the value of rice as a nutritious food is doing his country good.

I believe that one of the main contributing causes of the present high cost of necessities of life is the car shortage on the railroads. In many instances it is impossible for the farmers or other producers to ship their products at all because of lack of transportation facilities. It is said that there is wheat enough in the Chicago elevators to-day to feed the cities and country more than a year; that there are 60,000,000 bushels awaiting cars; that the country elevators are filled, waiting for cars; that the Minneapolis mills are overflowing with flour which they can not ship, and they are running only one-third of the time, not for lack of wheat or lack of demand from the consumers but for lack of cars. There are other food products in the country that can not be shipped, distributed, or sold for lack of cars. Here I would give the Interstate Commerce Commission power to control the car situation on railroads. When the railroads are compelled to return the cars which have arrived at the seaboard, even if they have to be returned empty, plenty of foodstuff would be shipped to New York and other parts of the country to relieve the people.

Mr. Speaker, this car shortage which is causing so much trouble in our problem of transportation should aid to open the eyes of the country to the need of systematically improving our waterways for transportation. This would be a permanent remedy. It would not only solve the problem of transportation

in the United States but it would regulate rates. Besides that, it would add to our program of preparedness for national defense.

God Almighty, in His infinite wisdom, has given us the most magnificent system of waterways that was ever given to any people in the world, and we have been more negligent in improving them than any other people on the face of the earth.

One of two things must come to pass—either the railroads will have to double-track their roads, or the waterways will have to be made navigable, if the freight of the country is to be carried. The United States has not completed its growth. As great as it is, it is still in its infancy; it is just beginning to develop. The railroad people should assist in the improvement of our waterways, because it will not hurt the railroads. The relation of rail and water transportation should be one of harmony, helpfulness, and cooperation. It is clear to any thinking man that they should work together to give us the necessary transportation facilities to meet the rapid development and commerce of the country. We need both the railroads and the waterways. We all know that railroads have been great civilizers, and have helped to develop this country. But we must not lose sight of the fact that shippers and consumers are entitled to the use of waterways, and that such competition is after all one of the best ways to regulate railroad rates. Now, the question comes up, How can water transportation lower freight rates without injuring the railroad? Because in the economy of transportation the bulky raw material getting the benefit of the lower freight rates would go to the waterways, while the manufactured goods would go to the railroads. On account of the lower rates and our many waterways we could bring more raw material to the factories to be converted into corresponding tons of manufactured goods capable of paying a higher freight rate. Thus one system would aid in the development of the other. This principle is well illustrated on the banks of the Great Lakes, the Erie Canal, and the Hudson.

If we can keep out of war—and let us hope that we will—it will be a very short time when the United States will lead the world in development and prosperity. Now is the time to prepare for the transportation and marketing of our products, not only between the States but between our Nation and other nations. We have not actually finished anything until we have placed it in the hands of the consumer. Transportation, like taxes, mingles with the cost of the goods in every step of their making—from the field, forest, mines, and factories, to the retailers' counters, and then, finally falls upon the consumer. For this reason conveyance from one community to another and from one country to another helps to make a people great, efficient, progressive, prosperous, and powerful. This is why the broad-minded, farseeing, unselfish American citizen now begins to pause, think, and ask for legislation more and more with regard to transportation.

Prevention of War.

OF

HON. EDWARD W. SAUNDERS,

OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 27, 1917.

Mr. SAUNDERS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an address by Arthur MacDonald, anthropologist, Washington, D. C.

The address is as follows:

PREVENTION OF WAR.

[By Arthur MacDonald, anthropologist, Washington, D. C.]

The President has done his best to keep us out of war, and to such an extent that he has even been criticized for being so patient. Therefore all citizens should immediately make all possible efforts and personal sacrifice to aid him in the present crisis and its impending consequences by conscientious thinking, argument, and persuasion. Even in war the controlling forces are mental.

In walking on a precipice we have no time to look around; how to bridge the chasm is the sole question. We can cross other bridges when we come to them; one thing at a time.

1. Every corporation, company, or individual should defer any action which might involve immediate danger of war. Because

2. Is it not for the good of this country to keep out of war with honor, when it can be done by none of its citizens traveling into dangerous zones?

3. Is it dishonorable for an American citizen to avoid doing things which otherwise might force his country into war in order to defend its honor? In short—

4. Is it a dishonor to omit doing that which might otherwise require you to defend your honor? But

5. If it is a great evil for any corporation, company, or individual to defer action not only involving loss of money but unfortunately danger of war, it is an infinitely greater evil to so act as to plunge a nation into war. Therefore,

6. As most choices in this world are not between good and evil, but between two evils, let every citizen, no matter what the sacrifice, choose the lesser evil, and thus help the President to keep us out of war. For—

7. What kind of American citizen is he who, in a terrible crisis, takes risks which may plunge 100,000,000 of his fellow citizens into a vortex of blood? Or

8. What kind of a patriot is he who is so greedy to make money as to be willing to sacrifice his country on an altar of blood by plunging it into war? For—

9. War consists of the dead in convulsive states, groans and shrieking of wounded men, screams of dying horses; shrapnel ripping, tearing, lacerating, and penetrating human flesh; pierced bodies, exuding hogsheads of blood, maimed limbs, broken bones, glazing eyes, slow dying from exposure or starvation, inflammatory rheumatism from watery trenches, skulls smashed, brains oozing out, abdomens ripped open and bowels protruding, and so on ad infinitum, producing the most excruciating pains; and it is the healthy and strong who suffer most.

10. If we must choose between war and peace, the lesser evil is peace; but if we make a mistake, it is better to err on the side of peace, for—

11. War is not only a physical hell but a mental hell. It is fear of battle; the dreaded bayonet charge and death; blasted hopes of the wounded, involving great mental torture and a future burden to army, family, and country; terrible disappointments, anxieties, and sadness of mothers and sisters at home. All these physical and mental horrors, not to mention atrocities, demonstrate war to be literally hell.

ANTHROPOLOGY AND WAR.

In the scientific study of humanity one purpose of anthropology, especially criminal anthropology, is to lessen and prevent crime between nations (war) as well as crime within nations by knowledge gained through investigation of causes. As crime is estimated according to detriment to the community, international crime or war is the worst of all crimes.

1. Animals rarely kill their own species as man does; they have better sense.

2. When an army of ants rush upon an ant hill to capture it they do not kill more than is necessary to accomplish their purpose.

3. Among savages the habit of dueling was so strong that if their enemies were not armed they furnished them with arms before attacking them, illustrating a high sense of fair play. But—

4. Retaliation became so frequent that its repetition created a taste for fighting and habit of war, which was primarily for defense of hunting grounds and crops. But—

5. War having lost its judicial character, theft and plunder became its principal aim. Man set out to steal the land itself; then war was for conquest, and enemies were either killed or made slaves.

6. Property holdings grew, great communities and States were formed, aristocracies constituted, chiefs became kings, and armies waged war. Sacerdotal classes and castes were founded and monarchs became likened unto God.

7. While war changed its form according to country, age, and race, there was no real evolution; war is a falling back into savagery (atavism); only the process varies as arms, tactics, strategy.

8. War was once a most honored profession; one was obliged either to fight for the king or to enter the clerical order; military courage took the place of all virtues. St. Augustine said, "If God commands to kill, homicide is a virtue."

9. At first firearms were objected to as placing the brave man and coward on the same level; also the noise was disconcerting. In fact, history shows that—

10. New kinds of deadly arms are called barbarous by those who do not have them or can not apply them; but such armament is sure to be used to the limit by all as soon as it has become general. Thus—

11. Air machines drop explosives, killing women and children at home. They are even more inhuman than submarines, because few persons are compelled to travel, while many must remain at home.

12. Shooting of citizens who fight soldiers is terrible, and with atrocities excites horror and amazement. But these abominable events are the result of war, the flower of militarism. Oppose war, not its results.

13. All nations are guilty of atrocities, but the number is greatly exaggerated; only a few low natures commit them, and often when drunk. Atrocities are circulated to increase hatred between nations, to make soldiers fight harder, and to gain sympathy from neutrals.

14. War may cease as soon as instruments of destruction kill noncombatants at home, causing fear, sleeplessness, and worry; or when a referendum requires those voting for war to go to the front first. For—

15. If a citizen has a right to vote for mayor, governor, or President, he certainly has the right to vote as to whether his body shall be food for cannon.

16. The poor suffer greatest, not only because they do most of the fighting but their families are further impoverished by the rich who make money out of the misery, escape military service and danger, and never fear for want of necessities. Thus hogology which is prevalent in time of peace becomes intensified in war.

17. Man's poor management of the world is shown in his allowing 1 per cent of society (criminals) to cause so much trouble, but the arrangements between nations, called diplomacy, appears infinitely worse. For—

18. Love between nations is a myth; mutual suspicion is the fact, because diplomats do officially by secret alliance what they would be ashamed of privately.

19. Civilization is necessarily superficial, for it has existed only about 6,000 years, while barbarism is hundreds of thousands of years old.

20. Much can be said for military discipline, but how can the superior mental qualities of a nation be developed under passive obedience? For the most noble sentiments in civil life as pity, love, and charity are absolutely opposed to war, the object of military discipline. The soldier must learn to kill with neither emotion nor scruple. The faithful warrior would crucify Christ if commanded.

21. Military genius condemns war. Napoleon said, "Brute force can create nothing durable"; the Duke of Wellington called war "a destestable thing"; Washington considered it "the plague of man-

kind"; Franklin said, "There never was a good war nor bad peace"; we know what Sherman said. Sheridan said war would eliminate itself, and Emerson call it "an epidemic of insanity."

22. Arguments for war are similar to those once employed in defending cannibalism and slavery, and could even be used to uphold crime. War arguments prove too much.

23. War is a much greater evil than disease because it sacrifices the best blood of a nation, leaving behind the wounded and physical weaklings to reproduce their kind, while disease eliminates them.

24. Militarism is estimated according to number of soldiers and sailors relative to population. The size of army to which a nation is entitled varies according to natural defenses and number of bordering countries.

25. The order in militarism is Sweden, France, Bulgaria, Turkey, Germany, Italy, Greece, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Great Britain, Netherlands, and the United States. Therefore—

26. Since we are remote from the war, protected by oceans, and with no large powers near us, we have the least excuse for involving ourselves in this war, especially as we have been enriched thereby.

27. Europe believed for a long time in a general struggle to come and was preparing for a war it did not want but which it could not see how to avoid.

28. Facility of communication by modern telegraph, telephone, and wireless may result in quick diplomacy with inadequate deliberation, and so more danger of precipitate action, from which it is difficult to retreat on account of pride. This with continuity of communication through steamship, airship, and submarine make it more difficult to avoid infringing on the rights of others, especially in war where military necessity knows no law.

29. Leading statesmen of England have repeatedly said that large, prepondering armaments are a menace to peace.

30. The repeated assurance, given time and again, that a great army and navy are the best security for peace are shown to be absolutely false by what is going on in Europe now. In science, facts talk, not theories.

31. The danger from war is here, not in Europe, for Lincoln once said, "If danger ever reaches us it must spring up among ourselves; it can not come from abroad."

32. Admirals Fletcher, Badger, Knight, Fiske, and Gen. Miles and Capt. Simms, the highest authorities in our Navy and Army, have testified that invasion of our coasts would be almost "insuperable."

33. None of the belligerents desire to infringe upon the rights of neutrals, but they are fighting for their lives and military necessity compels them to ignore neutral rights. For—

34. Self-preservation is an inalienable right; if you were fighting for your life and the only effective weapon in reach was forbidden by international law and humanity, would you let your enemy kill you rather than use the weapon? If an individual is thus justified, a nation is much more so.

35. There is not a ruler in Europe who would not surrender his throne for the sake of his people; each has done what he thought right. It is ridiculous, therefore, to blame a whole nation or think of crushing it, for who has the right to usurp the functions of the Almighty?

36. There are four general war attitudes in the United States—pro-ally, pro-German, anti-English, and neutral.

37. We are pro-English by psychological necessity, for the words and ideas fixed in the American mind are English; our knowledge is in the form of English—not German, not French. Thus the sovereignty of English dominates us. The tree gets its nutrition from where it is.

38. These temporary divisions have a right to express their honest opinions, however at variance, for freedom of thought means freedom of thought; to call it license when we do not agree with it begs the question. Yet—

39. We naturally sympathize with one or the other belligerent, and however strong we may feel, sentiment must be wholly excluded from scientific inquiry. But—

40. Many friends have become enemies through discussing the war. It was supposed that man could reason out things without quarreling, while the animal was incapable. But—

41. The persistency of war feeling is so strong that very few persons can change their opinion, and even the most impartial natures seem to lose their equilibrium in consideration of war questions.

42. War feeling seems to be temporary insanity, for nations will believe and say almost anything against their enemies (no matter how honorable); That they are not fit to exist, even women and children. Yet before and after the war they did not believe it, for it was only a hallucination.

43. Long exhaustive wars make future wars more difficult, since the large number killed and wounded causes widespread grief and horror, not to mention weight of enormous debt.

44. If we, the greatest Republic of the world, enter this war, after continually preaching peace to other nations, it will be the most terrible setback to peace the world has ever seen, and will tend to draw in other neutral nations and may even go so far as to involve South America.

45. It is a questionable humanity to plunge a nation into war for the sake of humanity (to murder in order to stop murder, as it were) when that nation is not being invaded and every other nation desires to live in peace with it. Humanity, like charity, begins at home.

46. It is a great evil to have our rights to life and property disregarded on the sea, even if not with malicious intent; but it is a much greater evil to plunge into war.

47. Whatever our opinions as to the war, we must not allow our sympathies for any of the belligerents to smother our Americanism. We must be pro-American first, last, and forever.

48. War is not only abnormal, but belongs under the head of teratology, a science which treats of all kinds of monsters. The monstrosity is militarism and navalism destroying humanity.

49. The cure for war seems to be in its last analysis educational. Thus ignorance, egotism, and selfishness can be lessened by the increase of knowledge and humanitarian feeling, which tend to counteract and undermine the war spirit. For—

50. War, like cannibalism and slavery, will eventually be stopped.

51. Peace is the normal condition of man, war abnormal. For—

52. War involves destruction of the human species and is therefore opposed to the main purpose of nature, which is the increase of the species. Yet—

53. The war feeling has been so long present in the human breast that it destroys not only the joy and peace of humanity, but even the sense of justice.

54. Peace at any price is a jingo sophism, for as nations surrender with honor, they should be able to keep peace with honor.

55. Humility is not humiliation, much less is it cowardice, for some of the most humble people are the bravest. The martyr is superior to the soldier.

56. True patriotism consists in such feelings, thoughts, volitions, and acts as are for the permanent welfare of a country. False patriotism is based upon the selfishness, egotism, ignorance, and stupidity; and yet it is asked that the blood of thousands be shed for such patriotism.

57. The doctrine that might makes right is inherently opposed to all that is highest and ideal in life, and is also in the direction of barbarism, slavery, and war. In addition—

58. War is a violation of the fundamental principles of Christianity, not to mention other great religions.

59. The general opinion of many European experts is, that each belligerent would have acted about the same as any other belligerent under similar conditions.

CHOOSING BETWEEN WAR AND PEACE.

The choice between entering war and remaining neutral—in short, between war and peace—may be a choice between two evils, and the decision should be on the side of the lesser evil.

Let us admit that for a country not to be equipped reasonably or adequately for war may cause it not to receive proper attention and respect from other countries. Let us admit this to be a great evil. Now, let us set over against this evil the injustice that war brings to innocent people, noncombatants, the outrages they suffer, the destruction of their homes, the shooting of them in cold blood, and their awful suffering from fear and terrorism sometimes visited upon them through military necessity. Let us picture, if possible, the almost infinite injustice and suffering that, for instance, the Russian peasants have experienced, when, with only short notice, hundreds of thousands have been ordered by their own generals to quit their homes, where to go they know not, many without conveyances to carry anything; nevertheless they must take what they can carry afoot—old and young, bedridden, sick, and crippled—must depart in the cold, many scantily clad, the poorest, who are in the majority, suffering the worst. Many, of course, die on the way, enduring untold agony from exposure, exhaustion, and starvation. Think of these poor, innocent, peaceful peasants, who only want to be let alone, whose sons and fathers were torn from them to go to the front, are, after making such sacrifices for their own country, now forced by this very country into ruin, starvation, and death, and this all on account of military necessity of their own fatherland. Think of this infinite suffering and injustice to hundreds of thousands and compare it with the admitted evil of humiliation and then pray tell us which is the lesser evil. The long-lasting and paramount effects of war horrors and devastation are infinitely a greater evil than the short and comparatively temporary effect of neglect of dignity and honor, which consists mainly of pride, egotism, and selfishness.

IMPORTANCE OF DIGNITY AND HONOR IDEA EXAGGERATED.

If nations are friendly they often will not resent most discourteous acts, while if unfriendly a trivial matter may "outrage" their honor and dignity. Once two nations came near going to war, it is said, because one ambassador was seated in advance of the other at table.

Consider how little real feeling of humiliation (much less suffering) there is among the great majority of inhabitants of a country whose officials claim to have been humiliated by the words or acts of some other Government. In the present status of humanitarian feeling three-fourths, and probably more, of the citizens who have to do the fighting do not feel this kind of humiliation; they desire to be let alone and pursue their peaceful occupations. If some of them do feel it, it is generally after efforts are made to stir them up to stand on their dignity. This dignity or honor idea is often greatly exaggerated. The officials may feel it especially, but that may be due mainly to their egotism. But how small an evil it is in comparison with the infinite evils and injustices of war upon the great majority of innocent citizens, who must sacrifice their bodies on the battle field or themselves at home.

INSANITY OF WAR.

That war is a temporary form of insanity can be easily shown by numerous historical facts. To refer to one instance only, the Boer War illustrates to what extremes the mind of a nation can go, manifesting such a degree of mental aberration as can be described as an acute form of national insanity.

Thus a conservative, sober, and dignified country like England, during one year or more, believed and said almost everything bad against the Boers; that, for instance, they were not fit to exist, even women and children. But the Boers were a thrifty, independent, and deserving people. The English people were thus possessed of hallucinations enduring a year or more, which they did not believe before and do not believe now.

Memorandum Presented to Mr. Sparkman.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALLEN T. TREADWAY,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 27, 1917.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD I insert herewith copy of memorandum presented to Mr. SPARKMAN to-day, accompanying the gift of a handsome clock, and including speeches made by Hon. WILLIAM E. HUMPHREY of Washington, and the reply of Hon. STEPHEN M. SPARKMAN in the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

The statement is as follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, UNITED STATES,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

The members of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors of the Sixty-fourth Congress ask its chairman, Hon. STEPHEN M. SPARKMAN, to

accept the clock accompanying this note in token of their personal and official esteem. A faithful and distinguished service in the Congress of 22 years, of which 20 have been on this one committee, is an event deserving of recognition. Those with whom he has been closely associated on the committee, of which he has been the efficient chairman for 6 years, desire in this manner to express their appreciation of his integrity, industry, and loyalty.

GEORGE F. BURGESS, Texas; CHARLES G. EDWARDS, Georgia; JOHN H. SMALL, North Carolina; CHARLES F. BOOHER, Missouri; THOMAS GALLAGHER, Illinois; DANIEL A. DRISCOLL, New York; THOMAS J. SCULLY, New Jersey; CHARLES LIEB, Indiana; WILLIAM KETTNER, California; SAMUEL M. TAYLOR, Arkansas; MURRAY HULBERT, New York; H. GARLAND DUPRÉ, Louisiana; WILLIAM E. HUMPHREY, Washington; CHARLES A. KENNEDY, Iowa; ANDREW J. BARCHFELD, Pennsylvania; ROBERT M. SWITZER, Ohio; ALLEN T. TREADWAY, Massachusetts; JAMES A. FREAR, Wisconsin; DOW H. DRUKKER, New Jersey; PETER E. COSTELLO, Pennsylvania.

The speech of presentation was made by Hon. WILLIAM E. HUMPHREY, of Washington, in the following very appropriate words:

"Mr. HUMPHREY of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I want to interrupt the procedure just for a minute or two.

"Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, as this is the last time that this committee will ever probably meet, and as this is the last time that those here will probably ever assemble, I take this occasion, Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the committee, to present to you a token of our friendship and regard. The committee has selected—I think with great appropriateness—a beautiful clock. As I look at this clock, Mr. Chairman, and as I think of your long and honorable public career, without blot or stain, it recalls the words of Shakespeare:

"His honor, clock to itself, knew the true minute.

"[Applause.]

"Mr. Chairman, it is the hope of the committee in the years to come that this gift will serve to recall the pleasant memories of the happy days that are no more. We hope that when you look upon the face of that clock it will recall to you the faces of your friends that have so often sat with you around this table. As you look upon its hands we hope that they will ever remind you that whatever fate the future may hold for you that those who served with you so long have their hands ever extended in friendship and best wishes. [Applause.] And when it strikes the hour we hope that it will recall to your mind the many pleasant hours of our association that we have spent together in this room and elsewhere.

"And, Mr. Chairman, it is the heartfelt wish of every member of this committee that it may strike many, many hours for you, and that in those hours there may be little of sadness and disappointment and that all of them may be filled with sunshine and happiness. But whether they be jeweled with joy or shadowed with sorrow, the best wishes and the friendship of those who have been associated with you go out to you always. [Applause.] We wish for you health, happiness, and length of days.

"And now, Mr. Chairman, when at last your shadow has lengthened far toward the East, and when at last you have reached your journey's end, and when at last you lay your burdens down, when for you the last hour shall strike and time passes into eternity, then may that last hour be as peaceful and gentle as the cool and quiet twilight of a summer's evening. [Applause.]

"Now, Mr. Chairman, on behalf of this committee I present it to you, and say, Good-by and good luck."

The response of the chairman, Mr. SPARKMAN, follows:

"Mr. SPARKMAN (the chairman). Gentlemen of the committee, to say that I am greatly pleased at this manifestation of your esteem is to but feebly express my feelings on this occasion. I did not and was not expecting any such kindness at your hands. You had already, at this session of Congress and during the consideration of the river and harbor bill, gone a long way in honoring me and had done an unusual thing in placing the project at my home city under continuing contract in so far as it was in the power of the House to do so. That was more than I deserved and more than I expected or could have asked. It was something of great value to the people of my district and was highly appreciated by them, as it was by me. But I can assure you that no evidence of your kindness and good will to me, no token of your esteem, is more highly appreciated than is the clock you have just presented me. I do not, it is true, need anything to remind me of the friends I have here and in Congress, as those friends and their kindly acts will never be forgotten. But this present will, nevertheless, serve as long as life shall last to bring back the pleasant memories of the days we served together on this committee, as it will also serve to remind me of the time and the occasion of this gift. I can not say more, my friends, nor is it necessary that I should, for you understand the high appreciation I have of your kindness.

"Aside from the regret I feel at the severance of the official relations with the many friends I have here the return to private life is in no wise an unpleasant thought to me. But, no matter what feelings of regret I might have had, the kindness that my colleagues on the committee with whom I have served so long, with whom my relations have been so pleasant, have shown me in the past and are showing me to-day will go far to ameliorate, indeed to remove, any such feelings of regret.

"When I leave Congress, as I shall after the 4th of next month, I hope to see you frequently in my home town, Tampa. It is a great and progressive city, and on a corner of two of its prominent avenues—Michigan and Nebraska—there is a home surrounded by tropical verdure, the live oak, the magnolia, the pine, the cedar, and the palm, together with the orange, which is even now in the early spring filling the air with the fragrance of its blossoms. Of course, you will find occasion from time to time to visit that city, and whenever you do I want to say that not only does the latchstring hang on the outside of the door, but I most cordially invite you now, one and all, to visit and make your home with me during your stay in that beautiful city.

"Again, gentlemen, I want to thank you, one and all, for this and the many other kindnesses shown me during our long service as members of this committee and to wish you prosperity and happiness wherever your lots may be cast.

"Nor can I conclude without thanking individually my good friend, Mr. HUMPHREY, for the words used by him in presenting this token of your friendship and esteem. Our relations during his long and distinguished career here have been the most friendly and I greatly appreciate his generous words and kindly expressed wishes for my future welfare and happiness." [Long applause.]

Proposed Remedy for Car Shortage.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD W. AUSTIN,
OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 26, 1917.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to invite the attention and consideration of the Members of the House, the railroad officials, shippers, and the members of the Interstate Commerce Commission to an able and important article prepared by Prof. J. A. Switzer, of the University of Tennessee, entitled "A practical remedy for the economic disturbance to trade resulting from periodic shortage of the car supply," which reads as follows:

It is within the province of Congress by means of an amendment to the interstate-commerce law to alleviate, if not to entirely relieve, the present car shortage from which the business interests of the country are suffering, and by the same means to largely prevent a recurrence of the trouble. This amendment would act to revise the present demurrage practice of the railroads in such a manner as to raise the efficiency of use of existing rolling stock, thereby permitting the same to meet the country's requirements for freight cars at such times as the present, when business requirements are at a maximum.

The present demurrage practice is an unscientific effort to secure for the railroads the cooperation of the shipping public in the use of freight cars. It is one that does not appeal to the shipping public and does not bring out the measure of cooperation which by a revision of the practice could easily be secured.

The present practice consists in allowing shippers a period of 48 hours, free of charge, in which to load a car, and consignees a period of 48 hours in which to unload the same, and in assessing against either a fine for the detention of a car for a longer period than this. Until recently the demurrage charge has been $1 per day, or fraction thereof, that the car is detained. Effective January 1, 1917, the Interstate Commerce Commission has granted the railroads the right to increase the demurrage charge, so that now the fine for a detention of one day is $2, for one additional day $3, for another additional day $5, and thereafter for each additional day $5 per day.

This is the common demurrage practice. In principle it acts as a penalty clause in the contract between railroad and the railroad's customer. There is no balancing bonus clause. In engineering contracts the courts have held that a penalty clause is not valid unless the contract contains a counterbalancing bonus clause. The equity of this principle of law has received feeble recognition in connection with demurrage practice, for the railroads offer to their larger patrons the advantage of what is known as the average demurrage agreement. The operation of this plan is as follows: The business house entering into the agreement may have a part of its demurrage assessments, during any month, offset to the extent that it succeeds in releasing a part of the cars which it uses within a less time than 48 hours. That is to say, the business concern may detain certain cars overtime without suffering penalty if it releases an equivalent number of other cars ahead of time. But the release of any number of cars ahead of the stipulated 48-hour period during any one month will not serve to benefit him if he delays cars the next month, nor does he receive any benefit for the early release of cars whatever except as an offset to delinquency with other cars. Thus the average demurrage agreement is not truly

reciprocal. A concern which habitually releases cars within a time less than the stipulated 48-hour period receives no advantage, nor any form of compensation in return; and the present practice, therefore, offers no inducement to the railroads' patrons to cooperate with them in securing the maximum possible efficiency of use of the rolling stock.

The amendment here suggested would place the control of demurrage practice in the hands of the Interstate Commerce Commission; it would make all demurrage reciprocal by requiring that the railroads pay a cash bonus for the early return of cars, to offset the fine for their detention; and would be so administered that at the end of each month the demurrage account of each patron of the railroad would be closed by a cash transaction in favor of the railroad if car detentions overbalanced early releases, or in favor of the patron if the reverse.

Further, the amendment would authorize the commission to adopt a sliding scale of demurrage and require the commission to readjust and publish the demurrage rates either quarterly or at semiannual intervals in accordance with the real cash value of the use of cars. This latter provision is of utmost importance. Demurrage practice is based upon the cash-surrender value of the freight car, and the railroads maintain that the value to them of the use of the car is greater than the cash they receive in the form of demurrage. But the cash value of the use of cars varies over a wide range, according to the times. When business is at flood, as at the present time, the return of cars has a high cash value, whereas during periods of business depression the car supply exceeds the requirements, and the prompt release of cars loses all, or nearly all, cash value. At such times the amount of demurrage (both on the bonus and the penalty side) would naturally be fixed at a low figure. The Interstate Commerce Commission should find no difficulty in arriving at a just value for demurrage for any ensuing three-months' or even six-months' period, and any error of judgment in fixing the value would be insignificant.

The revision of demurrage practice here outlined would apply to one branch of railroad management an elementary principle of efficiency management to which at present it is a stranger. The present efficiency of use of freight cars is astonishingly low. A freight car fulfills its function only as it travels; if, on the average, a car travels 4 days out of 10, its efficiency of use is 40 per cent, whereas if it traveled 5 days out of 10 the value would be 50 per cent. A study of the statistics of the subject would appear to indicate that at the present time an increase in the efficiency of use of existing cars of only about 2½ per cent would suffice to relieve the acute car shortage. The proposed revision would immensely benefit the railroads, in that it would reduce the ratio of capital investment in rolling stock to the return upon such investment, and it would secure for the railroads a larger measure of cooperation from the shipping public in the economical use of cars.

Maj. Gen. Frederick Funston.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD KEATING,
OF COLORADO,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 27, 1917.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, I desire to insert in the RECORD the following eulogy on Maj. Gen. Frederick Funston, written by Robert H. Watkins, well known as a Washington newspaper correspondent:

There was timely change in the proceedings of the House last Tuesday when the words were repeated round about in awed tones, "Fred Funston is dead; Gen. Funston died suddenly to-day."

It was the most grievous shock that has come to Americans in many a year. There had just been mourning and distinguished obsequies at the death of the country's highest and oldest naval officer. But Admiral Dewey dies full of years as honors, at an age when the end might have been expected at any time. The death of Gen. Funston was in the heyday of mature manhood, with laurels of victory on his brow and the smile of favoring destiny seemed to light his face. He seemed anticipated by his country for yet nobler honors. Members of the House hastened to express, as soon as the news came, their deep sorrow. They paid unfeigned tribute in thoughtful accents to the brilliant service, the sterling character, and the warm heart of the dead soldier, a heart that had given so much of itself for the sake of others it had little left for itself. Spontaneously they testified to qualities of manhood in him that form that American type fittest for onward leadership. He had vividly exemplified resourceful capacity, instant intelligence in action, and what seemed an inspired spirit of self-sacrificing service for humanity against inhumanity everywhere. These were the traits that made Fred Funston the day he was last alive America's greatest volunteer soldier.

But there was another side that most endeared him to cherishing memory. It was his fondness for little children. In this was witness in him worth letters of gold to tell—that love for little children—that sensibility of human character which has sweetened the faith of countless millions ever since the day more than 18 centuries ago Christ took in his arms and blessed little children. There was left a baby Funston many hundreds of miles away in its mother's arms, its eight months of budding into life, not yet having fixed any recollection for the future that it had smiled into the eyes of a proud and loving father. Reported incidents of the general's death include mention that just before he suddenly expired he was playing with a little girl. Together they had paused to catch the wondrous strains of the "Blue Danube," and he had said to the child, "How beautiful it is."

Fred. Funston must have loved the beautiful beyond most men. He showed it throughout a life remarkable in many other ways of worthiness. Full of tenderest sentiment, he was best and brightest and bravest in the manifestation of it. He lived his love of it in adventure abroad and in diversion at home. Nature was beautiful to him in its wildest solitudes amid which alone he daringly trod and lovely around the home rooftree, where the land he fought for burgeoned with the gardens' fruit and flowers and the wide fields' golden harvests. The world kept for his last moments ever unfolding revelations of the beautiful. But nothing was to him lovelier than childhood.

Take him all in all, looking back over his too brief career, crowded with credit enough for a score of men to reach national distinction, the country owes in homage to Fred. Funston a monument of such art out of such marble as will cause all who behold it to think and say in the words he last uttered, "How beautiful it is."

The European War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK BUCHANAN,
OF ILLINOIS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 26, 1917.

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I shall oppose with every ounce of my ability any proposition tending to plunge this country into war upon the issues that have so far been presented to us as a justification for such a momentous step, and I shall do so because I am convinced that over 90 per cent of the people of the United States are opposed to becoming involved in this horrible conflict, and because I do not propose to betray the confidence the people have reposed in me by doing something that I know is against their will. The hired press sheets, the mouthpieces of the munition traffickers and monopolistic special-privileged interests, have bellowed long and loud of the supposed crimes that have been committed against the American people, and have flourished far and wide their false appeals to the patriotism of the people, but patriotism was ever the last resort of the scoundrel, and, thank God, their contemptible and perfidious methods have not deceived the great masses of the people.

I desire to insert here a letter I received from the Chicago Federation of Labor, an organization of over 300,000 workingmen of Chicago, in which is embodied the sentiment of that organization against war, voiced by a unanimously adopted motion at their meeting, February 18, 1917; also a resolution adopted by the Central Federated Union of New York City, another organization of 300,000 workmen; and one adopted by 4,000 people assembled in mass meeting at Carnegie Hall, New York City, February 5, 1917:

CHICAGO FEDERATION OF LABOR,
Chicago, Ill., February 20, 1917.

Hon. FRANK BUCHANAN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: At the regular meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor held Sunday, February 18, 1917, on motion, carried unanimously, the secretary of this Federation of Labor was instructed to send a letter to the President of the United States, Senators LEWIS and SHERMAN, and the Congressmen of Illinois from Cook County, with a request to Congressman BUCHANAN to have same inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD that the Chicago Federation of Labor is on record as being opposed to war; that we are in sympathy with the principle of bills pending in Congress asking for a referendum vote as to the question of plunging this country into war; and that we most respectfully petition a referendum vote of the people of the United States be held as to whether this country is to take part in the war of Europe.

Thanking you in advance for the consideration of our request, and hoping for favorable action thereon, we beg to remain,

Fraternally yours,

CHICAGO FEDERATION OF LABOR,
E. N. NOCKELS, *Secretary.*

Three hundred thousand trade-unionists of Greater New York expressed themselves, through the Central Federated Union, February 2, as follows:

The Central Federated Union of New York begs you to note well that the metropolitan newspapers in their renewed demand for the participation of our country in the world war do not represent the views of the great mass of the people. The influences controlling the press want war, but the workingmen and women stand unalterably in opposition to entering the shambles.

Resist, Mr. President, the selfish and sinister influences that would plunge our country into the world caldron of murder. This is the plea of the Central Federated Union, representing more than 300,000 wage earners of New York City.

RESOLUTION UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED BY 4,000 CITIZENS ASSEMBLED IN MASS MEETING AT CARNEGIE HALL, NEW YORK CITY, FEBRUARY 5, 1917.

In view of the expressed desire on the part of both groups of warring nations to retain the friendship of the United States;

And in view of the fact that the losses suffered by this country through the war are not willfully inflicted upon us, but result from the ruthlessness inherent in warfare;

This mass meeting at Carnegie Hall solemnly protests against America entering this war with the immeasurably greater loss involved in blood and treasure; protests against the proposal to send abroad American soldiers pledged by oath to the prosecution of alien quarrels; and protests against the proposed conscription of the youth of

America and against all other encroachment on our traditional rights and liberties, and this meeting enjoins Congress, which has exclusive power to declare war, to submit this declaration by referendum to the people who alone bear its burdens.

This meeting is unwilling that America should abandon her great stand against the conventional dogmas that shame governments to precipitate war and thereby surrender her truly patriotic task of leadership in the cause of the world's peace.

I also desire to insert a number of other telegrams and letters that I have received protesting against any declaration of war without first referring the matter to the people, and with which view I am in complete accord:

TWENTY-EIGHTH WARD REGULAR DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION (INC.),
Chicago, February 16, 1917.

Mr. FRANK BUCHANAN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR FRIEND: We are more than pleased to see that you are active in trying to keep this country out of an entirely unnecessary and unjustifiable war.

Kindly accept our most sincere thanks; it has been highly deserved.

Hoping that you will continue with your good, noble, and humane efforts, and extending to you our best wishes, we beg to remain,

Yours, very truly,

FRANK T. HUENING, *Secretary.*

—

CHICAGO, ILL., *February 15, 1917.*

Hon. FRANK BUCHANAN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

SIR: I have just reread your letter of January 13, 1916, to me with the greatest of pleasure. I congratulate you on your position.

Speak against all further preparedness; vote against war. Are we ready to spend $30,000,000 daily, not considering loss of life and limb and destruction to property? Eight hundred millions this week for armaments! Instead of voting millions for armaments and war let the Representatives in Washington devise some means to lower the cost of living. Imagine paying 16 cents a pound for onions, $1 a peck for potatoes, 59 cents for eggs, and 48 cents for butter! It's time we would think of ourselves and our children—our country. Why should we here be made to suffer because Europe is at war? We did not cause her war, although all know that we are now maintaining it.

Stop the export of foodstuffs, at least to Europe, and lower the cost of living.

Yours, very truly,

M. J. ST. GEORGE.

—

CHICAGO, *February 15, 1917.*

Congressman BUCHANAN,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I want you to know that as a native-born citizen of Illinois I hope you will not allow the jingo press or President Wilson's faulty judgment of more than a year ago—now insisted on—influence you to vote for war unless much stronger reasons are given.

Very truly, yours,

ALVIN J. BUTZ.

—

153 EAST ERIE STREET,
Chicago, Ill., February 13, 1917.

Hon. Mr. BUCHANAN,
The House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. BUCHANAN: Let me, as one of your constituents, urge you to use every means in your power to keep this country honorably out of war. Will you not especially lend your support to the resolution that has been introduced providing that before any action is taken committing this country to entry into the European war a popular referendum be taken to ascertain whether the people sanction this policy?

I believe that in this letter I voice the feelings of many men and women who think, as I do, that no technically that has yet arisen justifies the participation of the United States in this war, and that it is the duty of this country, as the most powerful neutral, to strain every nerve to serve the world by maintaining peace.

Very truly, yours,

NATALIE WALKER.

—

MAYWOOD, N. J., *February 17, 1917.*

Hon. FRANK BUCHANAN,
The New Varnum, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Please be assured of my most positive approval of your expression of sentiment against permitting the President and Mr. Secretary Lansing to usurp the powers of Congress in involving the country in war.

I have to-day written my Congressman to do all in his power to further the favorable consideration of Representative HELGESEN'S resolution that Congress order a referendum to the people of the question as to whether or not we shall declare war.

I expect you to do all you can to keep us out of war.

Very truly, yours,

PAUL BILHUBER.

—

PITTSBURGH, PA., *February 22, 1917.*

Mr. BUCHANAN, M. C.

DEAR SIR: Allow me to congratulate you on your patriotic work in Congress. American lives should not be used to secure safe delivery of munitions in the war zone. The people should have an opportunity to vote on the war issue. At the popular vote the name of the voter should be recorded and after his name how he voted, if for or against. In case of war those having voted for it should be the first to be drafted and sent to the front. The others should not be called upon until those having voted for war are all killed.

Hoping you may have success in keeping this country out of the calamity,

I remain, yours, truly,

C. F. LEMKE,
4621 Center Avenue.

CHICAGO, *February 24, 1917.*

Hon. FRANK BUCHANAN, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: It is my sincere impression that the people of this city and county—in fact, the State—do not want war. I have given considerable attention to the people I have come in touch with in the past three weeks and I feel confident that my impression is correct. Let no man delude himself that the people will welcome war.

The continued and persistent publication of news attempting to show that Germany has challenged the United States and is about to attack us should be stopped. I sincerely trust you will see your way to save this country from the greatest of all scourges, war.

With very best wishes and regards, I remain,

Very truly, yours,

MICHAEL F. GIRTEN.

—

4447 IRVING PARK BOULEVARD,
Chicago, Ill., February 12, 1917.

Hon. FRANK BUCHANAN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: As a member of the working class, I want to voice my sentiment as being one decidedly opposed to war. It would mean the slaughter of the workers or producing class. Why permit Wall Street and manufacturers of munitions of war plunge the real manhood of the world into wholesale murder?

Lest we forget, "Thou shalt not kill."

In the name of humanity.

MRS. MABEL GERMER.

—

CHICAGO, ILL., *February 3, 1917.*

Hon. FRANK BUCHANAN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

As an American citizen I must vigorously protest against our country being plunged into war. Let us profit by the costly experience of Europe.

ADOLPH GERMER.

—

CHICAGO, ILL., *February 18, 1917.*

Hon. FRANK BUCHANAN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

We, 12,000 citizens of Chicago, assembled in the Coliseum, and with thousands more turned away, believing that not only the lives of our young men and our material wealth but our stores of good will and international sympathy should be treasured, and knowing that if the United States now joins in this world war the lives and property of American citizens will be further endangered and our opportunity for leadership in the establishment of an international organization for the preservation of world peace will be jeopardized, we urge that American citizens and American vessels be warned against entering the war zone; believing also that war should be undertaken only as the expressed and deliberate choice of the people upon whom its burdens will chiefly fall, we urge that the will of the people be ascertained by a referendum vote before a state of war is allowed to develop between this people and any other Government.

GRACE ABBOTT,
Chairman Emergency Antiwar Committee.
FRED A. MOORE,
Chairman Mass Meeting.

—

CHICAGO, ILL., *February 23, 1917.*

FRANK BUCHANAN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Branch 232, Workingmen's Sick and Death Benefit Organization, strongly opposes measures leading to war, in which practically only workers would pay financially and with life. Neither humanity nor right, but money-makers would gain. If dangerous to send food in war zones, keep it here; we need it. We protest emphatically against planned curbing of free speech and free press.

L. BAER, *Secretary.*

—

CHICAGO, ILL., *February 10, 1917.*

Hon. FRANK BUCHANAN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

We ask that war be not declared without submitting question to referendum vote as provided in La Follette bill.

NATONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE,
EMMA STEGHAGEN, *Secretary.*

—

CHICAGO, ILL., *February 10, 1917.*

Hon. FRANK BUCHANAN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Thousands of Chicago workers assembled in four mass meetings Friday evening, February 9, unanimously went on record against being dragged into the European war. We demand that the United States Government warn all American citizens that those who enter the war zone do so at their own risk. We also demand that the millions of citizens who will have to do the fighting and foot the bills, if we go to war, be given the right to vote on the question whether there should be war.

ROBT. H. HOWE,
Chairman.

—

CHICAGO, ILL., *February 10, 1917.*

Hon. FRANK BUCHANAN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

The great majority of the people demand that you keep us out of this —— strictly European war.

Dr. E. F. BAUR.

—

NEW YORK, N. Y., *February 14, 1917.*

Representative BUCHANAN,
Washington, D. C.:

See to-day's New York American editorial. It ought to be read to Congress and put in the RECORD. Are we a republican Government or merely a second edition of the Russian Duma run by the British ambassador? Are we going to repeat the shameful Italian blackhand act by helping our old enemy, the sea pirate, against our oldest friend?

LONESOME AMERICAN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *February 26, 1917.*

FRANK BUCHANAN,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

Emergency Peace Federation protests against proposal that Congress abdicate any of its constitutional functions. To center in one man tremendous power of virtually waging war is not that new freedom or wider democracy which we were told a few years ago was the goal of the American Nation.

President holds "no one doubts what it is our duty to do"; that "we must defend our commerce and lives of our people."

We assert our rights can not be effectively safeguarded by armed force. We urge all claims for reparation be adjusted as were Alabama claims after the Civil War—by judicial process only. We gratefully recognize patience, courage, and moral wisdom of the President, but we believe he mistakes the temper of those silent masses for whom he desires to speak if he thinks this country is willing to contemplate war or a state of virtual warfare as a solution of our present difficulties.

EMERGENCY PEACE FEDERATION,
LELLA FAYE SECOR, *Secretary.*

As we are not threatened and as there can be no immediate danger of invasion of our country, why not refer the question of becoming involved in this European bloody slaughter to the masses of the people who will bear the burden of the expense entailed, and whose health and lives will be sacrificed if we do become involved?

Undesirable or false patriotism is that which is based upon egomania, mixed with pride, conceit, narrowmindedness, and a general delirium of grandeur, and yet it is asked that the blood of thousands be shed for such patriotism. Anyone who allows his proallyism or his pro-Germanism to influence him more than his pro-Americanism is unwittingly an enemy of his country. The war feeling has been so long present in the human breast that it destroys not only the joy and peace of humanity, but even benumbs the sense of justice.

The United States is the only country with 3,000 miles of water on each side and no powerful nations near; therefore, it has the least excuse for war, the strongest reason for peace, and least cause for running into militarism. The doctrine that "might makes right" is inherently opposed to all that is highest and ideal in life, and is also in the direction of barbarism, slavery, and war. War is a violation of the fundamental principles of Christianity, and to say "we want peace" and then do things that tend toward war, is hypocrisy.

If we must choose between war and peace, the lesser evil is peace, but if we make a mistake, it is better to err on the side of peace, for war is not only a physical hell but a mental hell; it is fear of battle, the dreaded bayonet charge and death; blasted hopes of the wounded, involving great mental torture and a future burden to the Army, the family, and the country; terrible disappointments, anxieties, and sadness of mothers, wives, and sisters at home. All these physical and mental horrors, not to mention atrocities, demonstrate war to be literally hell.

Let us refer this matter to the will of the people, and then, if we should go to war, let us go united and stand firm as a solid phalanx.

Letter From the Remington Arms Plant at Ilion, N. Y., in Regard to Small Arms.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER P. SNYDER,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 27, 1917.

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago, in discussing the small-arms proposition, I made a statement on information that was given to me with regard to the Remington Arms plant at Ilion, N. Y. I said that the manager, Mr. Haughton, advised me something over a year ago that it would take 60 days to turn the factory over from the manufacture of Lee-Enfield rifles to the Springfield rifle. It seems that there has been some misunderstanding with regard to this, and I herewith put into the RECORD a letter received this morning with regard to the matter, which explains itself:

MY DEAR MR. SNYDER: I have read in the Utica Press of this morning the copy of your speech in Congress last Thursday, which quotes you as saying you were advised by the manager of the Remington Arms plant at Ilion that upon call from the Government they could turn that plant from the Lee-Enfield rifle to the Springfield rifle in 60 days.

I know you were prompted by every desire to set forth only the true facts in the case from both local and patriotic motives, and I well remember having the pleasure of showing you through our plant as well as the great interest you showed in the whole enterprise, but I can not account for your having gained the impression formed that we could turn over from the Lee-Enfield rifle to the Springfield rifle in 60 days. I either did not make the matter clear to you or you misunderstood what I might have said. To manufacture the Springfield even with the machinery which we installed for the Lee-Enfield rifle would require a complete new set of jigs, gauges, fixtures, special cutters, etc., which under favorable conditions would take a year to design and provide, and say six months in addition to turn out rifles in large quantities. I am writing you accordingly in case you may wish to correct a wrong impression.

With kindest regards, I am,
Yours, very truly,

F. A. HAUGHTON,
Works Manager.

The Hon. HOMER P. SNYDER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

The only further suggestion that I can make with regard to the misunderstanding is that undoubtedly the experience of the manager as well as the manufacturer in the manufacture of these Lee-Enfield rifles for the allies has taught them to be more conservative, and at this period, after two years' or more experience, they undoubtedly have discovered that it is not wise to underestimate necessary time. It is with regret that I publish this missive, due to the fact that I had hoped and believed that my information was correct.

Agricultural Appropriation Bill.

The necessity for Government investigation of the dairies and creameries of the country and proper legislation for the prevention of bovine tuberculosis.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CHARLES LINTHICUM,
OF MARYLAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 28, 1917.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Speaker, more than eight months have elapsed since I introduced in this House a resolution to provide an investigation of the dairies and creameries of our country. That resolution (H. Res. 137), I regret to say, is still in committee.

I fully appreciate that affairs of the greatest importance, both national and international, have made importunate demands on the time of this body. It has been the duty and the privilege of the Democratic majority to enact constructive legislation, to provide for an adequate defense, to guard and maintain the country's peace, and in addition that party has submitted to the country the record of achievement here written for a verdict by the people, which verdict is that the constructive Democratic Party shall continue in its manifold labors for the Nation's welfare.

Mr. Speaker, it behooves us of the Democratic Party to observe the great victory of our President and our party, not as a ratification of our record but rather as an acceptance by the people of the United States of our solemn promise that we will here highly maintain those principles of constructive legislation to which we stand pledged, that we will steadfastly strive to know the great needs of our country, and, knowing those needs, that we will not hesitate to enact required remedial legislation.

Mr. Speaker, on the 1st day of April of last year I addressed this House on the question of the menace to health in impure and disease-bearing dairy products. At that time I laid before the House as part of my remarks a large amount of evidence which I had collected bearing on the subject of House resolution 137.

I stated to the House that I did not profess to know those facts of my own knowledge, but earnestly besought action on the premises in order that the full facts might be known. The basis of my resolution was the report of the Department of Agriculture for 1912; part of that report is quoted in the preamble of House resolution 137. It has been alleged by opponents of my resolution that a report four years old is too ancient to be of value in arriving at a knowledge of present conditions. It is now my purpose to lay before this House evidence I have collected, all of which bears the year mark A. D. 1916. It is my purpose to again advise this House that while we have remained inactive, the great white plague, tuberculosis, stalks unchallenged through the nurseries of our land, that little children are day by day being inoculated with that dread disease at the hands of their own mothers through the instrumentality of infected, disease-bearing milk and butter. Dirty dairy products constitute a menace to the young life of our Nation.

Conditions have not improved sufficiently since 1912 to warrant the slightest lessening of our grave concern. The Secretary of Agriculture says of the report of 1912:

So far as can now be determined, the report itself is a fair index of conditions existing in the territory surveyed at the time it was issued. The statements are very moderate in the light of the data in the department's files. * * * While it is believed that dairy conditions have improved considerably since the report was issued, it is not thought they have reached a standard of perfection that much can be said on the subject without giving information that would be to some extent unfavorable and objectionable to the interests you represent. (See Exhibit 1.)

Since conditions have not reached the state of perfection where much can be said on the subject without becoming objectionable to the dairy industry, let us see what conditions are.

PRESENT CONDITIONS.

Dr. J. E. Lane-Claypon has published a treatise on "Milk and its Hygienic Relations." This volume is published in London, England, in the year 1916. The scope of the volume is Europe and the United States of America. At page 245 the author states:

Tubercle bacilli: There is no need at the present day to bring forward evidence of bovine tubercle bacilli in milk. Its occurrence in a large number of samples of the general milk supply has been demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt both in this and in other countries. Further there can be no reasonable doubt that such bacilli—of bovine origin—are pathogenic to young children. The findings of both the royal commission on tuberculosis and other observers show that children suffer from disease caused by the tubercle bacilli obtained from cattle, and that the percentage of tubercular disease in children which is caused by the bovine tubercle bacillus is high. On the other hand, the percentage of this disease caused by the bovine tubercle bacillus in adults is very low.

Investigations have shown that the bacilli, when taken in with food, can pass through the walls of the alimentary canal and reach the neighboring glands, where they develop and spread to further parts of the glandular system and to other organs, ultimately causing generalized tuberculosis. It has been shown that the main source of infection by bovine tubercle bacilli must be by means of milk which contains these organisms. The argument that if these organisms are harmless or comparatively so to adults they are not harmful to children, can not be regarded as having any weight. It is well known that children are susceptible to pathogenic influences which leave an adult unaffected.

The author's further conclusions are that fully 50 per cent of children dying from primary abdominal tuberculosis met their death through the bovine tubercle bacillus. That the evidence collected demonstrates milk from tuberculous cows is the infective source of bovine tuberculosis in children. That typhoid fever, scarlet fever, septic sore throat, diphtheria in cases so numerous as to constitute epidemics have been definitely traced to an infected milk supply. Dr. Lane-Claypon gives one remedy for the terrible condition and that is complete pasteurization. (See Exhibit 2.)

Lest my critics—I know I will have them—should object to the great works of Dr. Lane-Claypon as a foreign production, I now call your attention to "Fight for Food," published in 1916 by Leon A. Congdon, M. S., assistant chief food and drug inspector, Kansas State Board of Health.

Congdon states the danger, the present danger, of infection with typhoid fever, diphtheria, septic sore throat, through dirty disease-bearing milk, and of the danger of contracting tuberculosis, through milk supplied by a tubercular herd. He describes specimens of the strainings of milk he has seen, as being "black as tar," and others which contained "all kinds of matter foreign to milk, such as human hair, sand, yarn, flies, manure, alfalfa, cow's hair, dirt," and so forth. I have set out, in Exhibit 3, more fully his findings, and I trust they will be read and considered.

The report of the Bureau of Animal Industry for 1916 is just out. Therein the statement is contained that 10 per cent of our dairy cattle are infected with tuberculosis, and that 9 per cent of the hogs inspected during the past year were found to be so affected; that the cash loss caused thereby is $25,000,000 per annum. The bureau recommends pasteurization of skim milk at the creamery as the most effective check on the spread of tuberculosis among farm animals, and recommends a law to that effect. (See Exhibit 4.) The efficiency of pasteurization at the United States experimental creamery at Grove City, Pa., is shown by Exhibit 5 to be above 99 per cent. Certainly we should have a law requiring pasteurization, but not to save farm animals and $25,000,000 a year. We should have that law to protect the consumers of the milk of those tuberculous cows scattered over the entire country. We ought at once to save the children's lives. We ought to rid ourselves of the reproach that is only too true that we spend millions for the hog and cow and pennies for the babies.

I said that bovine tuberculosis is scattered throughout our country. As proof of that statement, I refer you to Exhibit 6, taken from "Diseases of Cattle," Department of Agriculture, 1916. See the table therein contained, showing actual tests for tuberculosis and see what was found. Twelve per cent in Illinois, 13.8 per cent in Iowa, 21.4 per cent in New Jersey, 50 per cent in Massachusetts, and varying percentages in other States. These are the figures from the 1916 report. The fact is shown that in beef cattle tuberculosis has increased considerably in recent years.

Now follow me further, to Exhibit 7, and read where the Department of Agriculture in 1916 says:

When we consider, therefore, the extent of tuberculosis and the hidden character of the disease, a certain degree of suspicion rests upon all milk.

There is little doubt remaining in the minds of bacteriologists on the question of transformation of the bovine-tubercle bacillus into the human type. The best and most modern investigations are set out in Diseases of Cattle, Department of Agriculture, 1916, where Dr. Theobald Smith, who is head of the Bureau of Animal Pathology of the Rockefeller Foundation, said that bovine tuberculosis may be transmitted to young children, while a great number of investigators have found that bovine and human tubercle bacilli are practically transmutable. (See Exhibit 8.)

The annual report of the Bureau of Animal Industry for 1916 shows 252,686 cattle and hogs were condemned at meat-inspection plants for all causes, and that of this number 111,194 were condemned for tuberculosis.

That is, 43.9 per cent of the condemned animals were tuberculous.

Turning from these technical and official reports to the papers published in the interests of the dairy and creamery industry, let me call your attention to an editorial in the Butter, Cheese, and Egg Journal of Chicago, of August 23, 1916. (Exhibit 9.) Read the statement that the cream shipped any distance was "in the most deplorable and revolting condition imaginable," and suggest for those who insist that conditions are all right a diet of the cream such as was being transported and manufactured during the past summer. Follow that fearless editorial by referring to the report of the address of Dr. H. L. Russell, dean of the Wisconsin College of Agriculture, before the annual convention of the Wisconsin Bankers' Association, published in Hoard's Dairyman of November 24, 1916 (Exhibit 10), and see where in the old and populous dairy district of Wisconsin 9 per cent of the dairy cows tested were proved to be tuberculous. Hoard's Dairyman of November 24, 1916, follows Dr. Russell's address with an editorial on the need of a tubercular-test law (Exhibit 11), which suggestion falls far short of being sufficient to meet the terrible condition now confronting us. Certainly we need a tubercular-test law to find the tuberculous cows in our dairies, but we must not stop short of killing those cows found tuberculous and of enforcing decency in the handling of dairy and creamery products.

The American Food Journal, November, 1916, believes the butter makers are beginning to see the light (see Exhibit 12), and expresses a belief that pasteurization is sure to come; but in the same number, November, 1916, there is published part of a report by Dr. Charles F. Whitney, of the Vermont State laboratory, wherein butter is charged as being the source of tuberculous infection; that bovine tubercle bacilli live for months in butter, and the doctor states:

We must blame only ourselves if we daily ingest a food known to contain the living virulent germs of tuberculosis.

(See Exhibit 13.)

The year 1916 has added another fatal disease to the already long list of milk-borne diseases. On September 12, 1916, there was printed in the New York Herald a letter from Nathan Straus to Surg. Gen. Rupert Blue, in which Mr. Straus called attention to the fact that not one of the 2,500 babies fed on Straus pasteurized milk had contracted infantile paralysis, although the 2,500 babies were in the worst infected district in New York. Mr. Straus called attention to the situation, which is too startling to be a coincidence. It is also well known that the milk most generally sold in New York City is dipped milk; that is, not bottled, but open to all sorts of infection.

Mr. Straus's letter stirred great interest and some opposition. On October 16, 1916, the Washington Post, of this city, published a half column under the head "Finds paralysis germ," in which the statement is flatly made that the germ infantile paralysis is carried in milk or water. (See Exhibit 14.)

The two incidents taken together point to milk as being the source of infection, for where pasteurized milk was given the Straus-fed babies the water failed to infect a single child.

Mr. Speaker, that is the 1916 condition with respect to bovine tuberculosis and disease-carrying dairy products. These papers, documents, and treaties are hardly cold from the press. You have now what I believe to be an accurate statement of present dangerous conditions. No man can read the Exhibits 1 to 14, to which I have referred, without forming a profound conviction that our dairy products are a menace to the public health.

INSANITARY METHODS.

I now call to your attention an almost unspeakably dirty practice in judging tub butter. It is a practice which has long been engaged in and still prevails. In this practice the sampler plunges the trier into a tub of butter, brings it forth holding a long and narrow piece of butter from the heart of the tub. Into this butter the sampler sets his teeth, bites out a segment, mouths it over, runs his fingers along the butter to guess the grain, and runs his nose along the trier on the butter to get an idea of the class or grade of the butter. He then returns to the tub the tooth-marked, nose-marked, saliva-bearing segment of befouled butter. He passes on his teeth marks to the ultimate consumer and his nasal diseases to the ultimate consumer's children. This revolting practice is more fully described in the Butter, Cheese, and Egg Journal of September 13, 1916 (Exhibit 15); the Chicago Dairy Produce of October 24, 1916 (Exhibit 16); the New York Produce Review and American Creamery of September 20, 1916 (Exhibit 17); and in the last-named paper on October 11, 1916 (Exhibit 18).

It is shown that the Department of Agriculture stopped its employees from using this dirty method, but that the method I have in part described is still in vogue. When we put the production of dairy products under Federal inspection we will see the end of such degrading practices as now exist in the dairy and creamery industry, but not until then can we expect relief.

Not only is a large part of milk and butter actively carrying disease, not only are both handled in from careless to filthy fashion, but we are still paying for the water incorporated by mechanical means into market butter. Read Exhibit 19, wherein State Dairy and Food Commissioner Helm, of Michigan, tells of the practice of manipulation by large creameries to the extent that they were putting out a butter emulsion containing 25 per cent water. Read the clipping from the Chicago Dairy Produce of December 12, 1916 (Exhibit 20), telling of butter, or stuff which was sold as butter, containing 50 per cent water.

Read Exhibit 21, quoted from the last annual report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, containing the number of manufacturers, dealers, and retailers convicted for selling butter containing 30 to 50 per cent moisture. Water, however, is not the worst thing that finds its way into butter, far worse is the neutralizer used to renovate decomposed cream. H. D. Wendt describes the typical can of rotten cream in the Butter, Cheese, and Egg Journal of September 6, 1916. (See Exhibit 22.) Now and then some one has the temerity to propose wiping out the use of neutralizers. We all know its use is utterly needless, and that cream so rotten and so putrid is forever unfit for food, but it is only once in a considerable time that anyone advocates the prohibition of neutralizer. This, however, is done by D. E. Doner, in Chicago Dairy Produce of November 28, 1916. (See Exhibit 23.) That suggestion is from a butter maker of 25 years standing. He knows conditions from experience and tells us conditions have been growing steadily worse for 10 years past, and that most of the butter made in the West and Middle West is made from neutralized cream and that such butter is not fit for food. Directly opposed to Mr. Doner's suggestions is Prof. G. L. McKay, secretary of the American Manufacturers of Creamery Butter. He would use sodium hypochloride to prevent mold. This same Mr. McKay has—according to Exhibit 24—recommended other chemicals heretofore, and it is as the Butter, Cheese, and Egg Journal of September 6, 1916, states, "A cow would not recognize her own product."

With the present conditions confronting the public, with 10 per cent of dairy cows tuberculous, with a proven disease-carrying agent in unpasteurized milk and butter, with filthy practices in handling, and with the use of chemicals advocated in place of clean methods. In the face of all this, what does the National Dairy Council do? They are raising a fund of $750,000 to advertise milk, butter, cheese, and ice cream. (See Exhibit 25.) The council wants more of its product consumed by the American people—and they are spending their contributions to accomplish this proud end.

Mr. Speaker, I would not leave the impression that there are none in the dairy and creamery industry who are working toward better conditions, for that would be a false impression. Since last April one State—Indiana—has put pasteurization into compulsory effect. (See Exhibit 29.) One other State—California—has passed a law requiring pasteurization, but that law seems to be noneffective. (See Exhibits 26 and 27.) Wisconsin is working under a State license law, which law President Morrison, of the Wisconsin Butter Makers' Association, said, on December 5, 1916, had failed to improve the quality of the butter. (See Exhibit 28.)

Michigan has in effect a State brand (see Exhibits 30 and 31) which can be used if conditions are met, and the conditions laid down are practically perfect, and if complied with throughout all the States would immediately restore the creamery industry to its former high place in the public regard. Nothing, let me say in passing, will ever rehabilitate the dairy industry until our 2,000,000 tuberculous cows are exterminated.

Mr. Speaker, the greatest of the creamery associations now realize the need of pasteurization. Read the resolutions of the National Association of Creamery Butter Makers, passed at their annual convention at Minneapolis, Minn., November 14 to 16, 1916, wherein they reaffirm their stand on pasteurization. (See Exhibit 32.)

The New York State Dairymen's League believe in pasteurization of skim milk when it is to be used as food for live stock (see Exhibit 33), while the Wisconsin Butter Makers' Association, at Sparta, Wis., on December 5, 1916, asks that butter made from neutralized cream be so branded when offered for sale. (See Exhibit 34.)

The Pennsylvania Legislature is to have a bill before it from the State department of agriculture covering all food products. (See Exhibit 35.)

Yet with all this striving is the public any better off? Are consumers assured of better conditions? If one State like Indiana enforces pasteurization, or another State like Minnesota gains a reputation for cleanliness and high-grade product, is this any guarantee against the State where tuberculosis is rampant and unchecked? Is it any safeguard against vile practices in sampling Minnesota high-grade butter? Does it relieve us in any way from decomposed cream, neutralized, regenerated, renovated cream, or decayed butter made over in great centralizers? I say it does not, and every Member of this House who gives due thought to the condition I have presented must agree with me.

Is there, then, a remedy? I say yes. Compulsory pasteurization of all dairy and creamery products going into interstate commerce will correct most of the evils now existing. J. J. Bruner, of Iowa, and Prof. H. A. Harding, of the University of Illinois, made addresses before the last annual gathering of the National Creamery Butter Makers' Association at Minneapolis, Minn., November 14 to 16, 1916. These addresses, entitled "Pasteurization of cream" and "Butter healthfulness," are marked Exhibits 36 and 37, respectively, and are worthy the most careful perusal by all Members of this House.

The question has been raised in this House and elsewhere as to the cost in dollars of freeing our herds of tuberculosis. The assertion has been made that the cost of eliminating the 2,000,000 tuberculous dairy cows is so great as to be beyond the reach and beyond the financial capacity of the Nation. That assertion is based on the utterly false and unsound idea that the tuberculous dairy cow will be killed where found and there burned, as was done with infected cattle in stamping out anthrax and the foot-and-mouth disease. Nothing of the kind need be done with the tuberculous dairy cow. What now becomes of our tuberculous cows?

When for any reason a cow fails longer to make her keep she is shipped to the nearest packing plant. There by United States inspectors two inspections, ante mortem and post-mortem, are made. If under these inspections the cow shows generalized tuberculosis, she goes to the rendering works to be made into fertilizer.

That is what becomes of the tuberculous cow, and therein we have the measure of value of that cow. That value is what she will bring in a United States inspected slaughterhouse. That value is the measure of damages which should be paid to the owner of the animal. The sooner she goes to the killing pen the more she will bring. The ultimate destination of every tuberculous cow in this country is the rendering vat. Fertilizer, grease, and leather is all she is fit for, and the day will come, and it is not far distant, when the hides of our 2,000,000 disease-spreading bovine pests will be adorning the racks of the tanyards, and when that day comes there will be 6,000 less funerals of small children for the parents of this country to attend in each succeeding year.

Let the United States then pay to the owner of the diseased cow all she is worth and let the United States get back this outlay from the sale of the carcass. It will not cost the United States a single dollar.

I confidently assert that tuberculosis can be absolutely eradicated from our herds in from 5 to 10 years at not only no loss to the owners of the diseased stock but at an absolute profit to them of millions of dollars, while to the Government there will be no cost other than the cost of administration. In this period we will stop the spread of the disease by pasteurization, and above all we will stop the annual death toll among the children.

The loss now in children's lives is over 6,000 per annum; the loss to dairy and cattlemen is over $25,000,000 per annum. Is not this loss in lives and money sufficient to require action by this House?

For a full and complete remedy for present conditions, I hope to see:

First. Pasteurization of dairy and creamery products going into interstate commerce.

Second. A compulsory tuberculin-test law providing for the identification and extermination of tuberculous or otherwise diseased animals with compensation to their owners.

Third. Compulsory sanitation and Federal license of all dairies, creameries, and centralizers doing any interstate business.

Fourth. Compulsory sanitation in handling, storing, and marketing interstate dairy and creamery products.

Fifth. Permissive license of dairies and creameries doing an exclusive intrastate business to enable them to gain and claim the high standard required by interstate dairy and creamery products.

Sixth. A United States brand for milk, cream, cheese, ice cream, and butter that will guarantee their wholesomeness.

But prior to this legislation, Mr. Speaker, should come action on my resolution (H. Res. 137). An investigation should be made by a committee of this House and the needed legislation should be drafted by that committee.

EXHIBIT 1.

[From the New York Produce Review and American Creamery, Aug. 23, 1916, p. 678.]

ATTITUDE OF DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

Hoard's Dairyman prints a letter from Secretary of Agriculture D. F. Houston to Secretary Creasy of National Dairy Union, commenting upon the resolutions adopted by the representatives of the dairy industry when assembled at Washington last May. The Secretary of Agriculture seems to find little in those resolutions that can inspire any change in administration. He announces a decision to appoint an advisory committee on live-stock sanitary affairs to be constituted of the chiefs of the Bureau of Animal Industry and of the divisions of animal husbandry, dairy, field inspections, and quarantine; but the Secretary gives no intimation that the committee he will form shall have any scope beyond the dealing with animal diseases. And as to the work of any commission to form uniform rules and regulations, such as was urged by the resolutions, the Secretary is of opinion that no action should be taken by the department until Congress has given some expression of judgment on bills now before it providing for investigation and the appointment of a commission to make rules. The Secretary says:

"I can not regard it as a just policy that the producer should dominate the Government's work dealing with his industry, making the consumer's welfare dependent upon those whose financial interests may often lean in a contrary direction."

The request to reorganize the Bureau of Animal Industry by placing its present work under three separate divisions, is met by the statement that the Secretary has no power to do this and would consider it highly unwise if he had. He says: "Past experience in the department has shown that it is unwise to have separate branches, independent of each other, dealing with closely related problems." He states also that, contrary to the intimation contained in the preamble to the resolution, all of the varied activities of the Bureau of Animal Industry have been specifically authorized by Congress.

The resolutions in respect to dealing with tuberculosis are met by a recapitulation of the activities of the bureau in this field and suggestions as to extension of these activities, in which the need of some plan of reimbursement for cattle destroyed is recognized if cooperation of cattle owners is to be expected.

Respecting the report of 1912 on the dairy and creamery industry, so severely condemned in the resolutions, the Secretary says:

"So far as can now be determined, the report itself is a fair index of conditions existing in the territory surveyed at the time it was issued. The statements are very moderate in the light of the data in the department's files. This information was collected by the dairy division staff, by men who were identified with and friendly to the dairy industry. It is unfortunate if this report, issued in 1912, has been distorted or misrepresented or made to appear applicable to existing conditions and necessarily to sections other than those involved in the survey. But I do not see how explanations could be made without repeating to a considerable extent what was said in the report. While it is believed that dairy conditions have improved considerably since the report was issued, it is not thought that they have yet reached a standard of perfection that much can be said on the subject, without giving information that would still be to some extent unfavorable and objectionable to the interests that you represent."

In this connection a letter from Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Carl Vrooman, dealing with the same subject, is of interest. This letter is sent to the dairy press by Secretary Creasy, of National Dairy Union, under the caption "A stinging rebuke," which would seem to be something of an exaggeration when the attitude of the head of the department is considered. True, Mr. Vrooman deplores the use of this 1912 report in the Linthicum resolution, calls attention to the smallness of the basis for its conclusions, and declares that the Federal Department of Agriculture is completely out of sympathy with current "misunderstandings and misinterpretations" of the 1912 report. He also declares that that report does not mean to say that the dairy industry is on a lower level of purity and cleanliness than the other industries of the country, but he seems to think "misunderstanding" of the report more to be condemned than any actual fallacy in the report itself, and when Secretary Houston says its "statements are very moderate in the light of data in the department's files," it is difficult to see any "stinging rebuke" to the most exaggerated use that has been made of this mooted report.

EXHIBIT 2.

The following is taken from a technical treatise published in London, England, in 1916. It is too voluminous to quote in full, but reference is made to the following important statements:

MILK AND ITS HYGIENIC RELATIONS.

[By Dr. J. E. Lane-Claypon, p. 250.]

The general prevalence of tubercle bacilli in milk samples in certain large cities: The incidence of tubercle bacilli in milk samples has been investigated in the milk supply of a number of cities, and the results have been published. It is not necessary to examine a large number of the results obtained in the course of such inquiries, since the prevalence of bovine tuberculosis in one country does not afford any guide as as to the prevalence of tuberculosis in another. Only a few inquiries, therefore, will be considered.

The medical officer of the health of London County Council has reported upon the prevalence of tubercle bacilli in milk samples which have been examined under the auspices of this council. He states that between the date of the coming into force of the L. C. C. general powers act of 1907 and December, 1913, 13,321 samples of milk forwarded from places outside of the county had been examined for the prescence of tubercle bacilli. Of these, 1,323 samples, or 9.9 per cent, had been found to contain tubercle bacilli, as shown by the inoculation of guinea pigs. During the year 1913, 2,900 samples had been examined. Of these the examination of 2,682 were completed at the time of writing his report, of which 251, or 9.3 per cent, had been shown to contain tubercle bacilli.

The presence of tubercle bacilli has been investigated on several occasions in the market milk of New York. In 1909 Hess found the incidence of tubercle bacilli to be about 16 per cent of all the samples examined by him, and in 1912 and 1913 Grund and Wilcox found that 9 out of 78 samples of milk contained, or 11.5 per cent were positive.

Eastwood, in his investigations on the American milk supply obtained figures relating to the number of infected cows in north Wisconsin in the years 1905 to 1908. Out of the 23,351 cows tested with tuberculin, 781, or 3.5 per cent of all investigated, showed a positive reaction. These cows belonged to 1,586 different herds, of which number 88, or 17 per cent of all the herds, contained infected cows. In the southern part of Wisconsin State, which had been settled for a longer period than the other parts and which has a denser population, 43,176 cows had been examined. Of these animals, 4,570, or 10.5 per cent, gave a positive reaction. The cows belonged to 2,164 different herds, of which 941, or 43.4 per cent of all the herds, contained infected animals.

The difference in the rate of incidence of tuberculosis in the cattle of the two portions of the State is very striking.

Campbell, in 1909, investigated the presence of tubercle bacilli in the general milk supply of Philadelphia. He took 130 samples of market milk and found that 18 contained tubercle bacilli. Seven of the inoculated guinea pigs died before they could be examined for tuberculosis, but excluding these the percentage of positive samples was 13.8 per cent. Samples of milk sold as pasteurized milk were also examined, and of these 8.3 per cent gave positive results.

Delepine, dealing with the milk supply of Manchester between the years 1897 and 1913, examined 7,681 samples of milk, of which 671 were found to contain tubercle bacilli, or 8.7 per cent of the total. The figures given show that there had been a considerable fall in the per cent of positive samples since the commencement of the investigation, the percentage for the first two years having been 17.2.

These figures apply only to the milk samples and do not give any indication of the number of individual cows giving tuberculous milk. Delepine points out that one cow giving tuberculous milk can infect a much greater quantity than her own when the milk of several cows is mixed together. In one experiment he took some milk from a cow whose udder was in the state of advanced tuberculous mastitis, and diluted it with various quantities of cow's milk which contained no tubercle bacilli. The mixed milk of the various dilutions was inoculated into different guinea pigs, and the result showed that one part of the tuberculous milk was capable of infecting 100,000 parts of nontuberculous milk. Delepine adds that had the dilution been pushed further it is probable that the milk would have been found capable of infecting 1,000,000 parts of nontuberculous milk.

Page 253. On the infectivity of tuberculous milk:

It has been known for a number of years that certain differences exist between the tubercle bacilli found in cattle and those found in the human species. These have been fully investigated, and for further details anyone interested is referred to the report of the Royal Commission on Tuberculosis. The essential point is the presence of bovine tubercle bacilli in lesions in the human subject. The most extensive observations have been carried out by the workers for the royal commission, and it will be of interest to quote sentences from the report made by the commission. After dealing with the investigations which were conducted upon 108 cases of human tuberculosis in persons of various ages the commissioners say: "Of the total 108 cases of human tuberculosis investigated, 84 yielded human tubercle bacilli, only 19 yielded bovine tubercle bacilli, and 5 both bovine and human tubercle bacilli. Although the bovine tubercle bacilli may, as it appears, be solely responsible for certain cases of pulmonary tuberculosis, and though it may be present with the human tubercle bacillus in the bronchial glands, it is evident from the data recorded that the majority of cases in which the bovine tubercle bacillus is the infective agent in the human being are cases of alimentary tuberculosis. Such are cases of cervical glands and primary abdominal tuberculosis. In the latter class of cases at least the tubercle bacillus has unquestionably been swallowed.

The percentage of these cases of alimentary tuberculosis due to the bovine tubercle bacillus is very large. The percentage appears to be about 50 per cent.

It is not necessary to bring forward evidence to show that bovine tubercle bacilli affect your children rather than adults. The prevalence of gland infection in children and of pulmonary infection in adults is a matter of common medical knowledge.

Dealing further with this subject, the commissioners state: "Of young children dying from primary abdominal tuberculosis, the fatal lesions could in nearly one-half of the cases be referred to the bovine bacillus, and to that type alone. In children, too, and often also in adolescents, suffering from cervical gland tuberculosis, a large proportion of the cases examined by us could be referred to the bovine tubercle bacillus. * * * Whatever, therefore, may be the animal source of tuberculosis in adolescents and in adult man, there can be no doubt that a considerable proportion of the tuberculosis affecting children is of bovine origin, more particularly that which affects primarily the

abdominal organs and the cervical glands. And, further, there can be no doubt that primary abdominal tuberculosis, as well as tuberculosis of the cervical glands, is commonly due to ingestion of tuberculous infective material. Judging by our feeding experiments, there would appear to be strong presumption that as regards most animals comparatively large doses, given either singly or by frequent repetition, are necessary to produce by ingestion acute progressive generalized tuberculosis, though we have recorded instances in which a very small dose administered but once has produced this result. Applying a like presumption to man—and our observations on the monkey and the chimpanzee afford warrant for so doing—it may be asked in what way are children, members of the human family who are especially liable to exhibit acute fatal tuberculosis commencing as an abdominal affection, most likely to obtain a large and fatally infective dose of tubercle bacilli? As already indicated by us, to this question there can be but one answer, namely, that the evidence which we have accumulated goes to demonstrate that a considerable amount of the tuberculosis of childhood is to be ascribed to infection with bacilli of the bovine type transmitted to the children in meals consisting largely of the milk of the cow."

Investigations, together with summaries of other cases investigated by different authors, have been prepared by Park and Krumwiede. These authors have worked up the percentage of bovine infection occurring in children who were found to be affected with tubercle, causing their death, or who had died from other causes, and were found post mortem to contain also tuberculosis lesions. The authors state: "In our series of nonselected fatal cases under 5 years of age bovine infection constituted 12½ per cent. We had nine cases under 6 years of age who were exclusively cow's milk fed, from a foundling asylum. Of these, five were bovine infections. If the fatal cases in this series are deducted from the total cases the bovine infections comprise about 10 per cent. In a nonselected series of fatal cases from the babies' hospital 6¾ per cent were due to bovine infection. Where other investigators have reported nonselected cases the percentages came close to these figures. On the whole, bovine infection caused somewhat less than 10 per cent of the total deaths in young children."

Stiles, in dealing with the question, reviewed some of the work of the observers already mentioned and urged the necessity for attention being directed toward the stamping out of bovine tuberculosis. He considered that if measures were energetically carried through the amount of surgical tuberculosis in children would rapidly diminish. He adds: "I maintain, however, that until such legislation has been in force for some time it is the duty of the medical profession to insist on the boiling of all milk given to children. Prof. Von Pirquet, one of the greatest authorities on tuberculosis in Vienna, states that practically all of the surgical tuberculosis which is met with in children in that city is due to the human bacillus. This statement would at first sight appear to throw doubt upon the reliability of the Edinburgh investigations, but when Prof. Von Pirquet assures us that the whole of the milk of Vienna is boiled we can quite understand why surgical tuberculosis in that city is never of bovine origin.

The work above recorded affords indubitable evidence as to the infection of children by the bovine tubercle bacillus through the alimentary canal.

ON MILK-BORNE EPIDEMICS.

[Page 259.]

For the most part these epidemics have been in the nature of sore throats varying greatly in intensity. Some diphtheria epidemics have also occurred. In some cases the symptoms have been of an extremely severe type, and although the sore throat was the primary symptom this has been succeeded by serious secondary troubles, leading in many cases to death.

Serious epidemics of sore throats, due to streptococci in the milk occurred in America in the year 1911–12.

Hamburger describes an epidemic in Baltimore. The milk concerned in the production of the epidemic all came from one dairy which collected milk from many farms. The milk had been pasteurized at the dairy by the flash method, i. e., just raised to 160° F. Subsequently it was held at a temperature of 145° F for from 20 minutes to half an hour. When the dairy raised the temperature of the pasteurization and the customers were advised to boil the milk, the epidemic subsided, although a few stray cases occurred, apparently by infection by one person to another. Investigation showed that in the few days preceding the outbreak of the epidemic pasteurization had been omitted.

Capps and Miller investigated an outbreak of sore throats due to streptococcal infection of the milk supply. The epidemic presented features of considerable interest and involved about 10,000 cases, which is considered to be a conservative estimate. A number of deaths occurred as the result of the infection. The outbreak was divided into two parts: The first part occurred September 1, rising in intensity to the 25th, when it rapidly subsided. The second outbreak of cases, which was not so numerous, occurred on January 1 and 2, with a slight interruption from the 10th to the 17th of this month. The epidemic was worse in some parts of the city than in others, and was bad in the village of Batavia, which lies just outside of Chicago. The source of infection was traced to a dairy whose pasteurizing plant was in Batavia. It was found that a few days before each of the outbreaks there had been serious defects in the pasteurization, which had been especially bad on December 17 and December 19. The milk appears to have been consumed two or three days after pasteurization and the incubation period to have been about four days. An interesting point arises in the fact that at one of the childrens' hospitals which was supplied with milk from this dairy, the children did not suffer at all, although the nursing and medical staff suffered severely. Investigation showed that the milk supply for the children was delivered raw and pasteurized in the hospital before being given to the children, while the milk supply for the staff was obtained direct from the dairy, where it was supposed to have been pasteurized and did not undergo any further heating. Investigation on the farms which supplied milk to the dairy showed that there had been an unusual number of cases both of mastitis in the cows and of sore throat in several of the persons on the farms supplying the milk to the dairy. Samples of milk supplied from the farms were found to contain pus and streptococci.

Epidemics of scarlet fever and typhoid fever have been traced to infection from the milk supply in a number of cases. Such infection usually occurs from the presence of the organisms in one of the milkers or in one of the inhabitants at the farm. Cases are given both by Savage and Trask, and others have occurred in recent years. Thus Meader reports an outbreak of 139 cases of scarlet fever and 282 cases of sore throat, which may have been a mild form of the disease. The source of the infection was traced to one of the milkers, and the large number of cases arose from the fact that the contaminated milk was mixed with a large volume of other milk.

These epidemics occur in spite of all observances of apparently adequate precautions. Pathogenic streptococci have been shown above to occur in "certified" milk. Winslow, in describing the severe epidemic of tonsillitis which occurred in Boston, Mass., in 1911 and 1912, says:

"I am at a loss to suggest any other precautions that could have been taken to guard against infection with human germs of disease that were not taken in this instance. Excellent regulations were drawn up for the exclusion of contagion, the milkers and the cattle carefully inspected, the dairy was admirably arranged, and the whole process controlled by laboratory examinations under the directions of bacteriologists and sanitarians of the highest standing. If, in spite of such precautions, the milk becomes infected, any raw-milk supply may at any time become infected; and this I believe to be the lesson not only of this outbreak but of many that have preceded it in all parts of the world. It is practically impossible to exclude mild and unrecognized cases of disease in the process of milk production. The larger the supply the greater, of course, is the danger; but even a small supply must meet it at some time. Thus, a cough over the pail, a finger inside the can as it is lifted, and the danger is imminent. There is, in my judgment, but one safeguard against such outbreaks—proper pasteurization."

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EXHIBIT 3.

FIGHT FOR FOOD.

[By Leon A. Congdon, M. S. Extract from Milk and Its Importance to the Public Health, ch. 6, p. 66.]

Outbreaks of typhoid fever, diphtheria, scarlatina, septic sore throat, etc., have definitely been traced to infected milk supply. In order to obtain disease from milk the germ of these diseases must come in contact with the milk, either by a direct or indirect route. Typhoid fever can never be contracted unless some of the excreta from patients having the disease enters our body. In a number of cases this is accomplished by the water supply becoming polluted by excreta from the outhouse or privy which drains into well or spring. The polluted water is used in rinsing milk utensils and hence infects the milk supply. Also some unscrupulous dealers who water the milk to make the supply go farther sometimes infect dozens of families with typhoid fever by means of the sometimes polluted water which they use as an adulterant, to say nothing of the robbing of the milk of its food value.

Diphtheria and scarlatina are sometimes contracted through milk supply by the direct route—by means of persons having the disease. There is such a thing as a healthy disease carrier, especially in these two diseases mentioned. The person having diphtheria germs in his throat may be immune to the disease himself, but coughing or sneezing throws the diphtheria germ into the milk, and it grows with great rapidity.

The ulcerated udder of a cow infected scores of persons with septic sore throat in a certain New York State town. The septic sore-throat epidemic was centered along the route of a certain dairyman. The sanitarian went to the dairy and by examining the milk from each cow finally found the cow with the ulcerated udder. After eliminating this cow and sterilizing all utensils, the epidemic of septic sore throat ceased to spread.

There is the lurking danger of contracting tuberculosis through milk that is supplied by a tubercular herd of cows—especially is this true in regard to such infected milk being supplied to babies.

* * * * * * *

There should be no sediment in milk supplied to the consumer. It is a menace to health to find sediment or dirt in milk, since such may bring with it countless numbers of undesirable germs or other organisms. I have seen specimens of the strainings of pint samples of milk which were nearly as black as tar. Other pint samples of milk strainings showed the presence of all kinds of matter foreign to milk, such as human hair, sand, yarn, flies, manure, alfalfa, and other feeding stuffs, pieces of metal from the cans or utensils, cow's hair, dirt, and in some cases pieces of gravel. This indicates careless handling of the milk, and we do not want to trust our health to anyone who handles milk in such a manner, since milk may be prone to undesirable organisms that may upset our health.

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EXHIBIT 4.

[Annual Report of the Bureau of Animal Industry for 1916, p. 6.]

THE TUBERCULOSIS PROBLEM.

A practicable and effective method of eradicating tuberculosis of live stock is greatly to be desired. This is a problem to which the bureau has given much study. The protection of human health against tuberculosis from animal sources may be reasonably assured by the pasteurization of milk and the inspection of meats. But there remains the economic problem of eliminating the heavy and increasing losses due to the insidious spread of this disease among farm animals.

Cattle and hogs are the most susceptible species and the only ones that need to be considered. There is abundant evidence of the wide prevalence of tuberculosis among these animals. Statistics of tuberculin testing indicate that on an average over 10 per cent of the dairy cattle in the United States are affected with tuberculosis, and in the Federal meat inspection 2½ per cent of the beef cattle and 9 per cent of the hogs inspected during the past fiscal year were found to be so affected. The annual losses directly caused by this disease are estimated at $25,000,000. In the face of growing demands and higher prices for food products the Nation can not afford to ignore indefinitely such an enormous leakage in its meat and milk supplies.

The most practicable avenues of approach to the problem of tuberculosis eradication seems to be through the pure-bred herds of breeding cattle and the feeding of hogs. This means simply the application of the old principle of purifying the stream at its source. Many herds of fine pedigreed cattle have harbored tuberculosis, and many a stock raiser wishing to improve his stock has instead brought disaster to himself by the introduction of tuberculous pure-bred animals into his herd.

Hogs, because of the early age at which they are slaughtered, do not propagate the disease among their own kind to any appreciable extent, but acquire it from cattle either by drinking infected milk or by following cattle in the feed lot and feeding upon the undigested grain in the droppings. Raw skim milk returned from creameries to patrons and fed to pigs is a prolific source of the disease in swine. The milk from many herds is mixed at the creamery, and if even one lot has the germs of tuberculosis in it the entire quantity may become

infected. The remedy for this is simple—merely to pasteurize all the skim milk before allowing it to leave the creamery. This should be required by law.

The elimination of tuberculosis from the pure-bred herds should be accomplished gradually by utilizing the tuberculin test in conjunction with other appropriate measures. In any event the cooperation of the Federal and State Governments and individual breeders will be necessary. One of the first steps should be to spread among the people concerned a knowledge of the facts as to the nature of tuberculosis, how it is spread, and how it may be prevented.

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EXHIBIT 5.

[Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Animal Industry, Sept. 15, 1916. Page 26.]

EXPERIMENTAL CREAMERY AT GROVE CITY, PA.

The efficiency of pasteurization from a bacteriological standpoint was tested and found to vary in per cent of bacteria destroyed from 99.94 to 99.99.

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EXHIBIT 6.

[Diseases of Cattle, Department of Agriculture, 1916. Page 408.]

TUBERCULOSIS.

Figures available in the United States do not cover a sufficient area of our territory to allow us to make a reliable estimate of the extent of tuberculosis with milch cows. There is little doubt, however, but that the disease has been increasing both with dairy cattle and hogs. From a review by Russell and Hastings, of the Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station, of tests of cattle for tuberculosis which have been made in the United States the following summary is presented:

Statistics of tests for tuberculosis in the United States.

State.	Number tested.	Number tuberculous.	Per cent tuberculous.
Vermont	60,000	2,390	3.9
Massachusetts	24,685	12,443	50.0
Massachusetts, entire herds	4,093	1,080	26.4
Connecticut	6,300	.....	14.2
New York, 1894	947	66	6.9
New York, 1897–8	1,200	163	18.4
Pennsylvania	34,000	4,800	14.1
New Jersey	25,000	.....	21.4
Illinois, 1897–8	929	.....	12.0
Illinois, 1899	3,655	560	15.32
Michigan	.....	.....	13.0
Minnesota	3,430	.....	11.1
Iowa	873	122	13.8
Wisconsin:			
Experiment station tests—			
Suspected herds	323	115	35.6
Nonsuspected herds	935	84	9.0
State veterinarian's tests—			
Suspected herds	588	191	32.5
Tests of local veterinarians under State veterinarian of cattle intended for shipment to States requiring tuberculin certificate	3,421	76	2.2

Reports of tuberculin tests made on 400,000 cattle in the United States during the years 1893 to 1908 by Federal, State, and other officers, with tuberculin prepared by the Bureau of Animal Industry, show 37,008 reactions, or 9.25 per cent. These were mostly dairy cattle, and in some cases herds were suspected of being diseased.

All cattle in the District of Columbia, numbering 1,701, were tested with tuberculin in 1909–10, and 18.87 per cent reacted. In 1909–11 herds in Maryland and Virginia, supplying milk to the District of Columbia, were tested, with 19.03 and 15.38 per cent of reactions, respectively, among 4,501 cattle.

The beef cattle of the United States show a much smaller proportion of the disease than dairy cattle, though the percentage of cattle found tuberculous in the Government meat-inspection service has increased considerably in recent years. This increase is due partly, but not wholly, to more stringent inspection. Of 7,781,030 adult cattle slaughtered under Federal inspection during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1911, 76,448 were found tuberculous, a percentage of 0.98.

It has been observed that tuberculosis increases in frequency with the age of the animals. If we take as the unit of comparison the number of cases of animals of a year and under affected with tuberculosis, animals from 1 to 3 years old furnish 10 times; those 3 to 6 years old, 30 times; and those more than 6 years old, 40 times the number of cases.

From the statistics above referred to, and other data, it appears that in the more densely populated areas of Europe and America from 5 to 50 per cent of the dairy cattle are more or less affected with tuberculosis, while the proportion of beef cattle affected is distinctly less, ranging from 0.14 to 30 per cent. This difference is due to a number of causes. Beef cattle average younger when slaughtered. They are not so frequently stabled, and are for that reason less liable to infection, and as the males constitute a large proportion of this class of animals the affect of milk secretion in lowering the vital forces is not so apparent. In the United States it has been estimated that about 10 per cent of the dairy cattle are tuberculous, while only about 2 per cent of the beef cattle are so infected.

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EXHIBIT 7.

[Diseases of Cattle, Department of Agriculture, 1916, p. 428.]

TUBERCULOSIS.

The increasing amount of evidence pointing to the identity of human and animal tuberculosis, combined with the extraordinary mortality of human beings from this disease, often amounting to 10 to 14 per cent, has raised the question in all civilized countries as to how far animal, and especially bovine, tuberculosis is to blame for this high mortality. The medical and veterinary professions have approached this problem with equal zeal, and much has come to light within recent years which enables us to come to some conclusion.

Concerning the infectious nature of milk secreted by tuberculous cows, authorities have universally agreed that when the udder itself is in the slightest degree involved the milk possesses infectious properties, and is therefore dangerous. Tubercle bacilli in large numbers have been found in the milk and the udder under such circumstances. Unlike other affections of the udder, tuberculosis of this organ does not at once change the appearance and the quality of the milk secreted. Bang states that for at least a month after the disease has appeared the milk is normal in appearance, and may be consumed and sold without arousing the suspicion of the owner. Considerable danger is therefore involved in this disease, and the necessity for the careful inspection of dairy cows seems more urgent than ever.

Authorities are, however, not fully agreed as to whether the milk from tuberculous cows in which the udder is apparently not invaded by the disease should be considered dangerous or not. Some incline to the belief that the milk secreted by healthy udders is never infectious, even when the lungs or other organs are affected; that, in other words, the tubercle bacilli are rarely, if ever, separated from the lesions which they produce, and that the udder itself must be diseased before tubercle bacilli can appear in the milk. Experiments made with the milk of tuberculous cows in which there were no indications of udder disease do not bear out this theory, since tubercle bacilli have been found in their milk. Some authorities still believe that the udder is diseased when the milk is infected, but that the disease escapes observation. However this may be, the fact that the udder may be diseased and the disease not recognizable simply casts suspicion upon all milk from tuberculous animals. We know that the milk of tuberculous cattle may or may not contain tubercle bacilli when the udder is apparently free from disease; but we have no rapid method of determining whether in any given case the milk contains tubercle bacilli or not. Moreover, the bacilli may be absent at one time and present at another in milk from the same cow. When we consider, therefore, the extent of tuberculosis and the hidden character of the disease a certain degree of suspicion rests upon all milk.

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EXHIBIT 8.

[Diseases of Cattle, Department of Agriculture, 1916, p. 430.]

TUBERCULOSIS.

Recently there has been much discussion of the question as to whether human and animal tuberculosis are identical diseases and as to the possibility of the tuberculosis of animals being transmitted to man or that of man being transmitted to animals.

The fact that tuberculous material from human subjects often failed to produce serious disease in cattle was observed by a number of the earlier investigators who experimented with such virus. It was the experiments and comparative studies of Theobald Smith, however, which attracted special attention to the difference in virulence shown by tubercle bacilli from human and bovine sources when inoculated upon cattle. Smith mentioned also certain morphological and cultural difference in bacilli from these two sources, and in the location and histology of the lesions in cattle produced by such bacilli. He did not conclude, however, that bovine bacilli could not produce in the human subject, but said:

"It seems to me that, accepting the clinical evidence on hand, bovine tuberculosis may be transmitted to children when the body is overpowered by large numbers of bacilli, as in udder tuberculosis, or when certain unknown favorable conditions exist."

A considerable number of investigators, including Chauveau, Vagedes, Ravenel, De Schweinitz, Mohler, De Jong Delepine Orth, Stenstrom, Fibiger and Jensen, Max Wolff, Nocard, Arloing, Behring, Dean and Todd, Hamilton and Young, the German tuberculosis commission, and Theobald Smith, have found tubercle bacilli in the bodies of human beings who died of tuberculosis which proved to have about the same virulence for cattle as had the bacilli from bovine animals affected by the disease.

In order to throw some light, if possible, upon the morphological constancy of the different types of tubercle bacilli Mohler has made comparative studies of bacilli from various sources, and which had been passed through various species of animals, by making the cultures upon dog serum after the method described by Theobald Smith. Some important results have been obtained. One culture of human bacilli which had morphological and cultural peculiarities similar to those of the bovine bacillus, and which produced only local lesions in cattle, was passed through a series of five cats. It was then found to be completely changed in its morphological character, the rods being elongated, slender, more or less beaded, and entirely of the human type. Far from decreasing in virulence, however, as might be expected from its morphological appearance, this bacillus had so increased in its pathogenic activity that it produced generalized tuberculosis in a cow. This cow was inoculated subcutaneously in front of each shoulder with 2 cubic centimeters of a salt-solution emulsion of the tuberculosis omentum of the last cat of the series. The cow rapidly lost flesh, had a temperature of 104° F., with the point of inoculation and adjacent glands greatly swollen. The autopsy revealed generalized tuberculosis, involving the lungs, mediastinal glands, spleen, liver, and kidneys. Tubercle bacilli of the bovine type obtained from the mesenteric glands of a sheep, hog, and cow were similarly transformed in the morphological appearance after being passed through a series of cats and recovered on dog serum. These bacilli also increased in virulence, as the last cat in the series invariably succumbed in a shorter time than the first of the series.

These experiments and observations indicate that the types of tubercle bacilli are very inconstant, and that under suitable conditions they readily change both in morphology and in virulence. A similar conclusion was reached by other investigators working with the avian and piscine types of tubercle bacilli several years ago, and was reasonably to have been expected with the human and bovine types.

It must be plain to all, from these recent developments, that too much has been made of the slight differences in cultural characteristics, in morphology, and in virulence which have been observed in some cases in comparing the human and the bovine bacilli. The observations were interesting and it was important that they be followed up until their significance was made entirely clear, but it was an almost unpardonable error, from a sanitary point of view, to promulgate sweeping generalizations calculated to arrest and abolish important measures for preventing human tuberculosis before the soundness of these generalizations had been established by a thorough course of experimentation.

When Koch said in the British Congress on Tuberculosis that he should estimate the extent of infection by the milk and flesh of tuberculous cattle and the butter made of their milk as hardly greater than that of hereditary transmission, and that he therefore did not deem it advisable to take any measures against it, he went far beyond what was justified by any experiments or observations which he reported

and he did a great deal of harm, which will be manifested for years to come to those who endeavor to guard the human race from the danger of animal tuberculosis. The researches which have been alluded to make these dangers more definite and certain than they have appeared before, and sanitarians should therefore most earnestly endeavor to counteract the erroneous and harmful impression which was made by Koch's address at London and his subsequent address at the International Conference on Tuberculosis at Berlin.

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EXHIBIT 9.

[Butter, Cheese, and Egg Journal, Aug. 23, 1916, p. 1. Editorial.]

To hear some dairy officials talk, and such talk was quite prevalent at the butter-makers' convention at Mason City, Iowa, last March, some people might think that the creamery business was conducted along the most scientific and sanitary lines. We heard a statement made that poor cream has always been received at the creameries, is poor at the present time, and perhaps always will be poor. What a great satisfaction this must be to some people to assume that there is nothing wrong; that these conditions exist, and simply because they exist there is no need of any effort to correct them. Such a policy is patting oneself on the back and trying to make others believe something that isn't true.

We are living in an age when specializing is of the greatest importance. Men along all walks of life are becoming more proficient in doing things. They learn to do things better than was done in the past, and those who are content to sit in their easy-chairs and assume that everything is all right are reactionists, back numbers, and should be relegated to the rear of the procession of dairy progress so they will not stand in the way and stop others from going ahead, but give them a chance to drop by the the roadside and sink into oblivion.

If anyone can muster courage enough to tell the public that conditions are all right they either have an ulterior motive in view, are entirely incompetent, or are deliberately falsifying. To convince anyone of the conditions it was only necessary to make a brief trip through any part of the Central States during the hot spell where cream is being shipped any distance and see the condition of the cream, which was in the most deplorable and revolting condition imaginable, and we wonder if it would not be advisable to put some of those who contend that conditions are all right upon a diet of the cream such as has been transported and used in the manufacture of butter for the past month or six weeks. Such a procedure might possibly teach some people something about sanitation and the quality of cream as it should be for making into an article of butter for human consumption.

When some one has the courage to bring out the true facts for the purpose of improving conditions, there are those who have the audacity, for the purpose of covering up their own sins, to cry out in favor of oleomargarine. In fact it has become quite popular among certain classes to use that phrase as a leverage to prevent the real facts from becoming known. But such tactics are going to fall and decency must be injected, cleanliness *must* prevail; quality will be sufficient to turn the scale of popular sentiment, and if anyone is imbecile enough to believe that they can get away with some of the conditions that prevail at the present time they will be awakened with a very severe jolt some day, and perhaps would have been awakened before this if it had not been for the European war, which shut from the United States millions of pounds of butter which was being arranged for to be shipped to our shores. This is especially true since the production in the United States has increased to a point of possibly its greatest consumption per capita of present quality butter, but if all of the butter was first class and produced under conditions such as prevailed in the local and cooperative creameries 10 or 15 years ago, when all of the product received at the creameries had to be in a sweet and clean condition, then it could be reasonably expected that the consumption would be greatly increased, as there is an opportunity for much greater consumption than at the present time, as good butter can not be replaced by substitutes of any character. No substitute made from vegetable or animal products will ever take the place of good butter, but they will take the place of a large amount of butter that is manufactured at the present time if the consuming public knows the facts, and they are fast learning the facts since civic leagues and others have sent persons throughout the United States for the purpose of inspecting the conditions under which butter is being made, and the members of such organizations are advised through their officials of the conditions regardless of what effort is made to cover up the insanitary conditions. There has been a tendency on the part of some officials employed by the States to accept the present conditions and have even gone so far as to advise how cream which is in a bad condition may be doctored so it can be made into butter which at least looks good to the eye. But fortunately for the dairy industry there are only a few of this class and most of the officials stand for decency which is productive of high quality, and which will build up the dairy industry of the United States on a firm foundation which can not be rocked or torn down by greedy corporations which have only as their object the lining of their own pockets.

It is about time that the creamery men make a general survey and learn who their friends are, as some of them are wolves garbed in sheep's clothing, but the time will come when the mask will be torn off and their true character will be revealed. There perhaps may be three lists made: One of the staunch friends of the dairymen, who are not afraid to speak the truth and who are not afraid of their little jobs and will not stoop to some of the things that have been done; they may always be counted upon as the friends of the dairy interests. The second list would be made up of the neutral and the indifferent. Some who are afraid to say their soul is their own, fearing that they would lose their positions. They are under a club, and they know it, and there are others who have joined the ranks of those who are willing to dope cream and manipulate it in any way possible to deceive the public. They only have their own interests in view. If the creamery men would make a careful analysis, those engaged in the dairy work, either officially, independently, or connected with some concern, it would not be difficult to pick out the names that would be placed on the different lists.

Let the readers make up their own lists.

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EXHIBIT 10.

[Hoard's Dairyman, Nov. 24, 1916, p. 619. Address of H. L. Russell, dean of the Wisconsin College of Agriculture.]

BANKERS' OPPORTUNITY TO HELP ERADICATE TUBERCULOSIS.

At the present time the amount of tuberculosis in upper Wisconsin is comparatively small, as is shown by data secured through the courtesy of Commissioner Norgord, of the Department of Agriculture.

These facts speak for themselves. Upper Wisconsin is now relatively free from this disease. To keep this virgin section of the State in this condition would mean much to the dairy interests of the future. For just so sure as the matter is neglected and the "let-alone" policy is allowed to prevail, the scourge of tuberculosis will continue to spread through this new section as fast as breeding stock is brought in from more infested regions. In 1906 to 1908, 16,400 head of cattle were tested in this new dairy region in central and western parts of the State. Then only 2.4 per cent of reaction were found. Now it has more than doubled. Very little of the disease is to be found in the common native stock, but numerous cases are coming to light at frequent intervals which indicate that the seeds of disease are being steadily sown through purchase of affected animals. In the laudable effort to improve the quality of stock by the introduction of new blood the seeds of disease are being steadily sown. Tests made by the various county agricultural representatives who are at work in most of the northern counties show that where reactors are found very frequently they have been purchased.

Tuberculin tests reported to State board of agriculture for 1914 and 1915.

	Number tests.	Number reactors.	Per-centage affected.
			Per cent.
Old dairy section (27 southern and eastern counties)..	48,236	4,306	9.0
Relatively new dairy section (29 central and western counties).....	15,167	746	4.9
Relatively undeveloped section (15 northern counties).....	6,677	188	2.9

EXHIBIT 11.

[Hoard's Dairyman, Nov. 24, 1916, p. 630, editorial.]

A TUBERCULIN-TEST LAW.

Elsewhere in this issue will be found an article by H. L. Russell, dean of the Wisconsin College of Agriculture, giving the sales of dairy cattle made in Wisconsin in 1914 and which were shipped to other States and foreign countries, and the relation of tuberculosis to the live-stock interests of Wisconsin. What is said pertaining to the importance of eradicating tuberculosis from the dairy herds of Wisconsin applies with equal force to all sections of the country.

Several States have made provisions for assisting their live-stock men in eradicating tuberculosis from their herds, but little headway has been made. Failure to accomplish as much as was anticipated when the several States passed tuberculin-test laws has been due to several reasons. First, too many owners of cattle have not realized the importance of eradicating tuberculosis from their herds and have also lacked faith in the tuberculin test. Second, most States have failed in their work because their organizations for applying the tuberculin test and handling diseased herds have been inadequate, and as a result they have been unable to carry out their plans systematically and to direct and advise the farmers fully regarding their part in such an undertaking. The States have, in many instances, done the best they could, but that has been far from reaching up to what the situation demands. Third, the State and Federal Governments have failed to compensate sufficiently the owners of cattle condemned as tubercular. It is true that no live-stock man can afford to harbor tuberculosis in his herd, and it is of more importance to him that his herd be free from tuberculosis than anyone else's; but notwithstanding this, the general public is also benefited. In view of this larger compensation should be allowed for condemned animals than is provided under the present laws.

The Federal Government should give the same kind of assistance to the States in helping them eradicate tuberculosis as it does when cattle are slaughtered with foot-and-mouth disease. Legislation will be necessary to bring this about. Further, the State laws must be revised and made uniform. The right procedure to eradicate tuberculosis from one State is the right procedure for all States. Concerted and uniform action would bring a cooperation between State and Federal Governments and the live-stock interests that has never been enjoyed to the degree necessary to bring the results so highly desirable.

We can hear some say that this method will be too expensive and that it is impossible to eradicate tuberculosis. Let us see. The Government estimates, and upon very good data, that this country for the past 30 years has sustained a loss of $25,000,000 annually as a direct loss from tuberculosis, or a grand total of $750,000,000. The question isn't can we afford to eradicate tuberculosis, but rather can we afford to keep it. The outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease, which some thought would ruin the cattle industry, cost less than $10,000,000 to eradicate. The farmer could see the effects of foot-and-mouth disease, and therefore could comprehend what it meant to him. Tuberculosis is an insidious disease and claims two and one-half times the losses each year than the heaviest loss ever made by foot-and-mouth disease. Who sustains the loss from tuberculosis? The entire population; but the farmer bears the largest toll.

What encouragement have we that tuberculosis can be stamped out? Innumerable examples may be cited, but we will mention only what has been accomplished in Minnesota through the cooperation of that State with its breeders of pure-bred cattle. For nearly 20 years the live-stock sanitary board has been working systematically and cooperatively with the breeders of pure-bred cattle in eradicating tuberculosis from their herds. The number of reactions in recent years has been less than 1 per cent, and 95 per cent of the pure-bred herds have no tuberculosis. What Minnesota has done other States can do, and it behooves them to do it.

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EXHIBIT 12.

[The American Food Journal, Nov., 1916, p. 548.]

BUTTER MAKERS BEGIN TO SEE LIGHT.

For years the American Food Journal has advocated the pasteurization of cream used in the manufacture of creamery butter as a just and necessary protection against the germs of tuberculosis from infected cows. That advocacy has made enemies of many creamery men, who were unable to read the signs of modern progress, and even of dairy and food commissioners, who thought they were befriending the butter men by opposing a reform which entailed some expense and greater care.

In spite of enmity and opposition, this journal continued its fight for pasteurization, and the greatest pressure from organized interests

never caused it to weaken in its efforts for "a healthful product, which means a pasteurized product." It has spoken its mind when shifty methods in conventions have stifled a full and free discussion of the subject. It has spared no official of State authority or of local organization when that official attempted to bar the adoption of this much needed regulation. It has fought earnestly, consistently, and fairly for this movement to guard the health of the public, because it believed the cause was important and vital.

Many have believed that these efforts were futile, but they took counsel of their hope rather than of their reason. A strong public sentiment in favor of the reform has been created and that sentiment is rapidly crystallizing in action. Publications that represent the creamery interests and the butter trade were antagonistic without exception in the beginning. Now it seems remarkably curious that they could not see the movement was really in the interest of the industry.

Butter is a part of every meal served at every table. No food product is more widely distributed and more generally consumed. Should it carry disease germs—and it is a perfect germ carrier—no home can be guarded against the danger of infection. That danger is recognized and feared, and the result is a check on butter consumption. Were all creamery butter made of pasteurized cream not only would the public health be safeguarded but the consumption of butter would increase and the markets operate under more favorable conditions.

The time is coming when pasteurization will be required by law. Progressive journals in the butter trade realize that the battle has gone against them, and they are accepting the inevitable.

From the Creamery Journal, of Waterloo, Iowa, issued under date of October 15, 1916, the following editorial utterance, headed "Pasteurization to come," is presented as additional evidence that the creamery men are seeing the light:

"Although the resolution putting the members of the Iowa State Dairy Association on record as favoring compulsory pasteurization of dairy products received little or no attention at the time, even by those in attendance at the meeting, it is something which is deserving of serious thought on the part of all concerned.

"Pasteurization is sure to come sooner or later, and it is well for the creamery men to prepare themselves for it; but it is doubtful, even in those States where associations have put themselves on record, as has the Iowa association, whether all the members really appreciate the importance of the movement. They do not seem to realize that should their action result in the passage of a State law to that effect they will be forced to pasteurize or suffer a penalty just as much as though they were caught with high moisture.

"No State dairy commissioner wishes to stand in favor of a law of this kind while a large number of the creameries are still unprepared for it, but this is just what is liable to happen. The creameries go on record as being favorable to such a law, the law is passed, and then some of the very men who voted in favor of the measure cry out that they are not prepared to comply with such a law.

"Let the creamery men give this question serious thought. Pasteurization is certain to come, and it would be better for the creameries to start it of their own volition; but if they do not start before such a law is passed, let them at least give the subject their serious consideration. More important still, if they have anything to say upon the subject, now is the time to do it, either through the creamery papers or their State dairy commissioners. The creamery man who cries out against such a law after it is passed will be liable to receive little consideration."

And all this in spite of the fact that a year ago or a little more a resolution favoring pasteurization was voted down in a convention of Wisconsin butter makers. In spite of the fact that butter interests were able to smother a pasteurization resolution offered before the recent convention of dairy and food officials in Detroit, the question can not be killed or longer ignored. "Pasteurization is certain to come." Consumers "are insisting more strongly each year on having a healthful product, which means a pasteurized product."

The battle is nearly over, and the American Food Journal plumes itself on the part it has taken in the conflict. It led the forces which will soon celebrate a great victory for health.

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EXHIBIT 13.

[The American Food Journal, November, 1916, p. 552.]

TUBERCLE BACILLI IN BUTTER.

Dr. Charles F. Whitney, of the Vermont State laboratory, writes as follows in the September, 1916, issue of the quarterly bulletin of the Vermont State Board of Health:

The bacillus which causes tuberculosis when present in milk will rise with the cream and settle with the sediment, so that, whether cream is obtained by gravity or separator methods, the skim milk will contain relatively few of the germs, most of them being carried by the small fat globules into the cream or be found in the sediment. So long as this is true we would expect to find tubercle bacilli in butter, and the large amount of investigation along this line shows this to be correct. Different workers have found them in various percentages of butter examined up to as high as 20 per cent. Salt is the only ingredient that has any germicidal effect, and this is quite weak, so that butter that has been kept over three months will still contain living tubercle bacilli. Sunlight quickly kills the bacteria, and drying destroys them in time, but we find the very opposite environment to hold in butter. We have therefore in butter nothing to destroy the germs except age and the slight effect that salt may have.

While there is no doubt concerning the cause of tuberculosis, there is still a question concerning the route by which the organism enters the body and how long it may remain there before evident disease begins. The large number of deaths which occur annually from tuberculosis and the great amount of suffering during the slow progress while the victim is wasting away, make it the most terrible of all diseases, and nothing should be allowed to continue which by any possibility may be a cause. The theory that the germs which are inhaled and, entering the lungs with the air, are always the cause, has to a large extent given way to the theory that the disease is produced by the germs entering the intestinal tract and from there infecting the glands in the neighborhood, causing glandular tuberculosis, or, passing on through the fluids of the body, lodge in some other focus, ready, when the person becomes run down from some cause, to break out into an active process, which in the majority of cases is tuberculosis of the lungs. Or if the person is strong the focus begun will be destroyed, leaving only a bit of scar tissue. If the latter theory is correct, and many believe it to be, we must blame only ourselves if we daily ingest a food known to contain the living virulent germs of tuberculosis.

The people of the country, as we all know, are at the present time very much aroused over the conditions existing in dairy products. This has been directed largely to the milk problem, but of late they are insisting that butter come from pure, clean, and safe milk. If the dairymen do not see the handwriting on the wall and act accordingly before long, certain demands are bound to be made which it will be hard to carry out if not prepared.

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EXHIBIT 14.

[From New York Herald of Sept. 12, 1916, p. 6.]

PASTEURIZED MILK SAVES BABIES.

Nathan Straus, who for 25 years has been supplying pasteurized milk to babies, yesterday sent this letter to Surg. Gen. Rupert Blue:

"Having been engaged for the last 25 years in trying to save the lives of babies, I am deeply interested in the efforts that you and your associates are making to end the peril of infantile paralysis.

"I can show you 2,500 babies in New York City, scattered through various tenement districts, but constituting a class by themselves by reason of one circumstance in their lives. I can show you that every one of these 2,500 babies has escaped the plague of infantile paralysis, which seized over 8,000 victims in this city.

"These 2,500 babies are daily supplied with pasteurized milk from my infant milk depots. Their condition is in no way different from other babies in this city, except that they receive milk that has been made safe food by killing the germs likely to be found in raw milk.

"Proper pasteurization of milk has been proven to prevent tuberculosis, typhoid and scarlet fevers, diphtheria, septic sore throat, and summer complaints of children. Does it not seem from my experience in this plague that it also prevents infantile paralysis?

"I submit this to you and to your associaton, inviting your examination of the records of my 18 infant milk depots, hoping that you will find in the freedom of the 'Straus babies' from infantile paralysis a demonstration of the utility of this method of preventing this terrifying plague."

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[From the Washington Post, Oct. 16, 1916, p. 1.]

FINDS PARALYSIS GERM—BALTIMORE SCIENTIST SAYS IT IS INTRODUCED IN RAW FOODS—NO CONTAGION BY CONTACT—DREADED POLIOMYELITIS, OR INFANTILE PARALYSIS, GIVEN TO BABIES IN MILK AND WATER, TO OTHERS IN UNCOOKED FRUITS AND VEGETABLES—RABBIT WAS INFECTED.

BALTIMORE, *October 15, 1916.*

A rabbit used in the pathological department of Johns Hopkins Hospital to determine the method of transmission of the infantile paralysis germ has developed the disease, it was announced to-night.

Dr. Montrose T. Burrows, of the hospital, who discovered that the germ is taken into the system by the mouth, in milk and water, said that the experiment with the rabbit means another important advance toward solving the whole problem of poliomyelitis.

One of the legs of the rabbit has become paralyzed.

TRY IT ON MONKEYS.

Transmission will be next attempted through two monkeys.

The mystery surrounding the cause of the spread of infantile paralysis has been solved, according to an official of Johns Hopkins Hospital.

Extensive research conducted by Mr. Burrows, pathologist of the hospital, has resulted in discovery of the infantile paralysis germ, the existence of which was established nine years ago by Dr. Simon Flexner, of the Rockefeller Institute.

PRESENT IN RAW FOODS.

Present always in every case of the disease a germ has been found in the big intestine, showing that the disease is spread by some raw food. That that food is milk or water is established by the fact that babies whose only diet has been milk or water died of the disease. Dr. Burrows and his assistants, under the direction of Prof. William H. Welch, have been making autopsies upon every victim of the disease since July. They have conducted a careful microscopic search.

Of the diseased organs it has been found that the germs occur only in the colon. The investigations prove that 100 per cent are infected in this big institute. Since it is only possible for the germ to enter the big intestine by way of the mouth, food and drink must be the carrier.

RAISE QUARANTINE.

The investigators are so certain that this is true and that there is no other way for the disease to be contracted that they suggest that the quarantine be raised against personal contact and that all raw foods, such as milk, water, fruits, etc., be sterilized, boiled, or cooked before being given to children or others.

The investigators find that house flies and other insects undoubtedly help to spread the germ from one food to another. This discovery is the first one that has been given out officially by Johns Hopkins Hospital before it has been published in a recognized medical journal.

The spread of the disease is so much like that of typhoid fever and its method of communication that the investigators are sure they have hit upon a way to make an antipoliomyelitis vaccine like the antityphoid vaccine that stamped out typhoid in the United States Army.

EXHIBIT 15.

[Butter, Cheese, and Egg Journal, Sept. 13, 1916, p. 2, editorial.]

While visiting the principal butter markets in the East recently it was found that the practice of tasting butter by biting into the plug of butter on the trier still prevails. However, a considerable number of the butter buyers have stopped that practice entirely and do not permit it to be used in their place of business.

One can imagine the impression a consumer would get of butter cut from a tub in which he happened to get that portion of the plug from which a piece had been bitten and upon which the teeth marks of the man who tasted the butter remained. Such a condition is possible during the winter months when the butter is hard or butter taken from cold storage which is still hard.

The United States Department of Agriculture, six or seven years ago, put a rule into effect which prohibited men in the Government service to bite into the butter while tasting it; they were instructed to break a piece off of the plug on the trier, and so far as we know that rule still holds good, and the butter dealers and official inspectors should see to it that the old practice is stopped.

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EXHIBIT 16.

[Chicago Dairy Produce, Oct. 24, 1916, p. 12.]

INSANITARY SAMPLING.

Samuel K. Cohen, a local merchant, in a letter addressed to the Produce Review, calls the trade's attention to the present method of

testing and sampling butter, which is so antiquated, so insanitary, and therefore so ultra important that we reprint the letter, as follows:

"It has often been a cause of wonder to me why in the efforts for reform in the dairy industry made during the past 10 years some notoriety seeker in connection therewith, or some well-meaning advocate, did not focus attention on the present insanitary method of sampling butter. All the while, too, the necessity for improvement has been more than apparent to me. Why is no change made? Because it is easier not to change, once a custom becomes rooted, in whatever field of human endeavor it may be.

"Some years ago, when a lad in the West learning the business, I can remember well that the aptitude of a young man for butter inspection—and for that matter the capability of a veteran—was gauged by the alacrity (or lack of it) with which he would 'take a bite into the trier.' And because this method has been handed down from generation to generation is absolutely no argument in favor of its continuance. As a matter of fact, the argument against its continuance is incontrovertible. The reasons advanced having been published so recently in your journal it is not my purpose now to repeat them. Progress in sanitation in recent years has compelled people to change many of their former views, and so, with respect to this feature of the dairy industry now under discussion, it is high time for a change.

"Reforms from within are always better than reforms from without. The dairy industry has now learned—better perhaps than any other—that failure to correct an evil by voluntary inclination only invites legal compulsion."

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EXHIBIT 17.

[New York Produce Review and American Creamery, Sept. 20, 1916, p. 822. Editorial.]

SHOULD BE STOPPED.

We notice that one of the western creamery papers has taken up the question of insanitary methods of sampling butter prevalent on many of our wholesale markets. The need of some reform in this matter of sampling is one which the Review has called attention to a number of times in the past. We have emphasized the dangers of the present system of promiscuously biting into the sample and rubbing the nose along the outer edge of the trier full of butter, and we have pointed out that these dangers are by no means confined to possible harm to consumers. The greatest danger, as far as the butter industry is concerned, lies in the possibilities that this malpractice offers to muckrakers or enemies of the dairy business. The man who persists in these insanitary ways of handling a trier full of butter will deserve all the unwelcome publicity that he is bound to get sooner or later at the hands of some relentless newspaper food expert. This mouthing over the butter is unnecessary, and our leading organizations of butter traders should do what they can to stop it by the promulgation of approved and sanitary methods of sampling.

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EXHIBIT 18.

[New York Produce Review and American Creamery, Oct. 11, 1916, p. 998. Article contributed by F. L. Bellows.]

BAD PRACTICE.

DES MOINES, IOWA, *October 2, 1916.*

EDITORS NEW YORK PRODUCE REVIEW AND AMERICAN CREAMERY:

In your edition dated September 20, 1916, there was an article headed "Should Be Stopped." Probably this same article could have been entitled "Should Never Have Been Allowed." This refers to the practice of "mouthing over" the butter which is scored by the commercial judges on the street. Biting into a trierful of butter, rubbing the nose the whole length of the trier, and then fingering the butter to try the body of the butter is a bad, dangerous, and filthy demonstration. Yet this happens in our large markets, and is done time after time by the men on the street. One of these men may have a cold, or a cough, or some disease (known or unknown to himself or others), and these bacteria from his teeth and throat may be transmitted to the body of the butter itself when the trier is again placed back in the tub and the remainder of the butter left there. This butter may travel hundreds of miles to a place where it is cut up and sold in 1-pound prints. The whole tub of butter may not be affected, but that particular print of butter which contains the teeth marks of the commercial judge may go to some home and cause a lot of trouble through sickness. This plan of reasoning has never been reported as a fact, but is it not possible?

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EXHIBIT 19.

[The American Food Journal, November, 1916, p. 561.]

NOTES FROM FIELD OF FOOD CONTROL—BUTTER EMULSION.

State Dairy and Food Commissioner James W. Helme, of Michigan, sends out the following circular, embodying timely hints anent the high cost of living:

With the prevailing high prices of all food products, consumers are warned to watch very carefully in their purchases for adulterations and short weights. Recent instances which have come to the attention of this department are as follows:

We have discovered that cold-storage butter is being shipped into Michigan from Chicago to several large creameries. These creameries freshen the butter by manipulation, and are able to incorporate a certain amount of extra water, thereby increasing the weight of the butter. Normal butter should not contain to exceed 15 per cent or 16 per cent moisture. By this manipulation process we have taken samples of butter that show 25 per cent moisture. Forty cents a pound is too much to pay for water, and a final warning is given all creameries that this practice must cease or prosecutions will follow. We also find that large numbers of oleo and butter prints are an ounce shy on the pound, which is a practice which must be stopped.

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EXHIBIT 20.

[Chicago Dairy Produce, Dec. 12, 1916, p. 30.]

FIFTY PER CENT WATER.

One of the cases to come up at the present session of Federal court is that of the Chattanooga (Tenn.) Department of Health *v.* J. W. Brown, Rossville, Tenn., who is charged by health officials with violating the pure-food laws. About six weeks ago complaints were made to the department by people who had purchased a quantity of butter at various grocery stores in the city. On investigation City Bacteriologist Stanton H. Barrett found the butter to contain more than one-half water.

EXHIBIT 21.

[The American Food Journal, December, 1916, p. 614. From article in New York Journal of Commerce on the annual report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue..]

ADULTERATED BUTTER.

A total of 147 cases against manufacturers, 28 against wholesale dealers, and 38 against retail dealers in adulterated butter were discovered and reported during the year, making a grand total of 213 violations, as against 30 cases against manufacturers, 5 wholesale dealers, and 5 retail dealers, or a total of 40 during 1915. All but 26 of these reported violations consisted of the manufacture and sale of butter as creamery butter which was subsequently found to contain moisture of 16 per cent or more.

Prosecutions were instituted in the 26 cases where the evidence showed the dealers had purchased creamery butter, manipulated it, and added abnormal quantities of water, ranging from 30 to 50 per cent, and afterwards sold the product as pure creamery butter, and these offenders were convicted in every instance. This class of violations has grown with considerable rapidity in some of the large cities, and the indications are that it will take vigorous efforts to suppress this illicit traffic.

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EXHIBIT 22.

[Butter, Cheese and Egg Journal, Sept. 6, 1916, p. 14. Article contributed by H. D. Wendt, Michigan dairy and food department.]

CAUGHT IN THE NET.

Caught in a net of evidence from which there was no possible escape, the notorious practice of disposing of decomposed, putrid cream to a competing creamery was brought to the bar of justice through a complaint filed in justice court before Judge Clements in the city of Saginaw by the writer on August 24, against Walter Vasold, former secretary of the Michigan Creamery Owners & Managers' Association, now manager of the Michigan Creamery Co. at Saginaw. Vasold at first, in answer to the complaint, entered a plea of "Not guilty," but later, when confronted with the evidence, changed his plea to "Guilty" and was fined $10 and costs.

The complaint charged the defendant with offering for sale to the Fox River Butter Co., of Detroit, a 10-gallon can of stale, decomposed, putrid cream. Mr. E. G. Cooper, manager of the Fox River Butter Co. in Detroit and the present secretary of the Michigan Creamery Owners & Managers' Association, promptly refused it.

The cream in question was originally received by the Michigan Creamery Co. from one of their buying stations and upon examination found to be in such a putrid condition as to leave no hope, even with the resuscitating methods employed by these centralized butter factories, of bringing the stuff "up to date," so it was prepared for shipment to Detroit, where, upon its arrival, it was sensed by some of the department's pure-food sleuths. When found not to contain the regulation death certificate, the can and contents were promptly seized and held for further investigation, which disclosed the fact that the name on the can (Chas. A. Murray) was not that of the real owner of the cream, his name having been used to ward off suspicion in an attempt to lead the Fox River Butter Co. to believe that they were receiving the can of cream from a new customer.

No doubt going on the theory that even the dead want company, another can of cream in the same putrid condition was shipped at the same time, consigned to the Shedd Creamery Co., also of Detroit. This cream, however, somehow escaped the vigilance of the inspectors. No doubt the Shedd Creamery Co. was glad to get it for dissecting purposes, as the full market price was paid for same. Of course, it is possible that with new methods being developed daily for bringing cream in this condition back to life or "up to date," that this can of cream was jerked back into this cruel world where it had, no doubt, endured much suffering from the prevailing hot weather, cast upon an unsuspecting, suffering public, who are led to believe, through the medium of alluring billboard and other forms of advertising, that butter made from such cream, after having been brought "up to date," tested chemically and bateriologically, is purity itself.

H. D. WENDT,
In Charge Dairy Division.

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EXHIBIT 23.

[Chicago Dairy Produce, Nov. 28, 1916, p. 24. Article contributed by D. E. Doner.]

ADVOCATES NEW LAW—WOULD HAVE BUTTER MADE FROM CREAM TREATED WITH LIME MARKED "RENOVATED."

MCCONNELSVILLE, *Ohio, November 14.*

Editor CHICAGO DAIRY PRODUCE:

I have been an interested reader of your magazine for a number of years, and have often taken pleasure in noting your many articles regarding better cream. In your last issue you have a very good editorial under the head of "State brand for butter."

I have been a butter maker for more than 25 years, and during the last 10 years it has been increasingly difficult to get good raw products. The present system of obtaining cream, of which you treat in this article, has educated the farmer away from good production. It has done so because no premium is put on good cream. Until there is a sufficient and actual distinction between the prices of good cream and bad cream the farmer will continue to bring his cream to the creamery in bad condition, and until the public is instructed as to just what kind of butter they are buying it will continue to pay a high price for butter made from poor cream, especially if it is well advertised and made easy to get. This makes it impossible for the small creamery to really grade cream and pay properly for grade.

You know, and every creamery operator knows, the methods of treating old, dirty cream. You know, and every creamery operator knows, too, that neutralized and treated cream does not make butter fit for food; but we all know at the same time that most butter made in the West and Middle West is of this character and is sold as a pure product, and in order to get by with it many firms mark it pasteurized.

Now, if the plant which renovates butter must mark it as such and be under Federal jurisdiction, why should not the plant making butter out of cream which is actually renovated be compelled to mark its package of butter "Made from renovated cream" and put under the same jurisdiction?

A law like this, properly enforced, would instruct the public as to what they are buying, give the farmer an incentive to produce good cream by making a real distinction in prices, and stimulate every creamery to make a pure product. It would also either end the careers

or change the business methods of those plants which are humbugging the American public by giving it a butter made of rotten cream antiseptically treated, and at the same time immeasurably stimulate the proper conduct of dairying.

You have written many fine articles about getting better cream and making better butter. Will you put these good arguments into a workable form by going after a national law which will compel every creamery whitewashing its cream to mark its butter "Made from renovated cream." I believe every conscientious butter maker and creamery manager would be with you.

D. E. DONER, *Butter Maker.*

EXHIBIT 24.

[Butter, Cheese, and Egg Journal, Sept. 6, 1916, p. 1, editorial.]

Prof. G. L. McKay, secretary of the Association of American Manufacturers of Creamery Butter, has broken into print and advocates, or at least mentions the fact, that sodium hypochloride may be used in the preparation of tubs and liners to prevent mold. This is not at all surprising since his advocacy of the use of lime and other dope in cream, but one naturally will wonder what will be recommended next. First, it is lime in cream, then hypochloride for the packages, and we presume the next will be some other chemical for some other purpose, and before the public is aware of it the product which they have always known as butter will be so disguised that a cow would not recognize her own product.

Food adulterators in the days gone by adopted the same tactics. It was first one thing and then another until many of the food products were so doctored up that the President of the United States instructed Congress that if they would not take action before Congress adjourned in 1906 on the bill which was before Congress at that time, he would immediately reconvene Congress after adjournment, and the bill was dug up out of a pigeonhole in the desk of the committee, where it had been laid away with a satisfaction of security that it would never bob up again; but it was passed a few days thereafter. Some such action will be necessary in regard to the use of chemicals in the manufacture of butter, and the day perhaps is not far distant when all butter will have to be made from cream which can be termed as "cream" and made in such a way that no one need be ashamed or make an excuse for the character of the finished article.

EXHIBIT 25.

[New York Produce Review and American Creamery, Oct. 11, 1916, p. 1010.]

THE NATIONAL DAIRY COUNCIL—ITS GENERAL AIMS, PARTICULARLY AS TO INCREASING THE DAIRY INDUSTRY BY AN ADVERTISING EDUCATIONAL CAMPAIGN.

The National Dairy Council is an outgrowth of the national dairy show. Its purposes are set forth in an elaborate pamphlet of 78 pages recently published, which can hardly fail to attract the earnest attention of all interested in the dairy industry.

The object of the council is, in brief, to advance the cause of dairying in America by promoting the dairy cow and all interests dependent upon her, through cooperative and united effort. It is now composed of 280,000 dairymen, dairy cattle breeders, and representatives of all allied dairy interests, banded together to build a greater and better American dairy agriculture and to develop a wider use of dairy products.

To effect the latter purpose a national educational advertising campaign has been organized to be managed by a committee of 10, representing different branches of the industry. In this committee the cattle interests are represented by D. D. Aitken of Flint, Mich., president Holstein-Friesian Association; the milk producers by W. J. Kittle, of Chicago, secretary of Northern Illinois Milk Producers' Association; the milk dealers by John Le Feber, of Milwaukee, Wis.; the butter interests by George E. Haskell, Chicago; the cheese interests by Harmon Wheeler, Plymouth, Wis.; the ice cream interests by John W. Knobbe, Chicago; the farm-machinery interests by Dr. W. E. Taylor, of Moline, Ill.; the dairy-machinery interests by G. B. Sharp, of New York; the feed interests by Sherman T. Edwards, of Chicago; the food commissioners by W. B. Barney, Des Moines, Iowa.

It is proposed to raise a fund of $750,000, and to expend approximately $20,000 a month for 36 months in advertising, general publicity, and organization work.

EXHIBIT 26.

[Butter, Cheese, and Egg Journal, Oct. 25, 1916, p. 4.]

NEW CALIFORNIA LAW IN EFFECT.

October 1 was the date when the California law went into effect, which requires that all milk and cream for consumption or for manufacturing into butter shall be pasteurized, except that which comes from tuberculin-tested cows. The product, it is understood, must be labeled "Pasteurized" or "From tuberculin-tested cows." The containers shall be marked with the name and location of the creamery, or, if an individual dairyman, that his name and address must be given.

There was considerable opposition in some sections of California to the new law, and it seems to be a question if the same can be enforced, as weaknesses have developed which indicate that it is loosely drawn. However, the creameries generally are not only willing to comply with the law, but they are heartily in favor of it, as the creamery men realize that butter made from properly pasteurized cream and otherwise made in accordance with the best practice will possess better keeping qualities and generally give better satisfaction.

EXHIBIT 27.

[Editorial from New York Produce Review and American Creamery, Sept. 27, 1916, p. 858.]

THE NEW CALIFORNIA LAW.

It looks as if the State of California will have to await the action of another legislature before it forces the pasteurization of all milk and cream not from tuberculosis-free cows sold or manufactured into butter throughout the State. The attorney general has been dissecting the measure, which is due to become effective October 1, and, according to Pacific Dairy Review, he finds only one part of the entire act entirely clear in its meaning—that is the clause appropriating money for additional officeholders. He is said to have handed down an opinion that the clause providing for cream pasteurizing or the elimination of tuberculous cows does not apply to butter, and that the milk-grading requirements do not apply to cities or towns not maintaining milk-inspection service.

However, notwithstanding the botch that the California Legislature seems to have made of this initial attempt at compulsory State-wide pasteurization or tuberculin testing, it is certain that efforts toward the object aimed at will not cease. It is, in our opinion, only a question of time before other States besides California will pass compulsory pasteurization measures, and it will be well for our creameries to be prepared.

EXHIBIT 28.

[Chicago Dairy Produce, Dec. 12, 1916, p. 20. From the address of President Morrison, of the Wisconsin Butter Makers' Association, at the sixteenth annual convention, held in Sparta, Wis., Dec. 5, 1916.]

We have been working under the Wisconsin license law nearly a year, and this has undoubtedly been the means of improving the appearance of the interior of many creameries throughout the State. The enforcement of this law has not inconvenienced any of us; nor do we desire to return to the days of few restrictions and regulations. But, after all, has the enforcement of this law improved the quality of our butter? I believe you will agree with me when I say that it has not to any appreciable extent. The reason is obvious: The law does not reach the root of the evil. It does not affect the cream before it is brought to the well-kept creameries. A sanitary creamery can not do justice to insanitary cream. We need more farm inspectors, men peculiarly adapted to talk and counsel with the farmers, show them how easy and profitable to all concerned it is to produce dairy products in a sanitary manner.

EXHIBIT 29.

[Butter, Cheese, and Egg Journal, Dec. 13, 1916, p. 20: Address by Dr. H. E. Barnard, State food and drug commissioner of Indiana, before the Indiana manufacturers of dairy products, Indianapolis, Ind., Dec. 8, 1916.]

The principal object of milk inspection has been the securing of a substitute which approaches as near as possible breast milk for infant feeding. In our endeavor to secure clean milk for babies, rules and ordinances have been adopted which did not improve the quality of milk, but which did discourage the producer and harass the distributor. We have been studying milk control for 50 years and until within the last 5 years we have made almost no progress at all. Indeed, what improvement has been made has come from within the industry rather than from without.

The practice of pasteurization which I am glad to say to-day certifies the wholesomeness of 96 per cent of our milk supply, has done more to insure a clean and wholesome milk than all the milk inspectors and milk ordinances put together.

EXHIBIT 30.

[Chicago Dairy Produce, Dec. 12, 1916, p. 2, editorial.]

STATE INSPECTION FOR QUALITY.

At the convention last week of Indiana manufacturers of dairy products held in Indianapolis, Prof. Oscar Erf, of Ohio University, advocated State inspection of dairies as a means of improving the quality of milk. He appeared to believe that inspection would bring quicker and better results than cream grading.

Prof. Erf called attention to, or rather based his argument on results had in one county in Ohio where the whole dairy and food-inspection force of the State was put to work, inspected all the dairy farms and required cleaning up and changes of methods where needed, and the results were most satisfactory. The experiment was carried into the markets, and it was shown that butter in ton lots sent from creameries in the inspected county brought an average of 2 cents per pound more in the New York market than butter in equal lots sent from adjoining counties.

Another result is that the farmers in the inspected county are all advocates of State inspection of dairy farms, and the inspector who enforced inspection upon these farmers is held by them as a benefactor. The farmers in that county will all be found behind a bill to be presented at the coming meeting of the State legislature requiring inspection.

Prof. Erf and others behind this movement, basing their figures on the cost of inspection in the one county and the additional value to dairy products of that county as a result of inspection, estimate that with an additional 40 inspectors, at a cost of $500,000 per year, the whole State can be covered; and that, as a result of this expense, dairy products of the State will bring at least $2,000,000 more per annum. Then figure the $500,000 investment on this basis a good investment, and they have what has been accomplished in one county to prove what can be accomplished in the State.

EXHIBIT 31.

[Chicago Dairy Produce, Nov. 7, 1916, p. 2, editorial.]

STATE BRAND FOR BUTTER.

The idea of a State butter brand seems to be growing. The subject is now being agitated quite generally all over the country. Not many States have it in working order, but some of them have and others have it in the formative stages. We believe the idea to be a good one, and there has been no move made in which the possibilities are so great for the improvement of our butter product as in the State-brand move; but we can see in it a great chance for failure, and this lies in the long length of time it is going to take to get the plans working so as to bring results.

Minnesota was the first State to adopt it in this country; and, although it has been about three years since they started it, we are informed they have only about one-half dozen creameries that have been granted the privilege of using the brand.

This is not to be wondered at when we consider the conditions prevailing in this country. There has been but little incentive here for a long time to produce good cream. Prices of the good and the poorer grades of cream have been so close that farmers received almost as much, and as much in many instances, for the lower grades as they did for the higher. The competition among the creameries has become so keen that the question of quality has hardly entered into the buying. Cream has just been cream, and there has been no good cream or poor cream. Many creamery men have told their patrons and advertised that they could make just as good butter out of old, sour cream as they could out of sweet cream. They have educated the patrons up to this, and in every State there are many patrons who have grown negligent, and they sell nothing but old, stale cream.

[Chicago Dairy Produce, Nov. 14, 1916, p. 20.]

RULES AND REGULATIONS.

CONDITIONS TO BE MET BEFORE A CREAMERY CAN USE MICHIGAN STATE BRAND FOR BUTTER.

SEC. 4. License. The license referred to in the first section of these rules, regulations, and specifications will be and is issued on the express condition that the person, firm, or corporation to whom such license has been granted shall comply with the following:

(a) Sanitation. Maintain proper and satisfactory sanitary conditions in the plant in which the butter is made and proper and satisfactory sanitary surroundings.

(b) Raw material. That no milk or cream be received which is to be made or is made into butter upon which the Michigan brand or trade-mark is to be used that will not comply with the provisions of act No. 222, Public Acts, 1913, given in full in pages 21 and 22.

(c) Pasteurization. That the butter shall be made from milk or cream that has been pasteurized at a temperature not less than 140° F., and shall be held at that temperature for 20 minutes, or to a temperature not less than 170° F. if not held.

* * * * * * *

(g) Adulterants. No preservatives (except pure common butter salt), neutralizers, or adulterants shall be added to the milk or cream from which the butter is made and which is to be sold under the Michigan State trade-mark.

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EXHIBIT 32.

[Chicago Dairy Produce, Nov. 21, 1916, pp. 9–20. From resolutions passed by National Creamery Butter Makers' Association at their annual convention at Minneapolis, Minn., on Nov. 14–16, 1916.]

Resolved, That the association reaffirm its stand on pasteurization of dairy products and by-products as stated in previous resolutions.

Resolved, That the association recommend to the various States of this country the passage of pasteurization laws by the various legislatures.

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EXHIBIT 33.

[New York Produce Review and American Creamery, Nov. 22, 1916, p. 148. From resolutions by New York State Dairymen's Association at their convention at Syracuse, N. Y., Nov. 14–16, 1916.]

Favoring a State law to compel the pasteurization of all whey and skim milk from cheese factories or creameries when such whey or milk is used as food for live stock.

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EXHIBIT 34.

[Chicago Dairy Produce, Dec. 12, 1916, p. 21. From resolutions passed by sixteenth annual convention of the Wisconsin Butter Makers' Association, Sparta, Wis., Dec. 5, 1916.]

Resolved, That we recommend that proper legislation be enacted making it unlawful to manufacture butter from neutralized cream unless such butter, when offered for sale, be so branded.

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EXHIBIT 35.

[Butter, Cheese, and Egg Journal, Oct. 4, 1916, p. 45.]

TO ASK FOR CREAMERY INSPECTION.

In order to bring the sanitary inspection of creameries, cheese factories, condenseries, canneries, and other establishments where food products are manufactured and prepared under State supervision, and to regulate the handling and display of food products by wholesale and retail merchants, the officials of the Pennsylvania department of agriculture will present a bill to the next legislature covering this feature of the control of food products.

Many States already have laws relating to food and drinks, but Pennsylvania has no sanitary law that controls the manufacture, preparation, or handling of food products. Dairy and Food Commissioner James Foust feels that such legislation is badly needed in this State, and that by proper regulation assistance can be given in keeping down the start and spread of epidemics, which often lead to the loss of hundreds of lives. The proposed bill will meet the conditions complained about in Philadelphia and other cities in the State.

Commissioner Foust is now securing copies of the laws in force in other States, and the Pennsylvania bill will be drafted along the most improved lines.

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EXHIBIT 36.

[Chicago Dairy Produce, Dec. 5, 1916, p. 10. Article contributed by J. J. Brunner.]

PASTEURIZATION OF CREAM.

[Address by J. J. Brunner before Butter Makers' National Convention in Minneapolis.]

"The pasteurization of cream for butter making" was the subject of an address by J. J. Brunner, of Iowa, at the convention in Minneapolis of National Creamery Butter Makers' Association. Mr. Brunner said:

The subject of pasteurization of cream for butter making is, in my opinion, one of the most important subjects confronting the American butter makers to-day. With the constant agitation of the necessity of pasteurization of all dairy products by nearly every board of health in practically every large city in this country, and especially those in the cities of New York and Chicago, which are our largest markets, I believe it is high time for the American butter makers to take notice and recognize pasteurization of cream for the manufacture of butter not merely as a practice, but also as a necessity. I understand that already we have a certain class of trade in the city of New York, which is demanding that all butter served on their tables must be made from cream that has been thoroughly pasteurized, and we are told that this is a class of trade that is paying the highest price for their product. Surely this is evidence enough to convince every manufacturer of creamery butter that sooner or later we will be confronted with laws that will compel us to pasteurize all cream manufactured into butter, as well as other dairy products.

We find by investigation that pasteurization is already extensively practiced and that creamery managers are beginning to recognize the fact that the market is demanding a higher grade and a more uniform quality of butter, all of which is made possible by proper pasteurization.

I do not like to admit it, but it is a fact that the change from the whole-milk to the hand-separator system of butter making has resulted in a decline in the quality of butter. This is due to the fact that under the whole-milk system it was impossible for the butter maker to handle milk which was sour when delivered, and consequently the farmer was compelled to deliver it more frequently and in a good, sweet condition. While under the hand-separator system we find that at most creameries the cream is delivered anywhere from 1 to 10 or 15 days of age, and consequently is in a very poor condition when it arrives at the factory, and whether it is received at the creamery or not depends upon the local conditions. We find that if a butter maker has no competitor who will receive cream of a poor quality he will reject it, while, on the other hand, in nine cases out of ten he will receive it if his competitor does, and the result will be that sooner or later he will be looking for another job. The quality of the butter made by the creamery will go down until finally it must close its doors because of the fact that the prices paid the farmers for butter fat have not been high enough so that the dairy business has been a paying proposition for him, and he quits the old cow and perhaps goes into some other line of business.

From the results obtained by experiments carried on by the United States Department of Agriculture; the Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa; the Albert Lea State Creamery, Albert Lea, Minn.; and other leading experiment stations, show that pasteurization of cream can be successfully carried on by the creameries of this country, and I hope the day will come, and is not far distant, when we will have a national law compelling that all cream must be pasteurized.

There is no longer any need for the cry that we are not ready for such a law. I believe that the process has been agitated long enough, so that we have had plenty of time to prepare ourselves for it, and that it does not matter how long we wait, we will always have some one who will say that we are not ready for anything of this kind, and it will be the ruination of the dairy industry if such a law should be enacted. I wish to say to the butter makers of this kind that you must remember, if we do not make any improvement in the product manufactured by the local creameries in this country, we will soon have educated the consuming public to eat a substitute for butter which is cheaper and perhaps just as good.

I think this problem is worthy of a most serious consideration, and I would ask you to take it home to the board of directors of your creamery, for the good of the industry which you represent.

Before taking up the method of pasteurization I wish to state that I do not believe it is possible for anyone to lay down any set rules or any process that you can apply in your creamery and be successful in pasteurizing cream. You must, in the first place, fit yourself for the work that you wish to accomplish. What I mean by that is that you must study the process of pasteurization thoroughly, so that when you undertake to carry on the work you will understand why certain things must be done and what causes results of a certain nature.

Pasteurization is a process of heating cream to a temperature which destroys practically all germ life and removes from the cream some of the undesirable odors which are caused by the great number of bacteria in raw cream.

The object of the process is to destroy all undesirable germs in order that we may be able to produce a more uniform and a higher grade of butter, with a better keeping quality, and thus offer to the consuming public a more desirable product.

* * * * * * *

The cost of pasteurization depends somewhat upon the efficiency of the plant and the method employed. From experiments carried on by the Dairy Division of the United States Department of Agriculture and the dairy department of the Iowa State College, it was found that the cost was greater with the continuous method than it was with the vat method. This would depend upon how the plant was handled, the richness of the cream, and the amount of water at hand.

Prof. V. D. Chapples, of Iowa State College, figures that the total cost of pasteurization, figuring interest, depreciation, and labor, was from 10 to 12 cents per pound of butter fat and from 25 to 30 cents per gallon of cream. This is with the vat system, while with the continuous method the cost is about one-third greater.

In conclusion I wish to say that I believe we have yet a great many things to learn about pasteurization, but we are far enough advanced in the work so that we can recommend it to the American butter maker as a successful business proposition, and, in my opinion, there is no need of waiting any longer for the man who says we are not ready, because we will always have a number who will come out with the same cry, "Unpreparedness."

While I am not in favor of a law compelling pasteurization at once, I do believe it would be advisable for Congress to enact such a law to take effect in a year or even in two years. It would then be possible for the creameries which are not prepared at the present time to get ready and meet the conditions when the time arrives.

There is no question but that sooner or later we will be compelled to pasteurize, and, in my opinion, it would be far better to show the consuming public that we are ready to give them what they want before we are going to be forced to it.

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EXHIBIT 37.

[Chicago Dairy Produce, Nov. 28, 1916, pp. 18–20. Article contributed by Prof. H. A. Harding.]

BUTTER HEALTHFULNESS.

Healthfulness of butter was the subject discussed by Prof. H. A. Harding, of Illinois University, at the convention of National Creamery Butter Makers' Association in Minneapolis. Prof. Harding said:

Butter is a well-known commercial dairy product, and its ordinary commercial qualities are well known to all of us. Somewhat recently there has arisen a discussion of the healthfulness of butter. Healthfulness is so important an element of food value that any food distinctly dangerous to the public health would be promptly excluded from the market.

* * * * * * *

Butter: This has been rather a long preface to a discussion of the question of the germ life of butter, but it seemed desirable because the germ life in the butter is simply the result of the germ life in the cream. When the physical condition of the butter fat is changed from the individual globules that exist in the cream to the solid mass that exists in the butter, some of the important factors which have facilitated the rapid growth of the bacteria in the milk are changed, and as a result butter is an unfavorable place for the development of germ life. Consequently, the germ life decreases, at first rapidly, then more slowly, and, finally, almost disappears.

* * * * * * *

During the increasing sanitary inspection of the past 20 years the only indictment which has been brought against the healthfulness of butter has had to do with the question of bovine tuberculosis. The

various investigations of the city milk supply throughout the country have shown that in the raw milk germs of bovine tuberculosis occur occasionally and may be obtained from approximately 10 per cent of the samples of such raw milk.

It has also been demonstrated beyond any room for doubt that the action of the centrifugal separator tends to concentrate the germs of bovine tuberculosis in the cream so that they pass over into the butter. It is, indeed, fortunate that this germ is so sensitive to the influence of its surroundings that it will not grow either in the milk, cream, or butter. On this account it does not undergo any multiplication after leaving the cow, so that, due to mechanical losses, the number of germs present in the butter is always less than in the milk. These conditions in cream and butter are so unfavorable for these germs that they die off with a fair degree of rapidity.

However, careful studies have shown that they will remain alive in butter for three months or more under butter-storage conditions.

Whereas our survey of the conditions surrounding the manufacture of butter indicate that it is substance free of all hygienic significance, except for this matter of bovine tuberculosis, the fact must be faced that butter made from raw cream is open to a very serious indictment from the standpoint of the public health.

Post Office Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD B. ALMON,
OF ALABAMA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Wednesday, February 21, 1917,

On the bill (H. R. 19410) making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes.

Mr. ALMON. Mr. Speaker, when the Senate amendment No. 34 to the Post Office appropriation bill, known as the Reed amendment, was under consideration in the House, I was unable to secure any time for the presentation of my views upon said amendment, so I secured permission to extend my remarks in order to make the following statement:

Senate amendment No. 34 to the Post Office appropriation bill, commonly referred to as the Reed amendment, contains two parts.

Part 1 is as follows:

(34) SEC. 5. That no letter, postal card, circular, newspaper, pamphlet, or publication of any kind containing any advertisement of spirituous, vinous, malted, fermented, or other intoxicating liquors of any kind, or containing a solicitation of an order or orders for said liquors, or any of them, shall be deposited in or carried by the mails of the United States, or be delivered by any postmaster or letter carrier, when addressed or directed to any person, firm, corporation, or association, or other addressee, at any place or point in any State or Territory of the United States at which it is by the law in force in the State or Territory at that time unlawful to advertise or solicit orders for such liquors, or any of them, respectively.

If the publisher of any newspaper or other publication or the agent of such publisher, or if any dealer in such liquors or his agent, shall knowingly deposit or cause to be deposited, or shall knowingly send or cause to be sent, anything to be conveyed or delivered by mail in violation of the provisions of this section, or shall knowingly deliver or cause to be delivered by mail anything herein forbidden to be carried by mail, shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than six months, or both; and for any subsequent offense shall be imprisoned not more than one year. Any person violating any provision of this section may be tried and punished, either in the district in which the unlawful matter or publication was mailed or to which it was carried by mail for delivery, according to direction thereon, or in which it was caused to be delivered by mail to the person to whom it was addressed.

Part No. 2 of said amendment is as follows:

Whoever shall order, purchase, or cause intoxicating liquors to be transported in interstate commerce, except for scientific, sacramental, medicinal, and mechanical purposes, into any State or Territory the laws of which State or Territory prohibit the manufacture or sale therein of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes shall be punished as aforesaid: *Provided*, That nothing herein shall authorize the shipment of liquor into any State contrary to the laws of such State: *Provided further*, That the Postmaster General is hereby authorized and directed to make public from time to time in suitable bulletins or public notices the names of States in which it is unlawful to advertise or solicit orders for such liquors.

When this amendment was reached for consideration in the House I demanded a division of the amendment in order that there might be a separate vote on each part. The Speaker ruled that this could not be done under the rules of the House.

Mr. SAUNDERS, of Virginia, then offered an amendment to part No. 2 of the amendment providing that liquors could not be shipped into prohibition States or Territories contrary to the laws of such States or Territories. I voted for that amendment, and when Mr. HUMPHREYS of Mississippi demanded a yea-and-nay vote on this amendment I voted to sustain the call, but we failed to secure such a record vote.

Part No. 2 of the amendment prohibiting the sending of whisky circulars and advertisements through interstate mail into prohibition States is the same as the provisions of the Bankhead bill, which passed the Senate on January 11, 1917. No one could vote against part No. 2 of the amendment known as the Reed amendment without voting against part No. 2, containing the provisions of the Bankhead bill protecting prohibition States from whisky circulars and advertisements. Congress alone has authority to exclude such literature from interstate mails into prohibition States. I feared we would not have another opportunity to put an end to this great evil, so for this and other good reasons I decided it was my duty to vote for the amendment, which I did, and it was adopted by a vote of 319 to 72.

Address of Hon. George F. O'Shaunessy, of Rhode Island.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES P. COADY,
OF MARYLAND,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Wednesday, February 28, 1917.

Mr. COADY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an address of Hon. GEORGE F. O'SHAUNESSY, of Rhode Island, at Baltimore, Md.

The address is as follows:

ADDRESS OF HON. GEORGE F. O'SHAUNESSY, OF RHODE ISLAND, AT BALTIMORE, MD., FEBRUARY 22, 1917, AT WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY PATRIOTIC CELEBRATION, UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS.

As an immigrant son of an immigrant, conscious of the responsibilities of American citizenship, and glorying in the great opportunities this Republic affords, I bring tidings of good cheer from Rhode Island, the land of Roger Williams, to Maryland, the land of Lord Baltimore. Surely there is a welcoming echo from one State to the other, as each rings out in joyous song the acclaim to their founders, so conspicuous in the fight for civil and religious liberty. They builded wisely and well; they were steeled to the fight for liberty of conscience by the bitter memories of despotic rulers who would wrench the minds and consciences of men from their accepted beliefs. Each State did its best in the Revolution to aid Washington. Who reads that marvelous story of patriotic sacrifice without dwelling on the valiant work of Nathanael Greene, Ezek Hopkins, and William Ellery, and the sturdy efforts of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, John Hansen, and Father Carroll.

To-day the Knights of Columbus, the great auxiliary of the Roman Catholic Church, boasting a membership of 375,000, and operating in the United States, Canada, Mexico, and the Philippine Islands, are holding in 31 cities these patriotic exercises to honor the memory of Washington and his compatriots and to awaken in the hearts of their fellow countrymen a renewed sense of devotion to our common flag and our sacred institutions.

Let us on this great day set aside to honor the memory of Washington, give a thought to Columbus, and the friendly monastery of "Santa Maria de la Rábida," which crowns a headland on the coast of Spain. Buffeted by misfortune, Columbus turned for aid to the good monk, Marchena, who called Fernandez, the physician, and Pinzon, the shipbuilder, to listen to the dreaming navigator. These three men sat in the "Columbus" room, so called to-day, preserved by the Spanish nation as a sacred relic, and discussed the plans of Columbus. They turned the scale in his behalf, and made possible through their belief in him the aid which he obtained from the Catholic Spanish court. The old monastery has been aptly termed "the corner stone of American history."

I think it but fitting to link these two names of Columbus and Washington. One discovered a continent and emboldened navigators; he made possible the realization of the dreams of centuries. Within one generation from his death the whole coast, from Cape Breton to the Straits of Magellan, became the scene of maritime activity. He had kindled a fire never to die. Washington, by his sword and genius, evolved a mighty Republic, whose institutions proclaim the equality of man, based upon the greatest liberal principle in government, civil and religious liberty.

To-day in meetings throughout the country the faith of 18,000,000 Catholics is pledged to American institutions, our allegiance is renewed, and the sacred promise made to our country to give our lives and our fortunes to preserve it should the occasion arise. We Knights of Columbus love liberty. We are taught in our lodges, as we have been taught in our homes

to reverence law and order and to respect and obey constituted authority. Our motto is our God and our country. We speak for the upbuilding and perpetuation of the home; it is the unit of society, and he who would undermine it we regard as an enemy to the Republic. In divorce we do not believe. To make matrimony a jest and a trial institution is to mock at the founder of the Christian religion. We believe in a moral citizenship which acts as well as professes.

And so to-day we gather throughout the country in patriotic rejoicing, we Knights of Columbus, of whom a selected committee of Freemasons in California, after an examination of our ritual, said: "The ceremonial of the order teaches a high and noble patriotism, instills a love of country, inculcates a reverence for law and order, urges the conscientious and unselfish performance of civic duty, and holds up the Constitution of our country as the richest and most precious possession of a knight of this order."

This is an appropriate time to honor heroes and to silhouette the worth of men. Never let the book be closed on greatness. Never let business become so engrossing or pleasure so alluring as to deaden memory. Valley Forge should stand out more prominently in our history than ever before. The contemplation of Washington's comfort and his readiness to sacrifice it and everything he possessed for his country should be an inspiration to renewed devotion. It should prove an indictment of those who measure their patriotism by a financial yardstick or by a measure of convenience and pleasure. Not how much will it cost me or how much will it interfere with my luxury should be the question, but a longing springing from the heart to attest a full measure of devotion to our country should be the mainspring of our patriotism. Washington's only security for the $64,000 he gave to his country's cause was his faith in that cause. He served without pay. He bore calumny calmly. He forgave his enemies. He was superior alike to riches and to poverty. He was quick to rise to the grandeur of an American Nation, and to leave behind him forever the limitations of colonialism. He worked marvels with a handful of men. When others faltered he advanced. At Trenton, with 2,400, he saved the Revolution. He directed the work at Saratoga, where the Revolution was established. He had the confidence of his men and invited their comradeship. "I will storm hell if you will plan it," said Mad Anthony Wayne to him, and Stony Point fell.

He answered his country's call as formidably when victory had been won and his glories were turning to ashes, when he sat as the presiding officer of the constitutional convention. There he was a towering figure working out a charter for a Nation's destiny. It has been our guide through storm and sunshine. In the phrase of Lowell he was an "imperial man." His was "a creed heated white hot in the furnace of conviction and hammered into shape on the anvil of life."

The Americanism of Washington was born of sacrifice, a word so foreign to some natures. Let some one else do it was not the slogan of Washington. He had eternal and abiding faith in the right of man to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. He was ready to die for his principles. The aim of his life was service; the law of his life was sacrifice; the compensation of his life was fellowship with God and man.

Prohibition for District of Columbia—Shall Congress Put an End to the Liquor Traffic Here, or Shall We Confess Our Unwillingness to Decide?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GUY T. HELVERING,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 28, 1917.

Mr. HELVERING. Mr. Speaker, in the proposition before us to-day there are, in my opinion, just three questions involved, and they are: Is it in the best interests of the Nation and of the District to have prohibition here? Should Congress use its legislative powers and so decide? Or should it sidestep its constitutional obligations and give to the people of the District the referendum on this one question? Answer these three questions and the entire proposition must be clear to the mind.

The first question involves the advisability of prohibition under any circumstances, and the experience of the Nation would appear to have settled that beyond dispute. The steady trend of the Nation is in the direction of prohibition—absolute prohibition—and it never is away from it. It is steadily winning its way, State by State, and the reasons for this can be found in the moral and economic arguments which have commended themselves to the judgment of the people in all sections of our country.

As to the moral argument in favor of prohibition, it is so plain that it needs no elaboration. No man has ever been able to show where the use of liquor has been of advantage to the human race. On the other hand, we see on all sides of us mental and financial wrecks which have been wholly caused by the use of intoxicants. If you want to find the moral results, go into the home of the drunkard and see the curse which has fallen upon wife and children; go into the jails and the penitentiaries of the Nation and trace down the direct cause which is responsible for the crimes which have led to the incarceration of the criminals. Did you ever find a man or woman in these institutions who was able to say that prohibition had led them into crime? Is it not the absolute fact that the overwhelming percentage of those who are there have been brought to crime as the result of drink?

And when we come to the advantages of prohibition from an economic standpoint the evidence in its favor is overwhelming, as I shall endeavor to show by citing the examples of States and of communities which have adopted it. It has resulted in a decrease in crime; in an increase in the activities which lead to prosperity by means of honest endeavor; it has been hard upon the jail and upon the penitentiary, but it has been a blessing to the legitimate activities of the Nation, as it has added to the safety of the individual, particularly to those who have to travel upon the railroads, and it has also added to the safety of the home—reasons sufficient as to why its extension is advisable.

Now, let us see what has been the experience of some of the States which have adopted prohibition, and also let us inquire into the causes which led them to adopt it.

EXPERIENCE OF PROHIBITION STATES.

Kansas was the pioneer among our Middle West States in adopting prohibition, and what has been the result?

To the south, the younger State of Oklahoma could not but note the advantages accruing to Kansas as the result of prohibition. She showed her appreciation of these advantages by adopting prohibition and by enforcing it, and to-day a proposition to bring back the saloon into Oklahoma would receive but scant support from the splendid people who live there.

To the west, the Centennial State, Colorado, took notice of what Kansas and Oklahoma had been doing, pronounced the work to be good and followed in our footsteps, and after a fair test overwhelmingly defeated the proposition to restore the saloon.

To the north, Nebraska has fallen into line and proposes, by the declared wish of its voters, to drive the saloon, the brewery, and the distillery from within its borders.

And as to the east, while it is true that Missouri has not adopted prohibition as a State policy, nevertheless the influence of environment is in evidence. The wonderful progress of Kansas under prohibition has had a powerful effect and in the November elections of last year Buchanan County and St. Joseph, bordering on Kansas, and Jackson County and its wonderful metropolis, Kansas City, likewise on the Kansas border, all voted in favor of prohibition and the elimination of the saloon.

The lesson is there and can be easily deduced. If prohibition has been a failure in Kansas, as its opponents in the Nation would lead you to believe, it would be known to the people of the territory surrounding. But, as I have shown, the tendency is steadily in the direction of prohibition in all of that territory and it is never in the other direction.

PROHIBITION IN COLORADO.

Speaking with regard to Colorado and the effect of prohibition there, Senator THOMAS of that State said that—

> the development of that State during 1916 in all the elements of material and moral growth and well-being, practically stands without precedent in our previous history.

Continuing, he said:

> There are no empty stores in Denver.
>
> Regarding the question of its effect upon the people, I may say that of those who opposed prohibition in 1914 I think I am within bounds in saying that 60 per cent of them would to-day, if the question were again presented for consideration, vote for, instead of against, prohibition.
>
> In 1910 Denver voted wet by a majority of 17,000, in 1912 by 22,000, in 1914 by 8,500, but in 1916 the vote on the wet amendment showed a majority in opposition of 10,960. In the State the majority against prohibition in 1912 was 40,000; the majority in favor of prohibition in 1914 was 11,500; the majority for prohibition in 1916 was 85,789.

Here are quotations clipped from the press of Denver, and surely the daily press is indicative of the thought of the people to which it caters:

Taxes have decreased.

Business is better than it ever has been.

Every man who wants work can get it.

There are fewer vacant houses and stores than ever before.

Building permits, especially in the last six months, show a decided gain, particularly in the matter of small homes.

Collections are 40 per cent better.

Savings accounts in Denver banks have broken all records.

Divorce suits filed show a decrease of 40 per cent.

Arrests, for all causes, have decreased 31 per cent.

Arrests for drunkenness have decreased 59 per cent.

Arrests for vagrancy have decreased 55 per cent.

The cost of maintaining the city jail has decreased 28 per cent.

The cost of maintaining the county jail has decreased 27 per cent.

The number of murders, suicides, and burglaries has fallen off at an astonishing rate. There have been only two murders in Denver in 1916.

District Attorney Rush stated in open court recently that the work of his office has decreased 50 per cent since the city went dry.

In the face of this can it be claimed that prohibition is not in the interest of the masses of the people, both from a moral and economic standpoint? But I know there are those who will say that Denver is an exceptional case, as far as prohibition goes, and that it is impossible to secure enforcement in a large city.

PROHIBITION IN WASHINGTON.

In connection with that contention I would like to call your attention to the experiences in Seattle, Wash., and I am particularly interested in this, by reason of the fact that the testimony comes from one who was opposed to prohibition, used all of his power to defeat its adoption in Washington, and can not be accused as being a fanatic or as being biased in favor of prohibition.

The man to whom I now refer is Maj. C. F. Blethen, editor of the Seattle Times. According to him he used his paper to fight prohibition on economic grounds. He was of the belief that in a great seaport city, with 350,000 population, prohibition would be destructive and would bring on economic disaster. And what has he learned?

The major has entirely changed his attitude after seeing the law in effect, and is to-day as strong an advocate of it as he was an opponent in the past.

He has found that the number of arrests have decreased under prohibition, that the bank deposits have increased, sales of dry-goods stores and of groceries are breaking records, and that the women and children have been the greatest gainers under prohibition and its enforcement. And this man, who has been converted as the result of actual experiences witnessed, says:

In a very few years there will not be a licensed saloon in the whole Nation, and that will be a fine thing.

I commend the attitude of Maj. Blethen to the opponents of prohibition. They are not to be blamed, because they do not know the benefits to be derived, but I do not think it impossible that when they also have had the evidence before them they will be found with the major enthusiastically supporting the thing that they now condemn.

HOW IT WORKED IN KANSAS.

With reference to my own State, Kansas, I can speak with knowledge secured by practical observation. Out there we had prohibition in theory for many years, but it is only fair to state that it had not been universally enforced until 1907. Up to that time the law followed local custom and the whims of those who were in position to enforce it, and this enforcement was neglected by many who were only too ready to tolerate and connive at defiance of the law.

In the year 1906 ex-Senator Harris was made the Democratic candidate for governor and made his race on a platform declaring in favor of absolute law enforcement. He went into every nook and corner of the State and aroused the people as they never had been before. He failed to win the election, but he so cut down the normal Republican majority that his political opponents saw the handwriting. They recognized the fact that the voters wanted the law to be rigidly enforced, and from that time on it has been enforced until the open saloon can no longer be found in Kansas. Every legislative step taken since that time has been with a view to strengthen the prohibitory law, and the people have ever shown their sympathy.

When they started out to enforce in fact they found that in Kansas City, Kans., the saloon was tolerated and recognized by custom and by the local authorities. Divided as the city is from its "wet" sister on the Missouri side by only an imaginary line, it was evident that here would come the real test as to whether enforcement would be possible and what would be its real effects.

I had a number of good friends in business in Kansas City, Kans., at that time, and they were up in arms at the thought of the closing down of the saloons.

It will ruin us—

They said—

The employees of factories and of the packing houses will go to the Missouri side to get their liquor, and where they buy their intoxicants there also will they buy the things needed for the home.

That argument appeared to me to be founded on a sound basis, and I was very anxious to see how the experiment worked out.

Well, the saloons were driven out of that city, and about two years later I had business which called me there. I mingled with my old friends and inquired as to how they had been getting along in a business way. The answer was to the effect that they never had been so prosperous and that conditions throughout the city were in every way eminently satisfactory.

I then called their attention to the predictions which they had made to me as to what would result in case the prohibitory law was enforced and inquired how it came about that prosperity had come when ruin was expected.

Well—

They said—

we sincerely believed what we then said to you. But, you see, in the old days, when the men got paid off in the various plants they stopped in at this joint and that one before they reached home, with the result that when they did reach there they had entirely forgotten the obligations owed to us, and in many instances they no longer had the money to discharge these obligations. Now, it is true that many of them go to the Missouri side for intoxicating beverages, but before they do this they go home after receiving their pay, dress up and call around to pay their bills. The saloon comes second now, and not first, as in the old days, and the result is that collections are in every way better. Best of all, the families of these men are showing the benefits derived by reason of the fact that they are better clothed and better fed and are in every way the gainers as the result of the elimination of the saloon.

That was one of the practical results in Kansas, and after seeing these things and having been convinced by absolute evidence of the advantages to be derived through prohibition and law enforcement I propose on every opportunity to so use my vote that it will aid in extending these advantages to all.

WHY WE SHOULD ACT.

Convinced as I am of the advantages of prohibition, my vote on the measure before us must be based on the proposition as to whether this Congress shall take the responsibility to extend prohibition to the people of the District of Columbia or whether we shall evade the responsibility of acting and leave the question for them to determine at the polls.

I am favorable to the greatest measure of self-government and believe in home rule; but if we are to have this self-government, then let it apply to all questions and not to one. And if we are going to divorce the Government from the constitutional duty of legislating for the District, let us also divorce ourselves from the obligations assumed in paying one-half of the expenses of this local government. Let the people rule here, as they should rule everywhere, but with that rule should go the responsibility of raising the revenue needed to conduct their government.

I am not opposed to the payment of a legitimate share of this District government, based upon the national holdings, but I object to any arbitrary rate, and I likewise believe that our share should be determined not alone by our governmental holdings in the District, but that share should be diminished in accordance with the added value given to all other holdings by reason of the location of the seat of government here.

But it does not appeal to me to see the desperate efforts made to secure a referendum upon this one particular proposition. If the demand came to us from the people of the District for absolute home rule, I would be more inclined to give consideration to it than I would to this demand, which I feel sure is engineered by the saloon advocates in the hope that it may delay the inevitable.

And I am not at all convinced that it is within our power to give to the people of the District legislative authority unless we alter the Constitution. I know that eminent authorities are to be found on both sides of this question, but when I read Article I, section 1, of the Constitution, which declares that "all legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States," and then turn to Article I, section 8, and read that Congress shall have power to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such District, I am inclined very much to wonder if it is within our power to delegate such legislative

power to others. And when I read such eminent authorities as Cooley, Oberholtzer, Willoughby, and others, who are agreed that legislative powers can not be delegated, it certainly looks to me as if our ability to grant a referendum is of doubtful legality.

But if we did grant such referendum and it resulted in a majority in favor of the abolition of the saloon, we all very well know what would immediately happen. The very men who are now clamoring for a referendum would be the first to demand that the matter be taken to the courts; they would insist that the referendum was unconstitutional, and they would do everything in their power to delay the time when the will of the voters should be put into effect.

SAFEGUARDING A REFERENDUM.

We who have had experience of the difficulties encountered in guarding the sanctity of the ballot know full well that in order to do so there must be gradual education of the electorate as well as election laws which have been wisely framed. Even in the States where the right to vote has been long enjoyed corruption is often very much in evidence. We have seen it in Indiana and in Ohio and in Pennsylvania, and when the great liquor interests of this country start out to engage in a death struggle we can rest assured that money would be squandered to an extent never witnessed before. To keep the saloon in the National Capital, to prevent an adverse vote here would mean more to them in a psychological way than would the winning of half a dozen States, and if we but submit this proposition to the voters we are certain to invite an era of corruption here which will have far-reaching effects.

That this is not a theory is proven by the lessons of the past. They had this prohibition fight in Texas some time since, and an active attorney general managed to get possession of the files of the correspondence of the brewery interests and those who were fighting the brewery battles in Texas. In that collection of letters was one from Adolphus Busch, whose name is familiar to all who have read on billboard or in magazine of the famous Anheuser-Busch product.

Mr. Busch was very much concerned for fear that prohibition should make any gain, and he wrote:

It may cost us millions and even more, but what of it if thereby we elevate our position?

The elevation of the brewery position is usually gained by the lowering of the standards of those who use the brewery products, but Mr. Busch was not much concerned about that. He was willing to show that he was not only ready to advise but to back his judgment with cash, and in the same letter he said:

I will not mind to give one hundred thousand extra, if necessary.

One hundred thousand for what? Would it be given for the purpose of elevating humanity or of corrupting the ballot? Draw your own conclusions.

Mr. Busch in thought and in action is typical of the brewery interests of the country. We have it in his own words what he was willing to do in Texas. Imagine then what the great number of brewer Busches would do if we were to have a referendum here. The good people of Washington might desire a fair ballot, but they would be powerless in view of the forces with whom they would be forced to contend.

FIRST DUTY IS TO NATION.

We owe a duty to the people of the District, it is true, but our first duty it to all of the people of the United States. We should not forget that this District is maintained primarily for governmental purposes and that residence in it is but a secondary consideration. Thousands are here temporarily, employed in the various activities of the Government, and yet they are as much concerned in the safeguarding of human life and in the protection of property in this District as are those who do business here permanently. It is aimed to give those transient residents a vote in case a referendum is had, but that proposition does not ring true. No man can expect to have two voting residences. If these men have severed all home State ties and are bona fide residents of the District then it would be right for them to vote here, but if they are clinging to their right to vote in the State from whence they originally came they would be jeopardizing that right by participating in this referendum.

And while we are considering our duty to the District, we should not forget our duty to the States which we represent. We have a responsibility, and if we evade that responsibility we will give a real basis for the charge that we fear to take a stand.

I am here to speak out as one of the Representatives of Kansas. The people of our State are desirous of seeing their National Capital a city of which we can all be proud. We do not begrudge the share of the expense to make it beautiful which comes from Kansas. But there is one proposition involved to which we have a serious objection. With us the saloon is anathema, and we have barred it from our Commonwealth. And yet here in the District of Columbia you go out and collect $450,000 license tax from 300 saloons and about $50,000 from your wholesale liquor houses, and under the abominable half-and-half plan you come to the States and ask them to contribute $500,000 to match this money which has been obtained by methods which have been condemned by Kansas and all prohibition States. We do not want to be partners in the collection of your saloon money, and we have no desire to be tied to you by any system of partnership which would compel us to match your saloon money.

Oh, but some will say, it will be impossible to enforce prohibition in the District. The people are not ready for it and the city is too large to be governed like a country village. We heard the same thing with regard to Denver, and yet prohibition is well enforced there; we heard it said in connection with Seattle, and yet Seattle is not finding it so difficult to secure enforcement. And here in Washington, it would in the nature of things be much easier to enforce than in either of the cities named, for here its enforcement would be in the direct charge of the Government, and experience has shown us that the men who are often willing to defy local regulation are quickly brought to time when they have to face Federal action and Federal law enforcement. If prohibition is made applicable to the District, I have no doubt as to its enforcement as long as its enforcement is in the hands of the Government.

The people here in Washington can not be more desirous than we are to have here a Washington beautiful, a National Capital of which all of our people may well be proud. But in my opinion it is much finer to work not only for a Washington beautiful but for a Washington clean—clean in the sense that our best efforts are directed toward the encouragement of the things which go for the uplift of humanity and toward the safeguarding of the home. Let us use our best efforts to remove, as far as we can, temptation from youth. The saloon has never aided in the building up of character; it has weakened the moral fiber, never strengthened it; it has been weighed by the nations of the earth, and during the past 10 years there has come such a revolution in human thought that it is well-nigh ostracized. England does not want it; Germany frowns upon it; Russia put it down and out, and in the United States we have seen the steady rise of the tide which is sweeping it to its doom. We have here and now the opportunity to record the wishes of our people and to aid in crushing its power as much as we can; the opportunity is not only here but the weal of humanity and our constitutional duty points the way. It is a matter of pride to me that I will have this opportunity to vote legislation for the National Capital which we have found to be so beneficial in Kansas, and for that reason I favor the Senate proposition.

Arming of American Merchant Ships.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CYRUS CLINE,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 1, 1917.

Mr. CLINE. Mr. Speaker, I rise first to state that I support the resolution now pending before the House granting certain powers to the President of the United States in order that he may properly protect the lives and property of American citizens. The very essence of government lies in the duty of its executive officers to protect those sacred rights from invasion or from proscription by a foreign power. Some criticism has been leveled against this resolution on the theory that Congress was attempting to abdicate its constitutional powers and lodge autocratic authority in the President of the United States. Such assumption is wholly unwarranted under the terms of this resolution. It carries with it but three propositions. First, granting to the President of the United States authority to supply merchant ships, the property of citizens of the United States, and bearing American registry with defensive arms and the ammunition and men necessary to defend against unlawful attack. Second, he is also empowered to protect such ships and the citizens of the United States in their lawful and peaceful pursuits on the high seas, and third, the provision to issue $100,000,000 of bonds to defray the expenses thereof.

This is essentially a peace measure—not a war measure, as argued by some of the gentlemen who have spoken on this proposition. The President does not ask that Congress divest itself of the authority invested in it under the Constitution. Nor does he seek to take from Congress any of its lawful rights in the emergency of war. What conditions have given rise to this resolution? The European war has been in progress for two and one-half years. Prior to the breaking out of the war we had the greatest foreign commerce of any nation in the world with the exception of Great Britain. Immediately after the war opened Great Britain notified all neutral powers that the North Sea had been declared a war zone and had been thoroughly mined and that all neutral powers entering that sea with trade did so at their own risk. This was a clear violation of international law. It went further during the progress of the war and seized our noncontraband commerce, took it into its prize court, and appropriated it to its own use.

Not content with that, the English Government has seized our mails, rifled them, and seriously affected our trade, all in absolute violation of the laws governing the rights of neutrals. On the 1st of February the central powers declared the open sea around the British Isles to the extent of 400 miles to be a war zone, and further that it proposed to destroy, without regard to the character of the commerce or the flag which it bore, all trade entering that zone. The result has been that the great trade of the United States has been driven into our own harbors and a blockade established against it that for all purposes is as effectual as though protected by an armed fleet. This condition gave rise to the necessity on the part of this Government of taking such steps as would restore to it some semblance of freedom of commerce. The greatest Nation on earth can not permit the belligerents of the European war on either side to destroy our trade by compelling it, for fear of mines and submarines and the loss shippers would thereby sustain, to be driven from the sea. No man can question but what we ought to take such steps as will relieve us from this embarrassing condition. As I have said, the second provision concerns the lives of our citizens who are lawfully prosecuting their business upon the high seas. The provisions in this resolution do not authorize the President of the United States to become the aggressor in any action, but simply provides that he may defend the property or citizens from an unlawful attack, and that is the only authority hereby conferred upon the President. It is past my understanding why a single member of this committee should be able to satisfy himself that it is his duty to subject the commerce of the country and the lives of American citizens to the depredations and unwarranted attacks from either of the belligerents without signifying his opposition. There is no man in this Chamber but who knows that the President is an ardent and earnest advocate of peace. He was reelected in 1916 because he was for peace and had kept the country out of war with the European nations for more than two years. I do not believe that he would now violate the confidence that the people of the United States have expressed in him because of his attitude on that question. For myself, in this moment of great crisis, I want to see the Congress stand squarely back of the administration in protecting American interests and American life in its peaceful pursuit wherever it may desire to go.

American Rights.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS H. CARAWAY,
OF ARKANSAS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 1, 1917.

Mr. CARAWAY. Mr. Speaker, no one can refuse his support to this measure. To do so would be to be misunderstood at home and abroad. I repeat no one can now refuse his support to this resolution, and I say so because we are all loyal American citizens and guard jealously American rights everywhere. And as such, when an issue is made between our country and another, we hold no divided allegiance. We to a man stand with our country, our flag, and our President.

Some may have questioned the opportuneness of the request, holding that it would have been better for the President to have exercised these implied powers rather than excite apprehensions as to the results to follow an express grant of authority. The time to quibble about that has passed. We must now present a united front. Our country expects us to support the President in his effort to make American rights and American life respected everywhere. Our reply is written in this resolution. It is more than an answer to our own people. It is a warning to all peoples that we are determined to maintain our rights and make our flag respected wherever it kisses the sun.

I am not unmindful that in this vote lurks both peace and war. Which it shall be I do not know. I can not know, nor can you.

That issue rests with those, whoever they may be, that may disregard American rights—destroy American lives. These must decide for peace or declare for war. We shall meet that answer unafraid.

Our duty and inclination meet. We will support the President with unfaltering faith in both his wisdom and his courage. If peace may be maintained with honor, we know he will maintain it; if not, we would not have him do so.

We owe no divided allegiance; we recognize but one flag. There will be no faltering, no stragglers, in our ranks.

May God lead us to peace, but if He wills otherwise may He give us the wisdom and the courage to go forward wherever justice and honor demand that we shall go.

Reasons for Opposing Various Prohibition Measures Before the Sixty-fourth Congress.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFTON N. McARTHUR,
OF OREGON,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 1, 1917.

Mr. McARTHUR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to print granted me this day, I desire to publish my answer to a telegram from Mr. L. R. Alexander and other citizens of the State of Oregon asking that I support certain prohibition legislation pending in this Congress:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 1, 1917.*

Mr. L. R. Alexander, Mr. A. L. Veazie, Mr. John W. Loder, Mr. J. S. Greenfield, Mr. George H. Himes, Dr. C. A. Woody, Mr. W. H. Morron, Dr. G. H. Templeton, Rev. W. T. Milliken, Mr. M. M. Petty, Mr. C. A. Snell, Mr. W. M. Jackson, Mr. W. F. Norman, Mr. John A. Bell, Mr. J. P. Newell, Mr. J. Allen Harrison, Rev. A. C. Brackenburg, Rev. W. W. Youngson, Rev. A. A. Heist, Dr. T. W. Lane, Mr. W. H. Markell, Mr. Frank H. Hilton, Rev. A. R. MacLean, Dr Joshua Stanfield, Mr. J. K. Gill, Mr. H. F. Johnson, Mr. E. L. Lathrop, Mr. Walter M. Pierce, Mayor H. R. Albee, Hon. J. E. Anderson, Mr. Robert Livingstone, Judge R. G. Morrow, Dr. A. J. Montgomery, Mr. A. J. Robinson, Mr. J. E. Werlein, Dr. Emmet Drake, Mr. Wilson Benefiel, Dr. H. H. Thacker, Dr. Herbert C. Miller, Mr. L. R. Bailey, Mr. Q. W. Davidson, Mr. H. W. Hopkirk, Mr. A. S. Pattullo, Mr. H. W. Stone, Judge J. W. Bell, Mr. S. W. Steele, Mr. J. C. Mann, Mr. C. N. Wonacott, Mr. L. E. Carter, Mr. C. G. Wilson, Mr. S. A. Wilson, Mr. D. A. Pattullo, Mr. R. J. Peterson, Mr. J. T. Wilson, Mr. C. L. Smith, Mr. C. G. Gignoux, Mr. William McMurray, Dr. R. E. Smith, Mr. E. R. Ericson, Dr. W. H. Vose, Mr. Chas. H. Thompson, Mr. Jacob Kreiger, Mr. J. W. Andrews, Mr. W. L. Mallory, Mr. J. W. Day, Rev. H. Hagelganz, *Portland, Oreg.*

GENTLEMEN: In reply to your telegram of February 20, in which you urge me to vote for (1) national prohibition, (2) District of Columbia prohibition, and (3) a measure prohibiting the use of the mails to liquor advertisements, I beg to submit a statement of my position upon these questions.

During the fall campaign of 1916, which resulted in my reelection to Congress, I issued the following statement to the people of Multnomah County, which comprises the third Oregon district:

CONGRESSMAN M'ARTHUR STATES POSITION ON NATIONAL PROHIBITION QUESTION.

PORTLAND, OREG., *October 19, 1916.*

To the people of Multnomah County:

Inasmuch as there has been some inquiry as to my position upon the national prohibition question, I wish to make a public statement as to how I shall vote if this issue is presented to Congress.

In ordinary legislative matters I must rely upon my best judgment as to the views and wishes of my constituents, but where a question has been voted upon at the polls by the people of my district, I, as the Representative of these people, must abide by their instructions.

The people of this district will on November 7 vote upon a proposed amendment to the State constitution prohibiting the importation of liquor into Oregon. In considering this amendment the people will have an opportunity to express their views upon a question that is so closely related to national prohibition that there is no difference between them, in so far as Oregon is concerned.

Reaffirming my belief that the views of all the people are of more concern than the views of any class or faction, I wish to state here and now that if the pending amendment to the constitution of Oregon is approved by the voters of the third congressional district on November 7 I will vote for national prohibition in Congress, and if the pending amendment is rejected by the voters of this district I will oppose the national amendment in Congress.

I do not propose to take an arbitrary stand upon this question or set my judgment above the views of my constituents, and I will abide by the result of the district vote, whatever it may be. My stand on this

question is in keeping with the principles of representative government, and my pledge to the people is made to be kept, not to be disregarded for political expediency.

C. N. McARTHUR.

This statement was published in the Morning Oregonian of October 20, the Evening Telegram of October 20, and the Oregon Daily Journal of October 24, 1916. It was also printed on campaign cards, thousands of which were distributed from the headquarters of the Republican congressional committee in the Yeon Building. My promise to the people was made in good faith, and I had no means of anticipating the result of the vote on the "bone-dry" measure, which was as follows: Affirmative, 31,358; negative, 41,157; majority against measure, 9,799.

Under the circumstances I feel that it would be an act of the utmost bad faith if I were to disregard my pledge and vote for national prohibition, and that by so doing I would stultify myself. There is no denying the fact that a large majority of the people of Multnomah County are opposed to "bone-dry" prohibition, which is nothing more or less than a local application of national prohibition. I therefore feel that if I were to vote for the national amendment, or any other radical prohibition legislation, I would be misrepresenting rather than representing the people of the district.

I can not agree that a vote in Congress for national prohibition is merely a "referendum," and that the responsibility in the matter rests with the States. Under our dual system of government, a proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution must first pass both branches of Congress by a two-thirds vote in each branch, and then be ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States. There is no such thing as a referendum, for this implies a popular vote rather than a vote by the legislature. The act of amendment is, in the first place, an act of Congress, expressing its judgment upon the question at issue, and the action of the States is secondary—a check upon the action of Congress, and not a substitute. The Constitution says nothing about "submitting" an amendment to the States; it says that "the Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution," and that these shall become valid "when ratified by three-fourths of the States." The function of Congress in this matter is not purely ministerial but is an essential element in the process of amendment. Were there any possible room for doubt as to this point, it would be removed by the consideration that a two-thirds vote in each house is required for the adoption of an amendment. Under the theory of "submission to the States" of a proposal for their legislatures to decide, surely a bare majority in Congress would be sufficient; but the idea of the framers of the Constitution was that a proposed amendment should, first of all, stand the test of commanding not only ordinary approval in Congress but the emphatic approval embodied in a two-thirds vote of both Houses.

The constitutional provision which says an amendment may be submitted "whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary" places upon the individual Senator and Representative a responsibility which he can not escape on the plea that he is voting for a "referendum," particularly where no such instrumentality as the referendum exists. The Senator or Representative who heeds the wishes of his constituents, as expressed at the ballot box, is a better friend of popular government than he who seeks to emasculate himself and Congress by indulging in the fallacy that ratification or rejection of an amendment by State legislatures is a "referendum."

In reply to your request that I vote for District of Columbia prohibition, I will say that inasmuch as the friends of this measure were unwilling that it be submitted to a vote of the people of the District—even for an advisory vote—I declined to support it. I do not believe in foisting a measure of this character onto the District unless there is a widespread demand for it, and after a residence of 15 months here in Washington and general inquiry upon the subject among all classes of people I can not bring myself to the belief that any such demand exists. Friends of this bill ought at least to have been willing that Congress authorize an advisory referendum on it.

As to your request that I support a measure denying the use of the mails to liquor advertisements, etc., I will say that I am in favor of such a measure, because it upholds the laws that the various States have enacted upon the subject, and I am a firm believer in law enforcement. I voted against this measure on February 21, however, because it was coupled with an improper piece of legislation known as the Reed amendment to the Post Office appropriation bill. Had these two propositions been divorced, I would have voted to exclude liquor advertisements from the mails in prohibition territory, but refused to stand for the Reed amendment, as it is a stab at the sovereignty of the States. It forces drastic "bone-dry" legislation onto 14 States of the Union, without in any way consulting the wishes of the people of these States, thereby striking at the very root and branch of one of our cherished American institutions—local self-government. This subject is fully covered in a speech which I made in Congress on February 22, copy of which I am mailing you.

I regret that I can not comply with the requests contained in your telegram, but trust that you will appreciate my position.

Yours, faithfully,

C. N. McARTHUR.

Post Office Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH WALSH,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 2, 1917.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, although the appropriation for the Post Office Department of the Government is not now before the House, I desire to bring to the attention of my colleagues certain criticisms of the service in the delivery of the mails between the city of New Bedford, in the district which I have the honor to represent, and the great metropolis of New York.

The criticisms are set forth in three editorials which I append herewith, but they have been also brought to my attention by many of the business interests of that great textile city.

It is absolutely essential for the manufacturers and agents for the cotton brokers, and the representatives of southern cotton growers, as well as other business men, to have their mail from New York and southern and western points delivered at a reasonably early hour in the morning of each business day.

The service has been, as I am advised, dependent on train schedules, which are not sufficiently flexible or capable of adjustment to permit transfers and rerouting. It seems to me that this great Government department should, through its proper executive officers, be able to compel readjustment of mail-train schedules, or provide better facilities for transfer and dispatch. Under the arrangement which has been in force the past few months, towns and villages many miles more distant from New York have been receiving mails hours earlier than New Bedford with its nearly 120,000 population and its numerous and diversified industries. The transmission of the mail ought not, between two points such as New York and New Bedford, be disrupted or sacrificed on the ground of economy, but should be placed on a basis insuring service that can always be relied on for promptness and efficiency.

I am informed that after months of poor service, after numerous long-continued complaints coupled with emphatic protests, an investigation is being made, and I trust prompt action will follow to give the business interests the service to which they are entitled.

[From the New Bedford Standard, Feb. 12, 1917.]

FROM NEW YORK IN 19 HOURS.

How much delay is caused in the handling of a letter by putting on it a special-delivery stamp?

No; this is not a misprint. It is a serious question, prompted by the time stamps on an envelope that reached this office Saturday. It was mailed in New York in time to receive the stamp of Station H in that city at 6.30 p. m. Friday evening, February 9. A backstamp indicates that at 7.30 the same day it was in the Grand Central Station, New York, and another stamp that the New Bedford post office got it at 1.30 p. m. February 10. Delivery at this office, as called for by the special-delivery stamp, was made promptly. The time consumed in forwarding the letter from New York to New Bedford was 19 hours.

In contrast with this showing consider the case of a letter stamped at New York, Station H, at 10 p. m. Friday night, three and a half hours later than the special-delivery letter. It was not backstamped at New Bedford, but it was delivered at this office in the early morning delivery—say, five hours before the special-delivery letter reached its destination.

To answer the question with which we started, the special-delivery stamp in this case seems to have caused an eight-hour delay in the handling of the letter that carried it. Mailed in New York three hours and a half before the letter which had no special-delivery stamp it reached this office, say, five hours after that letter.

The chances are, of course, that it was not the stamp, but the general slipshod mail service that was responsible for the delay. The board of trade has asked for envelopes on which the stamps are evidence of undue delay in mail handling. This one is as good a "horrible example" as is likely to be encountered, and will be turned over. It is hoped that others who have similar experiences will send the evidence to the board of trade for use in a campaign to secure for New Bedford the mail service to which it is entitled.

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[From the New Bedford Standard, Feb. 15, 1917.]

A SIMPLE REMEDY.

This city has no desire that the cape mail service should be sacrificed in order to improve the New Bedford mail service. Our business and social relations with the cape are and ought to be close, and it would be impolitic, to say the least, to urge that New Bedford would be given preference. At the same time New Bedford has a right to insist and does insist that it ought not to be sacrificed for the sake of the cape. Good service for both is what is wanted.

Our trouble about the early morning mail from New York is that when the railroad does not deliver the mail in Fall River on time the electric mail car which usually brings it to this city does not wait for it, because this car makes the run to the cape and if delayed would miss the cape train connections. The remedy does not appear difficult. Another mail car should be operated, or an arrangement should be made for transferring the New Bedford mail at Fall River to a regular D. & W. car. Either plan would give New Bedford earlier service on days when the trains are late between New York and Providence and would not be a detriment to the cape mail. So far as this particular phase of the poor service is concerned, the Government should have applied the remedy long ago.

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[From the New Bedford Standard, Feb. 23, 1917.]

THE MAIL'S DELAYS.

Two pieces of first-class mail addressed to this office were stamped at New Bedford 8 a. m. Wednesday, February 21. One was received in the New York office at 5 p. m. February 20, reaching here the next morning; the other was stamped at New York at 5 p. m. February 19. This one took 24 hours longer to reach its destination than the other. It was about 39 hours on the way.

However, we should not repine. A worse case than this is reported from Boston. A postal card mailed in Waltham to a man in that city in April, 1908, has just been delivered. We hate to concede a record in this respect to another city, but it looks as if Waltham had the call. New Bedford, with a piece of first-class mail 39 hours on the way between New York and this city, must take second place.

Joint Memorial of the Utah Legislature Regarding Prohibition.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES H. MAYS,
OF UTAH,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 2, 1917.

Mr. MAYS. Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD joint memorial No. 1 of the Twelfth Utah Legislative Assembly, as follows:

STATE OF UTAH,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
SECRETARY OF STATE'S OFFICE.

I, Harden Bennion, secretary of state of the State of Utah, do hereby certify that the attached is a full, true, and correct copy of house joint memorial 1, adopted by the twelfth regular session of the Utah Legislature, as appears of record in my office.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the great seal of the State of Utah this 7th day of February, 1917.

[SEAL.] HARDEN BENNION,
Secretary of State.

House joint memorial 1.

A memorial to the Congress of the United States that Congress submit to the States a proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States prohibiting the sale, manufacture, transportation, importation, and exportation of intoxicating liquors.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

Whereas there is now pending in the Congress of the United States a resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States whereby the sale, manufacture, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, and the exportation thereof from the United States and all Territories subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes are prohibited; and

Whereas your memorialists favor and desire an amendment to the Constitution of the United States as proposed by said resolution, believing that the happiness, prosperity, and well-being of the people of the United States will be greatly promoted thereby; and

Whereas your memorialists are informed that said resolution has been reported upon favorably by the Judiciary Committees of both Houses of Congress:

Resolved by the Legislature of the State of Utah, That we respectfully memoralize the Congress of the United States that Congress adopt said resolution and that said proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States be submitted to the legislatures of the States at the earliest possible date for their consideration.

Resolved further, That the secretary of state be, and he is hereby, directed to prepare and transmit forthwith certified copies of this memorial to the President of the United States, to the presiding officers of both branches of Congress, and to each of the Senators and Representatives from Utah.

G. H. DERN,
President of the Senate pro tempore.
J. F. TOLTON,
Speaker of the House.

Mr. Speaker, on the subject of prohibition in general we have just heard read the first memorial to Congress ever adopted by a Utah Legislature. It may be interesting to state that the present is the first Democratic legislature ever assembled in that State, that the Republicans in the late election never returned a single member to either house, and that the legislature has just enacted the first State-wide prohibition law ever placed upon the statute books of that State. The first Democratic governor the State has ever elected has just affixed his signature to the bill. Under this law the State goes as dry as a powderhorn on the 1st of next August.

Mr. Speaker, the people of Utah have given due consideration to the argument of the owners and supporters of the saloons. They have regarded the rights of the manufacturer and the dispenser. These people have hunted the evil down. They have driven it to its lair, where they have found it intrenched behind the influences of wealth and politics. Their servants have executed the sentence of condemnation. The Republican Party played tag with the question for a decade.

The people of my State now memorialize this Congress that, by proper legislation, the saloons thus condemned be abolished throughout the Nation, and as an important step toward that desired event they ask that the saloons be abolished in the Capital City of the country.

To-day Members have dignified the following timeworn arguments:

1. That prohibition does not prohibit. This thought is especially disturbing to manufacturers.

2. That, in fact, it increases the consumption of intoxicating drink. This thought fairly distresses the manufacturers.

3. That it is supported by the real enemies of temperance.

4. That the supporters of prohibition are all booze fighters and hypocrites. These arguments receive the attention of those who respect the ancient, the decrepit, and the antique.

At the same time they tell us not why, if it does not prohibit, the manufacturers of liquor all oppose the enactment of such legislation.

They do not tell us why, if it increases the consumption of their product, the manufacturers still oppose it so vehemently.

They do not tell us why, if it does not prohibit and in fact does increase the consumption, they speak eloquently of confiscation of property and plead pitifully for reimbursement.

These arguments, though they smell of mildew, are regaled to us to-day as if they were as fresh and fragrant as the flowers of June.

The papers of this city and the opponents of this measure suddenly realize their great devotion to the doctrine of local self-government. They ask what right has the Member from "Bucksport," Kans., or of "Rough Edge," Ill., or from "Quitchempaw," Okla., or from "Knobville," Tenn., to dictate the habits of the sovereign people of this District? They demand a referendum.

Did these same people demand a referendum when Congress voted the saloons upon the people of this District? What, then, became of the rights of the people who desired a clean and sober city? Is not this the property of the whole Nation, and have not the people of "Bucksnort," Kans., a right to be heard in its government? The people of the country have a right, through their Representatives, to say whether the Capital of this country, which they must support, shall be drunk or sober. The other night, on a street car of this city, I saw a drunken negro, reeking with the vile odor of the dramshop, reel against a respectable white lady. Have I no right to vote against the condition which naturally produces such circumstances?

These people who protest against Congress governing this District knew when they took residence and acquired property here that Congress was charged with such duty. They took residence and acquired interests here with full understanding and should not now be heard to complain.

I am satisfied that the calls for the referendum are not disinterested. It is not the right of the people but the interests of the saloon keeper that arouse such solicitude. They know there is no machinery for election. They realize the opportunity for fraud. They would expect to marshal the corrupt and purchasable. The liquor interests, together with the frequenters of the saloons, with the help of the purchasable colored population, could control the election in this city. An old colored woman, being asked how many people there were in Washington, said, "Countin' the whites, we have over 300,000." Unfortunately, many of the whites would not be counted in such an election. The liquor people know that a large element, much interested and most respectable, would not vote for fear of losing citizenship in their home communities.

This plea is only a subterfuge, an exhibition of extreme dilatory tactics in the hope of postponing what now appears to be the inevitable.

The other evening in this hall we listened to a most eloquent debate on the general subject of the high cost of living to the poor and middle classes of our country. Various remedies were suggested. The gentleman from New York, Mr. FITZGERALD, would enforce an embargo on foodstuffs. The gentleman from New York, Mr. LONDON, would condemn the foodstuffs and sell at cost. The gentleman from Texas, Mr. DIES, would induce the nonproducers to get out of the congested cities onto the soil.

None referred to the fact that the average workingman is spending more of his weekly wage for liquor than for bread and potatoes, high as these necessaries are, more for that which demoralizes his character and destroys his usefulness than for the prime necessities of his family.

Some two and one-half billions annually are expended for the various intoxicating liquors sold in the United States. It has been calculated that this sum would each year construct a row of cottages, costing $2,000 each, for a distance of 5,000 miles on both sides of the street reaching twice across the continent, with a dwelling every 50 feet, and leaving $500,000,000 with which to pave the street, build sidewalks, plant lawns, flowers, and shrubbery.

This sum represents three times the amount expended for every department of education in our country. It is twice our total annual expenditure for every department of the General Government. It would build six Panama Canals every year. It would pay for the largest navy afloat. If we could for one year divert this worse than useless expenditure toward such purpose, we could possess the most powerful navy in the

The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY] states that there is a supply of 228,000,000 gallons on hand, 137,000,000 of which are in his State. He says that 40 per cent is being

marketed in dry territory, and asks that these markets in dry territory be kept open until the supply is sold.

He states that each gallon costs about 25 cents to manufacture; that over a dollar a gallon is to be paid the Government for the selling privilege. At the average selling price of $4 per gallon, this would represent a waste to the consumers, mostly wage earners, who feel the pinch of poverty and the burden of the high cost of life's necessities, of more than $1,000,000,000.

This liquid poison has been manufactured in the face of the growing temperance sentiment with due notice of what is coming and I am not weeping over the loss of markets, especially in dry territory, which we hope may be rapidly extended until no market for his "poisonous distillment" shall remain. Though not a cure-all, still by enacting a prohibitory law we will take one stop toward relieving those who now suffer from the high cost of living.

Other great nations, now endeavoring to meet the greatest crisis in their history, have recognized this principle and by law have enforced a prohibition of the manufacture and sale of liquor because the resources of such nations were needed for other purposes, because the use of liquor destroyed the efficiency of their citizens, because the grain heretofore converted into liquid poison was necessary for bread. This is one compensating result of the international tragedy.

Thousands of our fellow citizens are now within the gates of our Capital City. It is to the citizens of the Nation what the capital of the State is to the citizens thereof. No one would say that the majority of the citizens of a State, acting through their Representatives, have not the right and the duty to decide whether their Capital should or should not harbor saloons. So these visiting citizens have a right to behold a saloonless Capital City if they so desire, and their Representatives have the right to enact the necessary legislation.

Over 60 per cent of our people have already spoken on the subject. Over 85 per cent of the territory of our country has already abolished the saloon. The right, therefore, of the owners of the Nation to abolish the saloon from the Capital City, through their authorized Representatives, clothed with authority and charged with the responsibility by the Constitution, can not be denied, and as a vast majority of the people of my State have expressed their verdict and communicated their deliberate conclusions to me, I shall take pleasure in voting for the bill before us.

The Federal Farm Loan Act.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. P. DAVIS OAKEY,

OF CONNECTICUT,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 2, 1917.

Mr. OAKEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing an article in the Atlantic Monthly by Hon. Myron T. Herrick, of Ohio, relating to the Federal farm-loan act.

The article is as follows:

THE FEDERAL FARM-LOAN ACT.

[By Myron T. Herrick.]

I.

On December 2, 1913, in addressing Congress on rural credits, President Wilson said: "The farmers, of course, ask and should be given no special privilege, such as extending to them the credit of the Government itself. What they need and should obtain is legislation which will make their own abundant and substantial credit resources available as a foundation for joint, concerted, local action in their own behalf in getting the capital they must use. It is to this we should now address ourselves. * * * But we must not allow ourselves to depend upon extraordinary expedients."

Secretary of Agriculture Houston said in his report for 1914: "The chief difference of opinion arises over whether there should be special aid furnished [to farmers] by the Government. There seems to be no emergency which requires or justifies Government assistance to the farmers directly through the use of the Government's cash or the Government's credit. The American farmer is sturdy, independent, and self-reliant. He is not in the condition of serfdom or semiserfdom in which were some of the European peoples to whom Government aid was extended in some form or other during the last century. He is not in the condition of many of the Irish peasantry for whom encouragement and aid have been furnished through the land-purchase act. As a matter of fact, the American farmers are more prosperous than any other farming class in the world. As a class they are certainly as prosperous as any other great section of the people; as prosperous as the merchants, the teachers, the clerks, or mechanics. It is necessary only that the Government provide machinery for the benefit of the agricultural classes as satisfactory as that provided for any other class. It is the judgment of the best students of economic conditions here that there is needed to supplement existing agencies a proper land-mortgage banking system operating through private funds, just as other banking institutions operate, and this judgment is shared by the leaders of economic thought abroad."

Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo, in a ship-subsidy speech delivered on February 4, 1915, before the United States Chamber of Commerce, commented on the loss of the Government surplus lent to the States in 1837 and said: "Yet, gentlemen, when we can not get a State of the American Union to pay its just debts to the Government for money loaned to it, you ask us to stand for a proposition to lend money to private corporations or individuals upon the security of mortgage. Never on the face of the earth! And I tell you, gentlemen, if you ever enter upon it, you will have to lend it upon railroads and upon every other enterprise. Bills are referred to me, asking that every conceivable sort of scheme be approved, submitting them for the judgment of the department, for raids upon the United States Treasury in the form of actual loans to be made by the Treasury of the United States on this thing and that thing—farm loans, loans on houses built by workingmen, and so on. They are all entitled to consideration if we are going into the money-lending business. We shall have to lend it to everybody. You can not discriminate under our system of government. Everybody must tap the Treasury till if you adopt any such resolution as this."

All this is sound doctrine, and since it was thus deliberately pronounced as a rule of action for the administration by the foremost three of its leaders, nobody, of course, could have predicted the Federal farm-loan act. That such a law should really exist still seems incredible, not only because it violates every principle of this doctrine, but because it is unjustified by any emergency, except possibly that of a political campaign that is past. Congressman CARAWAY, of Arkansas, was one of its ardent advocates, but in a speech in November before the farm-mortgage bankers' association he confessed that the need for it "does not any more exist as formerly"; that it is "full of defects"; that "they are not going to do any business [under it] in the South"; that it will produce "more tenants and absentee landlords"; and that "it is very likely to be modified [in parts] or repealed, but as long as it exists it is going to be a serious menace to private capital." Then, he added: "I do not believe in the Government's going into private business of any kind, but this is one of the things it is going to do. To tell you the facts about the matter, to be right candid with you all, we were all hoping to be reelected by our activities in this matter. [Laughter and applause.] The farmer is the greatest agitator in the country, and it is always customary near election for all of us to shed a great many tears over his condition. And we did it, and I am proud to say that I had no opposition myself to being returned [laughter] and most of the other gentlemen got back. And it is to be hoped that, if defects appear in the act, by remedying them we may prolong our political lives."

To what extent such motives influenced the voting is not known, since no other legislator has been so frank as Mr. CARAWAY. It might be noted, however, that the act was passed only a few weeks before the political conventions in June. It was approved on July 17. The Federal Farm Loan Board was appointed during the same month. In August, liberally supplied from an appropriation of $100,000, the board started its publicity work and began a tour throughout the country that continued during the campaign. No criticism or questions of doubt were tolerated at its numerous meetings. The thousands of members and officers of granges and other agricultural bodies, farmers, and persons interested in agriculture, who attended, were regaled only with the highest recommendations of the act. This must have had considerable effect on the elections, especially since the board spread broadcast such statements as "The act will attract vast numbers of our people to the farms who have been unable to engage in agriculture because it has been impossible to secure money on farm obligations"; "the hearings disclose interest rates ranging from 5 per cent per annum to 5 per cent a month;" "in every State visited the industrious farmer of modest means but who can offer unquestionable security is unable to get farm credit on any terms;" and "in many States it was found that the farmer is never certain that he can get a loan, however good the mortgage security."

These statements regarding adverse conditions would entail no exaggeration if they referred to credit sought for or extended on security other than real estate, or to mortgages finally exacted to secure such debts, which the farmers, in too many instances, have let run on and accumulate year after year. They would be true if they referred even to any kind of credit in sections remote from money centers before 1910, when the improvement of farm finance was first nationally agitated. But they referred to farm mortgaging at present, the sole subject before the board's meetings, and their unmistakable intention was to create the impression that capital is now scarce and interest excessive for farm-land credit generally, irrespective of State, values, or person. Hence, the statements are flagrantly wrong, if the declarations and investigations of Secretary Houston, asserting and showing the contrary, are right. (See Bulletin 384, United States Department of Agriculture, July 31, 1916, compiled before the act was passed.—The Author.)

But misstatements, misconceptions, and lack of information have characterized the rural-credits movement. Never before was legislation purporting to solve a great problem enacted with such ignorance or disregard of its essentials as to both fact and principle. Aside from a very able argument about legal points, the debate on the act was simply descriptive of its clauses and added nothing to the store of rural-credits knowledge. The other discussions in Congress were also mere descriptions of bills, not a few of which were plans formulated upon novel ideas for raids on the Treasury and taxpayers' capital, or vamped up from the clutter of John Law's Co. of the West, the Massachusetts Land Bank & Manufactory scheme, and other vagaries of bygone days that were dumped into the trash can in 1741 by the extension to the colonies of the British "bubble act." The teachings of history and the best precedents from foreign countries were ignored as a guide for modern thought. The most noteworthy exceptions were the first bills and speeches of Senator FLETCHER and Congressman Moss; but these men changed their views without apology or apparent reason, and yielded to the pressure, not yet explained, that caused Congress to abandon President Wilson's, Secretary McAdoo's, and Secretary Houston's original plans of individual initiative and private enterprise through concerted local action of the farmers, and to depend entirely upon extraordinary expedients.

So the Federal farm-loan act was finally placed on the statute books with only 12 opposing votes in the House and none in the Senate, for the purpose of assisting actual and prospective farmers

(foreign immigrants as well as citizens) by the use of the Government's cash and the Government's credit on a gigantic scale and in a complex way, such as has never been attempted in any other country. Congressman CARAWAY's answer to the manifest objection to selecting one particular industry for Government favors was: "The farmer produces what you eat and what I eat, and what you wear and what I wear, and the cost of what we eat and wear is necessarily influenced by the interest rate that the farmer has to pay. If you cut down his rate of interest, everybody gets the benefit of it; and therefore it is not class legislation to enable him to get money at a lower rate of interest than anybody else engaged in private business." [Renewed and uproarious laughter.]

This answer has not satisfied the American Federation of Labor, whose 2,000,000 members are probably soon to be augmented by all the trade-unionists in the country. This great organization evidently understood Secretary McAdoo to be sincere when he declared that our Government can not discriminate and that all must be allowed to tap the till, if anybody be accorded that favor.

At its Baltimore convention (Nov. 20, 1916) the federation resolved, in substance, that deposits in postal savings banks be advanced to municipalities for the purpose of building model dwellings for their inhabitants; or, as an alternative, that the Federal Government establish such a system of credits that the inhabitants of these municipalities may borrow money for long terms at low interest rates to build homes free of taxation, the resolution beginning and ending: "Inasmuch as the Government has already established a rural-credits system for the benefit of the farmer * * * we believe it is an easy matter for the Government to take such steps to relieve the working people in industrial centers of the insanitary homes that are now unfit for habitation."

Thus the act has borne its natural fruit far more quickly than was anticipated. But the federation is just and fair in its demands, if the Federal farm-loan act is to remain in force. Difficulties would be encountered, of course, in adapting it to conditions in the cities on account of their shifting centers, changing real estate values, large apartment houses, and unstable population. However, the Government must address itself to meeting these demands and difficulties or else get out of the private business of lending money for agricultural purposes.

II.

If this matter were taken to the people, the vote would undoubtedly be either for all or for none. What will Congress do; repeal the act or enlarge its scope? The probabilities are that Congress will do neither, but will make some much-needed amendments and then rest, in the hope that the act will be invalidated by the courts as unconstitutional or be proved so ineffective and dangerous in operation as to become unpopular and little used. Such a hope would not be groundless, as an outline of the act will show. The act, however, is not as exact or as concise as it might be. Indeed, it is susceptible of different meanings at important points. But its intent to subsidize rather than to finance agriculture is quite evident. In spite of an intricate arrangement, the system created is really managed by the Federal Farm Loan Board, and is designed to draw funds from the United States Treasury and to issue bonds backed by the Government for granting loans to its beneficiaries at low interest rates.

The board is composed of the Secretary of the Treasury, chairman ex officio, and four members appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, and removable by the President. It forms a bureau at Washington in the Treasury Department for supervising, directing, and controlling a system that is to cover all continental United States except Alaska. In accord with the act it is to divide the country into 12 districts and establish a Federal land bank in each district. Besides these, the system will have such national farm-loan associations within each district and such joint-stock land banks, each with a territory of not more than two contiguous States, as the board may charter, without limit as to number. The board shall appoint one registrar and one or more appraisers for each district; also as many examiners, attorneys, experts, assistants, clerks, laborers, and other employees as it may deem necessary. It need not observe the civil-service rules in appointing or dismissing this force. The registrars, appraisers, and regularly employed examiners are declared to be public officers.

The territory of a national farm-loan association may legally be coextensive with a district, but it will probably be small, since the board is urging the division even of counties, and since no charter can be granted without the consent of the district Federal land bank. The business of an association is to take farm mortgages from members and to gather up current funds for the Federal land bank of the district. The incorporators shall be 10 or more natural persons, applying for loans aggregating at least $20,000. The capital is variable, consisting of $5 double-liability shares, which may be held only by borrowers admitted to membership. The administration is composed of five or more directors, a loan committee of three, and the usual officers, with a secretary-treasurer. All, except the latter, must be members and, consequently, borrowers.

The loan must in all cases be secured by first mortgage on farm land, situated within the territory, and can be made only for purchasing or improving such land, for purchasing equipment, fertilizers, or live stock for it, for liquidating the owner's indebtedness incurred for such purposes, or for any purpose if the indebtedness existed before a charter was granted to any association for the county. However, the board may define the words "improvement" and "equipment" as it pleases. The amount shall not exceed one-half of the value of the land plus one-fifth of the value of all permanent improvements, nor shall one borrower be allowed more than $10,000 or less than $100. The maximum for interest is 6 per cent per annum, but it can never exceed by more than 1 per cent the latest series of the district Federal land banks' bonds. The period shall be between 5 and 40 years. Payment shall be by annual or semiannual installments, with the right to make additional payments in multiples of $25, at any due date after the first five years.

The borrower must use the loan only for the specific purpose for which it was granted. He must, until the debt is paid, cultivate the land and keep the premises insured to the board's satisfaction and free of all back taxes, liens, judgments, and assessments. If not paid, these shall become a part of the loan and, with any defaults, draw simple interest at the rate of 8 per cent per annum. No loan shall be made unless it be approved by the association's committee and by one or more of the Government's appraisers of the district, if it is to be offered to the Federal land bank. The borrower also shall subscribe to one of the association's shares for every $100 of his loan or major fraction thereof. For instance, the subscription on a $1,051 loan would be $55. He may pay this in cash or borrow it from the bank and have it added to the loan, provided the sum does not increase the size of the loan above the property's maximum credit value. Preliminary expenses may also be added, provided they do not increase the loan above any of the prescribed limits.

If the property be sold, the mortgage must be foreclosed unless the land bank allows the purchaser to assume the borrower's obligations on his shares and contract. In event of the borrower's death his heirs or representatives have only 60 days within which to assume these obligations. But this does not mean that they shall become members; there is a prospect, therefore, that the association will eventually be doing business with numerous persons who can not participate in profits or management and who, as a result, will not be concerned with its success.

After being incorporated an association may admit new borrowers to membership upon these same conditions by a two-thirds vote of the directors. Whether such a vote is required for additional loans to members already admitted is not clear.

The borrowers' obligatory shares constitute the minimum for the association's capital—that is to say, 5 per cent of the original amounts of the mortgages; and this must represent cash until the loans are entirely paid off. There is no maximum, since the association may make loans to all qualified natural persons within its territory. Moreover, it may allow each borrower to subscribe voluntarily to as many shares as he pleases; at least, this seems to be implied.

An association desiring money for a member may obtain it from the Federal land bank of the district by indorsing and guaranteeing the mortgage offered as security, and by contributing 5 per cent of the amount to the bank's capital stock. Three-fourths of this stock shall be paid in cash when the loan is granted; the rest may be retained by the association at a charge of 6 per cent per annum. Stock thus issued can not be transferred or hypothecated, but may be retired at the bank's discretion with the approval of the Federal Farm Loan Board. It shall be retired on full payment of the loan, when the association shall pay off and retire the corresponding shares of its own capital that were issued to the member.

An association may also obtain from the land bank what money it needs for its own expenses; such advances to draw 6 per cent per annum, but to be repaid only from dividends belonging to the association. It may retain one-eighth of 1 per cent semiannually on unpaid principal out of every interest payment on any loan indorsed by it; such sums likewise to be paid back only from dividends. Should these permissible favors be actually accorded to associations and their members, they would, of course, impair the capital stock, surplus, and working funds of the Federal land banks and create a serious situation.

Besides obtaining money in these ways from the Federal land bank, and through the issuance of shares, an association may issue deposit certificates bearing interest for no longer than one year at a rate of not more than 4 per cent per annum, convertible into bonds of any of the system's banks when presented at the Federal land bank of the district in multiples of $25. The deposits may be of any amount and come from any person, corporate or individual. They shall be forthwith transmitted to the said bank, which shall hold them for the association's account, subject to check or otherwise, without interest, and shall invest them in such bonds or in farm mortgages. Some contend that the convertibility of the certificates is optional, and that the association may pay them off in cash, since the power to issue such evidences of debt implies the power to redeem them unless expressly forbidden. They also contend that, if certificates are not desired, the association may arrange in any other usual way for the withdrawal and compensation of the depositor's money; the argument being that the power granted to accept deposits is a general one and includes both savings and ordinary deposits, since the act is not specific, exclusive, or prohibitive in respect to either kind, but leaves the matter for contract or for the by-laws which an association may make for regulating the exercise or enjoyment of any of its privileges. The whole question, however, has very little practical importance, because the bonds into which the certificates are convertible may be paid off and retired before maturity, while enormous amounts of them, in denominations of $25 or more, will eventually be constantly maturing. This will afford the banks and the associations ample means of paying off and retiring the certificates even on demand, should they wish to do so.

III.

There is much ambiguity regarding the loan methods of an association, as the act does not specify whether the mortgages shall be executed to it or directly to the land bank. If the former is the case, then nothing would prevent an association from holding mortgages as an investment until repaid. It would have to resort to the services of the bank in investing deposits, but it could handle any other funds itself and use all profits for reserves and dividends. With regard to the Federal land bank, however, the act clearly says that it can not lend on farm mortgages, except through national farm-loan associations of its district, until July 17, 1917. After that it may also lend through banks, trust or mortgage companies, or savings institutions incorporated under State laws and approved as agents by the Federal Farm Loan Board. But the only loans lawful for it to take are of the kind already described, and, after the board decides that its district has become organized, it shall again confine itself to the associations. Hence, the position of the agents will always be precarious. Moreover, other troubles might confront them, since they must guarantee the mortgages, while their borrowers must contribute 5 per cent of their loans to the Federal land bank's capital stock, without right to vote the shares or to demand their repayment. Such conditions would not be generally practicable for any class of agents mentioned, especially because of the long-term character intended for the loans. The outstanding guaranties of an agent may equal ten times its capital and surplus. They could not be made by savings banks or perhaps by ordinary banks, and would be illegal for all unless permitted by State laws.

So, if the system should need aid in addition to that of the 12 Federal land banks and their associations, probably it may be supplied by the so-called joint-stock land banks. These are bond and mortgage companies, each with $250,000 or more of capital stock, which may be formed under the act by private investors with a view to profit. Nevertheless, they enjoy important special privileges. They may circulate bonds up to 15 times the capital stock and surplus, at interest not exceeding 5 per cent a year. They may lend directly on farm land within their respective territories, without restriction as to purpose, use, or individual amount, and regardless of whether the owner be farmer or cultivator. It seems, however, that he must become a stockholder. In all but a few other respects, they must observe the rules for lending laid down for a Federal land bank, except that the

interest rate will be governed by their own bonds. But the act is vague in its provisions on joint-stock land banks; it will have to be amended before they can be considered as parts of the system.

Each of the Federal land banks has a capital stock of $750,000, of which the Government is required to supply any portion not taken by other parties. The shares are of $5 each and nonassessable, with times and conditions of payment fixed by the Federal Farm Loan Board. They may be held by any individual, firm, or corporation, or by the Government of any State or of the United States; but only the latter and national farm-loan associations may vote. Dividends can not be paid on shares held by the United States. The bank is temporarily managed by five directors appointed by the board. When the subscriptions of the associations equal $100,000, they shall elect six directors and the board shall appoint three directors. These nine shall then take over the management. When their subscriptions amount to $750,000 the bank shall apply semiannually one-fourth of all subsequent subscriptions to the retirement of shares representing the original capitalization.

The bank shall, by its articles of agreement, permit issues of new shares for the obligatory subscriptions of associations and borrowers. In addition the board may at its discretion authorize the capital stock to be increased for any reason it sees fit, or decreased to any amount above 5 per cent of outstanding bonds. Consequently the capital stock is variable, and the shares of investors are practically deposit certificates that may be paid for by installments and paid off at specified dates, if the board so desires.

Such shares could alone supply every financial need, but they are not the sole dependence. A Federal land bank may open branches within its district; it may receive deposits in any amount from the holder of just one of its $5 shares. Some say that the deposits can not draw interest; but even were this so, the machinery is there and the doubt could be easily removed by a very slight change in the act. It may borrow money, free of any regulation as to amount, interest, or period. It may be allowed the temporary use of any funds in the United States Treasury not otherwise appropriated, provided the amounts which the Secretary of the Treasury may thus deposit shall not exceed $6,000,000 at any one time. Nobody seems to know what this remarkable clause means. It may issue certificates against such amounts, bearing a rate not to exceed the current rate for other Government deposits, redeemable at the Secretary's discretion. It may also issue bonds, equal to the full face value of their collateral, bearing interest at any rate up to 5 per cent per annum, running for any period above five years, redeemable by their terms in gold or any lawful money, and without any limit as to the total amount so long as the capital stock is maintained at 5 per cent of the circulation. Each Federal land bank shall guarantee, and it may buy, sell, or pay off at or before maturity, the bonds of the 11 others. Thus it may divert funds from its own to any other district.

The farm mortgages used as collateral for the bonds shall be valued by the Government's appraisers and deposited with the Government's registrar as trustee. The bonds may be issued in series of $50,000 or more, on authority of the Farm Loan Board. They must bear the certificate of its executive officer, or Farm Loan Commissioner. The bonds and the mortgages are expressly declared to be "instrumentalities of the Government of the United States." Consequently they are not based on land values or the farmer's credit. They are based on the credit, good faith, and honor of the United States, and are the ultimate, if not the direct, obligations of the Government. This is also the case with private joint-stock land banks, the only important difference being that their bonds shall not be certified by the Farm Loan Commissioner. The bonds of both kinds of land bank may be bought and sold by member banks and, with certain limitations, by reserve banks of the Federal Reserve System; and are lawful as security for public deposits and as investment for fiduciary and trust funds. The bonds and mortgages and all Federal land banks and national farm-loan associations, including capital and reserve or surplus and income derived therefrom, are exempt from national, State, municipal, and local taxation, except taxes on real estate. The Government must pay all the expenses of the bureau and the salaries of all its appointees and employees, and even the outlays for advertising. Nothing is omitted but the salaries of appraisers and the costs of preparing and delivering the bonds. The cost of the bonds will not be heavy, since they are to be engraved by the Secretary of the Treasury.

The Federal Farm Loan Board has been given judicial as well as executive powers over the system, with the right to settle debts or claims of any of its units, in the event of dissolution. The board may call upon the Attorney General, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Secret Service for free advice, counsel, and assistance. Finally, by making an initial appropriation of $100,000, Congress has adopted the policy of supplying the board with any money needed for establishing and organizing land banks and associations.

IV.

Thus, every source of funds, public and private, has been opened and every special privilege and other known method of extending Government aid has been accorded. If there be an exception, it is that the board has not yet the power to confiscate titles and forcibly to acquire lands for allotment and sale on credit to its beneficiaries; but agrarianism and the redistribution by law of all kinds of landed properties are not improbable outcomes of this extraordinary system in view of the pressure which the millions of trade-unionists, combined with influential colonization societies, have now resolved to exert upon Congress. The farmers did not ask for this system nor was there any general demand for it. They were on the way toward organizing and mobilizing their own resources, when this blow was struck against private enterprise and cooperation. They would have been satisfied simply by facilities for enabling them to utilize their own abundant and substantial credit. But after a feeble attempt at doing the right thing through a national law for bond and mortgage companies, politics seems to have prevailed and the solution of the problem fell into the hands of radicals and persons seeking to distribute immigrant aliens in rural sections at the Government's risk and expense. They accomplished their ulterior motives, in disregard of the correct principles of land credit and to the detriment of the average farmer of native stock.

The result is this system, which is neither cooperative nor purely agricultural, and which must inevitably have the extension foreshadowed by the resolutions of the American Federation of Labor. It is governmental, because, aside from other reasons, no bond can be issued except through the Federal Farm Loan Board, the Farm Loan Commissioner, and the Government's registrars, and because no loan can be made except with the consent of the Government's appraisers and examiners. The right granted to the borrowers to elect the officers of the associations and the majority of the directors of the Federal land banks amounts to nothing, for the reason that they could not manage the business even if they elected every director. So the only effect of the stock subscription is to impose a liability on each borrower for all the loans in a sum equal to 10 per cent of his own.

The lack of promised cooperative features might be pardonable if the act had provided only for farm mortgaging. But such is not the case. The Federal and joint-stock land banks may use United States bonds instead of farm mortgages as collateral for their bonds; invest all their funds in United States bonds; or deposit all their securities and current funds subject to check with member banks of the Federal Reserve System at any agreed interest. The farm mortgages that the Federal land banks may take are of a very restricted kind, indeed. In brief, the act has established a tax-exempted and highly privileged Government banking system for disposing of Government securities and for aiding industrial and commercial enterprises. With its district banks, regional branches, and local agencies it will place all banks and associations operating under State charters at a disadvantage; and yet, as a matter of law, it need not lend one dollar to a farmer.

Nobody can foretell what will constitute the major part of its business in the years to come; but a great proportion of its funds, on account of their withdrawable nature, can never be invested in long-term loans to individuals. The acceptance of deposits is not a proper function of a land-mortgage bank. The issuance of bonds and the pyramiding of debts against deposits or assets are dangerous rights for a savings institution. The purchase of United States bonds and the amassing of credits in the Federal Reserve System can serve no agricultural purpose. Subsidizing special interests is an injustice to the public. The mixing of Government intervention with individual initiative and private enterprise is an absurdity, because no private individual can compete, much less cooperate, with the United States. The system is a hodgepodge of blunders—wrong from any angle of vision. The wisdom and honesty of the board, clothed with arbitrary powers, will be no more capable of avoiding its pernicious possibilities than was the common sense of Congress effective in preventing its establishment.

This combination of Government finance and farm finance defies every construction of the Constitution save the broadest. Congress can not exempt a corporation from the taxing powers of the States or of their political divisions, except for discharging a Federal Government function. Farm mortgaging is not such a function. The framers of the system, however, declare that this will be its chief object, and they pretend that the land banks were authorized to be designated as depositaries and financial agents of the Government, and that their bonds and mortgages were made the Government's instrumentalities, simply with the view of getting around constitutional objections. But the Supreme Court has said in regard to subterfuges of this kind and their use for a private corporation that "the casual circumstance of its being employed by the Government in the transaction of its fiscal affairs would no more exempt its private business from the operation of that power (of the State to tax) than it would exempt the private business of any individual employed in the same manner." Moreover, the court has even doubted that Congress has a right to establish or to privilege a company in any way "having private trade and private profit for its great end and principal object," or to delegate the power which it possesses under the Constitution "to borrow money on the credit of the United States."

The system is liable to attack on all these points. The Government can not realize any pecuniary advantage from it directly. Although the Government must pay all its overhead expenses and advance public funds to it at the lowest interest rates in any amounts deemed advisable by the Secretary of the Treasury, the Government is expressly forbidden dividends on shares. On the other hand, the system may admit any qualified individual as a borrower or investor and allow him to participate in all the profits, increased, as they will be, through the Government's management and bounties. The bonds and mortgages are means for borrowing money. Since they are declared to be "instrumentalities of the Government of the United States," they are not only morally but legally backed by the Government's credit. Consequently Congress ought at least to have specified the total that could be made. But, contrary to sanity if not to the Constitution, Congress has delegated to a bureau in the Treasury Department and to private individuals the power not only to make these Government instrumentalities but also to involve the Government's credit thereby in unlimited amounts for long periods, without any restriction as to interest rate except 5 per cent per annum for the bonds and 6 per cent per annum for mortgages.

Furthermore, little groups of 10 or more farmers, seeking cheap money for purely private purposes, may issue certificates at 4 per cent per annum, which, although they are to be neither certified nor authenticated by public officers, must, upon request of the holders, be converted into instrumentalities of the Government of the United States. Joint-stock land banks will be merely profit-making companies for private investors. This may also be said of the 12 Federal land banks, since their stockholders and the majority of their directors are eventually to be private individuals. So nothing justifies the use of the free services, money, and credit of the Government or the other special privileges made available for the system. Congress has sowed the wind; the country must reap the whirlwind now set brewing by the American Federation of Labor.

Preparedness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FREDERICK C. HICKS.

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 2, 1917.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, availing myself of the permission granted me by the House to extend my remarks by publishing an address delivered on February 12 by Maj. Seaman, of New York, I have pleasure in submitting the very interesting, instructive, and eloquent address delivered by him at the celebration

of Lincoln's birthday and the twentieth anniversary of the Lincoln Memorial University at Cumberland Gap, Tenn.

Few gentlemen in this country are better equipped by both experience and education to speak on the subject of preparedness than is Dr. Seaman. For the past 20 years he has made a study of war, especially from the standpoint of medical science, by personal observation of conditions on the battle fields of all the wars which have been waged since 1898.

The address is as follows:

LINCOLN ON PREPAREDNESS.

[An address by Maj. Louis Livingston Seaman.]

Mr. Chancellor, ladies, and gentlemen, notwithstanding that a thousand books have been written about Lincoln, little has been said relative to his view on preparedness, and yet his life was a living example of that principle, just as this university is a living memorial to it; and from his life can be deduced many lessons vital to our country, in this, perhaps, the most crucial moment of our national existence. Was Lincoln ever known to hesitate when right and honor were at stake? To add anything material to that which has already been so eloquently written would be impossible. Listen to his words when speaking on the perpetuation of our political institutions, so singularly appropriate at this critical hour of our history. In his address before the Young Men's Lyceum of Springfield, Ill., January, 1837, he said:

In the great journal of things happening under the sun, we, the American people, find ourselves in the peaceful possession of the fairest portion of the earth, as regards extent of territory, fertility of soil, and salubrity of climate. We find ourselves under the government of a system of political institutions, conducing more essentially to the ends of civil and religious liberty, than any of which the history of former times tells us. We, when remounting the stage of existence, found ourselves the legal inheritors of these fundamental blessings. We toiled not in the acquirement or the establishment of them; they are a legacy bequeathed to us by a once hardy, brave, and patriotic, but now lamented and departed race of ancestors.

Theirs was the task (and nobly they performed it) to possess themselves, and through themselves us, of this goodly land, and to rear upon its hills and valleys a political edifice of liberty and equal rights; 'tis ours only to transmit these—the former unprofaned by the foot of the invader; the latter undecayed by the lapse of time. This, our duty to ourselves and to our posterity, and love for our species in general, imperatively requires us to perform.

How, then, shall we perform it? At what point shall we expect the approach of danger? By what means shall we fortify against it? Shall we expect some trans-Atlantic military giant to step across the ocean and crush us at a blow? Never. All the armies of Europe, Asia, and Africa combined, with all the treasure of the earth (our own excepted) in their military chest, with a Bonaparte for a commander, could not, by force, take a drink from the Ohio or make a track on the Blue Ridge in a trial of a thousand years.

At what point, then, is the approach of danger to be expected? I answer, if it ever reaches us, it must spring up among us. It can not come from abroad. If destruction be our lot, we must ourselves be its author and finisher. As a nation of freemen, we must live through all time or die by suicide.

There is even now something of all omen among us. I mean the increasing disregard for law which pervades the country; and though grating to our feelings to admit, it would be a violation of truth and an insult to our intelligence to deny.

* * * * * * *

Of our political revolution in '76 we are all justly proud. It has given us a degree of political freedom exceeding that of any other nation of the earth. In it the world has found a solution of the long-mooted problem as to the capability of man to govern himself. In it was the germ which has vegetated and still is to grow and expand into the universal liberty of mankind.

So spake Lincoln.

Our Nation is now entering the most critical period of its history. Many questions are presenting themselves for correct solution, upon which depend our destiny. The American people must determine along what lines the development of the Nation will take place and what shall be its ultimate goal. Shall our people devote their energy to the development of commercialism and materialism at the expense of those things that appertain to the development of the soul, or shall it subordinate itself to self-interests? The support of patriotism will develop those spiritual qualities which make for the betterment of individual and, therefore, of national character. It is the consensus of opinion of the serious observers of our institutions that the great tendency of our people to-day is to make the amassing of wealth and the enjoyment of pleasure their chief goal. This tendency is so strong as to be alarming. Its effect is to benumb the spirit of patriotism and to paralyze the moral and spiritual qualities of our people.

If this country is to meet and solve the great problems which confront us and fulfill our destiny in the history of the world, there must be a universal revival of patriotism and the adoption of a fixed resolve on our part to school ourselves in those civic virtues and sound principles of citizenship, without which our political institutions will have no permanent foundation. The present situation is new. In the past the great issue we have faced has been more provincial, relating to our own country and its development, and we have solved them. But now we are a world power and we face problems new to our diplomacy. They appertain to our foreign relations. The great tragedy of Europe has shaken the foundation of the world, and its result will be felt in every country on the globe, however small and wherever situated.

The United States will be more influenced by it than any other nation except those which are actually participants. We must now take our position internationally; a stand for good or for ill for all time. The problems which this situation presents will tax the ability and ingenuity of our leaders to the utmost. In a democracy like ours, where leadership is determined by public opinion as expressed by the majority of our people, it is essential that the people themselves master the facts which shed light on these problems, in order that they may intelligently provide wise national leaders. This being so, a systematic and thorough study of our foreign affairs and the history of foreign countries is prerequisite for a correct solution of the present-day issues. Knowledge of history is necessary, because the great war has its root in the remote past. There can be no conviction without knowledge, and knowledge will entail upon our people close application and study. In order to acquire knowledge more people must turn their attention seriously to the study of civic affairs and the performance of civic duties. The situation calls for self-sacrifice, self-control, and the development of a keener sense of duty to the Nation.

The American people are a patriotic race. They love their country and they are willing to make sacrifices and endure hardships in order to place it upon a sound and enduring basis.

This was illustrated in the period preceding the Civil War. Lincoln embodied the spirit of the American of that age and gave it the necessary leadership through the trying period. He appreciated the needs of the situation and the spirit of the time. He embodied in his own character those principles of patriotism, civic virtues of discipline and self-control which were essential to create the leadership called for by the times. At no period in our history has political and constructive leadership been more necessary than at the present moment. It can only be produced by the people themselves. When they fully understand the problems which confront us in the present trying ordeal the leadership which the situation demands will not be found wanting.

* * * * * * *

But, my friends, with the tremendous influx of immigration that has flowed into our land during the past 50 years these glorious principles to which Mr. Lincoln so eloquently referred have not been assimilated. With the enormous growth of wealth that has fattened our purses we have forgotten our duties to the State, thereby seriously threatening the very foundations of our liberties.

Only a few months ago I stood on Fifth Avenue as a troop of our boys in khaki marched past on their way to Mexico. The sidewalks were crowded with throngs of strikers, socialists and anarchists, few of whom were even naturalized citizens, and who hissed our brave boys as they passed to the front to preserve the honor and dignity of our flag. Could there be a greater contrast than is presented by this student body, who will be the future protectors of our land? Is the best blood of our Nation to be spilled for the preservation of our homes and our liberties for the foreign leeches on our industries, and if not, how can this element be educated into decent citizenship and taught respect for law and order? It can only be accomplished through the application of universal training and service. The safety of our country lies in the application and universal adoption of this service to the flag, where rich and poor shall serve alike, side by side, with equal rights, the rights which form the foundation of democracy. In the great struggle now convulsing Europe, which also has embroiled us, the stake is autocracy versus democracy, dictatorship, supported by brutal militarism, versus equal rights and justice for all, barbarism versus civilization. As stated by the immortal Lincoln, "I go for all sharing the privileges of government who assist in bearing its burdens." Universal service in the formative period of youth, when habits are in the making, would be of inestimable value both in the development of the civilian's health, his respect for law, for the opinion of others, for self-discipline and good citizenship.

Remember, as Lincoln has said, "many a free country has lost its liberties by failing to protect them." Nothing is truer than that eternal vigilance is the price of freedom.

The adoption of the law of universal training and service in our land would free us from this danger.

The American Army is maintained to protect American rights from foreign aggression and to enforce law and order within American boundaries. In this fair land alone the question of peace or war is determined by the will of the people. The

American soldier is not, therefore, an automaton, but is a man, away from his home, on the business of his country.

In times of peace the American people will not allow the maintenance of a large standing Army, its presence being considered, justly or otherwise, a menace to republican institutions. It is therefore more necessary for us than for any other country to have the most perfect and most efficient military system in the world, a system whose elasticity will be sufficiently great to permit of its rapid expansion in the emergency of war, when its great working forces must be drawn from civil life.

Lest we forget that in one of the wars of our history the sacrifice of life from preventable causes amounted to thirteen times the number lost through the casualties of battle, and in the name of that vast army of American dead, whose lives have thus been needlessly sacrificed through preventable diseases, red tape, and incompetency, I appeal to our lawmakers to enact the necessary reforms in the Medical and other departments of our Army that will prevent a repetition of such unnecessary sacrifice and the adoption of the law of universal training and service for our national safety.

What boots it at one gate to make defense,
And at another to let in the foe?

Abraham Lincoln said on the historic field of Gettysburg:

These dead have not died in vain—

But—

that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Need for Water-Power Legislation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,

OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 2, 1917.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I have received a certified copy of the following joint memorial of the fifteenth session of the Legislature of the State of Washington:

House joint memorial 2.

To the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

Your memorialists, the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Washington, respectfully represent that—

Whereas the development of water-power resources is a subject of vital interest to the Western States; and

Whereas the State of Washington is bountifully supplied with such resources and their development has progressed rapidly in recent years, adding a great impetus to the industrial development of the State; and

Whereas further development is arrested for the reason that most of the remaining power sites are located upon public domain, and legislation by your honorable body is necessary to remove the bar against further development: Therefore

We, your memorialists, the Senate and the House of Representatives of the State of Washington in fifteenth biennial session convened, most respectfully urge upon you the neccessity of formulating some constructive policy relative to this important subject and the enactment of the necessary legislation to carry on its development.

Passed the house January 25, 1917.

GUY E. KELLY,
Speaker of the House.

Passed the senate February 21, 1917.

LOUIS F. HART,
President of the Senate.

Filed in the office of the secretary of state February 24, 1917, at 1.35 p. m.

I. M. HOWELL,
Secretary of State.

And Ye Shall Know the Truth.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. S. TAYLOR NORTH,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 2, 1917.

Mr. NORTH. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I desire at this time to refute a letter circulated in my district a day or so preceding the last primary election held in our State, in which my attitude and record on temperance legislation was misrepresented to my constituents. This is the letter I refer to:

JEFFERSON COUNTY NO-LICENSE LAW AND
ORDER LEAGUE OF PENNSYLVANIA,
Brookville, Pa., May 13, 1916.

DEAR SIR: Our attention has been called to a letter that one Samuel Wilson, of Clarion, is sending out, stating that S. TAYLOR NORTH, a candidate for nomination for Congress, is a temperance candidate. If Mr. Wilson were as conversant with the anti-temperance record of Mr. NORTH in Jefferson County as we are, neither he nor any other sane man would claim Mr. NORTH for temperance legislation.

Some friends of Mr. NORTH'S have pretended that he will support a national prohibition amendment to the Constitution of the United States, but so far Mr. NORTH himself has not made any public statement, and Mr. Wilson is in error in making the claim he does in the letter he sends out. Whether Mr. Wilson purposely or unintentionally tried to mislead the voters of the county, we do not know.

S. TAYLOR NORTH was a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature from this county during the session of 1913, and he not only voted against the county local-option bill but he voted against all temperance legislation; and, in addition, worked against that kind of measures. The Anti-Saloon League of the State, in a letter dated May 10, 1916, and signed by Rev. B. L. Scott, of the Erie district, says, in regard to the stand of S. TAYLOR NORTH on temperance legislation, "We can get no satisfaction from S. TAYLOR NORTH'S reply. Avoid him." The American Issue for May, 1916, which is published by the Anti-Saloon League of Pennsylvania, says in regard to Mr. NORTH: "Hon. S. TAYLOR NORTH has not openly committed himself in favor of the prohibitory amendment. As a member of the legislature he was against local option."

The Jefferson County No-License Law and Order League is not advocating the nomination of any particular candidate for Congress. All three candidates reside in this county, and we know each personally. Here are the facts about each, and then you can judge which is the best temperance candidate:

1. S. TAYLOR NORTH has been opposed to temperance legislation, and he energetically fought and antagonized the men and measures the temperance people of this county favored.

2. W. O. Smith in his newspaper, the Punxsutawney Spirit, not only vigorously and vehemently opposed the election of a temperance judge in this county last fall, but he personally and publicly in many editorials advocated the election of a candidate backed by whisky interests.

3. N. L. Strong has given us his verbal and written pledge that he will work for and vote for a national prohibition amendment to the Constitution.

Very truly, yours,

JEFFERSON COUNTY NO-LICENSE LAW AND ORDER LEAGUE,
L. MAYNE JONES, *President.*
Rev. CHARLES D. REED, *Secretary.*
Rev. JAMES E. MILLER, *Treasurer.*

Every reference and statement in this letter as to my personal attitude and record is a malicious falsehood, as my record then, as well as when I retire from this Congress, will show to anyone who desires to investigate the same and learn the truth. I would respectfully refer the investigator to the Pennsylvania Legislative Journal for the sessions of 1905, 1906, 1907, 1911, and 1913, as well as the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the Sixty-fourth Congress, for authentic information.

I have observed that no one in public life escapes more or less misrepresentation, and as a general thing I pay no attention to misrepresentations of what I do or say, but when it comes to distorting my record I am constrained to refute the statements, and especially those made in this letter. The purpose of the circulation of this letter in my district a day or so before our primary election is apparent to every Member of this House. It is libelous in that it reflects on my character and integrity. I make it a general rule not to express decided opinions in regard to proposed legislation until I have an opportunity to hear both sides and get all the information possible; and I rarely express a definite opinion on a matter until it comes before the House for action.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 26, 1917.*

Hon. S. TAYLOR NORTH,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: I want to extend to you, both personally and on behalf of the constituencies I have the honor to represent, our thanks for your interest and helpful cooperation in perfecting and securing report of the bill for prohibition in Hawaii as a member of the Committee on Territories. In view of all the difficulties involved, this greatly desired result would have been impossible of achievement had it not been for your patience and courtesy and uniform desire to have our efforts issue in success. Please be assured that it is all thoroughly appreciated and this letter but simply expresses our gratitude therefor.

With assurances of kind regards and best wishes, I am,

Very cordially, yours,

EDWIN C. DINWIDDIE,
Legislative Superintendent Antisaloon League of America,
Washington, D. C.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *February 7, 1917.*

Hon. S. TAYLOR NORTH,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR FRIEND NORTH: I am dropping you this letter of appreciation to-day as I read the magnificent help which you gave in reference to prohibition for Hawaii in your recent committee meetings. I greatly appreciate this, as an old friend of yours, and am glad to take this opportunity of expressing my personal gratification because of the splendid support you have given this measure. It is by your active support and help in connection with others that this bill was pushed forward toward a final issue.

Thanking you again for your kindly and helpful service in this great movement, I am,

Fraternally, yours,

C. F. SWIFT,
State Superintendent Pennsylvania Anti-Saloon League.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C., February 27, 1917.

Hon. S. TAYLOR NORTH,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. NORTH: I wish to thank you for the earnest assistance you gave me in the matter of the report on the Alaska prohibition bill and its passage through the House of Representatives. Not only in that matter but in all others relating to the Territory of Alaska, you have been of very great assistance to me and to the people of the Territory in aid of its development, and I wish you to know that I thoroughly appreciate your friendship and support.

The prohibition bill, thanks to your assistance, has passed Congress and been signed by the President, and on the 1st day of next January it will have full force and effect in the great Territory of Alaska. As you know, the people there voted on this matter at a referendum election, and prohibition carried by a majority of 2 to 1 in a vote of more than 12,000.

Again I thank you for your courtesy and support in that and other matters.

Respectfully,

JAMES WICKERSHAM,
Delegate from Alaska.

[From the Indiana (Pa.) Messenger.]

Congressman S. TAYLOR NORTH voted for the Alaska prohibition bill. We are glad to note that since he has been in Congress Mr. NORTH has voted for every prohibition measure that has come before the House, so far as we have seen the record of the vote. In doing this, he is undoubtedly reflecting the wishes of his constituents of the twenty-seventh district. (Brookville Republican.) Mr. NORTH, whose term expires on March 4, has been a faithful Representative of the people. He is always on the job and has voted right on every moral and political question. (Kittanning Tribune.)

Location of a Nitrate Plant.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY E. HULL,
OF IOWA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Friday, March 2, 1917.

Mr. HULL of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, my deep interest in the manufacture of nitrate for Government purposes and my sincere belief that such a plant should be located in the great Mississippi Valley, which is in the central part of the United States, and far from any possible danger of attack, has led me to make a very thorough and complete investigation of the subject and has also led me to figure out the relative cost of manufacture and the cost of a plant that would meet the requirements of the United States. Many of you have discussed the advisability of locating this plant in different localities in the United States, but it is my belief, after careful investigation, that the most desirable and economical place is on the Mississippi River, between Illinois and Iowa, not far from the city of Davenport. It seems to me that this immense plant, which will have much to do with the future military problems of the United States, should be located solely on its merits; that it should be placed where nitrate could be produced the most economically, and where the by-products could be distributed most judiciously. I do not believe in dealing with generalities, nor do I think any other influence should have anything to do with the location of this plant. Thus, in order to verify my conclusion, at my request, Mr. H. F. Putnam, a member of one of the largest and most creditable firms of consulting engineers in New York City, has prepared a very accurate statement on the cost of the production of nitrate on the Mississippi River, and I am submitting herewith his report:

ADVANTAGES OF LOCATING A NITRATE PLANT AT ROCK ISLAND ARSENAL, ILL.

(1) The Rock Island Arsenal reservation has an area of 990 acres and is the largest and best located arsenal in the United States.

(2) The location is far removed from the north, south, east, and west boundaries of the country.

(3) The Mississippi River and the Hennepin and Illinois Canals furnish water transportation to the Great Lakes and all portions of the Mississippi River Valley and the Gulf States.

(4) Railroad facilities are unequaled and direct connection exists over several lines to all points east, west, north, and south.

(5) Rock Island Arsenal is centrally located on an island between the towns of Rock Island, Moline, East Moline, Davenport, and Bettendorf—all of them manufacturing centers with a combined population of over 125,000. These towns furnish an excellent skilled and unskilled labor market.

(6) The United States Government is making the Rock Island Arsenal one of the principal, if not the principal, arsenal of the country.

(7) An excellent water power exists at Rock Island, capable of being economically developed to 150,000 horsepower.

(8) The development of the water power at Rock Island will solve the problem of navigation on the Mississippi River, now handicapped by the limitations imposed by the Rock Island Rapids.

(9) Improvements are now under way to improve navigation on the Rock Island Rapids at an estimated cost of $1,500,000. One million dollars of this amount has been authorized, of which approximately $250,000 has been expended. The expenditure of approximately $1,500,000 will be saved by the development of the water power herein contemplated.

(10) Provision must be made at once to take care of the increasing demands for power for the use of the Government at the Rock Island Arsenal. For this purpose an appropriation of $250,000 has been made, and the cost may ultimately reach $500,000. This expenditure will be eliminated by the construction of the water-power plant and auxiliary plants as proposed.

(11) Rock Island is situated on the edge of the Illinois coal fields, and an abundant supply of coal is found within a radius of from 60 to 100 miles.

(12) The Illinois coal contains from 1.3 per cent to 1.5 per cent nitrogen content. It is a noncoking coal and is entirely suitable for the manufacture of nitrogenous products from the gasification of coal.

(13) The near-by coal fields furnish an unexcelled location for the construction of an auxiliary steam-power plant to insure the absolute continuity, throughout 24 hours of every day, of the 150,000-horsepower water-power development on the Mississippi River.

(14) The combination of the water-power plant, with its steam auxiliary plant, is the most economical method of producing power. The power is produced at a total estimated cost, including capital costs, of less than 0.125 cent per kilowatt hour. This does not include credits for by-products.

(15) The fact that a combination of both water and steam power is used absolutely insures the supply of power at all times, even in case one plant or the other is totally destroyed.

(16) A 200,000 horsepower combined water-power and steam auxiliary plant and a by-product plant can be constructed at an estimated cost of $19,478,000. This amount will be reduced to $17,478,000 by the credits in (9) and (10). The combined plant will furnish electric power for the manufacture of nitrates at an estimated net cost to the Government of $2.16 per horsepower year, exclusive of the above-mentioned credit for the cost of construction eliminated.

(17) As an initial installation, a 100,000 horsepower combined water-power and auxiliary steam plants and gas-producer plant can be constructed at an estimated cost of $11,670,000. This will be reduced to $9,670,000 by the credits in (9) and (10). Such a plant will produce electric power at an estimated net cost of $4.90 per horsepower year, exclusive of the above construction credits.

(18) As already stated, the towns of Moline, Rock Island, Davenport, and Bettendorf are manufacturing centers, and any surplus power in excess of the requirements of the United States Government could be readily sold.

(19) By extending the steam plant in the coal field the amount of power developed can be increased without material increase in cost per kilowatt or horsepower year to 400,000 or 500,000 kilowatts, or to any amount desired.

(20) The plan of development proposed permits of the development of power in progressive steps, from 30,000 horsepower to 100,000 horsepower, or to 500,000 horsepower, or to any intermediate amount desired, without materially affecting the cost of a horsepower per year. This is an unusual flexibility of development.

(21) The progressive plan of development permits the Government to pursue, in an economical and efficient manner, such preliminary research into methods for the artificial production of nitrates as it may deem necessary. At the same time, the Rock Island Arsenal will be supplied with much-needed additional power at low cost, and the Rock Island Rapids will be economically and permanently improved by slack-water navigation over its entire length. Incidentally, $2,000,000 of contemplated expenditures for these improvements and additional amounts annually for maintenance will be saved.

(22) All materials for the manufacture of nitrates are found in the immediate vicinity or can be obtained by cheap water transportation within a short distance. Excellent limestone underlies the entire district around Rock Island, and Rock River furnishes an abundant supply of pure water for the manufacture of ammunition.

(23) Rock Island is situated in the center of the great agricultural and food-producing region of the United States. In the near future the use of fertilizers will be necessary if this country is to produce its own food supply. Unexcelled water and rail transportation radiates from Rock Island in all directions.

(24) On account of its central location, the fine labor market available, the unexcelled transportation facilities in all directions, both by rail and water, the safety of the location, and the fact that at Rock Island the Government has its finest and best-located arsenal and largest arsenal reservation, and because of the low cost of power produced at this site, it is urged that Rock Island be given careful consideration in the selection of the location for the nitrate plant authorized to be constructed by Congress.

THE WATER POWER AVAILABLE AT ROCK ISLAND, THE COMBINATION OF POWER PLANTS PROPOSED, AND ESTIMATED COSTS.

AUTHORIZATION.

In "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916, Congress appropriated $20,000,000 for the purpose of constructing a plant "for the production of nitrates and other products for munitions of war and useful in the manufacture of fertilizers and other useful products." Under the authority of the act the President, by Executive order dated January 15, 1917, appointed an interdepartmental board, consisting of the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Interior, and the Secretary of Agriculture, for the purpose of making the necessary investigations and submitting recommendations relative to the selection of water-power sites suitable for the purposes prescribed by the statute.

In accordance with the above act of Congress and the Executive order creating the interdepartmental board, the following reasons for the selection of the site at Rock Island Arsenal for the purposed nitrate plant are submitted:

GENERAL PLAN PROPOSED.

It is proposed to develop the large amount of water power now available in the Mississippi River at Rock Island and insure the continuous supply of such power by the construction of an auxiliary steam plant at the mines in the coal fields of Illinois. In connection with the auxiliary steam-power plant it is proposed to construct a plant for the destructive gasification of coal, for the recovery of such fixed nitrogen and other by-products as exist in coal, and the production of a fuel gas to be used under the boilers in the auxiliary steam-power plant. The combined plant will recover the fixed nitrogen from the coal before it is used for power purposes in the steam-power plant, and the hydroelectric plant, supplemented by the steam-power plant, will

furnish an almost unlimited amount of cheap power for the recovery of nitrogen from the atmosphere by any process which the Government may select. The location at Rock Island is proposed because of its central position, the water power which can be developed, the nearness of a suitable coal supply, the abundant labor available, the unexcelled water and rail transportation in all directions, the safety of the location, and, finally, the fact that the most important arsenal in the country is located on Rock Island.

WATER POWER OF 200,000 HORSEPOWER AVAILABLE.

The Rock Island Arsenal is located on an island in the Mississippi, at the foot of the Rock Island Rapids. The water power at this point is now used by the United States Government, and is but partially developed. It is practicable to develop the water power in the Mississippi River at Rock Island to between 100,000 and 125,000 kilowatts. Under present conditions the most economical development, which produces power at the lowest cost per kilowatt-hour and per horsepower per year is approximately 100,000 kilowatts. The cost of the hydraulic works in the river will not be excessive, and the amount of power developed can be increased from a beginning of 30,000 kilowatts to 100,000 kilowatts or more, as the demand for such power increases. (See fig. 1, map of Rock Island Arsenal.)

AUXILIARY STEAM PLANT.

An auxiliary steam plant should be constructed in connection with the water-power development to insure the supply of the full amount of power every day of the year and for 24 hours each day.

The auxiliary steam plant should be constructed in the near-by coal fields of Illinois, within 60 to 100 miles of Rock Island, and preferably on the Illinois River. The steam plant should be equipped with apparatus of the highest grade and efficiency. The plant should be located with reference to the coal mines, so that coal can be taken directly from the mine to the power plant and handled in bulk, thus avoiding the cost of rehandling, transportation charges, and the uncertainty of transportation service. An auxiliary steam plant so designed and located can be operated at a minimum cost. The steam plant should be designed for extension to 200,000 kilowatts, or even to 500,000 kilowatts, should that amount of power be required. (See fig. 2, map of northern Illinois, and fig. 3, map of Illinois coal fields.)

BY-PRODUCT GAS-PRODUCER COAL PLANT.

A by-product gas-producer plant should be constructed in connection with the auxiliary steam power plant.

Plants of the gas-producer type have been developed and perfected which extract the nitrogen from the coal in the form of ammonium sulphate, a common form of fertilizer, and produce an abundant supply of gas which is available for use under the boilers in the steam power plant. The market value of the ammonium sulphate produced will balance the entire annual cost of the by-product plant, including interest, depreciation, coal, supplies, maintenance, and operating expenses.

The gas produced, therefore, can be regarded as a waste product utilized in the steam power plant. The power so produced, combined with the hydroelectric power developed on the Mississippi River, utilizing the water power now going to waste, will produce power at a minimum of cost and will represent the highest type of true conservation, making use, as it does, of our natural resources in the best, most economical, and most efficient manner, and for the most part utilizing the natural resources which are now being wasted.

Such by-product coal plants can make use of coals of low grade, and unmarketable coals, and consequently the cost of fuel is reduced to a minimum. At the same time, mining waste will be reduced to a minimum.

While a gas-producer plant of special type is referred to above, any other suitable process which accomplishes the purposes suggested can be used. It is believed, however, that the process which secures the maximum amount of fixed nitrogen from the coal and produces the maximum amount of fuel gas will best serve the combination of plants here proposed.

TRANSMISSION LINE AND SUBSTATION.

The plans propose a high-tension transmission line connecting the hydroelectric plant with the steam auxiliary plant. The transmission line should be constructed with ample factors of safety and adequate reserve, and the highest type of construction should be used to insure continuity of service. The substation, or substations, should be equipped with apparatus of the highest grade. The substations should be located at points convenient to the plants constructed for the manufacture of nitrates for use in the production of fertilizers and ammunition. (See fig. 2—Map of northern Illinois.)

LOCATION OF NITRATE PLANTS.

The plants for the manufacture of nitrates used in the production of ammunition and fertilizers can be placed at any point within reasonable distance of Rock Island that may be thought desirable. The valley of the Illinois River and the valley of the Rock River, which will be crossed by the transmission line, offer excellent locations for such plants. The plans here proposed permit of wide latitude in the selection of actual sites for these nitrate plants, in case it should be thought best not to locate them on the arsenal reservation and to still have them directly under the management and control of the arsenal authorities. The actual sites selected will, of course, depend upon the method or process, or combination of processes, of manufacture finally decided upon by the United States Government, and the general policy of administration determined upon.

THE PROCESS OF THE MANUFACTURE OF NITRATES.

Many processes have been developed for the manufacture of nitrates by artificial means.

There is some uncertainty as to the best methods to employ. This is due mostly to uncertainty as to the cost of the several methods and exists mostly as to details of the several processes proposed. Practically all methods which have been used involve either the recovery of nitrogen from the coal deposits by the gasification or distillation of coal or the recovery of nitrogen from the atmosphere by some one of several electric-power processes. The nitrogen supply in the atmosphere is unlimited in amount, and the product so obtained is unexcelled in purity. The supply of coal in this country, while enormous in extent, is limited, and once burned can never be restored. The fixed nitrogen obtained from coal in the form of ammonium sulphate is entirely suitable for fertilizers without any special treatment. This source of supply can be converted into nitric acid for the manufacture of ammunition by well-known processes. It is probable that this process will be used for ammunition only in case of emergency. Commercially, the recovery of nitrogen from the atmosphere in the form of nitric acid suitable for the manufacture of ammunition or fertilizers, as desired, requires cheap power. It is in the purpose of the plan here proposed to furnish such cheap power. The coal will be burned in the most efficient manner and the amount used reduced by the development of water power now being wasted. Before the heat value of the coal is used in the steam-power plant its many valuable by-products, and especially nitrogen content, will be extracted.

In the manner here proposed the truest and highest grade of conservation of natural resources is accomplished, and at the same time a cheap and economical supply of nitrates is provided for use in the domestic industries or for the manufacture of ammunition.

ENGINEERING FEATURES.

WATERPOWER PLANT.

The Rock Island Arsenal is located at the foot of the Rock Island Rapids of the Mississippi River and has an area of approximately 990 acres (see fig. 1, map of Rock Island Arsenal). The Rock Island Rapids of the Mississippi River extend from the pool at Le Claire to slack water at Davenport, a distance of 14.8 miles. (See fig. 4, profile of Rock Island Rapids.)

At low water the difference in level between the Le Claire Pool and the river at the Rock Island bridge is 20.738 feet. During the maximum recorded flood of 1880, with an estimated discharge of 251,348 cubic feet per second, the above-mentioned difference in levels was reduced to 16.13 feet. It is proposed to construct a dam above the railroad bridge between Davenport and the island of Rock Island, with a crest elevation of 21.63 feet above low water. This elevation will be increased to 27.63 feet by the use of automatic steel flash boards, which lower automatically to allow floods to pass. In addition to the automatic flash boards, discharge gates will be placed in the dam to relieve flood conditions.

Careful gauge readings have been kept under the supervision of the United States Government, and from these records a discharge curve has been produced for the discharge of the Mississippi River at Rock Island. This curve is based upon the daily gauge readings taken at Rock Island for the 15 years extending from 1901 to 1915, inclusive. (See figs. 5 and 6, Rating and average discharge curves of Mississippi River at Rock Island.)

The plan of development proposed contemplates the construction of a dam and spillway between the island of Rock Island and the Iowa shore, at a point above the railroad bridge, and the construction of walls and dikes above the dam, for the protection of property and the reduction of property damage. (See figs. 7, 8, and 9, Maps of Rock Island Rapids.)

Careful consideration, however, should be given to a plan under which the dam would be constructed opposite Moline and the channel behind the island of Rock Island used as a tailrace. This plan will reduce the property damage and the protecting walls required. At the same time better relief will be afforded at times of flood and the effective head will be increased.

ESTIMATED CONSTRUCTION COST AND ANNUAL COST OF OPERATION.

The estimated cost of construction is based upon the present high cost of material and apparatus, due to conditions produced by the war in Europe. It is assumed that money is worth 3 per cent to the United States Government. Depreciation charges are based upon the economical life of the apparatus employed. The cost of coal has been taken at $1 per ton at the mine. It is believed that this price can be realized or even reduced, as low-grade and waste coal can be utilized.

It has been found that under the above conditions the most economical development of the water power at Rock Island will be approximately 100,000 kilowatts (135,000 horsepower). (See fig. 10—Annual cost per kilowatt and per horsepower year.) The estimated cost of constructing a 100,000-kilowatt power plant in accordance with the plans suggested will be as follows:

100,000-kilowatt water-power development.

100,000-kilowatt hydroelectric plant, complete	$9,726,760
Auxiliary steam plant in coal fields (100,000 kw.)	5,527,420
Transmission line, 60 miles, with reserve line	906,470
	16,162,650
1,350,000-ton gas producer plant	3,315,700
Total estimated cost	[1] 19,478,350

Annual costs.

	Output 100,000 kw. W. P. and S. Aux.	Output average 173,000 kw. W. P. and S. Aux.	Output average 173,000 kw. W. P. and S. Aux. and gas producer.
TOTAL ANNUAL COSTS, INCLUDING INTEREST, DEPRECIATION, MAINTENANCE, OPERATION, ETC.			
Hydroelectric plant	$448,470	$448,470	$448,470
Auxiliary steam plant, excepting coal	410,560	621,840	621,840
Transmission line, 60 miles	50,180	50,900	50,900
Gas producer plant, excepting coal			1,246,190
Coal at $1 per ton	224,180	793,380	1,346,750
	1,134,110	1,914,590	3,716,150
CREDITS.			
Ammonium sulphate, at $60 per ton			3,034,800
Tar, at $4 per ton			180,000
			3,214,800
Net cost of power	1,134,110	1,914,590	[1] 501,350
Cost per kilowatt year	11.34	11.07	2.90
Cost per horsepower year	8.46	8.26	2.16

[1] The expenditure of $2,000,000 for river improvements, etc., now authorized, will be unnecessary and should be credited to the cost of this development.

From the above table of annual costs the great advantage obtained by using a by-product gas-producer plant in connection with the auxiliary steam plant is clearly shown. In the latter case both the water-power plant and the steam plant are run continuously, the reserves being placed in operation. The average load is thus increased from 100,000 kilowatts to 173,000 kilowatts. Under these conditions the load will be 200,000 kilowatts for a period of about two months, and will gradually fall off to approximately 130,000 kilowatts for a period of a few days.

INITIAL INSTALLATION—WATER POWER 40,000 KILOWATTS—AUXILIARY STEAM PLANT AND GAS PRODUCER.

A 40,000-kilowatt water-power development, with an auxiliary steam plant of corresponding size and a gas-producer plant, can be constructed at an estimated cost of $11,663,090. The expenditure of $2,000,000 otherwise necessary for improvements should be credited to this amount. In a plant of this size, operated at its full capacity, and developing an average of 80,000 kilowatts throughout the year, the water-power deficiency being negligible, after due credit is made for the sale of by-products, power will be produced at an estimated cost of $6.54 per kilowatt, or $4.88 per horsepower. The following table gives the estimated construction cost and annual costs of such a plant when operated at 40,000 kilowatts and when operated at 80,000 kilowatts without reserve:

40,000-kilowatt water-power development.

40,000-kilowatt hydroelectric plant, complete	$8,208,580
Auxiliary steam plant in coal fields (40,000 kw.)	2,737,000
Transmission line, 60 miles (including reserve line)	717,510
	11,663,090
By-product gas producer plant (551,400 tons)	1,560,380
Total estimated cost	[1] 13,223,470

	Output 40,000 kw. W. P. & S. Aux.	Output average 80,000 kw. W. P. & S. Aux.	Output 80,000 kw. W. P. & S. Aux. and gas producer.
TOTAL ANNUAL COSTS, INCLUDING INTEREST, DEPRECIATION, MAINTENANCE, OPERATION, ETC.			
Hydroelectric plant	$335,970	$335,970	$335,970
Auxiliary steam plant, except coal	185,860	297,840	297,840
Transmission line, 60 miles	32,660	32,660	32,660
Gas producer plant, except coal			621,470
Coal, at $1 per ton	13,680	324,350	551,400
	568,170	990,820	1,838,940
CREDITS.			
Ammonium sulphate, at $60 per ton			1,240,800
Tar, at $4 per ton			74,840
			1,315,640
Net cost of power	568,170	990,820	523,300
Cost per kilowatt year	14.20	12.39	6.54
Cost per horsepower year	10.60	9.23	4.88

CONSTRUCTION PROGRAM.

At the present time there exists a water-power development at the Rock Island Arsenal from which the arsenal obtains its supply of power. A portion of the power so developed is used for public utility purposes. Appropriations have been made for increasing the water power for arsenal use, and the construction involved will require approximately two years. This construction will be unnecessary if the plan herein proposed is followed. The arsenal is urgently in need of more power at once, and power will be required, also, for the hydraulic construction herein proposed in the river. To meet the existing conditions the following construction program is suggested:

(1) Construct the first portion of the auxiliary steam plant in the coal fields at once, and install therein from 25,000 to 50,000 kilowatts. This initial plant must be designed for ultimate extension to two or three hundred thousand kilowatts or more. The ultimate development planned should be carefully considered in selecting the size of units to be installed. A high-tension transmission line should be constructed at once to connect the power plant with a substation to be constructed at the Rock Island Arsenal. This plant will take care of all the power developed at the present water power, amounting to 6,000 or 8,000 kilowatts, will supply the additional power required at the arsenal at an early date and will furnish such power as is needed in the construction of the water power. Such a steam plant can be constructed in one year under normal conditions. In case of emergency it could be constructed within six months.

(2) The work of constructing the water-power development can then proceed to completion without interruption to the existing power requirements at the arsenal or to navigation. This work should require approximately two years to complete.

(3) During this preliminary stage the Government can conduct on the arsenal reservation such experiments and investigations as it may deem necessary to determine the best and most economical method or methods of producing nitrates, and also the most practicable form of by-product plant to use. It is possible that development work along both lines may be necessary. Such work can be carried on in the seclusion of the arsenal reservation.

(4) By the time the construction of the power plants is completed the Government should have the plans and methods to be employed in the production of nitrates fully developed, so that operation can be started promptly and in the best and most economical manner.

CONCLUSION.

In the project here suggested for the development of the water power at Rock Island it is believed that approximately 200,000 horsepower for the nitrate plant to be constructed by the Government can be obtained under the conditions set forth at a net cost to the Government of not in excess of $2.25 per horsepower year. The development of power can be extended to any amount desired.

On account of its central location, the fine labor market available, the unexcelled transportation facilities in all directions, both by rail and water, the safety of the location, and the fact that at Rock Island the Government has its finest and best located arsenal and largest arsenal reservation, and because of the low cost of power produced at this site, it is urged that Rock Island be given careful consideration in the selection of the location for the nitrate plant authorized to be constructed by Congress.

H. S. PUTNAM.

FEBRUARY 20, 1917, *100 Broadway, New York.*

[1] The expenditure of $2,000,000 for river improvements, etc., now authorized will be unnecessary and should be credited to the cost of this development.

Muddling Through.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD OLNEY, 2D,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 2, 1917.

Mr. OLNEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to me to-day by the House, I extend my remarks by offering an article appearing in the National Service Magazine for February entitled "Muddling Through," by Sydney Brooks.

This admirable article was brought to my attention by J. Lloyd Derby, of New York, one of the original founders and a strong, loyal supporter of the Plattsburg Summer Military Training Camp Association.

The article is as follows:

MUDDLING THROUGH—THE LESSON OF ENGLAND.

[By Sydney Brooks.]

Next to the victory of the allies an Englishman can wish nothing better for America than that she may profit by British experience in this war. "For God's sake, do not let yourselves be caught as we were caught," is the burden of the message of friendly entreaty and of sharp warning that Great Britain to-day bears to the United States. And never at any moment in the 20 years that I have known America was the message more needed than now. With the events of the past two and a half years knocking incessantly against the cells of his brain, it is with consternation, it is almost with horror, that an Englishman to-day revisits the United States and finds himself faced with conditions of unpreparedness far more chaotic than any he can recall in his own country. "Has America," he is inclined to ask, "learned nothing from the war? Has the lesson of our blundering and confusion and of the hideous risks that a long refusal to face realities compelled us to run—has this lesson been wholly thrown away? With so tremendous an example before their eyes, will Americans still persist in their failure to realize that there is no political problem of any kind that is for one moment comparable with the problem of national security?"

The inquiring visitor may pose these questions but he receives from his American friends no very reassuring answers. Some of them will even protest to him that the United States is less ready for war to-day than it was three years ago, and that in spite of all the talk about preparedness in Congress and the press there has been an actual retrocession and not an advance. It is no part of my purpose to inquire whether this be really so. But the more he looks into present-day conditions in the United States, the more painfully is it impressed upon an Englishman that if the state of British preparedness in August, 1914, could be represented by the figure 100, that of American preparedness at this moment would stand no higher in the scale than somewhere between 20 and 30. There may, in other words, be points at which the United States is nearly one-third as ready for war as we were two and a half years ago, but in most particulars she emerges from any thorough comparison only about one-fifth as ready. For it must not be forgotten that the British Navy, which was our main line of defense, was, when the war broke out, as completely and as instantly adequate to its task as the German Army. Nor must it be forgotten that our expeditionary force was also immediately available, organized down to the last button, and in many ways probably as perfect an instrument of war as has ever been fashioned. The trouble with us was not that we prepared badly, but that we did not prepare enough; that defense had failed to keep pace with policy; that we had never accurately measured our liabilities; and that the greatest of all wars found us with a military equipment admirably fitted to cope with trouble on the Indian frontier or to carry out comparatively small punitive expeditions, but utterly disproportionate to the task, which none the less it was forced to assume, of sustaining a part in a European struggle not of armies but of nations.

American unpreparedness, so far as my observation goes, is on an even more comprehensive scale than was our own. To the defect of insufficiency it adds the further defect of inefficiency. Not only is it ludicrously and lamentably inadequate for a war with even the weakest of the first-class powers but, as we have recently seen along the Mexican border, it breaks down beneath the simplest of military tests. I see no sign that any considerable item in either the naval or the military apparatus of America even begins to approach the degree of efficiency in which the outbreak of the war discovered the British Navy, the general scheme of British naval policy and administration, and the British expeditionary force; and I see every sign that the organization of American defense as a whole falls far short of what is needed if the United States is to uphold her policies and not merely assert them, and if she is to guard not only against the risks inseparable from all international activities and, indeed, from all international existence, but also against certain specific obvious and imminent dangers. What I further see is the reproduction in the United States in an aggravated form of practically all the phenomena against which Lord Roberts

tried, and tried in vain, to rouse his countrymen. I see the same plethoric, pot-bellied equanimity on the part of the average citizen, the same refusal to associate citizenship with duties, the same lazy, hazy belief that peace can be had by willing it, the same debilitating doctrine that defense is the business of the Government and not the concern of the community as a whole and of each individual man and woman in it. But an Englishman is perhaps most taken back by the presence in the United States to-day of certain features of life and opinion from which his own country has happily been exempt. I do not think that in the British Isles we were ever quite so bemused by sentiment as large sections of the American people appear to be. I do not think we ever wandered quite so guilelessly in such a cloud-land of unrealities as that which now envelops the Middle West. I do not think we ever believed with such satisfying innocence that we were protected, without further efforts of our own, by some magic cloak or some providential dispensation of invulnerability. And I am sure that the spirit of British nationality and the unity of British feeling have never been rotted by the disintegrating agencies now visibly at work in the United States. We have had weak and short-sighted Governments, but never one so seemingly indifferent to national security as that which now holds power in Washington. We have had many Parliaments that failed to think out the British military problems, but not one that bungled it so hopelessly as the present Congress has bungled the military problem of the United States. We have known times when the national interest in questions of defense was overshadowed by the national interest in questions of social reform. But we have never known a time when the popular mind was so difficult to rouse or seemed so wrapped in a complacent apathy or so immersed in materialism as in the United States of to-day. We have had those among us who preached a muddy and mawkish internationalism, but I question whether in Great Britain patriotism, and the spirit of service and sacrifice, and a realistic sense of national honor and of the conditions of national existence had at any time been impaired as they seem to have been impaired in the United States. The war has undoubtedly cleared the British air of a multitude of unwholesome vapors. Is there no process that will purify the far more heavily impregnated atmosphere of America at a less terrible cost? Does it need a war to make America efficient? Will the United States, like Great Britain, fail to convert democracy into a reality and citizenship from a meaningless accident into an honor and a responsibility, except under the compulsion of the battle field? Those, I think, are the ultimate questions propounded by this war for the judgment of the American people.

We in Great Britain lived before the war unarmed or armed only for defense, while the Continent of Europe was one vast arsenal of war. Not dissimilar is the position of the United States. We relied for such striking power as we might need upon a small and highly trained professional army, with a somewhat larger but imperfectly organized body of citizen soldiery in the background. So does the United States. Like America, we were a trading community, meditating no aggression and wholly disinclined to consider war or protection against war as the chief end of our national being. While all the leading powers of Europe had adopted universal military service, we trusted in an army raised on the voluntary system. That also is the present policy of America. Secure, as we thought, in our island home, shielded by an unequaled Navy, and possessed of abnormal wealth, we felt that on our chosen element, the sea, we could always give a good account of ourselves, that our expeditionary force would be a valuable addition to the armies of any European power, that our wealth and industrial resources could furnish any alliance of which we were a member with the indispensable sinews of war, that, beyond that, nothing would ever be required of us, and that we could afford to bless the happy fate that had exempted us from "the burden of conscription." I imagine that many Americans, looking to the size of their country, its aloof and seemingly impregnable position, and its potential reserves of man power and material, argue in much the same way. But we were wrong and you also will be proved wrong if you elect to be guided by any such easy-going faith. If and when you become involved in a war with a power of the first rank that is able to challenge your very existence as an independent State, you will find, as we found in 1914, that the defenses you have elaborated are insufficient and that nothing less than the arraying of the entire Nation in arms will meet the needs of the crisis. You will be driven, as we ultimately were driven, to universal and compulsory military service. And then, like us, you will rise up and curse your folly in not having adopted, years beforehand, the only military system that consorts with real democracy, that can guarantee security, and that acts, if not as an infallible preventive, at least as a most formidable deterrent, of aggression. It is a moderately safe speculation that, had Great Britain adopted compulsion 10 years ago, Europe to-day would be at peace. It is an even safer speculation that the United States has only to introduce the same system to render herself immune from attack for all time.

To compute all that our persistence in clinging to the voluntary principle has cost us would be to compile one of the most mournful catalogues of missed opportunities in human history. It meant first and fundamentally that as a nation we knew nothing of war. No nation except the American Nation of to-day and perhaps China could have known less. The British people as a whole had but one strong conviction—or possibly instinct would be the better word—on the subject of national defense. That was that the British Navy should always be supreme. Otherwise they handed over the problem of insuring the national safety to their political leaders. They never made it their own affair. And in a democracy anything that is not the affair of the people, anything that does not arouse and hold a deep popular interest, is pretty sure to be neglected and mishandled. That is because it is the essence of democracy that movements should proceed from the bottom upward, just as it is the essence of autocracy that policies should be imposed by those at the top on an acquiescent nation below. It is not the statesmen of Great Britain who have built up through the centuries the British Navy. It is the British people themselves. Without that passionate faith of theirs, bred into the bones of every Briton, that Great Britain as a free power perishes on the day she loses command of the seas, our naval policy would have been a thing of shreds and patches, of backing and filling, a point of contention among parties, a something shoved by the "leaders" into the background as a quite secondary consideration. And that precisely has been the fate which for some hundreds of years, I should say since the days of Henry the Eighth, has overtaken our military policy. The British people before the war were almost as uninterested in the problems of the Army as are the American people to-day. It was a side issue in the national life. Its discussion bored them. Its technicalities repelled them. The idea that the army either could or should be the nation never occurred to them. When Lord Roberts attempted to popularize it, he was met with "blank indifference or with blame reproved." What an army was, how it fought, of what its equipment consisted or ought to consist—these were questions that the average man in Great Britain left comfortably to the experts and the politicians. He had had no personal experience of soldiering. He was without any inherited set of traditions on the general question of the place of the Army in the scheme of national policy—except the tradition that compulsory military service was a degrading form of discipline unworthy of a free-born Briton, likely to lead to "militarism" and foreign adventures, and superfluous in any event because the safety of the nation was already assured by an unconquerable navy.

When, therefore, the war burst upon us, demanding from our people an unheard-of military effort, it found them obliged to improvise pretty nearly everything. It plunged them not merely into an unforeseen crisis, but into a new world, the very atmosphere of which was strange to them. The national mind had never been set to work on the problems that now confronted it, problems that had to be solved as soon as they were formulated and long before they could be thought out. What the authorities had foreseen and prepared for—the mobilization of the regular army, the dispatch to the front of the expeditionary force and its proper equipment with the infinitely varied paraphernalia of modern war—was in general admirably carried out. But there both they and the nation had stopped.

A war involving the employment and the maintenance of more than 150,000 troops had not entered into their calculations. The creation of huge armies running into the millions was an enterprise they had never even troubled to think of, so wildly improbable had it seemed that any such obligation would ever be laid upon Great Britain. They would as soon have dreamed of drawing up plans to resist an invasion from Mars. The plant, the organization, the machinery for recruiting the men, the officers to train them, the far more difficult problem of arming and equipping them—all these had to be grappled with at a moment's notice, in a frantic scramble, and at a prodigious cost. Had we had compulsory and universal service, the men would have been ready, the arms would have been ready, the uniforms and the camps would have been ready, and we should have saved millions of pounds, months of delay, and the imminent risk of disaster. More than that, our people would have mastered the elements, at least, of the military art. They would have known something of what war is. They would have possessed some standards by which to judge of its incidents and progress. They would have been spared the experience of being violently shuttlecocked between facile optimism and an equally unreasoning depression. They would have been quicker to realize the magnitude of the crisis and to adjust their lives to the new conditions. And these are no small matters. When it is no longer armies but nations that go to war, the temper and the resolution and mental attitude of those who are left at home are the chief among those moral factors that determine the issue.

As it was we had to rush blindly, stumblingly, in the dark, snatching at anything and everything that would put us in shape to fight. Only the inventive genius of our people and their ready gifts of initiative and organization saved them. We did not even know what resources of man power the country could count upon. It seems incredible now that any nation could have remained in such utter ignorance on a matter so vital to its existence. Or, rather, it would seem incredible were not the United States even now, even after the object lessons of the past 30 months, in precisely the same position. It was not until the war had been going on for nearly a year, not until after a vast army of men had enlisted, that we passed the national-registration act, which for the first time placed recruiting on a more or less scientific and orderly basis. Under its terms not only had the actual occupation of every male and female between the ages of 15 and 65 to be declared, but also their capacity for any other business which might be serviceable to the country. A complete survey was thus made of the whole nation and of every eligible man and woman in it. At the same time various committees were busily at work weighing the comparative needs of the army, munition works, agriculture, and other civil industries. Their recommendations, when put side by side with the results of the register, made it possible to draw up lists of trades in the order of their national importance and to decide in the case of some of them that no workers, even though of military age, should be drafted from them into the army. All the belligerents in this war have found that to extract the maximum of fighting power you must observe a just proportion between the claims of the army and the claims of industry. It is the sheerest waste of time, money, and energy, under any system, compulsory or voluntary, to train men to fight and then to discover that they would be more useful making munitions or carrying on their normal trades. We made that blunder, and so did France and Germany. But it will be little less than a crime if the United States repeats it. I am very confident that every man who has been behind the scenes of this war would assert that, for a country like America, the first and essential starting point in any program of preparedness is the compilation of a roster that will show at once the numbers, addresses, and occupations of all the men and women of military age in each State. Get that done and you would know where you were; each State could tell about at a glance which men could be spared for the Army and which ought to be retained in the trades that support the main fabric of the Nation's commerce or furnish the material of war; you would obtain a bird's-eye view of the whole situation and could form an exact estimate of your military and industrial power and of the contribution toward it that each man and woman—and nowadays you can not wage war without women—was capable of making. If not British experience merely, but the experience of all the present belligerents goes for anything, that is the foundation of real preparedness.

I should be the last person in the world to belittle the splendor of the response made by the British people to the national call. Before the war it used, I believe, to be a point of substantial agreement among military experts that even a country with compulsory service could not put into the ranks more than 10 per cent of its population. We in Great Britain exceeded that percentage and still maintained the voluntary system. Over 5,000,000 men in the British Isles came forward and enlisted in the army of their own free will and before compulsion was applied. That was a demonstration of national spirit that has never in its way been equaled or even approached in the history of any land. Nor need one subscribe to the idiotic dictum of a British statesman that "one volunteer is equal to three conscripts" in order to feel and to declare that there was something peculiarly inspiring in this uprising of a free people in defense of the liberties of Europe and under no other compulsion than that which was applied by their own patriotism and sense of duty. Americans would have to raise an army of at least 11,500,000 men in order to equal the British

achievement. Before the war about 30,000 men enlisted in the regular forces annually. After the war began more than that number of recruits presented themselves in a single day. There was one week when a quarter of a million men joined up. Very little provision had been made, or, giving the swamping suddenness of the crisis, could have been made, to receive them. Thousands of them lay down to sleep in ditches after walking 20 miles and waiting for hours in a blazing sun till their turn came. So great, indeed, was the rush of recruits that the war office felt impelled before the war was six weeks old to repeat, though in a modified form, Stanton's blunder at the end of the first year of the Civil War. Stanton absolutely shut down on recruiting and closed the recruiting offices. The war office was not quite so foolish, but before the middle of September, 1914, it raised the standard of height and chest measurement and physical fitness in a way that but too successfully checked the flow of recruits, that went far toward convincing the British public that the extreme need for men was satisfied, and the deterrent effects of which were only undone by a prodigious campaign of oratory, posters, and newspaper advertisements. It was while this campaign was in progress that the defects of the voluntary system became most clearly manifest.

The best men joined the army at once; the slackers and the shirkers hung back; married men displayed an almost suspicious eagerness to enlist; single men proved unaccountably reluctant. Moreover, as time went on it became perfectly clear that the voluntary system was voluntary only in name and that it was being worked by a form of social compulsion that had most of the defects and none of the virtues of universal military service. Men who were not in khaki were jeered at in the streets and presented with white feathers by excited young women. That fearsome instrument of terrorism, "the opinion of the neighborhood," was brought to bear, unjustly often, harshly sometimes, ignorantly and indiscriminately always, upon all men who seemed to be of military age and who had not some visible token in the way of badge or uniform that they were "doing their bit." The public conscience revolted by degrees against the inequalities and inconsistencies of a system that allowed every man to do as he pleased, to volunteer or not to volunteer just as his inclination might dictate, and that penalized patriotism and self-sacrifice by shielding the loafer and the coward. The public taste and the public dignity were not less outraged by the highly effective but essentially vulgar and unworthy appeals for recruits that stared from every wall, resounded from every platform, and headed the advertisement columns of every paper. It was felt, not at first, but gradually, and at last irresistibly, that the war was not a thing to be "boomed" and trumpeted like a cinema actress or a new table water, but a great crisis in human history, calling upon every man as of right to offer up himself and all he had. Slowly we advanced to the inevitable decision. We postponed it as long as we could, honestly believing that there was some virtue in a volunteer that a soldier who was a soldier merely because the law made him one did not possess. We tried first a plan of attesting all the unenrolled manhood of the country and dividing them according to age in groups for the military authorities to call to the colors when they were wanted. It was a good plan and, had we adopted it at the beginning of the war, it might have seen us through. But we found that many thousands of single men of military age had failed to signify their readiness to serve when called upon. The absurdity of summoning the benedicts to redeem their promise while an appreciable number of bachelors had escaped giving any promise at all was too patent to be withstood. Compulsion was at once applied to the unmarried shirkers, and a few months later, in May, 1915, was extended to all men in Great Britain between the ages of 18 and 41. From that moment the national conscience was at rest. No one could possibly say that the British people were not pulling their weight or bringing their full power into play when they had thrown aside the most cherished of all national prejudices and stamped with their emphatic approval the principle of universal service. Then at last the burden was fairly distributed; all men stood on an equality of sacrifice; and British democracy received its final consecration.

No Englishman, however, looking back on it all, even while he recognizes the stupendous efforts put forth by the Government and by the people to keep the voluntary system in being, can help reflecting on the waste and muddle and injustices that might have been obviated had the war found us with universal and compulsory service in full operation. For in that case most of the questions that distracted the public mind during the first 18 months of the war would never have been raised at all and most of the problems that diverted the Government from its supreme objective of killing Germans would have automatically settled themselves. Every man would have known where he belonged and what his duty was, where to report himself, and where to obtain his uniform and arms. There would have been no hurried pitching of camps on unhealthy sites, no dearth of officers to lick the recruits into shape or to put the more seasoned troops through their final paces, no drilling for months on end without rifles or kit or equipment, no shortage of food and doctors and transports, no such sense of bitterness and resentment as only the volunteer knows when he hears of soft civilian jobs filled by slackers who had heard the call of their country but had chosen not to heed it, no picking men raw from the streets and flinging them half trained or a quarter trained into the battle, no tumult of confusion and frenzied improvisation of makeshifts, but the setting in motion of a tested machine and its smooth and progressive rise to a calculated maximum of power. In mere money it would have paid us a hundred times over to have borne the undoubted burden of compulsory service for a couple of decades rather than to have faced such a storm as broke upon us in August, 1914, with nothing at our backs but the voluntary system. Unless Americans can be absolutely certain that they will never be drawn into a first-class war and that because they are peaceable, because they are wealthy, because they are unarmed, they are therefore safe from any attack by powers poorer than themselves, infinitely better prepared for war, and by no means so pacific—unless they are convinced of the soundness of these doubtful hypotheses, then the cheapest investment I can recommend to them is the immediate adoption of compulsory service. Financially it would have saved us billions of dollars had our people after the Boer War divested themselves of the liberty not to fight for their country. But the financial gain would have been but a fraction of the increment we should have reaped from the systematic and obligatory training of our manhood in arms. We should have saved time—and time is the most precious of military as it is of industrial commodities; we should have saved energy—and energy in a life and death struggle is precisely what you can not afford to waste; we should have gone forward briskly and confidently in the light instead of groping and fumbling in the dark; we should have dispatched with a clear-cut swiftness and efficiency a business that sheer ignorance of its essentials compelled us to bungle and prolong. More than that, as I have already said, we might, I believe we should, have averted the war altogether. I can not believe that even Germany would have provoked one of the most stubborn of the fighting nations of the world had that nation been ready for war. Still less can I believe that any power will venture to attack the United States when the United States rests upon the broad basis of a citizen soldiery and shows itself alert to the conditions around it and determined to be their master and not their victim. You have in your hands the key to what is virtually an eternity of peace if—but only if—you arm and organize. Should you refuse, then all history is a lie if there is not stored up against you a day, and an early day, of terrible awakening.

There is another aspect of this question on which I should like to say a word or two. Ask any sane man in any of the warring countries what lesson has been most deeply driven into his mind by the events of the past 30 months, and he will answer unhesitatingly, "The value, the vital necessity, of encouraging during the years of peace as many private manufacturers as possible to engage in the production of war material." I am almost tempted, indeed, to say that that is the beginning and end of preparedness. By hook or crook you can always get the men. It is a much lengthier and an infinitely more difficult business to arm and equip them. Modern war is a war of factories. It levies an unceasing toll on every ounce of industrial knowledge and skill that a country possesses. It is a struggle of mechanics and chemists and artisans just as truly as it is a struggle of soldiers, and victory goes to the nation that knows how to turn the resources of its manufacturers and the efficiency of its workmen to the best account, and that has at its disposal the largest number of plants engaged in or capable of being adapted to the production of the vast and varied catalogue of implements required by the armies in the field. The industrial side of war is just as essential as its military side. But nothing can be plainer than that if your military preparations are on a small scale your industrial preparations likewise will be on a small scale. The one conditions the other. If you rely on a diminutive Regular Army and have no idea of how many volunteers will be needed to supplement it in war time, then you limit your industrial preparedness to the obvious and tangible needs of the moment. You see to it that your Regular Army and your Navy are adequately provided for. But there you call a halt. You can not attempt to forecast a future that is a mere blank wall of unknown and incalculable quantities. You do not build plants and train labor on the off chance that some day 500,000 volunteers, or 5,000,000, will be clamoring for guns and shells and rifles and uniforms in a hurry. We found in Great Britain that dependence upon the voluntary system meant preparing for war only after war had begun, meant that there was a huge gap in our industrial equipment that had to be filled immediately and at any cost. How we have filled it, how we have erected over 100 colossal war works, how more than 4,000 firms that before August, 1914, never dreamed of producing war material are now engaged in producing nothing else, how we have turned all our industrial arrangements and practices upside down to meet the emergency—all this it would need a volume, and a singularly fascinating and instructive volume, to set forth. Yet with all our efforts it will not be till this summer, three years exactly since the outbreak of the war, that we shall reach our maximum power; and what our failure to foresee the industrial demands of modern war has cost us in lives, in treasure, in spent attacks, is something no Englishman cares to think about. But it was a failure inevitable under the picayune standards of the voluntary system. Only if you adopt compulsory service can you measure your liabilities and shape your industrial preparations accordingly. Only if you know exactly the number of men that at a crisis will be called to the colors can you coordinate military and industrial policies and avoid the disastrous blunder of allowing the former to outrun the latter. Under the voluntary system you are working blindfold, never knowing at what moment or on what scale you may have to make demands upon your manufacturers that they can not possibly fulfill. Under the compulsory system, with a definite quota of men annually entering the ranks, with the aggregate force at your disposal in time of war accurately ascertained beforehand, the output of war material automatically keeps pace with the numbers of men who will one day need it more than they ever needed anything in their lives.

It has been extremely interesting to watch the change that has come over the British mind since the adoption of universal and compulsory service. It is a change that might better be described as a revolution. Formerly, as I have said, the average Englishman looked down upon "conscripts" as little better than serfs. He exulted in his own freedom from "military bondage." This attitude on his part was quite natural and quite sincere. It marched with entire harmony alongside of his general sense of irresponsibility and his aversion to a disciplinary officialdom. That citizenship had its duties and its obligations as well as its privileges, that between himself and the State there would one day arise a question of debts to be paid and services to be rendered—this was as foreign from the ordinary British as it still is from the ordinary American view. Freedom in the eyes of the "man in the street" meant freedom to do pretty much as he pleased. He was a ferocious individualist. The conception of the State as a brotherhood that embraced himself and had the right to exact from him sacrifices which he, on his part, should have been glad to make had well-nigh vanished from his consciousness. He was voluble on what the nation owed to him; he was reticent on what he owed to the nation. Eloquent about his "rights" and developing a progressively bitter spirit of class antagonism—an antagonism that was poisoning the industrial relationship at its source—he threatened to become about as futile and unpleasant a citizen as any that encumber this planet. But the war has given him a new perspective. He realizes that to take up arms at the bidding of the State is not to be subjected to a form of slavery, but to exercise a proud privilege. He sees now that there is no freedom but in service and no happiness but in sacrifice. He has grown nationally self-conscious. He has felt for almost the first time that he was a working and considered unit in a great democratic whole, and that there was something else in life beyond the satisfaction of his own petty appetites. One can not even begin to estimate the enormous contribution that universal service has made to the cause of British democracy; how it has blotted out class feeling, has made wealth and birth of no account, and has unified the nation by imposing upon all its members an equality of obligation. In that new England which will emerge from the furnace of this war, an England physically made over, inured to discipline, making character and achievement the test of honor, scornful of old distinctions, and insistent upon the bonds that link and not upon the divisions that separate rich and poor, employer and employed, the palace and the slum—in that vigorous and triumphant democracy compulsory military service, I hope and believe, will take a fixed place in the national fabric.

But if England has gained much and stands to gain still more by her conversion to universal training, what may it not be expected to produce in America? For in America, as it seems to me, the need for just some such leveling and energizing experiment is greater to-day than it has ever been in any white man's land. All the phenomena that a few years ago made one wonder whether England might not really be as

decadent as the Germans thought she was—the waning of a robust patriotism, the State blindness of the average citizen, the growth of an untrammeled egotism that hurled class violently against class, the absorption in pleasure and money making, unwillingness to look disagreeable facts in the face, the yet greater unwillingness to sacrifice private ends for the public good—all these phenomena luxuriate in the United States of to-day with a rankness rarely, I suppose, equaled and never surpassed in history. And, in addition, America suffers from a plague which happily has never infected us in England—I mean the plague of racial schism, of divided allegiances, of an imperfect unity of thought and emotion. How to weld this medley of races, scattered over so vast and isolated a continent, into a genuinely American totality—that is the problem. The schools have done much to solve it, but it is clear that the factors which impede the development of a really national consciousness are growing yearly too strong for them. I see myself no agency in sight that can do even half as much as compulsory military service to restore a juster sense of values to social life, to take the edge off class strife, to instill the spirit of service into your self-centered millions, to sharpen the wits and add to the physical well-being of the average man, to make the democratic theory a fact, and to bring all the disparate elements of the Commonwealth within the folds of a visible and realized Americanism. Not since slavery has any issue appeared that so closely touches the security of the American people and the quality of American democracy.

The Increase of Federal Judges.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES J. BRITT,
OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 1, 1917.

Mr. BRITT. Mr. Speaker, I shall say but few words on this bill. But little need be said. That it is an unwise, vicious, and partisan measure is so plain that he who runs may read. Its title is a misnomer. It ought to be called a bill to punish merit and prevent efficiency. It proposes a direct reversal of the principle that merit should be rewarded, that efficiency should be promoted, and that our nonpartisan judiciary should be maintained. It goes further than that. It makes judicial appointments the football of party politics and divests Congress of its constitutional power to create judgeships, and reposes that power in the hands of the President of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, our judiciary is preeminently the one branch of our Government where experience and uninterrupted tenure count for most. The suggestion that a sane and healthy judge who has attained the age of 70 is incapacitated for service by the weight of years is flatly contradicted by common experience. The whole history of our judiciary refutes the contention. It is little short of absurd. The ablest judgments of our courts, those mighty expositions of the Constitution that have shaped our institutions and given direction to our national life, have all been the product of judges advanced in years. The law is a difficult and laborious science. So is its administration on the bench. No man can master it in a day, or a year, or a decade. It requires long, patient, and unremitting toil. This bill flouts experience and disregards ability. Far from promoting the administration of justice, it would seriously hinder it. That judges of 70 should not be forcibly retired is illustrated by the case of District Judge James Edward Boyd, of the western district of North Carolina. Although past 70, he is vigorous, strong, active, and enthusiastically anxious to serve. Yet, under the provisions of this bill, his services would almost certainly be dispensed with and his place filled with some untried and inexperienced lawyer.

Mr. Speaker, if these additional judges are needed, why not make the provision outright and final? Why make the establishment of judgships dependent upon Executive caprice? If they are needed, why not create them absolutely and let the matter end there? The advocates of this bill, although always posing as the protectors of the powers of Congress, are helping to override the Constitution and destroy the proper balance of the powers of our Government by giving to the President such power as kings, and kings only, should have. They are committing solely to him the power to say whether there shall or shall not be appointed a large number of Federal judges who will hold in their hands the construction and application of the Constitution and laws of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, this is a partisan measure, pure and simple. Its purpose is to displace 16 Republican judges and fill their places with 16 Democrats. Gentlemen on the other side would have done better had they fully disclosed the purpose which they have so poorly veiled. To make our judiciary the subject of political exploitation is to do incalculable harm to our institutions. It is turning back the wheels of progress. No political party has ever before attempted it, and I hope this effort will fail, and fail signally.

The Referendum.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS D. SCHALL,
OF MINNESOTA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 2, 1917.

Mr. SCHALL. Mr. Speaker, the principle that underlies true democracy is representation. Our fathers fought in 1775 for the principle that taxation without representation is tyranny. That is what progress means, that government shall be based on the will of the people. There has always been a menace to liberty when a man or group of men have set themselves up as judges and have proceeded to pass out laws to the rest of the people, and tried to force them under the yoke.

Through our system of elections any question that is a party issue is voted upon directly. The people know how you, their Representatives, stand upon the matter, and they have a chance to express their opinion on it. When platforms are definite the vote itself is a referendum.

But when you get outside of party questions, in some way the people must have their say. Until one party or the other takes up these prominent questions, and by votes of the people at election time a referendum is had in effect, they should not be the subject of statutory provision.

On a question that is not at issue, that is not a party principle, the people have no way to find out your attitude. Is it fair that you should attempt to represent those who have had no opportunity to express themselves? We are not here to voice our opinion, but to try faithfully to record the will of the majority of those who sent us here. The referendum principle lies at the heart of the need for political division, for it is in the very conflict of men and of parties, wherein lies the secret of American liberty, American institutions, and American success.

Even if there is no moral issue involved—and to arrogate to ourselves this privilege might result in a downright benefit—it is never any lasting advantage to build a right on a false foundation. Soon or late the whole thing comes toppling. Who can tell what sweep of prejudice shall turn a right into a hideous injustice? The cure would be worse than the evil if we should establish in this free country that a few shall dictate to the millions. Can not we trust the people? They are as able and as worthy to decide for themselves as we are to decide for them. Shall we set ourselves up as little gods and say, "Go to, this shalt thou do; this shalt thou not do"? Do not so mistrust the American character. He does not need the strait-jacket. Let him breathe free air. That is what our ancestors came over here for, that they might worship God as they chose, carve out for themselves a future, and conquer a wilderness. God was their common master, and each was the equal of his brother. It is a coward's trick to rope and tie a people like ours. Let them act, let them have a voice. That is only American fair play. What business have we to blind ourselves to the inherent right of all Americans and deny them the privilege of deciding for themselves. I believe in the referendum. No law should be forced on any people—I don't care how good the law is—until the people who are to be controlled by it have had the privilege to express themselves on it. The law that does not have the approval of the people can not be enforced. The equity of this principle no true American can deny. If a referendum is good in one place it is good in every place.

Gentlemen say that it is part of the Constitution that the District of Columbia shall have no voice in its own government. Because the people have no voice in their taxes it is argued that they should have no right to speak ever upon any subject. Thus they make a fetich of the law and bow down to convention as abjectly as the veriest Confucianist. Because a thing has been is no argument that it is right and should continue to be. An argument that is good for submitting suffrage or prohibition to the people by Federal amendment gets the support of the same people who oppose giving to the people of the District of Columbia the same rights they want for their own people. Are the people in the District not Americans? I believe they should have a voice in the Government of which they are a part and to which they render their support.

One of the principles upon which the Conservatives and the Progressives split was that the Progressives believe in the principle that government of the people, by the people, and for the people should not perish from the earth, and that the way to preserve this democratic government to the majority of

the people is through referendum. I am advocating and must continue to advocate, if I stand square with myself and with my God, the principle of referendum. I would be doing harm not only to myself and my conscience but to a great principle of freedom and democratic government, for which the world has so long suffered and bled, should I renounce this doctrine.

Arming of American Merchant Ships.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ISAAC SIEGEL,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 2, 1917.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, I shall vote for the resolution for the reasons stated by me on the floor of the House, and in response to the question as to why I have voted for the Cooper amendment my answer is that the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs stated on the floor of the House that he did not believe that the President intended to convoy merchant vessels that carried munitions of war or to supply guns and ammunition to such vessels. He further stated that good international lawyers contended that to convoy a vessel loaded with arms and ammunition was an unlawful act, and that it would be an act of war.

For those who are further interested I would respectfully refer them to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of March 1, at pages 5228 and 5229.

I feel, Mr. Speaker, that if a statement of fact is made on the floor of the House no harm can come from expressing it in the resolution, as it would in that manner merely emphasize the real meaning of the resolution.

There have been some statements made in the press regarding Japan in this European trouble of ours, and I feel that an article which appeared in the New York Evening Sun of February, 1917, would tend to eliminate some of the mistaken impressions that seem to exist regarding the Japanese immigration problem, and I therefore read it in full:

WHY JAPAN PROTESTED—SHE INTENDS TO KEEP THE "GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT" AS TO IMMIGRATION, BUT SHE WILL NOT HAVE EXCLUSION RECOGNIZED BY LAW.

[By T. Iyenaga.]

[The author of this article has been an official of the foreign department of the Japanese Government and for years a lecturer at American universities.]

While the immigration act recently enacted over the veto of the President was pending in Congress Japan lodged a protest with the American Government against certain provisions in the original bill. Nor was this the first time that such a protest had been made.

It was indeed unfortunate, to say the least, that Japan was forced to take such a step, for it is liable to create a wrong impression upon some sections of the American community. Those Americans who get a glimpse of current events through headlines of newspapers and are too busy to examine the question carefully are apt to regard Japan's protest as the presumptuous act of a foreign power to meddle in the domestic legislation of this great Republic, or as a maneuver on the part of Japan to defeat the enactment of the immigration act, with the view of keeping the door open for the unrestricted immigration of her subjects into this country.

Both constructions are entirely erroneous. It is well for us, therefore, to know clearly and exactly what was the point involved in Japan's protest and what is her attitude toward the immigration question.

Let us first try to understand what is Japan's own policy toward the emigration of her own people, especially emigration to the United States. That Japan is hard pressed by overpopulation and hence needs a suitable outlet for it is too apparent. The Japanese Empire, including its outlying territories, covers an area of about 257,073 square miles. Japan proper is less than half the size of the State of Texas, and the land fit therein for raising crops is only about 15 per cent of the whole. In spite of this small area and the limited extent of its arable land, Japan proper alone contains a population of not less than half that of the United States. In 1916 it was 55,965,292, or about 387 per square mile. Furthermore, the population of the Empire is to-day increasing at the rate of 800,000 per annum.

It is then not at all surprising that this ever-increasing population has sent out streams of emigrants to different parts of the world, especially to new countries which are sparsely inhabited and where economic opportunities are abundant. No country on the face of the globe, it needs no emphasis in saying, affords such an inviting field for emigrants as this vast land of untold opportunities. No sooner, therefore, had Japan abandoned the policy of seclusion of the old régime and the knowledge of America became diffused among her people than her sons began to arrive on this shore of the Pacific.

At first Japanese immigrants received special encouragement as an outcome of American legislation. In 1884 the United States enacted the Chinese-exclusion law. The large landowners of California, having been thus deprived of Chinese farm hands, sought a substitute elsewhere, and found in the Japanese excellent laborers to be utilized on their farms and in their orchards, and they tried to encourage Japanese immigration by offering alluring terms. About the same time western railroad companies, then busily engaged in the construction of transcontinental systems, also found out that the Japanese made excellent section hands, and tried every means to obtain as many Japanese as possible.

Thus encouraged, the number of Japanese immigrants increased year by year until it grew to such an alarming proportion as to arouse strong antagonism of labor and trade unions on the Pacific coast. This anti-Japanese movement alarmed the Governments at Washington and Tokyo, and they entered, in 1907, into the so-called "gentlemen's agreement," by which the Tokyo Government agreed to voluntarily prohibit further importation into America of Japanese laborers.

This is the simple story of Japanese immigration into America.

A decade ago, then, Japan's policy on emigration, so far as America is concerned, was definitely settled. Viewed from the high standpoint of her imperial interest, Japan saw the wisdom of avoiding the cause of international friction with the United States which would tend to jeopardize her vital interests involved in Japanese-American trade. How important this trade is to Japan is evident from the fact that it constitutes one-third of her foreign commerce and that the United States has always been the best customer of Japan's staple products—silk, tea, and art objects.

To safeguard this commercial interest and to foster its growth would, then, be of far greater and more practical value to Japan than an insistence on an academic principle of freedom of egress for her subjects to any part of the world, or the benefits that might accrue from the incoming of a few thousands of Japanese laborers into this country. The compromise patched up between the Governments at Washington and Tokyo, as embodied in the so-called "gentlemen's agreement," was dictated, it is apparent, by far-sighted statesmanship. It was not merely the concession on the part of Japan to meet the wishes of the American Government to restrict Japanese immigration.

So long therefore as the cause of international friction arising out of the presence of a large number of Japanese laborers remains active we may rest assured the "gentlemen's agreement" will be rigidly kept. In fact, the agreement has for the past 10 years been most faithfully lived up to, as is sufficiently proved by the decrease rather than the increase of Japanese residents since 1907. The above considerations can not be too strongly presented to the American public, for there are publicists and lawmakers who are constantly harping upon their own assumption that Japan is bent on forcing the issue of unrestricted immigration of her subjects into this land.

It can be definitely asserted that there has been not a single instance in the Japanese-American negotiations in which attempt has been made to augment the number of Japanese immigrants. All diplomatic moves of Japan have been directed either to secure the protection, in obedience to the existing treaty, of a small number of Japanese domiciled in this country, or to prevent American legislation which is found so inequitable and discriminatory against the Japanese as would obviously injure the prestige and honor of the island Empire.

So far as the essential features of the immigration law just enacted are concerned, they have not the least effect upon Japan. As to the literacy test, which had been the matter of so much discussion among American leaders themselves, we Japanese have no concern whatever with it. The enactment of such requirement may prove a stumbling block to Italians, Portuguese, and Russians, but it has no effect upon Japanese.

The immigration act on the whole, as it stands to-day, appeals to me as the embodiment of the wisdom and farsightedness of the American people, for the time is long past when America could admit unrestrainedly hordes of uncultured Europeans and Asiatics who are complete strangers to her ideals and traditions and system of government without the danger of these basic ideas being upset at their hands.

What, then, was the point involved in Japan's protest? It referred to certain passages in the original bill which, while they had no important bearing upon the act itself, were found derogatory to Japan's honor and dignity and reflected, by implication, a doubt of the fulfillment of her plighted faith. Japan stands to-day in the rank of first-rate powers, and she naturally does not want her subjects to be classified with those people who have not yet attained that standard.

Nor does Japan want the spirit of the "gentlemen's agreement" lost by its formal insertion in an American statute. That compact was made between America and Japan with the same spirit as two gentlemen put mutual trust in the fulfillment of the agreement they enter into. The very purpose of the "gentlemen's agreement," whereby Japan was to control emigration, was to avoid any explicit discrimination against Japanese by treaty or otherwise. The settlement has worked satisfactorily to both parties, and there was no ground for disturbing it.

Any reference to the agreement in an act of Congress which specifically substitutes all previous legislation on immigration would have been tantamount to the formal recognition of Japanese exclusion. Such a clause could not but evoke Japan's protest. As Congress has most gracefully amended in one way or another all those objectionable passages and provisions at the representation of the State Department, it serves no purpose to dilate upon them any longer. We have only to express our gratitude to the wise statesmanship of Washington authorities and of lawmakers in Congress who have treated Japan justly and fairly.

Finally, one might well ask, if Japan acquiesces in the policy of not sending her surplus population to America or other countries where Japanese are not welcomed, what is she going to do with it? Marquis Komura, who more than any other statesman is responsible for the formulation of Japan's foreign policy, long ago declared that the proper field for her surplus population is Asia. This policy seems to have been faithfully adhered to by his successors in the foreign office. It is confirmed by Japan's activities in South Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia, where she lately acquired the rights and privileges which will make the colonization and movement of her subjects therein much easier. The recent Russo-Japanese treaty, too, will probably make the egress of Japanese subjects into the vast and sparsely populated regions of Siberia much freer than heretofore.

Furthermore, the present phenomenal development in commerce and industry of Japan brought about by the great war would tend to make the retention at home of Japanese laborers almost imperative. The ever-increasing population of Japan will thus adjust itself in one way or another. At any rate America has no need to be haunted by the specter some fertile brains have created that the yellow hordes of Asia will one day burst forth from their bounds and overrun this blessed land of the free and the rich.

Mr. Speaker, the New York Times published a poem a few days ago which is expressive of the thoughts of all men who

remember Lawrence's words, "Don't give up the ship." It is entitled—

UNDER THE FLAG.

[By Florence Earle Coates.]

Under our own flag, still we will sail her—
Gallantly sail her, our own Ship of State;
Faiths we have lived by still shall avail her,
Hope at her prow, wing'd expectant, elate!

Over the deeps of a perilous ocean,
Honor compelling, we still will sail on;
Giving, unfearing, a loyal devotion,
Until, in life—in death, danger is gone.

Deem not that we, whom our fathers before us
Taught to love freedom and died to make free,
Coward shall fly, while the Heavens are o'er us,
Craft of the ether or boats under sea;

There is in valor that hearkens to duty—
Something that dearer may be than long years;
And in Man's service there may be a beauty
Higher than glory, and deeper than tears.

The Crucifixion of Belgium.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks granted me on February 20, in compliance with a request, I present the following document:

THE CRUCIFIXION OF BELGIUM.

[An address on Germany's deportation of the innocent people of Belgium and northern France by Maj. Louis Livingston Seaman, United States Volunteers, at the Church of St. John the Evangelist, Protestant Episcopal (Rev. John A. Wade, rector), and protest of the American Rights League, George Haven Putnam, president.]

The wholesale deportation by Germany of the innocent people of Belgium constitutes a state of international lawlessness unsurpassed since the abolition of the piratical slave raids in the jungles of Africa. It may justly be placed on a par with that practice, when we consider the teachings of the high priests of Germany, Treitschke, Nietzsche, and Bernhardi, whose philosophy has instilled into the hearts of the nation the belief that war is legitimate and good business. In the estimation of many thinking people the present tragedy of Europe is the most logical war in history; for it is simply carrying out the doctrine instilled into the people of Germany for the last half century—a doctrine that justifies the commission of all kinds of brutality in order to accomplish its end.

Nations in their development from barbarism to civilization have established laws and courts, where murder, assassination, arson, rape, robbery, and other crimes are summarily dealt with, but with the sacrilegious and blasphemous self-styled representative of the Almighty who now rules Germany these laws are trampled under foot as having no significance. German atrocities, ruthless murders, and bitter wrongs against humanity have transformed her into a monster. So that the present war is not a war between nations, but a death struggle between civilization and barbarism, between men and beasts.

I have just returned from France, where I found her people thinking of the atrocities and the crimes and horrors of the German invasion. France is fighting "not a nation, but an idea—the idea of militarism and bestiality and brutality expressed in the action of the Germans."

I recently visited Belgium, whose civilians in the conquered parts of the country are being separated from their families and deported into slavery in Germany, and yet scarcely a word of protest has been made by our safety-first-and-honor-last Executive against these monstrous acts of inhumanity.

The German slave driver, Gen. von Bissing, is carrying out the policy of his ruler, sending hundreds of thousands of Belgian civilians from their homes and their families and forcing them into exile and slavery in Germany. Cardinal Mercier states that "soldiers enter homes by force, tearing youth from parent, husband from wife, father from children. They bar with the bayonet the door through which wives and mothers wish to pass to say farewell to those departing. They herd their captives in groups of tens and twenties and push them into cars. As soon as the train is filled the officer in charge waves the signal for departure. Thus thousands of Belgians are reduced to slavery. Each deported workman on arrival in Germany releases a soldier for the German Army."

One great reason war continues is the fact that the nations fighting Germany do not think primarily of Germany as a nation, but they regard Germans as a tribe which practices the abominations which have made the fate of Belgium a world-wide tragedy. Peace is no nearer, notwithstanding the oceans of blood that have been shed and the millions that have suffered, because no peace under these conditions is possible. Such practices must perish or civilization must perish. There can be no peace while Germany remains the exponent of principles that mean the destruction of civilization as exemplified by her treatment and torture of Belgium to-day.

The unlawful brutalities of Germany, however, need cause no surprise to those who are familiar with its military history for the last 50 years. Some of you may recall the statement Bismarck made to his troops when they left Berlin for their conquest of France in 1870. In an address to them before their departure, he said, "Leave to the people who you conquer naught but their eyes with which to see and to weep," and that is the policy they are now enacting in Belgium.

The German nation regards with great pride the so-called ceremonial of the baptism of fire for its army.

There have been but two occasions between the war of 1870 and the present one in which the German troops have experienced this ceremony, and it was my fortune, or misfortune, to be present on both these occasions.

One was in 1900, in the so-called Boxer War, when the allied armies of the world crucified Christianity in China in their monstrous treatment of the Chinese, who, in their misguided judgment, were merely trying to save their country from vivisection by the vultures of Europe.

In an address which the Emperor of Germany delivered to his troops on their departure for that expedition, he told them to "behave like Huns," and their record of murder and devastation in that country has left a blot on their escutcheon which will never be erased. Their army arrived in Peking several months after the so-called war was over, but they at once began a system of punitive expeditions on the helpless Chinese, among whom there was no more fight than in a warren of rabbits, and continued it for months, committing crimes of murder, rape, and looting that would shame the record of Attila.

The other occasion occurred in German Africa, when I also chanced to be present. The Hereros, one of the finest native tribes of that country, had protested against the monstrous hut tax which the colonial government had imposed upon them. That government had robbed them of their land and prevented them shooting the game. It had restricted them from all the privileges they had enjoyed for immemorial ages, and imposed upon them a tax so large that it required the wage of half a year's work in the cotton fields or in the making of the roads, for which they received about a penny a day, to accumulate enough to pay the tax.

The natives protested against this payment and other cruelties and restrictions and attempted to create a rebellion. On learning this, the German authorities promptly arrested all the leading men of the tribe—the chiefs, the medicine men, the priests, and the heads of families of the section of the tribe where this massacre occurred—and held them awaiting the arrival of the colonial governor. He was a fellow passenger with me on a steamer running down the African coast, and when we reached the place, at about 8 o'clock in the morning, the situation was immediately placed before him. In less than an hour 208 of these representative natives, the most influential and powerful of the tribe, were brought from the prison and hung to the limbs of the mango trees in the village. The priests and medicine men had told the natives that they need not fear the effect of the German guns, as they shot only water. To prove that this was not true and to instill terror among the remaining inhabitants, the wives, the children, and the parents of the condemned men—indeed, all the inhabitants of the village—were invited down to the mango trees where their husbands and fathers had been hung, and a detachment of German soldiers was ordered to fire upon the suspended bodies until they were literally blown to pieces, so it is not surprising to me to see the same monstrous policy developed in Belgium, where the methods seem to be naught but to terrorize and to exterminate.

How long, oh Lord! how long, will America stand by and see these crimes committed without a protest so vigorous as to compel their cessation? As a veteran or observer, I have been in nine wars, in almose every section of the civilized and uncivilized world, from the Moros of the Philippines to the jungles of Africa, but it has been reserved for this war to furnish cruelties and barbarities which surpass anything I have witnessed elsewhere and prove that civilization is a failure unless the nations who are free from the direct sufferings of the war will protest with sufficient vigor to compel some regard for international law and for the salvation of humanity.

On August 28, 1914, when the recrudescence of barbarism now devastating Europe had shocked the civilized world, I sent the following cablegram from Antwerp to President Wilson. It had the indorsement of the Belgian military authorities, and every word in it has been verified by Viscount Bryce in his report to Parliament. It is as follows:

ANTWERP, *August 28, 1914.*

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Unless the barbarism of the German Kaiser ceases, the civilization of Europe will be set back a century. The rules of The Hague Tribunal have been grossly ignored. Innocent women and children have been bayoneted. Old men and noncombatants have been shot. The white flag and Red Cross ambulances have been fired upon. A Belgian Red Cross officer was shot while assisting at the burial of a dead German. Villages of noncombatants have been burned and historic monuments desecrated. Churches have been sacked and hostages murdered. This morning bombs dropped from a Zeppelin in an attempt to assassinate the royal family, killed 11 citizens and desperately wounded many more. This is not war, but murder. As vice president of the Peace and Arbitration League of the United States, I implore you in the name of humanity and justice to back American protest so vigorously that German vandalism must cease, and the future disarmament of Europe made possible.

Respectfully, yours, LOUIS A. SEAMAN.

Mr. Wilson at that time had every opportunity to prove the truth of my report, but it was disregarded, and he failed to protest against the greatest crime of history—the monstrous infringement on international law and the fundamental rights of humanity. Had he then protested in the name of The Hague Tribunal and civilization, and made immediate preparations to enforce his protest, his name would have gone down to history coupled with that of Washington and Lincoln. Instead it is more likely to be coupled with that of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. There would have been no *Lusitania* and *Arabic* murders to commemorate and no Belgian deportations to shock the world, and America would have maintained the ideals for which your forbears and mine since the days of Magna Charta were not too proud to fight.

Some day the murderous cataclysm now raging in Europe will cease, and what will be the conditions existing then? It will find most of the continental nations hopelessly wrecked financially and saddled with debts, many of which will never be liquidated. It will find America prosperous and in possession of wealth beyond the dreams of avarice, but without a friend in the world. It will find Europe jealous of our prosperity and envious of our riches. Prosperity without protection is a peril. Envy and jealousy are the most fruitful causes of war. Unless we are prepared to resist unjust demands war

will undoubtedly follow. Congress and the President have already wasted most valuable time in failing to make adequate preparation for the preservation of our peace. Unless this is done, and done immediately, our country will certainly receive the treatment it will deserve—vivisection, with but little sympathy for the patient under the scalpel. You may remember Bismarck's significant reply when asked what he thought of America. "America," said he, "is a fine, fat hog, and when we're ready we will stick it."

While in the hospital at La Panne with Surg. Gen. de Page a few weeks ago I was invited to a private audience with Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, Belgium's noble queen. She spoke in keenest praise of America's generosity to her people, who, but for this wonderful assistance, would have perished from the earth, and of the deep obligation of her suffering country to our land. She is a rare jewel without the setting, proving the royal character without its pageantry, a fitting mate for the king who will pass into history as the greatest hero of this monstrous war. She is living by the sea, in a villa near the hospitals, which she visits almost daily in her work of devotion, and her soul is wrapped in the welfare of her suffering people and her desire to help them.

One Sunday evening we dined with Madame Henri Carton De Wiart, wife of the Belgian Minister of Justice, in an ancient castle near Havre, given to her by the French. It was in strange contrast to the prison for criminals in Berlin, where for three months she was incarcerated in a cell but little larger than her dining table for mailing a copy of the pastoral letter of Cardinal Mercier, who is now himself a victim of German tyranny. When asked by the tribunal which convicted her whether she had sent the letter she answered, "Yes; and I am ready to pay the penalty." Our embassy and that of Spain intervened on her behalf, but when our ambassador called to see her the interview was allowed only in the presence of a German officer. When asked regarding her food she said, "I had not known these dishes before, but I know them now." The following day the German officer visited her again and said, "Madam, you will be allowed the privilege of purchasing your own food." She answered, "For a privilege one must say thank you. I can not say thank you to a German. You say I may pay for my food. That money would go to a German. I would rather starve than have my money go to a German." She endured her imprisonment to the end, thus typifying again the spirit of Belgium, which neither shell nor torture can conquer.

On the seashore near the hospital at La Panne stands a rude little chapel, recently erected. It is known as the Relic Church, and its pulpit, its font, and its altar were rescued from the wreckage of Nieuport and Ypres and the ruined churches of Belgium. Many sacred pictures of rare beauty and age are there and ancient crucifixes, marred and scarred by the enemies' shells. In strange contrast, in one corner was piled a heap of brown stone cannon balls that had been unearthed by the soldiers while digging the trenches near Nieuport and which had been used in the Battle of the Dunes centuries before. For more than a thousand years Belgium has been the cockpit of Europe, but the spirit of its people is still unconquered.

From La Panne we visited Havre, the present seat of the Belgian Government, where we met several of the ministers of state, and were told of the work already inaugurated for the restoration of the Belgian people and of the colonies of orphans in various centers in France, where they are being carefully educated. On a hill overlooking the city Le Comte de Renesse Breidack has built an institution that reflects the spirit of Belgium better than words can picture. Here the human wreckage of the army is being made over into self-supporting, self-respecting wage earners in various trades, in an atmosphere of self-content and happiness. Shops for various industries are filled with legless shoemakers and tailors and printers, who are now earning a fair competence. Basket and barrel making, metal-lathe workers, cooks and bakers, and toy makers are here, and many peaceful arts are being taught to artisans who are lame and blind, but whose indomitable wills are conquering their cruel fate. The spirit of the count, who from wealth and power was driven to poverty, is bringing inspiration through his personality to thousands of men, from the depths of despair to contentment and self-support.

When in London we visited St. Dunstan's, memorialized by Thackeray in Vanity Fair, but now a home for the blinded soldiers and sailors of Great Britain, of which Sir Arthur Pierson, who is also blind, is the chairman.

"This place," said he, "is the happiest house in London, probably in the world, and I'll tell you why—it is so full of sympathy."

The institution typifies the moral tone and spirit of all the allies to-day—it is the spirit of hope, of life, of victory. "It is the spirit of our ancestors of '76, the spirit of confidence, of success, of the irresistible determination to rescue freedom and civilization from this terrible tragedy—the spirit of Lincoln at Gettysburg when he prophesied for our country a government of the people, by the people, for the people, which shall not perish from the face of the earth."

The aim of the allies to-day is to secure for themselves that same birth of freedom as was pictured by Lincoln, and the attainment of that purpose affects our country as deeply as it does the allies. It is as much our fight as theirs; for the predatory aggression of the Hun will not cease at the crucifixion of Belgium or the three-mile limit, and in our deplorable state of helplessness, a state that resembles that of China, we not only invite war but also defeat and vassalage.

I am a man of peace—the vice president of the Peace and Arbitration League of America. As an officer or observer, I have participated in nine wars and, Heaven knows, I want to see no more! But until the end of this piratical conflict in which the ideals of liberty and freedom and honor, for which my ancestors fought and died, are at stake, I am heart and soul with the allies. The traditional friendship between the allies and America, strengthened by the destruction of scraps of paper formerly called treaties, would have been only a memory had not the great war relief societies of our country kept it alive; and it is to them and to our surgeons and hospitals and nurses, our splendid ambulance corps, and brave avions, and not to the weak-kneed, vacillating, waiting, and wabbling policy of our present administration that we are indebted for the preservation of what remains of the friendship and the entente cordial that exists between our countries to-day.

King Albert, through M. Henri Carton de Wiart, his minister of justice, and M. Louis de Sadeleer, his minister of state, now in New York, asks America in this crucial moment to compel a regard for international law by Germany, and thus prevent the further deportation and enslavement of his people. Is this humane and righteous request of Belgium's King to be heard and Germany be made to respect the laws of honor and civilization regarded as sacred by all other nations, or is the world to relapse to barbarism and the savagery of the Dark Ages? That is the question America, which too long has been morally asleep, is now expected to help to answer.

A petition to the President of the United States on behalf of the Belgians and other peoples oppressed by the Teutonic Governments.

[The American Rights League, Geo. Haven Putnam, President.]

Whereas Germany has shown her contempt for treaties by her unprovoked invasion of Belgium and her continued violation of the rights of a small but high-minded people;

Whereas Germany, in Belgium and elsewhere, has revived the practices of barbaric warfare by exacting war contributions from conquered cities, by shooting noncombatants, by seizing and executing hostages, killing even priests, for no greater crime than loyalty to their country;

Whereas Germany has permitted her troops to commit unspeakable outrages;

Whereas Germany has sunk hospital ships and fired upon hospitals;

Whereas Germany has destroyed by fire and has bombarded unresisting and unfortified towns and villages and has sunk without warning passenger and merchant vessels, both neutral and belligerent, in these and other ways killing noncombatant men and even women and children;

Whereas even our own fellow citizens are victims of these crimes;

Whereas plots against the peace and order of our own country have been hatched by German agents; and

Whereas now, while continuing these and many other like deeds too numerous to catalogue, Germany is deporting peaceable and law-abiding Belgians into what substantially is slavery in a foreign land, obliging them to aid the enemies of their country; and

Whereas Germany, by persisting in these practices, makes herself an outlaw among nations;

Whereas, moreover, this country stands and has always stood for the rights of man and the freedom of the individual, and has supported nations resisting oppression or struggling for liberty; and

Whereas it is vital to the interests of this nation to uphold the rights of mankind and international law: Now therefore

We, the undersigned citizens of the United States, pledge our support to the President in any steps he may take in the effort to bring about a cessation of the inhuman treatment of the Belgians and the people of Northern France, Poland, and other nationalities oppressed by the Germanic powers; and

We earnestly pray the President and Congress to say in clear terms to Germany and to Austria that the people of the United States can no longer remain on terms of comity, even merely official, with nations which persist in violating not only international law but the ordinary sentiments of humanity which have always been respected by civilized nations; and

We urge the President to state definitely that, unless the Germanic Governments agree to cease at once the deportations of Belgians, to return to their homes those already deported, and to give effective assurances that international law and the dictates of humanity will in future be respected, diplomatic relations with Germany and with Austria will at once be terminated.

Arming of American Merchant Ships.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM C. ADAMSON,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Speaker, the pending proposition is to give authority to the President to defend American citizens and ships against unlawful assaults on the high seas. How any honest and patriotic man with any respect for himself or his country could object to that balks my powers of conjecture. It is not a proposition to make war on anybody. Neither the President nor the people of the United States have any desire to do that. We desire to continue in the pursuits of peace, prosperity, and happiness without interfering with other people or inviting interference by them.

The people who assume it is necessary for them to expatiate against war and prosecute a propaganda in favor of peace and against the course of the President, by implication if not express, assume unjustly and gratuitously that the President desires war. The truth is he has worked and is working more zealously, patriotically, and wisely to preserve the peace of this country with all the world than it would have been possible, in my judgment, for any other living man to do. No pacifist loves his country more; no pacifist of my acquaintance is half as wise; no pacifist is more patriotic or peaceable. They may be aiming at the same ends as those sought by the President, but the trouble about their propaganda is they misunderstand and misrepresent him. The people of the United States can rely upon the President more than upon any other public man of our day to guide the ship of state and moor it safely in the harbor of permanent peace and prosperity with all nations if we solidly trust and stand behind him. The danger of war, in fact the greatest menace to peaceable relations, has been the agitation by some people of the idea, unjust as it was, that he was liable to get us into war and a disposition to divide our people.

Our only safety against war is and has been a united announcement and a firm determination to stand by the policy of

doing no act of aggression, no act to violate the rights of other people or nation, and no act which would be a breach of the peace, but stand ready without favor, partiality, or prejudice as among all the belligerents to defend the rights of our citizens on land and sea against any unlawful assailant. If the belligerents could be assured that our people would be divided, we would have immediate war, ruthless and horrible. Confidence in our determination to fight if necessary, as well as to keep the peace if possible with honor is our insurance against aggression. We would have been at war last spring if any considerable part of Congress or the people had supported the idea of notifying American citizens that their injury or death would not be avenged if unlawfully assailed on a ship of commerce. Congress wisely stood behind the President then and averted war by exhibiting a determination to defend our rights.

The principles at stake are few and simple, well established now and established for ages. The citizens of neutral nations are the law-abiding people of the world and have a right to trade and travel on all the seas unmolested by anybody. The belligerents are supposed to be fighting one another and not neutrals, and under the recognized rules of civilization they are to limit their combats to one another and be careful not to extend their slaughter to innocent bystanding nations. The belligerents are the outlaws, not the neutrals; and the belligerents are responsible to the neutrals for their unlawful conduct.

Belligerents often resort to blockades in order to cripple the enemy. That has been tried twice since the present European war began. England attempted to blockade Germany, Austria, and Turkey, and her efforts were so successful that we were bound to respect them. An effective blockade becomes international law. An ineffective blockade is no law, and to sink a ship or kill a man on the pretext that a blockade is violated, when that blockade exists only on paper is piracy and murder. The recent attempt of Germany to blockade England and France and certain other territory by ruthless and relentless submarine warfare has permitted over 90 per cent of all ships which attempted to pass successfully to do so. Under no pretense could that be claimed to be a lawful blockade, and if an American ship with American citizens does what it sees over 90 per cent of all other ships doing, sail into and out of those ports, and is sunk or attacked without notice or warning, it is an unlawful act and just as much an aggression upon American rights as if an army of a million men had landed on our shores to invade our territory and destroy our property and kill our people. The difference is not in principle but in the magnitude and extent of the invasion and destruction. For the United States tamely to submit to such conduct, or even the threat or assertion of the right of such conduct, would be to repudiate our standing, honor, and dignity as a nation, and we had as well go out of business.

There is one other difference, and I am noting these differences not in a spirit of preference or prejudice, but merely to state facts with which we have to deal. When England intercepts a ship seeking to run the blockade, or a ship laden with contraband, it does not sneak up under water or under cover and destroy life and property without notice, but they seize the ship and carry it into port and give it a hearing in court and stand ready to answer in damages if the seizure is wrong. On the other hand, when the ruthless submarine warfare destroys a ship, with the ship freighted with human lives, and destroys the lives with the ship, there is quite a difference and a more reprehensible course of conduct. There is no such thing as exact compensation in money for that. We can not charge that up financially and allow it to go on indefinitely; that is too serious a matter. If the Germans would seize a ship which they think is trying to run the blockade, or carrying contraband, and carry it into port and give it a hearing, preserve the lives of the passengers and hold the Empire in readiness to settle for delay and damages if the seizure be wrong, it would be in accordance with the customs and usages of civilization; but she pursues no such policy and this Government can not brook the conduct announced by her.

These two principal differences as described, fully portray the situation. Will we tamely submit to the ignominy of having our ships and our people destroyed on the sea, or the alternative, equally humiliating, of having our ships driven from the sea and hiding in port through fear of the execution of the threat? If we do, we had better haul down the flag and dissolve the Government, acknowledge allegiance to some other Government, and go out of business. There can be no peace without honor. Those who strive to keep peace without honor find themselves kicked and cuffed about through all time until national extermination transfers the misgoverned people to another authority. The only safety for our commerce, and only assurance of our peace, the only guarantee of national prosperity and honor, and the perpetuity of our institutions is to stand solidly with the President, the greatest Executive who has ever ruled any country since the world began; a man who appears to have been raised up by Providence for this extremity, and all we have to do is to follow and trust him, then we will be safe.

Statement of My Position on Our Foreign Relations.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY T. HELGESEN,

OF NORTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 26, 1917.

Mr. HELGESEN. Mr. Speaker, as I have been viciously attacked by some of the newspapers of the country because it has been reported that I have not entirely agreed with the President of the United States on his management of our foreign affairs, as a matter of personal privilege I take this method to set myself right before my colleagues in the House.

Having written an open letter on this subject to one of our North Dakota papers, I shall use that as a part of my remarks, said letter reading as follows:

To the Editor of the Grand Forks Herald, Grand Forks, N. Dak.:

My attention has been called to your editorial comment on a purported interview with me, published in various North Dakota and Minnesota papers, in which interview I am quoted as saying:

"I do not agree with President Wilson. The United States could have waived her legal rights to the freedom of the seas without losing any of them and without the loss of dignity. Germany should have been informed on this attitude long ago. I do not believe the American people want war, and I stand with them."

My conversation with the newspaper reporter who has published this interview was in regard to the general manner in which President Wilson has conducted our foreign relations since the war began and not in regard to the recent break with Germany alone. The reporter evidently attempted to condense my remarks into a few words of his own, which, of course, made it impossible for him to give the correct idea conveyed by my statement. I therefore wish to make my position clear.

If President Wilson had handled our foreign relations as the executive official of a strictly neutral nation should have handled them, we should have had no greater occasion for war at this time than we have had at previous times during the progress of the European war.

On November 2, 1914, the British Admiralty made a public announcement, in which I find the following:

"It [the British Admiralty] therefore gives notice that the whole of the North Sea must be considered a military area. Within this area merchant shipping of all kinds, traders of all countries, fishing craft, and other vessels will be exposed to the gravest dangers from mines it has been necessary to lay and from warships searching vigilantly by night and day for suspicious craft.

"All merchant and fishing vessels of every description are hereby warned of the dangers they encounter by entering this area, except in strict accordance with Admiralty direction. Every effort will be made to convey this warning to neutral countries and to vessels on the seas, but from November 5 onward the Admiralty announces that all ships passing a line drawn from the northern point of the Hebrides, through the Farne Islands, to Iceland do so at their own peril."

This order of the British Admiralty violated the rights of every neutral nation whose ships sail the high seas, and seems to have been quite as good a cause for severing diplomatic relations with England as was the recent announcement by Germany, for Great Britain did plant thousands of mines in the North Sea, which is a part of the so-called "high seas," and many a neutral ship has been lost because of those mines which were planted contrary to international law. The North Sea has remained a "closed area" from November, 1914, up to the present time, and if no American lives have been lost it is only because American citizens have accepted the warning and have remained away from the restricted area.

The order of the British Admiralty of November 2, 1914, and the German order of January 31, 1917, were both issued in wanton disregard of our rights, but I do not believe that the British order of two years ago, to which we have patiently—not to say tamely—submitted, nor the German order of January 31, 1917, which the President has answered by the severance of diplomatic relations *"by Executive order,"* was intended as an insult to the United States.

The only reason why we have had no occasion for war with Great Britain during the last two years is because we have respected her warning and have kept away from the "military area" designated by her. If we feel that we can no longer submit to having first one and then the other of the belligerents close certain areas of the high seas to our commerce, we can say to both that we shall no longer tolerate their interference with our commerce and request both to immediately rescind their respective orders, clear the high seas of mines sown by them, and withdraw their submarines.

Now, let us see who has waived our rights on the high seas, which have heretofore been established by international law. In a note sent by President Wilson to the British Government on December 26, 1914, I find the following:

"It is needless to point out to His Majesty's Government, usually the champion of the freedom of the seas and the rights of trade, that peace, not war, is the normal relation between nations, and that the commerce between countries which are not belligerents should not be interfered with by those at war, *unless such interference is manifestly an imperative necessity to protect their national safety, and then only to the extent that it is necessary.*"

"It is with no lack of appreciation of the momentous nature of the present struggle in which Great Britain is engaged, and with no

selfish desire to gain undue commercial advantage that this Government is reluctantly forced to the conclusion that the present policy of His Majesty's Government toward neutral ships and cargoes exceeds the manifest necessity of a belligerent, and constitutes restrictions upon the rights of American citizens on the high seas which are not justified by the rules of international law *or required under the principle of self-preservation.*"

You will note that the protest is against the closing of a part of the high seas to our ships and commerce "*unless such interference is manifestly an imperative necessity to protect their national safety,*" etc.

So far as I am aware this is the first time that any neutral nation has waived its rights on the high seas for any reason whatever, but under this most extraordinary waiver all that Great Britain or any other nation need do is to show that the matter complained of is "an imperative necessity to protect their national safety," when, according to President Wilson's waiver, a neutral nation has no cause whatever for breaking off diplomatic relations or declaring war. You will note from the foregoing quotation from President Wilson's note to Great Britain that he has twice stated "the principle of self-preservation" as a justifiable cause for violation of international law, and that when such "principle" can be invoked by any nation he waives our every right as a neutral nation under said international law.

If the American people are to accept President Wilson's waiver of our rights under international law whenever the principle of "self-preservation" can be invoked by any belligerent, then he ought to treat both sides with equal fairness and apply the same rule in all cases.

If you support Mr. Wilson's permanent waiver of our rights under international law as stated by him, you go far beyond any suggestion I have ever made.

When, under the circumstances, President Wilson permitted Great Britain to close a part of the "high seas" to our ships and commerce, contrary to international law, with only a protest and without breaking off diplomatic relations with her, or declaring war, I think he acted wisely; but there is a difference between entering a protest to protect our rights to indemnity and making a permanent waiver of our rights under international law, such as was made by the President's note to Great Britain, which I have just quoted. Why does he now treat Germany in a harsher and more drastic manner than he treated Great Britain at that time?

The protest which he made to Great Britain preserves our legal rights on the sea after the war is over, and places us in a position to collect any damages we may sustain because of any illegal act on her part, which is the view taken by all the other neutral nations.

In his later note to Germany of January 18, 1916, President Wilson said:

"It would appear to be a reasonable and reciprocally just arrangement if it could be agreed by the opposing belligerents that submarines should be caused to adhere strictly to the rules of international law in the matter of stopping and searching merchant vessels, determining their belligerent nationality, and removing the crews and passengers to places of safety before sinking the vessels as prizes of war, and that merchant vessels of belligerent nationality should be prohibited from carrying any armament whatsoever.

"In proposing this formula as a basis of conditional declarations by the belligerent Government, I do so in the full conviction that each government will consider primarily the humane purposes of saving the lives of innocent people rather than the *insistence upon doubtful legal right*, which may be denied on account of new conditions.

"I should add that my Government is impressed with the reasonableness of the argument that a merchant vessel *carrying an armament of any sort*, in view of the character of the submarine warfare and the defensive weakness of undersea craft, should be held to be *an auxiliary cruiser*, and so treated by a neutral as well as by a belligerent Government, and is seriously considering instructing its officials accordingly."

You will notice that the President in this note takes the position that to permit merchantmen to arm in such a manner as to be able to defend themselves against submarines is "a doubtful legal right," which may be denied on account of new conditions. Yet it is now seriously proposed that we go to war in defense of these same "doubtful legal rights."

Since the President has taken this position in speaking for the United States, he can not consistently reverse himself by yielding to the pressure of a lot of fanatics who apparently do not care whether this country is neutral or unneutral, whether we go to war for a just grievance and a legal right of such importance that no other honorable course is open to us, or whether we go to war for a "doubtful legal right," their only concern being to involve this country, with or without a just and legal right.

In regard to Germany's recent announcement, although President Wilson, in his message to Congress stated that he hoped the other neutral nations of the world would follow his example, not one of them has taken such action, notwithstanding no insult has been offered to us, and no invasion of our rights made, which have not been made and offered to the other neutral nations of the world.

Some of these neutral nations have entered strong protests against Germany's recent announcement, and these protests will serve to protect their indemnity rights when the war is over, but they apparently have sufficient common sense and good judgment to refrain from rushing into this awful world conflict at a time when the great nations of Europe are fighting for their very existence. Early in the war Sweden advised her citizens against unnecessary travel on armed, belligerent merchantmen, and we could well afford to follow her example, for no one suggests that she has lost any of her rights on the high seas under international law because of her action.

By way of contrast, only a few days ago, after the recent announcement by Germany, a number of American citizens actually canceled their reservations on an American ship, and rather than brook a few days' delay, deliberately engaged passage on a foreign ship, destined to pass through the proscribed area designated by Germany. No sane man can be so foolish as to argue that this Government ought to go to war if any of these American citizens perish within the said war zone, when they deliberately canceled their passage on an American ship which could sail through that area with comparative safety, and that, too, when the delay was slight, and the steamship company paid the expenses of those passengers who retained their reservations on the American ship rather than take the greater risk of passage in the belligerent-owned ship.

This country is big enough, powerful enough, and ought to be wise enough to voluntarily defer some rights, temporarily, without relinquishing them. We followed such a course in the case of Great Britain, when she closed the North Sea two years ago, rather than declare war; and if the matter was submitted to the people of the country in the case of Germany, the verdict in favor of a similar course would, I believe, be practically unanimous.

Instead of requesting other nations to follow our example, we should have acted more wisely if we had consulted with the other neutral nations of the world, and adopted the course generally pursued by them.

I have never agreed with President Wilson in his manner of dealing with some of the points I have mentioned, nor on his permanent waiver of our rights under international law, whenever a nation declares that it is fighting for self-preservation, and although my disagreement with him on these issues apparently leads you to believe that you have reason to brand me as a traitor, I am firmly convinced that the great majority of the people indorse my views, and that you and a few others who profess to be so anxious to have the Nation rush into war are in a hopeless minority.

An artificial war sentiment has been engendered in this country which threatens to grow, artificial though it is, until it involves this Nation in the European war, and that, too, without consideration of or consultation with the people, who ought to have a voice in deciding when and why we are to take a step which will lead to the untimely death of hundreds of thousands of our best citizens—the young men on whom the future welfare of our Nation depends—and will create a debt so heavy that it will burden the toiling masses of our people for generations to come.

In the final analysis Congress will have to determine whether peace or war shall be our policy; therefore it is the duty of Congress not to blindly follow the President's lead, but to determine for itself our exact legal rights and the extent to which we shall insist on those legal rights in an emergency such as now exists.

Whenever war becomes necessary in order to protect and preserve the honor, integrity, and safety of this country, and when no other honorable course is open I will vote for war and will support our Government in such action as loyally as a loyal American citizen can support it, but we have not yet reached that stage.

Respectfully,

H. T. HELGESEN.

Since the foregoing article was published the expected has happened and the *Laconia* has been sunk. This was the belligerent ship to which several Americans transferred their passage rather than brook the inconvenience of a short delay, during which their expenses would have been paid by the American steamship company. It is now proposed that we shall declare war because of just such cases as these, if these same impatient American citizens have lost their lives.

On February 23 twenty-five English women and children were removed by the British authorities from a steamer sailing from Halifax to England, while American women were allowed to remain on board. Australia will not permit English women or children to travel on the seas under present conditions, regardless of the country to which they are destined. The (British) Indian Government recently adopted a law forbidding women or children to sail for England except on the most urgent business.

Why does not the United States Government protect its citizens in the same manner that Great Britain does hers, and prohibit their entrance into the war zone for any purpose except the "most urgent reasons"?

It should be made a criminal offense for a man to do as did a certain newspaper man of Chicago, who sailed on the *Laconia* because she seemed the most probable ship to be torpedoed, in order that he might write a sensational story for his paper, regardless of the fact that by his foolhardiness he might involve this Nation in war.

In contending for our right to the "freedom of the seas" we are apt to overlook the fact that we have not had said freedom for some time, so far as Great Britain is concerned, for American shippers can not make shipments of any kind through either Atlantic or Pacific waters in safety unless their shipping papers have been viséed by the British ambassador. This restriction on our shipping rights applies to shipments made from San Francisco, Chicago, or New York, and yet we have heard no war-mad cry that England is blocking our rights to the "freedom of the seas." If this Government had treated all belligerents with a strict and impartial neutrality, and used the same good judgment that other nations have used in warning and even prohibiting its citizens from travel on belligerent-owned ships, we should have no cause for war at the present time, even in the opinion of the most rabid war element.

On February 16 I introduced a resolution in the House which read:

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 371) ordering a referendum of the question of whether or not we shall declare war.

Whereas the United States has been insidiously dragged toward entanglement in the European war; and

Whereas through various propagandic agitations a war sentiment is being artificially engendered in this country; and

Whereas the horrors of war have never been more fitly described than in the immortal words of the late illustrious Gen. Sherman, who said that "war is hell"; and

Whereas a declaration of war by the United States will bring untold sorrow and misery into thousands and thousands of American homes, and hundred of thousands of American wives and mothers will see their sons and husbands torn from them to die in the trenches; and

Whereas the question as to whom belongs the right to decide our foreign policies and whether war shall be declared or shall not be declared is lost sight of; and

Whereas we have but one authority with power to declare war, namely, the authority granted by the Constitution only to the Congress of these United States; and

Whereas the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of these United States recognize the inherent, inalienable right of the people of the United States to instruct their Government to do the will of the people: Therefore be it

Resolved, etc., That the Congress order a referendum of the question as to whether or not we shall declare war to the people of these United States (except in case of threatened invasion), so that the will of the people on this vital question may be made known to the Congress.

SEC. 2. That (except in case of threatened invasion) the President shall take no action that may tend to involve the United States in war until the result of said referendum shall be made known to the Congress.

As a result of above letter and resolution I have received innumerable letters and telegrams all the way from Los Angeles to Boston and New York; and from St. Paul to New Orleans, commending my position. I can only quote a few of them, but these few are indicative of the hundreds which have reached me:

Your able and illuminating defense of your position in the Grand Forks Herald of February 20 read, and I wish to thank you for same. Thank God for a few men who can think clearly when all the world has gone mad. Yours, in the hope and prayer that right may prevail.

R. CARLETON,
Pastor M. E. Church, Starkweather, N. Dak.

—

I am fully in sympathy with your resolution relative to demanding a referendum on the question of whether this country shall go to war with any European power for causes now known, introduced in Congress the other day. I am quite sure the common people, even in these New England States, will approve this measure. Give us a chance to express our interests and you will have a mighty "No" against war.

A. W. SMALL,
Chelmsford, Mass.

—

People here are practically unanimous against war. Loyal Americans will not go into restricted zone. Others should at their own peril.

M. F. MURPHY,
Grand Forks, N. Dak.

—

As a peace-loving and patriotic American citizen I feel that I am expressing the sentiment of a great majority of the citizenship when I maintain that the United States of America has no part on the stage in the drama of war being enacted in Europe. I see no reason why a few daring and unsophisticated adventurers should bring gloom and remorse and all the horrors of war upon this great American Nation. And I urge you to use every honorable means to hold our land of the free aloof from this great struggle.

F. C. RECTOR,
Lisbon, N. Dak.

—

Your resolution calling for a referendum on the question of going to war is timely and patriotic. We do not want war. We also beg you to use your influence in preventing complete power—practically a one-man power—passing into the President's hands. The power of our Constitution and our Congress must not be hampered. No President can be greater than they. He is our leading Executive only, elected to help run the business of the people for the people, and there ought to be cooperation between the two.

E. MEYNER, *New York City.*

—

Please accept my thanks for the stand you took to-day to protect our boys and what little honor we have left. Ninety per cent of the people are with you.

C. M. CRONK, *Norwalk, Wis.*

—

Please be assured of my most positive approval of your expression of sentiment against permitting the President and Secretary Lansing to usurp the powers of Congress in involving the country in war. I have to-day written my Congressman to do all in his power to further the favorable consideration of your resolution that Congress order a referendum to the people of the question as to whether or not we shall declare war. I expect you to do all you can to keep us out of war.

PAUL BILHUBER, *Maywood, N. J.*

—

Thousands support you in your brave stand against capital and British influence. For heaven's sake continue your efforts for referendum vote.

CLAIRE BENEDICT,
Great-grandniece of Fenimore Cooper,
White Sulphur Springs, W. Va.

—

I want to congratulate you on the stand you have taken in our international affairs, and I assure you that you are representing the views of the bulk of your constituency. Trusting that you will keep on opposing the hellish designs of the bond buyers and munitions manufacturers, I am,

WM. ANDERSON, *Grandin, N. Dak.*

—

We are very grateful to you for your resolution calling for a referendum vote to determine sentiment in regard to war.

E. DOCKETY, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*

—

My grandfather occupies a soldier's grave. He fought in the Civil War; so you see if parentage counts anything, I am an American. As a true American I congratulate you for your effort to let the people decide whether they want to go to war or not.

DANIEL REHEIS, *Newark, N. J.*

—

I have just read your answer to the several editorials in the Grand Forks Herald, and I am constrained to write you and congratulate you because of the sane stand which you have taken during the present crisis, when so many men in public life are being carried about by the sentiment and opinion of others. I believe the people are with you in the stand you have taken and I assure you that you shall have even heartier support from me than formerly.

B. F. STUMP,
Pastor First Baptist Church,
Cavalier, N. Dak.

—

I have read your letter in the Grand Forks Herald. I believe I have been as consistent in fighting you as any man or newspaper in North Dakota. I have never let an opportunity pass to give you a dig. * * * I believe you correctly represent the sentiment of 90 per cent of the people in your district. I hope you will continue to stand right where you are; that you will give the people who are expected to do the fighting and pay the bill an opportunity to say whether they want war before war is declared. And I would make it compulsory for those voting for war to be first to enlist. The term "national honor" was never perverted to such base purposes as by the power which is behind the movement to rush this country into war. The chances are that you do not care a rap whether your attitude suits me or not. But I hope in any event you will not change it because I agree with you.

J. H. BLOOM,
Editor Devils Lake Journal,
Devils Lake, N. Dak.

—

I have read with much interest your reply to the Grand Forks Herald. I want to assure you that you have hit the spot, and you have my good wishes. You are certainly right in your position in this matter, and it would seem to me that anyone with common sense would agree with you.

O. GARDEN, *Billings, Mont.*

—

I read your article in the Grand Forks Herald yesterday and was very much in favor of it. Ninety per cent of the people whom I have talked with are of the same opinion.

AUGUST MORITZ, *Dresden, N. Dak.*

—

I just read your letter in the Grand Forks Herald. Let me congratulate you that there are a few men in Congress who have the backbone to speak and are not willing to plunge this country into war because a few adventurers get hurt, or because a certain clique wants war for unusual gain. If we must have war let the people say so.

Rev. J. F. L. BOHNHOFF,
Valley City, N. Dak.

—

Can you send us message of cheer for peace meeting to be held by American citizens in this city Sunday, February 25? Resolution to be adopted favoring referendum to people of declaration of war.

M. E. SOCHA,
Los Angeles, Cal.

—

Either Congress can not or will not see that the United States should avoid giving a false reason for going to war, or it is unable to distinguish between the false and the true.

WILLIAM THUM,
Pasadena, Cal.

—

After reading the (Grand Forks) Herald this morning, I am constrained to write you a word of encouragement in your attitude on the position the people of our country should take in the European war. I can not repress my admiration for our Representatives in Washington that have the moral courage to speak and act against the unrighteous element that are doing so much to draw our country into this horrible war. I am convinced that a majority of the citizens of our State are with you in your attitude on this question. I know it takes a great deal of courage to stand up against a majority, but I hope and pray that the consciousness that you are right will sustain you in every righteous cause.

W. E. DE LONG,
Grand Forks, N. Dak.

—

I read with interest and keen satisfaction your answer to the Grand Forks Herald's accusation and want to make this suggestion, if it is within the custom and rules to have a great number of your letter to the Herald printed and distributed among the people, not only of North Dakota but elsewhere.

C. K. VIERHUS,
Brocket, N. Dak.

—

I just want to thank you and compliment you on the stand you have taken in opposition to embroiling ourselves in the awful European riot. You are, I am convinced, eternally right in the matter; and you have stated your position in a wonderfully clear and convincing way. Again I, for one, thank you.

Cordially, yours,

PEER STROMME.

I also quote from two letters received from two members of the faculty of the University of North Dakota:

I read your open letter with pleasure. I think you made your position very strong, fully justifying your stand. There was enough new material in your letter to show me what I know to be true—that much of the important information never reaches the rank and file of the people. It seems to me true beyond any question that *the people* of this State do not want war. There is absolutely no question in my mind but that the vote against war would be overwhelming, not only in this State but over the whole country. I therefore hope most earnestly that before this country is plunged into the conflict a referendum vote be taken on the matter; in other words, that your bill will pass. I wish that we could have the real facts of our international relations. Our President, it seems, comes to his conclusions on the strength of facts that do not seem to reach the people. I wish there might be a weekly summary of facts sent broadcast either to individuals or to the newspapers, and that they might be induced to print the same impartially.

Most sincerely,

——— ———.

—

I wish to congratulate you upon the stand that you are taking on the question of plunging our beloved country into war. I read your recent article in the Grand Forks Herald with intense interest, and, in

my opinion, your arguments are simply unanswerable. I believe that I voice the feeling of all the millions in this country whose opinion upon the question is without prejudice; that is, *all except those who profit by war either directly or indirectly*, and those who are so intensely pro-British that they do not hesitate to embroil this country in the conflict for the sake of assisting the allies.

With best wishes for your success in your noble endeavors, I am,

Yours, very cordially,

——— ———.

I have received hundreds of similar letters which I could quote, but the foregoing show the trend of at least 99 per cent of those received. I therefore feel that I am safe in the assumption that the American people do not want war for any but a just cause, and as yet we have no such cause.

Preparedness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN Q. TILSON,

OF CONNECTICUT,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. TILSON. Mr. Speaker, prior to the present war in Europe it was the almost universal belief of people generally, and at least acquiesced in by the Army and Navy, that preparation for war was a military man's job. To those who have grasped the real problems of that great conflict it is now clear that such is not the case, except to a modified degree. The greatest lesson learned from it is that industrial preparedness is the first absolutely essential prerequisite to carrying on a modern war successfully. The experience of each belligerent impresses the same lesson in a variety of ways. We know that this country is not and can not be an exception. At least half the task of preparing for national defense belongs not to a general or an admiral, but to a captain of industry. It is largely a manufacturer's job. Such manufacturing as the Government does in our arsenals, for instance, is necessarily on a small scale. Army officers, efficient as they are, have no opportunity and should not be expected to become Carnegies or Schwabs in what is essentially an industrial field. A great war would require the marshaling of our industrial resources on a large scale. It can not be well done in the stress and turmoil of actual war. It must be done in advance in time of peace. We have been much too slow in undertaking the task. We are not now progressing as rapidly as we should. For more than a year I have applied myself to a careful study of the subject, and on numerous occasions have called the attention of the House to the importance of some of its problems. Since the formation of the Council of National Defense I have felt far more sanguine in regard to intelligently facing and finally solving these problems.

In a colloquy with the gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD] a few days ago when the sundry civil appropriation bill was under consideration I referred to the Council of National Defense as one of the most encouraging steps recently taken in the direction of preparedness for an effective national defense. Subsequent investigation of the subject, including a number of conferences with individual members of the council, only confirms my belief. The members of this council are taking up the problems that lie at the basis of any workable plan for the effective mobilization of our resources for the national defense. They should have the support of Congress and the country in their work.

In pursuance of the leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit two letters of Mr. Howard E. Coffin, chairman of the advisory committee of the Council of National Defense, together with extracts from hearings before the House Committee on Naval Affairs. These indicate a thorough grasp of the problems confronting us along the lines to which I have referred, as well as something of the means to be employed in working them out:

COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE,
Washington, February 27, 1917.

Hon. JOHN Q. TILSON,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. TILSON: I am handing you herewith certain documents which have, I believe, some bearing upon matters in which I know you to be deeply interested. Permit me first to call your attention to certain passages in testimony given by me before the House Committee on Naval Affairs in a hearing of March 15, 1916, nearly one year ago. Since that date the program therein outlined has been so far completed that there are now in this office between 27,000 and 28,000 "inventories" of manufacturing and producing concerns, and of this number some 18,600 have been analyzed and classified by officers assigned for the purpose by the War Department.

Sample tables made up from these analyses, merely to the end of showing their practical use in the hands of the naval and military authorities, will be found on the last four pages of the report on the Government manufacture of arms, munitions, and equipment, by the Col. Kernan Board. (S. Doc. No. 664, 64th Cong., 2d sess.)

You will find in these two documents practically the entire story of industrial preparedness, based upon a common-sense business policy. I am thoroughly convinced that no amount of money expended in naval and military expansions can, in the slightest degree, make good our fatal neglect of the factors which lie at the very root and foundation of our entire structure for the defense of this Nation. No one doubts for a moment that, in the event of war, Congress and the people of this country will provide money without limit. But money, unbacked by a careful peace-time prearrangement and education in our great industrial machine, will, as in the case of England during the first year of the war, prove a useless commodity in the face of the material needs of the men who must lay down their lives, as hundreds of thousands of English lives have been laid down, in stemming the tide of the invader.

Our War and Navy Departments are, after all, great business institutions, and those same principles of sound business policy and practice apply as to any private industry.

Engineering design, working drawings, specifications, gauges, and operation sheets covering war materials, all complete and in accordance with the requirements of quantity commercial manufacture, must be supplied to private plants in time of peace. In no other way can our vast industrial machine be made a national asset in emergency. In no other way can we, as near ruin in other countries has taught us we must, be prepared, with the least possible delay, to harness 80 per cent of our great manufacturing resources to meet our possible future need.

I am inclosing also extract (secs. 120 and 123) of the Army reorganization bill, passed at the last Congress. As I understand, section 123, providing for gauges, dies, jigs, etc., was placed in the bill as an amendment offered by you from the floor of the House. It seems to me that it is clearly the present duty of the War Department to move, in accordance with the provisions of your amendment. If there was ever a time in American history when dictates of business and political prudence would seem to require quick action along these lines, it is now. Under the provisions of the Army appropriation bill of the last Congress some $450,000 is available for this work. Under the provisions of the Army bill now pending, I believe that a similar amount has been provided.

All plans of preparedness for the defense of this country must be based upon industrial preparedness—upon the abilities of the now unskilled and uneducated industries of this country to supply the munitions of war without delay and in great quantities. But industrial preparedness is only possible through peace-time organization and education and upon the ability of the War and Navy Departments to supply the manufacturers with complete sets of corrected working drawings, in which tolerances and details of design have been based upon commercial quantity production requirements, and with such master gauges and other special equipment as may be necessary to permit manufacturing concerns to swing quickly from peace-time products to the materials of war required by the Government.

It seems to me that the provisions of the law are ample and that appropriations made under this law are sufficient for the production and correction of working drawings and specifications. This step is fundamental and is a prerequisite even in the procurement of gauges, to say nothing of the procurement of Government supplies in large quantities from private manufacturing concerns.

Very truly, yours,

H. E. COFFIN.

The following are extracts from hearings before the House Committee on Naval Affairs, held March 15, 1916, showing that almost a year ago Mr. Coffin was among those who had begun to see the significance of the industrial side of national defense.

Statement of Mr. Howard E. Coffin, vice president, Hudson Motor Car Co.; member Naval Consulting Board:

* * * * * * *

Mr. COFFIN. I remember very well the time—this is five or six years ago—when if a motor-car manufacturer wanted even a minor part for his car, a draftsman would sit down, make a drawing, and get out a blue print, which was in due course passed along to the purchasing department. Whether or not this drawing was like any other drawing ever made did not greatly interest the designer. Every little part or attachment required special dies, varying in sizes, resulting in a great deal of delay and expense. These different things having to be manufactured specially, the result was that there was usually six months' delay in getting material, and at a very high cost. This thing held true right down the line. As a case in point, I will state that five years ago there were in the mills of the Shelby Steel Tube Co. some 1,600 different sizes of steel tubing, which that concern was making for the motor-car industry alone. I do not suppose there is a necessity for 50 to-day; that is, the manufacturer to-day buys standard tubing off the shelf at the lowest possible cost, and with no delay in delivery. As one other instance, a little lock washer which goes under a nut is used in great quantities. A concern in New Jersey had 800 sets of dies in its plant for the manufacture of lock washers, between the sizes of five-sixteenths of an inch to five-eighths—800 sizes of dies for the making of such foolishly special designs. Now I think there are hardly a dozen sizes in existence in this same range. That is what you can accomplish if you can standardize. But the good work must begin with the engineer and the designer.

Mr. Edison mentioned gauges. Let me touch on that for a second. I do not think any of us have a real conception of what it means to gauge up American industry for the production of war materials. We have a feeling that if Congress will vote for an increase in the Army and an increase in the Navy—and a very large portion of the country has this feeling—that we are then prepared, and all we have to do is to sit down until the navy yards build the ships. Those two things are two of the very simplest of the troubles which confront this country. Those things can be done by an act of Congress, and if we have the money to pay for them, and the time, we can have them, but we have not then even started on the question of basic preparedness. Eighty per cent, or even, as some claim, almost 90 per cent, of the industries of Europe are working day and night on the production of materials for the fighting line. These materials are practically all for

the armies, because there have been few naval engagements and very little wastage. So you can say that 80 per cent of the industries in Europe are working on munitions for the armies. Now, we have no reason to believe that in case we are drawn into any future war—in case we are really honest in our desire that we shall be prepared—that we can count on any other condition in this country than that existing abroad. In short, we must be prepared to produce faster and in greater quantity the arms and munitions of war than can any other nation or any other two nations which might attack us. We have in this country manufacturing and producing resources greater than those of any other two countries in the world. If we have these resources so organized through an educational campaign—the safest and at the same time the cheapest kind of preparedness we can have—so that half, or in some important lines more than half, of the industrial equipment and resources of the world can step in behind our Army and Navy, gentlemen, we might term it the greatest insurance against war this country could possibly have.

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Let me go back now to this question of how to standardize our munition methods and of how we may best utilize the American industries behind our fighting line. As I have said, some 80 per cent of the producing equipment of foreign countries is now working in the service of the armies. Through our observations of these conditions during the past year we have been forced to revise nearly all our ideas of modern warfare. I am not speaking for the Navy and Army officers, because they must have known in some degree what was coming. But the manufacturers of this country have at last, through observation of foreign happenings, come to have some realization of the changed conditions of warfare. We have felt heretofore that with a big Army and Navy we would surely be well prepared. We have now found that with a big Army and Navy we may be in a worse position than without them, or may be even yet in a position where some of the pacifists would have us. With a big Army and Navy we might try to run some bluff which would be called, and when the show-down came we would find that the Army and Navy were merely the first breaker, and that behind the lines we had nothing to back them up. Industrial preparedness in this country means we shall have to be so prepared through an educational policy that our industries will be in a position within a month or two months or three months, as the case may be, to swing from their regular lines of production onto the production of the munitions required for military purposes, and go on without delay with such deliveries as will keep our fighting lines supplied.

We are not now in that position and can not be in that position without a long period of educational work. Whatever our individual views may be upon Government-owned plants, in the last equation, no Government in the world can afford to own all the plants for the production of army and navy materials in sufficient quantities to carry any army through a modern war. In the last analysis it must be the private plants upon which we must depend to furnish the materials needed. We must place drawings, instructions, and gauges in the hands of the skilled workmen of the manufacturing plants throughout this country, and do it in time of peace or they will never be able to meet our needs in the munitions of war in time of emergency. We must place small educational orders with these various factories, together with the blue prints, jigs, and gauges if we are to enable them to get such a general practical working knowledge of what is required that in time of stress they may be enabled to jump in quickly and pick up the work without fatal delay.

As an illustration of what it means not to be prepared to handle these things, I want to tell you that many concerns in our country taking orders from foreign Governments—orders placed a year and a half ago—have scarcely done anything in the way of quantity delivery. Heavy shipments have been made to European powers, but the great mass of such shipments has been of stuff which is not strictly munitions of war in the popular conception of the term, but materials like barbed wire or other things of such kind as we were pretty well able to supply off the shelf. When it has come to the production of shells and munitions of war and rifles, I think you have had some facts presented to you down here which go to show that many of these concerns are way behind what they expected they would be able to do. This applies also to many of our arms manufacturers, whom some of our overly optimistic people would say could manufacture in a week enough arms to supply an army. I know one concern in Cleveland which took a big shell order. They promised deliveries of something like 1,500 a day at a certain date. The job looked very easy, but it took them four months beyond the promised delivery date to get even 200 shells a day through the plant. It is just to some few of these many sad experiences I wish to call your attention, and then go on to the Naval Consulting Board and what it has been doing in this work.

There is one body of men in the United States who have the ability, through their training and through the fact that they have been instrumental in the development of all American industries, qualified to render the most efficient service to the Army and Navy. I refer to our engineers. The officers of the Army and Navy, as Mr. Edison has said, are the equal in personnel of the officers of any similar positions in the world. Many of us think they are the superiors. They have been educated at West Point and Annapolis. They have lived with these problems of naval warfare and land warfare, and they have studied fighting and all the rules of strategy and are masters in their line. But, generally speaking, these men have not had the hard knocks in the commercial end and in that manufacture of goods in quantity which will best fit them to go out and institute a general mobilization of the industrial resources of this country. They can not be expected to do that, but they are specialists in their own line. We, upon our part, as engineers and manufacturers, do not know anything about the fighting end of the business. We could not come in and tell these gentlemen how they should handle their troops or how they should handle their fleet, but we do know the industrial game, and when the time comes, all theory aside as to what might be done or ought to be done, the people in this country who will have to bear the brunt of war will be the manufacturers and engineers, who will have to organize almost to a man in support of the forces doing the actual fighting.

In the working out of this plan in a concrete way we have in the five national technical organizations—the American Society of Civil Engineers, the American Society of Mining Engineers, the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, the American Institute of Electric Engineers, and the American Chemical Society—a group of 36,000 men, representing every phase of industrial life in this country. It is this group of men, gentlemen, already organized and working in cooperation with the officers of the Navy and Army, who will be able to do that industrial organization work which we all now know must be done before we can be truly prepared. The only way to make our resources available—the only way to organize the industries of the United States for national service—is to do it quietly and efficiently in time of peace. We can not do it at the last minute when we are trying to turn a back somersault because there has been a declaration of war the night before. We have had a pretty fair lesson in the Spanish-American War, and we will probably have another lesson in the Mexican affair before we are through with it. It may be a good lesson and wake us all up to what war in 1916 really means.

That these manufacturers and engineers will do this work there is not the slightest bit of doubt. They will do it, not because they hope for material advantage to accrue to them or to the concerns which they control—and many of them are the leading business men of the country—but they will do it, if you please, upon the same basis that we all carry fire insurance. I refuse to believe that patriotism is any less of a vital influence in America—but put this upon the cold-blooded basis of insurance, if you like. I believe that there are thousands of concerns in this country who have never had one dollar's worth of Government business, who do not want one dollar's worth of Government business, and who would not consider taking one dollar's worth of Government business for war materials in time of peace. It would conflict with their regular lines of work, and they are rushed to death with business in these regular lines. My own concern, for two or three years, has had subdealers' names on the books who have scarcely even seen a Hudson motor car which they themselves have owned. Unfortunately, this is not a mere figure of speech; so why should we ask for Government business? We are willing, however, to take a standing order for a certain small number of shells or any other material of that character which our equipment is fitted to produce, and deliver that material each year under Government inspection. Goods produced under this educational system could be sent in to depots, which preferably should be located in the Middle West. This would be merely on the basis of organization and education, to fit the factories to swing in on this complicated new work if it should ever be necessary.

By taking a small order, say, even for 10 shells of one size, we shall have broken in every department of our works as to the handling of that particular munition. Our purchasing department will learn where and how to buy materials. Our factory will learn how to machine, how to best treat, how to test and inspect to Government standards. The Engineering Department will have in its files up-to-date drawings and specifications for quick use. We have enough manufacturing equipment in this country so that we can concentrate and specialize a concern on some one thing and say, "Gentlemen, in case of war that is the particular thing we are going to call upon you for in such and such quantity," and if you gentlemen will give to our Navy and War Departments, through proper legislation, power to exercise judgment in placing these small educational orders throughout the country, you will have done as much to fit this country to defend itself as through appropriating money for a tremendous increase in Army and Navy. Army and Navy will be taken care of as a matter of course. These other things can not be handled except through the closest kind of cooperation between a nationally organized industry and the various departments of the Government.

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First, of course, we must inventory—and this we are prepared to do—our producing and manufacturing equipment in this country. We must make this inventory through these men who have engineering training and an intimate knowledge of our industries, so that when it comes to the second step, where the Army and Navy Departments may be placing thousands of small educational orders with the plants throughout the country, they will have dependable information for their guidance.

There is a third step which is absolutely necessary. Here again the engineers are the men who can carry the message to every line of industry. This third step has to deal with skilled labor. Wars of the past have been fought by the laboring men and the mechanics, by men taken from the factories and mills, armed with muskets and sent to the front. I have wondered if you have stopped to think how absolute a reversal of conditions has come about. Now, the skilled mechanic is, to use a figure of speech, being carried on a platter in Europe, for fear something may happen to take him off the job, while the fighting at the front is being done by that portion of the population not skilled in mechanics and the workings of the machine shop. The machinist is being kept at home and the lawyer and doctor and tradesman are going to the front with the musket. In some countries the machinists and mechanics needed in the turning out of war materials had to be brought back from the front, and even Germany, with all of her 40 years of preparation and planning for war, has used just about four times the war materials she ever expected to use. I do not think that any of us need worry about the attitude of the American mechanic. We must arrange to hold him at his work, in order that some other fellow may carry the musket. Sweat and not blood must be labor's contribution to war.

Another thing which we must realize is that women are being utilized in foreign factories in every possible way. Women, such as your wives and mine, are going into the mills and factories at 12 o'clock Saturday noon and working in seven-hour shifts until midnight Sunday to bridge over the rest period left in accordance with the governmental arrangements with labor. This is the kind of war we will have if we ever get into another. It will not be a comic-opera campaign, running on six or seven months. We will be licked out of our boots at the start or we will have to carry it through to the last ounce of our industrial strength. This is the reason, gentlemen, above all others why we must begin on the industrial end of any preparedness for defense.

Mr. TALBOTT. Is your information accurate and reliable that Germany has used four times the amount of ammunition she expected to use?

Mr. COFFIN. It has come from a man who has just come back from Europe. It has been generally understood that Germany at one or two stages of the war has been practically down and out for ammunition in certain sectors, and it has been only through her wonderful coordination of the industrial resources of the country that she has been enabled to stem the tide, and, of course, gentlemen, with all the munitions work we are doing in this country, remember that we are getting only the ripples on the edge of the pool. They tell me—I do not know how certainly, but I think with reasonable authority—that not one single American shell has to date been fired from a French gun and that only 10 per cent of the ammunition England has used has come from this country.

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We are making in this country a large percentage of the machine tools used in the manufacturing plants of the world. New England, Cleveland, and Cincinnati are turning them out in large numbers.

They will be found in every country in Europe. I do not except any. We have all this equipment here now, but not ready for national service. Let us so plan that we may utilize this equipment in the work that we may some day have to undertake.

Just one word as to what a country-wide distribution of the work of the Army and Navy Departments could be made to mean; it would mean that, instead of shutting down a large percentage of the industries throughout the country in the event of any national emergency such as war—it would mean that those plants would go ahead with Government work, and even though there were a lapse of 30 days or 60 days, labor would be held on the job ready to go ahead. If a declaration of war had been made yesterday, we would have to teach a large percentage of our workmen how to handle munitions. It would probably be six months or a year before we could hope, under the best conditions, and with the best encouragement from the Government, to get war materials out of our plants in any quantity. In the meanwhile our labor organizations, built up over a period of years, would be broken up and there would be a great deal of suffering through lack of employment. You can see very readily the position organized labor will take on any such a plan. There is every argument of common sense in its favor. The Government would have hundreds of sources of possible supply where it now has but a few. Last, but not least, we would lay the ghost of the "munitions lobby" for all time.

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Mr. ROBERTS. That brings me to this situation: I have been very much impressed with a statement made by a Member of the House on the great difficulty of the manufacturers furnishing rifles, shrapnel, and particularly time fuses, because of the lack, in this country, of jigs and other appliances. You pointed out that if we had a supply on hand at the outbreak of war these gauges would wear out after a certain amount of use and have to be replaced. What provision are you contemplating making for securing, when the emergency comes, all the jigs, gauges, etc., that would be absolutely necessary?

Mr. COFFIN. The only possible safe procedure would be to make them up in advance during time of peace and put them into Government depots, which, as I have said, should preferably be located in the Middle West.

Mr. ROBERTS. Did I understand you correctly to say it would take probably five years to provide, with the present output of our factories, the necessary jigs and gauges?

Mr. COFFIN. Yes, sir; for the production through present facilities available.

Mr. ROBERTS. For the production in the exigency of a great war?

Mr. COFFIN. That is the computation of the manufacturers of these goods, and I have every reason to believe it to be correct.

Mr. ROBERTS. The matter of providing these jigs and gauges is about one of the most essential elements, is it not?

Mr. COFFIN. It is the one great reason why the manufacturers in this country are not supplying goods to Europe. They have not been furnished with the gauges and tools necessary to insure standardization in this work.

Mr. ROBERTS. You spoke of some of the belligerent nations recalling from the firing lines mechanics who have been withdrawn from the industries of the country. Have you in mind the strong criticism which has been made upon Winston Churchill in permitting shipbuilders of the country to enlist?

Mr. COFFIN. I did not have that instance in mind.

Mr. ROBERTS. I mean as showing what is now taken to be an unwise policy, calling on these skilled mechanics to go on the firing line, when there was such need of them at home?

Mr. COFFIN. England did that in many lines of industry—let the mechanics get away, and had to call them back in a disorganized state, because through three months' service in the trenches, mechanics will be unfitted to go back to the lathe for some time.

Mr. BRITTEN. I am told that Mr. Coffin has some very well-defined ideas on the establishment of the council of national defense. I think the committee should hear from him while he is here, if my information is correct.

Mr. COFFIN. In my work down here—coming in as any average business man would—I was immediately struck with the need for that coordination, in the absence of which any big manufacturing concern in the country would be put out of business in short order. There seems to be a lack of intimate general knowledge of what the men in the various departments are doing in each other's lines of activity. It has seemed to me that there are perhaps two needs, each one distinct. One might be termed a council of national defense. This should keep at all times in close relation with the Army and Navy Departments, and upon it should be, of course, the Secretaries of the Army and Navy and such men as they might designate in their departments, other members of the Cabinet, some civilians of unquestioned rank and standing, and the chairmen of the various committees—the military committees—of Congress. There would thus be a chance for an interchange of ideas and the formulation of a general definite policy of departmental and business coordination in any plans for defense. Now that there is certainly urgent need of close working between the Army, Navy, and industry, I think what may be needed—perhaps as in England and France—is a bureau of industrial mobilization directly under the control of the President, as is the Army and Navy. We must keep the industrial end of the country in shape for defense, exactly as the Army and Navy keep their respective departments in shape for defense. Gentlemen, the time has come when in any question of defense there are three big elements, and those elements, while related, are entirely and distinctly separate. There is the Army, the land force; the Navy, the water force; and the industrial machinery necessary for the supplying of materials to these fighting arms. It seems to me, just from my experience, coming in from business lines, that if such an arrangement as I have outlined could be created that it would make more for economy and for efficiency and for the solution of many of the difficulties over which you gentlemen are laboring than any other one thing which could possibly be done. You would then have linked up with you gentlemen of military and naval affairs, and with the departmental heads that which is after all the foundation of the whole defense structure, namely, the industrial resource of the country, which must stand behind you in any emergency, give the guns to the men in the field, and give to those guns the ammunition they need.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Then what you would suggest really would be that this whole country be organized under some central head at Washington, and each man known, and his place known, so he might be called to the particular place he would fit in, by order, the instant he is needed?

Mr. COFFIN. Almost as you have stated it. That is the fundamental thing in any real plan of defense.

Mr. CALLAWAY. You would suggest that organization as necessary?

Mr. COFFIN. Yes, sir; in just that degree, at least, which would insure a real preparedness against confusion and economic shock due to any sudden emergency.

Mr. CALLAWAY. That is your idea of what we ought to have?

Mr. COFFIN. Yes, sir; it is.

Mr. BRITTEN. How long after your arrival in Washington did it take you to ascertain this lack of coordination between the Army and Navy and other executive departments?

Mr. COFFIN. I ran into it the first morning. I found that I could not learn just where to go to get the particular information I wanted. I remember that one of the men told me an amusing story about a letter just received from some manufacturer stating in reply to some communication that he had already had seven letters from as many departments upon the certain identical subject.

Mr. BRITTEN. What you have said is substantially what practically every other expert, naval, military, and otherwise, has stated in the committee. * * *

The CHAIRMAN. We are very much obliged to you, Mr. Coffin.

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The tremendous importance of aviation in military preparedness is only beginning to be realized. On a few occasions I have spoken briefly, though very earnestly, to the House of the imperative necessity of developing aircraft for military purposes, and of the possibilities of aviation in peaceful pursuits. The letter of Mr. Coffin, herewith submitted, indicates that this most vital, as it is at the present time, the weakest spot in our preparation for defense is not being neglected by these broad-minded, experienced business men who are undertaking to serve the country in a time of real need:

COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE,
Washington, February 28, 1917.

Hon. JOHN Q. TILSON,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. TILSON: I have not been able to get away, as anticipated, and am at your disposal should you wish to confer with me again or by any chance desire me to appear before the committee.

There is another situation that I would like to discuss with you. I refer to the condition of the aircraft industry. There are certain fundamental difficulties in this direction which must be remedied before we can hope to obtain aircraft and aeronautical supplies in any quantity. This industry, as you know, was running along on the basis of a volume of something like $1,000,000 a year when Congress, six months ago, appropriated a total of seventeen or eighteen millions of dollars for aircraft development. No manufacturing plant or business institution in this country can expand within one year on any 17 to 1 basis. It is hard enough to even double production within one year's time. There is an utter lack of standardization in specifications of material and in detail of design throughout the industry. We have these matters now in hand, but the problems require time for their solution. We went through exactly this same stage in the motor-car business. It is the stage of transition which marks the birth of a commercial-quantity production in the development of the art. There is also an almost utter lack of skilled personnel in the aviation art. The most careful nursing of this industry is necessary, and an intelligent consistency must be exercised upon the part of Congress in the matter of appropriations. The aeronautical industry is literally in its infancy in this country. To such an extent is this true that there is not one chance in a thousand that the Government can procure within a reasonable limit of time the amount of aircraft now on order. It will require the support of the Government over a period of years to place the aircraft industry in a position to supply our needs in this direction.

The patent situation has been another element which has retarded development. This also is now in hand; and if there is enacted into law the section of the military bill dealing with this subject we should be able to eliminate this difficulty.

Very truly, yours,

H. E. COFFIN.

Friendly Relations With the Government of Mexico.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JEFF: McLEMORE,
OF TEXAS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. McLEMORE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution:

Simple resolution 97. (By Mr. Harley.)

Whereas the Government of the United States has again resumed friendly relations with the Government of Mexico; and
Whereas there are in the State of Texas a number of distinguished and worthy citizens of our sister Republic, as well as a number of American citizens who have large property holdings in Mexico: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we request our State Department at Washington to request our ambassador in the City of Mexico to continue to use his good offices in behalf of these unfortunate people, to the end that their property rights in Mexico may be respected and preserved by the Government of Mexico: Be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the State Department at Washington and to each of our Senators and Representatives at Washington.

JOHN D. MCCALL,
Secretary of the Senate.

Read and adopted.
FEBRUARY 23, 1917.

An Argument for a Decentralized Bank of Commerce.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD W. SAUNDERS,

OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 2, 1917.

Mr. SAUNDERS. Mr. Speaker: I wish to present an argument for a decentralized bank of commerce prepared by Mr. R. C. Milliken, a local monetary statist, which I have found instructive and interesting. If you accept his statements of fact, there would seem to be no escape from his conclusions. His argument appears to have been prepared with a painstaking regard for the truth.

I ask you to bear with me while I refer to two of the conclusions maintained in this argument. They may be stated as follows:

First. That all the countries which have adopted this simple remedy (that is, which have established a bank of commerce) enjoy sound credit systems, and speculation, and overconsumption, (twin sisters in producing panics), are for less prevalent among them than they are with us;

Second. That in all such countries there is little or no public sentiment for changes, or amendments to their banking and currency laws, while with us many demands are made for the amendment of our banking and currency laws.

Truth is the bedrock upon which all sound credit must be based, and any credit system which enables those seeking credit to cover up or hide the truth is a bad system, for it encourages fraud.

The Federal Reserve System is making active efforts to reestablish a commercial credit system in this country by trying to induce our commercial men to become guarantors of the credit of their commercial customers, but that system will not effectually aid our commercial men in obtaining reliable credit information.

Before concluding my remarks permit me to say a few words about Mr. Milliken and his tireless efforts to secure credit reform for this country. At the conference of the currency committee of the American Bankers' Association held in this city six years ago a powerful effort was made to induce the members of that committee to indorse the Aldrich bank plan. In fact, that conference was arranged by the author of that plan, the late Senator Nelson W. Aldrich, one of the most astute politicians ever in Washington. As chairman of the Monetary Commission, Senator Aldrich employed the professors of some of the leading universities of the country, who attended that conference and were engaged in instructing the members of that committee, all of whom were experienced bankers, as to the merits of the Aldrich plan. Even the publicity feature was attended to, for stories appeared daily in the press that the committee would indorse the plan before adjournment; but they did not do so, though the conference lasted much longer than was contemplated. One of the few active opponents of the Aldrich scheme was Mr. Milliken, and he was largely responsible for its defeat.

AN ARGUMENT FOR A DECENTRALIZED BANK OF COMMERCE.

(By R. C. Milliken, monetary statist, Union Trust Building, Washington, D. C.)

There are four reasons why we should have a decentralized bank of commerce, which I shall enumerate:

First. To induce our commercial traders to trust worthy traders by becoming guarantors of their credit, and thereby substitute bills of exchange for promissory notes;

Second. To teach the general public the perniciousness of using a bank as a "feeder" to promoting enterprises;

Third. To establish such important "acceptance houses" as exist in Great Britain who exclude themselves from deposit banking; and

Fourth. To partially counteract the disastrous effect of the special privilege now enjoyed by the New York City banks which act as the exchange agents for the other banks throughout the country.

BRITISH AND AMERICAN CREDIT SYSTEMS CONTRASTED.

To contrast the British and American credit systems, let us suppose the sale of goods by a jobber to a retail merchant. Under the British system the jobber would draw a bill of exchange on the retail merchant for the amount of the invoice, and the latter would accept it and return it to the jobber in payment. Under such bill of exchange the jobber becomes the guarantor of the retailer's credit until the bill matures, a period during which the retailer could liquidate the transaction by the sale of the goods.

Suppose the day on which such jobber received that bill of exchange from the retail merchant that the jobber should purchase a bill of goods from a manufacturer or factor. Such jobber would doubtless say, if operating under the British credit system, "Don't draw on me; I will pay you in the bill of," giving the name of the retailer and amount and maturity of the bill. If the manufacturer would credit such jobber, he certainly would do so plus the name of the retailer. Such bills of exchange form the principal currency in the commerce of Great Britain, for the reason that the Bank of England, which is controlled exclusively by the great traders and commercial men of England in the interest of commerce and not for profit, stands ready, and has never failed, to find the gold to liquidate such bills.

Under the American credit system the large jobbers seldom solicit the trade of retail merchants who do not bear the reputation of discounting their bills for cash. That is not a cash transaction, but the substitution of bank for commercial credit. That is, the retailer must go to his local bank or in the open market with his single-name promissory note and buy bank credit in payment of that invoice.

THE THREE METHODS OF BANKING.

Let us first consider the different methods of banking, and that has been stated so clearly by James W. Gilbart, the greatest philosopher of credit the world ever produced, the man most instrumental in giving England her present banking system and destroying the monopoly of the Bank of England and making that institution a bank of commerce, in his excellent treatise of the Practices and Principles of Banking, that I shall quote him. He thus defined banking and the three methods of raising a banking or borrowed capital in these words:

> The trading capital of a bank may be divided into two parts, the invested capital and the banking capital. The invested capital is the money paid in by the stockholders for the purpose of carrying on the business. This may be called the real capital. The banking capital is that portion of the capital which is created by the bank itself in the course of its business, and may be called the borrowed capital. There are three ways of raising a banking or borrowed capital. First, by receiving deposits; secondly, by the issuing of notes; thirdly, by the drawing of bills of exchange.

CREDIT AND GOLD HAVE PRECISELY THE SAME EFFECT ON PRICES.

An expansion of credit by $100,000,000 has as much influence on prices as an addition of $100,000,000 to the quantity of gold. John Stuart Mill says, "Money and credit are exactly on a par in their effect on prices." Henry Dunning Macleod, another great Scotch philosopher of credit, in his Theory of Credit, says:

> It is perfectly acknowledged that credit produces exactly the same effect on prices as gold. And it has been shown by authentic statistics that in modern times gold only forms about 1 per cent of the circulating medium of currency; and to suppose that a variation to the small extent of a fraction of 1 per cent in the amount of the circulating medium, or measure of value, could produce the effect so popularly attributed to it is wholly beyond reason.

FIRST PROPOSITION.

As the oldest method of banking was by drawing bills of exchange, we must consider it. The bill of exchange is the safest credit instrument with which commerce was ever financed, because it carries upon its face abundant proof that it represents a real commercial transaction. Let us enumerate a few of those evidences:

First. Usually it is drawn on the lithographed billhead of the seller and bears the serial bill number of that concern.

Second. Most frequently the bill is for an odd amount, as invoices seldom foot up even amounts, thus negativing the hypothesis that it represents a finance transaction, which is usually for an even amount.

Third. A bill is drawn by a manufacturing concern or jobber on a jobber or retail dealer in a similar line of trade, residing usually in different cities, thus furnishing further proof that it represents a real commercial transaction and negativing the hypothesis that it is a "kite" or accommodation paper or finance transaction.

Fourth. A bill is invariably drawn for the production or distribution of commerce, and in consequence adds to the wealth of the country employing it. If a retail merchant were permitted to draw bills of exchange on his customers (consumers) it would produce inflation and overconsumption and waste, the curse of this country now employing the promissory note.

The promissory note furnishes no proof that it represents a commercial transaction, and no country employing such credit instrument can ever have a safe open discount market for its commercial paper. A commercial credit system is a natural credit system, and something is radically wrong when one com-

mercial man will not trust another worthy commercial man. The commercial man's rate of profit is greater than that of the banker, and in consequence can assume a greater risk in granting credit than the banker. Furthermore, all the obligations of the commercial man mature in futuro. In fact, the commercial man who fails to meet his obligations at maturity is considered insolvent, whereas no bank is considered prosperous whose demand obligations do not far exceed its capital and surplus. Its prime mission is to convert time obligations into demand payable ones. Hence the necessity for its covering its borrowed capital with liquid assets made by two or more commercial men and payable at short and fixed periods.

The cutthroat methods which prevail among the commercial classes in this country are directly traceable to the practice of our manufacturers and jobbers' insistence on their buyers discounting their bills "for cash." Under our system the jobber seldom considers the question of overstocking the buyer, because he knows that within 10 days the obligation will be assumed by a banker. How different it is in countries where the seller is a guarantor of the credit for a period during which the goods should be sold.

We can never hope to capture foreign markets for our commerce under our credit system—a system under which one commercial man will not trust another worthy commercial man. We must adopt the bill of exchange in our domestic commerce, and thus show to the world that our commercial men trust one another, before we ask foreign traders to trust us.

REASON FOR SUCH DISTRUST AMONG OUR COMMERCIAL CLASSES.

The reason for such distrust is plain to the informed. The writer speaks from actual experience along this line, acquired from an extensive commercial-law practice throughout Texas for some Boston, St. Louis, and Cincinnati houses. Such distrust grew out of the numerous instances in which local banks transferred their losses to nonresident commercial houses. I have in mind a merchant who had established a large trade and good credit, but who became involved in cotton speculations. At the time of his speculations the local bank was his sole creditor, but instead of closing the merchant up immediately, the banker tided him over a year and then succeeded in transferring the bank's $25,000 loss to the nonresident commercial people.

This is the way that was accomplished: In the spring following his cotton speculations the merchant promptly discounted his bills "for cash," the local bank furnishing him the facilities. In making his fall purchases the merchant had his bills dated ahead for as long a time as he could secure, ostensibly for the purpose of demanding a large discount rate "for cash," but for the actual purpose of enabling him to dispose of his goods before the maturity of his bills, pay off the bank, fill his own pockets with cash, and leave his commercial creditors in the lurch. All worked out as prearranged.

That merchant was insolvent a year before he was closed out, and his financial condition was well known to the banker. Had his financial condition been known to the commercial world, that loss would have fallen on the bank. It was by keeping the commercial world in ignorance of that merchant's actual condition that enabled that banker to transfer his loss to the commercial people. Away with a credit system which affords such facilities for fraud!

I have another similar disgraceful swindle in mind, one in which the local merchant is thought to have saved some $50,000 out of the failure, and who was a few years later reputed to be worth $250,000. And I have another case in mind in which the local merchant swindled his nonresident commercial creditors out of more than $100,000, who, 20 years later, was reputed to be worth from $2,000,000 to $3,000,000. The basis for those newly made fortunes rightly belonged to the nonresident commercial creditors of those local merchants. In the cases I have cited the local banks did not lose a penny, and the dockets of the courts in which those cases were tried will bear me out in this statement. That "reign of fraud" was only 25 years ago, and many commercial men now living who went through that period will verify all I have narrated above.

THE BANK IS THE BEST SOURCE OF CREDIT INFORMATION.

No one denies but that the bank is the best source of credit information, but the trouble is that the nonresident commercial men do not know when the local bank is boosting the local merchant's credit for the purpose of transferring its loss to the commercial people. A large manufacturer who attended the National Chambers of Commerce annual meeting here last January told me that when a jobber or merchant referred him to a bank that he threw the letter in the waste basket. In proof of the proposition that the bank is the best source of credit information, I wish to call attention to the statement made to me by a wealthy Maryland farmer a few months ago. That farmer said that his banker had criticized him for signing accommodation paper, and told him that unless he quit it the bank would have to exact collateral security for his personal loans. The banker said the farmer was then on $7,500 of such paper, which statement the farmer disputed with emphasis, but when the banker enumerated each piece of paper, giving the name of the principal and amount of each note, the farmer admitted the correctness of the same.

The farmer said that the banker knew more about his business than he did himself. Of course that banker did not impart to that farmer the source of his information, but the informed know it was acquired from the other banks of the same city, by reason of the comity existing among them. If the commercial interests of the United States controlled a bank of commerce, with a branch or agency located in that city, then they could secure as reliable credit information as any bank there, and with reliable credit information our nonresident commercial interests could safely credit other commercial people of that city.

ACTIVITY OF FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD FOR "TRADE ACCEPTANCES."

The Federal Reserve Board and Federal reserve banks are making special efforts to induce our commercial men to adopt "trade acceptances," which are the same in principle as bills of exchange used in European trade, by authorizing special discount rates for such paper, and "all Federal reserve banks in establishing (discount) rates have made a rate generally one-half of 1 per cent lower for trade acceptances than the rate for promissory notes," says the acting governor of the New York Federal reserve bank in an argument for "trade acceptances," published in the Federal Reserve Bulletin, of January, 1917.

Whether our manufacturers and jobbers like it or not they must come to the use of bills of exchange or "trade acceptances," whereby they become the guarantors of their customers' credit, as that is the only safe credit instrument known to commerce. But Congress must create a bank of commerce for our commercial traders, and thus place them on an equal footing with the local banks, otherwise we will have a repetition of the "reign of fraud" which existed 25 years ago and which destroyed the poor commercial credit system we then had.

PURPOSE OF BANKRUPTCY ACT WAS TO DESTROY "REIGN OF FRAUD."

The sole purpose of our present perpetual bankruptcy law was to destroy the "reign of fraud" which existed 25 years ago, and which enabled the local banks to swindle our nonresident commercial interests. But that law has not accomplished the purpose of its authors. It is another makeshift at credit legislation of which our statute books have been crowded since the formation of the Republic. It simply closes the barn door after the horse is stolen. What we must do is to go to the very source of the credit evil, by giving our commercial interests equal credit facilities now enjoyed by our banks, and that must come about here as it came about in all other countries enjoying a sound credit system, namely, by the establishment of a bank of commerce. Just as long as the banks enjoy exclusive or special credit information just that long will our commercial interests be defrauded by the banks.

COMMERCIAL LEGISLATION IN AMERICA AND EUROPE CONTRASTED.

For centuries before the discovery of America all the civilized countries of the world were establishing lex mercatoria, the law merchant, a wonderful system based on the customs of the world's traders. It was accomplished by the creation of merchants' courts presided over exclusively by merchants. Those traders invented and developed the bill of exchange, the Venetians being the leaders, as they were the dominant factors in the commercial world from the eighth to the fifteenth century. Their wealth was the wonder of the world during that period, their argosies formed the sole channel of communication between the courts of Germany and Constantinople, and their well-equipped and expensively guarded caravans furnished the only connecting link between the Occident and Orient until the British discovered the Cape of Good Hope route in 1484. The Venetians employed the bill of exchange exclusively in carrying on their extensive trade.

In writing of the poor coinage laws of the Venetians, Hazlitt, in the Venetian Republic, volume 2, page 621, says:

All these devices for obviating the inconvenience arising from a scanty currency might, however, have failed to provide any adequate remedy for the evil if trade had not been largely conducted on a basis of exchange, and payments in kind had not long remained in universal vogue. We must acquit the Venetians of an ignorance of bills and other substitutes for cash when such facilities were elsewhere enjoyed in the twelfth or thirteenth century, and while the first explicit reference to such matters is as late as 1405, the passage where it occurs speaks of it rather as a familiar principle than as a novelty in practice, and so much so that we have an actual document in 1326 (1325) immediately belonging to Milan, but the counterpart and sample beyond doubt of

thousands and hundreds of thousands which once existed up and down commercial Europe. It is in the subjoined terms, and points to a practice of giving six months' credit, or, as it is now expressed, of drawing at six months.

Daniel on Negotiable Instruments, sixth edition, page 8, says:

The advantages derived from employing foreign bills for remittance of money induced merchants universally to adopt them, and originally deriving their sanction from the custom of merchants they were subsequently recognized and approved by the judicial tribunals, and the engagements of the various parties to them enforced.

The same author, in speaking of inland or domestic bills, adds:

At first, also, effect was only given to the custom when the parties were merchants, though afterwards extended, as in the case of foreign bills, to all persons whether traders or not.

It was in 1613 that the court of king's bench, in Oaste against Taylor, declared that only merchants could execute bills of exchange. And even to this day "in France a bill of exchange represents a trade transaction" and not a finance transaction, says Sir M. D. Chalmers, in his Bills of Exchange, seventh edition, page lxi. In 1702 the same court, in Buller *v.* Crips (6 Modern King's Bench Reports, p. 306), held the promissory note to be a nonnegotiable instrument. The effect of this decision was to clothe the merchants and traders of Great Britain with a monopoly in the execution of a negotiable instrument, just as that class to-day enjoys a monopoly in drawing bills of exchange in France. But the British traders did not enjoy such monopoly long, for in 1704 Parliament enacted the first negotiable instrument law (3 and 4 Anne), thus demonstrating that the bankers of that day were some lobbyists.

One would think that the foregoing enumerated efforts of those old countries in the interest of their producers and distributors of commerce would suffice. But those countries did not stop there but went further in the aid of commerce, and created banks of commerce controlled exclusively by commercial men and as an aid to commerce rather than for profit. No man can serve two masters; no man can sell credit for a profit and as an aid to commerce too. Those countries clothed their banks of commerce with numerous special privileges, they freed them from Government fetters and made them the only depositaries for Government funds and the like, because when those banks serve commerce they serve the general public.

All reputable English writers maintain that the Bank of England is controlled exclusively by the great mercantile traders of that country. So I shall quote a few of them. Walter Bagehot, for years editor of the Economist and a director and London representative of the second largest issue bank in England, a scholar of a high order who is reputed to have had more accurate information on the London money market than any man who ever wrote on the subject, says in his Lombart Street, which is quoted as the highest authority, as follows:

In London no banker has a chance of being a Bank of England director or would ever think of attempting to be one. I am here speaking of bankers in an English sense—those who accept deposits subject to check. Not only no private banker is a director of the Bank of England, but no director of any joint-stock bank would be allowed to become such. The two situations would be taken to be incompatible. The mass of the Bank of England directors are merchants of experience and drawing a considerable capital in trade, in which they have been brought up and with which they are well acquainted. The direction of the Bank of England has for many generations been composed of such men.

Another such authority is Hartley Withers, editor of the Economist, with a London banking experience, and writer on monetary subjects. In his work, The Meaning of Money, he says:

The bank [of England] court is a committee recruited chiefly from the ranks of the accepting houses and merchant firms, and its members are nominated by itself, subject to the purely formal confirmation of the shareholders; and it is an unwritten law that no banker in the ordinary sense of the word—that is, no one connected with what we call the check-paying banks—can be a member of it.

Another authority is the testimony of the governor and directors of the Bank of England to the monetary commission. I give the question and answer:

Q. Is there any custom restricting the class from which the directors may be selected?—A. There is no legal restriction as to the class from which directors may be selected, except that they must be "natural-born subjects of England or naturalized," but in actual practice the selection is confined to those who are or have been members of mercantile or financial houses, excluding bankers, brokers, bill discounters, or directors of other banks operating in the United Kingdom.

No reputable English writer would think of disputing the statements of the authorities above quoted.

PRESIDENT JACKSON'S POSITION ON THE BANK OF COMMERCE.

I doubt if the views of any really prominent public man on so vital a question were ever more misunderstood than those of President Jackson respecting this subject. He favored the principle but opposed and destroyed the institution which failed to carry out the purpose of its creation. Let us quote the language contained in his celebrated message to Congress on July 10, 1832, in which he vetoed the act to recharter the second United States bank. He said:

A bank of the United States is in many respects convenient for the Government and useful to the people. Entertaining this opinion and deeply impressed with the belief that some of the powers and privileges possessed by the existing bank are unauthorized by the Constitution, subversive of the rights of the States, and dangerous to the liberties of the people, I felt it my duty at an early period of my administration to call the attention of Congress to the practicability of organizing an institution combining all its advantages and obviating those objections. I sincerely regret that in the act before me I can perceive none of those modifications of the bank charter which are necessary, in my opinion, to make it compatible with justice, with sound policy, or with the Constitution of our country.

That language is too clear for argument. He admits favoring the principle. He was called on to approve or veto a specific act to recharter a particular bank which had already forfeited its right to exist. It ignored commerce and became the tool of speculation from its inception, was insolvent the second year of its creation and would have gone in the hands of a receiver had not the Government come to its rescue with its own funds.

It was not incumbent on President Jackson to set forth in that veto message the specific provisions which such a charter should contain for "the protection of the public interests." He need not have said he believed such an institution was "convenient for the Government and useful to the people." However, he did not stop with that gratuitous admission, but went further and said he felt it was his duty at an early period of his administration to submit a plan to Congress which would not only obviate the objections of the charter he vetoed, but combine the advantages which would render it an instrumentality for the public good.

Lets observe, in the light of the history of those times, the plan we believe President Jackson had in mind to submit to Congress. Mark you: It was "at an early period" of his administration that he says this "duty" manifested itself to his judgment. It becomes necessary, therefore, to consider some of the events of that period. In 1827, two years before he was inaugurated President, there was published in London a most important treatise on banking and credit, one which to this day is a standard authority in every country enjoying international commerce. It gave to its author, James W. Gilbart, F. R. S., great renown as a monetary thinker. It made him so famous that some of the ablest financiers of the British metropolis supplied him with funds and induced him to return to that city of his birth and early banking experience and organize the first of the London great joint-stock banks. No higher compliment was ever paid a thinker than that paid to Gilbart by those London capitalists. For it is no easy thing to induce capital to finance a new project, but it is well-night impossible to induce capital to engage in a lawsuit, and that is what Gilbart's project meant, as he had to destroy the monopoly then enjoyed by the Bank of England before he could put his principles in practice. What a fight he made against the most powerful corporation of that period! In the beginning he had no influential persons to aid him, but after fighting in all the courts of England, though losing his legal battle, he so educated the British public that Parliament came to his rescue and destroyed the monopoly of that institution.

President Jackson was not a monetary expert; that is, he did not possess accurate detailed information on monetary affairs, on which he had given deep and sustained thought—something which carries a conviction that makes one fight to the last ditch—as Gilbart did. But it is most unreasonable to suppose that some of the political economists of this country failed to direct his attention to some of the important truths then advocated by Gilbart, for those two great men had one interest in common, the destruction of bank monopoly, both institutions then being the tools of speculators. I believe that Jackson, "at an early period of (his) administration," when his attention was first directed to Gilbart's philosophy, had it in mind to recommend to Congress the principles advocated by that great philosopher of credit, but as his mind was engrossed with other important public duties those early formed views—not convictions—passed from his mind, and when it became a political issue he lost sight of the scientific question.

GILBART'S PHILOSOPHY WHICH INFLUENCED JACKSON.

Gilbart announced that commercial men, the producers and distributors of commerce, were the natural or permanent regulators of the interest on money, they being actuated by the rate of profit which money earns, the immediate regulator of the interest rate being the law of supply and demand. His argument in support of that proposition is too long for me to quote, but the effect of it was to destroy the monopoly of the Bank of England and to make that institution a bank of commerce; and the Bank of England is now carrying out the very truths Gilbart announced, as shown under my fourth and last proposi-

tion. However, Gilbart quoted from the Essay on Trade, written by Sir Josiah Child in 1678, who was the governor of the East India Co. and one of the greatest captains of industry of his time. And the abuses of the "new-fashioned bankers" of that time being so like those of the banks of this country at the present time I shall give that quotation in full. But before doing so let me remind the reader that the Essay on Trade was written 18 years before the organization of the Bank of England and 37 years after Charles I deliberately confiscated the British merchants' gold in the Tower of London, that being their sole depositary. Profiting by that sad experience, those merchants thereafter used the goldsmiths until the "new-fashioned bankers" came into existence.

Gilbart says:

Sir Josiah Child, in his excellent Essay on Trade, accuses the "new-fashioned bankers" of "being the main cause of keeping the interest of money at least 2 per cent higher than otherwise it would be, for by allowing their creditors (depositors) 6 per cent they make moneyed men sit down lazily with so high an interest and not push into commerce with their money, as they certainly would do were it at 4 or 3 per cent, as in Holland."

This criticism which was made against the infant English banks 239 years ago may aptly be applied to our banks to-day. The Comptroller of the Currency, in his report to Congress a year ago, criticized our banks on that score and prepared a bill which he submitted to Congress to prohibit any national bank from paying more than 4 per cent on deposits. But 4 per cent now is higher than 6 per cent was 239 years ago. Multitudes will avoid the anxieties of commerce when they can secure 4 per cent interest from the banks. Our bank deposits are increasing at such an alarming rate that it is a guess to come within a billion of the aggregate, which are now somewhere between twenty-five and thirty billion dollars. And bank "deposits are nothing but bank notes in disguise" says McLeod. Therefore, in speaking of our circulating medium, we should add our bank deposits, because they serve every purpose of gold. To be sure they are credit, but "money and credit are exactly on a par in their effect on prices," says Mill and other authoritative monetary writers. Our excessive bank deposits not only affect commerce directly, both in depriving it of capital to which it would otherwise have and causing it to pay an excessive rate for credit, but they give added facilities for speculation and overconsumption, which inevitably result in panics.

INFLATION DEFINED.

Any facility afforded for the purchase of permanent investments—stock, bonds, or real estate—will produce inflation, and any facility afforded the production or distribution of commerce will produce precisely the opposite effect. Prices are governed by the proportion existing between the available supply and the demand. Inflation is the advancing of the price of a commodity without producing a corresponding increase in its productivity. If I buy a piece of real estate, I remove it from the market and thereby cause an advance in the price of other real estate, and that is the effect whether I pay for it in cash or credit.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF INFLATION.

By using our Government bonds as a basis for bank-note circulation we inflated their price. Our 2 per cent bonds bore a premium, though a 1 per cent tax was imposed on that circulation. By this hocus-pocus the Government borrowed money of the public at 1 per cent interest and greatly increased the facilities for speculation by the public who used the currency. As another illustration I cite the inflation in the farm lands of Iowa, due to the cheap credit furnished principally by the savings banks of that State. Iowa's savings-bank deposits aggregate $246,172,395.04 to only $2,306,046.15 for those of Wisconsin.

The late Henry Wallace, the veteran Iowa farm journalist who was an authority on farm conditions in that State, wrote an article about a year ago calling attention to the inflation of the lands and claimed that the owners did not realize 3 per cent on their investment. He further claimed that those farms were fast getting in the hands of speculators who had them tilled by tenants, who, being interested only in immediate profit, robbed them of their fertility, in consequence their yield was growing less. If that bank credit had been used to aid those farmers in the purchase of fertilizers and live stock, and thus have increased their fertility and productivity, the effect would have been the very opposite of what it was by using such credit for their purchase—speculation. Some of the best Iowa farmers sold their high-priced lands in that State and went to Canada and other sections where lands were cheaper; in consequence Iowa was the only State of the Union which lost in population between 1900 and 1910. As still another illustration, I cite the inflation of real estate in our cities since the advent of the trust company 25 years ago. I have heard it stated upon good authority that none of the companies which built skyscrapers in the Wall Street section of New York City realize more than 2 per cent on their investment and most of them nothing. This is due to the easy facilities afforded in that city for loans on real estate.

UNSOUND BANKING.

Inflation works evil in many ways. It increases the cost of living and makes speculators of the masses who seek the short route to fortune. But inflation is by no means the most harmful result of our bad banking practices. The employment of bank credit for the purchase of permanent investments always has resulted, and always will result, in the breaking down of the whole credit system through violent panics which play havoc with everything. This was so clearly stated by Mr. George M. Reynolds, the able Chicago banker, before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee on the Federal reserve bill that I shall quote him. He said:

The man who borrows money on stock-exchange collaterals in New York and who wants to realize on them quickly, must depend on the ability of the borrower to reborrow that money immediately elsewhere upon the sale of the same. If the condition is so bad that the banks of New York City are unable to extend the accommodation, the result is that there is a very violent break in the values of securities, and we are in the midst of a panic.

The condition then described by Mr. Reynolds caused our panics of 1837, 1857, 1873, and 1907. It caused the failure of Monte de Piedad, the largest bank in Mexico, which, two weeks before its failure had a specie reserve of 50 per cent of its borrowed capital. The same practice caused the failure of every bank in Paris, France, in 1848, except the Bank of France. This produced such distress in Paris that the French Government had to furnish the capital for the organization of a bank to relieve it. Those Paris banks had their borrowed capital—deposits—loaned out on railroad bonds, permanent investments on which they could not realize the cash.

I have thus produced abundant authority to show what unsound banking is. That is, I have shown that to use a bank's borrowed capital for the purchase of permanent investments will not only lead to inflation but will also result in the breaking down of the credit system. I shall now proceed to show what sound and safe banking is.

SOUND AND SAFE BANKING.

Any bank which covers its borrowed capital with paper executed by solvent persons, given for the production or distribution of commerce, and made payable at short and fixed periods is absolutely safe and sound. This sound monetary law was announced in 1810 by the Bullion Committee, a committee of experts appointed by the British Parliament to report under what conditions the Bank of England could issue notes—currency. It reads:

There can be no possible excess in the issue of Bank of England paper * * * so long as the discount of mercantile bills (of exchange) is confined to paper of undoubted solidity, arising out of real commercial transactions and payable at short and fixed periods.

Civilized man's existence depends upon being fed, clothed, and sheltered, and he will spend money for such purposes, even though he be timid about making permanent investments. Commercial paper is the instrument by which civilized man is supplied with such necessities, and such paper is met with a promptness unknown in other affairs. Commercial paper given for the production or distribution of commerce is self-liquidating. The goods of which that paper is the representative have been sold, thus raising the cash with which the purchaser liquidates the debt. That is the case when it is between commercial traders, but not the case when a commercial dealer sells an article to the actual consumer.

AN APT ILLUSTRATION OF GOOD BANKING.

The best illustration of good banking I know of was contained in the colloquy between Mr. A. Barton Hepburn, a great New York banker, and an officer of the Credit Lyonnaise of France as narrated by Mr. Hepburn before the House Banking and Currency Committee on January 6, 1913. He said:

Some years ago I called upon the Credit Lyonnaise in Paris, one of the great banks of the world. The gentleman with whom I was in conversation passed over to me their last bank statement. I glanced over it and remarked:

"Well, you owe a great deal of money."

"What is that you say?"

"You owe a great deal of money."

"What do you mean?"

"Your deposits are about $350,000,000."

"Oh, yes; we owe depositors; but we could pay them easily if we had to."

"Could you? How long would it take you to pay them in case of necessity?"

"The element of time would not enter into the matter at all, except so far as it required time to perform the physical labor."

"But how; tell me just how you would do it?"

Almost thinking I was questioning the condition of his bank, he took the balance sheet and proceeded:

"Well, we have so much cash; let us deduct that."

"Yes."

"Then we have so much due from banks. We could value against that and deduct the same."

"Yes."

"We have so much exchange, acceptances, etc., which have an immediate market. We could realize upon and deduct that."

"Yes."

"Now, we have reduced our obligations in this manner to something less than $200,000,000, and we have very, very much more than that in commercial paper."

"Yes; but how are you going to pay debts in commercial paper?"

"Take it to the Bank of France and get currency for it."

"Could you do that?"

"Certainly."

"Is there any law which would compel the Bank of France to discount your commercial paper without limit?"

"Law—yes; the law of its being; that is what the bank was created for."

It will be observed that 42 per cent ($150,000,000) of that great French bank's borrowed capital was covered with cash and demand payable obligations immediately convertible into cash, while "very, very much more than" 58 per cent ($200,000,000) was covered with commercial paper. Bear in mind that commercial paper in France is a bill of exchange with at least two commercial traders responsible for its payment, as no other class can execute a bill of exchange in France. Bear in mind also that the Bank of France is controlled by the creators of those bills of exchange, who are prohibited from engaging in banking for profit or trading in permanent investments. Therefore it is unnecessary to have a parliamentary law to force them to find the gold to liquidate their own paper. It is just as much the "law of their being" to do that as it is for the mother to love and cherish her babe. Those controlling the Crédit Lyonnaise profited by the experience of 1848, for they realize that the deposit bank must be sound in and of itself and independently of the Bank of Commerce. What a pity we can never profit by experience!

SECOND PROPOSITION.

The worst curse of the banking business in this country is the use of banks as "feeders" to promoting enterprises. A bank charter is granted ostensibly to enable the stockholders to realize a banker's—not a promoter's—profit by the sale of credit. Such pernicious practice will continue to exist so long as banks are controlled by the traders and dealers in permanent investments. "It is the law of their being" to serve their business, but in doing so they produce inflation and cause the credit system to break down. The Texas State banking commissioner in his 1911 report called attention to the fact that in some sections of that State rival real estate agents were organizing banks for advertising purposes. That is a shameful condition, to be sure, but no more so than the condition which exists in some of our large cities where traders and dealers in permanent investments control the banks.

SOLUTION OF OUR VEXED CREDIT PROBLEM.

The only way to cure our credit evils is to adopt the method which cured such evils in other countries, namely, by the creation of a bank of commerce, with the power to establish branches, agencies, or auxiliaries in the several communities to teach the depositors sound banking by actual practice.

Those evils can not be cured by legislation, for Congress can not legislate for the State banks, neither can the States legislate for the national banks. Those evils were not cured by legislation in England and France, where one legislative body enjoyed a monopoly in legislating on this question.

This was clearly presented by Mr. W. D. Simmons, president of the Simmons Hardware Co., of St. Louis, in his final report to the National Chamber of Commerce, as the chairman of its banking and currency committee. He said:

We of the United States have been slow to follow the older, highly civilized nations in their recognition of the fundamental principles that the chief function of a commercial bank, like that of currency, is to serve the interests of commerce.

When we remember that currency is simply a device to facilitate exchange—that is, to make it more easy to do business—and that commercial banks are agencies to enable those who have surplus funds to lend them temporarily to others for business purposes, we recognize the propriety of prompt and intelligent action on the part of the business men, whenever it is proposed to devise a new system of banking and currency, because that is primarily a business proposition.

To insure due adherence to this principle the great European national banks are governed by business men rather than by bankers. For instance, a deposit banker may not, by custom, be elected a director of the Bank of England, the requirement being that a director of that institution must have his chief financial interests in commercial enterprises and but a limited investment in banking.

NATIONAL BANKING SYSTEM GROWING WEAKER BY EACH AMENDMENT.

The Federal reserve act weakened the national banking system by permitting the country banks to lend on farm lands, and the 1916 amendment—Senate bill 5078—weakened it still further by extending that privilege to city banks and on city real estate. This last amendment was drafted by the Federal Reserve Board, and the two committees recommended it as drafted by the board. Some members of that board and some members of those committees knew that it would weaken the national banking system to permit the banks to lend on real estate, and the only reason they asked it was to keep the national banking system from going to pieces. They claimed that the States were giving the trust companies and State banks such unlimited powers that Congress had to do something to prevent the national banking system from falling to pieces. Let me quote from the testimony of the Hon. Paul M. Warburg before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee on Senate bill 5078:

Mr. WARBURG. I think this question ought to be looked upon from the viewpoint of our member banks. I think we are in a very serious condition—that is, that the States are trying to do everything to make the State systems attractive as against the national systems, and they can beat us all along the line. We are desirous of keeping our member banks, and I am apprehensive that unless we liberalize conditions for national banks that our national-bank system will eventually come to an end. * * *

Senator HITCHCOCK. The competition of the State banks with the national-banking system is a very serious matter. One-tenth of the national banks in Nebraska have gone out of business since the Federal act passed.

Senator LEE of Maryland. What is the tendency all over the country?

Mr. WARBURG. The same all over.

* * * * * * *

Senator HOLLIS. I suppose it is your idea that one-year loans on city property at the expiration of the year would be allowed to run along indefinitely. That does not mean that they have got to be paid, but be due in one year.

Mr. WARBURG. That is right. The national banks came to us and said that the conditions were pretty unbearable for them. For instance, they have a personal note of some one secured by a mortgage on his house. They have been forced to close out those loans, and the State bank gets their customer. We want to protect the national banks so they can protect their position. On the other hand, we are not in favor of letting the national banks in the city do a regular mortgage business, but we thought a one-year mortgage would be a very good collateral in the general course of their business, and after a year, the note running, the borrower can renew it. But we do not want to suggest five years, since that is like an invitation to go into the mortgage business as such.

Senator LEE. How about two or three years? The ordinary loan is three years, I should say.

Mr. WARBURG. But I do not think these banks need to make long mortgage loans.

Senator LEE. Will the trust companies compete for one-year loans?

Mr. WARBURG. I think they will.

Senator LEE. The borrower will have to renew the commission every year and probably will have his title extended over the year, and these multitudinous expenses will be considerable.

Mr. WARBURG. It does not amount to anything.

Senator HOLLIS. They will be only due in one year.

Senator LEE. Then the bank examiner will come in and say, "You have an overdue mortgage."

Senator HOLLIS. No.

Mr. WARBURG. He can renew it from year to year.

It is difficult to conceive of a more dangerous banking policy than that outlined in the statements just quoted. It is true our States have gone the limit in "wild-cat" banking, and some bankers (?) are so fond of it that they organize a lobby to induce the Federal Reserve Board to use their influence on Congress. Instead of yielding, Congress should stand like adamant against the inflationists. We should have one sound legislative body in this country. That amendment will inevitably result in inflation, and as one-third of the time deposits of such banks may be so covered it will tend to the breaking down of our credit system again. Furthermore, those State institutions which have been violating monetary law in this regard will now have the testimony of members of the Federal Reserve Board to support their vagaries.

THIRD PROPOSITION.

We must have such great "acceptance houses" as exist in Great Britain for our own traders in foreign commerce. The origin and purpose of such houses are well set forth by Hartley Withers, in The Meaning of Money, page 160. He said:

It is easy to understand how a distinct class of accepting houses grew up out of the merchant importers who originally accepted bills in the course of their importing business; that is, accepted orders on themselves to pay for goods which were in process of being forwarded to them. The readiness with which the acceptances of the different merchants would be discounted and turned into cash would vary considerably with the difference in their reputations and standing, and the caution with which they were credited in the matter of conducting their business. And the varying readiness with which certain acceptances were discounted would inevitably express itself in varying rates at which their bills could be placed. It would thus naturally follow that it would profit merchants of second-rate standing to give a commission to those whose reputation was more exalted in order to secure a more attractive signature than their own, and so get back the commission and a little more by being able to finance their operations more cheaply than by means of their acceptances.

The merchants of first-rate credit would thus find that they could let out the use of their reputations on profitable terms and proceed to specialize in this branch of business, which consisted in examining the bill put before them for acceptance, keeping themselves well acquainted with the means and standing of the drawers of them, and

giving their acceptance for a commission to such people as fulfilled the requirements of their discrimination.

The Bank of England forbids those accepting houses from engaging in deposit baiting for two reasons, viz, economy and soundness. The acceptance house does most, or all, its business through correspondence and with responsible business men. Therefore it should maintain quarters where rents are low, whereas the deposit banker, inasmuch as he must gain the confidence of a much larger and less intelligent clientele, with whom he frequently comes in personal contact, must maintain an establishment where rents are high and equip it with expensive furniture and fixtures, not to mention other enormous expenditures which display great wealth. It is obvious, then, that if these two classes of credit institutions be combined, the capital required for their conduct would be greater than if separated, all of which must be borne by the commerce of the country.

If such a combination meant greater strength, then we might ignore the question of economy. But instead of giving strength to the credit system such a combination renders it far weaker. Without such houses the banks would be furnishing security for credit. In all other countries two responsible commercial houses are primarily liable for the payment of bills. Furthermore, the deposit banker is the greatest demand-payable debtor in the business world. The gist of his business is to convert time into demand obligations. An absolutely sound deposit bank may be destroyed by the circulation of a false rumor, and, if it had time acceptances in the open market, that might tend to produce a most disastrous panic. On the other hand, it would be well-nigh impossible to destroy a sound acceptance house which had done a safe business by the circulation of a false rumor, because it has no demand obligations and would have time in which to convince its most important customer (the Bank of Commerce) that there was no foundation for such rumor. On this point I shall again quote from The Meaning of Money, page 164. It reads:

It is also very essential that the banks should remember that the least irregularity or carelessness on their part in the selection of the paper that they hall-mark with their acceptance might have very far-reaching effects if it came to light and were the subject of city comment, because the general body of their customers and depositors would be extremely likely to misunderstand it, and that what would be a mere indiscretion in an acceptance house, which does not depend for its existence on the confidence of the uninstructed multitude, might mean disaster to a bank, which does.

To illustrate a foreign-exchange transaction between two first-rate commercial houses I direct attention to the statement of Senator CARROLL S. PAGE at the hearings on Senate bill 5078, to amend the Federal reserve act, on May 16, 1916. Senator PAGE is probably one of the largest green calfskin dealers in the world, has ample capital, and enjoys an extensive foreign trade; and "Cornelius," the foreign purchaser with whom he relates the transaction in question, is one of the most important tanners in that line in Europe. The Hon. Paul M. Warburg, vice governor of the Federal Reserve Board, was on the witness stand explaining the amendment and telling about the manner in which foreign exchanges were conducted, when Senator PAGE interrupted him. Senator PAGE said:

Allow me to explain that, because I send hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of goods. All I have to do is to send the goods to New York to be put on board the vessel, and the document, and go to my banker in New York, and that is all sold on the market as foreign exchange, and I get my cash according to the value of the exchange. So far as the American is concerned, the business is done in New York, done with you (meaning Mr. Warburg's former banking firm). You buy my draft on Cornelius ———, a great man in European trade, and I have no trouble in getting the cash. Of course, if I did not have some personal responsibility I might have to get the European bank to give me a substantial letter of credit, saying he would accept or pay. I have not had any trouble.

On the other hand, if you go to Europe to buy hides, this does come through, and they not only furnish the money, but they give the tanner five, six, or seven months' credit, and they get their money for the hides.

Here we have narrated a sound foreign-exchange transaction between two commercial houses of the first rate. The New York bank gave Senator PAGE credit for his bill before it was accepted by "Cornelius," and it was perfectly safe in doing so, as Senator PAGE's name as drawer was a guaranty that "Cornelius" would accept the bill, and the New York bank held the document—the shipping and insurance papers—which carried the title to the goods. So the New York bank sent the bill and document to its European correspondent who, in turn, presented the bill to "Cornelius" and upon his acceptance of the bill the document was released, thus enabling "Cornelius" to obtain the goods he had purchased from Senator PAGE.

Suppose "Cornelius" had been of second-rate standing. Then Senator PAGE would not have guaranteed his credit for five, six, or seven months. In that case he would have paid an acceptance house to guarantee the payment of his bill. In a conversation with the writer about his testimony before that committee and his dealings with "Cornelius" Senator PAGE narrated another transaction which occurred in that establishment in which "Cornelius" spoke to the Senator about an order he had received from an American shoe manufacturer and inquired as to his standing. Being told that his standing was good, "Cornelius" asked what the Senator would charge to accept his bill. The Senator replied that he would let him know the next day. In the meantime Senator PAGE verified his former good opinion of the American manufacturer, returned to "Cornelius's" office, and accepted the bill.

The commission paid Senator PAGE on the last-mentioned transaction partially compensated him for the expense incurred in maintaining the credit department of his own establishment. It was through his own credit machinery and his personal dealings with that American manufacturer that gave Senator PAGE the credit information which induced him to assume that obligation. By that act Senator PAGE benefited both "Cornelius" and the American manufacturer by furnishing the second commercial name to that piece of foreign exchange. We have some of the strongest commercial houses in the world engaged in foreign commerce who would naturally fall into this business of accepting bills for our small but perfectly sound and conservative houses in foreign trade if they had the cooperation of a bank of commerce which would aid them in securing reliable credit information and thus prevent them from being swindled, as they surely would under our present credit system.

HOW COMMERCE IS BENEFITED BY AN EFFECTIVE OPEN DISCOUNT MARKET.

The open market is the safest and most economic means of financing commerce, and it can be effected only by the cooperation of the commercial men through a bank of commerce. We might just as well expect the fresh-vegetable merchants of a city to maintain an effective open market for vegetables as to expect the banks to maintain an effective open market for commercial paper. One must be maintained by the truckers of the community who grow vegetables and the other by the commercial men who create such paper.

The very merchants who control the Bank of England do not patronize it for discounts, as a rule, though they could do so exclusively. Instead they patronize the open market and the banks which sell credit for a profit, as the Bank of England discount rate is frequently 100 per cent in excess of the open-market rate. Some time ago I compiled the open-market and Bank of England discount rates for short-time bills for the last Thursday in each month of 1910, which is as follows:

Date.	Open market rate.	Bank rate.
	Per cent.	*Per cent.*
Jan. 21	2½	3½
Feb. 23	1½	3
Mar. 22	3, 3½	4
Apr. 21	3½, 4	4
May 23	4, 4½	4
June 21	2½, 3	3
July 23	1½	3
Aug. 22	1½, 2	3
Sept. 22	1½	3
Oct. 24	4½	5
Nov. 21	5½	5
Dec. 20	3	4½

It will be observed that on 4 of those 12 days the Bank of England's rate was 100 per cent in excess of the open-market rate. The main purpose of the Bank of England is to make the London open-discount market effective, for without it good credit would be too dear and bad credit too cheap. An effective open-discount market not only cures many banking evils, but it economizes banking capital. For instance, in 1913, the total paid capital and surplus of the 46 banks of England and Wales, with their numerous branches, were less than $400,000,000, or not quite double the total capital and surplus of the Texas banks and trust companies, yet 50 times more commerce was financed through the British credit machinery than through that of Texas. By far the greater portion of the world's foreign commerce is financed through the English credit machinery; even Germany had to depend largely on it. But that commerce was not financed through the English banks, but principally in the open market of London.

ACTIVITY OF FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD FOR "DOLLAR EXCHANGE."

In its activity for "dollar exchange" and in order to divert the foreign exchange business from London to New York, the Federal Reserve Board has completely reversed its position taken on domestic exchange. The very greatest activity of the board during the past few months has been exerted in inducing our commercial men to guarantee the credit of their customers

and thus substitute the bill of exchange for the promissory note. But the board has done nothing to prevent our commercial interests from being swindled by the banks as they were when we had a commercial credit system. On the other hand, in the matter of foreign exchange and credit, the board has taken just the opposite position, by enlarging the power of the foreign branches of our national banks to make time acceptances. Not a word has come from the board about supplying the second commercial name to that foreign exchange and credit business. The bill of exchange, domestic and foreign, is strictly a commercial instrument. It was invented and developed by commercial men centuries before the advent of banks, and so long as it was used for real commercial transactions and by solvent commercial men, no harm resulted to the credit system. Time acceptances should never be made by banks, except in real commercial transactions, and then only sparingly for customers who put up ample collateral security; and they should never be placed in the open market, but carried by the bank making them until maturity. If anyone doubts this proposition, I refer him to the declaration of Sir Felix Schuster, governor of one of the great London banks and the foremost banker in the world, to the monetary commission.

HAVOC WROUGHT BY TIME ACCEPTANCES OF BANKS.

Are we never to learn anything from experience? Every student of American credit institutions knows it was the time acceptances of the banks which principally effected the panic of 1857, and that was the reason the original national banking act prohibited those newly created banks from doing that business. It was the use of time acceptances by the banks for purely speculative purposes that caused that trouble. If that be ancient history let us refer to some recent foreign exchange transactions. Take the coffee valorization scheme which almost ruined Brazil and the $80,000,000 "short-time notes" of New York City which were placed in the London credit stream in 1913. The London Bankers' Magazine for October, 1913, said that the interest rate for the 10 months previous was higher than it had been in 40 years—since our panic of 1873—and the discount rate in the open market for bills of exchange was lower than it had been for years. Commerce was quiet and the London banks were loaded down with idle gold seeking sound commercial paper as an investment.

The bait was too tempting for our banks (the very banks which are to enter the foreign exchange business with bridles off to establish "dollar exchange"), so they invented a new credit instrument, the "short-time note," as an exchequer bill. New York City was making vast additions to her subway system involving hundreds of millions of capital. The interest for capital in New York was very high, and instead of going into the market and paying the market price for capital the officials of that city were eager for any proposition which would supply them with cash. So they issued "short-time notes," which were sold to our banks, and they in turn sold them in London, under the pretense that they represented taxes assessed but uncollected, or chequer bills. They matured just at the outbreak of the great war. Of course New York City had no money with which to pay them. Its officials intended to renew them from year to year or sell bonds and raise the cash to take them up. But at that time the bond market was higher than it was when those "notes" were issued. London set up a cry for the gold those "notes" promised to pay, and our failure to meet our indebtedness to London caused exchange on London to jump to the unprecedented mark of $7. To relieve the situation our banks formed a pool to raise the gold for the payment of that debt, and the Bank of England required our banks to deposit that gold at Ottawa in the treasury of the Canadian Government, because they could not trust our banks. Could they be blamed for distrusting banks which had engaged in such a shady transaction as that? They did not know when our banks would suspend specie payment.

"Dollar exchange!" "Divert the foreign credit business from London to New York!" High sounding phrases, to be sure, and as a loyal American citizen I would like to see it accomplished; but that will never come about until we establish as sound and honest a credit machine as England possesses. It will never come about through the recent amendments to the Federal reserve act. Let me again direct attention to Senate bill 5078. That amendment gives almost unlimited powers to the foreign branches to be established by our national banks. It is interesting to know, however, that one member of the board, the Comptroller of the Currency, had his protest entered of record. Among other things, he said:

I think it would be most unwise to permit our national banks to take stock in general exploitation companies or in companies organized on the general "department-store" plan in foreign countries. It would obviously be unwise to permit them to go into such schemes at home, and I consider it would be still more hazardous and indiscreet to give them such control of corporations designed to do a multifarious business in distant lands.

That amendment gives the foreign branches of our national banks the power to build and superintend warehouses, as well as to furnish security for credit. All that is the province of the English "acceptance house." If we put our foreign branch banks in that business, then they will prohibit any of our commercial traders from doing the same thing in foreign countries, by telling them if they do that that they (the banks) will refuse to give them banking facilities. By the use of the "big stick" in that manner those foreign branch banks will dominate our foreign commerce, and in time they will destroy our foreign credit by engaging in speculation.

FOURTH PROPOSITION.

Before presenting this proposition I shall state the declarations of Sir Felix Schuster to the monetary commission. He declared, in substance:

1. That the only material privilege enjoyed by the Bank of England not enjoyed by any other bank in London was the insight (advance information) acquired by it into trade conditions, by reason of the fact that the other banks of the United Kingdom carried their balances with it; and that the Bank of England could tell from the accumulation or shrinkage of such balances as to trade conditions; that such insight was power.

2. That the Bank of England stood ready to find the gold to liquidate every sound commercial transaction in the United Kingdom, though Parliament had never imposed such duty on the bank, nor had it ever expressly assumed it, yet it had never failed to live up to that moral obligation running into billions.

3. That it frequently occurred that the Bank of England's discount rate was 100 per cent above the open-market rate, and under such a condition the Bank of England had no influence whatever. What it must do under such a condition is to make its discount rate effective, which is done by the Bank of England sending brokers into the open market to buy up the floating supplies by paying more than other people would; that that must be done secretly—that is, such brokers not divulging the name of their customers—that it was done openly but once. When the Bank of England is in commaad of the money market its own rate becomes effective, and by advancing its rate it prevents an outflow of gold and causes an influx of that commodity into London.

4. That his own bank had never discounted a piece of paper at the Bank of England, though at the time he made the declaration his bank had a deposit balance of $17,000,000 with the Bank of England which bore no interest.

5. That those in control of the Bank of England kept aloof from the London bankers; that they were not members of the London clearing house and never attended any of the periodical meetings of London bankers.

"INSIGHT" IMPARTED TO BANK OF ENGLAND.

An insight or advance information into trade conditions is power, and if acquired by one possessing both the inclination and facilities to utilize it, it will result in good or evil. In the very nature of things some must acquire information in advance of others as it is impossible to impart information to all simultaneously. Such information would be worth nothing to the pauper who has no funds to employ; neither to the farmer who is far removed from the channels of trade.

But there is one class who by using such insight to protect and serve his own interests would at the same time serve the public interest. While there is another class who by using it to serve his own interest would do so at the public expense and at the same time bring disaster to himself. Clearly, then, the former class should be put into possession of such insight while it should be denied to the other class.

The former class comprise the great producers and distributors of commerce, who become the creators and guarantors of the paper representing the temporary investments of the country and who are excluded from engaging in trading in permanent investments or assuming demand-payable obligations—deposit banking. The other class are the traders in permanent investments who have the facilities of speculation by becoming the custodians of the surplus funds of the community.

ALOOFNESS OF BANK OF ENGLAND OFFICIALS.

The Bank of England exercises every precaution to prevent objectionable persons from its control. They have no business conferences or conventions with bankers, bill brokers, bill discounters, or dealers in stocks and bonds. Such business men would care nothing for a conference to discuss weather conditions, but they would court it to discuss trade conditions. But if

the Bank of England met such antagonistic interests in such conferences and freely discussed trade conditions, then they would know as much about trade conditions as the Bank of England, and those antagonistic interests would use it for private gain before the Bank of England could use it for the public good.

The Bank of England's insight into trade conditions is not always a mathematical certainty. It frequently amounts to no more than a "hunch." They must put two and two together and make five. In order to make it an effective instrument, they must act secretly and quickly. Therefore, to have business conferences with the men who command the greatest supplies of gold—the bankers—would be suicidal, for they would not sell gold to the Bank of England's brokers when they would know that if it was not in the market for gold it should be.

ENORMOUS OBLIGATIONS RESTING ON BANK OF ENGLAND.

The Bank of England's legal obligations, like all deposit banks, are its deposits; but they are infinitesimal in amount compared to its moral obligations, which aggregate during normal times to the stupendous sum of $10,000,000,000. It staggers the imagination to think of it, and it has never failed to find the gold to liquidate those moral obligations.

RAISON D'ÊTRE OF BANK OF ENGLAND'S STRENGTH.

The uninformed labor under the false impression that the financial strength of the Bank of England rests altogether on public confidence in its excellent management. To a degree that is true, but the principal reason for its strength rests upon the superior system under which it operates—the superiority of banking with bills versus deposits. Under the deposit system the word "guaranty" is overworked, for all know that an express guaranty is worthless unless the guarantor has the ability to execute it.

The Bank of England's moral obligation rests on the soundest of principles, on the flexibility of its discount rate. Such rate may be 5 per cent or it may be 99 per cent. It has never passed 10 per cent. Those high rates deter the holders of those moral obligations (the British bills of exchange) from presenting them to the Bank of England for gold.

Under the deposit system the strength of a bank does not merely rest on the confidence of any particular depositor in the management, but also upon the confidence of each depositor that all the depositors entertain the same degree of confidence. That is to say, it is the constant fear of a run by depositors that destroys confidence among all, whereas if one has confidence in the management of the Bank of England he can sit in the boat with perfect contentment, for that is the only thing which could cause its failure.

WHY THE FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM CAN NOT CORRECT EXISTING EVILS.

At the present time every important bank in the United States keeps an exchange balance in some one of the New York City banks, and an insight into trade conditions may be acquired as effectually through an exchange balance as through a reserve balance. It is the fact and not the name of the balance which imparts the insight.

The Federal Reserve Board has no means of acquiring an insight into trade conditions. All its information is stale news when it reaches that body, as it is all acquired second hand. The board has two sources of information, namely, the Federal reserve banks and the office of the Comptroller of the Currency. The information received from the reserve banks is by districts, while that from the Comptroller of the Currency is Nation-wide. But it is days and weeks after the actual transactions are had before the board receives it, by which time business conditions may have undergone a complete change. On the other hand, the New York City banks receive that information fresh. To them it is an insight—advance information.

The clearings of the New York City banks are increasing at a far greater ratio than those of all the other clearing-house cities combined since the establishment of the Federal Reserve System. For instance, in 1916 the clearings of the New York City banks were $147,180,709,000, or 65 per cent of the whole, whereas in 1912 they were $96,672,301,000, or only 57 per cent of the whole; and as the foreign exchange business of the New York City banks increases such ratio will increase more rapidly.

That vast volume of clearings gives the New York City banks an insight into the trade conditions of the whole country as nothing else does. Now, add to that advance information the constant stream of deposits from the banks throughout the country and we have ideal conditions for speculation. They know precisely when to sell the market short and when to buy it long. Speculation was as wild in New York City in 1916 as it ever was in the history of the country.

All the banks of the United Kingdom voluntarily make the Bank of England (the British Bank of Commerce) their exchange and reserve agent, and we should experience little difficulty in convincing one bank in each community to make our Bank of Commerce its exchange agent in that metropolis, and thus place our commercial interests on an equality with the speculative interests of that city. Show our country banks that this means their own salvation, as well as the salvation of the whole country, and they, too, will voluntarily make it their exchange agent.

FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM CAN NOT CURE EXISTING EVILS.

The Federal Reserve Board is powerless to remedy existing evils, for the injury is done before that body has the information on which the New York banks act; even if that body possessed the insight of the New York banks, still it would be powerless, as it has no funds at its command. So it has to content itself with writing protests to the banks and appealing to Congress for more power. But more than 75 per cent of the banks of the country are beyond the pale of congressional legislation.

The Federal reserve system will fail because it is fundamentally wrong and not for lack of congressional activity. That system has been in operation less than three years. The original act comprised 23 printed pages, and up to September 7, 1916, numerous amendments were made to it by Congress comprising 9 pages, and a 29-page bill prepared by the chairman of one of the banking and currency committees is now before Congress for its action. Contrast that congressional activity with the French record on the same subject. The governor of the Bank of France testified before the Monetary Commission in 1909 that with the single exception of the amendment of the Bank of France's charter in 1897 there had not been one scintilla of legislation by the French Parliament affecting the Bank of France since 1857, and there was no public sentiment in France for any change. The governor and directors of the Bank of England voiced the same sentiment to the commission. Bear in mind that during that long period of French legislative inactivity the French Government changed from a monarchy to a republic, and they experienced a most devastating war.

Why such a contrast in the legislative activities in the two countries on the same subject? The answer is simple. France legislated scientifically at the start by giving free scope to natural law; that is, by creating a bank of commerce which is selfishly interested in serving commerce, and as a natural consequence they have taught the French people what sound banking is; whereas we have legislated at haphazard and without regard for science and directly in the interests of the banks and speculators.

Our legislation tends to teach the public that a bank can create money, while the Bank of France teaches the French people that a bank can only exchange credits; that is, convert time credits into demand-payable credits. There is no separate bank incorporation law in France, and most any set of French citizens may obtain a bank charter by going to the general incorporation act. But the obtaining of a bank charter is one thing and gaining public confidence for it so as to procure the borrowed capital (deposits) is quite a different thing. The French Government will not spend a franc to inspect that bank, such special privilege being unknown in that country; yet their banks are better inspected than our paternalistically inspected ones. In selecting a depositary the French people have learned to think for themselves and without relying on the Government. But the people of France have the splendid example of sound and safe banking set them by the Bank of France.

The Spirit of the Fathers of the Republic.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS G. PATTEN,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 2, 1917.

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, just after the announcement of the vote on the resolution reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations I received on the floor of the House the following letter. I regret that it was not delivered in time to have it read into the debate. It is an expression of a lofty conviction and breathes out the spirit of the fathers of the Republic. It merits preservation in the records of the House of Representatives.

The letter is as follows:

1215 MADISON AVENUE,
New York City, February 28, 1917.

The Hon. THOMAS G. PATTEN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I was born in this city, in Houston Street, when it was a residential part, and am an old man naturally peace loving and averse to strife. I have never before in the course of my life felt it necessary to write to my Representative in Congress because, in the main, I have been a firm believer in the wisdom of our forefathers, who, by our Constitution, established the representative form of government both as to the executive and legislature. I therefore have considered that my Representative has stood for me to act without coercion upon his own judgment and upon his conscience in the discharge of his duties as a Member of the House in accordance with his solemn oath.

I am now moved to write you in earnest protest against the false, mischievous, and misleading propaganda presented in an advertisement which was freely published in last night's newspapers. Before dealing with the advertisement in detail, may I venture to press on your attention one or two important facts which should serve in some sort to guide the legislative action of our Congress in respect of the very grave conditions that confront us as a nation. Our President was reelected for a second term on the 7th of November last. Prior to that time, shortly after the sinking of the *Lusitania*, Mr. Wilson had solemnly protested to Berlin against the flagrant violation of our rights under international law, and the inhuman sacrifice of lives, especially of women and children noncombatants, as a consequence of sinking vessels without warning and without providing for the safety of the noncombatants. Not long after that protest, under the initiative of the President, the McLemore resolution was voted down in Congress by a heavy majority, amounting to substantial unanimity. Finally, after the savage and inhuman sinking, without warning or care for the lives of noncombatants of the passenger steamer *Sussex*, our President again solemnly protested to Berlin and repeated his warning that such violation of our rights could not be and would not be tolerated.

Among the hundreds, perhaps thousands, of opinions I have heard our citizens express on the course pursued by Mr. Wilson and the Congress I have never heard one opinion that it was too firm or too insistent upon our rights under international law, or that it went too far in declaring in the name of humanity that the lives of noncombatants and of women and children should not be ruthlessly sacrificed. So far as I am aware, the only opinion of that kind has been expressed solely in the columns of newspapers which are printed in a foreign tongue.

These various acts by our President and by our Congress resulted in the establishment and pursuit of a perfectly definite national policy, and Mr. Wilson came before the people for reelection with that policy in his hand. His very opponents found no fault with his policy as a policy, but their contention was that it was confined to words and not supported by deeds.

Mr. Wilson was reelected, and that reelection was an emphatic approval of his general course and of the policy in respect of submarine outrages and savagery that he had solemnly declared he would enforce, if the matter were pressed to an issue by Berlin. It comes about from these circumstances that in the stand he is now making to maintain our maritime rights against submarine lawlessness he has a united people at his back.

Of that there can be no mistake, despite the few neurotic cranks and busybodies whose restless egotism prompts them to confuse judgment and darken counsel.

The advertisement, which speaks for a nameless committee, begins with a perfectly familiar statement usually credited to Gen. Sherman, that "War is hell," but this committee forgets to mention that Sherman and Grant and Sheridan and Thomas and our martyred Lincoln, though they well knew that war was hell, sternly fought through a four years' war because there are worse hells than war, which the human spirit refuses, always has refused, and, thank God, always will refuse, to endure. The hell of the triumph of wrong over right, of force over law, of tyranny over freedom. The whole movement by this committee is an attempt to unduly influence, by machine organization working on the minds of the ignorant, the excitable, and the unreflecting, the free judgment and individual responsibility of our Representative in Congress, and as such deserves to be denounced and shunned by honest men.

It urges us "to help save civilization from destruction," but forgets to warn us that there is no surer way to enfeeble and debase our civilization than by worshiping our material ease and comfort and by a cowardly shirking of the stern obligations of duty toward our country and toward our fellow citizens in the pursuit of their lawful occupations.

I earnestly entreat you, as my Representative in Congress, to wholeheartedly hold up the hands of our President, and if in manfully resisting the unbearable aggressions of Berlin we are finally forced into war, for myself, in common with every loyal American citizen, I unreservedly pledge to my country my fortune and my life.

Faithfully, yours,

F. L. WARRIN.

The District Prohibition Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY,

OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 1, 1917.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. Speaker, during the last few weeks, during the agitation over prohibition for the District of Columbia, statements have been made through the press and elsewhere calling in question the statements of various friends of this legislation in the District concerning the number of negative votes cast on a certain resolution offered and adopted at a referendum meeting held at Poli's Theater on Sunday, January 7, 1917.

In order that the RECORD may show the facts concerning this meeting, and in support of statements that there were numerous votes against the resolution mentioned above, and in order that justice may be done to those who have at any time or place since said meeting stated that there were numerous votes cast against the resolution indorsing the proposed referendum, I submit a number of affidavits from people here in the District, which are as follows:

IN RE UNDERWOOD AMENDMENT TO SHEPPARD PROHIBITION BILL.

John L. Knopp, being first duly sworn, deposes and says that he is a citizen of the United States and has resided in the District of Columbia for more than 20 years last past; that he is engaged in building operations; that he was unable to gain admission to the National Theater on the afternoon of January 7, 1917, and that thereupon he went to Poli's Theater, heard the address of Senator UNDERWOOD, and was present when the vote was taken upon the resolutions offered in favor of the Underwood amendment to the Sheppard bill for prohibition in the District of Columbia; that affiant voted "no," as did many others within the hearing of affiant; that there was quite a chorus of "noes" scattered over the theater, but most of the negative votes were in the rear part of the theater; that he does not know how many negative votes there were on that occasion, but affiant is of the opinion that there were at least 100 such votes, and perhaps many more.

JOHN L. KNOPP.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 24th day of January, 1917.

WILFORD H. DUNN,
Notary Public, District of Columbia.

A true copy.
Test:

WILFORD H. DUNN,
Notary Public, District of Columbia.

—

I, Claire Luro Lusby, upon oath say that I reside at No. 1406 M Street NW., in the city of Washington; that on Sunday afternoon, January 7, 1917, I attended the referendum meeting in Poli's Theater, and was present with my mother when action was taken on resolutions that were presented in favor of a referendum vote on prohibition for the District; that both my mother and myself voted in a loud voice against the resolutions; and that I heard a chorus of "noes" all about me on the first floor where we were.

CLAIRE LURO LUSBY.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 31st day of January. A. D. 1917.

[SEAL.] S. A. GENTRY,
Notary Public, District of Columbia.

My commission expires October 25, 1920.

—

Benjamin F. Larrick, M. D., being first duly sworn, deposes and says that he is a citizen of the United States, resides at 815 New Jersey Avenue NW., Washington, D. C.; that on the afternoon of Sunday, January 7, 1917, affiant attended the meeting at Poli's Theater, and sat in about the sixth or seventh row from the front, on the first floor; that he voted against the resolutions presented at that meeting in favor of the Underwood amendment to the Sheppard prohibition bill; that affiant heard a sprinkling of "noes" against the resolution scattered over the theater at the time the vote was taken.

BENJAMIN F. LARRICK.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 29th day of January, 1917.

[SEAL.] PAULINE M. WITHERS,
Notary Public, District of Columbia.

A true copy.
Test:

WILFORD H. DUNN,
Notary Public, District of Columbia.

—

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, TO WIT:

On this 12th day of January, 1917, before me, the subscriber, a notary public in and for the District aforesaid, personally appeared Harry M. Martin, a business man of the District of Columbia, and made oath in due form of law that at a meeting held in Washington City at the Poli Theater on the evening of January 7, 1917, at which Senator UNDERWOOD made an address urging his referendum amendment to the Sheppard bill, the Sheppard bill having for its purpose the abolition of the saloon, the open bar, thus relieving the National Capital from the curse of liquor, with which our beautiful city has been afflicted for a number of years, resolutions indorsing the Underwood amendment were introduced, and an aye-and-nay vote was called for. The affirmative vote was very strong, and the negative, approximately some 150 scattered over the theater, protested by answering "No." I was one of the number; and some stranger by my side also voted "No." Some rude people shouted, "put him out!" and other unpleasant remarks, though we were in a referendum meeting. A great number of the whisky men of our city were present, as well as some of the antisaloon men, who could not get in any one of the meetings held in our city protesting against the referendum amendment

HARRY M. MARTIN.

Subscribed and sworn to before me in the District aforesaid by Harry M. Martin this 12th day of January, 1917.

[SEAL.] HENRY W. SAMSON,
Notary Public, District of Columbia.

A true copy.
Test:

WILFORD H. DUNN,
Notary Public, District of Columbia.

—

Joseph F. Bixler, being first duly sworn, deposes and says that he is a citizen of the United States and has resided in the District of Columbia for more than 23 years; that he was present at Poli's Theater on the afternoon of Sunday, January 7, 1917, when the vote was taken upon the resolutions in support of the Underwood

amendment to the Sheppard prohibition bill; that affiant voted "No"; that there was a surprisingly strong chorus of negative votes against the adoption of the aforesaid resolutions; that in his opinion there were from 50 to 75 negative votes in the immediate section in which he was located—the rear of the first floor; that he was astonished at the number opposing the resolution aforementioned.

JOSEPH F. BIXLER.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 24th day of January, 1917.

[SEAL.] WILFORD H. DUNN,
Notary Public, District of Columbia.

A true copy.
Test:

WILFORD H. DUNN,
Notary Public, District of Columbia.

Helen Bowen Hall, being first duly sworn, deposes and says that she is a citizen of the District of Columbia and resides at No. 86 V Street NW., Washington, D. C.; that she was present with Mrs. Ray Newby, of 39 Bryant Street NW., at Poli's Theater Sunday afternoon, January 7, and there heard Senator UNDERWOOD speak in favor of a referendum on the question of prohibition for the district; that she was present when a vote was taken on certain resolutions favorable to a referendum vote, and that affiant voted against said resolutions, as did Mrs. Newby, who sat beside her, both voting in a loud voice; affiant further says that she heard many others all over the theater vote against same resolutions; affiant was seated in the upper gallery, where there were many vacant seats.

HELEN BOWEN HALL.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 3d day of February, 1917.

[SEAL.] WILLIAM HOLLOWAY,
Notary Public, District of Columbia.

Revenue for National Defense and National Emergency.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. MORIN,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 1, 1917.

Mr. MORIN. Mr. Speaker, we are truly living in times when no man can tell what the hour may bring forth. We are hearing on every side the cry for "Preparedness," but many do not stop to consider just what this may entail. If we as a Nation wish to be adequately prepared we also must make plans by which the money to meet the needs can be provided. For this purpose I have introduced a bill which will provide for the issuing of $1,000,000,000 in bonds. This bond issue will take care of any increase of Army or Navy that may be contemplated. Knowing that the future will be able to participate in the work that is now being done, it is only just and right that they should share part of the burden, and by this bond issue they would be doing so.

Another purpose of this bill is to avoid the probable necessity of a special session of Congress by providing the President with sufficient revenue to prepare for any national emergency that may arise after the adjournment of the Sixty-fourth Congress and before the reconvening of the Sixty-fifth.

This bond issue of $1,000,000,000, under the plan here presented, is to be payable in not less than 10 years nor more than 30 years.

This money can be used for the building of a Navy and the increase and equipment of the Army and operations of every kind which will protect the rights and the property of the people of the United States.

It is my opinion that a bond issue is the sane and sensible method of providing for the safety of our country and the means of being prepared, which will not bear hardly upon the industry, commerce, and manufactures of our country, as does the present methods of the revenue bill in taxing the profits of manufacturers, which bill recently passed the House and is now before the Senate for action. Such a method taxes everything under and over the earth which will yield more or less revenue to be used for the payment of the expenses of our Government and does not relieve the people from the inconvenient and objectionable features of placing stamps on all kinds of instruments, papers, checks, and documents. This bond issue will release awakening business and the industrious life of the Nation from these unsatisfactory, and, in many cases, discriminatory methods.

My plan will distribute the expenses of preparedness to preserve peace for at least 25 or 30 years and not burden the people for the immediate consequences of a policy which is intended and will protect the future of our country. As these war preparations are intended to benefit our people in the future it is only fair and just that those who come after us should pay their reasonable share for the protection which we have provided for them.

It appears to me plain that the preparedness which we are providing for is not for our immediate protection and safety alone, but is for the protection and safety of our future in the United States. It follows that those who are protected should pay their share for such protection, and therefore this bond issue provides that they shall contribute for their own safety. Many argue, even in the face of our present perplexing problems, that there is no reasonable belief that the United States should be precipitated into a war with any foreign nation. But it could have been just as sincerely believed and dogmatically uttered before now of all the civilized and Christian nations of Europe engaged in the terrible and fratricidal war of to-day that it was impossible for such a calamity to arise; yet we have the fact before us that there is now going on in Europe a war unparalleled in its scope, purpose, slaughter, and desolation.

We are fearing even now that this military frenzy may spread to our beloved country and cause us to be embroiled with or without cause with some of the nations of the earth. God forbid that such should be the case. But history, experience, and reason teaches that "in times of peace prepare for war," and we are always in danger of the savage and violent parts of our nature asserting themselves and blasting our hopes and expectations of that glorious time when "They shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

Resolutions Adopted by the Legislature of the State of California.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. RAKER,
OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 2, 1917.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include two resolutions adopted by the Legislature of the State of California.

The resolutions are as follows:

SACRAMENTO, CAL., *March 1, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN E. RAKER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The Legislature of the State of California this day adopted the following:

"Senate joint resolution 1 (introduced by Senator Ingram), relative to the work of the California Débris Commission.

"Whereas there is now pending in the Congress of the United States H. R. 351, by JOHN E. RAKER, making an appropriation of $200,000 for defraying the expenses of the California Débris Commission in carrying on the work authorized by an act of Congress of March 1, 1893; and

"Whereas the prosecution of said work will greatly augment the wealth, productiveness, taxable property, and income both of the State of California and of the United States: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California jointly, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress be, and they are hereby, urged and requested to take all proper means to expedite and secure the passage and enactment into law of the said H. R. 351; and be it further

"Resolved, That the secretary of the senate be, and he is hereby, directed to transmit copies of these resolutions forthwith to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress."

CLIFTON E. BROOKS,
Secretary of the Senate.

SACRAMENTO, CAL., *March 2, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN E. RAKER,
Washington, D. C.:

In compliance with the provisions of assembly joint resolution 6, by Mr. Dan E. Williams, adopted finally in the senate yesterday, herewith find a copy thereof:

"Whereas the Hon. JOHN E. RAKER, on the 5th day of July, 1916, did introduce a measure for the building of national-defense highways and post roads for the general good of the State of California over the El Camino Sierra: Therefore be it

"Resolved by the assembly and senate jointly, That our Senators in Congress be instructed and our Representatives requested to use all reasonable means to secure the passage of said measure establishing a military national-defense highway and post road for the general good that will be accomplished."

Owing to the fact that Members of Congress are no doubt returning to their homes, would deem it a great favor if you will arrange to have the above resolution conveyed to the Congressmen and Senators from California.

B. O. BOOTHBY,
Chief Clerk of Assembly.

Protect American Lives and American Rights.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. CHARLES LINTHICUM,

OF MARYLAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 1, 1917.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I wish to insert a resolution passed by the Board of Trade of Baltimore, February 26, 1917, and also a telegram, signed by a number of Baltimore's most prominent citizens, urging Congress to act in unity with the President to protect American lives and American rights.

The matter referred to is as follows:

Resolved, That the Board of Trade of Baltimore, composed of 19 leading organizations of this city, pledges to the President of the United States its whole-hearted support in whatever measures may be necessary to guarantee and preserve the long-established principles of American freedom, both on land and on sea; and

Resolved further, That this board stands unequivocally devoted to a policy of peace, but only upon condition that peace can be maintained without the sacrifice of national honor or American principles.

BALTIMORE, MD., *March 1, 1917.*

Hon. J. C. LINTHICUM,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

We, the undersigned, earnestly hope that the Congress will immediately act in unity with the President to protect American lives and American rights.

Dr. William H. Welch, Edgar R. Dawson, John R. Bland, Rev. Arthur B. Kinsolving, Dr. J. M. T. Finney, Harold Randolph, Dr. William S. Thayer, Dr. Henry M. Hurd, Joseph Packard, W. S. Marston, William L. Marbury, John H. Latane, Prof. R. W. Wood, Dr. Theodore C. Janeway, Prof. Joseph S. Ames, Dr. Wm. S. Halsted, Dr. Winford H. Smith, Dr. T. Howland, Prof. W. H. Howell, Dr. William A. Fisher, Theodore Marburg, James H. Brady, jr., Richard H. Bayard, Dr. T. B. Futcher, Vanlear Black, Dr. Richard H. Follis, Right Rev. John Gardner Murray, James Gustavus Whiteley, Arthur Machen, Duke Bond, Wm. Cabell Bruce, Henry A. Orrick, Dr. Lewis Barker, Dr. Franklin P. Mall, Prof. C. J. Tilden, Blanchard Randall, Julian S. Jones, Charles E. McLane, H. S. Post, John Cates, Wyatt Randall, John B. Ramsay, N. Murray, Dr. Thos. S. Cullen, Rev. John McDowell.

A Square Deal for the Dairy Interests.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS D. SCHALL,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 2, 1917.

Mr. SCHALL. Mr. Speaker, in one guise or another there is always a deadly war being waged by the oleomargarine interests against the dairy interests. It is a nasty fight, an unfair fight, the fight of an imitation trying to mask as the real article. Just the same proposition as that waged by the corn-products people, who are trying by specious argument to make it appear that an inferior and adulterated mixed flour, composed of some wheat and a whole lot of unnourishing corn flour, less nourishing that corn starch, would result in cheaper bread. If a poor man wants corn bread, he can do his own mixing. But if he wants his wheat flour pure he should have it. We hear much cant about "the poor man's flour" from those who want to take it away from him and substitute "something just as good." The same thing is being put forth about the poor man's butter as an argument for taking the tax off colored oleomargarine. They do not say a word about the fact that they are raising the tax on uncolored oleo. There is the nigger in the woodpile. The uncolored oleo, the white oleo, is the poor man's butter. Well and good. It is cheap now, whereas the colored runs into fancy prices. And if he wants it colored he can color it himself. If dealers are permitted to color it, immediately it comes into direct competition with butter, and up will go the price of oleo.

Not only that, the white oleo can not be easily adulterated. Its whiteness is the poor man's protection, and to allow colored oleo to be sold puts a premium on adulteration.

This measure is a blow at the prosperity of the dairy interests. The farmers of the dairy States are a unit against it; organized labor has voiced its protests through an able letter written to the Members of Congress by James H. Maurer. He says in part:

> The farmer could never hope to compete with the manufacturers of the imitation article. Dairy farmers would turn to something else, and the price of the imitation article would rise till finally the consumer will pay more than we are now paying for the genuine article.

And, again, he says:

> This would mean the starving of the land, for, as fertilizers, cattle are the life of the soil.

Dr. Stockbridge, president of the Farmers' National Congress, says in warning the southern farmer of the sinister purpose back of the arguments used to betray him into favoring this project:

> The cottonseed-oil interests of the South have joined hands with the Packers Trust for our undoing. The real interests of these oil-mill men has never been with the farmer. Southern farmers are asked to demand that their Representatives in Congress jeopardize the new agriculture of the South, annul all efforts at diversification, prevent soil conservation, and risk our prosperity.

The argument used to the southern farmer is that the cottonseed oil used in oleo binds the southern interests to this measure, when the fact is that only in the lowest grade of oleo is cottonseed oil used, and that only to the amount of about $30,000 a year. We may well cast an eye of suspicion on any projects which require false arguments to bolster them up.

Let this shoddy "Just as good as butter" stand on its own legs, and not try, like an old man of the sea, to ride on the back of the dairy interests. It is all right in its place. And it may be just as good as some butter. But the butter we make out in Minnesota is the best butter in the United States, the gold-medal butter of the country. You ought to go into those fresh, sweet-smelling creameries of ours and see it piled up in white wooden tubs ready for molding, fragrant, rich, sweet as clover. We do not get the best of it ourselves. That is good enough to send to New York and sell to the bloated plutocrats, the dainty feasters, at fancy prices, along with their flowers and hothouse fruits and other luxuries.

And that good butter is not going to be put in competition with colored grease. The dairy industry deserves fair play from the Nation of which it is the sturdiest wealth producer.

Here is the Agricultural Department, straining every endeavor to encourage the raising of dairy cattle. The tax proposed would deal a deadly blow to the farmers with one hand, while it passed over with the other millions and ever-widening vistas of millions to the packers. Dairy butter is not going around under cover asking for special protection. All it asks, all it demands, is a fair deal.

When "Bone Dry" Becomes the Real Thing.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. GALLIVAN,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 28, 1917.

Mr. GALLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, liquor has more enemies in public and more friends in private than any other substance the world has ever known. If some men in this Congress shall have their way the ashes of Sodom and Gomorrah would look like a bubbling spring in comparison with this land of ours when "bone-dry" becomes the real thing. [Applause.]

> Oh what a tangled web we weave,
> When first we practice to deceive!

I do not believe that argument is of any avail in this hour when from appearances this prohibition bill must pass. Argument is unnecessary, too, because in my judgment not 20 men in this House of the number that will vote in favor of prohibition for the District of Columbia believe in prohibition. [Applause.] I can not let this opportunity go by without congratulating some of my Democratic colleagues, who have been leaders in this Congress in other days, upon having returned to the ranks of those who sit here to take orders. However, I can not congratulate my party upon its change of leadership, and I very much doubt that it will be possible for me to stay with that party when its policies and principles are to be formulated by its new leaders, the representatives of the Anti-saloon League of America. I must admire the gentleman from California. In this hour of national alarm, with a national

crisis here in America, with thousands crying for food and clamoring for relief from this Congress, and with an international crisis of such importance that the President of the United States finds it necessary to come before the Congress twice in less than a month, at the signal from the gentleman from California all these questions of gigantic importance must be laid on the shelf, and the representatives of a hundred millions of people are ordered to consider a proposition to close certain places of business here in Washington now licensed by law. The gentleman from California has grown great since the poll was taken as to the political line-up of the next Congress. I have noticed that he has become an organizer of a new party. Evidently the Democratic leaders who desire to continue in the high places that they have enjoyed for some few years past have also noticed this fact. I can not help thinking that the gentleman from California must have frightened these leaders (?) almost to death. [Laughter.] Why, he has grown so great in the past month that even old Julius Cæsar would have grudged him the meat upon which he hath fed! [Laughter and applause.]

However, if the Democratic Party is going to become a prohibition party, for one I am going to leave the Democratic Party. I do not believe in prohibition. Prohibition is not temperance, since temperance means and comprehends moderation, calmness, judgment, and justice. Prohibition is radicalism run wild; it is an attempt to bring back to American life that Puritanism which made the scourge, the branding iron, and the penal law the agencies of its perverted moralities, and which rejected the peaceful, kindly ministrations of the Man of Sorrows and substituted therefor the fire and ferocity of the zealot and the violences and vagaries of the fanatic. Like any other perversion of a desirable thing, this perversion of temperance, called prohibition, appears to be cradled in ignorance, fostered in hysteria, voiced by intolerance, and marshaled by tyranny. In principle and in practice prohibition is a negation of American freedom and personal liberty; in its essence it is a denial of the laws of nature, and in its purpose a pathetic attempt to stifle a human instinct as old as humanity itself.

It will hardly be gainsaid that any propaganda and policy which transforms a peaceful, temperate, law-abiding city or town into a lawless community is false to its teaching, vicious in its results, and dangerous to the morals and civilization of the Nation. This is exactly what prohibition does.

With prohibition here in the District of Columbia there will be adventure if not romance in getting a drink. [Laughter.] That will be something, defiance of a law which we do not respect. There is now no more adventure about stepping into a licensed saloon and buying a high ball or a stein of beer than there is about going to the post office to buy a postage stamp, or into a grocery store to buy a pound of coffee. There is not a thrill of romance to be found in making the round of all the saloons in town under the present arrangement. There is no temptation about the licensed saloon, and it has not one-tenth of the appeal to the venturesome youth that the cabaret show has, or even the moving-picture houses.

With prohibition all this will be changed. There will be plenty of adventure and even hazard about the search for a drink. Blind tigers will be places surrounded by romance to make them sought after, however vile they may be in reality. Moonshiners and bootleggers will be mysterious characters inviting the romantic youth to make their acquaintance. Here in Washington you will have the same opportunities for romantic adventure that they now have in the mountains of prohibition Georgia and North Carolina [laughter], where men make moonshine and men buy moonshine, not because they like moonshine, but because Uncle Sam's revenue agents are hunting for illicit stills and chasing bootleggers until every native is ready to defend the sacred institutions of home and expel the invader from the soil. Georgia and the Carolinas are but types of their sister States in the leafy aisles of that terrestrial paradise called Dixie.

The most thrilling tales of adventure to-day are to be found in the official report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, where are recorded the hairbreadth escapes of revenue agents from moonshiners; there you will learn how these men risked their lives and buried their dead comrades in the mountains of prohibition Georgia, in Tennessee, in Kentucky, or in the Everglades of Florida, because their business is to force obnoxious laws upon communities that do not believe in them and have the courage to protect themselves from their enforcement. Moonshine can be made in a tea kettle, in a closet, cellar, or soap box—yes, even in a Congressman's private office in Washington—as quietly as it is made in a cave or a mountain cabin in North Carolina; and beer can be brewed in the kitchen and from almost anything that grows—the greater the decay, the easier the fermentation.

It will be an adventure worth the romance of Robin Hood to go out in search of moonshine or smuggled whisky and beer in Washington when we have prohibition here; yes, and it will call for an army bigger than that recommended even by Gen. Scott in these days of the Nation's peril to round up the moonshiners, the bootleggers, and the congressional and other patrons amoung the haunts of the cave dwellers of the National Capital. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. Speaker, I have often heard it said since I came to Congress that rum is exhaled in the lobby and denounced with the same breath on the floor. I wonder if that be true. I can not help thinking that prohibition, as exhibited here, is the pretense of a cheap sybarite whose conception of himself is founded in drink. Oh, I fear that the angle of the sun has played havoc with the Anglo-Saxon. In this bill we find a sample of the statesmanship of the wide veranda, the mint julep, and the reminiscence. My friends from the South would have us believe that prohibition is a virtue there, but I for one fear that they have ordained it in that land for another reason. They tell us it lessens murder, and let us hope that this is true. If it would make life safer in that primitive and halcyon land we would all be willing to make it even drier than it now is.

Again we hear that prohibition in the South is for the purpose of keeping drink from the negro, but we have the evidence that the negro in the South is the official bootlegger and purveyor to the trade, and if he was not naturally a sober man he would help himself ofttimes even more liberally than he does.

Mr. Speaker, the word hypocrite was the only epithet ever directly applied to anyone by the Saviour of men, and the necessity of making use of this word is the most solemn proof of the vileness of hypocrisy.

Oh, I am sorry that the destinies of the people of this city are controlled by the Congress of the United States! To my mind Washington is one of the most genteel cities in the world. The chief element of its population is men and women from the Northern and Western States, who would not be here if they did not have brains. When put to the test they were able to pass a civil-service examination and are now performing the tasks assigned to them by the Federal Government. You are not willing to trust these intelligent people to vote even on prohibition. Some day they will have their turn at the wheel.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of the House the story of the days of prohibition in the State from which I come.

It is commonplace to say that Massachusetts is a Commonwealth that has always been a leader in the upward and onward march of the Republic; its people from the days of 1620 have been a moral, religious, law-abiding community, industrious, shrewd and tenacious of liberty and sane government. The experience of such a community is worthy of attention, and its deliberate political action on this question of prohibition can not be ignored by thoughtful and freedom-loving men.

After a dozen or more years of prohibition, during which the whole police power of the Commonwealth was placed back of the law, the people of Massachusetts, weary of the falsity and futility of the theory of enforced political total abstinence, demanded the abolition of the prohibition statute in the interests of the moral law and order. Petitions were circulated and presented to the legislature, calling for a legislative hearing as a preliminary to action, and many days were devoted to taking evidence.

Men of the highest reputation and character, men of positions of honor and influence in the community—ex-governors, mayors of cities, senators, clergymen of every religious faith, college professors, leading medical men and merchants and manufacturers, appeared before the legislative committee to demand the abolition of the law and the initiation of a reign of law, order, common sense, and American freedom.

The celebrated war governor of Massachusetts, the Hon. John A. Andrew, conducted the case for the petitioners; and such men as John Quincy Adams, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Prof. Louis Agassiz, the Rev. Dr. Peabody, professor of Christian morals at Harvard University; the saintly Rev. Dr. Theodore Edson, of Lowell; scholars from Princeton, Yale, Harvard, and men of mark and eminence from all over New England came to give their testimony to pray for the end of lawlessness and the return of sanity and common sense. The burden of their testimony was that prohibition had failed; it had been productive only of demoralization and contempt for law, and it had increased the evil it was framed to cure. They asserted that decency and temperance in Massachusetts could be fostered and maintained only by a wise regulation and supervision of the liquor traffic, and that the wild, if heroic, attempt to dragoon human nature and foster morality and wisdom by compulsion and hysteria had failed utterly.

Ex-Gov. Washburn, among other things, said, "I do not believe, from a pretty long course of observation and experience, that you can make a law which is against the public sentiment and carry it out, any more than you can make a black man white, or a white man black. You can not do it." He said that when the sale of liquor was a matter of local regulation they had produced good results in Worcester County because the local sentiment was back of it; but when the prohibition law—compelling total abstinence willy-nilly—was enacted the pendulum swung back and public opinion not only refused to support it, but antagonized it.

Hon. John Quincy Adams said that as a citizen, a trial justice, and a member of the governor's staff he had given the prohibitory law his attention, and it had proved an utter failure in suppressing either the sale or consumption of liquor.

Rev. Dr. Theodore Edson, rector of St. Ann's Episcopal Church, of Lowell, believed the prohibitory law had a tendency to increase drunkenness. He himself depended upon religious principles and the appeal to religious feeling to produce temperance, and not upon the statute. Prohibition had failed and should be abolished.

The famous "Autocrat of the Breakfast Table," Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, professor of anatomy and physiology at Harvard College, had a keen sense of humor and a whimsical appreciation of the absurdities preached by the prohibitionists. He differentiated alcohol plain and simple from alcohol as a constituent in the combination of beverages.

He said:

I think that alcohol, sir, is meant for use in the arts, for burning in lamps, and for various other similar purposes. Alcohol itself I do not think is an article which is used in the human economy. I have never known it to be drunk, unless some person may have been unfortunate enough to have drank it from the jars containing specimens in anatomical museums—

But—

alcoholic drinks or drinks into which alcohol enters as a constituent in combination have a proper use in the human economy dietetically and medicinally. It acts as food and medicine.

Prof. E. N. Hosford, of Harvard, one of the most eminent chemists of his day, and a pupil of Leibig, Germany's famous master chemist, gave the committee an illuminating contribution on alcohol in his testimony. He called it a valuable aid to digestion and a food and a stimulant. It ministers to the strength of the organism and enters into it. It acts as do tea and coffee and some essential oils. Asked if alcohol was a poison, he said it was in its absolute purity, but certainly not in combination. Vinegar contains acetic poison; there is poison in the oil of pepper, mustard, horse-radish, and other condiments; but they are not barred as foods, and are beneficial.

Not the least interesting feature of this legislative hearing was the testimony of a dyed-in-the-wool prohibitionist, who maintained, in the face of the Scriptures, that the use of alcoholic beverages was immoral and, in spite of the evidence of doctors, chemists, and men of science that it was physically injurious and not a food. He declared he did not care what people thought. Right or wrong, he was for prohibition. His attitude in 1867 was much the same as that of hundreds of his cult to-day. They do not represent an attempt to elevate the community as much as they do a resolution to ram their opinions down the throats of their neighbors.

The Rev. A. P. Peabody, professor of Christian morals for many years at Harvard College, said he did not believe in the use of distilled liquors at all; he did favor the use of light wines used in Europe. He had watched the operations of a prohibitory law in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Maine, and he had seen no good at all.

I believe—

He said—

that all the prohibitory laws that have been enacted have done a great deal of mischief by the opportunities and invitations they offer for perjury on a large and harmful scale, and for that reason I am afraid of such legislation.

The Rev. John Jones, a Methodist minister, settled in Billingham, Mass., and a lifelong advocate of temperance, stated that he had lived under prohibition in Maine and Massachusetts from the inception of the system, and had been a believer in the law, but experience had taught him that the law drove the liquor traffic into dark and disreputable places, beyond observation and regulation, and that it corrupted young men and made them drunkards. As a rule, to-day—1867—people were weary of prohibition and desired a stringent license law.

The Rev. George B. Ide, D. D., pastor of the First Baptist Church of Springfield, Mass., believed that temperance work could only be accomplished by personal persuasion and an appeal to the better nature of men. Prohibition, as far as he could see, was a failure; its influence was to place the work of making men temperate on the law and the police, and to stop the work that did count, personal effort.

Weeks were consumed in gathering evidence pro and con by the Massachusetts legislative committee; everyone who wished to be heard had an opportunity, and the widest latitude in testimony was permitted. When the hearings were closed the merits of the case for and against prohibition had been pretty thoroughly thrashed out.

The committee in its report called attention to several facts worth attention:

(1) The strength and character of the opposition to the prohibitory law. If the existing law was sound in principle and fruitful of good results, it was surprising that remonstrants in the number and of the character that they were should call for the repeal of the law.

(2) The opposition to the law is increasing instead of decreasing. Very frequently there is a decided contest over the establishment of a new principle in legislation; but in ordinary cases, if it is found to work tolerably well, the old opposition gradually dies out and disappears. It is certainly a significant fact that the opposition to this law seems steadily to have increased.

(3) The third fact is furnished by the supporters of the law themselves in the character of the legislation designed by them from time to time to carry it out more efficiently. The constant attempt to make more laws and stringent to enforce the original law makes it odious to the people, since the harsh administration of law is ever unpopular.

Prohibition made catering to a public demand a crime, and laws to restrain and punish an artificial crime are usually offensive to a free people. The law is unsound in principle, the committee reported. If it is immoral and sinful to sell liquor, it must be wrong to drink it; yet the law seeks to punish the seller and not the buyer of alcoholic beverages. If the use of beverages is not wrong, is there either sense or justice in punishing the seller of it. But passing by this serious defect in the method by which total abstinence is to be enforced, we say that it is beyond the legitimate scope of legislative action to attempt, by criminal enactment, to prevent the many from using these beverages because a few may abuse them.

Summing up, the committee said, among other things:

It is the right of every citizen to determine for himself what he shall eat and drink. A law prohibiting him from drinking alcoholic liquors universally used in all countries and ages as beverages is an arbitrary and unreasonable interference with his rights and is not justified by the consideration that some men may abuse their rights and may therefore need the counsel and example of good men to lead them to reform. But this law does in theory prohibit him from drinking every kind of alcoholic liquors, since it prohibits every sale of every kind of alcoholic liquors to be used as a beverage.

Judge Page, of Pittsfield, said that under the law intemperance increased faster than the population; and the mayor of Worcester declared it had not suppressed the sale of liquor nor diminished drunkenness; and those and other sayings the committee heeded. It recommended that it was the part of wisdom to heed and answer the petitions that had come from every part of the State; and they suggested that a license system be substituted for the prohibition law, which was unpopular, unsupported, unenforced, and futile.

The Massachusetts Legislature heeded the people and enacted a license law which has worked from that to this with substantial satisfaction to all the people.

The clamor and tumult of the "professional" temperance people, the paid agents of societies and endowed agencies have not made much impression in Massachusetts, for the State has been through the system and learned, not only its failure and futility but its demoralization and mischief.

Each city and town in Massachusetts decides for itself the question of licensing the sale of liquor within its own precincts, but it can not prevent any man from buying the liquor he needs elsewhere and bringing it home.

This important fact has been learned that in places where liquor is not sold the sale of injurious patent medicines—bad liquor masquerading as medicine—and more injurious drugs has increased; and the result is written in the statistics of abominable crimes and multiplication of insanity. No community is advanced and uplifted by hysteria, fanaticism, or false philosophies; only by liberty and justice can any American community thrive.

Prohibition does violence to every principle dear to Americans and insults the convictions of every decent God-fearing man.

Mr. Speaker, I have finished, but I want the House to hear the story of a murder in Georgia this very week. I read from the Atlanta Constitution of this very day. Here it is:

SEEKING MURDERER OF SHERIFF SHIREY—TEN WHITE MEN AND TWO NEGROES ARE PLACED UNDER ARREST IN TROUP COUNTY FOLLOWING DUEL.

Following the assassination of Sheriff W. B. Shirey, of Troup County, Monday by moonshiners while he was raiding a still, in connection with United States Revenue Officer J. A. Henderson and S. A. Smith, one of his deputies, Revenue Agent E. C. Yellowley rushed seven of his men to La Grange to assist Mr. Henderson and the local authorities in ferreting out and capturing the murderers.

The names of the revenue officers from the local office who went on this quest are R. E. Tuttle, E. L. Bergstrom, J. F. Camp, F. B. Harris, A. C. Sowell, Dave Reese, and W. S. Richardson. Later in the day they notified Mr. Yellowley that they had made 12 arrests, 10 of white men and 2 of negroes.

The revenue agent here was in receipt of a telegram from Internal Revenue Commissioner W. H. Osborn at Washington directing him to detail as many of his men as possible to assist the local officers in Troup County in running down the guilty parties.

Rarely has an assassination aroused so much indignation not only in the immediate community affected, but throughout the State, as that of Sheriff Shirey. The killing occurred about 10 miles from La Grange, between that town and Chipley. The officers were demolishing a still when they were ambushed and shot at by men hid in a clump of bushes about 60 paces away. One shot hit the sheriff, killing him almost instantly, but the two officers assisting in the raid escaped.

Following the murder there was a keenly aroused determination on the part of the Troup County people, as well as the revenue officers, to break up the nest of illicit distillers that have been infesting that section. Three stills were raided and destroyed Tuesday in addition to the one broken up Monday.

Revenue Agent Yellowley paid a high tribute to the murdered sheriff Tuesday.

"We considered him one of the best sheriffs in our territory," he said. "We always found him willing to cooperate with the Federal officials in the enforcement of the revenue laws. He was a fearless officer, a perfect gentleman, and highly respected by all who knew him. He was a frequent visitor to this office in connection with rooting out illicit stills in his county, and we knew him well."

The Sheppard Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEWIS L. MORGAN,
OF LOUISIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. MORGAN of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I wish to digress from the subject of national prohibition just long enough to state why I voted for the Sheppard bill and against the proposed referendum thereto. It is obvious to every Member that the District is not a self-governing unit, as it is under the direct supervision and control of the Congress. Therefore we religiously try to guard against thrusting upon the people here any law without due consideration of its fitness and applicability.

Now, I voted for the Sheppard bill just as it left the Senate because I did not think it was fair to attempt to delude the American people into believing that the adoption of the proposed referendum imported the submission of the proposition to the duly qualified citizens of the District for adjustment. Sirs, you know, or at least you presumably know, that the enfranchisement of a conglomerated mass such as would clamor for the right to vote upon this proposition would have been an unspeakable mockery.

To vote for the referendum may have been and probably was a matter of inclination with some of you gentlemen, but you can not pitch it upon the sacred ground of duty. Whilst I impugn no man's motives, nor question the integrity of any man's purpose, yet I am afraid that some of you gentlemen who were so loud and vociferous in your denunciation of those who favored the Sheppard bill, free from that adroitly drafted referendum, really think it was your sense of proportion that impelled you to insist upon its adoption, when it was only sympathy for the liquor business. Mr. Speaker, every unprejudiced mind in this city is well aware of the fact that the Congress is eager and anxious to make the District the most magnificent spot the sun has ever shone upon. However, in our anxiety to improve and embellish and beautify it may we not forget that it can alone be refined and honored by a pure environment?

I am unable to convince myself that the saloon here or in any other community exalts the mind or in anywise refines the public morals. Therefore, in my opinion, the barroom is neither an essential nor a desirable adjunct to the Nation's Capital. And in the inelegant phraseology of the street, I am heartily in favor of "canning" it.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the day is at hand when every Member of this body must align himself with those who favor the passage of all measures that are subsidiary to national prohibition or with those who are arrayed against such measures. There can be no neutrals or straddlers. He who does not take a definite stand either pro or con will certainly find himself ill regarded on one side and viewed with disfavor by the other. Hence I concluded to give this subject some thought for my own guidance. I did so, and my judgment to-day is that national prohibition will prove to be the most efficacious solution of the liquor traffic. However, in this connection I wish to say that heretofore in season and out I have uniformly opposed prohibition in all its phases and in every form. Not that I entertained any deep-rooted admiration for or faith in the saloon as an institution. For as a matter of fact, it has never been a golden sunset in my eyes. But undesirable as the barroom is, to me it has never been so supremely reprehensible as the bootleggers and blind tigers who are, to all intents and purposes, the emissaries and underlings and puppets of the liquor dealers, through whom the dealers pour their liquid commodities into the bowels of the prohibited units and thus produce drunkenness, incite perjury, and encourage corruption.

Gentlemen, you can neither effectively end nor adequately control the sale and consumption of intoxicants save by prohibition national in scope. For the reason the traffic is an objectionable growth on the body politic, and its tentacles and roots are coextensive with the Nation itself. This being true, how can any individual State hope to successfully cope with it? Every atom of every root must be cut and removed or the results will be transitory, unsatisfactory, and questionable. Yet I believe the Webb-Kenyon Act and the Reed amendment will very materially curtail the pernicious activities of the blind tigers and bootleggers, and consequently give a great impetus to the cause of prohibition.

Much has been said against the desirability of the Reed amendment because it was introduced primarily for the purpose of bringing about the enactment of ultraliberal liquor legislation. Nevertheless, from the liquor adherents' viewpoint, it was a faux pas. It might have been conceived in sin, but it will be one of the most enticing incentives every held out to the American people to actively support the cause of prohibition. Why, the most effectual argument the whisky contingency ever put forth was that prohibition did not prohibit. Now their own friend has unwittingly robbed them of that time-honored and oft-repeated declaration. The will of God seems a wondrous way that is often beyond our poor understanding. Personally I am anxious to see prohibition written into the Federal Constitution, as I am afraid of that brand of prohibition whose existence will rest upon the ever-changing personnel of the Congress.

Mr. Speaker, it is doubtless true that innovations are inoperative when prematurely adopted; that is, when they precede the real wishes of the people who are to be affected by them. But if you take the sense of the American people to-day on the proposition of national prohibition you will find an astounding majority heartily in sympathy therewith. So obvious is this that the liquor adherents are vigorously invoking the assistance of all the friends of the liquor business and industriously calling upon all the enemies of prohibition for their cooperation in the hope of preventing, if possible, the submission of the proposed Federal amendment.

Now, the proponents and friends of national prohibition are not urging the Congress to settle this controversy. On the contrary, we are asked to not consult our own will but to relegate the question to the sovereign citizenship of this Nation for adjustment.

I know not what course you will pursue, but there is a large and respectable portion of my district demanding the right to be heard on this subject, therefore I do not think I would overstep the limits of fair play by voting for the adoption of a measure calculated to enable my constituents to exercise a power lodged in them by the Nation's organic law. However, I am not unmindful of the fact that there are those who will impute to me a want of firmness and stamina on account of the views I here give expression to.

The man who realizes the error of his way and refuses to abdicate that devious course is, in my opinion, unspeakably worse than the one who has the fortitude to publicly acknowledge his mistake. But be that as it may, I have no apology or excuse for saying that the people ought to be given an opportunity to express their own ideas upon this vital question.

To those who will arrogate to themselves the right to criticize me, I wish to say that "the foolish and dead alone never change their opinions."

Now, Mr. Speaker, if the regulations prescribed by the several States for the government and control of saloons were con-

scientiously observed the inherent evils thereof would be far less harmful. Unhappily, however, the vast majority of the keepers of these establishments really think that all laws which seek to regulate the liquor business are enacted merely to appease and pamper the hypercritical element in the various communities. Hence, when an officer makes the slightest pretense to enforce such legislation he is promptly and severely rebuked rather than congratulated.

Mr. Speaker, that flagrant disregard of laws held sacred by well-regulated communities is mainly responsible for the great antiliquor propaganda, before whose determined onward march the now waning but once mighty liquor interests must soon crumble and fall.

I take it no one will deny that the liquor traffic is hostile to every form of social activity which seeks to ameliorate human conditions; nor will anyone gainsay that the liquor business is working at cross-purposes with those who believe in the observance of the mandates and the requirements of the law.

Does any man think it chimerical to charge that the saloon is a perpetual solicitation to depart from the path of rectitude? Again, does not its accessibility make total abstinence a thousandfold more difficult? Do you think it an exaggeration to say that liquor incites inherited weaknesses and tendencies; that it degrades and lowers the life standards; that it warps and twists the physical structures of our boys at the very threshold of their careers; that it dooms countless women and children to sunless homes and inculcates a supreme contempt for all the decencies of humanity? Of course you do not. Now, on the other hand, can any man who is capable of divorcing himself from every semblance of self-interest—economic and political—conceive of a single instance wherein the liquor business redounded to the permanent good of any community, State, or Nation?

Your sole excuse for its toleration is that the country can not subsist without its pecuniary assistance. That is positively the saddest and the most puerile plea the liquor aggregation ever advanced. If that contention truly reflects the sentiments of the American people, then the United States will soon become the scorn of the civilized world. If our great Nation's existence is contingent upon the perpetuity of an institution whose many sinister elements and numerous demoralizing influences no man will foreswear, then the day is not far distant when our country will be rich alone in memories.

Yet the man who has the courage to advocate the discontinuance of the liquor business is invariably flayed and excoriated by those whose interests are in some way bound up with the system. Ordinarily the prohibitionist is characterized as a weakling who trys to inflict his invirile views on the rest of mankind.

Mr. Speaker, to advocate national prohibition can not be construed as an effort to arbitrarily regulate the conduct or to guide the morals of others. Yet the liquor contingency resents every attempt the people make to express their views upon a question that inherently concerns the happiness and well-being of 100,000,000 American souls; and it is this despotic assumption of authority that is about to wreck the liquor business.

The argument that prohibition is a curtailment of and an infringement upon man's personal liberty is drivel, pure and simple.

Think of the brazen effrontery of the man who contends that a free people have no authority to express their sentiments touching the manufacture and sale of intoxicants and in the very next breath scathingly denounces prohibition upon the theory that it is an atrocious invasion of his freedom of action and will. Such sophistry can not weigh a jot with the mortal who has the soul and intelligence of a good man.

Why, no creature has the God-given right to surround your child with evil and foul influences, nor to create an atmosphere around him that will make a proper life, in a measure, impossible.

It is blasphemy to even inferentially assert that certain men have been divinely commissioned to foist upon an unwilling people an objectionable institution.

We know that the atmosphere in which our children live influences their thoughts and in a large degree directs their habits. Again, we know that by the removal of these subtle temptations we make it infinitely easier for them to do right and tenfold more difficult to do wrong. Thank God, the political power in this country resides in the people, and hence they have the right to say what their surroundings shall be.

Mr. Speaker, the southern Congressman is a great apostle of the principle of State rights and you will always find him arrayed against any measure that is likely to encroach upon the rights of the States. But I respectfully submit that from no process of reasoning can he argue that the submission of the question of national prohibition to the people is an abridgement of State rights.

The framers of the Constitution, whose wisdom it behooves no man to undertake to impeach, reserved to the sovereign States the power to amend it. Before an amendment can become a component part of the basic law of this land, the resolution to amend it must receive a two-thirds affirmative vote in both Houses of Congress and the ratification and approval of three-fourths of the legislatures of the Union. Therefore, can any person, after giving this matter thoughtful consideration, oppose such a resolution upon the hypothesis that it is violative of the principles of State rights. He may, but I should feel doubtful of his ability to present for omniscient examination an unspotted conscience.

Now, another specious argument often advanced by the advocates of the saloons is that since you can not prevent a man from drinking by moral and religious persuasion it is folly to attempt to dissuade him by legislative enactments. If there is any merit or philosophy in that contention, why would not the same argument be equally as applicable to the whole catalogue of human crimes? Perjury, murder, rape, and so forth, can not be entirely stamped out by penal statutes, but abolish them and we would forthwith return to that savage state of nature.

I hope nothing I have said in criticism of the liquor traffic will be construed as a condemnation of all men engaged in that business, for I number among my friends some excellent men who are interested in the liquor trade—men who enjoy the respect and confidence of the people in their respective communities.

Food Price Manipulation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HATTON W. SUMNERS,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. SUMNERS. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BORLAND] to appropriate $400,000 to conduct an investigation by the Federal Trade Commission of food-price manipulation by corporations in the United States. I am not so much opposed to the expenditure as I am to the excuse for postponed action. We have squandered enough money investigating these matters. We have delayed definite corrective and constructive action long enough. For the first time in the history of the Republic, when not itself engaged in war, the middle classes find themselves under the necessity of exercising the most rigid economy with reference to the ordinary articles of food, while in some sections there is acute hunger.

The fact that Congress adopts this amendment is an admission that the food situation in its judgment demands the attention of the Federal Government. If attention is required because of violations of law, it is the duty of the Department of Justice to act, and act now. It can subpœna witnesses. It can compel them to testify under oath, while the Federal Trade Commission has no inquisitorial powers, and can not itself prosecute. If a better marketing system is required, it is the business of the Congress and of the Agricultural Department to do on the part of the Government whatever is to be done, and to do it now.

The country asks us for relief and the only relief we offer is to pile an additional $400,000 load upon a tax-burdened people and send a lot of so-called experts trailing around over the country on an investigation, which will require eight months to complete and can not discover essential facts bearing upon our legislative duty not now known. What new light can this investigation throw upon our legislative duty? Is there a man in Congress sufficiently informed with reference to the vital economic problems of his country to justify his presence here who does not know all the facts essential for intelligent action now? These investigators can discover that potatoes, when they were dug, sold at $1.35 per bushel at Fergus Falls, Minn., for instance; that they are selling there for $1.55 per bushel now, and for $4 here in Washington. They can discover and report to us that four great packing concerns dominate the live stock and meat markets, and maybe report the profits of these concerns. They can tell of a large number of

different hands through which many food products pass from the field to the table, and of the profits which are attached to the final price. They can tell us of waste in the field and in congested markets.

Mr. Chairman, the details of these profits and of food-product movements in general would of course be interesting, but the knowledge of these details, varying as they must with the changes of influencing conditions, would hardly be considered in shaping remedial legislation which in the nature of things must have in contemplation the general system of food preparation and distribution. This we know now.

The reports of the Department of Agriculture, of private investigators, and the knowledge which one may gain from his own investigation and observations leaves us no excuse for hiding behind a confession of ignorance as to what we ought to do in this emergency. We know or can learn without difficulty what the farmer gets; we know what we pay. We have available all sorts of data with reference to transportation charges and the operation and profits of cold-storage plants. We know the general course of movement from the field to the table. If crimes have been committed in food-price manipulations, we have a Department of Justice, clothed with inquisitorial powers, and charged with the enforcement of the laws in restraint of trade, which laws we have already enacted. It alone has the proper power for the discovery and prosecution of crime, and we alone have the power to correct by legislation. I am not willing that the Department of Justice or the Congress excuse itself by this eight months' delay and $400,000 expenditure.

Looking at the broader aspects of the matter, we know that more and more the people are leaving the farm; the size of the cities are increasing, broadening the distance between production and consumption, and interposing new difficulties in distribution. We know in a general way, at least, what these difficulties are. We know that as these distances lengthen the complexities increase; small concerns find their capacities exceeded, and yield of necessity to great business organizations. We know that thus we are passing from a system operated by a multiplicity of small concerns, with their limited business organizations, reaching from one to the other across the intervening space between production and consumption, each taking its own profit, which in the aggregate are burdensome, to a system where a few great business organizations are reaching more and more toward the span of the whole distance between production and consumption, in many instances including production. We know that as this system develops, while the number of profits decrease, the opportunity for manipulations, the ability to take advantage of any favorable situation, increases. The little concern that can reach but a short distance from production toward consumption or from consumption toward production can not operate against a concern which can span the whole distance. This we know now. We know that when most of the world's population were farmers, producing primarily each family for its own use, and using most of what it produced, that the small business organization could carry the bulk of the small part of farm products entering commerce from production to consumption.

The distance was not great. The expense and slowness of transportation before the railroads came compelled production to limit itself almost entirely to local demand, and the same causes compelled demand to accommodate itself to local production.

We know that the big concerns are coming into dominance in part through the crushing force of superior strength directly exerted upon their smaller competitors, but in the main because they can cover the great intervening distance between production and consumption more systematically, more economically, and with less material waste than can a large number of smaller concerns, each reaching only a part of the distance, depending one upon the other for the performance of a part of the service, but with their organizations not in permanent dependable articulation with each other. These things we know now. And we know, too, that when the process of elimination has proceeded as it has in the meat-packing industry, for instance, where four great organizations practically control the business, it is very difficult to force them to actually compete with each other.

We know that there is enormous food and economic waste in perishable food products due in part to the fact that great concerns with comprehensive business organizations have not yet acquired sufficient control to systematize their distribution, and in part to such high prices to consumers that the opportunity to consume is either denied or greatly limited to the average family, and this, too, at a time when producers may not be offered a price sufficient to justify the harvesting. We know all these things now. What additional essential fact do we hope to gain by expending this $400,000 and by this eight months' delay.

Mr. Speaker, we ought not to run from this situation. We can not lay our responsibility in this emergency upon the back of a Trade Commission. We are advised by the press that the Federal grand juries are investigating alleged manipulations of prices. It is the common belief that such manipulations are in progress. There is much evidence thereof. It is to be hoped there will be vigorous prosecutions of whoever is guilty and that they will receive adequate and exemplary punishment. But the fact is that however gratifying such convictions would be, they would not correct the fundamental defects in our system of food distribution. With the wide ends of food movement narrowing to a very few powerful concerns through which it passes, voluntary sustained competition is not probable, and enforced competition is not possible. Under such circumstances society has the choice of paying the toll charged, regulating the toll by law, or constructing a channel through which movement around these organizations would be possible, which possibility would probably create some constant active competition and would always be a potent force working against exorbitant charges.

With regard to products which have not come under the control of business organizations sufficiently great to systematize their movement, we must either continue to pay the multiplicity of intervening charges and bear the economic and food waste now obtaining, or we must construct the machinery which will shorten the line of movement and eliminate the waste.

Mr. Speaker, if we were to expend four hundred million dollars instead of four hundred thousand we could not discover another choice, because no other is involved in the institution.

If we had a clearing house of information where food products could be listed for sale; if we had a system of standards for products as they come from the farm and when prepared for use; if the farmer in the remotest region, whose products meet the requirements as to grade and preparation for market could place thereon the certificate of that fact; if the smallest manufacturer in all the land, whose plant and output meet the requirements as to sanitation, quality, etc., could place on his output the certificate of that merit, and these could be listed for sale, and any move to market under such supervision as would guarantee integrity of transaction to both buyer and seller, the distance between production and consumption would be spanned. Every area of production would have direct access to every market, and every market could draw directly upon every area of production. The small manufacturer and the small merchant would have a chance, while the machinery for cooperative purchasing would act as a check upon the total of intervening charges which could be imposed. Without great additional expense this machinery could be assembled and operated. The present Agricultural Department coordinated with the agricultural departments of the several States, a little assistance from the postmasters, and we would have most of what is needed. With a small part of the money which we expend investigating things which ordinary people already know about, and the report of which investigations after they are made nobody reads, we could supply what else is required. If we will get to market the products which rot after production, dividing its value between the producer and consumer, and will divide between them some of the present enormous intervening charges, we can put these products within the reach of the cities' poor, we can offer these poor a better chance in the country than we can now. We can stop the movement of the millions from the country to compete with those in the cities now, and we can make the position more secure against the possibilities of food supply shortage.

There is one fundamental fact which should be constantly in mind in dealing with this matter, and that is this:

Regardless of all else that may be done to make country life attractive, if we want to keep people on the farm we must pay them as much net profit to stay there as they could get in the cities; if we want city people to go to the country, we must pay them more net profit than they can get in the city. That is all there is to it.

Aside from unusual and temporary conditions which from time to time may arise, the hope of the city for cheaper food lies in the reduction of intervening charges and in the elimination of waste after production.

With our city population increasing more than three times as fast as that of the country, with the loss of more than 20,000,000 head of beef cattle between 1900 and 1913 and other decreases in live stock, with the decrease of our wheat surplus within a few years from 42 per cent of the total to less than 13 per cent it would be worse than folly—it would be madness—to close our eyes to the fact that we must work such comprehensive economic betterment in behalf of that business which furnishes the material for our food and clothing as to attract to it a larger percentage of our total population.

Prohibition.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. GALLIVAN,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. GALLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I am willing to support this resolution. I want to help even those of my "bone-dry" colleagues who, eager as they are for prohibition for others, now desire that the evil day for themselves shall be deferred. What a wonderful work this Congress has performed!

If the greatest of the caliphs of Bagdad were here, he would fall upon our necks and weep. He was a prohibitionist. For more than 1,200 years the Mohammedan has been the only consistent prohibitionist in the world. After praying five times during the day at the muezzin's call, he goes home to his harem early and sober and goes not out again. Once in a while some sweet lady obsessed with a desire to win him over to Christianity and turn his steps into the paths of righteousness, journeys to the Orient as a missionary, and when we find out through the State Department that her throat has not been cut we all sit back and feel immensely relieved.

Constantinople is a dry town. It has been dry since 1453—ever since the prohibition followers of the crescent took possession of it and massacred 100,000 people who were not prohibitionists. We have hastened to express legislatively our admiration for Constantinople. Constantinople and Washington will be the only two dry capitals in the world. We are able to report progress. After 464 years we have succeeded in making another capital dry. The giant figure for whom Washington was named would be lonely and anxious here after November 1. My dear Democratic friends from the land of the cypress and the magnolia, where life is like a wild, glad song, when you all get rich on 20-cent cotton and journey to Constantinople I know that you will feel at home.

A quart of "moonshine" corn whisky, underneath the fretted shade in the sunny southern clime, is "nothing to the hinny bliss" of Constantinople. But it can not be had in the realm ruled by the Sublime Porte. There is not a "moonshiner" in the dominions of the Sultan of Turkey. There is massacre, but not "moonshine." It is about time that some one ought to think of planting a Democratic colony in Araby the Blest. In all the wide reach of its illimitable deserts, there is not a bottle of beer, nor anything else that would "lend an hour's importance to a poor man's heart." (Peace be with Goldsmith!) Or if we wish to stay within our own jurisdiction, we could find a delightful refuge among the Mohammedan Moros in the unconquered wilderness of the Philippine Islands, for they are prohibitionists. Hereafter, when we see a Democrat packing his grip and getting ready to leave the sweet shades and sylvan retreat of Dixie we will know that he is getting ready to start for the land of Harroun al Raschid, where he may be entertained as of old, for a thousand and one nights. He will feel at home there, for it is dry. Let us adjourn to the Orient.

The Banking and Currency Situation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN H. STEPHENS,
OF TEXAS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, availing myself of the leave granted to extend my remarks on the subject of certain bills now pending before the House Committee on Banking and Currency designed to require national banks to pay up their reserves faster than the law requires, I desire to state that I am opposed to these bills. The present law without the proposed amendments works well and has the approval of the American people, and should not, in my judgment, be changed by the passage of the pending bills. These bills would have the effect of greatly enlarging the reserves now held under the present laws by the Federal reserve banks, and would thereby tie up and keep out of circulation a large fund now available under existing laws for commercial use by and through the small national banks of the country.

I have just received a letter from a prominent Texas banker, lawyer, and financier, which I here insert as a part of my remarks:

WICHITA FALLS, TEX., *February 13, 1917.*

HON. JOHN H. STEPHENS, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. STEPHENS: I have the little pamphlet, Plea for Justice; or, The Last Pound of Flesh, and thank you very much for sending it to me. I want to say that I agree with the writer of that exactly, as I do not think the Federal Reserve Board are justified in either of the requests they are making of Congress.

The authority to have a branch bank is mighty satisfactory sometimes, but I do not believe it is for the good of the country; and there is absolutely no excuse for the Federal Reserve Board asking a law to make the national banks pay up their reserve faster than the first law provided. As a matter of fact, I do not believe that the system would be impaired in the least if the member banks were never required to put any more reserves with the Federal reserve banks than they now have, which is 4 per cent. Ultimately, you know, they are to be required to keep 7 per cent, and the reserve board has a bill which has been approved by the Committee on Banking and Currency, to require national banks to pay up all of this 7 per cent at once. I will illustrate how this works out by my own bank:

We have a capital and surplus now of $450,000. Under the law we are required to subscribe for 6 per cent of that amount to the stock of the Federal reserve bank, or $27,000, and we now have half of that, or $13,500, actually paid in; and every national bank in this reserve district in proportion. We are also required to keep, even now, 4 per cent of our deposits with Federal reserve bank at Dallas as reserve. Our deposits have been over $2,500,000, and are now about $2,250,000, so that we have to keep in Dallas absolutely a dead balance of $90,000. In other words, of our total capital and surplus of $450,000 the law now requires us to keep tied up in the system approximately one-fourth of it, being $13,500, in the capital stock of the Federal reserve bank and $90,000 as reserve.

If the bill of the Committee on Banking and Currency is adopted, we will be required to keep 3 per cent more, or $67,500, and $171,000 in all, tied up. It will be a terrible exaction and burden on the national banks, and is bound to tell very adversely on their earning capacity, as you can see it is nearly 40 per cent of our capital and surplus. A great many of the banks are seriously objecting to the compulsory collection system and, while I do not care so much about it, it helps to make the system unsatisfactory.

I have a statement of the condition of the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas at close of business last Friday, and it shows a capital stock of $2,693,400. Every cent, of course, has been paid in by the member banks of this district, yet its bills discounted and bought amount to only $2,564,110.24. In other words, the rediscounts of the member banks and notes bought in the open market do not equal the amount that the banks have put up for the capital of this reserve bank. The member banks of the district have all deposited net $24,740,166.69, which is absolutely dead capital to them and does not earn them one cent, and the bill asked by the Federal Reserve Board from Congress is to require them to put 3 per cent more, or three-fourths as much as they already have, down there as a dead asset.

I believe in the Federal reserve system. I think it is all right, but the Reserve Board, in my judgment, are going too far and making it too exacting on the banks. We can not use this money in carrying on our business to any advantage. It is not accepted for exchange in New York, Chicago, St. Louis, or San Francisco. If we send a check on the Federal reserve bank at Dallas, outside of our own district the bank charges us up with the difference in exchange. The rediscount privilege is, of course, good at times, but a bank with any reputation or conservatism does not want to borrow money to lend, as a regular thing, but only occasionally. Simply to illustrate by our own case we don't want to keep so much dead money for the privilege of being able to borrow our own money back if we should need it.

I hope that Congress will not pass the proposed bills.

Respectfully, your friend,

R. E. HUFF.

I fully concur in the views of this able writer on this subject. North and west Texas is rapidly developing its great agricultural, mineral, stock raising, and industrial activities, and money must be abundant and available from banks on easy terms for these development purposes, and instead of restricting we should enlarge the local supplies of money now needed, but idle, in the banks for circulation among the people. We have in west and northwest Texas one of the best climatic conditions and the largest area of undeveloped agricultural lands to be found on this continent, and easy money for its development is an absolute necessity.

Mr. Speaker, the high cost of living and the cry for more and cheaper food for the millions of consumers in our cities is now urgently demanding the most serious and thoughtful consideration of our whole country. Let me suggest that the best remedy for these twin evils is to institute a national "back to the farm" movement among the entire people of the United States, so as to induce the millions of people now in the congested districts of the great eastern cities to go into the stock raising, fruit raising, and farming business in our great agricultural and stock-raising districts of the West, and thereby produce from the millions of acres of now uncultivated lands the food supplies so badly needed by the consumers and nonproducers in the East. This development of a new country would fill the pockets of the immigrants to the West with money and the unemployed with employment and the kitchens of their brothers in the East with cheaper food. It would beneficially equalize the business and population of both sections and at the same time cheapen the cost of living on the one hand and

on the other furnish gainful occupations to the vast immigration that should now be moving into the West.

Mr. Speaker, there is also, I am informed, a well-defined movement on foot in financial circles to prevent the checks of the country national banks from being cleared at par through the Federal reserve banks. If this were done it would decrease the fund now held in the country banks, where the money is most necessary, to furnish more funds to open more farming lands, produce more crops, cheapen food supplies, remove laborers from the cities to the farms, and, in short, benefit the farming and food-producing area of our country and thus greatly aid in the "back to the farm" movement.

This movement should receive the active and earnest support of all our people, without reference to partisan politics.

Mr. Speaker, I will here insert a letter from a large mercantile firm in my district protesting against the change in the present national banking laws as above pointed out, and I fully concur in the statements and arguments of this firm as expressed in the following letter:

CANADIAN, TEX., *February 22, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN H. STEPHENS,
Representative, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We understand that there is an effort being made to prevent the checks of the country national banks being cleared at par through the Federal reserve banks. Just what this amounts to I am not able to tell you at this time, but in case that the city bankers succeed in having this change made it means that it will compel all country banks to increase the reserve which they hold in the large cities like St. Louis, Chicago, and New York, because the manufacturers and jobbers insist that we western merchants pay our bills with exchange drawn on these cities. As the matter stands now they will accept the checks on a national bank in payment of their bills anywhere in their reserve districts.

You can readily see where a change in this law will work to the detriment of the business in all of the West and Southwest.

Trusting that you can see your way clear to permit no change in this law, and with kindest regards, I am,

Yours, truly,

CANADIAN HARDWARE & FURNITURE CO.,
GEO. GERLACH, *Pres.*

Mr. Speaker, I hope and verily believe that there will be no material amendments made by Congress in the near future that would change in any respect either the national banking act, the Federal reserve act, or the farm-loan act, until each and all of these acts have been fully and actually tested by the country at large. In my judgment these wise and beneficent laws will be found by actual tests to complete a monetary system far superior to any that this country has hitherto known. If after due trial these laws are found in any respect to work a hardship on the people of this country, then, and not until then, should Congress take up and study the questions involved before changing our existing banking and currency laws.

Arming American Merchant Ships.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES J. BRITT,
OF NORTH CAROLINA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Thursday, March 1, 1917.

Mr. BRITT. Mr. Speaker, this is no time for words. It is a time for action. Much less is it a time for the voice of party or the criticism of the President. It is enough for me, it should be enough for every Member of this House, to know that our flag has been insulted and that American citizens have been murdered while on the lawful errands of the high seas. These facts should rise as far above parties or any other material interests as are the heavens above the earth. Here at home we may be divided; it is best that we should at times be divided, but as against a foreign foe we should but echo the common voice of the Nation.

I support this bill with all my heart. My only objection is the limitations it places upon the President. It does not go far enough. We ought not to withhold from him any power or instrumentality available for our protection. We should give him ample quotas of ships and arms and money. It is foolish to suggest that he would use them uselessly or arbitrarily. The danger is nonaction. The talk of autocratic power by the President is idle. The Chief Executive is a man of high intelligence, of broad learning, and of intense patriotism, and he would not and could not recklessly incur the condemnation of the American people. In my judgment, this power will be used wisely and effectively, and it ought to be given unstintedly. Let us not think of Woodrow Wilson as a Democratic President of the United States, but as the arm of our national sovereignty and the executor of our concerted will. Let us rise above party and stand solidly behind him. Political parties should dissolve and disappear in hours of stress like these. They will naturally reappear when we revert to domestic conditions.

I know we are launching upon troublous seas. The haven is not now in sight, and we need maps and charts for the unknown port. But the God who led our forefathers in the Revolution, the same Infinite Being who has been our helmsman in all the trials of our national life, will guide us to a safe landing, and He will help us to vindicate those inalienable rights which He himself has so graciously vouchsafed to us.

Oleomargarine.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GILBERT N. HAUGEN,
OF IOWA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Friday, March 2, 1917.

Mr. HAUGEN. Mr. Speaker, of all the inconsistent, unwarranted, and unjust legislation suggested that which proposes to reduce the stamp tax on colored oleomargarine from 10 to 2 cents per pound is the worst. When the revenue bill was under consideration in the House its supporters contended that the purpose of the bill was to provide for increased revenues, not to reduce the tax on the counterfeit as was proposed in the Underwood amendment. The revenue bill goes to the extent of authorizing the issuance of bonds to meet the demands upon the Treasury. If added to the revenue bill it would have not only saddled additional taxes and bond issues upon the present and coming generations, but would have destroyed one of our most important industries—the dairy industry. That industry would have been sacrificed for another—the manufacturing and vending of the counterfeit oleomargarine.

It is unnecessary to say that dairying means more to the welfare of agriculture and the people in general than any other branch of agriculture. Evidently the object was not to reduce the price of oleo. No; the present stamp tax on oleo, when sold in its natural garb, is one-fourth cent per pound, which is 1¾ cents per pound less than the proposed tax on the counterfeit; so its object could not be to reduce the price of the natural article oleomargarine, but to make it easier to counterfeit, deceive, and impose upon the consumer, and rob the millions of dairy people conducting their business in an honorable way of their legitimate market for their product.

Many eulogies have been delivered extolling the farmer, and many millions of dollars have been appropriated from the Treasury for the support of the Department of Agriculture, presumably for the benefit of the toiler on the farm. Now, it has been proposed to put him out of business at a single stroke by destroying the most important branch of his industry, the branch upon which his business depends. Destroy the dairy and you will reduce the yield and create conditions in our prosperous farming communities similar to that in sections without dairying.

There is no soil so rich and fertile that its productive qualities can not be exhausted. The plant, like a human being, can not exist without food. The cow supplies subsistence for both. It replenishes the soil that gives employment to millions of toilers and subsistence not only to our hundred million people, but to millions in foreign lands.

Now, it has been proposed not only to deprive the farmer of this important source of revenue, but also to deprive the consumer of the genuine article—butter—that nature has provided for and which is recognized by all as the most wholesome article, conducive to health and longevity, and to substitute for it an article made from inferior ingredients, many of them harmful to health, as, for instance, cottonseed oil, made from cottonseed meal, which, according to the statement of Mr. George M. Rommel, Chief of the Animal Husbandry Division, Bureau of Animal Industry, is sure to kill hogs. I refer to the hearings before the Committee on Agriculture (64th Cong., 1st sess, pp. 210, 211):

Mr. ROMMEL. The man who is feeding his hogs on a ration in which there is some cottonseed meal is likely to go out into the pen in the morning and find one or more hogs dead. We have found in our study that there is never a case where a hog dies from cottonseed-meal poisoning where there have not been symptoms; but they have been so slight that the average farmer would overlook them.

The CHAIRMAN. Symptoms of what?

Mr. ROMMEL. Of cottonseed poisoning. A pig never dies from cottonseed-meal poisoning unless he has previously shown signs of sickness; but they may be such signs as only a careful observer would notice. That, of course, makes it out of the question to feed cottonseed meal to hogs. If you are going to have some of your hogs die on your hands it will knock out your profits.

Then, the disease may take another form. The pig may become sick and may not die for a long time. In cases like that a change of feed will effect a cure. In these chronic cases the first indication of sickness is the roughness of the coat of the hog; the coat gets harsh, and the hair begins to curl up, and the pig is plainly unthrifty. By and by he begins to stagger in the hind legs, and possibly there may be a little characteristic thumping of the flanks. Anyone who knows the disease of little pigs called "thumps" will recognize that; it is the same thing; it is a rapid, characteristic movement of the diaphragm that causes the flanks to thump. The pig may go along in this way for a long time and become emaciated and eventually may die.

In those acute cases resulting in death that I have witnessed there is no sign whatever of paralysis. The pig may show no signs of being sick, except indications that would be noticed on keen observation. He is seized with a very sudden attack; there is marked shortness of breath; the pig is in great pain and squeals, and, if the attack does not pass off, he may die in 28 or 30 minutes. Death results from cardiac failure and suffocation.

Mr. HAUGEN. Is that due to an overdose, or is there safety in giving that feed to hogs in a limited quantity?

Mr. ROMMEL. I have not found it so.

Mr. STEELE. You would not recommend it as feed for hogs?

Mr. ROMMEL. No, sir.

The proposition to substitute cottonseed oil made from cottonseed meal, which, when fed to hogs, kills then in from 28 to 30 minutes, which produces a harsh, roughness in the coat of the hog, and causes it to stagger, is, to say the least, most astonishing.

Further comment as to the wholesomeness of cottonseed meal seems unnecessary. It is unnecessary to say that if the product of cotton seed will kill hogs when fed to them that it is also injurious to human beings.

That oleomargarine is not altogether a wholesome food has been thoroughly demonstrated. I refer to testimony given by ex-Gov. Hoard, of Wisconsin, before the Committee on Agriculture, Fifty-sixth Congress, second session, pages 585–586:

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There is no credible evidence to show that oleomargarine is innocuous; no evidence to show that when eaten continuously in place of butter it is not harmful. But there are reports in great abundance to the effect that oleomargarine is harmful.

Mr. Edmund Hill, a member of the Somerset County council, England, reports that the great bulk of oleomargarine, or "margarine" as it is called there, is eaten in public institutions, convents, schools, etc. *At the Wells Asylum, with which he is connected, the inmates receive oleomargarine. In the asylums of Dorset, Wells, and Hants—the adjoining counties—butter is furnished, and the death rate at Wells is 30 per cent higher. At the Taunton Hospital there were 11 deaths in 13 months. Oleomargarine was substituted, and in 9 months the deaths rose to 22.*

This accords with the experience in France, where its use in hospitals is forbidden. In the United States, in institutions for the blind and for girls, it has been noticed that the use of oleomargarine lowered the vitality of the inmates very perceptibly.

There is abundant reason for this. The normal heat of the human stomach is 98°. Butter melts at 92°, 6° below the heat of the stomach (passes into pancreatic emulsion and digestion). Nature designed this fat in its raw state for food.

Oleomargarine melts at the varying temperature of 102° to 108°, a temperature no healthful stomach ever attains. As a consequence, this unnatural foreign fat must be expelled by sheer gastric action and force.

Butter fat is found in the milk of all mammals. It is chemically and physically unlike any other fat in existence. It was designed by nature for the food and sustenance of infant offsprings, having the most delicate of all digestion. Because of this most evident purpose and provision of nature, butter forms a healthful and important article of food in milk, cream, and in its separated state.

No matter what paid chemists may say, no counterfeit, even in its purest state, is wholesome or healthful.

But there is another phase of this question. There is absolutely no protection for the public against the most dangerous introduction of positive unhealthful compounds into oleomargarine.

The Journal of the American Chemical Society and the department of agriculture of New York abound in proof of the adulteration of oleomargarine with paraffin, a substance which the strongest acids even are unable to affect. There is no reason on earth why the foulest of germ-laden fats should not be used in the making of this compound, when once they are deodorized by the aid of chemistry.

But with butter it is different. Any contamination or hurtful manipulation is instantly shown in a loss of flavor. Butter always advertises its condition.

If the use of oleomargarine at Wells Asylum increased the death rate 30 per cent; if France, after experimenting with oleomargarine, found it wise to forbid its use in hospitals; if its use in our institutions for the blind lowered the vitality of the inmates perceptibly, why make it possible for the manufacturers and vendors of oleomargarine to cram it down the throats of the unwilling consumers?

It seems that such evidence from so reliable an authority should be conclusive and should leave no doubt in the mind of anyone as to the inferiority of oleomargarine to butter and its harmfulness as a food product. If there is lingering doubt in the minds of some, I refer to the statement of Mr. S. E. Bennett, inspector, Bureau of Animal Industry, and others, printed in the hearings before the Committee on Agriculture, Sixty-first Congress, second session, pages 190, 192, and 193:

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Bennett, will you state your full name to the reporter?

Mr. BENNETT. My name is S. E. Bennett; I am inspector in charge of the Bureau of Animal Industry work at Chicago.

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The CHAIRMAN. I have another letter, written by a man who signs himself "A packing-house employee." It is addressed to the Committee on Agriculture, from New York City, and he says:

"I know that if you saw the shop fat from which oleo oil—its chief constituent—is made, you would never relish it nor soon care to eat it again. About one-third of all the oleo oil made is extracted from this shop fat, which is gathered promiscuously from the numberless little butcher shops throughout the city or country.

"This shop fat—or, more properly speaking, mixture—is mingled with the sawdust, chicken feathers, heads, entrails, bits of old rags, and almost everything else imaginable, as it is brought in wagons to the rendering establishments controlled and operated by the big packing houses. This may be seen most any afternoon as it is brought in to a rendering establishment at the foot of East Forty-fifth Street and at the foot of West Fortieth Street, in this city, although there are several other places as well; and I suggest that if convenient you take a look for yourself sometime, but be careful and don't let them know who you are or what you are looking for.

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"Another great abuse in this business is in the handling of grease from dead hogs and cattle and diseased animals (condemned). This vile grease and tallow is not colored or denatured as it should be, but is placed in containers or casks and simply marked 'inedible,' a word that is easy changed to edible. Some time ago the Government ordered that all inedible grease, etc., be colored or denatured to prevent its use as food, but the American Packers' Association lost no time in having the order recalled and simply require now that this stuff be marked 'inedible.'

"Certain firms not connected with the packing houses cart this stuff away and refine it or bleach it. This is done by cooking it with bicarbonated soda and then straining it, or, rather, filtering it, through fuller's earth, after which it is deodorized by forcing air through the mixture while heated to carry off the odor, and it comes out as white as snow."

Mr. BENNETT. I will tell you our experience with shop fat. Of course, in New York City they have considerably more business in the shop-fat line than we have in Chicago. I think they have 7,000 shops that they collect fat from in New York, while we have comparatively few in Chicago.

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The CHAIRMAN. What precautions do you take to make sure that the things you mark "inedible" do not finally get in with those that are edible?

Mr. BENNETT. No more than the precaution of marking it on the end of the package. We mark it "inedible." We mark it "grease" or "inedible grease," and some of them use a stencil; and if the product comes from what is termed the "black gut" in hogs, that makes a dark-colored grease.

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Mr. BENNETT. There is no doubt about it. You can not make a No. 1 oleo oil from shop fat. I have known cases where they took a shop fat, apparently clean and wholesome in every way, and manufactured it into a No. 4 oleo oil. If you put shop fat into oleomargarine, you can detect it in the flavor right away.

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Mr. BENNETT. Oh, I have known of cases where they have manufactured oleo oil from shop fat, but not from the kind of shop fat that he describes there. It was shop fat that came in marked, like kidney fat and cod fat. We do not permit any of the fat of that kind to enter into an edible product in Chicago, except the fat from the kidneys and the cod fat.

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Mr. HAUGEN, Oh, those same things exist now. There is nothing to hinder that. I will read it to you, and you can see how easily it can be done. [Reading:]

"Dr. De Schweinitz, of the Agricultural Department, in his visit to a factory which was several years ago located in Philadelphia, found the same condition of affairs. Oleo oil was being made from a pile of fat scraps collected from the hotels, restaurants, and butcher shops, which pile gave out such an odor that it was sickening, and the makers admitted that it was being made into oleomargarine.

By this evidence it is shown that oleomargarine is inferior to butter and injurious to health. Of course no one will contend that oleomargarine, made of compounds that are sure to kill hogs, and scrap fat picked from the alley, or decomposed fat from packing houses, is either clean or wholesome.

Who are back of the cottonseed interests? Evidently not the cotton grower. Mr. Brand, Chief of the Office of Markets, before the Committee on Agriculture, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session, page 1433, in response to my question whether he had any information as to the owners and operators of the cottonseed industry, testified:

Mr. BRAND. I would say that information is knowledge. We have very complete records of the apparent ownership of certain cottonseed industries. I suppose Mr. HAUGEN is looking back of that subject to those who were reputed to be interested in the cottonseed industry of the South. I do not think they deny a part of that allegation. I believe they have a large interest in it.

Mr. HAUGEN. To what extent?

Mr. BRAND. I can not tell you. I do not know whether it is a matter of public record.

Mr. HAUGEN. Well, you have some knowledge of it?

Mr. BRAND. No; we have no knowledge of the exact ownership of that industry. A few big corporations, like the Pennsylvania Railroad and the United States Steel Corporation, publish the exact distribution of their stock and control, but there are only a few of them, and we have no method of forcing that sort of information from the people.

Mr. HAUGEN. But I understood you to say that a large amount of stock is owned or controlled by the packing houses?

Mr. BRAND. I said that the packing-house interests admit a very large interest in these concerns whose products they use in the manufacture of their products.

As before stated, evidently not in the interest of the farmer, in whom so many have professed interest, but of those styled by many as "greedy and horrid corporations," such as the Pennsylvania Railroad, the United States Steel Corporation, and Packing Trust, severely condemned and criticized by Members of Congress, and, judging from remarks printed in the RECORD, held in scorn and contempt.

The language and purpose of the amendment shows clearly who is to be espoused and elevated to the throne. The question, then, is: Are we justified in extending the strong arm of the Government over those obviously benefited? Does their conduct in the past warrant giving them a clean bill of health in this way and encouraging a practice contemptible and repulsive to every law-abiding citizen?

According to Government reports the fraudulent sale of oleo, at the time the Grout bill was under consideration in 1899, disclosed the fact that manufacturers of oleo had entered into a conspiracy to break down the State laws and had resorted to dishonorable methods in forcing their counterfeit upon the public by avoiding and disobeying the laws of the land to the extent of 5,492 dealers selling 62,825,582 pounds of oleo out of a total product of 83,130,474 pounds for the year contrary to the laws of 31 States. The manufacturers went so far as to encourage and urge dealers to violate the laws of the States, and provided for a defense fund for the employment of the best legal counsel obtainable in defending illicit sales whenever prosecution was instituted, led to the passage of the present law.

As to further evidence of the character of the firms to be benefited, I refer to the annual report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue for 1915, pages 256 and 267, in which he states that the Government had been defrauded through artificially colored oleo being sold under tax-paid stamps at one-fourth of 1 cent per pound instead of at the rate of 10 cents due on such product by four manufacturers, the enormous sum of $17,692,410.47 since the inception of the present law. By another manufacturer, $1,503,205.30 in a six-year period. The five alone, in the aggregate $19,195,613.77 stamp taxes, exclusive of special taxes of wholesale and retail dealers incurred.

The commissioner reported a production of 138,214,907 pounds of the uncolored and 7,595,141 pounds of the artificially colored product, or a total of 145,810,048 pounds of both classes, compared with 137,637,054 pounds of the uncolored and 6,384,222 pounds of the colored product, making a total of 144,021,276 pounds of both classes produced during fiscal year ending June 30, 1914.

Also that the collections during the fiscal year 1915 amounted to a total of $1,695,256.95, as against a total of $1,325,219.13 in 1914. Of this amount $761,200.63 was from stamp tax at 10 cents per pound; $347,141.81 from stamp tax at one-fourth of 1 cent; $586,914.51 special taxes of manufacturers and of wholesale and retail dealers in the two classes. It would seem that with five dealers defrauding the Government of more than $19,000,000, and with all the manufacturers of oleo paying less than $2,000,000 into the Treasury in 1915, they are doing fairly well and do not seem worthy or entitled to the recognition and encouragement which the proposed legislation would afford.

The Commissioner of Internal Revenue in his annual report for 1916 reports:

Investigations of violations of the oleomargarine law were continued during the fiscal year 1916, and while no cases of the same magnitude in fraud as those reported during the two preceding years were discovered, a large number of cases of considerable importance involving the illicit coloring of white oleomargarine by dealers were discovered and the offenders prosecuted and convicted. In addition to the criminal prosecutions in these cases, assessments of stamp tax at 10 cents per pound on the product illicitly colored and special taxes as manufacturers were made against these dealers, and in several instances taxes amounting to several thousand dollars were collected.

The prosecutions pending at the close of the preceding year in three of the largest cases discovered in 1914 were vigorously pressed during 1916, and the most important one was brought to trial and resulted in conviction of all the principals, who were sentenced to pay fines and serve terms of imprisonment. Through various legal technicalities and delays criminal prosecutions in the other two cases have not been brought to a conclusion, and the cases are now pending.

A summary of the results of the investigations made during the fiscal year 1916 shows 66 violations by manufacturers, 28 by wholesale dealers, 1,789 by retail dealers, or a total of 1,882 violations by these various classes reported during the year, as compared with a total of 2,777 violations during the fiscal year 1915.

These figures of violations by manufacturers include only those cases reported against dealers who illicitly colored the white product, and thereby became manufacturers under the law, as no violations were reported during the year against duly qualified manufacturers.

There were pending at the beginning of the fiscal year 1916, 22 cases of violations by manufacturers, 1 by wholesale dealers, 7 by retail dealers, and these cases, with those reported during 1916, were disposed of by indictment and prosecution where the facts warranted such action, and by compromise of those cases of technical violations and by being dropped upon payment of taxes due where the facts clearly showed unintentional nature of the offenses.

During the fiscal year 1916 prosecutions resulted in the conviction of a total of 10 manufacturers, 1 wholesale dealer, and 2 retail dealers, and acquittal of 4 manufacturers and 2 retail dealers, while 7 cases of illicit manufacture, 5 violations by wholesale dealers, and 48 by retail dealers were compromised, leaving 60 cases of illicit manufacture; 14 violations by wholesale dealers and 36 by retail dealers pending at the close of the fiscal year.

As stated, only 66 violations by manufacturers, 28 by wholesale dealers, 1,789 by retail dealers, or a total of 1,882 violations, were reported during the year, as compared with a total of 2,777 violations during the fiscal year 1915. True, a decrease in number, but I submit that 1,882 violations is not a small number, and does not entitle the recognition asked for.

It seems proper, also, to refer to the statement of Mr. Royal E. Cabell, Commissioner of Internal Revenue, before the Committee on Agriculture, Sixty-first Congress, second session, pages 285 and 287, which clearly indicates the persistent and unceasing efforts pursued:

[P. 285.]

Mr. CABELL. Here are the practices that we have reported to the bureau every day: A person goes into the business of handling oleomargarine. He will purchase a special stamp to sell the uncolored, and he will purchase the special stamp giving him the privilege of selling the colored. For the one he pays $6 a year and for the other $48, and if he pays the higher tax he can sell both kinds and handle both kinds on the same premises.

Mr. STANLEY. Is that a stamp or a license?

[P. 287.]

Mr. CABELL. The courts have decided that in order to convict that man you have got to prove both manufacture and sale of that identical product. Here is what we have had. You asked a little while ago why we did not enforce this law. If you will give us a law that we can enforce, we will do it; but here is what we are up against:

We have had this in the last 90 days in one State. We knew that a man was engaged in this practice on a large scale. We shadowed him and watched him until we knew the exact time when he did his mixing. And in that we took great chances, for we have had men shot in doing just such things as that, and were unable to get any redress. But we rushed this place; our officers rushed and broke in. They found four men in there, and they found, I think, 18 packages of white oleomargarine; 4 packages that were still warm, with the 10-cent tax on; they found the men in there with bottles of coloring matter and their arms all smeared up with it. Now, we had those men indicted, we went in and showed the evidence, and the judge dismissed them. The judge said that while there was a strong presumption that a man would not be coloring 3,000 pounds of oleomargarine for his own use, yet we had not shown a sale of that particular product, and therefore our officers did wrong to make the arrest; and he let them go. And we run up against that nearly all over the United States. There is not much incentive to spend money in trying to do anything under such circumstances. We have had one man shot, one man in the hospital now from injuries received in being kicked out of a place, and we have no redress whatever.

Evidently there is no limit to which the violators will go in fraudulently disposing of the counterfeit. Consider the absurdity of the proposed legislation.

The special taxes imposed by this (the oleomargarine) law as amended are:

Manufacturers of oleomargarine	$600
Wholesale dealers in oleomargarine colored artificially to look like butter	480
Wholesale dealers in oleomargarine not artificially colored only	200
Retail dealers in oleomargarine colored artificially to look like butter	48
Retail dealers in oleomargarine not artificially colored only	6
Manufacturers of adulterated butter	600
Retail dealers in adulterated butter	480
Manufacturers of process or renovated butter	50

TAXES ON PRODUCT.

Oleomargarine, artificially colored, 10 cents per pound.
Oleomargarine, not artificially colored, ¼ cent per pound.
Adulterated butter, 10 cents per pound.
Process or renovated butter, ¼ cent per pound.

Under the law and its administration, if a creamery manufactures and sells butter made out of sweet, pure, clean, and wholesome cream, and if through some oversight of the butter maker or his inability to reduce its moisture content to 16 per cent, even though the butter maker may do his very best in working and washing it to reduce the moisture content to 16 per cent, or if on account of climatic conditions or otherwise the butter absorbs moisture while in transit or at its destination and is found by a revenue collector to contain more than 16 per cent of moisture, the creamery is held up for a special tax of $600 and 10 cents a pound on the article; and if he fails to pay the tax imposed as required by law, besides being liable to the payment of the tax, he is fined not less than $1,000 and not more than $5,000; besides that, heavy taxes are imposed on dealers in adulterated butter, which are generally charged against the creamery by the dealers.

In many instances the 10 cents per pound tax, the wholesale and retail tax, and penalties aggregate more than $2,000, due entirely to unavoidable and unintentional violations.

On the other hand, the manufacturer of process or renovated butter, or one who buys rancid, decomposed, and unwholesome butter and through some process sweetens and deodorizes it and makes it look and taste like creamery butter, he is taxed only $50, or one-twelfth the tax imposed on the manufacturer of adulterated butter. Besides, adulterated butter is taxed 10 cents per pound, while process or renovated butter, or oleomargarine not artificially colored, is taxed but one-fourth cent per pound. In other words, the special tax imposed on the manufacturer of adulterated butter, a superior article, is twelve times as great as the special tax imposed on the manufacturer of process or renovated butter, an inferior article, and the tax on the superior article is forty times as great as that on the inferior article.

On oleomargarine artificially colored the present tax is 10 cents per pound; manufacturer's tax, $600; wholesale dealer's, $480; retail dealer's, $48.

It is now proposed to reduce the stamp tax to 2 cents per pound on oleomargarine, which would make the pound tax on the inferior counterfeit only one-fifth of that on the genuine and more wholesome article, containing more than 16 per cent moisture.

Can it be possible that the thousands of law breakers indicated in the report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue are to be given that preference over the millions engaged in a worthy and legitimate business, the dairy industry, conducted in an honorable and dignified manner? Is it possible that counterfeiting, fraud, and deception is to be given preference over honesty and square dealing? Are the hundreds of ex-convicts and others serving time behind the bars to be given a clean bill of health and a certificate of character and thus be encouraged to resume the business? Are those who have, according to the commissioner's report, most persistently and flagrantly violated the law now to be given the right of way in pursuing their unceasing, disgraceful method over those conducting their business in an honorable and dignified manner? Is it a wise policy to appropriate $26,000,000 annually, alleged to be in the interest and for the benefit of the farmer, and in one single stroke wipe out his most important branch of industry?

For years Congress has been appropriating large sums of money to encourage the dairy industry in the South. The department reports progress. The appropriations have been made with a view of helping the farmer who is farming his depleted farm, so that he might in time realize and appreciate the value of the cow, so that he might through the dairy industry restore his farm to a state of productivity, and so that instead of contributing his yearly earnings to the Fertilizer Trust, he might set them aside for the education and comfort of his family, the improvement of his farm, and occasionally a dollar for old age. Now, with all the activity of the department, with all the money expended, it is proposed in a single stroke to make this of no avail and to deprive those sorely in need of aid and encouragement of this opportunity. I take it that no one will contend that the farmer can feed and milk the cow, churn and market the butter in competition with an article made from cotton-seed oil, lard, and other ingredients, such as enter into the production of oleomargarine, all of less cost. That, of course, is out of question. It does not seem necessary to discuss it at this time, as it is of general knowledge that oleomargarine can be manufactured and sold at 10 to 15 cents per pound, while butter, with present wages and price of feed, can not be marketed for even twice that amount. To contend that butter can compete with its counterfeit is absurd. As to the justice of this legislation one might as well suggest taxing counterfeit money. Undoubtedly a piece of copper put through certain processes could be made to look like a $20 gold piece, and might be passed in instances, certainly if gilded to defraud. If we are to permit the coloring of oleomargarine to counterfeit butter by paying a small tax of 2 cents per pound, we might as well permit the counterfeiting of money by paying a tax of 5 cents on the dollar, or by taxing it in the same ratio.

The principle would be the same, and if taxed in the same proportion the profit and the loss to the victim would be the same. There is no difference in the loss sustained by the victim who buys 20 pounds of butter for $10 and receives instead 20 pounds of oleomargarine, worth $4, and the one who exchanges a $10 gold piece for a counterfeit worth $4; both have been defrauded of $6. The one exchanging the gold coin for the counterfeit is out $6, but the oleomargarine victim is out not only $6, the difference in the value of the two products, but, under misrepresentation and deception, he serves an unwholesome article to his family and as a result has a doctor bill to pay. Why any tax on oleomargarine? Oleomargarine manufacturers and others, some of whom are sincere in their contentions, have contended that the 10-cent stamp tax is a tax on oleomargarine passed on to the consumer. Of course it is not. The 10-cent tax is on the counterfeit; the tax on the genuine article is only one-fourth cent per pound. The 10-cent tax represents the difference in the cost of oleomargarine and butter at the time the law was enacted. The 10-cent tax was placed there not altogether for revenue, but for the purpose of removing the incentive to fraud. Much to the disappointment of those who believed in law enforcement and square dealing, the law has been violated, and, according to the commissioner's report, wholesale counterfeiting has been practiced. Naturally the matter has given the dairy people and consumers much concern. Representatives of the dairy people have honestly endeavored to have the law amended by Congress; hearings have been held; representatives from nearly every State have appeared before the committee urgently requesting remedial legislation.

If the 10-cent tax is objectionable, I believe the difficulty can be overcome and the wrong corrected either by prohibiting the coloring of oleomargarine in any shade of yellow, in semblance of butter, or, possibly, by limiting the coloring of it; or it can be accomplished by prohibiting the adding or mixing of milk, cream, butter, or butter fat with oleomargarine or by limiting the mixing, as is done in Denmark, which would give the desired relief and also overcome the objection made by many who actually believe that the stamp tax is a tax on the consumer. The two articles would then stand on their own pegs and merit. If oleomargarine is equal or superior in merit to butter, why mix butter with it? Why reduce its high quality? Why should it masquerade under false color?

In this connection I desire to call your attention to a statement of James H. Maurer, president of Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, to President Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, why oleomargarine should not be colored:

The laws of Pennsylvania do not allow manufacturers or dealers to color imitation butter. The consumer may, however, color it. But, once colored, it shall not be sold again.

For the past six years, or the three last legislative sessions of Pennsylvania, I opposed all proposed legislation which aimed to legalize the coloring of imitation butter by manufacturers or dealers. My objections are not based on any thought that coloring matter is unhealthful or that imitation butter is not fit for human consumption. My objection is solely an economic one. At present imitation butter, in its natural state, sells for from 18 to 22 cents a pound in Pennsylvania, while the genuine dairy product costs 36 cents a pound. The purer the imitation is the whiter it is. If the manufacturers and dealers in the imitation article were permitted to color their product the imitation would be complete, so much so that nothing short of an analysis would reveal its component parts. This is, at least, true of the great majority of consumers.

The imitation article, therefore, like any other imitation which closely resembles the genuine, comes in direct competition with it. Once we allow it to be colored its price will begin to soar dangerously close to the real article, and, as a consequence, the consumer who is now buying oleomargarine or butterine for 20 cents a pound will pay the advanced price.

Inclosed find copy of an advertisement which will verify this contention. The River Creamery and Elgin brands, mentioned on advertisement, are colored in imitation of dairy butter and the price is 10 cents a pound higher than the uncolored. The result of this kind of competition would mean ruin to the dairy farmer. The imitation being so perfect, deception would be easy and the market for the dairy product would weaken.

One thing sure, the farmer never could hope to compete with the manufacturers of the imitation article. As a result many of the dairy farmers would be compelled to go out of the dairy business and turn their farms to raising something else. And just as fast as this happened the price of the imitation article will rise until finally the great packing companies will have a monopoly, then the consumer will pay more for the imitation article than we are now paying for the genuine. Besides, the imitation will, most likely, not be as pure as it is now, if colored, because the purer the whiter, and the consumers know this. When colored, a certain amount of impure, foreign matter may be used and can not be detected by sight because of the coloring.

On the other hand, if the farmers can not find a profitable market for their milk and turn their farms to other products, it means the starving of their land. As fertilizers cattle are the life of the soil.

Therefore, looking at the question from every angle possible, I can see but two reasons why some dealers and manufacturers want a law giving them the right to color, in imitation of butter, their product; one is to charge more for their product and the other to give them a monopoly of the butter market.

Let oleomargarine and butterine and all other substitutes stand on their own feet and sell for what they are and not for what their manufacturers can make people believe they are.

JAMES H. MAURER.

Mr. Maurer, president of Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, who has given the subject careful and exhaustive study, clearly indicates why the millions of consumers, members of the great organization which he represents, should not be deceived or imposed upon by making counterfeiting easy. All these years the dairy people have been knocking at the door. Now, instead of granting their just demand, it has been proposed to hand them a gold brick. To deal a death-dealing blow that will not only affect the dairy interests but practically everyone. It has been alleged and feared by many that the party in power might take this step. Evidently it is not a recent thought, but one that was

expected and contemplated, if not agreed to, in advance. I quote from the Dallas (Tex.) News:

[From the Dallas (Tex.) News.]

DEMOCRATS BACK DOWN.

Another bill is to be treated by the House majority from the viewpoint of helping out some northern and western Democrats.

When the Democrats carried the House overwhelmingly at the last general election it was expected that the grip which the dairy interests have held on Congress ever since they forced through the oleomargarine tax bill over the strenuous opposition of the Democrats would be broken.

It was expected with certainty that the House Democrats would speedily adopt the pending oleomargarine bill, which has the indorsement of the southern agricultural and live-stock interests and masses of the city workingmen, but the supporters of the bill to repeal the oleomargarine tax find they can not muster sufficient votes to force a report on the pending measure.

It is said that great pressure has been brought to bear upon some of the northern Democrats who slipped into office on the crest of the last political tidal wave.

This would indicate that the step was at least expected, if not a previous agreement. Are the farmers who voted for you and President Wilson to be thus rewarded? Again, it is up to you, my Democratic friends, referred to as "northern Democrats who slipped into office," to save the day. I trust that if the pressure referred to is ever brought to bear upon you that you may have the courage and wisdom to withstand the pressure and not vote to ruin the most important industry in your districts, and thus encourage and promote counterfeiting by making it easier for the thousand violators. It seems clear that instead of amending the law so as to impede the progress of or to destroy this valuable industry upon whom so many depend, we should amend it so as to give adequate protection to this worthy and legitimate industry against imposition and fraud.

Alabama Steel, Its Suitability for Use in Armor Manufacture.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON,
OF ALABAMA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 2, 1917.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave obtained to extend my remarks on the above subject I reproduce a statement made by Prof. Joseph W. Richards, of Lehigh University, made before the Navy Armor Plate Board, in Birmingham, Ala., in February, 1917.

STATEMENT OF JOSEPH W. RICHARDS, A. C., PH. D.

The main questions before the Armor-Plate Board in considering Birmingham, Ala., as a location for the Government armor-plate plant, are, I understand, as follows:

I. Can the phosphorus in Birmingham pig iron be reduced in basic open-hearth furnaces to the specification limits of armor plate (0.03 per cent phosphorus)?

II. Can the large amount of armor-plate scrap be handled by the open-hearth furnace?

III. Granted that the phosphorus in high phosphorus pig iron can readily be eliminated in basic open-hearth furnaces in the production of straight carbon steel, is there any complication as far as armor plate is concerned due to the use of armor-plate scrap and in particular due to the content of chromium in the scrap? If there is any complication what does it add to the cost of the ingot per pound or per ton? (Rear Admiral Fletcher.)

I.

Without hesitation this can be answered affirmatively. It is possible and practicable to dephosphorize Birmingham pig iron, with its 0.6 to 1 per cent of phosphorus, to the limit of 0.03 per cent of phosphorus allowable in armor-plate steel. It goes almost without saying that this requires experienced melters and competent metallurgical supervision to attain it regularly. Making armor-plate steel is no proper task to set the indifferent metallurgist or the careless melter; but granted the same metallurgical skill as is used in the private armor-plate plants, or as is used in Germany in making armor-plate steel from similar pig iron, there is no doubt at all that the quality of steel required can be produced from Birmingham pig iron.

II.

The large amount of scrap can be remelted in open-hearth furnaces, but only at the sacrifice of much of the chromium which it contains, which must then be replaced. The atmosphere of the open-hearth furnace is oxidizing in its nature, and scrap containing chromium can not be melted in such an atmosphere without loss of chromium. This problem, however, is common to all armor-plate plants which remelt scrap armor plate in open-hearth furnaces. The ideal manner of handling such scrap would undoubtedly be by the electric furnace. Assuming an electric furnace properly designed for the purpose, the remelting could be accomplished without any loss of chromium and virtually without any change in composition. With electric power available at one-half cent per kilowatt hour, the saving in chromium would bring down the total melting cost to a par with melting costs in the open-hearth furnace, besides obviating the troublesome slag formed in the latter furnace by the oxidation of so much chromium.

III.

If the scrap is melted with or mixed with the pig iron before the latter is dephosphorized, the chromium present is certain to oxidize and form a viscous slag during the refining of the steel. In fact, it may be virtually assumed that the chromium in the scrap used will largely pass into the slag under such circumstances, increasing the slag volume, making it viscous, and requiring the addition of considerable flux, such as fluorspar, to thin it to the desired fluidity. This slag question is not a novelty in making armor-plate steel. It has been met and solved by all armor-plate makers. The presence of phosphorus and the need for its elimination does not materially change the slag problem. It increases the amount of refining to be done, and thus the time of a heat, and that may be assumed the only complication. The increased cost of the liquid steel due to the increased refining to be done will not exceed at the outside limit $5 per ton. I recommend that this datum be assumed as a perfectly safe figure.

The writer believes that armor-plate-steel manufacture in general can be improved by refining the basic pig-iron charge entirely by itself, without addition of scrap in the manufacturing furnace. In this manner chromium would be absent during the desiliconizing, decarbonizing, and dephosphorizing of the metal and would be added later to the refined steel bath after the slag has been teemed off. To utilize the scrap properly it should simply be melted in furnaces in which no refining is done, for the scrap does not need refining, and should then preferably be cast directly from such furnaces into armor-plate ingots, or it may be added molten to the newly manufactured melted armor-plate steel, or the newly manufactured metal could be added to the remelted metal in the furnace or in the ladle. In this manner the loss of chromium during refining of the pig iron would be obviated and the whole operation simplified, particularly the slag question.

CONCLUSION.

The writer is convinced that by the utilization of the metallurgical skill available in the Birmingham district, employing melters experienced in making armor-plate steel, and with competent expert metallurgical advice, a plant for manufacturing armor-plate steel can be operated on Birmingham pig iron with every assurance of meeting the Government's requirements as to quality and cost.

Respectfully submitted.

JOSEPH W. RICHARDS, Ph. D.,
Professor of Metallurgy, Lehigh University; Chairman Iron and Steel Committee, American Institute of Mining Engineers; Member Naval Advisory Board.

Severing Diplomatic Relations With Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN R. FARR,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. FARR. Mr. Speaker, I am in receipt of the following resolutions from organizations in the district which I have the honor to represent and desire that the same be printed in the RECORD:

SCRANTON, PA., *February 14, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN R. FARR,
Representative in Congress, Washington, D. C.:

Whereas President Woodrow Wilson in an address before the joint session of the Congress on February 3, 1917, in severing diplomatic relations with the Imperial German Government, said in part, as follows: "We wish to serve no selfish ends. We seek merely to stand true alike in thought and in action to the immemorial principles of our people, which I have sought to express in my address to the Senate only two weeks ago—seek merely to vindicate our right to liberty and justice and an unmolested life. These are the bases of peace, not war. God grant that we may not be challenged to defend them by acts of willful injustice on the part of the Government of Germany"; and

Whereas the Senate of the United States, in session of February 7, expressed confidence in President Wilson's severance of diplomatic relations with the German Empire by passing a set of resolutions, which closes as follows: "Therefore be it resolved by the Senate that the Senate approves the action taken by the President, as set forth in his address delivered before the joint session of the Congress, as stated above": Therefore be it

Resolved by representatives of Griffin Post, No. 139, Grand Army of the Republic; Griffin Camp, No. 8, Sons of Veterans; Gobin Camp, No. 41, United Spanish War Veterans; Sherman Camp, No. 1, Junior Order Sons of Veterans; Woman's Relief Corps, No. 50; Circle, No. 19, Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic; Ladies' Auxiliary of the Sons of Veterans; Ladies' Auxiliary of the United Spanish War Veterans; Daughters of Veterans; and friends, assembled on this the 13th day of February, 1917, to fittingly celebrate Union Defenders' Day, in honor of Abraham Lincoln's birthday, That we hereby express confidence in President Wilson and the Congress of these United States, and that we renew our allegiance to the flag and to the Republic for which it stands; and be it further

Resolved, That, come what may, we will do all that lies in our power to maintain and uphold the principles upon which this Republic was founded, even to the offering of our lives if need be; and as the loyal citizens stood by Gen. George Washington when this Republic was founded, and as they stood by our immortal Lincoln in the dark days of 1861–1865, and, as they stood by our martyred President McKinley in 1898, so do we stand by and pledge our faith in our Government in the words of Abraham Lincoln: "Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us dare to do our duty as we understand it": Be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to our Congressman, Hon. JOHN R. FARR, to the Senators from the State of Pennsylvania, that copies be furnished the press of this city and to the Secretary of each organization here represented.

Presented and its adoption moved by D. O. FREEMAN, *Griffin Camp No. 8, Sons of Veterans.*

Seconded by—Mrs. E. L. WALTER, *department president Woman's Relief Corps;* CATHERINE DE LACEY ROACHE, *president Daughters of Veterans;* GERTRUDE COUGHLIN, *past president Circle No. 19, Ladies of Grand Army of the Republic;* Mrs. MARY RIEDMILLER, *president Ladies' Auxiliary Sons of Veterans;* Commander F. E. SHELTON, *Griffin Post, No. 139, Grand Army of the Republic.;* Commander N. M. BIRTEL, *Gobin Camp, United Spanish War Veterans;* D. J. LINDLEY, *senior vice commander Camp No. 8, Sons of Veterans;* EDGAR DAVIS *for Sherman Camp, No. 1, Junior Order Sons of Veterans.*

Above resolutions adopted unanimously.

Commander W. J. LEWIS, *Chairman.*

JEWISH HOME OF FRIENDLESS,
Scranton, Pa., February 19, 1917.

Hon. JOHN R. FARR,
Representative in Congress, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At a regular meeting, held by our society it was on motion unanimously resolved in case of this great United States of ours being forced into this terrible war, we would do all in our power to give a helping hand in time of need.

Our society consists principally of mothers with families, and it is our prayer to the Almighty and Supreme Ruler not to have this country engaged in this terrible conflict, and implore the President, with the Senate, to avoid such a thing if possible.

In the name of the Jewish Home of Friendless, of Scranton, consisting of over 2,000 members, I remain,

Very truly, yours,

Mrs. Rev. E. FRIED, *President.*
SAMUEL ROTH, *Secretary.*

Volunteer Officers' Retired List Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT M. McCRACKEN,
OF IDAHO,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. McCRACKEN. Mr. Speaker, I offer for insertion in the RECORD a memorial which the legislature of my State has passed, and with which I am in hearty sympathy. While there are only a few hours left for this Congress to act upon this important bill, I want to urge upon this body that it could not perform a more patriotic service to the country than to place the officers of the great Civil War upon the roll of retired officers and thus honor the memory of Lincoln and do justice to the men who did so much to preserve the Union in its hour of peril.

The memorial is as follows:

STATE OF IDAHO,
DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

I, W. T. Dougherty, secretary of state of the State of Idaho, do hereby certify that the annexed is a full, true, and complete transcript of senate joint memorial No. 8, by Curtis and Atherton, to the honorable the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, passed the senate on February 10, 1917, passed the house of representatives on February 19, 1917, which was filed in this office on the 23d day of February, A. D. 1917, and admitted to record.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the great seal of the State. Done at Boise City, the capital of Idaho, this 23d day of February, A. D. 1917, and of the Independence of the United States of America the One hundred and forty-first.

[SEAL.] W. T. DOUGHERTY,
Secretary of State.

Senate joint memorial 8. (By Messrs. Curtis and Atherton.)

To the honorable the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:

Your memorialists, the Senate and the House of Representatives of the State of Idaho, respectfully represent that—

Whereas there is now pending and upon the calendars of both the Senate and House of Representatives a bill known as the volunteer officers' retired-list bill; and

Whereas full pay for life was granted to all survivors of the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, and the Indian wars, in accordance with rank; that this is a measure of justice and in harmony with policy and should be speedily taken up and put upon its passage: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, your memorialists, earnestly recommend that the above-mentioned bill be taken up and voted on at the earliest possible date.

The secretary of state of the State of Idaho is hereby instructed to cause a copy of this memorial to be forwarded to each of the Members of the congressional delegation from the State of Idaho to the Congress of United States.

This senate joint memorial passed the senate on the 10th day of February, 1917.

ERNEST L. PARKER,
President of the Senate.

This senate joint memorial passed the house of representatives on the 19th day of February, 1917.

B. HARVEY ALLRED,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

I hereby certify that the within senate joint memorial No. 8 originated in the senate during the fourteenth session of the Legislature of the State of Idaho.

RICH'D BURKE,
Secretary of the Senate.

The Reed Prohibition Amendment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM B. OLIVER,
OF ALABAMA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. OLIVER. Mr. Speaker, my attention has been called to the fact that some of the press reports sent out from Washington, giving the vote on what is commonly known as the Reed "bone-dry" amendment, simply show that I voted "present." While this is correct, yet in the absence of knowledge of the accompanying facts, as disclosed by the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of that date, as to why I voted "present," the press reports referred to would be misleading.

Under leave to extend my remarks I therefore desire to give the facts as shown by the RECORD and briefly state the reasons for my vote on this measure.

The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. AUSTIN], a Republican Member of the House, desired to be present at Knoxville from February 27 to 29, during the visit of the Armor Plant Board at such place; and it was my wish to be present at Tuscaloosa from February 26 to 28, during the visit of the same board at this my home town. Mr. AUSTIN and I accordingly agreed to pair with each other on all votes in the House occurring on these dates. During his absence, the Reed amendment was presented to the House, and in order to express my attitude on the bill I voted "no," withdrawing the vote, as the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shows, for the declared purpose only of keeping my pair with Mr. AUSTIN, who was absent, and so I then asked to be recorded as voting "present." This is the only method in vogue in the House whereby one can express his views on a pending measure when paired with an absent Member and at the same time keep faith with his pair agreement. During my absence the RECORD shows that Mr. AUSTIN, on a roll call, voted "no" on a pending bill and withdrew his vote of "no" to be recorded as voting "present," for the declared purpose of likewise keeping his pair with me.

It is unnecessary to say to those who know me personally or who know my public and private record that I have been a lifelong prohibitionist and have sought both by example and utterance, in public and private, to aid always the advance of the cause of temperance. I have at all times taken an active part in behalf of every prohibition measure in my county and State, never being content to simply be a silent looker-on and well-wisher.

I regret to find myself differing from some of my good prohibition friends as to the wisdom, the propriety, and timeliness of the Reed amendment. It is my opinion that in States now wet this amendment will not prove helpful to the furtherance of temperance legislation; nor do I feel authorized by my constituency, either expressly or impliedly, to materially change the laws of my State on this subject recently passed by the friends of temperance. There has never been in my State a discussion or even a remote suggestion that Congress would be asked to pass legislation of this character.

The author of the amendment is avowedly opposed to prohibition in any form, absolute or modified. Like others who share his views, he saw the rapid progress that prohibition was making in every section of our country and how futile all efforts had been to stem its progress. The amendment furnished what to them seemed a gambler's chance to probably postpone the further spread of prohibition in States now wet, and was probably inspired by a further hope that it might cause possible dissension among the friends of temperance in some States now dry.

The author of the amendment well knew that the past history of prohibition legislation disclosed that seldom, if ever, had there been a sudden jump from saloons to "bone-dry" prohibition in any State, but that the advance of prohibition had been gradual in those States now dry, and made so under the direction and guidance of sincere temperance adherents. From the saloon to dispensary or to some modified form of prohibition have been the usual methods pursued in the different States. From this, it was doubtlessly argued by the author of the amendment, that if Congress should now make it impossible for any State in future to abolish the sale or manufacture of liquors without being forced by Federal law to adopt absolute "bone-dry" prohibition, this would probably delay prohibition in States now wet, and might serve to create dissatisfaction in

some States now dry, where a limited quantity of liquor, under certain legal restrictions, may be ordered for private use.

In Alabama, my home State, the last legislature was controlled by the friends of prohibition, and they wrote the present laws of that State on this subject. In their judgment it was thought best to adopt what may be termed a modified form of prohibition. Until the Reed amendment was offered, it had never been even remotely suggested that this Congress would or should assume to change or modify the prohibition laws of that or any other State, now dry, by writing into the Federal law the provisions of the Reed amendment.

Personally I prefer a "bone-dry" to a "limited-quantity" law; but since my State has recently passed a law on this subject, I question the right to substitute my wish for its laws without even the semblance of consultation or discussion. I am the servant, not the master, of my constituents.

As to the probable future effect of this "bone-dry" amendment on temperance legislation in States now wet it may be of interest to recall that when the bill proposing a modified form of prohibition for the District of Columbia was pending in the Senate some weeks ago, a similar "bone-dry" amendment to the District bill was submitted. Prohibition leaders then openly charged that such an amendment was offered in the hope that should a referendum on the bill be later ordered by the Senate, such a "bone-dry" amendment, if adopted, would cause the defeat of the District bill by the voters. The prohibitionists accordingly rejected such "bone-dry" amendment to the District bill.

The brewers were active in their support of this amendment when it was before the House, and sent many telegrams urging its support, and while I fear there may be substantial foundation for their evident belief and hope that the adoption of the amendment may serve to retard the progress of prohibition in States now wet, yet I trust that my apprehension in this regard will prove groundless.

In conclusion, let me say that the amendment has now been written into law, and it is my earnest hope that the people of my State will accept it and cooperate to see that it is lived up to, both in letter and spirit. If accepted and strictly enforced, I recognize fully that it will prove a great blessing wherever so tried. The steady trend of the Nation is undeniably toward absolute prohibition, and the reasons for this are not difficult of ascertainment because they are found in sound moral and economic arguments, which commend themselves to the favorable judgment of people in all sections of our country, namely, the uplift of humanity and the safeguarding of the home.

Failure of the Sixty-fourth Congress to Enact Water-Power Legislation.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLIFTON N. McARTHUR,

OF OREGON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. McARTHUR. Mr. Speaker, in the closing hours of this Congress I think it fitting to observe that however well satisfied any of us may feel over this or that legislative accomplishment, we are obliged to confess that our performance with respect to water power is something for which we can offer no adequate excuse either to the country or to ourselves. While we have spent days upon days of time wrangling over trivial matters, we have made an absolute failure in one matter that is clearly fundamental to the mobilization of our industries, to the functioning of our overburdened transportation system, to the production of our food supply, and to the defense of our country.

We have failed to make it possible for capable and honorable men to develop our wasting water powers, notwithstanding the fact that hundreds of millions of dollars are available for such development, but will not, by reason of world-wide reconstruction demands, be available in the near future. It has been of no consequence to the majority of us that millions of water horsepower are now actively demanded in the promotion of our national prosperity. We have been indifferent to the fact that great railroad lines are awaiting the passage of legislation that would make it possible to use electricity as a motive power and thereby increase the efficiency and comfort of the service while decreasing its cost and incidentally preventing the present enormous consumption of exhaustible fuel. It has made no difference to us that great industries which we need and demand in this world-wide crisis must seek other countries, because we would not enact honest and practical water-power legislation. We scramble and tumble over each other in our zeal to enact legislation in the farmers' interest, yet in our wisdom we have thought it better to have our farmers either produce half a crop or else pay tribute to the great nitrogen combine of Chile than to allow our water powers to be developed and thereby create home production of nitrogen for fertilizer purposes. Truly, it will be surprising if some of the water-power obstructionists on the floor of this House do not have their names engraved upon a monument erected by the grateful people of the Republic of Chile in recognition of their zeal in levying tribute on the American farmer for the benefit of the Chilean nitrate industry.

The embargo on water-power development is now about nine years old. One Congress after another has passed out of existence without providing a remedy. We have listened to the propaganda of self-styled and self-appointed conservators of the public interest who assume infallibility and whose watchword is "holier than thou," but whose only clear and unmistakable desire is to keep their names and their activities constantly before the public. In this urgent need for wise and manful action we have been unable to rise above the trivialties of those who would tear down that which they have not the ability to construct.

Somehow the two Houses of this Congress managed to advance as far as the appointment of a conference committee on the navigable stream bill. I will not attempt to determine where the blame lies for failure of that conference. The appalling and the shameful fact is that we have failed—failed in a matter in which, as efficient public servants and considerate, sensible, and full-grown men, we ought to have been successful. The water powers of the country will continue to waste down into the sea. Our industrial capital and our creative men will continue to go, as they have in the past few years, to other countries, where ability and enterprise are appreciated and where the creation of something big, broad, purposeful, and useful is not considered a reprehensible act.

I trust that the Sixty-fifth Congress will give its serious attention to this water-power question and that it will have the ability and courage to settle it properly.

Prohibition in the District of Columbia.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM W. HASTINGS,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 1, 1917.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, the most eloquent plea for prohibition to-day is a vote in its behalf. That is the most effective speech which can be made. A few days ago I favored prohibition in Alaska, and voted recently for the amendment to the Post Office appropriation bill prohibiting interstate shipments into dry States, as well as forbidding the circulation of newspapers containing liquor advertisements in dry States or Territories. I favor this bill providing prohibition for the District of Columbia just as it passed the Senate, without dotting an "i" or crossing a "t." I believe that every sincere friend of prohibition will vote down all proposed amendments to it. I will not attempt to analyze the bill. Everyone knows that if this bill is amended and goes back to the Senate, under the rules prevailing in the other body, which I am not permitted to criticize, indefinite debate can be had on it, resulting in its defeat, now that the session is so near a close. It may be that if the parliamentary situation were not as it is amendments would be favorably considered; but, in my judgment, a vote to amend this bill at the present time is a vote against prohibition, and the people of this country will not be deceived. They thoroughly understand it.

I am not going to make an argument in favor of prohibition. It needs no argument in its behalf. That the saloon is a curse everyone must admit and no one will deny. It never made any boy a better man. It never brightened any home. It never caused the reformation of a fallen woman. I assert with positiveness that there is no argument in its behalf.

We have heard the stock arguments to-day that are usually made in its defense, and among them:

First. It is asserted that we derive a great amount of revenue from it to run the Government. Permit me to remind you that

the saloon is the cause of more crime and, therefore, more expense in the courts and the enforcement of law throughout the Nation, than we get revenue from licensing it. I do not believe in taxing vice to raise revenue for maintaining this Government.

Second. It is argued that you can not legislate temperance into human beings. This I deny. If liquor is put out of the reach of young boys acquiring a thirst for it and the older men having an uncontrollable appetite for it, the former will soon have no desire for it and the latter will take more interest in family life, as temptation is removed and the love of home life grows.

Third. It is asserted that a great deal of money is invested in alcoholic liquors and saloon fixtures in the District, and that some notice should be given in advance of the intention of Congress to enact legislation of this kind. This argument does not appeal to me. I do not believe that we are under any obligations to give such advance notice when it comes to passing laws for the prevention of vice. Any person competent of acquiring property ought to have foreseen long ago that prohibitory laws will be written upon the statute books of every State of this Union within the next few years. Within a short time national prohibition by constitutional amendment will be a reality.

Fourth. It is argued that we ought to leave this important question to a referendum vote of the people of the District of Columbia. This argument has no force. The District belongs to the Nation and not to the residents of it. We, the Representatives of the 48 States of this Union, represent the District, and it is useless to argue, therefore, that the District has no representation in Congress. If this question is left to a referendum vote of the people, why not submit every other question to a vote of the residents of the District which affect the people living here? Why should any special privilege be shown to the liquor interests? It is another argument for delay, nothing more. I am in favor of giving the people of Oklahoma the largest voice in the control of their own affairs. They elect their Representatives. We have a different form of government here, and the District of Columbia is specially represented by 435 Members in Congress, all taking pride in the Capital City of the Nation. I shall, therefore, vote against the referendum, shall vote for the rule to consider the bill, and shall vote against any amendment to the bill for the reasons stated.

Oklahoma is the pioneer in this kind of legislation. For 75 years we have had prohibition in the eastern part of the State. The enabling act admitting Oklahoma to statehood required that we should have prohibition there for 21 years, and by a vote of the people, we extended this provision throughout the entire State. There are now 26 States of the Union with prohibitory laws, and the day is not far distant when we will have prohibition throughout this entire country by constitutional amendment. God speed the day!

The Military Establishment.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. S. HUBERT DENT, JR.,

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I submit herewith tables prepared in the War Department showing the initial cost for supplies and additional construction, together with annual maintenance cost, of the Military Establishment under the national-defense act after the fifth increment has been added; also first cost of supplies and additional construction, together with annual maintenance cost, of the Military Establishment if the recommendation of the War College Division for universal compulsory service should be adopted. I also insert a table prepared by the War College, comparing the cost of maintenance and the strength of the defense forces under the national-defense act and the proposed universal compulsory training plan.

It will be observed that the first cost of the establishment under the present law for reserve supplies and permanent construction is $1,514,575,566, and the annual maintenance cost is $339,548,000. This estimate, however, is unfair in that it includes estimates for 685,000 volunteers at the outbreak of war, at a cost of $565,125,000, and 1,500,000 volunteers within three months after the outbreak of war, at a cost of $1,237,500,000. From this is deducted, however, value of supplies in use and in store, material under manufacture, amounting to $155,472,000; also value of supplies that can be easily obtained in open market and not required in time of peace, $111,870,000; and also $569,250,000 worth of supplies that can be obtained within three months. Deducting the provision for volunteers, which, of course, would only apply in the event of war, the first cost of supplies for the Military Establishment under the present law, after the full increment has been added, is $824,866,457. Of course it is manifestly unfair to tack onto the present peace plan the cost for a volunteer army of any size, as that army would be called into existence only in the event of war and its number would depend entirely upon the necessities of the particular situation.

I direct attention to the fact that the first cost of the plan for universal compulsory service prepared by the Army War College, which provides for complete reserves and permanent construction, is $2,138,031,372, and the annual cost of maintenance is $461,205,324.

In view of the fact that this plan has been given to Congress and the bill prepared by the staff has been introduced, for the purpose of calling public attention to the plan I thought it only fair that the public should also be advised as to the cost of establishing and maintaining such a system:

TABLE I.—*Estimate of cost of the Military Establishment as it would ultimately be under the national-defense act after fifth increment has been added to the Regular Army and the National Guard.*

(Regular Army and National Guard are shown at minimum strength.)

A. FIRST COST OF SUPPLIES AND ADDITIONAL CONSTRUCTION REQUIRED.

	1	First cost of supplies.		Cost of additional construction required.	
	Strength.	2 All supplies, including necessary reserve supplies.	3 All supplies, exclusive of necessary reserve supplies.	4 If permanent type.	5 If cantonment type.
(a) Regular Army (including 82,200 in over-sea garrisons)	224,628	$191,352,000	$119,918,000	$102,320,000	$6,020,000
(b) Regular Army Reserve (overhead cost included in Regular Army)	86,000	27,393,000	27,393,000	.....	.....
(c) National Guard (including corps Field Artillery)	428,572	443,019,000	182,180,000	.....	.....
(d) National Guard Reserve (overhead cost included in National Guard)	158,000	40,640,000	40,640,000	.....	.....
(e) National Guard animals (in excess of those authorized in national defense act, June 3, 1916)	.....	40,200,000	40,200,000	.....	.....
(f) Volunteers required immediately on outbreak of war	685,000	565,125,000	260,300,000	.....	.....
(g) Volunteers required within 3 months after outbreak of war	1,500,000	1,237,500,000	570,000,000	.....	.....
(h) Additional armament and ammunition required for fortifications	.....	82,252,457	41,707,457	.....	.....
(i) Total (including strength of over-sea garrisons, 82,200)	3,082,200	2,627,491,457	1,282,338,457	102,320,000	6,020,000
(k) Deduct:					
(1) Value of supplies in use and in store, material under manufacture, and unused appropriations		155,472,000	155,472,000	.....	.....
(2) Value of supplies for (a) to (f) that can be obtained in open market in great quantities at any time and that are not required in time of peace		111,870,000	109,228,000	.....	.....
(3) Value of supplies for (g) that can be obtained within 3 months		569,250,000	262,260,000	.....	.....
Total to be deducted		836,592,000	526,960,000	.....	.....
(l) Amount required, based on present prices		1,790,899,457	755,378,457	102,320,000	6,020,000
(m) Amount required, based on prices prior to European war (estimated at 20 per cent less than present prices)		1,432,719,566	584,302,766	81,856,000	4,816,000

(n) First cost with complete reserve supplies and permanent construction, based on peace prices	$1,514,575,566
(o) First cost with complete reserve supplies and cantonment construction, based on peace prices	1,437,535,566

TABLE I.—*Estimate of cost of the Military Establishment as it would ultimately be under the national-defense act after fifth increment has been added to the Regular Army and the National Guard*—Continued.

(Regular Army and National Guard are shown at minimum strength.)

B. ANNUAL COST OF MAINTENANCE.

	Strength.	Pay.	All costs except pay.	Total costs.	Per capita cost.
Regular Army, including over-seas garrisons	224,628	$73,508,000	$122,306,000	$195,814,000	$872.00
National Guard	428,572	29,770,000	73,000,000	102,770,000	240.00
Enlisted Reserve, Regular Army	86,000	2,064,000		2,064,000	24.00
Reserve Officers' Training Corps	40,000		5,000,000	5,000,000	125.00
Reserve officers	50,000	15,000,000	2,000,000	17,000,000	340.00
Enlisted Reserve Corps	150,000	1,500,000	7,500,000	9,000,000	60.00
Maintenance of fortifications and supplies for Coast Artillery target practice			1,700,000	1,700,000	
Civilian training camps			5,000,000	5,000,000	
Civilian rifle clubs			1,000,000	1,000,000	
Schools and colleges			200,000	200,000	
Enlisted Reserve, National Guard	158,000				
Total annual cost of maintenance	1,137,200	121,842,000	217,706,000	339,548,000	298.58

TABLE II.—*Estimate of cost of the Military Establishment recommended by the War College Division, General Staff, on National Army plan, January, 1917.*

A. FIRST COST OF SUPPLIES AND ADDITIONAL CONSTRUCTION REQUIRED.

	First cost of supplies.		Cost of additional construction.	
	1	2	3	4
	All supplies, including necessary reserve supplies.	All supplies, exclusive of necessary reserve supplies.	If permanent type.	If cantonment type.
(a) Over-sea garrisons	$57,922,518	$28,093,423	$35,259,600	$2,069,700
(b) Frontier force	18,920,040	9,176,219		
(c) Training forces	469,487,089	227,243,921	484,111,467	26,453,121
(d) First reserves	1,324,077,318	692,339,319	31,320,000	8,485,082
(e) Second reserves	1,324,077,318	692,339,319	31,320,000	8,485,082
(f) Permanent personnel not included (staff departments, detached officers, dentists, recruiting service, schools, disciplinary units, education, depots, hospitals, etc.)	6,271,056	6,271,056		
(g) Additional armament and ammunition required for fortifications	82,252,457	41,707,457		
(h) Total	3,283,007,796	1,697,170,714	582,011,067	45,492,985
(j) Deduct:				
(1) Value of supplies in use and in store, material under manufacture, and unused appropriations	155,472,101	155,472,101		
(2) Value of supplies for (d) that can be obtained in open market in great quantities at any time, including animals and vehicles, motor or animal drawn	184,364,734	178,074,379		
(3) Value of supplies for (e) that can be obtained within 3 months	610,399,644	310,605,926		
Total to be deducted	950,236,479	644,152,406		
(k) Amount required, based on present prices	2,332,771,317	1,053,018,308	582,011,067	45,492,985
(l) Amount required, based on prices prior to European war (estimated at 20 per cent less than present prices)	1,866,217,054	842,414,647	465,608,853	36,394,388

Deducting $193,794,535 worth of reserve supplies at peace prices not required for training forces the following results:
(m) First cost with complete reserves and permanent construction $2,138,031,372
(n) First cost with complete reserves and cantonment construction 1,708,816,907

TABLE II.—*Estimate of cost of the Military Establishment recommended by the War College Division, General Staff, on National Army plan, January, 1917*—Continued.

B. ANNUAL COST OF MAINTENANCE.

	1 Strength.	2 Pay.	3 All cost except pay and maintenance of construction.	4 Total cost except maintenance of construction.	5 Per capita.
Training force:					
Permanent personnel	148,850	$80,616,148	$51,626,968		
Temporary personnel (recruits)	475,000	26,125,000	168,191,080		
Total training force	623,850	106,741,148	219,818,048	$326,559,196	$523.60
Trained reservists	3,000,000				
Over-sea garrisons	96,963	31,763,090	41,532,870	73,295,960	756.00
Frontier force	29,024	7,166,039	11,818,960	18,985,599	654.00
Permanent personnel not included above (staff departments, detached officers, dentists, recruiting, service schools, disciplinary units, education, depots, hospitals, etc.)	21,186	11,022,170	6,011,374	17,033,544	804.00
Fixed overhead charges not otherwise accounted for			5,000,000	5,000,000	
Transport service			2,079,796	2,079,796	
Reserve Officers' Training Corps			5,000,000	5,000,000	
Registration, physical examination, and exemptions			5,448,127	5,448,127	
Total	3,771,023	156,693,047	296,709,175	453,402,222	
Add for maintenance of permanent construction				7,803,102	
To be appropriated if permanent construction is maintained				461,205,324	128.30
Or add for maintenance of cantonment construction				3,709,789	
To be appropriated if cantonment construction is maintained				457,103,011	121.21

C. COST OF REPEATING SEASON FOR RESERVISTS.

	Number repeating.	Per capita.	Total cost.	Per cent of cost of whole Military Establishment.
At end of second year of training	495,000	$19.67	$7,966,350	1.75
Subsequent years	770,500	19.67	15,155,735	3.32

D. ORGANIZED MILITIA, ESTIMATED COST.

Allotment to the several States in aid of Organized Militia, $7,000,000. (For five years only to cover transition period.)

A Commission to Devise Plans for National Defense.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. MORIN,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. MORIN. Mr. Speaker, this is a day in which we are having commissions of every sort to investigate every kind of condition. We have commissions to investigate the tariff, we have commissions to investigate the currency, we have commissions to investigate the cost of food, we have commissions to investigate and control nearly everything imaginable; but we have, according to my opinion, overlooked the one thing for which a commission is most needed, and that is one to investigate and report to Congress what is essential for our national defense, both military and industrial.

Manifestly we should not undertake any enterprise until we understand fully the responsibilities it will incur. Before

building, the wise man sits down and estimates the cost. He makes his plans and the structure that later appears is the outcome of his careful thought. As it is with the individual, so it is with a nation. We must outline the plans, we must count the cost, we must decide on the foundation and also on the superstructure.

In building for the future defense of our country it seems to me that our foundational trouble is our Army organization. Where the trouble lies I can not state. But there are some things that are apparent to the most casual observer. What can we as a people expect from a system where the General Staff is subject to continual change, a new Chief of Staff every four years, a War College where there is no permanency? With no fixed determination of policy and procedure, how can we hope to work out a military system that is truly adequate? Our foundational work must then be to determine upon the course we are to pursue, to work out a plan whereby those in charge shall be certain of their tenure in command, and to select men for these positions who are fully capable of wisely and logically carrying out the plans that will be formulated.

But how is this to be brought about? There have been nearly as many solutions offered as there have been minds. Every Army officer thinks he knows just what should be done. Members of the National Guard have come forward with their suggestions. Writers of repute, military and industrial critics, have written at length on the subject, but it has all seemingly been of no avail. Unless it is demonstrable, how are we to know whom to believe? This is a national question, and means the mobilization of our patriotism, our resources, and the brains of our country.

In the question of what will best contribute to our country's defense there are many problems that do not readily lend themselves to solution. There are problems involving the social, economic, and political elements of our people. Embracing within itself so many perplexing and conflicting elements one can readily see that no body of men, whose views must be necessarily circumscribed to a certain extent by the work to which they are devoting their full time, is able to bring to the solution of these problems the full experience that is needed for the satisfactory analysis of the same. For that reason the officers of the Army, no matter how capable or efficient they may be, would not be able to formulate a policy that will properly provide for the mobilization of all the elements necessary for the national defense or for the future training of our civilian population. The questions are too grave to listen alone to the opinions of those whose bias is such that things that pertain to the military can be viewed only with partial eyes. There are questions, it is true, that can be left to the judgment of these fully qualified Army officers, such as the strategic and the tactical features and the actual training of soldiers; but when it comes to the point of saying who is to be trained and when this training is to be done, and the various other suggestions that are now being made, we need men of a wider vision, whose pursuits are more varied, and whose thought and attention has been given to the great needs that confront our Nation to-day.

We have been unable at this short session to do much in the way of constructive military legislation. For this reason I have introduced a resolution into the House in which I have requested the President to form a commission to investigate this question which is of vital import to us. The question of how we are best to build up a system of preparedness which will save us from the suffering attendant upon the military program of war-ridden Europe, and yet at the same time will insure our peace.

This commission should be appointed by the President and should be above reproach on account of partisan politics. It should be composed of officers from the United States Army, men tried and trained in the art of war. There should be also representatives of the Organized Militia and Members from both Houses of Congress. In addition to this it has seemed wise that there should be a large number of men from the various walks of life. Men whose whole thought and training has been along the lines of social, industrial, and educational development, but still men whose interests have been wide enough to enable them to be valuable factors when it comes to making the decisions on such important matters.

The object of this commission is to make a thorough and exhaustive investigation into every phase of our military and defense problems, and then make a comprehensive report to the next regular session of Congress in order that the Committees on Military Affairs in both Houses may have well-formulated plans which will be the foundation on which we can later erect that structure known as preparedness.

Such a commission will command the respect and confidence of all, for it will be made up of men whose patriotism is undoubted and on whose clear judgment we can rely. Such a commission will inspire all with the feeling that at last we can have some grounds on which to base our hopes and expectations of an immediate working out of the questions that have been agitating the public mind for months. The people will give it their support, but we are not entitled to this support unless the recommendations made are the result of the calm, cool, judgment of men who have given it their careful and unremitting study and attention, and whose capabilities, loyalty of purpose, and patriotic impulse can not be questioned.

Study of the Excise and Prohibitory Laws of the United States and Other Countries.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB E. MEEKER,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. MEEKER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I wish to insert the following:

KANSAS.

Some 10 years ago I became interested in the study of the excise and prohibitory laws of the United States and other countries. Since that time I have endeavored to maintain the attitude of a student. During the first two or three years of my investigations I accepted on their face value the statements as set out by telegram and letter and newspaper articles as to the condition of things in licensed or prohibition territory. After a while I discovered that bitter partisanship displayed on either side of the question might and did bias the individuals making their statements. That led me to a determination to get at the facts wherever possible. Naturally I turned to the State of Kansas, and I must confess that it has been all but impossible to obtain authentic and official data as to the conditions there; but gradually the lines to follow were discovered and the information obtained is submitted herewith.

It has been my purpose to give here the testimony of the officials of Kansas in their own reports. Where newspapers are quoted I have given the reports verbatim, with date line, so that anyone sufficiently interested to further investigate will find this a sufficient guide.

The one puzzling question in the preparation of this study has been what to omit. Within the last 10 years there has accumulated such a superabundance of local and State testimony upon the subjects herein discussed that it has become merely a matter of selecting such testimonials, especially as regards the newspapers, as would be likely to have received the widest circulation.

In the final preparation of this data I have been assisted by Hon. Paul S. Conwell, of Kansas City, Mo. Mr. Conwell was born and reared in the State of Kansas and has ever been in intimate touch with the life and activities of that Commonwealth. Under his supervision the excerpts from the official reports and from the newspapers have been checked and rechecked, to the end that, so far as is humanly possible, everything herein quoted may be exactly correct. My purpose is to set before the people of America the conditions as they are in Kansas, in order that hereafter the honest student of conditions, social and otherwise, may have the latest and most reliable first-hand data at his disposal.

The data is as follows:

INSANITY.

A SURVEY COVERING FACTS AS REPORTED IN VARIOUS OFFICIAL REPORTS OF THE STATE OF KANSAS, PERTAINING TO THE STATE INSTITUTIONS FOR INSANE WITHIN THE STATE, TOGETHER WITH OBSERVATIONS AND NOTES OF EXPLANATION.

As an agency through which insanity can be solved and through which it has been reduced prohibition, and particularly the "Kansas brand," has been flaunted before the public during the past few years with reckless abandon, through the press and by oral declarations both in and out of the pulpit.

Claims have been advanced without number that "eminent scientists" have at last concluded that alcohol, after all, is but a deadly poison, no matter in what form used; that it is one of the greatest contributing causes to insanity; that "ousting the saloon" making territory "all white" on a map by ballot or enactment of legislative statute, "removing temptation," tightening up the prohibition machinery followed by extensive, persistent, and spectacular raids, decreases consumption to such an extent that insanity is disappearing with marked rapidity—and Kansas, as usual, is dragged forth as the "living example" to prove the claim.

Enough has been said and quite enough written in this behalf to render it expedient that the American public become acquainted with this feature of "progress" achieved under the divers and sundry attempts to not alone sober up but render more sane the population within the Sunflower State.

No claim is here made that alcohol, if taken to excess, will not produce certain types of insanity, nor will it be argued that "a saloon on every corner" will have a tendency to make a community any more sane. Neither will it be denied that indiscriminate, wholesale consumption of boot-leg whisky, "white mule" (a mixture of alcohol, water, and sugar, in common use in Kansas), home-made whisky, or imported whisky of a cheap, rotten quality, consumed "straight" or mixed with water, hard cider, or the "juice" from a silo will and no doubt do produce extensive drunkenness and in time insanity. It was the wholesale manufacture, without let or hindrance, of alcohol and other ardent spirits which were consumed by wholesale that rendered Sweden so drunken that Government intervention was necessary.

In an exhaustive treatise on "Alcohol and Society," by John Koren, published during 1916, considerable light is thrown on the matter of the relationship between alcohol and insanity from a scientific standpoint. Mr. Koren declares the social control of alcohol to be one of the most important questions before the American people, and further declares that, "On both sides of the debate the noisy violence of extremists distorts arguments and perverts statistics."

His study of the question was not made to prove a hypothesis but to find the truth, and in the course of his busy life of scientific research he has been extensively employed by the United States Government in investigating liquor legislation abroad. At home he gained a distinguished reputation when he was commissioned by the committee of 50 to write its memorable report which marked an epoch in the history of the control of alcohol.

"Allied to the basic question of alcohol as a direct factor in degeneracy is that of its position as a cause of insanity," declares Mr. Koren (p. 23). "The popular picture of its importance in this respect is much overdrawn; and for this exaggeration the propagandist temperance literature is responsible. As a rule, the nervous and mental ailments of alcoholic origin are clearly distinguishable. This is true, for instance, of alcoholic polineuritis, which sometimes is associated with mental disturbance. Alcoholic hallucinations and delirium tremens, the commonest form of insanity caused by drink, are easily recognized. Of less certain etiology are rarer forms of derangement such as 'alcoholic paranoia.'

"The causative relation of alcohol to other forms of mental disease is even more obscure. In general, the abuse of alcohol appears symptomatically in a number of dissimilar psychoses, such as dementia praecox, maniacal, and paralytic conditions of exaltation and others. It is accepted that alcoholism may contribute directly or indirectly to upset the psychic balance of persons predisposed to mental disease and thereby help to give it form. The whole case can be put briefly in this way: The mental diseases occurring in intemperate persons are partly of a specific character, partly those in which alcoholism is contributory, and partly those in which it must be regarded less as a cause than as an expression of an abnormal psychic constitution which becomes more clearly revealed by mental disease.

"During the greater part of the first half of the last century," continues Mr. Koren (p. 187), "Sweden permitted practically free trade in the manufacture and sale of spirits. The consumption of spirits rose to extraordinary proportions and with terrible effects. 'The very marrow of the nation was sapped; moral and physical degradation, * * * all those grim legions of evils that ever range themselves under the banner of intemperance took possession of the land.'"

An attempt to conquer the ravages of vile decoctions in the form of hair tonic, patent medicines, etc., was made by the Kansas Legislature during the sessions of 1909 and 1911, when such articles were placed on the "outlaw" list. Drug-store saloons and the "prescription" farce were likewise thrown out, in the hope that better conditions would ensue, but they didn't. Insanity, whether caused by drinking or otherwise, continued to increase. What was theretofore furnished through such agencies of law violation that then existed, is now furnished by an astounding mail-order business, wholesale bootlegging, blind pigging, and home manufacturing.

"Crazy-quilt" or homemade" statistics, cite by prohibitionist propagandists, lay claim to a decrease to the extent that over 85 per cent of the State's territory has been pointed out time and again as being absolutely cured of insanity in any of its various forms. But these claims are all without foundation if the official records of the State insane hospitals speak the truth. They speak without bias and without prejudice, presenting the case as it appears.

Kansas supports three State insane hospitals, one State hospital for epileptics, one hospital for feeble-minded, aside from six private insane asylums, which report biennially to the board of control. The movement and increase in population, together with general conditions surrounding each of these institutions, will be taken up in their order.

However, before entering that field, I desire to call attention to the fact that on three memorable occasions men high in public office in Kansas, namely, ex-Gov. W. R. Stubbs, ex-Attorney General John Dawson—now a judge of the Supreme Court of Kansas—and Gov. Capper have within the past seven years declared that from 87 to 89 counties of Kansas have no insane inmates. It is needless to add that prohibition is given credit for the showing. Ex-Gov. Stubbs delivered his speech in Chicago, March 27, 1910, upon invitation of the State superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of Illinois. The Dawson speech was delivered at a banquet given in Chicago by the Baptists' Social Union, April 2, 1912, and Gov. Capper delivered his speech in Boston, September 3, 1915, before a gathering under the auspices of the managers of the prohibition and equal suffrage campaign in Massachusetts. These men and others have been quoted extensively throughout the United States, and the speeches mentioned received wide publicity, as have similar declarations made by them both before and since the occasions mentioned.

In a speech before the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the Anti-Saloon League of America, at Columbus, Ohio, November 12, 1913, ex-Gov. Hodges, of Kansas, declared: "It (prohibition) has accomplished wonders in the way of decreasing the numbers of the insane in our State. * * * Sexual crimes, arson, theft, and dangerous assaults are but frequent symptoms of mental derangement, temporary or permanent, caused by a too frequent indulgence in alcoholic stimulants. * * * You have but to come to Kansas to see the cheering effects of prohibition."

Kansas has 105 counties, every one of which, with the exception of Haskell, a far western county with a trifle over one person to the square mile, has contributed at least one inmate to the insane hospitals at Topeka and Osawatomie. (Fifth and Sixth Biennial Reports, board of control, for 1914 and 1916.)

Kansas had 2,912 inmates in State insane hospitals in 1910 (U. S. Census, Bulletin 119; Insane and Feeble-Minded in Institutions), which was an increase of 928 over the number confined June 30, 1899, aside from inmates on county poor farms, in private insane hospitals supported by counties or given State aid, or in private homes supported by lodges, and "farmed out" by counties which could not provide for them but had to care for them because of lack of room in State institutions.

There were 3,824 inmates in the insane institutions, held as wards of the State by counties, those on county poor farms and in the feeble-minded institutions (fifth biennial report, board of control, pp. 34, 41, 88, 121, 139, 165), on June 30, 1914.

Every county in the State except eight contributed at least one inmate during the biennium (supra, p. 62). These eight counties were Elk, Grant, Gray, Greely, Haskell, Ness, and Wichita, whose combined population does not exceed 20,000 and whose area is 5,230 square miles. However, at that time Elk County had 18 inmates in the Osawatomie Asylum, Grant County had 1, Gray County had 1, Greely County 1, and Ness County had 3, so Haskell and Wichita Counties were the only ones having no inmates in these two State asylums on June 30, 1914. (Fifth biennial report, board of control, pp. 62, 101.)

During the same period (the biennium ending June 30, 1914) 11 counties did not contribute an inmate to the Topeka State Hospital for the Insane. These counties were Elk, Grant, Gray, Greely, Haskell, Lane, Ness, Scott, Stanton, Stevens, and Wichita. (Fifth biennial report, board of control, p. 62.) All save Elk were sparsely settled western counties, two of them, Grant and Stanton, having no railroads and only eight very small towns, averaging less than 35 inhabitants each.

However, Elk contributed 5 to the Osawatomie Asylum during the period, Scott contributed 1, and Stanton contributed 1. Thus there were eight counties failing to contribute a single inmate to the two large State hospitals (fifth biennial report, board of control, p. 101), although Ness County sent an inmate to the State Hospital for Epileptics at Parsons. (Supra, p. 121.)

There were 498 inmates in the State Hospital for Feeble Minded (supra, p. 139), but the county or city residences are omitted. Just how many of these, if any, belonged in any one of the seven counties enumerated the official report fails to show.

Even though none of them were, there is quite a difference between 87 or 89 and 7. The fifth biennial report, which was published during the summer of 1914, most surely defeats the "87 or 89 counties that are without insane" story.

At the close of the succeeding period (June 30, 1916) there were 4,462 insane patients in the State, including the population of the Topeka, Osawatomie, Parsons, Larned, and Winfield institutions, and destitute insane held as State wards by various counties and patients held by counties not wards of the State. This is an increase of 638 over the preceding biennium. (Sixth biennial report, board of control, pp. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 27, 33, 97, 134, 153, 199.) To the total given above should be added 314 patients, wards of the State, out on parole, making the sum total 4,776. As this records an increase of 1,864 since June 30, 1899, it is hard to understand by what reasoning power the conclusion is determined that insanity in Kansas is decreasing.

Sixteen counties failed to contribute any inmates to the Topeka State Hospital during the biennium covered by the sixth biennial report. They were Chautauqua, Clark, Decatur, Gray, Greely, Harper, Haskell, Hodgeman, Logan, Morton, Phillips, Scott, Stanton, Stevens, Wallace, and Wichita. (Sixth biennial report, board of control, p. 57.) However, of these Chautauqua, Clark, Gray, Harper, Hodgeman, Morton, Stanton, and Wallace sent inmates to the Osawatomie Insane Hospital, (sixth biennial report, board of control, p. 114), leaving eight counties—Decatur, Greely, Haskell, Logan, Phillips, Scott, Stevens, and Wichita—that did not contribute such an inmate. But Decatur, Greely, and Phillips each contributed inmates to the State Hospital for Epileptics (sixth biennial report, board of control, p. 134); thus the number of counties failing to send an insane patient to any State institution during the biennium is reduced to 5—Haskell, Logan, Scott, Stevens, and Wichita.

By way of comment on the startling increase in insanity in Kansas, the Topeka State Journal printed the following news item under date of September 22, 1916;

"INSANITY GAINS 108 PER CENT IN 17 YEARS IN STATE—IN SAME PERIOD KANSAS POPULATION JUMPED 17 PER CENT—INCREASE IN BIRTH RATE AMONG MENTALLY DEFICIENT—MORE THAN 4,000 IN HOSPITALS—FIFTEEN HUNDRED PATIENTS ARE CARED FOR IN TOPEKA—ALL STATE CHARITIES ARE CROWDED, SAID H. C. BOWMAN.

"Insanity in Kansas has increased more than 108 per cent in 17 years, while the population of the State has increased slightly more than 17 per cent in the same period. That is a statement made today by Harry C. Bowman, member of the State board of control, and is based on official figures.

"Decided increases in the birth rate among mentally deficient and a big decrease in the birth rate in normal families is given by Bowman as an explanation of the startling showing. The Bowman statement, which is to be made a part of the official report of the board, shows that since June 30, 1899, the number of insane and feeble-minded persons in State institutions has increased from 1,984 to 4,140, an increase of 2,156, or slightly more than 108 per cent.

TWO NEW INSTITUTIONS.

"In the 17-year period two new State institutions have been established by the State for the care of insane and mentally deficient. Even the new institutions have been unable to care for the increase. All State institutions are now crowded and all State charities are demanding that the legislature provide additional quarters and facilities for the care of the State's mentally sick.

"Establishment of the Parsons and Larned Hospitals has not stopped heavy increases in population at Topeka, Osawatomie, and Larned Hospitals. The Parsons and Larned Hospitals now care for 638 patients, while the population at the Winfield Hospital has increased more than 400 per cent.

"Topeka and Osawatomie Hospitals have made big gains in proportion. In 1889 the Topeka Hospital cared for 827 patients. The report for the biennium closing June 30, 1916, shows 1,565 patients. Osawatomie in 1899 cared for 1,019 patients, with a population this year of 1,348. Winfield State Hospital in 1899 cared for 138 patients. It now has a population of 589. Parsons Hospital, established since 1899, now cares for 525 men and women, while the new Larned Hospital has a total of 113 inmates.

"Reports received by the board of control show all State charities crowded. Returns to-day from the Topeka and Osawatomie Hospitals show cramped conditions. There are quarters for but two female inmates. No additional women patients can be cared for at Osawatomie. Every bed is taken.

"To meet the situation plans are being worked out to send 25 feeble-minded women inmates of the Topeka Hospital to Winfield.

"Recently a new building was completed at Winfield. This change will permit the State to at least temporarily meet the demands for admission of insane patients."

That the State institutions mentioned above are constantly clamoring for increased appropriations for the purpose of securing extensive equipment demanded by the great increase in population, and that the superintendents of the institutions as well as the members of the board of control constantly complain because the legislature and chief executives will not meet their demands is amply proven by a study of the last two biennial reports of the board of control. (Fifth and sixth reports for periods ending June 30, 1914, and June 30, 1916, respectively).

The fifth biennial report contains the following observations of the board of control (pp. 2, 3, 14, 33):

"The nine State institutions—Topeka State Hospital, Osawatomie State Hospital, State Hospital for Epileptics, State Home for Feeble-Minded, School for the Deaf, School for the Blind, State Orphans' Home, Boys' Industrial School, and Girls' Industrial School—under the management and control of this board for the eight years, July 1, 1905, to July 1, 1913, are called 'the State charitable institutions,' but some of them are educational, some are correctional, some are medical, and some a combination of these and what would be termed charitable. The total appropriations to these nine institutions of Kansas for each year do not amount to as much as the annual increase in the cost of the charity service of some of the other States.

"The total direct appropriations to these nine institutions made by the legislature of 1907 for the fiscal years 1908 and 1909 were $1,969,517. The total direct appropriation made by the legislature of 1909 for the fiscal years 1910 and 1911 were $1,720,250, and on account of the Oklahoma convicts being returned the State penitentiary was unable to furnish coal to all the institutions and the legislature of 1909 appropriated $186,000 to this board for coal.

"The average population of these nine institutions for the fiscal year 1907 was 3,939, and for the fiscal year 1913 the average population was 4,672, an increase of 633, and yet the total direct appropriations made by the legislature to these institutions for all purposes have decreased since the legislature of 1907.

"Of the * * * amounts appropriated by the legislatures of 1907, 1909, and 1911, $966,427 was for new buildings, special improvements, and additional land, for the six fiscal years July 1, 1907, to June 30, 1913.

"The legislature of 1911, chapter 44, appropriated $100,000 for the purpose of securing a suitable site of not less than 320 acres nor more than 1,000 acres of fertile, productive land, and for the erection and equipment of suitable buildings for a State insane hospital in a county west of the ninety-eighth meridian of longitude and within 5 miles of the corporate limits of the place (city) selected * * *.

"* * * The legislature which convened in January, 1913 (ch. 21, laws of 1913), reappropriated the unexpended balance of the $100,000 at the end of the fiscal year June 30, 1913, amounting to $25,281.88, for the fiscal year 1914, and also appropriated $55,000 for the fiscal year 1914 and $50,000 for the fiscal year 1915.

"A contract was let for the erection of a patients' farm cottage and boiler house on July 9, 1913, and 20 patients from the Topeka State Hospital and 20 patients from the Osawatomie State Hospital were transferred to the patients' farm cottage at Larned April 6, 1914."

(NOTE.—From 1899 to 1905 the Kansas Legislature appropriated $606,797.06 "for the support of destitute insane persons refused admission to the State hospitals for want of room.") (Fifth biennial report, board of contral, p. 13.) Including the appropriation of $5,849.73 by the legislature of 1913, the amount was raised to $619,432.08, the appropriations for 1907, 1909, and 1911 being as follows, respectively: $128.28, $3,110.26, and $3,546.65. The appropriation made in 1899 was the largest, $211,941.90. Commenting on the showing, the board stated: "The above decrease from many thousands of dollars to a few thousand has been due to the opening in October, 1913, of the State Hospital for Epileptics, at Parsons, and increasing the amount of room at the State hospitals.

"When the board of control took charge the State hospitals were full. The capacity of the Topeka State Hospital at that time was 1,053, while the capacity of the Topeka State Hospital to-day is 1,603, an increased capacity of 550. The capacity has also been increased at the Osawatomie State Hospital and at the State Hospital for Epileptics, at Parsons, Kan. On April 6, 1914, the new insane hospital at Larned was opened and 40 patients were transferred from the Topeka and Osawatomie State Hospitals to Larned.") (Fifth biennial report, board of control, pp. 13–14.)

Under the heading "Social needs" the board of control declared (5th biennial report, p. 33):

"The social needs of our State are perhaps as great but no greater than those of any other State in the Union, and from the viewpoint of one versed in the general conditions there is always room for improvement in every department under the control of charitable and correctional institutions. We would mention under the head of social needs, first, a reasonable mothers' pension law."

Under the title head "Improvements needed," Dr. T. C. Biddle, superintendent of the Topeka State Hospital, declared (5th biennial report, board of control, p. 46):

"In directing attention to the needs of the hospital in the order of their urgency, that of rebuilding the old domestic building demands first consideration. * * * Its capacity has become so overloaded by reason of the growth of the institution that it is with great difficulty the feeding of our large population can be executed with any degree of efficiency. One old-styled rotary oven, with no place for the installation of another, is rendering the baking required a serious problem. The kitchen is overcrowded, and the repairs are dilapidated. Over this superheated bakery and kitchen are located the quarters of 50 men and women who are employed in the domestic and mechanical departments of the hospital. This condition is so intolerable that during much of the summer these servants of the State are forced to make their beds on the roof or out among the trees on the lawn. It will certainly only be necessary to direct the attention of the legislature to this unseemly condition to assure sufficient appropriation for its rebuilding.

"Nothing can be done toward rebuilding the kitchen and bakery until a home for the employees is erected; hence the appropriation must be sufficient to provide for both the employees' home and also the rebuilding of the old domestic building and its equipment with new ovens and proper cooking appliances."

(Note. The above suggestions and demands were ignored by the legislature and no appropriations made for the purposes set forth. Laws of Kansas, 1915, chap. 43, p. 59.)

Continuing his petition, Dr. Biddle further stated (supra, p. 46): "It is exceedingly disappointing that our frequent requests for appropriations for nurses' homes have not been favorably considered. * * * Absolutely nothing has been done to improve the accommodation of the nurses and other employees. * * * Nearly all well-conducted hospitals for the insane throughout the country are being equipped with suitable homes for the nurses, where they can be relieved from the unfavorable environment of constant life in the wards with their patients.

"It is recognized everywhere that in the interest of humanity and efficiency the sleeping rooms of the nurses, at least, should be well removed from the wards. * * * Two nurses' homes for the 120 nurses in the hospital should be provided. Seventy-five thousand dollars should be appropriated for building and equipping these homes."

(Note. No appropriation was made as above suggested. Supra.)

"With the growth of the institution," continued Dr. Biddle's report (supra, p. 46), "the embarrassment on account of our small farm becomes more annoying. Of course, this important matter has been too long deferred, but certainly longer postponement will not improve the chances of enlarging the farm at reasonable prices. Active efforts should be made to buy additional land while it is available."

(Note. This suggestion was likewise ignored by the 1915 legislature. Laws of Kansas, 1915, chap. 43, p. 59.)

Dr. F. A. Carmichael, superintendent of the Osawatomie State Hospital, incorporated several very positive demands and timely suggestions in his report to the board of control for 1914. Among other things, he said:

"I have the honor to submit the nineteenth biennial report of the Osawatomie State Hospital for the biennium ending June 30, 1914, and in doing so I shall probably depart somewhat from the form of previous reports of this institution, as it is my conviction that a more thorough and painstaking analysis of the needs of the institution and its absolute requirements should be presented to our legislators under existing conditions than has been presented in the past.

"It is a fact beyond controversy that on no subject pertaining to our great Commonwealth is the average legislator less fully informed than upon the needs and requirements of our State charitable institutions. This knowledge may only be gained at first hand, and should be secured by the members of the ways and means committee, and others who are instrumental in the distribution of our State appropriations, by personal visit to and a study of the needs and requirements of each institution.

"The indiscriminate distribution of appropriations for our various charitable institutions without proper knowledge of their true requirements, or the acceptance of a budget made up by the auditor of state, who is by no means an authority on the needs of institutional improvement, is an economic waste that reflects upon the energy and business acumen of our legislators.

* * * * * * *

"In the recommendation for appropriations I shall present later on in this report, I would respectfully ask the thorough investigation of our legislators, proving their absolute needs to the institution. In reporting upon the various conditions of the institution we shall take the matter up under the headings of, first, buildings and grounds; second, water and sewage; third, engineering department; fourth, farm; fifth, gardens and orchards; sixth, dairy; seventh, poultry; eighth, those needs pertaining to the clinical phase of institution work.

BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS.

"Main building: This building was completed in 1866, at an estimated cost of $450,000. It was built at a period when the conception of hospital construction for the insane was merely to administer food and provide shelter, and institutions for the care of the insane were at that time not hospitals but merely asylums.

"No adequate provision was made for the treatment of the mental cases consigned to State institutions at that period, as the modern methods now in vogue were then unknown.

"No alteration or improvement in the general scheme or arrangement of this building has been made since its completion, and it stands to-day a monument to the misconceptions of the period of its construction.

"This building constitutes, as it always has, our reception hospital and also contains our convalescent wards. It has absolutely no adaptation to the first use and it is but poorly adapted to the latter. The absolute requirements for this building to make it healthful and sanitary are quite numerous. It should be replumbed throughout in a sanitary manner, as the water waste and damage to the building due to defective plumbing are constant sources of expense and annoyance. The partitions of at least two rooms on each front ward should be removed, providing a fairly commodious assembly room for the patients on the ward and providing for better ventilation and sanitation.

"Metal staircases should replace the present wooden stairs that are veritable fire traps. The erection of ample balconies and sun parlors would not only modernize this building, but would afford a maximum amount of open air and sunshine that is sadly needed by our patients, particularly those who because of physical infirmities are unable to participate in the usual outdoor exercises.

"It would also materially relieve the congestion on the wards, as the capacity of this as well as all other charitable institutions in the State is always overcrowded, and the room that this would give would be a grateful benefaction to all.

"Shower baths should take the place of our old system of tub bathing, as this would prove an economy in the consumption of water as well as a distinct hygienic improvement over our present system. The bathrooms should all be tiled, as they are used for so many purposes, such as scalding beds and other uses where large amounts of water are flushed over the floors, and under present conditions this water goes directly through to the floor below. Many of the floors in the basement are sagging and the joists partly rotten. As all of our heating and high-pressure steam lines are hung directly from these joists, these floors should be replaced by concrete floors, not only as a measure of economy, but as a protection against fire and to facilitate the placing of proper trackage for the heavy food trucks that must be used to convey the food from the kitchens to the wards.

"This improvement would not only materially lessen the danger of fire, which under present conditions is a constant menace, but would add a stability to our floors for the anchorage of our steam lines, and also raise the roof of our tunnels, which are at the present time very low.

"Perhaps fully half of the piping and steam fitting throughout the main tunnels is practically rusted out and unsafe and should be replaced in a large measure by new material. Fully 35 per cent of our heat energy is uselessly dissipated because our heating and high-pressure lines in the main tunnels are not insulated. To thoroughly

insulate these lines would require from one to two cars of pipe covering, costing from $5,000 to $8,000.

"Some of the wards on the main floors are so insanitary as to be practically unfit for use, yet under present crowded conditions we see no way of avoiding their occupation, as every available room in the institution is now crowded with patients.

"About 35 men are housed over the main kitchen in a miserably ventilated and poorly lighted room that during the summer months is unbearably hot and uncomfortable to a degree that makes restful sleep at night impossible.

"The roof in many places needs repairing, and the steel ceilings in many of the wards have rusted through because of defective plumbing. In many places the wooden cornices of the main building have rotted through and dropped down because of defects in the spouting. During the past winter we have been permitted to tile and wainscot the main corridor of the administration building, thereby greatly improving this portion of the institution.

"The infirmary building: This building is an architectural abortion and utilitarian misfit and is adapted to no class of institutional work. Its construction was poor in the beginning, and the settling of the footings has permitted such warping of the floors and walls that it is very sadly in need of a general overhauling.

WATER AND SEWAGE.

"* * * Our reservoir is in a very poor condition. * * * An appropriation for the concreting of this reservoir was very strongly urged in the biennial report of 1910 and again in 1912.

"Our outside fire lines have not been improved or altered in years. Many of the pipes are so weakened by erosion that they would not stand even a very moderate fire pressure, and in the event of fire the efficiency of our fire equipment would be seriously affected by the almost certainty of bursted pipes.

"Our sewer system consists of a 6-inch pipe line, laid when the main building was built (1866). Since that time the population of the institution has probably quadrupled, and six other large buildings have been connected with this small line, which is entirely inadequate. * * *

ENGINEERING DEPARTMENT.

"* * * Our two 16 by 36 120-horsepower Bates-Corliss engines have been in constant use for 17 years and are getting quite badly worn. * * * Our 110-horsepower Buffalo forge engine has been in service for the past 12 years and is also badly worn. * * * The six 25-killowatt Eddy generators, having been run 17 years are badly worn, and should be replaced by a single unit system, as these are all belt driven from a jackshaft, and are being operated at a daily loss. Our line shafting is also badly worn and should be in part dispensed with and in part replaced. * * * Our hot and cold water lines in the building are all too small and are badly rusted. * * * Our system of refrigeration connected with the various kitchens is both unsatisfactory and expensive, due largely to improper insulation of our lines and cold-storage boxes. Many of these boxes have been in use for 15 years or more, were cheaply constructed in the beginning, and the wood linings are in an advanced state of decay. They are damp, moldy, and insanitary, and much food is lost by souring, because the temperature can not be kept low enough to preserve it. To properly rebuild these refrigerators, with the necessary insulation and concreting the inside, would require, of course, some outlay in time and money, but it would be an important feature in future economy, and we hope to attain this during the present biennium.

LABORATORY AND OPERATING ROOMS.

"Our laboratory and operating rooms have been partially equipped. Though they are not as yet sufficiently up to date to render satisfactory service, they are, however, much better than the institution has ever had before, and we are enabled to handle the less complicated clinical, pathologic, and bacteriologic work. Sufficient instruments have been added to enable us to do the more common varieties of surgery necessary in an institution of this kind. * * * Owing to our lack of hydrotherapeutic equipment we have been unable to direct our treatment along the lines of modern conceptions of therapy, but have been obliged to confine our ministrations mostly to a correction or relief of the physical ailments of the patients under our care.

"The addition of a proper reception hospital equipped with proper hydrotherapeutic appliances is one of the crying needs of this institution, and one which should by all means be supplied in the very near future.

OVERCROWDING.

"During the past biennium the capacity of the institution has been taxed to its utmost.

"Our wards have been overcrowded at all times; the same condition existing in every other charitable institution of the State.

"The building of the Larned Hospital will help in a slight measure, but will not materially lessen the congestion of this or of the Topeka Hospital for several years to come.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH.

"Very little has been accomplished along this line, due partly to inadequacy of our equipment and partly to the lack of technical skill of the members of the medical staff.

PATIENTS' LIBRARY.

"The patients' library is sadly in need of renewal. Most of the volumes are so badly worn that they can not be handled or read with satisfaction. The selection of the volumes of the original library was indifferent, many of them not being of interest or adapted to the needs of those suffering from mental derangement.

"Five hundred dollars should be appropriated to replenish our stock of books and promote other amusements for the patients.

SENILE CASES.

"It seems that the State hospitals receive a far greater portion of senile cases than is justified. In fact, our State insane institutions become the dumping ground of the various county almshouses. The senile dement in the vast majority of cases is a harmless dement that could in nearly all cases be cared for in the home, or, if not there, could be handled in the county almshouses.

"The overfilling of our institutions with these senile cases is an injustice both to the State and the patient, and it is unfortunate that many families make the most of those mental changes incident to old age, and of peculiarities in themselves, harmless, though probably annoying, for commitment to an insane institution, deeming a verdict of insanity an ample justification for saddling the State with the burden of their responsibilities.

"Were these mild cases consigned to the county almshouses many families in fair financial standing, who readily surrender their aged relatives to insane hospitals, there to become State charges, would hesitate to 'put them on the county,' but would support many of them at home. That would appreciably lessen the burden of the State and would materially aid in the formulation of more accurate statistics than is possible at the present time."

(And Dr. Carmichael could have added that this is indeed a sad commentary on the respect the highly praised Kansan places on those who become enfeebled through age, and who are gotten out of the way by the most satisfactory and speedy route. However, it should be borne in mind that if these seniles were placed in the county almshouses, the prohibitionist agitators would have fewer Kansas counties with no almshouses to prate about, thus robbing them of their chance, which they never overlook to "point with pride" to the fact that prohibition is emptying "our poor farms"—even though they mistakenly state the amount "emptied.")

INSTITUTIONAL HELP.

"The question of institutional help is becoming more unsatisfactory each year. This could be overcome by an adjustment of our salary schedules. The wage paid in this State is insufficient to attract the better class of employees, who are prone to drift to other States where a more satisfactory wage is paid, leaving a residue who are indifferent to institutional advancement and half-hearted or neglectful of their duties.

"The migratory employee, or institution tramp, is another unfortunate condition we are obliged to contend with that may be attributed to a combination of insufficient remuneration, long hours of duty, lack of comfortable and home-like surroundings, as well as lack of appreciation of the many trying conditions that daily arise in the performance of his duty.

"The question of a proper wage for employees has been presented so many times that it has become somewhat hackneyed, and yet very little change in our schedules has been permitted. A most pertinent commentary on this subject was incorporated in the report of the Topeka State Hospital for 1912.

"The former custom on the part of superintendents to discharge as many patients as possible before the issuance of each biennial report, in order to make the best possible showing in the report, gave rise to frequent legal complications and much added expense in cases where recommitment was found necessary. The State board of control, therefore, issued an order curtailing the power of superintendents in this respect. This order, while materially lessening the number of discharges for each biennium, has resulted in greater care and discrimination in the discharges issued and considerable saving of legal expense.

PHYSICAL IMPROVEMENTS.

"Physical improvements vitally essential to the efficient and economic administration of the institution, and earnestly recommended, are as follows:

"(a) A new receiving hospital equipped with modern hydrotherapeutic and electrotherapeutic appliances, where patients may be given the benefit of modern treatment.

"Many cases become chronic because of our inability to properly treat them in their acute stages. If proper treatment could be instituted early, in many cases the patient might be restored to his or her family and become an industrial asset to society. If we are unable to give them this treatment they become chronic and hopeless charges of the State.

"Up to the present time this institution has no such equipment, and under existing conditions can really lay but slight claim to the title of hospital, and has been in the past, and it is to-day, merely an asylum for these poor unfortunates.

"The fact that this institution maintains a corps of physicians does not establish its status as a hospital unless the necessary equipment for the exercise of their knowledge and skill is also furnished.

"When the fact that the number of inmates of this institution averages about 1,325, many of whom might be restored to home, friends, and citizenship by early and proper treatment, thereby becoming industrial assets to instead of liabilities of the State, is considered, one must be impressed with the economic advantage to as well as the humanitarian duty of our State to provide proper and adequate facilities for their treatment along modern lines.

"It is manifestly unjust that patients coming from one part of the State should have a better or more scientific treatment than those coming from another portion of the State. All taxpayers in the State are equal, and it is certain that the great State of Kansas should endeavor to give an equal chance of recovery to all of its unfortunate citizens, no matter in what part of the State they may have been living.

"Under present conditions the citizen who is so unfortunate as to become deranged mentally is taken to that State hospital that is nearest or most accessible. If he happens to live nearer this institution than Topeka we should be able to furnish here just as modern and scientific treatment as may be administered at Topeka. Under existing conditions we can not claim that we are able to do this without the addition of a psychopathic hospital. An appropriation for this purpose has been steadily urged in former reports, and its necessity is so apparent that it hardly requires comment.

"It will be noted that the valuation of the grounds, buildings, and equipment of the Topeka State Hospital is more than double that of this institution, exceeding our valuation almost a million dollars, while its capacity is only 200 more than this institution. This must surely impress our legislators with the urgent need of additional expenditures for this place. Topeka has nothing that is not necessary for the proper equipment of its departments—in fact, it is still lacking in many things that should be added to increase its efficiency—and this comparison of valuation is merely cited in corroboration of the claim that a sum sufficient to modernize this institution should be set aside by our coming legislature.

"(b) We respectfully ask that we be allowed for a new reception hospital and equipment, $100,000; (c) for changes in the main building, including metal stairways, shower baths, tiling, bathrooms, outside painting, balconies and sun parlors, replumbing, and other general repairs and equipment, $50,000; (d) for a new sewer line, $6,000; (e) for improvements on dairy barn and for a building for the proper handling of milk and milk utensils, $8,000; (f) for concreting our reservoir, $10,000; (g) for the installation and equipment of an industrial department for both men and women, $5,000; (h) for new steam fitting and insulation of our steam lines in the main tunnels, $7,000;

(i) for improvements on grounds, including paving driveways, fencing, forestry, curbing, and beautifying the grounds, $10,000; (j) for patients' library and amusements, $500; making a total of $196,500."

Dr. Perry, superintendent of the State Hospital for Epileptics, at Parsons, likewise made known the "crying needs" of that institution in a report which gives much light on the condition of his institution at the same time. The report is well punctuated with observations showing the terrible condition into which the Epileptic Hospital was permitted to degenerate because of lack of sufficient appropriations and apparent ignorance and neglect practiced by the powers having the authority to grant the relief necessary to keep pace with the astounding growth of the institution.

"During this period (the biennium ending June 30, 1914) there has been less construction work than in any other biennium in the history of the institution," declared Dr. Perry on page 111, Fifth Biennial Report of the Board of Control. "This was due," he continues, "to the fact that the last legislature allowed no special appropriation for buildings.

"Having room for only a limited number of male patients at the beginning of the period, the capacity of the male department was soon reached and then exceeded. Cottage No. 1 north, in which chronic, custodial, and disturbed classes are housed, has been at times quite crowded, and constantly has more patients in it than can be cared for there to the best advantage.

"Notwithstanding the fact that some of the cottages have been considerably overcrowded, we could not accommodate all who applied for admission, and, much to my regret, it has recently become necessary to refuse admission to some male patients."

One of the most astounding, if not one of the most important, admissions ever made by the superintendent of any State institution of the State follows the above, in the superintendent's report. In view of the many positive statements, declarations, and claims, which have assumed the form of "statistics," that all forms of insanity, especially epilepsy, have been decreasing appreciably and with startling regularity since "Kansas has enforced her prohibitory law," this declaration by Dr. Perry furnishes food for much speculation. Contrary to the repeated claim made by ex-Gov. Stubbs, ex-Gov. Hodges, ex-Attorney General Dawson, ex-Attorney General Jackson, Gov. Capper, and others, that "our State institutions will soon be empty, just as our county jails are," all due to prohibition, crusading, passing dry resolutions, etc., Dr. Perry's startling statement should forever end such faking, even though indulged in as far away from home as Chicago, Columbus, or Boston. On page 111 of the above report Dr. Perry stated:

"This is the first time since the opening of the institution that care and treatment has been denied any epileptic resident of Kansas who has sought State aid. Until the capacity is increased by the addition of another cottage in the men's group, we shall be under the necessity of admitting male applicants only as vacancies occur."

In commenting on lack of hospital service Dr. Perry further stated (p. 118): "We have been greatly handicapped in our medical work by the lack of this hospital service, and have not always been able to give the sick the care they should have had." An appropriation of $50,000 is asked for a new hospital and equipment (p. 119).

In speaking of the new admissions during the period (p. 112), Dr. Perry said: "We continue to receive more men than women. The disproportion between the sexes in the admissions for the period is more marked than usual, there having been 121 males and 56 females." The fact that the female admissions have been less during that period could as well be used in an argument favoring equal suffrage, and much more truthfully so, than many of the faked-up arguments presented claiming that prohibition has decreased insanity in the State. While the lower percentage of epileptics admitted has nothing whatever to do with the fact that women now vote in Kansas, it would still be as logical for the female agitators throughout the land to claim that as a "victory" for suffrage, as for the governor and ex-governors, etc., to lay claim to every favorable showing, whether it be an increased wheat crop, increased bank deposits or whatnot, as a "victory" to a brand of prohibition that never has and never will prove a real success.

As proof of the "progressive" system in effect at Parsons, the fact that but one patient was restored improved during the above period (pp. 112 and 113), and that a 5-year-old boy who "suffered from mild attacks at irregular intervals, apparently associated with a disordered stomach," speaks in anything but glowing terms of the brand of treatment accorded the unfortunate. Speaking of this boy, Dr. Perry said: "When admitted he appeared to be profoundly intoxicated, possibly from a patent nostrum which he had been taking." And possibly not. Possibly since the "open saloons" have been removed from the corners of Kansas towns and placed in feed troughs, haystacks, behind the potato bin in the cellar or up on a shelf in the kitchen, this 5-year-old lad learned when he began to toddle that it was all right for father and mother to "kiss the jug good morning" after a strenuous evening at some law enforcement league meeting, and did likewise. That "possibly" opens such a wide field for speculation, it has no limitation. One thing is sure: The home that produced that bright eyed little tot of five golden summers was "saving the boy" by loading him up with some kind of boot-leg booze or mail-order rot-gut, if not some "patent medicine" slipped into daddy's hip pocket when he slid into the drug store down town to take a peep at the baseball score board.

Another interesting question arises as we read Dr. Perry's report (p. 112), where it is stated that "36 unimproved" cases were discharged. No doubt to make room for worse cases; but what happened to them? Were they returned home, and if so, being unimproved, should they not be classed as insane in the State reports? How many of them became members of that great and constantly increasing army of criminals that roam the plains of Kansas? Of the total admissions (176 in number), those "under 5 years of age" and from that up to 30 years of age totaled 103. Just how many were rendered epileptic by consumption of "patent nostrums" is not shown, nor is it shown how many in this class were returned "unimproved" during the biennium (p. 123). Of the 176 admissions, 83 were insane as well as being epileptic, 52 less than 40 years of age, 13 of them females (p. 123). If returned to society in an "unimproved" state, having been discharged from the asylum, they were free to marry, and probably did. This may throw considerable light on Mr. Bowman's statement reported in the Topeka State Journal (supra), showing why the birth rate among mentally defective is so abnormally high—much higher than the rate among the sane.

It is, to say the least, a deplorable condition and one which needs real scientific study to solve.

Dr. Perry demanded (p. 119) that $27,500 be appropriated for a building for men; $12,500 be appropriated for a school; $12,500 for a dairy barn, "a much needed improvement"; and $15,000 to develop the farmstead in an effort to help cut down the increasing expense owing to increased admissions.

STATE HOME FOR FEEBLE-MINDED.

On page 136 of the Fifth Biennial Report Board of Control, 1914, Dr. F. C. Cave, acting superintendent, furnishes some enlightenment as to the "great decrease" in the number of inmates in that institution. "The question of room for properly caring for the increasing number of feeble-minded always occupies a prominent place in all our reports," declared Dr. Cave, "and we can make no exception in this instance. We are already housing many more children than our capacity warrants, and another large building, making room for 150 or more patients, is needed.

"We frequently are asked how children are classified or grouped," further stated Dr. Cave, on page 137. "This depends upon age, size, appearance, sex, and mental capacity. The Binet-Simon test for determining mentality has been introduced, and these tests are given to every one admitted, the teachers and the first assistant physician conducting the examination. In our overcrowded condition we can not be as exact as we would like about placing a child in its proper group, but we aim to give every child the benefit of the best class of associates possible."

Under the heading "Appropriations needed," appear the following:

New building for inmates	$60,000
Kitchen and congregate dining room	30,000
Ice plant and cold-storage room	5,000
To acquire title to 5 acres of land	1,500
Construct tunnel from central power plant to new buildings	5,000
Making a total of	101,500

LARNED STATE HOSPITAL.

In his report for the period covered by his superintendency (from Feb., 1914), Dr. B. F. Hawk, in rendering an account for his stewardship of this institution, gave a bit of the history covering its construction, as follows (p. 163, Fifth Biennial Report, Board of Control):

"For a number of years the Topeka and Osawatomie State hospitals have been crowded. They have continually asked the legislature for more room and facilities to handle their people. The legislature found it would be necessary either to increase the capacity of these institutions or to build a new hospital in a new location.

"In order to meet the future needs and to provide the State with the best means of taking care of the unfortunates, the legislature decided to choose a new site and build a third institution.

"The western part of the State felt that, since the other two hospitals were in the eastern part, the new one should be located in the west. To this the legislature agreed * * *. After due consideration the board decided to build the new institution at Larned, Kans., which location was approved by Gov. W. R. Stubbs, as provided by law."

Forty-eight thousand two hundred dollars was asked for salaries, maintenance, during the years 1916 and 1917. (Supra, pp. 165, 166.)

These reports were widely commented upon by the various newspapers throughout the State and did much for the time being to open the eyes of the public as to the true conditions of these State institutions. However, in the face of the matters and things seriously and so clearly set out, reports continued to pour out of the State that "our insane, feeble-minded and epileptic rates have been decreased under prohibition."

In speaking for "home consumption" alone, on the contrary, Gov. Capper rather shocked the sensibilities of that portion of the national population which takes time to read before venturing an opinion by sending the following special message to the legislature touching the subject matter of the above reports and dealing with the question of strict economy:

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE,
Topeka, Kans., February 23, 1915.

To the Members of the Legislature:

We have a plain duty before us, one we must not shirk, one not to be avoided nor evaded. It compels me to direct your attention to a matter instantly important and pressingly urgent if, as chosen ministers of the will of the people of Kansas, we are to do our duty as public servants and keep faith with those we represent and have sworn to serve.

In Kansas we are facing an absolute necessity for stringent economy. In providing for the needs of the various State institutions, it is a case of doing the best we can at a time of world-wide uncertainty and depression, a time when prudence and common sense counsel the utmost moderation, if not the most painstaking retrenchment. It is a case of cutting our garment to fit our cloth.

A niggardly policy of dealing with public affairs is not expected nor demanded of us. To impair the usefulness of any State institution or retard its growth is not economizing. The consequences of such a policy would be as deplorable as to overextend our expenditures at a time when economy of the strictest sort is enforced on every prudent person by the prevailing conditions, and when the burdens of taxation are sufficiently heavy. It is for us to steer most carefully between these extremes, and if we do not we may expect most sharply and most justly to be called to account. We can justify ourselves only here and now.

The appropriation bills, originating in the senate and already agreed to by the senate or its ways and means committee, I am informed, aggregate $7,214,650. This is an increase of $1,521,107.34 over the appropriations made by the legislature of 1913 for the same purposes. It is $1,035,070 in excess of the sum called for by corresponding bills in the house. The appropriations recommended by the house committee are in excess of the estimates made by the auditor of state after careful investigation of the needs of the various departments of State government, and, I understand, are based upon a most careful and searching analysis of what the ways and means committee of the house are convinced are amply sufficient. The members of this committee have given full consideration to the pressing demands of every institution affected. I am fully convinced that the appropriations proposed by the house committee should not be increased.

The appropriations asked for by those intrusted with the conduct of these institutions are asked for in good faith. In most cases they could be used to advantage. But we must not forget that the assessed valuation of property in Kansas has decreased by $5,000,000 last year, nor that the loss of revenue by the repeal of the inheritance-tax law and other measures will amount to several hundred thousand dollars.

The chairman of the State tax commission has warned us that unless this legislature decreases appropriations by at least a half million dollars the State tax levy must be increased for the first time in four years. The senate appropriations, if passed, will necessitate an increase

of the levy by one-half mill, an extraordinary increase. I do not believe such an increase is now justifiable, nor that the people of Kansas will sanction it, and they can not be accused of niggardliness nor lack of liberality in public affairs.

A comparison of the appropriations made by the State legislature 12 years ago with the appropriations now proposed by the senate for 1915 show an increase of 91 per cent. Our State expenditures have nearly doubled, with a very slight increase in population. The appropriations made by the State legislature during the last six sessions are:

1903	$5,477,040.97
1905	5,615,127.45
1907	6,734,927.55
1909	7,386,578.04
1911	8,375,884.01
1913	8,923,919.43

The increase under consideration by the legislature of 1915, and already approved by the senate, will bring this session's appropriation up to the astonishing sum of approximately $10,445,000—not only the greatest appropriation ever made by any Kansas Legislature, but the greatest increase ever made by any legislature in the history of the State.

I do not question the motives of those who now advocate this abnormal increase in appropriations, but the fact remains that some of the members who are now urging this increase are the very ones who were most deeply concerned two years ago in keeping down appropriations. Then they reluctantly appropriated $166,982 for new buildings at State educational institutions, while now they are urgently insisting that $960,350 be appropriated for the same purpose. And all this in face of the fact that our assessed valuation actually decreased $5,000,000 last year, that our population has not increased, and that business conditions, which were then satisfactory, are now much less favorable.

Our farmers face uncertain and unstable markets, an unusual number of laboring men are out of employment, and business conditions are far from satisfactory. All individuals are curtailing expenses. The State can not afford unnecessarily to increase them. We should not impose this additional burden upon the people.

I urgently ask a reconsideration of the appropriation bills, for the elimination of every item calling for an expenditure which can by any possibility wait for more propitious times. I have studiously refrained from any attempt to encroach upon the functions of the legislative branch of our State government, but I can not and will not approve expenditures which I believe to be unwise and extravagant at such a time as this. I most earnestly appeal to you to lay aside the particular benefit of any section of the State or of any institution of the State in which you have a special interest. In the light of conditions as they are, and not as we would have them, I urge you to consider solely the good of the State as a whole, the best interests of all the people.

Respectfully submitted.

ARTHUR CAPPER, *Governor.*

While the demands of the Topeka State Hospital were many, and were specifically set out by Dr. Biddle (Fifth Biennial Report, Board of Control, p. 46), no special appropriation of any kind was made covering any of its "crying needs" by the 1915 legislature. (Laws of Kansas, 1915, ch. 43, p. 59.)

The Osawatomie State Hospital made demands for special appropriations in the sum of $196,500 (Fifth Biennial Report, Board of Control, pp. 84 and 85), aside from stating many matters that needed special appropriation, without naming an amount. An allowance was made, aside from the regular sum required, as a "special appropriation," for $10,000, "general repairs and improvements," for 1916 and a like amount for 1917. The $10,000 allowed for 1917 was vetoed by Gov. Capper "in the interest of economy" and because "we should not cast this additional burden upon our people." For insulation of steam pipes $5,000 was allowed for 1916, although $7,000 was asked for. The "special appropriations" amounted to $15,000 for 1916 and nothing for 1917.

Request was made for "special improvements" at the State Home for Feeble-Minded at Winfield, to the end that congestion might be relieved, sanitation improved, etc., in the sum of $101,000. It received $25,500. (Laws of Kansas, 1915, ch. 34, p. 50.) The balance of the special appropriation so urgently required (Fifth Biennial Report, Board of Control, p. 136) was denied because "we should not impose this additional burden upon the people when the burdens of taxation are sufficiently heavy," and because "our assessed valuation actually decreased $5,000,000 last year" and "our population has not increased."

The State Hospital for Epileptics, at Parsons, demanded, in view of pressing demands for more room and crying needs for improvements and betterments, in view of the constant increase in population, the sum of $117,500 by way of "special appropriations," in addition to the regular allowances for salaries, repairs, etc. (Fifth Biennial Report, Board of Control, pp. 118–120.) It received an appropriation of $50,000 for a fireproof hospital building, completely equipped, to be allowed during 1917. Although the superintendent stated that "this is the first time since the opening of this institution that aid has been denied any epileptic resident of Kansas," owing to the overcrowded condition, and asked for a reception building for men to cost $27,500, that that deplorable condition be relieved, no attention was paid to it. The school building, the dairy-barn improvements, and the farmstead improvements were likewise swept to one side in the interest of economy.

Other State institutions fared likewise. However, the tax levy was increased, as the governor prophesied, much to the delight of the overburdened taxpayers, the majority of whom are either delinquent or pay the toll of fad government begrudgingly.

THE 1916 REPORT ANALYZED.

Gov. Capper's famous message demanding that in the interest of economy and lack of a desire to further burden the people with more taxes was the lightning stroke administered to the State institutions of a charitable nature, and the reports of the various superintendents of these institutions incorporated in the 1916, or Sixth Biennial Report of the Board of Control, was the thunderclap.

Speaking of "medical service," Dr. Biddle, superintendent of the Topeka State Hospital, said (p. 35): "I regret to have to report that it has not been possible, from our insufficient salary allowance, to add one dollar to the meager pay of any member. I can not understand that our State expects her servants to render service for a wage that is so considerably less than all other States are paying for less competent work, and shall continue to hope that another legislature will be more generous in its provision for better salaries.

"The last legislature, in its wisdom," continues Dr. Biddle (p. 38), "declined all our requests for special appropriations for improvements. In our previous biennial report (Fifth Biennial Report Board of Control) we presented, to the best of our ability, the sorrowful state of dilapidation and unfitness of our general kitchen and domestic building, with an urgent request for means to rebuild it. We urged the importance of providing homes for our nurses. We also recommended the purchase of additional land in order that the farm might be more suitable in acreage to the necessities of the State's largest eleemosynary institution." All these requests were denied, in the interests of economy, and their repetition at this time magnifies their urgent need.

As to the matter of "service," it is stated on pages 36 and 37 of the above report that "During the biennium the service has become even more unstable, incompetent, and undesirable. * * * The service must be made more attractive in order that more stable and efficient people may be enlisted in the work. * * * Our trained nurses are receiving only about the wage that is paid for domestic service throughout the country. I fear we will not accomplish much in bettering conditions until there has been liberal increase in our allowance for salaries and wages.

"Again, our sister States are recognizing the necessity and obligation of the States to better the social condition of their servants. To do so, nurses' homes are becoming an established feature of all progressive hospitals. These homes not only furnish the employees with a degree of home comfort, but it breaks the dreary monotony incident to constant association and domicile with the insane. It hardly seems consistent that the State should be so active in requiring much of the corporations of the State in the way of better social conditions for their servants, yet ignoring her own obligations to her own servants.

"In conclusion I desire to summarize as follows: The necessity of discouraging the itinerant habits of hospital employees is country wide. The State's duty in this matter is, first, to provide for better wages; secondly, to improve social and home conditions by building suitable nurses' homes; thirdly, to shorten the long hours of service as far as is found practicable.

"The legislature of 1915 enacted a general civil-service law. While the principle involved is undoubtedly correct, yet, because of the conditions described in the foregoing paragraph, it has in no way improved the hospital service. It has been necessary for almost all the vacancies to be supplied through the temporary employment clause of the law, and the applicants for civil-service examination for nurses and attendants have come almost entirely from persons already employed in the hospital. Until employment conditions are made more attractive the application of the civil-service law seems to be not worth while, and is a case of love's labor lost.'" (Sixth Biennial Report, Board of Control, p. 38.)

Speaking of the results attained through the present force, medical and otherwise, Dr. Biddle stated, on page 34, that "the population table shows that 336 patients died during the period, of whom 234 were men and 102 women—8.5 per cent of the total number of patients under treatment.

"This mortality is 2.3 per cent above the last biennial period, and must be accounted for by certain unfavorable conditions, to wit: The chronic population of the hospital is growing old, many of whom have passed life's expectancy. Again, there has been no reduction in the number of senile dementia cases admitted, which of necessity increases our death rate. In addition, the number of cases of paresis admitted constantly increases, with its consequent increase of our mortality ratio.

"Outside of these causes, however, the winter of 1915–16 was attended by an unusually high death rate on account of a most unusually fatal epidemic of influenza. Many of these cases developed pneumonic infection, and with these cases the fatality was high."

Aside from these causes assigned, there can be no doubt but what competent assistants, nurses, paid reasonable wages and given reasonable accommodations, would increase the efficiency of the medical department and have much to do with at least stamping out epidemics. On this important matter the superintendents of all hospitals have expressed themselves many times during the past 10 years. Economy, however, seems to demand curtailment wherever possible, for political and other reasons, which is a cheap way to play the game with human life at stake, to say the least.

Great stress has been laid from time to time on the number of county poor farms that have few, if any, inmates and though the population in almshouses is unusually high during 1916, being 908 (Sixth Biennial Report, Board of Control, p. 27), as compared with 735 in 1910 (Census of the United States; Bulletin 120, "Paupers in Almshouses," p. 18), and 831 on June 30, 1914 (Fifth Biennial Report, p. 34), aside from 12,871 persons who received aid during the year 1915, equal to one person out of every 130 in the State (Topeka State Journal, Jan. 10, 1916), the State hospital superintendents seem to have a well-founded complaint because of the tendency of various counties to "pass the buck" so far as charges that should and probably could as well as not be cared for in the county almshouses. While the rate of pauperism in Kansas is exceedingly high, the rate should be much higher, if what the various superintendents say is true. We must assume it is.

Dr. Biddle, superintendent of the Topeka State Hospital, thus addresses the board of control and the governor on the subject (Sixth Biennial Report, Board of Control, p. 34):

"The problem of State or county care of the insane has been a mooted one. Under our system of State care the greatest fault lies in the growing tendency of the counties to treat the State unfairly, by filling the State hospitals with large numbers of indigent defectives who should remain in almshouses of the several counties.

"That this imposition on the bounty of the State has steadily grown during recent years is quite apparent to one in position to observe its growth. I recognize that the problem is a difficult one. * * *

"A suggestion to remedy this fault of our commitment procedure would be more complete, and thorough inspection of questionable applications for admission.

"I think the State could well afford to pay for the services of a competent alienist to visit these questionable applicants and report to the board of control the necessity or otherwise of their commitment."

It will be borne in mind that the same complaint was contained in the Fifth Biennial Report. Newspaper comment on the subject has also been indulged in more or less briefly from time to time. There is an abundance of evidence that the system is abused and that the abuse should be remedied, yet nothing has ever been done.

"The problem of more room for patients seems to be ever present," declared Dr. Biddle (p. 40). It is probable that in the main, it will be the policy to allow the development of the Larned Hospital to provide the required room. There are, however, certain conditions in the older hospitals that suggest the advisability of further increase of their capacity. It will especially be necessary to provide more room for women.

"If the policy of accepting applications for admission of large numbers of decrepit old ladies is to be continued, it will become very essential that more suitable provision be made for their proper care.

"A special building, one story, with attached kitchen and dining room, for these old people would be a most desirable arrangement. With such a building they would be able to be outdoors more, their meals could be served in a way more suitable to their needs, and they could in every way be made more comfortable Our 'N' cottage is too small to accommodate all the women of the class."

Commenting again, as he formerly did in the fifth biennial report, on the matter of a home for the nurses, which Dr. Biddle deems one of the most crying needs of the institution, he further addresses himself:

"Again I renew our urgent request for nurses' homes. The need of this important addition to our hospital has been considered in the preceding paragraph, and in advocating this improvement I will quote from the nineteenth biennial report," which is the fifth biennial report of the board of control. Dr. Biddle then quotes extensively from page 46 of that report, the first line in the second paragraph, on page 46, being: "It is exceedingly disappointing that our frequent requests for appropriations for nurses' homes have not been favorably considered," which is followed by a lengthy petition, setting out conditions, reasons for lack of a better showing in the hospital, causes bearing on the inability of those in charge to make more headway in accomplishing the things that are quite necessary in insane-hospital work because of the low grade of nurses they are able to keep, because of the barbarous treatment they are accorded by the lax manner in which the State authorities consider the crying needs of the institutions. It was after reading the fifth biennial report that Gov. Capper admitted that the relief demanded was probably well founded, and no doubt the institutions should have the appropriations requested, but rather than "burden our people" with more taxes, "the burden is now sufficiently heavy," he urged strict economy and scaled down the hospital appropriations to bedrock. Some fine prohibition speeches would have been "ruined" if the State officers during the past 10 years had admitted the truth about the State penal, charitable, and correctional institutions, but nevertheless the State would have been much better off.

Again speaking of the matter of the absolute necessity of purchasing more land because of the great increase in population at his institution, Dr. Biddle stated, on page 41, sixth biennial report, board of control: "The recommendation of our last report urging the enlargement of the institution farm was supported more generously in the last legislature than any of our other requests. Many members of both branches were interested in the proposition of acquiring the Southern tract, containing 80 acres. The land is still available, and the merits of this proposed purchase are now even more obvious than they were two years ago.

"* * * We need more land, and need it where it will be available for the operation of farming interest of the institution. The hospital can not be moved to a location where the land is cheaper, and cheaper land far removed from the hospital site would be a very little advantage. The price of the land, a little more or a little less, is not of so much importance as its availability and adaptation to our needs."

This request, it will be borne in mind, was likewise turned down in the 1915 appropriation, in the interest of "economy," though Dr. Biddle, who has for years been conversant with every detail of the hospital work at the Topeka State Hospital, adds to his 1916 report this very logical conclusion: "There is no doubt in my mind that this proposed addition to the State's holdings here would prove a profitable investment for the State."

THE OSAWATOMIE STATE HOSPITAL.

In commenting on the lack of appropriations granted by the 1915 legislature, in view of the pressing demand for it, Dr. F. A. Carmichael, superintendent of the Osawatomie State Hospital, again renewed his complaint, and set out many more "crying needs" of the institution in the 1916 report. (See sixth biennial report, board of control, p. 78.) "The general condition of this building (the main building) demands that a considerable sum of money be expended upon it within the next two years, otherwise portions of it will be in a comparatively ruined condition. Attention was called in the last biennial report to the dilapidated condition of the roof and cornices. Nothing has been done to improve this condition through lack of adequate funds.

"Our sewer system is still unsatisfactory. The same urgent necessity for an appropriation for improvement of our sewer system exists as set forth in our last biennial report. In April and May of the present year, owing to contamination from some source, sewerage or otherwise, an epidemic of typhoid was experienced at the institution, from which 14 patients and 42 employees suffered. Prophylactic inoculation was carried on for the entire institution, patients and employees alike. We were inclined to consider this epidemic due to the imperfect system of sewerage, that has never been improved or altered in any way in the last 20 years."

No more urgent necessity for a sanitary sewer system could have been described than Dr. Carmichael set forth in the 1915 report. That report undoubtedly moved Gov. Capper to remark in his famous special message, "A niggardly policy of dealing with public affairs is not expected nor demanded of us," but "it is a case of cutting our garment to fit our cloth"; "the members of this committee have given full consideration to the pressing demands of every institution affected"; "the appropriations asked for by those intrusted with the conduct of these institutions are asked for in good faith"; "but we must not forget that the assessed valuation of property in Kansas has decreased by $5,000,000 last year" and "that our population has not increased." "We should not impose this additional burden upon the people."

And "economy" cut the demands of the State institutions, spread typhoid, ran out of the State's service competent men and women who were serving as nurses, instituted a system of employing "tramp" nurses and attendants.

Commenting upon the salaries paid and the chance to secure the service of competent help Dr. Carmichael further declares (p. 82, sixth biennial report, board of control): "The question of efficient help for the care and nursing of patients continues to be the problem most difficult of solution, and will remain so as long as the present inadequate system of remuneration continues.

"Initiative and efficiency in the individual possesses a definite monetary value that must be recognized by the employer, and employees possessing these attributes must be properly compensated in this as in other States. Otherwise they leave the service of the State to seek employment in other States where the salaries are more in keeping with the qualifications and requirements of their particular line of work.

"This applies particularly to skilled labor. We are finding it more difficult year by year to secure the proper type of employee, and of those that are developed within the State in our own institutions the more energetic and capable leave the service of our hospitals, attracted by the higher salaries paid in other States.

"During the last year we have been unable to keep our quota of employees up to the standard allowed by the legislature, because of the unattractiveness of our salaries.

"The same difficulty is experienced with reference to members of the staff and those in other official positions demanding executive ability.

"Efforts made during the past biennium to secure staff members competent to maintain the standards established at this hospital develop the fact that competent men occupying subordinate staff positions in other hospitals frequently receive higher salaries than the superintendents of our Kansas institutions.

"Competent men who have acquired special ability in their line of work can not be obtained unless a salary schedule corresponding to that paid by other States demanding the same character of work is adopted. The same is true of matrons and dietitians. I find from a very extensive correspondence that competent matrons and dietitians in the East receive from two to three times the salary that is fixed for those occupying similar positions in this State."

The East is not so much interested in "economy" of the Kansas brand as it is in securing results. The insane rate in Kansas will never be reduced as long as cheap-john "economy," which is penny-wise and pound-foolish, is a distinguishing feature in Kansas. It is better that a few admissions be made and the errors corrected now than to wait until the next generation witnesses even a greater disgrace by a forced admission that "Kansas has indeed gone crazy clear through." When the population insists on going crazy, filling the State, county, and city hospitals, what can be expected in the end from lawmakers and men and women in charge of schools, colleges, not to mention State officers? Does the recent trend of Kansas legislation reflect the increases so sorrowfully noted in the Topeka State Journal article, published herein? The Kansas City Journal recently stated that the insane rate in the East is decreasing and "fad" government, prohibition, and woman suffrage is making little headway there, while it is the "order of the day" in Kansas. Does that mean anything?

Continuing, Dr. Carmichael declared (p. 87) that "Coincident with the development of a civil-service system, designed to eliminate the worthless and unfit, as well as to abolish political patronage and preferment, steps toward the proper recognition of merit should be taken. The class of cheap employees are found to be careless, indifferent, and incompetent in almost every instance, because they hold their positions in contempet in view of the insignificant salary attached, or are incompetent to attain a higher position.

"I am firmly convinced that in our State hospitals we sustain a sufficient loss annually through the incompetency and inefficiency, lack of interest and cooperation of the underpaid employee to overcome any seeming economy that the low-salary schedule might imply.

"A high standard of efficiency may readily be established, but it can only be maintained by a proper compensation for service. * * * Industrial corporations have found it necessary to make a gradual increase in the salaries of their employees over the past 15 years. No such increase has been recognized by the State in the remuneration of its employees.

"As a matter of fact, our salary schedules are in many instances so out of proportion to the quality of service required and so far below that of other States that there is no chance at the present time and under present conditions of realizing a marked improvement in the service of our public institutions unless a salary schedule more attractive to the employees is established."

It is unknown at this time just what is in the minds of the present legislators of Kansas with reference to meeting any of the demands set forth by Dr. Carmichael, but unless a complete change is made, and the Kansas statesmen who are constantly watchful lest they may admit that it actually should cost the State many more hundreds of thousands of dollars than at present to care for the unfortunate, the same old dilapidated conditions will continue indefinitely. However, unless some active constructive work is indulged in quite soon the buildings will soon fall to pieces, and the sums necessary to be expended will be many times greater than a reasonable sum properly expended at this time would be.

In commenting on the "liberal" appropriations made by the 1915 legislature in line with Gov. Capper's plea for "economy" lest the State be held up to ridicule, Dr. Carmichael declares on page 87: "The special appropriation of $15,000 granted by the last legislature was entirely inadequate to meet the requirements of this institution. * * * The lack of a reception hospital with modern equipment is seriously felt, and, still contending that it is the manifest duty of the State to provide every known means for the restoration of these unfortunates to useful citizenship and reiterating the statement contained in my last biennial report, that the taxpayer in one section of the State is equally entitled to the fullest consideration in this respect with the resident of another section, I must again urge the need of a modernly equipped hospital, where adequate treatment may be afforded.

"It does not seem possible that our legislature can longer refuse this act of justice and mercy to the unfortunates of the State, as it has been earnestly urged for the past 10 years.

"It should be a matter of far greater pride to the Commonwealth of Kansas to point to its adequately equipped educational, charitable, and penal institutions than to prate of its financial prosperity or the amount in the banks per capita of its residents.

"Very few States spend less on their charities than Kansas. This may be regarded both as a questionable economy and a doubtful virtue. And the failure to provide the necessary equipment for applying every known method of treatment is an unpalliated reproach to the State.

"General repairs on the main building, long neglected, with installation of metal stairways and outside balconies, should by all means be provided. The cottage for male nurses, similar to the one now occupied by female nurses, would greatly contribute to the retention of a better class of employees and would also give the rooms on the wards now occupied by attendants for the accommodation of patients.

"Accommodations for help, so far as room is concerned, are very limited, and with the steady growth of the institution provision for proper housing of our male employees should be made."

Speaking of fire protection, Dr. Carmichael again renews his demand that the State legislature awaken to the dire needs of the institution in the name of humanity as well as economy, and thus declares again the needs on page 88, sixth biennial report, board of control:

"In our last biennial report the fact was emphasized that our fire lines have been laid for approximately 30 years; that they are eroded to an extent that would make them useless in case of a serious fire, as they would certainly burst under very moderate pressure. In

case of serious fire we feel that we could not expect service from this poor equipment. As the integrity of our fire protection is dependent upon these fire lines, we would ask that the appropriation requested for the laying of new lines and installation of new hydrants be allowed."

The following recommendations for appropriations were made by Dr. Carmichael for the hospital, during the next biennium (Sixth Biennial Report, Board of Control, p. 89):

For building and equipping a modern reception hospital	$75,000
(NOTE.—A request was made for $100,000 for this purpose in 1914, but turned down by the legislature and barred from consideration by the governor's economy propaganda.)	
For carrying out in part a plan for repairs and improvements on the main building	25,000
(NOTE.—A similar request was made in 1914, but turned down. See Fifth Biennial Report, p. 86.)	
For building and equipping a sanitary dairy barn	20,000
(NOTE.—A similar request was made in 1914, see Fifth Biennial Report, supra, but was turned down.)	
For new fire lines and hydrants	5,000
(NOTE.—Similar request turned down in 1915 legislature, having been asked for in 1914 report. See supra.)	
For general improvements and repairs on sewer line (a similar request having been denied, 1915)	2,000
For replumbing, rebuilding, and tiling of bathrooms in the Adair and Knapp buildings	4,000
Increase in salary appropriation to cover salary of additional staff member	1,000
Increase in maintenance to cover cost of purchase of water from the city of Osawatomie	5,000
Total	137,000

"Grateful acknowledgement is made to the governor and the board of control for their ever-ready advice and assistance," states Dr. Carmichael in conclusion on page 89 of the report; but it seems that there is an overproduction of "ever-ready advice" and a lack of an apparent willingness to appropriate a sufficient sum to keep pace with the speed of the ever-increasing population, the constant wear and tear on the machinery and equipment of the hospital, much to the discredit and shame of the great State of Kansas, one of the many cradles of prohibition liberty.

In line with the complaints registered by the superintendents of the Topeka State Hospital and the Osawatomie State Hospital, Dr. M. L. Perry, superintendent of the State Hospital for Epileptics at Parsons, makes clear the situation as it exists in his institution, on pages 123 et seq., of the Sixth Biennial Report, Board of Control.

"There has been no special appropriation for buildings available during this period, and therefore no increase in the capacity of the institution," declares Dr. Perry on page 123.

"There has been a slight increase in the number of patients—from 518 at the beginning of the biennium to 551 on June 30, 1916. * * * The increase in population in the female department has been relatively greater than in the male, owing to the fact that for the past two years we have had constantly more male patients than our normal capacity.

"As pointed out in my biennial report of 1914, the legislature of 1913 allowed no special appropriation for buildings, and the management has been forced for several months to refuse to receive some patients applying for admission. This state of affairs still exists and will continue until relieved by the increased capacity provided for in the new hospital building, for which the legislature of 1915 made an appropriation of $50,000, available July 1, 1916.

"* * * We now have 16 men more than there is adequate bed space for. Additional beds have been crowded into some of the cottage dormitories, but the overcrowding has been especially marked in the large custodial building for men. In this building for more than two years we have been forced to sleep from 5 to 10 men on beds made down on the floor. Such overcrowding is deplorable in any institution, but it is especially bad in one for the care of epileptics. * * * In spite of the adopted policy to admit all acute and favorable cases and all patients either seriously ill or who, because of mental derangement, were dangerous or difficult to control, it has at times been impossible to accommodate all such types.

"* * * For several years (p. 124) the number of voluntary commitments has been increasing, until now we are receiving nearly twice as many patients of this type as we are court commitments. This is due in part to a better understanding of the different forms of suffering from epilepsy, but it also indicates a willingness on the part of more of those suffering from epilepsy to avail themselves of State aid. Unfortunately, chronic and hopeless types still constitute the bulk of our admissions.

"* * * Many of our patients have defective teeth. * * * This subject is of special importance in an institution for the care of epileptics, in view of the well-recognized relationship which exists between epilepsy and digestive disorders. The medical staff is not prepared to do dental work other than extractions, and I would recommend that some arrangement be made whereby the service of a competent dentist will be available for the better care of the patients' teeth."

Under the heading of "Recommendations," Dr. Perry analyzes the "future situation" at the hospital as follows (p. 130):

"The most urgent need of the institution in the immediate future will be additional room for men. The male population is now 16 in excess of the normal capacity. The new hospital building will give some relief, but it can not be occupied before next spring, and by that time there will be enough men above capacity to fill it.

"As any appropriation made by the next legislature (1917) will not be available until one year from this date, and several months will be required to build a cottage after the fund can be drawn, it is evident that there can be no relief from our overcrowded condition for at least 18 months.

"This cottage should be large enough to take care of the normal increase in the male department for a period of two years. I would recommend that an appropriation of $36,000 be asked of the next legislature for a custodial cottage of 40 beds similar to No. 8 north, except that it be fireproof."

Apparently Dr. Perry has no idea that epilepsy is decreasing in Kansas or that the passage of laws by the legislature against smoking cigarettes or the use of liquor by school-teachers, or tobacco either, or the prohibitive measures adopted by the governor to stop the use of tobacco and whisky by State employees, is going to cut down the crop very appreciably. His long experience in Kansas has no doubt taught him that no matter what the boast is, the fact remains that insanity is increasing by leaps and bounds.

"There have been no cottages for women erected since the first group was built more than 10 years ago," continues Dr. Perry (p. 130). "For several years there has been great need of a custodial cottage in the female department. For lack of it we have not been able to classify the women in a satisfactory manner. There are still a few vacancies in the open cottages, but No. 1 has more patients than can be properly cared for. The additional room which will be gained when the hospital building is opened will be sufficient to meet the needs of this department for two years, but unless provision is made for more room by the next legislature the institution will be obliged to refuse admission to women, as we are now having to do to men. An appropriation of $36,000 available July 1, 1918, for a cottage similar to the one recommended for men should be requested."

The above would indicate that Dr. Perry seems rather certain that epilepsy is not on the decline, so far as women are concerned, either.

"For a number of years I have pointed out the need of a school building and the necessary equipment," stated Dr. Perry (p. 131) in further commenting on the crying needs of his institution. "This need is certainly no less urgent now than heretofore," continued the superintendent. "I know of no stronger way to present the subject than to quote from my last biennial report: 'If the institution is going to continue to receive bright boys and girls—and such patients are the ones for whom most good can be done—it should certainly be in a position to offer them some educational advantages. An epileptic is already sufficiently handicapped without having to bear the additional burden of illiteracy. On account of their disease, they are deprived of the opportunity provided by the State for normal children to obtain an education in the public schools. Why should the State discriminate against the epileptic child in this manner? It seems to me only reasonable to request that if a school is to be conducted in connection with the institution a properly equipped school building be provided.' An appropriation of $12,500 will be needed for this purpose."

The same amount was requested in the 1914 report (p. 119, Fifth Biennial Report, Board of Control), but was denied the institution under the "policy of economy" introduced by Gov. Capper. (See Laws of Kansas, 1915, ch. 38, p. 54.)

Speaking of the dairy barn, Dr. Perry also stated (p. 131, Sixth Biennial Report, Board of Control): "The part of the barn used for the dairy is small, insanitary, and in various ways unsatisfactory, and should be abandoned and a modern structure better suited to our needs erected. * * * An appropriation of $15,000 will be required for this improvement."

A similar sum for the same purpose was requested in the former report (see p. 119, Fifth Biennial Report, Board of Control), but was likewise denied under the "policy of economy."

"The pipe tunnels which were constructed nearly 15 years ago have been in a bad state of repair for several years," declared the superintendent in speaking of other crying needs of the institution (p. 131, Sixth Biennial Report, Board of Control) "and are getting in a worse condition each year. The main tunnel was in such bad shape that it became necessary to entirely rebuild it. This work is now in progress. The remainder of the tunnel system will have to be rebuilt during the next biennium. It is not safe to depend upon it for a longer period than that. Practically all the pipe lines in these tunnels, with the exception of the main steam line, will have to be replaced. It will require $12,500 for these improvements, which I consider to be absolutely necessary for the safety of the heating, wiring, and water systems."

"I would like to see some increase in the general salary and wage schedule," declared Dr. Perry, on page 132, speaking of wages and salaries which are now being paid and which he deems very inadequate to secure efficient help. "The amount paid heads of departments and those in the more responsible positions in the Kansas institutions is very much below what is paid in most other States," he observed. "Efficient service is demanded of those holding such positions," he continued, "in our hospitals, and it seems only fair that they should be paid salaries comparable to those allowed for the same grade of work elsewhere."

From the above and foregoing excerpts it is quite apparent that Dr. Perry seems convinced that his institution has not been receiving the proper amount of appropriations from the legislature, and a study of conditions surrounding this institution particularly leads to the inevitable conclusion that Kansas is most careless about the things that go to make a real up-to-date Commonwealth. From reports that have been sent broadcast and which, unfortunately for the people of Kansas, receive wide publicity because of their source, these conditions seem almost impossible, and the sooner the American people, and those residing in Kansas more especially, learn the truth about the "inside of Kansas workings" the better. People will listen to boasting public officials when they will refuse to read. The official State and Federal reports seem to make little if any impression upon the average person, mainly because they are supposed to be dry reading and without any special interest. Statements put forth in glowing terms about the wonderful workings of any system of government advertised as a cure-all, backed up by statements repeated again and again that the "nostrum" will and does decrease the dread disease of insanity in time, are taken at their face value. Just how these statements originate and why they are made, I will not at this time attempt to explain, but obviously there is an ulterior motive or they would not be made. And again, just how a governor, an ex-governor, and ex-attorney general, or any other man who has gained some degree of distinction in his home State, can purposely misrepresent or refuse to tell the truth about these conditions, is likewise beyond my comprehension. It is beside the question to say they are made "just because we desire to boost our State." Boosting of that sort is dangerous, and more especially so since even some of the legislators feel much the same way about it as do those away from home, and constantly refuse to give the much needed assistance to the unfortunate.

Why not make a clean breast of it? Why not admit after all that the fake tales and truthless stories are merely trumped-up assertions made for the purpose of deceiving the public, and submit to public gaze the power behind the throne demanding that these statements be repeated and given credence by being sent out over official signatures? Kansas will be shocked rudely more than once when the true conditions of her industrial, educational, penal, and charitable institutions become the subject of public discussion in their true light. Better have it soon, correct the errors, kick the ramshackle system out of public life, and start anew. Other States have done it, and Kansas can well afford to follow their example.

In this connection the observations made by Dr. F. C. Cave, superintendent of the State Home for Feeble-Minded, at Winfield, are quite apropos. (See Sixth Biennial Report, Board of Control, pp. 147 et seq.) Among other things, Dr. Cave calls attention to the following:

"A great many crippled children are being sent to us who need careful hospital attention; and if they continue to come to us, it is only a question of a short time when additional room will be needed in this department." (P. 147.)

"In our last report we mentioned the proximity of the present barn and new kitchen, producing flies, objectionable odors, etc. This is unpleasant and insanitary, and probably during the next biennial period alterations should be made, the barn converted into a ward building, and a new structure placed a half mile distant from the present group of buildings." (P. 148.)

"We have room for additional patients, but I understand efforts are being made by the board to send us a good many defectives who are now in private homes, as well as to transfer from the hospitals for the insane imbeciles who have no violent insane tendencies. If these two measures are carried out, the additional room here will soon be taken. In order to place our B building in condition to receive patients some remodeling must be done and new plumbing installed.

"Along with appropriations asked for in previous years we have always included an urgent request for $1,500 to purchase a five-acre tract, the remainder of the quarter we now occupy. This has always been tabled; but as this is a small appropriation, surely it will be granted. We need the tract to fill out our land. It would eliminate an unsightly old house and outbuildings that now stand on the property, and from an esthetic standpoint, if nothing more, should be purchased."

This is the first time the term "esthetic" has crept into the official reports for years. Demands are always "crying needs" and of extreme and urgent necessity. It is refreshing to note the term "esthetic improvements" once in a while, even if it does mean the tearing down of a lot of old buildings and outhouses next door to a State institution.

Just to show that his institution is not being given everything it needs, however, Dr. Cave asks and endeavors to enforce his demands with a strong enough argument that they will be put over for special appropriations amounting to $24,500. This institution asked for $101,500 from the 1915 legislature (Fifth Biennial Report, Board of Control, p. 136) and received $25,500. (Laws of Kansas, 1915, ch. 33, p. 50), which was a fairly good average, considering the "policy-of-economy" program.

In speaking of the future of the State Home for Feeble-Minded, Dr. Cave said (Sixth Biennial Report, Board of Control, pp. 151–152):

"We have already grown to the point where expansion is going to be particularly expensive, and we are not justified in further enlarging the home. The defective population of the State is not decreasing; in fact, I believe it is reported to be increasing faster than the normal rate of increase; and it is only a question of a short time when another institution of a similar character must be established.

"I would suggest that the same policy in selecting a building site be observed as was done by our board when the hospital at Larned was founded. Locate it where climate, water, soil, railroad facilities, and accessibility are features."

This statement does not sound much like the average "away-from-home boast" of the average Kansas booster, does it? And it most surely does not prove the statements made in a bulletin issued by Governor Capper in March, 1915, under the auspices of the Temperance League of the Methodist Church, in which he declared that "our homes are happier and our people stronger in mental fiber and conviction,"—all, of course, because Kansas adopted a constitutional amendment providing for prohibition in 1880.

As a parting shot, Dr. T. E. Hinshaw, the first assistant physician at the State home for feeble-minded, takes occasion to warn the public of the great dangers that lurk within the possibilities of permitting the wholesale production of mentally deficient in Kansas, and his remarks sound so strange, in view of what the country has been led to believe during the past decade to be the true conditions within the Sunflower State, that I urge especial emphasis to be given them. (See p. 152, Sixth Biennial Report, Board of Control, 1916):

"In view of the constantly increasing number of defectives, the insane, the feeble-minded, and epileptic, it would seem timely to suggest, even to urge, that a campaign of publicity be carried forward by the medical profession and the laity till the general public is sufficiently enlightened that it will favor the movement to render absolutely, by surgical means, the above-mentioned classes incapable of reproducing their kind."

Instead, and quite unfortunately, any person posing as spokesman for the people of Kansas can secure an audience and plenty of publicity throughout the Nation in newspapers, through the magazines, and even before great bodies of legislators, by claiming that Kansas is producing the most stalwart citizens in the Union, has more of a birth increase and less of a death increase, with all the virtues known to mankind sandwiched in between those two extremes, because she happens to be laboring—and "laboring" is the term—under a ramshackle constitutional provision, backed up, patched up, and wired together by a multiplicity of enactments, all presumed and boasted to prohibit the demon that slaughters in cold blood in every city, county, and State of the Nation where the sale, manufacture, and barter of liquors is permitted. Kansas has been held up as the "shining light" long enough. It its now high time that she be revealed as the "horrible example" that her own officials, who suffer no ulterior motive to prompt their declarations, declare her to be. If these things these men write are true it is surely time for the Nation, and especially the people of Kansas, to stop, look, and listen. Not that I claim open saloons would remedy these conditions, but in view of the oft-repeated declaration that they sap the lifeblood of the communities where located, this showing is at least some proof that something is sapping the lifeblood of Kansas, and as they have no "dens of iniquity"—no legal dens and lawful dives—it is time to study the cause of these conditions. Resolutions and parades can not solve questions such as these; neither can silent sentries, white flags, or maps that are as pure as the falling snow.

The Larned Hospital opened recently, but is already asking for special appropriations for additional equipment in the sum of $75,700. (Sixth Biennial Report, Board of Control, p. 198.)

In commenting upon the growth of the insane population of the State, Dr. L. R. Sellers, superintendent, stated (p. 197):

"Whether insanity is increasing out of proportion to our growing population or that our people are more alert in detecting and segregating the insane is a mooted question. But we can not deny the fact that the number of insane in institutions is increasing much faster than the increase in the population of the State, and the need of more buildings is imperative."

In addition to the large number of insane, feeble-minded, and epileptic inmates of the various hospitals and homes established especially for them, the State penitentiary has an asylum for dangerous insane (Second Biennial Report, State Board of Corrections, 1916, p. 45). There are 42 patients there aside from 10 more classed as "criminal insane."

Three hundred girls were cared for in the Industrial School for Girls, at Beloit, during the biennium ending June 30, 1916, and two-thirds of them were mentally defective. (Report of Miss Franklin R. Wilson, superintendent; Second Biennial Report, State Board of Corrections, p. 94.)

In an address before the Kansas Conference of Charities and Correction (Sixteenth annual session), at Topeka, November 18, 1915, Dr. H. W. Charles, superintendent of the Industrial School for Boys, at Topeka, made the following remarkable observation: "A survey of the boys in my own institution a few years ago revealed the astonishing fact that only 16 per cent of the entire number were above a retardation of two years, while slightly more than 7 per cent were so far down in the scale of mentality that they would never be self-supporting but would require permanent segregation. The first step in solving the problem of delinquency will be accomplished when our corrective institutions cease to be a dumping ground for the feeble-mended."

Speaking of the almost unbelievable increase in the birth rate of the mentally deficient, Dr. Charles further stated: "A large and apparently increasing number of children are born without sufficient intelligence to know right from wrong, or who, if they appreciate the difference, do not have the will power or judgment or courage to do the right and shun to wrong. It is from this class that the ranks of the criminals are recruited. Every thoughtful study of the criminal classes shows the close relationship between criminality and feeble-mindedness.

"If there is such a thing as the criminal type, it is another name for the type of feeble-mindedness—a class long misunderstood and mistreated, and a class whose members easily fall into the ranks of the criminal. We have failed to recognize the raw material from which criminals are made."

At the same gathering, Roy T. Osborne, judge of the juvenile court of Independence, Kans., declared: "In the little more than 10 years the juvenile court has been established in Kansas children under 16 years of age, in this State, have committed practically every crime in the calendar, including murder in the first degree. * * * Many children charged with delinquency are abnormal. The number of defective children in our public schools is astounding."

Prof. F. W. Blackmar, dean of the Kansas State University, sums up the answer to the query, "What's the matter with Kansas," as follows: "The stream of weakness, crime, and degeneracy flows steadily on, and will continue to do so until we go to the source and stop the fountains that feed it."

The State Board of Controll, in its Sixth Biennial Report, page 7, says, with reference to degeneracy in Kansas: "The hundreds of thousands of dollars spent by the counties and private charitable agencies are spent chiefly in maintaining degenerate families."

Speaking further with reference to the great increase of insane, feeble-minded, and helpless defectives within Kansas, and in discussing their conditions, surroundings, etc., generally, the board further says (pp. 5, 6, 7, and 8):

"State care for the curable and dangerous insane is the only method that conforms to the demands of our present civilization. The only objection to State care is that it inclines the counties to impose upon the State by transferring to the State insane hospitals defectives and dependents who are properly only almshouse charges."

This is an "explanation" for the overcrowded condition at all the State institutions, but just an "explanation," nothing more. However, as has been said before, if the counties did not impose on the State in this manner, and with even more than 908 paupers on county poor farms, with the available room at the State institutions all taken up, a great deal of the "statistical information" cooked by up prohibition propagandists would be lacking in the campaigns away from home, but it would most certainly add a great deal of stability to the State if these conditions could only be better known, more deeply realized, and the remedy for them, if indeed one can be found, applied as soon as possible, even if the tax rate has to be raised 50 mills instead of 5.

"The State Home for Feeble Minded at Winfield, Kans., is for feeble-minded children not over 15 years of age," further states the board's comment (p. 7.) "If the capacity of the institutions allows the reception of persons of greater age the State board of control is permitted to grant admissions. Statistics show that a feeble-minded woman is three times as likely to find a mate as a feeble-minded man, and feeble-minded women are ruthlessly pursued by evil-minded men.

"While feeble-minded women of child-bearing age should be segregated in State and county institutions, yet the institutions should be of sufficient capacity to receive all feeble-minded, regardless of age or sex.

"There should also be a direct legal process for the commitment of the feeble-minded. The cost of segregating the feeble-minded in institutions will be offset by the decrease upon private charitable institutions and the decrease in the charity work of the counties.

"At the beginning of the biennium, July 1, 1914, the capacity of the State Home for Feeble-Minded was 450, and there were 498 inmates, an overcapacity of 48," further declared the board on page 8. "At the beginning of the second year of the biennium, July 1, 1915, the capacity of the institution was 450, and there were 530 inmates, an overcapacity of 80. At the end of the biennium, June 30, 1916, the capacity of the institution had been increased to 700, and there were 589 inmates, with 111 vacant beds for both sexes. Sixty-five new inmates were admitted during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915, and 120 new inmates during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, a total of 185. There were 94 removals during this biennium, leaving a net increase of 91 inmates." Sixty-two counties sent at least one inmate during the period. Shawnee, Leavenworth, and Wyandotte sent 9, 15, and 10, respectively. But the inmates were by no means recruited from "border" or largely populated centers particularly. Some of them, if not the greater portion, came about evenly from that class of population centers and the "short-grass counties" alike.

One of the most interesting features of the fifth and sixth biennial reports of the board of control is a study of the causes for which the various patients are adjudged and committed to the asylum. Under the Kansas procedure (laws of 1915, ch. 239, p. 302) the legislature attempted to prohibit marriage or intermarriage of epileptic, imbecile, feeble-minded, or insane persons, in an attempt to at least decrease

temporarily the number of insane children borne. The admissions to the hospitals show the inmates to be of almost all ages, from "under five" upward, and for almost all known causes.

ALCOHOLIC PSYCHOSES.

One of the stock arguments advanced in favor of the Kansas brand of prohibition is that the rate of alcoholic insanity is constantly decreasing. Some claim it is the lowest in the Union, and others that it is merely decreasing "because over 500,000 of our school children have never seen a saloon."

Under the Kansas law (Session Laws, 1907, chap. 247, p. 387) a jury of six persons and the probate judge must pass upon the sanity of the person charged. It stands to reason that a jury of six persons, hearing the evidence of the members of the charged person's family, his family physician, and neighbors, would more clearly understand from the evidence thus adduced the habits, etc., of the accused, and the physician (one in regular practice and of good standing must be called as a juror, and ofttimes there are six physicians on the jury), being in attendance, most surely gathers a better knowledge of the cause of the insanity than any other person connected with the case, unless it be the members of his family. After this procedure is followed, the accused, if adjudged insane, is sent to the State hospital or wherever there is room—in a private institution if the State asylums are full. The commitment papers are prepared in line with the evidence and sent to the institution with the patient by the probate judge, with the help of either the family physician or the physician attending the trial as a juror, and the law requires the jury also to determine the cause of insanity, if possible.

Drunkenness and insanity bear this relationship that can not be hidden: When a patient is an alcoholic or suffering with tremens, the fact is so patent it is easily detected. Alcoholism may enter into any number of other types, but alcoholic insanity is difficult to mistake, especially at an insane trial.

There seems to be a tendency in the Kansas insane hospital to diagnose cases to suit the pleasure of the statisticians looking for "evidence" that prohibition reduces alcoholic psychoses, as a comparison between the charges set forth in commitment papers and those appearing in the reports indicate.

According to the clinical deductions in the Fifth Biennial Report, board of control, page 47, "26 cases, or 3.2 per cent, of the 818 cases admitted during the biennial period (ending June 30, 1914) were forms of alcoholic mental disorders. The diagnosis of alcoholic psychosis in this group of cases was based on findings that are generally recognized as due to the use of alcohol in its various forms, and not upon the alleged causes as reported in the commitment papers." No report is given in the tables prepared by the superintendent of the Topeka Insane Hospital during that period showing the number of cases where the commitment mentioned alcohol, as was the case during the succeeding biennium, or as was the case of the other hospitals, the Osawatomie and Parsons institutions.

The rate of alcoholics given for the year 1914 at the Osawatomie Hospital (supra, p. 99) was 3.1 per cent, based entirely upon the causes mentioned in the commitment papers. The rate of the alcoholics admitted at Parsons State Hospital for Epileptics was 2.27 per cent, as shown by table on page 123, above report, based on commitment causes.

While it is popularly stated and almost universally believed that the Kansas rate of alcoholic insanity is 3.2, that rate is based on the admittance of the Topeka Hospital alone, and can not be correct, as it is not based on the commitment causes. However, the Kansas rate for the period closing June 30, 1914, including the false report from Topeka, is 8.57 and not 3.2 per cent, which is much above the average for the various States of the Union.

THE 1916 SYSTEM.

An "improved" system of arriving at the percentages of alcoholics for 1916 was introduced in the Sixth Biennial Report of the Board of Control (pp. 43, 92). On page 43 it is stated "The number of patients admitted during the biennial period with alcoholic psychoses is 17. This is 2.1 per cent of all admissions, as compared with 3.2 per cent in the preceding biennial period. * * * When compared with State hospital reports from other States 2.1 per cent is a surprisingly small proportion of alcoholic insanity." It would be surprisingly small if that comprised all the alcoholic insane in the State, or if the figures were correct.

According to the causes of insanity in the commitment papers (p. 54) the total number was 27 and not 17, as claimed, thus making the percentage 3.3 for the Topeka Hospital.

In commenting on the rate at Osawatomie (p. 94, above report), it is stated:

"During the biennial period 11 cases (10 men and 1 woman), or 1.9 per cent of the total admissions were placed in this group." (Alcoholic psychoses). "All had definite history of alcoholic intemperance; 9 were from border counties. * * * This low percentage of alcoholic insanity strikingly proves the effectiveness and some of the benefits of State-wide prohibition."

However, reference to Table No. 15, page 113 of the above report, shows that the number should be 15, directly charged to alcoholism and not 10 as claimed, or as claimed after the proper alterations were made by the examining physicians who entered the patient, and who it seems had a reason for lowering the rate. The percentage, then, of the admissions in Osawatomie should be 2.6, directly charged with alcoholism as a cause, no matter how many more alcohol may have been partially a cause or contributed to the cause.

The rate as shown by the table (No. 8) on page 137, covering the admissions at the State Hospital for Epileptics at Parsons, is 4.8.

The total rates from these three institutions, therefore, should be 10.7 per cent for the biennium closing, June 30, 1916. No doubt it will be charged that the "State rate" is the 2.1 per cent claimed by the Topeka State Hospital, and no doubt the superintendent of the Osawatomie State Hospital will be widely quoted as claiming that the rate has been reduced—all because of State-wide prohibition—but a study of the record itself will convince any fair-minded person that the rate has actually increased 2.13 per cent over the showing admitted in 1914.

It seems strange that anything will be admitted as to true conditions in Kansas by officers in charge of State institutions, but there seems to be one Kansas hobby it is hard to explain, and that is the hobby to boost, twist, garble, and manufacture figures and evidence to boost prohibition. This has been true only during the past few years since prohibition has become the great American political expedient. Why the reports should speak the plain, unadulterated truth and be so insistent that reforms be instituted in some particulars and attempt to color them in this particular is difficult to determine. The changes made in causes between those set out in the commitment papers and those named in the "diagnosis," after the patient is brought to the hospital, are almost invariably confined to cases of alcoholic psychosis. And a further feature is that they are never increased—always diminished.

CRIME.

A SURVEY COVERING FACTS AS REPORTED IN VARIOUS OFFICIAL REPORTS OF THE STATE OF KANSAS, PERTAINING TO THE STATE INSTITUTIONS FOR CRIMINALS AND DELINQUENTS WITHIN THE STATE, TOGETHER WITH OBSERVATIONS, NEWSPAPER REPORTS BRIEFLY MENTIONING CERTAIN CONDITIONS, AND NOTES OF EXPLANATION AND COMMENT.

Contrary to the general belief, claim can not be justly made that since the institution of the law-enforcement propaganda in Kansas in 1906 strict attempts to make the brand of prohibition that State boasts of, prohibit, have resulted in a decrease in crime or juvenile delinquency. The matter of juvenile delinquency will be taken up in due course, and I wish now to direct attention to the increase of crime throughout the State. No claim is here made that should there be a saloon on every corner, a brewery in every village, city, or town, that crime would necessarily decrease in Kansas. That is the usual answer made by the prohibitionists when criminal conditions are revealed. The claim is invariably made that those interested in studying the great increase of poverty, crime, insanity, and disease necessarily take the position that all these "curses" would be cured if the saloon could be returned. I repeat that I make no such claim; however, I do most earnestly urge attention to the fact that while Kansas boasts of a strict prohibition law-enforcement program, the fact is that liquor is consumed by wholesale, in homes, clubs, hotels, dives, blind pigs, alley joints, and in almost every other place where secrecy and law violation produce the greatest amount of drunkenness possible. The point in this study is: Does the pseudo "dry" State of Kansas deserve the "fame" as a prohibition community her "native sons" and other boosters persist in showering upon her? Isn't it true that the very things they claim they have reduced and decreased have in fact increased? And if so, has the Kansas brand of prohibition delivered the goods? If it has not, should the Nation be continually misled by faked reports and "home-made" statistics, used indiscriminately and without authority, throughout the length and breadth of the land?

It is not my purpose to suggest that Kansas return the saloon. That is for her voters to determine. My purpose is to carefully and fairly present the aftermath of prohibition. Is Kansas really famous, or is she merely showered with cheap notoriety—crucified before the word, in fact—by overindulgent, overzealous, and over enthusiastic proud sons who consider it an unforgivable infraction to admit that it is not the greatest Commonwealth under the sun, and also consider it a pardonable offense to overrate her greatness beyond description?

In an enthusiastic outburst before the Fifteenth National Convention of the Anti-Saloon League of America, at Columbus, November 12, 1913, George H. Hodges, then governor and now a regular lecturer for that organization and now an officer in the Kansas branch of that organization, declared that prohibition was emptying the jails, poorhouses, penal, charitable, and correctional institutions of the State, contrary to the overwhelming flood of evidence found in every report issued by State boards during his administration and since that these institutions are increasing their population monthly and yearly. The wheat crops of the State, failures in crops in other States causing the price to rise, foreign wars and demands in eastern industrial centers for normal and abnormal numbers of bushels, the speculators' genius, etc., are never given credit for any prosperity in the Sunflower State. Gov. Hodges further declared in his antisaloon league speech that prohibition "helps almost every man in our State to have a two weeks' vacation with his wife and family in some Colorado mountain resort," although during his administration, owing to a crop failure, the railroads of the State had to loan the Kansas farmers a large sum of money with which to buy seed wheat, hauled it free, and did not charge any interest for the amounts advanced. Which only goes to show that enthusiasm and juggling the truth know no bounds when a Kansan gets started boosting his home State. It was bad enough before the country's attention was called to the "success" of prohibition there. Now, since Kansas hot air has a market value, men high in official circles vie with one another in an attempt to produce the most priceless "jewels." The Hodges speech was printed at State expense by the State printer, bears the State seal, and is now being sold for private profit by the Kansas State Temperance Union, which was quite recently sold out to the Anti-Saloon League of America.

On March 27, 1910, W. R. Stubbs, then governor of Kansas, declared in a speech delivered at the Great Northern Theater in Chicago, upon invitation of Rev. J. K. Shields, superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of Illinois, that "here in Chicago and throughout the United States the brewers, distillers, and saloon keepers, their attorneys and retainers, are telling in posters, pamphlets, and speeches that prohibition increases crime in Kansas," and mentioned several other charges he claimed were persistently made. "These charges are true or they are not true. They are based on facts or they are utterly without foundation. On my honor as a man and upon my word as the chief executive of nearly 2,000,000 sovereign people I say to you they are infamously conceived and maliciously false."

That speech was afterwards printed and is now sold by the Kansas State Temperance Union.

On April 2, 1912, John S. Dawson, then attorney general of Kansas and since elected to the Supreme Court of that State, addressed a banquet given by the Baptists' Social Union at the Auditorium Hotel in Chicago. Although it is admitted on every hand that no attempt was ever made to enforce the law, that saloons and joints were running all over the State, a condition that no one knew better than Attorney General Dawson, he bravely gave prohibition credit for winning the Spanish-American War, claiming that prohibition of 30 years' standing caused the Kansas boys to win the war, both in Cuba and in the Philippines. He gave Roosevelt credit for the victory at Santiago, but insisted on putting the Kansas boys in front of the colonel, a fact which the colonel has never admitted to be true. And the reports of the battle, as admitted by himself, have never thusly shared "honors."

Gen. Dawson also laid special stress on the fact that prohibition has been a great crime reducer in Kansas. This speech was afterwards printed and is now being sold by the Kansas State Temperance Society.

In a flamboyant speech delivered before a gathering under the auspices of the managers of the prohibition and equal-suffrage campaign in Massachusetts, September 3, 1915, Arthur Capper, the present gov-

ernor, laid claim to Kansas's greatness, among other things, to the fact that prohibition has greatly reduced crime, promoted social welfare, and emptied the poor farms, correctional and charitable institutions, etc. This speech was afterwards printed and is now being sold by the Kansas State Temperance Society. It was printed on the governor's own press, however; not by the State plant.

On March 25, 1915, a bulletin was issued by the Temperance Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which has its national headquarters at Topeka, Kans. This bulletin was prepared and signed by Gov. Capper. As a part of it he included a resolution adopted by the legislature (senate concurrent resolution No. 33, approved Feb. 13, 1915, ch. 394, p. 500, Laws of Kansas, 1915), in which it was declared:

"That the State of Kansas is cleaner, better, more advanced in mental culture, and stronger in moral fiber and conviction; that her homes are happier and more comfortable, her children better educated than ever before in her history; that crime is less prevalent and poverty less general; and that all this is due largely to the fact that the saloon is such an outlaw that none of her school children have ever seen a saloon and are unacquainted with the appearance of a saloon keeper."

This resolution was adopted at the request of the governor, to be used by the Antisaloon League in a contest it was then waging in the Legislature of Utah.

When Kansas paid off her last State bonds, January 1, 1916, the governor again reiterated publicly that prohibition was causing a decrease in the rate of crime.

The public has never been advised of just what the actual conditions are with reference to crime in Kansas, for the very good reason that statements of men of official character are usually taken at their face value. Any disputant of the statements is accused of endeavoring to "defeat the purpose of prohibition" or give Kansas a false standing because championing the open saloon. No effort has ever been made by the majority of the American public to study the State reports of Kansas or the Government with reference to the crime situation there, and I have taken the trouble to survey it carefully and present it herewith, without bias or prejudice, and ask that it be carefully considered in the light of the statements above quoted, which are, unfortunately for Kansas as well as for temperance, given much undue publicity of such a character that they have become established as the truth, so far as Kansas is concerned, in this behalf.

The various sessions of the Kansas Legislature since 1907 (including 1907, 1909, 1911, 1913, and 1915) have made direct appropriations aggregating $2,733,282.30 for the State penitentiary at Lansing. The amounts are as follows:

For the fiscal years ending June 30, 1908, and June 30, 1909 (Laws of 1907, ch. 20, p. 36; ch. 21, p. 39; ch. 22, p. 39; ch. 23, p. 40; and ch. 24, p. 41)	$688,288.41
For the fiscal years ending June 30, 1910, and June 30, 1911 (Laws of 1909, ch. 37, p. 64; ch. 38, p. 67; ch. 39, p. 68; and ch. 40, p. 69)	374,681.09
For the fiscal years ending June 30, 1912, and June 30, 1913 (Laws of 1911, ch. 13, pp. 31–32; ch. 14, p. 34; and ch. 15, p. 35)	493,760.09
For the fiscal years ending June 30, 1914, and June 30, 1915 (Laws of 1913, ch. 35, pp. 60, 61, 62; ch. 36, p. 64; 79; ch. 60, p. 80; ch. 61, p. 81; and ch. 62, p. 81)	432,830.21
For the fiscal years ending June 30, 1916, and June 30, 1917 (Laws of 1915, ch. 57, pp. 76, 77; ch. 59, pp. 78, 79; ch. 60, p. 80; ch. 61, p. 81, and ch. 62, p. 81) (Also ch. 63, p. 82; ch. 64, p. 83; ch. 65, pp. 83, 84.)	432,830.21

The appropriation for 1916–17 did not specify the amount appropriated for the "revolving fund" at the State twine plant at the penitentiary. (See ch. 59, pp. 78, 79.) This amount during previous years has amounted to about $175,000, and this should be taken into consideration in estimating the appropriations for this period.

Chapter 62, page 81, Laws of 1915, shows that $14,313.24 of the appropriation for 1915 is a deficit and is represented by a loan from the Bank of Topeka.

A portion of the appropriation was for $61.97 interest paid on the above loan. So far as the record shows back to 1907 at least, this is the first time it has been necessary to go to a bank and borrow enough money to run the prison until the legislature convened.

The various sessions of the Kansas Legislature since 1907 (including 1907, 1909, 1911, 1913, and 1915) have made direct appropriations aggregating $1,244,650 for the State Industrial Reformatory at Hutchinson. The amounts are as follows:

For the fiscal years ending June 30, 1908, and June 30, 1909, (Laws of 1907, ch. 14, pp. 25, 26, 27)	$242,820
For the fiscal years ending June 30, 1910, and June 30, 1911 (Laws of 1909, ch. 34, pp. 58, 60)	237,820
For the fiscal years ending June 30, 1912, and June 30, 1913 (Laws of 1911, ch. 16, pp. 36, 37, 38)	259,520
For the fiscal years ending June 30, 1914, and June 30, 1915 (Laws of 1913, ch. 38, pp. 66, 67, 68; ch. 39, p. 68)	271,400
For the fiscal years ending June 30, 1916, and June 30, 1917 (Laws of 1915, ch. 55, p. 73)	233,000

Any unexpected balance that remains over from one biennium to another is always reappropriated, and the provision is made for securing funds by special permit during any biennium, should the appropriation fail to meet the demands of the institution.

The various legislatures of Kansas since 1907 (including 1907, 1909, 1911, 1913, and 1915) have made direct appropriations aggregating $640,950 for the Boys' Industrial School at Topeka. The amounts are as follows:

For the fiscal years ending June 30, 1908, and June 30, 1909 (Laws of 1907, ch. 15, pp. 28, 29)	$147,800
For the fiscal years ending June 30, 1910, and June 30, 1911 (Laws of 1909, ch. 32, p. 57)	124,650
For the fiscal years ending June 30, 1912, and June 30, 1913 (Laws of 1911, ch. 17, p. 38)	118,300
For the fiscal years ending June 30, 1914, and June 30, 1915 (Laws of 1913, ch. 40, p. 69)	124,000
For the fiscal years ending June 30, 1916, and June 30, 1917 (Laws of 1915, ch. 56, p. 75)	126,200

The various sessions of the Kansas Legislature since 1907 (including 1907, 1909, 1911, 1913, and 1915) have made direct appropriations aggregating $494,000 for the Girls' Industrial School, at Beloit. The amounts are as follows:

For the fiscal years ending June 30, 1908, and June 30, 1909 (Laws of 1907, ch. 12, p. 23; ch. 13, p. 24)	$100,800
For the fiscal years ending June 30, 1910, and June 30, 1911 (Laws of 1909, ch. 23, p. 58)	93,400
For the fiscal years ending June 30, 1912, and June 30, 1913 (Laws of 1911, ch. 18, p. 39)	105,300
For the fiscal years ending June 30, 1914, and June 30, 1915 (Laws of 1913, ch. 41, p. 70)	96,500
For the fiscal years ending June 30, 1916, and June 30, 1917 (Laws of 1915, ch. 57, p. 76)	98,000
Making a total of	494,000

These institutions are known as the penal and industrial institutions and are all under the control of the State board of corrections.

The various amounts directly appropriated during the period mentioned above, aggregate $5,112,882.30. To this, in order to correctly arrive at an estimate of the sums directly and indirectly appropriated, should be added the approximate amount of the earning of the twine plant at Lansing, which was not set out specifically in the acts of 1913 and 1915. The laws of 1911 (ch. 14, p. 34) names the sum for that year as $81,280.09.

On January 1, 1910, there were 882 prisoners in the Kansas State penitentiary, at Lansing, Kans. (U. S. census, 1910, Bulletin 121, Table No. 1, p. 36). This included the Federal prisoners. On June 30, 1910, independent of Federal prisoners, there were 873 inmates in the same institution (Eighteenth Biennial Report, Kansas State Penitentiary, p. 19); and on June 30, 1912, the number had decreased, independent of Federal prisoners, to 871. (Eighteenth Biennial Report, Kansas State Penitentiary, p. 19).

During the year 1911, 286 prisoners left Lansing, 67 by reason of expiration of term, 10 escaped, 1 paroled by the President, and 181 paroled by the governor and board jointly. During the year 1912, 327 prisoners left Lansing, 69 by reason of expiration of term, 5 escaped, 1 paroled by the President, and 230 paroled by the governor and board jointly. (Eighteenth Biennial Report, Kansas State Penitentiary, Table No. 8, p. 23). The paroles by State authorities increased 49.

At the close of the succeeding biennium, June 30, 1914, there were 793 prisoners confined in this institution, of which 41 were United States civil prisoners, leaving the number of Kansas prisoners confined 752. (First Biennial Report, State Board of Corrections of Kansas, 1914, p. 21, Table No. 1.) During the period (same report, p. 24) 193 State prisoners were paroled by the governor, 396 State prisoners were paroled by the board, 26 escaped, and the sentences of 18 were commuted, making a total, less the 18 commuted, of 615 prisoners who were really wards of this institution, making the grand total 1,367. The paroles for this period exceeded those of the preceding period by 262.

On June 30, 1916, there were 841 prisoners confined in this institution. These were all Kansas convicts, as the Federal prisoners had all been removed at that time. (Twentieth Biennial Report, Kansas State Penitentiary, Table No. 1, pp. 8 to 11; also Second Biennial Report, State Board of Corrections, p. 17.) During the period 822 prisoners were discharged, and the total received during the period was 870, which exceeded the number received during the preceding biennium—265—although 41 Federal prisoners were received during the preceding period, which actually meant an increase for the period ending June 30, 1916, of 306. (First Biennial Report, State Board of Corrections, p. 22; Second Biennial Report, State Board of Corrections, p. 17.)

During the period (ending June 30, 1916) the governor issued 220 paroles, the board granted 328, there were 21 sentences commuted, which meant the prisoners were discharged, and 29 escaped. Thus, aside from the prisoners whose sentences were commuted, the population, based on the number of wards out on parole and confined should be 1,418. The commuted sentences and paroles for this period were 569, or a decrease of 20 over the preceding period. (Second Biennial Report, State Board of Corrections, p. 17.)

A study of these figures should convince any fair-minded person that any claim made that "crime is less prevalent" is unfounded, and should also prove that whatever the cause, crime seems to be increasing beyond all reason within the State of Kansas.

A PRISON SURVEY.

Of the 870 prisoners confined in Lansing June 30, 1910, 12 out of 105 counties of the State did not have representation. They were Clark, Cloud, Gray, Kearny, Lane, Osborne, Scott, Sheridan, Sherman, Smith, Stafford, and Stevens.

During the biennium ending June 30, 1912, however, Clark County sent up 1 convict, Cloud sent up 7, Gray sent up 1, Kearny sent up 1, Lane sent up 1, Scott sent up 1, Sheridan sent up 1, Sherman sent up 2 as well as 1 parole violator, Smith sent up 2 as well as 1 parole violator. Stafford sent up 4 as well as 1 parole violator, and Stevens sent up 1.

The representation of Sheridan, Smith, and Stevens Counties was discharged by parole or otherwise before the close of the biennium, and on June 30, 1912, there were seven counties without a representative in this institution. They were Labette, Sheridan, Smith, Stevens, Thomas, Trego, and Wichita. (Eighteenth Biennial Report, Kansas State Penitentiary, June 30, 1912, p. 19, Table No. 1.)

"In July, 1911, 65 counties had no prisoners serving sentence. In my home county (Graham), in western Kansas, there has never been but one grand jury in its history and that was 25 years ago."—(From speech delivered by John S. Dawson, while serving as attorney general, at banquet of Bapists' Social Union, Chicago, Apr. 2, 1912.)

(NOTE.—Under the Kansas practice, "Offenses may be prosecuted in the court having jurisdiction, either by indictment or information." (Sec. 5952, General Statutes of Kansas, 1905.) "Information may be filed during the term time or in vacation in any court having jurisdiction of the offense specified therein, by the prosecuting attorney of the proper county as informant." (General Statutes 1868, ch. 82, sec. 67, as amended by laws of 1887, ch. 178, sec. 1; June 20. Also sec. 5853, General Statutes of Kansas, 1905.)

Grand juries are not provided for in Kansas as in some other States. They are only called upon petition to the district judge, signed by a certain number of taxpayers. (Sec. 5860, General Statutes of Kansas, 1905.) This is a very expensive procedure and grand juries are rarely if ever called in any Kansas counties for the reason that the legislature made ample provision (see above) for prosecutions without them. They are usually called, if at all, for political purposes.

Graham County had one convict in the county jail, January 1, 1910, and during that year sent up two more; had two convicts in the penitentiary June 30, 1910, sent three more during the biennium, and at the close, on June 30, 1912, had four confined at Lansing, one having been discharged. (United States Census, 1910; Bulletin 121, p. 96, Table No. 1; Eighteenth Biennial Report, Kansas State Penitentiary, p. 19.) Two years later (First Biennial Report, State Board of Corrections, p. 21), it still had four convicts in the State penitentiary. Two were received from the district court during the period from June 30, 1912,

to June 30, 1914, and two discharged by parole or otherwise. It also had two boys in the State Industrial School at Topeka at the close of the fiscal year, June 30, 1914. (First Biennial Report, State Board of Corrections, p. 81.)

At the close of the biennium, June 30, 1916, Graham County had two convicts at Lansing. Two were sent up between June 30, 1914, and June 30, 1916, one was discharged by commutation and three were paroled by the board. There were four at the beginning of the biennium, leaving a net of two at the close. (Second Biennial Report, State Board of Corrections, pp. 14, 15.) Graham County also contributed three convicts to the State Industrial Reformatory between June 30, 1915, and June 30, 1916. (Second Biennial Report, supra, p. 64.) And sent two inmates (juvenile convicts) to the Industrial School for Boys at Topeka, in the same period of time. (Second Biennial Report, State Board of Corrections, p. 82.)

Just what the 65 counties were that "had no prisoners serving sentence" in July, 1911, Mr. Dawson failed to state, but a study of the foregoing would indicate that his enthusiasm either got the better of him or he was grossly misinformed before delivering the speech in question.

Of the 752 prisoners confined in Lansing June 30, 1914, 23 out of the 105 counties of the State did not have representation. They were: Chase, Cheyenne, Decatur, Edwards, Gove, Grant, Gray, Greeley, Greenwood, Haskell, Hodgeman, Lane, Morton, Ness, Norton, Rawlins, Rooks, Scott, Seward, Sheridan, Stevens, Thomas, and Wichita. Of these, 15 (Chase, Cheyenne, Decatur, Grant, Greeley, Haskell, Hodgeman, Lane, Morton, Norton, Rawlins, Sheridan, Stevens, Thomas, and Wichita) did not send a convict up during the biennium. In addition, Clay, Comanche Logan, Nemaha, Waubaunsee, and Wallace did not send a prisoner up during the biennium. Of the 830 prisoners discharged, 24 closed the representation of the following counties: Chase (1), Edwards (4), Gove (2), Greenwood (3), Lane (1), Ness (2), Rooks (3), Scott (2), and Seward (5). Twenty-one counties did not have a prisoner discharged during the biennium. Of that number, 12 counties—Cheyenne, Decatur, Grant, Greeley, Haskell, Hodgeman, Morton, Norton, Rawlins, Sheridan, Stevens, and Wichita—had no prisoners in the institution, which means that all but 9 counties of the State, or 96 out of the 105, had at least 1 convict paroled during the biennium or his term expired. (First Biennial Report State Board of Corrections, p. 21, Table No. 1.)

Of the 841 prisoners confined in Lansing June 30, 1916, 18 out of the 105 counties of the State did not have representation. They were: Decatur, Gove, Grant, Gray, Greeley, Haskell, Hodgeman, Kingman, Labette, Meade, Morris, Norton, Ottawa, Rawlins, Seward, Sheridan, Stevens, and Wichita. (Second Biennial Report State Board of Corrections, 1916, pp. 14, 15, 16, 17.)

Of these counties, Sheridan and Stevens have had no prisoners in Lansing during the biennium closing June 30, 1910, June 30, 1912, June 30, 1914, or June 30, 1916; Gray County had none at the close of the biennium June 30, 1910, or June 30, 1914; Labette had none at the close of the biennium June 30, 1912; and Wichita County had none at the close of the biennium June 30, 1912, or June 30, 1914. Decatur, Gove, Grant, Greeley, Haskell, Hodgeman, Norton, Rawlins, and Seward had none at the close of the biennium June 30, 1914. (See Eighteenth Biennial Report Kansas State Penitentiary, p. 19, Table No. 1; First Biennial Report State Board of Corrections, p. 21, Table No. 1; Second Biennial Report State Board of Corrections, pp. 14, 15, 16, 17.)

Eighteen counties did not send up a prisoner to the State penitentiary at Lansing during the biennium closing June 30, 1916. (Second Biennial Report State Board of Corrections, pp. 14, 15, 16, 17.) They were: Decatur, Gove, Grant, Gray, Greeley, Haskell, Hodgeman, Meade, Morton, Norton, Ottawa, Rawlins, Stevens, and Wichita (counties having no prisoners confined June 30, 1916), and Jewell, Kearney, Rush, and Staton.

The paroles by the governor extended over 63 counties. (Second Biennial Report, supra.) The highest number granted was 14, Crawford and Shawnee County sharing alike in this respect. Wyandotte received 12; Labette received 10, as did Montgomery (supra). The report fails to show the nature of the crime for which the parolee was convicted. Convicts from 18 counties shared in commutation (supra), and the number paroled by the board (328) covered convicts from 66 counties. Wyandotte County was highest with 30, Sedgewick received 20, Montgomery received 18, Atchison received 17, Shawnee received 16, Douglas received 14, Miami received 11, as did Cherokee, and Leavenworth received 10, these being the highest numbers granted. (Supra, pp. 14, 15, 16, 17.)

The youngest convict received at Lansing during the biennium ending June 30, 1912, was 17 years of age, the oldest 72. (Eighteenth Biennial Report, Kansas State Penitentiary, Table 2, p. 20.) The youngest received during the succeeding biennium, ending June 30, 1914, was 17 years of age also, and the oldest was 83. (First Biennial Report, supra, Table 3, p. 22.) The youngest convict received at Lansing during the biennium ending June 30, 1916, was 16 and the oldest was 71. (Second Biennial Report, supra, Table 6, p. 19.)

According to the Eighteenth Biennial Report, Kansas State Penitentiary, Table 2, page 20; First Biennial Report, State Board of Corrections, Table 3, page 22; and the Second Biennial Report, State Board of Corrections, Table 6, page 19, there were received at Lansing during the following bienniums ending on June 30 of the respective years named the following convicts of the following ages:

1912, convicts received under the age of 21 years	63
1914, convicts received under the age of 21 years	58
1916, convicts received under the age of 21 years	65
1912, convicts received under the age of 30 years	318
1914, convicts received under the age of 30 years	302
1916, convicts received under the age of 30 years	327
1912, convicts received under the age of 40 years	471
1914, convicts received under the age of 40 years	469
1916, convicts received under the age of 40 years	560

The increase of convicts received under the age of 21 years between 1912 and 1916 was 2; of those received under the age of 30 years, between 1912 and 1916, the increase was 9; and of those received under the age of 40 years during the same period, 1912 to 1916, was 89. It thus appears that while the penitentiary population of Kansas is not only growing each biennium, the convicts are becoming younger each year.

"Kansas is away out on the picket line of progress where mortal Commonwealth has never gone before. It may be called, with entire propriety, the 'State of First Things'—the pleasant garden plat on which God tries experiments with humanity to see how large and free we are capable of growing." (John S. Dawson, from speech delivered before banquet of Baptists' Social Union, Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, Apr. 2, 1912.)

"Kansas is cleaner, better, more advanced in mental culture, and stronger in moral fiber and conviction; that her homes are happier and more comfortable, her children better educated than ever before in her history; that crime is less prevalent and poverty less general; and all this is due largely to the fact that the saloon is such an outlaw that none of her school children have ever seen a saloon and are unacquainted with the appearance of a saloon keeper." (From resolution adopted by Kansas Legislature Feb. 13, 1915, and incorporated in special bulletin issued by National Temperance Society of the Methodist Church over the signature of Gov. Capper, Mar. 25, 1915.)

In his speech delivered before the Fifteenth National Convention of the Antisaloon League of America, at Columbus, Ohio, Nov. 12, 1913, while governor of Kansas, George H. Hodges stated (p. 11) that "in our Kansas penitentiary we have 152 native Kansans."

According to Table 9, page 23, of the Eighteenth Biennial Report, Kansas State Penitentiary, issued June 30, 1912, there were 126 native Kansans out of 526 American-born convicts; so the rate seems to have gone up between then and November 12, 1913, 26.

The percentage of native-born Kansans among the prisoners sent to Lansing during the biennium closing June 30, 1912, was 23.95. At the close of the succeeding biennium, June 30, 1914, out of 588 American-born convicts sent up 142, or 25.44 per cent, of them were native Kansans, an increase in percentage of 1.51. During the succeeding biennium, closing June 30, 1916, of the 629 convicts sent up who were American born 176, or 27.99 per cent, of them were native Kansans. The increase in percentage for this period over the preceding biennium was 2.55, or an increase of 4.06 per cent, over June 30, 1912. (See Table No. 9, p. 23, Eighteenth Biennial Report, Kansas State Penitentiary, 1912; Table No. 3, p. 22, First Biennial Report, State Board of Corrections, 1914; and Table No. 4, p. 19, Second Biennial Report, State Board of Corrections, 1916.)

SUMMARY.

Amount spent by direct appropriations for State penitentiary at Lansing, 1908 to 1917, inclusive	$2,733,282.30
Amount spent for Industrial Reformatory by direct appropriations, 1908 to 1917, inclusive	1,244,650.00
Amount spent for Boys' Industrial School, by direct appropriation, from 1908 to 1917, inclusive	640,950.00
Amount spent for Girls' Industrial School, by direct appropriations, 1908 to 1917, inclusive	494,000.00
Total	5,122,882.30

PENITENTIARY POPULATION.

(NOTE.—This group includes prisoners confined and those outside the prison, wards of the State, under temporary or other parole. It is difficult, owing to the fact that the Lansing prison held some United States civil prisoners up to January, 1916, to determine which of the paroled prisoners were State and which Federal, as no distinction is made in the reports. However, after January, 1916, it is not difficult to determine this fact. Until the Federal prisoners were removed to make more room for the Kansas prisoners, it was impossible to determine just exactly what the growth of this institution was.)

Prisoners in Lansing Penitentiary, Jan. 1, 1910 (including Federal prisoners)	882
Prisoners in Lansing Penitentiary, June 30, 1910 (not including Federal prisoners)	873
Prisoners in Lansing Penitentiary, June 30, 1912 (not including Federal prisoners)	871

(NOTE.—The above number should be increased 191 by reason of the fact that 10 prisoners escaped during 1911 and 181 were paroled by the governor and the board, thus making the number 1,062 at the close of that year, to which should be added 230 paroles for 1912, for a total of "prison population" of 1,292 at the close of the fiscal year 1912.)

Prisoners in Lansing Penitentiary, June 30, 1914 (not including Federal prisoners)	752

(NOTE.—The above number should be increased 633 by reason of the fact that 26 prisoners escaped, 18 were commuted, and 589 paroled, making the total 1,385.)

Prisoners in Lansing Penitentiary, June 30, 1916 (all Kansas convicts, the Federal prisoners were removed in January, 1916)	841

(NOTE.—The above number should be increased 598 by reason of the fact that the governor issued 220 paroles, the board granted 328, 21 sentences were commuted, and 29 convicts escaped, thus making the total for this period 1,439.)

SUMMARY OF PRISON POPULATION.

Jan. 1, 1910 (Lansing)	882
June 30, 1910 (Lansing)	873
June 30, 1912 (Lansing)	1,062
June 30, 1914 (Lansing)	1,385
June 30, 1916 (Lansing)	1,439

Of the 719 prisoners received during the biennium closing June 30, 1916, 460, or 64 per cent, were residents of Kansas. The balance of 259, or 36 per cent, were transients. (Second Biennial Report, State Board of Corrections, Table No. 5, p. 19.) This is the only report available showing the above figures, so it can not be determined for the years 1910, 1912, and 1914.

CRIMES FOR WHICH CONVICTED.

The 547 convicts sent to Lansing during the period ending June 30, 1912, committed 534 various crimes. (Eighteenth Biennial Report, Table No. 2, p. 20; Table No. 4, p. 21.)

The 605 convicts sent there between that time and June 30, 1914, committed 605 different crimes. (First Biennial Report, State Board of Corrections, Table No. 3, p. 22; Table No. 8, p. 25.)

The 719 convicts sent there between June 30, 1914, and June 30, 1916, committed 719 different crimes. (Second Biennial Report, supra, Table No. 2, p. 18; Table No. 6, p. 19.)

The most common crimes committed were arson, assaults of various kinds, bigamy, burglary, false pretense, forgery, grand larceny, rape, manslaughter, murder, selling liquor, and white slavery.

Following is a summary of the crimes of greater importance, showing the increase or decrease during the years 1912 to 1916, both inclusive:

	1912—Table No. 4, Eighteenth Biennial Report Kansas State Penitentiary, p. 21.	1914—Table No. 8, First Biennial Report State Board of Correction, p. 25.	1916—Table No. 2, Second Biennial Report State Board of Correction, p. 18.
Arson	7	8	4
Assaults, various kinds	46	32	51
Attempted rape	6	10	8
Attempts to commit other crimes, such as burglary, robbery, arson, etc	7	11	15
Bigamy	4	3	6
Burglary	110	109	117
False pretense	13	15	18
Forgery	48	40	56
Grand larceny	155	160	175
Great bodily harm	10	14	14
Incest	1	5	4
Manslaughter	18	18	32
Murder	35	29	42
Rape	29	19	27
Robbery	15	30	66
Running house of prostitution			8
Selling liquor	1	17	44
White slavery	1	17	16

The increase in crimes of the nature of murder, selling liquor, robbery, manslaughter, grand larceny, forgery, etc., is quite marked, and crime of all other kinds does not seem to be on the decline very appreciably. Attention is here called to the table setting forth the same information with respect to the Industrial Reformatory at Hutchinson (infra), where comparisons are made, totals given, and comments as to age of offenders, etc., passed. The above table does not show the number of persons under conviction for the various crimes enumerated, who either have an appeal pending to the Supreme Court or are in county jails, awaiting removal to Lansing. Neither is it possible to secure the number of persons paroled for murder, bank robbery, rape, etc., by the district judges throughout the State, before sentence is passed. During the month of January, 1917, two notorious bank robbers were paroled upon a plea of guilty, before sentence was passed, which is permissible under the Kansas law. This practice is very common throughout the State. Comment upon this feature of the parole law will be made later.

Although it is persistently claimed that by reason of the fact that Kansas has prohibition, the penitentiary and other penal institutions of the State are being emptied, the reports of the wardens and boards in charge of the institution at Lansing, and all the other institutions of this nature throughout the State, do not bear out this contention.

On page 7, Eighteenth Biennial Report Kansas State Penitentiary (1912), the board declared: "We desire to call the attention of your excellency (Gov. W. R. Stubbs), and of the legislature to the fact that the physical plant of the Kansas Penitentiary is for the most part in poor condition and thoroughly out of date. * * * Those who are charged with responsibility in this matter should realize that it will be necessary either to make a large appropriation each year for a term of years, beginning at once, to reconstruct the various antiquated buildings of the institution, or else to appropriate a lump sum of from $350,000 to $500,000 to build a new penitentiary," all of which would hardly indicate that there is any intention of abandoning this institution.

"The legislature of 1911 established at this institution a hospital for the criminal insane," continued the board's report, page 7. "A number of patients have come to this institution, but no appropriation has ever been made for the establishment of an insane ward or building. * * * The present insane hospital can be utilized for this purpose, provided the legislature makes an appropriation sufficient to build a modern and up-to-date hospital, thus removing from the present insane ward the hospital now conducted in the upper rooms of the building. * * * The building of this hospital is an imperative necessity."

"The convict's presence in the penitentiary is proof that he is a defective, a delinquent, or degenerate, and that organized society has sentenced him to the penitentiary because it considers him a misfit," declared Warden Botkin, on page 9 of the above report, "and secondarily because it desires that he should be repaired if possible and returned to civil life fit to discharge the duties of citizenship as soon as possible." And in speaking of some of the needs of the institution, Warden Botkin stated on page 10 that "It has less money to spend, poorer equipment, more ancient buildings than any other State institution. We need a large, roomy, modern cell for each prisoner. The little dingy, dark holes in the wall—damp, musty, and disease breeding—are an absolute disgrace to Kansas.

"We need a modern hospital, where we can take care of our sick and injured. A better salary should be paid to the officers.

"A general clearance sale of old wagons and worn-out mules and ancient farm machinery, as well as dangerous boilers in the engine room, should take place, and first-class stock and equipment purchased. The administration building should be repaired from foundation to roof."

According to the statement by the warden, page 11, above report, "The age of those sent to the penitentiary shows a slight advancement in the last two years over those of the same period. During the present biennium (1910–1912) 58.8 per cent of the newcomers were less than 31 years old, and 10.9 per cent were less than 21 years old. For the two prior years the percentages were 64.8 and 16.6 per cent, respectively."

Included in these tables, however, were 40 United States prisoners, and during the years 1908 and 1910 there were 282 Oklahoma and United States civil prisoners, so the showing does not give a fair average of Kansas convicts, and is therefore of little use in this behalf.

"Of the 574 inmates who arrived this biennium 76.1 per cent left home before they were 21 years of age," comments the warden on page 12. "Sixty-three per cent—362—of the 574 newcomers state that they were users of intoxicating liquors, while 37 per cent were nonusers. Of those received in the preceding biennium 73.3 per cent were liquor users, a decrease of 10 per cent," declared the warden, on page 12, and then added:

"Those idle when their offense was committeed number 213, or 37 per cent; in the prior biennium this percentage was 41.6." As the number idle and the number not using intoxicating liquors is the same, the warden fails to make any comment on the comparison. It is problematical just how his statement would have ended, had all those who used liquor been idle at the time their offenses were committed.

"The education of those who were received during the biennial period was considerably below normal," further stated the warden, page 12. "Those unable to read or write were 7 per cent of the total. This is more than double the average illiteracy of the State. Two per cent had less than one year schooling; 36.8 per cent had 1 to 4 years in school—barely able to read and write. These total 46 per cent who were either without education or less than 4 years schooling. Those who had the advantages of the graded school to the extent of reaching high-school standards were 43.7 per cent; 9.6 per cent had a high-school or more advanced education. There were 4 college men."

A comparison of the percentages for this year (1912) with the succeeding years furnishes some interesting studies. The boast that Kansas has a low rate of illiteracy (due to prohibition, of course), and that by reason thereof her crime is decreasing, seems to have little bearing on this table: The number and per cent of uneducated continues to increase, but the "educated convict" per centage persists in increasing along with the other increase. The year ending June, 1916, shows more with a high-school or better" (including college and business educations) than ever before. While the rate of Kansas illiteracy has decreased during the past 35 years; it is also true that during the 10-year period from 1905 to 1915 she dropped from fifteenth to twenty-ninth in the efficiency of her school system, which may have some bearing on the increased number in her convict crop of "educated" prisoners. Since the claim is made that prohibition should be credited with the decrease in illiteracy, would it not be as logical to claim that prohibition also increased the number of criminals who have received "higher education" of from 1 to 4 years of schooling, or from 5 to 10 years of schooling? One thing is sure: The Kansas boys and young men are apparently overlooking no opportunity to become schooled in crime, as well as in the "three R's." There is pending before the 1917 legislature a bill to disqualify any school-teacher using liquor or tobacco. Perhaps the excesses in those respects have set such a bad example to the students, their following the teacher's example has caused the increase in crime among the educated classes. However, be that as it may, the following table furnishes some interesting, if not startling, comparisons:

	1912—Table No. 5, page 22, Eighteenth Biennial Report Kansas State Penitentiary.		1914—Table No. 5, page 23, First Biennial Report State Board of Correction.		1916—Table No. 10, page 21, Second Biennial Report State Board of Correction.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
No education	49	7.9	44	7.27	70	9.7
Less than 1 year	13	2.2	None.	None.	17	2.3
1 to 4 years	211	36.8	208	34.38	193	26.84
5 to 10 years	251	43.7	291	48.10	377	52.45
High school or better	55	9.6	43	7.11		
High school					42	5.9
College education					13	1.8
Business education					7	.9
Not reporting	4	.7	19	3.14		

"Sixty-three, or 10.9 per cent, of the prisoners received in the biennium had definite sentences, varying from one year to life. There was one 99-year sentence, and 17 were sent for the remainder of their existence; these constitute 3 per cent of the total and 27 per cent of all determinate sentences. The determinate portion of the 574 sentences shows 362, or 63 per cent, for the 1-year or minimum period, while the maximum varies from 2 to 27 years. But 28, or 4.7 per cent, received a minimum of 2 years, the maximum of these ranging from 8 to 20 years. The 5-year minimum is given as 68, or 11.9 per cent, with maximums of 7 to 21 years. Six and 10 year minimums are each 37 in number, being 12.8 per cent of the total. The maximums for the 6-year men run from 15 to 20 years and for the 10-year people 12 to 50 years." (Report of Warden, Eighteenth Biennial Report, supra, p. 12.)

Eighty-eight, or 12.28 per cent, of the prisoners received at Lansing during the succeeding biennium ending June 30, 1914 (Second Biennial Report, Table No. 9, p. 25), had definite sentences varying from one year to life.

One hundred and five, or 14.6 per cent (an average of 1 to each county), of those received during the biennium closing June 30, 1916 (Second Biennial Report, Table No. 6, p. 22), had definite sentences varying from one year to life.

At the close of the biennium June 30, 1912, there were 17 life prisoners sent up. At the close of the period June 30, 1914, there were 14 sent up, and at the close of the period June 30, 1916, 21 had been sent. Thus there was an increase in life-term convictions during the two years from 1914 to 1916 of 7, or an increase of 50 per cent, and a net increase of life convictions over 1912 of 4. A further indication, to say the least, that "life termers" grow in Kansas, 52 having been sent up from 1912 to 1916. Capital punishment has been abolished in the State, and it is oftimes argued that the Kansas prison rate is high because they can not hang their convicts committing murder, rape, etc., but this class is favored under the parole system. More of them are paroled than would be hung if hanging were possible. (See tables above cited.)

Of the prisoners given a determinate sentence committed during the biennial period ending June 30, 1912, 7 were sentenced for terms of 10 years or over (exclusive of life termers); during the next 2 years 16 were sentenced to serve terms of 10 years or over (exclusive of life termers); and during the last biennium, ending June 30, 1916, 22 were sentenced to serve terms of 10 years or over, an increase over the 1912 biennial period of 15 cases, or 201 per cent. The increase in this class over the 1914 period is 6 cases, or 37.5 per cent. (See Eighteenth Biennial Report, Kansas State Penitentiary, Table No.

6, p. 22; also First Biennial Report, State Board of Corrections, Table No. 9, p. 25; also Second Biennial Report, State Board of Corrections, Table No. 6, p. 19.)

At the close of the biennium ending June 30, 1912, there were 539 male white inmates, or 58.19 per cent of the total; 290, or 31.90 per cent negro, and 1.7 per cent, or 16, Mexicans. (Eighteenth Biennial Report, supra, Table No. 7, p. 22.)

At the close of the succeeding biennium, on June 30, 1914, there were 492 male white inmates, or 62 per cent of the total; 234, or 29.4 per cent negro, and 14, or 1.7 per cent, of Mexicans. (See Table No. 6, p. 23, First Biennial Report, supra.)

At the close of the last biennium, June 30, 1916, there were 529 male white inmates, or 62.9 per cent of the total; 247, or 29.3 per cent negro, and 46, or 5.4 per cent, Mexicans. (See Table No. 13, p. 21, Second Biennial Report, supra.)

The percentage of male white and male Mexicans seems to be steady in its increase, while that of the negro is about holding its own. The Mexican increase is the most marked. Kansas had just 61 Greasers in 1900 and 7,941 in 1910. (Census of 1900 and 1910.) According to the Atchison Globe, in a comment upon change in population published shortly after the thirteenth decennial census appeared, "it traded one good German for a couple of Mexican track laborers." Kansas lost 4,803 Germans between 1900 and 1910, about 2,000 English and nearly 3,500 Irish, 1,800 Swedes, and several hundred Canadians, and gained, aside from the Mexicans, 1,395 Greek shine boys. (Census of the United States, 1900 and 1910.)

Of the 909 prisoners in Lansing at the close of the biennial period ending June 30, 1912, 332, or 36.6 per cent had served previous penitentiary sentences, according to Warden Codding's report (eighteenth biennial report, p. 14.) "The newer inmates," continued the warden, "do not show so large a proportion of recidivists, only 28.4 per cent being repeaters, as against 36.6 per cent of the total body; only 20.8 per cent are second termers, as against 25.3 per cent of the total." He adds: "The slight increase in the age of the new inmates and the larger percentage of first-termers are encouraging indications, showing a diminuation of the more serious juvenile crime, and that the older antisocial are either absenting themselves from Kansas, being reformed, or have an increased fear of the law's punishment."

The later reports do not furnish information from which a comparative table can be prepared; but it seems from the foregoing tables showing the increase in crime, the various types, etc., that Warden Codding's felicitation was short-lived.

As an indication of the likelihood that Kansas intends to abandon its State penitentiary, Warden Botkin declares the crying need of a new prison, in his reported submitted for the biennium ending June 30, 1914.

"Criminals are imprisoned for the protection of society," states the warden, page 17. "Under a proper administration of our laws, about 95 per cent of the inmates of this prison will gain their freedom by commutation, expiration, or parole. Hence, society must be profoundly interested in the methods employed for their intellectual, social, and moral betterment.

"This prison was built about 50 years ago. It was necessary for the infant State to be economical in its expenditures for public buildings. * * * It is no reflection upon the intelligence and humanitarian spirit of our State to affirm that this penitentiary is antiquated and out of harmony with present-day conception of the purposes of prison life.

"The cell houses, more than all else, need rebuilding. The cells are wholly unfit for the habitation of any class of human beings. It is impossible to make them other than disease-breeding holes. Of the deaths occurring from January 1, 1900, to June 1, 1914, 37 per cent were caused by tuberculosis. Of the present inmates, about 35 per cent are afflicted with the same disease. Thus about 15 per cent of the present population, or about 120 persons, have contracted the white plague in this prison. About 20 per cent had the disease when they came.

"Most of these victims of the white plague will return to society—to that stratum of society where the soil will most readily receive the seed and produce the largest harvest of patients for the tubercular hospital. It is not the intention of the people, or the courts, to sentence criminals to a fatal disease and premature death; but that is what is being done."

In its second biennial report, covering the two-year period ending June 30, 1916, the State board of corrections thus analyzes the reasons for the great increase in crime and delinquency in Kansas:

"While it is not possible here to go exhaustively into the causes of delinquency, we wish to emphasize the two leading factors that enter into the crime record of the State.

"One is the large influx of itinerant laborers in harvest time, which furnishes a large number of inmates coming into the State reformatory and penitentiary.

"The other is the lamentable influence of unhappy family life, with divorces and separations, leaving helpless children to be creatures of the street and eventually wards of the State."

In view of the resolution passed by the legislature to be used by the Antisaloon League in its 1915 campaign in the Utah Legislature, and later sent broadcast by Gov. Capper as a part of his famous Methodist Temperance Bulletin, this declaration has a paradoxical sound, to say the least. No doubt, however, the board of corrections has more of a knowledge of the actual conditions existing within the State than political prohibitionists, and their declaration must be taken at its face value. As Gov. Capper approves all reports of State boards, the above report must have furnished him considerable material for his next prohibition speech, if indeed he has ever read it. It proves, however, just like the record of Kansas always has proven, that prohibition is "decreasing crime, rendering homes happier, and saving the boys and girls."

Commenting upon the State penitentiary, the board further remarked: "During the two years covered by this report the State penitentiary has necessarily been given a large amount of attention. The absolute need in its physical condition and the increasing number of inmates have called for the most thoughtful efforts of the warden and the members of the board. It is necessary to repeat what has been said by every board of management for 20 years, that the physical condition of the penitentiary is discreditable to the State of Kansas, and we renew preceding recommendations to the legislature that the work of bringing the institution up to modern conditions in sanitation and equipment be speedily undertaken."

There seems to be no intention, so far as the present board is concerned, at least, of turning the penitentiary into an agricultural experimental station or totally abandoning it, as the country has been led to believe during the past decade is likely to happen now that Kansas has been engaged for several years "in dead earnest" in enforcing her prohibitory law.

In an effort to keep down the penitentiary population for the purpose of saving the expense to the State and endeavoring to keep the convicts out on parole, temporarily or permanently, so the new crop of jailbirds can be taken care of, at least for a while at the State prison, there has grown up within the past 10 years a great abuse of the parole power vested in the governor and in the board of corrections.

In casting the balance to show the net gain of prohibition and in rendering boastful statements concerning its "success" in keeping down the crime record of the State, the matter of the paroles is never indulged in, and it is more than a mere passing matter of surprise that it is ignored.

One of the beneficiaries of the governor's parole bounty during the past two years was a notorious moral degenerate named Fred Bissell, to whom Gov. Capper desired to offer "another chance." On April 25, 1916, Bissell brutally attacked and killed Edna Dinsmore in an abandoned house in Topeka. Public sentiment ran so high that there was great danger of mobbing him, and yet Gov. Capper delayed revoking the parole for several days, possibly because his bed had two other occupants in it and the governor was afraid to send him back to Lansing to sleep on the floor.

However, the governor's action in paroling Bissell in the first instance aroused the members of the Women's Good Government Club of Topeka to such an extent that they held an indignation meeting, and, strange as it may seem, this protest was made 20 days before Bissell murdered the little Dinsmore girl. He was convicted before his parole on the charge of committing a grave crime against another girl. In a report of the meeting of the Good Government Club the Topeka State Journal, April 5, 1916, said:

TOPEKA WOMEN START CRUSADE AGAINST BOARD—PAROLE FOLLY IS DENOUNCED IN SET OF RESOLUTIONS—GOOD GOVERNMENT CLUB GOES ON RECORD AT MEETING—IS OPPOSED TO THE SYSTEM—DEMANDS PERSONS CONVICTED OF CRIMES AGAINST GIRLS BE COMPELLED TO SERVE OUT MAXIMUM OF SENTENCE.

"At a special meeting of the Good Government Club in Topeka members of the widely known women's organization adopted strong resolutions condemning the action of the parole board and the governor in releasing Fred Bissell and other persons convicted of crimes against women and girls.

"The action against the present use of the parole system is the first move in a state-wide fight to condemn the policy which resulted in Bissell's release. Similar action will be sought by club women in every section of the State.

"Action by the Good Government Club was taken at a special meeting called for the purpose of discussing the Bissell case. After a frank and candid discussion of the case of Bissell and other offenders the women demanded that all persons convicted of crimes against women and girls be required to serve their maximum sentence. The practice of releasing these men at the expiration of their minimum sentence was severely condemned.

"Two of the members who recommended the Bissell parole to Gov. Capper are now serving on the State board of corrections. The same board recommended the parole of Henry Obermeyer, of Council Grove, convicted of a crime against his own daughter. The parole was signed by Gov. Capper. The governor also signed the Bissell parole, as well as the parole of J. G. Stalnaker, convicted of a crime against his niece, and the Rev. Wallace Stuckey, convicted of a crime against a 16-year-old girl member of his Williamsburg church.

"Now Kansas club women are armed. They will conduct a crusade against the practice which has resulted in the freedom of these men. They will seek State-wide action and will most severely condemn the policy which resulted in the Bissell-Stalnaker-Obermeyer-Stuckey paroles.

"Mrs. Bomgartner was recently elected president of the club. 'I can't place my hands on the exact minutes just at this time,' said Mrs. Bomgartner, 'but I am sure the records of the club will show that protests were filed against other paroles. These protests were sent to the governor's executive clerk.'

"Mrs. Bomgartner was certain the club had protested against the Obermeyer, Stalnaker, and Stuckey paroles. All of the men, however, are now outside prison walls. The Stalnaker parole was issued on the governor's own motion. The 'temporary' parole to Stuckey is in the face of the most severe condemnation of the practice by the investigating committee which last fall recommended the removal of J. D. Botkin as warden of the prison. Obermeyer's parole was also signed by the governor. Release of any of the men, Bissel included, was impossible until the governor had heard the evidence, reviewed the records, and signed the papers in the case.

"It was because of the practice in these cases that the Good Government Club has started a State-wide crusade and promises to start a new brand of trouble."

However, nothing came of the "State-wide crusade." The only kind of a "State-wide crusade" that gets anywhere in Kansas is "law enforcement." The county attorneys, assistant attorneys general, and their "detectives" make much political and financial capital out of it, and then it is a good thing to talk about away from home. Crusades such as that suggested by the Good Government Club never get anywhere.

Stuckey was convicted of wife desertion, statutory rape, and jumping his bond after conviction. He deserted a wife and children to run away with a 16-year-old choir singer, took her to Chicago, which was a plain violation of the Mann white-slave act, lived with her as her husband until he went broke, and then drove her out onto the street, demanding that she solicit men for a living. She refused, after a while, to be his white slave, and quite accidentally the news of the affair drifted back to Kansas. He was arrested and returned, tried, and convicted. His sentence was for 20 years. That was several years ago. He appealed to the supreme court on a technicality and while his appeal was pending became a fugitive from justice. His first wife and babies were left absolutely penniless, their lives crushed by the burden of their public shame.

He was afterwards located in Florida, where he was living with a second wife, his first wife having divorced him after his conviction. He and his second wife had one child at the time he was arrested and brought back to Kansas to serve his sentence. His second wife removed to Kansas and was a rich Cuban woman. Without serving over a few months of his sentence in a very dignified clerkship at Lansing, Stuckey was quietly paroled "temporarily" by Gov. Capper about two years ago, because his second wife was sick. A protest arose from every city in the State when his parole accidentally leaked out. After much delay the governor "revoked the parole." But Stuckey was a preacher and had many "strong, influential friends," who went to his rescue. He did not languish long after his parole was revoked, but was freed

on the governor's own motion on the theory that he had served sufficient time. He is now free. Just what provision was ever made for the first wife or the 16-year-old girl is not known.

J. G. Stalnacker, mentioned in the Topeka State Journal article, is also a preacher, and was paroled so he could take a pulpit in a Southern State.

That the parole feature is abused can not be questioned, in view of what has already been said. Comments have been so numerous, following those given above, space will not permit their reproduction here.

There were on parole June 30, 1914, according to report of parole officer (Second Biennial Report, State Board of Corrections, p. 47), 484 convicts, and between that date and June 30, 1916, 548 more had been given their freedom in this manner, an increase of 164. Of these, 125 were returned, 242 were delinquent. Of the delinquent contingent, 196 can not be located, 37 are in various other prisons for other crimes committed after parole, 3 in various jails for the same reason, and 6 were returned to await disposition by board, 334 were reporting out of 693, 329 having been discharged.

One hundred and twenty-five paroles were canceled (Second Biennial Report, State Board of Corrections, p. 47) for the following reasons:

For not reporting	22
For intoxication	14
For committing theft	10
For committing forgery	4
For keeping bad company	6
For fighting	5
For false pretense	2
For committing sodomy	1
No record previous to Oct. 1, 1915, as cause of return	55
Temporary paroles returned	6
Total	125

In commenting upon various "reforms" that are really needed in Kansas, the Kansas City Journal carried the following editorial note on May 1, 1916: "Nor are the health laws of Kansas, as is pointed out by the health officers of the State, the only laws on the Kansas statute that need strengthening. The parole laws of the State also seem to be in the same boat. So are the laws for dealing with irresponsibles of criminal tendencies of the Fred Bissel type."

And the Topeka State Journal, May 1, 1916, carried the following editorial:

"'The parole system could not have possibly suffered a greater setback than was the case when it became known that Fred Bissell, who murdered little Edna Dinsmore, was a paroled prisoner, for this will simply mean that many good men who are now subject to parole will have to submit to a longer confinement in prison for this man's deed, for I am sure it will have a deterrent effect on the pardon board.' This is a statement from Mr. Codding, the warden of the State's penitentiary.

"But has the parole system been given a greater setback than it deserved? And *isn't the* deterrent effect that the outraging of and slaughter of Edna Dinsmore will have on the prison pardon board a most crying need? And how terribly regrettable it is that the stable door was not locked and carefully guarded in this most essential particular before the heinous crime of Fred Bissell brought home the fact that the State has not been using the caution it should have to protect its people from criminals dangerous to them."

In commenting on paroles in general and a few in particular, C. W. Smith, parole clerk in the office of Gov. Capper, explained the method in which paroles are secured in the Topeka capital (Gov. Capper's paper), May 14, 1916. In explaining why Rev. Stalnacker was paroled (he will be remembered as the man who was convicted of an unspeakable crime against his own niece), Judge Smith said:

"The Rev. Stalnacker parole was urged by such good men as Bishop Shepard, of the Methodist Church; the Rev. T. W. Houston, former chaplain of the State penitentiary; Warden J. D. Botkin (a Methodist preacher); Chaplain Harmon Allen; the Rev. U. S. Brown, of Belleville; the Rev. J. E. Wilson, of Russell; the Rev. C. B. Young, of Leavenworth; the Rev. L. B. Tremain, of Delphos; the Rev. C. W. Stevens, of Salina; C. W. Cross, cashier of the Ellis Bank, and many other citizens of the town where the crime was committed; by the Lincoln Gospel Team, of Kansas City, Kans.; by the Swedish Church of Kansas City, Kans.; by prominent women of the State; and by very many men in his former home State of West Virginia, including an ex-governor, United States Senator, judges, Congressmen, Daniel Westfall, managing editor of the Pittsburg Christian Advocate, and many others."

In commenting upon the parole department the State board of corrections state in their Second Biennial Report (June 30, 1916), on page 5, as follows:

"One factor in the management of the penitentiary as well as of the State reformatory is that of bringing into full citizenship the inmates who have been released on parole, and struggle against the world in a somewhat uphill fight to regain their position.

"The limited funds allowed for this department make it impossible to exercise more than a nominal supervision of paroled men, and we believe that the legislature could do nothing that would be of more benefit from both a financial and a humanitarian view than to expand this department to the largest possible usefulness. The parole officers should have sufficient funds and sufficient assistants to enable them to keep a close supervision and extend helpfulness to every paroled inmate.

"More comprehensive supervision of the paroled man would greatly reduce the number who fall and make the rise of those who succeed more rapid."

THE KANSAS PAROLE SYSTEM.

The Laws of 1903, chapter 375, section 1 (Gen. Stat., 1905, sec. 6160), define the power of the prison board to parole a convict, granting the board authority "to establish rules and regulations under which prisoners within the penitentiary may be allowed to go upon parole outside the penitentiary building and inclosure, but to remain while on parole in the legal custody and under the control of the prison board, and subject at any time to be taken back within the inclosure of said penitentiary." It is then provided that "No parole shall be granted in any case until the minimum term fixed for the offense has expired," and

"That no prisoner shall be released on parole until the said prison board shall have made arrangements, or shall have satisfactory evidence that arrangements have been made, for his honorable and useful employment while upon parole in some suitable occupation, and also for a proper or suitable home, free from criminal influence."

Other sections (6161, 6162, 6163) cover the subjects of "Final discharge; when released or paroled prisoner shall be supplied with suitable clothing, etc.," and cover violation of parole.

This enactment did not "empty" the penitentiary fast enough, apparently, because the legislature in 1907 (ch. 178, p. 281) passed a law permitting the court before whom the conviction was had to parole any person "under the age of 21 years," who "shall be convicted of any felony, except murder, manslaughter, rape, arson, or robbery, and imprisonment in the penitentiary or Kansas State Industrial Reformatory shall be under the law the punishment therefor—either before or after passing sentence—"if satisfied that such person, if permitted to go at large, would not again violate the law. * * * *Provided*, That the court shall have no power to parole any person after he shall have been delivered to the warden of the penitentiary or to the superintendent of the Kansas Industrial Reformatory."

This apparently filled the penitentiary and reformatory too fast, so the legislature of 1913 (ch. 172, p. 264) amended the above law to include persons of any age, instead of "under the age of 21 years," and as the district courts do not file a report with any State official showing how many felons are thus saved from serving at least a short term it is impossible to secure exact statistics covering this very important feature of the "use and abuse" of the gigantic parole system in force in Kansas.

That it is "reasonably easy" to secure a parole, however, is proven by the following extract from the Atchison Weekly Globe, February 1, 1917: "Money is all-powerful. A formerly of Atchison man walked into a bank (in Kansas City, Kans.), locked up the president of the institution at the point of a gun, and then departed with about $1,200 in cash. Because his family has millions this man is now free, and has not so much as spent one night in jail. * * * Caughey was a spoiled child of wealthy people. His father, Hugh Caughey, formerly was a rich lumberman and banker at Horton. His uncle was Frederick Weyerhauser, who before his death was rated by some as the richest man in the world. * * * Nearly all the prominent bankers in Kansas City requested his parole. Even Mayor Green, of Kansas City, Kans., signed the request. With such an overwhelming array of bankers asking that the bank robber be paroled the judge granted the request. * * * Caughey was caught in St. Louis, but he was immediately released on bail and his rich relatives got busy."

Speaking of the activities negotiated during the past biennium, the board of corrections (Second Biennial Report, p. 5), stated, with reference to the insane housed in the penitentiary:

"It became evident that the care of the dangerous insane was a serious problem in the institution. The building allowed to this department was overcrowded, and to relieve the situation that portion of the grounds formerly used as a women's ward has now been turned into a department for the insane."

To relieve the crowded condition at the institution, the female Federal prisoners were ordered removed, they being the last of the Federal prisoners to leave, on January 28, 1916. Commenting on the change, the Topeka State Journal stated, under a heading "No room for women," that—

"Because the State penitentiary at Lansing is overcrowded, Kansas has declined to take care of female Federal prisoners any longer, and arrangements have been made to take care of them in other States."

With these prisoners removed, the question as to what disposition should be made with the remaining female prisoners in the prison arose. Under date of February 24, 1916, the Topeka Daily Capital said:

KEEP WOMEN BEHIND BARBED WIRE—KANSAS FEMALE PRISONERS WILL LIVE IN INCLOSURE HALF A MILE FROM PRISON PROPER.

"LANSING, KANS., *February 23.*

"Warden J. K. Codding is making arrangements to have the 12 Kansas women prisoners, who will be left after the Federal female prisoners are taken away, kept at the Kansas penitentiary farmhouse. This is situated on a high point about half a mile east of the main prison walls.

"He plans to have a barbed-wire inclosure put up to keep the women from wandering beyond certain limits and also to keep any unauthorized person from coming within the inclosure. Matrons will be on day and night duty with the women, the same as they are now in the female ward. In addition there will be one man as a guard at the place at night. The women will be moved over to the new place probably by April 1."

The change was made on June 2. (Topeka State Journal, June 2, 1916.)

In an interview in the Topeka Daily Capital, January 20, 1916, Charles M. Harger, chairman of the board of corrections, stated it was the board's intention to remove the female prisoners belonging to Kansas as soon as possible after the Federal prisoners left. "We may have to erect a building for them for a short time, until the next legislature will appropriate money for a women's building," he said. "I believe the women's ward should be transferred to the Industrial School for Girls, at Beliot, and a new building, separate from the girls' wards, erected there," he concluded.

Harvey Parsons, chief of police of Topeka, thus explains his views on the increase in crime in Kansas that results in causing the penitentiary to be overcrowded. (Topeka Daily Capital, June 1, 1916:)

"Because persons who heretofore engaged in bootlegging are no longer permitted to make a living that way, they have become desperate and are now turning to robbery and burglary for a living.

"This is the explanation of Harvey Parsons, chief of police, for the increase in the number of burglaries in the city."

This may throw some light on the criminal situation also. Just what happened to these "hardened criminals" does not appear by the records:

[From the Topeka Daily Capital, May 31, 1916.]

"COPS GIVE COUNTY 212 OFFENDERS—IN ONLY THREE SERIOUS CASES HAVE COPS FAILED TO GET MAN, CHIEF PARSONS SAYS.

"Two hundred and twelve cases in which the prisoners had been arrested by the city police were turned over to the county since April 15, 1915, according to a list prepared by Chief Harvey Parsons and Police Judge Robert Yates, which was completed yesterday.

"Among the most hardened criminals in the list were Ada Dupree, a negro murderess; Cristobel Reyes, a negro murderer; Fred Bissell and William Butler, who were recently tried for safe blowing in the county courts.

"'The only three hard cases we have not run down during the past year,' Parsons said yesterday, 'are those of the man who snatched a woman's purse recently and the two burglaries which occurred Saturday night.'"

The Sixteenth Annual Session of the Kansas Conference of Charities and Corrections and the Fifth Annual Session of the Kansas State Society of Criminal Law and Criminology convened in a joint meeting held at the University of Kansas, in Fraser Chapel, Thursday evening, November 18, 1915, at 8 o'clock.

The Kansas Conference of Charities and Correction is an organization established in 1900. Its membership is composed both of those actually engaged in public and private charities and of those interested in social and humanitarian work. The function of the conference is (1) to stimulate interest in social problems; (2) to encourage a scientific study of existing conditions; (3) to discuss and interpret the most improved methods of the management of charitable and correctional institutions.

The Kansas Society of Criminal Law and Criminology is an organization of progressive judges and lawyers which has as its purpose the study of criminality and the improvement of court and penal methods in dealing with the criminal. (See report of above meeting, pp. 5 and 7.)

In discussing "the past and present of delinquency," Dr. H. W. Charles, superintendent of the Industrial School for Boys, at Topeka, said:

"Present-day discussions of the various phases of criminology, legal, medical, and sociological, are not recent propaganda of late discoveries, but rather the outcome of a process of evolution that has been in progress for many years (p. 7).

"Whether the criminal is born so, or whether he is the product of the social and material forces around him, is the one question upon which hinges much of the discussion of crime. This question will probably never be answered, or if it is answered at all it will be after the solution of many other problems that lie much nearer to us * * *. All human conduct has its source in the original tendencies of the individual—the unlearned activities of the mind. These form the essential nucleus of human personality and are responsive to and are modified by the material and social environment. Relegating this question to some future time when we shall know more of the nature of unsocial conduct, we may devote the present to the solution of problems nearer at hand.

"The past decade has been most fruitful in the development of one phase of the psychology of crime. Begun as an effort to study the mentality of feeble-mindedness, the psychologist soon began to discover the relation between feeble-mindedness and crime. This is one of the present-day problems that is pressing upon the people for solution. At this time the effort is in its incipient stage. Spasmodic efforts here and there offer the hope that the day of great achievement is at hand.

"* * * A survey of the boys in my own institution a few years ago revealed the astonishing fact that only 16 per cent of the entire number were above a retardation of two years, while slightly more than 7 per cent were so far down in the scale of mentality that they would never be self-supporting, but would require permanent segregation.

"The first step in solving the problem of delinquency will be accomplished when our corrective institutions cease to be a dumping ground for the feeble-minded.

"A large and apparently increasing number of children are born without sufficient intelligence to know right from wrong; or who, if they appreciate the difference, do not have the will power or judgment or courage to do the right and shun the wrong.

"It is from this class that the ranks of the criminal are recruited. Every thoughtful study of the criminal classes shows the close relationship between criminality and feeble-mindedness.

"If there is such a thing as the criminal type, it is another name for the type of feeble-mindedness—a class long misunderstood and mistreated, and a class whose members easily fall into the ranks of the criminal. We have failed to recognize the raw material from which criminals are made.

"Such conditions make the strongest possible appeal for a practical advance in the way of a diagnosing clinic. Hitherto only the legal and social facts have been considered in the investigation of most courts * * * The need of some systematic preliminary investigations in our own State may be illustrated from a few cases that have occurred within the present year.

"One boy received at the industrial school was physically 17 years old. A psychological examination disclosed the fact that he was only a 7-year-old mentally—was, in fact, an imbecile of low grade, without hope of mental or moral amelioration. Another case, that of a 15-year-old boy with a retardation of seven and a half years, was classed as a low-grade moron, and besides being mentally hopeless was sexually precocious and dangerous to good morals, and will never be able to direct his own destiny. * * * These, with many others that might be mentioned, illustrate the crying need for a more careful preliminary investigation by the courts dealing with juvenile offenders.

"What we must have is a widespread propaganda of the needs for an intelligent and scientific diagnosis of the deviating child, in which parent, physician, psychologist, and court may cooperate for the good of the child, ever remembering that the earlier in life any deviation from the normal is discovered the more effective will be the treatment.

"Education along the line of the prevention of disease, of crime, of pauperism, is the one thing needed. People do not know that these things are needed. Even if they knew this they do not know how the remedies are to be brought about.

"I have an abiding faith in the ultimate judgment of humanity, and when humanity learns the truth and frees itself from prejudice and sentiment there will be no lack of workers in this field of human betterment."

Thus it appears that Dr. Charles does not agree that "law enforcement" or the passing of additional laws cures the criminal tendencies in a people. The people of Kansas have been led to understand that more law is the thing, more restriction, more crusading, and more exploiting will in time cure the evils that necessarily curse every community where real human beings live. To say that the "law is enforced," or that the "prohibitory law is enforced as well as any law upon the statute books" (speech by W. R. Stubbs, Chicago, Mar. 27, 1910, p. 3—and usually advanced as a "proof" of the successful operation of the law), does not seem to have the effect of reducing crime or delinquency in any appreciable degree, if Dr. Charles is correctly informed. As he has been engaged in the scientific study of criminology and psychological research all his life it stands to reason that his testimony should be given much greater weight than the blatant declarations of men whose only claim to speak with authority is that they happen, by reason of the vicissitudes of political manipulation, to become State officials, their previous lines of endeavor having led them into fields of activity so remote and distant from this special field of study that they scarcely could distinguish the difference between a feeble-minded person and a sane one, and care nothing about it so long as he or she "votes right" and "puts the crowd across."

Referring once more to the physical condition of the penitentiary at Lansing, Warden Codding touched briefly upon the civil-service system, on pages 12 and 13 of the report (second biennial, supra):

"In providing a civil-service commission and rules for the appointment of employees an important forward step has been taken toward gettitng the penitentiary out of politics and politics out of the penitentiary," declared the warden (p. 12). "Like all new movements, there have been difficulties encountered in making the law effective.

"The law provided that all men who held positions on the 1st day of July, 1915, were prima facie qualified and were deemed to be competent, even if they had been chosen under a partisan spoils system and were incompetent. This section of the law made it impossible to get rid of the inefficient, drunken, and worthless officers on the force when I assumed the wardenship. Not until they had allowed escapes of prisoners, incited mutiny, became drunk, or committed other acts of inefficiency could they be removed."

(NOTE.—Mr. Codding was removed by Gov. Hodges, and Rev. Botkin placed in charge of the penitentiary during the Hodges administration (1913–1915), and Rev. Botkin was summarily removed by Gov. Capper shortly after the latter became governor in 1915. One of the reasons for his removal was the charge that he either permitted bootlegging or was too busy making prohibition speeches away from home to find out it was going on; another was that he played favoritism up to the limit, even permitting certain prisoners to entertain women in their cells and took prisoners to Kansas City or permitted them to go there unattended, and afterwards could not "coax" them back once they crossed the State line.)

In speaking of the religious features of the penitentiary Rev. Harmon Allen, chaplain, declared, on pages 37 and 38 of the Second Biennial Report (State Board of Corrections), that—

"For the spiritual and moral welfare of the inmates there should be stricter sanitary regulations.

"No man can feel his best morally or religiously when he is compelled to drink out of the public drinking cup, where deadly disease germs lurk, seeking whom they may devour.

"In like manner a man is affected when he must be shaved with a shaving outfit that is used on diseased men.

"Again his religious temper is disturbed when on a hot night the only water he has to drink must be taken from an old galvanized pail sitting alongside his detestable night bucket. Especially in hot weather, the prisoner should have frequent baths. When a man must lie down at night with a dirty, grimy body, as the result of his day's labor, he naturally feels rebellious.

"The Sabbath should be marked as different from other days by their having a Sunday suit. A man sitting at worship in his old working clothes can not be very worshipful.

"Officers of the prison should be religious men, who are examples of morality and religion. These officers should not only be religious men, but men capable of teaching in the night school. Primarily, the business of the penitentiary is reformation, and if the chaplain's department fails the purpose and aim of the institution is abortive.

"We are sadly in need of a modern school building and officer instructors," concluded the chaplain (p. 38).

"The prison body, as to denominational affiliations, is 11 per cent Catholic, 50 per cent Protestant, 1 per cent Hebrew, and 38 per cent have no choice. Our greatest need in this work is a new chapel, to be used for religious services only." (Second Biennial Report, supra, p. 37.) Preaching services are conducted in the men's ward at 9.30 on Sunday morning and in the women's ward at 11 o'clock (supra).

In his report contained in the First Biennial Report, State Board of Corrections, 1914, page 38, Rev. Allen laid special stress on the condition of the library at the prison.

"The library is in bad condition," he declared. "In the past books have been given indiscriminately to prisoners with contagious diseases. Books have been held in cells of men with tuberculosis, and then placed back in the library without disinfecting precautions. Many institutions prohibit indicriminate circulation of books among sick and well. It should be so here. No new books have been added to this infected library during the past year."

It will be recalled in this connection that Warden Botkin stated, on page 18 of the same biennial report, that "of the deaths occurring from January 1, 1900, to June 1, 1914, 37 per cent were caused by tuberculosis. Of the present inmates about 35 per cent are afflicted with the same disease. Of these, 20 per cent had the disease when they came. Thus, about 15 per cent of the present population, or about 120 persons, have contracted the white plague in this prison. * * * It is not the intention of the people or the courts to sentence criminals to a fatal disease and premature death, but that is what is being done."

In speaking of the library in his report above quoted from, the Second Biennial Report (p. 37), Chaplain Allen further says: "There should be such segregation of the sick and afflicted that no books from the general library be issued except to healthy prisoners."

Thus it seems that the legislature, "in its wisdom," is still permitting criminals to be sentenced "to a fatal disease and premature death." The chaplain (p. 37) states that "about 600 new volumes have been added during the past two years," thus rendering the danger six hundred times greater. No "prohibitory" measure, such as suggested by Rev. Allen in his 1914 report, seems to get very far in Kansas, but any sort of a "dry" measure, introduced for the purpose of making grand-stand material for campaign purposes at home and abroad, can not only get a hearing before that august assembly, but plenty of front-page publicity.

No statistics are available to show how many of the prisoners have families dependent upon them and whose untimely death robs dependent ones of the hope that "some day daddy will get out" and then the burdens of endless hours of toil may end for "mother." However, that many inmates are married and their families have been robbed of their earning capacity can well be concluded from various declarations made by the board of corrections in their 1914 and 1916 reports.

On page 7, First Biennial Report, 1914, they say:

"The most casual study of prison management emphasizes the pathetice fact that often the most severe punishment is not upon the prisoner but upon families left without means, struggling with the problem of existence and some shadow of disgrace that makes the path more difficult. The State should add to its activities adequate provision for the families of prisoners who are in destitute circumstances, and this should be done in so generous a manner that the suffering of these families may be relieved as humanity dictates."

No attention was paid to the appeal of the board for aid of the distressed families, as it was impossible under the policy of economy inaugurated by Gov. Capper to even consider it. The most "crying needs" of this institution were even "laughed out of court," by the chief executive in order to carry out his program. Had he admitted that (1) Kansas ever sends up a prisoner who is the head of a family, or (2) it is ever necessary to extend State aid to the destitute, two of the stock arguments used by prohibition agitators would be "nailed," so "economy" was the cloak that covered these two shameful sins of the Kansas system.

The appeal is renewed in the last report of the board, on page 6 of the Second Biennial Report. "We recommend," declares that body, "provision for such payment to deserving inmates who show exceptional energy in their work as will enable them to give some assistance to their families. The fact is that in many cases the family suffers more than the inmate, and the present conditions allow of no adequate assistance in such cases."

It thus appears that the families of the convicts not only need whatever assistance the State can "in its wisdom" extend to them, either by a direct appropriation or by permitting the prisoner to contribute to their support by receiving a small fraction of the wealth he produces for the State in the coal mines, on the farm, etc., but the State still persists in permitting the ravages of disease to subject the unfortunate class to face the grave possibility of premature death.

These are matters of great consequence, both human and economic, but unfortunately for the people of the State the "new program" instituted by the Stubbs administration slips lightly over such matter of importance and devotes the entire time of the legislature, the taxpayer, and the public official to one line of thought—"law enforcement"—to the end that Kansas "take the lead" as the greatest moral State in the Union.

In speaking of the habits of the inmates Warden Codding remarked in his report issued June 30, 1912, that 63 per cent of the inmates (newcomers) stated that they were users of intoxicating liquors, but no showing appears as to the number claiming liquor was the cause of their downfall. (Eighteenth biennial report, Kansas State Penitentiary, 1912, p. 12.) In view of the fact that it is persistently claimed that "80 per cent of crime is due to the saloon," etc., it seems rather strange no report was made as to the number claiming during that biennium "John Barleycorn got 'em." Should 63 per cent have confessed that liquor caused their downfall in a State that has been legally dry for 35 years, and where "our people are cleaner, better, more advanced in mental culture, and stronger in moral fiber and conviction," all because of it, some tall explaining might have been necessary, so the report stops before arriving at a very interesting point of observation.

However, the second biennial report (p. 21, Table 12) discloses some interesting facts in this particular. Of the 719 prisoners received during the biennial period ending June 30, 1916, 205, or 28.50 per cent, assigned liquor as the cause of their downfall. The number "using liquor" is not stated, nor is it shown whether these convicts came from ruined homes within the State or were a part of that great army of "itinerant laborers" who flock in during harvest time. In either event, it is positive proof of the fact that "it can be got" even in any part of the State, border counties and all. While there is no claim any more than the State is absolutely "dry," the old moth-eaten claim that "anyway prohibition stops some of the evil" does not seem to be very well supported by this showing. Table 11, same page, indicates that of the 719 prisoners received, 506 were in the "first-conviction" group, the balance of 213 being distributed between groups showing second, third, fourth, sixth, and seventh. Just how many of the first convicts mentioned claim liquor as the cause of their downfall is not shown, but it would hardly seem possible that all the "old timers" convicted more than once before were "victims of demon rum."

As a cause of downfall Table 12, supra, shows that 318, or 44.28 per cent, assigned "women and bad associates" as the cause; 12, or 1.66 per cent, assigned "uncontrollable temper" as the cause; 34, or 4.7 per cent, assigned "self-defense" as the cause; "dope" and "family trouble" claimed 34 each, or 4.7 per cent each; destitution caused the downfall in 69, or 9.5 per cent, of the cases; and "unknown" was assigned as the cause in 13, or 1.7 per cent, of the cases.

It is not very often that the public is afforded the opportunity of "looking behind the scenes" in Kansas, and one of the rare things in Kansas statecraft is the publication of any statement, observation, or declaration by anyone in high office, finding fault with any portion of the administration. During the sixteenth annual session of the Kansas Conference of Charities and Corrections, above referred to, many speeches were made boosting the State to the skies. Among them was one by Roy T. Osborne, juvenile judge, of Independence, in which he claimed, among other things, that Kansas is first in education. This statement has been so frequently made it is not "news" any more, and yet the newspapers gave his speech, in this particular, plenty of publicity. His statement and others along the same line have been quoted hundreds of times in other States as proof that prohibition raises the efficiency of the educational system and in the Sunflower State has raised it to the proud position at the head of the column.

Reference is made to the Osborne statement at this time to pave the way for an "explanation" by Dean F. M. Blackmar, of the Kansas State University, which followed the next evening, supplementing a speech delivered by Mr. Codding, warden of the State penitentiary.

With "Present outlook of prison reform in Kansas" as his subject, Mr. Codding waded into the subject without gloves and dealt body blows to the faked-up statements so persistently circulated throughout America regarding crime and moral conditions in the State. His speech, it is scarcely necessary to mention, was "hushed up" by the newspapers of the State, and the merry little carnival of claiming everything good under the sun for the State, crediting it all to prohibition, was not even interrupted; but to a mind that is open, unbiased, and free to form a conclusion based on facts alone the warden's masterly denunciation of the pseudo morality that we are told has covered Kansas like a blanket of roses presents many interesting features—features that are so well known to the average Kansan that no official bulletin issued from the governor's office and no resolution lobbied through the legislature by the same political force can change his mind.

"One of the first great necessities in prison reform is a modern penitentiary," emphatically declared the warden. (See published report, sixteenth annual session, Kansas Conference of Charities and Correction, p. 41.) "Our present institution is unsafe, unsanitary, absolutely out of date, and since it was built there has been a great revolution in prison policies," he continued.

"We can not cure crime with a penitentiary, no matter how well constructed, how modern it may be, or how efficient the management. To cure crime we must go to the places where the criminal is bred and there, by a comprehensive system of prevention, cure crime," the warden proclaimed on page 43 of the above report. And in speaking of the moral conditions within the State he proceeded to give his views on the cause of crime without fear or favor. And here is how he did it:

"After being in the penitentiary for three years and nine months—the average period of confinement for Kansas prisoners, exclusive of life prisoners—the Kansas boy who has gone wrong walks out of the institution under parole, belonging to that part of the prison body known as the 75 per cent, or reformable part of the inmates.

"He leaves the institution with a good suit of clothes on his back and a few dollars in his pocket. During confinement he has attended night school, and his mental vision has been expanded. His physical needs have been looked after by a competent physician. He has had the attention of a chaplain who is interested in his spiritual and moral training. The prisoner has attended Bible class and church once each Sunday for over three years.

"He has shaved, bathed, and changed his clothes regularly. He has been forbidden to smoke cigarettes, punished if he uses profane or vulgar language, and has been taught the value and dignity of labor; perhaps he has learned to read.

"Cleaned, disciplined, reformed he leaves the penitentiary walls behind him to return to his native city—the city that permitted him to become schooled in crime.

"He finds that while he, during his three years and nine months' imprisonment, has been cleaning house and casting away bad things and putting in good things, his native city—the city that spoiled him—hasn't reformed any.

"It has the same old vile pool hall, the same little alley joint, the same rendezvous where some of the men and boys slip down after night to play poker and shoot craps.

"They are all there where they were three years and nine months ago.

"He sees for the first time the prominent citizens and college boys parading around smoking cigarettes. He hears, for the first time in over three years and a half, curses and vulgar stories right on the streets of the town that hasn't improved.

"He looks around for a gymnasium like the one he has had in the penitentiary, but it is not there. He asks for the library where he can get good books to read. There is no library. He hunts for the free ball, for the public playgrounds, like the ones he found within the penitentiary, but the city has little to offer him.

"Clean and disciplined, his life at once touches the unclean and undisciplined atmosphere of his native city that has not reformed while he has been away.

"He resists it for a while, but the pull of the destructive fight of his native city is too much for him. He slips a little and keeps slipping, and some morning he wakes up after a debauch to find he has broken his parole; to find that while the State maintained many facilities for his reformation while he was in the penitentiary, his own native city had few, and, on the contrary, still has the demoralizing influences which ruined him in the first place; and stunned and bewildered he returns to the penitentiary, marked up as a parole violator, to wonder why it is he can make such progress in the penitentiary and such a failure on the outside.

"Society says he is an habitual criminal, but what he and the prison warden think about society never gets into print.

"Whenever the municipalities of Kansas will take as active and efficient steps to prevent the making of criminals by cities of Kansas, as the State, through its penitentiary management, uses to reform the city boy thus spoiled, then will we commence to make progress in prison reform."

The warden was followed by Prof. F. W. Blackmar, dean of the Kansas University, who likewise went after Kansas conditions in an open manner, sparing no pains to paint Kansas as she really is. This address, however, was never published and sold by the Kansas State Temperance Society, either on a private press or in the State printing plant. One of the shames of the age is that speeches like this are given so little publicity. Every Kansas farmer, merchant, business man, professional man, school teacher, officeholder, and judge of every court, from the supreme court to the justices of the peace, should read this every week, and if necessary, a law should be passed compelling them to do so. As the Atchison Globe remarked, February 1, 1917, "Sooner or later the laws of Kansas will permit a man to sleep, eat, and work, and nothing else," the above suggestion isn't so much out of place.

"I am much pleased with the address of Warden Codding," said Dean Blackmar, as he opened his fire, "which shows that he is alive to the real needs of the Kansas penitentiary. When he states that 'one of the first great necessities in prison reform is a modern penitentiary; our present institution is unsafe, unsanitary, absolutely out of date, and since it was built there has been a great revolution in prison policies,' he but repeats what has been said over and over again by wardens, prison commissions, college professors, and social reformers.

"Yet Kansas goes along in its smug complacency, acting as if it had the best penitentiary in the United States. Indeed, there are those in the State of Kansas who within the last two years have made this boast.

"There was a time, more than 30 years ago, when the Kansas penitentiary was one of the best in the United States, and many people have gone on thinking that thought and saying over and over again, 'What Kansas has is best.'

"The old institution is a clumsy, rotten junk shop, which will not permit men to use efficiency and economic methods in its administration. In the meantime other States have gone farther ahead until the Kansas penitentiary, while not the lowest in the scale of similar institutions in the United States, is well down the line.

"It is time to ask again, 'What's the matter with Kansas?' The Kansas people came up through great tribulation, and hopeful people and optimistic newspapers continually enlarged and magnified every good thing in Kansas in order to keep themselves on the earth at all. So in that early day what Kansas had was best. If a child was born in the town there was a great increase in population; if two stalks of wheat grew where one grew before it was a great agricultural increase; and when we developed our school system we wanted only the best and thought we had the best. When we built our penal and charitable institutions we wanted the best, and sometimes the 'wish is father to the thought,' and we think we have the best.

"Last night a gentleman on the platform said Kansas had the best school system in the United States, when a careful investigation shows that we rank twenty-ninth among our sister States.

"Now all this is an admirable spirit and has done much to make a great people and a great State. Coupled with this has been the everlasting suggestiveness of the Kansas people along reform lines. The

tradition exists in the United States that Kansas is the place to develop new things and progressive things, and we have, indeed, a very remarkable record in this respect.

"But the time has now come to inquire more specifically into our ideals, our aims, and more carefully into the methods by which we reach them.

"Kansas is not efficient in choosing the best methods of doing things, nor in carrying out her plans to a successful termination.

"We need strength all along the line of efficiency. We need a more careful estimation of values. We need to reduce our success to scientific principles that we may get positive and accurate results, and these things should be applied not only to the penitentiary but to other penal and charitable institutions in the State, to all our educational institutions, to our educational system, to all of our legislation and administration, and indeed to our life in general.

"Kansas is rich in her broad acres, in her agricultural products, in her millions of live stock, in her mineral products, in her great bank accounts, and her automobiles. Next January (1916) the State will be out of debt, but when the prison commission asked the appropriation of the paltry sum of $100,000 to be expended for material for two years' time, that the penitentiary with prison labor might be put upon the basis of efficiency and economy, the representatives of the people turned it down, and when the university asked for needed buildings to carry out efficiently and economically the work the State wishes it to do, even though this amount taxes each individual only 11 cents per capita, our wise legislators thought the people could not endure the burden.

"It is just such cases as these that prevent the State of Kansas from realizing a large return on money investments in her institutions. The people are regaled with the foolish idea that economy consists in not spending money; that economy consists in reducing taxes and going without things. But everyone knows who thinks at all that the best economy is that which spends money and seeks the largest return for it in efficiency and work accomplished.

"Kansas has endured in the last three compaigns a perfect tirade of this false philosophy, worked out altogether from the point of vote making. I hope that the epidemic of niggardly economy or parsimony is about over, and that we are ready as a people to reaffirm what has been said so often—that Kansas wants the best—and that we will come out of our false prejudice and realize that if we have the best we must pay for it.

"If Kansas keeps up with the reforms she has suggested, she will have to quicken her pace mightily. Indeed, if she keeps up with the reform movements of other States over which she has foolishly claimed superiority, she will have to speed up; and if she does not want to deceive herself perpetually into thinking she is great when she is not, she must introduce more efficient and economical methods into her institutions and public administration.

"Kansas is first in nothing." (Kansas City Star, Jan. 1, 1916.)

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STATE INDUSTRIAL REFORMATORY.

The State industrial reformatory, located at Hutchinson, is a penal institution in the nature of a reform school. "Any male person between the ages of 16 and 25 who shall be convicted for the first time of any offense punishable by confinement in the State penitentiary may, in the discretion of the trial judge, be sentenced either to the State penitentiary or to the Kansas State Industrial Reformatory" is a provision of section 7758, General Statutes, 1905, covering the class of prisoners received there. This institution is really a penitentiary, and is so considered in Kansas.

There is no accurate means at hand to determine how many boys and young men are before the various courts of the State charged with crimes that should land them in the reformatory each year, as the parole system instituted by the Laws of 1907 (chap. 178, p. 281), under which the district judges of the State were given power to parole any person "under the age of 21 years" convicted of any felony except murder, manslaughter, rape, arson, or robbery, and who otherwise would be sent to the penitentiary at Lansing or this institution, "either before or after passing sentence," was liberally applied; and the amendment to this law (Laws of Kansas, 1913, chap. 172, p. 264) repealing the restriction "under 21 years of age" reaches many more young criminals. This law as amended is liberally applied. While discrimination characterizes its application in most instances, or in a great many at least, yet the fact remains that no record is ever made of the conviction or the entry of a plea of guilty for any offense, so far as the State board of correction's report shows, until the prisoner is delivered either at the penitentiary or at the reformatory.

However, even in view of the extremely liberal parole laws of Kansas, the population in this institution shows a marked increase year after year. In the period between July 1, 1912, and June 30, 1913, 59 out of 105 counties sent 202 convicts to the reformatory. From July 1, 1913, to June 30, 1914, 58 counties out of the total number (105), sent 223 convicts there. Between July 1, 1914, and June 30, 1915, 58 counties out of the total number (105), sent up 248 convicts to this institution, and the last period covering the time between July 1, 1915, and June 30, 1916, there were 315 sent up from 68 out of the 105 counties.

Thus 9 more counties contributed convicts at the close of the fiscal year 1916 than at the close of the fiscal year 1913, 10 more in 1916 than at the close of the fiscal year 1915, and 11 more than at the close of the fiscal year 1914.

There were 113 more convicts sent up in the period closing June 30, 1916, than in the period ending June 30, 1913, an increase of 55.86 per cent. (First Biennial Report, State Board of Corrections, pp. 19, 20; Second Biennial Report, State Board of Corrections, p. 64.)

On November 12, 1913, in his speech before the fifteenth annual convention of the Anti-Saloon League of America, at Columbus, Ohio, George H. Hodges, then governor of Kansas, declared that there were only 84 Kansas boys in the reformatory. Whether he based his "statistics" on the official figures for the period closing June 30, 1912, or June 30, 1913, was not stated. No authority is ever given for such statements.

However, in either case, according to the official records above quoted, the governor missed it from 118 to 139, whether he used the year ending June 30, 1912, or the one ending June 30, 1913, as an example.

From June 30, 1913, to June 30, 1916, there were 984 convicts sent to this institution. Some of the counties had remarkable increases during this period, among them Cowley, which increased from 2 to 11; Crawford, which increased from 6 to 12; Miami, which increased from 1 to 6; Sedgwick, which increased from 11 to 20; Shawnee, which increased from 10 to 36, and Wyandotte, which increased from 6 to 18. Just what the various inmates from these counties were charged with and convicted for is not shown by the record, and it is impossible from the record to determine the number in the institution at the close of the years 1915 and 1916, but the record for 1913 and 1914 shows the number at the close of those fiscal years to be 278 for 1913, and 246 for 1914. Between July 1, 1913, and June 30, 1914, 225 inmates were paroled. (First Biennial Report, supra, p. 58.) (See also Second Biennial Report, supra, p. 64.) The total number on parole July 1, 1914, was 209, and during the biennium covered from that date until June 30, 1916, 394 were paroled. (Second Biennial Report, supra, p. 66.)

The counties sending the largest number of convicts up during the period from July 1, 1912, and June 30, 1916, were: Allen, 21; Atchison, 29; Barton, 17; Bourbon, 16, Cherokee, 23; Cowley, 29; Crawford, 45; Douglas, 35; Labette, 28; Leavenworth, 21; Montgomery, 37; Reno, 54; Saline, 17; Sedgwick, 45; Shawnee, 79; Sumner, 23, and Wyandotte, 50. These are among the most populous counties of the State; in fact, they lead in population.

However, it has ofttimes been stated that were it not for the counties bordering on "wet" States called "border counties" that the penal institutions of the State would not be so crowded, for the reason that bootleggers thrive in those counties, and it is so much easier to secure liquor near the State line than in the "inland counties"—Shawnee, for instance—where the manner of securing it is more difficult and law enforcement much more strict. An analysis of the above report (First Biennial Report, supra, pp. 57 and 58; Second Biennial Report, supra, p. 64) will not bear out this contention.

In his speech delivered in Chicago, March 27, 1910, W. R. Stubbs, then governor, declared that "so long as our sister State, Missouri, has saloons right on our border there will probably be drunkenness in the cities immediately across the line, with nothing but a street to mark the difference between prohibition and open saloons," the idea being, no doubt, that only "border counties" have drunkenness, and therefore crime, since we are persistently told that 80 per cent, and from that on up to 90 per cent, of crime is due to the "open saloon."

To prove that the inland counties are clean and pure, so far as crime is concerned, the governor incorporated a letter in his speech received from Judge WILLIAM H. THOMPSON, of Garden City, Kans., who is now a United States Senator from Kansas. "In most of the counties," said the Senator, commenting on nine southwestern counties that comprised his judicial district, "there has not been a criminal case on the dockets for over 15 years. We have become the most law-abiding people on the face of the earth," the Senator concluded in true Kansas style.

This district (the thirty-second judicial district of Kansas) contains the following counties: Finney, Hamilton, Kearney, Haskell, Stevens, Stanton, Morton, Grant, Seward. The combined population, according to an estimate made in 1916, is 21,901, which is considerable of an increase over the estimate made the year before, and which excited considerable comment, because it showed a loss of population in the State of 18,404. These "estimates" are made by the county assessor, and in Kansas the salaries of county officials for the most part are paid on a sliding scale, depending upon population. A number of salaries were threatened with a decrease after the population of 1915 was published; hence a new "estimate" in 1916. The 1915 population was 20,001, or 2.8 persons per square mile. The Topeka Capital of June 25, 1916, branded the 1916 "estimate" a joke.

However, granting the population of this judicial district to be 21,901, as claimed, it contains only 3.1 persons to the square mile and has no large cities or centers of industry.

Reference to the above reports (First and Second Biennial Reports, supra) show that during the period covered by them Finney County, of which Garden City, where Senator THOMPSON made his home, is the county seat, sent a total of 14 convicts to the industrial reformatory, 7 having been sent up during the period ending June 30, 1913; Hamilton sent 1; Stevens County sent 1; and Seward 1, making a total of 16. The same counties sent 33 prisoners to the penitentiary at Lansing during the period between June 30, 1912 and June 30, 1914, and 18 during the next two years, for a total of 51; 1 to the industrial school for boys and 1 to the industrial school for girls, making an aggregate total of 69 criminals below and above 21 years of age contributed. (First Biennial Report, supra, pp. 21, 24; Second Biennial Report, supra, pp. 14 to 17; First Biennial Report, supra, p. 81; Second Biennial Report, supra, pp. 82, 83.)

While this showing is by no means as large as some judicial districts of the State make, it does fairly well, after all, for a community made up of the "most law-abiding people on the face of the earth," where there hasn't been a criminal case on the docket "for over 15 years."

Commenting again on Kansas prohibition, George H. Hodges stated, in his Antisaloon League speech in Columbus November 12, 1913, that Kansas was stamping out crime because it had stamped out the saloon. "Excessive use of alcohol is neither an excuse nor a defense for crime," declared the governor (p. 11), "but it causes men to commit crime the same as if one were insane." And again (p. 3), "I would not say to you that there is no law violation in our State, but I emphatically state that there are but isolated cases, and then wholly or principally in a few bordering counties."

The claim that border counties cause all the crime and lawlessness in the State has become an accepted doctrine, especially away from home, though a survey of the records of the reformatory alone during the period from July 1, 1912, and June 30, 1916, robs this claim of any semblance of truth.

During that period Shawnee County, of which Topeka is the county seat, a city in which law enforcement occupies almost as much attention as daily consumption of food, sent a total of 79 convicts to this institution. It must be borne in mind that there are hundreds of cases in which informations, etc., are filed charging crimes that upon conviction would result in prison terms, especially among the younger offenders, that never come to trial. A sentence in a reformatory or other correctional institution is the last resort in the innumerable efforts to punish or reform. Shawnee is strictly an inland county, more than 50 miles removed from Kansas City, Mo., the presumed source of a great deal of Kansas "devilment." The number contributed to the reformatory during the above period exceeds the number contributed by 26 "border counties," including Leavenworth County.

Of the 984 convicts sent up during the period 32 border counties out of 38 contributed 424; 6 border counties contributed none; 9 inland counties contributed none; and the balance of 58 inland counties contributed 560. Eight counties out of the 12 bordering on Nebraska contributed 29; 3 bordering on Colorado out of the 7 contributed 5; 9 counties out of the 10 bordering on Missouri contributed 228; and 12 out of the 14 counties bordering on Oklahoma (a dry State) contributed 166. Fourteen inland counties—Barton, 17; Finney, 14; Ford, 13; Franklin, 12; Douglas, 35; Allen, 21; Pawnee, 11; Pratt, 17; Reno, 54; Rice, 13; Riley, 10; Saline, 17; Sedgwick, 45; and Shawnee, 79—contributed a total of 358.

In commenting on the growth in population at this institution, M. G. McKenzie, chaplain, stated in the First Biennial Report (supra, p. 59), that—

"Of the 396 men received in this institution during the biennium 130 were assigned to the first grade, 132 to the second grade, 75 to the third grade, 24 to the fourth grade, and 7 to the fifth grade. * * * Three hundred were white, 77 colored, 12 Mexicans, and 7 Indians. They were charged with the following crimes: Two hundred and ten with grand larceny or burglary, 50 with forgery, 29 with rape, 28 with assault, 25 highway robbery, 20 with horse stealing, 11 with manslaughter, 6 with bootlegging, 5 with arson, 4 with white slavery, 4 with wife desertion, 2 with sodomy, 1 with bigamy, and 1 with embezzlement.

"Of these boys 202 acknowledged they drank more or less, 275 used tobacco, 77 gambled. Most of these boys ran around considerable and were away from home when they got into trouble; 265 were from homes broken by death or divorce.

"Surely ignorance is an incubator of crime, and the broken home and neglect of school, together with bad associates, is the cause of most of these boys getting into the reformatory."

The report of the chaplain in the Second Biennial Report, 1906, is conspicuous by its absence. (Supra, pp. 55 to 74, inclusive.)

In observing the great growth of the institution, however, J. N. Herr, the superintendent, declared (p. 56, Second Biennial Report): "The neglected education has contributed immensely to the downfall of these young men, and we can state with absolute certainty that the State of Kansas can do nothing better for these fellows than to give them at least the rudiments of an education."

And speaking of some of the many needs of the institution, dwelling more especially upon the fact that "employment is preferable to idleness, and nowhere is the saying more truthful than in this institution," Mr. Herr said: "Our farm and hay land employs a great number, but we could use, either through purchase or rental, to very good advantage at least an additional section of land." Which is some proof, at least, that there is no intention of retrenching in this particular institution of penal servitude, because "the saloon has become such an outlaw that none of our school children have even seen a saloon and are unacquainted with the appearance of a saloon keeper." And, further, without saying that the reestablishment of a "saloon system" would cause the steady growth of population at this institution to cease, it is equally fair to conclude that banishing "John Barleycorn" by making the Kansas map "all white" has most certainly not accomplished the end, nor has it even remotely approached it.

A SURVEY.

Twenty-three counties out of the total of 105 did not have a prisoner confined in the State penitentiary at Lansing June 30, 1914. (See First Biennial Report, State Board of Corrections, Table No. 1, p. 21.) Of those counties, however, Cheyenne sent 3 to the industrial reformatory between June 30, 1912, and June 30, 1914; Edwards County sent 1; Rooks County sent 5; Scott County sent 1; Seward County sent 3; Stevens County sent 1; and Thomas County sent 1. (First Biennial Report, supra, pp. 57, 58.) Greeley was one of the 23 above mentioned and had 1 juvenile criminal in the industrial school for boys. (First Biennial Report, supra, p. 81.) Norton and Greenwood (included also in the above 23) had representation in the industrial school for girls at Beloit. (First Biennial Report, supra, p. 99.)

Thus at the close of the biennium, July 1, 1914, there were 13 Kansas counties without representation in either one or the other of the 4 recognized State penal institutions. These counties, which were Chase, Decatur, Gove, Gray, Haskell, Hodgman, Lane, Morton, Ness, Rawlins, Sheridan, and Wichita, were, except Chase and Decatur, less than 6,000 in population. Combined, they had a population of 47,890, or 4.4 persons to the square mile.

Of the 15 counties that did not send up a convict during the biennium ending June 30, 1914, Cheyenne, Stevens, and Thomas sent convicts to the Industrial Reformatory (First Biennial Report, supra, pp. 57, 58), leaving a total of 12 counties—Chase, Decatur, Grant, Greeley, Haskell, Hodgeman, Lane, Morton, Norton, Rawlins, Sheridan, and Wichita, all, with the exception of Chase, being sparsely settled western counties. Chase had a population of 7,154, or about 6 to a square mile, and was much the heaviest populated.

Of the 18 counties that did not send up a convict during the biennieum ending June 30, 1916 (Second Biennial Report, supra, pp. 14, 15, 16, 17), Decatur sent 1 to the reformatory, Greeley sent 1, Meade sent 4, Norton sent 1, and Rush sent 4. (Second Biennial Report, supra, p. 64.) Ottawa and Jewell both were represented by juvenile charges in the Industrial School for Boys and also in the Industrial School for Girls. (Second Biennial Report, supra, pp. 82, 83, 107.)

This leaves a total of 11 counties—Gove, Grant, Gray, Haskell, Hodgeman, Morton, Rawlins, Stevens, Stanton, Kearney, and Wichita—out of 105 that had sent no convict to any of the four recognized State penal institutions during the biennial period ending June 30, 1916, with a combined population of 27,204, or 3.14 per square mile. Of these counties, Grant, Haskell, Hodgeman, Morton, Rawlins, and Wichita did not send a convict or charge up during the preceding biennium ending June 30, 1914.

Eighteen counties out of the total of 105 did not have a prisoner confined in the State penitentiary at Lansing June 30, 1916 (Second Biennial Report, supra, pp. 14, 15, 16, 17), as compared with 23 counties on June 30, 1914. (First Biennial Report, supra, p. 21.)

Of these 18 Decatur sent 1 convict to the reformatory during the biennium ending June 30, 1916; Grant sent 1 charge to the Industrial School for Boys; Greeley sent 1 to the reformatory; Kingman sent 4; Lane sent 1 to the reformatory; Meade sent 4 to the reformatory; Morris sent 2; Norton sent 1 to the reformatory and 1 to the Industrial School for Boys; and Ottawa sent 1 to the Girls' Industrial School, as did Morris. (Second Biennial Report, supra, pp. 64, 82, 83, 107.)

Thus of the 18 counties having no convicts at Lansing June 30, 1916, there were only 9—Gove, Gray, Haskell, Hodgeman, Rawlins, Seward, Sheridan, Stevens, and Wichita—that failed to send at least one convict or delinquent to the other penal institutions. These counties have a combined population of only 30,806, or an average of 4.1 persons to a square mile.

A PERTINENT QUESTION.

Is the crime increase confined to urban centers, or do the rural counties furnish their share?

THE ANSWER.

Twenty-three counties, having a combined population of 105,598, or 5.1 persons to the square mile, out of a total of 105, having a combined population of 1,672,545, had no prisoners in the State penitentiary at Lansing June 30, 1914. These counties were strictly rural, none of them having a town with over 2,300 inhabitants.

Eighteen counties, having a combined population of 93,937, or 6.4 persons to the square mile, out of a total of 105, having a combined population of 1,672,545, had no prisoners in the State penitentiary at Lansing June 30, 1916. These counties were likewise strictly rural, none of them having a town with over 2,250 inhabitants.

Thirteen counties of the State (105 in all) had no inmates in either of the four penal institutions supported by the State June 30, 1914. These counties were also strictly rural, having a population of 47,890, or 4.4 persons to the square mile.

Nine counties of the State (105 in all) had no inmates in any of the four penal institutions supported by the State June 30, 1916. These counties were likewise strictly rural, having a population of 30,806, or 4.1 persons to the square mile.

REFORMATORY POPULATION.

On January 1, 1910, there were 382 prisoners in the State Industrial Reformatory, located at Hutchinson, Kans. (U. S. Census, 1910; Bulletin 121; p. 36; Table No. 1.) These were all "first offenders" under 25 years of age.

Aside from 235 out on parole there were 273 incarcerated June 30, 1913. The actual number either confined or subject to be reincarcerated by revocation of parole, and therefore wards of the State, was 508. (First Biennial Report, State Board of Corrections, pp. 50, 58.)

The actual number confined June 30, 1914, totaled 499. This was exclusive of 209 out on parole. As these should be added in determining the total number of State wards credited to this institution the aggregate was 708. (First biennial report, supra, pp. 50, 58.)

The population increase witnessed by the total for 1914 over the total for 1910 is 326, or 85.39 per cent.

The population increase between June 30, 1913 (508), and June 30, 1914 (708), was 200, or 39.37 per cent.

CRIMES FOR WHICH CONVICTED.

While there is no accurate way of determining the number of inmates confined at the close of the fiscal years ending June 30, 1915, or June 30, 1916, this important feature having been omitted from the superintendent's report, accidentally or otherwise (second biennial report, supra, pp. 55 to 74, inclusive), yet there was a great increase in the number sent up during these two years as compared with the preceding two-year period, and the crimes for which the incarcerations were made were also varied and increased. Among the most important were the following:

	1912–1914	1914–1915
Assaults	27	36
Burglary and larceny	114	181
Forgery	39	56
Larceny (grand larceny included, but not burglary)	132	198
Murder	14	18
Rape	18	25
Robbery	23	19
White slavery	5	7
Making a total of	372	540

This is an increase of 168, or 45.18 per cent. During the same period there was an increase in the above crimes of 128, for which convicts were sent to the Lansing State Penitentiary, or a percentage of 29.19 increase in that institution. (First Biennial Report, supra, p. 25; Second Biennial Report, supra, p. 18.)

The increase in both these penal institutions therefore for the period in the crimes above enumerated alone totaled 336, or 73.37 per cent.

There is no record in either of the biennial reports (first or second) showing the ages of the convicts when received, but some idea can be gained as to the mental efficiency of those incarcerated by reference to the report of the chaplain in the 1914 report (First Biennial Report, supra, p. 59) and in the report of the superintendent of schools in the 1916 report (Second Biennial Report, supra, p. 65).

In the 1914 report, supra, it is stated:

"Of the 396 men received in this institution during the biennium, 130 were assigned to first grade, 132, to the second grade, 75 to the third grade, 24 to the fourth grade, and 7 to the fifth grade.

"Fifty-six could neither read nor write, and only 18 men had sufficient education that they were not required to attend school. * * * Of the 396 men, 300 were white, 77 colored, 12 Mexicans, and 7 Indians.

"Our teachers are earnest, faithful, capable men, who teach six hours a day besides doing their share of guard and line work, and to them we are indebted for a large share of the good work already done. * * * We feel the need of a prison reader, containing history, biography, science, and ethics couched in simple language, yet treated in more than a primary way. The main object of this would be to teach patriotism and build character, as well as to intellectually fit the boys for useful citizens."

In commenting on the same subject L. A. Coffin, superintendent of schools in the reformatory, stated in the 1916 report (Second Biennial Report, supra, p. 65):

"Probably 60 per cent of our men are willing and anxious to learn, and with the other 40 per cent it is necessary for our teachers to expend much time and effort that a start may be made along right lines. With the amount of individual work each teacher must do our grades are too large, and another teacher is needed to relieve the strain.

"We do not hold that education is all that this institution has to offer the inmates, but we do hold that it is the greatest thing the institution can offer to help them to regain their self-respect, to get better self-control, to start with new purpose and determination, and to better fit them to serve themselves and families and to be reclaimed by society.

"During the past two years 550 inmates have been received into the institution. During the year closing June 30, 1915, 247 were received. Of this number 77 were assigned to the first-grade work, which consists of work from the learning of the alphabet up to the third reader, and from those who do not know numbers beyond 2 plus 2 to those who are able to perform simple multiplications. Work in this grade and in the second grade is necessarily varied to take in all the simpler work of preparation, and it is not until the third grade is reached that we have a well-defined grade.

"Fifty-nine were assigned to the second grade, 59 to the third grade, 10 to the fourth grade, and 7 to the fifth grade.

"Eighteen were received who had enough education to pass an examination on the school work. * * * But one man was received who could neither read nor write. Several were received who had never attended school."

Whether or not illiteracy or lack of education bears any relationship to the commission of crime is a mooted question, but the above reports indicate beyond any possible doubt, that the criminals in Kansas are at least not among the 2.2 per cent of the illiterate population, but are being sent up from the more educated classes. As the school system of the State ranks 29th as compared with the other States of the Union, it can not be claimed that more people are receiving education than formerly. On the contrary it is quite true that educational facilities are poorer than they were in 1905, and the increase in crime among the "educated classes" furnishes food for considerable speculation. In the face of the persistent claim that prohibition has reduced illiteracy (a statement advanced as an argument for national prohibition and prohibition for the District of Columbia by Senator THOMPSON, of Kansas), and that reductions in crime, etc., closely followed, the following table should be carefully studied.

Table showing number of prisoners received during bienniums ending June 30, 1914, and June 30, 1916, giving classification of convicts in various grades at the prison school in the reformatory at Hutchinson, according to the first and second biennial reports (supra, pp. 59, 65), respectively.

Convicts received during biennium ending June 30, 1914	396
Convicts received during biennium ending June 30, 1916	550
Number assigned to first grade in prison school, 1914	130
Number assigned to second grade in prison school, 1914	132
Number assigned to third grade in prison school, 1914	75
Number assigned to fourth grade in prison school, 1914	24
Number assigned to fifth grade in prison school, 1914	7
Number who could neither read nor write, 1914	56
Total, 1914	424
Number assigned to first grade in prison school, 1916	77
Number assigned to second grade in prison school, 1916	59
Number assigned to third grade in prison school, 1916	59
Number assigned to fourth grade in prison school, 1916	10
Number assigned to fifth grade in prison school, 1916	7
Number who could neither read nor write, 1916	1
Total, 1916	213

This shows a decrease of 211, or 94.31 per cent. Considering the further fact that there was an increase in convicts of 164 (those surveyed considered), the percentage is much greater. The number sufficiently educated that they did not have to attend school or could pass the examinations, was the same for each biennium, namely, 18.

Speaking of the educational work generally in the State, Supt. Herr stated, on page 56, second biennial report, that "The neglected education has contributed immensely to the downfall of these young men, and we can state with an absolute certainty that the State of Kansas can do nothing better for these fellows than to give them at least the rudiments of an education."

An increase in the efficiency of the school system of the State, together with a general cleaning up of hidden vice conditions caused by the enactment of laws of prohibition which are not supported by the majority public opinion, may reduce this condition, but one thing is certain, the present system will not do it. More prohibitory laws against the sale or manufacture of liquor will not do it. Kansas, with her low rate of illiteracy, lacks efficiency, patriotism, character, intelligent endeavor, and is suffering from politico-hypocrisy of a fatal type.

THE STATE INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS.

Concerning the "Boys' Industrial School, Topeka," and the "Girls' Industrial School, Beloit."

CHAPTER I.

BOYS' INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL.

Aside from the State penitentiary located at Lansing, and the industrial reformatory located at Hutchinson, Kans., has two other State penal institutions known as the Boys' Industrial School, located at Topeka, and the Girls' Industrial School, located at Beloit.

These are classed among the penal or reformatory institutions of the State, established for the purpose of caring for juvenile delinquents of either sex.

The Boys' Industrial School was founded by act of the legislature of 1879 (Laws of 1879, ch. 170, sec. 2), and was given the name by which it is now known by chapter 353, Session Laws of 1901, and chapter 39, Session Laws of 1905.

Under the act creating the institution, courts of record, and probate courts of the State were given power to commit any boy under 16 years of age, liable to punishment by imprisonment "under any existing law of the State, or any law that may be enacted and in force in the State"; also any boy under 16 years of age, with the consent of his parent or guardian, against whom any charge of committing any crime or misdemeanor shall have been made, the punishment of which, on conviction, would be confinement in jail or prison; as well as any boy under 16 years of age who is incorrigible and habitually disregards the commands of his father, mother, or guardian, and who leads a vagrant life or resorts to immoral places or practices and neglects and refuses to perform labor suitable for his years and condition and to attend school. (Sec. 7784, General Statutes of Kansas, 1905.) The Supreme Court decided later (53 Kansas Reports, 191) that the words "who may be liable to punishment by imprisonment" mean "who may be subject to punishment by imprisonment," thus giving the law a greater scope in its application.

The growth of this institution has been marked, in which respect it shares distinction with all similar institutions of the State, but the number of incorrigible boys—boys accused of misdemeanor as well as the major crimes—has from time to time grown to such proportions that other action was demanded of the legislature, in addition to the customary appropriations, etc., meted out to this one solitary prison home for that great army of young Kansans who require legal restraint at a less expense per capita than the State could afford through the single agency of this institution.

As a consequence, the session of 1905 created juvenile courts by chapter 190, which provides:

"That there be, and hereby is, created and established in each county of the State a court to be known as the 'juvenile court,' whose jurisdiction shall pertain to the care of dependent, neglected, and delinquent children." (Sec. 4412, General Statutes of Kansas, 1905.)

The second section of the act provided that "This act shall apply only to children under the age of 16 years, not now or hereinafter inmates of any State institution or any industrial school for boys or industrial school for girls or some institution incorporated under the laws of this State. * * * For the purpose of this act the words 'dependent child' and 'neglected child' shall mean any child who for any reason is destitute, or homeless, or abandoned, or dependent upon the public for support, or has not proper parental care or guardianship, and has idle and immoral habits, or who habitually begs or receives alms, or who is found living in any house of ill fame or with any vicious or disreputable persons; or whose home, by reason of neglect, cruelty, or depravity on the part of its parents, guardian, or other person in whose care it may be, is an unfit place for such child; or any child under the age of 10 years who is found begging, peddling, or selling any article, or singing or playing any musical instrument upon the street, or who accompanies or is used in aid of any person so doing.

"The words 'delinquent child' shall include any child under the age of 16 years who violates any law of this State or any city, town, or village ordinance; or who is incorrigible; or who knowingly associates with thieves, vicious, or immoral persons; or who is growing up in idleness or crime; or who knowingly patronizes any pool rooms or place where gambling devices are operated." (Sec. 4413, Gen. Stat., 1905.)

Section 4422, General Statutes, Kansas, 1905, provides that when any child under 16 years of age is arrested such child shall be taken before the probate judge and not before a justice of the peace or police magistrate.

There are 12 other provisions under chapter 67, article 4, of the General Statutes of 1905 governing the same matters, pertaining more especially to procedure when arrested, etc.

As a part of the above statutory provisions, and as supplemental thereto, the legislature passed at the 1907 session (chap. 177, p. 277, et seq.) an act providing that in all cases where any child shall be delinquent, dependent, or neglected, the parent or parents or other persons responsible for or by any act cause, encourage, or contribute to such delinquency, dependency, or neglect they shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, subject to fine not exceeding $1,000 or imprisonment in the county jail for a period not to exceed one year, or by both such fine and imprisonment. This act also provided for a detention home in all counties having a population of over 25,000.

The juvenile-court law was in effect when efforts were begun to enforce the prohibitory law, and under the reasoning presented by the prohibition propagandists "the next generation" quite naturally would or should be so clean morally that need for such a court would be absent. However, at no time has any step been taken or argument advanced looking toward the abolishment of this court, and, on the contrary, many provisions have been adopted to widen its scope and more freely apply its provisions. Also independent agencies have sprung up within the past few years to aid the juvenile court and parole system to more properly solve the great and growing question of juvenile crime and delinquency among the Kansas boys and girls.

An instance of the great harvest of incorrigibles and delinquents that otherwise would find berths in the industrial school for boys, attention is called to a declaration made by the superintendent of that institution in the 1916 report (Second Biennial Report, Kansas State Board of Corrections, p. 77):

"By the cooperation of the judges of the juvenile courts throughout the State we have kept the population down to the lowest possible number, and the courts have disposed of many cases of young offenders without committing them to the school.

"A closer cooperation between the school and the juvenile courts would render still more efficient the efforts to reclaim and care for delinquent youth."

The growth of this institution covering the periods included in the First and Second Biennial Reports of the State Board of Corrections (1914–1916), together with comments made by those in authority as State officials and independent agents and those in charge of private agencies established for the purpose of aiding, if possible, in reducing the growing army of delinquents, will suffice the demands of this study in presenting the facts as they appear, revealing the startling increases that characterize nearly every portion of the State.

In view of the fact that constant appeals are made to voters away from home by Kansas men and women—more especially men high in office—to adopt the "Kansas system" of prohibition to the end that they, too, may stamp out, along with insanity, poverty, crime, and disease, the deadly and vile weed of juvenile delinquency, I feel a careful survey of the situation in the Sunflower State from this angle to be a matter of great importance.

In his opening statement (First Biennial Report, supra, p. 75), H. W. Charles, superintendent of the industrial school, declared on July 1, 1914, that: "At the beginning of this period there were 246 boys in the school. The number of boys received during the period was 292, while 282 were released, leaving the number in school at the close of the period at 253. The largest number in school at any one time was 276.

"The average daily population for the entire period was 267. When we consider that the maximum number that can comfortably be accommodated is 250, the crowded condition of the institution can readily be understood."

So, as late as 1914, seven years after the law enforcement propaganda began, and seven long and weary years of political manipulation, prohibitory agitation, fake raids, worse than faked "claims" that the law is being enforced, etc., we find Kansas has not only succeeded in driving hundreds and thousands of worth-while citizens from her borders, but is filling all her penal institutions beyond any limit that should be tolerated in a civilized community. Of all the penal homes in the State, the one inhabited by "our boys" at least should show some decrease in population, if even anything approaching truthfulness can be claimed for the many and varied orations on the "success of our State" in solving the great questions of insanity, poverty, vice, and crime during all these weary years.

Proclaiming in wild gladness that Kansas "at last" found the means by which to clean up her entire Commonwealth, W. R. Stubbs declared in his Chicago speech (March 27, 1910), in answer to an invitation from the Illinois Anti-Saloon League that he come and tell the wicked people of that great city just how they did it in Kansas: "I want to especially impress the fact upon your mind that while Kansas had substantial prohibition (whatever that is) for 28 years, it has had absolute prohibition only since May, 1909. (After he became governor, of course.) * * * The last legislature wiped out all exceptions and made the State absolutely dry." This is followed, quite naturally, with the usual

claim that "our homes are happier, our children better, and crime is decreasing a hundredfold," all because of the act of the legislature which he whipped through and on the strength of which he claimed political preferment. The governor served two terms, ran for the Senate in 1912 and was defeated by an overwhelming majority by the present Senator THOMPSON. Senator THOMPSON was practically an unknown quantity in Kansas politics, but Stubbs wasn't.

And in the speech delivered before the Baptists' Social Union in Chicago, April 2, 1912, John S. Dawson, then attorney general, shouted: "It is a fact, the truth and significance of which the people of other States can not realize, that there are thousands of young men and women in Kansas, yea, tens of thousands of them, married, living in their own homes with children about their doorsteps, who have never seen a saloon. * * * Prohibition has never prevented or hindered anything under the sun which can in any way contribute to the sum total of human happiness." This statement, and others of its kind, are continually made for the purpose of leading people of distant States and cities to believe that Kansas is enjoying the acme of perfection so far as home conditions are concerned.

If prohibition had reduced juvenile delinquency, or if by any course of reasoning, whether the first or the second year after its trial, or even the tenth or the thirty-fifth, any sound and logical connection could be worked out between the application of a law-enforcement propaganda to make it a success in spite of itself, in Kansas or elsewhere, I most surely would support the doctrine. Aside from the claims advanced by the prohibitionists, there is absolutely no proof that this has ever been accomplished.

I freely admit that all States have too many juvenile delinquents. The solution of that great problem seems to be one of the great world problems, but the groundless claim laid that prohibition will and does reduce it should be carefully understood in the light of the shameful conditions that exist in Kansas, made even more shameful by the unfair statements persistently made by her representatives. Silly sentimentalism, coupled with either ignorance or willful misrepresentation to bolster up this religio-political "cause," is doing far more harm in the Nation than all the saloons that were ever licensed—and that is saying a good deal.

Gov. Capper's many and varied statements to the effect that Kansas homes have been made happier by prohibition follows closely upon the footsteps of the Stubbs, Dawson, Jackson, Hodges claims in the same direction. To arouse the "heart song of home happiness," appeal to the tender and sympathetic sense of religious fervor, is the aim of every propagandist who seeks to further a cause that smacks of "morality and virtue." These men know unless they keep the mind of the public off the aftermath their cause, so far as a vote-making vehicle is concerned, is lost beyond all hope. Until the Stubbs propaganda, which had its real birth in 1906 under Attorney General Coleman, became a "live Kansas issue" prohibition was looked upon as a supreme joke in Kansas. The few who persisted in making wild claims for it were merely laughed at. To-day for a man to have the nerve to declare it to be a failure means political death. There are scores of men to-day sitting in the legislative halls at Topeka who dare not vote against proposed dry legislation but who have no more sympathy with the movement than they had years ago. Ribald and ruthless exploitation of the doctrine have created the most luxuriant crop of hypocrites imaginable.

On numerous occasions claim has been advanced that the inmates of the various penal and correctional institutions are for the most part transients; that the Kansas boys and men and women are above the lowly act of committing crime, and Kansas homes least of all produce delinquent children. This statement, as usual, is merely made; no proof of its truthfulness is ever submitted.

However, the report of the industrial school throws considerable light upon this phase of the subject. Of the 286 American-born boys in this school June 30, 1914, 174, or 60.8 per cent were native Kansans, ranging from 3 of the age of 9 years, 18 of the age of 10 years, 31 of the age of 11 years, 25 of the age of 12 years, 44 of the age of 13 years, 71 of the age of 14 years, to 3 of the age of 17, with 64 of the age of 15 years and 31 of the age of 16 years in between. They were sent up for nearly every crime in the calendar, including 141 cases of theft, 15 of burglary, 84 of delinquency and incorrigibility, 1 of murder, 6 of felony, 6 of forgery, and others, including rape, selling liquor, embezzlement, assault, disturbing the peace, truancy, and felony.

Only 8 could neither read nor write. Eighty-nine had intemperate fathers and 14 had intemperate mothers; 54 were themselves drinkers of intoxicating liquors. (First Biennial Report, supra, p. 83.) The question of drinking and not of "open saloons" seems to be the most difficult one to solve in sunny Kansas, after all.

Divorced parents were responsible for 42 of the delinquents, while separated parents not divorced were responsible for 24. Sixty used tobacco, 187 were profane, 5 had good homes, 47 had fair homes, while 240 had poor homes.

Sixty-two out of the 105 counties contributed the crop for the period between July 1, 1912, and June 30, 1914. Only the sparsely settled rural counties scored on the roll of honor, the majority contributing being the fairly well and more thickly populated counties, though some of the "short-grass" counties were represented. (See Table No. 1, pp. 81, 82, First Biennial Report, State Board of Corrections, issued June 30, 1914.)

There were 424 on parole June 30, 1912, and 540 on parole June 30, 1914. (Table No. 7, p. 83, First Biennial Report, supra.) The record does not show how many of these paroles were forced by reason of the overpopulation mentioned on page 75 of the report (supra), but it is reasonable to assume that several were, because 50 were returned from parole during the succeeding biennium and 64 discharged from parole because they attained majority. (Second Biennial Report, Table No. 7, p. 85.)

This institution is also paying special attention to the matter of much-needed education among the delinquents. "The work in the school of letters has progressed in a very satisfactory manner," the superintendent stated in the 1914 report (p. 75, First Biennial Report, supra), "notwithstanding the fact that the school rooms have been crowded beyond their capacity. Provision should be made for increasing the number of teachers, so that the maximum number of pupils to each may be materially reduced. * * * The buildings and equipment have been kept in good repair, notwithstanding the fact that the buildings are old and are rapidly deteriorating."

This institution made an urgent request for $134,300 in appropriations for 1916 and 1917 (p. 70, First Biennial Report, supra), and even though Gov. Capper's policy of economy forced many other State institutions to go empty handed when the appropriations were made by the 1915 session of the legislature, the demands of this school were of such a nature that they could not be ignored, and the sum of $124,000 was allowed. (Laws of Kansas, 1915, chap. 56, p. 75.)

The actual necessity of maintaining a State institution is always determined by the increase or decrease of its demands. If, as has been stated so many times, prohibition decreased moral delinquency, especially among "our boys," and if in reality "our homes are happier and more comfortable," if the Kansas people are indeed "cleaner, better, more advanced in mental culture, and stronger in moral fiber and conviction," and if, last but not least, "crime is less prevalent," there is no place within the whole system of State institutions that these claims could be more easily proven than in the decrease in population or the cost of maintenance of the Industrial School for Boys, which, no matter what else has been said, most positively and absolutely reflects the home influence and general conditions existing within the State. And for men high in office to either conceal the truth of this matter or shut their eyes to its sad reality is but adding an additional burden to the already astounding weight the people of Kansas have had thrust upon them in recent years.

The legislature of 1907 appropriated $147,800 for this institution for the years 1908 and 1909. (Laws of Kansas, 1907, ch. 15, p. 28.)

The legislature of 1909 appropriated $124,150 for the years 1910 and 1911. (Laws of Kansas, 1909, ch. 32, p. 57.)

The legislature of 1911 appropriated $128,300 for this institution for the years 1912 and 1913. (Laws of Kansas, ch. 17, p. 38.)

The legislature of 1913 appropriated $124,000 for the maintenance of this institution for the years 1914 and 1915 (Laws of Kansas, 1913, ch. 40, p. 69), which was an increase in cost of maintenance of $5,200 over the preceding biennium, $15,600 in excess of the amount appropriated for maintenance for the period of 1910 and 1911, and $23,000 in excess of the amount allowed for the years 1908 and 1909. Some of the appropriations are larger in the aggregate, but the difference is due to "special appropriations." The legislature of 1915 allowed nothing but just what was actually necessary in view of the proposed tax increase which Gov. Capper desired to avoid because taxes were too high, and also due to the fact that the lack of population increase was worrying him because of the poor chance to encourage immigration should it be admitted that moral delinquency, insanity, poverty, and disease was causing a tax increase in the State, contrary to the many representations that prohibition was working a decrease of these curses, a number of which originated in speeches the governor himself had delivered.

The fact that there were only 233 inmates in this institution in 1910 (U. S. Census, 1910, Bulletin 121, p. 36), with few paroled, shows that something above and beyond, aside from and independent of, legal enactments purposing to make the State's record better from a prohibition standpoint, is flooding this as well as all other State institutions with delinquents. Whether it is lack of attention to the more important things of life, neglect along lines of constructive work, or mere ignorance of the growing conditions, is not clear, but the fact remains that the growth along these lines is astounding, to say the very least.

The cause of delinquency among young boys is an intricate problem. It has never been solved by passing laws or endeavoring to enforce them. Filling the calaboose, the jail, and the industrial schools is not reclaiming boys; it only ruins them the more. A boy is only sent to a house of correction as a last resort—after teachers, ministers, mothers, fathers, big-hearted juvenile officers, and well-meaning local organizations have exhausted their final effort to bring about a reformation. Naturally, when the crop of incorrigibles becomes large and their time is devoted to "higher things" such as parading down the streets of the State capital with banners, organizing themselves into church lobbies to push through legislation, etc., the boys must suffer, as they have during the past decade in Kansas.

Home influence speaks volumes either for or against a boy's future or his chance in life, and in this connection some of the observations incorporated in the superintendent's reports of 1914 (First Biennial Report, supra, 76, 77), are intensely interesting any equally instructive:

"Reference has been made in former reports of this institution to the importance of an intimate study of individual differences among the boys committed to the school and to the fact that the problem of the juvenile delinquent is the problem in great measure of the backward child. * * *

"The study of individual differences of the deviating child will disclose a variety of types. A few are here given for the purpose of illustrating, in briefest outline, the method and scope of these studies."

Among the various types noted, this striking example, which represents hundreds of cases like it not only in Kansas, but elsewhere, arrested special attention:

"C. D.—Fourteen years of age. This case represents the type of a vigorous youth, at the adolescent period, rebelling against the injudicious restraints of an overzealous mother. The companionship of the father instead of the nagging of the mother would have reclaimed this boy.

"Mentally the boy tested normal. The difficulty lay in his lack of normal emotional development. His imagery was good but narrow in its range. He lacked imagination and was careless in his perception and observation.

"His sense of justice was undeveloped and his moral standard was that of not being found out. In manner he was reserved and seclusive. He had not been allowed to do the things that a boy loves to do. For this reason, when freed from restraint, he went beyond bounds, because his power of inhibition was weak and his moral standard was not high enough to hold him in check.

"He had not been required to do the things a boy ought to do. His own personality had not been developed, because it had been overshadowed by the mother's personality."

The above is not a knock on motherhood, but on certain kinds of motherhood. This boy no doubt was one of the "500,000 school children who have never seen an open saloon"—not until he cut the apron string, and then he was lost in a maze of wonders everywhere he went until his poorly guided footsteps landed him in the industrial school. No doubt this boy was dressed in a Lord Fauntleroy suit every Sunday, given a penny and trotted off to Sunday school, with a warning that if he got one spot on his pretty new clothes he would be punished by having to read 14 chapters in John Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress." This is the type of boy whose only dissipation on a Sunday afternoon is a quiet trip out to the cemetery, and who during all the rest of the week is hammered and scolded daily, hourly, momentarily by a prohibition mother. How many stalwart American soldiers and sailors can we hope for with the principle of prohibition even sapping the manhood from our growing boys?

Is it any wonder the rate of feeble-minded, insane, and delinquent men, women, and children is increasing so astoundingly in Kansas? Closing her eyes to true conditions and emptying her treasury every two years in an effort to make the ramshackle "system" more "pro-

gressive," "more successful," and more of a political asset, Kansas has no time to devote to building up the inner man. He must shift for himself, become the victim of a despotism that is ruining his chances daily to reach the goal he so proudly hoped for as a freckle-faced lad on the farm, and when reaching manhood either become a ranting prohibitionist, a political hypocrite, an inmate of the penitentiary or an asylum, or join that mummering army that treads the State, never daring to lift its voice in condemnation of the system lest they suffer political, social, and commercial bankruptcy, perpetrated by that small but very noisy contingent parading before the public gaze under the banner of "the reform element."

However, the demands of the penal institutions become more marked as the parade passes. In his report for 1914, page 78 (First Biennial Report, supra), the superintendent of the industrial school proclaims in the same strain other heads of like institutions declare each succeeding biennium, that—

"The large number of commitments, the largest number received in any previous biennium, the daily population in excess of the maximum accommodation, coupled with the fact that the equipment of the school is largely antiquated and obsolete, show the necessity of radical and fundamental changes if the State is to have a modern and well-appointed school. * * * Present conditions should not be tolerated longer. To do so would be a grave mistake. * * * The building of new cottages to accommodate a maximum of 20 boys should be begun, and the insanitary quarters should be abandoned."

No attention is ever paid to such "trivial matters." The only committees ever appointed in Kansas to "accomplish great things" are those delegations made up of male and female politicians who are annually sent to the conventions of the Antisaloon League of America to tell of the wonderful accomplishments of prohibition in Kansas, and to sing again the song of gladness that quickens the heart of every Kansan when he warmly congratulates himself that prohibition has decreased insanity, crime, moral delinquency, and feeble-mindedness.

And it is a matter of little wonder that these burning conditions are not remedied, when Kansas is thoroughly understood. In a survey of the legislature of 1917 the Atchison Daily Globe (weekly edition, Feb. 1, 1917) remarked: "As a matter of fact, members of the Kansas Legislature are a pretty decent set of men, as far as morals go. Also, they are conscientious and are trying to do their duty by their State and country. Many of them are notoriously stupid and atrociously unfit to enact any kind of legislation, but they are doing the best they know how." When those men have it hammered into them day in and day out by the governor and other "high officials" that prohibition is a success and has worked wonders, even though the men can not see it or understand it, they have that abiding faith in the governmental power that blinds them to the real conditions, never for an instant realizing why these statements are made or who is responsible for them. Is it any wonder a resolution such as adopted in 1915 can be slipped through? The men who know better are simply beaten and afraid to speak their own knowledge. They vote with the rest because they fear the result of exerting their right of manhood and independence. It is from such stock one must expect to be bred the hypocrite, the sneak, the coward, and the feeble-minded. If law can accomplish anything so far as creating a mental change in a people, the change created in Kansas is one of the most striking examples. Better that we have a whole nation drunk than crazy, cowardly, and spineless.

In concluding the 1914 report (p. 80, First Biennial Report, supra), H. J. Corwine, the parole agent, thus establishes a commentary upon the present home life in Kansas:

"Out of disordered homes flows our stream of juvenile delinquents. The home has lost its charm for the boy, if it ever had any charm for him. He would rather hobnob with loafers on the street corners or hang around pool halls or wander down back alleys than stay in such a home. To force him to do so makes him incorrigible. In several instances studies have been made of extreme cases of social degeneracy.

"It has been the custom to interest local organizations, such as women's clubs, church committees, welfare leagues, etc., in the boy who is returned home on a parole. To parole a boy to the home out of which he came is too often like taking him out of a mudhole, cleaning him up, and throwing him back into it."

The question of juvenile delinquency was agitating the minds of the thinking people of the State as long ago as 1905, when, in response to a popular demand that the subject be studied, the legislature of that year (sec. 29, ch. 475, Session Laws of 1905) made provision for the investigation of the causes of juvenile crime and degeneracy and other evils.

However, immediately thereafter the prohibition wave hit the State. Governors, mayors, sheriffs, senators, etc., took it up with the avidity which characterizes a drowning man's efforts in grasping a straw. A "perfectly new issue" was injected into Kansas politics. Why had no one thought of it before? Eagerly hoping to "beat the other fellow to it," men of all parties, including the Democratic (which for years and years had invariably condemned prohibition in its platform), mounted this bucking, kicking, spavined animal, bedecked in a wide sombrero, flowing red bandanna, and glittering spurs, bound for a State or Federal job in the mad race to catch the church vote and run the criminal element, the no-accounts, and "bums" out of State politics—each privately endeavoring to frame up with the "undesirables" for their political strength, just the same.

All matters of study were forgotten. What need they study? Surely not crime, when Gov. Stubbs claims we are reducing it a hundredfold every time the Anti-Saloon League presents a new bill for him to whip through. Surely not degeneracy, poverty, vice, or immorality when Attorney General Dawson travels to Chicago; Stubbs to Chicago; Hodges to Columbus, Chicago, Indianapolis, and other places; and Capper to Boston and California; Stubbs again to Texas; Hodges to Louisiana and Texas; and the lesser lights all over Christendom, to pour forth the glad news that Kansas has "conquered" all these evils by resolution, parading, and singing of songs! Surely not.

However, when Supt. Charles prepared his 1916 report (Second Biennial Report, supra, p. 79), he had not officially noticed much of a change. At least this does not sound much like it (speaking of the above legislative enactment and commenting on juvenile delinquency in Kansas): "The widespread interest in recent years of these and related questions would certainly warrant the State in making some provision for the encouragement of this line of investigation."

And commenting on some of the crying needs of this institution, he further states in terms that can not be understood as conveying the impression that there is any probability of abandoning it in the very near future, because of the happy home conditions and decrease in moral delinquency (Second Biennial Report, supra, p. 80), that—

"Attention has been called in the biennial reports of the past 10 years to the living quarters in what is known as the main building. The dormitories in this building have been repeatedly condemned as insanitary and illy adapted to dormitory purposes.

"I wish to renew my recommendation that all boys be removed from the main building; that the dormitories and other quarters now occupied by them be utilized for other purposes. The older buildings need much attention in the way of repairs. If this is not provided for soon, a heavy outlay will become necessary in a few years.

After calling special attention to many matters of improvement that have been demanded in years gone by and to which no attention has ever been paid, he continues:

"Attention has been called in former reports to the size of the family units, which sometimes reaches as high as 69 or more boys to be cared for by one family manager. This number is entirely too large. * * * Provision should at once be made for the erection of a sufficient number of cottages for the accommodation of all boys heretofore quartered in the main building, in groups not to exceed 20."

As is usual, this institution suffers from the policy of false economy in the matter of wages paid and this in turn militates against the hope of ever acquiring the results hoped for. In order to repair the broken machinery that propels a growing boy in the wrong direction, scientific, or at least level-headed, methods must be applied. No doubt the ignorance which curses the people of Kansas with respect to the actual conditions within her institutions causes much of this condition. When people are advised through official reports which they seldom see, much less read, of the dangerous system they are permitting to grow up, and with the knowledge available to tell them the truth, the men high in office persist in preaching that "all is well," and we are within gunshot of political heaven, the people can not be blamed too much or the politico-religious political swashbucklers too little.

In commenting on the matter of salaries, etc., Supt. Charles further said (p. 80, second biennial report, supra):

A comparison of the salary schedule with other institutions of similar nature discloses the fact that wages are lower in the industrial school of the State of Kansas, than in similar institutions in other States. This militates against the best interests of the school, for the reason that efficient help can obtain employment at more lucrative wages elsewhere, which situation very naturally hinders the efficiency of our own school. I wish to recommend, therefore, that such an appropriation for salaries and wages be made as will enable the State to employ the most competent help that can be found."

Similar requests have been made for years, but no heed has ever been paid them in a material way. The salaries have been reduced at times, but a scant increase each time one has been made.

Although the probate and juvenile judges throughout the State were called upon after the showing in the 1914 report to lend their aid to keep boys out of this institution, and although the population by reason of that fact was kept more in line with the accommodations furnished by the State, the crimes that make boys hardened moral delinquents, and for which the young men had to be sent to the school, after weeks of such aid as the various societies, etc., interested in their welfare proved hopeless, did not decrease in their intensity, as the following survey shows:

Crimes for which boys were sent to the industrial school.	During the biennium closing June 30, 1914.	During the biennium closing June 30, 1916.
Assault	1	1
Burglary	15	14
Delinquent and incorrigible	84	83
Forgery	6	6
Larceny	.....	3
Embezzlement	1	1
Rape	1	1
Robbery	.....	2
Stealing	141	99
Murder	1	.....
Truancy	30	21
Transferred from orphans' home because criminally inclined	.....	4

One boy was sent up to this institution for murder during the biennium closing June 30, 1914, and none during the present biennium, which should be marked as a great "victory" for prohibition—and no doubt it will be. The rest of the table, however, furnishes little comfort.

A comparison of the past history of the boys received during the two bienniums also proves interesting.

[First and Second Biennial Reports, supra, p. 83, 1914; p. 84, 1916.]

	1914	1916
Parents divorced	42	40
Parents separated, no divorce	24	20
Father dead	46	52
Mother dead	44	57
Father intemperate	89	76
Mother intemperate	14	14
Profane	187	157
Drank intoxicating liquor	54	36
Used tobacco	60	115
Could neither read nor write	8	4
Having good homes	5	3
Having fair homes	47	49
Having poor homes	240	192

CHAPTER II.

GIRLS' INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL.

The Girls' Industrial School, located at Beloit, is to the delinquent girls of the State what the Industrial School at Topeka is to the delinquent and incorrigible boys. It cares for those who have gone beyond the efforts of the juvenile court, the home, the school, the church, and society generally. So much care has been given the way-

ward girls of the State it is surprising that we find so many of them, after all, wards of the State. However, as in all the other penal institutions, this one shows remarkable growth.

This institution was founded by chapter 158 of the Kansas Session Laws of 1889 and applied originally to "any girl under the age of 16 years" who shall be convicted of any offense known to the laws of the State and punishable by imprisonment. "The court or justice, as the case may be," further provided the law (sec. 7807, General Statutes, 1905), "before whom such conviction shall be had, may at his discretion sentence such girls to the State Industrial School for Girls or to such punishment as now provided by law for the same offense."

One would naturally suppose that after all the wonders worked by the operation and enforcement of prohibition, as painted in glowing terms by the men who claimed they had accomplished the Herculean task, this disgraceful law would have been wiped out of existence long ago—a relic of the wicked old days, as it were.

Quite the contrary. Female juvenile crime has been keeping pace with the steady march of prohibition agitation to the extent that in 1911 it was found necessary to increase the age limit at which girls could be sent to this institution to keep them out of the penitentiary, and accordingly the legislature that year (Laws of Kansas, 1911, ch. 301, p. 546) raised the age limit from 16 to 18 years.

The crowded condition of the institution necessitated "paroling" and otherwise disposing of so many girls who became heavy liabilities to the communities in which they were sent, and the legislature of 1913, which was in session two years prior to the time the "famous" resolution was passed for the Anti-Saloon League, bragging about how much cleaner Kansas homes had become and how much stronger in "moral fiber and conviction" the men, women, and children had become, now since they had "St. Georged demon rum" for the millionth time since 1880, was forced to add to the already overburdened taxpayers another little "offering" in the way of the creation of the office of parole agent for this institution. Her duties, or his, as the case may be, to "look after the welfare of the girls who are on parole, to find suitable homes for those who have no responsible friends, and when not otherwise engaged to be subject to assignment by the superintendent to such other work as said superintendent may desire in the management of said school"—cut the grass and carry in the wood, for instance.

But just to prove that there is little spare time in which to run down to Mexico and settle that little squabble, or to chase over to Europe and fix up the war "between times," the parole agent thus explains her movements during the year 1915, during which time she has been on the job: "I find that it has taken considerable part of the year I have been connected with the Girls' Industrial School to get a general working acquaintance with homes and girls, especially those already placed out," she stated on page 103 of the Second Biennial Report, supra, and then continues: "Owing to the large number of girls on parole, to the distances to be covered, and the limited expense account (there it goes again), it is absolutely impossible for the parole officer to see them often enough to achieve best results.

"The pressing necessity of taking out, transferring, and returning girls devolved upon me before time could be taken to become at all familiar with the system of work in the institution.

"These are features of the work which require much time, so there was little time left for investigation of homes or visiting girls unless some misdemeanor made the visit a necessity."

This indicates that the parole officer was appointed none too soon and proves quite conclusively that all the girls sent out of the institution are not "really cured," as may ordinarily be presumed by a reading of the ordinary parole report. However, special pains are taken in the reports of this institution to make no record of the number of inmates at any certain time, although the report shows that on October 1, 1915, there were 57 on parole and from then until October 1, 1916, 82 more were paroled, of whom 3 escaped and 11 were returned and 1 sent to "another institution" (supra pp. 104, 105).

Further commenting upon the work required and the care that must be exercised in her official capacity, the parole officer stated, on page 104, supra, that—

"Bedrock investigation of the home in which a girl is to be placed is absolutely essential to the successful placing of the girl.

"In several instances where the girl was placed without my personal investigation on the recommendation of estimable persons the results were disastrous.

"While the home may be of good character to all appearances, it may be full of discord, or the woman at the head of it may be lacking in sympathy, acumen, or discipline. The presence or lack of these qualities can usually be ascertained by a personal interview. * * *

"It is essential that the girls go to some better protection than they had before they came to the school, because they are largely the product of their environment, and if they are to be permanently reformed new homes must be found for them.

"A great drawback in the work is the inability to secure enough of the right kind of homes—homes where the employer is willing to be a teacher and mother, and where the girls will not be regarded as a source of cheap labor.

"When an inmate leaves the school she is always admonished by her companions to 'make good,' and I believe most of them leave with that intention. They go out into a world filled with busy, prosperous, good women, yet for lack of women's aid, they sometimes slip back into the old life, where they are always assured of companionship. The problem of caring for girls is very much more intricate and difficult of solution than caring for boys, hence the necessity of perpetual vigilance. * * * There is a percentage of the girls for whom there is no hope. These are the mental defectives—the weak-minded. It is this class which swells the list of failures on parole. They need permanent care, for, although many may become self-supporting, few can become self-controlling.

"There is only one thing to do with them, and that is to sequester them permanently in an institution established for that purpose, where they may be kept well contented and harmless, where the vast amount of energy kept by the State can be utilized in such a way that its charges shall be self-supporting and society protected.

"It is the only way of cutting off the train of degenerates and imbeciles which otherwise will surely follow them.

"From the standpoint of the taxpayer, if from no other, such an institution would be a good business venture, for while the initial cost of segregation would be great, the number of criminals, the number of prisoners, the demand upon public and private charity would be decreased.

"* * * In the industrial schools, where notable and effective work is being done with the girls on parole, there is a visitor for each 30 girls placed out. It would be interesting to compute the difference in dollars and cents between the expense of this sort of care and the care of those who must be returned to the school or who become a menace to society because of the lack of proper supervision. Such a policy would cost money, but there would be adequate returns in good citizenship."

This report bristles with timely suggestions. It is true beyond doubt that all the insane and feeble-minded are not inmates of the regular asylums and hospitals and homes designated for that purpose, and it is likewise true that no doubt a great deal of the increase in degeneracy, feeble-mindedness, and crime are due to the fact that ignorance and parsimony have been playing havoc with the Kansas citizenship. Perhaps after all it is no wonder that prohibition has made such headway there during the past decade. There is a reason for everything.

It is positive that another State institution must be constructed to care for the mentally defective girls, but as this may perhaps be advanced as further argument that prohibition hasn't worked the wonders it is claimed for it, the legislature "in its wisdom" will be afraid to provide for it. The Kansas politician may prefer that his State become ruined, morally and physically, than admit his own hypocrisy.

The parole officer (Miss Effie Loader) thus speculates upon the future of her work, showing plainly the crying need of such superior development in this line; it is strange the need became so especially urgent before the legislature finally got around to understand what was wrong (p. 105, First Biennial Report, supra):

"The parole officer hopes to accomplish greater results during the coming year. She hopes that the board of corrections will push the development of this department, which involves great possibilities.

"Parole is the absolute test of the efficiency of the institution. What has the school done for the girl? Has it sent her back to society physically sound, morally controlled, and able to support herself?

Parole is a gradual readjustment of a girl's life. The path of a young girl, practically unprotected, is filled with pitfalls, and upon the parole department devolves the responsibility of teaching her to avoid these and to adjust herself to new conditions of life.

"The maintenance of an effective system of parole supervision is both costly and complicated, but without such a system much of the work of reform and industrial schools must come to naught."

So the Kansas system is not perfect. Another landslide of evidence is here presented; another reason why Kansas should "stop, look, and listen." The cheap notoriety she has gained by and through the many pipings of her high officials that prohibition has reduced her taxes, is closing her almshouses, emptying her penal institutions, and reducing her State charges again receives a justly due condemnation—and this time from a woman, who seems amply capable of defending her position.

In the report of Miss Emma Sells Marshall, parole agent for 1914 (First Biennial Report, supra, p. 97), she said:

"Lack of home training, lack of religious teaching, desertion of the family by either the father or the mother, marriage of the unfit, divorce, and drink are chief among causes of commitment."

The condition of "our homes" does not seem to have improved materially during the two years period, faked-up claims to the contrary, notwithstanding.

In the 1914 report (First Biennial Report, supra, p. 93) the superintendent commented quite fully on the causes that drive the girls of Kansas into the institution. In view of the nation-wide belief that the map of Kansas is as white as painted in the "temperance book," this commentary is interesting, pitiful, and, withal, of intense interest:

"During the past year (July 1, 1913, to July 1, 1914) 240 girls have received the care and protection of the home," she stated. "And every effort has been made to give them the very best physical, moral, mental, and religious training.

"Some girls are sent to us without a stain or blemish, society having condemned their parents as unfit to raise them. Other girls, through neglectful, vicious, or incompetent parents, come to us almost saturated with vice. These are to be pitied. The world has never given them a chance. For, while young, immature, weak, and in ignorance of right and wrong, the sins of adult society wrought their downfall."

The superintendent urgently requested (First Biennial Report, supra, p. 96) that the legislature of 1915 appropriate $157,000 to meet the many crying needs of this institution, and, just to show her that "our homes are cleaner" and "our people stronger in moral fiber and conviction," Gov. Capper saw to it that the "demand" was cut down to $98,000. And, just to indicate to him and to the legislature that the institution will not be abandoned for two years at least, she came back with a demand in her 1916 report (Second Biennial Report, supra, p. 103) that they awaken to the realization of the needs of the institution and to the fact that it is growing beyond all reasonable limits, and appropriate $168,000 for the succeeding biennium.

The legislature of 1907 appropriated for 1908–9	$85,800
The legislature of 1909 appropriated for 1910–11	98,000
The legislature of 1911 appropriated for 1912–13	105,000
The legislature of 1913 appropriated for 1914–15	96,500
The legislature of 1915 appropriated for 1916–17	98,000

(NOTE.—This included a large special appropriation of $16,300.)

From the above it will readily be noted that the demands of this institution, as is the case in all other State penal, charitable, and correctional institutions, are becoming greater each year. One would almost believe that preparations were steadily being made to close the State penal institutions, especially those looking after "our boys and girls," now since we have "every phase of violation of our liquor law covered," as ex-Gov. Hodges put it at the Anti-Saloon League Convention in 1913. And, as he further says, "Prohibition is steadily decreasing our delinquency to almost nothing, is helping to abolish illiteracy, depopulate our poor farms, give us graded schools, snug bank accounts, and the best system of dirt roads in America," it should be about time to begin abolishing some of the institutions of penal servitude.

In 1890 this institution received 20 girls; in 1900 it received 55; in 1910 it received 59; and in 1916 it received 71. (Second Biennial Report, supra, table No. 7, p. 107.) During the period closing June 30, 1914, a total of 133 were received, of which 77, or 58.33 per cent, were native Kansas girls. One hundred and thirty were received as new inmates (not counting parole violators) during the biennium closing June 30, 1916, of which 86, or 66.66 per cent were native Kansas girls. (Supra.)

Thirty-four counties sent inmates during 1913 and 35 during 1915 (First Biennial Report, supra, p. 99); 29 during 1915 and 30 during 1916. (Second Biennial Report, supra, p. 107.)

However, of the counties contributing inmates during the biennium ending June 30, 1916, Brown, Clay, Doniphan, Dickinson, Elk, Jackson, Kiowa, Lyon, Miami, Rooks, Republic, Riley, and Sumner broke into the limelight, each contributing at least one inmate and some as high as three. These are all rural counties and most all "inland counties."

Cherokee contributed 7 inmates during the biennium closing June 30, 1914 (supra), and increased its representation by sending up 11 during the next biennium; Crawford County likewise contributed 7 during the 1914 period and sent up 13 during the succeeding biennium, while Shawnee County (Topeka) contributed 12 during the 1914 period and increased the number sent up during the next biennium to 18, having the distinction of having sent up 30 during the four years, which won its first honors.

The causes for which the various girls were sentenced shows a very even balance year after year, varying in some respects, but for the most part holding its own all along the line:

Causes for incarceration.	1913	1914	1915	1916
Incorrigibility	37	28	27	35
Delinquency	17	27	23	21
Dependent	5	8	6	6
Immorality	1	1		4
Theft	2	7	3	3
Forgery		2		1
Manslaughter				1

Speaking of the great needs of the institution, the superintendent's report for 1916 (Second Biennial Report, supra, p. 94) states:

"Our greatest problem is trying to care for the girls in the dormitories. We have six large dormitories with from 12 to 20 girls in each. You can readily see what it means to put 20 girls in a room together. * * * I have visited 10 institutions this spring and did not find a single dormitory. Is Kansas to take a back seat in this work? I hope we shall soon awaken to the fact that a girl's soul is worth more than the cost of a cottage."

It hardly sounds reasonable that this "direct appeal" should be necessary in Kansas, and surely the parsimonious program fitted out to suit the needs of the political prohibitionists, who are afraid to admit the truth lest it hurt "the cause," will soon become so notoriously unfit for the needs of the State that public sentiment will abolish it.

As an explanation covering the apparent slow progress made in the institution, and as a reason for demanding more constructive help, the superintendent thus closes her petition (supra, p. 94):

"Girls are not sent to the industrial school for being either too righteous or too wise; they are sent for being incorrigible and delinquent, and two-thirds of them are mentally defective.

"Even then they do not come until after the public schools, mission schools, parochial schools, city industrial schools, boards of children's societies, guardians, juvenile courts, probation methods, houses of Good Shepherd, ministers, priests, and parents all have not been sufficient to keep them in the straight and narrow way.

"But, like a certain class of old, some folk demand of the State school a miracle. Please remember that even our Lord did miracles only when outward and immediate surroundings were wholly favorable and sympathetic, and always with some real material to start with."

Thus it seems that, to all boisterous proclaiming to the contrary, prohibition has not strengthened the moral convictions of the people of Kansas, and has least of all reduced the necessity for very careful and painstaking supervision of that army of little fellows and their unfortunate sisters who roam the plains, never casting their childlike eyes upon a saloon, but upon even worse forms of viciousness than the casual reader and light thinker could imagine.

That the juvenile-court system has taken from the shoulders of these two juvenile institutions many burdens during the past decade there can be no doubt, but that system, prated about and exploited to the skies, is of itself insufficient to solve the problem. Constructive home making, less law enforcement, and more social and political sanity is one of the dire and crying needs of this much-overestimated State.

In speaking of the "delinquent child in Kansas" Judge Osborne, of the Juvenile Court of Independence, Kans., thus expressed his views at the sixteenth annual session of the Kansas Conference of Charities and Correction at Lawrence November 18, 1915:

"In the little more than 10 years the juvenile court has been established in Kansas children under 16 years of age in this State have committed practically every crime in the calendar, including murder in the first degree. Confronted by these facts, is it not safe to say there are children needing the restraint of law; and, further, is it not a wise provision which separates juvenile and adult offenders, establishing a court exclusively for those of tender years? Jails and prisons are schools of crime. Youthful offenders, if thrown into contact with criminal adults, readily acquire the methods of their elders and assume their attitude toward society. This is especially true with those who are slightly defective."

Addressing himself to the causes of delinquency, Judge Osborne said, after reciting some of the things for which the State is "famous": "With this fine showing, to what may we attribute delinquency in our children? From my seven years' experience as judge of a juvenile court, I would say it may be chargeable principally to the following: (1) Parental neglect or indifference; (2) divorce of parents; (3) immorality of one or both parents; (4) sale of tobacco to minors; (5) absence of regulations of pool halls and of places of amusement; (6) permitting children, particularly girls, to remain away from home overnight under the belief that they are staying at the homes of chums."

And, speaking of the growth of juvenile delinquency in Kansas, the judge gives his further reasons, as modifying his sixth reason why so many girls go wrong and eventually land in a Kansas juvenile court:

"It is astounding to observe the absolute indifference of many parents to the moral welfare of their offspring. Some authorities charge 90 per cent of delinquency to parental neglect. When parents give no thought to the character of the associates of their children, when they are unmindful of the late hours their children may remain on the streets and elsewhere, when they uphold, or at least seek to excuse, their children in the commission of unlawful acts, it must be expected that sooner or later the children of such parents will acquire criminal tendencies. In many instances, though having legitimate employment, the 15-year-old daughter of poverty-stricken parents appears habitually gowned in expensive apparel, bedecked with flashy jewelry, and yet does not excite parental inquiry, or even curiosity, as to the source of her means. They seem entirely satisfied if these things require no expenditure on their part, and apparently they feel these matters should concern no one else. * * * Unless we want these children as wards of the State, their parents must be taught their duty and be directed and assisted in the performance of their duty."

And, in speaking of the divorce evil as applied to Kansas, he continued: "* * * In many cases affecting children these courts (district) do not have at their disposal proper agencies for suitably caring for and maintaining these children after the trial. As a result, a large percentage of these young ones soon find their way into the juvenile courts.

"* * * Our strict law forbidding the sale or giving of tobacco to minors is not vigorously enforced. However, it does appear that the wide publicity given the provisions of this law has exercised a deterring effect. Apparently, tobacco using by young boys is decreasing. There is still room for considerable effective work in enforcing this law."

"Enforcing the law" is about all the people of Kansas have in mind. The habit of devising new ways and means to jail a boy, girl, man, or woman has become an epidemic in the State; it has been reduced to an art. Whenever anything goes wrong, whether it be the failure of an officer to land a criminal 3 or 4 years old or 40, a new law by which a new method of arresting them is enacted, until it is almost impossible to walk down the street of a Kansas town at midnight, when the thoroughfare is as deserted as charity's pocket, and not violate a State or municipal law.

"In seeking a solution of many problems of delinquincy," continued Judge Osborne, "there is lack of cooperation. In some localities there exists an indefensible practice of paroling offenders upon condition that they leave the State or community. There is a mere sidestepping of responsibility—an avoidance of the performance of duty. To facilitate the passing on to another State or municipality of undesirable delinquents funds are appropriated out of public treasuries with which to pay for their transportation to points distant from the scene of their crimes. Usually these persons arrive destitute in fields that are new for their operations, and soon another locality is burdened with their offenses. Cases do arise in which it is wise to remove delinquent children from their associates who have contaminated them or who have been evilly influenced by them. But this removal should be made with proper safeguards for the children and with full protection to the community to which they are to be sent."

So this is a part of the wonderful "Kansas system." "Pass the buck" with unfortunate children, scarcely more than babies, so the Kansas rate of juvenile delinquency will not become higher. So many statements have been made in recent years that prohibition has saved so many children in America the question arises as to how many are "saved" in this manner, when the local "better element" gets busy with the unfortunates and runs them out of town, rather than spending time and money in helping them, so the "rate of crime and delinquency" will show up better when the next election comes around, or when the Anti-Saloon League yearbook is published.

Just how many deserving girls, beaten and defeated by the tidal wave of fake reforms, have been driven from pillar to post in Kansas towns until they have landed in the gutter, either in the State or in some other State, probably will never be known, but this much is painfully true: The virtue that boasts of godliness that must be purchased by the taxpayers' money used to transport poor, poverty-stricken, morally bankrupt little boys and girls from one place to another may permit the leading citizens to shout their heads off in church and solicit votes to the legislature, to Congress, or to the Senate on the ground that they favor law enforcement and prohibition, but it will never restore the priceless jewel it permits the young womanhood and young manhood of the State to sell for the price of a night's lodging or given as a bribe to freedom from a house of detention.

The Topeka State Journal, of December 4, 1916, casts some light upon juvenile crime in Kansas, and speaks louder in the name of humanity, decency, and right living than all the speeches all the governors, attorneys general, judges of the supreme court, Senators, and Congressmen ever made in their boosting game for the Anti-Saloon League.

"Wages inadequate to provide a girl a comfortable living is the indictment which Miss Linna Bresetts has returned against Kansas 5-and-10-cent stores," says the Journal, on page 5, adding that the factory agent is to submit her report to Gov. Capper that week.

"As State factory inspector and secretary of the welfare commission," continues the article, "Miss Bresette declares that 75 per cent of the girls working in 5 and 10 cent stores in this State receive less than $6 a week. In view of the present high cost of living Miss Bresette is confident the present scale is not a living wage.

"It is probable the report on 5 and 10 cent stores will be used as the basis for some drastic wage legislation. Copies of the report, covering wages to women in all classes of work, will be sent to members of the legislature some time during the current month.

"Investigation of 5 and 10 cent stores by Miss Bresette revealed the fact that in nearly every instance managers of the stores refused to accept applicants for positions who did not live at home. A majority of the girls working in these stores live at home, Miss Bresette reports.

"Pointing to the demands of store owners for girls who do not pay their own way, Miss Bresette declares the rule is 'a frank confession that these stores do not pay a living wage.' Investigations in three stores showed that 13 girls were on the pay rolls who did not live at home. These girls were forced to pay their own room rent, buy clothes, eat, and provide themselves with recreation money at a wage of less than $6 a week.

"Records gathered by Miss Bresette show that 48 girls working in 5 and 10 cent stores receive less than $3 a week. A majority of these girls work less than 48 hours a week. Such hours are mentioned in the report as 'partial time.'

"In addition to the record of the 48 girls receiving less than $3 a week, Miss Bresette found 16 girls working full time who received more than $3 a week and less than $4 a week.

"Wages of more than $4 and less than $5 a week affect 126 girls in 10-cent stores, while 161 girls receive more than $5 and less than $6 a week. Wage scales of more than $6 and less than $7 a week affect 75 girls. The record reports wages paid 470 girls in 5 and 10 cent stores. Of this number 351 receive less than $6 a week. Fourteen girls are shown to receive between $8 and $9 a week, while 20 receive more than $7 and less than $8. Five girls are paid more than $9 and less than $10 a week, while 4 girls draw pay checks of between $10 and $12 a week. Just one girl was found whose pay check was in excess of $12, and it was less than $15 a week.

"Miss Bresette reports that ventilation in these stores is poor and that complaints have brought few changes in conditions. Wage scales in the various stores are based on sales, the report recites. Nearly all of the 5 and 10 cent stores of the State are links in chains of stores. Managers of these stores are allowed a stipulated per cent for gross sales to be paid for clerk hire and store help."

Wage-scale legislation has attracted little attention in Kansas during the past 10 years. The State officials have been too busy "saving" the people by passing and enforcing laws of a prohibitory nature and working out plans to coax new capital into the State. Commercial life in Kansas has been rather lean, aside from the industries engaged in wheat, corn, cattle, and hog raising. Perhaps a few laws to get at the root of the evil and drive crime out would alienate the 5 and 10 cent

stores, so rather than protect the young girls from lives of shame, it serves the purpose in the eyes of the manipulators of the "Kansas system" to pass laws, declaring them to be happy, pure, and virtuous. As long as they have no open saloons to look at, there is nothing else that should really tempt them—not even the price of something to eat or wear.

That careful attention should be given the young boys and girls not only of Kansas but of the whole Nation is beyond dispute, and the great demand for more constructive work along this line is well put by Judge Osborne in the address above referred to. (P. 17, sixteenth report, Kansas Conference, Charities, and Correction:) "There is so much to be accomplished among our boys and girls for the upbuilding of the citizenship of this Commonwealth, there are so many youths (male and female) who, with even slight encouragement, will become good citizens, or for want of it become delinquents, that it behooves the good pople of Kansas to give these matters fuller attention." Surely causing little girls to work at starvation wages in insanitary stores, while the fathers and mothers chase about the State or Nation running down bootleggers or bragging about "saving the boys" with law-enforcement crusades, is not a very constructive means of saving many of the girls. It is much easier to sit in a comfortable chair and sing a song or write a speech or travel in a Pullman car to Chicago, California, or Boston, and deliver a speech in the hope that it will attract public comment and cause the speaker to become a "famous law-enforcement giant" in certain quarters, but it does not save any 12 and 13-year-old girls who work for less than $6 a week and make the rest of their way as best they can. As Judge Osborne aptly remarks in conclusion: "In our attempts to anticipate and prevent delinquency, let us be as zealous as we now are to care for and restrain the child already delinquent." But refusing aid to meet positive demands, by the institution of a system of "economy" that will save a few of the rich of the State a few cents a year, is not caring for many delinquents, either, it might be added.

And speaking of the great problems that confront the juvenile judges in their efforts to aid and assist in keeping down the rate of juvenile delinquency in the State; in restoring to respectability the poor, helpless little people that are finally driven into their court by the exigencies of Kansas life, Judge Osborne laconically concludes (p. 16, supra):

"One of the most serious problems confronting the judges of juvenile courts and those in charge of industrial schools is in making suitable provision for the care and supervision of wards on parole. It seems to be the notion of the general public that its duty toward a delinquent child ceases wholly when the child has been made a ward of a court or has been committed to an industrial school.

"The disposition of a child's case by the juvenile court may be entirely satisfactory, and if committed to an industrial school his progress and improvement may exceed the expectations of the officials there; yet, if on parole, great care is not exercised and the welfare of the child is not diligently safeguarded, all the previous efforts in his behalf may go for naught and the child again drift into evil habits and finally become of the criminal class.

"Up to the time of his commitment it is an easy matter to enlist a great amount of sympathy for a delinquent. However, after his discharge from the institution, at a time when he most needs sympathy and help, it is almost impossible to interest people in him. All of us, I think, lose sight of the fact that in each case the goal for which we are striving is not the punishment of a delinquent, but that we may make of him a good citizen. This is the object in placing around him such restraining influences as he appears to need during the period his character is being formed and his habits are becoming fixed.

"The authority to parole is a wise provision, if discreetly exercised."

So it seems that a boy once brought to court or even sent to the industrial school, and a girl, too, for that matter, even in Kansas, is not immune from a second offense. Just why this should be is a matter of considerable conjecture. They have no saloons to frequent, and according to Gov. Capper and ex-Gov. Hodges, the per capita of liquor consumption varies from $1.25 to $3.04 per year in the State, and it is hard to understand with all temptation worthy of the name stamped out by simple act of the legislature, the Kansas boys and girls will persist in refusing to live up to the press notices they receive away from home.

As an example of what invariably happens when the endeavor of a community is centered on one or two trivial violations of a ramshackle prohibitory law, and all the "reforming" is done either on paper or by word of mouth from pulpits occupied by public officials or ordained ministers, the following rather startling news item published in Gov. Capper's paper (the Topeka Daily Capital), March 8, 1916, should have caused the people of the State to stop and think, but apparently it was passed by as everything seems to be in Kansas, with an "Oh, well; what's the use?" "'There is an epidemic of immorality among the young people of Topeka.' This is the declaration of Robert Garver, assistant county attorney. As former judge of the court of Topeka, and with his experience as an assistant county attorney, his knowledge of conditions covers several years.

"Garver blames the jitney and the motorcycle for the downfall of many of the young girls, but the real trouble, in his opinion, goes further. Mothers and fathers are to blame.

"'Walk down Kansas Avenue any night,' said Garver recently, 'and you will see young girls 14 to 16 years old, powdered and painted and dressed to attract attention, simply displaying themselves and looking for an invitation to be picked up by some boy or man with an automobile or a motorcycle. Jitney drivers get much of the blame.'

"'But what's the matter with the parents? Can not mothers see as well as anyone else how their daughters are dressed? And why do they not know where their daughters are at night and what they are doing? But instead of knowing they are just letting their daughters run. It is time they were waking up.

"'It used to be that prosecutions growing out of immoral acts of or with young girls were an exception. There was not one such case in months at a time. Now there are five pending, all of which developed in the last two months, and there are several more which have been brought to my knowledge personally, but in which no official action has been taken.

"'It is time that something be done in Topeka, for something is radically wrong somewhere. We, in the county attorney's office, can not take preventive measures. We can only act when it is too late—when the harm already has been done. Such cases are usually brought to light by the city's welfare-board workers. But welfare workers, courts of law, and prosecuting attorneys do not get at the root of the evil.

"'I believe that the trouble is with the parents. Mothers do not know what their daughters are doing. Of the five cases now in court the girls all are between 14 and 16 years of age, and every one of them has a good mother who did not know what her daughter was doing. Usually the mother is the last person to learn.

"'When she does learn, she comes to this office with the names of the guilty men or boys and wants them prosecuted. There is nothing for us to do but prosecute when a complaint is made, although the prosecution does not help. It further injures the reputation of the girl by making her character public, and it brands some man or men as criminals.

"'The stories these mothers and the girls themselves tell are almost unbelieveable. It is hard to believe that such young girls have such experiences, and it is doubly hard to understand how mothers can be so blind to a daughter's actions.

"'And if the parents of young boys knew some of the stories these little, young, but experienced girls tell, it would make them mighty nervous. No matter how worldly-wise or experienced a girl is, the law protects her if she is under a certain age. But not so with the boys. The girl may be just as much to blame as the boy but the law punishes the boy and lets the girl go free.'"

At about this time several men and boys were undergoing a severe arraignment at the bar of Kansas justice because of tales that leaked out at the State asylum, and also at the Girls' Industrial School, where several young girls, inmates and otherwise, had been engaging in gross acts of immorality with men and boys, and a number of them officials in charge of the institution. In the same news article, Charles Bower, clerk of the Shawnee County district court, had some comment to make.

"I am not upholding immorality, but the law as it is in Kansas, which, regardless of the character of the girl, always protects her if she is under age and punishes the boy or man, is not right. The law should not have a double standard of morality. In cases where one is as much to blame as the other, if one is punished the other should be; and if one goes free the other should go free.

"Take the asylum scandal for example. Those girls are as wise as most men twice as old. They have caused all kinds of trouble, and yet they go scot-free and come in here to collect their fees for testifying against the men with whom they were equally guilty—actually using the law to make money out of their wrongdoing."

Perhaps the Topeka mothers mentioned by Mr. Garver have other fish to fry and have no time to watch their daughters. Perhaps they are busy saving the boys in other States or attending club meetings to devise ways and means to secure more legislation covering "vice," and perhaps they are just members of that great army of Kansas women mentioned by Judge Osborne, who don't care; who are poverty stricken and helpless and whose daughters work all day in a 5 and 10 cent store for less than $6 a week and must make ends meet somewhere. These matters should attract more attention than an occasional "story" in the governor's paper—constructive work is needed to correct these evils.

As Dean F. W. Blackmar, of the State University, so aptly remarked when commenting upon the woeful lack of constructive work along social lines in Kansas, "The stream of weakness, crime, and degeneracy flows steadily on, and will continue to do so until we go to the source and stop the fountains that feed it."

But where are the fountains? Perhaps we will never know, but irrespective, one thing must happen: The people, not alone of Kansas but of other States of the Union, must be awakened to the truth of Kansas conditions. Closing one's eyes to the greater and far more deadly evils that spring up when all legislative activity, all official declaiming, and all publicity available points to the exploitation of one so-called reform, which is in fact a bold fake, and declares because that one measure has become by law a "success" all other evils are stamped out, when all other evils, including grossest intemperance, are entwining themselves about the very hearts of the growing population, it is surely high time, if not too late, to unfurl the banner of shame that enshrouds this much scandalized and abused Commonwealth and permit, whatever the cost, the Nation to view it as it really is and not as painted by men who either do not understand conditions or are not honest or big enough to truthfully present them.

The Topeka State Journal, August 29, 1916, declares that "beer and whisky are responsible for more criminal cases than all other causes in Shawnee County. Of the 166 criminal cases docketed for the September term of court, 106 are for violations of the prohibitory law. Many of the other criminal cases are due to liquor—the drinking of it," and yet this is the city in which ex-Gov. Stubbs declared in his Chicago speech, made for the Anti-Saloon League, said there is no drunkenness and law violation. "On my honor as a man," he said, "I assert that drunkenness has been reduced to such a point that I have not seen a drunken man in the city of Topeka, a place of 50,000 inhabitants." Something is wrong, as County Attorney Garver remarked; the governor was either "too greatly inspired" when he delivered his notorious boost for prohibition or else he doesn't know what the drunken man looks like.

Of this speech, the governor himself said, "The evidence I submit to you would be considered as good and absolutely convincing in any court in Christendom," and on page 4 declared: "I assert that the brewery is originally, and the saloon is ultimately, the spawning place for the gambler, the prostitute, the robber, the wife beater, and, finally, the murderer," and as Kansas has no saloons or breweries, the question quite naturally arises—since she has not, why are these crimes and moral infractions increasing?

Ex-Gov. Hodges and Ex-Attorney General Dawson both extend their forensic abilities to the breaking point in praising Kansas City, Kans., "the largest city in America without an open saloon or a house of prostitution," and yet during the month of June, 1916, Judge Brady was forced to erect a whipping post at Sixth and Minnesota Avenue—the main business corner of the city—to publicly whip wife beaters. "Wife beating has become an epidemic," declared the judge. "Sending men to the workhouse will not help. I am going to publicly whip the curs"—and this in sunny, prohibition Kansas.

Ex-Gov. Stubbs also declared in his Chicago speech, that "We have no idiots, no imbeciles; we are rearing a stalwart citizenship." In his speech before the sixteenth annual session, Kansas Conference, Charities and Correction, Hon. H. C. Bowman, president of the board of control, declared: "There are more idiots, imbeciles, and feeble-minded persons than there are insane, but suitable institutional care has not been provided for these mental defectives. * * * The increase among the feeble minded is much more rapid than among the normal. The close relationship between feeble mindedness and crime is beginning to be acknowledged, some authorities holding that at least

25 per cent of the inmates of all penal institutions are mentally defective, and a much larger per cent of the inmates of immoral resorts are also mentally defective."

This would scarcely support the ex-governor's views, and in fairness to Mr. Stubbs, we must assume that his overzealousness merely caused him to step beyond the mother earth of fact. However, these statements are all sold as "truth in the open market," and should either be denied, retracted or the men making them, and the purposes for which they make them, should be exposed.

On September 22, 1916, the State Federation of Women's Clubs of Kansas, mapped out their program for the 1917 legislative work they intended to demand performed by the lawmakers of the State. The following "planks" were agreed upon, according to the Topeka State Journal, September 22, 1916: "A law providing a detention home for unfortunate and diseased women, ineligible for admission to the Industrial School for Girls, at Beloit. In effect, an institution for young women resembling the State reformatory at Hutchinson."

(The Industrial School for Girls at Beloit can not admit girls over 18. The new school would be in the nature of a "female penitentiary," such as the reformatory for boys at Hutchinson. The girls in question are too old to go to Beloit and not criminal enough to be sent to the penitentiary. In fact, they may not be criminal at all, but upon conviction of being "unfortunate or diseased," could go there the same as though convicted of a crime. The suggestion is interesting, to say the least. Too bad somebody does not call Gov. Capper's attention to it.)

Other "planks" covered better censorship laws for movies, so the boys and girls would cease to be so reckless; and a stronger mothers' pension law.

Senator Satterthwaite, of Butler County, introduced a bill, January 26, 1917, providing for a new State Industrial School for Girls, and carrying with it an appropriation clause calling for $200,000 to be spent upon it during the succeeding biennium; also providing that none of the appropriation be spent for land upon which to build it. At least 60 acres must be donated by the community "bidding" for the location.

The stream of delinquents that constantly marks a course into every juvenile court of the State as well as the State institutions, is causing much anxiety among those few in the State who are really endeavoring to stop the flow at its source. At the third annual session of the State Educational Council, held in Topeka during January, 1916, a proposition was strongly advanced, according to the Topeka State Journal, January 22, 1916, for the establishment of a "Special School of Opportunity" to be a State institution, in the hope that such an institution might possibly aid in solving the vexing problem. "The Old Man of the School Room," as the defective child was called, is becoming more and more of a burden each year to Kansas school-teachers. That they are not all confined to the "border counties" or the towns is evidenced by a declaration by County Supt. Nelson, of Norton County, a "short grass" county. "Defective children in the country," said Mr. Nelson, "but remain a butt for the jokes of the normal youngsters and a menace to the schools until they commit some overt act that will bring them before the juvenile court and place them in proper institutions."

The Topeka State Journal, January 26, 1917, made public a plan to build a new detention home in Shawnee County to meet the growing population among destitute and delinquent children and solve, if possible, the great question of their welfare. "Shawnee County is to have a modern and permanent detention home, owned by the county," states the Journal, "if plans announced by the board of county commissioners to-day materialize. * * * For many years Shawnee County has not given enough attention to destitute and delinquent children, welfare workers assert. The temporary home has been a success, but as the old board handled it, it did not give the children, all less than 16 years old, as good care and as much attention as is received by the inmates of the county jail. * * * Judge Ralph Gaw, of the probate court, said to-day that any arrangements the board make to better conditions for the children would be approved by him."

According to the Topeka State Journal, January 30, 1917, "The Kansas Council of Women is holding its annual session in Topeka to-day," and among the matters of great importance under consideration, was rallying sufficient political strength to put over a bill in the legislature providing for an industrial farm for women (a new State institution)—to keep the women and young girls out of the State penitentiary and its evil associations. The growth of female population in State institutions has been so marked during the past few years, especially among the women, this action is being "mothered" by the strongest welfare workers in the State. One of the leaders is Mrs. W. A. Johnston, wife of the chief justice of the supreme court, who recently declared in an Anti-Saloon League "contribution" that "Kansas has certainly had better morals and better manners since we kicked the Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association out of the State." (Kansas City Star, Mar. 14, 1915.)

The Topeka State Journal, January 26, 1916, contributed to the public's store of knowledge of actual conditions there, the following, as a letter from one of the good mothers of that city, where "We have certainly had better morals and better manners" since kicking the saloon out:

"Many parents try so hard to rear their children right and discourage them in the use of liquor and tobacco, only to have their advice ignored. * * * If the men and boys can not refrain from these dreadful habits, we will welcome the time when they can neither get liquor nor tobacco. We can see boys of from 15 to 20 years of age smoking 'coffin nails,' as though there was no law to stop them. This law if properly enforced will keep them from acquiring the habit (liquor and tobacco) until they have had time to get a good education.

"Yours, for law enforcement,

"Mrs. Martha McCammon."

Gov. Capper proposed to the State superintendent, according to the Topeka Daily Capital (his own paper), January 27, 1916, that all the school children be ordered "to indulge in a letter-writing campaign some day this spring." The plan, in brief, "is to have a letter-writing day in the public schools, on which every pupil will write at least one letter to some one outside the State, extending an invitation to visit Kansas" and survey the "results" of the enforcement of laws prohibiting the sale of liquor and the sale and use of cigarettes. Just how far the plan got with the State superintendent is not known. However, probably not very far. The State superintendent is elected in Kansas and has his own political fences to look after.

In January, 1916, according to the Topeka Daily Capital, January 29, 1916, the Kansas Council of Women began preparations to demand of the 1917 legislature that a women's reformatory be established to care for the delinquent, diseased, and unfortunate women. Many suggestions as to location were made, but all agreed it should be close to some State institution where medical aid could be given the unfortunate and diseased. "Because of the existence in our State of a large number of women who are both unfortunate and transgressors of the law," said Mrs. J. M. Miller, the president (wife of an ex-Congressman), "it is necessary to use restraining and reformatory methods. This is a religion without bigotry, a charity without coldness, and a universal philanthropy and human kinship. It is primarily the work of women for women."

On the day following (January 30, 1916), according to the same newspaper (the Topeka Daily Capital), T. A. McNeal, a Kansas writer, thus expounded the virtues of the State:

"* * * With all our rhetorical extravagances in her 55 years of existence as a State, Kansas has made greater impression on the political, economic, and moral of the Nation than perhaps any other of the sovereign States * * *. The first of the States to adopt constitutional prohibition, through the stress and storm of criticism and attack and misrepresentation lasting for more than 30 years, the sentiment of Kansas has grown stronger steadily in support of the theory she espoused in her youth, and to-day she is the acknowledged champion and most successful example of its practical operation."

It is needless to add that Mr. McNeal is a writer on the governor's paper, and also that the above was afterwards printed by the Anti-Saloon League of America, as reflecting "true Kansas sentiment."

When asked on the same day (Jan. 30, 1916) what Topeka needed the most, the mayor, Jay E. House, according to the above newspaper replied: "More common horse sense. Tolerance is another thing Topeka needs. The town needs to be more tolerant of things its citizens do. It ought to let the individual go ahead and do as he pleases, without trying to dictate his actions. A little less meddling in each other's affairs would be a blessing. What the average citizen wants is a government that runs so smoothly he does not know he is being governed. If a town is run on a common-sense basis, if the citizens use common sense in their relations with each other, then the town will be benefited."

Along the same line, talking "common horse sense," Mayor House was again quoted in the Topeka State Journal, August 23, 1916, as follows: "Declaring that Kansas might as well censor the news printed in the newspapers, the advertisements in daily papers, and the display-window advertisements on Kansas Avenue, Mayor House to-day denounced the movie censorship law of Kansas. The attack on the law was made in an address in Representative Hall before motion-picture exhibitors and film men. 'I seldom pass a window display on Kansas Avenue that it doesn't move me to blushes,' said the mayor. 'I have never been moved to blushes at a movie show. True, I have been bored, but I never blushed.' Then the mayor waxed sarcastic: 'By cutting out the display of a pretty ankle or a short dress,' he said, 'I suppose it has caused the women to elongate their skirts instead of shorten them. By cutting out cigarette-smoking slides I suppose it has kept every youth in Topeka from marching down the street with a cigarette in his mouth. By cutting out the barroom scenes I suppose it has caused not more than 60 per cent of the people of Topeka to keep liquor in their homes.

"'We all know why the motion-picture censorship was passed. It was because the people needed the money,' he said in conclusion."

Demanding that greater restrictions be placed around the young men of Hutchinson, and particularly the boys, to protect them from the cigarette, the pool hall, and the immoral show, a delegation of young men, representing 15 different young people's organizations of Hutchinson, called on the city commissioners June 6, 1916, according to the Topeka Daily Capital. Hutchinson is 150 miles from Missouri, and is one of the "bright shining spots" where prohibition is advertised to have worked wonders in saving the boys, but it seems that the boys are not exactly "pure" even so, and failing to see a saloon doesn't seem to have helped them much.

The great need for a new institution to care for wayward, delinquent, and neglected children throughout the State has become so apparent that even Gov. Capper has on several occasions during the past year indorsed a plan to place such institutions in various parts of the State, and more particularly one in Shawnee County.

And the criminal instincts of the citizens have become so well developed that at Salina, on June 14, 1916, according to the Topeka Daily Capital, an organization was formed "whereby every policeman in the State" become a deputy sheriff, and through which organization all of the officers engaged in the "enforcement of the law" (prohibitory law and others) hoped to work in closer cooperation.

It is the old, old story that when the cat is away the mouse will play. Kansas City, Kans., has been held up so often as the cleanest, most progressive, most moral city in America since the open saloons were "driven out"; a city where children are happiest, men most sober, landlords renting only clean, sanitary property and getting as rent the money that once slid over the mahogany at 5 and 10 cents a clip; that a revelation greeted Gov. Capper when a casual survey of living conditions there in April, 1916, almost took his breath. The "cat" has been away preaching the doctrine of "happy homes," "clean living," and "strength in morals and conviction," hence the "mouse" has been doing some high carnival. The searchlight of public opinion can not play on the dark alley of filth, crime, and disease and on the spire of a church at the same time.

"'The tax records of Kansas City, Kans., show that some of the most filthy, tumble-down rental property is owned by wealthy citizens or corporations controlled by them. These men live well on the 15 per cent they get from the rental of this uninhabitable property.' Gov. Capper of Kansas told the members of the Council of Women's Clubs and their friends at a meeting at the Kansas Side High School last night," said the Kansas City Times April 7, 1916. And pointed out clearly who was to blame for some of the bad conditions. The governor has had the county tax records examined, and he told the women that he was surprised to learn who owned some of the property. "There should be a law compelling a landlord to clean up the property he rents," the governor said. "The State law should see that the room in which the child sleeps is in a sanitary, healthy place, and not a dark closet at the end of a blind hallway in a tumble-down shack owned by a man who thinks only 'How much rent can I get?' The health records at Topeka show that in Kansas City, Kans., of the 2,100 children born last year, 216 died before they reached the age of 1 year, and 60 per cent of diseases that can be prevented." But the governor has taken no steps toward having such a law passed; and in the face of this condition, many times since visiting Kansas City, Kans., on the above date, has declared with much vehemence that prohibition has made the homes of Kansas City, Kans., much cleaner, happier, and more prosperous. The same conditions he mentions still exist there and are becoming more and more aggravated all the time, for the reasons set out in the governor's speech. The

"big men" in Kansas City, Kans., are busy also boosting prohibition so the legislature will not cast its eyes in the direction of its rental property.

In the face of the great demand advanced by every civic, religious, and welfare organization that the State make better provision for her unfortunate boys, girls, men, and women, and use increased measures and better developed methods to prevent delinquency, crime, and degeneration, the Kansas statesman for the most part is so busy currying public favor by boosting the State, both at home and abroad, especially at home if a candidate for office, that even the members of the legislature have come to look upon these demands as elements of a "quiet little graft game," and almost without variation turn them down. An example of what crass boasting is was presented at the Sixteenth Annual Session of the Kansas Conference, Charities and Correction, when Hon. R. M. Anderson, of Beloit, a candidate for Congress, delivered an address which no doubt was "homespun" weeks before the momentous occasion on which he spoke. Other speakers, especially among them Prof. Blackmar of the State University, handed the poor old State some rather severe punches, but Mr. Anderson's was a "vote-making" speech, of the usual Kansas type. It is submitted as an interesting observation of some of the things the people there like to brag about: "Kansas is particularly fortunate," he said, "by reason of a long period of advancement along moral, sociological lines, and an absence of congested municipal centers, the heritage of a splendid school system (ranking twenty-ninth in efficiency, according to Prof. Blackmar's address the next day), all of which tend to reduce the question of crime prevention as it pertains to the juvenile, to the most elementary principles—a reduction of all activities to the homely philosophy of the simple life." He wasn't elected.

At the same meeting (see report of above conference, pp. 23 et seq.), in discussing the juvenile court and ways and means of reducing crime among young men and women, boys, and girls in the State, Judge John True Sims, of the Wyandotte County (Kansas City, Kans.) probate and juvenile court, said:

"I want to say at the outset, as the judge of the biggest juvenile court in Kansas, that I am an optimist and not a pessimist. I do not believe that all the girls and boys of Kansas are on the way to the bow-wows. I believe in all the remedial agencies which have been advocated and which are doing very efficient work, but I believe also that the best place to stop bad conditions is with the children and the parents. I want to tell you fathers and mothers that 95 per cent of all girls and boys that go wrong do so because of neglect. If parents did their duty, there wouldn't be so much of this scientific discussion necessary.

"I am a believer in the old adages that 'a stitch in time saves nine' and 'an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure.' As one of the elements of society the juvenile court was created to help children. In an age of great cities like ours it is not 'back to the farm,' but from the farm to the town. We must deal with the problem as we find it. * * * The boy of to-day is in close proximity with a lot of pitfalls. Don't think that you can say to your boy, 'Get out of here and go somewhere and grow up,' and your duty will be done. The boy on the street will not grow into a good boy; he will grow into a bad boy. * * * The time to discipline your boy or girl is the time when he or she is in the cradle. Don't wait until they are 10 or 12 years old. * * * There are many parents who don't know how to rear children. It isn't the child's fault.

"The great State of Kansas should reach down into its pocket and give something for the future welfare of its citizens. We ought to have a place provided in large cities to give a job to the boys out of school and under the age of 16 years, so as to employ their spare time in some useful pursuit which will not only be remunerative but also help lay the foundation for some trade, profession, or art upon which to build for the future."

After commenting on the small cost ($1.07) per annum per capita for running his juvenile division, Judge Sims continued:

"A short time ago a juvenile-court officer from California heard that I had made this statement and wrote me a letter of inquiry, asking, among other things, for a picture of our detention home and its arrangement. I had to make believe I had never received the letter. I couldn't send them a picture of the little old log house set apart as the detention home for the most populous and wealthy county in our State.

"The State of Kansas ought to dig down in its pocket and provide more presentable quarters for so important an institution as this by adequate laws governing such institutions.

"The State should take the necessary money and build us a detention home to keep these boys and girls busy between the time when they graduate from the common school and the time when they are old enough to work in the factory. They should have a place where they could profitably spend this intervening time. But it is hard to secure anything like this. People will admit that things like this are needed, but they do not furnish the necessary funds to make them possible.

"You get next to a man when you take a dollar out of his pocket. Conservation of natural resources is now a very popular subject. They talk of conserving our natural forests and of conserving the water in our ponds and lakes. That is all right; but the greatest conservation that they can ever make—the conservation they have omitted—is the conservation of human kind.

"That is conservation that will pay best."

State Tubercular Sanitarium at Norton.

Following the action of the legislature of 1909, which declared tuberculosis a communicable disease and one dangerous to public health and reportable to the State board of health, the legislature of 1911 enacted a law creating a State sanitarium for the treatment of pulmonary tuberculosis. The amount appropriated for this purpose was $50,000, which was to be used to purchase the proper site, erect and equip the necessary buildings, and pay the running expenses for the period of two years. Because of difficulty in obtaining possession of the land the advisory committee, composed of five physicians appointed by the governor, had selected, the matter of a location was unsettled when the 1913 session convened, at which time the former act was repealed and $49,347.47, the unexpended balance, reappropriated under a new act, but the reappropriated funds were not available until July 1, 1913, after which time selection of a site near Norton was agreed upon. "In March, 1914," says the superintendent's report (Fifth Biennial Report Board of Control, p. 173), "the contract was let for the construction of a boiler house, laundry, dining room, and kitchen pavilion No. 1. These buildings will be completed about September 1, and 16 patients can be cared for."

In commenting on the very small amount of the appropriation, he further declared, on page 174: "The amount of room for the care of patients is by far inadequate; there are enough applications on file now to fill several pavilions the size of the one that will be opened in September. There are several hundred cases in Kansas that, with the proper care and instructions, could be returned to useful citizenship. In my opinion there should be erected at least three more pavilions of the same size as the one just built, together with a hospital pavilion and an administration building."

In a speech delivered by W. E. Brooks, chairman of the State board of control, at the laying of the corner stone of this sanitarium, June 14, 1914, he said (Fifth Biennial Report, supra, p. 177): "Science has revealed that it is not omnipotence or nature that afflicts mankind with pestilential diseases, such as tuberculosis. It is man himself, through his own ignorance and uncleanliness, and only through such means as this sanitarium of which we are to-day laying the corner stone, can such education come as will benefit mankind and strengthen his power of resistance to disease. * * * Kansas men and women are of that splendid type of energetic, fearless workers who, knowing that eradication of tuberculosis is within the 'power of man,' will not rest until every possible means for prevention and cure has been perfected and utilized."

The 1915 legislature (laws of Kansas, 1915, ch. 335, p. 431) created a board of medical examiners, to be appointed by the superintendent of the sanitarium, whose duty it shall be to examine all applicants for admission, receiving $3 as their fee for each examination. Also provided that those desiring treatment and who could pay should be charged a stipulated fee, and those desiring free treatment shall apply to local authorities of his or her county having charge of the relief of the poor, who shall thereupon issue a written request to the superintendent for admission of such poor persons, and whenever there are vacancies, caused by death or removal, the applicants shall be received in the order of the filing of their applications. All fees arising from "pay patients" were required to be turned over to the State treasurer.

Capter 41, page 47, Laws of Kansas, 1915, appropriated $26,000 for maintenance, salaries, etc., for the fiscal years 1916 and 1917, and $12,500 as a special appropriation available during 1916 for the building of a new cottage and equipment for the same.

It seems since the legislature finally were convinced that tuberculosis was really a disease and not a crime, as insanity was for years considered and as drunkenness is now considered, hundreds of the people of Kansas (and no applicant can be received who is not a resident voter of the State, male or female) began to avail themselves of the chance to secure treatment, the large majority of them being "poor patients," as usual.

Under the headline "Kansas a beggar" the Topeka State Journal of December 20, 1915, laid bare some of the crying needs of this institution, which has had a marvelous growth since its opening in 1914.

"Because the legislature 'played politics' in the fight over appropriation bills during the recent session," said the Journal, "there is no provision for the care of 200 men and women who are suffering from tuberculosis and have begged for admittance to the State sanitarium at Norton. Now the State has issued an appeal to the public for funds and individuals and charitable organizations will be asked to do the work the State refused to do."

And in the same issue of the Journal, Dr. C. S. Kenny, the superintendent of the institution, declared under a headline, "Kansas poorly neglected; live stock given preference in State aid":

"There seemed to be plenty of money for the care of horses in the foot-and-mouth-disease-ridden counties, but there is nothing for the care of the men and women who are dying from tuberculosis. Some of the letters we receive are pathetic. They beg and plead for admittance, but there is no place to put patients.

"For $175 to $200 we can care for two sufferers and may save two lives, but the State has no money. There is enough to provide food for the patients, but not one dollar that can be used in providing quarters. There is only room for 40 patients in the institution, and quarters for at least 200, from that up to 500, if not more, should be provided for at once."

During the year private funds were collected wherever and whenever the opportunity arose for the purchase of tents and other equipment to be used at this State institution. Thousands of dollars were collected in the State by the Anti-Saloon League and kindred "temperance" organizations, not to mention a score or more of revivalists, but little, if anything, could be provided by either public or private subscription to this most worthy institution.

"At the end of June, 1916, every dollar of the appropriation had been expended in making the prescribed improvements, and it will be necessary to depend entirely upon the regular appropriation and fees for the year 1917," said the superintendent in his report for 1916. (Sixth Biennial Report, Board of Control, p. 213.) "On May 1, 1916, there was nothing in the maintenance and repair fund, $8.49 in fees, and only sufficient in the salary fund to pay the wages for May and June. It was necessary to take the teams off the farm and hire them out to contractors and sell some of the stock in the open market in order to obtain funds to run until the end of the year," he declared on page 214. Also: "It is not possible to run at full capacity during the year on the meager appropriations provided, and I would recommend that the tents and hospital be abandoned until such time as the legislature can give relief."

Of the total of 51 patients admitted up to June 30, 1916, they came from 26 different counties; 33 were charity and 18 pay patients. (Supra, p. 216.)

"As milk and eggs are very essential in the treatment of tuberculosis and should be under careful supervision, we should be equipped with a modern dairy barn, with a sterilizer, and bottling machine. By having the proper equipment pure milk could be had at all times. Our present means for handling dairy products are very crude indeed," he added, in making many recommendations for improvement. "No provision has yet been made for the housing of the farm employees," he stated in conclusion. "Their present quarters have been established in a couple of small rooms in the barn. Better quarters should be provided."

And, in speaking of the equipment needed, he stated (p. 221): "Inasmuch as the power plant is equipped with a second-hand generator removed from the orphans' home, it would be advisable to purchase a new one of 60-kilowatt capacity, which would be sufficient to run the institution for all times. The new 75-horsepower boilers are sufficient for running the present equipment, but with the addition of new buildings it will be necessary to add one more of equal capacity," which does not sound as though the superintendent intends to close this State charitable institution for a little while at least.

An emergency appropriation of $22,750 was rushed through the legislature March 1, 1915, in the face of Gov. Capper's plea for economy in all State charitable appropriations, and this was completely exhausted by the end of June, 1916. The report of 1916 (supra, pp. 214, 215) demanded appropriations aggregating $175,000 to meet the crying needs of this infant State charity. According to the Topeka State Journal of February 10, 1916, the Larned State Hospital for the Insane and this institution are the only two to receive new buildings, although all of the State charitable institutions demand them to care for the increasing population of insane, feeble-minded, epileptic, and tubercular patients, as well as the pauper insane, who can not now be taken care of, even by some of the counties. "Norton receives the greatest increase in appropriations," declares the Journal in commenting on the recommendations contained in appropriation bills prepared by the house ways and means committee. "The committee recommends $153,940, as against appropriations of $61,308 in 1915, or an increase of $92,632. Several small buildings will be erected to meet the increasing demands on the new Norton institution. These buildings will cost about $50,000."

"Larned draws an appropriation for a new State building. The building will cost about $35,000. Appropriations for the new western insane hospital are $17,931 in excess of those of two years ago."

Just what has caused this "wave of tuberculosis" is not clear. The persistent claims of many prohibitionists that "even tuberculosis and pneumonia can be laid at the door of the open saloon" seems to be blasted in this showing. Bootleg whisky and mail-order rotgut, not to mention lemon extract and hair tonic, jamaica ginger, and furniture polish, may play their part in this terrible harvest of human life, but this much is true: Kansas can no longer brag that "the prohibition atmosphere even" is conducive to longevity, good morals, and supreme happiness. She may lay the claim through the agency of her moral dictators who travel abroad to save Boston and Chicago and California, but at home they know different. Drinking may have nothing at all to do with the increase in tuberculosis, but if it has in Kansas it can be laid at the door of the bootleg, whisky-soaked system. They have the white flag up there without doubt, but it is the flag of the white plague.

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PROHIBITION AND POVERTY.

The modern theory that license and poverty go hand in hand and that prosperity and prohibition travel the same path is a product of the fertile brain power that propels the Anti-Saloon League. As an appeal for votes against "the liquor traffic," it is just unique enough to catch many unthinking people or people who, if they do stop and think, immediately conclude that as "the liquor traffic" is confined only to the open saloon, according to the league, wiping out the saloon will have a tendency to "remove the temptation," and might possibly help in the reduction of poverty. Aside from many empty claims and statements for which no proof is available, however, this theory is a mere air bubble. It was conjured up as a vote-catching scheme and seems to have served its purpose in some localities.

Of late years, and within the past seven, to be exact, since preaching prohibition under the auspices of the league has become one of the chief pastimes of the Kansas statesman, the world has been told time and again and hears day in and day out that the Kansas system has so reduced poverty that almshouses are being emptied, sold for agricultural experimental stations, and torn down to make room for the industrious "commercially reformed" victims who but a few years before were staggering, penniless drunkards, or "moderate drinkers," whose money found its way across the bar and into the saloonkeeper's pocket, to be hoarded and spent for finery, including a silk-tile hat and a diamond as big as a hickory nut.

However high the hopes of these enthusiastic people may be, the facts fail to prove a single contention or claim advanced.

There were 735 paupers in Kansas almshouses January 1, 1910, according to the United States Census, Bulletin 120, page 18. It was during that year that ex-Gov. Stubbs made claim in his Antisaloon League speech in Chicago that the legislation of 1909 had dried the State up absolutely and that pauperism was steadily on the decrease because of that fact. Hundreds of similar claims have been made since then by Kansas newspapers, carrying inspired news items, public speakers, State officials, and ministers, who have taken as gospel the word sent out through official organs of the Antisaloon League in quoting members of the various Kansas political parties. Of late years factions and parties in Kansas "fight to the death" to get into office, make accusations that stretch the imagination to conceive their enormity, but they have all come to look upon prohibition as the "saving grace" because the church crowd favors it, and the church vote in Kansas is a political asset. Bidding for it knows no bounds.

To bolster up the claim that prohibition has reduced poverty in Kansas, valuable use is made of the purported high per capita of wealth in the State. But a very important matter is purposely overlooked when advancing that argument, which should be fully understood, and that is that the "per capita" wealth is figured on the assessed valuation of property as compared with other States. For instance, many States, if not the great majority of them, assess taxes on a valuation of all the way from 33⅓ to 40 per cent of actual value, while in Kansas the assessed valuation is 100 per cent. Prior to the enactment of chapter 316 of the Laws of 1911, page 565, Kansas real estate was assessed at one-third valuation, but this law changed the system so that now "All real property in this State liable to assessment and taxation shall be assessed biennially at its fair market value in money," and the local assessor merely suggests what he thinks that should be. If the county board feels the pinch of poverty it may increase the "fair market value in money," and furthermore the State tax board, should it care to—and it always does—has the authority to increase it again. Many thousands of acres of land in Kansas have been given an enormous "value" by this system, and there is plenty of it assessed at from $100 to $150 per acre that can be bought as low as $50 and $60 per acre.

The same assessed valuation plan applies likewise to personal property.

High per capita wealth has so little to do with poverty among the inhabitants of a city or State, however, it is folly to argue the matter. If distribution of wealth per capita is high poverty will be low, and also the reverse is true.

If it were true that the mere enacting into law theoretical measures would increase wealth and decrease poverty, Kansas could lay claim to the distinction of trying to do so at least, and if enforcing the law, even though thousands upon thousands of dollars' worth of property is confiscated yearly and the most dire calamity visited upon the violator, would produce wealth to anyone save the prosecutor who carries on the crusades, Kansas would also be entitled to claim that she is at least furnishing plenty of evidence of effort. But where a law is admittedly so unpopular that the greatest lengths are required to even frighten a small portion into submission, and where violations are reduced to artful and scientific practice, little can be said to recommend the system, unless, perchance, the claims made are amply proven by reviewing the record the State has made during the period of endeavor.

With the dry measures of 1909 in "full force and effect," to which should be added the additional attempts of the legislature of 1911, as well as those of the 1913 assembly, each and all of which advertised as "successfull" measures, it would stand to reason, no matter how much of a population gain was made, that poverty would be reduced to such an extent that the almshouse population would show a decrease also.

However, reference to the fifth biennial report of the board of control, published in 1914, at the close of the biennial year June 30, shows that there were, during that period, 14 children's societies and institutions receiving State aid, 37 hospitals, 5 rescue homes, 6 adult homes, 3 associated charities and provident associations, 2 miscellaneous institutions, and 6 private sanitariums and asylums for the treatment of insanity and nervous diseases. The institutions for care of neglected, dependent, and poverty-stricken children had 854 inmates during 1913 and 896 during the succeeding year, an increase of 42. The same institutions cared for 946 dependent children during 1915, or an increase of 50. During the year ending June 30, 1916, they cared for 953, according to the sixth biennial report of the board of control, published at the close of the biennium, June 30, 1916.

The 37 hospitals receiving State aid cared for 4,247 charity patients during 1913 and 4,694 during 1914. According to the sixth biennial report, board of control, pages 232–233, 40 hospitals received State aid instead of 37 as formerly, and these institutions cared for 4,766 charity patients during 1915 and 7,681 during the year closing June 30, 1916.

Aside from the regular charity patients cared for during the fiscal year 1915, these institutions cared for 645 patients who promised to pay and from whom collection could not be made because of their poverty, and during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, they cared for 905 of such patients. The three largest hospitals did not make any report on this feature in 1916.

According to the fifth biennial report, supra, covering the biennium ending June 30, 1914, 5 rescue homes cared for 135 charity patients during the year 1913 and 154 during the succeeding fiscal year ending June 30, 1914. During the fiscal year 1915 they cared for 74 charity patients and for 110 during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916.

The 3 adult homes cared for 51 charity patients during the fiscal year 1913. In 1914 there were but 2 such homes, but they cared for 70 charity patients. (Fifth biennial report, supra, pp. 228, 229, 230, 231.) During the fiscal year 1915, 3 such institutions received State aid and cared for 54 charity patients, while the same institutions cared for 55 charity patients during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, aside from refusing aid to 10 destitute applicants. (Sixth biennial report, supra, pp. 249, 250, 251.)

The associated charities and provident association organizations receiving State aid were likewise crowded to their doors during the years covered by the fifth and sixth biennial reports of the board of control—1913–14, 1915–16. The institutions in Kansas City, Kans., organized in 1903 "for the relief of distress and poverty (constructive philanthropy)" had 1,352 registered cases during 1913 (Fifth Biennial Report, p. 232) and 1,487 during 1914. Miscellaneous cases for the years 1913 and 1914 totaled 5,391. No complete detailed report of this institution is set out in either the fifth or sixth biennual reports, because of lack of space. This institution had a total of 1,630 registered cases during the fiscal year 1915, an increase of 143 over 1914 and 278 over 1913. For 1916 the registered cases totaled 1,680, an increase of 50 over 1915, 193 over 1914, and 278 over 1913.

There were 12 tuberculosis cases treated and supplies furnished during the fiscal year 1915 and 38 during the fiscal year 1916. (Sixth biennial report, supra, pp. 251–252.)

A complete report of the Topeka Provident Association could not be incorporated in either the fifth or sixth biennial reports, because of lack of space. However, during 1913 this institution received $1,800 from Shawnee County, aside from many other donations, amounting to $2,314.75, and $2,540 from Shawnee County during the year 1916, aside from $3,541 in other donations. The salaries for 1915 were $2,518.05, paid out of over $6,300 received, and during 1916 the salaries were $3,444.25, paid out of over $8,800 received from various sources of donation.

Another of the foremost charitable organizations of the State is the Associated Charities of Wichita. During the fiscal year 1913 this institution cared for 554 charges, some of whom paid for care by small cash donations or work. The charity patients that year totaled 263. During the succeeding year the institution cared for 1,106 charges, of whom 519 were wholly charity inmates. The Sixth Biennial Report of Board of Control does not show what the population of this institution was for the years 1915 and 1916 (p. 253), but the report indicates it is very much larger than formerly. It was necessary to build a $20,000 permanent institution during the fiscal years of 1913 and 1914, during which time $2,927.61 was spent in charity work for 1913 and $4,701.38 was spent during 1914, both independent of the sums spent for salaries, etc. The State donated $200 to this institution during both of these years, as was the case of the succeeding two years also.

During the fiscal year 1915 this institution spent $12,107.30 and during the fiscal year 1916 $14,338.39 for strictly charitable purposes. Aside from State donations amounting to $200 a year, it receives $4,800 annually from Sedgwick County and $2,400 annually from the city of Wichita. (Sixth Biennial Report, supra, p. 253.)

The Topeka Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis does not give a detailed report of its work during the biennium ending June 30, 1914 (Fifth Biennial Report, supra, pp. 235–236), but is one of the private charities which the State helps to support. It received $100 per year. During 1913 Shawnee County and other private donators, gave it $1,650, and during the year 1914 Shawnee County donated $960. This institution received $900 from Shawnee County during the year 1915, aside from State and other donations. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, Shawnee County donated $3,600. During the fiscal years 1915 and 1916, 63 charity patients were cared for in this institution. (Sixth Biennial Report, supra, p. 254.)

The Foster Humane Society, of Topeka, incorporated in 1896, does not render a full account of its work during the period covered by the Fifth Biennial Report (supra), page 236; nor for the periods covered by the Sixth Biennial Report, page 255, but cares for "man and beast," its purpose being, "general humanitarian work, primarily caring for animals, but extending charity and benevolence to indigent people."

Anyone in need, who is worthy of receiving same, receives charity aid, and the care and protection of animals constitute the scope of the work done by this charitable institution, according to the Fifth and Sixth Biennial Reports, pp. 236, 255. The State contributed $100 annually to this institution.

There are three children's institutions under the group of private associations and institutions of Kansas not receiving aid from the State. The Kansas Children's Home Society, of Topeka, nonsectarian and interdenominational, receives children from birth to 16 years of age, delinquent, if not incorrigible, but sound mentally. Legal surrender of the child is required. The purpose is to find suitable homes for them and supervise them until they become of age. During the fiscal year 1914 this institution received 104 children. During the fiscal years 1915 and 1916, a total of 208, an increase of 100 per cent.

There are many other private charities in both Wichita and Topeka which do not receive State aid, because the lack of revenue will not permit the State to meet their demands. In the present session of the legislature (1917), however, ways and means being worked out to donate over $30,000 per year instead of $14,000 as was done by the legislature of 1915. The private charities supported strictly by private donations and some municipal donations from the city of Topeka, have been incorporated under the name of the Confidential Charities, during the past year and three months, which, according to the Topeka State Journal, of February 9, 1916, is Topeka's clearing house for charities. "During January," says the Journal, "42 new charitable cases were reported to the Confidential Exchange. * * * In addition to the 42 new cases, 87 reports were made by agencies cooperating through the general office." Since January 11, 1915, when the exchange was organized, 441 new cases have been added to the records of the office, in addition to the 629 that were taken from the records of the most prominent charitable organizations when the exchange opened.

The annual report of the Topeka Orphans' Home was published January 1, 1916, and, according to the Topeka Daily Capital the majority of the children of the 61 received during the year, 24 of whom had been placed in homes for adoption, were under school age.

These and many other charities are working constantly to aid the grinding and merciless weight of poverty that staggers the conception when a real clear vision permits of a careful survey.

That all the provident work is not confined to the cities, however, the board of control reports for the fifth and sixth biennial show reports of the Ladies' Benevolent Society, of Cottonwood Falls, a mere village in an inland town, but which has always received State aid for its institution since its incorporation in 1892. The purpose of this admirable charity is "to feed the needy, clothe the poor, send the sick to a hospital, aid in keeping the children in school," etc. The only condition exacted is that the person must really be in need of help. This institution receives $200 a year from the State and is constantly petitioning for more, and probably will receive much more this year. Here is a sample of the work done by the private charities in Kansas. (From the report of the institution herein mentioned, for the years covered by the Fifth Biennial Report, Board of Control, 1913–14). "At Christmas a half dozen poor but worthy widows given $5 each; six widows and a man given $5 each; one unfortunate girl assisted, costing about $75; milk furnished several ailing babies; when family is known to be worthy but poor, order is given for groceries, clothing, etc. Orders are limited in amount. Half a dozen widows' taxes paid; hospital fees paid for two applicants; tuberculosis tent furnished when necessary; helped buy a home for a tubercular man."

During the year 1915 this institution helped 21 destitute families, aside from aiding many unfortunate girls, widows, and other helpless people. The exact number helped for 1915 or 1916 is not shown in the Sixth Biennial Report of the Board of Control. (P. 252.)

Cottonwood Falls is a village of only 899 people. For some unknown reason many larger towns have been "overlooked" in distribution of the political pie consisting of State charity aid, but nevertheless this furnishes a very clear example of the type of charity work carried on in many Kansas towns, which, though they have been crowded away from the State pie counter, spend as much in proportion to their population as does Cottonwood Falls. During 1913, aside from the State aid given the Ladies' Benevolent Society there, $50.40 was raised by membership dues, as compared with $183.54 from the same source during 1914. The dues for 1915 and 1916 were greatly increased. (Sixth Biennial Report, supra, p. 252.)

Other charitable institutions mentioned in the board of control reports for the fifth and sixth biennial are the Liesy Orphan Aid Society, a Mennonite institution; the Child Rescue and Orphan Society of the Church of the Brethren. This institution cared for 24 orphans of that denomination during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914, and 26 during the succeeding fiscal year.

The Kansas Masonic Home at Wichita cares for indigent worthy master masons, their wives, widows, and children, and members of the order of the Eastern Star. Children from 4 to 14 are received, and any adult over the age of 21.

The Christian Service League, also of Wichita, cares for white children up to 16 years of age. In addition, this institution will care for white persons of any age and either sex in destitute circumstances, according to the Fifth Biennial Report, supra, page 238. Patients are cared for in public and private hospitals at the expense of the league; also cared for in private homes. At the beginning of the year 1914 there were 56 adults in care of this organization, and 72 at the close of the year. During the year 475 persons, all adults, were cared for, aside from 150 children. During 1915 there were 485 received and cared for, and during the fiscal year 1916, 287 received constant aid, aside from the patients who received temporary aid and to whom occasional help was given, aside from 167 children there at the close of 1915 and 180 at the close of 1916.

The Rebekah Odd Fellows Home is another charity rendering reports to the board of control. Its purpose is to care for members of the order unable to provide for themselves, and to take care of their helpless wives, widows, orphans, and members of the Rebekah branch of the order in Kansas. White children 2 to 13 years of age are received. At the beginning of 1915 there were 61 children and 29 adults under care in the institution; at the beginning of 1916 there were 90 children and 90 adults.

The William Small Memorial Home at Leavenworth provides homes for aged women, white, 60 years and over; must be of sound mind and residents of Kansas. The capacity is 30, and it has been crowded since 1913.

Ingleside, a Topeka institution, provides homes for aged, homeless women, 65 and over. They must be of sound mind. During the year 1915 there were 22 inmates, and 23 during 1916. (Sixth Biennial Report, p. 291.)

There are six private sanitariums and asylums for the treatment of insanity, which report to the board, but receive no State aid. These institutions cared for 341 patients during 1913; 335 during 1914; the five reporting during 1915 had 293 patients, and the total six accounted for 395 patients during 1916.

In commenting on these private charitable institutions the board of control (Fifth Biennial Report, p. 181; Sixth Biennial Report, p. 231) says: "Much good work is done by these private charitable institutions. In some cities ladies' organizations look after the little technical needs and wants of the poor, and do it with less expense than could be done in any other way. In many of the private charitable hospitals the physicians donate their services free of charge, which greatly relieves the burden of expense to the men who must earn their livelihood by day labor. In most of the counties the commissioners pay these institutions so much for each charity patient sent there under the jurisdiction of the county. Several cities in the State pay these local hospitals a certain stipulated amount for charity work done and for patients cared for by these hospitals for whose care no remuneration can be received. A great many open-hearted citizens donate liberally to many of these institutions, while several lodges conduct their own orphans' homes and old folks' homes, and many of the churches have their orphans' homes, hospitals, and homes for the aged." It is not compulsory for any church, lodge, etc., to register their institutions with the board, and many—perhaps three score or more—in addition to those included in the official reports, are carrying on organized charity work.

In addition to the 26 children's societies and institutions, which received a total of $6,700 from the State during 1916, the Pittsburg Charity and Humane Society, of Pittsburg, Kans., and the Old People's Home, at Lindborg, Kans., were added for 1917, each to receive $100 from the State. In addition to the 37 hospitals receiving State aid during 1916, in the sum of $6,400, the El Dorado Hospital and Training School, and the Hatcher Hospital Association, of Wellington, Kans., and the Independence Hospital and Sanitarium Co., of Independence, Kans., were added for 1917, each to receive $100 per year from the State, making a total of 40. As the amount that the State can afford to pay to these private institutions which it must aid is limited, political pie answers the description of this help. There are many within the State scrambling and begging for State aid constantly, but it can not be given owing to lack of money. In explanation of the growing demands made upon the board in this behalf, the report for 1916 (sixth biennial, p. 296) says: "From time to time new requests for State aid are made by private institutions doing charitable work in Kansas, and the balance—$400—for the two fiscal years 1916 and 1917 has been retained by the board to be appropriated to worthy institutions doing charitable work in the State of Kansas during the said fiscal years."

Commenting upon the enormous charity work done within the State during the entire year of 1916, the Topeka State Journal said, on December 23, 1916, that "82 Kansas charitable institutions, under supervision of the State board of control, cared for 9,166 needy men, women, and children during the year ending June 30. In a special report issued by Senator J. W. Howe, secretary of the board of control, tells in detail of the work by State charities. Of the gross expense of $166,797.74, the State contributed $14,000 among 67 of the 82 institutions under its supervision. Sixteen children's homes in Kansas make reports to the State board. Of these institutions 13 receive State aid. The 16 institutions care for 1,203 during the 12 months, or an average of 100 children a month. The expense as reported to the State was $65,553.36. Forty hospitals, private and charity, sent reports to the State board. They reported the cases of 7,539 charity patients during the year. The expense was given at $97,444.38. Five rescue homes sent reports. Three of the homes cared for 95 women and girls at an expense of $3,300, while 2 other homes received 37 patients during the year at an expense of $2,500. The Masonic Home at Wichita, which burned this week, and the Odd Fellows' Home at Eureka Lake, which burned recently, sent reports to the State. The Masonic Home cared for 51 children and 91 adults during the year. The Odd Fellows' Home cared for 45 children and 100 adults. Neither of the homes received State aid. Expense of charity work is given in the report at $166,797.74. During each legislative session an appropriation of $14,000 a year is made for the care of private charities. These charities are designated in the appropriation bill, and during the biennium ending June 30 included 67 of the 82 institutions which make reports to the State board of control. The distribution of funds, as well as inspection of institutions, is under the direction of the State board."

In an extensive explanation of the increase of $214,338 recommended by the legislative appropriation committee for the State charitable institutions for 1918–19, the Topeka State Journal of February 10, 1917, declares that "Kansas will be kind to charity next two years."

On August 21, 1913, the North American, an Anti-Saloon League publication, carried an editorial entitled "Something's the Matter With Kansas," in which it set forth a few "facts" furnished by George H. Hodges, the governor of Kansas. Notoriously untrue, and known to be by the governor himself, they were "inspired" for reasons best known to Hodges and the Anti-Saloon League "field force," and have been published in reproduced form by the tens of thousands and sold by the league, fresh from their press at Westerville, Ohio, as "proof" that what they untruthfully and maliciously state to be the truth about Kansas is the naked and unvarnished truth. Speaking of the drouth of 1913, and referreing to Kansas, this statement contains the following joke: "She (Kansas) can better afford this or any other brand of calamity, for her people are not constantly paying out large sums for the care and keep of criminals, paupers, insane, and feeble-minded. The pauper population of the State falls a little short of 600. In 87 of the 105 counties there are no insane. * * * Twenty-eight county poorhouses are as empty as a last year's locust shell, and most of these have been so for the best part of a decade." And speaking of the reason for Kansas' prosperity, the article concludes that "this is true" because she has constitutional prohibition which had been enforced "to the letter" during the preceding five years; that prohibition relieved Kansas from spending much time, strength, and money on paupers, criminals, and feeble-minded; that gives her people "the best of chances for living and the fewest excuses for dying." The editorial quotes ex-Attorney General (now Supreme Court Justice) John S. Dawson as saying "recently," "The last two sessions of the legislature passed the most drastic prohibition law in the world, killing the drug-store saloon, making it impossible to even cure snake bites by the liquor treatment, and absolutely clapping down the 'lid' and riveting it on."

In a speech delivered at Topeka, January 1, 1916, Gov. Capper declared, "Yes; Kansas is a prosperous State, but there are some things which we do not have. More than half a million of our boys and girls never saw an open bar room; * * * we have a great scarcity of

poor farms and paupers; * * * and we drink very little booze. * * * I do not think we can find anywhere else on the face of the earth a million and three-quarters of people who will grade up as well."

In his Anti-Saloon League speech delivered in Columbus, Ohio, on November 12, 1913, which speech was afterwards printed at State expense and sold by the league as a "campaign document," George H. Hodges, then governor of Kansas, said: "Law is a crystallization of public opinion, and years ago we put a ban upon a traffic that produced only ills and woe, shame, indigence, poverty, and want. Kansas was an experimental ground, and we have determined the question that prohibition can be and is enforced in our largest city as well as in the rural districts. * * * It is of common occurrence for the liquor men to misrepresent the workings of our Kansas laws. We have had a long, hard, fierce struggle for a genuine law enforcement, and we are succeeding to-day as never before. * * * Kansas, after 34 years of prohibition pioneering, has demonstrated to its entire satisfaction, and has proven to the world, that whisky, houses of prostitution, and gambling dens are a commercial liability of the heaviest sort; coupled with their attendant evils of crime, divorce, murders, paupers, untold suffering, and ignorance. * * *

"When ministers have the courage to say to these nation wreckers that all your tear-stained money will not buy a kindly smile from that omnipotent Being before whom you must finally pass, then, and only then, will the old slippery conscience concerning the 'necessary evil' take on new activity, and become a militant, fighting, courageous organism for mankind. * * * We long ago came to the painful realization that it was not the 'good fellow' staggering from curb to curb, supinely happy, hiccoughing some rollicking song, that alone suffers from the effects of his indiscretions, but the wife at home, with a pale face, tense with suffering, a wistful, pleading, dry-eyed vigil of long, long night waiting, hoping that he would come home before the babies were awake in the morning. * * * To-day we are a law-abiding State, rich in wealth and manhood. * * * The original prohibition amendment excepted mechanical, scientific, and medicinal uses, and permitted alcohol to be sold for these purposes. Several years ago we put a ban upon that, and now there are no exceptions. * * * Prohibition prohibits in Kansas. Prohibition is helping to abolish illiteracy, depopulate our county poor farms, give us graded country schools, snug bank accounts, and the best system of dirt roads in America."

In again bragging about the effect of prohibition upon poverty, Mr. Hodges declared (p. 11): "We had only 625 paupers in the State last year."

If that is true, and admitting that the governor spoke the truth, and prohibition is to be judged by its record in that direction, what about the State having 908 in 1916? And those independent of any county or city pauper population outside the poor farms?

"Prohibition promotes wealth and industry," declared Gov. Capper at Boston, September 3, 1915. "Thirty-two counties in Kansas abandoned their public farms last year. * * * When Kansas began its rigid enforcement of the law, a great and a wonderful change was effected in personal credit. Butchers and grocers found that the men who were 'deadbeats,' under the saloon's influence, became debtors of reliability and good standing, and that bad accounts were a rarity."

If that be true, why was it necessary to adopt chapter 232, laws of 1913, giving the debtor of the State a new exemption against payment of personal debt? Speaking of the order of court to force a payment "or enforce the same by proceedings for contempt, in case of refusal or disobedience," the act gives the debtor a freedom unrestrained if he makes affidavit in answer to the creditor's demand for his money or his pound of flesh nearest the heart that "such earnings are necessary for the use of a family supported wholly or partly by his labor." It is further provided that only 10 per cent and court costs not to exceed $4 "and no more of the earnings of a debtor who is a resident of this State, for his personal services at any time within three months next preceding the issuing of any attachment, or garnishment process, may be taken and applied to the payment of his debts, when it is made to appear by the debtor's affidavit or otherwise that the remainder of such earnings above the said 10 per cent and court costs not to exceed $4 are necessary to the maintenance of a family supported wholly or partly by his labor; and such earnings of any such debtor earned during any one calendar month shall be subject to only one deduction of the amount herein made subject to attachment, or garnishment process, and one application of such deduction in one action shall be a bar to any deduction if any other action for such calendar month, regardless of where or by whom the action may be brought," etc., proceeding at length to further protect the pay check and fireside of the unfortunate debtor hounded to death with garnishment suits by the corner grocer, the butcher, or the market man, installment furniture house, installment clothing house, or loan shark.

The enactment of this statute was the outcome of a public uprising among the poorer classes of the State, ground down by increasing taxes to the point where their earnings had to receive State protection to permit them to even live without county aid.

"The Temperance Society of the Methodist Church asked bank presidents in Kansas what they thought of prohibition. One hundred and sixty-six favored the law, while only six expressed doubts of its wisdom," further declared the chief executive, and followed this by saying that sentiment was "unanimous" in its favor, because of its great reduction in poverty. The governor also declared that "saloon cities which send out advertising literature do not boast of the large number of saloons within their borders, but cities in Kansas put 'no saloons' first." He forgot to state what the retail grocers' association thinks of the 1913 garnishment law, or to show how much they spent on a lobby to beat it, or to say what they tried to do to it in 1915 or are doing now. The lobby thinks it is such a "blessing" by way of giving the Kansas mail-order whisky cheat a way out of paying his honest debts so he can send his money out of the State to buy rot gut that they will willingly pay any price to repeal the law.

"Thirty-eight county poor farms have no inmates," declared John Dawson in his Anti-Saloon League speech delivered in Chicago April 2, 1912. And it is needless to add that prohibition gets the credit for this "magnificent showing," while the official record shows that at no time were there even 32 counties without inmates, as Gov. Capper claimed.

The various statements, garbled, twisted, and worked into Bible-class leaflets, thrown broadcast over the country by a subsidized press, shouted from a hundred pulpits in every State, have convinced many people that the governors, attorney general, etc., spoke the absolute truth. If they did, then there can be no argument but what prohibition not alone has been a blessing to Kansas, but would be to any other Commonwealth, drink-ridden or otherwise. That they are made and are used for political and financial purposes goes without saying. Just what the price was, paid in exchange for them, will never be known, but one result has been to retard progress along many badly needed lines in Kansas, for the reason that the members of the legislature until quite recently have become hoodwinked and misled to such an extent that they have not been paying enough attention to the real needs of the poverty stricken and otherwise grossly misfortunate people to meet their needs by appropriations. Even superintendents of State institutions, begging for relief from the crying needs of their various charitable homes, have been looked upon as grafters, seeking "spoils of politics." With the governors and other men "high in office" maintaining, for a price and in answer to a call they dare not refuse to heed, to go abroad and spread such sophistry it is little wonder that the "people" begin to feel that the governors are right and those charged with positive knowledge are appealing for aid, when they should be holding an auction to sell the effects of the hospitals, etc.

A thunderbolt dropped from a clear sky, however, when Gov. Capper sent a special message to the legislature in February, 1915, and begged them to have a care in appropriating large sums he admitted were seriously needed by these institutions, and also cautioning them that a tax increase would be necessary, and, as assessed valuations were up to the breaking point, a tax increase would only add greater burdens to an overtaxed populace—overtaxed in patience as well as in financial demands. His reasons were, briefly, that the State had lost over $5,000,000 in taxable wealth during the past year and the population had not increased. Official figures for 1915 show that the population not alone was not increasing, but had actually decreased 18,404 since 1910.

However, in the face of this declaration, the governor traveled all the way to Boston to tell the people of the Anti-Saloon League and the representatives of their subsidized press that the reverse is true in Kansas, permitted his speech to be printed by his own printing plant, and is permitting the Anti-Saloon League to sell copies of it to prove that Kansas is increasing in population, and her pauperism, among other things, is decreasing. In fact, the governor stated, contrary to the solemn views expressed in his official message to the legislature, that the population increase had been enormous since prohibition has become the greatest matter of statesmanship in the State.

The mothers' pension act, chapter 261, of the Laws of Kansas, 1915, approved March 24, 1915, the day before Gov. Capper issued his famous Anti-Saloon League bulletin for the temperance society of the Methodist Church, and made a law by publication in the official State paper, April 1, 1915, makes the foregoing sound strange indeed.

This measure was adopted by the legislature with little or no opposition. The people of the State demanded it. Poverty, dire and unrelenting, refusing to be relieved by the magical and truthless tales of its absence, poured across the sheets of the press by men whose only object was to serve their masters, had become so general and the pinch of want so acute a general uprising throughout the State demanded the relief. Gov. Capper signed the measure and approved its becoming a law at once, and not awaiting the routine of the publication of the statute books several months later. Not saying that open saloons on every corner or on every other corner would have kept it off the statute books, but declaring the mail-order, bootleg, Jamaica ginger, automobile, alley-joint system made it necessary, I maintain that the Anti-Saloon League, through the agencies employed in and about the high offices in Kansas, has been trafficking in votes long enough that the Nation should at least hesitate in its mad rush toward a promised land of happiness and read.

The law provides "that the board of county commissioners may in their discretion allow and pay to poor persons who may become chargeable as paupers, and who are of mature years and sound mind, and who from their general character will probably be benefited thereby, and also the parents of idiots and of children otherwise helpless, requiring the attention of their parents, and who are unable to provide for said children themselves, such annual allowances as will not exceed the charge of their maintenance in the ordinary mode," * * * provided that in any case where the mother of any child or children under the age of 16 years shall have the care and custody of such child or children by reason of such mother being a widow, divorced, or by reason of the husband of such mother being physically or mentally unable to earn a living for himself or family, or by reason of his being lawfully confined in any penal or other State institution, or by reason of the husband of such mother having at all times for three months last past abandoned or deserted such mother without just cause or collusion, and where such mother has been an actual and bona fide resident of the county for one year next preceding her application, and where such mother is a provident woman of good moral character and a fit person to have the care and custody of such child or children and is financially unable to support such child or children, and where such child or children have not sufficient property or income to support such child or children, such mother shall be entitled to a "mother's aid" in caring for and supporting such child or children from the county in which she is a resident at the time she makes application.

The act provides for "reasonable aid" to be extended, not exceeding $25 per month, to each such applicant. Many precautions against graft on the part of the applicants are written into the law as a commentary on the honesty, or lack of it, of worthy and needy people of the State.

As soon as the law became effective nearly every county in the State was flooded with applications. The law proved a landslide of victory for the "statistics" and "sob twaddle" that prohibition had reduced poverty to such an extent, to use Gov. Capper's words, that "a pauper or needy person is a curiosity in Kansas."

Under bold-faced headlines the Topeka State Journal declared on January 10, 1916: "Poverty is great! It cost Kansas counties $607,580.03 last year. This is exclusive of aid dispensed from other sources. Mothers' pensions, $29,080.

"In one year Kansas counties spent $607,580.03 for aid of indigent poor and under the provisions of the mothers' pension law, according to reports compiled by Senator J. W. Howe (a Hodges appointee), secretary of the State board of control," said the Journal.

"The Howe report is the first statement of the county cost for the care of the poor. It is also the first statement showing expenses under the operation of the mothers' pension law. The annual expense of the counties as reported is $29,080 for mothers' pensions. Yet there are but 25 counties of the 105 which have adopted the provisions of the 1915 act.

"Shawnee County is among the 36 counties which have flatly refused to put in operation the provisions of the reform county pension law." Sedgwick and Reno, other larger counties of the State, adopted the provisions of the law. Wyandotte County allowed 59 pensions.

"General aid for the poor by Kansas counties aside from State aid, county farms, city, and local charities, cost $453,803.28, according to the report. Expense of the county farms amounted to $124,696.75 for the 12-months period.

"In the counties where the mothers' pension law has been observed the total expense of this reform law is $2,423.50 a month, or $29,080 a year.

FEW ARE CHOSEN.

"Of the 772 women who have applied for aid under the mothers' pension law since it became effective aid has been extended to but 247 under the terms of the new law.

"In several counties where provisions of the mothers' pension law have not been placed in operation investigating committees have been appointed by the county commissioners. Several of these counties will come under the operation of the law this month. All of which will mean that the expense for the care of the State's poor will show a big increase this year over the 12 months just ended.

EXTRA TAX LEVIES NECESSARY.

"Reports from the various counties show some heavy tax levies for the support of the poor. In Ottawa County (population, 11,605) a levy of 1 per cent on the assessed valuation of the county is made for county aid of the poor.

"Nine counties in the State reported an annual expense in excess of $10,000 for the care of the poor. Sedgwick County's expense was nearly three times as great as that of any other county in the State. In one year that county spent $69,095.52 for the care of the poor. Shawnee County was second with an expense of $23,878.14, while Leavenworth County reported an expense of $22,529.72; Montgomery, $21,652.92; Wyandotte, $20,034.38; Wilson, $15,030.60; Bourbon, $11,837.65; Saline, $11,143.65; Cherokee, $10,575.51.

REGULAR ALLOWANCES.

"In 19 counties regular allowances are made for the poor by the county commissioners. These counties include Anderson, Clay, Dickinson, Finney (the home of Senator Thompson), Geary, Gove, Harper, Harvey, Kingman, Leavenworth, Marshall, McPherson Meade, Pottawatomie, Saline, Shawnee, Wabaunsee, Wilson, and Woodson. The combined population of these counties is 349,809.

"Mothers' pensions were reported from 25 of the 105 counties of the State. These counties included Chase, Cheyenne, Clark, Cloud, Comanche, Crawford, Decatur, Gove, Gray, Greenwood, Haskell, Hodgeman, Kearney, Lane, McPherson, Morris, Morton, Rawlins, Republic, Rush, Seward, Stanton, Stevens, Trego, and Woodson. A number of these counties—14 of them—are "short-grass" counties, sparsely settled. The combined population of the entire number is 224,153, or 8,966 to a county.

"Six counties have, during the six months' operation of the law, granted 10 or more pensions. Wyandotte leads with 59 pensions to mothers and a monthly expense of $513. In Montgomery County 26 pensions cost $267.50 a month. Cherokee County has granted 17 pensions at an expense of $182; Butler County 12, at an expense of $110 a month; Bourbon County 12, at an expense of $70 a month; and Atchison 10, at a monthly expense of $65.

"Thirty-six counties have failed or refused to grant mothers' pensions. These counties are Allen, Anderson, Barber, Brown, Chase, Chautauqua, Coffey, Cowley, Doniphan, Douglas, Edwards, Elk, Ford, Franklin, Graham, Jackson, Jewell, Leavenworth, Lincoln, Logan, Lyon, Meade, Miami, Osage, Osborne, Phillips, Pottawatomie, Reno, Rooks, Russel, Saline, Shawnee, Sheridan, Sherman, Trego, and Wilson. Included in this list is Lyon County, the home of William Allen White, one of the most ardent champions of the mothers' pension law. The combined population of these counties is 599,802.

"Statements received by Senator Howe from several counties where the law is not observed indicate that while the 1915 measure is not opposed, no provision has yet been made for the money to meet the extra expense. In a number of the counties the expense for charity work is heavy, and the levy for this purpose is now near the limit. Other counties have provided for mothers' pension aid in their levies for this year and will grant pensions as soon as the money is available.

GENERAL AID GRANTED.

"One of the startling facts in the Howe report is the showing that but 247 persons have benefited under the mothers' pension law, while the counties have granted aid to a total of 12,871 persons. General aid has been given to a total of 11,716 persons, while the county poor farms have cared for 908 persons.

"'The amount of aid allowed the poor of Kansas is an enormous sum,' said Senator Howe to-day. 'One would hardly have supposed that we are spending more than three-fifths of a million dollars a year for the care of the poor—independent of State and municipal aid and through local charities. In the main though, I believe the money is given to worthy persons.

"'Yet, I am fearful of one thing: Probably less than half of the sum given relieved the cause. It merely helped the prevailing needs. A similar sum must be paid this year, while it seems the money should in some way go toward permanent aid. Instead of temporarily assisting these persons, there should be some manner of permanently aiding the charges of the State.

"'The question of aid for the poor seems unsolved and the expense is growing without permanent betterment of conditions. The mothers' pension will give relief to many needy persons. But it will not effect a cure of the evil in all cases.'

"Senator Howe's report is the first definite showing of the expense of counties for the aid of the poor. It is a valuable document for persons interested in welfare work and another insight into the problem of 'where the money goes.' The report is compiled from official statements received from 101 of the 105 counties of the State. Greeley, Scott, Wallace, and Wichita—all small counties in the extreme western portion of the State—did not report."

In commenting upon the need of a permanent institution to handle the charity money of the counties, Senator Howe stated in his official report, that "It would relieve the charity burden of the State in the future. It is like cutting down a sunflower. You can not stop the sunflower's growth, in a favorable season, by simply cutting off the top, you must go to the root. It is the same with giving aid—the problem for Kansas to solve is how to do this, thereby gaining the best results and the most lasting results. A problem to be solved in years—not in one year."

The chief complaint against the mothers' pension law was the fact that the first section of the law left it to the discretion of the county commissioners, as to whether the pension should be allowed. Many worthy persons applied for aid and were denied the relief, either on the ground that they could not be supplied with the aid because of lack of funds or because they could be turned down arbitrarily by the board without giving a reason therefor. The law became a political asset, as is usual in cases of this kind, where the needy ones with the strongest pull or the most influential political forces to "front for them" could secure the desired aid, while those not possessing that delightful element of "progress" were cast aside or permitted to fall by the wayside, objects of pity but victims of an uneven system.

Commenting upon the scarcity of good homes for the poor children placed in the various orphans' homes throughout the State, Gov. Capper stated, according to the Topeka State Journal of January 17, 1916, that he had received many letters from Missouri, Nebraska, and other States, asking if Kansas had any unfortunates who desired homes in good families. The governor stated it was a shame Kansas could not supply the needs of these children, and while he disliked to have them leave the State, unless some action was taken by the Kansas people to open good homes to the unfortunates, the law should be changed so the orphans could secure the benefits of respectable home life by being sent to Nebraska, Missouri, Oklahoma, and other States from which he had received offers. There were so many children housed in the institution homes at that time, according to the Journal, the governor was making a personal effort to have the burden of their keep shared by the home owners of the State, and thus relieve the general tax burden of caring for them.

Of the 105 counties in Kansas, 29 appear to have no inmates on the county farms during the year 1912, and the same number make the same showing for 1913, according to the fifth biennial report, board of control, 1914, page 34.

The 29 counties having no inmates for the year 1912 are: Barton, Cheyenne, Clark, Comanche, Edwards, Finney, Gove, Graham, Grant, Gray, Greeley, Hamilton, Haskell, Kiowa, Lane, Logan, Meade, Morton, Ness, Rush, Russell, Scott, Seward, Sheridan, Stanton, Stevens, Trego, Wallace, and Wichita. These counties have a combined population of 131,347, or 7.7 per cent of the State's total population. The same counties were listed for 1913, except that Cheyenne did not appear in the 1913 list, nor did Hamilton and Kiowa. Barber, Hodgeman, Kearney, and Thomas were in the 1913 list and not in the 1912 list. Those listed for 1913 had an aggregate population of 134,100, or 7.8 per cent of the total population of the State.

However, of the above counties, Edwards and Finney take care of their poor by paying for their keep in private families. Thomas and Graham do likewise and rent their farms. Barton also has a fine poor-farm property, but rents it and pays for the keep of its poor in various private families under contract. Many of the county poor farms have been turned into agricultural demonstration stations, and other farms less adapted to practical purposes established for the care of the dependent poor. Many county farms are being rented by the boards of commissioners of the various counties. The proceeds are used for caring for the poor either in their own homes or in private homes, where they are placed upon bid and under contract. While the total number of poor farms for the year 1913 is 19 less than for 1912, this does not indicate that they are not necessary, but that the plan of farming out the poor has been resorted to in the interest of economy and to reduce taxation. (5th Biennial Report, supra, pp. 34, 35.)

According to the sixth biennial report (1916), page 27, there were 22 counties having no inmates on county poor farms. Of these, 13 counties, including Finney, Graham, and others, which make it a practice to farm out their poor, report "no poor farms." The combined population of these 13 counties is 51,368, or 3 per cent of the total population of the State.

Of the 22 counties showing no inmates on farms, 9, namely, Barton, Cheyenne, Greeley, Hamilton, Hodgeman, Lane, Norton, Rush, and Sheridan, have poor farms, but, like Barton, rent them in the interest of economy and for the purpose of keeping down taxes, and care for their poor by contract with private families, using the proceeds of the farms to defray the expense whenever possible. The total population of these 9 counties is 51,339, or 3 per cent of the total population of the State. Thus, where from 7.7 per cent to 7.8 per cent of the State's population was represented by the counties having no inmates on the poor farms in 1912–13, those having none according to the report for 1915 comprised only 6 per cent of the State's entire population.

Of the 29 counties claiming to have no poor in 1912, Cheyenne, Clark, Comanche, Gove, Gray, Haskell, Lane, Morton, Rush, Seward, Stanton, Stevens, and Trego granted pensions under the mothers' pension act of 1916. Finney, Gove, and Meade are recorded as giving regular allowances by the county board for the poor, by agreement. Edwards, Logan, Meade, Russell, and Trego refused a part or all of the demands made for pensions, because of lack of funds.

In addition to the above counties granting mothers' pensions included in the 1912 list all were included in the 1913 list, and Barber County, included in 1913 and not in 1912, refused pensions because of lack of funds, while Hodgeman and Kearney, not included in the 1912 list, granted them.

Of the 9 counties reporting no poor on farms, but possessing farms according to the 1916 report, 4—Cheyenne, Hodgeman, Lane, and Rush—were among the 25 counties granting mothers' pensions. Sheridan, included in the above 9, refused to grant pensions because of lack of available funds.

Of the 13 counties reporting no poor and no poor farms regularly operated, Graham, Logan, Morton, Russell, Stanton, and Stevens refused to grant mothers' pensions because of lack of funds. And of the above 9 counties mentioned, Sheridan refused for the same reason.

(NOTE.—Norton County pays $2.50 a week for board and maintenance of each poor-farm inmate, having the farm rented for grain rent. Chautauqua, Harvey, Linn, Mitchell, Pawnee, and Phillips Counties have their poor farms on a self-supporting basis. Meade and Rawlins Counties have no improvements on their poor farms, but provide for their poor by direct appropriations each year.)

SUMMARY.

Number of counties reporting no inmates, according to Sixth Biennial Report, Board of Control, 1916, page 27, all of which have poor farms (Barton, Cheyenne, Greeley, Hamilton, Hodgeman, Lane, Norton, Rush, and Sheridan)	9
Number of above counties granting mothers' pensions under the law of 1915 (Cheyenne, Hodgeman, Lane, and Rush)	4
Number refusing because of lack of funds to grant mothers' pensions, though applications were made therefor (Sheridan)	1
Total	5
Number of counties having poor-farm property, either rented out or operated by the county, and no inmates thereon, and no demands made under mothers' pension law that were either met or refused	4

There were 99 counties that did not enjoy this distinction.
(Greeley County, included above, has 1.17 persons per square mile.)

Number of counties reporting no inmates, according to Sixth Biennial Report, Board of Control, 1916, page 27, none of which report any poor farm in operation (Finney, Graham, Haskell, Kiowa, Logan, Morton, Ness, Russell, Scott, Stanton, Stevens, Wallace, and Wichita)	13
Number of above counties granting mothers' pensions under the law of 1915 (Haskell, Morton, Stanton, and Stevens)	4
Number of above counties refusing to grant mothers' pensions under the law of 1915 because of lack of funds (Graham, Logan, and Russell)	3
Total	7
Number of counties reporting no inmates on poor farms and having no regularly operated poor-farm property (Kiowa, Finney, Ness, Scott, Wallace, and Wichita)	6

Among these are many counties, including Wallace, Wichita, Stanton, and Morton, that have from 1 to 2.4 people per square mile.

There are but 10 counties out of 105 in the above groups showing no paupers, and of those counties Barton, Finney, Ness, Kiowa, Hamilton, Norton, and Graham either give a stated sum to their poor, by order of the board of commissioners, or care for them by private contract. Of the 10, it is doubtful if any, save perhaps Greeley, have no paupers. (See Fifth and Sixth Biennial Reports, Board of Control, supra; Topeka State Journal, Jan. 10, 1916.)

The entire population of the above 10 counties is only 55,511, or 3.3 per cent of the total population of the State. Thus 96.7 per cent of the Kansas population lives in counties where poor-farm inmates are reported in the 1916 report of the board of control actually residing in the almshouses and not farmed out or cared for by the county in any other manner than as inmates of regularly constituted and operating institutions, known and designated as such.

And aside from those inmates, numbering 908 (the largest number ever reported), the population decrease was 18,404 for the entire State as compared with the United States census of 1910. Furthermore, independent of aid granted under the mothers' pension act and the paupers residing on regularly constituted poor farms (not including many of the 10 counties mentioned above, where the poor is farmed out or cared for under county supervision out of proceeds from rental of poor farms), there were 11,784 people given aid by counties, independent of the State and city charity, local charity, or lodge, fraternal society, or church charity. The total thus reported is 12,939, the largest number ever reported in the State—and this 34 years after the introduction of prohibition, which has been "prohibition" since 1906. Likewise, aside from "prohibiting," it has been "decreasing poverty" until, as ex-Gov. Stubbs and the present governor, Arthur Capper, insist, "a pauper is such a stranger among the prosperous Kansas multitudes he is almost a curiosity!"

And this is the kind of "bunc" that is used to secure "dry" votes in other States by "the church in action" contingent. O tempora; O mora!

DEMANDS INCREASE—LAW MUST BE AMENDED TO GRANT RELIEF.

The mothers' pension law of 1915 is not meeting the crying needs of the paupers of the State. The legislature is being called upon to tighten up the demands of the law and rob the county commissioners of the discretionary powers granted, making it compulsory to grant aid if the applicant can prove herself worthy. When you stop to consider that, figured on the basis of the State's population, the number of poor and needy given county aid alone during 1915 established a rate of 1 person in every 129.2 in the whole State, a charity patient, aside from what State, local, municipal, lodge, etc., aid was extended perhaps that many more, compulsory mothers'-aid laws are not so much of a surprise.

Shortly after the pension law became effective the mother of three small children, whose husband was serving a term in the Kansas penitentiary, applied to the county commissioners for relief under the act. Her application was arbitrarily turned down. She lived in Johnson County, one of the rich counties in "assessed valuation," lying in the eastern part of the State.

"Johnson County can not get away from allowing a pension to the mother of three children when the husband and father is in the penitentiary," said the Kansas City Star, September 28, 1915. "S. M. Brewster, attorney general, announced to-day that if necessary he would bring legal proceedings in the name of the State to compel the payment of the pension. A woman in Olathe, whose husband was sent to the prison last May, asked the county for a pension. The oldest of the three children is 6 and the youngest barely a year old. The mother is in bad health and almost unable to work. The county board turned down her application and announced that pensions would not be paid in cases of that kind."

Johnson County was afraid to set a dangerous precedent in Kansas, for if the poverty-stricken families of every prisoner, even, in the penitentiary and county jails had to be pensioned the tax rate would take an unusual jump. There is pending before the legislature at this time, an unusual jump. There is pending before the legislature at this time a series of bills trying to secure some aid to poverty-stricken families whose heads are in the State reformatory and penitentiary, by instituting a "service system," whereby the husband will be given credit for a certain amount of work, or so much per day, the proceeds to be sent to his struggling wife and children, in an effort to cut down the enormous expense cast upon the counties by the mothers' pension. The counties favor the measures, but the State authorities are not keen for it. Letting go of any source of revenue has never been a favorite pastime of Kansas State officials. They spend too much time figuring out new ways in which to gouge the people, to ever release a strangle hold.

Hundreds of cases, similar to the one of the Olathe woman, occurred throughout the State during 1915 and 1916. In the happy, prosperous "dry" home of William Allen White (Lyon County), the board absolutely refused to "take on" the new obligations, and no one was more bitter in his denunciation of them than Mr. White himself. He demanded that the board give them at least a little aid to tide them over the winter, but the hard-hearted farmers refused to relent. At the same time Mr. White was bragging away from home that prohibition had reduced poverty to such a degree that "we have none"—but that is another story.

In commenting on the inefficient system in operation in Kansas as regards caring for poor children, poor mothers, struggling families, etc., the State board of control thus addressed itself in the sixth biennial report, pages 1 and 2:

"In this State there are the fraternal orders, such as the Masons and the Odd Fellows, that have orphanages for the children of their unfortunate members. Then there are the sectarian institutions, such as the Catholics, Lutherans, and Mennonites have organized, providing institutional homes for the children of their respective denominations. These sectarian institutions also receive other children, in order to propagate their religious beliefs by bringing up such children in their faith. There are also general private children institutions that receive children from birth until the age of 2 years—which latter age is the lowest limit for receiving children at the State Orphans' Home—and also furnish a temporary home for other children whose parents, through misfortune are temporarily unable to provide for them. These institutions allow the parents to pay what they can, and have their children when they want them. The law also permits the keeping of dependent and neglected children at county almshouses. There are two State-wide home-finding associations and several local associations that place children direct in family homes, and supervise the children in such foster homes. As to the State institutions, soldiers' children are taken care of at the State Soldiers' Home at Fort Dodge and the Mother Bickerdyke Home Annex at Ellsworth. All dependent and neglected children between the ages of 2 and 14 years, of sound mind and who do not need hospital treatment, are admitted to the State institution at Atchison, named the State Orphans' Home, and this home has a State agent who attends to the placing of children in homes."

(NOTE.—The conditions surrounding the State Orphans' Home have become a State disgrace. Newspapers throughout the State have been filled during the past two years with column articles touching the vile conditions that have been permitted to grow up in this institution.)

Speaking of the crying needs of the State Orphans' Home, the superintendent stated in the Fifth Biennial Report, Board of Control, pages 149–150, that "Our needs are varied and well founded. * * * This is an institution of which any State might justly be proud; why not make it, in part at least, self-sustaining? These children are our future citizens; why not try to make them useful and worthy? We have many who are bright and capable, eager to take advantage of any opportunities. Were they properly fitted to go out into the world they would often rise above the position of a mere menial, as is frequently their fate. Would you not give your own child a chance? Does not this question of assisting orphans appeal to all thinking, feeling people, especially you who are parents? And these things may be accomplished by very few extra cents taxation." Apparently the question of assisting the orphans did not appeal to the State officers, because in the interest of "economy," the much-needed aid asked by this institution was denied.

The State Agent's Report, covering the population of this institution, for the biennium closing June 30, 1914, showed (p. 151, supra) a total of 235 children handled during the period. The number handled during the fiscal year 1915 was 307, and during the fiscal year 1916, ending June 30, 1916, the number had increased to 322. (Sixth Biennial Report, supra, p. 181.)

When making the report for the biennium ending June 30, 1916, the superintendent commented upon the fact that few if anybody ever reads such reports, and added: "Members of the legislature and others whose duty it is to provide maintenance for the institution are supposed to be familiar with these reports, and yet a member of great influence and learning asking a large appropriation of our legislative body had never read any of the reports and did not know that the object for which he was seeking this large appropriation had long been under consideration. Thought able, honest, learned, and enthusiastic for his institution, his knowledge of its needs was so crude that he failed to accomplish anything along the very worthy line for which he sought support.

"We may be mistaken, but it seems that the time has come when the citizens and the taxpayers generally are taking an active interest in their institutions and that our lawmakers will listen to the officers of the institutions rather than attempt to rely upon their own hasty observations or from hearsay and from other unreliable sources. Legislating for the institutions and providing for their maintenance is a delicate and complicated matter and should be approached with the greatest care and caution (supra, p. 165).

"The people most greatly disturbed over the question of child welfare, and who make the most noise, are those who have the least to do with them personally and who would be the last in the world to offer a homeless child a home. Why this is we do not know. It is like the question of taxation, where those who bear little or none of its burdens rave the most about taxes. It is a sure and certain thing that these people are satisfied when someone else is caring for the dependent child, while they are content with doing the talking.

"* * * Our experience in the placing of children has completely confirmed in our mind that 90 per cent of those who take our children into their homes do so for commercial reasons and not because of any real love for the child or desire to benefit his condition. It is for what they can get out of him in dollars and cents rather than for what they can see in him as a future citizen of the Commonwealth. Those in need of cheap help take the children out in the spring and keep them during the busy season and return them when the work is over and they must be to the expense and trouble of sending them to school and otherwise provide for their training.

"Wealthy people who are childless give freely of their material substance to maintain homes and home-finding societies, but very few of them give at all of the maternal or paternal riches that would make many orphanages and home-finding societies unnecessary.

"More home finders are necessary. Kansas is the only State that puts children out and then lets them shift for themselves. We have now more than 500 out on indenture contracts that are still in force. No one agent can visit and supervise anything like that number, not to say anything of finding and investigating new homes. In 1912 I recommended the appointment of two State agents with sufficient appropriation for salaries and expenses to thoroughly cover this feature of our work. I now renew this recommendation. This is a worthy object. The State has not the right to place these children out, no matter how carefully it may be done and then forget them."

Continuing, the State board of control said, on page 2 of their 1916 report: "The boys' industrial school at Topeka and the girls' industrial school at Beloit receive the incorrigible under the age of 16 years; but, as a matter of fact, many of the boys and girls sent to these two institutions are simply unfortunate.

"Either the private children's associations and institutions should provide for the children not provided for by the State or else the State and the county should provide for all children not taken care of by the private children's associations and institutions. As the State has institutions covering the work along certain lines, should private associations and institutions be permitted to solicit aid to duplicate the work carried on by the State?

"The 20 private children's associations and institutions, organized and working especially for children, and the 15 or 20 additional institutions which are somewhat concerned with problems of caring for dependent and neglected children and the State children's institutions should work together as a compact whole and not fight each other.

"Every child is entitled to an equal chance and a square deal, and it is the duty of society to hold the scales of justice. Children do not want charity, they want justice. A man dies after a lingering illness and leaves a widow and a child or children penniless. It is the duty of society to see that such children are properly raised and educated.

"The tendency of all legislation until quite recently, and of the societies and institutions created and operated thereunder, is to separate the family—to tear the children away from their parents, who are financially unable to support them. The home should be maintained at any cost, as it is the foundation stone upon which the superstructure of society and government rests. Most of the prevailing social evils of to-day are due to bad home conditions or broken homes. The bad home conditions are in the homes of the wealthy as well as in the homes of the poor. There should be a 'back to the home' movement.

"The legislature of 1907 strengthened the juvenile-court law by giving the juvenile courts jurisdiction to punish parents or other persons responsible for or by any act causing, encouraging, or contributing to the delinquency, dependency, or neglect of a child. The companion piece to this legislation, 'the funds-to-parents act,' popularly known as 'mothers' pensions' was enacted by the last legislature in the form of an amendment to the poor laws, requiring the board of county commissioners to give an allowance or pension to a mother under certain conditions (ch. 261, Laws of 1915, amending sec. 5545, General Statutes of 1909). The juvenile court has jurisdiction over dependent children and to punish parents and should also have the power to make an order granting an allowance or pension to worthy parents when the children or their parents have been brought before the juvenile court under the juvenile-court act, and the act of 1915 should apply to all other dependent children and parents."

Thus it is made clear that poverty and pauperism have become so rampant that it is quite necessary, from the viewpoint of men who have consistently studied the cause and in some manner called upon to declare the cure of it, if possible, that the State grant the power to the juvenile court, as well as to the county commissioners, to reach into the public treasury when occasion demands it and grant a pension to the struggling families from which flow a great percentage of the delinquent, incorrigible, and in time the criminal, no-account classes. Which is another "victory" for prohibition, quite naturally.

The fact that the mothers' pension act of 1915 did not compel the county commissioners to grant the relief applied for, and therefore has in no manner met the demands creating the measure, is notorious.

Speaking of the failure of the law to meet the conditions within the State, the Kansas City Star, February 9, 1917, said: "Club women of Kansas City, Kans., are becoming dissatisfied with the way the county commissioners are handling the widows' pensions. The women found to-day that 85 applications for pensions made since November have not been granted, although the applicants are in need of help and have been recommended by the poor commissioner and the investigation committee. The explanation of the commissioners is that the money is not available. The widows' pension act has been in force two years. A hundred or more beneficiaries are on the list in Wyandotte County. The monthly payments amount to more than $750, which, the commissioners say, is becoming a burden."

The Federated Women's Clubs of Kansas have been struggling for a compulsory mothers' pension law since July 1, 1915, and on January 4, 1917, the Topeka State Journal declared that they demanded four measures enacted into law, chief among which was this measure, as they realized the utter futility of trying to meet the demands of the women of the State under a law which permitted the county commissioners to exercise their discretion. They demanded compulsory pensions, no matter what the cost in increased taxation might be. It was declared to be another "crying need" of the State.

At the sixteenth annual session of the Kansas Conference, Charities and Corrections, R. M. Anderson, of Beloit, Kans., one of the chief speakers at the conference, said:

"Turning to dependent children the greatest stride for the prevention of crime by legislative enactment in the entire history of mankind was that of the mothers' pension measure recently enacted by our Kansas Legislature. The strength and the safety of a community depends most upon the virtue and intelligence of its youth. What a masterful conception was this self-same mothers' pension measure! Where better than under a mother's loving care can good citizens be made! Sums of money that are necessary for maintenance of children in their mother's care should be appropriated from time to time from the funds of the community which depends for its future welfare upon their proper maintenance and upbringing."

But strange to say, the Kansas legislators and county commissioners do not all agree with Mr. Anderson. They may join in his lofty idealism, but "joining in lofty idealism" and digging down in the threadbare pocket for more tax money to carry those ideals into practical effect are two entirely different things. And they do the other thing.

At the same meeting Hon. H. C. Bowman, chairman of the board of control, said:

"The public should demand that the practice of separating a mother from her children on account of poverty be stopped in every State. It costs $4.50 a week per child for care, schooling, and maintenance at the State home. The public has to pay for the care of every dependent child in one form or another, so why not do the humane thing and pay this money over to a poor mother who is otherwise competent?"

And after delineating the work done by the various State charitable institutions, in an effort to relieve the poverty that is so general within the State, Mr. Bowman said:

"In addition to the correctional and benevolent work carried on by the above-mentioned public and private institutions, which cost the taxpayers and persons who contribute to the private institutions millions of dollars annually, a vast amount of benevolent and charitable work is done by the churches, the Salvation Army, other religious organizations, fraternal societies and clubs, dispensaries, day nurseries, associated charities, provident associations, and social settlements. A vast amount of money, house rent, and supplies is also distributed by cities, townships, counties, etc., in what is known as outdoor relief. This outdoor relief work alone amounts to millions of dollars annually."

The conference adopted resolutions demanding the passage of an act by the legislature providing for the physical supervision of all children in the public schools and the medical treatment at public expense of the physical defects in the case of those children whose parents or guardians are financially unable to bear the expense; also indorsed the principle of mothers' pensions and urged the enactment of further legislation making the granting of the pensions compulsory and not discretionary, as provided by the laws of 1915.

Every welfare organization of the State demanded a change in the law similar to the one above declared necessary by the Kansas conference of charities and correction.

In his message to the legislature, January 15, 1917, Gov. Capper became "aroused" to the crying need of more strict legislation along this line, and "spoke right out," as they say in Kansas. And here is what he had to say about it:

"The increasing cost of living has become an almost unbearable burden upon the people. * * *

"The life, health, and vigor of the men, women, and children of the State are its greatest assets. It is certainly as much the duty of the State to promote the welfare of its citizens as to protect their lives and property.

"Kansas has been a leader in many phases of welfare legislation, but there is more we can do and must do.

"Only a few counties are observing the law for the payment of a pension to worthy widowed mothers, as provided by the legislature two years ago. The law should be strengthened by requiring each county to provide funds for this purpose."

Representative Bird of Shawnee County immediately introduced a bill in line with the governor's suggestions and in answer to the almost unanimous demand for it from all over the State. On January 24, 1917, the Topeka State Journal carried the following news item concerning the disposition of the Bird bill:

"The house late this afternoon voted to recommend the Bird compulsory mothers' pension bill for passage. By a vote of 88 to 14 house members in committee of the whole rejected a *motion by Martin*, of Reno, to strike out the enabling clause.

"Bird's bill provides that on proper showing county commissioners will be compelled to grant a pension. The present law, enacted in 1915, provides for optional pensions. Bird's bill removes the option clause and prescribes requirements for applicants for county pensions.

"A large women's lobby heard the debate. The bill came up for consideration under a special order."

Recognizing the demand for compulsory legislation, however, many members of the house and senate refused to support this measure on the ground that taxes are too high now, and it will be necessary to levy a special mothers' pension tax in most of the counties to meet the demand created should the measure pass. Batting the measure back and forth, consideration of this pauper measure became a game of battledore and shuttlecock. The women kept a lobby working in both branches of the law-making body, and Gov. Capper did all he could to put it across in its original form, his vehement denials while talking for the Anti-Saloon League away from home that Kansas has no poverty to the contrary notwithstanding.

On February 16 the Kansas City Star said: "Club women of Kansas City, Kans., are becoming anxious over the fate of the measures that they and the women in other parts of the State are asking of the lawmakers at Topeka. Not one of the bills they desired have been enacted.

"* * * The mothers' pension bill is the one most desired by the women. There are several bills along this line, one providing for the State taking charge, one placing the matter under the probate court instead of the county commissioners. The club women of Wyandotte County are interested in this, because the county commissioners say they can grant no more pensions until some fund is provided for this purpose."

After the house had voted in the committee of the whole to recommend the passage of the Bird bill, however, a house filibuster threw a can of dynamite behind the measure and blew it through the roof. "The Bird mothers' pension bill, designed to compel county commissioners to award compensation to widows and to provide a fund from which to pay it, was made inoperative, unless later considered and amended," said the Kansas City Journal of January 25, 1917, under a Topeka date line of the 24th, "when the word 'shall' was stricken out after a long filibuster in the lower house of the Kansas Legislature to-day. The word 'may' was substituted for the word 'shall' in the bill, which will allow county commissioners to ignore the provisions, if they desire, should it be enacted into law."

The bill as amended was also approved by the senate, and the teeth knocked out of it by permitting the "may" to remain, a fact commented upon by the Topeka State Journal of February 17, 1917. There is no doubt but what the measure, limp as a rag and absolutely worthless, so far as meeting the demands made upon the State by poverty-stricken women is concerned, will be presented to the governor before the end of the present session. No doubt being "the best we can do," and being another case of "cutting our garment to fit our cloth," the governor will sign it. And then at the first opportunity will probably "point with pride" to the fact that there are so few poverty-stricken widows and mothers in Kansas, the matter of caring for what few there are is left to the tender mercies of the county commissioners, who "may," if they think it necessary, grant the relief. Unless the governor changes his tactics as an Anti-Saloon League campaigner, he will declare that the "liquor interests" tried to force through the "shall provide" clause, and as it was entirely unnecessary due to the great prosperity prohibition brought the State, it was tossed to one side.

In addition to the mothers' pensions allowed by the larger counties of the State, thousands of dollars are paid out each year by way of temporary aid and regular monthly allowances. Based on the amount paid out by Wyandotte County alone, during January, 1916, the monthly allowances, if not increased during the year, amounted to over $3,000, and the temporary aid amounted to over $16,000, according to the Press, the official paper of Wyandotte County, January 14, 1916.

In the same issue of that paper appeared the following news item, as indicative of the "luxury" allowed the paupers on the county farm: "Meals at the Wyandotte County Poor Farm during 1915 cost 6½ cents each. This includes gum drops for Christmas." Merry Christmas!

One of the many contributions to the chain of evidence that Kansas people brag too much on their State and claim everything under the sun that is worth while claiming for it, to such an extent that people living in other Commonwealths begin to believe it after awhile, is presented in an article appearing in the Topeka State Journal of November 28, 1914:

"TALKS TOO MUCH—PROSPERITY REJOICING DEVELOPS A KANSAS KICK BACK—STORIES OF STATE'S RICHES LEAVE FALSE IMPRESSION.

"Kansas has been talking too much. The old State has been boasting and whooping things up about her big wheat and corn crops, her fine alfalfa, big profits in live stock, and her numerous motor cars and

other comforts and luxuries until folks in the Eastern States believe Kansas is so wealthy she doesn't need any contributions to help support her charitable institutions.

"The College of Emporia, a Presbyterian institution, says in its latest bulletin:

"'We suffer greatly because the conditions in Kansas are so greatly misrepresented abroad. Kansas is considered so wealthy that it is almost impossible for us to get money in the East. At the same time this wealth is so divided that there are very few individuals of large means in Kansas to whom we can appeal.'"

Hard times caused the Confidential Exchange, the central charitable organization of Topeka, to close a short time ago. And, in commenting upon its closing, together with the distress it caused in closing, the Topeka State Journal of February 17, 1917, said:

"The closing of the Confidential Exchange, which has done such commendable charity work, is causing both distress and criticism.

"'Such a thing should not occur again,' Commissioner W. L. Porter said to-day. 'The exchange has done valuable work through its secretary, Miss Adams, who has given all her attention and energies to the organization of charitable work in Topeka at a pittance wage. Next year it should be placed on a business basis.'

"'It is a shame that the exchange had to close just when it was needed most,' said Miss Kate Pearson, head of the Public Health Nursing Association and a pioneer agitator for the establishing of the exchange. 'It is too late to do anything this year. A month ago by efforts of the welfare committee enough money might have been secured to carry on the work during the remainder of the winter.'

"Meanwhile Miss Adams, secretary of the exchange, is answering daily a flood of phone calls from Topeka givers asking why the exchange is not in operation. The exchange was founded two years ago to organize the charitable work of the city and prevent duplication of giving food, as well as furnishing other assistance. Through its agency more than 1,200 baskets of food were distributed at Thanksgiving and Christmas last year."

Editorially, the State Journal stated the same day:

"POOR NEED HELP.

"Many of the charity organizations of the city are up in arms over the enforced closing of the Confidential Exchange because of lack of funds. With an epidemic of poverty caused by nonemployment, charity organizations are minus their best aids—the exchange.

"The city distributed $1,000 between the Provident Association and the Public Health Nursing Association in December. The welfare committee of the chamber of commerce made no particular attempt to secure any of the money for the continuation of the work of the exchange, charity workers assert, although the exchange is under the direction of the committee. Individual members of the committee say that at no meeting of the committee was the financial situation of the exchange discussed.

"* * * The city appropriated $500 to the exchange some two years ago and the amount has been made to cover the expenses of the exchange during the 12 months in which it has been kept open. The commissioners profess that they were ignorant of the low financial tide of the exchange, as no effort was made to bring the matter to their attention by the welfare board."

The charitable work in Kansas City, Kans., reached such enormous proportions that during the present winter steps have been taken to work out a plan to centralize them, not because of fear of duplication so much as fear that many of the paupers are not receiving aid. The same is true of Wichita and other larger towns in the State.

When Allen County decided not to grant mothers' pensions in January, 1916, according to the Topeka Capital, January 11, 1916, because of lack of funds and fear of an uprising if taxes were raised any higher, of the 35 mothers with dependent children who applied, at least 20 were found to be in dire need and suffering extreme poverty. The county commissioners decided to do "what they could," promising nothing. Just what became of the poor people, or how many of their sons and daughters were driven into immorality, vice, and crime to get a loaf of bread, or a new pair of shoes, or clothes to wear, is not stated. That part of it doesn't matter, so long as taxes can be kept down to boost prohibition.

Topeka's industrial plants decreased in number from 202 to 159 during 1915, according to the State Journal, January 15, 1916, thus closing the doors of commercial institutions that might have offered a chance for "child labor" at least to have helped beat the wolf from the door.

During this time the attorney general's office and all the available State machinery of government devoted weeks at a time preparing briefs for the purpose of butting-in to the Supreme Court of the United States, in an effort to help the good work along of having the Webb-Kenyon law declared constitutional, according to the Topeka State Journal of January 19, 1916.

The astounding increase of delinquency, juvenile immorality, and crime of all kinds in Kansas may be traced without fear of successful contradiction to the dire poverty that infests the State and the futile and careless efforts exerted by those who should leave no stone unturned to remedy it. "Poverty is the principal cause of immorality," declared the senate committee investigating vice condition in the State of Illinois, according to the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, January 20, 1916. "Unregulated conditions of domestic employment render the home, in many cases, a breeding place of commercialized vice," the report continued. "That poverty is the principal cause, direct and indirect, of immorality is the first and most strongly emphasized finding of the commission," said the Globe-Democrat.

The relationship between poverty and vice is so close that it occupied special attention when the Report of the Commission on Industrial Relations was submitted to Congress, August 23, 1915. On page 31, it says:

"Six dollars a week—what does it mean to many? Three theater tickets, gasoline for a week, or the price of a dinner for two; a pair of shoes, three pairs of gloves, or the cost of an evening at bridge. To the girl it means that every penny must be counted, every normal desire stifled and each basic necessity of life barely satisfied by the sacrifice of some other necessity. If more food must be had than is given with 15-cent dinners, it must be bought with what should go for clothes; if there is need for a new waist to replace the old one at which the forewoman has glanced reproachfully or at which the girls have giggled, there can be no lunches for a week and dinners must cost 5 cents less each day. Always, too, the room must be paid for, and back of it lies the certainty that with slack seasons will come lay-offs and discharges. If the breaking point has come, and she must have some amusement, where can it come from? Surely not out of $6 a week." And surely not from the Antisaloon League or a high-toned Y. W. C. A.! She might beg a meal from a corner saloon keeper, but never from an Antisaloon Leaguer.

A "sufficient reason" for Topeka's neglect, failure, and refusal to care for the poverty-stricken army of down-and-out men, women, and children may be gleaned from the following cheerful news given to the taxpayers, according to the Topeka State Journal of January 21, 1916:

"Exclusive of paving, water, and sewer bonds, Topeka is in the hole to the extent of over half a million dollars. The bonded indebtedness, exclusive of the above, is $509,312.41, and it will be necessary to stow away in the sinking fund $30,000 a year for 17 years in order to meet it.

"That is Topeka's financial standing, according to figures worked out to-day by W. H. Wasson, commissioner of finance. By laying away $30,000 a year until 1932 the city will be able to get out of debt; that is, the city proper. There will still be the waterworks, paving, and sewer bonds. The waterworks has a bonded indebtedness of $620,000, but will take care of its own troubles, exclusive of the city proper. The paving and sewer bonds will also be taken care of through another source—through the taxation of citizens whose property is affected.

"Heretofore the city has been putting between $24,000 and $25,000 in the sinking fund each year, but the ante will have to be raised to $30,000."

No wonder, as the State Journal said in its editorial February 17, 1917, the commissioners "knew nothing of the poor people's wants." They have their eye on that $30,000 "ante" each year.

When a city spends $10,000 a year chasing bootleggers and spending an increased amount year after year "enforcing the law," these little half million deficits are bound to come, no matter what be said away from home about the blessings of a ramshackle system the taxpayers know is a farce, a joke, and a sad commentary on the sound and dependable judgment of the best thinkers in the State.

On the same day the glad tidings were rung forth by the commissioner of finance, the police department, according to the State Journal, demanded an increase in pay. "The police ought to have more money," said Mayor House; "they are underpaid."

If all that has been said about prohibition in Topeka is true, they should be laying off policemen. They should have no use for them, and no doubt Mayor House doesn't know what he is talking about. He is merely the mayor of the city. To be an "authority" in Kansas you must be a governor or an attorney general, doing the lock step with the Anti-Saloon League. Then you know it all. Probably some of the policemen have a daughter or two working in the 5 and 10 cent stores there for from $3 to $5 a week, and would like to "save" them, preferring to do a home job of it than leave it to the governor or the attorney general's office—or Billy Sunday circus performers.

While the poor of Topeka were crying for bread at the door of the city hall Cora G. Lewis, one of the State's welfare workers, gave a glowing interview in one of the Anti-Saloon League's chief organs, the Kansas City Star, on how she was planning to censor film music. "How can we expect fathers or mothers, especially the fathers, to become interested in good music," queried Mrs. Lewis, according to the Star January 24, 1916, "when they hear the average ragtime"? Mrs. Lewis said she would take up the censorship proposal with State educators in Kansas. She is drawing a State officer's salary, incidentally, as a member of the board of administration, which has always had a tendency City Star, giving prohibition the same old threadbare boost, saying,

On January 27, 1916, Gov. Capper was quoted at length in the Kansas City Star, giving prohibition the same old threadbare boost, saying, among other things, that prohibition had beed a godsend to the farmers of the State, who were the healthiest, wealthiest, and wisest set of men in the Union, and the farmers of Smith County, one of the counties where "assessed valuation" is high and apparently "actual wealth" somewhat low, spoiled it all by petitioning the county commissioners and State officials to give them three or four months more time in which to pay their taxes, then due and delinquent, because of financial stringency. "It is likely they will be given a stay of at least 20 days," says the governor's paper, the Topeka Capital, January 28, 1916. "There are more taxpayers in arrears in this county now than for the last 20 years," concludes the article, in the form of a dispatch from Smith Center, Kans., the county seat of Smith County.

The farmers have been buying too many Anti-Saloon League pamphlets or too much boot-leg, mail-order whisky, and trusting too much in what the league promised them. But the tax collector only promises one thing, and that is a rough-house if you are not there with the coin of the realm when it is due. Prohibition doesn't pay taxes—it creates the demand that they be raised.

Forty-five sturdy "sons of prohibition" slept in the city building at Winfield, Kans., on the night of January 29, 1916, according to the Topeka Capital, January 30. "This is an unusual condition," remarked the Capital. Quite. And quite interesting. What caused it?

On February 1, 1916, the Topeka Daily Capital carried the following "living proof" that prohibition has decreased poverty in that city to such an extent even an epidemic of sickness cuts no figure any more:

"The grippe has brought the pinch of winter poverty to more homes in Topeka this winter than in any similar period of cold weather on the records of local charitable workers.

"The charitable institutions have been flooded with pleas for immediate relief, and in an overwhelming measure the increase in the number of calls and the keenness of necessity is a result of the grippe that in so many cases has quickly developed into pneumonia.

"Wage earners have been taken ill, the slender supplies of coal and food exhausted, and families that heretofore have not been compelled to ask assistance have sought temporary relief.

"'We have never had as many calls as we are now receiving,' said Mrs. E. J. Callahan, assistant secretary of the Provident Association, yesterday. 'Illness has been the cause of a majority of our appeals. Food, clothing, coal, and transportation—all have increased. Our woodpile has been an especial blessing. Beside the families to whom we have given wood, numerous times, Mr. Bacon, the county poor commissioner, has been unable to rush coal orders to needy homes, and recourse is had to our woodpile.

"'So far this month,' Mrs. Callahan said, '217 grocery orders, averaging $3 in cost, have been issued. Clothing and fuel, in addition, have been provided for many, and rent has been paid for numerous families. The men's dormitory at the association building has been full every night since the present cold weather began, and the two hospital rooms have been crowded with patients.'

"* * * W. E. Bacon, county poor commissioner, has had a big month, and as many calls are coming in daily now as when the first cold weather arrived. Food and fuel are the principal things for which the demand has increased, Mr. Bacon said. The Salvation Army

has given help to many persons the past few days, Ensign Houser said last night."

Apparently somebody in Topeka has been spending those nickels they would shoot across the mahogany, if they had saloons up there, somewhere else. In any event, none of them went into the savings account, or went to build dry fortunes we hear so much about by the Kansas "statesmen." Something is wrong. Perhaps, after all, Topeka and the rest of Kansas is just like the rest of the country, only that they buy all their booze from boot-leggers and from the mail-order whisky houses.

During this time, according to the Topeka Capital, February 1, 1916, an almost unprecedented campaign was being waged among the rich people of the city by the Walnut Grove Methodist Church to raise $10,000 for the new church to be built in an exclusive resident neighborhood, costing $20,000. Bishop William F. Anderson, of Cincinnati, and other big men in the church organization were booked to come to Topeka and deliver lectures for the purpose of raising a part of it.

The article failed to state how many of the lectures were to be delivered at the hospitals or in the jails, where the starving and sick unfortunate army of the city's population were housed, or to the babies whose mothers were near wrecks from lack of food. The "better element" had its hands full and had no time to think of the sick and starving. The money had to be raised for the church, no matter how many died of pneumonia.

The February 5, 1916, edition of the Topeka State Journal tells the sordid story of the shame of little Hattie Naffe, a 16-year old Topeka girl, whose three or four dollars a week as a waitress in a cheap restaurant failed to keep the wolf from the door where her sick mother was the victim of pneumonia, and so she sold her virtue for the price of food and clothing that could not be spared her from the church donations or the regular monthly subscriptions to the Anti-Saloon League. "White slavery is becoming an epidemic," laconically states the news item.

Billy Sunday was about due to save Kansas City at the time, and prayer meetings were being held daily and nightly, urging the Lord to make his meetings there a grand success. There was also a promise of his coming to Topeka for a few hours to save the poor people.

The police had time, however, according to the Capital of February 7, 1916, to hunt up a cabaret dance and arrest 52 people. "Among the persons arrested," says the Capital, "were 25 boys under age and 9 girls under 20. There were several boys and several girls who were not over 15 years of age. The range of the ages was from 15 to 44. Dan Hickman was the oldest. Chief Parsons warned Mrs. Fisher, the proprietor, Saturday that she must not permit minors, boys and girls, to enter her place or she would be arrested. Mrs. Fisher conducts a restaurant in the upstairs rooms of a brick building."

On February 11, 1916, the Topeka Daily Capital featured a news dispatch from Peabody, Kans., a town of slightly over 1,300 population, in Marion County, in the central portion of the State:

"PEABODY A PAUPERLESS TOWN—BEDDING AND SUPPLIES FOR THE NEEDY AT CITY HALL, BUT NOBODY CALLS FOR THEM.

"PEABODY, KANS., *February 10.*

"Peabody claims the distinction of being one of the very few cities in Kansas that is without a pauper. Mayor J. W. Newsbaum said the other day: 'So far as I know, there is not a pauper in the city, nor has there been all winter.' Charles Marsh, city marshal, says the city has a lot of bedding and clothes at the city hall for those who are in need, but so far this winter there has not been a call for free supplies."

In the Topeka State Journal of February 11, 1916, appeared a cartoon showing starving and needy Topeka children, huddled together watching large moving vans hauling away Servian and Belgian relief supplies. It was entitled "When Will Charity Begin at Home?"

In the same issue of the Topeka State Journal Hon. F. P. MacLennon, the editor, said:

"In a recent talk which the editor of this paper was invited to make in a distant State he said: 'The lesson which California teaches Kansas lies in the statement that the Sunflower State is not a good spender; that great things come not by accumulating wealth and holding it, but by spending it efficiently.'

"That is as strong as we dared to put it away from home, where it might leak out and hurt us, but here in the capital of Kansas, just among ourselves and in the family, we have got to admit our real trouble when we find it out and take the remedy.

"Fortunately the indisposition, though evil, is not incurable; quite the contrary. It can be cured. The dose is easy and palatable. We have it at hand. We boast we have it, but we do not take it. Let's take it and be great; then we will really be not only what we claim to be but what we really are, if we but assert ourselves and take the rank which belongs to us.

"This remedy is to stop hoarding money; stop putting our wealth in mere piles and figures to amaze the world—but spend it, efficiently of course, but buy that for which we have the means.

"We talk too much. Well, to be true; but let our actions follow, and befit our mien and station. Let us quit being miserly, and thereby mean and close, and do as the State and the community of Kansas are really doing individually, for the Kansan himself is not selfish. He is generous and sympathetic personally. Witness the long list of good things our people do for others. For instance, the Belgians, the sufferers by flood and fire, aid to the poor and stricken of our own and other communities. Let us do as citizens of our State, county, and city as we do in our families, in our homes, in our business.

"Kansas is not correctly or efficiently represented, governed, or led by those who have put themselves in public place to represent us. This is true of our governor, of our county commissioners, of our city commissioners."

"Look at the spectacle of Gov. Stubbs (an ex-governor), who vetoed a needed appropriation for our university to make a political record in holding down taxes, now sending his children to Princeton," further declared Mr. MacLennon.

While poverty was still raging throughout the State the Topeka Capital of February 20, 1916, heralded the glad tidings to the world that Henry J. Allen, of Wichita, and W. Y. Morgan, the lieutenant governor, had answered the Macedonian call for help from the Iowa suffragettes and the Topeka Club women were busy trying to enforce the Sunday blue laws, while the school children of the State were to receive only $53 per capita during the year for all educational purposes provided by the State.

And the Capital of February 21, 1916, gleefully heralded the news that much poverty would be relieved soon, as the National Congress was about to pass a bill to pension Indian war veterans, and two regiments of Kansas cavalry were to participate in the appropriation.

And with befitting modesty W. J. V. Deacon, a faithful contributor of Anti-Saloon League literature, himself the State registrar, announced that the birth rate had increased from 21.2 to 22.2 in a whole year, but forgot to mention with any emphasis, in his interview appearing in the Capital (Feb. 21, 1916), that the death rate had also increased from 10.5 to 10.7. The Kansas death rate in 1914 was 9.8, according to Government figures, though Deacon put it at 10.5 "on suspicion," because it was 10.6 the year before.

One of the surprises of the age was notedl n the Capital February 23, 1916, in the form of a telegraphic dispatch from Belleville, Kans., an inland town where John Barleycorn has been dead for all of 35 years: "The whisky ring in this county is trying to play a smooth game this year in county politics. They have a well-organized plan to get behind certain candidates for county office, regardless of political party, and will endeavor to nominate and elect them with a view of controlling them in office after election. If the voter will keep close tab and take a second look he will be able to detect the candidates the whisky ring is supporting." The whisky ring must be quite a power out there! And this after 35 long and weary years.

Another prosperity item in the Capital, of same date, was the story of the filing of a petition in bankruptcy by the owner of the largest restaurant in Kansas City, Kans. "It was the favorite gathering place of business men, politicians, professional men, and the like, to take lunch and talk shop," said the Capital. "It seems now that the best known café of Kansas City, Kans., has been suffering from poor business. * * * The total liabilities listed amount to $8,536.26. The only asset listed is the safe, valued at $1,500."

The Topeka State Journal of February 25, 1916, carried the pitiful story of the downfall of Pearl Higginbottom, a 13-year old girl, who because of poverty and inability to secure aid or work sold herself into white slavery to one Charles Smith for $5. Charles, by the way, was a Kansas product who had never been tempted to do evil by the sight of an open saloon, but was a frequent receiver of mail-order whisky and a good customer for the bootleggers. But he was "dry," and as proof of it showed he was a Sunday-school member in good standing and could yell at poor old John Barleycorn louder than a calliope.

Also on February 25, 1916, the city of Topeka and the county commissioners of Shawnee County entered into a public fight as to who should assume the care of the indigent poor, pauper sick, and charity patients of the city.

"I didn't know until I read it this morning that Dr. Lull was fighting me," said Commissioner W. L. Porter, "but now that he is I'm going to get a couple of yards of mosquito netting and protect myself."

After which remark, Commissioner Porter made formal request on George P. Hayden, city attorney, for an opinion on the division of the medical work between city and county. The opinion was in Porter's hands within a short time, and it bears out his contention with the county:

"Under the opinion, * * * it is up to the county to take care of all cases of sickness among indigent poor and of all contagious and infectious diseases, except in so far as the city assumes responsibility.

"It states that under the law, where the city adopts rules and regulations for the control of contagious diseases, then the city assumes the responsibility for the treatment of such diseases. It states that under the law it is up to the city to take care of sick transients—people who are not residents of the city or county—but that the county is responsible for the expense incident thereto.

"* * * 'From reading the statute covering the point,' reads the opinion of Attorney Hayden, 'there is in my mind no question that as a general proposition the county shall be liable for the necessary care of the indigent poor and is only relieved from these duties when the city takes upon itself the responsibility of the health of the city.'

"'That,' said Porter, referring to the opinion, 'is the contention I have been making—that the city is responsible only for what it undertakes. And we have not undertaken and do not intend to undertake the responsibility for the treatment of the indigent poor. That has always been the county's business and will continue to be so far as my department is concerned. I don't blame the county for trying to saddle this work and expense upon the city. That's the way for the commissioners to cut down their expenses.'

"* * * Dr. Lull (county physician) stated to-day that his department and that of Commissioner Porter made an agreement months ago under which the city physician was to take care of all contagious diseases and that Porter is backing up."

In the meantime, on February 26, 1916, the news was heralded by the Topeka Daily Capital that the entire Kansas delegation in Congress had been made to "see the light" by the Anti-Saloon League and were "solid for prohibition," because there was no poverty or sickness in the State; because, in fact, "Kansas offers more reasons for living and fewer chances of dying than any other State." No doubt this was news to some of the Kansas delegation.

Another reason why Topeka merchants are short and continually entering the bankrupt court, with or without "inducement" from their creditors, and perhaps a potent factor in the apparent lack of attention paid the poverty-stricken army that roams the streets of that fair city and sleeps in the police station or goes to the hospital because food and clothing can not be obtained, is given in a "prosperity and prohibition" item, published in the Daily Capital, February 26, 1916:

"TRADE AT HOME" MOST IMPORTANT CITY SLOGAN—A. C. NAGEL POINTS OUT FEASIBLE PLAN TO BRING DESIRED RESULTS—LIST THE THINGS YOU BELIEVE CAN'T BE BOUGHT HERE AND TELL THE COMMERCIAL CLUB ABOUT IT.

"'Trade at home,' says Albert C. Nagel, manager of J. C. Darling Co., and in the next breath he comes right along with a scheme to encourage Topekans to take his advice. Here is the scheme:

"Every Topeka merchant who buys goods outside of the city and every other business man should prepare a list of the goods which he can not obtain, or thinks he can not obtain, in Topeka. These lists should be given to the Topeka Commercial Club and taken in charge by a committee. This committee should check over the articles mentioned. If the goods wanted are not made here, there is a reason, Mr. Nagel says. It will be the committee's business to find out the reason.

"'Too many merchants and business men take it for granted that the goods they want are not made here,' said Mr. Nagle. 'They never stop to find out. If they want a large quantity they find the eastern manufacturers will offer better prices. What's the reason?

"'It's simply because the Topeka man can not afford to carry a big stock, because the merchants do not buy from him consistently. He can't compete with eastern houses, because he can't buy in large quantities.

"'If a list was prepared showing what goods were made in Topeka it would boost the trade. The same list would show what lines are carried here. Cooperation would enable some firm to stock up on the needed lines.

"'I think it is time for Topeka business men to wake up and get together and do a little cooperating so they can help each other build up. As long as they fail to do so, the town isn't going to get along very fast. It will be mighty slow pulling.'"

Mr. Nagel probably is also aware that 85 per cent of the "energy" expended in Topeka is reform energy—all wasted. Not arguing that if Topeka had saloons, this condition would change materially. It would if the "good old days" of license and regulation would get the people back into the habit of building up rather than tearing everything to pieces. The sunbonnet brigade has been furnishing many sweet morsels for the governor to roll around under his tongue when praising suffrage and prohibition throughout the land, but a ramshackle system will break down eventually, and Topeka is about as good a living example of what bunk will do as could be imagined—and Topeka is by no means the only city in the State suffering from prohib-religio-peritonitis. One thing is certain, prohibition has ruined the town, which answers every argument made by the dry boosters.

A few days prior to Mr. Nagel's outburst a Capital reporter asked Mayor House what Topeka needed most. "Horse sense and tolerance," answered the mayor, according to the Capital of January 30, 1916.

According to the Atchison Globe, April 22, 1915, "An Atchison business man said to-day: 'If I had my money out of my business, I would leave Kansas on the first train. The fool politicians are ruining the State, as they never overlook an opportunity to drive business to Missouri.'"

Law-enforcement programs have long since taken the place of industrial-trade crusades in the Sunflower State, and it is no matter of wonder why poverty, piffle, and bankruptcy prevail in normal times. The big red-padlock crusade staged in Kansas City, Kans., during 1906, 1907, and 1908 by Trickett and the attorney general's office in quest for gold only—not that they cared a whit about prohibition—dealt that city a body blow from which it will never recover. A third of the business property there is vacant now, and bankruptcy proceedings have been instituted against the largest clothing store there within the past week. The city has lost its amusement park, has no theater, no newspapers; its city market went to the wall after a feeble effort to stay on earth; its hotel, opened several years ago with so much promise, has become nothing more than a family boarding house, occasionally housing a few of the overflow crowds Kansas City, Mo., can not care for; and its park system has degenerated into a series of mudholes, ruined pavement, and trashy looking flower gardens.

But there is a reason for everything. One of the reasons why Kansas City, Kans., is the backdoor yard of Kansas City, Mo., is because the women insist on running the police department, the city hall, and declare too often, "We are the people; let the people rule."

The following from the Kansas City (Mo.) Post, August 18, 1915, gets the point to you better than a volume:

"FLAYS K. C. K. OFFICIALS; CHARGES INSINCERITY—MRS. S. H. WALLACE DECLARES PROMISES OF PROSECUTION OF BOOTLEGGERS BY POLICE AND JUDGES HAVE NOT BEEN FULFILLED.

"Charges that Kansas City, Kans., officials, from judges to patrolmen, are not sincere in their attempts to enforce the prohibitory laws were made by Mrs. Sena Hartzell Wallace last night. She was addressing the Twelfth Precinct Welfare League at the Western Highlands Presbyterian Church.

"The meeting was the first of a series to be held by the Welfare League and the W. C. T. U. in Kansas City, Kans., to arouse public sentiment to a more rigid law enforcement. They were decided on at a meeting held two weeks ago at Grandview, when Chief Gordon spoke.

"'Chief Gordon told us the courts had a whole lot to do with the failure to stop beer wagons making illegal deliveries,' said Mrs. Wallace. 'It does seem that the judges, from Judge Pollock, of the Federal court, down to Judge Fischer, of the district court, have by some of their decisions on liquor cases made it hard to enforce the law.

"'The chief also said witnesses went back on their testimony when taken into higher courts than the police court, which amounts to nothing to the bootlegger, who appeals from his fine.'

"Mrs. Wallace pointed out that there is a way, and cited a recent case in Wichita, where a witness was fined $10 for not telling the truth.

"'The law can be enforced if the officers are in dead earnest and cooperate with each other.'

"Mrs. Wallace also made an attack on the parole system used in police courts as very inefficient by allowing a loophole for the bootlegger to avoid the fine."

And at the same time rental property not fit for a dog to occupy was housing starving babies throughout the city, street car tracks were almost impassable because the city commissioners were sitting up nights trying to figure out how to keep a beer wagon off the city's streets rather than face the W. C. T. U. firing squad and letting the railway franchise go unenforced; the building code was trampled under foot; and in the mad rush for favor among the "sunbonnet brigade" the county poorhouse was creaking and groaning with its overload of paupers, having dished out to them a 6¼-cent meal, with gumdrops thrown in, for Christmas dinner. And the people ruled!

The Topeka Capital of August 21, 1915, quoting Harold B. Wood, city health officer, as saying, "It is no easy task to find the dirtiest home in Topeka."

And amid the clamor and "open charging" by the female firing squad in Kansas City, Kans., the "efficiency" of their law-enforcement program was meekly told by the Kansas City (Mo.) Post, May 28, 1915, as follows:

"RESORTS IN KANSAS CITY, KANS., RUN UNMOLESTED—'BLIND PIGS' ARE FLOURISHING WITHIN FOUR BLOCKS OF POLICE HEADQUARTERS.

"Within a radius of four blocks of the Kansas City, Kans., police headquarters resorts and 'blind pigs' are operating and have been doing so for several months without serious molestation. Several times the proprietor of the most flourishing resort has been haled into police court on minor charges, but always escaped on small fines.

"The police have received several complaints. Confident of their secure position, the proprietors sell liquor of every description without discrimination. Seldom do they investigate before complying with the requests of prospective customers.

"Policy tickets are sold openly in some of the pool halls of both Kansas City, Kans., and Kansas City, Mo. Kansas City, Kans., is given as the location of the drawings."

It is notorious that there are resorts flourishing there to-day. The county and city officials have made many "attempts" to stop the dive keepers and policy writers, but when the public goes to sleep for a week their business takes on new life. Occasionally it is absolutely necessary that some little business be transacted, and the foot racing and crusading must subside while the commissioners figure out how much the taxes shall be for the ensuing year. And then the "business of 'seeing the judge'" and the patrolmen goes merrily on. And so does poverty, vice, crime, drunkenness, and "saving of souls."

Kansas City is close enough to the Missouri city, so joints are not as necessary to the "metropolitan life" as in Topeka and Wichita. With a car line running from the Kansas side to Missouri, a great convenience is enjoyed by the "Kansas side drys." If the bone-dry law is passed, the car line will be a most highly useful adjunct to the Kansas town, and should any bone-dry law contain the clause making it a felony to have booze "in or about the person" half the city would be in jail all the time or move away.

When a reduction was made in railroad fares in Kansas recently much promise was held out for the Kansas towns, especially those bordering on "city territory," and one of the delightful aftermaths of the continuous system of hammering, misstating the truth, and bragging of the wonderful satisfaction that reigns supreme in sunny Kansas because of the saloonless conditions is contained in an extremely "shocking" and none the less "unpatriotic" article appearing in the Press, the official and also the only weekly paper published, the only one, in fact, in Wyandotte County, under date of January 28, 1916:

"THE HALF-CENT FARE REDUCTION CATCHES 'EM—TRAVELERS ON TRUNK LINES GOING TO AND COMING FROM POINTS IN KANSAS STOP IN THIS CITY, BUT THERE'S LITTLE OF MUCH INTEREST TO HOLD THEM.

"Passengers from points in Kansas do not alight from trains in the Union Station, Kansas City, Mo., because they can save one-half of a cent per mile by getting off trains in this city. The board of railroad commissioners fixed a rate of 2 cents per mile in Kansas. The Interstate Commerce Commission has fixed the rate at 2½ cents per mile. Passengers to points in Kansas come from Kansas City, Mo., to stations in this city for passenger trains.

"All trains stopping in this city let off and take on many more passengers since the interstate decision has become effective. (Note.—For years the best through trains running west from Kansas City, Mo., did not stop in Kansas City, Kans., and only very recently have a number of them been forced to do so by act of the legislature.) In consequence street cars are taking in more nickels.

"'Where is the Cordova Hotel?' asks an arrival. 'Which car goes there?'

"'Where is the Savoy?' inquires another. And so questions are asked and answered as the travelers pull their baggage along after them on the street cars. (No inquiries are made for any of the Kansas City, Kans., 'hotels,' Woman's Christian Temperance Union headquarters, or churches, however; nor the public library nor 'park system.')

"The stop is made in this city merely to save the half cent per mile. Upon the arrival of trains a rush is made for the city on the other side of the State line, to the hotels, for the theaters, for the department stores, to the cafés, and the saloons.

"The little passenger stations in this city that towns of 1,000 population afford are adequate for even this increased business. Without the attractions that Kansas City, Mo., affords, where is the business in this city to maintain a million dollar depot? (Note.—Kansas City, Mo., opened a $60,000,000 station and terminal in October, 1914.)

"A union station, to be sure, and freight rates and terminals and hotels and theaters and stores and big business, all combined, would make a town here.

"A start should be made to attract strangers and transient trade, but the beginning should be made on practical lines."

In bragging on the wonderfully pure and progressive results of the constant cannonading, confiscation, jailing, and crusading carried on by Trickett, Attorney Gen. Coleman, Stubbs, Attorney Gen. Jackson, Hodges, Attorney Gen. Dawson, and others, ex-Gov. Hodges, in his notorious speech delivered before the fifteenth national convention of the Antisaloon League, Columbus, Ohio, November 12, 1913, while he was governor of the State, said:

"Kansas City, Kans., is the only city in the world of 100,000 population where there is not a house of prostitution, nor an open saloon, and I doubt whether there is a joint accessible in the whole city." ("Doubt" is good. Kansas City, Kans., "shrunk" from 100,000 in 1913 to 91,658 in 1915.)

And further the governor declared: "Kansas was an experimental ground, and we have determined the question that prohibition can be and is enforced in our largest city as effectively as in the rural districts. I have but to cite Kansas City, Kans. When the joints were closed the business men were up in arms, so to speak; they thought that the enforcement of the law would drive trade just across the line into Missouri wet territory, and while we were embarrassed temporarily, a reaction took place, and the city grew by leaps and bounds. New business houses, bigger and better stores, great high schools, public ownership of a great water plant and electric-light plant sprung up." (The bonded debt of Kansas City, Kans., is greater than that of Kansas City, Mo., and the latter is a metropolis of nearly 400,000. Every two years the Kansas Legislature is forced to permit Kansas City, Kans., to increase its bonded debt limit. The water plant and the electric-light plant are bonded for several millions, are not self-supporting, and have proven to be a serious menace because of the high tax necessary to keep them going. They show a "profit" when figured out by the city officials, who want more bond money to spend on them, but not by experts. Bond money voted for "extensions and improvements" is carried in the general fund, and what is left at the end of the fiscal year is figured in as "profit" to furnish sop for the prohibitionists, and also as a bait to induce "big business" to come, but big business is not crazy, no matter whatever else is the matter with it, and refuses to come.)

Kansas City, Kans., furnished much "enthusiasm" to the Antisaloon League "statesmen" for a short while, especially during the period the Kansas City Star was putting across commission form of government over there. Bankers, who were expecting to and did afterwards handle some of the bond issues voted under the "new form," furnished glowing testimonials that are still used by the league throughout America. But that was years ago.

In his Antisaloon League outburst, however, Gov. Capper declared in Boston, September 3, 1915, that "after the saloons were driven out of Kansas City, Kans., the State's largest city, for the first time in 20 years that municipality made no debt for current expenses," and cited a former mayor, U. S. Guyer, as "authority." Mr. Guyer forgot to tell him, or Capper forgot to say, that the bonded debt of the city has increased to over $11,000,000 meantime, which is over $4,000,000 in excess

of that of Kansas City, Mo., over four times as large in population. The governor also maintained that "another saving was made of $25,000 by a reduction of the police force," but does not say when the "reduction" was ever made. For a time after the city suffered a loss in revenue by closing the joints, the treasury was so depleted the fire department and police department had to be cut down, as were a portion of the small army of school-teachers. The streets were unsprinkled and permitted to go to ruin, as they are now. After some bonds for "public improvements" were voted, the police force was again rehabilitated and is now over four times larger than it ever was, and not half large enough. The governor claimed also that "a former attorney general" told him that Kansas City, Kans., had "saved $25,000" by reason of public prosecutions falling off. If that is true, it seems strange neither the governor nor the "former attorney general" gave any authority for the statement. The records of Kansas City, Kans., do not bear out the claim. When a city has to put a fire department in a tent and take money voted for the purpose of building a new fire station to pay running expenses it is time for the governor to adjust his glasses and take another look. He took a look at some of the tenements there recently and threw up his hands in holy horror, declaring he "never seen the like." There is lots to see elsewhere, if he will only look.

Aside from quoting John Dawson and ex-Mayor Guyer (ex-candidate for reelection, ex-candidate for city commissioner, ex-candidate for judge of the district court, ex-candidate for Congress three times, and ex-candidate for judge of the city court, and ex-lecturer for woman suffrage), Gov. Capper's speech let Kansas City, Kans., pretty well alone. He quoted a tale told him by Dawson, in which a "prominent citizen"—probably the fellow who hit McCarthy with the brick or stole Charley Ross—of Kansas City, Kans., came to him (Dawson) and said: "For God's sake, don't let the old rotten order of things return to Kansas City. We have got away from it and are well rid of it, and the town was never so prosperous as now." Apparently the "prominent citizen" cares nothing for a union depot, a hotel, theaters, baseball parks, department stores, first-class cafés or restaurants, or big business. He answers the description of the type of the average Kansas City, Kans., religio-politico hell raiser. They live on "increased publicity"—not "increase of population, prosperity, or industry."

The Happy New Year resolution adopted recently by the Mercantile Club of Kansas City, Kans., called for the hiring of an expert, if the funds could be raised, to tell them what was the matter with the club and what to do to make it grow and bring "big business" back to town. And ex-Mayor Guyer and the banker who told of the glories of prohibition in glowing terms a few years ago were among the prime movers of the plan. Dawson and his friend, the "prominent citizen," were absent, the former holding down a fat job as judge of the supreme court and the latter probably holding down a "call" with a little more of a pay check attached—in some wet town.

Gov. Capper's rap at the slum landlords in Kansas City, Kans., was not made until April 7, 1916, according to the Kansas City Star, however, which was some time after his Anti-Saloon League speech in Boston, but he repeated it several times during the fall campaigns for the league. In his "rap," according to the Star, he said: "The tax records of Kansas City, Kans., show that some of the most filthy, tumbled-down rental property is owned by wealthy citizens or corporations controlled by them. These men live well on the 15 per cent they get from the rental of this uninhabitable property." He was going to see to it that the legislature passed a law prohibiting these hell holes of poverty, to the end that "the room in which the child sleeps is in a sanitary, healthy condition and not a dark closet at the end of a blind hallway in a tumbled-down shack owned by a man who thinks only, 'How much rent can I get?'" but has been too busy entertaining his coworkers in the Anti-Saloon League, endeavoring to figure out what sort of a bone-dry law "the people want" to pay any attention to the poverty-stricken people of Kansas City, Kans., or any other Kansas town.

"The health records at Topeka show that in Kansas City, Kans., of the 2,100 children born last year 216 died before they reached the age of 1 year and 60 per cent of diseases that can be prevented," the governor said when delivering his "rap," according to the Star, but not one word about it now. "'The people' are demanding a bone-dry bill and the governor is sworn to serve 'the people';so the starving, disease-ridden children will just have to hang on as best they can. If they don't like it, they can wander out and look at the nice dirt roads, 'the best in America," so Hodges says, that prohibition has furnished for the State, or they might hunt up that "prominent citizen," the friend of Judge Dawson, who said "For God's sake" when begging him not to let the "rotten conditions" return to the city.

There is no showing anywhere that conditions as revealed in Kansas City, Kans., and Topeka differ from conditions throughout the entire State. It is no doubt true, if Peabody, the little 1,300-inhabitants town down in Marion County, actually had no paupers during a portion of the last winter, it enjoys the distinction it claims, but the fact that it was "prepared" for pauperism shows it, like all other Kansas villages and towns, expected to have it to contend with. Space will not permit an analysis of conditions in Lawrence, Wichita, Salina, Parsons, and other "cities" of the State, nor of the smaller towns, but it is true, nevertheless, that poverty is just as rampant as bootlegging.

SUMMARY.

The published report of the secretary of the board of control, Senator J. W. Howe, showed, among other things, that on December 31, 1915, Kansas was caring for 247 paupers under the mothers' pension law, and that 772 applicants had applied for aid thereunder, with only 25 counties recognizing the demands of that measure, and those among the most sparsely settled communities, where, if anywhere, prohibition should have driven poverty before it into the bottomless pit of oblivion. That report, covering a period of 18 months (from July 1, 1914, to Dec. 31, 1915), showed that $457,361.58 had been spent for relief of poverty during the period, and the expense of operating poor farms totaled the staggering figure of $124,696.75, with many poor farms self-supporting, or the poor cared for under private contract or through an arrangement whereby they could be provided for out of the grain or cash rent received from the rental of poor-farm property.

The year elapsing between December 31, 1915, and the last of the year 1916 has been a prosperous one for Kansas farmers. Wheat has been demanding a top price; cattle, hogs, hay, and alfalfa, as well as all other farm products, have broken all records, owing to the "war prices." However, in a report just published, covering the period from July 1, 1915, to July 1, 1916, it is shown that 368 mothers' pensions have been granted among 943 applicants, about one-third of the relief given that has been demanded; and, although the number has increased from 247 to 368, the cost has been held down for the reason that counties are opposed to establishing a precedent by granting "regular pensions." The cost has been approximately $2,423.25 per month, or $29,080 per year. "The county commissioners in many counties allow regular monthly aid, but do not call it pensions," says Senator Howe, for the obvious reason that they may "cut off" the temporary aid whenever they desire, but not so with a pension. The cost of caring for the pensioners and those to whom general aid was given during the period from July 1, 1914, to December, 1915, was $457,361.58. The cost of caring for them during the period of just one year, from July 1, 1915, to July 1, 1916, a portion of the time, however, included in the foregoing mentioned period of 18 months, was $426,905.70, which proves that the cost is not decreasing any, but increasing at an astounding rate. While general aid was given to 11,784, aside from county poor-farm inhabitants, and also the 247 pensioners, during the 18-month period above mentioned, for the year covered from July 1, 1915, to July 1, 1916, 7,304 received general aid, aside from the poor-farm inhabitants and the 943 pensioners, at a cost of $134,704, as compared with an expenditure of $124,696.75 during the 18-month period. "The county commissioners contend they do not have the funds to pay mothers' pensions," reports Senator Howe in his last statement. "These figures do not include local charity or State charity," he adds.

If the State officials of Kansas, or other members of the Anti-Saloon League of America, can work any comfort out of this showing, they are welcome to it. And if the persistent claims that prohibition has reduced poverty to such an extent that a pauper is a curiosity in Kansas; that the homes are happier and children better cared for than formerly are not answered, defeated, and forever put to rout in this exposition of the fraud practiced upon the American public, then the English language has failed in its initial purpose to convey thought and tell the truth. One thing is established beyond all doubt—the Kansas system is everything else than claimed to be by the prohibitionist panhandlers. As a system of ruination and a vehicle for transportation to the poorhouse and the grave, it has achieved a signal success in the Sunflower State. Not that it has routed "booze" and that temperance and sobriety bring these conditions about. Not a bit of it. On the contrary, it has filled the State with rot-brain mail-order whisky, torn asunder any semblance of commercial thrift, turned into channels of despotism all police efficiency, torn from the masthead of the ship of state the flag of progress and prosperity, and nailed thereon with bloody hand clutching the steel hammer of hate, confiscation and ruin, a black and yellow flag, with skull and crossbones, whereon is written "He who enters here leaves hope behind!"

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THE DIVORCE RECORD.

The State of Kansas does not publish an annual divorce report. Neither do any of the counties. Contrary to the general belief, the Kansas brand of prohibition and "the Kansas system" have in no manner decreased the divorce rate. On the contrary the rate has been increased to such an extent that it has caused much public and unlimited private comment.

In the Anti-Saloon League resolution passed by the legislature for use in various State legislatures, during March, 1915, it is positively stated that Kansas homes are happier now since the stalwart Kansans have "at last" found a way to make prohibition work, which is taken at its face value among people who either have not the time nor the inclination to study the problem, or who have an ulterior motive in spreading any news complimentary to prohibition of the Kansas or other brand. In his tirades against "demon rum," Billy Sunday always points to Topeka as an example of how prohibition will reduce divorces.

The causes for which divorce may be granted in Kansas are: First, when either of the parties had a former husband or wife living at the time of the subsequent marriage; second, abandonment for one year; third, adultery; fourth, impotency; fifth, when the wife at the time of the marriage was pregnant by another than her husband; sixth, extreme cruelty; seventh, fraudulent contract; eighth, habitual drunkenness; ninth, gross neglect of duty; tenth, conviction of a felony and imprisonment in the penitentiary therefor subsequent to the marriage. (Sec. 5580, Gen. Stats. of Kansas, 1905.)

Relief may be granted independent of statutory provisions in cases where the court may feel in its equitable jurisdiction a divorce or other relief may be consistently extended to the injured party. (35 Kans., 638.)

In Kansas, as elsewhere, many divorces are secured on the ground of "gross neglect of duty" or "extreme cruelty" when those terms, like charity, cover a multitude of sins—and things.

The board of control, in its Sixth Biennial Report, page 2, says: "Most of the prevailing social evils of to-day are due to bad home conditions or broken homes. The bad home conditions are in the homes of the wealthy as well as in the homes of the poor. There should be a 'back to the home' movement."

And further evidence is presented in the declaration of the State board of corrections, in its Second Biennial Report, page 4, wherein it declares: "The other (speaking of the factors that enter into the increase in the crime record of the State) is the lamentable influence of unhappy family life, with divorces and separations, leaving helpless children to be creatures of the street and eventually wards of the street. Kansas can well afford to enter on improvement of its reformatory methods at the source instead of at the top, and only thereby will it be able to reduce its list of inmates in the institutions."

"In the institutions" means the State penitentiary, the State reformatory, the boys' industrial school, and the girls' industrial school, as these are the institutions under control of the State board of corrections.

Dean F. W. Blackmar, of the State University, declared, at the sixteenth annual session of the Kansas Conference, Charities and Correction (p. 45): "If Kansas keeps up with the reforms she has suggested, she will have to quicken her pace mightily. Indeed, if she keeps up with the reform movements of other States over which she has foolishly claimed superiority, she will have to speed up, and if she does not want to deceive herself perpetually into thinking she is great when she is not, she must introduce more efficient and economical methods into her institutions and public administration."

Owing to the great flood of this class of litigation, clogging the courts of the State, an effort was made during the 1913 session of the legislature to at least temper the increase, allowing divorces only in such cases as it was absolutely necessary, by the establishment of the office of "divorce proctor" in each county of the State, whose duty it is to make investigation and report his findings to the district judge before trial. A fee of $10 was allowed for that purpose. (Chap. 234, p. 415, Laws of Kansas, 1913.)

Strong pressure was brought to repeal this law during the present session (1917), because of the proctor's fee. It was claimed the extra $10 caused many worthy people who were entitled to a divorce to be forced to go without it. However, the county attorneys, most of whom are divorce proctors, got busy and defeated the attempt to repeal it, claiming it was highly necessary to preserve the "peace and dignity" of the Kansas homes.

In his address on "The Delinquent Child in Kansas" before the Kansas Conference, Charities and Correction (sixteenth annual session), Judge Osborne, of Independence, Kans., said (on page 14): "Deprived of proper parental care the young easily drift into evil ways. Provision is now made for the appearance of proctors in all divorce cases. Their preliminary investigations afford the district court much valuable information, enabling the judges to discover more readily the salient features in any case. In many cases affecting children these courts do not have at their disposal proper agencies for suitably caring for and maintaining these children after the trial. As a result a large per cent of these young ones soon find their way to the juvenile courts. Every divorce action affecting the cutody of children should be referred to the judge of the juvenile court for trial. * * * It would be infinitely better for the juvenile courts to have charge of such matters at the outset than to be called upon to exercise authority after a dismal failure of other means."

"In nine cases out of ten in the juvenile court the blame should not be placed upon the child but upon the parents," said R. M. Anderson, of Beloit, Kans., at the same meeting. And at the same meeting Judge John True Sims, of the Wyandotte County juvenile court, declared that "95 per cent of all girls and boys that go wrong do so because of neglect. If parents did their duty there wouldn't be so much of this scientific discussion necessary."

H. J. Corwine, parole agent of the Industrial School for Boys, said, on page 80 of his report for 1914 (first biennial report, State board of corrections): "Out of disordered homes flows our stream of juvenile delinquents. The home has lost its charm for the boy, if it ever had any charm for him. He would rather hobnob with loafers on the street corners or hang around pool halls or wander down back alleys than to stay in such a home. To force him to do so makes him incorrigible." And Effie Loader, parole officer of the Girls' Industrial School, declared in her report for 1916 (second biennial report, supra, p. 104): "It is essential that the girls go to some better protection than they had before they came to the school, because they are largely the product of their environment, and if they are to be permanently reformed new homes must be found for them. A great drawback in the work is the inability to secure enough of the right kind of homes. * * * While the home may be of good character to all appearances it may be full of discord."

The Chicago Tribune, February 4, 1917, carried the following story, under a Topeka, Kans., date line: "A new trend in the worok of the womens' clubs in Kansas is being developed. Instead of building sidewalks to the local cemetery and seeing that the grass is kept cut, the women's organizations are trying to make their home towns a better place to rear children."

In reporting the State meeting of the Women's Federated Clubs, held at Goodland, Kans., for the year 1915, the Topeka Daily Capital, September 24, 1915, said:

"That a large part of the work of Mrs. Miller's administration will be an effort to interest the women of the State in crime prevention is evidenced by her opening speeches. Child welfare work is advocated as a means of crime prevention. It is the business of the club women to know the conditions in their home towns and to regulate these conditions so that every town will be a good place to rear children," she told the audience.

"The theories that women should see no evil and know no evil, and that each mother should confine herself to the work of her own home, were characterized by Mrs. Miller as pretty sentiments, but out of date and impractical. 'Women must know the evil conditions of their own towns,' she declared. 'It is nobler and braver to know evil conditions and to set about earnestly to correct them than to turn away from the misfortune and tragedy of life. It is better for the club women to be mothers of all the children in the community than to allow some of them to grow up and become members of the criminal class.'"

According to a report issued by J. W. Howe, secretary of the State Board of Control of Kansas, April 24, 1915, the rate of Kansas divorces was one in every seven marriages. The increase, as near as can be ascertained, was 1 in about every 5.8 for the year 1916. In some parts of the State the rate was very high, being as high as one in every three or four marriages.

According to the Topeka Daily Capital January 1, 1916, divorce was sought in over one-fourth of all the cases filed in the civil cases instituted in the district court there.

The annual report of the Topeka Orphans' Home was published January 1, 1916, according to the Capital, and showed that the majority of the children of the 61 received during the year, 24 of whom had been placed in homes for adoption, were under school age. "The reason for this fact," said the matron, "was because the majority of the people who want children prefer younger ones, who can become members of the family in which they are placed and forget their past life." Among other children for whom the matron was then trying to secure a home was a pair of twins (girls), 3½ years old, who were placed in the home by the juvenile court.

Apparently ignorant of the fact that the Kansas Conference of Charities and Correction, the State Federation of Women's Clubs, the State Board of Control, and hundreds of private and many public agencies in Kansas are working day and night to secure some solution to the great increase in crime and juvenile delinquency, or that there is in fact any crime or moral delinquency worth worrying about in Kansas, ex-Gov. Stubbs, in one of his characteristic outbursts, stated at the banquet of Texas cattlemen in El Paso, according to the Topeka Daily Capital of January 26, 1916, that prohibition had saved Kansas $5,000,000 in crime prevention and better morals. The occasion on which the speech was delivered was a dinner given the officers and delegates of the American National Livestock Association. "He was hooted and cheered in turn by the diners," the Capital adds. It is scarcely necessary to add that he produced no facts or figures, authentic or otherwise, to prove this wild declaration.

In speaking of plans then under consideration for crime prevention and to secure a better standard of morals within the State for the protection of children, Mrs. J. M. Miller, president of the Kansas Federated Women's Clubs, thus admonished the members and others interested, according to the Capital, January 28, 1916 (three days after the Stubbs "speech" in Texas): "Do not be satisfied until you have aroused the entire community and have brought about a cooperation of all forces interested in the welfare of the child. Let us make this a community work as well as a community blessing." But Mrs. Miller lives in Kansas, among the Kansas people, knows the Kansas home conditions, the dangers from divorce and its attendant evils. She is a student of human nature in Kansas.

Dr. Alberta Corbin, president of the Kansas Council of Women, declared, according to the Capital, January 29, 1916, in summing up the practical, sensible reforms necessary to decrease moral delinquency and crime among the women of the State: "The need is better home condition, more unity in their social life, opportunity to know each other and to preserve the democratic spirit. Kansans have acquired an unfortunate habit of saying that Kansas has the best of everything. As a native Kansan and a loyal Kansan, I wish to say we have not the best of everything. This is especially true of Kansas schools, which rank comparatively low."

An average "happy-home day" was celebrated in Topeka, according to the Capital, February 4, 1916, when one marriage license was issued, two divorces granted, one divorce suit dismissed, and two other new ones filed.

Lawrence, the State University town, found it necessary, owing to neglect of children by parents, to adopt a rigid curfew law February 24, 1916, according to the Topeka Daily Capital. Policemen were instructed to arrest all boys and girls under 14 who loitered on the streets after 8 o'clock in winter and 9 o'clock in summer.

The "happy home" slogan received another body blow when, according to the Topeka Daily Capital, February 28, 1916, Carl Hofchoinder was arrested at Hays City, a western village, for stabbing his divorced wife, burning down eight buildings, and raising prohibition hell generally, because she refused to live with him, or divide the property which the court decreed to her when the racy divorce suit was determined some time prior. Needless to add, Carl was drunk on white mule, which was not purchased at an open saloon.

Another "home prosperity" item of more than passing interest appeared in the Topeka State Journal April 5, 1916, under the headline, "She Had a Good Time." "Jessie Harris, a young Topeka woman," states the story, "who spends much of her time in the city jail, managed to stay out of jail just 24 hours after she was released yesterday morning. This morning she was back behind the bars. A week ago Jessie was arrested for being drunk and disorderly. She was in a room with two negro men when they carved each other up and was slightly cut herself. Yesterday a woman who knows the Harris girl made an appeal in her behalf, and the girl was released. She promised to drop the booze. Last night she secured some liquor and amused herself with it through the night. This morning she went to the home of a stranger who was not at home, kicked in a window, and made herself at home. When the police arrived, she had all the dishes in a dish pan, had poured hot water over them, and was trying to pour the whole works out of a window. Meanwhile she was shouting and cursing at the top of her voice." All of which proves that "our homes are happier" and "our people stronger in moral fiber and conviction." Being "one of our young women" of school age, no doubt Jessie has never seen an open saloon. Why should she, as long as the bootleggers and Jamaica ginger-selling drug stores are on the job?

The mayor of Kansas City, Kans., granted the police judge permission to erect a whipping post at the corner of Sixth and Minnesota Avenue, the main business street, where punishment could be meted out to the abundant and ever increasing crop of wife beaters, according to the Kansas City Post, June 28, 1916. "Fining wife beaters does no good," said the judge. "They just go to the workhouse and eat and sleep," he continued; "they like it. And when they get out, they go home and beat their wives some more so they can go to the workhouse again." A new brand of indoor sport, as it were. But nevertheless, the judge said, "This thing has become an epidemic and I'm going to do what I can to stamp it out."

"But our homes are happier and our people are stronger in moral fiber and conviction," according to Gov. Capper and the legislature. "John Barleycorn is dead and buried a thousand feet under the cold, cold earth, so that's something to be thankful for anyway. Jamaica ginger and rotgut aren't John Barleycorn so the Kansas victims of wife beating will have to hatch up a new excuse."

According to the Topeka Daily Capital, January 25, 1916, the divorce rate of Lawrence really appears to be lower than it should be. Under a Lawrence date line, the following appears, by way of explanation for the "poor showing" made in Lawrence divorce court, as compared with other divorce courts of the State:

"LAWRENCE, KANS., *January 24.*

"Ninety-six civil cases will be tried during the February term of the district court in Douglas County. Of these 28 will be divorce suits.

"Although generally known as the 'Athens of Kansas,' the divorce rate here is one for every seven marriages. The average may be higher than this when it is considered that probably 50 Topeka couples each year secure licenses in the Douglas County probate court."

That being the case, the Topeka rate should be higher also, as the Topeka couples, traveling a few miles to Lawrence to be married, returning to Topeka to make their homes, quite naturally should be counted as "Topeka marriages" rather than belonging to Lawrence. It would indeed be an interesting study to determine the exact percentage of Kansas people who secure divorce. Hundreds of licenses are issued in Missouri for Kansas couples each year.

In commenting upon the increase in divorce, crime, etc., in the State, the Topeka State Journal of October 10, 1916, brings many interesting facts to light: "Divorces in Kansas have increased 185, the total number of decrees granted number 2,320," it continues. "Sedgwick County (Wichita), takes first place in this instance; Wyandotte County second, Shawnee, third, and then Crawford, with Cherokee following it." Total divorces granted in 1915 were 2,320, and in 1916 they moved up to 2,505. District court liquor convictions increased from 652 to 925, which, considering the "appeal bond" practice and the great amount of time spent gathering evidence, trying the cases, etc., as was shown in Topeka, is a very fair record for even Kansas, dry as it is. Boys in jail under 16 numbered 153 for 1915 and 169 for 1916; and girls in jail under 16 numbered 25 in 1915 as compared with 39 in 1916. Total number of criminal and civil cases, 1915, 12,753; 1916, 14,553.

"Fredonia, Kans., is absorbed this week in a bitter contest between the probate judge and the clerk of the district court," says the Kansas City Star, February 8, 1917. "The probate judge is trying to issue marriage licenses as fast as the clerk of the court receives petitions for divorce." And Fredonia is in an "inland county!" No border saloons, and not an open saloon in sight. Of course plenty of bootlegging and Jamaica-ginger-selling drug stores, but they don't count.

The Topeka Daily Capital of July 26, 1916, noted an interesting society item from Pratt, Kans., a western inland burg, in which John Conrad, "widower, and the father of a married daughter," played an important part. "He is in jail at Pratt," the item continues, "charged with a crime against his 14-year-old daughter, Martha. The girl, who has been his housekeeper since his wife's death three years ago, is his accuser." And this is one of the "clean" western counties where they have no crime record, according to Gov. Capper's declaration in Boston and throughout the Nation in antisaloon league literature containing his picture.

Other "happy-home" articles from Topeka: Carl Linder, 20, was being searched for by the police, says the Capital, July 27, 1916. His mother swore out a warrant for him, charging him with being lazy, mistreating her while she worked hard, insisted on living off her income, and continually distrubing her peace and dignity by getting drunk and striking her. Carl has never seen an open saloon.

Mrs. Edward White, says the Capital, same day, anxiously called at the county jail several times during the day to be assured her husband was still safely in jail. The sheriff assured her he was. "Friend husband," who is a firm believer in prohibition, and daily congratulates himself that he is living where "our homes are happier," loaded up on a mixture of Jamaica ginger and bootleg booze, went home, and started so much trouble they had to call out the fire department to keep his wife quiet enough so the neighborhood could sleep. Mrs. White said, when assured he would remain for several days safely in the old village bastile, "Well, thank the Lord; I can get some sleep to-night for a change."

And in the society column of the Atchison Globe (weekly edition), August 3, 1916, there is plenty of evidence to support this contention; plenty, and then some:

"Alleging gross neglect, extreme cruelty and abandonment, Mrs. Lettie Jackson filed suit for divorce against her husband, John Anson Jackson, in the district court late yesterday afternoon. Mr. and Mrs. Jackson were married in Highland in 1888, and are the parents of nine children. In her petition, Mrs. Jackson alleges that her husband frequently came home drunk and addressed her with vile and abusive language, and even struck and choked her. She also alleges that on several occasions he absented himself from the home for several months at a time, during which time he contributed nothing to her support or that of the minor children, and that she and the children had to do the farm work on an 80-acre farm in Mount Pleasant Township, which is their home. Jackson is now absent from home."

"Charging adultery, gross neglect, and extreme cruelty, William C. Sheldon to-day filed suit for divorce against his wife Helen. The petition makes allegations that Mrs. Sheldon was unduly intimate with different Atchison men at Bean Lake, of drinking beer with other men, and finally leads up to the episode of the evening of July 22, when Sheldon came home unexpectedly and started a rough house upon the arrival of another man. The Sheldons were married September 26, 1912."

These are samples of the "society notes" that decorate the pages of nearly every Kansas daily newspaper every day in the year, and fill the weekly papers with spicy prohibition "happy-home" evidence. They are cited because they are typical. Both are based on drunkenness and general cussedness. One petition mentions drunkenness as a cause, under the head of "extreme cruelty"; the other does not. Sixty per cent of the Kansas divorces can be traced to Jamaica ginger and mail-order whisky, consumed by the man or his wife.

During the succeeding week, August 10, 1916, Nanna Brown sued Attrus Brown for divorce at Atchison on the plain ground of "beating her up." "Brown gave Mrs. Brown such a severe beating," says the Globe, "in May of this year, that she was compelled to consult a physician. They are the owners of 40 acres of land which she alleges was purchased by their joint earnings, and she asks that the court make suitable allowance to her."

Two fights and a general riot that wound up by Mary Walthow, 20-year-old visiting girl in Topeka, being tramped to death at a "beer party," occupies a prominent place in the society notes of the Topeka State Journal August 16, 1916. Many married couples and apparently many school children participated in the general good time, which was a success aside from the fact that they knocked Mary down getting away from the police and kicked her to death.

"What's wrong in Doniphan County?" asks the Atchison Globe of August 17, 1916. "Lately as many divorce cases are being filed there as in wicked Kansas City. Mrs. Ora Brown, of Troy; Reed M. Wilson, of Severance; and Mrs. Mabel Roland, of Severance, all want divorces. Wilson alleges his wife refuses to live with him, and Mrs. Roland says her husband has been terribly cruel. Mrs. Brown also alleges cruelty."

"Following a neighborhood row on Patriot Street yesterday," says the Atchison Globe August 17, 1916, "Mrs. Anna Ball was arrested on the charge of having attacked Mrs. Idona Pike. Mrs. Pike exhibited a bandaged hand in court this morning and said one of the bones in her hand was broken when Mrs. Ball struck her with the handle of a broom. Mrs. Ball declared she did not hit Mrs. Pike. 'I admit that I shoved the sweeping end of a broom toward Mrs. Pike, after I had taken the broom away from her, but I'm quite positive that the broom did not touch Mrs. Pike,' said Mrs. Ball. 'Mrs. Pike was the person who wanted to fight. She it was who grabbed the broom and assumed the offensive. The trouble occurred in the Dave McCully home.'" After long explanations by both women, detailing how the trouble arose and how they and their children had continually "fought it out" back and forth, the judge discharged them.

Daisy Jenkins filed suit against Roy Jenkins, according to the Topeka State Journal, August 18, 1916, and, as the item declared, "There are 13 different reasons why Daisy can't continue to live with him in peace and happiness, according to the wife's divorce petition, and the husband is the sole owner of each and every one of the 13. She lists all her husband's shortcomings, ranging from profane language to fits of insane jealousy. For herself, she says that she has at all times conducted herself as 'an affectionate and dutiful wife.'

"The Jenkinses are the parents of two children. Mrs. Jenkins wants both of them, because she alleges her husband is not a fit person to have the custody of them. Then she wants $25 a month for their support, a divorce, and court costs."

Here are Roy's shortcomings, aside from which he is all right: Found fault with her; cursed her; called her vile names; struck her; choked her; injured her back; choked her again; employed spotters to follow her; had fits of insane jealousy; charged her with infidelity; "Ran her down" to the neighbors; injured her health; scared her. Jenkins is employed by the Santa Fe at $75 a month.

Under the glaring headline in bold-face type, "One marriage in every three a failure here," the Topeka State Journal of August 23, 1916, puts somewhat of a dent in the blatant claims made for prohibition as a "home fixer":

"The frightened young man asks the outwardly excited but inwardly calm and collected young woman the all-important question. She hangs her head, carefully studies the effect, and reluctantly says, 'Yes,'" says the Journal.

"Then they go together, or the young man goes alone, stepping high like a horse, to Hugh MacFarland's office and gets a marriage license. They are married and things start off with a flourish. No one could tell either that there is one chance in a hundred for a matrimonial shipwreck—not in their household.

"As a matter of fact, they have only a two-to-one chance of continuing to live together. Their chance of 'getting along' together is much smaller, for not nearly all the domestic storms reach divorce courts.

"But the records in the courthouse from November 2 of last year to August 9 of this year show there was one divorce for every two marriages. * * * There were 213 divorces filed during those months and in just one-half of the cases the plaintiffs filed poverty affidavits. They were unable to pay the initial cost of a divorce proceeding.

"While the divorce cases were being filed, Hugh MacFarland, probate judge, issued 676 marriage licenses. While 676 happy and hopeful young couples were starting upon their matrimonial trip, 213 sorrowful and hopeless couplies were cashing in the remainder of their tickets.

"ONE MARRIAGE IN EVERY THREE IN SHAWNEE COUNTY IS A FAILURE."

If there is any proof in this showing that prohibition is making the Kansas homes happier, I most assuredly and seriously fail to see it.

A Hiawatha man, according to the Kansas City Star, August 24, 1916, became involved in serious trouble with his wife when he returned from a circus at a neighboring town, with his face all scratched and beaten. He explained to his wife that he got hurt in the menagerie. "Yes, I guess you got too close to the blind tiger," remarked the irate wife.

"If the sheriff of Shawnee County can lay hands on Andrew Calkins, Calkins will have a choice of two things," said the Topeka State Journal, September 25, 1916. "He may resign himself to a term in the penitentiary for wife and child desertion or place himself under a heavy bond to support and remain with the wife and child. The county commissioners to-day authorized Kiene to go after Calkins and bring him back to Topeka.

"Mrs. Calkins, a young woman and the mother of a baby 13 months old, appeared before the county commissioner to-day with her attorney. She had already sworn out a complaint before the county attorney.

"Many cases of wife desertion are checked up to the county attorney, but few are handled as expeditiously as was the Calkins case. The young wife's story appealed instantly to the county attorney. She stated that when her husband left about two weeks ago, he not only took every penny of money that the couple had but stopped her credit at the grocery store and even took the pennies out of the baby's bank.

"'It was a hot night and I wanted to get baby out for some fresh air,' said Mrs. Calkins, the wife and mother. 'I asked my husband to walk around the block with me while I took the baby. He refused to go, so I asked a neighbor woman to go with me. That made him angry, and he abused me frightfully. He took my clothes and the baby's clothes away and frightened us.'

"'This man Calkins is a steady worker,' said her attorney, 'and fully able to take care of this young wife and baby. He worked at the Topeka Pure Milk Co. He married this girl, became the father of a baby, and because things did not go just exactly to suit him thought he could ditch the whole affair and avoid his responsibility. He should be brought back here and forced to support his wife and baby. What chance has a woman with a 13-months-old baby got to get out and make a living?'

"'How do we know,' asked James Shimer, commissioner, 'that if we put up the railroad fare for the sheriff but what he will come back and do the same thing over again?' 'Leave that to me,' answered her attorney. 'If he is brought back here he'll go over the road or he'll put up a good and sufficient bond to stay with the job and keep his family.'"

An item in the Atchison Globe of August 27, 1916, tells of an Atchison stalwart carrier of the white flag "who fails to provide anything and then scolds and fusses at his hard-working wife because there is nothing to eat in the house."

The society column of the same edition contains the following:

"A divorce suit recently filed by Mrs. Emily Jones, of Valley Falls, Kans., against her husband, L. R. Jones, is the result of the escapades of their 15-year-old daughter, Ruth, who ran away from her home a few weeks ago with an Atchison man. The girl has now returned to her home, but a disagreement of the parents as to her management resulted in the divorce suit."

The Globe then proceeds to scold Topeka and its tough element in the same issue in a manner that reminds one of the pot calling the kettle black:

"Mary Poppleton, of Topeka, frequently has her name in the Topeka papers. She is not prominent socially but is a conspicuous figure in police-court circles. She has had a husband or two and a divorce or two. She has several children but kept them in such dire poverty and filth that they were taken away from her.

"She has spent her life going from bad to worse, and on the Fourth of July Mary Poppleton and one of her gentlemen friends celebrated by drinking and selling beer. That's no way to celebrate the glorious Fourth in clean Topeka, and Mary Poppleton and her 'friend' were arrested. She entered the police court with a swish, and a don't-care smile on her face. In that picturesque language so familiar in police-court circles she called her accusers a 'pack of liars.' But she heard some man say of her, 'Mary Poppleton comes of a good family.' And she did not call him another. It is a safe guess, however, that he is one. The Mary Poppletons do not come from good families, but for some unaccountable reason people love to charge the best families with producing the Mary Poppletons of this world. Mary Poppleton, of Topeka, is like the rest of her class, a chip off the old block; she comes from a tough family."

And among the society notes of the same day, in the same issue, appears the following:

"Some one called the Globe this morning and said that a woman of about 59 years would be more respected if she would wash her face and quit inviting old soldiers to her home."

According to the Topeka Daily Capital, January 2, 1916, there were 54 divorce cases on the docket in the Leavenworth district court ready for trial at the January term.

W. J. V. Deacon, registrar of the Kansas Vital Statistics Bureau, stated in the Kansas City Star, January 1, 1916, that he attributed the happiness existing in Kansas homes to the fact that the State has prohibition, and that "the absence of the saloon means much to our growing young men and boys, who, in the absence of the barroom, find more healthful pastimes than loafing in an alcohol-laden atmosphere. * * * Another and more important effect of prohibition is that the wage of the laborer or mechanic is not dissipated but goes to supply those necessities of food, clothing, and housing, most esential to the well being of their families and themselves." It is unnecessary, I hope, to add that Mr. Deacon is a member of the Antisaloon League, and this "outburst"

was duly published by that body and sent broadcast as "proof" that all the Kansas homes are happy "irrespective of what the booze element may say."

But he probably did not know that there is such an institution as the "Confidential Exchange" in Topeka, which, according to the State Journal of February 9, 1916, is "Topeka's clearing house for charities." "During January," continues the Journal, "42 new charitable cases were reported to the Confidential Exchange, according to a report filed with Mayor House by Miss Mabel Adams, secretary of the exchange. In addition to the 42 new cases, 87 reports were made by agencies cooperating through the central office. On January 11 the exchange celebrated its first birthday, the report brought to light. It was organized January 11, 1915, and since that time 441 new cases have been added to the records of the office in addition to the 629 that were taken from the records of the most prominent charitable organizations when the exchange opened. While the exchange was opened a year ago it has been in operation but eight months, the office having been closed during the summer. The local exchange is the only central office for charities in the country that is being maintained by the city and supervised by a committee from the Commercial Club."

Just what this means probably Mr. Deacon can better explain than his foregoing article would indicate, if he will but study the underlying reason why such institutions are necessary. If they were not, they would not be organized—especially not under the supervision of the city. Unfortunately, people either refuse to see what's before and about them, or they insist that "all is well" as long as they are "all well." That these charities are rendered necessary also by the innumerable broken homes caused by the hundreds of divorces in Topeka year after year goes without saying. The "happy home" and "efficiency" talk is all right away from home, but it must be a joke to the mother of several puny tots, whose back is lame and bent from days of constant labor and nights of sleepless vigil. To men of Deacon's type the talk is a means of livelihood. To the mothers it is little short of murder, for the outside world doesn't know the truth about her, and the ever-increasing army of her kind have long since sapped the local, county, and State resources until they must turn her down out of sheer lack of funds.

The divorce rate in Wichita and Lawrence, Parsons, and other Kansas towns is but slightly different from that prevailing in Topeka, and much the same class of cases are filed there constantly.

The matrimonial troubles of the young and old alike fill the Kansas newspapers, of which the following is a sample from the Topeka Daily Capital, January 27, 1916:

"Although 19 years of age, Samuel Bain, of Cottonwood Falls, Kans., deserted his 18-year-old bride for Mildred Smith, a 17-year-old 'soul-mate.' They eloped. Being short of money Bain sold a neighbor a portion of the winter's food supply; went to Emporia and from there to Pittsburg, Kans. Before leaving, Bain assaulted the grandfather of the Smith girl and tore up his own home."

On January 30, 1916, Rev. Jehu John Ramsey, of Leavenworth, was located at Hastings, Nebr., according to the Daily Capital, with the wife of William Titel, a guard at the Federal Penitentiary at Leavenworth, and celebrated his excursion by having a charge of white slavery placed against him. Mrs. Titel left three children behind when she took the quiet little swing around the circle with the reverend, who was an evangelist and "some bear" when it came to hammering Demon Rum, according to press reports.

A. J. Bollinger, a prominent Topeka attorney, got his foot in it, too, according to the State Journal of the same date, for running away with Ella Kline, wife of Roy Kline, of Topeka. Cabaret shows and wine suppers in quiet pure Topeka started the trouble, according to the report. Bollinger wound up facing white slavery and disbarment. He is one of the 'rising young men' of the city, in good standing at church, and an active member in temperance work clubs.

"The Wrage household in Topeka was stirred to its foundation on February 2, 1916, not by the thought of how many blessings arise from the fact that the children have never seen an open saloon, but because Milo, aged 11, stole his father's pay check, cashed it, and 'started out to see the world,'" says the Capital of that date. "When Patrolman Joe Wonderly and T. J. Morgan took Milo home," it continues in describing the involuntary return of the prodigal, "his mother apparently cared little for the money, but she was glad to see Milo home again. The unruffled Milo at once devoted himself to playing games with the other children. Mr. Wrage was out looking for the boy, said his wife. * * * Milo has been under the jurisdiction of the probate court a number of times. His conduct so aroused Hugh MacFarland, probate judge, at one time that the juvenile court's presiding officer was considering taking entire charge of the boy. Not long ago Milo and another boy looted a butcher shop in North Topeka and took money out of the till."

Which is further proof that when boys do not loaf around alcohol-laden atmosphere in open saloons they are much better equipped for the world's battles. Especially if they are 11 years of age.

Indicative that Christmas "cheer" comes done up in all sorts of packages for stalwart Topeka husbands is shown in the news item appearing in the Topeka State Journal of May 12, 1916, in which the family rows of the Charles C. and Ella Jones family, prominent people of that fair city, are aired. It is scarcely necessary to say that they landed in a divorce court. Yes; Mrs. Jones stood it as long as she could, and then cast her lot with the Blind Goddess.

"That her husband enlivened the Christmas holidays by throwing a hot coffeepot at her and turning the furniture upside down is the charge made by Mrs. Ella J. Jones in a divorce petition filed in the district court to-day against Charles C. Jones," remarks the Journal. "Besides all that Mrs. Jones says her husband kicked her in the stomach and used language toward her that made her sick. The Joneses, according to the petition, were married February 14, 1895, at Easton, Kans., and have three children, the oldest of whom is 15 years. Mrs. Jones says her husband possesses a violent temper, over which he exerts little control, and that during the holidays he lost what little control he had. She states that he has cursed her and used language toward her that is too vile and indecent to place in a public record. She states that he 'rows around home all night' and that on one occasion it was necessary for her to call the police to protect herself and the children.

"It is a common practice, she says, for him to throw the dishes on the floor and turn the furniture upside down in the home. She declares that he has repeatedly threatened to kill her and asks for an injunction restraining him from coming near the family home. She also asks for a divorce and reasonable alimony."

In addition, Jones should be made to commit to memory every line of Gov. Capper's "Bulletin," which was issued a short time before Jones got busy by the Temperance Society of the Methodist Church and sent broadcast, telling how smooth things are running in all Kansas homes since the eventful occasion of the final burial of Jones's old friend, John Barleycorn. Maybe Jones doesn't know anything about the funeral.

Arthur Warfield, a negro bootlegger and a notorious character about Topeka, was "flagged" by the officers with 11½ pints of bootleg booze, according to the Capital of May 15, 1916, just as he was "making the rounds" of his regular customers and "subagents."

Wedded bliss and dual law violation again came to light, according to the Topeka State Journal, May 22, 1916, when a detail of officers sneaked into the home of Mr. and Mrs. J. I. Brownell, 205 Madison Street, Topeka, basing their "hunch" on a tale told by a gabby neighbor. They found a large quantity of whisky hidden under the dining-room table. "Old stuff! Old stuff!" cried the "law" as they spied it. "This stall is out of date; nothing doing with hiding it under a table." Brownell and wife were jailed, but immediately released on bond. That batch of whisky was "confiscated" by the officers.

In desperation the Capital shouted on May 30, 1916, after hearing of the "thousands" of "converts" Billy Sunday had made in Kansas City: "In Kansas City Billy Sunday is credited with converting something like 1,000 drunkards. Still we would like to hear once in a while of an evangelist who converted a few hundred bankers, for instance, or editors."

The little tragedies of life that fill the Topeka press are not all built around the family fights and divorce-court proceedings by any means, as the following from the Capital of June 1, 1916, plainly shows:

"Because her husband left her Saturday night, and the contributory cause, alleged by the police, that she had drunk too much liquor, Mrs. Pearl Stolper, who had been rooming at 311 Madison Street, made two attempts to commit suicide yesterday noon, and although the coroner was called the woman is still living and little the worse for her experience.

"Persons living in the house detected the odor of gas. They traced it to the woman's room. The door was locked and was forced open. Mrs. Stolper was found unconscious. The gas was flowing out of several gas jets and from a gas stove. Those finding the woman believed she was dead. The coroner was called, and at the same time the city pulmotor at fire headquarters was started on its way. It arrived before the coroner did and the woman was revived.

"The firemen left, and after the woman had time to realize that her attempt to take her own life had failed she broke away from the coroner and rushed back into her room and again turned on the gas. Detective Thomas was sent from police headquarters. He found that the woman was having her own way in the suicide matter, no one interfering. Morgan opened the door of her room. The woman seized a screwdriver and attempted to stab him with it. She was taken to the county jail for safe-keeping. She is 28 years old."

Twenty-eight? She was born several years after prohibition was adopted and should have known nothing about demon rum. When the white flag was hoisted over Topeka, about 11 years ago, Pearl was only a little slip of a girl 17 years old. No doubt she used to help bury old John every time they had "Friday afternoon exercises" in school, not to mention all the white-ribbon parades down the street every time some one thought it was time to stir things up with the "little children," and their "appeals" they were carefully trained to sing, whether they knew what they meant or not. But Pearl isn't alone in her predicament. She has plenty of company among the younger crowd at Topeka, at Leavenworth, Atchison, Salina, Wichita, Parsons, Independence, and, in fact, every city, town, and village in the State.

A movement was on foot a short time ago to have an official "press agent" appointed for Topeka. Of course, like almost everything else that is "progressive" in Topeka, it was being boosted by the Anti-saloon League. Just what his duties were to be was not made clear, but probably he was to be clothed with authority to "censor" all press reports. Somebody should, or else the Topekans should tip it off to some of the sob squad to open their eyes and read a little. Topeka is becoming the laughing stock of America.

That the steady stream of home wrecking flows on unabated year in and year out is further proven by two very recent and doggedly typical accounts of divorce, attempted suicide, beatings, and disgrace set forth in the Topeka State Journal of February 9, 1917.

Under the headline "Booze is blamed," the following appears: "Dangerously ill at Stormont Hospital, Mrs. Gladys A. Hatton to-day, through her attorneys, filed a petition for divorce against her husband, Eugene P. Hatton. In her petition Mrs. Hatton charges her husband with drunkenness and extreme cruelty at their home, 426 Madison Street.

"At one time, Mrs. Hatton alleges, he took a butcher knife and sharpened it in her presence and conveyed to her through actions the belief that he intended to use the knife on her. She further charges that he sold and mortgaged personal property belonging to her. They were married in Topeka December 25, 1906. Mrs. Hatton asks to be restored to her maiden name of Gladys Brokaw.

"The same charges—drunkenness and extreme cruelty—are found in a divorce petition filed this morning by Mrs. Nelle May Read against John W. Read. She alleges in her petition that Read has threatened her with a razor, a stove poker, a club, and other weapons and has taken rings, watches, and jewelry belonging to her. They have five children and were married in Topeka in June, 1898."

Under the headline "Her only relief," appears this:

"After failing in her third attempt to commit suicide and escape the cruelty of a husband, a typical Kansas Jamaica-ginger jagger, Mrs. T. J. Brown, mother of four children, has decided to free herself from the strings of matrimony. For 14 years county and city officials have watched the unequal struggle of a brave, capable woman against a husband addicted to the Jamaica-ginger habit.

"That struggle ended Thursday night, and Jamaica ginger came out victor, when Mrs. Brown, wild eyed and breathless, rushed into the Shawnee County courthouse, closely pursued by a drunken husband apparently bent on further physical cruelties on the person of his wife. Bob Miller, undersheriff, arrested Brown instantly, and an exciting chase from the Brown home on North Jackson Street to the courthouse was ended.

"To-day Mrs. Brown, in company with Miss Kate King, welfare worker, appeared at the courthouse ready to swear to a complaint charging her husband with assault and battery. Furthermore, she avowed her intention of suing for divorce.

"Time after time county and city officials have been called to the Brown home to witness the sight of a woman cowered and bleeding from beatings given her by a husband under the influence of Jamaica ginger. Three times following such assaults Mrs. Brown has attempted to kill herself. Once she rushed to the street-car tracks and placed her head on the rail as a Shorey car approached. Only the quick action of the motorman in stopping the car saved her.

"At another time an effort to end it was equally desperate and was made by Mrs. Brown. On November 14, following a beating, she drank carbolic acid. Prompt action on the part of a physician saved her then.

"Mrs. Brown was hysterical when led into court this morning. Since Christmas there has been nothing in the house to eat excepting molasses and bread and salt pork. This, despite the fact that her husband is capable of being an excellent meal ticket. He is a paper hanger and plasterer of ability, who can make $20 to $25 weekly."

County officials vouch for Mrs. Brown's capabilities. She often helped her husband with his paperhanging. "He wouldn't work unless the boss would pay him the money instead of me," said Mrs. Brown, "and he always took the money for Jamaica ginger, which he mixed with whisky."

On Tuesday night, Mrs. Brown declares, he choked and beat her over the head. Thursday night he started out to pursue the same tactics, but Mrs. Brown fled from the house and jumped on a street car. Brown mounted the same car and stood reeling on the rear end. At Fifth Street she jumped off the car while Brown staggered from the rear portion of it, and the chase to the courthouse followed.

And Jamaica ginger is sold by all the druggists in Topeka and elsewhere throughout the State of Kansas. Beer is thrown into the sewer and whisky dashed on the rocks, but Jamaica ginger is given a free rein. No wonder the chief of police was ashamed to make the record of his department public. John Barleycorn has a ready ally when he sneaks into a home through the mail-order house dispensary and becomes mixed with this vile poison. No wonder Mrs. Brown tried to commit suicide. If license is wicked and ungodly, what is the Kansas system? Isn't there enough reforming to do in Topeka, without need to travel a thousand miles to tell "the truth" about prohibition? What manner of State is it that will sit idly by with these stories piling up to the skies with every issue of the local papers, and permit its legislature to proclaim to the world such nonsense as is contained in the notorious resolution put through for the Anti-Saloon League?

How many thousands of homes are being wrecked the same as the Brown home, no one knows.

Pride keeps thousands of homes loosely connected and it is only when the torture becomes unbearable that Kansas wives cry out for public help. It is all right to live in the embrace of hope and to dream of what will some day become the order of things when all the evil has passed away. That's the tender imaginative mind of a child. But for men charged with public knowledge, not to say with an unlimited amount of private information, to shield such conditions as are constantly becoming world-wide gossip, drifting through the daily press from Topeka every day, to persist, because they hold public office and it behooves their private fortunes, political and otherwise, that only peace and harmony pervade the whole State, and crime, wickedness, penury, and woe were driven out by act of the legislature, is short of criminal—either criminal ignorance or criminal untruthfulness, either of which should disqualify them from holding any position of trust within the State or Nation.

In 1910, according to Table No. 55, United States Census, bulletin covering divorces, the Kansas rate of divorce was 286 for every 100,000 of its married population. Twenty-nine States showed a much lower rate. Since then the Kansas rate has been climbing with steady increase year after year.

No claim is made that open saloons would reduce the rate; they may and they may not. Neither is a claim made that indiscriminate drinking would reduce it. Both these agencies have increased it. One, the absence of a legitimate, licensed, regulated place of sale where care and caution can be exercised both in the sale and consumption of the beverage if consumed at all, and the other and most powerful agency contributing toward the great increase is the indiscriminate consumption without let or hindrance.

If some of the Kansas women could only speak through the press on the fruits of prohibition. If some of these Jamaica-ginger-tortured wives could only lift their voice. But they are "nobody." The men "high" in office, who know what the people want and what they are to get better than the people themselves will ever know, must speak.

Wyandotte County, where Kansas City, Kans., is located, famous for its extremely high population of juvenile delinquents, numbering 522 during the past year, and dependent and neglected children numbering 405 during the same period; further famous because of the public whipping post for wife beaters established last summer, has a vast amount of litigation, about 35 to 40 per cent of which is divorce litigation. An average of from 15 to 25 cases are filed each week for divorce alone—and that is the city wherein Gov. Hodges said "happiness in home and prosperity in business life increased a hundredfold when the saloons were closed."

It is a packinghouse industrial community and naturally more or less prosperous due to war prices, but the packing houses were there long before the period of crusading began. The divorce rate wasn't, though. It has grown up since—and so has the astounding population in the juvenile division, including delinquent and neglected children.

And prohibition can not cure these conditions. Common horse sense can, but horse sense has taken wings.

A Kansas Tax Increase.

The dry slogan that prohibition will decrease taxes, because the money usually spent in criminal costs is diverted into the treasury to build streets, roads, and highways, sidewalks, parks, boulevards, etc., and after they are complete, then the levy is smaller as the general fund is not required to be as large as formerly, because of the decreased police force, etc., was discredited in Kansas during the year 1915 and was destroyed in 1916—and 1917 will cause it to be forgotten entirely.

In his antisaloon league speech in Columbus, November 12, 1913, Gov. Hodges enlightened the country on the "low taxes in Kansas." He declared that Kansas property is assessed "on not to exceed 70 per cent of the actual cash value," which he knew was not true, as the law of 1911 required an assessment on a valuation of 100 per cent. While boasting of low taxes in Columbus, the governor returned to compliment the legislature for their "good work" in levying taxes on everything in sight, in their effort to raise sufficient money to operate the State government, including moving-picture reels and dogs. Dogs are taxed "four ways" in Kansas. Corporations have been gouged with so many different kinds of "taxes" and assessments, scores have left the State in recent years, although the records in the office of the secretary of State are so loosely kept it is impossible to secure any kind of a report—only an estimate. Aside from the oil and gas concerns, most of which are "foreign corporations," organized under the laws of Arizona and New Jersey, no new corporations worth mentioning have been organized in Kansas since 1910.

Fully one-third of the large business establishments in Kansas City, Mo., have removed there within the past 15 years, from Kansas towns. Atchison lost the largest wholesale drug house in the West, soon after the dry laws went into effect in 1907. Leavenworth has furnished many large institutions to Kansas City, Mo., none of them engaged in "wet" goods, however, but hundreds of Kansas people have removed to the progressive licensed city on the western border of their sister State, to engage in the liquor business as well as in the dry goods business. Thousands of Kansas people live in Kansas City, Mo., and the Missouri progressive spirit has reached as far west as Salina and as far south as Wichita, to claim as its own some of the largest industries that are building a mammoth metropolis at the mouth of the Kaw, across the mud hills in Missouri, while Kansas is losing in population yearly.

When the Kansas City Stock Exchange building was recently erected, it being second in size in the world, the entire property was placed in Missouri to escape the Kansas tax gouging. Formerly it was placed on the State line dividing the two States. And if the large packing industries could remove their property to the Missouri side of the State line, no time would be lost in doing so.

In his Anti-Saloon League speech, delivered in Chicago, April 2, 1912, John Dawson declared that "our cities like Lyndon, Manhattan, and Burlington" had a lower tax rate than Pittsburg (Kans.), because the former had for many years refused to receive revenue from saloons. According to the census of 1915 Lyndon is a "metropolis" of 763 men, women, and children; Manhataan boasts of 6,816, and Burlington, a "city," of 2,251, while Pittsburg has nearly 20,000, with paved streets, electric lights, etc., in the rich mining district lying off toward the southeast corner of the State. Pittsburg has been building and chasing bootleggers, permitting open joints to run, and otherwise conducting itself in a "progressive" though not a "Christian" manner. "Leavenworth has no city buildings of any kind," declared Dawson, as proof that when a city accepts revenue from joints it is not progressive. Well, it has been 10 years since Leavenworth was supposed to have stopped, and nearly 7 years since Dawson delivered his supreme effort in Chicago, and Leavenworth has fewer residences, fewer business blocks, fewer hotels, and less need for city buildings than ever. Once a prosperous, thriving city of nearly 30,000 people, Leavenworth has degenerated into a decadent village, with scarcely any public enterprise, but plenty of scandal. City officials are continually being chased by attorneys general, "inquisitioned," and thrown out of office.

In 1905 Leavenworth "boasted" of 20,934 people, including the old soldiers, inmates of the penitentiary, guards, etc., and in 1915 showed a wonderful "increase." That year, counting the inmates of the insane asylums there, the hospitals, the soldiers' home, the penitentiary, etc., it returned a population of 22,090. An increase of 1,156 is a great "victory" for prohibition, especially when it requires 10 years to accomplish it. During the same period Leavenworth County showed an increase from 38,880 to 40,625, between 1905 and 1915, but both the city and county showed a decrease between 1910 and 1915 of several thousand.

Thirty-nine cities in Kansas over 1,000 in population showed marked decreases in population between 1905 and 1915. Thirty-four counties showed marked decreases in population during the same period, and 20 counties showed an increase of less than 100. Only two counties doubled in population. They were Morton, which had a population of 211 in 1905 and 1,729 in 1915; and Stevens, which had a population of 749 in 1905 and 2,370 in 1915. Cherokee, Wyandotte, Sedgwick, Montgomery, Harper, and Harvey, all industrial centers, showed slight increases.

Cost of Government and thousands of dollars piled up annually in costs for "law enforcement" did not decrease any, as the huge increases in taxes will bear witness.

Declaring from the start to the finish of his speech on that occasion that taxes had been lowered and "will continue to be lowered," he rode roughshod over the law that had been passed in 1911 to raise the "assessed violation" from 33⅓ to 100 per cent of actual valuation.

Gov. Stubbs punctuated his Chicago Anti-Saloon League speech delivered March 27, 1910, with promises to "introduce proof" that taxes had been greatly reduced under prohibition, but as far as he got was to produce a letter written him by William Allen White as far back as October 22, 1909, in which White claimed that the low tax rate in Kansas had built "the best school system in the world," barring the systems of 29 other States, of course, which are better than the Kansas system, according to the State superintendent of public instruction and Dean Blackmar, of the Kansas University.

Mr. White's letter showed that the taxes for 1908 were "only" 14.98 mills in Emporia. That was under the 33⅓ assessment plan. Strange Mr. Stubbs didn't dig up some "tax evidence" as late as January 15, 1911, the date of many of his other documentary proofs" attached to his "speech." And strange he didn't explain why it was necessary to raise the assessment plan to 100 per cent.

In his Boston cloud-burst Gov. Capper avoided any reference to a tax decrease in Kansas. "The liquor interests do not fight fairly," said the governor, "and because they can not, they resort to falsehood and innuendo and subterfuge. What else is left to them? Obviously there is one thing, and one alone, that the liquor interests can do, and that is to wade into the statistical masses of the census, trusting to the confusing power of twisted figures to make black appear white in the eyes of the average man," but he did not refute with any reference to the "statistical masses of the census" or any State report of Kansas, that the "liquor interests" had ever misrepresented a single fact.

Another of the governor's important reasons why prohibition is a success in Kansas, was divulged in the Boston speech. "The Santa Fe Railroad says that labor is more efficient in Kansas than in other States traversed by this great system," which, if true, means that Mexican laborers rank higher than Kansas laborers, for that is the class the Santa Fe uses almost exclusively in the State.

While it is persistently proclaimed throughout the Union that all Kansas is unanimous in its verdict that prohibition has worked wonders in Kansas; that all political parties favor it; that the schoolteachers and bankers, merchants, and professional men praise and swear by it, it developed in the governor's speech in Boston that such is not exactly the case, for he says, "Of course there are men in Kansas—a few of them (of course, 'just a few')—who do not believe in prohibition."

When Gov. Capper cautioned the legislature on February 15, 1915, that unless a program of criminal parsimony was adopted the tax rate would have to be increased, though the "assessed value" farce had been carried to a tragic point, he spoke only half the truth. The result of bootlegging, enormous criminal costs, revenue leaving the State by the millions and spent in other States, the enormous growth of the mail-order dry and wet goods business, the steady stream of

business men, laborers, etc., leaving the State, is shown by an article printed in the Topeka State Journal, December 6, 1915, under glaring head lines, announcing "Must raise limit" of taxes.

"Fifty per cent of the counties of Kansas will be forced to adopt sweeping economy measures or issue bonds to cover deficits in their general revenue funds unless the next legislature raises the limit of the general revenue tax levy, according to men in touch with the financial condition of counties over the State," declared the Journal. "The limit of the general revenue is 1.23."

"Shawnee County was forced to choose the former remedy several months ago.

"Fred Nipps, chairman of the Shawnee County board, stated this morning that he was unable to verify the reports that one-half of the counties would be forced to adopt the bond or economical 'remedy,' but did state that he had heard reports that half of the counties were in financial difficulties owing to the general revenue situation.

"It is expected that the county commissioners of the State will get together and take the matter up at their next annual meeting, which will be held next year in Topeka. An attempt will be made to get a bill raising the levy through the next legislature, it is said in political circles, and it is likely that the majority of the worried commissioners will indorse it."

A slight reason for this terrible condition may be gleaned by reference to a dispatch from Topeka, under date of November 13, 1915, and published in the Kansas City Journal of November 14, 1915:

"BREWSTER HINTS AT OUSTER SUITS—MAY ACT AGAINST WICHITA AND LEAVENWORTH OFFICIALS—SAYS LAW IS VIOLATED—DECLARES LITTLE ATTEMPT IS MADE TO ENFORCE PROHIBITION.

"TOPEKA, *November 13.*

"Two towns—Wichita and Leavenworth—are causing Attorney General Brewster more sleepless nights than all the rest of the towns of the State combined. Scarcely a day passes but what he receives a delegation of officials from one or the other of these two towns in his office and 'reads them the riot act' in regard to the enforcement of the prohibitory law.

"Patience has about ceased to be a virtue. Some ouster suits may be started most any day.

"Some days ago a complaint was made by the county attorney at Wichita that the jury box had been filled with the names of men who were not in sympathy with the enforcement of the prohibitory law. He had tried about 10 cases and got a verdict of guilty in only 1. He threatened to dismiss more than 30 other cases yet to be tried. The attorney general made an investigation and says he found that the mayor had taken the city directory, instead of the tax roll, in making up the jury list. One of the district judges before whom the liquor cases were pending consented to brush certain objectionable jurors aside. This was a most unusual proceeding. However, it prevented an open rupture between the county attorney and the court.

"The attorney general is looking up the law, and if there is any way to throw out the list of jurors selected by the mayor he will do it.

"When the Federal court was in session at Wichita recently there was a move on foot to try to indict several attorneys for alleged tampering with witnesses. The only thing that prevented the matter being pressed to the grand jury was the fact that the witnesses whom the Government would have to rely upon were of such a character that a jury would hesitate to believe them. The district attorney didn't want to get into a big fight and lose out.

"In Leavenworth the officials all promise to enforce the law, but the attorney general or his assistants, when they slip over there, find numerous joints in operation. Brewster believes they are 'playing horse' with him. (Why, the idea!) He has given the county and city authorities one more chance. If they come through, all well and good; if they don't, he says he will bring ouster proceedings against them."

According to a statement published by W. E. Davis, State auditor, in the Topeka Daily Capital of November 15, 1915, "Kansas spent nearly two and one-half million dollars for educational purposes in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915. * * * The report shows $2,438,119.10 for educational purposes. During the same period the State spent nearly $1,000,000 on its charitable institutions, $923,469.63 to be exact. The penal institutions spent $618,247.47.

"It cost a little more to run the State departments, governor, auditor, treasurer, utilities commission, etc., than it did to run the State penal institutions, the total bill for the State departments, boards, commissions, and societies being $673,431.48."

(Note: The State penal institutions all have their own farms and the penitentiary operates the large coal mine and binding-twine factory, as well as other industries, which is also true of the reformatory, and these industries make a large net return to the State annually. It is carefully estimated that they made the cost of maintenance at least one-half what it would otherwise be. Figuring on a basis of actual expense, allowing nothing for the income from the institutions, these penal institutions cost the State at least $1,300,000 a year. In this "crime cost" no record is made of the enormous expense borne by the taxpayers in prosecutions, nor the amount spent by various counties and cities, towns, and townships for the criminal upkeep. This amount as shown for 1915 is greatly in excess of any previous year within the State's history and much below the amount spent during the succeeding fiscal year, which totals almost $800,000 for the State penal institutions alone.)

Thus prohibition scores another "victory" as a tax reducer, crime minimizer, and increaser of happiness among the people, in their homes, in their business institutions, and at the tax collector's office.

In an effort to reduce the cost of prosecutions that are piling sky high in the Topeka courts, Judge Whitcomb, of the Shawnee County District Court, began doubling the fines on joint keepers and bootleggers, according to the Topeka Daily Capital of October 9, 1915, but the system "severe" as it was advertised as being, did not stop the habit.

Reduction of taxes is not the only thing that is neglected in Kansas either. When all the time of the attorney general, the State departments, the board of health, etc., must be spent "educating the people up to prohibition," things are bound to crack and split open in other and more important directions, as is evidenced by a map and an intensely interesting contribution of Kansas literature not used by the antisaloon league boosters, in Kansas or elsewhere.

"Neglect Kansas babies," said the Kansas City Star, September 3, 1915. "Kansas is paying more attention to raising good hogs, wheat, and corn than it is to raising good babies," continues the elaboration. "One in every nine children born in the State in 1913 died before the same date in 1914.

"As a part of its campaign to lower this stupidly high death rate the newly established division of child hygiene of the State board of health has issued a bulletin reciting conditions and urging remedies.

"The bulletin is accompanied by a shade map showing the high and low spots in infant mortality. Wyandotte, the most thickly populated, and Stanton, with the least population, are among the counties appearing in black, meaning more than 1 infant death to 6 births. Chase, Phillips, Trego, Gove, Sheridan, Decatur, Clark, Stevens, and Greeley are counties in which the infant mortality rate is less than 1 in 15."

Among the recommendations accompanying the bulletin this is given: "Do not give the baby wine, beer, whisky, or dose it with patent medicines." What a strange commentary upon the dryness of bone-dry Kansas when the State board of health has to beg the mothers and fathers not to kill their babies with "booze" in a State that has been legally "dry as a bone" for 35 years.

In speaking of the patent-medicine curse that has swept Kansas ever since the advent of the "bone-dry law enforcement program" in 1906, the State board of health declared in Bulletin No. 5, issued May, 1915, that "it has been stated by those engaged in the drug trade that the sale of patent medicines is on the wane. Doubtless that is true of the average highly advertised and worthless fake remedies. However, there has grown up in the last decade a large trade in the so-called household remedies. These are usually distributed throughout rural districts by the itinerant vendor or medicine wagon traveling from house to house, delivering these remedies at the door. While doubtless most of them consist of simple remedies, yet the indiscriminate self-dosing of these remedies is a custom to be deprecated."

Just how many of these fake remedies are causing the intense conditions in rural communities, from which an unusual per cent of increase in insanity, feeble-mindedness, and epilepsy is witnessed from time to time, is not known. Most of them are gladly purchased because of their "kick" propensities. The rate in Sedgwick County (Wichita, county seat) was about 1 in 10, meaning that 1 in every 10 of the babies born during 1913 died before the end of 1914. Morton, Stanton, Finney, Wichita, Lane, and Ness, all sparsely settled western counties, were in the "more than 1 in 6" classification. Shawnee County's rate was 1 in every 7, which was the rate in nine other counties, all but one of which was an inland county, and the only border county having this rate being Wallace, a short-grass county on the Colorado line. Topeka's rate increased for the year 1916 to the 1 in every 6 class.

That no stone is left unturned to keep taxes down in Kansas, even to the point of resorting to desperate measures, is well explained by Judge J. C. Ruppenthal, of Russell, Kans., in his speech before the sixteenth annual session, Kansas conference, charities and correction (Report of proceedings, p. 27), and his remarks throw a new and intensely interesting side light on the boast made that prohibition is emptying and keeping vacant an unusual number of Kansas jails.

After explaining the harm done the general public, as well as the dangerous temptation thrown in the path of the ordinary Kansas criminal, by turning him out of jail as soon as arrested, convicted, and fined, either on parole or with an admonition to "get out of town," Judge Ruppenthal said:

"Newspapers openly advocate making pariahs out of petty offenders of chronically insubordinate tendencies, and advise marshals, police, and sheriffs to drive them on, with total disregard to the rights of such persons, and quite unmindful of the fact that arousing every man's hand against such and forcing them to raise theirs against every other, the making of Ishmaelites of any part of our population may be temporarily an easy and slovenly way of finding social peace, but very dear, in the long run, to organized society.

"The reason for this lawless and unauthorized practice is not difficult to find. Almost every taxpayer chafes under the burden of supporting men and women in idleness, and, in fact, in vice, in the jails.

"In not a few of the counties which boast of having the jail empty the year round the county commissioners view with great dissatisfaction the advent of any prisoner into the jail.

"The county attorney does not like it, because it makes expense for which he may be in some degree blamed.

"In some instances the sheriff, too, dislikes the annoyance of caring for prisoners, and all of these officials think and plan how to adjust matters in order to empty the jail or to keep it empty.

"But with this as a general principle in many counties of our State, we need not overlook the fact that now and then a county is found wherein sheriff and jailers are zealous in a high degree, with a view of always keeping at least one prisoner in jail so as to draw the daily allowance for keeping the jail, and sometimes they seek to have as many more in jail as possible in order to draw the allowance for feeding them. Perhaps these sordidly mercenary cases are rare, but they are met with from time to time.

"We may conclude, then, that more often than should be the case jails are empty to save the taxpayers expense and not because no crimes are committed or no wrongdoers are found in the county."

Time was when the Carnegie Library distribution placed Kansas in the same class as other States and many buildings dotted the Kansas prairies, but within the past two years these libraries have been refused to a score of Kansas towns because of the failure of those having them to execute their part of the contract or keep them in a decent and respectable state of repair. High taxes, bootleg and joint crusading has raised the taxes to the limit, and this, added to the millions that leave the State annually to be spent in other States for wet and dry goods, have placed Kansas in a class by itself. It is the only State where the libraries have ever been established that applications are denied because the people are not financially able or willing to do their part.

According to the governor's publication, the Topeka Daily Capital, of November 14, 1915, "Miss Laura A. Neiswanger, special agent of the Kansas State Board of Health, is conducting an investigation over the State of Kansas to learn the cause of the increasing infant mortality.

"In speaking of her work Miss Neiswanger says: 'Kansas has no slum district in her cities [she hadn't taken a good look at Wichita, Topeka, Kansas City, Parsons, and Pittsburg yet, apparently], but the mortalities among infants is nevertheless on the increase. It is noticeable in all sections of the State, and it is the plan of the State board of health to conduct an investigation and learn the cause.

"'It is customary for every physician to report to the State board every birth which he attends. This is not done as conscientiously as it should be.'"

Perhaps if Miss Neiswanger would read the newspaper reports published in Lawrence, Atchison, Topeka, and other "centers of morality" she would better understand why they do not.

In speaking of the glories of prohibition, Gov. Hodges, in his Columbus, Ohio, Anti-Saloon League speech, said "the same abstinence con-

tributes to about 35,000 healthy, new-born Kansans every 12 months," in the face of an increasing infant mortality rate that takes even the breath of the rankest "drys" in the State.

Sometime, perhaps, the Kansas "statistics" will cease to be written in Westerville, Ohio, and the "testimony" given by her State officials will come from the heart and not from the mail box with a special-delivery stamp on them dated at Westerville; but it hardly seems probable that such a unanimously hoped-for day will dawn soon.

The auditor of state recommended to the present legislature that the appropriation for the coming biennium to be used for child hygiene and disease prevention alone among children be doubled over that allowed during the past biennium, stating that "even this will no doubt prove insufficient."

"KANSAS OUT OF DEBT."

After saving, cutting the corners, pinching, counting pennies, and raking nickels and dimes up into a heap, at the expense of everything in the State in the nature of public improvements, good roads, etc., Kansas at last achieved the acme of perfection in the eyes of the Anti-Saloon League on January 1, 1916, and the flag of prohibition freedom was unfurled from the dome of the State capitol.

Needless to say, the governor made the only "real speech" of the occasion. It was so "real" that it was afterwards printed on the press of his publication plant and sold by the Anti-Saloon League as one of their "most recent documents" to prove that anyone who favored license should be taken out into the back yard and drawn and quartered.

Of course the governor did not sidestep the chance to hand all the credit for the master accomplishment to prohibition, more especially, by the way, to the brand brought about by his administration than any other. Mr. Stubbs, Mr. Hodges, and Judge Dawson were conspicuous on this occasion by their absence.

Prior to the ceremonies, word was sent out in flaming colors that Kansas was the only State in the Union to be without a State debt, a fact quoted thousands of times in Anti-Saloon League literature, citing Gov. Capper as proof of the truth of the statement."

However, so many denials of the truth of the statement were fired into the governor before the ceremonies, he changed his tune when delivering his speech and classed Kansas among five other States having no debt, but refused to name them. As they all happen to be license States that would not make very good reading matter in the churches, so he preferred to overlook that little detail.

In speaking of the proposed celebration, the Kansas City Star of December 31, 1915, said:

"The Kansas State officials have planned a pleasant little jolification for to-morrow morning on the occasion of the burning of the last bond outstanding against the State.

"Yet every Kansan who knows anything about his own State knows that its public institutions are suffering from lack of funds. Its Cheap John legislature last winter refused to make sufficient appropriations for the proper maintenance of its schools, charitable institutions, or prisons.

"The condition of the Kansas prison at Lansing is a disgrace to the State, but the governor last winter vetoed an appropriation for sanitary cells for the prisoners because the State was so poor.

"The Kansas schools are dropping to second and third rate places among the schools of the country. Its public roads are mudholes. Kansas is first in nothing."

Condemnation of the silly performance was by no means confined to the Kansas City Star, Journal, or Post. Daily and weekly papers throughout the State hammered the governor and ridiculed his false claims, but they were not quoted by any of the Anti-Saloon League contemporaries throughout the Nation, and in the State-wide campaign for prohibition in Missouri during the fall of 1916, the Kansas City Star was not big enough to reiterate its charge, but preferred to publish only what the governor and other Anti-Saloon League specialists dumped into its columns. It was talking plain sense on December 31, 1915, and printing twaddle for a price when boosting prohibition.

A roar about the State having no debt rent the air as soon as the weekly newspapers were turned off the press the week following. Cities, towns, and counties that are wallowing in a mire of debt and commercial despondency poured forth their venom, but they were not given a hearing before the "unbiased" press board of the Anti-Saloon League, then or now.

The $159,000 bonds burned, however, were not the only "State debt" in existence, according to the books in the office of the State departments at Topeka. They were, in fact, the balance due on a $3,000,000 bonded debt created to build the State house.

The total bonded debt of cities, townships, boards of education, and school districts, district drainage and special road funds, amounted on June 30, 1916, to a grand total of $56,473,618.93, all of which is a State debt, because the credit of the State is behind every dollar's worth of bonds voted therein, for any purpose. This sum does not include the debts of the various counties, which aggregates an enormous sum, but owing to the poor system used in the State offices at Topeka, can not be determined with a sufficient degree of accuracy to be vouched for as being correct.

Owing to the terrible condition of Kansas schools, the governor was importuned scores of times by citizens and educational societies during the 1915 session of the legislature and every day since has witnessed his attention being called to it again, to pursue the policy of issuing State bonds to aid the schools and colleges, more particularly the State university, but to these entreaties the governor turns a deaf ear.

That the condition of the State capitol is a disgrace is well known throughout the State. Speaking of its condition, the State board of health sent a report to the governor, according to the Topeka State Journal of June 12, 1916, in which it said: "This place, right in the heart of the city of Topeka, and above which our State departments, including the State board of health, are located, would not be tolerated if situated on some of the streets and alleys of a second or third class city." The portion of the building occupied by the State board of health was found to be in miserable condition, and a thorough overhauling needed, but it can not be done, as the State has no money. It can send a delegation to the Anti-Saloon League national convention or pay for having ex-Gov. Hodges's speeches printed on the State plant and sold by the Kansas State Temperance Union or the league, but there is nothing to spend on the State capitol building.

"The report states that some of the passageways have been cleaned of dirt, rubbish, and combustible material, but it has not been removed; just moved to another place," continues the Journal. "Under the quarters of the State board of health are found leaky pipes, the dampness from which penetrates through the decayed floor to the rooms above. Among some of the things found by an investigating committee are: A barrel of rotten apples; combustible material stored in the basement; openings in basement walls, some of which have gas and water pipes passing through. These would act as drafts in case of fire. Drop electric lights wound around the iron pipes as a means of shortening the cord; should the insulation become worn off, these pipes would become charged. The film room is moldy and filled with bad air; ventilation fans are recommended." But none of the recommendations can be complied with. The State can not afford to vote bonds.

In the State auditor's report for 1915, it is stated (p. 10) that "the appropriation for the upkeep of the State capitol is not enough to do very much repairing," and in the first biennial report of the board of administration they declare (p. 5): "We have at all times been hampered by lack of funds."

In his report (twentieth biennial) for the period ending June 30, 1916, the State auditor declared that $73,500 should be appropriated at once or bonds issued to raise the money for repairs that can not be longer delayed on the State capitol building. He stated on page 30 that while the State architect had recommended $10,000 additional to be used in repairing the east wing of the building by waterproofing the walls to prevent crumbling and deterioration of the same from freezing water, he (the auditor) considered the other appropriations of even more importance. The legislature of 1913 (under the Hodges régime) reduced the salary of the engineer of the capitol to $1,000 per year from $1,200, in the interest of economy, he said, and this salary should be increased to at least $1,200 again, if not higher, as no competent help can be hired at that ridiculously low figure.

The State capitol building is not the only Kansas institution that has suffered and is still suffering through the program of economy instituted, is amply shown by the last two reports of the board of administration, which has charge of the university, the State agricultural college, the State normal school, school for the deaf, school for the blind, etc.

"The people of Kansas are invited to erect memorials at the State university," declared the board in its first biennial report, published in 1914, "as we need the buildings and have no funds to build." On page 6 of the same report, after decrying the need for funds and speculating on ways and means to raise it, they declare: "The university has 1,268 acres of land very near Lawrence, for sale—no buyers." It is further suggested that portions of the State land on hand, for which there are no buyers, be planted to alfalfa, if the State can arrange to secure the seed, etc., on credit, and use the proceeds in meeting some of the crying needs of the university.

On page 7 of the same report, the board, in speaking of some of the greatest drawbacks of the university, declared that accommodations around the State university were so scarce and prices charged students so high they were almost prohibitory. It bewailed the fact that the State did not have enough money with which to build dormitories.

And on pages 27 and 28 the board declared: "The university is in worse shape in the matter of classrooms and office room than institutions of its character anywhere in the country."

In reciting some of the "crying needs" of the institution, the board said:

"In our university 19 professors with their students are compelled to meet in a room 8 by 12; university medical work has to be done in a dark basement, one small building, and the attic of another; our music and fine arts department is located in an old dilapidated building that is cracked and the plastering and the walls are buckling out, which makes it very dangerous.

"The Federal Government is criticising us because of our lack of facilities and funds to carry on our chemistry work. We have no permanent room or facilities for 1,200 students who are taking a course under difficulties in household arts. Our domestic science department, who instruct more than 1,000 women in the university, is located in a dark, gloomy basement, immediately opposite the men's toilet, which is unsanitary, to say the least."

See First Biennial Report, Board of Administration, page 27, et seq.

The governor simply murdered the requests for appropriations for all of the institutions under this board—in the interest of economy, which caused universal complaint throughout the State.

In its Second Biennial Report, for the period ending June 30, 1916, the board stated, on page 10:

"It is to be regretted that we have no dormitories to standardize living conditions and to reduce the cost of rooms. * * * Kansas sends larger numbers of young people to college in proportion to her population than any other State. For some of them circumstances make it hard to live while 'learning how to live.' To help them by furnishing good, nourishing food, to enable them to make the best of the advantages provided for them, is, the board of administration believes, a duty.

"* * * The young women who come from Kansas homes to its institutions of higher learning, have a right to the most thoughtful care as to health, conduct, and education. Modern methods of teaching make it possible for girls to finish high school very young. Modern social carelessness leads many mothers to overdress their daughters instead of clothing them with the dignity and simplicity which forever characterize the well-bred girl or woman.

"The mild discipline of many of the homes of to-day which permits the spending of too much money and too great freedom on companionship in the immature years of the high school, sends large bodies of both boys and girls into the wider life of the college without the judgment necessary to meet it.

"All of these things makes the work of the advisers of women complex and difficult. Especially is this true of the task which they have with members of the teaching force, of getting the student to realize what he or she is at college for.

"The next legislature should provide funds for an adviser of men. The man who fills this place should have a wide and practical knowledge of the world at large, and should be able to help the young men to lay out a program for life.

"It is unsafe to allow the young to rely too strongly on the advice of men who are deeply absorbed in a specialty and who have no broad knowledge of the world's demands and opportunities.

"Neither is it becoming to education that talks so much of efficiency to allow its students to spend four years within its walls without a program. If the schools are to be the leading exponents of efficiency they should themselves be efficient."

KEEP STUDENTS IN KANSAS.

"On an average, every student who attends school away from home spends at least $500 a year. Kansas has felt it to be her duty to educate her sons and daughters, but she has not been blind to the fact that this result can be accomplished at a great saving by keeping within her borders the money that otherwise would be spent at large

educational centers like Chicago and Columbia. It is a safe estimate to say that by reason of the crowded condition of the Kansas schools and the lack of adequate facilities to handle the students in the various subjects, that 2,000 students take their college work outside of the State, and this means a monetary loss to the State of Kansas and its people of at least $1,000,000 per year, to say nothing of the great loss that comes from encouraging these educated men among our young people to find their homes in other States.

"This condition of affairs is bound to continue until we can furnish our students with adequate laboratory and library facilities and give them the share of the time of the instructor that other States are willing to give.

"A small portion of this amount which is taken out of the State in the form of tuition and expenses paid in other States would make it possible for Kansas to meet the demands made upon her by the young men and women who are seeking an education. It would make it possible to reduce the classes to a reasonable limit; to establish offices in which students might consult and advise with their instructors and be helped over the hard places in their courses of study. It would decrease the mortality among students, which is so expensive to the State: * * *. The high cost of living and the big loss of idleness in our children are problems that the schools should be reaching far more effectually than they now are." (Supra, pp. 12, 13.)

Complaint was registered on pages 16 and 17 that there is not sufficient money on hand for printing and publishing information brought to light by the research of the faculty, owing to the fact that the State printing plant does not receive enough money to buy the materials with which to print it; that general conditions require much more money than the State seems able to give, and that the musical department of the schools under the board's control must necessarily be neglected to a great degree because of the policy of economy instituted.

The board, of which ex-Gov. Hoch is a member, could not pass up a chance to put in a plug for prohibition as it wandered through the labyrinth of crying needs, etc., and a discussion of the Household Arts seemed the most fertile ground onto which they could dump their usual "appreciation," so here it is:

"Having in addition to her material wealth the fine moral assets of prohibition and an enfranchised womanhood, it becomes the peculiar responsibility of the State to make a Commonwealth which shall be an example to the world. This means a State of beautiful, happy homes first in which families may be so rooted to their foundations that each one becomes a permanent temple of life. Next must come villages, towns, and cities which are well-paved garden cities, with lasting, beautiful public buildings as well as homes. It means the best roads in the world, serving as trails of service back and forth between these homes and groups of homes.

"Instead of this we find too often the robbing of soils, the desertion of farms, and the growing of tenancy—almost the greatest State question." (Aside from making prohibition "prohibit" and shower onto the State all the blessings that are advertised to go with it; yes, that is perhaps the greatest State question.)

Continuing, the board says: "We often find the courthouse—the one public building which is the common possession of each county, and which should be an architectural honor—nearly always violating every rule of beauty and with one common attribute, a hideous tower, calling attention to its ugliness."

But speaking of courthouses, it perhaps would interest the reader to know that the Shawnee County courthouse was recently sold for taxes, or that the Leoti courthouse is being overrun with rats and is falling completely down, and that the one at Smith Center is without enough plastering on the walls to throw through what few remaining windows there are in it and break one of them. The Kansas farmers would rather buy Fords and mail-order booze than build courthouses. Over 12 proposals to build new courthouses have been voted down there within the past year, including several similar proposals for high schools. Millions for gasoline, prohibition, and mail-order wet and dry goods, but not one cent for an "architectural honor!"

"Rural schools, with few exceptions, are pathetically forlorn, inadequate, and inartistic," the board continues. "Instead of inside conveniences, or a screened yard for outside comfort stations, these buildings are so exposed as to be a very disgrace to the school patrons of any district."

"The board of administration has investigated the dormitory question quite thoroughly. We believe that the State should adopt a policy of furnishing dormitories to a part of the girls and boys who attend these institutions. Student members have outgrown all possibility of proper care by the immediately surrounding communities. It is especially difficult for the girls to find suitable rooming places, and the prices are very high. Student environment would be much improved if we might have central dormitories for a part of the girls, and, if possible, a part of the boys. These dormitories would assist materially in improving the condition of the other rooming houses in the cities where they are located, and furnish a standard for them. It would assist in solving the perplexing social and health problems with which we have to deal.

"Each school has the same problem, and each one of the fifteen hundred mothers who each year send their girls for the first time from their protected homes into strange cities are praying that dormitories may be erected at once and put in charge of refined, motherly women.

"As we said in our last report, the university is in worse shape in the matter of classrooms and office rooms than any other institution of its character in the country. It is absolutely impossible to meet the class demands, and in addition to that we have no office-room facilities for members of the faculty. If the faculty is to do good work and is to help these students who most need help by consultation and advice, it must have consultation rooms, and we regard that as one of the most important features of the student's life. Many a student has had his career blighted and failed of an education that would have made him much more useful to society because he did not have the advantage of the advice and consultation with his teacher in helping him over some rough places in his course of study." (Supra, pp. 34, 35, 36.)

"At the university we have a department of English, where 19 professors hold consultations with their students in two small offices, each of them about 8 by 14. In the department of German we have 12 or 14 instructors who have to consult with their students in about the same quarters. Many of the departments are in the same condition. We have two years of medical work there that is located in three buildings. Other departments are partly in the basement of one building, partly in another building, and partly in an attic of the third. Our domestic science department, which has been mentioned before, continues to instruct more than 1,000 women in the university, and is located in the dark, gloomy basement of Fraser Hall, immediately opposite the men's toilet, and in rooms with floors that are beyond description. We are using the basement and the rooms in the tower, five stories up, in Fraser Hall.

"Over 50 years ago there was hastily thrown up a building on a foundation started by a denominational college. This building was used by the university until the completion of its first building. It was then used for a great number of purposes, among them as an imbecile asylum. Several years ago the crowded condition of the university forced the school of fine arts into this old dilapidated building, and it is still used for that purpose. The building is old; it has wide cracks through the walls; the pilasters are buckling and threaten to let the whole building fall. It can no longer be safely used, and this department must have quarters at once." (Supra, pp. 35, 36.)

The board made sweeping demands that economy be thrown to the four winds and all the State educational institutions cared for, even though it require a bond issue of several hundred thousand dollars to meet the crying needs of the State's most fundamental groundwork on which to construct a lasting manhood and womanhood.

According to a Lawrence dispatch, dated October 4, 1916, and published in the Topeka State Journal, October 4, 1916, Chancellor Strong, of the Kansas University, "many of the university buildings are practically unfit for further use, because of their age and crumbling condition, and must either be repaired or replaced by new ones. The chancellor further emphasized the need of a campaign by both faculty and students urging the next legislature to appropriate money for new buildings. * * * North College, Snow Hall, and the medical building are the main buildings that need attention. North College has been declared unfit for use after next year by three men, John M. Shea, superintendent of buildings and grounds of the university; Prof. Goodwin Goldsmith, of the department of architecture; and the State architect."

The visiting committee of former students of the State University, addressed a communication to the alumni association of the university, which was published in the Topeka State Journal February 3, 1917, and contains many interesting disclosures. This committee included the names of some the most prominent people of the State.

"Last year the man who paid taxes of $1,000 worth of property paid $1.30, and no more, toward the liquidation of all State expenses; $1.30 a year for peace, order, security, the protection of life and property, the promotion of health and morality, the preservation of liberty, the development of industry, suppression of crime, and the higher education of the young. Of this $1.30 less than the sum of 65 cents was spent on the State schools as a whole, and less than 25 cents on the State University."

The report does not show just how much was spent "for the suppression of crime," exactly, but since prohibition is advertised to decrease crime year by year until it "is no more," there seems to be something wrong with the Kansas system again. Surely the amount spent for the suppression of crime should not be over 2 or 3 cents. But the record shows it is over half the combined amount allowed for all educational purposes.

"The old North College * * * has been a scandal for a quarter of a century. It has been three times condemned. It is unsafe and unsanitary. It is overcrowded. It is devoted to the department of fine arts, which had an enrollment in 1916 of 286 students. It is as great a disgrace to the State of Kansas as the worst East Side tenements are to the city of New York."

And after paying its respects to the other tumble-down buildings, the committee turned its attention to the needs of the young women:

"If the young women of Kansas are to be given equal opportunities with the young men, and if they are to be induced to avail themselves of those opportunities to a desirable extent, dormitories must be established. Very many parents are sending their daughters out of the State for their college work, largely on account of the insufficient and inadequate housing conditions at Lawrence, and the lack of desirable supervision.

"There should be erected on the campus dormitories capable of accommodating at least the freshmen girls. Too much can not be said about the importance of the first year in college; and, especially, during the first year the girl student, who is upon the average 18 years of age, should have pleasant and comfortable surroundings and a degree of wise supervision and direction, which could best be given under the dormitory system." Apparently the "home influence" of the dry Kansas homes does not sink in very deep, after all. What happens, we must necessarily inquire, to the poor, unfortunate girls who by the hundreds lose their father or mother, or perhaps both, before reaching 18, in the Kansas towns which Warden Codding says are all rotten? If a girl, educated and fitted for college life, has to have a policewoman watch her, what about the "common herd" who have to plod along and work for a few dollars a week in the little towns or for three or four a week in the 5 and 10 cent stores of the larger towns? No wonder the women's clubs complain because the legislature is not giving the women the protection they should have.

It should be borne in mind, as we pass along, that no "expert" has been imported from Washington, D. C., or elsewhere, to instruct the legislature how to protect the 18-year-old girls at college, or how to protect them from the stinginess of the 5 and 10 cent store jobs, or the evils that necessarily flow from their having to receive less than a living wage. The antisaloon leaguers may think of the trials and tribulations of the "poor downtrodden women and little girls," but they only use them as "horrible examples" and reasons why the gold should find its way into their coffers, to be used in "extension work" of buying mansions and high-power motor cars.

"WE MUST WHIP UP!"

Under the above headline the Topeka State Journal of March 31, 1916, carried an extensive news story of the speech delivered before the Pittsburg (Kans.) Chamber of Commerce that day.

The subject matter of his speech was not directed toward ways and means in, by, or through which to enforce the prohibitory law; neither was it of such a character that the Antisaloon League cared to print it or have the governor print it on his press and permit them to sell it as campaign literature. It was an admission "in open court" that Kansas has been battered, beaten, and torn to pieces commercially by the long drawn-out series of crusades which were started during the Hoch administration in 1906 and carried on with the fury of a tornado ever since. As John Dawson put it in the Antisaloon League speech in Chicago, a contest "waged with fury and bitterness," ending, of course, in "triumph of the law."

The subject matter of the governor's special message sent to the legislature on February 23, 1915, almost took the breath of the country when it became public. In it he cautioned economy, reminding the legislature that the demands of the various educational, penal, and charitable institutions could not be met, and while he recognized the

fact that they were entitled to the relief asked, loss of population and of taxable property worth $5,000,000 during the year preceding would not permit of an appropriation sufficient to meet the end. This message was treated in a very matter-of-fact way by the newspapers of the Nation. In fact, it was hardly mentioned by any of them. The Kansas City Star and other publications subsidized by the Antisaloon League did not as much as mention it. No magazine published in America, including the Christian Science Monitor, paid any attention to it, although it was without doubt one of the most startling admissions ever made by the governor of a State.

Speaking of the governor's handling of the State affairs, however, it was declared in the Topeka State Journal on October 5, 1916:

"He is continually complaining. He has failed to deliver the goods as governor. * * * He talks about economy and efficiency, when his administration has cost more than any other administration we ever had. Yet with all his expenditures nothing has been done to relieve the orphans at the State orphans' home or to provide ample quarters in order that the insane shall not be compelled to sleep on the floor.

"He talks about a business administration, and at the same time added 27 new jobs to the pay roll."

"He handed the farmers a package by raising the valuations of their farm land in order to raise more taxes, yet he permitted the railroads and corporations to go at the same old rate. He approved the paying of $30,000 a year for the new job holders that he wanted in, and seems to be proud of it. He has paroled a number of men from the penitentiary whose crimes were a menace to the safety of our women and children."

It was only natural that the governor raise the taxes on the farmers. The corporations would leave the State in a body if gouged any more, and the farmers can't get away. They have to stay, because they can find no buyers—half of them at not over two-thirds of the "assessed valuation" on which the "wonderful" per capita of wealth is figured. As for the railroads, the less said the better. However, since prohibition has become "the burning issue" in Kansas, the railroads have had things pretty much their own way. The Santa Fe shows its gratitude by "testifying" that prohibition makes more efficient track laborers and workmen than are to be found in any State through which the line runs, which helps some in boosting things along for the league.

Getting down to brass tacks, Gov. Capper, in his speech before the chamber of commerce at Pittsburg, made statements which, were they given the same brand of publicity that the "success" of prohibition is given, would result in much more good to the State, and much more good to the Nation at large. In his heart to heart, man to man, review of the actual conditions in the State there, he stated that Kansas must whip up industrially. "The State needs more industries, a larger pay roll, and more people," the governor declared. He cited manufacturing conditions in Iowa and other States, which he said showed that Kansas was far behind.

The things the world needs can be most easily provided by Kansas industries, and millions of dollars sent to manufacturers in other States should stay right at home. The money paid to laborers in other States should be a Kansas pay roll.

"Much of the wealth which we produce annually is sent out of the State in exchange for commodities which we can produce and ought to produce at home," the governor said. "We have been backward in developing along industrial lines, and as a consequence we are not making the gains in population that we ought to make, and we fall far short in taking advantage of our opportunities for material advancement."

"Kansas products and material should be Kansas manufactured," the governor urged. "The opportunities are here, but because of a lack of development Kansas has taken a big slump in the rank of industrial States of the Union.

"The big per capita wealth and the fat bank accounts are sent to other States to pay for materials manufactured in other States.

"There is no reason in the world why we shouldn't be making in Kansas not only a large part of the $10,000,000 worth of boots and shoes we buy every year, but also a part of the billion dollars' worth that the Nation produces," Gov. Capper said.

Continuing, the governor said in part:

"Neither is there any reason why we shouldn't manufacture in Kansas all of the nearly $2,000,000 worth of harness and saddlery which the people of the State purchase every year. We couldn't only make that but we could supply the rest of the Nation with $60,000,000 worth that it uses.

"The output of the wagon and carriage factories of the United States is $40,000,000; Kansas purchases $1,400,000 worth—despite the automobile—and manufactures practically none.

"We buy eleven and a half million dollars' worth of furniture and refrigerators; the Nation buys half a billion dollars worth—little of which we produce.

"We manufacture a little soap, but nothing like the two and a quarter million dollars worth we buy. The Nation uses $114,000,000 worth, and we might be producing a big share of it. There is a $40,000,000 market for thrashing machinery in the United States and nearly a $3,000,000 market in Kansas; there's a quarter billion market in the Nation for knit goods and hosiery; Kansas alone buys $3,700,000 worth and produces none. And so on through the entire list of the ordinary commodities of life. Incubators, brooms, cereals, and breakfast foods—hundreds of them which Kansas might produce from raw materials just at hand.

"Here is a little comparison of the way Kansas ranks with Iowa in its manufacture:

"COMPARED WITH IOWA.

"Excluding flour mills and packinghouses, Kansas has 2,900 establishments manufacturing products to the value of $90,000,000; while Iowa has 5,200 establishments manufacturing products to the value of $187,000,000 every year.

"Iowa has 512 butter, cheese, and condensed milk factories, while Kansas has but 60.

"Iowa has 235 brick and tile factories, while Kansas has 55. Iowa has 229 woodworking establishments, and Kansas 26. Iowa has 119 carriage and wagon factories, and Kansas 26; Iowa has 42 establishments for making agricultural implements, while Kansas has only 18; Iowa has 71 canning and preserving factories, while Kansas has a lone little 3; and so on down the line.

"Kansas has 1 factory making dairymen, poultrymen, and bee supplies; Iowa has 17. Kansas has 1 boot and shoe factory; Iowa, 10; Kansas has 1 women's clothing factory; Iowa, 19.

"Kansas has 1 stove and furniture factory; Iowa 13; Kansas has 1 coffin factory; Iowa, 10; Kansas has 1 glove factory; Iowa, 10; Kansas has 1 cutlery and tool factory; Iowa has 16; Kansas has 1 woolen mill; Iowa, 8.

"And Iowa, as Kansas, is primarily an agricultural State, but at the same time she manufactures hundreds of articles which her own people use, and sells many of them to Kansas and the other States. I cite Iowa because she is a typical Western State, with no greater natural advantages for manufacturing than we have—not as many as you have here in Pittsburg.

"POINTS TO INDIANA.

"Take Indiana as another typical agricultural State. With an area of 36,000 square miles, as compared with our State of 83,000, Indiana has a population of 2,700,000, while we have only one and three-fourths million. (The correct figures are 1,672,545.)

"She has 75 inhabitants to the square mile, while we have only 22. (The correct figures is 20.7 people to a square mile in Kansas.) But she has 51 cities of more than 5,000 population to our 24; and 7,969 factories to our 3,435. Her industries give employment to 218,263 persons, while we have only 54,649 engaged in the industries. The value of the products of her industries is $579,075,000, while Kansas manufactured products amounting to $325,000,000. Indiana annually adds to her permanent wealth by manufacturing $244,700,000, and Kansas only $66,220,000.

"We do not know, we can not foresee, what will happen to America in a business way when the great tragedy that now envelopes Europe is ended. We do not know what place America will take in the commerce of the world. If we hold our own in Europe and in South America, in the Orient, there will be an abundant outlet for the products of this section of the country.

"If we slip back, should the war-stricken nations turn with fresh vigor to the arts of peace and flood the markets of the world with their goods, there is all the more reason for Kansas to study its home market and develop it to the limit; all the more reason why Kansas should utilize within its own borders as much of its raw material as possible and produce at home from Kansas materials, with Kansas fuel and Kansas labor and Kansas capital and Kansas enterprise, the greater part of what Kansas consumes."

Gov. Capper failed to take into account, when comparing Kansas with Iowa and Indiana that those States have been busy for the past decade, building up their industrial life. During the past year or so Iowa voted again prohibition, against an overwhelming public sentiment, as was shown by the result of the State election in the fall of 1916, when the prolicense forces beat the bootleg whisky ticket off the face of the earth. Iowa is now undergoing the same ordeals on a limited scale Kansas has been suffering since 1906, but will soon throw them off her back.

Indiana, led to believe by the antisaloon people, and aided and abetted by "glowing tales of success" furnished by Mr. Capper himself, that prohibition had worked wonders in Kansas and was far superior to Indiana in every way, commercially, socially, financially, and morally, was forced into the mail-order, bootleg whisky column by a legislature that was afraid to permit the people to decide the question at the polls. So Indiana, unless redeemed from the blighting hand of the fake panacea, will soon be in the class Kansas belongs in, according to Gov. Capper's own admissions. No State, city, town, or county can become commercialy sound or morally strong when tax increases become such a burden under a law enforcement crusade lasting 10 years that the governor, himself a prohibitionist and active worker in the ranks of the antisaloon league, must at last admit the State is not progressing in any material manner whatever. Mr. Capper could have gone further, and no doubt had he spoken his own mind entirely, or completely, he would have continued his speech by giving some of the reasons why people are leaving the State to escape the burden of high taxes and the crushing despotism of intolerance. He could have also told why the charitable and penal institutions are filled to overflowing; why insane asylums refuse longer to take patients, because they can find no places for them to sleep on the floor; why the epileptic institution is sending delegations of business men from all over the State to the legislature, as petitioners, demanding that the appropriation be large enough to meet in a measure the increasing requirements of that institution, and why the board of administration and the visiting committee of the State and of the Kansas Alumni Association, respectively, make public in no uncertain terms, the terribly rotten conditions existing there.

It would hardly seem possible that within a few months after the delivery of the Pittsburg speech, the selfsame governor would deny the matters and things stated therein, but that is what the governor did when confronted with his own statements during the campaigns in various States in the fall of 1916, when the Antisaloon League was endeavoring to get a death grip on the State politics of the various States in which "wet" and "dry" campaigns were waged in hellish fury. When asked to either affirm or deny the statements the governor passively said the men attempting to make the public believe he ever said such a thing were representing the "booze interests" and let it go. The public in distant States was lead to believe by the leaguers that no such statements were ever made, intimating and openly charging that Gov. Capper considered the matter a huge joke.

But the Pittsburg speech attracted considerable attention in Kansas, whether it was printed and circulated by the Anti-Saloon League or not. In his paper, the Topeka Daily Capital, of May 21, 1916, appear "appreciations" from numerous Kansas newspapers, commenting on his attempt to get the State started back in the right direction. The Overbrook Citizen said:

"Gov. Capper thinks it a shame that the Kansas farmers raise the raw material, ship it out of the State to be manufactured and buy it back. He thinks it ought to be manufactured up in this State. He is right."

Blue Mound Sun: "In Gov. Capper's speech at Pittsburg, he told the chamber of commerce that a State could not prosper on corn, wheat, cattle, and hogs alone, and that it was not the best policy to sell raw material at low prices, ship it east and buy back the manufactured product at high prices. He compared the agricultural State of Iowa, which has from twice to twenty times as many factories in the various lines as agricultural Kansas. He also compared the 36,000 square miles of Indiana with the 83,000 of Kansas, whose manufactured products are only one-fourth those of the Hoosier State. Blue Mound is one of the towns which might profit by the governor's suggestions. We have a fine dairy country and are shipping cream from two stations and buying creamery butter shipped from distant points, so that we lose the income from labor, the profit from manufacturing, and also pay freight both ways. Every can of corn and most of the canned vegetables used in our neighborhoods could be produced and put up at home canneries, and all the cost of manufacturing and transportation be added to the wealth of the community."

Holton Recorder: "It is so obviously unbusinesslike to ship our raw products to Eastern States to be made up into finished products and then pay the freight on them back to Kansas that the governor is wondering why this profit can not be saved to the State and the number of wage earners largely increased. Simply because Kansas is a rich agricultural State is no reason why it should not also be a manufacturing State. The market is here, the gas and oil and coal for fuel is here, and the transportation facilities are adequate. All that is lacking are the factories. And the reason we have so few factories is due to the fact that Kansas enterprise and capital have been too slow to start them.

"The fact is the future growth and prosperity of towns such as Holton and even the larger Kansas cities depend on the development of industries that will furnish employment to wage earners. We can't hold our population, or expect to gain more, without furnishing people employment. This is one of the big problems for Kansas to solve in the next decade, and Gov. Capper's suggestions should challenge the most serious thought and consideration."

Douglass Tribune: "Gov. Capper calls attention of Kansas people to the fact that manufacturing is sadly neglected in this State. There are a thousand things in the manufacturing line that could be made to succeed in Kansas that would be privately profitable and of general benefit to the State."

Arkansas City News: "There is so much waste in our industrial system it is a wonder we have accumulated such vast wealth. People are suspicious of manufacturing concerns. We are accustomed to look to the Kansas soil and hard-working Kansas farmers to support the entire people, and he has been succeeding admirably, but there is a profitable help in many lines of endeavor if we could but see it and develop it. One thing necessary for a change is the change of the mind of the Kansas farmer toward industry. We should realize above all other business men that the State can be far more prosperous with a well-developed industrial system than by depending upon a limited number of resources. We must stop selling our raw material at a low price, shipping it to the East and then shipping it back, and buying it as finished products at a high price, paying the freight both ways and a handsome profit to enterprising men beyond our borders."

Chapman Advertiser: "* * * A number of elements conspire to retard the growth of Kansas in this direction and keeps our State from enjoying the prosperity that rightfully belongs to the people whose homes are made within the confines of the State. The fact that Kansas pays the freight both to and from the manufacturing centers of the East, besides paying handsome profits to the middle man on the vast amount of raw material that is produced annually, is one of the obstacles that must be overcome."

Chanute Tribune: "* * * It is not very creditable to Kansas industrialism that we paid out this year for 85,000 automobiles probably $60,000,000, or more than five millions a month, to foreign factories. (While Kansas was credited with having 85,000 motors, the number was based on licenses then alive, many of which were duplicates, or held-over licenses from the year before.) There was once the beginning of an automobile industry in Topeka, but local capitalists lacked staying power, and it faded away. It is not industrial efficiency for Kansas to pile up enormous deposits and reserves in its banks, boasting of such a feat, and to ship cattle east to be stripped of their hides, the hides to be shipped farther east to be tanned, and the leather to be shipped farther east to be turned into shoes, Kansas buying back the finished product and paying all the intermediary profits and the various freight charges of the whole process.

"Cooperation is necessary to begin to develop manufacturing industries from Kansas raw materials. There must be cooperation of commercial clubs, cooperation with men with capital saved up, cooperation by banks, which must be liberal loaners to manufacturing plants. There will be such cooperation when all the different factors are convinced of the practicability of going in for manufactures. This first move is educational in the sense that there must be work by commercial clubs in systematically and persistently setting forth facts to convert people to the manufacturing idea, hard facts that can not be poohpoohed aside, as to what others are doing, in detail, and of the existence of the necessary factors of successful manufacturing."

Fort Scott Tribune: "Kansas cities and Kansas towns have got less to show for the amount of money they have spent for factories in the past 30 years than for money spent in any other constructive line. Most every city of any size in the State has spent from $100,000 to $1,000,000 to secure factories which to-day are not.

"Kansas isn't a factory State yet. She will be some day, when the population thickens west and the freight rates are equalized so as to remove the handicap from the interior west. In the meantime the wisest thing for Kansas to do is to discover what lines of agriculture she is best adapted to, which will best conserve and build up rather than deplete her soil, and otherwise develop her own natural resources.

"One-half the amount of money spent in dairy cows and barns and equipment that we have spent on factories would have long ago made this the greatest dairy community in the world. The dairy cow is the factory Kansas should develop. If Kansas communities will invest their promotion money in her there'll be no abandoned smokestacks around as monuments to the folly of the town booster spirit."

Atchison Champion: "* * * His speech was an industrial survey of the State, bringing out in a glaring way the weakness of Kansas. We buy away from home and at the same time we produce raw materials.

"If Atchison were in Indiana, Illinois, or Iowa city property would be worth double its present value. The city would be growing with leaps and bounds. Investors would be attracted in large numbers. Located on four railroads, and the natural supply base for one of the richest farming sections in the world, Atchison would be looked upon as a favored city. Yet Atchison is doing only a little better than holding her own. Why? For the same reason Gov. Capper points out as one of the greatest needs of the State the lack of industrial development.

"In time Kansas will become important industrially as well as agriculturally. When Kansans are aroused from contentment and adopt the slogan, 'Kansas goods for Kansas people,' as a real everyday motto, the awakening will take place."

What put Kansas to sleep? Twenty years ago Atchison was a much better town than it is to-day. In 1905 it had a population of 18,159 and in 1915 the census showed a decrease of 2,896. Atchison County showed a decrease during the same period of 2,799. Its population in 1905 was 30,026 and in 1915 it had decreased to 27,227.

Ottawa Herald: "* * * No man is so social that he is willing to concede to Kansas only its province of raising corn, wheat, and live stock; none so cosmopolitan that he would have the Sunflower State known simply as the producer of raw material and leave the East the big margin of profit that comes from converting these raw products into the goods that are sold from wholesaler to retailer and from retailer to customer.

"The governor would not have capital rush blindly into the factory business, but he is right in his contention that Kansas must not remain lethargic to its opportunities. Modern farming is fast teaching the State how to raise more of a variety of products than an enormous crop of a few things, although the State will continue for years to excel in wheat and corn and hogs and cattle. As a State Kansas can afford to vary its occupation.

"Not only is this a State problem, but it is divided up into community issues. Is every town doing its utmost to encourage more factories? Getting factories is simply the problem of salting the tail of capital. The job is one for every town and community. We have the resources and the enterprise. Let us get an all-consuming desire in this one direction and accomplish results. Kansas people can make Kansas a manufacturing district that will rival other States."

Getting an all-consuming desire to push manufacturing is indeed a difficult thing when the all-consuming desire is to catch a bootlegger or single out a jointist or pool-hall operator and leveling the guns of the law and the church on him, them, her, or everybody, as the case may be. The sentiment of the Herald is indeed touching, but for the fact that it soon died out and was forgotten in the rush of crusading, it might possibly have gotten Ottawa and the rest of the State somewhere

Russell Record: "One of the most able, as well as practical, commonsense addresses it has been our privilege to read in a long time was delivered by Gov. Arthur Capper last Monday before the Chamber of Commerce at Pittsburg, Kans. The governor believes that the most important problem in Kansas to-day is the development of industrial enterprises."

While these various newspapers and others throughout the State praised the governor's attitude, the real truth of why Kansas is backward industrially and will remain so lies in the fact that Kansas has found it highly necessary to tax her industrial life to death in order to maintain her foolish and fallacious policies of law enforcement and endeavoring to make successful measures attempting to rule the morals of her people, which measures and policies are overwhelmingly opposed by an irate public, proof of their attitude being in the call for successive legislation, running headlong in the direction of despotic bigotry.

Perhaps the most potent reason why Kansas is leagues behind Iowa, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Nebraska, and other States in her group as an industrial center can be no better explained than by a communication directed to the Topeka State Capital, by Hon. Joab Mulvane, one of the most wealthy, progressive, and at the same time one of the most successful business men and bankers in the State, which statement was published in the governor's paper under date of June 5, 1916, and is as follows:

"I read with much interest that part of Gov. Capper's Pittsburg speech relating to the lack of manufacturing industries in Kansas and the need of more of them. All intelligent people must agree as to the vast importance to the State of increased manufacturing industries. It is too true that Kansas makes a poor showing in this respect.

"A home market within the State for its food products and raw materials would realize more profit to the producer, and manufactured products made and consumed within the State would be cheaper, at least by the freight saved, and in both cases all the money be retained to enrich the State.

"There could be no controversy as to the need of securing more manufacturing industries in this State, but the real problem is how to secure them. Most manufacturing industries are operated by and through corporations; that is, the most favored method of investment, as the interest is definite, and the liability limited, and the stock representing it may usually be readily sold. And it affords people of small capital a chance for investment; in short, manufacturing industries and commercial affairs are largely conducted by corporations. They have become necessary to modern business, and if the State is unfair or unjust toward them, such antagonism toward essential methods of industrial development is surely bad public policy.

"Is the law of Kansas unjust and unfair toward corporations? Does the law discriminate against them? Has the capital invested in the corporations equal chance with individual or partnership capital investment? Let us see. The corporation gets from the State a permit called a charter to do business, and is charged certain fees or a price for the privilege; receives a charter defining and restricting what it may do, and with it must make reports of its business to the State. An individual or several individuals as partners may without cost for the privilege and without obligations to make public reports enter upon any lawful business without restraint.

"The corporation and the individual or partnership are each required to pay like taxes upon the capital invested, but a corporation, in addition to paying the same general tax imposed upon its property of, say, a million dollars (that being its capital) is under the present law of Kansas compelled to pay a special tax imposed since the granting of its charter of $1,000 annually, and the legislature may increase this tax at its next session to $2,000 annually, or any other amount it chooses to impose. In short, the law now puts a burden upon corporations, not borne by individuals or partnership business, and the legislature has the power at any session to increase this class taxation ad infinitum.

"This hold-up tax is graded according to the size of the capital of the corporation.

"The reason given for such a law is that some other States impose such a tax and that it brings more revenue into the State treasury. All States do not impose such a tax or have such a law; and if all other States have such a law that constitutes the greater reason why Kansas ought not.

"If capital invested in corporations must bear costs and burdens not imposed upon individuals or partnership business, and with the known hazard of unlimited increase of such cost, it is pertinent to ask whether or no industrial development is impeded or blocked thereby.

"Capital is timid and intelligent, and discrimination against capital invested in corporations tends to drive them away from the State.

"This law has led to the reduction of capital with corporations in this State, and with some others that were in shape to do so to get out of the State, and certainly leads contemplated enterprises to avoid the State.

"The law is wholly wrong in principle and ought to be repealed. Sound public policy demands the repeal of the law."

One of the "really important" things that was given more prominence by a hundredfold than the article written by Mr. Mulvane was a news story covering a new "reform" hatched up by "Dr." Charles M. Sheldon. "Lurid picture-show posters arouse young men's passions," declared the Topeka Capital in bold headlines, January 7, 1916:

"That the highly colored posters of scenes from moving-picture plays, as displayed in front of theaters in Topeka, are indecent, a means of exciting the passions, and an enticement to young men to enter the playhouses, was the charge made yesterday before the Federation of Women by the Rev. Charles M. Sheldon, pastor of the Central Congregational Church.

"Dr. Sheldon said that the State is making enough from its censorship law to afford additional censors to inspect these posters, which sometimes are worse than the pictures they advertise.

"APPEAL TO PASSIONS.

"'I am not saying anything against the films themselves, nor the work of censoring the films,' said Dr. Sheldon, 'because I do not attend the picture shows, and therefore can not speak authoritatively. But I have seen the posters in front of the theaters, and they need censoring badly. There have been in front of a Kansas Avenue theater for several days posters which I think immoral and tending to excite the passions of the young.

"'To these posters I have taken several parties, and they agree with me that they are indecent. The causes of immoral pictures are in a great measure to be laid at the door of the writers of the stories, who have flooded the country with sex plays and stories appealing to the passions. The themes of the stories are wrong, according to the synopses I have read of them in the papers. They teach wrong ethics. Often the villain gets a reward, vice is made a funny and sometimes a pleasurable thing.

"'There are several ways of working out a remedy for this evil. We can stay away from such places when we know that an immoral picture is to be shown. We can go to the manager and protest against such pictures. Or, getting into a show and finding such a story being told by the pictures, we can leave, telling the management why we dislike the exhibition.'

"'When Topeka had saloons the farmer had somewhere to go and loaf during his visit to the city,' Dr. Sheldon said, 'but now that the saloons have been taken away he has nowhere to go.'

"Dr. Sheldon said he had been informed by police officials that if 300 people were moved from Topeka the town would be practically clean of the criminal element 'I understand that there is that number in the criminal element in Topeka,' said Dr. Sheldon, 'the habitual members of the crime colony. Their removal would practically obliterate the crime in our population.'"

Another prohibition boost was noted in the Kansas City Post of January 2, 1916, when it quoted an interview with Dr. C. S. Kinney, head of the State tubercular sanitarium at Norton, Kans. "It's time we paid a little less attention to protecting cattle from imaginary diseases and get busy with some protection for babies," the doctor said.

On January 3, 1916, the Kansas Peace and Equity League, headed by Dr. Charles M. Sheldon, Mrs. H. O. Garvey, and S. H. Allen, held a meeting in the First Baptist Church. Gov. Capper, president of the league, presided, and Dr. Sheldon, Gov. Capper, Dr. Frank Strong, chancellor of the State University; Mrs. W. D. Atkinson, of Parsons, president of the Women's Kansas Day Club, and T. A. McNeal, editor of the Mail and Breeze, a Capper publication, furnished the fireworks. "Preparedness, as advocated by President Wilson and jingoists, came in for some rather severe criticism," said the Topeka Daily Capital of January 3.

Another important "victory without blood" for prohibition was noted in the Topeka State Journal of January 6, 1916, under large and distinguished looking headlines in the form of glad tidings from the "city" of Byers, Kans., a real typical Kansas town, with a real typical habit. "Byers swore off," declared the Journal. "The most extensive turning over of new leaves this New Year's in Kansas doubtless is at the town of Byers," continued the news dispatch, which was relayed via Hutchinson. "The whole town crawled onto the water wagon this week, and not only that, but practically every man in the town swore off smoking and chewing tobacco.

"Byers is in earnest about it, too. Probably the thing that brought it all about was a recent tragedy in the town in which one man killed another in a drunken frenzy. Byers is a new town, only a few months old, in the northern edge of Pratt County.

"The tragedy a few weeks ago was a shock to the community. It brought about a reaction. It did what churches and law and order leagues could not do, perhaps, in so short a time. Prominent business men and leading citizens decided that it was time for Byers to put the lid on.

"A committee was appointed, and an old-fashioned pledge-signing campaign was put on. The pledge binds the signers not only to abstain from the use of intoxicating liquors but also from the smoking of cigarettes and the use of tobacco.

"The business men of the town set the example, practically every one of them signing the pledge. Within the first two days the pledge was circulated more than 50 names were attached, and that took in about all of the men in the town, which is not very large. The pledge is to remain in effect one year. 'We are determined that never again shall there be a tragedy in Byers due to booze,' declared one prominent citizen of the town. 'And we are setting the example to the young men of the community. We hope to be able to drive both liquor and cigarettes out of our town and expect to.'"

(Byers had the enormous population of 26 people at the time this story was written. Another interesting thing in the above story is what the murderer got drunk on. It sounds very much as though Jamaica ginger played its little part in the tragedy, and, if so, the "pledge" will not reach that brand of prohibition booze, for it is not considered as an intoxicating liquor in Kansas. Anyway, here's hoping they met their "hope" to keep booze and cigarettes out. That's what the 26 get for moving out there in the first place.)

The Topeka State Journal of January 10, 1916, bewailed the fact that the showing of the last census, with respect to population, and noting the decrease of 18,404 from 1910, declared that there should be a much different and bigger story to tell at the end of the next decade, further proclaiming that such would be the case "were Kansas to advertise her wares as she should and as several of her sister States are doing."

The trouble with Kansas is she forgets the world is laughing at her antics and wonders why she doesn't attract more people. She is notorious and thinks she is famous. Producing Carrie Nations and that type of reformers always bodes evil, and some day perhaps the Kansas newspapers will begin talking more of constructive measures and devote less time tickling the vanity of blatherskites.

In an address before the annual meeting of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, held in Topeka January 13, 1916, Hon. Peter W. Goebel, of Kansas City, Kans., president of the American Bankers' Association, declared that, "The real prosperity and happiness of the people does not depend upon the accumulations of a few millionaires but upon the masses of the savings of the people," according to a report of the meeting in the Topeka State Journal of that date. And on the 18th of January, 1916, in an address to 200 boys of the Kansas City, Kans., high schools, guests of the Mercantile Club, Mr. Goebel, according to a report of the meeting appearing in the Kansas City Post of that day, admonished the boys to "be honest, and never forget that work is the salt of the very existence of a man. The installment house is one of the greatest dangers to young people. Saloons are bad, but to my mind, installment houses are worse. Never cheat. It never pays. Be a man, broad of heart and always extending aid to the human family, and you will attain success which will comfort you in later years."

Mr. Goebel, who is a millionaire, started life in a blacksmith shop in Louisburg, Kans.; always worked hard; is opposed to the Anti-Saloon League and believes in the personal liberties that are vouchsafed to every American citizen by the Constitution. However, he is not "advertised" as one of the Kansas "wares," because he will not stultify himself by cutting up silly antics for the entertainment of snoop committees. Kansas has many such "wares," but they are never heard from. And that is another reason why Kansas is looked upon as she is.

Addressing the students of the Kansas State Agricultural College, the only State institution enjoying the distinction of having a real live "arm" of the Anti-Saloon League organized under consent of the governor and the board of administration, Gov. Capper declared on January 20, 1916, according to his own paper of that day that the greatest menace to Kansas home life is the tendency toward tenancy and the lack of interest the people, especially the younger ones, are taking in their home life on the farms. "Kansas is in the making right now," he declared. "We must work for stronger and better rural schools for the vast number of boys and girls in the State who are unable to obtain the advantages of higher education. * * * Kansas needs good roads," he concluded.

The Kansas City Star of January 24, 1916, carried an interview given by William Allen White, in the Ohio State Journal, in which Mr. White boasted of the low death rate of the Sunflower State. "The reason assigned for this," said the article, "agricultural life, prohibition, the absence of slums, and the lack of large industries, account for the longevity of the people. William Allen White refers to the fact that the rate is 9.8 in every thousand, but what is there in it for Kansas if she is prosperous, intelligent, and healthy, but had produced no great statesman, no more gifted authors, painters, or thinkers than her neighbor Nebraska? Why, everything. Prosperity, intelligence and health are greater than statesmanship, literature, or art. It is for the former that the latter are important."

A wild chase of two bootleggers, headed for Emporia, occupied the front pages of the Kansas and Kansas City, Mo., newspapers on January 28, 1916. The officers finally ran down the motor filled with prohibition redeye, near Olathe, where a blockade had been formed a few days before for the purpose of holding up the bootleggers going into the State by a main road from Kansas City. The liquor was all confiscated, the culprits arrested and thrown into jail. Fourteen cases of whisky was all that was left in the car after the thrilling chase ended. A farmer, "a strict prohibitionist," tipped the officers off. Harry Comfort, one of the men in the machine, ran when he saw the officers were about to overtake him, dodged several shots from the six-shooters of the officers, who were joined by the prohibitionist, armed with a double-barrelled shotgun loaded with buckshot. Comfort suffered the pains of exposure and froze both his hands, which were liable to be amputated later, according to the Kansas City Post. He was to be tried soon, said the Post. The prohibitionist, being the informer, earned a part of the "fees and costs."

Hard cider went under the ban by the church contingent in Dodge City on February 1, 1916, when it was discovered that by the simple process of running it through a cream separator, the strong alcoholic rose to the top and produced a "kick" like a coast-defense gun. This great discovery, which, of course, was another "victory" for prohibition, occupied a prominent place in the Kansas dailies, although that day's assignment did not mention any ways and means to further the good-roads movement or the rejuvenation of industrial assassination.

"Kansas is rich in motors, but poor in roads," proclaimed the Kansas City Star February 6, 1916, declaring that there are only five States in the Nation having a smaller per cent of permanent roads than Kansas. The names of the States were not given, but Nebraska and Missouri were not in the list.

The decadent school system was given a body blow by State Superintendent Ross in the Wichita Beacon of February 8, 1916. In speaking of the "progressive school system," so often the subject of unwarranted claims made to boost the ramshackle Kansas system, Mr. Ross said:

"I know a school district in Kansas where two railroads pay 55 per cent of all school taxes, but the school district is so poor that it doesn't have a chair for the teacher. It has what once was a chair, but what by gradual process of weathering has been reduced to a stool. If we had a county unit of taxation, a county board to distribute and see to the expenditure of a common fund for all the districts and that disrict saw that it was going to get as much money as its neighbor, it would get a chair for the teacher." Mr. Ross declared that one of the greatest educational dangers in the State was the pitiable system in operation as applied to the rural schools. "It is no wonder Kansas has hit the toboggan slide and is headed for the bottom in school efficiency," he declared.

Another "prohibition prosperity" item appeared in the Beacon of the same date, however, which shows how much difference there is between "assessed valuation" and actual valuation in Kansas. "According to Mr. Coleman, taxable values have been too high in many parts of the city," said the Beacon. "Actual sales of property have proved this." Which proves again that prohibition lowers taxes.

And just to show that all the "fame" is not centered in and about Wichita and Topeka, Concordia, a little western town broke into print the same day in the Topeka Capital (Feb. 8, 1916), by recording the arrest of "two more boys" for smoking cigarettes. The "law" took them before the county attorney who, after threatening to throw them into jail, wormed out of them the name of the "culprit" who sold them the weeds. "This makes five arrests on the charge, and warrants will probably be issued soon for those who sold the goods."

A special meeting of the retail merchants of the State was called at Lawrence on February 9, according to the Topeka Capital of February 10, 1916, to discuss ways and means for the local merchants who were hitting the thorn-paved trail to the bankrupt court, because the farmers and residents of the little towns were shipping dry as well as wet goods into the State by the carload, and passing up the local merchants whose little dusty out-of-date stock did not furnish the thrill that a mail-order house catalogue brought to the children. An expert named H. Leslie Wildey was imported from Iowa to tell the merchants how to do it. After telling the merchants to compete with the prices of the mail-order houses and that would solve the problem he declared that the mail-order house was the outgrowth of distrust the farmer had for the ordinary small town merchant. "Be honest with your customers," he advised them.

Otta Buehrmann, instructor in salesmanship, from Carson, Pirie, Scott & Co., of Chicago (a large mail-order house, by the way), advised the merchants to remove all temptation from the clerks. Most of them admitted they had already done that by keeping the 76 cents in their pants pocket, and not even trusting the clerk to take it to the bank.

Columbus, Kans., another "bone dry" city, where even card playing is under the strictest sort of a ban, came forth with testimony, according to the Topeka Daily Capital, of February 11, 1916. "Slim" Cravens was being tried for running a gambling "den," where poker and pitch were being played. The jury was out an unusual length of time. Sheriff Martin sneaked in to see what they were "at," and found them playing a social game of pitch, while deliberating, at $2 apiece per day, on the fate of "Slim." The jury had been hung up on a vote of 11 for acquittal and 1 for conviction. The preacher on the jury demanded an investigation, denouncing the other jurors as blacklegs and gamblers. Judge Dunbar promised to conduct a "probe."

THE PLEBEIAN AND PAUPER.

Upon returning from California, in February, 1916, Mr. Frank P. MacLennon, editor of the Topeka State Journal, did some straight talking about the conditions in Kansas.

"Why don't we live up to our high rank and station?" he demanded in an article specially prepared and bearing his signature in his paper of February 11, 1916. "Other States are getting the good things of this world, are living by the way, as they pass through life, are receiving now that to which their generation and success and condition entitle them. But not so with Kansas. Other States are spending their money. We are miserly, hoarding ours; bending every effort of State, city, and county to that end—to hold down the taxes.

"What if Gov. Capper did for himself and his family and business what he does for the State? What if the county commissioners, if they were wealthy and had the means the county has, kept poor walks around their homes and kept poor roads through our counties? What would our city commissioners, if they were wealthy like Kansas and individuals of means, think of themselves if they failed to guard their homes to protect them from crime, as we as a city fail to provide the money and the men to police Topeka and guard the city? Think of a city as wealthy as ours, which has hardly enough police to protect our Sunday schools and gives the chief $125 a month, less political assessments, and can not pay him enough to live on comfortably, befitting his position?

"Our State, prosperous, growing, expanding, improving, we are holding down the taxes, the county taxes, the city taxes; and withal, with a State full of wealth about which we boast, are impoverishing our State institutions, making our roads a disgrace, and holding ourselves up to ridicule before enlightened communities which are spending their money for the people, as they are for themselves, and giving to the State, to the county, and to the city the same comforts in life which they secure for themselves by spending their money.

"What would you think of Gov. Capper, personally a most generous man, liberal with his employees, and giving his family the comforts to which they are entitled, with parsimonious policies only for the State? What would you think of Gov. Capper if he had an old out-of-date printing office, unequipped for doing business on present-day requirements? What would you think of him if he lived in an old frame house, instead of the handsome home he now occupies and can afford? What would you think of him if he constructed an expensive foundation for a needed building for his publications and let the foundation disintegrate and crumble away for years because he was too miserly to use the money he had to put up the superstructure?

"And yet this is the State's policy which has prevented the university from putting up a needed building; has deprived the Norton institution for tuberculosis of equipment for housing the patients; it has debarred the children at the home at Atchison for soldiers' orphans from beds in which to sleep, and the governor has been placed in the humiliating attitude of asking private families in the State to take care of our wards.

"Our road situation is disgraceful. Heavy rains, somewhat continued, put them out of business; even those that have been classed among our best. * * * California, with all her gold and silver, oranges and lemons, and grapefruit combined, bringing less annually than the wheat crop of Kansas, gives to its rural districts, and thereby the thoroughfares between the towns, roadways which, barring the curbing and gutters, are as good to drive over as our city pavements. She gets these roadways by expending money for them. Californians are not afraid of a few bonds—several million dollars' worth."

After explaining that certain counties in California with less wealth than the average county in Kansas's eastern division built roads never heard of in Kansas, and showing that Florida, with nine-tenths of the State undeveloped, had road systems which have cost millions, and even Arkansas, a backwoods State, has better roads than any Kansas ever dreamed of having, Mr. MacLennon gave glorious prohibition Kansas another wallop in this fashion:

"People go through Kansas. Not enough of them stop either to reside or to remain overnight. They go on to other States of less opportunities but better roads and better hotels." And better judgment, too, he should have added. "Traveling men as a rule do not like Kansas cities. They come to Topeka in the morning and return to Kansas City or St. Joseph in the evening, or take a Pullman for the night for the next city in the State."

In commenting upon the hotels of Kansas, with which Mr. MacLennon is quite familiar, he declared: "Our hotels as a rule are neither altogether safe or comfortable, nor do they satisfy the appetite. We lack hostelries that are fireproof, that have chefs who are worthy of the name, good rooms with baths, and for the display of samples they are woefully deficient. It is doubtful if there is a modern steel-reinforced concrete fireproof hotel in all of Kansas."

"Let us make Kansas real to others as she appears to us, the best State in the Union, and Topeka her worthy capital. * * * The taxes which hurt us most and are really burdensome, are the taxes levied to go into waste, to bad management, inefficiency, and for graft. * * * Kansas must wake up and spend thousands, even to a few millions, for roads, and it will be the best investment she ever made. * * * Let us be up and doing and get this notion of eternally keeping down the taxes out of our heads for it is not so much what our expenses are, as what we get for the expenditures. * * * Let us loosen our purse strings ere we pocket our pride before the fall below our sister States now climbing the heights of progress and preferment."

As sensible and timely as was this declaration, yet Mr. MacLennon overlooks a most important feature of Kansas's so-called greatness. He like the other boosters lays great stress upon the wealth of the State. It is not there. While the per capita "assessment valuation" is high, there is very little real wealth in the State. With over 44 per cent of the farms and nearly 40 per cent of the homes under heavy mortgage, a Ford car, "Yo ho, and a bottle of rum," do not speak for a great gold-laden Commonwealth that will willingly give up tax money for any purpose. Taxes are the bane of the industrial and agricultural life of the State, and if Mr. MacLennon would spend a little more time in Kansas studying the actual conditions, and not view them from the window of a Pullman while whizzing through headed for California, he would better understand that "wealth" means what you have, not what the assessor or the county board or the State tax commission says you should have to make up the great deficits staring every department of finance from the township to the State treasury in the face continually.

Just to show that John Barleycorn was right when he declared in 1881 that his "funeral" was a joke, Warren Jury, a native-born, prohibition-soaked, and Jamaica ginger soaked youth of Fort Scott, returned a unanimous verdict that Miss Minnie Gaulding, the 18-year-old daughter of a wealthy farmer living near there, must die because she would not marry him. Walking into her home, he shot her down in cold blood before her mother and killed her father, according to the Topeka State Journal of February 15, 1916.

"A Parsons young man," according to the Parsons Sun of February 18, was "hurrying down Broadway last night, dropped a bundle of laundry and broke all four bottles," while "an Atchison man who aspires to high political honors was on one grand toot at a leading Kansas City (Mo.) hotel last Saturday," according to the Kansas City (Kans.) Weekly Press, which further stated that "at home, however, he behaves admirably and there he has lots of good friends." According to the Topeka Capital of February 20, 1916, some boys at Yates Center, Kans., a small inland town were cutting up high jinks with some homemade booze, manufactured by freezing cider, mixing it with water and Jamaica ginger. "The law enforcement league" was on their trail but could do nothing. "Grandma" Erskine, 76 years old and her daughter, Mrs. Helen Hennessy, were roped in by the police of Kansas City, Kans., for running a bootleg joint at 838 South Fifth Street, according to the Kansas City Star of February 21, 1916, and to show that the bone-dry law has worked wonders in other directions (the bone-dry law of 1915, which Capper said rendered the State absolutely dry for the first time since 1881), Mrs. Rose Parusich, 358 North Fifth Street, in the same city, pleaded for freedom from a charge of maintaining a joint, on the ground that that was the only manner in which she could support her six children, her husband having deserted her. Mrs. William Balke, of 623 South Forth Street, Kansas City, Kans., was also arrested the same day. The Snoop Committee found "a gallon of whisky, a barrel of beer, and a pint of alcohol, and business going well," commented the Star. All these women were notorious bootleggers, and all were "fined heavily" but given a stay of execution, pending "good behavior," and all went right back to "work" again, as they tumbled out of police court to freedom.

Fearing it would raise the taxes, Salina, Kans., another Kansas town that has "become great" because all the liquor selling is by the bootleggers and through the mail-order route, refused to accept the State law governing workmen's compensation "when City Attorney Crowther told the members of the city council that if a street man working for the city went to sleep and fell off his wagon the city could be held for damages," according to the Topeka Daily Capital of February 24, 1916. "A number of Salina business firms have withdrawn from under the act," further stated the dispatch. And the only business concern of any size in the city, the Lee Mercantile Co., recently "withdrew from Salina" and removed to Kansas City, Mo.

And, speaking of education, the Topeka Daily Capital, under date line of Leavenworth, February 24, 1916, said:

"Owing to the large number of failures in studies of the high-school pupils—105 out of 573 students—Principal H. T. Steeper has decided to have all-day sessions for those who fail. Only morning sessions of the high school have been held in Leavenworth, and this plan is now working in a satisfactory manner. The parents want morning and afternoon sessions, and it is believed that better results can be obtained.

"The boy students especially do not study at their homes in the afternoons, and they make up a big percentage of the failures."

In an extensive article headed "In dry Kansas," the Kansas City Journal of February 26, 1916, describes the "Kansas Barbary Coast," across the bridge from Leavenworth, in which the "oriental life" is in full swing most of the time, and "the only place in or about Leavenworth where there is any sign of life any more. The city is dead and going to rack and ruin," declares the Journal. And the "school efficiency" with it, apparently.

While the Wichita school-teachers were threatening a strike because of low wages, the W. C. T. U. of Harper County, "the largest organization of women in the county," according to the Topeka Daily Capital of January 7, 1916, "unanimously condemned President and Mrs. Wilson for their expressed intention to dispense with the use of non-intoxicating beverages and begin serving wine at the White House dinners," just to show the world that they are for a "bigger, better, and more stable industrial Kansas." "Members of the temperance organization are of the opinion," remarked the dispatch, "that the use of wines at the White House will have an undesirable effect upon the spread of temperance and prohibition in the Nation." They took no action on the tumbled-down school-system situation nor the good-roads movement nor the crumbling industrial life in the State, however.

And at the same time the city of Parsons was ripped wide open, according to a dispatch in the Topeka Daily Capital of January 7, 1916, because of wholesale vote frauds perpetrated by "our best young men," who were caught serving booze and cigarettes, and such elevating things, at and near the polls.

"Are you a saver?" asked the Topeka State Journal of January 22, 1916, in an article describing the lack of thrift on the part of Kansans, and showing that Kansas has taken a decided step backward in this respect. In answer to the query put, the Journal says, "No; decidedly no," with respect to an overwhelming number of Kansas people. It overlooked mentioning the fact that Gov. Capper admitted in his Methodist Temperance Union Bulletin, published about a year before that over $6,000,000 left the State every year for bootleg booze.

A "bone-dry" dispatch from Wier City, a southeastern town in Kansas, dated February 27, 1916, showed that one brewery agency in that city had sold 325 carloads of beer there during the past five years, and Weir City is a "bone-dry" metropolis of 2,159 perfectly good and staunch prohibitionists.

And as further evidence of how highly edifying prohibition can become as regards the morals of the community, "Seven widely known citizens of Beagle, Kans., a bone-dry center of 183 people, were arraigned before James Hunter, justice of the peace," according to a dispatch to the Topeka State Journal, January 18, 1916, "on statutory charges preferred by Marjorie Sedgwick, a 16-year-old orphan who lives with the family of G. W. Carey, at Beagle. * * * It is said

that several other arrests may follow. The girl was a ward of the industrial school at Beloit, Kans., until 1913, when she went to live with the Careys."

And on January 29, 1916, the Democratic State committee settled for 19 kegs of "booze," purchased and used during the campaign in dry territory, boosting for votes and prohibition, according to the Topeka Capital of that day. The Democratic Party in Kansas is bone-dry—just like the Republican Party is.

On April 3, 1916, according to the Kansas City Post of that day, "Coffeyville is becoming metropolitan, at least in regards to her police department. Only a few members of the force, from the chief down, has escaped gossip and formal or informal charges. The accusations range from drunkenness on duty to grafting. Patrolman E. T. Hall was suspended from duty and Night Chief J. D. Fletchall was shifted to the day squad. Both officers were asked to resign, but refused. Another patrolman, against whom grave charges are said to have been made, was asked to resign, and he did under promise of immunity. Several members of the merchants' association have threatened to ask the attorney general of the State to bring ouster proceedings. A few years ago a similar condition arose and several city officials were ousted, a few finding it convenient to reside elsewhere for a time." The attorney general, armed with his trusty spear "that knows no brother," lost no time in getting down there, and the usual commotion with the usual expense, for which the taxpayers had to pay, was staged.

Receiving a tip that a still was working full blast in a back alley, a Topeka officer slipped down to see how it was done, but found he was mistaken. All the boys were doing was making a new brand of intoxicant. "He discovered there was no still at all," said the Topeka State Journal of May 6, 1916, in commenting on the water haul staged by the sleuth. "That while it might be whisky that was being turned out it lacked a lot of coming within the meaning of the word as set forth in the pharmacopea. True, it had alcohol in it, but the alcohol was placed in it after the drink was made, and the people supposed to be running the still were not selling the alcohol."

"They were merely selling 'Zanol,' and Zanol is nothing more nor less than an extract made in Cincinnati. Since the 'still' theory blew up in Topeka the town has been flooded with 'Zanol' literature, and much of it has reached the office of the county attorney. It points out the way by which every man can become his own distiller, and the literature declares this method of making whisky saves the maker 50 per cent over the regular dealers' price. * * * It states that 48 bottles of Zanol cost $4 and that it means the purchaser can get 48 quarts of whisky for the $4, counting nothing for the cost of sugar, water and a mite of alcohol. * * * 'It may be,' said Robert Garvey, the assistant county attorney, 'that the Zanol people can get away with it, but I doubt it. If they can, we just have another prolific source of trouble.'" If they were ever stopped, or if anything was ever even done trying to stop them, it escaped being put into the Topeka papers. No dry law on earth can overcome the desire of men and boys for alcohol when they have the habit ground into them as they have in Kansas. The tighter the law is made the more cleverly they work out means to violate it.

Overeating and dissipation in other directions was given as the reason for the enormous crop of "fiunks" at the State agricultural college at Manhattan, by Dr. R. T. Nichols, the college physician, according to the Topeka Daily Capital, June 2, 1916.

Another bone-dry prohibition prosperity and good government, happy-home article appeared in the Kansas City Star of about the same date under a Columbus, Kans., date line, like this: "Telephone reports from Melrose, in the extreme southwest part of Cherokee County, tell of a battle which took place between bandits and drivers of liquor-laden motor cars near there this afternoon. Whether any of the persons were injured is not known. Five motor cars loaded with Joplin liquor and bound for Coffeyville, passed through Melrose about 4 o'clock. A big motor car followed a moment later. A quarter of a mile west of Melrose the car passed the other five and the two men in the rear of the big car stood up and covered the drivers of the liquor cars. When some of the drivers refused to give up their liquor or turn their cars over to the bandits, the battle opened with terrific fury."

Sounds like the real thing. During the summer of 1916 all motor cars loaded with whisky and boot-leg booze traveled all through southern Kansas with an armed guard, as in the old days of stage-coaching. Holdups by officers and bandits were frequent. The automatic gun, loaded to the teeth, and the double-barrelled shotgun have taken the place of dry resolutions down in that part of the State also.

With the hundreds of thousands of dollars filched from the taxpayers' pockets to carry on the Kansas system it is not surprising that as the jails and penitentiaries, asylums, orphans' homes, industrial schools for girls and boys, and poor farms fill up that the State and county treasuries go "dry." "The State needs money," said the Topeka State Journal, under date of June 21, 1916. "Sixty per cent of the money levied for the use of the State during the current year is gone," it declared. "A 5 per cent draft on county treasurers to-day will raise $180,289.35, with which to help pay the State's bills for June. The drawing took from the treasury 60 per cent of the money levied last year by direct taxation for the payment of the State's bills during 1916. Fifteen per cent of the money for this year was used for the payment of State claims in December last year. An additional 45 per cent of the money has been required to meet the running expenses during the first six months of the year. The 40 per cent remaining in the treasury must meet the demands of the State until December 20. At that time the State can follow the policy pursued in former years and draw on the new taxes."

Thus, the State is never even. Drawing ahead and using funds that should not be used put Topeka in the embarrassing position during the present session of the legislature of asking the law-making assembly for permission to float a special bonded indebtedness to take up the slack the county officers there have permitted to grow up, as the new county attorney discovered that Shawnee County "borrows" from the treasury money with which to run the county, and which, under the laws of the State, is in bold violation of the rights of a county, and could, if proper steps were taken, mean prosecution, heavy fines, and imprisonment for the county officials.

As to the method of raising county and State taxes, permit it to be said here, parenthetically, that all live stock, wheat, corn, etc., is taxed by the county assessor at its full value, based on the market at the time the assessment is made. Should the market go down the farmer is stuck, of course; but what's the difference? An illustration from the Dickinson County News, a paper published at Abilene, will show the methods employed in Kansas: "The State tax commission has increased the valuation on several classes of live stock, corn, and wheat as assessed this year and certified by County Clerk King to the commission." And there is no appeal from their decision. Horses, cattle, mules, etc., were all raised from 3 to 17 per cent, and yet the papers of the State wondered why the farmers cleaned the country of live stock when the foreign live-stock buyers went to Kansas. The county levey of Dickinson County was "readjusted" to 2.45 mills for 1916, which, as county levies go in Kansas, is about "normal," but exceedingly high as compared with levies made in other States, and not one cent for industrial improvement or good roads.

"That a system of rural credit is sorely needed in Kansas, is the opinion of Theodore Macklin, instructor in rural economics in the Kansas State Agricultural College," declared the Topeka State Journal, under a Manhattan date line of June 7, 1916. "If the farmers of Kansas are to become land-owning farmers there must be a credit system which will make it possible to obtain money for long periods of time and at a low rate of interest to use in carrying on farm operations. The farmer should be the economic leader of the country, since he is the primary producer of a large portion of the necessities of every Kansas community," declared Mr. Macklin.

The fact that Kansas had no "State debt" was advertised extensively by the Anti-Saloon League, all over America, during the fall campaign of 1916. Vehement denials were made by Mr. Capper, that copies of his Pittsburg, Kans., speech, made in March, 1916, or his message to the legislature, dated February 23, 1915, were "genuine." They were brushed aside by the old claim that they were made by the "booze crowd," to hurt "the cause." California was shaken from end to end in an effort to get the voters to adopt the Kansas system, so ruthlessly and bitterly condemned by both Capper and Mr. MacLennon, upon their returning from California during the earlier portions of the year—but not one single line was ever printed in any newspaper, in fairness to the people of the States voting, giving them even a hint at the real industrial, social, agricultural, or moral situation, as laid before the world in the daily edition of every Kansas newspaper, but not read, because the subsidized press of other States refuse and are afraid to print what they know will hurt the cause that pays them well.

However, after the smoke of battle had cleared away, the Kansas City Star of November 29, 1916, carried two items of more than passing interest. One of them was under a Topeka dispatch headline, dated the 28th, and quoted an interview with Earl Akers, the State treasurer. "Kansas is out of debt now, but ought to get into debt for good roads just as quickly as possible. This is the view of Earl Akers, State treasurer, in his biennial report to the governor," declared the Star. All State reports were held back until after the fall elections in 1916, for very good reasons. They are always printed not later than September 1, but it was after the first of the year 1917 before some of them appeared, covering the biennium ending June 30, 1916; and information as to what they would contain was not obtainable prior to the elections, either.

"'Kansas should not enjoy the distinction of being out of debt overlong,' says Akers. 'If she does, she is all too apt to become an over-conservative State. Kansas needs roads, real roads, hard-surfaced roads, and can afford them. I hope your excellency will recommend to the coming legislature a real, progressive road building program,'" the item concluded.

And the other item of intense interest bears on the moral side of Kansas Prohibition, and is of more than passing interest also:

"LAWRENCE, KANS., *November 28.*

"Some of the mystery surrounding the 'shooting up' of the university of Kansas campus shortly after midnight this morning was cleared up to-night when it became known that the mysterious motor car from which the shots were fired belonged to the Lawrence police department. Tire tracks in the frost in the student district early this morning showed the car had visited a house near McCook Field, several inmates of which forfeited bonds several days ago for appearance in police court on charges of keeping a disorderly house. Last night's shooting is supposed to have followed a visit to the house by the police, and that the shots were fired at those escaping in the raid."

McCook Field is one of the portions of the campus of the State university. Is it any wonder the 1,500 Kansas mothers who have daughters attending the university are praying nightly that the State will wake up and build dormitories where they can at least feel their daughters are reasonably safe, when disorderly houses, with policemen visiting them after midnight, are permitted to operate wide open right under the eaves of the "Temple of Learning and Justice," supported by the taxpayers of the State?

And it is little to be wondered at that 2,000 young Kansans are sent out of the State to spend that $1,000,000 the board of administration wept over in their last report, because the Kansas brand of immoral houses and prohibition have driven them *into* license States where law and order will at least permit them to be educated in arts and sciences rather than in drunkenness, vice, and crime! There are a lot of things besides "architectural honor" that need fixing in Kansas, and the fixing should not be applied entirely to broken-down courthouses or unsightly outhouses around rural schools.

During the latter part of the summer of 1916, oil in large paying quantities was accidentally discovered in Butler County, Kans., and the little village of Eldorado, which had 2,500 inhabitants before that, as well as Augusta, with 1,300, began to take on city airs. The population increased, doubled and quadrupled, by reason of the large influx of laborers, speculators, oil drillers, etc., but as typical of the lackadaisical habits into which the Kansas people who never see anything but "the Flyer" scoot through during the afternoon, or engage themselves in a stiff game of checkers down in the country grocery store after supper, and before the curfew rings, the following news article in the Topeka State Journal, of October 11, drives the point home. Here is the text:

"Women—men, too, of course—Witchita booze and failure of county commissioners elected when Butler County was a peaceful agricultural community, to realize that the quadrupling of the population in a year calls for the expenditure of money and handling of a big problem in a big way are reasons assigned by Maj. R. Neil Rahn for the trouble at Augusta and Eldorado. Maj. Rahn, who was commissioned to go to Butler County and ascertain the exact cause of trouble, returned to Topeka to-day with a story that would make a proper setting for a Bret Harte novel.

"Citizens in Butler County are clamoring to State authorities for relief from the liquor that is flooding the county, and also demand that women who aid in demoralizing the peace of the community be driven from the confines of Kansas. Another demand is that county

commissioners appoint deputies sufficient in number to aid Sheriff Newt Purcell, one of the nerviest officials in Kansas, to properly handle the thousands of rookies from the Oklahoma oil fields, who have poured into Butler County fields in the last few months.

"Insanitary and good-natured lawless conditions described by Maj. Rahn to-day existing in a county in a prohibition State, seem almost unbelievable. Unless prompt action be taken Maj. Rahn predicts that depredations of magnitude that will stir the State will be enacted in the county, which in a single night, so to speak, has sprung from a sleepy agricultural community to one in which exists all the elements of the wildest mining camps of early days.

"Furthermore, Maj. Rahn declares, the perplexing problems facing the law-abiding citizens are in their infancy. Frantic efforts are being made by the producers to erect 101 more tanks, with 100,000-gallon capacity, within a year. This will necessitate the bringing of thousands of additional rookies from the slums of the cities, from the railroad camps, and from the oil fields of Oklahoma.

"When Maj. Rahn arrived at Augusta he found a plucky sheriff and one deputy attempting to maintain order in the big county, which has nearly quadrupled in population in a year. One other deputy has been appointed since Maj. Rahn's visit who will look after conditions south of Augusta.

"'There are thousands of rookies in the oil fields living in the bushes, in caves, in improvised houses and huts,' said Maj. Rahn. 'The rookies work in relays, one band a certain number of days and then another. Immediately after one band is paid off booze is poured in in wagonloads from Wichita, 18 miles away. Then the wild time begins, and women infest the camps and add much to the trouble encountered by the officials. It is one fight after another in the oil camps. The producers are powerless to obtain men wanted. They employ hundreds of rookies who stick together, and when an official wants one of the rookies the producers can do little to aid. They have to live there and live off the work of the men.

"'As I walked down the streets of Augusta with the sheriff there was fighting going on. We saw one man knocked down. The sheriff saw that he was not hurt and walked on. A mere fight is a trivial affair, and unless a man is hurt the officials have no time to investigate.

"'The night I was there they arrested four men at Augusta, where the jail had been torn down. Just for a joke the big fellows—all good-natured in a rough way—set fire to the mattresses in an improvised jail. The smoke became suffocating and forced them to act as their own fire department. Then they decided to play some more, and tore down the plumbing and piled the fixtures on the floor. The sheriff finally conveyed them to Eldorado and placed them in a jail already overcrowded.

"'Four women were arrested that night and placed in a room, and four blankets were given to them. The women tied the blankets together and broke through the window, tied the blankets to a bedpost, and crawled to the street.'

"Good-natured lawlessness abounds throughout the oil camps which spread all over the county, looking much like a bunch of little towns. But under it all there is the deadly feud, the threats with a bite in them, that exist, many believe, only in novels.

"There's the story of the Crowe brothers driven out of Augusta only Saturday. They came from the oil fields of Oklahoma and had bad records, according to information received by State officials. But they were sworn in as marshals at Augusta. The specialty of the Crowe boys was to arrest all automobile owners who drove without tail lights or broke any minor traffic rules. It is declared by Augusta citizens that proper notice to discontinue certain infringements on traffic rules had not been made.

"Augusta citizens tired of being yanked into jail for such things; so Saturday night Bill Pell, a well-known Augusta citizen and a candidate for the legislature, arranged for a burlesque. He got a red lantern, placed it on a stick, mounted an old gray nag with the stick with the lantern on it, rode through the streets as the rookies and the townspeople cheered. The Crowe boys arrested him. A near riot ensued. Pell was released from the jail after it had been torn down, and the Crowe boys aren't anywhere around Augusta these days.

"With the Crowe boys when they walked into Augusta came a man named Cooper. Cooper was their pal, and finally went to Eldorado, where he was placed on the police force. Now, there are threats that the Augusta rookies will march on Eldorado some night and get Cooper.

"'There'll be trouble then,' said Rahn to-day. 'The sheriff is plucky and they'll never get Cooper without a fight.'

"Strenuosity and no little trouble will face State officials if they go after the liquor business in Butler County, it is said. The liquor isn't shipped from Wichita; it is hauled in wagonloads. All bootleggers convicted have been supplied with an attorney from some mysterious source, and with the demand existing among the thousands of rookies, members of the I. W. W., the State will have trouble shutting off the supply."

Dry resolutions didn't interest the men who were digging holes to let millions rush to the surface, and dry holes, dry parades, dry raids, and dry "statesmen" with dry preachers urging them on to do their duty, have no place in Butler County—or anywhere else in the world where the wheels of progress and the hum of industry sings from morning until night.

Bootlegging by jitney lines, operated by young girls from Wichita to Augusta, played the middle portion of the stage for quite some time during the same month. A score or more State warrants were sworn out by the county prosecutor on information filed by the fathers and mothers of the girls—in dry Kansas! Of course, being only 16 and 17 years of age, the girls probably had never seen an open saloon; but they knew what bootleg booze cost, just the same, and were getting the price by the hatful!

Thus is the history of Kansas written. Like mushrooms in the night, joints are located all over the State. Railroad lines prior to the enactment of the most recent bone-dry law were loaded down to such an extent that extra baggage cars had to be added, as well as extra express cars. Schedules were of necessity lengthened by the dry board of railroad commissioners so the trains could make their "run" somewhere within two hours of the schedule and handle the booze traffic en route. No one in the State ever declared it to be bone dry, and all the silly twaddle sent out from the State capitol, the State registrar's office, and through the various newspapers, being "inspired articles," carried with them fake tales of progress, prosperity, and peace. Kansas is not dry and everyone knows it; and what is more, it never will be, because the people of the State do not want it to be.

THE BATTLE IS ON; THE KING IS DEAD; LONG LIVE THE KING.

On January 9, 1917, the dawn of a new day opened one of the most interesting chapters of Kansas history, for on that day the Supreme Court of the United States declared the Webb-Kenyon law to be a constitutional measure. It was a sign for the visitation of the millennium in Kansas—a day marked with much hilarity and high feasting, much clanking of cymbals, steel, and sharpening of hatchets and spears, and patting of lean purses among the law-enforcement crowd.

It was likewise a day of reckoning, for it ushered into being, quite suddenly and with great surprise, the time when the Kansas hand of prohibition was "called"—and the showdown displayed two deuces of dusky hue. To the sincere prohibitionist it meant "big things," and for the little band of faithful who for years have been watching the eastern horizon for some sign of a promised coming of the millennium. To the hypocritical politico-religio bunk peddler it meant just one more "stand for the right" in the halls of legislation, with an eye on the dry crowd and a wink for the bootleggers. To the busy every-day business man it meant increased trouble and the dawn of an era of higher taxes, more raids, less personal liberty.

Although a clarion call was sent out by the newspapers of the State on the first of the year 1917, begging more industries to come to Kansas, setting forth the various kinds of industries the towns or the State wanted capitalists outside the State to start, all thought of industrial welfare was thrown to the four winds the minute the news was clicked over the wires from Anti-Saloon League headquarters in Washington that "the deed is done"—everybody got busy on the morning of January 9.

The "prominent people" of Topeka were immediately interviewed, and with flaming headlines the Topeka State Journal printed their declarations on the front page that evening, as follows:

Gov. Arthur Capper: "The Webb-Kenyon law, backed by a bill to be presented by the legislature probably to-morrow, will do more to drive the bootlegger out of business than any legislation passed in years. The big problem, one almost impossible in solution up until the present, has been stopping shipments across the State line."

F. D. Coburn, former secretary State board of agriculture, and ex-president State Temperance Union, and one of the "grand old men" of Kansas: "The decision on the Webb-Kenyon law is the foremost victory for decency and righteousness known to any age. History records none greater. The Lord reigns!"

Frank M. Stabl, superintendent State temperance union: "The passage of the Webb-Kenyon bill, should it be backed up by the passing of the Stone bill now before the legislature, marks the end of the long crusade against liquor by Kansas prohibitionists. There will be minor troubles of enforcement, but the men and women who have for years fought for freedom from the liquor evil in Kansas can lay down their arms now, for to all intents the battle is won. I have worked for prohibition during my 60 years residence in Kansas, and I regard my labors in my life work as ended."

Charles M. Sheldon, noted preacher, lecturer, and writer: "There is just one thing to say about the bill—it is a splendid forward step. It will virtually eliminate the illicit liquor traffic in Kansas. The next step, nationally, to take will be to forbid its sale for medicinal purposes. Before the accomplishment of such a step, there must be a wide propaganda to instill in the minds of the public its entire worthlessness as a medicine."

Hugh Larimer, sheriff of Shawnee County: "If the bill is passed making shipments into Kansas impossible with the Webb-Kenyon law to back it up, a large percentage of crime in Topeka will become a thing of the past. Many of the crimes in Topeka are caused by liquor. If they can't get it in excepting by smuggling on trains and automobiles, its sale will be cut down, crime will be decreased, and the bootleggers will be forced to cease operations."

Harvey Parsons, chief of police: "It won't aid materially in cutting down crimes, such as murders and robberies. Yet it will be a great boon to the police. Our force is small and not capable of handling properly the prohibition and major-crime problem. But it is large enough to handle either one or the other, and with the prohibition problem practically settled we can cope successfully with the problem of major crime. There will always be bootlegging in suit cases and trunks, but it will cease to be a big problem for us."

The wheels of legislative progress were at once clogged by the introduction of bone-dry bills from every corner of the State. The newspapers talked of little else, save and except only the proposed legislation accompanying the bone-dry liquor bills, eliminating not only the sale but the use of cigarettes, the sale and use of cigars and tobacco for chewing or pipe purposes. The prohibitionists engaged in a carnival of delight never before witnessed in a civilized or semicivilized community. Reform was rampant. Every day witnessed a parade of female politicians from some remote corner of the Commonwealth bent on settling the matter without delay. Of all the freak legislation ever proposed before, the hoppers of the Kansas law-making assembly held more after January 9, 1917, than had ever been dreamed of before.

A little breathing spell was afforded on January 14, however, when a dispatch from Topeka to the Kansas City Journal, of that day, announced the forever glad tidings to the happy-go-lucky taxpayers of the State:

"The people of Kansas can figure right now on $1,000,000 increase in State taxes during the next two years. It is coming just as sure as the sun rises. There is no way out of it. The increase could be $2,000,000 and still all requirements would not be satisfied.

"It will take $100,000 more to feed all the State wards than it did formerly. The clothing bill will be another $100,000. Then comes the hike in salaries, necessitated by the increased cost of existence. The rest of the increase will be taken up in new buildings and improvements, absolutely required by different institutions.

"Nearly every institution in the State—educational, charitable, and penal—wants extensive improvements. * * * Many of these buildings must be authorized, else the State will drop behind in its educational standing and fall short of taking proper care of its wards.

"The total taxes raised in Kansas now aggregate about $35,000,000 a year. One-tenth of this amount, or $3,000,000, is State tax. The rest is school, county, and municipal. The State tax is $1.30 per $1,000.

"Many people wonder how the State money is spent. The State tax commission has figured it out. Out of every $1.30 raised, 57 cents goes for education, 27 cents for charitable institutions, 14 cents for penal institutions, 4 cents for soldiers' homes, and the remaining 28 cents for paying the expenses of all other State departments."

During the "rush of business" preparatory to shooting across the "best dry-bone law yet," one of the most intensely interesting features of the history of prohibition in Kansas, occurred. It was the "purchase" of the Kansas State Temperance Union by the Anti-Saloon League of America, put over by ex-Gov. Hodges and Supt. Howard H. Russell, of Westerville, Ohio. This occurred on January 17, a week

and a day after the declaration of the Supreme Court of the United States, that the Webb-Kenyon bill is constitutional and that States may become "bone dry" by direct vote or statutory enactment.

In the March, 1916, issue of the Kansas Issue, the official organ of the Kansas State Temperance Union, Frank M. Stahl bitterly opposed a plan which had been worked out by Hodges and Russell, to sell the union out to the Anti-Saloon League. "One point especially objectionable was giving the National League the power to veto the choice of the people of Kansas for superintendent. Two other points were unsatisfactory, but the interfering with the will of the people was the greatest grievance," he declared. How strange the "will of the people" is invoked, when your own scalp is being viewed with watering teeth by the Indian with a sharp knife.

That the league was preparing to pull the world out from under the patriarch of Kansas prohibition and install the modern dish-pan system, was evident from his feeble and at times vehement protests that the "will of the people" was being trammeled under foot, all during the year, and it will be recalled that when the union slammed the door on Russell's fingers at the 1915 meeting in Kansas, he smiled and said he was "satisfied" that everything would work out all right, though some of his "lieutenants" who did not understand what was going on inside the inner circle, were rather peeved.

A flash of lightning broke out in the December, 1916, copy of the Issue when it was stated that "The Lawrence meeting," which seems to have been a secret conference behind closed doors, with a few of the "select." "The Lawrence meeting was a surprise to the officers of the Kansas State Temperance Union," declared Mr. Stahl. "Not a single officer or member of the headquarters committee had received even a hint of the call to organize a branch of the Anti-Saloon League of America. The first inkling of the meeting was obtained from a notice in the Kansas City Star of December 4. The union believed it was working in full accord with the National League, under a constitution prepared by Mr. Russell and approved by Supt. Baker." But Brother Stahl is a "sincere," not a "practical" prohibitionist, and lived to learn a lot.

"The union has been an incorporated body nearly 50 years. The league, for a number of years, has recognized it as an auxiliary. The trustees chosen by Kansas have been admitted into their counsels, but there was dissatisfaction at the headquarters of National League with the union, or some of the officials, with or without reason, matters not from one standpoint. There is no need of two organizations in Kansas. There ought not to be. There must not be, and for the sake of the temperance question here in the State as well as in the Nation, the union will make such concessions as will compel the newly formed organizations at Lawrence to acquiesce in a proposition to merge the two bodies into one." And to that end, says the Issue, committees were appointed.

Speaking of the passing of the Temperance Union and the birth of the bootleggers' union as the official guardians of the liberties of the people, the Topeka State Journal of January 17, 1917, said:

KANSAS STATE TEMPERANCE UNION NO MORE—FAMOUS PROHIBITION ORGANIZATION GOES OUT OF EXISTENCE—IT MERGES WITH THE NATIONAL ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE—A STORMY SESSION TO-DAY—MEMBERS MAKE BITTER FIGHT ON CONSOLIDATION PLAN—THEY FINALLY GIVE IN, HOWEVER, FOR GOOD OF CAUSE.

"Unfortunate and unfair as was the formation of the Anti-Saloon League last month and intrusion upon our territory, and in spite of that organization's neglect of the pressing problems of local enforcement, in the interest of the cause the Kansas State Temperance Union must merge with the Anti-Saloon League. There must be no war or division in temperance work in Kansas. The cause is paramount, and in its interest I am ready to resign my superintendency." (Frank M. Stahl, in this morning's session of the fifty-second and last meeting of the Kansas State Temperance Union.)

The above statement, followed by the appointment of a committee of five, with power to act, to confer with the similar committee of the Kansas branch of the American Anti-Saloon League, marked the beginning of the end of the most famous prohibition organization in the world. It ended a stormy session this morning.

The details of the dissolution were settled at the committee conference this afternoon at the Y. M. C. A. As the result of the conference the Kansas State Temperance Union passed over its assets, amounting to more than $20,000, and obligations amounting to $2,700, and tossed its 50 years of experience into the discard.

The members agreed to the appointment of an out-of-the-State man for the superintendency of the merged organization. Two provisos were insisted upon: First, that the work of local law enforcement will not be neglected in Kansas in the interests of national legislation, and that the league will recognize and cooperate with the Kansas W. C. T. U.—two things which are not the policy of the organization in its work in other States.

That much was saved out of the wreck of the Kansas State Temperance Union. Before the tacit agreement of the union to its dissolution was made, stormy scenes featured this morning's session of its final session. Delegates to that convention reminded the organization that the interests of the Anti-Saloon League were primarily to raise money, of its disregard of law enforcement, and its refusal to recognize the W. C. T. U. It was pointed out that the assets of the union were five times as great as those of the new league.

"The fight on the Kansas State Temperance Union was started primarily because they were not getting enough money out of Kansas. Kansas was emphasizing the work in Kansas and was not providing monetary ammunition in the State," was a statement made in the meeting.

"The bootleggers will rejoice in the downfall of the union," one member stated. "Supt. Russell, of the National Anti-Saloon League, told us in our convention two years ago that Frank M. Stahl was the most efficient superintendent in the matter of law enforcement of any prohibition society in America.

"But he said that Stahl was not a money raiser, and that is the crux of the whole matter and the reason why last summer they refused to consider our society any longer a member of the national league.

"We never will get another superintendent like Stahl," the member continued. "The law-enforcement work has necessarily to be kept quiet, and few Kansas citizens are aware of the immense good done in this department of the work. Also we refused to surrender our right of electing our own superintendent last summer, which is another reason of the war. The league wants to appoint its own friends to the jobs."

Stahl's magnanimity received high praise at the meeting conference of the two committees this afternoon, and resolution of commendation of his nine years' service with the union will undoubtedly be passed at this evening's meeting.

The national league headquarters have already selected a superintendent for the 1-month-old Kansas branch of the Anti-Saloon League, which absorbed the Kansas organization to-day. He is the Rev. W. H. Berwig, assistant superintendent of the Texas branch of the Anti-Saloon League.

Dissatisfaction with the actions of the league is general in the union, but it was unanimously concurred that "the cause shall be given first consideration."

Mr. Stahl and the other members of the union could not understand why it was "necessary" to send to Texas for a superintendent, according to the January copy of the Issue. But they have a lot to learn yet.

After the rout of the Temperance Union was completed, the merry work of boosting for the bone-dry legislation was renewed with fresh vigor. Although members of the house and senate were hoping something would happen to sidetrack the measure, the league was on the job with its paid lobby, working day and night to put it over. They had the cooperation of the governor and the attorney general. Appropriations for emergencies such as the tumble-down university, the overcrowded State institutions, etc., were all tossed to one side for the sake of "the cause."

Although the counties were urging the members to hurry through and use economy in their legislative program, and cut down the taxes wherever and whenever they could, the members were acting "under orders" and became the puppets of the king—the superintendent of the league, who ran senate and house committees with the agility exercised by a bootlegger in a Ford.

Occasionally the State newspapers would have time to turn their attention to some constructive measure and an editorial would slip through the sieve such as appeared in the Topeka State Journal during the "hot time" that was burning up the very atmosphere:

"Suggestions that the State of Kansas levy a 'gross-production' tax on oil, similar to the one which is in force in Oklahoma, and which would possibly produce a revenue of $1,000,000 yearly, is certain to strike a responsive chord in the hearts of most of the Kansas legislators, who will be confronted with large bundles of necessary appropriation bills, and who will be interested in 'keeping down the tax rate' to the lowest possible figure for purely personal political purposes. But the people should remember that all such revenue measures, whether they be directed at oil companies, insurance companies, grain inspection, and so on, etc., are nothing more than indirect taxes against them."

And again, on January 27, while "between acts," the legislature was busy with some new plans on hand to raise more taxes, finally landing another blow in the direction of the house dog, the Topeka State Journal said:

"While the legislature is wrangling over the dog tax and seeking new ways of raising money, why not impose a tax on cats? They are more useless even than dogs and kill vastly more birds than they do rats and mice. A nickel trap can give a cat cards and spades and beat her in the mouse-catching game."

Which might make it appear that the dog tax is put on for the purpose of killing the dog, but it isn't. It "kills" the dog's owner, but not the dog.

"Fewer Flour Mills in Kansas" was another prosperity news item that graced the columns of the Topeka papers during the early part of January, but the bone-dry law was making too much racket to share the center of the stage with a little thing like that.

Among the first flood of bills introduced was one by Senator Montee, of Crawford County, prohibiting the shipment of liquor into the State for any purpose, including sacramental purposes. A dispatch from Topeka to the Kansas City Journal of January 13 stated that he was being deluged with letters from various religious organizations throughout the State, asking him to make the exception that wine could be used and shipped in for communion and sacramental purposes.

"If wine and other liquors are a bad thing for beverage purposes for average humanity, they are not a necessity in religious worship," he replied. "If they are a necessity for the perfection of the church, let's all have a little perfection. There's no reason in the world why a religious organization should use intoxicating liquor even in the smallest amount for religious worship."

On the same day the papers carried a dispatch from Pittsburg, Kans., saying that because of the stinginess of the 1915 legislature the State Normal School was facing a $7,000 shortage, and demanding an emergency appropriation, but a deaf ear was turned to it. The State was too busy pleasing the newly-appointed superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League to fool with a little thing like a State normal school."

"Representative Sullivan, of Grant County (an extreme western county—inland and sparsely settled), is inclined to be reasonable in the matter of making Kansas a bone-dry State," stated the Topeka State Journal of January 17, 1917. "Sullivan believes a thirsty Kansan ought to struggle along with a case of beer and a quart of whisky a month. He has a bill in the house providing a statutory limit for that amount of liquor.

"Sullivan makes no exception to his rule. In event of a New Year's party, the arrival of a baby boy, inheritance of money, or other events occasioning a celebration, it will be necessary to have saved a little from the stock of previous months before a successful party can be staged. While Sullivan is a strong advocate of prohibition, he believes the State may rush into a complete drought too hastily and should approach the matter with a reasonable degree of caution.

"Bills have been offered in the legislature which provide penalties for shipments of liquor into the State, for ownership or possession of liquor. Even wine for church use would be placed under the ban by certain members. But the Sullivan bills hold out a faint, glimmering hope to the men with a thirst.

"Section 4 of the Sullivan bill amends section 5549 of the General Statutes of 1915 to read as follows: (Providing that it shall be unlawful to deliver more than one case of beer and 'any other intoxicating liquor,' one quart."

On the same day, according to the Journal, the house committee "sat down" on the bills introduced some time previous, demanding an investigation into the high cost of living. "The lower House declared it did not have the time nor the inclination to look after matters other than legislation, and refused to probe living costs." This bill was not sidetracked, however, until after the organization of the Anti-Saloon League.

Bills to prohibit newspapers circulating within the State, carrying liquor advertisements, were introduced on January 18, as were bills providing for violations of bone-dry measures, being punishable by all the way from one to two years in the penitentiary, on conviction of "first offense." The law of 1915 provided that the second offense should be a felony, and the defendant upon conviction could be sent to the penitentiary for any term not exceeding one year—with the "hard labor" clause thrown in. Few if any have ever been convicted and sent there, however. Some have been convicted but paroled.

As companion measures to the bone-dry bill, the hopper of the house and senate were filled with measures making smoking cigarettes a misdemeanor, selling them a felony, etc., and the bone-dry anticigarette smoking and selling bill finally passed the house, but got no further.

"Alfred R. Kent, of Marion County (the home of ex-Gov. Hoch), to-day contributed his mite toward the legislative crusade to make Kansas a 'nice' State," declared the Topeka State Journal of January 22, 1917. "Kent offered a bill in the house providing for the creation of municipal welfare commissions for the inspection of theaters, dance halls, and all places where people gather for recreation or amusement. If the place does not meet the approval of the commission, it shall be closed and the license revoked.

"Nearly every Kansas town has adopted an ordinance providing that dance halls and theaters shall be closed when not properly conducted. The Kent bill, though, provides a smelling committee to take over the work and find a place on the city pay roll.

"The Marion County representative provides much power and authority for the welfare commission. The commission is to be composed of five members, whose duty is to look in on all public places at any and all times they may desire. If the style of dances does not meet the approval of the commission the hall may be closed. If a motion-picture show offers a reel that does not meet approval of the commission and inadvertently slipped by the Rev. Mr. Festus Foster the house may be barred to the public.

"If the chorus ladies wear their skirts too short or become too chummy with the customers in the bald-pate row the commission may stop the play and revoke the theater's license. Other public places that do not meet the commission's idea of a really nice place for Puritan Kansas may also be closed, if Kent's bill becomes a law."

This bill has not yet been disposed of, and from last accounts will probably pass the house. A strong lobby, headed by Rev. Sheldon, is urging its passage.

Addressing itself to the anticigarette legislation that passed the house the Topeka State Journal, of January 22, 1917, said editorially:

"Tobacco in any other form would smell as loud. Why the war on the meek and lowly cigarette, while the big black cigar and clay pipe are allowed to go free? Perhaps the lawmakers want to try out on the 'coffin nail,' and if they get by will attack the weed in other forms later. It will be recalled by old-timers that the Prohibitionists in the beginning of their fight declared they merely wanted to banish the saloon—nothing more. What they have done to liquor itself since is history."

O. P. Jewett, of Lane County, a western short-grass region, with a population of 2,120, and no city or town worth mentioning, introduced a bill on January 22 as a companion measure for the bone-dry law, which had the united support of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and kindred dry and "bone" organizations of the State, making it a misdemeanor to use tobacco in any form, in any public conveyance or car, in any room of any building used by the public, or in any building, room, etc., where children are or may be kept, or live, or in any public street, building, vehicle, or car where children are riding. The fines provided ranged from $10 to $25. Permission was granted the cities, upon referendum vote, to provide a public smoking room, "separate and apart" from all "civilization."

This bill may sound like a joke, but was seriously considered by the house, and a very strong lobby pushed it along with startling rapidity. It was finally tripped up, though, but numerous bills almost as strict are still awaiting disposition. The women and the preachers have gotten such a hold on the house they can push through almost any measure they desire. The newspapers of the State, strong for prohibition, screamed their heads off when the anticigarette bill passed the house, claiming that the "liberties of the people" were being taken away, although they all boosted the bone-dry law to the limit, except a few of the more sensible papers like the Topeka State Journal.

Senator Satterthwaite, of Butler County, took his place in the Kansas Hall of "Phame" by introducing as a companion measure to the bone-dry law a measure to look after the morals of the cities and country districts of the State, according to the Topeka State Journal of January 25, 1917. "With the two bills on the statute book one need have no fear as to the character of anything in the way of a public entertainment," said the Journal. "The censors and welfare workers will attend to that."

"After their introduction Senator Satterthwaite stated that both bills were introduced by request, and that while he would like to see the matter discussed in the senate he had not studied either bill sufficiently to determine whether he is for them or against them.

"In the city, under the one bill, the program of every theater, every dance hall, and every other place where entertainment is furnished for profit would be censored. It would be censored by a commission of five persons, selected by the churches, the Sunday schools, and the civic organizations.

"Besides being censored the managers of the public amusement places would be taxed to pay the censors. They would be required to obtain a permit from the commission before giving any entertainment, and the commission would have authority to revoke the permit any moment the entertainment did not live up to the advance notices.

"The country people would be looked after equally well under the other bill, although their welfare worker would be selected by the board of control instead of by the churches. This bill provides for the appointment of a county superintendent of public welfare upon recommendation of local people.

"The welfare superintendent to look after the morals of the country people is destined to be a busy personage under the terms of the bill creating his job. Upon his appointment he becomes a parole officer, probation officer, recreation officer, agent for the orphans' home, agent for the State free employment bureau, local statistician on such subjects as agriculture and labor, and assumes any other job he may find lying around loose. Any spare time he may find weighing him down he may devote to an inspection of the morals of his constituents.

"Notwithstanding the numerous duties handed over to the welfare superintendent, the people who drafted the bill are taking no chance on overpaying him. It provides that in counties having a population of 3,000 he shall receive $400 a year. But by encouraging immigration and staving off starvation long enough he may eventually build his salary up to a living wage, for the bill provides that in counties having a population of 50,000 or over the officer shall receive a salary of $1,500 a year."

These bills are backed by a strong lobby headed by the W. C. T. U. and the preacher contingent of the State, who are daring the senate committees to refuse to report them out with recommendations that they be passed. Urging their passage are many resolutions and petitions, demanding that as "we are going to rout demon rum, let us clean up all the way around"; and if the senators do not give the bills "due consideration" they will "clean up all around," and, believe me, when they start "cleaning" they never stop.

"Senator Montee, of Crawford, has discovered something new upon which to place a tax," further remarked the Journal. "He thought for a time that everything had been covered, but after diligent search he discovered that a man owning his own farm could install a rig and drill a well with oil or gas in prospect without paying the State or county a dollar. Senator Montee seeks to remedy this matter at once.

"He introduced a bill in the senate requiring every person or corporation, even the owner in fee simple of the land, to obtain a permit before starting each well. And the permit for each well will cost the applicant $10. Seventy-five per cent of the money collected by the county clerk in this manner goes to the county and the remainder comes to the State treasury.

"Even after he has paid the fee for the permit the man who wishes to know what is under his land may not be through. If he is fortunate and strikes nothing, he is through. But if he has the other luck, he continues to pay tribute as long as his good luck lasts. If he strikes oil, he pays a tribute of 3 cents a barrel on every barrel, and if it is gas, he pays 3 cents upon every 10,000 feet the well produces.

"In order that the State and county will get what is coming to them, the bill provides for an official inspector in each county, who shall draw only $5 a day, the money to be paid from that collected by the well owner. There is a penalty attached for failure to pay up also."

Being a "bone" bill with a tax-raising feature, this measure is receiving very serious consideration at the hands of the solons, and will probably be passed, and if so, will become a law at once.

THE BONE-DRY BILL FRAMED.

The house temperance committee presented a bill on January 25, 1917, according to the Topeka State Journal, "that will make Kansas a bone-dry State, with liquors only for church, communion, and medicinal purposes. Under the house committee bill a Kansan with a thrist and a bottle of liquor is liable to a fine of from $100 to $500 and a jail sentence of from 30 days to 6 months. Shipments of liquor into the State are also prohibited under the bill. * * * When the committee bill went to the house hopper it was drafted to cover the ground desired by various individual measures. An effort will be made by the committee to advance its bill and exclude all individual measures. There is little question but that the committee bill would put Kansas bone dry, with the exception for church and medicinal purposes."

Registered wholesale drug houses with a capital exceeding $60,000 were permitted under the bill to purchase alcohol to be sold in one to five gallon lots for medicinal purposes only. This feature of the bill was amended soon, however, as there were but one or two, if even that many, wholesale drug houses in the State with that much capital. The limit was placed at $20,000 by the amendment and took in but very few at that low figure.

While "bone-dry day" was being arranged for, and things were somewhat quiet around the capital, Representative Jewell, of Crawford County, "broke out" and introduced a measure, which is still pending and will no doubt pass the house, providing, according to the Topeka State Journal of January 27, 1917, that "Kansas teachers must be total liquor and tobacco abstainers if they expect to teach in the schools of this State. * * * The Jewell bill denies to all examining boards the right to issue a license to any person using liquor or tobacco in any form and prohibits employment of such persons in any college, university, or school supported wholly or in part or in any manner by the State.

"Jewell's bill is more far-reaching than the first reading might indicate. Under existing laws in this State almost every school receives State aid. Many of the schools receive only revenue from the semiannual distribution of school funds. None the less the money is State aid and such schools would doubtless be closed to all teachers who use tobacco or liquor in any form.

"Persons who apply for certificates to teach in this State must qualify under the provision which the Crawford County member would place on the statute book. The matter of a high grade is one thing. But the taking of an occasional drink or the smoking of a cigar, cigarette, or pipe is quite another. And Jewell thinks the State should look at the tobacco and liquor matter first. Use in any form of either tobacco or liquor would be sufficient to deny any applicant who might seek a certificate in this State. That is not all. Jewell would compel the boards of education, board of administration, and other administrative school bodies to deny a place in their schools if the tobacco and liquor clauses are not strictly observed." Should the school board "with knowledge" employ a teacher who smoked or drank, chewed or looked as though he, she, or it wanted to do any or either, the members of the board could be fined from $25 to $100 each. This bill is being very seriously pushed and will likely pass.

"Liquor and religion are going to be badly mixed when the Montee liquor bill comes up for consideration in the senate," declared the Topeka State Journal, January 29, 1917. "Senator Montee, of Crawford, has a hundred or more letters from ministers and church organizations protesting against any amendments to the prohibitory law that will prohibit churches from having wine for use in sacrament. * * * The tenor of the letters is that the writers are heart and soul in harmony with the spirit of the Montee bill so long as it does not apply to religious organizations. One of the letters, of which the following is a part, is typical and was received from one of the senator's constituents from Crawford County:

"You say that the bill in no way prevents the use of unfermented wine, which, in other words, is grape juice, as some churches use for sacramental purposes. I know that, but grape juice is not wine. Our Savior used wine when he instituted the Holy Eucharist. By His institution we wish to abide, and the Constitution of the United States grants us the liberty and freedom to exercise our religion according to our convictions. * * * Why should our convictions regarding the Lord's Supper be disrespected, even curtailed by law, just because others that are in the majority administer the Holy Euchre contrary to Divine institution? * * * All we wish and request is to preserve our religious rights and liberties regarding the Lord's Supper."

January 31, 1917, was "argue booze bill day" in the house, according to the Topeka State Journal of that day. The fur flew, and as it did the State sat up and took notice. All was not smooth sailing for the temperance committee's pet measure, all the bunkoing and ragging of the well-trained lobby to the contrary notwithstanding. Plenty of well-placed bumps and rocks impeded the presumed well-greased track in the house and many surprises sprung. For instance, Hon. Robert Stone, speaker of the 1915 legislature, and a floor leader in the 1917

session, president of the Kansas State Temperance Union and an ardent political prohibitionist, representing Shawnee County, introduced an amendment to the bone-dry law permitting every person in the State to import and keep "for personal use," mind you, one nice, healthy quart of John Barleycorn, in whatever, whichever, or whatsoever form the heart of the Kansas prohibitionists might desire. This would render the bone-dry "booze bill" of the State equal to the neat little sum of $2,508,816 per month, or "only" $30,105,792. In his bulletin, prepared specially for the Temperance Society of the Methodist Church, and sent out over his own signature March 25, 1915, Gov. Capper admitted that the "booze bill" of the State was $5,303,666.04 per year; and although he has steadfastly refused to divulge the source of his information, Mr. Stone probably came nearer hitting the mark than the governor was pleased to admit it might be.

"Rights of the thirsty are hanging in the balance to-day while the Kansas house considers proposed bone-dry bills before the State legislature," declared the Topeka State Journal January 31, 1917. "All liquor bills on the house calendar come before the lower branch of the legislature to-day under a special order.

"If the house adopts a bill which originated in its own temperance committee Kansas will be denied the right to ship liquor into this State for other than sacramental purposes. The burden is placed on the railroads and the place of delivery is made the place of sale. In writing the committee bill members embodied the main features of the Stone bill, which was smothered in a committee two years ago and introduced in the 1917 session, following action of the United States Supreme Court on the Webb-Kenyon Act.

"Ben Endres, of Leavenworth, fought to remove section 1 in its entirety. His fight was in advance of the Harvey substitute and was voted down by an overwhelming vote. Much applause from the lobbies, members joining. Endres appealed to the members to vote as they drank.

"'A prominent temperance advocate two years ago told me if the members of the house had voted on this bill as they drank the bill wouldn't have a chance,' said Endres. 'I don't believe in drunkenness or intemperance, but every man should have the right to possess his own bottle of liquor if he wants it. Don't you know that under the provisions of this bill, which permits a druggist to have 5 gallons of alcohol in his possession, that 15 or 20 gallons of mighty good whisky can be made from it?'

"That let down the bars of oratory. Members on both sides of the house clamored for an opportunity to talk. Party lines were wiped away and for 15 minutes the members, with one eye trained on the women's lobby, argued for most strict and rigid temperance. Then the Endres motion went down under an overwhelming vote.

"Harvey, of Clark County, started the trouble all over again. He offered the substitute section which permitted the individual to keep a private stock for his own use. The substitute did not remove the provision prohibiting common carriers bringing liquor into the State. It merely said that a person might keep a supply on hand in his own home for his own use.

"Robert Stone, of Shawnee County, defended the substitute (having offered a similar one to a similar bill himself). He declared the substitute was written in conformity with the decision in the Webb-Kenyon case, and that a law with the personal-possession provision would stand the test of the courts. The question of personal liberty was also argued by Stone in urging the adoption of the substitute. He declared that under the bill as submitted by the house temperance committee serious doubt existed as to the constitutionality of the measure. In any event it would involve the State in long-drawn-out and expensive litigation. Stone was author of a bill making the place of delivery the place of sale. He advocated a strong antiliquor measure, but declared the State might destroy its own purpose by overstepping the Constitution.

"As he took his seat, Stone was besieged with questions. He answered all of them. 'Would this permit me to go to Chicago and bring home 2 quarts of liquor?' asked Frank L. Martin. 'It would if it were for your own use,' said Stone.

"'Would it permit a Leavenworth man to hire a jitney, drive across the river, and bring back his own stock?' asked Gilman, of Leavenworth. 'If for his own use; yes,' Stone replied.

"Thompson, minority leader, took the floor in opposition to the substitute. So did Jewett, of Lane; Jewell, of Crawford; Gilman, of Leavenworth; and others. Wilmoth, of Cloud, fought with Stone for the substitute."

According to the Topeka Daily Capital, February 1, 1917, the bill, as drawn by the house temperance committee, passed the house after a bitter fight lasting over five hours. It declared that the Stone amendment previously made to another dry bill was made to the house temperance measure, and that "Stone was followed by a long list of house members protesting against his amendment," which was lost by a vote of 17 to 96, 12 members not voting. Those supporting the Stone amendment represented various districts all over the State, among them the representative from Douglas County, where Lawrence is located.

"The fight continued all afternoon," said the Capital, "the house consistently voting down every amendment offered that it thought would weaken the bill. The stiffest fight, except for the Stone amendment, was against the exemption for the clergy of churches using fermented wines for the sacrament. On this measure the friends of the bill split up, and a motion to make the law apply to all clergymen and all churches the same as to laymen, offered by Layton, of Osborne, was finally voted down—71 to 44—10 members not voting. On the one hand, the gist of the speeches was that the church should not be exempt. On the other, it was argued that if a part of any man's religion included the use of fermented wine the State of Kansas would not interfere with his worship."

And thus the first step was taken to make the Sunflower bone dry for the tenth or twelfth time since John P. St. John and his little band of sincerely hopeful prohibitionists gathered to bury poor old John Barleycorn 36 years ago.

Aside from a bill or two directed at the moving pictures, Sunday baseball, and the usual amusements enjoyed in the little Kansas towns on Sunday, being introduced, the next great matter of importance that arose was the question, "What will the senate do with the bone-dry law?"

Rumors were rife that $15,000 in bribe money was to be spent by certain Kansas City liquor interests to head it off there, and the word was passed around that an investigation was due, etc. One wholesale liquor dealer displayed more zeal than brains in writing letters to his customers, who numbered tens of thousands in the State, that the senate was going to slip a joker into the bill, and one of the letters got to a preacher who, in turn, took it up with the local Woman's Christian Temperance Union, who, to make the thing interesting, trotted down to Topeka with it and flashed it on the governor. And then things began to pop.

According to the Topeka State Journal, February 3, 1917, Senator Price, chairman of the judiciary committee, was not satisfied with the bill as passed by the house. "It is also said that Attorney General Brewster is not satisfied with it," said the Journal. "These two attorneys have been in conference frequently since the measure passed the house and it is rumored that they have reached the conclusion that the house bill will encourage bootlegging and make law enforcement more difficult."

The Montee bill, heretofore mentioned, said the Journal, seems to be causing the most commotion throughout the State. "No day passes when a petition is not read from aggregations of citizens from some point in Kansas urging the senate to pass the Montee bill and to make no exceptions in it. One petition read Friday was signed by 300 of the citizens of one locality asking that the Montee bill be passed and that it be allowed to stand absolutely prohibiting the shipment of liquor into Kansas for any purpose, church or otherwise."

In the little lull occurring between the introduction of the bill in the senate and the final disposition on it several things happened. One of the least important, of course, was a petition asking that the legislature immediately declare an emergency and appropriate money to investigate the conduct of the officials at the Topeka State Asylum who have been under fire for several years, because evidence was ready to be introduced that they permit patients to be parboiled and murdered in hot bathtubs, and permit the help to subdue patients who are difficult to handle by knocking their teeth down their throats, according to the Journal, February 7, 1917. On the same day a movement was started, but soon blocked by the bone-dry legislation, to call an investigation to delve into the situation at the State reformatory, where charges of theft by the officers in charge and misuse of money appropriated filled the air, but these matters were of so slight importance, compared with the bone-dry program, that they had to be sidetracked. The legislature did pause long enough, however, on February 7, 1917, to knock the proposed bill to take the tax-rebate law off the statute book into a cocked hat. It is a revenue producer which is sufficient reason for retaining it, no matter how unfair.

A member from a country district did awaken long enough on February 16, to suggest that when an adjournment is taken it be for six years, as he felt the people were tired of the legislature and nothing of any importance was ever accomplished anyway.

In commenting on the cigarette bill which passed the house, the Topeka State Journal said editorially on February 16, that—

"The cigarette bill which passed the house will, if it becomes a law, have a tendency to bring father and his young son closer together. Both will be compelled to resort to the woodshed or the barn when they want to smoke. If the people of Kansas do not become a community of law breakers it will not be due to lack of encouragement."

Under a bold headline, "Churches in line," the Topeka State Journal of February 12, described the ardent efforts that were being put forth by the "church in action" to swing the senate into line for a totally dry State, including the ban on wine for sacramental purposes.

"Church organizations and church leaders in all sections of the State are showing a willingness to come under the bone-dry liquor bill," declared the Journal. "Petitions, resolutions, letters, and telegrams received by members of the legislature in the last few days have indicated a desire by the church for the Layton amendment to the proposed dry law. The amendment provides for placing churches as well as individuals under the act. * * * In the last two weeks a strong effort has been made to line up the church element in a demand for the Layton amendment. E. W. Hoch, former governor, and many prominent Kansans are behind the movement. They have declared that the churches should not be placed in the light of blocking the final step in making Kansas absolutely bone dry."

A warning note was sounded in an editorial appearing in the Kansas City (Mo.) Journal of February 12 respecting "bone-dry" legislation:

"The foes of prohibition and some of its mistaken friends are busy carrying the laws in the several States to an absurd and intolerable rigidity. The inevitable effect of this is to weaken prohibition and to cause a retrogression such as occurred in Vermont and Iowa. Any 'bone-dry' law, so called, becomes a personal irritation to almost every citizen regardless of any use of liquor as a beverage, and the effect is sure to be a line of legislation quite away from the 'bone-dry' idea.

"We advise a most careful consideration of any proposed law on this subject, as on any other subject, which will lead to the direct personal irritation of the individual citizen. Such laws are never even reasonably well enforced except as regards the grosser crimes."

An example of how these freak and uncalled-for measures can be forced through the Kansas Legislature, also typical of the men who are sent to Topeka to frame measures that "the people" want, is shown in an incident described by the Topeka State Journal of February 3, 1917, and throws much interesting enlightenment upon how easy it is to "represent public sentiment" when a lobby as strong and powerful as the church and W. C. T. U. maintain there from one end of the sessions to the other is on the job from early morning until late at night:

"One new member of the Kansas House is waiting anxiously until the legislature adjourns. He has spent more than four weeks in Topeka as a lawmaker and quietly admits he does not know what it is all about. Not only is the new member puzzled, but he is peeved and disgusted.

"Only the arrival of a friend from his old home town brought out the confession of sorrows of a new legislator. The friend had come to Topeka, fresh from the old town with news and gossip of all the community. In the course of the visit, the man who had left the bosom of his family to make laws and protect the rights and property of the people grew confidential.

"'Do you know what's going on here, George?' inquired the new legislator.

"The visitor from back home thought maybe it was some mysterious, complicated, deep-laid political plot which the new member had discovered. So he frankly admitted his ignorance as to the inside workings of the legislature.

"'You haven't anything on me,' said the new member. 'I don't know either. Been here four weeks now and, by golly, I don't understand it. Everything you try to do, everybody else is against. I sit here all day and listen to a lot of gabble. Then I read the paper in the evening and see where a lot of bills were passed and a lot of other things done. I was there all the time, too, but blamed if I saw it.'

"The visitor from home asked if the new member had secured the passage of any legislation.

"'Lord, no. At least, I guess not,' said the new one. 'You know I came here with a lot of good bills, too. But where they are I don't know. One of my bills was announced one day from that desk up yonder. Then the next day it went to a committee. I conducted a searching party for it, but didn't have a bit of luck. They told me the

bill had been re-referred and then referred back again and then substituted. After I got that much information, I quit. See that fellow over there?'

"The legislator pointed to Frank L. Martin, of Reno County, chairman of the house judiciary committee.

"'Well, that fellow got up one day and says, "We have killed seventeen out of eighteen bills, and I rather guess we should have killed the eighteenth one, too." That's the way they do things here. Everybody is against everything everybody else is for. I don't know what the thunder it's all about and I don't mind telling you. Say, how's Ann and the baby?'"

An interesting and at the same time a tragic sidelight was thrown upon the dry situation in Kansas, however, on February 15, according to the Topeka dispatch of that date appearing in the Kansas City Star and also published more fully in the Topeka papers. "A bill that will allow the State to treat drunkards and drug habituals was introduced in the Senate to-day by the committee on temperance and hygiene," says the Star. "It provides persons addicted to the use of intoxicating liquors and narcotic drugs may go to any of the State hospitals for the insane on their own application or on an order of the probate court. At present the State can give treatment to drunkards and drug habituals only when they actually become insane. The drug users now in the State asylums outnumber the drunkards there, as insane patients, considerably."

In commenting on the proposed bone-dry law, the various newspapers of the State, except the smaller publications, and many of them joined in the sentiment, felt constrained to support the measure providing it gave the people of the State the privilege of carrying it in even in suit cases or automobiles, and generally all over the State the sentiment seemed to favor the Stone amendment. In commenting on the measure, the Atchison Globe, in its issue of February 8, said: "There is a rumor that the senate will either kill the bill or amend it." In order that no one would mistake his position on the measure, Barney Lyons, legislative representative from Atchison County, declared in the same issue of the Globe, that "I'll vote 'no' on the bone-dry bill, if I am the only man in the house that does," and the Globe proceeds: "Nothing in line of law enforcement has been too drastic for Kansas, and the senate probably will fall in line for investigating ice boxes in private homes."

And the Topeka State Journal declared editorially on February 19: "The prohibition of the sale of substitutes for beer, which have appeared on the market, is all right on general principles, but why allow Jamaica ginger to escape? It is one of the best-known and most certain jag producers offered for sale." And again: "In addition to the bone-dry law the Atchison Globe suggests that the legislature may be responsible for several bonehead laws."

SAVE BONE-DRY BILL—ANTISALOON LEAGUE OF AMERICA TAKES UP FIGHT—GHOSTS OF OTHER DAYS BEFORE SENATE COMMITTEE.

"The silence enveloping the bone-dry bill in the senate judiciary committee is so intense it can and has been heard all the way back to the headquarters of the Anti-Saloon League of America. Wayne B. Wheeler, counsel of the league, heard it and he's coming to Topeka the first of the week to tell the judiciary committee what he knows about prohibition. Of course Kansas has had prohibition for 40 years, but Wheeler is the man who drew the Webb-Kenyon law."

(After commenting on the very cool reception handed an expert on the initiative and referendum when he appeared before the senate, urging the passage of that measure which was killed several years ago and has never seen daylight since, the Journal proceeds:)

"The senate judiciary committee is made up of lawyers. Having been reared and schooled in prohibition they are assumed to know a little about the proper construction of bone-dry measures. But they have brought forth nothing, and their silence has reached the fount of bone-dry knowledge. The judiciary committee accepted the offer of Mr. Wheeler's services, made by Rev. W. J. Berwig, superintendent of the Kansas branch of the league, and a meeting will be held upon his arrival.

"As a matter of fact, the senate judiciary committee all but reported out a bone-dry bill the first of the week, but a discovery was made and it was dragged back by the scruff of the neck before anyone had a chance to see it. It was discovered by some member of the committee that a bill had been drawn and agreed upon making it a felony to bring liquor across the State line, but no offense to have possession of it after it was safely across the line."

Great consternation reigned in the dry camp, and the wait between the time Chief Bone-Dry Wheeler was sent for and his arrival period was indeed a terrible suspense. "The senate was deluged by petitions from all parts of the State to-day urging the passage of the 'bone-dry' bill," said the Topeka State Journal of February 20. "Some of them implored the legislature 'not to adjourn until the bill had been enacted into law.' Almost an hour was devoted to the reading of the titles to the petitions. There were 80 of them on the subject of liquor legislation, and the average number of names on each was about 200—making about 16,000 names in all.

"Every hour action is delayed means additional petitions. There was no comment among senators as one petition after another was read. The probabilities are that the house bone-dry bill, reported out for passage by the senate judiciary committee Monday evening, will not be reached until Wednesday. The bill is on third reading subject to amendment and debate, but it has not been printed."

The same issue of the Journal noted the action of the senate judiciary committee on the bill, taken after the arrival of Chief Wheeler:

"Whereas at noon yesterday the judiciary committee was 'in the air' over the proposed liquor legislation, to-day the stage is all set for one of the real fights of the session. Of course, the whole senate may flatten out like the judiciary committee did and pass the bill without a single protest, but it doesn't appear likely.

"Several members of the judiciary committee, while they voted to report the bill out, have remarked on the outside that its provisions are too drastic. There is some opposition to it among the rest of the senators.

"It may have no bearing upon the action of the committee, but for more than two hours Monday afternoon Wayne B. Wheeler, of Washington, D. C., general counsel of the Antisaloon League of America, addressed the committee on the subject of 'bone-dry legislation,' and 15 minutes later the favorable report was brought in. He looked over the proposed Kansas law for holes. He held it up to the sun and scanned it every inch. Not a hole could he find, and he so informed the committee.

"Mr. Wheeler was the target for numerous questions shot by Senator Getty, Senator Price, and Senator McClain, members of the committee, and at times he became somewhat groggy, but on each occasion Attorney General Brewster, who knew the questions by heart, went to his rescue. It developed in committee that several of its members believe most of the cities of Kansas are 'wet.'

"'Why don't you enforce the laws you have?' demanded Senator Price of Attorney General Brewster at one time.

"Mr. Brewster explained that as long as automobile routes could be maintained across the State line it was impossible to shut out all liquor."

With two senators "missing," the bill was passed by the senate on the morning of February 21, 1917, by a vote of 37 to 1, Senator Brunner, of Pottawatomie County, displaying the only semblance of backbone in the entire senatorial delegation. Denouncing the bill as un-American, despotic, and beyond all reason, he bared his breast to the shafts, snarls, derision, and threats of the prohibitionists, their boisterous and well-trained lobby, and cast a negative vote. While he was admired and congratulated by many of the senators for his bravery, the path he chose was too thorny to welcome any daring on the part of the spineless, brow-beaten comrades whom he bade a fond adieu and followed the only course real manhood would permit him to choose.

"Not a single amendment was made to the bill," remarked the Topeka State Journal of February 21, 1917. "Half a dozen were offered but only one vote was recorded for each amendment, and that was the vote of the man who offered it. * * * The first real amendment was offered by Senator Sutton, of Stafford. It struck from the bill the paragraph permitting ordained ministers to receive or possess wine for communion purposes. 'I have been asked by several ordained ministers to have that provision stricken out,' Senator Sutton said. That started an argument.

"Senator Malone held that the amendment would bring about an unfair situation in that the bill still permitted priests that privilege." Several other senators expressed themselves in like manner, and the amendment was defeated, Senator Sutton casting the only vote for it.

"Senator Price said that section 1 bordered on intolerance, because it prevented a person from having liquor in his own home," according to the Kansas City Journal of February 22, 1917. "But," said he, "I am a temperance man and believe in prohibition. If this bill, by putting all decent people in the same class with bootleggers and joint keepers, will result in better enforcement of the prohibitory law, then it is all right with me, and I shall vote for it."

When the senate bill was referred back to the house—the house adopted the minor amendment made by Senator Price to its bill—there were 5 votes cast against its final adoption, among them the representatives from Reno and Leavenworth Counties.

When the news reached Leavenworth, according to a dispatch from there, dated February 21, to the Kansas City Journal, that the senate had passed the bone-dry bill, "many telephoned to Drydale for a supply to meet a 'drought.' Extra wagons were running to-night bringing liquor, and this will be kept up until the law actually goes into effect.

"Some of the joint keepers stated to-night that they would quit while the others say they will keep right on. The only question with them will be some way to get a liquor supply. * * * The number of saloons in Drydale is expected to increase."

"With the bone-dry bill coming into effect to-morrow," said a dispatch from Atchison to the Kansas City Journal, February 22, "East Atchison wholesale liquor houses are swamped with orders to-day from their Kansas patrons, who are preparing for the drought. Atchison people do not believe the law will be enforced to the point of searching their homes, and those who use liquor are ordering larger quantities. Most of the liquor ordered is beer, with wines second on the list. * * * Retail saloons in East Atchison are pleased with the bone-dry bill, as they feel that it means increased business for them."

The railroads ceased carrying liquors on or about February 23, as the bill was published promptly in the Topeka State Journal, after Gov. Capper had signed it, and another chapter of bone-dry legislation in the State was closed.

Just how the thousands of homes within the State are to be searched daily for liquor, and how the enormous cost of watching her four borders with their thousands of roads leading into other States is to be met is not stated, but Kansas knows this law will not and can not be enforced. Furthermore, Kansas, after 35 years of experience with prohibition, knows public sentiment is against its enforcement. No jury will convict; judges will become more weary than they have been during the past 10 years, dragging through "joint" and "bootleg" cases, county and city officials will become "derelict" in their duty, and the State will drop off again, now that the thunder shower is over, into its customary slumber, while State university buildings crumble and fall down, asylums cry for more room, and penitentiary cell houses continue to be breeding stink holes of tuberculosis.

"Kansas," remarked the Atchison Globe of February 22, with the prohibitory law in mind, and addressing itself to the cigarette bill which was being pushed so strongly by the church-dry lobby in the senate, "if the senate follows the example of the house, and the law making it a crime to smoke a cigarette even within the confines of your own home, will again advertise itself as a crank State. Just as it is getting over the effects of prohibition it is about to take another step that will give it a black eye. Reform is all right, but why not let some other State take the lead for a time? Kansas has fought a commendable battle of prohibition at a tremendous cost. If you don't believe it, look at the way the towns across the Missouri River in Missouri have grown while the cities on the Kansas side have stood still, or nearly so. There is no denying the fact that big capital, when it comes to a choice between a dry town and a wet town, has almost invariably chosen the wet town. Towns that have suffered from being dry may now benefit if new crank laws are not forced upon people. Some of the best men in every community smoke cigarettes, and to say they can't smoke them in private is inviting new public condemnation at a time when we should follow, instead of lead. The senate should push the anticigarette and other cranks aside and give the State a chance to catch up."

Though the Globe fails to show wherein Kansas "is just getting over the effects of prohibition," the subject matter of the editorial strikes deep. When men with the far-sightedness of Ed Howe will rise out of turn and speak aloud the almost universal disgust that envelops the State and which men of less bravery dare not speak aloud, it means there is an undercurrent working at the foundation of the State government that some day will reap a terrible harvest.

The bone-dry law is just like other measures reeking with despotic tyranny and puritanical bigotry. Kansas City, Mo., newspapers of February 25 note the ineffectual efforts made in Kansas City, Kans., to en-

force the measure; detail an ambitious assistant attorney general's hopeful attempts to catch all violators, aided and abetted by a police force declared by a leading temperance crank within the past few months to be in league with the bootleggers; describe the laudatory remarks of the police of that city, and recount their unbounded efforts to seek out the dive keepers and jointists, that they may be crucified on the cross of religious politics, but the dragnet held few when the "crusade" had finished. Ten of those caught were haled before the court, fined the minimum, and promptly paroled "pending good behavior."

The newspapers throughout the State will refuse, as usual, to carry stories of the multitude of cases that clog the criminal courts or of the conditions that are growing worse every day, fearing lest they admit prohibition to be the sham it is, but should the legislature of 1919 have proposed by the Antisaloon League or any of its cohorts "further and better" bone-dry legislation, a "demand" by 16,000 out of the 1,672,545 people will again be met—registering another admission as the recent act did that all past enactments failed so totally of their purpose they were worse than no laws at all.

Kansas has never expressed itself on the question of prohibition, and in all fairness to "the cause" throughout the Nation she should be accorded that privilege. She has had it long enough and "hard" and "bad" enough to thoroughly understand it by this time. But the result in Vermont sent a cold chill down the spinal column of the Kansas dry leaders that has kept them shivering ever since. If the people do rule, they should be accorded that high privilege in the Sunflower State.

As has so well been said by Mr. Paul S. Conwell, a native of the State and a close student of Kansas conditions for years, "Kansas people are never permitted to forget the governing power. A noisy government is a nuisance government. Driven by despotic bigotry, it strangles progress, murders prosperity. If given a chance, the people would register an overwhelming preference for a sane and regulated system of handling the liquor industry. Not that they desire saloons because they prefer drunkenness to sobriety, but because they prefer constructive statecraft to political demagoguery. Kansas is drunk now—drunk on prohibition, bunk, and piffle. She is suffering from an overcapitalization of hot air and an overproduction of wild-eyed reformers, yap statesmen, and political tyrants. Common horse sense has taken wings; intolerance is king!"

And the toll of the bone-dry law in every city, county, and town in the State, from Topeka to Wichita, and stretching out into the most remote and sparsely settled short-grass community to the far western portion of the State, and back again to the Missouri border, where Kansans flock to play and live as men and women, not as the inmates of inebriate asylums, will soon render those sentiments more true than when uttered a year ago.

—

A Kansas Pet.

Kansas is probably the only State in the Union that throws the arm of legal protection about the almost universally despised loan shark. Though feeble attempts have been made in years gone by to curb his activities, like the bootlegger and the mail-order whisky house, he is always ready to supply the demand. Though a "necessary evil," he has escaped condemnation by the Antisaloon League panhandlers, because he works better in "dry" territory. He is the political brother-in-law of the prohibitionist, created and fed by dry agitation, and the best possible proof obtainable that the promises of the league are made without a semblance of truth as a foundation.

That he has grown fat and sleek on the harvest gathered in dry towns is proven by the fact that an open fire is being made on him by the 1917 legislature. But he has plenty of defenders. A faithful contributor, no doubt, to the league, and ready and willing at all times to "stand up in meetin'" and testify to the providential blessings of prohibition, this scoundrel who has been outlawed by common decency in nearly every industrial center in America thrives unharmed throughout the length and breadth of the Garden of Eden of the twentieth century.

"The loan shark gets it in the neck in to-day's batch of senate bills," remarked the Topeka State Journal of January 18, 1917. "Four bills introduced by Senator Coleman, of Johnson, are aimed at him. Taken individually, each would make him squirm; and collectively—if passed—they would put him out of business.

"One of the bills makes it unlawful for a money loaner to charge more than 2 per cent a month as interest upon a loan. More than that would subject him to the penalty of a fine of from $100 to $500 or a jail sentence of from 30 to 90 days, or both fine and jail sentence.

"Another provides that proof of usury shall be a defense in civil cases. If a loan shark loans money at a usurious rate, the borrower defaults in payment on the principal and the loaner brings suit, the proof that he agreed to pay more than the legal rate shall serve as his defense.

"A third bill provides that a mortgage on personal property given to secure a loan upon which a usurious rate of interest has been charged shall be invalid. The holder of the mortgage can not foreclose if the borrower proves in court that the lender charged him more than the legal rate of interest.

"The fourth and last of the loan-shark bills makes it a misdemeanor for anyone knowingly to transfer any negotiable paper or contract in which a usurious rate of interest is charged. Such an act is made punishable by a fine of from $100 to $500 or by a jail sentence of from 30 to 90 days, or by both fine and imprisonment.

"One or more bills of this character have been in the legislature for years gone by and have failed to pass. There is always a stiff fight over them, and many times the argument has been made that such laws would shut the needy borrower of small amounts off from ready money."

None of the foregoing bills will pass, and most of them have been thrown into the wastebasket or otherwise "disposed of" by the representatives of "the dear people."

The strangest feature of this entire matter, however, is the fact that the Topeka State Journal, one of the leading, if indeed not the most influential and most sane publication in the State, defends the loan shark, as a "necessary evil," and, in doing so, lays bare the causes that make his habitation in the State mandatory. The Journal is above reproach and can be depended upon as telling the naked truth, no matter what the cost, which adds tons of weight to its argument as set forth in the issue of January 20, 1917, two days after the introduction of the four bills above mentioned:

"A desire to curb the activities of the loan shark has led to the introduction of bills in the legislature for that purpose. Laws on the statute books already apparently are sufficient, but for some reason they don't work.

"The money lender covers his tracks so carefully that it is hard to catch him. He rarely seeks business. He merely lets it be known that he has money on hand for the needy. His method of doing business is usually about as follows:

"A man is in dire need of, say, $100. He goes to the loan agent and makes his wants known. It is a last resort. He has no standing at the bank and dislikes to appeal to his friends. He signs a note payable in 30 days, bearing interest at the rate of 10 per cent per annum after maturity.

"The lender charges him a 'commission' of anywhere from 3 per cent to 10 per cent, which he takes out of the loan, handing over, if the rate be 5 per cent, $95. At the expiration of 30 days the borrower comes in and announces that he can not pay. Very well; the note will be extended. He pays another $5 and is granted another 30 days. This is continued indefinitely, and no record of the transaction is given him. The written contract calls for the legal rate of interest; no more. To make the transaction more difficult for the courts to reach, the lender usually makes it appear that he is not handling his own money.

"A favorite basis of loans of this character by some operators is a mortgage on the salary of the applicant. This type of borrower rarely makes complaint, because he doesn't want the boss to know.

"Probably not one borrower in a hundred makes any fuss regarding his bargain. Most of them look upon the loan shark as a real friend in need. They can always get money from him when all other sources have failed.

"So it is doubtful that any law can be framed that will stop the business, unless it be one which will cause the lenders to shut up shop. This would work a real hardship on many, unless some way be provided to take care of them.

"The system is undoubtedly bad, but conditions must be dealt with as they are found.

"What seems to be needed is a place provided by the municipality or by some philanthropic organization where the needy can be accommodated at a nominal rate of interest, one that will merely cover the expense of operation. The thing has been done elsewhere. Why not here?

"Let some of those who are so greatly interested in the 'victims' of the loan sharks set about helping them in a substantial way, instead of trying to do it through the uncertain channels of the law and the courts."

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Police Report of Topeka, Kans., Showing Records for Arrests, What Crimes Committed, and by Whom and in What Manner; Together with Comments, Deductions, and Reports of Topeka Newspapers.

Report showing total arrests made in Topeka, Kans., during the year 1916, according to months.

Month.	White.		Colored.		Mexican.		Indian.		Total.	State cases.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		
January	53	1	23	12	12	.....	.....	.....	101	18
February	105	3	89	25	1	.....	1	.....	224	22
March	131	11	43	26	12	1	9	.....	233	25
April	127	6	62	16	10	.....	1	.....	222	16
May	143	12	60	18	14	.....	7	.....	254	7
June	97	13	69	12	11	.....	.....	.....	202	10
July	125	14	60	18	13	.....	7	.....	237	9
August	113	8	51	10	5	1	17	.....	205	10
September	112	9	79	18	16	.....	6	1	240	12
October	114	4	40	12	16	2	6	1	195	22
November	103	7	42	10	16	.....	2	.....	180	19
December	95	2	50	15	17	1	5	.....	185	12
Total	1,318	90	668	192	142	5	61	2	2,478	182

Report showing total fines assessed in Topeka, Kans., during the year 1916.

January	$286.15
February	253.45
March	420.50
April	271.10
May	426.15
June	474.15
July	431.25
August	418.95
September	574.50
October	309.30
November	456.95
December	312.65
Total	4,635.10

Police report of Topeka, Kans., 1916.

Offenses.	White.		Colored.		Mexican.		Indian.		Total.	Cases turned over to State.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		
Drunk	502	4	80	18	50	.....	44	2	700	.....
Drunk and resisting officer	15	.....	9	5	2	.....	.....	.....	31	.....
Drunk and disorderly	41	4	11	12	2	.....	1	.....	71	2
Burglary	24	.....	11	.....	9	.....	.....	.....	44	29
Investigation	26	11	126	17	34	2	11	.....	427	12
Vagrancy	22	1	77	.....	1	.....	1	.....	102	1
Wife beating	.....	.....	1	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	3	.....
Grand larceny	18	1	18	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	38	33
Insane	10	.....	1	1	1	.....	.....	.....	13	12
Assault to kill	5	.....	4	4	6	.....	.....	.....	19	16
Concealed weapons	8	.....	15	.....	13	.....	.....	.....	36	4
Disorderly conduct	85	24	36	46	6	.....	.....	.....	197	.....
Disorderly house	25	25	43	19	.....	.....	.....	.....	112	.....
Petit larceny	23	1	31	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	58	3
Interfering	2	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5	.....
Speeding	89	2	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	94	.....
Opium	1	7	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....
Disturbing the peace	21	9	10	5	4	.....	.....	.....	49	.....
Nonsupport	2	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	4	2

Police report of Topeka, Kans., 1916—Continued.

Offenses.	White.		Colored.		Mexican.		Indian.		Total.	Cases turned over to State.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		
Forgery	6		3	3					12	8
Assault	33	2	33	6			1		75	8
Selling liquor	28	7	82	28	4	1	1		151	13
Street walking		2		18					20	
Rape	4		4		1				9	5
White slavery			1	2	1	2			6	
Violating parole	7		3				2		12	6
Gambling	62		40		1				103	
Larceny from person	5		3	3					11	11
Reckless driving	34		5						39	2
Murder	3		1						4	4
Impersonating officers	1								2	
Auto—no license	5		3						8	
False pretense	4								4	4
Shop lifting	2			1					3	2
Arson	2								2	1
Bigamy					1				1	1
Embezzlement					1				1	1

TOPEKA'S POLICE RECORD.

In his speech delivered in Chicago, March 27, 1910, ex-Gov. Stubbs declared that drunkenness had been reduced to such a point in Kansas that he had not seen a drunken man in Topeka, a place of 50,000 inhabitants, and "that in making a campaign throughout the entire State and delivering public addresses in 92 counties, I do not recall seeing a drunken man during the year."

This speech was delivered upon invitation of the Illinois Anti-Saloon League. Rev. J. K. Shields, superintendent of the league, had written the Kansas State Temperance Union, at Topeka, saying, "The fight for local option in Chicago is on in earnest. The liquor element is thoroughly alarmed, and are making desperate attempts to counteract the onslaughts of the Anti-Saloon League, and one of their strongest cards is the conditions existing in Kansas. They are saying that the prohibitory law can not be enforced, and that more intoxicants are sold than under an open régime; that drunkenness is increasing and business decreasing; that houses and business buildings are empty, rent lower, crime increasing, and that a general demoralization exists throughout the State, because of existing prohibition laws." After hearing what the liquor men were saying about Kansas (according to the "introduction" statement preceding the governor's speech, as per published copy thereof), the governor, knowing the statements were untrue and could be proved false, said: "I'll not stand for it: I'll go to Chicago and tell them the truth concerning prohibition in Kansas." And go he did, after arming himself with the usual "statistics" and "facts"—the main one of which is quoted above, touching the drunkenness in Topeka and all over the 92 counties the governor claimed to have covered in his campaign.

The public—that is, that portion of it far enough away from Topeka that personal observation is not possible—has been told so many times, in so many various ways through "inspired" statements such as the governor's, that Topeka is without any crime, drunkenness, or disease such as scourge other cities, and all because the law enforcement propaganda has proven such a great "success," that many well-meaning people have come to understand that any statement to the contrary is either made for the purpose of misleading the public, or, as Gov. Stubbs shouted in his Chicago "outburst of enthusiasm," "On my honor as a man, and upon my word as the chief executive of nearly two million sovereign people, I say to you they are infamously conceived and maliciously false." Statements made by men holding the position of governor, etc., are always given wide publicity in matters of this kind, and thousands of copies of the Stubbs speech have been distributed broadcast throughout America; the press carried a full account of his "speech," and every antisaloon organization in the Union made the most of it.

On September 26, 1915, the Topeka Daily Capital, owned and published by the present governor, Mr. Capper, carried a story that Rev. Edgar P. Smith, the new pastor of the First United Presbyterian Church of Topeka, declared that day how glad he was to be called to a real clean city where at last he could feel assured he was in a city without crime. His previous charges had been in Pittsburgh, Pa.; Pueblo, Colo., and Monmouth, Ill.

Eastern newspapers have carried hundreds of "stories" in recent years, as have southern, western, and northern publications, praising the sobriety, moral cleanliness, and godliness of the people of Topeka, because of the persistent news items and other matters of publication and "testimonials" that have been sent out by men high in public office in Kansas. And Topeka has become the second Garden of Eden in the eyes of the prohibitionists.

There are no published police records there. Chief of Police Harvey Parsons, a former newspaper man, is reticent to the point of being haughty, in the matter of giving any information regarding the number of arrests for drunkenness or other infractions of the law. During the months of July, August, and September, 1916, numerous requests were sent him for information upon the subject, but he refused, according to the Topeka State Capital, July 29, 1916, which, in commenting upon the matter, said: "Harvey Parsons, chief of police, is bombarded with letters from States in which the liquor question is involved in pending elections. Scarcely a day passes without receiving a letter of this kind. 'I think most of them come from antiprohibition associations,' said Parsons. 'Some of them probably are by persons on the temperance side of the question. They ask for information concerning the number of arrests for drunkenness.

"'I answer none of the letters. One reason for not giving replies is the probability of anything I might say being garbled. The other reason is that the number of arrests made means nothing at all for either one side or the other. Especially is this true so long as Jamaica ginger is held by our courts not to be intoxicating, and is shipped into the State in barrel lots.'"

On January 4, 1916, the Topeka State Journal commented upon the great amount of liquor shipped in under a headline "Mail order brew bats high in '15," and proceeds: "Are the prohibition forces in Topeka cheerfully smiling under a feeling of false security in ignorance of the situation which they have to combat? Legally John Barleycorn is walking the straight and narrow path in Shawnee County. * * * Legally, Topeka is 'dry,' but—

"Besides 135,368 quarts of liquor and beer shipped into Topeka over the Union Pacific Railroad—December 16 to 31, excluded—24,801 shipments, varying in size, were consigned to Topeka during the year of 1915, according to an incomplete record on file in the office of O. K. Swayze, county clerk.

"The incomplete record:

"Wells Fargo Express Co., Jan. 1 to Nov. 30, 1915 10,835
"American Express Co., Jan. 1 to Dec. 30, 1915 4,586
"Rock Island Railway, year of 1915, excluding August and December, 1915 4,584
"Santa Fe, Jan. 1 to June 30, 1915 4,796
"Union Pacific, Jan. 1, to Dec. 15, 1915, 10,486 quarts of liquor (whisky and wine) and 124,882 quarts of beer.

"Ninety-nine out of every one hundred shipments are 'within the law.' Sizes of shipments vary. The American Express Co.'s shipments from May 15 to 31, 1915, included:

"One hundred and twenty-six gallons of whisky, in from 1 to 32 gallon lots; 225 quarts of whisky, in from 2 to 48 quart lots; 48 one-half pints of whisky, 2 gallons of alcohol, 64 gallons of beer, in lots from 8 to 16 gallons; one 16-gallon shipment, 1,176 quarts of beer, from 24 to 124 quart lots; 144 pints of beer in lots of 36 pints.

"The American Express Co. shipments from June 1 to 15 included:

"One hundred and four and one-half gallons of whisky in 1 to 7 gallon lots, 166 quarts of whisky in 2 to 30 quart lots, 24 pints of whisky and 48 one-half pints of whisky, 158 pints of beer in 36 to 72 pint lots, 112 gallons of beer in 8 to 24 gallon orders, between 600 and 648 quarts of beer in 24 to 72 quart lots and one-half beer.

"The Missouri Pacific Railroad had nothing to report in September, 40 shipments in August, and 7 casks of beer in July.

"One hundred and ninety-two reports were filed from April 1 to November, covering shipments to Shawnee County outside of Topeka. These include shipments to Wakarusa, Berryton, Pauline, Tecumseh, Rossville, Valencia, Silver Lake, Richland, Menoken, Willard, and other small places.

"'The June report of the Union Pacific refers to a shipment of 1,120 quarts of beer to be 'consumed at a Russian wedding.'

"During the last year the liquor records filed by different railroads have been guarded closely by O. K. Swayze, county clerk. In several instances demands for permission to inspect the records by the State Journal were turned down by Swayze in the face of supreme court decisions and rulings of the attorney general's office, which held the records are open for inspection. Once not long ago he told a reporter he would compel the latter to bring mandamus proceedings before he would surrender the statements."

In this connection it is persistently stated by Kansas prohibitionists that they figure the per capita "booze" expenditure on the records in the office of the various county clerks of the State and find it to be very low. Hodges claims it is $3.04 per capita, and Capper $1.25. Just where they secure their information is difficult to determine in the light of the following letter from O. K. Swayze, which is similar to the replies he sends to all inquirers:

"I have not the time nor inclination to supply the information you desire for the reason that I can not give an accurate summary of the quantity shipped into this county from any reports on file in my office. Being unable to do this intelligently, I refuse and have constantly refused, to attach my certificate and seal or even my signature to any statement or compilation of the figures. It is impossible to correctly estimate the contents of a box of liquor, cask of beer, keg of beer, or a package of liquor. Many of the shipments are so billed and reported to this office. There is no compilation on file nor have I ever made one or attempted to make one. Furthermore, I will not sanction or approve or certify any compilation made by anyone else. No one can make even a good guess on quantities unless the gallons are set out clearly in the consignment and report.

"Hope you won't think me impertinent or discourteous, but I simply want to set you right on the matter. Then, too, while I am willing and ready to furnish any information from my records that is within reason, I have not the clerks nor clerk hire to devote to the hundreds of requests that have come to me for similar information."

The Mahin law, passed for the intended purpose of finding out who was getting liquor so the raid committee could either pass a resolution at Sunday School and boycott them or go and smash it up, has been used as a source of "statistics" by the Kansas prohibition agitators in other States, and their information is about as correct as whatever they claim to have from Topeka, if Mr. Swayze's letter sets forth the true condition in his office.

The police reports of Topeka for the year 1916, showing the comparison of arrests for drunkenness for that year and the year 1915, indicates beyond all doubt that a great portion of this liquor was not used altogether for "medicine." Bootleggers are plying their trade in defiance of the law, and, although, as stated in the Topeka State Journal, January 4, 1916, the chief of police and sheriff's office is constantly engaged in running them down, they continue to supply the demand for their wares.

The fiscal year of 1916 was much the same as other years in Topeka so far as arrests, crime, etc., are concerned, except that the police record crept a little higher, as it has been doing every year for the past 10 at least. Dry on paper, it has most surely been wet enough in the alleys, clubs, hotels, private homes, alley and kitchen joints, and behind billboards and in box cars. One can hardly believe his own eyes when day after day the record of lawlessness brought on by intemperance in this the State capital of the most overrated dry State in the Union, as delineated in the daily press from time to time. For the past 10 or 12 years every candidate for office in the city has pledged himself to a "strict" law-enforcement program if elected. The present mayor, Jay E. House, is an editorial writer on Gov. Capper's paper, a liberal minded, sane man in every particular. When he announced himself as a candidate for his present office the governor and all the other elements constituting the "law-enforcement element" and the "better class" attacked him viciously, prophesying if he were elected it would mean "liberal town," with plenty of booze, etc., although Mayor House is perhaps the most level-headed, temperate man in the State. He didn't belong to the "church crowd," and when one doesn't belong to that crowd in Kansas they dare to call him anything.

After his election Mayor House cleaned out a lot of fad reform job holders and has been conducting the business of the city in an admirable manner, even though his chief of police is afraid to publish the police record for 1916. His reason is that the city is too poor.

That there is and always has been plenty of vice in the Kansas capital has never been denied by anyone even slightly acquainted with the town. The crime and vice record for 1916 seems much larger, and is, according to the official report of the police department, despite the efforts of the police and sheriff to stamp it out. Other types of crime also increased. "We can not catch burglars and thieves when all our time is required to catch bootleggers and pick up delinquent girls," said a high police official there recently, in commenting on the situation.

Speaking of the "success" of prohibition in Kansas generally, and in Topeka especially, J. B. Billard, who served several terms as mayor of the city, recently said:

"Prohibition has been a farce for 35 years. The law has been enforced as well as such laws can be enforced, and especially so in the last 10 years.

"Many good citizens have been prosecuted, arrested, fined, and put in jail with real criminals. They have been degraded, their families disgraced. Many more have left the State in disgust; drunkenness has not been stopped; has not even decreased.

"I believe that fully 90 per cent of the men use liquor and evade or induce some one to violate the law to get it. The law is a disgrace to any civilized community."

There were 2,478 arrests made in Topeka during the year 1916 according to the police records, aside from 182 arrests in cases that were turned over to the State. There were 1,318 male whites, 90 female whites, 668 male colored persons, 192 female colored persons, 142 male Mexicans, 5 female Mexicans, 61 male Indians, and 2 female Indians arrested during the year.

Compared with 681 drunks arrested during 1915, there were 700 plain drunks, 31 drunk and resisting officers, and 75 drunk and disorderly arrests made during the year, making a total of 804, as compared with 681 of all kinds during the previous year, an increase of 123 or 18 per cent.

One hundred and ninety-seven arrests were made during 1916 for disorderly conduct, as compared with 177 for the same offense in 1915, an increase of 20.

No arrests were made for running disorderly houses in 1915, but in 1916 there were 112 arrests on this account. One white-slavery case appears in the 1915 report, while six appear in the report for 1916.

The 1916 report scores higher than any for years in the matter of liquor selling. One hundred and sixty-four arrests were made for that crime.

Street-walking arrests increased to 20 from 15 during 1915; reckless driving and speeding increased from 3 to 133. Assaults of various kinds, including wife-beating, totaled 121 for 1916, a large increase over the preceding year, and stealing of all sorts mounted the aggregate high score of 232. Gambling hit the high-water mark at 103 cases, and the arrests for rape skied to nine aside from five turned over to the State authorities.

There is scarcely a day in which either the Topeka Daily Capital or the Topeka Daily State Journal do not report many cases of drunkenness, crime, or bootlegging within the city. Many times columns are filled with reports of escapades, spectacular raids, murders, fights, shooting scrapes, and lesser vicious "indoor sports" always engaged in blind pigs and alley joints. The law is a joke to most Topekans. Some are living in fear of it constantly, but they are the most notorious criminals with long police records, who are liable to arrest at any time by the ever-vigilant law-enforcing element. But they, too, ply their trade in open defiance of law most of the time, fly when raids are made, only to return after the cyclone passes and settle down once more in the pursuit of their nefarious traffic.

Of the total of 2,200 arrests made in Topeka by the police during the year 1915, 661 were for drunkenness. During the same year 177 arrests were made for disorderly conduct, 146 for keeping a nuisance, 1 for chewing tobacco, 15 for street walking, 3 for joy riding, 10 for selling cigarettes, 74 "found in" (those "found out" not given), smoking 85, and the balance of the total made up of various petty offenses, such as being a dope fiend, white slaver, keeper of opium dens, inmates thereof, leaving a pop-pop on the sidewalk, and hitching Old Dobbin to a fire plug.

In commenting on the arrests, the Kansas Issue, official paper of the Kansas State Temperance Society, said:

"This year, perhaps more than ever, the necessity of a new jail has been strongly urged. The present edifice was constructed more than 30 years ago, when the police force was small and prisoners few and far between."

"Thirty years ago" just about brings us back to the time the prohibitory amendment took effect. Strange after 30 years, with all the morality read into the Kansas people, and those of Topeka especially, by the legislative enactments and activity of her high officials in other States while preaching the doctrine of "Dry, happy, moral Kansas," it should be necessary to insist on having a new jail.

During the early season of the year 1916 the demand for a new, modern jail in Topeka became so persistent that the plan was conceived of holding a bond election to raise money for that purpose. At the same time a proposition was submitted to vote bonds for a municipal auditorium. Both were rejected because of high taxes.

In commenting on the necessity for the new jail, before election, the Topeka State Journal of April 27, 1916, contained the following:

"Tentative plans for the proposed new city jail, which is to take the place of the present much-abused structure if the bonds should be voted at the coming election, have been drawn and provide for a modern, sanitary, steam-heated, fully-equipped building, with separate apartments for different grades of prisoners, bathing facilities for prisoners, modern lavatory equipment, and everything needed in a modern jail building. These plans were made upon the suggestions of Mayor House and Judge Robert Yates of the municipal court. The new jail is to cost $22,500.

"There will be two separate sections, one for men and one for women prisoners. Each will be equipped with showers and lavatory facilities, neither of which exist at the present jail.

"'Instead of throwing human beings into the bull pen, we will throw them into a bathtub,' said Judge Yates, epigrammatically."

The present jail, the article added, is but a one-story affair and the new one provided for two full stories. "Public sentiment seems to be strongly in favor of the new building, and opinion is general that the voters will indorse the bonds for the new jail by a good majority," but the reason for their defeat was given in both papers after the election: Taxes too high now.

According to the 1916 report drunkenness ranks first out of the total of 2,478 arrests, which is a very strange thing, considering that ex-Governor Stubbs told an audience in Chicago as long ago as 1910 that "we have at last stopped the liquor traffic"; investigation cases rank second, which indicates that prohibition has not wiped out the crop of "suspicious characters" to any appreciable extent; disorderly conduct among men, women, and children ranks third, an unusual thing in a city wherein Mr. Stubbs has never seen a drunken man; liquor selling fourth, which also presents an interesting speculation; arrests for running disorderly houses rank fifth, although ex-Governor Hodges proclaimed to the world in his Antisaloon League speech in Columbus, November 12, 1913, that "Kansas, after 34 years of prohibition pioneering has demonstrated to its entire satisfaction and has proven to the world that whisky, houses of prostitution, and gambling dens are a commercial liability of the heaviest sort; coupled with their attendant evils of crime, divorce, murders, paupers, untold suffering, and ignorance."

Despite which fact there were 103 gambling cases in Topeka last year. That many were brought to the "bar of justice." No telling how many were either not "pinched" or were running the year around without molestation for various reasons.

Thirty-six "gun toters" were apprehended, and such minor offenses as larceny from the person, murder, rape, assault, forgery, running hop joints, shoplifting, bigamy, embezzlement, arson, nonsupport, and impersonating an officer, aggregate 368, which is at least a very fair showing for a city that boasts of more religious organizations than any city in the State, where John Barleycorn is buried at least once every week by every Sunday school and two or three times a week at prayer meetings; where revivals and temperance agitations are holding forth almost the whole year round, and where the State capitol with the attorney general's battery of law enforcers are constantly on guard with a contingent raid fee before their eyes.

With becoming modesty, Gov. Hodges added, in his Anti-Saloon League speech (he was then the governor): "Perhaps one of our great achievements and greatest cause for a pardonable self-commendation is that the church, civic organizations, and men who believe in strict law enforcement hold the political power in our State to-day that is being used for the betterment of humanity."

The Kansas City Post, July 1, 1916, throws a very interesting side light on vice conditions in Topeka, and without affirming or denying the truth of Mr. Hodges's statement that when the open saloon was "outlawed" with it went houses of prostitution and all other forms of social crime, this reproduction "sounds strange" to say the least:

"SOCIETY WOMEN LIVE IN RESORTS TO UNMASK KANSAS CAPITAL VICE—SPYING ON HABITUES OF RESTRICTED DISTRICT, THEY REVEAL CONDITIONS THAT CAUSE A POLICE SHAKE-UP AND CHARGE OF 'GRAFT'—NAMES KEPT SECRET.

"TOPEKA, *July 1.*

"Topeka police power is shaken to its very seat. An official shake-up is under way and was felt first yesterday when Sergt. Lon Sauls resigned under pressure. More resignations are expected hourly. And society of the capital is agog.

"For women of the upper strata—society—descended into the red-light district and lifted from it the veil of secrecy. Living in the confines of the restricted district by day and spying on its habitues by night, the women have revealed to the city the vice which honeycombs the city.

"With the unmasking came charges from the officials untouched by the revelations that police authorities have been in league with bootleggers and keepers of disorderly houses. It is charged the police have collected a regular stipend to overlook the sale of liquor and conduct of resorts.

"Officials have long known there has been vice existent in the city, but it only came to light through occasional arrests. Then the defendants only drew light fines or were discharged for lack of evidence.

"But with the new administration came a change. And the purity squad was called upon to aid in cleaning up the city. Four women—they are left unnamed by the league, because of their high social standing—volunteered for service.

"Down in the tenderloin they went, down where night is day and sin is business. Many weeks they lived there as habitues. They laughed as loud as any and seemed to drink as deeply. Their lights burned as bright and as far into the night, did those of the society women gone aspying on the underworld.

"And when arrests were made down in the 'bottoms' there was evidence to substantiate the charges. The inmates soon began to squirm at the regularity with which their secret caches for liquor and private channels of trafficking were uncovered. But they couldn't find the 'leak.'

"All about them sympathized and danced gaily to the din of the pianos. All cursed the impudence of the law, paid to keep away, for the frequency with which it interrupted the nighttime frolics.

"The climax arrived. It came when Mary Chesney, one of the leaders of the underworld of Topeka, was arrested and confronted with a mountain of convicting evidence.

"She was given the alternative of paying a fine and quitting the city or serving a term in the penitentiary. She has yet to decide.

"'Tis whispered that a member of the purity squad lived in her house for several days."

But the "revelations" above noted by no means stopped the liquor traffic in Topeka, as is evidenced by an interesting news story in Gov. Capper's paper, the Topeka Daily Capital, of August 5, 1916:

"If you are ordering beer by telephone, to be delivered by jitney, ask for 'shirtsleeve.' If it is whisky you want, order 'cream.'

"The booze sellers' code was explained in police court yesterday afternoon by Iva Tipp, a good-looking woman, who testified that she had been in Topeka three months and lived at half a dozen locations in the city; did not work; did not need to, and had plenty of money.

"She was testifying in the trial of George Seymour, proprietor of an auto livery at 116 West Fifth Street.

"'Seymour told me that whenever I wished to order beer over the telephone I should tell him I wanted a 'shirtsleeve,' and that if I wanted whisky I should call it 'cream.' I telephoned him that I wanted three 'shirtsleeves.' In a short time one of his drivers delivered three bottles of beer at my home.'

"The woman also testified that she bought a half pint of whisky from Seymour, paying him 75 cents for it. The sale, she said, was made in the office of the garage and the whisky was concealed in a waste basket. At the same time she gave him $4.50 for a case of beer, to be delivered later, she said, and complained that he gave her only 12 bottles, saying in explanation that he had to make a profit.

"Charles White, who said he was a glassblower, and visiting in the city, testified that he had purchased a quart of whisky from Seymour and was in the city park drinking it when an officer surprised him and he was taken before W. E. Atchison, county attorney, and subjected to an "inquisition." The Tipp woman testified that she had also been "inquisitioned" and given the choice of telling the truth or going to jail."

Several years ago the present mayor of Topeka, Hon. Jay E. House, casually remarked to some friends that he had been in a certain central western Kansas town and had been served with or had seen liquor served to others in a private club. The news got to Stubbs, who "inquisitioned" him before a justice of the peace, in an effort to make him tell where it was, Stubbs having a short time before said Kansas was as clean as a hound's tooth; but Mr. House refused to "come through." The case attracted much attention, but House stood pat. Finally, after he had called the governor's bluff good and hard, he was "fined" $1 for contempt of court and the matter blew over.

When he became mayor of Topeka he announced that a clean-up was on, which accounts for the purity squad roosting in the red-light district, no doubt.

During the month of May an effort was made to secure the services of Billy Sunday to clean up the city of Topeka, and in answer to an invitation to come, he stated, according to the Topeka State Journal, May 6, 1916:

"I use Topeka as an example. It would be like fighting the air for me to crusade there. I can do no good in Topeka."

When questioned as to his attitude on Sunday's answer Rev. Robert Gordon, pastor of the First Baptist Church, said:

"If Billy knew the facts about Topeka, he'd come here in a hurry."

The next day, May 7, 1916, the Topeka Daily Capital (Gov. Capper's paper), carried the following news item:

"Common-law wives, dead ones, and grass widows do not count at police headquarters. If a man does not have a live, legal wife living with him, he is booked by the desk sergeant as a single man.

"Naturally, such a system being followed, the single and unmarried men predominate in the roster of persons arrested by the police. Three times as many single as married men fall into the toils of the Topeka police.

"The single men enjoy more variety in crime, while the married men run to drunkenness. More than one-third of the arrests of married men are on the charge of drunkenness. The record month in the number of arrests made by the Topeka police was March of this year. Of the 122 persons locked up, 92 were single men and 32 were married, and yet the number of arrests for drunkenness was equal in the two divisions. Larceny and family rows, necessitating police interference, added to drunkenness, just about cover the field of activities for married men.

"Whether men drink to drown their domestic troubles, fight to settle their domestic quarrels, and steal to meet their domestic wants, is a question presented by the police-court records.

"* * * The sporty charge of gambling is rarely entered against a married man, while one "single" in every nine arrested is accused of toying with chance.

"* * * Roughly classifying the offenses of single men, most of them come from a desire for pleasure, excitement, or adventure, while those of the married men are committed through desperation or necessity."

IF BILLY ONLY KNEW!

In a speech before the Kansas editors at Lawrence, while "saving" Kansas City, during the spring of 1916, Billy shouted, "If I loved Kansas and Kansas editors for nothing else, it would be for prohibition, which they made possible so early. In my fight for prohibition I have preached its glories in Kansas to millions who have never crossed the State boundaries, and I intend to do it until the undertaker pumps me full of embalming fluid and the quartet sings "Lead, Kindly Light, Amid the Encircling Gloom."

A general clean-up started in Topeka, as directed by Mayor House, in the spring of 1916. Among the first to feel the "iron hand of the law" was Ralph Methena, charged with vagrancy. Pleading not guilty, he proved that his wife was a hard-working woman and that he was not without means of support. It developed during his trial, according to the Topeka State Journal of May 10, 1916, that he was a business man himself, carrying on a business that was all profit. He approached strangers who looked thirsty, and offered to find liquor for them. They passed him the money, and he forgot to come back.

The Topeka Daily Capital of May 11, 1916, noted a gigantic raid of the "Queen of the Jointists," one Mrs. Kathryn Tassell. "With Mayor J. E House and City Attorney George Hayden directing operations from easy chairs in the police station," says the Capital, "the purity squad, under Chief Harvey Parsons, last night raided three alleged joints. Mrs. Katheryn Tassell, 219 Jackson Avenue, was caught in the first excursion, and Pearl Butler, William Butler, and Buelah Jones, alias Jessie Strong, were found at 310 Kansas Avenue in the second. * * * Several young men caught in the Tassell place were grilled by Mr. Hayden at an inquisition held before 'Bing' Bartell, assistant city attorney, and a justice of the peace. * * * A quantity of beer and whisky were found in each place.

"* * * In the arrest of Mrs. Tassell city officials claim they have a queen of the liquor gang in Topeka. * * * City Attorney Hayden said that the administration was out after the 'higher ups' in the booze-selling game." The "victims" were all locked up. "A few minutes later," the article continued, "'Mr. Pulliam,' whistling and jauntily wearing a boutinerre in his coat, stepped into the door of the police station. He seemed rather disgruntled when told that he would be unable to give bond for Mrs. Tassell." Several bottles of beer, wrapped as if ready to be delivered, third of a barrel of beer, and "a choice assortment of other liquors" were taken in the Tassell raid. A large quantity of both beer and whisky were found at the other places.

The Topeka State Journal of next day (May 12, 1916) stated that Mrs. Tassell kept books, and the officers "will have no trouble whatever in producing a long string of witnesses." And in conclusion states: "It is said that a surprising list of names of men and women, young and old, has been connected with the Tassell place on Jackson Street."

On the same day this came to light—a little matter some one forgot to tell Mr. Sunday, no doubt (Topeka State Journal, May 12, 1916):

"Albert Stark, the 14-year-old boy to whose delinquency May Burnett is charged with contributing, was called before the sheriff's force this morning and questioned. He made the same sort of statements with reference to his relations with the Burnett woman that he had already made to Harvey Parsons, chief of police, and to F. W. Dawdy, probation officer.

"May Burnett declared to-day that there is absolutely nothing to the charges.

"'I am running a decent and respectable place,' she said, 'and have been trying to do what I thought was right. The police have done all they could to make trouble for me, no matter how I have conducted myself.'

"The Stark boy is small for a boy of 14 years. He declared to-day that he had been sent out to steal by Mrs. Burnett, and that she had taught him other things which the officers agreed no 14-year-old boy ought to know anything about. He told of other small boys who had been in her company."

It was discovered since May had set a new pace in Kansas, that there was nothing to be done with her save give her a short jail sentence for "contributing to delinquency." "Conviction of a man of a crime such as is alleged," the county attorney said, "would keep him in the penitentiary the balance of his life." May was duly tried and convicted and duly served her sentence in jail.

The Topeka Daily Capital of May 14, 1916, again recites a list of raids made:

"Sheriff L. L. Kiene and Undersheriff Hugh Larimer pulled off a big raid when 191 quarts of beer were seized at the Wellington Walton place," the news item declared. "Katheryn Tassell, arrested by the police last Wednesday night, was gathered in again yesterday by the county officers, who made a second raid on her place at 219 Jackson Street. She is charged with selling liquor and maintaining a nuisance. Leonard Lyons, who has a long list of automobile accidents, as well as his liquor trouble, was arrested on a similar charge at 224 Jackson. Minnie Spooner was taken at 207 Quincy Street. Fred Verity, a transient, was arrested on a plain bootlegging charge. All four were white."

Several colored bootleggers were arrested at the same time. And several more bootleggers were arrested, according to the Capital, May 15, 1916. While on their way to clean up a few more joints, the police heard the victim of a pickpocket say if he would return his money he would not call the police. The raid parade was stopped long enough to apprehend the pickpocket, according to the Capital, May 16, 1916.

Since then scarcely a day passes when at least one news item appears in these papers, setting forth "raid news" or crime in all its branches, from assaults upon children with attempt to rape to selling liquor. Note: Selling liquor is the "worst of all" crimes in Kansas, and a liquor raid will take precedence over anything else.

Because he didn't blame his "downfall" on the saloon the case of Clarence Woodall deserves special mention. Clarence, according to the Topeka State Journal, June 1, 1916, was facing a white-slavery charge with Nina Scott, scarcely more than a child. He had "imprisoned" her in a "house" run by a friend of his, and because she would not walk the beat he chose for her, in the manner demanded, proceeded to "beat her up."

"He told me how the other girls acted," the child said, in describing his methods, "and told me to do that way. He said to ask some man what time it was or something like that, and if he did not answer, not to bother him any more. He told me it might be a detective." Asked if she followed his instructions, she replied in the negative. "And when he came back to the house he wanted to know if I had any money. I shook my head and he dragged me out of the door and commenced to beat me out in the front yard. Geneva Jackson saw him and tried to make him quit. He kicked her." She also testified that he had induced her to commit other crimes before endeavoring to make her his white slave. "The testimony of the Scott girl disclosed conditions at Park Place and other places in that part of town that may lead to several arrests," the news item concluded. But if it did, the papers failed to get the story.

Because they had at last made prohibition a success and had at last succeeded in cleaning Topeka up, just as Billy Sunday would have done, the board of temperance, prohibition, and public morals of the Methodist Church, headed by Clarence True Wilson, concluded they could do no more "saving" in Topeka, and concluded to remove their "safety-first" devices, office, bank account, etc., to Washington, D. C., according to the Topeka Daily Capital, June 5, 1916.

During the year 1916, according to the report of the Topeka police department, 1 in every 15.7 persons within the city was arrested.

One thousand and thirty-five arrests were made prior to June 1, and 1,464 were made subsequent to that date, so apparently all the real work of the board wasn't finished after all. But Washington needed them. It was on the verge of being "lost," so Topeka had to take care of itself. And they went.

The physical condition of the capitol building came in for many scathing remarks in a report filed with the governor on June 12, 1916, according to the Topeka State Journal of that day: "Condemning the health conditions at the State house in no uncertain terms," declared Journal, "A committee report was turned in to Gov. Capper this morning, and strong recommendations are made for a sufficient appropriation from the next legislature to permit a thorough overhauling of certain parts of the capitol. 'This place, right in the heart of Topeka,' reads the report, 'and above which are our State departments, including the State board of health, would not be tolerated if situated on some of the streets and alleys of a second or third class city.' The portion of the building occupied by the board of health is found to be in the most miserable condition, and a complete overhauling is recommended."

Up to the present time no relief has been voted for this purpose by the legislature.

On June 16, 1916, according to a lengthy news report in the Topeka Daily Capital of that day, another "Clean-up order" was issued by the mayor, commanding the police force to stop bootlegging, gambling, and loafing and round up the law breakers. "Catching before hanging" was remark made by one of the old hands on the force, when the report was read.

According to the Topeka Daily Capital, June 25, 1916, England was about to adopt the "efficient methods" in use by the Topeka Methodist Temperance Society, as a "solution" of the liquor problem.

Topeka's "underworld" and the "purity squad" were shaken to their depths by a "blow up" detailed in the Capital of June 30, 1916, when the jealousy of several notorious characters led them to unearth the secret operations of several others. Some of them fled to Kansas City, others remained behind and were "caught" by the police with the aid of the Federal purity squad. Young girls were imported to aid in the work of lifting the veil. Many more were "employed" in the institutions.

On June 29, 1916, according to the Topeka State Journal of that day, A. J. Stout, a principal of the Topeka High School, completed a report covering "flunking statistics," entitled "Why high school children fail—A guide to parents."

"Many of the reasons attached by the teachers relate directly to the home," continues the news story, "as 'lack of home cooperation' in 22 cases and 'too many outside interests' in 69 instances. 'There is one cause which I believe is more prominent than the teachers give it

credit for,' Principal Stout said to-day. 'That is the misfortune of having boy or girl on the brain.' Thirty-four failures are assigned to this reason."

"There were 763 failures out of a total of more than 6,000 individual studies taken by 1,400 students. Of this number 340 began failing with the first day at school, according to the teachers, and 161 during the first few weeks, 190 between the 7th and 12th weeks and 72 during the last 6 weeks.

"Following are the failure causes: Lack of ability, 395 cases; lack of application, 288; too many absences, 186; laziness, 161; slowness, 94; indifference, 160; too many outside activities, 69; sickness, 60; ignorance of how to study, 71; lack of foundation, 102; too many distractions, 39; cigarettes, 20; discouraged, 23; bluffing, 28; subnormal, 35; stupidity, 27; discouraged, abnormal timidity, 29; quitters, 20; lack of home cooperation, 22; lack of study, 15; inability to grasp subject matter, 19; under age, 20; bad morals, 18; irregular work, 18; cheating, 16; physical weakness, 14; too rapid growth, 13; boy on brain, 19; girl on brain, 15; wrong attitude toward school, 14; nervous instability, 5.

"In reply to the question, 'What could have been done to have prevented the failure'? the following answers were received: Nothing, 277; daily tutoring, 172; 'don't know,' 125; keep after school, 38; personal interest and encouragement, 38; demoted, 14; family cooperation, 17; a more intimate understanding of the pupil, 19; to take less work, 5."

Seven hundred and sixty-three failures out of 1,400 is an astounding percentage. So these are a portion of "our 500,000 school children" who have never seen an open saloon and are unacquainted with the appearance of a saloonkeeper, are they? Just how many are acquainted with the bootleggers, blindpiggers or keepers of the many immoral resorts, streetwalkers, gamblers, and other persistent law violators in pure Topeka, is not shown. No argument is advanced here or elsewhere that these failures would have been reduced if Topeka had her saloons back as she did in the "good old days" when the Copeland Hotel was the clearing house for the Kansas politicians, when things were rocking along swimmingly and everybody was happy and content to work and sing and play a little, but accomplish much for the State, but the fact remains that the "young manhood and womanhood" hasn't shown any great advancement as claimed, under a legal system that puts a premium on lawlessness, secret vice, and "police cooperation" and quiet understanding with the underworld. The board of temperance and public morals had a program as long as the moral law to work out in the State capital and either did not know it, or did not care to tackle the undertaking at the time it concluded "all was well" and quietly took its typewriter, press agent, and bank roll and wandered toward the National Capital.

On July 1, 1916, Steve Prouty, "King of the Bootleggers"—they have more "kings" and "queens" in this class in Topeka than they have politicians—was landed again, according to the Daily Capital of that day. "After finding Prouty guilty on charges of keeping and maintaining a liquor nuisance and also of keeping a house in which gambling was permitted and fixing his appeal bonds at $250 on each conviction, the judge announced that no longer time would be allowed in which to pay his back fines, and, protestingly, he was thrust into the calaboose.

"Prouty uncovered a rich vein of trouble a few weeks ago," continues the article. "While intoxicated he drove to the police station in a new automobile and, in the absence of Chief Parsons, bulldozed the officers. Prouty got away then without being arrested, but arrests followed thick and fast, and the percentage of convictions in police court ran high. Bondsmen became alarmed and insisted upon stiff charges for the risks they assumed.

"Down at Prouty's 'club' business went to the bad. * * * A few nights ago only 12 men and 3 women were present, when a few weeks ago probably 150 persons would have gathered."

In commenting upon the "system" in vogue in Topeka, the Daily Capital, July 4, 1916, said:

"During the 12 months ending June 30, 1916, just one fine has been paid to the county for violating the liquor laws of the State. There have been approximately 60 convictions, running from one to a dozen counts in each case. (These are cases tried in the district court, not the police court.) The minimum sentence which can be imposed for a single count is 30 days in jail and a fine of $100. When the judge decrees that the fine be paid he also orders that such person be held in jail until the fine and costs are paid.

LOSES $10,000 ANNUALLY.

"But nothing like that happens. When that part of the sentence calling for 30 days in jail has been complied with the prisoner is turned loose 'on parole.' The county foots the bill for the costs in the case and fails to collect the fine.

"In fines alone, not counting the costs of the prosecutions, the county is failing to collect approximately $10,000 annually.

"For the term of court just closed the amount in fines totals $4,300. There are two terms of criminal court each year, and the preceding term ran heavier than the last.

"When one enters the criminal division of the Shawnee County district court while a liquor prosecution is under way it appears to be a very solemn proceeding. There is an array of witnesses and from one to three attorneys on each side. From half a day to three days is spent by these lawyers, witnesses, judge, and jury of 12 men hearing a statement of the case, presentation of evidence, argument, and deliberation as to the guilt or innocence of the accused person. After from one hour to two days of deliberation the jury returns a verdict of guilty (maybe), and in due course of time the judge pronounces sentence of '30 days in jail, a fine of $100 and costs on each count, and that the prisoner be held in the county jail until the fine and costs are paid.'

REALLY LOOKS SERIOUS.

"The affair looks very serious, and while it is going on the county is paying the salaries of the judge and the prosecuting attorneys, the fees of the prosecuting witnesses, and for the service of the jurymen. To the uninformed the affair looks very businesslike—the prisoner is to pay the costs in the case and $100 besides or be held in jail 'until paid.' The law intends that the guilty person should pay the expenses he has caused by his wrongdoing. As the thing is managed in Shawnee County the county pays it.

"A State law provides how these fines and costs can be collected, but the county commissioners have not availed themselves of this law. County prisoners can be put to work in whatever manner the board of county commissioners may direct, and prisoners thus worked are entitled to credit at the rate of $1 per day. It is not even necessary for these prisoners to be worked under armed guard. The law provides that they may furnish bond that they will not run away if liberated, and they can thus be sent to any part of the county to work without the necessity of placing guards over them.

NO INCENTIVE TO WORK.

"Under the present system there is no incentive for a prisoner to work, for he knows that he will regain his liberty just as quickly if he does not work. He is given no opportunity to work even if he wants to. It costs 50 cents a day to feed a prisoner in the county jail. This is the reason no fines and costs are being collected. The board of county commissioners figure that as soon as a prisoner has served the jail portion of his sentence it is useless and expensive to hold him until he pays the fine and costs.

"The members of the board figure that they are saving 50 cents a day for the county by getting rid of the prisoner as quickly as possible, so a parole is issued.

"Sometimes the county board issues the parole and sometimes the judge of the court imposing the sentence does the liberating.

"Frequently the sheriff and the prosecuting attorney attach their signatures to an application for a parole. Of these two officers one never signs unless the other does. This is by courtesy."

The glorious Fourth witnessed many hilarious times in the State capital city, according to both daily papers. One touch of pathos was added to the merry raiding, foot racing among the box cars, down the alleys, and through the streets, however, when Chief of Police Parsons sorrowfully remarked, according to the State Journal July 4, 1916: "It goes against the grain to stick poor old Aunty Stephenson when there are so many real bootleggers doing business in town to-day." Old aunty "lives down on First Street and can fry chicken and bake biscuits that melt in one's mouth," but made one mistake, according to the news item. She ordered her beer under the name of J. Brennon, and as the police probably knew Mr. Brennon did not live where aunty lived, they were forced to confiscate her wares—by taking them to the station. Plenty of the "real bootleggers" were rounded up that day, too, among them Porter Patterson, "convicted and sentenced to the penitentiary as a persistent violator of the prohibitory law, which sentence has been affirmed by the supreme court" but was granted a "temporary parole" to attend his brother's funeral. He stretched his parole a little too long and the sheriff had to hunt him up. Gov. Capper was quoted as saying that "Patterson would not be paroled permanently until he has served a part of his sentence" in jail.

(NOTE.—Gov. Capper presented as one his strongest dry arguments in the Nebraska campaign during the campaign of 1916 that Shawnee County, "because of prohibition," had a very low rate of sentences to the penitentiary.)

Lon Sauls, the police sergeant who resigned "under pressure" about July 1 because of the evidence procured by the society women, members of the purity squad (Kansas City Post, July 1, 1916), broke the silence on July 6, 1916, according to the Topeka Daily Capital, and read the riot act to Chief Parsons and Mayor House.

"Lon Sauls, who 'resigned' last week as police sergeant," reads the item, "believes that an injustice has been done him. Sauls was the officer in charge of a raid on Mary Chesney's place the same night that Kathryn Tassell was raided. He reported 'nothing doing' at the Chesney place, and did not arrest the woman. Last week a girl, who said she was in the Chesney place at the time of the raid, testified in police court against the woman. She also said that Sauls made a joke of the raid; that there was liquor in the room in plain view and Sauls 'failed to see it.'"

Sauls says: "On the night in question I was given two warrants for the Chesney place, one a liquor warrant and the other charging the conduct of a disorderly house. I was also given warrants for two other places. I was told by Chief Parsons to bring Mary Chesney to the station, if any evidence was found, and that not much evidence would be required, because, the chief said, 'We know what Mary is.'

"With Carl Goff, Robert Miller, and A. A. Woodward, all police officers, I went to the Chesney place, 129 Kansas Avenue. We made a thorough search for liquor and failed to find even a drop of either whisky or beer, or even an empty bottle. There was just one other person besides Mary Chesney in the house, the girl who testified in police court. She said she was Mary Chesney's nurse. None of us had seen anything out of the way.

"I telephoned to Chief Parsons, using Mary Chesney's telephone, and asked the chief what I should do about placing the woman under arrest and taking her to the station. Chief Parsons told me to use my own judgment. Goff, Woodward, and Miller are ready to swear that this statement is true.

"I have been a member of the police force 10 years, and I defy any person to prove one instance of dishonesty or unfaithfulness in the discharge of my duties as a police officer. I never made a dishonest dollar in my life, and this is the first time there has been even an intimation of such a thing. During my 10 years of service I never was called on the carpet by any mayor or chief of police.

"I am a candidate for office and the stories which have been circulated concerning my resignation are hurting me. I desire that the truth be known. I have nothing to conceal."

When shown Sauls's statement, Mayor House said:

"Before the raid on Chesney's place, which was made on my orders, I had issued instructions to the police to bring in all suspects, no matter whether incriminating evidence was found or not. Sergt. Sauls led the raid on Mary Chesney's place and came in without her.

"The reason the raiding party found no liquor was because they failed to look in the bookcase. In raiding a joint it is always advisable to inspect the bookcase."

In commenting on the matter the State Journal quotes the girl who testified, and who was arrested one night after the Chesney raid in a "restaurant" along with many others, as saying that Sauls, who "is off the police force, but maintains he is taking a vacation which does not terminate until July 10," plainly saw the liquor, and made fun of the raid. (State Journal, July 7, 1916.)

Rev. Gordon was right: If Billy knew the facts about Topeka, he'd come here in a hurry. If Billy only knew!

The juvenile court record up to June 30, 1916, was made public July 8, 1916, according to the Topeka State Journal of July 8, 1916. "During the year," says the Journal, "ending June 30, 7 girls and 10 boys were sent from Shawnee County to the State industrial schools through the juvenile court. Twenty-seven more delinquent children were placed under the jurisdiction of the court, and were required to report each week under their parole. In all, 28 boys and 15 girls were brought into court as delinquent children." The court is required to find homes for neglected and dependent children, also place them in public homes such as the Topeka Orphans' Home, and in such private homes as are available. "During the year the court also handled 41

such cases," the report continues. "Twenty-five of the dependent and neglected children were girls and 16 were boys." This is the high-water mark.

"Fifteen such children," further says the report, "many of them mere babies, were placed in the Topeka Orphans' Home, 5 in the State Orphans' Home at Atchison, and 12 were placed in private families. One grandmother assumed the charge of five dependent children.

"Seven parents were brought into court charged with delinquency in the care of their children. Two of them were convicted and paroled to support their children." F. F. Dawdy, the parole and juvenile officer, said he had placed 32 children in the county detention home and 25 elsewhere.

Mayor House directed another raid July 11, 1916, according to the Topeka State Journal of that date, at 619 Quincy Avenue, in which six persons were arrested. Those arrested were Mrs. F. D. Elbs, charged with maintaining the place, Jessie Carter and Fay Morse, inmates, and three men. "Mrs. Elbs put up a 'paper bond,'" remarked the Journal, "and was released. Fay Morse put up a cash bond of $10 and was released."

In speaking of this raid the Topeka Daily Capital, July 11, 1916, said:

"Acting under orders from Mayor J. E. House, the police raided the rooming house upstairs at 619 Quincy Street at 10.30 last night. Six persons were brought to the station. A girl said to be 15 years old was also in the place, but was left there by the police.

"The raid was headed by Chief Harvey Parsons. Shortly after 9 o'clock last night Mayor House and City Attorney George Hayden arrived at the police station and delivered their instructions to Parsons. The location of the place to be raided was not given to the six other officers until it was almost reached.

"Those arrested were Mrs. F. D. Elbs, a large middle-aged woman, charged with maintaining a disorderly house, Jessie Carter and Fay Morse, girls charged with being inmates, and William Nachland on the same charge. Two other youths, who were not booked, were found in separate rooms with the two girls, but were allowed to go by the officers.

"The girl left at the place is said to be a sister of the Carter woman. City Attorney Hayden said he did not understand why the younger girl was not arrested along with the rest. He thought instructions were to bring all inmates to the station.

"* * * Numerous complaints have been received concerning the rooming house and the fact that a girl little more than a child was allowed to be there.

"At the police station the Carter woman was told that if she would not try to shield Mrs. Elbs, and would testify that she was running a disorderly house, the charge against her would be dismissed.

"'We do not care to prosecute the girls,' said Mayor House. 'We want to get the woman who is really responsible.'

"When Mayor House and City Attorney Hayden left the police station just before midnight they understood that the Carter and Morse women would be held at the police station last night. They were released on bond shortly afterwards by Chief Parsons.

"When the raiding squad arrived at 619 Quincy Street Mrs. Elbs was not home. Shortly afterwards she arrived in an automobile, driven by a much younger man. A youth who had watched the police enter the place informed Mrs. Elbs that a raid was in progress. She left the machine and climbed the stairs. Evidently Mrs. Elbs had been out in the country, for she was dressed in a comfortable Mother Hubbard and was carrying a tempting bunch of onions.

"At the top of the stairs she met Chief Parsons. 'What is going on?' she demanded. 'Did you find any men there?' she continued. 'When I left at 7 o'clock I thought everything was all right. I guess things happened after I left.'

"The police say that the man with Mrs. Elbs was her husband."

More raids were made on July 12, 1916, according to the Topeka Daily Capital of that date. Among those raided were Kathryn Tassell, who has been the subject of many such "parties" recently in Topeka, but somehow always gets out, on bond or otherwise, and goes at it again.

Mrs. Elbs, according to the same paper, was fined that day $100 for running a "disorderly house," and the girls were touched up for $10 apiece. They all appealed to the district court and were released at once.

"It was not the first visit for Mrs. Elbs in the same court," laconically remarked the Capital. "On March 5, when Mrs. Elbs was living at 305 East Eighth Street, her place was raided and well-known Topekans, among them a Federal officeholder, were found. The records show she forfeited a $25 bond. Among the girls arrested at the same time were Edith Carter and Fay Morse.

"Next to the 'racy' testimony," continues the Capital, in speaking of the trial on July 12, 'the greatest interest of the crowd was in the appearance of Mrs. Elbs and the two other feminine defendants. Mrs. Elbs, as befitted her portly carriage, was gowned in a simple frock of white material. She wore no hat. The girls wore broad-brimmed millinery creations. Miss Morse's coat was of the prevalent fashion, with green and yellow stripes. After Judge Yates's verdict the women were released on appeal bonds signed by Mrs. Elbs's father, S. J. Joy, formerly a restaurant owner. Both Mayor House and City Attorney Hayden were surprised yesterday to learn that Mrs. Elbs had been given bond for the night. They thought Mrs. Elbs was to be kept at the station. Mrs. Elbs's bond the previous night was also signed by Mr. Joy.'"

Kathryn Tassell was at last landed in jail, according to the Topeka Daily Capital of July 13, 1916. "Mrs. Kathryn Tassell, 'queen of the jointists,' slept last night in the city jail," remarked the Capital. "She was arrested at 10.15 o'clock last night at her home, 219 Jackson Street. The charge was the usual one for Mrs. Tassell—that of keeping and maintaining a nuisance. When Mrs. Tassell walked to the station she wore her usual confident and jaunty smile."

Speaking of her "record," the Capital continues: "Six weeks ago she was arrested by city officers on liquor-selling charges. She was convicted in police court and appealed to the district court. The appeal has not been heard. The county officers took the city's evidence and issued a county warrant for Mrs. Tassell. She pleaded guilty in the district court. That was a month ago. But Mrs. Tassell has not been sentenced on this finding. Why, the city officers do not know. For a month Mrs. Tassell has remained at liberty. Meanwhile, the city officers assert, they have received complaints that Mrs. Tassell has continued in the liquor-selling business, while Mr. Atchison, the county attorney, has waited to say the word that would send her to jail.

"But Mrs. Tassell received her raiders last night with customary éclat," continues the Capital. "When the officers knocked at the door the house was darkened. When she appeared she announced she had been sleeping. Mrs. Tassell was allowed to go to her room to prepare for her entry at the police station. The party had advanced only a few steps from the house when an automobile containing two men stopped by Mrs. Tassell. The men were Mike Thompson and Leonard Lyons. Lyons, brother of Mrs. Tassell and himself a jointist, had secured Thompson to go on Mrs. Tassell's bond."

When arriving at the station, it was learned that she was not to be allowed a bond. "As Mrs. Tassell heard the news," continues the report, "another woman rushed up to her. It was Mrs. Leonard Lyons, who had apparently just awakened and ran from her home at 224 Jackson Street. Mrs. Lyons's hair was disheveled in contrast to the neat coiffure of her sister-in-law. 'What's the matter?' Mrs. Lyons gasped. 'I'm going to jail, honey', Mrs. Tassell replied. 'Then I'm going with you.' exclaimed Mrs. Lyons.

"There was an argument, with Mrs. Tassell still cheerful and Mrs. Lyons ready to cry. Mrs. Tassell finally walked on with Officer Goff, while Leonard Lyons jumped out of the car and held his wife to prevent her from going to the city jail. At the police station Mrs. Tassell saw Mayor House and City Attorney Hayden sitting in front. 'Good evening, gentlemen,' she said pleasantly. At the conclusion of the booking ordeal, both Officers Walker and Woodward offered to take Mrs. Tassell to her room—the matron's."

The officers had caught a man coming out of Mrs. Tassell's house before they raided her, and upon searching him found a pint of whisky he had purchased while there. He was taken to the station and was not locked up, on promise to appear against her as a witness.

A solution of the question of why so many are arrested, tried, and convicted of charges that mean a penitentiary sentence in Topeka is found in the declaration of Attorney John Schenck, as told by the Capital July 13, 1916, that as high as eight and sometimes more prisoners were kept in the county jail, at a cost of $4 each to the county and city taxpayers, instead of being sent to Lansing as the court order of commitment directed. "It is costing the county $4 every day they are kept here," he said, referring to eight prisoners then on hand, "and it would only cost $2.24 to have them taken over to the penitentiary." The Topeka colony at Lansing is large enough, no doubt, but it would not add much "fervor" to the prohibition speeches delivered by the State officials if the entire number went at any one time.

Mrs. Tassell was fined $200 and given 60 days in jail, according to the State Journal, July 14, 1916.

And just to show how prohibition "reduces taxes" the following appeared in the Capital, July 15, 1916: "Hope that the city tax levy for 1917 might be lowered received a knockout blow when it became known yesterday that Mayor Jay E. House would ask for an increase of between $8,000 and $10,000 in the budgets of the city fire and police departments." Because the city was too deep in debt already and the tax limit had been reached, these departments and others had to become the victims of the usual Kansas policy of "economy," according to the State Journal of July 21, 1916.

The carnival of bootlegging, crime, misdemeanor, delinquency, and dissatisfaction as slightly touched upon here, continues the year around in Topeka. And Topeka is no exception to the general rule prevailing in Kansas towns. The conditions at Wichita are even worse, but space will not permit their delineation. No Kansas town or village is immune, and all share in the general notoriety that infests the State from one end to the other, anything that may be said, with a greater or lesser amount of sincerity by State officials, ministers, or coworkers in the prohibition movement, to the contrary notwithstanding.

A more clear understanding of the actual conditions in Topeka and other towns can not be made than the "explanation" appearing in Gov. Capper's newspaper (the Topeka Daily Capital) under date of July 23, 1916, in which those charged with enforcement of the law lay bare the handicaps under which they labor in a manner that speaks volumes on the utter failure of the law to reach the desired end. Aside from any possible "understanding" that may have ever been had, or is at present existing between the law violators and the petty officials, or even the "higher ups," this revelation is a complete indictment, trial, and conviction of the failure, fallacy, hypocrisy, and sham of the whole system:

"In the opinion of Harvey Parsons, chief of police; L. L. Kiene, sheriff; and W. E. Atchison, county attorney, the automobile is defying the liquor laws of the State. In times past liquor was sold over a bar in violation of the law. Difficulty then was not in locating the liquor or the seller, but in acquiring convictions before a jury upon which were at least some men who regarded the law none too seriously. The laws were strengthened and the expensively equipped joints went out of business.

"These joints were followed by locations in back rooms of drug stores and other less elaborate and better concealed places. But the sales had to be made where the source of supply was kept and frequent raids in which liquors were seized took the profit out of the business.

"Then the bootlegger had his turn. It was a small-change business. No man can successfully conceal a large quantity of liquor on his person. The bootlegger had to peddle his wares in small quantities. To do much business he had to make frequent trips to the base of his supplies, usually concealed about the man's home, so the bootlegger encountered the same discouragement as did the drug-store jointists. Officers could detect the bootleggers and by watching them find where their goods were stored and seize them.

"Now the automobile is revolutionizing the liquor-selling business in the State of Kansas. A jitney or a taxicab driver, with easy and rapid means of transportation at his service, can conceal his supply in places not easily detected. He can have his supply concealed in some vacant barn many blocks from his garage, or even in some isolated place some distance from the city, and the telephone is a handy aid. Once the liquor seller learns the voice of his customer, he can fill an order for liquor promptly and with only a remote chance of detection. Instead of the customer going after the liquor; it is brought to him.

HOW THE SYSTEM WORKS.

"The State liquor law allows every man to keep a reasonable supply of liquor in his own home and for his own use. The liquor-nuisance clause can not be made to apply as long as the liquor is not consumed by outsiders on the premises or sold to them there. So the automobile jointist, receiving a telephone call at his garage or taxicab office, can drive to his own home, take his beer out of his own box, and deliver it. It is impossible for the police department to trail every person who drives an automobile. Frequently the customer has an automobile and a meeting place is arranged by telephone.

"Even the Mahin law which enables city and county officers to learn what persons are receiving shipments of liquor by freight or express is avoided by the use of the automobile. The liquor seller who owns an automobile can very easily drive to Kansas City, buy a stock of wet goods, place it in his automobile, and return without detection.

"Only a few persons engaged in the illegal sale of liquor can afford to own automobiles. They can also afford to handle liquors of a fair quality. The man who walks the streets, frequents pool halls, and other places where he may sell liquor out of a bottle carried on his person, and to only chance customers, must handle such brands as he can purchase cheaply, and thus have as wide a margin of profit as possible.

"The result is that discriminating drinkers patronize almost exclusively these automobile booze peddlers; and these automobile jointists being limited in number and knowing that liquors of recognized brands are hard to get, except from them, are able to command good prices. The prevailing price for a quart of whisky purchased from an automobile driver is $2.50, and half that or more is profit. With the profit so large only a few sales a day or night make a good business, and the whisky seller does not need to take many chances. He is able to select his patrons, and this means increased difficulty in enforcing the law.

AUTO AS A DISPENSARY.

"'I think a lot of whisky is being brought into Topeka in automobiles and sold from automobiles, and the persons who do this are the hardest in the world to catch and convict,' said W. E. Atchison, county attorney. 'We are handicapped from the very start, because we have no way of knowing in the first place what persons may have secured liquor they might sell; and they flit about from place to place so, that it is almost impossible to catch them.'

"Harvey Parsons, chief of police, expresses the same views. Both find some consolation, however, in the reflection that the fact that whisky in Topeka costs $2.50 a bottle indicates that it is hard to get. Only one automobile driver has been arrested for this kind of liquor selling, and he is not yet convicted."

While these revelations might seem sufficient to satisfy any fair-minded person that "all is not Heaven" in Kansas, or in Topeka, especially the ground covered by the Jamaica ginger bootleggers is not covered in the above, but produce even worse conditions, if possible, than the wares of the cheap-whisky bootlegger who does not belong in the Kathryn Tassell and Leonard Lyons class.

The press reports and the police record do not always show by what means an offender is brought to court, but Chief Parsons's refusal to publish any statement concerning or answer letter touching the police record, because of the drunks that use Jamaica ginger, it is safe to presume that many tilts, fights, and shooting scrapes, as well as many cases of insanity and other mental derangements can be traced to the wholesale indulgence in this choice bit of culinary delicacy.

For instance, the State Journal of July 24, 1916, reported the case of a brutal statutory offense committed by Robert Graham, 52, upon a 13-year-old girl in Topeka. "The story told to the county attorney by relatives of the girl was one of the most revolting related in that office for years," says the report. Another little girl 8 or 9 years old also told that Graham had attempted a similar crime against her. The culprit is the father of grown children. As long as there are no "legalized" saloons in Topeka this is one crime that can not be heaped up against the door of the saloon keeper or the brewer.

And again, on the same day, the Daily Capital carried a story of a fierce battle between two men over a woman, a sister of one of them. "After a lively battle, which resulted in some damage to furniture and considerable damage to the clothing of the combatants, police intervened," said the story. "Both men and the woman were arrested. Cunningham's clothing had been torn from his body. He was locked up on a charge of drunkenness and disorderly conduct."

Drunkenness from what? From "booze" in a town that has been legally and, as Gov. Stubbs says, "actually" dry for a quarter of a century plus a decade? Possibly on Jamaica ginger, which perhaps doesn't count in Kansas.

And again on the same day the Capital carried this story: "For the seventh time since January 1, 1916, 'Bull' Davis, a well-known character was hauled into the police station last night, on the charge of bootlegging. The capture of a man who admitted that he had bought liquor from Davis led to the arrest."

Cheap, rot-gut whisky mixed with Jamaica ginger, water, and perhaps a little sugar, is the usual "store" of the average bootlegger, and it must have been some "capture" the officers perfected in running down and subduing Davis's customer.

But how strange this all sounds in view of the statements made by ex-Gov. Hodges (made when governor) at the Anti-Saloon League Convention in Columbus, November 12, 1913: "They concede that prohibition prohibits in rural communities, but they claim that the law can not be enforced in large cities. The same class of men said that gambling and dens of vice are necessary to the prosperity of large cities. These statements are frequently and persistently made by friends of the liquor traffic. These statements are absurd and absolutely untrue. Our State has proven the fallacy of the arguments.

"Is there anything inconsistent or unreasonable in removing the temptation, making it decidedly inconvenient for a workingman to be able to spend his wage in drink, and in this effective manner helping the weak mortal to conserve his wages so that on Saturday night the good wife may buy the children their schoolbooks, clothes, shoes, and then have enough to carry them through the next week without suffering? * * *

"Prohibition prohibits in Kansas! We have penalties and we invoke them. The second time a man is convicted of selling liquor he is sentenced to the penitentiary, and, paradoxical as it may seem, it has a salutary and depressing effect, I might say, upon the chronic bootlegger."

It does, does it? Why not upon Davis, Kathryn Tassell, and a hundred more in Topeka alone, not to mention Atchison, Salina, Wichita, Newton, Parsons, Independence, Pittsburg, and a score of other cities that are constantly before the public, admitting it either will not or the officers, fearing to cast the additional burden upon the taxpayers, either refuse to prosecute, refuse to convict, or insist upon paroles?

"Yet we do have violations of the prohibitory law, just as you have violations of your laws," declared Gov. Capper in his Anti-Saloon League speech in Boston, September 3, 1915. "But mainly in the border counties where Kansas adjoins 'wet' States and 'bootleggers' operate across the line."

"A red-light town is no fit place and no safe place for young men and young women to live," continued the governor. "Its influence, even, is degrading to mature men and women. * * * The gambling house and the house of prostitution are so closely connected and so dependent on the saloon that when the saloon is compelled to move out of a community they must go, too, as they have gone in our State. As Gov. Stubbs, a former governor of Kansas, has said before me, prohibition is the doctrine of self-defense."

"Can the prohibitory law be enforced where popular sentiment is against it?" inquired John S. Dawson, attorney general, in his Anti-Saloon League speech in Chicago, April 2, 1912, and then added: "It can. We have done it. * * * Don't bother about a jury. You can get an injunction from the judge. * * * It is often said that prohibition does not prohibit. And that is true." And speaking of the marvelous results of the efforts made while he was attorney general, Mr. Dawson continued: "It is rooted down to bedrock with our homes, our schools, and colleges and churches and institutions of charity and correction."

And just to prove that all these gentlemen say is true, two "sons of prohibition" of high social standing in Topeka, one 21 and the other 17, stole an automobile shortly before July 25, 1916, according to Gov. Capper's paper of that date, took Tillie Patterson, 15 years of age, and Dorothy Tracy, 16 years of age, on a 24-hour joy ride to various neighboring towns, stayed "Adam and Eve like" by country roads and all wound up in jail. It is almost needless to add that the boys had "some liquor" with them. The city and county officials declared war on the children, saying that such occurrences were becoming entirely too frequent in and about Topeka. Hundreds of cases of this sort never see the light of day in the press and create no commotion about Topeka or Wichita or other Kansas towns, because they are constantly happening.

Two interesting news reports in the governor's paper, both of which bear out the preachments he and Stubbs and Dawson and Hodges, not to mention hundreds of others, engaged in constantly, to show that "we make it prohibit," were published on July 26, 1916, consisting of nearly a column write up of a "real saloon" unearthed in the back room of A. W. Vogel's cleaning and pressing establishment on Tenth and Kansas Avenue, where a crowd of boys of school age were "taking a quiet nip" when the police finally located the place after the neighbors had complained until they were black in the face; and the other was an item noting the return to police court "once again" of the "King of the Bottoms." The charge was, as usual, bootlegging. Police court is held twice each week, states the Capital, and in the last two months "The King" has missed only two sessions, appearing as a defendant each time. "In spite of the near score of arrests and convictions of the 'King,'" remarks the story, "in police court in the last two months, he has spent only a few hours in jail, all his cases having been 'appealed' to the district court." Immediately upon his conviction on July 26, with a fine of $100 and 30 days tagged to it, he arranged for an appeal.

"Do you use liquor?" asked Judge Yates, police judge, of George Finney, in police court, the same day, according to the Capital. "Does a fish swim?" replied Finney. Finney said he had worked in the Santa Fe shops 36 years. Judge Yates was under the impression that the man had been in jail two days, awaiting trial, ample time in which to sober up. "He has been out on bond," explained Officer Summers, "and he is drunk again." Finney was charged with being drunk and disorderly. A little girl testified that he had frightened her badly and had made insulting suggestions to her.

The record does not show what he had been drinking, but the presumption is that in the light of the blatant claims of the governors, ex-governors, etc., it wasn't "booze." It couldn't be—in Topeka. Probably Jamaica ginger.

"Tragedy Corner" is the name people of the neighborhood have come to give that section of Oakland that lies within a short distance of Indiana and Green Streets, says the Topeka Daily Capital of July 27, 1916.

"Within the last two years," the article continues, "people living near there have figured in divorce, murder, suicide, and sensational charges that have led to broken homes." One of the affairs was the basis for a white-slavery charge against D. H. Hamilton, a real estate man, who was charged by Mrs. Stella Azlein, 354 Green Street, with forcing her to enter his house with him on several occasions.

On July 26 and 27, both the Topeka dailies carried a story of the outcome of the joy-ride party in which the Patterson girl, 15 years old and the Tracey girl, 16 years old, figured with young Burns, 21, and young Olson, 17. Statutory rape charges were placed against the boys. No disposition of the girls was made. "The Patterson girl has been in difficulty before," said the Capital, July 26, "and a man is now serving sentence in the penitentiary on conviction growing out of his relations with her. The Tracey girl has not been in trouble before."

One of the most nortorious bootleggers in Topeka is Wellington Walton, whose son is a driver for the American Express Co., and delivers packages "for personal use" wherever directed by his father. An effort was made, according to the Capital of May 17, 1916, to put them out of business, charging that the addressees were fictitious persons. Nothing came of the attempt.

And just to show again that Topeka's "system" works in all walks of life and cuts the high and low alike, the following "society squib" from the Topeka State Journal of August 28, 1916, indicates that when things start in that good old town of automobile-Jamaica ginger bootlegging, they "keep right on going."

"Grover Metzger went to the penitentiary originally because of a woman. That woman was his wife and he beat her up with a hammer and left her for dead.

"He started back to the penitentiary again Sunday afternoon to complete his term, because of a woman. But that woman was not his wife, and he goes back because she was not. He didn't beat her up.

"Metzger has a long police-court career in Topeka before he finally stepped over the line and was tried on a penitentiary charge. After a big row in the Metzger family, it was charged he picked up a hammer and beat his wife into an unconscious state. He left her for dead within a block of the police station. Upon conviction, he was sentenced to the penitentiary for a term of from 1 to 10 years.

"After serving two years, Metzger made application for a parole, and in spite of his long police career he was paroled. He came back to Topeka immediately. One of the first places he visited was the police station. He became acquainted with a married woman living in a small town northeast of Topeka, and eventually she came to Topeka leaving her husband at home. She has been working here in a restaurant since.

"The police state that they visited Metzger's rooming place on one occasion and found the woman and Metzger together; that they warned Metzger that he was headed for the penitentiary again, and that other arrangements were then made by the couple. He and the woman continued to spend time together and the matter was reported to the parole officer of the penitentiary. Saturday night he came to Topeka, and with the aid of local officers picked up Metzger. He was taken back to the penitentiary to complete his term.

"This morning, 'the woman in the case' visited the county attorney's office. 'I want to know,' she demanded of Rad Lee, assistant county attorney, 'why you sent Grover back to the penitentiary.' 'Let's see,' said Lee, 'what is your name?' She gave it. 'Oh, yes; I remember you. Your folks live up near ———. They are nice people and respectable. You are a married woman, are you not?' 'Yes,' she re-

plied. 'Then I want to know what business it is of yours why we sent Grover back to the penitentiary. He's not your husband and can not be. He is the worst character we have had anything to do with in Shawnee County in years. The best thing you can do is to forget that you ever knew Metzger.'

"The girl flared up and started to tell Lee what she thought of him and the rest of the force. 'Go slow, young lady,' cautioned Lee. 'You keep nosing into this case and the first thing you know you will nose yourself into the county jail. You'd be there now if it hadn't been for the fact that some of the county officers know your parents and want to make it as easy for them as possible. But if you want to start things and ignore the leniency that has been extended, go to it. But I warn you now that it will only take a few minutes to put you over in the county jail. Now, do you want to know why Grover was sent to the penitentiary?' 'Yes,' she replied again. 'Because of his association with you.'

"'Well, if that's the way you feel about it,' said the girl in a chastened voice, 'there's no use in my talking to you about it.'"

An occurrence of this nature might possibly not attract much attention elsewhere—and maybe it would—but it only goes to prove that with all the twaddle and piffle about how much happier homes are, etc., just because of the law prohibiting the sale of liquor at retail in a licensed establishment, things happen in Topeka and all over Kansas just about the same as elsewhere. Human nature is the same, whether confined in a rectangle 200 miles wide and 400 miles long that has a statutory or constitutional provision prohibiting license, as it is any other place on the face of the globe.

Another very interesting "human nature" story was contained in a police court report, under date of July 31, 1916, according to the State Journal, under the headline "Hot Day Justice."

"Steve Israel, who once confessed to a local murder in order to get free transportation back to Topeka," says the Journal, "from Salt Lake City, was before Robert Yates, police judge, to-day charged with being drunk.

"'Where'd you get it?' Yates shot at him almost before Israel had a chance to get seated. 'Get what, yer honor?' 'Now, look here, Steve, it's too hot this morning to play horse. What did you get drunk on?' 'Ginger, boss.' 'H'm,' said the judge, looking Israel over, 'there isn't any use for me to talk to a poor fool who has no more sense than to get drunk on Jamaica ginger with the sidewalk temperature around 110°. What are you doing here anyway? I thought you had a job when you were in here a few days ago.'

"'I did have a job. I——'

"'You didn't have a job,' Judge Yates broke in. 'Don't add lying to the court to the rest of your petty crimes. You didn't have a job. You haven't one now and you don't want one. Thirty dollars. Get out of here.' Israel hesitated. He looked toward the door that leads to the street. He started to say something.

"'Get out of here,' said the judge, 'and don't talk to me. You ought to feel lucky getting off with a fine of $30. They ought to keep fellows like you in jail the year around.'

"Israel turned his hat in his hand, opened his mouth as if to answer, thought better of it, and followed the jailer out to the bull pen.

"In sharp contrast to this was the next case. A woman, the mother of three children and the wife of a hard-working man, had been arrested for getting drunk. 'Were you drunk?' asked the judge. 'I don't believe I was,' replied the woman. 'I had three drinks of whisky out of a pint two other women had.' 'Were you ever arrested before?' was the next question. 'I was arrested once before,' said the woman. 'There was a police raid in which I was arrested with a whole crowd. My husband paid the fine.'

"'I am inclined to let you go,' said the judge. 'Your husband is a hard-working man and I don't want to take his money for fines. As a matter of fact, I won't. If you are fined I am going to make you lie in jail and serve it out. You, a woman with a good husband and three children, ought to know better than to get drunk. I'm going to let you go this time, but remember, if you come back, it will be the jail for you with no chance to pay out.'"

Who would believe that "our mothers," who according to ex-Gov. Hodges, are making prohibition possible, would ever be caught in a raid "with a whole crowd," while her hard-working husband paid the fine? He is one Kansas father and husband who doesn't put his money into the grocer's pocket since they closed the saloons. He puts it into the police court to save his wife from becoming an inmate of the prison the Kansas prohibitionists argue is about to close because there is no crime, drunkenness, or wickedness since "she went dry."

This is not a strange occurrence for even Topeka, and it isn't the first Kansas woman who has been let go because of her family ties or because of the mercy of the court. It is not set out to disgrace Kansas womanhood; it is set out to tell the truth and to show that these things we hear so much about in other cities and States being caused wholly by a license system can and do happen even in angelic Topeka.

To read the various and sundry speeches delivered by the Kansas boosters for the Antisaloon League game one would wonder why police courts were not abolished years ago. If the Kansas homes are or have been made happier than in the "old lean days" when the legalized joints were running full blast in Topeka and other Kansas towns, the record of arrests, fines, and convictions fails to show it. Substituting Jamaica ginger and rot-gut booze, even if consumed in an alley or in a select "rooming house," is not conducive to good morals, whether in prohibition territory or whatnot.

No race of people ever lived that could thrive on lemon extract, hair tonic, homemade liquor, jamaica ginger, or adulterated whisky, and to imagine for an instant that a system that makes these vile decoctions a "national beverage" is admitting senility and decadence are better than sanity and strength of character. The cases for the most part of mothers, daughters, and sons of tender years falling the victim of this ruthless system are indeed pathetic, but the world can only learn through experience. And the lessons taught and the examples cited by selfish interests in Kansas, parading as "the church in action" are adding nothing but sham to the efforts of those who are honestly engaged in the solution of the problem of intemperance.

Rev. O. L. Cook, pastor of the First Christian Church of Topeka, aptly remarked, according to the Daily Capital, September 22, 1915: "If people gave as much of their interest, time, and money to the spiritual life as they do to the material, there wouldn't be so much talk of the church being a failure. It fails because it is human." And so do men, women, and children fail because they are human. Law will not change character. It may furnish material for speeches, but in the last analysis the man is still as created. Remove temptation and make him weaker in his power of resistance. And that is why the Topeka police record is one of the disgraces of civilization. If all the men, women, and children in Topeka were in the jails and penitentiary, reformatory and industrial institutions that the law says must go there for violating the law, they would scarcely accommodate the new crop each year. Persistent bootleggers are not sent to jail. They are paroled. They come back. Notorious women, with a "pleasant smile," appeal their cases and return to their dives and continue to ruin the lives of young men and young women the same as they do everywhere when permitted to operate without restraint.

What are those people doing in Topeka? Ten years ago, when the law was enforced with big red padlocks, the prohibitionists declared the town was cleaned up. They have been using the same speeches for a decade, based on a false hope borne of a faith that would move mountains—of fleeting clouds. They can not see the law violations; they refuse to read their own papers; they are ashamed to admit defeat. Kansas would be better off, Topeka would be better off, the world would be better off, if the errors, the mistakes of judgment, and the vain hopes that have met with failure would be admitted. To say there is no crime because you can not see it, and persistently refuse to look at it before your very eyes, is but assuming the attitude of an ostrich who buries his head in the sand. The day of reckoning has been creeping upon Kansas with stealthy tread. Topeka feels the pinch of debt, the burden of a heavy tax to make the ramshackle law "work," but Topeka is afraid, her men are beaten and discouraged, and with a fear akin to panic refuse to take the broad, manly stand that characterizes bravery and tell the world the naked truth. Crime is prevalent in Topeka because the most sincere men who ever directed a raid can not stop it. It is everywhere. It is hidden, it is dangerous; it lies in wait for young girls; it ruins young men; it entices a mother to forget her sworn promise to love, honor, and obey; it gives to the youth the spirit of a sneak; it helps him defeat the purpose of the law; he learns to outwit the police and thereby secure the pleasure, adventure, and excitement he feels is his. He learns to hate law; to disrespect the power of a court; and to feel that even though landed by mistake or otherwise, a fine and a parole will again send him on his way, marked, but free. A saloon, a house of prostitution, and a gambling den are ofttimes thrones of iniquity; they are shadows ofttimes in the bright path of men's lives, but who says they do not exist in Topeka? Who says because the law prohibits them they are not huddled side by side on the side streets, on residence streets, down in the "bottoms," and on the edges of town? They are there, basking in the sunshine of immunity, and immunity makes them grow and become powerful. The church element swears they do not exist; the police know, but what's the use of continued and never-ending raids when a conviction in police court means a stay of execution by an appeal to the district court? And what if conviction there means jail or the penitentiary? A parole is handy, especially when officials high in the State's authority, whether locally or of the sovereign body, must hold down the record that the boast they make that crime is receding and the wave of pristine glory even now lashing the shores of the distant borders of the Commonwealth can be verified by the showing of the prison records.

It means hypocrisy enthroned; it spells but ruin. Soon or late, the ravages of the system will break the strength of manhood and womanhood. With insanity increasing at the enormous rate of 14 per cent per year; prisons groaning with their surplus population, poverty rampant, what matters it if the per capita of wealth be high and every fourth or fifth or even third family within the State owns a flivver? It is men and women of character we are aiming to produce, not jitneys. We have an overproduction of them now. God give us men! Give us such a distribution of common horse sense and money that the pangs of hunger, the curse of neglect, and the deadly sin of lust for gold will not drive the soul-consuming diseases that wreck nations and lay them waste into the hearts of our people and make the home a by-word where illegitimate traffic in flesh and bootleg booze answers to the quality of what but yesterday was the acme of our hopes, the breath of our prayer, the breastwork of our citizenship.

What manner of men will the next generation be when the dive life of Kansas will produce a fiend who will wantonly and criminally assault a baby 14 months of age when left in its presence but a short time, as happened in Topeka and told in the State Journal, October 13, 1916, in describing the unspeakable attempt of a degenerate answering to the inspiring name of Noble Wilshire? Or a ruthless cur of the sort of Frank Summerlott, who, according to the same edition of the same newspaper, lured Mary Arkright "old and feeble, with the crisscross wrinkles that come with age and hardship," into a vacant lot behind a high-board fence under promise of taking her to his home to work, and brutally assaulting her? Mrs. Arkright, according to the story, is 75 years of age and doesn't see well. She is poor and even at her advanced age must work. Meeting her on the street, this sparkling product of the Jamaica ginger hop, joint-automobile bootleg system, asked her what her destination was. Upon being told that she was on her way to the Provident Association for help, he promptly told her he had employment for her; that if she would go to his house and work for his wife and three children he would give her $4 a week. The rest of the story must be left to the imagination.

Filled with the exuberant and delicious concoction of ginger and bootleg booze, Albert Haley murdered Andrew Powell in cold blood, according to the ghastly story of the crime appearing in the State Journal under date of October 10, 1916. Betting a dollar against a pint of rot-gut in a game of horseshoes, the affair wound up in a quarrel, the result of which was that Powell's throat was cut from ear to ear, all connections between the head and body except the spinal column being severed. The murderer calmly went to a neighboring house, sat on the porch, and waited for an officer to come, saying he supposed he would be convicted of murder, but would get a parole in a short time, anyway.

In a drunken brawl in a secret dive at Atchison, Charles Galbreath, a Topeka boy, was shot and mortally wounded by Danny Ross, who claimed he was defending himself against a razor Galbreath was wielding in an attempt to settle a quarrel over a woman. Both were white; both were Kansans; both were carousing and drinking in a joint, which "is not there," when Kansas is described in Boston or California, Chicago, or Columbus. The affair as reported in the State Journal of October 11, 1916, will end in one death and one conviction for murder—and probably a parole a little later.

Should claim be rightly laid to the honor of being virtuous when every line of the public record of a community speak in thundering tones that the opposite is true? More prisoners were placed in jail in Shawnee County during the year ending June 30, 1916, according to a statement published by J. W. Howe, secretary of the Kansas board of control, in the State Journal, October 10, 1916, than in any county in the State, and but few scored in the prisonless class. Six hundred and twenty-one prisoners were incarcerated there; 561 in Sedgwick County, of which Wichita is county seat; 445 in Wyandotte County, of which Kansas City, Kans., is county seat; and 444 in Montgomery, of which

Independence is county seat. "Some of the western counties report a large number of prisoners, probably due to the Industrial Workers of the World," says the report. And probably not. Probably due to the mail-order whisky traffic or white mule or Jamaica ginger.

"In liquor convictions," the report further says, "Shawnee County ranks second, with 101 during the year. Cherokee County is first, with 147; Reno County (Hutchinson) third, with 90; and Sedgewick fourth, with 61."

How many men and women were running around Topeka who should have been in prison nobody knows, but from what few instances are given herein the number would swell the total much beyond that of the showing made. Persistent male and female bootleggers out on bond, whose appeals are never reached for trial in the district court, would make quite a showing if added, not to mention the town drunkards and others the county officers seem afraid to incarcerate lest the county commissioners complain and parole them shortly. Such practice is not good political thunder for the county prosecutors and other court officers. The "liberal vote" is a big thing in Shawnee County, especially now since women vote.

The liquor cases on the district court docket totaled 106 out of the 166 criminal cases for trial at the fall term in Topeka, according to the State Journal of August 29, 1916. "Not all of the liquor cases will be tried," says the Journal. "Some will be dismissed after they come to trial, the county discovering there is not 'sufficient evidence' to secure convictions. As a rule, about one-tenth of the cases brought charging violations of the prohibitory law are tried. They cost the county about $50 each. One noticeable thing about the criminal docket for the September term is that 46 of the joint cases are against women."

Among other criminal cases was one against Alfred Vawter for assaulting Bertha Curran, a school-teacher. "There are rumors," said the Journal, "that this case will be dismissed for 'lack of evidence.'"

And just to show what good home training will do for boys in sunny Kansas, where prohibition has blessed the homes with "good morals and good manners," according to Justice W. A. Johnston, of the supreme court, as reported in the Kansas City Star, March 14, 1916, "40 college men and 100 high-school boys, rotten eggs, and a big bass drum broke up a dance in a riot at the Varsity Club, at Kellam Hall, on the night of October 6, 1916," according to the State Journal. "Amid the screams of the co-eds the boys stormed the party, ruined dresses, and littered the place like a barroom fight. The police, arriving in the police auto some 15 minutes after the affair, were extremely sympathetic with the egged dancers," remarked the Journal. "They regretted deeply that they had not been able to make the one-block trip from the station to Kellam's Hall 15 or 20 minutes quicker in response to the four riot calls turned in over the telephone. 'That ain't right,' said one officer. 'The boys shouldn't throw them eggs.'"

If a "riot call" came in for a raid on a booze party—in the right location—no doubt they would have been on hand immediately.

As proof of what civilization, mixed with bootleg booze or cheap mail-order whisky mixed with Jamaica ginger, will do for an American aboriginal redman, the State Journal of October 12, 1916, portrays some more of the graces of prohibition, and shows what closing the saloons will do so far as removing "temptation" is concerned, in a news item headed:

"PARENTS TRIED TO KILL CHILD ON KANSAS AVENUE—TOOK TURNS KICKING AND SLAPPING THEIR 3-YEAR-OLD—FINALLY FATHER LIFTED IT UP AND THREW IT TO WALK—SPECTATORS RAN TO RESCUE—CHILD IS SAVED FROM DRUNKEN MOTHER AND FATHER—LAST ATTEMPT TO SMOTHER BABY WITH HER CLOTHES.

"When the little child ran first to its father and then to its mother for protection, John and Mary Skay, two drunken Indians from the reservation north of town, tried for 15 minutes to kill their 3-year-old daughter. It is through no tenderness of heart on their part that the child is alive.

"The Indians came to Topeka last night and no one knows what the little child passed through during the night. But early this morning the parents and the child were seen near the Shawnee Mill, on lower Kansas Avenue. The parents were taking turns slapping and kicking her. An Indian arrested later on another charge said to-day that he stopped the parents once when they were beating the child.

"The man and woman continued to drink and wandered on down Kansas Avenue, the child dodging blows as they walked. It was directly in front of the Davis Mercantile Co. that the parents attempted to rid themselves of the tagging child.

"Eyewitnesses say the father struck the child savagely and it ran to its mother for protection. The mother struck it and pushed it away.

"Screaming at the top of its voice, the child ran from both parents. The father staggered after it, caught it, lifted it at arm's length and threw it on the concrete sidewalk. The baby crawled to its feet and again ran to its mother. She bumped its head against the curbing. She tried to smother it with her clothes.

"Then the mother stretched the child out upon the sidewalk and tried in her drunken way to strike it with her heel. Failing in that, she held it while the father 'stamped' it.

"During all the time the parents were mistreating the baby, it was screaming and appealing first to the mother and then to the father for protection. Bystanders discussed taking a hand and eventually did. The child was taken away from the parents and a call was put in for the patrol wagon. The drunken father and mother were placed in jail. The child was examined for broken bones but none was found. It is badly bruised and there is a cut under its chin, where it was kicked by either its father or mother.

"The little child clung to the officers when they rescued it and when it reached the station, and Harvey Parsons, chief, spoke a few kind words to it, the baby cuddled down beside him and refused to move. He remained with it waiting for the matron to return, until he was called to the district court as a witness. The baby cried while he was gone, in spite of the candy, gum, and pennies lavished upon it by the officers.

"An Indian, not even an acquaintance of the little child, was brought in intoxicated and the baby shrunk back behind the chief. Not a word has it said since it was brought to the station. It has uttered no complaint, although it must be suffering from its many bruises. Its body was almost stripped of clothing, and the rags were pinned up by officers. The Indians, the father and mother will be tried as soon as they sober up sufficiently."

If an attack of that kind had been made upon a 3-year old baby in a town where there were open saloons, every newspaper in America would have carried the story; it would have furnished many a sweet morsel for the prohibitionists of Kansas and elsewhere; and many tears would have been shed over this poor, little defenseless tot. But it happened in dry Kansas. That was different. Not a metropolitan paper, least of all, the Kansas City Star, carried a line about it. It was a case most assuredly for the State to handle and both parents, as well as the man who sold the Indians the whisky, if he could be found, should have gone to the penitentiary. No clearer case of assualt with intent to kill was ever presented in a statement of facts. The child should have been taken from them at once.

No doubt they purchased their booze from a bootlegger, who is at home where his hat is off, or where the unfriendly officer "ain't"—perhaps from Kathryn Tassell or one of her flunkies; perhaps from some automobile jointist; perhaps from a mail-order whisky house in a far-away city. In any event, the seller wasn't a "fixture" with a license to be canceled, a bond to be forfeited, and a prison term to serve. That would never do in Kansas.

On October 13, 1916, these drunken Indians were tried in police court, a record of the proceedings having been set forth in the State Journal of that day:

"Police Judge Robert Yates to-day kept a wife in the city jail as security for the payment of a fine assessed against husband and wife. Following the hearing of testimony against John and Mary Skay, the two Indians accused of trying to kill their baby on lower Kansas Avenue, Judge Yates announced that a fine of $15 each would be placed against the two Indians.

"'I can get the money, Judge, by going to the reservation near Mayette after it,' said Skay.

"'What assurance would I have that you would return?' asked Judge Yates.

"Skay looked puzzled for a moment and then his face brightened. He pointed to his wife.

"'All right,' said the Judge, 'We'll keep her here until you get back with the $30.'"

And out John went, got the money, and returned to redeem his wife. Happy days, these, in dear old sunny, dry Kansas!

In a "Topeka society" item the Atchison Globe of July 6, 1916, gives some idea of how happy the Kansas homes can become and how peaceful, serene, and content prohibition renders the populace:

"Mrs. Lenore Feyh, of Topeka, started in Thursday of last week to fight her husband. He called a policeman and she handled them both. She was taken to jail and placed in a cell and attempted to flood things by turning on the faucets. She tried to wreck the plumbing, and did succeed in wrecking the windows of the cell and the furniture. Then she was placed in a padded cell, where she was busily engaged in tearing out the padding when a doctor who had been summoned arrived. The moment she saw the doctor the wild Mrs. Feyh became gentle, and started to make love to him. Edward Feyh, the woman's husband, added to the grotesqueness of the scene by bursting out laughing. Funny people in Topeka."

The society squib fails to state whether Lenore had been hitting a jug of Jamaica Ginger or only touching up a bottle of bootleg booze; but probably both.

Hattie Baldwin, 17, was suing her husband, Ray, for wife desertion, a very common type of action in Kansas courts, especially in Topeka, according to the State Journal of July 18, 1916, and during the trial the kin of both parties involved in the criminal action staged a free-for-all fight in court over whose duty it was to care for the unborn child, and in the general mix-up, charges and countercharges flew thick and fast. Baldwin, a soldier under orders, declared his wife was untrue to him, and denied being the father of the prospective heir. "Mrs. Baldwin admitted, under cross-examination," stated the Journal, "that she went to a picture show with the 'cousin,'" a man with whom she had been keeping "company" since her husband had been called to the colors. "Cousin" was a jitney driver, and was the cause of Baldwin refusing to further support his wife. She admitted, also, that she went to Garfield Park with him at night, and met him often on Kansas Avenue. "She described him as having dark hair and dark eyes. Baldwin has light hair and light eyes," the Journal said. "'Yes,' blurted out Baldwin, 'and she asked my sister and me if it wouldn't be a joke if the baby has black hair and black eyes."

The Atchison Globe was right—funny people in Topeka.

And by no means is the "cutting up" confined to drunken Indians, jitney drivers, high-school and college boys, 15-year-old girls in houses of prostitution, and 16-year-old girls out for a frolic; hardened criminals of the Leonard Lyons type, or women running dives who saunter into police headquarters with a smile and a passport to freedom by a county attorney who hasn't found time to demand that she go to jail on numerous charges that have been proven by a confession in open court. Topeka plays no favorites. The Federal officeholders are not the only ones who "hit the ball" in that old prohibition cradle, and no section of the fair city is immune.

On a recent occasion a lady prominent in society called police headquarters for help in her attempts to dislodge burglars, late at night. In due course of time the police arrived. "They were drunk and acted too silly for anything," she said, according to both daily papers. "One of them insisted on looking through the house, though the burglar had taken what he wanted and left long ago. They asked very impertinent questions and seemed entirely too much inclined to become familiar," which only proves again that there are "funny people" in Topeka.

The crime, booze, and bootleg record of Topeka during the past several years has attracted a great deal of attention throughout the State, to such an extent, in fact, that the September, 1916, edition of the Kansas Issue, edited and published monthly by the Kansas State Temperance Union, made a feeble effort to excuse the Topeka situation in a way, and yet lay at the doors of the public officials in charge of law enforcement the blame for the conditions that exist.

It is so persistently proclaimed in all Anti-Saloon League campaigns that "public sentiment" will in time only elevate men to high office who will enforce the law, and that "in time, probably in the next generation" the antibooze sentiment will become so strong that it will cease entirely to arrest the attention of the voters, such an abundant crop of "law-enforcement sons of justice" being on hand that no worry will then disturb the public as to whether or not they believe in booze, as the thought even of liquor will be gone.

And as usual Kansas is again paraded before the public to prove that the prophecy will be fulfilled, in view of all of which the revelations in the Issue prove doubly interesting.

There is no place within the State of Kansas where as many efforts have been made, from the statehouse to the most humble church organization, to carry the white flag into every county and city office, and yet humaa nature refuses to become curbed, but is the same in Topeka as everywhere.

"Topeka, Kans.," declares the Issue, "capital of the State. * * * Probably the best shaded city in the State. Has four great lines of railroads. And as cities go (by comparison), one of the clean cities of the State. Far better, so far as the traffic in booze is concerned, than quite a number of larger and smaller cities and towns.

"But Topeka is not ideal, and there is no reason why she should not be the cleanest city in America.

"REASONS WHY SHE SHOULD BE.

"The State officials, both governor and attorney general, are strong for a rigid enforcement of our liquor laws.

"The county attorney and sheriff are counted as sound on law enforcement along liquor lines. Our mayor was elected under a promise to make the city of Topeka 'as tight as a drum.'

"REASONS WHY SHE ISN'T.

"The minimum fine for selling liquor is $100, with a jail sentence of 30 days. The maximum is $500 and six months in jail. The usual plan (even of the old offenders) is to let them plead guilty to one or two counts—no matter if there is really half a dozen—take a minimum sentence as to fines, and parole them as to the jail sentence.

"No man can plead a first offense as a reason for a light fine and jail sentence. The time for that ought to have passed more than 10 years ago.

"There are some judges who never give the booze seller less than $300 and 90 days, and never parole. When the booze vendor faces a deal of that kind, he won't keep it up very long. There is no hardship in a deal of that kind for anyone.

"Quite a number of old offenders are allowed to plead guilty and take a nominal fine that under the law could be sent to the penitentiary.

"Then, again, the law allows the officials to demand a peace bond that has a tendency to keep him good for two years. This is seldom demanded, and it would be a great help to keep a man good for the life of the bond. There is no hardship in demanding a bond of this kind—no violation of law, no bond to make good.

"Then comes the injunction. It ought to be placed on every property where liquor has been or is being sold. If that had been done through the years it would be difficult to get a place to sell liquor without being in contempt of court. Laws were made to be used, and a good law not used is a law misused. Nearly all liquor cases tried in police court are appealed to the district court.

"If our county attorney and judges would use our laws concerning liquor for all they are worth, Topeka would be the cleanest city, so far as the booze deal is concerned, of any city in America.

"In quite a number of cases the county attorney gets $25 for each count, while the wet outlaw goes free from the jail sentence. This is in addition to his regular salary.

"A large majority of the county attorneys in the State are using detectives (furnished by the temperance societies) to get evidence and claim they can not get the evidence in any other way. * * * In Topeka, so far as the county is concerned, there has been open opposition to detective work.

"There is no question of the honesty of the officials of Shawnee County, but the Mahin law and the taking of orders for liquor have not been pressed as they should be. Used for all they are worth and Topeka would be the cleanest city in America.

SUMMARY.

"Heavier penalties. Less compromising on number of counts for sake of reputation. More prosecutions for second offense. Peace bond in all cases. Mahin law violations should be pushed; get buyers of wet goods—not be common carriers—taking orders for liquor should be watched; drinking places closed. These are some of the weapons that are furnished by the State for the use of State, county, and city officials. What's the trouble?

"WHAT'S THE TROUBLE?

"Several things; and we are going to name some of them. One of them is '30 days and $100'—and paroled on the jail sentence. There may be several counts that could be clearly proved, but for the sake of a 'record' the guilty party is allowed to compromise on '30 days and $100.'

"The thrifty jointist or bootlegger doesn't care very much for the fine, especially if it doesn't come too often.

"'Thirty days and $100'—paroled on good behavior. Why for the first offense? Our law is 35 years old; been in existence over a generation; why 'first offense'? 'First offense' as even a mitigation is a travesty on justice.

"For a money consideration there are professional bondsmen who stand ready to turn the outlaw loose until called for trial. He is about as much of a nuisance as the lawyer who gets him out of the toils of the law on some trick or technicality, turning him loose to ply his nefarious vocation until his trial is called.

"THE LIQUOR LAWS OF KANSAS WERE MADE FOR CRIMINALS.

"They were made to be used! No matter how drastic they might be, or are, no one is hurt if he does not violate the law. And there would be fewer violations of the law if county attorneys and judges and county commissioners would use the law for what it is worth! 'First offense' is a genuine baby act, and this may be applied to either the outlaw that makes the plea or the official that condones the offense for the plea.

"Why should mercy be shown any outlaw booze seller to-day? Every one is a studied, willful criminal, knows the law but takes his chance hoping with good reason (in the capital city of the State) that he will be able to condone his many offenses by a plea of guilty on one count with a promise of '30 days and $100,' and a parole on the jail sentence. As a rule, in this kind of a deal, the county attorney gets $25 extra. It might not be one of the reasons for the compromise, but then again it might."

In cautioning the members of the Kansas State Temperance Union to use care in selecting the officials at the coming (November, 1916) election, the Issue instructs them to "Look out for your sheriff. He is a very important official. Watch out for your county attorney. He is worth more to his county than any other officer on the ticket. Look well to your representative. Be sure that he is 'right' on the liquor question. Some legislation is needed along liquor lines and we want men that 'think right' on these great questions."

And then laconically added: "All that any criminal asks is to be let alone"—a "prohibition boost" from the American Issue. Also, from the same organ: "If alcohol is a real disease, it surely is one of the preventable diseases." Yes; it seems so.

"The United States Public Health Service brands strong drink as the most efficient ally of pneumonia," says the Issue, in quoting the Topeka Daily Capital, March 14, 1916, edition. "It declares that alcohol is the handmaiden of the disease which produces 10 per cent of the deaths in the United States. This is no exaggeration. We have known for a long time that the indulgence in alcoholic liquors lowers the individual vitality, and that the man who drinks is peculiarly susceptible to pneumonia. * * * The liberal and continuous user of alcoholic drinks will do well to heed this warning, particularly at this season of the year when the gruesome death toll from pneumonia is being doubled."

Which is fairly good advice to distribute in the "driest city in America," especially in view of the fact that the health department records a high increase in deaths caused by pneumonia in Topeka each year, as well as throughout the State.

In an effort to explain why so many Topeka people get drunk, the Issue gives this lucid explanation: "Why? Why? Why? Does anyone drink or get drunk in prohibition Kansas? Ask Missouri. Ask Nebraska," and then adds with suspicious extenuation, why so many Topekans are thrown into jail: "In Topeka the policeman takes the suspect, holds him off at arm's length and says: 'Now blow in my face and blow hard.' If he gets the scent of booze he goes to the station as a drunk." We don't quite get this: Who is supposed to have the whisky breath? Read it again and figure it out if you can.

And bitterly complaining that the "remedy" had failed in its mission after 35 long and weary years, the same edition of the Issue (August, 1916), contained this: "The capital of Kansas does not deserve a 'white' mark so long as it makes so black a record." And then proceeds: "The 'wet' and 'dry' proposition has been in evidence in every election since 1880," but, it further states, "at no time has a backward step been taken along law-making lines." And then just to prove that the "remedy" for continual failure is always on hand, especial attention is called to two "entirely new and better means to curb the growing liquor evil of the State," to wit: "A law was passed during the last session of the legislature requiring the appealing party to give bond in double the amount in question and in addition a 'peace bond' for good behavior pending the result of the appeal, in an amount of money to be named by the judge," and then the Issue triumphantly adds that "The result of this law will be that few appeals will be taken." This observation was made prior to the issue a month later in which the editor bitterly denounced the courts in Topeka and the officers for "forgetting" the "peace bonds" and also for "compromising" the joint cases.

"During the last session of the legislature," it concludes, "two laws were passed with intent to draw the net closer around the 'traffic.' One law makes the city wherein liquor was sold responsible for any damage that may occur to property or persons because of the sale of drink. Another law holds the owner of a building or place where liquor is sold responsible for any damage that may result from the use of liquor obtained on his premises." Which gives rise to a very interesting speculation: Why was this law found to be necessary? Haven't Stubbs and Hodges, Capper and Dawson, not to mention the "trench fighters" in the prohibition army, been hammering it into the American public, in season and out of season, that prohibition does prohibit in Kansas; that this generation is better, more law-abiding, and that John Barleycorn has been buried for good and all? No law is passed without a good and sufficient reason for it. The taxpayers of the State would refuse to indorse such legislative action were they not disgusted, bitter, and grasping at a straw in their attempts to make it work, whether it costs them much more or not. As Stubbs truly said, "Prohibition is the doctrine of self-defense." Rather than see the manhood and womanhood of the State develop into a race of accursed drunkards, imbeciles, and halfwits, the taxpayers submitted to this "new dry measure" in the hope that it might in some measure reduce drunkenness, but no good results have ever been noted. If the Kansas statesmen truthfully explain the "home conditions" such legislation as this would never be thought of.

That Topeka suffers the financial drain constantly flowing in the direction of "mail-order houses," can be no better shown than by the "Boost the home town" news item appearing in the Topeka State Journal, January 21, 1916. "One hundred and fifty posters advertising Topeka and urging the people to 'Boost for the home town,' have been put up throughout the city by the Hinkson-Crawford Advertising Co. The plan is one proposed to the Commercial Club by the advertising company, a local concern, and indorsed by the club. At a meeting of the officers R. K. Hinkson offered to place the huge posters throughout the city free of charge, if the club would indorse the plan. Immediately employees of the company began posting them at various places throughout the city.

"The first field covered was on Kansas Avenue (the main business street), where posters were placed in empty show windows." What's that? "Empty show windows" in a dry city? Impossible!

"The letters are in red, a foot high, and on a white background," continues the story. "Following are the words appearing on one of the placards:

"Dollars spent in Topeka remain here and work for us!

"Dollars spent out of our city are gone forever! Money talks! Boost for our home town!"

And nobody knows that better than the Topeka merchants. "Boost for our home town" is the cry of every Kansas town. Run out the saloon and "decrease crime, insanity, and poverty" and build up a mail-order business in wet and dry goods 50, 100, or 500 miles away from home. Blow and grand stand; claim and proclaim; bluff and stall—and then hang out "Boost for our home town" sign! Prohibition consistency.

As the Topeka State Journal well said on January 4, 1917, after reviewing the "success" Kansas has enjoyed after her long and weary decade of raiding, confiscation, jailing, trail hitting, law making, and four flushing. "Nothing is more fallacious than the more or less general idea that legal enactments are the great social and economic cure-alls."

One of the most interesting "side lights" ever thrown on the Kansas situation first came to life in October, 1915, and ended in tragedy, physical and commercial, a year later. F. G. Hurrle, an Italian, and his good wife furnished the tragedy, Leavenworth County the stage, society people from all over the State were the "supes," and Attorney General Brewster, of Kansas, assumed the usual rôle of clown, with "Judge" F. P. Lindsay, an assistant attorney general, working on a contingent basis, as his spear carrier.

Descriptive of the "first act," we learn from the Topeka Daily Capital, October 30, 1915, after the initial raid had been completed, that "Even the plea by Lee Bond, the Leavenworth attorney, that his client had been allowed to do business—meaning sell wine—at his place for the last 20 years without interference failed to move the obdurate Brewster yesterday afternoon.

"The 3,200 gallons of wine captured in the recent raid on the Hurrle road house, in Leavenworth, is still in the custody of the Leavenworth County sheriff if that official is doing his duty.

"Incidentally the attorney general has sent word to the sheriff that if any of the wine is missing when the case against Hurrle comes to trial, it will cost the sheriff his job.

"S. M. Brewster, attorney general, was notified day before yesterday by Frank Lindsay, of his office force, that when the high-class Hurrle place was raided recently there were 3,200 gallons of wine captured, including 1,300 gallons not yet fermented. Brewster then announced that Hurrle would be prosecuted for manufacturing liquor as well as for selling it.

"Bond explained yesterday that Hurrle is an Italian who had been making wine and selling it in Leavenworth County as far back as he could remember. The Hurrles were good cooks, Bond explained, and the best society in Leavenworth went to his place for dinner. Really, it wasn't the wine especially that attracted the guests. The wine was only incidental to the magnificent dinners that were served.

"As the old man never had been interfered with before, Bond also told Brewster, he naturally, being foreign born, supposed that his business was perfectly legal, and to confiscate his entire cellar of wine would put him out of business and break him; he never would be able to make a living. Brewster suggested dryly that, if it was the dinner and not the wine that attracted Hurrle's guests, he ought to make a good living selling dinners without the incidentals. The conference ended without any concessions on the part of the attorney general, and then Brewster gave Lindsay strict charge to see that the sheriff didn't allow any of the evidence to get away before the case come to trial."

A year elapsed. The trial, with all its turmoil, expense, uncertainty, finally drew to a close. The third act is about to begin. The "victors," strutting about in superb dignity have had their pound of flesh. The law has been "satisfied," no matter what the cost. Another "fee" has been chalked up for "Judge Lindsay." Brewster has had his picture before the public; more loud amens have been grunted from the audience that never fails to show up with the whole family to enjoy the free show—and now for the climax:

"Wine garden closed; Topeka society winces," announced the State Journal October 12, 1916. "Famous Hurrle resort near Leavenworth no more," it adds. "Attorney general decides it is against the law."

"Society items appearing in Leavenworth newspapers for years and involving the elite of Topeka, Lawrence, Atchison, Leavenworth, and the two Kansas cities came near playing a prominent part in testimony produced in Leavenworth County's district court this week in a case brought by Assistant Attorney General F. P. Lindsay, in which he won and closed probably the last existing liquor-producing plant in Kansas. Mr. Lindsay admits that only the frantic appeals of a good-looking, captivating society reporter in Leavenworth kept him from proving the existence of the notorious Hurrle wine garden by using the society clippings she had been writing for the last 'steen years.

"Enough grief has been produced in the State's action to close the Hurrle winery. F. G. Hurrle, according to his attorney, will be near a bankrupt when the Leavenworth district court's order is carried out and 2,550 gallons of wine manufactured by Hurrle from grapes in his own vineyard are destroyed. The value of this wine estimated by the attorney general's office will aggregate $5,000.

"'Nor is this all,' smiled Lindsay. 'I understand that since we raided the exclusive wine garden at Leavenworth October 5, 1915, Hurrle's wife has died, the result of grief and worry over the affair.'"

But "Judge" Lindsay had his fee allowed on the basis of $5,000 in property confiscated, had "carried out the law" under the instructions of his "master," Mr. Brewster, and what difference did it make to him? Didn't he get his pound of flesh—and several hundred dollars along with it? Didn't Brewster get his? Who else would have any right to complain? The preachers were tickled over the "gallantry" displayed, so what is a dead woman, anyway, or a broken, bankrupt man who for 20 years enjoyed "immunity" under a secret understanding? Bah!

"For years," continues the Journal, "a 'night at Hurrle's' was a night of joy for society people from all cities in the vicinity of Leavenworth. Acre upon acre of grapes were grown by Hurrle on his place on the outskirts of Leavenworth. These grapes were used in making wine of a quality hardly surpassable.

"Hurrle's wine garden was open to high and low. There Army officers danced and sang with the girls from Leavenworth and other cities. Wealthy people from Topeka journeyed there and enjoyed a 'night at Hurrle's.' And Leavenworth clerks and mechanics were welcome, too. He always maintained order, and yet he permitted a good time. His home held a dance hall and a dining hall. The cooking done by his wife was superb.

"'TWAS A SOCIETY AFFAIR.

"The papers of Leavenworth looked upon a night at Hurrle's as a society affair. Time after time an item of this character has appeared: 'Mr. and Mrs. ———, of Topeka, entertained a number of friends at Hurrle's place last evening.'

"When Hurrle was finally raided, Leavenworth threw up her hands in horror.

"'Would the prohibitionists from Topeka dare put their hands on Hurrle's, patronized by the people of Topeka themselves?' they asked.

"HURRLE MUST PAY A FINE.

"The attorney general did, and won in a hard fight in the district court. Hurrle must pay a fine, must pay the court costs, and has a jail sentence to his credit, and the wine must be destroyed. Personal calls have been made upon Attorney General Brewster by Hurrle's attorney to get permission for Hurrle to keep a part of the wine, which, it is claimed, has turned to vinegar since the raid was made, in October, 1915."

As proof of the "success" of prohibition in the simple matter of rendering "our homes more happy," when "friend husband" turns on lemon extract, hair tonic, Jamaica ginger, and bootleg booze as a stimulant, the legislature of 1911 (Laws of Kansas, ch. 163, p. 247) passed the famous Kansas "wife-desertion" law and covers the case of "any husband who shall without just cause desert or neglect or refuse to provide for the support and maintenance of his wife in destitute or necessitous circumstances; or any parent who shall without lawful excuse desert or neglect or refuse to provide for the support and maintenance of his or her child or children under the age of 16 years in destitute or necessitous circumstances, shall be guilty of a crime, and on conviction thereof shall be punished by imprisonment in the reformatory or penitentiary at hard labor not exceeding two years."

It has been argued many time and is persistently pointed out that there is little use for this law, and as proof of that fact the record of the reformatory and penitentiary are pointed out. However, all the counties containing towns and cities of any size in population have been flooded with this type of criminal work.

"In any effort to decrease county expenses amounting to hundreds of dollars yearly," says the Topeka State Journal September 29, 1916, "for wife-desertion cases wherein after the husband is arrested, and many times brought from neighboring States at the county's expense, the wife refuses to prosecute, the county commissioners inaugurated new tactics today." "Put up or shut up," was the answer made to a frail, poverty-stricken woman who desired her husband brought back from Nebraska. She was told to go and procure a "good bond" guaranteeing she would prosecute him after his return.

"Since the wife-desertion law was enacted it has been prolific in piling up court costs against the State without getting many husbands convicted," continues the Journal. "Too often the wife visits the husband before the trial, the county attorney's office has decided. They make up. He offers to stay at home and support her if she will not send him to jail." So the county attorney would rather chalk up a good record for "prosecutions and convictions" that aid in reuniting families? And, then, it costs the taxpayers several hundred a year.

Since the Anti-Saloon League of America has "annexed" the Kansas State Temperance Union we may look forward to many more "examples" of the successful operation of "the law" within the State of Kansas. But the little tragedies of life, murders, thefts, long processions of arrests for white slavery, rape, assaults, and kindred prohibition blessings growing out of brawls brought about by the free indulgence by boys and girls, men and women in vile alcoholic intoxicants furnished in "sporty rooming houses" where Federal officers sometimes tarry too long without accounting to the local police; or from jitneys, or in pool halls, behind billboards, and in and about lumber yards, mills, and in fact any place in the city with very few if any exceptions, will continue to play an important part in the "social development" of Topeka. Tales of grief and sorrow, blasted hopes and ruined lives will continue to leak into the newspapers, but hushed up immediately, lest "our better element" be not called to many and varied fields of battle, where with "Snow-white Kansas and Pure Topeka" as the slogan, "Demon rum" must be buried beneath an avalanche of ballots. The record of 668 arrests for drunkenness in that city for 1913 increased to 681 in 1914 and further increased to 746 in 1915 only to be inflated to 804 in 1916 will never be wiped out by a legislative resolution or a dry parade, no matter how loud the band plays "Onward, Christian Soldiers." Nor will it be decreased in any other way than in the application of sound, horse sense, carefully and honestly applied to the conditions as they exist—not as they are painted on foreign canvas at so much per stroke.

And in conclusion we find, according to the Kansas City Star, February 11, 1916, that Senator Schoch, of Topeka, has introduced in the Kansas Legislature a measure to prohibit sale of Jamaica ginger. "Many Kansans," said the Star, in a Topeka dispatch, "who have had a hard time obtaining real liquor have turned to the use of Jamaica ginger and flavoring extract. The Schoch bill would remove one of these from the hands of druggists who have been selling Jamaica ginger without restraint, even though some of them knew their customers were using the ginger as a beverage."

"Remove one of these" from the hands of the druggists? Why not both of them? And, then, after that, prepare for bills prohibiting dandelions from growing, as dandelion wine is popular there; prohibit silos from producing its strong alcoholic beverage; prohibit lemon pie; prohibit the sale of cologne, stove polish, shoe blacking, and uproot the peach, plum, pear, and apple trees; burn the grapevines and stop the sale of oranges, lemons, dates, prunes, strawberries, and plums. They all must go. God save the land!

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WICHITA'S BONE-DRY SHOWING.

Mail-order whisky and bootleggers have kept Wichita on the wet map for a good many years, although on the Anti-Saloon League's it is as pretty and white as Topeka, Atchison, or any other Kansas town.

An unusual number of arrests have been made there, ranging all the way from incarceration of common thugs, pickpockets, streetwalkers, dive keepers, bootleggers, and "rum sellers" in drug stores, to the chief of police, on a charge of running a wholesale blind pig in the basement of the city hall.

A short time ago a youth, well this side of the voting age, went to a first-class drug store on Douglas Avenue and purchased some alcohol, which, under the "bone-dry" laws of Kansas, can be secured by the retail druggist strictly for "medicinal purposes," the druggist, of course, having qualified as being of good moral character and not a violator of the law. The young Kansas "dry," soon got himself on the outside of his "kick" and proceeded to kill a policeman. His mother sued the city, the druggist, and everybody in sight. After the policeman's funeral, and the matter had settled down a bit, the Wichita drys gave the boy a clean bill of health by charging the whole thing up to "John Barleycorn." If he was ever prosecuted and sent to the reformatory, to jail, or the penitentiary, the record fails to show it.

During the year 1913 there were 2,562 arrests in the city of Wichita, of which 841 were for drunkenness, being 32.82 per cent of the total, or an average of 1 out of every 20.5 persons arrested for all causes and 1 out of every 62.5 of the city's population, for drunkenness.

During the year 1914 out of a total of 3,792 arrests for all causes 1,380 were for drunkenness, equivalent to 1 in every 13.8 of the population arrested for all causes, and 1 in every 38.8 of the city's population, arrested for drunkenness.

During the year 1915 out of a total of 4,391 arrests for all causes, 1,525, or 34.95 per cent, were for drunkenness; thus an average of 1 out of every 11.9 persons in Wichita was arrested for all causes during the year, and 1 out of every 34.5 persons for drunkenness.

During the year 1916 out of a total of 4,587 arrests for all causes, 1,679, or 36.59 per cent, were for drunkenness; thus an average of 1 out of every 11.4 persons in the city was arrested for one cause or another during the year, and 1 out of every 31.3 persons for drunkenness.

Thus, where during 1913, 1 out of every 20.5 of Wichita's population was arrested, the showing for 1916 is 1 out of every 11.4 persons, an increase of 79.8 per cent; and where, in 1913, 1 out of every 62.5 of the population was arrested for drunkenness, 1 out of every 31.3 was arrested on an average, during 1916, an increase of 99.6 per cent.

Wichita enjoys another distinction which is shared by few Kansas cities or towns. While Gov. Capper was praising "bone-dry Kansas" in California during the summer of 1915, Chief O. K. Stewart, of the Wichita police force, was yanked out of office and thrown into the county jail on a charge of operating a wholesale blind pig, selling confiscated liquor taken in raids for profit to bootleggers and patrons who stood in with him.

Testimonials praising prohibition, written by Chief Stewart before he was caught red-handed by the use of marked money given him by a dissolute negro bootlegger of the city, were sent out by the Anti-Saloon League as a part of their "proof." These "testimonials" are still being used throughout the length and breadth of the land, though Stewart has been out of office nearly two years and is now in the hands of the Federal Government facing prosecution.

The Wichita Beacon (Henry J. Allen's paper) of July 7, 1915, said, in speaking of the Stewart affair: "A startling surprise was sprung at 10 o'clock this morning on the city administration, as a result of which O. K. Stewart, chief of police, has been arrested for selling liquor to bootleggers, and is now in charge of the sheriff." At the hearing before the county prosecutor Mr. Allen, according to his own newspaper, testified to circumstances which had led him to believe that O. K. Stewart was selling liquor from the city hall to bootleggers. "Mr. Allen opened the market basket," said the Beacon, "and, taking out various bottles of whisky, told how they had been purchased from the chief by Frank Gardenshire. The bottles were all dated. The witness also explained that on one occasion Dave Leahy, who was private secretary to Gov. Stubbs during the time of the Stubbs machine reign, had stood in the Coronado Hotel and looked across the street where he saw Stewart hand Gardenshire a bottle of whisky and then place a bill, which Gardenshire had given him, in his pocket. This was on June 30. On July 2 S. A. Coleman sat in the office of the Coronado Hotel and watched the chief hand Gardenshire four bottles of whisky, taking them two at a time from his pockets. This liquor was brought to the Beacon office.

"Yesterday, after Mr. Allen learned that he was to testify, he gave Gardenshire a marked dollar and told him to go buy some whisky from Stewart. Gardenshire did not know the money was marked. When Gardenshire returned to the Beacon office Sheriff Sarver was waiting for him. He searched Gardenshire and got two pint bottles which Gardenshire had just purchased from Chief Stewart for the $1. Sam Jones, a colored politician, was sent over to the chief's office to see if he could get the dollar. He made a pretense of needing a paper dollar to send in a letter and traded the chief a silver dollar for a paper one. When he brought it to the Beacon office it was disclosed to be the same dollar Gardenshire had given the chief a few moments before for two pint bottles of whisky."

Later Chief Stewart was "tried." The first fiasco ended in a hung jury, the second in an acquittal, although there was enough evidence introduced to have convicted him times over.

The Kansas City Journal of April 30, 1915, throws an interesting sidelight on the home life of Wichita in a telegraphic report from that city, under date April 29, 1915, and entitled "Whole family in jail."

"Judge Thomas C. Wilson, of the district court, to-day applied, for the first time in this county, the new State liquor law," says the dispatch. "Charles B. Wise and wife had been found guilty of a charge of maintaining a nuisance. The court ordered the sheriff to lock the Wise home, put both in jail until they give bonds in the sum of $2,000, and then required a peace bond in the sum of $15 each in the event of an appeal. The Wises went to jail, and their daughter Leah, who is charged with cursing the witnesses who testified against her parents, was placed in jail with them, being unable to give a bond of $1,000 fixed by Judge Wilson."

Although it is against the Kansas law to sell liquor, 2 wholesale and 26 retail Government licenses were issued to Wichita, among the 106 issued shortly prior to August 7, 1905, according to the Kansas City Star of that date. Attorney General Brewster immediately started a "probe."

When Mayor Bentley, of Wichita, took the oath of office on April 12, 1915, a clean-up order was issued, according to the Kansas City Journal, April 14, 1915. In a dispatch under Wichita date line of April 13 it said:

"A clean-up order was issued to-day by Mayor Bentley, who took office yesterday. The order, addressed to O. K. Stewart, chief of police, reads: 'You will at once proceed to suppress the illegal sales of intoxicating liquor in this city.'"

And the chief did—by raiding the joints and capturing the wares of the bootleggers and selling it back to them at a good profit.

When Gov. Capper, of Kansas, appointed the "official" Kansas delegation to attend the antisaloon national convention at Atlantic City, June 15, 1915, Henry J. Allen was the only Wichita dry to land on the "select list." Mayor Bentley and Chief Stewart were too busy chasing the bootleggers. Fifteen days later Allen caught Stewart with the marked dollar bill in the hands of a notorious character whom he bribed into violating the law to get the goods on the chief.

As proof that Wichita has always been "dry" the following from the Kansas City Post, August 14, 1915, should settle the matter forever:

"PADLOCK PLACED ON WICHITA JOINTS—MAYOR BENTLEY WILL MAKE DRINKERS' THROATS SO DRY THEY'LL CRACK.

"WICHITA, KANS., *August 14.*

"After serving of injunctions on 21 property owners who rent to 'joint' proprietors by County Attorney McCormick the rented buildings have been padlocked by the sheriff. McCormick and Mayor Bentley have declared that all 'joints' are doomed.

"'I'll make these whisky and beer drinkers' throats so dry they'll crack,' declared the mayor.

"The mayor has ordered persons who call for liquor at express offices arrested and taken to police headquarters for investigation. The confiscated liquor at the city hall has been placed under lock and key and one man made responsible for it."

After the exposure of Chief Stewart an ordinance was whipped through prohibiting transportation of liquor through the streets, and endeavoring to tighten up the town as it had never been tightened up before.

Under date of August 14, the Kansas City Star carried a dispatch from Wichita, under date line of the same day, entitled "Wichita the Dryest Ever."

"WICHITA, KANS., *August 14.*

"Mayor Bentley's whisky snipers got their first game to-day under the new ordinance making it a misdemeanor to transport liquor in the streets of Wichita. C. W. Williams, who had a pint of whisky on his hip was detected by a policeman who tapped the 'lump' with his club and took Williams to the city jail.

"In police court Williams refused to tell Judge Dedrick where he got the whisky and he was fined $10. He was remanded in default of payment to 'think it over.' Police Judge Dedrick announced that if a man were hauled before him with a few under his belt and not exactly drunk that he would apply a fine under the 'transporting' clause in the new ordinance. The breweries have asked that Judge Dedrick pass on the new ordinance, and he has taken it under advisement until next Tuesday.

"A man going to the freight depot in his own motor car, signing for a case of beer or jug of whisky he had ordered from Kansas City, and lifting it into his machine to take home to a sick wife, is liable to arrest and a $500 cash bond, Judge Dedrick ruled to-day, under a charge of transporting as an agent. He said that the ordinance does not interfere with interstate commerce because the liquor is not ordered direct from the producer. Wichita never was so dry as it is now. Hundreds of men who have come to town to spend a little saved up cash in a manner not to be recorded, walk the streets with their tongues parched and their throats cracked unless a soft drink can help them."

A sample of the "bone-dry" ordinances adopted by the Wichita city commissioners and above referred to briefly, were set out in the Kansas City Star, August 3, 1915, under a Wichita date line of August 2, 1915:

"The city commissioners at a meeting this afternoon adopted two ordinances aimed at liquor users in Wichita. The first ordinance was prepared by Mayor Bentley and will prevent the express companies from delivering liquor to the user's home or office. He must call at the depot for it.

"The other ordinance was prepared by Jerry Howard, commissioner, and fixes a severe penalty on any police officer who sells any of the liquor at the city hall that has been taken from bootleggers."

It would appear the Chief Stewart is not the only official bootlegger in the town.

Even the railroads were enlisted in the "new dry program," in an effort to prove that prohibition will prohibit, if the bolts and nuts are are just tightened up enough, and so the Missouri Pacific, in an anxious endeavor to save the boys and girls of Wichita, pathetically offered such assistance as it could to the end that at least one Kansas town become the real anteroom to Heaven. The following from the Kansas City Star, under a Wichita date line of August 3, 1915, tells the story:

"The Missouri Pacific Railroad Co. has cut Wichita and Sedgwick County out of liquor shipments. No whisky or beer can come within the confines of the county after an order that went into effect to-day. Agents have been getting liquor under fictitious names and in wholesale lots. Rather than get into the courts for carrying liquor illegally the road quit taking the consignments.

"The Rock Island, Santa Fe, and Frisco roads are still handling liquor shipments in here, however."

Wichita isn't the only Kansas town, however, that can boost of "the law" selling confiscated booze. On August 2, 1915, the Kansas City Star contained the "bone-dry" news story of the arrest and suspension of Captain of Police Ira Bonwell, of Kansas City, Kans., on the charge of selling "empty bottles" taken from joint keepers and bootleggers. He was tried, convicted, and "suspended" for a short time by the civil-service board. "He is a valuable officer and we can not get along without him for long," the chief told the board, in pleading for an early reinstatement. The board relented finally and reinstated him after a short time. It would never do to deprive the chief of the services of such a valuable man. Plenty of testimony was introduced at the hearing that the bottles weren't all "empty," but as he was only being tried for selling "empties" the board ruled the evidence out as incompetent, irrelevant, and highly immaterial to the issues joined.

The entire set of charges on which he was finally tried were as follows, according to the Kansas City Star, September 11, 1915:

1. Cursing, browbeating, and intimidating subordinate officers.
2. Failure and refusal to cooperate with patrolmen in making raids on gambling dens and blind pigs.
3. Intimidating witnesses who were subpœnaed to testify against him.
4. Showing favoritism in the handling of women prisoners who were hauled in by other members of the force.

NOTE.—He must have been a very "valuable officer" to the chief!

In a further attempt to tighten up the clamps on the Wichita lid drastic steps were taken there, according to the Topeka Daily Capital, September 10, 1915, for the purpose of making it dry "for sure this time, with no fooling":

"WICHITA, KANS., *September 9.*

"Wichita citizens who privately consume beer or liquor in the future will have to make a record at the city clerk's office, showing their names, addresses, quantity of liquor which they use; that they are of good moral character, and an affidavit that they can be relied upon not to furnish 'wet goods' for sale before they can have beer or liquor shipments hauled from the depots to their homes."

That this law proved highly "successful" is witnessed by hundreds of news items appearing since, showing almost unbelievable conditions of drunkenness, crime, wife beating, etc., caused by the bootleg, rot-gut, rot-brain system in vogue there.

It will be noticed that none of the ordinances or measures attempt to prohibit the sale, possession, or receipt of Jamaica ginger, the old ally of the Kansas drunkard. Poured in cider, it becomes a vile and highly intoxicating beverage, white as milk, and deadly in its effect.

That bootlegging, joint keeping, and Jamaica-ginger selling are close bedfellows of crime is again clearly proven by a news item appearing in the Wichita Beacon of date October 4, 1915:

"The district court of Sedgwick County will open Monday morning at 9 o'clock with the heaviest criminal docket since the court's establishment 45 years ago. The civil docket is also exceptionally heavy.

"In the two divisions 865 cases are scheduled for trial. Of these 509 are in Judge Thornton W. Sargent's division and 356 before Judge Thomas C. Wilson. Judge Sargent will have the criminal docket, consisting of 135 State cases and 35 city cases.

"* * * There will be four murder cases. They are: Auda Caplinger, for the murder of Detective W. L. Humphries; Bob McAdams, for the killing of Ben Ryder, a harvest hand; Guy Curtis, for the shooting of Burton Reed; and Clarence Richardson, for the murder of his wife.

"Liquor cases form nearly 70 per cent of the criminal prosecutions for the term. There are 90 State cases and 18 city cases docketed. This makes 108 whisky out of a total of 170 State and city criminal prosecutions."

An interesting "bone-dry" news item was contained in the Topeka Daily Capital under date of October 28, 1915, relative to some of the above-mentioned "whisky prosecutions," under date line "Wichita, Kans., October 28":

"When Judge Thornton W. Sargent, of division No. 2 of the district court, opened court this morning to resume the trials of liquor cases which were postponed because a charge had been published that the jury had been fixed up to free the jointists he made a lengthy statement. * * * Four of the jurors in Judge Sargent's court were excused because the county attorney objected to their services. He claimed they were disqualified for various reasons, principally because they were not taxpayers and had expressed opinions to liquor men. * * * Judge Hawks, assistant attorney general, is assisting the county attorney in the prosecution of liquor cases. The row began in court when three consecutive verdicts of not guilty were returned by as many juries, the county attorney declaring there was no use in trying any more."

Public sentiment seems to be "crystallized" all right in Wichita, but the crystallization is not in favor of enforcing the law by juries.

"Deluded and misguided people seem to think all they must do to make prohibition a success is to pass laws," recently said a prominent member of the Wichita legal bar (they have several different kinds of "bars" down there) in commenting on the liquor situation in Kansas, and particularly in Sedgwick County. "The time may come some day when the energy now wasted in fool prosecutions will be spent in building good roads, but it will never arrive until we quit putting a premium on hypocrisy and begin to frown upon the antics of the political prohibitionists. Wichita was all right before they began 'cleaning up,' and now all law is a joke. Juries refuse to convict just the same as in the 'good old days,' and the dry newspapers are ever ready to print any kind of a fool story declaring they are 'fixed.' You have to be 100 per cent insane to be a good Kansan any more. No wonder the legislature is taxing dogs and contemplating putting a tax on cats to raise enough money to keep the asylums going."

Another "booze and happy homes" item decorated the front pages of Wichita and Topeka newspapers on October 24, 1915, and the same delightful prohibition prosperity news continues to flood the Kansas news organs daily. Each time they arouse the "investigators" to the crying need for "more law and more penalty," but they run merrily on, and all the "bone-dry" laws in christendom will never put an end to them. If it is not "booze" it will be Jamaica ginger. But here is what "one of our prohibition homes" produced in Wichita:

"Gus Anderson has been drunk many times. Sunday when he looked into the cup too many times to retain his dignity and decorum and began to tear up the house Mrs. Anderson gave up. Anderson was arrested and yesterday his wife announced that she would move back to Lawrence, where she had employment waiting for her that would enable her to retain the respect of her acquaintances.

"Anderson's son Charley was taken to the reformatory Friday of last week."

It developed at Anderson's trial that he had been "looking into a cup" filled with Jamaica ginger, water, and sweetened with sugar. When a man looks into that kind of a cup something is going to be torn up. It is no wonder Gus's son is at the reformatory. The druggist who sold him the poison can go scott free under the Kansas laws, as Jamaica ginger is not considered "legally intoxicating"!

On November 12, in his own paper, Gov. Capper thanked God by way of a Thanksgiving proclamation "for our freedom from the blight of alcohol; for the sobriety and industry of our people," and the proclamation was promptly published as an "official document" and sent to the Antisaloon League to be published as more "proof." The governor must have had Topeka and Wichita especially in mind when writing this contribution to the league's literature.

"Leavenworth is clean," declared the attorney general, according to the Kansas City Journal, November 14, 1915. The next day a woman took an armful of bricks and smashed a joint in which 40 men were drinking.

Other Kansas towns were enrolled upon the "white flag of honor" during 1915, as well as 1916, but the following is typical of the inside working of the prohibitory law, and it is interesting to speculate just how public sentiment will be cared for should the bone-dry law just passed by the legislature be enforced in dead earnest:

[Topeka Daily Capital, Dec. 7, 1915.]

"ALTA VISTA, KANS., *December 6.*

"Dr. W. H. Little, a prominent physician of this place, was arrested by Sheriff Addie, of this county, yesterday, and taken to Alma, where he was charged with selling intoxicating liquor, on six different counts. He was later released on an $1,800 bond. He is proprietor of the Little pharmacy at this place, and a former member of the city council.

"His wife is an active club woman and is county president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. She was quite active in the last county and city election against the booze element."

Wichita's record as a "bone-dry" city is not confined to the summary removal of Chief Stewart, however. One of the policemen in this haven of prohibition "liberty" was given his passports February 18, 1916, when the fire built under him was too strong to resist and too hot for comfort. The Topeka Daily Capital of that day carried the story:

"WICHITA, KANS., *February 18.*

"Police Patrolman Robert Martin yesterday tendered his resignation when confronted with certain findings by Police Chief Hay and Assistant Chief Hanes. The police officials had been making an investigation of a complaint by Mrs. Fannie Fisher, a widow, that an officer in uniform had spent some time one night with a girl who was rooming at Mrs. Fisher's residence at 711 North Wabash.

"Martin asked that nothing be said about the matter to the newspapers. Martin is said to have admitted to the heads of the police department that he took the girl to the Fisher house on the night of the occurrence, which Mrs. Fisher reported. He denied any misconduct while there, but offered no explanation as to why he left his beat to go to the house. He said he considered his resignation 'closed the affair.' The young woman has not been found. An effort by Chief Hay to find her was not successful. A friend said she had left the city. The young woman became a roomer at the Fisher home several weeks ago. Mrs. Fisher believed the roomer was respectable, but asked her to give up her room following the visit of the uniformed policeman to the residence."

During the week prior to October 17, 1916, Attorney General Brewster and his trusty clan of "law enforcers" riddled things at Wichita. They "cleaned up the town" as it had never been cleaned up before. The ordinances passed more than two years by the city commissioners, all the crusading, jack-sniping, and snooping has thus far failed to "save" that somewhat lawless and at the same time prosperous city. Wichita, whatever its shortcomings, is rated as one of the best towns in the State. Located as it is in the rich oil and gas region, it attracts thousands of people every year. It is about the only city in the State that shows any gain in population since 1910, the other "towns" having lost enough, plus the county loss, to show a decrease in 1915 of 18,404 in population.

But Wichita must remain "famous" for the raids as long as the "fees" continue to flow into the pockets of the special prosecutors, so on October 17, 1916, another "blow-off" was staged there. This time it wasn't the chief or a "common policeman" who was landed. Worse. The "night captain," in whose hands the real destiny of the "law" rests, came in for a trimming. Just how it was done is best explained by the Topeka State Journal of that day:

"WOMEN, LIQUOR IN THE ROOMS OF WICHITA POLICE!—ATTORNEY GENERAL BREWSTER FILES CHARGES HERE TO-DAY—ASKS SUPREME COURT TO OUST NIGHT CAPTAIN—SOLD BOOZE TO CLASSY BUYERS—WILLIAM MURRELL SAID TO HAVE CONDUCTED A RESORT—STATE'S ATTORNEY STARTS OUT ON SOLID WEEK'S CAMPAIGN.

"Following numerous liquor raids in Wichita last week, S. M. Brewster, as attorney general, to-day turned his guns on the Wichita police force, when he asked the supreme court for an order ousting William Murrell from service as night captain of the force. Brewster, in his petition, alleges that Murrell has shielded law violators and has himself sold intoxicating liquors.

"Evidence against Murrell was gathered recently when Brewster used a drag net in securing testimony against Wichita jointists. In his petition Brewster alleges that Murrell sold liquor in rooms in which he lived. He also charges that men and women were permitted to gather in the rooms for the purpose of drinking. On certain occasions, the petition alleges, the rooms were used exclusively for Wichita ladies who travel the primrose path and consort with men who burn holes in the night.

"Immediate suspension of Murrell as night captain of the Wichita police force is asked. It is charged that Murrell is not in sympathy with the Kansas liquor and gambling laws and has winked at violations. On various occasions, it is charged, information has come to Murrell concerning the sale of liquors. The night captain has failed to present this information to the county attorney or to ask arrest of the violators, the petition recites.

"In the statehouse circles to-day was a feeling that the charges against Murrell were but the first card to be played by the attorney general in his fight on Wichita law violators and the police force of the town. Immediately following the filing of his complaint, Brewster left the city to begin a week's campaign tour. He did not outline his future plans."

Murrell was "gotten," and the furore of crusading, political flipflopping, and "covering up" lasted in Wichita for some time. The bootleggers, on the police force and elsewhere, merely shut up shop and waited until the storm had passed and then opened up again. While Brewster was hammering them over the head, others sprung up all over the State—in Leavenworth, Atchison, Topeka, Salina, and elsewhere. Not that they ever quit, but a new crop went to work in all the big and small towns with impunity, keeping an eye on the activities of the State constabulary in Wichita. When he quit there they kept right on. Public sentiment demands these sellers or they would not sell. And Wichita is another living example of how futile it is to enforce a law that is unpopular.

Recently the city administration cut out Sunday amusements there. The people demanded a referendum vote to show they did not want the law enforced. No heed was paid to the demand, and upon a plan being launched to take a "straw vote" on the matter the preachers flew into court and secured an injunction against it. And the people continue to rule!

Exclusive of appeal cases from police courts, of which there were a very great number—for the most part all bootlegging cases—the years 1914, 1915, and 1916 recorded 318 in the criminal division of the district court at Wichita. During the same time there were 459 divorce cases. While a very large number of divorce cases allege "abandonment and nonsupport," there is no way of telling from the record just what the real causes were. Owing to the slipshod manner in which the court records are kept in Wichita, it is almost impossible to determine to a certainty the disposition of many of the cases filed, and there is no way of determining the number of county-jail inmates for any year or to determine what caused their incarceration.

Very few, if any, police judges in the State will keep an accurate record, either, of the cases in their tribunals. "We have a number of arrests for drunkenness," said the police official of an inland Kansas town recently, "but they are all booked as 'disturbing the peace,'" which probably answers the question as to why they refuse to make any annual report showing the exact number.

Space will not permit an analysis of the police reports of Wichita, but that for the year 1916 is typical. Aside from the enormous number of arrests for drunkenness, maintaining liquor nuisances amount to 171. This, considered in the light of the connections existing there between the police and the underworld, and the fact that many of the whisky peddlers are given protection by the high officials would naturally result in a smaller amount of arrests for drunkenness than if the officers were instructed to "bring in" all bootleggers and intoxicated men and women. A large number of arrests on this account always results in public investigation by the ardent contingent hoping sometime to make prohibition such a success that law violations and drunkenness will cease to exist. The surest way, in their estimation, to bring this about is to rout the seller and arrest his customer. Police protection means license to do and dare, and they have been doing and daring in Wichita so long public sentiment is strongly opposed to any other system. The exclusive set likes it; they enjoy the adventure of a "slum trip" and the police see that they get it. There is no place in America, whether laboring under a license system or a bootleg system, where prohibition has made as sorry a showing as in Wichita. It is looked upon as a "red letter" spot in the prohibition area, and the more raiding done the worse the conditions become.

When ex-Gov. Stubbs prepared his "statistics" he claimed he used in his Chicago Antisaloon League speech, delivered March 27, 1910, he wired Judge Wilson, of the Sedgwick County district court, among others, asking him if the prohibitory law was being enforced, to which inquiry Judge Wilson replied: "Convictions are not more difficult in this district for violation of the prohibitory law than for violation of the other criminal laws of the State. This was not always so, but it is easily within the truth at the present time." A queer thing about the governor's "statistics" appearing as part of the speech he delivered in Chicago, and which is now one of the best sellers of the Antisaloon League, is that the letters from the various district judges are all dated during January, 1911, nine months after he delivered the speech.

In any event, Judge Wilson's declaration in the light of the most recent report from Wichita, that the county attorney threw up his hands in disgust after four juries had returned verdicts of not guilty in the

first four bootleg cases they tried in October, 1916, would indicate that the criminal laws of Kansas are indeed poorly "enforced" in Wichita, if, indeed, the liquor-violation convictions are on a par with other "criminal" acts.

It is almost needless to add, but extremely interesting nevertheless to know, that as a part of the "speech" there appears a letter signed by Mayor C. L. Davidson, of Wichita, dated January 27, 1911, almost a year after the "speech" was delivered, assuring Stubbs that "prohibitory laws are strictly enforced in Wichita. * * * There is no sentiment for old conditions." At that time there were probably 100 "regular" bootleggers receiving protection from the city officials, if reports published by the attorney general tell the truth.

Arrests for disturbing the peace in Wichita totaled 344 during 1916, which was a large increase over 1914 and 1915; assault-and-battery arrests were 57; vagrancy and loitering, male and female, 531; running houses of prostitution, aside from the places operated by the police, 90; lewdly abiding, except protected vice, 110; gambling, except protected games, 107; miscellaneous, 316, including all stealing, street walking, etc., not otherwise shown. The "miscellaneous" charges are large for every year.

Briefly summed up, the police records for Wichita, covering the years 1913, 1914, 1915, and 1916, as shown by the original books in the police department there, are:

1913.	
Drunk	841
Miscellaneous	1,721
Total	2,562
1914.	
Drunk	1,380
Miscellaneous	2,412
Total	3,792
1915.	
Total	4,391
1916.	
Total	4,587
1915.	
Drunk	1,525
Vagrancy	438
Disturbing the peace	336
Lewdly abiding	84
Houses of prostitution	87
Inmates of same	96
Liquor nuisance	172
Gambling	96
Concealed weapons	41
Miscellaneous	272
All others, including petit larceny, fighting, violation of speeding ordinances, street walking, etc	759
1916.	
Drunk	1,679
Vagrancy	531
Disturbing the peace	344
Lewdly abiding	110
Houses of prostitution	90
Inmates of same	
Liquor nuisance	171
Gambling	107
Concealed weapons	44
Miscellaneous	316
All others, including petit larceny, fighting, violation of speeding ordinances, street walking, etc	477

These figures do not include cases where suspected criminals were held for "investigation."

To follow the daily papers of Wichita, Topeka, and Kansas City, Mo., from January to December of any year, setting out the various stories carried covering the carnival of crime in Wichita, would be to burden this study with a volume much more extensive than space will possibly permit. While the matter of prohibition is looked upon as a huge joke there, raiding occupies a greater per cent of the time and energy of the police department, under the constant threats of attorney generals to oust the officials under the notorious ouster law now in force in Kansas. Since the large number of injunctions were granted in 1907, 1908, and 1909, and as much property as was possible to confiscate taken to pay attorney fees and costs, the program now is to hold the officials responsible for law enforcement. The burden has been cast from the shoulders of the attorney general's office as much as possible onto that of the local officials. Though public sentiment there is overwhelmingly in favor of peace and quiet, though law violation goes on, and despite the fact that the thinking people of Wichita know it is impossible to build a great city on clamor, chaos, and constant cannonading, the reform crowd is there as usual on the job, digging up "nuisances," etc., and demanding that the attorney general stop it. His easiest course is to demand that the local men stop it, and when it becomes so "terribly bad" he buckles on his armor and slides into town with a six-shooter in each hand and a knife between his teeth. On those occasions he finds plenty to do, but has become tired of it all.

Some idea of how this crusading works, when mothers neglect their children to become expert snoops, or ranting revival extremists, is shown by the black record Wichita carries as a city where juvenile vice, crime, and delinquency are rampant. A dispatch to the Topeka Capital, bearing a Wichita date line of February 8, 1916, is a sample of how the Kansas brand of prohibition, as applied to that city, saves the boys:

"When Mrs. Joe Hendee returned to her home in the fashionable part of the city to-day, she found the house disarranged. Calling the neighbors, she learned that two small boys had been seen about the place. Mrs. Hendee led a search of the house, and giving up in despair, sat down to study and then out from under a bed crawled two lads 11 years of age. The boys, at the police station, admitted that they had robbed a dozen homes, using stove polish as a blind to find out if the families were away. They implicated two other lads who are 13 and 9 years old."

No claim is made that "the open saloon" would cure these boys of their criminal diversions. Not at all. The point raised here is that when efforts are made to cram down the throats of any people, a law so unpopular, so ridiculous and so overwhelmingly opposed to public sentiment, and 90 per cent of the "home energy" and club energy, police energy, church energy, and political energy is expended in trying to make it a "success," things more highly important are bound to suffer—and home life, booze ridden, and dissolute seems to be the "incidental institution" that is suffering from the rattle-trap system all over Kansas—and it is by no means confined to Kansas. Every prohibition city tells the same story.

On February 26, 1916, the Capital carried another "happy-home" item from Wichita, also typical of the resplendent results of a ramshackle system, cursed with vice, crime, and bootlegging, not to mention Jamaica ginger:

"WICHITA, KANS., *February 26.*

"Juanita Barnett, aged 12, quarreled with her brother Sidney, 15 years old, here to-day, and going to Valley Center 6 miles north of here, drank chloroform. She is in a critical condition. The girl left a note saying she would do something to make her brother sure enough ashamed of her. She made her home with her grandmother. Her mother is in Kansas City and the whereabouts of her father is unknown."

On the following day the Kansas City Star carried an interesting story of two girls, 16 and 17 years old, respectively, who ran away from a "dinky" Kansas town, near Wichita, going to Kansas City to enter lives of shame. "We are tired of being pestered to death by the nosey, pokey old women," they said. "Its no wonder they drive girls to ruination." And on the same day according to the Kansas City Star, Carl Sherman, a jitney driver was find $100 because the police "discovered" he was running a "jitney joint" in Wichita. Sherman said he could not recall from whom he purchased the liquor, but said he bought it all in Wichita.

Another "happy home" prohibition item appeared in the Topeka Daily Capital, under a Wichita date line, May 8, 1916, which is also typical of the general news that occasionally breaks through the dry crust in Kansas:

"When Mrs. Walter Morris, the wife of one of the richest men in Wichita, returned home Saturday morning from a trip to Missouri, she found her home locked against her. None of the family would open the door, and Mrs. Morris got an ax to break in. She was taken to the city hall by the police and held several hours.

"Morris later in the day filed a suit for divorce, mentioning Having Roberts or L. W. Roberts, a furniture dealer in Mexico, Mo., in the petition. Morris alleges that his wife met Roberts, and the two registered at the Baltimore Hotel, in Moberly, Mo., as 'L. Williams and wife, Hannibal, Mo.' They were arrested, he claims, charged with disorderly conduct.

"Mr. and Mrs. Morris were married at Manhattan, October 31, 1913. She was his second wife and before her marriage was a widow. Roberts had visited the Morris family in Wichita, and the husband alleges that on one of these occasions his wife's actions were not wifely.

"The Morris home in Riverside is a $50,000 mansion overlooking the river, and one of the few brownstone fronts of the West. It used to be known as Campbell Castle, having been built in the boom days by Barbecue Campbell, a famous cattleman."

From all appearances, Wichita could stand another "revival." A recent dispatch from Wichita, contained in the Kansas City Journal, tells the story: "County and city officials anticipate that Attorney General Brewster will make an attack on Wichita joints within a week. Letters have been received, * * * charging that the lid is off in Wichita, and that it must be clamped down. The letters give addresses where liquor is alleged to be sold. The sheriff and county attorney claim they are doing all in their power to close the town, while the mayor and police chief say they are doing their best with the material they have to work with, and that recently in particular so many robberies have occurred in Wichita that police have become compelled by public sentiment to quit chasing bootleggers and chase thieves."

And just to prove that Wichita is just like other towns all over the world, the revivals, bootleg footraces, and hundreds of robberies that go to "prove" that Bill Sunday saved the town and stopped up all the leaks that State-wide prohibition has possibly "overlooked," the glad tidings were "tided" forth by the Topeka Daily Capital of August 4, 1916, that they possess at least one real high financier there—one at least aside from former Chief of Police O. K. Stewart, who has been caught. "L. W. Kennedy, cashier for the Missouri & Kansas Telephone Co.," says a dispatch from Wichita to the Capital of that date, "in this city, was to-night placed under arrest charged with a State warrant with falsifying books of the company to cover up an alleged shortage of more than $20,000. His arrest followed an examination of the company's bank deposits by an auditor of the company." It was needless for the dispatch to add that "Brother Kennedy" was one of the Bill Sunday revival team and a prominent member of dry society.

But aside from all this, Wichita is "famous" for another and most important reason. A reason that is always at the bottom of the fame of dry cities. Wichita is not only the headquarters for drug sellers and dope dispensers, but their deadly narcotic traffic is fast cutting deep inroads into the social and commercial welfare of that community.

Dr. C. L. Katz, one of the most prominent physicians of that city, was arrested on June 1, 1916, in Kansas City, and had in his possession a large amount of "dope" to be delivered to his agent, a "formerly of Wichita" daughter of prohibition, at Kansas City. Federal agents nailed him as he left the Wichita train at the Kansas City, Mo., union depot, according to all the Kansas City papers of that date. At the same time a raid was made of his apparently respectable office in Wichita, and, according to a Wichita dispatch to the Kansas City Star, June 3, 1916, "Figures obtained by the internal-revenue officers here from records seized in a raid on the headquarters of Dr. C. L. Katz show a total of $14,510 worth of morphine and gum opium. That amount, which the revenue officers consider a conservative estimate, represents narcotics handled by the doctor between September 6 and May 25. In the nine months 1,442 bottles of morphine, in 40-bottle lots, were received by Katz, according to the confiscated records. Valuing that at the rate which Katz asked for the one bottle sold in Kansas City to a revenue inspector in disguise, the whole was worth $7,210. Twenty and three-fourths pounds of raw opium were ordered by Katz in the nine months.

"The revenue exacted by the Government on smoking opium is $300 a pound, and would have been $6,300 if paid on smoking opium made from the raw opium. This valuation on the opium handled by Katz does not take into consideration its real price in the dispensing and is a very low estimate, the revenue officers believe."

It developed on the hearing of Dr. Katz that many "prominent" people were among his patients in Wichita and in other Kansas towns.

Kansas has a most stringent cigarette law, making it a misdemeanor to sell cigarettes to minors and prohibiting their sale under any circumstances. While Gov. Capper added a glittering pebble of "fame" to the already overflowing cornucopia of notoriety of which that State boasts, by issuing a royal edict that cigarette smokers as well as booze fighters would be forever barred from State employment, according to the Kansas City Journal, August 17, 1915, "dope cigarettes" were being sold by the thousand throughout the State. According to the Topeka State Journal of June 21, 1916, Federal inspectors stated that there were not less than 1,300 dope users in Wichita, and while they would give no estimate as to the number in the entire State, they said from what progress they had made up to that time in their survey, the number could easily be put at 15,000. Nearly twice that number were found according to later developments.

Under the headlines, "Now It's Doped Cigarettes;" "Needle Artist in Wichita jail mixed morphine with Tobacco," the Topeka State Journal of February 2, 1916, stated, under a Wichita date line of that day, that many bootleggers and others, men and women, locked up in the Wichita jail have been caught making cigarettes with dope in them. In commenting on the revelations made by the Federal investigators, the Topeka and Wichita papers all remarked that they could not understand how the drug had gotten such a strangle hold on the men, women, and children of the city.

That morphine poured in whisky, "rectified" for bootlegging purposes, has been drunk for years in Wichita is on open secret. Other kinds of dope and "hop" are in common use there. During the past year cigarette bootleggers have been supplying boys and girls, as well as adults, with manufactured dope cigarettes. "We can not begin to catch these scoundrels," the officials declared when called upon to put a stop to the traffic. "They dispose of their stock quickly and even before we can start a search for them, they cross the State line into Oklahoma and are lost to us. They always come back, though. They are doing a thriving business here. But we have no way of detecting them or determining their purpose until they have gone."

At the present time liquor and drug "probes" are being carried on there. Chief Parsons, of Topeka, declares that when a bootlegger is "prohibited" from bootlegging by constant arresting, he turns thief, and it might be added in conclusion that when the public becomes "prohibited" from patronizing him, it will patronize another and let the thief the law has created go unapprehended. In this delightful process of creation and immunity, the police must necessarily lend a hand because, as the Wichita police declare, they are so busy chasing regular bootleggers the preachers and women dig up for them to catch they have no time for robbers and pickpockets. Neither have they any time for vendors of dope-laden cigarettes. State employees are fired if they smoke a cigarette containing tobacco, or drink beer containing a small per cent of alcohol, or wine made from the purest fruit that grows, but Wichita boys and girls are "licensed" by the rattle-trap system to peddle rot gut and rot brain booze, hard cider mixed with ginger ale, to drink it and to be exploited by the Antisaloon League stump-speaking contingent, as the "bightest, happiest children on earth because they have never seen an open saloon"; and are licensed to buy, sell, and use dope cigarettes, rob, cheat, and steal; fill houses of prostitution, jails, and penitentiaries, as well as premature graves, all because they are cursed with a system reeking with social filth and patched up and misrepresented by men who are afraid to tell the truth about it and who are paid Sunday school pennies and dimes, and big real dollars by the "larger and more interested" contributors.

On a recent trip to Wichita Attorney General Brewster confiscated a large quantity of hard cider in a grocer stock. Complaints had been sent in by the white-plague league that the cider was "fermented" and had made several deacons feel pretty "pert," so the hand of the law was slammed into the grocer's ribs. "A law must be passed prohibiting cider of all kinds. It will become fermented and then there is always trouble," said the State chief of constabulary. And no one doubts he told the truth. Thus the apple is doomed in fair Kansas. The only thing now left for the people of Wichita, Topeka, Salina, and other decadent commonwealths in that grand and glorious State of wind and noise is Jamaica ginger and cigarettes made of alfalfa and dope. These can be smuggled in and Jamaica ginger comes in by the barrel, according to Chief Parsons, of Topeka, is intensely intoxicating, and lies at the bottom of numerous murders, rapes, thefts, juvenile crimes of all kinds, and is one of the fondlings of dear old prohibition Kansas that is shooting the insanity rate up at the astounding number of over 700 cases annually. For a State that has witnessed a caravan of population headed toward other and more tolerant Commonwealths at the rate of 19,000 in less than four years, that is a very fair record.

Bootlegging has become an art, dope a necessity, and cheating the law by "cutting in" with the police has become a passport to freedom. These three "finished products" of prohibition constitute the great triumvirate of progress, which together with the antics of Carrie Nation and the farmer who fondly kissed Bill Bryan, have kept Kansas in the foreground of notoriety for, lo, these many years.

The Crime of Poverty.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, in these best of times and worst of times, in this era of high wages and a higher cost of living, at this juncture in our history when men more than ever before were confronted on the one hand with evidences of abounding wealth and on the other with the shocking manifestations of direst poverty, it seems not improper to invite attention once more to a remarkable address delivered more than 30 years ago to a western audience by the late Henry George under the auspices of the Knights of Labor, then the most powerful branch of organized workmen.

This address is as timely in 1917 as it was in 1885. It is illuminating in almost every sentence, and it throws a light on current facts and conditions which more than any other of which I know reveals their true relations. I am sure that this will be a helpful contribution to a vital discussion which is appealing to men and women of all classes, and I bespeak for it that considerate attention to which I believe it entitled.

The address follows:

THE CRIME OF POVERTY.

[An address delivered in the Opera House, Burlington, Iowa, Apr. 1, 1885, under the auspices of Burlington Assembly, No. 3135, Knights of Labor.]

Ladies and gentlemen, I propose to talk to you to-night of the crime of poverty. I can not, in a short time, hope to convince you of much; but the thing of things I should like to show you is that poverty is a crime. I do not mean that it is a crime to be poor. Murder is a crime, but it is not a crime to be murdered; and a man who is in poverty I look upon not as a criminal in himself so much as the victim of a crime for which others, as well, perhaps, as himself, are responsible. That poverty is a curse, the bitterest of curses, we all know. Carlyle was right when he said that the hell of which Englishmen were most afraid was the hell of poverty; and this is true, not of Englishmen alone, but of people all over the civilized world, no matter what their nationality. It is to escape this hell that we strive and strain and struggle, and work on oftentimes in blind habit long after the necessity for work is gone.

The curse born of poverty is not confined to the poor alone; it runs through all classes, even to the very rich. They, too, suffer; they must suffer, for there can not be suffering in a community from which any class can totally escape. The vice, the crime, the ignorance, the meanness, born of poverty, poison, so to speak, the very air which rich and poor alike must breathe.

I walked down one of your streets this morning and I saw three men going along with their hands chained together. I knew for certain that those men were not rich men; and although I do not know the offense for which they were carried in chains through your streets, this, I think, I can safely say, that if you trace it up you will find it in some way to spring from poverty. Nine-tenths of human misery I think you will find, if you look, to be due to poverty. If a man chooses to be poor he commits no crime in being poor, provided his poverty hurts no one but himself. If a man has others dependent upon him; if there are a wife and children whom it is his duty to support, then if he voluntarily chooses poverty it is a crime—aye, and I think that in most cases the men who have no one to support but themselves are men that are shirking their duty. A woman comes into the world for every man; and for every man who lives a single life, caring only for himself, there is some woman who is deprived of her natural supporter. But while a man who chooses to be poor can not be charged with crime it is certainly a crime to force poverty on others. And it seems to me clear that the great majority of those who suffer from poverty are poor not from their own particular faults but because of conditions imposed by society at large. Therefore I hold that poverty is a crime—not an individual crime, but a social crime—a crime for which we all, poor as well as rich, are responsible.

Two or three weeks ago I went one Sunday evening to the church of a famous Brooklyn preacher. Mr. Sankey was singing, and something like a revival was going on there. The clergyman told some anecdotes connected with the revival, and recounted some of the reasons why men failed to become Christians. One case he mentioned struck me. He said he had noticed on the outskirts of the congregation, night after night, a man who listened intently, and who gradually moved forward. One night, the clergyman said, he went to him, saying "My brother are you not ready to become a Christian?" The man said, no, he was not. He said it not in a defiant tone but in a sorrowful tone. The clergyman asked him why, whether he did not believe in the truths he had been hearing? Yes; he believed them all. Why, then, wouldn't he become a Christian? "Well," he said, "I can't join the church without giving up my business; and it is necessary for the support of my wife and children. If I give that up I don't know how in the world I can get along. I had a hard time before I found my present business, and I can not afford to give it up. Yet, I can't become a Christian without giving it up." The clergyman asked, "Are you a rum seller?" No; he was not a rum seller. Well, the clergyman said, he didn't know what in the world the man could be; it seemed to him that a rum seller was the only man who does a business that would prevent his becoming a Christian, and he finally said, "What is your business?" The man said, "I sell soap." "Soap!" exclaimed the clergyman, "you sell soap? How in the world does that prevent you becoming a Christian?" "Well," the man said, "it is this way; the soap I sell is one of these patent soaps that are extensively advertised as enabling you to clean clothes very quickly, as containing no deleterious compound whatever. Every cake of the soap I sell is wrapped in a paper on which is printed a statement that it contains no injurious chemicals, whereas the truth of the matter is that it does, and that though it will take the dirt out of the clothes pretty quickly, it will, in a little while, rot them completely out. I have to make my living in this way, and I can not feel that I can become a Christian if I sell that soap." The minister went on describing how he labored unsuccessfully with that man, and finally wound up by saying, "He stuck to his soap and lost his soul."

But if that man lost his soul was it his fault alone? Whose fault is it that social conditions are such that men have to make that terrible choice between what conscience tells them is right and the necessity of earning a living? I hold that it is the fault of society; that it is the fault of us all. Pestilence is a curse. The man who would bring cholera to this country, or the man who, having the power to prevent its coming here, would make no effort to do so would be guilty of a crime. Poverty is worse than cholera; poverty kills more people than pestilence, even in the best of times. Look at the death statistics of our cities; see where the deaths come quickest; see where it is that little children die like flies—it is in the poorer quarters. And the man who looks with careless eyes upon the ravages of this pestilence, the man who does not set himself to stay and eradicate it, he, I say, is guilty of a crime.

If poverty is appointed by the Power which is above us all, then it is no crime; but if poverty is unnecessary, then it is a crime for which society is responsible and for which society must suffer.

I hold, and I think no one who looks at the facts can fail to see, that poverty is utterly unnecessary. It is not by the decree of the Almighty, but it is because of our own injustice, our own selfishness, our own ignorance, that this scourge, worse than any pestilence, ravages our civilization, bringing want and suffering and degradation, destroying souls as well as bodies. Look over the world, in this heyday of nineteenth century civilization. In every civilized country under the sun you will find men and women whose condition is worse than that of the savage; men and women and little children with whom the veriest savage could not afford to exchange. Even in this new city of yours, with virgin soil around you, you have had this winter to institute a relief society. Your roads have been filled with tramps, 15, I am told, at one time taking shelter in a roundhouse here. As here, so everywhere, and poverty is deepest where wealth most abounds.

What more unnatural than this? There is nothing in nature like this poverty which to-day curses us. We see rapine in nature; we see one species destroying another; but as a general thing animals do not feed on their own kind; and wherever we see one kind enjoying plenty, all individuals of that kind share it. No man, I think, ever saw a herd of buffalo of which a few were fat and the great majority lean. No man ever saw a flock of birds of which two or three were swimming in grease and the others all skin and bone. Nor in savage life is there anything like the poverty that festers in our civilization.

In a rude state of society there are seasons of want, seasons when people starve; but they are seasons when the earth has refused to yield her increase, when the rain has not fallen from the heavens, or when the land has been swept by some foe—not when there is plenty; and yet the peculiar characteristic of this modern poverty of ours is, that it is deepest where wealth most abounds.

Why, to-day, while over the civilized world there is so much distress, so much want? What is the cry that goes up? What is the current explanation of the hard times? Overproduction! There are so many clothes that men must go ragged; so much coal that in the bitter winters people have to shiver; such overfilled granaries that people actually die by starvation! Want due to overproduction! Was a greater absurdity ever uttered? How can there be overproduction till all have enough? It is not overproduction, it is unjust distribution.

Poverty necessary! Why, think of the enormous powers that are latent in the human brain! Think how invention enables us to do with the power of one man—what not long ago could not be done by the power of a thousand. Think that in England alone the steam machinery in operation is said to exert a productive force greater than the physical force of the population of the world, were they all adults. And yet we have only begun to invent and discover. We have not yet utilized all that has already been invented and discovered. And look at the powers of the earth. They have hardly been touched. In every direction as we look new resources seem to open. Man's ability to produce wealth seems almost infinite; we can set no bounds to it. Look at the power that is flowing by your city in the current of the Mississippi that might be set at work for you. So in every direction energy that we might utilize goes to waste; resources that we might draw upon are untouched. Yet men are delving and straining to satisfy mere animal wants; women are working, working, working their lives away, and too frequently turning in despair from that hard struggle to cast away all that makes the charm of woman.

If the animals can reason, what must they think of us? Look at one of those great ocean steamers plowing her way across the Atlantic, against wind, against wave, absolutely setting at defiance the utmost power of the elements. If the gulls that hover over her were thinking beings, could they imagine that the animal that could create such a structure as that could actually want for enough to eat? Yet so it is. How many even of those of us who find life easiest are there who really live a rational life? Think of it, you who believe that there is only one life for man—what a fool at the very best is a man to pass his life in this struggle to merely live. And you who believe, as I believe, that this is not the last of man, that this is a life that opens but another life, think how nine-tenths, aye, I do not know but ninety-nine hundredths of all our vital powers are spent in a mere effort to get a living, or to heap together that which we can not by any possibility take away. Take the life of the average workingman. Is that the life for which the human brain was intended and the human heart was made? Look at the factories scattered through our country. They are little better than penitentiaries.

I read in the New York papers a while ago that the girls at the Yonkers factories had struck. The papers said that the girls did not seem to know why they had struck, and intimated that it must be just for the fun of striking. Then came out the girls' side of the story, and it appeared that they had struck against the rules in force. They were fined if they spoke to one another, and they were fined still more heavily if they laughed.

There was a heavy fine for being a minute late. I visited a lady in Philadelphia who had been a forewoman in various factories, and I asked her, "Is it possible that such rules are enforced?" She said it was so in Philadelphia. There is a fine for speaking to your next neighbor, a fine for laughing; and she told me that the girls in one place where she was employed were fined 10 cents a minute for being late, though many of them had to come for miles in winter storms. She told me of one poor girl who really worked hard one week and made $3.50, but the fines against here were $5.25. That seems ridiculous; it is ridiculous, but it is pathetic, and it is shameful.

But take the cases of those even who are comparatively independent and well off. Here is a man working hour after hour, day after day, week after week, in doing one thing over and over again, and for what? Just to live. He is working 10 hours a day in order that he may sleep 8 and may have 2 or 3 hours for himself when he is tired out and all his faculties are exhausted. That is not a reasonable life; that is not a life for a being possessed of the powers that are in man; and I think every man must have felt it for himself. I know that when I first went to my trade I thought to myself that it was incredible that a man was created to work all day long just to live. I used to read the Scientific American, and as invention after invention was heralded in that paper I used to think to myself that when I became a man it would not be necessary to work so hard. But, on the contrary, the struggle for existence has become more and more intense. People who want to prove the contrary get up masses of statistics to show that the condition of the working classes is improving. Improvement that you have to take a statistical microscope to discover does not amount to anything. But there is no improvement.

Improvement! Why, according to the last report of the Michigan Bureau of Labor Statistics, as I read yesterday in a Detroit paper, taking all the trades, including some of the very high-priced ones, where the wages are from $6 to $7 a day, the average earnings amount to $1.77, and taking out waste time, to $1.40. Now when you consider how a man can live and bring up a family on $1.40 a day, even in Michigan, I do not think you will conclude that the condition of the working classes can have very much improved.

Here is a broad general fact that is asserted by all who have investigated the question, by such men as Hallam, the historian, and Prof. Thorold Rogers, who has made a study of the history of prices as they were five centuries ago. When all the productive arts were in the most primitive state, when the most prolific of our modern vegetables had not been introduced, when the breeds of cattle were small and poor, when there were hardly any roads, and transportation was exceedingly difficult, when all manufacturing was done by hand—in that rude time the condition of the laborers of England was far better than it is to-day. In those rude times no man need fear want save when actual famine came, and owing to the difficulties of transportation the plenty of one district could not relieve the scarcity of another. Save in such times no man need fear want. Pauperism, such as exists in modern times, was absolutely unknown. Every one, save the physically disabled, could make a living, and the poorest lived in rude plenty. But, perhaps, the most astonishing fact brought to light by this investigation is that at that time, under those conditions, in those "dark ages," as we call them, the working day was only eight hours. While, with all our modern inventions and improvements, our working classes have been agitating and struggling in vain to get the working day reduced to eight hours.

Do these facts show improvement? Why, in the rudest state of society, in the most primitive state of the arts, the labor of the natural breadwinner will suffice to provide a living for himself and for those who are dependent upon him. Amid all our inventions there are large bodies of men who can not do this. What is the most astonishing thing in our civilization? Why, the most astonishing thing to those Sioux chiefs who were recently brought from the far West and taken through our manufacturing cities in the East, was not the marvelous inventions that enabled machinery to act almost as if it had intellect; it was not the growth of our cities; it was not the speed with which the railway car whirled along; it was not the telegraph or the telephone that most astonished them, but the fact that amid this marvelous development of productive power, they found little children at work. And astonishing that ought to be to us; a most astounding thing!

Talk about improvement in the condition of the working classes, when the facts are that a larger and larger proportion of women and children are forced to toil. Why I am told that, even here in your own city, there are children of 13 and 14 working in factories. In Detroit, according to the report of the Michigan Bureau of Labor Statistics, one-half of the children of school age do not go to school. In New Jersey, the report made to the legislature discloses an amount of misery and ignorance that is appalling. Children are growing up there compelled to monotonous toil when they ought to be at play; children who do not know how to play; children who have been so long accustomed to work that they have become used to it; children growing up in such ignorance that they do not know what country New Jersey is in; that they never heard of George Washington; that some of them think Europe is in New York. Such facts are appalling; they mean that the very foundations of the Republic are being sapped. The dangerous man is not the man who tries to excite discontent; the dangerous man is the man who says that all is as it ought to be. Such a state of things can not continue; such tendencies as we see at work here can not go on without bringing at last an overwhelming crash.

I say that all this poverty and the ignorance that flows from it is unnecessary; I say that there is no natural reason why we should not all be rich, in the sense not of having more than each other, but in the sense of all having enough to completely satisfy all physical wants; of all having enough to get such an easy living that we could develop the better part of humanity. There is no reason why wealth should not be so abundant that no one should think of such a thing as little children at work, or a woman compelled to a toil that nature never intended her to perform; wealth so abundant that there would be no cause for that harassing fear that sometimes paralyzes even those who are not considered "the poor," the fear that every man of us has probably felt that if sickness should smite him, or if he should be taken away, those whom he loves better than his life would become charges upon charity. "Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin." I believe that in a really Christian community, in a society that honored not with the lips but with the act the doctrines of Jesus, no one would have occasion to worry about physical needs any more than do the lilies of the field. There is enough and to spare. The trouble is that in this mad struggle we trample in the mire what has been provided in sufficiency for us all; trample it in the mire while we tear and rend each other.

There is a cause for this poverty, and if you trace it down you will find its root in a primary injustice. Look over the world to-day—poverty everywhere. The cause must be a common one. You can not attribute it to the tariff, or to the form of government, or to this thing or to that in which nations differ; because, as deep poverty is common to them all, the cause that produces it must be a common cause. What is that common cause? There is one sufficient cause that is common to all nations; and that is, the appropriation as the property of some, of that natural element on which and from which all must live.

Take that fact I have spoken of, that appalling fact that even now it is harder to live than it was in the ages dark and rude five centuries ago. How do you explain it? There is no difficulty in finding the cause. Whoever reads the history of England or the history of any other civilized nation (but I speak of the history of England because that is the history with which we are best acquainted) will see the reason. For century after century a Parliament composed of aristocrats and employers passed laws endeavoring to reduce wages, but in vain. Men could not be crowded down to wages that gave a mere living because the bounty of nature was not wholly shut up from them; because some remains of the recognition of the truth that all men have equal rights on the earth still existed; because the land of that country, that which was held in private possession, was only held on a tenure derived from the nation and for a rent payable back to the nation. The church lands supported the expenses of public worship, of the maintenance of seminaries, and the care of the poor; the Crown lands defrayed the expenses of the civil list; and from a third portion of the lands, those held under military tenures, the army was provided for. There was no national debt in England at that time. They carried on wars for hundreds of years, but at the charge of the landowners. And, more important still, there remained everywhere—and you can see in every old English town their traces to this day—the common lands to which any of the neighborhood was free. It was as those lands

were inclosed; it was as the commons were gradually monopolized, as the church lands were made the prey of greedy courtiers, as the Crown lands were given away as absolute property to the favorites of the King, as the military tenants shirked their rents and laid the expenses they had agreed to defray upon the nation in taxation, that bore upon industry and upon thrift—it was then that poverty began to deepen and the tramp appeared in England, just as to-day he is appearing in our new States.

Now, think of it, is not land monopolization a sufficient reason for poverty? What is man? In the first place, he is an animal, a land animal, who can not live without land. All that man produces comes from land, all productive labor in the final analysis consists in working up land, or materials are drawn from land into such forms as fit them for the satisfaction of human wants and desires. Why, man's very body is drawn from the land. Children of the soil, we come from the land, and to the land we must return. Take away from man all that belongs to the land, and what have you but a disembodied spirit? Therefore, he who holds the land on which and from which another man must live is that man's master, and the man is his slave. The man who holds the land on which I must live can command me to life or to death just as absolutely as though I were his chattel. Talk about abolishing slavery—we have not abolished slavery—we have only abolished one rude form of it, chattel slavery. There is a deeper and more insidious form, a more cursed form yet before us to abolish in this industrial slavery that makes a man a virtual slave, while taunting him and mocking him with the name of freedom. Poverty! Want! They will sting as much as the lash. Slavery! God knows there are horrors enough in slavery; but there are deeper horrors in our civilized society to-day. Bad as chattel slavery was, it did not drive slave mothers to kill their children; yet you may read in official reports that the system of child insurance, which has taken root so strongly in England and which is now spreading over our Eastern States, has perceptibly and largely increased the rate of child mortality. What does that mean?

Robinson Crusoe, as you know, when he rescued Friday from the cannibals made him his slave. Friday had to serve Crusoe. But supposing Crusoe had said, "Oh, man and brother, I am very glad to see you, and I welcome you to this island, and you shall be a free and independent citizen, with just as much to say as I have, except that this island is mine, and, of course, as I can do as I please with my own property you must not use it save upon my terms," Friday would have been just as much Crusoe's slave as though he had called him one. Friday was not a fish, he could not swim off through the sea; he was not a bird, and could not fly off through the air; if he lived at all he had to live on that island. And if that island was Crusoe's, Crusoe was his master through life to death.

A friend of mine, who believes as I do upon this question, was talking a while ago with another friend of mine who is a greenbacker, but who had not paid much attention to the land question. Our greenbacker friend said, "Yes; yes; the land question is an important question; oh, I admit that the land question is a very important question, but then there are other important questions. There is this question, and that question, and the other question; and there is the money question. The money question is a very important question; it is a more important question than the land question. You give me all the money, and you can take all the land." My friend said, "Well, suppose you had all the money in the world and I had all the land in the world, what would you do if I were to give you notice to quit?"

Do you know that I do not think the average man realizes what land is? I know a little girl who has been going to school for some time, studying geography, and all that sort of thing, and one day she said to me: "Here is something about the surface of the earth. I wonder what the surface of the earth looks like?" "Well," I said, "look out into the yard there. That is the surface of the earth." She said, "That the surface of the earth? Our yard the surface of the earth? Why, I never thought of it!" That is very much the case not only with grown men, but with such wise beings as newspaper editors. They seem to think, when you talk of land, that you always refer to farms; to think that the land question is a question that relates entirely to farmers, as though land had no other use than growing crops. Now, I should like to know how a man could even edit a newspaper without having the use of some land. He might swing himself by straps and go up in a balloon, but he could not even then get along without land. What supports the balloon in the air? Land; the surface of the earth. Let the earth drop, and what would become of the balloon? The air that supports the balloon is supported in turn by land. So it is with everything else men can do. Whether a man is working away 3,000 feet under the surface of the earth or whether he is working up in the top of one of those immense buildings they have in New York, whether he is plowing the soil or sailing across the ocean, he is still using land.

Land! Why, in owning a piece of ground, what do you own? The lawyers will tell you that you own from the center of the earth right up to heaven; and, so far as all human purposes go, you do. In New York they are building houses 13 and 14 stories high. What are men living in those upper stories paying for? There is a friend of mine who has an office in one of them, and he estimates that he pays by the cubic foot for air. Well, the man who owns the surface of the land has the renting of the air up there and would have if the buildings were carried up for miles.

This land question is the bottom question. Man is a land animal. Suppose you want to build a house; can you build it without a place to put it? What is it built of? Stone or mortar or wood or iron—they all come from the earth. Think of any article of wealth you choose, any of those things which men struggle for, where do they come from? From the land. It is the bottom question.

The land question is simply the labor question, and when some men own that element from which all wealth must be drawn, and upon which all must live, then they have the power of living without work, and therefore those who do work get less of the products of work.

Did you ever think of the utter absurdity and strangeness of the fact that all over the civilized world the working classes are the poor classes? Go into any city in the world and get into a cab and ask the man to drive you to where the working people live; he won't take you to where the fine houses are; he will take you, on the contrary, into the squalid quarters, the poorer quarters. Did you ever think how curious that is? Think for a moment how it would strike a rational being who had never been on the earth before, if such an intelligence could come down, and you were to explain to him how we live on earth, how houses and food and clothing and all the many things we need are all produced by work; would he not think that the working people would be the people who lived in the finest houses and had most of everything that work produces? Yet, whether you took him to London or Paris or New York or even to Burlington, he would find that those called working people were the people who lived in the poorest houses.

All this is strange—just think of it. We naturally despise poverty, and it is reasonable that we should. I do not say—I distinctly repudiate it—that the people who are poor are poor always from their own fault, or even in most cases; but it ought to be so. If any good man or woman had the power to create a world it would be a sort of a world in which no one would be poor unless he was lazy or vicious. But that is just precisely the kind of a world that this is; that is just precisely the kind of a world that the Creator has made. Nature gives to labor, and to labor alone; there must be human work before any article of wealth can be produced, and, in a natural state of things, the man who toiled honestly and well would be the rich man, and he who did not work would be poor. We have so reversed the order of nature that we are accustomed to think of a workingman as a poor man.

And if you trace it out I believe you will see that the primary cause of this is that we compel those who work to pay others for permission to do so. You buy a coat, a horse, a house; there you are paying the seller for labor exerted, for something that he has produced or that he has got from the man who did produce it; but when you pay a man for land, what are you paying him for? You pay him for something that no man produced; you pay him for something that was here before man was, or for a value that was created, not by him individually, but by the community of which you are a part. What is the reason that the land here where we stand to-night is worth more than it was 25 years ago? What is the reason that land in the center of New York, that once could be bought by the mile for a jug of whisky, is now worth so much that, though you were to cover it with gold, you would not have its value. Is it not because of the increase of population? Take away that population, and where would the value of the land be? Look at it in any way you please.

We talk about overproduction. How can there be such a thing as overproduction while people want? All these things that are said to be overproduced are desired by many people. Why do they not get them? They do not get them because they have not the means to buy them, not that they do not want them. Why have they not the means to buy them? They earn too little. When great masses of men have to work for an average of $1.40 a day it is no wonder that great quantities of goods can not be sold.

Now, why is it that men have to work for such low wages? Because if they were to demand higher wages there are plenty of unemployed men ready to step into their places. It is this mass of unemployed men who compel that fierce competition that drives wages down to the point of bare subsistence. Why is it that there are men who can not get employment? Did you ever think what a strange thing it is that men can not find employment? Adam had no difficulty in finding employment; neither had Robinson Crusoe; the finding of employment was the last thing that troubled them.

If men can not find an employer, why can they not employ themselves? Simply because they are shut out from the element on which human labor can alone be exerted; men are compelled to compete with each other for the wages of an employer, because they have been robbed of the natural opportunities of employing themselves, because they can not find a piece of God's world on which to work without paying some other human creature for the privilege.

I do not mean to say that, even after you had set right this fundamental injustice, there would not be many things to do; but this I do mean to say, that our treatment of land lies at the bottom of all social questions. This I do mean to say, that, do what you please, reform as you may, you never can get rid of widespread poverty so long as the element on which, and from which, all men must live is made the private property of some men. It is utterly impossible. Reform government—get taxes down to the minimum—build railways; institute cooperative stores; divide profits, if you choose, between employers and employed, and what will be the result? The result will be that land will increase in value—that will be the result—that and nothing else. Experience shows this. Do not all improvements simply increase the value of land—the price that some must pay others for the privilege of living?

Consider the matter. I say it with all reverence, and merely say it because I wish to impress a truth upon your minds; it is utterly impossible, so long as His laws are what they are, that God Himself could relieve poverty—utterly impossible. Think of it, and you will see. Men pray to the Almighty to relieve poverty. But poverty comes not from God's laws—it is blasphemy of the worst kind to say that—it comes from man's injustice to his fellows. Supposing the Almighty were to hear the prayer, how could He carry out the request, so long as His laws are what they are? Consider, the Almighty gives us nothing of the things that constitute wealth. He merely gives us the raw material, which must be utilized by man to produce wealth. Does He not give us enough of that now? How could He relieve poverty even if He were to give us more? Supposing, in answer to these prayers, He were to increase the power of the sun, or the virtues of the soil? Supposing He were to make plants more prolific, or animals to produce after their kind more abundantly? Who would get the benefit of it? Take a country where land is completely monopolized, as it is in most of the civilized countries, who would get the benefit of it? Simply the landowners. And even if God, in answer to prayer, were to send down out of the heavens those things that men require, who would get the benefit?

In the Old Testament we are told that when the Israelites journeyed through the desert they were ahungered and that God sent down out of the heavens manna. There was enough for all of them, and they all took it and were relieved. But, supposing that desert had been held as private property, as the soil of Great Britain is held, as the soil even of our new States is being held; supposing that one of the Israelites had a square mile and another one had 20 square miles, and another one had a hundred square miles, and the great majority of the Israelites did not have enough to set the soles of their feet upon which they could call their own—what would become of the manna? What good would it have done to the majority? Not a whit. Though God had sent down manna enough for all, that manna would have been the property of the landholders; they would have employed some of the others, perhaps, to gather it up in heaps for them and would have sold it to the hungry brethren. Consider it—this purchase and sale of manna might have gone on until the majority of the Israelites had given up all they had, even to the clothes off their backs. What then? Well, then they would not have had anything left with which to buy manna, and the consequence would have been that while they went hungry the manna would be lying in great heaps, and the landowners would be

complaining about the overproduction of manna. There would have been a great harvest of manna and hungry people, just precisely the phenomenon that we see to-day.

I can not go over all the points I would like to, but I wish to call your attention to the utter absurdity of private property in land. Why, consider it; the idea of a man selling the earth—the earth, our common mother. A man selling that which no man produced. A man passing title from one generation to another. Why, it is the most absurd thing in the world. Did you ever think of this? What right has a dead man to land? For whom was this earth created? It was created for the living—certainly not for the dead. Well, now, we treat it as though it was created for the dead. Where do our land titles come from? They come from men who, for the most part, have passed and gone. Here in this new country you get a little nearer the original source, but go to the Eastern States and go over the Atlantic. There you may clearly see the power that comes from landownership.

As I say, the man that owns the land is the master of those who must live on it. Here is a modern instance: You who are familiar with the history of the Scottish Church know that in the forties there was a disruption in the church. You who have read Hugh Miller's work on The Cruise of the Betsey know something about it; how a great body, led by Dr. Chalmers, came out from the Established Church and said they would set up a Free Church. In the Established Church were a great many of the landowners. Some of them, like the Duke of Buccleuch, owning miles and miles of land on which no common Scotsman had a right to put his foot save by the Duke of Buccleuch's permission. These landowners refused not only to allow these Free Churchmen to have ground upon which to erect a church, but they would not let them stand on their land and worship God. You who have read The Cruise of the Betsey know that it is the story of a clergyman who was obliged to make his home in a boat on the wild sea, because he was not allowed to have land enough to live on. In many places the people had to take the sacrament with the tide coming to their knees—many a man lost his life worshiping on the roads, in the rain and snow. They were not permitted to go on Mr. Landlord's land and worship God, and had to take to the roads. The Duke of Buccleuch stood out for seven years, compelling people to worship on the roads, until finally, relenting a little, he allowed them to do so in a gravel pit; whereupon they passed a resolution of thanks to his grace.

But that is not what I wanted to tell you. The thing that struck me was this significant fact: As soon as the disruption occurred the Free Church, composed of a great many able men, at once sent a deputation to the landlords to ask permission for Scotsmen to worship God in Scotland and in their own way. This deputation set out for London—they had to go to London, England, to get permission for Scotsmen to worship God in Scotland and in their own native home!

But that is not the most absurd thing. In one place, when they were refused land upon which to stand and worship God, the late landowner had died and his estate was in the hands of the trustees, and the answer of the trustees was that, so far as they were concerned, they would exceedingly like to allow them to have a place to put up a church to worship, but they could not conscientiously do it, because they knew that such a course would be very displeasing to the late Mr. Monaltie! Now, this dead man had gone to heaven, let us hope; at any rate he had gone away from this world, but, lest it might displease him, men yet living could not worship God. Is it possible for absurdity to go any further?

You may say that those Scottish people are a very absurd people, but they are not a whit more so than we are. I read only a little while ago of some Long Island fishermen who had been paying as rent for the privilege of fishing there a certain part of the catch. They paid it because they believed that James II, a dead man centuries ago, a man who never put his foot in America, a king who was kicked off the English throne, had said they had to pay it, and they got up a committee, went to the county town and searched the records. They could not find anything in the records to show that James II had ever ordered that they should give any of their fish to anybody, and so they refused to pay any longer. But if they had found that James II had really said they should, they would have gone on paying. Can anything be more absurd?

There is a square in New York—Stuyvesant Square—it is locked up at 6 o'clock every evening, even on long summer evenings. Why is it locked up? Why are the children not allowed to play there? Why, because old Mr. Stuyvesant, dead and gone I don't know how many years ago, so willed it. Now, can anything be more absurd?

Yet that is not any more absurd than our land titles. From whom do they come? Dead man after dead man. Suppose you get on the cars here going to Council Bluffs or Chicago. You find a passenger with his baggage strewn over the seats. You say, "Will you give me a seat, if you please, sir?" He replies, "No; I bought this seat." "Bought this seat? From whom did you buy it." "I bought it from the man who got out at the last station." That is the way we manage this earth of ours.

Is it not a self-evident truth, as Thomas Jefferson said, that "the land belongs in usufruct to the living," and that they who have died have left it, and have no power to say how it shall be disposed of? Title to land! Where can a man get any title which makes the earth his property?

There is a sacred right to property—sacred because ordained by the laws of nature, that is to say, by the law of God, and necessary to social order and civilization. That is the right of property in things produced by labor; it rests on the right of a man to himself. That which a man produces, that is his against all the world, to give or to keep, to lend, to sell or to bequeath; but how can he get such a right to land when it was here before he came? Individual claims to land rest only on appropriation. I read in a recent number of the Nineteenth Century, possibly some of you have read it, an article by an ex-Prime Minister of Australia, in which there was a little story that attracted my attention. It was of a man named Galahard, who, in the earily days, got up to the top of a high hill in one of the finest parts of western Australia. He got up there, looked all around, and made his proclamation: "All the land that is in sight from the top of this hill I claim for myself; and all the land that is out of sight I claim for my son John."

That story is of universal application. Land titles everywhere come from just such appropriation. Now, under certain circumstances, appropriation can give a right. You invite a company of gentlemen to dinner and you say to them, "Be seated, gentlemen," and I get into this chair. Well, that seat for the time being is mine by the right of appropriation. It would be very ungentlemanly, it would be very wrong, for any of the other guests to come up and say, "Get out of that chair; I want to sit there!" But that right of possession, which is good so far as the chair is concerned for the time, does not give me a right to appropriate all there is on the table before me. Grant that a man has a right to appropriate such natural elements as he can use, has he any right to appropriate more than he can use? Has a guest, in such a case as I have supposed, a right to appropriate more than he needs and make other people stand up? That is what is done.

Why, look all over this country—look at this town or any other town. If men took only what they wanted to use we should all have enough; but they take what they do not want to use at all. Here are a lot of Englishmen coming over here and getting titles to our land in vast tracts; what do they want with our land? They do not want it at all; it is not the land they want; they have no use for American land. What they want is the income that they know they can in a little while get from it. Where does that income come from? It comes from labor, from the labor of American citizens. What we are selling to these people is our children, not land.

Poverty? Can there be any doubt of its cause? Go into the old countries; go into western Ireland, into the highlands of Scotland; there there are purely primitive communities. There you will find people as poor as poor can be, living year after year on oatmeal or on potatoes, and often going hungry. I could tell you many a pathetic story. Speaking to a Scottish physician who was telling me how this diet was inducing among these people a disease similar to that which from the same cause is ravaging Italy (the pellagra), I said to him: "There is plenty of fish; why don't they catch fish? There is plenty of game. I know the laws are against it, but can not they take it on the sly?" "That," he said, "never enters their heads. Why, if a man was even suspected of having a taste for trout or grouse he would have to leave at once."

There is no difficulty in discovering what makes those people poor. They have no right to anything that nature gives them. All they can make above a living they must pay to the landlord. They not only have to pay for the land that they use, but they have to pay for the seaweed that comes ashore and for the turf they dig from the bogs. They dare not improve, for any improvements they make are made an excuse for putting up the rent. These people who work hard live in hovels, and the landlords, who do not work at all—oh! they live in luxury in London or Paris. If they have hunting boxes there, why, they are magnificent castles as compared with the hovels in which the men live who do the work. Is there any question as to the cause of the poverty there?

Now, go into the cities, and what do you see? Why, you see even a lower depth of poverty; aye, if I would point out the worst evils of land monopoly I would not take you to Connemara; I would not take you to Skye or Kintyre—I would take you to Dublin, or Glasgow, or London. There is something worse than physical deprivation, something worse than starvation; and that is the degradation of the mind, the death of the soul. That is what you will find in those cities.

Now, what is the cause of that? Why, it is plainly to be seen; the people driven off the land in the country are driven into the slums of the cities. For every man that is driven off the land the demand for the produce of the workmen of the cities is lessened; and the man himself, with his wife and children, is forced among those workmen to compete upon any terms for a bare living and force wages down. Get work he must or starve—get work he must, or do that which those people, so long as they maintain their manly feelings, dread more than death, go to the almshouse. That is the reason, here as in Great Britain, that the cities are overcrowded. Open the land that is locked up, that is held by dogs in the manger, who will not use it themselves and will not allow anybody else to use it, and you would see no more of tramps and hear no more of overproduction.

The utter absurdity of this thing of private property in land! I defy anyone to show me any good from it, look where you please. Go out to the new lands, where my attention was first called to it, or go to the heart of the capital of the world—London. Everywhere, when your eyes are once opened, you will see its inequality and you will see its absurdity. You do not have to go further than Burlington. You have here a most beautiful site for a city, but the city itself, as compared with what it might be, is a miserable, straggling town. A gentleman showed me to-day a big hole alongside one of your streets. The place has been filled up all around it, and this hole is left. It is neither pretty nor useful. Why does that hole stay there? Well, it stays there because somebody claims it as his private property. There is a man, this gentleman told me, who wished to grade another lot, and wanted somewhere to put the dirt he took off it, and he offered to buy this hole so that he might fill it up. Now, it would have been a good thing for Burlington to have it filled up, a good thing for you all—your town would look better, and you yourselves would be in no danger of tumbling into it some dark night. Why, my friend pointed out to me another similar hole in which water had collected, and told me that two children had been drowned there. And he likewise told me that a drunken man some years ago had fallen into such a hole and had brought a suit against the city which cost you taxpayers some $11,000. Clearly it is to the interests of you all to have that particular hole I am talking of filled up. The man who wanted to fill it up offered the hole owner $300. But the hole owner refused the offer, and declares he will hold out until he can get $1,000, and in the meanwhile that unsightly and dangerous hole must remain. That is but an illustration of private property in land.

You may see the same thing all over this country See how injuriously in the agricultural districts this thing of private property in land affects the roads and the distances between the people. A man does not take what land he wants, what he can use, but he takes all he can get; and the consequence is that his next neighbor has to go farther along, people are separated from each other farther than they ought to be, to the increased difficulty of production, to the loss of neighborhood and companionship. They have more roads to maintain than they can decently maintain; they must do more work to get the same result, and life is in every way harder and drearier.

When you come to the cities, it is just the other way. In the country the people are too much scattered; in the great cities they are too crowded. Go to a city like New York, and there they are jammed together like sardines in a box, living family upon family, one above the other. It is an utterly unnatural and unwholesome life. How can you have anything like a home in a tenement of two or three rooms? How can children be brought up healthily with no place to play? Two or three weeks ago I read of a New York judge who fined two little boys $5 for playing hop-scotch on the street. Where else could they play? Private property in land had robbed them of all place to play. Even a temperance man, who had investigated the subject, said that in his opinion the gin palaces of London were a positive good in this that they enabled the people whose abodes were dark and squalid rooms to see a little brightness and thus prevent them from going wholly mad.

What is the reason for this overcrowding of cities? There is no natural reason. Take New York; one-half of its area is not built upon. Why, then, must people crowd together as they do there? Simply because of private ownership of land. There is plenty of room to build houses and plenty of people who want to build houses, but before anybody can build a house a blackmail price must be paid to some dog in the manger. It costs, in many cases, more to get vacant ground upon which to build a house than it does to build the house. And then what happens to the man who pays this blackmail and builds a house? Down comes the taxgatherer and fines him for building the house.

It is so all over the United States—the men who improve, the men who turn the prairie into farms and the desert into gardens, the men who beautify your cities, are taxed and fined for having done these things. Now, nothing is clearer than that the people of New York want more houses; and I think that even here in Burlington you could get along with more houses. Why, then, should you fine a man that builds one? Look all over this country—the bulk of the taxation rests upon the improver; the man who puts up a building or establishes a factory, or cultivates a farm, he is taxed for it; and not merely taxed for it, but, I think, in nine cases out of ten the land which he uses, the bare land, is taxed more than the adjoining lot, or the adjoining 160 acres that some speculator is holding as a mere dog in the manger, not using it himself and not allowing anybody else to use it.

I am talking too long; but let me in a few words point out the way of getting rid of land monopoly, securing the right of all to the elements which are necessary for life. We could not divide the land. In a rude state of society, as among the ancient Hebrews, giving each family its lot, and making it inalienable, we might secure something like equality. But in a complex civilization that will not suffice. It is not, however, necessary to divide up the land. All that is necessary is to divide up the income that comes from the land. In that way we can secure absolute equality; nor could the adoption of this principle involve any rude shock or violent change. It can be brought about gradually and easily by abolishing the taxes that now rest upon capital, labor, and improvements, and raising all our public revenues by the taxation of land values; and the longer you think of it the clearer you will see that in every possible way it will be a benefit.

Now, supposing we should abolish all other taxes, direct and indirect, substituting for them a tax upon land values, what would be the effect? In the first place, it would be to kill speculative values. It would be to remove from the newer parts of the country the bulk of the taxation, and put it on the richer parts. It would be to exempt the pioneer from taxation, and make the larger cities pay more of it. It would be to relieve energy and enterprise, capital and labor, from all those burdens that now bear upon them. What a start that would give to production! In the second place, we could, from the value of land, not merely pay all the present expenses of Government, but we could do infinitely more. In the city of San Francisco, James Lick left a few blocks of ground to be used for public purposes there, and the rent amounts to so much, that out of it will be built the largest telescope in the world, large public baths, and other public buildings, and various costly monuments. If, instead of these few blocks, the whole value of the land upon which the city is built had accrued to San Francisco, what could she not do?

So in this little town, where land values are very low as compared with such cities as Chicago and San Francisco, you could do many things for mutual benefit and public improvement did you appropriate to public purposes the land values that now go to individuals. You could have a great free library; you could have an art gallery; you could get yourselves a public park, a magnificent public park, too. You have here one of the finest natural sites for a beautiful town that I know of, and I have traveled much. You might make on this site a city that it would be a pleasure to live in. You will not, as you go now—oh! no! Why, the very fact that you have a magnificent view here will cause somebody to hold on all the more tightly to the land that commands this view, and charge higher prices for it. The State of New York wants to buy a strip of land so as to enable the people to see the Niagara, but what a price she must pay for it. Look at all the great cities; in Philadelphia, for instance, in order to build their great city hall they had to block up the only two wide streets they had in the city. Everywhere you go you may see how private property in land prevents public as well as private improvement.

But I have no time to enter further into details. I can only ask you to think upon this thing, and the more you will see its desirability. As an English friend of mine puts it, "No taxes and a pension for everybody;" and why should it not be? To take land values for public purposes is not really to impose a tax, but to take for public purposes a value created by the community. And out of the fund which would thus accrue from the common property, we might, without degradation to anybody, provide enough to actually secure from want all who were deprived of their natural protectors, or met with accident; or any man who should grow so old that he could not work. All prating that is heard from some quarters about its hurting the common people to give them what they do not work for is humbug. The truth is, that anything that injures self-respect, degrades, does harm; but if you give it as a right, as something to which every citizen is entitled, it does not degrade. Charity schools do degrade the children that are sent to them, but public schools do not.

But all such benefits as these, while great, would be incidental. The great thing would be that the reform I propose would tend to open opportunities to labor and enable men to provide employment for themselves. That is the great advantage. We should gain the enormous productive power that is going to waste all over the country, the power of idle hands that would gladly be at work. And that removed, then you would see wages begin to mount. It is not that everyone would turn farmer, or everyone build himself a house, if he had an opportunity for doing so, but so many could, and would, as to relieve the pressure on the labor market and provide employment for all others. And as wages mounted to the higher levels then you would see the productive power increased. The country where wages are high is the country of greatest productive power. Where wages are highest there will invention be most active; there will labor be most intelligent; there will be the greatest yield for the expenditure of exertion. The more you think of it the more clearly you will see what I say is true. I can not hope to convince you in talking for an hour or two, but I shall be content, if I shall put you upon inquiry. Think for yourselves; ask yourselves whether this wide-spread fact of poverty is not a crime, and a crime for which everyone of us, man and woman, who does not do what he or she can do to call attention to it and to do away with it, is responsible.

Danish West Indian Islands.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AMBROSE KENNEDY,
OF RHODE ISLAND,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, February 19, 1917,

On the bill H. R. 20755, being "A bill to provide a temporary government for the West Indian islands acquired by the United States from Denmark by the convention entered into between said countries on the 4th day of August, 1916, and ratified by the Senate of the United States on the 7th day of September, 1916, and for other purposes."

Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island. Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of this measure which appropriates the sum of $25,000,000 for the purchase of the Danish West Indian Islands and provides a plan by which they shall be temporarily governed. These islands have been acquired by the United States from Denmark by a treaty entered into between the two Governments on the 4th day of August, 1916, and ratified by the Senate of the United States on the 7th day of September, 1916. By virtue of this convention His Majesty the King of Denmark cedes to the United States all territory, dominion, and sovereignty possessed, asserted, or claimed by Denmark in the West Indies, including the islands of St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix, together with the adjacent islands and rocks. The cession includes, moreover, the right of property in all public, Government, or Crown lands, public buildings, wharves, ports, harbors, fortifications, barracks, public funds, rights, franchises, privileges, and all other public property of every kind or description now belonging to Denmark, together with any Government archives, records, papers, or documents which relate to the cession or the rights and property of the inhabitants of the islands ceded, which may now exist either in the islands or in Denmark.

These islands for a number of years have been the subject of negotiations between the United States and Denmark. Our original interest in their acquisition began for the first time to be manifested at the close of the late Civil War. It was this conflict that demonstrated their value as a military outpost of the Nation. Some of our ablest Secretaries of State, notably Seward, Foster, and Hay have strongly urged and recommended the purchase of these islands, but every effort heretofore made to acquire them has been frustrated either by the refusal on the part of the United States Senate or the Denmark Rigsdag to ratify the conventions.

In 1865, in the latter part of Lincoln's administration, the United States endeavored for the first time to acquire the ownership of these islands. In 1866 we offered to Denmark the sum of $5,000,000 for St. Thomas, St. John, and Santa Cruz. Denmark, however, refused to sell the islands for this sum but offered to convey the three islands for $15,000,000, or two of them, namely, St. Thomas and St. John, for $10,000,000. An agreement was finally reached whereby the United States was to pay the sum of $7,500,000 for the islands of St. Thomas and St. John. A treaty was entered into between the two Governments, which was ratified by the Denmark Rigsdag and signed by the King in June, 1868. The question of the transfer of sovereignty was submitted to the people of the islands for their consent. In the island of St. Thomas the vote stood 1,039 to 22 in favor of the transfer and in St. John there was not a dissenting vote. Contemporary writers recount that the people of the islands marched to the polls under the American flag to the tune of our national airs. The treaty providing for the purchase of these two islands was submitted to the United States Senate on December 3, 1867, but after delaying for a period of two years its defeat was secured, largely through the opposition of Senator Sumner, who was at that time chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

The purchase of the Danish Islands was subsequently contemplated during the administrations of Presidents Cleveland and Harrison, and the Republican Party, in its national convention assembled in St. Louis on June 16, 1896, declared that by the purchase of the Danish Islands we should secure a proper and much-needed naval station in the West Indies. At that time it was evidently a foregone conclusion that the United States would in the near future build, own, and operate an interoceanic canal connecting the Gulf of Mexico with the waters of the Pacific Ocean. The anticipated construction of this interoceanic waterway was at that time undoubtedly the cause of the increased emphasis placed on the importance of

acquiring the Danish Islands by the Republican platform declaration.

On that platform Mr. McKinley was elected to the Presidency; and, during his first term in office, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations reported a bill authorizing the President to purchase the Danish West Indies for the purposes of a naval and coaling station. Not until January 24, 1902, however, was a treaty concluded, upon the acceptance by Denmark of the offer made by President Roosevelt and Secretary Hay of $5,000,000 for all three of the Danish islands, with the adjacent islands and rocks. This treaty was ratified by the Senate of the United States on February 17, 1902, but it failed of approval in the Danish Landsthing by a tie vote, thus concluding the second futile attempt that had been made to acquire these islands.

The brief debate allowed this evening under the motion to suspend the rules and pass this measure providing for the purchase of the Danish West Indies developed some opposition, during which the purchase was characterized as a useless, wasteful, and extravagant expenditure of money. Compared with the sums agreed upon when prior attempts were made to complete negotiations for the purchase, the present price appears to be high; but it is our own fault that we must pay this price, since we did not secure these islands 50 years ago, when we could have done so upon terms considerably cheaper.

To regard this purchase as a territorial acquisition, inspired by imperialistic designs or a sharp land deal, figuring, as it does, about $280 per acre, is an entire misconception of our plain policy and purpose. The fact is this group of islands is a necessary adjunct to our national defense. These islands constitute a strategic point, and are consequently of very great value to us. The most cursory glance at the map of North America is conclusive proof that our ownership of these islands adds mightily to our measure of military preparedness.

Vice Admiral David B. Porter, in a letter to Secretary of State Seward, dated November 6, 1867, stated that the island of St. Thomas, the principal of the Virgin Group, holds the most prominent position in the West Indies as a naval and commercial station; that its harbor, with that of St. John and the harbors formed by Water Island, would contain all the vessels of the largest navy in the world.

In the Journal of the Military Service Institution of January, 1901, Maj. W. A. Glassford, United States Army, Department of Porto Rico, makes the following statement concerning the island of St. Thomas:

The island of St. Thomas offers conditions suitable for developing a first-class military outpost. This island, he says, possesses all the natural advantages enabling it to be converted into a second Gibraltar. The structure of this narrow island, with its long central ridge, having a general elevation of about 1,000 feet, with some points 500 feet high, is especially adapted for the emplacement of fortifications commanding both shores at the same time, making it extremely difficult for an enemy to approach or to obtain a foothold upon the island. The elevated ground in the immediate neighborhood of the excellent roadsteads which this island affords makes the question of harbor defense a comparatively easy one. This position, with its few inhabitants, could easily be provisioned for a long siege. The harbor of Charlotte Amalie and the numerous sheltered places about the island afford 6 and 7 fathoms of water; besides, this harbor and the roadsteads are on the southern side of the island completely protected from the prevailing strong winds. If this place were strongly fortified and provisioned, it would be necessary for an enemy contemplating a descent upon Porto Rico to first take it into account.

This location on the northeast rim of the Antilles is in close proximity to many of the passages into the Caribbean Sea and afford an excellent point of observation near European possessions in the archipelago. While being near other islands, St. Thomas is practically in the open ocean and permits the entrance and egress of a fleet without its being observed. It is also a center of West Indian submarine cable systems, being about midway between the Windward Passage and the Trinidad entrance to the Caribbean Sea. The strategy of a position at St. Thomas in regard to an interoceanic canal across the Isthmus of Panama need not be specially explained further than to say that this point lies in the direct track of European traffic to the Isthmus, and having the same distance as New York from nearly all the ports of Europe.

Whether the value of St. Thomas as a military outpost is as great to-day as it was formerly regarded by naval and military officers may be subject to discussion, because ships have increased in size and navies grown exceedingly larger. It may be true that St. Thomas's commercial value as a port has of recent years depreciated because ships carry more coal to-day and voyage farther without repairs than formerly. But even conceding this commercial and naval depreciation, there can be no question that the acquisition of these islands, and particularly St. Thomas, is of superior value, for the reason that our ownership and possession of them will relieve our fleet from an embarrassing, and, indeed, a menacing, situation in case any other country should use this location as a base for any kind of naval operations.

With respect to the Panama Canal, these Danish West Indian Islands occupy a position in the Atlantic Ocean very similar to that occupied by the island of Guam in the Pacific. St. Thomas, as was stated during the hearings on this bill, is one of the points of the flank of any hostile movement toward the Panama Canal on the Atlantic side. The strategy of its position is, therefore, altogether apparent. This Danish group consists of about 50 islands, but the three islands, St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix are the only ones of considerable size. The coast of the island of St. Thomas to the westward contains a number of deep inlets which would afford a safe and natural refuge for torpedo boats and submarines. These islands strengthen the line of defense near the approach to the Panama Canal and are therefore of infinitely greater value to us to-day on account of the construction of that waterway.

The harbor of St. Thomas itself is large and deep and the island can be fortified to command approach from all directions. For a number of years this harbor was the natural port of call in the direct route from European countries to the West Indies, Central America, and the northern part of South America. While we have bought these islands apparently for strategic reasons they may prove to be capable of considerable commercial development. It is estimated that during the current year the production of sugar, which is confined wholly to the island of St. Croix, will amount to about 15,000 tons, and in a few years, through American energy and enterprise, the quantity may be increased to six or seven times that amount annually. The harbor of St. Thomas, prior to the European war, was visited by a number of ships which came into port, one every other day, and the entire business of that island consisted in the various industries that operated about the port.

A report recently issued by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce gives the following information concerning the public works and port facilities in St. Thomas Harbor:

The harbor of St. Thomas is the main feature of the island, and commercially is the most important feature of the Danish Group. It is located on the southern side, and in entering it a ship sails practically due north. The mouth is very narrow, probably not over 900 feet for vessels of deep draft. It lies in latitude 18° 20' N. and longitude 65° 56' W.

The harbor is protected by hills which rise to over a thousand feet immediately back of the city. Smaller ones extend in such a way that the harbor has a shape more or less like a pear, with the bulbous part for the harbor itself and the narrow neck for the entrance. It is thus free from weather disturbances, no matter what the direction, unless they are unusually violent. It is commodious enough to afford safe anchorage for many ships, and engineering investigations indicate that by the expenditure of a relatively small sum its size can be nearly doubled. This would be done by enlarging the entrance to a connecting bay which is equally well sheltered by hills on the landward side and by an island on the seaward side.

The south side of St. Thomas Island is comparatively free from outlying rocks, except within half a mile from shore. Very near the entrance to the harbor, however, are two islands, which form prominent landmarks when approaching from the eastward. These are Frenchmans Cap and Buck Island. The former is nearer the shore than Buck Island, which is about 1½ miles from the nearest point of mainland. There is plenty of water on all sides of the entrance, and the first marking is a buoy at Scorpion Rock, on the port side upon entering. It is just off this rock that the pilot is usually picked up.

Buck Island is three-quarters of a mile long, 120 feet high in the eastern part, and lies 1½ miles from the mainland. It is steep-to on its southern side. Off the western end a shallow ledge extends to the distance of 100 yards, and on the northern side the depth is 9 meters at the same distance. Good landing for small boats will be found in the little bay at the western end.

There are six docks from which coal can be taken or upon which cargoes can be discharged. Vessels drawing up to 31 feet can lie alongside any of these docks.

There is a floating dry dock measuring 250 feet long and 70 feet wide. Its maximum lifting capacity is 3,000 tons. Vessels which are not overweight and drawing 23 feet, with a keel of 300 feet or less, can be taken up. The charge for docking varies from 60 cents to 90 cents per ton the first day and for succeeding days it goes as low as 10 cents.

There is also a repairing slip on which small vessels (not over 250 tons) are taken at the same rates.

The facilities for general repairing are excellent, there being many competent ship carpenters, sailmakers, and riggers. There is also a very good machine shop and foundry.

Rock or sand ballast can be obtained for $1 per ton f. o. b.

There are many lighters, owned by various companies, and the usual charge for a lighter of 10 to 15 tons capacity, without labor, is $5 per day.

There are many stevedores, who are always ready to make tenters or estimates for discharging or loading vessels.

On account of the low rate of duty (6 per cent) ship's stores are obtainable at nearly the same prices as in the United States. The principal imports at St. Thomas are coal, fuel oil, lumber, and general provisions. The chief suppliers of coal are the West Indian Co. (Ltd.), the St. Thomas Dock Engineering & Coaling Co. (Ltd.), the Hamburg-American Line.

There are many large warehouses, both on the wharves and in the town. At the present time a warehouse in the town can be rented for $25 to $50 monthly. This includes the store in front and the private wharf in the rear. All warehouses run from the principal street to the water, and the rent varies with the size. They may be had from about 100 to 400 feet long and with an average width of 40 feet.

Water can be supplied either at the docks or from water boats in the harbor, from which it is pumped into the ship's tanks. Rain water is used exclusively, except by the West Indian Co. (Ltd.), which recently has drilled three wells, the water from which will be pumped into storage tanks at the dock. The price at present charged for water is $1 per ton of 250 gallons (September, 1916).

There has been practically no agriculture on this island for the reason that laborers could earn more money in and about the harbor than by devoting their energies to agriculture.

The island of St. John, in former days, prospered along lines of agriculture, but in more recent times it has not been possible to meet world-wide competition in the agricultural industry on account of the high cost of production. The country is mountainous in character, and to-day one of the main agricultural pursuits on the island consists of the raising of bay trees from whose leaves the essential oil of bay is obtained for use in the manufacture of bay rum. The greater part of the bay rum of commerce to-day comes from the Danish West Indies. The distilling of bay rum is done largely at St. Thomas. The above report, recently issued by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, states that the island of St. John is admirably adapted to cattle raising and that practically all of its acreage, if cleared, would afford splendid grazing material. The report states that there are practically no forests on any of the islands, yet the earlier history of them shows that some of these islands were covered with various kinds of trees. The present commercial products of all three islands may be summed up as follows: St. Croix produces sugar, rum, and molasses; St. Thomas, bay rum; and St. John, bay oil, bay rum, concentrated lime juice, and some other lime-tree products.

The fact that these islands have not made more advanced strides along commercial lines may be in a large measure attributed to the failure on the part of Denmark to stimulate industrial development. Two hundred years ago tobacco was the chief product of St. Thomas. About the year 1726 King Christian V undertook the cultivation of sugar at St. Thomas. He populated the island with negro slaves transported from the Guinea coast of Africa. St. John and St. Croix were colonized with the descendants of these slaves from St. Thomas. In 1792 slave trading was forbidden. The sugar industry continued up to about 1800, or a little later, when sugar refining on the island began to suffer and go backward because of the competition presented by the cultivation of beet sugar in other countries. Since then the population has decreased. In 1841 there were 41,000 inhabitants on the three islands. Fifty years later the population decreased to 32,800, and to-day the population of all three islands is about the latter number.

Within recent years an agricultural experiment station had been maintained on the island of St. Thomas for the purpose of determining the character of the soil and its adaptability for cultivation. It has been found that St. Thomas is adapted for cultivating textile plants of commercial value. A large acreage of waste lands has been cultivated into hemp fields, producing a quality equal to that of Mexico and Venezuela.

These islands were discovered by Christopher Columbus during his second voyage to the West Indies in 1493. They were then occupied by a tribe of warlike cannibals known as the Caribs.

Washington Irving, in his Life and Voyages of Columbus, gives the following description:

Weighing anchor on the 10th of November, 1493, Columbus steered along the coast of Guadaloupe, toward the northwest, in which direction, according to his own calculation and the information of the Indians, lay Hispaniola. Continuing along this beautiful archipelago, he gave names to its islands as they successively rose to view. Montserrat, Santa Maria la Redonda, Santa Maria la Antigua, and San Martin; various other islands appeared to the north and extending northwest and southeast, all very lofty and mountainous, with stately and magnificent forests, but the admiral forebore to visit them. The weather proving boisterous, they anchored on the 14th of November at an island called Ayay by the Indians, but to which the admiral gave the name of Santa Cruz. Here the boat was sent on shore, with five and twenty men, to get water and procure information concerning their route.

They found a village deserted except some captives brought hither from other islands. This was likewise an abode for Caribs. Pursuing his voyage, Columbus soon came in sight of a great cluster of islands of various shapes and appearances. Some were verdant and covered with forests, but the greater part naked and sterile, rising into wild cragged mountains; many of the rocks of which were of a bright azure color, and others of a glistening white; these Columbus, with his usual vivacity of imagination, supposed to contain mines of rich metals and precious stones. These islands lying close together, with the sea beating and tossing roughly in the narrow channels which divided them, rendered it dangerous to enter among them with the large ships. Keeping off, therefore, in the broad sea, Columbus sent in a small carrival with latine sails, to reconnoitre, which returned with the report that there were upward of 50 islands, but apparently uninhabited. To the largest of this group Columbus gave the name of Santa Ursula, and he called the others the Eleven Thousand Virgins.

The traditional accounts of the origin of the Caribs, though of course extremely vague, are yet capable of being verified to a great degree by geographical facts, and open one of the rich veins of curious inquiry and speculation which abound in the New World. They are said to have migrated from the remote valleys embosomed in the Apalachian Mountains. The earliest notices we have of them represent them with weapons in their hands; continually engaged in wars; winning their way and shifting their abode, until in the course of time they found themselves on the extreme end of Florida. Here, abandoning the northern continent, they passed over to the Lucayos, and from thence gradually, in the process of years, from island to island of that vast and verdant chain, which links as it were the end of Florida to the cost of Paria, on the southern continent. The Archipelago, extending from Porto Rico to Tobago, was their stronghold, and the island of Guadaloupe in a manner their citadel. Hence they made their expeditions, and spread the terror of their name through all the surrounding countries. Swarms of them landed upon the southern continent, and overran some parts of terra firma. Traces of them have been discovered far in the interior of the country through which flows the Oroonoko. The Dutch found colonies of them on the banks of the Ikouteka, which empties into the Surinam, along the Esquibi, the Maroni, and other rivers of Guayana, and in the country watered by the windings of the Cayenne; and it would appear that they have even extended their wanderings to the shores of the southern ocean, where, among the aborigines of Brazil, were some who called themselves Caribs, distinguished from the surrounding Indians by their superior hardihood, subtlety, and enterprise.

To trace the footsteps of this roving tribe throughout its wide migrations from the Appalachian Mountains of the northern continent, along the cluster of islands which stud the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea to the shores of Paria, and so across the vast regions of Guayana and Amazonia to the remote coast of Brazil, would be one of the most curious researches in aboriginal history, and might throw much light upon the mysterious question of the population of the New World.

Abbé Labat, a French missionary, who visited the islands between the years 1700 and 1703, gives an interesting description of the cultivation and commerce of St. Croix and St. Thomas in his work entitled "Noveau Voyage aux Isles de l'Amerique," dated 1724:

He says—

St. Croix is a land almost level; it contains small hills or, in the language of the island, bluffs, toward the middle of the isle. The slopes are gentle. They are covered with the most beautiful trees in the world—mahoganies, logwood, acomas, sapotas, and an abundance of all sorts of redwood. We saw, moreover, some very fine cane, notwithstanding the ravages made by guinea pigs and other beasts. There were quantities of orange and lemon trees. There we discovered more of the cassada plant (its roots are made into a kind of bread, an important article of food among the Caribs when they were first discovered by Europeans) and excellent potatoes.

Speaking of St. Thomas, the Abbé says:

They carried on considerable commerce on this little island which attracted the people who inhabited it. As the King of Denmark is ordinarily neutral, his port is open to all nations. It serves in time of peace as an entrepôt for the commerce which the French, the English, the Spaniards and the Dutch do not venture to carry on openly in their islands. And in time of war it is the refuge for merchant vessels pursued by corsairs. I visited surely more than half of the island. I do not believe the distance around it to be more than 6 or 7 leagues. The plantations—so the estates are called—are small, but well kept and maintained. The soil, though light, is good and produces very good cassada plant, millet, potatoes, all sorts of fruit and grass, and abundant cane. There are very few cattle and horses because of lack of pasturage. They have, however, plenty of meat, the Spaniards of Porto Rico furnishing them with an abundance. They raise excellent cabrittes and quantities of all kinds of poultry.

The vantage point occupied by these islands can not be overestimated. St. Thomas is 1,029 miles distant from Panama on the route of commerce, 3,600 miles from Liverpool, 1,420 miles from New York, and 518 miles from Port of Spain on the island of Trinidad, off the coast of Venezuela. They are located at the crossroads between Europe and Panama and between North and South America. The islands have had many owners since the year they were discovered by Columbus. St. Croix has been Spanish, English, Dutch, Spanish, French, Maltese, French, and Danish. It was purchased by King Christian VI in 1753. St. Thomas has been the headquarters of the Hamburg-American Line in the Caribbean Sea. Several years ago the Germans had planned to lay the foundations for a commercial conquest of this port, knowing that the United States would not allow the islands to be transferred to any European power. The commercial development undertaken by Germany greatly prompted the renewal of our negotiations for the purchase of the islands at the time of the treaty which was signed in January, 1902.

The population of the islands is made up principally of negroes, who constitute the laboring people of the islands. They are descendants of the Guinea slaves, who were imported two centuries ago. English is the language chiefly spoken, except that about the harbor at St. Thomas, the natives speak the modern languages, French being largely the language of commerce. English is taught in the schools.

The government of the islands consists of two districts. St. Croix and the small islands close by constitute one and St. Thomas and St. John, with adjacent islands, the other. Each district is given the name of a commune. Legislative matters are primarily in the power of the Danish Rigsdag, but the lawmaking power is vested in the King and two colonial councils. These colonial councils come one from each commune. The Danish Rigsdag possesses the veto power. The leading officials of the islands are appointed by the King of Denmark. The governor is the leading executive officer, and he possesses the power to appoint minor officers. He has an assistant, the vice governor. Their residence alternate six months at a time between the communes. It is their duty to see that all laws are executed.

Two colonial councils make up the legislative branch of the islands, one furnished by each commune. St. Croix elects by

popular vote 13 councilors from three districts and the king appoints 5. The St. Thomas commune elects 11 councilors from three districts, the king appointing 4. The term of office for members of the council is four years. One-half the number retire biennially. The privilege of voting extends to all males who have attained the age of 25 years and have been residents of the commune for two years, and of the district six months. They must be registered as possessing a small prescribed amount of property. The councils meet every two months at a date set by the governor. The English and Danish languages are used in debate and the journal is kept in both languages. They have inferior courts on these islands but the superior court at Denmark is the high court of appeal.

What the government of these islands will be under the sovereignty of the United States remains to be determined. The present bill appropriating the money for the purchase of these islands also makes provision for a temporary government which provides that all military, civil, and judicial powers necessary to govern the West Indian Islands acquired from Denmark shall be vested in such person or persons and shall be exercised in such manner as the President of the United States shall direct until Congress shall provide for the government of the islands. Whether these islands should be given a union government with Porto Rico is an important question. Such a plan, it is expected, would be objectionable for the reason that the education and training of the people of these three islands have been altogether different from that of Porto Rico. The Danish islanders are an English-speaking people while the Porto Ricans speak Spanish. In 1898, we are told, most of the servants of the Army officers in Porto Rico were St. Thomas negroes because they could speak English. At a mass meeting held at St. Thomas the following protest was passed on the matter of attaching these islands to Porto Rico for the purpose of government:

> The island does not desire to be governed by Porto Rico, but wishes to be permitted to manage its own affairs under the Federal Government, American citizenship to be accorded immediately on the transfer, the port to be free, and natives to be given preference in appointments to Government positions.

The people of these islands voted in favor of the recent transfer. Their decision was unanimous in its favor, and they sent a committee or commission to Denmark in support of it. It appeared at the hearings before the committee in the testimony of Gen. McIntyre that the people of these islands are fully aware that our main reason for acquiring them is for strategic purposes. Gen. McIntyre stated that he had talked with two men recently from St. Thomas who had gone to Denmark to induce the approval of the sale. Both of these men, he says, were interested in the strategic more than in any other aspect of the case. They represented that the establishment of a naval station there will increase the business of this port. Troops sent down there would spend their money there. The people of St. Croix expect a new life in the sugar industry, basing their expectation upon what they know has happened in Porto Rico.

The trade of these islands has decreased greatly since the beginning of the European war. For a number of years, however, the fact that St. Thomas has been a free port attracted trade from all quarters. In the future, after the war, the trade of this port should be greatly increased. The opening of the Panama Canal took place in August, 1914, the same month that war was declared in Europe. Trade, of course, through the canal during the war period has been held back. When the world returns to a settled and normal condition and ships ply from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and vice versa, by way of the Panama Canal, unquestionably the tremendous influence of this great interoceanic highway of commerce on the trade of the world will be realized. The Danish islands recently acquired are right on the main highway of that trade from the Pacific coast to Europe by way of the canal and from Europe back to the Pacific coast.

The only thing, perhaps, that has caused some larger European nation to hesitate about the purchase of these islands for harbor purposes in the Western Hemisphere at a price probably much higher than we have paid for them is the Monroe doctrine, which, though not international law, is nevertheless our established policy. This, undoubtedly, has been the rub, for certainly no European nation believes that the United States would consent to any such transfer.

Under the Monroe doctrine, of course, we would oppose the transfer of these islands by Denmark to any other European power, but how far we should go in that opposition would be a matter of great consideration, especially if we refused to buy these islands ourselves but determined by invoking the Monroe doctrine to stand in the way of their purchase by another European power.

During the late Civil War the United States suffered through the lack of a naval station and a harbor in the West Indies. Then maritime prizes and steamers needing repairs had to be sent a distance of 1,500 miles. At present, of course, we have a naval station at San Juan, Porto Rico, but the harbor there is not as adequate and suitable for deep-draft vessels as the harbor at Charlotte Amalie, St. Thomas. Besides, San Juan Harbor faces in a direction which exposes it to storm. Not so, however, at St. Thomas. The harbor at St. Thomas is deep. Over three-fourths of it ranges from 30 to 90 feet, and it is located on the south side of the island. One of the main things to consider in the high price we paid for these islands is that St. Thomas is naturally fortified and that it would cost an immense amount of money to put any other harbor in the West Indies in as good condition as St. Thomas is now. St. Thomas will be the coaling depot in the future of the whole middle Atlantic, and the Panama Canal will make it so. The possession of this coaling station would save us from martime paralysis in time of war.

Pensions.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. KEY,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. KEY of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, the general provision of this bill—H. R. 655—while it was pending in the Committee on Pensions of the House and in the shape it passed the House of Representatives was, in my opinion, just, wise, and generous, for it provided a pension for those brave soldiers and their widows who, by their pluck, determination, and courage, made possible the rapid, rising development of that vast empire of wealth and population that lies west of the Mississippi. No man admires this type of our soldiers more than I do, or recognizes quicker the obligation the Government owes to him and his. I do not believe that in any country braver or more valiant service, calling for greater hardship, exposure, and danger, than that rendered by the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Kansas Cavalry in 1868 and 1869 was ever given by any soldier. Mr. Speaker, my opposition is based upon amendment No. 9, added to this bill in the United States Senate. In my opinion it is unwise, because it is the first time that the Federal Treasury has been called upon to stand the strain of a Federal pension based upon a purely State service, of which there is admittedly no Federal record.

It is unjust because there are thousands of State troops mustered in for service by their States and honorably discharged at some time during the Civil War, from 1861 to 1865, who performed service of more or less direct benefit to the Federal Government during the Civil War, who have been denied Federal pension of any character ever since said service. There are thousands of such soldiers in my own State—Ohio. There is another situation in my State which renders this amendment even more unjust, to wit, the first 22 regiments of Ohio soldiers called out by President Lincoln in 1861 were enlisted for 90 days. They served 90 days, most of them about 100 days, and were honorably discharged. Records of this service are on file in the War Department, as it was Federal service. They are denied pensionable status, and their wives are denied pensionable status, under the service laws requiring 90 days' service, because the Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Garfield, in what is known as the Joel S. Hopkins decision, held that a furlough could not be counted as actual military service, and most of these men were arbitrarily forced by the Government to take a 30 or 40 day furlough, and even with a 40-day furlough they served 20 days longer than is required by this Senate amendment granting a $20 pension to State soldiers who served 30 days. Of course, the members of these 22 regiments of Ohio troops who received disability due to wounds, injuries, or diseases are entitled to pension and to receive same under the general law.

Now, Mr. Speaker, in conclusion, it was because I believed that the Government having refused a pensionable status for nearly 60 years to the State troops of my State, Kentucky, Kansas, Missouri, Pennsylvania, and other States, it was unjust at this late date to allow this pension provided for in this amendment for State service of only 30 days, every day of which was rendered long after the Civil War closed. As I stated, I believe it was most unwise and unjust, and therefore I opposed it.

A Tribute to the Late Hon. Michael F. Conry.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. GRIFFIN,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, under the permission granted by the House to extend my remarks I insert in the RECORD an article appearing in the Washington Times of March 3, 1917, written by Mr. Theodore Tiller, one of the brainy newspaper correspondents who daily communicate to the world the doings of this great legislative body. He, like his colleagues in the press gallery, see men come and go in public life, and recognize immediately sterling qualities of heart and mind.

His eloquent article is a sincere tribute to the late Hon. MICHAEL F. CONRY, Member of Congress from the fifteenth New York district, the most beloved Member of the Sixty-fourth Congress, an able legislator, a brilliant member of the Ways and Means Committee.

The article is as follows:

[From the Washington Times, Mar. 3, 1917.]

IF HOUSE DOES SING, 'TWILL BE A TRIBUTE—"MIKE" CONRY, GENIAL, SWEET-VOICED CONGRESSMAN, DIES AS SESSION ENDS—LED IN GOOD-BY SONGS—MEMBERS RECESS IN MIDST OF TASKS WHEN NEWS OF DEATH IS TOLD.

Probably there'll be a song or two in the House of Representatives late to-night or in the early morning hours as this session passes into history. In the lower body there is generally a let-down of business just before the gavel falls, and, somehow, the fellows begin to hum an old-fashioned tune, the chorus swells, and soon half the membership is singing.

It is the mellowing influence of the time for good-bys, the relief from overwork, an outcropping of the sentimental among men who are soon to break pleasant associations, and who, at heart, are still just boys.

But if they sing to-night there will be a missing voice—and that is why this story is written. "MIKE" CONRY—genial, whole-souled, lovable "MIKE" CONRY—is dead, or has "crossed over," as Uncle JOE CANNON, who dislikes the word death, would say if he were writing a story about the passing of a colleague.

VOICE CLEAR, HEART TENDER.

In former years Congressman CONRY has been there to sing as the last hours of Congress slipped by. He had a voice as clear as a bell and a heart as tender as a child's. He was lame—was "MIKE" CONRY—but he would limp toward the well of the House and soon you'd hear him above the rest as his tenor would blend in harmony with other Members who had good voices and sang with feeling under the thrill of good-by scenes.

"Auld Lang Syne," "Tenting To-night," "Old Black Joe," "Suwanee River"—the old favorites, with sometimes a version of "Home, Sweet Home"—were among the songs they sang while CONRY'S voice keyed true to every note.

Or perhaps they'd sing an Irish ballad—something that carried one back to the memories of green hills and clear lakes, to blue-eyed lassies, to cottages where old-fashioned mothers crooned the lullabies that have always put little children to sleep, and to a little isle whose national heart has been as big as the great out of doors.

"MIKE" CONRY STIRRED.

And then, too, "MIKE" CONRY'S voice was heard above the rest, but it had a sort of quaver in it and his eyes had that faraway look that comes when one's feelings are deeply stirred.

Maybe the Members of the House will not get a chance to sing at all before the adjournment comes sine die. But if CONRY were here he'd want them to, and now he is dead and the body is on the way to his New York home. "MIKE" CONRY would not have them refrain from song because of that.

This story might have been told in a few words—but the writer felt it was worth a bit more than that. In these final hours of an epochal session of the National Legislature it can not be amiss to turn a moment from practical things and record that sentiment still exists, that there is not a Member of the House who doesn't miss MICHAEL CONRY to-day, and that if the songs of yesterday are sung again some of his colleagues will seem to hear once more the lead of CONRY of New York.

HOUSE SHOWS SPIRIT.

Persons who have never seen the end of a session in the House of Representatives probably can not appreciate what adjournment means to the Members of the lower body. In the Senate there is always dignity, real or assumed. The farewells are grave, matter of fact, although doubtless sincere. In the House the scenes are entirely different.

House Members somehow are closer in their friendships. The complexion of the lower Chamber is constantly changing. Men come and go every two years. The leader of to-day may be the vanquished of to-morrow. But during his term he has formed friendships that are as true as steel and associations that are hard to break.

Final adjournment in the House is much like the graduation day in a high school or a college. The young fellows assemble in class for the last time. Each one knows that never will they all meet together again. New faces are sure to appear and old faces are certain to be missed. It's a breaking of the ties that bind.

So with the House of Representatives, with its membership that comes "close from the soul of a great people." The end of business comes, the tension is relaxed, Members are saying good-by—perhaps for a day, perhaps forever—and then away over in a corner a song is begun, a hush falls over the crowded galleries, the membership joins in, the Speaker withholds the gavel, there is no word of reproof, and moisture dims the eyes of those who appreciate the note of pathos in it all.

Thus they have sung in the past, and thus they will sing in the future. But "MIKE" CONRY'S voice will never lead them again.

NEWS OF DEATH COMES.

"MIKE" CONRY, beloved of every Member of the House, died last night at Providence Hospital. The end came quickly, unexpectedly.

The House stood in recess for one hour when the death was announced by Congressman FITZGERALD, dean of the New York delegation. The crush of legislation prevented a longer recess, but the tribute of the House was none the less sincere. Tears stood in the eyes of Mr. FITZGERALD as he told his colleagues that MICHAEL CONRY had answered the final roll call.

Should they sing as the sands of the Sixty-fourth Congress run low, there'll be a tribute to CONRY in that, and there'll be proof once more of the fact that the makers of national law have in them the touch of sentiment that makes us all alike.

Methods of Election of Judges of the Courts and of Superintendents of Schools in the Various States.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. C. BASCOM SLEMP,

OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 2, 1917.

Mr. SLEMP. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD I desire to call attention to the selection of judges of State and county courts in the various States of the Union prepared at my suggestion in the Legislative Reference Division of the Library of Congress.

From this statement it is seen that of the 48 States in the Union 36 of these States elect all their judges by the people. In these States no judges are appointed and none are selected by the legislatures, but the people themselves decide who shall preside over their courts. The judges are amenable to the public for their bearing and their conduct. If a judge has been a worthy judge he is usually reelected, but if not the people select another. Of the remaining 12 States there are 5 States where the people in part elect the judges of the courts. There are 7 States in which the people have no voice in the selection of their judges.

I regret to say that Virginia is one of these States.

Mr. Speaker, I favor the election of the judges of our courts by the people for two good reasons:

First. The people are the source of all power, and the exercise of this power in the selection of judges, as in others officers who serve them, is simply the exercise of the right of self-government.

Second. The judiciary in our own State of Virginia has been a part of a political machine. The judges are vested with the appointment of members of the electoral board, who select the judges, clerks, and registrars of election; and the judges of our courts are drawn into every sharp political contest, whether they would have it so or not. Probably the easiest means of political preferment in Virginia would be to be appointed a judge as a return for valuable political service, improve the Democratic machine while a judge, and watch for opportunities to go higher up in politics.

I hope and believe that Virginia will soon align herself with those States in the Union that believe in popular government and where the people really control the affairs of their government, as they certainly do not in the grand and historic Commonwealth of Virginia.

I give the statement, as follows:

METHOD OF SELECTION OF JUDGES OF STATE AND COUNTY COURTS.

ALABAMA.

Supreme court elected by the people. (Const., VI, 152.)
Circuit courts elected by the people. (Const., VI, 152.)
Probate courts elected by the people. (Const., VI, 152.
Courts of chancery elected by the people. (Const., VI, 152.)
Inferior courts of law or equity elected or appointed. (Const., VI, 153.)
The county courts are presided over by the probate judges of the respective counties. (Crim. Code, sec. 6696.)

ARIZONA.

Supreme court elected by the people. (Const., VI, 3.)
Superior county courts elected by the people. (Const., VI, 5.)

ARKANSAS.

Supreme Court elected by the people. (Const., VII, 6.)
Circuit courts elected by the people. (Const., VII, 7.)
County courts lected by the people. (Const., VII, 29.)

CALIFORNIA.

Supreme court elected by the people. (Const., VI, 3.)
District courts of appeals elected by the people. (Const., VI, 4.)
Superior courts elected by the people. (Const., VI, 6.)

COLORADO.

Supreme court elected by the people. (Const., VI, 6.)
District courts elected by the people. (Const., VI, 12.)
County courts elected by the people. (Const., VI, 22.)

CONNECTICUT.

Supreme court of errors selected by the legislature. (Const., V, 3; Amend. XXVI.)
Superior court selected by the legislature. (Const., V, 3; Amend. XXVI.)
Court of common pleas selected by the legislature. (Gen. Stat., 1902, sec. 57.)
Probate courts elected by the people. (Const., Amend. XXI.)

DELAWARE.

Supreme court appointed by governor (Const., IV, 2, 3).
Superior court appointed by governor (Const., IV, 2, 5).
Court of chancery appointed by governor (Const., IV, 2, 3).
Orphans' court appointed by governor (Const., IV, 3, 11).
Court of oyer and terminer appointed by governor (Const., IV, 3, 5).
Court of general sessions appointed by governor (Const., IV, 3, 5).

FLORIDA.

Supreme court elected by the people (Const., V, 2).
Circuit courts appointed by governor (Const., V, 8).
County criminal courts appointed by governor (Const., V, 24).
"County judge" elected by the people (Const., V, 16).

GEORGIA.

Supreme court elected by the people (Const., VI, 2, 8).
Court of appeals elected by the people (Const., VI, 2, 9).
Superior courts elected by the people (Const., VI, 3, 2).
Courts of ordinary elected by the people (Const., VI, 6, 3).

IDAHO.

Supreme court elected by the people (Const., V, 6).
District courts elected by the people (Const., V, 11).
Probate courts elected by the people (Const., XVIII, 6).

ILLINOIS.

Supreme court elected by the people (Const., VI, 6).
Appellate courts elected by the people (Const., VI, 11, 13).
Circuit courts elected by the people (Const., VI, 13).
County courts elected by the people (Const., VI, 18).
Probate courts elected by the people (Const., VI, 20).

INDIANA.

Supreme court elected by the people (Const., VII, 3).
Appellate court elected by the people (Burns' Ann. Stat., 1914, sec. 1398).
Circuit courts elected by the people (Const., VII, 9).
County superior courts elected by the people (Burns' Ann Stat., 1914, sec. 1462).
County criminal courts elected by the people (Burns' Ann. Stat., 1914, sec. 1597).
Probate courts elected by the people (Burns' Ann. Stat., 1914, sec. 1608).

IOWA.

Supreme court elected by the people. (Const., V, 3, 11.)
District courts elected by the people. (Const., V, 5, 11.)

KANSAS.

Supreme court elected by the people. (Const., III, 171.)
District courts elected by the people. (Const., III, 174.)
Probate courts elected by the people. (Const., III, 177.)

KENTUCKY.

Court of appeals elected by the people. (Const., IV, 3.)
Circuit courts elected by the people. (Const., IV, 20.)
County courts elected by the people. (Const., IV, 30.)

LOUISIANA.

Supreme court elected by the people. (Const., 86.)
Courts of appeal elected by the people. (Const., 99, 100.)
District courts elected by the people. (Const., 109.)

MAINE.

Supreme judicial court appointed by governor. (Const., V, Pt. I, 8.)
Probate courts elected by the people. (Const., VI, 7.)

MARYLAND.

Court of appeals elected by the people. (Const., IV., 3.)
Circuit courts elected by the people. (Const., IV, 3.)
Orphans' courts elected by the people. (Const., IV, 3.)

MASSACHUSETTS.

Supreme judicial court appointed by governor. (Const., Pt. II, Ch. II, sec. 1 (9).) (Rev. Laws, 1902, p. 1373.)
Superior court appointed by governor. (Const., Pt. II, Ch. II, sec. 1 (9).) (Rev. Laws, 1902, p. 1378.)
Probate courts appointed by governor. (Const., Pt. II, Ch. II, sec. 1 (9).) (Rev. Laws, 1902, p. 1423.)
"Trial justices" appointed by governor. (Rev. Laws, 1902, p. 1414.)

MICHIGAN.

Supreme court elected by the people. (Const., VII, 2.)
Circuit courts elected by the people. (Const., VII, 8.)
Probate courts elected by the people. (Const., VII, 14.)

MINNESOTA.

Supreme court elected by the people. (Const., VI, 3.)
District courts elected by the people. (Const., VI, 4.)
Probate courts elected by the people. (Const., VI, 7.)

MISSISSIPPI.

Supreme court appointed by governor. (Const., VI, 145.)
Circuit courts appointed by governor. (Const., VI, 153.)
Courts of chancery appointed by governor. (Const., VI, 153.)

MISSOURI.

Supreme court elected by the people. (Const., VI, 8.)
Circuit courts elected by the people. (Const., VI, 25.)
Criminal courts elected by the people. (Const., VI, 30.)
Probate courts elected by the people. (Const., VI, 34.)
County courts elected by the people. (Const., VI, 30.)

MONTANA.

Supreme court elected by the people. (Const., VIII, 6.)
District courts elected by the people. (Const., VIII, 12.)

NEBRASKA.

Supreme court elected by the people. (Const., VI, 4.)
District courts elected by the people. (Const., VI, 10.)
County courts elected by the people. (Const., VI, 15.)

NEVADA.

Supreme court elected by the people. (Const., VI, 3.)
District courts elected by the people. (Const., VI, 5.)

NEW JERSEY.

Supreme court appointed by governor. (Const., VII, 2 (1).)
Court of errors and appeals appointed by governor. (Const., VII, 2 (1).)
Court of chancery appointed by governor. (Const., VII, 2 (1).)
Circuit courts appointed by governor. (Const., VI, 5 (2), VII, 2 (1).)
Prerogative court appointed by governor. (Const., VI, 4 (2), VII, 2 (1).)
Court of common pleas appointed by legislature. (Const., VII, 2 (2).)

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Supreme court appointed by governor. (Const., II, 45, Chase's Pub. Stat., Supp. 1913, p. 486).
Superior court appointed by governor. Const., II, 45, Chase's Pub. Stat., Supp. 1913, p. 486.)
Probate courts appointed by governor. (Const., II, 45, 79.)

NEW MEXICO.

Supreme court elected by the people. (Const., VI, 4.)
District courts elected by the people. (Const., VI, 12.)
Probate courts elected by the people. (Stat., 1915, sec. 1245.)

NEW YORK.

Supreme court elected by the people. (Const., VI, 1.)
Court of appeals elected by the people. (Const., VI, 7.)
Surrogates' courts elected by the people. (Const., VI, 15.)
County courts elected by the people. (Const., VI, 14.)

NORTH CAROLINA.

Supreme court elected by the people. (Const., IV, 20.)
Superior courts elected by the people. (Const., IV, 20.)

NORTH DAKOTA.

Supreme court elected by the people. (Const., IV, 90.)
District courts elected by the people. (Const., IV, 104.)
County courts elected by the people. (Const., IV, 110.)

OHIO.

Supreme court elected by the people. (Const., IV, 2.)
Court of appeals elected by the people. (Const., IV, 6.)
Court of common pleas elected by the people. (Const., IV, 3.)
Probate courts elected by the people. (Const., IV, 7.)

OKLAHOMA.

Supreme court elected by the people. (Const., VII, 3.)
District courts elected by the people. (Const., VII, 9.)
County courts elected by the people. (Const., VII, 11.)

OREGON.

Supreme court elected by the people. (Const., VII, 1.)
Circuit courts elected by the people. (Const., VII, 1, 8.)
County courts elected by the people. (Const., VII, 11.)

PENNSYLVANIA.

Supreme court elected by the people. (Const., V., 2.)
Courts of common pleas elected by the people. (Const., V., 1, 15.)
Courts of oyer and terminer and general jail delivery elected by the people. (Const., V., 1, 15.)
Courts of quarter sessions of the peace elected by the people. (Const., V., 1, 15.)
Orphans' courts elected by the people. (Const., V., 1, 15.)

RHODE ISLAND.

Supreme court selected by legislature. (Const., X., 4.)
Superior court selected by legislature. (Gen. Laws, 1909, p. 949.)
District courts selected by legislature. (Gen. Laws, 1909, p. 973.)

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Supreme court selected by legislature. (Const., V., 2.)
Court of common pleas selected by legislature. (Const., V., 1, 13.)
Court of general sessions selected by legislature. (Const., V., 1, 13.)
County courts elected by the people. (Civil Code, 1912, sec. 3856.)
Probate courts elected by the people. (Civil Code, 1912, secs. 280, 1360.)

SOUTH DAKOTA.

Supreme court elected by the people. (Const., V., 5.)
Circuit courts elected by the people. (Const., V., 15.)
County courts elected by the people. (Const., V., 19.)

TENNESSEE.

Supreme court elected by the people. (Const., VI., 3.)
Courts of chancery elected by the people. (Shannon's Ann. Code, 1917, sec. 374.)
Circuit courts elected by the people. (Shannon's Ann. Code, 1917, sec. 374.)
County courts elected by the people. (Shannon's Ann. Code, 1917, sec 385.)

TEXAS.

Supreme court elected by the people. (Const., V, 2.)
Courts of civil appeals elected by the people. (Const., V, 6.)
Courts of criminal appeals elected by the people. (Const., V, 4.)
District courts elected by the people. (Const., V, 7.)
County courts elected by the people. (Const., V, 15.)

UTAH.

Supreme court elected by the people. (Const., VIII, 2.)
District courts elected by the people. (Const., VIII, 5.)

VERMONT.

Supreme court selected by the legislature. (Const., II, 42.)
Courts of chancery selected by the legislature. (Pub. Stat., 1906, secs. 1231, 1234, 1342.)
County courts selected by the legislature. (Const., II, 42.)
Probate courts, elected by the people. (Const., II, 35.)
Courts of insolvency elected by the people. (Pub. Stat., 1906, sec. 2412; Const., II, 35.)
Court of claims selected by the legislature. (Pub. Stat., 1906, sec. 465.)

VIRGINIA.

Supreme court of appeals selected by the legislature. (Const., VI, 91.)
Circuit courts selected by the legislature. (Const., VI, 96.)
Corporation courts selected by the legislature. (Const., VI, 96.)
Law and chancery courts selected by the legislature. (Const., VI, 96.)

WASHINGTON.

Supreme court elected by the people. (Const., IV, 3.)
Superior courts elected by the people. (Const., IV, 5.)

WISCONSIN.

Supreme court elected by the people. (Const., VII, 4.)
Circuit courts elected by the people. (Const., VIII, 10.)
Probate courts elected by the people. (Const., VII, 14.)
County courts elected by the people. (Stat., 1915, sec. 2441.)

WEST VIRGINIA.

Supreme court of appeals elected by the people. (Const., VIII, 2.)
Circuit courts elected by the people. (Const., VIII, 10.)
County courts elected by the people. (Const., VIII, 23.)

WYOMING.

Supreme court elected by the people. Const., V, 4.)
District courts elected by the people. (Const., V, 19.)

Mr. Speaker, I also give a statement as to the manner of the selection of the school officials in the several States. Our State of Virginia permits the appointment of all its school officials by the majority party, except the State superintendent, and hence the school system of Virginia is a part of the powerful Democratic machine of to-day. There is not a Republican county school superintendent and there is not a county school superintendent selected except through his political and not educational qualifications. The only relief from such a situation is to place the control of the school officers as well as the judiciary in the hands of the people who are to be served by these officials. This is fundamental in the right of self-government in the State.

It will be observed that Virginia is the only State in the Union that denies every county the right of the selection of its county superintendent of schools.

A candidate for county school superintendent has to visit Richmond, in some instances 500 miles away, to present his claims to a board that has never visited the county and is a stranger to its needs in all of Virginia.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,
LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE SERVICE,
Washington, March 3, 1917.

Hon. C. BASCOM SLEMP,
290 House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In response to your request of yesterday, I am inclosing herewith a memorandum showing the method of selecting State and county superintendents of schools in the several States, which has been prepared in the Legislative Reference Division under my direction from the "Digest of State laws relating to education," published as Bulletin No. 47 (1915) of the United States Bureau of Education, supplemented by the statutes in certain cases. This is the best we can do in the time allowed.

Very truly, yours,
J. DAVID THOMPSON,
Law Librarian.

STATE SUPERINTENDENT.

Elected by the people in Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming.

Appointed by the governor in Delaware, Iowa, Maine, Maryland, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Tennessee.

Elected by a board in Massachusetts and Vermont, by the State board of education, appointed by the governor; in Rhode Island, by the State board of education, elected by the legislature except for ex officio members; in New York, by the board of regents.

None in Connecticut, whose school system is managed by a State board of education of seven members, which consists of two ex officio members, one appointed by the governor, and four elected by the legislature.

COUNTY SUPERINTENDENTS.

Elected by the people in Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas (if majority of voters in county favor such election), California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, South Dakota, Utah (voters in cities of first and second classes and in county-school districts of first class not allowed to vote), Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

Appointed by the governor in Delaware.

Appointed by the State superintendent in New Jersey. (Commissioner of education.)

Elected by a board of education: In Louisiana, by a board of directors of public schools; in Maryland, by a board of county-school examiners; in North Carolina, by a county board of education; in Ohio, by a county board of education. (Page and Adams' Gen. Code, Supp. 1916, sec. 4744.)

Elected by convention of township or school district representatives: In Indiana, by township trustees; in Iowa, by representatives of each school, township, city, town, or village, independent district, and independent consolidated district in the county; in Pennsylvania, by school directors.

Elected by a court: In Tennessee, by county court; in Texas, by commissioners' court.

SOURCE.

Digest of State laws relating to public education. Bureau of Education. Bulletin No. 47. January 1, 1915.

In Virginia a State Board of Education appoints division superintendents comprising one or more counties. (Va. Code Ann. 1916, p. 329.)

There are no county superintendents in Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, Nevada, New Hampshire, New York, Rhode Island, and Vermont.

Princeton Alumni Association of Maryland.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. CHARLES LINTHICUM,
OF MARYLAND,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I insert the following resolution of the Princeton Alumni Association of Maryland:

RESOLUTION ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY AT MEETING OF PRINCETON ALUMNI ASSOCIATION OF MARYLAND, MARCH 2, 1917.

Whereas the Princeton Alumni Association of Maryland believes the present crisis demands fearless and aggressive action on the part of our Government to put an end to the illegal and inhuman attacks of the German Government upon the rights of this country and the lives of its citizens; and

Whereas this association believes that in taking such action the United States would not only be defending the rights of its own citizens, but also be upholding civilization against barbarism: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this association does hereby pledge its most hearty support to the President in any action which he may take to protect American citizens and property from attack on the seas or elsewhere, and does most respectfully urge upon the President and upon Congress that prompt and efficient steps be taken to afford such protection; and be it further

Resolved, That it is the sense of this association that one of the means to be adopted to provide such adequate protection, is the immediate passage by Congress and approval by the President of an act establishing a system of universal military training and service; and be it further

Resolved, That copies hereof be sent to the President, to the chairman of the Committees on Military Affairs of the Senate and House of Representatives, and to the Members of the Maryland delegation in Congress.

Armed Neutrality.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. LINDBERGH,
OF MINNESOTA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Thursday, March 1, 1917.

Mr. LINDBERGH. Mr. Speaker, somehow, some place, somewhere, sometime a nation will have to take a step toward civilization or the world will go down in ruin. I had hoped that now had shown the how; that this was the time and that our's was the Nation. But it is not "the law," though it is the moral that would have us lead the world right now. Now is our chance. The President asks us the authority to enforce "the law" now, and Congress can give the power to the President. The President, in his message, says he has the authority without an act of Congress, but I am unable to read the law with that construction.

This day has shown no bitterness among Members. All realize that this is a most solemn day, and that each Member must answer to his God and to his country. No one here is a coward. Some fear the lash of the press and the protests of those who have read only the headlines of the jingo press. But that is insignificant compared with the responsibility, and no one should shirk responsibility. What appeals most to me is the consequences. Not that I fear lack of patriotism anywhere. Five, ten, or even twenty millions of men and as many more women, if it were necessary, would not hesitate to go to the firing line. We all know they would if their country needed them for war. But all of us, whatever we do, must take with us the thing that distinguishes mankind from brute kind—that is reason and common sense.

Of course, everybody knows that the metropolitan press declared war some time ago, and became frenzied because the people, Congress, and the President did not immediately ratify their declaration of war and at once enter upon hostilities. That part of the press libeled the President shamefully whenever he took any measure that promoted peace and demanded of all others to stand by the President only when the President took any step that might lead to war. Go to the press files, for they will prove the truth of what I have stated. You will find them in the library for every day, and there you can see how inconsistent they have been in demanding that we all stand by the President only when his acts happen to suit them. We

need a truly American press to circulate among the people, a press that will publish the whole truth whoever it may concern, and leave the people to determine from the facts what in their judgment is right. Take for instance the recent sinking of the *Laconia*. That ship landed at Halifax, Canada, on its way from an American port to England. It was an English ship, therefore a belligerent. There were 29 women on board, 3 of them Americans. All except the three American women were taken off at Halifax and refused the privilege of going into the war zone. The three American women were killed by the sinking of the ship by a submarine. That fact was published, without the public generally being informed what had happened at Halifax. The three American women had a legal right to go upon the ship. So did the other 26 women. We all sympathize with our American sisters who lost their lives and condemn the means by which they were killed, but why did not our Government warn them to keep off, as the Government of England compelled the other women to get off?

The real question before us to-day is, Is civilization breaking down? The facts upon their face show that it is, or else that we have not had civilization. "The law" has failed, and are we to plunge into war now to maintain "the law" and make its failure more complete, or will we pick up the few remaining threads of reason and build better? The President asks us to give him authority to enforce "the law." Let us inquire what "the law" is.

"The law" is that Americans may travel upon the high seas, and may send American products to other countries and bring back foreign products. That is "the law," and the President will be authorized to enforce it by force of arms. The only question is as to what is the best way to proceed. What are the facts as related to the present conflict? No action toward starting war was taken till the submarine warfare stopped the munition makers sending their goods across the ocean. Americans had, without notice, been killed upon belligerent ships, also upon neutral ships and upon our own ships, but no step toward war was taken until the ships carrying munitions of war were being held in American harbors, because the owners could not afford to take the financial risk incident to sending them through the war zone. Everybody has notice that they will be sunk whenever they can be, and that seems to some persons more serious than sinking them without notice. It is all serious enough—too serious, in fact. None of us dispute the law or the right to free travel and commerce upon the high seas; and no one would surrender any right essential to our national independence, but we should see the necessity of civilization, and that it can not come out of the existing law unless we make different rules of application. Let us see what "the law" has done with our commerce and how it operates against us as we now apply it.

From July 1, 1913, to June 30, 1914, we exported $470,653,491 in value of American products in excess of what we imported. That was before the war. Now let us see what occurred after the war. From July 1, 1914, a few days before the war began, to June 30, 1915, we exported $1,094,419,600 in value of American products in excess of what we imported. From July 1, 1915, to June 30, 1916, we exported $2,135,775,355 in value of American products in excess of what we imported. From July 1, 1916, to September 30, 1916, three months, we exported $924,726,579 in value of American products in excess of what we imported. At the present time—that is, for the last three months—we have exported in excess of what we have imported, at the rate of $400 in value per annum for every man, woman, and child in America. To do that is "the law," but, if I am excused for curt language, it is damned nonsense to apply it that way. To send away $400 worth of goods for every man, woman, and child more than we get back is idiocy as distinguished from right.

No wonder that there are cold and hunger riots in New York, Chicago, and other great cities. "The law" to take the products of our country to foreign lands for barter, trade, and speculation to give the privilege of the barterers to exercise the right to use the profits for travel upon the high seas and involve our people in cold, hunger, and war are abstract rights, but they are not the rights that lead to the exercise of civilization but the rights that lead to barbarism. It is those abstract rights that we are asked to apply power to enforce instead of dealing with them from the common-sense method.

The man who "stands by his country" to-day is tagged by the war jingoes as pro-German, but that does not make him so. The man who reasons and exercises good sense to-day may be hung in effigy to-morrow by the jingoes. The truth will be concealed from the public as long as a few millions out of the billions of profits the few get are paid out for circulating falsehoods.

I discussed this problem at length on February 24, when the high cost of living had our attention, and my speech is in the RECORD of that day. Therefore I shall not discuss the same ground again, except to add that it is cowardly to seek to name the "war-for-profit group" as patriotic, and name the people who seek to apply common-sense rules that would operate for the benefit of all mankind as "peace at any price" and unpatriotic. There are no peace-at-any-price people. I have shown in my speech of February 24 the difference between the two contending factions.

The General Staff Universal Military Training and Service Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following:

MEMORANDA TO ACCOMPANY H. R. 21054, SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION.

THE GENERAL STAFF UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING AND SERVICE BILL.

Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, February 14, 1917: Subject—System of national defense based upon universal liability to military training and service. WCD 9876–20.

Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, February 14, 1917: Subject—Main features of a statement of a system of national defense based upon universal liability to military training and service, prepared by the War College division of the General Staff. WCD 9876–20.

Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, February 14, 1917: Subject—Statement of a system of national defense based upon universal liability to military training and service, prepared by the War College division of the General Staff. WCD 9876–20.

Draft of an act for providing a system of national defense based upon universal liability to military training and service, and for other purposes. WCD 9876–20.

Memorandum for the Chief of Staff, December 9, 1916: Subject—Statement of a proper military policy for the United States. WCD 9832–1.

Extract copy from the statement of Maj. Gen. Hugh L. Scott, Chief of Staff, United States Army, to the Military Committee of the Senate, December 19, 1916.

Table showing the strength and organization of the land forces of the United States proposed in WCD 9876–20, February 14, 1917.

Cost tables.

[War College Division, 9876–20.]

WAR DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF,
Washington, February 14, 1917.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF.

Subject: System of national defense based upon universal liability to military training and service.

1. The War College Division submits herewith a statement and draft of legislation for a system of national defense based upon the fundamental principles of universal liability to military training and service, localization of units, and decentralization of administration.

2. The statement and the draft of legislation for carrying the system into effect, prepared by the War College Division, are essentially the same as proposed by a committee of the War College Division under date of January 27, 1917, except that—

(*a*) The statement makes provision for the appointment of both temporary and provisional second lieutenants, and for the appointment of qualified enlisted men of the Army to commissions in both the permanent and temporary personnel.

(*b*) A limitation has been placed upon the number of officers who under the system of promotion proposed by the committee might be promoted to field grades in the several arms and corps.

(*c*) The section of the draft with reference to the procurement of animals for the Reserves has been omitted.

(*d*) The provision of the draft relative to furnishing liquor and habit-forming drugs to officers or soldiers in uniform has been omitted.

3. In order that Congress may understand what is really involved in such a system, and what is necessary for its success, it is considered desirable to state the details of registration and sanctions. The minimum punishments proposed for failure to register, to submit to physical examination, or to respond to calls for service have been reduced.

4. The War College Division considers it inadvisable to make exemptions from training on account of occupation of young men of training age. Such exemption would open a way to evasion of military training. The best procedure would be to train all young men who are fit for and liable to military training and to employ them in time of war as soldiers upon necessary work for which they are best fitted.

5. The statement contains some data not given by the committee relative to the reduction in cost which might be effected by training a smaller number of men each year or by training the full number required for only six months. The effect of these alternatives upon the generation of trained reservists is also stated.

6. The system of training as outlined in the statement and covered by the proposed draft of legislation is one adapted to normal peace conditions when ample time is available for deliberate preparation. If such a system should be inaugurated in time of emergency with the view of providing an army in a minimum of time, the plan should be modified in certain essential particulars. The War College Division has in preparation a modified plan adapted to emergency conditions.

JOSEPH E. KUHN,
Brigadier General, General Staff,
Chief of War College Division.

[War College Division, 9876–20.]

WAR DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF,
Washington, February 14, 1917.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF.

Subject: Main features of a statement of a system of national defense based upon universal liability to military training and service prepared by the War College Division of the General Staff.

I.—*Purpose.*

A reasonable measure of defense of the United States from successful invasion requires that there be available and ready for mobilization at all times a large number of trained, equipped, and organized men. It is the purpose of this plan to provide for the raising, training, and organization of the required number of men in such manner as to distribute the burden of national defense equally over the whole population and to provide for mobilization and service in war in accordance with the same principle.

II.—*Basic principles.*

The plan is designed to effect universal liability to training in peace and to service in war, decentralization of administration in peace and war, and localization of organization.

III.—*Training and service.*

1. Training in peace: To effect universality of training in peace and efficient service in war it is proposed to call out all able-bodied male citizens in their nineteenth year for 11 months' continuous training to be followed by two repetition courses of two weeks each, one in their twentieth year and one in their twenty-first year. It is proposed that only the following classes should be exempted from such training:

(a) Those permanently physically or mentally unfit for service of any kind. Such men will be permanently rejected.

(b) Those temporarily physically or mentally unfit. Such men will be temporarily rejected, but will be reexamined each year until they reach the age of 25 years, when they are permanently assigned to the unorganized reserves. If in any year during this period they are found fit for service, they will be called out for training in peace and service in war with the class of that year.

(c) Those who are the sole supports of destitute dependents. Such men will be exempted for one year, and so on from year to year until they reach the age of 25, when their liability to training ceases and they are assigned permanently to the unorganized reserves. If they should cease to be the sole supports of destitute dependents during any year before they reach the age of 25 years they will be called out for training and service with the class of that year.

2. Service in war: All nonexempted physically and mentally fit male citizens who have completed their prescribed 11 months' continuous training are liable for service in the reserves as follows:

(a) In the first reserves for four years and one month.

(b) In the second reserves for seven years.

(c) Thereafter until they reach the age of 45 years in the unorganized reserves.

In case of actual or threatened war the first and second reserves will be called out in the order named, together with many permanent officers and enlisted men of the training forces. Thereafter other men required for war service would be called out from the unorganized reserves by classes, according to age, beginning with the youngest. Only men permanently physically or mentally unfit would be permanently excused from service in war. Those temporarily unfit will be called out as soon as their disabilities have disappeared. Exemptions from war service will in every case be in the nature of postponement of liability and whenever the causes upon which they were *based have* become nonexistent, the exemptions will cease and the persons concerned called out for service. The following will be temporarily exempted from service in war:

(a) Those who are the sole supports of destitute dependents.

(b) Those whose civil official positions are indispensably necessary for the conduct of the Federal and State Governments and for the prosecution of the war.

All persons commissioned, enlisted, or enrolled in the military service at the outbreak of war or when war becomes imminent may be retained in service until the end of the war or until danger of war shall have disappeared.

IV.—*Permanent personnel.*

1. Over-sea garrisons, frontier forces, and training forces: Under this plan the soldiers of the United States are to be the young men of the Republic who, after temporay military service for purposes of training, will be definitely organized into a localized national army. Permanent soldiers are to be employed only for those duties which can not be performed by citizen soldiers, and the permanent personnel is, therefore, reduced to a minimum consistent with efficiency.

Permanent personnel will be required for the following purposes:

(a) To form the necessary garrisons of our naval bases and other over-sea possessions. The organizations required for these purposes constitute the over-sea garrisons.

(b) To form a small detachment for frontier guard duty and for the mine defense of our fortifications at home. These detachments constitute the frontier forces.

(c) To form the administrative and teaching personnel required for the training of annual contingents of reservists and for the maintenance of the reserve organization in time of peace. This portion of the permanent personnel, together with the recruits under training, is to be formed into training units and constitutes the training forces.

Each tactical unit in the training forces is essentially a school for training reservists. Its permanent personnel is to be limited to the officers, noncommissioned officers, and enlisted specialists required for training the annual contingent of reservists assigned to it and for the maintenance of the necessary training plant and equipment.

2. Increase in permanent personnel: In order to provide the permanent personnel necessary for these purposes, considerable expansion of our present Military Establishment will be necessary, especially in the number of officers and noncommissioned officers. In order to utilize existing military resources to the fullest extent, it is proposed to recruit the present establishment so far as practicable by receiving qualified officers and noncommissioned officers of the National Guard, Organized Militia, and suitable enlisted men of the Regular Army.

In like manner it is proposed to invite graduates of military schools and colleges and all other citizens of former military training and experience to apply for appointment in the permanent establishment, subject to proper tests as to capacity and character.

3. In order to protect the interests of the Government in these particulars, it is proposed that all such appointments and all original appointments in the future be temporary or provisional, and that permanent appointment be deferred until after a period of practical test as to aptitude and qualification.

4. Promotion: In view of the great expansion of the officer corps and in order to assure flexibility of organization, it is necessary to place the promotion of officers on a uniform and permanent basis that will be unaffected by changes in the relative strength of the several arms and corps. In order to accomplish this object it is proposed to promote officers to the several grades below that of brigadier general after stated periods of service in the lower grades, but with a reasonable limit upon the total number of officers in field grades. This will make it practicable to transfer officers from one arm to another in order that substantially the same number of trained and experienced officers may be assigned to each regiment or regimental equivalent in the combatant branches of the Army.

5. Elimination: In order to assure the maintenance of the high degree of efficiency demanded of the Army officer in his main function as a military instructor of the youth of the country, it is proposed to provide practical and prompt, but equitable, machinery for eliminating from the active list officers who are incompetent or otherwise unsuitable.

V.—*Creation of reserves.*

The problem of preparedness is not met by merely providing a large number of trained individuals. Trained soldiers must be formed into definite tactical organizations before they can be employed in war, and in order to meet modern conditions these units must be trained, organized, and equipped in time of peace.

1. The first reserve: In order to meet these conditions the trained reservists in their first four years and one month of reserve service will form the personnel of the first reserve. The first reserve is to be a definitely organized and localized national army, complete in every unit. Each reservist during his service in the first reserve will be a member of a tactical unit of the first reserve, in which he will serve with all of the other reservists in his neighborhood who belong to the same arm of the service. The first reserve is to be fully armed and equipped, and its organization, training, and preparedness for mobilization are to be tested by an annual assembly and muster with a short period of training and maneuver. All reservists in their first and second years of reserve service will attend these maneuvers. Thereafter attendance at these annual maneuvers will be required only of those reservists who aspire to become officers and noncommissioned officers.

2. The second reserve: After 4 years and 1 month service in the first reserve the reservist will pass into the second reserve. The second reserve will be a localized national army, organized like the first reserve, but as it will not be required for immediate mobilization, it need not be so fully equipped, and it will not be called out for annual maneuvers. In any given region the younger reservists of less than 4 years' reserve service will belong to a first reserve regiment ready for immediate mobilization, the reservists of more than 4 years and 1 month and less than 12 years' reserve service will belong to a corresponding second reserve regiment, while the reservists of more than 11 years' service will belong to the unorganized reserve.

3. Reserve officers: When the system first goes into operation all citizens who have had military training in the National Guard or from any other source, and who do not elect service in the permanent establishment, will be invited to qualify for appointment as reserve officers. As a rule, successful candidates will be immediately assigned to the reserve organizations ultimately to be formed in the region of their homes. After all such initial appointments and assignments have been made future vacancies in the reserve officer personnel will be filled by appointment from trained reservists and from the Reserve Officers' Training Corps.

Each reserve organization will receive its trained reservists each year from the training forces, and each reserve regiment and higher unit will be commanded in time of peace by a selected permanent officer, who will be charged with all arrangements necessary for its preparedness for war. After war begins promotion will be open to reserve officers to the highest grade consistent with their ability and capacity, as demonstrated in active service.

4. Enrolled personnel: All organizations of the first and second reserves will ultimately be filled with trained reservists who have served for a training period of 11 months with the training forces. On the inception of the system volunteers past the training age, who have had military experience in the Army, the National Guard, or elsewhere, should be received into the reserve organization. Those qualified for appointment as officers should be received as such, and others as noncommissioned officers. These will form the nucleus of the reserve organizations. If war should come before there are sufficient trained reservists, the deficiency in the strength of these organizations should be filled by calling out young men past the age of liability for training who are nevertheless liable for military service. This definite, localized organization of the national war force is in any event a necessary step toward preparedness, and should be accomplished before the system of training is put into operation.

VI.—*Reserve supplies.*

The supplies estimated for include those necessary for the training and organization of the required forces and also the minimum reserve of such supplies required in case of war. All of these supplies are necessary, even though no attempt is made to provide trained men. They can not be obtained in sufficient quantities after war occurs, and their absence would place the country absolutely at the mercy of an invader.

VII.—*State militia.*

The plan contemplates a strictly Federal Army for national defense, but some provision must be made for the States until they will have organized forces of constabulary or some other power to prevent domestic disorder. For this reason it is proposed to continue to the States for a period of five years the financial support provided by the so-called Dick bill, as amended prior to the passage of the national-defense act of June 3, 1916.

It is proposed to continue such support indefinitely to the Hawaiian Militia and to that of Porto Rico.

JOSEPH E. KUHN,
Brigadier General, General Staff,
Chief of War College Division.

STATEMENT OF A SYSTEM OF NATIONAL DEFENSE BASED UPON UNIVERSAL LIABILITY TO MILITARY TRAINING AND SERVICE.

[Prepared by the War College Division of the General Staff, Feb. 14, 1917.]

[War College Division 9876-20.]

WAR DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF,
Washington, February 14, 1917.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF.

Subject: Statement of a system of national defense based upon universal liability to military training and service prepared by the War College Division of the General Staff.

1. Under date of December 12, 1916, the Chief of Staff directed the War College Division to submit a plan for training a national army along the lines of its recent report (WCD 9832-1), but going more into detail. An abstract copy of this report with extracts from the Chief of Staff's hearing on the same subject are hereto attached. He indicated that the plan, based upon one year's intensive training, should include the following features:

"(a) A description of the method by which the desired number of men are to be obtained. This will include registration, selection, exemptions, etc. He believes it to be impracticable to train, at the beginning, the whole yearly contingent who would be available and thinks provision should be made for a gradual increase of the number called for training yearly until the desired number is attained.

"(b) Method of obtaining and training officers for the national army.

"(c) Organization of the national army in training and in reserve."

In connection with this plan, the Chief of Staff desired an estimate of the cost of such a force and a comparison of such cost with that of the Regular Army and National Guard as they would ultimately be under the national defense act. He also suggested that consideration be given to a scheme for sending men selected for training in the most northern portions of the country to places where outdoor training could be continued in winter, together with an estimate of the cost of such a project.

2. The plan, therefore, must provide for the raising, equipping, and training within a reasonable time of about 4,000,000 men, and for the organization of 1,500,000 men who must be ready to take the field at the outbreak of war and of 1,500,000 others who must be available for active service within three months after war is declared. It must also provide for the proper utilization of some 1,000,000 unorganized reserves whose organization prior to the existence of a national emergency is considered unnecessary and undesirable. Moreover, this plan must include methods which will make it certain that the burden of national defense will bear equally upon all classes of persons. In other words it must be democratic in every respect. It should also, wherever consistent with the furtherance of the ultimate object to be effected, namely, national security, take into consideration the convenience and welfare of the individual citizen. It should ignore the individual whenever his interests conflict with those of the Republic.

3. Scope of the plan: Taking into consideration the requirements both of peace and war it is obvious that this plan must provide the following separate organizations: The over-sea garrisons comprising the forces necessary to hold our positions in the Philippines, Oahu, and Panama, and the garrisons of Alaska and Porto Rico; the frontier forces comprising the personnel of the mine defense at home and a small mobile detachment for emergency use in time of peace; and the national army of trained reservists, as described in paragraph 2 above.

4. Permanent personnel: In order to meet the requirements of the three forces above described it will be necessary to provide a sufficient permanent personnel for the following purposes:

(a) Over-sea garrisons: This force will be composed of permanent soldiers and will consist of the organizations necessary to garrison the Philippines, Oahu, Panama, Alaska, and Porto Rico. The garrisons assumed for this purpose are the same as those outlined in the military policy (W C D 9053-90), September 11, 1915, with a total strength of about 97,000. It is possible that, due to future changes in our relation to the Philippines, the garrison for that possession may be materially reduced, but in that event troops no longer needed there may be required for other over-sea garrisons. For the present it is assumed that the total strength of the over-sea garrisons will remain as above stated.

(b) Frontier forces: These forces will comprise a mobile detachment consisting of two Infantry brigades and a Cavalry brigade, with the necessary auxiliaries required for emergency purposes. It will also include the mine defense of the fortifications at home, which it is believed should be composed entirely of permanent soldiers, as it will be necessary for this force to function at full efficiency at the very outbreak of hostilities. The total strength of the frontier force is estimated to be about 29,000. It is believed that this emergency force will be of sufficient strength to meet all small emergencies which do not justify calling out trained reservists. During the period of transition, before trained reservists become available, and especially in view of the present situation along the Mexican border, the force indicated is probably too small. This condition is met in the plan by the assumption that those organizations of the present Regular Army ultimately destined for the over-sea garrisons but now stationed in the United States will be retained in the United States until quarters are prepared for them at their proper stations, and that some of them may be retained even longer if the situation on the border makes this necessary.

(c) Training forces: The training forces will comprise those units which are necessary for the training of the large army of reservists who are to form the first and second reserves of the national war Army. The permanent personnel of these forces will be limited to those officers and enlisted men who are necessary for purposes of training. The strength of the training forces must, of course, be measured by the number of reservists to be trained each year, and they will be given in more detail after a consideration of the requirements of the first and second reserves.

(d) Other forces: These include the officers and enlisted men of the various staff departments required for the administration of the Military Establishment as a whole and which can not be properly included in any of the three categories above mentioned.

II.—*The training forces.*

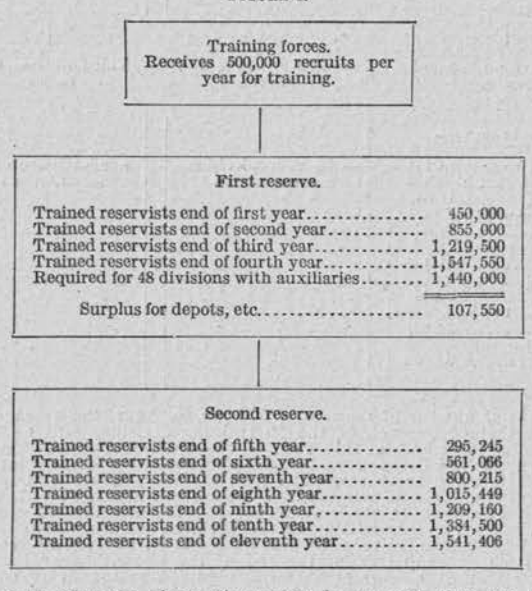
1. Relation to the reserves: In order to arrive at the strength of the training forces it is necessary, first, to consider the general strength and organization of the first and second reserves. Under the conditions of the problem it is assumed that the first reserve shall consist of an Army of 1,500,000 men capable of immediate mobilization, and that the second reserve shall consist of a similar force capable of mobilization within 90 days after the outbreak of hostilities. Taking 1,500,000 men as the strength of the first reserve, it is proposed to organize this force into a Coast Artillery reserve of 60,000 men and a mobile field army consisting of 48 divisions, with proper corps and field army auxiliaries, and having a total strength of about 1,440,000 men.

2. Numbers available for training: It is estimated from a study of census statistics that in the year 1917 about 1,000,000 young men will reach their nineteenth year. This includes native-born males and foreign-born males who are sons of naturalized parents. It is almost impossible to make an exact estimate as to the number of these who will be actually available for military training. There must be a considerable number who will be rejected on account of physical unfitness and, in addition thereto, a certain number who will be exempted on account of the dependency of relatives. The actual number available may vary from 55 to 75 per cent, depending largely upon the physical standards prescribed. For the purposes of present discussion it is assumed that the total rejections and exemptions will include about 42 per cent, leaving 58 per cent available for training. Under this assumption the total number actually available for training will be 580,000. Taking from this number 60,000 to be trained for the Navy and Marine Corps, we have 520,000 to receive training in the Army, or 500,000 per year for the mobile field Army and 20,000 per year for the Coast Artillery. This estimate is very conservative, and it is probable that the actual numbers available for training will be greater, but an increase in these numbers will have no effect on the plan of organization, and the general effect will simply be to fill the first and second reserves in a less period of time.

Taking this number of 500,000 per year as the number to be trained for the mobile field Army, we will now consider the further organization and composition of that force and will leave the Coast Artillery problem for consideration in Paragraph II, 8, below.

3. Graphical representation of relations of training forces with reserves: The general relation between the training forces and the reserves is shown in figure 1 below:

FIGURE 1.



In constructing the above diagram it is assumed that the training forces will receive 500,000 recruits per year for training and that the annual loss thereafter, due to casualties and exemptions of all kinds, will be 10 per cent per annum. Under these assumptions it is seen that at the end of the fourth year the first reserve will contain 1,547,550 trained reservists, or 107,550 in excess of the number required to form the first field army. Similarly, it is seen that by the end of the eleventh year the second reserve will have attained its full strength with a surplus of nearly 100,000 trained reservists. At the end of the eleventh year, then, we would be able to mobilize the first and second reserves at full strength with a surplus of over 200,000 trained reservists and with 500,000 recruits undergoing training. At the end of the thirteenth year we would have trained personnel for the first and second reserves with about 1,000,000 men undergoing training, or in depots, and prepared to replace losses.

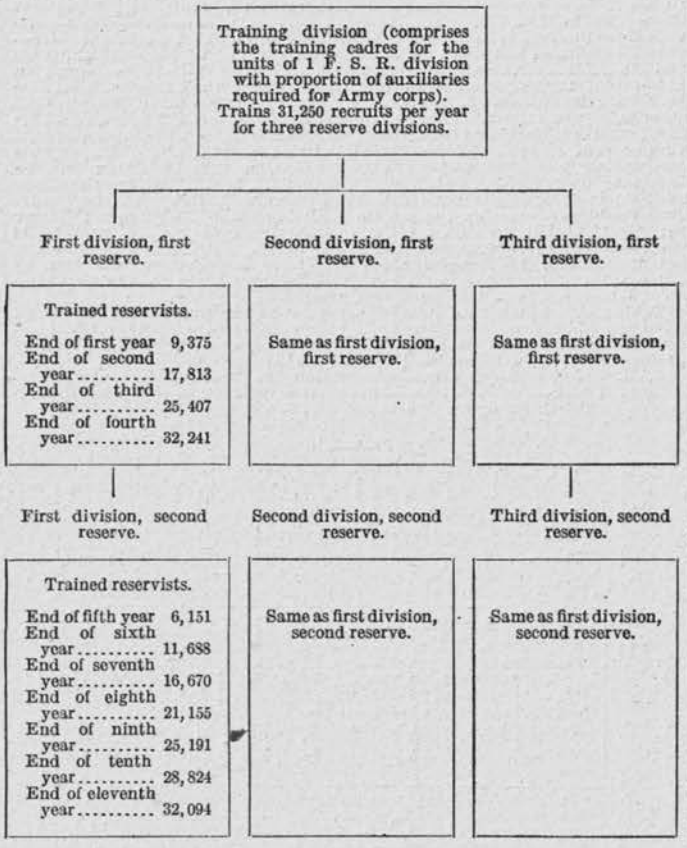
It is also seen from an examination of figure 1 that, in order to supply the necessary strength of the first reserve in four years, the training army must train approximately one-third of that strength each year. This fixes, in a general way, the proper numerical relation between the strength of the training forces and the strength of the first and second reserves. Having this relation in mind, it appears that for each division of the first reserve the training forces must train about one-third of the war strength of that division each year. This fixes the number of divisions of the training forces at about one-third the number to be formed in the first reserve, or, as 48 divisions with a proper proportion of field army and corps auxiliaries are required for the first reserve, there should be training cadres for 16 such divisions in the training army.

If it should develop that more than 500,000 recruits will be available for training each year, there will be no modification in the organization suggested above. The training forces should be so organized as to handle this overstrength, and, so far as the reserves are concerned, the effect will be simply to diminish the time required for service in the first and second reserves. For example, if 75 per cent of the total military population should be found available for training, the training forces of the mobile field army would train 670,000 recruits per year. In this event it would only be necessary for the reservists to serve

three years in the first reserve and five years in the second reserve in order to furnish the necessary numbers. The organization of the training forces proposed herein is sufficiently flexible to provide for a considerable increase in the number of reservists to be trained as the population increases.

4. Relation between divisions of the training army and the first and second reserves: Figure 2 below shows the relation that will exist between a training division and the corresponding divisions of the first and second reserves:

FIGURE 2.



If the total number of recruits is 500,000 per year, the average number to be trained by each of the 16 training divisions will be 31,250. The training division in this case is assumed to comprise one field service regulations division with a proper proportion of auxiliaries required for forming army corps and field armies. Figure 2 shows that such a training division will supply three reserve divisions with trained reservists, and that at the end of the fourth year the three reserve divisions taken together will be able to mobilize an army corps or field army of 90,000 men, with a surplus of about 6,700 trained reservists to form depots. Similarly, at the end of the eleventh year there will be enough trained reservists to form a corresponding army corps or field army in the second reserve.

It is considered important that this definite relation between training divisions and reserve divisions should be definitely established when the plan first goes into operation. While the organization of the first reserve will not be complete until the end of the fourth year, it is regarded as a distinct step in preparedness to begin the organization at once and to establish and localize all tactical units in the reserve so far as practicable. At the end of the first year each reserve divisional area would comprise a strong trained nucleus for a war-strength division. If time permitted, each of these divisions would be completed by the absorption of untrained men liable to military service. Or, if necessary, by a transfer of trained personnel, one division in each group of three could be immediately mobilized at full combatant strength and still leave a training nucleus for the other two.

In its study of this question, the War College Division has given consideration to the desirability of proposing a smaller infantry division than the typical division authorized in the national-defense act of June 3, 1916. This will be necessary if greater experience in the maneuver of larger units should justify the adoption of an army corps organization similar to that in vogue in Europe. It is quite evident that our present typical division is too large to form a component of an army corps constructed on the principle of maximum economy of road space. On the other hand, having in view the character of average American roads, it is possible that greater experience will confirm the wisdom of retaining large divisions as components of field armies without forming an intermediate unit like the European army corps. As the national-defense act authorizes the President to modify the number of smaller units in brigades, divisions, and army corps, and as the auxiliaries recommended for the 16 divisions under this plan can be adapted to a modified divisional organization, either in the training force and the reserves, it is not considered desirable to recommend legislative changes relating to organization until after we have had greater experience in the actual handling of larger units. In this connection it should be remembered that our present arrangement of three brigades to the division and three regiments to the brigade has decided tactical advantages.

5. Relation between smaller units in the training forces and the first and second reserves: The general relation shown between training divisions and reserve divisions in figure 2 also governs smaller tactical units. Wherever practicable a training brigade will furnish reservists to three first-reserve brigades, a training regiment to three first-reserve regiments, and a training battalion to three first-reserve battalions. This general relation is indicated in figure 3, which shows the relation between the infantry regiments of the training forces and the corresponding infantry regiments of the first and second reserves.

FIGURE 3.

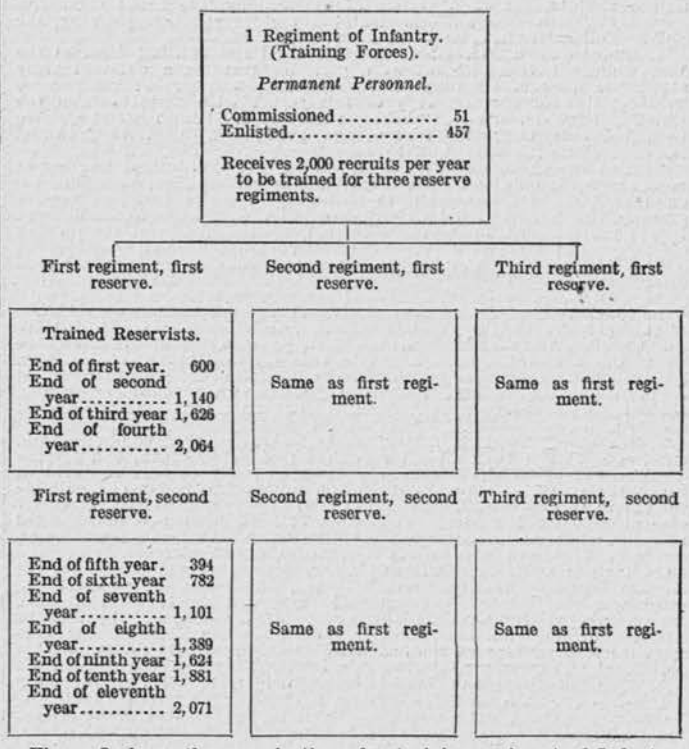


Figure 3 shows the organization of a training regiment of Infantry. It's permanent personnel is seen to comprise 51 commissioned officers and 457 permanent enlisted men. It receives about 2,000 recruits per year to be trained for the reserve. It is seen further that at the end of the first year each regiment of the first reserve will contain 600 trained reservists, and that at the end of the fourth year, the number of trained reservists in each first reserve regiment will be in excess of the number required for mobilization. It is also seen that at the end of the eleventh year the second reserve regiments will be completely filled with trained personnel. During war the training regiment will continue the training of recruits and will furnish a depot to supply trained men to replace casualties at the front.

6. The permanent personnel required for training purposes in the different arms: Figure 3 shows that each training regiment of infantry should have about 457 permanent enlisted men, in order to furnish an effective training cadre for the 2,000 infantry reservists. Table 1 below shows this relation in a general way for all arms.

TABLE I.

Units.	Permanent commissioned.	Permanent enlisted.	Minimum number of recruits.	Number of units maintained in first reserve.
Regiment of Infantry	51	457	1,970	3 regiments.
Regiment of Cavalry	52	414	1,487	Do.
Regiment of Field Artillery	41	414	1,267	Do.
Gun Company, Coast Artillery	3	27	100	
Regiment of Engineers	33	396	1,162	Do.
Field Battalion, Signal Corps	13	77	239	3 battalions.
Aero Squadron	18	68	150	3 squadrons.
Balloon Company	15	68	150	
Field Hospital	6	16	75	3 field hospitals.
Ambulance Company	5	32	150	3 ambulance companies.

The above table shows the number of permanent commissioned officers and enlisted men that are believed to be necessary for forming efficient training cadres in the several specified organizations.

It is possible that experience may justify a reduction of this training personnel after the system is in operation. But it is not believed that the proposed numbers can safely be reduced at the start, for upon the inauguration of the system a considerable portion of the training personnel will be officers and enlisted men of limited training.

At the start a considerable number of the commissioned personnel of the training units will be "temporary" officers appointed under the provisions of section 40 of the accompanying draft of legislation. After the first annual class has been trained "temporary" officers will be selected from those trained reservists who are willing to serve for a period of at least one year in the officer corps of training units. From these officers a limited number will be appointed into the permanent

establishment after a year of service and the bulk of them will pass to the reserve. This system will be of such intrinsic value to the first and second reserves that it may be desirable to continue it as a permanent feature of the system. In this event the total number of permanent officers might be reduced.

Section 3 of the accompanying draft of legislation provides for an enlistment period of one year in training units. This feature is considered necessary in order to recruit the training cadres promptly upon the inauguration of the system. This may also become a desirable permanent feature of the system, as it will result in further training for a considerable number of reservists. Reservists who have served an additional year with training units, either as temporary officers or enlisted men, will be of great value as officers and noncommissioned officers in the organized reserve.

7. Number of units required for the first reserve army and the corresponding number required for the training forces: In order to give the first reserve army its proper organization of 48 Infantry divisions, with six Cavalry divisions and other auxiliaries required for forming higher commands, the first reserve army should comprise the tactical units given in the first column of table 2 below. In order to train the required number of units for the first reserves it will be necessary for the training army to comprise the training cadres for the tactical units shown in column 2 of the same table.

TABLE 2.

	Number of units required for first reserve.	Number of cadres of units required for training forces.
Regiments of Infantry	432	144
Regiments of Cavalry	96	32
Regiments of Light Artillery	144	48
Regiments of Heavy Artillery	48	16
Regiments of Horse Artillery	6	2
Regiments of Engineers	48	16
Mounted battalions of Engineers	6	2
Field Signal battalions	48	16
Field Signal battalions, mounted	6	2
Aero squadrons	78	26
Balloon companies	24	8
Ambulance companies	240	80
Field hospitals	240	80
Field bakeries	66	22

It will be noted in the examination of table 2 that training units are not provided for ammunition and supply trains. In this plan and in the estimates based upon it, the field trains of organizations only are provided, as it is not considered desirable to give the ammunition and supply train personnel one year's training as such. It is considered better to train the necessary personnel as an overstrength of tactical organizations and to form the divisional and corps trains either from teamsters and chauffeurs in civil life or from reservists who have been drawn into such avocations after completing their military training, or from both these sources.

The training of personnel for the engineer train is provided by increased personnel in the training regiments of engineers.

The field trains of regiments will give a sufficient amount of transportation for the training forces in peace and a sufficient nucleus for forming train units in war. The estimates include one truck company for each training division.

8. Coast Artillery troops: After the fifth increment has been added to the Army under the provisions of the act of June 3, 1916, the regular Coast Artillery personnel will provide one complete manning body for the existing oversea fortifications, all mine defenses, and one-half the gun defense at home. The policy of the War Department has heretofore contemplated that one-half of the gun defense at home shall be provided from the National Guard of the seaboard States.

It is estimated that the full manning requirements for the existing fortifications and for additional new batteries under approved projects of the Board of Review will be as follows:

	Enlisted men.	Officers.
United States, gun defense	42,790	1,740
United States, mine defense	[1] 5,885	214
Total, United States	48,675	1,954
Over-sea fortifications	8,361	326
Total, United States and over-sea	57,036	2,280

[1] Includes enlisted specialists.

In this plan it is proposed to provide a permanent personnel to man fully the gun and mine defenses of the oversea fortifications, the mine defense at home (including enlisted specialists) and to provide a training cadre for one-half the gun defense at home. The Coast Artillery training force with the colors to consist of a permanent personnel and a temporary personnel; the permanent personnel to consist of all the officers and 25 per cent of the number of enlisted men required to man one-half of the gun defense at home; the temporary personnel (recruits undergoing 11 months' training annually) to number about 90 per cent of the enlisted men required to man one-half of the gun defense at home. The average personnel of each of the 198 companies or administrative units in the training force to consist approximately of the following personnel:

Permanent cadre: One captain, 1 first lieutenant, 1 second lieutenant, 1 first sergeant, 1 supply sergeant, 1 mess sergeant, 8 sergeants, 12 corporals, 2 cooks, and 2 mechanics; total, 30.

Temporary personnel: One hundred recruits undergoing training for 11 months annually.

The Coast Artillery personnel with the colors will be as follows:

	Officers.	Enlisted men.	Companies or administrative units.
PERMANENT PERSONNEL.			
Over-sea fortifications	326	8,361	71
United States, mine defense	214	5,885	47
United States, training cadre for one-half gun defense	870	5,349	198
Total permanent personnel	1,410	19,595	319
TEMPORARY PERSONNEL.			
Recruits undergoing training for 11 months per year with training cadre	.....	20,000	.....
Total with colors	1,410	39,595	319

Provision is made for calling to the colors annually for 11 months' training 20,000 Coast Artillery recruits. Under the assumption that there is an annual loss of 10 per cent, approximately the following number of trained men will be available at the close of the successive years:

First year, 18,000; second year, 34,200; third year, 48,780; fourth year, 61,902; fifth year, 73,712; sixth year, 84,341; seventh year, 93,907; eighth year, 102,516.

Assuming that the permanent Coast Artillery personnel required for the fortifications at home and oversea and for the training cadre will be recruited from the trained reservists, there will be available at the close of the fourth and eighth years for replacing losses and for duty as Coast Artillery supports approximately the following number of trained Coast Artillery reservists:

	Fourth year.	Eighth year.
Total trained men available	61,902	102,516
Enlisted men required to man all mine and gun defenses	57,036	57,036
Available for replacing losses and for duty as Coast Artillery supports [1]	3,866	45,480

[1] Approximately 47,000 Coast Artillery supports are required for the fortifications in the United States.

In general, the Coast Artillery reservists will be assigned to coast-defense commands and forts in the vicinity of their homes for training, mobilization, and service.

9. General scheme of organization: As soon as the military organization proposed herein is authorized by law the country should be divided into 48 reserve divisional areas. Each three of these reserve areas should comprise one divisional training area and within each such training area a training division should be formed. In addition to the tactical units required for the Infantry division, each such divisional training area should contain a portion of the auxiliary units required for the formation of higher commands.

The distribution of these auxiliaries can not be uniform. For example, divisional areas on the seaboard will include certain units of the Coast Artillery, in addition to mobile army auxiliaries. Certain divisional areas located in or near great centers of population will probably not be suitable for the training of cavalry and other mounted troops. In such divisional areas, therefore, certain units should not be organized and an increased number of them should be organized in adjoining rural areas. Each divisional area should, so far as practicable, contain its own divisional cavalry, but the cavalry for cavalry divisions should be distributed, after due consideration, in regions most suitable for obtaining and training cavalry personnel. In practice, therefore, while each divisional area should normally contain an infantry division and a proportionate share of auxiliaries, there will be some variation in the total number of troops to be raised in each such area and a corresponding difference in military population. The division of the country into divisional areas should be prescribed by the War Department after a careful survey of all the conditions of the problem. After the divisional areas are formed and the composition of training forces therein determined the further subdivision of divisional areas should be regarded as a local problem to be worked out in each case by the commander of the divisional training area.

10. The functions and duties of commanders of divisional training areas: After the 16 training areas are formed and division commanders assigned each such commander should have the fullest power to control all of the military administration within the limits of his area. It must be quite obvious that with forces as large as we are now considering centralized administration in the War Department would necessarily break down. It should be understood that the commander of the divisional area is to organize and administer all of the military resources within the territory assigned to him and that he should have all necessary powers to perform these duties. The War Department should give him a general policy embodied in proper orders and regulations. It should give him his proportionate share of available personnel and his proper allotment of funds and the details of solving the problem should be left to him.

A considerable interval must elapse between the passage of a law authorizing universal service and the actual beginning of the system of universal training. During this interval the preliminary organization must be effected and the commander of the divisional area should use this interval for the recruitment and organization of the permanent training personnel and for the location and preliminary organization of reserve units. When it is considered that 51,000 reserve officers will be required for the first reserve alone it must be recognized that steps to form a corps of such officers should be undertaken at once.

11. Subdivisions of the divisional training area: So far as practicable the tactical units of the first reserve army should be localized. The

divisional training area should be subdivided into three reserve divisional areas and within each of these areas it should be understood that a reserve division is to be formed in war. Similarly each reserve divisional area should be divided into three infantry brigade areas and each reserve brigade area should be divided into three regimental areas. It may not be practicable always to raise definite units in definite areas, but this should always be done whenever conditions permit. The boundaries of the different subdivisions should be defined by the commander of the divisional training area, and in order to meet changes in population and changes in distribution he should have the power to change such boundaries when necessary or to transfer surplus reservists in one area to areas in which a deficiency may occur. General provisions governing the formation of divisional areas and subdivisions are contained in sections 36 and 51 of the draft of legislation hereto attached.

III.—*Permanent personnel required for the whole army.*

1. Table 3 hereto attached gives an estimate of the total commissioned and enlisted personnel of all grades that will be required in order to provide the oversea garrisons, the frontier forces, the training forces, and the administrative personnel outlined in this report. In preparing this table the personnel of the Infantry, Cavalry, Field Artillery, and Coast Artillery is computed by considering the requirements of the total number of regiments proposed for each arm. The tactical units of the oversea forces and the frontier forces are taken to be at maximum strength, and all units in the training forces are assumed to have only such strength as is necessary for the training of the annual contingent of reservists.

The personnel for the staff corps and departments is computed in the following manner. It is assumed that the authorized strength of the Army after the fifth increment under the national-defense act will provide the personnel for the foreign garrisons, four Infantry divisions, and two Cavalry divisions, and for the administrative services of the various staff corps and departments. To this strength is added enough personnel for the cadres for the units of 12 additional divisions for the training forces and the personnel required for the mobile troops in the frontier forces.

The numbers of general officers of the line given in Table 3 are based on actual requirements; that is, one major general as chief of staff, one assistant chief of staff, and one for each actually organized division. Similarly there is one brigadier general as assistant chief of staff and one brigadier general for each actually organized brigade and Coast Artillery district. The draft of the law submitted will provide for the appointment of corps commanders for the first and second reserves, such appointment to give increased grade without increase of either pay or allowances.

It will be noted that Table 3 comprises 866 enlisted men in recruiting parties, 1,334 enlisted men in recruiting-depot attachments, and 14,247 unassigned recruits. It is obvious that this full recruiting force will probably be required at the inception of the proposed system, but it is believed that the adoption of the principle of universal service will ultimately so modify the problem of recruiting as to make it possible to dispense with all or most of these detachments. It will still be necessary to recruit the permanent enlisted personnel under the voluntary system, but it is believed that after we have trained the first 500,000 recruits the permanent establishment will be recruited from those trained reservists who desire further military experience, and that they will be recruited by the permanent personnel of the training forces.

It will also be noted that Table 3 includes the detached officers and additional officers now authorized by law. After the system is established it is quite possible that a number of these officers will not be required for their present duties, but they will still be necessary for duty with the reserves if not with the training forces, and, if there should be any surplus, they will be available for supplementing the personnel of staff departments. The plan for reorganization of the officers' corps, to be discussed in Paragraph III, 4, below, will contain a flexible provision for assigning officers to any duty for which they may be qualified without reference to their connection with particular arms or corps.

2. Expansion of the Officers' Corps: An examination of Table 3 will show that in order to provide the officers for the proposed army there must be a very great expansion of the present Officers' Corps. In order to show this in more detail, Table 4, below, is compiled from Table 3:

TABLE 4.—*Expansion of commissioned personnel.*

	Present authorized strength.	Officers required.	Increase.	Number of present officers available for each regiment.
Whole Army, exclusive of Philippine Scouts and Military Academy	7,275	24,400	17,125	.....
Infantry (exclusive of chaplains)	1,903	9,129	7,226	10.41
Cavalry (exclusive of chaplains)	860	2,080	1,220	21.5
Field Artillery (exclusive of chaplains)	372	3,088	2,716	5.05
Coast Artillery (exclusive of chaplains)	801	1,404	603	28.61
Engineer Corps	302	978	676	.....
Signal Corps	139	1,290	1,151	.....
Ordnance Department	96	244	148	.....
Medical Corps[1]	1,122	2,933	1,811	.....
Quartermaster Corps	283	546	263	.....

[1] Exclusive of dentists and veterinarians.

The first column of the above table shows the present authorized strength of the several arms and corps. The third column shows the increase or expansion required.

An examination of this table reveals the following essential facts:

(a) There must be a very great expansion of the officer corps taken as a whole.

(b) The actual ratios of expansion vary greatly in the several arms. For example, if the Cavalry should be expanded without reference to the requirements of any other arm, each regiment in the new establishment would have 21 or 22 officers from the present establishment and would have to absorb about 30 officers from other sources. Each regimental equivalent of Coast Artillery would contain 28 or 29 officers of the present Coast Artillery and would have to absorb about 22 new officers. Each Infantry regiment would have 10 or 11 officers from the Infantry force now authorized and would have to absorb from 40 to 41 new officers, while each Field Artillery regiment would have only 5 officers of the present establishment and would have to absorb from 36 to 39 new officers, depending upon the type of regiment. As a matter of fact, the actual condition in the Field Artillery is even more serious than is indicated by these figures. On account of the recent 50 per cent expansion of the Field Artillery, only two-thirds of its present officer corps were in the service prior to July 1, 1916. It is probable, therefore, that the present corps of Field Artillery officers would not be able to furnish more than 3 experienced officers to each of the regiments required in the new establishment.

It is quite apparent, therefore, that the very great expansion required makes it necessary to redistribute the present officer corps in these arms, so that the number of experienced officers shall be substantially the same in each regiment. If we take the total number of officers now authorized in these arms and redistribute them over the total number of regiments proposed, we will have about 12 experienced officers for each regiment. Under these conditions, the Coast Artillery and Cavalry, having more than the required average, would furnish enough experienced officers to the Field Artillery and Infantry to bring the number of trained officers in each regiment approximately to the proper average of 12 trained officers per regiment. This involves requiring certain officers to acquire the technique of a new arm, but if this is an evil, it is a necessary evil and is much better than attempting to fill the Field Artillery with 88 per cent of raw officers of no experience whatever. As will be seen further on, there will be ample time to prepare transferred officers for their new duties in the considerable interval that must elapse between the passage of necessary legislation and the actual beginning of universal training. During this interval the military population must be registered, barracks and quarters and other structures must be provided, and armament and equipment accumulated and distributed. It is quite evident that this interim must be of considerable duration—quite long enough to permit a full reconstitution and reorganization of the officer corps, and quite long enough for very material progress in the special training of transferred officers and the increment of junior officers. The details of this period of preliminary training for officers will be discussed in Paragraph III, 5, below.

3. The problem of obtaining new officers: The problem is first to absorb upward of 17,000 additional officers from civil life for the permanent establishment. The first step toward accomplishing this is to receive into the Army as many citizens as possible who have already had military training. As the universal-service army proposed in this plan, with its reserves, will displace the present National Guard as a national war force, it is obvious that the first sources of officers for the enlarged army are the present National Guard and the Organized Militia. National Guard and Organized Militia officers of proper age and with suitable character and qualifications must be received into the corps of permanent officers. As will appear later, it is proposed, subject to proper examination, to receive them in the permanent officer corps in the grades of second lieutenant, first lieutenant, and captain, according to age and qualifications. Similarly, those officers of the National Guard and Organized Militia who do not accept commissions in the permanent establishment will be received into Reserve Officers' Corps and assigned to the first and second reserves, according to their qualifications, due regard being given to their National Guard and Organized Militia records.

In addition to the corps of National Guard and Organized Militia officers, the following other classes of citizens should also be regarded as sources for recruiting the officer corps:

Former officers of the Regular Army, the Navy, the Marine Corps, and the Volunteers.

Qualified enlisted men of the Regular Army.

Members of the Officers' Reserve Corps.

Members of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps.

Former officers of the National Guard and Organized Militia.

Graduates and students of military schools and colleges and all others who are eligible for appointment in the Reserve Officers' Corps.

Qualified citizens who have served as enlisted men in the Regular Army or Volunteers.

Qualified enlisted men of the National Guard.

Citizens who have had military experience abroad during the existing war.

All other classes of citizens who have had military experience and who offer themselves as candidates for commission, subject to proper examination and test. Those who elect service in the permanent officers' corps and are qualified therefor should be received therein, and those who desire service in war only should be commissioned in the Reserve Officers' Corps and assigned to reserve units as soon as the organization of reserve units can be undertaken.

Steps to expand the officer corps should be undertaken immediately on the passage of the law and should be well under way before it is practicable to begin the training of the first class liable to military training.

For convenience, the methods proposed for expanding the permanent officer corps will now be considered. The methods proposed for providing reserve officers will be presented after further consideration of the problem of forming, organizing, and training the first reserve.

4. Proposed new legislation affecting the officer corps: In view of the great expansion required in the permanent officer corps and in order to provide the utmost flexibility in the assignment of commissioned personnel, it is believed that the plan of organization should include a complete change in the methods of promoting and assigning officers.

In the new organization the chief function of permanent officers in time of peace will be to train reserve officers and enlisted men, and it is believed that we should once for all adopt an equitable system of promotion and compensation that will be uniform in all arms and corps, and one that will facilitate the utmost flexibility of organization. Investigation of this subject leads to the conclusion that the present organization of our officer corps is unsound in many particulars: that it is inconsistent with economy; and that the best way to provide for a better and more economical organization in the future is to place the promotion and compensation of officers on an equitable basis entirely independent of the organization, composition, and strength of the several arms and corps.

In order to accomplish these objects it is proposed to adopt the general rule, subject to limitations in field grades, that permanent promotion in the future should be based upon length of service. This will make it more practicable to adjust the organization of the Army to actual requirements without conflict of personal interests. If in the progress of military art the relative importance of any arm should diminish, that arm can then be decreased and its surplus personnel transferred to some other arm which should be increased or distributed

over several arms for absorption. Under such a system no officer would find personal profit in an undue expansion of his corps and, conversely, no officer would suffer personal loss if it should be in the public interest to reduce the numbers in his arm or department. In short, with the promotion question separated in this way from the question of organization, it would make it possible for Congress to maintain the minimum number of permanent officers consistent with efficiency. This is particularly important, because as soon as a corps of reserve officers has been properly trained it is probable that the employment of reserve officers on temporary duty with the training force will make it possible to reduce the number of permanent officers. It is also probable that changes of organization will prove desirable after we begin to have actual experience with larger units, and if so, it will be desirable to eliminate questions of personal interest that might tend to retard or resist reorganization.

The method of promotion herein proposed will have this apparent disadvantage: That the number of officers in any grade will be determined by length of service and will not bear any fixed relation to the number assigned in each grade in the several tactical organizations. This might be a serious objection if we were considering the present military establishment alone; but it is not believed that this is a matter of serious importance when we consider the fact that the great majority of these officers will be employed in time of peace in the training forces and that there is no special reason why an officer charged with the conduct of a military training unit should be of a particular grade.

Under the proposed system the main peace function of an officer of the permanent establishment will be to act as a military educator, and there is no reason why his rank or his pay should depend upon arbitrary arrangement of the officers in the different grades.

Under the proposed plan there will be a variation in the number of officers in the several grades of an arm or corps but the total number of officers in any arm or corps will remain constant.

The immediate promotions under the proposed plan will be much less than would result from a large expansion of the Army under the present system. For example, it is proposed to promote officers to the grade of colonel after 27 years of commissioned service. Lieutenant colonels of less commissioned service will not be promoted to the grade of colonel even though vacancies exist in that grade, but will continue to serve in the lower grade, and, for the time being, some officers of the grade of lieutenant colonel will command regiments or perform other duties normally assigned to colonels. Similarly officers will be promoted to the grade of lieutenant colonel after 24 years of commissioned service; to the grade of major after 19 years of such service; to the grade of captain after 9 years of such service; and to the grade of first lieutenant after 4 years of such service, due credit being given to members of permanent Staff Corps whose initial commissions in such Staff Corps were above that of second lieutenant.

While some variation in the number of officers in the several grades may be permitted without serious inconvenience, it is possible that under the proposed plan of promotion, there may ultimately be an excessive number of officers in the higher grades, especially in view of the large number of new officers who must be appointed upon the inauguration of the system. The plan includes several features which will tend to diminish the probability of this contingency. In the first place it is proposed to appoint all new officers, except those appointed from the National Guard and from enlisted men of the Regular Army, as temporary officers. Temporary second lieutenants will be appointed for one year and at the end of one year not to exceed 20 per cent of the most efficient of them will receive permanent appointment as second lieutenants. Of the remainder some will be permanently rejected as unsuitable for appointment as commissioned officers; some will be reappointed for another year; and the remainder will be passed to the reserve. In this manner it will take at least five or six years to fill the original vacancies in the grade of second lieutenant. This arrangement tends to reduce the number of new officers who will finish any given length of service in any one year. It also affords a more gradual and better method of filling the large number of original vacancies, and at the same time strengthens the reserve by giving increased military experience to a large number of reserve officers. This feature also results in a reduced expenditure for pay of commissioned personnel.

The plan also includes a system of eliminating inefficient officers which, though proposed purely as a means of efficiency, will have the effect of increasing the number of officers who pass off the active list before attaining high rank.

It is believed that the above-described features, supplemented by the casualties incident to the sevrice, will greatly reduce the number of officers who will actually serve long enough to attain high rank under the proposed system. But in order to avoid the possibility of excessive promotions into the higher grades, the following additional safeguard is proposed: When an officer has finished 27 years of service he is eligible for promotion to the grade of colonel, under the plan, but he is not promoted thereto if the existing number of colonels in the branch or branches of the service in which he is eligible for promotion is 5 per cent more than the number of colonels authorized for such branch or branches of the service. A similar limit is likewise placed upon promotions to the grades of lieutenant colonel and major.

For purposes of equalizing promotion and assignment to duties, the plan provides that officers of Cavalry, Field Artillery, Coast Artillery, and Infantry shall be placed upon one list arranged according to total length of commissioned service. The plan of promotion herein outlined is given in detail in section 29 of the accompanying draft of legislation. Section 40 of the accompanying draft of legislation provides for the selection and appointment of provisional and temporary officers in the permanent establishment from the National Guard, the Organized Militia, and from qualified enlisted men of the Regular Army.

5. Method of obtaining the additional permanent personnel required in the training forces: It is assumed that as soon as practicable after the inception of the proposed system, 16 divisional training areas will be formed and division commanders and staffs assigned thereto. It is also assumed that each of these general officers will be given his proper share of the present personnel. It is assumed that in this way he will ultimately receive about 12 regular officers for each training regiment to be formed in his area and about 50 enlisted men per regiment to become noncommissioned officers. He will also receive such proportion of staff officers and detached officers as can be spared. The proposed readjustment of the officer corps so as to provide an average of 12 experienced officers for each regiment of the new establishment can not be accomplished at once. Officers on duty with existing organizations can not be made available for duty with training organizations until they are relieved by newly appointed officers. For this reason the first of the newly appointed provisional and temporary officers who are qualified for such duty should be assigned to existing organizations and, as they report, a corresponding number of experienced officers can be relieved and made available for the training organizations. The first of the new officers available for assignment to existing organizations will be those appointed from noncommissioned officers of the Regular Establishment. A special provision for the appointment of Regular noncommissioned officers as provisional officers is contained in section 40 of the proposed draft of legislation.

Immediately upon the passage of this act department commanders will cause boards of officers, in such number and in such places as may be most convenient for the performance of the duty assigned them, to examine into and report upon the qualifications of noncommissioned officers of the Regular Army for appointment as provisional officers in the permanent personnel of the Army. Such boards shall report the names of all noncommissioned officers examined by them who are found qualified for appointment as provisional officers.

The first task before the division commander, after a sufficient number of experienced officers have reported will be to obtain the additional commissioned and enlisted personnel required for the establishment of the several training units in his area. This must be done before the training of reservists can begin, and as a considerable time must be required for registration and enrollment of the military population and the establishment and the construction of barracks and quarters, it is quite evident that a considerable period will be available for this purpose. During this period it is believed that the commander of the divisional area should form the available personnel into provisional training regiments and schools of application. As new officers and enlisted men are enrolled, they can be sent to these training centers and prepared for their new duties for a considerable period before it is necessary to organize permanent training units. The method of securing additional officers and enlisted men for this purpose and the method of examination and the assignment of officer candidates is contained in sections 40 and 41 of the proposed law. It is quite evident that this system must be completely decentralized, and that the details of the process within each divisional area must be under control of the commander of the divisional area. The theory of the plan is simply this: That in each such area there will be a considerable number of citizens of former military training and that it should be the policy of the commander of the divisional area to secure as many of these as may be practicable for the expansion of the permanent personnel of each training division. In a similar manner he will recruit the Reserve Officers' Corps from those citizens of prior military training who are not available or suitable for the permanent establishment. Section 40 of the law shows the method proposed for enrolling, training, appointing, and assigning officer candidates.

It will also be necessary for the commander of the divisional area to recruit a considerable number of enlisted men for each training unit. Here, too, so far as practicable, he should draw upon those classes in civil life who have already had military training. Here, too, he should employ the provisional training regiment and the schools of application in order to give this new enlisted personnel additional training. In order to make it possible to obtain a sufficient number of suitable enlisted men for this purpose, section 3 of the proposed law authorize an enlistment period of one year for organizations in the training forces. The enlistment period for the regiments on the over-sea garrisons and the frontier forces is fixed at three years.

It is quite possible that the permanent personnel of the training units will at first be somewhat under strength, even under the methods described above; but after the first year of training, the trained reservists themselves will provide a new source for the recruitment of the training cadres. Under the conditions surrounding service in training cadres there is little or no objection to enlistments for one year in the training force. From the standpoint of the efficiency of the reserves there is a positive advantage in giving additional training to as many reservists as possible before assignment to reserve units.

However, in case it is found that for any reason it is impracticable at the outset to train 58 per cent of the persons annually liable to training and service, this percentage can be lowered to some extent by increasing the physical requirements, and this without in any way departing from the principle of universal liability to service. An increase of an inch or two in the minimum height of recruits would cause the rejection of quite a number of men. In any event, it can not be doubted but that sufficient training cadres must be organized and thoroughly trained for their duties before any call is made for training and service.

In order to develop 3,000,000 reservists before they lose to a great extent the military value of their training and become too old for efficient field service, the War College Division is of the opinion that it is advisable to have 16 training divisions, as proposed in this plan. If the cost be considered too great, it may be reduced by reducing the number of training divisions. The first cost of necessary supplies and cantonment construction at peace prices for a training division is $12,684,852. Annual cost of maintenance, $20,641,249. It would require 12 divisions to develop 3,000,000 reservists while men are of military age—18 to 45. It would require six years for 12 divisions to develop the first reserve of 1,500,000 and 20 years more to develop the second reserve of 1,500,000. Having 12 instead of 16 training divisions would reduce first cost of the entire military system by $50,739,408 and reduce the annual cost of maintenance to $389,693,750—$50,145,750 more than would be required under the national-defense act (see Table III, estimate of cost) and $82,564,996 less than would be required in case we should have 16 training divisions.

Besides the disadvantage of taking 26 years to develop the necessary forces, it is believed this would result in much dissatisfaction throughout the country—about one-fourth of the young men fit for and liable to militia training escaping it entirely. If there should be any reduction in the number trained, the youngest who are fit in each class should be taken instead of employing any system of selection that could result in any favoritism whatever. If the country be divided into 12 training-division areas and necessary accommodations provided therein, it would be expensive and inconvenient to readjust areas and accommodations for four or less additional training-division areas. From this consideration it appears quite inadvisable to begin with training only a part of the young men fit and liable for training each year and gradually increasing the number.

All things considered, it would unquestionably be the best policy to delay calling out the first class for training and service until trained cadres are available to train all persons who by a reasonable physical standard are available for such training in any one year.

Another but less effective method of reducing cost would be to give reservists but six months' training. That would result in practically no reduction in first cost of equipment and cantonment accommodation,

but would result in a reduction of about $76,450,491 in the annual cost of maintenance.

While such a system would result in training cadres being employed in training recruits only half the year, a greater—a vital—objection to such a system would be its failure to solve the problem of adequate training. The War College Division adheres to the opinion that 12 months' training is the minimum required for military efficiency.

6. Elimination: The conditions of the problem before us make it imperatively necessary to absorb a large number of officers in a somewhat limited time; and even if the greatest care is exercised, it is quite probable that a large number of those accepted will not be satisfactory for service in the permanent Military Establishment. It is also possible that a considerable number of officers now in the Army will not be perfectly adapted to the exacting requirements of service in the national training force. Having in view the cost of the Military Establishment and the imperative demand for a high degree of efficiency, it is quite apparent that a sound military system must include some sensible and practical method of eliminating unsatisfactory personnel. In this connection it is quite apparent that duty with the training forces will demand officers of the most efficient type, and that the retention of inefficient officers will be most prejudicial to the success of the system. An attempt partially to meet this situation has been made in section 28 of the proposed bill, in which it is proposed that all original appointments in the enlarged Army shall be provisional, and that permanent commissions shall not be given to officers until after two years of satisfactory and tested service. In order to assure the maintenance of a high degree of efficiency throughout the entire officer corps, a general system of elimination is proposed in section 35 of the act.

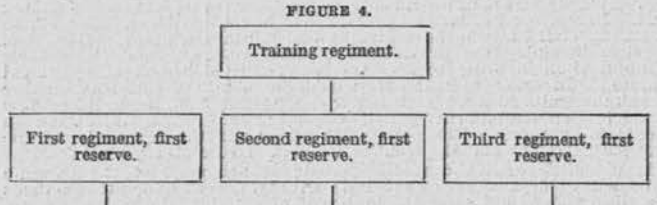
Sections 28 and 35 together provide for efficient elimination.

7. Manchu law: Having in view the limited number of officers available for the inauguration of the new system, it is evident that the President must be able to employ the present officer personnel with the utmost freedom and without any arbitrary restrictions. It is therefore believed that the provisions of law restricting the detail or assignment of officers, and commonly known as the Manchu laws, should be inoperative during the first four years under the new system. In order to permit a proper flexibility in the assignment of commissioned officers as their services may be required, a proposed modification of the law covering details and assignments is contained in section 33 of the proposed draft of legislation.

IV.—*The organization of the reserves, etc.*

1. Arrangements for peace administration and mobilization in peace and war: The relation between a training regiment and the corresponding regiments of the reserve are shown in figure 4 below.

FIGURE 4.



It is to be understood that these reserve regiments are assigned to adjacent regimental areas, and that the training regiment is located within or near the area occupied by the reserve brigade.

The training regiment draws its recruits from all three regimental reserve areas, and after 11 months' training returns them to their reserve regiments as trained reservists.

If these three regiments are to be promptly mobilized in war, it will be necessary in time of peace to provide some system of administration that will look out for the equipment and mobilization plans of each regiment, and also for the training and qualification of its officer personnel. It is believed that the simplest and most effective means of accomplishing these objects is to provide that upon mobilization the colonel of the training regiment is to become the commander of the corresponding reserve brigade, and that the headquarters of the training regiment will also be the peace headquarters of the entire reserve brigade. Upon mobilization this colonel will take command of the reserve brigade and will take with him from the training regiment a junior officer to act as brigade adjutant. Similarly one of the field officers of the training regiment will go to each of the three first-line reserve regiments as colonel, and each such field officer will take with him a trained officer as adjutant and supply officer. By this arrangement we are able to provide a trained commander and staff for each regiment of the reserves and the headquarters of the training regiment becomes the headquarters for the peace administration of the corresponding reserve units. Each officer of the training regiment designated as a reserve colonel should have full charge of all plans for the equipment, training, and mobilization of his reserve regiment and should have general supervision of its reserve officers and their qualifications for promotion. It is believed that the efficient performance of these functions requires the constant attention of an experienced officer of the permanent personnel, and that these duties can not be performed by a citizen reserve officer who ordinarily is actively engaged in civil pursuits. Similar arrangements should also be made for providing reserve units of the other arms with experienced commanders from the permanent personnel. Higher reserve units such as divisions and army corps will draw trained staffs as well as commanders from the permanent personnel.

Upon mobilization for war or for maneuvers it thus appears that a considerable number of trained officers will pass from the training unit to reserve units. Therefore in order to maintain the efficiency of the training establishment, which must keep up its function of training recruits in time of war, the plan provides that whenever a given number of officers are transferred from the training units to reserve units they are to be replaced by a corresponding number of reserve officers. Under this arrangement without any depletion of the strength of the training personnel we are able to provide for an efficient supervision of all of the reserve organizations. As before stated it is believed that the efficiency of the system depends upon having each reserve regiment and higher unit under the supervision of a Regular officer, who will be definitely responsible for the maintenance of its equipment, the provision of its mobilization plans, and the supervision of the training and qualification of its officer personnel. Under this system the training regiment not only trains reservists and reserve officers, but also keeps in touch with the personnel of the reserve unit in time of peace. The officers of the Permanent Establishment thus assigned to reserve regiments will have an especially important duty in keeping track of reservists who change their residence from one reserve area to another.

As the maintenance of the reserve organization in time of peace and its preparedness for prompt mobilization depend upon the direct supervision of an experienced officer connected with the training regiment, it is believed that all reserve commissions higher than that of lieutenant colonel should, in time of peace, be held by Regular officers. This will assure a qualified trained officer for each regimental and higher command upon mobilization and during the initial strategic deployment for war, but after military operations once begin and after reserve officers have been tested in active service, the avenue of promotion should be open to reserve officers and to Regular officers alike. During war, officers should be free to rise to the highest rank consistent with their capacity as determined in active service.

In a normal divisional training area there will ultimately be three first reserve divisions and three second reserve divisions, with the necessary auxiliary units to form a complete army corps of three divisions in the first reserve and a corresponding army corps in the second reserve. The total permanent personnel of such a training division will be 972 commissioned officers and about 7,500 enlisted men, and the total strength of each of the two reserve army corps upon mobilization will be 3,058 officers and about 93,000 enlisted men. If the commanders of separate battalions and higher units and the staffs of brigades and higher units in the reserves are drawn from the permanent personnel it will be necessary for about 150 officers to pass from the training division to each of the two reserve army corps and for at least 300 reserve officers to replace them in the training units. But it will be both practicable and desirable to employ an even greater number of regular officers in the reserve organizations, and this can always be done by the same arrangement of transferring a corresponding number of reserve officers to the training units. If upon mobilization any of the reserve units below the regiment are not provided with citizen reserve officers qualified to command them, they should be commanded by officers from the permanent establishment under reserve commission, and for this purpose the number of available professional officers can be increased by giving reserve appointments to qualified noncommissioned officers in the permanent personnel. There will also be an important place for enlisted men of the permanent personnel to serve as noncommissioned officers of the reserve, especially in positions requiring more administrative experience than can generally be expected of reserve noncommissioned officers appointed from civil life. The capacity of the training units to furnish experienced officers and noncommissioned officers to the reserve army is limited only by the requirement that the training units must continue their function of training recruits during the progress of war, and the actual numbers transferred will depend upon the requirements of the situation. The commander of the divisional training area will be responsible for the preparedness of the first and second reserve army corps, which may ultimately be mobilized in his area, and he should be guided by the general principle that he is to draw upon the permanent personnel for higher commanders and staffs, and that he is to employ other members of the permanent personnel to perform all functions that can not be efficiently performed by citizen reservists at the beginning of military operations.

After the system is in full operation it is believed that at least 75 per cent of the experienced personnel of the training division can be passed to the reserve war army upon mobilization without seriously impairing the efficiency of the training service. After operations begin still more of the experienced personnel can be sent to the front, as their duties with the training establishment are taken over by convalescent officers and enlisted men.

It should be noted that the proposed organization of reserve divisions and army corps involves no increased expense in time of peace.

2. Repeating seasons: In the plan under consideration it is proposed that each reservist should serve 11 months with the training forces, that thereafter he should be passed to the first reserve, and that at the end of his first and second years in the reserve he should be required to attend a short repeating course of about two weeks. It is not considered that these repeating seasons are solely necessary for the further individual training of the soldier, but it is believed that they are essential to the training of the reserve units as organized teams. By means of these repeating seasons it will be possible to actually assemble reserve organizations long enough to test their equipment, their mobilization arrangements, and the capacity of their officers and noncommissioned officers, and their qualifications for promotion.

Without these repeating seasons the reserve is merely a paper organization, with no peace test of its efficiency as an organized team. With these repeating seasons, even though short, it will be possible each year to actually mobilize each regiment at substantially war strength. Even if regiments are not assembled in larger units this annual assembly has very great advantages, and if from time to time the regiments are brought together for brigade and divisional maneuvers an opportunity will be given for higher commanders to actually demonstrate their capacity or incapacity to handle their war commands. The cost of these annual mobilizations of reserve units is very small compared with the total cost of the training, as will be seen from the following figures:

3. Cost of one regiment of Infantry in the training forces:

Cost of 51 officers at $2,400	$122,400
Cost of 457 permanent personnel enlisted at $600	274,200
Cost of 2,000 recruits for 11 months	800,000
Total cost of training regiment one year	1,196,600

Now, as indicated by the diagrams above, this training regiment is really nothing but the training nucleus for a reserve brigade, and if this reserve brigade is to have any peace practice, it will be necessary for 3,420 reservists in their first and second years of reserve service to attend a repeating season for two weeks. During this period the class of recruits just trained, added to the 3,420 repeating reservists, will give us substantially a war-strength brigade. The additional cost will simply be the additional cost of maintaining 3,420 reservists for two weeks, which, at $20 per reservist, will be $68,400, or about 5½ per cent of the annual cost of the training regiment. It is believed that this

cost is very small compared with the advantages to be derived from the annual assembly.

In order to secure the advantages of this annual test of the reserve organization it will be necessary for reservists to repeat for two weeks in the first year of reserve service and again in the second year. This completes all compulsory service in time of peace in the reserve, but it is assumed that noncommissioned officers and officers who aspire for promotion will be required to attend such additional repeating seasons as may be necessary in order to test their capacity. This is an additional burden, but it is imposed only on those who have an aptitude for military service and who volunteer in consideration of opportunity for increased rank and for further promotion.

4. Successive steps in the organization of the reserve: In order to make the reserve organization more intelligible, the successive steps in the formation of the reserve are summarized as follows:

(a) Immediately on the passage of the act the divisional training areas are formed and divisional commanders are assigned thereto, with such commissioned and enlisted personnel as may be available.

(b) Upon arriving in his divisional training area the divisional commander divides it into three reserve areas, and, so far as conditions permit, subdivides these into brigade and regimental districts.

(c) As provided in section 42 of the proposed law, the commander of the divisional training area now invites all citizens of former military training to offer themselves for appointment as reserve officers.

(d) Examining boards for reserve officers are appointed as provided in section 39 of the proposed law.

(e) Competent officers of the permanent establishment are designated as commanders of reserve divisions, brigades, and regiments, and other professional officers are designated to undertake the organization of auxiliary units.

(f) The examinations of reserve officers are completed and successful candidates are appointed and assigned to reserve units to be formed near their homes.

(g) Qualified noncommissioned officers are enrolled and assigned to units.

Without reference to its relation to any plan of universal service, it is believed that the above preliminary organization is a most important step toward preparedness. Even if it should be necessary to organize an army of untrained men, a preliminary localization of units and the assignment of qualified reserve officers and noncommissioned officers thereto would be of great value.

All this is done before the beginning of the first training year, and such vacancies in the commissioned and noncommissioned personnel as may exist in reserve organizations will be filled as soon as the first class has finished its year of training. Two weeks before the end of the first training season each newly organized reserve infantry regiment will receive 600 trained reservists. The maneuver period this year will probably be devoted almost exclusively to the completion of the reserve organization. This reserve regiment will not be fit for active service until after it absorbs a large number of trained men, but it now has a complete training cadre and is prepared, if necessary, to train raw men with considerable facility. At the end of the second training season each of these reserve infantry regiments will receive another 600 trained reservists, and will now have over eleven hundrd in all. At the end of the third training season the regiment will contain 1,626 trained reservists, and at the end of the fourth year it will contain 2,064 trained reservists.

5. Future source of reserve officers: Upon the initial organization of reserve units it will be necessary to enroll therein as many officers and enlisted men of previous military training as it will be practicable to draw from civil life, but after this organization is once completed and the training of annual contingents has begun reserve officers will normally be recruited from men who have had the prescribed 11 months of military training and from graduates of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps. During their service with the training unit their capacity and aptitude will be noted and certain men will be designated as suitable for further promotion as vacancies occur. These will be appointed noncommissioned officers, and if efficient as such will ultimately be appointed officers.

The Reserve Officers' Training Corps, as provided in the national-defense act, should be continued in its present form until all members now enrolled have completed their prescribed training for appointment as reserve officers. After the system of universal training has gone into operation the regulations for the Reserve Officers' Training Corps will undergo modifications in so far as they relate to young men who have completed the prescribed 11 months of training before entering college. For these men it will not be necessary to provide formal military drills in school.

6. Mobilization during the transition period: It has been indicated above that there will not be enough trained reservists to fill the reserve organization until after the end of the fourth training season, but as an emergency might come before the conclusion of that period, it is important to consider whether the proposed plan of organization will meet requirements during the transition period. Within six months after the passage of the act the skeleton of the reserve organization should be complete and all available reserve officers and noncommissioned officers in the country should be examined, appointed, and assigned to reserve organizations. This in itself is an important step in preparedness, as each reserve officer will then know definitely what would be expected of him in the event of sudden emergency and will have his duties connected up with a particular unit of a particular arm to be organized in a particular region. At the end of the first training season each reserve regiment would receive a number of reservists equal to about 30 per cent of its combatant war strength. Should an emergency occur this year, and time permitted, each of these regiments would be filled with raw men and would have a competent training force for that purpose. If a certain number of regiments should be required on short notice, it would be possible to transfer trained reservists in such a manner as to form one regiment of trained combatants in each brigade district. At the end of the second training season each reserve regiment would have considerably more than half of its war strength in trained reservists and would have to absorb less than 50 per cent of raw men in the lower grades. In this way it would be possible to immediately mobilize a trained regiment in each brigade district and still have a considerable training nucleus for the other two regiments. At the end of the third year each reserve regiment would be but little short of war strength and would be able to fill all purely combatant grades with trained reservists, absorbing only enough raw men to complete its regimental train. At the end of the fourth year each regiment of the reserve will be over strength, and thereafter would be prepared for complete mobilization.

Figure 5 below shows the arrangements for mobilization of a regiment of Infantry in each reserve brigade should an emergency occur during the year after the first class has passed into the reserve.

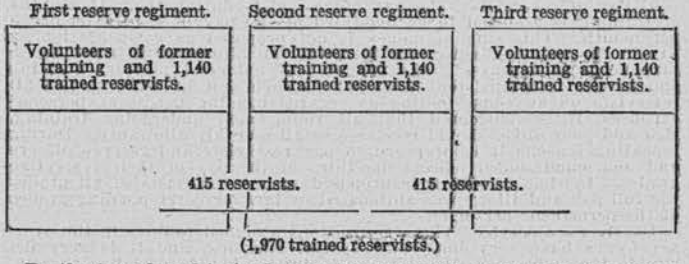
FIGURE 5.



Figure 5 shows that by transfers of trained reservists from the first and third regiments the number of trained reservists in the second regiment is increased to 1,800.

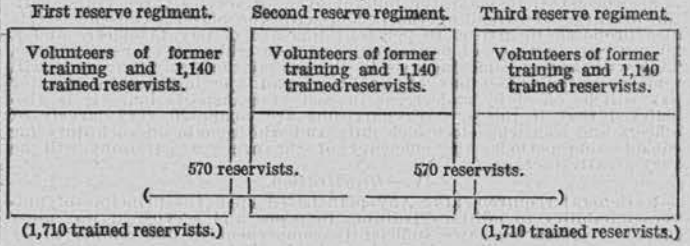
Figure 6 shows the emergency arrangements for the year after the second class has passed into the reserve.

FIGURE 6.



By the transfer of trained reservists indicated in figure 6, the second regiment is given its full maximum enlisted strength in trained reservists, with 725 trained reservists remaining as a nucleus in each of the other regiments. Or any two of the regiments of the brigade may be given a total strength of 1,710 trained reservists by receiving all of the trained reservists from the third regiment as shown in figure 7 below.

FIGURE 7.



7. The training season: It is proposed that the training season should begin November 1 and extend to September 30. During the winter months the course should be largely restricted to the individual training of the soldier and his physical development. This course should include the school of the soldier, physical drill, care of equipment and clothing, gallery practice, and bayonet fighting for the Infantry, and the care of animals for the mounted services. During this period the work should be in the open air as much as possible, but in the northern portions of the country it will be necessary to provide enough shelter to continue instructions at all times. This is largely a question of a suitable curriculum, so arranged as to provide winter instruction in those subjects in the soldier's education which can be taught as well indoors as out of doors. After spring opens, the work should be almost exclusively in the open air. After the winter's course in physical development and the school of the individual soldier, the school of the company, battery, and troop should progress rapidly, and should be followed by the school of the battalion and squadron and ultimately by the school of the regiment and brigade. The work should be made as practical as possible and each individual and each unit should be fully trained for every possible military situation. The season of training should culminate with the annual maneuver period, extending from September 15 to September 30. During this 15-day interval the newly-trained recruits would be absorbed in their reserve units and the period would be devoted primarily to testing the efficiency and preparedness of the reserve. The interval from October 1 to November 1 would be occupied in preparing for the next season's training and in necessary repairs of equipment and plant.

It is very important that the courses of instruction suitable for compulsory military service should be most carefully studied before the plan is inaugurated. Each training unit should begin its first season with a curriculum as sound and as well settled as those of the best schools. The preparation of these curricula is a task of very great importance and should engage the best talent in the army for a considerable period before any system of military training is undertaken.

8. Transfers to the southern part of the United States for training in winter: The committee has been instructed to consider the advisability of transferring recruits from the northern part of the United States to the south, in order to avoid the winter work under shelter that would be required in the northern climate. It is the opinion of the division that this transfer of personnel is not necessary for purposes of instruction and that a considerable part of the necessary individual training can be conducted in the winter even in the north. But when this question is considered in connection with the organization and training of the first reserve, it is believed that such transfers are subject to very serious objection. In developing this plan it has become very evident that in time of peace the training personnel should be in close contact with the reserves and that the higher officers of the training personnel should be closely identified with the reserve organizations they are to accompany to war. If the training personnel should be in the south and the reserves in the north, it would be very difficult to maintain this relation and very difficult to make satisfactory arrangements looking toward the mobilization of the first reserve. Fur-

thermore, the training of reserve officers and the maneuver training of reserve units should be based upon their probable war missions and therefore the training, even in the winter, should be in the region which will probably be the initial theater of war of such reserve units. The reserve units organized in New England and New York, in the event of a war with a European power, will be called upon in all probability at the outbreak of hostilities to occupy positions on the coast adjacent to their homes, and their peace training and instructions should be of such a nature as to familiarize them with this war mission. In a similar way the reserve divisions located along the Great Lakes should be primarily responsible for the defense of our northern frontier at the outbreak of hostilities, and it is believed that the correct organization of these reserve units and their preparation for mobilization would be seriously affected if each contingent of reservists and the corresponding training personnel should be detached from the proper reserve areas and transferred for a portion of the year to some position in the south. As troops may have to operate in the winter in actual war, their training should include winter operations. While troops at a northern station may have some days when outdoor work is impossible, such work is everywhere practicable for a considerable portion of the winter season.

9. Pay of reservists: The pay of reservists during their 11 months of training is assumed to be one-third of the pay of a private, or $5 per month. This sum of money is not proposed as compensation or pay in the ordinary sense, but is merely an allowance to meet necessary personal expenses. The principle of universal military training and service is inconsistent with pay as such, but in order to put all reservists on an equal footing as regards meeting necessary personal expenses, it is considered that all young men undergoing training, rich and poor alike, should receive a small monthly allowance. During repeating seasons it is proposed to pay reservists and reserve officers and noncommissioned officers one-third of the pay of their respective grades. In time of war it is proposed to pay reservists of all grades the full pay and allowances authorized by law for corresponding grades of the permanent personnel.

10. Over-sea service: The organizations assigned to duty in the over-sea forces have very important special missions, and it is very desirable that officers assigned to such duties should specialize therein. With the very large increase in the number of officers proposed in this plan, it is believed that there will be a considerable number who will prefer over-sea service, and that such officers will be most suitable for that duty. In section 34 of the proposed draft of legislation it is proposed, as far as practicable, to make details for over-sea service for those officers who volunteer for such duty, and not to apply the roster, unless there should be an insufficient number of volunteers. It is also proposed to make the tour of over-sea service three years, with the privilege of extending the period with the officer's consent. It is also proposed to give a 10 per cent increase of pay to officers and a 20 per cent increase of pay to enlisted men while on over-sea service. This will involve some increase in the pay of the Army, but as it will tend to prolong the tour of service abroad, the increase in cost for pay will be offset by a decrease in cost of transportation. It is also believed that if the over-sea garrisons are composed very largely of officers and men who elect such duty and who remain on such duty for considerable periods, the efficiency of the over-sea garrisons will be very greatly increased.

V.—*Registration.*

1. General requirements: Any plan based upon the principle of universal liability to military training in peace and service in war must include registration laws sufficiently comprehensive and supported by such sanction as will make it improbable that any person liable for either training or service will escape listing by the agency charged with registration. This means not only that all persons between the ages when liability for training begins and liability for service ends should be registered, but also that all foreigners residing within the jurisdiction of the United States who are capable of harm should likewise be accounted for. Unless foreigners are so registered it will be impossible to determine whether persons liable for training or service are escaping their duties under such liability. Furthermore, the registration of foreigners would in itself be a measure of preparedness, because in time of war or threatened hostilities the Government can ascertain from the registration lists just what enemies are in our midst and take steps to neutralize their possible attempts to do us harm.

2. Purpose: The purposes of registration are:

(a) To secure complete and accurate lists of all persons liable for personal military service, by means of which the burden of national defense can be equally distributed.

(b) To secure complete and accurate lists of all aliens temporarily or permanently within the jurisdiction of the United States, and who have in them the possibility for harm to the Nation in time of war.

(c) To provide means for keeping in touch with the movements of all registered persons, so far as it may be necessary to effect an equitable distribution of the burdens of national defense and the reasonable security of the country.

3. Persons who should be registered: The following persons should, therefore, be registered:

(a) All male citizens of the United States and those who have declared their intention to become citizens who are between the ages of 18 and 45 years.

(b) All foreigners living or residing within the jurisdiction of the United States who are over 18 years of age.

4. The essential details of registration: The essential details of any practicable plan for registration for universal liability to personal military service are:

(a) The sanction necessary for its enforcement.

(b) The agency for effecting registration.

(c) The persons to be registered during the first and subsequent years.

(d) Periods for registration and notification to individuals of liability thereto, etc.

(e) Methods for effecting registration, securing information of movements of persons registered, forms for registration, etc., disposition of records.

(f) Compensation or reimbursement to individuals for registering.

5. The sanction: Complete and accurate registration lists constitute the only firm foundation for any system of universal liability to personal military service. If the lists are incomplete or inaccurate the system of personal service which they subserve is not universal. Those whose names are omitted escape liability to service, and to that extent the system fails to be universal or to bear equally upon all classes of persons. Therefore the sanction for the enforcement of registration must be such as to render it unlikely that attempts will be made to escape registration.

Imprisonment is the only recognized suitable sanction which appeals in the same way to all classes of persons, and therefore the only practicable punishment which will effect the desired result. Fines or forfeitures, no matter under what guise imposed, bear unequally upon the rich and poor, and therefore give no assurance that the system they support will be in fact universal. It is believed that a sentence of from one month's to one year's imprisonment should be made mandatory upon conviction of violation or attempt to violate whatever laws may be enacted relative to registration.

6. The agency for registration: The enrollment of even the number of persons necessary to effect complete registration of those liable to personal military service is a serious undertaking; and it is evident, if the system is to be initiated without undue delay and the work continued with the greatest economy consistent with efficiency and the least inconvenience to the public, that much depends upon the characteristics of the agency to which registration is intrusted.

This agency should be one strictly under Federal control; it should possess machinery and trained personnel which need only be increased to enable it to perform the work; it should have branches in every portion of the territory of the United States, and its normal functions should be such as to bring its personnel into close touch with all classes of people.

The Post Office Department fulfills these conditions to a marked degree and is deemed well fitted to undertake the work of registration. It now has offices in every city, town, and village, and in the operation of these, their branches and the rural delivery routes, the employees of the Post Office Department have become familiar with the names, residences, etc., and, to an extent, with the habits of life of a large portion of our population.

If the Post Office Department were charged with the duties of registration each person liable thereto could be registered at the post office or branch which normally affords him mailing facilities. Consequently the Post Office Department could perform the work with the least inconvenience to the public and the least expenditure of energy and time on the part of the persons liable to registration and of the officials concerned. The cost of increasing the personnel and office room to the required extent would be much less than that necessary to create a new agency for registration.

7. Persons liable to registration: Registration under any plan for universal liability to personal military service must be sufficiently comprehensive to include the enrollment of all persons liable for training in peace or service in war. This means the registration of all males between the ages when liability for training begins and liability for service in war ends. It also implies that certain aliens temporarily or permanently within our confines must be likewise accounted for. Unless all male aliens of military age are registered it will be impossible to determine whether persons liable for personal military service are escaping their duties under such liabilities. Moreover, the listing of all aliens capable of doing us harm would in itself be a measure of national security. This is because in time of actual or threatened war the alien registration lists would furnish accurate information as to just what possible enemies are in our midst and would enable us to take effective measures to thwart possible attempts to do us harm. The depredations on private industries in this country engaged in supplying certain European nations with war material are indications of what may be attempted by strangers within our gates should the United States become involved in war. Furthermore, should war occur or become imminent incalculable damage could be done to our means of communication by uncontrolled hostile sympathizers.

The Census Bureau has estimated (No. 156, Commerce Reports, July 5, 1916, p. 40) that there are about 21,000,000 men in the United States between the ages of 18 and 45 years who are citizens or who have declared their intention to become such. The number of aliens who should be registered is not accurately known, but it is estimated that they number about 7,000,000. In any event it is believed that safety demands that all aliens over 18 years of age should be registered.

8. Periods for registration: It is desirable that all persons liable for registration should be listed with the least practicable delay. It is essential to the universality of the system that all persons who become liable to military training and service in any year be registered during that year and in such portion thereof as will make it possible to eliminate those rejected for physical disability or exempted for other causes, and to call the others to the colors at the proper time.

It is equally necessary that all persons liable to military service who would be called out if war occurred in the near future, and all aliens capable of harm, be listed without undue delay. This means, considering our probable machinery therefor, that the following should be registered during the first year that the system becomes operative.

(a) All persons liable to military training and service who arrive at the age of 18 years during such year. These will number about 1,000,000.

(b) All persons liable to military service over 18 and under 25 years of age. These are the untrained men who should be called out for service should war occur before the system has generated the requisite number of trained reservists. In case of necessity they should be called out by classes according to age, beginning with the youngest. They will number about 5,500,000.

(c) All aliens between 18 and 25 years of age. Their number will be about 950,000.

The number of individual registrations, therefore, that would have to be accomplished during the first year is, roughly, 7,500,000.

During every subsequent year the persons described under (a) will have to be registered and their numbers will gradually increase in about the proportion of the increase in total population.

During the second year of registration all unregistered persons liable to military service and all unregistered aliens between the ages of 18 and 30 should be registered. These, together with the class which that year becomes liable to training and service, will number about 8,000,000. This is a larger number than will have to be registered during any other year.

During the third year all unregistered persons liable to military service and all unregistered aliens between the ages of 18 and 35 should be registered, and so on during each subsequent year, until all persons liable to military service and all aliens over 18 years of age shall have been registered.

Under this plan after the sixth year it would be necessary to register only the class which that year becomes liable to military service and training, those citizens and aliens who have been out of the country during the preceding registration years, and those aliens who are immigrants and visitors of that year.

As above stated, a larger number of persons would have to be registered in the second than in any other year. They will number about 8,000,000, or about 8 per cent of the total population of the United States proper.

The population of the District of Columbia is estimated at 300,000, who are served by one main and nine branch post offices. Assuming that the distribution of post-office facilities is practically the same in all the larger centers of population and that the work of registration is distributed equally throughout the whole year, each post office in such centers would have to register approximately 2,400 persons per year or 200 per month of 25 working days or 8 per day of 7 hours, or at the rate of one registration every 52½ minutes. It is believed that a comparatively small increase in the personnel of the post offices could effect this result and that economies as indicated in the accompanying estimates of costs would be possible during the years indicated.

In the smaller centers of population the number of people to each post office is believed to be much smaller. Consequently no serious difficulties are likely to arise in the smaller centers with respect to registration, and no increase in the post-office personnel at such place seems likely to be required.

9. The necessity for registration lists of aliens: The necessity for complete and accurate registration is further evidenced by the fact that at the present time no department of the Government is able to furnish exact data with respect to the number of unnaturalized foreigners domiciled in this country.

10. Necessity for registration periods: It is evident if registration is to be effected without undue expense and with the minimum of inconvenience to all concerned that each year for at least the first five years after the system becomes operative should be divided into registration periods.

Each such period should be of sufficient length to care for the registration of a certain class or of classes liable that year for registration. Moreover, whenever practicable, each class should be registered at such time during the year as will cause its members the least inconvenience. For example, the summer months constitute the best time of the year for the registration of the class who that year become liable for military training and service. This is because registration in the summer would interfere least with their education. their number the first year will be about one-eighth of the total number to be registered. This class, therefore, might be assigned a period of one and one-half months. However, other considerations might demand that this period be shortened in order that they may complete their registration at such time as to admit of their physical examination and the settlement of any claims for exemption before the date set for reporting for training and service. Those exempted for physical or other reasons will have suffered no interruption to their education.

11. Details should be left to regulations: Registration has nowhere been thoroughly worked out under conditions similar to those prevailing in the United States at the present time. Unquestionably any system adopted would upon trial be found wanting with respect to some details. Other details would require change. For these reasons laws providing for registration should, after prescribing the essentials, leave minor matters to the discretion of the President. The fixing of periods for registration is a detail that should be left to the President to decide. His decision should be published in the form of proclamations, which, in conjunction with such portions of the registration laws duly posted in a conspicuous place in each post office, should be deemed good and sufficient notice to all concerned of the time and place for registration and of their duties in the premises. The requirements contained in the draft laws of 1863 and 1864 that individuals receive personal notice of their duties under such laws served only to defeat their purpose. We ought not to repeat that mistake.

12. Method of effecting registration and keeping in touch with registered persons: Registration to be effective must include:

(a) The enrollment of each person liable to registration and the recording of certain material information concerning each person enrolled.

(b) Provision for ascertaining and recording movements of registered persons so far as they are material.

The enrollment of persons liable to registration should be made by means of a duplicating card system. Registration cards of suitable size should be so ruled and printed as to provide for the convenient recording of the following information with respect to each person registered: Full and correct name, age, date, and place of birth; names and nationality of parents; nationality of person registered; occupation or avocation; name and address of employer, if any; education, residence, and place of employment or business; married or single; number of dependents, if any; post-office address; military service or training, if any, and when and in what organizations; claim for exemption from training or service, if any, and facts upon which claim is based; citizenship; if not a citizen of the United States has declaration to become such been made, and if so, when and where? Each person registered should be required to sign for future indentification both duplicate cards relating to him. If he can not write, that fact should be recorded. Each card should be signed by the official by whom it was prepared. Cards relating to persons liable to military training and service, persons liable only to military service, and those relating to aliens should be filed separately, but in a manner admitting of convenient and accurate reference. The second file, consisting of the cards of those liable only for service, should be further divided according to the ages of the persons to whom they relate. One complete set of all three files should be forwarded without delay to the military authorities designated to receive them. The other set should form part of the permanent records of the post office where it was prepared.

Adequate methods for obtaining and recording the material movements of registered persons are less easy to provide. The first question that arises is with respect to what movements are material, and but little data which might serve as a guide are available. The known methods of other countries are perhaps not entirely applicable. Our population is believed to be much more prone to travel and to change of residence or employment than is that of any other country.

Due allowance should be made for this national peculiarity so far as may be consistent with the principle of universality of personal military service. It is believed that this principle can be conserved even though no notice is taken of short absences of registered persons from their usual places of residence. This would tend to lessen annoyances to the individual and to reduce paper work and expense to a minimum. It is necessary, however, that notice should be had of any change of residence in order that proper action can be taken in the premises. Report of change of residence should be made on an official form provided for that purpose and filed with the postmaster who has the custody of the registration card of the person concerned. After making proper notation on such registration card the postmaster should forward same to the postmaster at the new place of residence and he should send the notice of change to the officer authorized to receive the duplicate registration card of the person concerned.

The character of sanction heretofore recommended for violation of registration laws is equally applicable to failure to report change of residence. Otherwise a person liable for service or training, after complying with registration requirements, might with impunity abscond and thus escape liability to personal service. The sanction should, of course, be prescribed by law, but the details of notification, etc., should be left to the discretion of the President.

13. No compensation or reimbursement to individuals for registering: In the centers of population post offices are located within easy walking distances of the residences or places of business of the people they serve and the inhabitants of rural districts are in the habit of making frequent visits to near-by centers of population. Therefore in almost every case registration could be effected without expense or material loss of time to the person concerned. Consequently it is deemed unnecessary and inadvisable to recompense persons liable for registration for submitting thereto.

VI.—*Physical examinations.*

1. Persons who should be examined, etc.: All persons should be physically examined before making claim for exemption from military service and before enrollment in the United States Army, either in peace or war. Those liable to military training and service should be examined as soon as possible after the conclusion of the period designated for their registration. Those liable for service in war should be examined as soon as practicable after they are called out for such service. All physical examinations should be conducted strictly under the supervision of Federal military commanders and preferably under that of the commander of the divisional area in which the examination takes place. Examinations should be made either by permanent or reserve officers of the Medical Corps, or, when their numbers are insufficient, by civil practitioners specially employed for that purpose and thoroughly instructed respecting causes for rejection and classification. As far as may be practicable, each person liable therefor should be physically examined at or near his place of residence. This would make for economy to the Government and would reduce the inconvenience and loss of time of the individual to a minimum.

2. Classification and disposition of persons examined: The physical examination of any large group of persons should result in the individuals therein being separated into four classes; the first class should be composed of all persons whose examination showed them to be physically and mentally fit for service with arms; the second class should include all persons physically and mentally qualified only for quasi-military duties, such as transport service, base hospital work, etc.; the third class should consist of those temporarily unfitted for the duties of either of the first two classes; and the fourth class should be made up of only those persons who are found to be permanently disqualified for any kind of military service.

The members of the first two classes should be enrolled under the call. The third class, if called out for training, should be excused for one year, at the expiration of which they should be again examined, and if then found qualified, should be enrolled with the class of that year. If still unqualified, they should be excused for another year, and so on from year to year, until they have reached the age of 25, when, if still unfitted, they should become part of the unorganized reserves. The fourth class should be permanently excused. Those examined pursuant to a call for war service should be similarly classified and disposed of, except that all persons found to be temporarily unfit should be liable to, and ordered to report for, reexamination at such time as in the judgment of the medical examiners their temporary disabilities are likely to have disappeared.

3. Law should be general: The provisions of law relating to physical examinations should be very general in character. All matters of detail should be left to be covered by regulations to be prescribed by the President. The sections of the accompanying draft relating to physical examinations are intended to effect these results. The sanction therein prescribed is believed to be the least drastic that is likely to effect compliance with the law.

VII.—*Exemptions.*

1. Practices of other nations: All persons who are found to be permanently physically or mentally unfit must, of course, always be rejected for military service whether reliance is placed upon a volunteer system or recourse is had to universal service or to some form of compulsory service. National practices differ widely with respect to exemptions for other causes. Those nations which, like Germany, Belgium, Austria-Hungary, and the Argentine Republic, have compulsory and not universal service as the foundations for their military systems, excuse many persons who would be held to military service in France, Switzerland, or Sweden, whose national defense is based on universal service. It is, of course, axiomatic that the fewer exemptions from military service allowed, the more nearly will the system be universal.

2. Exemptions in countries having universal service: In 1912 the persons in France who that year became liable for military service for the first time numbered 290,896. Of these, 220,958 were enrolled for service with arms; 11,917 were enrolled for service without arms; 24,123 were temporarily or permanently rejected because physically or mentally unfit; 62 were prohibited from serving because of conviction for certain crimes; the services of 30,078 were postponed one year at the instance of the Government, and the enrollment of 3,758 was postponed for a like period at the instance of the individuals concerned. No person liable to military service was permanently excused except for permanent mental or physical unfitness or because of conviction for crime.

There are no available data with respect to the practices of Switzerland during the few years next preceding the present war. However, it is believed that but few exemptions for causes other than physical or mental unfitness were allowed. The data with respect to Sweden showed that prior to 1914 physical or mental unfitness was the only basis for permanent exemption.

3. Exemptions proposed for the United States: It is proposed that only such exemptions from military service be authorized in the United States as appear to be absolutely necessary and that only those persons be permanently exempted who are found to be permanently unfit. All other exemptions should be in the nature of postponement of liability until such time as the conditions upon which the exemptions were based become nonexistent.

Moreover, it is believed that fewer persons should be excused from training and service in peace than from service in war. This is because under the proposed plan the peace training and service of individuals will have been completed before many of them will have acquired a status justifying exemption. A large number of those liable for service in war will, however, be old enough to have acquired responsibilities which do not as a rule come to younger men. Some will have been

elected or appointed to Federal and State offices, while others will be occupying other responsible positions in which their services would be of more value to the Nation than service in the Army. For these reasons it seems logical and just that only those persons be excused from military training and service in peace who have depending upon them destitute and helpless relatives who would become public charges if their natural support were withdrawn. It is equally necessary to provide for the exemption from service in war of all those persons who are the sole support of helpless dependents. Common sense also dictates that those Federal and State officials and employees whose services in such positions are necessary for the proper functioning of the State and Federal Governments or for carrying out the provisions of this act should be exempted from service in war.

4. Character of proposed laws: The laws regulating exemptions should, however, be so drawn as to provide that all those liable for training and service, except the permanently physically or mentally unfit, should be trained prior to their twenty-fifth year if the causes for their prior exemption are then nonexistent. The laws should likewise provide that exemptions from service in war shall continue only so long as the causes on which they are based still exist. Sections 56 and 73 of the accompanying draft have been formulated to effect the results recommended in this paragraph.

5. Postponement of training of persons attending colleges, etc.: Due consideration has been given to the propriety of recommending that exemptions from training and service or postponement of liability thereto be granted because the individual concerned is engaged in securing an education. The conclusion has been reached that exemption or postponement for such reasons are inadvisable. One reason is because only a comparatively small number of persons liable for such training and service would be affected thereby. They would be those either well-to-do in their own right or the sons of well-to-do parents whose financial condition enables them to pursue a college education. Consequently, any provision excusing such persons from military training and service or postponing their liability thereto until a more convenient time would of necessity be in the nature of class legislation. Moreover, the inconvenience likely to be experienced by such persons, if required to submit to universal law, would be negligible.

6. The agency for deciding claims—Sanction: The most stringent exemption laws will not effect universality of training and service unless means are provided for deciding claims for exemption justly and without undue delay. Much, therefore, depends on the agency for passing on such claims, the court which should have final decision in cases of disagreement and the sanction supporting the system. This agency should be composed of more than one individual, should have within its personnel both legal and military talent, and should be wholly under Federal control. Moreover, in order that undue delay will not ensue in the decision of claims, this agency should be one which can be duplicated in many places at the same time. It is believed that all these conditions would be fulfilled by a board composed of a United States commissioner, an assistant United States district attorney, and an officer of the United States Army. Boards so constituted could be convened in all parts of the country at the same time, and under existing law their number would be limited only by the number of United States commissioners now holding office. Such boards should finally decide all cases of exemption upon which its members are in unanimous agreement. In cases where such agreement is lacking, the proceedings should be certified to the judge of the United States district court in whose district the board was authorized to sit. The decision of this judge should be final in all cases.

The only sanction adequate for the support of the provisions of law relating to exemptions is imprisonment. In fact, this is the only effective sanction for enforcing any provision upon which universality of training and service depends.

7. Reimbursement of claimants: Claimants will seldom be put to any material expense or loss of time in presenting claims for exemption. For this reason, and also because claims for exemption should not be encouraged, the proposed laws provide that claimants shall receive only mileage at the rate of 4 cents per mile for the actual travel involved in presenting their claims.

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(WCD 9876–20)

DRAFT OF AN ACT FOR PROVIDING A SYSTEM OF NATIONAL DEFENSE BASED UPON UNIVERSAL LIABILITY TO MILITARY TRAINING AND SERVICE, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES.

Be it enacted, etc., That the land forces of the United States shall consist of the United States Army. All male citizens of the United States between the ages of 18 and 45 years, all males between the ages of 21 and 45 years who have legally declared their intentions to become citizens, and all males between the ages of 18 and 21 years whose parents have been naturalized shall be liable for military service in the United States Army, Navy, or Marine Corps, except as provided otherwise in this act, when called out by the President for military service in accordance with the provisions of this act; and from and after the date of any such call until such time as they shall be released from such service by competent authority all persons included in such call shall be subject to the Rules and Articles of War so far as they shall be applicable to persons whose permanent retention in the United States Army is not contemplated.

SEC. 2. Composition of the United States Army: The United States Army shall consist of oversea garrisons, the frontier forces, the training forces, the first reserves, the second reserves, the unorganized reserves, the brigade, division, Army corps, and Army Headquarters, with their detachments and troops, a General Staff Corps, an Adjutant General's Department, an Inspector General's Department, a Judge Advocate General's Department, a Quartermaster Corps, a Medical Department, a Corps of Engineers, an Ordnance Department, a Signal Corps, the officers of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, the detached officers and chaplains, all organized as hereinafter provided, and the following as now authorized by law: The officers and enlisted men on the retired list; the additional officers; the professors, the Corps of Cadets, the general Army service detachment, and detachments of Cavalry, Field Artillery, and Engineers, and the band of the United States Military Academy; the post noncommissioned staff officers; the recruiting parties, the recruit-depot detachments, and unassigned recruits; the service-school detachments; the disciplinary guards; the disciplinary organizations; the Indian scouts; and such other officers and enlisted men as are now or may be hereafter provided by law.

SEC. 3. The United States Army shall include a permanent and a temporary personnel. The permanent personnel shall include officers, enlisted men, and civilians. The officers of the permanent personnel shall include all persons who, on the date of the passage of this act, hold commissions or appointments in the Regular Army and such other persons who shall, in accordance with the provisions of this act, be hereafter appointed or commissioned either permanently or provisionally in such personnel, and the temporary second lieutenants appointed pursuant to section 40 of this act: *Provided*, That the term "permanent" is employed in this act in connection with the personnel of the several Staff Corps and departments solely to distinguish the officers and enlisted men permanently belonging thereto and officers of the line detailed therein from reserve officers and noncommissioned officers and recruits temporarily serving therewith, and nothing in this act shall operate to increase the number of officers permanently commissioned in any Staff Corps or department.

The enlisted men shall include all persons who shall be serving an enlistment in the Regular Army on the date of the passage of this act and all persons who may hereafter enlist in the United States Army in accordance with the provisions of this act: *Provided*, That hereafter all enlistments in the United States Army shall be for a period of three years unless sooner discharged in accordance with the provisions of the existing law: *Provided further*, That commanders of divisional areas and coast artillery districts may, upon the recommendation of commanders of regiments, battalions, or equivalent units, authorize the enlistment and reenlistment for periods of one year unless sooner discharged, pursuant to existing law of selected men for service only in the training forces. The civilians shall include all persons other than permanent officers, reserve officers, enlisted men, reservists, and recruits, employed for duty with any headquarters or unit of the United States Army. The temporary personnel shall include reserve officers, reservists, and recruits. The reserve officers shall include all persons holding appointments in the Reserve Officers' Corps. The reservists shall include all persons liable to military service who have completed their prescribed period of training and service in the training forces, and all other persons liable to military service who are not liable to training and service in said forces. The recruits shall include all persons undergoing training and service in the training forces, who have not completed their prescribed periods of training and service therein. White and colored enlisted or enrolled men shall not be organized in or assigned to the same company, battalion, or regiment.

SEC. 4. The over-sea garrisons: The over-sea garrisons shall consist of such permanent commissioned officers, enlisted men, and civilians as shall be required for garrison duty outside the continental limits of the United States, and shall be organized as provided in this act into 3 division headquarters, 10 brigade headquarters, 3 Coast Artillery district headquarters, 29 regiments of Infantry, 5 regiments of Cavalry, 6 regiments of Field Artillery, 74 Coast Artillery company or equivalent units, 3 regiments of Engineers, 3 field signal battalions, 8 aero squadrons, 3 balloon companies, the Philippine Scouts, organized as now provided by law and such additional staff personnel, and such numbers of Engineer, ammunition, supply, and sanitary trains, or such portions of such trains, as the President may direct in accordance with the requirements of the service: *Provided*, That the President is hereby authorized to retain within the continental limits of the United States, until such time as in his discretion their services can be spared, and barracks or quarters therefor provided over seas, such number of units herein authorized as are not on the date of the passage of this act stationed beyond the continental limits of the United States.

SEC. 5. The frontier forces: The frontier forces shall consist of such permanent commissioned officers, enlisted men, and civilians as shall be required for frontier protection and expeditionary duty at all times, and shall be organized as provided in this act into 1 division headquarters, 3 brigade headquarters, 6 regiments of Infantry, 3 regiments of Cavalry, 2 regiments of Field Artillery, 47 Coast Artillery companies or equivalent units, 1 regiment of Engineers, 1 field signal battalion, and 2 aero squadrons, and such additional staff personnel, and such numbers of Engineer, ammunition, supply, and sanitary trains, or such portions of such trains, as the President may direct in accordance with the requirements of the service.

SEC. 6. The training forces: The training forces shall consist of such permanent commissioned officers, enlisted men, and civilians as shall be required to train and provide for the recruits called out annually for military training and service and, together with the recruits so called out, shall be organized as provided in this act into 16 division headquarters, 64 brigade headquarters, 6 Coast Artillery district headquarters, 144 regiments of Infantry, 32 regiments of Cavalry, 66 regiments of Field Artillery, 198 Coast Artillery company or equivalent units, 16 regiments of Engineers, 2 battalions of Mounted Engineers, 16 field signal battalions, 6 telegraph battalions, 2 field signal battalions, mounted, 28 aero squadrons, and 8 balloon companies, and such additional staff personnel, and such numbers of Engineer, ammunition, supply, and sanitary trains or such portions of such trains as the President may direct in accordance with the requirements of the service.

SEC. 7. The first reserves: The first reserves shall consist of such permanent commissioned officers, enlisted men, and civilians, and such reserve officers as shall be assigned thereto under regulations to be prescribed by the President, and of all these reservists, except as otherwise provided in this act, who, having completed their prescribed training and service with the training forces, are liable to military service in the first reserves in accordance with the provisions of this act, and they shall be organized as far as practicable into 16 Army Corps headquarters, 54 division headquarters, 224 brigade headquarters, 432 regiments of Infantry, 96 regiments of Cavalry, 198 regiments of Field Artillery, the Coast Artillery Reserve, with such personnel and organization as the President may prescribe, 48 regiments of Engineers, 6 mounted battalions of Engineers, 48 field signal battalions, 18 telegraph battalions, 6 field signal battalions, mounted, 84 aero squadrons, and 24 balloon companies, and such additional staff personnel and such Engineer, ammunition, supply, and sanitary trains as the President may direct: *Provided*, That until such time as the necessary number of trained reservists are available for service therein the President is hereby authorized to assign to the various units of the first reserves but only for service therein in time of actual or threatened hostilities, such number of unorganized reservists as in the discretion of the President shall be necessary to provide for the mobilization of said units at authorized strength in the event of actual or threatened hostilities: *Provided further*, That such unorganized reservists shall be so assigned by classes according to age beginning with the youngest; and notification of such assignment in the manner provided in this act for the notification of persons called out for military service shall be deemed good and sufficient notice to all persons so notified of their said assignment; and no person so assigned shall be required to be physically examined except in time of actual or threatened hostilities.

SEC. 8. The second reserves: The second reserves shall consist of such permanent commissioned officers, enlisted men, and civilians, and such reserve officers as may be assigned thereto under regulations to be

prescribed by the President, and of all reservists except as otherwise provided in this act, who, having completed their prescribed military service in the first reserves, are liable for service in the second reserves in accordance with the provisions of this act, and they shall be organized as far as practicable into 16 Army Corps headquarters, 54 division headquarters, 224 brigade headquarters, 432 regiments of Infantry, 96 regiments of Cavalry, 198 regiments of Field Artillery, the Coast Artillery Reserve, with such personnel and organization as the President may prescribe; 48 regiments of Engineers, 6 mounted battalions of Engineers, 48 field signal battalions, 6 field signal battalions mounted, 18 telegraph battalions, 84 aero squadrons, 24 balloon companies, and such additional staff personnel, and such Engineer, ammunition, supply, and sanitary trains as the President may direct.

SEC. 9. The unorganized reserves: The unorganized reserves shall consist of reserve officers and of all reservists, except as otherwise provided in this act, who have completed their prescribed period of service in the second reserves, and of all other persons liable to military service under the provisions of this act.

SEC. 10. Composition of brigades, divisions, etc.: The troops of the over-sea garrisons, the frontier forces, and the training forces shall at all times be organized as far as practicable into brigades and divisions, and the first reserves and the second reserves into brigades, divisions, and army corps, and in time of actual or threatened hostilities the President is hereby authorized to organize all or any number of such divisions and army corps into army corps or armies. The composition of the typical Infantry, Cavalry, and Field Artillery brigade, the typical Infantry and Cavalry division, and the typical army corps shall be as prescribed in the act of Congress approved June 3, 1916. The typical army shall consist of a headquarters and two or more army corps. The headquarters of a brigade, a division, an army corps, and an army shall consist of such permanent commissioned officers, enlisted men and civilians as the President may prescribe. Each Engineer, ammunition, supply, and sanitary train shall consist of such commissioned officers and enlisted men and shall be organized as the President may prescribe. Nothing herein contained, however, shall operate to prevent the President from changing the composition or organization of typical brigades, divisions, army corps, or armies, or from prescribing new and different organizations and personnel in lieu thereof as the efficiency of the service may require.

SEC. 11. General officers of the line: The general officers of the line of the permanent personnel shall consist of 22 major generals and 87 brigadier generals.

SEC. 12. The General Staff Corps: The General Staff Corps shall consist of 1 Chief of Staff, detailed from major generals of the line of the permanent personnel, who, while so serving, shall have the rank, pay, and allowances of a lieutenant general; 2 assistants to the Chief of Staff, who shall be general officers of the line; 28 colonels, one of whom shall be president of the Army War College; 13 lieutenant colonels; and 110 majors and captains; all to be detailed from the permanent commissioned personnel of the Army in accordance with existing law relative to selection and the provisions of this act relative to eligibility for detail, and to perform the duties specified in the organic act of Congress approved February 14, 1903, and at such places as the President may prescribe.

SEC. 13. The Adjutant General's Department: The permanent personnel of The Adjutant General's Department shall consist of The Adjutant General, with the rank of brigadier general; 7 adjutants general with the rank of colonel; 26 adjutants general with the rank of lieutenant colonel; and 103 adjutants general with the rank of major.

SEC. 14. The Inspector General's Department: The permanent personnel of the Inspector General's Department shall consist of 1 Inspector General with the rank of brigadier general; 4 inspectors general with the rank of colonel, 8 inspectors general with the rank of lieutenant colonel, 31 inspectors general with the rank of major.

SEC. 15. The Judge Advocate General's Department: The permanent personnel of the Judge Advocate General's Department shall consist of 1 Judge Advocate General with the rank of brigadier general, 4 judge advocates with the rank of colonel, 7 judge advocates with the rank of lieutenant colonel, 35 judge advocates with the rank of major, and such number of acting judge advocates as have been or may hereafter be authorized by law.

SEC. 16. The Quartermaster Corps: The permanent commissioned personnel of the Quartermaster Corps shall consist of one quartermaster general with the rank of major general; two assistants to the quartermaster general with the rank of brigadier general; 21 colonels; 53 lieutenant colonels; 127 majors; 269 captains; 1 first lieutenant, and 72 second lieutenants. The enlisted personnel shall consist of 183 quartermaster sergeants, senior grade; 1,256 quartermaster sergeants; 689 sergeants, first class; 5,441 sergeants; 1,314 corporals; 515 cooks; 4,880 privates, first class, including enlisted specialists; and 2,453 privates. The temporary personnel shall consist of such reserve officers and noncommissioned officers as may be attached thereto and of such number of recruits not exceeding 2,800 as may be available for assignment thereto.

SEC. 17. The Medical Department: The Medical Department shall consist of one Surgeon General, who shall be a permanent officer with the rank of major general during the active service of the present incumbent of that office and thereafter with the rank of brigadier general, who shall be chief of said department; a Medical Corps; a Medical Reserve Corps within the limit of time now fixed by law; a Dental Corps; a Veterinary Corps; contract surgeons as now authorized by law; the Nurse Corps as now prescribed by law; an enlisted personnel, and a temporary personnel.

The permanent commissioned personnel of the Medical Corps shall consist of 48 colonels, 106 lieutenant colonels, 640 majors, 1,036 captains, and 1,102 first lieutenants, all appointed as now prescribed by law.

The permanent personnel of the Dental Corps shall consist of 500 dental surgeons. Dental surgeons shall have the rank, pay, and allowances of first lieutenants until they have completed five years' service. Dental surgeons of more than 9 but less than 19 years' service shall, subject to such examination as the President may prescribe, have the rank, pay, and allowances of captains. Dental surgeons of more than 19 years' service shall, subject to such examination as the President may prescribe, have the rank, pay, and allowances of majors.

There shall be 348 veterinarians and assistant veterinarians for duty with the over-sea garrisons, the frontier forces and the training forces at the rate of two such officers for each regiment of Cavalry, one for every three battalions of Field Artillery, and one for each battalion of Mounted Engineers and for duty with the Quartermaster Corps as inspectors of horses, mules, and meats, and the President is hereby authorized, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint the additional number of assistant veterinarians authorized. Candidates for appointment as assistant veterinarians shall have the qualifications and shall pass the examinations now provided for by law with reference to rank, pay, and allowances; and the President is authorized to appoint such number of reserve veterinarians as may be required to tend public animals pertaining to the Quartermaster Corps as now prescribed by law.

The enlisted personnel of the Medical Department shall consist of 51 master hospital sergeants, 51 hospital sergeants, 1,081 sergeants, first class, 1,677 sergeants, 717 corporals, 921 cooks, 184 horseshoers, 184 saddlers, 184 farriers, 184 mechanics, 3,083 privates, first class, and 2,529 privates.

The temporary personnel shall consist of such reserve officers and noncommissioned officers as may be attached thereto and of such number of recruits not exceeding 33,000 as may be available for assignment thereto.

SEC. 18. Corps of Engineers: The permanent commissioned personnel of the Corps of Engineers shall consist of 1 Chief of Engineers with the rank of brigadier general, 36 colonels, 43 lieutenant colonels, 98 majors, 296 captains, 306 first lieutenants, and 158 second lieutenants.

The enlisted personnel shall consist of 86 master engineers (senior grade), 256 master engineers (junior grade), 20 regimental sergeants major, 42 battalion sergeants major, 40 regimental supply sergeants, 3 battalion supply sergeants, 40 color sergeants, 20 sergeant buglers, 128 first sergeants, 374 sergeants (first class), 126 mess sergeants, 128 supply sergeants, 128 stable sergeants, 1,046 sergeants, 1,662 corporals, 134 horseshoers, 153 buglers, 125 saddlers, 397 cooks, 3,118 privates (first class), 2,236 privates, 564 wagoners, 1 band leader, 1 assistant band leader, 2 band sergeants, 4 band corporals, 2 musicians (first class), 4 musicians (second class), and 13 musicians (third class). So much of the commissioned and enlisted personnel enumerated in this section as may be required therefor shall, together with such number of recruits not exceeding 26,000 as may be available for assignment thereto, be organized into one Engineer band, 20 regiments, 40 battalions, and 2 mounted battalions of Engineers for service in the over-sea garrisons, the frontier forces, and the training forces, as hereinafter provided. Each regiment, battalion, mounted battalion, company (regimental), and mounted company of Engineers, and the Engineer band of the over-sea garrisons and frontier forces shall have the organization and the maximum personnel now provided by law. Each regiment, battalion, and mounted battalion of Engineers of the training forces shall have the organization and maximum personnel provided now by law. The permanent personnel of each company (regimental) of Engineers of the training forces shall consist of 1 captain, 2 first lieutenants, 1 second lieutenant, 1 first sergeant, three sergeants (first class) one mess sergeant, 1 supply sergeant, 1 stable sergeant, 8 sergeants, 12 corporals, 1 horseshoer, 1 bugler, 1 saddler, 3 cooks, and 24 privates (first class). Its temporary personnel shall consist of such reserve officers and noncommissioned officers as may be attached thereto and of such number of recruits, not exceeding 230, as may be available for assignment thereto.

The permanent personnel of each mounted Engineer company of the training forces shall consist of 1 captain, 2 first lieutenants, 1 second lieutenant, 2 master engineers (junior grade), 1 first sergeant, 2 sergeants (first class), 1 mess sergeant, 1 supply sergeant, 1 stable sergeant, 6 sergeants, 11 corporals, 2 horseshoers, 1 saddler, 2 cooks, 1 bugler, 2 wagoners, and 11 privates (first class). Its temporary personnel shall consist of such reserve officers and noncommissioned officers as may be attached thereto and of such number of recruits, not exceeding 180, as may be available for assignment thereto.

The permanent personnel of the Engineer band shall consist of 1 band leader, 1 assistant band leader, 1 first sergeant, 2 band sergeants, 4 band corporals, 2 musicians (first class), four musicians (second class), 13 musicians (third class), and 1 cook: *Provided*, That the enlisted force of the Corps of Engineers and the permanent officers and temporary personnel serving therewith shall constitute a part of the line of the Army.

Each regiment, battalion, mounted battalion, company (regimental), and mounted company of Engineers of the first and second reserves shall as far as practicable have the personnel and organization prescribed herein for like units of Engineers while serving as part of an over-sea garrison.

SEC. 19. The Ordnance Department: The permanent commissioned personnel of the Ordnance Department shall consist of 1 Chief of Ordnance with the rank of brigadier general, 13 colonels, 30 lieutenant colonels, 58 majors, 77 captains, and 65 first lieutenants: *Provided*, That hereafter the Secretary of War is authorized to detail not to exceed 100 lieutenants from the permanent commissioned personnel of the United States Army at large for duty as student officers in the establishments of the Ordnance Department for a period of two years, and the completion of the prescribed course of instruction shall constitute examination for detail in the Ordnance Department: *Provided further*, That vacancies which may occur in the commissioned personnel of the Ordnance Department shall be subject to the provisions of the act of Congress approved June 3, 1916, relating thereto.

The enlisted personnel of the Ordnance Department shall consist of 213 ordnance sergeants, 295 sergeants, 345 corporals, 1,025 privates, first class, and 293 privates.

The temporary personnel of the Ordnance Department shall consist of such reserve officers and noncommissioned officers as may be attached thereto and of such number of recruits, not exceeding 1,350, as may be available for assignment thereto.

SEC. 20. The Signal Corps: The permanent commissioned personnel of the Signal Corps shall consist of 1 Chief Signal Officer with the rank of brigadier general, 3 colonels, 8 lieutenant colonels, 47 majors, 94 captains, 302 first lieutenants; and the permanent commissioned personnel of the aviation section of the Signal Corps shall consist of 1 colonel, 1 lieutenant colonel, 48 majors, 144 captains, 209 first lieutenants, and 432 aviators, detailed or employed as such.

The enlisted personnel of the Signal Corps shall consist of 292 master signal electricians, 1,088 sergeants (first class), 1,178 sergeants, 1,832 corporals, 406 cooks, 96 horseshoers, 50 buglers, 2,313 privates (first class), and 2,473 privates.

The temporary personnel of the Signal Corps shall consist of such reserve officers and noncommissioned officers as may be attached thereto and of such number of recruits, not exceeding 14,400, as may be available for assignment thereto.

The President is hereby authorized to prescribe from time to time the personnel and organization of aero squadrons, field signal battalions, field signal battalions, mounted, and balloon companies of the over-sea garrisons, the frontier forces and the training forces, and so much of the permanent commissioned and enlisted personnel of the Signal Corps herein enumerated, including the commissioned personnel of the aviation section, as may be required therefor; and the recruits of the temporary personnel shall be organized into 36 aero squadrons, 11 balloon companies, 20 field signal battalions, 6 telegraph battalions, and 2 field signal battalions, mounted.

The personnel and organization of aero squadrons, field signal battalions, field signal battalions, mounted, and balloon companies of the first and second reserves shall be, as far as practicable, the same as the President shall prescribe for like units of an oversea garrison.

SEC. 21. Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department: Nothing in this act shall be construed to repeal existing laws relating to the organization of the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department.

SEC. 22. Chaplains: The President is authorized to appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, chaplains in the permanent personnel of the United States Army at the rate of, not to exceed, including chaplains now in the service, one for each regiment of Cavalry, Infantry, Field Artillery, and Engineers, and one for each 15 companies or equivalent units of the Coast Artillery Corps in the over-sea garrisons, the frontier forces, and the training forces, with the pay and allowances now prescribed by law.

SEC. 23. Composition of Infantry units: Each Infantry regiment, battalion, headquarters company, machine-gun company, supply company, and company in battalion of the over-sea garrisons and frontier forces and the Porto Rico Regiment of Infantry shall have the organization and the maximum personnel now provided by law.

Each regiment of Infantry of the training forces shall consist of 1 colonel and 1 lieutenant colonel, both of the permanent personnel; 1 headquarters company, 1 machine-gun company, 1 supply company, and 12 Infantry companies organized into 3 battalions of 4 companies each.

Each battalion of the training forces shall consist of 1 major and 1 first lieutenant, mounted, both of the permanent personnel, and 4 companies.

The permanent personnel of each Infantry company in battalion of the training forces shall consist of 1 captain, 1 first lieutenant, 1 second lieutenant, 1 first sergeant, 1 mess sergeant, 1 supply sergeant, 8 sergeants, 8 corporals, 3 cooks, 1 bugler, 2 mechanics, and 5 privates, first class.

Its temporary personnel shall consist of such reserve officers and noncommissioned officers as may be attached thereto and of such number of recruits, not exceeding 200, as may be available for assignment thereto for military training and service.

The permanent personnel of each Infantry headquarters company of the training forces shall consist of 1 captain, mounted (regimental adjutant); 1 regimental sergeant major, mounted; 3 battalion sergeants major, mounted; 1 first sergeant (drum major), 1 sergeant bugler, 2 color sergeants, 1 mess sergeant, 1 supply sergeant, 1 stable sergeant, 1 sergeant, 2 cooks, 1 horseshoer, 1 band leader, 1 assistant band leader, 2 band sergeants, 4 band corporals, 4 privates, first class, and 3 privates.

Its temporary personnel shall consist of such reserve officers and noncommissioned officers as may be attached thereto and of such number of recruits, not exceeding 80, as may be available for assignment thereto for military training and service.

The permanent personnel of each Infantry machine-gun company of the training forces shall consist of 1 captain (mounted), 1 first lieutenant (mounted), 2 second lieutenants (mounted), 1 first sergeant (mounted), 1 mess sergeant (mounted), 1 supply sergeant (mounted), 1 stable sergeant (mounted), 1 horseshoer, 4 sergeants, 4 corporals, 2 cooks, 2 mechanics, 1 bugler, and 6 privates, first class.

Its temporary personnel shall consist of such reserve officers and noncommissioned officers as may be attached thereto and of such number of recruits, not exceeding 100, as may be available for assignment thereto for military training and service.

The permanent personnel of each Infantry supply company of the training forces shall consist of 1 captain (mounted), 1 second lieutenant (mounted), 3 regimental supply sergeants (mounted), 1 first sergeant (mounted), 1 mess sergeant, 1 stable sergeant (mounted), 1 corporal (mounted), 1 cook, 1 saddler, 1 horseshoer, and 27 wagoners.

Its temporary personnel shall consist of such reserve officers and noncommissioned officers as may be attached thereto and of such number of recruits, not exceeding 50, as may be available for assignment thereto for military training and service.

Each Infantry regiment, battalion, headquarters company, machine-gun company, supply company, and company in battalion of the First and Second Reserves shall as far as practicable have the organization and personnel equivalent in numbers and grades to that prescribed herein for like units of the over-sea garrisons.

Sec. 24. Composition of Cavalry units: Each Cavalry regiment, squadron, headquarters troop, machine-gun troop, supply troop, and troop in squadron of the over-sea garrisons and frontier forces shall have the organization and the maximum personnel now provided by law.

Each regiment of Cavalry of the training forces shall consist of one colonel, one lieutenant colonel, and one captain, all of the permanent personnel, one headquarters troop, one machine-gun troop, one supply troop, and 12 troops organized into three squadrons of four troops each.

Each squadron shall consist of one major and one first lieutenant, both of the permanent personnel, and four troops.

The permanent personnel of each troop in squadron of the training forces shall consist of one captain, one first lieutenant, one second lieutenant, one first sergeant, one mess sergeant, one supply sergeant, one stable sergeant, three sergeants, four corporals, two cooks, two horseshoers, one saddler, one bugler, and eight privates, first class.

Its temporary personnel shall consist of such reserve officers and noncommissioned officers as may be attached thereto and of such number of recruits, not exceeding 140, as may be available for assignment thereto for military training and service.

The permanent personnel of each headquarters troop of the training forces shall consist of one captain (regimental adjutant), one regimental sergeant major, three squadron sergeants major, one first sergeant (drum major), two color sergeants, one mess sergeant, one supply sergeant, one stable sergeant, one sergeant, two corporals, two cooks, two horseshoers, one saddler, seven privates, first class, one band leader, one assistant band leader, one sergeant bugler, two band sergeants, and four band corporals.

Its temporary personnel shall consist of such reserve officers and noncommissioned officers as may be attached thereto and of such number of recruits, not exceeding 115, as may be available for assignment thereto for military training and service.

The permanent personnel of each machine-gun troop of the training forces shall consist of one captain, one first lieutenant, two second lieutenants, one first sergeant, one mess sergeant, one supply sergeant, one stable sergeant, two horseshoers, four sergeants, four corporals, two cooks, two mechanics, one saddler, one bugler, and nine privates, first class.

Its temporary personnel shall consist of such reserve officers and noncommissioned officers as may be attached thereto and of such number of recruits, not exceeding 120, as may be available for assignment thereto for military training and services.

The permanent personnel of each supply troop of the training forces shall consist of one captain (regimental supply officer), two second lieutenants, three regimental supply sergeants, one first sergeant, one mess sergeant, one stable sergeant, two corporals, two cooks, two horseshoers, two saddlers, and 37 wagoners.

Its temporary personnel shall consist of such reserve officers and noncommissioned officers as may be attached thereto and of such number of recruits, not exceeding 70, as may be available for assignment thereto for military training and service.

Each Cavalry regiment, squadron, headquarters troop, machine-gun troop, supply troop, and troop in squadron of the first and second reserves shall, as far as practicable, have the organization and personnel equivalent in numbers and grades to that prescribed herein for like units of the over-sea garrisons.

SEC. 25. Composition of Field Artillery units: In time of peace the Field Artillery shall consist of regiments of Mountain Artillery, Light Artillery, Horse Artillery, and Heavy Artillery of field and siege types. In time of actual or threatened hostilities the President is authorized to organize from any available personnel such number of ammunition batteries and battalions, depot batteries and battalions, and such Artillery parks, with such numbers of grades and personnel and such organization as he may deem necessary. Each regiment of Field Artillery of the over-sea garrisons, frontier forces, and training forces shall consist of 1 colonel, 1 lieutenant colonel and 1 captain, headquarters company, 1 supply company, and such number of gun and howitzer battalions as the President may direct, and the President may in his discretion direct the assembling in the same regiment of gun and howitzer battalions of different calibers and classes. Each gun or howitzer battalion of two or three batteries, each headquarters company of a regiment of two or three battalions, each supply company of a regiment of two or three battalions, and each gun or howitzer battery of the over-sea garrisons or frontier forces shall have the organization and the maximum personnel now provided by law.

The permanent personnel of each 4.7-inch gun or 6-inch howitzer battery of the training forces shall consist of 1 captain, 2 first lieutenants, 2 second lieutenants, 1 first sergeant, 1 mess sergeant, 1 supply sergeant, 1 stable sergeant, 6 sergeants, 11 corporals, 1 chief mechanic, 3 mechanics, 1 bugler, 3 cooks, 1 saddler, 3 horseshoers, and 10 privates, first class.

Its temporary personnel shall consist of such reserve officers and noncommissioned officers as may be attached thereto and of such number of recruits, not exceeding 220, as may be available for assignment thereto for military training and service.

The permanent personnel of each 3-inch gun or 3.8-inch howitzer battery shall be the same as prescribed for a 4.7-inch gun battery, increased by the addition of 13 privates, first class, and that of each horse 3-inch gun or 3.8-inch howitzer battery shall be the same as prescribed for a 4.7-inch gun battery, increased by the addition of 25 privates, first class, and 4 privates. The maximum number of recruits that may be assigned to a 3-inch gun or 3.8-inch howitzer battery, either light or horse, shall be 255.

The permanent personnel of a headquarters company of a regiment of two battalions of the training forces shall consist of 1 captain, 1 first lieutenant, 1 regimental sergeant major, 2 battalion sergeants major, 1 first sergeant, 1 sergeant bugler, 2 color sergeants, 1 mess sergeant, 1 supply sergeant, 1 stable sergeant, 1 sergeant, 3 corporals, 1 horseshoer, 1 saddler, 1 mechanic, 1 bugler, 2 cooks, 5 privates, first class, 1 band leader, 1 assistant band leader, 2 band sergeants, and 4 band corporals.

When such regiment consists of 3 battalions there shall be added to the permanent personnel of the headquarters company 1 battalion sergeant major, 1 corporal, 1 horseshoer, 1 mechanic, and 1 cook.

The temporary personnel of a headquarters company shall consist of such reserve officers and noncommissioned officers as may be attached thereto and of such number of recruits, not exceeding 150 for a headquarters company of a 2-battalion regiment and not exceeding 135 for a headquarters company of a 3-battalion regiment, as may be available for assignment thereto.

The permanent personnel of each supply company of a regiment of 2 battalions of the training forces shall consist of 1 captain, 1 first lieutenant, 2 regimental supply sergeants, 1 first sergeant, 1 mess sergeant, 2 corporals, 2 cooks, 2 horseshoers, 2 saddlers, 2 privates, and 21 wagoners.

The permanent personnel of a supply company of a regiment of 3 battalions of the training forces shall consist of 1 captain, 1 first lieutenant, 1 second lieutenant, 3 regimental supply sergeants, 1 first sergeant, 1 mess sergeant, 2 corporals, 2 horseshoers, 2 saddlers, 1 cook, 5 wagoners (chauffeurs), and 3 privates.

The temporary personnel of a supply company of a Field Artillery regiment of the training forces shall consist of such reserve officers and noncommissioned officers as may be attached thereto and of such number of recruits, not exceeding 45 for a supply company of a two-battalion regiment and not exceeding 50 for a supply company of a three-battalion regiment, as may be available for assignment thereto.

The permanent personnel of each battalion of Field Artillery of the training forces shall consist of one major and one captain. It shall be composed of either two or three gun or howitzer batteries as the President may direct.

Each Field Artillery regiment, battalion, headquarters company, supply company, and gun or howitzer battery of the first and second reserves shall, as far as practicable, have the organization and personnel equivalent in numbers and grades to that prescribed herein for like units of the over-sea garrisons.

SEC. 26. Coast Artillery Corps: The permanent personnel of the Coast Artillery Corps shall consist of one chief of Coast Artillery, with the rank, pay, and allowances of a major general, 28 colonels, 28 lieutenant colonels, 85 majors, 423 captains, 423 first lieutenants, 423 second lieutenants, 31 sergeants major (senior grade), 64 sergeants major (junior grade), 62 master gunners, 41 master electricians, 72 engineers, 99 electrician sergeants (first class), 275 assistant engineers, 99 electrician sergeants (second class),106 firemen, 93 radio sergeants, 319 first sergeants, 319 supply sergeants, 319 mess sergeants, 2,552 sergeants, 3,828 corporals, 638 cooks, 638 mechanics, 242 buglers, 2,448 privates (first class), 7,349 privates, 20 band leaders, 20 assistant band leaders, 40 band sergeants, and 8 band corporals.

The temporary personnel of the Coast Artillery Corps shall consist of such reserve officers and noncommissioned officers as may be attached thereto and of such number of recruits, not exceeding 17,000, as may be available for assignment thereto.

So much of the permanent commissioned and enlisted personnel enumerated in this section as shall be required therefor, together with the recruits of the temporary personnel, shall be organized into such types of Coast Artillery units of the over-sea garrisons, the frontier

forces and the training forces with such organization and personnel as the President may direct: *Provided*, That the number of Coast Artillery bands organized in either the over-sea garrisons or the frontier forces or the training forces, shall not exceed one for every 15 company units or equivalent organizations actually organized.

The Coast Artillery units of the first and second reserves shall be organized in such types and numbers and with such organization and personnel as the President may prescribe.

SEC. 27. All existing laws pertaining to or affecting the United States Military Academy and civilian or military personnel on duty thereat in any capacity whatever, the officers and enlisted men on the retired list, the detached and additional officers under the act of Congress approved June 3, 1916, recruiting parties, recruit depots and unassigned recruits, service school detachments, United States disciplinary barracks guards, disciplinary organizations, the Philippine Scouts, and Indian Scouts shall continue and remain in force except such parts thereof as are in conflict with the provisions of this act.

SEC. 28. Original appointments to be provisional: Hereafter all original appointments of persons other than graduates of the United States Military Academy to permanent commissioned grade in the United States Army shall be provisional for a period of two years or temporary for a period of one year, at the close of which period such appointments shall be made permanent in the grade then held by the appointees if they shall have demonstrated, under regulations to be prescribed by the President, their suitability and moral, professional, and physical fitness for such permanent appointment, but should any appointee fail so to demonstrate his suitability and fitness his appointment shall terminate: *Provided*, That whenever any person holding a provisional or temporary appointment or commission in the permanent commissioned personnel of the United States Army shall have been reported by the commander of his regiment, separate battalion, or equivalent unit as not possessing the required degree of adaptability for the military service, or as having given evidence of traits of character or habits which serve to render his retention in the service undesirable, or as disqualified for service, physically or in character, through his own misconduct, and such report is approved by the commander of the divisional area in which such report originated, the President may at once revoke the provisional appointment or commission of such officer and discharge him from the service of the United States.

SEC. 29. Vacancies in the grades of general officers existing on the date of the passage of this act, or created by the provisions thereof, shall be filled as now provided by law: *Provided*, That when the number of colonels of the line is reduced below the number of regiments or equivalent units authorized for the line, the President, in making appointments to the grade of brigadier general, is hereby authorized to extend his selection below the grade of colonel of the line by a number of successive files in the line equal to the difference between such number of regiments or equivalent units and the actual number of such colonels.

The names of all officers in each grade in the Infantry, Cavalry, Field Artillery, and Coast Artillery Corps shall be arranged upon one list for said four arms combined, in the order of the seniority of the officers concerned, determined by length of commissioned service, computed as herein provided, and in like manner the names of all officers in each grade in each staff corps and department shall be arranged upon one list for each such corps and department. All officers who are commissioned or appointed in the permanent personnel of the said four arms combined, or in any staff corps or department, shall hereafter be promoted subject to such examinations as the President may prescribe upon completion of the following number of years of commissioned service, computed as herein provided, to wit: To the grade of first lieutenant after 4 years, and to the grade of captain after 9 years; and no officer shall be eligible for promotion to the grade of major until after he shall have had 19 years of such service, or to the grade of lieutenant colonel until after he shall have had 24 years of such service, or to the grade of colonel until after he shall have had 27 years of such service, but no officer shall be promoted to the grade of major, lieutenant colonel, or colonel when his promotion would operate to increase the number of officers in such grade more than 5 per cent in excess of the number authorized therefor by this act, and all promotions to the grades of major, lieutenant colonel, and colonel shall be made from officers in the next lower grade on the list of the four arms combined and from officers in the next lower grade on the list of the several staff corps and departments according to seniority: *Provided*, That the total number of officers authorized for the four arms combined or for any staff corps or department shall not be exceeded. In time of actual hostilities the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, is hereby authorized to fill vacancies occurring in the commissioned personnel of the first and second reserves, by the promotion to reserve commissions of temporary or permanent officers, in accordance with their demonstrated ability in the field and without regard to grade or rank; and in time of actual or threatened hostilities the President alone is hereby authorized to fill vacancies occurring by the detachment of officers or otherwise in permanent commissioned grades in each Infantry or Cavalry division or Coast Artillery district in the over-sea garrisons, the frontier forces, and the training forces by the promotion to temporary commissions of officers serving therewith according to seniority as determined by said grade list for said four arms combined and by the grade lists for the several corps and department: *Provided further*, That chaplains and dental surgeons shall not be promoted above the grade of major.

In computing length of commissioned service for rank and promotion, credit shall be given as follows: One day's credit for each day's commissioned service in the Regular Army, the Volunteers, the Navy, and the Marine Corps, and in the case of officers of the Medical Corps, one day's credit for each day's service on the active list in the Medical Reserve Corps. One day's credit for each five days' commissioned service in the National Guard or Organized Militia not in the service of the United States, or as a noncommissioned officer in the Regular Army, or in the permanent personnel of the United States Army as a cadet officer, or in the senior division of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, or in a cadet corps in a recognized school or college where a course in military training and instruction substantially equivalent to that prescribed for the senior division of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps was conducted, under the supervision of an officer of the Regular Army. Two days' credit for each five days' commissioned service in the National Guard or Organized Militia in the service of the United States.

In computing length of commissioned service for promotion, constructive credit shall be given as follows: To chaplains and to officers of the Medical Corps and Dental Corps, four years. To officers heretofore appointed in the permanent Staff Corps and departments whose original appointment in such corps or department was in the grade of captain, nine years: *Provided*, That such constructive service shall include any and all commissioned service prior to appointment to the grade of captain, except that nothing herein shall operate to deprive any officer of any credit for actual commissioned service in excess of nine years, to which he would otherwise be entitled.

To officers heretofore appointed in the permanent Staff Corps and departments whose original appointment in said Staff Corps or department was in the grade of major, 19 years: *Provided*, That such constructive service shall include any and all commissioned service prior to appointment as major, except that nothing herein shall operate to deprive any officer of any credit for actual commissioned service in excess of 19 years, to which he would otherwise have been entitled.

To officers retired and thereafter restored to the active list, such amount of constructive service as shall be necessary under the provisions of this section for them to have reached the grade to which restored on the active list: *Provided*, That such constructive service shall include all commissioned service prior to such restoration.

To graduates of the United States Military Academy as follows: To graduates of the classes of 1917 and 1918, such constructive service as shall be required to place them, respectively, for purpose of future promotion only immediately after the members of the classes of 1916 and 1917; to the class of 1919 and each succeeding class, two years' constructive service prior to graduation: *Provided*, That for the purpose of this section the classes of 1916 and 1917 shall be deemed to include only such members thereof as shall have not lost rank, files, or service for promotion, because of sentence of court-martial or failure to pass a prescribed examination for promotion.

To any officer who has heretofore lost files or who shall hereafter lose files or service for promotion by reason of a sentence of a court-martial or failure to pass a required examination for promotion, only such service for promotion as shall be required to render him eligible for promotion next after the officer who is his immediate senior on the lineal list of his arm or corps pursuant to such sentence or such failure to pass a required examination: *Provided*, That such service for promotion shall be in lieu of all other service therefor and shall be subject to change whenever it will be necessary to carry into effect any loss of files or service for promotion hereafter incurred by any officer by reason of a court-martial or failure to pass a required examination for promotion: *Provided further*, That whenever credit for service shall be given to carry into effect any sentence of a court-martial, or to fix the length of service for promotion of any officer in accordance with his failure to pass a required examination for promotion, and the credit so given shall, because of an increase in his arm or corps, credit such officer with less total service for promotion than he would have to his credit if such increase has not occurred, such officer shall be credited with such service for promotion as he would have had to his credit if such increase had not occurred: *Provided further*, That the constructive service above described is authorized for the purpose of regulating only rank and promotion, and for all other purposes length of service shall be determined, credited, and allowed, as now provided by law: *And provided further*, That the President is hereby authorized to delegate to the Secretary of War the duty of signing any or all commissions of persons appointed in the permanent commissioned personnel or the Reserve Officers' Training Corps of the United States Army or promoted therein.

SEC. 30. From and after the passage of this act the relative rank of officers of the same grade of the permanent personnel in any grade below that of brigadier general shall be determined by length of commissioned service for promotion, and of any two such officers of the same grade that one shall be the senior in rank who shall be entitled, in accordance with the provisions of this act, to the longer commissioned service for promotion: *Provided*, That where two or more such officers of the same grade shall have the same commissioned service for promotion, that one shall be the senior who shall have had the longest commissioned service in the Regular Army; and where two or more such officers shall have had the same length of commissioned service in the Regular Army, that one shall be regarded as the senior who was the senior in relative rank on the date of their original commission in the Regular Army.

SEC. 31. After the promotions resulting from the provisions of section 29 of this act shall have been made the names of all permanent officers of the Infantry, Cavalry, Field Artillery, and Coast Artillery in each grade shall be entered on one list for each such grade for rank and promotion, and the assignment of such officers in any one grade above that of first lieutenant to each of the said arms of the service shall, as nearly as may be practicable, be made in the ratio which the total number of officers authorized for such grade in all four of said arms combined bears to the total number of officers authorized for such grade in the arm to which assignment is made, and thereafter the President may detach officers from one arm and assign them to another as the interests of the service may require, and, subject only to the rules of seniority and the provisions of law regulating eligibility for detached service, may assign such officers to the command of such units and to such duties as the exigencies of the service may demand.

SEC. 32. Whenever the number of officers available for service in any grade in any arm or for detail in any grade in any staff corps or department or to the detached officers' list is less than the number prescribed for such grade in such arm, corps, or department, or for said list, officers of other grades may be assigned or detailed, subject to the rules of seniority, to perform the duties of the grade in the arm, corps, or department, or on said list in which the deficiency exists, but the total number of officers authorized for any arm or for said list shall not be exceeded and the total number of officers commissioned in any staff corps or department and the number of officers detailed therein shall not exceed the number of officers authorized for the permanent personnel of such corps or department.

SEC. 33. For a period of four years from the date of the passage of this act, and subject only to its provisions, the President is hereby authorized to detach any officer from his organization or corps and detail him in any staff corps or department or upon any other military duty which the interests of the service may require, and for like reasons to continue any officer now so detailed upon his present duty until the end of such period, but no officer so detailed or continued on such duty shall be allowed to continue on such detail or on such duty longer than four years after the date of the passage of this act, and four years after the date of the passage of this act no officer shall be detached from his organization or corps for duty in any staff corps or department unless during the preceding six years he shall have had at least two years' service with troops, and service with troops within the meaning of this section shall be held to include service with

any organization of the over-sea garrisons, the frontier forces, the training forces, the first reserves, or the second reserves: *Provided*, That redetails to the Ordnance Department may be made after one year's service with troops and redetails to the aviation section of the Signal Corps may be made without regard to service with troops.

SEC. 34. Hereafter, as far as practicable, officers for duty with the over-sea garrisons shall be detailed from those officers who volunteer for such duty: *Provided*, That the tour of duty with over-sea garrisons shall be for three years unless sooner relieved: *Provided further*, That any officer serving with an over-sea garrison may, at his own request if in good health, be detailed to serve therewith for the further period of one year: *Provided further*, That when the number of volunteers for service with the over-sea garrisons is not sufficient to meet the requirements of the service the number of additional officers required shall be detailed by roster: *And provided further*, That all officers and enlisted men serving with the over-sea garrisons shall be entitled to a 10 per cent and a 20 per cent increase of pay, respectively, from the date of leaving the continental limits of the United States to the date of return thereto.

SEC. 35. Retirement: Any officer on the active list holding a permanent commission or appointment in the United States Army who shall fail to pass any prescribed examination for promotion, or who shall have been reported by any officer senior to him duly authorized to make such report, or by his commanding officer as being not qualified to perform the duties of his then grade, shall, if such report is concurred in by the next higher military commander, be immediately ordered before a board, convened by the commander of the divisional area, or in case he shall have concurred in such report with respect to such officer then by higher authority, composed of five permanent officers, who shall be senior in rank to the officer whose competency is in question; and such board shall immediately inquire into and report, in the manner now prescribed for retiring boards, upon the competency and capacity of such officer to perform the duties of his then grade; and if such board shall report that such officer is not qualified to perform such duties and such report is approved by the President, such officer shall be immediately retired in accordance with the provisions of this section; and if such board shall report that such officer is qualified to perform such duties, he shall be continued on the active list; and any officer so retired shall be entitled to pay, except as herein otherwise provided, equal to 2½ per cent of the pay, including increase for length of service to which he was entitled at the time of his retirement, for every year or major fraction thereof that he shall have served as a commissioned officer in the service of the United States prior to retirement; but no officer so retired shall receive more than 75 per cent of such pay: *Provided*, That nothing herein shall operate to reduce the pay now provided by law of any officer now on the retired list: *Provided further*, That any officer holding a permanent commission or appointment in the United States Army who shall be retired for physical disability incurred in line of duty shall be retired with pay equal to 75 per cent of the pay, including increase for length of service which he was receiving at the time of his retirement: *Provided further*, That any officer who shall be found to be incapacitated because of physical disabilities not incurred in the line of duty shall be retired or wholly retired at the discretion of the President: *And provided further*, That any officer who has been or who shall subsequently be retired, and who is less than 64 years of age, shall be liable in time of peace to perform such military duty consistent with his rank, grade, and physical condition as the President may direct, and while employed on active duty by direction of the President such retired officer shall be entitled to the active pay and allowances provided by law for his grade. In time of war retired officers over the age of 64 years may, with their consent, be employed upon such duties as the President may direct.

SEC. 36. Divisional areas: The President is hereby authorized, immediately after the passage of this act, to divide the territory within the continental limits of the United States into 16 divisional areas. Each such area shall contain, as nearly as may be practicable, that proportion of the population liable to military service of the whole of said territory which the sum of the authorized maximum enlisted and enrolled strength of the units of the training forces to be stationed in such area and the enrolled naval contingent to be raised therein bears to the sum of the total authorized maximum enlisted and enrolled strength of the training forces and the total strength of all naval contingents to be raised within said territory: *Provided*, That the President may, in his discretion, change the limits or boundaries of such divisional areas at any time as changes in population or the interests of the service may require.

SEC. 37. The President is hereby authorized, immediately after the passage of this act, to group all Coast Artillery commands and units within the continental limits of the United States into such number of Coast Artillery districts, not exceeding six, as he may direct, and to assign a permanent line officer of appropriate rank, who, whenever practicable, shall be a general officer of the line, to the command of each divisional area and of the troops of the training forces other than those of the Coast Artillery stationed therein, and to assign a permanent line officer of appropriate rank, who, whenever practicable, shall be a general officer of the line, to the command of each Coast Artillery district: *Provided*, That the commander of a divisional area shall, in accordance with instructions from higher authority, make all original assignments of enrolled men to the Coast Artillery units and commands located within his district, but all other matters connected with the Coast Artillery units and commands shall, in time of peace, be under the control and direction of the commanders of Coast Artillery districts, subject to the control and direction of the War Department.

SEC. 38. The President is hereby authorized to station in each divisional area, as soon as practicable after the passage of this act, the proper proportion of available officers and enlisted men of the permanent personnel of the several arms, corps, and departments, and to cause the commanders of divisional areas to organize the permanent personnel so stationed in each such area into provisional training regiments, battalions, and schools of application, and to employ such portion of such personnel as may be required therefor upon any duties or work necessary or convenient for carrying the provisions of this act into effect: *Provided*, That, as far as may be practicable, such provisional training regiments, battalions, and schools of application shall be temporarily stationed on existing military reservations.

SEC. 39. The commander of each divisional area and each commander of each ovea-sea department is hereby authorized to convene, as soon as practicable after the passage of this act, such number of boards of officers, composed of permanent officers stationed within such area or department, as he may deem necessary or convenient for conducting the examinations, in accordance with regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of War, of such persons resident within such area or stationed therein as may apply, as hereafter provided, for appointment to vacancies already existing or created by this act in the permanent commissioned personnel of the United States Army, and to prescribe at what place or places within such area such board shall meet for the transaction of the business for which appointed: *Provided*, That, as far as may be practicable and consistent with economy, such board shall be ordered to meet at such places as will require the least amount of travel on the part of the majority of the applicants to be examined.

SEC. 40. Any officer of the National Guard or Organized Militia or any enlisted man of the Regular Army or of the permanent personnel of the United States Army not over 40 years of age, or any other male citizen of the United States who is not over said age and who has had previous military training, service, or experience, may apply to the commander of the divisional area or to the commander of the oversea department in which he resides or is stationed for appointment in the permanent commissioned personnel of the United States Army and for authority to take the prescribed examination to determine his fitness for such appointment and for appointment as an officer candidate. The application of each such person shall be submitted upon a form approved by the Secretary of War, and a copy of such form shall be furnished without cost to any bona fide applicant by the postmaster at his station or place of residence, and each such application shall be accompanied by such affidavits, references, and vouchers with respect to the physical condition, moral character, age, and military record of the applicant as the Secretary of War may prescribe. Each such application, and its accompanying documents, which, together, shall indicate that the applicant is eligible for appointment in accordance with the provisions of this act, shall be referred by the commander of the divisional area or over-sea department to the board appointed to meet at the place within such area or department nearest to the residence or station of the applicant. Upon the receipt of each such application, that board shall, as soon thereafter as practicable, notify the applicant that he is authorized to take the prescribed examination and shall inform him in writing of the place and time appointed for such examination. At the time and place appointed, such board shall proceed to conduct the preliminary examination of such applicant in the manner prescribed by the Secretary of War, and upon the conclusion of such examination shall forward a report of its proceedings and findings in the case, together with its recommendation in the premises, direct to the commander of the divisional area or oversea department for his action. Whenever any applicant shall have been found by any such board to be not qualified for appointment in the permanent commissioned personnel of the United States Army, and such finding, after such further examination as the commander of the divisional area or over-sea department may deem advisable, shall have been approved by him such applicant shall be held to be ineligible for such appointment. Applicants who have been found by such boards to be qualified for such appointment shall, except as herein otherwise provided, when such finding has been approved by the commander of the divisional area or over-sea department, be ordered by him as officer-candidates to temporary duty in the divisional area or department in which resident or stationed with a training unit or at a school of application or with a unit of an over-sea garrison. Officer-candidates shall, from date of appointment as such to date of discharge or to date of appointment to the permanent commissioned personnel or in the Reserve Officers' Corps, as the case may be, receive $100 per month and the allowances of a second lieutenant, and during such periods all such officer-candidates shall be subject to the Rules and Articles of War so far as they may be applicable to persons whose permanent retention in the service is uncertain. As soon as practicable after each officer-candidate shall have completed four months' service and training with a provisional training regiment or battalion or in a school of application, or with a unit of the over-sea garrison, his qualifications with respect to military capacity, adaptability for the military service, character, and habits, as determined by his service in such unit or school shall be reported upon in accordance with regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of War, by a board of permanent officers appointed by the commander of the divisional area or over-sea department in which such officer-candidate has been serving. Each such report shall contain a statement whether in the opinion of the board the officer-candidate reported upon is qualified for appointment in the permanent commissioned personnel of the United States Army, and, if so, a recommendation as to the arm, corps, or department in which he should be appointed and the grade therein in which he should be appointed. Whenever any such officer-candidate is so reported as not qualified for appointment in such permanent commissioned personnel, the board shall report whether he is qualified for appointment in the Reserve Officers' Corps, and, if so, in what arm, corps, or department and grade therein. Officer candidates who have been reported by such boards as not qualified for appointment in the permanent commissioned personnel of the United States Army, may, except as otherwise provided herein, be discharged forthwith by the commander of the divisional area, or over-sea department, or, with their consent, may be ordered by him to such further period of service with a training unit or in a school of application as he may deem necessary, and all officer-candidates so ordered shall be again reported upon in like manner by such boards upon the completion of such additional period of service.

The proceedings of such boards in the cases of all officer-candidates reported as qualified for appointment in either the permanent commissioned personnel or in the Reserve Officers' Corps shall be forwarded by the commander of the divisional area, or oversea department, with his recommendations in each case, to the War Department for the action of the President.

The President is hereby authorized, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint officer-candidates who have been so reported by such boards as qualified for appointment in the permanent commissioned personnel of the United States Army to vacancies existing or created by this act in the grades of second lieutenant, first lieutenant, and captain, but no officer-candidate shall be so appointed to the grade of second lieutenant who is under 21 or over 27 years of age, or to the grade of first lieutenant who is under 27 or over 32 years of age, or to the grade of captain who is under 32 or over 40 years of age, except that no enlisted man of the Regular Army or of the permanent personnel of the United States Army shall be so appointed to the grade of captain and no such enlisted man who is less than 27 years of age shall be so appointed to the grade of first lieutenant and no such enlisted man who is over 27 years of age shall be so appointed to the grade of second lieutenant: *Provided*, That applicants for appointment other than officers of the National Guard or Organized Militia and enlisted men of the Regular Army or of the permanent personnel of the United States Army who have been reported by the boards appointed for their preliminary examinations as qualified for appointment in the

permanent commissioned personnel and who, pursuant to the provision of this act are eligible only for appointment as second lieutenants, shall, if such report is approved by the commander of the divisional area, or oversea department, be reported by him to the War Department, and the President alone is hereby authorized to immediately appoint persons so recommended to the grade of temporary second lieutenant in the permanent personnel, with pay at the rate of $100 per month and the allowances of a second lieutenant, for a period of one year. All temporary second lieutenants shall be assigned by the commander of the divisional area, or oversea department, to duty with a provisional training regiment at a school of application or with a unit of an oversea garrison, and upon the completion of 11 months of such duty shall be examined by a board of three permanent officers appointed by such commander. Such board shall report which of such temporary second lieutenants are qualified for permanent appointment as second lieutenants in the United States Army, and the names of all persons so reported shall be transmitted by the commander of the divisional area, or oversea department, together with his recommendations in each case, to the War Department for the action of the President.

The President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, is hereby authorized to appoint and commission during each calendar year, from among the temporary second lieutenants so reported as eligible therefor, such number of second lieutenants in the permanent personnel of the United States Army as will not exceed 20 per cent of the total number of temporary second lieutenants holding appointment as such during such year.

Any temporary second lieutenant not appointed in the permanent personnel pursuant to this section, may, with his consent, be reappointed a temporary second lieutenant for a further period of one year, and so on from year to year, or if he so elects and is eligible therefor may be appointed to membership in the Reserve Officers' Corps. Temporary second lieutenants shall take rank among themselves according to length of commissioned service computed in accordance with section 29 of this act and such temporary second lieutenants who have had no prior commissioned service shall take rank among themselves, according to lot, in a manner prescribed by the Secretary of War.

Enlisted men of the Regular Army or of the permanent personnel of the United States Army who fail of appointment as provisional second lieutenants shall be returned to their proper enlisted grades in their several organizations, and the time they shall have served as provisional second lieutenants shall be counted as part of their enlistment periods.

For the purposes of relative rank and future promotion only each such officer-candidate so appointed to the grade of first lieutenant shall be credited with four years' constructive commissioned service, and each such officer-candidate so appointed to the grade of captain shall be credited for said purposes only with nine years' constructive commissioned service: *Provided*, That such constructive service for the purpose only of determining relative rank shall be in addition to any and all previous actual commissioned service to which persons so appointed shall be entitled in accordance with the provisions of section 29 of this act.

The relative rank of all persons so appointed in each grade shall be in accordance with actual prior commissioned service determined in accordance with the provisions of section 29 of this act, and of any two such officers that one shall be the senior who shall have had the longer prior commissioned service; and where two or more such officers shall have had the same prior commissioned service they shall take rank among themselves according to age, the oldest to be the senior; and all such officers who shall have had no prior commissioned service shall take rank among themselves according to age, the oldest to be the senior, and where two or more such officers are of the same age their seniority among themselves shall be decided by lot, in accordance with regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of War.

Any officer appointed pursuant to the provisions of this section shall be eligible for assignment at the discretion of the President to any vacancy in his grade existing or created by this act in the oversea garrisons, the frontier forces, or the training forces as the interests of the service may require: *Provided*, That nothing in this section shall operate to prevent the President from appointing graduates of the United States Military Academy or enlisted men to commissions in the permanent personnel as provided by existing law.

The President alone is hereby authorized to appoint officer-candidates reported as provided in this section as qualified for appointment in the Officers' Reserve Corps as officers in such corps, subject to the provisions of section 42 of this act.

SEC. 41. As soon as practicable after the passage of this act the President is hereby authorized to provide for the recruitment of the additional enlisted personnel required to bring the permanent personnel of the oversea garrisons, the frontier forces, and the training forces to their authorized strength and to utilize for this purpose such officers and enlisted men of the recruiting service and of the divisional areas as he may deem necessary therefor, and as soon as the necessary commissioned and enlisted permanent personnel shall have been obtained, he is further authorized to organize in each divisional area the permanent personnel of the units of the training forces which are to be maintained therein: *Provided*, That enlistments effected under the provisions of this section may be for one year, as provided in section 3 of this act.

SEC. 42. For the purpose of securing a reserve of officers available for service as temporary officers in the lower grades in the training personnel as line and staff officers in the first and second reserves and as officers of the several staff corps and departments, as officers at the various mobilization points and depots and as officers available for such other duties as the President may direct, there shall be organized under such regulations as the President may prescribe, a reserve officers' corps of the United States Army. Said corps shall consist of sections corresponding to the various arms and to the several staff corps and departments of the United States Army. Except as otherwise provided in this act, in officer of the Reserve Officers' Corps shall not, without his consent, be liable to active duty in time of peace, and whenever called out for service shall not, without his consent, be so called out in a lower grade than that held by him in said corps: *Provided*, That the Secretary of War may, in time of peace, order first lieutenants of the medical section of the Reserve Officrs' Corps, with their consent, to active duty in the service of the United States in such numbers as the public service may require and the funds appropriated may permit, and he may relieve them from such duty when their services are no longer necessary. While on such duty they shall receive the pay and allowances, including pay for periods of sickness and leaves of absence of permanent officers of corresponding grades and lengths of service on the active list.

All persons now carried as duly qualified and registered, pursuant to section 23 of the act of Congress approved January 21, 1903, and all persons appointed in the Officers' Reserve Corps pursuant to section 37 of the act of Congress approved June 3, 1916, shall, for a period of two years after the passage of this act, and without any further examination except a physical examination, be eligible for appointment in the Reserve Officers' Corps in the section corresponding to the arm, corps, or department in which they shall have been qualified or appointed, pursuant to the above-described laws: *Provided*, That no persons shall be appointed in the Reserve Officers' Corps in any grade above that of lieutenant colonel.

The President alone is hereby authorized to appoint and commission members of the Reserve Officers' Corps, but no person shall be appointed a member of said corps who is less than 19 years of age, and for a period of three years after the passage of this act no person shall be appointed in the grade of second lieutenant, first lieutenant, or captain therein who is more than 40 years of age, and no person, except a commissioned officer of the National Guard or Organized Militia, shall be appointed in the grade of major or lieutenant colonel therein who is more than 60 years of age, and no officer of the National Guard or Organized Militia shall be appointed in the grade of major or lieutenant colonel therein who is more than 63 years of age.

The commissions of all members of the Reserve Officers' Corps shall continue in full effect until terminated by death, promotion, resignation, or dismissal, but upon reaching the age of 64 years all reserve officers shall be permanently transferred to the unorganized reserves, and thereafter such officers shall not in time of peace be eligible for employment with units or organizations of the United States Army. In time of actual or threatened hostilities officers in the unorganized reserves may with their consent be assigned to such duty as the President may direct.

As soon as practicable after the preliminary organization of reserve units authorized in section 51 of this act shall have been effected the commander of each divisional area shall cause to be posted in a conspicuous place in each post office within such area the number of reserve officers of each grade in each arm, corps, and department required to fill the vacancies existing in each reserve unit within such divisional area. At any time within three months thereafter any officer of the National Guard or Organized Militia or any enlisted man of the Regular Army or of the permanent personnel of the United States Army, or any other male citizen of the United States of previous military service, training, or experience within the age limits prescribed in this act may apply to the commander of the divisional area in which he resides or is stationed for appointment in the Reserve Officers' Corps, subject to such examinations as the Secretary of War may prescribe. No such applications received after such three months' period shall have elapsed shall be considered, except in cases where the applicants concerned were, by unavoidable causes, prevented from making application within such period. All such applications shall be made upon a form approved by the Secretary of War, which form shall be furnished without cost to any bona fide applicant by the postmaster at his place of residence or station, and such application shall be accompanied by such affidavits, vouchers, and references relative to his age, character, and previous military record as the Secretary of War may prescribe. Each such application which, together with the documents accompanying same, shall indicate that the applicant is eligible for appointment in the Reserve Officers' Corps, shall be referred by the commander of the divisional area to that one of the examining boards convened pursuant to section 39 of this act for the examination of applicants for appointment in the permanent commissioned personnel whose place of meeting is nearest to the residence or station of the applicant. Upon the receipt of each such application the board shall, as soon as practicable, notify the applicant when and where to report for examination, and shall, at such time and place, proceed, under such regulations as the Secretary of War may prescribe, to determine whether the applicant is qualified physically, in general education, and in moral character for appointment in the Reserve Officers' Corps. Any officer of the National Guard or Organized Militia or enlisted man of the Regular Army or United States Army who is found by such board to be not qualified for appointment on account of physical disability or unsatisfactory military record in the National Guard or Organized Militia, or in moral character, shall, if such finding be approved by the commander of the divisional area, be rejected forthwith. Any officer of the National Guard or Organized Militia or enlisted man of the Regular Army or United States Army who is found by such board to be qualified physically and morally, and who has a satisfactory military record in the National Guard or Organized Militia or in the Regular Army or United States Army shall, if such report is approved by the commander of the divisional area, be reported to the War Department for the action of the President as eligible for appointment in the same grade as that held by him in the National Guard or Organized Militia and in the same arm of the service; and in the case of such enlisted men in such grades, within the limits of this section, as may be recommended by said board: *Provided*, That no officer of the National Guard or Organized Militia or such enlisted men shall be appointed in the Reserve Officers' Corps in any grade higher than that of lieutenant colonel, and any such officer who applies for appointment therein in a grade below that of colonel but higher than that held by him in the National Guard or Organized Militia, as the case may be; or in an arm, corps, or department other than that in which he was commissioned in the National Guard or Organized Militia, shall be required to undergo such further examination relative to his qualifications therefor as the Secretary of War may prescribe.

Any applicant for appointment in the Reserve Officers' Corps, other than an officer of the National Guard or Organized Militia, who is found by such board to be not qualified for such appointment because of physical disability, bad moral character, or defective general education, shall be discharged forthwith, and any such enlisted man shall be returned to his permanent organization, except that honorably discharged soldiers of the Regular Army of good character who are rejected because of defective general education, and any other male citizens of the United States rejected solely for the same reason, may be accepted as reserve noncommissioned officers. Applicants who pass the above-prescribed preliminary examination, including officers of the National Guard or Organized Militia who desire appointment in higher grades than those held by them in the National Guard or Organized Militia or in another arm of the service than those in which commissioned in the National Guard or Organized Militia, shall be further examined by the board with respect to their past military and civil record and their general capacity, aptitude, and qualifications for the military service. Upon the completion of each such examination the board shall report whether in its opinion the applicant is qualified for appointment in the Reserve Officers' Corps, and if so, will recommend the highest grade below that of colonel, and the arm, corps, or depart-

ment in which he should be appointed, and such report will include such facts determined by the examination relative to said applicant's civil and military record and such other information as the Secretary of War may prescribe.

The commander of the divisional area shall, as soon as practicable, forward all reports of such examinations which have received his approval to the War Department for the action of the President, and the President alone is authorized to appoint such applicants reported as qualified therefor to membership in the Reserve Officers' Corps, in accordance with the recommendations of the boards: *Provided*, That no officer of the National Guard or Organized Militia shall, without his consent, be appointed in any arm, corps, or department in any grade lower than that held by him in such arm, corps, or department in the National Guard or Organized Militia: *Provided further*, That after the initial appointments to the Reserve Officers' Corps shall have been made in accordance with this section, appointments to the Reserve Officers' Corps shall be made only from graduates of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps in accordance with existing law and from reservists who have completed the prescribed 11 months' continuous service with the training forces, except that any person eligible under the provisions of this section for appointment who was for unavoidable reasons unable to apply therefor within the period prescribed, shall be eligible for appointment in accordance with the provisions of this section: *And provided further*, That all members of the Reserve Officers' Corps and all enrolled reservists of all grades in all arms, corps, and departments shall, from the date upon which they shall have been called out for service in maneuvers or for training in time of peace or from the date upon which they shall have been called out for service in time of actual or threatened hostilities in accordance with the provisions of this act, until released from such service by competent authority, be subject to the Rules and Articles of War so far as they shall be applicable to persons who do not belong to the permanent personnel of the United States Army.

SEC. 43. Members of the Reserve Officers' Corps shall take rank next after all officers of like grades in the permanent personnel of the United States Army or in the Marine Corps when detached for service with said Army, and shall take rank among themselves in each grade according to date of appointment in such grade.

Officers of the Reserve Officers' Corps appointed on the same date shall take rank among themselves in each grade, as follows: First, officers of the National Guard; second, officers of the Organized Militia; third, enlisted men of the Regular Army or of the permanent personnel of the United States Army; fourth, all other officers so appointed.

Officers of the National Guard appointed on the same date to the same grade in the Reserve Officers' Corps shall take rank among themselves according to length of prior commissioned service in the National Guard and Organized Militia, and when two or more such officers shall have had the same such service, they shall take rank among themselves according to total length of enlisted and commissioned service in the National Guard and Organized Militia.

Officers of the Organized Militia appointed on the same date and the same grade in the Reserve Officers' Corps, shall take rank among themselves according to length of prior commissioned service in the Organized Militia, and when two or more such officers shall have had the same prior commissioned service they shall take rank among themselves according to total length of enlisted and commissioned service in the Organized Militia: *Provided*, That commissioned or enlisted service in the National Guard and Organized Militia in the service of the United States shall count double: *Provided further*, That when two or more officers of the National Guard or Organized Militia can not be graded with respect to rank, as above provided, they shall take rank among themselves in accordance with their relative rank in the National Guard or Organized Militia prior to appointment in the Reserve Officers' Corps. Enlisted men so appointed shall take rank among themselves according to length of service as noncommissioned officers, and those who shall have had no such service shall take rank among themselves according to age.

All other persons so appointed on the same date in same grade shall take rank among themselves according to age, the oldest to be the senior; and when two or more officers are of the same age, their seniority shall be decided by lot in a manner prescribed by the Secretary of War.

SEC. 44. Vacancies occurring in time of peace in any grade below that of colonel in the Reserve Officers' Corps shall be filled by the promotion, subject to such exceptions as the President may prescribe in regulations governing the promotion, examinations for promotion and assignment of reserve officers, of officers of said corps in the next lower grade in the reserve unit, corps, or department in which such vacancies occur: *Provided*, That officers of the Reserve Officers' Corps, if they so elect, may qualify for promotion and be promoted in the first or second reserves even though no vacancy exists in the next higher grade in their regiment, battalion, squadron, corps, or department, and when the number of officers in any grade in any unit, corps, or department of the first reserves exceeds the number authorized therefor, the commander of the divisional area may transfer such surplus officers to other organizations of the first reserves or to the second reserves or he may attach them to organizations in the first reserves.

In time of war, officers of the Reserve Officers' Corps may be promoted to any grade or rank in such corps in accordance with their efficiency as demonstrated in service in the field: *Provided*, That appointments to grades above that of colonel so made shall be made by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

SEC. 45. Any member of the Reserve Officers' Corps assigned or attached to either the first or the second reserves who shall have been reported by his commanding officer, or by any other officer duly authorized to make such report, as not qualified to perform the duties of his then grade, shall, if such report is concurred in by the next higher military authority, be immediately ordered before a board composed of five reserve officers senior in rank to the officer so ordered, convened by the commander of the reserve area, or in case he shall have concurred in such report then by the next higher military authority, and such board shall immediately proceed to inquire into and report, in the manner now prescribed for retiring boards, upon the competency and capacity of such officer to perform the duties of his then grade, and if such board shall report that such officer is qualified to perform such duties he shall continue on the duty to which he was before assigned; and if such board shall report that such officer is not qualified to perform such duties and such report is approved by the President, such officer shall forthwith be transferred to the unorganized reserves and shall not again be eligible for assignment to duty with either the first or the second reserves: *Provided*, That any member of the Reserve Officers' Corps who shall have been convicted of any offense involving moral turpitude or which, in the opinion of the President, was unbecoming an officer and a gentleman shall be forthwith dismissed from the service and shall not be again eligible for appointment or enrollment in any branch of the United States Army: *Provided further*, That all members of the Reserve Officers' Corps, who are assigned to either the first or second reserves, shall, as soon as they reach the age of 64 years, be transferred to the unorganized reserves, and no reserve officer over the age of 64 shall in time of peace be eligible for assignment or attachment to either the first or second reserves.

SEC. 46. The President is hereby authorized, as soon as the necessary funds therefor shall have been appropriated, to cause such land to be acquired by lease or purchase, such buildings, target ranges, and other structures to be erected or leased and such military stores and equipment of all kinds, including reserve supplies, to be procured in each divisional area as shall be necessary for the examining, enlisting, enrolling, organizing, training, and equipping the troops of all arms and corps stationed in such area.

SEC. 47. Whenever in time of peace any parcel of land, other than that occupied by a dwelling house and its curtilage, shall be required for the use of the training forces or the first reserves during the prescribed annual maneuvers, and the owner or occupant thereof refuses to allow such parcel of land to be so used the President may, in his discretion, authorize such use of such land without the permission of the owner or occupant and direct that any damage caused thereto by such use shall be adjusted and settled as hereafter provided.

Whenever in time of peace any damage is caused to any private property by any troops of the United States Army engaged in the prescribed annual maneuvers, the President is hereby authorized to cause any claims resulting therefrom to be immediately adjusted and settled in accordance with the regulations to be prescribed by him, so far as appropriations will permit, by a board of officers appointed by the commander of the area in which such damage occurred.

SEC. 48. As soon as the President shall decide that the necessary training personnel has been organized and trained, the necessary ground acquired, the necessary structures erected, and the necessary military supplies and equipment provided in each divisional area, he is hereby authorized and empowered to call out for military training and service to serve in the United States Army in accordance with the provisions of this act, and to report for such service on the 1st day of November next thereafter, all persons liable to military service who have arrived or who will arrive at the age of 18 years during the year ending on the day next preceding such 1st day of November; and in each subsequent year ending on the 31st day of October all males liable to military service who arrive at the age of 18 years during such year shall likewise be called out to report for military training and service in the United States Army on the 1st day of November of that year, in accordance with the provisions of this act.

SEC. 49. Except as otherwise provided in this act, service in the United States Army in time of peace shall be for a period of 12 years, unless sooner discharged, the first 11 months of said period shall be in continuous training and service in the training forces, the next 4 years and 1 month shall be in the first reserves, and not more than one period of 15 days' active service in any calendar year for 2 years shall be required of any enrolled member of said reserves during his period of service therein in time of peace. The last 7 years of said 12-year period of service shall be in the second reserves, and reservists assigned thereto shall not be called out for active service in time of peace: *Provided*, That no reservist assigned to the first reserves shall be eligible for appointment in the reserve officers' corps unless he shall have served with his organization during all periods of active service prescribed therefor from the date of his assignment thereto to the date of his appointment in said corps: *Provided further*, That all persons who shall have been commissioned, appointed, enlisted, or enrolled in the United States Army at the outbreak of war or when war becomes imminent may be held to service therein during the continuance of war or until the President shall decide that war is no longer imminent, and this without regard to the periods for which such persons shall have been commissioned, appointed, enlisted, or enrolled: *And provided further*, That enrolled noncommissioned officers and enlisted specialists who have completed their 11 months' continuous active training and service may, with their consent, be retained with or attached to the training forces for further stipulated periods of training and service, and any enrolled man who has satisfactorily completed his 11 months' continuous training and service may be permitted to enlist in the permanent personnel in one of the arms or corps of the United States Army, and any reservist so enlisting shall, upon completion of his service under such or any subsequent enlistment, revert to the reserve status he would then occupy if he had not so enlisted.

SEC. 50. In time of peace the President may by proclamation call out for active service, in accordance with the provisions of this act, any class of persons liable for such service, and in time of actual or threatened hostilities he may likewise by proclamation call out for military service such classes of persons according to age, beginning with the youngest liable for such service, as shall be required for the national defense: *Provided*, That in time of peace no part of the training forces or of the first or second reserves shall be called out to execute the laws, suppress insurrection, or repel invasion without the authority of Congress first had and obtained, except in cases of actual or threatened invasion occurring while Congress is not in session, and then only when in the judgment of the President it would be dangerous to wait for Congress to assemble. A copy of such proclamation, duly posted in a conspicuous place in the post office of the place of residence or temporary abode of any person included in such call not less than 10 days prior to the date prescribed in said proclamation, for such person to report for said service, or any other public notification which the President may deem suitable, shall be deemed good and sufficient notice to such person of his liability under such call, and no personal service of any notice of any kind shall be required to bring such person within the provisions of this act: *Provided further*, That from and after the date upon which any person liable for military service has been duly called out therefor, in accordance with the provisions of this act, until such time as he shall have been duly discharged from such service, such person shall be subject to the Rules and Articles of War so far as they are applicable to persons whose permanent retention in the United States Army is not contemplated: *And provided further*, That in time of actual or threatened hostilities the President may accept the voluntary military services of any person not more than 64 years of age who is not included in any class called out for service.

SEC. 51. The President is hereby authorized to delegate to the commander of each divisional area the necessary authority to commence the organization, as soon as practicable after the passage of this act, of such units of the first reserves as are to be organized in such area; to subdivide such divisional area into three reserve areas; to subdivide each such reserve area into districts and subdistricts; to pre-

scribe the limits of each such reserve area, district, and subdistrict; to prescribe what units of the first reserves authorized for such divisional area shall be located in each such subdivision; and, subject, to the approval of the President, to assign a competent officer of the permanent personnel of the training forces in such area of appropriate rank to the command of each division, brigade, and regiment of the first and second reserves to be organized in such divisional area. Each officer so assigned shall, in time of peace, have reserve rank appropriate to the command to which appointed, but shall receive only the pay and allowances provided for his actual grade and rank in the permanent personnel. In time of war he shall have the rank, pay, and allowances appropriate to such command.

Each such commander of a reserve regiment shall, subject to such regulations as the President may prescribe and to the supervision of superior military authority, have full charge of all matters connected with the enrollment and records of all reserve officers and noncommissioned reservists belonging to his regiment; of all plans for drawing upon the unorganized reserves for the necessary personnel in the event of actual or threatened hostilities; of all matters connected with the mobilization of his regiment in peace or war or relating to its equipment or the training of its personnel: *Provided*, That each officer of the permanent personnel assigned to the command of a division, a brigade, or a regiment of the first or second reserves shall also be assigned or attached to a unit of the training forces, and in addition to his duties with the first or second reserves, he shall be required to perform such other duties in such unit of the training forces as the commander of the divisional area shall prescribe.

The organization, peace administration, and training of all units located in a reserve area, other than regiments and brigades, shall be conducted under the supervision of the commanders of reserve divisions, who shall be assisted in such duties by such other officers of the permanent personnel as may be designated therefor by the commander of the divisional area: *Provided*, That each reserve area, district, and subdistrict prescribed for the location and organization of a unit of the first reserves shall likewise be prescribed for the location and organization of a corresponding unit of the second reserves: *Provided further*, That the commander of each divisional area is hereby authorized to change the limits of reserve areas, districts, and subdistricts to conform to changes which may occur in the distribution of population liable to military service or to assign surplus reservists in one such subdivision to a reserve unit located in another.

SEC. 52. The commander of each divisional area when notified of the appointment or promotion thereof is hereby authorized to assign members of the Reserve Officers' Corps resident in such area to units of the first and second reserves located within such area and to such other duty appropriate to their rank and grade that may be consistent with the provisions of this act and with regulations prescribed pursuant thereto: *Provided*, That as far as their places of residence may render such action practicable, such reserve officers shall be assigned according to seniority in each grade to units of the first reserves and second reserves in the order named. Reserve officers so assigned shall in time of peace be liable for active service for not exceeding two weeks in any one year: *Provided further*, That such officers may with their consent be ordered to active duty for longer periods, and reserve officers and noncommissioned officer reservists who are candidates for promotion may be required to undergo such active service prior to promotion in excess of two weeks per year as the President may prescribe as necessary for their further military training: *Provided further*, That whenever during maneuvers in time of peace or in time of actual or threatened hostilities officers of the permanent personnel of the United States Army are detached from the organizations to which assigned for duty with the first or second reserves a corresponding number of reserve officers may be attached to the permanent personnel of the organizations from which such permanent officers were detached for temporary duty therein: *Provided further*, That subject to such regulations as the Secretary of War may prescribe, honorably discharged enlisted men of the Regular Army, the United States Army, and the National Guard or Organized Militia, and enlisted men of good character of the National Guard and Organized Militia may with their consent be enrolled as reserve noncommissioned officers and assigned to reserve organizations: *And provided further*, That whenever a reserve officer or an enrolled reservist changes his residence to a place at such distance from the location of the unit to which he is assigned as to render his further service therein undesirable he shall be detached from such unit and assigned or attached to another reserve unit located in the vicinity of his new place of residence, and it is hereby made the military duty, for failure to perform which the offender shall be subject to trial and punishment by a military tribunal in accordance with the Rules and Articles of War, of each reserve officer and enrolled reservist who shall change his place of residence to notify his immediate commanding officer prior to making such change.

SEC. 53. The pay and allowances of all permanent commissioned officers and enlisted men belonging to the personnel of any arm, corps, or department of the United States Army, or employed on any duty authorized by law, shall be the same as that now prescribed by law for like grades and arms in the Regular Army, except that in lieu of a money allowance for clothing to enlisted men on the active list the President is hereby authorized to prescribe the articles of clothing that shall be issued for the use of enlisted men in each grade in each arm and corps.

SEC. 54. The pay of all persons in the United States Army, other than the officers, enlisted men, and civilians of the permanent personnel, shall, except as otherwise provided in this act, in time of peace be one-third of the pay prescribed by law for like grades in the Regular Army. The allowances of all persons in the United States Army, other than those enumerated in the preceding section, shall at all times be the same as prescribed by law for like grades and arms in the Regular Army, except that in lieu of a money allowance of clothing to enlisted and enrolled men, the President is hereby authorized to prescribe the articles of clothing that shall be issued for the use of enlisted or enrolled men in each grade in each arm and branch of the service: *Provided*, That no person shall be entitled to the pay or allowances hereinbefore prescribed in this section except for such time as he shall have actually served on active service in time of peace pursuant to the orders of competent authority issued in accordance with the provisions of this act: *Provided further*, That in time of actual hostilities all persons in the United States Army shall be entitled to the pay now prescribed by law for like grades in the Regular Army.

SEC. 55. No person whomsoever shall be entitled to or given any money or other valuable thing whatsoever as bounty or as a fee or gratuity for enlisting, enrolling, accepting a commission in, or in any other manner entering the military service of the United States: *Provided*, That the provisions of this section shall not operate to prevent the payment of reenlistment pay or bonus for reenlisting in the permanent military establishment as provided by law.

SEC. 56. The following persons be, and they are hereby, excepted and made exempt from liability to military training and service in time of peace under the provisions of this act, to wit: Such as are rejected as totally physically or mentally unfit for military training and service; the only son liable to military training and service of a widow dependent upon his labor for support; the only son, liable to military training and service, of aged or infirm parent or parents dependent upon his labor for support: *Provided*, That when there are two or more sons of such aged or infirm parents liable upon the provisions of this act for military training and service, the father, or if he be dead, the mother, may elect which one of such sons shall be exempt; the only brother of children not 12 years of age dependent upon his labor for support: *Provided further*, That any person exempted from military training and service, in accordance with the provisions of this section, except when such exemption is based upon permanent total physical or mental unfitness therefor, shall be exempted for one year only, but such exemption, upon sufficient showing that one of the authorized bases therefor exists, may be again exempted for a further period of one year, and so on from year to year: *And provided further*, That any person who shall be exempted from liability to military training and service or who shall for any cause not have been duly registered, in accordance with the provisions of this act, shall, nevertheless, become liable to such military training and service with the class of recruits called out for such training and service on the first day of November next following the date on which his exemption shall have ceased or on which he shall have been duly registered, providing that he shall not become more than 24 years of age during such calendar year.

The following persons be, and they are hereby, excepted and made exempt from liability to perform military service under the provisions of this act in time of war or when war is imminent, and from liability to assignment to and service in the first or second reserves in time of peace, to wit: Such as are rejected as totally physically or mentally unfit for military service; also, first, the Vice President of the United States, the judges of the various courts of the United States, the Members of the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States, the heads of the various executive departments of the United States, the United States district attorneys and their authorized assistants, the United States marshals and their authorized assistants and deputies, the United States commissioners, postmasters and assisant postmasters of all grades; second, the governors, the members of the legislatures, the heads of the various executive departments, and the judges of the various courts of the several States, Territories, and Districts; third, the only son of a widow dependent upon his labor for support, the only son of aged or infirm parent or parents dependent upon his labor for support: *Provided*, That when there are two or more such sons, the father, or, if he be dead, the mother, may elect which of such sons shall be exempt; the only brother of children under 12 years of age dependent upon his labor for support; the father of motherless children under 12 years of age dependent upon his labor for support; fourth, any person in Federal employ of the United States whose services are, in the discretion of the President, necessary for carrying out the provisions of this act. And no person, but such as are herein exempted, shall be exempt from liability to military service in time of war or when war is imminent. Such exemption shall continue only so long as such person shall remain totally physically or mentally exempt from military service, if such exemption is based on physical or mental unfitness, or only so long as such person shall hold such office or perform such service, if such exemption is based upon official position or service, or only so long as the condition of dependency exists, if such exemption is based upon a condition of dependency.

SEC. 57. No substitute shall be accepted in place of any person called out for military service pursuant to this act, and no such person shall be permitted to escape such service, or to be discharged therefrom, prior to the expiration of his term of service by the payment of money or any other valuable thing whatsoever, as consideration for his release from military service or liability thereto.

SEC. 58. Any person liable for military service under the provisions of this act, who shall be accepted and called out for such service under this act, and who shall under oath declare that he is conscientiously opposed to the bearing of arms and is prohibited from so doing by the tenets, rules, and articles of faith of any now existing religious denomination to which he belongs, and who shall prove by satisfactory evidence that his conduct and deportment have been uniformly consistent with such declaration, shall be employed on such duties, not involving the bearing of arms, as the Secretary of War may direct.

SEC. 59. Any person liable for military service under the provisions of this act, who, having been duly called out for military service, shall fail or neglect to report himself for such service at the time and place designated therefor, or who shall forcibly or otherwise resist or oppose such service, shall, if found to be physically qualified for military service, be punished as a court-martial may direct and shall be held to such military service in accordance with the provisions of this act.

SEC. 60. During the first year beginning after the passage of this act, the following persons shall be liable to registration, to wit: First, all male citizens of the United States and all males of naturalized parents who have arrived, or shall arrive, at the ages of 18 to 21 years, both inclusive, during such calendar year, and all male citizens of the United States, and all males of foreign birth who have legally declared their intention to become citizens, who arrive at the ages of from 21 to 24 years, both inclusive, during such calendar year; second, all aliens residing or traveling within the territory of the United States over 18 and under 25 years of age.

SEC. 60. During the first year beginning after the passage of this act, the following persons shall be liable to registration, to wit: First, all male citizens of the United States and all males of naturalized parents who have arrived, or shall arrive, at the ages of 18 to 21 years, both inclusive, during such calendar year, and all male citizens of the United States, and all males of foreign birth who have legally declared their intention to become citizens, who arrive at the ages of from 21 to 24 years, both inclusive, during such calendar year; second, all aliens residing or traveling within the territory of the United States over 18 and under 25 years of age.

During the second calendar year beginning after the passage of this act, the following persons shall be liable to registration, to wit: First, all male citizens of the United States and all males of naturalized parents, who arrive at the age of 18 years during such calendar year; second, all unregistered male citizens of the United States and all unregistered males of foreign birth who have legally declared their intention to become citizens, who arrive at the ages of 21 to 30 years, both inclusive, during such calendar year; third, all unregistered aliens

residing or traveling within the jurisdiction of the United States who are over 18 and under 30 years of age; fourth, all persons liable to registration during the preceding year who, for any reason, have not been so registered.

During the third calendar year beginning after the passage of this act, the following persons shall be liable to registration, to wit: First, all male citizens of the United States and all males of naturalized parents, who arrive at the age of 18 during such calendar year; second, all unregistered male citizens of the United States, and all unregistered males of foreign birth, who have legally declared their intention to become citizens, who arrive at the ages of 21 to 35 years, both inclusive, during such calendar year; third, all unregistered aliens residing or traveling within the jurisdiction of the United States who are over 18 and under 35 years of age; fourth, all persons liable to registration during any preceding year who have not for any cause been registered.

During the fourth calendar year beginning after the passage of this act, the following persons shall be liable to registration, to wit: First, all male citizens of the United States and all males of naturalized parents, who arrive at the age of 18 years during such calendar year; second, all unregistered male citizens of the United States and all unregistered males of foreign birth, who have declared their intention to become citizens, who arrive at the ages of 21 to 40 years, both inclusive, during such calendar year; third, all unregistered aliens residing or traveling within the territory of the United States who are over 18 and under 41 years of age; fourth, all persons liable to registration during any preceding year who for any cause have not been registered.

During the fifth calendar year beginning after the passage of this act the following persons shall be liable to registration, to wit: First, all male citizens of the United States and all males of naturalized parents who arrive at the age of 18 years during such calendar year; second, all unregistered male citizens of the United States and all unregistered males of foreign birth who have legally declared their intention to become citizens who arrive at the ages of 21 to 44 years, both inclusive, during such calendar year; third, all unregistered aliens residing or traveling in the jurisdiction of the United States who are over 18 and under 45 years of age; fourth, all persons liable to registration during any preceding year who for any cause have not been registered.

During the sixth year beginning after the passage of this act the following persons shall be liable to registration, to wit: First, all male citizens of the United States and all males of naturalized parents who arrive at the age of 18 years during such calendar year; second, all unregistered aliens residing or traveling in the jurisdiction of the United States; third, all persons liable to registration during any preceding year who for any cause were not so registered.

During the seventh and each subsequent calendar year beginning after the passage of this act the following persons shall be liable to registration, to wit: First, all male citizens of the United States and all males of naturalized parents who arrive at the age of 18 years during such calendar year; second, all persons liable to registration who have not been previously registered: *Provided*, That in time of actual or threatened hostilities the President is hereby authorized to cause all or any class or classes of persons liable under the provisions of this section for registration to be registered during such year or years as he may designate, and this without regard to the year prescribed in this section for their registration. Failure to register during the year and period thereof so prescribed by the President shall subject the offender to the penalties provided in this act for the commission of a like offense in time of peace.

SEC. 61. The President is hereby authorized and empowered to designate annually such periods as he may deem necessary for the registration of such persons who under the provisions of this act are liable for registration during such calendar year, and it is hereby made the duty of each such person so liable for registration to appear personally during the period or periods so designated for his registration, at the post office nearest in point of actual distance to such person's residence or place of business or sojournment, or in the case of an alien traveling within the jurisdiction of the United States or of any State thereof, at a terminus on his route of travel, and then and there to submit to registration, and in case he is liable for military service under the provisions of this act to then and there declare whether he claims exemption from such military service, and if so, the facts upon which his claim is based.

SEC. 62. The President may, by proclamation duly posted in a conspicuous place in each post office not less than 10 days prior to the period designated for registration, and by such other means of public notification as he may deem necessary, give public notice of the provisions of this act and of the period or periods designated by him for registration in accordance with this act, and such posting of the President's proclamation in the post office at the place of residence or sojournment or terminus on the route of travel of any person liable for registration shall be deemed good and sufficient notice to such person of his liability under this act, and no personal notice of any kind to such person shall be required to bring him within the provisions of this act.

SEC. 63. It is hereby made the duty of each and every postmaster to register or cause to be registered, in duplicate, each and every person who presents himself for registration, upon forms approved by the Secretary of War, of suitable size and so printed and ruled that when the registration of any such person shall have been completed each of the duplicate registration cards relating to such person shall contain the following information with respect to each such person: First, full and correct name; second, age, date, and place of birth; third, citizenship; fourth, nationality; fifth, names and nationality of parents; sixth, names, ages, sex, and residence of dependents, if any; seventh, occupation or vocation; eighth, education; ninth, residence; tenth, post-office address; eleventh, whether or not he has had prior military service, and, if so, when, where, and in what organization or organizations; twelfth, whether or not he claims exemption from military service, and, if so, why; thirteenth, if not a citizen of the United States, whether he or, in case he is under 21 years of age, his parents have declared their intentions to become such in accordance with law; and each resident so registered shall be required to sign his name, if he can write, upon such cards, for future identification, and, if he can not write, that fact shall be stated in the space provided for his signature; and such other information as the President may prescribe.

SEC. 64. Each postmaster shall cause the registration cards of all persons registered by him or under his direction to be divided into two classes; the first class shall be known as the file of registered citizens, and shall include the registration cards of all persons liable for military service; the second class shall be known as the "file of registered aliens," and shall include the registration cards of all registered persons who are not citizens of the United States and who have not declared their intention under oath in accordance with law to become such. Each class of registration cards shall be filed separately and in accordance with regulations to be prescribed by the President, and in a manner that will admit of convenient and accurate reference to each card so filed.

SEC. 65. One card relating to each person registered in each post office shall be filed in the permanent records of such post office, and one card relating to each person so registered shall be forwarded without delay by the postmaster who registered, or caused such person to be registered, to the person designated to receive same by the commander of the divisional area in which such post office is located.

SEC. 66. The postmaster shall furnish each duly registered person who claims exemption from military service under the provisions of this act with a copy of the form provided for the proper presentation of such claims and with the number of blank forms for affidavits necessary for presenting his evidence in substantiation of such claim, and will, without charge to such person, administer oaths to witnesses testifying by affidavit with respect to such claim for exemption from liability for military service; and the postmaster will also inform such resident of the location of the office where such claim for exemption shall be filed.

SEC. 67. Any postmaster or assistant postmaster or any clerk employed in any post office, in carrying into effect the provisions of this act relative to registration, shall have authority to administer oaths to any persons attending to testify or depose in the course of any investigation as to any person's exemption from liability to military service or required to make affidavit under the provisions of this act: *Provided*, That nothing herein shall operate to prevent any other person lawfully authorized to administer oaths from administering oaths to such persons for such purposes.

SEC. 68. No person registered under the provisions of this act shall be entitled to any pay, allowances, fees, subsistence, or commutation therefor, or any monetary or other compensation or reimbursement whatever for time employed or expenses incurred in complying with the provisions of this act relative to registration, except as otherwise provided in this act.

SEC. 69. Any person liable for registration under this act who shall fail or neglect to present himself for registration at the place and during the period designated, or who shall forcibly or otherwise resist or oppose such registration, or who having duly presented himself or having been in any manner presented for registration shall fail, neglect, or refuse to answer fully, truthfully, and without equivocation any question asked him by the postmaster or his assistant, relative to such registration, shall, upon conviction, be punished by a fine of not less than $10 nor more than $200, and by imprisonment for not less than one month nor for more than one year, and shall be duly registered.

SEC. 70. Whenever any person liable for military service who is registered under the provisions of this act, or any alien who is so registered, shall change his place of residence or sojournment, he shall, within 10 days thereafter, fill out, sign, and file with the postmaster thereat and with the postmaster at his new place of residence or temporary abode the form provided for notifying such officials of such change.

SEC. 71. Each and every postmaster shall, upon receipt of notification of change of residence or place of sojournment, after making or causing to be made the proper notation upon the registration card in his post office of the person concerned, forward said registration card direct to the postmaster at the new place of residence or sojournment of the person concerned and shall forward the notification of change of residence to the officer designated by the commander of the divisional area in which such post office is located to receive same.

SEC. 72. Any person duly registered under the provisions of this act, and any postmaster who shall, unless prevented by causes beyond his control, fail or neglect to comply with the provisions of this act relative to notification of changes of residence or place of sojournment, shall, upon conviction, be punished by a fine of not less than $10 nor more than $200, and by imprisonment for not less than one month nor for more than one year.

SEC. 73. All claims for exemption from military service under the provisions of this act shall be stated upon the form provided for such purpose, which shall be known as the form for presentation of claim for exemption from military service, and each such claim shall be supported by affidavits of reputable persons, and each such affidavit shall be upon the form provided for that purpose, which shall be known as the form for affidavit with respect to claim for exemption from military service; and each such claim shall be presented within one month after the expiration of the period of registration, designated by the President for the registration of the claimant, to the United States commissioner whose office is located nearest in point of distance to the place of residence of such claimant, and such United States commissioner, together with an assistant United States district attorney designated by the district attorney of the district in which such commissioner's office is located, and an officer of the United States Army designated by the military commander of the divisional area in which such commissioner's office is located, are hereby declared to constitute a board with full powers to examine into, pass upon, and finally decide all claims for exemption from military service presented to it in accordance with the provisions of this act, and in the performance of this duty such board shall decide all claims strictly in accordance with the provisions of this act, and it is hereby made the duty of such board, carefully and without undue delay, to examine into the merits of each claim presented, and such board is hereby authorized to avail itself of existing legal provisions to secure such additional testimony bearing upon such claim as it may deem necessary for the proper determination of any question of fact that may be raised in connection with such claim: *Provided*, That in case the members of such board find themselves unable to come to an agreement upon any question of either law or fact bearing upon the decision of any claim, such claim, together with all papers in the case and a brief statement of the question or questions upon which the board is unable to agree, shall be sent by such board direct to the judge of the United States judicial district in which such board is sitting, and such judge shall finally decide the question or questions in issue, and also finally decide such claim: *Provided further*, That each such claimant whose claim has been decided in his favor shall be furnished by such board, or when his claim be decided by a district judge by such judge, with a certificate of exemption from military service, which certificate shall contain the name and address of such claimant and his personal description, the date of the termination of such exemption, and shall bear his signature for purposes of identification, and shall recite with respect to such claimant the same in-

formation prescribed in section 63 of this act for the registration of persons liable to registration, and in addition thereto shall state that claimant is exempt from military service under the provisions of the act and the reason or reasons which bring such claimant under such provisions: *And provided further*, That each claimant for exemption from military service and training or from military service shall receive 4 cents per mile for each mile actually traveled by him from his place of residence to the place of meeting of the exemption board and returning thence to his home, and he shall be entitled to no further commutation, reimbursement, or compensation whatsoever.

SEC. 74. Each person duly registered under the provisions of this act, and each person not so registered who is, nevertheless, liable for military service, shall, when called into such service pursuant to this act, be physically examined under the direction of the commanding officer of the divisional area within which such person resides, and at such place within such area as such area commander shall prescribe, and at such time as such area commander, acting in accordance with the direction of the President, shall prescribe, by such officer of the Medical Corps or other physician, as such area commander shall designate or employ, to conduct such physical examination at such time and place: *Provided*, That as far as practicable the places in each military district shall be selected for the purpose of effecting the greatest possible economy of travel and the least possible inconvenience to the persons whose physical examinations are to be conducted thereat: *Provided further*, That notice of the place and time prescribed pursuant to this section for the physical examination of any person liable thereto shall be given in the manner provided in this act for notice of liability to registration, or in any other way which the President may deem necessary, and no personal notice of any kind shall be required to bring any person liable to physical examination within the provisions of this act relative to physical examinations.

SEC. 75. Any person liable for military service under this act who shall duly present himself for physical examination at the time and place designated, and who shall then and there submit himself to such examination, and answer fully, truthfully, and without equivocation each and every question lawfully asked him relative to such examination, shall, upon the completion of his physical examination, be paid 4 cents per mile for each mile and major fraction thereof that he shall have actually traveled from his place of residence or sojournment to the place designated for his physical examination and will have to travel from thence to his place of residence or sojournment.

SEC. 76. Any person liable for military service under this act who shall fail or neglect to present himself for physical examination at the time and place appointed, or who shall, forcibly or otherwise, resist or oppose such physical examination, or who, having duly presented himself or having been presented in any manner, for physical examination, shall fail, neglect, or refuse to answer fully, truthfully, and without equivocation any question relative to such examination asked him by any officer or other person engaged in making such examination, shall, upon conviction, be punished by a fine of not less than $10 nor more than $200 and by imprisonment for not less than one month nor for more than one year, and shall be physically examined.

SEC. 77. Any person who shall leave his place of residence or sojournment with intent to avoid registration, physical examination, or military service shall, upon conviction, be deemed guilty of failing to present himself for registration, physical examination, or military service, as the case may be, and punished accordingly: *Provided*, That all persons charged with leaving their place of residence or temporary abode, with intent to avoid military training or service, shall be tried by military tribunals.

SEC. 78. Any person charged with the duty of carrying into effect any of the provisions of this act who shall receive from any person whomsoever any money or other valuable thing or consideration, or agree, directly or indirectly, to receive the same to his own or another's use as consideration for making or being party to the making of a false or incorrect registration, physical examination, enlistment, enrollment, or muster, or any false or incorrect report or return relative to any registration, physical examination, enlistment, enrollment, or muster, shall, upon conviction, if not subject to military law, be punished by a fine of not less than $100 nor more than $1,000 and by imprisonment for not less than three months nor for more than one year.

SEC. 79. Any person who shall make or be a party to the making of any false registration, physical examination, or muster or enrollment of any person, shall, if not subject to military law, upon conviction, be punished by a fine of not less than $100 nor more than $500 and by imprisonment for not less than three months nor for more than one year.

SEC. 80. Any person who shall advise, counsel, aid, or assist any other person in violating any of the provisions of this act, or who shall threaten, obstruct, or assault any person lawfully engaged in carrying out any of the provisions of this act, or who, having knowledge of any violation or intended violation of any of the provisions of this act, fails or neglects to inform without delay the proper authorities of such violation or intended violation shall, upon conviction, be punished by a fine of not less than $10 nor more than $200 and by imprisonment for not less than one month nor for more than one year; and any person who shall connive, conspire, combine, or agree with any other person or persons to commit any of the offenses prescribed in this section shall, upon conviction, be deemed guilty of the completed offense and punished as a principal.

SEC. 81. Any person who, acting for himself or for one or more other persons or for a corporation, shall give employment to any person who, being liable for military service and having been duly called out for same, has not completed the prescribed service in the training forces or been furloughed to the reserves, or who, being liable for registration or physical examination, has not duly submitted thereto shall, upon conviction, be punished by a fine of not less than $10 nor more than $200 and by imprisonment for not less than one month nor for more than three months.

SEC. 82. In time of actual or threatened hostilities any sentence of imprisonment or portion of such sentence imposed by any court for any offense not involving moral turpitude upon any person liable for military service, which shall be unexecuted on the date of enrollment of such person in the military service, shall be executed under the military authorities. In time of peace any such sentence shall be executed under the civil authorities, and the person so punished, if liable to military service and not over 24 years of age when such sentence shall have been executed, shall be liable for military service and training with the class of recruits called out to report therefor on the 1st day of November next following the execution of his sentence.

SEC. 83. Any person whomsoever who knowingly shall under oath make any false or misleading statement, either orally or in writing, in connection with any claim for exemption from military service under this act shall, upon conviction, be deemed guilty of perjury and punished accordingly.

SEC. 84. Any person whomsoever who shall knowingly procure or cause to be made any false or misleading statement under oath in connection with any claim for exemption from military service under this act shall, upon conviction, be deemed guilty of subornation of perjury and punished accordingly.

SEC. 85. One-half of any fine adjudged against any person for violation of any provision of this act shall be paid to any person or persons who shall have furnished the information which resulted in the conviction of the person so fined, and one-half of any such fine shall be covered into the Treasury of the United States.

SEC. 86. It shall be lawful at any time for any person authorized by the laws of the United States or of any State, Territory, or District, to make arrests, to arrest summarily and place in the custody of the proper United States officials for examination or trial any person whom such person authorized to make arrests has reasonable grounds for believing has violated any of the provisions of this act, and, in time of war or when war is imminent, all persons in the naval and military service of the United States are hereby clothed with like authority to make such arrests.

SEC. 87. Nothing in this act shall operate to deprive any permanent enlisted men in the United States Army of any of the rights or privileges respecting retirement or pension which are now provided by law for enlisted men of the Regular Army, or to deprive any permanent officer of the United States Army of any of the rights or privileges respecting pensions which are now provided by law for officers of the Regular Army, but no person in the United States Army other than the permanent officers and enlisted men described in section 3 of this act shall be entitled to retirement, and no person in the United States Army other than such permanent officers and enlisted men shall be entitled to pensions except for physical disabilities incurred in line of duty while employed on active duty pursuant to the orders of competent authority or while, pursuant to such orders, proceeding from their homes to posts of duty and thence to their homes.

SEC. 88. That section 35 of the act of Congress approved March 4, 1909, Criminal Code, is amended to read as follows:

Whoever shall make or cause to be made, or present or cause to be presented, for payment or approval, to or by any person or officer in the civil, military, or naval service of the United States, any claim upon or against the Government of the United States, or any department or officer thereof, knowing such claim to be false, fictitious, or fraudulent; or whoever, for the purpose of obtaining or aiding to obtain the payment or approval of such claim, shall make or use, or cause to be made or used, any false bill, receipt, voucher, roll, account, claim, certificate, affidavit, or deposition knowing the same to contain any fraudulent or fictitious statement or entry; or whoever shall enter into any agreement, combination, or conspiracy to defraud the Government of the United States, or any department or officer thereof, by obtaining or aiding to obtain the payment or allowance of any false or fraudulent claim; or whoever, having charge, possession, custody, or control of any money or other public property used or to be used in the military or naval service, with intent to defraud the United States or willfully to conceal such money or other property, shall deliver or cause to be delivered, to any other person having authority to receive the same, any amount of such money or other property less than that for which he received a certificate or took a receipt; or whoever, being authorized to make or deliver any certificate, voucher, receipt, or other paper certifying the receipt of arms, ammunition, provisions, clothing, or other property so used or to be used, shall make or deliver the same to any other person without full knowledge of the truth of the facts stated therein and with intent to defraud the United States, shall be fined not more than $5,000, or imprisoned not more than five years, or both. And the issue to or the placing in the custody or possession of any officer, soldier, sailor, or other person called into or employed in the military or naval service of the United States, of any arms, equipments, ammunition, clothes, military stores, or other public property, shall not be held to vest in any such officer, soldier, sailor, or other person, any title whatsoever as against the United States to such arms, equipments, ammunition, clothing, military stores, or other public property. And whoever shall knowingly purchase or receive in pledge for any obligation or indebtedness from any soldier, officer, sailor, or other person called into or employed in the military or naval service, any arms, equipments, ammunition, clothes, military stores, or other public property, whether furnished to the soldier, sailor, officer, or person, under a clothing allowance or otherwise, such soldier, sailor, officer, or other person not having the lawful right to pledge or sell the same, shall be fined not more than $500 and imprisoned not more than two years.

SEC. 89. The Secretary of War is hereby authorized to prescribe all regulations and forms and to designate or prescribe all persons necessary or convenient for carrying out the provisions of this act in all cases in which authority to prescribe such regulations or forms or to designate such persons is not by the provisions of this act delegated to another person.

SEC. 90. All commissioned officers in the Regular Army shall be included in the permanent commissioned personnel of the United States Army, and the inclusion of any such officer therein shall not operate to reduce his rank or the pay and allowances to which he as an officer in the Regular Army was entitled on the date of the passage of this act.

SEC. 91. All provisions of the act of Congress approved June 3, 1916, relating to the Officers' Reserve Corps, the training camps for selected civilians, the National Guard, the composition of the militia, and all laws and parts of laws in conflict with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed: *Provided*, That members of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps shall be eligible for appointment in the Reserve Officers' Corps under the conditions provided in the act of Congress approved June 3, 1916, relative to eligibility to appointment in the Officers' Reserve Corps: *Provided further*, That from and after five years after the passage of this act no part of any appropriation for the raising, equipping, arming, paying, supplying, training, sheltering, subsisting, or transporting of troops shall be used for equipping, arming, paying, supplying, training, sheltering, or transporting any person who is not commissioned, enlisted, appointed, enrolled, or employed in the United States Army, the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, or the militia of the Hawaiian Islands or Porto Rico: *And provided further*, That nothing herein shall operate to release or relieve any State, Territory, or District, or corporation or natural person, from any accountability, responsibility, liability, or indebtedness to the United States for any money or moneys or any property whatsoever which shall have been

or may hereafter be intrusted to any such State, Territory, or District, or to any such corporation or natural person, and until such time as all such accountability, responsibility, liability, and indebtedness shall have been finally settled according to law, all existing laws and parts of laws relating to such settlements shall remain in full force and effect.

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[War College Division 9832–1.]

WAR DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF,
Washington, December 9, 1916.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF.

Subject: Statement of a proper military policy for the United States.

1. In a memorandum from the Chief of Staff of October 31, 1916 (WCD 9832–1), it was directed that the War College Division make a study of a proper military policy for the United States and recommend—

"(a) What changes, if any, in the numbers recommended in the policy report should now be made.

"(b) What changes, if any, in the total amount of training recommended in the policy report should be made in view of the lessons of the present war.

"(c) What changes, if any, should be made in the system of obtaining the men needed for training in peace and service in war; that is, whether the Nation should continue to rely on the volunteer system for obtaining our military forces, or should substitute therefor an equitable system of universal training in peace and service in war.

"(d) If considered necessary to recommend a change in our present system, recommendation will be made as to what system, considering all elements of our military problem, will prove most advantageous to the Nation."

A subsequent memorandum, dated December 2, 1916 (WCD 9832–4), directed that the preparation of the report be given precedence over all other work upon which the General Staff might be engaged.

II.

(a) *Numbers now required by a proper military policy for the United States.*

1. Paragraph 5 of the "Statement of a Proper Military Policy for the United States" (WCD 9053–90) says:

"Control of the sea having been once gained by our adversary or adversaries, there is nothing to prevent them from dispatching an over-sea expedition against us. In order to form an idea of the mobile force we should have ready to resist it, an estimate must first be made of the approximate number of troops that other nations might reasonably be expected to transport and of the time required to land them on our coasts.

"The number of thoroughly trained and organized troops an enemy can bring in the first and succeeding expeditions under such an assumption is a function of—

"(b) The size of the enemy's army; and

"(c) The number, size, and speed of the vessels of the enemy's merchant marine that can be used as transports."

Based on the above, the conditions existing in August, 1914, were shown to be as in the following table:

Preparedness of the Great Powers for over-sea expeditions.

Nation.	Strength of Army.	Tonnage available of ships with capacity over [1]—			First expedition, using 50 per cent of tonnage given.		Second expedition, using 75 per cent of tonnage given.		Time needed to—	
		3,000 tons.	2,000 tons.	1,000 tons.	Men.	Animals.	Men.	Animals.	Load and cross ocean with first expedition.	Return, load, and recross with second expedition.
									Days.	*Days.*
Austria-Hungary	4,320,000	.....	762,750	.....	72,000	14,000	108,000	21,600	20.7	40.4
France	5,000,000	.....	1,705,931	.....	160,931	32,186	243,295	48,279	15.8	30.0
Germany	5,000,000	3,569,962	4,018,185	.....	[2] 387,000	[2] 81,270	[2] 440,000	[2] 94,600	15.8	30.8
Great Britain	[3] 695,000	13,000,000	.....	.....	170,000	90,000	.....	.....	14.0	27.0
Italy	2,600,000	.....	1,065,321	.....	91,000	13,650	136,000	20,475	18.3	35.0
Japan	2,212,000	.....	.....	[4] 1,013,985	95,745	24,416	142,622	36,623	22.5	41.0
Russia	5,000,000	.....	428,019	.....	37,630	7,940	66,444	11,918	20.5	40.0

[1] 50 per cent has been assumed as the figure representing the amount of shipping in or within call of home ports at outbreak of war.
[2] Using no ships less than 3,000 tons.
[3] 240,500 territorials.
[4] Japanese field regulations indicate the intention to use steamers of 1,000 tons; for this reason and because of the large amount of steamers between 10 and 12 knots speed, all Japanese steamers over 10 knots speed and 1,000 tons gross have been considered.

NOTE.—The allowance prescribed in our Field Service Regulations of 3 tons per man and 8 tons per animal for ships over 5,000 tons and 4 tons per man and 10 tons per animal for vessels under 5,000 tons has been used in estimating the capacity of ships, except where the regulations of any country prescribe a different allowance. These allowances include rations, water, forage, etc., for the voyage and a margin for 3 months' reserve supplies. The tonnage allowance covers men, animals, and all accessories, and is sufficient to provide for vehicles (including guns). Fighting power is the result of organization, training, and equipment backed by the resources of the country. Available shipping is a matter of commercial statistics.

2. All of the nations listed in the table are involved in the present great war. Necessarily both their military and naval strengths are much different to-day from what they were when the statement of a proper military policy for the United States was prepared. The allied nations have control of the seas, and the contest has developed into a war of armed nations having all their military resources engaged.

The changes that affect the present study are really limited to two countries, namely, Great Britain and Japan. In the former the strength of the army in 1914 was 695,000. This includes some 240,500 territorials. The tonnage available in ships was 13,000,000 and greatly exceeded the amount required for the 170,000 troops and 90,000 animals then available for an expeditionary force. Now, as then, Great Britain is the one power capable of promptly securing control of the seas. Since the opening of the present war Great Britain has been organizing her resources and expanding her army and navy. The number of her trained and organized troops at present in France and England is about 3,000,000 men. Moreover, she has adopted universal liability to service with certain limitations. It is not at all probable that Great Britain after the present war will revert to the volunteer system. The change made during the present stress is apt to be permanent. Judging the present by the history of the past, the United States must consider this development of Great Britain's military resources in forming a proper military policy.

In the case of Japan the greatest change is in her capacity for transferring troops. Her merchant marine has developed very largely since the outbreak of the war. Two divisions have been added to her army, making its total strength in excess of two and a quarter millions. The number of men that can now be transported by Japan in a first expedition is in excess of the 95,745 listed in the above table. Just how much greater it is can not be determined until the full strength of Japan's merchant marine is learned. Considering nations singly, this increase is not of much importance, since Great Britain's resources have so increased as to overshadow all other changes. The numbers needed by the United States for national defense, based on the military and naval strengths of Great Britain, will be more than sufficient to prepare against attacks by other powers considered singly.

3. As stated above, Great Britain has in the neighborhood of 3,000,000 trained and organized troops on duty in France and England. The exact amount of merchant marine now available for transporting them is unknown. The best information indicates, however, that her shipyards have been crowded, and, although a large amount of tonnage has been destroyed since 1914, that added has been sufficient to make up for the losses. Lloyd's returns show that during the calendar year 1915 Great Britain had a net loss of 11,151 tons, and that building operations during the current year are on a large scale. Japan expects to increase her tonnage by 189,450 during 1916 and by 464,370 during 1816–1918. (Commerce Reports, July 22, 1916.) Assuming that 13,000,000 tons are still available and that half of this could be assembled, and calculating as in the table above, the first expedition might consist of 1,000,000 men and 300,000 animals. The second expedition could carry 1,500,000 men and 450,000 animals.

4. By similar methods it can be shown that Japan, once in control of the Pacific, could transport an army of 100,000 men to our Pacific coast within 15 days and 150,000 additional men 45 days later.

5. Great Britain and Japan are allies and bound by treaty to assist each other under certain conditions. If these two countries unite against the United States, the total hostile force that could be landed on our shores within 45 days of the opening of war, if unopposed by our Navy, would be 2,750,000.

6. The numbers arrived at are deduced as in the former study:

(a) The size of the enemy's army.

(b) The number, size, and speed of the vessels of the enemy's merchant marine.

But the attempt to convoy across the Atlantic a million men in a single expedition is most improbable even by a nation in firm possession of the seas and with resources as vast as those of Great Britain. She has the trained men and more than the necessary ships, but the magnitude and difficulties of the task are so great as to make the undertaking unlikely. However, if in control of the seas, the accumulation of such a hostile force on our shores or borders would be merely a matter of successive expeditions that would require a longer time than a single one. The study of September, 1915 (WCD 9053–90), assumed that hostile expeditions would land on our coasts where they might be attacked before a second expedition could arrive. The numbers necessary for a proper military policy were based largely on this supposition. But the present war has brought developments that require further consideration. Our northern neighbor has become a military power.

Canada has a population of about 5,000,000 men and great material resources. Since the present war began she has established large munition factories, and has voted 500,000 men as her quota for carrying on the present war. Of these numbers 160,000 had been sent to Europe last spring. Unless it is assumed that Great Britain will never become the enemy of the United States, account must be taken of the possibility that she might send her expeditionary forces to Canada, where, reinforced by Canadian troops and sustained by great

military resources, an invasion of the United States could be organized from friendly territory. Canada will have at the end of the present war a considerable number of seasoned soldiers. It is evident that a hostile force might be concentrated by the allied powers on our northern frontier. This force could be built up to practically any desired strength, admitting that the United States has been driven from the high seas.

7. Clausewitz enunciates the following principle:

"Superiority in numbers is the most general principle of victory. * * * The greatest possible number of troops should be brought into the action at the decisive point. * * * The strength at a decisive point depends on absolute strength of the army and on skill in using it. * * * The first rule, therefore, is to enter the field with an army as strong as possible."

Commenting in 1908 upon these statements, Col. Maude, the British military expert, says:

"Owing to freedom from invasion and the conditions which arise in our colonial wars, we have not yet in England arrived at the great appreciation of the value of superior numbers in war and still adhere to the idea of an army 'just big enough' which Clausewitz so unsparingly ridiculed."

That Clausewitz had good reason for his ridicule of the idea of an army "just big enough" was illustrated by the fate of the British force which was thrown into Belgium to resist the advance of the Germans at the opening of the present war. It is advisable that the United States should not make the mistake of underestimating the numbers that are necessary for full preparedness.

8. Since 1914, changes in armament have added greatly to the fighting power of troops. Some of these well-known changes are:

(a) The increase in the number of guns per thousand of infantry.

(b) The greatly increased calibers of artillery used with mobile forces.

(c) The immense increase in the numbers of machine guns per thousand men.

(d) The great development of aeronautics.

The total numbers necessary to repel possible invasion of our country are studied on the assumption that our armament is as good and numerous as that of the enemy. If this assumption is false, then increased numbers will be required.

9. The time element involved is very problematical. The size and character of the expedition and the facilities for loading and unloading would affect it materially. Assuming, as in the previous study, a two months' delay granted by our Navy, and allowing for a decisive superiority, our system should be able to furnish, in round numbers, 1,500,000 trained and organized mobile troops at the outbreak of war and 1,500,000 additional 90 days thereafter. Moreover, there would be subsequently required reserves of at least 1,000,000 to make up the wastage.

A reasonable insurance against attack requires, therefore, that the United States should have available:

At the outbreak of war, 1,500,000 trained and organized soldiers; three months afterwards, additional 1,500,000; reserves, 1,000,000.

III.

(b) *Amount of training necessary.*

After careful consideration the War College Division adheres to the opinion expressed in the "Statement of a proper military policy for the United States" (Sept., 1915), that "12 months' intensive training is the minimum that will prepare troops for war service." In more definite terms this was stated as 150 hours per month for 12 months as the very least required.

To recapitulate, 1,500,000 should be prepared to take the field immediately on the outbreak of war and an additional 1,500,000 should have had sufficient previous military training to enable them to meet a trained enemy within three months. Within four months a million reserves should also be available.

IV.

(c) *System of obtaining the men needed.*

1. In answer to question (c) it is recommended that no further reliance be placed upon the so-called volunteer system. It can not under the most favorable circumstances produce anything like the number of men required for the national defense. It is undemocratic, unreliable, inefficient, and extravagant. It is undemocratic because it shifts the burden of national defense from the shoulders of the many, where it rightfully belongs, to the shoulders of the few, whose financial condition in life or whose patriotism impels them to offer themselves to accept the risks and hardships of war. Furthermore, instead of unifying our people to the extent where all individuals are willing to undergo sacrifice for the national good, it affords great opportunity for the selfish and nonpatriotic to stay at home in time of war and to fatten on the adversity of the Nation and on the necessities of the families of better men who have volunteered for the country's defense. In this way great fortunes were built up during our Civil War.

2. It is unreliable, as all history teaches us. It has never in times of great national stress in this or any other country been able to provide the number of men needed for the emergency. It has been tried and discarded by all of the other great nations of the world and today the United States and China are the only nations of size upon the globe which rely upon volunteers for the defense of national existence.

Even Great Britain, from whom we derived most of our fundamental laws and many of our traditions, and who at the beginning of the present great war still adhered to the voluntary system, has since been forced to resort to compulsory service. Our own history is replete with instances of the failure of the volunteer system. It failed us in the Revolutionary War, and it was only by the material aid of France that we gained our independence. It failed us in the War of 1812–1814, when it had to be bolstered up with drastic draft laws. It failed the Confederacy early in the Civil War, and the first Confederate Congress at its first session ordained the draft. It failed the Federal Government in the Civil War. By the end of 1862 volunteering and consequently recruiting in the North had practically ceased, and in order to continue the war Congress was obliged to enact a draft law, which received the approval of the President on March 3, 1863. This law was amended and made more comprehensive by the act of February 24, 1864. In view of what history teaches and of what is known of world armies and armament to-day it may be stated, without fear of successful contradiction, that considering only man power no prolonged war, either offensive or defensive in character, can be carried on under the so-called volunteer system.

3. The system is inefficient, because under it we must wait for war to come before preparing our defense. We must wait for the emergency before beginning to raise, organize, equip, and train the vast armies which war with any first-class power or coalition of powers would render necessary. Forces so raised lack all the essential attributes of modern armies. The men lack not only the mechanical and technical training necessary for them to function properly in the military machine, but they are entirely lacking in that mental attitude called discipline which can only come from long and continuous military training. The officers hastily appointed are more often than not no better prepared than the men they are supposed to train and lead in battle. They are ignorant of the simplest military matters and have no definite ideas as to their duties generally. They are equally ignorant with respect to those measures necessary for safeguarding the lives and comfort of the men intrusted to their charge. Nonpreparedness with respect to supplies and munitions of war has always existed where the voluntary system is in vogue. This must necessarily be the case, because the volunteer system is so uncertain and unreliable in its results that it furnishes no advance data upon which computation of material can be based. Moreover, a nation that is so shortsighted with respect to its man power can not be expected to look far into the future with respect to munitions and supplies.

4. The volunteer system makes for national extravagance in that it forces the Government to enter the labor market as a supplicant and to compete with prices there obtaining. Out of this system grow bounties to recruits, a most iniquitous means of stimulating enlistments and one which places a premium upon desertion and repeating with its necessary concomitant of fraudulent enlistment.

5. It is therefore without apology that the recommendation is made that this system, which has ever been a failure from every possible angle, be discarded and a modern system of national defense erected in its stead. The time has come when this country, unless it intends to avoid war at any cost, must resort to universal liability to military training and service.

6. The term "universal liability to military training and service" is used because the term "compulsory military training and service" so frequently heard in discussions relative to our national defense seems not to be applicable in a case such as ours. With us the people rule, and if universal liability to military training and service were ordained it would mean only that the people as a whole have through their representatives recognized the duty of the individual to prepare himself to defend his country and to defend it in case of need.

7. The system recommended would, of course, within a few years provide the number of trained men deemed necessary for our reasonable security. Moreover, it would be democratic, reliable, efficient, and economical.

(a) It would be democratic because under it the burden of national defense would fall equally upon all citizens without regard to class, and none could escape training or service by reason of wealth or position. It would make it impossible for any man or group of men to trade upon the Nation's necessities in time of war. This is because practically every family would have a representative in the forces called out for defense and would realize that any action detrimental to the Nation's interest would directly affect them personally. Public opinion would do the rest.

(b) The system would be reliable because it would produce each year the number of men necessary to be trained and would make it certain that in time of war the requisite number of trained and organized defenders would be forthcoming without delay.

(c) It would be efficient because it would enable us to prepare adequately for war before war comes. Moreover, the knowledge as to number of men which could be relied upon to respond to the call to arms would enable those charged with the duty to plan intelligently for our defense. The uncertainty in respect to the number of men that would volunteer for service in case of need under our present system renders the formulation of plans for defense almost an impossibility. It is believed that if an equitable system based upon the principle of universal liability to military training and service is formulated and placed in successful operation, our military strength in a few years would be such as practically to render us immune from attack.

(d) The system proposed would be economical. It would be based upon the recognition by the people of the duty of the individual to render personal service. Therefore, in carrying it into effect, the Government would not have to compete in the labor market. A soldier would expect but little pay in addition to his housing, subsistence, clothing, and medical attendance. Bounties and subsidies for personal service would be unknown.

8. What has been said applies, of course, only to the advantages which would result to the country from the standpoint of national defense. However, the system possesses other advantages.

9. It would have a distinct economical value, in that it would make for better citizenship and greater national efficiency. This is because military training directly tends to the mental, moral, and physical improvement of the individual so trained. The moral training results from the inculcation of high standards of honor and a love of country, the mental from the concentration of thought and alertness of mind, which must be developed before other military training is practicable; the physical from the sanitary surroundings, the regular routine with respect to eating and sleeping and from the constant exercises which form so much a part of military training and which are designed to increase the stamina of the individual as well as to train thoroughly all organs and muscles. The frequent medical inspections which would of necessity be made would discover incipient diseases in time to provide for their correction.

10. The young man thus trained and imbued with true discipline and self-reliance would be endowed with an increased capacity to carry on his life's work. It is a matter of common knowledge that in the countries of continental Europe preference for employment is usually given to those who have had the advantages of military training. This is because the man who has had military training is able, other things being equal, to do more and better work than his untrained neighbor. His military training has made him reliable and trustworthy; his

employer knows that he will carry out instructions and that his initiative, developed in the Army, can be relied upon in emergencies.

11. A system whereby young men from every station in life are trained together without class distinction, except that which may be earned by sheer ability and attention to duty, must tend toward the welding of our people into a more homogeneous Nation.

The individual who, after completing his military training, becomes an employer of labor is in a better position to meet his employees on common ground. Employees who have passed through the same crucible are less likely to look with distrust upon their former comrade in arms for whom they work. In other words, the intimate association and exchange of ideas which must occur among men undergoing military training would result in an understanding based upon mutual respect, which would be likely to continue throughout the lives of the men concerned.

V.

(d) The most advantageous military system.

1. In answer to question (d) it may be stated that a radical change in our military system must be made if we are to provide a proper scheme of defense for this country.

It is therefore recommended that the present antiquated military system of the United States be abandoned and that in its place a modern, scientific military organization along the following lines be established:

(a) Universal liability to military service in war and universal liability to military training in time of peace.

(b) The Army of the United States should consist of the Regular Army and the National Army.

The Regular Army should consist of such organizations of professional soldiers as may be necessary to garrison the outlying possessions of the United States, to furnish the training cadre for the National Army and for such other duties as may be required.

The National Army should consist of the permanent cadre detailed from the Regular Army and of all citizens undergoing training and all those who have been trained and passed to the reserve.

The reserve should also include properly qualified officers and noncommissioned officers, who may be appointed as provided in the act of June 3, 1916, or from qualified officers and noncommissioned officers of the National Guard, or from members of the National Army who have completed the prescribed one year's training therein. Provision should be made so that, under such regulations as the President may prescribe, reserve officers and noncommissioned officers may, with their consent, be employed on active duty in connection with the training of the National Army.

2. The national army should be organized into divisions, Coast Artillery districts, and suitable recruiting areas.

3. Trained men furloughed each year from the National Army should be used as follows in the event of war:

(a) To bring organizations up to war strength of trained men.

(b) To form reserve organizations.

(c) To replace losses.

4. Reservists may be called out for such periods as may be necessary in order to maintain a correct organization and provide the necessary training of reserve units.

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EXTRACT COPY FROM THE STATEMENT OF MAJ. GEN. HUGH L. SCOTT, CHIEF OF STAFF, UNITED STATES ARMY, TO THE MILITARY COMMITTEE OF THE SENATE DECEMBER 19, 1916.

The CHAIRMAN. Gen. Scott, you are Chief of Staff of the Army?

Gen. SCOTT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We have under consideration, General, the several bills that have been suggested for the purpose of carrying into effect universal military training in this country, and we would like to hear from you in your own way on the subject of universal military training.

* * * * * * *

Gen. Scott, in presenting the views of the General Staff, continued with reference to the length of time necessary to train a soldier as follows:

I wish here to refer to the question of the very wide-spread, almost universal, misconception in this country of the time it takes to discipline and train the individual soldier and the organization of which he is an element, as I believe this misconception is the foundation of all our trouble. I realize that until this misconception is replaced by a correct conception of the question on the part of the people the executive and legislative branches of the Government can do but little toward effecting a real solution of our military problem.

To men trained in the military service this misconception is very difficult to understand, as they well know, especially if they have had any experience in war or have any knowledge of military history, that only disciplined soldiers, other things being equal, can win battles when opposed to disciplined soldiers.

In the belief that soldiers can be quickly disciplined and trained and armies improvised, we not only run counter to the consensus of military opinion and practice of practically all the other great nations of the world, but we run counter to our own experience as a nation in war as well. The time required for the training of armies depends largely on the presence or absence of trained officers and noncommissioned officers. If there be a corps of trained officers and noncommissioned officers and a tested organization of higher units, with trained leaders and staff officers, the problem of training is largely limited to the training of the private soldier. This has been satisfactorily accomplished in Europe, as is being demonstrated in the present war, by giving the soldiers in time of peace two years of intensive training with the colors and additional training of approximately two months in the reserve.

If we are to defeat the highly trained and spendidly disciplined armies of our possible enemies, our own forces, when called upon for battle, should have training and discipline at least equal to that of our opponent. While we have splendid material for soldiers, for us to claim that the average American youth can be trained and disciplined in less time than the average English, French, German, or Japanese youth argues a decided lack of understanding on the part of our people of the progress and character of the English, French, German, or Japanese people. All that we can hope for and confidently claim is that, given equal intensive training as to time, under equally favorable conditions as to officers and noncommissioned officers for instructors and leaders, our soldiers will be prepared to assure, in war, the success of our armies.

Under their systems of intensive training, other nations require of each soldier approximately eight or nine hours' daily work in theoretical and practical instruction, this instruction, in case of the European nations, continued for two years in the case of Austria-Hungary, Germany, Italy, Montenegro, and Serbia, and for three years in the case of France, Russia, and Turkey. The question can be better understood when it is stated in the total number of hours' training given in the active army of the two leading military nations—France and Germany. France, under her new law of 1913, requires three instead of two years' service with the colors, which gives a total of 7,650 hours' training to the troops of all arms in the active army, plus seven weeks' training in the reserve, or a total of 8,014 hours for all arms. Germany trains the cavalry and horse artillery for three years, giving 8,100 hours' training in the active army, plus eight weeks' reserve training, or 8,532 hours for these two branches of the service. Germany gives 5,400 hours' training in the active army to her field artillery, infantry, and engineers, plus eight weeks' training in the reserve, or 5,832 hours' total training to these branches of the service.

In our Regular Service, due to the necessity of depending on volunteer enlistments, we barely require in three years' service with the colors the same number of hours of theoretical and practical instruction that an army in which universal and compulsory service exists obtains in two years.

If we accept as our standard of training and discipline the high standard accepted by France, for all branches of the service, or the somewhat lower standard accepted by Germany, we will meet any opponent on practically equal terms, providing that the quality of our instructors and leaders is up to the standard of our opponents. If we adopt a lower standard of training, we must, of course, lessen directly the fighting efficiency of our troops.

It should be obvious that troops trained for only one year in time of peace will have to be given additional training in time of war before they can, in equal numbers, oppose troops with the high standard of training and discipline that is given in two years in time of peace, and that if we adopt such a standard, we will have to make up for our deficiency in training and discipline by decided superiority in numbers.

The General Staff in its statement of a proper military policy placed itself in accord with the consensus of the military opinion of the world when it took the position that two years' training with the colors is the time required to discipline and train the individual soldier and the organization of which he is an element. It was entirely in accord with the experience of the present European war when it held that 12 months' training, of 150 hours per month, is the minimum length of time of actual training considered necessary to prepare troops for war service. Twelve months, in my judgment, is the minimum time in which you can expect, under a system of intensive training, to make a reasonably useful soldier for the battle field out of the average young American who is physically fitted to perform military service. No experienced military man will, of course, claim that soldiers trained for this period are as well disciplined and hence as good soldiers as those who have had an additional year of intensive training and discipline. Soldiers who have received six months' training in foreign armies are, as a rule, permitted, on the outbreak of war, to go with their organizations, forming as they do only a small percentage, approximately 20 per cent, of the total number in these organizations when they are raised from the reserve to war strength. The latest information is to the effect that in the English Army they are now giving 11 months training to all soldiers before they are allowed to go in the advanced trenches—that is, 11 months' training in time of war, which is of course more valuable than the same number of months in time of peace, as men who know they are going into battle are more readily disciplined than men who feel they may never come into action, as is the case with soldiers trained in time of peace.

It is believed that the necessity for training and discipline can be readily understood by any nonmilitary man in view of what is occurring now in Europe when it is understood to what destructive agencies the soldiers are subjected in modern battle, even those soldiers who have the protection of carefully constructed trenches.

In the battles of the present war, as a prelude to an assault, the soldiers on the defensive are subjected to a continuous and extraordinarily heavy artillery fire for from 48 to 72 hours as a rule before the assault is attempted. Shells varying in diameter from 3 to 12 inches burst continuously in and around the occupied trenches. In addition to these shells from the artillery which level parapets, destroy head cover and deep shelter, and the wire entanglements in front of the trenches, trench mortars fired from the enemy's trench at short range drop with great accuracy in the occupied trenches, aerial torpedoes containing heavy bursting charges of high explosives. Combined with this form of attack, when the wind is favorable, may be launched a gas attack to further demoralize the defense, and occasionally where the opposing trenches are close together the use of liquid flame is also employed. When all this has failed—and every day in the present war it fails to drive out the disciplined soldiers on either side defending the trenches—the main infantry assault is launched, during which the defenders of the trench are further subjected to rifle and machine-gun fire, the hand grenade and the bayonet, while the artillery supporting the attack by slightly changing the elevation cuts off by its curtain of fire the arrival of needed reinforcements from the rear.

I mention these conditions under which troops acting on the defensive and sheltered to the greatest possible extent by carefully constructed trenches from the fire of the enemy, to show that a higher standard of training and discipline is required for troops assigned to a prepared defensive position than was popularly considered necessary previous to the present war. It will be easily understood that it takes an even higher order of discipline and training to develop troops that are capable of delivering a sustained assault on an entrenched position, as these troops, in addition to being subjected to the disintegrating influences mentioned above from the fire of the defenders, have to leave shelter of their trenches and cross the open space separating them from the enemy's trenches in order to deliver a successful assault. Such attacking troops must be prepared to withstand heavy losses while engaged in this operation as the assault is extremely murderous, due to the fire of rifles and machine guns and artillery in the hands of the defending troops, which make terrible havoc in the ranks of the unprotected assaulting troops.

It is for the purpose of developing troops that have the discipline and training necessary to successfully deliver such continuous assaults

that most of the European nations require a minimum of two years intensive training in peace, with additional training in the reserve for soldiers who are to compose their armies.

If France and Germany, with the excellent material these countries have for soldiers, and with the splendid corps of officers and noncommissioned officers they possess for the training and discipline of this material, can not develop troops needed for the varied operations of war in less than two years with the colors, in time of peace, it should be obvious that it can not be done in less time. It should also be obvious that the period of training prescribed for the units of the National Guard in section 92—192 hours annually—is utterly inadequate to prepare this force for war service.

It should also be plain from what I have said above that the conditions of modern war do not afford time to train an army after war becomes imminent. Not only must material be secured, but personnel must be trained and disciplined before military operations can be undertaken with any hope of success.

Another misconception which exists very generally throughout the Nation is in regard to the number of troops the United States will need in case of war with a first-class power. In my hearing last year before your committe I stated that, in my judgment, the country needed from one to two million fully trained men, and that, in my opinion, the only way to obtain them was through a law requiring universal military training and service.

The General Staff in its statement of a proper military policy, based on the conditions existing at the outbreak of the war in Europe, gave as its opinion that our system should be able to furnish 500,000 fully trained and organized mobile troops at the outbreak of war, and to have at least 500,000 more available within 90 days thereafter. The former force was to be composed of the Regular Army and its reserve, in which the soldiers would receive two years of thorough training; the second 500,000 was to be composed of the citizen forces, which were to be given nine months' training in peace and three months' additional training on the outbreak of war. In its report the General Staff pointed out that two hostile expeditions alone would provide a force large enough to cope with our 1,000,000 mobile troops, and, consequently, that we must at the outbreak of hostilities provide a system to raise and train, in addition, at least, 500,000 troops to replace the losses and wastage in personnel incident to the war. These numbers given above were based on the strength of the nations involved in the European war at the outbreak of hostilities, August 1, 1914. In view of the changes that have taken place since the outbreak of the war, in the increase in the belligerent forces, I have caused the question to be restudied by the War College Division of the General Staff. The conclusion of the War College Division, which is concurred in by the remainder of the War Department General Staff, is that our system should be able now to furnish in round numbers 1,500,000 trained and organized troops at the outbreak of war, and 1,500,000 additional in 90 days thereafter.

Senator BRADY. You mean as soon as it can be done?

Gen. SCOTT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not mean to keep an army of that many?

Gen. SCOTT. No, sir; but a reserve able to furnish these men and get them together.

Senator THOMAS. What you mean is, if emergency should require, we ought to be prepared to produce just that thing?

Gen. SCOTT. Yes, sir. We think they should be a citizen force. This is due to the fact that one of the powers involved in the war and whose territory extends the whole length of our northern frontier has increased its army from a relatively small force to a strength approximating that of the other great European powers. The navy of this power absolutely controls the sea, and its merchant marine is sufficient in extent to transport without delay over 1,000,000 soldiers with the necessary equipment for such an army. Due to the fact that our northern neighbor is largely an island empire, a great portion of any trained force it may possess can be spared for use in a distant theater of operations because, being an island empire, the control of the sea gives it practical immunity from invasion where troops would have to be transported across the sea. It should be pointed out, also, that our northern neighbor is in alliance with a powerful oriental nation—another island empire—and for the same reason, when acting in alliance with a power which has control of the sea, has ability to send its army of two and one-quarter million to any part of the world without danger of invasion. I think a mere statement of these facts makes it clear that at present we are practically defenseless before the veteran armies of our northern neighbor and could easily be crushed by the existing coalition of these island empires (WCD 9832–1).

I have said enough, by way of illustration only, to make it clear that if we were menaced by one of these powers alone, having lost control of the sea, we would need more troops for defensive purposes than have entered into the popular conception of our military problem heretofore.

In determining, however, the number we need there are some other factors which must be given brief consideration. A factor which has in the past played a part in protecting us from recent aggression by any of the great nations of Europe, in spite of our comparatively defenseless condition, is the rough equilibrium of forces maintained on the continent of Europe—the so-called balance of power.

In Europe, just prior to August 1, 1914, so close was this equilibrium that no part of the enormous force controlled by each of the two groups of great powers in alliance was available for action outside of Europe. It was this fact, the danger of executive action, and the disturbances of the equilibrium which would have resulted from it which prevented the great powers from stopping the Balkan wars of 1912, in spite of the fact that they were all anxious to do so.

When the European war is over, there will still be two groups of powers, two groups of forces acting upon each other. It may be that the losses due to the war will be so equally distributed that the same close balance existing just previous to August 1, 1914, will be maintained. It is, however, possible that of the two groups the combined forces of one will be superior to the combined forces of the other. This will permit the superior group to hold the inferior group in balance with only a portion of its force and will enable it to hold the remainder ready for action outside of Europe.

That a large force of troops can be spared from Europe to fight a campaign in a theater of operations remote from that Continent in spite of the rough equilibrium of force constantly maintained there is well illustrated by the fact that Russia was able to send approximately 1,000,000 soldiers from European Russia over a single-track railroad to fight the Manchurian campaign of 1903–1905, against her present ally—Japan. Had better transportation facilities been available this force undoubtedly could have been considerably increased.

TABLE I.—*Estimate of cost of the Military Establishment as it would ultimately be under the national defense act after fifth increment has been added to the Regular Army and the National Guard.*

[Regular Army and National Guard are shown at minimum strength.]

(A) FIRST COST OF SUPPLIES AND ADDITIONAL CONSTRUCTION REQUIRED.

	1 Strength.	First cost of supplies. 2 All supplies, including necessary reserve supplies.	First cost of supplies. 3 All supplies, exclusive of necessary reserve supplies.	Cost of additional construction required. 4 If permanent type.	Cost of additional construction required. 5 If cantonment type.
(a) Regular Army (including $2,200 in oversea garrisons)	224,628	$191,362,000	$119,918,000	$102,320,000	$6,020,000
(b) Regular Army Reserve (overhead cost included in Regular Army)	86,000	27,393,000	27,393,000	.....	.....
(c) National Guard (including Corps Field Artillery)	428,572	443,019,000	182,180,000	.....	.....
(d) National Guard Reserve (overhead cost included in National Guard)	158,000	40,640,000	40,640,000	.....	.....
(e) National Guard animals (in excess of those authorized in national-defense act, June 3, 1916)	.....	40,200,000	40,200,000	.....	.....
(f) Volunteers required immediately on outbreak of war	685,000	565,125,000	260,300,000	.....	.....
(g) Volunteers required within 3 months after outbreak of war	1,500,000	1,237,500,000	570,000,000	.....	.....
(h) Additional armament and ammunition required for fortifications	.....	82,252,457	41,707,457	.....	.....
(i) Total (including strength of oversea garrisons, 82,200)	3,082,200	2,627,491,457	1,282,338,457	102,320,000	6,020,000
(k) Deduct:					
(1) Value of supplies in use and in store, material under manufacture and unused appropriations		155,472,000	155,472,000	.....	.....
(2) Value of supplies for (a) to (f) that can be obtained in open market in great quantities at any time and that are not required in time of peace		111,870,000	109,228,000	.....	.....
(3) Value of supplies for (g) that can be obtained within 3 months		569,250,000	262,260,000	.....	.....
Total to be deducted		836,592,000	526,960,000	.....	.....
(l) Amount required, based on present prices		1,790,899,457	755,378,457	102,320,000	6,020,000
(m) Amount required, based on prices prior to European war (estimated at 20 per cent less than present prices)		1,432,719,566	584,302,766	81,856,766	4,816,000

(n) First cost with complete reserve supplies and permanent construction, based on peace prices	$1,514,575,566
(o) First cost with complete reserve supplies and cantonment construction, based on peace prices	1,437,535,566

(B) ANNUAL COST OF MAINTENANCE.

	Strength.	Pay.	All costs except pay.	Total costs.	Per capita cost.
Regular Army, including overseas garrisons	224,628	$73,508,000	$122,306,000	$195,814,000	$872.00
National Guard	428,572	29,770,000	73,000,000	102,770,000	240.00
Enlisted Reserve, Regular Army	86,000	2,064,000	.....	2,064,000	24.00
Reserve Officers' Training Corps	40,000	.....	5,000,000	5,000,000	125.00
Reserve Officers	50,000	15,000,000	2,000,000	17,000,000	340.00
Enlisted Reserve Corps	150,000	1,500,000	7,500,000	9,000,000	60.00
Maintenance of fortifications and supplies for Coast Artillery target practice	.....	.....	1,700,000	1,700,000	.....
Civilian training camps	.....	.....	5,000,000	5,000,000	.....
Civilian rifle clubs	.....	.....	1,000,000	1,000,000	.....
Schools and colleges	.....	.....	200,000	200,000	.....
Enlisted Reserve, National Guard	158,000	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total annual cost of maintenance	1,137,200	121,842,000	217,706,000	339,548,000	298.58

TABLE II.—*Estimate of cost of the military establishment recommended by the War College Division, General Staff, on National Army Plan, January, 1917.*

(A) FIRST COST OF SUPPLIES AND ADDITIONAL CONSTRUCTION REQUIRED.

	First cost of supplies.		Cost of additional construction.	
	1	2	3	4
	All supplies, including necessary reserve supplies.	All supplies, exclusive of necessary reserve supplies.	If permanent type.	If cantonment type.
(a) Oversea garrisons	$57,922,518	$28,093,423	$35,259,600	$2,069,700
(b) Frontier force	18,920,040	9,176,219	.....	.....
(c) Training forces	469,487,089	227,243,921	484,111,467	26,453,121
(d) First reserves	1,324,077,318	692,339,319	31,320,000	8,485,082
(e) Second reserves	1,324,077,318	692,339,319	31,320,000	8,485,082
(f) Permanent personnel not included above (staff departments, detached officers, dentists, recruiting service, schools, disciplinary units, education, depots, hospitals, etc.)	6,271,056	6,271,056	.....	.....
(g) Additional armament and ammunition required for fortifications	82,252,457	41,707,457	.....	.....
(h) Total	3,283,007,796	1,697,170,714	582,011,067	45,492,985
(i) Deduct:				
(a) Value of supplies in use and in store, material under manufacture and unused appropriations	155,472,101	155,472,101	.....	.....
(2) Value of supplies for (d) that can be obtained in open market in great quantities at any time, including animals and vehicles, motor or animal drawn	184,364,734	178,074,379	.....	.....
(3) Value of supplies for (e) that can be obtained within 3 months	610,399,644	310,605,926	.....	.....
Total to be deducted	950,236,479	644,152,406	.....	.....
(k) Amount required, based on present prices	2,332,771,317	1,053,018,308	582,011,067	45,492,985
(l) Amount required, based on prices prior to European war (estimated at 20 per cent less than present prices)	1,866,217,054	842,414,647	465,608,853	36,394,388

Deducting $193,794,535 worth of reserve supplies at peace prices not required for training forces the following results:

(m) First cost with complete reserves and permanent construction $2,138,031,372

(n) First cost with complete reserves and cantonment construction 1,708,816,907

(B) ANNUAL COST OF MAINTENANCE.

	1	2	3	4	5
	Strength.	Pay.	All cost except pay and maintenance of construction.	Total cost except maintenance of construction.	Per capita.
Training force:					
Permanent personnel	148,850	$80,616,148	$51,626,968	.....	.....
Temporary personnel (recruits)	475,000	26,125,000	168,191,080	.....	.....
Total training force	623,850	106,741,148	219,818,048	$326,559,196	$523.00
Trained reservists	3,000,000	.....	.....	.....	.....
Overseas garrisons	96,963	31,763,090	41,532,870	73,295,960	756.00
Frontier force	29,024	7,166,639	11,818,960	18,985,599	654.00

TABLE II.—*Estimate of cost of the military establishment recommended by the War College Division, General Staff, on National Army Plan, January, 1917*—Contd.

(B) ANNUAL COST OF MAINTENANCE—continued.

	1	2	3	4	5
	Strength.	Pay.	All cost except pay and maintenance of construction.	Total cost except maintenance of construction.	Per capita.
Permanent personnel not included above (staff departments, detached officers, dentists, recruiting, service schools, disciplinary units, education, depots, hospitals, etc.)	21,186	$11,022,170	$3,011,374	$17,033,544	$804.00
Fixed overhead charges not otherwise accounted for	.....	.....	5,000,000	5,000,000	.....
Transport service	.....	.....	2,079,796	2,079,796	.....
Reserve Officers' Training Corps	.....	.....	5,000,000	5,000,000	.....
Registration, physical examination and exemptions	.....	.....	5,448,127	5,448,127	.....
Total	3,771,023	156,693,047	296,709,175	453,402,222	.....
Add for maintenance of permanent construction				7,803,102	.....
To be appropriated if permanent construction is maintained				461,205,324	122.30
Or add for maintenance of cantonment construction				3,700,789	.....
To be appropriated if cantonment construction is maintained				457,103,011	121.21

(C) COST OF REPEATING SEASON FOR RESERVISTS.

	Number repeating.	Per capita.	Total cost.	Per cent of cost of whole Military Establishment.
At end of second year of training	405,000	$19.67	$7,966,350	1.75
Subsequent years	770,500	19.67	15,155,735	3.32

(D) ORGANIZED MILITIA, ESTIMATED COST.

Allotment to the several States in aid of Organized Militia (for five years only to cover transition period) $7,000,000

TABLE III.—*Comparison of cost of maintenance and effective strength under the national defense act and the proposed national army plan.*

	National defense act, Army.	Proposed plan.
Trained and partially trained soldiers available for war after either system is in full operation	[1] 1,137,200	[2] 3,296,023
Annual cost	$339,548,000.00	[3]$472,258,746.00
Per capita cost	$298.58	$143.28

[1] Includes 826,572 National Guard and other partially trained troops. The number given is the total number. This number may or may not be forthcoming under the volunteer system.

[2] This number does not include 475,000 recruits undergoing training nor does it include the trained reservists who have completed their service in the organized reserves. The number given is the number of troops in organized units, all of whom have had a minimum of 11 months' intensive training. In addition to this initial training, 2,229,500 of these reservists will have had two repeating seasons of two weeks each. Under this plan the total number of trained soldiers will ultimately include all able-bodied male citizens over 18 years of age.

[3] Includes cost of repeating seasons and also the annual cost of maintenance of 475,000 recruits undergoing training. This number of recruits is not included in the strength shown in this column of the table because they are only partially trained.

TABLE IV.

	Major generals.	Brigadier generals.	Colonels.	Lieutenant colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	First lieutenants.	Second lieutenants.	Chaplains.	Total commissioned.	Superintendent Nurse Corps.	Nurses.	Regimental sergeants major.	Regimental supply sergeants.	Battalion and squadron sergeants major.
Annual pay													$540	$540	$480
179 regiments of Infantry			179	179	537	2,685	2,864	2,685	179	9,308			227	547	537
40 regiments of Cavalry			40	40	120	600	640	640	40	2,120			40	120	120
74 regiments Field Artillery			74	74	166	832	1,036	906	74	3,162			74	168	168
Coast Artillery Corps	1		28	28	85	423	423	423	21	1,432					
Engineer Corps		1	36	43	98	296	306	158	20	958			20	40	42
Indian Scouts															
Recruiting parties															
Recruit depot detachments															5
Unassigned recruits															
Service school detachments													12	2	17
Disciplinary barracks guards															2
Noncommissioned officers with disciplinary organizations															
Sergeants for duty with militia															
Enlisted men with Reserve Officers' Training Corps															
Signal Corps—Proper		1	3	8	47	94	302			455					
Aviation section			1	1	48	144	641			835					
Ordnance Department		1	13	30	58	77	65			244					
Quartermaster Corps	1	2	21	53	127	269	1	72		546					
Medical Department		1	48	106	640	1,036	1,102			2,933	1				
Dentists							500			500					
Veterinarians							348			348					
General officers of the line	22	87								109					
General Staff Corps			27	13	42	68				150					
Adjutant General's Department		1	7	26	103					137					
Inspector General's Department		1	4	8	31					44					
Judge Advocate General's Department		1	4	7	35					47					
Bureau of Insular Affairs		1	1		1					3					
Detached officers			30	30	87	435	440			1,022					
Additional officers			45	1			1			47					
	24	97	561	647	2,225	6,959	8,669	4,884	334	24,400	1		373	867	891
Military Academy Cadets			4	3						7					1
Philippine Scouts						52	64	64		180					13

	Color sergeants.	First sergeants.	Mess sergeants.	Supply sergeants.	Stable sergeants.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Cooks.	Horseshoers.	Saddlers.	Mechanics Cavalry, Field Artillery, Infantry, Medical.	Chief mechanic, Field Artillery.	Wagoners.	Band leaders.	Assistant band leaders.
Annual pay	$432	$540	$360	$360	$360	$360	$252	$360	$360	$252	$252	$288	$252	$900	$480
179 regiments of Infantry	358	2,685	2,685	2,506	537	18,232	21,999	7,387	537	179	4,654		4,881	179	179
40 regiments of Cavalry	80	600	600	560	600	1,880	2,680	1,200	1,200	640	80		1,480	40	40
74 regiments of Field Artillery	148	592	592	518	518	2,906	5,762	1,664	1,580	666	1,432	444	1,308	74	74
Coast Artillery Corps		319	319	319		2,552	3,828	680						21	21
Engineer Corps	40	128						397	134	125			564	1	1
Indian scout		2				2	2								
Recruiting parties						219	191								
Recruit depot detachments		28		23		334	232	51		23				5	5
Unassigned recruits															
Service School Departments		14		6	1	100	59	23	11	3	13	4	2		
Disciplinary barracks guards		4		4		20	32	8							
Noncommissioned officers with disciplinary organizations						100									
Sergeants for duty with militia						1,000									
Enlisted men with Reserve Officers' Training Corps						500									
Signal Corps—Proper								214	96						
Aviation Section								192							
Ordnance Department															
Quartermaster Corps								515							
Medical Department								921	184	184	184				
Dentists															
Veterinarians															
General officers of the line															
General Staff Corps															
Adjutant General's Department															
Inspector General's Department															
Judge Advocate General's Department															
Bureau of Insular Affairs															
Detached officers															
Additional officers															
	626	4,372	4,196	3,936	1,656	27,845	34,785	13,252	3,742	1,820	6,363	448	8,235	320	320
Military Academy Cadets		17				36	41					11		1	
Philippine Scouts		52		52		312	520	104							

TABLE IV—Continued.

	Sergeant buglers.	Band sergeants.	Band corporals.	Musicians, 1st class.	Musicians, 2d class.	Musicians, 3d class.	Coast Artillery.								
							Sergeants major, senior grade.	Sergeants major, junior grade.	Master electrician.	Engineers.	Radio sergeants.	Electrician sergeants, 1st class.	Electrician sergeants, 2d class.	Master gunners.	Firemen.
Annual pay	$480	$432	$360	$432	$360	$288	$540	$480	$900	$780	$360	$540	$432	$480	$360
179 regiments of Infantry	179	358	716	70	140	455									
40 regiments of Cavalry	40	80	160	16	32	104									
74 regiments of Field Artillery	74	148	296	132	264	858									
Coast Artillery Corps		42	84	42	84	273	31	64	41	72	93	99	99	62	105
Engineer Corps	20	2	4	2	4	13									
Indian Scouts															
Recruiting parties															
Recruit depot detachments															
Unassigned recruits															
Service school departments							4	4	4	6		4	3	4	4
Disciplinary barracks guards															
Noncommissioned officers with disciplinary organizations															
Sergeants for duty with militia															
Enlisted men with Reserve Officers' Training Corps															
Signal Corps:															
Proper															
Aviation section															
Ordnance Department															
Quartermaster Corps															
Medical department															
Dentists															
Veterinarians															
General officers of the line															
General Staff Corps															
Adjutant General's Department															
Inspector General's Department															
Judge Advocate General's Department															
Bureau of Insular Affairs															
Detached officers															
Additional officers															
	313	630	1,260	262	524	1,703	35	68	45	78	93	103	102	66	110
Military Academy Cadets		22			16										
Philippine Scouts															

	Coast Artillery.		Engineers.												
	Assistant engineers.	Mechanics.	Master engineer, senior grade.	Master engineer, junior grade.	Battalion sergeants major.	Battalion supply sergeants.	Supply sergeants.	Mess sergeants.	Stable sergeants.	Quartermaster sergeants, senior grade.	Quartermaster sergeants, Quartermaster Corps.	Sergeants, first-class: Quartermaster, signal, engineer.	Sergeants: Engineer, quartermaster, signal, medical ordnance.	Corporals: Engineer, quartermaster, signal, ordnance, medical.	Master hospital sergeants.
Annual pay	$540	$288	$900	$780	$540	$540	$432	$432	$432	$900	$540	$540	$432	$288	$900
179 regiments of Infantry															
40 regiments of Cavalry															
74 regiments of Field Artillery															
Coast Artillery Corps	275	638													
Engineer Corps			86	256	16	3	128	126	128			374	1,046	1,662	
Indian Scouts															
Recruiting parties															
Recruit depot detachments															
Unassigned recruits															
Service school departments					3	3				7	5	43	4		
Disciplinary barracks guards															
Noncommissioned officers with disciplinary organizations															
Sergeants for duty with militia															
Enlisted men with Reserve Officers' Training Corps															
Signal Corps:															
Proper												464	558	922	
Aviation section												624	620	910	
Ordnance Department												295	345		
Quartermaster Corps										183	1,256	689	5,441	1,314	
Medical Department													1,677	717	51
Dentists															
Veterinarians															
General officers of the line															
General Staff Corps															
Adjutant General's Department															
Inspector General's Department															
Judge Advocate General's Department															
Bureau of Insular Affairs															
Detached officers															
Additional officers	275	638	256	19	6	128	126	128	190	1,261	2,489	9,691	5,525	51	
Military Academy cadets															
Philippine Scouts															

TABLE IV—Continued.

	Hospital sergeants.	Sergeants, first class; Medical.	Farriers.	Ordnance sergeants.	Master Signal Electricians.	Buglers.	Battalion quartermaster sergeants.	Artificers.	Privates, first class; Quartermaster, Signal, Ordnance, Engineer, Medical, Cavalry, Field Artillery, Infantry, Coast Artillery Corps.	Privates and privates, second class.	Aggregate enlisted permanent establishment.	Recruits, minimum.	Recruits, maximum.
Annual pay	$780	$600	$252	$540	$900	$180	$480	$252	$216	$180			
179 regiments of Infantry						2,782			22,928	38,652	134,579	284,410	379,213
40 regiments of Cavalry						624			5,664	6,464	25,144	47,584	63,445
74 regiments of Field Artillery						620			10,066	5,270	36,416	81,738	109,084
Coast Artillery Corps						242			2,448	7,349	20,203	20,000	25,000
Engineer Corps						153			3,118	2,236	10,880	19,464	26,000
Indian Scouts										50	56		
Recruiting parties										456	866		
Recruit depot detachments						46				582	1,334		
Unassigned recruits										14,247	14,247		
Service school departments		5	9		11	4	1	15	6	330	746		
Disciplinary barracks guards			4			8				268	350		
Noncommissioned officers with disciplinary organizations											100		
Sergeants for duty with Militia											1,000		
Enlisted men with reserve officers											500		
Training Corps					168				911	1,655	4,988	5,502	7,200
Signal Corps:													
Proper					124	50			1,402	818	4,740	5,400	7,200
Aviation section				213					1,025	293	2,171	1,000	1,350
Ordnance Department									4,880	2,453	16,731	2,100	2,800
Quartermaster's Corps	51	1,081	184						3,083	2,529	10,846	25,188	33,000
Medical Department:													
Dentists													
Veterinarians													
General Officers of the Line													
General Staff Corps													
Adjutant General's Department													
Inspector General's Department													
Judge Advocate General's Department	51	1,086	197	213	303	4,529	1	15	55,531	83,652	285,886	492,386	654,292
Bureau of Insular Affairs													
Detached officers													
Additional officers		1							38	448	632		
Military Academy Cadets						104		52		4,524	5,733		
Philippine Scouts													

Horse Breeding in the United States.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE W. LOFT,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. LOFT. Mr. Speaker, with the entire country throbbing in response to the national appeal for preparedness and the ablest minds engaged in formulating plans for the production of an increased Army and Navy for the adequate protection of our people, it is fitting that something should be said about the horse, without which no army is possible.

When the truth of the great world's war shall have been spread upon the pages of history, it will be found that this useful animal has played his part quite as gallantly as has man. In a contest in which every known method of warfare has been employed, the tide of battle has been turned on many a hard-fought field by a dashing cavalry charge or a withering artillery fire from an unexpected quarter. It was the horse that furnished the motive power for these maneuvers, and the stouter hearted and swifter the horse the greater chance there was for the success of the attack.

Those who are familiar with the history of the horse in Europe and the part he has played in connection with the development of continental armies have been at a loss to account for the apparent lack of interest on the part of this Government in connection with a work of such tremendous importance. Possessing more than 21,000,000 head of horses at the time the last census was taken, and with no thought of war, we have been indifferent to our position in time of trouble. The fact that the great proportion of these 21,000,000 head were heavy horses, utterly unfit for army service, which calls for a quick, active type of animal, meant nothing to the unthinking, and it was only when the agents of the allies invaded our shores about two years ago and inaugurated a purchasing campaign, which has already approached the million mark for horses and mules combined, that an element in the Nation awoke to the gravity of the situation and sounded their warning.

It has been said by some that there is no cause for alarm, and that there is still an abundant supply of army horses in the United States. It is further contended that we could well afford to part company with some of those that have been sold because of their mediocrity. If we are to take the testimony of those that have been commissioned to make purchases of the most desirable Cavalry type as a guide, we must come to the conclusion that there is a decided scarcity of animals fit to horse our Cavalry in the same manner as France, England, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia equipped theirs at the commencement of hostilities, these countries having for a great many years bred a type of horse for this particular purpose.

With little or no control exercised by the Federal authorities over this work until recently, it stands to reason that our progress in the production of a horse suitable for the Army, which, after all, is a horse of the general-purpose type, has been circumscribed. Beyond the rearing of heavy draft types, such as the Percheron, Clydesdale, Shire, and Belgian, the developing of the trotter, which up to date is our only purely home-bred type, and the preservation of the thoroughbred family, whose history carries back through centuries in England, to the Arabian desert, our horse-breeding activities have been in the main aimless and purposeless to the extremest degree.

Not so abroad, where in some countries plans were laid for the production of army horses at the close of the Napoleonic wars. Austro-Hungary, which to-day has the most extensive studs under governmental supervision, and whose assistance in horsing Germany's cavalry has been a tremendous asset in a campaign of aggression waged by that nation, is the oldest of the European countries in the formulation of a well-defined plan which had for its beginning the crossing of the blooded horse on the native mare.

Since that time the work has been carried on under the watchful eyes of experts, until to-day the horses of Austro-Hungary are famed the world over. The number of horses in their stud exceed those of France and Germany, extensive as they are, the latest reports showing 4,400 stallions doing service throughout the Empire. France boasts of 4,200 head, of

which the major portion are thoroughbred and half-bred. Germany has for the past 30 years actively followed the example of her neighbors in army-horse production; and some of her studs, notably that at Trakenen, in Prussia, presided over by Baron Von Oetingen, and formerly by Count Lehndorff (who was considered the world's greatest authority on horse breeding at the time of his death), is a model of its kind. Some idea of its extent may be derived from the fact that the Russians in their initial drive into Prussia captured no less than 20,000 mares that were a portion of this vast nursery. The cable dispatches said at the time that the loss was regarded as exceptionally severe, as it had taken many years to breed or acquire by purchase mares of the type required by the Government.

There is another stud in the German Empire that is famous also. This is located at Graditz. Its purpose is to establish through the test of racing what stallions are worthy of going to Trakenen. They must show their worth before they are adjudged fit to occupy a place in that famous establishment. Russia has kept pace with her sister countries, and for the past 15 years has been the chief bidder for our best trotting stallions, no figure stopping them when a desirable animal is wanted. They have bought thoroughbred stallions in the United States also, but England has furnished the bulk of the pure blood that has been incorporated into their common-horse product. It will readily be understood that these superb mares acquired in Prussia are now a treasured portion of the Czar's great stud.

England, through this period of evolution in horse breeding, particularly that of the army horse, has occupied a rather unique position inasmuch as while she has not maintained any governmental breeding studs she has furnished the bulk of the blood which has leavened the entire lump; the thoroughbreds which were developed on her race courses and which possessed those qualities which other countries wanted to inject into their stock having been developed by upward of 200 years of hard-fought competition. Only the pure gold came from the crucible, and as the result of these trials which called for stoutness of heart, fleetness of foot, and soundness of limb England assumed an importance in the horse-breeding world she herself scarcely estimated or appreciated until the war broke out. It was then that she was able, because of racing and its allied sport of hunting, to furnish her cavalry with 100,000 mounts. Later on other horses for her cavalry and artillery came from Canada and Australia, where the thoroughbred had long had a following. These countries supplied a great many mounts of top quality. It was fortuitous that the two sports to which she is most devoted should have been so molded by destiny as to furnish the very type of horse the occasion demanded.

It was to be expected that Great Britain, with her recent experiences in mind, would endeavor to stop the breach in her armor, and the timely and princely gift of one of her best known racing men, Col. William Hall Walker, member of Parliament, paved the way for the launching of the enterprise when in December last he donated his fast thoroughbred stud to the nation. This collection of stallions and brood mares, which had been valued at $1,000,000 before the war began and which were to have been sold at auction, have become the nucleus of England's breeding establishment, and it is safe to predict that from this time forward the best thoroughbred horses which England develops will not be sold to foreign lands but will go into the governmental service. If this course is followed, it will not take long to rival the establishments of France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia.

When the German Government paid British sportsmen $125,000 for Ard Patrick and $65,000 for Galtee More, both winners of the Epsom Derby, the fact was widely commented on. The announcement that they had been bought to mate with cold-blooded mares in order to improve the general-purpose horse of Germany, and that their services could be had for a trifle by farmers and horse breeders in general, was illuminating. It served to show how thoroughly the plans of the Empire had been laid for a future supply of horses that would hold their own with the best in the world. These horses and others acquired from time to time had the bone, size, disposition, and conformation which the Germans wished to breed into their horses, and they never stopped to question the price when they found desirable specimens in the male line.

Realizing that England has developed the excellence of her horses through racing, continental countries inaugurated policies which were so liberally endowed and subsidized that there was every encouragement for the production of the best individual and for the perpetuation of the best strains of blood. The strongest rivalries developed as a consequence and horses from different countries met in contests that were open to the world. We find Austrian, German, and French bred and owned thoroughbreds winning English turf classics. Prizes of great value for which only horses bred and owned in the country promoting the contest were eligible was a part of the plan. It was thus that horse breeding was stimulated on the Continent until at the outbreak of the war the production of good horses was reckoned second to no other feature of the economic life of practically overy other country save England, whose condition has already been touched upon.

It will be enlightening to review the status of horse breeding in our own country while Europe has been perfecting a policy which challenges the admiration of the world. Outside of Kentucky, California, Tennessee, Virginia, Missouri, and certain portions of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Texas, where thoroughbreds and trotters were bred systematically with a view to the development of the types for racing purposes alone, there was no effort made to produce a horse that would endure, and whatever breeding was indulged in by the country at large was as a rule along haphazard lines. Reference is not now being made to the production of heavy horses, for be it said to the credit of those who are interested in the various draft breeds they have done their best to establish a type and reproduce it. The same is true of a district in Vermont, where several conscientious breeders are doing their utmost to preserve the Morgan with his many desirable attributes.

It was the farmer and horse breeder that fell in between the heavy and light horse types that created chaos and was responsible for the multitude of nondescripts with which the country is burdened. The mongrel stallion, oftentimes unsound and vicious, which was patronized because he was cheap, has left his blighting impress on a large portion of our common horses. Heavy and light mares were bred indiscriminately to any kind of a sire, and it has been truly said that the horses in many sections of the Union to-day do not compare for general excellence with those that were to be found at the close of the Civil War, when the breeders of the country appeared to conduct their venture with some degree of intelligence. Whether it was because there were fewer breeds at that time and therefore fewer opportunities to err is a matter of discussion.

Lack of education in scientific horse breeding is the chief reason for our present condition. It would have been well if our Governments, Federal and State, had acquainted our farmers and horse breeders with the results of experiments of other countries. We could not tell what had been accomplished at home except in individual instances where some breeder had set out with a definite purpose, such as actuated the late C. J. Hamlin, of Buffalo, who said that he would breed trotters that were not only fast but had beauty of form as well. Mr. Hamlin was imbued with a desire to produce a type of horse that would be unique, and it is on record that he succeeded. What Mr. Hamlin did can be accomplished by others. His idea was type first, last, and all the time, and to it he clung tenaciously.

The horse shows and county fairs which are held in the autumn after the crops have been garnered should be the very best possible mediums in the prosecution of this work. Let each State designate days when lectures will be given by experts, and if these talks are accompanied by lantern slides illustrating the type of animal under discussion, whether it be thoroughbred, half-bred, standard bred, hackney, or draft horse, so much the better. Breeders will carry away with them the rudiments of an education along lines which will make for progress. They will find a fascination in the work and the old clan will have to take a back seat. The poultry, sheep, and cattle experts have made tremendous headway through the employment of this kind of publicity. Those who hear competent lecturers discourse on the breeding of good horses will find their interest in the show-ring competitions increased a thousandfold, and with the living, breathing prize winners present to represent type the lesson will be driven home with additional force.

There was a time when the average farmer was content to run his business on the same lines as his father had followed. Rotation of crops and the raising of pure-bred live stock for the double purpose of land enrichment and an addition to their bank account was something that was unknown. Then came the progressive who farmed on scientific principles, built silos, underdrained his land, and subscribed for the best journals devoted to agriculture that he could find. Pure-bred cattle, sheep, and swine took the place of the grades in communities peopled by such men, and mortgages were raised and holdings bettered as a consequence. During this march of progress the horse alone has failed to keep pace with the Nation's advance. Is it not high time that something was done for him? The Canadians, our progressive neighbors to the north, are up and doing in this connection. They have a Federal breeding bureau, and

in response to appeals of clubs of 50 or more members they will send stallions into any district, making a contract with the organization calling for the proper care of the horse and a guaranty that only a moderate fee will be charged for his services. Only pure-bred horses are sent out, and there is a rigid annual inspection, as no blemished or unsound horse is allowed to stand for mares. With an eye to the future preparedness of the country, there is a discount of 40 per cent to all those that will breed to thoroughbred sires. This colony is patterning after European countries in the plan for securing the best type of cavalry remount.

We find the Canadians keenly alive to a situation which has been discussed extensively in the newspapers of the United States—the shortage of breeding stock and the advisability of placing an embargo on the shipment of mares of the proper type to throw army remounts. The records in both countries show that over 50 per cent of some shipments which have been made to the countries of the entente allies have been mares. There is no denying that some of them were not regular breeders or were otherwise undesirable, but there is also ever present the fact that very many of them were just the sort we could not spare, and Canadian authorities are finding fault with some of those intrusted with making purchases because they passed geldings in hard flesh from regular work and insisted on the purchase of sleek brood mares which should be left at home to reproduce themselves. As the life of the horse at the front is but a few days at best, and the gelding would serve the purpose quite as well, and in some instances better, than the mare, it is regrettable that so many females have been sold. It is a matter that has already been called to the attention of the proper authorities in this country by some of our most distinguished officers in the Army, and no doubt the situation will be dealt with at the proper time.

It was in 1913 that this Government undertook the scientific production of horses for army purposes and an appropriation of $50,000 was made by Congress, the work being entrusted to the animal husbandry branch of the Department of Agriculture. Mr. August Belmont, of New York, donated the noted thoroughbred sires Octagon and Henry of Navarre, the gift being made to the War Department, which in turn transferred them to the Department of Agriculture. In the veins of these horses flowed the best racing blood of two continents. The Government established breeding stations in Virginia, Vermont, and Colorado, that at Front Royal, in the first-named State, being chief. Desirable sires, mostly thoroughbred, but some of trotting and saddle blood, were installed to the number of 41 at the various stations, and the project, while restricted, began work under encouraging auspices. Some of these sires were given the Government by patriotic citizens, who followed Mr. Belmont's lead, and some were purchased in the open market by Government experts, who frequently called upon civilians to aid them in making selections. The system in vogue has been to send these horses into communities where the mares that would suit the individual horse were the most plentiful, and the bulk of the work to date has been confined to Virginia, West Virginia, and Maryland, the territory nearest Front Royal, which last season had 18 horses out of a total of 37, the curtailment from the initial number of 41 being due to the cut in the annual appropriation from $50,000 to $30,000. The station in Vermont has been exclusively for Morgans, while Colorado has been largely devoted to the trotter and saddle horse.

As the result of continental experiments have clearly indicated that the thoroughbred is the horse par excellence for this particular purpose, it is not surprising to find that a majority of the horses at the chief station are of pure blood.

Before undertaking the work some of the best experts in the Government service visited Europe and saw what had been done there, and it was the result of their research which confirmed the Government of this country in its belief that the quickening influence of the thoroughbred would be all important in the evolution of the type of horse that would be serviceable in peace and an element of power and efficiency in time of war. The curtailment in the annual appropriation has naturally taken away much of the enthusiasm on the part of those having the prosecution of the work in hand. Some idea of the difference in the way the industry is being conducted here and abroad may be gleaned from a comparison of the figure devoted for the purpose in the United States and Russia, for example. In 1914 our appropriation was $30,000, while in the same year the Russian Government expended $4,000,000, and this splendid sum was augmented by an additional million, a gift of the Czar. France and Germany each spent almost as much, so that our pittance is incredibly small, and it is astonishing that we have accomplished anything, measuring by European standards.

The records on file in the Bureau of Animal Husbandry show that there were in all breeding stations of the Federal Government in 1913, 41 stallions to which 1,557 mares were bred. In 1914 there were 43 stallions to which 2,013 mares were sent. The appropriation had been reduced from $50,000 to $40,000, and with another cut of $10,000 in sight for 1915 it became imperative to reduce the number of horses. The records for 1915 show that 37 horses were bred to more than 2,000 mares, an average of about 55 mares to a horse, as against 47 in 1914 and 38 in 1913. These figures tell their own story, and it will be to our everlasting discredit if something is not done to put this work on an enduring basis either through a greatly increased appropriation under Federal control or by a thoroughly comprehensive plan in the various States along the lines laid down in Canada or by the breeding bureau of the jockey club, which has for years had a large number of thoroughbred horses in the stud in the various counties of the Empire State, and also by the Kentucky State Racing Commission which has within the past few months adopted a plan for the general improvement of the horses in the blue-grass region, and already have donated a dozen or more representative thoroughbred sires for the purpose. Perhaps a combination of the two plans could be arranged, but this is something which could be decided after mature consideration by the ablest students of the problem this country affords.

It has also been urged in certain quarters that the farmers and horse breeders of the country at large would breed the horses if the maximum figure now paid for 3-year-olds in the autumn were increased from $175, where it now stands—this sum including the $25 service which the Government obligates to refund in case of a purchase when the mare has been bred to one of its stallions—to a figure where a profit would be assured. The breeders of the East maintain that they can not produce well-nourished 3-year-olds for less than $250, and that they are lost when it comes to the matter of competing with the breeders of the Texas Panhandle or other districts where animals run on the range throughout the year. Mr. Frank K. Sturgis, who is the head of the breeding bureau of the jockey club, maintains that the well-furnished eastern 3-year-old is cheaper at $250 than the range animal at $175, because the former having been grown and developed on grain will come to hand and be serviceable much more quickly, and the Government will thus save the item of extra keep during the process of hardening.

In connection with the range proposition an idea has been exploited calling for the placing of mares on land owned by the Government in Oklahoma, the dams and their progeny running the range while the stallions would be housed in inexpensive but practical quarters and under the care of competent men. Those who advocate this plan, and there are several Army officers who think it feasible, maintain that the present figure for horse production as represented by the $175 maximum could be beaten. No doubt statistics covering this point are available, and their presentation would go far toward solving one of the most vital problems of the day. Experimental figures could be gleaned no doubt from other quarters, and with all of the facts on hand the Government could proceed intelligently toward the perfection of a policy of horse breeding that would be compatible with the advancement shown by the United States in every other form of endeavor.

Maj. Gen. Hugh L. Scott, Chief of Staff, is on record as saying that the service in time of peace will need 2,000 head annually. This was under the conditions existing before the call for preparedness electrified the country. How many more thousands shall be necessary the future alone must determine. The wastage in time of war is startling. We have no records available as to the number of horses killed in the European conflict, but some idea of the rate at which they are being eliminated may be gathered by reference to statistics in connection with the Army of the Potomac during the Civil War. These records show that there were 36 Cavalry regiments whose effective strength varied during the six months from April to October between 10,000 and 14,000 men. This body of Cavalry required the following remounts: May, 5,673; June, 6,827; July, 4,716; August, 5,499; September, 5,829; and October, 7,336, indicating a loss of 2½ horses a man, or a ratio of 5 horses per annum. The Secretary of War in commenting on this showing said:

> If a similar state of affairs existed throughout all our Cavalry its 233 regiments would require 435,000 horses annually.

There is a feature in connection with the destruction of these millions of horses in Europe which affects this country tremendously. The United States and Argentina will be called upon to supply the bulk of the breeding stock which must be

secured by continental countries to replace those which have been destroyed, and it behooves us to be ready when opportunity knocks at our door. More and better horses should be the slogan of every public-spirited citizen, and every aid should be given the movement for their production, whether it be under governmental auspices or the result of concerted action on the part of those who are familiar with the problem and are ready to work out a solution.

War with Germany.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD W. POU,
OF NORTH CAROLINA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. POU. Mr. Speaker, under the general leave to print I shall print in the RECORD the following very interesting letter:

RALEIGH, N. C., *March 1, 1917.*

Hon. E. W. POU,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. POU: I now regard war with Germany an absolute certainty, and I write to suggest a few points which I think should have the immediate consideration of the Government. They are:

First. I think Congress should carefully avoid passing any resolution which would limit our Government's freedom of action in the future. No resolution ought to be passed stating that we go to war only for certain purposes and would stop when these purposes should be accomplished. No one can tell what is before us or how we should act during the coming months, and we should preserve our absolute freedom of action until the time for decision should arrive, and we should then only decide that point. I regard this as highly important, for three months after war begins we may find it desirable to enter into an agreement with the allies which might not now receive the unanimous approval of the American people. I think that we should from the very beginning cooperate with the allies fully, and I think very soon an out-and-out alliance will be both desirable and practicable.

Second. We can not give the allies any immediate assistance with men and probably not much with the Navy. But we can help them with money and supplies, and these are what they most need. I think the American Government should arrange to buy from the allies large amounts of their bonds, the proceeds to be used in carrying on the war. I would like to see the United States Government buy $5,000,000,000 worth of bonds from the allies. We should take their bonds at the current price, which yield about 7 per cent, guarantee them by the United States Government, and so guaranteed offer them for sale to our people. They would be sold at a heavy premium, and the difference between the price paid for by our Government and the price they were sold for should be turned into the Treasury and held as an amortization fund to take care of any bonds which possibly might be defaulted. These bonds will be the best investments ever issued by any Government, would be eagerly sought after, and the possession of these bonds would unify our people in sustaining the Government. They would also be a means in producing a fraternity between us and our allies.

Third. We should allow our allies to open recruiting offices in the United States, and any American who consents to enlist in the army of any one of our allies should be considered an American soldier on special detail. He should be paid and pensioned by the United States Government and treated in all respects as an American soldier. Arrangements can be made in the country in whose army he should fight to pay him the current pay of that country's soldiers and the United States would pay that country the amount disbursed, and the difference between the pay of our soldiers and the foreign soldiers could be paid by our Government to such person as the soldier should designate or the pay be held for his credit. Under this arrangement many Americans would join the English and Canadian troops because of speaking a common language. Many Italians and Greeks would join the Italian and the Venizelistos Greek armies. The men that would accept this arrangement would be zealous, enthusiastic men who would impart their enthusiasm to the allies. They would be the vanguard of the American Army and the promise of millions of men coming, if necessary.

Fourth. We should consent in similar manner for mechanics, engineers, chemists, munition manufacturers and workers, and other members of the great industrial army to volunteer in like manner for either military or nonmilitary duty in Russia. Russia needs just these sorts of men, and they should be allowed to go and be treated as men in the military service of the United States detailed for services in Russia, and be paid for their services by a similar arrangement as that provided for in the preceding paragraph.

Fifth. Small as it is, I think the greater part of our Army should be sent to Europe. The moral effect would be great. Our allies would feel enthusiastic, and neutral nations would likewise feel the impulse. And our Navy should be used, of course, first to protect our shores, but every ship not needed for that purpose should be put at the service of the common cause.

Sixth. We should begin the recruiting of an army of not less than 1,000,000 men to be sent across if necessary, but they will probably never be required to leave our shores. Now that the war has been forced upon us it would be disastrous if it should end without a complete and decisive defeat of Germany. Germany has become the outlaw of nations and a common danger to all because of her efficiency and moral insanity. The world should not stop until the last scene in Wagner's Gotterdämmerung has been fully rendered, and in this rendition we should take our full part.

Seventh. Congress should not minimize the danger. Germany is still a powerful nation. The war may not be child's play on our part. We should not risk being left single handed, as we were in 1814. We must do our part in unison with the allies, and we must very soon make common cause and enter into an open alliance with them, but such alliance just now is impracticable.

Eighth. Congress by appropriate resolution should recommend and advise the people of the United States to give liberally and quickly to the relief of the wounded and sufferers in the allied countries. This will have a double effect. It would help our allies and show a sympathy that they will appreciate greatly. And, second, it would stimulate an enthusiasm among our people. The best way to stimulate a man's enthusiasm is to get him to do something or give something. These suggestions may seem cheap at first, but I will predict that the more you consider it the more you will see in it.

Ninth. We should have a fair and friendly understanding with Japan. She is a great nation. She is acting white, and we will do the yellow thing if we do not treat her white. This principle should be carried to its logical conclusion, and it will result in a permanent peace in the Pacific.

Tenth. I think President Wilson should make the war national and avoid any appearance of partisanship. Republicans and Progressives should be represented in the Cabinet, and the Republican leaders should be asked to cooperate in supporting the war. And the new Cabinet should be in intellectual and executive ability equal to Lincoln's Cabinet and to Cleveland's first Cabinet and Roosevelt's Cabinet appointed in 1905.

With much respect and best wishes, I am,
Yours, truly,

——— ———.

Telephone Operators.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS W. MILLER,
OF DELAWARE,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Sunday, March 4 (legislative day of Saturday, March 3), 1917.

Mr. MILLER of Delaware. Mr. Speaker, House resolution 490, which the Chair has recognized me to present, is the last piece of legislation to be acted upon by the House of Representatives in the Sixty-fourth Congress. For the Committee on Accounts, which directed me to report this resolution, and for the Members interested in this just measure, I desire to thank the Speaker for recognizing me, and thereby making it possible for this small but just measure to be passed in the last three minutes of the life of the present Congress.

Although this resolution was of a privileged character, by reason of its being reported from the Committee on Accounts, its proponents have not pushed it at a time when a controversy upon it on the floor might have embarrassed public business of more importance. The resolution has been before the House during midnight sessions twice in the past week, but was withheld for final action for the reason just stated.

The facts in connection with the resolution can be stated briefly. The local Capitol telephone exchange handles far more calls and has a larger force of operators employed than other local exchanges and, it is safe to say, more than exchanges found in the cities or towns from which come a majority of the Members of Congress. There are, besides the chief operator, 17 employees, as follows: Thirteen regular operators; two night operators, who are men; one for the use of the Superintendent of the Capitol; and one substitute. All are women except the two noted. The operators, which this resolution will continue, have been employed since the commencement of the first session of this Congress. The work of the Capitol exchange has been so exacting that it has not been possible to arrange for proper vacation periods for the women employees, and as the result a number of them have been forced to absent themselves on account of illness. It must be remembered that the termination of the long session of Congress is never a certainty, and consequently it is impossible for rest periods to be arranged. For instance, in the present Congress we have been in session since December, 1915, continually, with the exception of 10 weeks last fall, when the campaign was on, but in spite of this the work of the Capitol telephone exchange did not let up enough to permit vacations to be given to all the employees. The work of the exchange is exacting and nerve racking, because of the great number of calls that must be handled instantly, in order that the public business of the country may be attended to. Besides 435 Members of the House and the 96 Members of the Senate, there are the various officers of the Senate and House and their committees. We all know the character of service we demand and expect, and it is good business to keep these experienced operators in the service rather than endeavor to break in raw operators when Congress convenes next time. The adoption of the resolution will place the exchange in a position to give adequate rest periods to their employees, which means a return in service rendered.

Prohibition.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MARTIN A. MORRISON,
OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. Speaker, on April 22, 1908, the Democracy of the ninth congressional district of Indiana adopted a platform in which they undertook to declare the whole duty of the Federal Government in relation to intoxicating liquors and the evils resulting from its use for beverage purposes. They recognized the division of powers under our dual form of government and that all general police power is vested in the several States; that the Congress exercises in the District of Columbia the general police power exercised elsewhere by the States; and that the Congress exercises, always and everywhere, exclusive and plenary power over interstate and foreign commerce. They believed in this wise distribution of the powers of government and were unwilling to disregard or violate it. The convention on that day—April 22, 1908—gave to me my first nomination for Representative in the Congress and adopted a platform containing three planks in relation to intoxicating liquors. They declared for three principles:

First. The exclusion of intoxicating liquors from the United States mails.

Second. The exclusion of intoxicating liquors from interstate and foreign commerce.

Third. Prohibition for the District of Columbia.

I have been four times nominated and elected on platforms containing these three declarations. I have adhered to the platform and voted at every opportunity for such pending proposition as most nearly approached the principles to which my party had pledged me as its candidate.

Prior Congresses had enacted statutes regulating the interstate shipment of intoxicating liquors. They were more restrictive than was generally known. I call attention to the following laws then in force:

SEC. 238. Any officer, agent, or employee of any railroad company, express company, or other common carrier, who shall knowingly deliver or cause to be delivered to any person other than the person to whom it has been consigned, unless upon the written order in each instance of the bona fide consignee, or to any fictitious person, or to any person under a fictitious name, any spirituous, vinous, malted, fermented, or other intoxicating liquor of any kind which has been shipped from one State, Territory, or District of the United States, or place noncontiguous to but subject to the jurisdiction thereof, into any other State, Territory, or District of the United States, or place noncontiguous to but subject to the jurisdiction thereof, or from any foreign country into any State, Territory, or District of the United States, or place noncontiguous to but subject to the jurisdiction thereof, shall be fined not more than $5,000, or imprisoned not more than two years, or both.

SEC. 239. Any railroad company, express company, or other common carrier, or any other person who, in connection with the transportation of any spirituous, vinous, malted, fermented, or other intoxicating liquor of any kind from one State, Territory, or District of the United States, or place noncontiguous to but subject to the jurisdiction thereof, into any other State, Territory, or District of the United States, or place noncontiguous to but subject to the jurisdiction thereof, or from any foreign country into any State, Territory, or District of the United States, or place noncontiguous to but subject to the jurisdiction thereof, shall collect the purchase price or any part thereof before, on, or after delivery from the consignee, or from any other person, or shall in any manner act as the agent of the buyer or seller of any such liquor, for the purpose of buying or selling or completing the sale thereof, saving only in the actual transportation and delivery of the same, shall be fined not more than $5,000.

SEC. 240. Whoever shall knowingly ship or cause to be shipped from one State, Territory, or District of the United States, or place noncontiguous to but subject to the jurisdiction thereof, into any other State, Territory, or District of the United States, or place noncontiguous to but subject to the jurisdiction thereof, or from any foreign country into any State, Territory, or District of the United States, or place noncontiguous to but subject to the jurisdiction thereof, any package of or package containing any spirituous, vinous, malted, fermented, or other intoxicating liquor of any kind, unless such package be so labeled on the outside cover as to plainly show the name of the consignee, the nature of its contents, and the quantity contained therein, shall be fined not more than $5,000; and such liquor shall be forfeited to the United States, and may be seized and condemned by like proceedings as those provided by law for the seizure and forfeiture of property imported into the United States contrary to law.

Approved March 4, 1909.

On March 4, 1909, just before my term of office began, an act of Congress was approved, excluding intoxicating liquors from the United States mails, thus making one platform declaration an accomplished fact.

On March 1, 1913, a Federal statute commonly known as the Webb-Kenyon law became effective, having received two-thirds of the votes of each House of the Congress to pass it over the veto of President Taft. I voted for this bill when it passed the House, and also when it was passed by the House over the President's veto.

The Webb-Kenyon law is as follows:

An act divesting intoxicating liquors of their interstate character in certain cases.

Be it enacted, etc., That the shipment or transportation, in any manner or by any means whatsoever, of any spirituous, vinous, malted, fermented, or other intoxicating liquor of any kind, from one State, Territory, or District of the United States, or place noncontiguous to but subject to the jurisdiction thereof, into any other State, Territory, or District of the United States, or place noncontiguous to but subject to the jurisdiction thereof, or from any foreign country into any State, Territory, or District of the United States, or place noncontiguous to but subject to the jurisdiction thereof, which said spirituous, vinous, malted, fermented, or other intoxicating liquor is intended, by any person interested therein, to be received, possessed, sold, or in any manner used, either in the original package or otherwise, in violation of any law of such State, Territory, or District of the United States, or place noncontiguous to but subject to the jurisdiction thereof, is hereby prohibited.

On March 3, 1917, the President approved the bill carrying appropriations for the Post Office Department, and for other purposes. This bill carried, as a rider, certain provisions prohibiting the transmission through the United States mails of advertisements of intoxicating liquors and certain other printed matter relating to such liquors, to which was attached a rider, commonly known as the "Reed amendment," prohibiting the importation of intoxicating liquors into a State in which the manufacture or sale of such liquors for beverage purposes is prohibited by law. This new law is identical in principle with a second plank of the platform of the Democracy of the ninth Indiana district, but is not as comprehensive as the platform declaration. It is, however, the most drastic and far-reaching Federal statute yet enacted in relation to intoxicating liquors. The provisions above referred to are as follows:

SEC. 5. That no letter, postal card, circular, newspaper, pamphlet, or publication of any kind containing any advertisement of spirituous, vinous, malted, fermented, or other intoxicating liquors of any kind, or containing a solicitation of an order or orders for said liquors, or any of them, shall be deposited in or carried by the mails of the United States, or be delivered by any postmaster or letter carrier, when addressed or directed to any person, firm, corporation, or association, or other addressee, at any place or point in any State or Territory of the United States at which it is by the law in force in the State or Territory at that time unlawful to advertise or solicit orders for such liquors, or any of them, respectively.

If the publisher of any newspaper or other publication or the agent of such publisher, or if any dealer in such liquors or his agent, shall knowingly deposit or cause to be deposited, or shall knowingly send or cause to be sent, anything to be conveyed or delivered by mail in violation of the provisions of this section, or shall knowingly deliver or cause to be delivered by mail anything herein forbidden to be carried by mail, shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than six months, or both; and for any subsequent offense shall be imprisoned not more than one year. Any person violating any provision of this section may be tried and punished, either in the district in which the unlawful matter or publication was mailed or to which it was carried by mail for delivery, according to direction thereon, or in which it was caused to be delivered by mail to the person to whom it was addressed. Whoever shall order, purchase, or cause intoxicating liquors to be transported in interstate commerce, except for scientific, sacramental, medicinal, and mechanical purposes, into any State or Territory the laws of which State or Territory prohibit the manufacture or sale therein of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes shall be punished as aforesaid: *Provided,* That nothing herein shall authorize the shipment of liquor into any State contrary to the laws of such State: *Provided further,* That the Postmaster General is hereby authorized and directed to make public from time to time in suitable bulletins or public notices the names of States in which it is unlawful to advertise or solicit orders for such liquors.

I voted for this bill at every stage.

On March 4, 1917, the President approved an act commonly referred to as the District of Columbia dry bill. It provides prohibition for the District of Columbia. Its general scope may be fairly judged by the following portion of section 1 of the act:

An act to prevent the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That on and after the 1st day of November, A. D. 1917, no person or persons, or any house, company, association, club, or corporation, his, its, or their agents, officers, clerks, or servants, directly or indirectly, shall, in the District of Columbia, manufacture for sale or gift, import for sale or gift, sell, offer for sale, keep for sale, traffic in, barter, export, ship out of the District of Columbia, or exchange for goods or merchandise, or solicit or receive orders for the purchase of, any alcoholic or other prohibited liquors for beverage purposes or for any other than scientific, medicinal, pharmaceutical, mechanical, sacramental, or other nonbeverage purposes.

Wherever the term "alcoholic liquors" is used in this act it shall be deemed to include whisky, brandy, rum, gin, wine, ale, porter, beer, cordials, hard or fermented cider, alcoholic bitters, ethyl alcohol, all malt liquors, and all other alcoholic liquors.

This bill has several weak points at which it is confidently expected that the Sixty-fifth Congress will strengthen it. It is not certain that either the Webb-Kenyon law or the Reed amendment will serve to give needed strength to the new law for the District of Columbia. If not, this defect will quite certainly be cured by the new Congress. I voted for this bill at every stage.

Aside from the weak spots to which I have referred the Dis-

trict of Columbia dry law has crystallized into permanent Federal law the third and last temperance plank of the platform of the Democracy of the ninth district of Indiana.

I have referred to the legislation that has actually been accomplished. Strangely enough, it has aroused but a small fraction of the public interest that has been systematically created in behalf of a variable and indefinable propaganda proposed in 11 distinct forms, but always under the name and title of "national prohibition." This multiform proposition was introduced into the House of Representatives in the Sixty-third Congress in its first 10 forms by Hon. Richmond Pearson Hobson, then a Representative from the State of Alabama, and is popularly known in any and all of its forms as "the Hobson resolution."

Since the retirement of Capt. Hobson this series of proposed amendments to the Federal Constitution has been under the control of certain national officers of the Antisaloon League, located at Washington, D. C. They are professional lobbyists and are usually referred to as "the congressional lobby."

During the Sixty-third Congress the power of the congressional lobby became supreme in both Houses of the Congress. In the Sixty-fourth Congress it wrote into the District dry bill its confessed weaknesses and resisted all attempts to correct its defects. It had arranged for a special rule in the House of Representatives to bring the Hobson resolution up for consideration and action. Like a "bolt from the blue" the Reed amendment defied the almightiness of the congressional lobby and passed the Senate before the lobby could get its machine into effective adverse action. The lobby followed the Reed amendment to the House and fought it there, but the spell was broken. The Members of the House rejoiced at their newly discovered power to think and act for themselves and passed the Reed amendment by a vote of 3 to 1.

This episode constrained the lobby to abandon the special rule for the consideration of the Hobson resolution. No student of the temperance question ever thought that he believed in the Hobson resolution as a temperance proposition. Its only strength lay in the political reign of terror established and maintained by the lobby that, for reasons of its own, had determined irrevocably to commit the temperance forces of America to the Hobson resolution as the permanent basis of their plan of campaign.

The Reed amendment had tempted the Congress to defy the lobby; the Members asserted their old-time independence and had won. The reign of terror was over and the lobby faced a Congress that dared to ask a reason for the action demanded at its hands. It thus came about that the Hobson resolution has not been brought out for consideration, discussion, or vote in the Sixty-fourth Congress, and will not be.

I therefore desire at this time to recall the exact legislative history and situation in relation to this subject and submit my views as to the action that would, in my opinion, be most perfectly in harmony with correct principles, most effective in practice and easiest of administration.

On the 10th day of December, 1913—in the Sixty-third Congress—Capt. Richmond P. Hobson introduced as one of the 10 forms of the so-called Hobson resolution, House joint resolution 168. It was the one that attracted widest attention and to it were practically all of the tidal wave of written and printed indorsements that reached the Congress addressed. It was—omitting the formal parts—in these words:

SECTION 1. The sale, manufacture for sale, transportation for sale, importation for sale, and exportation for sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes in the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof are forever prohibited.

SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to provide for the manufacture, sale, importation, and transportation of intoxicating liquors for sacramental, medicinal, mechanical, pharmaceutical, or scientific purposes, or for use in the arts, and shall have power to enforce this article by all needful legislation.

It is one of the unfathomable mysteries of current history how this proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution came to be popularly regarded as providing for "national prohibition."

Aside from certain individuals who were early advocates of Federal action the idea of national prohibition is traceable directly to the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the National Prohibition Party, both of which have been active national organizations for more than 40 years. The fundamental principles of these two organizations are substantially identical and include the prohibition by law of the manufacture, importation, transportation, sale, barter, or exchange of alcoholic beverages, or any other form of traffic therein. In popular parlance, the word "prohibition" includes and means just that and all of that.

No student of the temperance question and of the Hobson resolution can for a moment regard the Hobson resolution as being entitled to be referred to as "national prohibition."

Section 1 of the resolution relates to sale, manufacture, transportation, importation, and exportation of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes. For the purpose of these remarks I shall assume that the expression "intoxicating beverages" is identical with the expression "intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes," although I by no means assert such identity of meaning. In the Hobson resolution the intoxicating beverages referred to are manifestly intoxicating alcoholic liquors to be used for beverage purposes.

Section 1 prohibits the manufacture of intoxicating beverages for sale, but does not prohibit the manufacture of intoxicating liquors to be used for beverage purposes. The manufacture of intoxicating liquors for use, for gift, for barter, or for exchange for anything of value other than money is not made unlawful. It is not made unlawful for one to furnish the equipment, appliances, and labor for the manufacture of intoxicating beverages on the shares for a fixed quantity of a given commodity, or even for an agreed money consideration. In no such case would the transaction be a sale.

There is not a State in the Union in the laws of which the prohibition, restraint, or control of intoxicating liquors is limited to sales. Every such statute contains at least the equivalent of the words "sell, barter, or give away."

On January 11, 1915, Senator SHEPPARD introduced in the Senate a proposed amendment to House bill 19422, then pending in the Senate, which is popularly known as his amendment for prohibition in the District of Columbia. In line 3 of section 1 this proposed amendment contains the words "manufacture, barter, sell, or give away," showing that its author was familiar with the invariable practice in the drafting of liquor laws.

On December 7, 1915, Senator SHEPPARD introduced in the Senate, Senate bill 1082, popularly regarded as a bill to establish prohibition in and for the District of Columbia. As it passed the Senate and came to the House this bill has at least one fatal defect, in that it permits importation of intoxicating beverages for personal use. It is by no means certain that it prohibits the giving away of intoxicating beverages, but the following language in lines 1, 2, and 3 on page 2 of the bill show that the author of the bill had not yet forgotten all he had formerly learned as to the language necessary to be used in statutes dealing with intoxicating liquors, to wit, "sell, offer for sale, keep for sale, traffic in, export, ship out of the District of Columbia, or exchange for goods or merchandise."

The law recently enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana makes it "unlawful for any person to manufacture, sell, barter, exchange, give away, furnish, or otherwise dispose of any intoxicating liquor, or to keep any intoxicating liquor with the intent to sell, barter, exchange, give away, furnish, or otherwise dispose of the same, except as in this (said) act provided."

The attempt to prohibit, restrain, or control intoxicating liquors by a law the provisions of which are in all respects limited to mere sales has never been made in any legislative body, State or National, in any case except in the case of the Hobson resolution as introduced by Capt. Hobson in the Sixty-third Congress, and as reintroduced by a Senator and two Representatives in the Sixty-fourth Congress. How it was possible for any legislator or reformer to conceive of such a proposition is itself inconceivable.

The provisions of section 1, relating to transportation, importation, and exportation, are subject to the same fatal limitation, which is for practical purposes a nullification. In the later forms of the resolution the word "exportation" is transposed, so that it is now freed from such limitation.

Section 1 is scrupulously limited to the one object of abolishing the licensed saloon, aside from the provision against exportation. It is "antisaloon," but religiously guards against the suspicion of being "antialcohol." It rejects the saloon as the conventional means of competition and distribution of liquors to retail purchasers, but by necessary implication approves the manufacture, transportation, importation, exportation, gift, barter, and exchange of intoxicating liquors to be used for beverage purposes. It does not even deny to one who is equipped and skilled the right to manufacture intoxicating liquors for wages or other direct money consideration, knowing that they are to be used exclusively for beverage purposes. Manifestly, if the Hobson resolution provides for "national prohibition," such provision must be found in section 2. It certainly is not in section 1.

Section 2 gives express constitutional sanction to the manufacture, sale, importation, and transportation of intoxicating liquors for each of six separate and several uses therein specifically enumerated. It closes by giving to the Congress power to enforce the provisions of the resolution by all needful legislation.

The more a student reads the Hobson resolution the more his wonder grows as to how its provisions could have been conceived

and as to how anyone could have conceived the idea of referring to it as "national prohibition."

House joint resolution 168 recognizes seven distinct uses of alcoholic liquors. Six of them it expressly approves and legalizes, making the resolution six-sevenths permissive and but one-seventh prohibitive, but it prohibits the seventh use only to a slight degree. In considering alcoholic liquors in their effect upon our public health and morals, they must be viewed in seven aspects or particulars, to wit, manufacture, importation, transportation, sale, gift, barter or exchange, and use. For practical purposes, the Hobson resolution prohibits only the sale of beverage liquors, and by silence and necessary implication approves and legalizes manufacture, importation, transportation, gift, barter or exchange, and use. It is manifest, therefore, that the Hobson resolution is prohibitive only as to one-seventh of one-seventh, or one forty-ninth, of the liquor business, and is permissive as to all the residue. It is prohibitive of slightly more than 2 per cent of the business and permissive as to slightly less than 98 per cent of the business; and yet the lobby has the effrontery to refer to it as "national prohibition."

In the light of the Webb-Kenyon law and the Reed amendment, which is now law, the Hobson resolution clearly appears to be what it has always in fact been, a devilishly ingenious device, wittingly or unwittingly contrived, to save for a decade or perhaps a generation the imperiled and nefarious business of the distillers and brewers.

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. Speaker, it is often said that "the obvious is the last thing to be seen and the first to be forgotten." I find a perfect illustration of this truth in the current history in the Congress of the Hobson resolution, now referred to as the Sheppard resolution in the Senate and as the Webb resolution, or the Smith resolution, pending in the House.

When he first read its provisions every student of the temperance question in America recognized at once that the proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution is not a genuine temperance measure in any sense, much less is it a prohibition measure. Professional reformers on the pay roll of the congressional lobby in charge of the resolution persistently refer to it as "national prohibition." So perniciously active have they been in their campaign of misinformation that thousands of earnest temperance workers have been led to assume that it provides for national prohibition of the manufacture, transportation, importation, exportation, gift, sale, barter, exchange, or other traffic in intoxicating alcoholic liquors. Of course, no one who has any knowledge of its language can deceive himself into such an opinion, and yet those who know the truth are liable to be swept along by the full tide of persistent public misrepresentation until they begin to assume what they actually know to be untrue.

The proponents of the Hobson resolution justify their claim to its right to be called "national prohibition" by the fact that far down beneath its mass of distractive and subtractive words and phrases is found the word "prohibited." It would be as logical to assert that every horsefly is by force of its very name a horse. If a few more words had been added to the first section of the Hobson resolution, they would have completely nullified each other and no subject matter whatever would have been left within its purview.

It is probable that there was a time when the members of the congressional lobby and the friends of the distillers and brewers held diametrically opposite views as to the best legislative remedy for the evils of intemperance. They stood back to back and started to walk away from each other, both in deadly earnest and with sincere purpose of adverse advocacy and action. They became leaders of the two extreme organized temperance activities of the country, and are generally so recognized to-day. One party is now regarded as the champion of the cause of temperance, and the other is universally assumed to be the relentless foe of the cause, and yet so far have these two forces traveled back to back that they have met each other face to face. To-day they stand on common ground, believe in a common legislative creed, and are working hand in glove for the accomplishment of a common purpose. They are a beautiful and touching example of "two souls with but a single thought, two hearts that beat as one."

So far as the Hobson resolution is concerned, the apparent contest between these two contending parties has descended into a "friendly suit" or a sham battle. Both sides desire to be well rid of the licensed saloon, but neither side is willing to permit the abolition of the licensed saloon to include in its sweep the destruction of alcohol itself.

There is a small but respectable group of total abstainers who believe that it is the consumption of alcohol by men that has wrought such frightful disaster to men, women, and children, and to civilization itself. They regard the sale of alcohol by a licensed dealer in a legalized dramshop as an efficient instrumentality for bringing the producer and consumer into convenient business relations, but that it is still the manufacture and use of alcohol that bring sorrow and misery into the world. They believe that alcohol, together with all its agents and instrumentalities, should be banished beyond the pale of the law. As might have been expected, both parties to this perennial sham battle have turned their batteries upon this small but respectable group of strictly nonprofessional, nonprofit-sharing temperance workers. Here, again, the hostile forces occupy common ground and wage a common battle, and it is the only real fighting in which they are now engaged.

In the Literary Digest of March 27, 1915, I find that Mr. T. M. Gilmore, publisher of Bonfort's Wine and Spirit Circular, and who is recognized as authority among the makers of wet goods, used this language.

> This so-called prohibition movement is not prohibition at all, and the millions behind it do not intend to be prohibited, but it is a mighty protest, a blind striking out, and the object aimed at is the saloon.
> The saloon is doomed, and liquors must seek new channels.
> To save the business, we must let go of the saloon.

In the National Enquirer of August 31, 1916, I find a quotation from Mr. Gilmore's paper, Bonfort's Wine and Spirit Circular, in these words:

> The modern saloon has been getting worse instead of better. It has been dragged in the gutter; it has been made the cat's-paw for other forms of vice; it has succumbed to the viciousness of gambling; and it has allowed itself to become allied with the social evil.

Mr. W. H. Austin, secretary of the Wisconsin Brewers' Association, delivered an address before a legislative committee in that State. In that same issue of the National Enquirer I find the following quotation from his address:

> The retail liquor dealers are not worthy of consideration. They are bums and beggars and are not fit to associate with yellow dogs. They go on a drunk and blow in their money every time they get a few hundred dollars and then complain about the high price of beer.

I might multiply such quotations, but every student of the temperance question knows that the distillers and brewers are anxious to be rid of the licensed saloon, which long since became much more a means of competition than a medium of distribution. It is too expensive and the distillers and brewers have been hunting for some effective organization of reformers that would help them let loose of the licensed saloon without incurring the wrath of the bartenders and bar flies, who might undertake to drag down the distillers and brewers with them. They must have been as greatly amazed as delighted when they found the Hobson resolution and the congressional lobby.

The more secret attitude of the distillers is fairly well understood, while the entirely manifest and indisputable attitude of the congressional lobby, with its sacred and unalterable Hobson resolution, has strangely escaped the attention of many sincere, earnest, money-contributing adherents of the organization.

The language of the resolution leaves no room for doubt. The right to make, transport, barter, exchange, traffic otherwise than for a money consideration, to have, to use, and to give away intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes is guarded as tenderly as a mother guards her only child. It seeks to write into the Federal Constitution the doctrine of home manufacture—now outlawed by Federal statute—and the doctrine of "personal liberty" to make, to possess, and to use alcoholic liquors for beverage purposes, an ancient doctrine which finds no support in our present Federal Constitution.

In the light of this manifest truth it requires no superhuman wisdom to discover why the apparent opponents of the Hobson resolution exercised more than one-half the energy and industry required to procure a House committee report on the Hobson resolution in the Sixty-third Congress and a special rule for its consideration. The supreme purpose of the distillers and brewers was to commit the temperance workers of America to the language of the Hobson resolution as the basis for their permanent plan of campaign. It is a pathetic fact that they seem to have succeeded in their sly, selfish, and devilish scheme. If they have, from now on until the plan shall be abandoned the friends of alcohol can not lose.

It is impossible to overestimate the advantage which the distillers and brewers are to reap as their share of the spoils of the bloodless victory which these contending forces have agreed mutually to win each over the other.

They know that there is to-day a dependable public sentiment in this country in favor of effective temperance legislation sufficient to enact and enforce organic and statutory laws for the complete destruction of all liquors available for beverage purposes. They know that such destruction can be averted only by capturing, controlling, and misguiding the organized temperance workers of the country.

They know also that the lawlessness of the licensed saloon is largely responsible for the present attitude of the public mind toward alcohol, and that the abolition of the saloon, with alcohol left unscathed, would take from the temperance forces their most valuable asset and effective weapon. If the distillers and brewers can eliminate the saloon, which no man defends, and force the temperance workers into the appearance of assailing "personal liberty" and "the sanctity of the home," which everyone stands ready to defend, the possibility of a successful legislative campaign against alcohol for beverage purposes will have been postponed at least beyond the life of this generation. Indeed, the leaders of the so-called "dry" organizations frankly declare that the "antialcohol fight" is to be waged solely on the basis of "voluntary persuasion," and thereby hangs a tale.

The enemies of alcohol are plainly notified that they are soon to be compelled to turn back to the old days of oratorical crusaders, declaiming portions of "Ten Nights in a Barroom," and begging men to sign the pledge and wear the blue ribbon. Incidentally, of course, the new program will furnish constant demand and liberal compensation for professional reformers and public entertainers until they shall die of old age on the pay roll.

Capt. Hobson never seeks to mislead the public. He believes religiously in his own resolution. He believes that every man ought to have the right to make, have, and use intoxicating liquor within "the sanctity of his own home." He is opposed to "sumptuary legislation." He favors "individual liberty" and stands for the inherent and inalienable right of every man to drink intoxicating alcoholic liquors. Of these seductive but unsound doctrines he is the ablest and most influential of modern advocates. All other professional reformers are to him as mere understudies to their star and chief.

On the evening of December 10, 1915, Capt. Hobson delivered an address in advocacy of his resolution in Tomlinson Hall, Indianapolis, Ind. It was the culmination of a State-wide rally by the local representatives of the congressional lobby. One of my constituents had asked him to read his resolution to the audience. I had asserted that he could not be induced to do that. And he was not. In lieu of such reading he gave a clear statement of its purport and purpose in these words:

Now, what is the proposition we bring to you? I wish each one of you would make it a point to read for yourself the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States. If you will read it, you will find there is not a word in that amendment that would prohibit a man from drinking liquor. There is no desire to have the Federal Government try to coerce the individual in what he does with himself—eat, drink, and wear; no desire to have any sumptuary legislation; no desire to have the Federal Government invade any man's individual liberty—not at all. There is no word in the amendment that would prohibit a citizen from having intoxicating liquor in his home. We do not wish the Federal Government to be placed in the attitude of invading the sanctity of the home. You will find the language very plain and very simple. It provides that the Constitution shall prohibit the sale, manufacture for sale, of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes. Sale is a transaction between citizens. It is a matter of your own affair as to what you shal' drink. You have an inherent right to drink, but not to sell, liquor.

The churches of America have long been deceived and controlled by the congressional lobby. Happily, the Methodist Episcopal Church has established its own news and research department of the board of temperance (prohibition and public morals) in the city of Washington, with Hon. Deets Pickett as research secretary and Hon. Clarence True Wilson, D. D., as general secretary.

I do not claim to have inside information as to what the Methodist representatives think of the congressional lobby, but I know the facts and assume that Mr. Pickett and Mr. Wilson have learned the facts. I know, therefore, that these gentlemen must have quietly broken with the lobby, and must now stand for a genuine temperance proposition as against the Hobson resolution.

Recently the Methodist board issued a bulletin in which it quoted certain decisions of the courts to show that in all temperance legislation "the evil to be remedied is the use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage." This is a clear disavowal of the declaration by the author of the Hobson resolution, that a man has a right to make, to have, to use, and to serve intoxicating liquors within "the sanctity of his own home"; that a man has the inherent right to drink liquors, and should be permitted to make, import, transport, barter, exchange, or use intoxicating liquors, being denied only the right to pass title thereto for a direct money consideration. The quotations from decisions of the courts contained in the Methodist bulletin just referred to were as follows:

West Virginia *v.* Adams Express Co. (C. C. A.), 219 Fed., 794, the court said (p. 796):

"In trying to comprehend the legislative purpose in prohibition statutes it is important to remember that the ultimate end sought in prohibition legislation is not the prevention or restriction of the mere sale of intoxicants, but the prevention of their consumption as a beverage. The sale being the most usual and obvious means by which drinking is accomplished, legislation is more often directed against sales. But it is upon the recognized evil of individual consumption as a beverage that the right of a State under its police power rests to enact prohibitive legislation."

Southern Express Co. *v.* Whittle (Ala.), 69 Sou. Rep., 652, the court (p. 656), said:

"The object and purpose of all our laws governing the subject of intoxicating liquors is to promote temperance and prevent drunkenness. * * * The evil to be remedied is the use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage. * * * Carl's Case, 87 Ala., 17; 6 South, 118; 4 L. R. A., 133 Am. St. Rep., 20. Freund, in his work on the Police Power, at section 204, thus amplifies the idea expressed in our cases above quoted:

"'It is certainly the more conservative view to look upon the control of the liquor traffic as a means of protecting the community from crime and the financial burdens of pauperism; but it is also clear that the police power, resting upon this incontestable ground, is turned into a power to protect the weak individual from his own weakness, into a power to prevent the wasteful expenditure of money and time, and finally into a power to impose upon the minority the sentiments or prejudices of the majority of the community, as to what is morally right and 'good.'"

Crowley *v.* Christensen (37 U. S., 86), Mr. Justice Field, speaking for the court (p. 90), said:

"It is urged that as the liquors are used as a beverage, an injury following them, if taken in excess, is voluntarily inflicted, and is confined to the party offending, their sales should be without restrictions, the contention being that what a man shall drink, equally with what he shall eat, is not properly matter for legislation.

"There is in this position an assumption of a fact which does not exist, that when the liquors are taken in excess the injuries are confined to the party offending. The injury, it is true, first falls upon him in his health, which the habit undermines; in his morals, which it weakens, and in the self-abasement which it creates. But as it leads to neglect of business and waste of property and general demoralization, it affects those who are immediately connected with and dependent upon him."

State *v.* Phillips (Miss.) (67 Sou. Rep., 651), the court said:

"If the object of this prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors is not to prevent, as far as may be, the drinking of such liquors, then it is difficult to justify the laws prohibiting the sale. Of course, the typical public saloon is demoralizing, but there would be no practical difficulties in the way of so regulating the saloon as to minimize all of the evils which flow from the saloon except the evils which flow from the drinking of intoxicating beverages. If it is not a menace to the health, morals, welfare, and peace of the public for men and women to drink alcoholic liquors, it would seem that the public could have no interest in prohibiting the sale. The ultimate purpose and end of prohibition is to prevent the use of liquors as a beverage. This ultimate end is bridged step by step, and when the preponderate and prevailing morality of the Nation believes that the public welfare demands the final step, the way will be found to accomplish the end."

Ex parte Crane (Idaho) (151 Pac., 1006), the court said (p. 1010):

"Still it must be admitted that, if the possession of such liquor 'can by no possibility injure or affect the health, morals, or safety of the public,' the sale is equally harmless; for it only transfers the possession from one person to another. The fact is that the harm consists neither in the possession nor sale, but in the consumption of it. That is the evil which the people of Idaho, acting through the legislation, are trying to eradicate; and since it will not require any elucidation to show that, if the citizen may be prohibited from having liquor in his possession, he can be prohibited from drinking it, because of necessity no one can drink that which he has not in his possession."

When the Reed amendment came from the Senate to the House, the congressional lobby followed it to the House and set in motion its vast and powerful machinery to defeat its passage in the House. The Methodist board fought for its passage with all its power. It was currently rumored at the time that the Methodist board had broken completely with the congressional lobby and threatened to recommend that the church refuse longer to permit the lobby to use the pulpits of the Methodist Church to solicit its five-year subscriptions in aid of "national prohibition." I have no knowledge of the truth of the situation, but sincerely trust that the rumor is true. I am sure that the Methodist board has learned the truth. If it shall once disclose the truth, other churches will also be undeceived and the long reign of deception and terror established and maintained by the congressional lobby over the churches and public men of the country will come to an end.

On October 14, 1913, Hon. Eugene W. Chafin, as the last nominee of the Prohibition Party for the Presidency, was its recognized leader and spokesman. On that day and in that capacity he delivered an address at Chicago, which was published in full in the Vindicator, the then official organ of the Prohibition Party, in its issue of October 24, 1913.

In his address he read a copy of the Hobson resolution and denounced it in strong and cutting terms. Among other things, he said:

Of all the foolish and impossible schemes devised to destroy the liquor traffic, this is certainly the worst. Every minute of time and every dollar expended on this scheme is criminally wasted.

Such an amendment as that would perpetuate the liquor traffic forever in this country and each home could be a saloon.

Hon. J. Frank Hanly, ex-governor of Indiana, as the last nominee of the Prohibition Party for the Presidency, is now its official head and representative. He is editor in chief of the National Enquirer, which is now the official national organ of that party. He is a man of great ability, is perhaps the most powerful public speaker the Republican Party in Indiana has produced in this generation, and has more courage than any

other professional reformer now before the country. Indeed, his courage sometimes leads him dangerously near to an open breach with the congressional lobby. His one weak spot is the fact that he remained in the soap-box primary, or secret caucus, organized in Washington City on July 10, 1915, to seal the lips of temperance workers who were known to be unwilling to advocate the Hobson resolution. That robbed him of a portion of his intellectual independence and moral courage. He still has more than any other man of his profession, and is rendering services of tremendous value to the cause of temperance. He is not, however, completely courageous. If he were, he would write in his editorials what he knows down in the bottom of his heart, to wit, that the Hobson resolution is a trick and a cheat, a delusion and a snare. He regards himself as in honor constrained from doing that. He compromises with his conscience by writing editorials made up of well-balanced sentences in perfectly good English, in the first half of which he condemns the Hobson resolution, and in the second half he condemns all Members of Congress who do not give to the resolution blind but enthusiastic and boisterous support. In spite of the trick he permitted the lobby to play upon him, he is easily the biggest, bravest and best of them all.

In the edition of the National Enquirer of December 28, 1916, Mr. Hanley, in a signed editorial, pointed out some (but not all) of the weaknesses of the Hobson resolution. So far as it relates to such defects, it was in these words:

THE SENATE RESOLUTION.

Two resolutions for the submission of an amendment to the Federal Constitution to the several States for their ratification and providing for national prohibition, have been favorably reported for passage at this, the last, session of the present Congress, one in the House, the other in the Senate.

The House resolution was reported for passage by a vote of 12 to 7, the Senate resolution by a vote of 13 to 3.

The House resolution provides:

"SECTION 1. That the sale, manufacture for sale, transportation for sale, and importation for sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes in the United States and all territories subject to the jurisdiction thereof, and exportation thereof, are forever prohibited.

"SEC. 2. That the Congress and the States shall have power independently or concurrently to enforce this article by all needful legislation."

The Senate resolution is as follows:

"SECTION 1. The sale, manufacture, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, and exportation thereof from the United States and all territories subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes are hereby prohibited.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by all appropriate legislation. This article shall not be construed to abridge the power of the several States to enforce State prohibitory laws."

Most persons are probably unaware of the difference between the two, yet their provisions are so radically divergent as to mark the difference between makeshift and permanent action, between expediency and principle.

In a word, the amendment is aimed, not at the giving away or at the use of alcohol as a beverage, nor at its manufacture, transportation, exportation, or importation for use as a beverage, but at its sale—at the object of gain for which the traffic is conducted.

In every instance where prosecution were had for the violation of the amendment, the onus of proving that the manufacture, the transportation, the exportation, or the importation was for the purpose of sale—and of proving it beyond a reasonable doubt—would be upon the Government. Conviction, save in the clearest cases, would be difficult and often impossible.

Abuses would spring up under it until further amendment of the Constitution would become necessary.

Such further amendment would be difficult—more difficult then than now—because of the failure of the amendment previously made, and the new amendment when made, if effective, would have to be substantially in the language of the Senate resolution.

The Senate resolution, as will be seen upon reading it, inhibits the manufacture, the sale, the transportation, the exportation, and the importation of alcohol for beverage purposes.

If adopted, it would end the traffic and also end the use of alcohol as a beverage.

The House amendment, as will be seen by reading it, provides only for the inhibition of the sale of alcohol as a beverage and of its manufacture, transportation, exportation, and importation for sale to be used as such.

Under its provisions, should it be submitted and adopted, it would not be unlawful to manufacture alcohol to be used as a beverage except where manufactured for sale; or to transport it to be used as a beverage, except where transported for sale; or to export it to be used as a beverage, except where exported for sale; or to import it to be used as a beverage, except where imported for sale.

Under it alcohol to be used as a beverage could be manufactured, transported, exported, and imported in any quantity, if given away.

ANY man or any individual whatsoever could manufacture it for beverage purposes for his own use or for that of his neighbors or his friends, providing he was not manufacturing it for sale.

Under it private stills could be lawfully set up and alcohol manufactured for use as a beverage in any quantity, providing it was not manufactured for sale.

Any number of individuals could confederate together for the manufacture of alcohol for their own use or to be given away to their neighbors or only at the traffic in alcohol—in the money gain involved—but at the use of alcohol as a beverage.

The ultimate purpose of every advocate of prohibition who is at all sincere, is and must necessarily be, not alone the prohibition of the commerce in alcohol for beverage purposes, but the inhibition of its use as well. Alcohol distilled in a private cellar for the personal use of the maker, or the use of his neighbors or his friends, when used as a beverage is quite as deadly in its results as alcohol purchased in the regular commercial way. There must be an end to both the commerce and the use if real emancipation from its injuries and its wrongs are to be had. This can not be accomplished under the House resolution, but it can be accomplished under the Senate resolution.

The only ground upon which the House resolution can be defended is upon the ground of expediency. It is not based upon principle. It will not attain the ultimate end desired. Even its friends and sponsors admit this.

The amendment of the Federal Constitution is a slow process and a grave and serious matter, and the amendment submitted prohibiting the liquor traffic should be the expression of the last and highest word in prohibition legislation. It should be so phrased as to be effective when made, so that the fight for constitutional action would be closed and the struggle therefor ended with its adoption.

The vote for the Senate resolution, in the Senate Committee, of 13 to 3 was so decisive—greater in proportion than the vote for the House resolution in the House Committee—as to raise a serious doubt as to whether the House resolution would actually receive a greater vote in either the House or the Senate, than the Senate resolution would receive.

For these reasons and others, which may not be named in the space of a single editorial, we believe the friends of real prohibition—those who desire to see the use of alcohol as a beverage ended in the Nation—should rally to the support of the Senate resolution, and by word of mouth, by the public press, and by letter and telegram urge upon both the House and the Senate its submission.

The Senate Committee has led the way. When it leads to ground so high and certain, the friends of prohibition should not fear to follow.

On January 1, 1917, Hon. William A. Brubaker, of Chicago, wrote to the editor in chief a splendid letter, which appears in full in the National Enquirer, under date of January 11, 1917. It is published in these words:

BRUBAKER HITS HOBSON MEASURE—SAYS IT WOULD PUT RECOGNITION OF "PERSONAL-LIBERTY" DOCTRINE IN CONSTITUTION.

CHICAGO, *January 1, 1917.*

Hon. J. FRANK HANLY,
Editor National Enquirer, Indianapolis, Ind.

DEAR MR. HANLY: I have just read your excellent editorial in the Enquirer of the 28th ultimo on the Senate resolution. It is admirable, with one exception. You say, "We would favor it (the Hobson amendment) now if it were the best and highest form of prohibition attainable."

But your splendid logic in the preceding paragraphs ought to convince any candid mind that were the Hobson bill placed in the Constitution our condition would be worse than it is now, because, as you clearly show, it would put the liquor in the homes of the people more widely than now, a larger number of children would become familiar with its use, and we would soon have a larger crop of drunkards therefrom.

You also show, and truthfully, that cooperative breweries and distilleries could be established and liquor transported from one end of the land to the other if for personal use. You further show that the enforcement would be exceedingly difficult because the burden of proof of supposed violations would be upon the Government.

There is another phase of the matter that must not be overlooked. Let us suppose that the Hobson amendment is in the Constitution. Under its provisions I have a legal right to make liquor for my personal use, as your editorial truthfully declares. But it is a principle of law that whatever I may legally do by myself I may legally do conjointly with others. I join with a hundred thousand stockholders for the establishment of a cooperative brewery in Topeka, Kans. The State officials bring action against us under the prohibitory laws of Kansas. But we appeal to our constitutional rights, guaranteed to us in the Hobson amendment, and carry the case to the Supreme Court of the United States. And that court will, of course, decide that no State law or constitution can contravene the Constitution of the United States. Result: the practical nullification of every local, county, and State prohibitory law from one end of the land to the other. Any man who wants liquor may purchase stock in a cooperative brewery or distillery or join a club for the importation of whisky from Scotland, champagne from France, and beer from Bavaria. And the last state of the temperance cause will be worse than the first.

More than all this even: The last argument of the liquor men, as you know, is "personal liberty." The Hobson amendment recognizes such right and places a recognition thereof in the Constitution of the United States. To dislodge it from there will require a struggle of from 50 to 100 years. Of all the schemes proposed for the removal of the curse of drink, the Hobson bill is, far and away, the most iniquitous and diabolical.

I trust that you will devote your great abilities and the influence of your great paper not only to the support of the Senate resolution, but to the defeat of the Hobson bill, because it is worse even than our present license system.

With kind regards and best wishes, I am,

Cordially, yours,

WM. A. BRUBAKER,
6114 Greenwood Avenue, Chicago.

In the same issue of the National Enquirer, the editor in chief published a signed editorial in these words:

A JUST CRITICISM.

Among Mr. Brubaker's criticisms of the House resolution for the amendment of the Federal Constitution prohibiting the liquor traffic there is one, which is peculiarly forceful and eminently just. He puts it well:

"The last argument of the liquor men, as you know, is 'personal liberty.' The Hobson amendment recognizes such right and places a recognition thereof in the Constitution of the United States."

The doctrine of "personal liberty" is one which the temperance people are constantly compelled to meet. It can be met and is met daily. We believe it better that any amendment submitted should *squarely face the personal-liberty* argument instead of giving it recognition and *embedding it in the Constitution.*

This, to us, is one of the strongest reasons why the Senate resolution should be submitted instead of the House amendment. The battle must ultimately be fought out on this line. Why not rise to the occasion now, meet the issue squarely, and fight it out?

We are not only opposed to the gainful or commercial traffic in alcohol; *we are opposed to its use as a beverage.* The House resolution meets in an imperfect way half our desire. The Senate resolution

meets it all. Once submitted and ratified, it will require no apology and no subsequent amendment. It will stand the test of time and square itself with the years. The fight should be made for it and not for the House measure.

I am heartily glad that this great lawyer realizes the incalculable advantage which alcohol is to derive from the writing of the Hobson resolution into the Federal Constitution. I am taking the liberty of indicating in the several quotations I am using such italics as will be helpful in calling attention to particular parts thereof. I ask as careful second consideration of this sentence from the editorial just read:

We believe it better that any amendment submitted should squarely face the personal-liberty argument instead of giving it recognition and imbedding it in the Constitution.

It is manifest that Mr. Hanly agrees, with the attorneys of the distillers and brewers, that the Hobson resolution gives constitutional recognition to the doctrine of "alcoholic personal liberty" and "embeds in the Federal Constitution" by necessary implication the doctrine of the inherent right of man to drink, and therefore to make and have, intoxicating liquors.

Little wonder that the friends of intoxicating liquors are willing to exchange the expensive, uncontrollable, and unpopular licensed saloon for a constitutional guaranty of the right to make, to have, and to use intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes. In the good old days of Blackstone every man's house was his castle. In the still better days that are to come every man's house will also be his distillery. And men are drawing princely salaries out of the earnings of the friends of temperance for their part in this legislative horseplay that would be comic if it were not so sadly tragic.

On the morning of January 8, 1917, there came to the desks of the Members of this House sealed letters and accompanying circulars, issued in behalf of an official National Temperance Council, composed of the official leaders of all well-known temperance societies "and other organizations of social uplift." It came as in the nature of sealed sailing orders from this strictly unofficial body to the chosen representatives of a hundred millions of free and self-governing Americans. The letter announced that this supreme council has unanimously indorsed the Hobson resolution and determined that it shall be left for "moral suasion" to deal with the "personal use" of intoxicating liquors. The following language taken from the circular referred to is more explicit, to wit:

Whether a man who, on his own motion, buys liquors at a distance shall drink them at his own home is left in the realm of moral suasion.

This doctrine is the vital cord that unites the Liquor League and the Antisaloon League into a oneness of vitality and activity like unto that of the Siamese twins.

The first sentence of this circular is illuminating and almost brutally frank. Any minister of the gospel that is deceived thereby is not wise, nor would it be possible by any means or process to put him wise. It reads as follows:

Prohibition is simply no license made more effective by wider application.

That will be startling news to nonprofessional temperance workers. They understand local option in a license State to mean "simply no license," but they have long believed that prohibition is a vastly broader, deeper, and more drastic remedy.

In West Virginia and other serious-minded States the leaders of temperance organizations regard prohibition as an "antialcohol" legislative program. They have not learned that prohibition is exclusively "antisaloon," "simply no license," and that the promised "antialcohol" crusade must rest solely upon oratory and "voluntary persuasion."

If the congressional lobby is to be permitted to continue to exhibit the brazen effrontery of referring to the Hobson resolution as "national prohibition," West Virginia will be compelled to find a new name for its legislative policy. It might be designated as "State abolition." Some new name must be adopted to indicate that it is not a fake and a fraud.

It is evident that professional temperance reformers have decided to hasten the final victory of the legislative campaign for "national prohibition" by writing a new definition that excludes from its very terms every element of the program that has not received the cordial indorsement of the distillers and brewers. Under this definition of terms the advocates of "national prohibition" may easily win complete and final victory with the prayers and ill-concealed assistance of the champions of alcohol. The end of the fight for "prohibition" is in sight, won by the adroit process of defining it to be an "antisaloon" legislative program as distinguished from a nonlegislative "antialcohol" campaign, to be based solely on fervid oratory and signing the pledge.

The conclusion I have just reached is not a guess or an inference. It is a fact, plainly set forth in this circular in these words:

And the writer thinks that after every antisaloon victory there should be an antialcohol campaign of voluntary persuasion.

It is manifest that temperance programs may be defined and redefined, may begin and end, but that the professional reformer, like the brook, goes on forever. We can not lose him.

The religious press of the country stand unitedly behind the Hobson resolution. It has not been an easy task for them. It has required great will power and much devilish ingenuity. They have chafed under the difficulties and embarrassments of their self-imposed necessities and limitations. Some days ago the daily press carried a story that the Senate Committee on the Judiciary had reported a substitute for the Hobson resolution, which is antialcohol as well as antisaloon. It brought happy relief to the pent-up convictions of many able and conscientious editorial writers. One of the strongest and bravest of them immediately wrote into his editorial columns his personal convictions on the temperance question. In his edition of January 4, 1917, under the caption, "No loopholes in prohibition," this editor published an editorial, both indorsing the Senate substitute and demolishing completely the Hobson resolution. I quote from it the more pertinent portion, to wit:

The only effective enforcement of prohibitory laws in any State has always been and always must be on the principle that drinkable liquors, wherever found, are in and of themselves contraband, and may be destroyed by officers of the law upon discovery without need of paltering over intricate doubts in law. And citizens who are determined to deliver this Nation from the handicap of the drinking habit can not be content to put in the hands of the Federal Government any less formidable weapons than have proved necessary in the dry States.

The friends of prohibition therefore should hasten to impress on Congress that they want the Senate form of amendment passed, not the House form. The latter is an inheritance from the sophomoric statesmanship of Richard P. Hobson, who unfortunately had the leadership of the temperance wing in the lower House of Congress when the question of national prohibition was up before. But Mr. Hobson has now gone his way to other occupations, and his overshrewd idea that nominal prohibition could be more easily secured if there was opened through it an obvious loophole for evasion, will hardly appeal longer to those who have seen thoroughgoing and decisive prohibition win its tremendous victories in the past autumn.

Even if a lax and apparent suppression of the liquor traffic business could be more quickly accomplished, discreet tactics would prefer to wait a little longer for really efficient results. And just now the temper of the country indicates that it will adopt the real thing sooner than a half-way measure. It is doubtless to Senator SHEPPARD, of Texas, the temperance leader of the Senate, that the better formula of the upper House is owing, and it will be no misplaced confidence which induces the prohibition forces of the country to trust in him as the wisest and broadest of their champions in Congress.

The language I have just quoted illustrates three facts well known to every man who has been long in public life:

First. That editors of the religious and moral uplift press of the country sometimes catch a true vision of the meaning and merits of pending legislation.

Second. That they have no power to discern the true inwardness of legislative activities in the Congress.

Third. That they are incapable of discovering the attitude of public men toward the fundamental principles involved in the legislative propositions they have in charge, however clearly they may state and restate their opinions and purposes. For that reason, they often do unconscious injustice to many public men.

It is probable that the injustice unwittingly done to a public man in the last sentence of the foregoing editorial was directly responsible for a news item published in the Indiana Daily Times, 11 days later, in its issue of January 15, 1917. It is unfortunate that a public man should be compelled to spend so much of his time issuing formal disclaimers and denials to correct inaccurate and misleading editorials in the religious press. The news item referred to is as follows:

SHEPPARD CLAIMS ENOUGH VOTES FOR HIS DRY MEASURE—WORDING OF RESOLUTION FOR CONGRESS TO CONSIDER CAUSING DELAY.

WASHINGTON, *January 15.*

After a careful canvass of the Senate, Senator SHEPPARD, of Texas, announced to-day the prohibitionists have sufficient strength to force consideration at any time of his resolution proposing a nation-wide prohibition amendment to the Constitution. This will be done at this session, he declared, just as soon as the prohibitionists agree on the language of the resolution. The Senate Judiciary Committee has reported the resolution with an amendment designed to make prohibition "air tight" throughout the country by prohibiting the sale, manufacture, and the importation of alcohol. Senator SHEPPARD says he believes the amendment is against the resolution's chance of passage, because it makes it too drastic for acceptance in some of the liberal parts of the country. He declares he will lead a fight to strike out the committee amendment and restore the original language, or its equivalent, to the measure.

In explaining his position on the prohibition question, Senator SHEPPARD says: "I am not a prohibitionist in a strict sense of the word. I am fighting the liquor traffic. I am against the saloon. I am not in any sense aiming to prevent the personal use of alcoholic beverages. I am opposed to the committee amendment which prevents the manufacture and importation of alcohol. I think it goes so far that it is doubtful whether the country would accept it. For instance, it would prevent a farmer from having a little hard cider. I don't think we care to go as far as that. That is too much of an invasion of personal liberty."

Senator SHEPPARD'S resolution requires a two-thirds vote in both Houses. Prohibitionists claim to have the necessary number and wet leaders admit they will come dangerously near it.

Lest anyone shall fear that the friends of alcohol are likely to suffer by being unequally yoked with unbelievers in the joint enterprise of securing the adoption of the Hobson resolution, I call attention to one outstanding, indisputable fact.

In the parlance of professional reformers, who believe that "prohibition" is simply "no license," territory in which there is no licensed saloon is called "dry." In that sense of the term more than 86 per cent of all the counties in the United States have been made "dry." Less than 14 per cent remain "wet." In the meantime there has been no substantial decrease in the production of alcoholic liquors in the United States, no appreciable decrease in its total consumption, and no calculable decrease in its per capita consumption. One who has studied arithmetic "as far as the rule of three" may easily calculate the full result of the complete success of this "antisaloon" program. The total final diminution of the production and consumption of alcohol that is to be is to the total diminution that already has been as 100 is to 86. Of a truth the cause of prohibition can not stand many such victories, but the champions of alcoholic personal liberty can survive an endless series of such defeats.

If the proponents and the pretended opponents of the Hobson resolution are out of harmony on any material question, I have not discovered that fact.

In the Sixty-third Congress they cooperated to procure a report of the Hobson resolution by the House Committee on the Judiciary, and also to procure a special rule from the House Committee on Rules for its consideration.

They all regard the temperance workers of the country as irrevocably committed to the Hobson resolution as the basis of its permanent plan of campaign, and would regard any change of the plan as a breach of good faith.

They all desire to destroy the licensed saloon, without destroying the right to manufacture, procure, possess, and use alcoholic liquors for beverage purposes.

They are all opposed to "sumptuary legislation."

They agreed that "prohibition means simply no license."

They agree that the legislative program of the temperance forces should be limited to "antisaloon" legislation, and should in no event include "antialcoholic" tendencies.

They all agree that, in the language of the National Temperance Council, "whether a man who, on his own motion, buys liquors at a distance shall drink them at his own home is left in the realm of moral suasion."

They agree that, after the "antisaloon" victory has been won, a new "antialcohol" crusade may safely be started, based exclusively on "voluntary persuasion."

They agree that the Government has no right to dictate to the citizen what he shall eat, drink, or wear.

They all dote upon the "sanctity of the home" and resent its invasion by prohibition or other excise laws.

They all agree that an antialcohol legislative program involves a violation of the sacred principle of personal liberty.

They all agree that a man has, in the language of Capt. Hobson, the "inherent right to drink, but not to sell, liquor."

They are all impatient to write into the fundamental law of the land the language of the Hobson resolution, which will, in the language I have quoted from the editorial of ex-Gov. and Presidential Nominee Hanly, "give recognition" to the principle of alcoholic "personal liberty" and "embed in the Constitution" of the United States a perpetual guaranty of the sacred, inherent, inestimable, inalienable, and inviolable right of the citizen to make, to procure, to possess, and to use intoxicating liquors for personal beverage purposes, as an expression of the genial spirit of genuine hospitality or as an aid to domestic conviviality.

The allied armies of the two belligerent powers lie over against each other in true modern fashion. Their first-line trenches are sinuous, but run in parallel lines, and so close together that the soldiers are able easily to swap tobacco and yarns across the neutral zone.

I marvel that these hostile armies have not before this time mutually wrested from each other the dual victory for which they jointly strive. Why not end the struggle by writing these seductive, deceptive, and disastrous political and moral heresies into the Federal Constitution by unanimous consent?

I know of but one body of men whose influence is effectively adverse. I have in mind that same comparatively small but entirely respectable group of total abstainers who still believe that it is the use, and not merely the licensed sale, of alcohol that is vicious. They are in fighting condition. They have enlisted during the war. They are encamped on a near-by hill equidistant from the contiguous and overlapping camps of the two belligerents, whence they may observe the mysterious movements of both.

Daily this small group draws forth upon itself the gunfire of both hostile camps. Indeed, this is the only genuine fire that issues from either trench. The members of this small group are content, however, to maintain their present position, to remain steadfast, unmoved, and immovable under constant fire. They accept their daily punishment as one of the fortunes of war and are inspired and sustained by an unfaltering faith that the time shall yet come when all men, ministers of the Gospel as well as laymen, will again "endure sound doctrine," when the temperance workers of the land will be ready to "see the obvious," when manifest and vital truth will get a hearing, and when untruth will be unhorsed and shorn of its present leadership and well-nigh irresistible power. As long as this their present courage shall abide with them, these men will continue to fight the good fight and to keep the faith.

Every Member of the Congress knows now that the Hobson resolution was designed and framed with scrupulous care for the purpose of preserving to the citizen the sacred and inalienable right to import liquors from beyond State lines for beverage use and for all purposes other than the maintenance of the licensed saloon; and yet every student of the temperance question knows that the prevention of interstate shipment is the first step toward effective temperance reform. The people of the ninth Indiana district knew that long before April 22, 1908, and have never wavered in their judgment and demands.

Four times I have been nominated and elected on a platform declaring for prohibition in the District of Columbia and for the exclusion of intoxicating alcoholic liquors from interstate and foreign commerce. On these propositions there has never been any division of sentiment among temperance workers. Indeed, the word "prohibition" includes both propositions. The man who does not favor both propositions may be a reformer of some character or in some degree, but it is certain that he does not stand for prohibition. A reformer who is willing to go no further than the distillers and brewers in a temperance legislative program is not a genuine, thoroughgoing prohibitionist. He may be of an uncertain degree of wetness, but he certainly is not "dry."

The Prohibition Party has always included in the prohibition it favored the exclusion of intoxicating beverages from interstate commerce; so has the Women's Christian Temperance Union.

Hon. Eugene W. Chafin, presidential nominee of the Prohibition Party in 1912, expressly so declared. In an editorial in the National Enquirer, official organ of the Prohibition Party, on December 28, 1916, Hon. J. Frank Hanly, editor of the National Enquirer, and last nominee of the Prohibition Party for President, declared in favor of barring alcoholic beverages from all shipments, State or interstate.

If any temperance organization has declared for prohibition in the District of Columbia or elsewhere and for the right of interstate shipment of alcoholic beverages, I have not learned of that fact.

On December 21, 1914, the Anti-Saloon League in a signed letter mailed to the Members of this House expressly pledged the "organized prohibition and temperance forces" of the country to support a bill to exclude from interstate commerce all shipments of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes.

In May, 1916, the Methodist Episcopal Church, in general conference assembled, adopted a declaration in these words:

> We urge upon the Federal Congress the immediate passage of laws prohibiting all interstate commerce in intoxicating liquors and forbidding the use of the United States mails both to liquor shipments and to liquor advertisements.

The Amethyst is the official temperance organ of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. In its issue of September, 1916, the attitude of that church on the temperance question was declared to be "antialcohol," and to call for "the absolute prohibition of the manufacture, importation, sale, and transportation of alcoholic beverages in all forms."

These two express declarations by religious bodies are typical of all declarations by churches and religious boards or official assemblies.

On July 9, 1915, the Antisaloon League of America was holding a national convention at Atlantic City, N. J. On that day the national board of trustees of the league unanimously adopted a declaration in these words:

> We believe that the Congress of the United States should bar all intoxicating beverages from interstate commerce.

On July 19, 1915, Rev. Edwin C. Dinwiddie, legislative superintendent of the Antisaloon League of America, expressly declared the attitude of the league in these words:

> Our organization is in favor of a law which will deny to intoxicating liquors the facilities of interstate commerce.

Section 1 of resolution 168 clearly expresses the views of no student of the temperance question, and yet, except as to

exportation of liquors, it has remained unchanged in all the subsequent forms of the resolution that have been introduced in the Senate and House of Representatives.

It was manifest that under resolution 168 no State officer or court would have jurisdiction to enforce liquor laws, nor would the legislatures of the States be able to enact legislation for the enforcement thereof. In order to appear to meet this objection, on June 9, 1914, Capt. Hobson introduced in the House, House joint resolution 277, being his ninth form of the Hobson resolution, in the following language (omitting formal parts), to wit:

SECTION 1. The sale, manufacture for sale, transportation for sale, importation for sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes in the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof, and exportation for sale thereof are forever prohibited.

SEC. 2. The Congress, or the States within their respective jurisdictions, shall have power to enforce this article by all needful legislation.

In this and subsequent forms of the resolution section 1 contains an unlimited and unqualified prohibition of the exportation of intoxicating liquors, being otherwise identical with resolution 168. Section 2 is amended to provide that the Congress, or the States within their respective jurisdictions, shall have power to enforce section 1 by all needful legislation.

This amendment was rejected by those who were unwilling to divest the States of their general police power over intoxicating liquors for the manifest reason that it was in the alternative and the slightest exercise of power by the Congress would preclude the exercise of any power by the States.

On December 22, 1914, the congressional lobby procured the adoption of a special rule by the House of Representatives for the consideration of House joint resolution 168. On that morning each Member of the House received in his morning mail official orders for the day, informing him that the vote was really to be taken on resolution 277. When the House had adopted the special rule it was rumored that the vote was not to be taken on resolution 168 nor on resolution 277, but on a new resolution, the provisions of which would not be disclosed until the general debate was closed. As a result, the day was used up in an oratorical contest and a contest in declamation. No Member who was intending to vote as directed by the congressional lobby could give reasons for the vote he was about to cast, because he had neither knowledge nor means of knowledge of its provisions. The rumor was true, and Capt. Hobson, after the close of the debate, disclosed and offered as an amendment the provisions that were actually voted upon.

Seven days later, on December 29, 1914, Capt. Hobson introduced House joint resolution 394, being the provision voted for in the House on December 22, 1914, as an amendment to resolution 277. House joint resolution 394 is in the following words:

SECTION 1. The sale, manufacture for sale, transportation for sale, importation for sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes in the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof, and exportation thereof, are forever prohibited.

SEC. 2. The Congress or the States shall have power independently or concurrently to enforce this article by all needful legislation.

It will be noted that section 1 remains unchanged, but that section 2 is amended in two particulars, the words "within their respective jurisdictions" are stricken out, after the word "States." The reason assigned by the proponents of the resolution for this change is more absurd, if possible, than is the resolution itself. It was feared that these words would restrict the legislature of each State to the control of distilleries, breweries, and intoxicating liquors within such State. That is clearly true. The lobby desired to hold out the hope that the legislature of any dry State was to be given power to control distilleries, breweries, and intoxicating liquors in all the wet States. As they expressed it, they desired to "enable the farmers of Kansas to make New York City dry." Under the present internal-revenue laws a Federal officer carries a key to every distillery and brewery. The lobby held out the hope that the purity squad of each State in the Union might also carry a key to each distillery and brewery wherever located in any State, in order to make certain that liquors were not being made to be sold to be used for beverage purposes. Of course, the suggestion was ridiculous and the omission of the words referred to did not tend to confer extra territorial jurisdiction on the legislature of any State.

The second amendment consisted of the insertion of the words "independently or concurrently," after the word "power." This was said to enable the Congress and the legislatures of the 48 States of the Union to concur in the enactment of needful legislation for the enforcement of section 1. When one remembers that the Senate and House of Representatives find great difficulty in enacting concurrent legislation, one realizes that agreement between the Congress and 48 State legislatures would not be a matter of one chance in forty-nine, but rather of no chance in a million.

But the amendment left unchanged the language which conferred legislative power upon the Congress and the several States in the alternative. The resolution—House joint resolution 394—still left the provision clear that any action by the Congress, weak or strong, effective or ineffective, based on section 2 would be exclusive of all State action on the subject matter and divest the States of all power. This construction of resolution 394 is now conceded to be correct, and the chairman of the House Committee on the Judiciary has vainly sought to avoid this objection by introducing the Hobson resolution in the Sixty-fourth Congress in a slightly amended form.

In the Sixty-fourth Congress, Senator SHEPPARD, of Texas, introduced the Hobson resolution as Senate joint resolution 55, the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WEBB] introduced it as House joint resolution 84, and the gentleman from Idaho [Mr. SMITH] introduced it as House joint resolution 85. Senate joint resolution 55 and House joint resolution 85 are identical with House joint resolution 394, as already set forth. House joint resolution 84 is in identical words with House joint resolution 394, except that in the first line of section 2, after the word "Congress," the word "or" is stricken out and the word "and" is inserted in lieu thereof. This simple amendment is said to confer upon the Congress and upon the legislatures of the several States the power concurrently or equally and independently to enforce the provisions of section 1 by all needful legislation.

If this article were to be construed alone this contention might be plausible, but the whole Constitution would still be construed together in ascertaining the meaning and legal effect of this new amendment. Thus construing the language, it can not be fairly said to vest in the Congress and the legislatures of the 48 States complete, equal, concurrent, and independent jurisdiction and powers.

This construction is negatived by the inherent and radical difference between the jurisdiction and powers that would even then be vested in the Federal Government and in the several States. Each State would still have its present general police power and under it could limit, control, or prohibit all manufacture, intrastate transportation, sale, gift, barter, possession, or use of intoxicating liquors. The Congress would have only the power conferred by the Hobson amendment, aside from its present plenary power over interstate and foreign commerce. The Congress has now full power to prohibit all interstate commerce in and all importation and exportation of intoxicating liquors. It is certain that the Hobson amendment would take away none of such power. The Congress has now in the several States no power over manufacture (except in the administration of the internal-revenue laws), sale, barter, gift, possession, or use of intoxicating liquors. The Hobson amendment purports to confer slightly more than 2 per cent of prohibitive power over a subject matter that is, so far as the power of the Congress is concerned, slightly less than 98 per cent legalized and immune from adverse legislative action.

It is contended that the Hobson amendment would give full, equal, concurrent, and independent jurisdiction to the Congress and to the legislatures of the several States, not only over manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, but also over interstate commerce therein and over importation and exportation thereof. Of course, if it confers equal, concurrent, and independent jurisdiction and power on the Congress and the legislatures of the States over any part of the subject matter of the amendment it does over all; but it is inconceivable that it is intended to confer such equal, concurrent, and independent jurisdiction and power over manufacture, transportation, importation, or exportation. It is inherently impossible for such power to be exercised if one could conceive of it as being undeniably vested.

It is thoughtlessly asserted by the proponents of the Hobson resolution that the Congress and the legislatures of the several States are now vested with much identical power, which they daily exercise concurrently, equally, and independently, without any conflict. The cases they cite do not tend to sustain their contention.

They cite the fact that a bootlegger commits an offense against both a State and a Federal statute and is punishable under each independently. That is true, but the Congress and the State legislature are not vested with and do not exercise power over the same subject matter. The Congress penalizes him for selling without paying a Federal special tax. The State penalizes him for violation of a statute enacted in the exercise of the general police power of the State.

They say that one who violently resists a United States marshal is subject to double prosecution. He is, but not in the exercise of identical jurisdiction by the Congress and the State.

The Federal statute penalizes him for assailing the rightful sovereignty of the Federal Government as represented by its proper officer. The State punished him for a breach of the peace. A counterfeiter of money may be prosecuted independently under a Federal and under a State statute, but the Congress and the State legislature do not exercise an identical jurisdiction. The Federal statute punishes him for desecrating a coin of the United States. The State punishes him for a fraud upon her people.

The courts have made it clear that the powers which the Federal Government has, the State has not, and the powers which the State has, the Federal Government has not. In the case of the United States *v.* Cruikshank et al. (92 U. S., 542, 550, and 551) Chief Justice Waite wrote the opinion of the court. He cited the cases of the man resisting a United States marshal and of the counterfeiter as cases in which the same act might be a violation of both a Federal and a State law, but denies the possession of identical jurisdiction and power by State and Federal Governments. He said in part:

> The government thus established and defined is to some extent a government of the States in their political capacity. It is also, for certain purposes, a government of the people. Its powers are limited in number, but not in degree. Within the scope of its powers, as enumerated and defined, it is supreme and above the States; but beyond, it has no existence (p. 550).
>
> The people of the United States resident within any State are subject to two governments—one State, and the other National—but there is no conflict between the two. *The powers which one possesses, the other does not* (p. 550).

If the contention that the Congress and the legislatures of the several States are thus vested with concurrent and independent jurisdiction and powers fails at any point, it fails at all points. That a power is incapable of concurrent or independent exercise by the Federal Government and the several States is a strong argument against a construction that declares such power to be vested in both Governments. In the case of Rhodes *v.* Iowa (170 U. S., 412, 422) the opinion of the court was written by Chief Justice White. It was contended that the State had the power to prohibit the interstate shipment of intoxicating liquors into the State. The court held that the State has no such power. That case was decided before the passage of the Webb-Kenyon law, but the latter act does not affect the principle involved, since under it the Federal statute and not the State statute makes importation into a State in certain cases unlawful. The court, in illustrating the impossibility of the exercise of such power by a State over interstate commerce, used these words:

> If the construction claimed be upheld, it would be in the power of each State to compel every interstate-commerce train to stop before crossing its borders and discharge its freight, lest by crossing the line it might carry within the State merchandise of the character named covered by the inhibitions of a State statute.

This illustration applies as well to the concurrent or independent control by 48 States and the Federal Government over importation or exportation. It is inconceivable that the legal effect of the Hobson resolution would be to vest in the Federal Government and in the several States equal, concurrent, and independent jurisdiction over manufacture, sale, transportation, importation, and exportation of intoxicating liquors. Such power would be at utter variance with the principles of our present dual form of government and would be inherently and inescapably incapable of concurrent or independent exercise by the Federal and State Governments.

What new power does the Hobson resolution purport to give to the Federal Government? It now has plenary power over interstate transportation, importation, and exportation and can be given no new power over these subjects. It has no power over manufacture, intrastate transportation, sale, gift, barter, possession or use of intoxicating liquors. The Hobson resolution purports to give to the Federal Government control over sale, manufacture for sale, and intrastate transportation for sale of intoxicating liquors to be used for beverage purposes. As already shown, this is a 2 per cent prohibitive power over a business 98 per cent legalized beyond the power of the Congress.

What new power does the Hobson resolution purport to give to the States? Each State has now plenary power over manufacture, intrastate transportation, sale, gift, barter, possession, and use of intoxicating liquors. The Hobson resolution purports to give to the State a 2 per cent prohibitive power over interstate commerce and importation, and full concurrent and independent control over all exportation. State control of exportation may be dismissed as a legislative joke. The State does not need the 2 per cent control over interstate shipment. Under the Webb-Kenyon law and the Reed amendment, a State may have the full present benefit of complete protection against interstate shipment by exercising its own undisputed power over manufacture, sale, possession, and use of intoxicating liquors within its own borders. Clearly, the Hobson resolution can promise no benefit to anyone other than the hoped-for prolongation of the business of the distillers and brewers who prefer a proposition that is 2 per cent prohibitive and 98 per cent permissive to the bone-dry laws that the States are now passing and the Congress has made incapable of evasion.

The Hobson resolution is permissive in so large degree and prohibitive in so small degree that no Government can effectively administer its prohibitive element without establishing and exercising complete control over all intoxicating liquors for all purposes all the time. To assert that the Federal Government and the 48 State governments can establish and maintain such control concurrently is idle; to assert that they can establish and maintain such control independently and simultaneously is absurd. The Federal Government must retain exclusive control of importation, exportation, and interstate shipment. If the States are to exercise any control over manufacture, sale, intrastate shipment, gift, barter, possession, and use of intoxicating liquors, the control by each State must be complete, unlimited, and exclusive within its own borders. The proponents of the Hobson resolution admit this necessity inherent in the nature of the case, but assert that the Hobson resolution by necessary implication gives to the Federal Government the power its language expressly withholds, to wit, complete and exclusive control of all intoxicating liquors for all purposes all the time. If that be true, House joint resolution 84 is identical in legal effect with House joint resolution 168, and the change in phraseology is effective only to procure by deception the votes of those who desire to retain in the several States their full present police powers.

On December 17, 1914, I introduced House joint resolution 389. It is a proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States and is intended to exclude all liquors from interstate commerce, compelling each State to bear full responsibility for all liquors made or used within its borders. It is in these words:

> SECTION 1. The importation of any spirituous, vinous, malted, fermented, or other intoxicating liquors into any State of the United States, or into the District of Columbia, or into the Territory of Alaska, from any other State, District, Territory, country, place, or region, domestic or foreign, is forever prohibited.
>
> SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of the Congress from time to time to enact appropriate legislation for the effective enforcement of the provisions of this article.

On December 22, 1914, when the Hobson resolution was under consideration in the House, I offered resolution 389 as a substitute for the Hobson resolution. Forty-one of us voted for the substitute. A majority of the Members believed in the substitute, but only a small minority were willing to brave the wrath of the congressional lobby, whose leaders sat in the galleries of the House directing its every movement and cracking their whips over the Members of the House like the ringmasters of a two-ring circus.

On the first day of the Sixty-fourth Congress, December 6, 1915, I introduced House joint resolution 20, in the identical language of House joint resolution 389. On the same day I introduced H. R. 394, which is a proposed statute involving the same principle on which House joint resolution 20 is based. It is as follows:

> A bill to prohibit the importation of intoxicating liquors into any State of the United States, or into the District of Columbia, or into the Territory of Alaska.
>
> *Be it enacted, etc.*, That the importation of any spirituous, vinous, malted, fermented, or other intoxicating liquors into any State of the United States, or into the District of Columbia, or into the Territory of Alaska from any other State, District, Territory, country, place, or region, domestic or foreign, is hereby prohibited.
>
> SEC. 2. That if any such intoxicating liquors shall at any time be imported into any State of the United States, or into the District of Columbia, or into the Territory of Alaska from any other State, District, Territory, country, place, or region, domestic or foreign, all right, title, interest, or claim of the importer thereof shall then and there and thereby become at once forfeited, shall wholly terminate, and be null and void as against the importer thereof and as against all persons claiming of, by, from, through, or under such importer, directly or indirectly, immediately or remotely.
>
> SEC. 3. That the word "importer" as used in this act shall be construed and deemed to include all persons who shall so import intoxicating liquors into any State of the United States, or into the District of Columbia, or into the Territory of Alaska, or cause the same to be so imported, or shall aid in the importation thereof, or shall abet any person or persons in the importation thereof.
>
> SEC. 4. That the word "person" as used in this act shall be construed and deemed to include individuals, firms, copartnerships, joint-stock companies, corporations, and all other persons, natural or artificial.

The House committees did not report out either the resolution or the bill, and no action was taken thereon. The congressional lobby was hostile to them both.

On December 22, 1916, I introduced House joint resolution 327, in the following language:

> SECTION 1. That the manufacture, transportation, importation, sale, barter, exchange, gift, or other disposition of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes in the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof, and the exportation thereof, are forever prohibited.

SEC. 2. That the several States within their respective jurisdictions shall have power to enact all needful legislation for the enforcement of so much of section 1 hereof as relates to the manufacture, intrastate transportation, sale, barter, exchange, gift, or other disposition of intoxicating liquors; and it shall be the duty of the Congress to enact all needful legislation for the enforcement of all other provisions of said section 1.

SEC. 3. That this article shall not be deemed or construed to affect any power now vested in the several States in relation to intoxicating liquors for other than beverage purposes.

This resolution is limited to liquors for beverage purposes, but embraces the entire subject matter. House joint resolution 20 is limited to the prohibition of interstate shipment, but applies to all intoxicating liquors for all purposes. House joint resolution 20 is my first choice. If, however, it shall be finally decided to limit the amendment to the Federal Constitution to liquors for beverage purposes, House joint resolution 327 is the most desirable form. It covers the entire subject matter but avoids all conflicts between Federal and State jurisdictions and powers.

I trust that the Sixty-fifth Congress will make a wise choice of such resolution as it may submit to the States for ratification. My term of service is now ended and I have done my duty as I have seen it after diligent and persistent investigation and consideration. The Sixty-fourth Congress has done much for the cause of temperance. I fully expect the Sixty-fifth Congress to complete the entire legislative reform.

A review of recent legislative history and of the laws now in force makes the Hobson resolution read like a shrewd device of the distillers and brewers, and makes the latest literature issued by the professional reformers stationed here in Washington look like a brief prepared by capable and resourceful lawyers to safeguard the interests of the liquor league.

If it be true, as I have reason to hope, that the Methodist Board has learned the truth as to the attitude of the professional reformers toward genuine temperance legislation, and is almost ready to reveal the truth to the church at large, the beginning of the end is at hand. The great Methodist Church once undeceived will undeceive the other churches. The churches will lift the terrific pressure they have brought to bear upon the Congress in behalf of the Hobson resolution, which they will then know to be a cheat and a trick, a sham and a fraud. That will enable Senators and Representatives to think in a straight line and to enact into law their own deliberate judgment and enlightened conscience. In such circumstances the Sixty-fifth Congress may be safely trusted to find the true and final solution of the liquor problem so far as the Federal Government is concerned.

The Widow of Gen. Funston—The Proposed Pension a Deserved Tribute to the Memory of a Man to Whom America Owes Much.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GUY T. HELVERING,
OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

On the bill (S. 8316) granting a pension to Edith Blankart Funston, widow of the late Maj. Gen. Frederick Funston.

Mr. HELVERING. Mr. Speaker, the bill for which I asked consideration during the closing hours of the session is one which proposes to pay to Edith Blankart Funston, widow of the late Gen. Funston, $100 per month in lieu of the pension to which she is entitled by law.

It is almost needless for me to refer to the debt which this country of ours owes to Gen. Funston. Both in public and private life he served it well, and when he passed away it was at a time when he was concluding a work which reflected the greatest possible credit upon him as soldier, man, and patriot.

Reference has heretofore been made to the injustice done to Gen. Funston in the delay of his deserved promotion. It is to his credit that no word of complaint was ever heard from him and no criticism was ever offered with his consent. He continued to work faithfully in that sphere of usefulness which he loved best, and when his opportunity came at Vera Cruz he gave to the country a conception of his real worth. He had won national fame in the Philippines, had demonstrated in those fateful days in San Francisco his ability to master a most difficult situation without delay and with clarity of judgment, but it was at Vera Cruz that he first demonstrated to us that here was our ideal of the American soldier—the man in command who knew how to uphold American rights and American ideals without the needless shedding of blood.

In recognition of the splendid services rendered at Vera Cruz, the President selected this faithful soldier to take supreme command of our Army operations along the border, and in the trying days of the last six months he has given to us further proof of his ability to rise to every emergency and to guide his movements with a brain which has been responsible for no mistakes in these days, as far as our knowledge goes.

But to-day the Nation can not make its appreciation known to the hero who sleeps on the western shore. But that appreciation is none the less due from us, and to-day we have an opportunity to demonstrate it, in a minor degree at least, by voting for an increase of pension for the sorrowing loved one of our departed soldier. Nothing that is within our power to do can remedy her loss, but it is within our power, and in my opinion it should be our duty, to do what we can to provide for the widow and the children of this man who so faithfully served his country and who died while engaged in that work. The amount carried in the bill is modest, but it has to be in order to be in line with precedent, but the amount will not be so much valued by the loved ones of Gen. Funston as will the knowledge that the Congress of the Nation can pause long enough in these stirring and anxious days to show its appreciation of the one they so well loved.

Omnibus Public-Buildings Bill.

SPEECH
OF
HON. MICHAEL K. REILLY,
OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 17, 1917.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 18994) to increase the limit of cost of certain public buildings; to authorize the enlargement, extension, remodeling, or improvement of certain public buildings; to authorize the erection and completion of certain public buildings, etc.

Mr. REILLY. Mr. Chairman, I voted against the rule that made the pending bill in order and I intend to vote against the bill on its final passage.

My opposition to the pending measure is not the result of a conviction on my part that it is a pork-barrel proposition, neither am I opposing it because the committee having in charge the framing of the bill has not treated my district fairly. I have no complaint to make against the treatment that my district has received at the hands of the committee that framed the said bill.

I am opposed to the passage of an omnibus public-buildings bill at the present session of Congress because of the large deficit that the United States Treasury is confronted with to-day.

Mr. Chairman, I can not see my way clear to support a public-buildings bill carrying appropriations of more than $30,000,000 at a time when the Ways and Means Committee of this House is racking its brains to find articles upon which to levy taxes, in order to provide the necessary revenue to finance our preparedness program.

Notwithstanding the fact that last session of Congress the income-tax rates were increased and an inheritance tax provided, the Treasury deficit is increasing as the result of the enormous and extraordinary appropriations made and to be made during the Sixty-fourth Congress for the national defense.

Two years ago the Navy and Army appropriation bills carried about $250,000,000; the first session of the Sixty-fourth Congress provided almost $600,000,000 for Army and Navy, and it is a safe prediction that the present session will provide more than $700,000,000 for the same purpose, a sum larger than the total expenditures of the Government in all its fields of activity a quarter of a century ago.

I am not opposed to the policy of erecting public buildings in the various cities and towns of the country where postal receipts are large enough to warrant such an investment by the Government, but I am opposed to the policy of the present bill and of the precedng post-office bills passed by Congress which provide for the erection of costly public buildings in villages of a few hundred inhabitants of meager postal receipts, where the postal facilities are well taken care of at the present time in rented buildings.

There are many villages and cities that have been given public buildings in the past and are slated for public buildings in this bill that are not entitled to Government buildings, and the

erection of every such building means large additional expenditures on the part of the Government wholly unjustified, especially at this time, in view of the present financial condition of the Treasury.

The bill under consideration carries two projects from my district—post-office sites for the cities of Two Rivers and Menasha. I might say in passing that both of these cities have postal receipts far in excess of the majority of the villages and cities provided for in the pending measure.

In answering the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE] I desire to state that I will not feel obligated when this bill is read under the five-minute rule to rise in my place on this floor and ask to have the two items that concern my district stricken from the bill.

In the first session of the Sixty-second Congress I introduced a bill for a public building at Two Rivers, Wis., and in the first session of the Sixty-fourth Congress I introduced a like bill for a public building at Menasha, Wis. These two bills were introduced before the preparedness propaganda was inaugurated and before any large expenditures for the national defense were made and at a time when the United States Treasury knew nothing of a deficit. Both of these cities are entitled to public buildings from the standpoint of postal receipts and also from the standpoint of present postal facilities were the financial condition of the Government at the present time such as to permit of increased expenditures for the erection of public buildings.

I am not opposed to the policy of constructing public buildings in cities having postal receipts sufficient to warrant such expenditures on the part of the National Government, as are the receipts of the two cities in my district that have items in this bill. My opposition is to the idea of passing a public-buildings bill at this session of Congress, because the appropriations for the national defense have exhausted and more than exhausted the revenues of the Government. However, if it should be declared to be the policy of this House that a public-buildings bill shall be passed at this session, regardless of the condition of the Treasury, then I assume that the claims of the two cities in my district for sites for public buildings will receive the same consideration at the hands of this committee that the claims of every other village and city mentioned in the bill will receive. The citizens of Menasha and Two Rivers do not ask any special favors at the hands of this committee, all that they ask is that if it is to be the policy of this Congress to pass a public-buildings bill at this time, their claims be given due consideration by the committee.

If such is not to be the course of procedure, then this measure could well be denominated a pork proposition, because each Congressman would have been offered two sites or a building and site as a bribe to support the bill. A refusal to support the bill would mean no consideration for any public-building proposition in the Congressman's district, without regard to the merits of the proposition. I do not believe that the committee having in charge this bill will adopt any such rule, and I am satisfied that this House would strongly disapprove of such a line of action.

About a year ago the citizens of Ripon, Wis., a city that I am proud to say is located within my district, startled the country by petitioning Congress to divert funds appropriated for a public building in that city to the more urgent needs of the national defense. This commendable action upon the part of the citizens of Ripon was not due to a belief on their part that their city was not entitled to a public building, but because of a desire to make a sacrifice by deferring to some future time the adornment of their city with a public building, in order that the Government might have the use of such funds for the more pressing needs of the national defense.

Such action on the part of the citizens of Ripon, Wis., was most commendable and worthy of emulation by other communities throughout the country that are to-day clamoring for public buildings regardless of the condition of the National Treasury.

I am pleased to state that it is my judgment that the citizens of Two Rivers and Menasha are equally patriotic with the citizens of Ripon, and I make this statement because since the enactment of legislation providing for increased expenditures for the national defense there has been practically no insistence by the citizens of these two cities for the passage of their public-buildings bills, and I believe I will voice the sentiment of the patriotic citizens of Two Rivers and Menasha when I cast my vote against the pending measure. The citizens of these two cities are just as patriotic as the citizens of Ripon, Wis., and they are perfectly willing to await a more favorable condition of the Public Treasury before asking and urging Congress to provide their cities with public buildings.

Suggestions for Boll Weevil Districts.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM B. OLIVER,
OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. OLIVER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD a letter, which I am writing to the probate judges throughout my district, conveying information which I trust may be of real service to the farmers of the district.

The ravages of the boll weevil make it absolutely necessary that the acreage heretofore devoted to cotton be largely reduced, and food crops substituted therefor which promise the surest and most profitable returns.

The letter follows herewith:

MY DEAR JUDGE: The destructive influence of weevil infestation and the heavy additional losses sustained by our farmers from the floods of last summer make the existing situation in our district a most serious one. It strongly calls for hearty cooperation by everyone to the end that all possible aid and encouragement may be extended our farmers in the solution of the grave problems now confronting them.

I have been impressed with the splendid educational campaign carried on throughout the district by some of our practical farmers and business men, and in which special emphasis has been laid on the planting of peanuts, soy and velvet beans.

The value of these crops has been fully demonstrated in other sections, including many counties in our own State, and the Agricultural Department is prepared to furnish for free distribution informing bulletins on these subjects. These bulletins are now being sent out by me to all farmers who have expressed in any way an interest in receiving them. In the next few days a liberal supply will be sent you, with the request that you distribute the same from your office.

The local farm demonstration agents will be specially instructed by the Agricultural Department to keep in close touch with the farmers in their territory, so that they may give information on these and other crops. Additional experts will be detailed for such purpose if needed.

A very high market throughout the year is certainly assured for all products of the farm, and the outlook for the present year is promising, if our farmers can only arrange for properly financing their business at this time. In this connection, it is gratifying to note that in many counties the oil mills, banks, and merchants are selling seed to the farmers at cost on time.

The attached letters on the growing of the peanut, soy and velvet beans will prove, I hope, informing and helpful to our farmers. A liberal supply of these will be sent you, and I will greatly appreciate your handing them to callers at your office who may be interested.

Those who contemplate planting soy or velvet beans are urged to send at once their names to the county farm demonstrator, giving the amount of seed they expect to plant, so that I can secure for them the necessary inoculating material. The Agricultural Department has promised me to supply the same in reasonable quantities to individual planters.

Please give publicity to this letter and kindly inform me of any suggestions that may occur to you looking to any further service on my part.

Yours, sincerely, W. B. OLIVER.

(Anyone desiring bulletins will please write me or apply to the probate judge of his county for the same.)

Below is an interesting letter on soy and velvet beans from Mr. Glenn Foster, a successful planter and cattle raiser at Tuscaloosa, Ala.:

JANUARY 16, 1917.

Hon. W. B. OLIVER, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am in receipt of your letter to-day in which you ask for our experience with the 15 acres of velvet beans and also our opinion on a soy-bean crop.

We planted 15 acres in corn and velvet beans, planting two rows of corn 4½ feet apart and one row of velvet beans. In July, if you remember, there was an excessive rainfall. This damaged the corn crop very materially, about one-third of it being blown down. From this field we gathered 350 bushels of corn, leaving fully one-third of it in the field. We picked out at least 1 ton of the velvet beans for seed.

On October 1 we turned in on this plot 137 head of pigs and shoats and 11 calves or yearlings. The shoats then averaged about 75 pounds. On December 22 we sold 60 head of them, then averaging 156½ pounds. Beginning the 1st of December we fed a ration of 2 pounds of corn and 1½ pounds of cottonseed meal daily to these hogs.

After shipping the 60 head of hogs there were enough of the beans left in the field to carry the balance of the young pigs and sows until planting time, but we turned in 31 head of cows and 6 calves, which have been kept in good condition since with just a little soy-bean hay fed to them at night.

I consider the nitrogen and humus added to the soil by the velvet bean equal to a fertilizer value of $10 per acre.

About June 15 we planted some 7 acres in mamouth yellow soy beans, following our oat crop. I consider this hay much more valuable than the pea-vine hay, for which this stock can be carried through the winter in a good condition without any other feed, and as a fertilizer it exceeds the velvet beans and cowpeas.

These soy beans were inoculated by a culture furnished us by the Government through Mr. R. C. Lett, farm demonstrator. I believe that when the soy bean is first planted that it should be inoculated, and considering the fact that this does cost $1 per acre, it is money

well spent. I intend to follow our oat crop this year with the soy beans, and believe that with a good stand it should produce 3 tons of hay per acre.

I would advise all Southern farmers to plant at least a part of their hay crop in soy beans, as it is a money-making crop as well as a fine soil builder.

I hope that these few points will be instructive to you on these legumes.

With best regards, I remain,

Yours, very truly,

GLENN FOSTER.

Mr. John A. Rogers, a successful farmer of my district, has devoted much time to the study of the peanut crop, and below will be found an instructive letter from him, together with other letters, which he has supplied me, from farmers and business men of Enterprise, Ala.

PEANUTS AND PROSPERITY.

GAINESVILLE, ALA., *December, 1916.*

MY DEAR FRIEND: The year just passing has been the hardest year on farmers in the history of Alabama. Many of us had our crops swept away by floods in the rivers. The crops on the uplands were almost a total failure. If we are discouraged, we have lost enough to take the heart out of us, and if we still have hope, we should give thanks to the great and good God for our unconquerable souls.

I believe, as firmly as I trust in His mercies, that the future holds greater happiness and more prosperity for us than we have ever enjoyed.

Heretofore we depended upon cotton for all our money, money for food and clothing, mules, corn, and meat. The boll-weevil has destroyed this dependence, but the demand for food caused by the great war enables us to substitute a crop surer than cotton even before the advent of the weevil, and more profitable than cotton ever was.

The peanut as a money-maker has all other crops badly distanced. Under the old way of handling peanuts more care and pains were required than we were accustomed to as farmers, but under the present system, where they can be loaded in bulk and unsacked in car lots at our nearest railroad station and sold like cotton seed, nothing that we have ever planted will pay us half as well.

I have made a thorough investigation of peanuts and I see farms on lands like ours, without fertilizer, averaging 70 bushels of peanuts to the acre.

I find that after the peanuts are planted one man and a pair of mules with a cultivator can easily work 50 acres in peanuts; that this is being done right here in Alabama within 100 miles of us; we have the same soil, the same climate, and we are the same people; why can't we do it? We can. I am so helped up over the prospect that I am going to have planted 2,000 acres. Well, you may say, I can't do like Rogers. Then plant 100 or 50 or 5 acres. You will make just as much in proportion. You say, I haven't any goobers to plant. Have you any cotton seed? They are just as high as peanuts. You say, I can't get any peanuts to plant. You can. Go to those in your neighborhood who know you and tell them that you want to plant 5, 10, or 20 acres in peanuts. Say to them, I've been here all the time and propose to stay. You can get help.

We have now the chance of our lives to make a killing. Any man who plants 200 acres in peanuts, and sells 100 acres on a contract that will net him the other hundred acres clear, is almost sure to clean up $5,000.

Look into this thing. Go over to Pike County where they are making peanuts and come back converted.

Wishing for you and yours every good thing in this good world,

I am, your friend,

JNO. A. ROGERS.

—

ENTERPRISE, ALA., *December 2, 1916.*

DEAR SIR: Your inquiry relative to my peanut farming received.

Replying, wish to say that I only had 8 acres solid to peanuts, which were planted in the runner variety.

I planted about the 15th of April after the land had been flat broke in January. I laid off the land with a middle buster and went on the bed between the furrows and the peanuts from 12 to 14 inches in the drill. I harrowed these peanuts twice and then barred them off with a common turnplow. Sided them up with a small scrape and scooter, and after about two weeks swept the middles up with a large scrape and that laid them by.

This 8 acres yielded me 62½ bushels to the acre, and I marketed them for from $70 to $76 a ton. I also got about 6 tons of hay off the 8 acres of land.

I intend planting a larger acreage in peanuts next year.

Yours, truly,

CHARLIE DOZIER.

—

ENTERPRISE, ALA., *December 6, 1916.*

DEAR SIR: Answering your inquiry of this date, I wish to say that I think the peanut is a good money crop for the farmers to plant in sections where the soil is of a sandy loam type.

Our farmers who planted peanuts this year have been uniformly successful and have made money. We believe that it would be a good idea for any section infested with boll weevils to plant a considerable acreage in peanuts, and would unhesitatingly recommend the running variety.

Yours, truly,

J. L. WARREN,
Cashier First National Bank of Enterprise.

—

ENTERPRISE, ALA., *December 2, 1916.*

DEAR SIR: Answering your inquiry in regard to my peanut crop for this year, will say that about the 15th of April I planted 19 acres in the runner variety of peanuts, and did not fertilize them at all.

The yield of peanuts and hay from the 19 acres was 906 bushels and 8 pounds of peanuts and 502 bales of hay.

I broke my land flat and laid it off with a middle buster and opened the bed between with a Cole dropper; ran a spring-tooth harrow over them twice, and one furrow with a scrape. With three days hoeing with two hands laid them by.

Trusting that this will be of some service to you and to those it may concern, I am,

Yours, truly,

J. M. JOHNSON.

CLINTONVILLE, ALA., *December 12, 1916.*

DEAR SIR: Your inquiry as to results obtained on my farms this year planting peanuts received. Replying, wish to say that they have been very satisfactory, and I expect to plant an even larger acreage next year.

One thing that I think should be emphasized in connection with advice as to cultivation and varieties of peanuts is this: No one should make the mistake of planting the Spanish peanuts. It takes a good farmer to grow Spanish peanuts, whereas an ordinary farm hand can cultivate the runner peanuts just as successfully as he can cotton.

Trusting that this will be of some service, I am,

Yours, truly,

J. J. DUNNAVANT.

—

ENTERPRISE, ALA., *November 27, 1916.*

DEAR SIR: Answering your inquiry of recent date relative to the peanut industry in this section, wish to say that we consider that peanuts have saved the day, as it were, in this section, since, under the most favorable weather conditions, we can not hope to grow more than half a crop of cotton under boll-weevil conditions. The farmers in this section planted mostly the running varieties of peanuts, and although the White Spanish will bring a little better price on the market, the difference in yield, however, will more than offset this difference in price. As advancing merchants, we had rather advance money and merchandise to a man to grow peanuts than cotton under weevil conditions.

Yours, very truly,

A. R. MOSLEY,
Secretary and Treasurer Mosley-Hutchinson Mercantile Co.

Mr. Killebrew, of Newton, Ala., makes the following suggestions for planting peanuts:

First. Break the land flat with a two-horse plow.

Second. Lay off the rows when time to plant in April with 5-inch straight shovel, 18 to 24 inches apart, marking the next row with a marker so as to get rows equal distance apart.

Third. Drop the peanuts with a dropper (either in hull or shelled) 4 to 6 inches apart in the rows.

Fourth. Cultivate as soon as grass begins to come up with harrow, preferably with peg tooth, commonly called "Little Joe." Harrow on the bed, not on the rows. Some have a habit of taking out the middle tooth and then put the mule row and cultivate. This is not best.

Fifth. Plow with a small scooter and small scrape, one furrow to the row.

Sixth. Last plow with small shovel and large scrape, one furrow to the row.

Hoeing does not pay; will make more peanuts not to hoe them at all. All the work that is required to make the Spanish in this section is three furrows to the row.

Peanuts planted as directed on light sandy land in this section, without fertilizer, produce from 35 to 75 bushels to acre.

Arming of American Merchant Ships.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELIJAH C. HUTCHINSON,

OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 1, 1917.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, In voting for the measure to-day, giving our President authority to take whatever action necessary for the protection of the lives of American citizens when in lawful pursuits, and our ships when sailing the high seas in accordance with international laws, I believe that my action will receive the approval of the people I represent.

I come from the fourth district of New Jersey, part of which was the landing place of Washington and his faithful army when they crossed the Delaware River on that memorable December night. The spirit that prompted those Continental soldiers to make such sacrifices and be willing to give up their lives that the independence of the country might be established still prevails on and about those famous battle grounds of Princeton and Trenton.

Those patriots did not war for selfish motives, but they entered that great conflict realizing what suffering and hardships they would have to endure so that future generations would have a country, offering to any man the right to worship according to the dictates of his own conscience, and a freedom from bondage the world had long sought.

In a cause of that kind they were certain of victory, and with that victory there came into being a Republic that has never ceased to protect the lives and property of its citizens wherever travel found them.

The path of our country has not always been smooth, but when trouble arose we were always fortunate in having in control of the affairs of state men capable of leading us through the storm to safety.

The European war that has been raging for more than two years has brought about many changes, and to-day we find ourselves facing a new crisis. One of those nations engaged in that war has served notice to the world, forbidding neutral shipping to enter certain zones under penalty of seizure or destruction.

This is in direct violation of international law, and as a result our citizens hesitate to travel or send their ships and merchandise through the restricted zone without some assurance of protection from this Government.

It is for the protection of those lives and this property that our President asks authority to use necessary measures that the world might know that America stands ready to guarantee to her citizens the right of protection, whatever the cost may be.

I stand for the settling of our differences direct with the nation that has made this action necessary, and am opposed to an alliance with any nation or nations to accomplish this purpose.

America must be big enough to protect her own interest, and while I am willing to do everything in my power to prevent war, yet our national honor must be preserved, no matter how great the sacrifice.

Hon. Alfred G. Allen.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAUDE KITCHIN,
OF NORTH CAROLINA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, although the time is most limited when the House must by the mandate of the Constitution adjourn, I can not refrain from putting into the RECORD the estimate of Hon. ALFRED G. ALLEN contained in a telegram received from Mr. Joseph A. Clark, secretary of the Democratic executive committee of Hamilton County, Ohio. It fully comports with the estimate of the wisdom, ability, patriotism, and character of our distinguished colleague formed by me and by the entire membership of this House, irrespective of party:

To-day we lose our most able Representative. Six years ago we confided in him. He has represented us ably and honorably. No cause for regret, but much to be proud of. He has been a credit to his district and his party in our Nation's most trying time. He has been calm and clear, and as a true American he has stood behind Woodrow Wilson, the greatest and noblest figure that has ever stood in the forefront of our Nation's life. To-day America needs big men like ALLEN. It is to be hoped that his voluntary retirement will be temporary.

Relating to the Tampico Expedition and the Charleston, S. C., Dry Dock.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEMUEL P. PADGETT,
OF TENNESSEE,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, I avail myself of the privilege to extend my remarks in the RECORD, not for the purpose of making a speech, but for the purpose of placing in the RECORD an interview with Admiral Mayo relative to the discussions in the press relative to Tampico.

This interview is from one who knows whereof he speaks; who was present, participating, and it is proper the people should have the benefit of his statements.

Many erroneous statements have been made and false impressions created. Much unjust criticism has been indulged in, and it seems to me simple justice demands that the public should have the benefit of the information contained in his statement. And I make it a part of my remarks.

"TAMPICO INCIDENT."

[By George Creel.]

Out of the so-called "Tampico incident" have come charges that shame the United States before the world. The Nation stands accused of cowardice and desertion; a Secretary of the Navy with bungling, treachery, and gross deceit.

Admiral H. T. Mayo was in command of the American naval forces at Tampico. The entire "incident" centered around him. He is, therefore, the one man able to speak with authority and to pass accurately upon the truth or the falsity of the charges. Listen to his testimony:

"It is misrepresentation to say that American citizens in Tampico were deserted in an hour of imminent danger.

"It is distorting facts to say that Americans, robbed of the protection of their own flag, were forced to seek refuge under the colors of a foreign power.

"It is not true that the Tampico affair was marked by gross bungling. The fact that close to 3,000 Americans were taken out of the city, without loss of life or destruction of property, is a result that ought to speak for itself.

"I have no interest in parties or political controversies, but I have a very deep interest in the honor of the United States, the pride of the American Navy. It is this honor and this pride that I am glad to defend against aspersion and misrepresentation."

The interview, held on the deck of the *Yankton* in Hampton Roads, is the first word from Admiral Mayo. His lips have been locked in obedience to the immemorial law of the Navy that officers may not speak or write publicly without permission. This permission was given to him by Secretary Daniels as the result of a widespread insistence that the "one man who knew" should be allowed to give all the facts in the case.

The letter from the Secretary to Admiral Mayo was not an order, however. It contained the simple statement that the people were entitled to the truth about Tampico, and that Admiral Mayo, unless disinclined, should feel at perfect liberty to tell his story without fear or favor.

One glance at Admiral Mayo brings the inescapable conviction that neither fear nor favor would ever play a part in the expression of his views. Simplicity, courage, and independence are written in every line of his strong face.

"It is my pleasure to comply with the suggestion of the Secretary," he said. "Confusion is a bad thing when the good name of the country is at stake."

For five hours we sat in the cabin of the *Yankton*, for Admiral Mayo persisted in referring to his reports and records in substantiation of every statement, and the narrative that follows is a painstaking chronicle of the Tampico incident from beginning to end.

"I went to Tampico first in December, 1913," he commenced. "Admiral Fletcher had been there before me for some time, once taking off 600 Americans and keeping them on his ships until all danger was thought to have passed. By February, 1914, the situation at Tampico had become so entirely normal that he decided to concentrate most of our forces at Vera Cruz. But early in March the rebels gathered around Tampico in some force, and so I was sent back, and took my position in the river in front of the town (6 miles up from the coast).

"From March 6 until April 5 very little happened, but on the latter date the Federal troops, moving out to attack the revolutionists, were thrown back on Tampico, suffering a rather decisive defeat. Down the river, at Donna Cecilia and Arbol Grand, the revolutionists also won; and as a consequence of these activities, the protection of foreign life and property became an acute problem.

"In addition to our own ships at Tampico, there were also present the English cruiser *Hermione*, the German cruiser *Dresden*, and later the French cruiser *Des Cartes*. We held a conference and drew up a joint communication addressed to the commanders of the Federal and rebel forces in which we set forth the rights of neutrals and noncombatants. This statement delivered, all of us set to work arranging to gather in our citizens if Tampico was attacked.

"I had to send twice to Donna Cecilia and Arbol Grande before I could get the women and children, the second time issuing a virtual command. From Tampico itself they were taken only when rebel attack appeared imminent. The English and German commanders adopted similar courses, and, starting April 10, every ship was soon filled with refugees.

"On April 9, at noon, I learned that the crew of the *Dolphin's* whaleboat had been arrested by the Huerta officials, and I sent on shore at once. Some of our sailors had been arrested on shore, while others had been dragged from the boat itself, although it carried the American flag at bow and stern. A colonel coming upon the scene ordered their instant release, but not before they had been marched up the street as prisoners.

"Gen. Zaragoza, in command, hastened to express his regret, declaring it the unauthorized act of an ignorant, irresponsible subordinate. He was a fine, honorable gentleman, and our relations were always pleasant, but the circumstances made it impossible to accept his personal explanation and private apology. Insult and humiliation had been public, and I felt that reparation must be equally public if American rights were to be respected at all. In plain words I told him that the officer who made the arrest must be punished, and that the flag of the United States must be saluted. As a matter of course, Gen. Zaragoza had to refer the affair to Mexico City, and I gave him until April 12.

"Let me say this right here," Admiral Mayo straightened up in his chair and pushed the reports aside, "I was not put in the position of having done that of which my Government did not approve. Admiral Fletcher, my ranking officer, the Secretary of the Navy, and the President of the United States were quick to give me assurances of support and approval.

"As you can imagine," he continued, "there was considerable excitement. On the 10th attack by the Carranzistas appearing imminent, the *Des Moines* and the *Chester* brought out about 600 Americans and put them on the battleships just off the bar. My force at the time consisted of the *Dolphin*, *Des Moines*, *Chester*, *San Francisco*—all fairly light-draft vessels—the battleships *Minnesota* and *Connecticut*, the transport *Hancock*, the hospital ship *Solace*, and the collier *Cyclops*.

"On April 12 the matter of the salute went out of my hands into that of the State Department, and I only knew of it thereafter by wireless or when Huerta's statements were referred to me directly for refutation.

"On April 13 I learned that Admiral Badger, at the head of the Atlantic squadron, had been ordered to leave Hampton Roads for Tampico.

"On April 14 Federal reenforcements had arrived and the whole situation had improved to such a degree that I brought all the refugees in from the battleships and landed them in Tampico again. The rebels abandoned their attack on the city and withdrew, business was resumed, and conditions appeared perfectly normal. On April 20, in the evening, I received a wireless from Admiral Fletcher stating that Secretary Daniels had ordered me to Vera Cruz with all my ships except the *Des Moines*, which was to remain at Tampico."

"Just a moment right there, Admiral Mayo," I interrupted. "I went through the files at the Navy Department very carefully and this is what I found:

"April 14. Rebels abandoned attack on Tampico and withdrew. Rebels seemed to have retired from vicinity of Tampico. The 600 refugees on board naval ships there were returned to their homes, business resumed, and conditions there again appear normal.

"April 17. Admiral Mayo reports all quiet.
"April 18. Admiral Mayo reports situation unchanged.
"April 19. No new developments at Tampico or Vera Cruz.
"April 20. No report on Tampico at all.

"All of these reports came from Admiral Fletcher at Vera Cruz," I said as I finished reading. "Are they correct?"

"Absolutely," he replied. "You see, not until later did I ever hold direct communication with Washington, but reported throughout to Admiral Fletcher at Vera Cruz."

"Then at the time Secretary Daniels issued the order on April 20, he had every reason to believe that affairs at Tampico were normal and that they had been normal since April 14?"

"That is the case, if by normal you mean what had existed for quite awhile."

This is the point of importance. The whole Tampico lie is based upon the suppression of Admiral Mayo's reports between April 13 and April 20, thus conveying the false impression that the excitement of April 10 had continued from day to day without cessation.

"Now, let me run over Secretary Daniels's explanations of the order," I continued, producing the various bulletins of the Navy Department. "To sum up, this was the situation on April 20 as Washington saw it: As a result of Huerta's refusal to give up the demanded salute, decisive action was decided upon. Not unconnected with Huerta's policy of deceit and delay was the fact that the German steamer *Ypiranga*, loaded with arms and munitions for the Huerta forces, was approaching Vera Cruz. To prevent this delivery, and to punish Huerta for his insolence, the seizure of the customhouse at Vera Cruz was ordered.

"Now, *then*, under Admiral Fletcher at Vera Cruz were the battleships *Florida* and *Utah* and the transport *Prairie*. The dreadnaughts, unable to enter the harbor and compelled to lie out at sea, could afford slight protection to landing parties. Under Mayo at Tampico, however, were light-draft vessels fitted for that very purpose. The military advisers of Secretary Daniels, therefore, suggested that Mayo and the light-draft vessels be ordered to Vera Cruz; and this was done. Not only did the reports show Tampico quiet, with all conditions normal, but Admiral Badger, with the full Atlantic Squadron, was due in Tampico on the evening of April 21. What do you think of that explanation?" I asked.

"What any honest man must think of it," Admiral Mayo replied. "It is simple, straightforward, and convincing. Now let me go from there. In the first place Admiral Fletcher was in full charge on the Mexican coast. From the first, Secretary Daniels had put large faith in his intelligence and discretion, recognizing that his presence on the ground gave him the most complete view; hence things must be handled by him. Admiral Fletcher treated me in like manner. So when I received the orders to go to Vera Cruz, I sent for Mr. Miller, the American consul at Tampico, to make a final survey of the local situation. I did not then know that the seizure of the Vera Cruz customhouse had been ordered, and as a consequence considered everything from the standpoint of Tampico alone.

"Mr. Miller protested strenuously against my departure. All was quiet, to be sure; but there was the ever-present anti-American feeling that had to be guarded against. I concluded that it was not safe to leave Tampico and communicated the consul's protest and my own opinion to Admiral Fletcher."

"The charge has been made," I said, "and is now being made repeatedly, that both you and Consul Miller sent bitter protests to Secretary Daniels, and that he ignored them. Is this true?"

"It is absolutely untrue. I have since learned that it was not until Admiral Fletcher filed his report in May that the Navy Department ever knew that a protest had been made. It was my judgment that I should remain at Tampico. I put this judgment up to Admiral Fletcher, my ranking officer, and he approved. Radio communication was difficult, however; and as his answer had not arrived by 7 o'clock on the morning of April 21, I arranged to start down the river. Just before passing out of the jetties, about 10.30 a. m., I received a wireless from Admiral Fletcher approving my recommendation and telling me to retain the *Connecticut, Dolphin, Des Moines, Cyclops,* and *Solace* to look out for American and foreign lives until other provision is made; also giving me my first information that he had been ordered to seize the customhouse at Vera Cruz. I sent word back that I was outside and would remain outside for further orders or developments."

"How far were you from Tampico?"

"About 6 miles. Well, later in the morning Admiral Fletcher asked me to expedite the *Chester* and the *San Francisco*, and I sent them promptly. Then I learned that Admiral Badger and Admiral Fletcher, consulting by wireless, had agreed that the battleships of the Atlantic Fleet should change their course from Tampico to Vera Cruz, letting the three divisions of destroyers come on to me."

"What was happening in Tampico,," I asked.

"Nothing very serious. The day of the 21st passed off quietly enough, but that night after the Mexicans knew of the fighting in Vera Cruz, there were some anti-American demonstrations that the Federal troops put down quickly. It was during these demonstrations that Capt. Koehler, of the German cruiser *Dresden*, went to Gen. Zaragoza and demanded that he stop the demonstration and that he protect the Americans. He, with some of his officers, escorted some American ladies and children to the boat landing and took them off to the *Dresden*.

"I received so many alarming reports during the night of the 21st and 22d that I decided to go up the river on the morning of the 22d and bring out the Americans. What I had been guarding against was any appearance of hostile action that might occasion a general outbreak, but the pressure put upon me was too strong to be resisted.

"You see, the problem was not merely the protection of Americans in Tampico alone, for the foreign population was scattered all through the oil region and among ranches far in the interior. Early on the morning of April 22 I sent a message to Capt. Doughty, of the British cruiser *Hermione*, telling him of my intent, and asking him to inform Gen. Zaragoza that I was coming in for the sole purpose of taking out American citizens.

"Capt. Doughty at once made a request that my plan should be changed. He pointed out that it was not only Americans who were concerned, but also English, German, French, and Spanish. He did not doubt my ability to handle the Tampico situation, but he did fear for the safety of all foreigners in the city and in the interior. One shot from my guns, one clash between my men and the Federal forces, and a fire would be lighted that would spread far faster than any relief expedition could hope to follow. What he suggested was that I should remain outside and permit him to collect all Americans quietly and slowly, and then send them out to me.

"It struck me as a good idea, and I advised Admiral Fletcher as follows:

"'Arranged as last resort to go in this morning to bring out Americans. Felt almost sure such action would precipitate hostilities. British captain when informed of my purpose requested me for the sake of all foreigners not to come in, but that he would send Americans out, to which I agreed.'

"For three days this work of rescue went on. Over 2,100 Americans were taken out.

"So that is how the lie started that the United States deserted its citizens and forced them to seek refuge under the British flag?" I said.

"Exactly. For three days the work of rescue went on. We took out about 3,000 Americans, dividing up among the ships as best we could. I chartered one steamer and also had sent me two transports, the *Hancock* and the *Dixie*, and two Ward Line steamers. I sent about 2,100 Americans to Galveston in these vessels and the *Connecticut* and some colliers and destroyers. Also later sent a large number to New Orleans.

"Were any lives lost, Admiral Mayo?" I asked.

"Not a single life."

"Any property destroyed?"

"None, except losses incident to the rebel attack. Surely such results ought to constitute a sufficient answer to misrepresentations and aspersions," he exclaimed with intense earnestness. "No bloodshed, no destruction. It would have been easy for me to have smashed Tampico into bits with my guns. Not only did I have the battleship *Connecticut*, the *Des Moines*, and the *Dolphin*, but early on the morning of the 22d, the three divisions of destroyers from Admiral Badger's fleet came up. You never saw a more beautiful sight than the swift approach as they came up to the river's mouth in line.

"But it would have meant war and burning and killing, and what I was after was the protection of American lives and property. It was a trying situation. Lots of times it was hard for me to exercise self-restraint, but I realized that the lives of thousands hung on that very self-restraint. I think the results justified my course.

"More than anything else I resent the way they are hitting at Secretary Daniels over my shoulder. I know little of politics. I care less. I believe that Mr. Daniels's whole effort is to increase the efficiency of the Navy, and that his acts have been what he deemed for the interest of the Navy and the country. Certainly no Secretary of the Navy within the past 40 years has worked harder to acquaint himself with naval details, and I believe that to-day he knows more about the Navy than any other Secretary the country has had."

At this moment the long line of dreadnaughts came steaming into Hampton Roads, back from target practice.

"How were the scores?" I asked.

"Good," he exclaimed. "Last year there was a 40 per cent improvement in marksmanship. This year we will show a 20 per cent improvement over last. I think I am safe in saying that we can do as well as any nation at long-range shooting. And yet it is hard to pick up a paper or a magazine without finding some mean fling at the Navy for its gunnery."

"Going back to Tampico for a moment," I said, "there's another point I want cleared up. It is claimed that there was intense dissatisfaction among the refugees while on board your ships."

"That's exaggeration," he answered. "As I told you, about 2,000 were sent to Galveston. Along about May 3 some who were on the ships wanted to go back to Tampico. I refused to let them. The Mexicans believed there was war with the United States. The rebels were attacking again, and the capture of the town was liable to happen any day. English, French, and German ships were crowded with their refugees, and in no case was permission being given to land. I talked the whole matter over with the Americans, and at the close of the conference, they agreed that my position was wise and proper."

"How did they feel about intervention, Admiral Mayo?"

"Well," he said, "never mind my personal opinion, here is what Mr. Miller, the American consul, thought about it." Thumbing over the pages of his report, he found the following message from the official who has been charged with being most bitter over the attitude of President Wilson:

"'A war of American intervention would be a great calamity. All other nations will stand to reap all the advantages. Whatever the result might be, our country would bear all the expense and reap the crop of resulting hatred and vengeance. Americans will be unable for many years to work in the outlying districts in the oil fields and other parts of Mexico.'

"Tampico fell on May 13," he continued. "I sailed up the river on the 14th, and had a conference with Gen. Gonzales concerning the rights of foreign citizens. All saloons were closed and everything was quiet and orderly. As a result of our very satisfactory interview, Americans came in and conditions gradually returned to normal. That, sir, is the whole story of the Tampico incident."

So much for the testimony of Admiral Mayo. Now for the story of Admiral Fletcher. I found him in Washington in the office of the general board, a man of few words, steady of eye, and fairly oozing a sense of competency.

"When I got the order to seize the customhouse at Vera Cruz," he said, "I had the two dreadnaughts, *Florida* and *Utah*, and the transport *Prairie*.

"Admiral Badger, in command of the Atlantic squadron, and headed for Tampico, was about 200 miles away. Getting in touch with him by wireless, I gave it as my opinion that Vera Cruz was now the center of operations, and suggested that he change his destination from Tampico to Vera Cruz.

"He approved. Dispatching his three divisions of destroyers to Tampico he came to Vera Cruz with his battleships.

"Admiral Mayo, after receiving orders to leave Tampico, advised me that he thought it best to remain, and backed up his own opinion with a protest from the American consul. I sent back word approving his recommendation, and directed him to retain the *Connecticut, Dolphin, Des Moines, Cyclops,* and *Solace* for the protection of American and foreign lives."

"Did you take up these matters with Secretary Daniels?" I asked.

"I immediately informed the department of my action in directing ships to remain at Tampico to protect Americans and foreigners and this met with the approval of the department," he replied. "The expected order to seize the customhouse came at 8 o'clock on the morning of April 21. The German steamer *Ypiranga*, loaded with arms for the Huerta government, was only a few hours away. A norther was blowing up that looked like it might preclude landing. So I decided on instant action, without waiting either for Admiral Badger or the *Chester* and *San Francisco*.

"At 11.30 a landing party took possession of the customhouse, and an hour later the *Ypiranga* steamed up to find that she must either deliver cargo into our hands or else leave port.

"At 9 o'clock that night the *Chester* and *San Francisco* came into the harbor, and we landed their battalions of seamen and marines. Shortly after midnight Admiral Badger arrived, and he sent on shore the seamen and marine battalions from the *Arkansas, New Hampshire, South Carolina, Michigan,* and *New Jersey.*

"During the day of the 22d the *Hancock, Louisiana, Minnesota,* and *Michigan* came up and landed forces. I had a force of 6,000 bluejackets on shore, and by noon the town was entirely under our control, with order restored."

"Tell me, Admiral Fletcher," I asked, "is it true that you received an order to destroy no buildings, and that it was because of the protection that this order gave to snipers that you suffered the loss of 19 lives?"

"No. My one order was to seize the customhouse at Vera Cruz. A bombardment at that time was out of the question, because there were treaties and noncombatants to be considered and the time element did not permit of delay. The *Chester* and *San Francisco* and *Prairie,* lying in close, fired only on the buildings that harbored snipers."

I desire also to avail myself of this opportunity to place in the RECORD some facts which I think should be known.

In the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of March 3, 1917, page 4918, appears a statement of Senator TILLMAN, chairman of the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs. Among the statements of the distinguished Senator from South Carolina appears the following:

It will be noticed, however, that the House, although it has been laboring on the bill since December, sent such a loosely drawn and defective bill that its conferees could not but accept nearly all the Senate amendments. I grew tired of writing "H. R.," which means "House recedes."

It may be answered that it is true the Senate placed in the bill an amendment for $150,000,000 for the same purposes for which I introduced an amendment in the House when the bill was under consideration, and which was objected to on a point of order and was not in order under the rules of the House. I cheerfully acknowledge and express my appreciation of the action of the Senate in putting into the bill this item which I had suggested.

It is further true that owing to the changed conditions which followed the development of the German situation after the House had passed the naval bill and while it was pending before the Senate the Secretary of the Navy sent to the Senate Naval Committee many supplemental estimates for additional appropriations. These being, in my opinion, proper, I agreed to them, and they remained in the bill. It occurs to me a little singular that the Senator would place amendments in the bill and have the Senate adopt them and then grow tired of the House agreeing to the same. It may be noted, however, the Senate did not strike out or disagree to the provisions inserted by the House. The amendments of the Senate were almost entirely supplemental matters.

The distinguished and patriotic Senator discusses at length the Senate amendment authorizing an expenditure of $1,085,000, and making a present appropriation of $750,000 for lengthening the dry dock at Charleston, S. C., and, among other things, says:

The chairman of the House Committee on Naval Affairs, himself from Tennessee, is opposed to it bitterly, seemingly with unnecessary vindictiveness. My conscience would not let me defeat the whole bill, as I believe I could have done, for the sake of this one item.

The chairman of the House committee seemed willing, and I believe would rather have seen the bill defeated than to allow the item for the lengthening of the Charleston Dry Dock to stay in. He is welcome to all the glory he can get out of it. I do not accuse him of lack of patriotism, nor do I accuse him of insincerity, but I do accuse him of a stubbornness and narrowness with which no statesman in a time of national necessity like this should be afflicted. My conscience is clear, because I fought for what I know was right, and owing to my sense of patriotism, knowing the country needed a naval bill so badly, I did not endanger its passage for the sake of that item.

It may be interesting as well as elucidating to give some information about this matter, so that readers may form their own conclusions. At the last session of Congress this same item was placed in the bill as a Senate amendment and the House conferees were unwilling for lack of information to agree to it, and it was eliminated. At that time I stated to the Senator that we would authorize the appointment of a commission of naval officers to thoroughly investigate and report upon it.

The Secretary of the Navy appointed a commission composed of some of the most able and distinguished officers of the Navy, as follows:

J. M. Helm, rear admiral, United States Navy, senior member of commission; W. L. Capps, Chief Constructor United States Navy, member; H. H. Rousseau, civil engineer, United States Navy, member; G. W. McElroy, captain, United States Navy, member; C. L. Hussey, commander, United States Navy, member.

This commission visited Charleston and made an inspection and reported, and I shall copy verbatim the portion of the report bearing on the subject. It is as follows:

Referring to the tabular list of vessels contained in paragraph 26, it will be noted that in 1921 the total number of effective vessels in the Navy will be 412, exclusive of tugs, vessels unservicable for military purposes, converted yachts, and other miscellaneous craft. Of these 412 vessels 93 per cent can be docked in the dry dock at the Charleston Navy Yard. In fact, only 29 of these 412 vessels will have dimensions which would preclude their using the dry dock now in existence. Referring also to the list of dry docks given in paragraph 20, it will be seen that the dry dock at Charleston is one of those docks which can accommodate all vessels of the Navy up to and including the U. S. S. *Utah.* It may also be noted that it is one of four dry docks possessed by the Navy and situated on the continental coast line of the United States which carries 34 feet of water over the dock sill at mean high tide. This depth over the sill, however, can not be utilized to its full extent, since the distance of the floor of the dock below the dock sill is insufficient to permit an adequate height of keel blocks when the vessel just clears the dock sill. It may be well to note, in this connection, that in any comparison as to capacity of dry docks by statement of depth of water which can be carried over the dock sill, the basis of measurement for depth over the sill is taken from mean high water, whereas in stating the limiting depths of water in the channel approaches and anchorage areas of harbors the basis of measurement is mean low water. Thus, at Charleston, when the water over the dock sill is given as 34 feet, the depth of water in the 30-foot channel approaches would, under the same conditions, be 35.2 feet, 5.2 feet being the average tidal range from low to high water at Charleston.

Now, as to lengthening the existing dry dock at Charleston to accommodate battle cruisers, a suggestion which has been made at various times in the past. These vessels are 874 feet in length over all. Their draft at full-load displacement is 34 feet. To provide an adequate depth of channel and area of turning basin to accommodate vessels of this size would involve expenditures for dredging alone, including first cost and maintenance, which would hardly be justified unless it was definitely decided to develop this yard as one of the first class, capable of accommodating the largest vessels now contemplated. While the depth over the sill of the Charleston dock at normal high water is 34 feet, the distance of the floor of the dock below the dock sill is such, as already stated, that a vessel can not be properly docked when drawing as much as 34 feet. In fact, 32 feet would probably be a reasonable maximum. In a damaged condition vessels of the battle-cruiser class could easily reach a draft, forward or aft, of more than 40 feet. It must, therefore, be evident that the Charleston Dock, even though lengthened to accommodate a battle cruiser, under unusual conditions of moderately light draft, would have insufficient depth of water over the sill and in the channel approaches to accommodate such vessels under normal deep-load conditions. Under damaged conditions, involving unusual draft, the situation would be even more serious. It is this last condition, the docking of a damaged vessel, which is of especially serious consequence in time of war. Therefore it seems undesirable at this time to provide for the lengthening of the dock merely to accommodate these vessels under peace conditions. Moreover, questions of area and depth of turning basin opposite the dock would have to be considered. The problem of affording docking facilities for vessels of the battle cruiser and possibly larger classes at Charleston is inseparably associated with the final determination of whether or not Charleston should be developed as a first-class naval station, and this problem, as already stated, is necessarily dependent upon further examination of channel and harbor conditions and the entire South Atlantic-Gulf of Mexico-Caribbean situation.

Later on in the report, in making specific its recommendations, the commission says:

Lengthening of dry dock at Charleston not recommended at this time for reasons given.

Acting upon this report, I could not in good conscience agree to an expenditure of $1,085,000 to lengthen the Charleston dry dock when it was not recommended by the commission. Yea, more; when the commission made an adverse recommendation and stated reasons and conditions which it seems to me would address the intelligence of any fair-minded man.

If this was my own money and I was contemplating engaging in the enterprise, and not possessing myself the necessary technical knowledge and information and I should appoint a board of experts possessing ability and technical knowledge and they made the report as above indicated, I would not disregard that report on the spur of the moment and invest my own money.

I confess I am somewhat old-fashioned in my notions. Yes, I may even be an old fogy, but I believe I should be as considerate in spending the public money as I would be in spending my own.

Arming of American Merchant Ships.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. STANLEY BENEDICT,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 1, 1917.

Mr. BENEDICT. Mr. Speaker, I am unalterably opposed to this resolution as it now reads, because I believe it is the last step toward war, and I am firmly convinced that the great masses of our people do not want war.

Armed neutrality was the keynote of the President's message delivered to us last Monday before a joint session of the House and Senate, but the element of neutrality is wholly lacking in this bill. No provision whatever is made for preserving even the neutrality which we as a Nation have heretofore maintained. Our very first defensive act will destroy our neutrality unless

prior to its commission we issue a distinct pronouncement to all nations that we intend to remain neutral under all circumstances, but that we propose to enforce our neutral rights by force of arms, if need be, against all nations alike. The first shot fired by a merchant vessel, armed under the provisions of this bill, will immediately involve us in war.

This resolution permits the arming of ships carrying arms and ammunition to belligerents, which act in itself is equivalent to a declaration of war, and allies us with the side to which the goods are consigned. The rejection of the amendment to prohibit arming vessels carrying arms and ammunition to belligerents makes it clearly evident that it is the intention to arm such vessels. Not one of you will deny that this is equivalent to declaring war. A merchant vessel loaded with firearms for a warring nation and equipped by the United States Government with defensive guns manned by our gunners can not possibly be considered neutral in any sense. Does any Member think it right to sacrifice American lives and American ships for the sole purpose of forcing the safe delivery of more guns and more ammunition to the warring nations of Europe with which to continue their frightful destruction of human life? I can not conscientiously, nor will I deliberately, vote to plunge the millions of our people into bloody warfare, burden the country with war debts for years to come, and retard the advancement of our Nation simply to maintain the channels of commerce open to those few who, at the cost of the many, are profiting by the terrible conflict in Europe.

None, so far as I know, are clamoring for this action but the commercial interests whose enormous profits from sale of war supplies have been cut off. These interests are now crying for the Government to protect them while they continue taking toll from this awful slaughter. In truth, for the sake of the almighty dollar we have long been an active party to this frightful carnage by furnishing the arms and munitions to keep it going. It is now demanded that the National Government protect this traffic and, with all its power and even at the cost of millions of lives, compel the continuance of this lucrative trade. Furthermore, by this bill it is proposed to set aside $25,000,000 of the people's money with which the United States Government will insure the ships and cargoes of those who are profiting from the misfortune of Europe. Unwilling to assume the risk themselves, but anxious to secure the great profits, these interests call upon the Government to insure them against loss in their hazardous trade.

Those who are most vitally concerned, the rank and file of the public whose lives will be sacrificed and whose homes will be broken, and who must carry the bulk of the burden of war debt have not urged this action but have, wherever opportunity afforded, voiced their determined opposition to war. Most wars are waged for commercial advantage and the present one is not different from the others. The public is rapidly coming to realize this and the great masses who must do the fighting and bear the burdens have come to know that there is nothing for them to gain but everything to lose. I will not vote to force the great masses of the people to give their all for commercial conquest and the enrichment of a few.

It is easy to inflame the public mind with cries of "patriotism," "loyalty," "stand by the country," and "uphold its honor" and by covering up the real situation mislead the public into believing that a crisis has arisen calling for the utmost patriotism. The President, in his message, informed us very clearly that—

> The situation is substantially the same that it was when I addressed you on the 3d of February, except for the tying up of our shipping in our own ports because of the unwillingness of our shipowners to risk their vessels at sea without insurance or adequate protection.

This, gentlemen, is the crux of the whole situation. Our lucrative business of supplying the warring nations of Europe has been interfered with, and we are now expected to plunge the entire country into bloody warfare to force the continuance of this business. No present infringement of the rights of humanity is urged in support of immediate action. Sordid gain seems to be the sole incentive. The very commercial interests that are clamoring the loudest for Government protection are those who are exhausting every source of food supply here by selling at enormous profits to foreign markets, thereby mercilessly increasing the high cost of living to a condition well-nigh unbearable and causing want and suffering throughout our own country, as witness the bread riots in New York.

I am neither pro-German nor pro-ally, but American through and through, and will not assist in throwing my country into war on either side. This is real Americanism; this is sincere, honest neutrality. I am heartily in favor of real armed neutrality, not a so-called neutrality that aligns us with either one side or the other, much less deliberately throws us into war against one of the sides. This resolution has been characterized very generally as one providing for armed neutrality for our country, and in this respect has misled the general public. As a matter of fact, it has not a single element of neutrality in it. The United States has thus far stood as the greatest of neutral nations and the strongest advocate of human rights. Shall we now depart from this exalted position by deliberately and voluntarily joining this bloody warfare and thus lose forever the greatest opportunity for advancing human rights that ever came to any nation? America, in the wisdom of Providence, was founded for a great purpose. It is the hope of the oppressed and the refuge of all liberty-loving people. Once we are drawn into European controversies we will lose forever our security and independence and must ever thereafter be a party to every conflict there. We will then be fighting to maintain the oppression of monarchies.

There is no denying that we have suffered sufficient provocation for war. Both Great Britain and Germany have given us ample justification in this present conflict for going to war against either or both of them. Great Britain has blockaded the North Sea and most effectually cut off our trade with Germany and many of the neutral nations. She has seized and rifled our mails; she has taken our vessels and impressed them into service. Two of our vessels, the *Carib* and *Evelyn*, entering the North Sea, which is a part of the high seas upon which all countries have a perfect right to go unmolested, were sent to the bottom by mines laid by Great Britain, with loss of American lives in both cases. The closing of the North Sea to our commerce was a flagrant violation of our rights. We should have taken a definite stand then, and notified Great Britain that unless all the ports of the world were left open to us we would not supply her with munitions or money. Likewise Germany has declared a war zone around Great Britain, warning us that our ships of commerce enter it at their peril, which is an unwarranted interference with our commercial rights. She has sunk ships upon which American commerce and American citizens were being lawfully transported. Any one of these acts of both belligerents would have been sufficient provocation for a declaration of war if we had so desired. But in the language of George Washington, "We may choose peace or war, as our interests, guided by justice, shall counsel." Having chosen peace, under all the circumstances above given, why such sudden haste now to plunge into war when no new cause has arisen to justify it? Furthermore, why should we declare war on one of the offending parties only? Where is our policy of "strict accountability"?

The adoption of real armed neutrality would permit us to maintain our position as the greatest neutral nation of the world and would leave us at the conclusion of the European conflict in a position to accomplish for humanity a great service. Whereas, if we become involved in this conflict, we are but the least of a number of bloody combatants without definite purpose and with no hope of service to humanity. The policy of real armed neutrality is the course adopted heretofore by neutral nations during the great wars of Europe. This resolution does not establish real armed neutrality, and the course we are following is not strictly neutral. It is significant to note that not a single other neutral nation has joined our country in the position we have taken toward the belligerent powers. It is rather a reflection on our neutral policy that all other neutral nations have succeeded in maintaining their neutrality even despite the fact that some of them are in the very midst of the war zone.

I ask you who really favor war, what good can possibly come of it? Do you expect to retrieve any of the losses by adding to them a thousandfold? Can any of you possibly believe that we can maintain the freedom of the seas while this conflict rages? What can you hope for the future of our country once she is involved in the interminable controversies of Europe? Washington's inquiry in his farewell address is unanswerable, "Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?"

What will the results be to our country if we engage in war? Thousands of young men will be taken from peaceful and honorable callings to kill and be killed on the battle field or to be returned with broken bodies as charges upon the public. Homes will be wrecked throughout the entire land, mothers and wives will be bereft of loved ones, and countless little children will be left unprotected. The destruction of youth would set our country back for decades. To wage a war in the manner of the present conflict would require an expenditure of billions of dollars. Our country would be burdened with excessive taxation and our children would stagger under the legacy of bonded indebtedness which we would leave them. Industrial progress would be paralyzed and the useful arts and sciences wholly neglected. The whole moral tone of the Nation would be degraded. All of this

for what purpose? Simply to pile up profits on merchandise shipped to the warring nations.

Furthermore, it is manifestly unfair to the whole country and to the President for Congress to throw this entire matter on the shoulders of one man, the President, and require him to struggle with it alone. You should assist with advice, counsel, and encouragement, not go home and leave all to the President. Congress has always remained in session heretofore during such trying times as these.

It is not the duty of Congress to weigh the merits of the two sides engaged in the European conflict, but to squarely face the real issue presented by this resolution—do the American people want war? Let no Member who is opposed to war deceive himself in voting for this resolution. Its passage inevitably means war. I yield to no man in loyalty to my country and in patriotism for its rights, and would fight in its defense as quickly as anyone. Therefore do not misunderstand me in this respect and do not classify me as one who does not believe in adequate preparedness. Courage and patriotism do not consist in following blindly a call to arms without reason. In such times of public excitement as these the moral coward is certain to follow the crowd and avoid unpopular comment. I believe the highest patriotism at this time consists in compelling strict armed neutrality in its fullest sense.

One Hundred Best Anti-Socialist Books.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL E. BURKE,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Speaker, under the order granting general permission to Members of Congress to extend their remarks in the RECORD for a period of 10 calendar days I hereby incorporate as a part of my remarks the following list of 100 best anti-Socialist books. This compilation was made by J. B. Barnhill, editor of the American Anti-Socialist:

THE GREATEST THINKERS UNEQUIVOCALLY CONDEMN SOCIALISM AND ITS REIGN OF REGIMENTATION.

The gravest and most instructive fact revealed to us by this grand spectacle of civilization is the danger, the insurmountable evil, of absolute power in any form. (Guizot.)

SOCIALISM DESTROYS LIBERTY.

Personal liberty and private property rose together; they developed together, and they now stand or fall together. (W. S. Lilly.)

If the employees of all these different enterprises (roads, railways, banks, great joint-stock companies, public charities, municipal corporations, and local boards) were appointed and paid by the Government and looked to the Government for every rise in life, not all the freedom of the press and popular constitution of the legislature would make this or any other country free otherwise than in name. (J. S. Mill.)

THE DEADLY LOGIC OF SOCIALISM.

What is everybody's business is nobody's business. What is everybody's profit is nobody's profit. What is everybody's loss is nobody's loss; therefore if the Government loses hundreds of millions no one has lost anything. (J. B. Barnhill.)

Socialistic legislation restricts the liberty of the citizen in two ways: First, by lessening that portion of his earnings which he can spend as he pleases, and, secondly, by augmenting that portion taken from him to be spent as public agents please. (Herbert Spencer.)

Under socialism you can not be born without the State's consent: It would be possible for the State to guarantee employment at ample wages to all who are born; but if it does this it is bound in self-protection to provide that no person shall be born without its consent. (John Stuart Mill.)

SOCIALISM PRESENTS A PROGRAM OF PROGRESSIVE DEGENERATION.

Equal reward is incompatible with efficiency. (Hirsch.)

Were we directed from Washington when to sow and when to reap, we should soon want bread. (Jefferson.)

The people who, in their corporate capacity, abolish the natural relation between merits and benefits will presently be abolished themselves. (Spencer.)

THE LITANIES OF LIBERTY.

That government is best which governs least.

Liberty—not the daughter but the mother of order.

No history is copious enough to record the evils that have ensued upon the denial of liberty. (Greville McDonald.)

Other liberties are held under Government, but the liberty of opinion keeps Governments themselves in due subjection to their duties. (Lord Erskine.)

THE WORSHIP OF POWER, THE MOST FATAL FORM OF IDOLATRY, MAN'S MOST INVETERATE INFATUATION.

It is a universal tradition, founded on universal experience, that man is corrupted by power. (J. Stuart Mill.)

The crimes of history may be summed up in the words "abuse of power." The teaching of history is that power is always abused. (J. Stuart Blackie.)

THE ETERNAL CONFLICT BETWEEN LIBERTY AND POWER.

There absolutely exist under socialism no means by which public resistance to official aggression can be organized. (Hirsch.)

The love of power and the love of liberty are in eternal antagonism. Where there is least liberty the passion for power is the most ardent and unscrupulous. (J. S. Mill.)

UNDER SOCIALISM THE INDIVIDUAL WITHERS AND THE STATE IS MORE AND MORE.

I do verily believe that a single consolidated government would become the most corrupt government on the earth. (Jefferson.)

Where everything is done through the bureaucracy, nothing to which the bureaucracy is adverse can be done at all. (J. S. Mill.)

THE 100 BEST ANTISOCIALIST BOOKS.

THE BEST DEBATES ON SOCIALISM.

(The letter S. stands for the word "socialism.")

Bradlaugh-Hyndman: Will S. Benefit the People?
Bax-Bradlaugh: Will S. Benefit the People?
Tichenor-Antisocialist Debate, including Dictionary of Socialist Delusions. 63 pp.
Belloc-McDonald: S. Leads to Servile State.
De Leon-Berry: Trust Issue or Capitalism *v.* S.
Land Question: Spencer, Levy, Flurscheim, etc.
Debate on Value: Levy, Shaw, Bax, Hyndman.
Bax-Levy: Socialism *v.* Individualism.
Individualism and Land Question: Levy, etc.
Gompers-Hillquitt: Unionism *v.* Socialism.
Hirsch-Bennett: Would S. Reduce the Wealth Received by the Majority of the People? 73 pp.
De Leon-Carmody: Individualism *v.* S.
Bradlaugh-Besant: Socialism—For and Against.

The foregoing debates and the following pamphlets are particularly helpful to those whose duty it may be to point out the dangers and fallacies of socialism:

Failures of S. Twenty-four historical illustrations.
S. an Actual Experiment (and a great failure).
An Apology for (Commercial) Liberty. Mackay.
Things Seen and Things Not Seen. Bastiat.
S. Indicted by Balfour, Philpotts, Swift, etc.
Berger Attacks Small Farmers and Sweatbox for S.
Eleven Blind Leaders. "How Will S. Come?"
Debate on Limitation of Wealth. Devney et al.
Money Problem and Panics. Clay, Robins.
Inheritance Tax *v.* Public Reserve. Norris, etc.
New Jersey Socialist Unity Conference.
Outcome of Individualism. Arraigns S. Levy.
Individualism. Attacks S. Legis. Pollard.
Individualism; the Ideal of Democracy. Hodgkiss.

THE BEST PAPER-BACK BOOKS.

Exposure of S. Three addresses and a debate. Hirsch. Unanswerable. Incomparably brilliant and effective.

On Liberty. J. S. Mill. John Milton and John Mill are names to conjure with when the sovereignty of the individual is threatened. This book is the magna charta of individualism.

The Man *v.* The State. Spencer. Contains the famous chapters "The coming slavery," "The sins of legislators," "The great political superstition," etc.

Social Statics. Spencer. Has "The duty of the State," "The limit of State duty," etc.

Political Socialism—Would it Fail in Success? Crawford. This book by a brother of the late United States Senator C. I. Crawford, is easily the ablest and most helpful exposure of socialism that has appeared in United States. 118 pp.

The Social and Economic Problem. Michael Flurscheim. In this, the swan song of this veteran radical, who had fought for his principles in three continents, the reader will find the land and money problems treated in a very interesting and thorough manner. The author's large work, "The Clue to the Economic Labyrinth," is now out of print. This work contains all that the author wished to preserve of the earlier work. 277 pp.

Socialism: Its Fallacies and Dangers. Millar.
Limitation: Solution of Economic Problem. Devney.
Impossible Vagaries of S. (R. Larmour, Rw. veteran.)
Fallacies of S. Plainly Stated. Beanland.
Short Studies in Economic Subjects. Levy.
Essays and Addresses. Max Hirsch.
S. an Incubus on the Labor Movement. Sullivan.
Problems and Perils of S. (Strachey.) "S. would deteriorate character and lessen product."
Pages from Socialist History. Tcherkesoff.
Berger's Hit and Misses in Congress. De Leon.
The Rights of Minorities. G. Jellinek. 40 pp.
The Land, the People, and the State. Sir G. Parker.
Socialism Not the Best Remedy. Cailie.

THE BEST CLOTH-BOUND BOOKS.

Where S. Failed. Cosme Colony, etc. Graham.
The Servile State (Socialism). Belloc.
Marx & Close of His System. Bohm Bawerk.
Anti-Socialist Speakers' Handbook (British).
S. Exposed. British writers. 400 pp.
Facts Against S. 3 vols. (British.)
Capitalist's View of S. B. P. Blood. 237 pp.
Orthocratic State. On true functions of government.
Science of Society. Deep, original. Andrews.
Socialism: Its Perils (Fallacies, etc.). Cooper.
The Cause of Business Depressions. Bilgram & Levy. Defending competition the authors contend that the present economic discord can be traced to the Government's unreasonable control of currency. 565 pp.
Pictures of the Socialistic Future. Richter.
Province of the State. Attacks S. R. K. Wilson.
Orthodox S. in New Zealand. Le Rossignol & Stewart.
Orthodox S.: a Criticism. Dr. J. E. Le Rossignol.
Instead of S. (Daniel). S. Rejected. Samuelson. 340 pp.
Challenge of Facts. Reply to S. W. G. Sumner.
Plain Examination of S. (G. Simonson).
S. and Social Movement. Sombart. 216 pp.
Outlines of Railway Economics. D. Knoop.
Economic Liberalism. H. Levy. 124 pp.
Socialism: Promise or Menace. Hillquitt-Ryan.
Marxism *v.* Socialism. Real Democracy.
Road to Freedom and Beyond. J. & E. Wedgwood.

Why I Oppose S. Leading men. Comp. by Silvin.
Critical Exam. of S. (W. H. Mallock.)
Case Against S. Armory of Facts and Figures.
S. in Local Government. The S. State. Gonner.
The Railways and the State. F. W. Pim.
State Railway Muddle in Australia. E. A. Pratt.
Case Against Rw. Nationalization. E. A. Pratt.
English S. of To-day. Arnold-Foster. 246 pp.
Liberty and Progress. What is S.? Scotsburn.
Social Wrongs: a Practical Remedy. Swansson.
Social Service. Post. Defends competition.
Game of Life. B. Hall. Points out S. errors.
Collectivism. Leroy-Beaulieu. 343 pp. "To those who talk loosely of Socialism as at least a tendency in the right direction and as the necessary step of progress or evolution, the clear thinking of this book may be strongly recommended." Probably the most searching analysis of the various Socialistic schemes.
Socialism. Robt. Flint. 512 pp. Profound but eminently readable. One of the great intellectual achievements on this subject.
Socialism: A Critical Analysis. O. D. Skelton. 329 pp. Has the best English bibliography. A supreme achievement in power of exposition, dissection and rebuttal. Probably the ablest recent attack on socialism.
Contemporary Socialism. Rae. Competent critics call this book the best English textbook on the subject. While keenly criticising socialism the author does justice to the Socialist point of view. Good index. The book displays a masterly comprehension of the whole economic situation.
Collectivism and the Socialism of the Liberal School. A. Naquet. Eloquent, keenly analytical. "Socialism would bring about the stagnation and retrogression of the human race."
The Quintessence of Socialism. Schaffle. Friends and foes of socialism regard this as the best brief, scientific, exposition of socialism.
The Impossibility of Social Democracy. Schaffle. 419 pp. The author gives the grounds of his conviction that the program of the Socialists is incapable of practical application.
The New Socialism. Stoddart. Critical, impartial, judicial. Exhibits the manifold contradictions of Socialist teaching respecting the questions of a free press, compensation, rewards of labor, expropriation and the family.
The Essentials of Socialism. Cross. A fairly satisfactory introduction to the subject. Impartial.
The Menace of Socialism. Wilson. 520 pp. Fresh, vigorous, and practical. Full of quotable sentences. The author exhibits no little accumen in his analysis of Socialist proposals and in his defense of private enterprise, private property, and private capital. "There is nothing which the Socialists fear so much as a peasant proprietary. The tenacious hold of the small owner on the soil can not be shaken by Socialism."
British Socialism. Barker. 522 pp. Very useful to those who wish to know the practical suggestions deduced from Socialist theories.
Socialistic Fallacies. Yves Guyot. 343 pp.
Principles of Social Economy. Guyot. 305 pp. The author appears in his most brilliant form in this book. Incomparably clear and effective in discussing the true functions of the State.
Economic Prejudices. Guyot. 176 pp. An exposure of Socialistic fallacies. "Socialism—that is, the State substituting itself for individual liberty, and growing to be the most terrible of tyrants."
In addition to the foregoing list of the 100 best anti-Socialist books, the student will find the following very helpful:
The New Social Democracy. Harley. Shows the declining influence of Karl Marx.
The Pattern Nation. Wrixon. Especially valuable to half-hearted and short-sighted supporters of Socialism. The author thinks that the delusive experience of semi-Socialism will be such that the people, when it comes to a crisis and the final choice between freedom and Socialism, will choose freedom. If they do not, then the result will be a decline of civilization.
Australian Socialism. St. Ledger. 365 pp. Shows the farmer to be the foe of Socialism.
Present-day Socialism and the Problem of the Unemployed. Raine. The author says: "The replies which I give to Socialist questions have actually been employed by myself in arguments."
The Superstition Called Socialism. Tunzelman.
Adam Smith. McPherson. Good for beginners.
Wealth of Nations. This work by its teachings has given employment to millions.
Essays on Questions of the Day. Goldwin Smith.
Conflict bet. Individualism & Collec. Eliot.
Uncle Sam, Banker: 1910–1940. Fulton.
Principles of Property. Kinnear. Views of Vanoc.
Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. Stephen.
The Complete Works of Herbert Spencer.
Open Review. Arthur Kitson, editor. The bound volume of this magazine, in its 560 pages, has many articles of unique interest and value.
The Society of To-morrow. Molinari.
The Nation as a Business Firm. Mallock.
Sociology Applied to Politics. J. B. Crozier.
Our Economic Troubles and Way Out. W. H. Berry.
Syndicalism and Labor. Clay. Liberty and Authority.
Man *v.* State. With American Notes. Spencer.
Failure of Mod. Soc. H. A. Wilson.
Sociology and Modern Progress. T. N. Carver.
Critique of S. Adams. Instead of a Book. Tucker.
Progress from Experience. Hyde. Very original.
The State and the Individual. W. S. McKechnie.
Psychology of Socialism. Le Bon.
Wealth *v.* Commonwealth. Lloyd.
Spencer's Synthetic Philos. (Intro. to Justice.)
Physics and Politics. W. Bagehote.
Publishers report the following out of print:
Last Days Ruskin Cooperative Colony.
The Duties of the State. David Dudley Field.
Plea for Liberty: An Argument against Socialism and Socialistic Legislation. H. Spencer et al.
Law in a Free State. Wordsworth Donisthorpe.
Individualism: A System of Politics. Donisthorpe.
Salvation by legislation. Pomeroy.
Socialism: Notes on a Political Tour. Sir H. Wrixon.
E. Burke: Apostle of Justice and Liberty. Finest passages.
Socialism Means Slavery for Workers. Scullin.
Studies in Economic Questions. T. Mackay.
Political Problems; Rocks Ahead; Literary and Social Judgments. All three by W. R. Greg.
Free Trade in Capital or Free Competition in Supply of Capital. A. E. Hake and O. E. Wesslau.
Involuntary Idleness. Bilgram. Few left.
Socialistic and Communistic Fragments. W. B. Greene.
Social Wealth; Economic Equities, etc. J. K. Ingalls.
Voluntary Socialism. Tandy. Attacks Collectivism.
History of American Socialisms. Very full. Noyes.
The Sphere and Duties of Government. W. V. Humboldt.
False Hopes. Goldwin Smith. Author's best style.
Democracy *v.* Socialism. Max Hirsch's masterpiece.
The Tyranny of Socialism. Guyot's masterpiece.
Value. Criticism of Polit. Econ. & S. Armsden.
Gospel of S. Hector McPherson. Pamphlet.
Literature of Political Economy. J. R. McCulloch.
Guide to Study of Political Economy. Cossa.
Dictionary of Political Economy. McLeod.
Communism in America. H. A. James.
Handbook of Social Economy. E. About.
Industrial History of Free Nations. J. R. McCulloch.

THE CREED OF LIBERTY OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SOCIALIST OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

[John Basil Barnhill, editor.]

Civilization will perish unless able men are allowed a free hand.
Mcnopoly means the death, competition the life, of civilization.
Socialism would terminate in the slavery of the masses and in an official aristocracy of government functionaries.
This is the true formula of freedom: Where the people fear the Government you have tyranny; where the Government fears the people you have liberty.
Socialists ask for "all the power," forgetting that answer, "Get thee behind me, Satan," on the only occasion when "all the power" was ever offered to anyone.
Labor has learned the bitter lesson that State employees are held guilty of treason if they resort to the weapon of the strike. In other words, labor has learned that socialism is its deadliest foe.
The universal experience of mankind is that private enterprise, private property, and private profit are the indispensable bases of a free society and of an advancing civilization. Socialism rejects these three factors of progress.

Notice of Intention to Contest.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES J. BRITT,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. BRITT. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to print granted me by the House, I insert a notice served by me upon the Hon. Zebulon Weaver, contesting his right to a seat in the House of Representatives of the Sixty-fifth Congress, the substance of which, in my opinion, is of sufficient importance to entitle it to a place in the RECORD.

The notice is as follows:

NOTICE OF INTENTION TO CONTEST.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Tenth congressional district of North Carolina.

JAMES J. BRITT, contestant, *v.* ZEBULON WEAVER, contestee.

To the Hon. ZEBULON WEAVER:

You are hereby notified that it is the intention of the undersigned contestant, James J. Britt, to contest your right to a seat in the Sixty-fifth Congress of the United States from the tenth congressional district of North Carolina, on the following grounds, to wit:

I.

That the said tenth congressional district is composed of 13 counties, namely, Buncombe, Henderson, Haywood, Transylvania, Polk, Rutherford, McDowell, Jackson, Macon, Swain, Cherokee, Clay, and Graham; that at the congressional election held in said district on November 7, 1916, you were the candidate of the Democratic Party and the contestant was the candidate of the Republican Party for a seat in the Sixty-fifth Congress; that the total vote cast for you in said district at said election was 17,995, and the total vote cast for the contestant in said district at said election was 18,008, giving to the said contestant, James J. Britt, a majority of 13 votes in said district, and thereby electing him to the said position.

II.

That the abstracts of returns of the votes cast in all the counties of said district, except the county of Buncombe, as made by the county canvassing boards in said counties and filed with the register of deeds thereof, and by him transmitted to the Secretary of State, in pursuance of section 4354 of the revisal of North Carolina, showed that a total of 13,670 votes had been cast for you in said counties, and that a total of 13,971 votes had been cast for the contestant, James J. Britt, in the said counties of said district other than Buncombe County.

III.

That in the said county of Buncombe, in said district, at the said election held on November 7, and at the close of the voting therein in each precinct, the registrar and judges of election, hereinafter called the precinct boards, in each of the 28 precincts in said county, as provided by section 4347 of the said revisal, opened all the ballot boxes, including the box for Representative in Congress, and counted, entered, and cer-

tified the number of ballots therein, and found that as to the vote for Representative in Congress the respective votes cast for yourself and the said contestant, James J. Britt, were as follows:

Precinct.	Britt.	Weaver.
Asheville:		
No. 1	119	180
No. 2	128	133
No. 3	258	339
No. 4	163	305
No. 5	148	159
No. 6	162	304
Avery's Creek	59	55
Beaverdam	195	178
Biltmore	136	218
Black Mountain	242	236
Fairview	160	147
Flat Creek	162	73
French Broad	112	115
Haw Creek	69	72
Hazel	45	73
Upper Hominy:		
No. 1	139	125
No. 2	92	156
Lower Hominy	90	147
Ivy:		
No. 1	190	99
No. 2	83	80
Leicester:		
No. 1	202	217
No. 2	121	104
Limestone	100	102
Reems Creek	273	206
Sandy Mush:		
No. 1	61	31
No. 2	101	46
Swannanoa	191	138
West Asheville	246	287
Total	4,037	4,325

Making a total of 4,325 votes cast for you and a total of 4,037 votes cast for the said contestant, James J. Britt, giving you a majority of 288 in the said county of Buncombe, or 13 less than the said majority of 301 received by the said contestant in the 12 counties of said district other than Buncombe County, and resulting in giving a majority of 13 votes to the said contestant, James J. Britt, in the said district, thereby electing him a member of the Sixty-fifth Congress.

IV.

That in each and every voting precinct in the said county of Buncombe all of said ballots were counted and the results hereof entered in written tally sheets, said tally sheets bearing the title of all offices voted for, including the title Representative in Congress, together with your name and the name of the said contestant, James J. Britt, with the respective numbers of ballots cast for each at said precinct placed opposite his name, the same being certified and signed by the said precinct board, in the form and with the results hereinafter set forth.

V.

That in pursuance of section 4348 of said revisal the said precinct boards in each of the 28 precincts in the said county of Buncombe, at the close of said election, and when the said ballots had been counted, entered, and certified, as hereinbefore set out, appointed one of their number, a Democratic member being appointed in each and every instance, to attend the meeting of the board of county canvassers as a member thereof, and the said precinct board delivered to the said member so appointed the "original return or statement of the result of the election" in the precinct from which he was appointed; that in all of said precincts, except three, to wit, Asheville No. 1, West Asheville, and Sandy Mush No. 1, the papers sent as such "return or statement" were printed forms signed by each member of the precinct boards, the said forms containing the title of the said office, the names of the candidates therefor, and the respective numbers of votes cast for each, as shown by and copied from the said original tally sheets, and in the said precincts of Asheville No. 1, West Asheville, and Sandy Mush No. 1, the said original tally sheets were sent as the "original return or statement," no copies of the said printed blank form for such returns being immediately available.

VI.

That the said "original returns or statements," consisting of the original tally sheets, duly made, certified and singed by the precinct boards and delivered to the Buncombe County board of canvassers from the precincts of Asheville No. 1, West Asheville, and Sandy Mush No. 1, "were the original returns or statements" required by section 4348 of the said revisal, no specific printed form therefor being required by the said statute.

VII.

That pursuant to section 4348 of said revisal, the said members of the 28 precinct boards in Buncombe County who were chosen members of the Buncombe County board of canvassers, all of said members being Democrats, and members of the political party to which you belong, met on the second day after the said election, to wit, on Thursday, November 9, as the law requires, at the courthouse of the said Buncombe County, and the said members did then and there, in pursuance of said statute, duly organize as the Buncombe County board of canvassers by electing B. L. Lyda, one of their number, as chairman, and G. H. Grindstaff, one of their number, as clerk, and the said board did then and there, pursuant to section 4350 of the said revisal take up as their first official act the counting, canvassing, and determining of the congressional vote cast in said county, and proceeded to count, canvass, and judicially determine the said returns.

VIII.

That the said board of canvassers did then and there count, canvass, and determine the vote for Congress cast at the said election on November 7 in the following manner, to wit: The said board had before it all the original, formal returns from each of the 28 precincts of Buncombe County, with the exception of the precincts of Asheville No. 1, West Asheville, and Sandy Mush No. 1, and from these three said precincts the said board had before it, and for its consideration and use, the original tally sheets made by the precinct boards in these several precincts, the said tally sheets containing the names of the different offices to be voted for, the names of the candidates therefor, and opposite the names of said candidates the number of votes cast, respectively, for each of them, the said tally sheets from these said three precincts containing all the facts, data, and information contained in the said returns made on the said printed forms, the tally sheets in such cases containing the facts and figures from which the said formal returns are made; that the absence of formal returns from the said precincts and the presence of returns on tally sheets was fully and clearly made known to said board, was discussed and clearly understood by them, and it was agreed and understood that the said tally sheets were to be used in lieu of the said formal returns, which decision and understanding was unanimous with said board, and no objection whatever was made thereto; that the said board of county canvassers, being thus organized and having before it what it had determined to be the lawful returns from all the 28 precincts of Buncombe County, did then and there proceed to count, canvass, and determine the congressional vote in said county in the following manner, to wit: The chairman of the said board would call the name of each precinct and the number of votes cast for the said Zebulon Weaver and the number of votes cast for the said James J. Britt; the clerk of said board would then repeat the number of votes reported for each of the said candidates as called by the said chairman, and R. C. Roberts, who had been called upon to keep a tally sheet on behalf of the Republicans, and who had the same report of the vote before him, verified the vote as called by the clerk of the said board by answering "check"; the clerk would then say, "Is there any objection?" No objection whatever was made to the vote from any one of the 28 precincts, and the counting, canvassing, and determining of the said congressional vote was proceeded with in this manner until each and all of the 28 precincts of Buncombe County had been duly called and entered on the tally sheet, or table, provided for that purpose; that when the returns from the said precincts had been thus duly called, verified, and recorded, they were tabulated on an adding machine, which had been provided for that purpose, and the total vote placed at the foot of the columns, the result being that the said Zebulon Weaver had received in said county 4,325 votes and the said James J. Britt, 4,037 votes, giving the said Zebulon Weaver a majority of 288 votes in the said county; no objection whatever being made to the said figures as indicating the true result of the vote cast for the said Zebulon Weaver and the said James J. Britt; that the said returns from which the said count was made was by the said board deemed proper and sufficient, and the said board did, after completing the count of the congressional vote, proceed to count, canvass, and determine the vote for electors for President of the United States, for State and county offices, and for and against the constitutional amendments, all of said returns being made in the same form and manner, and being of like validity, thereby demonstrating that the said board deemed said returns legal, proper, and sufficient for all purposes whatsoever.

IX.

That the said Buncombe County board of canvassers did, by the said acts set forth in the preceding paragraph, count, canvass, and determine the votes cast for you and for the said James J. Britt for Member of the Sixty-fifth Congress at the election held on November 7, 1916, as required by section 4349 of said revisal, requiring that the said board shall on the second day after the election open, canvass, and judicially determine the returns, stating the number of legal ballots cast in each precinct for each candidate, the name of each person voted for, and the number of votes given to each person for the different offices, and shall sign the same, except that the said board "did not sign the same."

X.

That thereupon it became the duty of the said Buncombe County board of canvassers to sign the said ascertained returns, showing the respective votes for you and for the contestant, James J. Britt, in Buncombe County as being, respectively, 4,325 and 4,037, and it furthermore became the duty of the said Buncombe County board of canvassers, as required by section 4351 of said revisal, to make an abstract of said votes, showing the number of votes cast, respectively, for you and the said contestant, and it became the duty of the said B. L. Lyda, chairman, as required by section 4352 of said revisal, to make and sign two abstracts, showing said congressional vote as therein stated, one of which the said statute requires to be delivered to the chairman of the county board of elections, one filed with the register of deeds of Buncombe County, to be registered in his said office, and under section 4353 of said revisal it became the duty of the register of deeds of Buncombe County to certify to the secretary of state of North Carolina the votes cast, respectively, for you and for the contestant, James J. Britt.

XI.

That the said board and its chairman, instead of proceeding with the performance of their duties, as stated in the preceding section, failed, neglected, and refused to make any abstract whatever, showing the respective votes for you and the said contestant, James J. Britt, to be 4,325 and 4,037, but the said board, after prolonged and unnecessary delay, did on November 17, 1916, file with the office of register of deeds of Buncombe County what purported to be an abstract of said votes, claiming to give you 4,053 votes and to the said contestant, James J. Britt, 4,043 votes, thereby making it to appear that you had a majority in Buncombe County of 310 votes, or a vote of 9 in excess of the contestant's majority in the other counties composing the said district, which purported abstract was untrue, inaccurate, and unlawful in that it did not show the true result of the vote cast, respectively, for you and for the said contestant at the election of November 7, the said vote being for you 4,325 and for the contestant 4,037, giving you a majority of 288 in said county, instead of 4,053 for you and 4,043 for the contestant, James J. Britt, giving you a majority of 310 in Buncombe County, as falsely represented in the said abstract filed with the register of deeds in Buncombe County on November 17, 1916.

XII.

That by section 32 of chapter 101 of the Laws of North Carolina of 1915, entitled "An act to provide for primary elections," it is provided that "opposite the name of each candidate on the general ticket to be voted at the general election shall be a small square, and a vote for any candidate shall be indicated by making a cross mark, thus (X) in such square"; and by section 28 of the same act it is made the duty of the State board of elections, in the preparation of ballots for the general election, to prepare one official ballot for each political party for all State and district officers, and to distribute such ballots to the several county boards of elections in such time that they will be received at

least 10 days before the date of the general election, whereupon the several boards of county elections shall distribute such ballots to the several registrars and judges of election in their respective counties, so that they will be received at least three days before the date of the general election; and accordingly the ballots were prepared and distributed for the congressional election in the said tenth congressional district, containing, respectively, as candidates for Congress the names of Zebulon Weaver, Democrat, and the name of the contestant, James J. Britt, Republican, each of the said tickets bearing the inscription, "To vote this ticket, make a cross mark in the square," and no other kind of ballot was used or permitted to be used in the said election for Representative in Congress in the said district on November 7, 1916.

XIII.

That relying upon this express provision of the North Carolina State law, requiring that all general ballots shall be marked; upon the publicly expressed opinion of the attorney general of the State, interpreting this particular portion of the law to require congressional ballots to be marked; upon the public requirements of the State board of elections that they should be marked; upon the holding of D. S. Elias, the campaign manager of the said contestee, Zebulon Weaver, and upon his public declaration that such ballots should be marked; and, furthermore, upon the fact that he actually required them to be marked before being sent to the poll holders, the said contestant, James J. Britt, advised and instructed his friends throughout the said district that all ballots cast for him should have a cross mark placed in the square at the left of his name, otherwise they would be held as invalid, thrown out of the box, and not counted; and that all such ballots placed in the ballot boxes for the contestant, James J. Britt, were accordingly thrown out and not counted.

XIV.

That in order to be assured of the construction of the said law of the State of North Carolina, requiring all ballots voted at the general election to be marked, as hereinbefore described, the said contestant, James J. Britt, through the persons managing his campaign for Congress, called upon the State board of elections for a definite and final construction of the said act on the point whether said ballots should be marked, whereupon the said contestant, James J. Britt, was advised by the said State board of elections that all such ballots must be marked, as will appear from a letter of the said board, attached hereto and marked "Exhibit No. 1," and from the affidavit of A. B. Freemont, Esq., a member of the said board of elections, which affidavit is hereto attached, marked "Exhibit No. 2."

XV.

That in each of the five precincts in Buncombe County, hereinafter mentioned, from which the said county board of canvassers received and accepted "amended and supplemental returns," the question whether unmarked ballots found in the ballot boxes in said precincts should be counted or thrown out was fully discussed by the said precinct boards before counting the ballots at such precinct, and in each and all of the said five precincts the said boards unanimously decided and agreed that such unmarked ballots were not lawful and should not be counted, and all unmarked ballots found in the congressional boxes in said precincts were thrown out, not counted, not returned, and not replaced in said ballot boxes, it being understood and agreed that such ballots could have no legal effect whatever, and, in fact, were no ballots at all.

XVI.

That when it was ascertained that the number of votes cast for you and the number cast for the said contestant had resulted in the election to Congress of the said contestant, James J. Britt, by a majority of 13, as set forth in section 3 of this notice, the said canvassing board of Buncombe County, without any motion or request from anybody, adjourned from that day, November 9, 1916, until the following Thursday, November 16, and the chairman of the said board refused to hear the attorney of the contestant make a motion that the said board proceed on said day, November 9, to certify, return, and proclaim the congressional vote of said county as they had then and there found it to be; that in the week which followed November 9 it was openly declared that your friends and supporters expected to demand, and would demand, that when said board reassembled it should go behind the returns, recanvass the congressional vote in Buncombe County, and include therein ballots which had been put in the boxes at said election without having the cross mark thereon as prescribed by law, all of which said ballots had been thrown out and not counted by the judges of election in the various precincts of said county and by them held not to be legal ballots, and by them destroyed; that when the said board reconvened on November 16 the said contestant, James J. Britt, appeared before the said board and insisted that the congressional vote as theretofore canvassed by them in Buncombe County be certified, returned, and proclaimed as the true vote cast, and that they not go behind the returns and not recanvass the vote of that county for that position as found by said board on November 9, but that if they should so determine to make a further canvass of said vote, that the contestant be given an opportunity to show that if the unmarked ballots cast in that county for that position should all be counted the contestant would still have a majority over his opponent in the said district, and would thereby be elected as a Representative in Congress; that the said chairman assured the contestant in open meeting that he should have a fair hearing, a fair count, and an opportunity to present his side of the case to the said board; that at this stage a member of the board submitted a motion in writing to receive and consider, as "amended and supplemental returns" certain papers from 5 of the 28 precincts of said county in which certain alleged unmarked ballots were said to have been cast for you at that election, while no such pretended "amended and supplemental returns" were made from any of the other 23 precincts in said county, although in some of the other said precincts there had been ballots thrown out in the official count on the ground that they did not contain the required cross mark; that the effect of this said motion would have been, if carried, to elect you to said position, while if all the ballots cast in said county without cross marks thereon had been counted the effect would have been to elect the said contestant, James J. Britt, to that position; that this motion was earnestly opposed by the contestant and his attorneys; that at one time the contestant inquired of one of the members of said board who had made said "amended and supplemental returns" and who had himself offered to make a statement in regard thereto, at whose instance the said so-called "amended and supplemental returns" had been made, whereupon the chairman of the board, on objection of counsel for Zebulon Weaver, refused to permit contestant to ascertain that fact; that at contestant's request the said board adjourned to enable the contestant and his attorneys to examine these so-called "amended and supplemental returns" and to determine upon the proper course to pursue in relation thereto with a view of protecting the rights of the said contestant, the said adjournment being had until 4 o'clock p. m. of that day.

XVII.

That before said board reassembled at 4 p. m. on that day, November 16, this contestant began an action to compel the performance of the duties of said board and its chairman, to wit, to cause to be filed with the register of deeds abstracts showing the vote for contestant in said county to be 4,037 and that of yourself to be 4,325; and in said action, on said November 16, procured from a judge of the superior court of said State an alternative writ of mandamus requiring said board to "announce, certify, return, and proclaim, in accordance with law, the conclusions and findings so made by you on Thursday, November 9, 1916, to wit, the result of said election for said position (Congressman) in said county, and that you do and perform all the other requirements of law which it is your duty to do after making such findings of said election, or that you show cause to the contrary on the 20th day of November," a copy of the record in said action being filed with this notice as an exhibit and a part thereof and marked as "Exhibit 3."

XVIII.

That the said writ was served on said board when it reassembled at 4 p. m. on November 16, whereupon it adjourned until the next day, when the chairman announced that it would take no further action on the congressional matter until it had received further instructions, meaning, as this contestant understood, further instructions from the court on the return day of said writ; and, proceeding on this understanding, as said board well knew, contestant and his counsel withdrew from the place of meeting of said board. About dark of that day, and without notice to this contestant, said board caused to be filed in the office of the register of deeds of said county abstracts showing the respective votes for contestant and yourself in said county as 4,043 and 4,353, and one of these abstracts was sent by the register of deeds to the secretary of state, and was by him presented to the State board of canvassers, who, on the basis thereof, ascertained the total vote for contestant in the district as 18,014, and for yourself 18,023, resulting in the election of yourself by 9 votes; and thereupon a certificate of such purported election was given to you by the secretary of state and a commission was issued to you by the governor of the State, certifying your appointment as a representative of the State in said Congress from said district.

XIX.

That during the sessions of said county board of canvassers its chairman and others of its members, and the said board as a whole, although a body charged with judicial functions, were in frequent and open consultation and private conference with representatives of the party to which you belong, especially with J. W. Haynes, then chairman of the Democratic county executive committee in said county; and during the sessions of said board B. L. Lyda, chairman, actually left his chair as presiding officer and went aside on several occasions in private conference with said Haynes, and on Saturday, November 11, said board actually met in secret session with said Haynes behind locked doors and refused admittance to their place of meeting to persons belonging to contestant's party, as will appear from reference to the affidavit of D. W. Hill, page 80 of the record of said mandamus action, as to this secret meeting.

XX.

That the said abstracts on which your certification of election is based, except as to the six precincts hereinafter mentioned, stated the votes for contestant and you, respectively, as being the same as shown in the list of precincts and the votes therein contained in section 3 of this notice, which list gives 4,325 for you and 4,037 for contestant in said county; that the said six precincts and the respective votes therein, as shown in said list in section 3 of this notice, are the following:

Precinct.	Britt.	Weaver.
Asheville:		
No. 2	128	133
No. 6	162	304
Hazel	45	73
Lower Hominy	90	147
West Asheville	246	287
Asheville, No. 4	163	305
Total	834	1,249

That in the said abstracts on which your said certificate of election is based the votes in said precincts are given as follows:

Precinct	Britt.	Adding.	Weaver.	Adding.
Asheville:				
No. 2	129	1	138	5
No. 6	164	2	311	7
Hazel	46	1	77	4
Lower Hominy	90	0	153	6
West Asheville	242	2	292	5
Asheville, No. 4	163	0	306	1
Total		6		28

Thereby adding 6 to contestant's vote and 28 to your vote in said county, thereby overcoming contestant's actual majority of 13 in said district by 9 votes, the correct statement of said vote in said county being 4,037 for contestant and 4,325 for yourself.

XXI.

That the said 27 votes were added to your vote and 6 to contestant's vote in the first five precincts named in the following manner: Papers called "amended and supplemental returns," all made subsequent to the 7th day of November, 1916, were revised by said board, stating that ballots were cast in said precincts without the cross mark, and that the respective numbers of such ballots for the respective candidates were the numbers set out in the preceding section in the columns headed "Adding."

XXII.

That in precinct Asheville No. 4, as contestant is informed and believes, the printed return made November 7, 1916, was first filled in as showing the vote for you to be 306, but at the meeting of the board on November 9, it was unanimously agreed that this was incorrect and that the tally sheet showed such vote to be only 305, and accordingly there was made then and there on said printed return, by the clerk of the county board of canvassers, and without objection from any source, a memorandum, in connection with said figures "306," "changed to 305," which was the vote for you in the said precinct on the basis of which, as contestant avers, your vote in the county was ascertained on November 9, by the said county board, to be 4,325; but notwithstanding this agreed official correction, said abstracts stated the figures incorrectly as 306.

XXIII.

That after the precinct boards in all the 28 precincts of said Buncombe County had counted the ballots on November 7, the date of the election, and had performed their other duties, as set forth in sections 3, 4, and 5, of this notice, each of said precinct boards then and there adjourned, and no one of said boards ever met subsequent to said November 7, 1916, except that of West Asheville, which adjourned from November 7 to November 8, when it reconvened for the purpose of signing the original formal returns, but took no action whatever as to any "amended and supplemental returns," or as to changing the number of congressional votes previously counted and agreed upon.

XXIV.

That the precinct board in each of said 28 precincts was composed of a registrar, a Democrat; and one judge, a Democrat; and one judge, a Republican.

XXV.

That the said "amended and supplemental returns" mentioned in section 21 of this notice were in no case, except from one precinct, Hazel, signed by the Republican member of the precinct board, but merely by the two Democratic members thereof; the said supplemental returns from Hazel being signed by the registrar—a Democrat—but not by the Democratic judge; that it was signed by C. D. Miller, the Republican judge, but immediately after his signature, on said supplemental return appears the following memorandum, in his handwriting, "I can not remember only one unmarked ballot, and that was for Britt, C. D. M."; thereby nullifying the statement above his signature that in that precinct there were four unmarked ballots for you.

XXVI.

That the Republican member of the said precinct boards, except C. D. Miller, was not consulted or conferred with or given notice in regard to the making of any of the said supplemental returns.

XXVII.

That this contestant is advised that as a matter of law said supplemental returns were nullities; that if they had been made by all of the members of the precinct boards in meetings duly assembled they would have been nullities, as said boards ceased to exist and were functi officio when they had performed their duties as set out in said sections 3, 4, and 5; and certainly no two individuals who formerly were members of such boards, without calling in the other member to meet with them, had any authority to make such supplemental returns; and this contestant is further advised and maintains, as a matter of law, that whether or not such supplemental returns were proper or could in any way or at any time be lawfully made, yet the additional ballots thereby reported—27 for you and 6 for the contestant—not having the cross mark, were not legal ballots and should not have been considered such by the said county board.

XXVIII.

That without waiving the positions taken in the next preceding section, this contestant further avers: That the county board of canvassers took no steps to secure similar or any other supplemental returns from any of the other 23 precincts in said county.

XXIX.

That the contestant on November 17 appealed to said board to get reports from the other precincts showing the unmarked ballots therein, as well as from said five precincts, although he then contended, as he now contends, that no unmarked ballots should have been considered, but said board refused to procure information from said other precincts as to the unmarked ballots therein.

XXX.

That in the county of Buncombe 27 unlawful ballots, to wit, so-called unmarked ballots, which ballots had not been legally cast, were unlawfully returned and counted for you; that is to say, in Asheville No. 2, 5 votes; in Asheville No. 6, 7 votes; in Hazel, 4 votes; in Lower Hominy, 6 votes; in West Asheville, 5 votes, by which said unlawful ballots, and by them only, you were given a certificate of election.

XXXI.

That although the Buncombe County board of canvassers received and accepted "amended and supplemental returns" so as to give you the benefit of 27 unmarked ballots claimed to have been found in the boxes bearing your name, nevertheless it refused, failed, and neglected to have made and to accept "amended and supplemental returns" whereby 15 unmarked ballots placed in ballot boxes for the contestant should be received and counted; that is to say, they refused to count and return unmarked ballots cast in Asheville No. 1, 2 votes; in Beaverdam, 5 votes; in Swannanoa, 1 vote; in Biltmore, 1 vote; in Hazel, 1 vote; and in Leicester No. 1, 3 votes, making a total of 15 votes, which said votes, had they been returned and counted as were like votes for you, they would have duly elected me to the position of Representative in Congress, and would have shown that you were not so elected.

XXXII.

That the alternative writ of mandamus, returnable on November 20, coming on to be heard by his honor W. J. Adams, judge, the matter was decided by him on November 27: In his judgment he held "as a matter of law, that the county board had no legal right 'to go behind the precinct returns,' in canvassing and determining the vote." He also held that "They (the county board) had power also, in the exercise of a limited legal discretion, to accept or reject papers tendered as returns, the ultimate object being to ascertain the true returns." He refused to decide whether the acceptance of the supplemental returns by the board was "going behind the returns," saying, "Whether all the unmarked ballots in the county should have been accepted or rejected is not presented here as a question of morals or of law." This judgment was affirmed by the Supreme Court of North Carolina, a copy of whose opinion is attached as an exhibit. In this opinion the supreme court says that the supplemental returns should not have been received if, as contestant contended, the precinct boards had not been reconvened to make them.

XXXIII.

That the chairman of your congressional committee, D. S. Elias, acting as your manager and as the chairman of the county board of elections of Buncombe County, in distributing the congressional ballots in said district, sent such ballots to the poll holders in the various precincts already marked for voting as if prepared by the voter, thereby directing, instructing, and requiring that said ballots be so marked, and, in fact, making such ballots unofficial and unlawful by this addition thereto.

XXXIV.

That, as the contestant is informed and believes, the said D. S. Elias, your manager, and chairman of the Buncombe County Board of Elections, in preparing the congressional ballots for distribution, in connection with other ballots for the various offices voted for at said election, while said combination of tickets purported to contain but one of each sort, the said attached group, nevertheless, did always or usually contain two of your tickets fastened closely together thereby rendering it easy for a single voter to place two of such ballots in the ballot boxes.

XXXV.

That notwithstanding it was the duty of the county boards of election, under section 28 of chapter 101, laws 1915, to distribute the congressional ballots "to the several registrars and judges of election in their respective counties," said ballots were not, as contestant is informed and believes, fairly and impartially distributed, in that the friends of and workers for contestant were not able to get ballots in sufficient number and were not able to get them as soon as were your friends, and throughout the district, as contestant is informed and believes, tactics such as are indicated by the following letter were pursued by your political friends. D. S. Elias, when said letter was written, was chairman of the county board of elections of Buncombe County and also chairman of the Democratic congressional executive committee in said tenth district of North Carolina, and said ballots were given to the friends and partisans of said Weaver and opportunities given them to mark the same for distribution to voters, while the same treatment was not accorded this contestant and his supporters and like opportunities were not given them. The letter is as follows:

OFFICE OF THE COUNTY BOARD OF ELECTIONS,
Buncombe County, Asheville, N. C., October 30, 1916.

Mr. W. F. EDWARDS,
Chairman Board of Elections, Hendersonville, N. C.

DEAR SIR: Our distinguished friend, "Bo" Freeman, raises the question about distributing the ballots, and says in his opinion we should give a third of the ballots to the Republican judge, one-third to the Democratic judge, and one-third to the registrar. There is no law to substantiate him in this. The law says the ballots shall be distributed to the several registrars and judges of election in each county.

In order that no question shall arise hereafter, in distributing the ballots here, I am going to make up a package of one-third of the ballots, address it to the Republican judge; one-third and address it to the Democratic judge; and one-third to the Democratic registrar; then wrap the three packages in one package and deliver the whole to the Democratic registrar. He will then become my agent for the distribution of the ballots, and on election morning will open them all up and give each one his package, but they will then be in the election booth. In this way the Republicans will not get hold of the ballots until the day of the election.

I am marking all of the Zebulon Weaver ballots before they are distributed and hope you will see same is done in Henderson County. This will eliminate any possibility of a vote being cast which is not properly marked. Our Republican brethren can mark theirs on election day when they get them.

I have thoroughly gone into the law on all these points and know that I am safe. Mr. M. L. Shipman asked me to write you about these matters in order that you might give these questions consideration.

With very best wishes, I am,

Yours, very truly, (Signed) D. S. ELIAS, *Chairman.*

XXXVI.

That the sole ground upon which you rely for your title to the said seat in Congress is the 27 so-called unmarked ballots, which the Buncombe County board of canvassers received on so-called "amended and supplemental" reports, which so-called "amended and supplemental" reports were not made by the said precinct boards in a body convened for that purpose, but were made individually by members of said board, which so-called "amended and supplemental" reports were for that reason unlawful, the Supreme Court of North Carolina having held in this case that such reports should not have been received if such precinct boards had not officially reconvened to make them, which admittedly they had not, and notwithstanding this fact, and in the face of the decision of said court, the North Carolina State board of canvassers did, on the 19th day of December, 1916, so count said unlawful ballots, based upon said unlawful returns, and on the apparent majority of votes thereby given you did give you a certificate of election.

XXXVII.

That notwithstanding the fact that chapter No. 101 of the Public Laws of North Carolina, of 1915, requires all ballots at a general election to be delivered to the precinct poll holders not less than three days before said election, your congressional chairman, D. S. Elias, gave instructions in an official letter, addressed to W. F. Edwards, chairman of the county board of elections of Henderson County, advising the said Edwards that he, the said Elias, would send such tickets to the various precinct poll holders so as to reach the Democratic registrars on'y, and so as to deprive the Republican judges of election from receiving such tickets until the said election day, and then only in the election booth, said instructions having the effect to deprive my supporters of an opportunity to get such ballots until the day of election, thereby hindering and delaying them, and in many instances depriving them of the right to vote at all.

XXXVIII.

That, as the contestant is informed and believes, in the 13 counties comprising said district a large number of persons were permitted to cast their ballots for you without having paid their poll taxes on or before the 1st day of May, 1916, as required by law.

XXXIX.

That in the 13 counties in said district, as the contestant is informed and believes, a large number of persons were permitted to cast their ballots for you without having been residents of the State, county, and precinct for the time required by law, namely, residents of the State for two years, of the county for six months, and of the voting precinct or ward for four months.

XL.

That in the 13 counties of said congressional district, as the contestant is informed and believes, a large number of persons were permitted to cast their ballots for you without registering, as required by law.

XLI.

That in the 13 counties of said congressional district a large number of persons were permitted to cast their ballots for you without having attained the age required by law, namely, the age of 21 years.

XLII.

That in the 13 counties of said district a large number of unmarked ballots were unlawfully counted for you.

XLIII.

That the contestant is informed and believes that in the 13 counties comprising the said congressional district a large number of unmarked ballots bearing his name and intended for him were placed in the ballot boxes, but were thrown out and not counted, while similar unmarked ballots found in said ballot boxes were counted for you.

XLIV.

That in the 13 counties comprising said congressional district, as the contestant is informed and believes, a large number of voters were induced to vote for you by bribery and intimidation.

JAMES J. BRITT,
Contestant.

_____,
_____,
Attorneys for Contestant.

CITY OF WASHINGTON, *District of Columbia:*

Personally appeared before me, the undersigned, notary public in and for the District of Columbia, James J. Britt, who, being by me duly sworn, says that he is the contestant in the above case, and that he has read the foregoing notice and knows the contents thereof, and that the matters and things stated herein are believed by him to be true to the best of his knowledge, information, and belief.

JAMES J. BRITT.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this the 13th day of January, A. D. 1917.

_____,
Notary Public.

Omnibus River and Harbor Bills.

Four omnibus river and harbor bills during the Sixty-third and Sixty-fourth Congresses, aggregating $170,000,000, were either defeated, modified, or passed with a final saving to the Federal Treasury of $86,000,000, or practically one-half of the total amount.

An omnibus public-buildings bill for $38,000,000 was also held in committee and defeated.

Omnibus bills are products of a mutual trading system fundamentally indefensible and vicious in character. Supported by lobbies urging local projects, demanding support of wasteful items in exchange for needed public improvements, such bills are a public scandal that in good conscience must be defeated and a businesslike method of legislation substituted. Responsibility fixed for enormous river and harbor extravagance.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. FREAR,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Speaker, when war clouds cast their shadows over the civilized world and our own country is discovered on the borders of the storm, it is of minor importance to direct attention to reckless waste of Government money ostensibly for "public" improvements. The subject, however, is of vital importance to those who pay the bills and is an unconscionable wrong at this particular time.

Representatives vigorously rail over the appointment of a new clerk, or of several clerks required to perform extra work placed upon some department. Statesmen in Congress protest vigorously over any increase of wages of underpaid Government employees who receive the same rate that was fixed a half century ago, yet these same statesmen are strangely silent in their opposition, or vigorously active in securing their share, when a "pork" bill is under discussion.

A distinguished Senator aptly called one of such bills "a humbug and a steal." That was many years ago. If true, then it is true now, and I desire briefly to call attention to many millions saved to the public Treasury by defeat of some of these bills, while others carrying scores of millions have passed another body practically unchallenged, and let me also direct attention to others that threaten to pass if an extra session of the Sixty-fifth Congress is called by the President.

Congress has heretofore appropriated $898,543,252 for river and harbor improvements. (See Rept. of Chief of Engineers, 1916, p. 33.) This enormous amount of money, reaching practically $900,000,000, has been disbursed by or is under the control of the Chief of Engineers of the Army, whose mandate is law and supreme. Probably more than one-half of this great sum of money can be demonstrated to have been wasted so far as any demands of commerce, present or prospective, are shown. That is a moderate statement compared with estimates of waste made by those familiar with the present lack of system. If substantially true, responsibility should be fixed and conditions remedied.

In debate on the last river and harbor bill for 1917, I quote briefly from a colloquy found in the speech of Chairman SPARKMAN, of January 22, inserted by him in the RECORD of February 20, as follows:

Mr. SPARKMAN. I know he [Mr. FREAR] does not intend to misstate facts; I am sure he is above that, but the trouble is, my friend has not the time to look into these things as he would like. * * *

Mr. FREAR. But is not the statement absolutely accurate and just as stated? (Minority report.)

Mr. SPARKMAN. I think not entirely. I think it can be read either way.

Mr. FREAR. There was no such intention, I assure you.

This colloquy arose over a statement contained in my minority report of 30 pages (Rept. 1289, Pt. 2, 64th Cong., 2d sess.), wherein numerous objections to the 1917 river and harbor bill were set forth, meriting the bill's defeat. During debate, the majority members of the committee were challenged to point out any misstatement of fact contained in that report. Whatever difference exists in judgment as to the bill, that report on its statement of facts was not successfully attacked in a single material particular. The colloquy is inserted to furnish public testimony from the distinguished chairman of the committee in reference to my sincerity of purpose.

During debates covering several weeks, counting four river and harbor bills, a flood-control bill, and a public-building bill, aggregating $260,000,000, I attacked scores of items in the different bills, but the generous and able chairman of the Rivers and Harbors Committee says he is sure I am above intentional misstatement of facts. That is offered at the outset of my remarks to indicate my own purpose. We may differ in conclusions but nothing is gained by any misstating of facts, and I have endeavored to correctly present them.

Briefly let me state the saving to the Federal Treasury resulting from opposition to these scandalous omnibus so-called "pork-barrel" measures during the Sixty-third and Sixty-fourth Congresses, and show that Congress is not alone chargeable with responsibility for the enormous waste which has occurred.

Two out of four of these bills have been squarely defeated during the last four years, with an ultimate saving to the Federal Treasury of $47,000,000, while no legitimate waterway in the country, it is safe to say, has been neglected. If neglect has occurred, the responsibility lies at the doors of the Chief of Engineers, who had unlimited authority in the allotment and expenditure of $50,000,000 covered by two substitute bills in 1914 and 1915, in addition to $43,000,000 specifically appropriated in 1916. Much of this large sum appropriated, aggregating $93,000,000, has been wasted on chimerical schemes approved by Engineers but not related to commercial needs, present or prospective. Congress and the country has had full measure of Army Engineer rule and omnibus legislation and should be ready to adopt an intelligent businesslike system of handling our national waterway problem. Few European governments have been able to show efficiency on inland waterways, according to good authorities and students of the subject, whose opinions were quoted in Report 254, Part 2, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session, which I filed against the $43,000,000 bill of 1916. Where efficiency has been obtained abroad, the Government has had complete control of competing railway rates and the work of improvement has been conducted by a high-class board on a plan looking to commercial needs and a wise expenditure of public funds. None of these important conditions are found in our own clumsy legislative and loose administrative methods. We work by guess and we are mighty poor guessers, according to results.

First, what has been accomplished by agitation against these "pork barrels"?

In 1914 protest was made in the House against the passage of the river and harbor bill for that year. Although such bills had previously been put through without criticism, project after project was discussed in 1914 in the House, in order to expose the haphazard, happy-go-lucky method of preparing and passing omnibus waterway bills and administering funds. Members interested in one or more of the three hundred and odd projects contained in the average bill ridiculed opposition and eulogized Army engineers whose approvals were cited in defense of bad, worthless, and wasteful projects disclosed throughout the bill. A roll call could not be secured in the House on the 1914 bill, but in the Senate the fight was continued by the ablest waterway expert in Congress, Senator Burton, who had revolted against the growing extravagance and waste evidenced by such bills. With Senator KENYON and other Senators, the defeat of the 1914 bill, then carrying over $53,000,000, was finally secured, and a substitute amount of $20,000,000 was turned over to Army engineers for allotment to the different projects in proportion to their immediate needs.

All efforts of river and harbor waterway lobbies to create back fires against Members, according to established practice, and all assaults on Senator Burton, because of his protest against the wasteful measure, fell harmless, and a river and harbor bill was defeated for the first time in many years.

Profiting by the 1914 experience, the 1915 river and harbor bill did not reach the altitudinous estimates demanded by the waterway lobby, which asks $50,000,000 annually and considers itself the especial guardian for such bills.

The 1915 bill eliminated new projects contained in the bill of the year before, and was shrunk down to $38,000,000, including, however, scores of wasteful old projects, many of which again were exposed in the House. Although unsuccessful in defeating the bill in the House, it was subjected to merciless ridicule and denunciation upon reaching the Senate, and finally a $25,000,000 substitute was passed by Congress, to be placed in the hands of Army engineers, who were also permitted to transfer $5,000,000 from projects where not needed, and were instructed by law to reexamine certain specified, questionable projects, with such other projects as might be found wasteful and not worthy of approval, and to report back to Congress their findings.

In other words, the Chief of Engineers was urged to clear away or modify existing projects that had become recognized monuments to waste. That bill set forth specifically the following projects for reexamination:

Inland waterway from Norfolk to Beaufort, N. C.; Coosa River, Ala.; San Lucia Inlet, Fla.; Brazos River, Tex.; Red River, Ark.; Ouachita River, Ark.; Arkansas River, Ark.; Tennessee River, Ala.; Fox River, Wis.; and Missouri River, Mo.

All of the above were specifically named in the law for reexamination. The law further provided as follows:

And the Chief of Engineers is directed to make a report upon any other projects, river or harbor, the further improvement of which, under present conditions, is undesirable, or in which modification of the plans on projects should be made.

This was a pointed suggestion to modify or abandon a $10,000,000 scandalous Trinity River project proposed by engineers to be liquidated by artesian wells, or the Oklawaha River, on which $98,000 has been expended, with a large part of $141,000 more for cutting hyacinth, in order to secure 1,760 tons of actual commerce in 1916. Army engineers now recommend $733,000 more for this stream, which certainly needs reexamination and investigation. The upper Mississippi returns a pitiable showing in actual commerce for $28,000,000 in appropriations heretofore asked by engineers. Then there are the Tennessee, Cumberland, Coosa, and Black Warrior, every one of which has absorbed millions upon millions of Government dollars in fruitless efforts to resuscitate a small fraction of their old-time commerce. Then the Big Sandy, which cost the Government $350 per ton in 1913 for an insignificant actual freight floated on the river, together with scores of other projects needing reexamination, including Cold Spring Harbor, Absecon Inlet, Raccoon Creek, the Scuppernong, North East River, the Peedee, little and big, the Santee, Wateree, and Congaree, the last three of which have absorbed a million and a quarter without results; the Altamaha, Oconee, Ocmulgee, the Flint, and any number of shallow, useless canals known as inland waterways. All these are among many other old projects with questionable reputations that engineers always recommend for generous appropriations and that needed reexaminations. Under the law they should be modified or abandoned if based on commercial needs.

The law calling for such reexaminations was deliberately passed by Congress and was a direction to the Chief of Engineers that could not be misunderstood; yet in effect the law was ignored by the official to whom it was directed, and not one single project of importance, no matter how objectionable its character, has been dropped from the list. Army engineers generally recommend these wasteful projects in the beginning, and, however patent the waste disclosed by official reports, they refuse to admit any mistaken judgment by recommending abandonment. The reason will more fully appear hereafter when discussing the fundamental weakness of our waterway legislation.

In order to show the character of the two allotments made by Army engineers of $20,000,000 in 1914 and $30,000,000 in 1915, provided in the substitute bills, I annex a statement wherein it is demonstrated that practically one-half of the $50,000,000 total was given by the Chief of Engineers to a dozen projects out of nearly 300 items carried in the separate bills. All the actual commerce floated on the entire 12 projects is so insignificant in character that it is hard to understand how Congress has permitted itself to be so long deceived. A dozen harbors are named, any one of which has a much larger commerce than the 12 inland waterways combined, and they are cited in this connection because they afford a fair commentary on the judgment and discretion shown by Army engineers when dealing with our waterway question. At the risk of disarranging my argument, I present at this point the wasteful allotments by the Chief of Engineers of the 1914 and 1915 substitute bills, aggregating $50,000,000; and remember these bills originally reached a total of over $92,000,000 as recommended by the Chief of Engineers and in committees but were cut down by the Senate, which prepared the substitute bills that passed Congress and thereby saved $47,000,000 to the taxpayers in 1914 and 1915.

The $50,000,000, including the $5,000,000 transfers, was by law turned over to Army engineers for allotment, and out of 240 projects given specific amounts the following was awarded to an even dozen waterway projects:

Engineers' allotment, 1914 and 1915, of $47,536,000, and the 1916 bill.

Rivers.	1914, twenty million.	1915, thirty million.	Total Sixty-third Congress.	1916, House bill, $39,608,410.
Mississippi	$5,250,000	$5,815,000	$11,065,000	$8,320,000
Missouri	950,000	1,100,000	2,050,000	1,750,000
Ohio [1]	1,769,000	3,915,000	5,684,000	5,509,000
Tennessee	223,000	501,000	724,000	944,000
Cumberland	210,000	378,000	588,000	710,000
Ouachita	300,000	136,000	436,000	499,000
Aransas Pass	470,000	180,000	650,000	100,000
Sabine Pass	240,000	100,000	340,000	590,000
Brazos	230,000	240,000	470,000	390,000
Black Warrior	768,000	48,000	816,000	.....
Cape Fear	185,000	323,000	508,000	218,501
Beaufort Canal	.....	400,000	400,000	1,000,000
Total	10,595,000	13,136,000	23,731,000	20,030,501

[1] The Ohio River was also given $3,200,000 in the 1915 sundry civil bill.

Of between two and three hundred projects given the remaining 50 per cent from the 1914 and 1915 allotments about one-half were trafficless rivers which have a combined actual commerce less than the waterway tonnage of Buffalo or Boston or Cleveland or Philadelphia, or other lake and ocean harbors. The 12 rivers received $23,731,000 in 1914 and 1915, or about 50 per cent of the total during the Sixty-third Congress.

Over $250,000,000 has been spent on these 12 river and canal projects by the Government in an effort to resuscitate a lost commerce. Deducting floatable timber and sand that floated a half century ago in larger quantities than to-day and do not require expensive waterways, several of these projects are reported to have floated in 1913 approximately as follows:

	Tons.
Upper Mississippi (average upper Mississippi haul 26 miles, or less than 7,000 tons average continuous haul)	170,000
Lower Mississippi (excluding coal)	200,000
Ohio (95 per cent coal), average haul 26 miles, or 50,000 tons average continuous haul	2,000,000
Tennessee (includes on Tennessee 78,000 tons coal hauled 16 miles)	200,000
Tombigbee and Warrior (includes on Warrior 32,000 tons coal, distance not stated), average	56,000
Beaufort Canal	65,000
Cumberland	53,000
Missouri	24,000
Hennepin Canal	11,850
Muscle Shoals Canal	5,887
Red River	1,694

Aside from soft coal, as near as can be estimated, the average haul was from 30 to 100 miles on the various rivers. The same coal is repeatedly recounted.

THE SAID RIVERS RECEIVE 50 PER CENT OF EVERY BILL.

During 1914, 1915, and 1916 approximately one-half of the entire amount given to all waterways was for these few river and canal projects. The balance was divided among about 270 or more projects, of which 20 genuine waterways disclosed 1913 traffic as follows:

10 ocean harbors.	Tons.	10 lake harbors.	Tons.
New York (estimated)	100,000,000	Superior-Duluth	46,875,000
Philadelphia	26,267,335	Chicago-Calumet	13,275,000
Boston (estimated)	20,000,000	Milwaukee	8,647,000
Baltimore	14,781,942	Ashland	5,623,309
Norfolk	17,349,942	Ashtabula	15,743,375
Savannah	3,154,089	Cleveland	16,488,083
New Orleans	6,442,932	Buffalo	18,920,854
Galveston	4,445,088	Erie	3,340,071
San Francisco	9,353,530	Marquette	1,852,229
Portland, Oreg	7,923,902	Soo Canal	79,714,344

Approximately 200,000,000 tons of waterway commerce was handled at the 10 ocean ports, and, allowing for duplications, one-half that amount at the 10 lake ports. Presumably the commerce was carried on the average 200 to 500 miles, counting ocean and lake traffic, but, like some other waterway statistics, no definite figures are available.

The significance of the comparisons will not be overlooked. Ten ocean ports handled fifty times the actual commerce carried on 10 river projects that annually receive about half of the average waterway bill, and these same rivers floated only about 4 per cent of the commerce counted at 10 lake ports.

COST TO THE GOVERNMENT FOR "FLOATING COMMERCE."

The cost to the Government for furnishing a waterway for inland commerce per ton is not definitely settled as to method of computation and only approximate results can be reached, because the amount properly chargeable to investment interest is variously estimated, although annual maintenance is sure and certain. Excluding floatable timber and sand, usually hauled short distances, the following estimates have been made on the several rivers and canals noted:

	Per ton.
Ohio River (excluding coal, $40 per ton)	$3.00
Ouachita	8.00
Warrior and Tombigbee	12.00
Upper Mississippi	12.00
Lower Mississippi	35.00
Arkansas	20.00
Hennepin	36.75
Missouri	40.00
Muscle Shoals (Tennessee)	40.00
Aransas Pass Canal	80.00
Brazos	80.00
Red	100.00
Muscle Shoals (proposed)	150.00
Big Sandy, Ky	350.00

It is interesting to note that in round numbers the following estimate of expenditures per mile have been made by the Government on three waterways with a continued loss in commerce:

	Per mile.
Lower Mississippi, 1,000 miles, at	$100,000
Ohio River to Missouri River, 200 miles, at	86,000
Upper Mississippi, 600 miles, at	40,000
Ohio River, 1,000 miles, at	60,000
Lower Missouri, 400 miles, at	40,000

Government canal investments, all indorsed by the Chief of Engineers, are proportionately wasteful:

	Per mile.
Hennepin Canal, 60 miles, at	$126,000
Muscle Shoals, 26 miles, at	175,000
Muscle Shoals, proposed, 26 miles, at	560,000
Chesapeake & Delaware Canal, proposed, 13 miles, at	1,530,000

The above river and canal projects are small waterways that float an insignificant commerce compared with the investment. Can any condemnation of our wasteful purposeless waterway policy compare with a brief statement of expenditures past, present, and prospective?

I have digressed to show where hundreds of millions of dollars have been wasted by Army Engineers on inland waterways and under present methods will continue to be wasted because the Chief of Engineers is in supreme control and helps perpetuate the present indefensible "pork-barrel" system.

Notwithstanding the greater part of the $50,000,000 appropriated by Congress in 1914 and 1915 by the two substitute bills was frittered away on deserted or nearly useless waterways, a reduction in the total waste was reached through the reduced lump-sum appropriation turned over to the Army Engineers for allotment under the substitute bills. This was the only method of reducing waste because not one project ordinarily can be stricken from an omnibus bill which relies on votes secured through all the different local projects included. That is a characteristic of every pork-barrel omnibus bill. All projects stand or fall together.

With a record of two successful defeats for the river and harbor bills of 1914 and 1915, and with a saving in the total amount appropriated of $47,000,000 by the defeat of these wasteful measures, another bill was introduced in 1916, reaching $43,000,000, before it was finally passed by Congress. Senator Burton had withdrawn from public life before this session, and the assertion was confidentially made that no opposition to omnibus bill appropriations could thereafter be successfully continued. However, official engineering reports were again cited in the House to show the bad character of the 1916 bill, and on roll call 133 votes were cast against that bill. After a long discussion in the Senate, a substitute bill, carrying a reduced amount, was defeated by only one vote, while the bill proper passed the Senate by only three majority—a pronounced protest against the 1916 omnibus waterway bill, notwithstanding the absence of Senator Burton, whose criticism of such measures is a perpetual indictment of all.

Undeterred by the narrow shave of the 1916 bill, another bill was introduced in the House in 1917, during the present session, carrying $38,000,000, in round numbers. No new project had been included in bills since 1914, and ultimatums now came from different State delegations to the effect that unless new projects were inserted in the bill particular State delegations would not support the 1917 measure. New projects for particular States were the price of support. With defeat facing the bill, 81 new projects were added, covering items in many States throughout the country, and the 1917 bill was introduced in the House at $38,000,000, of which amount $29,000,000 was for maintenance and improvement of old projects; and of 81 new projects, aggregating $47,000,000, to be adopted by the bill, initial appropriations reaching $9,000,000 were inserted for first payments. Eighty-one new projects were expected to hold, and did hold, many votes for the 1917 measure, although the bill was demonstrated to be worse than any bill presented since 1914. Notwithstanding all the new support brought to the bill by fourscore of new projects, the opposition in the House recorded 132 votes. Many circumstances handicapped the 1917 fight in the House. Practically daily meetings of the committee were continued up to the time of the bill's introduction; and it was immediately placed upon the calendar to follow a $38,000,000 public-building bill, which was also opposed by only one or two Members on the floor.

Without opportunity to study the character of two so-called "pork-barrel" omnibus bills suddenly thrust upon him, the average Member was unable to join in the discussion and exposure of the bills, and the proponents of the public-buildings and river and harbor bills ridiculed the seemingly lone hand presented by the opposition. However, both bills were attacked in the House as vigorously as opportunity afforded by one or two Members, with a result that 92 votes were registered in the House against the public-buildings bill and 132 votes, as stated, were recorded against the river and harbor bill, which, I submit, was a vigorous protest against such bills.

The Senate refused to pass either the $38,000,000 river and harbor bill or the $38,000,000 public-buildings bill, and upon an offer of a $25,000,000 substitute by the opponents of the pork barrel in the Senate, a back-fire was instituted against recalcitrant Senators by the river and harbor lobby that demands $50,000,000 annually. I submit a statement for the press given out in 1917 by the lobby that has its president and chief supporters among those who fashion and determine public legislation on rivers and harbors.

The following was sent to newspapers in February when the bill and substitute were pending in the Senate:

[From the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, 824 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C. For immediate use.]

BEST RIVERS AND HARBORS BILL INTRODUCED IN YEARS IS IN DANGER OF DEFEAT.

"The rivers and harbors bill now pending before the Senate," said Senator RANSDELL, of Louisiana, "is the most constructive piece of waterway legislation introduced in many years. It eliminates a number of the projects which have been sharply criticized and provides for beginning work on 90 new projects, every one of which is of undoubted merit and importance, and has received the unqualified approval of the Army engineers. Moreover, provision is made to prosecute and maintain every worthy waterway project in the land which is already under way.

"Notwithstanding the great merit of this measure, which carries an appropriation of about $39,000,000 for the next fiscal year, a minority report has been filed by Senators KENYON, JONES, SHERMAN, HARDING, and WATSON, which proposes to substitute a lump-sum appropriation of $25,000,000 to carry on existing projects, and also authorizes 11 new projects of more or less importance.

"If this substitute is adopted, it will be the hardest blow ever received by river and harbor legislation. I earnestly appeal to every friend of waterways to do his uttermost to defeat this substitute and secure the adoption of the bill as reported by the majority of the Committee on Commerce.

"There is great congestion of traffic throughout the Union, and every agency of transportation should be fostered and encouraged to the utmost, not destroyed, or at least badly crippled, as is done by this substitute. The time is short. The emergency is acute. Any action to be effective must be taken at once."

"Effective action" resulted in condemnatory articles from ill-advised papers that did not understand the gentleman above quoted and the "president" of the $50,000,000 annual river and harbor lobby are one and the same person, and that the "90 new projects" contained in the "best river and harbor bill introduced in Congress in years," covered all the old vicious projects, including the Oklawaha, Kissimmee, Scuppernong, Cumberland, Congaree, Sabine, Colorado, Richmond Harbor, and scores of others to which reference will be briefly made. This 1917 bill was killed but will be pushed again by the same influences if an extra session is called.

To Senator KENYON, of Iowa, belongs whatever credit is due for a long, brave, and successful fight against these notorious bills. Only protests could be registered in the House, but in the Senate men were found who supported the Iowa Senator and Senator Burton in their splendid fight for economy and better legislative methods.

I have submitted evidence as far as permitted in a parliamentary way to show that the $25,000,000 Kenyon substitute for the 1917 bill, containing, as it did, 11 new projects, including New York Harbor, Boston, Norfolk, and other worthy items, was killed in the House by the notorious lobby that annually demands "whole hog or none." Seventy-nine projects, largely for dry creeks, were eliminated. The Oklawaha, Kissimmee, and others of like character held up and defeated the $25,000,000 substitute through the influences they controlled.

From the foregoing it appears that the reduction by the substitute in 1914 reached over $33,000,000; in 1915 it reached approximately $13,000,000; in 1917 the bill failed to pass, in addition to which total obligations resulting from the defeat of new projects, largely wasteful, in the 1914 and 1917 bills, each reached over $40,000,000, while the 1916 omnibus bill was only carried by one vote in the Senate over the proposed substitute offered in that session. The vicious $51,000,000 land-reclamation bill for Mississippi landowners and others was also actively opposed in the House, but finally passed.

The public-buildings omnibus bill of $38,000,000 contained so many bad items and was so notorious in character that it has never been reported out of the Senate committee, which is a justification of the fight made against it in the House. The defeat of three river and harbor bills, the passage of another by only one majority, together with the smothering of the $38,000,000 public-buildings bill, speaks for the growing sentiment against such wasteful omnibus bills. But they will again bob up, because the lobby and local interests are constantly on the job at every session, and no substitute for this objectionable method of legislation has been adopted.

"PORK" BILLS BECOMING UNPOPULAR.

Mr. Speaker, if the foregoing statement is substantially correct—and it is intended to be fairly presented—the protest against omnibus bills has become so pronounced that it calls for a revolution in methods of appropriations. The saving to the Federal Treasury has reached proportions that can not be ignored, while a pronounced protest against pork-barrel legislative methods is not to be minimized. These bills met defeat in the Senate, and to fearless and faithful opponents of waste and extravagance at the other end of the Capitol, headed by Senator KENYON, and previously by Senator Burton, belongs the credit for their defeat.

Necessarily the result in the House at times has been disappointing. No man desires to place himself in the rôle of a critic of other Members or of "their projects" or to obstruct legislation that peculiarly commands the support of Members interested in local projects. No superior virtue is claimed in condemning omnibus bills, but I submit that constant opposition to these six bills named has been sufficient to try out the character of such bills, to make a genuine and material saving in money, and to ascertain the sentiment and temper of the public, which is taxed to meet extravagant appropriations urged by Army engineers. If we read correctly public comment against disgraceful omnibus bills we must conclude that the country is opposed to such measures and does not believe in a system founded upon political pressure to be exerted by localities.

Again the defeat of three river and harbor bills and the bare passage of one other, together with the character of allotments made by the Chief of Engineers, is an argument in itself against the further submission to Army engineers of control over such bills. I have called attention to the fact that the Chief of Engineers has ignored any attempt by law to secure an abandonment of the most worthless old projects which have been continued year after year without appreciable results. I have also offered allotments made by the Chief of Engineers to show how wasteful and indefensible was the distribution of funds made under his direction. His failure to condemn projects, under the act drawn by Senator Burton, has been discussed. I desire to continue the subject to show where the responsibility for waste largely rests. It is a record that reflects on Congress for its surrender to a single subordinate officer of the absolute estimates, control, and waste reaching many millions annually.

The bad effects of the present system of engineering control is disclosed by minority report No. 1289, part 2, Sixty-fourth Congress, second session, on House bill 20097—the bill defeated this session—which sets forth many facts that call for efficient supervision of waterways not given by Army engineers. No Cabinet officer, nor other administrative official to-day, possesses the power or authority of the Chief of Engineers, who is a Regular Army officer raised to his present position through the death or retirement of some superior officer. Without reflection upon the individual, it is submitted that this officer may have no understanding or conception of commercial conditions, and, judging from results disclosed, that is beyond question. Presumably he does not understand the importance of conservative appropriations for legitimate waterways. From his earliest military experience he has recognized political influence and pressure; it has ever been exercised from the day of his first appointment to the date of his final promotion to the position of Chief of Engineers. Without criticism of the individual, it is unreasonable to expect him to withstand official pressure when brought to bear in favor of some particular project backed by a show of authority. A brief review of reports indicates the extent to which that pressure is exercised and his own course, to which brief reference will be made.

I have referred to the killing of the 1917 Kenyon $25,000,000 substitute by the lobby. For many years a river and harbor waterway lobby that terms itself a "congress," has demanded annual appropriations from the Government of $50,000,000 for waterways, irrespective of projects, and has sought to control annual appropriations made by the Federal Congress. It holds its annual meetings in Washington at the same time the Federal Congress meets. It maintains its quarters in the Capital City the year round, and, presided over by a Member of Congress, it institutes back fires against other Members. Heretofore it has conducted vigorous publicity campaigns in order to secure some particular project or the passage of annual bills. An exposure of its purposes and methods was made in the RECORD of October 8, 1914, where it was shown that it linked up all forces financially interested in river and harbor bills. Dredgers, builders of dredges, concrete interests, private land reclamationists, private water-power interests, contractors, and every other interest are here united, and these interests are agencies through which back-fires are instituted against Senators and Representatives to support such bills. Specific cases were cited and were exposed at both ends of the Capitol. Subscription lists from hundreds of contributors showing the method of secret work were also placed in the record. Resolutions of investigation were offered, supported by proof of a lobby that was termed by the New York Board of Trade and Transportation a "Mutual bribery" lobby. This is the lobby that instituted a back-fire against Senators on the 1917 bill, previously quoted. It is always on the job, supports every bill, and demands $50,000,000 annually.

ARMY ENGINEERS AND THE LOBBY.

I introduced a resolution in the Sixty-third Congress to investigate the "mutual bribery" lobby. Original evidence now in my possession was offered to show that, directly or through subsidiary lobbies, the dredgers, railways, and other interests that have a direct financial claim on Government grabs contribute secretly toward the lobby's support. In some instances this lobby equally divided with its collectors the subscriptions paid by gullible supporters. Intrenched from the Capitol Building to the Southern Building, it instigates back fires on Members of Congress to compel support for "pork-barrel" bills.

Public and private citizens of undoubted probity have lent their names and presence to the lobby under misleading and persuasive arguments that by so doing they were performing a local duty and advancing legitimate waterway legislation.

Expert testimony from its officers as to the lobby's power over Congress and its accomplishments were fully presented in the RECORD of October 8, 1914. I will only briefly refer at this time to one or two significant utterances by this lobby.

PORK DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO CONTRIBUTIONS.

One of the cardinal principles of the Rivers and Harbors "Congress" is that "nothing given, nothing got." By paying 0.001 per cent of Federal appropriations to the support of the Rivers and Harbors "Congress" every community has the supporting arm of officials of this lobby "congress." On pages 60 and 62 of its 1911 report appears a list of appropriations given

to the different States of the Union, amounting to $178,616,897 from 1907 to 1911, inclusive.

In two columns the members of the lobby "congress" are impressed with the relation between that body and the amount of Government appropriations for each separate State. I quote literally from the listed method of comparison and cite a dozen States or more to show the proportionate grabs that are held out invitingly to gaze by the lobby officials.

All of these facts were again presented during debate in the House on the 1917 bill. The statement taken from the lobby's official 1911 report follows:

	Amounts subscribed to the support of National Rivers and Harbors Congress, by States, 1906–1911, inclusive.	Amount of appropriations received by States, in rivers and harbors bills, 1907–1911, inclusive.
Pennsylvania (east)	$4,295	$4,837,745
Connecticut	2,115	2,318,000
Massachusetts	2,853	1,451,733
Maryland	1,755	2,778,265
New Jersey	2,735	3,484,895
North Carolina	2,533	2,259,614
South Carolina	1,137	1,237,290
Virginia	4,303	4,082,454
Georgia	8,281	4,102,889
Florida	1,620	5,188,670
District of Columbia	1,530	1,243,000
Alabama	6,090	6,952,000
Louisiana	9,505	3,820,292
Texas	8,825	9,193,300
Mississippi River		21,842,775

Mississippi River (1914), $10,500,000, or nearly one-half of the six years' total.

UNFAIRLY DISTRIBUTING THE PORK.

Texas and Florida receive more than the average State, excepting that the Mississippi River lump sum would swell the adjacent States over $21,000,000, if counted. Florida has many small waterways, like the Kissimmee and the Oklawaha, and is the home of influential Members at both ends of the Capitol, who determine the fortunes of annual river and harbor bills. Florida had $2,217,000 in the 1917 bill alone, as will later appear, but many bad items were omitted from the Kenyon substitute measure rejected by the lobby.

Doubtless it appeals to lay members to realize that by the investment of $1 in the "second congress" $1,000 will be forthcoming from the Federal Congress.

"Capt." Ellison, official secretary of the "congress" lobby, is quoted by the same official organ to have evoked applause with the sentiment—

We send Congressmen here to legislate for the Nation, theoretically, but actually to get all he can for us, and if he does not get our share, and then some, we do our best to replace him.

SECRETARY THOMPSON DEMANDS $100,000,000 ANNUALLY.

Secretary Thompson, who runs things at the "congress" lobby headquarters in the Colorado Building the year round, in his speech before the annual meeting in December, 1914, said:

The fact is that our president is a Senator and took his seat in that body a year ago last March. We amended our constitution in 1912 so as to strike out the recommendation of $50,000,000 a year. We did not strike it out because we are the kind of chumps who believe that $50,000,000 a year is too much, but because we believe the safe, sane, and wise policy would be for the Government to spend $100,000,000 or more every year on this great work.

The permanent RECORD might properly substitute "grab" for "great."

Thompson says "we" struck out $50,000,000 and now believe $100,000,000 more annually is the proper amount.

That is the character of the lobby's demands, that has for its "president a Senator."

I introduce a letter which throws an interesting light upon contributions.

WATERWAYS AND COMMERCE,
No. 150 Nassau Street.

Hon. JAMES A. FREAR, *Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN FREAR:

* * * * * * *

I inclose herewith original subscription lists obtained from a canvasser named John M. Williams, of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, who received 50 per cent for the amount set opposite each name. As you will see, these subscriptions cover 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, and 1912.

You may regard them as your property to do as you please with them.

Sincerely, yours,

RICHARD M. MCCANN, *Publisher.*

Yours, very respectfully, W. P. RYAN, *Secretary.*

I have knowledge of the information on which the foregoing statement is made, and believe it is correct as stated.

A certificate is next introduced because it relates to the fortunes of Mr. Williams, whose activities follow in connection with the Rivers and Harbors Congress and other waterway organizations:

STATE OF OHIO, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR,
Columbus, November 26, 1909.

Mr. JOHN M. WILLIAMS,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

MY DEAR SIR: I have the honor to appoint you as one of the delegates from Ohio to attend the coming session of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress at Washington, D. C., December 8–10, 1909.

You are advised that there is no fund out of which the expenses of the delegates to this Congress can be paid, but I feel that your interest in the purposes of the congress is such as to lead you to attend, if it is possible for you to do so.

Respectfully,

[SEAL.] JUDSON HARMON, *Governor.*

Mr. Williams started collections for the lobby, and a letter of authority follows containing a special plea for the Atlantic coast $300,000,000 canal system that is to be improved at once. The plea reached the pocketbooks of the dredgers, contractors, and others, as hereafter appears, following this pointed letter of introduction.

[National Rivers and Harbors Congress: JOSEPH E. RANSDELL, president, Washington, D. C., and Lake Providence, La.; J. F. Ellison, secretary and treasurer, Cincinnati, Ohio; John A. Fox, special director, Washington, D. C.]

WASHINGTON OFFICE, 1910.

To the business interests of Baltimore, Md.:

The National Rivers and Harbors Congress is working earnestly to secure the adoption by the Federal Government of a permanent waterway policy that will provide for improving all the worthy waterways of the Union.

The improvement of the canals and waters of the Atlantic coast, in which Baltimore has such a direct and vital interest, should be among the first to receive the benefit of the increased and regular appropriations for rivers and harbors that this organization is working to bring about.

Funds are needed to carry on the work which the National Rivers and Harbors Congress has persistently urged, and to the end that a strong demand may come from every section of the Republic we earnestly invite your financial cooperation.

John M. Williams is authorized to receive and receipt for all moneys that may be subscribed. He is working under the direction of and reporting to the undersigned officers of the congress.

Very respectfully,

JOS. E. RANSDELL,
President.

P. S.—We earnestly urge the people of Baltimore to contribute to the support of this great work.

DAVID H. CARROLL,
Vice President.
JOHN R. SHERWOOD,
Director.

By urging appropriations for special projects the contributors were induced to part with their money, yet this same lobby sought the defeat of the $25,000,000 Kenyon substitute that included several large harbors among new projects. Remember, it demanded that 90 new projects, bad, wasteful, and indifferent, be included for $47,000,000, or nothing. That is the issue. Shall the lobby with its influential legislators continue in control of this legislation which is apportioned to States based on subscription?

TWO CONGRESSES SHAKE HANDS.

A further list of lobby subscribers shows that Mr. Furst, president of the Dredge Owners' Protective Organization, is not wholly unmindful of the services rendered his organization by the "Rivers and Harbors Congress."

The Dredge Owners' Protective Organization confidentially assists. Witness the following:

[Dredge Owners' Protective Organization: Frank A. Furst, chairman. William P. Ryan, secretary. Executive committee: F. A. Furst, George Leary, John Gerrish, J. McMullen, P. Sanford Ross, W. J. Bradley.]

BALTIMORE, MD., *August 4, 1910.*

Mr. JOHN M. WILLIAMS, *General Agent,*
National Rivers and Harbors Congress, New York City.

DEAR SIR: I find yours of the 1st instant awaiting my return to the city this morning.

Replying to your inquiry, I am submitting below a list of our members for your confidential use, as follows:

Morris & Cumings Dredging Co., 17 State Street, New York.
Eastern Dredging Co., 247 Atlantic Avenue, Boston, Mass.
Newark Meadows Improvement Co., 62 Cedar Street, New York.
American Dredging Co., Mariner & Merchants Building, Philadelphia, Pa.
W. H. Beard Co., 21 State Street, New York.
International Contracting Co., 17 State Street New York.
Atlantic, Gulf & Pacific Co., Park Row Building, New York City.
P. S. Ross (Inc.), 277 Washington Street, Jersey City, N. J.
Hy Steers (Inc.), 17 Battery Place, New York.
North American Dredging Co., San Francisco.
American Dredging Co., San Francisco.
Sanford & Brooks Co., Baltimore.
Coastwise Dredging Co., Bank of Commerce Building, Norfolk.
Norfolk Dredging Co., 217 Water Street, Norfolk.
Bowers Southern Dredging Co., Galveston.
Breyman Bros., East Boston, Mass.
J. S. Packard Co., 31 Market Square, Providence, R. I.
Daly & Hannan Dredging Co., Ogdensburg, N. Y.
Bay State Dredging Co., 185 Summer Street, Boston, Mass.
R. Moore, Mobile, Ala.

Yours, very respectfully, W. P. RYAN, *Secretary.*

Here is the confidential collector of the lobby "congress" receiving a confidential list of the dredgers' association from its secretary for the purposes of securing funds from the dredgers to aid the lobby "congress" in putting through an annual pork barrel.

According to Ryan's letter, this secret dredgers' organization was active in 1910. During debate on the 1917 bill I submitted a statement issued by this same dredgers' organization some years ago, signed by Mr. Furst, its president, wherein contracts with the Government were admitted to have been secretly allotted and divided among these same dredgers—contracts reaching many millions annually. Data were offered showing this same dredgers' organization has fraudulently and unlawfully secretly divided up Government contracts in the past. Different resolutions of investigation were ignored by the committee, and yet this same dredgers' organization "confidentially" helped Williams with contributions to the river and harbor lobby. These contributions, it appears, Williams collected on a fifty-fifty basis for an organization that in 1917 organized its usual back fire against Senators and Members who opposed the notorious 1917 $38,000,000 pork barrel, with its 90 new projects, including scores of creeks dry, thirsty, and asking for millions of Government funds with which to liquidate.

But I have digressed in order to describe the character of this lobby that maintains quarters in the Southern Building of this city the year around, and has its annual round-up in Washington when the Federal Congress meets. I have digressed to show what influences surround a body before which Chiefs of Engineers appear and regularly orate according to annual reports of the lobby.

At its annual round-up in the city of Washington, this lobby "congress" has been attended by all the interests engaged in securing lavish waterway appropriations of $50,000,000 annually, proposed by its constitution, or $100,000,000 or more annually according to Secretary Thompson. On such occasions the Chief of Engineers and his predecessors have generally occupied positions on the lobby program. No more incongruous situation can be imagined when the official who is supposed to be free from all extraneous influences and to be governed by the merits of each particular project appears before such an irresponsible lobby. All responsibility now rests with Army engineers, so in stating the situation I am not seeking to discredit any particular individual, but to show how far the present system has discredited itself, and the general influences surrounding legislation of this character. The lobby asks for large appropriations; the Chief of Engineers determines estimates and the lobby next trys to put those estimates through Congress.

Before this waterway lobby that defeated the $25,000,000 Kenyon substitute in 1917, whose primary purpose as announced in its constitution is to secure $50,000,000 in appropriations "for a policy not a project," there appeared in December, 1916, both Chief of Engineers Black and ex-Chief Bixby. Both orated, and I offer brief extracts from their efforts on that occasion.

GEN. BIXBY ASKS, WHERE IS "PORK?"

By a coincidence, on the day the 1917 bill was agreed to by the Rivers and Harbors Committee of the House, there were placed on the desks of Members of Congress printed pamphlets from the proceedings of the river and harbor lobby. Without dwelling upon the astonishing situation or ethics of his course, I quote from remarks of Brig. Gen. William H. Bixby, former Chief of Engineers, United States Army, delivered before this lobby in Washington, D. C., December 7, 1916. He said:

I had come here expecting to hear a little bit more discussion on this question of "pork," but it does not seem to have been discussed particularly. * * * We ought to see that such accusations are refuted every time that they are made, every time that statements to that effect appear in any newspaper, and every time that they are made in a public address. [Applause by the lobby.] The noisest men always attract the most attention; the dogs whose fight is least to be feared usually bark the loudest and will often shut up quickly when given the kick that they deserve. In the same way, those men who bark loudest against river and harbor appropriations will usually stop barking instantly, as soon as you go after them with a few unanswerable facts. * * * I want definitely to say that there has not been anything which is unworthy in the way of river and harbor appropriations for the last six years. [Applause by the lobby.]

Much more to the same effect was said by this military orator, still supported by the Government, who claims that during the years from 1911 to 1916, inclusive, nothing unworthy was contained in river and harbor bills. His statement calls to mind that in this same lobby's official report for 1911 Federal appropriations are claimed to be based on contributions to the lobby. Further, that Secretary Ellison officially said, in effect, before the lobby that the measure of a Congressman's usefulness was his ability to get "pork." Again, in 1914, Senator Burton, a recognized waterway expert, led a successful fight against a wasteful pork-barrel bill previously recommended by Gen. Bixby, and demanded a reexamination of many wasteful projects. Again, in 1915, Senator Burton led another successful fight against the wasteful pork-barrel bill for that year. In 1916 another wasteful bill only passed by one vote in the Senate; and yet, with that record before the country, the ex-Chief of Engineers appears before the river lobby that claims to control appropriations and makes the speech quoted. His statement is offered in order to show the frame of mind, ethics, and business ability of a man who has controlled and disbursed a hundred millions of dollars or more on our waterways. True, this was only an ex-Chief of Engineers, but at that same lobby meeting the present Chief of Engineers, Gen. Black, also appeared on the program and gave an extended speech, covering 18 printed pages, from which I briefly quote. He said:

On the Mississippi River we have an improved waterway of ample depth and sufficient width and open the year round from St. Louis to New Orleans, but it is only within the last year or two that that waterway has begun again to be used. * * * In passing down the Mississippi from St. Louis to New Orleans two weeks ago we left St. Louis one morning early. The same day a barge load of freight left St. Louis. All the way down the Mississippi River we saw the barge load at intervals. Finally we reached New Orleans, and the barge load of freight got there at exactly the same time. * * * Later I saw the manager of the barge line, and he told me that although this enterprise of theirs is but a new one and as yet is little known, it is to-day making money. [Applause by the lobby.]

Again, I will not discuss the ethics of the Chief of Engineers appearing before this lobby or refer to 17 more pages of his address, except in one slight matter, wherein he says:

DO "GREAT EXPENDITURES BRING ANY RETURNS?

There is no use recommending too small an improvement. Very often the small improvement, costing little money and resulting in restricted channel dimensions, will be a nonpaying investment, whereas a channel of greater width and depth, with greater expenditure of money, would make ample returns to the United States.

Every contractor indorses the sentiment, and the extravagant, wasteful estimates emphasize the judgment expressed.

These speeches before this lobby are from two of our Regular Army officers who were placed in absolute charge of estimates and expenditures, including the making of all contracts, reaching upward of $50,000,000 annually. Their word is law, and I desire to test the value of their judgment, because that judgment serves to determine taxes levied on the people of the country in order to carry out visionary engineers' wasteful schemes.

Chief Engineer Black says a restricted channel is a nonpaying investment. He believes in "a greater expenditure of money." For years Chief Bixby and Chief Black have recommended enormous appropriations for the Mississippi River from St. Louis to the Head of the Passes below New Orleans, reaching $6,000,000 for 1917. The total appropriations of Federal money for this part of the river to the mouth of the Missouri, up to 1916, reached $106,264,410. Mark well the amount, for during that time the commerce of the Mississippi decreased over 90 per cent, according to reliable authority which I have repeatedly quoted; and that commerce, according to Gen. Black, is now reduced to little more than one barge with which the engineers' boat played tag on this stretch of the river. Only one continuous boat between St. Louis and New Orleans after an expenditure of over $100,000,000 and an insignificant commerce at any time or place!

Gen. Black recommended $6,000,000 for the lower Mississippi in the 1917 bill.

All the faith of waterway lobbyists and river enthusiasts in recent years has been pinned to J. H. Bernhard, who once predicted a rejuvenation of river traffic. Every citizen devoutly hopes Bernhard's prophecy will be realized, but in a discussion by Mr. Bernhard, found in the proceedings of the American Society of Engineers for 1915, occurs this remarkable statement that is respectfully dedicated to the taxpayers' horn of plenty controlled by Chief Black. Bernhard said:

To-day the Mississippi from St. Louis to its mouth affords a channel which is the best to be found in any stream in the world * * * and see its emptiness. An 8-foot channel is all that the most efficient service requires. The Government works unremittingly to develop waterways only to see the water-borne traffic grow less as the years go by.

Still the average "river man" will insist the poor condition of the channels keeps our inland waters idle. This is preposterous; the Rhine could never compare with the Mississippi in its advantages for transportation; its channel is narrower and shallower, more changeable, the current is swifter, and ice is known in the winter over its entire navigable length, yet in 1913 more than 97,000 vessels passed the Dutch and German frontier on the Rhine.

These vessels, Bernhard claimed, carried on the Rhine in 1913, 37,529,153 tons.

That is in Germany, where the Government owns railways and controls railway rates, and waterway expenditures are intelligently administered. Now let us see how we do it in the United States under Army engineer supervision.

COL. TOWNSEND'S CONFIRMATION—A REMARKABLE STATEMENT THAT COMMANDS ATTENTION.

I quote briefly from a speech made by Col. C. McD. Townsend, Army engineer and president of the Mississippi River Commission. He said, page 19, Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session:

St. Louis for the past 50 years has been the principal origin or terminus of the traffic on our western rivers, and its records summarize their tendencies. Its river commerce attained its maximum of 2,120,000 tons in 1880 and has since steadily declined to 153,000 tons in 1914. In contrast it may be stated that the commerce at Sault Ste. Marie, the outlet to Lake Superior, in 1880 was 1,300,000 tons and attained a maximum of 79,000,000 tons in 1913. The commerce of New York Harbor exceeds 125,000,000 tons.

After duplicating receipts and shipments, the following official statement is illuminating on the total Mississippi River commerce, both up river and down:

Total receipts and shipments at St. Louis by rail and by water for years given.

[From reports of the Merchants' Exchange, St. Louis.]

Year.	Total by water.	Total by rail.	Grand total.
	Tons.	*Tons.*	*Tons.*
1880	1,831,385	8,852,204	10,783,589
1890	1,265,592	15,240,141	16,505,733
1900	757,590	24,555,750	25,313,340
1905	370,425	39,141,663	39,512,088
1910	191,965	51,726,135	51,918,100
1911	369,295	46,939,995	47,309,290
1912	265,720	51,476,639	51,742,359
1913	258,709	54,350,851	54,609,560

Compare this with 37,529,153 tons of waterway commerce on the Rhine. Two hundred and fifty-eight thousand seven hundred and nine tons in 1913 representing traffic up river and down received and shipped from St. Louis, or one-half of 1 per cent of that carried by rail or less than 1 per cent of that carried on the Rhine. We have spent six times as much as on the Rhine to get 1 per cent of the commerce of the Rhine.

A small river commerce at New Orleans is only a fraction of a large continuous traffic of 40 years ago, and the ocean traffic at New Orleans is accommodated by expenditures of over $20,000,000 at the Passes.

Chief Black discovered a solitary barge carrying freight from St. Louis to New Orleans. What more striking testimony of extravagance gone mad can be afforded than one hundred millions spent on the lower river under the advice of Army engineers, with loss in commerce of over 90 per cent, and $6,000,000 more for 1917 demanded by the Chief of Engineers, who saw the barge.

Just one further word in passing. After spending over $100,000,000 on the lower river for "navigation," the Senate passed a vicious $45,000,000 land-reclamation bill for the same stretch of Mississippi River on February 26, after brief discussion. On the following day the Rivers and Harbors Committee of the House was informed that it was impossible to secure passage on the Mississippi River from St. Louis to New Orleans, because no through boat was runnning on the river. Only the Army engineer's boat makes this continuous trip, notwithstanding scores of boats are said to have run the entire distance before a dollar was expended on the river.

We must fix responsibility for these enormous waterway expenditures that are squandered on deserted waterways and are intended to benefit private landowners, who are having millions of acres of land reclaimed by Army engineers at Government expense under a representation that it is for "navigation."

Let me quote from the words of Senator NEWLANDS in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 26, 1917, this same week, when the $45,000,000 private land reclamation bill was passed by the Senate. No better authority can be found:

From what does this bill arise? It arises from the fact that certain parties on the * * * Mississippi River own large areas of swamp lands which they desire to have reclaimed. That is the principal purpose of the bill.

Again he said prophetically that the bill is a part of the "spoils system."

Is that the purpose of the so-called $45,000,000 Mississippi flood-control proposition for which over two-thirds of $100,000,000 expended by Army engineers has been squandered for a private land reclamation scheme? Hypocritically urging "navigation" needs, the Federal Treasury has been drained for the benefit of private landowners. Who is responsible?

I have disclosed where the money of taxpayers was dumped by the Chief of Engineers' allotments in 1914 and 1915. I now desire to show where it was recommended for 1917, and will briefly quote from page 1 of the minority report 1289, Part 2, Sixty-fourth Congress, second session:

The first objection to the 1917 bill does not lie in its amount, although Congress has reason to fear the wrath to come from heavy tax burdens "wrung from the people." First and last it is a monument to "profligate waste," against which this administration is pledged (Baltimore, 1912, platform). Nowhere will be found evidence of wasteful methods in governmental affairs to be compared with the autocratic demand of Army engineers in 1917 for the following amounts from Congress:

Norfolk and Beaufort waterway, $1,000,000; lower Missouri, $1,000,000; upper Mississippi, $2,000,000; central Mississippi, $350,000; Mississippi Passes, $2,000,000; Ohio canalization, $5,000,000; lower Mississippi, $6,000,000; Cumberland, $977,000, reaching a total of about $18,000,000, for 8 projects out of 300 or more contained in the bill, or about one-half of the entire fund asked for by the engineers to carry on 300 projects in the bill. These items were slightly reduced by the committee, but the amounts named are those demanded by our waterway advisers.

Deducting from glittering commercial statistics, sand, timber, and coal, all actual river commerce reported on the eight projects probably does not equal that handled at the little harbor of Ashland, Wis., nor one-half that of Milwaukee, nor Chicago, nor one-quarter that of Boston, Buffalo, Cleveland, or many other harbors that could be named. All the actual commerce on these eight river projects will not reach 10 per cent of the waterway freight handled at the Superior-Duluth Harbor, nor 5 per cent of New York City's waterway commerce. Compared with this $18,000,000, demanded for engineers for eight comparatively insignificant commercial projects, the 1917 recommendations by Army engineers for actual waterway commerce of eight other old projects are as follows:

WATERWAYS THAT CARRY COMMERCE.

Ashland (6,534,410 tons), nothing; Milwaukee (8,119,875 tons), $21,500; Chicago (10,227,830 tons), $65,000; Buffalo (19,535,503 tons), nothing; Cleveland (12,631,442 tons), $60,000; Superior-Duluth (40,494,672 tons), $45,000; New York (100,000,000 tons), $500,500; a total of about $700,000 for a few actual waterways. Army engineers demand extravagant river appropriations and Congress grants their demands, if not in one House, then in the other.

The reason for deducting sand, coal, ferriage, timber, and duplications from absurd river reports furnished by the Chief of Engineers is because sand and gravel dug from the river and hauled from a half mile to 1 mile, together with ferriage statistics across the Mississippi, Missouri, and Ohio Rivers, in no way require deep channels, yet such items make up the major part of the elaborate commerce and of freight valuations reported by the Chief of Engineers on these rivers.

Twenty times more timber was annually floated down these streams 40 years ago, before Government waterway improvements were begun, and far more coal and legitimate waterway commerce was floated down the Ohio every year before the profligate expenditure of over $90,000,000 was begun on the Ohio, of which nearly $60,000,000 has been appropriated for that river without any return.

Government material dredged from the rivers including brush, rock, gravel, sand, coal, and provisions to keep busy the engineers' fleet and thousands of employees, figure ponderously in the Chief of Engineers' reports, although actual commerce has diminished on these rivers from 80 to 90 per cent during the last 40 years.

We have seen the insignificant commerce resulting from appropriations reaching $106,000,000 on the lower Mississippi, although the Chief of Engineers asked again for $6,000,000 for this reach of the river in 1917.

Let us now take Gen. Black's recommendation of $2,000,000 in 1917 for the upper Mississippi, on which appropriations thus far reach $28,012,091 for 700 miles of river. River commerce has decreased approximately 90 per cent during the expenditure of all these millions, but in presenting the facts taken from official reports it shows how the Government and the people have been humbugged by those who are responsible for all recommendations and expenditures.

Before doing so, I call attention to a remarkable statement made by Col. McD. Townsend, president of the Mississippi River Commission, who knows the waterways of the Mississippi River Valley better than any other man in Government employ, whatever may be his judgment.

IS NOT COL. TOWNSEND'S JUDGMENT SOUND?—IT CALLS A HALT ON 58 RIVER PROJECTS. WHY NOT?

I quote from Col. Townsend's remarkable address which was extended in the RECORD of December 11, 1915. Therein he says:

Specifically the writer would not abandon any navigable stream in the Mississippi Valley that has been partially improved, but would leave 58 of them in their statu quo, confining operations to snagging and the maintenance of existing works, and would concentrate appropriations on opening up a channel of the capacity of that existing on the lower and middle Mississippi to Chicago and Pittsburgh * * *.

If the facilities thus afforded by the Government are utilized, the upper Mississippi and the Missouri Rivers should then receive attention.

Col. Townsend calls a halt on the upper Mississippi and the Missouri River improvements until the $100,000,000 Ohio and $275,000,000 lower Mississippi projects are finished, and if these streams are ever utilized (?) then go on with the remaining 58 projects, including the Missouri and upper Mississippi. He is amply sustained in his demand for a halt on the 58 projects, but our rivers will not be "utilized" for reasons that rest on unlimited railway competition. The money is wasted and worse than wasted because we are stultifying our judgment to expect even two projects to become commercially profitable under the present system.

After appropriating over $28,000,000 on the upper Mississippi, the 1916 Report of the Chief of Engineers, page 1095, says:

Amount that can be profitably expended in fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, for works of improvement and maintenance, $2,000,000.

Let us see what the Chief of Engineers says about this upper river after expending $28,000,000 in its improvement. I quote from the 1914 report of Engineers, page 2437, to ascertain the amount of freight traffic on the river in 1913:

Upper Mississippi River freight statement for 1913.

Designation.	Short tons.	Ton-miles.	Valuation.
Logs	64,489	30,245,340	$315,271
Rafted lumber, shingles, etc	13,570	4,400,147	190,001
Miscellaneous freight	1,294,864	12,229,310	31,417,968
United States material	772,392	9,445,576	781,897
Total	2,145,315	56,320,373	32,705,137

Classified freight traffic, 1913.

Articles.	Amount.		Valuation.	Average haul.	Ton-miles.
	Customary units.	Short tons.			
				Miles.	
Apples	160,090 barrels	11,505	$200,218	34.4	395,959
Automobiles	5,703	6,034	9,545,950	3.8	23,014
Brick	192,190 pieces	981	3,052	7.3	7,157
Brush	656,644 cubic yards	82,450	170,191	20.6	1,700,694
Cement	4,305 tons	4,305	34,378	9.9	425,790
Coal	26,236 tons	26,236	90,400	13.5	354,401
Corn	119,090 bushels	3,463	77,431	6.4	22,144
Farm produce	13,565 tons	13,565	359,319	23.5	318,900
Fish	6,539 tons	6,539	666,600	9.8	62,486
Gravel	268,103 cubic yards	398,179	195,242	9.1	3,621,435
Hay	2,615 tons	2,615	44,269	5.4	14,122
Lath	3,056,000 pieces	1,018	10,575	317.2	322,989
Live stock	58,954 head	28,713	5,218,730	6.6	190,202
Logs	8,904,380 feet b. m	98,268	463,631	316.2	31,074,221
Lumber	19,167,689 feet b. m	30,408	467,775	138.0	4,195,827
Merchandise	17,101 tons	17,101	2,107,830	126.9	217,089
Oats	3,550 bushels	55	1,775	1.0	55
Rock	535,143 cubic yards	708,066	562,077	11.3	7,976,674
Sand	430,173 cubic yards	562,040	209,143	4.7	2,653,545
Shells	11,428 tons	11,428	246,229	42.9	490,801
Shingles	622,000 pieces	65	1,866	1.3	85
Teams	23,501	26,609	6,540,900	1.7	46,537
Wheat	11,500 bushels	382	12,347	7.9	3,015
Wood	21,847 cords	34,248	108,213	16.4	560,865
Miscellaneous	71,042 tons	71,042	5,366,996	231.0	1,642,366
Total		2,145,315	32,705,137	26.2	56,322,373

Referring to the 1913 statement, let us briefly examine the items, which show some remarkable facts.

ENGINEER'S STATISTICS OF COMMERCE (?).

"Commerce" reached 2,145,315 tons in 1913, so the Chief of Engineers reports. Tons of what? Let us see:

	Tons.
Brush for river construction work	82,450
Gravel dredged from river	398,178
Rock for river work	708,000
Sand dredged from river	562,000
Logs that have floated for 50 years	98,268
Lumber and wood barged	64,408
Animals ferried across river	55,322
Automobiles ferried across river	6,034
	1,974,980

All could be floated in 2 or 3 feet of water, leaving 170,335 tons of questionable commerce remaining, hauled on an average of 26 miles or thereabouts, or 7,000 tons continuous haul.

What a legislative travesty when eleven-twelfths of the commerce for which $1,000,000 was allotted by the Chief of Engineers is of that character. Who weighed the brush? Who weighed the logs? Who weighed the rocks, gravel, sand, and so forth, used in the river work? Where was it carried and for what purpose? Was it floated 1 mile or 10 miles? Who knows? Why measure Government material for river work, anyway?

A WONDERFUL SYSTEM IN VALUING "COMMERCE."

The Chief of Engineers says that 26,609 tons of horses were carried a mile and a half across the river and their value was $6,540,900, or one-fifth of the total. Other live stock carried across the river, he says, was valued at $5,218,730; and then, to cap the climax, this report adds that 6,034 tons of automobiles ferried across the river were valued at $9,545,950.

Nearly two-thirds of all the glowing commerce valuations on the upper Mississippi, including Government sand, rock, and gravel, turns out to be animals and automobiles ferried across the river.

Again, how much of the remaining 170,000 tons was repair material or Government supplies out of a total of 772,000 tons?

I quote briefly from a prepared statement I submitted during debate on the upper Mississippi item in the House on January 25. It concerned a trip taken on the river from St. Paul to St. Louis, on which trip we were repeatedly "stuck" on bars below the Keokuk Dam for a total of 17 hours. Quoting from the statement:

We left St. Paul August 24 (1916) on the steamer *St. Paul*, the largest boat on the river, with less than 50 tons freight, including 100 passengers and baggage. * * * Remained on deck practically all of each day, and the first traffic boat I saw on the river, aside from Government craft, was a little towboat with a small barge of sand, which we passed 354 miles below St. Paul on August 26, half way from St. Paul to St. Louis. With the exception of Government work boats the river was practically deserted from daylight to dark. * * * The St. Paul steamer is maintained by a passenger-excursion business. It made 7 round trips during 1916 in a season of less than 12 weeks. Capt. A. O. Day, a man of 30 years' experience, of exceptional intelligence, and high standing, made the significant statement that the river is now in worse condition than before the expenditure of a dollar was made by the Government. Poor channels, sunken wing dams, without lights as a rule, were a constant menace to pilots. One hundred and thirty boats 40 years ago, a dozen excursion boats now; that carries its own story.

What has become of $28,000,000 used to foster navigation? What has become of the 130 boats once on the river? What has become of a commerce that has decreased 90 per cent? Why does Chief Engineer Black say $2,000,000 can "be profitably expended during the fiscal year"?

GEN. BLACK RIDES ON THE CREST.

Let us find the method of reasoning of this official who is in supreme control of our waterway expenditures. When before the Rivers and Harbors Committee during the preparation of the 1917 bill, Gen. Black stated, in substance, that the upper Mississippi "from Rock Island to St. Louis," about 250 miles of river, was in excellent condition for navigation, and he gave the committee the impression that he had positive personal knowledge of the fact. At that same hearing I stated a boat on which I went down the river last summer (1916), the *St. Paul*, was caught repeatedly on different sand bars between Keokuk and St. Louis for 17 hours—this is below Rock Island. To this statement the Chief of Engineers answered, "If so, the fault rested with the pilots." I answered that Capt. Day, of the *St. Paul*, was one of the oldest and best captains on the river, and the boat had pilots second to none. The fault in the river, however, primarily existed because of control of water by the Keokuk Dam Power Co. At a hearing held February 15, 1917, before the Rivers and Harbors Committee on the control of water by the Keokuk Dam Power Co., it transpired that when the Army engineers made their inspection of the upper Mississippi, the Keokuk Dam Co. was directed by Maj. Meigs, the engineer on the river in charge, to let through the dam 2½ feet of water in order to float the engineers' boat. This testimony was given before the Rivers and Harbors Committee by C. W. Kellogg, manager for the power company, and although the *St. Paul* is the largest boat on the river, Kellogg further stated that no water had ever been released from the dam to help that boat or other boats belonging to private companies. Only for Army engineers' boats on the demand of the engineers. Can anything more preposterous be imagined?

Gen. Black, Chief of Engineers, floating on a 2½-foot crest of water let through the dam for his exalted personage and for a comparatively small inspection boat, found the river in good condition, whereas all the pilots and steamboat men on the upper river have signed petitions which I read on the floor asking for the removal of Army engineers and showing at the hearing that complaints were usually referred to the power company. The power company's officers tried to explain by saying the river was not in good condition, because bars had formed in channel, and so forth. The Chief of Engineers, riding on a 2½-foot rise of water released by the power company dam, declared everything was lovely and pilots were to blame. On that sort of knowledge he recommended $2,000,000 more for this upper river in 1917. River men who are helpless and are compelled to submit to this situation, say the river is not only bad below Keokuk, due to the dam, but the river was better throughout before a dollar had been spent upon it. Can any equal instance of official incompetence and extravagance be found in governmental affairs? Hundreds of rock dams built by Army engineers, without buoys or lights, have made hazardous any navigation at all on the upper river.

Is it any wonder the present system and officials representing the Government are the butt of ridicule by rivermen, or that the following petition was sent to different Representatives, signed by practically every expert riverman on the upper Mississippi, as shown in debate on January 25 last?

PETITION NO. 1.

ST. LOUIS, MO., *September 21, 1916.*

To the honorable Members of Congress, States of Missouri and Illinois (on and along the Mississippi River from St. Louis, Mo., north), Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: We, the undersigned steamboat men, have tried hard to make river navigation and transportation upon the Mississippi River north of St. Louis, Mo., a success, but it seems without avail.

Your Mr. A. E. Richards, assistant United States engineer, stationed at Hannibal, Mo., is, in our opinion, thoroughly incompetent and unreliable. He is apt and willing to cover up things he has failed to do, etc., but to actually aid us, one and all, he positively is the limit.

We respectfully ask for his transfer from this river and for the betterment of the service; his resignation, however, would be preferable.

We need action and attention on the Mississippi River during the early months of the year, not wait until September and October, when most all river traffic has ceased.

All this matter has been repeatedly called to the attention of Maj. Hoffman, at Rock Island, Ill. He pays no attention to the same, has excuses, and has failed to ever notify us of any attention or investigation he or his office has ever given same. This data is needed by us.

The Mississippi River for navigation needs a competent set of men to manage same, and to be on the job more of the time than off, as is apparent to people who have to and do run the river daily.

William Bush, pilot; Selby H. Crader, pilot; G. T. Williams, pilot; James Phillips, pilot; J. E. Short, pilot; R. M. Streckfus, master *Sidney;* D. H. Dippel, pilot; J. H. Laycock, pilot and master; Eugene Sprinkle, pilot; H. Woodruff, pilot; B. A. Burns; Joseph Streckfus, master; Streckfus Steamboat Line, John Streckfus, president; *Belle of Calhoun,* O. W. Sebastian, owner; Joseph Streckfus, secretary; Capt. B. J. Winters; John John W. Warren, master and pilot; John Streckfus, jr., master; John Streckfus, master.

And to this appeal from the only men taking advantage of the Mississippi so numerously dammed, Gen. Black, floating in his river palace on a 2½-foot rise, loftily says poor pilots are to blame for trouble. The power company officials say $28,000,000 invested by the Government leaves a poor channel, and the rivermen say both power company officers and Army engineers are to blame. Certainly a capable officer would protect those for whom this vast expenditure has been made, but the record tells its own tale of woe on the upper Mississippi.

I now offer a further petition signed by 20 pilots and steamboat men of the upper river representing practically all the steamboat interests on the upper river. It was discussed in the House during debate on January 25, and carries its own message of inefficiency of Army engineers in caring for navigation on the greatest river in the world. As stated in debate, "here is presented evidences of neglect and arrogance that would not be permitted in any other department of Government."

PETITION NO. 2.

ST. LOUIS, MO., *September 20, 1916.*

To the honorable Members of Congress, States of Missouri and Illinois (on and along the Mississippi River from St. Louis, Mo., north), Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: We, the undersigned steamboat men, find the lighthouse service upon the Mississippi River from St. Louis north in a very bad, unsafe, and unsatisfactory condition.

We need more buoys, markings, lights, etc., and the attention given the river is inadequate and inexcusable. In fact, it is deplorable and dangerous, steamers grounding daily.

We ask that you proceed and have the lighthouse system on the Mississippi River, north of Missouri River, taken out of the United States Engineering Department (Maj. Hoffman, at Rock Island, Ill.) and placed back in the Lighthouse Department, where it formerly was and furnish a lighthouse tender to do nothing else but attend to the lights and lighthouse duty, attending to same at all times, and not lay up on shore most of the time.

This needs immediate attention, and continual attention; not a few spurts now and then but all the time; all the year navigation is on; and we want *daily* or trip reports of same. We haven't gotten a report of soundings and changes of channel, etc., for at least two years past. We want them and need them positively, the same as is furnished river men from St. Louis down by the Lighthouse Service steamer.

Wm. Bush, pilot; Selby H. Crader, pilot; G. T. Williams, pilot; Jas. Phillips, pilot; J. E. Short, pilot; R. M. Streckfus, master steamer *Sidney;* D. H. Dippel, pilot; J. H. Laycock, pilot and master; Eugene Sprinkle; H. Woodruff, pilot; B. A. Burns, pilot; John W. Warren, master and pilot; Jos. Streckfus, master; Streckfus Steamboat Line, by John Streckfus, president; Eagle Packet Co., by Henry W. Leyhe, manager; *Belle of Calhoun,* by O. W. Sebastian, owner; Steamboat Owners' Association of St. Louis, by Henry W. Leyhe, president; Steamboat Owners' Association of St. Louis, by Jos. Streckfus, secretary; Madison Coal Co. (tugs), by R. Parker, captain; *Capt. B. J. Winters,* John Streckfus, jr., master.

These boats are largely devoted to excursion traffic, but their rights are fixed by law and are paramount. What a scandalous condition of affairs on the greatest river in the world, and on one inland waterway that ought to furnish commerce, if any.

Subsequent to the hearing on impounding of water by the Keokuk Dam Co. before the Rivers and Harbors Committee, letters passed between different Members of Congress and Gen. Black and the steamboat men regarding conditions on the greatest river in the world, which Gen. Black previously had said before the committee were all that could be desired.

I insert a letter recently sent by the secretary of the Steamboat Owners' Association to Gen. Black, which is self-explanatory. The letter follows:

ST. LOUIS, MO., *February 23, 1917.*

Gen. WILLIAM M. BLACK,
Chief of Engineers, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have before me your letter of February 14, 1917, addressed to Senator LEWIS, and referred to me.

I have written Senator LEWIS fully in the premises, so that he and other Members of Congress would fully understand that your letter referred only to the "Lighthouse work and aids," and not to the "Keokuk Dam," and the impounding of water by them, the fluctuations caused by their manipulations, etc., that we are trying so hard to get redress.

Further, I wish to call your special attention to this "satisfactory understanding," referred to in all your letters, which is as follows: Col. Riche called upon me and stated this "lighthouse matter" had been referred to him for investigation, this in his first talk to me on initial trip and before the investigation was completed. He stated he would suggest certain things, if so found, and if it met the approval of Maj. Hoffman, and at Washington, which seemed satisfactory, and would see me and go over the matter with me before making his report. I do not know what his report was, as we haven't a copy of same, nor were we consulted or given any notice of Maj. Hoffman or Washington rejected same. In fact, I don't know what has been done, or what is going to be done? So the "satisfactory understanding" does not come from me, or the steamboat men, who are so vitally interested. So you can see I have no reason to believe, or assurance, that the deplorable "lighthouse system" will not be the same this year as last.

You will further understand, this has nothing to do with the "Keokuk Dam" whatever and their manipulations, which is so hurting and impeding river navigation between Keokuk and Alton, as written you before, asking your aid and assistance.

You have referred this impounding of water by "Keokuk Dam" to Col. Riche, whom you will find by your records (in 1908, I believe) approved Col. McKenzie's letter allowing this dam to impound this water, which is the cause of our present trouble.

For this reason we ask that you kindly refer this investigation to some other distant engineer.

Yours, very truly,

JOS. STRECKFUS,
Secretary Steamboat Owners' Association of St. Louis.

What further can fitly express the lack of knowledge of Gen. Black as to actual conditions on a river for which he made recommendations of $10,000,000 for 1917, of which $6,000,000 was for the lower river, $2,000,000 for the passes, and $2,000,000 more for the upper river.

Immediately following my discussion of conditions on the upper river in the debate on January 25, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RAINEY] left the chair where he was presiding over the Committee of the Whole House and took the floor. His statement is a clean-cut indictment of present Army engineers' supervision, and his indorsement of my position was unqualified. Quoting:

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Chairman, I find myself in agreement with the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. FREAR]. Conditions on the upper Mississippi River, so far as the obstructions caused by the Keokuk Dam are concerned, are exactly as the gentleman from Wisconsin has described them. In fact, he has not told the story as bad as it really is.

This unexpected testimony of a leading Member of the House whose district lies along this section of the river is here inserted to show that corroboration of the facts stated in these remarks is to be had on every hand.

The upper Mississippi in itself is a fair measure of conditions in our inland waterways and of subservience manifested toward private-land reclamation and water-power interests, but abundant proof will be submitted that this condition is prevalent and that the only way to find relief is to get out from under the domination of Army engineer control.

Cities like Davenport and La Crosse are persuaded to raise large sums of money for river terminals. Taxpayers are deceived into believing that it is for commercial purposes on the river. Waterway organizations enthusiastically shout for the flag and an appropriation. Contractors, dredgers, reclamation, and power interests are all on hand whenever the lobby demands more millions from the Federal Treasury, but what are we doing with these fabulous sums of money delivered over to the Chief of Engineers. Employing an army of laborers—but for what purpose and who is responsible?

MISSISSIPPI, BETWEEN ST. PAUL AND MINNEAPOLIS.

In discussing the inefficiency of Army engineers and of waterway expenditures, let us take another part of the Mississippi.

From the "head of navigation," Minneapolis, the river has a tortuous, unnavigable stretch to St. Paul, 10 miles below. Based on the Chief of Engineer's recommendations, $2,589,000 has already been appropriated for this 10 miles of river, or at the rate of a quarter of a million dollars per mile. Of this stretch the Chief of Engineers says, page 935, of his 1914 report:

The construction of the lock and dam may develop a passenger traffic between St. Paul and Minneapolis and is expected to reduce the freight rate on flour and grain.

He further says:

The only traffic on the river in 1913 consisted of excursion steamers to Minnehaha Creek, below Lock 1 (p. 2843).

The Chief of Engineers recommended a $235,000 appropriation for this project in the 1915 bill. When that bill was defeated he allotted $65,000 on April 1.

The fact is notorious that after 20 years' improvement and an expenditure of over two and one-half million dollars on this 10-mile stretch of river not one ton of commercial freight has ever been hauled from St. Paul to Minneapolis or from Minneapolis to St. Paul by river, nor has a solitary lonesome passenger ever taken the trip on an excursion boat or otherwise in the recollection of the oldest inhabitant.

On the other hand, presumably 75,000 passengers travel daily between those two cities on eight railways and two interurban lines connecting the cities, paying a dime to be carried from the farthest extremity of one city to the remotest corner of the other, 20 miles distant. Probably 175,000 tons of freight on the average are daily carried by transcontinental trains between the two cities, and yet, after spending over two and one-half million dollars on a 10-mile stretch of river, without securing a single passenger or one ton of freight, in 1914 Army engineers promised passenger traffic and 250,000 tons of annual freight traffic, and so gave $65,000 more to this patent commercial farce.

That is the statement of the Chief of Engineers in order to promote a power proposition at Minneapolis.

Where is the defender of this prodigal waste of money on the Mississippi River? Over $136,000,000 on three sections of the river under the advice of Army engineers and $8,000,000 recommended for the river in the 1917 bill, apart from $2,000,000 for the Passes. Who is responsible?

Let us briefly consider other projects to further test the system and fix responsibility.

For 400 miles of the Missouri River, from Kansas City to the mouth, $1,000,000 is asked by Gen. Black in 1917 in addition to which Congress appropriated $15,417,093 prior to 1917. The project will probably cost double that amount before completion—if ever completed, which is doubtful. Let us see what we are to get for $75,000 per mile for 400 miles. I quote from the Chief of Engineer's 1914 report, page 2513:

Commercial statistics—Lower Missouri River (mouth to Kansas City).

FREIGHT TRAFFIC, 1913.

Articles.	Amount.		Valuation.	Average haul.	Rate per ton-mile.
	Customary units.	Short tons.			
				Miles.	
Grain	253,940 bushels	6,701	$195,303.38	123	$0.0091
Hay		114	2,049.66	106	.0156
Feed and flour		334	9,538.88	8	.0670
Oil	46 barrels	12	345.00	8	.0483
Manufactured iron and steel.		1,655	897,790.50	291	.0089
Live stock	4,800 head	245	137,039.20	31	.0403
Salt	148 barrels	22	259.00	9	.0510
Sand and gravel	1,735 cubic yards.	2,513	1,646.00	9	.0557
Brick	4,800	16	56.90	9	.0349
Cement	534 barrels	107	1,152.90	26	.0346
Lumber	75,360 feet b. m.	183	2,976.60	13	.0333
Other building material		15	1,088.00	10	.0415
Railroad ties	128,908	10,312	62,697.50	14	.0085
Produce		196	22,370.40	125	.0114
Wood	591 cords	847	2,135.60	9	.1002
Miscellaneous		13,579	2,520,734.80	237	.0093
Logs and lumber rafted	43,000 feet b. m.	107	473.00	150	(1)
Sand and gravel barged	238,136 cubic yards.	309,577	71,555.00	1	(1)
Total		347,235	3,929,212.32		

(1) Owner.

Total ton-miles, 5,173,170.

Of this imposing commerce over 312,000 tons of "sand" was hauled about 1 mile in 1913. Nine-tenths of the "traffic" was barged 1 mile. Study the table in order to get a fair understanding of humbug statistics handed Congress by Army engineers and of a vanished river traffic.

Instead of a 6-foot channel being required, a 2-foot channel will float the insignificant commerce, according to experienced river men, and for that river's commerce $2,050,000 was allotted by Chief of Engineers out of $50,000,000 turned over to him by Congress.

Deducting sand and 11,159 tons of ties and wood barged about 10 miles leaves 24,000 tons of questionable commerce for which the Chief of Engineers, from the official report, asked $1,000,000 in 1917.

Speaking of this Missouri River project on March 2, 1915, one month before the allotment was made, Senator Burton said:

> You may spend $20,000,000—yes, $30,000,000—on this project, and in spite of that enormous amount the traffic will diminish, because you are facing a condition that no policy of river improvement can reverse—the loss of that class of river traffic and the utilization of other agencies for the carrying of freight. I wish it were not so, * * * but I am tired of "rainbow chasing," and that is what this is. It is much worse than "rainbow chasing"; it is pure, bald, unmitigated waste.

After this remarkable denunciation of a bald, wasteful project shouldered onto taxpayers by "rainbow chasing" engineers, and after positive legislative notice directing a resurvey of this "pure, bald, unmitigated waste," and with a million dollars balance on hand, our Chief of Engineers dumped in another million on April 1, 1915. Two jitney busses would have carried all the actual commerce and saved $998,000 of war-tax revenues during 1914.

Was TILLMAN to blame when he said the bill is a "humbug and a steal"? We know it is farcical and we do more than wink at it. With positive knowledge that the waste is twice as large as in the days when TILLMAN exposed the humbug, we approve it, Mississippi, Missouri, with every other worthless project that the bill contains.

A brief comment on Gen. Black's responsibility is appended to this Missouri River project, which is primarily for a 500,000-acre private-land-reclamation scheme, as has been repeatedly shown in debate.

Col. Deakyne, an Army engineer, recently recommended the abandonment of the scandalous new $20,000,000 project. In this he was sustained by Col. McD. Townsend, who is president of the Mississippi River Commission. Both of these officers were familiar with the project and realized its character and recommended its abandonment. Chief of Engineers Black overturned that report and plunged the Government into a continuance of the $20,000,000 project, which will reach over $35,000,000 for the entire Missouri River when completed, and for an actual commerce that could be carried in several trainloads or by two jitney trucks the year round.

BLACK TAKES A $20,000,000 RIDE.

This project was discussed exhaustively in the RECORD of May 27, 1916, by an able man, Senator HUSTING, in another branch of Congress. He says:

> Gen. Black has never been on the Missouri River doing any work. The records show that all Gen. Black ever saw of the Missouri River was on a trip of 300 miles on the Missouri River when his Board of Engineers made this report—a trip up the river. He never did any work on the river; he never was near the Missouri River in his official capacity at any other time. * * * Gen. Black has been in the East all his life, so far as this sort of activity is concerned. * * * Gen. Black, without any personal knowledge of the subject at all, * * * admitting that the expenditure was without economic justification and without any reasonable expectation or hope of expectation of increased commerce warranting the outlay, reversed the findings made by the other officers (Col. Deakyne and Col. Townsend). Col. Deakyne was the man on the job for three and a half years. * * * The officer who backed him up, Col. Townsend, is on the job to-day and has been there for about four years in active charge of the district.

Who is responsible for this wasteful $20,000,000 project loaded on taxpayers, in addition to many millions spent on prior projects on the Missouri?

Coupled with Senator Burton's statement as to "unmitigated waste" and the statement of another Senator just quoted, what can be said of Gen. Black's judgment in recommending $6,000,000 for the lower Mississippi in 1917, after seeing a single barge go from St. Louis to New Orleans, or $2,000,000 for the upper Mississippi in 1917 after the Keokuk Power Co. had loosened up 2½ feet of water to help his inspection boat get over the bars, or of the lower Missouri for $1,000,000 in 1917, against the protest of Army engineers familiar with the facts, who had recommended that the private-land-reclamation scheme be abandoned?

What can be said of commerce reports presented by Army engineers on which these extravagant expenditures are based? Who is responsible?

GOVERNMENT PAYS $300 PER TON ON UPPER MISSOURI.

Again we find the short stretch of the Missouri River from Kansas City to Sioux City has received $3,234,083, heretofore recommended by Army engineers. With $141,229 on hand, the 1916 report asks for $35,000 more and submits in justification of past expenditures reaching over $3,000,000 a statement of freight traffic (p. 2673, 1916 report). It shows 101,832 tons of commerce in 1915, of which 101,335 tons was sand barged by owners 2 miles. This is the net result of a greater expenditure than has been made on many large harbors, and for a commerce in 1915 reaching 487 tons net. Who is responsible for this $3,000,000 waste and a $300 per ton cost to the Government?

On the Cumberland River, which Col. Townsend includes in his recommendation for halting present waste, Congress appropriated prior to 1917, $6,466,767. The commerce showing on the lower river, after deducting sand and gravel hauled 8 miles and logs, ties, etc., reached 16,354 tons in 1915, according to the engineers' reports (p. 2691). The upper river commerce was about the same, and the average haul along the entire river was comparatively insignificant. In order to show the wisdom

of Townsend's advice to stop short in this carnival of engineering extravagance, I call attention to other projects showing investments by the Government prior to 1917 and actual commerce returns, all on a par with the Cumberland River, counting average traffic throughout.

	Appropriated.	1915 actual commerce.
		Tons.
Upper Missouri	$3,234,083	487
Big Sandy, W. Va.	1,655,295	1,039
Cumberland River, Tenn.	6,466,767	16,354
Red River, Ark., below Fulton	2,874,687	14,275
Trinity, Tex.	2,492,287	1,571
Brazos, Tex.	1,990,000	
Arkansas, Ark.	3,823,336	12,143
Ouachita, Ark.	4,212,869	14,899
Muscle Shoals Canal, Ala.	4,632,975	7,982
Hennepin Canal, Ill.	7,657,803	7,656
Muscle Shoals Canal	4,550,000	5,887

These few "projects" have absorbed nearly $45,000,000 under the advice of Army engineers, in order to produce an aggregate actual commerce of a little more than 80,000 tons, or practically 1 per cent of the 1915 waterway commerce handled at the harbor of Ashland, Wis., or less than one-half of 1 per cent of the commerce handled at any one of several lake ports that may be named.

I am not calling attention to this wretched record just to show waste and extravagance on these river projects, but to further state that after all this enormous waste of over forty millions of dollars, of which nearly six and a half millions was for the Cumberland River, Gen. Black, on February 4, 1914, in Document No. 10, Sixty-third Congress, second session, as chairman of the Board of Engineers, recommended $4,500,000 more for the upper Cumberland River. More to the point, he reversed the action of subordinate engineers and reversed a first recommendation of local contribution. The whole miserable tragedy in political pull and wasteful extravagance contained in that document ought to make the most generous champion of present methods hang his head. Who is responsible?

Need it be said, to show the character of the 1917 bill just defeated in the Senate, that among the new projects, reaching $47,000,000, contained in the bill the Cumberland River the $4,500,000 proposition was snugly ensconced, together with the $733,000 Oklawaha River, new project, for 1,760 tons of actual commerce, and $100,000 for the Congaree, new project, for 4,324 tons of actual commerce, in addition to $668,298 already spent, and for various sums reaching a total of seven figures for many other wasteful items out of 90 new projects, including the Scuppernong, Kissimmee, New Begun, Deep Creek, Raccoon Creek, Sabine River (generally dry), Brazos, Colorado, and others of the same character? Who is responsible for their approval and estimates? Remember, again, this is the measure just defeated, which will bob up again, and which the president of the lobby says to the press is the "best river and harbor bill introduced for years." Heaven help those that preceded it if that statement be correct.

On the lower Mississippi, upper Mississippi, Missouri, Cumberland, and many other projects we have learned of prodigal waste recommended by Chief of Engineers Black, in the name of navigation for deserted rivers, without actual commerce worthy of the name. The Chief of Engineers overruled reputable officers for a $20,000,000 project, primarily for land reclamation on the lower Missouri. I now offer further evidence of profligate waste on a private water power—in the name of navigation. Document No. 20, Sixty-third Congress, second session, contains a recommendation by Chairman Board of Engineers Black for a payment of $18,700,000 to improve a water power at Muscle Shoals on the Tennessee River. The subject was thoroughly discussed in the RECORD of January 10, 1916, First session, Sixty-fourth Congress, pages 815-820.

GEN. BLACK AND THE MUSCLE SHOALS.

On page 84, of Document 20, Army engineers are quoted as favoring a dam 150 feet high, primarily in aid of navigation on the Etowah River. Col. Black recommended at Muscle Shoals $8,375,000 for navigation, $1,750,000 for flowage, and a loan of $8,325,000 to a private power company for 100 years. The Government had previously spent $4,555,000 on this notorious canal. The total commerce reached only 5,520 tons in 1912 and 5,887 tons in 1913, according to the Army engineers' reports. On the Tennessee River $11,437,160 has been spent on engineering experimentation. To this enormous extravagance Chief Black, in Document No. 20, proposed to add $18,700,000 on the Muscle Shoals 26-mile canal along this river as above stated.

When the facts were exposed to the House, the project which was contained in the 1914 river and harbor bill was stricken from the bill, notwithstanding strenuous opposition by the then leader of the House from Alabama.

In January, 1916, the military bill contained section 82, which was a proposal to appropriate $24,000,000 for this same project under a joker proposed in the bill for preparedness nitrate manufacture, with the Alabama Power Co. again the beneficiary. A full discussion appears in the RECORD of January 2, 1916, wherein the Secretary of War was shown to have the sole determination, and Army engineers, according to the hearings, had only considered the Muscle Shoals project previously approved by Gen. Black.

When the Army bill was under discussion I presented original documents showing a vigorous lobby was pressing this legislation; that the Alabama Power Co. had a $100,000,000 bond issue dependent upon the acceptance of a nitrate project by the Government; that stockholders owning nitrate patents expecting to unload on the Government were also stockholders of the Alabama company, and that the whole proposition was vicious and indefensible. Whatever may have been the effect of the discussion which appears in the RECORD of January 2, 1916, a $24,000,000 joker section previously included by a unanimous report of the Military Committee was driven from the military bill by a decided vote in the House and the proponents did not demand a record vote to which they were entitled.

After this second defeat it seemed that the Alabama Power Co.'s lobby was without prospect of unloading its infamous project on the Government, but things turned out otherwise.

Having failed to get $18,700,000 in the river and harbor bill for navigation, which has been approved by Gen. Black in Document No. 20, and after the company had failed to get $24,000,000 in the military bill for nitrates on the ground of preparedness, with the same official to ultimately fix upon Muscle Shoals for the project, the appropriation again bobbed up in the Agricultural bill, which was prostituted to cover the same Muscle Shoals project under a claim now made that fertilizer would be manufactured for the farmers. The President was left to determine the location, but the press has contained repeated notices that the Secretary of War and other officials are going to look over Muscle Shoals in determining the location of a Government plant to cost, presumably, $20,000,000. The press further announces that Gen. Black has charge of the arrangements. As the Secretary of War has written many letters indorsing projects approved by Gen. Black, there is no uncertainty of the ultimate purpose and end of this appropriation of $20,000,000. The Secretary of War will delegate to his subordinate the determination.

Eminent scientists and engineers were quoted in my speech of January 2, 1916, to show the unbusinesslike proposal of manufacturing nitrates by the fixation process, compared to using by-products of coal.

Frederick Darlington, an eminent consulting engineer, also has shown the extravagance resulting from adopting the Muscle Shoals project, and calls attention to over 2,000,000 horsepower now going to waste in plants throughout the country which can be utilized, if desired, in manufacturing fertilizer or nitrates without the investment of $20,000,000 in one plant at Muscle Shoals.

One insurmountable objection occurs to Darlington's proposal. The nine lives possessed by the Alabama Power Co.'s $100,000,000 bond-issue cat is too big a chance to overlook, and it takes only $20,000,000 of Government funds to acquire it. Beaten at securing $18,700,000 for navigation in the river and harbor bill, the cat came back in a joker for $24,000,000 for nitrates in the military bill. Again beaten squarely in a stand-up fight, the cat came back with a $20,000,000 proposition for farmers' fertilizer, with Gen. Black of the party that inspects Muscle Shoals. I do not charge anything improper on the part of any Government official. The system of delegating that power, however, is indefensible. But with the political pull and wealth now behind the Alabama Power Co., the cat is sure to come back until it gets that $20,000,000 out of the Federal Treasury, and I ask again who is responsible?

SCORES OF BAD PROJECTS IN 1917 BILL.

During the fight against the 1917 bill in the House, 81 new projects were placed in the bill, including some of the most scandalous items ever covered by a river and harbor bill. Scores of old projects were bad and wasteful, but to these were added new creeks and new runlets and old bankrupt canals and every other kind of grab that has its hands on the Federal Treasury, all with the indorsement of Army engineers. Whenever a new project for New York Harbor or Boston Harbor was inserted it was a signal for every discreditable project to crowd in, from the Scuppernong to the Oklawaha, the Kissimmee, the Sabine, and the Colorado Rivers, with Richmonds Harbor real estate project on the Pacific coast bringing up the rear. All have the official O. K. of the Army engineers and of the lobby,

which declares the bill "the best," and so forth, and proceeded to defeat the $25,000,000 substitute because it eliminated a grist of the "pork" projects.

I have repeatedly exposed many old projects and some new projects in this fight against what Senator TILLMAN calls the annual "humbug and steal," but I have no purpose to extend this argument to pork projects or to the waste, extravagance, and notoriety connected with river and harbor bills. That is a separate subject, which I have discussed day after day on the floor of the House whenever river and harbor bills have been up for consideration.

I have tried briefly in these remarks to point out the intolerable domination of Congress and of the Treasury by engineers who are supposed to make or unmake a Congressman, depending upon the approval of a local waterway project as a condition of his return. Let me recapitulate what are believed to be important facts and then let me ask, What Representative will defend the record of incompetency and extravagance accompanying these expenditures?

THE IRON HOOP TO THE PORK BARREL.

First. The Army engineer has been shown to be unfitted by lack of business training, environment, or experience from performing a service filled by experts in economics, waterways, and business management in other countries. His whole social and official life unfits him for such responsibility.

Second. Chief of Engineers Black finds nothing incongruous when appearing upon the program of a waterway lobby, such as has been heretofore exposed on the floor of the House, and briefly described in my remarks to-day.

Third. When the river and harbor bill of 1915 was defeated and Army engineers were directed to reexamine many doubtful projects not one of importance was dropped. I have presented to your notice wasteful projects that absorb many millions annually. Senator Burton and others have shown from the official engineers' reports how worthless and useless many of these projects have turned out, but more significant, Col. Townsend, the ablest inland waterway engineer, has recommended a halt on 58 Mississippi Valley projects, but Gen. Black fails to halt one as long as the Federal Treasury responds.

Fourth. Taking up specific measures, Gen. Black recommended $6,000,000 for the lower Mississippi for 1917, notwithstanding only one barge runs, or did run, from St. Louis to New Orleans, and after $106,000,000 has been spent on the lower river, with a loss of 90 per cent of its commerce during the same period.

Fifth. Gen. Black recommended $2,000,000 for the upper Mississippi in 1917, after past appropriations of $28,000,000 on this same stretch of the river. In order to bolster up the project he couples a "commerce" statement that I submit is unworthy of consideration. More significant, he boasts of the conditions on the upper river, when it appears that the Keokuk Power Co. was instructed by Army engineers to release 2½ feet of water from the lake to accommodate their own inspection boat. Col. Townsend recommended that work in this project be confined to open-channel work, costing, according to expert rivermen, less than $200,000 a year. Gen. Black overrules all and asks Congress for $2,000,000 in 1917. Further, he claims the river to be in navigable shape, when it is stated by expert river men to be worse than before a dollar was ever expended, and they unite in a petition for the removal of the local engineers.

Sixth. Gen. Black overruled Col. Townsend and Col. Deakyne, both of whom had been on the Missouri River for several years. Gen. Black took one boat ride up the river similar to his boat ride on the 2½-foot Keokuk Dam rise. He then overruled two men who were trying to obey the 1915 law and save the Government Treasury. By his action there was loaded onto the Treasury a new $20,000,000 project that is primarily for reclaiming land instead of navigation, as has been repeatedly shown in debate.

Seventh. Gen. Black as chairman of the Board of Engineers, after an expenditure of over $6,000,000 thus far, recommended $4,500,000 more for a new Cumberland River travesty, and in so doing overruled the judgment of men who had disclosed the hopelessness and waste involved in this new project contained in the 1917 bill.

Eighth. Gen. Black is in a position to load on the Treasury the $20,000,000 Muscle Shoals Alabama Power Co. project. He recommended it for navigation, but Congress struck it out. Placed in the military bill for nitrates for preparedness, Gen. Black again was made arbiter; again Congress struck it out. Finally it was placed in a third bill, this time for a fertilizing plant, and Gen. Black is again the real man behind the gun to settle the location.

I do not care to refer to scores of other projects that carry wasteful appropriations in the 1917 bill. I have no personal complaint against Gen. Black. I wish this criticism could be avoided and the weakness of the present system disclosed without so doing. He is no better nor worse than his predecessors. He is a product of a system, and that system is so bad and far-reaching that no defense can be offered for it by those who are its beneficiaries, and no criticism need be hoped for from these same beneficiaries for self-evident reasons.

In my minority report I stated that, "Nowhere will be found evidence of wasteful methods in governmental affairs to be compared with the autocratic demand of Army engineers in 1917 for the following amounts from Congress:

Norfolk and Beaufort waterway	$1,000,000
Lower Missouri	1,000,000
Upper Mississippi	2,000,000
Central Mississippi	350,000
Mississippi Passes	2,000,000
Lower Mississippi	6,000,000
Ohio canalization	5,000,000
Cumberland	977,000

These items reach about $18,000,000 for only 8 projects out of 300 or more contained in the bill, or about one-half of the entire fund asked for by the Engineers in 1917 to carry on the entire 300 projects in the bill.

To the use of words "autocratic demand" Chairman SPARKMAN and other members of the committee dissented, although it was further stated in debate that the only modification of a single item in that $18,000,000 list was the reduction of $800,000 on the upper Mississippi made on my own presentation of conditions.

That the engineers do autocratically demand from Congress the specific amounts with which to keep thousands of employees engaged on wasteful projects has been repeatedly shown, and as to the distinction between their "demand" and recommendation I offer the explanation of the leading member of the minority on the committee who defended the engineers. Like the chairman of the committee, this able Member, due to the fortunes of political primaries, will not be with us during next session. I quote from the debate on January 22, 1916:

Mr. FREAR. Immediately in connection with that statement (of "autocratic demand") appears a list of $18,000,000, or very nearly that amount, recommended by Army engineers for eight projects. Is there more than one project in the list in which any change was made by the committee, and that one reduction I recommended?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I will come to that presently.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Washington. * * * Congress has nothing upon which to base an estimate of what these projects will cost except the report of the engineers * * *. The engineers are experts, and they have expert knowledge, and it is only proper we should follow what they recommend.

Mr. FREAR. I submit that the argument of the gentleman from Washington [Mr. HUMPHREY] absolutely justifies the proposition that I make. There is no question about it.

All estimates under the present system come from the Chief of Engineers.

Congress, like an overgrown infant, accepts the "autocratic demand" of Army engineers, and I have disclosed the awfulness of the waste brought about by these "experts" during the past four years, during which time Congress has overturned their estimates and knocked over the engineers' demands and the committees that supinely follow their demands.

AN ARMY ENGINEER'S LIMITED USEFULNESS.

Engineers are able to canalize the Rocky Mountains or make a canal on the Trinity River by artesian wells, as proposed, but after spending $2,000,000 in round numbers on the Trinity no commerce has been developed, and commerce, not deserted canals, is what the American people are being taxed for. Can any distinction be more clear of where the fault lies than that shown by technical knowledge presumably possessed by Gen. Black, when compared with common sense based on commercial needs, a virtue not found under present preposterous methods.

I have tried to present a brief statement, but I find it has extended far beyond the limits originally intended. Any discussion of a subject of such importance must necessarily have many angles that require presentation. Those who are interested, and every Representative ought to be interested, will find in the numerous reports and speeches on the subject to which I have referred detailed analyses of many worthless projects now carried on by the Government that ought to be abandoned but can not be discontinued or modified under the present system.

The river and harbor bill is a simon-pure pork-barrel bill on the theory that it is supported by local interests dependent upon securing some local project. Generally speaking, all votes so interested stand together, so that not one project can be stricken from the bill in either branch of Congress. The bill stands or falls in its entirety. From that very fact has grown up efforts of localities favored with strong political and legislative influences in Congress to get all they can out of such bills. The old story of the jury finding "not guilty" the de-

fendant charged with stealing a hog because each juryman was cared for with a portion of the hog has been told on this floor repeatedly. Although a distinguished Senator now in Congress has declared such bills to be humbugs and steals, I do not question the legislative integrity of any Member nor assume greater virtue than those supporting such bills. I do say as long as omnibus bills are popular, public criticism as to extravagance and waste will be merited. Any bank in the country with the Chief of Engineers for its president and Congress for its board of directors would become bankrupt in 30 days.

There is no escape from the alternative. The system is inherently bad and is a bid for legislative influence irrespective of commercial needs. With practically no protection from the engineers the system has grown so vicious and notorious that Congress must devise some escape from its influence. Wasted public money is in itself to be deplored, but political sandbagging, scratch-my-back methods is a sign of public weakness not warranted by the high standard of men who are chosen Representatives in Congress.

I do not say this from any desire to lessen the stigma attaching to such bills, but I do know the membership of this House is composed of men of integrity and high moral character. I believe this is universally so, and if exceptions there be, they prove the rule, but weak and inexcusable things sometimes occur through the desire of Members to represent their districts, and although the locality and secret interests behind proposed projects may be primarily to blame, the Representative properly gets the blame for voting for bad measures.

WISCONSIN AND FLORIDA, OR COMMERCE VS. "PORK."

Before concluding I desire, from the standpoint of locality or sectional grab methods contained in the 1917 bill, briefly to compare the appropriations received by Wisconsin and Florida, first prefacing the comparison with the remark that the water-borne commerce of Wisconsin includes Superior-Duluth, Milwaukee, Ashland, and other harbors with a total commerce of over 60,000,000 tons annually, and an average haul of several hundred miles.

The actual waterway commerce of Florida, according to official engineers' reports, is presumably not 10 per cent of that of Wisconsin. In 1916 Florida contributed to the Federal Treasury $1,816,214.81, Wisconsin contributed $12,993,916.57. (P. 50, Internal Revenue Rept. 1916.)

With this brief preliminary statement, let me say that, apart from future obligations assumed, which in the case of Florida are several times those of Wisconsin, the 1917 bill carries $2,217,200, for 24 projects in Florida, while Wisconsin receives $147,100 for 9 projects, notwithstanding Wisconsin has 10 times the Florida commerce; all of which shows that with past waterway appropriations approximating $20,000,000 for Florida, it is an important legislative asset under the present system to have friends in court. Wisconsin contributes six times as much as Florida to the Federal Treasury, but Florida gets 15 times as much from this bill for a comparatively small commerce.

Let me further say that Wisconsin has all that was recommended by Army engineers in 1917, and presumably all that is needed. What more completely demonstrates the character of the present system than this one illustration?

LOUISIANA, NORTH CAROLINA, AND TEXAS.

Or, again, Texas, with $1,488,000 for 18 projects, in the 1917 bill, gets 10 times as much as Wisconsin, while North Carolina, with $2,133,275, counting the Norfolk-Beaufort Waterway, for 16 projects, speaks in thunderous tones its approval of the present system, although its actual commerce will not reach one-half that of the small waterway commerce of Florida, but North Carolina is well represented on locality bills at both ends of the Capitol. That is the character of the 1917 bill, "the best" bill, according to the president of the River and Harbor Congress lobby. And, incidentally, Louisiana, the lower Mississippi, and other projects, old and new, pulled several millions from the same bill.

I speak of these allotments by Congress to indicate some of the characteristics of the 1917 bill, which like every other river and harbor bill has rightfully earned the title of "a pork barrel," and one of the worst of all is the 1917 travesty.

Another subject may be worthy of brief consideration. The anxiety of Members for some local project frequently blinds their judgment and binds their support to a bill that ordinarily bristles with bad projects. Local pressure is hard to resist.

Will the citizens of Minnesota, Iowa, the Dakotas, Montana, Nebraska, Kansas, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, and all other interior States study these river and harbor omnibus bills to learn what they are paying direct taxes for in these piping times of peace? Will the taxpayers of New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and other coast States that now pay most of the Government revenues, examine these same omnibus bills to learn what scandalous pork-barrel projects their Representatives must support in order to get needed appropriations for commercial harbors?

It must be understood that this is analogous to placing between 100 and 200 unnecessary public buildings in jim-crow and cross-road towns throughout the country. All omnibus bills have the same objectionable characteristics—it is six of one and a half dozen of the other when the two infamous pork barrels, a product of omnibus-bill methods, are compared. One important difference exists in effecting their defeat. The Treasury Department seeks to prevent the public buildings waste while the War Department, through the Army engineers, is directly responsible for much of the river and harbor waste and is an obstacle to some better system.

Every Member desires to perform his full duty by and for his district, but the oath of office contemplates public service not circumscribed by congressional district boundaries, nor does it follow that pork-getting proclivities determine public usefulness, popularity, nor estimate of ability held by the average district.

The Rivers and Harbors Committee of 21 members may properly be held to include those who in past years have abundantly cared for their constituencies, yet one-third of that committee, including its three oldest members, are retired by the primaries or election of 1916, indicating that widespread popularity does not necessarily follow the ability to get something for one's district whatever reason determined results.

DISTRICTS PREFER PUBLIC ECONOMY TO LOCAL PORK.

Measured by such token, I would be relegated to private life, because, with 125 miles of the greatest inland river in the country bordering on my district, I have repeatedly opposed waterway and other forms of public waste. Possibly this accounts for a statement published during the campaign in one of the leading Democratic papers of my State, that—

> The Democratic national committee considers Representative FREAR'S district vulnerable, and is preparing to send a half dozen prominent speakers into the district to help the Democratic candidate. * * * In no other Wisconsin Republican congressional district is the Democratic committee thus concentrating its orators.

Money and speakers were shoved into the district by the committee during the recent campaign, in a vigorous effort to carry it. Plum getting, however, is not a necessary asset in the tenth Wisconsin district, which gave about 14,000 majority, or more than double its usual vote in indorsement of its Representative's course, and several thousand more than was given to the head of the ticket. Vulnerability does not ordinarily come through efforts to stop extravagance and waste; otherwise the Democratic national committee would have had something to show for its money and "orators" in this Wisconsin district. What is true of that district is true of the great majority of districts throughout the country where constituencies do not ask Representatives to support dishonest bills as a price for local appropriations.

I have offered this concrete statement as to the doubtful value of "pork" getting for the consideration of some 75 Members of the House whose active aid is urged in securing the defeat of wasteful omnibus bills and for constructive legislation along the lines of House bill 6821, Sixty-fourth Congress, creating a waterway commission, or for any other measure designed to correct present evils.

WHY NOT SUBSTITUTE A BUSINESSLIKE WATERWAY POLICY?

Is not the situation disclosed in these few remarks intolerable—or, more to the point, ridiculous beyond the wildest dreams of joke artists? Extravagant military officials, without any economic or commercial experience, have been placed in supreme control of a purely business function of government that should be administered by a competent board, as in other countries. Probably two-thirds of the present expense could be eventually eliminated without injury to any real commercial project and with an ultimate saving of $25,000,000 or more annually to the Treasury. Any constructive inland waterway proposal must comprehend the control of railway rates in favor of waterways, as in Germany or wherever waterways are used commercially.

The subject requires intelligent study by students with training and understanding—not Government extravagance in order to keep busy an army of useless employees on absurd projects. Gen. Black's peculiar logic, that "with greater expenditures of money" will be found "ample returns to the United States," may be popular with the assemblage he addressed, but the people who pay the bills ask to be shown.

If we hope to get far from a fantastic military yoke, decorated with epaulets and gold lace, we must, apart from nominal technical advice, send Army engineers back to their commands

where they belong and are needed, according to ex-Chairman Hay, of the Military Committee.

Every Member of the House should give active aid toward instituting a better system. River and harbor bills, according to the lobby's claims, are supervised by a lobby headed by a Member of Congress who is deeply interested in the enormous Mississippi River land-reclamation scheme. Secret back fires have been instigated by this lobby within the past 30 days, according to documents before me, but Congress and the country are no longer deceived by appeals for an invisible commerce or impractical preparedness or other straws of like character thrown out by the lobby.

Is it not time to get rid of the whole disgraceful system and to subordinate dredgers, contractors, and private land and power interests to their proper place instead of to a venal legislative control exercised by this lobby of questionable interests, according to its own modest official reports? A change in methods can be carried out, and must be carried out if Congress hopes to clear itself from the annual pork-barrel odium. Hair-brained inland-waterway canals, wasteful canalization river projects, private land-reclamation projects like the 20,000,000-acre Mississippi scheme, private water-power projects like the Muscle Shoals Alabama Power Co.'s scheme, and various other ventures without financial limit will eventually filch billions of dollars from the Federal Treasury if not permanently blocked. These schemes have been exposed repeatedly and sometimes checked, but the larger part of $900,000,000 has been wasted under incompetent military methods instead of being used for commercial needs.

The Rivers and Harbors Committee is composed of able men but men ordinarily supposed to be interested in some particular local project or projects. That committee has been figuratively shot to pieces, as stated. Four Members voted against the miserable 1917 bill, and of the remaining 17 Members 7 will not be in the next Congress.

According to experience, the vacancies will be sought by those having pet projects, but vacancies should be filled by Members having genuine governmental interests at heart—ready to drive the present pork-barrel omnibus system out of existence. One hundred and thirty-two Members, in addition to those who were paired, for various reasons protested against the 1916 and 1917 bills. A united effort by fearless Members, old and young, to put such methods out of business will bring about a regeneration of a legitimate Government function that has fallen into disrepute.

THE PRESS HAS AWAKENED SENTIMENT AGAINST A PUBLIC DISGRACE.

The public press has done its share in awakening popular indignation against the present system. All that is now needed is united effort to purge Congress of a legislative disgrace.

The twin sister public building omnibus bill was analyzed and exposed in a speech of over an hour on the floor and in extended remarks of over 20 RECORD pages on December 7, 1916. Afterwards the bill was opposed on the floor for several days when reached immediately preceding debate on the river and harbor bill and each of these bills by a coincidence amounted to over $38,000,000. To state the fact is to indicate strenuous days of preparation and debate at the beginning of the session accompanying both bills, and without aid from those who had confidently been relied on to join in a fight against the measures.

The 1917 river and harbor bill was opposed practically alone on the floor, against calumny and personal abuse voiced by those who resented criticism, not of the bill in its entirety, but of pet projects which they alone attempted to defend. Projects should have sufficient merit to belong to the Government and offer their own justification from official reports. Now they are regarded as belonging to individuals or congressional districts. With the defeat of pork barrels, this result, together with efficiency and economy in our national waterways policy, will be effected and be a long step toward a business budget system.

If one comparatively inexperienced Member during the past two sessions, with slight aid, could help results noted, a dozen sincere, active Members could have riddled and defeated the outrageous 1917 bill, notwithstanding its 81 new projects.

In conclusion, let me say a further word personally. During the past four years a consistent fight has been waged against four river and harbor bills, a so-called flood-control or more properly a private-land reclamation bill, a public-building bill, and two or three smaller wasteful measures. The six large bills reached in amount from $38,000,000 to over $50,000,000 each, or a total of considerably over $200,000,000. Two of these bills were squarely defeated and moderate substitutes were passed; two of the bills were prevented in the Senate from becoming law during the present session; and two other bills, the 1916 river and harbor bill for $43,000,000, and the $51,000,000 so-called flood-control bill, among the worst of the spoils measures, were passed by Congress, the latter bill less than one week ago. Because of medical advice I can no longer ignore, others must take up the burden of the fight in the House in the future. Without consistent support on the floor, which has not been forthcoming in the past, all that can be accomplished in the House is to awake public sentiment by a vigorous protest. With such support the movement will win.

Every Member of Congress is equally responsible for present conditions and results. Let the Sixty-fifth Congress clean up our indefensible waterway lack of policy which has been repeatedly exposed and largely uprooted during the past four years. Let us substitute business methods in legislation for notorious omnibus bills. Surely no further argument need be offered of the imperative need of such action.

Water-Power Bill.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN F. SHAFROTH,

OF COLORADO,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Thursday, February 1 (legislative day of Wednesday, January 31), 1917.

The Senate had under consideration the bill (H. R. 408) to provide for the development of water power and the use of public lands in relation thereto, and for other purposes.

[Continued from page 2405, of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.]

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, at the close of the afternoon session I was discussing the conflict of jurisdiction that would arise between the administration of the State and National Governments concerning water powers. I want to call attention also to the fact that this leasing system which is proposed will create a large bureau if the leasing bills are passed. A bureau that will take in a great many officers in the administration of affairs will be maintained here in Washington. The extreme conservationists would take in not only water powers, but would provide also for leasing of the natural resources on the public lands in the Western States. Already bills are pending for a leasing system to apply to the coal lands, phosphate lands, sodium lands, and potassium lands. Their passage must inevitably lead to the extension of the system of leasing of mineral lands; I mean by that gold and silver, lead, zinc, and other metalliferous ores that are now mined under the general laws of the United States, by which absolute title becomes vested in the discoverer upon complying with the general land laws in expending $500 upon each claim and further upon the payment to the Government of $5 an acre.

Mr. President, that is the program not of the Senators who are conducting this bill, but it is the natural result of the adoption of this system. That policy has already been declared by the convention of the conservationists held at Kansas City four or five years ago, and has repeatedly been advocated by the chief exponent of the conservationist doctrine. From that there seems to me to follow the logical result that if the Government is to lease coal lands, sodium lands, phosphate, and potassium lands there must inevitably be developed a leasing system which will apply to the mineral lands.

Mr. President, it is needless for me to say that under the present system of location and discovery and the extraction of minerals under the system of laws which we now have, by which title is acquired by the individual, there has been a development that has been unequaled in the history of the world. There have been over three billion dollars of gold and silver produced in the United States since about 1848. That has improved conditions in all parts of the land.

Mr. President, I wish to call attention to the fact that when you get all these lands under the leasing system you are going to have a bureau established under the Federal Government in Washington for these lands, and it is going to be of such a magnitude that it will consist of thousands of employees, and will of necessity have the administration of some 3,000 to 18,000 miles from where the lands to be administered are located.

Mr. President, if you look at the rentals that they propose to exact from the person who builds a power plant on one of the natural streams there you will find that bookkeeping and continual inspection, so that you practically have to have men all over that western country.

We have now the forest reserves out in the West and we have a great number of men who are termed foresters. The system provides that appointive officers from Washington shall

run affairs of a local nature that are within the limits of a State. Those things of a local nature belong naturally and properly to the State, and it was never the intention on the part of the framers of the Government, nor can you construe any language of the Constitution in any way to indicate that there was a desire or an intention to include these local matters under the legislative jurisdiction of the United States.

I wish to say that the first chief head of this conservation bureau at one time told the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. CLARK], as I have heard the Senator say, that when the forestry system was developed into that perfection the German forests were in there would be required 100,000 employees in that service alone; and when you add to that the number which will be in the water-power service, the number in the sodium-land service, the coal-land service, and in the various leasing systems that are being proposed, there is no telling how many Federal employees there will be quartered in the States of the Union. That constitutes and makes a bureau which will be administered not among the people of the State, but its administration will be by persons who have no sympathy with the people of the State.

As you know, Congress passed a law which provided that thereafter employees in the forest reserves should be appointed as nearly as could be from the States in which the forests were situated. Soon thereafter the administration named the six district foresters, the men who were to have charge of the six forest districts of the United States. I want to show how that law of Congress, which was intended to insure the appointment of district foresters from the very districts where the forests were situated was carried out, how they were distributed, and from what States they came, because it is important to see whether this conservation bureau has been anxious to administer the law of the United States as Congress indicated that it should.

I will read a dispatch that came from Washington when the district foresters were appointed. As you know, these forest reserves are located in the Rocky Mountain region, and this dispatch was sent out at that time after the passage of the law which provided that they should select men as reasonably as they could from the States where the forests were located. The dispatch is as follows:

WASHINGTON, *October 7, 1908.*

The district foresters who will be in charge of the six field districts of the Forest Service—

That is, the six including all of the forests of the West—

beginning January 1 next, have been selected by United States Forester Gifford Pinchot.

They and their headquarters are as follows:

District No. 1: Missoula, Mont.; W. B. Greeley, of California.

He did not live in Montana; no one from Montana was appointed; but I presume they found, in order to get around the statute, that there was not anyone in Montana who could take care of the forest reserves.

District No. 2: Denver, Colo.; Smith Riley, of Maryland.

I suppose they thought we did not have any person out in Colorado who knew anything about the 13,000,000 acres of forest land there.

District No. 3, Albuquerque, N. Mex., A. C. Ringland, of New York.

It seems that they had to go clear to New York to find a man who would be competent to take care of the forests of that Territory. We find that for District No. 4, Ogden, Utah, whom did they appoint? They appointed Mr. Clyde Leavitt, of Michigan. They had to go clear up to Michigan in order to find a man who knew anything about, or would properly attend to, the forests of the State of Utah.

District No. 5, San Francisco. Instead of finding in the great State of California a man who was capable of taking care of and managing the forests of that State they went clear to the Atlantic coast and selected Mr. F. E. Olmstead, of Connecticut, for that position, and that in defiance of the act of Congress that they should select, as near as could be done, foresters or officers who were close to or connected with these forests.

Then, we find that in District No. 6, Portland, Oreg., instead of taking one from Oregon, where the man would be in sympathy with the citizens of that State, this Bureau went to California and selected Mr. E. T. Allen, formerly state forester of California.

Mr. President, that is the way we have been served with Federal management located here in Washington, selecting its favorites here and sending them out to the States where the people live who have the real interests of the State at heart.

Mr. President, you will find that treatment in every distant bureau. Have a bureau for these water powers, and it will be found that none of its officials will be in sympathy with the people there, or at least there will be very few sympathetic officers. That is simply the history of all bureaus that are 2,000 to 3,000 miles from where the property that they are to administer is located.

Mr. President, is that right to the States that have entered the Union upon an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatsoever? Is that fair to them, and especially in view of an act of Congress that indicates that as near as may be they should select officers from the States where the forest reserves were situate? There were six forest districts created, and not a single one of the district foresters was appointed from a State of the district in which the forests were situate.

Mr. President, we find that Congress got tired of this wholesale setting aside of forest reserves in the United States, and so they concluded that it would put an end to it. So in a bill that was passed there was a provision that "hereafter no forest reserve shall be created except by act of Congress." That is what it said.

That bill passed the House on the 1st day of March, 1907. It was passed the next day by the Senate or it was in conference one day. Now, Mr. President, while that bill was in the last stages of its passage the Forest Service was very active. There were laid before the President of the United States proclamations that were signed on the 1st and 2d days of March, after the bill had passed one of these Houses; but the act had not been signed by the President. They laid before the President proclamations for millions and millions of acres of new forest reserves, and when the bill limiting the power of the President to set aside forest reserves was presented he signed it on the 4th day of March, 1907. And yet the proclamations for the forest reserves, including millions and millions of acres, taking in a large part of the forest reserves of my State, were signed on the 1st and 2d days of March. Everyone knew that there had been great complaint about the creation of forest reserves out West, and they knew that millions of acres of forest reserves had been created upon which there was not a single tree. Yet, Mr. President, in the face of the intent and purpose of Congress manifested in the act passed and then in conference, in that brief interval between the passage by one of the Houses and the signing of the bill, millions and millions of acres of land, contrary to the very terms of the act, were created by proclamation.

Mr. President, that is the kind of treatment the West has received from this bureaucracy that has existed in Washington as against all the lands that are reserved by the Government.

Mr. President, that is merely illustrative of what we have got to expect under existing conditions. In spite of the fact that these lands, according to the acts themselves which reserved them, were temporarily to be reserved, we find that they are held in reserve year after year, and the people who have control do not propose to make the system temporary.

It may be conceded that the very best object is sought by these people; I am not presuming to say that the men who do these things are trying willfully to oppress us; but they are obsessed with one idea concerning these matters, and they think that nobody else is entitled to have an idea different from theirs. It is because of that fact that we do not want any more bureaus to manage lands or resources out our way; but I fear we are going to have them if this leasing system, which is on the program, is to be inaugurated.

I want to say a few words with relation to the leasing system in general. A leasing system was established by the United States in the early days in 1807. We find that it continued a long time. Thomas Benton, after he came to be a United States Senator, concluded that he desired to have it repealed, but it required nearly 30 years after he came to the Senate before he brought about its repeal. That is the reason I am afraid that if a water-power-site leasing bill is enacted into law I shall never in my lifetime see it repealed. I am convinced that such a leasing system is not workable and that we shall find its results will be bad.

Mr. President, the officers of the department think that they can secure an income or return from these water-power sites, as they have thought they could make a profit out of every enterprise which they have undertaken. The ex-Chief Forester once issued a statement showing that there were so many billion dollars' worth of forest lands in the western country that were worth so much in timber and so much in water power, and he estimated that at 5 per cent interest a yearly dividend, which ought ultimately to be attained, would be so many hundreds of millions of dollars, which ought to come into the Treasury of the United States. That statement was made in good faith, and I have no doubt the Forester thought it was true; but under the very experiment that he attempted what has been the result? If you will notice the appropriation bill for the Department of Agriculture, which will come in here to-morrow, you will observe, as I have observed for the last four years, that instead of the Forest Service being an asset to the Government, it is a

liability of between three million and four million dollars every year; in other words, instead of making the leases which they extend to cattle and sheep growers in that section pay, the service has become a liability. What they have to pay to their forester, for the support of the bureau, and expenses of that kind exceeds the amount received as revenue by three or four million dollars. The same was true under the old leasing system, which Thomas Benton attempted to have repealed.

Mr. JONES. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HUSTING in the chair). Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. SHAFROTH. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. JONES. I have some figures here which it might be interesting to put into the RECORD right in that connection.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Very well; I shall be glad to have the Senator do so.

Mr. JONES. I secured from the Forestry Service a few days ago a statement of the receipts of the Forestry Service since 1906, and also the appropriations which we have made for that service.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I should like to hear them.

Mr. JONES. I find that the total receipts from the timber sales from the forests since 1906 have been $9,866,523.10, while the total appropriations for that time were $57,977, 408.62.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I thank the Senator. The proportion, then, of expenditures to receipts is about 5 to 1; we are paying $5 for the service for every dollar which we are receiving from it.

Mr. JONES. But that was merely for timber sales.

Mr. SHAFROTH. If the Senator will take the balance of it, he will find that in very many cases the expenditures compared with the receipts will run up very high.

Mr. JONES. For grazing fees on the reserves we have received more than we have for the timber fees—$10,499,074.69—or we have received a total for all purposes, without taking time now to enumerate them, of $22,096,561.21, as against something over $57,900,000 which we have appropriated.

Mr. SHAFROTH. In other words, then, the proportion of expenditures to receipts has been two and one-half to one; we have expended $2.50 for every dollar which we have taken in. It will be the same way with the leasing system, if you ever pass this bill. The great trouble about this bill is that it will not work, and you will not get any returns. The most glorious predictions were made as to what the forestry system would yield. If you will take the old reports which have been made and read the anticipations which were indulged in at that time, you will find that it was predicted that the Forestry Service was going to be a great asset to the Government of the United States.

Take the old leasing system, which was established in 1807, I think it was, and which was finally repealed only in 1846, and you will find that the amount of payments of royalties upon lead ores—which were the ores reserved—which were taken out in all the years of the operation of that leasing system was just one-fourth as much as were the expenditures required, or a loss of three-fourths to the Government.

Mr. President, experience ought to teach us something. If the Government is going to impose such a system upon the Western States, it ought at least to be able to demonstrate that one leasing system has been a success. We have not yet found any which has been a success. I desire to say that a few years ago, when the Alaskan leasing bill was under consideration by the Senate, I made the prediction that there would not be any leases taken out under the system which was then devised. We were given to understand that that was an emergency measure that had to be put through quickly in order to get coal to the suffering people of Alaska.

When that law went into operation there were glorious anticipations regarding what it would accomplish; it was thought that people would flock to Alaska and take leases of coal lands, and yet when I inquired of the department the other day whether there had been a single lease of any of those lands taken out I was informed that there had not been; that there had merely been some applications for leases. I will venture to say that the applicants will never consent to the onerous terms which, as I understand, have been imposed upon those desiring to secure leases of coal lands in Alaska. Those lands being reserved are tied up to-day, and have been for two or three years, without any development upon them at all, and without any taxes whatever accruing to the people of Alaska for the support of the Government which they have to maintain over those lands.

Mr. President, why is it that bureaus of this nature do not pay and will not pay? It is because every bureau tries to make itself great in jurisdiction and strong in numbers. They are always grasping for more power; they are always thinking honestly, of course, that if they are given additional money and more men they can make the enterprises under their control pay, and yet the history of the Government demonstrates that they never have succeeded in doing so. We are going to encounter that same difficulty when we establish these inspectors, whom it will be necessary to have in great numbers over these water-power plants. That is merely one branch of the general system.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, before the Senator leaves that subject, I call his attention to the fact that when the forest reserves were created the people of the West were assured that whatever fees were charged for the grazing of sheep or cattle upon the reserves would be only nominal; but of all of the collections in the last six years from the forest reserves over $10,000,000 have been collected from grazing fees alone, and now, seeing that there is not enough revenue to pay the expenses of the bureau, they are going to nearly double the charges or fees this coming year. In other words, the people of the West, who should have had the use of the public lands free, the same as the other States of the Union had when there were public lands within their borders, as long as they were not entered by citizens of the United States, are to be taxed an ever-increasing amount in order to pay the expenses of and maintain the bureau here in Washington.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, I will say to the Senator that from leading articles that I find in the Denver papers and from protests that are made by organizations in my State I am well aware that the tax referred to is to be doubled; that is all—just doubled. It does not amount to much, of course, but it is 100 per cent. That is the way bureaus work and that is how they conduct business.

I hold in my hand a clipping from the Denver Post of September 28, 1915, which shows the relative amount at that date of public lands and private lands in the various States of the Rocky Mountain region. There is presented an illustration, giving a bird's-eye view, as it were, of the situation. The dark shaded part [exhibiting] indicates the lands in Government ownership. The unshaded part indicates the lands in private ownership. The State has to support itself entirely by taxation upon the private lands because it has no right to raise any revenue from the Government lands. It can readily be seen from the view that is presented in this paper—and I presume it is accurate—what an enormous acreage the reserves of various kinds embrace. They include forest reserves, water-power-site reserves, coal-land reserves, phosphate-land reserves, potassium-land reserves, sodium-land reserves, oil-land reserves, and all of these reserves are shown by the dark shaded part of the picture. [Indicating.] All those lands the Federal Government holds in reserve. It will, therefore, be seen how little of our land is subject to taxation for the support of State, county, and school purposes.

Mr. President, that is the reason why there have been such protests from the West; that is the reason why nearly every Senator who has come from the Rocky Mountain region has protested against the Government reserving lands in his State. I should like to have that illustration inserted in the RECORD as a part of my remarks, but I do not know whether that can be done. I will ask the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT], who is a member of the Committee on Printing, whether that can be done?

Mr. SMOOT. No, Mr. President, such an illustration can not be printed without the consent of the Joint Committee on Printing under the rule that has been adopted.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Very well, then; I will not ask that it be printed, but I will state the total of the figures given. The total land surface area embraced in these States is 755,912,520 acres, the public lands unreserved and unappropriated amount to 284,008,210 acres, the national forests cover 134,149,573 acres. The total acreage in public ownership is 471,032,257, and the total acreage in private ownership is 284,882,293.

Mr. President, at the time these figures in the Denver Post of September 28, 1915, were compiled—I do not know whether they apply now or not—the percentages of land not subject to taxation were as follows: In the State of Arizona, 93.42 per cent; in California, 44.82 per cent; in Colorado, 51.45 per cent; in Idaho, 68.14 per cent; in Montana, 49.8 per cent; in Nevada, 88.78 per cent; in New Mexico, 55.88 per cent; in Oregon, 50.64 per cent; in Utah, 81.43 per cent; in Washington, 34.98 per cent; and in Wyoming, 72.24 per cent. Those figures show the vast extent of the area in each one of the States named which is owned by the Federal Government and not subject to taxation. The remaining lands in each State in private ownership

have to pay the taxes raised for the government of the entire State, because each State has to maintain law and order and has to maintain schools and county governments upon every acre of the land in the State.

Mr. President, it will be seen from these figures what a terrible hardship is being imposed upon the people of the Western States and why there has been such a feeling upon the part of the western people generally, due to the injustice that has been perpetrated upon them in having set aside such large reserves under the absolute control of the Federal Government.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from New Hampshire?

Mr. SHAFROTH. Yes, sir.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I have been much interested on more than one occasion in hearing this matter presented to the Senate, but I have been puzzled to know why the western Senators can not persuade the President of the United States to restore some of these lands to the people of the States.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Why, Mr. President, there is a bureau, which has had free access to the press of the United States, which has sent out among the people the most flattering statements concerning its work, of the great things that it is doing, and of the great frauds it is preventing. All this has hypnotized to a great extent the people of the East and has made them honestly believe that every man in the West is trying to steal something from the Government. That is the reason why there is a great public sentiment now in favor of anything that the United States Government will undertake in regard to the public lands.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, my observation has not led me to the conclusion that the people of the East desire to oppress the people of the West.

Mr. SHAFROTH. No, sir; I do not think so, and I do not believe that the Senators of the East have any prejudice in the matter at all; but I do believe that, by reason of the free printing press, to which the bureaus have had access, they have, as it were, convinced the people of the East concerning these matters, and have made them believe that they are the great benefactors who are going to save this great heritage; and, in some instances, they have made the people believe that they are going to get something in the way of a revenue to the Government. In other instances, they have extolled their work as being of great benefit; and the very fact that these conservation congresses are held and that people travel clear across the country hundreds and thousands of miles for the purpose of attending them under the idea that they are saving the country in doing so, has intensified the impression that has gone forward. The public sentiment, however, is largely based on misinformation. If we would go into these questions and discuss them sufficiently before the people, or if they would read what we have to say, I believe there would be an enormous majority against any such proposition.

The people of the United States are honest. The eastern people do not want to do any injury to the West. But when a statement comes out like the one that I heard the Senator read here from Mr. Pinchot concerning the radium lands, in which he openly accused certain persons of being corrupt because of their voting against a bill of that kind, or for the bill—I do not know which it was, but, anyway, it was something contrary to his ideas of conservation—it is time to say something.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, if the Senator will permit me, I will say to him that I am quite familiar with the propaganda that has been going on in this direction, and I have never had the slightest sympathy with it. I believe a great wrong has been done to States such as Colorado and Utah and other States that the Senator has enumerated; but it always has been a puzzle to me to know why the Senators from Colorado could not persuade a President of their own party to come to their relief and restore at least a portion of these lands to the citizens of those States. A great wrong has been done, no doubt, and it seems to me a remedy can be found if proper effort is made. The trouble has been that the propaganda has been on the other side, and through the instrumentality of certain "uplifters" in this country they have accomplished what the Senator deplores, and which I deplore quite as much as he does.

Mr. FALL. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from New Mexico?

Mr. SHAFROTH. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. FALL. Along the line of what has just been suggested by the Senator from New Hampshire, I want to make a brief statement, not in justice to him, because the people of the West have long done him justice. We know that the people of the West owe as much to the Senator who has just spoken as to any other one man, possibly, in the United States, in achieving something of the end for which we have been working. We have always had his help. But, Mr. President, the influence that has caused this situation, the same influence that is being felt throughout this entire country to-day—not only in the West, where it manifests itself in the attempted control of the remaining public resources, but throughout the East and the South—is the tendency to bureaucratic government in this country. The bureaus in Washington know that their occupation is gone if the old principle, established in 1843 and followed since that time, is allowed to continue. The great West has built up a most magnificent empire under the system established and maintained here since 1846. Had that system been allowed to continue, the occupation of various gentlemen in the bureaus here in Washington would have been gone. That is the trouble to-day. They are hanging on to the administration of the public lands to-day, and I can show you from the figures in the reports of the department that it is costing the taxpayers of the United States of America a cent an acre more than the entire receipts to administer the public lands of the United States to-day. Instead of being a great heritage, administered under the laws and under the system by the bureaus as they are administering them to-day, it is costing money to the people of New Hampshire and the other States of the East and the South and the nonpublic land States, who must pay taxes for the support of this bureau here to administer these public lands. They know that if they are finally administered for the development of the States, as was advocated by Webster, if they are finally so administered as to add to the population of those States and build up the States, then the occupation of the bureau is gone.

I say to you frankly that you do not need the Interior Department of the United States to-day. It is costing the taxpayers money instead of being a self-supporting institution. With all the hundreds of millions, with all the billions of mineral wealth undeveloped in the West, the administration of the Department of the Interior is costing the taxpayers money to-day, instead of producing revenue.

This is the trouble, sir. It is not only the propaganda of a few men here—idealists, you may say—but it is the bureaucratic system that is forcing itself on this democracy of ours, and sucking the lifeblood of the democracy itself.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, there has crystallized in the western country, and particularly in the State of Colorado——

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Montana?

Mr. SHAFROTH. I do.

Mr. WALSH. In view of the very pertinent question addressed to the Senator from Montana by the Senator from New Hampshire, I feel as if a word or two here would not be inappropriate.

I think the trouble about which the Senator from New Hampshire inquires is very largely a state of mind. Quite a good many people out in the West have worked themselves up into quite a state of feeling about it.

Mr. FALL. Merely a question of psychology?

Mr. WALSH. Psychology—that is a good word.

The Senator from New Hampshire will recognize, in the first place, that we have large numbers of Indians out there. Away back in the times when they were savages it was deemed good military policy and necessary policy to congregate them upon reservations. The Senator from New Mexico and the Senator from Arizona complain, and complain quite bitterly, about the enormous areas of their State that are included within Indian reservations. The Navajo Indian Reservation, upon which there are some 30,000 Indians, occupies a large area within that State. Within my own State we have the Crow Reservation, the Blackfeet Reservation, the Fort Peck Reservation, the Fort Belknap Reservation, and the Flathead Reservation. Now, we can not turn those Indians out in the cold. We have got to set aside a certain portion of the public lands to take care of them. My own idea is that many of these reservations should be reduced. I am asking for a reduction in the area of the Crow Reservation, but we have got to take care of them, and some lands must be set aside for them.

Second, that whole country out there in the mountains is covered with immense forests. The most destructive fires range through them from time to time and sweep away miles and miles of this valuable property belonging to the Government of the United States. The question presents itself to the Congress of the United States whether we will leave this property, thus enormously valuable, to the prey of flames, or whether we will take some steps to protect it from fire. Accordingly, these areas are set aside. Then, it is conceived that we need to protect

the watersheds of our streams. Now, I do not mean to say that there are not often included within these forest reserves large areas that ought not to be included within them. I do not intend to say that at all.

Mr. FALL. Mr. President, will the Senator answer a question right at that point? Is it not a fact within the Senator's own knowledge that it is not the forest reserves themselves that are objected to, but it is the very fact of which the Senator is now speaking, that there are enormous areas included in those forest reserves which we know properly do not belong in forest reserves?

Mr. WALSH. Why, yes; but when——

Mr. FALL. That is the objection of the western people, is it not?

Mr. WALSH. Why, to be sure that is the objection; but the point I am making is, of what significance is it to tell the Senator from New Hampshire that 49 per cent of the public lands of the State of Montana are within reservations of one kind or another unless you attack specific reservations as being too large for the particular case?

Then the Senator from New Hampshire will also recognize that that was the country of Indian wars out there, and it became necessary to establish military reservations in order that the settlers coming into that country could be protected; and thus considerable areas were set aside for those military reservations.

Then, in the State of my friend here, the Senator from Oregon [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN], as the Senator well knows, as well as in my own State, there are areas that are thus covered with timber, the timber itself being of enormous value, tempting all kinds of fraudulent entries of those lands. If they were open to ordinary homestead entry, men would go to get them merely for the purpose of getting title to the lands in order to take off the timber, and then immediately abandon the lands, or sell them for any purpose whatever; and those areas were included within the forest reserves.

I would not like to have the Senator from New Hampshire believe that our people are opposed to those policies in any sense whatever. They do complain about this particular area and that particular area as being of such a character that it ought not to be included within a forest reserve, and this particular Indian reservation as being larger than it ought to be; but I did not like to have the Senator from New Hampshire go away with the idea that the people of the West are demanding that all of this 49 per cent in the State of Montana, for instance, be immediately opened up to appropriation by anybody who desires to take it.

Mr. FALL. Mr. President, the Senator made one remark there that I want to correct to this extent: He stated that the Senators from Arizona and New Mexico—I suppose he had reference to myself when he said the Senator from New Mexico—expressed themselves bitterly about the enormous area of Indian reserves, and he referred in that connection to the Navajo Reserve. I have not suggested, in the Senate or out, the elimination of one acre from the Navajo Reserve, although it is of enormous extent. Within its exterior limits are 1,100 acres for each living Navajo, and I have never suggested the elimination of it. I have objected to adding to it the small remaining property in New Mexico that might become taxable—that is, to excluding the white man from the public lands, making reserves where the white man will have no opportunity to make a claim, and then locating the Navajos, contrary to treaty provisions, upon the remaining public lands.

I have not suggested the cutting off or the elimination of one acre of a forest reserve in New Mexico which contained timber of any value for any purpose whatsoever. I have objected to the inclusion within the exterior limits of a forest reserve of hundreds of thousands or millions of acres of land containing not a stick of timber, not a brush of it, simply for the reason that some of those who were administering the forest reserves, knowing that they are not getting an adequate revenue from the timber, knowing that they are not administering it in a businesslike way and making it self-supporting, knowing that they are compelled to come before the Congress and secure deficiency appropriations every year of $2,000,000, as they are asking now, have included within these exterior limits hundreds of thousands and millions of acres without a stick of timber on them at all, which are valuable only for grazing, and are then compelling the local people of those States to contribute to a supposed forest reserve comprising lands which the Senator himself, if he has any knowledge of conditions in my State and the State of Arizona, knows are not forested. This is what we object to. It is the administration.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, will the Senator from Colorado permit me a moment further?

Mr. SHAFROTH. I yield to the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. GALLINGER. I feel under obligations to the Senator from Montana for the information he gave. I do not claim, as the Senator knows—I never have claimed—to have any special knowledge concerning conditions in the Western States. I have a general knowledge, but the most that I have learned I have absorbed from the discussions in this body during my membership by western Senators.

Now, I can understand that the 40-odd per cent, or whatever it is, of reservations in the State of Montana are to a considerable extent taken up by Indian reservations and military reservations and that kind of thing; but I am still very much puzzled to know how it happens that in the State of Utah, where they have no Indian reservations—I think I am correct in saying that——

Mr. SMOOT. Just a few acres. They do not amount to anything.

Mr. GALLINGER. A few acres—that the reservations amount to 81.4 per cent, if I understood the Senator from Colorado correctly.

Mr. SMOOT. That is right.

Mr. GALLINGER. That seems to me almost incomprehensible.

Mr. WALSH. Eighty-one and four-tenths per cent of the remaining public lands.

Mr. GALLINGER. Of the remaining public lands.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Including reservations?

Mr. GALLINGER. Yes; including reservations. I think the Senator from Montana will not be surprised when I say that these things have rather startled me, and I have been at a great loss to understand why they are permitted to continue if they are a real grievance, as they seem to me to be a real grievance. That is all.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, may I interrupt the Senator for just a moment?

Mr. SHAFROTH. I yield to the Senator from Utah.

Mr. SMOOT. It is true that 81.4 per cent of the lands within the boundaries of the State of Utah are classed as public lands; and included in that, of course, are all of the reservations. As far as the Indian reservations of the State of Utah are concerned, there are only the Utes there, and there are a very few acres held by what few Utes there are. The military reservations that we have in our State include perhaps 1,000 acres. The trouble is, Mr. President, that a whole area, sometimes 20 or 30 or 40 miles, is withdrawn in a forest reservation; and the Senator from Montana knows, as every other Senator knows, that included in every forest reserve in every Western State there are not simply 10,000 nor 100,000 but there are millions of acres of agricultural lands. As the Senator from New Mexico said, there is not a stick of timber on those lands. It is an impossibility ever to plant and have grown on them a stick of timber. There is not even brush upon them. They are nothing, and never have been anything, but grazing lands.

Mr. FALL. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from New Mexico?

Mr. SHAFROTH. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. FALL. Just in line with what the Senator is saying, in addition there is no attempt made by the Forestry Department to put a stick of timber upon them or to grow a stick of timber upon them.

Mr. SMOOT. And the Forestry Department knows that it would be absolutely useless to undertake it, because it would not grow. There is no timber known anywhere in all the world that would grow upon those lands.

Now, just another word. No western Senator is objecting to the withdrawal of the timberlands or the lands that form the watersheds of the streams in the States. If the withdrawals were confined to that, and if the withdrawals were confined to timberlands, you would never find a Senator on this floor objecting to it. What we are objecting to, Mr. President, is the administration of the law and the power that has been wielded and used and exercised by the bureau in withdrawing from the State lands that ought to be homesteaded. Oh, I know the Senator will say that under the law any agricultural lands within a forest reserve can be homesteaded; but any citizen who has undertaken to homestead lands within a forest reserve, outside of a very limited number only, wishes he had never undertaken it and had never spent his time and his energy in undertaking it. I am not going to take the time of the Senator from Colorado to go into details as to the reasons, but perhaps before this discussion is over I will be able to tell the Senate why.

Mr. WALSH. If I may interrupt the Senator from Colorado for just a moment——

Mr. SHAFROTH. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. WALSH. I should like to say to the Senator from New Hampshire that, in my humble judgment, all this is quite irrelevant to the consideration of the bill before us. It is important to know, however, that as far as the bill before us deals with lands reserved because valuable as power sites they are an infinitesimal portion of the entire area.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, I can not join with the Senator from Montana in the eulogy which he seems to have passed upon the Forest Service. I will tell you what the forest reserves in my State are. Forty per cent of them are above timber line. You know that in a mountainous country there is a line above which no vegetation grows, just barren rocks, and 40 per cent of the lands that have been set aside as forest reserves are in that area above the timber line. Yet in that area above the timber line there are extensive areas of rich mineral lands. There is an area of 30 per cent that lies between the timber line and what they call good timberland, because this area includes scrub timber, and 30 per cent of the reserve is timber that never could be of any commercial use, except probably a few trees here and there. The only good available timberland for timber purposes is in the 30 per cent below. Thus out of a total 100 per cent in my State 70 per cent of it has no more relation to timber than a barren piece of land.

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from New Jersey?

Mr. SHAFROTH. I yield.

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. Will the Senator permit me a word?

Mr. SHAFROTH. I yield.

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. In the suggestion made by the Senator from New Hampshire, wondering why the people view with hesitancy many of these measures, I think this thought that has not been brought out prompts a feeling of hesitancy with reference to all the bills appertaining to the public domain. For years we here in the East have seen our franchises gobbled up by a handful of men for their own selfish purposes. We have seen our riparian rights frittered away until State after State would hardly have enough for a pier for a city. I know in my own State our riparian rights have been frittered away to great corporations until we practically have nothing left. We have seen in our great western territory the alternate sections given to Oakes Ames and a few of those goody-goodies in years past in the building of the Union Pacific, the Southern Pacific, and the Northern Pacific until the people are holding up their hands. They have been educated by that process rather than by the process indicated by the writer in the magazine. I feel that they have reason to hesitate and reason to fear, and that there are millions and millions of acres as described by the Senator from Utah. Of course, it seems limitless, yet if our world is to stand and this Government, and God knows I trust it will go on and on until the end of time, your limitless acres will amount to naught after all, if they are to be gobbled up in the hands of a few. So I think with many others in the same line of thought, and I say we can not be too jealous and too guarded to carefully safeguard these acres for the posterity that may come after us.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I want to answer the Senator's suggestion, because it needs an answer. A great many people are of the same mind as he is with respect to these matters. I regard that the greatest outrage that ever was perpetrated in this country was the voting of 43 land grants to railroads, giving the alternate sections, which aggregated 155,000,000 acres, an area equal to Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and Virginia.

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. That is true.

Mr. SHAFROTH. But I want to emphasize that those grants were voted by the people down here in Washington, by the Senators and Representatives who thought they knew what was best for that country.

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. Let me say, Mr. President, that I am old enough to remember all that history of Oakes Ames, of the process of addition, division, and silence. I remember all that. While I was but a boy I was chuck full of politics, the only thing I had to study. I was brimful of it, and I saw the iniquity of it, and I have grown intensified with it.

In answer to the Senator's proposition asking that it be turned over to the States, I was a radical States-right Democrat, but in after years I changed my view. After years with the experience and the wonderful development in our country we are, I say, not a State-rights people any more. We have merged together into a homogeneous mass. We are a great Nation. So I say I can not acquiesce in the thought of turning this public land over to Colorado or to Oregon or to some other State, but I do feel that the great United States should exercise a governing care over the whole of it, that it may bless the posterity that may come after us. In the light of that which I have seen I can see the evil that will absolutely crowd out the opportunity of a man to hold a foothold. Only yesterday the distinguished Senator from Texas [Mr. SHEPPARD] told me that one woman, I think a Mrs. King, in Texas owns a million acres, and it is 15 miles from her gateway to the porch of her home.

Mr. SHEPPARD. One million six hundred thousand acres.

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. One million six hundred thousand acres. In Heaven's name let us do something to make this condition impossible. Let us do something to make impossible the horrid accumulation of money. God knows that is bad enough; but what should be said about the great accumulation of land—the accumulation of such big quantities of land? What is land? Even though a man may be an Apollo in physique, without a foothold of land he is the most miserable of God's creatures.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, the very case the Senator cited was that of these land grants which included 155,000,000 acres. Such was the guardianship by which the Government administered this trust. Yet the Senator would put into the Government of the United States, notwithstanding the record made in those instances, these very reserved lands as to the administration of which the State of Colorado has recorded no such disastrous experience. We have not found it profitable to own great areas of land out there. You will find it the fact that when you undertake to run a large farm with hired help it can not be made a success; and the fact that in this country we have no law of primogeniture, which gives all the property to the first born, a division of the land follows and it passes into many hands.

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. I will say I am very glad to know that Colorado as a State has not this evil, as the Senator says it has not; but I say that which has been can be, and in the light of all human experience will be again. So I say that I feel it becomes my part, I feel it becomes our part, not as partisans but as bound together in American citizenship, to safeguard this splendid domain and make impossible a repetition of the evil.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Surely the Senator would not want to do a wrong to the States.

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. My first love is to my Nation and to the people thereof, second to my State, and lastly to my party.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, I want to call the Senator's attention to the fact that the payment of taxes upon a piece of land for 30 years, together with reasonable interest upon each yearly payment, amounts, at the end of 30 years, to the value of the property.

Mr. MARTINE of New Jersey. I realize that.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Let me finish this, please. When you exempt lands from taxation for 30 years it makes the owner of the private property in the State pay an amount equivalent to the exempted land every 30 years. Most of these lands have been exempt in Colorado now for 60 years, and if this policy of leasing goes on it will be exempt forever, and it will continue to compel the people who hold land in private ownership to pay taxes for the Government over those United States lands for school purposes, for county purposes, and for State purposes equal to the value of the land every 30 years. That is not right, and it was never contemplated by the Constitution of the United States.

The case of Pollard, Lessee, against Hagan, in Third Howard, expressly says that the Government acquired these lands as a trustee for temporary purposes, to dispose of them, and consequently when it holds them so that the State can get no revenue out of them it is doing an immense injury to the State. You do not realize it in each yearly payment, but in the aggregate for years you find there is excessive taxation upon the lands in private ownership and the people by reason of the reservation.

When I was governor of the State of Colorado I asked the treasurer, "Why do you not have more revenue? Here we pay to the Federal Government in taxes over $5,000,000 each year, while we do not raise for State government purposes more than from $1,300,000 to $1,400,000. In other words, we pay three times as much to the Federal Government as we raise by taxation for State purposes." When I realized the fact that at that time about 60 per cent of the lands could not be taxed because they were in public ownership, I could readily see why it was that we had to skirmish around in every way possible in order to get funds to support the State government.

Consider these power plants and the injury that is going to follow from keeping title perpetually in the Federal Govern-

ment. In the State of Colorado there is one that was erected at Glenwood Springs, at a cost, I think, of $7,000,000. That is a great part of the assessable property in the county of Garfield, in which it is located. If there are labor troubles or riots, the State must bear the expense of maintaining order. If there is any disturbance at all, the county officers must attend to it. If there is any infraction of law, they have to go to court, and the court is supported by the people. If that plant is going to be held perpetually under a lease by the Federal Government, you can not levy one dollar of taxes upon it for the purpose of raising revenue for county purposes. If it is in a school district, it does not contribute one dollar to the maintenance of the school. Is not that a wrong to the State? Is it not a wrong to the people? It never was contemplated by the Federal Constitution. I can not understand why people can not see those wrongs that are perpetrated. It is all right for the Government to be great, but it should first be just. It should have been just to the people before it gave away 155,000,000 acres of land to the railroads.

Mr. President, I do not believe that all the people of the United States understand conditions in the West. I have always opposed any leasing system upon the part of the Government, because, among other things, it would mean that royalty charges would be added to the rates the consumer would have to pay. We want as low rates as possible. We are the people affected. We are the people who have to pay. We are the people who must suffer in a monopoly of these resources. Yet here is a bill which, in my judgment, will force a higher rate upon us, because every charge that you make upon those water-power plants is going to be reflected directly in the charge that is made to the ultimate consumer, not merely the amount that may be exacted as royalty, but two, three, or four times the amount.

Mr. President, the permit for the power plant that I referred to near Glenwood Springs was revoked, its franchise was revoked, two days before one of the Secretaries of the Interior went out of office, and without assigning any reason whatever for such revocation. The company was furnishing electricity to the city of Denver for lighting purposes and to the street car company for motive power at that very time, and yet without cause, without assignment of a single reason, its permit was absolutely revoked. Such was the penalty it suffered because it would not enter into a leasing arrangement by which it would pay so much to the Federal Treasury.

Mr. President, you can readily see that the company did not want to enter into such an arrangement. Under the terms proposed it was to pay a tax graduated until 10 years, and thereafter it was to pay $1 per horsepower. The plant was generating 20,000 horsepower, and it meant a tax upon the company of $20,000 a year. Do you think the company would get it back from the consumers? It would get 200 or 300 per cent of it back from the consumers. Mr. President, it seems to me that when we reason about this matter we ought to come to but one conclusion.

The Senator from Montana, I must say, thinks more of this Forestry Service than I do. There are lands, the headwaters of streams, which might very properly be reserved, and there is even merchantable timber that could be included in the reserves, but I want to say that the best indication of what the people of a State think is found in the resolutions that are passed in the State legisiature, and in resolutions that are adopted as party platforms, not of one political party but of both political parties. I have here on my desk any number of such resolutions that have been adopted, not by a majority of one or two but unanimously, against this very water-power bill. Here is a memorial of the General Assembly of the State of Colorado. It says:

Your memorialist, the General Assembly of the State of Colorado, respectfully represents that under the present Federal policy of control of the public domain the following conditions obtain:

Then it says:

1. The people of Colorado are in favor of conservation in the meaning of prevention of waste and monopoly, but are unalterably opposed to it in the definition of preserving our lands and resources in their present state for future generations.

We agree that these natural resources belong to all the people, but this ownership is not now different from what it always has been—namely, subject to the right of the citizen to acquire the same under liberal laws to the extent necessary to satisfactory settlement and the building of permanent homes.

2. It has been charged that the Western States have failed in the past to do their duty in the conservation of these resources, but those who make these charges utterly fail to consider that any unlawful acquisition or waste was committed under Federal laws and on public lands; and that the States, having no control, were powerless to prevent it. They also fail to recognize the fact that the amount of lands unlawfully acquired was a mere trifle compared with that lawfully acquired by bona fide settlers and others.

3. The older States have had, and still have, the benefits arising from private acquisitions of all the public lands within their boundaries, receiving revenue therefrom through taxation and otherwise, and it is therefore a great injustice that they should now seek to impose upon the Western States obstructions and burdens with which they themselves did not have to contend.

4. We deny that it is right or advisable for the Federal Government to retain the title to and lease the public lands for any purpose, as the history of the country shows that in 1807 Congress authorized the War Department to lease the lead mines in the territory afterwards embraced in the States of Missouri, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa, reserving to the United States a royalty of one-sixth of the product.

5. This system was vigorously opposed by the residents of the region involved from the very beginning, and after a few years' trial the Missouri Legislature and the governor of Illinois protested against it. Presidents Polk and Fillmore urged its abandonment. The Secretary of War condemned it, saying that the benefit to the Government bore "no just proportion to the injury done to the country, first, by retarding the settlement of the country and, second, by the demoralizing influence of the system."

Year after year congressional committees on public lands reported against it. One of these reports concludes as follows:

"When the United States accepted the cession of the northwestern territory, the acceptance was on the express condition and under a pledge to form it into distinct republican States—

This is the clause in every treaty under which any land has ever been acquired, and these lands out West were mostly acquired either under the Louisiana purchase or under the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo—

and to admit them as members of the Federal Union, having the same rights of freedom, sovereignty, and independence as the other States. This pledge your committee believes would not be redeemed by merely dividing the surface into States and giving them names, but it includes a pledge to sell the lands, so that they may be settled and thus form States. No other mode of disposing of them can be regarded as a compliance with that pledge."

For nearly 40 years this controversy was waged with increasing intensity, until 1846, when an act was passed directing the sale of these lands.

They were mineral lands and were held in the States of Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and several others.

This condemned and discarded policy is now sought to be resurrected—

Speaking of this leasing bill—

and in pursuance thereof, there have been withdrawn forest, coal, oil, phosphate, and power-site lands, aggregating in Colorado over 21,000,000 acres, equal to 33 per cent of the total area of the State; together with similar amounts in other Western States, so that in all, the area thus withdrawn is greater than the combined area of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania, both Virginias, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois—

That is the tremendous land area that has been withdrawn in the great Rocky Mountain region—

and thus nearly 300,000,000 acres are now, and have been for several years, practically out of reach of individual enterprise or taxation for the support of the State government. This obstructive policy is a departure from the policy of the past 50 years, and in violation of the rights of these States as provided in their enabling acts admitting them into the Union, their constitutions, and the fundamental principles on which the union of the States is predicated.

This is a resolution which was passed by the General Assembly of the State of Colorado in 1913, during a Democratic administration, condemning this leasing system. It continues:

The idea that the leasing of the forests and other public lands for grazing purposes to stockmen, reserving to the settler and miner a right to enter them, will give the latter adequate protection is a fallacy, for the reason that it is obvious that such entries will necessarily interfere with the proper handling of stock. Where a stockman has 1,000 acres or more under such a lease, and a homesteader should undertake to enter 160 acres or 320 acres of the best of it, it is a certainty that the stockman would in every way not positively unlawful discourage the settler, unless we credit the stockman with less than ordinary sense of self-protection. And it is equally certain that he would succeed in preventing the entry, even if he had to buy the settler off.

The inevitable result of such leases will be to substantially end homesteading and mining on the public lands.

Here is a resolution directed against this very bill, Mr. President. It was not passed by a mere majority, but it was passed by the vote of every single member of the general assembly, whether Democrat or Republican. It states further:

6. We assert that the States are vested with the right to control the waters within their respective borders (subject only to the right of the Federal Government to protect navigation on those streams that are navigable), to dispose of them to those who will use them for beneficial purposes, and that all returns therefrom, direct or indirect, justly belong to the States and not to the Federal Government.

7. Experience has shown that the methods of the Reclamation Service in the irrigation of arid lands have been less expeditious and more arbitrary and unjust in the disregard of the equitable rights of its own water users and other competitive projects than those of private enterprises.

The resolution goes off there on another proposition, but I wish to call attention to a few other extracts which are more pertinent than the reclamation proposition, although certain acts of the Reclamation Service are also condemned by the resolution. It continues:

11. Nearly all of our metalliferous lands have been included in forest reserves, since which time not a single important mining camp has been opened. The unwarranted interference by the Forest Service is largely

responsible for the falling off of approximately $20,000,000 in the annual metal output. The man who is willing to put his labor and money into the development of a mining claim is the person best fitted to classify the land and should be permitted to acquire it.

That does not look like much of an approval upon the part of the people of Colorado or of the Legislature of the State of Colorado of the Forest Service in that respect. The resolution continues:

We venture the assurance that if 40 years ago the forest reserves had been established neither Leadville nor Cripple Creek nor a score of other mining camps would have been discovered or developed.

Under the restrictions which have been imposed the department requires that a locator when he files upon a mining claim must first submit to an investigation by an inspector from the Forest Service to determine whether the proposed claim is going to injure the forest—a little 10-acre spot of land taken out of a million acres—then the report has to be submitted for approval. The miner in the meantime does not know whether he will be permitted to locate upon the claim. After he has expended $500 in work upon the ground, he applies for a patent, and offers to pay the Federal Government the amount per acre which is required by statute. Then the department sends out another man, a supposed expert, who inspects that mine. If he concludes that it does not look as though it is going to be a paying mine, then the application is turned down, and the miner can not get his patent.

Mr. President, no man is so jealous of his ability to determine whether a mine will pay as is the prospector, and I submit he is the best man to determine that question for himself. It is an insult to him when he has spent his $500 to say to him that because some man who may understand geology but not mining has concluded that the mine can not be a paying mine; therefore, although he has spent his $500 upon it, he can not get a patent to the claim.

As the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] suggests to me, nearly all of the great mines to-day are the mines that would have been turned down if we had been compelled to follow expert advice. Mr. President, as for the great Cripple Creek mines that proved so successful, the geologists of the country said that in a formation of that kind it was impossible to find gold; and yet gold has been taken out of Cripple Creek to the amount of $300,000,000. Therefore, when it is required that a so-called expert shall go out and tell a miner, who has put his muscle, his brain, and his vim into the development of a mine, that he has not a mine that will pay, and that, therefore, he must surrender his claim when he is paying ten times as much for the ground as it is worth for any other purpose, it is an insult to the miner. It is just such restrictions as these which are imposed by bureaucracy, and which result from having bureaus hundreds and thousands of miles away from the estate administered. That is what this leasing system will do, and that is one of the reasons why I am so opposed to it.

Mr. President, I desire to advert to the following clause in this resolution:

Although our lands are of great variety they are open to entry for but few purposes and in unsuited quantities. For instance, a piece of land can not be taken merely for a home.

12. In Territorial days Congress gave us the water of our natural streams and confirmed that right in the acceptance of our State constitution. Certain Federal bureaus are trying to take away that right by denying rights of way over the public domain. The contention of Federal authority, as in the case of the Engle Dam, for the first storage of water at the lower end of the stream instead of near the source of supply, would prevent the repeated use of water for power and irrigation upstream, would uselessly deprive large areas of development, and would therefore be contrary to the principle of the "best use" as demonstrated by the experience of more than half a century.

The diversion and use of water when streams are high equalize the flow, furnish a better supply of water during the dry season and by lessening floods save lives and property on the rivers below.

Mr. President, this memorial presented to Congress contains not only a condemnation of this water-power bill, but of a great many other objectionable features connected with the administration of certain laws. These resolutions were not passed haphazard by the legislature. For years and years in the State of Colorado protests have been made against leasing bills, and it seems to me some heed, some attention, ought to be paid by the Senate of the United States to a solemn protest made by the legislative body of the State of Colorado. The resolution which I have just read was passed in 1913, when the legislature was Democratic. I now read a resolution which was passed in 1915, when the legislature was Republican:

Senate concurrent resolution No. 6.

Whereas the Congress of the United States at the last session seriously considered bills providing for acts to lease water-power sites, coal, oil, and phosphate lands, and did succeed in passing a measure leasing the coal lands of Alaska; and

Whereas a determined effort is being made by certain interests to induce the United States Government to adopt the leasing policy in relation to public lands and natural resources upon such lands; and

Whereas this policy, if applied to Colorado, would place over half the area of this State under a Federal landlord system that would forever prevent this State from levying taxes upon any of these lands or resources; and

Whereas under our State constitution and under the Constitution of the United States, Colorado was admitted into the Union with all the rights and privileges of the original States, which included the right to levy taxes upon all of the property within our borders, except where title is held by the Federal Government, and the establishment of the leasing system upon these Federal lands would result in the development of these lands for the benefit of the Federal Government rather than for the benefit of the State, which is a privilege all the original States had and which has enabled them to develop their territory for the benefit of the citizens and to levy taxes against all of the territory for the support of the State: Therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the Twentieth General Assembly of the State of Colorado (the House concurring), That we are unalterably opposed to the adoption of the leasing system to apply to any of the lands or resources now held in the name of the United States; and we protest that the adoption of such a system in Colorado would not only interfere with permanent development of this State but would be contrary to the rights of Colorado guaranteed to us both by the constitution of the State and of the United States; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to each of our Members in Congress and to the President of the United States.

Approved April 12, 1915.

As I have said, this resolution was passed by a Republican legislature, and it was passed not by a bare majority or upon a contest, but was unanimously agreed to. If any Senator thinks the people of the Western States are in favor of a leasing system, all he has to do to disabuse his mind is to read the resolutions upon that question, which I have here upon my desk, all of which I can not read to the Senate to-night. Condemnation after condemnation is uttered against the leasing system, and you can hardly find a dissenting voice in some of the States affected.

Mr. President, is it possible that these things should not be considered by Senators and Representatives? Are you going to slap the States of the West in the face in such manner as that?

There have been governors' conferences upon the subject, one having been held in the State of Colorado in 1913, which unanimously condemned the leasing system. Again, another was held the next year, in 1914, in Salt Lake City, Utah, by the governors of Western States, when the leasing system was again unanimously condemned. Are you not going to take that as an index as to what the Western States believe? Why, Mr. President, if we desire to satisfy the people of that section of the country with relation to these matters we can not but vote down the proposal to make the pending leasing bill a law of the United States.

In regard to this water-power proposition, a meeting was held in Portland, Oreg., called by the governor of one of the States, I think by the governor of the State of Washington, and I have a copy of the resolution passed by that meeting. It condemns this very water-power bill by a three-fourths vote. There was a contest there. The able Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH] was there, with all of his persuasive powers of oratory to convince the special delegates assembled at that convention, but he did not convince them, for when the vote was cast—and it was the only time, so far as I know, when there has been a contest—three-fourths of the people there represented were against these propositions. They condemned in strong language the leasing system proposed by this very water-power bill.

Here is another resolution of the State of Colorado. It is senate joint memorial No. 6, introduced by Senator Williams, and reads as follows:

Whereas it is provided by article 16, section 5, of the constitution of the State of Colorado, that—

"The water of every natural stream not heretofore appropriated within the State of Colorado is hereby declared to be the property of the public, and the same is dedicated to the use of the people of the State, subject to appropriation as hereinafter provided"—

That is the constitutional provision of Colorado, which was adopted after the enabling act had been passed by Congress. The State entered the Union with that provision in its constitution, and for 30 years thereafter there was no attempt to deviate from that declaration. The memorial continues:

and by section 7 thereof that—

"All persons and corporations shall have the right of way across public, private, and corporate lands for the construction of ditches, canals, and flumes, for the purpose of conveying water for domestic purposes, for the irrigation of agricultural lands, and for mining and manufacturing purposes, and for drainage, upon payment of just compensation"; and

Whereas the above constitutional provisions were accepted by the Federal Government when this State was admitted into the Union, and have been followed for over 35 years by the citizens of this State with full congressional approval, and have been affirmed by the repeated declarations of the supreme court of the State; and

Whereas it is destructive of the right so established for the Federal Government to condition grants of rights of way through such domain, necessary for making beneficial use of such water, on requirements other than the constitutional requirements above set forth: Now therefore be it

Resolved, That we believe that any attempt by the Federal Government to exact in exchange for such rights any right of regulation or any compensation in excess of the fair market value of the rights

granted is in violation of the constitutional right of the State and in impairment of the State's power to develop and control its own internal resources; and be it further

Resolved, That the danger of monopolistic control of water powers, asserted as a reason for the exercise by the Federal Government of the above exactions in exchange for such rights of way, does not exist, since the State, by the exercise of its fundamental rights to regulate rates and service can prevent monopolistic control in full protection of its citizens; and be it further

Resolved, That it is not only the right and duty but also the exclusive privilege of this State to control the development of its internal resources; and be it further

Resolved, That the senate and house of this twentieth general assembly do hereby accept the suggestion contained in senate joint memorial No. 6 of the Twenty-eighth Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon, adopted February 20, 1915, for a water-power conference, and that the governor be requested to designate five members of this general assembly to serve as a committee, with the governor as chairman, to represent the State of Colorado in the conference to be called pursuant to said joint resolution of the Oregon Assembly; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be transmitted to the Colorado Senators and Representatives in Congress, and to the Speaker of the National House of Representatives, to the President of the United States Senate, to the Secretary of the Interior, and to the governor of each State invited to such water-power conference, for transmission to the legislature of his State.

Approved April 12, 1915.

Mr. President, there is another joint resolution giving in concrete form various objections to this leasing bill. Are you going to pay no attention to it? Are you going to say that the people out there are trying to steal something; that they are trying to get something for nothing? Why, Mr. President, it is our own people who are going to be affected by this water-power bill, it is our own people who want these low rates, and they can get them under the State management rather than through the double management of the State and of the Federal Government.

Mr. President, in view of those conditions, it seems to me that so long as these States have repeatedly and continually asserted their opposition to this doctrine, some heed and some attention ought to be given to their voice on the subject.

I presume the Senate intends to adjourn at 10 o'clock, does it?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is not advised as to the hour of adjournment.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I will conclude in just a few moments, and let the adjournment take place if it is desired.

Mr. President, I have various other resolutions. Here are some resolutions from the State of Wyoming condemning the same thing. Here is a memorial to Congress, which has been presented here and read from the desk, resolving against these very bills. Here is another set of resolutions subsequently adopted by the Legislature of the State of Wyoming. I think, also, the Utah Legislature has memorialized Congress on this subject time and again, has it not?

Mr. SMOOT. I think the last one has already passed resolutions which I am expecting here every day.

Mr. SHAFROTH. The Senator says that even the last legislature has also protested against this very water-leasing bill.

Mr. President, I hold in my hand copies of platforms adopted by the Republican and Democratic Parties in their State conventions in Colorado, and they condemn these bills. It is not a partisan question at all out there. It is a question upon which all political parties unite, and they condemn these leasing bills. I shall not read them, because it would take some time, unless somebody wants them read. I am willing to read them if that is the case.

I will read one or two. Here is an extract from the Democratic State platform of 1910 of Colorado:

We reassert our position upon the public-land question as adopted at Pueblo in 1908, and declare the right of the State to the control of the resources within its boundaries; we are in sympathy with the policy of considering the natural resources of the Nation and the State in a manner which will protect the right of future generations, but we are unalterably opposed to the bureaucratic, arbitrary regulations which work hardship on the homesteaders and the miners and retard the development of the State.

Here is one, also in 1912, of the Democratic State platform of Colorado:

We denounce the policy of the Republican administration—

They blame it on the Republicans in this resolution. They are trying to make capital out of a popular issue, no doubt.

We denounce the policy of the Republican administration, which, having retarded our development, now proposes to withdraw all the remaining agricultural, grazing, and mineral public lands from all forms of entry, with the expressed determination of imposing upon the West a permanent bureaucratic rule and Federal leasing system of all the Government resources within our borders, and thereby disastrously retarding the development of our State and depriving our Commonwealth of its just and constitutional rights.

At that time there were some bills pending in Congress which went further than the water-power bills.

I have here copies of Republican platforms declaring against this leasing bill, in which they utter emphatic and strong denunciation of this leasing system. I can not lay my hands on them right now, but I have read them once before in a former debate. The one I have in mind condemns equally as strongly as the Democratic platform the policy of the Government in relation to this bill. I must say that those resolutions in some instances were passed by the Republican convention in Colorado, when the Republican Party was in power, showing their desire to protect the State even above any question of partisan politics.

Mr. President, I can not put in the RECORD, nor can I read, all of the material which I have here in the way of protests from Western States; but I think I have read enough to show that there is a uniform sentiment, at least in my portion of the West, against the passage of any such leasing proposition as is contained in this water-power bill. It seems to me that if the doctrine of State rights has any semblance of support in this body, its friends ought to recognize the fact that the Federal Government is intruding upon those rights when it goes into a State and segregates lands and says that the sovereignty of the State can not be exercised in its taxing power or in its right of eminent domain against these lands which it proposes to hold in perpetuity.

Mr. President, I should like to make a short résumé of what I have said in the speeches I have made, but I can not do it. The hour is getting too late. I want to say, however, that this is a most serious matter to the people of the West. It is the most vital question that ever has been presented to them, I think, since Colorado was admitted into the Union. It has been made the subject of addresses and of messages of governors to the legislature. I sent two messages myself, when governor of Colorado, to the Colorado Legislature upon this matter, and similar action has been taken by other governors, particularly the governor preceding the last one.

The people regard this as a matter that is so vital to them that they view it with almost equal intensity of feeling that southern Senators display when the force bill is referred to here. You can therefore realize the degree of earnestness we feel with relation to this policy and how vital we feel it is going to be to the development of the western country.

For these reasons, Mr. President, I submit that the bill under consideration ought to be defeated.

Preparedness—Prohibition.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. COLEMAN,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday March 3, 1917.

Mr. COLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, the Sixty-fourth Congress has enacted legislation that must of necessity have great influence on the future of this Nation. While many matters of import have been dealt with none have been of greater public interest than the measures relating to preparedness and prohibition.

The preparedness enactments will unquestionably be accorded first place in importance. The conditions with which we have been confronted made necessary a reasonable degree of military activity by the peaceful people of our country. Many Members of Congress, who can not be classed as militarists, have been impelled, in face of possible conflict, to temporarily join hands with the advocates of large military establishments.

Should war, unhappily, come then our preparation, extensive as it has been, in comparison with previous efforts, will prove much less than the needs of the conflict. Should we be so fortunate as to avert war, then the great danger, to my mind, will be our ability to stem the tide of militarism and return again to our policy of moderate armaments.

A few days since we listened in this House to the reading of Washington's Farewell Address, in which, among other things, he said:

Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice.

Following the reading of this address we listened to the gentleman from Iowa [Judge TOWNER] as he applied Washington's injunction to present-day conditions. It was an interesting and instructive address, well worth the close attention it received from the Members of the House. In addition to Washington's address and Judge TOWNER's application of it to existing conditions, I wish in these times when there is great danger that

we be carried too far from our ancient moorings to quote the words of Thomas Jefferson, written to the President of the United States on June 11, 1823:

I have ever deemed it fundamental for the United States never to take an active part in the quarrels of Europe. Their political interests are entirely distinct from ours. Their mutual jealousies, their balance of power, their complicated alliances, their forms and principles of government are all foreign to us. They are nations of eternal war. All their energies are expended in the destruction of the labor, property, and lives of their people. On our part, never had a people so favorable a chance of trying the opposite system, of peace and fraternity with mankind, and the direction of all our means and faculties to the purposes of improvement instead of destruction.

These words are specially applicable to the present trying times, and while the war clouds are in evidence and conflict possibly near, it is yet our fervent hope that we be spared the sorrow and suffering that war would entail and that it become our privilege to interfere in European affairs as a great peace-loving people to bring order out of chaos and restore good feeling among the nations now at war.

It is not my purpose to say ought that might in the least degree embarrass the President in dealing with the delicate situation now confronting our Government, but rather to call attention somewhat discreetly to the notions of Washington and Jefferson, coupled with a century and a quarter of practice in the hope that it may tend to keep us steadfast in the ancient faith and away from entangling European alliances.

I shall not say more on this subject of preparedness, which I discussed somewhat fully in the first session of this Congress, and to the views then expressed I steadfastly adhere. But I can not refrain from expressing at this critical time the fervent hope that God in His wisdom will so direct the course of this Nation in its relations with other powers as to keep us out of the present stupendous war and use us as a medium to bring peace to the distracted people of many nations.

PROHIBITION.

Among the many subjects passed upon by the Sixty-fourth Congress, next in importance to that of preparedness and its accompanying problem of taxation, in my judgment, was that of prohibition.

In discussing preparedness legislation the Members, in the main, as was fitting to the importance of the subject, were steady, thoughtful, and conservative. Not so in dealing with the local problem of prohibition. Here intense excitement prevailed, bitterness of feeling was in evidence, and sharp criticism was indulged in, such as did not appear at any other time during the life of this Congress. Those who supported the District bill accused in sharp language the opponents of the measure for resorting to dilatory tactics in an effort to defeat the measure, while its opponents sharply criticized its supporters for resorting to gag rule of the most extreme and dangerous type. And both sides were justified in their accusations, but neither in the methods to which resort was had.

The fact that unfair and extreme methods were used indicates an interest so intense in this problem as to cause all fair-minded people to realize that it has reached a most acute stage in its development, and must be met and dealt with from the broadest possible point of view.

We, as Members of this body, can not be governed by the arguments advanced by the extreme wing of either wet or dry forces. The liquor man who, prompted by his selfish interests, urges the great nutritious value of alcoholic beverages and their beneficial effect upon health may be sincere, but he does not convince most of us. The trouble is we lack reliable scientific information with reference to the whole problem. But if the liquor man goes beyond all legitimate argument to protect his personal interests of a selfish nature, what shall we say of the Christian advocate of prohibition who wholly disregards the truth or, at least, so distorts it that it can not be recognized? As an illustration of the lengths to which they sometimes go, I cite the following, taken from a Washington publication issued under the direction of the board of temperance of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 204 Pennsylvania Avenue SE. This appeared under date of February 12, this year:

IF WAR COMES, IT WILL BE THE RESULT OF BEER PHILISTINISM.

A blood and beer besotted Government has flung the paper scraps of its pledge into the face of an outraged America.

The Philistinism of the malted men who misrule Germany is responsible, and that Philistinism is the product of beer.

Devoted German patriots have foreseen the doom that lies at the bottom of Germany's beer kettles. They have pointed to the inevitable vulgarization and brutalization resulting from the constant and heavy use of beer.

"The real enemy," Prof. Paul Weber, of Jena, says, "is beer Philistinism. There is in beer circles an infallible instinct against all that would lift out of the lazy, the dull, the indifferent. The intellectual desolation which one finds at the drinking tables of the educated is simply frightful."

The German ruling class has brains, but they are porcine brains. Because the German court is awash with beer it stands knee deep in the blood of the *Lusitania*. When Germany is a prohibition country, as it will be, a ruling class with the ability to understand and to make itself understood will reign in peace and honor.

So it seems from the viewpoint of an extremist that beer is the cause of war and the source of all human ills. I can only turn him over to the gentleman from New York [Mr. LONDON], who seems to have an idea that capital is the great monster and the real cause of the conflict and other human afflictions.

Personally, I could wish for many reasons to be able to advocate with the earnestness and sincerity of the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. CRISP] the cause of prohibition. I could so wish, among other reasons, for the purpose of placing myself in sympathy with the thought and efforts of the great army of Christian people who are fighting so valiantly for this cause.

But I can not, from the viewpoint of one charged with the responsibility of legislation in dealing with this question, ignore those principles of government which I seek to apply to other legislative problems. And I here call attention to some principles of government hitherto considered of prime importance, and shall seek in brief words to trace them back to their origin in the hope of obtaining a better and fuller view of their value.

The Declaration of Independence speaks of the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The Constitution seeks by its provisions to protect individuals in their right to life, liberty, and property. But in connection with the question of prohibition, on which men do not seem able to reason normally, one is almost afraid to speak of the inalienable rights referred to in the Declaration and guaranteed to us by State and National Constitutions.

Our fathers were firmly intrenched in the theory of government that taught individual freedom in all matters so long as no trespass was committed on another. This theory involved a full recognition of the doctrine of the absolute rights of man as laid down by Blackstone, which he contended were coeval with the English form of government. These rights were recognized and guaranteed to the English people as ancient rights by Magna Charta, and later by the petition of right, the habeas corpus act, and the Bill of Rights.

The inalienable rights of the Declaration of Independence were not, therefore, the creation of the brain of Thomas Jefferson. For this great man only expressed, in choice language, it is true, the then prevailing idea that government had no right to interfere with the individual in his pursuit of happiness unless he, in some way, trespassed upon another's right.

This theory of government was doubtless handed down by the Romans, who in their doctrine of natural rights expressed those conditions which they supposed to have existed in a state of nature. It was an idea developed from their laws applying to strangers, in distinction to the laws which controlled the action of their own citizens. The law as applied to strangers was of course less technical than that which applied to Roman citizens and led to the development of the natural law or idealist's law that should exist among highly developed people.

The very fact that the Roman laws which dealt with strangers came to be considered as superior to the law applying to the citizens of Rome is a strong argument for that system of law which gives the largest degree of liberty to its citizens. And when we reflect that in all ages of the world that government which did accord great liberty to its subjects has stood well to the fore, and that no government has profited more from the free reign granted to its citizens than the constitutional government of these United States, we should only after the most considerate attention enlarge our restrictive legislation.

Now, whether we believe in this old idea of government and the philosophy which teaches that only crimes and trespasses should be punished, or whether we are convinced, as most of us are, that advancing civilization demands a greater interference on the part of government with the affairs of individuals, it seems to me that we have been traveling so fast in enacting restrictive measures that we may with profit pause and ask ourselves whether we have not gone too far in this direction.

Shall we so far abandon the old idea of the protection of the individual in his so-called natural rights, inalienable rights, absolute rights, or whatsoever name we give to the notions formerly existing that there were certain fundamental rights of the individual with which government had no right to interfere, as to submit complacently to the arguments of those who would place these rights so long and faithfully protected from the tyranny of kings and emperors at the absolute mercy of a majority vote of the people?

This is an important question and worthy of a moment's reflection. The law when enacted applies to all persons within its jurisdiction. Is it then within the province of the law to set

a standard of morality to which all men must live? Now, communities must enforce certain rules of conduct; otherwise there can be no real community progress. But what is the purpose of the rule thus enforced? It should be to represent the rule of conduct generally obeyed by the people, for this is the only rule that can be successfully enforced. In this fact lies much of the virtue of local government, for the law enacted by the local body is apt to fairly represent the community standard. Many laws are not obeyed to-day because legislative assemblies fail utterly to recognize this rule. Our jails and penitentiaries contain many men who are in no true sense criminally inclined and ought not to be confined, and would not be if legislative bodies paid some regard to the rule I have tried to state. And these unjust confinements are the result too often of a temporary majority trying to enforce their standard of morality on a large minority who do not agree with them. It is a great error to suppose that you can enforce a law merely because a majority so decrees. To make it effective it must be acquiesced in by the people generally. In the words of Rousseau, "A majority of the people is not the people and never can be."

Now, whether the doctrine of natural rights is sound or whether it is not, I believe that the general judgment of the mass supports the theory that in many matters which lawmakers are trying to control the individual should be left to his own inclination. I do not believe that government can by law banish evil from the world. I do not believe that man can be made moral by law. The abrogation of vice and morality is a work peculiarly devolving upon the church and the home and social forces outside of law, and I do believe that it is foolish to make law that punishes men for doing what vast numbers of their fellows do.

If this is the correct view, then the law should represent the average common sense of propriety—the aggregation of all the forces of the community—the true community conscience. The object, then, is not to enact laws prescribing that we live according to the right as understood by moral science, but rather that we live according to the right in the sense of expediency, by which I mean that standard of right which is the resultant of all the forces of the community and generally obeyed by all. The best of our citizens do not live their lives as they do because laws require certain conduct of them. They live their natural lives, in many cases, not knowing the law, and would continue to live such lives if all laws were repealed and they left to do as they pleased.

With these notions of government firmly embedded in my mind, modified, I trust, with due regard to the needs of present-day social legislation to meet the changed conditions of advancing civilization, I found myself unable to vote for Senate amendment No. 34 to the Post Office appropriation bill, which embodied the Jones amendment relative to advertising and the Reed amendment relating to the order, purchase, or transportation of intoxicating liquors.

I could not support either of these propositions, as it seems to me somewhat absurd and clearly in violation of true governmental principles to punish as a criminal the publisher of a newspaper or magazine carrying a legitimate advertisement in the community where the publication is issued for sending that same publication through the mails into certain dry territory. It ignores every rule of reason and is cruel and unusual punishment that can not, in my judgment, be justified. Nor could I support the Reed amendment, which sets aside every principle of local government by punishing as criminals the citizens of a State for doing what under the laws of their State they are permitted to do. Better by far to have national prohibition by the authority of three-fourths of the States than to pass and enforce such tyrannical laws.

And the liquor people themselves supported this legislation, with its drastic provisions. They evidently are willing to assist in making dry States "bone dry," with a view to punishing them for their apparent short-sighted vision. And this without regard to the voice of the people of those States, and yet they urged with wonderful vehemence the right of the people of the District to vote on the question of a dry Washington. It was as inconsistent as the urging of the extreme dry advocate that we have a dry Capital without a referendum, while at the same time urging a referendum on national prohibition. I say as inconsistent; let me correct myself by saying it was more inconsistent, for the dry advocate has existing legal methods on his side, whether or not they be consistent and just.

Three hundred and nineteen to seventy-two was the vote on Senate amendment No. 34. Does any person in this House believe that those 319 votes represented the real sentiment with regard to the principles of government so ruthlessly violated in the adoption of these amendments? I can not bring myself to the point of applying a different rule to the liquor question to that applied in other matters of legislation and criticize freely either liquor man or prohibitionist who is willing to set aside fundamental principles to gain a temporary advantage.

I voted for the Sherley amendment, striving to that extent to protect property rights, and while it failed I was glad to see remedial legislation passed by this House in the closing hours of this Congress extending to July 1, 1917, the time when this drastic legislation should become effective.

It was when the District bill was before the House that the bitterness of feeling was most in evidence. It was unfortunate that so important a matter was passed upon without debate. In justice to the people upon whom the law was to operate it should have been fully discussed. In justice to the great importance of prohibition generally it should have been freely debated, and in calling into play so stringent a gag rule the leaders of the movement may have invoked a weapon that will come back to cause them trouble.

So far as the real merits of the referendum is concerned, I readily appreciate that there are two sides to the argument, and that much can be fairly said on either side. The governmental machinery has provided that Congress shall legislate for the District, and it may well be argued that no special legislative machinery should be provided to deal with the liquor problem. On the other hand, it can be fairly contended that it was never contemplated by the framers of this machinery that so drastic an interference with the personal liberty and private property of the residents would be undertaken by legislation, and that such interference now being contemplated they should have the same voice that is accorded the people of the States, and certainly the same right that was exercised by the people of Alaska before dry legislation was enacted for that Territory by this Congress.

Personally I believe the people of the District should have had a voice in the matter. I am rather strong in my loyalty to the principle of local government. Because of my belief I voted for the referendum, and when it failed against prohibition.

But there is another matter in connection with the voting of prohibition for the District of Columbia that to my mind is of equal importance with a referendum to the people, and that is the question of compensation. Here we find a large city that is under the immediate supervision of Congress. It is in the large centers of population that we find the strongest adherence to the saloon. Country communities do not have the same social need for the public drinking place as the large cities. Filling this need men have invested their money in a business countenanced by the Government from the beginning of its history. In fact the Government has been in effect a partner in the business, and in view of this fact, having come to the conclusion that the business should cease within that territory embracing the Capital City it should make provision for compensation to those whose property is injured or perhaps totally destroyed. For, however the States may deal with this phase of the problem this great Government can not afford to fall behind the standard set by Great Britain, France, Russia, Switzerland, Canada, and other Governments in granting compensation with restrictive liquor legislation. Fair compensation would be in accord with those fundamental principles of government relative to property rights which I have briefly presented.

You may argue by reason of strong opposition to the liquor business that no compensation should be given to persons engaged in such a trade. But do not overlook the fact that you are thereby setting a fine example to the Socialist, who from his point of view can plead the same justification for expropriating the property rights of those engaged in what you may consider legitimate business interests. Are property rights to be protected, then be careful to give to others the same degree of protection you claim for yourself.

It is certain that we have wandered far from the doctrine of natural rights, and, while I readily agree that we have been justified in enlarging the scope of the activities of both Federal and State Governments, I yet am of opinion that in the enlargement of restrictive legislation the burden should rest upon the advocates of the restriction.

Of course we can not remain stationary. We can not continue to live according to the social standard of those who framed our Government. But we can profit by a correct understanding of the underlying principles upon which our Government was founded, and with this understanding seek to apply sound principles to present day needs. We must not legislate to meet passing notions and whims, and write upon the statute books laws to be readily broken because not representing the general community sentiment.

Personally, I am a total abstainer and have been from my early boyhood, when, in response to the earnest appeal of that great

temperance apostle, Francis Murphy, I signed the blue-ribbon pledge, to which I have ever since been true. I could wish that all men were as I in this respect and that intoxicating liquors were no more temptation to them than to myself. If this were the fact, there would be no liquor problem. I am unwilling, however, to set myself up as a judge of other men's habits, and I have little sympathy with the attack made on men engaged in the liquor business, feeling that it is no more sinful to sell than to use intoxicants.

The cause of temperance is rapidly advancing and I have faith in its continued advance. This is largely due to the evils of intemperance, both as to its effects on individuals and society. It is the economic movement rather than the moral issue that is forcing prohibition so prominently to the front. And during the past 20 years it has been going forward by leaps and bounds and has now assumed a prominence that is national and world-wide. With 25 States of the Union now dry and much of the territory in the remaining States dry under local option laws, we in justice to this great sentiment must meet the question from a broad national viewpoint.

What we need at this time is reliable, scientific information on which to base legislative action. The Government would engage in a splendid and worthy work if it authorized a full and complete investigation of the liquor problem in all of its phases. We should proceed to collect evidence somewhat on the order followed by the Swedish committee of physicians, and with such evidence in the possession of Congress intelligent action can be had.

If the prohibition wave continues to advance under the operation of the bone-dry legislation the time will soon be here when a national prohibition amendment must be submitted to the people. Practically the whole world is now studying the temperance question, and the information that is being gathered should be collected by competent men under the direction of the National Government, and this information given to the public for their guidance in seeking to solve a troublesome problem.

The Niagara River Power Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD W. AUSTIN,

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 8, 1917.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker, during the closing hour of the debate on H. R. 20047, a bill for the control and regulation of the Niagara River above the Falls, and for other purposes, on February 7, I had a colloquy with the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT], which was as follows:

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. Chairman, the ease with which the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN] overrules the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States is only equaled by the ease with which the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. AUSTIN] misstates those decisions.

Mr. AUSTIN. Well, I challenge that statement.

Mr. LENROOT. I expected the gentleman would, and I say to the gentleman that there is no decision of the Supreme Court of the United States ever rendered that is in the least degree in conflict with the provisions that the gentleman now seeks to strike out of this bill.

Mr. AUSTIN. I will put them in the RECORD.

Mr. LENROOT. All right. I will be glad if the gentleman will do so. And he spoke of the Senate of the United States. The gentleman may not be aware of the fact that five or six years ago the ablest lawyers then in that body made an investigation of this very legal question and reported that it was entirely competent for the Congress of the United States to make just such a charge as this as a condition of a grant such as is contained here.

As all time had been exhausted and I was unable to answer the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT], I obtained permission to extend my remarks, in order that I might keep my promise to "put in the RECORD" the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States sustaining my contention that it had gone on record for more than a century deciding that the respective States, and not the Government of the United States, owned the water-power rights in the rivers of the country. I not only cite the decisions of the highest court in the land, but also the opinions of the five ablest lawyers of the United States Senate, Messrs. NELSON, Root, CHILTON, O'GORMAN, and CULBERSON, referred to by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT]. It will be observed that the gentleman from Wisconsin not only misunderstood the opinion of these able lawyers, but misstated it. The fact is that subsequent to giving their opinion these Members of the Senate supported the Shields water-power bill, which concedes the ownership of water-power rights to the respective States and not to the Federal or National Government. My information is they have so voted every time this same proposition has been passed upon by the United States Senate in recent years.

OPINIONS OF THE SUPREME COURT.

1. The ownership of flowing water and the right to dispose of and to regulate and control the use thereof within their borders belong exclusively to the States as a part of their sovereign power, subject only, in case of navigable streams, to the power of the Federal Government to regulate and promote commerce between the States.

Pollard's Lessee *v.* Hagan (3 How., U. S., 212); Withers *v.* Buckley (20 How., 84); Escanaba Co. *v.* Chicago (107 U. S., 678); Kansas *v.* Colorado (206 U. S., 46); Illinois Central Railroad *v.* Illinois (146 U. S., 387); Shively *v.* Bowlby (152 U. S., 1); Sands *v.* Manistee River Improvement Co. (123 U. S., 288); Veazie *v.* Moor (14 How., U. S., 568); Hudson Water Co. *v.* McCarter (209 U. S., 349); City of New York *v.* Miln (11 Pet., 102); Gutierras *v.* Albuquerque (188 U. S., 545); County of Mobile *v.* Kimball (102 U. S., 691); Cardwell *v.* American Bridge Co. (113 U. S., 205); Willamette Iron Bridge Co. *v.* Hatch (125 U. S., 1); United States *v.* Railroad Bridge Co. (6 McLean, 517).

2. That as a consequence the United States have no such right either of ownership, regulation, or control.

Pollard's Lessee *v.* Hagan (3 How., U. S., 212); Kansas *v.* Colorado (206 U. S., 46); Ward *v.* Race Horse (163 U. S., 504).

3. The rights of consumers to the use of the water are dependent upon State and not Federal laws and subject to State regulation and control, exclusively, unless the use is interstate.

Kansas *v.* Colorado (206 U. S., 46); Osborne *v.* San Diego Land & Town Co. (178 U. S., 22); Los Angeles *v.* Los Angeles Water Co. (177 U. S., 558); St. Anthony Falls Water Power Co. *v.* St. Paul Water Commissioners (168 U. S., 349); Bean *v.* Morris (221 U. S., 485).

4. The Federal Government owns the public lands as a proprietor only and not in its sovereign capacity.

Pollard's Lessee *v.* Hagan (3 How., U. S., 212); Ward *v.* Race Horse (163 U. S., 504); Woodruff *v.* North Bloomfield Gravel Mining Co. (18 Fed. Rep., 753); Boggs *v.* Merced Mining Co. (14 Cal., 279, 376).

5. The Federal Government has no power or jurisdiction to fix rates or regulate the use or disposition of water within a State.

Sands *v.* Manistee River Improvement Co. (123 U. S., 288); Osborne *v.* San Diego Land & Town Co. (178 U. S., 22).

6. The power to fix rates or regulate the use of water not given to the Federal Government by the Constitution can not be bestowed by act of Congress as a condition to the leasing or sale of the public lands.

New Orleans *v.* United States (10 Pet., 662, 736); Leovy *v.* United States (177 U. S., 621).

7. Absolute property in and dominion and sovereignty over the soils under the tidewaters in the States are reserved to the several States.

Kansas *v.* United Land Association (142 U. S., 161).

8. Public lands owned by the United States are not subject to taxaiton by the States.

California *v.* Shearer (30 Cal., 645, 655, 658); Van Brocklin *v.* Tennessee (117 U. S., 151).

9. The power of Congress to legislate or exercise sovereignty over lands within a State is confined to lands acquired by the Federal Government for certain specific purposes and with the consent of the State.

United States *v.* Cornell (2 Mason, 60); Woodruff *v.* North Bloomfield Gravel Mining Co. (18 Fed. Rep., 753).

LATEST DECISION.

The last opinion rendered by the Supreme Court of the United States on the subject was December 11, 1916, in the case of the Long Sault Development Co. against Homer D. Call.

This case was originally brought in the Supreme Court of New York, and involved the constitutionality of a statute of the State of New York granting a corporation certain rights in the St. Lawrence River within that State, and upon a hearing in the court of appeals of the State the act was adjudged void upon the ground that the property in question was held by the State in trust for the people, and could not be granted for private use. From this decree a writ of error was prosecuted to the Supreme Court of the United States and there dismissed for want of jurisdiction because no Federal interest or question was involved, the gist of the decision being that the banks, beds, and waters of the St. Lawrence River, a navigable stream within the State, were subject to the exclusive sovereignty and control of that State.

Mr. Justice Clark, in discussing the opinion of the Court of Appeals of New York, said:

And then addressing itself to the constitutional problem thus stated, the court proceeds upon principle and authority to decide: That under the constitution of the State of New York the power of the legislature of that State to grant lands under navigable waters to private persons or corporations is limited to purposes which may be useful, convenient, or necessary to the public; that it has no power to so part with the title to such lands that the State may not in the future improve navigation over them if the public interest shall so require; and that they are held by the State on such a trust for the public use that the legislature has no power to authorize the conveyance of them to a private corporation to maintain navigation thereover "in as good condition as * * * at present," thereby parting for all time with its power to improve such navigation.

The court finds its principal authority for these legal positions in the decision of this court in Illinois Central Railroad Co. *v.* Illinois (146 U. S., 387), in which it was decided: That the title which a State holds to land under navigable waters is different in character from that which it holds in land intended for sale and occupation, in the former case it being held in trust for the people of the State in order that they may enjoy the navigation of the waters and carry on commerce over them, free from obstruction or interference by private parties; that this trust devolving upon the State in the public interest is one which can not be relinquished by a transfer of the property; that a State can no more abdicate its trust over such property, in which the whole people are interested, so as to have it under the control of private parties, than it can abdicate its police powers in the administration of

government and the preservation of peace; and that the trust under which such lands are held is governmental, so that they can not be alienated except to be used for the improvement of the public use in them.

It has been repeatedly held by the Supreme Court of the United States that the Federal Government can not grant the lands, or any interest therein, under navigable waters. Hardin *v.* Jordan (140 U. S., 382); Niles *v.* Cedar Point Club (175 U. S., 388); Weber *v.* Harbor Commissioners (18 Wall., 5771). An act of Congress authorizing Indians to fish in the navigable streams of Oregon was held in the case of United States against Alaska Packers (79 Fed. Rep., 157) to be beyond the power of Congress and void.

OPINION OR REPORT OF THE FIVE "ABLEST LAWYERS" IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE.

I now give the opinion of the five ablest lawyers in the United States Senate referred to by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT]. The report submitted by Senator NELSON was approved by Senators Root and CHILTON:

Mr. NELSON, from the subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, submitted the following report, to accompany Senate resolution 44:

To the Committee on the Judiciary:

Your subcommittee, which was directed to report on the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate be, and it is hereby, directed to report to the Senate, at as early a date as possible in the next regular session of Congress, upon the power and authority of the National Government over the development and use of water power within the respective States, and especially:

"First. Has the National Government any authority to impose a charge for the use of water power developed on nonnavigable streams, whether State or interstate?

"Second. Has it any authority in granting permits to develop water power on a navigable stream to impose and enforce conditions relating to stated payments to the Government, regulation of charges to consumers, and determination of the right to make use of such developed power?

"Third. Has it authority in disposing of any of its lands, reserved or unreserved, necessary and suitable for use in connection with the development or use of water power on a nonnavigable stream, whether State or interstate, by lease or otherwise, to limit the time for which such development may continue, or to impose and enforce charges for the use and development of such water power, or to control and regulate the disposition of such water power to its consumers?"

have considered the same and report as follows:

The interrogatories embraced in the foregoing resolution involve the rights of riparian owners, the rights of the States, and the rights of the Federal Government in the navigable and nonnavigable streams and watercourses of the country. A solution and understanding of those several rights will tend to answer and solve the questions propounded.

NAVIGABLE STREAMS.

The rule of the common law that only those streams are held navigable in which the tide ebbs and flows, and only so far as such ebb and flow, has not been adopted and does not prevail in this country. With us the question of navigability is one of fact in each case. If a stream can be used for commerce or trade in any form to any substantial extent, even for the floating of rafts of logs or lumber, it is held to be a navigable stream. (The *Genessee Chief*, 12 How., 443; the *Daniel Ball*, 10 Wall., 557; the *Montello*, 20 Wall., 430; Barney *v.* Keokuk, 94 U. S., 324; Waterpower Co. *v.* Water Commissioners, 168 U. S., 349.)

Most of our streams and watercourses are, in fact, more or less navigable in some of their reaches, and the nonnavigable portions serve as feeders for, and are so connected with, the navigable sections that it is difficult and scarcely practicable to apply a separate rule for each. This must needs be so where ample regulation of the navigable section can only be secured through regulation of the nonnavigable section. In such cases, for the purposes of interstate commerce, the Federal Government has full regulative power over the entire stream, the nonnavigable as well as the navigable sections.

In U. S. *v.* Rio Grande Irrigation Co. (174 U. S., 690) the Supreme Court, in passing upon certain statutes relating to the use of water for mining and irrigation purposes, makes this declaration:

"To hold that Congress, by these acts, meant to confer upon any State the right to appropriate all the waters of the tributary streams which unite into a navigable watercourse, and so destroy the navigability of that watercourse in derogation of the interests of all the people of the United States, is a construction which can not be tolerated. It ignores the spirit of the legislation and carries the statute to the verge of the letter and far beyond what under the circumstances of the case must be held to have been the intent of Congress (p. 706–707)."

TITLE OF THE STATES IN THE BEDS AND WATERS OF NAVIGABLE STREAMS.

The several States of the Union are each primarily the proprietors of, and have the sovereignty over, the beds and waters of the navigable streams and watercourses within their respective borders, subject only to the rights of the Federal Government under the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution (par. 3, sec. 8, Art I), and to the rights of the Federal Government as owner of the riparian lands (par. 2, sec. 3, Art. IV), which rights will hereafter be referred to and enlarged upon.

In the case of Martin *v.* Waddell (16 Pet., 367), where the question of tidelands and tidewaters was involved, the Supreme Court of the United States makes this clear and comprehensive declaration:

"For when the Revolution took place the people of each State became themselves sovereign; and in that character hold the absolute right to all their navigable waters, and the soils under them, for their own common use, subject only to the rights since surrendered by the Constitution to the General Government."

The same doctrine was laid down by the court in the case of Pollard *v.* Hagan (3 How., 212), and it was held to apply to the newer States in as full a measure as to the original States of the Union. In this case the court concludes its opinion as follows:

"By the preceding course of reasoning we have arrived at these general conclusions: First. The shores of navigable waters and the soils under them were not granted by the Constitution to the United States, but were reserved to the States, respectively. Second. The new States have the same rights, sovereignty, and jurisdiction over this subject as the original States. Third. The right of the United States to the public land and the power of Congress to make all needful rules and regulations for the sale and disposition thereof conferred no power to grant to the plaintiffs the land (tidewater land) in controversy."

In the case of Barney *v.* Keokuk (94 U. S., 324) Justice Bradley declares that the correct principles were laid down in the foregoing cases, and then adds:

"These cases related to tidewater, it is true; but they enunciate principles which are equally applicable to all navigable waters."

The rule laid down in the foregoing cases is reaffirmed and amplified with the citation of numerous authorities in the case of Shively *v.* Bowlby (152 U. S., 1).

RIPARIAN TITLE.

It is the rule of the common law that a grant of land upon the borders of a navigable stream carries the grant only to the high-water line, while a grant of land bordering upon a nonnavigable stream carries the title to the center of the stream, subject to the public easement in the water of the stream. While this is the rule of the common law, the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of Hardin *v.* Jordan (140 U. S., 371), has determined that the limits and extent of the riparian ownership is governed by the law of the State in which the land is situated. Justice Bradley, who delivered the opinion in this case, after discussing the question and citing numerous authorities, concludes as follows:

"We do not think it necessary to discuss this point further. In our judgment the grants of the Government for lands bounded on streams and other waters, without any reservation or restriction of terms, are to be construed as to their effect according to the law of the State in which the lands lie (p. 384)."

The case of Shively *v.* Bowlby, heretofore cited, approves of and adheres to this rule, and the following cases indorse and adhere to the rule: Barney *v.* Keokuk (94 U. S., 324), St. Louis *v.* Myers (113 U. S., 566), Packer *v.* Bird (137 U. S., 661), St. Louis *v.* Rutz (138 U. S., 226), Mitchell *v.* Smale (140 U. S., 406), Grand Rapids *v.* Butler (159 U. S., 87), Water Power Co. *v.* Water Commissioners (168 U. S., 349), Kean *v.* Calumet Canal Co. (190 U. S., 452), United States *v.* Chandler Dunbar Co. (209 U. S., 447).

The rule of riparian ownership as to grants of land bordering on streams is diverse in the various States. Some States hold that the grant extends only to high-water mark; other States hold that it extends to low-water mark; while another class of States—and perhaps the most numerous—hold that the grant extends to the middle of the stream, subject to the public easement in the water of the stream. But whatever may be the law in this respect as to the effect of the grant, it only relates to the proprietorship in the banks and bed of the stream and not to the ownership of the water in the stream.

In those States which hold that the title of the riparian owner only extends to the high or low water mark the title to the bed of the stream is deemed to be in the State, and whether the title to the bed of the stream is in the riparian owner or in the State, in either case the sovereignty over and the paramount title to the water of the stream is deemed to be in the State, but it holds it not absolutely, but in trust for all lawful public uses, and in subrogation to the rights of the Federal Government.

PROPRIETORSHIP AND CONTROL OF THE WATER IN STREAMS.

While the riparian proprietor may be the absolute owner of the bed of the stream, he has no such proprietorship in the water of the stream. The water is a movable thing, and as to that he has only a usufruct. His rights in the water are subject to the sovereignty and control of the State, to the rights of the other riparian owners, and to the public easement or use. Lord Chief Justice Hale in his De Juris Maris (Hargrave, p. 6), in the quaint law language of those days, states:

"Though fresh rivers are in point of propriety, as before, prima facie of a private interest; yet, as well fresh rivers as salt, or such as flow and reflow, may be under these two servitudes, or affected with them—viz, one of the prerogatives belonging to the King, and another public interest, or belonging to the people in general."

Commenting on a case in which the riparian owner claimed the title up to the thread of the stream in the Severn River as against the King, Lord Hale says (Hargrave, p. 36):

"But though the subject may thus have the propriety of a navigable river part of a port, yet these cautions are to be added, viz: First, that the King has yet a right of empire or government over it in reference to the safety of the kingdom and to his customs, it being a member of a port, prout inferius dicitur; second, that the people have a public interest, a jus publicum, of passage and repassage with their goods by water and must not be obstructed by nuisances or impeached by exactions, * * *. For the jus privatum of the owner or proprietor is charged with and subject to that jus publicum which belongs to the King's subjects; as the foil of an highway is, which though in point of property it may be a private man's freehold, yet it is charged with a public interest of the people, which may not be prejudiced or damnified."

Sir J. Leach, vice chancellor, in the case of Wright *v.* Howard (1 Simons & Stuart's Reports, 203), an English case in chancery, decided in 1823, explains the right of a riparian as follows:

"The right to the use of the water rests on clear and settled principles. Prima facie, the proprietor of each bank of a stream (not tidal) is the proprietor of half the land covered by the stream, but there is no property in the water. Every proprietor has an equal right to use the water which flows in the stream, and consequently no proprietor can have the right to use the water to the prejudice of any other proprietor. Without the consent of the other proprietors, who may be affected by his operations, no proprietor can either diminish the quantity of water, which would otherwise descend to the proprietors below, nor throw the water back upon the proprietors above."

Chancellor Kent, in his Commentaries, states the common-law rule in these words:

"Every proprietor of lands on the banks of a river has, naturally, an equal right to the use of the water which flows in the stream adjacent to his lands, as it was wont to run (currere solebat), without diminution or alteration. No proprietor has the right to use the water to the prejudice of other proprietors above or below him unless he has a prior right to divert it or a title to some exclusive enjoyment. He has no property in the water itself, but a simple usufruct while it passes along. Aqua currit et debet currere ut currere solebat is the language of the law. Though he may use the water while it runs over his land as an incident to the land, he can not unreasonably detain it or give it another direction, and he must return it to its ordinary channel when it leaves his estate." (3 Com., 439.) (Stein *v.* Burden, 29 Ala., 127.)

In the case of Head *v.* Amoskeag (113 U. S., 9), involving the right of the riparian owner to construct and maintain a milldam on his own land under a statute of New Hampshire, Justice Gray, who delivered the opinion of the court, declares:

"We prefer to rest the decision of this case upon the ground that such a statute, considered as regulating the manner in which the rights of proprietors of lands adjacent to a stream may be asserted and enjoyed, with a due regard to the interests of all, and to the public good, is within the constitutional power of the legislature (p. 21)."

He further declares:

"The right to the use of running water is publici juris and common to all the proprietors of the bed and banks of the stream from its source to its outlet. Each has a right to the reasonable use of the water as it flows past his land, not interfering with a like reasonable use by those above or below him (p. 23)."

In the case of the United States *v.* Rio Grande Co. (174 U. S., 690), in considering a nonnavigable reach of the Rio Grande River, in the Territory of New Mexico, Justice Brewer, who delivered the opinion of the court, after quoting the foregoing paragraph from Chancellor Kent, adds:

"While this is undoubted, and the rule obtains in those States in the Union which have simply adopted the common law, it is also true that as to every stream within its dominion a State may change this common-law rule and permit the appropriation of the flowing waters for such purposes as it deems wise."

That the sovereignty and control over, and paramount title to, the waters in a stream is in the State is further established by that line of decisions sustaining the rule of public ownership, and "prior appropriation," prevailing in the mining and semiarid States, and acquiescing in its application to the lands of the United States. (Jennison *v.* Kirk, 98 U. S., 45; Broder *v.* Water Co., 101 U. S., 274; Gutiers *v.* Albuquerque Co., 188 U. S., 545; Boquilla Cattle Co. *v.* Curtis, 213 U. S., 339.)

The case of Kansas *v.* Colorado (206 U. S., 46) was a controversy between two States, one recognizing the doctrine of public ownership and prior appropriation and the other the common-law rule. Chief Justice Shaw, in the case of Elliott *v.* Fitchburg Railway Co. (10 Cush., 191), describes the rights of the riparian owner under the common-law rule in the following terms:

"The right to flowing water is now well settled to be a right incident to property in the land; it is a right publici juris, of such a character that, while it is common and equal to all through whose land it runs, and no one can obstruct or divert it, yet, as one of the beneficial gifts of Providence, each proprietor has a right to a just and reasonable use of it as it passes through his land; and so long as it is not wholly obstructed or diverted, or no larger appropriation of the water running through it is made than a just and reasonable use, it can not be said to be wrongful or injurious to a proprietor lower down. What is such a just and reasonable use may often be a difficult question, depending upon various circumstances. To take a quantity of water from a large running stream for agricultural or manufacturing purposes would cause no sensible or practicable diminution of the benefit, to the prejudice of a lower proprietor; whereas, taking the same quantity from a small running brook passing through many farms would be of great and manifest injury to those below, who need it for domestic supply or watering cattle; and therefore it would be an unreasonable use of the water, and an action would lie in the latter case and not in the former. It is therefore to a considerable extent a question of degree; still the rule is the same, that each proprietor has a right to a reasonable use of it, for his own benefit, for domestic use, and for manufacturing and agricultural purposes. * * *

"That a portion of the water of a stream may be used for the purpose of irrigating land we think is well established as one of the rights of the proprietors of the soil along or through which it passes. Yet a proprietor can not under color of that right or for the actual purpose of irrigating his own land wholly abstract or divert the watercourse or take such an unreasonable quantity of water or make such unreasonable use of it as to deprive other proprietors of the substantial benefits which they might derive from it if not diverted or used unreasonably. * * *

"This rule, that no riparian proprietor can wholly abstract or divert a watercourse, by which it would cease to be a running stream, or use it unreasonably in its passage and thereby deprive a lower proprietor of a quality of his property, deemed in law incidental and beneficial, necessarily flows from the principle that the right to the reasonable and beneficial use of a running stream is common to all the riparian proprietors, and so each is bound to use his common right as not essentially to prevent or interfere with an equally beneficial enjoyment of the common right by all the proprietors. * * *

"The right to the use of flowing water is publici juris and common to all the riparian proprietors; it is not an absolute and exclusive right to all the water flowing past their land, so that any obstruction would give a cause of action; but it is a right to the flow and enjoyment of the water, subject to a similar right in all the proprietors to the reasonable enjoyment of the same gift of Providence. It is, therefore, only for an abstraction and deprivation of this common benefit or for an unreasonable and unauthorized use of it that an action will lie."

The assertion of public ownership and of prior appropriation, already referred to, is thus described by Justice Field in the case of Jennison *v.* Kirk (98 U. S., 453). After describing the system of discovery and appropriation and development of mining claims, he adds the following:

"But the mines could not be worked without water. Without water the gold would remain forever buried in the earth or rock. To carry water to mining localities when they were not on the bank of a stream or lake became, therefore, an important and necessary business in carrying on mining. Here, also, the first appropriator of water to be conveyed to such locality for mining or other beneficial purposes was recognized as having, to the extent of actual use, the better right. The doctrine of the common law respecting the right of riparian owners was not considered as applicable, or only in a very limited degree, to the conditions of miners in the mountains. The waters of rivers and lakes were, consequently, carried great distances in ditches and flumes, constructed with vast labor and enormous expenditures of money, along the sides of mountains and through canyons and ravines, to supply communities engaged in mining as well as for agriculturists and ordinary consumption. Numerous regulations were adopted, or assumed to exist, from their obvious justness, for the security of these ditches and flumes, and for the protection of rights to water, not only between different appropriators, but between them and the holders of mining claims. These regulations and customs were appealed to in controversies in the State courts, and received their sanction; and properties to the value of many millions rested upon them. For 18 years, from 1848 to 1866, the regulations and customs of miners, as enforced and molded by the courts and sanctioned by the legislation of the State, constituted the law governing property in mines and in water on the public mineral lands."

These water rights, by prior appropriation, as described by Justice Field, were recognized and confirmed by congressional legislation in 1866 and in 1870. Those acts are now sections 2339 and 2340 of the Revised Statutes. Justice Field further adds:

"It will thus be seen that the Federal statutes merely gave a formal sanction to the rules already established. Those rules had been built up in reliance on the tacit acquiescence of the United States, the true owner of the lands and waters on which appropriations were made, and these statutes acquiesced therein expressly as 'a voluntary recognition of a preexisting right' rather than the establishment of a new one."

In the case of Broder *v.* Natoma Water Co. (101 U. S., 274) the Supreme Court, in referring to the contention that these statutes established a new right, uses the following language:

"We are of the opinion that it is the established doctrine of this court that rights of miners, who had taken possession of mines and worked and developed them, and the rights of persons who had constructed canals and ditches to be used in mining operations and for purposes of agricultural irrigation, in the region where such artificial use of the water was an absolute necessity, are rights which the Government had, by its conduct, recognized and encouraged and was bound to protect before the passage of the act of 1866, and that the section of the act which we have quoted was rather a voluntary recognition of a preexisting right of possession, constituting a valid claim to its continued use, than the establishment of a new one."

While the common-law rule prevails—in some instances with slight modifications—in all of the States, except the so-called semiarid or mining States, there can be no doubt that it is in the power of these common-law States, by virtue of their sovereignty, to modify or change the rule of the common law. In the language of Justice Brewer (in U. S. *v.* Rio Grande Co., 174 U. S., 702–703):

"It is also true that as to every stream within its dominion a State may change this common-law rule and permit the appropriation of the flowing waters for such purposes as it may deem wise."

The same justice, in the case of Colorado *v.* Kansas (206 U. S., 94), describes the power of the State as follows:

"It may determine for itself whether the common-law rule in respect to riparian rights or that doctrine which obtains in the arid regions of the West of the appropriation of waters for the purposes of irrigation shall control. Congress can not enforce either rule upon any State." (See also McGilvra *v.* Ross, 215 U. S., 70.)

We append hereto Exhibit A, which names most of the States in which the rule of prior appropriation prevails, and also gives the constitutional and statutory provisions, with some of the decisions of the courts relating to the subject in each of these States.

PROPERTY AND RIGHTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Except as the owner of riparian lands and except for the purpose of regulating interstate commerce, the United States has no property in or sovereignty over the streams or watercourses within the boundaries of the several States. The sovereignty and ultimate control is in the State, and the proprietorship is either in the State or in the riparian owner, or in both, according to the constitutions and laws of the several States, and the power of the Federal Government over the streams is no greater in the so-called public-land States than in the States east of the Mississippi River. In Kansas *v.* Colorado (206 U. S., 92), already cited, Justice Brewer declares:

"As to those lands within the limits of the States, at least of the Western States, the National Government is the most considerable owner and has power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting its property. We do not mean that its legislation can override State laws in respect to the general subject of reclamation. While arid lands are to be found mainly, if not only, in the Western and newer States, yet the powers of the National Government within the limits of those States are the same (no greater and no less) as those within the limits of the original thirteen, and it would be strange if, in the absence of a definite grant of power, the National Government could enter the territory of the States along the Atlantic and legislate in respect to improving by irrigation or otherwise the lands within their borders."

THE RIGHTS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AS RIPARIAN OWNER.

Through the treaty of independence and subsequent treaties with Great Britain, through cessions from foreign countries and some of the original States of the Union, and through discovery and exploration, and by virtue of its national sovereignty, the Federal Government became the proprietor of a vast domain of unsettled and undeveloped lands. Chancellor Kent (1 Com., 257) describes the title of the United States to this domain in the following language:

"Upon the doctrine of the court in Johnson *v.* McIntosh, 1823 (8 Wheat., 543), and Fletcher *v.* Peck, 1810 (6 Cranch, 142, 143), the United States own the soil as well as the jurisdiction of the immense tracts of unpatented lands included within their territories, and of all the productive funds which those lands may hereafter create. The title is in the United States by the treaty of peace with Great Britain, and by subsequent cessions from France and Spain, and by cessions from the individual States."

By paragraph 2, section 3, Article IV of the Constitution, Congress was given plenary control over this public domain in the following terms:

"The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States." * * *

The power thus conferred on Congress is as full and complete as the power, conferred by another paragraph of the Constitution, to regulate foreign and interstate commerce. The power of Congress is paramount and plenary in each case. Justice Brewer, in the case of The United States *v.* Rio Grande Co. (174 U. S., 690, 703), declares:

"Although this power of changing the common-law rule as to streams within its dominion undoubtedly belongs to each State, yet two limitations must be recognized: First, that in the absence of specific authority from Congress a State can not by its legislation destroy the right of the United States as the owner of lands bordering on a stream to the continued flow of its waters, so far at least as may be necessary for the beneficial uses of the Government property. Second, that it is limited by the superior power of the General Government to secure the uninterrupted navigability of all navigable streams within the limits of the United States. In other words, the jurisdiction of the General Government over interstate commerce and its natural highways vests in that Government the right to take all needed measures to preserve the navigability of the navigable watercourses of the country even against any State action."

The right of the Federal Government as riparian owner is that of a riparian owner at common law. (Sturr *v.* Beck, 133 U. S., 541; Lux *v.* Haggin, 69 Cal., 336.) This right vested in the Federal Government when it acquired its public domain and of this right it is not divested on the admission of a State into the Union, for this right is expressly reserved by the Constitution. The title of the Federal Government to the public lands in the States where the rule of prior appropriation prevails antedates the admission of those States into the Union, and over that title the Constitution reserved plenary power of disposal and regulation to the Federal Government. It is only when the Federal Government has entirely parted with that title and it has passed into other ownership that the power of regulation on the part of the Federal Government becomes extinct. The water on the riparian land of the Federal Government is an appurtenance of the land of which it can not be divested without its consent, no more than of its riparian lands. In the case of The United States *v.* Winans (198 U. S., 371) it was held that the Federal Government had the power to reserve a fishing right for the Yakima Indians in the Columbia River, and that such reservation, though made when the State was a Territory, bound the future State. And in the case of Winters *v.* The United States (207 U. S., 564) it was held that the Federal Government had the right to reserve the water in the Milk River for the benefit of the Indians and officers of the Government on the Fort Belknap Reservation, in Montana, and that this reservation of the water, though made while Montana was a Territory, bound it after it became a State. The court affirms and asserts the doctrine and rule in these terms:

"Another contention of appellants is that if it be conceded that there was a reservation of the waters of Milk River by the agreement of 1888, yet the reservation was repealed by the admission of Montana into the Union, February 22, 1889 (ch. 180, 25 Stat., 676), 'upon an equal footing with the original States.' The language of counsel is that 'any reservation in the agreement with the Indians, expressed or implied, whereby the waters of Milk River were not to be subject of appropriation by the citizens and inhabitants of said State, was repealed by the act of admission.' But to establish the repeal counsel rely substantially upon the same argument that they advance against the intention of the Government to reserve the waters. The power of the Government to reserve the waters and exempt them from appropriation under the State laws is not denied, and could not be." (The United States *v.* The Rio Grande Ditch & Irrigation Co., 174 U. S., 690, 702; United States *v.* Winans, 198 U. S., 371.)

In the case of Camfield *v.* United States (167 U. S., 518), the court declares:

"While we do not undertake to say that Congress has the unlimited power to legislate against nuisances within a State, which it would have within a Territory, we do not think the admission of a Territory as a State deprives it of the power of legislating for the protection of the public lands, though it may thereby involve the exercise of what is ordinarily known as the police power, so long as such power is directed solely to its own protection. A different rule would place the public domain of the United States completely at the mercy of State legislation."

These opinions of the Supreme Court of the United States have been concurred in by some of the courts of those States in which the rule of prior appropriation prevails.

Judge Rudkin, of the Supreme Court of the State of Washington (now a Federal district judge), in the case of Kendall *v.* Joyce (48 Wash., 492–493), declares:

"It has never been contended that a mere squatter on public land who subsequently sells out or abandons his claim acquires, or can acquire, riparian rights in a stream flowing through the land. Riparian rights are a mere incident to ownership in the soil, and, while they may relate back by fiction of law to the date of the settlement or filing, by virtue of the patent subsequently issued, yet they do not vest until patent issues, for up to that time the patent to the land with all its incidents is vested in the United States, utterly beyond the power or control of State legislatures. And the party thereafter acquiring title from the Government acquires the land with all its incidents."

In the case of Cruse *v.* M'Cauley (96 Fed. Rep., 369), the United States Circuit Court for Montana, through Judge Knowles, declares:

"It must be conceded that the United States, as the proprietor of the land over which the South Fork of McDonald Creek flowed, had a right to the flow of the waters thereof over its land, as an incident thereto. In the eastern part of Montana the United States acquired its title to land by virtue of what is called the "Louisiana Purchase." There can not be one rule as to the right to the flow of water over its lands in Montana and another rule as to its lands in Iowa and Missouri. In these last-named States there can be no doubt of the rule that the National Government would be entitled to water which is an incident to its land. As the United States then owns the waters which are an incident to its lands, it can dispose of them separate from its lands if it chooses. Section 2339, Revised Statutes, provides:

"'Whenever by priority of possession, rights to the use of water for mining, agricultural, manufacturing, or other purposes, have vested and accrued and the same are recognized and acknowledged by the local customs, laws, and decisions of courts, the possessors and owners of such vested rights shall be maintained and protected in the same.'

"The practical construction of this statute has been that, as long as land belonged to the United States, the waters flowing over the same was subject to appropriation for any of the purposes named, when such appropriation was recognized by the local customs, laws, or decisions of the courts. But if the water was not so appropriated when it flowed over the public domain, it was not subject to appropriation after the land over which it flowed became private property. Patents of the United States to lands contain this clause:

"'Subject to any vested and accrued water rights for mining, agricultural, manufacturing, or other purposes,' etc.

"Certainly this means subject to such water rights as existed at the time when the patent took effect. * * *

"If a person receives a patent from the United States for land subject only to accrued water rights—that is, existing water rights—and as an incident to or a part of this land there is water flowing over the same or upon the same, he would have all the rights the United States had at that time. I do not think any State law or custom can take away such rights, except for some public purpose."

The Federal Government has the undoubted right to lease its riparian and other lands with all their appurtenances. (United States *v.* Gratiot, 14 Pet., 526.)

Congress has also the undoubted power to create and establish forest reserves on the lands of the United States within any State and to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to make proper rules and regulations for the use of the same and to charge a compensation for the use of any portion of the reservation, and such a statute amounts to a revocation of the implied license to graze the public lands, referred to and sustained in the case of Buford *v.* Houtz (133 U. S., 320). (See United States *v.* Grimaud, 220 U. S., 506; Light *v.* United States, 220 U. S., 523.)

In this connection it may be observed that the right to occupy and use the public lands of the United States for canals and ditches, for the appropriation of water for agricultural and mining purposes, is based upon and conferred by the following acts: July 26, 1866 (R. S., sec. 2339), and July 9, 1870 (R. S., sec. 2340). There is, in addition to these acts, the right-of-way law contained in the act of March 3, 1891. (26 Stat., p. 1101.) It is through these laws, and not by virtue of any State authority, that the use of the public domain for the appropriation of water is conferred and acquired.

It is further to be noted that the act of June 25, 1910 (36 Stat., 847), confers the following-described power upon the President in these terms:

"That the President may, at any time in his discretion, temporarily withdraw from settlement, location, sale, or entry any of the public lands of the United States, including the District of Alaska, and reserve the same for water-power sites, irrigation, classification of lands, or other public purposes to be specified in the orders of withdrawals, and such withdrawals or reservations shall remain in force until revoked by him or by an act of Congress."

In the light of the constitutional provision and of the interpretation placed upon it by the decisions of the Supreme Court and other courts in respect to this subject, it seems clear that the Federal Government, through Congress, has the power to lease its riparian lands, with the waters appurtenant thereto, situate within the several States, for such a period, on such terms, and for such rent as Congress in its discretion may prescribe, but the lessee would at most only acquire the common-law usufruct in the water of the appurtenant stream, as defined by Chancellor Kent and Chief Justice Shaw.

THE POWER OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT UNDER THE INTERSTATE-COMMERCE CLAUSE OF THE CONSTITUTION.

For the purpose of promoting and regulating foreign and interstate commerce Congress is given plenary power over all the navigable waters of the United States, to the end of improving and maintaining their navigability; and this power is not limited to the navigable sections of streams, but extends to the tributaries and feeders of the same, for without the control of these the power over the navigable sections might become wholly impotent. (United States *v.* Rio Grande Co., 174 U. S., 690.) Neither can any limits be placed upon the methods of improving the navigability of streams nor upon the means by which commerce can be carried on upon the same.

Science has in recent years evoked from the great storehouse of nature the hidden and well-nigh limitless power of electricity and utilized the same in various ways for the promotion of commerce, industry, and the domestic and social well-being of mankind. The bounds of such power and use can not well be defined or foretold. That such power has become and may still much further become one of the great instrumentalities of commerce is evident. While sail, aside from the oar, was the only known motive power on water the limits of navigation was confined to tide water. The discoverey of steam extended navigation on our streams far beyond the limits of tide water, and who can tell how much further hydroelectrical power generated by a dam in a stream may extend navigation on that or some other stream? The water in a stream may not only be used to float and carry a vessel, a boat, or a barge, but it may also be used to furnish the motive power for the navigation of the same. And a dam erected in a stream carrying interstate commerce can well be utilized for this double purpose; and Congress, having jurisdiction over the improvement and regulation of an interstate navigable stream, has ample power to resort to all reasonable means for the improvement of navigation and the promotion of commerce on such a stream. (Gibbons *v.* Ogden, 9 Wheat., 1.)

If, for the purpose of improving the navigability of a stream carrying interstate commerce, the Federal Government constructs and maintains a dam, with locks and gates, on its riparian lands or on lands in which it has acquired an easement for such construction and maintenance, the Government has the undoubted right to establish and maintain, in connection with such dam, an electric power plant for the purpose of furnishing motive power to operate such locks and gates. And the Federal Government has the right to sell, lease, or rent, for compensation, any surplus power that may arise from and be an incident to such an improvement of navigation. (Kaukauna Water Power Co. *v.* Green Bay & Mississippi Canal Co., 142 U. S., 254.)

This case relates to the construction of a dam for purposes of navigation and the use of the surplus water incident thereto. In 1846, Congress made a grant of land to the State of Wisconsin for the improvement of the navigation of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers. The State assumed the grant and the work. In the act of assumption it was provided among other things:

"Whenever a water power shall be created by reason of any dam erected or other improvements made on any of said rivers, such water power shall belong to the State, subject to the future action of the legislature."

The court, in passing upon the effect of this reservation to the State, declares:

"But if, in the erection of a public dam for a recognized public purpose, there is necessarily produced a surplus of water, which may properly be used for manufacturing purposes, there is no sound reason why the State may not retain to itself the power of controlling or disposing of such water as an incident of its right to make such improvement. Indeed, it might become very necessary to retain the disposition of it in its own hands, in order to preserve at all times a sufficient supply for the purposes of navigation. If the riparian owners were allowed to tap the pond at different places and draw off the water for their own use, serious consequences might arise, not only in connection with the public demand for the purposes of navigation, but between the riparian owners themselves as to the proper proportion each was entitled to draw—controversies which could only be avoided by the State reserving to itself the immediate supervision of the entire supply. As there is no need of the surplus running to waste, there was nothing objectionable in permitting the State to let out the use of it to private parties, and thus reimburse itself for the expenses of the improvement."

The court, after further comments and the citation of three Ohio cases, adds:

"The true distinction seems to be between cases where the dam is erected for the express or apparent purpose of obtaining a water power to lease to private individuals, or where in building a dam for a public improvement a wholly unnecessary excess of water is created, and cases where the surplus is a mere incident to the public improvement and a reasonable provision for securing an adequate supply of water at all times for such improvement."

Also, see Green Bay Co. *v.* Patten Co. (172 U. S., 58), relating to the same water power and dam after the Federal Government had taken over the work and improvement.

In general, it may be said that whenever the Federal Government is engaged in improving the navigability of a stream on which there is interstate commerce, if by reason and in consequence of such improvement, and as an incident thereto, surplus power is created, the Federal Government has the right to lease or sell such power on such terms and for such compensation as it may deem just.

Congress, as in the case of Wisconsin, Ohio, and other States, can delegate the work of improving portions of navigable rivers to States, municipalities, private corporations, and individuals, and if in connection with such improvement and as an incident thereto surplus power is created, Congress may authorize those to whom the right of improvement is delegated to lease and secure compensation for such surplus power. In such cases those to whom the power of making the improvement is delegated are the agents for and stand in place of the Federal Government. But unless such work of improvement is primarily made for the purpose of improving the navigation on streams or other waters carrying interstate commerce the Federal Government could not confer the power to obtain compensation for the use of the water.

Provision has been made in several acts of Congress for the utilization of surplus water power on navigable streams. In a part of the cases the dam or other improvement has been carried on and made directly by the United States; in other cases by private parties. Senate Document No. 57, first session Sixty-second Congress (see Exhibit B, appended hereto), contains a list of the cases where so-called water-power privileges have been granted. The case of the Black Warrior River in Alabama has been added to the document since it was issued.

ANSWER TO THE INTERROGATORIES PROPOUNDED IN THE RESOLUTION.

Coming now, in the light of the Constitution and of the construction and interpretation put upon it by the courts in the authorities we have cited, to the direct consideration of the interrogatories propounded in the foregoing resolution, and before attempting to directly respond to the same, it must be borne in mind that it is always difficult to give a satisfactory and instructive answer to a hypothetical or abstract question. It is much easier to solve a concrete case.

As to the first interrogatory, the only answer we can make is this: That whether a stream is navigable or nonnavigable, State or interstate, the rights of the Federal Government as riparian owner are practically the same; and barring any power that may rest in the Federal Government under the commerce clause of the Constitution, that Government has manifestly the right to lease, for compensation and on such terms as it sees fit, its riparian lands with the water appurtenant thereto, but the lessee would not acquire a greater right or interest in such water than the usufruct as defined by the common law, and such right or interest would be subject to and charged with any right acquired under the act of July 26, 1866. (R. S., sec. 2339.) The Federal Government has no water power aside from the usufruct to lease in such case, and if the utilization of the water in a stream is sought beyond such usufruct and for other purposes authority therefor must be obtained from the State where the residuary power over the water resides.

Responding to the second interrogatory, we are of the opinion, divorcing the question from riparian rights, that the Federal Government, in authorizing the construction and maintenance of a dam on a navigable stream by States, municipalities, or private parties for the chief and primary purpose of improving the navigation of the stream has the same right to prescribe the terms and compensation for the use of the surplus power created as an incident to the main improvement as the Government would have in case it had itself built the dam or made the improvement, and that the Government having delegated the power of building such dam to private parties might well confer upon them as compensation for the work thus undertaken the right to do what the Government itself could do in case it had itself constructed the work. In this connection, and as a further response to the interrogatory, it must be noted that the mere grant by the Federal Government of authority to construct a dam in a navigable river, not for purposes of navigation, but really for the creation of a water power, is merely a license or permit, the effect of which is that if the dam is constructed and operated conformable to plans approved by the Government it will not be deemed an obstruction or impediment to navigation. And in such case the Government would be authorized to charge a nominal license fee for inspecting and passing upon the plans and for watching over the work to see that it conforms to the plans and is properly maintained; but the regulative power of the Government would not extend to the use of the water for other purposes than navigation and interstate commerce. In such a case it seems to us that the Federal Government has no water power to sell or charge compensation for, for it is only authorized by the Constitution to regulate interstate and foreign commerce, which in this case means navigation.

As to the third interrogatory, it may be remarked that it has in part been responded to in the answer to the first interrogatory. And as a further answer we will add that the Federal Government has under the Constitution plenary power to sell or lease its riparian lands with the water appurtenant thereto, and that if on any such land there is a water-power site, that, as a part of the riparian land, can of course be sold or leased. The Federal Government has no water power distinct or separable from its riparian lands or any water-power site on the same. The only water power the Federal Government owns is the common-law usufruct in the water appurtenant to its riparian lands. In leasing its riparian lands with their appurtenant water, which is all the Government has to lease within the limits of a State, it can no doubt prescribe such terms as it sees fit in respect to rent, duration of lease, and the uses to which the leased premises may be put. It can say in its lease to the lessee, "If you succeed in creating and maintaining a water power on the premises I lease you, you will be required to rent such power on such and such terms. This condition will be in your lease; without it I will not lease you the premises. If you accept a lease with this condition and fail to comply with the condition, your lease will be forfeited." In this connection it must be borne in mind, however, that the leasing of the water-power site as a part of the riparian lands of the Federal Government does not in and of itself confer the right to create a water power. At most, as we have already stated, it merely confers the common-law right of usufruct in the water. If any other or further use of the water in the stream is required, the right to such use must be obtained from State authority, and therefore it is difficult to see how water power can be established in such cases without the cooperation or consent of the State.

Several acts have been passed by Congress relating to obstructions, and the construction of dams, in navigable rivers. Among these, to which we call your attention, is the act of September 19, 1890 (26 Stat., 426), which contains important provisions for the removal or change in bridges that are found to be an obstruction to navigation by the Secretary of War, and other provisions relating to the construction of wharves, piers, bridges, etc.

The act of July 13, 1892 (27 Stat., 88), relates particularly to the construction of wharves, piers, and bridges over navigable waters, and requires the approval of the Secretary of War for any improvement or bridge. (See sec. 3, p. 110.)

Section 10 of the act of March 3, 1899 (30 Stat., 1121), prohibits the creation of any obstruction to the navigable capacity of any of the waters in the United States not affirmatively authorized by Congress, etc., and prohibits the construction of any breakwater, jetty, or other obstruction in any river or water of the United States, except on plans recommended by the Chief of Engineers and authorized by the Secretary of War. Section 9 of the same act prohibits the construction of any bridge, dam, etc., over any navigable river without the consent of Congress and without the approval of plans by the Chief of Engineers and Secretary of War.

The act of June 21, 1906 (34 Stat., 386), relates to the construction of dams by parties other than the Federal Government, and the act of June 23, 1910 (36 Stat., 593), is amendatory of the preceding act, and lays down many important rules and regulations for the construction of dams in navigable rivers, etc.

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VIEWS OF SENATOR CULBERSON.

Sovereignty, dominion, and control of the flowing waters of all streams, navigable or otherwise, within its borders are reserved to a State, subject only to such powers as are vested in the Federal Government by the commerce clause of the Constitution, and such rights as may accrue to it as the actual owners of riparian lands.

"The opinion (in Shively *v.* Bowlby, 152 U. S., 1) refers to all the cases which we have above cited and many others upon the various questions which are discussed in the case and recognizes the rule that it belongs to the States to decide as to the character and extent of the riparian rights of owners upon navigable streams within such States.

"The jurisdiction of the State over this question of riparian ownership has been always, and from the foundation of the Government, recognized and admitted by this court. (Water Power Co. *v.* Water Commissioners, 168 U. S., 366.)

"While this is undoubted, and the rule obtains in those States in the Union which have simply adopted the common law, it is also true that as to every stream within its dominion the State may change this common-law rule and permit the appropriation of the flowing waters for such purposes as it deems wise. * * *

"Although this power of changing the common-law rule as to streams within its dominion undoubtedly belongs to each State, yet two limitations must be recognized: First. That in the absence of specific authority from Congress the State can not by its legislation destroy the right of the United States as the owner of lands bordering on a stream to the continued flow of its waters, so far at least as may be necessary for the beneficial uses of the Government's property. Second. That it is limited by the superior power of the General Government to secure the uninterrupted navigability of all navigable streams within the limits of the United States. (U. S. *v.* Rio Grande Co., 174 U. S., 702–703.)

"Grants by Congress of portions of the public lands within a Territory to settlers thereon, though bordering on or bounded by navigable waters, convey of their own force no title or right below high-water mark and do not impair the title and dominion of the future State when created, but leave the question of the use of the shores by the owners of uplands to the sovereign control of each State, subject only to the rights vested by the Constitution of the United States. (Shively *v.* Bowlby, 152 U. S., 58.)

"But it is useless to pursue the inquiry further in this direction. It is enough for the purpose of this case that each State has full jurisdiction over the lands within its borders, including the beds of the streams and other waters [citing numerous authorities]. (Kansas *v.* Colorado, 206 U. S., 93.)

"As to those lands within the limits of the States, at least of the Western States, the National Government is the most considerable owner and has power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting its property. We do not mean that its legislation can override State laws in respect to the general subject of reclamation." (Ib., p. 92.)

The fact that a stream may constitute the boundary between the United States and a foreign country does not change the general rule. Concerning a question of riparian right on the Sault Ste. Marie River, the boundary river between the United States and Canada, the court said: "The fact that it is a boundary has not been held to make a difference"; that is, a difference in the rule of law applying to riparian rights in the State of Michigan. (U. S. *v.* Chandler-Dunbar, etc., 209 U. S., 453.)

It being clear, then, that dominion, sovereignty, and control of the flowing waters of a navigable stream within its borders rest with the State, and that it may enact such laws as it deems suitable for the disposition and control of such waters for manufacturing, irrigation, or other industrial purposes, so long as the navigability of the stream is not affected, can the National Government, eliminating here the question of its possible actual riparian ownership on the borders of a stream, exercise similar power; and if so, under what warrant? Clearly, not at all, unless it be under the commerce clause of the Constitution. As to this, Senator NELSON, in his confidential report to the Judiciary Committee, says, on page 11:

"If, for the purpose of improving the navigability of a stream carrying interstate commerce, the Federal Government constructs and maintains a dam, with locks and gates, the Government has the undoubted right to establish and maintain, in connection with such dam, an electric power plant for the purpose of furnishing motive power to operate such locks and gates. And the Federal Government has the right to sell, lease, or rent, for compensation, any surplus power that may arise from and be an incident to such an improvement of navigation." (Kaukana Water Power Co. *v.* Green Bay & Mississippi Canal Co., 142 U. S. 254.)

And on page 12:

"Also, see Green Bay Co. *v.* Patten Co. (172 U. S., 58), relating to the same water power and dam after the Federal Government had taken over the work of improvement.

"In general, it may be said that whenever the Federal Government is engaged in improving the navigability of a stream on which there is interstate commerce, if by reason and in consequence of such improvement, and as an incident thereto, surplus power is created, the Federal Government has the right to lease or sell such power on such terms and for such compensation as it may deem just."

And, on page 13:

"Responding to the second interrogatory, we are of the opinion, divorcing the question from riparian rights, that the Federal Government, in authorizing the construction and maintenance of a dam on a navigable stream by States, municipalities, or private parties, for the chief and primary purpose of improving the navigation of the stream, has the same right to prescribe the terms and compensation for the use of the surplus power, created as an incident to the main improvement, as the Government would have in case it had itself built the dam or made the improvement, and that the Government having delegated the power of building such dam to private parties, might well confer upon them as compensation for the work thus undertaken the right to do what the Government itself could do in case it had itself constructed the work."

The propositions laid down above are believed to be too broad. The exercise of such a power by the National Government is inconsistent with the established rule that such control of the waters rests exclusively with the State. It might result in the National Government leasing, selling, giving away, creating a monopoly in all the flowing waters within a State, or in its exercising such power at one point on a navigable stream under rules, regulations, and upon terms different from and in actual conflict with the rules, regulations, and terms established by the State for all other portions of the stream within its borders. As intimated by the Supreme Court in Kansas *v.* Colorado (206 U. S., 92), the National Government would be without power to adopt such a course with reference to lands which it actually owned and wholly controlled within the limits of a State: "We do not mean that its (the National Government's) legislation can override State laws in respect to the general subject of reclamation."

To sustain the right of the Federal Government to dispose of surplus power and water incidentally created in the course of improving the navigability of a stream, reliance is placed upon two decisions of the Supreme Court, i. e., in the cases of Kaukana Water Power Co. *v.* Green Bay & Mississippi Canal Co. (142 U. S., 254) and Green Bay, etc., Co. *v.* Patten Co. (172 U. S., 58).

The case first cited is not in point. The right of the Federal Government to sell or dispose of incidentally created surplus water power was not involved.

Briefly, the facts in this case were: Congress granted public lands to the future State of Wisconsin for the improvement of the navigation of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers. The State accepted the grant and undertook the work of improving the Fox River, reserving to itself all water powers created and appurtenant to such improvement, "subject to future action of the legislature." Unable to complete the work, the State incorporated and transferred to an improvement company the incomplete work, vesting in the company complete title to all the improvements, water powers to be created, rights, powers, and franchises. The improvement company mortgaged the property, was unable to meet its indebtedness, the mortgage was foreclosed, and complete title passed under foreclosure sale to the Green Bay & Mississippi Canal Co., the appellee.

This company in turn became seized in fee of all the improvements and all the appurtenant rights, powers, and franchises. Finding the operation of the dam and canal unprofitable, this company in turn sold the improvements to the United States Government, reserving, however, to itself the water power created by the dam and the use of surplus water not required for purposes of navigation. Another company, claiming the right as a riparian owner, thereafter attempted to draw water from the pond formed by the dam, and thus deprive the Green Bay Co. of its use, control, and dominion over it. The Supreme Court of Wisconsin directed an injunction against the intruding company, and the case went to the Supreme Court of the United States on the ground that it involved the validity of a State statute, because repugnant to the Constitution of the United States. Mr. Justice Brown, for the court, among other things, said (p. 272):

"With respect to such rights (riparian rights) we have held that the law of the State, as declared by its supreme court, is controlling as a rule of property." (Barney *v.* Keokuk, 94 U. S., 324, etc.)

Upon the question as to the validity of the State statute, he said (p. 273):

"But if, in the erection of a public dam for a recognized public purpose, there is necessarily produced a surplus of water, which may properly be used for manufacturing purposes, there is no sound reason why the State may not retain to itself the power of controlling or disposing of such water as an incident of its right to make such an improvement."

There is, indeed, no sound reason for denying such a right to the State. Such a right is entirely consistent with the doctrine of the State's dominion and sovereignty over the flowing waters of the navigable streams within its borders. But there is no word in the entire opinion in regard to the power of the Federal Government to assert and reserve such a right, and certainly there can be no parity in application of the construction of a rule dealing with the reserved rights of the State to the limited constitutional grants to the National Government. What there is sound reason for conceding to the State, there is under the circumstances equally as sound reason for denying to the Federal Government. The first proposition from the report quoted supra gains no support from the case cited.

The other case, that of Green Bay, etc., Canal Co. *v.* Patten Paper Co. (172 U. S., 58), is another suit against the same company as above. In this suit the right of the United States to control and dispose of the surplus waters created by the improvement to navigation heretofore described was brought directly into question. As said by Mr. Justice Shiras for the court (pp. 68–69):

"Whether the water power, incidentally created by the erection and maintenance of the dam and canal for the purpose of navigation in Fox River, is subject to control and appropriation by the United States, owning and operating those public works, or by the State of Wisconsin, within whose limits Fox River lies, is the decisive question in this case.

"Upon the undisputed facts contained in the record we think it clear that the canal company is possessed of whatever rights to the use of this incidental water power that could be validly granted by the United States."

The court then reviews the history of the whole enterprise, i. e., the granting of land by act of Congress to the future State of Wisconsin for the express purpose of the improvement of the navigation of the river; the acceptance of the grant by the legislature of the State and the accompanying express reservation of title in the State to the water power incidentally created "subject to the future action of the legislature"; the act authorizing the relinquishment of such water powers to the persons undertaking the work of improvement; the act creating a corporation authorized to undertake the work and take all the powers, rights, and franchises possessed by the State; the failure of the company so created, foreclosure of the mortgage, and acquirement of all its property, rights, and powers at the sale by purchasers, who were incorporated under another act of the legislature, specifically investing them with such rights, powers, franchises, etc.; the sale by this last company (appellant in this case) of all the property to the United States Government, under an act of the Legislature of Wisconsin authorizing the sale and an act of Congress providing for the purchase, and the reservation by the company in its conveyance of title to the personal property, water powers, and appurtenances. With reference to this reservation by the company the court said (p. 80):

"The substantial meaning of the transaction was that the United States granted to the canal company the right to continue in the possession and enjoyment of the water powers and the lots appurtenant thereto, subject to the rights and control of the United States as owning and operating the public works, and that the United States were credited with the appraised value of the water powers and appurtenances and the articles of personal property. The method by which this arrangement was perfected, namely, by a reservation in the deed, was an apt one, and quite as efficacious as if the entire property had been conveyed to the United States by one deed, and the reserved properties had been reconveyed to the canal company by another.

"So far, therefore, as the water powers and appurtenant lots are regarded as property, it is plain that the title of the canal company thereto can not be controverted; and we think it is equally plain that the mode and extent of the use and enjoyment of such property by the canal company fall within the sole control of the United States. At what points in the dam and canal the water for power may be withdrawn, and the quantity which can be treated as surplus with due regard to navigation, must be determined by the authority which owns and controls that navigation. In such matters there can be no divided empire.

Evidently questioning the inherent right of the National Government under the Constitution to dispose of this surplus water power by virtue of its ownership of the dam, the court adopted the fiction of transfer and retransfer, so that the chain of title might be complete and a foundation laid for the Government's claim of authority to dispose of the surplus water. An abstract of the title would begin then with the acknowledged ownership by the State of the entire property, including the right to control and dispose of the surplus water power, and continuing, through the transfer by the State of its title and all appurtenant rights and powers to the first company; the foreclosure sale under mortgage and purchase by the second company, vesting it in turn with the complete title and all appurtenant rights and powers; the transfer by the second company to the national company of its title and all appurtenant rights and powers, all these transfers being duly authorized by acts of the Wisconsin Legislature; and finally the retransfer of the right to the use and enjoyment of such water powers by the Government to the second company, but a retention of all other property conveyed, including whatever power of control may have been vested in the company by the State. As Mr. Justice Shiras says (p. 76):

"We have here the case of a water power incidental to the construction and maintenance of a public work and, from the nature of the case, subject to the control of the public authorities, in this instance the United States."

And, at page 79:

"The legal effect and import of the sale and conveyance by the canal company were to vest absolute ownership in the improvement and appurtenances in the United States, which proprietary rights thereby became added to the jurisdiction and control that the United States possessed over the Fox River as a navigable river."

In other words, the United States bought the right to dispose of this surplus water power. It never possessed it under the commerce clause of the Constitution giving it control of the navigation of the river. It was a proprietary right, coming down by regular conveyance from the State of Wisconsin. The National Government always had the right under the Constitution to prevent the State of Wisconsin, or its successors in title to this dam and appurtenances, from destroying or impairing the navigability of the river by an improvident diversion of the flowing waters, but it never had the right, until it acquired it by purchase, of disposing of the surplus water power so created, and the court does not say it did. The State had such a right, and the court in the first case, supra, specifically recognized not only its right but its power to dispose of it.

So far as the authority of the National Government in the premises is concerned, what this case really does decide, and that is not now an open question, and was not so then, is, that the National Government has plenary power to maintain the navigability of streams uninterrupted, and further, that in the exercise of that power, it can determine at what points in its dams erected in aid of navigation water may be withdrawn, the quantity that may be withdrawn so far as it affects the question of navigability, and all other matters affecting that question solely. As is said by the court (p. 80): "In such matters there can be no divided empire." The power to sell surplus water incidentally created by improvements in aid of navigation is not given the National Government, in terms at least, by the Constitution.

The sole and exclusive right of the States to control the disposition of the flowing waters within their boundaries, limited only by nonimpairment of the riparian rights (under the State system) of the Government as an actual owner of lands, and noninterference with the maintenance and improvement of the navigation of streams, has been too repeatedly and too strongly confirmed by the Supreme Court to be now questioned, and this reserved and valuable right would be seriously impaired—sometimes, perhaps, entirely destroyed—if the National Government, under the guise of aiding navigation, could exercise a precisely similar, but paramount, right at will. Here, too, there should be "no divided empire." The National Government has the undoubted power to see to it that the navigability of streams is maintained when they are in fact navigable, and that right is granted to it by the Constitution of the United States. The State has the undoubted right to control the disposition of the waters within its limits, subject only to the limitations stated, and that right has been repeatedly confirmed by the Supreme Court. Neither should seek to invade the province of the other. In Kansas *v.* Colorado (206 U. S., 88), Mr. Justice Brewer said:

"Yet, while so construed (that is, broadly), it still is true that no independent and unmentioned power passes to the National Government or can rightfully be exercised by the Congress."

The power to seize upon and dispose of the flowing waters of a State would be both independent and unmentioned. Assertion of the existence of such power under the second paragraph of section 3 of Article IV of the Constitution, providing "The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States," etc.

was made by counsel for the United States Government intervening, apparently, upon the theory that the National Government, being a large owner of arid lands in the Western States, might enter into a general scheme of reclamation, and, consequently, had an interest in the controversy between the States as to the disposal of the waters of the Arkansas River—the boundary between them. The contention of the Government met with no favor, the court stating emphatically that no such power had been granted and none could be exercised. Conceding, however, that so far as its own lands were concerned, the National Government had power to make all needful rules and regulations, the court materially qualified this declaration by adding:

"We do not mean that its legislation can override State laws in respect to the general subject of reclamation." (Ib., p. 92.)

VIEWS OF SENATOR O'GORMAN.

The title, ownership, and dominion over navigable waters are vested in the several States abutting thereon, subject to the rights delegated by the States to the Federal Government.

The power conferred by the Constitution of the United States upon Congress "to regulate commerce" comprehends control of the rivers for that purpose only. Before the Revolution the right of dominion and ownership in the rivers, bays, and arms of the sea and the soils under them resided in the Crown, and, as stated by Chief Justice Taney in the leading case of Martin *v.* Waddell (16 Peter, 367), "when the Revolution took place the people of each State became themselves sovereign; and in that character hold the absolute right to all their navigable waters and the soils under them for their own common use, subject only to the rights since surrendered by the Constitution to the General Government."

To the same effect Shively *v.* Bowlby (152 U. S., 1) and Knight *v.* U. S. Land Association (142 U. S., 161).

In Illinois *v.* People (146 U. S., 387) the court said:

"It is the settled rule of this country that the ownership of, and dominion and sovereignty over, lands covered by tidewaters within the limits of the several States belong to the respective States within which they are found, and with the consequent right to use or dispose of any portion thereof, when that can be done without substantial impairment of the interest of the public in the waters, and subject always to the paramount right of Congress to control their navigation, so far as may be necessary for the regulation of commerce with foreign nations and among the States. This doctrine has often been announced by this court and is not questioned by counsel of any of the parties."

In Kansas *v.* Colorado (206 U. S., 46) it was said:

"The Government of the United States is one of enumerated powers; that it has no inherent powers of sovereignty; that the enumeration of the powers granted is to be found in the Constitution of the United States, and in that alone; that the manifest purpose of the tenth amendment to the Constitution is to put beyond dispute the proposition that all powers not granted are reserved to the people, and that if in the changes of the years further powers ought to be possessed by Congress they must be obtained by a new grant from the people. While Congress has general legislative jurisdiction over the Territories and may control the flow of waters in their streams, it has no power to control a like flow within the limits of a State, except to preserve or improve the navigability of the stream; that the full control over those waters is, subject to the exception named, vested in the State."

In United States *v.* Rio Grande (174 U. S., 709) Mr. Justice Brewer, alluding to the limited and restricted function of the National Government in relation to navigation, said:

"The Hudson River runs within the limits of the State of New York. It is a navigable stream and a part of the navigable waters of the United States, so far at least as from Albany southward. One of the streams which flows into it and contributes to the volume of its waters is the Croton River, a nonnavigable stream. Its waters are taken by the State of New York for domestic uses in the city of New York. Unquestionably the State of New York has a right to appropriate its waters and the United States may not question such appropriation, unless thereby the navigability of the Hudson be disturbed."

These authorities establish the proposition that the ownership of the waters and soil of navigable streams is in the State, and that the Federal Government has no right or power to interfere with the State's property except for the purpose of preserving or improving the navigability of a river. The surplus water or power produced as an incident to the public improvement made by the Government in aid of navigation belongs to the State. Under the commerce clause the Government acquires no title or property interest whatever in the river or bed thereof. The Constitution confers a naked power to regulate commerce; nothing more. The title of the State remains unimpaired, both as to the water and as to the soil. There is no power expressed or implied in the Constitution justifying the claim that the Federal Government may appropriate such surplus water or power. The assertion of such a right would constitute an interference with and confiscation of the property of the State by the Federal Government. The State is the owner of its natural resources, and, within its properly reserved power, has an absolute right to make use of its property, including the water power of its rivers, subject only to the limitation that it can not impede commerce and navigation.

The right of the Government to sell or lease its own property does not justify this attempted appropriation of the property of a State. Section 3, article 4, of the Constitution is a grant of power to the United States of control over its own property, but what belongs to the State can not be the property of the Federal Government.

The United States is not authorized by any of the enumerated powers to engage in the business of manufacturing, transmitting, or selling electrical power, whether at cost or for a profit; and the commerce clause was never designed to permit the Federal Government to secure revenue or profit as an incident to the promotion of the facilities of navigation.

Federal expenditures must be reimbursed exclusively through taxation. The function of taxation is to secure sufficient money to perform the delegated governmental functions. This power was limited by section 8, article 1, as follows:

"The Congress shall have the power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States."

The Constitution merely permits regulation in the interest of navigation and commerce by the Federal Government. Regulation does not mean appropriation or confiscation of the rights of a State in its natural resources.

The contention in favor of the right of the Federal Government to lease the excess water power is without authority or reason to sustain it. Kaukana Co. *v.* Green Bay (142 U. S., 254) and Green Bay Co. *v.* Patten (172 U. S., 58) are not in point and do not support the proposition. The commerce clause was not involved in either case. In the former case the controversy arose between a State and a riparian owner, and in the latter case the right of the Federal Government grew out of a grant and was not based upon the commerce clause.

The claim is made that the Government's improvement creates the excess power, but the fact is that the water that produces the power concededly belongs to the State, and the only effect of the improvement by the Government is to enlarge the potentiality of the State's water at the point of improvement.

The Government has no more right to claim ownership of the increase of the water than the State or a riparian owner would have to require the Government to make compensation for impairment of the stream at other points resulting from the improvement. Where depreciation is necessarily caused by the improvement for navigation the State must bear the loss; where appreciation results from the improvement the State is entitled to the gain. In either case the property affected belongs to the State. As we have seen, the title of the State includes the water as well as the bed of the rivers. The right of the State, under its title, to appropriate the water, subject only to the power of the Government under the commerce clause, is recognized by the cases cited, and the State's title necessarily excludes dominion over its waters by the Government except for the single purpose above indicated. The Government may improve navigation; it can not confiscate the property of the State.

Infantile Paralysis.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. GALLIVAN,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. GALLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I am exceedingly sorry that the sundry civil appropriation bill passed unanimously by this House has failed to receive the consideration of the honorable Senate. In that bill appeared an item for $400,000 for the study and prevention of epidemics, and it has been my good fortune to have been successful in persuading the Committee on Appropriations to include in the list of epidemics, for the prevention of which this money was to have been expended, the terrible scourge known as infantile paralysis. At the opening of this session of Congress I introduced a bill calling for a Federal appropriation for an intensive study of the disease, and the committee very generously responded with its approval.

The bill is as follows:

A bill (H. R. 17851) authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to expend the sum of $250,000 on an intensive study of infantile paralysis.

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and hereby is, authorized to expend, through the Public Health Service of the United States, the sum of $250,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise provided for, on an intensive study of infantile paralysis.

Anterior poliomyelitis, or infantile paralysis, is perhaps the most dreaded disease from which human beings suffer. In other acute infectious diseases the patient either dies or recovers, and the recovery means usually complete restoration to the normal of the functions of the individual. In this disease, when death does not end the infection, recovery is associated in most cases with paralysis and deformity which cripple the individual for the rest of his days.

Another source of horror is the insidious onset of the disease, which often appears out of a clear sky. A child may go to bed in a perfectly healthy condition, as far as external appearances indicate, and wake up in the morning a cripple for life.

Medical research has furnished no satisfactory explanation of the method of transmission of the disease, so that health authorities and parents are at a loss to determine what precautions to take to protect children against infection. One group of theorists claim that the transmission is by means of uncooked food; a second group believe that insect carriers, such as the flea, transfer the infection from the diseased to the healthy, while the dominant group are of the opinion that transmission from a sick child to a susceptible one occurs through the medium of human carriers who have been in contact with cases or who have suffered from the disease and who carry the virus in the secretions of the nose or elsewhere, perhaps without undergoing true infection themselves.

Laboratory research in determining the method of transmission is difficult or impossible on a comprehensive scale for most laboratories, because the disease is only transmissible, outside of man, to monkeys, and among these particularly the anthropoid apes. Adequate research is only possible to organizations of investigators who are backed by unlimited resources. These conditions are found in America only in the Rockefeller Institute and the National Medical Services.

FACTS WHICH ARE KNOWN.

1. Epidemics such as the recent one in Sweden and the present one here are national in their spread, as the health authorities of New York, Chicago, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Boston will testify.

2. The disease is due to a minute bacterium discovered in America by Flexner and Lewis, and first cultivated in America by Noguchi. (Rosenow and Herzog have found bacteria other than this virus in cultures made from the tonsils, spinal cord, and other tissues of patients who died of the disease, and claim to have reproduced the disease in rabbits. Most observers, however, who have made cultures during life from the spinal fluid, or promptly after death from the tissues, find only the Flexner virus, and look upon the bacteria described by Rosenow and Herzog as secondary infecting agents, and not the primary cause of the disease.)

3. The virus will live outside the body in 50 per cent glycerin solution for a period of six months.

4. Outside of the spinal cord where the virus leads to the destruction of the nerve cells of the anterior horns, giving rise to the characteristic paralysis with deformity, it has been shown by Flexner to be present in the nasal secretion of patients. (Observers at Johns Hopkins Hospital claim to have found the virus in the intestinal tract of patients who died of the disease.)

5. The virus has been obtained from the nasal secretions of patients in the Swedish epidemic up to 204 days after the attack.

6. The susceptibility of children to the disease is limited to a small percentage. But there is no means of knowing which children among a given group will be picked out by the disease and converted into cripples for life.

7. The virus has a peculiar affinity for the tissues of the spinal cord and brain.

The disease process is a low-grade inflammation with a long incubation period and resembles the slower infections, such as typhoid fever, rather than the very acute processes, such as scarlet fever and measles. When sufficient harm has been done to the cells of the central nervous system the disease symptoms appear with almost explosive rapidity. The infection would probably be of little importance were it not for its tendency to focus in the nervous tissues of the body, and particularly the nerve cells. These cells are so highly organized that they present little resistance to injury, if an injurious agent can reach them, and have lost the power to reproduce themselves so that a given cell once destroyed is not replaced. The cells of the anterior horns of the spinal cord govern the transmission of impulses to muscles which cause them to contract. When these cells are destroyed the corresponding muscles receive no messages or impulses to contract, and therefore remain inactive (paralyzed) and gradually atrophy; that is, shrink. The opposing muscles may be actuated from cells which did not suffer, and therefore tend to overact when the pull of the normally opposing muscles is lost. This leads to further deformity on top of the paralysis.

SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH.

1. Higher apes are a sine qua non for the proper study of the disease. Cultivation of the virus outside of man and the apes is only possible where the virus exists in a pure state, as in the spinal cord. The identification of the virus where it is present on a surface on which other bacteria thrive, as in the nose, is only possible through the inoculation of monkeys, in whom the other bacteria are killed off, but the virus grows in purity, giving rise to infection of the animal.

Under present conditions of transportation it is a very difficult and expensive procedure to obtain anthropoid apes. These animals are notoriously delicate, and the long sea voyage leads to sickness and death, either on the voyage or shortly after their admission to the country.

Unna, dealing with the similar problems in the study of syphilis, established his research laboratory on the island of Java in the home of the higher ape, where these animals were inexpensive to buy and could be kept under natural conditions, so that exhaustion, such as followed a long sea voyage, and intercurrent diseases could be eliminated. The results obtained by his research indicated the desirability of the procedure.

It is therefore recommended that a research expedition be sent to the Tropics where higher monkeys are available in numbers, and inexpensive, for the purpose of study of this disease. Since the virus can be preserved in 50 per cent glycerine for six months the forwarding of material for study is a simple problem in transportation, particularly since the islands where research could best be carried out are in relatively close relation to the Philippines. The possibility of the transfer of monkeys to our own island possessions and the carrying out of the research on American ground might be worth considering.

2. Since the virus is known to exist in the nasal secretions of convalescents for a long period after recovery from the acute manifestations of the disease, it is evident that convalescent children may serve as reservoirs for the virus. In this country cold weather usually puts a stop to active epidemics. But a child who carries the virus in the nose for 200 days may be the means of protecting the virus during the winter months, so that it is ready in the spring for the infection of others and the starting of an epidemic.

It has been shown that the virus is unlike ordinary bacteria and resembles other filterable viruses; e. g., that of smallpox in its resistance to glycerine, which kills other bacteria; in other words the virus exhibits a stronger resistance against the killing power of glycerine than do bacteria. It is probable that there exist chemical agents incapable of killing bacteria, but capable of destroying the virus. Experimentation should be carried out to determine the resistance of this virus to various chemical substances, with the view of obtaining some agent, harmless to the patient, but effective in destroying the virus in the nose, so that the convalescent from the disease will cease to be a menace to the community. That the virus is vulnerable is indicated by the rapidity with which it loses its virulence in cultures, though retaining it in glycerine and in nasal secretions. (For example: Inhalation of alcohol vapor might destroy.)

3. The most important desideratum, however, is the obtaining of a prophylactic agent which will protect the individual against infection. The need of such an agent is acute because of the futility of treatment in most cases. To be sure there are prodromal (threatening) symptoms in many cases, but these are usually mild, and it is only the rare discriminating physician who suspects the possibility of infantile paralysis, and insists on the removal of spinal fluid for the purpose of making a diagnosis. If the fluid shows an inflammatory process, the injection of the blood serum of one who has recovered from the disease may prevent the oncome of paralysis.

But for one case in which prodromal symptoms give warning and the keen physician insists on lumbar puncture, there are hundreds in which the onset is too sudden, or the parents fear the operation, or the serum is not available, or its use is not followed by good results. So that in the last analysis treatment is of little avail, largely because the harm has already been done to the cells of the spinal cord before there is even a suspicion that the disease exists.

The disease resembles smallpox, against which prophylactic vaccination has accomplished so much, in that one attack usually protects for life; in that the viruses are filterable and exhibit a similar resistance to glycerine; in that the serum of the patient who has recovered from the disease possesses the power to destroy the virus.

The virus of smallpox is so modified by passage through the cow that it is rendered incapable of producing in human beings the general disease, smallpox, but produces the local process, vaccinia, which confers protection.

The similar virus of rabies as a result of slow drying loses the power to produce rabies, but when injected into the human body confers protection from the disease.

Search should be made for some procedure which, perhaps through modification in other animals, or through physical or chemical means, will so affect the virus that it will not produce infantile paralysis, but can be used to protect children against infection with the disease.

4. Epidemiological studies of the means of transmission of the disease are now being carried out in the various foci of infection by State and municipal health authorities. A central administration, such as the National Health Services can furnish, should collect and correlate these data.

Prompt action should be taken in this matter, because it is probable that with the opening of spring this terrible disease will show renewed activity either in the regions in which it is already epidemic or in new territory. There are hundreds of mothers who are wondering at this moment whether this disease will leave their loved ones whole or will transmute the beautiful bodies of their children into deformed and loathsome travesties of the human form divine.

Sociological aspects—i. e., dependency of crippled children, whose life expectation is not shortened as a result of their deformity, but can not do a man's work in the world, etc.

I desire to call to the attention of Congress some expert opinions setting forth all that is known to date about this frightful malady.

TELLS HISTORY OF INFANTILE PARALYSIS—DR. E. W. TAYLOR BELIEVES QUARANTINE NEEDLESS—INSECT THOUGHT TO SPREAD IT, HE SAYS IN HARVARD MEDICAL LECTURE.

Pretty much all that is known of infantile paralysis was related by Dr. E. W. Taylor in a public lecture at the Harvard Medical School on Longwood Avenue yesterday afternoon—and there are mighty few definite things that are known about the disease outside of the fact that it is epidemic and seems to have become more so in the past few years, especially in the United States.

The scientists have been hard after it the past few years, however; and they believe they are close to a solution of what is regarded as about the most mysterious disease known—a disease that can not be traced to insanitary conditions, that seems to prefer the well-to-do rather than the poor, that flourishes more in rural districts than in cities, that is more prevalent in summer than winter, that is apparently not contagious from contact with a person afflicted with the disease, and that is spread either by an insect—like yellow fever—or else in some way not yet known to science.

STRICT QUARANTINE NEEDLESS.

Dr. Taylor said that such strict forms of quarantine as have been adopted by boards of health are apparently needless and only tend to panic, for there is absolutely no more proof that infantile paralysis can be caught from contact than can yellow fever, which up to within a few years was thought to be spread by contagion. Even as it is, the death rate is not nearly as great as the rate from other prevalent forms of disease, such as pneumonia and tuberculosis. In New York last year it was only 1 to 500 of the population.

He said it looks as if teething might have something to do with it, as the greatest number of cases occur among children about two years of age; but there is nothing certain about this, as people at all ages up to 50 catch it. There are few cases that occur among people above 50.

It is very probably an ancient disease, he said, though not understood until within a few years, and was probably mixed up in the minds of physicians with meningitis. In fact, the symptoms of the disease are very similar to the symptoms of a variety of diseases such as diphtheria, scarlet fever, and malaria—or any infectious disease. There is a headache, a slight rise in temperature and, later, stiffness of the neck, followed by extreme headache, pains in the back, and vomiting.

These are common symptoms in a variety of diseases, and it has been found frequently that cases supposed to be infantile paralysis turn out to be something else.

It was first noticed as a specific disease resulting in paralysis by a German physician in 1816, but it was not thoroughly analyzed until 1838 and 1840. It raged in Sweden about 1880 and went into Norway and from these countries it spread to Germany, Austria, and France, but for some unknown reason did not touch England.

The fact that the disease affected the spinal cord gave it is name, but it has been discovered that it attacks the brain and other nerve centers also. It wasn't noticed particularly in the United States until about 10 years ago, but since then it has been on the increase.

GERM TOO SMALL FOR MICROSCOPE.

Dr. Flexner and Dr. Willis, of the Rockefeller Institute, have been studying the disease for several years and have collated some important data, but the germ has not been discovered and is supposed to be too minute to be detected by the microscope. In this respect it is like the yellow fever germ, and most scientists are inclined to the belief that it is transmitted in a similar way—by some insect. The only animals it attacks are domestic animals, and scientists are looking for some clue in this direction.

There were 20,000 cases of infantile paralysis in the United States in 1916, and of these 10,000 were in New York State and about 3,000 in Massachusetts. The disease has been in Australia and has gone around the world. But the mortality is not nearly as great as from other infectious diseases, such as yellow fever.

The proof that the disease is not contagious by contact is very evident, the speaker said. A child 2 years old slept in the same bed with a girl 17 years old who had the disease and the child did not catch it. This is only one of several cases carefully studied. He said the disease does not spread in schools or in children's hospitals.

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EVEN INFANTILE PARALYSIS A FORM OF GRIP, SAYS PHYSICIAN—DISEASE THAT RAVAGED NEW YORK LAST SUMMER MERELY ONE MANIFESTATION OF EPIDEMIC STILL WITH US, HE DECLARES.

[By Bernard Frankel, M. D.]

The present epidemic of grip is not a newcomer in our midst—although loudly heralded as such—but a direct continuation of the grip epidemic of last winter, which has never ceased since then its nefarious work among us.

During last summer this same grip did terrible execution among our children under the guise of the so much dreaded infantile paralysis, which I found to be not a separate disease—as generally considered—but only a special form of grip, one that involved mainly the very vulnerable nervous system of children, thus giving rise to paralysis. All of its other symptoms were identical with those of other forms of grip, from which there was no possible way of differentiating it in the early stages before the very onset of paralysis. For this reason some physicians diagnosed during the height of the epidemic every severe case of grip as infantile paralysis. If, however, no symptoms of paralysis manifested themselves they called the case abortive, one that recovered before paralysis had had time to develop.

My view of the grip origin of infantile paralysis was unreservedly indorsed by Dr. D. M. Lewis, of New Haven, Conn., who, in his official capacity as bacteriologist to the local board of health, was enabled to trace the origin of last summer's epidemic of infantile paralysis in New Haven to numerous preceding cases of grip among members of the same families in that community; and who also held with me that the so-called abortive cases of infantile paralysis were nothing else but typical cases of grip.

In an article entitled "Epidemic gastro-enteritis, infantile paralysis, and influenza," which appeared in the December 2, 1916, issue of the New York Medical Journal, and in which I first broached this view of the identity of infantile paralysis and grip, I brought out the following facts:

1. The similarity of the symptoms (except the paralysis) in both diseases.

2. The tracing of the origin of some cases of infantile paralysis to contagion from other cases of ordinary grip.

3. The identity of the germs which are the cause of both diseases. For I hold—contrary to the generally accepted theory—that grip is caused not by Pfeiffer bacilli but by the same variety of streptococci that Dr. Rosenow quite recently discovered to be the cause of infantile paralysis. This view is supported by recent important observations of Dr. G. Matters and Dr. Moody, of Chicago.

These investigators, working independently, have made an exhaustive bacteriological study of numerous cases of grip during last year's epidemic and found that, while streptococci were the most frequently present germs in these cases, Pfeiffer bacilli were absent in most cases.

The rapid spread of infantile paralysis—even among families from which in their isolation all strange children were excluded for months—was attributed in a great measure to so-called "carriers"—that is, persons who, while not suffering from the disease themselves, are supposed, nevertheless, to carry its germs about them, and thus communicate the disease to children with whom they come in contact. In my opinion, these mysterious "carriers" are ordinary cases of grip, which communicate the infection to children in their immediate entourage. As a result of such infection infantile paralysis would develop in children predisposed to that disease, more especially under atmospheric conditions favoring such development.

The practical application of this theory would imply the imperative necessity of extraordinary care in guarding children against any possible grip contagion, especially during the probable recrudescence of infantile paralysis next summer, for, aside from the fact that grip is generally dangerous for children, they would also be threatened by possible paralysis complications in such seasons.

Another form of grip was described by me under the name of epidemic gastro-enteritis. It involves the stomach and intestines of both adults and children, lasts, usually with intermissions, for a couple of weeks, and frequently attacks several members of the same family in succession. I found such to be the case in my own family in Elmhurst, Long Island, as well as in the families of several of my patients.

These disorders, generally mistaken for ptomaine poisoning when they are severe enough, or else treated as ordinary indigestion, may present in their milder forms only symptoms of nausea, loss of appetite, and general weakness, while in the severer cases we may have uncontrollable vomiting, persistent diarrhea with cramps, at times also high fever, jaundice, delirium, and even a fatal termination. During last winter's epidemic of grip a series of such severe cases of disturbances of the stomach and intestines, many of which terminated fatally, were reported among several members of the same families in one of our large cities. The local physicians were greatly puzzled by these cases; some of them suspected ptomaine poisoning, while others thought poisonous candy to have caused the symptoms; but no definite and satisfactory diagnosis was made, although from the description of the symptoms at the time I had no doubt that they were cases of severe gastro-enteritis of grip.

Under the name of "pseudoscarlatina" I described still another form of grip, very closely resembling scarlet fever, for which it is frequently mistaken. Careful observation, however, discloses marked differences from true scarlatina in the subsequent course of these cases, their complications, and the most effective mode of their treatment.

But of all the various forms and complications of grip, the ones that concern us most vitally during the winter season are those involving our respiratory system and ranging all the way from a simple cold in the head to bronchitis, pneumonia, pleurisy, etc. The prevalence of these respiratory disorders during winter, late fall, and early spring is due to our frequent exposures during these seasons to extreme changes of temperature and to inclemency of weather, with resulting chilling of our body surface, while their comparative rarity during summer is due to opposite atmospheric conditions and consequent absence of such exposures and chilling.

As to "wide-open windows," they can no more keep out grip and pneumonia in winter than they could arrest the spread of infantile paralysis and similar germ diseases during summer. Of course, there is no denying the benefit of open-air treatment in pulmonary tuberculosis and some other conditions, as well as the absolute necessity of adequate ventilation of our dwellings and sickrooms; but in cases of grip this ventilation must be carried out in such a way as to prevent the patient from coming into direct contact with currents of cold outside air before it is warmed to the temperature of the room, as otherwise such exposures too near a wide-open window—a partly open window at a considerable distance from the patient can do no harm—may aggravate the attack or lead to dangerous complications, such as pneumonia, etc.

Moreover absolute rest in a moderately warm and properly ventilated room forms one of the most essential requisites in the intelligent and efficient treatment of not only the acute attacks of grip, but also of its periods of convalescence, as well as of the latent, subacute, and chronic forms of grip.

These latter forms, which, by the way, I have not seen mentioned in medical literature, are not accompanied by fever or any acute and localized inflammatory process, as is the case with acute grip, but are marked instead by great general weakness or asthenia and extreme exhaustion of the vital energies. The patients in these cases wonder why "they can hardly drag themselves about," the slightest exertion throwing them into profuse perspiration and often causing a feeling of utter exhaustion, as if they "were ready to drop dead."

Because of their failure to recognize the existence of these latent, subacute, and chronic forms of grip, many physicians are at a loss to account for these symptoms in the absence of fever or any other evidence of disease. And yet these symptoms admit of a very plausible interpretation; for the toxins of germ poisons of all the various forms of grip exert an extremely deleterious and depressing influence not only on our general nervous and muscular system, but also on the nerves and musculature of the heart in particular. This, if not properly guarded against by rest and medication, may lead sometimes to such gradual and partial dilatation of the heart that it can hardly be diagnosed, although it may suddenly become exaggerated during overexertion, and even result in death from heart failure.

This undoubtedly is the cause of many sudden and puzzling deaths following grip, especially among the aged.

Cases of chronic grip are often accompanied by attacks of a dry, paroxysmal cough, recurring for months and even years after every exposure, and leading to chronic bronchitis, with emphysema, asthma, and various other chronic lung troubles, and during very acute relapses also to pneumonia, pleurisy, etc.

In the January 27, 1917, issue of the New York Medical Journal, under the title "Influenza Versus Tuberculosis," I described these chronic forms of grip with the respiratory disorders complicating them. Some of these at times are accompanied by coughing up of blood, loss of weight, etc. I pointed out that these are frequently mistaken for tuberculosis, and therefore urged a thorough reexamination of all the supposedly tuberculous patients in whose sputum tubercle bacilli were absent, in order to remove from tuberculous institutions all the nontuberculous cases admitted there through an error in diagnosis.

Dr. Thomas McGroe, professor of medicine at Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia, and Dr. Elmer H. Funk, associate in medicine at the same college, made the following statements in their article on "Bronchiecstasis," which was read before the section of practice of medicine at the sixty-seventh annual session of the American Medical Association in Detroit, June, 1916, and which was also reprinted in the October 7, 1916, issue of the Journal of the American Medical Association, on page 1065:

"The nontuberculous cases are often regarded as tuberculosis, an error which can be made only through carelessness. The sputum of a patient with advanced pulmonary (lung) lesions due to tuberculosis always contains tubercle bacilli. If this was recognized we would not miss so many cases of chronic nontuberculous lung conditions and call them tuberculosis. It would be interesting to know how many such are in tuberculosis sanatoriums to-day with a diagnosis of advanced pulmonary tuberculosis, but no tubercle bacilli in the sputum. The first case here reported is an example (the patient was in several sanatoriums with an invariable diagnosis of tuberculosis), [This case was positively proved later, on autopsy, to have been a nontuberculous bronchiectasis.] It sounds elementary, but evidently requires emphasis to insist that *when symptoms and signs point to advanced pulmonary tuberculosis, and repeated sputum examinations do not show tubercle bacilli, the condition is not tuberculosis.*" [The italics are mine.]

These statements from authorities on lung disease require no comment, and suggest the frequency of such mistakes in the diagnosis of advanced nontuberculous lung diseases as tuberculosis. Routine and indifference are the bane of some hospitals, and more especially of some tuberculosis sanitoriums, where many of the advanced tuberculosis cases being beyond hope of recovery, there may develop a tendency to consider most of the inmates as foredoomed to an early death and therefore not worth much troubling about. It is therefore incumbent upon the friends of tuberculous patients, and one of the duties they must not shirk, to see to it that the positive diagnosis of the presence or absence of tuberculosis in every particular case is established beyond the shadow of a doubt, if possible.

They must not depend blindly upon an oracular pronouncement of the case as tuberculosis, no matter by what authority, but must personally satisfy themselves of the correctness of such a diagnosis by repeated examinations of the sputum in a reliable private laboratory, and in doubtful cases insist also on the application of all the other modern scientific methods of diagnosis, such as X rays, complement fixation test of the blood, and even inoculation of animals.

Unless they do all these things they must carry on their conscience the burden of possible guilt in being accessory—through negligence—to pushing their unfortunate friend into the clutches of the merciless white plague. For patients suffering from nontuberculous lung diseases, because of their greatly weakened resistance, may very readily contract tuberculosis when brought into close contact with active cases of that disease in tuberculous institutions.

Qualifications of Electors.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM GORDON,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, under general leave granted Members of the House to extend their remarks in the RECORD I insert a letter from Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, together with an argument by Hon. Oscar Leser, against interference by the Federal Government with the power of the State to prescribe the qualifications of electors.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE,
37 West Thirty-ninth Street, New York City,
February 28, 1917.

Hon. WILLIAM GORDON.

DEAR SIR: Inclosed is a statesmanlike study of the proposal to enfranchise women by an amendment to the Federal Constitution.

Judge Leser, of Baltimore, in this "case against the Federal amendment" clearly proves that this question, involving State sovereignty and the right of local self-government, is a separate and distinct issue from the question of woman suffrage.

There are many able statesmen of both parties in favor of woman suffrage—notably President Wilson and Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho, who oppose this amendment and who are largely responsible for the fact that both great political parties in their national platforms recognize "the right of each State to settle this question for itself."

In the last four years 13 States, with over 41,000,000 population, have rejected woman suffrage by popular vote. These States include some of the most populous, the most experienced, the most advanced in the United States in protecting the real rights of women.

The proposal that the people of these States should be robbed of the right guaranteed in the constitutions of their States and the United States to say who shall vote for the representatives of their States, and, furthermore, should be forced to pay increased taxes for a political experiment they consider inimical to the interests of women and the welfare of their States, is a proposition subversive of every principle of local self-government and sound statesmanship.

Trusting that your name will appear in the list of statesmen who realize that the success of self-government in this country is a greater issue than the triumph of any minority movement, I am,

Respectfully, yours,

MRS. ARTHUR M. DODGE, *President.*

THE CASE AGAINST THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT.

[By Hon. Oscar Leser.]

In view of the renewed effort to bring about woman suffrage for all the States by the method of an amendment to the Federal Constitution, rather than by separate action of the individual States, it becomes important to point out the significance of the changed procedure by which the voting franchise is proposed to be enlarged. With the merits of woman suffrage this article will not deal, for it is intended as much for the consideration of those who favor the vote for women as for those who oppose it. Only those advocates to whom the end justifies the means—whatever they are—will refuse to weigh carefully the right or wrong of the particular means which are now sought to be employed to accomplish the desired end.

When we find that suffrage by action of the State electorates has made practically no headway during the last four years; that it has been rejected in that period by 13 States in 16 popular elections—States which contain nearly one-half the population of the United States; and that during this period it has been adopted only by two States of small population (Nevada and Montana) it well behooves us to inquire into the processes involved in the attempt to accomplish by Federal action that which has apparently proved impossible to accomplish by action of the individual States.

Article V of the Constitution of the United States reads thus:

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by convention in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress.

The joint resolution now pending before the Congress is in the following form:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

ARTICLE —.

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article.

It will be observed, first, that three-fourths of the States (namely, 36) can impose woman suffrage on all of the 48 States of the Union.

Secondly, that if the amendment is adopted, women will be empowered to vote in all the States not only for Federal officers but also for State officers and for officers whose election is authorized by the States, which embraces all county, municipal, and other local officers.

Thirdly, that action on the amendment is left to the legislatures of the several States and not to the alternative agency permitted by the Constitution, namely, to conventions elected by popular vote to pass upon the question.

Woman suffrage, if accomplished by Federal amendment, can thus be forced upon 12 States against their will, depriving them of the freedom to govern themselves in their own affairs in the manner desired by them and best suited to their own local conditions. Except in the fifteenth amendment, which as Senator Root has pointed out, was "justified only upon the same grounds which justified the war and the emancipation proclamation," no attempt has ever been made by the National Government to interfere with the free play of each State in determining who shall and who shall not exercise the right of suffrage in each individual State. The very foundation of self-government rests upon this principle. The control of its own suffrage is perhaps the most important right still left to the States.

In view of the methods which it was found necessary to employ to secure the "adoption" of the fifteenth amendment, there is every assurance that the people of the several States are alive to the value and importance of the State's right to control suffrage.

Just as there are many discriminating advocates of woman suffrage who perceive the impropriety and danger of Federal interference with the question, so there are many opponents of suffrage who would yield a cheerful acquiescence in a fair, free, and untrammeled decision by the electorates of their States.

The report of the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage, submitted in 1913, while discussing the merits of the question, fails to advance a single reason why the States should be stripped of their jurisdiction to determine the matter for themselves. Even the right of the States to pass upon the Federal amendment by popularly elected conventions is denied, since the joint resolution places the ratification with the State legislatures. Ratification by conventions would still make it possible to force suffrage upon States which do not want it, but it would at least carry the assurance that the ratification reflected the will of the people of the States which approved it. There is no such assurance in a bare majority vote of "those present" in the comparatively small groups of individuals composing the State legislatures.

If we examine more closely the processes and rules governing an amendment to the Federal Constitution we shall perhaps better understand why so much confidence should be expressed in the early accomplishment of woman suffrage by this means, in the face of the almost unbroken line of defeats in the State campaigns in the last four years.

In the first place it has been held that a Federal amendment does not require a two-thirds vote of the entire membership of each House of Congress. The language of the Constitution might lead one to think differently, but precedent has sanctioned the rule that two-thirds of the "members voting," a quorum being present, is sufficient. A quorum consists of a majority of the members chosen and sworn. In the present House of Representatives the full membership is 435. A quorum consists of 218, and two-thirds of this number is 146. In the Senate, with a membership of 96, two-thirds of a quorum would be satisfied by 33 votes. It would therefore be possible for Congress to propose a constitutional amendment by a vote of a little more than one-third of the membership.

In the next place, there is no right of presidential veto. The Executive takes no part in the proposal of an amendment. The veto power, in ordinary cases, serves as a wholesome check on hasty or unwise action, but here the President would have no voice, a circumstance that doubtless affords little disappointment at the present time to those who want this particular amendment.

In the next place no time limit is set within which the several States are required to take action, once an amendment has been proposed by Congress. Nothing is said on this point in the Constitution, and my own view is that it would be entirely competent for the amendment itself to declare that unless it is ratified by a sufficient number of States by a certain date it should be of no effect. The precedents of Congress show that when a State legislature has once ratified an amendment it can not revoke its action; on the other hand, a legislature which has acted unfavorably is not prohibited from changing its mind later by voting approval. Thus the rule does not work both ways, but always and at every point, the way is smoothed for a favorable outcome. In the case of the fifteenth amendment three States which rejected it were permitted to ratify it later; while one State (New York) which had ratified it was not permitted to rescind its action.

A remarkable illustration of the indefinite pendency of an amendment is found in the case of Ohio, whose legislature by joint resolution of May, 1873, ratified an amendment proposed by Congress on September 25, 1789. There was an interval here of 84 years. The amendment in question regulated the power of Congress in "varying the compensation" of Senators and Representatives, and while it has never been accepted by a sufficient number of States to make it effective, the Ohio instance affords nevertheless an illustration of the potential force of an amendment once proposed. Apparently there is never a time when an amendment is definitely out of the way, since the States which have rejected it can recant at pleasure while States not in existence when it was proposed can act upon it, and States which have voted favorably can not recede from this position, no matter what change in conditions may make it wise for them in their own interest and in that of other States to do so.

If the considerations already mentioned are not sufficiently valid and serious to inspire hesitation and caution on the part of Congress, and to prompt unfavorable action on the suffrage amendment, then such an attitude ought surely to follow when it is understood that the proposal of a Federal amendment in this instance is nothing less than a device to thwart and override the popular will by avoiding a popular vote in the States, and forcing woman suffrage through a sufficient number of the legislatures. It may be assumed that in all of the 11 Western States which have amended their constitutions by adopting woman suffrage, the ratification of a Federal suffrage amendment would represent the popular wish. These States represent about 9 per cent of the country's population. In all of the other States the wishes of the people would be subjected to the hazard of legislative action, which, on a question like this, is peculiarly liable to be governed less by the will of the majority of the electorate than by the exigencies of politics, personal pressure, giving way to the line of least resistance, caucus rule, accidental majorities, log rolling, the influence of committees, not to mention the influence—proper or improper—of lobbies. Then again it has not been uncommon for measures to pass through legislatures by the skillful application or nonapplication of parliamentary rules, such as the "counting of a quorum" at an opportune moment or the failure to record the vote correctly or the refusal to entertain an embarrassing motion. Let it be remembered that a bare majority vote is all that is required. This means a majority of a quorum. It would therefore be possible for a minority of the entire legislature to ratify, so that the vote would not even theoretically reflect the wishes of a majority of the people. Consider also the unequal apportionment under which many legislatures are constituted and it will be readily seen how even a vote of a full majority with each member acting in good faith and voicing the genuine sentiment of his particular constituents, would not necessarily reflect the wishes of a majority of the people of the whole State.

However reliable a State legislature may be in registering the sentiment of the State on other questions of Federal amendment, the question of woman suffrage offers peculiar reasons for securing the sense of the State in some other way. There are so many issues at State elections that members of the legislature would rarely be chosen with regard solely to their attitude on suffrage. Other matters may be of such overshadowing importance that a constituency opposed to suffrage might return a member favorable to it. Other members may not have declared their position on this issue. Still others may "change their minds" after the election. It is an observed fact that a very small percentage of legislature men serve more than a single term, and the tendency is not toward increasing this percentage. The failure to interpret (or to interpret but not carry out) the wishes of the constituency must be set down as one of the more important reasons for this tendency. It is small consolation for a State merely to be able to retire its representatives after they have voted to double the electorate against the wishes of their constituents. There are always persons who have no intention of seeking reelection. Of these there will be some who will not care to resist the pressure which can be exerted upon them in divers ways in behalf of questions like suffrage or prohibition, when the appeal is to the emotions.

That the possibilities of the situation have not been overdrawn will appear from the fact that in the last four years 19 legislatures, which, in 13 States, have approved suffrage amendments to their State constitutions, have been repudiated by the people on this question. In the following States it required the favorable action of two successive legislatures before the amendment referendum could be held: Iowa, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, and Pennsylvania. In Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, Ohio, South Dakota, and West Virginia it required action by a single legislature; while in Wisconsin the referendum was on act of assembly and not on an amendment. In Ohio the question was twice submitted, first in 1912, by the constitutional convention (when it was voted down by 87,455 majority) and in 1914 by the legislature (when the adverse majority was increased to 182,905).

In spite of a defeat by 91,478 votes in Wisconsin in November, 1912, the next legislature within six months again passed a suffrage act (which under the constitution required a referendum). This bill was vetoed by the governor in a strong message characterizing the action of the legislature as not consistent "with a proper respect for the deliberate judgment of the people of the State, so recently and fully registered."

New York State furnishes a similar example of legislative misrepresentation and cowardice. In November, 1915, the people recorded their disapproval of the suffrage amendment by a majority of 194,984 against it. In spite of this emphatic proof that the legislatures of 1914 and 1915 had failed to sense the public will, the legislature of 1916 again voted in favor of a suffrage amendment.

In the face of these actual examples of legislative misrepresentation the believers in popular rule, which includes believers in constitutions which represent the wishes and sentiments of the electorates, are justified in insisting that the question of woman suffrage shall be settled by the States and by the people of the States at the polls.

"I Have Kept the Faith" and Performed the Duties of the High Office to Which I Have Been Five Times Elected to the Best of My Ability.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES T. McDERMOTT,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. McDERMOTT. Mr. Speaker, after a membership in this House extending over a period of 10 years, I am about to go back to my district and relinquish the trust which my constituents imposed upon me. In giving an account of my stewardship, I can conscientiously say, "I have kept the faith" and have performed the duties of the high office to which I have been five times elected to the best of my ability. No man can say more.

The record of every Member of this House is an open book. His name and his votes are placed in the archives of this great body, and are forever open to the scrutiny of all mankind. It is a simple matter to learn one's position on any of the great issues, and yet, Mr. Speaker, during the primary in my district last fall, when I was a candidate for renomination, I was accused of having voted against many of the bills favorable to the cause of labor and others that tended to the betterment of the Nation generally. This is not true. I denied the statement then and I deny it now; I challenged the man making it and I challenge him now to produce one scintilla of proof of what he charged. He has not done so; he can not do so. Thank God, I have never resorted to unfair tactics during my public career, and never have, knowingly, falsely accused a man. I have made mistakes; yes. Who has not? But my mistakes have been honest ones, and I do not fear, in rendering this final account, to lay my record bare.

I came to Congress as an avowed friend of the workingman, and I am retiring now with the satisfaction of knowing that I have done my share, humble though it may have been, in helping to frame many of the beneficial labor laws now on our statute books.

At the beginning of the Sixtieth Congress a few Members, of which I had the honor to be one, banded themselves into what is known as the "labor group," pledged to vote for all legislation beneficial to the American workman irrespective of politics. This group has steadily grown in numbers and influence, and through its efforts many measures helpful to the cause of labor have been put through the House. Unfortunately some of these measures failed to become laws owing to the failure of the Senate to pass them, but for this the Members of the House can not be blamed.

In this first labor group was William B. Wilson, of Pennsylvania, a coal miner by trade, and one of nature's own noblemen. His worth was recognized in his district, and he was sent to Congress, where he became chairman of the powerful Committee on Labor. When labor was honored with a seat in the President's Cabinet he was named as the first Secretary of the Department of Labor, being supported for this high position by workingmen the country over. He has honestly and ably represented them. His course has been so fair that he has won the respect of capital and retained the confidence of labor. No man in public life enjoys higher esteem from all classes than he. It has been my good fortune to be closely associated with this distinguished gentleman.

Mr. Speaker, the record of the Democratic Party for years is a record of constructive legislation enacted, a record of progress, a record of Americanism. Its crown of achievement is filled with precious jewels. And no jewel in that crown shines more brilliantly than does the jewel that represents the efforts put forth for the good of labor. My record as a friend of labor is consistent. I have worked and voted for bills to advance the cause of the working people. I have stood for shorter hours and for increased wages; for the betterment of working conditions generally. The bulwark of our Nation rests upon the shoulders of the man who toils, and it is a short-sighted policy that would impose onerous burdens upon those shoulders.

Let me briefly review some of the beneficial legislation that the Democratic party has written into law. In the Sixty-second Congress the eight-hour law was put into effect in all the Government departments, and its observance was compelled by all the great industries that do business with the Government. My vote helped to accomplish this result.

No more humane measure ever passed Congress than the bill known as the child-labor bill, which prohibits the shipment in interstate commerce of the product of any mine or quarry situated in the United States which has been produced in whole or in part by the labor of children under the age of 16 years, or the product of any mill, cannery, workshop, factory, or manufacturing establishment situated in the United States which has been produced in whole or in part by the labor of children under the age of 14 years or by the labor of children between the ages of 14 years and 16 years who work more than eight hours in any one day, or more than six days in any one week, or after the hour of 7 o'clock in the morning or after the hour of 7 o'clock in the evening. I am proud to say I voted for this measure.

The Adamson bill providing an eight-hour day on railroads is another piece of legislation to which the Democratic party can point with pride. This bill was considered while I was absent in Chicago conducting my primaries, and although I did not get a chance to vote for it I announced myself in favor of it. Had I been in Washington when the vote was taken I certainly should have voted "yea."

One of the most meritorious measures ever put through Congress was the bill to exempt labor organizations from the operations of the Sherman antitrust law. This measure was strongly urged by the American Federation of Labor, and the friends of labor in Congress regarded it as an absolutely necessary piece of legislation. I supported this measure, even to the extent of voting to pass it over the veto of the President when it was attached as an amendment to the sundry civil bill in the third session of the Sixty-second Congress.

Another very meritorious measure for which I had the honor of voting was the workmen's compensation bill, which subsequently became a law. I also voted for the bill (which is now a law) providing for a jury trial in a case of indirect contempt of court. This law is of great importance to the toilers of the soil.

Mr. Speaker, it is always a satisfaction to a Member of Congress to vote for a meritorious bill. And this satisfaction is intensified when one votes for a bill that he feels will do much for the cause of labor. That is the feeling I had when I voted for that excellent measure that provides that injunctions shall not be issued without giving the parties to be enjoined notice and an opportunity to be heard except in certain contingencies; that no injunction shall be issued for any cause arising out of a labor dispute except to prevent irreparable injury to property or property rights of complainants, for which injury there is no adequate remedy at law; that injunctions shall not be issued to prevent strikes and the activities (when peaceful) necessary to their conduct, such as picketing, boycotts, persuasion to work or refrain from working, payment of strike benefits, peaceful assembling, or from doing any act or thing which might lawfully be done in the absence of such dispute by any party thereto. This law will rank as one of the greatest achievements of the Democratic Party.

In spite of the charges made against me during the recent primary, my record shows, Mr. Speaker, that I voted for the great measures advocated by our President and which have been written into the statutes. Appropriations for the Children's Bureau; compensation for members of families of National Guardsmen; the revenue bill, which puts the burdens on the rich and takes some of the burdens off the poor by taxing inheritances, incomes, and so forth; the child-labor bill, which keeps the young boy and girl out of the sweatshops and factories and thereby makes it possible for the child to gain an education; the shipping law, which will restore our merchant marine to the high seas—all these and more had my vote. I have worked earnestly and my labors have been successful in having the condition of the postal employees and those of the Bureau of Animal Industry bettered.

But, Mr. Speaker, labor has not been the only beneficiary of Democratic rule. During the past three Congresses much legislation to all classes has been enacted. We have made a long step forward in perfecting our national defense. I have consistently favored an adequate Army and Navy. I hope the day may never come when we shall have to use this Army and Navy against a foreign foe; but if that day does come during my lifetime I will thank God that we are in a position to afford adequate protection to the loved ones who are dependent upon us and will take satisfaction in the thought that I helped to prepare for this defense. Millions spent now in preparation may save billions in the future. We have enacted liberal pension laws not only for the heroes who battled to preserve the Union but for those brave men who fought in Cuba and the Philippines; also for their widows and orphans. I have always supported a liberal pension policy. I feel that we owe these brave men a debt that money

can not repay. The least we can do is to provide for them and their widows in their declining years.

We have established a new banking and currency system and the fear of panics has passed. The bill creating the Federal Reserve Board and the amendments adopted subsequently all received my vote and support. The creation of this new system is one of the greatest achievements of President Wilson's administration.

I have been criticized, Mr. Speaker, because of my vote against the immigration bill. Had that bill not contained the literacy test, I would gladly have supported it. But the literacy test is not a fair test of a person's fitness to enter this country, and in my rejection of it I have, I know, the support of the thinking people of my district. I have no apology to offer for my vote against this bill, nor have I any apology to offer for my vote in favor of Canadian reciprocity when President Taft fostered this proposition during the Sixty-first Congress. The bill designed to put the reciprocity into effect passed the House by a vote of 221 to 93. It placed food products, wood pulp, and print paper on the free list and reduced the duties on agricultural machinery.

On Thursday, March 1, 1917, the House of Representatives by the enormous vote of 403 to 13 passed the patriotic measure authorizing the President of the United States to supply merchant ships, the property of citizens of the United States and bearing American registry, with defensive arms, and for other purposes, which is as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized and empowered to supply merchant ships, the property of citizens of the United States and bearing American registry, with defensive arms, and also with the necessary ammunition and means of making use of them in defense against unlawful attack; and that he be, and is hereby, authorized and empowered to protect such ships and the citizens of the United States against unlawful attack while in their lawful and peaceful pursuits on the high seas.

SEC. 2. That the sum of $100,000,000 is hereby appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be expended by the President of the United States for the purposes herein stated, the said sum to be available until the 1st day of January, 1918; and the President is authorized to transfer so much thereof as he may deem necessary to the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance, created by act of Congress approved September 2, 1914, for the purpose of insuring vessels, their freight, passage moneys, and cargoes against loss or damage by the present risks of war: *Provided*, That said Bureau of War-Risk Insurance shall not insure any arms or ammunition or any vessel carrying arms or ammunition consigned to belligerent countries or any citizen thereof.

SEC. 3. That for the purpose of meeting the expenditures herein authorized, the Secretary of the Treasury, under the direction of the President, is hereby authorized to borrow on the credit of the United States and to issue therefor bonds of the United States not exceeding in the aggregate $100,000,000, said bonds to be in such form and subject to such terms and conditions as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe, and to bear interest at the rate not exceeding 3 per cent per annum: *Provided*, That such bonds shall be sold at not less than par, shall not carry the circulating privilege, and that all citizens of the United States shall be given an equal opportunity to subscribe therefor, but no commission shall be allowed or paid thereon; that both principal and interest shall be payable in United States gold coin of the present standard of value, and be exempt from all taxation and duties of the United States, as well as from taxation in any form of all State, municipal, or local authorities; that any bonds issued hereunder may, under such conditions as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe, be convertible into bonds bearing a higher rate of interest than 3 per cent per annum if any bonds shall be issued by the United States at a higher rate than 3 per cent per annum by virtue of any act passed on or before December 31, 1918.

SEC. 4. That in order to pay the necessary expenses connected with the said issue of bonds, or any conversions thereof, a sum not exceeding one-tenth of 1 per cent of the amount of bonds herein authorized to be issued, or which may be converted, is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be expended as the Secretary of the Treasury may direct.

The bill authorizes the expenditure of $100,000,000 to protect the lives of citizens of the United States and to protect American commerce from unlawful attacks while in their lawful and peaceful pursuits on the high seas. This measure I regard as one of the most patriotic ever presented for consideration to the Congress of the United States, and I am proud to have the opportunity of sustaining the President in this critical hour, and do so, knowing that it does not mean the plunging of our country into the conflict, but, on the contrary, defines our position and shifts the cause for war on any foreign aggressor who deliberately violates all rules of neutrality and refuses to recognize the rights of the United States.

I doubt whether a Member of Congress or a Member of the Senate desires to see this country engage in the conflict. I for one would abhor our entering into the European struggle, but upheld by international law, neutrality laws, and treaties we, as a great Nation, must uphold the principles as laid down by our forefathers who fought for the glorious liberty we enjoy to-day.

The President is the Commander in Chief, and for the past four years has led the country safely amid pitfalls, intrigue, and plots laid in both this country and abroad. The fact that we are not at war to-day speaks for the success of the President in the handling of the foreign situation. To-day we have decided whether America will willingly surrender the rights of life and the rights of liberty of national enterprise, the rights of property and the rights of honor.

May the President be guided and directed in the wise exercise of his powers we have granted him so that we may remain at peace.

Resolution in Regard to Daylight-Saving Plan.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. M. C. SMITH,

OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I wish to incorporate the following resolution passed by the legislature of the great State of Michigan in relation to the movement for the daylight-saving plan; and while this will not apply with material force to agriculture, I think the great benefit derived from it will result from uniform action concerning the operation of our industries, the management of proper schedules, and setting a definite plan in relation to hours not only for labor but for all other occupations and engagements.

The resolution follows:

LANSING, *March 1, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN M. C. SMITH,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SMITH: I have the honor to inform you that the two houses of the Michigan Legislature have concurred in the adoption of the following resolution:

"Senate concurrent resolution 14, requesting Congress to pass the so-called daylight-saving bill.

"Whereas there is a world-wide movement at the present time for the adoption of the so-called daylight-saving plan; and

"Whereas a number of European countries of the first class have adopted said plan and it is now under consideration before the Congress of the United States; and

"Whereas the adoption by the United States Government of said plan for use throughout the country would cause an immense saving of artificial lighting bills and would provide during the summer months of the year, from April to September, an added hour of recreation, open-air exercise, or rest for the masses during the latter part of the day; and

"Whereas said project is now indorsed by President Wilson, the American Federation of Labor, the United States Chamber of Commerce, and other leading commercial and labor organizations throughout the country: Therefore be it

"*Resolved by the senate (the house of representatives concurring)*, That the Legislature of the State of Michigan herewith indorses the so-called daylight-saving bill now before Congress and recommends to the Senators and Representatives from this State cordial support thereof, and that a copy of this resolution be sent to them and to Hon. WILLIAM P. BORLAND, Congressman from Missouri, and to Hon. JACOB H. GALLINGER, United States Senator from New Hampshire, authors of daylight-saving bills in Congress."

Very respectfully,

D. E. ALWARD,
Secretary of the Senate.

Review of Legislation by the Sixty-fourth Congress.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM W. HASTINGS,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, when the gavel falls at noon on March 4 the Sixty-fourth Congress will pass into history. Perhaps more general legislation was enacted during this Congress of two sessions than in any other since the foundation of the Government.

The people of my district are, of course, familiar with the laws of national importance that have been passed, through accounts of them contained in the public press. In addition to studying questions affecting the Nation as a whole, I have endeavored to give special consideration to matters peculiarly affecting Oklahoma, and particularly the second congressional district. Appreciating that we have a wonderful new State, rich in natural resources and a splendid citizenship, I have done

everything possible in the last two years to encourage and further its development.

ROAD LEGISLATION.

The question of good roads is of as much, if not more, importance to our State than any other State. The eastern part of Oklahoma is newly surveyed, the lands have been recently allotted, and permanent roads are now being made along section lines. I introduced a bill appropriating $25,000,000 to aid in the building of good roads, under the terms of which $532,138 would have gone to Oklahoma. A number of other bills upon the same subject were introduced by various Members of the House. A bill was finally passed appropriating the first year $5,000,000 and increasing the appropriation annually thereafter, until the year 1921, when the sum of $25,000,000 is appropriated. This legislation will necessitate studying how to construct good roads, the material to be used, and their advantages. It will have a great educational effect and stimulate the making of good roads everywhere.

I introduced a bill making an appropriation for a road from Fort Gibson to the National Cemetery, one and one-fourth miles distant, a place of much historical interest. This bill was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs of the House, favorably reported by the War Department, but owing to the demands upon the time of the members of this committee in considering national preparedness, it could not be reached and reported at this session.

I also introduced a joint resolution appropriating $25,000 to erect a monument to Thomas Jefferson at the north end of the bridge across the Canadian River in McIntosh County, Oklahoma, in order to emphasize the importance of the Jefferson Highway to be constructed through the State. This highway will not only be used by the people locally, but thousands of tourists will travel it—many of whom will be attracted by the natural advantages of Oklahoma and permanently remain in the State.

RURAL CREDITS.

One of the leading questions in Oklahoma to-day is that of rural credits. Farmers should be able to borrow money at lower rates of interest upon long terms, payable in small interest payments, or on the amortization plan. To aid in enacting such legislation I sought and secured a place on the Banking and Currency Committee. A joint committee had previously gone to Europe to make a study of rural-credit systems there. Much data was gathered and an exhaustive report made. Bills were introduced in the Sixty-third Congress, and the committees gave much consideration to them, but no legislation was enacted. The rural-credits act approved July 17, 1916, is one of the most important laws passed during the present administration. The bank serving Oklahoma is located at Wichita, Kans., and anyone desiring information or blanks can secure them by applying to the Farm Land Bank there. I see from the press that many farm loan associations are being formed, and that farmers are taking advantage of the low rates of interest which this act will give.

POSTAL LEGISLATION.

No branch of the Government comes nearer to all the people than the Post Office Department. A year or two ago in some counties of my district there were no rural routes. Appreciating the advantages of free mail delivery to the farmers there, much thought and consideration has been given by me to postal legislation. I made a speech last year reviewing the history and growth of the department, when the appropriation bill was being considered, and emphasized the necessity for enlarging the parcel post, as well as the extension of the rural service. I voted against limiting the weight of packages to be carried by parcel post to 50 pounds. The appropriation for Rural Delivery Service was increased from forty-eight and one-half to fifty-three million dollars last year. A similar amount is carried in the appropriation bill for the present year, and the amount for village delivery is increased from $250,000 to $500,000. I have written thousands of letters, advising and encouraging the circulation of petitions for the establishment of rural routes, and have visited the department frequently to urge expeditious and favorable action upon them. I believe that as many rural routes have been established in my district during the last two years as in any other congressional district.

Every town or city where the postal receipts exceed $5,000 is entitled to free village delivery under the present regulations. I have written the postmaster in each place coming within the rule, urging that the people be advised of this service, and that a petition be circulated for it. Free village delivery has been inaugurated in a number of them. With the increased appropriation carried in the present bill the department will be enabled to greatly enlarge this service. The department has been frequently visited by me, in order to confer about appointments and numerous details for the convenience of employees and additional service for the patrons.

I introduced a bill providing for 1-cent drop-letter postage. Many other Members introduced similar bills. They were favorably reported by the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads as an amendment to the Post Office appropriation bill, but upon objection the amendment went out on a point of order. It is thought that this legislation will be enacted at an early date.

AGRICULTURE.

Farming is the chief industry of the United States. More people are engaged in it and more are dependent upon the products of the farm than upon any other industry. Much beneficial legislation of a general character has been enacted during the Sixty-fourth Congress. The appropriation bill last year carried a larger appropriation than any previous bill of its kind. It had many items in it of peculiar interest to our State, including appropriations for experiments in every subject affecting farm life—the testing of soils and seeds, diseases of animals, diseases of plant life, including diseases of cotton, corn, potatoes, wheat, and forage crops, as well as the studying of diseases of fruit trees. The information obtained in this way is given to farmers of the country through bulletins, yearbooks, reports, and books of various kinds, as well as agricultural journals and farm demonstrators. By special rule, there was added for the protection of the farmer: (a) The reenactment of the cotton-futures act, so as to insure its constitutionality; (b) the grain-grades act, to insure uniformity of grain grading; (c) the warehouse act, providing for the establishment and licensing of warehouses and the insurance of uniform receipts, to enable farmers to store their farm products and use the receipts as collateral security. The Agricultural appropriation bill for the current year carries large appropriations for all these matters.

I have secured and forwarded to farmers documents, bulletins, books, and valuable data on practically every question affecting farm life and have distributed seed to every resident of my district whose name was furnished me, without exception.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION.

The vocational education bill, approved February 23, 1917, is another piece of legislation of much interest to my district and the Nation. The purpose of this bill is to cooperate with the various States in arousing interest in vocational training. The law is to be administered through a board composed of the United States Commissioner of Education, three Cabinet officers, and three additional members to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Appropriations are made for use in cooperating with the various States, increasing in amount from year to year until $7,000,000 is appropriated annually, conditioned upon a like sum being appropriated by the several States, for use in teaching and preparing teachers in agriculture, home economics, and industrial subjects. The great purpose of this law is to teach the people of the country to be practical, so that they will not only acquire knowledge but learn to use it in a beneficial way and to their personal advantage. I earnestly invite the attention of the citizens of Oklahoma to it.

INDIAN LEGISLATION.

Because of conditions in eastern Oklahoma, Indian legislation is of special importance. All the people, Indian and white, are anxious to have the affairs of the Five Civilized Tribes wound up as speedily as is consistent with the proper administration of these matters. Much has been accomplished along this line during the past two years.

The Indian appropriation bill for both years contained many provisions of special interest to eastern Oklahoma, and among them are the following:

First. An appropriation of $185,000 for the office of the Superintendent for the Five Civilized Tribes.

Second. An appropriation of $85,000 for probate attorneys.

Third. An appropriation of $275,000 to aid rural schools. This money is of great assistance to many schools. We have some school districts where there is but little taxable land, and schools could not be maintained for more than two months in the year without this help.

Fourth. Smaller appropriations for many other purposes.

In both appropriation bills provisions were made for per capita payments. Last year there was a per capita payment of $300 to the Choctaws, and this year a per capita payment of $100 will be made. Last year a per capita payment of $200 was provided for the Chickasaws, and this year $100. A per capita payment of $200 for the Seminoles was provided for each year. In the aggregate $11,458,400 was provided to be distributed per capita among these three tribes. In addition, last year the remainder of the Cherokee tribal funds, amounting to $138,000,

was distributed per capita among the members of the tribe. The affairs of the Cherokee Tribe have been completely wound up. No other legislation is necessary for this tribe.

The present Indian appropriation bill contains a provision to the effect that no additional allotments of land will be made to members of the Creek Tribe. This will make section 16 of the act of April 26, 1906, operative, and as soon as litigation pending in the courts for the cancellation of certain allotments and the recovery of the land for the tribe is ended, the land recovered, if any, will be sold and the funds added to the other moneys of the tribe. All Creek funds will then be distributed per capita in accordance with the Creek agreement. On March 1 the sum of $2,155,900.85 was on deposit in the United States Treasury to the credit of the tribe, but it can not be disbursed until this litigation is ended, all their property sold, and the proceeds added to the other funds of the tribe, so that all the money can be paid out in accordance with existing law. No other legislation by Congress is necessary to wind up the affairs of this tribe.

The same is true with reference to the Seminole Tribe. My information is that some litigation is pending over a school building. When this matter is settled, the affairs of the Seminoles can be wound up—no additional legislation is required. The Seminoles had to their credit on March 1, 1917, $924,901.04.

All necessary legislation has been enacted to wind up the affairs of the Choctaws and Chickasaws, except for the sale of the coal and asphalt lands. A bill was prepared and introduced at the present session of Congress and favorably reported by the Committee on Indian Affairs for this purpose. It had the indorsement and met with the approval of the entire Oklahoma delegation, the representatives of the Indians interested, the coal lessees, and the citizens generally residing in that country interested in its development. While this legislation was not enacted, because of the congested condition of the calendar, hope is entertained for favorable consideration at the next session of Congress. On March 1, 1917, the Choctaw Tribe had to its credit $4,772,391, and the Chickasaw Tribe had $1,536,778.86.

On December 6, 1915, the day Congress convened, I introduced as my first bill H. R. 108—a bill to transfer the administration of individual Indian affairs from Washington to Muskogee. It has been extensively commented on in the press throughout the State. After exhaustive hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs, it was unanimously ordered favorably reported. I made an extended speech in favor of it in the House, but due to the large number of bills considered by Congress, it was not reached for consideration. It is my purpose to reintroduce it at the next session and press its early passage. No other bill more vitally affects the people of Oklahoma. It is designed to prevent delays, by securing speedy action on all Indian matters at home. With men familiar with conditions, there is no argument against it, and I am glad to know that there has not been a single protest against it in Oklahoma. It has met with the unanimous indorsement of the press and the citizens generally, Indian and white.

I introduced a bill providing for the payment of the "Loyal Creek Indian claim." It was favorably reported and is upon the calendar.

The "Enrollment Records" were by the act of May 27, 1908, made conclusive evidence of the age of members of the Five Civilized Tribes. Recent decisions of our courts construing this provision are confusing. I introduced a bill to make the printed books, prepared and published by the Interior Department, conclusive both as to age and quantum of blood. The purpose of this bill is to make the dates to which ages were calculated, the birthdays of the enrolled members. Of course, this legislation would only be prospective. Upon investigation it was found that the ages were not calculated to any definite date upon the printed Creek rolls; and complaint was made that there was an error in calculating the dates as to the printed Seminole rolls. The perfection and enactment of this bill would make it of great value to people everywhere, not having immediate access to the enrollment records at Muskogee, and would make the printed roll books of some value.

Among other bills, I introduced one giving district courts jurisdiction to partition lands to full-blood heirs of deceased allottees. This was made necessary by the decision of our Supreme Court in the case of Coleman against Battiest, holding that the district court had no jurisdiction.

Another bill which I introduced provides for the appointment of three commissions. One for the Cherokee Nation, one for the Creeks and Seminoles, and one for the Choctaws and Chickasaws, charged with the responsibility of visiting the several tribes to which they were assigned and receive and hear applications for the removal of restrictions, and to report to the Secretary of the Interior such restricted Indians whose restrictions should be removed.

The present Indian appropriation bill contains a provision authorizing the members of the Committee on Indian Affairs elected to the next Congress to make an investigation of Indian affairs during the coming recess. This committee expects to visit Oklahoma at an early date, perhaps this month, to secure first-hand information regarding conditions there. I am sure the trip will result in beneficial legislation.

On February 27, 1917, I invited the attention of the Interior Department to the advisability of again offering for sale the surface of the segregated coal and asphalt lands in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, and urged that this be done at an early date. The Indians are anxious to have these lands sold and the money derived therefrom either distributed per capita or placed to their credit bearing interest. The department was advised that these lands were appraised too high in Haskell County, but that when next offered they are not required to bring their appraised value.

A bill to establish a fish hatchery in Oklahoma was introduced by me. It was included as an item in the omnibus fisheries bill, which passed the House, and was favorably reported by the Senate committee, but favorable action could not be secured in the Senate. It is hoped that early action upon this bill can be secured at the next session of Congress.

A bill to purchase the Creek capitol building and grounds at Okmulgee for a public building was introduced by me. It was favorably reported and included as an item in the public-buildings bill which passed the House, but consideration of it could not be secured in the Senate. A bill appropriating $50,000 for the Federal building at Muskogee, introduced by me, was also included as an item in the public-buildings bill.

Under an act of 1862, as amended in 1866, Oklahoma is entitled, in my judgment, to 210,000 acres of land for the Agricultural and Mechanical College. With the Oklahoma delegation and Hon. H. B. Teehee, I appeared before the Department of the Interior in support of this claim. A bill was introduced, both by Congressman McCLINTIC and myself, authorizing the granting of this land to Oklahoma, or its equivalent in money, and both appeared before the Committee on Public Lands and made arguments in support of it.

Many private bills of various kinds, in addition to the above, were introduced.

In order to give a better idea of the magnitude of the work and the difficulty of getting speedy consideration of bills introduced, permit me to say that 21,102 bills have been introduced in the House and 8,331 bills in the Senate on practically every conceivable subject. In addition there were introduced a large number of resolutions—separate and joint.

Every bill introduced is referred to an appropriate committee, where it is carefully gone over and considered with amendments. Committee assignments are important, therefore, to secure early reports of bills, so as to get them upon the calendar and to secure favorable expeditious action upon them. I was on the following committees during the past session: Banking and Currency, Accounts, and Expenditures in the Interior Department. Within the last few days, I was made a member of the Committee on Indian Affairs. This will permit me to go with the committee officially in its tour of investigation of Indian matters during the recess of Congress. I have attended every meeting of the committees of which I was a member, and have regularly attended the daily sessions of the House, never missing a record vote during the past two years.

It is the ambition of every Member of Congress to effectively serve the people of his district, and it has been a pleasure to receive thousands of letters asking for information or making requests of various kinds. I have answered all of them and made every effort to comply with them, if it could be done consistently. Frequent visits to the different departments were made to get information, correct complaints, or otherwise serve my constituents.

During my term in Congress, I made speeches on the floor of the House on the following subjects: Good roads; rural credits; Post Office appropriation bill; Indian appropriation bill, (a) Choctaw and Chickasaw per capita payment, (b) $275,000 item for rural schools; Arkansas River; Agricultural appropriation bill; H. R. No. 108, transferring supervision of restricted Indians from Washington to Muskogee. This was done in addition to taking part in the consideration of other bills on the floor. No other Congress has considered or enacted so much legislation of importance to the entire country and of special benefit to the State of Oklahoma.

I have attempted to invite attention to some of my various activities during the past two years peculiarly affecting the people of my district, as they are entitled to know what their Representative has endeavored to accomplish. I have worked in entire harmony with the other members of the Oklahoma delegation in both the House and Senate and have had their

active assistance and hearty support, and all are entitled to credit for what has been done for the good of our State.

Much preparedness legislation has been enacted because of the revolution in the Republic of Mexico to the south of us, with which every one is familiar, and the indescribable slaughter across the sea, involving all the leading countries of Europe. Frequently on the very verge of war, our matchless President, by his patience, wisdom, firmness, and skilled diplomacy, has saved us from its awful consequences. The situation is now so tense that no one knows what a day may bring forth.

The people of this country have confidence in the President and believe that he will keep our Nation at peace, so long as it can be done with honor. Sharing this confidence and appreciating that he has innumerable resources of information through diplomatic channels as to the foreign situation not open to all, I have given him my unqualified support.

A "Rice Day" for America.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. GALLIVAN,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. GALLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, it is perhaps not known that fully 60 per cent of the world's population does not know what a potato is, and their principal diet, as a substitute for a vegetable, is rice. Such being the case it would be reasonable for a man to suggest to those who can not afford to pay exorbitant prices, for what might be termed a luxury, to cultivate a taste for rice. It is a matter of history that the endurance of the Japs was attributed to a diet almost wholly of rice during their war with Russia.

One pound of rice has as great a food value as fully 6 pounds of potatoes, and at the present market price a good rice should be bought for the same price per pound as a pound of potatoes.

With the exception of the State of Maine, the potato crop was a failure last season, and, due to the scarcity of labor, the acreage planted this year in Maine will not be more than one-fourth of what was planted last season; inability to get a suitable fertilizer for potatoes is another reason for a prospective decreased acreage. That will necessarily cause a high price on potatoes next season, and for that reason people who have limited means must adopt a substitute, and the best one known is rice.

Some stores are featuring rice, and their advertisements are of a decidedly misleading character. For instance, a certain chain store advertises "Fancy whole-head uncoated Carolina at a special of 9 cents per pound." As a matter of fact, there has not been sufficient Carolina rice raised in that State to supply the home demand, and the dealers in Charleston are obliged to purchase supplies from New Orleans and other rice-growing centers. The entire Carolina crop would just about feed the sparrows on Boston Common. The type rice that is being represented as a Carolina is a hybrid known throughout the South as the Blue Rose, and can be bought in New Orleans for 4 cents. Allowing for freight and a fair profit, the stock should be retailed on the Boston market at not over 6 cents a pound in small lots.

If the public are forced to pay unreasonable prices for rice, it will be due to the fact that the dealer is taking advantage of the high prices on other commodities to get an extra profit on rice.

We are in a measure paying indirectly for the war abroad, and every dealer in a commodity of any description should use his utmost efforts to keep down the price to the consumer rather than accept every opportunity to extort a little extra profit.

The high price of grain has prompted those throughout Massachusetts to deplete their stock of hogs, and to see a pig on a farm this year will be quite a novelty. It will be the incentive for the "trusts" to create extremely high prices on all pork products during the entire year, and for that reason the public will be obliged to adopt every known method of economy in order to make both ends meet. Many will attribute the existing conditions to a Democratic administration, but as a matter of fact had it not been for a Democratic administration this country would have been plunged into war long ago, and then the prices on commodities that appear so high to-day would figure extremely low under such conditions.

The public may rest assured that prices here to-day, irrespective of the advantages taken by the trusts, are really low as compared with the neutral countries abroad, reports to the contrary notwithstanding.

In conclusion, let me repeat that there is as much food value in 1 pound of rice as there is in 6 pounds of potatoes, so that a fancy river rice at 8 cents a pound would give as much feeding value as 48 cents' worth of potatoes. As a vegetable it is much more healthful and satisfying. Take 1 pound of rice and 1 quart of milk, at a total cost of 18 cents, and it would make a hearty meal for four adults. What should be agitated is a rice day throughout the country to encourage the use of the product.

There is no doubt potatoes will not go as low as $2 a bushel all this year, and the quicker we can induce the public to take to rice the better it will be for them. The best fertilizer you can get to-day is a 2–10–1, and to raise a decent crop a man should have a 2–8–6. Now, with such a deficient content of potash and scarcity of help, how in the name of goodness can you expect to get potatoes plentiful and cheap? We have an ample amount of potash in our soil, but it is dormant and will not come into action on potatoes or corn without a liberal use of the commercial potash, and the headquarters of that is in Germany.

Smith-Hughes Vocational Educational Bill.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN W. ABERCROMBIE,

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, February 16, 1917.

The House had under consideration the report of the conference committee on the bill (S. 703) to provide for the promotion of vocational education.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Committee on Education I trust that the report of the committee of conference will be adopted. The pending measure, which provides for the promotion of vocational training through cooperation between the Federal Government and the State governments, was prepared by the Commission on National Aid to Vocational Education which was appointed by President Wilson under a joint resolution adopted during the Sixty-third Congress. The personnel of that commission was such as to guarantee that the result of its labors would be what it proved to be, an illuminating contribution to the subject of vocational education.

The system of vocational education which is proposed will have a tendency to hold in the schools for a longer period the millions of boys and girls who under existing conditions withdraw at about 14 years of age vocationless, aimless, and helpless. It is estimated that about 50 per cent of our youths now withdraw from school at that age, most of them to enter occupations for which they have received no training. As a result an alarming number are doomed to lives of inefficiency, failure, and unhappiness.

It is believed that the proposed system will tend also to check the alarming drift of population from the rural districts to the cities. Formerly only one or two members of a farmer's family left the farm and moved to the city. To-day the entire family moves. One hundred years ago only 4 per cent of our people lived in towns and cities. To-day 40 per cent live in towns and cities. Nearly 25 per cent live in 50 cities. Between 1900 and 1910 population decreased in 769 counties, embracing an area of 472,462 square miles, or about one-sixth of the area of the entire country. In 327 other counties the increase amounted to less than 5 per cent, and in 561 counties the increase was only from 5 per cent to 15 per cent. Thus in 1,657 out of a total of 2,841 counties the population either decreased or increased at a rate far below the average increase of 21 per cent for the whole country. Practically all of these counties were rural.

During the decade ending in 1910 our rural population increased only 11.2 per cent, while the urban population increased 34.8 per cent. This means that the people in the rural districts have found agriculture unsatisfactory. They have found it unsatisfactory because they have not been adequately trained for it. A better system of agricultural education is needed to

meet the food demands of an ever-increasing population, both urban and rural. At the present rate of increase the population of the United States, with the beginning of the next century, will be about 450,000,000. Before the present century ends bread, something to eat, will be the world's dominant issue.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Will the gentleman permit an interruption?

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Yes.

Mr. SLAYDEN. The gentleman's statement that he thinks this will keep the youth in schools longer was interesting to me, because when I was taken through a very admirable vocational training department of the public schools in my city last year by the superintendent, he told me that the only drawback to the system was that it took them away from school earlier, that they got trades earlier and abandoned the academic training, and went to earning a living. The gentleman differs with him.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Yes; experience has proven that with few exceptions pupils remain in school longer on the average where vocational training is properly correlated with academic instruction. Where vocational instruction is not provided about 50 per cent of the pupils leave school by the time they have finished the fifth grade.

Mr. Speaker, the Commission on Vocational Education by which the pending bill was drafted estimates that of the 12,659,203 persons engaged in agriculture in the United States in 1910, less than 1 per cent had received adequate preparation, and that a like proportion of the 14,261,376 persons engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits were inadequately trained vocationally. The commission estimates, also, that through mortality and superannuation our great army of workers is reduced annually by about 1,000,000. Since it requires from two to four years of special training to prepare adequately for most callings, it is obvious that, omitting the obligation to those already at work, continuous vocational instruction for an average of 3,000,000 persons should be provided—must be provided—if we are to be an efficient people, individually and collectively.

To what extent have we made provision for vocational education? Are we doing for our youths what other Governments are doing for theirs? While here and there, notably in Wisconsin, good vocational schools have been established, the task is only begun. Compared with several other countries, Germany especially, we are far behind. In our entire domain of 48 States, with a population of over 100,000,000, there are fewer vocational schools than in the small Kingdom of Bavaria, which has a population only slightly larger than that of the city of New York. The city of Munich alone is training adequately a greater number than all of our larger cities combined. For 30 years practically every German citizen has received special training for his life work. As a result the people of Germany are universally conceded to be the most efficient in the world. That efficiency is due to her system of education, which guarantees to her children such training as will fit them for success in their occupations of life. What vocational education has done for the people of Germany it will do for the people of every other country.

Our natural resources are unexcelled by those of any other nation; but of what avail are they if we do not develop the intelligence, energy, and skill to use them wisely and in fullest measure? Vocational efficiency is needed to conserve and develop and utilize our natural resources, which, under existing conditions, are being exhausted and wasted. We are the most extravagant, the most wasteful people on earth.

Human labor is as essential to industrial and economic growth as are natural resources, and the nation that fails to conserve its labor through vocational guidance and training is as foolish as the one that wastes its natural resources. Yea; it is more foolish, for waste of human labor is the most costly, the most impoverishing form of material extravagance.

Practically all of the problems growing out of the lack of adequate vocational training for the masses are national, as well as local or State. A workman is trained in one State and plies his trade in another. Goods are manufactured in one State and used in another. Foods are produced in one State and consumed in another. People are born in one State and live in another. Interstate migration produces large net gains in some States—large net losses in others. In 1910 nearly 17,000,000 native-born citizens were living in States other than those of their birth. In this day of transportation, exchange, travel, visitation, and communication, we are one people, our problems are common problems, our duties common duties. The task of vocational education is National as well as State, local, and individual.

Vocational training is the most expensive form of education in both the trades and the professions, and imposes financial burdens in the bearing of which the entire Nation should participate. Cooperation between the Federal Government and the States is necessary, and such cooperation is provided in the pending bill.

Briefly stated, the provisions of the proposed act are as follows:

OBJECT AND SCOPE.

1. Appropriations to the States are made for two purposes:

(a) For the training of teachers of agricultural, trade, industrial, and home-economics subjects.

(b) For the salaries of teachers, supervisors, and directors of agricultural subjects, and of teachers of trade, industrial, and home-economics subjects.

2. Appropriations to a Federal board are made for administering these funds and for conducting studies and investigations in vocational subjects.

DIVISION OF APPROPRIATIONS.

1. For the training of teachers of vocational subjects the appropriations are as follows: For the fiscal year 1917–18, $500,000; for 1918–19, $700,000; for 1919–20, $900,000; for 1920–1, and annually thereafter, $1,000,000.

2. For the salaries of teachers, supervisors, and directors of agricultural subjects the appropriations are as follows: For the fiscal year 1917–18, $500,000, this amount to be increased by $250,000 a year until a total of $2,000,000 is reached in 1923–24, and thereafter the increase to be $500,000 annually until a maximum of $3,000,000 is attained in 1925–26, at which amount the annual appropriation shall remain.

3. For the salaries of teachers of trade, industrial, and home-economics subjects the appropriations are the same as for the salaries of teachers, supervisors, and directors of agricultural subjects. Not more than 20 per cent of these appropriations shall be expended for the salaries of teachers of home-economics subjects.

4. For administering the funds and for conducting studies and investigations in vocational subjects an annual appropriation of $200,000 is made to the Federal Board for Vocational Education.

5. Appropriations for the training of teachers of vocational subjects are to be allotted to the States in the proportion which their total population bears to the total population of the United States; those for paying the salaries of teachers, supervisors, and directors of agricultural subjects, in the proportion which their rural population bears to the total rural population of the United States; and those for paying the salaries of teachers of trade, industrial, and home-economics subjects in the proportion which their urban population bears to the total urban population of the United States.

In the beginning a State may elect to participate in the distribution of any one of the appropriations, but after June 30, 1920, it can not share in either of the appropriations for the payment of teachers' salaries unless it has made provision for the training of teachers of vocational subjects.

SCHOOLS AIDED.

1. Only schools under public supervision or control are to be aided.

2. The instruction given must be lower than college grade and designed to fit youths over 14 years of age for the useful occupations of life.

3. Three types of schools are to be aided:

(a) All-day schools, in which approximately half of the time is to be devoted to practical instruction in vocational subjects.

(b) Part-time schools, for those who have already entered employment. At least one-third of the amount appropriated to each State for teachers' salaries must be expended for the support of such schools.

(c) Evening schools, for youths over 16 years of age who are employed during the daytime, the instruction to be supplemental to their daily employment.

PLAN OF ADMINISTRATION.

1. A board, to be known as the Federal Board for Vocational Education, is created for the purpose of cooperating with the States in administering the funds and promoting vocational education. As recommended by the committee on conference, the board will consist of the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of Labor, the United States Commissioner of Education, and three members to be appointed by the President, one of whom shall be a representative of the agricultural interests, one a representative of the manufacturing and commercial interests, and one a representative of labor.

2. In order to share in the distribution of any of the funds the States are required through legislative action to create or designate State boards of not less than three members each, with which the Federal board will cooperate. The creation or designation of these boards is left entirely with the States. The State treasurers are made the custodians of the funds for their respective States.

3. The States are required through legislative action to accept the conditions set out, and this must be done before they can participate in the use of any one of the funds, provided that in any State whose legislature does not meet in 1917 the governor may appoint a board of not less than three members, or may designate an existing board, to administer the funds until the legislature meets in due course and has been in session 60 days.

4. The State boards, with the approval of the Federal board, will formulate plans, designate schools to be aided, select teachers, arrange courses of study, provide equipment, and have direct supervision of the work of instruction.

5. For every dollar paid from the funds allotted to any State for the salaries of teachers or for the training of teachers the State or local community, or both, will be required to expend an equal amount for the same purpose, and in addition meet all other costs of plant and maintenance, including salaries of other teachers necessary to complete well-rounded courses of instruction. So long as a State uses the funds in conformity with the purposes and provisions of the act it will receive its allotment in quarterly installments.

APPORTIONMENT BY STATES.

For the training of teachers of vocational subjects each State is granted not less than $5,000 annually until the close of the fiscal year 1918–19 and $10,000 per year thereafter.

For the salaries of teachers, supervisors, or directors of agricultural subjects each State is guaranteed not less than $5,000 annually until the close of the fiscal year 1922–23 and $10,000 per year thereafter. Like minimum amounts are guaranteed each State for the salaries of teachers of trade, industrial, and home-economics subjects.

The apportionment by States for a period of 10 years is shown in the following tables, which are based upon the census of 1910:

Table showing amounts which each State will receive for the training of teachers of vocational subjects.

State	Total population.		Allotment, 1917–18.	Maximum allotment, 1920–21, and annually thereafter.	Special allotment to guarantee $5,000 to each State in 1917–18.	Special allotment to guarantee $10,000 to each State beginning 1919–20.
	Number.	Percentage distribution.				
Alabama	2,138,093	2.32	$11,600	$23,200	.....	.....
Arizona	204,354	.22	1,100	2,200	$3,900	$7,800
Arkansas	1,574,449	1.71	8,550	17,100	.....	.....
California	2,377,549	2.58	12,900	25,800	.....	.....
Colorado	799,024	.87	4,350	8,700	650	1,300
Connecticut	1,114,756	1.21	6,050	12,100	.....	.....
Delaware	202,322	.22	1,100	2,200	3,900	7,800
District of Columbia	331,069	.36	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida	752,619	.82	4,100	8,200	900	1,800
Georgia	2,609,121	2.84	14,200	28,400	.....	.....
Idaho	325,594	.35	1,750	3,500	3,250	6,500
Illinois	5,638,591	6.13	30,650	61,300	.....	.....
Indiana	2,700,876	2.94	14,700	29,400	.....	.....
Iowa	2,224,771	2.42	12,100	24,200	.....	.....
Kansas	1,690,949	1.84	9,200	18,400	.....	.....
Kentucky	2,289,905	2.49	12,450	24,900	.....	.....
Louisiana	1,656,388	1.80	9,000	18,000	.....	.....
Maine	742,371	.81	4,050	8,100	950	1,900
Maryland	1,295,346	1.41	7,050	14,100	.....	.....
Massachusetts	3,366,416	3.66	18,300	36,600	.....	.....
Michigan	2,810,173	3.05	15,250	30,500	.....	.....
Minnesota	2,075,708	2.26	11,300	22,600	.....	.....
Mississippi	1,797,114	1.95	9,750	19,500	.....	.....
Missouri	3,293,335	3.58	17,900	35,800	.....	.....
Montana	376,053	.41	2,050	4,100	2,950	5,900
Nebraska	1,192,214	1.30	6,500	13,000	.....	.....
Nevada	81,875	.09	450	900	4,550	9,100
New Hampshire	430,572	.47	2,350	4,700	2,650	5,300
New Jersey	2,537,167	2.76	13,800	27,600	.....	.....
New Mexico	327,301	.36	1,800	3,600	3,200	6,400
New York	9,113,614	9.91	49,550	99,100	.....	.....
North Carolina	2,206,287	2.40	12,000	24,000	.....	.....
North Dakota	577,056	.63	3,150	6,300	1,850	3,700
Ohio	4,767,121	5.18	25,900	51,800	.....	.....
Oklahoma	1,657,155	1.80	9,000	18,000	.....	.....
Oregon	672,765	.73	3,650	7,300	1,350	2,700
Pennsylvania	7,665,111	8.33	41,650	83,300	.....	.....
Rhode Island	542,610	.59	2,950	5,900	2,050	4,100
South Carolina	1,515,400	1.65	8,250	16,500	.....	.....
South Dakota	583,888	.63	3,150	6,300	1,850	3,700
Tennessee	2,184,789	2.37	11,850	23,700	.....	.....
Texas	3,896,542	4.24	21,200	42,400	.....	.....
Utah	373,351	.41	2,050	4,100	2,950	5,900
Vermont	355,956	.39	1,950	3,900	3,050	6,100
Virginia	2,061,612	2.24	14,200	22,400	.....	.....
Washington	1,141,990	1.24	6,200	12,400	.....	.....
West Virginia	1,221,119	1.33	6,650	13,300	.....	.....
Wisconsin	2,333,860	2.54	12,700	25,400	.....	.....
Wyoming	145,965	.16	800	1,600	4,200	8,400
Total United States.	91,972,266	100.00	500,000	1,000,000	44,200	88,400

Table showing amounts which each State will receive for the salaries of teachers, supervisors, or directors of agricultural subjects.

State.	Rural population.		Allotment 1917–18.	Maximum allotment 1925–26.	Special allotment to guarantee $5,000 to each State in 1917–18.	Special allotment to guarantee $10,000 to each State in 1923–24.
	Number 1910.	Percentage distribution.				
Alabama	1,767,662	3.58	$17,900	$107,400	.....	.....
Arizona	141,094	.29	1,450	8,700	$3,550	$2,750
Arkansas	1,371,768	2.78	13,900	83,400	.....	.....
California	907,810	1.84	9,200	55,200	.....	.....
Colorado	394,184	.80	4,000	24,000	1,000	.....
Connecticut	114,917	.23	1,150	6,900	3,850	4,250
Delaware	105,267	.21	1,050	6,300	3,950	4,750
Florida	533,529	1.08	5,400	32,400	.....	.....
Georgia	2,070,471	4.20	21,000	126,000	.....	.....
Idaho	255,696	.52	2,600	15,600	2,400	.....
Illinois	2,161,662	4.38	21,900	131,400	.....	.....
Indiana	1,557,041	3.16	15,800	94,800	.....	.....
Iowa	1,544,717	3.13	15,650	93,900	.....	.....
Kansas	1,197,159	2.43	12,150	72,900	.....	.....
Kentucky	1,734,463	3.51	17,550	105,300	.....	.....
Louisiana	1,159,872	2.35	11,750	70,500	.....	.....
Maine	360,928	.73	3,650	21,900	1,350	.....
Maryland	687,154	1.29	6,450	38,700	.....	.....
Massachusetts	241,049	.49	2,450	14,700	2,550	.....
Michigan	1,483,129	3.01	15,050	90,300	.....	.....
Minnesota	1,225,414	2.48	12,400	74,400	.....	.....
Mississippi	1,589,803	3.22	16,100	96,600	.....	.....
Missouri	1,894,518	3.84	19,200	115,200	.....	.....
Montana	242,633	.49	2,450	14,700	2,550	.....
Nebraska	881,362	1.79	8,950	53,700	.....	.....
Nevada	68,508	.14	700	4,200	4,300	6,500
New Hampshire	175,473	.36	1,800	10,800	3,200	1,000
New Jersey	629,957	1.28	6,400	38,400	.....	.....
New Mexico	280,700	.56	2,800	16,800	2,200	.....
New York	1,928,120	3.91	19,550	117,300	.....	.....
North Carolina	1,887,813	3.83	19,150	114,900	.....	.....
North Dakota	513,820	1.04	5,200	31,200	.....	.....
Ohio	2,101,978	4.25	21,250	127,500	.....	.....
Oklahoma	1,337,000	2.71	13,550	81,300	.....	.....
Oregon	365,705	.74	3,700	22,200	1,300	.....
Pennsylvania	3,034,442	6.15	30,750	184,500	.....	.....
Rhode Island	17,956	.04	200	1,200	4,800	9,000
South Carolina	1,290,568	2.62	13,100	78,600	.....	.....
South Dakota	507,215	1.03	5,150	30,900	.....	.....
Tennessee	1,734,744	3.53	17,650	105,900	.....	.....
Texas	2,958,438	5.99	29,950	179,700	.....	.....
Utah	200,417	.40	2,000	12,000	3,000	.....
Vermont	187,013	.38	1,900	11,400	3,100	500
Virginia	1,585,083	3.21	16,050	96,300	.....	.....
Washington	536,460	1.09	5,450	32,700	.....	.....
West Virginia	992,877	2.01	10,050	60,300	.....	.....
Wisconsin	1,329,540	2.69	13,450	80,700	.....	.....
Wyoming	102,744	.21	1,050	6,300	3,950	4,750
Total United States	49,348,883	100.00	500,000	3,000,000	47,050	33,500

Table showing amounts which each State will receive for the salaries of teachers of trade, industrial, and home economics subjects.

State.	Urban population.		Allotment 1917–18.	Maximum allotment 1925–26.	Special allotment to guarantee $5,000 to each State in 1917–18.	Special allotment to guarantee $10,000 to each State beginning 1923–24.
	Number.	Percentage distribution.				
Alabama	370,431	0.87	$4,350	$26,100	$650	.....
Arizona	63,260	.15	750	4,500	4,250	$6,250
Arkansas	202,681	.48	2,400	14,400	2,600	.....
California	1,469,739	3.45	17,250	103,500	.....	.....
Colorado	404,840	.95	4,750	28,500	250	.....
Connecticut	999,839	2.35	11,750	70,500	.....	.....
Delaware	97,085	.23	1,150	6,900	3,850	4,250
District of Columbia	331,069	.78	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida	219,080	.51	2,550	15,300	2,450	.....
Georgia	538,650	1.26	6,300	37,800	.....	.....
Idaho	69,898	.16	800	4,800	4,200	6,000
Illinois	3,476,929	8.16	40,800	244,800	.....	.....
Indiana	1,143,835	2.68	13,400	80,400	.....	.....
Iowa	680,054	1.60	8,000	48,000	.....	.....
Kansas	493,790	1.16	5,800	34,800	.....	.....
Kentucky	555,442	1.30	6,500	39,000	.....	.....
Louisiana	496,516	1.16	5,800	34,800	.....	.....
Maine	381,443	.89	4,500	27,000	500	.....
Maryland	658,192	1.54	7,700	46,200	.....	.....
Massachusetts	3,125,367	7.33	36,650	219,900	.....	.....
Michigan	1,327,044	3.11	15,550	93,300	.....	.....
Minnesota	850,294	1.99	9,950	59,700	.....	.....
Mississippi	207,311	.49	2,450	14,700	2,550	.....
Missouri	1,398,817	3.28	16,400	98,400	.....	.....

Table showing amounts which each State will receive for the salaries of teachers of trade, industrial, and home economics subjects—Contd.

State.	Urban population. Number.	Urban population. Percentage distribution.	Allotment 1917-18.	Maximum allotment 1925-26.	Special allotment to guarantee $5,000 to each State in 1917-18.	Special allotment to guarantee $10,000 to each State beginning 1923-24.
Montana	133,420	0.31	$1,550	$9,300	$3,450	$2,250
Nebraska	310,852	.73	3,650	21,900	1,350	.....
Nevada	13,367	.03	150	900	4,850	9,250
New Hampshire	255,099	.60	3,000	18,000	2,000	.....
New Jersey	1,907,210	4.47	22,350	134,100	.....	.....
New Mexico	46,571	.11	550	3,300	4,450	7,250
New York	7,185,494	16.86	84,300	505,800	.....	.....
North Carolina	318,474	.75	3,750	22,500	1,250	.....
North Dakota	63,236	.15	750	4,500	4,250	6,250
Ohio	2,665,143	6.25	31,250	187,500	.....	.....
Oklahoma	320,155	.75	3,750	22,500	1,250	.....
Oregon	307,060	.72	3,600	21,600	1,400	.....
Pennsylvania	4,630,669	10.86	54,300	325,800	.....	.....
Rhode Island	524,654	1.23	6,150	36,900	.....	.....
South Carolina	224,832	.53	2,650	15,900	2,350	.....
South Dakota	76,673	.18	900	5,400	4,100	5,500
Tennessee	441,045	1.03	5,150	30,900	.....	.....
Texas	938,104	2.29	11,000	66,000	.....	.....
Utah	172,934	.41	2,050	12,300	2,950	.....
Vermont	168,943	.40	2,000	12,000	3,000	.....
Virginia	476,529	1.12	5,600	33,600	.....	.....
Washington	605,530	1.42	7,100	42,600	.....	.....
West Virginia	228,242	.54	2,700	16,200	2,300	.....
Wisconsin	1,004,320	2.36	11,800	70,800	.....	.....
Wyoming	43,221	.10	500	3,000	4,500	7,500
Total United States	42,623,383	100.00	500,000	3,000,000	64,750	54,500

Table showing total amounts each State will receive for a period of 10 years.

State.	1917-18	1918-19	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22
Alabama	$34,500	$49,615	$65,380	$78,825	$89,950
Arizona	15,000	15,000	15,000	20,000	20,000
Arkansas	27,450	37,820	48,190	57,850	66,000
California	39,350	57,735	76,120	91,925	105,150
Colorado	15,000	19,215	25,330	31,875	36,250
Connecticut	22,800	31,095	39,390	46,475	52,350
Delaware	15,000	15,000	15,000	20,000	20,000
Florida	15,400	18,840	23,280	29,875	33,850
Georgia	41,500	60,830	80,160	96,650	110,300
Idaho	15,000	15,000	15,200	21,500	22,800
Illinois	93,350	136,960	180,570	218,050	249,400
Indiana	43,900	64,380	84,860	102,400	117,000
Iowa	35,750	52,415	69,080	83,325	95,150
Kansas	27,150	39,805	52,460	63,275	72,250
Kentucky	36,500	53,505	70,510	85,025	97,050
Louisiana	26,550	38,925	51,300	61,875	70,650
Maine	15,000	17,895	23,590	30,375	34,450
Maryland	21,200	31,095	40,990	49,475	56,550
Massachusetts	59,950	85,595	111,240	134,350	153,900
Michigan	45,850	67,250	88,650	107,000	122,300
Minnesota	33,650	49,345	65,040	78,475	89,650
Mississippi	30,850	42,800	54,750	65,875	75,150
Missouri	53,500	78,460	103,420	124,800	142,600
Montana	15,000	15,000	15,000	21,125	22,350
Nebraska	20,450	28,000	36,900	44,500	50,800
Nevada	15,000	15,000	15,000	20,000	20,000
New Hampshire	15,000	15,000	16,000	22,500	24,400
New Jersey	43,550	62,445	82,340	99,475	113,850
New Mexico	15,000	15,000	15,600	22,000	23,400
New York	153,400	225,145	296,890	358,725	410,650
North Carolina	36,150	51,150	67,400	81,250	92,700
North Dakota	15,200	17,800	21,070	28,000	30,600
Ohio	78,400	115,010	151,620	183,050	209,300
Oklahoma	27,550	38,550	50,800	61,250	69,900
Oregon	15,000	16,060	21,170	28,250	31,900
Pennsylvania	126,700	185,885	245,070	295,925	338,450
Rhode Island	16,150	19,225	22,610	30,375	33,450
South Carolina	26,350	36,200	46,350	55,875	63,750
South Dakota	15,150	17,725	20,970	27,875	30,450
Tennessee	34,650	50,790	66,930	80,700	92,100
Texas	62,150	91,105	120,060	144,775	165,250
Utah	15,000	15,000	15,000	20,125	22,150
Vermont	15,000	15,000	15,000	20,000	21,700
Virginia	32,850	48,155	63,460	76,525	87,350
Washington	18,750	27,505	36,260	43,775	50,050
West Virginia	21,700	29,385	37,470	45,175	51,550
Wisconsin	37,950	55,655	73,360	88,525	101,150
Wyoming	15,000	15,000	15,000	20,000	20,000
Total	1,656,000	2,307,740	2,977,880	3,632,400	4,125,300

Table showing total amounts each State will receive for a period of 10 years—Continued.

State.	1922-23	1923-24	1924-25	1925-26 and 1926-27 each.	Total for 10 years.
Alabama	$101,075	$112,200	$134,450	$156,700	$979,395
Arizona	20,075	20,800	30,000	30,000	215,875
Arkansas	74,150	82,300	98,600	114,900	722,160
California	118,375	131,600	158,050	184,500	1,147,305
Colorado	40,625	45,000	53,750	62,500	392,045
Connecticut	58,225	64,100	80,850	92,600	580,485
Delaware	20,000	20,000	30,000	30,000	215,000
Florida	37,825	41,800	49,750	57,700	366,020
Georgia	123,950	137,600	164,900	192,200	1,209,290
Idaho	24,100	25,400	33,000	35,600	243,200
Illinois	280,750	312,100	374,800	477,500	2,720,980
Indiana	131,600	146,200	175,400	204,600	1,274,940
Iowa	106,975	118,800	142,450	166,100	1,036,145
Kansas	81,225	90,200	108,150	126,100	786,715
Kentucky	109,075	121,100	145,150	169,200	1,056,315
Louisiana	79,425	88,200	105,750	123,300	769,275
Maine	38,525	42,600	50,750	58,900	370,985
Maryland	63,625	70,700	84,850	99,000	616,485
Massachusetts	173,450	193,000	232,100	271,200	1,685,985
Michigan	137,600	152,900	183,500	214,100	1,333,250
Minnesota	90,825	112,000	134,350	156,700	966,735
Mississippi	84,425	93,700	112,250	130,800	821,400
Missouri	160,400	178,200	213,800	249,400	1,553,980
Montana	24,000	26,000	32,250	34,700	240,125
Nebraska	57,100	63,400	76,000	88,600	554,350
Nevada	20,000	20,000	30,000	30,000	215,000
New Hampshire	26,800	29,200	35,000	38,800	261,500
New Jersey	128,225	142,600	171,350	200,100	1,244,035
New Mexico	24,800	26,200	34,000	36,800	249,600
New York	462,575	514,500	618,350	722,200	4,484,635
North Carolina	104,150	115,600	138,500	161,400	1,009,700
North Dakota	33,200	35,800	46,000	51,200	330,079
Ohio	235,550	261,800	314,300	366,800	2,282,630
Oklahoma	78,550	87,200	104,500	121,800	761,900
Oregon	35,550	39,200	46,500	53,800	341,230
Pennsylvania	380,975	423,500	508,550	593,600	3,692,255
Rhode Island	36,525	39,600	50,750	56,900	362,485
South Carolina	71,625	79,500	95,250	111,000	696,900
South Dakota	33,025	35,600	45,750	50,900	328,345
Tennessee	103,500	114,900	137,700	160,500	1,002,270
Texas	185,725	206,200	247,150	288,100	1,798,615
Utah	24,175	26,200	30,250	34,300	236,500
Vermont	23,650	25,600	30,000	33,400	232,750
Virginia	98,175	109,000	130,650	152,300	950,765
Washington	56,325	62,600	75,150	87,700	545,815
West Virginia	57,925	64,300	77,050	89,800	564,155
Wisconsin	113,775	126,400	151,650	176,900	1,102,265
Wyoming	20,000	20,000	30,000	30,000	215,000
Total	4,619,450	5,114,600	6,176,400	7,162,200	44,934,170

Arming of American Merchant Ships.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE B. MILLER,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, under the authority granted me to extend my remarks, I am inserting, for the purpose of giving it publicity, a letter I have just received signed by the principal and teachers of the State high school at Sauk Center, Minn. These signers are nearly all college men and women of the West, and I desire that this expression from them be placed in the RECORD as in striking contrast to that which came from 150 college men and women of the East who appeared before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House, of which I am a member, a short time ago. This large delegation that appeared before our committee vehemently protested against military preparedness, protested against taking any steps for the protection of American life and property on the high seas, and some of them at least announced they were opposed to fighting, even though this country should be invaded by a foreign foe. In other words, if any foreigner wanted this country bad enough to take it, they would surrender without a blow in its defense. The sentiments thus expressed by these young men and women filled me with grave concern and some alarm. If their ideas are shared generally by the young college men and women of the country, there is no future for the country. We might as

well haul down the flag now and turn this country over to a people who have wisdom enough and courage enough to set up a government here that will last. These expressions are not simply those of pacifists; they are those of persons lacking in every element of patriotism, lacking in every essential element of citizenship that means for the safety and perpetuity of the Nation. If any institutions are inculcating doctrines similar to those presented by this delegation, and are receiving State aid or governmental aid, they should be a subject of immediate inquiry. If they are private institutions in that their income is independent of any State or Federal assistance and they are inculcating doctrines of this character, it should be the duty of this Government to make inquiry into the character of the institution then. But I can not bring myself to believe that the sentiments expressed before our committee are shared by more than a few who constitute a decided exception to the general class. Those who came here probably represented no one but themselves. Nevertheless, they went on record as representing the sentiment in some 50 colleges, and the leading colleges, too, of the East.

The letter which I have received is as follows:

STATE HIGH SCHOOL,
Sauk Center, Minn., February 22, 1917.

Hon. C. B. MILLER,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MILLER: We believe that the extreme pacifists are dangerous and a menace to the country and therefore should be interned. We are in favor of strongly supporting the President in taking a firm stand to uphold all the rights of Americans. We are against a referendum vote on the question of war. We believe the President and Congress should have all the power as they now have. We believe that Congress should back up the President in all his acts in maintaining the rights of this country before the world, and we sincerely hope that every Congressman will do all in his power to give the President support under strong leadership.

Trusting this will receive your consideration, we are,
Very truly, yours,

R. A. MCGEE.
L. O. MYHRE.
C. E. LUCAS.
M. D. AYGARN.
O. E. STEPLL.
H. M. BISEL.

There is one feature of this that gives me especial pleasure. One of the signers and the principal of the school is Mr. M. D. Aygarn. I would expect a sentiment of this kind to come from a school in his control. Some twenty or more years ago he was a student in the Rushford High School, of which I was principal. He spent three years and graduated, later going to the State university, where he made a splendid record. In the Rushford High School I organized a military company of the young men, purely voluntary in character. Mr. Aygarn was one of those who took the drill. This was the first military company ever organized in any high school of Minnesota. I can not help but feel that the seed then sown has brought forth fruit.

I have also recently received a telegram from the Commercial Club of Cloquet, a splendid city in my district. The patriotic spirit of this telegram is worthy of wide publicity. It is as follows:

CLOQUET, MINN., *March 3, 1917.*

Hon. CLARENCE B. MILLER,
Washington, D. C.:

The Cloquet Commercial Club urges you to give your unqualified support to the President in the present crisis to the end that he may be clothed with the necessary authority to protect the lives and property of American citizens and uphold the honor and dignity of this great country.

CLOQUET COMMERCIAL CLUB,
JOHN G. WHAVENS, *President.*
C. B. MCDONALD, *Secretary.*

But about the most interesting communication I have received on this subject—and I have received several thousand on one side or the other—is a letter that has just come to me from an old Confederate veteran, who now lives in Minneapolis.

His letter is as follows:

MARCH 3, 1917.

DEAR MR. MILLER: I desire to convey to you my warmest thanks for the courtesy you extended to me when I was at the reunion of the Blue and the Gray at Gettysburg July, 1913. I also, through you, herewith tender my services to the United States of America in the event of war between the United States and Germany to serve in any capacity where I can best serve my country in her hour of need.

I was in the Confederate Army for four years in Longstreet's Corps, Hood's Division, Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. Am 74 years old and capable of doing good service for many years yet, and am willing to devote my life to my country under Old Glory. I had a good record in the army. I escaped from Rock Island prison September 8, 1864, made my way to Canada, and was with J. Y. Beall September 20, 1864, when 22 of us captured the steamers *Philo Parsons* and *The Island Queen* on Lake Erie and scuttled and sunk them.

There is lot of ginger in me yet, and I want to show my loyalty to Uncle Sam before I die.

With kindest remembrances, I am,
Very respectfully,

DAVID H. ROSS.
Company C, Eighth Regiment Georgia Volunteers.

I can not too strongly commend the spirit this man displays. It is a positive inspiration to the young men and women of today and a stinging rebuke to that skim-milk patriotism, which we frequently meet. It is inspiring to know that it correctly expresses, as I firmly believe, that ardent love of country and willingness to make any sacrifice for her safety that animates the splendid men and women of the South. We do not want war. We should do everything we honorably can to prevent our country entering into a war with any country, but if our best efforts fail in this direction, then the stern call to duty should be responded to by every citizen of this Republic. If the hour does come, I believe we shall see the splendid citizenship of the South vieing with the loyal ones of the North to take a front rank among the defenders of the land.

Representative Government.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM GORDON,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted Members of the House, I insert copy of recent correspondence with the secretary of the Twentieth District Democratic Club, of Cleveland, Ohio.

The correspondence is as follows:

TWENTIETH DISTRICT DEMOCRATIC CLUB,
Cleveland, Ohio, February 17, 1917.

Hon. WILLIAM GORDON,
Congressman, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: As secretary of the Twentieth District Democratic Club, I am directed to inclose to you a copy of a resolution passed at the meeting last night.

With kind wishes, I am,
Very respectfully, GEORGE J. W. MATHEWS,
Secretary.

TWENTIETH DISTRICT DEMOCRATIC CLUB,
Cleveland, Ohio, February 17, 1917.

On motion made and seconded at a meeting of the Twentieth District Democratic Club, held last night, the following resolution was introduced by Joseph J. Devney, and copy of same ordered sent to Hon. Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America; also copy to Hon. WILLIAM GORDON, Representative of the twentieth congressional district of Ohio:

"Whereas the Representative of the twentieth congressional district of Ohio, Hon. WILLIAM GORDON, voted against House bill 20632, providing for an appropriation to better prepare this Nation to protect itself in case of war; and

"Whereas the President may have conceived the impression that Mr. GORDON reflects the sentiment of his district in respect to preparedness: Be it

"*Resolved by the Twentieth District Democratic Club*, That it is our firm conviction Mr. GORDON does not represent the sentiment of his district in this respect, but that it stands as solidly behind the policy of the President in dealing with foreign affairs as any district in the country; be it further

"*Resolved*, That we hereby pledge our loyalty and express our unlimited confidence in this trying situation in our great President, Hon. Woodrow Wilson; be it further

"*Resolved*, That we respectfully request and urge our Representative to stand firmly with the President in this crisis and support the preparedness program, so that in case of war it may be ended as quickly as possible and hasten the day when the President's splendid program for permanent peace may be consummated."

GEORGE J. W. MATHEWS,
Secretary Twentieth District Democratic Club.

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., March 1, 1917.

GEORGE J. W. MATHEWS,
Secretary Twentieth District Democratic Club,
1455 West Fiftieth Street, Cleveland, Ohio.

DEAR SIR: I have just received your letter dated February 17, but postmarked at Cleveland, Ohio, February 27, 1917, inclosing carbon copy of resolution introduced by Joseph J. Devney, re-

citing, in substance, that in my vote against H. R. 20632 I did not represent the sentiment of my district, and "that the district is solidly behind the policy of the President in dealing with our foreign affairs" and in favor of "providing for an appropriation to better prepare this Nation to protect itself in case of war."

Permit me to congratulate the gentlemen who voted for this resolution for their assurance of support of President Wilson in dealing with our foreign relations. I have continuously supported his conduct of our foreign affairs and aided him in every way in my power to maintain the honor and dignity of this Nation in his negotiations with foreign nations, and expect to continue to do so. I have supported all legislation which, in my judgment, was adequate and necessary to protect this Nation in the event of war, and shall continue to do so.

When H. R. 20632 was pending in the House I voted to recommit the bill to the Committee on Naval Affairs with instructions to report the same forthwith back to the House with the following amendments: "Strike out all appropriations for 2 of the 3 battleships now carried in the bill and insert in lieu thereof appropriations for the construction of 30 destroyers instead of 15, and for 30 submarines instead of 18, the type and cost of such additional destroyers and submarines to be the same as those now carried in the bill." I supported this amendment because I believed that it would render our Navy more efficient and because the destroyers and submarines are less expensive, better suited for our defense, more effective, and, being smaller craft, could be provided more quickly than the battleships, as the Government has been notified that the battleships authorized last year can not be completed within four years. The House rejected this motion to recommit, and I voted against the bill because I believed that if it were defeated it would be perfected by amendment to better meet the public requirements.

I wish you would assure Mr. Devney and the other gentlemen who are apprehensive as to the official action of their Representative in Congress that so long as I have the honor to represent the twentieth district I shall support the President when he is right, and when I believe he is wrong I will do my best to put him right; that as a Member of Congress I shall vote for and support such measures as in my judgment are necessary to provide for the adequate defense of this Nation, and that in all matters I shall be governed by the highest and best interests of the people of the United States, as I see them; but that while I remain a Member of Congress I alone am responsible for my official conduct to the people of the twentieth district, and I shall not delegate my authority to anyone. If the gentlemen who are complaining in this resolution want a rubber stamp for a Congressman, who will simply echo and record the opinions of some one else who is not officially responsible to my constituents, then they ought to have selected some one other than myself. I made this very clear in my campaign for renomination and reelection, and my position remains unchanged.

You will please communicate the contents of this letter to the gentlemen who voted for the resolution which you mailed me.

Yours, truly,

WILLIAM GORDON.

Recipe to Cure and Prevent the Spreading of Foot-and-Mouth Disease.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. KING,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, a short while ago I received from Mr. J. L. Hammett, whose address is 90 Canal Street, Boston, Mass., a communication offering a recipe for the cure of the foot-and-mouth disease and requesting that it be circulated and given publicity among the farmers and stock raisers of the country. I suggested to Mr. Hammett, who, as I understand it, is a practical stockman of many years experience, that if he would forward me the recipe in detail I would be glad to have it extended in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the benefit of those interested as part of my remarks. Mr. Hammett thereupon forwarded me the following recipe, to wit, to cure and prevent the spreading of foot-and-mouth disease:

First. Make the stable floor as dry and clean as possible and sprinkle it with air-slaked lime.

Second. Select out from the herd all affected animals and place them on the floor thus prepared (each confined to a stanchion the same as the well ones).

Third. Give each in their morning feed (of either dry or wet mash) a heaping tablespoonful of flowers of sulphur.

Fourth. Wash their feet clean with warm soapsuds and sprinkle powdered blue vitriol freely on the hair near the hoof and between the toes. Give the sulphur and powder the feet every morning till cured. Keep them dry and warm and give them plenty of fresh air. Do not let them run out in the rain or walk out in the mud, but let them out in the sun pleasant days on dry ground for exercise.

Give all the rest of the herd a half dose of sulphur each three mornings and there will be no spread after the first treatment.

Supplementary to this I will add that a tablespoonful or more of powdered charcoal is always good to aid digestion, and I put it in when mine were being treated. For swine do just as some sheepherders have done in New England for a hundred years. Make a large trough and march them through some 4 inches of a weak solution of blue vitriol and give them a half spoonful each of sulphur in their feed for three mornings. Give all the herd a little sulphur. In fact, all animals need a little regularly as often as twice a month to keep them in first-class trim.

Mr. Hammett also accompanied the recipes by the following supplementary statement, to wit:

Foot-and-mouth disease of cattle, sheep, and swine is not so fearful a calamity as it is generally supposed to be if properly treated when it first appears. Dr. T. W. White, of the Board of Animal Industry of Massachusetts, wrote December 9, 1914, in reply to a protest against killing a herd where only a few were sick, and for which the State and Federal Governments later paid over $40,000 for their destruction: "I do not know of any instance where anyone contends that foot-and-mouth disease is not curable or where the animals do not in more than 95 per cent recover without any treatment whatever. In fact, so far as the present outbreak goes, I have not heard of a single death among the animals affected; largely the reason for killing and the vigorous efforts made to thoroughly cleanse the premises has to do solely with the economic question of destroying a few animals that the disease may not spread to countless numbers."

The fearfully contagious character of the disease has been the belief that has led to drastic laws for its treatment. Now, if it can be proved that a simple treatment costing not over 10 cents a head and a little labor has for over 40 years cured every herd affected with the disease where it has been tried, and that in every case there has been no spread to other herds, is it not about time a campaign of education along the line of prevention and cure was started and the laws requiring killing and quarantining wiped off our statute books?

Several remedies have been used, such as burnt alum, saltpeter, camphor, borax, sulphur, oil, and creoline for feet, and several other drugs in various combinations, and cures resulted with no spread to other herds. But the simplest remedy, the one most easily understood and applied, and one that has never failed is a heaping tablespoonful of flour of sulphur every morning in their feed and wash their feet with warm soapsuds and sprinkle them freely with powdered blue vitriol. Sprinkle the stable floor with air-slaked lime, keep them warm and dry. Do not let them go out in the mud, but give them plenty of fresh air. A spoonful or more of powdered charcoal has been added to their feed in several cases with good effect. Killing and quarantining has never stamped it out of any country so but what it has reappeared in from two to six years, and Philip Haller, of 2754 Broadway, New York, wrote as follows March 23, 1915: "I am a German, but have lived for over 20 years in England, but for the last 7 months I was staying in Germany, and I know as a fact that in Germany cattle suffering from hoof-and-mouth disease are not killed off, as I was staying in a village where the disease had broken out in one stable and I was therefore able to learn exactly how the authorities over there go to work. But my knowledge is not derived from this village alone. I know of other villages where the disease has appeared and made full inquiry and gathered all the information as to what was being done. As soon as the hoof-and-mouth disease appears in any stable in the village that stable is isolated in the best possible way, but no killing is done either to infected cattle or other domestic animals, but a war is waged against rats, and everybody in the immediate neighborhood of the stable is compelled to destroy rats. The hoof and mouth of the suffering animals are thoroughly washed out twice a day with disinfectant, the stable also washed with disinfectant and thoroughly limed, and invariably within three or four weeks the disease dies out and rarely appears in any other stable."

In order to ascertain whether or not there was anything harmful in the recipes so given to the country by Mr. Hammett, the following correspondence took place between myself and Drs. A. D. Melvin and J. R. Mohler, Chief and Acting Chief of the Bureau of Animal Industry, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.:

FEBRUARY 10, 1917.

Dr. A. D. MELVIN,
Chief of Bureau of Animal Industry, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR DR. MELVIN: A stockman, who claims to have had a great deal of experience with the foot-and-mouth disease, has sent me a recipe for its cure, which is as follows, to wit: "To cure and prevent the spreading of the foot-and-mouth disease—

"First. Make the stable floor as dry and clean as possible, and sprinkle it with air-slaked lime.

"Second. Select out from the herd all affected animals and place them on the floor thus prepared (each confined to a stanchion the same as the well ones).

"Third. Give each in their morning feed (of either dry or wet mash) a heaping tablespoonful of flowers of sulphur.

"Fourth. Wash their feet clean with warm soapsuds and sprinkle powdered blue vitriol freely on the hair near the hoof and between the toes. Give the sulphur and powder the feet every morning till cured. Keep them dry and warm, and give them plenty of fresh air. Do not let them run out in the rain or walk out in the mud, but let them out in the sun pleasant days on dry ground for exercise. Give all the rest of the herd a half dose of sulphur each three mornings and there will be no spread after the first treatment.

"I will add that a tablespoonful or more of powdered charcoal is always good to aid digestion, and I put it in where mine were being treated. For swine do just as some shepherds have done in New Eng-

land for a hundred years. Make a large trough and march them through some 4 inches of a weak solution of blue vitriol and give them a half spoonful each of sulphur in their feed for three mornings. Give all the herd a little sulphur. In fact, all animals need a little regularly as often as twice a month to keep them in first-class trim."

I do not know whether there is any merit in the above or not, but I would thank you to give me your opinion as to whether or not any harm could result therefrom.

Yours, very truly,

EDWARD J. KING.

—

WASHINGTON, *February 13, 1917.*

Hon. EDWARD J. KING,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. KING: I am in receipt of your letter of February 10, submitting a recipe from a stockman for the cure of foot-and-mouth disease and wishing to know whether or not any harm could result therefrom. In reply I believe all standard textbooks on the subject claim that there is no specific remedy known for foot-and-mouth disease, and it is therefore frequently recommended in countries like France, Italy, Russia, and Germany, where the disease is indigenous; that treatment should be directed toward allaying the local inflammatory processes as well as preventing severe complications. Blue vitriol is one of the drugs most frequently recommended for such palliative treatment, and occasionally flowers of sulphur is likewise recommended, but it is known definitely that neither of these drugs, alone or in combination, will prevent the spread of foot-and-mouth disease.

As you know, this disease is one of the most contagious of animal infections and no experiments over which the department had any control have ever been permitted on account of the danger of the disease getting beyond control. Inasmuch as there is no foot-and-mouth disease in the country at the present time it would not be possible to make a test of the recipe.

Most animals will recover from foot-and-mouth disease with or without treatment, but it is practically impossible while the infected animals are being held for recovery to prevent the spread of the infection to others; in fact, the disease would be likely to spread faster than it could be cured and therein lies the harm which could result from the treatment mentioned.

Very truly, yours,

A. D. MELVIN,
Chief Bureau of Animal Industry,
Agriculture Department.

—

FEBRUARY 19, 1917.

Dr. A. D. MELVIN,
Bureau of Animal Industry, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR DR. MELVIN: I am in receipt of yours of the 13th instant, and in reply to mine of the 10th instant, concerning recipe from a stockman for the cure of the foot-and-mouth disease, I thank you for the information given me in your communication.

There is, however, one thing that I would like to know, and which you have possibly overlooked, and that is this: Is there anything harmful to the animal treated as per this recipe? I understand the harm which might be done by the spreading of this disease.

Yours, very truly,

EDWARD J. KING.

—

FEBRUARY 20, 1917.

Hon. EDWARD J. KING,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. KING: Replying to your letter of February 19, I beg to advise you that there is nothing harmful in the proper doses of flowers of sulphur and blue vitriol suggested for cattle and hogs by your correspondent. In fact, flowers of sulphur mixed with molasses is a farm remedy given to many children as a spring-time tonic in certain sections of this country, and blue vitriol solution has been frequently used in different strengths with more or less success in foot-rot of sheep, foul foot of cattle, and intestinal parasitism of hogs and sheep. As previously stated, the harm would lie in attempting to treat foot-and-mouth disease cases with these drugs, thereby permitting the disease to spread faster than it could be controlled.

Very truly, yours,

J. R. MOHLER,
Acting Chief Bureau of Animal Industry,
Department of Agriculture.

Arming of American Merchant Ships.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD COOPER,
OF WEST VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 1, 1917.

Mr. COOPER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I have refrained from making any comments on the international situation. Now that the die has been cast I feel that the people of my district are entitled to know my views on this important resolution. The discussion which has gone on here almost daily for a number of days I have deplored. The headlines in the daily papers have done much to inflame the public. But, after all has been said and done, the American people will uphold the stand taken by the President to protect American lives and property.

The Representatives of West Virginia, while undertaking to carry out the wishes of the people of their respective districts, are not unmindful of the fact that on February 5, 1917, house joint resolution No. 13 was passed by the house of delegates and the State senate of West Virginia, approving the course of the President of the United States in severing diplomatic relations with the Imperial German Government, and pledging to the National Government the support of the people of West Virginia.

My influence has always been exerted for peace, but I do not believe in peace at any price. I am convinced we can not much longer remain out of the European struggle unless we are willing to sacrifice principles the American people have contended for since the organization of our Government. We have always believed in freedom of the seas, and our good American blood has been given up time and time again in the defense of those principles.

Every honorable effort has been made to keep this country out of war, and every effort honorable with American ideas of right and justice will continue to be made to keep out of the terrible conflict now going on in Europe. But we can not accept the ideas of one of the belligerents that it has a right to prescribe the places to which we shall be permitted to sail our ships, and if we sail our ships other than in the manner dictated to us by this belligerent, our ships will be sunk without notice by a new instrument of destruction—the submarine.

This Nation must not be allowed to become only a Nation of money makers. Death and misery on the battle fields of Europe have brought prosperity throughout this land, and many of our rights violated by the warring nations of Europe have been forgotten by the desire to make dollars out of the misery of others. The time has arrived when we must either accept "peace at any price," with a temporary chance to earn gold, or insist upon the protection of our rights on the high seas and elsewhere secured for us by the blood of our forefathers shed upon many battle fields.

Mr. Speaker, I desire to have published as part of my remarks a copy of a letter written by Albert Sidney Johnston—one of our West Virginia fighting editors—to the President of the United States, which letter, in my opinion, breathes the spirit of the people of West Virginia on the international situation. Mr. Johnston is recognized in West Virginia as one of our most able editors, and words from his pen at this time are read with interest by the people of our State:

[The Monroe Watchman, A. S. Johnston, editor and publisher.]

UNION, W. VA., *February 14, 1917.*

The Hon. WOODROW WILSON,
President of the United States, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Just a word, Mr. President, from an average citizen in intimate touch with his fellows to assure you that our people are with you. You know far better than I the unrepresentative character of the noisy and well meaning but utterly mistaken pacificists. Of course we all want peace, but not at the price of American honor and the continued and inhuman sacrifice of the lives of American citizens while engaged in their lawful and peaceful pursuits.

Our fathers fought and bled to establish the rights we now enjoy, and we, their children, are not willing to supinely surrender them and have America become a vassal state.

Mr. President, you have our full confidence and support. I have three sons eligible to military duty. It is needless to say they are dear to me; but they are all at the service of our country for the defense of her high and indisputable rights.

May God continue to give you a right judgment and further you with his continual help.

Most truly, yours,

A. S. JOHNSTON.

(Copy to Hon. EDWARD COOPER.)

Brief Review of the 64th Congress of Especial Interest to First District of Massachusetts.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALLEN T. TREADWAY,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, the Sixty-fourth Congress having closed its sessions, it is proper that the people receive some report from Members relative to legislation of direct effect upon their interests. It has been my purpose during my membership in Congress to keep the people of my district as thoroughly informed as possible about public matters and have invited a free expression of opinion from them. I am glad to say I find this invitation being accepted more generally as time goes on. My correspondence continues to increase, and the views of my constituents are more freely expressed now than at any previous time.

The Sixty-fourth Congress has been a memorable one. President Wilson was insistent upon having enacted into law various ideas of his own, but many of these have failed as a result of the international situation. I do not intend to dwell at this time upon general subjects. It has, however, been gratifying to receive so many words of commendation when I have considered it my duty to place patriotism above partisanship and vote for such measures as carried with them the defense and protection

of American citizens on sea and land, together with a better preparedness for national defense.

My constituents will recall that I voted against the McLemore resolution and voted for the armed neutrality bill, which was so recently defeated in the Senate, together with all measures looking to better preparedness of the Nation both on land and sea. I have consistently favored and intend to continue to favor the construction of a Navy amply able to defend American rights. It is unfortunate that the military bill failed of passage, as it carried appropriations needed for defense under the new conditions with which the Nation is now confronted. This, however, can be corrected promptly on the assembling of the special session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, which has been called. I am not a believer in national aggrandizement, but as a world power upon which new responsibilities will be forced after readjustment in the Old World we must continue, as we have begun, to be suitably prepared to maintain our present position. I believe the better the preparation the less danger of disagreement with other countries.

Upon the assembling of the next Congress as an adjunct to preparedness the question of universal military training will be prominent, and it is a subject to which much attention will be devoted. But it is only my intention, as previously stated, to touch briefly in review upon matters of local interest.

Two bills of considerable interest in Massachusetts have become law.

They are the vocational educational bill and the so-called "good-roads bill." As finally agreed upon there was very little opposition to the vocational educational bill. Like many other Federal statutes, Massachusetts had set the example along this line. Doubtless this act will be beneficial in coordinating and making uniform the great subject of vocational education and rendering a benefit in this connection to other communities similar to that which we in Massachusetts had started as a State. Vocational education is one of the pressing subjects of the day, and it is gratifying to find that the people throughout the country have become aroused to its benefits.

Another measure in which Massachusetts seems to have set the example is that providing compensation for injuries to Federal employees. I spoke in favor of this bill when it came before the first session and pointed out that Massachusetts was one of the first, if not the first, State to put upon its statute books a comprehensive workingmen's compensation act. I also called attention to the fact that during the five years the act has been in existence in the Bay State it has been very widely extended, so that to-day not only all forms of corporate employment but likewise the employees of the State, the employees of cities, counties, and towns, if those units desire, shall be provided for under the comprehensive act on our statute books in Massachusetts. The committee in framing the bill appeared to have given careful attention to the operation of the statute in Massachusetts.

The "good-roads bill" did not appeal to the representatives from Massachusetts. We recognized the able manner in which the subject of State highways has been handled by our State commission. We also considered that the subject is one for State action rather than for national action. Further, under the act as passed by Congress the contribution from the State of Massachusetts by taxation is far in excess of that which will be returned to the State. In other words, we will be building roads for other States, for which they have not seen fit to tax themselves as Massachusetts has done.

Even more sweepingly does the recent revenue law affect Massachusetts than this "good-roads bill" in a particularly unjust way. This law, which was insisted upon by the majority in the face of the strongest kind of northern opposition in Congress, appears most unfair, with its exorbitant taxation of the business interests in the northern States, and especially as regards the industries of Massachusetts. It is another instance of the present domination of the South in placing the burden of the taxes upon the North, while the cotton growers are permitted to continue their occupation untouched by this unjust law. "Preparedness" is the excuse, but an undue proportion of additional revenue is required for unnecessary measures in no connection therewith.

I was very glad to be instrumental in securing recognition of the claim of Massachusetts under the Federal statute for assistance in support of the nautical training school. I introduced a bill to pay the State of Massachusetts the amount which had accumulated since the act was passed, namely, $125,000. This was incorporated in the naval bill at the first session of the Sixty-fourth Congress and has been paid to the State treasurer. The present naval bill, now law, carries the same item for the past fiscal year, namely, $25,000, which in due time will reach our State treasury.

Certain bills looking to increase of pay for letter carriers and post-office employees and a leave of absence for them when incapacitated received my hearty support, and at hearings which were held by the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads I spoke for the Madden and Griffin bills. The last Post Office appropriation bill carries an amendment proposed by Mr. Madden, of Illinois, by which a much larger percentage of clerks and carriers in first and second class offices are entitled to an increase of pay, which is thoroughly deserved. I shall hope to see a similar increase given to other classes in the near future, as well as to the rural carriers. Continued interest in the Madden and Griffin bills will be shown and their passage eventually expected.

There are frequent cases where veterans of the Civil War are entitled to special acts carrying a higher rate of pension than the statutes actually provide. Several of these cases have come to my attention during this Congress, and it has been a pleasure to me to secure favorable consideration of them. One especially striking instance was that of a blind chaplain of a Grand Army of the Republic post in the district. This man, who had an honorable service of practically four years in the Civil War, in which he received wounds in the body, left the Army in possession of his eyesight; but three years later he was injured so that he became totally blind. He has received $30 monthly under special act, but in view of the high cost of living and the fact that he has an invalid wife, who is unable to get about except in a wheel chair, an increase to $50 seemed a just amount for this meritorious case. I had the honor of securing passage of the bill for this fine old gentleman, who has the love and respect of all who know him in his community.

An item of great importance to the eastern section of the first district of Massachusetts is the subject of agreement between private corporations developing hydroelectric power and the Federal Government, permitting the use of navigable streams for this purpose, which, at the same time, benefits navigation. It is on this form of agreement that development of navigation on the Connecticut River depends. The Board of Engineers of the United States Army has recommended that such an agreement may be entered into. It is understood that private capital can be secured. The hindrance is the present form of the so-called general dam act. It must be amended in such a way as to invite private capital. One form of amendment has passed the House and another has passed the Senate, but neither was acceptable to both bodies. It is a cause of great regret that such a stream of water as the Connecticut River above Hartford can not be made available both for navigation and power purposes. The administration advocates remedial legislation. It seems to me that the so-called conservationists have overstepped themselves in continually compelling the waste of the amount of power that could be developed in the Connecticut River rather than aiding in conserving it by use.

Eventually this legislation will be adopted, and I assure my friends that no subject will receive more attention from me while in Congress than Connecticut River navigation. I have, in the Sixty-third and Sixty-fourth Congresses, served on the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, where I have endeavored to consistently oppose appropriations for small and useless streams which cause this kind of legislation to be designated as "pork barrel." To this I am bitterly opposed but not to such appropriations as will deepen harbors for carrying on great commerce or for streams as worthy of development as the Connecticut River.

The agricultural interests have been given careful consideration by the Sixty-fourth Congress. Much experimental work has been authorized of direct effect upon crops and products. One of the crying needs to-day is a closer relationship between the producer and the consumer, that one may secure a fair return for his product and the other may purchase the necessaries of life more reasonably. There are great opportunities to secure information upon all subjects pertaining to rural life. Let your wants be known to your Congressman and you will find him anxious to place any literature or advice possible in your hands.

As the Sixty-fourth Congress closed with grave responsibilities resting upon the shoulders of your Representatives, so the Sixty-fifth Congress opens. No man can accept such a position of trust without feeling the need of assistance. I hope to receive and benefit by the support of my constituents. The first district of Massachusetts is one to be proud of, and I know its people will expect me to act in their behalf in these trying times in our national history in a way that will reflect credit upon their patriotism and loyalty.

Arming American Ships.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FREDERICK C. HICKS,
OF LONG ISLAND,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Thursday, March 1, 1917,

On the bill (H. R. 21052) authorizing the President of the United States to supply merchant ships, the property of citizens of the United States and bearing American registry, with defensive arms, and for other purposes.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, few, if any, of the many pamphlets and brochures that were published before and during our Revolution have come down to the present day. There is, however, one sentence from those forgotten writings which has been preserved, and which has oft been repeated since it was penned by its author, Thomas Paine. It is, "These are the times that try men's souls." There have been numerous occasions since the founding of our Republic when those words were applicable. They are applicable now in the stress and storm through which our Nation is passing. But because the times are troublesome is no reason why we should falter in our course of action. On the contrary, now is the time to show firmness and determination. As I view the situation, our duty—plain and insistent—is to pass this bill without a dissenting vote. By its passage we give support to the Chief Executive in the hour of the country's trial and show to the world that America is united and determined in the maintenance of its rights. Division spells weakness, and weakness is an invitation to the aggressor.

It has been stated on the floor of this House that the passage of this bill will be a declaration of war. It has also been maintained that if this measure becomes law the President will be clothed with the power of declaring war irrespective of the will of Congress. I deny both allegations. There is not a syllable in this bill which makes for war; there is not a word that suggests aggression. It asserts nothing but our "right of defense against unlawful attack." It provides for nothing but the protection of American lives and American property on the high seas. It does assert that this great Nation, under threats and compulsion, is not willing to surrender its unquestioned rights as a neutral in the world conflict.

If we, in the fullness of our power and our greatness, are not willing or are afraid to act, even in self-defense, then the hour has struck for our national existence and the time of our decadence is at hand. If we are not willing to assert our rights and tamely submit to the dictates of other nations, then, Mr. Speaker, our sovereignty has departed and the sacrifices of our ancestors in an heroic past were made in vain; then the history of the fathers, with their undaunted courage and unswerving patriotism becomes a blank page and the destiny of America is ended.

This bill does not by word or inference delegate to the President the right to declare war. Upon Congress alone rests that responsibility, and I would not be willing, even if I could, to delegate that power to another authority. In order that there may be close cooperation between the two branches of Government, I feel that during the crisis through which we are now passing Congress should be in session to advise and assist the President as it did during the Spanish War. At this time, Mr. Speaker, we should support the administration, and I shall vote for this bill. My only regret is that it did not come before us weeks ago. I shall vote for it, not with fear and hesitation, as expressed by some gentlemen on this floor, but with a firm conviction that it is my duty as an American citizen and the representative of 250,000 patriots on Long Island. There is no fear in my heart when I register my vote for the flag of my country and the protection of the lives of American citizens on land and sea.

We are all conscious of the horrors of war and no one desires to precipitate this Nation into the deadly strife that is raging in Europe. Peace for our Republic should be the ambition of every patriot and an appeal to the arbitrament of arms the last resort of an enlightened nation. I deny that this bill will bring us nearer to strife. The surrender of one's rights, instead of insuring peace, is more apt to provoke hostilities. It is lethargy and indifference, not virility and determination, which lead to disaster.

The delimination of a war zone on the high seas and the ruthless destruction of property within that zone are not countenanced by any provision of international law. Nevertheless we propose to meet that abnormal situation in a legitimate way by arming our merchant ships so that they may defend themselves against unlawful attack. In doing so we do not propose to infringe upon any of the recognized rights of a belligerent nation. There is no intention to abrogate the doctrine of contraband, of blockade, or of visit and search when lawfully exercised. But we do insist that the dictates of humanity, the recognized precepts of international law, and the rights of a neutral nation shall be respected and preserved.

Mr. Speaker, I feel it the duty of every Member of Congress in this solemn hour to think and act only for the United States. This is an American question; it deals with American interests and upholds American prestige. Political enmities should be forgotten and we should remember only that we are all citizens of a common country. Sectionalism should give way to nationalism, expediency to principle, and partisanship to patriotism. Birth, creed, and race should be subservient to Americanism, as a united Nation, animated with the spirit of justice, acclaims to the world the perpetuity of our institutions for the generations that are to follow.

Arming of American Merchant Vessels.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH B. THOMPSON,
OF OKLAHOMA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. THOMPSON. Mr. Speaker, I take advantage of the opportunity to extend my remarks in order to explain to the people who have been kind enough to send me here the reasons for the position I have taken on many matters affecting their interests. We have just voted on a question of vital importance to the Nation, and I desire to express my views not only on the question of giving the President power to arm ships but on other matters.

Section 1 of the bill passed the other day provides—

That the President of the United States be, and is hereby, authorized and empowered to supply merchant ships, the property of citizens of the United States and bearing American registry, with defensive arms, and also with the necessary ammunition and means of making use of them in defense against unlawful attack.

In the committee an amendment was proposed which would have made the provision read:

That the President of the United States be, and is hereby, authorized and empowered to supply merchant ships whose cargoes are not in whole or in part composed of arms and munitions of war consigned to belligerent nations or citizens thereof, the property of citizens of the United States and bearing American registry, with defensive arms, and also with the necessary ammunition and means of making use of them in defense against unlawful attack.

I voted for the amendment in the committee. The minority of the committee submitted reasons for the adoption of the amendment in a report which I desire to call to the attention of the House. They said:

An unsuccessful effort was made in committee to amend section 1 of this bill so as to except from its provisions ships engaged in carrying cargoes consisting in whole or in part of arms and munitions. It would be manifestly unneutral for our Government to arm and protect ships engaged in the munitions traffic with belligerents.

It is true that there is no international law imposing a duty on neutrals to restrain their citizens from selling arms and ammunitions to belligerents. But the belligerents against which such arms and ammunitions are intended to be used have a right to capture the same in transit on the high seas.

If the Government of the United States should arm and protect a ship carrying arms and ammunitions consigned to a belligerent, thus itself becoming a party to the traffic, it would commit an unneutral act—an act of war.

I will not elaborate upon the reasons set forth in this report. They appear to me to be compelling. We are assured, however, that the President will not permit the clearance of ships armed and ammunitioned by the Government carrying arms and ammunition consigned to the belligerents or to citizens thereof. I am satisfied the President will do this, and for that reason I voted for the bill as reported.

The American people do not desire to become involved in the European war. They are a peace-loving people. They are not afraid to fight when it becomes necessary in defense of their country or their country's honor. They are unwilling to surrender their undoubted right to carry on their peaceful and lawful pursuits on the high seas. They went to war in 1812 to establish these rights, and in 1917 they are willing to lay down their lives to maintain them. Before doing so, however, they

desire the exercise by the Government of great caution in order that they may not be plunged into a conflict the result of which does not vitally concern them.

They have faith in the President. They know how for nearly three years he has successfully steered them through troubled international difficulties without involving them in war, and they are willing to risk him in this emergency. I hope and believe he will keep them in peace.

The greatest danger we face to-day does not come from oversea. It is here at home in the person of the jingoes who desire to involve us in the war abroad. Every conceivable character of misrepresentation and artifice is being used to excite the minds of the people. There appeared in one of the Washington papers a couple of mornings ago an article under the flaming headlines:

GERMAN PLOT TO CONQUER UNITED STATES WITH AID OF JAPAN AND MEXICO REVEALED—DETAILS OF MACHINATIONS, BEGUN IN BERLIN JANUARY 19 AND FURTHERED BY VON BERNSTORFF, IN PRESIDENT'S HANDS.

In the body of the article I note the following:

The Associated Press is enabled to reveal that Germany, in planning unrestricted submarine warfare and counting its consequences, proposed an alliance with Mexico and Japan to make war on the United States if this country should not remain neutral.

And, again:

Mexico, for her reward, was to receive general financial support from Germany, reconquer Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona—lost Provinces—and share in the victorious peace terms Germany contemplated.

The article does not state what Japan was to receive for her withdrawal from the cause of the allies and joining with the central powers. I presume, however, that it might be justly concluded that Japan would be given California, Oregon, and Washington—our Pacific Coast States—the States which have been most offensive in the enactment of laws disagreeable to that nation.

Then again the article conjures from the imagination a lot of facts which have never been admitted and do not exist. It says:

The document supplies the missing link to many separate chains of circumstances, which until now have seemed to lead to no definite point. It sheds new light upon the frequently reported but indefinable movements of the Mexican Government to couple its situation with the friction between the United States and Japan.

The next paragraph of the article reveals the real reason for its production. For the resolution we had before us a couple of days ago it would substitute a resolution immediately plunging our country into the European war on the side of the allies and against Germany. Every member who does not favor the bill as originally introduced in its entirety, with much more, is by innuendo accused of being a German sympathizer:

What Congress will do and how Members of Congress who have openly sympathized with Germany in their opposition to clothing the President with full authority to protect American rights will regard the revelation of Germany's machinations to attack the United States is the subject of the keenest interest.

But we now come to the climax:

Such a proposal as Germany instructs her minister to make to Mexico borders on an act of war, if, actually, it is not one.

If we are to follow this article, there ought to be substituted for the bill passed the other day an act declaring war against Germany, an entrance by the United States into the European conflict on the side of the allies.

This calls attention to another article which appears on page 2 of the same paper, the headlines of which read:

ALLIES WANT UNITED STATES IN WAR, SAYS HALE—COUNT ON MORAL EFFECT, MAINE SENATOR-ELECT REPORTS.

The body of the article reads:

NEW YORK, *February 28.*

"The allies want us in the war; Lloyd George wants us in the war; Premier Briand wants us in the war," was the word brought to the United States to-day by Col. Frederick Hale, United States Senator-elect from Maine, who arrived aboard the American liner *Finland*.

Hale has been abroad several month studying war conditions before taking his seat in the next Congress.

"I had a talk with Lloyd George before I left England," Hale said. "I also had a talk with Premier Briand, of France, and other officials closely in touch with the conduct of the war. Without exception, they are elated at the step which sent Count von Bernstorff back to Germany, and believe the next move will carry the United States into the war on the side of the allies.

"The moral effect of the entry is all that is hoped for by the European countries. They declare the spectacle of only a few American troops fighting the German armies in France would have a tremendous moral effect.

"Much speculation is being given in Europe to the part this country would take if she should enter the war. It is thought she could help most by supplying convoys for steamships and by allowing the use of her great credit. Her manufacturing possibilities, it is also held, would help very much."

This discloses the desire of many in this country to participate in the European war. The central powers, of course, could not send either their navy or their army to attack the United States, nor could our Government send its Army or Navy to attack the central powers. The sole desire on the part of those in our country who wish that we project ourselves into the conflict, and those, as explained by Senator-elect Hale, of the allies, who desire that we participate in the war is for the purpose of our furnishing food and clothing and lending our credit to the allies. If it comes to this, God pity the poor taxpayers of this country! All we can do will be to hold the bag and pay the bills.

This is the usual mental food that is being served our minds from day to day. No one is so foolish as to fail to recognize the purpose behind it all.

I have faith in the President. In his message to the Congress last Monday he said:

It is devoutly to be hoped that it will not be necessary to put armed force anywhere into action. The American people do not desire it and our desire is not different from theirs. I am sure that they will understand the spirit in which I am now acting, the purpose I hold nearest my heart, and would wish to exhibit in everything I do. I am anxious that the people of the nations at war also should understand and not mistrust us. I hope that I need give no further proofs and assurances than I have already given throughout nearly three years of anxious patience that I am the friend of peace and mean to preserve it in America as long as I am able. I am not now proposing or contemplating war or any steps that may lead to it. I merely request that you will record me by your own vote and definite bestowal the means and the authority to safeguard in practice the rights of a great people who are at peace and who are desirous of exercising none but the rights of peace, to follow the pursuits of peace in quietness and good will—rights recognized time out of mind by all the civilized nations of the world. No course of my choosing or of theirs will lead to war. War can come only by the willful acts and aggressions of other.

The fear I entertain is that the jingoes will in some way manufacture a sentiment for war. If the President is permitted to handle the situation, I feel sure we will be guided in peace through the international problems. There is undoubtedly a few in this country who desire that our Government become involved in war. They have boldly proclaimed it. Through newspapers and public addresses they have been carrying on a campaign for what they are pleased to call preparedness, which, in fact, is nothing short of militarism. They have seen fit to recklessly criticize all who do not contend for this.

Inasmuch as I am one of those who favor peaceful settlement of all international difficulties, if such be possible, I take this opportunity to explain my position on the so-called preparedness question.

A few days ago I voted against the fortifications bill, carrying an appropriation of more than sixty millions of dollars, and later against the Navy bill, carrying approximately $370,000,000. I owe it to those I represent to state the reasons for my votes.

I am not hostile to an adequate program of preparedness. I am for preparedness in the sense that we should have an Army and a Navy of sufficient strength, both in numbers and equipment, to protect us from all forms of aggression from without and maintain the peace and security of the people from within. With this view, I believe, the larger part of all thinking people concur. I am opposed to militarism on the one hand as I am opposed to an idle sense of security, which makes no preparation on the other. The one paves the way for absolutism and slavery from within; the other subjects the people to bondage from without. To me all forms of slavery are equally to be despised.

Until wars are known no more, some degree of preparedness, I take it all will agree, is necessary.

This leads to the consideration of two questions: First, is it possible in the present state of the world to immediately abolish war; and, second, if not, then what constitutes adequate preparedness?

I have given some consideration to these questions and have arrived at certain conclusions. These conclusions have controlled my votes. Is it possible in the present state of the world to immediately abolish the possibility of war? I do not think it is. I wish I did. If I did, I would favor the plan which would bring it about. If I did, I would oppose all further appropriations for the Army and for the Navy.

Why is it impossible to abolish war?

There are many reasons which force this conclusion. Nations, States, counties, cities, and towns are but aggregations of people. The individual is the unit of each. The ideals, passions, and prejudices of the citizen become the ideals, passions, and prejudices of the Nation, the State, the county, and the city.

Every generation of man has been distressed by one or more destructive wars, and frequently with many. The generation just preceding the outbreak of the sickening conflict now being fought on the plains of Europe witnessed the Boer War, the Spanish-American War, the Philippine Insurrection, the Russo-Japanese War, the Civil War in Mexico, the Turko-Balkan War, and the Balkan War. This list does not include the many interventions which our Government has been forced to undertake in Cuba, in Haiti, and in San Domingo; nor have the revolutions in Portugal and China been mentioned. There has been a war during practically every four years of the

world's history and they have not grown less numerous or destructive with time.

What causes brought about these wars? The following is a fairly accurate grouping of the causes:

First. Prejudice, hate, and intolerance growing out of differences of religious views. Wars growing out of these differences have been among the world's most cruel and bloody.

Second. Prejudice, hate, and intolerance growing out of racial differences. The very foundation on which a democratic government is founded is liberty, fraternity, equality, and justice. No race believing itself to be superior, or in fact being superior, can meet in genuine equality and fraternity a race with which it refuses to mix its blood in lawful wedlock. There are many races with which our people will not intermarry.

Third. Because of a desire for liberty. Wars of this kind have been few and very generally quickly degenerated into campaigns of conquest or were shrewdly converted by tyrants into vehicles for the promotion of their selfish ambitions.

Fourth. Because of the ambitions of kings and czars for conquest.

Fifth. Because of the economic struggle for existence. These struggles have usually grown out of one of two factors—population or commerce. Nations, as well as people, have the right to exist, a right to their place in the sun. The Chinese laborer who lives on one-twentieth the amount required by an American laborer and can, therefore, produce and sell his products correspondingly cheaper, could not hope to live long in peace with his starving American competitor. Two men cast adrift in midocean on a plank which can sustain but one will not long continue in peace. A struggle will ensue for the exclusive possession of the plank. Nations, as well as men, will fight for the right to live. They have done it in all past years and, until nature is changed, will continue to do so in the future.

Until all men are equal in fact as well as in theory; until all men enjoy liberty in truth as well as in name; until all men fraternize in absolute equality; until equal and exact justice is extended to all and the knowledge of that fact brought home to their minds and consciences, there can be no universal peace. Those who are, or who imagine they are, unjustly treated will complain and struggle for justice, liberty, and equality.

There will always be a conflict between those who enjoy special privileges and those who seek the destruction of those privileges. Those who possess the privileges will not surrender them without being compelled. Their surrender will require the exercise of force, and the exercise of force is war. Until all men and all nations are willing to do to others as they would have others do to them there is a constant possibility of conflict, and so long as such a possibility exists there will exist the necessity for such preparedness as will enable the Nation to protect its citizens from plunder and slavery. I am in favor of such preparedness. I am not, however, in favor of what some are pleased to call preparedness, which, in fact, amounts to militarism and is un-American, undemocratic, opposed to the principles on which our Government was founded, and will inevitably, sooner or later, result in despotism.

This is not a new question. It is as old as the Constitution. It is, indeed, presented in a new garb during the excitement of the world's greatest war. If it were not for the conflict now going on oversea we would not witness all this agitation for the creation of the largest Army and the greatest Navy in the world. Advantage is taken of the present condition of nervousness and hysteria to saddle on the taxpayers a burden which is fast driving the country into bankruptcy.

Why all this clamor for a large Army and Navy? Since when was it discovered that the military system established by the Constitution—a small standing Army and a well-regulated militia—is a failure? Why the reason for the change? The membership of the State militia and volunteers have fought successfully all the wars of our country from the Revolution to the Spanish-American, and hitherto no complaint has been lodged against either their courage or their efficiency.

Moreover a large standing army in time of peace is contrary to the genius of free government and destructive of the liberties of a people. In the convention which framed the Federal Constitution this question was carefully considered and extensively debated and the dual system—a small standing army and a well-regulated militia—was adopted. The reasons which controlled the convention were twofold: They deemed it best adapted to protect the country from foreign invasion and the people from despotism. Patrick Henry, in discussing the question in the convention, said:

> And those nations who have gone in search of grandeur, power, and splendor have also fallen a sacrifice and been victims of their own folly. While they acquired those visionary blessings, they lost their freedom. My great objection to this Government (Mr. Henry referred to the proposition which placed the State militia under the control of Congress) is that it does not leave us the means of defending our rights or of waging war against tyrants. It is urged by some gentlement that this new plan will bring us an acquisition of strength, an Army and the militia of the States.

Mr. Henry opposed conferring on Congress the control of the State militia; he continued:

> This acquisition will trample on your fallen liberty. Let my beloved Americans guard against that fatal lethargy that has pervaded the universe. Have we the means of resisting disciplined armies when our only defense, the militia, is put into the hands of Congress?

And further he said:

> Whither is the spirit of America gone? Whither is the genius of America fled? It was but yesterday when our enemies marched in triumph through our country. Yet the people of this country could not be appalled by their pompous armament; they stopped their career and victoriously captured them. Where is the peril now compared to that? Some minds are agitated by foreign alarms. Happily for us, there is no real danger from Europe; that country is engaged in more arduous business; from that quarter there is no cause of fear; you may sleep in safety forever for them.

These words from the great Virginian appear to have been uttered for this occasion. He was no traitor, no mollycoddle. His was the voice heard above all others when war was necessary to obtain peace and liberty. Having bravely risked his fortune and his life that the people might be free, he sought in the convention to guarantee that liberty to posterity.

The proponents of militarism have set out to destroy the military system of the Constitution and erect on its ruins a large standing army, the greatest navy in the world, and universal compulsory military service. You have not glanced over the pages of the metropolitan newspapers during the last year without being reminded that the mobilization of the National Guard on the Mexican border has demonstrated its utter uselessness. The purpose of this campaign is obvious. It was to descredit the National Guard and secure the enactment of legislation which will saddle on the country universal compulsory military service.

Indeed, a bill having this object in view has already been favorably reported to the Senate, and it will not at all surprise me if it is attached to the Army appropriation bill when it reaches that body. The bill reported gives the President power to conscript into the Army every man between the ages of 19 and 28 years. It requires every man between those ages to register that he may be easily found if it becomes desirable to conscript him. It subjects those who fail to register to a fine of $1,000 and 12 months' imprisonment. It subjects them to a trial by court-martial, without a jury, and their only recourse is by appealing to the Federal district court. What chance would a poor, common, ordinary man have in those courts? It makes a person employing a man between the ages of 19 and 28 who has not served in the Army or possesses a certificate of exemption from such service guilty of an offense and subject to the payment of a $1,000 fine and 12 months' imprisonment. It requires all men between those ages to take six months' military training during the first year and report on a given date every year thereafter. It provides for pensions. The Army General Staff has just recommended a universal compulsory military plan, but the time of training is one year instead of six months. The most vivid imagination can not picture the cost of such a scheme and no one can foretell its fateful results.

Gen. Scott, Chief of Staff of the United States Army, testifying before the Military Affairs Committee of the House in its 1916 hearings, page 773, said:

> The conclusion of the War College division, which is concurred in by the remainder of the War Department staff, is that our system should be able to furnish 1,500,000 trained troops at the outset of the war and 1,500,000 additional in 90 days.

Hon. A. C. SHALLENBERGER, a distinguished member of that committee, estimated the cost of such an army, in a speech a few days ago, would be—

For equipment	$2,576,000,000
For reserve artillery ammunition	1,444,000,000
For reserve supplies	1,000,000,000

or a total of $5,016,000,000—a staggering sum. And, continuing, Mr. SHALLENBERGER said:

> This estimate does not include pay, the cost of subsistence, transportation, maneuvers, quarters, or a hundred other expenses that make up the Army appropriation bills.

The annual appropriation to support and equip such an army will not be less than a billion dollars a year, a sum equal to the entire appropriations for all the departments of the Government before this military agitation began. This for the Army alone. We ought not deceive ourselves. The requirements for the Navy will be no less. Heretofore they have been greater. The naval bill, stupendous as were the figures when it passed this House, has been increased by the committee of another body, and we are informed it carries, as reported, the sum of five hundred and

thirty-three millions. This bill as it passed the House carried a provision—

It is hereby reaffirmed to be the policy of the United States to adjust and settle its international disputes through mediation or arbitration, to the end that war may be honorably avoided.

This has been stricken from the bill. The mask is being gradually removed, and the people will learn presently what all this agitation means. The traditional policy of our country to settle all its disputes through mediation and arbitration is to be abandoned. In the future the disputes are to be settled on gory fields of glory amid the booming of cannon, the roar of musketry, and the shrieks of the dying.

It is time some thought were taken of the taxpayers. Where is all this money to come from? The Government can not make it. Wealth is created by labor, not by law. In the final analysis every dollar required to pay these enormous sums must come from the sweated pockets of the toiling masses. The historian will find it hard to justify the immense burden of taxation which this Congress is fastening on the American people.

That the people may know what is being done, I call attention to the expenditures for the Army, the Navy, and fortifications during the first year of each administration, beginning with the first term of President McKinley in 1897 to the inauguration of President Wilson in 1913.

The statement contains also the amounts appropriated for the years 1914 to 1917:

Title.	1897 Fifty-fourth Congress.	1901 Fifty-sixth Congress.	1905 Fifty-eighth Congress.
Army	$23,278,402.73	$114,220,095.55	$77,070,300.88
Fortifications	7,377,888.00	7,383,628.00	7,518,192.00
Navy	30,562,660.95	65,140,916.67	97,505,140.94
Total	61,218,951.68	186,744,640.22	182,093,633.82

Title.	1909 Sixtieth Congress.	1913 Sixty-second Congress, first session.	1914 Sixty-second Congress, second session.
Army	$95,382,247.61	$90,958,712.98	$94,266,145.51
Fortifications	9,316,745.00	4,036,235.00	5,218,250.00
Navy	122,663,885.47	123,225,007.76	140,800,643.53
Total	227,362,878.08	218,220,955.74	240,285,039.04

Title.	1915 Sixty-third Congress, first session.	1916 Sixty-third Congress, second session.	1917 Sixty-fourth Congress, first session.
Army	$101,019,212.50	$101,974,185.87	$267,596,530.10
Fortifications	5,627,700.00	6,060,216.90	25,747,550.00
Navy	144,868,716.61	149,661,864.88	313,300,555.84
Total	251,515,629.11	257,696,267.65	606,644,635.94

The amount carried in the House bill for fortifications equals the entire amount appropriated for the Army, the Navy, and fortifications when President McKinley was first inaugurated, just 20 years ago. The amount appropriated for the Navy alone in 1917 exceeds by fifty-six millions the entire amount appropriated for Army, Navy, and fortifications in 1916. The Navy bill will again this year carry an amount nearly equal to the total appropriations for Army, Navy, and fortifications last year. It appears that nothing short of national bankruptcy can halt us.

Last year, 1916, the expenditure of $267,000,000 for the Army, $313,000,000 for the Navy, and $25,000,000 for fortifications was justified on the ground of preparedness. If $606,000,000 constituted preparedness, what will $1,000,000,000 appropriated this year be denominated? Notwithstanding they secured all they asked last year, they are clamoring as loudly now as then that we are unprepared. This war spirit, like the appetite, grows more fierce the more you feed it.

When $9,000,000 is appropriated for a system of rural credit banking to relieve the farmers of the high interest rates they are compelled to pay; when $85,000,000, running over a period of five years, is appropriated, to be matched by a like sum provided by the States, for the construction of goods roads; when $7,000 is appropriated to begin the construction of a measly post-office building at Norman and a like sum at Stillwater, one the seat of the State university and the other of the State A. and M. College, to accommodate the boys and girls attending these institutions and enable them to secure their mail without losing a half day on each visit to the post office, it is denounced as "pork." But when a cool billion is voted for the Military Establishment it is praised as an act of patriotism. Those who vote for it are exalted and praised as patriots, while those who dare vote against such extravagance are denounced as cowards and traitors.

Because, in the discharge of my duty as a representative of my people, I voted against the extravagant naval bill the other day one of the self-styled "patriots" from Wall Street wrote me a note, which reads as follows:

NEW YORK, N. Y., *February 17, 1917.*

Dishonorable J. B. THOMPSON,
Congressman, Washington, D. C.:

If you will inform the New York Times how much money you received from German agents to dishonor your country, they will gladly publish the item.

PUBLIC OPINION.

The charge that my vote was controlled by money, contained in this letter, is as willfully and maliciously false as its author is contemptible and cowardly. It is high time that we were taking stock in this country to find out who is pro-American. I am neither pro-English nor pro-German. I deny the right of any pusillanimous cur, even though he does hail from Wall Street, to dictate to me how I shall cast my vote. I am pro-American all the time and shall vote for what I think is the best interest of my country, regardless of the slanders and denunciations of such polecats. Patriotic thinking could hardly be expected, however, from idiotic individuals in the midst of a campaign of vituperation such as we have witnessed in this country during the past year.

The gentleman from Texas [Mr. CALLAWAY] read into the RECORD the other day a statement which, if true, explains the "holier-than-thou" attitude of these self-annointed but bloodless patriots.

The article reads:

In March, 1915, the J. P. Morgan interests, the steel, shipbuilding, and powder interests, and their subsidiary organizations got together 12 men high in the newspaper world and employed them to select the most influential newspapers in the United States and sufficient number of them to control generally the policy of the daily press of the United States.

These 12 men worked the problem out by selecting 179 newspapers, and then began, by an elimination process, to retain only those necessary for the purpose of controlling the general policy of the daily press throughout the country. They found it was only necessary to purchase the control of 25 of the greatest papers. The 25 papers were agreed upon; emissaries were sent to purchase the policy, national and international, of these papers; an agreement was reached; the policy of the papers was bought, to be paid for by the month; an editor was furnished for each paper to properly supervise and edit information regarding the questions of preparedness, militarism, financial policies, and other things of national and international nature considered vital to the interests of the purchasers.

This contract is in existence at the present time, and it accounts for the news columns of the daily press of the country being filled with all sorts of preparedness arguments and misrepresentations as to the present condition of the United States Army and Navy, and the possibility and probability of the United States being attacked by foreign foes.

This policy also included the suppression of everything in opposition to the wishes of the interests served. The effectiveness of this scheme has been conclusively demonstrated by the character of stuff carried in the daily press throughout the country since March, 1915. They have resorted to anything necessary to commercialize public sentiment and sandbag the National Congress into making extravagant appropriations for the Army and Navy under the false pretense that it was necessary. Their stock argument is that it is "patriotism." They are playing on every prejudice and passion of the American people.

If this statement is true, it is but in keeping with greed and selfishness in all ages. It was rampant during the days of the Revolution. Thomas Jefferson, writing from Paris in 1785, complained about it. He said:

You ask me what are those operations of the British Nation which are likely to befriend us, and how they will produce this effect? The British Government, as you may naturally suppose, have it much at heart to reconcile their nation to the loss of America. This is essential to the repose, perhaps even to the safety of the King and his ministers. The most effectual engines for this purpose are the public papers. You know well that that Government will always keep a kind of standing army of news writers, who, without any regard to truth, or to what should be like truth, invented and put into the papers whatever might serve the ministers. This suffices with the mass of the people who have no means of distinguishing the false from the true paragraphs of a newspaper. When forced to acknowledge our independence, they were forced to redouble their efforts to keep the nation quiet. Instead of a few of the papers formerly engaged, they now engaged every one. No paper, therefore, comes out without a dose of paragraphs against America.

I am glad the press in Oklahoma has maintained its reason and has not been carried away by the Moloch of war. In these days, when our country stands trembling on the perilous edge of battle and the President is staggering under the burden of awful

responsibility, there are some—happily the number is not large—who, instead of remaining calm, are howling to excite our citizenship and bring about a condition which will plunge our country into the horrors of bloody war. I do not question the right of such people, be they newspaper editors or cranks, to take their places in the blood-drenched trenches of Europe, on either side of the contest, but I do protest against their use of the privilege of free speech to embroil 100,000,000 of American citizens in the conflict.

I am firmly convinced that, if the President is permitted to handle the situation in his own good way, he will guide the country in peace and honor through the perils, threatening though they be.

Mr. Speaker, the naval appropriation bill does not provide ships for immediate use. If our country should become involved in war, the building program in that bill offers no relief. The war would be ancient history before the battleships and battle cruisers can be constructed. It requires from 48 to 52 months to construct a capital ship. Forty-eight months is four years, and quite a war could be fought and brought to an end in that time.

The bill provides for three additional battleships, one additional battle cruiser, and three additional scout cruisers. The contract for the construction of four battle cruisers and three scout cruisers, authorized and appropriated for last year, has not yet been let. In order to expedite the construction of those ships this bill carries an item increasing the limit of cost, authorized last year, of battleships from $16,500,000 to $19,000,000 and of scout cruisers from $5,000,000 to $6,000,000, an increase of $13,000,000 over the estimate of the Navy Department last year.

Six members of the Committee on Naval Affairs, lacking but one to constitute a majority of the Democratic membership, dissented from the report of the majority of the committee. They gave the reasons for their dissent in a minority report. It appears to me that their position can not be successfully controverted.

In summing up they said:

Without undertaking to set out in detail further facts justifying our dissent from the report of the majority of the committee, we beg to state that it is our opinion and judgment—

First. That a postponement of appropriations at this time for the four additional capital ships and the three additional scout cruisers carried in the present bill will materially aid the Navy Department in providing the best possible terms for the construction of the battle cruisers and scout cruisers, which were authorized and appropriated for at the first session of this Congress, and are still uncontracted for.

Second. The delay in appropriating for the building of additional ships of the types of those now appropriated for and uncontracted for, until the next Congress meets will result in a reasonably probable saving of many millions of dollars to the Government and at the same time will probably insure an earlier completion of said ships than if now appropriated for and a long time limit thereby impliedly given for their completion.

In support of these conclusions, the following facts may be briefly adverted to, namely:

With the shipyards already overcrowded with Government and private work and all labor available for building ships being now worked to its full capacity, it is a mistake to largely increase the Government contracts to be let out until some promise of real competition by shipbuilding plants can be assured. This competition will be assured:

First. When the European war is concluded (and this is not beyond the pale of reasonable probabilities during the present year).

Second. When our navy yards are equipped to build any type of ships that Congress may order (and this may be accomplished, so the Navy Department advises, with the appropriations carried in this bill for such purposes, in the same limit of time that will be required for private shipbuilding companies to equip their yards for the building of battle cruisers).

* * * * * * *

It may be interesting to call attention to the five-year building program, which the President in his annual message at the first session of the Congress recommended and which the Navy Department then strongly urged. An examination of this five-year program will disclose that if appropriations for additional capital ships and scout cruisers are now postponed until the next Congress meets the building proposals recommended in the five-year program referred to will by this Congress have been substantially complied with for the fiscal years of 1917 and 1918.

It being admitted that these vessels can not be constructed in a shorter period than four years, that the cost of a capital ship is from two and one-half to three million greater than in normal times and a scout cruiser one million more, how can a vote for this measure be justified?

The gentleman from Alabama, Mr. OLIVER, moved to recommit the bill to the Committee on Naval Affairs with instructions to strike out the provision for the construction of three battleships, one battle cruiser, and three scout cruisers with a view to using the amount appropriated for their construction for building submarines and destroyers. Had this motion been agreed to, the submarines and destroyers could have been furnished in a reasonable time. If our Navy is supplied with a sufficient number of submarines and destroyers, no navy in the world, no matter how large and powerful, could approach our shores. The war in Europe has demonstrated the fighting value of submarines. Not a single shell from a hostile fleet has been dropped on the shores of an enemy. They dare not approach for fear of destruction by a submarine. All the battleships and battle cruisers of belligerent nations are bottled up in some harbor or canal, protected by destroyers and mines and fenced in by nets. They sought safety in flight from the Dardanelles.

Ashmead Bartlett, the famous English war correspondent, in telling of that campaign, certifies to the efficiency of the submarine.

The British effected a landing there on April 25, 1915, Mr. Bartlett says:

The Dardanelles expedition, if it served no other purpose, is an object lesson on the difficulties encountered by a hostile fleet operating many hundreds of miles from its base in the face of submarine attack.

Up to May 20 an immense fleet of predreadnaught battleships was able to lie off the coast and render the expeditionary army immense moral support by protecting its flanks and encouraging the troops, who love to hear the great shells whistling over their heads. On May 13 the *Goliath* was sunk in the straits during the night by a torpedo attack. On May 20 the first submarine was sighted. The entire fleet had to weigh anchor and steer about to avoid giving a sitting shot.

The more valuable battleships, like the *Queen Elizabeth*, the *Agamemnon*, and the *Lord Nelson* (they are among the finest ships afloat), faded away toward the west and were not seen again. On May 25 the *Vengeance* was narrowly missed by a torpedo, and the battleship *Triumph* was sunk. On May 27 the battleship *Majestic* was also sunk. On the following day there was not a single battleship off the Gallipoli coast. All had been obliged to fly to protected harbors for safety.

The facts are plain; dreadnaught fleets are useless for offensive purposes, provided you are dealing with an enemy supplied with submarines. They are a poor defense, as well, because they can only deal with the enemy's fleet as a whole, provided it chooses to come out and fight. Local defense must be left to the submarines destined to remain in home waters.

Now for the submarine in attack. Supposing the United States were engaged in war against a European or an oriental power. If there is to be a war at all it necessitates one of the belligerents crossing either the Atlantic or the Pacific. It would be utterly useless for either a European power or an oriental to dispatch a fleet to the Atlantic seaboard or the Pacific unless they were already in possession of a prepared base where that fleet could lie at anchor in security against submarine attack. * * * To send a great fleet of modern dreadnaughts to an indefinite objective, namely, to cruise up and down the enemy's seaboard on the off-chance of the enemy coming out to risk an engagement, would be merely courting disaster. Such a fleet would be in the nerve-racking position of being exposed to submarine attack from the moment it left its own shores to the moment the survivors regained the shelter of home waters. * * * Even supposing there was a base available within a short distance of its objective, the attacking force would be little better off, and you would merely have a repetition of the stalemate which exists in the North Sea at the present time.

Col. Isaac Newton Lewis, United States Army, retired, the inventor of the machine gun in general use in the European war, after a visit to the scene of hostilities, said:

The effectiveness of the submarine as a weapon can never again be disputed. It has now come to the point where it must be considered as the controlling element in sea power.

In the light of these facts I can not see the necessity for this enormous investment in capitol ships, which we can not hope to build before the war in Europe has ended. All this talk of foreign countries transporting large bodies of men 4,000 miles across the sea, landing them, and invading our country; all this talk of their battleships laying waste our coast is "tommy-rot." When the conflict in which they are now engaged is concluded, I feel quite sure they will want some rest, but, should they not what will we be doing while they are accomplishing their task? Is there a Government in the world foolish enough to imagine it can come to our doors and conquer us? Nations do not deliberately enter on campaigns of conquest without some chance of final success. Victory does not go to the country that wins the first engagement; it rests with the one whose banners fly in triumph over the last battle field. No nation would be so idiotic as to calculate only on a successful landing. It would consider also the probability of being able to retreat.

The testimony before the Committee on Naval Affairs last year disclosed that he had the best coast defenses in the world. Gen. Weaver, Chief of Coast Artillery, testified:

We have the best coast defenses in the world. The guns now mounted and those contemplated will give us an entirely satisfactory defense.

We gave them all they wanted last year to construct the defenses contemplated. The amount appropriated for coast defenses last year was more than four times amount appropriated the year previous. In the face of this testimony we are appropriating this year two and one-half times what we appropriated last.

Gen. Miles said:

During the last 30 years the Government has spent approximately $200,000,000 for our coast defense. I am prepared to say that our coasts are as well defended as the coasts of any country and with the same class of high-power guns and heavy projectiles. They are better in some respects than the guns that are mounted at the Dardanelles, which have resisted the most powerful ships of war of the British and French navies.

We have back of that 10,000,000 men capable of doing military service should the demand come; more than a million men, considering those of military age who were in the Spanish-American War, those who have

passed through the Army and National Guard, who have received military instruction; 136,000 graduates from our agricultural colleges, drilled and instructed under Regular Army officers.

Admiral Knight testified:

The dangers of transporting a fleet across a great expanse of water and maintaining it are almost insuperable.

Admiral Fletcher said:

It has been recently forcibly demonstrated that ship attack on forts are futile. This war has conclusively demonstrated what every military strategist knew before—that it is impossible for sea craft to successfully attack land fortifications.

Gen. Miles testified further:

The results at Alexandria, Port Arthur, and at the Dardanelles furnish sufficient evidence that guns on board ships are no match for coast fortifications and submarine guns.

When the invading country has crossed the ocean, destroyed our Navy, and passed our land fortifications they have still, said Gen. Miles:

To meet the physical strength of this Nation—10,000,000 men capable of doing military service, 1,000,000 who have received military instructions under Regular Army officers, and 136,000 graduates from our agricultural colleges to officer them.

Gen. Miles ought to be a fairly good judge of what it takes to constitute a soldier. He fought through the Civil War side by side with the Volunteers; he fought with the Regulars in the Indian campaigns, and for many years before he retired was the Commanding General of the United States Army.

Mr. KAHN, of the Committee on Military Affairs, asked him:

You think the German conscript is a pretty good soldier, do you not?

Gen. MILES. Yes, sir. However, I would match a volunteer American, defending his liberties and his Government, against any German soldier.

Again, he says, with reference to landing troops on our shores:

I will suppose an unsupposable case. Suppose they could put an army on a fleet of 500 ships and move it across the Atlantic without being disturbed by any naval power and they could land. They certainly could not go into any port. They could not go into our ports any more than they could go through the Dardanelles. That has been demonstrated. Our forts are equipped and fortified as well as the Dardanelles. Suppose they got that far—as to land at some remote point—if we could not gather enough men in the Army and militia and by other means to destroy that army before they could send their ships back to get another load, I would want to move to some other country.

Mr. Speaker, the jingoes and the metropolitan press have manufactured a scare and the militarists have taken advantage of it to fasten on the people a system which in the past has invariably resulted in the destruction of the liberties of the people. The military spirit is not the force which has made our country great and given it standing among the nations of the world.

The bill as it passed the House made provision for the construction of three battleships at a cost of $28,178,532 each, a total of $84,535,596; one battle cruiser to cost $26,6[illegible]1,496; three scout cruisers to cost $6,746,145 each, or a total for the three of $20,238,435—$131,468,677 in all—a sum nearly equal to the entire cost of the Naval Establishment before the armor-plate campaign began.

It requires a half million bales of cotton to construct one battleship. Oklahoma produced last year 807,132 bales—not enough to build two battleships. The counties of my district produced 90,820 bales, distributed as follows:

Murray County	9,547
Garvin County	27,280
McClain County	11,650
Cleveland County	11,272
Oklahoma County	10,381
Logan County	11,539
Payne County	9,151

The entire production of cotton in my district would build about one-fifth of one battleship. The cost of maintaining one of these ships during one year equals the price of 15,000 bales of cotton. But one county in my district produced a sufficient supply of cotton to maintain a battleship for a single year. It is time some one was turning from the gold and tinsel, the epaulets and braid, the music, and the fanfare of militarism and casting a glance at those back home who pay the bills—those back home who would be called to do the fighting if war should come. You can depend upon it that the writing and talking warriors will not be found when shrieking shells are bursting over embattled legions and the ground is running red with the blood of dying heroes.

Think of all the tragedies wrapped up in that cotton, of the little barefooted children toiling through the long summer days to cultivate it and shivering in the frost of the November mornings to gather it! It is well that we should pause and think of them before we vote these enormous appropriations. They are trusting us to see that their money is wisely and economically spent. Are we doing it? I do not believe we are. Each, however, is responsible to those who sent him here and must answer to them for whatever mistakes he may make.

The people of this country do not want war if it can be honorably avoided, but if it should come they will be found willing and eager, in the future as in the past, to defend the country and its honor to the last drop of their blood. If the military columns were to be filled from the ranks of only those who shout for war and denounce all peace lovers as cowards and traitors, there would immediately be a marvelous change in the attitude of many parlor heroes.

Some Reflections on War and Its Horrors—Unlikelihood That This Country Will Ever be Invaded—Dr. Arthur MacDonald Reviews the General Situation and Submits Much Interesting Data.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. W. SAUNDERS,

OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 27, 1917.

Mr. SAUNDERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks, I insert the following:

WAR AND CRIMINAL ANTHROPOLOGY.

(Read before the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology at its sixth annual session, held at Washington, D. C., Oct. 23, 1914; in affiliation with the American Bar Association.)

[By Arthur MacDonald, Washington, D. C., author of Man and Abnormal Man (this work is a Senate Document), and honorary president of the Third International Congress of Criminal Anthropology of Europe.]

The President has done his best to keep us out of war and to such an extent that he has even been criticized for being so patient. Therefore all citizens should immediately make all possible efforts and personal sacrifice to aid him in the present crisis and its impending consequences, by conscientious thinking, argument, and persuasion. Even in war the controlling forces are mental. Let us be Americans, first, last, and forever.

WAR IS INTERNATIONAL CRIME.

There is perhaps no branch of knowledge as extensive in its content as criminal anthropology; there is no subject in which research requires such varied information and breadth of training; there is no science which affords more opportunities for mental acumen and ability of the highest character to carry out most lofty purposes, than criminal anthropology.

One of these purpo[illegible]s is the prevention of international crime, which may be called war. In the study of crime in its broadest sense, the criterion for the degree of criminality is coming to be measured according to the degree of injury to humanity. From this point of view, war or international crime is the most serious of all crime.

EMBRYOLOGY OF WAR.

Zoology and entomology tell us of violent conflicts between animal organizations similar to those in human warfare. But in the case of animals there is no hypocrisy; everything is open. When an army of ants rush upon an ant hill to capture it, they do not kill more than is necessary to accomplish their purpose.

WAR LIKE A DUEL.

It would seem in the origin of human society that the clans were rather peaceful in their nature, and that their wars were of a juridical character. Such is still the form of armed conflict among Australian aborigines. The contest is arranged like a duel. It is said that this habit of dueling is so strong in these aborigines that if their enemies are not armed they furnish them with arms before attacking them.

In small savage societies the wrongs submitted to by one and inflicted by the other are most often individual, as violations of hunting grounds. Retaliation was also frequent, and its repetition eventually created a taste or habit or need for war, which increased in the course of social evolution. The first clans had only to defend their crops and fishing or hunting grounds; they had only to protect their blood relations. In such a primitive state of affairs, war could not enrich the conqueror, for there was little or nothing to pillage.

ROBBERY BECOMES THE PURPOSE OF WAR.

In the shepherd or agricultural stage, customs changed; raids were made in order to steal sheep, crops, and utensils; war lost its juridical character and theft became the principal end, and the killing was sometimes pushed to extermination, not even sparing an adversary in order to make a slave of him. Man set out to steal the soil itself and to conquer more and more as human possessions grew larger. Great States were formed; great armies took part in war. The more ferocious were the nomadic peoples, whose expeditions were all for plunder. By the fact of war aristocracies were constituted; chiefs in war became kings; sacerdotal classes or castes were founded and monarchs were more and more likened unto God. This was especially true when society became complicated. Those who were conquered became slaves or serfs attached to the soil.

NO REAL EVOLUTION OF WAR.

In general, war changes its form according to diversity of country, age, and race; but fundamentally there is no real evolution. War is always a falling back into savagery; that which varies and becomes complicated is only the process in use; thus it is the arms, the tactics, the strategy; now, industries, science, and intelligence are more and more employed.

OBJECTION TO THE USE OF FIREARMS.

With the introduction of firearms it was objected that they made too much noise and did insufficient damage. Others said it was wrong to so expose a brave man that he could not defend himself and place him and the coward on equal footing. But war having lost its juridical character, artificial superiority in arms was sought without the least hesitation. The general use of firearms increased complications and expenses and favored the substitution of permanent armies for feudal warfare, and as a result the centralization of royal power. Gradually monarchies developed toward absolute power; despotism weighed as heavily upon the nobility as upon the common people. When royal power was absolute, it claimed alone the right of peace and war, and royal caprice was sufficient to plunge a nation into war.

WAR ONCE MOST HONORED PROFESSION.

War was once the most honored profession and grew to be a trade or business, but a trade honored above all others. For the upper classes it was necessary either to fight in behalf of the king or to enter the clerical order; other professions or occupations were less respectable, and military courage took the place of all virtues. Religious morality was guarded by laical morality. The king was annointed by the Savior, the king's will was divine in character. Thus St. Augustine said: "If God by a special prescription commands to kill, homicide is a virtue."

NUMBER LOST AND LENGTH OF WARS.

As to the number of men lost, modern wars are worse than ancient. It has been estimated that about 6,000,000 men were killed on European battle fields during the two centuries before 1870. Five-sixths of this total of victims perished during the last 90 years of that period. One war alone in the eighteenth century (the Seven Years' War) cost the life of 900,000 men.

If we take the history of the world from 1496 B. C. (the close of the Amphictionic Council) to the year 1861—that is, a space of 3,357 years—only 227 were years of peace throughout the whole world and 3,130 years of war; or, in other words, there was 1 year of peace to 13 years of war. From this point of view war would seem to have been the normal condition of the world and peace simply an interruption of war.

But the much more accurate way is to consider nations individually, and, as indicated in the figures below, the results show that, for instance, from 1800 to 1895 the years of peace were from four to seven times as many as the years of war; that is, peace was the usual or normal condition of a nation rather than war.

	War years.	Peace years.
Germany	11	85
Spain	13	83
Austria-Hungary	14	82
Italy	16	80
Turkey	16	80
England	19	77
Russia	20	76
France	21	75

HISTORY IS HISTORY OF THE ABNORMAL.

The traditions of the tribes, like the history of civilization, describe the crises, the exceptional thing, the abnormal events; so that in savagery as well as in civilization the abnormal constitutes most of what we know. In fact, it is most difficult, if not impossible, to gain definite and comprehensive knowledge of what mankind was doing most of the time, even during civilization. Thus through history we have been misled in supposing that war was a normal condition or that it occupied so much of the time of civilization. The historical method seems to have been very much like that of the modern newspaper, three-fourths of the news in which relates to the exceptional or abnormal.

DEFENSE OF WAR.

One apologist for war wrote that without spoils war would be absurd. Napoleon said that he gained millions of money with soldiers, and with these millions he found more soldiers. This may be called a vicious circle. Even the usuages of civilized war are the negation of the elementary principles of morality, and especially when most civilized peoples war against inferior races. Listen to one of the convenient maxims: "God did not purchase with His blood the souls of the Indians, and He is not bound to treat them different from the vilest animals."

In accordance with this theological doctrine, untold horrors were committed on inferior races. In general, the so-called morality of war has remained the same from antiquity until the present day. When the conqueror arrogates the right of life and death over the conquered, it is sufficiently logical for all other rights to follow.

Another historical authority says that war was necessary for the spread and progress of ancient civilization. Land and men were seized from barbarians and from those civilized States which were degenerating, and thus it was possible to preserve civilization.

It is asserted that war is a necessity, since it has existed everywhere and at all times. But cannibalism, like war, was the universal practice for thousands of years, and often sanctified by religion. Nevertheless, civilization has practically put an end to it. Also slavery existed thousands of years, yet the more advanced civilizations do not tolerate it longer.

A pompous argument sometimes heard is that war is divine, a chastisement inflicted by God upon civilization, and a necessary expiation. With the development of theology and science such arguments have been eliminated. But since theological arguments have become insufficient to justify war, the metaphysicians have come to the rescue. It is said one is not called upon to resort to the past to justify war, for war is simply a juridical test—a sort of general ordeal—and the prayers of the belligerents to God to help them are similar to the pleading of advocates before the tribunals of justice. A celebrated metaphysician maintains that whatever exists is just, from the fact alone that it has happened. Protestations of conscience are simply subjective phenomena and consequently negligible quantities; the irrationality of the strongest is best. This seems to mean that in the long run might makes right.

METHOD OF ARGUMENT FOR WAR AND CRIME THE SAME.

There is no evil, however great, but has some good of some kind in it. Yet the same kind of argument in defense of war can be used in support of crime. Thus if we look at nature from a scientific point of view, we note that some of the most repugnant and cruel animals are serviceable in destroying other animals just as dangerous. Also, certain poisons can serve as antidotes to certain other poisons and thus be useful. In this sense crime, like war, may have some utility. The punishment of the criminal can be beneficial not only to himself but to society in preventing others from committing crime. Criminals are sometimes made useful in building of roads and other works. They were used in constructing the pyramids of Egypt and the Suez Canal.

But is the fact that crime may have some utility any reason we should defend it and advocate it, like some do war?

UTILITY OF CRIME AND WAR.

Yet, however great the evils of war, there is no use in making them out worse than they are. In the study of anthropology as applied to crime, we may divide criminality into three kinds, individual, national, and international, or war.

It may seem strange to speak of the utility of crime; that is, while every effort should be made to prevent and lessen crime, yet, nevertheless, there may be a certain utility in crime, as already suggested.

NATIONAL CRIME.

Just as individual crime can be useful to society, so can national crime, which may take the form of tyranny, revolution, or civil war. Tyranny has the least utility, for it especially impedes progress and stops initiative. It, however, may have a useful mission in making a country more homogeneous and more centralized and sometimes better equipped for conquest. In republics at times of great danger a dictatorship is often established.

Revolts and revolutions are of utility to the social organism not only when they are justified, but even when they are not. Generally revolutionists have an ideal; they are altruistic, and this side of their character develops with their evil propensities.

In general, it must be remembered that often the most just ideas have never been able to be carried out except by violence, and that this violence is not habitual but only temporary and is sometimes a power that nothing can replace. The utilitarian side of civil war appears less certain, yet in periods of a country's development such war seems to be the only thing which will unite different provinces, which will solidify them into one state.

INTERNATIONAL CRIME.

However undesirable all kinds of crime are, international crime or war, though most terrible in many ways, is a civilizer as well as a destroyer.

One of the first useful rôles of international crime or war is purely anthropological; it is social selection. It is true, as we have said, that the best blood is sacrificed in war. But war is not a solution between individuals but between nations. In primitive times especially the most feeble race was conquered and exterminated or reduced to slavery, while the superior race developed and extended into the territory of the conquered. Sometimes an inferior race has so little physical and mental aptitude that it encumbers the ground and injures the development of progress, and its disappearance through degeneration is good for mankind in general.

COLONIZATION.

Another anthropological gain from war is colonization, which usually results in the destruction of the native inhabitants. Although this is cruel, it is a social selection. If the two races should mix, it would depress the superior and cause the dilution and total disappearance of its blood. It is said that often the conquered race is superior intellectually, but it is inferior physically; it is exhausted, and war may be necessary to infuse new life blood into it.

War may be useful also in furnishing the superior race a greater area where it can grow. The only means is to increase its territory by conquest. When the superior race renders the inferior tributary, or reduces its population to slavery, it can give its energy to the making of arms and procure new advantages by destroying other peoples, and at the same time develop intellectually. This is what slavery did for Rome. Slavery, however odious in itself, was necessary to give Greece the time and opportunity to produce its culture and intellectual development.

War aids in the expansion and transmission of new and progressive civilization from nation to nation. When a country rested in isolation it was closed to ideas from without; there were no means of regular communication and commerce; voyages were unknown; no journals, no books. An idea is born in the nation and dies there. Human progress was very slow, but war broke down many obstacles. The wars of Alexander took Greek civilization into the Orient. So the Roman civilization penetrated the Occident by means of arms.

While the advantages of war have involved the greatest of evils, war may nullify itself by becoming so onerous and dangerous as to perish by its excesses. This would be the greatest advantage of all from war; it would be war-suicide—that is, the end of war itself.

CIVILIZATION SUPERFICIAL.

According to geology and prehistoric anthropology, man was a savage hundreds of thousands of years. The world has been civilized only five or six thousand years and civilization is necessarily on the surface of human nature. But this does not lessen the importance of civilization, nor does it lessen the belief in the probability of it eventually preventing all wars. For civilization, though its foundation be comparatively shallow, can, nevertheless, suppress or cover up man's deep-seated savagery, causing it to remain dormant, and can also avoid those conditions which tend to develop the war feeling.

As education by means of environment and direct teaching has nourished and developed the war feeling in the past, so education can retrace its steps by destroying brutal ideals which have been the objects of adoration, can enlighten intelligence and develop humanitarian feelings, and, by exposing the many sophistical arguments for war, can bring the mind of man to realize the fundamental foolishness and irrationality of war.

EVILS OF MILITARY DISCIPLINE.

Much can be said of the good military discipline has accomplished, yet as to the superior mental qualities in a nation, how can they be developed under a military régime of passive obedience? Is it necessary to say that the most noble sentiments in civil life, as pity, love, charity, and humanity are absolutely opposed to war, the main object of military discipline? Every soldier, well trained, must learn to kill with neither emotion nor scruple. Thus by the sole effect of such discipline men can retrograde to a mentality inferior to that of many animals, and some of them descend so low morally as to take pleasure in murder. The effect of military discipline and service on sexual morality needs no comment.

In the past woman loved the merchant as a servant, the poet and artist as a jewel, the wise man as a rarity, the judge as an object of respect, the rich man as an object of preference, but her heart was with the soldier.

WAR FROM THE SCIENTIFIC POINT OF VIEW.

Looking at modern civilized man from a scientific point of view, he exceeds all others in criminality; he kills not only his own species, which animals rarely do, but beings of all other species; those which it is not an advantage to kill, he subjects to slavery. The egotism of the human species surpasses that of all others. The basis of this egotism and selfishness is a combination of psychic and physical force, and not moral force.

At present modern Europe, where the highest civilization exists, has millions of men at war, while Rome, with her vast empire had only 300,000 legionaries; and this is the state of the world in its commercial glory, and yet in the face of this fact it is claimed that commerce and war are antagonists.

WAR A GREATER EVIL THAN DISEASE.

To improve the race by means of war has been argued by some, but physical disease accomplishes this more effectually, since the lower strata are the main sufferers, while in war much of the best blood of the nation is sacrificed; physical weaklings are left at home to reproduce their kind, and later many wounded, shattered, or diseased return.

War is an extension and development of universal homicide, and while we look with horror upon the cannibal, the words of Montaigne are not inapplicable when he said, that "it is more barbarous to kill a live man than to roast and eat a dead one."

EVILS OF SECRET DIPLOMACY.

In modern times especially, secret alliances betwen nations seem to have been a menace to peace in the world. Thus A, B, and C, the diplomatic representatives of three countries, in order to insure the greatest secrecy, have been known to travel incognito to some place in the woods and make certain secret alliances, supposed always to be for the benefit of their respective countries.

But later on one of these three diplomats makes a secret alliance with other countries, which agreement may not be for the interest of those with whom he has already made a compact. It should be remembered that sometimes the best of men in their personal relations would not do things that they might attempt in their official capacity for the sake of protecting the interests of the countries they represent. This is natural.

When, however, circumstances arise which reveal to a nation some alliance against its own interest and which was made with them by another country with whom it already had a secret agreement and who was supposed to be friendly, this discovery usually gives rise to strong indignation and resentment on the part of the nation which may threaten the peace of other nations. Diplomatic contingencies of this nature appear to have been in existence for a long time in Europe, and on several occasions have caused grave apprehensions of a general war. But diplomatic sagacity has averted such a catastrophe until the present time.

As is well known in Europe, there has been for a long time a general belief that such a war as the present would occur. Had it been deferred until later, it might have been still more terrible than it is now. While a student in European universities some 20 years ago, I was frequently told by the professors that it was only a question of time before a general war was sure to come.

PARTIAL DISARMAMENT OF NATIONS POSSIBLE.

Of course, no one can tell in the least the probable outcome of the present war. But it seems to me that one of the results may be a general disarmament, or at least a lessening of the armament of all nations; and perhaps it may be caused by two very different methods: First, by impressing the enormity of the evils of war so strongly upon the people as to make them willing to agree to it; and, second, that those who may be victorious can compel the vanquished as one condition of surrender to agree to a general disarmament of all belligerents. The present war shows clearly that to have a big navy and big army is no guaranty of peace at all, as has been so often claimed. We hear much about the destruction of European militarism and we would that it might be accomplished. We would also at the same time that militarism on the sea, which makes war feeling still more extensive, could also be destroyed or reduced to a minimum.

INTERNATIONAL NEUTRAL COMPACT.

Or the neutral nations might form a compact in order first and most important of all, to keep themselves from being drawn into the war whirlpool; and, second, to protect their commercial rights.

Then they might agree to try and bring peace between the belligerents, or at least lay down certain regulations to safeguard their neutral commerce.

The danger of neutral nations being dragged into war increases as the belligerents become more desperate and reckless, and as a natural result careless of the rights of neutrals, who, in turn, are themselves in an irritable and nervous condition, resulting from psychological radiation, which is caused by reading and contemplating the events of the war, especially by persons who go to extremes in their support of, or antagonism to, one or the other belligerent.

Another menace, and most threatening one, is the possible breaking of international law by precedents due to the introduction of new means of warfare, such as submarines and air machines, as well as to many other new conditions, such as enormous numbers and variety and extent of area of the war zone. All these menaces combined are liable to produce such a strain upon neutral nations as to plunge them into the abyss. The great need, therefore, of an international compact between neutral nations at the earliest possible moment should be urged by everyone.

STUPIDITY OF MAN.

Whether stupidity of man be necessary or not is a large question; but nevertheless it seems to be a fact, judging from present conditions in the world.

It is estimated that criminals constitute about 1 per cent of the community; and when we consider all the evils and expense these unfortunates bring upon the remaining 99 per cent, the absurd management which allows so small a part of society to cause so much trouble becomes apparent.

This absurd management on the part of society within a country is bad enough; but when we consider the arrangements between different countries, called diplomacy, and the present status of Europe, the absurdity is infinitely worse. Even hyenas and tigers would have better sense than to kill their own species, which, as we have said, man does more than all other animals.

Just as an individual may exaggerate his own importance, honor, and dignity and become easily insulted, so nations may do, and call it patriotism. But patriotism which is based upon too much exaggeration and conceit, easily plunging a nation into war, is not the most desirable kind of patriotism.

The struggle of life should be between good and evil, and not between vengeance, greed, grievance, and haughtiness.

I. STATEMENT AS TO EUROPEAN WAR.

My desire is to give a very short statement or history of only the leading events of the European war and to do it as if I had come down from some other planet and had no particular interest in the matter except to state the truth as well as I can. But before doing this a few observations might be made.

Our country is naturally and necessarily on the side of the allies.

The American people may be divided (temporarily only) into four general classes: The proally, pro-German, anti-English, and really neutral class, which is small. In the proally division are some extremists who might be designated as hyphenated Anglo-American and among these there are a few who are so extreme as might be said to have a form of Anglo-American mania.

On the other hand, among the pro-German are a large number who are naturally so strongly pro-German as to be designated hyphenated pro-German Americans and among these there are a few who are so extreme that they may be said to have a form of pro-German-American mania.

It is not our purpose in the least to justify or to criticize any of these points of view held by the tentative divisions of American citizens which we have made, and for the following reasons:

1. It is impossible to obtain many important facts of the war and doubtless will be so long after the war is ended.

2. The political strategics of Europe is most intricate and much more involved than the military strategics.

3. To understand the present conditions and questions at issue, even if all the facts were known, would require most extensive and accurate historical knowledge, as well as intimate acquaintance with the different peoples of Europe.

4. To discuss the merits or demerits of any or of all the belligerents, or to pass judgment upon any or all of the neutrals in their attitudes is wholly premature.

While, then, an ethical consideration of the causes and purposes of this war is not to be thought of, it may be proper to give a very short recapitulation of only the most important events of the war:

1. For the last quarter of a century there has always been in Europe the belief in a general war to come. This belief had developed gradually into a conviction through occasional incidents, like the Morocco affair, before the present war started. Yet

2. No nation in Europe desired war, and whenever danger of it threatened, they all usually were desirous of thwarting it as long as possible.

3. The powers also could not see how war could be put off forever, for no nation would be expected to make concessions that might involve its honor and dignity. In short, the clash was looked upon as inevitable in the course of time. Therefore

4. Naturally each nation was preparing for a war which they did not want, but which they could not see how to avoid.

5. Love between the nations of Europe is a myth; mutual suspicion is the fact; this suspicion can produce all degrees of unfriendliness until relations may become so strained as to result in war.

6. The incidental occasion of the war (not the cause; there is a chain of causes) was the shooting of the heir to the Austrian throne. For many years there had been a secret propaganda among the Slavs under Austrian dominion of a revolutionary nature, of which Austria was well aware. This propaganda was encouraged by Serbia, if not by Russia, and the assassination of the heir to the Austrian throne was praised by the Serbian press. Whether justified or not, Austria decided that this assassination afforded an opportunity to stop this propaganda and bring Serbia to terms. As in the past, Serbia had usually yielded to Austria, it was expected that she would do so this time. But it is stated that a few hours before Austria's ultimatum expired, Serbia received a long telegram from Russia, causing Serbia not to yield.

7. As soon as war was threatened between Austria and Russia, the German Emperor tried to confine it to Austria and Serbia, because otherwise Germany would be obliged to defend Austria and therefore go to war against Russia and France, who would be obliged to support each other. The German Emperor was informed that Russia had begun general mobilization, extending even into Siberia; he then begged the Czar to stop this general mobilization or he would be forced to strike at once. The Czar answered that he could not stop the mobilization, and this is believed to be the truth, for the Czar had always been the leader for European peace, and would have stopped it if he could. But it is explained by the statement that the military power had gained control of the Russian Government and the Czar was practically unable to act.

8. As soon as the fact of general mobilization of Russia was established, what to do, then, became a military rather than a political question. As Germany and France could mobilize quicker, whichever of these countries started first was important, but not vital. But as Russia required two or three months to mobilize, time was of a most vital importance to her. From a military point of view there was nothing left for Germany to do but to strike at once, first at France, with the idea of conquering her before Russia could get ready; that is, before Russia was fully mobilized.

9. It is true that England tried to stop the war which was threatening by proposing to Germany a discussion of the matter, which, in all probabilities, would have required a month or two, but Russian mobilization had started and could not be stopped, and from a military point of view no nation under such circumstances would allow its enemy a month or two to get ready. It is thought also that Russia expected help from England; if this be true, it would encourage Russia, as it would be the first time she has had an opportunity to receive effectual help from England. France also for the same reason would receive encouragement by the expectation of a favorable attitude on the part of England.

10. From a military point of view (not of justice or of right or wrong) Germany could not take the risk of attacking France through the German border only, not only because of the very strong French fortifications on the border, but on account of the natural disadvantages, since the hills and mountains on the German side are precipitous but on the French side are slanting. For this reason of military necessity, which knows no law, Germany first asked permission, and being refused, violated the neutrality of Belgium.

11. It is said that England advised Belgium to refuse Germany's request. If this be true, it encouraged Belgium to act as she did. The main reason given by England for joining the war was the violation of Belgium's neutrality.

12. It has been stated that Italy was offered almost as much territory, if she would not enter the war, as she has gained since joining the allies.

13. The efforts of the allies to prevail upon Greece to enter the war and the seizing of some of her territory contrary to her will (though Greece was naturally friendly), practically amount to violation of her territory, and was doubtless done through military necessity which, as we have said, knows no law.

14. There are about 100,000 Greeks living in Bulgaria, and about 1,000,000 living in Turkey. If Greece should join the allies, most of these Greeks would doubtless be in great danger. It is but natural that Greece should consider them, and not desire to enter the war.

15. The general opinion of many European experts is, that each belligerent would have acted about the same as any other belligerent under similar conditions.

OFFICIAL TESTIMONY AS TO ARMAMENT AND DANGER FROM ATTACK.

There is in our country much confusion of ideas as to armament and danger of attack from possible foreign foes. Many opinions honestly and intensely held are not only at variance but in many instances absolutely contradictory. Under such circumstances, the only thing to do is [1] to seek the opinion of those most competent to tell us. The testimony on these points will be found in the hearings before the Committees on Naval and Military Affairs in both Houses of the present (Sixty-fourth) Congress. As these hearings are most voluminous, consisting of thousands of pages and not easily accessible, and as the testimony of our leading officers on the general question of armament and dangers of being attacked by some foreign foe is very much scattered, we will summarize it in the form of conclusions, and as far as possible in the words of the experts, but without quotation marks.

CONCLUSIONS BASED UPON HIGHEST OFFICERS' TESTIMONY.

From the point of view of science, opinion is valuable according to first-hand knowledge and extensive experience. The testimony of our leading naval and military experts, therefore, must be accepted as to matters within their realms.

The following are some of the conclusions which may be drawn from their testimony as given in the congressional hearings already mentioned:

1. There is no other country except England against which we could not successfully defend ourselves, according to Admiral Fletcher.

2. And not even in the case of England was the admiral certain that we could not successfully resist her attack if she could not send more than 50 per cent of her navy against us.

3. Since no country could send all its navy to attack us, and since ship for ship our Navy is equal to the German Navy and larger than any other navy except England's, and since the navy which goes a long distance to make an attack is at a great disadvantage, we could successfully resist the attack of any navy except England's.

4. If Japan, for example, could send all her navy (this is not even supposable in the case of any nation), we could resist her successfully, as her navy is much smaller; but if she could only send half of her navy, it would not be much of a fight.

5. We have the best coast defenses in the world, according to Gen. Weaver, who takes no stock in the idea that the ships of foreign nations carrying guns of longer range can silence our guns. For, according to Capt. Sims—

6. No ship can go up against land fortifications, because she can not do them any harm, and they can do her a great deal of harm. Also, according to Gen. Miles—

7. The results at Alexandria, Port Arthur, and the Dardanelles show that guns on board of ships are no match for coast fortifications and submarine guns. But—

8. Suppose the enemy's fleet arrived (they could not enter our ports, and would not) and landed at some remote point, they would have to send their ships back to get another load, and if in the meantime we could not destroy that army, Gen. Miles says he would move to some other country. But, according to Gen. Miles, this is an unsupposable case.

9. The dangers of transporting a fleet across the great expanse of hostile water and maintaining it are almost insuperable, according to Admiral Knight.

10. Under modern conditions of war a fleet would not attempt to enter a fortified harbor; it would not pay, according to Admiral Fiske.

11. A hostile fleet could not and would not enter the mouth of the Panama Canal, in the opinion of Admiral Fiske. And Admiral Vreeland says:

12. It is the policy of other Governments to increase their navies along with other leading powers, and if in the same ratio there would be no advantage to any of them, and the only limit to such increase would be the limit of taxation.

13. As to universal military service, according to Gen. Miles, you can not Germanize the American people; it would be a very dangerous step toward imperialism; it would compel the American people to perform military service and be absolute subjects of a despotism; and, further, according to Gen. Miles,

14. There are at least 1,000,000 men who have passed through all the drills, discipline, and instruction of the Regular Army. And Gen. Miles says further:

15. The placing of an army on American soil is the last thing any European Government would attempt. It would never be reembarked.

16. According to Secretary of the Navy Daniels, we have more complete defenses at our harbors, more newly enlisted men, and more efficient and better educated and trained soldiers than ever before; in short, we are completely equipped in every department and more efficient than ever before in the history of our country, and the public attacks upon our Navy are not true. Also, in the opinion of Admiral Blue, our Navy as a fighting machine has never been in better shape than it is to-day.

The question will arise, after reading this testimony, as to what is the matter. Why do some people seem frightened at the danger of being attacked, and, so to speak, are on the run? Why are appropriations into the hundred millions of dollars now being considered which will tax the people to the uttermost? It seems due to the psychology of fear and to ignorance of the testimony of our highest naval officers.

The dangers of war come from our own country and not from Europe, where the lame, halt, and blind, and the physically exhausted have reached an enormous number, not to mention the prodigious financial indebtedness already incurred. Most of the best trained soldiers have already been killed or wounded, and the number killed and being killed form the greatest cemetery known to history.

ALL EUROPEAN NATIONS SEEK OUR GOOD WILL, NOT ENMITY.

Anyone who has lived in Europe a number of years and is familiar with the languages, people, and history knows that the idea of any nation there coming over here to attack us is not only a product of imagination worked up here but is amusing to the people over there, and for the following obvious reasons:

1. The people in Europe generally want to please us; they desire us to spend our money there, and they borrow money from us; for these and many other commercial reasons the idea of their wishing to have a war with us is preposterous.

2. Whether the allies or the central powers win out, or whether it is a draw, or whether peace may soon be made, they will all have all they can do for a long time to adjust themselves, police their country, and recuperate. The fear that any of them might come over here to attack us is almost insuperable, as our Navy experts testify. They will have enough troubles without seeking them 3,000 miles away.

EUROPEAN WAR SHOWS ARMED PEACE TO BE A CONTRADICTION.

3. If we propose to repeat the history of Europe and build up an immense Navy, claiming it is for defense only, which is the usual hackneyed bluff of the most aggressive nations, we will cause other countries to become suspicious, then envious, and probably eventually unfriendly. This imaginary idea of armed peace is just what Europe has been following for many years, and the outcome has been demonstrated beyond a doubt. In science facts talk, not theories nor fine-sounding words.

4. To propose compulsory military training, resulting as a natural consequence in compulsory military service, or making it easier to accomplish, is to prepare this country for the rankest sort of militarism, which is almost revolutionary, tending to uproot the very foundations of our Government. It is to outkaiser the Kaiser.

5. Since the minds of our people have been saturated with all kinds of war ideas and fears, reasonable, unreasonable, and imaginary, it may be well to increase our Navy and Army a little for psychological reasons, to assuage this fear and nervousness which have been created and stimulated artificially, and it would seem for purposes of financial gain.

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II. QUICKNESS OF COMMUNICATION DANGEROUS IN DIPLOMACY.

Formerly, when methods of communication were primitive, geographical conditions or environment were more powerful in separating nations, and even at present they are still more fundamental than political conditions. Had there not been telegraph, telephone, and wireless, with other modern fast means of communication, enabling quick diplomatic action and affording less time for deliberation, and so more danger of precipitate action from which it is difficult to retreat on account of pride, it may have been that the present war would have been delayed, if not avoided.

RIGHTS OF NATIONS RESTRICTED BY CONTINUITY OF COMMUNICATION.

There seems to be little probability of any country invading the United States; no country desires to make us an enemy, for commercial and financial reasons, if for no other.

But there is a probability of our rights on the sea and the rights of our citizens in foreign countries being very much invaded, and more so than in former wars, for the obvious reason of the war involving so many different nations, producing new war conditions. But not only the unparalleled extent of the war, but the fact of the great increase of intercommunications of every nature, as telephonic, telegraphic, and through increase of steamship lines, railroads, and eventually airship lines and undersea passages. These things necessarily produce a tendency to continuity and centralization which afford many advantages in times of peace but great dangers in times of war. That is, this great increase of numerous kinds of communication makes it much more difficult to avoid infringing upon the rights of other nations; in fact, it is evident that some of the present laws of war must be modified, to the disadvantage of neutrals; that is, the advantages of peace coming from closer and better communications must be paid for by neutrals by infringements of what they have formerly called their rights.

NEW CONDITIONS REQUIRE MORE PATIENCE AND FORBEARANCE.

The neutrals near the seat of war are naturally suffering more than those remote therefrom.

It is evident that none of the belligerents have any desire to injure the neutrals or infringe on their rights, but when fighting for their lives they feel justified in doing things from military necessity that nullify the rights of neutrals. The present war, as indicated, suggests that what have been considered rights of neutrals in former wars must in a great measure cease. It therefore behooves all neutrals to be very patient and to forego many of their rights and not to overestimate their "dignity" and thus involve themselves in the war and make it still more difficult for other neutral nations to remain neutral, which finally might draw the whole world into war.

ALL COUNTRIES FROWN UPON INVASION.

Any country will defend itself against unprovoked invasion, and, even if provoked, other nations will frown on invasion. To repel invasion is recognized as similar to self-defense in an individual.

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III. DANGERS FROM PREPONDERATING ARMAMENT.

The purpose of all science is to seek the truth. With this idea in view, we shall see that according to English statesmen excessive armament tends toward war; that according to President Wilson there is no safety with preponderating armaments, and according to United States officers invasion of our coasts is most improbable; and there is no evidence of any nation desiring to invade us. It will also be indicated that disregard of our rights on the sea is due to military necessity and is without malicious intent.

DANGER FROM FOREIGN INVASION VISIONARY.

President Wilson has said, "We are threatened from no quarter." Ex-President Taft has stated that "there is no occasion for alarm." Gen. Miles says that "placing an army on American soil is the last thing any European Government would attempt," and Admiral Knight asserts the danger of transporting a fleet across a great expanse of

hostile water, and maintaining it, are almost insuperable. Hon. CLAUDE KITCHIN, majority leader of the House of Representatives, says: "All the talk and writings by the press and the so-called 'patriotic societies' about our 'utter helplessness,' our 'dangerous unpreparedness,' our 'defenseless condition,' our 'growing weakness,' our 'having fallen to the third or fourth grade of inferiority in naval strength,' etc., is pure tommyrot, based not on a single fact"; and lastly, President Wilson says, in his address to the Senate, "There can be no sense of safety and equality among the nations if great preponderating armaments are henceforth to continue here and there to be built up and maintained." In spite of all this expert naval, military, and political opinion, and in direct opposition to the experience and verified predictions of leading English statesmen (cited below), nevertheless we are told that our general naval program will cost up to 1925, $1,500,000,000, and to maintain it $760,000,000 annually.

PROPOSING TO REPEAT THE UNFORTUNATE EXPERIENCE OF EUROPE.

For the last 25 or more years the leading European nations have been increasing their navies and armies, thus developing their armed peace. If none of them had made such increases in all probability there would have been no war. The enormous Navy now proposed for the United States will make all nations suspicious of us, just as the increase of armed peace in Europe created suspicions, which were one of the great contributing causes of the present war. And now it is proposed to repeat European experience, the terrible consequences of which are right before our eyes.

EUROPEAN METHOD WAS FATAL.

Excessive increase of armament, as in the English and German naval rivalry, and the German and French return to three years' army service, was always dangerous not only as direct threat but indirectly as alterations of the balance of means to ends, as acquirement of foreign possessions and economic and political interests; for all the powers have imperial vices from land grabbing to diplomatic intrigue. Admiral Fiske and other admirals have stated that Germany and England would have to go to war some day in self-defense on account of their building program, one against the other. Tolstoi said, "No enlightened man can help knowing that the universal competition in armament of States must inevitably lead them to useless wars, or to general bankruptcy, or else to both the one and the other."

ENGLISH STATESMEN SAID EXCESSIVE ARMAMENT TENDS TO WAR.

Leading English statesmen thought excessive armament tended toward war, and they predicted correctly. In 1905 the prime minister of England said: "I hold that the growth of armaments is a great danger to the peace of the world * * * a policy which inflames old sores and creates new ones."

In 1908 Sir Edward Gray said: "When I see the great progress of naval expenditures * * * in some other countries * * *; if they are carried out in their entirety it will undoubtedly become necessary for us * * * for the preservation of our independence, and for our own safety at home, to make further increases in our own navy."

The Foreign English Secretary said about this time: "We are in comparatively calm weather * * * but the excessive expenditure on armaments makes the weather sultry."

In 1909 Sir Edward Gray said: "The great countries of Europe are raising enormous revenues, and something like one-half of them is being spent on military and naval preparations * * * in preparations to kill each other * * * a satire and reflection upon civilization."

In 1909 Lord Roseberry said: "* * * When I see this bursting out of navies everywhere * * *, I do begin to feel uneasy at the outcome of it all and wonder where it will stop, or is it going to bring back Europe into a state of barbarism."

In 1911 Mr. Churchill said: "Our naval preparations are necessarily based upon the naval preparations of other powers."

Lord Haldane said in 1914 that "Europe was an armed camp * * * if armaments were piled up, it was not for aggression but for fear."

Every sophism, platitude, and pretext that preparedness means peace have nothing to stand on, by what took place six months after this speech, when the present war began. And finally—

Lord Roseberry says: "I know nothing more disheartening than the announcement recently made that the United States—the one great country left in the world free from the hideous, bloody burden of war—is about to embark upon the building of a huge armada destined to be equal or second to our own. It means that the burdens will continue upon the other nations, and be increased exactly in proportions to the fleet of the United States, so remote from the European conflict, should voluntarily in these days take up the burden which after this war will be found to have broken or almost broken our backs.

History shows that armed peace tends to cause war, and that peace does not rest upon force; that increasing preparedness, as a matter of fact, makes war more probable. It has been said that three-fourths of the nations of the earth have no navies at all, and have no wars.

MILITARY MEN THEMSELVES CONDEMN WAR.

Napoleon said "Brute force can create nothing durable," and the Duke of Wellington called war a "detestable thing; if you had seen but one day of it, you would pray that you might never see another." Sheridan said war would eliminate itself. Sherman said, "I confess without shame that I am tired and sick of war. Its glory is all moonshine. It is those who have neither heard a shot nor the shrieks and groans of the wounded who cry aloud for more blood, more vengeance, more desolation. War is hell." Washington considered war "the plague to mankind." Jefferson called it "the greatest of human evils." Franklin said that "there never was a good war nor bad peace," and Emerson called war "an epidemic of insanity." Washington said, "Cultivate peace and harmony with all nations. Overgrown military establishments are, under any form of government, inauspicious to liberty, and are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty."

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IV. MILITARY TRAINING IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

There is hardly any ism but that something may be said in its favor. It is easy to admit some good that military discipline might accomplish, but it is difficult to see how the superior mental qualities in a nation can be developed under a military régime of passive obedience. The most noble sentiments in civil life, as pity, love, charity, and humanity are absolutely opposed to war, the main object of military training. Every soldier well trained must learn to kill without emotion or scruple. Thus by the sole effect of such discipline men can retrograde to a mentality inferior to that of animals, and some of them descend so low as to take pleasure in murder. The effect of military discipline and service on sexual morality needs no comment. A soldier must obey orders, the fundamental principle of militarism.

"Do you think your conscience was meant to die
And your brain to rot away?"
But the captain answered, "I do not think;
I do not think; I obey."

CHILD TRAINING FOR WAR.

We give the child in the cradle some bright-colored war toy; later in the nursery he is encouraged to play with toy soldiers, toy weapons, and to invent toy battle scenes. There could not be a better training to prepare him to become a warrior; he is malleable now, and the influence of war ideas is all the deeper. With the wooden war horse and tin sword he can make a great charge; with the toy cannon, the natural imagination of the child passes easily to battalions, war, and bloodshed; the toy soldiers slaughtering imaginary enemies. Thus the foundation of militarism is laid in earliest childhood.

In the school during war times the teachers may talk on incidents of the battles; the great generals are pictured as heroes for their success in the slaughter. The enemy, of course, is not worthy to exist, and should be eliminated; abuse is heaped upon him. This is an effectual way to teach hatred to the young.

The War Department may issue a circular pressing schools to teach boys the use of the rifle; the next step is the formation of cadet corps in the schools. This, with military drill, develops the youthful mind for future militarism; the schoolboy is turned into a conscript; the bayonet will supplant the book; the slaughter of the enemy will take the place of citizenship, all indicating the patriotic spirit.

We can not teach the golden rule and retaliation, which would tend to make us hypocrites and liars. To teach children and youth the right to kill, lie, steal, boast of slaughter, and rejoice at suffering and how to burn down homes is to undermine the foundations of humanity.

"Obey his superior's commands; and if it were to crucify Christ he would do it;" such are the words of a faithful soldier.

EXPERIENCE OF AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND.

From a scientific point of view results of experience are much more valuable than theory.

In Australia military drill becomes obligatory at the age of 14 and in New Zealand at the age of 16. In these countries thousands of boys have been thrown into military prisons, where they came in contact with undesirable characters and without any of the safeguards of the home.

Arthur Watts, organizer of the Australian Freedom League, shows that in Australia in 1913 the number liable to prosecution for non-registration at the end of the registration period was 7,324. Official figures show the percentage of absentees from drills ranged from about 31 to 52 per cent in Australia. Nonattendance at drills constitutes a basis for prosecution. In the city of Auckland, New Zealand, of about 90,000 population, during 1914 there were, not counting withdrawn cases, a record of 770 prosecutions.

BOYS STIGMATIZED AS CRIMINALS.

John F. Hills, South Australia, a well known educator, has stated that in times of peace "military imprisonment" was inflicted on "over 4,000 Australian boys and youths." The New Zealand Freedom League, in its report for 1914, when discussing the prosecution in police court which were found necessary in connection with the inforcement of military drill, says: "There are many instances of shameful injustice, and altogether one is impressed with the fact that boys from 14 years upward are compelled to mix with the worst characters off our streets, to hear of filth and crime from which they should be protected, simply because they object to be brutalized by the agents of war or because they happen to have been absent from parade."

Those who are opposed to drill from conscientious or other reasons are often called "liars," "unpatriotic," and "traitors." An oath is demanded of the boys. That in New Zealand has been as follows:

"I, ——— ———, do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to our sovereign lord, the King, his heirs and successors, and that I will faithfully serve in the New Zealand military forces, according to my liability under the defense act at present in force, and that I will observe and obey all orders of his majesty, his heirs and successors, and of the generals and officers set over me until I shall be lawfully discharged. So help me God."

This oath was often forced by threats of fine and imprisonment on boys who were drilling and on those whose parents refused to consent to their boys binding themselves to so drastic a surrender of their consciences into the keeping of the military authorities. "Before New Zealand came under the iron heel of militarism the only person who could inflict a fine upon anyone was a magistrate. But to-day a military officer can impose fines on the boys under his care at his own sweet will, and, what is far more serious, can cause that fine to be collected by a policeman of the lad's wages.

The general unpopularity of these conditions in Australia is indicated by the fact that, according to the reports of the Australian Freedom League, in two and one-half years, up to the last day of 1913, there were 22,148 prosecutions of your people from 14 and upward. This was in a population of 4,500,000 persons.

LABOR UTTERLY OPPOSED TO MILITARISM.

The American Federation of Labor, at its thirty-sixth annual convention, passed the following resolution:

"Whereas the Secretary of War has communicated with public school authorities in various parts of this country, inquiring if they were willing to introduce military training of the boys in the schools, and stating that the War Department would provide instructors and rifles and ammunition; and

"Whereas the American Federation of Labor is utterly opposed to militarism: Therefore, be it

"Resolved, That this convention protests against the action of the Secretary of War, and hereby instructs the executive council of the American Federation of Labor to request President Wilson to prevent any further attempt to militarize the public schools."

The Pennsylvania Arbitration and Peace Society adopted the following resolutions:

"First. Military training is not conducive to the best physical development of school boys. It is contrary to the practice and experience of the skilled leaders in physical education. This idea is summed up in

the words of Dr. Charles Eliot, former president of Harvard University: 'Military drill seems to me one of the poorest forms of bodily exercise; very inferior to most gymnastic exercises and to all free sports. There is too much routine and automatic action to it and too much repression of individual freedom.'

"Military drill is inelastic, undeveloping, and opposed to that flexibility and intiative which are valuable ends in physical training. Dean Russell of Teachers' College, Columbia University, has recently expressed similar views in condemning military training for school boys, and Dr. Sargent, of Harvard University, is equally emphatic.

"Second. The teachers and educators of the United States are practically a unit in opposing this movement. The National Education Association, at Oakland, Cal., in 1915, resolved: 'The association deplores any attempt to militarize this country. It again declares against the establishment of compulsory military training in the schools, on the ground that it is reactionary and inconsistent with American ideals and standards.'

"Third. Military training in schools is utterly futile as a preparation for service in the field. The small amount of training that can be given is unsuited to the age and development of boyhood.

"Fourth. None of the great European countries at present engaged in warfare is practicing military training for its boys in the schools. Such a system was tried in both England and France, but was given up on account of its uselessness and futility.

"Fifth. The development of a system of military training would entail great expense to no good purpose, interfere with the working of the schools in introducing into the school system men out of touch with educational ideals and practices."

STATEMENTS OF EDUCATORS AND SPECIALISTS.

David Starr Jordan says: "The objections to military training as a part of a general education are mainly three. The one is that such training is, on the whole, highly specialized for a particular profession, and that war. The second is that the martial spirit or specific bias which this training gives to some degree unfits its possessor to consider justly the affairs in which this Nation is concerned. It tends to exaggerate a perverted form of patriotism that prompts men to sanction unnecessary wars. A third objection is that military drill is in the hands of noncommissioned officers, in general with no fitness for teaching, while its value as exercise is far inferior to that of a well-appointed gymnasium, or even of an ordinary athletic field."

Nathan C. Schaeffer says: "Since there are more than 12,000,000 male persons in the United States between the ages of 12 and 23, the proposed legislation would give us more than 1,000,000 military officers in a country devoted to the arts of peace. Who can tell the ultimate effects of such a policy or system after it has been fastened upon the youth of our land?"

Col. Thomas F. Edmands says: "The modern drill regulations are by no means adapted for work in schools under any circumstances. They need a man's brains and muscles. Every time I tell the truth about the matter I generally raise a storm from persons illy informed upon the subject, and from the boys, whose self-conceit engendered by this drill should be one of the greatest arguments against its further practice."

Dr. Angerstein, a high authority in Army circles, pronounces it a physiological crime to introduce military drill into the schools.

John H. Finley, president of the University of the State of New York, and State commissioner of education, says: "Military drill in schools would imply a perpetuation of internal hatreds and brutish warfare."

John W. Foster, former Secretary of State, says: "The natural tendency of the youth of our country to military exercises is great enough already, and it is cruel to stimulate in them the art of killing their fellow men."

John Dewey, of Columbia University, says: "It would be a long step backward in the tradition of the American people and of American education to introduce rifle practice into our public schools. * * * It is undemocratic, barbaric, and scholastically wholly unwise."

STATEMENT OF DR. PHILANDER P. CLAXTON, UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION.

Military training is impracticable in a very large majority of the public schools of the United States and is, I believe, not desirable, either because of its educational value for physical development or as a means of preparation for defense. For all these ends proper care of the health of children and provision for vigorous free play, games, and sports and proper forms of gymnastic exercises are much more valuable. Out of the millions of vigorous, helpful, intelligent, patriotic young men which the public schools might thus furnish to the country from generation to generation, armies for defense could be formed and trained as might be necessary more effectually and more economically than by means of military training in the public schools.

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V. MORAL EVILS OF WAR.

We all hate war, but the purpose of this study is to make us detest it so much that we will avoid doing things which lead to war.

The deepest evil of war is not only suffering, death, ruin of cities, wasting of homes, plagues, famine or fire; but war also depraves as it destroys; it is the moral damage as well as the physical. The murderous desires and frenzy of noncombatants at home are nearly as bad as the stabs of the soldiers; the brutality of the man in the street, the bloodthirst fostered by teachers inculcated in schools, preached in churches, and exhorted in the name of the Lord; this saturation of the people at home with murder and hatred is moral shrapnel. The journalist encouraging hate; the speculator telegraphing hate for sake of greed; the mob thirsting for blood and a raging hell of diseased patriotism, permeating a whole nation, saturating the minds of everyone from the youngest child to the oldest citizen; these are some of the moral evils of war.

SINCE THE ENEMY SHOULD NOT EXIST ANYTHING CAN BE SAID AGAINST HIM.

The leader of a hostile people may be a great patriot and impartial judgment may make him a hero, but those who war against him will ridicule him and the press will influence the popular mind against him.

In war, calumny of the enemy is often childish. It has been said that "the journalistic ink slinger is as necessary as the scout; the platform libeller as important as the sentry; the parliamentary mudlark as essential as the general on the field; the pulpit bearer of false witness not less needful than the chaplain of the regiment."

Often a nation's character must be destroyed in order to get the people to fight; if they seem to be softening a little, then atrocities are exaggerated. The origin of the war must be justified, right or wrong; it must be in self-defense (whether it is or not), or it will be difficult to get the people in the proper war-like spirit. The enemy must be represented as savages, monsters and not fit to live. The foe must be accused of murder, rape, assassination, and (if necessary to stir up the people more) of every imaginable abomination; this seems to be the duty of the patriot scandal-monger, being, as Benjamin Franklin said, "to render the enemy odious and contemptible."

Just as a nation blackguards its enemy, so it must exalt itself, that force of contrast between saint and sinner, as it were, will make the people feel justified in treating the enemy as bad as possible. "To see ourselves as others see us," would be treason to suggest.

The longing for distinction is one of the main impulses in military feeling. A nation will read with admiration the rising of a race oppressed by another nation, but shows indignation, if it, itself is the oppressor; scorn increases with conceit, hatred with egotism. The country is filled with egomania, continually extolling its own virtues and exaggerating the smallest success over the enemy, and silent on, or underestimating everything the enemy does. If victorious over ignorant natives or untrained soldiers, it calls the result a great triumph of military skill and heroism. But even defeat does not quiet the egomania, which praises the valor and strategy of the enemy. In war the enemy is a savage, a barbarian, a butcher, a monster, atrocious, kills and rapes women, slaughters children; to exterminate the enemy is the duty of humanity. This is the usual feeling in war, and it makes no matter who the enemy is, whether right or wrong, he must be killed, and this feeling is called patriotism.

Herbert Spencer mentions how cruel the English considered the French for lighting fires at the mouth of Arab caves, because they refused to submit, but it was no such barbarity in India for the English to execute groups of rebel Sepoys by fusillade and then setting fire to the heap of them because they were not all dead. Thus war bias prevents the sense of justice. What we do is virtuous and heroic, but if the enemy do it under the same conditions it is contemptible and barbaric.

UNJUST PATRIOTISM.

To risk life on battle fields is not the only kind of patriotism, for it may be only love of adventure and excitement. It can be more difficult to live nobly for one's country than die for it, more sacrificial to keep it from war than to plunge it into conflict. War demands that free speech be suppressed, that the government, right or wrong, must be supported; that is, the citizen must rely on passion rather than justice, if circumstances make it necessary, as it is said so often, "Everything goes in war and love," thus the country's interest is greater than personal honor and conscience; glory is higher than righteousness. Thus "patriotism" is against the highest sense of honor; a peacemaker is called a traitor; such is the inherent injustice of so-called patriotism.

To insist that because a certain country has borne and nourished you, you must indorse all its quarrels, is the same as saying you must stand by your parents, even when they commit murder; this is the doctrine worthy of criminals and pirates, not patriots.

A diplomat picks a quarrel in order to attack and steal a bordering country, a preacher who uses religion to develop hate and justify murder, an editor who supports the country right or wrong, a mob which breaks windows and stones citizens—these all are patriots, but those who stand for international justice and peace are called traitors; this is not patriotism, it is moral insanity; this kind of patriotism poisoned Socrates and crucified Jesus; it invokes military necessity, under which every imaginable abomination has been committed.

True patriotism respects true patriotism in other countries; domestic faithfulness regards the sanctity of other homes. Pride, not patriotism, tramples upon the sense of nationality in other people.

MILITARISM AGAINST REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

Militarism strangles freedom of speech, turns citizens into soldiers, democracy into officialism, dictatorship, and absolutism. Ministries and cabinets exhibit almost limitless power, putting a country into such a position as to force its legislature to declare war, leaving it no choice in the matter; a practical absolutism, not the purpose of representative government. Cheap literature in war causes an outpouring of newspapers, magazines, and even books written under the spell and glamour of militarism, making the soldier and war the national ideal, glorifying heroic murder, which practically is the zenith of patriotism. Thus citizens become despots, and love of country is changed to lust for conquest.

Militarism, imperialism, and Caesarism are of the same family, and mutual friends and enemies of democracy. Militarism, sometimes called "preparedness," means preparedness for war rather than peace, if the history of the world is of any value.

WAR HYSTERIA.

War feeling is often a form of hysteria. If an army conquers a small body of untrained fighters, it is reported as a triumph of heroism and military sagacity. "Every private is a Leonidas and every scuffle a Waterloo." The least victory sets the whole nation aflame; many, drunk with whisky, bellow forth their patriotism; profanity, insolence, and vice march with the mobs, and uncontrollable emotions, shrieking, hollering, blaspheming, followed by dances and miscellaneous kissing—the bishop gives thanks unto the Lord and the people drink, and the delirium goes on until Tedeums are sung at Westminster.

FEELINGS OF THE VICTORIOUS ENGLISH IN THE BOER WAR.

The feelings of the victorious English in the Boer War are thus expressed by one of their number: "Feeling a rare satisfaction, a warm glow of the heart, when he sees the smoke of their homesteads ascending to heaven; they are but human vermin; a heart of a rebel is getting his deserts." "Farm burning goes merrily on, and our course through the country is marked, as in prehistoric ages, by pillars of smoke by day and fire by night. I do not gather that any special reason or cause is alleged against the farms burnt; to save trouble we burn the lot without inquiry; only the women are left." (Quoted by Walsh, p. 51.)

Great Britain's enemy is "the most unenlightened, the least progressive, the most tyrannical, the most corrupt, and, in a word, the worst section of the Dutch element in South Africa." "A band of brigands and assassins." "A horde of the most miserable scoundrels the nation has produced." "The craftiest, most hypocritical, most

dishonest, most untruthful, cruelest, most ignorant, most overbearing, most immoral, and stupidest race of white people in the whole world." (Newcastle Daily Chronicle, p. 229, Walsh.)

SOME PREACHERS OF THE GOSPEL IN THE BOER WAR.

The preachers and ecclesiastical leaders seemed to practice opportunism. One said, "For all who believe in the Lord Jesus Christ to so handle the trouble as to commend themselves to the larger number" (War against South Africa, p. 347). Another divine said it is not their business "to investigate the causes of war"; and another asserted, "It is not a case of arbitration, it must be a fight to a finish." (Sun, London, Dec. 5, 1900, Walsh.)

Every successful war is usually acclaimed as a "leading of God's good providence, leaving a legacy for the church, creating opportunities for her work" (Archbishop of Cape Town), or as Dean Spruce said, "justified in invoking the blessing of the Most High upon the British arms to carry out the work intrusted to the Anglo-Saxon race" (New Age, Apr. 30, 1903).

"Christian soldiers" have been described as men who fight like devils and pray like saints. A Christian soldier is a contradiction: "My Kingdom is not of this world, else would my servants fight."

Distinguished ecclesiastics of England used these expressions as to the Boers: "A blow at the tyrant, the oppressor, and the murderer" (Conn Newbold, New Age, Dec. 18, 1912); "a brutal and degraded race" (Bishop of Pretoria, New Age, May 28, 1903); "outside the pale of civilization" (Rev. H. P. Hughes). Another divine denounced the pacificists as "imbeciles if they think the war can be stopped and traitors if they think it ought to be stopped" (War Against War in South Africa, p. 284).

Pulpiteers obsessed by the war spirit are swept away by the calumnies and lies; thus a preacher says, "There must be no half measures, for we will give no quarter. * * * Oom Paul will swim through seas of blood, upon his belly, psalm singing" (Daily Telegraph, July, 1899).

"For you can not cure the stubborn foe until surgery and cauterizing instruments in the shape of fire and sword scrape and burn him to the very bone" (Chaplain J. R., D. D., Aberdeen, May, 1903).

"Let us hope above all that we shall have done with magnanimity" (Rev. J. B., Feb. 24, 1901).

Edinburgh Evening News, May, 1900: A preacher says, "The national conscience is clean—it is a righteous war; from the bottom of our hearts we can invoke the blessing of the Almighty God." "War is hell" is an expression frequently used by its advocates, "therefore we must not be shocked by atrocities but expect them as a matter of course and cast no reflections upon those who keep hell going by deeds natural to it" (quoted by Walsh).

The case of horses is as pitiable as that of men; though man may enjoy blood glory, they perish "in heaps with intense anguish."

War is like the crown of thorns upon the brow of the Prince of Peace. Would Christ take a gun and shoot anybody? Can anyone imagine such a thing? All the philosophical and exegetical sophism of the world can not justify the spirit of Christianity in contradicting itself.

The dean of Durham Cathedral (Jan. 21, 1900) said in a sermon, "There is no nobleness save that of purity and love, no gospel save that which preaches forgiveness, no joy like that of joining hands in peace." For preaching this sermon the dean was compelled to resign and was publicly rebuked from the bench by Justice Grantham.

Another reverend gentleman said, "I personally refuse to think that the red-fool fury of modern jingoism is at all the true mind of the British people at this time. It is an overgrowth, a product cooked by deception from ignorance and excitement." For these utterances this pastor was compelled to resign.

A religious paper writes, "Until now blood has been running in tiny rivulets—the British Army in the two republics must exterminate the Boer vermin and soak the soil with their blood, that the grass may grow quicker" (New Age, May 25, 1913).

London Times, October 31, 1899:

> "And when I note how noble nations form
> 'Neath the red rain of war, I deem it true
> That He who gave the earthquake and the storm
> Perchance made battle, too."

Think of these words by a Protestant archbishop, and then consider what was taking place in the Japanese War, as quoted by John Morley, M. P. (Brechin, Jan. 18, 1905): "In these fierce hand-to-hand fights men grappled, raged, and tore each other like wild beasts, biting, clawing, and gouging each other's eyes out."

ODE TO THE BAYONET.

> "Ho! clear the way, for 'ere 'e comes,
> When Tommy joins the 'unt,
> With the stabbin' of the bayonit,
> The bayonit, the bloody bayonit,
> Gawd 'elp the man in front.
>
> "The flashing, gashing bayonit,
> The ruddy, bloody bayonit."
>
> (London Times, Oct. 11, 1899.)

"It is a religious war; from the bottom of our hearts we can invoke the blessing of the Almighty God," says Dr. MacGregor.

Paul declared that the weapons of his warfare were not carnal but spiritual; yet there are missionaries who recognize the religious power of the bayonet and the Maxim gun. No wonder missionaries have sometimes been killed by so-called heathens! Thus religious propaganda comes to be regarded as a form of foreign invasion.

BOER WAR UNJUSTIFIED.

Editor of London Echo: "In the whole history of England there is * * * no war more unnecessary and unjust than the one in which we are now engaged in South Africa. I may be wrong, but if I am wrong, I can not understand the ferocity with which every criticism, every claim to freedom of speech has been suppressed. Why can not the full light of day be let in first on the raid; * * * second, on the exclusion of the Transvaal from The Hague conference; third, on the persistent refusal of England to refer the dispute to arbitrators even when all foreign arbitrations were excluded." (Moral Damage of War, p. 193.)

James Bryce, M. P. (November, 1899), says: "It seems a tragic irony * * * before the ink was dry to The Hague protocols we should be engaged in war against a State which had repeatedly suggested arbitration."

War injures the humanitarian, forces him in the shady paths of life; war injures public sentiment by putting the warrior in offensive contrast to the humanitarian, by loading the bloody conqueror with honors, while the unselfish helper of his country goes unnoticed. Spies are to be made a great deal of.

MORAL OBTUSENESS OF MILITARISM.

If ordered to execute a dying man, a soldier will drag him from his bed, place him in a chair (as he can not stand), and shoot him in the presence of his nursing wife. (London Daily News, Aug. 6, 1902.)

A "rebel," whose only crime is that of George Washington's, with a fatal disease also upon him—tie him blindfolded to a chair, in spite of his petitions to stand up and look death in the face, and, 15 to the file and 10 paces off, will fill him with lead, fling him into a hole and march away to the sound of merry music. (Reynolds's Newspaper, London, Jan. 24, 1902, a soldier's letter.) A soldier must obey orders, the fundamental principles of militarism.

VI. ATROCITIES AND OUTRAGES OF WAR.

It will be evident to any impartial reader of accounts of wars that outrages and atrocities are committed by all countries when conditions, or so-called military necessity, require it. It is a form of hypocrisy when one nation accuses the other of outrages which the accusing nation in previous wars has practiced itself.

The extent and degree of outrages and atrocities are generally due to the special conditions and degree of provocation. In addition to this, there are in the large armies of every country unfortunately a few men with natural brutality and low moral nature who may commit atrocities with no provocation; they are never forgotten and their number is usually greatly exaggerated. Their publication with exaggeration only increases the hatred between the nations fighting. Such publication and exaggeration may be encouraged to make the soldiers fight harder and also to gain sympathy from neutral nations.

In order to make good and innocent people willing to continue the war, or to make them indignant and ready to fight, atrocities common to war must be dilated upon, tales told of, as well as abuse heaped upon the foe. But the country fighting the foe must be praised for its high morality and its noble and just cause to make the contrast all the greater.

DIFFICULTIES IN THE ENEMY'S COUNTRY.

When in the enemy's country, after the army has captured a village or city, perhaps at great cost, sacrifice, and bloodshed, then the soldiers have a right to expect the citizens of the surrendered or conquered town to give up their arms and cease from warfare; but where, after citizens are warned that they will be shot if they undertake warlike action by shooting at soldiers, and if they do so, their houses are liable to be burnt down and they themselves shot on the spot. These are the most terrible things in war; but, still more terrible, the innocent are liable to suffer with the guilty. If, for instance, a soldier is shot at from a house and suspicion points to two windows, one of which is in the next house, if it be impossible to decide from which house the shot came, vengeance may be applied to both houses. Unhappily women and young boys, as well as men, sometimes shoot from houses, so that all are liable to be shot.

In the uncertainty and excitement of war not very much time and effort will be given to find out exactly who did the shooting; in fact, it might be impossible to find out. So may many suffer however innocent simply on account of the foolish and unmilitary action of one person. In such conditions, terrible injustice is done most innocent people; and we are indignant and are amazed at such outrages. But this is war, the flower of militarism. Instead of showing our just resentment at such cruelties, let us vent our rage rather on war itself, the occasion of all this military severity. As often suggested, the choice between entering war and remaining neutral—in short, between war and peace—may be a choice between two evils, and the decision should be on the side of the lesser evil.

Let us admit that for a country not to be equipped reasonably or adequately for war may cause it not to receive proper attention and respect from other countries, even to the extent of humiliation; let us admit this to be an evil. Now let us set over against this evil the injustice that war brings to innocent people, noncombatants, the outrages they suffer, the destruction of their homes, the shooting of them in cold blood, and their awful suffering from fear and terrorism sometimes visited upon them through military necessity.

PEACE THE LESSER EVIL.

Let us picture, if possible, the almost infinite injustice and suffering that, for instance, the Russian peasants have experienced, when with only short notice, hundreds of thousands have been ordered by their own generals to quit their homes; where to go they know not, many without conveyances to carry anything; nevertheless they must take what they can carry afoot—old and young, bedridden, sick, and crippled—must depart in the cold, many scantily clad, the poorest, who are in the majority, suffering the worst. Many, of course, die on the way, enduring untold agony from exposure, exhaustion, and starvation. Think of these poor, innocent, peaceful peasants, who only want to be let alone, whose sons and fathers were torn from them to go to the front, are, after making such sacrifices for their own country, now forced by this very country into ruin, starvation, and death; and this all on account of military necessity of their own fatherland. Think of this infinite suffering and injustice to hundreds of thousands and compare it with the admitted evil of humiliation, and then pray tell us which is the lesser evil. The long-lasting and paramount effects of war horrors and devastation are infinitely a greater evil than the short and comparatively temporary effort of neglect of dignity and honor, which consists mainly of pride, egotism, and selfishness.

IMPORTANCE OF DIGNITY-AND-HONOR IDEA EXAGGERATED.

Consider how little real feeling of humiliation (much less suffering) there is among the great majority of inhabitants of a country whose officials claim to have been humiliated by the words or acts of some other Government. In the present status of humanitarian feeling, three-fourths and probably more of the citizens who have to do the fighting do not feel the humiliation; they desire to be let alone and pursue their peaceful occupations. If some of them do feel it, it is generally after efforts are made to stir them up to stand on their dignity; they really don't feel that the dignity of their country has been greatly injured, especially if they are not a military nation. Other nations well understand they are not bullies with an exaggerated idea of their great dignity; but suppose other nations do take some advantage of this nonmilitary nature, these nations do not dislike a country for that reason; nor are they really unfriendly, though they

may desire to take advantage. After all, this dignity or honor idea is often much exaggerated by the nation itself. The officials may feel it more, but that may be due mainly to their own egotism. But we have admitted the evil of humiliation. Yet how small an evil it is in comparisen with the infinite evils and injustices of war upon the great majority of innocent citizens who must sacrifice their bodies on the battle field or themselves at home.

ALL GUILTY OF ATROCITIES.

After brief mention of war barbarities in ancient times, we shall call attention to cases of outrages and atrocities committed by the Union armies and Confederate armies in the War of the Rebellion, and by United States soldiers in the Philippines; by the British Army in the Boer war and Germans in Belgium. There are hundreds of cases published of outrages and atrocities of the French and the Belgians in the present war, by the French and Germans in the war of 1870, and in many other wars involving many different nations. But it is not necessary to go into these, much less into the cruelties and barbarities common to war in ancient times. The cases we shall mention are given more as illustrations, and are sufficient. Doubtless such cases are often exaggerated, as we have said; but, on the other hand, many occur which are concealed or suppressed or never come to light.

There is, therefore, little reason to doubt that terrible outrages and atrocities are sufficient in number to merit the consideration, disgust, detestation, and horror which we all feel toward those who commit them. Yet, as I have said, they are the necessary consequences of war itself, which we should condemn rather than war's results. Alcoholism often increases those horrors, especially where citizens shoot soldiers from houses, which the soldiers enter, and if finding drink there, may commit all forms of outrages in their drunkenness. History shows it makes no difference against whom the order is given, whether Boer or Arab, Filipino patriot or American citizen, Union or Confederate soldier, Belgian, French, German, or English, it makes little difference; they are all guilty at times. Military necessity and exasperating conditions are the usual reasons given. Such moral outrages can easily develop into atrocities. It is simply war, the flow of militarism. If you object to such outrages, be honest and object to what leads to them.

The War Lord illustrates the need of obedience, the cornerstone of military training, and says, "I may call upon you to shoot down or bayonet your own relatives—father and mother, sisters and brothers. My orders in that respect must be executed cheerfully without grumbling. You must do your duty no matter what your heart's dictates are."

WAR BARBARITIES IN FORMER TIMES.

Outrages and atrocities have accompanied war since the stone age. All organizations of human beings, small and large, seem to have been endeavoring to destroy one another, and in order to reach this end they have been willing neither to recall from any excess nor to escape any sacrifice. That the human race endures has been no fault of mankind.

One of the earliest forms of war, where atrocities were frequent, is bestial war, as practiced by cannibalistic tribes in Australia, who simply hunt the other tribes and eat them when they succeed in catching them.

The Papuans of the archipelagoes have a detestation of human life, it being for them a need, pleasure, and glory to kill; especially to decapitate, receiving merit according to the number of heads, which they especially prepare by mummifying and painting; ordinarily the aged and feeble are decapitated; prisoners are eaten when they are not used as slaves; some in their spare moments have the decapitated heads so arranged as to be suspended on the arms of the conqueror as precious trophies. Among the Fijis in battle the women would rival the men in brutality, taking their children with them and urging them to strike and insult the vanquished. The Fijis eat their victims on the battlefield and have at home a stone commemoration of the event. A celebrated chief gloried in having 900 of such mementoes. Sometimes they do not take the trouble to kill their victims, but roast them alive. To have killed many men and destroyed many villages are glorious deeds pleasing to the divinity.

Among the Ethiopians, those who fall on the battle field are divided with the conquerors and prepared and sent away as provisions. The prisoners are eaten at leisure; children are reserved for the rulers.

American Indians sometimes tortured their prisoners in most horrible fashion; burning them slowly, stripping the flesh off their fingers, or crushing them between two stones, then disarticulating their members, tearing out their finger nails and finally scalping them and throwing hot coals over their heads and thus burning them to death.

The captive should give no sign of pain or feebleness, for that only affords his tormentors great joy. The Indians say, only by slow torture can one be avenged. In Central America captives are sometimes skinned alive and their hearts cut out with religious ceremonies.

BIBLICAL EXAMPLES.

Saul spent much of his time fighting the Philistines, Moabites, and Edomites and in massacring them; with the Amelicites he only spared the King (Samuel xiv, 43–52; xv, 1–8). David followed his example.

Alexander the Great massacred 6,000 combatants in an ancient fortification of Tyre; 2,000 were at first spared, so that the soldiers might amuse themselves later in crucifying and hanging them.

The Greeks sometimes mutilated the living by cutting off the right hand.

The Commentaries of Cæsar, though of unique literary value, are a terrible nomenclature of massacres and pillage; thus after capturing Avaricum Cæsar killed all the population—men, women, and children—making in all 40,000 souls.

ATROCITIES BY THE BRITISH SOLDIERS IN THE BOER WAR.

An officer in the field (December, 1900): "It was sufficient that arms were discovered; firewood was at once collected; the wife and little children, bedridden old men and women were ordered out without a moment's respite and the homestead burned before their eyes. It was midwinter, and the nights were indescribably cold, and in these thinly populated districts there were often no neighbors to give shelter. It was murder as cold-blooded and deliberate as if they had been placed against a wall and shot; worse, indeed, because their sufferings would have been sooner over." (Walsh.)

"Later on houses were burned on all sorts of pretexts, until farm burning became the daily business of soldiers." A lieutenant testifies (Ottawa Citizen, Jan. 7, 1901) that, "We moved on from valley burning, looting, and turning out the women and children to sit and cry beside the ruins of their once beautiful farmsteads. * * * We burned a track six miles wide through these fertile valleys and completely destroyed the village of Wilport."

Morning Leader, June 11, extract from a letter: "* * * but it was grand sport chasing young cockerels and chopping geese's heads off, hearing pianos play as they rolled upside down into a fire lit in the middle of the room, piling pictures and brackets, etc., on a deal table and then putting a straw mattress underneath to start the blaze."

War gods are not heroes but frequently incendiaries. Here is a part of an order in the Boer War: "Unless the men * * * surrender * * * the whole of their property will be confiscated and their families turned out destitute and homeless" (dated Kingersdorf, July 9, 1900).

"When the flames burst from the doomed place the poor woman threw herself on her knees and bared her breasts, screaming 'Shoot me; shoot me. I have nothing more to live for, now that my husband is gone and our farm is burned and our cattle taken!'" (Morning Leader, May 21, 1901.)

Lord K. sent secret instruction to take no prisoners—that is, if the Boers surrender, they are to be shot down (January, 1901).

"The orders to take no prisoners came from headquarters and were given to Morant by Capt. Hunt, who in due course passed them on. Had Hunt and Morant not obeyed they were liable to be shot themselves." (Lieut. G. R. W., Oct. 20, 1904.)

"In the last two fights we used the bayonet freely as we advanced, and the Boers appealed for mercy in vain." (Private G. W., of Second Battalion of the Coldstreams.)

"A Boer was taken; he then threw down his rifle and asked for his life, and for an answer got a coarse jibe and was spitted, unarmed, on the bayonet of an English soldier." (The Tablet, London, Jan. 5, 1901.) An English soldier, presumably an officer, calls this "a good story."

"We proceed in deadly silence, with bayonets fixed, with instructions not to shoot but to use bayonet and butt—and take no prisoners. We take no more notice of shrieks for mercy than we would for cawing of crows." (Reynolds's Newspaper, Feb. 3, 1901.)

"There was a very general impression that the fewer the prisoners the greater would be the satisfaction of the commander. * * * The result was that many wounded Dervishes were killed." (Winston S. Churchill and Walsh.)

"He had in his possession an affidavit signed by two Dutch women, who underwent the last extremity of outrage at the hands of the British troops. This was admitted, because the soldiers were punished." (J. M. A., Manchester Guardian, Dec. 15, 1900.)

"The girl, evidently mistaking him for an officer, approached him between her sobs, struggled with her English to make a complaint. The reply she got was an insult, foul and brutal. * * * She sank to the dust at the man's feet with that peculiar half sob, half moan that tells the depth of feminine anguish having been sounded." (Morning Herald, Australia, Nov. 20, 1900.)

Lord G. H., in the House of Commons, narrated this of the Ninth Lancers: "Before his death the man stated that he had been assaulted by two men of the Ninth Lancers because he failed to find native women for them. The matter seems to have been taken very coolly; it was not until some days later that inquiry was instituted. This inquiry was perfunctory. A few days later another native was killed." (New Age, Nov. 27, 1902.)

A battle painter defined war as "the antithesis of all morality, of all humanity * * * for man as he is, war it can be said is a very attractive business." (Herald of Peace, May 4, 1904.)

A private says "man hunting is better than football, and that he is enjoying himself very much." (Narraccoote Herald, June, 1901, South Africa.)

A wounded colonel cries: "Exterminate the vermin; give them hell, boys," and the wounded were shot and the unwounded were "made to dig their own graves" and then shot. (Otago Witness, June, 1901.)

Snipers were not only riddled with bullets, but bayoneted and torn to pieces. (Otago Witness, June, 1901.)

"We burn the houses because your men won't give in; if that won't do, we'll burn the women next." (Times, Nov. 17, 1900.)

"The people thought we had called for refreshments and one of the women went to get milk. Then we had to tell them we had come to burn their place down." (With Remington, p. 187.)

"Told a woman and two daughters to take a few things and quit in 10 minutes. We then set the house on fire. They dropped on their knees and prayed and sang, weeping bitterly. * * * One of the poor women went raving mad." (Tottenhaus Herald, Dec. 12, 1901.)

BULGARIAN ATROCITIES.

(Les Cruantes Bulgares on Macedonie osientale et en Thrace, 1912–1913; Athens, 1914.)

Neither sudden explosion of national feeling nor violence inseparable from obstinate fighting seem to justify massacres, forfeit of honor and life, and destruction, ravages which the regular Bulgarian Army seemed to have made with deliberation and with a system determined and defined in advance by the Bulgarian authorities themselves in the last Bulgarian war.

The principal objects of the Bulgarian outrages were the clergy and teacher of the Hellenic communities. Not a village occupied by the Bulgarians escaped massacre of its men, women, and children, violation of its daughters, and pillage and burning of its houses. For instance, at the first invasion of Demir-Hissar they massacred all the men of the village of Petrove, and, after violating women and young girls, put them in a mosque and set in on fire, and in the face of this funeral pyre they played music. At Petritsi, before the cadavers of the Mussulmans, they made the wives and daughters of these victims dance.

At Demir-Hissar the bishops and three priests, with many notables and women, were tortured and put to death.

RUSSIAN CRUELTIES.

A Russian Greek Christian calls the Japanese "the unclean race of monkeys."

"What I have seen is nothing compared to what others have witnessed. Two thousand persons were deliberately drowned at Moxxv, 2,000 at Rake, and 8,000 in and around Blagovetschensk; 12,000 corpses were encumbering this river, among which were thousands of women and children. * * * This is Russian work." (New Age, Nov. 22, 1900.)

"The captain of a Russian cruiser recently asked the local authorities for permission to execute within the harbor a seaman who had been found guilty of striking a superior officer. The request was refused, whereupon the cruiser left the port, returning to-day. * * * The man was executed on the high sea in circumstances of great barbarity * * * being tied to a cable which was then passed under the ship's keel three times. It was not until the third time that the man was pronounced dead." (Herald of Peace, Jan. 1, 1914.)

OUTRAGES ON BELGIANS BY GERMAN SOLDIERS.

The official report (Report of the Committees on Alleged German Outrages, etc., 61 pp., and Evidence and Documents Laid Before the Committee, etc., 206 pp. London, 1914, 8s.) of the committee on German outrages on Belgians, appointed by the British Government, comes to the following conclusions:

(I) That there were in many parts of Belgium deliberate and systematically organized massacres of the civil population, accompanied by many isolated murders and other outrages.

(II) That in the conduct of the war generally innocent civilians, both men and women, were murdered in large numbers, women violated, and children murdered.

(III) That looting, house burning, and the wanton destruction of property were ordered and countenanced by the officers of the German Army, that elaborate provision had been made for systematic incendiarism at the very outbreak of the war, and that burnings and destruction were frequent, where no military necessity could be alleged, being, indeed, a part of a system of general terrorization.

(IV) That the rules and usages of war were frequently broken, particularly by the using of civilians, including women and children, as a shield for advancing forces exposed to fire, to a less degree by killing the wounded and prisoners, and in the frequent abuse of the Red Cross and the white flag.

This report is based upon the deposition of some 600 persons, making a volume of 296 pages.

SHOOTING OF GERMAN SOLDIERS BY BELGIAN CITIZENS.

Over against this British report is a report (Die voelkerrechtswidrige Fuehrung des belgischen Volkskriegs. Auswartiges Amt., 1914, 320 pp., 8s.) in German, entitled, "Belgian Citizens' Warring Against International Law," based upon depositions of some 200 German soldiers, making a volume of 320 pages, to show that the Belgian civil population individually and en masse attempted to carry on warefare with German troops.

Allowing for the ex parte character and possible exaggeration of these two reports, it is apparent to any impartial reader that these two reports counterbalance, complement, explain, and confirm each other.

There seems to be little doubt that in the beginning of the war Belgian citizens carried on a wild people's war against the German soldiers, which was a flagrant breaking of international law and had terrible results for the Belgians and their country.

This citizens' war raged all the time while the German soldiers were marching through Belgium. As the Belgian Army, after hard fighting, was being driven back before the German soldiers, the Belgian civil population sought to hinder the march of the German soldiers in every way. There is overwhelming evidence that the civil population of Belgium of every grade, age, and sex, with the greatest bitterness and madness took part in warlike action against the German soldiers. As already mentioned, this evidence is based upon official especially sworn statements of 200 German soldiers and first-hand reports of those in the service. There are 320 pages of this material, giving only what is *most important*.

According to the German report the civil population of Belgium fought the German soldiers in numerous places in the Provinces of Liege (based upon the statements of 8 witnesses), Luxemburg (9 witnesses), Namur (13 witnesses), Hennegan (8 witnesses), Brabant (6 witnesses), East and West Flanders (6 witnesses).

Results of an especially terrible character came from the citizens fighting in Ashrot, Audenne, Dinant, and Louvain. Special reports of the war minister are made upon this, going into details, given by numerous witnesses. Here people of all stations in life, laborers, manufacturers, teachers, priests, women, and children were found with firearms in their hands (25 witnesses). Shots came from houses, gardens, roofs, and cellars, from fields and woods, and this where there had been no Belgian troops for a long time. In these fights weapons were used, which no regular army would employ, such as hunting arms and amunnition, old revolvers and pistols (17 witnesses); thus German soldiers were wounded with shot, others scalded with hot water (9 witnesses).

The Belgian "Free Corps" had no responsible head and displayed no military sign (12 witnesses). If some of the civil guard were with them there was still no military sign, and in addition they were in citizens' clothes (8 witnesses). In general the Belgian citizens' war against the German troops was unorganized, especially in Aerschot, Anderme, and Louvain. It is shown that in a large number of instances the Belgian citizens appeared friendly to the soldiers at first entry, then when darkness came on or by other opportunity they began to fight the German soldiers; this occurred in 14 towns or cities. In these cases the citizens failed to carry weapons openly.

In Liege, Herbe, Brussels, Aerschot, Dinant, and Louvain German soldiers were shot at in the dark by Belgian civilians (14 witnesses). Further, the Belgian people had not respected the Red Cross, and under this flag had not hesitated to shoot German troops, and to attack hospitals in which were wounded soldiers (28 witnesses). Finally the German wounded soldiers were robbed and killed by Belgian citizens and atrocities were committed upon them, even by women and young girls—eyes being put out, ears and nose and fingers cut off and other parts of body mutilated (16 witnesses). In other instances German soldiers were poisoned, hung upon trees over which burning fluid had been poured, and otherwise burnt to death (11 witnesses).

Citizens caught in such acts were given a hearing when possible, and if guilty were shot. Old men, women, and children were saved (11 witnesses).

The Belgian Government did not, but could have hindered the free-corps war (17 witnesses) and avoided the terrible and unnecessary bloodshed which resulted.

In Aerschot there was a prearranged and sudden attack by the citizens upon the chief commander of the German soldiers, in which he was killed (5 witnesses).

In Dinant not only did Belgian citizens in general shoot German soldiers, but troops were treacherously and suddenly attacked by citizens (87 witnesses).

LOUVAIN.

As an example of the special reports upon different cities, we give some of the main points in the report upon Louvain.

On the 19th of August, 1914, the German troops entered Louvain. At first the citizens and soldiers got along extremely well together; the citizens showed themselves so friendly to the German soldiers that many of the soldiers went about the city unarmed (14 witnesses).

But this peaceful picture changed on August 25. At this time Belgian troops advanced out of Antwerp toward Louvain; the German troops in Louvain marched out against them; more troops from Liege were sent through Louvain to the front. The battle ended in a severe defeat for the Belgians, who in the evening were thrown back to Antwerp. But the citizens of Louvain believed that with the initial advance of the Belgian troops and the help of the English soldiers that the Belgian soldiers would succeed, and saw in this Belgian advance encouragement and success to take part in the warfare (4 witnesses).

Before this battle was decided a German militia company marched about 7 o'clock in the evening from the northwest to the east end of the city to the railway station. In marching through the city they found everything quiet; there were not a large number of soldiers in the city at the time (4 witnesses). They observed, however, surprisingly many young people, apparently of the well-to-do classes, in small groups in the streets, who slowly went back into the houses; women and children were not to be seen (4 witnesses).

The returning march of the German militia company and other smaller groups of troops in the city greatly strengthened the belief of the inhabitants that the Germans were beaten and upon their retreat were captured. This also gave an impetus to the carrying out of a plan which apparently had been made in advance, to exterminate the Germans on their retreat through the city, for a short time after this militia company had arrived at the railway station and about 8 o'clock in the evening rockets were fired in the city, first green, then red (12 witnesses).

At this signal the civil population of Louvain in different parts of the city began to shoot furiously at the German soldiers with muskets, revolvers, and pistols from the cellars and windows of the houses, and principally from the roofs (35 witnesses); the shooting sounded in some places as from machine guns (7 witnesses). The German soldiers were completely surprised; many were wounded and some killed. In the columns and divisions of baggage placed in the streets there was great confusion from horses breaking away and running, having been hit by balls or shot or otherwise frightened (5 witnesses).

The firing was especially heavy at the market place, where the staff of the general commander was located. Many officers and troops were wounded and killed. The staff of the general commander alone lost 5 officers, 2 officials, and 23 men and 95 horses. The shooting was heaviest, however, at the railway station, where the German militia company had marched. There was heavy shooting at the soldiers in the "Place du people." To add to the terror, the city was in darkness.

As soon as the soldiers could recover from their surprise they returned the fire, entering and searching the houses from which the shooting came. Some of the citizens were killed in fighting (4 witnesses), others being caught with weapons in their hands, were shot (9 witnesses). Many citizens escaped through the backs of houses and continued the street fight in other places. About 11.30 at night the commander general of the Eleventh Reserved Army Corps returned to the city and was shot at on his way to the Rathhaus.

In order to put an end to the street fighting, the mayor and other prominent citizens were taken as hostages and led through the city, and were required in a loud voice to command the people to cease hostilities. Although severe penalties were threatened, the demands had no result; the people continued fighting the soldiers, and in their wrath they even shot physicians, sanitary officials, the sick and wounded who were under the protection of the Red Cross (10 witnesses); shooting also at a hospital (3 witnesses); explosives and bombs were used (4 witnesses); hot tar was also poured upon the soldiers (2 witnesses).

Atrocities were committed thus: A German soldier was found disemboweled and others mutilated. Most severe measures were necessary to stop this kind of warfare, and those taking part in the attack were shot, and the houses from which shooting came were burned; it was impossible to stop the fire at times spreading to other houses, and this was the cause of the burning of the celebrated cathedral; the Rathhaus, however, was saved. Only a very small part of the city was destroyed.

Notwithstanding these severe measures, the next morning the citizens renewed the attack. The unrest endured the next two days, although the hostages were again led through the streets (17 witnesses).

That this general attack of the citizens was prepared long in advance is shown (1) by the sending up of rockets, (2) by the finding of large quantities of arms, (3) by a large number of young men coming to the city, (4) by finding in the burned houses large quantities of cartridges and explosives. Unfortunately, a number of priests encouraged this fighting, and some of them took part themselves (9 witnesses).

VII. COMPARATIVE MILITARISM.

One way to estimate militarism in a country is to give the number of soldiers and sailors (including officers) in time of peace, relative to the population, which is done in column 2 of the following table. The countries are arranged according to a descending scale of militarism, Roumania being highest, which is 15,700 soldiers and sailors per million population. United States is last, having only 1,499 soldiers and sailors per million population. Sweden is second, having 15,299 soldiers and sailors per million population. France is third, having 14,874 per million population, but she is highest of all the larger nations in degree of militarism. Servia is fourth, Bulgaria fifth, and Turkey sixth. Germany is seventh, but of the larger nations she is second, being next to France in degree of militarism. Italy is eighth, Greece ninth, Austria-Hungary tenth, and so on down.

In some of the countries no trustworthy data as to sailors are obtainable, especially in the Balkan States, which, however, stand very high in militarism on land; they are rated without regard to their militarism on sea. If we compare the larger nations only, the order in degree of militarism (column 2) is France first, then Germany, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Great Britain, and the United States, which is by far the least military of all.

In column 3 the figures are given for militarism on land only; the order is practically the same as in column 2 for both land and sea, except Great Britain, which is very low in militarism on land. In column 4 the figures are given for militarism on sea alone, the order being Great Britain first, then Sweden, Italy, France, Germany, Russia, and so on. Great Britain's militarism on sea is more than three times as much as any other country; she is the only country having more sailors than soldiers. It will be found on the whole that militarism is according to geographical and political necessity.

In columns 5 and 6 are given the absolute numbers of soldiers and sailors (officers and men) in army and navy. The popular mind generally rates the militarism of a country according to the size of its army, which is incorrect, for the army might be large simply because the country is large; thus Russia has by far the largest army; so the United States, a nonmilitary country, has a larger Army than most of the Balkan States, which are bristling with militarism.

Also, it would not do to estimate militarism according to amount of money paid out per capita of population (columns 7 and 8), for a country might have a much higher degree of militarism than it had money to carry it out; also, larger and richer nations would have a high degree of militarism. Thus Great Britain's per capita rate for army and navy combined is the highest, making it most military of all, which is not true.

In column 9 is given the number of bordering nations for each country. Other things being equal, a nation having a large number of countries bordering upon it would be expected to have a larger army for its protection, especially if these other countries were first-class powers.

The true way, therefore, to estimate militarism is according to the number of both soldiers and sailors relative to population in times of peace.

Comparative militarism.[1]

[Time of peace.]

Countries, 1911 (population).	Number of officers and men per million population in both Army and Navy.	Number of officers and men per million population.		Absolute number of officers and men.		Cost per capita of population.		Number of bordering countries.
		Army.	Navy.	Army.	Navy.	Army.	Navy.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Roumania.... (5,956,690.)	15,700	15,700	.....	98,139	.....	$2.15	.....	4
Sweden..... (5,521,943).	15,299	14,400	899	79,603	4,965	2.43	$0.95	2
France..... (39,601,509.)	14,874	14,231	643	563,596	25,500	3.90	2.00	5
Servia..... (2,911,701.)	12,220	12,220	.....	35,605	.....	1.47	.....	6
Bulgaria..... (4,329,108.)	11,041	11,041	.....	57,800	.....	1.83	.....	3
Turkey..... (35,400,000.)	10,593	10,593	.....	375,000	.....	1.00	.....	5
Germany..... (64,903,423.)	9,683	9,167	516	626,732	33,500	3.00	1.70	7
Italy..... (34,686,683.)	9,273	8,397	876	291,293	30,398	2.28	1.12	3
Greece..... (2,263,952.)	8,966	8,966	.....	23,600	.....	1.40	.....	1
Austria-Hungary..... (49,161,766)	8,359	8,057	302	396,114	14,888	1.90	.20	7
Russia..... (118,690,600.)	7,660	7,300	360	1,200,000	60,000	1.50	.31	6
Great Britain. (45,370,530.)	6,963	2,953	4,010	134,000	181,939	2.50	4.50	.....
Belgium..... (7,516,730.)	6,100	6,100	.....	46,574	.....	1.74	.....	3
Netherlands.. (5,945,155.)	6,012	5,830	182	34,662	10,822	2.00	.....	2
United States. (91,972,266.)	1,499	982	517	91,783	47,612	1.00	1.35	2

[1] The figures in this table are based upon official data. Blanks indicate that reliable data were not obtainable.

VIII. Summary of Conclusions on War.

What might stop war.

War may cease as soon as the instruments of destruction become so great as to threaten everyone's life. If the use of air machines like Zeppelins or more dangerous inventions to come, increases until every citizen at home is kept in constant fear, sleeplessness, and worry for his personal safety, such conditions would soon bring the people to a realization of the senselessness as well as terribleness of war and that nonexistence were preferable to existence under such circumstances. The natural instinct of self-preservation would assert itself so emphatically as to make it very difficult for a nation to enter war.

It would also be very difficult to commence war if a two-thirds vote of the citizens of a country were required before war could be declared. For the average citizens, whose blood is practically shed, should have more voice in the matter. The fact that a few high officials, however conscientious, can place their country in such a position as to virtually force it into war is the result of an old régime, which is not only unjust to the great majority who must bear the brunt of battles but ill adapted to present humanitarian needs. The officials themselves would doubtless be the first to welcome any change in form of government that might lessen the weight of their terrible responsibilities.

Reasons for writer's interest in problem.

All American citizens—in fact, citizens of all neutral nations, in their own way and according to their own convictions—should do everything they can to keep their country out of the European war. This study is an endeavor of one American citizen to lessen war.

The author may be permitted to give a few reasons which led him to undertake to do what he thinks to be not only his duty, but the duty of everyone who has had special opportunities. He resided some four years in Europe, mainly in France, Germany, and Switzerland, pursuing university studies and, mingling with the people, he had many advantages in gaining an insight into their life and thought. His specialty also was criminal anthropology, which includes the subject of war more particularly in its psychological aspect.

Point of view of an Alsatian.

As an illustration, a shoemaker in Alsace-Lorraine was asked whether he preferred to live under the French or German Government. His answer was as follows: "You know that our language is French and our sympathies are with them." When questioned as to actual practical difference under the Germans, he said: "As far as business is concerned, I am a little better off; the Germans are more rigid in enforcing laws as to apprenticeship, so that unskilled shoemakers are not able to compete with us so much as when under French rule. But we want to be let alone; we don't want any more fighting over the matter."

IX. Principles for the Scientific Study of Humanity.

Criminal anthropology, or criminology, is a scientific study of humanity. Of all forms of human abnormality crime is nearest the normal; in fact, more than three-fourths of the criminals, so called, are normal, and the study of them is practically the study of normal men. Penal and reformatory institutions, therefore, should not be called "criminal," for it is unjust to stigmatize a large number of persons when so few of them merit it. These unfortunates have enough difficulties to contend with without the addition of a stigma.

The scientific study of humanity requires the investigation of man physically, mentally, and morally. A knowledge of medicine and laboratory-training in psychology and anthropology are much needed in such study. The following are some of the principles of the study of humanity which should apply to relations between nations to avoid war, as well as to relations within nations to develop peace:

1. The study of humanity, to become a science, must depend upon investigation of large numbers of individuals, and the method should be the same for all classes, if we are to distinguish the normal from the abnormal.

2. Abnormal man may be abnormal in the right direction, as genius man, talented man, and statesman; or in the wrong direction, as criminal, pauper, and defective man. It is all man, and the study of these different classes might be called the anthropology of the living, as distinguished from prehistoric anthropology.

3. The best method for humanitarian study is that of the laboratory in connection with sociological data. For

4. All facts about human beings are important from the scientific point of view, whether such facts be immediately available or not.

5. The prison and reformatory can serve as a humanitarian laboratory for the benefit of society. As most of the inmates are normal and their surroundings uniform, the conditions for scientific research are favorable.

6. We can not be tempted to do wrong unless there is something in us to be tempted; that something is a part of ourselves as distinguished from our environment; therefore

7. The comprehensive study of man requires an investigation of both the individual and his surroundings, for the environment may be abnormal rather than the man. Thus

8. The exhaustive investigation of a single criminal illustrates just how and by what steps both environment and inward nature may lead to criminal acts.

9. Degrees of crime should be estimated according to detriment to the community. From this point of view international crime, or war, is the greatest of all crimes. And

10. One of the objects of criminology is to lessen and prevent war by knowledge gained through investigation of its causes.

11. No evil can be permanently lessened without first finding its causes. There is probably no one cause of anything, but a chain of causes. And

12. There is little hope of making the world better if we do not seek the causes of evils at their foundation.

13. The prison should be a reformatory and the reformatory a school; their principal object should be to teach good mental, moral, and physical habits; both should be distinctly educational.

14. The ground for the imprisonment of the criminal is, first of all, because he is dangerous to society. And though confined, he should not necessarily be punished. For

15. No one is responsible for the first 15 years of life, nor is anyone accountable for the tendencies inherited from ancestors. As the die is usually cast before adult life arrives, responsibility is most difficult to determine and is often a minimum quantity. Therefore

16. We should judge of people by their excellencies rather than by their defects. As has been said, "To know all is to forgive all." Yet

17. Society has no right to permit prisoners to be released who will probably return to crime; for

18. Where it is a question between justice to the individual or justice to the community, the community should have the benefit of the doubt.

19. One purpose of criminal anthropology is, through knowledge gained by scientific study, to protect the weak, especially the young, in advance, before they have become tainted and fallen; not locking the barn door after the horse is stolen, which is the defect in most schemes of reform.

20. Institutions for reforming human beings should have the conditions as similar as possible to surroundings outside, so that when inmates are released they can adapt themselves more easily to society and not become misfits.

21. Cranks or mattoids who attempt the lives of prominent persons are very important solely on account of the enormous injury they can do to society. They therefore should be studied most thoroughly. Just as the physician studies his patient in order to treat him properly, so one should study the criminal.

22. Criminals, paupers, and other defectives, constituting about 1 per cent of society, are social bacilli which require as thorough scientific investigation as the bacilli of physical disease. But

23. Why should we allow 1 per cent of society to cause so much trouble and expense to the remaining 99 per cent, crime alone costing more than one-half billion dollars annually? It is mainly because of neglecting the young, where study of man should begin. And

24. The time has come when we should study a child with as much exactness as we investigate the chemical elements in a stone or measure the mountains on the moon.

25. Drunkenness is not only one of the main causes of crime, but one of the greatest enemies of humanity, because it brings suffering upon so many innocent people.

26. All that is diseased is abnormal, but not all that is abnormal is diseased; thus a hand with six fingers is abnormal, but not necessarily diseased.

27. He must study the normal to comprehend the abnormal, for

28. When the normal acts in an unsuitable way or at the wrong time or place it may become abnormal. The fundamental conception of the abnormal is excess of the normal; but

29. The difference in degree between the normal and abnormal can be so great as to result in a difference of kind, just as when two fluids reach a certain amount a precipitate is formed, which is very different from the ingredients from which it was deposited.

30. Nothing will hinder development of the young more than the prospect of having plenty of money and no necessity to work. Idleness often leads to crime.

31. It is more important to know what is good than what is true; for

32. Increase in intellectual development is not necessarily connected with increase of morality, and education which trains the mind at the expense of the will is a questionable education. And

33. The longer we live the more we appreciate the average honest man as compared with the dishonest talented man.

34. To any observer of life the impracticability of pessimism and the advantage of optimism are evident. It has also been estimated that

35. Most of our thoughts, feelings, and acts are indifferent; but of those remaining three-fourths are pleasurable and one-fourth painful, indicating more pleasure than pain in the world.
36. Human nature is like a plank across a stream—if one man passes over it at a time a whole army can cross; if two, it bends; and if three, it breaks.
37. Success is often more dangerous than defeat, for it tends to develop conceit, overconfidence, and loquaciousness.
38. There is nothing so ridiculous as the self-important man, the all-wise man, and the "Smart Alec."
39. The greatest of all studies is man, which is based upon the individual, the unit of the social organism.
40. Just as the physician studies his patient in order to treat him properly, so one should study the criminal, who is usually a fool, because he is opposed to the great majority of society and is almost sure to fail.
41. The study of medicine is the study of the future. To know the geography of the body is more important than to know the geography of the world. Know thyself.
42. Of all forms of abnormal humanity crime is nearest the normal; the study of criminals, therefore, is mainly the study of normal men, and knowledge thus gained may be generally applicable to the community as a whole.
43. Every person dangerous to property or life, whether insane, criminal, or defective, should be confined, but not necessarily punished.
44. The determinate sentence permits prisoners to be released who are morally certain to return to crime. The indeterminate sentence affords the prisoner an opportunity to reform without exposing society to unnecessary danger.
45. In studying man, names are unnecessary and statement of facts is not criticism, for science is absolutely impersonal.
46. Every one has the right to a proper bringing up.
47. The time has come when we should study a child with as much exactness as we investigate the chemical elements in a stone or measure the mountains on the moon.
48. The treatment of young criminals should be the prototype for treatment of adults, and procedures against them should have as little publicity as possible.
49. Publication in newspapers of criminal details is an evil to society on account of the power of imitation. In addition it makes the criminal proud of his record, develops the morbid curiosity of the people, and it is especially the weak who are affected.
50. Place confidence in the so-called bad boy, awaken his ambition and teach him to do right for right's sake.
51. Put the criminal upon his honor. A criminal once said, "If they will not believe me when I tell the truth, I might as well tell lies."
52. Opinion is valuable according to knowledge, especially first-hand knowledge, and science is common sense condensed, where an ounce of experience is worth a pound of theory. But
53. The highest impulse of science is the love of truth for its own sake.
54. A person is valuable to the community in the proportion he contributes to it more than he receives from it; yet
55. About all most people can do is to earn a living, not to mention saving something for old age.
56. As long as there is enough, no human being should be deprived of the necessities of life.
57. If we must have an aristocracy, let it be one of intellect rather than money or family; for
58. The only thing in which man excels the animals is his mentality.
59. This is the generation of the exaltation of mediocrity.
60. To choose the good is often to choose the lesser evil; for the millennium has not yet arrived.
61. Act as thou wouldst act, if all the consequences of thy act could be realized at the moment thou actest.
62. Science seeks what is—the truth, ethics what ought to be, and aesthetics what is as it ought to be.

X. Government and Other Publications on Humanity.

[By Arthur MacDonald.]

Abnormal man, being essays on education and crime, criminal sociology, criminal hypnotism, alcoholism, insanity, and genius, with digests of literature and a bibliography. 1893. Published by United States Bureau of Education. Washington, D. C. 445 pages, 8°. 2d edition, 1895. Price, 25 cents.

Criminology, a psychological and scientific study of criminals, criminal contagion, criminal hypnotism, and recidivation, with introduction by Lombroso, Bibliography. Second edition. New York, 1894. Funk & Wagnalls, publishers. 416 pages, 12°.

Le criminel-type dans quelques formes graves de la criminalité; Jesse Pomeroy, "the boy torturer"; Piper, "the brainer (Belfry case, Boston); "Jack, the Ripper" (de Londres). Bibliographie de sexualité pathologique. Troisième édition. Une volume en 8°, illustrait de portraits. Publié par. A. Storck, Lyon, et G. Masson, Paris, 1895. 300 pages. This work is not published in English.

Education and Patho-social Studies, including an investigation of the murderer "H." (Holmes); reports on psychological, criminological, and demographical congresses in Europe; London slums and Gen. Booth's Salvation Army movement. Reprint (from Annual Report of United States Commissioner of Education for 1893–94), 57 pages, 8°. Washington, D. C., 1896. Price, 5 cents.

Emile Zola, a psycho-physical study of Zola's personality, with illustrations; his physical and mental peculiarities; nervous system, finger imprints, morbid ideas, etc.; visual perceptions, hearing, smell, tactile sensations, perception of time, association of ideas, and suggestibility; character, method of work, etc.; with bibliography. Reprints (from Open Court, August, 1898, with appendix (34 pages), and "Practical Psychology," August, 1901), 1901.

Experimental Study of Children, including anthropometrical and psycho-physical measurements of Washington school children; measurements of school children in United States and Europe; description of instruments of precision in the laboratory of the Bureau of Education; child study in the United States; and a bibliography. Reprint (from Annual Report of United States Commissioner of Education for 1897–98), 325 pages, 8°. Washington, D. C., 1899. Price, 20 cents.

Hearing on the bill (H. R. 14798) to establish a laboratory for the study of the criminal pauper, and defective classes, treating especially of criminology with a bibliography of genius, insanity, idiocy, alcoholism, pauperism, and crime, had before the Committee on the Judiciary of the United States House of Representatives. 309 pages, 8°. Government Printing Office. Washington, D. C., 1902. Price, 15 cents.

Senate document No. 400 (57th Cong., 1st sess.): A plan for the study of man, with reference to bills to establish a laboratory for the study of the criminal pauper, and defective classes, treating especially of Hypnotism, with a bibliography of child study. 166 pages 8°. Government Printing Office. Washington, D. C., 1902. (166 pp.) Price, 15 cents.

Statistics of crime, suicide, and insanity and other forms of abnormality in different countries of the world, in connection with bills to establish a laboratory, etc. Senate document No. 12, 58th Congress, special session, 8°. Government Printing Office. Washington, D. C., 1903. (195 pp.) Price, 10 cents.

Man and abnormal man, including a study of children, in connection with bills to establish laboratories under State and Federal Governments in the study of the criminal, pauper, and defective classes, with bibliographies. Senate document No. 187, 58th Congress, 3d session. 780 pages, 8°. Washington, D. C., 1905. Price, 40 cents.

This document ("Man and Abnormal Man") includes in substance the matter contained in the six Government publications enumerated above.

El criminal tipo en algunas formas graves de la criminalidad. Madrid. La Español Moderna, 170 pages, 8°, 1908.

Juvenile crime and reformation, including stigmata of degeneration, being hearings on bills to establish a laboratory, etc., before Senate Committee on Education and Labor and House Committee on the Judiciary. Senate document No. 532, 60th Congress, 1st session, 339 pages, 8°, 1908. Price, 25 cents.

NOTE.—HOW TO OBTAIN THE PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

These public documents, especially "Man and Abnormal Man," and "Juvenile Crime and Reformation," might be obtained either through any United States Senator or Representative, or by writing directly to the Superintendent of the House or of the Senate Document Room.

Also the "Superintendent of Documents," at the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., will send any public document on receiving its price.

ARTICLES IN PERIODICALS.

(Copies of these articles might be obtained by writing to the periodicals in which they appear.)

Beikohuniokeru furyoojino kanka (reform of children in the United States). Kyooiku Jirón, Tokyo, January 15, 1908. 5 pages.

Statistics of alcoholism and inebriety. Journal of Inebriety. Autumn, 1909. Boston. 18 pages. Includes results in foreign countries.

Death penalty and homicide. American Journal of Sociology, Chicago, July, 1910. 28 pages; also published in Japanese, Journal of Statistical Society of Tokyo. It is mainly a statistical study, including foreign countries.

Criminal statistics in Germany, France, and England. Journal of American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, Chicago, 1910.

Entwickelungsfehler der kinder. Jahrbuch für Kinderheilkunde, Berlin, 1910. Presents results of study of abnormal children in the public schools of Washington, D. C.

Mattoids (cranks). Medical Fortnightly, St. Louis, April 25, 1911. 12 pages. The mattoid is abnormal, with want of balance, eccentric, egotistical, and often in the intermediate zone between sanity and insanity.

Eccentric literature. The Monist, Chicago, July, 1911. 12 pages. Written mostly by mattoids.

Statistics of congressional life and activity (plan of). Hearing before the Committee on Printing, House of Representatives, August 12, 1911. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 14 pages.

Mental ability in relation to head circumference, cephalic index, sociological condition, sex, age, and nationality. Journal of American Statistical Association. Boston, December, 1911. 9 pages, 8°. It is a summary of results from Washington school children (see "Experimental Study of Children" above).

Assassins of rulers. Journal of American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, Vol. II, No. 4. Chicago, November, 1911. 16 pages, 8°. Assassins of our Presidents are specially studied.

Sur la creation d'un laboratoire Fédéral de criminologie aux Étais Unis, Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle, Lyon et Paris, 15 Mars, 1911. 3 pages, 8°. Difficulty of establishing a Federal laboratory due to misapprehensions.

Studie über verbrechen jugendlicher. Archiv für Kriminalanthropologie und Kriminalistik. Band 46, Leipzig, 1912. 7 pages.

Study of criminal man, in connection with the author's letter, sent out by the State Department to foreign countries. Criminal Law Review, February, 1915, Madras, India. 10 pages.

Mentality of nations, in connection with patho-social conditions. Bibliography. The Open Court, Chicago, August, 1912. 11 pages; also published in Scientific American, New York City; Archivos de Pedagogia y Ciencias afines, Mayo de 1912, Buenos Aires; and in Nature, November 14, 1912, London; also in Archiv für die gesamte Psychologie, XXXIII. Band, 3. u. 4. Heft. Leipzig, 1915. A comparison between nations as to their intellectual products; a statistical study.

Humanizing criminal law. Case and Comment, vol. 18, No. 12, 1912. Rochester, N. Y.; also published in Bulletin de l'Union International de Droit Pénal, Vol. XIX. Advocates use of penal and reformatory institutions for scientific study of normal humanity.

Statistics of physical measurements and anomalies of criminals. Alienist and Neurologist, St. Louis, February, 1912. 38 pages; also in Indian Medical Journal, Calcutta, February, 1912. Gives the main results of scientific study of criminals in all countries.

The would-be assassin of Theodore Roosevelt. Medical Times, New York City, April, 1914. 15 pages. Gives physical and mental analysis of assassin.

Scientific study of base ball. American Physical Education Review, Springfield, Mass., March, 1914. 22 pages. More complete statistics of the game are advocated; also fine points as developed by best players are given. The anthropological study of the player himself is also suggested.

A study of Congress (plan proposed). Lawyer and Banker, New Orleans, December, 1914. 7 pages. A proposed scientific and statistical investigation of congressional life and activity; legislative ability; Senatorial standards, etc.

Principles of criminal anthropology. Medico-Legal Journal, special historical sketches, November, 1914, New York City. 5 pages; also in Pacific Medical Journal, San Francisco, California; Maryland Medical Journal, Baltimore, December, 1914; Alienist and Neurologist, St. Louis February, 1915; Educational Foundations, New York City, January, 1915, etc.

War and criminal anthropology. Pan American Magazine, New Orleans, February, 1915. 8 pages, 8°; also in The New Age (Masonic), Washington, D. C., April, 1915, 4 pages; Pacific Medical Journal, San Francisco, April, 1915. 11 pages.

Exceptional children, including the results of investigations in the public schools of the United States and foreign countries (in course of preparation). U. S. Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C., 1915. The exceptional child is one who by its mental or physical organization, or through its environment, is rendered incapable of profiting from the ordinary methods of instruction, education, or discipline in the regular schools.

Patriots and War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON,
OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, the awful horrors of the European conflict have brought home to us the great lesson that no war should be entered upon except in the necessary defense of national honor. Those who would lightly urge a declaration of war without first carefully counting the cost and weighing the necessity for the action are not as they would like to class themselves—patriots—but are betrayers of our country and are to be classed with its enemies. They do not deserve to be lauded, but to be condemned; not praised but despised. They are not fit to lead public opinion and their vaporings should be scorned by all high-minded citizens.

TRUE PATRIOTS AND FALSE PATRIOTS.

There is more than one kind of patriot. The true patriot—the best patriot of all—is he who loves his country and would make any necessary personal sacrifice for its welfare. He is usually quiet and unpretentious. It is his part to act, not to mouth noisily in public places. He is chiefly concerned with justice, and respects the rights of other nations as well as those of his own. He is calm and thoughtful. He considers the awful cost of war, cost in blood, in money, in spiritual and political considerations. He would avoid war if possible by any means consistent with honor. He does not urge others to fight, but is himself ready to shoulder arms. He seeks neither glory nor profit, but is willing to lay down his life for American ideals and institutions. He counsels patience and is slow to take offense, but once we are committed to war he serves with self-sacrifice and heroism to the bitter end. Usually he is a man of humble station, whose heart beats in kindness and has not been hardened by the oppression of others. He tries in his plain way to apply the principles of Christianity to the everyday affairs of nations and men. I am proud to believe that this description fits the great body of our people and that they hold America, with liberty and justice, as dearer than life and all earthly things.

But there is another kind of patriot, a false patriot, a creature whose regard for his own selfish interest is supreme. He is a patriot for profit, for honors, and salaries, for profits from war munitions and supplies. He is out of harmony with the ideal of equal justice and opportunity for all, but secretly longs for the return of the old conditions of master and serf, of a privileged class riding upon the shoulders of the masses. He prates of the sacredness of property but has no word for the rights of humanity. He clamors for established order, meaning thereby a condition in which he shall have some advantage over his fellows. He loves America, not because it is the land of the free but because of the opportunity which it gives for heaping up wealth and reaping dividends. This false patriot I do not love; but, alas, he is strong in our land, not strong in numbers but strong in wealth, influence, and prestige. His hoarded gains command for him the best of brains and cunning that the world affords. His schemes are contrived in secret and executed in darkness.

Always the true patriot is at war with the false. The former is a multitude and his adversary is a few, so that standing on equal ground the result would be quick and sure. But the false patriot is no fair fighter; he has his mercenaries of parasite newspapers and all the vicious elements in political and social life. He breeds revolt in the ranks of the true patriots. He divides them into factions and sets them to tearing each other. He deludes them with false counsel. He bribes their leaders, poisons their sources of supply, and by his nefarious schemes weakens them with dissensions until their strength becomes as a chain of dust.

The false patriot is active in our land to-day. He scents an opportunity for avarice in fat war contracts, in ships, munitions, and supplies, He demands the right to trade, and would sacrifice on the base altar of commercialism the liberties and ideals for which our ancestors laid down their lives.

THE AWFUL COST OF WAR.

The European war presents a terrifying spectacle. Humanity stands aghast at it. Like an awful conflagration, one nation after another has been drawn into the raging flames until it seems that the whole world will be engulfed. Only one great nation has remained out of the conflict. It is America, our own fair land. If we shall be drawn into the war the few remaining neutrals can scarcely be kept out, so that the whole wide world will be engaged in the awful conflict.

Europe has already poured out its rivers of blood and trembles on the verge of bankruptcy and ruin. Literally millions of men have been killed and mangled on the battle fields. Millions more crouch in muddy trenches ready to spring at each others throats, and in homes without number white-faced women mourn their loved ones and starving children reach out their little hands in vain for bread. But it is not in blood and treasure that the bulk of the awful cost of war must be paid. It is in the sacrifice of liberty and of moral and spiritual ideals. The three years of the war have cost the people of Europe the gains of centuries in religion and morality. Europe has been thrown back countless generations in ethical standards. And what of human liberty! The word is a mockery in the warring nations. Even the English have slipped back to the conditions of the dark ages. Our own country if it shall enter the conflict must share in these dire consequences.

Already America is paying a part of the cost of the war, its economic cost, its spiritual and moral cost. Even our liberties are threatened. Only a few days ago the Senate of the United States passed an espionage bill—a more drastic restriction on liberty than any measure ever before passed by Congress even in time of war. This bill and others now pending would make of our boasted freedom an empty name and of our old ideals, a vanished dream. If we shall enter the war as an active participant, we must pay our part of the awful cost in suffering and money. But more than all I dread the conflict, for the effect which it will have on our institutions. No man can foresee where the consequences will end nor what the final effect will be upon America, its institutions, its liberties, and its form of government.

A democracy can not make efficient war on a large scale. It can not be a great military power. A military nation must have a strongly centralized government, it must have its cabinets with power to form secret plans, make secret treaties, conceive in secret, fell designs for the use of its armies and navies. It must be able to strike without warning and suddenly. It must be prepared without consulting its people to spring upon its unsuspecting foe. It must have its cheap conscript armies to which no free people will submit; its military treasure levied without consent of taxpayers. If we are to aspire to great military power then let us make up our minds to give up our liberties. If we are to compete with the great military autocracies of earth we must put ourselves on an equality with them in form of government and in the powers of their rulers.

If humanity be not gone stark mad it will learn out of this horror how to avoid war, and in the end the great good will come that there shall be an end of war, and mankind will find a juster, saner way to settle its differences than by mutual murder.

THE MILITARISTS AND JINGOES.

The people of America should be made to know the facts. There is a faction in this country, small but powerful, which wants war for its own sake. War for war's sake is what they desire. War with Mexico, with Germany, with Japan; war with anybody, so it is war. They are the militarists, the military satrapy, the munitions makers, the selfish financiers, the war contractors, and their parasite press. They want war for its promotions, its profits, and its influence on our social and political life. They have laid their plans for vast armies and navies, on universal conscription for cheap soldiers, and to teach the people servility and obedience. No liberty-loving people has ever submitted to their conditions except under dire necessity, and they cunningly plan by forcing the Nation into war to find an opportunity to carry out their schemes.

I warn the people against the influence of the militarists. They are much more powerful than many may believe. They control the press of the great cities and a multitude of newspapers scattered over the country. Their organs reiterate daily the false arguments of their masters, carry on their propaganda, color and distort every news item of importance, and criticize without scruple or regard to truth any champion of the liberties of the people who may have the courage to protest.

The influence of the war faction can not be overestimated. It comprises all that wealth may buy, cunning can devise, and prestige accomplish. They have their echoes and tools in every corner of the land. Those who now clamor for war with Germany a few months ago demanded war against Mexico. Now, with a bumptious pretense of patriotism, they shout, "Stand by the President"; then they condemned him from

every housetop as a pusillanimous coward. They seek to break down, by abuse and dishonest criticism, whatever reason can not touch. Their epithets and coarse denunciations are dinned into the ears of the honest and brave men who refuse to submit to their dictation.

These vicious forces are so powerful and well organized that they have been able to taint the sources of the people's information and to mold public opinion to their will until many true patriots have been intimidated, and those who do not think for themselves have taken up the false halloo. Under the spur of this simulated public opinion Congress has been led into a policy of vast military expansion, to the end that the present Congress has appropriated $535,000,000 for the Navy against $312,000,000 last year and $145,000,000 the preceding year. We are spending more on our Navy than prior to 1914 was spent by all the other nations of the world combined. This simulated public opinion has not only influenced Congress but has swayed the Chief Executive. Under it our soldiers were sent into Mexico and the National Guard spent months on the border, all in an aimless and fruitless campaign. "Declare war on Germany," the militarists demand, and, knowing that the President loves peace, they agitate for the arming of merchant ships, hoping that out of such course they will achieve their desire for war.

THE CONSTITUTION, CONGRESS, AND THE PRESIDENT.

Under our Constitution our Government is divided into three independent branches—the legislative branch, composed of the two Houses of Congress, to make the laws; the judicial branch, composed of the courts, to construe the laws; and the executive branch, composed of the President and his subordinates, to execute the laws. The founders of the Republic intended each of these branches of Government to be a check upon the other, and sought to preserve a balance between them, so that their functions might be exercised independently. In the form of government this is fundamental Americanism. It is as improper for the President to dictate to Congress what laws should be passed as for him to dictate to the courts what judgments should be rendered. Congress has no more right to delegate its functions to the President than the courts to delegate their functions to him. It has been predicted by eminent students of government that if the Republic shall ever fall it will be on account of the Executive gaining such ascendency over Congress as to make that body his tool.

The exclusive power to declare war is, by the Constitution, vested in Congress, which has no right to delegate that power to the President. Members of Congress have the constitutional function and responsibility laid upon them to decide when war should be declared. As for myself, I shall not shift my duty to the shoulders of the President. He has his constitutional duties to perform and I have no wish to interfere with them. I also have my constitutional duties, and them I have sworn to discharge. I will not shirk. I will not delegate them. I will for myself, upon my solemn oath, recognizing my responsibility to my country, decide whether there is sufficient cause for war. Our President is a great and wise man. His love for peace is as sincere as my own. I am sure that he has no desire to assume my responsibility just as I have no willingness that he should do so. His opinions should be given great weight as those of a wise and partiotic man, but Members of Congress who accept his judgment instead of their own are unfit to perform their representative duties. In this crisis the cry should not be "Stand by the President," but should rather be, "Stand by our country." The sole question for a conscientious citizen to consider is, "What is for the best interest of America?"

CAUSES OF WAR.

I will not at this time analyze the causes of the European war further than to say that it was caused primarily by greed; not the greed of the masses but the greed of the few, they who to their own countries are what our false patriots are to ours. The great masses in the warring nations fight blindly and heroically for their respective ideals. All no doubt are patriotic, and perhaps equally so. All are our brothers, since America has drawn some of her blood from the veins of every nation of Europe. My heart goes out to them in their sufferings, and my prayers are for all of them that their woes may soon end. It is for us to stand aloof as true neutrals, as well-wishers of all, reserving for ourselves the Christlike office of mediation. We should not exaggerate our incidental discomforts and inconveniences, but should bear them with a patience so long as our national honor is not assailed.

It can not be denied that both parties to the war have given us cause for offense. Germany has sunk merchant ships whereby American passengers lost their lives. The British have not willfully destroyed the lives of any of our citizens, but they have rifled our mails, laid mines in seas which were the public highways of the world, blockaded neutral ports both against the egress and ingress of our commerce, seized our ships, cut us off from friendly nations, and demoralized our commerce. That no American lives have been lost because of illegal British acts is rather due to our own forbearance than to British favor, for we have submitted to dictation and at Britain's behest have withdrawn our commerce from places where it might legally go. Had we sent our ships into the areas of illegal British mines undoubtedly many lives would have been forfeited.

But while we have had sufficient legal cause for war with both combatants, I have been for peace. I have realized that they were grappled in a life and death struggle, that all the nations were anxious to be on good terms with our strong and rich Nation, and that no intentional affront had been given us. I know that both combatants have been anxious for our friendship. Such inconveniences and wrongs as they have put upon us have been merely incidental to their own struggle for existence. They have been fighting for their lives, and some of the blows intended for their adversaries have accidentally fallen on us. In my philosophy war is justifiable only in defense of national honor, which can not be involved by an accidental and unintentional wrong. I have thought that we should be forbearing toward both parties. It is not the extent of the injury that should control a decision for peace or war; it is the intent with which it is done. Germany's wrongdoing has cost American lives; British wrongdoing might have cost the same but for the exercise of our prudence and forbearance. If there has been cause for conflict with one of the warring groups, there has also been cause for war with the other. But I have felt that there was real cause for war with neither, and that we should await their cooler, saner moments for the peaceful redress of our injuries and for appropriate apologies.

From the very beginning Germany has bitterly complained that we were supplying the British with arms and ammunition which by reason of Germany's position she could not obtain. We had the undoubted legal right for our munitions makers to sell arms and ammunition to the belligerents. This was a right belonging to the private individual, however, for our Government could have made no such sales consistent with neutrality. The vast quantities of munitions exported to Britain have given color to the German complaint, and coupled with the vast loans granted to the entente powers by our bankers have undoubtedly pushed us close to the brink of unneutrality. Recent developments indicate that the German people regard the United States as having already joined their enemies with our material resources, which constitute the sinews of war. There has been a strong demand by the German public for unrestricted submarine activity, which would stop the traffic in the implements of war. The German submarine campaign is in response to this sentiment.

THE SHIP-ARMING BILL.

As an answer to Germany's threat that she would cut off commerce between the United States and her enemies our militarists and their parasite press demanded an immediate declaration of war. They had demanded war when Belgium was invaded, when the *Lusitania* was sunk, and on other occasions. Being unable to thrust our country at once into the conflict, they brought such pressure of simulated public opinion to bear that the President requested authority to arm our merchant ships. He stated that he was of opinion that he already had such authority, but wished first to secure the sanction of Congress to its exercise. I believe that if mere authority to arm the ships had been asked for, it would have been unanimously granted by Congress, but when the bill was introduced it was found that it went a great deal further, and was believed by many to confer upon the President the sanction of Congress to go to war with Germany. The bill was quite broad in its terms, but being informed that the President did not interpret it as giving him authority to go to war I was willing to waive that point. The bill made no exception as to the classes of ships to which our Government's protection was to be given. It seemed inadvertent to extend governmental protection to ships loaded with arms and ammunition; this would have made the United States a party to the munitions traffic, and would have been in itself an act of war against Germany. I unsuccessfully sought to amend the bill in committee so as to except munitions ships from governmental protection, and when the effort failed I joined with other Members who were of my way of thinking in a minority report on the bill, as follows:

VIEWS OF THE MINORITY.

An unsuccessful effort was made in committee to amend section 1 of this bill so as to except from its provisions ships engaged in carrying cargoes consisting in whole or in part of arms and ammunitions.

It would be manifestly unneutral for our Government to arm and protect ships engaged in the munitions traffic with belligerents.

It is true that there is no international law imposing a duty on neutrals to restrain their citizens from selling arms and ammunitions to belligerents. But the belligerent against which such arms and ammunition are intended to be used has a right to capture the same in transit on the high seas.

If the Government of the United States should arm and protect a ship carrying arms and ammunitions consigned to a belligerent, thus itself becoming a party to the traffic, it would commit an unneutral act—an act of war.

Those who joined in the minority report were at once assailed with epithets and vituperation by the militarist newspapers, who sought by foul abuse to intimidate us and to forestall our efforts for calm justice and fairness. We believed that had the bill been amended so as to except munition ships from governmental protection, Germany would have viewed the American position as being one of neutrality and good faith. Germany would perhaps have relaxed her submarine campaign so as to permit the free passage of innocent ships. The adoption of the amendment seemed the proper way in which to convince Germany of our good faith and thereby to avoid war.

During the consideration of the bill in the House those of my opinion again sought to amend the bill, and 125 Members of the House so voted. When the amendment was lost it then became a question as to what course we who dissented should take. It was obvious that the bill would be passed. To me it seemed best that if it must be passed it should receive as nearly unanimous support as possible. With many misgivings and with much hestitation I voted for the bill on its final passage. I hoped that notwithstanding it clothed the President with authority to perform acts which would inevitably lead to war he would not avail himself of the authority and that peace would be preserved. In voting for the bill I consciously chose what I regarded as the lesser of evils. It seems best in this case that I should accept the judgment of the majority though I acquiesced with the greatest reluctance.

PEACE LOVERS ARE PATRIOTS, NOT COWARDS.

I am for peace, but not for peace at any price. I would not have personal peace at the expense of my own honor, nor would I have national peace at the expense of the national honor. I look on war as I would on an exceedingly hazardous surgical operation—as something to be entered on as a last resort. My sentiments upon this subject were well expressed when the ship-arming bill was under discussion in the House in the speech of Hon. JAMES L. SLAYDEN, of Texas, when he said:

Now there are differences of opinion, as there ought to be among so many men, as to what is the wisest and most patriotic course for them to follow. Some believe that we ought to exhaust every possible avenue of hope and of opportunity to avoid war. I agree with those gentlemen, and I resent the insults of those who declare that a man who is a pacifist is a coward. Men who say those things are fools and liars.

It is not true, and they know it is not true. There is nobody here that I know of or in the whole country who is what they call, with a sneer, a "peace-at-any-price" man. I have never known a Member of the American Congress in my 20 years of service who was not willing to make any personal or national sacrifice for the honor and the security of his country.

Mr. Chairman, there are 300,000 or more Americans in my district. All of them are loyal to the country; and, so far as I know, none of them wants war as long as it can be honorably avoided; and they do not want peace a moment longer than it becomes necessary to defend the honor and the rights of the country. But they have their views about how we should approach this great question, and I think men indulge in extravagance and intemperance of speech who denounce those who do not agree with them as lacking in patriotism or in courage.

Those people are not cowards; yet 49 out of 50 of the communications I have received since these days of agitation have come on have been prayers for peace, and the writers of those communications have not thought it necessary to protest their patriotism. They do not doubt it themselves, and their neighbors do not. Yet, sir, when the call comes for a sacrifice, I venture to say that the district which I have the privilege of representing in this body will respond with as many men who will cheerfully undertake the hardships and hazards of war as any other in this country.

In looking around over this House I see only two other Members who served with me in the Fifty-fifth Congress, during all those exciting days just prior to the Spanish-American War. At that time a fury had seized upon the people; a frenzy had possessed them. They were clamoring for war, the people and the press alike; but that is not the case now. The people are wiser, calmer now, and they prefer to investigate. They would rather reason now than shout.

Yesterday in an interview with Miss Jane Addams the President said: "I have done, I am now doing, and I shall continue to do, all I possibly can to keep the United States at peace."

If that is an honorable and proper course for the President, why is it not also an honorable and proper course for Members of Congress and citizens generally? It is honorable, and in taking such a position the President does himself honor.

I still hope for peace. I know the awful cost of war and I would avoid it if possible. The time to talk against war is before it is declared. Once a war is entered upon our country must present a united front to the enemy. I love peace, but if war shall come, and God grant that it will not, I shall do all I can for the success of American arms. After war is declared I shall not question its propriety. I am perhaps a pacifist, but I am willing to fight if need be. I was a pacifist in 1898 when we entered upon our unnecessary war against Spain, but did not hesitate to shoulder my gun as a private soldier in the ranks. I wonder if many jingoes, militarists, and their ilk will be found fighting in the ranks as common soldiers if we shall have war with Germany.

I particularly fear a war with one of the Europeon nations just at this time on account of the entanglements which may result from it. I fear that the United States may be committed to alliances which will plague us through generations to come. I fear that if we enter war with Germany we will sit around the table when peace is made and be a party to the peace treaty which would bind us to go to war to enforce it if necessary. Now is the time for us to heed the advice of the fathers of the Republic. I remember what George Washington said in his Farewell Address.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence the jealousy of a free people ought to constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government; but that jealousy to be useful must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike for another cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil, and even second, the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots who may resist the intrigues of the favorite are liable to become suspected and odious, while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns.

I also remember the words of Thomas Jefferson when he said:

I am for free commerce with all nations, and political connections with none; I am for not linking ourselves by new treaties with the quarrels of Europe; or entering that field of slaughter to preserve their balance or join in the confederacy of Kings to war against the principles of liberty. The first object of my heart is my own country.

If we must drink the bitter cup of war, let us drink it bravely, but if we may do so with honor, let us be not too proud to put it aside.

The Philippine Scouts.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM W. WILSON,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. WILSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the officers of the Philippine Scouts desire retirement pay as officers and permanent commissions, the same as other officers of the Army, a right they are not accorded now, owing to nonexistence of a law giving them that right.

They request it as a matter of justice, basing their claim on service and proved efficiency and laws governing retirement of other officers.

The national-defense act gives permanent commissions to the former pay clerks, Quartermaster Corps; permanent commissions to veterinarians in the service on the passage of this act, with provision for promotion to captain after 15 years' "governmental" service, very little, if any, of which need have been with the Army; permanent commissions to the dental surgeons, with provision for promotion to major after 24 years' service (commissioned service not specified). It also reorganizes the Medical Department so as to eliminate the provisional or temporary officers of the Medical Reserve Corps and provide permanently commissioned officers only. Officers of the Porto Rico Regiment of Infantry, although already having permanent commissions and retirement with pay of their grade, were given most liberal promotion and were made eligible for detached service in the United States proper and which has been denied the Philippine Scouts.

The only benefit that Scout officers are to receive from the national-defense act is retirement with the pay of an enlisted grade, and while this is a material benefit, the retirement is not with the pay of the grade held at retirement, as was the

case of the pay clerks prior to the passage of the national-defense act. Nevertheless the pay clerks without previous commissions were given permanent commissions while Scout officers of 15 years' commissioned service are to continue to hold provisional commissions only, and reexamined at the end of every four years.

From remarks attributed to representatives of the War Department when the abolition of the Medical Reserve Corps was under consideration, it would appear that the War Department desired the abolition of the Reserve Corps on the ground of inexpediency of temporary commissions as tending to kill esprit de corps in that branch in view of the transitory character of their commissions and the absence of prospects for their future advancement.

The national-defense act has provided for the provisional commissioning of the new officers entering the mobile army, but has fixed the limit at two years, while Scout officers continue to be commissioned provisionally indefinitely. When the national-defense act is in full force, there will be in the Army enlisted men, provisional officers, and permanent officers. All provisional officers except Scout officers will be given permanent commissions after two years' service or else eliminated from the service. It would seem only fair that Scout officers be also given permanent commissions after a two-year provisional appointment.

Undoubtedly the Clark amendment providing for withdrawal from the Philippines within four years was responsible for the fact that the Scout officers were the only officers not given permanent commissions. Now that the amendment has been defeated there would seem to be no reason for denying Scout officers the rights and privileges of permanent officers.

As an example, here is one who enlisted January 7, 1893, and was commissioned February, 1905, at the age of 33 years. There was a number of officers in the mobile army who were as old or older when they were commissioned than he was when he was commissioned. He has every reason to believe that all of his service has been entirely satisfactory to his military superiors; surely, then, he deserves a commission as captain; that his right is as good in every way as that which may be given a veterinarian after 15 years' service, little, if any, of which need have been military service.

Since concessions have been made in favor of all officers except Scout officers, I beg first that all Scout officers receive commissions without regard to age; if that be considered inexpedient, then that those officers who were commissioned before they were 35 be allowed to take the examination, and if that be not approved, then those that were not over 30 when commissioned be allowed to take the examination; all those officers not permitted to take the examination and those who fail to pass the physical examination to be retired with the full retired pay of the grade held.

If after 15 years' service, which has all been in the Philippine Islands, Scout officers are incompetent, they should certainly be eliminated in such a way as to do them justice, but, nevertheless, eliminated; and if the system of appointing Scout officers has failed to obtain officers as good as those of the mobile army, it would seem advisable that no more Scout officers, as such, be appointed, but that all future appointments be made to the mobile army, and that the present Scout officers be absorbed by the mobile army or eliminated so that in the future there will only be one kind of officers commanding mobile troops.

It must be borne in mind that the entire service of the Scout officer must be in the Philippines.

All medical authority, so far as health is concerned, have always adversely reported on long service in the Tropics. The Surgeon General of the Army, acknowledged to be the best authority, less than two years ago advocated a two-year tour in the Tropics, and no more. From a humane standpoint when an officer is required to serve 25 or 30 years in the Tropics he has left little or no vitality for the rest of his life, which no doubt is shortened by years, when all he has gained by the present bill is the rank taken by him into retirement. The Scouts represent the highest types of men; men who by some misfortune—not being vacancies, and so forth—have failed to secure commissions in the Regular service and turned through their loyalty to the Scouts.

For Congress to give after 20 to 30 years' actual field service in the Tropics the rank and pay would only be a fair compensation for that service. It must be remembered that the 25 or 30 years rendered is the best part of a man's life, from 21 to 50 years, and then send him home an old man, which any man is after this service.

And now as to the service rendered by the Scouts—

The fighting side by side with their white brothers in arms of Ghurkas, Sengalese, Pathans, and the various colored native contingents of the allies on the battle fields of Europe lends interest to the fact that the United States possesses a native force that might, in the event of war, be called on to take its part on the battle line.

This small but highly trained and efficient force, consisting of 12 battalions—four complete companies each—of 441 enlisted men to the battalion is known as the Philippine Scouts.

It is composed, as to the enlisted personnel, of Filipinos exclusively. There are a few Filipinos among the officers, but the majority are Americans.

The Philippine Scouts had their crude beginning in the early days of the Philippine insurrection, when pro-American Filipinos were employed by the Quartermaster's Department for scouting service with the Regular and Volunteer troops. So valuable were their services that in 1901 Congress authorized the enlistment of not to exceed 12,000, and their organization into companies or troops and battalions or squadrons.

No mounted troops are organized now, all of the units being Infantry, but in the early days scout organizations mounted on Filipino ponies gave a splendid account of themselves.

To-day, in the Philippines, aside from Manila and its vicinity and four posts in Luzon outside of Manila, the only armed representatives of Federal authority are the Scouts. Mindanao, Jolo, Cebu, and Panay shelter garrisons of Scouts ready to take the field on short notice.

The Scout is trained along the same lines as the American soldier. In skill with the rifle, ability to march, to endure hardship, to utilize every device promoting comfort and welfare under adverse conditions in the field, he ranks high. Loving a soldier's life, easily disciplined, a natural soldier, he combines a fatalistic courage with a devotion to his officers remarkable to a great degree.

Composed of practically all the tribes in the Philippines, the Scouts would be in a bad way for service together in organizations speaking different dialects, or with American troops, were it not that English is understood and spoken by practically all the men. Instruction in English is as much a part of their training as shooting, and all commands and orders are given and instruction and administrative work carried on in English.

Many who were in the Philippines in the early days take with a grain of salt the assertion now often made that English is more generally used by the Filipinos than was ever Spanish, but a concrete case in connection with the scouts recently demonstrated it in rather a convincing way. In a recruiting camp for Scouts, where hundreds of Filipinos were assembled, after being enlisted, to get the typhoid prophylaxis before being distributed to their organizations, it was found that English was the only practicable means of communication by the officers with the men and was used almost altogether by men of different tribes in their own intercourse. Rarely was a recruit sentinel found who could not explain his orders in English, and not often was one found who could explain them in Spanish.

A strong point for the Scouts as a part of the military establishment is their economy. The enlisted men draw a little less than half the pay of Regular soldiers, and their ration costs about 10 cents less a day per man.

The organic law authorizing the Scouts places no restriction on the place of their service; so, like their white companions, when the War Department says go they go. Their use outside the Philippines has been contemplated in various contingencies, and they may yet be seen pumping good American lead at enemies of the United States on foreign soil.

I quote here two letters, written by Maj. Gen. Thomas H. Barry, United States Army, while commanding the Philippine Department, also engagements participated in by the Scouts, showing casualties, and so forth:

HEADQUARTERS PHILIPPINE DEPARTMENT,
June 9, 1914.

TO THE ADJUTANT GENERAL OF THE ARMY:

1. Since the organization of the Scouts—General Orders, No. 9, Headquarters of the Army, Adjutant General's Office, Washington, February 6, 1901—no officers of the United States Army have endured greater hardships or performed without let-up more hazardous field service. This is emphasized by the list of casualties among the Scouts herewith appended.

2. Existing laws in respect to their retirement are inadequate, eminently unjust, and ungenerous. Those who were fortunate enough to have been enlisted men when commissioned in the Scouts can now, under existing law, resign with a view to their appointment and retirement as noncommissioned officers, and even then they have to beg somebody to appoint them. Many of these deserving officers however, were not enlisted men, and were appointed officers in the Scouts from officers of volunteer service. There is absolutely no way for this latter class of deserving officers to be retired.

3. The case of Capt. H. R. Drake, referred to within, emphasizes the inadequacy and injustice of existing law affecting the retirement of these officers. There are other Scout officers who have been seriously

wounded in action and who are unable to properly perform service in the field and who are being held for such service as they can perform with the hope that Congress may some day properly provide for their retirement. Two such officers now within my recollection are Lieuts. Gunn and Rackley.

4. Captain and lieutenants of Scouts are officers of the Army, and therefore existing laws affecting the retirement of captains and lieutenants of Infantry and the Porto Rico Regiment of Infantry should be made applicable to them.

5. It seems that the following phraseology inserted in that part of the act making appropriations for the support of the Army which provides for the pay of Philippine Scouts, might cover the case:

"That hereafter captains and lieutenants of the Philippine Scouts shall have the same pay, rights, and allowances provided by law for Infantry officers of similar rank in Army of the United States."

T. H. BARRY,
Major General, Commanding.

HEADQUARTERS PHILIPPINE DEPARTMENT,
Manila, P. I., January 21, 1916.

From: The Major General Commanding.
To: The Adjutant General of the Army.
Subject: Transfer of Philippine Scout officers to the Infantry arm of the service in the event of reorganization and increase of the Army.

In the event of increase of the Regular Army I earnestly recommend that provision be made for transfer to the Infantry, or other arms, of qualified meritorious Philippine Scout officers; and I urge that in their cases the age limit, provided in the law or otherwise, be waived. Many of these officers had long service as enlisted men, some were officers of volunteers, and many have unusually deserving and gallant field-service records. They are now in the Army, and their transfer to the Infantry (or in specially qualified cases to other arms) with the rank they now hold would not materially affect officers of like grades therein, because the great majority of these Scout officers are older than officers of corresponding grades in the Army, and many of them would soon be retired for age or length of service.

Should it not be deemed advisable to transfer them as of their present grades they should at least have prior claim on transfer to the Infantry or other arms to the vacancies that may occur therein in the grades of second or first lieutenants over any other candidates for those positions.

It is noted that Senator CHAMBERLAIN's bill provides for the transfer of the Porto Rican Regiment to the Infantry arm of the service. By reason of unusually gallant field service there is no question whatever that many Philippine Scout officers are much more deserving than officers of the Porto Rican Regiment. The transfer or appointment of these officers to the Infantry or other arms, under any reorganization measure that may be enacted, would make them eligible for retirement as officers with pay and allowance as such to which they are entitled.

Waiving the age limit need not necessarily apply to the junior officers of Scouts who have, say, less than 10 years' service therein or in the Army. The said junior officers, if they desire transfer or appointment in the Infantry and are qualified, should be given opportunity to come in, and should be appointed prior to any candidates from civil life or elsewhere as the law may provide, because of their service as commissioned officers in the Scouts, which is service in the Army.

There may be meritorious Philippine Constabulary officers now holding grades therein of field officer and captain, with former service in the Army, who may desire to come in the lower grades of the Army under any act looking to its reorganization and increase. They should receive like consideration as to waiving the age limit.

Any of the younger constabulary officers who may desire to take the examination for appointment to vacancies in the lowest grade that may exist under such reorganization act should be privileged so to do.

I am clearly of the opinion, however, that meritorious Scout officers, being of and in the Army already, should have priority of claim over the constabulary or any others.

I recommend proper presentation of this to the chairman of the Military Committees of the Senate and House, with such suggested phraseology as will enact it into law.

T. H. BARRY.

Cablegram sent.

MANILA, P. I., *January 21, 1916.*

AGWAR, *Washington:*

If any increased, urge provision made for transfer qualified meritorious officers Philippine Scouts. Many have unusually gallant field record. More deserving than officers Porto Rican Regiment.

Principal engagements, with dates and number of casualties.

OFFICERS AND MEN OF THE PHILIPPINE SCOUTS—FROM 1901 TO JUNE, 1914.

HEADQUARTERS PHILIPPINE DEPARTMENT,
Manila, P. I., June 11, 1914.

Place of engagement.	Date.	Casualties (killed and wounded).
Lake Ticob, Luzon	Mar. 11, 1902	7
Bago Buntay, Luzon	Mar. 27, 1903	15
Jovellar, Albay	July 15, 1903	3
Freshwater Bay, Paragua	Feb. 16, 1904	4
Mt. Bagsak, Jolo	Mar. 4, 1904	3
Ambulong, Batangas	Apr. 13, 1904	3
Ft. Pikit, Mindanao	July 6, 1904	4
Reina Regente, Mindanao	July 30, 1904	5
Camp Hartshorne, Samar	Sept. 6, 1904	5
Hemanganan, Samar	do	4
Talayan, Mindanao	Sept. 13, 1904	3
Oras, Samar	Nov. 10, 1904	11
Balite, Luzon	Dec. 7, 1904	2
Dolores, Samar	Dec. 16, 1904	39
Sinaloan, Laguna	Aug. 2, 1905	2
Maslog, Samar	Feb. 18, 1905	3
San Jose, Samar	Feb. 3, 1905	7
Burauen, Leyte	Sept. 11, 1905	4
Camp Smith, Samar	Oct. 25, 1905	4
Camp Overton, Mindanao	Sept. 28, 1908	3
Pantar, Mindanao	Feb. 2, 1910	2
Taglibi (Cottas), Jolo	Jan. 23, 1913	11
Bagsak Sahipas, Jolo	June 11 to 15, 1913.	40
Jahandal's Cotta, Jolo	June 28, 1913	18
Sahipas' Cotta, Jolo	July 1, 1913	5
Mt. Talapao, Jolo	Aug. 10, 1913	5
Mt. Malapao, Jolo	Oct. 22, 1913	15
Pidatan, Mindanao	Dec. 15, 1913	2

Memorandum: There were numerous other small engagements in Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao, in which an aggregate of about 60 more casualties were incurred.

List of Philippine Scouts who have died from epidemic or communicable diseases from date of organization (1901) to June, 1914.

HEADQUARTERS PHILIPPINE DEPARTMENT,
Manila, P. I., June 11, 1914.

Diseases.	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	Total.
Smallpox		1		1											2
Typhoid		1	1	3	2	1			1			1			10
Tuberculosis		6	5	13	7	2	5	2		4	2	3	1		50
Beriberi	1	29	23	7	7	9	6	5	12	2	1				102
Cholera		55	28		2	8	2	4	7						106
Malaria	1	7	14	2	4	6	2	1		3	3	2	3		48
Dysentery		4	2	1		2	2		2					1	14
Total	2	103	73	27	22	28	17	12	22	9	6	6	4	1	332

Casualties in the Philippine Scouts from 1901 (date of organization) to June, 1914.

HEADQUARTERS PHILIPPINE DEPARTMENT,
Manila, P. I., June 11, 1914.

OFFICERS.

Killed in action	7
Died of wounds	3
Wounded	13
Died, other causes	17

Memorandum: The 13 wounded included the 3 that later died of wounds. The 17 dying from other causes include Maj. Foster, who was on Scout detail from captain, Nineteenth Infantry.

ENLISTED MEN.

Killed in action	110
Died of wounds	7
Wounded	157
Died, other causes	574

Memorandum: The 157 wounded included the 7 that later died of wounds. Wounds in both classes (officers and enlisted men) include all wounds received in action—gunshot, spear, bolo, etc.

The Late Representative Michael F. Conry.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS
OF
HON. ISAAC SIEGEL,
OF NEW YORK,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, in the death of Representative MICHAEL F. CONRY the city of New York has lost a valuable public servant, and the Nation at large will miss one who gave to it the best that was in him to further its best interests.

Although only 46 years of age, in the prime of life, and with a future most promising, he exercised and wielded a power far greater than most men acknowledged during his lifetime. Few

men from the city of New York in Congress have given deeper and more thorough consideration to the important questions of the day; and on account of his physical condition, he spent the major part of his time in research work.

It was due to his personal and untiring efforts that the Philippine bill, which would have brought shame to the cheeks of the American people in years to come, was beaten.

MICHAEL F. CONRY first saw the light of day at Shenandoah, Pa., on April 2, 1870. After following the vocation of schoolteacher for seven years, he graduated from the University of Michigan in 1896. He then commenced the practice of law as an assistant corporation counsel in the city of New York, and the people of New York City, recognizing his ability, made him a member of the Sixty-first, Sixty-second, Sixty-third, and Sixty-fourth Congresses, and then reelected him to the Sixty-fifth Congress.

He was one of the best read men in the House, could tell and always enjoyed a story about himself and had a wit and humor about him that endeared him to all who came in contact with him. He loved men for what they represented from the point of culture and education. He neither had nor worshiped wealth. He was patriotic in the fullest sense of the term. He admired America, the same as an infant loves its mother. He exemplified true home life in every way. He was devoted to his wife and children, and in their company he found rest and pleasure.

If the accumulation of wealth constitutes success, then he was a failure. But to my mind, Mr. Speaker, he was truly successful, both as a public and patriotic servant and also as a loving father and devoted husband. He was a living exemplar of the man described in the poem "Success," by Henry Victor Morgan:

SUCCESS.

I hold that man alone succeeds
Whose life is crowned by noble deeds,
Who cares not for the world's applause
But scorns vain custom's outgrown laws;
Who feels not dwarfed by nature's show,
But deep within himself doth know
That conscious man is greater far
Than ocean, land, or distant star;
Who does not count his wealth by gold,
His worth by office he may hold,
But feels himself, as man alone,
As good as king upon a throne;
Who, battling 'gainst each seeming wrong,
Can meet disaster with a song,
Feel sure of victory in defeat,
And rise refreshed the foe to meet;
Who only lives the world to bless,
Can never fail—he is success.

United States Shipping Board.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSHUA W. ALEXANDER,
OF MISSOURI,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917,

On the bill H. R. 21009) to amend an act entitled "An act to establish a United States Shipping Board for the purpose of encouraging, developing, and creating a naval auxiliary and naval reserve and a merchant marine to meet the requirements of the commerce of the United States with its Territories and possessions and with foreign countries; to regulate carriers by water engaged in the foreign and interstate commerce of the United States; and for other purposes," approved September 7, 1916.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, the following statement prepared by the Shipping Board in support of above bill and showing the emergency nature of the proposed legislation should be of great interest to the Congress and to the country, as it bears directly on the present high cost of living, and particularly to our Atlantic coast cities and the means that would be provided for relief; and in this connection I will also insert a press dispatch that appeared in the Washington Post of February 25, entitled "Food in Plenty Awaits Cars."

That this bill should have failed of passage at the session just ended is to be deplored:

STATEMENT OF SHIPPING BOARD.

RELATION OF PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION OF AN EMERGENCY ARISING FROM A SHORTAGE OF SEA TONNAGE AND AMENDMENTS TO THE SHIPPING ACT INDORSED BY HIM TO THE RISE IN PRICE OF FOODS AND TO OUR MILITARY NECESSITIES.

For the last six months we have watched with growing apprehension the congestion arising from the overcrowding of overland transportation throughout the United States. Freight cars and other transportation facilities, scarcely adequate to serve the needs of the country in normal times, have proved entirely inefficient in the presence of the unusual demands created by the war in Europe. Already the police are being invoked to quell disorders in our cities due to the dangerous increase in the cost of living.

The natural growth of our internal commerce had been prevented from exhausting the car supply by the very large increase in steamship tonnage carrying the products of the great States lying west of the Rocky Mountains through the Panama Canal to our eastern coasts and other destinations. The war in Europe added heavily to the burden of our land transportation facilities, both between points of manufacture east of the Mississippi and the Atlantic coast, and in the carriage of manufactured articles and raw material across the continent to the Pacific coast ports for export to Russia and Japan. The same extraordinary war necessities have during the last two years drawn away, almost in their entirety, the fleets bearing products from the Pacific coast to the Atlantic points of consumption into other channels of trade. The combined increased demand thereby created upon the freight-car resources of the United States and the resultant decreased car efficiency by the crowding of freight yards has invaded the supply required to bring food and the necessaries of life to the great centers of population east of the Mississippi River. This in large part has assisted in causing the rise in the price of food and other necessaries.

While we have not been at war ourselves, the war abroad has been inflicting on our citizens a rise in the cost of living comparable with that created by the warfare actually in our midst at the time of the secession of the Southern States. So far as the need of the man of small income in our great cities is concerned, he is as badly off as if ours were in fact a belligerent Nation.

It was to assist in part in preventing an increase in this distress that the proclamation of February 5, invoking the law preventing the further transfer of our tonnage to foreign nations which refused to return any tonnage to our flag, was issued. The depletion, however, had already become so great that the commerce across the Pacific under our flag had almost disappeared.

At the same time the facilities of our shipyards, which had greatly expanded during the war, were to a very large extent being utilized by the citizens of these same nations who were refusing to permit the vessels to return to our flag. Once under the foreign flag, the pressure of their Governments to serve their needs will prevent a large portion of this tonnage ever returning to carry either to our own or foreign consumers the products stored in the already congested granaries, packing houses, flour mills, lumber yards, and cotton warehouses of our great interior and seaboard distributing centers.

To prevent this drain during the emergency legislation was presented to Congress aiming to bring under our flag during that period the tonnage which otherwise would flow out of the yards into the fleets of alien nations and serve in large part needs disassociated from our own. The problem was to bring these vessels under our flag with the least disturbance to the business of the yards and the expectations of the foreign investors in these ships under construction, to the demand of whose capital the expansion in our yard facilities was in part due. The plan devised required that these vessels should remain under the American flag in American corporations in which the stock and control remained in the foreign investor, and, as in many cases the officers for the ships had already been provided from the country of the alien, and in some cases these officers owned a part of the vessels, they were to be permitted to command them during the period of the emergency. In this respect the measure was similar to that permitting foreign officers on the ships brought in under the Panama Canal act.

In the absence of this legislation, such American-built vessels in such corporations are already entitled to enter into the coastwise trade. The only compensation given to the foreign investor for the disappointment of his hope to put the vessel under his own flag is this right to use these officers. As the number of the American officers is already scarcely sufficient for our own tonnage, there will be no disturbance to the Americans in this provision, and since the number of these vessels which will go into the coastwise trade could not be expected to exceed the number of American vessels which had deserted it, there will be no serious competition between those vessels entirely officered by Americans and this new temporary class. Even should the competition of the foreign-officered ship make a *slight* reduction in the profits of the American who had not forsaken the coastwise trade, the rise in coastwise rates during the shortage in tonnage and absence of competition, a rise borne by the consumer of the products carried, has far offset it.

The military gain in adding this tonnage, by careful estimate shown to be between 750,000 and 1,000,000 tons, to our merchant fleets is obvious. If the Norwegian capitalist owning a ship through one of these American corporations were to send his vessel on a voyage crossing the Indian Ocean, and our munition makers should be in need of a cargo of nickel, we could commandeer the tonnage for this service at some point near the place of production. The vessel would, up to the moment of coming under the Government's order, be pursuing her normal vocation and earning her profit for her owner.

The government of our foreign shipbuilding competitors have shown no such solicitude for aliens contracting for tonnage from their yards, when their need required increased facilities for their own maritime trade. American ships partially completed have been lying on the stocks of these alien competitors of our yards for from 12 to 18 months, the labor having been commandeered for the building of other vessels.

The measure now before Congress is demanded by our obvious need, even in the absence of actual war. It is gratifying, however, to find that a number of yards have expressed their appreciation of our attempt to minimize the disturbance of their organization, and that the representatives of many millions of foreign capital engaged under contracts for these vessels, have cordially approved this solution of the problem.

While the relief of the congestion due to the car shortage through the agency of this new tonnage in the coast-to-coast trade will not be immediately large, the rapid increase in tonnage as these vessels and their successors come off the stocks will be of material assistance to us in the not very remote future. Our hopes are that the whole situation may be cleared up by the restoration of peace throughout the world. But we can not be blind to the fact that the causes now contributing so considerably to the high cost of living in our great cities may continue for a long period of time. We may have to invoke other agencies to lessen our distress, but the increase in facilities for overseas carriage demands our instant attention.

The broadening of the Shipping Board's functions of inquiry, in amendments to sections 21 to 27, is necessary for quick action in preventing evasions of the emergency provisions, and in gathering data relative to our inadequate insurance resources, which may suggest relief to our merchants and shippers.

FOOD IN PLENTY AWAITS CARS—THOUSANDS OF TONS HELD ON PACIFIC COAST FOR BUYERS AND SHIPMENT.

SAN FRANCISCO, *February 24.*

Thousands of tons of foodstuffs on the Pacific coast are awaiting purchase and shipment East, commission men said here to-day. Of rice alone there are 125,000,000 pounds and the price is lower than it has been for several years—so low in fact that millers have been holding it.

Authorities also said there are millions of bushels of potatoes and beans besides canned and dried fruit, and vegetables a plenty.

A traffic expert of the chamber of commerce estimated California could export between 200 and 300 cars of foodstuffs a day if the proper cars were available.

Mr. Speaker, as showing the work of the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries in the Sixty-fourth Congress, I wish to insert the following in the RECORD:

BILLS REPORTED FROM THE COMMITTEE ON THE MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES WHICH HAVE BECOME LAWS.

[Sixty-fourth Congress.]

H. R. 8816. Authorizing the Commissioner of Navigation to cause the sailing vessel *Golden Gate* to be registered as a vessel of the United States.

H. R. 13112. To amend section 14 of the seamen's act of March 4, 1915.

H. R. 15455. To establish a United States Shipping Board for the purpose of encouraging, developing, and creating a naval auxiliary and naval reserve and a merchant marine to meet the requirements of the commerce of the United States with its Territories and possessions and with foreign countries; to regulate carriers by water engaged in the foreign and interstate commerce of the United States; and for other purposes.

S. 4401. To conduct investigations and experiments for ameliorating the damage wrought to the fisheries by predacious fishes and aquatic animals.

S. 4760. To authorize the change of name of the steamer *Normania* to *William F. Stifel.*

H. R. 16647. S. 6375, to authorize the changing of the name of the steamship *Aroline*, substituted for same on the floor of the House.

H. J. Res. 63. S. J. Res. 47, authorizing the Secretary of Commerce to sell skins taken from fur seals killed on the Pribilof Islands for food purposes, substituted for same on the floor of the House.

H. J. Res. 218. Authorizing the acceptance of the gift of the Berkshire Trout Hatchery, Berkshire County, Mass.

H. R. 13831. To amend section 4464 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relating to number of passengers to be stated in certificates of inspection of passenger vessels, and section 4465 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, prescribing penalty for carrying excessive number of passengers on passenger vessels, and section 4466 of the Revised Statutes, relating to special permits for excursions on passenger steamers.

H. R. 11474. Authorizing the Secretary of Commerce to permit the construction of a public highway through the fish-cultural station in Unicoi County, Tenn.

S. 8252. To authorize the change of name of the steamer *Charles L. Hutchinson* to *Fayette Brown.*

S. 5985. Authorizing the Commissioner of Navigation to cause the steamship *Republic* to be enrolled and licensed as a vessel of the United States.

H. R. 19903. S. 7779, to grant authority to the Reiss Steamship Co., of Duluth, Minn., to change the name of its steamer *George W. Peavey* to *Richard J. Reiss*, was substituted for same on the floor of the House.

H. R. 19904. S. 7780, to grant authority to the Reiss Steamship Co., of Duluth, Minn., to change the name of its steamer *Frank T. Heffelfinger* to *Clemens A. Reiss*, was substituted for same on the floor of the House.

H. R. 19901. S. 7781, to grant authority to Reiss Steamship Co., of Duluth, Minn., to change the name of its steamer *Frederick B. Wells* to *Otto M. Reiss*, was substituted for same on the floor of the House.

H. R. 19902. S. 7782, to grant authority to Reiss Steamship Co., of Duluth, Minn., to change the name of its steamer *Frank H. Peavey* to *William A. Reiss*, was substituted for same on the floor of the House.

H. R. 17605. S. 8079, to amend the first and seventh paragraphs of section 4414 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, as amended by the act of April 9, 1906, was substituted for same on the floor of the House.

H. R. 13001. To provide additional assistants in the Bureau of Fisheries, Department of Commerce, for the purpose of aiding in the development of the shellfish industries, was reported from the committee, and included in the sundry civil bill.

H. R. 21037. S. 8300, to authorize the change of the name of the steamer *Fred G. Hartwell* to *Harry W. Croft*, was substituted for same on the floor of the House.

H. R. 21038. S. 8301, to authorize the change of name of the steamer *Harry A. Berwind* to *Harvey H. Brown*, was substituted for same on the floor of the House.

BILLS REPORTED FROM THE COMMITTEE ON THE MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES WHICH HAVE PASSED THE HOUSE BUT HAVE NOT PASSED THE SENATE.

[Sixty-fourth Congress.]

H. R. 15617. To establish fish-hatching and fish-cultural stations in the States of Alabama, Louisiana, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina or North Carolina, Maryland or Virginia, Oregon or Washington, Texas, Oklahoma, Illinois, Washington, Arizona, New Mexico, Michigan, Idaho, Missouri, Pennsylvania, Delaware or New Jersey, and Minnesota.

H. R. 13223. To provide for appeals from decisions of boards of local inspectors of vessels, and for other purposes.

H. R. 11623. To permit the use of certain refined products of petroleum as stores on steam vessels carrying passengers.

H. R. 6097. To ratify the compact and agreement between the States of Oregon and Washington regarding concurrent jurisdiction over waters of the Columbia River and its tributaries in connection with regulating, protecting, and preserving fish.

H. R. 4786. To provide for the appointment of certain assistant inspectors, Steamboat-Inspection Service, at ports where they are actually performing duty, but to which they are at present detailed.

H. R. 4784. To provide for a change in the designation of the Steamboat-Inspection Service, and for other purposes.

H. R. 449. To provide for the appointment of 11 supervising inspectors, Steamboat-Inspection Service, in lieu of 10. (This bill is in conference).

An Unwarranted Attempt to Confer Power to Create New Offices by Removing Federal Judges Contrary to a Plain Constitutional Provision.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH WALSH,

OF MASSACHUSETTS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I am unalterably opposed to the passage of this measure—Senate 706.

To my mind it is an inexcusable attempt to place the judiciary of the Nation subject to the whim of the executive department of the Government.

It is sought to do indirectly that which can not be directly accomplished, owing to the provisions of the Constitution.

An examination of the proceedings of the convention of 1787, when the Federal Constitution was framed and adopted, discloses the fact that in each of the several plans submitted to the convention the tenure of the judiciary was "during good behavior."

The framework of government submitted by Mr. Hamilton contained these identical words, as did also the plans proposed by Mr. Randolph and Mr. Patterson, and this tenure was fixed in the document finally presented to the States and ratified by them.

It was pointed out by Mr. Gorham, one of the delegates from Massachusetts, that the tenure, "during good behavior," had been established in the old Commonwealth for a great many years, and had been found to be satisfactory. And, Mr. Speaker, that tenure has continued in Massachusetts to this day.

Only one other suggestion was made in the Constitutional Convention relative to the tenure of judges, and that on motion of Mr. Dickinson, who on August 27, 1787, sought to secure the adoption of a provision giving the power to the Executive to remove judges on the application of the House and Senate.

This invoked an interesting discussion, during which Mr. Gouverneur Morris stated that it would be a contradiction in terms to say that the judiciary should hold office during good behavior and yet be removable without a trial, and that it was fundamentally wrong to submit judges to such arbitrary authority.

Mr. Rutledge, Mr. Randolph, and Mr. Wilson opposed the suggestion made by Mr. Dickinson, and it was not adopted.

It is, in my opinion, most unwise to place the judges of the inferior Federal courts in a position where they will be subject not only to arbitrary action but to humiliation as well by the determination of fact on the part of the Executive.

I appreciate fully the very plausible arguments put forth in favor of this bill, and realize that there may be isolated instances where judges are now eligible to retirement, but decline, for reasons best known to themselves, to take advantage of the very liberal statute providing for their retirement; but you can not force retirement on them by any such piece of legislation as this. If it is to simply get rid of members of the judiciary who stubbornly decline to step down, then each instance of this sort should be considered separately by the Congress and appropriate legislation enacted.

How easy we make it to create new offices, for that is exactly what we do in the proposed bill. We supplement the appointive power with power to remove. Oh, yes; I know it is claimed there is no removal, because the old justice is authorized, under this measure, to sit as judge and to hold court in some other district. How considerate to leave him, who has been found to be permanently incapacitated by reason of mental or physical disability, this mere shadow of judicial prerogative.

What else is such a provision, Mr. Speaker, than a plain declaration of intention by the proponents of this measure that the power of indirect removal is provided. What party, plaintiff or defendant, what attorney, or what justice not so tainted by this Executive finding of fact would care to participate in any judicial proceedings, where a judge, on whom this doom of mental incapacity had been pronounced by the Executive, was sitting in judgment with his associates?

It is indefensible, and it must be because of some most pressing need of the party in control that they undertake now at the close of their four years of power, and following their long list of newly created offices, boards, and commissions, to strike this blow at the judicial department of the Government.

We can not delegate the power of legislation to either the Executive or the judicial branch of the Government and we can not circumvent the plain meaning and intent of the Constitution in this way, however great the need for purposes of political expediency.

This method set forth in this bill is even more vicious than some of the crazy schemes we were wont to hear much of not long since, providing for the recall of judges and repudiation or ratification of judicial decisions.

It would be a most dangerous power to place in the hands of any Executive and would tend gradually and surely to weaken the independence of the judiciary.

We have not yet reached the stage where we ought to say that the Constitution ought not to count in preserving the integrity and independence of the judges. If this great power be such a desirable thing to confer on the Executive, why not apply it to the Supreme Court as well as to circuit and district courts?

I ask that the measure be defeated and that the Congress be left free in the future to deal with individual instances where relief may be needed, and in which we can, by appropriate legislation, furnish the means to ameliorate the condition without putting the provisions of the Constitution into the discard.

The Late Representative Michael F. Conry.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS

OF

HON. CHAMP CLARK,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, "It is appointed unto men once to die and after that the judgment." The rule is universal, inexorable. Our good, kind-hearted, industrious, able, and patriotic friend and fellow servant, MICHAEL F. CONRY, was no exception. Death took him while he was yet a young man, and he is sincerely mourned by all who knew him. He was a peculiarly lovable man. He was capable, level headed, and prompt in the discharge of duty. He was a rising man in the House.

I was first attracted to him by hearing him sing old-time songs and hymns. He was blessed with a highly musical voice of much beauty and pathos.

I began calling him to the chair when the House was in pacific frame of mind and he presided with grace, dignity, and fairness. I encouraged him to study parliamentary law, which he did successfully. One day I asked him if he thought he could pilot one of the great appropriation committees through the Committee of the Whole House, and he replied that he thought he could if I would risk him—which I did. He performed that onerous and difficult task to the satisfaction of all. By practice, study, and observation he became a good presiding officer.

He was not a frequent or prolix speaker. His style was clear, harmonious, forceful. He was the soul of courtesy, true as steel, firm as a rock. No man ever did him a kindness that he did not repay. His death is a loss to his State and to the Republic—inexpressibly sad to his multitude of friends.

Some Achievements of the Sixty-fourth Congress.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT M. McCRACKEN,

OF IDAHO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. McCRACKEN. Mr. Speaker, I regard the work of this Congress as being more important in many particulars than that of any Congress which has assembled since the outbreak of the Civil War, and I want to call attention to some of its achievements.

ADOPTION OF PREPAREDNESS MEASURES.

The great outstanding accomplishments of the Congress is the adoption of the preparedness measures and the huge appropriations for the Army and Navy as compared with anything in the history of the Nation. In the Navy 118 new crafts of all kinds have been provided for and the three-year plan of construction adopted, which, in my judgment, will make us the greatest naval power in the world. The total amount appropriated for the Navy in the Sixty-fourth Congress is $831,000,000 as compared with $149,000,000 appropriated by the Sixty-third Congress. The amount appropriated for the Army in the first session of this Congress was $267,000,000, which makes a grand total for the Army and Navy of over one billion of dollars. Had the Army bill, which passed the House carrying $279,000,000 and which was pending in the Senate at the close of this Congress, become a law there would have been a grand total for the Army and Navy of $1,367,000,000. I voted for all of these measures, because I thought that we should prepare this country to take care of itself against any conspiracy of any group of powers to plunder or to invade it. I used to think that the civilization of the world had advanced so far that it was idle to think that the United States would ever be likely to have war with any nation on earth. But since I have been a Member of the Congress of the United States I have seen evidences on every hand of foreign intrigue to influence legislation at Washington, and, therefore, I conclude that we can not be too vigilant for the safety of our country from enemies, both within and without our boundaries. As an American I am for the perpetuity of our institutions, and I stand ready at all times to do my part to support and maintain them.

RECLAMATION AS A MEANS OF PREPAREDNESS.

Practically all Members of Congress from the West voted for the preparedness bills, and now it is up to the East to begin building up her storehouse, which consists of the great arid West. There are millions of acres of land in Idaho and other western States which only need water to make them blossom as the rose, and which will afford homes for millions of people yet unborn. We can not wage war unless we have men and munitions, and experience has proven that wheat, oats, potatoes, horses, and cattle are just as essential to the success of an Army and Navy as great guns, powder, and ammunition. I am sure that $500,000,000 would reclaim practically all of the land of the West which is susceptible of irrigation. The products from these lands would feed an Army and Navy of 5,000,000 men and take care of their families besides. Therefore, from this time on I shall advocate this as a new measure of preparedness. The Government can afford to reclaim these waste lands and sell them below the cost of the irrigation works in order to increase its food supply and thus reduce the cost of living. One thing is certain and that is: That the money invested in irrigation is not lost or placed in machinery which wears ouf, or from which there is no return. I sincerely hope that henceforth the slogan of our Representatives from the West will be: "A new irrigation project for every new battleship."

CONSTRUCTION OF RESERVOIRS ON SNAKE RIVER.

During my residence in Idaho, which covers a period of over 25 years, it has been apparent to me that the Snake River Valley is to become one of the richest valleys in the world. A necessity exists now for increasing its water supply so that there may be no shortage anywhere in that great valley. It is the opinion of the Reclamation Service in Washington that that portion of the valley lying north of American Falls can be guaranteed sufficient water for dry seasons by the construction of several reservoirs at the headwaters of Snake River, and to this end I introduced a bill on the first day of the opening of this Congress which reads as follows:

A bill to authorize the construction of reservoirs on Snake River and its tributaries in the State of Idaho, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he hereby is, authorized and empowered, in his discretion, to construct on Snake River and its tributaries, in the State of Idaho, the Swan Valley Reservoir at an expense not exceeding $300,000; the Teton Reservoir, at an expense not exceeding $1,000,000; the Island Park Reservoir, at an expense not exceeding $1,000,000; and the Henry Lake Reservoir, at an expense not exceeding $100,000.

SEC. 2. That for the purpose of enabling the Secretary of the Interior to carry into effect the provisions of section 1 hereof there is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated $2,400,000, to be immediately available, and to be available until expended, reimbursable out of the proceeds from the sale or lease, or both, of water, surplus or otherwise, impounded in said reservoirs, or any of them.

AMERICAN FALLS RESERVOIR SITE.

The Reclamation Bureau has a plan for augmenting the supply of water which can be made available for the purposes of irrigation to a large part of the Snake River Valley below American Falls, particularly the North Side Twin Falls project and other lands south of the river in the vicinity of Hollister, Hansen, and other communities. The construction of a great reservoir at this point would mean the opening of that vast acreage under the proposed Bruneau project, which has been

the dream of so many people in southern Idaho for a decade. In my opinion the Federal Government should not longer delay the construction of these reservoirs. The rights of way in the vicinity of American Falls can be purchased for much less money at this time than at a later period. In order that action might be taken upon this matter at this term of Congress, I introduced H. R. 302, which provided for an appropriation of $200,000 to enable the Secretary of the Interior, in his discretion, to make a detailed investigation as to the most feasible site for the location of a reservoir on Snake River in the vicinity of American Falls and to acquire title thereto and to rights of way for use in connection with the operation thereof. These bills were referred to the Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, but owing to the depletion of the reclamation fund the committee felt that it could not take any action on the bills in this Congress. Many other bills designed to meet a similar need in other States were also introduced and met the same fate. Therefore I feel that the West should demand that a large appropriation be made to meet this condition.

THE KINGS HILL PROJECT.

In the early days of the first session of the Sixty-fourth Congress I introduced a bill providing for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the Kings Hill irrigation system. After long and tedious work on the part of the Idaho delegation in the House the Committee on Appropriations incorporated a provision in the sundry civil bill for $200,000 to begin the work of reconstruction. This bill passed the House of Representatives but failed in the Senate because of the filibuster which was carried on in that body in the closing hours of the session. In my opinion its passage in the next Congress is a certainty.

BLACK CANYON IRRIGATION PROJECT.

In my judgment the Black Canyon irrigation project is one of the most promising in the West. The Reclamation Bureau thinks that the project is too expensive. I can not agree with their conclusion as long as it is based upon mere guesswork. I believe that a survey should be immediately made to ascertain its feasibility, and to this end I introduced H. R. 10646 on February 2, 1916, which reads as follows:

A bill directing the Secretary of the Interior to make a survey of the Black Canyon irrigation project in southern Idaho to ascertain its cost and feasibility.

Be it enacted, etc., That immediately after the passage and approval of this act the Secretary of the Interior and the Reclamation Service of the United States are hereby directed to make such reconnoissance and investigations as may be found necessary to determine the cost and feasibility of the construction of what is known as the Black Canyon irrigation project in southern Idaho; and for the expense of such reconnoissance and investigation to be so made as herein directed there is hereby appropriated, out of the Treasury of the United States, such sum or sums of money as may, in the judgment of the Secretary of the Interior and of the Reclamation Service of the United States, be found necessary.

This bill was referred to the Committee on Appropriations. That committee refused to give consideration to the bill because the money in the reclamation fund was hardly sufficient to take care of existing projects, and that Congress ought not to take on any new irrigation schemes, however meritorious. I believe that the time will come when the Black Canyon project will be established.

APPROPRIATION FOR GOOD ROADS.

I am happy to have had a part in securing the passage of the bill providing for an appropriation of $85,000,000 to be expended in the construction of good roads in the United States. Ten millions of dollars of this appropriation are set apart for the construction of roads and bridges in the national forests of the United States, and as Idaho has a good percentage of her area inclosed within national forests she will receive approximately $1,000,000 of this fund. Of the appropriation for rural post roads $960,000 will be allotted and expended in Idaho in the next five years, which makes a grand total for highway improvements by the Federal Government of approximately $2,000,000.

FARM-LOAN ACT.

In my opinion the passage of the farm-loan act is the most important piece of legislation which has been enacted in this Congress. The Federal land-bank system is designed to do away, as far as practicable, with the disadvantges of the present farm-mortgage system. No loan will be permitted under the new system at a rate of interest exceeding 6 per cent. The law contemplates that the net profits made by a Federal land bank, after paying expenses and setting aside the required reserve, will be returned to the local national farm-loan associations to be distributed among the borrowers. One great advantage thus expected to result from the new system is a substantial lowering of interest rates to farmers. Not only is the interest rate limited to 6 per cent but provision is made so that the farmer will escape the annoyance and expense of bonuses and commissions. He will pay only such extra charges in connection with the making of a loan as are approved under the rules and regulations of the Federal farm-loan bank. The loans must be made for relatively long periods of time, running not less than 5 nor more than 40 years. After the loan has run for 5 years the borrower is given the option of paying any additional sum on the principal at any interest date.

FARM-LOAN ACT IMPORTANT TO AMERICAN AGRICULTURE.

When I voted for the farm-loan act it was with the hope that tenants and other landless men might be able to purchase farms and that the borrower, who is already carrying a heavy load, might be able to pay off his indebtedness and take a new start. Also, that our farmers will be enabled to make needed improvements which they have hesitated to undertake before on account of the difficulty of obtaining loans on acceptable terms. After appropriating almost $1,000,000,000 for the Army and Navy we then appropriated the sum of $50,000,000 for agriculture. While I am willing to go any length that is right in the matter of preparedness, I feel that we now have a right to demand that the food supply of our country should be increased, and I know of no better way to augment the food supply of the country than by making liberal appropriations for the encouragement of agriculture.

PENSIONS FOR INDIAN-WAR VETERANS.

Upon the opening day of this Congress I introduced H. R. 295, which was a bill extending to the surviving officers and enlisted men, or their widows, who served in the Indian wars of the western frontiers of the several States and Territories the provisions of the pension acts. A bill embodying practically the same language as my bill was finally passed and is now the law. This bill was amended in the Senate so as to give a pensionable status to a large number of men who had served in Indian wars but who were unable to show any certificate of discharge, but who nevertheless participated in many Indian campaigns. I have voted for every pension bill which has come up for action in this Congress, because I feel that we can not do too much for the brave men who came to the rescue of the Government in its hour of peril. My father was a Union soldier and his death was due to the effects of wounds which he had received while in the service. Therefore I have a double reason for my action in pension matters.

OLD-AGE INSURANCE.

Since the Revolutionary War this country has paid over $7,000,000,000 in pensions to its soldiers or their representatives. Our people have not felt the burden even though the pension system has not been built upon an equitable foundation. But modern society is facing a condition in the Nation to-day which demands that we evolve some plan to care for those who have become dependent because of old age. With this idea in mind, I have introduced H. R. 20351, which proposes the appointment by the President of a commission to study the question of the advisability of adopting a pension or insurance system for aged people. I believe that dependent old age should not be obliged to find refuge in the poorhouse and private charitable institutions, but that it is possible to give relief by means of a pension system which my bill proposes to discover through a proper investigation. I am hopeful that a future Congress will pass some such legislation.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION.

I am glad that I was assigned to membership on the Committee on Education, for the bill for vocational education was drafted by this committee. I shall always count my work upon this committee as well worth while. Much interest was manifested in the bill by educators from all parts of the country. It received the indorsement of President Wilson in his message to Congress last December. The bill provides for the training of teachers in agriculture, the trades, industries, and home economics. It also provides for the training of the men and women of the cities who are unable to afford the expense of special training in a particular vocation or trade. The chief value of such education to anyone is that he can become more proficient in his line of work and thereby earn a larger compensation. The tradesman not only profits, but his employer profits still more, by the additional learning which the man has acquired.

PROHIBITION IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Some months ago a great hue and cry went up from the citizens of Washington when it was proposed to require them to pay more than one-half of their taxes. It was argued by them, and I think rightly so, that this is the Nation's city; that it does not belong to the people of the District of Columbia, but

to all the people of the United States; and that all the people of the United States should take special pride in it. But now, after the representatives of all of the people of the Union have agreed to pay one-half of the taxes of the inhabitants of the District, and after the expenditure by previous Congresses of nearly $100,000,000 in beautifying the city of Washington, and after definite plans are laid to expend still greater sums of money in further improvements, it is argued by some citizens of the District of Columbia that upon the single question of prohibition those persons only who are "inhabitants" of the District shall be permitted to determine whether the district shall be wet or dry. Upon that question even the Members of Congress and their families shall have no voice, but it must be left to a few people who have been so fortunate as to be called inhabitants of the District. I can not agree with any such proposal.

I find that for every dollar that is paid for a barroom license in the District of Columbia must be matched by another dollar from the Federal Treasury, and that my constituency pays for the support of the District the sum of $21,939 annually, which is divided as follows:

Schools, $5,660; streets, sewers, and water mains, $2,147; police, $1,806; improvements and repairs, $4,088; salaries and health, $1,470; interest sinking fund, $1,726; lighting, $823; fire department, $1,181; charities and corrections, $2,472; miscellaneous, $566.

Yet, according to the argument of these people, who have been clamoring for a referendum, the people of my State have no right to say through me that this city (which, according to the argument of the same gentlemen, is also the city of my people) shall be wet or dry. The Constitution of the United States has given to Congress the right to legislate for the District of Columbia. I expressed by my vote in this body the sentiment of the major part of my constituency which I know to be in favor of making the Capital of the Nation a saloonless city.

Upon investigation I find that last year there were 9,394 arrests made in Washington City for drunkenness in public places. A part of the costs of making those arrests was borne by the people of my State, and I should have been false to my trust if I had voted to take the power out of their hands to remove the one thing which is responsible for drunkenness. I am for a dry District of Columbia, and I do not favor delegating the right to say that it shall be so or not to a few residents of Washington as long as my people are called upon to support and maintain it. I count it a high privilege to have cast my vote in this body for a saloonless Capital of the United States of America.

NATIONAL PROHIBITION.

I deeply regret that no opportunity was given to this Congress to pass upon the joint resolution known as the Sheppard-Webb bill for the submission of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor for beverage purposes anywhere in the United States. It appears to me that the tide for national prohibition is now so strong that the passage of such a bill in Congress is near at hand. There is no doubt about its ratification by three-fourths of the States very soon after its submission. I am firmly of the opinion that the people of this Nation want to abolish the liquor traffic, and I think it is the duty of Congress to speedily submit the amendment.

The Late Senator James P. Clarke, of Arkansas.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS
OF
HON. OTIS WINGO,
OF ARKANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, February 18, 1917.

The House had under consideration House resolution 512, as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the business of the House be now suspended, that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. JAMES P. CLARKE, late a Senator from the State of Arkansas.

"*Resolved*, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and in recognition of his distinguished public career, the House, at the conclusion of the exercises of this day, shall stand adjourned.

"*Resolved*, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

"*Resolved*, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased."

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Speaker, in the death of Senator CLARKE our State has not only lost a very distinguished citizen, but the United States Senate has lost one of its most powerful Members and this country has lost a man who, I venture to assert, by his thought, his force, and his actions touched and shaped its destiny with an influence equal to that of any man who lived in his day and generation. It has been very well said that whether you liked or disliked Senator CLARKE, he compelled both your respect and your attention. His friends relied upon his ability and courage, his enemies respected and feared both.

To my mind the most striking thing about Senator CLARKE was his hatred of all pretense and sham. If there ever was a man in public life who absolutely had the courage of his convictions, who, having conscientiously decided upon a course, then became indifferent to what the public or his critics might say of him, it was Senator CLARKE. I say he had the courage to stand alone, and he did that at times, Mr. Speaker, when it seemed almost treason to those who are wont to abjectly kneel at the feet of power; but his actions were the result of the compelling force of his convictions and of his loyalty to his sense of duty and what he thought he must do in order to retain his self-respect. I think it is unfortunate for the country that there are not more men of that character and of that courage in both ends of this Capitol. He was intellectually honest, too, Mr. Speaker. JAMES P. CLARKE never undertook to deceive himself. He never undertook by the devious ways of intellectual gymnastics to make something appear right which intuitively and with that quick decisiveness of his mind he knew was wrong.

He was one of those men who were exasperated by the little details of public life upon which modern politics and modern customs in American politics have forced its representatives in both bodies to devote a good deal of their time and energies, instead of giving their time, their thought, their study, and their patriotic efforts to the bigger and better things for which Senators and Representatives are supposed to be sent to this Capitol.

I repeat he not only had the courage of his convictions, but he was willing to stand alone, and that is something that few men are willing to do. I once heard it said that JAMES P. CLARKE would rather face a howling mob and chant the requium of defeat and know that he was right, or believe that he was right, than to hear the plaudits of the multitude and yet have the sickening sense in his heart that he was undeserving of the misguided approval of his fellows. And that was typical of the conception that most men had of Senator CLARKE who came in close touch with him.

With Senator CLARKE, as with all great men, as time goes on we will learn to appreciate more his high character and splendid qualities. Unfortunately for him, and I think unfortunately for the country, his seeming indifference to public approval, his sometimes seeming rudeness to the representatives of the press, was a regrettable thing, which prevented the American people from learning more of his high character and splendid abilities, which they would have learned if he had pursued the course that it is customary for most men in public life to pursue, and that is to court the greatest amount of publicity and the greatest amount of friendly utterances on the part of the representatives of the press in the Capital of the Nation. But he did not do that. He went his way, and more nearly than any other public man who has ever lived in this Capital, he made you think of these lines:

It matters not how strait the gate
How marked with punishment the scroll;
I am the master of my fate,
I am the captain of my soul.

Wage Increases During the Months of November and December, 1916.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY T. RAINEY,
OF ILLINOIS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, under the general leave to print I herewith present for insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a statement made by the Department of Labor showing wage increases in the United States during the months of November and December, 1916.

The statement is as follows:

TABLE 1.—*Summary of wage increases, establishments involved, and employees affected, November, 1916, by States.*

State.	Total number of wage increases noted.	Reports showing establishments involved.		Number of reports not showing the number of establishments involved.	Reports showing employees affected.		Number of reports not showing number of employees affected.	Reasons for increase.			
		Number.	Total number of establishments.		Number.	Total number of employees.		Agreement.	Strike.	Voluntary.	Other reasons and not reported.
Alabama	1	1	1		1	20,000					1
Arizona	1			1			1	1			
Arkansas	1			1			1	1			
California	7	3	3	4	1	200	6	4	1	2	
Colorado	5	2	2	3			5	4			1
Connecticut	7	3	3	4	4	995	3	2	3	2	
Delaware	1	1	1		1	100			1		
Florida	2	2	10		2	1,830			2		
Georgia	1			1			1			1	
Illinois	14	10	10	4	6	36,040	8	6	4	3	1
Hawaii	1			1	1	300			1		
Indiana	1	1	3		1	10,000				1	
Iowa	1	1	2				1	1			
Kansas	1			1			1				1
Kentucky	3	3	3		1	800	2			3	
Louisiana	1	1	1		1	1,100		1			
Maryland	4			4	2	633	2	2	1	1	
Massachusetts	13	8	15	5	8	13,700	5	1	6	5	1
Michigan	3	1	1	2			3		1	1	1
Minnesota	4	4	5		1	300	3		1	5	
Missouri	11	7	7	4	7	7,232	4	5	2	2	2
New Hampshire	1			1			1			1	
New Jersey	12	8	11	4	6	4,054	6		6	5	1
New York	23	17	18	6	10	23,600	13	3	9	9	2
North Carolina	1	1	1				1			1	
Ohio	18	9	9	9	4	17,323	14	7	3	8	
Oklahoma	4	2	2	2			4	2	1	1	
Oregon	4	2	2	2			4	2	1	1	
Pennsylvania	33	24	30	9	10	31,700	23	11	10	9	3
Porto Rico	2			2			2		2		
Rhode Island	6	5	6	1	6	7,800			2	4	
South Carolina	1			1			1			1	
Tennessee	2	2	2				2	1	1		
Texas	5	2	2	3			5	2		2	1
Virginia	1	1	1				1		1		
Washington	3	1	1	2			3		3		
West Virginia	2	1	1	1			2		1		1
Wisconsin	8	7	7	1	2	1,000	6	1	3	3	1
Interstate	3	1	3	2	2	8,500	1			3	
Total	212	131	163	81	77	187,207	135	57	66	72	17

TABLE 2.—*Summary of wage increases, establishments involved and employees affected, November, 1916, by industries or occupations.*

Industry or occupation.	Total number of wage increases noted.	Reports showing establishments involved.		Number of reports not showing the number of establishments involved.	Reports showing employees affected.		Number of reports not showing the number of employees affected.	Reasons for increase.			
		Number.	Total number of establishments.		Number.	Total number of employees		Agreement.	Strike.	Voluntary.	Other reasons and not reported.
Barbers	2			2	1	200	1	1	2		
Boots and shoes	4	3	3	1	3	18,300	1	1	1	2	
Broom manufacturing	2	1	1	1			2	2			
Building trades	18	5	5	13	4	5,050	14	9	6	1	2
Cement and concrete	7	1	1	6	1	1,500	6	6		1	
Chauffeurs	1			1	1	300		1			
Cigar makers	5	1	9	4	3	2,900	2		3	1	1
Domestic and personal service	2			2			2	2			
Express companies	1	1	3				1			1	
Foundry and machine shops	[1] 22	16	20	6	8	32,436	14	5	9	6	2
Garment workers	9	6	6	3	2	1,300	7	3	4	2	
Glass manufacturing	1	1	1		1	500				1	
Hardware manufacturing	2	2	2		2	1,300				2	
Hotel and restaurant workers	3	2	2	1	2	95	1		1	2	
Iron and steel	10	10	12		7	24,500	3		1	7	2
Laborers	4	3	3	1			4	1	1	1	1
Laundry	3			3			3	3			
Leather goods	4	4	6		3	700	1		3	1	
Longshoremen	5	2	2	3	2	330	3	1	4		
Lumber	2	1	1	1	1	23	1	1	1		
Messengers	2	2	3		1	2,000	1		2		
Mining	6	4	6	2	2	27,000	4	1	2	1	2
Munitions	1			1	1	300			1		
Office clerks	6	5	5	1	3	2,900	3	1		4	1
Paper manufacturing	3	3	3		1	300	2		3		
Printing and publishing	8	2	3	6			8	6		1	1
Policemen	2	2	2				2			2	
Pottery and chinaware	2			2	2	8,500				2	
Railroads, steam	7	6	6	1	1	73	6	3	1	3	
Rubber goods	[2] 6	5	6	1	5	10,150	1		2	4	
Slaughtering and meat packing	2	1	1	1	1	4,500	1		1	1	
Soap manufacturing	1	1	1		1	3,500				1	
Street railways	4	3	3	1			4	2	1	1	
Tanning	2	2	2		1	15,000	1	1	1		
Teamsters and drivers	6	2	2	4	1	200	5	1	3	1	1
Textile workers	[3] 14	11	17	3	8	17,950	6		6	6	2
Theatrical employees	5	3	4	2	1	40	4	2	1	2	
Window cleaners	2			2			2		2		
Miscellaneous	26	20	22	6	7	5,360	19	5	4	15	2
Total	212	131	163	81	77	187,207	135	57	66	72	17

[1] Not including 1 report which also shows increases in rubber goods and textiles and is tabulated under textiles.
[2] Not including 1 report which also shows increases in foundry and machine shops and textiles and is tabulated under textiles.
[3] Including 1 report which also shows increases in foundries and machine shops and rubber goods.

TABLE 3.—*Summary of wage increases, establishments involved, and employees affected, December, 1916, by States.*

State.	Total number of wage increases noted.	Reports showing establishments involved.		Number of reports not showing the number of establishments involved.	Reports showing employees affected.		Number of reports not showing the number of employees affected.	Reasons for increase.			
		Number.	Total number of establishments.		Number.	Total number of employees.		Agreement.	Strike.	Voluntary.	Other reasons and not reported.
Alabama	3	2	5	1			3			2	1
Alaska	1			1			1				1
Arizona	2			2			2				2
California	2	1	1	1	1	250	1	1	1		
Colorado	8	1	1	7	2	3,000	6	5		1	2
Connecticut	15	11	56	4	5	15,100	10	7		7	1
Delaware	1	1	1		1	35,000				1	
District of Columbia	1			1			1				1
Hawaii	1	1	2				1	1			
Illinois	11	5	15	6	5	24,804	6	3	1	5	2
Indiana	1	1	1				1			1	
Iowa	2			2			2	1	1		
Kansas	3	1	1	2	1	16	2	1		1	1
Kentucky	2	2	2				2			2	
Louisiana	1	1	1				1				1
Maine	14	10	10	4	9	12,918	5	2	1	5	6
Maryland	1	1	1				1				1
Massachusetts	40	34	67	6	27	88,995	13	1	3	29	7
Michigan	4			4			4	2	1		1
Minnesota	4	3	5	1			4	1	1		2
Missouri	5	4	4	1	3	5,675	2	2		1	2
Montana	5			5			5	1	1	2	1
Nebraska	2	2	2				2			1	1
Nevada	1			1	1	1,800				1	
New Hampshire	5	5	5		2	18,100	3	1		4	
New Jersey	5	4	4	1	4	32,000	1		1	3	1
New York	26	18	20	8	10	104,580	16	4	6	14	2
Ohio	15	10	10	5	3	2,220	12		4	8	3
Oregon	1			1			1			1	
Pennsylvania	41	35	73	6	21	71,900	20	3	8	28	2
Rhode Island	38	32	33	6	31	52,955	7	1	2	28	7
South Carolina	2	2	4				2	1			1
Tennessee	2	1	1	1	1	1,500	1		1	1	
Texas	8	3	3	5	2	2,700	6	2		4	2
Vermont	1	1	1		1	50				1	
Washington	3	1	1	2			3	1		2	
West Virginia	2	2	5		1	4,000	1		1	1	
Wisconsin	4	1	1	3	1	1,000	3	1		1	2
Interstate	21	13	23	8	8	453,200	13	3		17	1
Total	304	209	359	95	140	931,763	164	45	33	172	54

TABLE 4.—*Summary of wage increases, establishments involved and employees affected, December, 1916, by industries or occupations.*

Industry or occupation.	Total number of wage increases noted.	Reports showing establishments involved.		Number of reports not showing the number of establishments involved.	Reports showing employees affected.		Number of reports not showing the number of employees affected.	Reasons for increase.			
		Number.	Total number of establishments.		Number.	Total number of employees.		Agreement.	Strike.	Voluntary.	Other reasons and not reported.
Banks and trust companies	4	3	3	1	1	200	3			3	1
Barbers	1			1			1		1		
Boots and shoes	9	7	8	2	6	33,730	3		1	6	2
Building trades	18			18	2	1,250	16	6	4	1	7
Carriages and automobiles	3	2	2	1	1	21,000	2		1	1	1
Cement and concrete	1	1	1		1	1,500					1
Cigar makers	4	3	23	1	1	200	3	2	1	1	
Coke makers	2	1	1	1	1	1,000	1			1	1
Electrical supplies	1			1	1	60,000				1	
Express companies	1	1	1				1			1	
Food products	2	2	2		2	1,400			1	1	
Foundry and machine shops	27	20	57	7	11	8,655	16	5	4	14	4
Garment workers	8	4	16	4	4	112,300	4	2	3	2	1
Glass manufacturing	3	2	2	1	2	9,800	1			3	
Hardware manufacturing	2	2	2		1	850	1		1	1	
Hotel and restaurant workers	1			1	1		1	1		1	
Iron and steel	23	22	28	1	11	341,600	12		2	20	1
Knit goods	2	2	2		1	125	1			2	
Laborers	2	1	1	1			2			1	1
Laundry	1			1			1				1
Leather goods	6	5	5	1	2	1,000	4		1	5	
Longshoremen	1	1	1				1		1		
Lumber	4	2	10	2			4			3	1
Messengers	1	1	1				1		1		
Mining	7	2	2	5	3	7,800	4			4	3
Municipal employees	10	8	8	2	3	220	7			7	3
Munitions	1	1	1		1	35,000				1	
Office clerks	2	2	2		1	1,600	1			2	
Oil workers	4	3	3	1	2	12,500	2		1	2	1
Paper manufacturing	13	12	30	1	11	23,115	2	1	2	8	2
Printing and publishing	12	1	1	11			12	10		2	
Pottery and chinaware	2			2			2		1		1
Pump manufacturing companies	2	2	3				2			2	
Railroads, steam	7	5	5	2	1	300	6	1		5	1
Rubber goods	5	4	4	1	4	8,100	1		1	3	1
Ship and boat building	3	3	4		1	2,400	2		1	2	
Slaughtering and meat packing	3	1	1	2			3	1		1	1
Stove manufacturing	4	4	4				4	4			
Street railways	5	5	5				5	2		2	1
Teamsters and drivers	3			3			3	3			
Telephone and telegraph	3	2	2	1	1	25,000	2	1		2	
Textile workers	68	59	105	9	55	208,350	13	1	3	52	12
Theatrical employees	1			1			1	1			
Miscellaneous	22	13	13	9	9	13,768	13	4	2	10	6
Total	304	209	359	95	140	931,763	164	45	33	172	54

State of Washington Pledges Its Support for Protection of American Rights.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,
OF WASHINGTON.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 24, 1917.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to me I desire to place in the RECORD a resolution of the Fifteenth Legislature of the State of Washington, by which the State pledges its men and resources to the President of the United States for the full protection of the lives, property, and just rights of American citizens on sea and land:

Senate joint resolution 14.

Whereas the United States of America is face to face with a grave national crisis revealing a foreign conspiracy to invade our country after the repeated murder of our citizens on the high seas, the driving of our ships and commerce from the ocean and practically establishing a blockade of our ports: Therefore be it

Resolved, by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the State of Washington in legislative session assembled, That the State of Washington be pledged to stand by the President to the limit of its resources in men and money for arming our merchant ships and in support of all other measures, ways, and means which the President believes to be necessary or expedient for the defense of the country and the full protection of the lives, property, and just rights of American citizens on sea and land.

The secretary of state is hereby instructed to prepare copies of this resolution and transmit the same to the President of the United States, the senate and house of representatives, and the members of the Washington delegation to the United States Congress.

Passed the senate March 5, 1917.

LOUIS F. HART,
President of the Senate.

Passed the house March 5, 1917.

GUY E. KELLY,
Speaker of the House.

[Indorsed.]

STATE OF WASHINGTON, *ss:*

Filed in the office of secretary of state 10.40 a. m., March 7, 1917.

I. M. HOWELL, *Secretary of State.*

The Bottom Out of Dr. Cook's North Pole Pretensions.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. S. D. FESS,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, two years ago to prevent Congress the embarrassment of being involved by Dr. Cook as an advertisement for his performances on the vaudeville stage and to expose his efforts to pervert an important incident of American history, Admiral Robert E. Peary's discovery of the North Pole, I laid a brief summary of the entire North Pole matter before Congress, including extensive quotations with respect to the rejection of the Cook claims by the University of Copenhagen, the forum of scientists Dr. Cook had himself selected to pass upon them, and also with respect to his expulsion from various organizations of American explorers. I also included quotations of the most important portions of the report of our congressional committee which a number of years ago investigated the Peary proofs and reported Peary reached the North Pole April 6, 1909, and recommended that he be raised to the rank of rear admiral and which resulted in his receiving that rank and the thanks of Congress. All this in the form of an "Extension-of-remarks" speech embraced but six and a half pages in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of March 4, 1915, under the title "The North Pole Aftermath," and may be found in the permanent bound edition of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sixty-third Congress, third session, at pages 658–664 of the appendix volumes. Happily this presentation of the salient facts served to prevent Congress becoming involved in the Cook self-advertising propaganda.

My remarks, however, were the subject of some criticisms from Mr. HELGESEN, of North Dakota, and others whose credulity had been imposed upon by the Cook propaganda. It, perhaps, need only be said, as an illustration of the methods employed, that in order to seem to give character to his remarks, Mr. HELGESEN inserted at the very commencement of his first speech printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a quotation from Dr. Charles W. Eliot, the emeritus president of Harvard, and in a way to give the impression that that brilliant scholar was a supporter of Mr. HELGESEN's position, and he most appropriately referred to the distinguished President Eliot as "universally recognized as one of the leading, if not the leading educator of the world." This appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for March 15, 1915.

PRESIDENT ELIOT DENOUNCES DR. COOK.

As soon as President Eliot heard, on March 30, 1915, that his name was being used in connection with the Cook propaganda, he wrote:

From the first, I have maintained that Dr. Cook was an arrant liar and rogue, and am still of that mind. I have never said anything which could be quoted in support of any of his assertions. On the contrary, I have recently testified in a letter to a Member of Congress, who wrote me on the subject, that I considered Dr. Cook a completely untrustworthy person.

President Eliot also at the same time sent for a copy of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD containing Mr. HELGESEN's mention of his name, and when received, April 6, 1915, President Eliot again wrote:

On August 6, 1914, I received a letter from Hon. Thomas C. Thatcher, inquiring whether an extract from my letter of December 29, 1913, which had been sent to him by a person named E. C. Rost, was correctly quoted. The quotation was much abbreviated. I replied to Mr. Thatcher's inquiry in the following letter:

"AUGUST 10, 1914.

"DEAR MR. THATCHER: The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 144) is preposterous. Frederick A. Cook never discovered the North Pole; and no competent scientific authority in any part of the world now admits his claim that he did so.

"It is highly improbable that I made, on December 29, 1913, the statement alleged to have been made by me in the letter to you signed by E. C. Rost, dated August 3, 1914. * * * I have never felt any doubt whatever that Dr. Cook was an arrant impostor.

"Sincerely, yours,

"CHARLES W. ELIOT."

President Eliot also said:

On January 30, 1915, Mr. Thatcher asked if he might make public use of the letter I had written him; and I replied on the 1st of February that he was welcome to make public use of my letter to him. On February 6, 1915, Mr. Thatcher informed me that he had made no public use of my letter of August 10, 1914, but said that the Committee on Education had voted that it would give no further hearings or take any further action on the bill before the committee asking for an investigation by Congress relating to the priority of the discovery of the North Pole.

A FURTHER ILLUSTRATION OF COOK METHODS.

Mr. HELGESEN embodied in one of his undelivered speeches in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD attacking Admiral Peary some 2,000 words quoted here and there from the minority report of the congressional committee which passed upon the Peary proofs, and which extracts from this minority report, signed by a single member of the committee, and prepared for the purpose of explaining why the committee had made so thorough an examination of the proofs, were printed by Mr. HELGESEN in a way to give the impression that the minority report was in opposition to the findings of the committee in favor of Admiral Peary. And Mr. HELGESEN, where he dropped out portions, did so without indicating by asterisks or otherwise the parts left out, and he deliberately omitted the concluding paragraph of the minority report, but six lines in length, showing that the minority report concurred in the finding of the majority report that the evidence established Admiral Peary's claim that he had reached the Pole.

This method of answering Mr. HELGESEN's contentions of various sorts with respect to the Cook propaganda could be continued almost indefinitely, but is unnecessary in view of the fact that Mr. HELGESEN himself later on (in December, 1916) exposed Dr. Cook and his methods.

ABUSE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL PRINTING PRIVILEGE.

In his various speeches and extensions of remarks, the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. HELGESEN] and his collaborators, in both defending and later in attacking Dr. Cook, including Mr. HELGESEN's criticisms of Admiral Peary (but not including Mr. HELGESEN's syndicated press articles arguing that the Pole was really attained some 200 or 300 years ago by a Dutch fishing boat which he says reported no ice near the Pole and a voyage of "fine, warm weather," etc.) These speeches in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, not including Mr. HELGESEN's newspaper articles, embraced during the last two or three years more than 280,000 words, which I may say, by way of graphic illustration, more than equal the total number of words in Roosevelt's African Game Trails combined with President Wilson's The New Freedom; indeed, in the single year 1916 Mr. HELGESEN occupied more space on this subject in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD than would have President Wilson's book if printed four times. There has rarely, if ever, been such a misuse of the printing privilege so freely accorded

Members of Congress on the supposition that it will not be abused, though this abuse was fully equalled by Mr. HELGESEN in the preambles he printed to his Riker resolution of December 5, 1916 (H. Res. 380). I do not reprint it here owing to reflections upon committees and officials, which I think wholly unjustified.

DR. COOK'S CONGRESSIONAL "ATMOSPHERE" AGENT.

It is of especial interest to record that last fall the man who had been supplying Mr. HELGESEN with material favorable to Dr. Cook—E. C. Rost, the same person mentioned by President Eliot in the correspondence quoted above—sued Dr. Cook for an alleged unpaid balance for attempting to create a pro-Cook "atmosphere" in Congress. As it throws a vivid light upon some of Dr. Cook's recent methods, I quote the report of the matter as printed in the New York Tribune for October 24, 1916:

DR. COOK SUED FOR ATMOSPHERE "MADE TO ORDER" AGAINST PEARY—CONTRACTED FOR $4,655 WORTH, PAID ONLY $2,900, WASHINGTON PRESS AGENT ASSERTS—GUMDROP EXPLORER SAYS WORK WAS POOR AND HE LEFT CAPITAL.

Suppose you ordered $4,655 worth of atmosphere—the very best kind of atmosphere, understand—and got only $2,899.62 worth, and poor stuff at that, would you pay for the whole lot?

Now, listen a minute! Suppose the atmosphere you got was so—well, so unsavory—that you couldn't live in it and had to get out of town; and suppose, further, that that unsatisfactory atmosphere kept following you around, no matter where you went. Would you hasten to write your check covering the whole atmospheric order, or would you tell the atmosphere specialist to go to—see your lawyer?

That's what Dr. Frederick A. Cook did, and now the lawyer has brought suit against the gumdrop explorer for the money. Ernst Rost, an artist, of Washington, is the unpaid atmosphere purveyor, and Gilbert & Wessel are working on the doctor's defense in their law offices at 45 Cedar Street.

Rost in his complaint declares Dr. Cook owes him $2,787.02, with interest from June 1, for services in connection with the production of atmosphere favorable to the doctor. The total bill, according to the complaint, was $4,655, but Dr. Cook paid $2,899.62. In addition, Rost claims that he "expended at the instance of the defendant" the sum of $1,031.64, for which he has not been reimbursed.

"Dr. Cook employed Rost at $30 weekly to create an atmosphere in Washington favorable to the doctor," said Harry A. Wessel, of the law firm, yesterday. "Rost was to have acted as Cook's representative in Washington and to have supplied all information required by the congressional committee which was passing upon Peary's right to a pension and the title of rear admiral.

"Rost did this for a year and got his money, but the atmosphere he created was not satisfactory to Cook, and at the end of the year the doctor discharged him. There was no contract, and we shall enter a general denial of the claim, which is absurd on the face of it."

Dr. Cook could not be found last night. He was reported to be lecturing "somewhere in Ohio."

STILL ANOTHER CONTRADICTION.

It is of interest also to note that as Members of Congress were furnished some time ago not only with copies of Dr. Cook's book setting forth his alleged claims but also with a book upon the same subject published by one of Dr. Cook's supporters, named Edwin S. Balch, the New International Encyclopedia, published in 1914, and the current issue of Who's Who in America, edition of 1916, both state in their sketches of Dr. Cook that he is the author, with Mr. Balch, of the book in question. The latter, we should also here note, sent out a circular in November, 1916, declaring in large caps, "This statement is not true."

MR. HELGESEN AT LAST EXPOSES DR. COOK, BUT ADMIRAL PEARY REFUSES IN ANY WAY TO PARTICIPATE IN SUCH A CONTROVERSY.

Finally Congressman HELGESEN, evidently to save if possible his reputation in connection with the Cook matter, last December printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD still another extension of remarks, this time containing a long exposé of Dr. Cook's claims, and showing up many of his inconsistencies, but renewing his criticisms of Admiral Peary, commenced at a time when he—Mr. HELGESEN—was supporting Dr. Cook's contentions, so I wrote Admiral Peary as follows:

You have noted, no doubt, certain insertions in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by Congressman HELGESEN making statements derogatory to your recognition by Congress for the work in the Arctic areas.

You probably will recall my exposure of Dr. Cook's propaganda in which it was falsely published throughout the country that our Committee on Education had opened his case. I did this on behalf of our committee, which had refused to have anything to do with the matter, and was being placed in a discreditable light before the country by the persistent efforts of this man and his friends.

Under leave to print granted by Congress, I expect to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in order that the same may be indexed in connection with the proceedings of the session just closed, a statement with respect to the recent efforts of Dr. Cook and friends to give the impression, as an advertising aid to his performances on the vaudeville stage, that Congress had dignified his long-discredited claims by an investigation through a congressional committee.

Although I have never talked with you on the subject, nor indeed have ever had the pleasure of meeting you, it has occurred to me that in case you thought it worth while to dignify Mr. HELGESEN'S attack upon you, begun at a time when he was defending Dr. Cook, by answering any of his points printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD during the last two years and which, of course, emanated from Cook sources, I will be glad to print in connection with my remarks any communication of moderate length you may care to send me upon the subject.

Realizing in full the character of the methods used by the Cook partisans, including Mr. HELGESEN, at the time he was defending Dr. Cook, I do not mean to suggest that there is anything in what he said that ought to be answered, but I simply wish you to have the opportunity to do so should that be your desire.

To this Admiral Peary replied, as follows:

[National Aerial Coast Patrol Commission, United States Coast Survey Building, Washington, D. C., Central Committee, Rear Admiral Robert E. Peary, chairman.]

Hon. S. D. FESS, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN FESS: The kind offer contained in your letter is much appreciated, yet I prefer to continue the course I have consistently followed for years in refusing to enter into any controversy emanating from the sources mentioned.

The material inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by Mr. HELGESEN and circulated under his congressional frank I at first attempted to read, but owing to his garbling of quotations and misrepresentations I threw it down in disgust.

To attempt to read through, much less to discuss, a mass of material prepared thus would be a waste of time.

I greatly appreciate your interest. Accept my heartiest congratulations that the country will continue to have at its service your high abilities and courage.

With best regards,

Very sincerely, PEARY.

A TYPE OF THE MISREPRESENTATIONS MADE.

Mr. HELGESEN at various times, in voicing the sentiments of Dr. Cook and his "atmosphere" agents, has endeavored to make it appear that Admiral Peary's statements with respect to conditions in the North were inaccurate, although as a matter of fact they have always been verified by subsequent expeditions. One notable instance is Mr. HELGESEN'S effort to make it appear that the MacMillan expedition sent out by the American Museum of Natural History, and now in the far North, had discredited Admiral Peary's statements with respect to what has been referred to as "Crocker Land," whereas, on the contrary, that expedition has resulted in a complete verification of what Admiral Peary had said.

All that Admiral Peary ever recorded upon that subject in his many books upon the Arctic regions is the following reprinted from his "Nearest the Pole," published in 1907, two years before his discovery of the North Pole. At page 203, describing in detail conditions as he saw them in 1906 from the summit of Cape Colgate, he said:

North stretched the well-known ragged surface of the polar pack, and northwest it was with a thrill that my glasses revealed the faint white summits of a distant land which my Eskimos claimed to have seen as we came from the last camp.

Then, at page 207, Peary again, as follows, described conditions as he saw them a few days later:

The clear day greatly favored my work in taking a round of angles, and with the glasses I could make out apparently a little more distinctly the snow-clad summits of the distant land in the northwest above the ice horizon. My heart leaped the intervening miles of ice as I looked longingly at this land, and in fancy I trod its shores and climbed its summits, even though I knew that that pleasure could be only for another in another season.

The above is the sum total of all that Peary said with reference to the supposed land, yet to indicate the uncertainty as to the entire matter he placed a question mark opposite this supposed land in his book—see chart in the back of Peary's book "The North Pole," published in 1910.

THE HEAD OF MACMILLAN'S EXPEDITION ALSO DESCRIBES THE SO-CALLED "CROCKER LAND."

The head of the MacMillan expedition has completely verified what Admiral Peary had so clearly described, and it is most unfortunate that any Member of Congress should have been misled into giving a contrary impression. Dr. MacMillan, after having returned from being out 150 miles over the Arctic Ocean, in his article upon the expedition thus describes, at page 928 of the November, 1915, Harper's Magazine, what he saw when standing at the same elevation upon which Peary stood in 1906:

Eagerly we now turned to an examination of the Polar Sea. At this spot Peary stood in June, 1906, and from this very spot he saw what resembled land. The day was exceptionally clear, not a cloud or a trace of mist; if land could ever be seen it could be now. Yes; there it was! It could even be seen without a glass extending from southwest to north-northeast. Our powerful glasses, however, brought out more clearly the dark background in contrast with the white, the whole resembling hills, valleys, and snow-capped peaks to such a degree that had we not been out there for 150 miles we would have staked our lives upon it. Our judgment then, as now, is that this was a mirage of the sea ice.

ARCTIC MAPS.

Mr. HELGESEN having endeavored by some of his extension of remarks speeches to make it appear that the withdrawal of certain Arctic maps by the Hydrographic Office of the Navy was a reflection upon Admiral Peary's Arctic explorations, I talked with that office and was assured that the withdrawal of the charts was in no sense either a repudiation of or a reflection on Admiral Peary's claims, but that the withdrawal of maps in order to perfect them was a matter of frequent occurrence.

An examination of the maps of Greenland used in the Polar regions during the last 50 years will show the maps of the intricate coast line frequently changed to conform to the work of triangulation surveys, such as made on the northeast coast by Erichsen and Koch.

THE EDUCATION COMMITTEE'S CONSISTENT STAND.

My interest in the North Pole discovery is entirely impersonal. It matters little to me what American won the honor for this Nation.

What I refuse to do is to permit without protest an effort of any lobby in the interest of any man to use our Committee on Education either as an advertising medium to secure engagements with vaudeville houses at so much per appearance or as an agency to attempt to discredit a distinguished Arctic explorer in an effort to rob him of an honor well established by impartial tribunals, both American and foreign, and upon proofs upon which Congress also extended him recognition. It is this conviction that induced our Committee on Education consistently to refuse to take up the claims of Dr. Cook.

CONCLUSION.

For the benefit of Members of Congress during future sessions, that they may be on guard against being misled by some of the plausible pro-Cook arguments foisted upon the public by Dr. Cook and recorded by Congressman HELGESEN in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD before he repudiated Dr. Cook, and which have misled many good people not personally conversant with all the facts, I record this brief summary of events since my speech in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of March 4, 1915, and drop the subject.

Armed Neutrality Means War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. NELSON,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. Speaker, the House having granted leave to print for 10 days after the close of the session, I avail myself of this opportunity of explaining my position on the subject of armed neutrality.

Respecting the patriotic motives, the sincere convictions, and the lofty purposes of those who differ with me, I ask only for the same courteous consideration. No person has a title to absolute infallibility.

President Wilson asked Congress for authority to arm merchant ships and to convoy them with our war vessels through a zone of blockade, stating at the same time that he has the authority without action of Congress. Inasmuch, however, as the President asked Congress for authority, it became my sacred duty as a Representative, under my oath to support the Constitution, to decide what was for the best interests of the people upon whom the burdens of war must fall. Surely I have no right to authorize the President to exercise a power which the Constitution vests in Congress, nor should I shirk my own responsibility as a Member of the legislative branch of the Government. He has under the Constitution neither the power to make nor to declare war.

Moreover, I could not be blind to the fact that the President is but a man surrounded by temptations and influences that actuate normal human beings; that in numbers and council there is more wisdom than in one man; and that in a desperate situation such as confronts the world to-day the responsibility for war should be shared by Congress.

I am also strongly persuaded that the awful war that is now consuming Europe was brought upon those countries because the power to make war was exercised by the heads of Governments, foreign ministers, kings, and emperors.

It also seemed to me that if the fateful decision of war was left to the discretion of the President, war might be brought about not only by a mistake of judgment on his part but also by the act of some irresponsible captain of a merchant vessel upon which the United States Government had placed guns and gunners. For these reasons I deemed it my sacred duty to decide for myself what would be the probable effect of the policy of armed neutrality proposed by the President. Would it promote peace or make for war?

Long ago I took my stand for peace. I care not how much I am abused as a pacifist. I am resolved that my hands shall not be reddened nor my soul stained with the blood of my fellow men, be they Germans or Americans or both—certainly not to protect the commercial rights of men who supply war materials for profit, and to one side only of the European belligerents.

I can not bring myself to glorify war; it is altogether horrible and inhuman, never justifiable, in my opinion, save when waged for the defense of home and country. I believe in the practicability of the precepts of the Prince of Peace. If this European war illustrates anything, it demonstrates to my mind that the world must return to the ethics of Jesus Christ. For the law of retaliation, "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," He substituted the law of "love your enemies," "resist not evil," and turn the other cheek. He taught mankind to say "Our Father," and to Him humanity was a brotherhood. He said, "If you forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses." He said to Peter, "Put up again thy sword into his place: for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." Men of the world may sneer at these precepts as impractical, but the history of the past, as the history of the present, abundantly proves that no other system of ethics really works. It is as true of nations as of individuals, exemplified strikingly in Europe to-day, that to make war is to perish by war.

A study of the bill presented to the House investing the President with this tremendous power of waging warfare upon the sea and the discussions had upon the bill convinced me that armed neutrality meant war and not peace. Indeed, strong supporters of the measure declared that they knew it meant war. Is it not human nature that men who strongly sympathize with one side, or bankers who have loaned billions to one side, or manufacturers of war material who have sold billions of dollars' worth of munitions to one side, desire to see that side win with whom they have cast their lot? "Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also." The newspapers of Washington published in flaring headlines, "Wall Street Wants War."

A study of the provisions of the bill reported to the House, together with the discussions upon them, clearly discloses the fact that it delegated to the President the power to make war.

(a) It was unmistakable that the bill gave the President power to place American gunners upon American vessels, and Senator LODGE admitted that this gave merchant ships the character of vessels of war.

(b) It was never denied that the President was given the power to arm with guns and equip with gunners a merchant vessel carrying ammunition and contraband consigned to a belligerent—an act of war.

(c) It clearly gave the President the power of using our Navy, our dreadnaughts, cruisers, torpedo boats, airships, and submarines to convoy these merchant vessels loaded with munitions and contraband of war.

(d) Moreover, it undoubtedly gave him the power, general and indefinite but certain, to use our Navy to convoy even English and French ships if Americans were aboard, no matter if they carried munitions and contraband.

In short, the power conferred upon the President by this bill was practically unlimited. If the provisions were to be carried out they could result in nothing but war.

Indeed, Senator LODGE declared:

> Mr. President, in my opinion for us to arm a vessel loaded with contraband or to convoy a vessel loaded with contraband would be an act of war.

Senator FALL declared:

> Mr. President, we might as well face the proposition involved. In the event the Senate bill is passed the action of Congress in passing that bill is, in my judgment, a declaration of a limited war.

Senator POINDEXTER declared:

> Now, that is an act of war, is it not, on the part of the United States against Germany? It seems to me that is what it amounts to. I do not say that in order to create any impression that I am not in favor of giving the President the authority which is provided by these bills, but only in order that we may get as accurate an idea as possible of the policy on which we are about to launch ourselves. * * * Mr. President, I have stated the consequences of what we are about to do. It means a limited war against German submarines.

These Senators, avowedly for war, were arguing for the President's policy of armed neutrality, declaring they intended to support it.

The purpose and the character of the bill may be better understood when we consider the amendments that were voted down.

The first amendment offered provided that no ship carrying arms and munitions consigned to belligerents should be armed or convoyed. This was defeated.

Another amendment was offered providing that there should be no discrimination made on account of the ports or countries to which the vessels may be bound when armed and convoyed. This was also defeated.

Another amendment prohibited the issuing of passports to American citizens intending to take passage on ships bound for foreign ports carrying arms and munitions of war. This was voted down.

Another amendment was offered providing for the right of visit and search before shooting the submarine on sight, an avowedly hostile act. This was voted down.

An amendment was offered providing for strict neutrality in the use of armed and convoyed merchant vessels. This was voted down.

A committee amendment was adopted refusing insurance by the United States of consignments of arms and munitions of war to belligerents, but an amendment seeking to make the section consistent by also refusing to convoy or arm ships that could not be insured was defeated. "Our dollars were considered of more value than our people and their substance."

In view of the stand taken in the House by the supporters of the President's policy of armed neutrality, it was clear to me that merchant vessels would not only be armed but convoyed to Europe through the zone of blockade, even though loaded down with contraband and munitions of war; that all semblance of neutrality was thrown to the winds; and that the inevitable consequence would be the loss of lives, property and, finally, end in war.

If the purpose of this bill was to declare war, why beat about the bush? But the President said in his message that up to that time there were no grounds for war. Why blindfold ourselves and walk right into war?

The plea is made that we must stand by the President to protect our national honor, our national rights. What is this honor and what are these rights? No one seems to define them. Are we to fall down and worship mere words? For honor's sake the duel was fought. What is the honor now that is at stake? What are our rights? It is known to everyone that these rights now involve heaped up stores of contraband munitions of war that are awaiting shipment to the allies.

Technically we have the right to trade with England and with Germany, but if we respect the zone of blockade that England has made effective through mines, because it means the loss of lives and ships, why are we not equally bound to respect the blockade that Germany has designated about England, which she has given notice she will enforce with submarines? Are we blind in one eye? Are we deaf in one ear?

It is folly in the presence of a world catastrophe to stand for technical trade rights. The allies and the central powers alike are fighting for their very existence as nations, their liberties, their rights, their national honor and all that they hold dear in life and death. When allied nations are engaged with other allied nations in a grapple to the death, they are not going to be scrupulous in recognizing technical, indefinite, and uncertain rules of international law.

In committing this folly our Government stands alone among the neutral countries of the world. Holland declines to follow the United States. So does Switzerland, Greece, Spain, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. Even the South American Republics will not act with us. Argentina proposed a plan to end the war by a league of neutral countries, but the United States was not invited to participate because the Argentine Government considered America no longer neutral. In this Argentina was supported by Chile, Brazil, and Peru. These nations protested against the zone of blockades as violating their trade rights, but they were too wise to involve their countries into war. Have they by not entering this war forfeited their national honor? By no means. They have safeguarded the lives and properties of their people and their existence as nations when this cruel world war shall be over.

If we insist on enforcing certain questionable rights, let us at least save our women and children by adopting the policy of Australia, Canada, and India, three of England's greatest colonies, who have passed laws prohibiting the embarkation of any woman or child for any English port. Surely by so doing we would lose nothing of national honor.

It is a marvel to me that the belligerent nations have respected our rights as completely as they have up to the present time. All vessels sunk have been foreign-owned vessels carrying contraband of war.

I hold no brief for any nation; I am neutral. I am against no other nation, but I am for my own country.

If we are neutral as a nation we may make less money, but even now our banks are filled with gold representing the profits of our purveyors of war materials. We can afford to be content with our present ill-gotten gains. Making the house of Morgan richer will not add to the happiness of our country.

The whole world is war mad; but wisdom dictates that the Steel Trust and the other large factories of war materials devote their plants to the products of peace at home and that the foodstuffs that are now being shipped to Europe be used to feed the starving, rioting mothers and children in our great cities.

England is trying to starve Germany to death, mothers and children; Germany retaliates by trying to starve England to death, mothers and children; and we, in order to enforce "honor" and "rights," are permitting the Beef Trust and other food trusts to starve American women and children in order that they may make a big profit in sending contraband upon American vessels, armed and convoyed by Uncle Sam through a zone of blockade at the risk of involving us all in this world war.

Who can read the future in the event we plunge into this war? To whom has Providence disclosed the exact number of American boys that will be butchered on land and sea? Who has counted the billions that will drain the resources of the country to set afoot a war navy and war army? Who can foresee the terrible suffering that will come to a large part of our population, whose hearts will be rent because of their devotion to their native land, compelled to fight against the Fatherland? Who can foresee the consequences of our failure to remain the great neutral nation and as such to lead the other nations back into the pathways of peace?

Patriotic men tell us to stand by the President, but Mr. Woodrow Wilson is only a man. To stand by the President may seem good, but is it not far better to stand by our country? I thought, as I voted, of our country plunging into this horrible European war, of the awful cost of it, the terrible slaughter of our boys on land and sea, and the dreadful after effects, domestic and foreign.

Standing by the President may seem good, but standing by the Constitution is better. I thought of my oath to defend the Constitution. As a lawyer I know the power to declare war is not in the President, but in Congress. How can I delegate to him a power to do that which is an act of war? He has not the power under the Constitution to make war, and I have not the power under the Constitution to delegate to him the authority to make war.

Standing by the President may be good, but is it not better to stand by justice? England prevents our trading with Germany as Germany is now trying to prevent us from trading with England. The President protests feebly against England and does nothing more, but he holds Germany to strict account. To me both are in the wrong. But this measure avowedly is directed at Germany alone. Germany has been ruthless in destroying lives by submarines, but England, too, has been ruthless in the use of mines, though so many lives have not been lost, because England's blockade of Germany has been made effective by mines and warships. If we do not enforce our rights to trade with Germany, why should we do so in the case of England? Why not treat them alike? Is our justice no longer blindfolded? Should we not hold the scales with an equal hand? Is war better than justice?

Standing by the President is good, but I believe it is better to stand by the God of our fathers. He commands, "Thou shalt not kill." He proclaims the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and rather than follow President Wilson in waging even a limited war upon Germany, I prefer that we as a people follow the precepts of the Christ in the spirit of Christianity as it was exemplified in its early history before the Christian church was contaminated by the war spirit of the nations of the earth. Are we no longer a Christian Nation?

Standing by the President may be good, but is it not better to stand by humanity? We are the last great nation that is neutral. We are made up of peoples of all the lands of the earth. It seemed to me that for America to plunge into this horrible war would be the last gasp of death of the nobler instincts of a common humanity.

We all love our country. We will all stand for national honor really at stake. We will all stand for vital American rights when really jeopardized, but we must not be stampeded by selfish interests, waving American flags and appealing to national honor. We must keep clearly in mind the exact issue that is presented, and, fellow citizens, in this crisis the issue is very plain: Are we willing to risk peace by arming vessels or convoying them with our warships, laden with contraband and munitions of war, through the zone of blockade? Are we willing to enter into this war in order that some of our citizens may continue a profitable trade in contraband and munitions of war with the allies? On this issue when the roll was called I answered "nay."

In conclusion, let me say that I was not unaware of the storm of criticism that would break upon my head, but there was no escape. I must be loyal to my conscience, my convictions, and the noblest sentiments of my soul. I must be loyal to the best

interests of the people I represent, true to the principles of the Constitution to which one-man power is abhorrent, and firm amidst the clamor for war that is threatening to engulf us all in a mounting flood of race prejudice and hate. During my 10 years of congressional experience I have often had to vote alone or with a few, and I find solace in these words of James Russell Lowell:

They are slaves who will not choose
Hatred, scoffing, and abuse
Rather than in silence shrink
From the truth they needs must think;
They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three.

High Cost of Living.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK BUCHANAN,
OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 28, 1917.

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I voted against the Borland amendment to the sundry civil bill, which provided an appropriation of $400,000 to enable the Federal Trade Commission to conduct an investigation of the causes of the present high cost of living. I did so for the reason that we have an abundance of information on that subject showing that it is due to a combination of combinations creating a monopoly in violation of the Sherman anti-trust law. The Department of Justice is now spending large sums of money for investigation work, but the time of our investigators is being wasted prying into the affairs of private citizens who have violated no laws, but whose opinions and activities in behalf of the masses of the people of the country differ from those who seem to be in control of the affairs of our Government. This is true in my own case, as I have been indicted in New York on trumped-up charges that are based upon scraps of misinformation that have been dug up and manufactured by these agents and investigators who for months have been scrutinizing my bank accounts and other personal matters hoping thereby to find something upon which they can hang the false and malicious charges that have been made against me.

There is no need of any further investigating. If we had had an earnest and sincere Attorney General at the head of our Department of Justice, who would have used the powers of his office in the interests of the people of the country instead of the special privileged crowd whose headquarters are in New York, and who would have enforced the law against these high-handed manipulators, we could have avoided these abnormally high prices for the necessaries of life and saved our people from the sufferings of cold, hunger, and want. However, inasmuch as our Federal administration has acquiesced in the crimes of these monopolistic combinations by its inactivity against them and its neglect and refusal to enforce the laws, the only immediate relief that could have been given to our suffering people would have been to put an embargo upon the shipment of all foodstuffs and other necessaries of life until the wants of the American people were provided for at a reasonable price. While the cost of food has steadily increased during recent years, due to the speculation of these monopolistic combinations, the recent sharp rise in the cost of food products is attributable in a large measure to the vast quantities of foodstuffs that have been shipped to Europe, thereby materially reducing our supply and, of course, causing an advance in price.

For example: In the first nine months of 1914 the United States exported breadstuffs valued at $172,000,000; in the first nine months of 1916 the United States exported breadstuffs valued at $337,000,000; in the first nine months of 1914 the United States exported in dairy products, butter, cheese, condensed milk, and eggs valued at $5,800,000; in the first nine months of 1916 these products exported amounted to over $29,000,000; in the first nine months of 1914 the United States exported meats valued at $97,000,000; in the first nine months of 1916 these exports amounted to over $201,000,000.

Is it right that the consumer in Europe should be preferred to the consumer of the United States? Is it our duty to feed foreign nations when by doing so we oppose our own people? Is it just that we should call upon our people to go to war and offer up their lives to uphold a proposition which takes their bread from their own mouths and the mouths of their children? Again I say that an embargo is the only thing that could bring immediate relief to our people, but the influence of the war traffickers was so great that it was impossible to secure such legislation; and as long as our resources are permitted to be used as they have been by the allied belligerent nations, and the activities of our Federal Department of Justice are paralyzed and no steps are taken to enforce the laws against these criminal combinations, I can see no hope for relief for the American people from the present abnormal high prices and the scarcity of foodstuffs and other necessaries of life.

An extended investigation at a cost of $400,000 is not going to give the people the relief they are entitled to before such an investigation is made; but if the machinery of the Department of Justice were used against the monopolistic trusts and the antitrust laws enforced in the letter and spirit as Congress passed them, the people would secure some degree of immediate relief from their oppression. The power, however, which enables these trusts to collect a tribute of billions of dollars from the American consumers is due to private ownership of our transportation facilities, our natural resources, and control of our currency, and when the people wake up to the real causes of their distress they will overthrow the men in public office who approve of such practices and relegate them to the political scrap heap and elect men who will legislate and administer the laws of the country to destroy the power and privilege of the criminal corporations to extort abnormal and unjustifiable high prices from the masses of the people.

I desire to insert here an editorial written by William Randolph Hearst, with which I am in hearty accord and which in the main expresses my judgment and sentiments; also an editorial in the Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat of March 1, and one from the New York World of March 2:

REDUCE EXCESSIVE PROFITS TO LOWER LIVING COST, DECLARES MR. HEARST.

FEBRUARY 22.

To the EDITOR OF THE EXAMINER:

I read your recent editorial on the high cost of living with much interest. I agree with you in great part, but I certainly do not think that we ought to pin our dependence for a lower cost of living so firmly upon one or two minor measures, such as the extension of the parcel post and State and municipal markets. These measures might minutely improve matters, but I do not think they would largely improve them.

I agree with you that good prices to farmers and also that good wages to workers are not only elemental justice but are essential to prosperity. I agree, too, that the manufacturer is worthy of his legitimate profit. So is the furnisher of raw material and the legitimate producer of any kind.

I agree, too, that a certain reasonable profit must be paid to the transportation agencies. I even go further and believe that the middleman, where he is necessary—and he generally is necessary—is entitled to his profit.

Then you say, How are we to decrease the cost of living after having allowed profit to every instrumentality that enters into the production and distribution of food supplies or any other supplies?

The answer is that the way to reduce the excessive cost of living is to reduce excessive profits.

Excessive profits are brought about through combinations for extortion, through the inflation of stocks and bonds, and such methods of what are popularly called trusts in wresting extortionate and illegitimate gains from all the public.

There are various forms of trusts—manufacturing trusts, transportation trusts, distribution trusts, and sometimes even labor trusts; that is to say, there are combinations among manufacturers, among railroad and steamship lines, among middlemen of all kinds, for purposes of extorting undue prices or for purposes of stock inflation, which eventually compel undue prices to pay dividends on watered securities.

The laborer is worthy of his hire and the producer is worthy of his profit—the transporter is worthy of his percentage of gain—and when all such are properly and legitimately rewarded for actual service rendered there is general prosperity without any excessive cost of living.

But modern society is in a transitional state. We are going from an age of competition into an age of combination. We have developed the advantages of combination for those in the combination, but not for the public in general. And, not having realized as yet the possible advantages of combination for the public in general, we have failed as yet to regulate combination in interest of the public in general. Profit should be the reward for service, and yet the greatest profit under present conditions is secured not in return for benefits conferred upon the community but for actual injury inflicted upon the community.

The combination which eliminates competition and establishes a virtual monopoly does not use its economic advantages to reduce prices as it could and should, but employs its power of monopoly to extort excessively high prices and generally, in addition, to supply an inferior product.

In other words, society is at present so ill organized that the individuals who inflict the greatest damage upon the community are encouraged to do so by the greatest financial reward.

The extortion of these combinations or trusts makes everything high. It makes the high cost of living, because it makes first a high cost of producing.

Everything which the farmer buys or which the manufacturer buys that is supplied by combination is supplied at extortionate prices.

The farmer, the manufacturer, and all the producing classes, therefore, start with an unnecessary high cost of production.

Then come the railroad trusts with their excessive inflation and with the necessity of paying interest on enormous issues of stocks and bonds. The charge for transportation is therefore extortionate, and another unnecessarily high price is added to the product of the country before it reaches the distributor.

Then comes combination among the distributors—trusts of middlemen—and another excessive profit is added to the price of the product before it reaches the hands of the consumer. If, unhappily, the consumer belongs to the poorer classes and can buy only in small quantities, there is another retail combination to take advantage of his weakness and extort the highest price of all from those who are the least able to pay.

Just see what a trust can do in the thing with which we are best acquainted—the paper business. Within six months after the Paper Trust was formed the price of print paper was increased 50 per cent.

The investigations of the Government show that there was practically no increase in the cost of manufacture; indeed, if the combination had been made on beneficially economic lines the cost of manufacture would have been reduced. But the combination was made for the purpose of extortion, and consequently the price of the product was enormously increased.

What is the result? Every manufacturer of newspapers or periodicals or books or other publications is immediately disturbed by this robbery and compelled to seek a greater income from those upon whom he depends by increasing the cost of his product.

Papers throughout the country are doubling their price, magazines are increasing their price, books are being increased in price, and the general public is being made to pay a great deal more than it formerly did for the same published product.

Now it is easy to see how great is this injury, especially in a republic.

The people's funds being depleted on every side by extortionate trusts, the people are compelled to buy less of every product. The people are told how to buy less food and live on an egg and a potato a day; and, of course, they also buy fewer books and fewer publications generally.

Those who are poorest and probably most in need of information and education which magazines and books supply suffer most and are able to buy the least of the information and education.

In a republic successful conduct of government depends upon the information and education of the masses; depends on their ability, through this education, to vote intelligently and conduct the government successfully.

Thus we see the trusts prey upon the people from all sides, attacking their food supplies, their educational supplies, and in fact, depriving them of a certain proportion of all the necessities and luxuries of civilized existence.

We will never have a properly low cost of living until we prevent trust extension; or, to put it more in detail, we will never have the low cost of living that we can have and should have until we encourage the economy and efficiency of combination and prevent the extortion of combination.

This is the big broad question which requires our attention, and no minor measures are going to do much to solve the situation. Supplying food by mail direct from the farmer is only going to help a little. The mail has to be transported on the railroads and the railroads have to be paid, and they have to be paid in proportion to their overcapitalization.

The farmer who produces the food is still subject to the cost of production, and the cost of production is increased by every trust which is formed and which supplies him with implements, clothes, building material, or any other material which enters into his life or his business.

The Government might distribute some food products in central markets for the general advantage, but the Government can not take the place of every middleman and it is not desirable that it should do so.

There can and should be public ownership of public utilities such as the railroads, and that will largely solve the transportation problem, but there can not possibly be public ownership of every business. And yet there can be and almost surely will be a trust in nearly every business, and combination conducted mainly for extortion unless it is regulated and compelled to employ the advantages of combination in the public interest—unless it is compelled to allow the public to share through reduced prices in the superior economy and efficiency of combination.

WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST.

[From the Johnstown Democrat, Thursday, Mar. 1, 1917.]

WHERE THE FAULT LIES.

"It would be difficult to exaggerate the gravity of the condition confronting the people of the United States resulting from a complete collapse of our privately operated transportation system. In our large cities and industrial centers the producing classes are actually starving in the midst of abundance. The Secretary of Agriculture in his annual report states that this country is amply able 'not only to supply itself with food but increasingly to meet the needs of the world.'

"But this is of no avail when our railroads refuse to discharge their duties as common carriers. There are millions of bushels of grain in western elevators awaiting shipment to the starving people in the East, but the railroads positively refuse to furnish cars necessary to transport it.

"J. P. Griffin, president of the Chicago Board of Trade, in a telegraphic dispatch to the Interstate Commerce Commission, says:

"Despite all your assurances, no relief has been afforded to move grain and other food products out of Chicago. The present scarcity of supplies borders on famine in many communities, with the consequent inflation of values directly chargeable to the failure of railroads to meet the national emergency. None of the cures offered by the commission or the railroads themselves have been or can be effective. It is a fact beyond dispute that industrials generally are operating from 200 to 300 per cent above normal and securing such equipment as needed. It is very apparent therefore that preference is given to freight paying the greatest revenue.

"He also predicted 'rioting, anarchy, and bloodshed if the intolerable and indefensible high prices were not reduced forthwith by an efficient operation of the railroads,' and charged that 'eastern roads are using a disproportionate number of cars for munition shipments, preventing grain and other foodstuffs shipments from the West.'

"The Interstate Commerce Commission, in reply to the above charges, states that Chicago had been getting 200 cars a day for eastbound grain. The president of the Chicago Board of Trade denies this and declares that 'for 30 days Chicago has been shipping four or five cars a day; that's all. We had, it is true, cars of western roads to load, but we couldn't get them hauled east. Now we are informed that we must get our cars from eastern roads. That practically shuts us out of the eastern market entirely.'

"January 18, 1917, Mr. McChord, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, after an exhaustive investigation of the car shortage, stated:

"The present conditions of car distribution throughout the United States have no parallel in history. In some territories the railroads have furnished but a small part of the cars necessary for the transportation of staple articles of commerce, such as coal, grain, lumber, fruits, and vegetables. In consequence mills have shut down, prices have advanced, perishable articles of great value have been destroyed, and hundreds of carloads of food products have been delayed in reaching their natural markets. In other territories there have been so many cars on the lines of the carriers and in their terminals that transportation service has been thrown into unprecedented confusion; long delays in transit have been the rule rather than the exception, and the operation of established industrial activities has been made uncertain and difficult. These conditions have made necessary a far-reaching investigation by the commission and now urgently demand prompt, decisive action.

"But, amazing to relate, the commission has made no effort to relieve the situation, which it had declared demanded prompt and decisive action. The only thing the Government has done so far was to send secret agents into the artificially famine-stricken districts to ascertain some evidence of an imaginary German intrigue or an I. W. W. plot in face of the obvious and indisputable facts that the railroads are permitting food speculators to use their yards and terminals as a basis for forestalling food products.

"If this isn't a conspiracy in restraint of trade, in flagrant violation of the Sherman antitrust law, and demanding that the criminal conspirators be prosecuted to the full extent of the law, then nothing is. Apparently it is up to the Department of Justice to do its plain duty in the premises."

[From the New York World, Friday, Mar. 2, 1917.]

DO COURTS DEFY THE LAW?

"One bill in Congress appropriates $6,000,000 to relieve the food situation, however that may be done, and another sets aside $400,000 to pay for an investigation of high prices.

"Before either of these measures becomes law the World suggests that serious attention be given to these words of Attorney General Gregory in a letter addressed to Senator BORAH:

"The executive department alone can not enforce the antitrust law. It must have the cooperation of the Federal courts. I regret to say that a number of Federal judges have been and are still apparently reluctant to enforce the Sherman Act. I do not mean to charge that they deliberately attempt to obstruct the will of Congress. I assume that their views of public policy do not agree with those of Congress as expressed in the Sherman Act, and that unconsciously they permit their own views as to what the law should be to affect their construction of the law as it is written.

"The food situation and the high prices result either from inexorable economic law or from conspiracies which the Sherman Act and its amendments were designed to prohibit or punish. If the Federal courts, consciously or unconsciously, refuse to enforce these laws, the question as to food and many other things becomes of secondary importance. The authority of Government itself is put to the test, and there can be no relief from extortion in any quarter until a sovereignty defied or ignored shall have asserted itself in every court in the land.

"We do not know how necessary the proposed appropriations of $6,000,000 and $400,000 may be for the purposes named, but if what the Attorney General of the United States says of the Federal courts is true, sums ten times as great would be well spent in reasserting in these tribunals the supremacy of law."

The war trust and its press, pulpit, and politician advocates are insisting that we should rush into the European war at once because in the course of that war some of the belligerents have in their mad struggle for supremacy caused the loss of some American lives in enemy ships.

It is urged by these same mouthpieces of the warmongers that Congress and the executive branch of the United States Government should put aside all other public business and devote all their energies to preparing for foreign war.

Now, it is an undeniable fact that the great criminal trusts of the United States have caused the loss of more lives of American citizens and have robbed the people of our country of more property in a single month than we have lost through the operations of the belligerents on the high seas in two and a half years of the European war. Therefore, there can be no question but that judged by the comparative loss of life and property which the American people have suffered from the operations of the European belligerents on the high seas and that suffered from the operations of the lawless and rebellious monopolies on land within our own territory, right here at home in the United States, we have twenty times as much reason and provocation for making war on the criminal trusts of the United States as we have for declaring war on any of the belligerents of Europe.

To put an end to this destruction of American life and property inflicted by the war of conquest which the monopolistic trusts are waging against the people and Government of the United States, it is not necessary for Congress to enact any law or even vote a declaration of war. On July 2, 1890, the United States by act of Congress declared war on all monopolistic trusts and invested the Attorney General with full power and authority to make war upon and exterminate every one of these lawless and rebellious trusts whose war of conquest waged against the American people, is costing us every month the loss of more lives and more property than the European war has cost us in two and one-half years.

The following are extracts from editorials of some of the leading newspapers of the United States:

[From the New York American, Dec. 14, 1916.]

"During Attorney General Gregory's administration the criminal trusts have not been prosecuted, and, worse than that, they have known that they would not be prosecuted.

"As a result of this maladministration of the Department of Justice the United States is as full of civilian bandits as Mexico is of military bandits.

"Our Carranzas, Villas, and Zapatas do not murder, it is true, but they do loot the business interests of the United States; they do rob the people of the United States day and night.

"Among these bandit trusts and criminal conspiracies there is none that is more ruthless or more criminal than the unlawful conspiracy and criminal trust which robs the newspapers.

"The whole country groans under the extortions of these criminal trusts, they rob everybody, they rob the business man, and they rob the workingman. Their thieving fingers are in the till of every store and in the pantry of every housewife. No one is safe from their criminal activities. We have laws to punish these criminals, to put an end to their robberies, to put them in jail, where they belong. Nothing is needed but the enforcement of these laws.

"We do not need embargoes. We do not need new legislation. We need only just, honest, and vigorous prosecutions of these conspirators by the Department of Justice."

—

[From the New York World, Feb. 23, 1917.]

WHY NOT APPEAL TO LAW.

"In view of the amazing food situation it is remarkable that no public prosecutor takes the center of the stage.

"There are laws, State and National, that cover every phase of monopoly, conspiracy, forestalling, and extortion. Even restraint of trade is a misdemeanor. * * * If commercial crimes on an extensive scale have been committed, it is the duty of State and Nation to proceed against their authors with all possible vigor. Of conspiracies so widespread, it ought not to be difficult to obtain evidence. * * * It was to protect the people from just such unconscionable combinations, and encouraged by just such emergencies as we see to-day, that these laws were passed. They ought to be enforced all along the line."

—

[From the Philadelphia North American, Dec. 21, 1916.]

"That there are grounds for the suspicion that the recent increase in the price of coal was the result of an 'artificial and illegal combination' was the statement made to-day by George W. Anderson, United States attorney at Boston.

"When there are indications that the movement of coal has been checked, not only on railroads, but at terminals, there is reason to suspect that such action probably is the result of an artificial and illegal combination designed to reap extortionate profits through a speculative market.

"When you find coal brokers and coal dealers reconsigning coal cars over and over again, so as to delay delivery and thereby create a panic, you find a prima facie case."

—

[From the Washington Herald, Feb. 23, 1917.]

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE.

"That in the high cost of living the country is facing a crisis which may surpass even the seriousness of the war situation is becoming more apparent daily. * * * A food riot in any community is a national problem. It is the voice of the people, and unless the lawmakers of this country awake and enact legislation that will remedy the condition and punish those responsible, these United States may find themselves facing a civil or socialistic war of far greater proportions than any international conflict.

"If the condition is abnormal through the action of any individual or group of individuals, punishment commensurate with the enormity of the offense should be dealt without favor."

—

[From the New York World, Feb. 24, 1917.]

LAW OR VIOLENCE.

"If it be true, as the Interstate Commerce Commission announced yesterday, that no actual food or fuel shortage exists anywhere in this country, there can be but one conclusion as to present conditions. The necessaries of life have been cornered in defiance of law and in contempt of officers sworn to enforce the law. It is a sorry outcome of legislation and litigation extending over a quarter of a century that at the first comprehensive test to which our many enactments against monopoly and restraint of trade have been subjected there is no hint of prosecution for crime. * * * The food supply being ample, it devolves upon State and Federal authorities to liberate it from the control of speculators and plunderers. This may be done by law or it may be accomplished by violence, but in the long run society will profit most by law."

—

[From the New York Sun of Feb. 17, 1917.]

"Some of the most prominent men in the produce exchange say they have not received carloads of foodstuff loaded last October and consigned to New York. This delay, which results, of course, from the tie-up on sidings in Chicago, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, and other main freight terminals, is attributable to the preference that has been accorded by the railroads to export goods, the produce men charge. They pointed out that this export trade is competitive; that all the roads of the country have sought the rich profits to be made from it. It has been awarded on a basis of quick delivery; therefore, say the produce men, the roads gave this class of freight the right of way. * * * This, according to the Sun's informant, explains why the domestic traffic was put at a disadvantage."

[From the Washington Times, Feb. 19, 1917.]

BORAH CHARGES LAXITY—SAYS LAWS AFFECTING FOOD PRICES ARE NOT ENFORCED PROPERLY.

"Charging the Department of Justice had been derelict in the administration of laws affecting food prices, Senator BORAH on the floor of the Senate to-day suggested that the Attorney General recommend additional legislation if such was necessary. Senator BORAH said he was convinced 'a proper administration of existing laws' would bring down the cost of living.

"The Department of Justice, Senator BORAH said, had readily enough prepared supplemental legislation to enforce espionage laws which the administration desires."

—

[From the New York World, Mar. 26, 1916.]

ARMOR-PLATE MAKERS HAVE BEEN "ROBBING" THE GOVERNMENT FOR 20 YEARS, TILLMAN CHARGES.

"For 20 years," said Senator TILLMAN, chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs of the Senate, to the World correspondent, "I have fought the Armor Trust, which has robbed the United States out of millions of dollars in contracts for the Navy. * * * I speak advisedly when I say that all these years (21) during my service on that committee (Naval Affairs) the United States Government has been robbed unmercifully by the armor makers.

"In the first contest, in 1896, I was working shoulder to shoulder with the Hon. W. E. Chandler, the Senator from New Hampshire. Credit is due him for offering the first resolution in the Senate to investigate the price of armor, and it was on his amendment to reduce that price from $400 to $300 that the first debate on the price of armor occurred in the Senate."

—

[From the Washington Post.]

PAPER MAKERS YIELD.

"News-print paper manufacturers, facing criminal prosecution in the United States courts for alleged combination in restraint of trade, proposed to the Federal Trade Commission yesterday that it fix a reasonable price for the output of the principal plants of the United States and Canada. The commission announced last night that it had the proposal under consideration and would reply immediately. It is generally believed the answer will be an acceptance.

"Although nothing has been said concerning the continuance of grand jury proceedings in New York, it is well understood the manufacturers' move was predicated on the assumption that there would be no criminal prosecution."

—

[From the New York American, Feb. 24, 1917.]

THE ESPIONAGE BILL IS SIMPLY THE INFAMOUS ALIEN AND SEDITION LAWS UNDER ANOTHER NAME.

"We wonder how many of you Democratic Senators who voted for this espionage bill know how the Democratic Party originated.

"Why, Senators, the Democratic Party originated in the opposition of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison to just exactly such laws as this un-American law.

"Those laws were the alien and sedition laws, passed in the year 1798, during the Presidency of John Adams.

"The alien and sedition laws provided that the President could arrest and order out of the country any foreign-born person he might consider dangerous, and made it a crime punishable by fines and imprisonment to publish any scandalous or malicious criticism of the Government of the United States or either House of Congress or of the President, or to stir up sedition or opposition to any act of Congress or of the President, or to aid the designs of any foreign power.

"This infamous and tyrannical law, which aroused the people to fury when put into execution, is practically copied in every detail and then broadened and made more tyrannical and destructive of all liberty in the infamous measure concocted by Attorney General Gregory.

"And we most earnestly warn you, Democratic Members of the people's House, that if you permit yourselves to be persuaded or coerced into passing this infamous espionage bill you and your party will meet—and deservedly meet—the same fate that the American people visited upon the Federalist Party when it enacted the exact prototype of this law and was swept out of power and out of existence in two short years.

"There is no need of this law.

"It is a creature of the brain of Attorney General Gregory—the most inefficient and incompetent Attorney General the country has ever seen.

"For two years this man has been obsessed by his silly nightmare of German spies.

"He sees one behind every lamp-post.

"He has no more sense in this matter than the ridiculous individual from North Carolina who told the Senate the other day that there were 100,000 German spies in our country to-day—as if Germany had $100,000,000 to spend yearly upon a spy system in America—for we presume a spy would require at least $1,000 a year by way of wages.

"Or as if Germany needed a single spy to find out anything about our Army or Navy or Government proceedings, when they are all as open to inspection as the day and all have been described over and over again in dozens of American newspapers and periodicals.

"This 'spy' talk is the most supremely silly bugaboo with which silly persons ever tried to frighten themselves and their neighbors.

"Yet, as we say, it is an obsession of this man Gregory. He eats, sleeps, and talks only German spies, and probably looks under the bed for them before he climbs in.

"For two years past he has put the whole energies of the Department of Justice at the command of the British Government, to act as a detective and messenger force—a truth for telling which he would doubtless try to put us in jail if he had his espionage bill safely passed.

"The business of the American people has been wholly neglected by him and his subordinates. Criminal trusts have practiced their extortions without a single prosecution. They have robbed the poor and raised the prices of food until the mothers of hungry children have rioted right here in the streets of New York.

"No industry and no person has escaped their extortions and not one of these criminals has been even hindered in his crimes, to say nothing of being punished.

"While hundreds of thousands of industrious American working people are being brought to the edge of actual hunger by these villainous and criminal combinations, Mr. Gregory and his district attorney and his secret agents have been chasing phantom spies, arbitrarily and illegally searching Americans going abroad and taking from them articles the British Government has forbidden Americans to carry on shipboard—though such a thing is absolutely forbidden by our fundamental law—and carrying on futile and mostly ridiculous prosecutions of alleged spies.

"The best commentary upon the silliness of this waste of public money is the fact that in two years Mr. Gregory's department has not succeeded in obtaining convictions in as many as 10 cases of this kind—and in not two of that small number would an intelligent juryman, upon his oath, have voted for conviction on the evidence.

"And while the Department of Justice has thus been made ridiculous and useless to the country by this absurd 'spy' obsession, little children are without food and fathers and mothers deny themselves ordinary necessities because the real and active and relentless and cruel enemies of the people—these villainous conspirators who create extortionate prices for the necessities of life—have not even been disturbed by so much as a subpœna.

"Now we say again to you Members of the House that the people are in no mood to see you put unheard-of tyrannical powers into the hands of an Attorney General who has proved himself so utterly unfit to exercise his rightful powers.

"This espionage bill which Mr. Gregory has drawn up and which the Senate has most unfortunately indorsed is a villainous attack upon the liberties of all of us.

"Under such a law no man would be safe.

"Any understrapper of the Department of Justice, any underling with a grudge, could swear away the liberty of the best man in the country.

"No man with money or property enough to tempt the cupidity of scoundrels would be safe from blackmail.

"We free men and women, the sons and daughters of the soil, if this infamous bill is enacted, would be no freer and no better protected from official and private oppression than are the wretched moujiks or the more wretched Jews who live in trembling fear of the Russian jail or the Russian knout.

"Here in this very land, which our fathers and mothers dedicated to their own and their children's freedom forever, and whose grasses and flowers of the spring are about to burst and bloom above the graves of so many thousands who died that that freedom might be permanent and secure, you representatives of the people are asked to enact legislation that destroys every man's freedom.

"Why, gentlemen of the House of Representatives, it is not a cannon shot from where you sit to-day to Arlington.

"The dead who sleep there in honor faced dangers beyond any we know to-day; faced war such as never had been waged on all the earth; faced powerful antagonists in front while

treason lurked in the rear; they knew well that the land was full of spies that were not the nightmares of silly brains—and do you think they would have endured to have such legislation as this imposed upon their people, even in that time of stress and deadly peril?

"No; not for ten thousand times ten thousand Gregorys!

"If you men of the House pass this bill, you can only do so with the assistance of a majority of the Democratic Members. And the Democrat who votes for this espionage bill is as false to the traditions and the examples of the Democratic Party as he is false to the traditions and the guaranteed rights and liberties of his people.

"Senator CUMMINS said to the Senate:

"This measure is the most stringent and drastic law ever proposed to curb a free people in time of peace or war. The Government would have absolute power in war time to suppress newspapers and prevent debate in Congress. It might even be held a criminal offense for two citizens to discuss with each other questions of military policy. Under such a law the agitation could never have taken place in England which led to the assumption of the premiership by Lloyd George."

In 1916 the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs said:

"As long as present conditions continue, the armor manufacturers are in a position to force the United States Government, in the language of the highwaymen, 'to stand and deliver.'"

The House committee said:

"The Government finds itself in such position as to be forced to contract for armor plate at the price submitted by the companies."

The foregoing statements clearly demonstrate that the administration of justice is inefficient to enforce the trust laws that were enacted to protect the people against the vicious combinations that are robbing and plundering them, and that even Congress, which is much more responsive to the interests of the people, seems to have its activities paralyzed by military hydrophobism that seems to be prevalent in the Capital of the Nation, and it seems that they only respond promptly to the call of militarism, which is resulting in hundreds of millions of the people's money being wasted under the name of preparedness for war, and therefore, the great masses of consuming and producing people should arouse themselves to concerted and organized activity and demand relief from the present extortionate high prices by insisting upon the enforcement of the antitrust laws by the Federal and State administrations, and also demand, if necessary, that special sessions of our National and State legislative bodies be called for the purpose of enacting laws that will give them immediate relief and protect them from like conditions that might arise should the present practices be continued and further destitution and hardships forced upon the people as the result of the robbery of these criminal combinations.

Military Highway (El Camino Sierra).

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. RAKER,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 2, 1917.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, on July 5, 1916, I introduced a bill (H. R. 16788) known as the national defense military highway and post roads bill. The road contemplated lies along the east base of the Great Sierra Range. It is designated and known as the El Camino Sierra. On July 11, 1916, the San Francisco Examiner had a strong editorial on the construction of this road and the needs and necessities of same, likewise setting forth the benefit to be obtained by the Government from the construction of such a highway. This editorial is as follows:

NATION SHOULD BUILD SIERRAN HIGHWAY.

Three important considerations urge the approval by Congress of the bill introduced by Representative RAKER to provide $3,500,000 for the construction of a Sierran highway from Los Angeles north to the Oregon line, along the east base of the great California Range.

Such a road would add mightily to the popularity of California as a tourist resort, for it would join by broad and smooth highways the wonderful scenic points of California—Mount Lassen, the Feather River country, Lake Tahoe, Yosemite, and Mount Whitney.

Such a road would benefit the 12 neglected mountain counties it would traverse by affording them easy intercommunication by motor truck and teaming; it would make possible the development of great timber areas and mining properties and make accessible fertile mountain meadows now too remote from trade routes for profitable agriculture.

Such a road—and this argument should appeal to the Nation—would have a tremendous military importance should the vulnerable Pacific slope fall before an invading army from the Pacific. If the seacost of California were in possession of a hostile fleet, and if a hostile army occupied the cities and valleys, the Sierras would afford the screen behind which the national Army must form to drive out the invaders. With a highway along the eastern slope of the Sierras available for swift motor transport, the national forces could shift rapidly from pass to pass until an open gateway into the California plains would be discovered and the enemy repelled.

The mountain counties of California have contributed prodigally to the wealth of the nations. At the time of the Civil War the California placers furnished much of the gold that sustained the national credit, and yet the Nation has done little or nothing for them in the way of development.

Furthermore, in the great counties through which the proposed Sierran highway would pass—Modoc, Lassen, Plumas, Sierra, Nevada, Placer, El Dorado, Alpine, Mono, Inyo, Kern, Los Angeles—are great national parks, national monuments, and national forest reserves, which the Federal Government has taken from the State without local protest or complaint. Since these mountainous empires have been appropriated by the National Government, it would be reasonable for the Government to add to the accessibility of its imperial holding by the construction of suitable highways.

It is a land of glorious possibilities, of a generous past, and an enviable present, which would be developed by the construction of the Sierran highway provided for in the Raker bill now before Congress.

Mr. W. G. Scott, vice president of the Midland Trail Association for California, writing to the San Francisco Examiner under date of January 21, 1917, has the following to say on this national-defense military highway:

EXAMINER ROAD PLANS PRAISED.

[By W. G. Scott, vice president of Midland Trail Association for California and member of council national advisors in National Highways Association.]

It seems to me that the power of the press has never been more effectively demonstrated than now, as the direct and immediate result of the espousal of the cause of the California national-defense military highway by the San Francisco Examiner.

This great highway originally projected and for several years strenuously advocated by the Inyo Good Road Club, although a short time ago adopted in major part by the State as a trunk highway, and recently accorded the signal honor of recognition in the House of Representatives, has, owing largely to lack of proper understanding and indifference on the part of some, not received until now the State-wide attention its importance demanded.

The action of the Examiner in dispatching a special Chevrolet motor car to the capital city, Carson, carrying a communication from the governor of California to the governor of Nevada and sundry important documents to the legislature of the latter State relative to cooperation, is not only a mark of approval, country wide in its effect, but it is a distinct stroke of journalistic enterprise that evinces a keen sagacity and alertness in matters vital to the future of this State and Nation.

I am prompted to say this by the numerous expressions of approval and sympathetic support spontaneously tendered me by some of the foremost advocates of highway improvement, by prominent national organizations in the same sphere of activity and by the notable number of commendations received from officials prominent in both State and National legislative affairs, all evincing strong interest in the Raker military highway bill, in which is crystallized the great project now being so forcefully presented.

The Legislature of the State of California duly passed assembly joint resolution No. 6, by Mr. Dan E. Williams, indorsing the building of this national-defense military highway and the same was telegraphed to me by the Hon. B. W. Boothby, chief clerk of the assembly, which telegram from the California State Legislature is as follows:

SACRAMENTO, CAL., *March 2, 1917.*

Hon. JOHN E. RAKER, Member of Congress,
Washington, D. C.

In compliance with the provisions of assembly joint resolution No. 6, by Mr. Dan E. Williams, adopted finally in the senate yesterday, herewith find a copy thereof:

"Whereas the Hon. JOHN E. RAKER on the 5th day of July, 1916, did introduce a measure for the building of national-defense highways and post roads for the general good of the State of California over the El Camino Sierra: Therefore be it

"*Resolved by the assembly and senate jointly,* That our Senators in Congress be instructed and our Representatives requested to use all reasonable means to secure the passage of said measure establishing a military national-defense highway and post road for the general good that will be accomplished."

Owing to the fact that Members of Congress are no doubt returning to their homes I would deem it a great favor if you will arrange to have the above resolution conveyed to the Congressmen and Senators from California.

B. O. BOOTHBY,
Chief Clerk of Assembly.

The Lakeview Commercial Club, of Lakeview, Oreg., likewise the Commercial Clubs of New Pine Creek, Silverlake, and Paisley, Oreg., unanimously passed the following resolution:

LAKEVIEW COMMERCIAL CLUB,
LAKEVIEW, OREG.

Whereas the Hon. JOHN E. RAKER, Congressman from the second congressional district of California, has introduced a bill (H. R. 16788) "To acquire, construct, and maintain a military and national-defense highway and post road, extending from Los Angeles, through Mojave, Freeman, along the east base of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, through Lone Pine, Independence, Big Pine, Bishop, along the west side of Mono Lake, through Downieville, Quincy, Susanville, and Alturas; thence along the east side of Goose Lake through the towns of Fairport and New Pine Creek, all in California, to Lakeview, Oreg.; and from Alturas, Cal., down Pit River to connect with the California State Highway at Redding, Cal."; and

Whereas at Lakeview, Oreg., the highway will connect with all highways throughout central Oregon and also with the famous Columbia River Highway, having connections with all points in Washington and the northwest: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Lakeview Commercial Club use every possible cooperative effort in assisting the passage of the bill, through the assistance of the various commercial clubs of Oregon and through our representatives in the State Legislature now in session, and through the assistance of our Senators and Congressmen in Washington, and further, assist by bringing the matter before the Spokane Chamber of Commerce; and therefore be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be mailed to Senators CHAMBERLAIN and LANE and Congressmen SINNOTT and HAWLEY and MCARTHUR, and that copies be sent to Senator Baldwin and Representatives Burdick and Forbes and that they be asked to secure an indorsement by the Legislature of Oregon for this bill; that copies be sent to the Commercial Clubs at Bend, Prineville, Madras, Burns, The Dalles, Hood River, and Portland.

THE LAKEVIEW COMMERCIAL CLUB.
By E. H. SMITH, *President*.

Attest:

LYNN F. CRONEMILLER,
Secretary.

The State Association of Supervisors of the State of California, in convention assembled in Sacramento, Cal., on February 23, 1917, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

Resolution passed at convention of State Association of Supervisors, in Sacramento, Cal., February 23, 1917.

Whereas there is pending in the Congress of the United States H. R. 16788, being an act introduced by Congressman JOHN E. RAKER for the construction of a military-defense highway connecting the several natural passes and roads of the Sierra Nevada Mountains for defense purposes; and

Whereas material preparedness is the best preservation of peace; and

Whereas the construction of such proposed military-defense highway will entail an amount which will only equal one-half the cost of a modern dreadnaught, the usefulness of the latter being limited to about 15 years and can be sunk in 15 minutes, while the national-defense highway will exist for all time as a source of joy for the people, an aid for prosperity, a support for the State, a security for the Nation, and a cynosure for the world; and

Whereas the early completion will aid in deterring aggressive attitudes on the part of certain world powers: Therefore, be it

Resolved by the State Association of Supervisors, That we urge the early enactment of said H. R. 16788; and be it further

Resolved, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress are hereby urged and requested to use every proper means to have said law passed and enacted without delay; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of this association mail to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress a copy hereof.

The following correspondence was had by and between W. G. Scott, executive secretary Inyo Good Roads Club, and Hon. Emmett B. Boyle, governor of Nevada:

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., *January 29, 1917*.

To his excellency Hon. EMMETT D. BOYLE,
Governor of Nevada, Carson, Nev.

ESTEEMED SIR: By the time you receive this communication, doubtless there will be delivered to you by Mr. A. G. Waddell, a special courier dispatched for the purpose by the San Francisco Examiner, a sealed packet containing three letters, one addressed to your honor by the governor of California requesting your cooperation in the matter of highways, one addressed to the president of the Nevada Senate, and one addressed to the speaker of the Nevada Assembly.

The latter two indicated by the writer, who is officially allied with sundry interested highway organizations.

The purport of this is to secure from the Legislature of Nevada a resolution of indorsement and request for enactment of H. R. 16788, introduced in Congress by Hon. JOHN E. RAKER, of California, copy of which, together with further descriptive literature, is inclosed herewith.

In connection with such indorsement and request, expressed approval of your excellency is deemed the essential element.

You are by this respectfully solicited to grant such approval.

The reason why the highway lies west of the Nevada line is purely one of military expediency, determined solely by strategical and topographical conditions from a military standpoint.

It needs but brief consideration to reveal the vital importance of this highway to Nevada and the Nation at large.

I am informed that this measure received the ratification of the California Legislature shortly before its temporary adjournment, and am just this day advised from Oregon that widespread and energetic efforts are being put forth to secure the indorsement and approval of that State, with every indication of success.

Both of which items I communicate with much satisfaction.

On behalf of the various widespread interests identified with the welfare of the Raker military highway bill, I have the honor to subscribe myself, with profoundest respect and esteem,

W. G. SCOTT,
Executive Secretary, Inyo Good Road Club, Vice President National Midland Trail Association for California, Chairman Division of National Parks in Council of National Advisors, National Highways Association.

—

STATE OF NEVADA,
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
Carson City, January 30, 1917.

W. G. SCOTT, Esq.,
Hotel Terminal, San Francisco, Cal.

MY DEAR MR. SCOTT: I am in receipt of your letter of the 29th instant, together with a copy of H. R. 16788, a bill to acquire, construct, and maintain a military and national-defense highway to extend from Los Angeles, Cal., to Lakeview, Oreg.

As yet Mr. Waddell has not arrived in Carson, but is expected daily, and on receipt of the communications which he bears I will take the steps necessary to initiate proper action by our State legislature.

Very truly, yours,

EMMETT D. BOYLE, *Governor*.

Mr. W. G. Scott, executive secretary Inyo Good Road Club, vice president National Midland Trail Association for California, chairman division of national parks, and member of council of nationl advisors of National Highways Association, has prepared a valuable article on this proposed military highway. It is so well presented and contains so many important matters I deem it advisable and worthy of insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, which monograph advocating the national-defense military highway of California, by Mr. Scott, is as follows:

EL CAMINO SIERRA, MASTER KEY TO THE PASSES OF THE SIERRAS—A MONOGRAPH ADVOCATING THE NATIONAL DEFENSE MILITARY HIGHWAY OF CALIFORNIA, AS OUTLINED IN BILL TO CONGRESS BY HON. JOHN E. RAKER, MEMBER OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA.

[By Wisner Gillette Scott, executive secretary Inyo Good Road Club, vice president National Midland Trail Association for California, chairman division of national parks in council of national advisors of National Highways Association.]

The 12 counties of California mentioned herein are greater in area than either Ohio, Kentucky, or Indiana, and are larger than Maine and Massachusetts combined.

Their united area is more than five times that of New Jersey and more than twenty times that of Delaware.

They comprise a territory more than one and one-half times the size of Greece, over two and one-half times the size of Switzerland, and more than three times as large as Belgium.

These comparisons are solely to illustrate physical importance.

As to economic importance perhaps sufficient references are the financial centers of American and Europe—San Francisco, New York, London, Paris, Berlin, or Petrograd—where some of the Sierra counties are familiar names.

From the foregoing it may be inferred that it is not without due sense of responsibility that this brochure—in which is crystallized the unanimous public sentiment of the region indicated—has been prepared to vouch for the proposed national-defense military highway and to affirm its merit as a factor of national strength and as an element in world power.

EL CAMINO SIERRA (THE MOUNTAIN ROAD).

This wonderful highway has exceptional claims to consideration because of its distinctive three-fold character:

1. Civil.
2. Commercial.
3. Strategic.

It is about 800 miles in length, extending from Lakeview, Oreg., near the boundary line, southward along the eastern base of the Sierra Nevada Mountains to Los Angeles, constituting the easternmost main trunk highway of California, approximately paralleling the other two State highways—the valley and the coast lines west of the Sierras.

It traverses 12 counties—Modoc, Lassen, Plumas, Sierra, Nevada, Placer, El Dorado, Alpine, Mono, Inyo, Kern, and Los Angeles—which combined have an area of 41,888 square miles, or 26,808,320 acres, embracing a territory greater than one-fourth of the entire State, with a population of 803,243, as shown by legislative authority in 1915, which represents nearly one-third of the population of the State, with property valued at considerably more than one thousand millions, or to be exact, $1,007,099,016.

This statement is made to indicate in a general way the physical importance of the territory traversed by El Camino Sierra—now proposed for a national defense military highway.

Because of the adjacent territory on the west in California and on the east in Nevada, with interwoven relations of almost equal weight, it is fair to add to the foregoing figures 50 per cent to show the enormous interests associated with this great highway; the improvement of which is to render the Republic invincible along one-half of its western border.

In order to convey a proper idea of the characteristics that give to El Camino Sierra its diversified supereminence, brief allusion only is necessary.

I. ITS CIVIL OR SOCIAL CHARACTER,

which includes its incalculable worth as a medium for closer connection between homes and schools, uniting neighborhoods and communities in more intimate bonds for mutual strength and betterment, amalgamating the desirable features of town and country in a manner not otherwise possible; bringing, as it were, into closer contact the people and the land, which conduces as naught else can to thrift, progress, and national vigor.

This highway unites 12 cities and important towns—each the county seat of its respective county—and each a metropolis proportioned to its environment.

The greatest asset of the Golden State is its *scenic wealth, and this* is in no sense depreciative of any other of its world-famed resources.

It is said that before the European war, American tourists expended abroad annually $400,000,000.

And this to visit scenic regions that without the admirable roads and inns would be inferior to those of their own country.

The greatest scenic assets of California are in the Sierra Nevadas, embracing an area of approximately 10,000 square miles, including four wonderful national parks—Lassen, Yosemite, General Grant, and Sequoia—each of its own peculiar attractiveness unexcelled.

El Camino Sierra is the one thoroughfare that meets in best degree the demands of transportation for all the trans-Sierra region.

It is strictly within the bounds of conservatism to state that the improvement of this great road to the extent necessary for a national defense motor-truck military highway would be a dominant factor in retaining in the United States for distribution at home at the very least considerably more than $100,000,000 annually.

Alluding directly to this subject, Hon. Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, in his Annual Report for 1915, says:

"It would appear from the experience of this year that the real awakening as to the value of these parks has at last been realized, and that those who have hitherto found themselves enticed by the beauty of the Alps and the Rhine and the soft loveliness of the valleys of France, may find equal if not more stimulating satisfaction in the mountains, rivers, and valleys which this Government has set apart for them and for all others.

"It may reconcile those who think that money expended upon such luxuries is wasted—if any such there are—to be told that the sober-minded traffic men of the railroads estimate that this year more than a

hundred million dollars usually spent in European travel was divided among the railroads, hotels, and their supporting enterprises in this country. * * *

"There is no reason why this Nation should not make its public health and scenic domain as available to all its citizens as Switzerland and Italy make theirs.

"The aim is to open them thoroughly by road and trail and give access and accommodation to every degree of income. * * *

"It is the destiny of the national parks, if wisely controlled, to become the public laboratories of nature study for the nation. * * *

"If Congress will but make the funds available for the construction of roads over which automobiles may travel with safety (for the parks are now open to motors) and for trails to hunt out the hidden places of beauty and dignity, we may expect that year by year these parks will become a more precious possession of the people holding them to the further discovery of America, and making them still prouder of its resources, esthetic as well as material."

It is judicious to carefully consider an asset that yields annual revenue of more than one hundred millions.

At 10 per cent it represents an investment of one thousand millions.

Automatically maintained by nature.

A perpetual inspiration.

A legacy to humanity that is an imperishable pageant of Omnipotence.

Were this great asset the property of a well-managed corporation—awaiting improvement as it is, to yield annually more than 100 per cent dividend—there would be no hesitancy, no discussion, no public comment.

Quickly the improvement would be effected.

The dividend of one hundred millions, underestimated as it is, is a tangible, practical reality, without tinge of sentiment or ideality.

Cut it in half—cut it in half again; cut it again, and again—and you have surely exceeded demands of the most radical conservative, and you still have a dividend that greatly exceeds each year the entire original outlay, represented by the cost of improvement, for which appropriation is hereby asked.

This highway will provide the dividend, which will be at once put in circulation in the State and on the coast, to ultimately flow through all the veins of the Commonwealth.

II. ITS COMMERCIAL OR INDUSTRIAL CHARACTER.

The 12 counties through which this great highway is routed contain 3,977,853 farms, to say nothing of the numerous herds of horses, cattle, and sheep, and the myriad other dependencies that form part of an extensive rural domain.

The possibilities for future development are of even greater immensity.

In Modoc County alone 550,000 acres of arable land lie idle, chiefly because of inadequate means of transport.

And so mention might be made in detail of vast areas of fertile land in similar condition in the respective counties that only require improved medium of conveyance.

As to water supply, so vital to soil cultivation and industry, it need only be said that in all the highland counties are mountain streams of a beauty that no terse expression of words can describe, and a bounty that provides facts and figures of astonishing interest.

The industrial sphere is scarcely less important than that of tillage of the soil—rich in opportunities—but retarded by lack of facilities for transportation.

The Sierra Nevada Mountains are the home of the pine.

Eight thousand square miles is the approximate area covered by this valuable timber, and the larger proportion of it is comprised within the 12 counties named.

Lassen County alone has 1,000,000 acres of commercial forest.

Development of this great resource is held in abeyance.

A motor-truck highway would solve the problem.

It would be of greater public benefit than a railway.

It would belong to the people.

It would be controlled by the people.

The large and constant expenditure of money incident to travel and transportation would be distributed direct to the people, and afterwards by them put into general circulation.

So much for agricultural and forest conditions.

As to minerals, it must be borne in mind that the bulk of the mineral wealth of California is in these 12 counties.

Much has been removed, but still vaster quantity remains to be extracted when improved transportation affords the requisite encouragement.

The 12 counties mentioned are all at present mineral producing.

Two of the counties, Mono and Inyo, low in population, each in the last census accredited with seven-tenths of an individual to the square mile, but despite their fractional inhabitants equal to others in natural resources, although isolated to large degree from the outside world through lack of transportation, have in the last three and one-half decades, notwithstanding their stupendous handicap, jointly produced over $50,000,000 in new, clean wealth, taken out of the earth and given to the country.

Placer County, while ranking ninth in area in the group herein designated, has yielded $75,000,000 in gold.

Sierra County, next to the least in area of the 12 subdivisions, has yielded more than $200,000,000 in gold, from a district comprised within a radius of 20 miles from its county seat, Downieville, which town was founded in 1849, and out of the main street of which in early days gravel was taken that yielded $300 to the wheelbarrow load.

From one small area inside of the town limits $5,000,000 in gold was shoveled into the miners' boxes and carried away.

This region is awaiting a main trunk motor-truck highway.

Nevada County, tenth on the list in area, has contributed more than $275,000,000 in gold to the resources of the Nation.

These are figures that would be very largely increased by complete review of all minerals produced.

This golden tide is not confined to a past period, for it has not ceased to flow.

Kern County, which ranks second in area in the group, from its oil wells has within little more than a decade added $200,000,000 to the Nation's wealth.

Within the last four years prior to 1916 the counties enumerated gave to the Nation by official compilation $148,832,433 in mineral wealth alone, not counting the millions from other sources.

And this stream is still pouring forth with practically undiminished volume.

These counties have given to the Nation many hundreds of millions and are still contributing with unabated spirit, despite the possible depletion of their own abundance.

What happened in the dark days of the Civil War, when the strength of this Nation was reduced by financial weakness to a point that menaced its existence?

The mountain counties of California came to the rescue and tendered their vitalizing hundreds of millions for transfusion into the arteries of the Republic—and now these counties, having never before requested recognition, feel justified in asking for the construction of their motor truck highway, in order that their resources may be made more available in the future than in the past.

Trans-Sierra California is willing to rely upon the merit of its request for an appropriation of $3,500,000 for construction of a national motor-truck military highway, after careful, candid, and just consideration shall have been given to all the facts involved.

Hundreds of millions have been produced in the past for the national life.

A mere pittance in comparison is asked, in order that the production may continue.

III. ITS STRATEGIC VALUE.

Important as are the civil and commercial aspects of the great highway, that of its strategic value in a military sense is of even greater consequence.

The future of the Pacific coast offers to the student of affairs a prolific field for conjecture.

Grave and intricate international problems are liable to suddenly appear and require equally sudden determination.

The Panama Canal, by its shortening of distance between the two great oceans, permitting ships to accomplish in hours what formerly occupied as many weeks, has converted the Pacific into an arena of unwonted commercial activity, in which oriental enterprise has already acquired maritime supremacy.

A strange manuscript can only be read as it is unfolded, and world progress can only be interpreted as time unfolds the future, but recent world events unmistakably premonish that this country, to preserve its peace, should avail itself of every reasonable measure of preparedness to resist unwarranted encroachment.

And in considering such preparedness, sound judgment demands that not alone success, but possibility of reverse be anticipated.

For illustration, we will suppose that an enemy invader should succeed in landing upon the coast of California, an event which is by no means an impossibility.

Because—and it is merely for the purpose of illustration that the fact is mentioned—there is one country in the Orient that can disembark upon the California coast in 60 days 350,000 highly trained soldiers, equipped in the most modern manner, outfitted for three months' campaign.

This estimate, made in 1915, is based upon a fleet of 95 steamers available for transport service, and does not include passenger steamers.

Since the time of estimate 40 additional steamers have been built and 160 more are nearly completed.

This country in 1915 had 10 transports, with capacity for about 16,000 men afloat on both oceans—4 on the Pacific.

An invader having succeeded in landing, the seizure of coast railways and highways would immediately follow.

The defenders would then establish a main base of operations along the railway and highway lines in the great valleys of the interior.

Assuming again for the purpose of further illustration that the defenders are once more forced back, the next main line of operations would be established along the east base of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, on the third main trunk State highway, which is here proposed for conversion into a national defense military road.

The enemy would find itself confronted by a mountain range of lofty height and rugged topography, a stupendous barrier that would compel an advancing army, with all the impedimenta incident to war transportation, to abandon an extended front formation, avoid the abrupt slopes, yawning chasms, and precipitous summits, and contract into a comparatively narrow column for movement through the existing passes, which partake of the character of defiles and which would at once become what is termed in military parlance "critical areas"—chief centers of activity around which universal interest would thenceforth concentrate.

The most important of these passes or "cross Sierra" routes are already extensively used for motor-car travel and are 13 in number, popularly known as Pitt River, Lassen, Feather River, Downieville, Truckee, and Placerville routes, and Kit Carson, Ebbitts, Sonora, Tioga, Walker, Tehachapi, and Tejon Passes.

Brief reflection shows the overwhelming advantage afforded by control of these cross-mountain roads.

A comparatively small army advantageously placed would be able to check the advance of a force greatly superior in numbers, and if a forward movement should be further attempted, annihilation would likely result.

The Dolomite Alps, the Vosges, and the Carpathians in Europe have afforded instances where control of a pass has compelled change of an entire campaign.

The passes of the Sierras are the national entrances along the west cost of the Republic.

Who holds them and the highway connecting their mountain terminals, holds the keys that control admittance from the Pacific.

The fact is here emphasized that the proposed national-defense highway along the east base of and behind the great Sierra range is already used extensively for automobile travel, although it is mostly unimproved.

If put in prime condition for motor-truck transportation, 10,000 out of the 200,000 motor cars owned in California, commandeered for the purpose, could rush an army of 50,000 men from one pass to another a hundred miles away, between sun and sun.

With this main trunk highway properly improved, protected as it would be for hundreds of miles by a towering parapet of granite thousands of feet in height, and the passes controlled as they would be by all the resources of military skill, the Nation would have an inner line of coast defense that could be made impenetrable against any army.

Gibraltar at the Mediterranean entrance, although of comparatively few miles extent, has for generations received the eulogy of historians, the approval of strategists, and the deference of nations.

The national-defense military highway here proposed will render available for the United States an incomparably greater Gibraltar, with extent of almost a thousand miles.

Preparedness more substantial can not be devised.

If war be forced upon this country it must be regarded probable that slight interval will elapse between the declaration thereof and the striking of the first blow, hence the necessity for the most thorough preparedness in advance to resist invasion.

The most remarkable thing about preparedness is that it should be necessary to urge its adoption when the situation abroad is so vividly portraying what war means.

Where it is besmirching civilization, befouling history, and debauching mankind with its loathsome horrors.

Where the accumulated intelligence of 20 centuries is exhausting mechanical and scientific knowledge to destroy human life.

Where 5,000,000 men, representing the culture, the bravery, and the physical perfection of their respective nationalities, mangled by torrential rains of lead and shrapnel, are bunched in unmarked graves.

Where seventy-five thousand millions of dollars are subverted to the brutalization of humanity.

One has to pause to grasp the meaning of such facts.

The cost of the war in Europe, gathered from high authoritative sources, is $105,000,000 per day.

Add to this the ruthless destruction of industry and commerce.

Add the ghoulish demolition of homes and personal property.

Add the millions of millions of heart pangs and tears.

Then include the mental, moral, and physical ravages that will linger for generations to come.

And the result staggers the intellect and gives rise to an involuntary prayer for peace and the preparedness that will insure its preservation.

War is a national disaster.

To seek it is a crime.

To avoid it is good fortune.

To be immune is a blessing.

Preparedness by ample measures for defense is the closest approach to immunity from war ever discovered by man or revealed by God.

Peace is devoutly to be desired, but to secure it requires more than specious words, diplomatic protestation, or written page.

It is all very well to say peace.

But there is no peace separated from power.

A power that is revered by the just.

That is respected by the intelligent.

That is feared by the malicious.

Conceivably, the cost of a battleship may be fifteen millions.

It may, with circumstances favoring, efficiently endure 15 years.

It may be sunk and forever lost in 15 minutes.

For the national-defense highway herewith considered less than one-fourth the cost of such a ship is asked.

And when completed the highway will remain forever an indestructible defense and an imperishable testimonial to the wisdom of its builders.

A source of joy for the people.

An aid for prosperity.

A support for the State.

A security for the Nation.

A cynosure for the world.

Every minute of every hour of every day through all the years to come its service and its benefit will be ever ready and awaiting, constant and unfailing, whether in day or in night, in sunshine or in storm, in peace or in resistance against invasion.

The Appian Way in Italy was built before the time of Christ; to-day the road is as available for the Italian Army as it was for the Roman legions 2,000 years ago.

The most critical examination of the civil, commercial, and strategic features of this proposed national-defense highway serves but to emphasize its value—

For the defense of the country.

For the increase of its wealth.

For the maintenance of its institutions.

And for the preservation of its peace.

The structure of this Republic is assuming proportions that exceed its original design.

Its foundation requires attention.

Measures to strengthen are imperative.

The first measure is preparedness.

A preparedness for defense that deters war and provides the most effective aid to patriotism.

Such preparedness is the improvement of the national-defense military highway of California.

The highway that will form an invulnerable link in the defense system of the Pacific coast, where strenuous rivalry of national policies is inevitable.

The highway that means to the world a road that no hostile alien invader may ever hope to cross.

The highway that means to the Nation a pathway for progress.

Leading to a future brilliant as the midday sun.

Inspiring as the stars that glorify the flag.

Here are civil, commercial, and strategical advantages such as do not exist elsewhere along the entire seaboard of the United States.

Which by the improvement of this highway will promote industrial peace, prevent alien invasion, and insure the lasting welfare of the Pacific coast and the Nation.

Mr. Speaker, the country is interested in building national-defense military highways and post roads for the general good that will be accomplished. I have introduced a bill for this purpose. This military national-defense highway is proposed to be built where it will be of inestimable value.

The bill introduced by me on July 5, 1916, is known as H. R. 16788, and is as follows:

A bill (H. R. 16788) to acquire, construct, and maintain a military and national-defense highway and post road extending from Los Angeles, Cal., through Mojave, Freeman, along the east base of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, through Lone Pine, Independence, Big Pine, Bishop, along the west side of Lake Mono, through Bridgeport, Markleeville, Tallac, Tahoe, Truckee, Downieville, Quincy, Susanville, and Alturas; thence along the east side of Goose Lake past the towns of Fairport and New Pine Creek, all in California, to Lakeview, Oreg.; and from Alturas, Cal., down Pitt River to connect with the California State highway at Redding, Cal.

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to cause to be constructed a suitable military and national-defense highway and post road of 60 feet in width, with necessary bridges, out of such materials as may be found most suitable and best fitted, between Los Angeles, Cal., and Lakeview, Oreg., and Alturas, Cal., connecting with the California State highway at Redding, Cal., following the most convenient and feasible route between said points, using, improving, and reconstructing the present highways between said points when convenient and feasible.

SEC. 2. That said military and national-defense highway and post road shall commence at Los Angeles, Cal., passing Mojave, Freeman, along the east base of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, through Lone Pine, Independence, Big Pine, Bishop, along the west side of Lake Mono, through Bridgeport, Markleeville, Tallac, Tahoe, Truckee, Downieville, Quincy, Susanville, and Alturas; thence along the east side of Goose Lake past Fairport and New Pine Creek, all in California, to Lakeview, Oreg.; and from Alturas, Cal., down Pitt River to connect with the California State highway at Redding, Cal.

SEC. 3. That said military and national-defense highway and post road shall connect with the various highways that lead from the great valleys through and over the passes east of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, and in addition to serving the general use of the public through commerce and the mining interests to be adapted to the general requirements of general military defensive purposes, such as transportation of troops, arms, ordnance, munitions, supplies, and to the utilization of the many strategical advantages pertinent thereto.

SEC. 4. That the Office of Public Roads and Rural Engineering of the Department of Agriculture and the highway engineers connected therewith shall make all necessary surveys and superintend its construction (with the use of such available machinery as may be possessed by the Department of Agriculture), under the direction of the Secretary of War.

SEC. 5. That the Secretary of War is hereby authorized to accept on behalf of the United States the free offers of all necessary rights of way, material, and other assistance for the construction of said military and national-defense highway and post road that may be offered; and that the work of construction shall begin as soon as possible after the passage of this act. That the rights of way for the said military and national-defense highway and post road shall be acquired from the States of California and Oregon and the several counties through which the said highway runs on conditions satisfactory to the Secretary of War.

SEC. 6. That the sum of $3,500,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, be, and the same is hereby, appropriated, out of any funds in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act.

SEC. 7. That in addition to the said military and national-defense highway and post road being used as a military and national-defense highway and post road, the same shall be open to the use of the general public free of tolls and under State control except when used for military and national-defense purposes. That the Secretary of War shall establish rules and regulations for the use of said military and national-defense highway and post road not inconsistent with the provisions of this act.

Education of Aliens Who Desire to Become Citizens of the United States.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK P. WOODS,
OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. WOODS of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I desire to insert in the RECORD a communication from Hon. D. F. Coyle, of Humboldt, Iowa, with reference to the item in the sundry civil appropriation bill providing for the education of aliens who desire to become citizens of the United States. The judicial duties of Judge Coyle bring him in close contact with aliens applying for citizenship. This, together with the fact that he is a close students of social and economic problems, makes the suggestions set forth in his communication worthy of consideration.

The communication is as follows:

POCAHONTAS, IOWA, *January 18, 1917.*

Hon. FRANK P. WOODS, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: Permit me to call your attention to an item in the sundry civil appropriation bill now before Congress, increasing the appropriation for the field service of the Bureau of Naturalization of the Department of Labor $30,000 over the appropriation for the present fiscal year, which was $275,000.

This branch of the Government service has administrative control of all matters pertaining to the naturalization of aliens. The field force of this bureau—the naturalization examiners—investigate all applications for naturalization papers and report the result of their investigations to the various courts exercising jurisdiction in these matters, thus aiding very materially in the enforcement of the law in an efficient manner.

During the past year this bureau has taken upon itself the huge task of providing instruction and training in citizenship of applicants for citizenship, and otherwise helping our foreign friends qualify upon a higher standard of American citizenship. The public school authorities are being prevailed upon to institute night classes in which foreigners are taught to speak, read, and write in our tongue, and trained to understand our system of government so that they may become intelligent voters. As a result some 800 or more such night schools have already been established in the cities and towns throughout the country.

We must concede that this is a very laudable undertaking, which should be encouraged and supported to the utmost. The cost of this constructive and humanitarian work is indeed small when compared to the benefits accruing to the Nation as a whole. The most striking feature of this Americanization movement is the fact that it can be carried on without any expense to the Government. It does not cost the citizens of the United States one cent. It is all paid for by the foreigners admitted to citizenship. The nominal fees paid by them for the great privilege of acquiring citizenship defray the expenses of

the good administration of the naturalization law as well as the expense of this great Americanization movement, and still an average of over $65,000 a year is being turned into the Federal Treasury. There would seem to be no good reason, therefore, why the $30,000 increase asked by the Secretary of Labor for this branch of his department should not be granted. Without this additional fund the work of the Naturalization Bureau will be seriously hindered.

It does not seem entirely just and proper that the money paid by foreigners for their naturalization should be used as revenue for the maintenance of the General Government, especially since it can be used to much better advantage in the patriotic endeavor of educating the foreigners in their civic duties and responsibilities.

Might I ask, therefore, that when the sundry civil bill comes up for consideration this particular appropriation for the Bureau of Naturalization receive your valuable support and indorsement? I understand that the following item in said bill relates specifically to the appropriation for the field force of this bureau: "For promoting instruction and training in citizenship of applicants for naturalization, including personal services in the District of Columbia, attendance at educational and citizenship conventions by the officers and employees of the Bureau of Naturalization and members of its field force, and other necessary expenses incidental thereto."

I have no intimation that any opposition exists to this appropriation. Certainly there could be no danger of its rejection if the pressing need for this additional appropriation were generally understood.

Very truly, yours,

D. F. COYLE,
Judge of the District Court,
Fourteenth Judicial District of Iowa.

International Commerce Commission.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. RAKER,
OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 2, 1917.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, I desire to place in the RECORD as a part of my remarks a concise statement of the needs and necessity of an international commerce commission. This statement shows a splendid record on this great subject, and the facts therein contained are a monument to the able, efficient, active, and intelligent work of Hon. David Lubin, of Sacramento, Cal. I think the information contained in this statement by Mr. Lubin will be of great value to the Members of the House and to the general public as well.

The statement is as follows:

"Unfixed rates of ocean carriage for the staples disturb and impede the whole mechanism of exchange, affecting adversely the economic status of the people, not only in one country, but in every country of the world."

FURTHER PAPERS ON THE RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES FOR AN INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE COMMISSION.

[By David Lubin.]

IS NOT OCEAN CARRIAGE A PUBLIC UTILITY? IF SO, SHOULD IT NOT BE UNDER PUBLIC CONTROL?

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURE,
Rome, Italy, December 1, 1916.

Hon. JOSHUA W. ALEXANDER,
Chairman Committee on Merchant Marine,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. ALEXANDER: I take pleasure in handing you herewith a further document on the proposal under House joint resolution 311 for an international commerce commission on ocean carriage, which proposal, as you know, is to come up for international action at the close of the war.

This document is the outgrowth of a series of meetings which I recently had when in London with leading British officials and shipowners.

As copies, when printed, are to be circulated among farmers for public reading in meetings of the granges, National Farmers' Union, and other farmers' associations, it was deemed advisable to cast the main arguments in dialogue form in an attempt to make the presentation the clearer.

Knowing the keen interest taken by yourself and your committee in the proposal I am prompted to hand you the document in the confident hope that you will give it the attention its merits may deserve.

With high esteem, I have the honor to be,

Yours, very sincerely, DAVID LUBIN,
Delegate of the United States,
International Institute of Agriculture, Rome, Italy.

"The disadvantages of the system [of shipping rings] are those which are usually inseparable from a monopoly not subject to control." (British Report on Shipping Rings, p. 79.)

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

Quite a few years ago, accompanied by a friend, I went to see some land in Inyo County, Cal., situated in the northeastern part of that State, on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada Mountains. We found plenty of land available, of good quality and at low prices.

"You seem to have it quite dry here," I remarked to the land agent who met us on the journey.

"Oh, yes; this is substantially a rainless region. We can raise nothing here without irrigation." Pointing some distance ahead, he said: "Yonder is the Owens River; plenty of water there; we bring it down in the irrigating ditches."

"Does the water go free with the land?"

"No; you pay for the water as you use it."

"To whom?"

"To the company which owns the water right."

"What do they charge for the water? Do they contract to furnish it at a fixed rate?"

"They are not ready yet; their engineers are just making surveys; but I do not think their rates will be very high."

I thought the matter over and came to the conclusion that uncontrolled ownership of water rights is wrong; it gives the owner of those rights power to exert social, economic, and political pressure over the water users. It is dangerous to permit the uncontrolled use of such power.

Expand Inyo Valley to the size of an extensive country with a great company owning the irrigating waters, and what have we got? A tyranny pure and simple. And what is here said of the danger of uncontrolled water rights may be said of the danger of uncontrolled ocean carriage.

OCEAN CARRIAGE IS A PUBLIC UTILITY; IT SHOULD BE UNDER PUBLIC CONTROL.

Concentrate the business of ocean carriage in the hands of shipping rings, and what have we got? We have also got a tyranny pure and simple, for the shipping ring may likewise exert social, economic, and political pressure, pressure exerted not merely over a few farmers, a few exporters or importers of the staples, but over all the farmers of the land, and over all the people of that land. Nor is this all. As the business of ocean carriage is from country to country, international, this pressure can be exerted not merely over one country but over every country.

We talk of the "freedom of the seas," but if that means freedom from the restraint of law, then such freedom may mean the enslavement of the people. Every vessel that plies the seas as carrier of passengers or carrier of merchandise should be bound under law as rigorously as the railways are under the Interstate Commerce Commission. The carrier should not have the right to operate under the ordinary laws of commerce, under unrestricted competition, nor should he be permitted the right of operating under uncontrolled shipping rings. Carriers all, whether they be street cars or railways, or ships, carriers by land and carriers by water, whether within the country or in international trade, should be under law, with rates of carriage fixed and made known in advance, not merely for home traffic but, and above all, for international traffic.

Unfixed rates for the ocean carriage of the staples, rates that vary "from day to day and from hour to hour," bring into play factors which dislocate the equities in the world of commerce and industry, and consequently form a deep-rooted cause of economic injury the world over. What poison is to the human body, that uncontrolled ocean carriage is to the body politic; as the corruption of the blood by poison throws out of harmony the normal functions of the body, so does uncontrolled ocean carriage set awry the equities in the mechanism of exchange.

Does this statement seem too broad, too sweeping? Then I would beg the reader to go over the few pages in this booklet carefully; let him compare the generalizations contained therein with the facts as set forth in the report to Congress on shipping combinations and in the British report of the royal commission on shipping rings, and then let him give his answer.

On all sides it is recognized that at the close of the war there will be many readjustments. The control and regulation of ocean carriage through an international commerce commission should be among the first of these readjustments.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE COST OF OCEAN CARRIAGE IN DETERMINING THE HOME PRICE OF THE STAPLES.

PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE COMMISSION.

The Congress of the United States in September, 1914, passed the following resolution (H. J. Res. 311):

"*Resolved*, etc., That in accordance with the authority of letter (f) of article 9 of the treaty establishing the International Institute of Agriculture, which provides that it 'shall submit to the approval of the Governments, if there be need, measures for the protection of the common interests of farmers,' the American delegate to the International Institute of Agriculture is hereby instructed to present (during the 1914 fall session) to the permanent committee the following resolutions to the end that they may be submitted for action at the general assembly in 1915, so as to permit the proposed conference to be held in Rome during the fortnight preceding the session of the general assembly of the institute in 1917:

"Resolutions: The general assembly instructs the International Institute of Agriculture to invite the adhering Governments to participate in an international conference on the subject of steadying the world's price of the staples.

"This conference shall consist of members appointed by each of the Governments adhering to the institute and is to consider the advisability of formulating a convention for the establishment of a permanent international commerce commission on merchant marine and on ocean freight rates with consultative, deliberative, and advisory powers.

"Said conference to be held in Rome during the fortnight preceding the session of the general assembly of the institute in 1917."

This resolution was accordingly submitted to the International Institute of Agriculture on February 27, 1915. After due deliberation it was ordered that it be part of the program of the next general assembly, which is to convene on the termination of the war.

THE LONDON CONFERENCES.

On returning from the United States to Rome, for the 1916 autumn session of the institute, I took the occasion of a few weeks' stay in London to go over the proposal embodied in this resolution with representative British officials and shipowners. In this I was favored by the assistance of Sir James Wilson, the British delegate to the institute.

Through the kind offices of the American and Italian Embassies, an audience was arranged with the president of the board of trade, the Right Hon. Walter Runciman. The subject was also gone over with the permanent secretary of the board of agriculture, Sir Sydney Olivier, and with Mr. Hipwood, assistant secretary of the mercantile marine department of the Board of Trade.

On October 2 the proposal was discussed with Mr. Finlay, secretary of the Baltic Exchange, at whose suggestion I saw the president, vice president, and secretary of the British Chamber of Shipping.

Valuable assistance was given by Mr. J. P. Mackinder, Member of Paliament, who was instrumental in interesting Sir Owen Philipps, a leading shipowner, who called at the hotel, when the subject was taken up in detail.

On October 9 I addressed a meeting on the proposal at the school of economics of the University of London. A general discussion followed.

On September 29 Mr. Middleton, of the intelligence department of the Board of Agriculture, accompanied by Sir James Wilson, came to see me by appointment. During our conversation Sir Norman Hill, secretary of the Liverpool Steam Ship Owners' Association, called, when as a result of general discussion Sir Norman proposed to arrange a meeting with the leading shipowners of Liverpool and to notify me further.

On October 9 I received the following telegram from him:

"LIVERPOOL, *October 9.*

"Representative Atlantic lines can meet you on Thursday at 1a Cockspur Street, London, at 3 p. m. Please wire if day and hour suit you."

I replied in the affirmative, and the meeting was accordingly held on October 12 at the office of Mr. Harold Sanderson.

The following lines were represented:

Allan Line, Canadian Pacific, Furness Withy, Associated Lines, White Star Line, American Line, Cunard Line, Harrison Line, Wilson Line, Atlantic Transport Line, Dominion Line, Leyland Line, and Mr. Schofield.

The meeting convened at 3 p. m. and terminated at 4.45. The British delegate to the International Institute of Agriculture was present by invitation and made an introductory statement. I was asked to follow, and presented the case for an international commerce commission as a means of furthering the equities in the price formation of the staples.

The presentation was, in substance, on the lines set forth in the debates before Congress (see CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 1, 1914) when House joint resolution 311 (quoted on p. 4 of this paper) was *up for passage*. Supplementary to this I handed in a paper (hereto attached as an addenda) outlining a tentative plan of procedure were the proposal adopted.

A majority of the shipowners at the conference seemed to be opposed to changes in the present system, expressing doubts as to the need and practicability of an international commerce commission. It was, however, apparent toward the close of the meeting that the interest of some had been arrested to an extent which inclined them to consider the proposal tentatively.

That, of course, was about all that could be reasonably expected at a first hearing of the case. It took, as we all know, many hearings to win over the railway people in favor of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Some were never won over, and yet the Interstate Commerce Commission is here and the fears expressed by the railway magnates as to the jeopardy to the value of their shares and bonds were proven groundless. Before the advent of the Interstate Commerce Commission their shares and bonds wabbled in the markets at times on the low level of "wild cat." Now, under the commission, these shares and bonds are "gilt-edged," not alone at home but in the markets of the world.

THE ARGUMENTS PRO AND CON.

It seemed to be assumed by some that the ships are deserving of the main consideration; that as a glutted market with consequent price depression in the producing countries would ensue unless ships were available to export the surplus, therefore the ships "hold the fort," the ships are primary.

It was, however, pointed out that without the "bulk freight," without the staples, the ships would soon be forced into bankruptcy: It would thus seem that the staples are, in reality, primary, not the ships.

It was also argued that shipowners have a right to control their own property in their own way, especially so if that way indirectly promotes the interests of British manufactures by bringing in cheap supplies for the British workman.

In reply it was submitted that if that "way" were to generate a power to throttle, a willingness to throttle, and lead to the act of throttling, it would not be nearly as profitable as it might appear to be. This seems obvious, for as the producing nations are customers of British manufactures it must follow that if they are impoverished through forced depressions in the price of their staples, they can not be nearly such good customers as they might otherwise be, nor could they then afford such a profitable field for the investor.

Besides, it may be seriously questioned whether the present "way" really does give "cheap supplies" to the British workman so long as those supplies are only permitted to filter down to him through the hands of the speculator, the shipper.

And here it may be well to explain the sense in which the term "shipper" is used in this paper, and the position which this "shipper" occupies in relation to the subject before us.

As may be seen from the American and the British reports on shipping rings and combinations, there are two classes of shippers: First, shippers of the merchandise, known as "package freight"; and, second, shippers of the staples of agriculture, known as "bulk freight."

"Package freight" covers about 200 out of every 900 tons of freight carried, and goes at fixed rates. "Bulk freight" represents 700 out of every 900 tons, and goes at unfixed rates.

The shippers of "package freight" are mainly manufacturers, merchants, and shipping brokers. The shippers of "bulk freight" are mainly buyers who are speculators in the staples of agriculture. In this paper the term "shipper" is used to designate these buyers and speculators in the staples.

During the London conferences some of the shipowners contended that it is not they but these "shippers" of the staples, these speculators, who favor the present system of unfixed rates. Indeed, it was stated that so far as the shipowners are concerned, they would be as strongly in favor of fixed rates on "bulk freight" as manufacturers and merchants are for fixed rates on "package freight." This is an important admission for our case.

As to the speculators in the staples, the "shippers," it is easy to see why they want unfixed rates for ocean carriage. The element of uncertainty through unfixed rates, and the rare opportunities for price manipulation which it affords, are in reality the stock in trade of these speculators. Remove this uncertainty and the speculator would then be transformed into a mere broker; he would then be rendered harmless.

Under the present system ocean freight rates are jumped highest when the bulk of the crop is changing hands, thus correspondingly lowering the home price at the time when the speculator is buying. With a large proportion of the crop bought and stored in warehouse and elevator, and for the time being outside the reach of changing hands, ocean freight rates are down, when, as a result, the home price of the staples is forced up; and this is the time when the speculator lets out the product to the consumer. So then under this system of unfixed rates for ocean carriage, this system of uncertainty, the speculator seems to play a game of "heads I win, tails you lose."

The influence and bearing of the cost of ocean carriage on the home price of the staples will be presently shown.

OCEAN CARRIAGE A WORLD PROBLEM.

As to the solution of this problem it was made evident that no mere national action can be effective, for the factors that operate are international, not national. As Mr. Hipwood, the assistant secretary of the marine department of the British Board of Trade, stated to me:

"The question of ocean freight is a world problem, and one of very great importance to all countries. As a world problem it can not be settled satisfactorily by any one nation nor by any one interest acting alone."

Substantially, the same opinion was expressed several years ago by Sir Sydney Olivier, permanent secretary of the British Board of Agriculture.

Reflection will also make it clear that the limited scope open to attempts at coercive national action for the control and regulation of international shipping is inadequate for the ends in view, for coercive measures against foreign ships in home ports could be effectively counteracted through adverse action of the shipping rings in foreign ports.

In substance, this was the stand taken by Mr. ALEXANDER, chairman of the House Committee on Merchant Marine, when speaking in support of House joint resolution 311 (see p. 4) and concurred in by Congress. Mr. ALEXANDER then said:

"It is true that our Government would be impotent to enforce reasonable rates or stabilize rates on farm products in international trade in the absence of an international agreement. * * * It is an international problem and can only be solved by international agreement."

As no stenographic report of the proceedings in the London conference was made I purpose to set forth the general trend of the arguments offered pro and con during the various discussions. And as this document will be largely read by farmers, a technical form and technical terms have been avoided. So as to make the presentation the clearer it has been cast in the form of a colloquial dialogue. Most of the points dealt with were brought up in the London conferences.

FARMER BROWN'S PERPLEXITIES—THE DIALOGUE.

Farmer Brown, a member of the Farmers' Education and Cooperative Union of America, had just harvested his crops when he was visited by a buyer, and the following conversation took place between them:

BUYER. I have the pleasure of addressing Farmer Brown, I believe. May I hand you my card? I am Jones, of W. M. Thompson & Co., wheat buyers. I understand that you have some wheat for sale. If so, I should like to see some samples.

UNION FARMER. Yes; I have 2,000 bushels for sale, and shall be pleased to submit the samples to you.

BUYER (examining the samples, which he finds satisfactory). How much do you want a bushel?

UNION FARMER. Well, what are you paying?

BUYER. I can offer you 73 cents.

UNION FARMER. How's that? I hear that wheat is worth much more this season.

BUYER. How much?

UNION FARMER. Oh, I don't know, but some considerable more. Why, last week I read in the papers that it was bringing 85 cents on the New York wheat pit.

BUYER. Well, you know the prices are changing right along. I can assure you that 73 cents is as high as you can now get anywhere. The longer you wait the less you are likely to receive.

UNION FARMER. Well, I don't think I'll sell to-day, anyhow. I am going to New York in a day or two, and you may call again in a couple of weeks if you like.

A few days later Farmer Brown arrives in New York and goes the round in an endeavor to find a buyer at a higher price, but he is unsuccessful. On returning to his hotel he falls in with an acquaintance of his, Mr. White, a manufacturer and exporter, with whom he goes over his morning's experiences. Mr. White is of the opinion that there should be no difficulty in disposing of so staple a product as wheat.

UNION FARMER. Oh, I can sell it easily enough; there's no trick in doing that. The point is to get the right price for it, and that, I can assure you, is no easy matter.

MERCHANT. Well, of course, I am unfamiliar with the details of your business, but I suppose you are right. I wish I could be of service to you, but I am afraid I can not. But wait a minute; I see a friend of mine, Senator Grey, at the other end of the room. I understand that he was interested in a measure that was up in Congress on the price formation of the staples. Maybe he can throw some light on the subject.

WHAT MAKES THE HOME PRICE?

Presently all three are seated together and the matter is brought up.

SENATOR. I am certainly interested in your problem, for, as Mr. White may have told you, not long ago a measure was pending in Congress which had a bearing on the subject. While my time did not then allow of my going into the details as thoroughly as I should have wished, I was nevertheless sufficiently impressed to aid its passage by voting in its favor. As that measure was, however, but preliminary to further action, I am glad of this opportunity of learning more about the subject. Now, let me see; you want to know what the price of your wheat should be, and if I remember correctly, to arrive at the home price of a staple we should first ascertain the world's price, the Liverpool price, and then deduct therefrom the cost of delivery from the point of export to Liverpool.

UNION FARMER. But of what use would all that be to me? I am not selling for export; I just want to sell on the home market as I always do.

MERCHANT. Yes; I really fail to see what Farmer Brown had to do with getting wheat to Liverpool. That may be all right for an exporter, but Brown is not exporting. He just wants to sell right here; he wants to know the home price, as I do when I sell my furniture. If I sell 100 dozen kitchen chairs, in arriving at their price—say, $7 a dozen—I do not have to inquire what chairs are selling for in Liverpool nor into the cost of ocean carriage, so why need Farmer Brown inquire?

SENATOR. Well, I will try to state some of the explanations which were given when the measure I have referred to was pending in Congress. You will then see why.

Observe: Your furniture, in common with almost all manufactured goods, is sold by private sale. That is, it has no standard world price. But with the staples of agriculture it is different. They are sold at public sale, just as bonds and shares and stocks are; their prices are continuously quoted on the bourses, pits, and exchanges of the market centers of the world; and their home price in the exporting country should be the price ruling in the world's importing center, say, Liverpool, less the cost of delivery from the place of production to that center.

Therefore, let me repeat, to know what price Farmer Brown should be getting for his wheat on the home market, whether the 73 cents he has been offered or whether 80 cents or 90 cents, he should first find out what is being offered per bushel at Liverpool; he should first find out the world's price. So, let us look that up in the paper. Yes; here we are: They are offering a dollar a bushel at Liverpool. And now, in the second place, we must find out what it costs to deliver the wheat from New York to Liverpool, so we must find out the cost of ocean carriage. We will then deduct that cost from the Liverpool price, and we shall thus know pretty nearly what the home price at the port of New York ought to be.

UNION FARMER. And how am I to find that out?

THE UNKNOWN FACTOR.

MERCHANT. Oh, that's easy enough; there is no trouble in that. I think we can find it out right away from my friend the secretary of the chamber of commerce. Let me see; there's a telephone. Let us call him up.

"Hello! Chamber of Commerce? Are you there? The secretary? Well, then, I am Mr. White; can you oblige me with a schedule of the ocean freight rates for the staples of agriculture? What! You say there are no fixed rates for the ocean carriage of the staples? How's that? I know there are fixed rates on 'package freight,' on furniture and other merchandise. Yes; but not on wheat? Do you mean to tell me that 'freight rates for agricultural products change almost daily and sometimes several times during the day'? That there are no fixed rates for the carriage of the staples? Indeed, is that so? Thank you for the information."

UNION FARMER. So, then, the cost of carriage can not be ascertained in advance? That's curious, isn't it?

SENATOR. So it would seem.

MERCHANT. There must surely be some mistake. I can not understand it at all. Why, how could a wheat buyer for over-sea export calculate the "lay-down" price if there were no fixed rates for ocean carriage? If an export buyer wants 100 dozen kitchen chairs to sell at $1 each in London, and if he knows that the cost of delivery will be 10 cents on each chair, he can well afford to pay $7 a dozen for them. But supposing there were no fixed rates; that the rates were to fluctuate from "day to day and from hour to hour," so that it would be a chance whether the chair would bring him a loss or a profit, how could the buyer determine the "lay-down" price? He would not be able to determine it at all. He would have to guess the price in buying and guess the price he would have to sell at; he would then be a speculator.

Now, if there are fixed rates of ocean carriage for kitchen chairs, there must surely be fixed rates of ocean carriage on such an important staple as wheat. I think that the secretary of the chamber of commerce must have been mistaken in his information.

SENATOR. It strikes me that the secretary is not mistaken. If I remember rightly, when the measure I have referred to was up in Congress it was then shown that fixed rates of ocean carriage do not apply to the staples, but only to general merchandise, to what is known as "package traffic."

UNION FARMER. Well, one thing is beginning to make itself clear to me, anyhow. The farmer, not knowing at the time of selling his products what the cost for their ocean carriage will be, is confronted by an unknown quantity, by an unknown factor in price formation. Whether this factor is also unknown to the shipowner is another question. So, then, under present conditions it is clear that the farmer, at least, is bound to come out at the small end of the horn.

MERCHANT. You would seem to be right in your conclusion as things now stand, but I am glad of our talk anyway. It is clear to me that the question is well worth looking into.

SENATOR. Indeed it is. I must be going now, as I have an appointment, but I should be sorry to let the matter drop here. Could we not each of us make further inquiries for the facts in the case and arrange to meet again before long to see what conclusions we are led to?

MERCHANT. That is a good idea. I also must be going now, but should be pleased to come if the meeting you suggest is arranged.

UNION FARMER. I like the suggestion very much. How would it suit you, gentlemen, to come down for the short end of the week to my farm at some time in the near future?

SENATOR. That would suit me first rate, and if this be agreeable to our friend Mr White I will also arrange to come.

The meeting then adjourned.

CONTINUATION OF THE DISCUSSION.

Some time thereafter our friends reconvened in the house of Farmer Brown, who opened the meeting by introducing a neighbor, Mr. Platt.

UNION FARMER. I wish to introduce my friend Mr. Platt, a member of the Grange. I have gone over with him the subject of our discussion, and he expressed a desire to be present. I thought you would be pleased to have him come.

SENATOR. I am sure that we shall be glad to have him present and take part.

GRANGER. Thank you; I am of course keenly interested in the matter to come before us. It happens curiously enough that Mr. Brown and I may be said to represent at this meeting (of course unofficially) two of the leading farmers' associations. I am, as he told you, a member of the Grange, while he is a prominent member of the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America.

UNION FARMER. Well, gentlemen, I am glad we have met at last. As you, the long interval which has elapsed since we adjourned is due to the several requests by Senator Grey for postponements.

SENATOR. Yes, you are right; but we have thereby had a chance to look the matter up.

UNION FARMER. That is so, and I am quite anxious to hear the results of your inquiries. Of course we all understand that we are not here to talk about the disposal of my 2,000 bushels of wheat. We realize that it forms but a mere incident in the inquiry in which we are all so deeply interested. But as it was instrumental in bringing up the subject before us I think you will be interested to hear my subsequent experiences. After our meeting adjourned I made further efforts to dispose of my wheat, and finally heard that buyer Jones was around again. As nothing better had offered I decided to hunt him up, but what do you think? Instead of quoting a higher price, as I had hoped he would, he said that wheat had declined, and so I had to accept 70 cents instead of the 73 cents he had offered me before. Evidently the buyer has the upper hand in the game.

SENATOR. So it would seem. And now, so as to start the ball rolling, I would suggest that our friend the merchant open the discussion for us.

GUESSWORK AND SPECULATION.

MERCHANT. You may remember that shortly before we adjourned we were informed that there were no fixed rates for the ocean carriage of the staples. I had occasion to bring this matter up at a meeting of merchants, when the statement was received with surprise and incredulity. As you may know, legitimate business is not primarily interested in high rates or in low rates for carriage, but in fixed rates. Ocean rates might even be so low as to cause a loss to the carriers, and yet if they were unfixed they would cause such uncertainty in commerce as to knock all business calculations into a cocked hat. We can all see clearly that with freight rates "changing from day to day and from hour to hour" legitimate merchandising business could not be done. All would then be guesswork, speculation. Merchants would not stand for such a system for a single day.

UNION FARMER. The remedy would then seem to be fixed rates for the ocean carriage of the staples, and why should not Senator Grey be the man to introduce national legislation toward this end?

GRANGER. If you will permit me I would suggest that we go slow on this fixed-rate business. The agricultural interest is too great and too important to be jeopardized by spasmodic attempts at imaginary reform. The Grange had some such experience in the early seventies when reformers jumped to the front to brush aside the middlemen, and got the Grange at work starting banks, and loading ships with grain, and doing the exporting on its own hook. And what became of all that? Why, it was all a whirlpool of loss, loss, loss. One such trial ought to be enough. It does not take much of a calculator to know that fixed rates mean high rates, and we also know that high rates for ocean carriage mean a low home price for the farmer. So what would be the benefit of our knowing the rate in advance if we also knew in advance that the knowledge will bring us a low home price for the product? I think that we had better leave good enough alone. The laws of trade generally adjust themselves all right if left to themselves.

SENATOR. That there is an element of truth in the generalized statement just made may be readily granted, but is it the whole truth? We shall see. But before proceeding further I wish to revert for a moment to the reason for my past requests for postponements.

You may remember my statement at our former meeting that I aided in the passage of a measure in Congress which had a bearing on this subject. The measure called for an international conference on a proposal for an international commerce commission. I have since gone over the data and the arguments then submitted in the House and have also looked up other avenues of information. Crystalizing all this I have brought some of the documents with me, to which we may refer, among them the British Parliamentarly Report on Shipping Rings, and the American Report to Congress on Shipping Combinations.

Now, to return to Mr. Platt's statement that the laws of trade "adjust themselves" if let alone let us see if they do. Were it so, there would be little need for law courts, legislative bodies, boards of trade, chambers of commerce, and the efforts of individuals or of corporate bodies, for all these activities are largely directed toward the reduction of friction in commerce, toward the point of least resistance, toward the attainment of the equities in exchange.

THE DILEMMA.

Now let us see how the case stands with ocean carriage. Let us take, for instance, the following brief historic outline in the British Report on Shipping Rings, page 75:

"In the days of the sailing ship the date on which a ship was likely to arrive could not be predicted with any certainty, nor was there any certainty as to the date at which she would sail. The substitution of steam for sail rendered possible the supply of organized services of vessels sailing and arriving at fixed dates. * * * With the development of the steamship there arose * * * the establishment of services of regular lines. * * * It is the function of the liner to provide a continuous and organized service on a particular route."

The system of regular lines, of regular sailings thus made possible by steamships was, of course, an improvement; but this improvement led to a condition which worked a hardship on the shipowners. There was the "cutthroat competition" of the lines among themselves, and tramp units, representing but a nominal investment, adroitly exploited the ocean from port to port, thus jeopardizing the returns on the vast sums of money invested in the liners. This condition was overcome by combination, as may be seen from the following (British Report, p. 76):

"In the course of time the competition between the regular lines became so keen that, after serious loss, they found it necessary to draw together with a view to mitigating and regulating the severity of their competition with one another. This object was attained by the establishment of shipping conferences or alliances of existing companies."

We thus see that a change in the mode of carriage from the sailing vessel to the steamship brought about a new condition adverse to the shipowners, resulting in an effort on their part to right themselves through shipping rings. Now, this may "adjust" the situation all right for the carrier, the shipowner, but does it "adjust" it for the producer and the consumer? Does it adjust it so far as the staples are concerned?

I think not, for it is obvious that if the function of rate fixing be exclusively vested in the shipowners they are likely above all things to consider their actions from the standpoint of their own special interests, even if these conflict with those of the producers and the consumers; and besides, the shipowners would thereby acquire a sphere of influence in the determination of prices altogether disproportionate to their importance.

THE LAW OF CARRIAGE.

GRANGER. We, of course, know that sailing vessels were the carriers before the steamships came along, but are not steamships also subject to the laws of trade, to the law of competition? It is said that the staples are governed by the law of supply and demand; that when the supply is above the normal the price will be below the normal, when the supply is below the normal the prices will be above the normal.

Now, then, as I understand it, the same law operates in determining the cost of ocean carriage. When the supply of freight is above the normal the price of carriage must be below the normal; and does not this give us the lowest rate for carriage at the time when the largest amount of the staples are changing hands, at the time when the farmers are selling their products?

SENATOR. Believing as he does, it is perfectly natural for Mr. Platt to come to the conclusion he has arrived at. But what are the facts in the case? We find that in ocean carriage the case stands differently. While the price of the staples is low when the supply is high, the price for ocean carriage, on the contrary, is high when the quantity for shipment is high; the reason being, the demand for space is high, therefore the cost of carriage is high.

GRANGER. All right; but will not that create a demand for other ships, when the cost of space will come down and cost of carriage adjust itself according to the law of supply and demand?

SENATOR. Which, of course, means unrestricted competition among the ships. And here let me read you what the American Report has to say on this subject. On page 1407 of volume 2, we read:

"Unrestricted competition is expensive and detrimental in the long run."

And again, on page 295 of volume 4:

"Unrestricted competition in ocean freight rates, based on the survival of the fittest, tends to restrict the development of the lines, and in the end must result in monopoly."

And on page 300 of the same volume:

"Competition in freight rates was regarded as the demoralization of trade; as the means of introducing uncertainty instead of certainty."

UNFIXED RATES DEMORALIZE TRADE.

MERCHANT. Yes; I agree to that; unrestricted competition in carriage would be the "demoralization of trade." It is not difficult to see how it would work. Take the case of street cars: Supposing unrestricted competition determined their daily and hourly rates of fare! Supposing the rates of passenger traffic on railways and steamers were subject to change "from day to day and from hour to hour"! Would not that be absurd? And it seems to me even more absurd to have freight rates subject to such constant changes. And so we see that right here the municipal, State, and National law steps in to control, regulate, and fix the rates of street car and railway carriage. Unrestricted competition may be all right in other branches of commercial and industrial activity, but I fail to see its beneficial bearing in the business of carriage. Such competition, by causing freight rates to jump up and down "from day to day and from hour to hour" would make an end of all legitimate buying and selling.

SENATOR. What has just been said seems to me logical, and the more strikingly so when applied to the carriage of the staples of agriculture. For if unfixed rates tend to demoralize trade in such goods as shoes, typewriters, hats, or hosiery, worth by weight as much as $1 per pound and upward, how much more must such unfixed rates demoralize the business in the staples worth only 1 cent or a few cents per pound, with their very much lower ratio of value between bulk and price?

UNION FARMER. It seems to me that we can now clearly see that unrestricted competition in the rates of ocean carriage must result in injury to commerce. But I previously understood you to say that shipowners had done away with all that by forming shipping rings?

SENATOR. Yes; you are correct. Let me give you some evidence on that head. Let us turn to volume 4, page 304, of the American Report:

"By resorting to the use of the 'fighting ships' or to unlimited rate cuttings, the conference lines soon exhaust the resources of their antagonists."

And here let me quote from the findings in the British Report, page 36:

"The chief aim of the system of shipping conferences and deferred rebates has been generally achieved. The conference lines are protected from the competition which might otherwise arise. The system has tended toward and resulted in a monopoly; though a monopoly subject to considerable limitations."

UNION FARMER. But where do the farmers come in in all this?

MERCHANT. They do not seem to "come in" at all; they seem to come out—to come out at the "small end of the horn."

SENATOR. It seems to me that you are right, but what does it all mean? Is the farmer only concerned? I am beginning to feel that the question is one of importance not only to the farmer but to all of us. It is certainly deserving of the most thorough study.

Having this in mind I have brought with me a little device which, as it were, brings out in kindergarten fashion some of the phases of the problem before us.

THE DEVICE.

GRANGER. I am sure we should all be pleased to see it.

SENATOR. Well, here it is. On the right side of the device you see "gauge e-e" showing "cost of ocean carriage." On the left is "gauge f-f" showing the "home price of the product." In the space between these two gauges is a triangle representing a total production of, say, 900,000,000 bushels of wheat, 600,000,000 for home use and 300,000,000 for export. The triangle swivels on "pivot c, unrestricted competition in carriage." As it moves "indicator A" finds its way into one or other of the notches on "gauge e-e" indicating the cost of ocean carriage, while "indicator B" should find its way into its corresponding notch on "gauge f-f," showing what the home price of the product ought to be.

Supposing the world's supply of wheat as shown by the crop reports of the International Institute of Agriculture would justify offering $1 a bushel for it at Liverpool, how much should that wheat be worth in New York? It should be worth the Liverpool price less the cost of ocean carriage to Liverpool. Thus, if "indicator A" were at the 10-cent notch, "indicator B" should point to 90 cents as the home price, but if "indicator A" were at the 5-cent notch, "indicator B" should then point to 95 cents as the home price.

WHAT IT MEANS.

Let us see how this would operate. Let us say that there is a total production in the United States of 900,000,000 bushels of wheat, and that the Liverpool price for wheat is $1 a bushel. The value of this crop at the Liverpool quotation would be $900,000,000. Let us now see how its value on the home market would be influenced by the cost of ocean carriage.

When the normal average ocean carriage rate per bushel is—	Then the normal average price at the point of export will be—	The deduction from the total value of crop on account of cost of carriage will be—	The total value of the crop on the home market will be—
1 cent	99 cents	$9,000,000	$891,000,000
5 cents	95 cents	45,000,000	855,000,000
10 cents	90 cents	90,000,000	810,000,000
15 cents	85 cents	135,000,000	765,000,000
20 cents	80 cents	180,000,000	720,000,000
25 cents	75 cents	225,000,000	675,000,000
30 cents	70 cents	270,000,000	630,000,000
35 cents	65 cents	315,000,000	585,000,000

We can thus see the great influence which the cost of ocean carriage exerts on the home price of the staples, and how necessary it is to make certain that this cost is determined and published in advance and in a manner consistent with the importance of the equities involved.

GRANGER. It would seem to me that we are straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel. We are talking of ships and cost of carriage and exports. Now, during all the many years that I have been a farmer I do not remember one occasion on which I have sold my products for export. There may be some that do, but what are they compared to the great mass of farmers who sell at home to the hundred million consumers in the United States? The Grange, of which I am a member for many years, and which is supposed to understand this thing, says that it is Wall Street and its speculators who are the destroyers of the equities; that it is they who are eating us up. The Grange has for years past been urging legislation against them, and I think that the Grange is right.

UNION FARMER. I confess that I was of the same opinion as my friend the Granger before we held our first meeting. Since that time I have looked into the matter, and I now see that as the staples are not sold like ordinary merchandise by private sale, as they are sold on the world's bourses, pits, and exchanges at public sale, like bonds, stocks, and shares, therefore they have a world's price. It is clear that the exporter will pay no more than the price ruling on the home market. Should the home price, when increased by the cost of carriage to the importing center, be higher than the world's price it would then, of course, put a stop to exporting. But there would soon be a glutted home market, when prices would fall, which would again permit of exporting. I can now see clearly that the home and the export price of the staples are the same, therefore the cost of ocean carriage influences not merely the price of the quantity exported but the price of the entire production.

HOW IT WORKS.

SENATOR. If we have made anything clear as the result of our discussion it is this: That the cost of ocean carriage exerts a decisive influence on the home price of the entire production.

The merit, then, of our debate will center in showing how this influence is exerted, its deteriorating effect on values, the proposed modification, its practicability, and its economic value.

And now let us return to our device and see if it will not illustrate the operation of this influence.

Let us set the device pivoting according to the law of unrestricted competition in carriage, according to the law of supply and demand for cargo space. How, then, does "indicator A" find its way into, say, the 25-cent notch? Why is it not in the 35-cent one or in the 10-cent one? Because the law of supply and demand for cargo space determines the notch into which "indicator A" should go; when the supply of cargo space is above the normal the price of carriage will be below the normal; when the supply of cargo space is below the normal the price of carriage will be above the normal.

GRANGER. But what influence would such a mode of determining freight rates exert on the price of the staples?

SENATOR. As unrestricted competition implies continuous fluctuations it would render the cost of ocean carriage an unstable, unknown factor in the price formation of the staples. And right here is where the mischief comes in. For this affords the opportunity for the speculator to step in and battledore and shuttlecock the home price to his liking. In other words, while "indicator B" should point to the 90-cent notch when "indicator A" is in the 10-cent notch, how would the case stand if "indicator A" were subject to constant fluctuations?

Clearly the actual or potential rapidity in the movements of "indicator A" precludes the seller from using it as a basis for calculating what his price should be. An opportunity is thus afforded the buyer, the speculator, to make use of this uncertainty to force "indicator B," the home price of the product, down to his liking.

THE TOLL OF THE SPECULATOR.

It may thus be seen that the present system of unfixed rates works right into the hands of the speculators. Every cent advance in the cost of ocean carriage on a bushel of wheat during buying time means, say on a 900,000,000 bushel crop, a ratio of $3,000,000 additional to the shipowners for the carriage of the 300,000,000 bushels which are exported, and a ratio of $6,000,000 in the pockets of the speculators on the 600,000,000 bushels remaining on the home market, which they have bought and stored in warehouse and elevator. And this is the first toll they levy, the toll on the producers.

Nor is this all. It is but a beginning. If these speculators export the grain they have stored, they will do so at the time when they have forced the cost of ocean carriage down to their liking. And this gives them their second toll, the toll levied on the shipowners.

Last, but not least, with ocean freight rates forced down, and with the corresponding rise in the price of the product on the home market, the speculators are then ready to levy their third toll, the toll on the consumers.

Obviously it would be a futile task to try to legislate these speculators out of business so long as the present unfixed rates for ocean carriage render it so profitable for them to operate. To remove the speculator we must remove the cause, the unfixed rates.

It will thus be seen that unrestricted competition in ocean carriage with its fluctuating rates is injurious to the interests of the farmer.

MERCHANT. But the British and American reports which you quoted to us state that the shipowners have done away with unrestricted competition; that the rates are now given out through the shipping rings.

SENATOR. Yes; but how? How, then, are the rates for the staples devised? How are they given out? As to the first question we may infer our answer from the following, which is from the British report, page 20:

"Conference agreements, pooling arrangements, and other documents of a confidential character have only been supplied to us on the understanding that their contents are not to be disclosed."

And on page 293 of volume 4 the American report says:

"Care has been exercised to prevent agreements and understandings from becoming public."

THE ROOT OF THE EVIL.

As we were told when we rang up the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce in New York, the rates on the staples are given out from "day to day and from hour to hour," and the Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco, in a communication, says:

"Rates fluctuate from day to day, and a rate reported to-day might be twice as high or half as low to-morrow."

These statements are confirmed in the American report, volume 2, page 1373:

"Ocean freight rates vary not merely from month to month but from day to day and from hour to hour, especially with reference to the great staples which are traded in on the exchanges."

So the evils of unfixed, fluctuating rates for the staples are still here. And now let us see the extent of the evil and the amounts involved. Let us take the statement of the New York Chamber of Commerce:

"Rates change almost daily, sometimes several times during the day. * * * Rates quoted to-day would only be for refusal for 24 hours.

* * * Frequently wheat has been carried between the United States and London free of any charge, being simply used for ballast in the steamers, and at other times the rate has been advanced to 10d. and 12d. per bushel."

Let us, then, for purposes of illustration, take rates fluctuating from 1 to 24 cents per bushel, and we find—what?

A rate of 1 cent a bushel for ocean carriage on a 900,000,000 bushel crop means $9,000,000 to be deducted from its total value on the home market; a 24-cent rate means $216,000,000 to be thus deducted. And right here is the opportunity for the shipping ring to force "indicator A" (cost of ocean carriage) up as "high as the traffic will bear."

It can thus be seen what vast sums of money the speculator is in a position to subtract from the farmer by playing on this unknown factor. Nor does the loss stop here. With his stocks in warehouses and elevators the speculator is now in a position to lord it over the consumer, thus doubling up the margin squeezed out of the farmer.

But we have so far only considered the question as affecting one staple and the production of one country. It applies, however, to all the staples and in all the countries of the world, whether they be exporting or importing countries, or countries which neither export nor import, and whether they be under protection or under free trade.

Thus in the unfixed rates for ocean carriage we have one of the greatest sources of economic inequity in all the world.

IS THIS THE REMEDY?

GRANGER. I begin to see just what this thing means. But since the shipowners now have the matter in their own hands, can they not, through their shipping rings, do away with the fluctuating, unfixed rates, replacing them by rates fixed for stated periods of time, just as is done by the railways? Why could they not be petitioned to do so?

MERCHANT. I agree to that; the shipowners should give rates fixed for stated periods on the staples of agriculture (bulk freight) just as they now give them on general merchandise (package freight). That would seem to be the proper course. That would surely settle the difficulty.

SENATOR. There are serious objections to that kind of a settlement. Were it adopted, it is likely that it would not remove the present evils, and it might lead to others yet more serious.

In the first place, even supposing the shipowners were willing, could they give the fixed rates? It may seem a simple matter to fix rates on bulk freight, but is it so? By no means. Before fixed rates can be given out in advance on bulk freight much has to be done which it would not be in the power of the shipowners alone to do. There must, first of all, be a sound basis for rational calculations as to what the rates should be, and for their terms and conditions, calculations not merely for the purpose of conserving the economic welfare of farmer and consumer, but also for conserving the economic welfare of the shipowner, for clearly the quality of service rendered by the carrier will be dependent on the security of his investment and the volume of his net returns.

To obtain authoritative, trustworthy data for all these calculations there must be world-wide ramification and centralization of effort. All this requires economic cooperation on an international basis. We are therefore confronted by one of two alternatives. Either we must permit, as now, the system of shipping rings with their unfixed rates and consequent adverse economic conditions for producers and consumers the world over, or we must work for the general welfare on the basis of economic cooperation through international effort.

But there is another objection to leaving the matter to the shipping rings.

The shipowners now see the advantages they can derive from coalescing; they have had a taste of those advantages, and they are not likely to be slow to profit thereby, nor will they fail to avail themselves of the still greater advantages which may accrue to them through the elaboration of that system. We can thus see that it would never do to place in the hands of an uncontrolled monopoly a power which could mold our economic conditions as easily as a potter can cold the clay.

For these reasons it can be seen that the stand taken by Congress, to which I have already referred, was the sound one. That stand, embodied in House joint resolution 311, for which, as I previously told you, I voted, calls for the establishment of an international commerce commission on ocean carriage. This, it is evident, is more on the line of a sound, practical solution of the problem than is the suggestion that the matter be left in the hands of the shipowners. It is in the hands of an international commerce commission, with delegates appointed under the authority of an international treaty, that this matter should be placed.

UNION FARMER. But that would be placing the shipowners' property under the control of outsiders; it would be socialism, and I think we are all opposed to that.

OCEAN CARRIAGE A PUBLIC UTILITY—IT SHOULD BE UNDER PUBLIC CONTROL.

SENATOR. Let us see whether we are. If you mean by socialism that kind of collectivism under which all the means of production would be turned over to Government ownership, then I am with you; I would also be opposed to that; but if by socialism you mean Government control of public utilities, then I am not with you. But I do not think you mean that, for you are certainly not opposed to public sidewalks or highways, to municipal control of tramcars, nor to national control of railway rate charges by the Interstate Commerce Commission. You know as well as I do that it is this latter kind of socialism, this control of public utilities, which makes possible the greatest measure of free individualism. And the needs for such public control are nowhere greater than in the sphere of carriage. We now have this control in the case of the street cars; we now have it in the nation-wide railways; and it is even more essential that we should have it for the international carriers, the ships.

MERCHANT. But why should this control be international? Why not enlarge the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission and place this matter in its hands?

SENATOR. Because the purpose here contemplated could not be achieved through the Interstate Commerce Commission. A foreign ship, like an embassy, has substantially to be considered as foreign territory. United States officials are not in a position to dictate what British or German or French shipping corporations should do, nor the rates, terms, and conditions of their charges. And supposing that United States officials could fix the rates, terms, and conditions of ships leaving United States ports, would that serve the purpose aimed at? I think not, for if such rates did not also apply to ships sailing from ports in other countries this would give our competitors in those countries an undue and unfair advantage. They would then know just when and where to beat us in the game. Indeed, the offended shipowners could readily turn against us any supposed advantage secured through forced concessions; they could do this on incoming cargoes in the first place, and, in the next place, by the forced disturbance of the world's price in other ports, hence correspondingly perturbing our own home price.

It is well for us to understand, first as last, that we are dealing here with a question that is international, which can not be settled in any other way than through international means. Once settled on that basis and it will afford a legitimate scope for the Interstate Commerce Commission and similar organizations in other countries to perform their allotted share in this international task.

THE FINDINGS.

UNION FARMER. While the Senator was speaking I jotted down a few points which now form my opinion as the result of our discussion. With your permission I will read them:

(1) The staples have a world's price which is the basis for their home price.

(2) The price for the entire production in the home market, whether for export or for home use, is directly influenced by the cost of ocean carriage.

(3) The home price is also indirectly influenced by the cost of ocean carriage in foreign ports.

(4) At present ocean carriage rates on the staples are not given out for stated periods in advance; they are given out from day to day and from hour to hour, thus giving rise to uncertainty and fluctuation.

(5) This uncertainty affords the opportunity for the operations of the speculator.

(6) These operations result in an economic injury to the producer and to the consumer.

(7) The remedy should be equitable rates, terms, and conditions fixed for stated times, and made known in advance.

(8) This should be done through an international commerce commission.

GRANGER. I must confess that I have been brought over to those conclusions, and I now unhesitatingly give them my approval.

MERCHANT. It is clear that the matter before us is not a mere question between farmer and shipowner, but is a question of great national importance, for the consumers are equally concerned. It should receive the close attention of all right-minded citizens in the Commonwealth. I for one shall certainly favor the proposal for an international commerce commission.

SENATOR. Gentlemen, I am, as you have already perceived, in entire agreement with your conclusions.

THE LOGIC OF THE CASE.

From the foregoing we seem justified in coming to the conclusion that the problems involved in ocean carriage, especially so in the ocean carriage of the staples, can no longer be safely relegated to the sphere of unrestricted competition between the carriers, nor can they be left to uncontrolled combinations of shipowners in shipping rings and conferences. Nor can these problems be relegated for solution to counter-combinations of shippers, nor can they be solved by mere national legislation. The time has come for the handling and solution of these problems on broad international lines. The time has come when there must be an awakening to the fact that ocean carriage is a public utility just as much as the street car or the railway. The time has come for that broader mode of world-wide action which an international commerce commission would permit of; that broader action which should in the first place afford stabler and securer compensation to the shipowners' investment, but which, above all, should promote the economic welfare of the producer and the consumer.

I will now conclude this paper by some deductions which present themselves to me. It would seem that unrestricted competition having proved an economic injury the shipowners are doing away with it by joining their forces, by the formation of combinations and shipping rings.

Supposing these combinations continue and follow to their fullest ilmit the example set in the progressive elaboration of other great trusts, and what would it be likely to lead to?

In its findings on shipping rings and combinations the British report (p. 79) states that "the disadvantages of the system are those which are usually inseparable from a monopoly not subject to control." Let us see what are the latent possibilities inherent in such a monopoly.

AN IMPERATIVE NECESSITY.

We talk of Alexander, Hannibal, Cæsar, Napoleon as overshadowing figures of ingathering and dominating power in the world of conquest; we talk of the Rockefellers, the Rothschilds, the Morgans, whose genius enables them to toss hundreds of millions hither and thither as readily as a child may toss a toy; we talk of the steel trusts, the meat trusts, the oil trusts, and we marvel at their power of centralization and mobilization, rendering plastic and dynamic fabulous sums, sums great enough to serve as ransoms for nations. And yet the power wielded by all these would be a mere trifle when measured by the possibilities latent in a control of ocean carriage centralized in the hands of an irresponsible monopoly, "a monopoly not subject to control."

Once permitted the right of way for its growth and development, and it would not be difficult to predict the ultimate swaying force of such a monopoly.

Using its rate-fixing powers as a lever, this monopoly could, with ease, raise and lower the home price of the staples in any and all of the ports of a country. It could, at will, raise and lower the home price in any and all of the ports of the world. By this means it could obtain indirect control over the products carried as well as direct control over the ships. Having obtained this control it could then proceed progressively, as other great trusts have done; it could proceed to exploit the many direct and indirect avenues of advantage which this field would open up. Nor is this all; it could then influence at will the shifting values of shares and stocks and bonds on the bourses of the world. In short, such an overpowering monopoly could then make or break a nation at will.

Control of ocean carriage by an international commerce commission is thus seen to be an imperative necessity.

THE ADDENDA.

The following is a tentative outline of a plan of procedure for the proposed international commerce commission on ocean freight rates. It is the outcome of discussions during the past two years on the resolution passed by Congress in September, 1914 (H. J. Res. 311).

The object of the international commerce commission is to steady the price of the staples of agriculture by removing the uncertainty and consequent price fluctuations caused by unfixed rates for their ocean carriage.

This tentative outline was submitted to the conference recently held in London with the Atlantic Line representatives and others. It is herewith presented in the hope that it may assist in ultimately evolving a practical working plan.

TENTATIVE OUTLINE OF A PLAN OF PROCEDURE UNDER AN INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE COMMISSION ON OCEAN FREIGHT RATES.

(1) After the ratifications by the Governments of a treaty establishing the international commerce commission certain committees shall be appointed. Among them shall be (a) a central clearance committee for ocean traffic; (b) a national clearing committee for ocean traffic in each of the adhering countries; and (c) a local clearing station for ocean traffic in each of the principal ports in the countries, all under the international commerce commission.

The national clearing committees may work in their respective countries under the jurisdiction of such bodies as the Interstate Commerce Commission of the United States.

FUNCTIONS OF THE CLEARING COMMITTEES.

(2) Synchronizing incoming and outgoing freights: Under the direction of the central and national clearing committees the local clearing stations shall obtain data from the chambers of commerce within their districts, and work in conjunction with them for synchronizing incoming and outgoing freights, and shall send in their estimates to the national clearing committees at stated times, who shall assemble, coordinate, and summarize these local reports, and at stated periods send them on to the central clearing committee.

(3) Booking: Liners and tramps shall at stated times book their available tonnage at the central clearing committee. Priority in the assignment of freights will be given first to liners in the order of their importance, and second to tramps in order of importance. The ships *shall be booked* under their respective classification, giving their dates of sailing, their available space, and the ports at which they intend to call. Transfers of space or cargo shall be effected only through the clearing committees concerned.

(4) The central clearing committee: After estimates of the nature and volume of the freight to be carried to and from the ports of the several countries have been arrived at, and after ascertaining the available tonnage, the central clearing committee shall submit to the international commerce commission a draft schedule of rates, terms, and conditions for ocean carriage, together with the estimates of freight and tonnage above referred to upon which said rates, terms, and conditions are based.

From all the above and additional data the central clearing committee shall, at stated periods, give out the probable tonnage that will be required by the principal ports of the world; the nature of this tonnage to be classified under certain headings so as to designate the character of ship and cargo, with the fixed rate to correspond.

(5) The international commerce commission shall pass upon the schedule prepared by the central clearing committee and upon the bookings, from which it shall fix the rates, terms, and conditions of ocean carriage for a stated period, subject to certain changes by sliding scales and other adjustments.

(6) Adjustment fund: The rate paid by the shipper shall be a given point higher than that received by the carrier. The fund obtained by this higher charge shall be deposited in the treasury of the central clearing committee. It shall be apportioned to the several ports concerned in accordance with the actual volume and class of freight shipped from each.

(7) Whenever the volume of freight from a given port varies in excess of the normals given out by the commission, or for other valid reasons, payments shall be made from this adjustment fund to each of the carriers concerned in accordance with an equitable mode of apportionment.

(8) Shippers: Shippers shall book at their local clearing stations, stating space required, nature of freight, date of shipment, and ports of destination. Transfers and reapportionments of space and cargoes shall only be effected through the clearing stations concerned.

(9) Expenses: The expenses under this system shall be paid by a fixed percentage on the freights shipped and shall form part of the fixed rates.

(10) Premiums and fines: Premiums shall be awarded to ships and shippers for early booking, and fines shall be incurred for transfers, deferred booking, and such other causes as may be determined upon.

List of the delegates of the adhering States to the permanent committee.

No.	Adhering States.	Classification of adhering States.	Names of the delegates.
1	Germany	I	T. Müller.
2	Argentina	I	O. Pineiro Sorondo.
3	Austria	I	V. de Pozzi.
4	Hungary	I	E. de Miklós.
5	Belgium	IV	O. Bolle.
6	Brazil	I	A. Fialho.
7	Bulgaria	III	M. Stancioff.
8	Chile	II	Aldunate Bascunan.
9	China	I	Oneitzeking.
10	Costa Rica	V	Marco Besso.
11	Cuba	V	A. Martin Rivero.
12	Denmark	IV	A. de Oldenburg.
13	Ottoman Empire	I	Mehmed Djémil Bey.
14	Egypt	II	B. Chimirri.
15	Ecuador	V	Marco Besso.
16	Spain	I	E. R. de Celis.
17	United States	I	David Lubin.
18	Ethiopia	V	G. Cuboni.
19	France	I	Louis-Dop.
20	Algeria	V	Do.
21	Tunis	V	Do.
22	Great Britain and Ireland	I	Sir James Wilson.
23	Australia	IV	Do.
24	Canada	II	Do.
25	British India	II	Do.
26	New Zealand	IV	Do.
27	Mauritius	V	Do.
28	Union of South Africa	IV	Do.
29	Greece	IV	M. Cocomillas.
30	Guatemala	V	J. Montefiore.
31	Italy	I	R. Cappelli.

List of the delegates of the adhering States to the permanent committee—Continued.

No.	Adhering States.	Classification of adhering States.	Names of the delegates.
32	Eritrea and Italian Somaliland	IV	B. Chimirri.
33	Tripoli and Cirenaica	IV	Do.
34	Japan	I	M. Ito.
35	Luxemburg	V	O. Bolle.
36	Mexico	III	
37	Montenegro	V	G. Volpi.
38	Nicaragua	V	V. E. Bianchi.
39	Norway	IV	G. Fjelstad.
40	Paraguay	V	Orazio Comes.
41	Holland	IV	W. B. Welderen Rengers.
42	Dutch East Indies	IV	Do.
43	Peru	V	Louis-Dop.
44	Persia	IV	A. del Gallo.
45	Portugal	IV	Eusebio Leao.
46	Roumania	I	Démètre C. Pennesco.
47	Russia	I	G. Zabiello.
48	Salvador	V	M. A. Bianchi Cagliesi.
49	San Marino	V	L. Luzzatti.
50	Servia	III	Carlo Scotti.
51	Sweden	IV	C. N. D. de Bildt.
52	Switzerland	IV	M. de Planta.
53	Uruguay	V	M. Enrique J. Rovira
54	Columbia	V	J. M. Hurtado.
55	Morocco	V	Louis-Dop.

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Zebulon Baird Vance.

SPEECH

OF

HON. CLAUDE KITCHIN,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, July 29, 1916.

The House had under consideration Senate concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 24) accepting on the part of Congress a bronze statue of the late Senator Zebulon Baird Vance, presented by the State of North Carolina.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, it is almost a holy, yes, a holy pleasure to join with my colleagues on this occasion in paying tribute to North Carolina's most illustrious son.

I shall not detail the inspiring story of the career of Zebulon B. Vance, which has been so delightfully told in this presence; how at the age of 28, overcoming a 3,000 majority against his party in the preceding election, he was elected to Congress from the mountain district by a still larger majority; how he entered the Confederate Army in May, 1861, as captain and within three months was elected colonel of the famous Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regiment; how the people of the State in 1862, looking about to find the best fitted man to guide her destinies through the gravest crisis of her life, selected him at the age of 32 and made him governor, reelecting him in 1864; how as such governor he made the splendid record which earned for him the title of "The Great War Governor of the Confederacy"; how, in 1876, in the expiring days of reconstruction he redeemed the State by again being elected governor; how, though once refused admission, he was four times elected to the United States Senate, finally dying in the service of the State and Nation as a Member of that body.

I shall content myself by adding to that of others my estimate of him.

Vance was North Carolina's finest product. Of all her distinguished men, living and dead, he stands out in the admiration and esteem, in the confidence and affection of her people the central figure. None other approaches him. The people of

the State loved him; he loved them. Each had implicit confidence in the other. Nor did either ever doubt the other.

I venture the opinion that no public man in any State was ever as much beloved by his people as Vance was by the people of North Carolina. Almost every home in the State, of rich and poor alike, irrespective of political affiliations, has upon its walls the picture of Vance. Sons of families in every section and of every party bear his name.

His statement of a fact was to the people of North Carolina complete demonstration. His opinion of a public measure or question was to them absolute conclusion.

His public life more nearly represented the mind and heart of North Carolina than that of any man, living or dead.

Vance possessed the elements of greatness, the qualities of statesmanship. He was a big man—big in body, in mind, in heart. He was United States Senator for 17 years, from 1877 to 1894. They were days of giants—days of statesmanship. Among his compeers in the Senate were men like Thurman, of Ohio; Bayard, of Delaware; Beck, of Kentucky; Vest, of Missouri; Voorhees, of Indiana; Morgan, of Alabama; George, of Mississippi; Daniel, of Virginia; Ransom, of North Carolina—Democrats; and Edmonds, of Vermont; Sherman, of Ohio; Harrison, of Indiana; Hoar, of Massachusetts; Logan, of Illinois; Ingalls, of Kansas; Quay, of Pennsylvania—Republicans.

In ability, in wisdom, in patriotism, in courage—in all the elements of statesmanship, these men were never surpassed by men in any tribunal of the world. They were giants. Vance was the equal of the biggest and the best. He stood in the forefront of this splendid galaxy.

His was a captivating, commanding, majestic presence, and to it every one, the lowest as well as the highest, ever had a welcome, and in it, all felt at home.

He drew all men to him. His personality was overwhelming. His presence was sunshine, his voice music. He cheered and charmed, he entertained and instructed all about him.

He was without guile. He never schemed. He never held whispered, closed-door conferences of political machinations. He built up no political machine. He had no personal organization. He had no special friends in this or that county to "look out for his interest." He had no political favorites. The people were all for him and with him, and he was for and with and of all the people.

Sycophants and courtiers did not swarm about him. They knew he had no special favors to bestow. His big, open, manly nature intuitively repelled them.

He was the incarnation of candor, sincerity, truth, courage, kindliness.

He had no enemies. No public man ever had fewer critics. In the days of bitterest partizanship in our State no candidate or member of the opposite party ever defamed Vance. His motive was never impugned.

His wit and humor, in which he excelled all public men, were irresistible. But his speeches and debates were full of logical, analytical argument and wide research. On account of his abounding wit some thought that he was not given to study and investigation. The contrary is the fact. No public man was a more diligent and profound student. His discussion of any question furnished the fullest evidence of this. He was master of every subject he touched. He captured and controlled every audience he faced.

Dead now nearly a quarter of a century, the mention of his name anywhere in the State is still the rallying inspiration of all that is good and brave and true in her citizenship.

In life and in death he was, he is, North Carolina's largest asset.

Long, long will be the time before another Zeb Vance will be raised up for the State.

God bless the minds and hearts of her people with his memory forever.

Mr. Speaker, I forbear to conclude without expressing great pleasure in hearing my distinguished colleague, Maj. STEDMAN, express the hope, which I, together with thousands of her citizens, have long entertained, that our State will place in Statuary Hall beside that of Vance the statue of Matt W. Ransom.

Ransom is full worthy a place in this Hall of Fame. Renowned as a soldier, an orator, a diplomat, a statesman, he reflected the greatness and the glory of his State and added fresh luster to her fame in every position of trust and honor he held during a public life of nearly 40 years. For 17 years he and Vance were colleagues in the United States Senate.

No State was ever represented in that august body with more marked ability, wisdom, patriotism, loyalty, courage than was North Carolina when Ransom and Vance were her Senators.

If our State should place Ransom by the side of Vance in Statuary Hall, and if bronze or marble could portray the imposing appearance, the commanding presence, the charming and inspiring countenance of these two men, as in life they looked, the tens of thousands that yearly visit this Capitol would seek them out and linger long in admiration and homage about them.

North Carolina would with exulting pride match them with the hall-famed favorites of any State.

The Mobilization of Agriculture.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. RAKER,
OF CALIFORNIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 2, 1917.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, I desire to place in the RECORD as a part of my remarks a statement on the mobilization of agriculture, as prepared by David Lubin, delegate of the United States International Institute of Agriculture. That statement is as follows:

THE MOBILIZATION OF AGRICULTURE AS EMBODIED IN SENATE BILL 5973 (64TH COONG., 1ST SESS.).

SOME ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF THE REINTRODUCTION AND PASSAGE OF THIS MEASURE.

Until recently the Old World and the New kept the even tenor of their ways, seeming to travel along the pathway of peace, when, with the suddenness of a cyclone, the whirlwind of war enveloped the Old World in its deadly sweep.

Billions of rifle bullets, millions of cannon shells continuously fly on their deadly errand, bringing in their train grievous sorrow which, like the onrush of a mighty flood, overwhelms all in its path.

The sinewy laborer, harnessed to his daily task, is bound, pledged to years of serfdom, toiling to ransom bonds and their interest.

As a hungry cat greedily laps up milk, so the consuming flames of war are lapping up the wealth of nations, undermining the structure of our passing civilization.

In times gone by it was said "The King is dead! Long live the King!" Presently there may be cause to say "Civilization is dead! Long live civilization!"

And so we live in a time of crisis, not merely a crisis of death but a crisis of birth, the death of the old civilization and the birth of the new.

But what manner of civilization shall that be?

Shall it not be a civilization which shall hurl down the old, decrepit, foxlike and parasitic political idols shrined in the nitches of the social structure? Shall not these be replaced by the simple and the truthful? Shall it not be a civilization in which chauvinistic national advantage shall shrink and shrivel before the penetrating rays of God's most intimate servant, Justice?

But what of the quality of the reconstructive power? Aye, that's it, and the manner of its direction? Its clearness of head, its steadiness of hand, its nobility of heart, upon these rests the case.

And where are we to find these qualities? Among the combatants? Behold them! Like infuriated bulls with locked horns they are tightly braced, blinded by hate and drunk with destruction.

But beyond the great sea, peacefully and powerfully majestic, stands the mighty American Republic. Is it not there that we should find the clear head, the steady hand, the noble heart?

Is not the American Republic elect for this very purpose? Then let her press on in the work of reconstruction, reconstruction that shall evolve for the world the newer, grander Democracy, the Democracy which shall rest upon the principle that individual welfare is best served by promoting the general welfare, that the welfare of the individual nation is best served by promoting the welfare of all the nations.

But is the political force which shapes the course of the Republic properly charged for the accomplishment of this task? How can it be so long as this force is of the cities alone, of the capital of the cities, and of the labor of the cities? Are not each of these politically swayed by preconceived notions? Are they not working tooth and nail to shape things theirward?

No, these two are not the forces which alone should guide and direct. There is another force, the force of the country, the agricultural force which must be brought into play, a force potentially great as a political factor but now dormant. Once to the front and the simpler, worthier ideals of this force will act as a driven wedge, riving asunder the egotistical political materialism of the city forces.

The world conflict now going on will not have been in vain for America if it serve to remind us of Rome's ancient cry: "See that the Republic receive no harm!"

And the first thing for us to "see" is the contrast between the political strength of the cities and the political impotency of the country; the defenseless feebleness of the country and the armored strength and craft of the cities, the craft that can sway legislation by a wave of the hand, the craft that can transmute the land-owning farmers into renters, the craft that can corral, lasso, and gobble up the products of the farm and then gingerly deal them out to the consumers as if they were costly drugs.

If the political driving force is to remain thus one-sided would it not be mere mummery to say that the Republic can supply "the clear head, the steady hand, and the noble heart" for the solemn service of reconstruction?

But need this driving force remain one-sided? No; for by adopting the Landwirtschaftsrat system, as embodied in Senate bill 5973 (this measure for a National Chamber of Agriculture, originally known as Senate bill 5687, was taken up in detail at a convention of the State commissioners of agriculture which met in Washington in May, 1916, for that purpose. The bill as amended by the commissioners was submitted by them to the President at a conference on May 5. The

President commented upon several of its leading points. These comments resulted in some final amendments, when the bill was indorsed by the commissioners. It was then reintroduced on May 12, 1916, as Senate bill 5973, but too late for passage that session. It should now be again reintroduced and acted upon during the present session of Congress), the agricultural industry can be so effectively organized as to achieve solidarity, a solidarity free in its constituent parts yet politically and economically effective as a whole.

It is largely the sysfem here proposed that has rendered the agricultural industry the most effective political and economic institution in Germany. It is largely this effectiveness which has proven to be the power behind the throne in the German Empire; a power which has rendered Germany almost invincible. This is the secret of the strength, the "long hair" of the modern Samson.

An organization in the United States on these lines would:

First. Mobilize the agricultural industry, rendering it an efficient and an essential factor in strengthening the Nation;

Second. It would weld the agricultural industry into a homogeneous solidarity, a solidarity free in its individual constituents, yet politically and economically effective as a whole;

Third. It would be effective as a means of insuring the equitable distribution of farm products, thus proving of inestimable benefit to the consumers as well as to the producers;

Fourth. It would, above all, be the means which would give the American farmer his "place in the sun" as a political entity, thus completing the essential elements in the political force of the Nation.

This, and this alone, will make possible "the clear head, the steady hand, and the noble heart" required if the Republic is to perform her part in the work of world reconstruction, reconstruction which "shall evolve for the world the newer, grander democracy, the democracy which shall rest upon the principle that individual welfare is best served by promoting the general welfare, that the welfare of the individual nation is best served by promoting the welfare of all the nations."

DAVID LUBIN,
Delegate of the United States,
International Institute of Agriculture.

ROME, ITALY, *January 2, 1917.*

Buy American Bonds.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, of course we can not indulge in war without imposing additional burdens upon the people. Great sums of money must be massed for war purposes, just as large armies of men must also be brought together. The Federal Reserve Board has facilities for massing large sums of money from all sections of the country, and is supposed to have relieved Wall Street of certain of the powers heretofore attributed to that great money center. Several months ago, when foreign bonds were having a wide sale in the United States, the Federal Reserve Board issued a statement which was severely criticized in London and New York. In that statement it was suggested that American investors, particularly American national banks, should go slow on the purchase of the bonds offered by certain belligerent powers. The inference was that those purchasing these foreign bonds might be taking an element of risk which should not be assumed by those over whose funds the Federal Reserve Board exercised a certain jurisdiction. Many Americans who read between the lines suspected that the time might come when American investors would be expected to invest in American bonds, the purchase of which would be more serviceable to the United States and more conducive to patriotism than the acquisition of foreign bonds issued by countries whose success or failure in war would affect the value of the securities issued by them.

MODIFIED ATTITUDE OF FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD.

It was therefore of considerable interest to observers to note a modification of the action of the Federal Reserve Board with respect to these foreign securities. From the Washington Herald of March 2 I quote the following statement of the new position assumed by the board:

BOYCOTT OF FOREIGN SECURITIES DEPLORED—FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD MODIFIES WARNING AGAINST EUROPEAN INVESTMENTS.

A marked modification of the policy of "hands off" foreign securities, which was promulgated by the Federal Reserve Board last November, was announced yesterday by the board. In November the board issued a general warning to American banks not to invest too strongly in foreign securities, with the effect that Great Britain canceled arrangements to sell a huge quantity of short-term exchequer bills in this country.

The board's statement yesterday declares that the public went too far in its conception of what the warning meant, indicating that the board has information of a practical boycott of foreign securities in this country. The financial body asserts that it does not mean to reflect on the value of foreign securities generally or upon the value of any particular security, but that its warning was issued only as a precaution against loading up by American banks with foreign obligations which might not be readily negotiable.

There is no material alteration in this policy, the board says, but explains that the "hands off" attitude should not be carried to an extreme point. Investment in foreign securities to a proper degree is desirable to settle balances and stabilize foreign trade, it is stated.

Bearing in mind that the money in the Federal reserve banks of the United States comes up from all classes of depositors, who may or may not be interested in knowing how their money is invested, the foregoing modification announcement is worthy of perusal, especially as the United States Congress, under spur of the administration, has entered upon a $2,000,000,000 career, and is now preparing for an extensive issue of United States bonds that may come into competition with the foreign bonds that have already been absorbed in the United States or that are now being offered to investors.

THE "FURY" DIRECTED AT CONGRESS.

That the bond question will soon reach an acute stage in the United States is quite probable. The big newspapers do not say much about what Congress is doing except to find fault with it, but they do tell us much about what is going on in the financial world. One of the Munsey papers, the Washington Times, which jabs Congress almost as viciously as it insists upon war, contains an interesting article, under date of March 11, headed "Wall Street prepared to aid Government—Bank resources kept liquid to meet financial demands in event of war—Another problem faced—Effect of warlike preparations on business, commerce, and securities considered."

The article starts out quite breezily, like this:

Whatever its likes and dislikes may be with respect to public servants at Washington, Wall Street is essentially patriotic, and will stand solidly behind the Government in a crisis. This has been demonstrated again and again. Hence it was with the greatest indignation, bordering on fury, that the current week was ushered in, entirely reflective of the feeling throughout the length and breadth of the country.

It then proceeds to show how Congress passed appropriations totaling upward of $1,350,000,000 but neglected to pass appropriation bills exceeding $500,000,000 more, and having spent its "fury" on Congress, it gets back to Wall Street thusly:

Two main considerations which Wall Street has before it are Government financing and the effect of warlike preparations on business, commerce, and the securities markets. The bond market has naturally been in a subdued state for some time. Transactions have been relatively few and prices generally depressed, although within narrow limits. The effect of a big Government issue of bonds on the prices of existing issues now being traded in is sufficiently problematical to have a deterring influence which perforce operates to cause hesitation and caution. It is reported that the Government contemplates issuing $150,000,000 in one-year notes to bear 3 per cent. It is proposed to issue these notes in small denominations in order to give the flotation a popular character.

It is doubtful in some quarters if an enterprise of this sort would meet with the popular success which the Government seems to expect. There are, doubtless, many investors who would consider it their patriotic duty to subscribe liberally, and it may be that enough might be found to take the entire issue. It may be presumed that banks would also be prepared to subscribe liberally, despite the fact that the Government has not found it necessary to confer as yet with the banking fraternity.

The brilliant financial writer does not say so in so many words, but he rather intimates that 3 per cent bonds may not be very popular in the centers where money is concentrated. Foreign bonds, as is well known, have been coming over to the United States with interest rates at 5 and 6 per cent, until probably $2,000,000,000 worth of them have been taken here for investment. No one can deny that the people abroad, whose countries are at war, have also been investing heavily in these securities, and that the populace is induced to buy them is shown in the photographs of great meetings in London, that have been coming to the United States during the last few days. A reproduction of a scene in Trafalgar Square, when the Lord Mayor addressed the meeting a short time ago, shows the intensity of the Government's activity in this regard. A great throng frequents the square and on the Nelson Monument and in front of great buildings facing the square are immense signs reading "Only one day more; Germany is watching," "Go to your bank before to-night," "Don't leave it to others," "You! Have you bought your war loan? Germany is watching," "Do your share to-day."

AMERICAN BONDS ARE COMING.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend, I draw attention to this matter of bonds because it is important that American investors, whether in Wall Street or elsewhere throughout the country, should purchase the bonds of the United States. The fact that we shall not offer as high a rate of interest as is offered by foreign countries is accounted for by the superiority of the bonds which the United States will offer. This country is not at war and there is no likelihood of its being impoverished, even if it is forced to go to war. The American bond, therefore, is not subject to the financial risk that may apply to the bonds of other nations struggling for existence.

The Congress of the United States has already authorized the issuance of United States 3 per cent bonds to the extent of $472,000,000, and if the armed-neutrality bill passes the Senate in the near future the issuance of another $100,000,000 will be authorized, making a total of $572,000,000 of 3 per cent bonds that will soon be available. To this grand total may also be added a new issue of $63,945,460, for which the authority of Congress will be asked to redeem bonds authorized June 13, 1898, that will mature August 1, 1918. An amendment providing for this refunding loan has been offered to the Army bill, which is now pending in the Senate. Of course, this loan must be authorized in due course to keep the Government's faith.

American investors who are anticipating war and who want to "stand by the President" will soon have the opportunity of proving their patriotism when the Secretary of the Treasury begins to issue these American securities. The bonds now authorized include $222,000,000 of Panama Canal bonds, $100,000,000 authorized in the revenue act, and $150,000,000 provided for in the Kitchin resolution for speeding up the naval program. This makes a total of $472,000,000, exclusive of the $100,000,000 provided for in the pending armed-neutrality bill, and includes expenditures for the following purposes: For the nitrate plant, $20,000,000; for the ship-purchase act, $50,000,000; for the Danish West Indies, $25,000,000; for the armor-plate plant, $11,000,000; for the construction of the Alaskan Railway, $35,000,000; and to meet the expenditures incident to the Mexican situation to June 30, 1917, $162,418,000. Notwithstanding these authorized issues, there will still remain about $81,000,000 of Panama Canal bonds that can be issued by the President.

Under these circumstances, is it not opportune to let the people of the United States know that they will soon have the chance to invest their money in the bonds of their own country? Each investment of this sort is a patriotic investment, which means that the purchaser has confidence in the United States of America and is willing to take his chances with it.

Valedictory.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL K. REILLY,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. REILLY. Mr. Speaker, in a few hours, after a service of four years in this House, I will retire to private life, to take up again the lines of my profession laid down on assuming the duties of a Representative in Congress from the sixth Wisconsin district.

My retirement from this body is not voluntary. I go back to the ranks of the private citizenship in obedience to the verdict of the people of my district, as expressed at the recent election. While I would have preferred to have remained in public life, I bow cheerfully to the will of my constituents. Every man who enters upon the uncertain career of politics is subject to the alternating hopes and fears of victory and defeat, and the man who is not prepared to accept defeat with cheerfulness should avoid the pathways that lead to public service.

The membership of this House is continually changing. Men of big influence and little note come and go with the passing of time. This body is interested not in the past but in the present and the future, giving but little concern to the going from this Chamber of the individual Member or Members.

One of my regrets, if not my chief regret, in taking leave of this body is that it means the separating of myself from colleagues and friends for whom I have developed a sincere attachment, and I am pleased to be able to state that these friends are found on both sides of the center aisle of this House. As I go forth from this body to private life I am certain that I will find much comfort and consolation in the pleasant memories of the associations that I have enjoyed and friendships developed during my membership in this House—friendships that link my thoughts with every section of the Republic.

As a Member of this House I have enjoyed a rare opportunity to study men and measures, hear brilliant efforts, and witness dramatic and thrilling scenes that amply compensated me from an educational standpoint for all the trials and tribulations of a political career that made it possible for me to have the honor of occupying a seat in this the greatest legislative Chamber in the world.

I have undoubtedly made mistakes in my endeavor to discharge the duties of a Representative of my people, but the mistakes that I have made have been mistakes of the mind and not of the heart. I have tried to be a real servant of the people, and in every vote and every act as their Representative I have endeavored to serve the many and not the few.

I am profoundly grateful to the good people of my district for their kindness in twice commissioning me as their Representative in Congress, thereby permitting me to play a humble part in the making of the greatest legislative record in the history of this country. The Sixty-third and Sixty-fourth Congresses will go down in history as representing a four-year period during which, as a result of legislative enactment, the old order gave way to the new, a period in which more legislation was written in the interest not only of the common man but of all classes of our citizens than in any 25 years since first our Republic began its eventful career.

The welfare of the farmer, the banker, the merchant, the manufacturer, the professional man, the laborer, in fact the workers in every field of human activity have been the controlling factors in the broad and constructive legislative program that breathes the spirit of the brotherhood of man, and that will be accredited in history to Wilson's first administration. In addition to some twenty-odd laws designed to benefit the condition of labor, to brighten the joys and lessen the sorrows of the toiling masses, we have now as the result of Democratic rule in Washington United States Senators elected by a direct vote of the people; national income tax and inheritance-tax laws that put an equitable share of the burdens of Government on the wealth of the country; a parcel post that has saved millions to the people in transportation charges; a tariff law written in the interest of the people and not in the interest of monopoly; a corrupt-practice act controlling expenditures in national elections; a banking and currency law that has destroyed the power of the Money Trust and set business free from the thralldom of Wall Street, which law though viciously fought during its consideration in Congress is recognized to-day by all fair-minded men as the greatest single legislative enactment passed by Congress in half a century; a Federal Trades Commission having supervision of big business and designed to eliminate unfair methods and practices in the business world; antitrust laws that will make the business world more free from the blighting influence of monopoly; a rural-credits law that will enable the farmer to secure long-time loans as advantageously as the business man or the manufacturer; a nonpartisan tariff commission, legislation that the business world has been demanding for a quarter of a century, and the meaning of which is that the tariff will be taken out of politics and treated as a business proposition and not a political issue; a law providing for a shipping board, which constitutes the first real step taken by Congress having in view the restoration of our merchant marine; a law providing for a Government armor-plate factory, as the result of which the Government will be freed from the extortions of the Armor Plate Trust; a law providing for a Government nitrate plant, an important piece of legislation from the standpoint of national preparedness and the agricultural development of our country; an Alaskan railway law that means the retention for the use of all the people of the country of the natural wealth of Alaska, constituting as it does the greatest unlocked storehouse of natural resources in the world; conservation legislation designed to prevent the giving away of any more of the natural resources of the country and the conserving of the same for the use and benefit of all of our people; the Shackleford good-roads law and the Lever agricultural extension laws that will make for better agricultural conditions and will prove to be powerful factors in making a success of the stay-on-the-farm movement that means so much for the industrial and economic developments of our country; the grain-grading bill; the warehouse act; and the cotton-futures act, three laws of vital importance not only to the producing but also to the consuming masses of our country; the Sherwood service pension bill and the widows' pension act, constituting two of the most liberal pension acts ever passed by Congress.

The foregoing enumeration comprises the most important legislative acts for which the Democratic Party is responsible, touching all phases of our industrial, social, and economic life, making a record for President Wilson's first administration unparalleled in the legislative history of our country.

The most remarkable and gratifying feature of this legislative achievement is the fact that practically all of these measures were so good as to command liberal support from the Repub-

lican side of this House. To be able to legislate so as to secure the united approval of a party is a record of considerable merit, but to be able to legislate upon many important subjects so as to receive the approval of not only the members of the party writing the legislation, but also the approval of a large element of the party in opposition, is a triumph seldom achieved by a political party.

In many political campaigns in the past the charge has been made that there was no use putting the Democratic Party in power, because it was simply a party of criticism and destruction and not a party of construction; that it had no leaders or statesmen capable of legislating upon the many pressing problems knocking at the door of Congress for consideration; and that there was nothing else for the people to do but to leave the Republican Party in power, no matter what that party might do or fail to do, because it was the only party that understood how to legislate and how to run the Government.

The long constructive legislative record of President Wilson's first term forever disposes of the charge that the Democratic Party lacks leaders and statesmen having the ability to outline and enact constructive legislation of the highest order, and likewise has President Wilson's first term demolished the argument that the Democratic Party would be unable to run the Government of the United States, for during its lease of power it has successfully met and coped with every emergency that has confronted this Government in four of the most troublesome years since the period of the Civil War, and I am certainly pleased that it was my privilege to serve as a Member of this body during two memorable Congresses covering President Wilson's first term, and to assist in a small way in the enactment of so much good legislation designed to bring about an era of social justice in this country, when our Government will be a real Government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

The Late Representative Michael F. Conry.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. BENNET,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. BENNET. Mr. Speaker, "We beseech Thee for the soul of Thy servant Michael." Gravely and softly the good bishop said it, yet as a man asking that for which he had an assured right. We in the pews who had known MICHAEL F. CONRY knew that this prayer would be granted. Our late colleague had lived the life which leads to certain salvation.

It had been a solemn and beautiful service.

The symbolic mass, the rich music, and then the impressive eulogy by the black-robed Jesuit father. All that he said we knew to be true. "It is given to all men once to die," said he. But to him the death of the righteous was triumph, not tragedy. We recognized this fidelity of his description of CONRY as a man who had been true to himself, to his family, to his country, and to his God, and who had really shortened his days by attention to the public service.

And for whom was this eulogy? In whose honor were Senators of the United States and 30 Representatives in Congress, headed by their honored Speaker, gathered?

Were the mitered bishop, the princely monsignor, and the reverend clergy gathered to do honor to wealth and hereditary power?

Did six personal friends bear on their shoulders one who living had enriched them by his largess?

None of these natural assumptions is true.

The sweet flowers, tributes of affection from real friends, blossomed for a simple Irish lad.

The life of MICHAEL F. CONRY is one of solid satisfaction to those who knew him, and a tribute to our country's opportunities. Not yet 50, he had risen by his own talent, ability, and exertions from a breaker boy in a coal mine to be a leader in the National House of Representatives. He had triumphed over grievous physical injuries.

Years ago an accident in a coal mine had lamed him for life. The accident that ended his career as a miner turned him to the profession of the law and success on a wider field. He had triumphed over a great apparent injustice. Nominated for Congress as the representative of his fellow workmen of Scranton against a man of great wealth and power, the nominee of both leading parties, he apparently won, even over such great odds. He was not seated in the House. Disappointment neither soured nor spoiled him. Leaving the city of Scranton he came to New York City and soon was in Congress under circumstances which made leadership inevitable and place and service secure. His judgment was serene and sound. Whenever a question came up which affected New York City every one of us, sooner or later, asked "What does MIKE CONRY think about it?" He was on the most distinguished committee of the House—Ways and Means. Happy in his beautiful home life with wife and children; surrounded by a wealth of friends, both within and without the circle of his kinsmen; daily more powerful in his party councils.

Then disease struck him down.

All last summer we saw him failing; this winter we noted his waning strength.

And then he was gone.

In the whole membership of the House he left not a single enemy. He had done his duty, he had fought his fights, but he fought fair and left no bitterness. To his family he will always be a fond recollection, for he was loving and true; to his friends a tender memory, for he was staunch, sympathetic, and helpful; to the Irish people, of whom he was proud to be one, a notable example of a true Irishman; to the church of which he was a faithful member, a source of justified pride.

This was the man for whom the bishop prayed and the eloquent priest delivered the eulogy of truth, sympathy, and power.

This was the man whom statesmen honored and whom friends mourned.

He had lived and loved, toiled and served; had seen good fortune and bad; had looked the great of the earth in the face unafraid, and had been proudly of the plain people. So they who honored him were wise, and they who mourned him were well advised. For he, thus honored and thus mourned, had been a greater than prince or potentate. He had lived and died wholly and completely a true, loyal, and honest man.

A Prophecy Fulfilled.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY T. HELGESEN,

OF NORTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. HELGESEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith present a verbatim copy of a pamphlet, quoting Francis Delaisi, member of the French Chamber of Deputies.

This material was originally published in May, 1911, more than three years before the outbreak of the European war, and is the best exposition of the events leading to that war which has come to my attention.

As we are experiencing the selfsame conditions that are portrayed in this pamphlet, I deem it of paramount interest at this time.

The article is as follows:

A PROPHECY FULFILLED—THE PRESENT WAR PREDICTED IN 1911—SECRET DIPLOMACY EXPOSED IN LA GUERRE QUI VIENT (THE COMING WAR).

[By Francis Delaisi, member French Chamber of Deputies. Published in Paris in May, 1911, three years before the war.]

PREFACE.

In 1911, that is, three years before the outbreak of the European war, there was published by the Paris periodical La Guerre Sociale an article by Francis Delaisi, member of the Chamber of Deputies, entitled "La Guerre qui Vient" (in English, "The War to Come"). It is of minor importance to what extent his warnings against "secret diplomacy" and political intrigues, as exposed therein, were heeded by the French people at that time. But it is highly interesting and of transcendent importance now to follow the author through his exposures of conditions prevailing in French administrative circles from 1903 until 1911, and which, three years later, precipitated the most terrible war in all history.

Nothing which has been written so far comes nearer picturing the real causes of the present war or as near being a prophecy as "The War to Come," because Delaisi, with deep penetration, saw clearly that the conspiracies of some of France's leading

politicians and financiers, who used the battle cry "revenge" to cloak their scheming for private profit, would lead inevitably to a crisis. If Delaisi had succeeded in making his compatriots see that crisis as it appeared before his own vision, if they could have sensed, as he did, that England's friendship for France was only the child of its determination to crush a commercial rival, perhaps there would have been no war.

The author of "The War to Come" shows conclusively how little, if anything, the public really knows of what is going on behind the diplomatic scenes; how the "dear people" are purposely kept in ignorance of the plots hatched out there by grasping special interests, plots which may have the most disastrous consequences in shaping the destinies of nations.

THE COMING WAR.

To speak of a possible, a probable, or an approaching war sounds fatuous at first thought.

We have for a long time fondled ourselves with dreams of peace! We have so often pictured to ourselves the power of democracies and parliaments as a check on the warlike ambitions of Governments; we have accustomed ourselves to count upon the desire of the masses for peace!

Certainly if public sentiment only were consulted in all countries of the globe, there would be nothing to fear.

It is quite evident that the mass of the German people has no desire to shoot our people, just as the great mass of English people want only to till their fields and work in their shops and factories in peace; and, as for the French, whether laborers or peasants, poor or well-to-do, international socialists or radical patriots, they have only one desire—peace.

Then all would be well and we could rest securely if the people were the masters of their destinies.

Unfortunately, in every country of the world the people do not direct their foreign policy.

That function is the exclusive privilege of a very small number of functionaries, who are addressed as diplomats. These individuals, carefully selected, all belong (and also in our Republic) to the titled nobility or the aristocracy of wealth. All are subservient to the financial and industrial oligarchy and strive to obtain for them foreign loans or foreign orders for their goods; the ambassadors in gold braid are to-day no more and no less than the agents of the banks and the great commercial institutions.

"But," you say, "above them stands the minister of foreign affairs, who is their chief, and who is himself responsible to Parliament."

Oh, yes; a fine responsibility that is! When a Representative asks any question about an incident of foreign policy, the Government invariably makes solemn declaration about "peaceful intentions," "the balance of power," etc.

If the interrogator insists and demands exact details, the answer may be known in advance: "Diplomatic secrets."

Thanks to this system, neither people nor Parliament know anything and may thus be entangled, without suspecting it, in the gravest of conflicts and be driven into war by a few men.

DELCASSE'S COUP.

This we saw clearly in 1905. At that time M. Delcasse had governed 10 years, without interruption, the foreign policy of France. He had so well secured the confidence of the Chamber of Deputies that they approved all his statements without discussion. And this "little" man had become so conceited with pride that he no longer consulted the other ministers—his colleagues.

In that way he, during 1904 and 1905, in conjunction with the English cabinet, and without informing anyone of his doings, manipulated the "isolation" of Germany. He endeavored to detach Italy from the triple alliance, negotiated with St. Petersburg, intrigued at Constantinople, and schemed that Germany, after being isolated, should be crushed by England, with the help of France.

Naturally, William II was not slow to see through this maneuver and brusquely dictated an ultimatum through the mediation of Prince Radolin.

We remember the excitement and surprise which spread through the whole country at the time. One beautiful morning in June all the newspapers appeared with maps of the frontier on the first page—on one side we saw little black squares representing all the German army corps, on the other side little black squares for the French army corps. And everyone asked himself that morning if he would have to take his gun and knapsack and go break his head in the Vosges.

In the Chamber they passed an hour of veritable madness. The deputies, who knew that the Moroccan affair was of little importance, understood perfectly the fact that some unsuspected intrigue must be behind all this. They wanted to hold a session to cross-question Rouvier and to overthrow the ministry.

But it must be said that Rouvier himself was the most surprised of all, and demanded an explanation from Delcasse.

There was held at the Elysée a council of the ministers which will remain historic. For two hours by the clock the little man disclosed to his stupefied colleagues his intrigues, and with audacious calmness declared himself plainly in favor of a continuance of the policy of "isolation," for a military alliance with England, and for war with Germany.

Rouvier and his colleagues were unanimous in their determination to get rid of this dangerous man, and the relations with Berlin gradually assumed normal conditions.

But it is, nevertheless, true that a single man, without consulting anyone, had the power to involve millions of beings in a dangerous policy and without the knowledge of the chambers, and even of the other ministers, to bring a whole people, against their will, upon the verge of war.

So much is true that even under a democratic government the people are not the master of their own destinies.

THE SERVILE PRESS.

"But," say you, "we have newspapers which should warn us of danger."

Ah! The press is well prompted!

In the first place, the dispatches of the Agence Havas, which are the newspapers' source of information, are carefully gone over by the minister of foreign affairs. They are so meager that the great newspapers which keep posted on the foreign policy must apply to the foreign news agencies.

Le Matin receives the dispatches of the Times; L'Echo de Paris those of the Daily Telegraph, etc. What is more, they are all supplied from English news agencies, so that we in France never see the situation except through English eyes.

Concerning the articles and the commentaries written by the newspapers on these dispatches, that is very simple.

There is at the ministry of foreign affairs a press bureau. There daily a very amiable functionary receives the reporters. Very gently he expounds to them what they should "think" about the foreign policy.

Naturally he says only what conforms to the views of the minister. All the newspapers repeat the interview the next morning, and the mass of people who have no other source of information believe what is told them.

One may judge by this whether the public is well informed. As a result of such procedure the Russo-Japanese War had broken out while the entire press was announcing that it would not take place; also that the whole world considered the Moroccan affair of no importance on the very day which nearly brought on the war; and, finally, at this very moment, all Europe knows that the Franco-Russian alliance is virtually dissolved, whereas our public alone believes it to be as solid as ever.

In short, our foreign policy is shaped without deference to either public opinion or Parliament; it is sometimes even beyond the control of the Government.

In our suspicious democracy it depends upon a single man and a small coterie of financiers and men of affairs to unchain a war and embark this country upon a series of the most perilous adventures.

THE REAL DANGER.

But now this is not a hypothetical danger. At this very moment Delcasse's intrigue recommences. He is ready to repeat the coup of 1905.

A terrible war between England and Germany is preparing. In all parts of the globe the two adversaries are measuring and threatening each other.

The affair of the Bagdad Railway and the question of the fortifications of Flushing show to what degree the crisis has become acute.

But for fighting the two powers need the assistance of France.

Germany lacks capital and needs our money.

England, which does not have compulsory military service, needs our army.

Our Government is accordingly the master of the situation. If it refuses William II our gold and George V our soldiers, peace is almost assured.

But here Cruppi negotiates a military alliance with England.

If it is signed, we shall be compelled to fight on the plains of Belgium in order to assure to the gentlemen in London the possession of Antwerp; and we shall then at one stroke be exposed to all the dangers of a German invasion.

And so this veritably astonishing thing happens. All the foreign newspapers are talking of this military alliance. All the great French newspapers are reproducing the comments of the foreign press. Not one has dared to say that the news is incorrect.

Nevertheless no one in France has said anything. Not a single deputy has risen to ask that the Government make a denial or give an explanation. Not a single Socialist leader, in the presence of such serious reports, has dared to even question the minister of foreign affairs.

A single voice has been raised to call attention to the danger. Merrheim, of the C. G. T., recently a delegate at the International Metallurgical Congress, could see with his eyes how acute the Anglo-German situation has become. On his return from Birmingham he signaled the danger in the Vie Ouvriere.

But no one budged.

THE ANGLO-GERMAN DUEL.

Very well! Here Mr. Delcasse returns to power.

The man who in 1905 nearly involved us in a war without consulting either public opinion or Parliament, or even his own colleagues, again takes over the direction of "our" foreign policy. For no one in Europe is deceived. M. Cruppi, former magistrate, will be only a straw man at the Quai d'Orsay. Moreover, M. Delcasse, the minister of the marine, will then be more at ease to conclude the military treaty which must bind us to England.

In a few weeks perhaps our financiers will have sold the skins of a hundred thousand Frenchmen to their colleagues in London in exchange for a few Turkish or Ethiopian railways.

It is time for those who do not want to see themselves treated as dumb brutes to open their eyes, to consider calmly the European situation, and to see the dangerous intrigue in which our financial oligarchy is about to engage.

THE COMMERCIAL WARS.

Formerly the nations were peoples of peasants, and naturally their leaders pursued an agricultural policy; their dream was to expand their territory and to annex their neighbors' fields. That is why their conflicts were frontier conflicts and their wars for annexation and conquest. Victorious Napoleon took possession of Belgium; the conqueror Bismarck annexed Alsace-Lorraine, etc.

But to-day all this is changed. The great European nations are governed by men of affairs—bankers, manufacturers, export merchants. The aim of these men is to seek everywhere markets for their rails, their cotton goods, their capital. Throughout the whole world they struggle for the control of the railways, loans, and mining concessions, etc. And if, perchance, two rival groups can not agree on the exploitation of new countries they appeal to arms.

Thus we saw the Japanese fight with the Chinese in 1895 for the exploitation of Korea; in 1898 the Americans battled with the Spaniards for the exploitation of Cuba; in 1899 England fought with the Boers for the possession of the Transvaal mines; in 1900 all Europe invaded Pekin to impose their railways upon the Chinese; finally, in 1904, the Japanese and Russians slaughtered each other for 18 months to find out who should have the right to exploit Manchuria.

Five wars in ten years! The triumph of pacifism! None of these wars resulted in conquest. Manchuria will always be a part of the Celestial Empire; China has kept its Emperor; South Africa is an autonomous political unity; and Cuba is an independent Republic. But their railroads, their loans, their import duties are all the booty of the victors.

Our great modern financial oligarchies are not looking for subjects, but customers; they do not engage in "patriotic" wars after the old fashion.

These men of affairs wage commercial wars.

THE ENGLISH INDUSTRY V. THE GERMAN INDUSTRY.

But now a conflict is preparing itself, compared to which the horrible slaughter of the Russo-Japanese war will be child's play.

At all points over the globe the English capitalists are struggling with the German capitalists, and one can see no other way out but war, provided the working classes of both countries do not revolt.

During the entire nineteenth century England was the undisputed queen of the industrial world. It was said of her: "She is a block of iron on a block of coal." She had an abundant supply of minerals to manufacture engines and the coal which is necessary to drive them. She could, therefore, ahead of all other nations, develop an incomparable industry. And the sea, which completely surrounds her, permitted her to build a navy without equal.

And thus during a century the spinners and weavers of Manchester and the steel mills of Birmingham spread over the whole world their cotton goods, cloths, hardware, their rails and locomotives, realizing without great effort magnificent profits.

Only France, already much in arrears, offered a weak competition; it is on that account that our capitalists formerly preached to the people of the hatred of "perfidious Albion."

Finally in 1898, at the time of the Fashoda incident, France—i. e., the oligarchy governing France—gave up its pretensions to great power. And England believed herself the undisputed mistress of the world's commerce.

But there an unexpected rival arose. Up to 1870 Germany was an almost exclusively agricultural country, but her soil was poor, and 300,000 Germans emigrated every year to distant America, seeking a more fertile soil, which would support them.

After the war insensibly all this changed. Bismarck, whom our chauvinists picture to us as planning continually to charge his Uhlans against us, had only one idea—to make of his country a great industrial nation like Great Britain.

Little by little, on the banks of the Rhine, in Westphalia, in Saxony, in Silesia, there arose great blast furnaces, steel mills, and forges; millions of spindles turned in the cotton mills; woolen mills, chemical industries, and great shipyards sprang up as if by magic. The railways of all the small States were placed under one management; the Government dredged or canalized the streams; the admirably constructed harbors were fitted up in first-class order, and a merchant marine, becoming gradually stronger, carried the flag and the merchandise of the Empire to all quarters of the globe.

Then the English began to grow uneasy. At first they had regarded the efforts made by the heavy Saxons to copy their industry with a disdainful smile. They asserted and believed that the Germans manufactured nothing but trash.

Yet this "trash" overwhelmed them. To relieve themselves of it they enacted a law that all articles of German manufacture should bear the trade-mark "Made in Germany." They sought thus to discredit their rivals.

But what was their surprise when they discovered that a very large number of excellent articles which had been previously accepted as the best products of English industry came directly from Westphalia, Saxony, or Silesia! Thus it appeared that the astute German manufactured better and cheaper wares than the English!

Instead of discrediting them, they had given them a very effective advertisement! This caused a veritable commotion amongst the coterie of Glasgow, Birmingham, and Manchester capitalists.

At the same time, from all the principal markets of the globe, the English consuls, who watch international commerce, sent disquieting reports to London.

From everywhere they reported the presence and activity of German traveling salesmen, engineers, and promoters, who were taking all the orders and securing concessions and loans.

A consul in Syria wrote to his Government: "Formerly all the European products used here were purchased in England. To-day I am writing to you on a table manufactured in Germany, with a German pen, on German paper. Soon there will be nothing English left but myself."

On all sides the progress of British commerce was declining, while that of German commerce was increasing with disquieting rapidity.

THE BAGDAD RAILWAY.

Naturally the Kaiser supported the efforts of his merchants and bankers with all the forces at the disposal of his diplomacy. Everywhere his ambassadors endeavored to obtain concessions and orders for his countrymen.

Colonies were founded in Africa; they built railways across China; the mines of Chile were exploited, and so forth.

But it was especially upon Turkey that the people of Berlin cast their eyes.

In 1903 William II obtained from the Sultan Abdul Hamid the concession of the Bagdad Railway, about which so much fuss is made at present by our great newspapers.

It runs for a stretch of 2,800 kilometers (about 1,700 miles), from Constantinople to the head of the Persian Gulf. It is a matter of nearly $200,000,000. One may easily imagine the great returns such an enterprise will yield to the bankers, ironworks, and promoters on the other side of the Rhine.

But it was found that this German railroad terminated in Mesopotamia in a region which the English always considered as a reservation for their own commerce. And, besides, this railway can in a few days transport Turkish troops into the neighborhood of Bombay and threaten the British domination of India.

THE APPEAL TO ARMS.

At this the English capitalists took fright. Their first surprise was changed to uneasiness and later into fury.

To-day in all parts of the globe, in the Balkan Peninsula, in Turkey, from Persia to China, in Central America, in Brazil, in the Argentine Republic, and in Chile, the bankers of Berlin and London, the shipowners of Liverpool and Hamburg, the

industrial magnates of Glasgow and Essen, are involved in a struggle.

To defend at least the colonial commerce, Mr. Chamberlain, the head of the Birmingham steel industry, proposed a protective tariff, but the English workingmen unanimously rejected the same, as this project would have increased the cost of living. After this the great capitalists who govern England saw only one solution.

It would be necessary at all costs to do away with this unexpected rival who was threatening British dominance in all the markets of the world. Since the industrial competition could not be settled by peaceful means, recourse would have to be had to dreadnaughts and an appeal to cannon.

Toward this goal the English Government is working with marvelous cooperation.

That is how in our capitalistic societies the struggle between groups of rival financiers embroils nations in war.

THE ISOLATION.

So England, feeling herself beaten in the industrial fight, decided to appeal to the fortune of arms.

Her plan is a double one:

(1) To encircle Germany by a system of ententes and alliances which will leave her isolated in the heart of Europe without military or financial support at the time of danger.

Thus we saw Edward VII in 1903 approach France and conclude with our financiers the entente cordiale and abandon Morocco—which, by the way, did not belong to him—to them.

Soon after he reconciled himself to the Czar by making some concessions in Persia and the Balkan States; he sought to detach Italy from the triple alliance by offering her Albania; he aroused the traditional hatred of the Germans by the Hungarians; aided the young Turks with money and advice to overthrow Abdul Hamid for being too closely allied to William II. And soon we could see the day when Germany would be completely surrounded by hostile powers, finding herself alone in facing her redoubtable enemy.

THE ERA OF THE DREADNAUGHT.

(2) At the same time they committed themselves in London to formidable armaments.

The English engineers constructed the first dreadnaught, these gigantic vessels of 18,000, 20,000, and 22,000 tons, carrying mounted in their turrets 34-centimeter guns, throwing enormous shells of melinite 9,000 meters.

Then all the principal battleships cruising in all the oceans of the world for protecting the empire "on which the sun never sets" were recalled and concentrated at the naval ports of the mother country.

These naval bases were changed. The principal ones had formerly been located at Plymouth, facing France, the ancient enemy.

They are now at Dover and Rosyth (Scotland), both commanding the entrance to the North Sea, the one in the south, the other in the north; both face toward Germany.

To stimulate the warlike feeling of the English people and arouse them to support the enormous cost of the naval programs, the entire fleet was drawn up in the Thames two years ago, from the mouth to the port of London, to crystallize enthusiasm by the grand spectacle of the naval strength of the nation.

Finally journalists and ministers of the distant colonies were brought from all parts of the globe—from Australia, South Africa, Canada, and New Zealand. They were shown what heavy costs the mother country had imposed upon herself; they were solemnly told that British preponderance was threatened. They were asked to contribute their share of the costs and to vote some battleships.

This was done. To-day they build dreadnaughts for account of the colonies, which also recruit, train, and arm corps of volunteers.

All the forces of the Empire in the five continents are to-day being strained in one immense effort to be ready for war.

Naturally enough the Germans, in the presence of this terrible menace, have not remained inactive.

But suddenly the Emperor sounded the alarm. In 1898 he uttered the famous words, "Our future lies on the water." Then he set to work designing and planning battleships and asked the Reichstag to vote a naval program.

At first the representatives did not understand and refused. But soon, thanks to the efforts of the navy league, merchants, manufacturers, and financiers were apprised of the threatening danger.

And thereafter program followed program. Superdreadnaughts were added to dreadnaughts; the great shipyards of Bremen, Hamburg, and Stettin worked with feverish activity.

In order to meet these colossal expenses the good-natured Germans consented, not without regret, to having taxes imposed even upon their beer and tobacco.

In 1914, when these programs will have actually been carried out, England will have 30 dreadnaughts, Germany 26.

The forces will be almost equal.

THE WAR OF FACTORIES.

What kind of a war will this be?

It is here we must depart from traditional ideas. It will not be a question of England's landing 100,000 men on the coasts of Hanover for marching on Berlin.

Nor will it be a question of Germany to hurl a landing force against London.

With the present development of naval forces this is nearly impossible; and, moreover, it would serve no purpose.

It is not a war of annexation or conquest which they would wage, but a commercial war. That is why there will be a return to the old methods of preying upon shipping and continental blockades.

What does England want? To ruin the German industry. A good way to do so is to deprive her of raw materials and prevent her exports.

That does not appear impracticable.

These great factories of the Rhine, of Saxony, of Silesia; these steel mills, cotton and woolen mills, which have carried on against their competitors of Birmingham and Manchester such terrible competition, with what do they operate?

They work iron ores which come from Spain and Sweden, cotton coming from the United States and Egypt; wool from the Cape, from Australia and Argentina. And all these indispensable raw materials arrive by sea, notably through the two great ports of Bremen and Hamburg.

And when they have manufactured in enormous quantities the rails, locomotives, machines, cotton goods, cloths and fabrics which have partly supplanted English products, whence are they shipped? To Turkey, to Africa, to North and South America, to China, and also to Japan. It means that the greater part of Germany's exportations goes by sea, and principally from the two great ports of Bremen and Hamburg.

Very well: Suppose these two harbors and their neighbors on the North Sea are blockaded by an English fleet; immediately no more iron ore, cotton, or wool can reach the factories along the Rhine, in Saxony, and Silesia. The finished products can not be exported, thus encumbering warehouses; no more can money come back to them; the dividends cease, and idleness becomes a harsh taskmaster. Grain and meat, which they bring in quantities from America, can no longer arrive, and the price of foodstuffs rises. Misery gradually bears down upon all the people.

It may be said that these merchants will endeavor to export and import by rail, and to make use of the foreign railways and ports, such as Dunkerque, Genoa, and Trieste.

But this means of transportation is infinitely more costly than that by boat; it would suffice to hamper German industry during the entire extent of the war. In the meantime, supposing, which is probable, the ocean trade to be open to British ships during this time. The British products will little by little regain their former preponderance in all the great markets of the globe.

The London Government will take advantage of its military superiority for making treaties and tariff agreements with various countries, will offer inducements for orders for rails, for concessions for railways, and wherever it can will create private "spheres of influence," like Morocco and Egypt.

When the war is over Germany will find her place taken, and the German industry will find itself in an inferior position for perhaps a century.

Thus bottling up the harbors of the North Sea will be the aim of the future war.

THE ENGLISH MANEUVERS.

And so that it may not be said, "These are all hypotheses, ingenious, probable perhaps, but after all only plain suppositions," it must be recalled that the object of the great English naval maneuvers two years ago was interception of merchant vessels passing between Spain and Ireland.

Over all this vast stretch the Admiralty had strung an immense line of battleships and cruisers, barring the entrance to the channel. And all the British merchant vessels (in case of war they would, of course, have been German vessels) which undertook to break through this line were halted and captured.

Likewise, here is the object of last year's maneuvers: "Supposing a hostile fleet in the Atlantic, another in the North Sea, could an English fleet in the Channel prevent their union?"

It is known that, notwithstanding a strict watch, the squadron representing the German fleet coming from Bremen succeeded

in breaking through the Straits of Calais and passing through the Channel.

This caused a shiver of fear in all England and resulted in a vote of four additional battleships.

Therefore, according to the British Admiralty, the object of the next war must be to blockade the German ports and cut off the German merchant fleet, to prevent supplies from reaching its factories and the exportation of German products.

It is a kind of continental blockade that we shall see, as in the time of the great duel between Napoleon I and England.

And now, since that is established, we can understand what rôle will be played by France in this merciless struggle.

To destroy by force the German industry, which troubles England, England has but one means—to cut off her sources of raw materials and shut off her exports by blockading her ports.

Suppose that the London Cabinet has decided on the blockade.

Some dark night, without warning anyone (for nowadays war is started and declared afterwards), an English squadron will cross the North Sea and station itself at the mouth of the Elbe, stopping all ships coming from Hamburg. Another squadron will station itself at the mouth of the Weser and bar the way for ships coming from Bremen. They can pass no more.

At the same time a fleet of cruisers will patrol the Channel and another will cruise between Scotland and Norway, stopping one after another all the merchant ships destined for Germany.

The enemy's industry is blockaded.

Will all then be lost? And will the proud Kaiser be forced to capitulate?

Not at all.

THE BACK DOORS OF GERMANY.

I have just said that the manufacturing establishments on the Rhine, in Saxony, and in Silesia supply themselves with raw materials solely through Bremen and Hamburg. That is not exact.

There are two other ports that play almost as important a rôle in the economic life of Germany.

They are Rotterdam and, still more, Antwerp.

Rotterdam, situated on the Rhine not far from its mouth, receives by thousands the boats which, ascending that stream, bring to the blast furnaces and cotton mills of Westphalia the iron ore, cotton, and wool necessary for their business.

Likewise Antwerp, on the large estuary of the Scheldt, is much nearer to Essen than Bremen. From there, by railway and the Belgian canals, the Rhenish industry obtains a large part of its raw materials. And it is by this route that it exports and distributes over the world the greater portion of its *finished products.*

Rotterdam and Antwerp have also become two great depots of the German industry. They are, commercially speaking, two German cities.

Only politically are they two foreign cities, Rotterdam being located in Holland and Antwerp in Belgium.

This is a fact of capital importance.

In effect, at the first sign of war, what will the Germans do? All of their ships finding themselves in foreign harbors at that time will denationalize themselves. They will hoist the Belgian, Dutch, Norwegian, Danish, and French flags. Then quietly they will sail for Rotterdam or Antwerp.

What can the English Navy do? Nothing at all, because they are neutral ships sailing for neutral harbors.

All these ships will unload their wares at the wharves of Antwerp, whence they will be carried by the Belgian canals and rivers to supply German factories. At the same time they can load finished products arriving for them from Westphalia, Saxony, and Silesia and quietly pass under the noses of the enormous English warships, which can not fire their formidable guns at them, for they are theoretically Belgian wares carried in Belgian ships.

One can then understand the international importance of these two ports. Antwerp and Rotterdam are the back doors of the German fortress, by which she will continue to communicate with the outside world. As long as they are open England may well blockade Bremen and Hamburg; she may well patrol the seas with her monstrous dreadnaughts; all her efforts will be in vain; she will see under the very mouths of her cannons the German industry resupply its factories and distribute as before its products all over the world.

That is why the Kaiser is using all his power to keep open Rotterdam and Antwerp.

For the same reason the Government of George V is using all its power to close them.

THE BELGIAN NEUTRALITY.

As to Rotterdam, this will, perhaps, not be difficult. Holland has for a long time been drawn into the circle of influence of German politics; her railways are in part under the control of Berlin; her Government follows willingly the suggestions of William II.

In case of conflict, whether she wills or not, her cities and harbors would probably from the first hour be occupied by Prussian troops.

England could then treat her as a belligerent power and try to take Rotterdam by force of arms.

But it is not so with Antwerp.

Belgium, they say, is a neutral country. By a solemn treaty all the neighboring powers have agreed in case of war to respect her territory. At the same time if one of them should undertake to march its troops through Belgium, all the others must arm themselves to prevent it.

This is a great obstacle for England, because it is simply indispensable for her to have Antwerp closed, and she can not accomplish this without violating treaties and running the risk of starting a European war.

Happily there is a means of circumventing this obstacle. Antwerp is not directly on the sea; it is like Rouen, Nantes, and Bordeaux, a river port located 70 kilometers inland. Therefore to block its access it is not necessary to land there; it is sufficient to station a squadron at the mouth of the river to bar the passage for merchant vessels.

THE QUESTION OF FLUSHING.

Only here a new difficulty arises.

The mouth of the Scheldt is within Dutch territory and is dominated by a Dutch city, Flushing. Now, the Government of Queen Wilhelmina—evidently prompted by William II—decides to fortify that city.

Suppose that this project is carried into effect; that formidable batteries are trained on the mouth of the Scheldt, and that a German fleet be stationed under its protection. Thus having provided a good naval base it would force the English dreadnaughts to keep at a distance; and they would try with all their forces to keep open the navigation of the Scheldt, the entrance and exit of the port of Antwerp, and there are chances that they would succeed.

Now one can understand the rage which took possession of all the high officials in England at the news that the Dutch Government was going to fortify Flushing! Not only has this small place considerable importance of itself, but it is the key to the port of Antwerp. And if Antwerp is not "bottled up," then it is all up with the cabinet of London's project of blockade imposed by the imperious logic of facts.

Then the entire English press strove to overwhelm Holland with threats. And the serious Times itself, the official organ of the minister of foreign affairs, declared, repeating a famous saying: "Flushing fortified is a pistol pointed at the heart of England."

Intimidated perhaps by these threats the Dutch Government and Parliament have not yet put their plan into execution. But from now on the question is a serious one and one of the gravest confronting Europe.

It is necessary for England's triumph over Germany that Antwerp be closed; to enable Germany to resist, Antwerp must remain open. It is a vital question for both.

It is, therefore, around Antwerp that the fate of the two empires will be decided; and it is on the plains of Belgium that the economic domination of the Old World will be determined between the two great nations.

But the neutrality of Belgium has been guaranteed by France. That is why each of the two powers is endeavoring at this moment to draw us into this serious conflict.

"Very well," you say, "if England and Germany absolutely insist on fighting, let them do so! As for us, let us keep out of the quarrel and remain neutral."

That is wisdom itself; unfortunately it is not practicable, for each of the two adversaries want to involve us in the conflict.

England needs our Army; Germany needs our money. Both are pulling us; one this way, one that.

And this is the secret of the chauvinistic agitation which the press is fomenting at present. It is only a beginning. Very good reason for investigating the situation with cool heads.

ENGLAND NEEDS OUR ARMY.

England, as I have shown, in order to throttle German industry, must absolutely blockade Antwerp. But she must also reckon that the Kaiser will *not* permit her to do this without resistance.

At the first sign of war—and even before the official declaration—it is probable that a German fleet will station itself at Flushing under the protection of the Dutch forts, and that a Prussian Army Corps will advance with forced marches to occupy Antwerp.

If this maneuver succeeds and an English squadron can not take the first step, then Antwerp must be taken by land.

But there the method of operation changes; the sea blockade will be superseded by continental war.

England must disembark troops in Belgium; it is necessary that these troops bar the route of the Prussian Army and throw it back upon the Rhine or Meuse.

That is why Lord Kitchener, the great English general, spoke these famous words: "The frontier of the British Empire in Europe is not the Straits of Calais, but the line of the Meuse."

A strange formula, which shows what neutrality counts for, in both camps!

But with what troops will England occupy this frontier? This is where the London Cabinet meets with difficulties.

It is well known that England does not have compulsory military service. She alone in Europe has declined to place the heavy burden of a "national army" upon her citizens. Secure in the power of her fleet, she has been content until now with a small army of professional soldiers and a reserve of 200,000 volunteers, brave men, but without training or discipline, and which the Secretary of War, Mr. Haldane, himself denounced as insufficient.

We know what a sad figure this army cut in facing the Boers.

However, if war should break out with Germany, England would have to measure itself, not with peasants, brave but undisciplined, having no knowledge of tactics, but with a regular army, perfectly equipped and trained, splendidly organized, and which is considered to be the best in Europe.

We can see the London "volunteers," with their parade officers, in battle after six weeks' fighting with the German Army!

In the presence of this great danger the general staff sounded the alarm. In Parliament, the commander in chief, Lord Roberts, made the following statement: "There is only one remedy for the present situation: Compulsory military service for all Englishmen."

Unfortunately this remedy appeared not to be quite to the taste of the English people.

They have always believed it a considerable advantage not to be obliged to spend two years of their lives in the barracks in fatiguing and unproductive drill.

Of course, chauvinistic ideas are just as strong there as they are on the Continent. The imperialism of the "great English" is all the more belligerent, since everyone well knows that he is not required to spill his own blood for the glory of the Empire.

But if all had to shoulder gun and knapsack and fight in the plains of Belgium to insure the victory of Mr. Chamberlain's ideas, it is probable that the English chauvinists would lose many of their followers.

Liberals and conservatives are aware of this powerful opposition of the popular sentiment. They know that by imposing compulsory military service on the citizens of free England they would forever ruin their belligerent policy. After several fruitless attempts in the House of Lords the measure was rejected.

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But nevertheless they have to get troops to occupy Belgium and throw the Prussians back on the Meuse.

Then not finding them at home, they thought of France.

"We lack soldiers," they said, "but France has them. Over there beyond the Straits of Calais is a numerous army, well trained, well disciplined, well equipped, capable, in one word, of resisting Germany. The French are brave, they are aggressive; they like war and know how to wage it; if we can impress them with the catchphrases 'national honor,' 'the highest interest of patriotism' and 'civilization,' they will march. Let us try to interest the French Army with us.

"That will not be so difficult. French democracy is for show. The people are in reality governed by an oligarchy of financiers and steel magnates who control the press and politicians.

"Let us bargain with these people. Let us promise them some large war loans, whereby their banks can earn high commissions. Let us bind ourselves to obtain for them some orders of railroads in Turkey and some large concessions in Syria, Ethiopia, and Morocco.

"And, for which few millions they will sell us the French Army."

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Thus reasoned these brave people, and their politicians started to work.

In 1903, immediately after the close of the Transvaal war, Edward VII went to Paris, and all the amiable dunces who had so often cried "Long live Kruger" were now bought by the press to cry "Long live England."

In order to recompense us for Egypt, where we held financial control, the London cabinet generously gave us Morocco, which did not belong to them.

And at all our financial banquets they acclaimed the "entente cordiale."

But that did not suffice.

Delcasse, who in 1905 wished to involve us in a war with Germany, having been overthrown, England saw that she would have to act with prudence.

She waited until that friend and companion of Edward VII came back into power. As if by chance he is appointed minister of marine, and, also as if by chance, on the eve of his success it was announced that negotiations were under way between London and Paris for the conclusion of a military treaty.

This treaty, let it be well understood, will be defensive. But it will be easy for the British Government in blockading Antwerp to force Germany to declare war.

And then we, the French, will have to do the fighting on the Belgian plains, not for the King of Prussia this time but for the King of England!

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That is what is in reality being engineered in the twilight of diplomatic correspondence and the silence of the parliaments.

England has always had need of a soldier on the Continent. Formerly, during the struggle with Napoleon, she paid the Austrian and Prussian troops to march against France. To-day she wants to send our national infantry against the Prussians.

The rôles have been changed, but the play is the same. It remains to be seen if we will play the game.

FRANCE AND GERMANY.

I know a great many brave Frenchmen who imagine that Emperor William every morning when taking his chocolate asks himself whether he shall not give the order for mobilization and launch his uhlans against Nancy.

They believe that the only desire of the Prussians is to hurl themselves upon us. And it must be confessed that great newspapers do all they can to sustain this fear.

It is indispensable for our steel magnates to secure votes for great numbers of cannon and battleships to enrich their stockholders. Without the fear of the German bogyman what would become of the dividends of Creusot's gun works?

Furthermore, it must be recognized that the Berlin Government plays exactly the same game with the German people. Since 1871 every time that Bismarck and his successors wished to procure from the Reichstag a new military septennate and modern armaments, they took two or three articles from La Patrie and a speech by Deroulede and dished up the whole with great bursts of eloquence in order to raise the specter of Revanche; and they obtained for their steel magnates all they wished. (We must not forget that the Emperor is one of the principal stockholders of the Krupp firm.)

Thus we have on both sides the same game of threatening talk and stage effects.

But how can we distinguish if these threats are sincere or a mere "metallic" bluff?

To do so it suffices to examine the economic interests of the two powers. In Germany, as in France, as in all the great European nations, it is these interests—and not the caprice of monarchs—which dominate the foreign policy and decide for peace or war.

NO ECONOMIC CONFLICTS.

For 40 years there has been no lack of opportunities for the Germans to attack and conquer us. That she has not done so is not because of any sympathy for us. It is because the Germans have been entirely absorbed by the idea of making a great industrial nation of their country.

In the La Force Allemande I told how, by patient, continuous, methodic efforts, they have succeeded.

To-day their very success makes them rivals of Great Britain.

But have they any reasons for entering into a conflict with us?

From a commercial point of view Germany sells almost as much to France as she buys from her. For 20 years exports and imports have been almost balanced.

As for the other part, the Germans export to all the markets of the world products of current use—machines, hardware, cotton goods, etc. We, on the other hand, export none but articles of luxury—Paris wares, dresses, jewelry, etc.—wherein the German taste can not compete with ours.

There is thus neither commercial competition nor any economic conflict.

"But," some one may say, "there are our colonies. Germany has none; would she not take ours?"

Those who entertain such ideas I advise to read the report of Mr. Violette. They will see the lamentable condition of our

colonies. Only one is self-sustaining—Indo-China—and the system of Doumer has so burdened it down that it is on the eve of a general revolt.

Moreover, just before a grave conflict with England, William II can not afford to multiply his vulnerable points on the face of the globe. He prefers rather to colonize Turkey in Asia under the cover of Ottoman independence.

There remains the conquest of a French Province. Alas! Germany is still suffering from the abuse of its annexations—in 150 years she has not been able to digest Poland; Danish Schleswig and even Hanover give her nothing but trouble; and she was compelled to grant self-government to the Alsace-Lorraines, whom she has not been able to govern.

There is only one piece of territory which she might want. The Empire has no iron ores. But just on the frontier, in the Department Meurthe-et-Moselle, have been discovered large deposits, some of the richest in the world. The industrials beyond the Rhine might be tempted to demand their annexation.

But it is quite superfluous, because our capitalists themselves have ceded to their German rivals, by liberal consents of participation, a considerable portion of their concessions. Why should William II exert himself to take by force a treasure which our great patriotic steel magnates daily deliver to him of their own accord?

In truth I have searched for reasons why the Germans should attack us; I have not found them.

THE FRANCO-GERMAN SYNDICATE OF 1902.

On the other hand, I see plainly the reasons they have for treating us fairly.

Primarily, and that is the essential point, they need our money.

To create an industry, capital is necessary, and Germany has not enough money. No doubt she realizes great profits every year. But she is a relatively new country; she has not the strong reserves of the old nations, like England and France, with industries one or two centuries older, and who have accumulated billions in their traditional "stockings."

Every year the creation of new factories absorbs the national savings, and the more the country develops the more money it needs.

Where find this money except in France, in the country of capitalists without initiative, who do not know how to use this richest treasure of the world, and do not know any better than to lend it to foreigners?

In 1902 William II tried to make a financial alliance with our banks. He had just succeeded in obtaining from the Sultan of Turkey the concessions of the Bagdad Railway, which excited the envy of all Europe to a high degree. But Germany was just coming out of a commercial crisis and had no available capital.

The Kaiser then approached our banks. A Franco-German syndicate was formed; it had for its president Arthur von Gwinner, president of the Deutsche Bank, and for vice president, M. Vernès, the partner of Rothschild in the Compagnie du Nord and the Compagnie du Midi, manager of the Banque de l'Union Parisienne, of the Banque Ottoman, of the Saloniki-Constantinople Railway, etc. After these came Rouvier, G. Auboyneau, etc.

The agreement made between the financiers, a diplomatic reapproachment became inevitable. And already M. Jules Lemaitre—he had not yet become nationalist and "camelot du roi"—was preaching friendship with Germany and to forget the past. No doubt if the financial combination had succeeded we would to-day have an entente cordiale with Germany.

THE VISIT OF EDWARD VII.

But soon England became disquietened.

In this economic struggle with Germany she has only one advantage—an abundance of capital. If France were to lend hers to England's rival, the British supremacy would be definitely compromised.

Soon, at the beginning of 1903, Edward VII came to Paris in great pomp.

The stupefied Parisians, who two years before had shouted, "Long live Kruger! Down with Chamberlain!" had suddenly to learn that they must henceforth cry, "Long live Edward VII!"

What took place between the King and Delcasse, Vernes, and some others, history alone can tell. One fact is certain: The following day after the departure of the King for London, the financial agencies announced that M. Vernes and his group had retired from the Bagdad Railway enterprise and that the Franco-German syndicate had been dissolved.

One year later the entente cordiale was concluded with England.

In return for giving up entirely the financial control of Egypt, and to reimburse our capitalists for their participation in the Bagdad project, the London Cabinet made us a present of Morocco. They gave it all the more willingly since it did not belong to them, and we can see to-day from what happened at Fez that a bearskin can not be bought before the bear is killed!

However that may be, M. Delcasse, henceforth inseparably allied with the fortunes of England, soon committed himself to a policy of encircling Germany and dragging us into a war with her.

We know how he was ousted by Rouvier in 1905.

THE EFFORTS OF WILLIAM II.

At this moment William II had a fine opportunity to attack us—our entire Nationalist press is unanimous in declaring that our invincible generals would have been beaten then.

The Kaiser did not do it. Oh, not for sympathy for France. It is simply because his interests counseled him to forbear.

Far from attacking us he tried everything to renew the relations with our business men. Ever since 1906 in Asia Minor, in the Ouenza syndicate, in the Union of Moroccan Mines, he planned to associate the German capitalists with the French capitalists. He had constituted officially a small Franco-German syndicate at Glarus, Switzerland, for the issuance of stock for the Bagdad Railway, his banks borrowed every four months large sums at high interest from the Credit Lyonnaise. Through all these means he endeavored to restore matter to the condition of 1903, before the visit of Edward VII to Paris. Have we not seen at the time of the famous accident to the dirigible Patrie that the Kaiser was first to send wreaths to the funeral of the killed officers?

Once more these manifestations of friendship were not disinterested. If William II tried by all means to secure reapproachment between our two countries, it was because he needed us. It is because his industry requires the assistance of our capital in order to promote its development. And that alone is already a guaranty that Germany does not try to make war on us.

But it is especially in case of an Anglo-German conflict that the French savings would become necessary to the Kaiser. And it is that which makes the situation of our country so delicate.

THE SALVATION OF THE EMPIRE IS AT THE PARIS BOURSE.

It is two years since at Hamburg there was held a congress of German bankers, where all who counted for anything in the financial circles of the country attended.

The report said: "Our military mobilization has been made and well made; but our financial mobilization is not ready. A war with England would cost at least five billion francs a year and would last probably two years."

These ten billions—where is Germany to find them? Evidently not in London or New York. There are only the two Austrian and Italian allies, who can not furnish this money—they have not enough for themselves. And she will no more get it from the Czar of all Russians! Then it remains for France, this rich country which does not know what to do with its savings, the France which this year subscribed loans for 6,000,000,000 francs (4,400,000,000 are foreign securities). It is the French bondholders who recently loaned two billions to Russia which made it possible for her to resist the assaults of Japan for two years.

If they should deign to do as much for Germany! Then the war loans subscribed at Paris would go to replenish the war chests of Spandau; then the Kaiser would always find the sums necessary to repair his battleships, to equip his troops, and feed his soldiers. There would be no industrial crisis and no financial crisis. Germany, without exhaustion, could sustain the English attack.

The salvation of the Empire lies at the Paris Bourse!

That is the immense service that France solely by means of her savings can render her proud neighbor. And now we comprehend all the efforts of William II to draw her with smiles and threats, willingly or not, into his sphere.

Unfortunately, a loan of money to Germany would estrange us from England. The London cabinet would never permit that France should furnish money to the Berlin people to pay for the shells to bombard the English fleet. And it is a known fact that in the whole world admittance of German securities to the official exchange of Paris would lead to an immediate rupture of the entente cordiale.

Thus we are placed in a delicate position. Each of the two adversaries seeks to engage us one against the other—the one needs our money, the other our Army—and we can not give our assistance to the one without exposing ourselves to the reprisals of the other.

There is one good solution, which is to remain neutral and to give neither military nor financial assistance to either one.

But can we do it? Will Germany not try to take our money by force if we refuse her the loans which she needs? It is a serious problem, which must not be decided without due reflection.

DOUBLE WAR, DOUBLE COSTS.

Assume the fight started between the two industrial rivals, and imagine that France remains neutral.

At the very first news of the declaration of war—so writes Mr. Riesser, former president of the Bank of Darmstadt—in all Germany orders will be canceled, commércial transactions stopped, and transportation facilities seized by the troops. Manual labor being scarce, the price of the necessaries of life will rise, that of luxuries fall; the capitalists will withdraw their deposits from the banks, the credit establishments will see their chests become empty.

Now, then, just at that time the State is obliged to issue, step by step, loans for hundreds of millions to meet the expenses of the war. To attract the capitalists it will offer its obligations at very low prices. The German investors, in order to buy them, will sell their industrial securities, which will suffer a considerable depreciation.

Gold becomes scarce at the moment when there is great need of it. A compulsory course for exchange will have to be declared for the bank notes. A financial crisis will be imminent.

However, it might be that by keeping cool and by confidence in their Government, German capitalists, especially if their fleet is not immediately vanquished, will succeed in averting this crisis.

But suppose that France, bound by her military treaty with Great Britain, is compelled to fall in line.

Soon the scene changes. It will suffice no more to send two army corps against Antwerp; the entire army must be mobilized, a million men launched against the Meuse and the Vosges, must be transported, equipped, and fed. This is no more one war, but two wars, which will have to be fought; the one on the sea, the other on land—and the latter will be at not the less cost.

Frankly, does anyone believe that Germany, which has not enough money for a naval war, would readily take upon herself the enormous burden of a continental war, if not compelled to?

That would be madness. And the German statesmen, and, above all, the bankers who guide their policy have shown us that they know how to figure.

FRANCE TAKEN AS "HOSTAGE."

Oh, I know well that the chauvinistic journals beyond the Rhine—they exist there as well as with us—utter ferocious threats. The notorious Prof. Schiemann, the German Deroulede, said: "In case of war with England we shall take France as hostage!" And the old Bismarckian Maximilian Harden declared: "We shall invade France, we shall impose upon her a war indemnity of 20,000,000,000 francs, and with this money we shall defray the expense of the campaign against the English."

This is a simple bluff like our Nationalists like to use, which will not bear inspection for five minutes. Then before they can take away from us ten or twenty billions they first must have made headway against us. Even if the French Army is as inferior as is assumed, it will resist easily for at least six weeks, just as the Austrians did at Sadowa and the troops of Napoleon before Sedan. But I learned from a general, who consented to discuss the subject with me at the Ecoles des Hautes Etudes Sociales, that during the first months of hostilities each army will spend from one to one and a half billion francs.

At the precise time when Germany would need all her resources against England she would be compelled to use up a billion or two to wage war against France. It is very imprudent to chase two rabbits at one time, especially two rabbits of such size.

"But," you will say, "with the war indemnity the Kaiser will get back his outlay and he will still have remaining a large sum to make war against England."

Thus reason those who know nothing of financial matters. But do they really think that ten or fifteen billions can be paid in "a turn of the hand" like a bill at the grocer's?

After the disaster of 1870 it took us more than two years to pay the five billion francs to Germany; and all of Europe, even the Prussians themselves, considered this a remarkable showing of strength. It is admitted that to-day France is richer than she was then. But if ten, fifteen, or even twenty billions were demanded of her, it would be very good if she took only three or four years to pay them. Even the first billion could not be raised before one or two years. And just then the war with England would already be over and the French money would come too late.

It is precisely this they are counting on in London. They do not give themselves to any false illusions about our military strength. They think we will be beaten on the plains of Belgium and will meet perhaps another Waterloo there. But we will have compelled Germany to meet simultaneously the expenses of a double war, on sea and land; we will have forced her to spend a billion or two for her army instead of employing this money to repair or replace her battleships. We will have contributed thus toward emptying her treasury.

But, as Louis XIV said: "The victory depends upon the last 100-sous piece." The Kaiser, weakened by his efforts on the Continent, and not having enough capital to rehabilitate his fleet, will be obliged to capitulate. And that will be the triumph of George V.

In truth, France will probably have been invaded, pillaged, burdened for a whole generation by an enormous war indemnity; but England will have vanquished her rival. Confronted by a conquered Germany and a weakened France, she will again attain and strengthen her absolute preponderance of the world. "Rule Britannia!"

Those are the risks of a combination which tends to transform the entente cordiale—an excellent idea—into a military alliance—a dangerous thing.

Germany has no interest in making war on us.

Are we interested in binding ourselves to her adversary to attack her?

It is this last point which remains to be examined.

NEUTRALITY IS POSSIBLE.

Two attitudes are possible:

We may take sides with one of the two powers, or we may remain neutral.

To take sides with Germany is very dangerous. Without doubt the Kaiser would not demand of us either ships or soldiers; he needs only our money. But the registry of German loans at the stock exchange would inevitably result in the rupture of the entente cordiale. And that would be the recommencement all over the world of this policy of pin pricks, which in 1898 led us to Fashoda. Never would any clear-headed Frenchman consent to that.

To take sides with England is still more dangerous. The first regiment to cross the Belgium frontier for marching to Antwerp would unchain against us a formidable war. All of the French officers with whom I have consulted assure me that after the measures taken by the German chief of staff the shock of German attack would be of a suddenness and violence unheard of.

What is to be done?

Guard neutrality?

That is easy. England has only one means of forcing us to march on Antwerp, and Germany can not compel us by force to lend her our savings. For once more, she is financially not in a position to maintain two wars at the same time. The theory of France being held as a hostage is a boast of the German Derouledes.

Under these circumstances only one attitude seems possible, reasonable, prudent, conforming to the interest of the country, and for the good of universal peace.

The French Government must say to the English: "You shall not have our army."

And to the Germans: "You shall not have our money."

Therefore, you will not fight each other, and France will not only have served her own interests but also those of humanity.

Or, well, if you absolutely insist on massacreing each other, very good; go ahead. But don't count on us to help you. In such fratricidal strife not one centime of French money nor one drop of blood shall we shed.

We shall say to the one as to the other—not a penny, not a soldier.

That is doubtless what France would say, if she were consulted.

THE MAD WHIRL OF ABSOLUTISM.

Unfortunately she is not asked for her advice. In spite of democratic appearances, it is known that the people do not govern and do not control their governors. A small band of capitalists has seized control of the administration and of the great financial associations; they hold in their hands the banks, mines, railways, steamship companies, water, gas, and electric companies; in fact, all the economic utilities of France. In the Guerre Sociale I have shown how they dominate the Parliament, dispose of the ministers, and have taken into their pay the great newspapers which mold public opinion. Skillfully hidden behind the democratic scenes they are in reality the masters of the destinies of the country.

But what kind of madness seems to have taken possession of these men—madness of absolute power, the same which carried

away Louis XIV and ruined Napoleon. Rarely does such temptation offer itself to any single man or any class. Consider that France could really be the arbiter of the world. If she lends her soldiers to England the German colossus may collapse; if she lends her money to the Kaiser, the Prussians will have the best of it; and it is perhaps the British Empire which will be dismembered and fall. What a temptation for an oligarchy without counterweights and without control to throw its sword into the balance and to decide which shall be the world empire. Why would not such a rôle intoxicate Delcasse, a great "big head" with a small soul, whom his courtiers compare to the great ministers of the past, and who wants to impress on history his name as a Richelieu?

THE FINANCIERS AND ALSACE-LORRAINE.

I have mentioned the good people who, before the imminence of an Anglo-German conflict, caught themselves dreaming of "revanche."

Ah! Alsace-Lorraine! I give assurance that our financiers never thought of it; never in their calculations, never in the combinations of our diplomatists can we find a trace of this idea—would it pay us to reconquer Alsace, and what effect would it have on the dividends of our great banks?

But there is more: Wonderful cotton mills have developed at Muhlhausen; powerful steel works, admirably equipped, have come into existence all along the frontier. Since they are superior to ours, we had to protect ours against theirs by an import tariff. Suppose that the frontier were again set back to the Rhine, all these factories would make disastrous competition to Creusot, and the cotton mills of the Vosges, Lille, and Rouen. They must remain outside of the line of customhouses. Not only have our business men not thought of taking Alsace-Lorraine back again, but if the Kaiser should offer it to them they would not want it. That is why they are allowing the dream of revenge among the people to be lulled to sleep.

THE PRICE OF BLOOD.

But what do they want, anyway?

Just this:

1. It is known that our business men received from England as a prize for the entente cordiale, Morocco; they had to have the monopoly of the loans and public works, the railroads, harbors, telegraphs, etc. Compelled to go to Algeciras, they can not console themselves for having to share all their concessions with Germany. A war would be a good way to oust an embarrassing partner and to recover the monopoly promised by England.

2. Germany wishes to make of Turkey a preserve, where the mines, loans, and railways will be reserved for her own citizens. It is a fine bait of which the Vitalis, the Auboyneaus and Revoil of the Banque Ottomane, Rouvier of the Banque Francaise, and Schneider of Creusot used to have first choice and the biggest share. Helping England to crush Germany would be a nice way to get rid of a serious competitor. They would then have only England with whom to share the lucrative honor of civilizing the Turks.

3. In case of war several billions would be borrowed in Paris, as much for account of London as for France. And our great banks cherish the memory of big profits realized in 1871 and 1872.

These are the advantages which the financial oligarchy can draw from an intervention in the conflict.

Of course, I know very well that in present day capitalistic circles it is necessary to develop commercial markets. But does that justify a war? Compare the mining concessions of Morocco, rich though they are, with the ravages of a war in France. Place on one side of the scale 600 miles of Turkish railway, and in the other the horrible massacre by our engines of war, the suffering of the wounded, the grief of the wives and mothers, and the misery of the orphans, and tell me if the dividends of Creusot are worth the blood of 200,000 young Frenchmen.

That is all the benefit which our country could receive from such an adventure. I defy anyone to prove the contrary.

But these people are not the master of their own destinies. A small, irresponsible, but powerful coterie exerts all its efforts on diplomacy and drags them along.

They are the ones who involved us in the Morocco adventure. And we know that our generals more often obey its orders than those of the Government. M. Ribot himself publicly complained of this.

They are the ones who supported Delcasse in 1905 when he brought us to the point of war with Germany. They are the ones who to-day have returned him to power and seek to transform the entente cordiale into a military alliance.

England knows their power, and that is why, without caring about Parliament or public opinion, she treats with these men and in every way associates them with her affairs.

THE PLOT.

Shall we be able to recognize any of the threads of this intrigue?

Let us follow the strange affair of Bernard Maimon, which it seems now is to be suppressed.

A journalist, M. Andre Tardieu, allied with the family of Waldeck-Rosseau, formerly secretary of the embassy, a high official of the ministry of the interior, editor of the foreign politics department of the Temps, the confident of the ministers, with access to their private offices at all hours, is considered all over Europe to be the official mouthpiece of the ministry of foreign affairs. It is from his articles that the other French newspapers, the foreign press, and even the European cabinets try to learn of the intentions of the French Government.

Now, England, to put a check on the German railway from Constantinople to Bagdad, is planning to build another road from Homs in Syria to Bagdad.

An administrative committee is formed. Whom do we find? Sir Babington Smith, the right-hand man of Sir Ernest Cassel, the former banker of Edward VII; Cherif Pascha, a Turkish general, who in Paris combated vigorously the policy of the Comite Union et Progres; and besides these, M. Andre Tardieu.

The latter has made this enterprise a personal matter. He is exerting himself to obtain the support of the French Government.

However, M. Pichon hesitates to follow. Thereupon M. Tardieu, in the Temps, though he had previously supported our ministry faithfully, sharply criticized his policy.

At the same time, through a mere coincidence which should, however, be mentioned, his partner in the Homs-Bagdad Railway affair, the Levantin Bernard Maimon, through the mediation of young Rouet, protégé of Tardieu, made away with secret documents stolen from the Quai d'Orsay. A London paper of which he is correspondent published a résumé, likewise secret, of the negotiations which had taken place at Potsdam between William II and the Russian Minister Sasonow.

At once the Parisian bankers refused the Czar the loan of 1,200 million francs already announced at the Bourse; Nicholas II responded by withdrawing his troops from the German border. And in spite of the official denials, all Europe is asking itself to-day what is left of the Franco-Russian alliance.

That is an example of what the little coterie of business men which surrounds and penetrates our ministry of foreign affairs can do.

In the present state of the Old World, when a match can set fire to all Europe, a few brawlers attracted by the bait of a railway concession in Turkey can involve France in a horrible cataclysm.

THE PLAN.

But, they say, in admitting that these people want war, can we believe for a moment that the French people would let them do this? How could they persuade them to let themselves be massacred for such futile ambitions?

The plan is simple; it is all arranged, and we can follow its realization every day.

1. They are negotiating at this moment a military treaty with Great Britain. In case of war with Germany the British fleet would protect our channel coast and our troops would march on Antwerp.

It is well understood—this is to reassure public opinion—that this treaty is to be purely defensive.

But you have noticed that all modern wars are always defensive? If you ask a Frenchman who was the aggressor in 1870, he will tell you that it was Bismarck in falsifying the dispatches of Ems. And put the same question to a German; he will answer you with the same good faith that it was Napoleon, since it was he who declared the war.

In the same way all Russians are convinced that it was Japan who, by sinking the Russian ships in the harbor of Chemulpo, provoked the conflict; and all the Japanese will reply that the Czar by penetrating Korea threatened the independence and security of their nation.

In fact, when a war breaks out it is because the two hostile Governments equally wanted it; but each of the two peoples is equally convinced that they are only defending themselves.

Then, when it pleases the foreign office to make war, its diplomats will know how to arrange for placing the responsibility for the conflict on the adversary; and we will have to march by virtue of a "defensive" treaty to assist George V.

2. But if we want the French peasant to march with good spirit public opinion must be prepared. For such purpose he must be persuaded that the Prussians think forever of invading French territory. Then the servile press seizes upon the most trifling incidents, distorts and magnifies them, and disquiets the public. An incident in the foreign legion, such as the lawsuit

"La Lorraine sportive," or an aeroplane flight, are good stuff to arouse in us fear and hatred of Germany.

One large newspaper, which takes its news service by special wire from the Times office, excels in this game. And this is only the beginning.

3. And finally when the public will have been sufficiently aroused, when the idea of a German peril is sufficiently implanted in our minds, then some fine night the English fleet will sail full steam for Flushing. At the same time almost the Prussian regiments at Aix-la-Chapelle will embark on express trains on their way to Antwerp.

Also, according to custom, the French Government will seize all telegrams and letters which might give information of the movement of belligerent troops. Later an official note will be sent to the press. The next morning all newspapers will print in headlines as large as your hand these prophetic words: "The Belgian neutrality has been violated—the Prussian Army is marching on Lille."

For—such is the trap—they will not say that the objective of the corps from Aix-la-Chapelle is Antwerp; they will only say it is directed against the French frontier.

At this terrible news, repeated by the millions of voices of the press with great effect, the peasant of Brittany or Cantal, the little bourgeois patriot, the badly informed workman, persuaded that France is attacked, will shoulder their knapsacks. Without giving them time to reflect, they are shipped with all haste in cattle cars on their way to the Belgian plains. The German Army, hindered in its march upon Antwerp, will fall upon them.

And this is how, by the astuteness of a small group of financiers and diplomats, a great people will find itself drawn into a war entirely against its will.

THE LONE CHANCE FOR PEACE.

Is the war inevitable?

I do not think so.

If in the economic conflict so strenuously engaged in between England and Germany, vital interests are at stake, it is not the same for France. And we must always hope that a sudden awakening of public conscience and the fear of a revolution may deter these business men before the accomplishment of their dangerous intrigues.

But it is necessary to consider well, such a sudden awakening of the public conscience will not happen if the people are not warned in time.

The final poterie which are wirepulling in the back rooms of the chancelleries is not large, but holds the most terrible of trumps—the popular ignorance.

The great words "Honor, the Fatherland, the Flag, National Defense," in the names of which for centuries so many crimes have been committed, and so many unjust and useless wars waged, are always powerful to sway the masses.

To hinder the financiers from making use of them, it is necessary to arouse public opinion and to shake off torpid indifference.

And above all, the preachers of peace who hypnotize people into a false security must be defied.

That may please some politicians and some naive people who lull themselves to sleep with the fond hope of compulsory arbitration.

As a matter of fact, Germany has declared that she will not accept it; and Sir John Fisher, supreme chief of the English fleet and delegate to the conference at the Hague, announced with brutal frankness:

"In case of war, I should violate all the rules of all the peace conferences—I have but one purpose, and that is to win. The diplomats can negotiate afterwards."

It is, therefore, a dangerous illusion to count on the friendly regulation of international conflicts by arbitration.

At this very moment, moreover, there is evidence of a gradual wavering of the pacifist propaganda among the middle classes due to the pressure of the governments and the hostile financiers.

Even amongst the working classes formerly opposed to militarism an attempt is made to spread the militarist fever.

In Germany, Socialist politicians, and not the small ones either, declared in the Reichstag that in case of war not a German Socialist would be missed at roll call.

In England, a Socialist named Blatchford has published a thundering brochure, "The German Peril," which is a direct appeal to the chauvinistic passions. And the congress of the Labor party, with Hyndman, voted for the strengthening of the navy.

Even in France, Jaures, forgetting the traditional cry of his party, "Rather revolution than war!" under the pretext of organizing the new army, proposed to militarize our children of the primary schools, demanded that all our lawyers, doctors, and professors taken from the bourgeoisie, be made officers, and preached with his customary eloquence the return to the patriotic and warlike traditions of 1792.

It is against this revival of chauvinistic passions that we must now defend ourselves.

For this there is only one remedy: Instruct the people as to the true situation in Europe; accustom them to discern underneath diplomatic conflicts the intrigues of business men; show them beneath the spread eagle words Honor, Fatherland, and National Safety, the orders, concessions, and loans which are the real motives of war. And then when they are invited to go and shed their blood on the plains of Belgium to assure the Creusot dividends, there will be produced such a formidable arousing of popular feeling, not alone among the workmen, but also with the peasants and middle classes, that the financial oligarchy will recoil and these men of prey will halt on the threshold of their crime.

That is the only hope of peace left to us.

"To dare to tell the truth to men of courage!"

MAY, 1911.

Series of Letters From Leslie M. Shaw to a First Voter.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. BENNET,

OF

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. BENNET. Mr. Speaker, under leave to print, extended me by the House, I insert the following interesting series of 25 letters in a Socratic vein from former Secretary of the Treasury Leslie M. Shaw to a first voter:

YOUNG MAN: I congratulate you that you have come to man's estate and are to face a man's responsibilities. In these troublesome times sane, safe, and conservative young men are needed as seldom before in the world's history.

It is easier to talk and to write than it is to think, so I ask you to think. The hope of the Republic lies in a thinking electorate. Knowledge and wisdom, as I hope you already appreciate, are not synonymous terms, and capacity to think is not enjoyed by all.

It is my purpose to ask from time to time a goodly number of questions, wise answers to some of which the American people must write into practice or serious results will ensue. While they will reach you over my signature, all will have been passed upon and approved as vital and pertinent by men of legislative, executive, and business experience.

I will be glad to receive your views, and, while I may not reply directly, your answers will be tabulated, and later I hope to be able to give each the benefit of all virile suggestions that come from young men who, like yourself, are interested in our common country, and who, because they are of the same generation, will be associated, consciously or unconsciously, in the conduct of a gerat Nation and in legislating for a wonderful people.

I will write you again.

Cordially, yours,

LESLIE M. SHAW,
Washington, D. C.

YOUNG MAN: Whoever contributes in any manner to the sum total of our production or to the grand aggregate of our commerce is a producer. This is equally true whether the energy be exerted in the kitchen, on the farm, in the factory, or at the directors' table.

All are consumers. We consume necessaries, or comforts, or luxuries, or extravagances. Looking at human conditions from your angle, do you think it would be preferable that legislation be had in the interest of the citizen as a consumer or in his interest as a producer?

In other words, would you, if it were in your power, secure for Americans the best market in the world in which to buy or the best market in the world in which to sell?

In answering the foregoing you should keep in mind that it is impossible to have high prices for the farmers' wheat and low prices for the laborers' bread, high-priced cattle and cheap meat, or a high wage scale and cheap products of labor.

What, in your judgment, would be ideal and practical market conditions?

Would you cheapen the cost of living or increase the ability to meet the high cost of living?

Cordially, yours,

LESLIE M. SHAW.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

YOUNG MAN: If you were legislating solely for the consumer as such, leaving out of consideration the producer, what would be the nature and character of the bills you would enact?

Would you fix minimum prices for labor and maximum prices for all products of labor, including food products, or would you abolish all tariff duties, thus inviting free competition within the American market for the products of the labor of all countries?

Can you formulate a policy satisfactory to yourself? Do you believe your plan would secure ideal industrial and economic conditions? Wherein would it be liable to fail?

Please give this proposition careful consideration, for it concretely states what is more or less nebulously occupying the attention of all.

I am submitting this matter to you and many other young men, fully appreciating that while wisdom comes only with years of thoughtful experience there is no good reason why men should defer thinking of public questions until they have reached mature years. Most men lose all interest in analytical thinking before they are 40. I choose to consult young and virile minds.

Cordially, yours,

LESLIE M. SHAW.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

—

YOUNG MAN: Perhaps you have discovered a tendency to minimize party differences. If you have been taught that the two great political parties are very much alike you have been grossly deceived.

It is true that the men composing political parties are much alike, and they are all very human; but parties as parties are absolutely unlike. This results from the fact that good and learned men may, and often do, radically differ on fundamental principles.

The Democratic Party always makes its appeal to the citizen as a consumer. It teaches that all he requires to make him prosperous and happy is cheap things to consume. It tells him he need never consider where an article is produced provided it is cheap. It promises to open wide the doors of trade so that if any foreign country will sell cheaper than America can produce its wares shall be welcomed and on equal terms with American products.

The Republican Party takes exactly the opposite position. It appeals to the same citizen, but as a producer. It tells him the thing most needful to his prosperity and happiness is a good market in which to sell his labor, or the products of his labor. It teaches that it is relatively unimportant what he pays provided the article be produced by his kinsfolks.

Incidentally, let me say that whoever loses sight of the fact that in this Republic each citizen is kin to every other has missed the theory upon which his Government was founded.

The Republican Party promises to compel the foreigner who would bring to your market the things which you produce, with intent to undersell you, to pay a portion of what he gets for his wares into your Treasury, to help pay the expenses of your Government, to the end that Americans shall have a material advantage in the American market.

The Democratic Party in its platform of 1916 says: "It has revised the tariff taxes downward in the interest of the consuming masses." The Republican Party always promises to construct its tariffs in the interest of the producing masses.

Recognizing as you must that you can not have the best market in the world in which to buy, and at the same time the best in which to sell, I ask you to consider whether it would be better for you personally to have a high-priced market in which to sell your services, and the things you produce, or a cheap market in which to buy your necessities? Second, do you think it would be better for the American people, as a people, to safeguard their grocery bills or their pay rolls?

Cordially, yours,

LESLIE M. SHAW,
Washington, D. C.

—

YOUNG MAN. The tariff plank of the Democratic platform of 1912 contains this language:

"We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic Party that the Federal Government, under the Constitution, has no right or power to impose or collect tariff duties except for purposes of revenue only."

This was reaffirmed in their platform of 1916, and the Underwood tariff law was "unreservedly indorsed as truly exemplifying that doctrine." The platform also declared that the party "had revised the tariff taxes downward in the interest of the consuming masses."

While the Underwood tariff bill was under discussion both its author and Senator SIMMONS, who had charge of the bill in the Senate, declared that it was not intended to protect any industry.

I desire to make it clear that, with respect to tariff legislation, the Democratic House, the Democratic Senate, and the Democratic President have acted in absolute accord with the Democratic platform. They have been consistent with their expressed belief that a protective tariff is a vicious thing, and that the Constitution gives no warrant for the enactment of such a tariff law. "Tariff for revenue only" is their watchword.

No one should complain of the belief of a great body of patriotic citizens or because they legislate consistently with that expressed belief.

The Republican Party is equally specific in its belief, and each party legislates in harmony with its convictions. The one revises the tariff in the interest of the consumer, and the other revises it in the interest of the producer of labor, the employer of labor, and therefore of the results of labor.

The Republican Party believes that the Constitution, while making no reference to the subject, is as comprehensive with respect to industrial preparedness as to military preparedness.

Query: Do you believe the Constitution which admittedly authorizes protection against military invasions, naval invasions, invasions of coolie labor, invasions of contract labor, and invasions of smallpox and yellow fever also permits protection against invasions of the products of cheap labor? Do you think it wise to protect against invasions of Japanese and Chinese laborers, for example, and unwise to protect against invasions of the products of the labor of these same people? Is it wholesome to protect our health, and our lives, and vicious to protect our industries?

Cordially, yours,

LESLIE M. SHAW,
Washington, D. C.

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YOUNG MAN. Speaking before the National Grain Dealers' Association of Baltimore, September 25, 1916, the President of the United States used this language: "I want to see America pitted against the world, not in selfishness but in brains."

Thus aptly did he express the free-trade theory, for admittedly a protective tariff has its root in selfishness. Its very purpose is to afford the citizen a selfish advantage in his home market.

Japan has a population of 284 to the square mile and 70 per cent of her more than 50,000,000 population live by farming 16 per cent of her territory. Her remaining territory is untillable. We have a population of only 30 and Germany 60 to the square mile.

Japan needs and must have more industries and more territory. She has started with all the virile energy of that wonderful race for more industries, and some think she has also started for more territory. Leastwise she is even now constructing munition factories and artillery plants avowedly for Mexico and upon Mexican soil. She entered the field of competitive manufacture about 20 years ago, and to-day the single town of Osaka has more than 1,500 factories. For a number of years her people have been buying standard automatic looms in this country, and their recent purchases have been in trainload lots. They import raw cotton in million-pound consignments.

The latest available consular reports give the Japanese wage scale for men at an average of 30 cents per day of 12 hours, women from 12 to 18 cents per day, and children even less. There are no child-labor laws or limitations of woman's work in Japan. The commissioner of labor of Massachusetts gives the wage scale in that State—and it is practically the same elsewhere in this country—at approximately ten times that of Japan, and for a shorter day.

Japan exported to the United States during 1916, in round figures, an average of $500,000 worth of merchandise per day. This included the products of these American looms, clay goods, glass, toilet articles, brushes, baseballs, and many other articles of daily use wherein labor is the principal factor. With the exception of raw silk these exports to the United States were practically all competitive products. I was recently told that in a certain large notion store in New York there were not less than 25 Japanese engaged in picking up samples and making designs of articles which we consume and that Japan can manufacture.

QUERY.—Do you think the American manufacturer can continue to pay our scale of wages for work done upon identically the same materials, with identically the same looms and other appliances when "pitted against Japan, not in selfishness but in brains"? Do you think it wise to legislate unselfishly or should America legislate for Americans? What do you think of the German policy, "Germany works for all the world, but nobody works for Germany but Germans"? Do you think Germany's phenomenal commercial growth has been retarded or aided by that policy?

Cordially, yours,

LESLIE M. SHAW,
Washington, D. C.

—

YOUNG MAN: At the close of the Civil War we occupied an unique position. We had matchless resources undeveloped and matchless resourcefulness untried. For 50 years a certain school of political belief controlled the policies of the Nation. During Mr. Cleveland's first administration, from 1885 to 1889, the "Old Guard" still dominated the Senate and prevented any material change in policy. During the first two years of Mr. Cleveland's second term his party also controlled both Houses of Congress, and our economic policies were reversed. Then William McKinley was elected in 1896 and former policies were restored.

With the exception of the one brief period, the Republican Party, therefore, is responsible for all that was done in those 50 years. It must bear the blame where blame is attachable, and is entitled to all credit where credit is due.

The policy of the Government during those 50 years was cooperation with business. The Government did not father but it fostered enterprises. It did not build railroads and ask the citizen to serve on a salary; it did not open farms and require the citizen to work by the month, or build factories and compel the citizen to live from weekly pay envelopes. Recognizing that man has always and will ever get his chiefest happiness out of his achievements, out of his creatorships, out of his sovereignties, the Government permitted the citizen to "achieve and be happy."

At the end of 50 years of protective tariffs, with but one break of four years, our farms were producing more than the farms of any other country on the map, our mines yielded gold by the trainload, silver more abundantly still; and we unloaded on the shores of Ohio alone more iron ore than any other country in the world produced. We had builded more miles of railroad than all Europe, and these roads in turn were carrying our freight at one-third the European rate. We were cutting from our forests 100,000,000 feet of lumber for every day of the calendar year; our domestic trade was five times as large as the aggregate international trade of all creation; our shops and factories were turning out more finished products than all the shops and all the factories of Great Britain and Germany and France combined plus five thousand million dollars' worth every 12 months, and we were paying out as much in wages as all the rest of the world.

Query: Does it occur to you that the pay roll of the United States, equal to that of all the rest of the world, is the most valuable asset we have and ought to be safeguarded above everything else?

Cordially, yours,

LESLIE M. SHAW,
Washington, D. C.

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YOUNG MAN: In a former letter I referred to our enormous pay roll, equal to that of all the rest of the world. I want to enlarge that thought and to ask you to consider its manifold relationships and effect upon each and every class and condition of our people.

Suppose a man earns $2.50. He spends this almost immediately for food and clothes. We all spend all we get. We spend it for necessaries, or comforts, or luxuries, or foolishness, or we expend it for a house, or a bond, or a share of stock, or for some other investment, or we deposit it in a bank and some one else uses it.

This supposed man buys food and clothes with the wages of the day and the merchant immediately pays it to the producer of food and clothes. The producer either keeps it as compensation or he pays it again to labor. The effect is the same, for in either case it goes to labor. How often do you think this $2.50 in wages reaches labor?

William McKinley expressed the belief that wages thus passed from labor to merchant, from merchant to producer, and from producer again to labor, and completed the circuit ten times a year. Conceding this to be conservative, $2.50 for a day's work is worth to labor at the end of the year $25, and it also swells our domestic trade $25. A million men, each earning $600, earn an aggregate of $600,000,000 per annum. This sum, passing to and from the merchant, to and from the producer, and again to labor ten times per year, is worth to labor $6,000,000,000 per annum and to our domestic commerce a like amount. A million men who last year earned an average of $600 each, if thrown out of work, will reduce our annual commerce $6,000,000,000.

To what extent do you think the present American pay roll is dependent upon the European war? In the absence of a protective tariff, what will become of this pay roll when peace is declared? Will the people of Europe produce less food than now? Will they consume more than now? If they produce more and consume less, they will certainly import less from the United States, and the American farmer, who spends or expends all he gets, will have less with which to buy lumber, nails, barbed wire, better clothes, and better everything, and if he buys less it will require less labor to supply his demands. Will European countries after the war manufacture less than they do now? Will they export less or more? Will it be necessary to protect against an invasion of manufactured goods if we intend to maintain the Amer-

ican pay roll? Do you think a political party that believes a "protective tariff is unconstitutional," under the leadership of a President who "wishes to see America pitted against the world, not in selfishness but in brains," can be trusted to make a systematic protective tariff law even if it should profess to try?

Cordially, yours,

LESLIE M. SHAW,
Washington, D. C.

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YOUNG MAN: Sir Hugh Bell, the great ironmaster of England, once told this incident in my presence. A laboring man said to him: "Sir Hugh, I ought to support my family on three days' work a week, and when I work six days per week I feel that I am robbing some poor fellow of three days' work." Sir Hugh replied: "Without discussing the question whether your happiness would be increased, or your culture improved, or your worth as a citizen enhanced by three idle days per week, I want to remind you that if you could support your family on three days' work a week and you actually worked six days per week, you would have money enough to hire some poor fellow for three days. Don't for a moment suppose that by remaining idle you are giving some one else work, but by remaining idle you are depriving some poor fellow of work."

You will notice that Sir Hugh proceeded upon the theory that there is a limitless amount of work to be done; and he was right. When all are busy at good wages they consume much, and this in turn makes work for others. The employment of a man shoveling gravel helps the merchant who sells food and clothing, and this in turn gives employment to those who produce food and clothing. Thus our industries go up and up and ever upward or they go down and down and ever downward. Yes, indeed, we are all kinsfolks.

The pay roll of the United States, equal to that of all the rest of the human race, affords the best market in the world for farm products; and the American farmer because of this unequaled market buys carpets, pianos, phonographs, and even automobiles, and his children, like the children in no other country, wear knit underwear, their clothes are never patched, and their shoes seldom mended. All this in turn affords employment for every class of labor.

Query: Do you think it wise or unwise to encourage this community of interest between producer and consumer? Can you imagine a condition where one class of our people can prosper and any other class suffer? I do not insist that profits from industry are or ever can be equitably divided. I only ask whether in your judgment it is better to have large returns from industries inequitably divided between employer and employed, or to have our unequaled home market divided between American and foreign manufacturers at the expense of American labor?

Cordially, yours,

LESLIE M. SHAW,
Washington, D. C.

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YOUNG MAN: If your study of the subject referred to in the preceding communications has led you to believe it is more to the advantage of Americans to have a high-priced market in which to sell their labor, and the resultants of their labor, than a low-priced market in which to buy their necessities, please consider how this desirable high-priced market in which to sell can be secured.

Our domestic trade is five times as large as the aggregate international trade of all the world. That is to say, while the people of one country are selling to the people of some other country $18,000,000,000 worth of products it is estimated that the American people sell among themselves (not including duplications) $100,000,000,000 worth.

If you were legislating in the interest of our citizens as producers would you require the foreigner who brings competing articles to the American market to pay into the Treasury of the United States a portion of what he gets for his merchandise, thus giving the American a substantial advantage in competitive products, or would you allow all the world to freely share our unequaled home market?

Cordially, yours,

LESLIE M. SHAW,
Washington, D. C.

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YOUNG MAN: In a previous communication I called attention to our enormous and unequaled domestic trade, estimated without counting duplications at $100,000,000,000, and with duplications at $500,000,000,000, while the aggregate export trade of the world is only $18,000,000,000.

Students of political economy entertain very divergent views with respect to international trade. Many learned men, including most college professors, advocate giving to the people of all nations the opportunity freely to compete with ourselves in our markets, and insist that by so doing we will greatly augment our export trade. Adherents of the other school object to a voluntary surrender of this enormous American trade, and claim that even if it were surrendered our export trade would be affected thereby in no perceptible degree.

In normal times and before the European war the American people were enjoying nearly 14 per cent of the export trade of the world and were yielding only 1⅓ per cent of their domestic trade.

Please consider whether in your judgment it would be wise to invite larger imports in the expectation that by so doing we would secure a larger foreign market for the products of American labor. Would we be likely to gain as much as we would certainly lose?

Cordially, yours,

LESLIE M. SHAW,
Washington, D. C.

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YOUNG MAN: In my last letter I asked you to consider the advisability of permitting the world to share our domestic trade, five times as large as the aggregate international trade of the world, on equal terms with ourselves in the hope thereby of increasing our export trade. Perhaps it will widen your range if you somewhat specifically consider how far, if at all, export trade is in fact influenced by imports.

Until comparatively recent years international merchants were compelled to be shipowners, and they found it convenient, therefore, to buy where they could also sell. Merchants now ship their goods over established lines of ocean freighters, and pay and collect in terms of cash. Thus the one great inducement to import from countries that consume our exports has been destroyed.

Under these modern conditions, if you were a merchant abroad seeking goods to please your American trade, would you inquire whether the people of the country in which you were making purchases were liberal or limited consumers of American products? Would you be influenced, for example, to buy in England rather than in France because in ordinary times the former country buys over $600,000,000 per annum of us, while France buys only $150,000,000 per annum?

As you doubtless know, a very large part of the foreign merchandise which we consume is brought to this country by the producer. Do you think the Frenchman is less likely to send his goods to the United States because his country buys of us less than England? Could the English manufacturer expect to influence a sale of his wares by reminding the American merchant that his country consumes far more American products than his French and German competitors combined?

If merchants buy where they can buy to the best advantage, independent of the amount of American goods consumed by the countries in which they purchase, what becomes of the principal argument of college professors, free-trade newspapers, and advocates of "tariff for revenue only," who insist we must allow the whole world to share our market on equal terms with ourselves if we expect to sell much abroad?

Young man, as you grow older, you will find it much more satisfactory to do some of your own thinking instead of accepting the unproven economic theories of impractical and inexperienced men.

Cordially, yours,

LESLIE M. SHAW,
Washington, D. C.

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YOUNG MAN: For many years the American people have divided, and perhaps to the end of time will divide, on questions of political economy. Every country in the world needs revenue, and every country has custom-houses and collects revenue from custom duties. Free trade therefore does not mean absence from tariff laws.

Each of the great political parties of the United States believes in tariff laws and the first thing each party does when it gets into power is to pass a tariff measure. The difference is in the character of the bills they enact. One party, as its platform of 1916 states, "revises the tariff in the interest of the consuming masses," and the other revises the tariff in the interest of the producing masses. That is to say the one levies its duties for revenue only and the other primarily for protection, placing a revenue tariff on luxuries and articles consumed largely by the wealthy and the well-to-do.

There are in the United States nearly 300 hat factories, which employ 25,000 wage earners who receive $14,000,000 in wages. Hats are mostly made of wool or fur and are largely labor. There are also in the United States over 350 glass factories, which employ nearly 70,000 wage earners who receive $39,000,000 in wages. Glass is made of sand and is all labor. (These figures are given in round numbers and are taken from the census reports of 1910.)

These hat factories produce practically all of the hats consumed in this country and the glass factories produce nearly all our ordinary glass. In other words, until recently the tariff laws in force required the foreigner who would import hats or glass products to pay into the Treasury of the United States a prohibitive per cent of their foreign value and thus preserved the American market for Americans. Now the war affords protection.

Query: How can the Government get customs revenue from hats or glass or anything else and still permit the American laborer to produce them? Is there any way to get customs duties on everything we consume and at the same time keep all our wheels of industry turning? Suppose the American laborer should consent to work at the foreign scale of wages, and thus enable the American factories to continue. Would that not defeat the purpose of the law by preventing revenue? Is a tariff for revenue only a tariff designed to have each article contained in the several schedules produced abroad and imported? And if not, what is its purpose and effect?

Cordially, yours,

LESLIE M. SHAW,
Washington, D. C.

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YOUNG MAN: Many years ago Americans frequently contracted labor in foreign countries at low wage scales, and brought them to the United States in competition with American workmen. Congress then prohibited contract labor, and for years no immigrant has been admitted to this country who has not been free to charge and receive whatever his toil would command. Chinamen also came and voluntarily worked for less than Americans charged. Then Congress prohibited their admission regardless of contract.

I have already reminded you that our President said at Baltimore, in September, 1916, that he wanted to see "America pitted against the world, not in selfishness but in brains."

Query: Do you see any material difference in effect between admitting contract and coolie labor in competition with Americans and admitting free of duty the products of the same labor when expended in their native countries with machinery, tools, and equipment identical with that which is used here? To what extent, if at all, are women weavers of New England and the Southern States, for example, benefited by the exclusion of laborers who seek admission under contract to work for 50 per cent of what is paid in America, if what the same women produce with American looms in the countries from which they seek to come be admitted in competition with the products of American weavers? Can you find an explanation why all labor organizations demand the exclusion of both coolie and contract labor, while a large majority of laboring men vote to admit free of duty the output of foreign shops and factories operated by the very same class of laborers as those they demand shall be excluded? I am very anxious that your generation shall think consecutively and act consistently. Will you not write out, for your own future use, concrete and well-considered answers to these questions?

Cordially, yours,

LESLIE M. SHAW,
Washington, D. C.

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YOUNG MAN: The American people are to-day prosperous. They were also prosperous during the Napoleonic wars just 100 years ago. Woodrow Wilson in his History of the American People states that "in the year 1815 close upon $50,000,000 had been invested in the manufacture of textile fabrics alone," and adds, "almost everything in general use was sooner or later added to the growing list."

Immediately following the Napoleonic wars, several shiploads of merchandise entered New York Harbor and the cargoes were sold at auction on the streets. These goods were not imported in the hope of finding a profitable market, but with intent to break the American market. The scheme was successful. Horace Greeley writing of that period said: "Our manufactories went down like grass before the mower. Agriculture and labor soon followed. In New England fully one-fourth of all property went through the sheriff's mill."

Thomas Benton, in his Thirty Years in Congress, refers to the same period in this language: "No price for property, no demand for labor, no sound of the hammer except that of the auctioneer knocking down property." Woodrow Wilson, in the third volume of his history, page 229, says: "The remedy was a protective tariff. * * * Every State

in the Union, except Delaware and North Carolina, was represented by at least one Member in the vote that established it. Men of the most diverse views and interests united in wishing to give their country not only political but economic independence."

The question that I desire you to consider at this time is our pay roll after the war. David Lloyd George, the English premier, is my authority for the statement that England is manufacturing to-day four times as many dollars' worth of goods as before her army was recruited from peaceful pursuits. While these are largely war supplies, England is exporting to this country even now and to the world at large more than ever before in her history. Her exports increased over $590,000,000 in 1916.

Germany is reported as having over $2,000,000,000 in merchandise ready to export when the seas are open, and new ships in which to send them aggregating 1,000,000 tonnage. Universal service, long hours, and multiplied efficiency have done wonders for all belligerent countries.

When the war ends these countries will still produce, and being to poor to consume they must export. One hundred years ago, when English imports ruined our industries, put one-quarter of New England through the sheriff's mill, and silenced every hammer except that of the auctioneer, the average tariff duty collected was 20 per cent. Under the present Underwood tariff law the average collected is less than half that.

Query: If it be true, as Prof. Woodrow Wilson says in his history, that "the remedy was a protective tariff," what would you think of a protective tariff as a preventive?

Cordially, yours,

LESLIE M. SHAW,
Washington, D. C.

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YOUNG MAN: I recently called your attention to our President's expressed wish "to see America pitted against the world not in selfishness but in brains." Very soon, if not already, you will find yourself face to face with somewhat stern realities. Unless the Government extends its paternal care even further than the most radical now advocate you will confront intense competition and will be forced to rely in great degree upon yourself.

In the great distribution of the world's work it matters little what your assignment shall be provided you do your work better than it is now being done.

At present the law of human life is competition. The alleged purpose of all antitrust laws is to enforce competition. Yet recently a disposition has developed to punish those who successfully compete, and hence we have several processes of taxation, hitherto unknown, based upon the theory that at least a portion of every successful man's accumulations should be confiscated, and that the per cent of confiscation should be increased in proportion as the individual is able to withstand competition. Incidentally you will observe it is very difficult for any people to be consistent with themselves.

I think it important that the generation to which you belong shall definitely determine certain principles, adopt some well-defined chart, so to speak, and then sail the ship of state by that chart.

But the question I desire to ask at this time is whether you believe you have sufficient brain power to enter the field of manufacture, for instance, pay the American scale of wages, and win when "pitted not in selfishness but in brains" against countries where wages are 25 per cent or more below those which you will be compelled to pay, not to mention Japan, where wages are 90 per cent below ours? Again, are you confident you have brains adequate to operate a transoceanic line of freight and passenger steamers in competition with subsidized ships from every other country in the world, when the crews of no country in the world receive over 75 per cent of what you will have to pay under our flag? In other words, do you also wish to see "America pitted against the world not in selfishness but in brains"?

Cordially, yours,

LESLIE M. SHAW,
Washington, D. C.

YOUNG MAN: You doubtless recognize that the task of self-government is the severest that God in his wisdom ever placed upon his children.

After six thousand years of human history this Government was launched. It has stood the strain from within and the storms from without for a century and a quarter, but there is no thinking man between the seas and no thinking man beyond the seas who does not recognize that representative government in the great Republic is in its experimental stage.

Your study and observation have doubtless revealed that the centuries have wrought many changes in relationships between the individual and his government. The proper attitude of the one toward the other and the appropriate functions of each are fundamental and of greatest importance.

You have also doubtless discovered that the "trend of the times" is toward paternalism in government, but your reading as well as your observation should have shown you that the "trend of the times" is not always in the direction of truth. There always have been and always will be "trends of the times."

Daniel Webster began his immortal reply to Senator Hayne as follows:

"When the mariner has been tossed for many days in thick weather and on unknown seas he naturally avails himself of the first pause in the storm, the earliest glance of the sun, to take his latitude and ascertain how far the elements have driven him from his true course."

Query: Do you think it the part of wisdom always to follow the "trend of the times," or should your generation take latitude and determine whether the elements of ambition, or some other of a hundred winds of passion and prejudice, is driving the ship of state from its true course? Does the fact that you find her where she is raise a presumption that she has or that she has not abandoned her chart or proof that her helm is in safe hands?

I will write you further along these lines, for I think it imperative that you arrive somewhere near truth, or at least that you start in the direction of truth, and that you do this through analytical thinking rather than by simply observing and following the "trend of the times."

Cordially, yours,

LESLIE M. SHAW,
Washington, D. C.

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YOUNG MAN: Ranchmen have found from experience that partially fed cattle are more likely to perish during the unavoidable hardships of winters than those compelled to "rustle." An occasional feed very soon develops a disposition to depend upon assistance. Even cattle take kindly to paternalism. It has been found best, therefore, simply to provide a range where, with proper energy, a great majority of the herd will thrive, and to fatten and slaughter the defectives. Laziness is as much a defect as any other characteristic, brute or human. In this way the average fortitude of the herd is improved.

Do you discover any analogy between the practice of herdsmen and governmental operations? To what extent should a government nurse the citizen? Should it insure him against nonemployment, regardless of a desire for employment; should it guarantee a fixed wage however inefficient the workman, and limit the hours of labor independent of ability or wish to render extraordinary service for extraordinary pay? Or does the Government discharge its appropriate function when it provides conditions where, with fair aptitude and proper application, a large majority can thrive with some measure of comfort and a large measure of self-respect, and having done this make charitable provision for the unfortunate, whether the cause be accident, inherited inaptitude, thriftless habits, or vicious living?

You know there are still some who desire release from leading strings in the belief that if given freedom of action they can acquire a competency, be independent, merit the approval of their neighbors, the respect of themselves, and above all the admiration of their children.

The foregoing questions your generation must solve. The issue is pending and it is fundamental. The issue is individualism versus collectivism, toward which paternalism is the halfway house. If Abraham Lincoln was correct in saying, when he faced an issue no more vital than that which now confronts you, "The Nation can not exist half slave and half free," you are justified in believing that the Nation can not exist half individualistic and half socialistic. Is it not necessarily true that one policy or the other must prevail?

Cordially, yours.

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LESLIE M. SHAW,
Washington, D. C.

YOUNG MAN: Pensions are rewards for heroic service, and generally presuppose the voluntary assumption of personal risk in behalf of others; while charity is a provision for the needy resulting from misfortune, misapplied energy, inaptitude, indolence, or vice.

Doubtless you are willing to assume responsibility for the support of yourself and your family, and will gladly contribute in some fair and equitable manner, through appropriate processes of taxation, toward pensioning those who bear arms in defense of our common flag and for the dignity of this blessed land which we are proud to call "Our Country," and you will also pay your share toward the maintenance of the helpless and the unfortunate few.

I write to inquire whether you are also willing to assume the burden of paying pensions to men and women who have no other claim thereto than that they have grown old and have failed to provide for themselves?

In your own case do you desire the Government to promise you a pension independent of the manner in which you may acquit yourself? Or do you want to face the future in the belief that if you win through merit the rewards of victory will be yours to enjoy, and if you lose you will be expected to suffer the consequences? In other words do you desire the Government to pension you simply because you hold a poor hand or play a good hand badly?

I am expressing no opinion, and before you answer the question even to yourself, I want you to carefully consider whether pensions and charity are synonymous terms. Unless your generation discerns the distinction, if there be a distinction, it may go far afield. I shall not be surprised to see some progressive, paternalistic, legislative uplifter of the present generation appear and advocate pensioning men because they have spent all the productive period of their lives serving the State by compulsion, and in a penitentiary. If there is to be any limit, your generation must set the stakes. This generation seems disposed, just now at least, to destroy all ancient landmarks and obliterate all boundary lines.

Cordially, yours,

LESLIE M. SHAW,
Washington, D. C.

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YOUNG MAN: You may have observed that all business stands on three legs. No business can stand on two legs. Capital and labor unsupported have never accomplished anything and never will. Alone and unaided capital languishes and labor starves. The third and all essential leg is management.

Please imagine the various business enterprises of the world, from peanut stand to United States Steel, each a three-legged stool. Occasionally a concern topples over. It fails. It is not necessary to examine, for you know in advance which leg buckles. It is management every time and always. The concern that fails for want of capital fails, in fact, because management attempts too much with its available capital. Capital never deserts its functions; labor never justly quits its job so long as management remains efficient and effective.

I submitted the foregoing to the president of a federation of labor at Chicago a year or so ago, and he replied, "Everybody has been talking about capital and labor, capital and labor, nothing but capital and labor. We knew there was another guy in there, but we couldn't find him; and that guy must be paid."

Query. Was this labor-union man correct or incorrect in his deductions? In solving industrial relations and allied problems are there three definable interests that must be considered or only two? If there be three, discover if you can why management as a distinct and essential element has been so generally ignored by teachers, writers, and speakers on the subject. Have they been seeking to teach, write, and speak the truth, or have they been pandering?

Cordially, yours,

LESLIE M. SHAW,
Washington, D. C.

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YOUNG MAN: Please consider this proposition: In a certain city there are 10,000 men out of employment; in a certain bank of that city $1,000,000 are out of employment; and in the foothills across from that city 10,000,000 tons of coal are out of employment.

The unemployed men offer their joint note for the unemployed money with which to develop the coal mine, but the officers of the bank will not loan money that does not belong to them on the signature of 10,000 men, each out of employment. Later a group of men who have succeeded in the coal business, and therefore possess management, the all-essential third leg of successful business, after investing $2,000,000 of their own money in the proposition, desire to borrow $1,000,000, and offer as security therefor a majority of the capital stock of the company, all of its bonds, and their personal obligation.

"Socialism demands that labor shall get the full product of its toil, or its equivalent, less the amount required to keep the machinery with which he works in an efficient condition." How much do you say these hitherto unemployed men should receive for their labor in excess of a wage scale at which they are glad to work?

Cordially, yours,

LESLIE M. SHAW,
Washington, D. C.

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YOUNG MAN: I recently submitted for your consideration a question involving just and adequate compensation for coal miners, whose employment was made possible by the investment of accumulated capital, supplemented by the personal obligations of men already in financial circumstances that would justify retirement from business, and especially from activities necessarily hazardous.

In considering the foregoing you may have thought out some possible plan of cooperation between owners and operatives, or some profit-sharing scheme. You are probably aware that leaders of organized labor, with scarcely an exemption, strenuously object to anything of that kind. They insist that the distinction between employer and employed shall be clearly marked, and that no community of interest can be tolerated. There must be a reason for this attitude.

Do you agree with them that it is better for the personnel of labor to have class distinction emphasized, or as far as possible obliterated? Does the spirit of unrest within the ranks of organized labor, manifested in so many ways, conserve the actual laborer, or may it conserve only labor leaders and agitators, who, from actual choice and acquired skill, find it more congenial, and incidentally more profitable, to sow seeds of discord than to reap rewards of personal toil?

Cordially, yours,

LESLIE M. SHAW,
Washington, D. C.

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YOUNG MAN: If you have not already begun your life career that all-important step must soon be taken. If you enter a city or town and inquire whether there be an opening in any of the learned professions, you will be told that they already have more lawyers than can make a living, more doctors than sick people, a good per capita of dentists, and twice as many applicants as positions in the field of pedagogy. If you ask whether there be an opportunity for another store, they may tell you there ought to be, for several have gone out of business during the year.

But if you say you have come with intent to build a public utility, promote an electric or steam railway, develop a water power, or build a factory you will be immediately welcomed, the chamber of commerce will give a dinner in your honor, and you will have offers of free sites, exemptions from taxation, and everything else within the realm of legitimate encouragement. Your enterprise will be approved and your foresight lauded until you have reached that degree of success where you can enlarge your plant, extend your influence, and find an outside market, perhaps a foreign market, for the products of domestic labor.

The public may them assume that your success has been at its expense, and you are liable to see everything done that can be legitimately done to circumscribe your influence and cripple your efforts. Some indirect way to confiscate your investment may be thought out and proposed. You probably recall instances of this kind in your own community, for they exist well-nigh everywhere.

Query: Where is the seed from which spring these inconsistencies? Can it be sterilized, and how? Are big enterprises and great successes essential to a great country? Can our matchless resources be developed and the matchless resourcefulness of the American people given adequate swing under any legislative policy that limits the rewards of achievements resulting from exceptional aptitude crossed on courage?

Cordially, yours

LESLIE M. SHAW,
Washington, D. C.

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YOUNG MAN: The lands of Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and several other States were sold by the Government at $1.25 per acre. These lands are no more productive to-day than they were originally, and many of them have deteriorated in fertility because of improvident and unwise farming. Nevertheless the owners have watered the capitalization more than 10,000 per cent, so that in buying a dozen eggs, a sack of flour, or a pound of meat one is helping to pay dividends on a capitalization of over $125 an acre exclusive of buildings and other improvements on all farms in the rich agricultural belt.

All early attempts to build railroads across these States resulted in a loss of every dollar invested. Subsequently, through wisdom bought with costly experience, and courage born of hope, roads were constructed and made profitable.

The wealth of the United States, aggregating $200,000,000,000, is three-fourths unearned increment-water. Farm lands, timber tracts, city lots, coal measures, iron, copper, and zinc deposits, gold and silver mines, and oil fields were originally worth little, but increased population plus American enterprise and courage have made them valuable.

QUERY: How shall this enormous unearned increment be apportioned? Shall those who have merely watched this development, assumed no risks, and therefor suffered no anxieties, because they outnumber the fearless and the energetic, confiscate by indirect legislation, or discourage further enterprise by limiting incomes to the equivalent of a moderate rate of interest on money loaned with approved security? Shall farm lands pay 10 per cent on a capitalization nine-tenths water and railroads and public utilities be limited to 6 or 8 per cent on actual physical cost? Shall pioneer capital receive no greater reward than money invested in extensions and betterments where returns are certain? I express no opinion, and simply want your best and sanest thought.

Cordially, yours,

LESLIE M. SHAW,
Washington, D. C.

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YOUNG MAN: John D. Spreckles, of California, is a very wealthy man. He owns over 51 per cent of the gas and electric light plants, the street railroads and ferries of San Diego, but he does not enjoy 51 per cent of the food cooked, the light emitted, or the rides taken, and not 1 per cent of the increased value of property caused by his public-spirited enterprises inures to him.

For some years Mr. Spreckles has been projecting a steam railway from San Diego to the Imperial Valley, the most fertile spot on earth, lying in between the mountains and extending far across the Mexican border, and being the only proven region where two crops of cotton, each over a bale to the acre, can be grown on the same land in a single season and without fertilizer.

The undertaking necessitates many miles of tunnels through solid granite. After many disappointments, with all he is worth imperiled, he believes he has finally secured the necessary funds, and seems likely to realize his ambition.

In the meantime the papers at both ends of the road are loudly boasting that the enterprise will inject fully 50 per cent of water into the present capitalization of all farm lands and city real estate directly affected the day the road is opened as a common carrier, while the people owning this real estate stand ready to demand rates low enough to preclude any possible profit on road or public utility beyond a rate on replacement value equal to that obtainable for money loaned on first mortgages with these same lands as security.

The wealth of California, and therefore of the United States, will be increased tenfold the cost of the road.

Query: Shall this enormous unearned increment be apportioned solely among those who have taken no part, made no contribution, incurred no risk, and suffered no anxiety, or shall those whose foresight, enterprise, and courage make them possible be permitted participation? Do you think the question of justice is involved? Do you believe the policy applicable to this concrete case, and therefore to all similar cases, likely to affect future developments? Is there a middle ground of both justice and wisdom? Should there be a distinction between pioneer capital and money expended in extensions and betterments? Can the American people afford to be other than liberal with genius?

Cordially, yours,

LESLIE M. SHAW,
Washington, D. C.

Speech of Hon. Burnett M. Chiperfield Before the Traffic Club of New York.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURNETT M. CHIPERFIELD.
OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I insert a speech delivered by me before the Traffic Club of New York at their eleventh annual dinner. The speech is as follows:

SPEECH OF HON. BURNETT M. CHIPERFIELD BEFORE THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL DINNER OF THE TRAFFIC CLUB OF NEW YORK, HELD AT THE WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY, N. Y., FEBRUARY 21, 1917.

[President T. N. Jarvis, toastmaster.]

The TOASTMASTER. Gentlemen, at this time, when the events of the day or a week may change the whole course of our social and industrial life, I would like to propose a toast to the health of the President.

[All rose.]

The TOASTMASTER. Gentlemen, on your behalf I extend to the ladies who so graciously add a charm by their presence to this occasion, and to our guests, a hearty welcome to this, the eleventh annual meeting of the Traffic Club of New York.

All events connected with this organization are important, but this annual banquet of ours is the most important of them all, bringing together as it does, in this great center of social, industrial, and civic life prominent men from all parts of the country, men who are known as captains of industry, men who are charged with responsibility for the management of our great railroad, steamship, express, and industrial corporations, and men who have a part in the making of our laws and in guiding our ship of state.

I also want to take this occasion to thank the many representatives from our sister clubs and thank them for coming to our party. We have among them the presidents of practically all the prominent traffic clubs in the country; a large delegation from Chicago has honored us, and at one table there are six former presidents of the Chicago Traffic Club. [Applause.]

There are a great many things I could say about the New York Traffic Club. I could tell you that it is the largest club in the largest city, and has one of the best looking presidents of any of them. [Laughter.]

We have always had quiet, refined, and excellent dinners; we have always had the best orators to address you. The first gentleman that I will introduce you will all be able to see when he stands upon his feet. He had the perspicacity to choose a clergyman for his father. He indulged in so many activities that I could not commit them all to memory, so I will read a few of them. He took up law early in his life, became State attorney of Fulton County, Ill.; elected representative to the General Assembly of the State of Illinois; secretary and member of the board of trustees; connected with the National Guard of Illinois; was judge advocate of the Illinois National Guard; organized a regiment in the Spanish War; he is a farmer—nothing said about whether he makes money on his farm or not, but he is a farmer—he has been a consistent Republican [laughter and applause] and was elected Congressman at large by a tre-

mendous majority—I won't mention it, because this will probably get in the papers, and his opponent, a Democrat, may find it out and have to read it over again the second time—he is also a member of the Rules Committee, one of the most powerful committees in Congress.

Gentlemen, it is my great pleasure and our great privilege to listen to Mr. [refers to list of speakers amid laughter]—the Hon. BURNETT M. CHIPERFIELD, who will tell you "What Washington might say." [Applause.]

Hon. BURNETT M. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I never knew before in my life how utterly worthless that Congressional Directory is. [Laughter.] There is where he got all those very kind—if not overly truthful statements.

I know now why I always did hate the book.

I did not blame the chairman for failing to recall that long name of mine. It is not his fault.

It reminds me somewhat of the man who was called upon in his pastoral capacity to preach a funeral sermon for a prominent man who was a very dear friend of his, and as he wanted to make sure that he would not forget, he jotted down a few names, and at the appointed time for the service the good man spoke somewhat upon this wise:

"We have met to-day to pay a tribute and to extoll the virtues of the dear departed whom we all knew so well, our loved friend, Mr. [refers to paper]—Mr. Smith. Mr. Smith was a truthful man. In that respect he emulated the Father of his Country [picks up paper], George Washington. He lived an upright and an honest life like that other great President of the United States [referring to paper], Abraham Lincoln. [Laughter.] But now he has left us and has departed to the better land; he has gone to meet his [referring to paper]—his God." [Laughter.]

I am delighted to have the privilege of meeting with this great club. Up to the present time I have enjoyed this delightful occasion most thoroughly, and if it could just stop right here I would enjoy it much more, and I have my suspicions that this may be true of you. [Laughter.]

I am at the present moment a good deal like the butcher who had made quickly in his business a whole lot of money. He had been so very busy with his butchering and rendering that he had not time to accumulate very many of the social graces, but as he acquired wealth his wife acquired social ambitions; and so every so often, and, alas, sometimes more frequently, she trotted him out, much to his disgust, to various social functions of one kind and another. There was a very fashionable masked ball to which she had contrived to secure an invitation, and so she insisted that he should lend dignity to the occasion by his graceful presence.

Not only this, but to add insult to injury, she arrayed him in the character of Appius Claudius, a Roman senator [laughter], and he was, if you will believe me, some senator! [Laughter.] He stood around the wall the most perfect picture of distress that mortal man could imagine, and finally a kindly disposed soul came along and, noticing his anguish, said to him, "Ah! I see you are in character to-night—you are Appius Claudius." "Ho, no, sir," the butcher rejoined; "hi am not 'appy as Claudius. Hi am un'appy as 'ell." [Laughter.]

And so I and my good friend over by the door who said "Hear! hear!" a minute ago are in the same "un'appy" boat.

But I do not quite despair, although you are practically all strangers to me in a way. [Cries of "No!" "No!"] But I have been in this railroad work in some capacity or other, and mostly at the trial table, for 25 years, and the questions that have concerned you I have tried before the juries of the land, and have been in touch with in various legislative bodies. So I wonder if I am not, so far as the right to talk intimately with you to-night is concerned, somewhat in the condition of the man who was initiated into the Order of Grangers some years ago when that order was thriving.

They put him through all the degrees, and he felt very sore about the treatment accorded him in the initiation. He thought that he had been given much more than was coming to him, and he did not hesitate to express himself to that effect to his newly made brethren.

They disclaimed his unkind accusation, and said to him, "Oh, no; you will understand it all so much better, and you will appreciate it so very much more when you see some other fellow get his. You come up to the lodge the next meeting night and see some other fellow initiated." And to this he agreed.

Upon coming down the street a few nights later he saw the lodge room lighted up, and so he went and rapped on the outer door and gave the correct alarm and the wicket was duly opened, and through it he gave the password of the Order of Grangers, which I do not mind telling you in the strictest confidence was "I hoe, I plow, I spade."

Well, a very wicked man was on the inside of that hall, I am sorry to relate, and so when he said, "I hoe, I plow, I spade," the wicked inside sentry made reply, "The h—l you say," and it made him very angry. He went down the stairs, and meeting one of the men who had helped to give him his initiation said, "This is a nice way to treat a brother. I went up there and gave the alarm, and when I said, 'I hoe, I plow, I spade,' the inside sentry said, 'The h—l you say.'" "Good heavens, you didn't do that, I hope," said the brother, and the novice replied, "Yes; I did." Then said the older member, "Those are not the Grangers up there to-night; those are the Knights of Pythias, and you have given them our password." [Laughter.] The fellow scratched his head and seemed very much cast down until a happy thought struck him. "Well, boys, I guess I did give them our password; but I guess I got theirs, didn't I?" [Laughter.]

And so I feel that by association of interest and by close familiarity for many years with the problems that concern you here to-night, and in your daily life, that I have your password—at least I am going to assume that that is so.

Those who know me best would say that I am not given to extravagant statement or the bestowing of fulsome flattery. I hope this is true. I endeavor to measure the words that I speak, and I only pay a just tribute to this club when I say that gathered together to-night within the four walls of this great banquet hall are nearly twelve hundred men who perform as responsible and important a part in the affairs of this country as any similar number of men that could come to any banquet hall. [Applause.]

The railroads that you represent cover like a network this land of ours. The remotest part of this country and of foreign lands is touched by the interests that are in your hands, and to you is confided the task of providing for the manifold and complex wants of the people of the greatest land that lies beneath the sun of heaven. [Applause.]

Upon your unerring care and activity depends the daily bread, and the raiment, and the comforts and the conveniences of this vast Nation—and admirably is that work performed.

It is a land worth living in; it is a land worth living for; and, if the test comes, it is a land worth giving to—anything that we possess, even life itself—for the wonderful privilege of American citizenship. [Applause.]

Let us see just for a minute what it means. I am not here to-night to assume to teach you lessons of patriotism, although on this evening of the birthday of that great American who was "first in peace, first in war," and still remains "first in the hearts of his countrymen" [great applause] we might very well pause and rededicate ourselves once more upon the altar of our country, of liberty, and of patriotism. [Applause.]

To-day, this wonderful land of ours, with its area of 3,000,000 of miles, has less than 33 people to the square mile.

Settled as thickly as France, we would have a population of 570,000,000 souls; settled as thickly as Great Britain and Ireland, we would have a population of 1,000,000,000 souls. With its diversified interests, with its sterling manhood and its magnificent womanhood, with the glowing patriotism that I know prevails from coast to coast, it is no idle word, nor do I say it merely to make more pleasant the passing hour, that it should be the first object of pride and of the unqualified devotion of us all. [Applause.]

Three topers gathered together on a patriotic occasion for the purpose of paying their tribute to the land, and at the same time to enjoy their libations.

After the drinks had made one round, one arose and gave his toast to the United States. He was a modest soul, and spoke without imagination. He said, "I propose a toast to the United States; bounded on the north by Canada, on the east by the Atlantic Ocean, on the south by the Gulf of Mexico, and on the west by the Pacific Ocean."

After a couple more of the glasses that cheer and inebriate, the next man got up, and holding on to the table just a little, proposed his toast to the United States, and he with fervor extended its boundary on the north to the Arctic Circle, on the east to the rising sun, on the south to the Antarctic Circle, and on the west to the setting sun, and that put the other fellow in a mighty hard hole, for he had made the country cover a lot of territory.

To meet this required additional inspiration, and after it had been generously provided, the third good fellow rose and he said: "I propose a toast to the United States: Bounded on the north by the aurora borealis [laughter], on the east by primordial chaos, on the south by the procession of the equinoxes, and on the west by the day of judgment." [Laughter.]

And that, in my judgment, is just about the kind of a land we have. [Applause.]

I duly appreciate some of the trials of the railroads and of the traffic men, of those who carry, and of those who furnish and produce the goods to be transported.

There has been brought about by wise and intelligent action on the parts of each of you a very widely modified relation toward each other and toward the public in the last 25 years—that has been productive of great good, and that has made for a much better understanding.

My good friend Mr. Bessler, who sits at the table here to-night, came from the same part of Illinois that I do. [Applause.] And Illinois looks to the East with its wonderful interest and its marvelous resources and looks to Mr. Bessler with a very great deal of pride. [Applause.]

Just as an illustration of the way in which railroads did business in those days, one of the principal lines in my vicinity had a conductor whom we will call Jim. Jim had been a mule whacker in the Civil War, and he could not get over the idea that that was still his occupation. He could make all the women in a car cry within 30 seconds after he entered the door. If a little child was on the train its mother would hide its face to keep him from scaring it into convulsions.

I remember my first acquaintance with Jim. I had at a very early age been appointed an attorney for this road, and Jim, who was bigger than a stuffed ox, came stalking down the aisle, and as he halted before me with a great deal of assurance I handed up my pass. "What is that, young fellow?" he inquired. As I was not then filled with the same awe that I am now for the truly great, I said, "What is the matter; have you gone blind?" He looked again and asked, "What's your name?" I told him. "Aha!" he roared; "traveling on your father's pass, are you?" And Jim ushered me to the door; and, like the bulls of Bashan, he bellowed, pulling the bell cord, "Get off!" "Well," I said, "hadn't you better wait a minute? That's my pass." "Can't be, young fellow; get off! You can't put that stuff over on me." [Laughter.]

And that was an example of the way in which the rights of the traveling public, and of those having business to do with the railroads, were too frequently disregarded.

The only question that the lawyers asked of the jurors in that section of the country was: "Did you ever travel on the train with Jim?" [Laughter.] And if so, that was all they wanted to know; and you could be most certain that Mr. Juror brought in a verdict against this road every time.

There have been many respects in which these things have been modified—although I am not going to discuss railroad situations—and that is that the public are now taken into full confidence, and the relative rights of each are considered and regarded.

You know, they tell the story of a time when there had been a terrible wreck with one of the directors on board.

After it was all over the director was found out on the right of way sitting on the sand box, that had been thrown about a hundred yards from the other fragments of the locomotive, with many of his teeth knocked out, his nose skewed over to one side, and his ears half torn off. Along came a reporter and asked the director, "How did the wreck happen?" The director made reply, "Young man, I want you to distinctly understand I haven't heard anything of any wreck." [Laughter.]

Public and railroads alike have learned their lesson from experience. It is a good deal like the negro about to be hanged, and the sheriff said, "Sam, have you got any remarks to make?" He said, "Yes; please, sir, I have." "Well," he said, "make them quickly." Sam said, "I want all you gentlemen to know this sho' am goin' ter be a great lesson fo' me." [Laughter.]

But now those early days are past, and the public and the railroads—those who have things to be transported, or who produce the articles that furnish the freight, or those who travel upon the road—have commenced to learn the fact that railroads and shippers and producers and the country itself can only prosper when all prosper together. [Applause.]

If the politicians, whether in Congress or in higher places, keep their hands off of the problems that are affecting the railroads, and the American people, when their sole interest is only with regards to the effect their actions will have on their political campaigns and fortunes, these problems will be solved better and more lastingly and with greater intelligence. [Great applause.]

I do not mean that Congress and executive officers should not attempt the solution of these questions, but when they do they should divorce them absolutely from all political considerations. [Applause.]

My subject is, as you may have gathered [laughter], "What Washington might say."

It would be a very presumptuous man who would attempt to voice sentiments for the Father of his Country, and I want to disclaim to-night that I come for the purpose of presenting to you my notions of what Washington might say, except as there is basis for such statements, from the utterances that Washington did make.

When Washington, on the 4th day of December, 1783, left Fraunces Tavern, in the lower part of this city, after saying farewell to his officers, and went to Whitehall and took his departure by boat, he required 15 days to make the trip to Annapolis. He did not return to this city again until he took the oath that made him the first as well as one of the most loved Presidents of the United States. [Applause.]

If Washington could return to New York to-night, we might well ask ourselves the question what he would say after he had gotten used to the great city, with its white lights and its marvelous activities.

When he left it was a small city of less than 50,000. With the never-ceasing traffic now—upon, above, and below the surface—with wireless, telegraphic, and telephonic communication; with submarines and the other horrible and newly devised engines of war; with automobiles and flying machines; and the wonderful progress that has been made in the housing and the caring for all of these millions of people, I take it that Washington would be silent for lack of words to adequately express himself at the marvelous progress that this city has made since the day that he left, after having laid down the leadership of the victorious army that makes it possible for us to meet here as a free people. [Applause.]

As I think of the marvelous progress of this city, which excels in so many respects all the other cities of the world, I am reminded of the story that was suggested by the friend sitting on my right who told another one, along the same lines, of the negro who was in a town where there had been a race war from which he had fled.

A few days after it was over he came out of the brush, and when he got back to town some one said to him, "Jim, did you run like the wind?" "Lawdy, massa," he said, "I didn't run like the wind, but I passed a few fellows what was running like the wind." [Laughter.]

And so it is with this wonderful city of yours in so many respects. It has passed all the cities of the world; and I fancy what Washington would say upon that subject would be about what the old soldier said who had been sick for a long time and just as he was convalescing the thought came to him if he could just have a couple of poached eggs that he would give anything he possessed for the rare treat.

Presently, so it seemed, a kind of Providence sent an old colored aunty with two eggs into the camp, and he bought them for the last dollar he possessed on earth. He took his tin plate and went over to the camp fire and there he poached his eggs to his satisfaction and then started for his tent.

The boys watched the proceeding with a good deal of curiosity, because he was the most profane man in the whole army corps, and sure enough, weak as he was, as he got about halfway to his tent, he caught his foot, and the eggs fell in the sand and were ruined.

He stood there quietly gazing on the wreck, and seeing this the boys gathered around—they didn't want to hurry him any [laughter]—they wanted him to take his time and get good and ready before he started [laughter]; but he continued to stand there very quietly, and by and by, seeing that he was lost in thought and did not show signs of action, somebody pulled him by the sleeve and said, "Bill, why don't you cuss?" Bill shook his head sadly. He said, "It's no use, boys; there is no words in the whole English language that will do this occasion justice." [Laughter.]

So it is with this marvelous city and its wonderful progress, the relation of which sounds like a fairy tale.

It is not, however, the material side of things that I wish to consider in the light of "what Washington might say," but I do now, for a very few minutes, invite your earnest attention and consideration to something that I do not dwell upon for mere sensationalism—but something that I must speak about, because the last fiber of my being is impressed with its importance, and that is the great crisis that confronts the American people this night.

Before Washington's Birthday arrives, as it will in a few minutes now, I want to discuss with you very briefly the situation that exists.

The honor and dignity of our country is at stake at this hour; its future prosperity and its welfare is involved. Let no man minimize the danger of the situation that confronts us to-

night—it is a situation more serious than any that has existed since the close of the Civil War.

The United States can not, without losing its last vestige of honor, stand passively by and hear the doctrine advanced, I care not by what nation it may be, that America and its lawful commerce is to be deprived of the freedom of the seas. [Great applause.]

To-night I read in the public prints, officially inspired by a foreign Government I have no doubt, the amazing statement:

"It must be repeated again and again, that whoever dares to penetrate the barred zone perishes in it."

[A VOICE. Oh!]

I can't even smile, over any aspect of this matter. If this speech were mere entertainment on my part, or my purpose only to help fill some of the minutes of this banquet, I would feel certain that I had not risen to the height, or the dignity that you would expect your invited speaker to rise to this night. [Applause.]

As the American people, we ask the consent of no man and no country to sail the seas.

[A VOICE. Hip, hip, hooray.] [Three cheers.]

Thomas Jefferson—I am going to quote you Washington in a minute, but now want to address the words of Jefferson to you in the most serious strain I possess—Thomas Jefferson under circumstances similar to those which now prevail made use of this language in 1808:

The crisis in which it is placed can but be unwelcome to those who love peace, yet spurn at a tame submission to wrong. So fortunately remote from the theater of European contests, and carefully avoiding to implicate ourselves in them, we had a right to hope for an exemption from the calamities which have afflicted the contending nations, and to be permitted unoffendingly to pursue paths of industry and peace.

But the ocean, which, like the air, is the common birthright of mankind, is arbitrarily wrested from us, and maxims consecrated by time, by usage, and by an universal sense of right, are trampled on by superior force.

And Washington said, expressing the hope that we might be free from aggression of foreign nations and that our neutrality would be respected:

If we remain one people under an efficient government the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

And, then, as the complement to both of these statements, I invite your attention to the utterance of the defender of the Constitution, and its greatest exponent, Daniel Webster.

And this is not done with the thought that by his inspiring statement we should add aught to a situation that is already tense.

Webster was speaking of the days when more than a hundred years ago we were menaced on all hands, and when by certain Governments we were denied the freedom of the seas, as we are denied it to-night, although at that time it was without the terrible and diabolical addition of the hideous implements of war that are "ruthlessly" availed of and used from the depths of the sea against defenseless women and helpless children. [Great applause.]

Then he said:

To her maritime ascendency England owed everything, and we were now at war with her. One of the most charming poets had said of her:

Her march is on the mountain wave,
Her home is on the deep.

Now, sir, since we were at war with her, I was for intercepting this march; I was for calling upon her and paying our respects to her at home; I was for giving her to know that we, too, had a right of way over the seas, and that our marine officers and our sailors were not entire strangers on the bosom of the deep. I was for doing something more with our Navy than keeping it on our own shores, for the protection of our coasts and harbors; I was for giving play to its gallant and burning spirit; for allowing it to go forth upon the seas, and to encounter on an open and an equal field whatever the proudest or the bravest of the enemy could bring against it. I knew the character of its officers and the spirit of its seamen; and I knew that in their hands, though the flag of the country might go down to the bottom, yet, while defended by them, that it could never be dishonored or disgraced.

And I want to tell you, friends, if we care for the respect of the civilized world, it is time for us to run the flag up to the masthead, declare our rights, and stand back of the flag and behind our declaration. [Great applause.]

I know to some extent what the problem means. I know if the call to duty comes that it means me, and you—your service and mine—as it does the service of thousands of other men in the country, but friends we must give of service whatever the hour shall require.

We can not perform our patriotic duty by waving the flag or applauding it when it comes upon a moving-picture screen or by standing at attention when the orchestra plays "The Star Spangled Banner"; but if we are going to rise to the true level of American patriots and citizens our lives, our liberties, and our sacred fortunes must be laid, if it is required and demanded, upon the altar of the United States. [Great applause amid cheering.]

Every hour that we delay the assertion of our rights adds to the difficulty of the task. We have waited too long as it is.

Now is the time to speak before all the world, not bombastically but with firmness for our Nation, its honor, and its sacred rights. [Applause.] If the first aggressions upon the rights of the American people upon the seas by any nation had been properly resented, there would have been no *Lusitania* horror and there would have been no such condition as that of the present day. [Great applause.]

[A VOICE. Down with "Watchful waiting"!]

Let no man misapprehend anything I say about our present duty.

I do not care what the past has been. That is gone. The book is closed, but the present confronts us as free-born citizens of a free-born land, and for one, although he is not of my political faith, I propose to hold up the arms of the President of the United States. [Great applause amid cheering.]

We can not afford to have any divisions now. [Cries of "No!" "No!"] And in the eyes of the world we stand as one people, not English-Americans, not German-Americans, but just plain, red-white-and-blue Americans, ready for the service of the Nation. [Applause.]

We have each of us absorbed the benefits that this land has had to give for many years. You men who form this club here to-night, in the event that your services are needed by the Nation, can furnish more aid in your present capacities to the Government of the United States than could 100,000 troops, and I know there is no question but that every one of you would do your bit and give freely to the Nation the best that is in you. [Applause.]

So to-night we do not look upon this situation with bitterness, nor do we know where it will lead us, but we do know this: We know that we have got to commence—and I say "commence" advisedly—that we have got to commence to prepare for the defense of our country if need be; prepare without limit or stint, and to follow the flag, no matter at what cost, wherever it may lead. [Applause.]

We are too apt to forget these things.

We are a good deal like the Scotchman who was in the habit of going to the seashore once a year for a bath. One year, with a number of his friends, he went down, and when he came back he told his sister Tibbie that he could not find his waistcoat, and although they searched high and they searched low, it was not to be found. The next year came the annual bathing, and once more he journeyed to the seashore. He came home very jubilant and with glee exclaimed to his sister, "Tibbie, I found my weskit; it was under my sark." [Laughter.]

Let us solemnly think about this thing that means so much to each of us; let us well understand that it is a problem that comes home to one and all.

Here in New York City, during the dark days of the Civil War, when the Nation needed recruits, a great gathering was held—I think it was in Cooper Union—and Roscoe Conkling presided.

Such an oration as he delivered in behalf of the Union they say never will be heard again, and under its magic spell mothers came and gave their sons to the service of their country. Wives brought their husbands, and sisters gave their brothers, and young girls their sweethearts, and one who witnessed it said to me, "I doubt if there will ever be such another melting hour in all the history of the land."

It seemed as though the very fount of patriotism was opened and that the benediction of freedom and liberty rested upon this meeting.

A young man was seen making his way to the platform. He walked past Roscoe Conkling to the front of the stage.

When there he held up his hand and he said, "Friends, I have come to give the paramount sacrifice of all, and to make the supreme offering that a man can give." He said, "Mothers have given their sons, girls their sweethearts, sisters their brothers, wives their husbands, and all of these are good, but," he added, "I propose to give a sacrifice that will transcend them all." And then, turning, he took the chairman of the meeting by the arm and turning to the audience said, "Ladies and gentlemen, I lay my uncle, Roscoe Conkling, on the altar of his country." [Laughter.]

It can not be done that way. It is the personal obligation that we must discharge.

And those of us who choose to live under the Stars and Stripes will respond, I have no doubt, in the hour of the Nation's stress, if it is to come.

The Senate has passed laws within the last few hours that will punish the damnable system of espionage that this country

has been subjected to by men who have grossly and vilely abused the hospitality of this haven of liberty. [Applause.]

And while probably there is not a less bloodthirsty soul on all this earth than myself, if this thing continues I will rejoice to live to see the day when the papers will publish the news that some of these vermin of the earth, who seek to betray the country that harbors them, have been backed up against a blank wall and shot to death in the name of the outraged law. [Great applause.]

Washington knew that an adequate preparation was the best guaranty of peace.

We can well be guided by his advice to-day.

He said:

The United States ought not to indulge a persuasion that, contrary to the order of human events, they will forever keep at a distance those painful appeals to arms with which the history of every other nation abounds. There is a rank due to the United States among nations which will be withheld, if not absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness. If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it; if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known that we are at all times ready for war.

We can not do better than to remember his words of wisdom this day.

Now, let me hurry to conclude. [Cries of "No; do not hurry!"]

But there are others to speak and the hour grows late, and I must close. [Cries of "Go on; go on!"]

If the call to arms shall come, which God in His infinite goodness forbid—if it shall come, there will be no doubt about the response of the people of this land. The poet has told what it would be, and I just want to give you his words:

Up the hillside, down the glen,
Rouse the sleeping citizen;
Summon out the might of men;

Like a lion growling low,
Like a night storm rising slow,
Like the tread of unseen foe,

It is coming—it is nigh;
Stand your homes and altars by;
On your own free thresholds die.

Clang the bells in all your spires;
On the gray hills of your sires
Fling to heaven your signal fires.

Oh, for God and duty stand,
Heart to heart and hand to hand,
'Round the old grave of the land.

Whoso shrinks or falters now,
Whoso to the yoke would bow,
Brand the craven on his brow.

Freedom's soil hath only place
For a free and fearless race—
None for traitors false and base.

Perish party; perish clan;
Strike together while ye can,
Like the arm of one strong man.

That is the response the people of the United States will make. [Applause.]

No man can say with certainty what the course of this country, in that dire event, will be, but I want for a moment to call your attention to this thought that Washington expressed against entangling foreign alliances.

Wisely he said:

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike for another cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious, while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests.

I can not conceive of the boys in blue in any foreign land taking their orders from any king or potentate. [Applause.]

I can not understand that we are concerned in establishing, or helping to establish, the boundary lines of the kingdoms of the Old World.

I know that no king, potentate, or monarch of the Old World shall ever have the voice in declaring or deciding what are to be the principles of this land of freedom. [Applause.]

To submit any of our differences to an international court composed in whole or in part of any of the contending powers of the earth at this time, would be the wildest degree of folly.

They are insane with the lust of blood; they are drunk with the delusions of conquest and dreams of power; they have not a single thing or thought at this time that is in harmony or in keeping with the free institutions of America—the cradle and the repository of liberty. [Applause.]

I venture the prediction that if it becomes necessary to send forward the flag in assertion of our rights that America, and America alone, will define where it will go and when it will come back, and which will only be when our honor is satisfied and our rights attained, and that we will not attempt to settle the differences of the contending and warring factions of the Old World. [Applause.]

Washington understood that it was not our province to be drawn into the disputes of the Old World, and to that extent he would approve the policy that the honor of our country and our interests and those of our citizens should alone move us in this crisis.

This is patent from these words of his:

Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

I am sure from the sage utterances of Washington, which he has left for our guidance and direction, that in this crisis these would still be his words.

He would speak for the honor and dignity of our country, and he would dare to do all that the hour might require to protect and uphold them.

Many a time I have stood with my regiment at the end of a day at the ceremony of the evening parade.

At the right of the formation the band would be playing, and stretched across the field would be the line of troops.

As the hour of sunset would approach the band would strike up that national anthem, dear to the heart of each and all.

The troops would stand in respectful attention, and the head of every man not under arms would be bared.

Then there would reverberate and echo and reecho over the hills and vales the inspiring strains of the Star Spangled Banner.

As the last note would be reached the sunset gun would be fired, the trumpets would sound the salute to the standard, and then Old Glory would come down from the masthead for the night, but not a thread or a shred of it would be permitted to touch the ground, but the banner would be received by the loving hands of the color guard and folded away, and if need be protected with their lives until again upon the morrow at the coming of the day it would once more be raised to its proud position as the emblem of freedom and justice and equality and opportunity to all.

We are the color guard of the Republic.

Let us see that no thread or shred of the Old Flag is permitted to touch the ground, and let us hand it down as the symbol of our country with every stripe and every star and every one of its dear and beloved colors preserved to our children and our children's children forever as the greatest heritage of freedom that ever came from the hand of God. [Great applause.]

Standing in a beautiful park in the city of Chicago is a monument that was erected by a loving people to one of the world's greatest men, the humble rail-splitter of the prairie of Illinois, Abraham Lincoln. [Applause.]

There it stands beside the great inland sea, whose ceaseless surf sounds a requiem never ending by day and by night.

At the first coming of the day, the sun rests upon it in rosy saluation, and here again it pauses in benediction before the night closes down.

Here the people gather, the poor people of whom Lincoln once said, "God must have loved them or else he would not have made so many of them."

Here the little children play.

At the foot of this great monument princes and kings and rulers have laid their floral tributes in loving recognition of the great and matchless work which Lincoln accomplished as the result of the unselfish life and devoted service which only ended when God took him before the zenith of his life had been reached.

Upon the base of the monument in the lasting granite is chiseled one of the greatest sentences in all the English langauge.

It is a sentence that we may all live by, and it is a sentence which the people of the United States can take as their slogan to-day.

I care not where it may lead us, it will be as true now as it was then; as true at the end of the contest, if it should come, as when it was spoken by Lincoln, and with these words of his I conclude the few disjointed remarks that I have made to-night.

Here are his words, notable and courageous: "Let us have faith to believe that right makes might, and firm in that conviction, let us to the end dare to do our duty as God gives us to see it." [Great applause.]

New Zealand Flax, a Substitute for Sisal Destined to Strike Down the Binder Twine Trust.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE M. YOUNG,

OF NORTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. Speaker, I desire to have printed in the RECORD, to be considered along with my remarks delivered yesterday, an article prepared by Charles Christadoro, of Point Loma, Cal.

NEW ZEALAND FLAX A FUTURE SOURCE OF TWINE.

[By Charles Christadoro.]

I sit in a wheel chair and look around and across the chaparral and out to sea upon the southern California sun-glinted and cloud-shadowed everchanging land and seascape. I have done this for 10 years, and will so continue to the end. I live by day in a lath house so arranged as not to keep out too much southern California sunshine and ocean breeze. I am embowered within and without the house in blooming growths and am droned to by bees and hummingbirds feeding within the blooms.

Visitors come, old friends and new friends, from all points of the compass, all prepared to commiserate and sympathize but going away in cheerful laughter and with promises to come again soon. I am resigned and contented with a lot that can not be changed; and life yet has its charms, because daily active occupation means almost complete extrospection; and that is beyond compare in the case of a shut-in, contentment making the daily cycle ring true.

ROMANCE VISITS SHUT-IN.

But to my romance. It so happened that an inventor called upon me one day. He said he wanted my advice, my help. He really wanted me to become his business "promoter."

A wheel-chair occupant is not generally associated with the idea of an ordinary promoter, for the very nature of a promoter's work is to look up moneyed men, get them interested, run after them, or, like J. P. Morgan I, emperor of promoters, to have a waiting list of investors.

Our inventor had run foul of promoters, the 99.44 per cent for themselves kind, and they had left deep scars on his psychic anatomy. It looked as if he was selecting me because if I landed any deal I could not get safely far away with the proceeds before he caught up with me.

"Show me what you have," said I.

"Copper and nickle-plated aluminum and aluminum solder, and here is a rust and damp proof paint."

He put the samples of copper-plated aluminum and the rustproof painted sheet iron upon a near-by blue-flame stove, heated them red-hot, and then threw them into cold water. No blistering occurred. The copper plating held firmly, and the paint and iron as one body—galvanized iron in effect.

Wood, covered with fireproof paint, came next. That, too, was put over the flame and, whilst the wood in time charred and got black, no flame came forth. Then came ordinary paint colors of various shades, made from the cheapest of bases and costing from 3 to 15 cents per pound, including a superb vermilion. Then a paint that when sprayed upon cheap porous brick made it water resisting, in effect, an enamel for bricks. Also a teredo-proofing process paint that coated a piling with a granitelike surface through which no infant teredo could bore to grow and fatten upon the interior of the log. Boiling a piling in miniature so painted in a saturated solution of salt for hours had no effect in the softening of the painted surface. Of world-wide application, for the teredo and borers are in salt water everywhere. Apparently a very simple and cheap solution of this problem.

INVENTOR WAS VERSATILE.

There were other processes of more or less interest. He had a list of 92, and many presumably of great value. Then he drew forth a bunch of bean straw, fiberized and snow white, and as tough as flax. Bean straw shredded as strong and tough and white as linen rag stock.

We burn up 75,000 tons of bean straw in California annually and four or five times as much in the East. Seemingly it is of no account; there is no use made of it, yet it should all go back into the soil. In the light of the paper-pulp famine in the East—all over, in fact—this interested me above all his other samples. Paper surely is a live problem, and growing more live every day, especially linen rag paper.

Now came a sample of vegetable silk made from the raffia, fiber of the talipot or buri palm. This fiber was open to uses innumerable.

I was interested in this process at once, but the millions of fiber-bearing palm trees off in Ceylon and elsewhere grew "too far from the Bowery" to suit me. If he could, wizardlike, produce vegetable silk threads, why could he not do that with other fibrous growths? A leading question. He surely was a pulp and fiber "wizard."

And I began to test him out. I sent him leaves of the Spanish bayonet to be fiberized; the yucca that grows wild, millions of tons of it, upon the desert, and back the leaves came a mass of fiber. Samples of Kentucky hemp stalks were sent him. He freed the bark from the stalk in 15 minutes, just shook it loose from the stalk, and then processed the hemp into such a soft, delicate fiber as to make it worth $400 to $600 per ton and fit for spinning and weaving into the finest fabrics.

But Kentucky hemp will yield, according to the Government, but 750 or 850 pounds of tow-free fiber per acre: 1,000 pounds under the best possible conditions. Too small a yield. No better than sisal from henequin. The ramie stalk met with the same success at his hands. No trouble whatever to quickly debark and degum the fiber. The fiber-freed stalks of hemp and ramie he transformed into paper pulp.

BINDER TWINE NEEDED.

I still kept on hunting. Incidentally the cotton stalks, the cereal straws, wheat, oats, barley, and rice he made into paper pulp. He found no difficulty in bleaching the cotton-stalk fiber and removing the color. The Dakota flax straw, grown for seed, he defiberized, freeing the fiber from the stalk. We burn up 6,000,000,000 pounds of this paper-making linen-rag straw annually. But a great howl was going up all through the northwestern wheat States, and I wanted a binder-twine fiber. The Sisal Trust was grinding the face of the wheat farmer and at this time, strange to say, down from the University of California came a leaf of New Zealand flax 8 feet or more in length. I examined it carefully. It seemed to be almost pure fiber, so far as my eye could judge. The wizard (my neighbor, the Hon. Lyman J. Gage, refers to this inventor as a composite of a modified Edison-Burbank) sent this leaf back to me a mass of the strongest, most lustrous, and silkiest fiber I had ever seen. Apparently here was a fiber find, a fiber bonanza, so to speak. Later a leaf was sent down to me, followed by great bundles, from our exposition grounds from a plant two years old, leaves 8½ feet long and weighing half a pound each. A hundred pounds of these leaves, more or less, to a mature plant!

SCIENTIST BEGINS STUDY.

At once I began to read up on New Zealand flax (*Phormium tenax*). It is a perennial growth, everlasting, so far as I can learn, once it takes hold, and indigenous to New Zealand, but eminently adapted to a California environment, growing here more quickly than in New Zealand, plants grown from roots maturing and yielding in our fair grounds in two years. In New Zealand it grows in swampy lands without care or cultivation, yielding easily 10 to 15, sometimes 25, tons of leaves per acre! Much of our swamp-land areas could be reclaimed by this plant most profitably and yet with an "equal-to-lemon" orchard irrigation it will grow on all but worthless soil, and may turn our mesas into dividend-paying lands that no orange or lemon orchard or alfalfa field can equal. Irrigation, seemingly, more than soil is needed.

Under cultivation and irrigation, leaves might grow to a length of 12 to 14 feet. It grows from seed and from roots, presumably better from the latter. It resists everything, even a moderate 26° F. frost. [Note from New Zealand Agricultural Reports: One of the easiest plants to grow. Is not in any way affected by frost nor the most severe winds.]

Once planted, the growth is permanent. A single plant under proper cultivation is said to yield 50 to 100 pounds of green leaves at a single cutting, and a yield of 50 tons per acre is reasonably to be expected. Grown in our Imperial Valley and southern California generally, it no doubt would do far better than the above. It is said if properly irrigated it will grow on the poorest of soil.

This New Zealand flax is rated as to tensile strength at 100, whilst hemp is rated at but 70 (presumably the manila or sisal fiber) and flax (presumably the European flax) at but 50. That is where the tenax comes in—tough—100 per cent stronger than flax when woven into cloth.

The wonderful India paper that for strength is the marvel of the paper world is made from European flax, and that accounts for its unapproachable strength. And here is Phromium tenax double the strength.

FLAX TO SUPPLANT SISAL.

So this was not only to prove a most suitable fiber for binder twine, supplanting sisal from Yucatan, but a field of unlimited uses are to be opened up to it. Sisal is the ordinary raw material from which most of the binder twine is made, but at present there is an air-tight trust on sisal in Yucatan from which the International Harvester Co. suffers like all the rest. It is not in the sisal trust.

Rope, cordage of all kinds, thread, nets and fishing lines, linen, paper, and many other manufactured products await an abundant and cheap supply of this fiber. Automobile tires are to be made of this fabric because of its toughness. Even cotton, long staple, appears rotten alongside this tensile giant. All of these are of great importance when one can take the leaves green or dry as leather from this plant and machine them into a mass of lustrous fiber and the yield is 50 tons of leaves 8 to 12 feet long to the acre—longer, perhaps. A yield of fiber of 12 to 14 per cent from the green leaf.

SUPT. MORLEY APPROVES.

Already Phormium tenax plants are growing and thriving by the thousands in California, as ornamental growths, no one paying any attention to the wonderful commercial possibilities of the plant along agricultural and manufacturing lines. Here is what Mr. Morley, superintendent of parks for San Diego, says of this plant:

SAN DIEGO, CAL., *November 21, 1916.*

DEAR MR. CRISTADORO: I hope the following information relative to New Zealand flax (Phormium tenax) will be of use to you:

It is a plant that has been grown in California for many years as an ornamental plant. I have so grown it for 20 years. It grows well in any ordinary soil, will grow very luxuriantly in rich soil and where it can have plenty of moisture. It will stand a great deal of drouth, but under such conditions will not produce commercially. Phormium tenax (plain and variegated) are the tallest growing varieties; in southern California the leaves frequently grow 10 feet long.

The seedlings are two years old before they make a good single crown, and as they grow older produce other crowns. Propagation by division of the crowns is generally done to increase stock and single established crowns will make a plant 5 or 10 crowns in three years provided it has good soil and is well watered. Eventually the plant will grow 3 to 5 feet or more in diameter with about 20 crowns to a plant, 10 leaves to a crown, weighing about 8 ounces each.

They have been found to be quite hardy in the south of England and Ireland, and consequently should stand all the frost we have in southern California. In fact, where you can grow oranges, New Zealand flax will thrive.

J. G. MORLEY,
Superintendent Parks.

ANOTHER EXPERT APPROVES.

And now comes Mr. Osborn G. Austin, expert horticulturist for the Harris Seed Co., San Diego, who informs me as follows: That he has grown New Zealand flax (Phormium tenax) for many years; that to get immediate results divisions of the root should be planted, young crowns from the parent plant. At three years or less you should, under favorable conditions, be able to get 75 or 80 leaves from each plant, 6 to 8 feet in length, averaging 8 ounces per leaf, and from then on you could reap from 5 to 25 leaves per plant every two months, cutting the mature leaves and letting the others grow on.

It stools out in a number of crowns from the ground, increasing the size of the plant very rapidly. These can be split off from the plant and reset. A crop of 50 tons of leaves per acre is a very conservative estimate. I know of very few plants which would respond more quickly to generous treatment and repay the grower better. It will thrive in

almost any soil and grow in swamps where the water is not stagnant. It needs little attention, stands both cold and heat, and will give the grower far better returns than can be had from any plant or tree grown in southern California.

The uses of the fiber are almost beyond estimation, being the strongest of any fiber known, and opens a wide field for a score of manufacturing industries.

All of this information obtained, a set of samples was prepared to await the coming of Mr. Daniels, manager of the fiber department of the International Harvester Co., manufacturing many thousands of tons of binder twine annually. In company with Mr. P. M. Price, the local representative of the company, Mr. Daniels called upon me in my lath house. One by one he examined my samples, remarking that my Kentucky hemp samples were far too valuable to go into binder twine, when so finely processed should sell for $600 to $800 per ton, especially in these days of fiber hunger all through the East.

WONDERFUL OFFER MADE.

He finally came to a sample of the New Zealand flax. He knew about it, but our samples were different. Most carefully did he test each sample and the result is shown in the accompanying facsimile letter from the Harvester Co.

The romance in the case is that a captain of industry should call upon me and tender me an order for nearly $2,000,000 worth of New Zealand flax fiber with not a single growing ton of it available in the entire United States, although thousands of these plants for ornamental purposes are growing in California. Yet by going to it and planting it we can within the next two or three years plant and grow thousands upon thousands of tons of it.

Here was where the commiserated friend of our schoolboy days came in, Tantalus punished by Jupiter, for could this order be filled at the most generous allowance for growing and processing, it would make the inventor more than a millionaire over night; and this is but a sample order, so to speak; only a few days' supply out of the many, many thousands of tons said to be manufactured annually. Certainly this is a business romance with a Tantalus-like sequel.

All that is necessary is to plant the thousands of acres of rich lands in our southern California valleys, Imperial Valley and the San Diego County valleys as instances, with this wonderful fiber growth, to wait a matter of two years, at most three, to give the plants time to mature, and to harvest 50 tons or more, perhaps, to the acre. An Arabian night's dream or a reality, which? Time alone can tell.

POSSIBILITIES UNLIMITED.

But this is only the beginning, the agricultural end of it. And when the rancher has grown his flax and harvested it, then the score or more of manufacturers take hold and the spinning and weaving of linen, various cloths, and canvasses begin; the manufacture of rope, cordage, twines, thread, binder twine, automobile material, and a score of kindred products are manufactured. The Japanese are making silk material from Phormium tenax fiber, illustrative of its possibilities.

The control of the binder-twine situation would be in American hands, and binder twine in connection with this general manufacturing proposition may be considered but a mere speck in fiber space, despite the fact that annually Yucatan sends us about 1,000,000 bales of sisal of 500 pounds each, worth in the New York market, say, $50,000,000; and, like the ticking of a clock, sisal is advancing a cent at a move.

The Northwestern wheat farmer knows too well all about this sisal and tells about an air-tight trust in Yucatan beyond the reach of the Sherman law, financed from the side by American bankers; and the wheat farmer wants Congress to take a hand and run down these bankers. But this is not the kind of relief the wheat farmer really wants.

The Lord helps those who help themselves, and the only way to get from under this trust is to grow our own binder twine and under control on American soil. There is no other practical way. And once we have begun to produce New Zealand flax in appreciable quantities, say in two or three years from now, its effect upon the sisal market will be pronounced, and the time will come when the New Zealand flax will have entirely supplanted the Yucatan sisal growth, so far as binder twine is concerned. California will be able to make money out of this home-grown binder-twine material when sisal is being sold in New York at cost or even at a loss. Manila hemp will not be able to compete.

The henequin or sisal green leaf yields 3 to 3½ per cent of fiber; the manila but 1 to 2 per cent. Sisal yields about 1,000 pounds of fiber per acre, which is on an average 250 pounds more than the yield of tow-free Kentucky hemp fiber per acre grown under average eastern conditions, whilst the New Zealand flax in its native land produces 50 tons of leaves per acre and a yield of 12 to 14 per cent of fiber when properly processed. What this plant will produce under the forcing sun of southern California per acre no one knows. One experienced grower estimates 100 tons, but he is an enthusiast, and yet he claims he is right and says time will prove him so.

The suggestion is made that because of the immense growth of this flax it be spaced 8 by 6 feet. This would permit of cotton, Kentucky hemp, or other crops being cultivated during the maturing of this growth, to be finally discarded when the cutting of the flax begins.

Once this growth is well grounded in California nothing can prevail against it, even Yukatan foreign cheap labor.

BANNER CROP, MAYBE.

All this can not be done in a day. But we have the land and the sunshine, unlimited irrigation water, and a plant growth that requires no care other than plenty of moisture; in fact, less care than the Yucatan henequin, and is afraid of no enemy, even frost, if the New Zealand agricultural reports ring true.

No matter how many acres the rancher may plant, and no matter how many tons he may harvest to the acre, he never can catch up to the demand. It always will exceed the supply. The more the uses for this fiber develop the more will new ones arise.

The export field may prove unlimited. One single concern uses 100,000 tons, more or less, of fiber annually. If New Zealand flax were used, this would mean the crop off of only a few thousand acres of land, and that, too, is but a speck, so to speak, in our agricultural space in California when we consider the 152,000 square miles within the State and 640 acres to a square mile!

There is no reason why the monetary returns from the growing and manufacturing of this flax should not compare favorably with or perhaps exceed any other industrial enterprise in the State. The banner crop of California in time. Surely no crop, acre for acre, oranges or anything else, can be made to show the profit that can be derived from the growing of this flax. There is no reason why the Imperial Valley and southern California generally should not be able to set aside enough of her broad and producing valleys and mesas to give this growth a good momentum. Acre for acre, value and production, alfalfa and cotton and Kentucky hemp are dwarfed by this flax. No more irrigation is demanded than for lemons.

I can only point the way. It is all up to the enterprising ranchers of California, and, in fact, of the great Southwest, with its fertile plains and irrigation dams.

It would seem as if the United States Department of Agriculture, in its seed-distribution efforts, might import from New Zealand and Australia, at the cost of digging the roots or crowns, plus the freight, a few hundred tons of bulbs or roots and seed (it is of the lily family, and it is said exposing the roots to the weather does not harm them) and distribute these throughout the great Southwest. It would be building better than it knew by giving an impetus to this growth.

And so the fertile plains and irrigation dams are awaiting this flax, and without question the incomparable growth is to enrich the ranchers who have the enterprise and foresight to plant it—New Zealand flax, Phormium tenax.

There is more to be said whereof there is not room to write here and now, but I am always (of necessity) "at home," and to the really interested and forward-looking man who wants to know more about it the door of my lath house is always open, and the mail man delivers letters twice a day. I have no time whatever for the idle curious in person or through the mail.

[International Harvester Co. of New Jersey, manufacturers of the "Champion," "Deering," "McCormick," "Milwaukee," "Plano" harvesters and other lines of machinery.]

CHICAGO, *November 23, 1916.*

Mr. CHARLES CRISTADORO,
San Diego, Cal.

DEAR SIR: We offer you 9 cents per pound f. o. b. San Diego or Los Angeles, Cal., for 500 tons of New Zealand fiber, quality equal to the sample you furnished us. If this 500 tons of fiber proves to be satisfactory in quality, we are ready to follow it with an order for 10,000 tons, at a price equal to that of Yucatan sisal. We have in our possession the sample of New Zealand flax which you delivered to Mr. Price, which we are holding as representing the grade which you are to produce and ship to us under this arrangement.

We hope you will succeed in interesting the farmers of your State in the cultivation of this plant, known as New Zealand flax. If, as appears probable, it will grow successfully in California, it will certainly become a very profitable crop. You need have no fear regarding a permanent market. The United States uses in the manufacture of cordage more than 1,000 tons of this type of fiber daily, and the consumption is increasing.

Very truly, yours,

INTERNATIONAL HARVESTER CO.,
By H. L. DANIELS, *Manager.*

Armed Neutrality.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDMUND PLATT,
OF NEW YORK,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. PLATT. Mr. Speaker, I have been strongly of the opinion that this great country of ours, great at least in population, in wealth, and in traditions of devotion to liberty and human rights, should protect its citizens and its ships from destruction wherever they may lawfully be. I have believed that earlier and more vigorous action might have saved American lives and that earlier and more adequate preparation for defense might have made our country more respected abroad and might have averted some of the crises that have followed each other in our relations with Germany.

When finally the inevitable rupture of diplomatic relations with the Imperial German Government was announced by the President on February 3, I wondered why it was not immediately followed by an announcement that measures would be taken to provide protection for our ships in the area of threatened destruction.

A week went by and nothing was done, though our ships were held fast in our harbors and long lines of freight cars loaded with the commodities that were to have been carried in those ships blocked our railways and caused such congestion that famine seemed to be imminent in our great cities. The situation appeared to me intolerable and to show that some notice was taken of it in the House of Representatives I introduced the following resolutions on February 10:

House resolution 494.

Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to furnish to the House of Representatives information as to whether American ships engaged in trade with Great Britain, France, or Italy are being held in the ports of the United States in the face of threats of destruction by the naval vessels of a foreign power.

Resolved further, That the President of the United States be requested to furnish the House of Representatives with information as to what steps, if any, have been taken by the Navy Department to give protection to American shipping, following the precedent of 1798, by convoy or by providing armament for defense.

These resolutions were privileged, and under the rules of the House of Representatives, if not reported from the committee to which they were referred, could be called up for considera-

tion at the end of a week. Meanwhile they attracted considerable attention, and when the Army appropriation bill was under consideration there was an animated debate on our relations with Germany and on the necessity of doing something to relieve the intolerable and humiliating condition of American shipping, which had just begun to be again a factor of importance in foreign trade.

On February 16 I introduced three bills giving the necessary authority to arm our ships and protect our commerce, following exactly the language of the bills of 1798. These bills have been widely commented on in the press of the country and have at least shown distinctly what we once did when a small struggling little Nation against a great European power. During the somewhat notable debate of February 17, the Army appropriation bill being still under consideration, a debate in which the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT], the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GARDNER], and the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT], and others took part, I obtained opportunity to explain these bills of 1798, briefly speaking as follows:

These bills represent the vigorous action that President John Adams and the little new Nation of his day took against the powerful French Republic, then coming under the control of that greatest of military leaders, Napoleon Bonaparte. They had their *part* in arousing sentiment in the House of Representatives when at last, on February 26, the President decided to ask Congress for authority to arm our merchant vessels for protection. The President's address on that occasion was somewhat disappointing, as it did not advocate as distinct and aggressive a policy of armed neutrality as that of 1798, but it marked the end of the humiliating policy of hesitation and inaction, and those of us who believed that all criticism and all partisan considerations should be thrown aside devoted our whole energies to obtaining the enactment of a measure which should sustain the President by as nearly unanimous a vote as possible and as promptly as possible. The tangled situation in the Senate and the President's long delay in asking for action made it seem possible that the opposition in the Senate, small as it was, might defeat the bill, by a filibuster, as the Sixty-fourth Congress was to expire at noon on March 4. The bill reported by the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. FLOOD], chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, was passed after a historic six-hour debate, in which the opposition, indifference, and pacifism that had been so voiceful in the House at times melted away. Only 13 votes in a membership of 435 were cast in the negative, a remarkable showing by contrast with the vote on the McLemore resolution a year ago, when there were 142 negative votes. My part in the debate was the following short speech:

Up to this time, Mr. Speaker, the President has followed generally the policy of fruitless protest and note writing of Presidents Jefferson and Madison, a policy which led inevitably to participation in the great European war of that period, instead of following the more virile, aggressive policy of John Adams, which kept us out of war. I hope that his present attitude marks a complete change. He may have been held back from any attempt to carry out the "strict accountability" promise of February 10, 1915, through fear of lack of complete support of Congress. If that be the true explanation or excuse, it no longer exists. Congress will stand by the President with substantial unanimity in providing such "instrumentalities or methods" as may be necessary to protect our ships and our citizens on the high seas or elsewhere.

A Protective Tariff is the Remedy for the Economic Disturbance Created by the Close of the European War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STEPHEN G. PORTER,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, March 4, 1917.

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, the wordsmiths of the world have failed to find language that would adequately describe the horrors, the magnitude, and the economic disturbances created by the war which is now devastating Europe and part of Asia. It will go down in history as the "great war." It is my purpose to analyze its effect now and hereafter on the American Republic. Many of our people, I fear, have their vision dimmed as to the future by the slogan of "peace and prosperity," just as our forefathers' vision was dimmed at the close of the Napoleonic wars. *It is the future that is* before us and not the past. We have been so far free from armed conflict, but the future is filled with grave dangers. After this war of blood is over a commercial warfare will ensue in which our Republic will be one of the most active and interested participants. Many, no doubt, are familiar with the preparations which the belligerent nations of Europe are now making for this commercial warfare after peace has been declared. Upward of a year ago the allied nations entered into a commercial alliance to take effect immediately at the close of the war. Germany also in many ways is preparing for this trade war, and we Americans should prepare ourselves in advance for this inevitable conflict.

How are we to prepare? Our close relations, commercially and otherwise, with many of the belligerent nations of Europe makes it impossible to define a policy for America which will not hinder one or other of them. They will all be our enemies commercially after the war is over, and the sole object of my argument is to suggest a policy that will protect us from the trade war that is bound to ensue. America's sole defense in this coming economic struggle is a firm adherence to a protective-tariff policy.

That the protective tariff has been a powerful agency in the development of the wealth and strength of this Republic no one can successfully deny. The policy is almost as old as the Nation, and it is a curious fact that it was forced upon the Nation as a matter of protection at the closing of the Napoleonic wars in 1816. While it is true that immediately after the adoption of the Constitution tariffs were placed on certain imports for the purpose of raising revenue for the Federal Government, you will find but a trace of the protective principle prior to the protective-tariff act of 1816. From the passage of this bill by Congress down to the present day the protective policy has largely dominated the councils of the Nation. Those who now oppose the principle of a protective tariff started out as free traders. Subsequently they advocated a tariff for revenue only, and the recent Underwood tariff bill was founded on the theory of a competitive tariff. They have been driven from pillar to post, until to-day an out-and-out free trader is something of a curiosity.

Ours is an extremely youthful Nation as nations measure time, for in less than 250 years we have taken a wilderness and developed its natural resources to such an extent that we are now the wealthiest Nation of the world. Our wealth of two hundred billions is almost as great as the combined wealth of Great Britain, France, and Germany. Surely our policies must be sound, otherwise we could not have achieved such a marvelous success.

To understand the economic struggle which will confront us we must go back to the close of the Napoleonic wars and our War of 1812, for we will find the condition of affairs identical with the one which now menaces us.

From the settlement of the Colonies until we gained our independence from England the mother country exercised a policy of repression on manufacturing in the American Colonies. The colonists were compelled, by various acts of English Parliament, to buy all manufactured articles from England, with the result that the products of the cobbler, blacksmith, wagon maker, and seamstress represented practically all the manufacturing of the Colonies. This policy of repression, as many of you will recall, was one of the principal causes of our war for independence. After we had gained our liberty England still boasted that while she had lost political control of the American Colonies, she still had complete commercial control over them. This was largely true for many years following the founding of our Nation, as after the adoption of our Constitution in 1789 the colonists made little if any headway in manufacture.

Weak attempts toward the manufacture of woolens, cottons, and iron met with indifferent success. The people were contented with the returns from farming, fishing, lumbering, and so forth.

The Napoleonic wars broke out in the spring of 1794, and, with the exception of the brief peace of Amiens in 1802, continued until the peace of Aix la Chapelle, in 1815. England and France were parties to these wars and early instituted a policy of oppression and vexatious annoyances toward our commerce on the sea, which in 1807 became so unbearable that Congress, as a reprisal, laid an embargo on all articles of commerce, thus preventing their import and export. This embargo did not have the desired effect, and in 1809 Congress passed the celebrated nonintercourse acts, which prohibited American citizens from trading in any manner with English citizens. In the course of six or eight months after the nonintercourse acts were passed tremendous shortages occurred in woolens, cottons, and manufactured irons, as our people were unable to buy them from abroad. American enterprise grasped the opportunity and established the woolen and cotton industries in New England and the iron industries in the mountains of the Middle States. These new industries—infant industries, as Alexander Hamilton, who was

the greatest economist the Nation has ever produced, called them—met with immediate success, because they controlled the home markets by reason of the nonintercourse acts, and our war with England beginning in 1812 was largely waged on the sea, our privateers inflicting tremendous losses upon English commerce. England, exhausted by her years of warfare with France and other European countries, finally agreed to a treaty of peace which was ratified at Ghent December 24, 1814.

From the time the nonintercourse acts were passed, in 1809, cotton, woolen, iron, chemical, and other manufacturing industries had prospered to such an extent that when this war closed our entire imports amounted for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1814, to only $12,965. To give you some idea of how small our manufacturing establishments were before the war of 1812, it is an historical fact that in 1811 we made a treaty with an Indian tribe which obligated us to furnish it with 6,000 woolen blankets, and our Government—at least, it is so intimated—was compelled to violate its own nonintercourse acts to secure the necessary blankets. In other words, curious as it may seem, the home market created by the nonintercourse acts and the War of 1812 was the foundation of the present colossal iron, steel, woolen, and cotton industries of America. During all these years of warfare England, by reason of her supremacy at sea, was never invaded, although her commerce was largely driven from the sea by the American privateers. She is an industrious and efficient nation and continued throughout the war to manufacture and store millions of dollars' worth of manufactured articles, especially cotton, woolens, and iron. She was almost bankrupt at the war's close. She had the manufactured articles but needed money, and every available English ship was loaded with these manufactured goods and sent into the markets of the world, especially those of America. Our imports jumped from $12,965 for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1814, to $113,000,000 for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1815, and to $147,000,000 for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1816. It was a deadly and unnatural competition, so far as our infant industries were concerned.

In less than six months after the treaty of Ghent those improvident advocates of free trade who had been shouting the loudest about "peace and prosperity," just as they are doing to-day, saw with amazement every cotton and woolen mill and every iron foundry in America close its doors. The home market was gone, a great panic ensued which Daniel Webster well described in a speech in the Senate as "an auctioneer on every street corner in New England." There was great excitement in the country; Congress convened on the first Monday of December, 1815, and under the leadership of the followers of Alexander Hamilton, who for years had advocated the Hamiltonian policy of a protective tariff, passed the first real protective tariff law in the history of the Nation.

Under this protection the industries were promptly rehabilitated and prosperity came again to our land. It will be noted that this protective tariff was not adopted until after the damage was done. If the Nation had listened to the followers of Hamilton and other protectionists the tariff act of 1816 would have been passed before the close of the war and before the industries of America had been paralyzed. The protectionists, however, were unable to control the policy of the Nation, which refused to visualize the future until the damage was done. This damage will be repeated at the close of the present war unless Congress forthwith excludes the products of Europe by a high protective tariff. Whether you believe in the protective tariff as a general principle or not, you must concede that extraordinary and unheard of conditions will confront us at the close of this great war in Europe. Let us protect ourselves from the economic disaster before it is too late. I have given the causes which brought about the passage of the first protective tariff law in 1816, and the result of lack of protection at the right time, solely for the purpose of pointing out that the same danger which existed at the close of the Napoleonic wars will confront us at the close of this great war, but it will be a thousand-fold more injurious to our commercial life. In the meantime shall we see this danger from afar and continue to stand idly by and do nothing to protect ourselves?

No one has been able to ascertain with certainty the exact cause of this war in Europe. The better opinion appears to be that it is a contest between Great Britain and Germany for commercial supremacy.

Prior to the Franco-Prussian war the German people were largely agriculturalists, the country was small and the population large, and notwithstanding intensive farming, many of them immigrated from the home country because they were unable to make a satisfactory living. The public men of Germany, recognizing these conditions, turned the minds of the people to manufacturing. To-day Germany is one of the great manufacturing nations. Its products are common in every market place of the world. In fact, few of us realized how much the world was dependent on Germany for manufactured articles, especially drugs, chemicals, and dyestuffs, until they were shut off by the English blockade. They are now engaged in the greatest war of history. Every port has been blockaded for the last two and a quarter years; but it should be remembered that the thing which takes the heart out of a nation—fighting on its own soil—has occurred but once. Many years ago Germany recognized the great benefits of a protective tariff and put a high tariff wall around the Empire, which has taught the German people to live largely upon the products of Germany and exist without intercourse with the outside world. What stronger argument in favor of a protective policy could be advanced than the fact that for two and a half years she has been denied intercourse with the outside world? It is true that her productive capacity has been largely reduced by the calling of the men to the front; but we should remember in this connection that she has upward of two millions of military prisoners tilling the soil and, in some instances at least, working in her manufacturing plants. Her enormous exports before the war have been entirely shut off by the blockade. She is unquestionably storing away millions of dollars worth of manufactured articles, just as England did during the Napoleonic wars, and intends to let them loose on the markets of the world the day the war closes. She is prepared to do this because most of her merchant vessels are only interned and will be released by a treaty of peace.

It may be argued that Germany will eventually be overrun by her numerous enemies, and the danger to our commercial life which I have pointed out thereby averted. Assuming this to be true, it is certain that her conquerers will not destroy these manufactured goods, as they represent money which they all will need. Assuming, however, that Germany will be conquered and these manufactured articles destroyed, what about the competition which we must meet from Russia, a nation with upward of 200,000,000 of people and having no outlet to the sea since the war began except from the north, and that only three months in the summer? The Dardanelles have been closed to her since the beginning of the war. What has she been doing with her immense stores of wheat, rye, barley ,and other argricultural products? They are being stored away awaiting the close of the war.

What about the recent commercial treaty between Russia and Japan whereby Japan secures control of the Russian trade? Will this not compel England and France to abandon the Russian market and center their attention on American trade?

The allies entered into a treaty agreement some time ago, agreeing not to trade with Germany or Austria-Hungary, their best customers before the war, and Japan, by force, has closed the commercial door to the allies in China. Conceive, then, the plight of these belligerents refusing to trade with each other owing to the bitter hatreds engendered by the war. They will have practically no market except America, which to-day holds two-fifths of the gold supply of the world. Shall we permit this war to close without making an effort to protect ourselves and our industries from being submerged by this avalanche of manufactured goods and products of the farms, which will be thrown upon us if our ports are left open by the existing Underwood tariff law?

As I have said before, we are the richest Nation in the world. We have the cash which Europe so badly needs, and therefore our markets will receive the preference over all others. Unless we protect ourselves we shall be swamped with the dumpage of Europe as we were in 1815. We should remember the lessons taught our forefathers at the close of the Napoleonic wars. We should profit by their experience and protect our industries from this deadly and unnatural competition from the outside world. Our experienced forefathers locked the stable door after the horse was stolen by enacting a protective tariff law after the war was over. Let us, with the light of their experience, disastrous as it was, lock the door before the war closes, and thus remove this dire peril to our industries. Congress should lay everything else aside until a protective tariff law is passed that will give us this much-needed protection.

It is reasonably safe to say that 20 per cent of our people are now engaged directly or indirectly in manufacturing supplies for the belligerent nations of Europe, and the large exports resulting from the demands of those nations are responsible for the high prices of the necessities of life in America. In many of our industrial centers tens of thousands of men are engaged in the manufacture of war supplies. The day the treaty of peace

is signed all of these men who are directly or indirectly engaged in making supplies will be thrown out of employment, and I fear that our highways will be filled with idle men seeking employment. There is no way by which we can protect ourselves against this condition, which will create a grave economic disturbance in the Nation, but we can minimize the damage by passing a new tariff law that will insure the home markets to the American manufacturers, thus giving employment to many of these idle men.

In conclusion, I desire to repeat that the failure on the part of the party in power to protect our Nation, as I have above indicated, shows such a lack of vision and indifference to the country's welfare that a day of reckoning will come at the hands of the American people.

Post Office Appropriations.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HALVOR STEENERSON,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. STEENERSON. Mr. Speaker, during the debate on the Post Office appropriation bill I called attention to the fact that under the system of accounting in use in the Post Office Department the amount of surplus or deficit for any one year was determined by the difference between the audited postal receipts and audited disbursements; that sales, being for cash, receipts were known, but that many obligations, amounting to millions, incurred near the close of the year, are usually audited and paid after the close of the year, and hence this difference between receipts and disbursements does not accurately represent the financial operations of the year. The last four annual reports of the Postmaster General call attention to this. In 1914 he says:

The audited surplus does not, however, represent the actual financial results of the year.

Within certain limits, therefore, it is possible near the close of the year, by either expediting or delaying the payment of bills, to increase or diminish the total disbursements, and hence to show either an "audited deficit" or an "audited surplus." This is what the present Postmaster General actually, and, as I think, unjustly, charged was done by his predecessor in 1911, and by reason thereof began to substitute "estimated surpluses" for what the figures on their face showed.

Every annual postal appropriation act contains two kinds of appropriations, one payable out of postal revenues, the other, in case the revenues are insufficient, payable out of the Treasury, to be advanced upon requisition of the Postmaster General. These grants from the Treasury are not included in the receipts, and seem to have been made during years of annual surpluses as well as years of annual deficits. Thus in the fiscal year 1913 there was drawn out of the Treasury $3,027,368.79, and $2,000,000 was repaid, leaving a net grant of $1,027,368.79; and yet on June 30, 1914, just one year after the fiscal year had expired, $3,800,000 was turned into the Treasury as an alleged surplus for the previous year. In March, 1915, $3,000,000 was drawn out as a deficit and $3,500,000 paid back as an alleged surplus. In 1916 $5,500,000 was drawn out on certificate that there was a deficit and nothing was paid back until six weeks after the close of the fiscal year, when $5,200,000 was paid in as an alleged surplus of that year, although there still appears to be a net loss to the Treasury of $300,000.

Taking the four-year period embracing the fiscal years 1913, 1914, 1915, and 1916 we find these official figures, to wit:

Service, fiscal year.	Audited revenues.	Audited expenditures.	Audited surplus.	Audited deficit.
1913	$266,619,525.65	$262,067,541.33	$4,510,650.91	
1914	287,934,565.57	283,558,102.62	4,376,463.05	
1915	287,248,165.27	298,581,474.24		$11,333,308.97
1916	312,057,688.83	306,228,452.76	5,829,236.07	
			14,716,350.03	11,333,308.97

Net audited surplus, $3,383,041.06.

Based upon the above figures, the Postmaster General's Annual Report for 1916 contains the following, to wit:

The total payments into the Treasury during the past four years is therefore $12,500,000.

That the Postal Service is now self-sustaining is evidenced by the fact that for three out of the four years of the present administration audited surpluses aggregating $14,716,350.03 have been shown. Deducting the audited deficiency in 1915 of $11,333,308.97, the net surplus for the four-year period is $3,383,041.06, and but for the business depression occasioned by the European war the department would have undoubtedly secured a surplus of not less than $18,000,000.

This paragraph was quoted by one Member in the House approvingly in the debate as conclusively showing that the United States Treasury had been enriched in these four years by $3,383,041.06. It is perfectly plain from the above that the Postmaster General's report was intended to convey the idea that the Treasury had been the gainer by reason of its connection with the Postal Service, and that but for the European war the $11,333,308.97 deficit of 1915 would have been converted into a surplus of $5,500,000, making a total of $18,000,000 net surplus for the four years, and that that idea has been conveyed not only to the general public, but to Members of Congress, is evidenced by their speeches made on this floor. It is, of course, of the utmost importance that the truth in regard to this matter should be known. Fortunately the Treasury Department has furnished me with the official figures, which I think demonstrate the error of this contention to an absolute certainty. In order to make the matter perfectly clear, I requested them to furnish a statement showing grants from the Treasury and payments into the Treasury during the fiscal years 1912 to 1916, both inclusive. First, the statement shows separately each of the five years, then a summary of the five years, giving the date when each payment out of and into the Treasury was made. This summary shows that for the five years there was drawn out of the Treasury $2,232,156.27 more than was paid in, and, omitting the year 1912, for the last four years the sum of $663,961.39 was drawn out in excess of what was paid in. The statement follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY,
Washington, January 8, 1917.

Hon. H. STEENERSON,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: By direction of the Secretary and in response to your request of this morning, by telephone, I inclose herewith statements showing grants from the Treasury and payments into the Treasury during the fiscal years 1912 to 1916, inclusive, on account of postal deficiencies, as follows:

During the fiscal year 1912.

When made.	For fiscal year 1909.	For fiscal year 1910.	For fiscal year 1911.	For fiscal year 1912.	Total.
1911.					
July 25	$1,953.31	$67,917.29			
Oct. 17				$2,000,000.00	
Nov. 11	7,391.08	47,348.33			
Dec. 15				1,000,000.00	
1912.					
Feb. 5	6,047.61		$43,042.37		
May 1			394,494.89		
	15,392.00	115,265.62	437,537.26	3,000,000.00	$3,568,194.88
Less repayments into Treasury on account of fiscal year 1912:					
Jan. 31, 1912				$1,000,000.00	
May 31, 1912				1,000,000.00	
					2,000,000.00
Net amount of warrants issued to Post Office Department during fiscal year 1912					1,568,194.88

During the fiscal year 1913.

When made.	For fiscal year 1910.	For fiscal year 1911.	For fiscal year 1912.	For fiscal year 1913.	Total.
1912.					
July 26	$70,885.97	$208,826.96			
Aug. 28				$2,000,000.00	
Nov. 14	207.42	52,673.53			
1913.					
Mar. 29	52.21	11,066.81	$197,237.55		
May 12	65.70	11,809.54	331,823.44		
	71,211.30	284,376.84	529,060.99	2,000,000.00	$2,884,649.13
July 26, 1912, deficiencies for 1909					122,214.67
Nov. 14, 1912, deficiencies for 1909					203.14
Mar. 29, 1913, deficiencies for 1909					324.27
May 12, 1913, deficiencies for 1909					6,477.84
Sept. 17, 1912, certified claims of various years					236.46
Do					8,187.13
Dec. 7, 1913, certified claims of various years					419.03
Mar. 29, 1913, certified claims of various years					3,867.55
May 12, 1913, certified claims of various years					769.57
					3,027,368.79
Less repayment into Treasury Jan. 28, 1913, on account of fiscal year 1913					2,000,000.00
Net amount of warrants issued to Post Office Department during the fiscal year 1913					1,027,368.79

During the fiscal year 1914.

There were no payments from the Treasury or repayments into the Treasury during the fiscal year 1914 on account of postal deficiencies.

June 30, 1914 (fiscal year 1914): Surplus revenues of Post Office Department for fiscal year 1913 ---------- $3,800,000

During the fiscal year 1915.

When made.	For fiscal year 1911.	For fiscal year 1912.	For fiscal year 1915.	Total.
1915.				
Mar. 2	$1,911.23	$321,441.72		
4	191.74	1,230.04		
24			$1,000,000.00	
26			1,000,000.00	
30			1,000,000.00	
June 22			500,000.00	
23			500,000.00	
24			500,000.00	
25			500,000.00	
26			500,000.00	
29			800,000.00	
	2,102.97	322,671.76	6,300,000.00	$6,624,774.73
Mar. 2, 1915, deficiencies for 1900				1,005.16
Mar. 4, 1915, deficiencies for 1909				200.00
Mar. 2, 1915, deficiencies for 1910				262.12
Mar. 2, 1915, certified claims of various years				11,888.72
Mar. 4, 1915, certified claims of various years				2,605.29
				6,640,736.02
Less repayment into Treasury Feb. 25, 1915, on account of fiscal year 1908				4,143.42
Net amount of warrants issued to Post Office Department during the fiscal year 1915				6,636,592.60
Mar. 29, 1915 (fiscal year 1915): Surplus revenues of Post Office Department for fiscal year 1914				3,500,000.00

During the fiscal year 1916.

When made.	For the fiscal year 1916.	Total.
1915.		
Aug. 4	$500,000.00	
5	500,000.00	
6	500,000.00	
Sept. 1	500,000.00	
2	500,000.00	
3	500,000.00	
21	500,000.00	
22	500,000.00	
23	500,000.00	
24	500,000.00	
27	500,000.00	
	5,500,000.00	$5,500,000.00
Aug. 21, 1916 (fiscal year 1917): Surplus revenues of Post Office Department for fiscal year 1916		5,200,000.00

The above statements for the years 1912 to 1916, inclusive, are summarized, as follows:

Fiscal year.	Gross amounts paid from Treasury for postal deficiencies.	Repayments to Treasury on account of postal deficiencies and surplus revenues.	Net payments from the Treasury on account of postal deficiencies.
1912	$3,568,194.88	$2,000,000.00	$1,568,194.88
1913	3,027,368.79	[1] 5,800,000.00	[2] 2,772,631.21
1914		3,500,000.00	[3] 3,500,000.00
1915	6,640,736.02	4,143.42	6,636,592.60
1916	5,500,000.00	5,200,000.00	300,000.00
Total	18,736,299.69	16,504,143.42	2,232,156.27

[1] Repayments, $2,000,000; surplus revenues, $3,800,000.
[2] Excess repayments and surplus revenues over payments from the Treasury on account of fiscal year 1913.
[3] Surplus revenues. No payments from the Treasury on account of fiscal year 1914.

Very truly, yours,

WM. P. MALBURN,
Assistant Secretary.

Desiring to have things perfectly plain and beyond cavil I then requested them to prepare a table, giving the items of "Treasury gains" and "Treasury losses" for each year. The table follows:

Amounts drawn from the Treasury for postal deficiencies and amounts returned thereto, including deposits of surplus postal revenues, fiscal years 1912 to 1916, inclusive.

Part 1.

	Advances from the Treasury on account of postal deficiencies.	Repayments to the Treasury on account of postal deficiencies.	Net grants from the Treasury.	Surplus revenues deposited in the Treasury.	Treasury gained (+); Treasury lost (−).
1912	$3,568,194.88	$2,000,000.00	$1,568,194.88		−$1,568,194.88
1913	3,027,368.79	2,000,000.00	1,027,368.79	[1] $3,800,000.00	+ 2,772,631.21
1914				[1] 3,500,000.00	+ 3,500,000.00
1915	6,640,736.02	4,143.42	6,636,592.60		− 6,636,592.60
1916	5,500,000.00		5,500,000.00	[1] 5,200,000.00	− 300,000.00
Total	15,168,104.81	2,004,143.42	13,163,961.39	12,500,000.00	− 663,961.39

[1] Surplus revenue of the year indicated, but not deposited in the Treasury until the following year.

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Certain additional payments from the Treasury under various laws on account of the Postal Service, fiscal years 1912 to 1916, inclusive.

Part 2.

[Treasury gained (+); Treasury lost (−).]

1912.	Miscellaneous payments under relief acts, etc		− $7,791.92
1913.	Parcel-post equipment	$370,217.26	
	Judgments, Court of Claims	8,400.28	
	Miscellantous payments under relief acts, etc	4,995.55	
			−383,613.00
1914.	Parcel-post equipment	359,767.74	
	Equipment and moving expenses, new post office, Washington, D. C.	5,000.00	
	Judgments, Court of Claims	25.00	
	Miscellaneous payments under relief acts, etc	234.20	
			−365,026.94
1915.	Equipment and moving expenses, new post office, Washington, D. C.	55,000.00	
	Parcel-post equipment	19,352.11	
	Judgments, Court of Claims	1,256.97	
	Miscellaneous payments under relief acts, etc	12,073.59	
			− 87,682.67
1916.	Judgments, Court of Claims	114.95	
	Miscellaneous payments under relief acts, etc	247.27	
			− 362.22
	Additional payments		−844,476.84

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Summary.

Part 3.

[Treasury gained (+); Treasury lost (−).]

1912	−$1,575,986.80
1913	+ 2,389,018.12
1914	+ 3,134,973.06
1915	− 6,724,275.27
1916	− 300,362.22
Net loss 1912–1916	− 3,076,633.11

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *January 31, 1917.*

The last column of Part 1 of the table is marked "Treasury gained (+)" and "Treasury lost (—)." The first figures are for 1912 separately; then follows 1913, 1914, 1915, and 1916, separately and together. Then follows Part 2, being a detailed statement of certain additional (omitted from the first statement furnished by the Treasury) payments from the Treasury which foot up to $836,684.92 for the four years, the amount for 1912 being deducted so as to avoid confusion. These additional payments out of the Treasury increase the loss for the last four years to the Treasury to $1,500,646.31. Then follows Part 3, being a summary of Part 1 and Part 2 of the table, showing the loss or gain for each of the five years, and from which it appears that the total loss to the Treasury from its connection with the Post Office Department for that period to be $3,076,633.11. If we deduct the item for 1912, it leaves a net loss for the last four years of $1,500,646.31, as above stated. However, as eight months and four days of the fiscal year 1913 was under Taft, the whole year should be excluded, making the loss for the three years that belong to this administration $3,889,664.43. I want to call special attention to the last item of the summary, for it shows that there was a loss to the Treasury for the fiscal year 1916 of $300,362.22, while the Postmaster General published to the world that he had paid into the Treasury a surplus of $5,200,000.

Let us now take up the claim made in the Postmaster General's report, that "but for the business depression occasioned by the European war, the department would have undoubtedly secured a surplus of not less than $18,000,000." While it is true that the Post Office Department deposited a total of $12,500,000 on account of alleged surpluses for 1913, 1914, and 1916, there is nothing in the circumstances to indicate that if there had been no European war the $11,333,308.97 deficit of 1915 would have been changed into a surplus of $5,500,000. That deficit was incurred between July 1, 1914, and June 30, 1915, 11 months of which was contemporaneous with the European war, and the first month of which was during peace; but the next year, when the war raged continuously with still greater violence, the Postmaster General's report shows an alleged surplus. A more obvious and better explanation would seem to have been that a business depression set in soon after the Underwood tariff law of October, 1913, went into effect, and that this depression continued until the influence of war orders upon our exports began to be felt with constantly increasing force, which still continues. Our trade balance during the fiscal year 1914, which ended one month before the war began, was only $470,000,000, as compared with $652,000,000 the previous year; but the next year, 1915, it rose to $1,094,000,000, and in 1916, with the war more widespread and severe than ever, it reached the enormous sum of $2,185,000,000. War, therefore, seems to have been the cause of prosperity rather than depression in business.

There are still outstanding bills for services of the railroads during 1914, 1915, and 1916 in carrying the increased weight limit of parcels, officially estimated at $1,400,000, and withheld rural carriers' salaries estimated at $3,000,000, making a total loss on the postal operations of this administration of $8,289,664.43.

The Late Senator James P. Clarke.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS

OF

HON. HENDERSON M. JACOWAY,

OF ARKANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, February 18, 1917.

The House had under consideration the following resolutions (H. Res. 512):

Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended, that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. JAMES P. CLARKE, late a Senator from the State of Arkansas.

Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and in recognition of his distinguished public career, the House, at the conclusion of the exercises of this day, shall stand adjourned.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

Resolved, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased.

Mr. JACOWAY. Mr. Speaker, the sudden death of Senator JAMES P. CLARKE, of Arkansas, in last October was a terrible shock to us.

Born and educated in Mississippi, Senator CLARKE studied law in the University of Virginia and entered upon the practice of that profession in the State of Arkansas in 1879. Here he began his political activities by serving two years in the State legislature, following it up by a four-year term in the State senate, of which he became president pro tempore and ex officio lieutenant governor. He later served his State as attorney general and governor, in which positions he was fearless, just, and decisive in the honorable discharge of the duties thereof, and also as one of her able lawyers until his election to the United States Senate in 1902.

Our State properly and speedily voiced its appreciation of his worth and services by the adoption of a resolution providing for the placing of his statue in Statuary Hall.

In his young manhood he had an ambition of becoming a United States Senator. He showed that strength of character and that independence of action which have ever been true of him, and even then caused his associates to predict for him a brilliant future.

Though of an impulsive nature, Senator CLARKE was free from indiscretions and possessed of noble personal habits; impetuous, he was nevertheless invariably gentlemanly in his manner; impatient in speech, he ranked high among debaters and revealed great thought and knowledge on the questions that engaged the attention of public men.

Like any successful public servant, Senator CLARKE had opponents and was subjected to open and hostile criticisms. But his was a sturdiness of character that enabled him to pursue the pathway of duty in the face of all opposition. He brought to his great task of a public servant knowledge, industry, and mental and moral integrity.

He was not a Senator occupied only with matters affecting the welfare of his own State; he had the interests of the whole Nation at heart. By his death not only Arkansas and the United States Senate, but the entire country as well, have suffered a great loss.

Preparedness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STEPHEN G. PORTER,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, anyone who has made even a meager study of preparedness must realize that it is interwoven with every fabric necessary to the Nation's existence. It is not merely a matter of building battleships and the arming of soldiers, as these are only component parts of real preparedness, which rests primarily on social, industrial, political, and educational preparedness.

It is impossible, in the brief time allotted to me, to do more than touch the high spots of this great question, while laying down a few general principles to which we can, with safety, anchor.

It is rather strange, but true, that every century considers itself better than the one which preceded it; probably for the reason that those who have gone before are not present to contradict the claims of the living.

I often wonder how the future historian will, in the calmness of his study, analyze the civilization of this century. It was ushered in with the close of the Napoleonic wars, which devastated half of Europe; then followed the Mexican War, our great Civil War, the Crimean War, the Boer War, the Russo-Japanese War, the opium wars between England and China, the French Revolution, the Spanish-American War, and others, and finally the present great war, which for imbecile brutality is unequaled in the world's history, and which certainly has made of mechanical murder an exact science. If he compares this record of human slaughter with, say, the thirteenth century, when civilization was just emerging from the Dark Ages, when literature had its climax in Dante, art its Michael Angelo and Gothic architecture, education the establishment of the great colleges and technical schools of Europe, medicine the organization of the hospital systems of the world, and politics the foundation of Anglo-Saxon liberty, the Magna Charta, I am afraid the verdict of the future will be against us.

Every reasonable human being knows that war is violative of every principle of humanity, and yet our so-called civilization is such that it requires but a little of the fever of war to melt its veneer from all of us and leave us savages.

We have been taught throughout our national existence that our isolation, with the Atlantic Ocean on the east to protect us from war-torn Europe and the Pacific Ocean on the west to protect us from the subtle Oriental, was so great that it would be practically impossible for foreign nations to harm us. Benjamin Harrison, while President, stated as late as 1893:

> Our isolation is so great that little, if any, harm can come to us except from within.

This idea, fortified as it was by the Monroe doctrine, seemed to be correct until steam and electricity revolutionized every line of human action and resulted in undreamed-of means of communication.

The *Deutschland*, a submarine, rose from beneath the waters of Chesapeake Bay and subsequently off the coast of Connecticut. It had traveled over 4,000 miles and evaded capture by the greatest fleet that has ever been upon the waters. If one submarine can do this, hundreds of them can do likewise, and spread havoc and death in every harbor of our Nation.

The men who in the past claimed that our isolation was a complete protection never had a vision of a *Deutschland* or a modern airship. Hence it is but sound common sense to meet the changed conditions.

The owners of the Anglo-French bonds, the munition manufacturers, and the Anglicized Americans, both in and out of public life, who have so strenuously and openly urged our Na-

tion to take part in this war on the side of the allies, claiming that Germany can do us no harm, must now admit the fallacy of their arguments. The *Deutschland* conveys a stern warning to America and should still the tongues of the mercenary jingoes who want us to enter this war of blood and carnage.

We are a Nation worth upwards of two hundred billions of dollars, which is two and one-fourth times greater than the wealth of any other nation in the world. Europe will be bankrupted when this war is over; will look with greedy eyes upon our prosperity, and we must prepare to protect ourselves against a coalition of desperation.

For years I have been convinced of the importance of preparedness. This war in Europe has been a blessing to us to the extent, at least, that it has awakened our people to the positive necessity of insuring ourselves against war as well as against fire.

We all dream of the time when human conduct will be governed by the Decalogue and the Sermon on the Mount; but that is in the far-distant future. We must meet conditions as we find them, or, as Grover Cleveland so well stated it, "It is a condition, not a theory, that confronts us"; and reluctant as we may be to do so, we must prevent war by preparation.

I do not agree with the interpretation placed by many upon Washington's advice: "In times of peace, prepare for war." He certainly did not intend that the infant Colonies, representing less than five millions of people, should devote their energies to building up great naval and military machines. What he did mean was this, that we should prepare ourselves to such an extent socially, industrially, politically, and educationally, that the institutions of our country would be so grand and so noble as to excite the envy of the world and would inspire in the heart of every American who enjoys the beneficent privilege of American citizenship a willingness to shed his last drop of blood in defense of the flag.

This is the real foundation of preparedness, upon which everything else must rest. We should prepare industrially so that this insane conflict between capital and labor will cease. Capital should be protected in all of its legitimate enterprises and labor should be made pleasurable.

We should prepare educationally, so that our public schools and colleges will in the course of time totally obliterate illiteracy. As the Talmud says:

The child is the foundation of the universe.

We should prepare ourselves socially, so that class distinctions will forever cease and every man, woman, and child in the Nation will receive such consideration from the Government as will best promote his social welfare.

We should prepare politically, so that only the best men will be elected to public offices and thus equip the Nation with public officials inspired only by a lofty patriotism.

And finally, we should treat the care of the loved ones of the soldier who has gone to the front as a positive duty of the Government and not allow their welfare to depend on uncertain public charity. Peace of mind is essential to efficiency. If the soldier at the front knows that his family is being cared for by a grateful Government he will perform his services much more cheerfully and much better. In case of war and our men are called to the front, their innocent families should not bear the entire burden of the breadwinner's absence.

These are the things which Washington intended us to do when he said: "In times of peace, prepare for war"; for back of every army and navy there must be a beautiful patriotism and a sublime obedience to constituted authority; otherwise these instrumentalities are helpless and impotent. In other words, and I desire to emphasize this even at the expense of a repetition, all preparedness must rest upon a citizenship which would gladly and loyally in times of stress and danger defend the Nation from its foes. The development of the Army and Navy, while important, is after all but a superstructure.

Hardly a day passes but that every Member of Congress receives suggestions as to how we should prepare the Army and Navy to successfully resist an invader. As a rule, these suggestions come from men entirely unfamiliar with the science of war. It is rather a strange anomaly that the American people when they need expert advice in medicine, law, architecture, or anything else except governmental matters, go to those who are specially trained in these callings. If the Pennsylvania Railroad, for instance, desires to extend its lines, it turns the matter over to its expert engineers. The stockholders certainly have no voice in establishing the grades or fixing the size of the rails. Our Nation is a great corporation and all of its citizens are stockholders. In the matter of the Army and Navy, we should do that which business men would do—obtain the advice of those who have been trained by the Government to perform those particular duties.

I believe, therefore, that Congress should establish three institutions:

First. A council of national defense, composed of the President, the Secretaries of State, War, and Navy; chairmen of Committees of both Houses of Congress on Foreign Affairs, War, Navy, Ways and Means, and Appropriations; and the Chiefs of Staff of both the Army and the Navy, charged with the duty of evolving a systematic program of national defense, which would conform to our international powers and responsibilities.

Second and third. An Army and Navy general staff similar to those in use by at least two of the belligerent nations of Europe. Under this management the duty of advising Congress on preparedness would be vested in the officials best qualified by experience and training to perform this function.

We are spending to-day, exclusive of pensions, 47 per cent of our annual revenue for national defense; but we must concede that we are not getting the results that we should get, and this is entirely due to lack of an organized method.

The American genius for organization is recognized throughout the entire world, and we should apply it to the development of the Army and the Navy. We lack a well-defined policy and allow politics and commercialism to override expert judgment.

A study of the details of preparedness has convinced me of the necessity for a large number of submarines, sufficient to put at least 10 in every harbor of the Nation; a railroad along our coast to carry heavy guns to any point of attack; shooting ranges in every congressional district under Government supervision and at Government expense, so that the ability to shoot will not become a lost art; the building and equipping of at least three more West Points, so that at all times we shall have trained officers from every congressional district, as modern warfare is largely a question of officers.

I do not think a stockholder in the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. would ordinarily dispute the methods adopted by the engineers in fixing grades, and so forth, nor ordinarily do I believe that I would be justified, unless clearly satisfied that it is wrong, in going contrary to the policy laid down by a council of national defense and an Army and Navy general staff, created with the powers and duties I have stated heretofore.

I am in entire accord with the Army and Navy officials who advocate not only compulsory military training but compulsory service. Under the existing volunteer system the man who loves the Nation goes to the front and risks his life, while the laggard and coward are permitted to remain at home. It penalizes the patriot by exposing his breast to the bullets of the enemy and rewards the coward by allowing him to remain at home in the full enjoyment of peace and prosperity.

Training and service should be compulsory, and no man under any circumstances should be allowed to hire a substitute as was so common in our Civil War.

We get nothing in this world without a proper consideration. We must pay for our liberty just the same as we must pay for a sack of flour or a bushel of potatoes. It is useless for men to talk of fighting for the flag and then refuse to equip themselves by military training so as to fight at their maximum efficiency unless they desire to be classed as "lip patriots."

Therefore I believe that we should adopt the Swiss system, which requires the youth to submit to military training, amounting in all to about 100 days. Any man who enjoys the privileges of American citizenship and is not willing to carve out of his life 100 days for military training, so as to do his whole duty to the Nation in time of war, is not fit to be called an American.

You may ask, "How are we to pay for the extraordinary expenses that even the present program of preparedness has cast upon us?" My reply it, From a graduated income and inheritance tax, which is the only equitable and just way to raise the money. Our present system of taxation is indeed faulty, so much so that many of the States of the Nation have commissions trying to devise some new and more equitable way of assessment. The trouble is that we cast an unfair burden upon those who are the least able to pay. If we pay a premium against loss of property by fire, based on the value of the property, why should not the same rule apply to premiums—taxes—against loss by war? Surely, no one will contend that the laborer should pay the same fire-insurance premium on his cottage as Mr. Frick does on the Frick Building. But this is precisely what he does in paying his indirect taxes for the support of the National Government.

One illustration will suffice. The tariff is an indirect tax. Let us take the item of sugar, which raises upward of seventy millions of revenue a year. The laborer uses as much sugar, probably more, than Mr. Rockefeller, and under our system of taxation that laborer, who at the most owns but a modest home,

great, if not greater, than Mr. Rockefeller, with his eight hundred millions of wealth and an income of approximately $10,000,000 a year. This, it goes without saying, is brutally unfair. But if you require Mr. Rockefeller to pay an income tax based upon his income and the laborer to do likewise, you will have an equitable and just assessment, insuring that each of them will pay his proper premium against war. I believe that the inheritance and income taxes should be looked upon purely in the light of premiums with which to insure the Nation against war, and should be set aside by the Government as a special fund for that specific purpose.

There are dangers in a policy of preparedness, against which the people must be careful to protect themselves. I do not especially fear militarism, because there is a vast distinction between militarism and preparedness. The former is intended to wage wars of conquest, while the latter is intended for a defense against an alien enemy, and we should be thankful that the lofty morality of the American people will never permit this Government to wage a war of conquest against another nation.

I intend, however, to call your attention to a few of the dangers which will be created within the Nation by a policy of preparedness, as I sometimes think they are greater from within than from without.

First. The propaganda in favor of an international court, which is being earnestly advocated by many of our public men. It is their theory that the nations of the world should agree by treaty that all disputes between nations should be determined by an international court, composed of representatives of all the nations in the world. Assume that we had made a treaty of this kind with the nations of the world before the present war began. A degree would have been made by such a court settling the dispute between Austria and Servia and it would have been our plain duty to help the other nations to enforce that decree. It is certain that Austria would not have submitted to it, and we would have become involved in the present maelstrom of war.

Europe has been the battle field of the world for centuries before this Nation of ours was ever thought of, and there is nothing we can do to stop these bloody contests. Selfish as it may seem, our safest policy is to allow Europe to fight, while America, at peace, attempts to work out the destiny of mankind, and through her refining influences and splendid example eventually compel the rulers of Europe to follow in the pathway which we have made for the onward march of civilization. We should continue to stand with Washington and Monroe by avoiding all "entangling political alliances with European countries."

Second. There is a tendency to weaken to some extent the rigid enforcement of the Monroe doctrine, which prohibits the founding of colonies by foreign nations in the Western Hemisphere. This policy is absolutely essential to the national defense, and should be enforced at all hazards, as it insures to us all of the advantages of our splendid isolation by compelling foreign nations to cross the sea to attack us. Otherwise they would have a base of supplies in South America from which to invade our country.

Third. In the Civil War, in the Spanish-American War, and even in times of peace there have been many ugly scandals connected with Army and Navy contracts. The farmer who lays aside his hoe, the mechanic who lays down his tools, the professional man who lays aside his books and leaves a lucrative position to accept the meager pay and dangers of a soldier's life is entitled to the best food and clothing and best equipment that this wealthy Nation can buy, and any man or company which sells to the Government defective supplies for these soldiers is guilty of the blackest treason known to man. I realize that commercial diplomacy, commonly called the "trade lie," has a strong foothold in our commercial life, and it should be recognized as a menace to real preparedness. Defective material on our warships or defective guns in the hands of our soldiers might not be discovered until it was too late, and no mercy should be shown any one who thus imperils the safety of the Nation.

Fourth. Another of our great weaknesses is this—a tendency to subordinate everything to commercialism. The moment the present war broke out organizations of various kinds were formed to advocate preparedness. They hired lecturers and lobbyists, held public meetings, rented storerooms in many of the larger cities for the display of instruments of war, expended large sums of money in promoting their propaganda, and induced many real patriots to accept memberships. The American people, appalled by the magnitude of the struggle in Europe, gave an attentive ear to these exaggerated stories of our unpreparedness, and many citizens believed that the American Navy was a pile of junk and America as defenseless as China.

From the time John Paul Jones lashed the sinking *Bon Homme Richard* to the *Serapis* and announced that "he had just begun to fight" to the time that Admiral Schley said at Santiago Harbor "There is honor enough for all" the American Navy has never met a defeat. All patriotic Americans should condemn these vicious slanders, especially when we consider the fact that there is hardly a pound of steel, iron, brass, or wood on an American vessel to-day that was not furnished by the promoters of these organizations.

If what they say of the condition of our Navy is true, they have been guilty of the grossest fraud against the Government, and they should be hanged as high as Haman. Most of these organizations were promoted and financed by the munition manufacturers, who have carefully kept in the background. I find no fault with their efforts to sell their products to the Government, but I deny with all the power that is within me their right to do so in the guise of a sacred thing like patriotism. If they have no sense of the proprieties we should teach them that patriotism is not to be measured by the amount of profits a man can make out of it. It is indeed unfortunate that we find patriotism to be so often mingled with lust for gain.

Fifth. Tolstoy, with that wonderful vision of his, said many years ago that the division between the classes in America was wider than in any other nation in the world, and that it was growing wider from day to day. In fact there are men of profound thought who openly express the opinion that the centralization of wealth in this country in the hands of a few men is creating a condition of affairs similar to that in France prior to the French Revolution; that it is only a question of time until this Nation will be torn asunder by a similar internecine war. While I can not agree with them in their conclusions, still we must admit that there is force in their arguments, and we therefore should strike down class distinctions wherever and whenever they appear.

I have in mind the establishment of military training camps which are exclusively for a certain class of our citizens. Particularly one which excludes everyone who is not a college or a high school graduate. The farmer, mechanic, and laborer are barred; and yet this camp is maintained at Government expense. I certainly believe that at least one training camp should be established in every congressional district of the Nation, under the direction and control of officers of the Regular Army; but all should go to the same camp, without regard to wealth or social position. This service should be like death—the leveler of all distinctions—and the millionaire should be happy to rub shoulders with the laborer in the defense of our common country.

In conclusion, every patriotic American should lay aside his selfish interests and do a patriot's duty in bringing about in this Nation of ours social, industrial, political, and educational justice. He should earnestly advocate a preparedness sufficient to meet the dangers which confront us, and leave the details of that preparedness to those who have been trained to perform that duty, and at all times guard the Nation against the mercenary who seeks to profit from the necessities of our troubled country.

If we will but do this, when foes assail us every man in the trenches will be a Sir Galahad and the perpetuity of our beautiful institutions will be assured.

Indian Appropriation Bill.

SPEECH

OF

HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,

OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 12, 1916.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill H. R. 18453, the Indian appropriation bill.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word, for the purpose of again calling the attention of the committee to something that the committee itself can not help, and that is, the peculiar condition of some wealthy and aged Indians of western Washington who own rich timberlands and are not permitted to sell the same, and who actually are dependent upon others for their daily food.

I have here a photograph of an old Indian woman, 103 years old, worth anywhere from $80,000 to $100,000. This picture was taken 10 or 12 years ago. She is now living with a nephew who is himself 100 years old. She is worth probably $100,000. Her condition is exactly like this. If my friend Mr. HEFLIN, the distinguished Member from Alabama, there, had a watch worth $100, and he wanted to raise $75 on it, and offered the watch for sale, and I was his guardian, I would say, "Yes; he can sell the watch if he gets $100 for it," but no one would put up the $100. Now, that is the situation of dozens and dozens of old Indians in the 19 tribes in southwestern Washington. I realize it is not a matter for this committee to waste time upon now, but it is a matter for the attention of the country.

Nearly all of these Indians have sick children now in the third generation. The children are dying off, and the old Indians are waiting along until they die. When their children die they have nothing with which to pay the bills. The undertaker then presents his bill, usually a good stiff one. A relative of this old Indian, Mrs. Mason, has lost three or four grandchildren in the last two years from consumption, and the undertaker's bill and associated bills, doctors, etc., in each case is from $200 to $300 and is unpaid, when it ought to be paid. I think that should be regulated by the guardian of these Indians, but if the undertaker has to wait from two to seven years for burying these Indians he will charge a pretty stiff sum and give them a pretty poor burial. If the Government is to be the guardian of these Indians, it should do something for them. I presume in my district there are 200 poor, old Indians who own timber lands, allotted and even unallotted, who are actually without food from day to day except as they get it from the white people or from relatives.

Mr. STEPHENS of Nebraska. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Yes.

Mr. STEPHENS of Nebraska. The reason for these large fees is usually due to the fact of the indifference of the department in settling these claims?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Absolutely, yes.

Mr. STEPHENS of Nebraska. Which makes the service so risky that men do not care to render the service to the Indians?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. And I might say also that to bury one of these Indians they have to go over almost impassable roads for 10 or 20 miles. This particular reservation, the Qui-nai-elt Reservation, which I presume is as large as the State of Rhode Island, has not a traversible road there.

Mr. NORTON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Yes.

Mr. NORTON. In my mail this morning, I received a statement from an undertaker for burying one of the Indians on the Standing Rock Reservation. It was a bill for $50.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. What has the gentleman from North Dakota to do with it?

Mr. NORTON. It was a bill that was referred to the Indian Department, and because of the fact that they were not prompt in paying it they referred it to me.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I contend that a Member of Congress should not have to be a go-between in settling the affairs of these Indians who are the wards of the Government.

Mr. Chairman, I make an appeal that a committee be appointed to investigate the handling of the funds which belong to these Indians. I do not desire to criticize any Indian Office official, but my contention is that the entire system is wrong. As an illustration of the complaints which I receive, I append the following letter in which a constituent says:

These Indian funds are kept in the bank or some other place and are used apparently in whatever way the local agent sees fit to use them. Taking it for granted that he uses his best judgment, it would seem to me the Indians ought to have some little something to say about this money received from the sale of their property.

They are as helpless as new-born babes. They seem to have no rights and can do nothing except as the local agent is willing to let them do. They are punished just as children for the most trivial matters. Some of these Indians—a drunken bunch—will get on a drunk and will be fined 10 days' work on the road or something like that, and the fines never imposed. Other Indians for the most trivial matter are fined 15 and 20 days and are compelled to work out their fines. Now, it seems peculiar that some of the Indians are punished in this way and others are not. There is a reason for this.

I wish it were possible that a committee could be sent out to investigate these various reservations and their conduct without having a special sent from the Indian Department itself. We will never accomplish anything with one of these specials from the Indian Department. They are all under the same umbrella, painted with the same political brush, and their motto is and always has been to stand together. I am not making any charges against any one in particular, but it seems to be a general system and it is not right.

If we could have an investigation by some one not in any way connected with the Indian Department, the whole underlying foundation of their methods would be torn to pieces. It is not right.

Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. CRAMTON,
OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 1, 1917.

Mr. CRAMTON. Mr. Speaker, availing myself of leave given me by the House, I desire to submit a few observations upon the question of prohibition of the alcoholic liquor traffic in the District of Columbia. Without attempting any general discussion of the merits of the question of prohibition itself, I desire only to touch upon the rapidly changing public sentiment concerning it.

Opening the debate upon the rule for consideration of this bill in the House, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HARRISON] commented upon the rapid progress of the prohibition movement in these later days. The liquor traffic is as old as humanity. With the use of liquor has always come abuse as well, and the movement for the prevention of such abuse has always accompanied the traffic. But what was in other days a solitary small voice here and there in the world, voicing an unheeded protest, has now become the ceaseless chant of vast multitudes, compelling the attention of rulers and lawmakers the world over, in despotism and in democracy.

PROGRESS OF SENTIMENT IN THE INDUSTRIAL WORLD.

Nowhere has the progress been more pronounced than in the industrial world. Two centuries ago a young American engaged as printer with Watts in London, and in his autobiography written for his son it is recorded how the solitary voice of Benjamin Franklin was in that day raised against the industrial folly of drink. There we read:

At my first admission into this printing house I took to working at press, imagining I felt a want of the bodily exercise I had been used to in America, where presswork is mixed with composing. I drank only water; the other workmen, nearly 50 in number, were great guzzlers of beer. On occasion, I carried up and down stairs a large form of types in each hand, when others carried but one in both hands. They wondered to see, from this and several instances, that the "water American," as they called me, was stronger than themselves, who drank strong beer. We had an alehouse boy who attended always in the house to supply the workmen. My companion at the press drank every day a pint before breakfast, a pint at breakfast with his bread and cheese, a pint between breakfast and dinner, a pint at dinner, a pint in the afternoon about 6 o'clock, and another when he had done his day's work. I thought it a detestable custom; but it was necessary, he supposed, to drink strong beer that he might be strong to labor. I endeavored to convince him that the bodily strength afforded by beer could only be in proportion to the grain or flour of the barley dissolved in the water of which it was made; that there was more flour in a pennyworth of bread; and, therefore, if he would eat that with a pint of water it would give him more strength than a quart of beer. He drank on, however, and had 4 or 5 shillings to pay out of his wages every Saturday night for that muddling liquor; an expense I was free from. And thus these poor devils keep themselves always under.

In these days when even the proprietor of a saloon prefers a bartender who does not drink, the view of the leaders of industry everywhere would condemn the Watts shop management on the ground of absolute inefficiency. Read the present day industrial view:

Of all the pernicious practices going on in this world, drink is at once the most common and most dangerous, and more sins can be directly traced to it than to any other cause. It is an exceedingly easy habit to drift into, and a difficult one to part with. The most deluded of all mortals is the so-called "moderate drinker." The moderate drinker does not know when to quit. He has the idea that his acquaintances and friends are drinking too much, and wakes up some morning somewhat surprised to find that they have the same opinion of him. There is only one safe thing to do, and that is to cut it out. If the signs of the times are being read aright, that is exactly what the world is doing. The sentiment against drinking is growing very rapidly, and the time is not far distant when the so-called moderate drinker will not be employed. Large undertakings can not be handled by men who are addicted to drink. No man is quite normal if he has taken even a single drink, because its immediate effect is to alter his point of view. In all industrial enterprises the drinking man is the first to be laid off in times of depression, and the last to be taken on in times of prosperity.

The railways of the United States are taking a firm stand on the subject, and any of its trainmen who are seen to enter or leave a saloon are liable to discharge. So great indeed is the revolution against alcohol that medical societies are declining to continue its use in prescriptions. Statistics prove that over 90 per cent of the men imprisoned for criminal practices have had intemperate habits, while alcohol creates more insanity than all other causes combined.

It is highly gratifying to note among the recommendations of the industrial committee the following:

"That all masters and chief engineers of the Lake Carriers' Association be instructed that temperance should be encouraged as much as possible among the crews and be made a consideration of promotion

as between men of otherwise equal merits. Further, that notice to the effect that drinking is prohibited aboard the boat and that no person be allowed to carry liquor aboard the vessel be posted in the rooms of the deck hands and firemen. Further, that the Lake Carriers' Association provide temperance pledges and buttons in their assembly rooms and aboard the vessels for free distribution to the men."

That reads much like a tract from the W. C. T. U., but it is found in the annual report of the Lake Carriers' Association for 1914, that great organization which represents the immense commerce upon the Great Lakes.

PROGRESS OF SENTIMENT IN THE FIELD OF MEDICINE.

In the field of medicine likewise the progress has been pronounced and is typified by resolutions adopted generally by organizations of physicians in Michigan in the recent State-wide campaign. At Detroit the following resolutions were adopted by a vote of 8 or 10 to 1 at a meeting attended by nearly 200 physicians:

Whereas the Wayne County Medical Society, as a result of the technical training and experience of its members, has intimate, accurate, and scientific knowledge of the deleterious effects of the moderate and immoderate uses of beverages containing alcohol upon the normal physiological functions so necessary to the prevention and cure of disease, and realizes that the deleterious effect of alcoholic beverages is a direct cause of many diseased processes, is a definite cause of lack of resistance to diseased processes from other causes, and that the elimination or decrease of the use of alcoholic beverages would be of the greatest service in preventing and curing diseases: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Wayne County Medical Society favor and urge State-wide prohibition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages.

I have at hand also the following resolutions adopted by many medical associations in the State:

Whereas it has been clearly established by the painstaking experiments of European and American scientists that alcohol is a definite poison; and

Whereas it is now well known that the general use of alcohol as a beverage is the direct or indirect cause of a very large percentage of our crime, insanity, epilepsy, feeble-mindedness, disease, divorce, child misery, and pauperism; and

Whereas the definition of alcohol as a poison contradicts all our inherited notions regarding its value as a food and beverage: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the undersigned physicians, hereby express to the people our earnest convictions regarding this vital matter as follows:

Resolved, That we positively condemn the beverage use of all alcoholic liquors, including wine and beer, because by their effects on the germ plasm they curse the unborn child; because even their moderate use has been proven to reduce the efficiency of the user; and because in multitudes of cases the continued use of alcohol in moderation proves to be impossible. The moderate drinker is a social menace. If he drinks without becoming a drunkard his example is certain to influence others, who, by imitating him, acquire an ungovernable appetite for liquor. If he finally passes from moderation to excess, as multitudes of moderate drinkers do, he and his family become a burden to society. It is impossible to know beforehand whether one will be able to drink moderately or not. After one finds out that he can not drink moderately it is generally too late to quit. Therefore total abstinence from all intoxicating liquors is the only guaranty of safety and of the highest personal efficiency.

MODIFIED POSITION OF CHAMPIONS OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

The number of protests that I have received from any source whatever against the passage of this bill is remarkably small. Among them are, however, two from one T. M. Gilmore, of Louisville, Ky., in his capacity as president of the Model License League (Inc.). Other correspondence in my files shows him in the capacity of president of Bonfort's Wine and Spirit Circular, protesting against the bill to restrict liquor advertising in dry States. Mr. Gilmore's connection with the liquor interests is therefore to be taken as not only friendly but sufficiently close, and his position of sufficient standing to constitute him a witness that would not be unfair to the liquor traffic.

Hence, as illustrative of the progress of sentiment concerning the traffic, even among those intimately connected with it, I quote the following from a letter from Mr. Gilmore to Dr. Lyman Abbott, dated February 11, 1910, and published with the correspondence between Mr. Gilmore and Dr. Abbott in the Outlook, March 19, 1910:

I agree with physicians that the excessive use of alcohol is a prolific cause of disease; with sociologists that it is a prolific cause of poverty; with penologists that it is a prolific cause of crime; and I agree with you that mankind should be educated either to avoid the use of alcohol altogether or to use it in moderation.

TREND OF SENTIMENT AS MANIFESTED AT THE BALLOT BOX.

But it is in the ballot box itself that the most striking evidence of progress of general public sentiment on this question is found. Without giving space to discussion of the general spread of dry territory, well known to us all, permit me to submit some analysis of the vote upon State-wide prohibition in Michigan last November. I desire to particularly emphasize the fact that no longer is the city vote assuredly wet. Long ago the wet forces conceded the rural sections to the drys and fell back to their strongly intrenched positions in the cities. Their strength there heretofore has been conceded by dry leaders. The Anti-Saloon League Year Book for 1916, saying—page 49:

The rural population has adopted the no-license policy more readily than the urban population, who live where the liquor traffic has a better opportunity to organize and thus resist more strongly the prohibition advance.

But now the cities fail them, and the end is near. In the Michigan election the cities of that State, thriving and growing centers of industry that they are, voted a judgment of expulsion from the State for the saloon.

THE CITIES NOW VOTE DRY.

There are in Michigan 24 cities, each with a population of 10,000 or over by the census of 1910, besides the village of Highland Park, the home of the Ford, which has a population now of more than 25,000. The vote in these 25 towns may fairly be called the urban vote of the State. That vote on the question of State-wide prohibition was—yes, 147,044; no, 134,710, a dry majority of 12,234. The vote by cities was:

City.	Now wet or dry.	Voted wet or dry.	Vote yes.	Vote no.	Population 1910.
Adrian	Dry...	Dry...	1,536	1,125	10,763
Alpena	Wet ..	Wet ..	999	1,122	12,706
Ann Arbor	...do ..	Dry...	2,548	1,516	14,817
Battle Creek	Dry...	...do ..	3,630	3,588	25,267
Bay City	Wet ..	...do ..	4,309	4,305	45,166
Detroit	...do ..	Wet ..	53,823	62,947	465,766
Escanaba	...do ..	...do ..	1,005	1,539	13,194
Flint	Dry...	Dry...	19,027	8,224	38,550
Grand Rapids	Wet ..	...do ..	14,989	11,948	112,571
Holland	...do ..	...do ..	1,447	910	10,490
Ironwood	...do ..	...do ..	188	131	12,821
Ishpeming	Wet ..	...do ..	1,145	867	12,448
Jackson	...do ..	...do ..	5,447	4,039	31,433
Kalamazoo	Dry...	...do ..	7,904	6,093	39,437
Lansing	...do ..	...do ..	6,496	3,924	31,229
Manistee	Wet ..	Wet ..	2,058	2,529	12,381
Marquette	...do ..	...do ..	1,093	1,111	11,503
Menominee	...do ..	...do ..	1,798	2,686	10,507
Muskegon	...do ..	...do ..	2,951	3,558	24,062
Pontiac	Dry...	Dry...	2,757	1,973	14,532
Port Huron	Wet ..	...do ..	2,321	2,027	18,863
Saginaw	...do ..	Wet ..	4,958	5,529	50,510
Sault Ste. Marie	...do ..	Dry...	1,191	929	12,615
Traverse City	Dry...	...do ..	1,271	974	12,115
Highland Park	...do ..	...do ..	2,153	1,116	4,120
Total	.....	.....	147,044	134,710	.....

Urban dry majority, 12,234.

Every town which is now dry by reason of village or county prohibition gave a majority for State-wide prohibition, thereby expressing their approval of prohibition as experienced by them, even in a limited area. In this list are eight places—Adrian, Battle Creek, Flint, Kalamazoo, Lansing, Pontiac, Traverse City, and Highland Park. Quite noteworthy, also, nine other cities, now well supplied with saloons, did not by their vote likewise approve of their experience therewith, and voted to oust their own saloons and all others in the State—Ann Arbor, Bay City, Grand Rapids, Holland, Ironwood, Ishpeming, Jackson, Port Huron, and the Soo.

That great industrial center, Detroit, having almost doubled its population since the last census was taken, with its extensive foreign quarters, and its new labor elements drawn from all the world, went against prohibition by only a small majority. Flint, the home of the Buick, the Chevrolet, the Dort, the Patterson, a great manufacturing city, with an increase of population of 40,000 in six years, for several years without saloons, voted more than two to one to have none in the State. Lansing, the capital city, which has prospered and developed without saloons and found that both laws and automobiles can be made without the presence of saloons, voted overwhelmingly against them.

THE PROHIBITION BAND WAGON RUNNING AT HIGH SPEED.

In Michigan it can not be said that prohibition is forced upon the cities by the rural vote. The industrial centers, through the votes of employer and employee alike, have declared against the paralyzing and wasteful influence of the saloon upon industry. The city and the country joined together in ridding Michigan of the saloon. The prohibition band wagon is a 12-cylinder car, recognizes no speed limits, travels city pavements as well as country roads, and shies not at street cars or factory whistles.

Statement by Arthur MacDonald.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. LLOYD,
OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. LLOYD. Mr. Speaker, I submit herewith a statement prepared by Arthur MacDonald, Washington, D. C., honorary president of the Third International Congress of Criminal Anthropology of Europe and author of Man and Abnormal Man. I am in no sense responsible for his views and do not stand sponsor for them, but I am of the opinion that he has the right to have his information given to the public for what it is worth, and therefore present them in what follows:

Peace and war are fundamental phenomena in the study of anthropology. Peace is normal, war is abnormal. From the scientific point of view war is not only abnormal, but a sociological monstrosity, and belongs under the head of teratology, a science which treats of all kinds of monsters in nature. The monstrosity consists in militarism or navalism forcing itself into the new humanity; it may be called atavistic or a return to a primitive state.

War is probably an anthropological necessity, and if this war had not come now it might have started later, and would have been still more terrible. But no one can make a virtue out of this necessity.

In the study of the present war the psychological element is of much more significance than in former wars, due mainly to great increase in facilities of communication, as telephone, telegraph, and wireless telegraphy. Thus the mental condition of a country can be much more easily and quickly inflamed than ever before in history. The dangers therefore of becoming involved in the conflict are correspondingly greater, and the unexpected can happen before its seriousness may be realized, perilizing the future and even involving a nation in war against its desire and will.

Almost all of our ideas are caused, whether they are right or wrong; they get their cue naturally before we are conscious of it. We imagine to ourselves that we can think as we please, but nothing, as a matter of fact, is further from the truth, as will be evident to anyone who lives in foreign countries, and experiences how intelligent people hold opposite views from his own on often very simple matters. The psychological mechanism of the mind is almost as rigid as the physiological mechanism of the brain; thus a conviction is something we can not doubt—it is an idea or combination of ideas we can not separate, a habit of thought we can not change—in brief, a mechanism that compels our thought.

The danger of American citizens being maltreated and killed by accident, by mobs or otherwise, increases as the belligerents become more desperate and reckless, and, as a natural consequence, careless of the rights of neutrals. But the neutrals themselves are liable to become nervous and irritable, and so more susceptible to warlike spirit through reading the newspapers, especially when horrors are described and often exaggerated. Such stirring up of the feelings or excitement from some sudden catastrophe inflames the popular mind and can force a nation into war without sufficient reason.

Just as a man can be his own enemy, so a nation can, especially in abnormal conditions, which are the most extreme in the world at present; under such circumstances, general principles, even the highest, are not necessarily to be followed. To so act on the general principles of humanity as to lead a nation into war is a questionable humanity. It is not a general principle so much as a practical question which confronts us. It is this: Is what we want to do for our good? The question is not the good of humanity, nor the good of the world or universe. Humanity, like charity, begins at home. From an extended experience of talking with all classes of Americans and purposely stirring up pro-German and anti-German feeling, I am convinced that we all want peace, and I am equally convinced that peace is for our good, especially in our state of unpreparedness for war.

EXPERIENCE IN WAR CREATES HATRED OF WAR.

If everyone could have a taste of war, this would probably bring an end to it. If the public knew really what war was, they would not allow it to be declared.

It must be remembered that the amount of suffering varies often with the capacity to suffer, which is greatest in the healthy strong man. The wasting processes of disease usually lessen the capacity of suffering, so that in most deaths there is little or no pain; the patient is often unconscious, and passes away without suffering. But the wounded in battle are alive and can endure most excruciating pain. The soldiers are there to lacerate each other's bodies and break one another's bones, if they can not kill each other outright, which is often more merciful, for the wounds may mean pain, misery, and woe for the rest of their lives.

If every official in power, if everyone who is influential in causing a nation to go to war, were in as much danger of suffering the physical pains and horrors of war as is the lot of the ordinary soldier, very few wars would occur.

For a few persons to cause thousands to suffer the horrors and tortures of war, generally contrary to their wills, is inherently unjust and should not be permitted longer.

SENSE OF JUSTICE DESTROYED BY WAR.

It will be found that even distinguished jurists, who in a case of law or equity would not vary a hair's breadth from strict justice, will be ex parte or one sided in their opinions as to justice between nations, especially in time of war. This psychological anachronism may perhaps be due inconsciously to the deep-seated antagonistic feelings that have existed for thousands of years in our remote ancestors; they have also been present for hundreds of thousands of years in tribes, races, and peoples. These past experiences seem to have left psychological tendencies, which make it easier for the human mind to hate than to love, to dislike than to like, to antagonize rather than to agree with, especially when conditions arise which produce friction. Whether inherently man hates easier than he loves is an uncertain question, yet conditions which develop friction seem much more frequent than those which tend to harmony. This is desirable to a certain extent, as we all recognize that a certain amount of struggle and effort are good for the development of everyone, but unfortunately the friction often becomes excessive, and the weaker tendencies in man manifest themselves.

The persistent and tenacious character of antagonistic feeling seems as manifest as ever in the world. Thus long before the present war, in times of peace there has been little indication of any love between nations; while on the other hand there is much to indicate extreme rivalry and jealousy among them all, in varied degrees according mainly to conflict of their economical interests. They seem always to be looking at each other with suspicious eyes. This distrust between nations is increased by secret compacts. Diplomacy is not noted for it frankness and is not always synonymous with honesty, as will be mentioned later.

This country is prepared for defense, as shown by the statement of Gen. Erasmus Weaver before the House Committee on Military Affairs. He stated:

"We have the best coast defenses in the world. The guns now mounted and those contemplated will give us an entirely satisfactory defense."

Admiral Fletcher, of the Navy, said of the navies of other countries:

FRANCE.

Mr. WITHERSPOON. Now, take France. This Navy Yearbook says that France has a grand total of battleships, built, building, and authorized, of 29—11 less than we have.

Admiral FLETCHER. Yes.

Mr. WITHERSPOON. Would you not say, if she sent all of hers against us, we would be able to successfully resist them?

Admiral FLETCHER. Yes; our forces available being the greater.

Mr. WITHERSPOON. And if she only sent one-half of them we would not have much of a fight, would we?

Admiral FLETCHER. No; we ought not to.

Mr. WITHERSPOON. That is the way I look at it.

JAPAN.

Mr. WITHERSPOON. Here is Japan, which according to the Navy Yearbook, has only 19 battleships, or 21 less than we have got. If Japan should send all of her 19 against us, do you not think we would be able successfully to resist them?

Admiral FLETCHER. Yes. I should say so, if our forces were free to meet them at the time.

Mr. WITHERSPOON. And if she did not send but half of them, there would not be much of a scrap, would there?

Admiral FLETCHER. Probably not.

RUSSIA.

Mr. WITHERSPOON. Now, here is Russia, that the Navy Yearbook says has a grand total of 15 battleships, completed and building. If she should send all of them against us, would you not say that we could successfully resist them?

Admiral FLETCHER. Yes, sir.

Mr. WITHERSPOON. And if she sent half of them, there would not be any fight at all, would there?

Admiral FLETCHER. Not much.

ITALY.

Mr. WITHERSPOON. Here is Italy that has a grand total, according to the Navy Yearbook, of 17 battleships. We could successfully resist them whether she sent all of them or a part of them, could we not?

Admiral FLETCHER. Yes; I think so.

Mr. WITHERSPOON. Yes; I do, too.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Mr. WITHERSPOON. Now, Austria-Hungary, according to the Navy Yearbook, has a grand total of battleships, built and building, of 10. We could successfully resist them, could we not?

Admiral FLETCHER. I think so.

ENGLAND ALONE TO FEAR.

Mr. WITHERSPOON. Then what nation is there that we are not prepared to successfully resist? There is not one on earth, is there, Admiral—not a single one?

Admiral FLETCHER. Well, Judge, I think there is.

Mr. WITHERSPOON. Well, which one? I have gone through the big ones. Tell me which one.

Admiral FLETCHER. I should say England has a navy so much more powerful than that of any other nation in the world that she could easily keep control of the seas.

Mr. WITHERSPOON. England. Well, what other one, then?

Admiral FLETCHER. I do not think that we need greatly fear any other single nation.

Mr. WITHERSPOON. There is no other nation, except England, that in your judgment we could not successfully defend ourselves against; I mean, except England.

Admiral FLETCHER. I think that is correct. Yes.

The following is a list of publications which those interested in peace or war should read:

Peace, War, and Humanity. Printed by Judd & Detweiler, Washington, D. C., 26 pages, 1915, 8°.

Comparative Militarism. Reprint from publications of the American Statistical Association, Boston, December, 1915, 3 pages, 8°.

Atrocities and Outrages of War. Reprint from the Pacific Medical Journal, San Francisco, April, 1916, 16 pages, 8°. Gives data for Civil War, Boer War, Bulgaria and Russia and Germany.

Some Moral Evils of War. Reprint from Pacific Medical Journal, San Francisco, August, 1916, 8 pages, 8°. Refers especially to Boer War.

Reasons for Peace. Machinist's Monthly Journal, Washington, D. C., July, 1916, pages 708–710, 8°.

Choosing between War and Peace. Reprint from Western Medical Times, Denver, Colo., 6 pages, 8°.

Statement of European War. Reprint from Pacific Medical Journal, San Francisco, Cal., February, 1917, 8 pages, 8°.

Prevention of War. Reprint from CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Washington, D. C., February 27, 1917, 8 pages, 8°.

Military Training in the Public Schools. Educational Exchange, Birmingham, Ala., February and March, 1917.

Letter From Maj. H. B. Campbell, Eighth Massachusetts Infantry, National Guard.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Wednesday, February 21, 1917.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I insert the following letter:

HAVERHILL, MASS., *December 22, 1916.*

Hon. A. P. GARDNER, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Allow me to thank you for your kind consideration of my letter of December 5, and for all the trouble I have put you to.

The papers have quoted Gens. Scott and Wood and Members of both Houses on the National Guard and its failure in the recent mobilization. Having been, as you know, a member of the militia and the National Guard, so called, for about 16 years, and having been "mobilized," I am conceited enough to think I know something about its condition and workings. The War Department, the Regular Army, and the National Guard each did the best they could under a jumble of laws the like of which can only be found in a Government like ours.

All intelligent and thinking National Guard officers believe the volunteer system a failure, and the National Guard, composed of 48 units, or parts of units, and with 48 minds and ways of doing things is worse. The election of officers is pernicious and the "dual oath" confusing.

In case of a great war this county will need every man in some capacity, so why not find out now how many fighting men we have, how many are fit to drive teams or auto trucks, how many are only fit for munition plants, etc., and have them listed and assigned in advance of trouble?

We—and by "we" I mean every National Guard officer I have talked with—want every man, rich or poor, to be obliged to do his share as soldier, driver, munition maker, etc., according to his physical ability; and we want Federal control and support only.

Have I made myself clear?

You may use this letter or not as you see fit.

Sincerely, yours,

H. B. CAMPBELL,
Major, Eighth Massachusetts Infantry,
National Guard.

Vocational Education.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD E. BROWNE,
OF WISCONSIN,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. BROWNE. Mr. Speaker, national aid for education is not new.

Congress, in 1862, passed what is known as the Morrill Agricultural College Act, which was signed by President Lincoln.

The Morrill Act gave to the various States large tracts of valuable public lands for the purpose of enabling the States to erect and maintain agricultural and mechanical colleges.

James Buchanan, who took the same view of this question as some do to-day, vetoed a bill similar to the Morrill Act passed by Congress, assigning the reason "that education was purely a State function." Lincoln, however, favored it and believed that national aid would be a great stimulus to agriculture, which he argued was an occupation requiring much study, as well as experience. In 1859 Lincoln, speaking at the State fair of Wisconsin, held at Milwaukee, said:

> No other human occupation opens so wide a field for profitable and agreeable combination of labor with cultivated thought as agriculture.

The stimulus given to agriculture by national aid has been wonderful. For every dollar this Government has appropriated for agricultural education and experiment, it has been compensated more than a hundredfold.

The believers in vocational education are therefore asking the Federal Government to give aid and encouragement to industrial education the same as it does agricultural education.

NECESSITY OF INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION.

Twenty-three million five hundred thousand children are attending school in the United States, according to the United States Bureau of Education. In other words, approximately 24 per cent of the inhabitants of this country are attending school.

The taxpayers are paying each year for the support of our schools over $600,000,000. The highest tax that every taxpayer pays, whether he lives in the city or country, is the school tax. Every taxpayer is, therefore, entitled and should insist upon having the most efficient school that it is possible to have.

Are the common schools of America meeting the requirements of this twentieth century civilization?

I give you the facts and you can answer that question for yourself.

Each year over 1,000,000 school children stop school without having finished the sixth grade and without having been taught the first principles of supporting themselves. Eighty-five per cent of all the children that enter the public schools of the United States leave school before reaching their sixteenth year or completing the eighth grade. The whole aim of our educational system is to prepare pupils for the high school, and the high school to prepare for the college or university. What percentage of the school children enter the high schools? Eight per cent. Ninety-two per cent never pass over the threshold of a high school. Of the 8 per cent who enter the high schools only 3 per cent graduate, and only a small per cent of this 3 per cent ever go to college.

Notwithstanding these startling facts we go on, year after year, devoting our best energies and giving our whole attention to the 3 per cent who appear on the commencement platform in our high schools, and we lose complete sight and interest in the 97 per cent.

Is an educational system that permits 97 per cent, or over 1,000,000, of its children to go out into the world without being taught any form of labor by which they can support themselves a success? Many of these children leave school because of poverty, many leave school because they never intend to go to college or follow any of the professions, and they see no practical benefits to be derived from over half of their studies they are compelled to take. But whatever the causes are for the 97 per cent leaving school before ever entering the high school, it is a condition and not a theory that confronts us.

SCHOOLS NOT MEETING THE DEMANDS.

Is the crying demand that this twentieth century civilization is making upon the coming generation for efficiency being met? What opportunity for advancement are we offering the boys and girls of to-day who are to become the men and women and future citizens of to-morrow?

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION A REMEDY.

Industrial education, as defined by this bill, means that kind of a practical education which will prepare girls and boys for useful employment and make them self-supporting. In other words, we want every child to be given a practical education that will enable that child to become self-supporting. Whether it be in agriculture, domestic sciences, the manual trades, or the professions, we want every child to become as skilled in the trade or employment followed as his capacity will permit.

Industrial education, when it reaches the perfection that I believe it ultimately will reach, will go with its pupil to the workshop, the farm, the home, the factory, or the counting-house and allow the pupil to work part time at the vocation he is studying, returning to the school for further instruction. This is done to-day in some of the cities in the United States where vocational education has reached a high state of perfection.

We want our education so practical and complete that it will awaken a boy's ambition before he has been at school a year; an education so practical and inspiring that when a boy enters the back door of the factory his first day, the light shining from the front and upstairs will point the way to him to the superintendent's chair and be an incentive to the highest achievement.

EDUCATION THE GREATEST CONSERVATION MOVEMENT.

Industrial education, viewed from a purely commercial standpoint, is the greatest conservation movement we can undertake. To add 10 cents per day to the earning capacity of the working people of the United States would increase the national wealth $750,000,000 annually. To add 25 per cent would add $1,870,000,000.

OTHER COUNTRIES.

Other countries are recognizing the importance of industrial education. Bismarck 30 years ago saw the great possibilities in such an education and made the industrial education a part of the school system of Germany.

To-day 55 per cent of the master mechanics in German industries, both technical and managerial, have come from the ranks of boys who left school at from 12 to 14 years of age and went into industrial training.

GREAT EFFICIENCY NEEDED IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

At the close of the European war there will be the greatest contest for commercial and industrial supremacy among the nations that the world has ever known.

The United States has had an advantage in the past because of her almost inexhaustible natural resources. Our virgin soil, our public domain, where homesteads could be obtained for the asking, our great forests, that furnished untold wealth and gave employment to millions, are fast disappearing.

Conditions are materially changing. Our population has doubled in the last 20 years. Our public lands which are subject to cultivation without the expenditure of capital are gone. Our urban population increased in the last 10 years, according to our census, 50 per cent, while the rural population increased only 11.02 per cent. To support our large urban population we will be obliged to give them employment. In the future we will be obliged to keep our raw material at home and manufacture it into the finished product and give employment to our own labor. That labor must be highly skilled. Sixty per cent of our great cotton crop is exported to other nations and gives employment to their labor. We are sending cotton to Switzerland at from 14 to 20 cents per pound and buying it back at $40 a pound in fine handkerchiefs and other fine fabrics. In many of our skilled trades we have sent to Europe for foremen and skilled workers. With industrial education we will manufacture our raw material at home and sell abroad more brains and less raw material.

In my opinion, Mr. Speaker, no more important legislation has been considered in a generation than this vocational education bill.

Armed Merchant Ships.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM W. WILSON,

OF ILLINOIS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. WILSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the respect I have for the opinions of mankind, in this day of national and international complications, when all the world is aflame with passion and hatred and sober judgment has taken flight on the wings of the wind, compels me to declare the causes, or motives, which moved me to vote as I did in refusing to give my sanction to the delegation of the power of Congress to our President as set forth in what is commonly known as the Flood-Stone armed-neutrality bill before Congress.

It is not my purpose, and whatever may be my right, I will not now, or at any other time, assume the right to criticize, condemn, or question the good faith of President Wilson or any man sitting on the floor of either House of Congress for anything he may have done, and to each and every one I give full faith and credit, if he has followed the honest and fearless dictates of his mind and heart, after due and careful consideration of the effect of his vote on this great national question, which affects not only us in this day and age, but generations to come, and which goes to the very vitals of our scheme of government which the fathers and founders of our country devised and established in the fullness of their wisdom, experience, and patriotism.

Every American knows, as it is taught in our homes, our churches, and our schools, that the cornerstone of our liberty, which has given us such a prominent place as a nation and a people in the affairs of the world, is the distinct and clearly marked line between the functions of the three great coordinate branches of our form of government.

The Constitution of the United States declares in most positive terms, in separate and distinct articles, that the executive power shall be vested in a President, and defines his duties and obligations; the legislative power shall be vested and imposed in a Congress, and defines those powers.

Section 8, Article I, of the Constitution says:

> The Congress shall have power to declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water.

I will not discuss what are the powers of our President, irrespective of those which it was sought to give him in the armed-neutrality bill, against which I voted.

I do not intend to make any excuse or defense of my position or vote on this grave question, but in order that all of the people of the district which I have the honor to represent may be advised, I distinctly and unreservedly declare that I have not one word of regret or apology to make for the position I took, and for which I have been freely and cruelly criticized.

I think it is due my friends that they should know just why I was unwilling to disregard what I considered to be my solemn duty and obligation under my oath of office and vote for the passage of the bill and thus avoid harsh criticism and win the praise and applause of thousands, which I could easily have done by following the great majority in Congress, and smothering all conscientious scruples.

As a Member of Congress I have imposed upon me the duty of safeguarding, in so far as it may be in my power, the rights of the people of the United States under the Constitution, as does every man serving in a representative capacity, and I can not conceive of a more serious and solemn occasion than when a Member of Congress casts his vote on any question that may or would tend to plunge a hundred million people into the cruel and savage war which is devastating Europe and making a desert waste of the garden spots of the world.

I have always tried to approach each question upon which I have ever cast a vote during the last 15 years with a consciousness of my serious duty and obligation to the people I represent.

I have never felt a graver or greater responsibility than now.

Nor given any question more thought and study.

Nor had a more determined conviction that I was right in acting as I did, regardless of my future political career, than when I voted.

Not against the President of the United States.

Not against the interest of my country.

Not against the protection of American industries and our various rights upon the seas by armed neutrality.

Not against the protection of the lives of Americans at any place or at any time.

Not against preparation and preparedness to defend our national life and national honor or our homes, our institutions, or our country's welfare, *as some would have you believe.*

But against violating the fundamental principles upon which our national existence depends and has survived and weathered the storms and trials and troubles of an ambitious, brave, and fearless people for over 100 years.

Against the surrender of the rights and functions of the legislative branch of our Government or the delegating of the power of Congress to the executive branch of our Government and the placing of such authority in the hands of any one man who is now in power or who may hereafter be in power.

Against establishing a precedent, contrary to the spirit of our form of Government, and which may be used at a more dangerous time, and thus destroy that great safeguard which our forefathers, in whose wisdom the great principles of our national existence were conceived and clearly defined, and who established the three great coordinate branches of our form of government.

The delegation of the legislative power of our Government to our President, the surrender not only of those rights but of our duties and our obligations to our people, is a precedent, a new and untried step in the history of our country, which no other President of the United States has ever requested, desired, or sought during any of the critical stages of our national existence.

History records no such requests from Washington to Jackson, from Jackson to Polk, from Polk to Lincoln, from Lincoln to Grant, from Grant to Cleveland, and Cleveland to McKinley.

Why should we grant it now?

I believe the people of the third congressional district of Illinois expect me to do my duty as I see it, honestly and fearlessly, *and without hope or thought of future reward.*

I do not believe anyone expects me to do anything that would tend to destroy the scheme of our national affairs, and I can not conceive of any greater violation of an oath, to uphold and defend our Constitution, than to delegate to another, be he ever so capable and patriotic, because of popular clamor and hope of public praise, the power to determine the destiny of our country.

Chief Justice Marshall, speaking for the United States Supreme Court, over 100 years ago, in the case of Cohens *v.* Virginia (19 U. S., 389), said:

> It is very true that whenever hostility to the existing system shall become universal it shall also become irresistible. The people made the Constitution, and the people can unmake it. It is the creation of their own will and lives only by their will. But the supreme and irresistible power to make or unmake resides only in the whole body of the people, not in any subdivision of them. The attempt of any of the parts to exercise it is usurpation, and ought to be repelled by those to whom the people have delegated that power of repelling it. The acknowledged inability of the Government, then, to sustain itself against the public will, and, by force or otherwise, to control the whole Nation is no sound argument in support of its constitutional inability to preserve itself against a section of the nation acting in opposition to the general will.

In Wilkerson *v.* Rahrer (140 U. S., 545) Chief Justice Fuller, speaking for the same court, said:

It does not admit of argument that Congress can neither delegate its own powers nor enlarge those of a State.

I could cite numerous and distinguished authority to the same effect, but the opinion of that sturdy American patriot, Justice Marshall, who had so much to do with the blazing of the way of our judicial procedure, and whose judicial interpretations of the Constitution have never been successfully attacked, and who spoke at a time when he was inhaling the patriotic atmosphere of the framers of the Constitution and the sound principles upon which were based the hopes of our future as a free people, can now best speak to the American people in this hour of the greatest and most trying crisis of our national existence.

When our President shall inform Congress, as he is directed to do by his oath of office and the Constitution, that the needs and demands of the country require certain legislation, and if, after careful, full, and deliberate consideration and investigation, it shall appear that the most drastic measures for protection and defense are needed, *he will find, and the people will learn, that no one is more willing or more anxious than I to discharge my duties and vote in support of such legislation in the future as I have done in the past.*

You will find from my record that I have been advocating and working for full and adequate preparedness for the last three years; that I have voted for every such measure that has been up for consideration in Congress during that time; and that I have been no less critical and disgusted with the manner in which such legislation has been handled, in and out of Congress, than have all of the people who are for real substantial preparedness.

We are not, at this time, as well prepared to go to war with Germany as we were last year when we went to war with Mexico.

I can not, as a red-blooded American, bear to see the heart and brains of the best young men in this country spilled on an unprepared soil.

There is another reason why I voted against the armed-ship neutrality bill.

It gives the President authority and power to supply American merchant vessels with guns, gunners, and ammunition, and the right to use them for the purpose of shooting and destroying at sight any German submarine that might be found on the high seas. It places in him the gravest responsibility that can be imagined, and clothes him with unlimited authority.

It authorizes him to place in the hands of a few gunners on American merchant trading vessels, while they are at sea working for a profit-seeking, private corporation, the peace and security of a great and proud Nation of over a hundred million people.

It gives them the right and power to wage war on another nation which is trying to be friendly with us while in the throes of a life and death struggle, as are all of the warring European countries; all fighting like wild beasts at bay, and paying little attention or respect to the welfare of neutral nations when their own interests are at stake.

If the American vessels and gunners do not come in contact with German submarines, and if Great Britain does not exercise the right of search, confiscation, and censorship of our mails, and if they would be permitted to travel unmolested to other neutral ports with their cargoes and noncontraband of war no serious trouble would occur, but that is begging the question, and is not the purpose of the proposed law, and such a desired condition can not be expected under these trying circumstances, as many of the American vessels will be laden with guns, powder, and shells, and all kinds of war munitions intended for the warring nations of Europe, and may be destroyed at sight.

If such an act is committed and the lives and property of American citizens are destroyed, the question of declaring war will then be considered by the Congress of the United States as decreed by the Constitution.

Why should we tempt fate?

Why should we court and encourage acts of war while we are prosperous, happy, and at peace with all the world, in this day of war-maddened strife, when the nations of Europe are at each other's throats, *and no rule of reason governs their conduct,* to secure a doubtful, insecure, and disputed right on the high seas, for the sake of private gain and jeopardize the peaceful welfare of our country with its millions of people.

I understand all of our differences with Great Britain, and they are many, are to be settled after the war, by peaceful arbitration.

What is the reason the same peaceful course can not be pursued with all the warring nations?

I have given you some of the material and substantial reasons why I voted against a resolution which would in all probability cause war and surrender the power of Congress and the people to one man, but there is another reason, which is as potent and powerful and just and righteous, and that is the moral side of the question which must be considered, because we are a moral, God-fearing, peace-loving people, who condemn the present war as the most brutal, wicked, useless, and senseless of mankind, and which we believe is, at this very hour, knocking at every door of every American home.

The horrors of it are all so vivid and ghastly that our senses are paralyzed and we tremble with fear that we may all be plunged into it beyond recall before we know it, if some step be taken or something be said or done by some one in high political life that can not be repudiated, although their motives be the highest, their ideals the loftiest, their patriotism the purest and truest and noblest of all men.

I fear our peace and happiness, our prosperity and freedom, our homes and institutions, are all at stake, hanging in the balance over an abyss of misery and desolation, which can only be contemplated by comparison with the misery and desolation found in the trenches, and on the battle fields, and in the homes of warring Europe.

No human being can predict when this war will be over, or what will be the final result, or the cost in life, health, and wealth to this country if we go into it.

We all know the warring nations have all drawn heavily during the last three years on their men and resources, and if we go or are drawn into it against our will, we can not honorably escape a like fate.

Not to bear our full share of the burdens of war as a nation would be pursuing a base and cowardly course, and a disgrace to the best traditions of our country.

The only way we can realize the awful cost in life and property to this country is to gaze on war-stricken Europe, where five million (5,000,000) brave, patriotic, useful men are lying dead on their battle fields and eight or ten millions more crippled or blinded for life; where some twelve or fifteen million families, like yours and mine, have been sorrowed and broken up forever; where millions upon millions of children are made fatherless and homeless; where untold millions of wives and mothers, like yours and mine, are made widows, mourning and bewailing the loss of husbands and sons, like you and me. When every nation is bankrupt, with sorrow, misery, poverty, and war debts, which are increased each day to untold millions, and which now aggregate approximately one hundred and fifty billion dollars ($150,000,000,000), which is more than the total wealth of the United States, and the war is not yet over.

Who believes this great war loss will ever be paid; and if so, who will bear the burden?

Should this country, without due deliberation by that branch of government upon which is bestowed the power to declare war, join in the terrible conflict, because of some fancied wrong to our national honor, or an infraction of some disputed international principle of law, by war-crazed nations which can not get out of their frightful situation without surrendering their national existence?

Does anyone think we should be a party to this war and possibly be compelled to assume a part of the tremendous loss the nations have sustained?

Do you realize that when this war is over and peace has been declared thirty million (30,000,000) soldiers, with aching hearts and heavy feet, will return to their homes and find "crêpe on every door knob," empty chairs at every table and around every fireside; public institutions, asylums, hospitals, and public parks filled with their old friends and neighbors as victims of a war waged for years to settle some fancied wrong or doubtful international question?

Do you wonder I do not want this country to go to war?

Do you wonder I did not vote to give our President the power to cause, or give cause, for war, and later ask Congress to declare war and save our national honor?

Do you wonder I am opposed to creating a one-man power in our country?

Do you wonder I refused to surrender any of my constitutional obligations or power as your Member of Congress?

Do you wonder that I wanted the President to keep Congress in session during all of this trouble?

Do you wonder that I think there never was a time in our history when our President needed help and patriotic advice more than is needed at this time?

President Wilson requested all neutral nations who have suffered as we have and whose grievances are no less than ours, individually and collectively, to join with him in forcing Germany to discontinue her ruthless and unlawful submarine warfare, and each and everyone refused to follow him, except China.

Why do they not arm and man their ships and fight for freedom of the seas?

I wonder if they, too, do not expect to settle their differences by peaceful arbitration.

The great reason for the President's request for plenary power and his apparent anxiety to discharge Congress from further deliberation on the momentous questions facing us at this time, were understood to be the unwillingness to have Congress remain in session after the expiration of the present Congress, and I here announce and declare that as long as the demands of my country require, as long as emergencies exist, as long as the exigencies of our national affairs demand it, I am not only willing and glad to remain at my post of duty, but I decline to voluntarily yield my rights, privileges, and duties under my oath of office, or by any act of my own or sanction of the action of a majority, even though it be overwhelming in numbers, of the Members of our National Legislature, to be denied the opportunity to do my full duty as I may see it and as God gives me power to perform it.

I have endeavored, possibly all too briefly, to give the reasons for my vote against the armed-neutrality resolution to confer upon the executive branch of this Government the legislative functions which only the Congress can execise, and neither criticism, threats, nor any form of personal calamity which may be impending over me can swerve or change my avowed course of conduct in this or in any other matter where I conceive my duty to lie in a certain channel.

If the people of the third Illinois district are not willing to have as their Representative in Congress one whose sole purpose is to safeguard the fundamental institutions of our Government, protect and preserve the principles upon which our national welfare exists and do his full duty to them, to the whole people of that State and to the citizens of this great Republic, then they not only erred in sending me here with the seal of their approval on seven different occasions, but they err in keeping me here, and if they want someone to violate the trusts imposed in him, to surrender their rights and delegate the powers and duties which I enjoy, then it shall be their privilege to choose someone else at another time.

Life and Character of the Late Senator Clarke.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. GOODWIN,
OF ARKANSAS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, February 18, 1917.

The House had under consideration the following resolution (H. Res. 512):

Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended, that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. JAMES P. CLARKE, late a Senator from the State of Arkansas.

Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and in recognition of his distinguished public career, the House, at the conclusion of the exercises of this day, shall stand adjourned.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

Resolved, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased.

Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas. The death of Senator CLARKE removed from the Senate one of the most striking figures in American public life. Courageous, quick in apprehension, direct, at all times forceful, possessing a keen, analytical mind, discriminating to a rare degree and with an aptitude for the solution of complex political questions, he easily rose to first rank and then to leadership among the trained veterans in the upper branch of the Federal Legislature.

No one can adequately review in brief compass the varied activities and accomplishments of Senator CLARKE; for, indeed, his life was one of strenuous devotion to certain concepts of duty, and once his mind was fixed as to his duty he was immovable. It has been said by those unacquainted with Senator CLARKE that party ties and obligations hung loosely on his shoulders. That he manifested a rare independence along party lines in their common acceptation his best friend would not gainsay; but an analysis of that independence will disclose that his breaking away from party ties was largely based upon constitutional grounds or upon those matters that pertained to the welfare of the Nation. Hailing from a State where party regularity has been a condition precedent to political success, it took rare courage to be independent of party action or the decrees of party caucus.

I have often thought that Senator CLARKE did himself a great injustice in not participating oftener in the discussion of the public questions upon the floor of the Senate. For, indeed, everything he touched he illumined by his mental alertness and adorned with grace and an unaffected wealth of rare and limpid English. Few men have entered public life better equipped for public service than Senator CLARKE. Gifted by nature as few men are; possessed of a prescience that enabled him to read the minds of men and to almost divine the oncoming of the times; second to no man as a lawyer, he stood high as a statesman of first rank, lending always dignity to the Senate and honor to the Commonwealth he represented. His was a stupendous figure. He died, no doubt, as he had wished—at the zenith of a career distinguished for public service.

With all of his varied accomplishments Senator CLARKE doubtless was greatest as a lawyer. I doubt, indeed, if he had a superior at the American bar. It is true his life was devoted largely to statecraft, yet during all of his political career he never abandoned his chosen field of endeavor, but always kept abreast with the evolution of the law and the decisions of the courts. Few men possessed the rare discriminating judgment that characterized Senator CLARKE as to the interpretation and the construction of the law or its application to government. A great part of our law—the fundamentals—are inherited from the Roman law, which was transplanted to English soil. At first, of course, there was no general code of law; but certain great principles having been enunciated, these were finally crystallized into maxims, and these maxims—the datum posts, signboards, or finger pointers to certain great principles—were adopted, and around these maxims the Roman law gravitated and evolved; and no man can be a great lawyer unless he thoroughly understands and appreciates these datum posts of the law, their justness, and the reason why these maxims have been woven into the fabric of the law. In other words, Mr. Speaker, law in its final analysis is not merely a philosophy but a science, and few men understood better the science, the reason for the great elementary underlying principles of the law than did the late Senator CLARKE. And no man can be a statesman, no man can be a lawmaker in the true sense of that term unless he has an understanding of these great principles of society and their application to the pattern of good government. For, after all, governments are instituted among men, not for the sole purpose of manufacturing the machinery to govern men, but to equalize the burdens of the Government; to fashion and to apply justice to all alike, and to restrain the strong from overpowering the weak, and to lift the feet of the struggling masses and to place them upon the great tablelands of justice and equity. The crime of all the ages is the history of inequality among men, the favors granted to the few and denied to the many, the inequality of burden borne by the toilers, who by their labor create the wealth of the world but have little to show for their handiwork.

Let me say, Mr. Speaker, that I believe Senator CLARKE was misunderstood by many of his friends and practically by all of his enemies; and he had enemies, as every public man must have who fearlessly discharges his duties and will not become the tool and slave of those who would bend his will. It has been said that he was cold and cared nothing for the masses, that he was an aristocrat, but those who were close to him know that he had a heart for the right, that he was too lofty, too imperious, too independent to play the demagogue, that he had a hot fervor and a passion for the right, as God gave him the power to see the right, but in his imperious pride he refused to display the heat that warmed his soul. He was devoted to duty, and was an interpreter of the times and of the selfish designs of men, and he never failed to express himself in the plainest and the most emphatic terms in giving expression to his understanding of these elements of selfishness. No, Mr. Speaker, the world will never understand certain types of great men and no man can be great unless he is good, and all good men possess some elements of greatness. There are those in public life who strive, who toil, who have a vision, and above all possess a passion for the right and their loyalty to the people can not be honestly questioned; but their loyalty is challenged by those who would profit thereby, and for these Senator CLARKE had no patience. I know that he had compassion for the poor, for the little man, for the struggling masses, for the man with "slanting brow," who, having been made in the image of his Creator is destined to serve as a slave at the treadmill of life, while hunger gnaws at the heartstrings of his wife and little children who shiver in cold while the cotton fields around them are white with the labor of their hands. And the crime of civilization, Mr. Speaker, is for these unfortunates, these burden bearers, to be forever denied the privilege of even a vision of happiness. On more than one

occasion Senator CLARKE talked most feelingly about the pitiful condition of all such unfortunates. Indeed, Mr. Speaker, I believe he felt like America's greatest poet, Edwin Markham, feels to-day in that most telling and true picture of the Toilers entitled "The man under the stone," which is as follows:

THE MAN UNDER THE STONE.

When I see a workingman with mouths to feed,
Up, day after day, in the dark before the dawn,
And coming home, night after night, through the dusk,
Swinging forward like some fierce silent animal,
I see a man doomed to roll a huge stone up an endless steep.
He strains it onward inch by stubborn inch,
Crouched always in the shadow of the rock. . . .
See where he crouches, twisted, cramped, misshapen!
He lifts for their life;
The veins knot and darken—
Blood surges into his face. . . .
Now he loses—now he wins—
Now he loses—loses—(God of my soul!)
He digs his feet into the earth—
There's a moment of terrified effort. . . .
Will the huge stone break his hold,
And crush him as it plunges to the gulf?
The silent struggle goes on and on,
Like two contending in a dream.

Senator CLARKE'S last great fight was made in behalf of the people of the Philippines when he sought to give them independence within four years, and no American name to-day in the far off Philippines is so sacred as the name of Senator CLARKE. He was looked upon as their political savior and as their best American friend, and I pray that the seed sown by him will ripen into a full harvest, and that the 10,000,000 Filipinos whom we hold in subjection, contrary to the spirit of American liberty and American institutions, will be granted their full stature of liberty within the next few years.

The legislature of our State at its present session most appropriately voted to have the statue of Senator CLARKE placed in yonder Statuary Hall with other brilliant American compatriots, and, if the sculptor chisels the late Senator as he looked in life, thousands of spectators who annually visit this Hall who never saw Senator CLARKE will be attracted by his noble figure, though made of bronze or chiseled in stone. For, indeed, Mr. Speaker, as you know and as we all know, there was no figure among all the great Senators who served with Senator CLARKE that equaled him in commanding, physical appearance, and I imagine that he typified the imperious bearing of a mighty and noble Roman senator—rugged, bold, courageous, outspoken, impatient, nervous and restless over those things which challenged the onward march of the true spirit of justice as interpreted by him. He marshaled all the brilliant forces of his thought, to the end that equity might obtain in the councils of his Nation, fighting always for that conception of duty which he thought should prevail. This, indeed, Mr. Speaker, is the rock from which he was hewn, the pit from which he was digged.

A great oak has fallen in the forest of big men, and we shall not soon look upon his like again. He had his faults, and they were many and sometimes, I thought, most grievous, but who does not possess a multitude of faults? He likewise had his virtues, and these towered above his faults, his shortcomings, and since his death the universal comment made by Members of the House, as well as Members of the Senate, is that the late Senator CLARKE was one of the big Americans of his day; and numbers have told me that he was the greatest Senator they have ever known. The historian will write his name high on the scroll of American honor, while his deeds may be found among the archives of his country's history.

A Valuable Agricultural Bulletin.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. YOUNG,
OF NORTH DAKOTA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. Speaker, Bulletin No. 757, Commercial Varieties of Alfalfa, preferred by Dr. R. A. Oakley, agronomist, deserves more than passing notice. It is timely and particularly valuable to the farmers of the Northwest, who are now turning their attention to the production of alfalfa. It is written in understandable English and not in Latin or Greek. The highbrows connected with the departments of the Government should be encouraged in their occasional efforts to get down to earth. It is especially commendable with so ancient a plant as alfalfa, which, though a novelty in America within this generation, was familiar to the old Latins long before Christ, and they got it from the Greeks, who in turn got it from ancient Persia. I guess it was alfalfa which Nebuchadnezzar chewed when he went crazy over the high cost of living. Yes, Mr. Oakley could have been excused for dropping back into the Latin to describe a plant so ancient. Columello, who wrote at Rome two centuries before Christ, and who was the forerunner of the modern producers of agricultural literature, said:

Of all the legumes, alfalfa is the best, because when once it is sown it lasts for 10 years; because it can be mowed four times, and even six times, a year; because it improves the soil; because all lean cattle grow fat by feeding upon it; because it is a remedy for sick beasts; because a jugerum (two-thirds of an acre) of it will feed three horses plentifully for a year.

When I came down here to serve in Congress I asked Dr. Oakley to prepare a bulletin upon the subject of alfalfa in common language, free from mystifying scientific terms. He has done it, and he has my thanks. I am going to send it out to every farmer in my district.

For those who wish to pursue the subject further Dr. Oakley has prepared a professional paper, Bulletin No. 428, Medicago Falcata, a Yellow-Flowered Alfalfa, which I shall send out upon request. I can also furnish upon request Farmers' Bulletin No. 399, upon the subject of seeding and general culture of alfalfa.

My belief is that if Members of Congress will explain to the department officials the particular needs of their constituents they will find them ready to respond with helpful literature direct to the point.

Our National Defenses.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK BUCHANAN,
OF ILLINOIS.
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, much has been said in the daily press and otherwise about the unpreparedness of the United States to resist invasion. Not only have our defenses been minimized but the actual conditions have been either smothered or grossly misrepresented, and I desire here to insert an article by Mr. Arthur MacDonald, which, in my opinion, discloses some startling information on the subject:

PEACE AND DIFFICULTIES OF INVASION—GIVING TESTIMONY OF LEADING AMERICAN NAVAL OFFICERS.

[By Arthur MacDonald, Washington, D. C., honorary president of the Third International Congress of Criminal Anthropology of Europe.]

All American citizens—in fact, citizens of all neutral nations—in their own way and according to their own convictions, should do everything they can to keep their country out of the European war.

The author resided some four years in Europe, mostly in France, Germany, and Switzerland, pursuing university studies, and, mingling with the people, he had many advantages in gaining an insight into their life and thought. His specialty also was criminal anthropology, which includes the subject of war, more particularly in its psychological aspects.

The average normal man, who is compelled to do most of the fighting, with his family impoverished by the money powers, does not desire war. As an illustration, a shoemaker in Alsace-Lorraine was asked whether he preferred to live under the French or German Government. His answer was as follows:

You know that our language is French and our sympathies are with them.

When questioned as to actual practical differences under the Germans, he said:

As far as business is concerned, I am a little better off; the Germans are more rigid in enforcing laws as to apprenticeship so that unskilled shoemakers are not able to compete with us so much as when under French rule. But we want to be let alone; we don't want any more fighting over the matter.

PROALLY OR NOT, LET US KEEP OUT OF THE WAR, AND BE AMERICANS FIRST, LAST, AND FOREVER.

Since some of the proallies are advocating that the United States join England in the European struggle, and since as a people, we are naturally proally, such agitation may lead us to extremes and endanger the real welfare of our country.

If we should join the allies, I can picture England (I do not criticize her) talking something like this: "I am glad you have

come in; you know we have financed and are expected to finance this war because we are considered the richest of the allies; but you are wealthy also, and we need your help very much; you can at least contribute half as much as we do or better, say $15,000,000 a day. In addition, it would be well to send over 25,000 soldiers, so as to make you feel that you are really in the war."

THE MOMENTOUS QUESTION IS OUR OWN WELFARE.

Germany may not give up her submarine warfare, no matter how much she desires to avoid trouble with us. Admitting that she is breaking international law in more serious ways than the other belligerents, the momentous question for us is, not to defend the rights of neutrals in general, not to insist on international law for humanitarian reasons, however high these things may be, but the question is a practical one and not theoretical—a condition and not a theory—it is, "Shall we plunge 100,000,000 of people into war for the sake of upholding international law, or for the sake of humanity, when we are not being invaded and when every nation desires to live in peace with us?" It is a questionable humanity to plunge 100,000,000 of souls into war, for the sake of humanity. Americans have a legal right to travel in Europe for money, pleasure, or thrills, but have they a moral right, under the present conditions, to do so, and shall we cast this great Nation into the volcano because such Americans are killed.

AIR MACHINES MORE INHUMAN THAN SUBMARINES.

The dropping of explosives by air machines on noncombatants in their homes is more illegal and unjust than submarine warfare, because, while few are compelled to travel, many can not leave their habitations. All the belligerents have used air machines against noncombatants. Why, then, let us not protest against all the belligerents for this inhuman warfare, as well as against the submarine, and not join any belligerent; that is, keep out absolutely from the whole European struggle, and not engage in "entangling alliances" (George Washington).

CONDUCT OF NEUTRAL NATIONS IN EUROPE.

While all nations approve of international law, the history of war shows that when a country feels its own existence to be in peril it places military necessity above international law, and proceeds to justify almost all the horrors of war. Thus in the present European war, international law is being broken by all the belligerents and the neutrals are made to suffer, but the belligerents all claim to be fighting for their existence, and if neutrals come so close as to be killed or have their property held or confiscated they should not consider their honor at stake, for such acts are not malicious but the results of military necessity.

Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, and Dutch steamers, with their own citizens aboard, have been torpedoed by German submarines. False flags, paint, and other means are being used to make belligerent vessels appear like those of neutrals, so that mistakes are inevitable. If the European neutrals thought that the illegal acts of the belligerents were malicious they would doubtless take action. Since these nations are zealous for national honor and brave and fearless, their attitude should have great significance for us. It is no discredit to us that we may not understand the conditions as well as the neutral nations do who have had first-hand knowledge of European politics all their lives.

DANGERS FOR UNITED STATES.

Some time ago 500 American citizens, called the "American Legion"—mostly natives—left Canada to fight for Great Britain, and more have followed, until now it is said thousands of Americans are in the ranks of the allies. Their wounds and death in battle will carry war sparks back to this country. Still more dangerous for peace is the increasing number of Americans who are openly advocating joining England in the war. If, under such conditions and in our uncertain state, due to the great fundamental differences of opinion, some untoward event, like the sinking of an American ship with American passengers should occur, efforts might be made to make it a second *Maine*, and this notwithstanding the sinking might be accidental.

MASSES NATURALLY PEACEFUL BUT HELPLESS BEFORE WAR AGITATION.

Small manufacturers, keepers of little stores, the mass of laborers, artisans, and farmers are peace loving by instinct, and happy in their work when justly paid, and want to be let alone. But these human beings who make our food, clothing, and houses, upon whom we depend and without whom we could barely live, these are silent forces, passive and defenseless against the infection of war-like feeling.

Thus a few individuals, groups or cliques, agitating for war, are abnormally powerful to such a degree as to be irresistible to the masses, who do not realize the terrible evils, injustice, and suffering that war has in store for them.

Thus the majority of mankind yields blindly to fatal suggestion and is ready to respond to patriotism when their country calls; a patriotism supported by powerful money interests.

UNJUST TO MALIGN A NATION.

All peoples and Governments are sincere. There is not a ruler in Europe who would not surrender his throne in the interests of his people; each has done what he thought right, and it is very probable that we would have done as every nation has done under similar conditions. It is ridiculous to blame this or that nation; it is like assuming to be able to relieve the Almighty from His final judgment, after all the facts are in. "Judge not that ye be not judged."

CAUSES OF PRESENT WAR LONG STANDING.

The war, however great its magnitude, is fought for similar reasons and by the same peoples as previous wars were fought; it is one of a series, though a most extensive one, because facilities of communication and intricacies of agreements, secret or otherwise. If settled, it is possible that some, if not all, of the parties may be satisfied, and such settlement be only a resting place to fight again. For one says its fundamental demand is control of the seas, and another insists that there can be no peace until there is freedom on the sea. The public is slowly becoming conscious that the causes of the present war are long standing, and in the last analysis, like most wars, is due to ignorance and selfishness—like most evils. The agents are the rulers, but they are not the cause of the war.

CURE FOR WAR EDUCATIONAL.

The cure for ignorance and selfishness is knowledge and humanitarian feeling, and everything that tends in this direction will tend to lessen war. To extend arbitration and promote natural friendships is in this direction. Knowledge, good will, and forbearance—to increase these between nations will lessen the war spirit.

TESTIMONY OF AMERICAN OFFICERS AS TO DIFFICULTIES OF INVASION.[1]

OUR COAST DEFENSES.

The highest authority on our coast defenses is Gen. Erasmus Weaver. In his testimony before the House Committee on Military Affairs he said:

"We have the best coast defenses in the world. The guns now mounted and those contemplated will give us an entirely satisfactory defense."

* * * * * * *

"Mr. McKELLAR. If we conclude to carry out your recommendations and give you the 11,000 men, then, as I understand you, you would have a perfect system of coast defense that you think would be adequate for any purpose?

"Gen. WEAVER. Yes.

"Mr. McKELLAR. Your idea is that your guns are sufficient now?

"Gen. WEAVER. The guns now mounted and those contemplated will give us an entirely satisfactory defense.

"Mr. McKELLAR. You do not take any stock in this idea that the ships of foreign nations carrying guns of longer range can silence your guns?

"Gen WEAVER. No."

TO MOVE GREAT ARMY OVERSEAS IMPRACTICABLE.

Rear Admiral Knight, member of the General Board and president of the Naval War College, said that it was practically an impossibility to convey an army across 7,000 miles of water to prosecute a campaign.

"Mr. CALLAWAY. I want to get a concise statement. You consider the enormous dangers of transporting a fleet across a great expanse of hostile water——

"Admiral KNIGHT. And maintaining it.

"Mr. CALLAWAY. And maintaining it.

"Admiral KNIGHT. Yes; I think those dangers are almost insuperable.

"Mr. CALLAWAY. Almost insuperable?

"Admiral KNIGHT. Yes.

"Mr. CALLAWAY. And the maintaining of it is necessary to the conduct of war?

"Admiral KNIGHT. Yes.

"Mr. CALLAWAY. And you say those difficulties are almost insuperable?

"Admiral KNIGHT. The difficulties are almost insuperable."

ADMIRAL FLETCHER'S ADMISSIONS.

"Mr. BUTLER. We have been put down as second, third, or fourth in the number of ships. Is not that true?

"Admiral FLETCHER. That is about our relative position—second or third.

"Mr. BUTLER. Where do we stand, Admiral?

"Admiral FLETCHER. I have not personally gone into that, but I have estimates that place us about third at the present time.

"Mr. BUTLER. Are we strong enough to offer a decided resistance at this time against any nation?

"Admiral FLETCHER. Not against all nations."

Mr. BUTLER had asked:

"Are we strong enough to offer a decided resistance at this time against any nation?"

The admiral replied:

"Not against all nations.

"Mr. BUTLER. I do not mean in a combination.

"Admiral FLETCHER. Not against the most powerful nation."

ENGLAND.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. It has been told this committee by high authorities in the Navy Department—among others, Admiral Vreeland—that if we had a war with England, on account of its relations with other nations in Europe, it could not afford to send more than 50 per cent of its ships against us. Do you believe that is so?

"Admiral FLETCHER. That is a question of policy and of political conditions in Europe upon which I would not pretend to pass judgment.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. Then your statement that we could not resist England would be on the assumption that she could send her entire fleet, or more than one-half of it, against us?

"Admiral FLETCHER. Yes, sir; she would control the sea if she could keep there a more powerful fleet than ours.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. Or not afraid of war with the rest of the world; not afraid to take all the ships away from her own coast and to send all of them, or a large majority of them, against us? Your statement is based on that?

"Admiral FLETCHER. Yes, sir. It is based on actual superiority.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. Well, on the assumption which certain naval experts have told us is correct—that she could not send more than 50 per cent of her 72 against us—you would not say then that we would not be able to resist them successfully, would you?

"Admiral FLETCHER. I would not like to pass judgment upon a supposititious case of that kind.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. What I am asking you about—without going into it more carefully—is this: You do not mean to say that we could not successfully resist them?

"Admiral FLETCHER. Could not successfully resist a power like England if she utilized only half of her force against us?

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. Yes, sir.

"Admiral FLETCHER. That question I would not like to pass judgment upon.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. It would be a pretty close question, and you would not want your statement which you made to Mr. BUTLER to apply to that condition?

"Admiral FLETCHER. I am unable to say.

GERMANY.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. Now, according to the Navy Yearbook, Germany has of battleships, built, building, and authorized, 39. That is according to the last Navy Yearbook. Would you say that if she could send all those ships against us we would not be able to resist them?

"Admiral FLETCHER. I would say that we ought to, if we have the greater force.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. Yes; we ought—certainly we ought, and we could.

"Admiral FLETCHER. Yes, sir. The greater force should win.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. Yes; we could.

"Admiral FLETCHER. I think so.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. Now, it has been stated to us that if Germany was at war with us she could not afford, either, to send more than one-half of her ships against us.

"Admiral FLETCHER. That I do not know.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. I am not asking whether you do or do not. Assuming that she could only send half her 39, would you not say that we could successfully resist that number?

"Admiral FLETCHER. Yes, sir; I would say that, if all our force is available to meet her.

FRANCE.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. Now, take France. This Navy Yearbook says that France has a grand total of battleships, built, building, and authorized, of 29—11 less than we have.

"Admiral FLETCHER. Yes.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. Would you not say, if she sent all of hers against us, we would be able to successfully resist them?

"Admiral FLETCHER. Yes; our forces available being the greater.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. And if she only sent one-half of them, we would not have much of a fight, would we?

"Admiral FLETCHER. No; we ought not to.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. That is the way I look at it.

JAPAN.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. Here is Japan, which according to the Navy Yearbook has only 19 battleships, or 21 less than we have got. If Japan should send all of her 19 against us, do you not think we would be able successfully to resist them?

"Admiral FLETCHER. Yes. I should say so, if our forces were free to meet them at the time.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. And if she did not send but half of them, there would not be much of a scrap, would there?

"Admiral FLETCHER. Probably not.

RUSSIA.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. Now, here is Russia, that the Navy Yearbook says has a grand total of 15 battleships, completed and building. If she should send all of them against us, would you not say that we could successfully resist them?

"Admiral FLETCHER. Yes, sir.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. And if she sent half of them, there would not be any fight at all, would there?

"Admiral FLETCHER. Not much.

ITALY.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. Here is Italy that has a grand total, according to the Navy Yearbook, of 17 battleships. We could successfully resist them whether she sent all of them or a part of them, could we not?

"Admiral FLETCHER. Yes; I think so.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. Yes; I do, too.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. Now, Austria-Hungary, according to the Navy Yearbook, has a grand total of battleships, built and building, of 10. We could successfully resist them, could we not?

"Admiral FLETCHER. I think so.

ENGLAND ALONE TO FEAR.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. Then what nation is there that we are not prepared to successfully resist? There is not one on earth, is there, Admiral—not a single one?

"Admiral FLETCHER. Well, Judge, I think there is.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. Well, which one? I have gone through the big ones. Tell me which one.

"Admiral FLETCHER. I should say England has a navy so much more powerful than that of any other nation in the world that she could easily keep control of the seas.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. England. Well, what other one, then?

"Admiral FLETCHER. I do not think that we need greatly fear any other single nation.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. There is no other nation, except England, that in your judgment we could not successfully defend ourselves against; I mean, except England.

"Admiral FLETCHER. I think that is correct. Yes.

SHIP FOR SHIP WE EQUAL ENGLAND.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. Has England got any such powerful ships in her navy as we have, or have you ever studied that?

"Admiral FLETCHER. Yes.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. Have you ever taken up the English ships and compared them with American ships, so as to form your own judgment as to whether she had any such ships as we have? Do you think she has?

"Admiral FLETCHER. She has many ships which are very nearly of the same power as our own ships of the same time of building.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. Let us see about that, now. I do not believe she has, although you know more about it than I do.

"In this Navy Yearbook, which gives us a list of the English battleships, I find that the last five dreadnaughts that England has built or is building are named the *Royal Sovereign*, *Royal Oak*, *Ramillies*, *Revolution*, and *Revenge*, each of which has a tonnage of 26,000.

"Admiral FLETCHER. Yes, sir.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. And we have two ships, the *Pennsylvania* and *No. 39*, which have a tonnage of 31,400, and then we have authorized three more which are to have a tonnage, as I understand, of 31,800.

"The CHAIRMAN. Thirty-two thousand.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. Thirty-two thousand tons. In other words, the tonnage of the *Pennsylvania* and *No. 39* is 5,400 more than that of the last five English dreadnaughts that are building, and the last three dreadnaughts that we are building have a tonnage of 6,000 tons greater than the last five English ships. Do you mean that those ships are equal to ours?

"Admiral FLETCHER. No; I do not say that.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. Do you regard them as inferior to ours?

"Admiral FLETCHER. Yes; as near as we can estimate it.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. I do, too; and the armament of those five ships is eight 15-inch guns, while the armament of the five

American ships is twelve 14-inch guns. Which is more powerful armament, eight 15-inch guns or twelve 14-inch guns?

"Admiral FLETCHER. I think the twelve 14-inch guns more powerful, but I am not sure that opinion is concurred in by all authorities.

AMERICAN SHIPS SUPERIOR.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. Then, according to your judgment, the last five ships in both navies show a superiority of the American ships to the English ships?

"Admiral FLETCHER. Yes.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. Have you compared the English ships, ship by ship, with ours, to form the same kind of judgment as to which is superior as you have just formed in reference to the last five?

"Admiral FLETCHER. Not in detail; no.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. Then you can not give a judgment as to which has got the more powerful, ship for ship, England or America?

"Admiral FLETCHER. No; not in detail. In a general way it has been our policy, and the committee has appropriated money to build ships heavier than the ships of foreign countries.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. Then, understanding your testimony, after reviewing it, do you want us to understand that England is the only nation on earth that has a navy that we could not successfully resist?

"Admiral FLETCHER. I think that is the fair conclusion. Yes, sir; at the present time."

ADMIRAL BADGER'S TESTIMONY.

Rear Admiral Charles J. Badger, a member of the General Board and lately commander in chief of the Atlantic Fleet, testifying before the House Committee on Naval Affairs, was interrogated by Representative Witherspoon, as follows:

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. Now, Admiral, in your first statement I understood you to say that our Navy, ship for ship, was as good as the navies of other countries.

"Admiral BADGER. Yes.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. I want to ask you if it is not a fact that, ship for ship, they are better?

"Admiral BADGER. I can not answer that absolutely. I believe they are as good or better. They are not inferior."

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. Then the fact of ours being so much larger than Germany's shows that they are better or we are wasting money in building them larger, are we not?

"Admiral BADGER. Yes. We are building them to be better than the German's. That is the idea in building them larger, that they shall be better than corresponding ships of other nations, if possible.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. Then there would not be any question about the superiority of our Navy; is not that so?

"Admiral BADGER. There are a few other points, but I do not think it is necessary to go into them.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. Well, I wanted to get your view about that, because I do not like to hear Americans running around and talking about the German Navy being superior to ours. I know it is not so.

"Admiral BADGER. You have not heard me say that.

"Mr. WITHERSPOON. No; and I am glad that it is so. I hope you never will say it, because there is not any truth in it."

TESTIMONY OF SECRETARY OF NAVY.

"Mr. GRAY. Is it not a fact that we have more complete defenses at these harbors than ever before?

"Secretary DANIELS. Much better. That is a matter which the Army has under its control. Your statement is true, however.

"Mr. GRAY. Is it not a fact that we have more men than ever before?

"Secretary DANIELS. Yes. We have 4,600 more newly enlisted men and 7,000 more are available than 15 months ago.

"Mr. GRAY. Are these men not more efficient and better educated and trained than ever before?

"Secretary DANIELS. Far more so.

"Mr. GRAY. And is it not a fact that we are more completely equipped in every department, and more efficient than ever before in all the history of this country?

"Secretary DANIELS. Undoubtedly.

"Mr. GRAY. Then you do not think there is anything in this concerted newspaper charge that is going over the country of the declining strength and efficiency and adequacy of our Navy?

"Secretary DANIELS. Nothing at all. It is not true in any particular. The truth is that in every respect the Navy has been greatly strengthened during the past two years."

Admiral Blue says also:

"Mr. HENSLEY. As a fighting machine, it has never been in better shape than it is to-day; is not that true, Admiral?

"Admiral BLUE. Never in better shape than it is to-day, in my opinion.

"Mr. HENSLEY. And in your opinion, its improvement is constant?

"Admiral BLUE. Yes; all the time.

"Mr. HENSLEY. And has been for the last three or four years more rapid than it was preceding that time?

"Admiral BLUE. I think so; yes."

PROTECTION OF HARBOR WITHOUT AID OF FLEET.

"Mr. GRAY. Suppose that a harbor is protected by the ordinary land forts and also by a sufficient number of torpedoes, mines, and submarines, how large a hostile fleet would be required to enter that harbor if it was protected by those instruments?

"Admiral FLETCHER. It would be a very difficult matter. They probably would not attempt to enter the harbor. As a matter of fact, under modern conditions of war it is doubtful if it ever becomes necessary for the fleet to enter a harbor.

"Of course, it depends on the size of the forts, the area, and so many conditions that it would be difficult to specify the exact size of the attacking force, but, as I say, in general they would not attempt to enter such a fortified harbor by means of a fleet alone; it would not pay.

"Mr. GRAY. Then those instrumentalities would be sufficient to protect the harbor without any warship in the harbor, or would you require a warship in the harbor in order to cooperate with those instrumentalities?

"Admiral FLETCHER. You would not require a warship in the harbor. The protection of the harbor itself should be sufficient by forts, mines, and submarines without the aid of the fleet."

PROTECTION OF PANAMA CANAL.

"Mr. GRAY. The principal defense rests with the Army and not the Navy, would you say, Admiral?

"Admiral FISKE. No, sir; the principal defense would rest with the Navy, because if our fleet commanded the sea an enemy could not get near the canal; only in the case of the defeat of our fleet could he land there.

"Mr. GRAY. Is it not a fact that the approach to the Panama Canal is being fortified with very large guns that have a range longer than the range of the guns on the ships?

"Admiral FISKE. I think they are practically the same.

"Mr. GRAY. Practically the same?

"Admiral FISKE. Maybe a little longer, but it is not always the range that counts; it is the distance at which you can hit.

"Mr. GRAY. Would not a gun placed in a fort on land be able to strike with more accuracy than a gun on a rocking ship? Would it not be possible to strike a target more accurately from land than from a ship?"

"Admiral FISKE. Oh, yes. The office of the guns on land is to keep the fleet away.

"Mr. GRAY. I believe Admiral Fletcher stated that, as I understood him. But in connection with these guns for harbor defense, would it not be possible to mine the waters there as well as at any other harbor?

"Admiral FISKE. Oh, yes.

"Mr. GRAY. Could you not also protect the mouth of the Panama Canal with a sufficient number of submarines?

"Admiral FISKE. Yes, sir.

"Mr. GRAY. What would you say, without having any Navy at all at the mouth of the Panama Canal, would it be possible with those guns mounted there with longer range than the guns on the ships, and with the mines and the submarines, to prevent a hostile fleet coming into the canal, without any ships of the Navy there to defend it?

"The CHAIRMAN. They would not try that.

"Admiral FISKE. No; they would go to some other place to land and make the attack.

"Mr. GRAY. But would it be possible, with those defenses I have spoken of, for a hostile fleet to enter the canal?

"Admiral FISKE. I think not.

"Mr. GRAY. Then you say we could defend the canal without any part of our fleet at all, as against the approach of a hostile fleet? Would you say that?

"Admiral FISKE. Yes, sir; I should say that.

"Mr. GRAY. Now, if that is true, it would leave all our Navy free to engage the hostile fleet and prevent them from landing an armed force.

"Admiral FISKE. If our fleet was strong enough to do it.

"Mr. GRAY. I understood you to say that if the Panama Canal was defended with these guns in the forts and by the mines and by the submarines, if they could prevent a hostile fleet coming into the canal without the aid of the fleet, then that would leave the fleet free. Is that right?

"Admiral FISKE. Yes, sir.

"Mr. GRAY. And if that is true our fleet would be free to engage the enemy and prevent him from landing a hostile force a few miles away and marching to attack the Panama Canal?

"Admiral FISKE. Yes, sir; provided our fleet were strong enough.

"Mr. GRAY. Yes, sir. Then it is only a question of whether our fleet would be strong enough to prevent a hostile fleet from landing an army?

"Admiral FISKE. That is right.

"Mr. GRAY. And marching to attack the canal?

"Admiral FISKE. That is right.

"Mr. GRAY. In time of peace would it be considered good policy for any of the naval powers of Europe in close proximity with each other, assuming conditions shall continue in Europe as they have been in the past, would it be probable that any one of the three great naval powers would withdraw all of her fleet from her own shores and bring it to the Gulf of Mexico to engage our fleet and attempt to land a force on Mexican soil? Would it be probable that they would do that?

"Admiral FISKE. It might be probable, but not more than 50 per cent probable.

"Mr. GRAY. Then, with the naval power that we have to-day, and with the fortifications I speak of as defending the Panama Canal, you would not say that even the highest and strongest naval power could go in there and destroy the canal, either by attacking it directly or by landing an armed force to attack it?

"Admiral FISKE. Not if they only sent 50 per cent of their forces.

TO INCREASE OUR NAVY IS OF LITTLE ADVANTAGE IF OTHER NAVIES ARE INCREASED.

"Mr. GRAY. I wish to inquire of the admiral if it is not the policy of other Governments to increase their navies with all the other leading powers?

"Admiral VREELAND. It is, sir.

"Mr. GRAY. What would be the advantage to us or any other power if the navies were increased equally by all the nations of the world? Would there be any advantage to us or to any other power?

"Admiral VREELAND. Not if you mean in the same ratio.

"Mr. GRAY. Would not the same grounds exist after an increase for a further increase?

"Admiral VREELAND. It would seem so.

"Mr. GRAY. They are all going up together?

"Admiral VREELAND. Yes, sir.

"Mr. GRAY. There would be no advantage gained by any nation, then. How long could that be maintained, that even increase, and what advantage would it be to any nation?

"Admiral VREELAND. If it continues to increase, the poorer nation will eventually exhaust itself, and then the other nations, the United States included, will have a free hand—I mean be free to build in accordance with the changed conditions. I think it proper to add that rivalry, in the sense in which that word has been used here, does not really exist, nor do I think it is contemplated.

"Mr. GRAY. Then it is only a question of the limit of taxation?

"Admiral VREELAND. Yes, sir."

PREPAREDNESS ACCORDING TO GEN. MILES.

(Substance of testimony given by Gen. Miles before Senate and House Committees on Naval Affairs.)

"Gen. MILES (January, 1916). Nearly 1,000,000 men in our country have received military instruction either in the Regular Army, National Guard, or the agricultural colleges. Added to the above number there are between two and three millions in our country who have passed through all the drill, discipline, and instruction of European armies.

"There are many officers on the retired list who have seen more actual warfare than any body of men in any part of the world. In case of emergency they are capable of organizing and commanding large bodies of men.

"The result at Alexandria, Port Arthur, and the Dardanelles is sufficient evidence that guns aboard ships are no match for coast fortifications and submarine mines.

"Our coasts are as well defended as the coast of any country, with the same class of high-power guns and heavy projectiles.

"What do you say about universal military service? You can not Germanize the American people. It would be a step toward imperialism, and a very dangerous one.

"The placing of an army on American soil is the last thing any European Government would attempt; it could never be reembarked. It would dissolve like the snow beneath the midday sun. It would be impossible to build ships to carry coal enough to bring them over here and take them back. If they could not be destroyed by the patriotism and valor of the American people before they could send their ships back and get another load, then I would want to live in some other country.

"The talk about making this, our Army, similar to the military force of Switzerland is useless. Switzerland is a little community up in the snows of the Alps. There is not a nation in Europe that would care to expend the amount of life and treasure to conquer it; and there is no comparison with that community and a great Nation covering a continent like ours. As to the physical strength of the Nation, it is safe to say that it includes 20,000,000 capable of bearing arms and 10,000,000 capable of doing effective military service—one in ten in proportion to the population. The guns are better in some respects than the guns that are mounted in the Dardanelles which have resisted the most powerful ships of war of the British and French navies and practically resulted in that expedition being a total failure with a loss of 125,000 men and $1,600,000,000 in money.

"A cry is raised that we are liable to be invaded and our country overrun by three or four hundred thousand men. As to this, Gen. Miles says: 'That seems to be an unreasonable proposition, because you would have to suppose that some of the navies of the foreign countries were at the bottom of the seas, and that our own Navy was at the bottom of the sea, and that some foreign government could land that number of men. Over-seas expeditions have always been very expensive.'

"As to compulsory military service, Gen. Miles says: 'Conscription was tried out during the Civil War and with unsatisfactory results. I think there were 54,000 men added to the Army additional to the 2,000,000 by conscription. But I know just at the time of the crisis of the Gettysburg campaign, thousands of the best troops, drilled and disciplined men in the Army, had to be taken out of the field where they were needed; they were sent to Philadelphia to maintain order. It was a very unpopular measure at that time.'

"As to the campaign for preparedness, Gen. Miles said: 'I think it is as much misleading to the public as it is advocating a wise measure. I do not think it necessary to discuss it.'

"As to the dangers of centralization of military power, Gen. Miles said:

"'It would be putting into the hands of some future Executive a tremendous military power, a power not anticipated by the framers of the Constitution. The country is not ready for compulsory military service, and I hope it will never be. Any force that invaded the United States would not have the ground it stood on long. I will suppose an unsupposable case. Suppose they could put an enemy on a fleet of 500 ships and move it across the Atlantic without being disturbed by any naval power, and they could land. They certainly could not go into any port, no more than they could go to the Dardanelles. Suppose they got that far as to land at some remote point. If we could not gather men in the Army and militia and by other means to destroy that army before they could send their ships back and get another load, I would want to move to some other country.

"'The militia as organized to-day is far superior to the militia who met the British. This comparison is only an effort to decry the militia by bringing up some incident which occurred 100 years ago, and that, in my judgment, is not good faith, and I have no sympathy with it.'"

ARTICLES ON WAR.

[By the author.]

Peace, War, and Humanity. Printed by Judd & Detweiler, Washington, D. C. (1915, 26 pp., 8°.)

Comparative Militarism. Reprint from publications of the American Statistical Association, Boston. (December, 1915; 3 pp., 8°.)

Atrocities and Outrages of War. Reprint from the Pacific Medical Journal, San Francisco. (April, 1916; 16 pp., 8°.) Gives data for Civil War, Boer War, Bulgaria, Russia, and Germany.

Some Moral Evils of War. Reprint from Pacific Medical Journal, San Francisco. (August, 1916; 8 pp., 8°.) Refers especially to Boer War.

Reasons for Peace. Machinists' Monthly Journal, Washington, D. C. (July, 1916; pp. 708–710, 8°.)

Choosing Between War and Peace. Reprint from Western Medical Times, Denver, Colo. (6 pp., 8°.)

Statement of European War. Reprint from Pacific Medical Journal, San Francisco, Cal. (February, 1917; 8 pp., 8°.)

Prevention of War. Reprint from CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Washington, D. C. (Feb. 27, 1917; 8 pp., 8°.)

Military Training in the Public Schools. Educational Exchange, Birmingham, Ala. (February and March, 1917.)

The Late Representative Michael F. Conry.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS.

OF

HON. GEORGE W. LOFT,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. LOFT. Mr. Speaker, my late colleague and friend, MICHAEL F. CONRY, has answered the final roll call, and it shall be my last act as a Member of Congress to pay a fitting though brief tribute to his honored memory.

His was a lovable character, which, after all, is the very essence of manhood. He might have been sad, disconsolate, and even sullen, and his physical infirmity would have successfully plead any human indulgence for his frailty; but he disguised pain with a smile, fought nobly and bravely under a handicap which would have driven a man who did not possess his character to despair, and not only found comfort and happiness but spread it wherever he went.

He had served four consecutive terms in the House, and had been reelected for a fifth term, which demonstrates the regard of his constituents and the esteem in which he was held by them. And it was well deserved. He was a man of deeds, always ready and anxious to help those who sought his service. His attitude in this respect is typical of the lines penned by Sam Walter Foss:

Let me live in my house by the side of the road
And be a friend to man.

A man who could and did appreciate the consideration shown him, he was the most considerate man toward others it has ever been my privilege and pleasure to associate with. It seems to me as if he began each day with a firm determination to adhere to the motto:

To thine own self be true,
And it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man.

He has lived a life, and won a fame among his fellow men the knowledge of which should be a consolation to his widow and their three beautiful children.

God bless and comfort them, and may the soul of our beloved colleague rest in peace.

No More Power Should Be Given to the President—Grave Danger.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. CARY,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 2, 1917.

Mr. CARY. Mr. Speaker, I have no apologies to make for my negative vote on this bill—a bill that to my mind is a preposterous proposition fraught with the gravest danger to the Republic. When I voted no, in company with such experienced and patriotic leaders as Gen. SHERWOOD and Judge SHACKLEFORD on the Democratic side and Mr. COOPER and my other colleagues from Wisconsin on the Republican, I fully realized that I would be in a small—almost insignificant—minority of big men who voted in accordance with their convictions and not at the behest of popular clamor, inflamed passion, and Tory demand. It is far easier to run and to vote with the big crowd than to vote in the minority on a grave question like that involved in the pending bill, but I venture to assert that the time will come when the American people will say that we were right in voting as we did.

Ever since I have been a Member of Congress, I have consistently voted against one-man power in any way, shape, or form. I was one of the first to vote against the usurpation of legislative power by the Speaker of the House, and I am just as much, if not more, opposed to one-man power in the country than I am to one-man power in the House of Representatives or any other American legislative body.

Mr. Speaker, there is not a man living in America to-day who calls himself an American citizen who is not here because either he or his ancestors came here to get away from personal rule. The very principles upon which our Government is founded are bound up in the sentiment expressed in the immortal words of Lincoln, that this Government is "a Government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

Countless lives have been sacrificed for this principle. Wars have been fought that it might endure, and the legislation that is to be enacted to-day is a direct retrogression from this vital principle—a step distinctly backward from democratic republicanism to dictatorship or monarchism.

I do not believe that the American people are ready to surrender the rights which they have made so many sacrifices to obtain. I recall, in a debate many years ago, the patriotic Speaker of the House, then a Member on the floor, said tersely: "This country went out of the king business on July 4, 1776."

I believe, Mr. Speaker, that we are not ready to go back into the king business yet, although in recent years it has looked at times as though the administrative section of the Government was doing its best to usurp the functions that properly belong to the legislative branch.

Our constituents did not elect us to Congress merely for the purpose of registering the will and giving legal force to the wishes of the Chief Executive. We represent a people unalterably opposed to a one-man's power and believing in a republican form of government. We are as liable to make mistakes as the President is, but we are not liable to make mistakes in the direction of expanding our powers. On the contrary. For years past we have transferred some of our powers to the executive branch of the Government by the creation of all sorts of boards and commissions appointed by the President and possessing not only executive but even quasi legislative powers.

The President of the United States is to-day the most powerful ruler in the world. He is more powerful than the German Kaiser, the Russian Czar, the British King, or the Turkish Sultan, not to mention the French President. In his capacity as the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy the President can make a general out of a shoemaker and a rear admiral out of a doctor, and by reason of his appointing power he can elevate a police-court shyster lawyer to the Supreme bench, always provided the Senate stands behind him, which, thanks to the good Lord, is not always the case. No civil-service laws hamper him. He is above them and can appoint whom he pleases, regardless of aptitude. Congress alone can limit his powers. As long as the Congress of the United States backs up the President and gives him almost unlimited financial means, as this Congress has done, the President can bring the Nation to the verge of war. But with his almost unlimited powers the President wants more power. By means of the pending bill he will not only bring the Nation on the brink of war, but directly into the war, and without asking Congress about it. Pass this bill and the constitutional provision giving Congress the exclusive right to declare war will become a myth. If the President had the confidence in the Congress of the United States he ought to have, he would not ask for the power given by this bill. He should feel that Congress stands ready at all times to assist him in maintaining the honor and the dignity of the Nation. He knows, or he ought to know, that Congress will give him all the needed money and the needed men to fight the enemies of our country, and he should also know that no enlargement of the presidential powers is necessary to safeguard the country. But it looks as if the President has no faith in Congress. He evidently fears that some of the 96 Senators and the 435 Representatives may differ with him as to the policy this country ought to pursue in the gigantic struggle now engulfing nearly the whole of Europe. He evidently fears that some of the Representatives of the people will refuse to embroil this country into war at the dictation of one or more of the European belligerents. In this last-mentioned apprehension the President is right.

But I readily admit that in a world's war like the present something may happen that will force us to participate. When this time comes it should be the Congress and not the President to so decide. That the President seeks to hasten this time, that he desires this country to enter the war, is proven by the pending bill.

Although the language of the bill is very ambiguous and perhaps no man in Congress knows what the President really wants, we all know that the arming of our merchant vessels is sufficient to drag us into the war. It is not so very long ago that the administration condemned even the arming of merchant vessels of the belligerent powers, and talked about excluding such vessels from American ports, and to this day the administration has conceded the right of the German submarines to sink armed merchant vessels of the enemies without warning, considering them, as they undoubtedly are, auxiliary men-of-

war. It may be, and probably is, wrong for a Dutch, a Swedish, a Norwegian, a Danish, or a Spanish steamer to sail about armed aft for defense and forward for offense, but it will be all right for United States ships to do so by the kind permission of the British Government, which is well aware as to what this will lead to. If the President is in possession of reasons why American ships should now be armed, these reasons must have existed before he questioned the entering of British armed merchant ships into ports of the United States. If armed British vessels a few months ago were undesirable and liable to draw the fire of German submarines close to the American shore, what effect will the arming of American merchant vessels have now?

President Wilson was working for peace when the break came. Since then a change must have come over the spirit of his dreams, and apparently he is now working for war. For the break meant that Germany is able and determined to crush England, and England must be saved if we can save her. But the American people have in unmistakable terms declared against war, and so this plan has been concocted to give the President autocratic powers and a full purse and with no Congress to hinder him. Under the blanket authority granted by this bill the President could unite our fortunes to those of the allies, so that we and our children should assume their debts. They would save something out of the crash, being already reconciled to defeat.

As a Representative of the people in Congress, I am unalterably opposed to any extension of the powers of the administration. I believe that the executive branch of the Government possesses too much power already and the legislative branch too little. It is said that it is but a step from the sublime to the ridiculous, and I fear that it is but a step from the Presidency to a Dictatorship if we grant the President the powers he seeks through this bill. Since the beginning of the agitation for the enlargement of the powers of the President I have received many letters from constituents and others asking me to oppose this and all similar bills. Lack of space prevents me from inserting many of these letters in the RECORD, but some of them deserve to go down to posterity. A practicing physician of Milwaukee, Dr. Walter Kempster, of Simon-pure American ancestry, writes:

Hon. W. J. CARY, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: I am so deeply interested in the trend of events that I am led to write this letter.

The President of the United States in his address to Congress speaks of the conditions of to-day as among the most grave that have ever come before the Chief Executive. In this situation he calmly requests the Congress to disregard and set aside their advisory powers by requesting that they confer upon him and take away from themselves two propositions which the Constitution of the United States declares is vested solely with them, namely, to declare war and to make peace. Why, then, if either war or peace are imminent, does he wish to settle such momentous questions himself? Does he possess the all-wise ability which is so far superior to that of the Congress of the United States that he can dispense with their services by declaring him virtual dictator for the next nine months? I hope that this will not be done.

Please excuse me for intruding upon your valuable time, but my deep interest of loyalty to my country in this hour must be my excuse. This is not a question as to whether the Germans or the allies are right or wrong. It is a question whether or not Congress proposes to abide by the provisions of the Constitution or whether the Congress of the United States is ready to abdicate in favor of one man.

I am, very respectfully, yours,

WALTER KEMPSTER.

DRIVING VITAL TRUTHS HOME.

If I ever had any doubts as to the correctness of my vote on the pending bill, such doubts were removed after reading the following letter, which, long as it is, deserves the careful consideration of every Member of this House and of every true, unbiased American citizen.

You know, and I know, that we are on the verge of being hurled into the cataclysm of Europe; that we are standing on the precipice of the most terrible of all terrible wars, with the battle god in our rear anxious for the fatal push.

You know, and I know, that we have been brought to this perilous position by the deliberately unneutral attitude of our Government, in assuming a pronounced and ever-increasing stand of benevolent neutrality which has advanced to the point of combative neutrality leading straight to war.

You know, and I know, that the foreign policy of the United States in the last four years has not been formulated and directed by the representatives of the people in the Congress and executed through their national spokesman, the President; but that the Chief Executive has usurped this power in direct violation of a fundamental principle of the Constitution.

You know, and I know, that Woodrow Wilson, as President of the United States, has created and carried out the foreign policy of this country without first consulting with or receiving instructions from the Congress, which the Constitution clearly demands; that, instead of outlining the situation and requesting the people's representatives to frame our policies, he has ignored this body and directed the affairs of the Nation according to his personal ideas and prejudices.

You know, and I know, that Woodrow Wilson has, on his own initiative and in violation of the Constitution, taken certain action involving the whole Republic and then has appeared before the Congress and announced to the people's representatives what he had done, asked their approval of his action, irrespective of the dictates of their own conscience, and requested more illegal power to do with this Nation what he saw fit.

You know and I know that the Congress of the United States, in dereliction of the sacred duties imposed upon it by the Constitution, ignominiously submitted to this usurpation of national prerogative, and not only permitted the President to exercise extreme illegal authority but actually approved such procedure and vested in him further power in derogation of the Constitution, which distinctly provides that such power be exercised by the Congress and not by the President.

You know and I know that Woodrow Wilson as President assuming, with the consent of the Congress, this illegal power in defiance of the Constitution, committed a series of flagrantly unneutral acts against one of the belligerents in this war and in favor of another; that he weakly and insincerely filed protest with one belligerent, who showed no disposition whatever to respect our sovereignty, for continual incidental and direct violations of our rights, and subsequently wholly ignored such transgressions, while, on the other hand, he vigorously and threateningly held to account the other belligerent who, through our toleration of infringement by her enemy, found that in rightfully protecting herself she was incidentally interfering with our rights, this latter belligerent showing amicable inclinations for an arrangement whereby our rights would be fully safeguarded by her.

You know and I know that Woodrow Wilson, as virtual dictator of this Republic, persisted in arbitrary negotiations with this belligerent, while he condescendingly permitted the greater and more frequent offender to indulge in continual violation and aggression of our rights, and that just as he was grossly unneutral concerning the rights of this country with regard to both belligerents, so was he unneutral in the application of international law. He protested to one belligerent's violation of international law, as a friend, and to the other, if not as an actual foe, then in tones of a threatening and potential enemy.

You know and I know that Woodrow Wilson in pursuing these two distinct unneutral courses, both as regards our rights and international law, has brought us to the verge not of a just but an unjust war.

And knowing all this—the usurpation of authority by the President, the passivity of the Congress to this usurpation, and the un-American exercise of this usurped authority—are you, the Representatives of the people, to continue in the comatose state of inaction, shirking your sworn responsibilities, and playing the part of modern Pilates, while an egotistical, subtle, dangerous, highly impractical idealist takes a nation of over 100,000,000 people into his hands and pilots it into the abyss?

Are you going to betray the trust placed in you and allow the Congress to sink to the iniquity of a puppet for a twentieth century tyrant, who, through the Presidency of the United States, aims to be the potentate of the world?

Are you going to allow the people to believe that you are the pawns of a suave despot; that they have sent peons to the Congress and a slave master to the White House?

Are you going to close your eyes to the distrust of Woodrow Wilson that has invaded the hearts of the people; that they are thinking of him as "the British spider" and "the American Judas," vowing that if the United States is thrown into the European battle pit Woodrow Wilson will receive the traitor's noose?

Are you to permit the impression that the screeching of a traitorous press awes you into disregarding the will of the people and that you fear castigation at the hands of the treason hearted?

Are you, after four years of docility to the whims of a dangerous Executive, to allow this crafty brain to continue its work to a logical conclusion—ruin for this Republic?

Or will you assert yourselves as true Representatives of the people and restore the Congress to the high dignity of its rightful heritage, raising it out of the ignominy into which it has fallen since the advent of Woodrow Wilson?

And having asserted yourselves and once again clothed the Congress in the garb of honor, then take immediate action to create, maintain, and enforce the strict, impartial and just neutrality of the Government of the United States, and so instruct the President.

Let it be engraved in your minds that you are in the Congress to give commands, not to take them; that the President is not the United States, but only the spokesman of the people, and that the people speak through you, the Congress; that it is not only your prerogative but your sworn, solemn duty to formulate the policies of the United States, and acquaint the President accordingly.

And now, gentlemen, when the President again comes before you seeking further usurpation of power, remind him that the Congress no longer will remain the tool of the Chief Executive; that the Representatives of the people will put into concrete form the will of the people, and that he, the President, will henceforth take his instructions from the Congress. Let Woodrow Wilson understand that he is President of the United States under the Constitution, and that he is in the White House to fulfill the will of the people, and not to force his will upon them. Make him realize that the Congress is not putty in his hands, but that he is the servant of the Congress, who, in turn, is the servant of the people. Let the Congress take the foreign affairs of this country out of the hands of the President and place them where they belong, in the hands of the Congress.

Members of the Congress, this is a most critical hour in the life of our Republic. Are we a democracy only in name? Are we to be ruled by an autocrat in the guise of a President? Shall a single individual decide the fate of this Nation? Do your duty, and do it quick, ere eternal shame blots the escutcheon of the American Eagle!

TITUS BRUSUS.

February 22, 1917.

A LAWYER'S VIEWS.

I may be permitted to select from a very large number of letters I have received from my constituents, a few from representatives of different occupations. These letters tend to strengthen my belief that I have voted right on this bill. Mr. Erich C. Stern, a prominent lawyer of Milwaukee, writes:

MILWAUKEE, WIS., *February 19, 1917.*

Hon. WILLIAM J. CARY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. CARY: At this time of crisis I feel impelled to express to you my very strong convictions on four propositions upon which Congress may soon be obliged to vote:

1. I am unalterably and absolutely opposed to having this country enter the European war on any pretext whatsoever, except to repel invasion. Ordinarily I would not express myself so extremely because

I am not a doctrinaire pacifist or peace-at-any-price man. The present war, however, seems to me to be nothing short of suicidal for the Caucasion race, and we owe it to ourselves, to our future, as well as to our race and to humanity, to hold ourselves aloof from this conflict.

In order to stay out of the war I should favor any of the half dozen or more expedients which have already been proposed. England and Germany are certainly giving the appearance of being in a death struggle; let Americans keep their persons and their property out of the way.

II. It is reported in the press that the President will ask Congress for blanket authority before it adjourns. This would be practically equivalent to a surrender on the part of Congress of its constitutional right to declare war. Even without such action on the part of Congress, the President now has it within his power virtually to make us enter the war. Instead of surrendering any of its power Congress ought, on the contrary, to insist, much more vigorously than in the past two years, upon its constitutional prerogatives.

III. If you believe, nevertheless, that the time has come, either now or within the next few weeks or months when you can not withhold your assent to a vote for war, then I beg you to make your vote conditional upon a popular referendum to the people upon the question. Had this been done in any one of the European countries in the summer of 1914, it is safe to say that there would have been no war. Let us be a democracy not only in name and in times of tranquility but also when we are facing a crisis.

IV. I understand there is pending before Congress a resolution calling for a thorough investigation of the ownership and control of the leading American newspapers. I can hardly think of any one step more important to insure the future well-being of this country, both in peace and in war, than to expose fully who it is, or what interests they are, that have it within their power, by means of molding public opinion, to determine the great policies of this country.

With personal regards, I remain, yours, very truly,

ERICH C. STERN.

THE VIEWS OF A DISTINGUISHED PRIEST.

The distinguished Catholic clergyman who wrote the subjoined letter is well known throughout the United States. Being a great traveler, the gentleman has come in contact with a great many people of all classes and knows public opinion so well that he need not hesitate to express his own opinions. He writes:

THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION RECTORY,
JACKSON, MO.

Congressman CARY,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE AND DEAR SIR: Admiring your stand for the common people in this trying hour, I am taking the liberty of expressing to you what I have to-day to our Senator STONE. I am in touch with all classes of people and have been in many States the last few months some several times and 44 since last June. I do not need nor want advertising, so this is not the purpose of this letter. I want to state that, much as I desire to do so, I do not criticize an official in Washington, from the President down, on any public question from the platform. But as an individual I do so as a publicist. I can not add to or take from the following for your consideration.

I feel forced to write you again not only as your friend and your well-wisher but also within my rights as a citizen and one of your constituents to protest most earnestly against acts that are tending to drag us into this war.

It does not require the experience and judgment possessed by statesmen like yourself to see through this latest proposed outrage of American rights, the request of the President to arm American ships and to use the Army and Navy as he may deem fit. The people see through it, and, I assure you, they protest against it, and they will hold party and Representatives to the strictest accountability in the future, if they continue to so far contemn our rights and wishes in the matter.

You know as well, if not better, than I that there is not the slightest excuse in reason and justice, if we remain honestly neutral, why American ships should go armed.

The people see that it will be, indirectly, an act of war on the part of the United States against our friend of years, Germany, to have our Navy Department, either directly or indirectly, give guns for this purpose. It will also follow, of course, to provide gunners from the Navy to man those guns. You know, under those circumstances, that Germany will be perfectly justified in sending every ship so armed to the bottom; because if they were not put on there to send German submarines to the bottom they would not be on there.

There is not a drop of German blood in my veins nor in any member of my family, which has given several members for every battle ever fought in this country for the freedom of this country and for its preservation after. Do not get the idea that the people are going to "stand by the President" when the President is in the wrong. (This does not mean dissension in case war is declared.) To have him make a request from Congress to decide whether or not to use the Army and Navy is too great a request of Congress or for him to decide, though he were the wisest, the ablest, the greatest, and the most successful man in handling difficulties—which he certainly is not. There has been too much secret diplomacy going on under the administration of a man who is publicly and widely reported (without contradiction to the present) some years ago of stating he would be more proud to receive an Oxford cap than to be President of the United States. But let us suppose he denied such a statement, though I personally believe he said it, such a request as he contemplates asking is too great to be granted even to George Washington himself, if he were alive. It is a violation of the Constitution in letter and spirit. The man who asks for it has a record for incompetency and inefficiency that makes every drop of blood boil and every movement of the intellect rebel at granting him his outrageous and un-American request; a function that belongs to Congress with all its powers and responsibilities as well as judgment.

If granted it will mean that we shall never be able again to keep clear from foreign entangling alliances, an act as treasonable as if our country were bartered as Arnold bartered himself by endangering its safety.

The Democrats had the finest chance to show, in spite of the war, the finest administration of any of the previous ones, with the keeping of the highest ideals, but they have made Democracy a by-word and have put Senators and Congressmen, as a whole, in the position of stultifying their intelligence and judgment, and made American patriotism to appear as though founded on Wall Street investments or foreign sympathies, and true Americans as traitors who do not stand by them and those who are ignoring the rights of Americans who are pained, disgusted, and protesting. Do not feel resentful at what I state. I state facts and can prove them.

This "claptrap" of standing by the President is not fooling the people; the President is not standing by the people. The Congress and Senate did not "stand by the President" in the immigration bill and other incidents in the past I could mention. If it be a lack of patriotism not "to stand by the President" before war is declared, then you honorable gentlemen have first set the bad example.

The people prefer an extra session of Congress to grant what the President may need when it is necessary than to grant it now when it is not, and is dangerous in the hands of a man in whom they are fast losing confidence.

God help and pity those men in Washington who are defying an outraged and condemned people in case we are brought into the war on either side; they (the people) may not be able to express themselves as they would wish—others may lack the courage—but, believe me, you gentlemen, by your seeming indifference to their rights and requests, are fanning the scorching flames of socialism, anarchy, and revolution. I earnestly and respectfully protest against your voting for granting the President the authority he asks, to arm ships of any nationality or to let him have the authority to use the Army and Navy while Congress is not in session, because it is against the letter and spirit of the Constitution and a very dangerous authority in the hands of a President. You may make any use you please of this; it may not get any further than your waste basket. But these are the thoughts not only of myself, but the thinking man among the workers.

Yours, respectfully,

Rev. W. D. COLLINS.

FROM PROFESSIONAL AND BUSINESS MEN.

The following three letters reflect the views of professional and business men of my district:

FERDINAND PIETSCH,
STRUCTURAL STEEL AND ORNAMENTAL IRON WORKS,
Milwaukee, February 21, 1917.

Hon. W. J. CARY,
Member of Congress Fourth District Wisconsin,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: As an American-born citizen, I protest against the United States showing any further favors to the allies in the way of delivering to them ammunition and contraband of war and permitting American citizens to take passage on boats carrying contraband of war (as determined by the allies) under American protection.

It is all wrong for this Government to insist upon going into a blockaded zone carrying contraband of war per se into the allies' camp, and not even asserting its right to carry Red Cross supplies or food to the central powers. This country is, to the best of my observation, to blame for about two years of the war's duration to date and should be stopped forthwith.

Congress should not relegate its power in the slightest degree to the President, and an improvement on that would be a referendum on the war question, excepting in case of invasion by an enemy.

Hoping you will do your duty as a fair-minded, impartial American and Christian, I am,

Yours, very truly,

FERD. PIETSCH.

MILWAUKEE, WIS., *February 22, 1917.*

To Hon. Mr. CARY,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We the undersigned constituents of yours, and your friends as well, request that you oppose strenuously any act by Congress to give to the President the sole power to act at this critical time as his judgment may dictate. We, and we believe the majority of the people, desire to remain at peace with Germany and not become implicated in the European war in any way. We favor an embargo on all foodstuffs, and wish that you would direct your efforts to this purpose.

Very respectfully, yours,

Dr. M. ROSENHEIMER.
M. H. ROSENHEIMER, Jr., M. D.
GEO. H. BARELMAN.
F. H. FRANK, M. D.

MILWAUKEE, WIS., *February 22, 1917.*

United States Representative Mr. CARY: From newspaper reports I see that the President may at any moment address Congress for additional power to handle the present crisis. There may be particular cases where this may be done. On the other hand, however, the great majority of the people do not wish to place the vital issues of this country into the hands of one man, but has its Representatives at Washington for this reason to represent the people and not the proally press. Therefore I consider it altogether unjust toward the American people to give the President certain powers which, according to the Constitution, solely belong to Congress.

To-day on our first President's birthday, the great majority of the American people kindly request their Representatives to guide themselves by Washington's Farewell Address. "Nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others should be excluded and in place of them just and amicable relations with all should be cultivated."

ONE OF THE GREAT MAJORITY OF AMERICAN CITIZENS.

WHAT A LADY HAS TO SAY.

Among my home correspondents is a lady whose interesting letters have always pleased me. She appears to be extraordinarily bright. She writes:

MILWAUKEE, *February 20, 1917.*

To Congressman CARY.

DEAR SIR: We plead for a referendum if worst comes to worst. In the name of hundreds of conscientious, earnest, thinking women of Milwaukee, I wish to protest emphatically against this country being dragged into the horrors of the European war. Both sides of the belligerents have violated international law and our rights. We feel confident that had a firm stand been taken by the President at the very

beginning, when England—or the entente—took the first step on the road to "frightfulness" by deliberately setting out to starve the innocent women, children, aged, and invalided of a whole nation by declaring a blockade—declared by our own Government to be "illegal, indefensible, and ineffective"—although not a step was taken to effectively protest, all the hideous events that have followed and have now brought us near the precipice, could have been avoided. Is it not a strange thing that this initial step and all the diabolical character of such a plot has never roused in this our would-be neutral and moral country (as far as fine rhetoric can make us so)? What has followed has grown out of this first step, has been retaliatory in the defense of the existence of a whole nation. I was East last winter—in Washington some weeks—and intensely interested in the proceedings in Congress, but oh, so disillusioned as to the extent to which that body seems to take independent action as individuals during this administration. I regretted much that there was no opportunity at just that time to hear anyone of our own Representatives speak, but was appalled at the seeming, at least, lack of moral courage displayed by some of the other Members as well as the violent partisanship from Members. This slogan, "Stand by the President" seems to me pernicious in the extreme. We are told to stop to think and just so our Congressmen elected to represent the wishes and opinions of the people are supposed to be "patriotic" when they join in this slogan.

It seems preposterous and almost criminal and a betrayal of the splendid doctrines and principles on which the fathers of our country (oh, that some of them and their truly independent fine spirit were with us now) laid the foundation of our glorious Republic. Doesn't it seem at all incongruous that in this the much-boasted of all democracies, *the ultimate* power in a crisis such as this, is being seriously contemplated to be put into the hands of one man, the destiny of 100,000,000 people is to be guided by a single hand? The papers tell us that President Wilson is going to go before Congress with the plan to ask for full authority to act in whatever way he (sole man) deems necessary for the security (?) of the Nation after Congress adjourns March 4. Will Congress, in whom our Constitution placed the faith of being able to steer this Nation through all the shoals it may encounter, give up its prerogatives like this—now when the greatest crisis in history is before us? Is it thinkable? And can we for one minute look the rest of the nations in the face and call ourselves a democracy? Does any monarchy in all the annals of the world offer comparison with such autocratic power as that demanded now? Such splendid, sterling advice has been offered on the floor of the House how to keep out of the conflict by not allowing Americans to go on board of belligerent ships except at their own risk and by refusing clearance papers to ships carrying contraband. The remedy is so simple, and little nations, like Sweden and Holland, have shamed us by their fair, sane, courageous attitude. Even Carranza has been in his message fairer and has offered a splendid example of a sincere and efficacious way to put a stop to this heinous crime of futile slaughter and take an effective step toward bringing about reflection, sanity, and ultimate peace. Are we as a Nation to give up forever our splendid advantages of aloofness and isolation, to forget our beloved Washington's immortal message of keeping forever out of entangling alliances? What right will be left to us, then, to insist on our Monroe doctrine, and once plunged into the maelstrom there is no doubt but that war will follow war in this our dear country? Our criminal, venal, purchased press—wishing to humiliate us to a dependency of England—our big interests fattened already by the blood money this war has filled their coffers with—are at the bottom of this hideous conspiracy. We here in the Middle West have watched and studied and been appalled.

Congress stands as our last ray of hope, a bulwark between these unthinkably criminal howlers for war and the wishes, hopes, and prayers of the people. Will Congress desert us—the people—and deliver us into the hands of these inhuman vultures who cry for war to make more millions? What is our beloved country going to be asked to bleed for? All the belligerents have done wrong to us, and war is hell, each nation fighting for its life, how dare we side with one nation as against another? It is a European conflict, and to us will fall the honor—the precious prerogative—to be the most influential voice in the ultimate peace conference on a moral pedestal so high that we shall have almost unlimited power to make ourselves heard. Let us stay out and do not pave the way for the yellow race to gloat over the shambles of the white. President Wilson has to be lauded for his success in so far, at least, keeping us out of war. His severance of relations with Germany in the face of all the insults and humiliations we pocketed from England—our President even made a target in English music halls and by English poets and the insolent ignoring of our contemptuous assertion, "We'll do as we please."—was, to say the least, inexplicable from a moral standpoint. Should our country be invaded or attacked, it goes without saying that to the last of our breath we all, men and women, will rise to her defense. But that is no justification for war now—the pretexts are too frivilous for words—a simple warning to Americans to stay off the ships or go at their own risk suffices. What can we gain? What must we lose? May we not bank on you, our Representative, in vain. Forgive this lengthy and impassioned strain. We are harassed beyond endurance.

Very sincerely, yours,

WARDA BECKER.

THE BILL IS BUT A STEP TOWARD WAR.

I voted against this bill because I believe that it is but a step toward a war wanted by our money interests and by our pro-British press and not by the people. If the increasing of the powers of the President would set a dangerous precedent that some day might endanger the very existence of the Republic and would not be a sufficient reason for the rejection of this bill, the specter of war arising therefrom should be. The arming of our merchant vessels is but a subterfuge. The President wants more than that. He wants powers purposely withheld from him by the Constitution, powers that this House will not give him before the Senate has done so. Popular clamor, skillfully manipulated by the British and the American pro-British press, will make some of us here vote against their better convictions. I can not do it and be just to my country, my constituents, and myself.

For my opposition to the pending bill and for being against our entrance into the war through the subterfuge of arming American merchant ships I have been severely criticized, abused, villified, caricatured, and libelled by the subsidized pro-British press, of which we have a shining example in my home city of Milwaukee. But that I mind but little. I far more regret the loss of the friendship of some men who have been dear to me. I hope that in time they will understand me better and return their friendship to me. Those who have criticized and abused me have lost sight of the main question in this controversy. They want me to stand by a President not of my choice, who so little stands by the people that he is unwilling to trust Congress—the Representatives of the people. But, as I said before, the time will come when this question will be better understood and when the howlings of the subsidized press will cease and when the American people will recover their equilibrium. I deem it unnecessary to answer the condemnatory and criticizing letters received by me. My answer is found in these remarks and in the following letter I addressed to a very dear friend:

DEFINING MY POSITION.

DEAR FRIEND: Your letter of recent date duly received and contents noted.

I regret exceedingly that you have been led astray by the subsidized press of this country when questions of such vital importance arise and which involves the interests and welfare of all American citizens.

The seriousness of this question has not been carefully considered by the people and I have gone into the matter very deeply. In supporting the bill I feel that I would not only do an injustice to this great country, but would go against my oath in defending the Constitution of the United States.

I do not believe in monarchy. Surely you would not want me to vote for a czar, king, or an emperor. That is what I would do by delegating the power of Congress to any one man.

Let the President call a special session, and let Congress say whether or not we shall have war. The arming of boats would be a declaration of war, especially arming munition carriers.

I am not a tool of the Armor Plate Trust, Powder Trust, Munition Trust, Steamship Trust, or any other—just a plain American citizen trying to do my duty and live up to my oath of office.

I want to protect the Constitution, which our forefathers fought, bled, and died for; that's all. If the people would forget Europe entirely and think of America, they would then see things right.

Large scarecrow headlines in the newspapers, evidently engineered by the "big profit takers," has preyed on the people's passion; it's too bad.

The President should not be without the presence and advice of Congress in these trying times, and he should not be given unlimited authority to take any measures which may seem to him wise, even though their logical result will be to bring us into this insane world war. This is one time he should call a special session at once, as we are all here now. Dear friend, we may differ on this subject, but that should not destroy our friendship of years past.

You can rest assured that I am an American, first, last, and all the time.

Yours, sincerely,

WM. J. CARY.

THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE.

That all of our people, especially not all of my constituents, are not bereft of all reason in blind obedience to popular clamor is proven by the following resolutions adopted at a mass meeting attended by 4,000 of the citizens of Milwaukee, as good and loyal Americans as can be found in the land:

Whereas there is great danger that our country will be plunged into war and the manhood of our Nation destroyed in order that our manufacturers may safely transport ammunition and war material to Europe, and that our food speculators may sell our food at exorbitant prices to feed the fighting armies; and

Whereas certain mouthpieces of the munition makers declare that the dignity of the Nation and our sovereignty demand that our citizens be permitted to travel on belligerent ships, even when these ships carry ammunition and war material: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, loyal American citizens, in meeting assembled, hereby declare that to our best knowledge and belief the common people of our country are in favor of peace and against war; that the common people protest against taking away our food in order to provide for the soldiers of Europe; and that the common people of our country therefore do not want a declaration of war on any power in order to protect a blood-stained commerce; and be it further

Resolved, That we hereby declare that the dignity and sovereignty of our Nation do not demand that our citizens be protected on belligerent ships any more than that they be protected on belligerent soil—and that we, therefore, demand that American citizens be warned against boarding ships of belligerents except at their own risk, and that American ships be forbidden to enter the war zone; and, be it also

Resolved, That the President and Congress hereby be petitioned, requested, and urged to declare a complete embargo on all food products in order to protect the necessary food supply of our own people and to prevent famine, starvation, and all concomitant evils; and finally, be it

Resolved, That a copy of each of these resolutions be sent to President Woodrow Wilson, to the two United States Senators from Wisconsin, and to the Wisconsin delegation in the National House of Representatives.

I thoroughly approve every word of these resolutions and find in them a justification and approval of my position on these questions. I am further proud of having received the following

letter from the Emergency Peace Association, composed of well-known ladies and gentlemen, headed by Mrs. Henry Villard:

We do not desire any hostile conflict with the Imperial German Government. We are the sincere friends of the German people and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the Government which speaks for them.—(Woodrow Wilson, addressed to Congress, Feb. 3, 1917.)

[Emergency Peace Federation. Object: To keep America from war and its attendant consequences. Room 901, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York.]

648 MUNSEY BUILDING,
Washington, D. C., March 6, 1917.

Hon. WILLIAM J. CARY,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN CARY: On behalf of the Emergency Peace Federation, let me extend to you the sincere thanks of thousands upon thousands of American citizens for your brave stand in opposing armed neutrality despite the criticisms of the entire press, and despite the hazard to your personal fortunes which your action must have entailed.

I feel certain that the further we become removed from the passion and excitement of the present hours the more will your action stand out as a truly heroic thing, and as prompted by the highest patriotic motives of trying to save this country from the horrors of war.

I am, most respectfully, yours,
LOUIS P. LOCHNER, *of Milwaukee.*

I am unalterably opposed to this country entering into the European war, either on the side of the so-called allies or on the side of the so-called central powers. It is not our fight. There is neither reason nor right for the American public to take the part of any foreign Government in a fight against another foreign Government. We have proven that in this country people of all races and all religions can live peaceably side by side and develop a citizenship united and harmonious, devoted to the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity. The example that we have set to the world by our Government and political and social life will be nullified forever if we take sides in this quarrel of conflicting dynasties.

The last election proved decisively that the people of America, as ready as they will always be to repel invasion, were and still are against war and in favor of a strict and peaceful neutrality. "He kept us out of war" was the slogan on which Wilson was elected.

There has been no truer expression of the absolute right of every American to oppose war than you will find in the brave and manly words of William Jennings Bryan, which I beg to quote here:

OUR RIGHT TO OPPOSE WAR.

First. As it is the citizen's duty to give to his Government wholehearted support in time of war, it is his right, before war is declared, to put forth every legitimate effort to prevent war. Because the Government will have our loyal support in the event of war, we should not allow ourselves to be terrorized by the militarist portion of the daily press, which, while constantly arguing for war, denounces as unpatriotic all who work for peace. They give us a foretaste of the tyranny they would establish if they were in control of the Government.

Second. The war party deliberately misrepresents the President's attitude. While he hopes for peace, the war element is doing what it can to force the Nation into war. In spite of the fact that the Constitution expressly confers upon Congress the exclusive right to declare war, the jingoes try to make it appear that a calm and conscientious exercise of this right by Congress would be an attack on the President, and they misrepresent Congress also by intimating that Senators and Representatives would resent an expression of views by their constituents.

We but do justice to the President, Senators, and Representatives when we assume that, whatever their personal views, they will be pleased to learn the views of the rank and file of this Nation—those who produce the Nation's wealth in time of peace and fight the Nation's battles in time of war.

Third. We are within our rights, therefore, when, as means of preventing war, we urge resort to the treaty plan—offered to all the world and never withdrawn—providing for submission of every dispute to an international tribunal for investigation before going to war—a plan employed by the President, indorsed by the United States Senate, and approved by three-quarters of the world.

We are within our rights, too, when we urge postponement until after the war is over of every dispute that can not be settled by peaceful means during the war.

And we are within our rights, also, when we urge that, except in case of actual invasion, a declaration of war should be submitted to the people for approval before we join a war-mad world in its carnival of blood.

But, Mr. Speaker, the question of war or peace is, to my mind, the least important question connected with this proposed bill.

The history of the world has shown in numberless instances that in times of stress, under the influence of popular clamor, the best of rulers have been able to acquire powers which under other circumstances would never have been granted to them. Every coup d'état that has ever taken place took place in a period of danger, such as we are now passing through, and once the people of any country yielded up their power to an individual they never regained that power. Over and over again the power that was yielded to a good ruler has been the beginning of a long series of tyrannical and infamous despotisms. Cæsar Augustus was a good Emperor; Nero the most infamous figure in history. But if the Roman Republic had never yielded its power to Cæsar Augustus, there never would have been a Nero.

Napoleon Bonaparte, as the First Consul of the French Republic, led it to glorious victories and great achievements. Napoleon Bonaparte, the Emperor, led it to the disastrous defeat of Moscow and the desolation of the Battle of Waterloo.

Mr. Speaker, I do not impugn either the motives, the patriotism, or the wisdom of the present incumbent of the White House, but while I have the greatest faith in the world in American citizens as a whole, I know, and every man in politics knows, that there is more than one man in the United States who, if elected President, and invested with the power that this bill will create, would not hesitate to use that power for the advancement of his own personal ambition. I know, as I stated in the beginning of my speech, that the stand this small minority is taking to-day in Congress will subject us to invective and abuse, and will possibly mean the political downfall of some of us, but when I look back over the history of this magnificent country, and the countless men in all walks of life who have given their lives and sacrificed their fortunes that liberty and freedom might endure, I, for one, am willing to lose my seat in Congress and every political power that I possess in the same great cause.

For it is a great cause. This country was founded on vital, enduring, and eternal principles, crystallized in the immortal sentences of the Declaration of Independence, baptized in the blood of noble heroes, consecrated by the prayers and tears of thousands of self-sacrificing women, and I, for one, will never yield one iota of the principles that no government is just that is not founded upon the consent and direct expression of the will of the people.

I see a grave danger menacing this Republic to-day, a graver danger than many people for one moment imagine, for reading the history of the past, with its countless stories of the downfall of free republics and the building of personal dynasties, I can see in the vistas of the future that if this bill passes and this dangerous personal power is given even to the best of men, the end of a republican form of government.

I can almost hear the distant hoof beats of some powerful, conscienceless man on horseback, riding over the ashes of a dead republic to the throne of a despot and a tyrant.

May God in His mercy guide us aright and keep us strong in the faith of the fathers, that this free Government may not perish, but endure unto all the ages.

The Late Representative Michael F. Conry.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS

OF

HON. JOHN J. EAGAN,

OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. EAGAN. Mr. Speaker, MICHAEL F. CONRY has answered the final roll call. America has lost one of its best citizens; this House one of its ablest Members, one of its noblest characters; the fifteenth congressional district of New York a conscientious, hard-working Representative; his colleagues in this House a steadfast friend; and his sorrowing widow and children a devoted husband and father.

Membership in this great body has its responsibilities and cares, but it also has its compensations. One of the greatest of these is the opportunity to have known men like MICHAEL F. CONRY. My friendship for Mr. CONRY began the moment I was introduced to him, and it ripened as I grew to know more and more of him. The memory of the friendship will live in me as long as life lasts.

Though suffering constant and intense pain as the result of an accident while working as a boy in the coal mines of Pennsylvania, his disposition was as cheerful as his voice was sweet, as his heart was tender and true. Instead of harrowing others with his physical ills he seemed to forget them completely, and helped many of us by his sunny disposition and his all-pervading good humor to forget our imaginary troubles.

To know MICHAEL F. CONRY was indeed to love him. In his death I have suffered the loss of one of the best and truest friends I have ever had.

Mexico.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN H. STEPHENS,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, during the recent national campaign Republican campaign orators viciously attacked President Wilson's Mexican policy, charging he used the Army of our country in his endeavor to end the reign of anarchy existing in that country without declaring war against it. Recent events in Mexico have fully justified his course in that regard.

The recent election of Gen. Carranza as President of the Republic of Mexico, the collapse of the Villa revolution, and the general improvement in the condition of affairs there show fully the wisdom of the course pursued by the President. His oratorical campaign critics, however, had to find fault with him for campaign purposes and selected what they termed the "Mexican fiasco" as his most vulnerable point of attack. Their purposes reminds me of a story that is told of a new pastor who was conducting the first service on the charge. He was reading the injunction to the disciples who were being sent out to heal the sick, raise the dead, and cast out devils. Adjusting his spectacles, he looked out upon the congregation. "Now, brethren and sisters and friends," he stammered out in an embarrassed sort of way, "that is just what I am here for—to heal the dead, cast out the sick, and raise the devil."

These Republican campaign faultfinders were simply trying "to raise the devil" with President Wilson over the Mexican situation. These politicians proposed to retire the President from his high office in the November elections. The voters, however, disposed of the matter by triumphantly reelecting him President for a second term, and thus ratified his Mexican policy.

The Philadelphia North American on July 25, 1916, in its vain endeavor to defeat President Wilson for reelection, published the following article, namely:

WILSON BADLY BEATEN IN TEXAS PRIMARIES; HIS CANDIDATES LOSE—PRESIDENT AND HIS POLICIES WERE CHIEF ISSUES IN CAMPAIGN—FIVE CONGRESSMEN OUT—COLQUITT, RUNNING ANTIADMINISTRATION, LEADS FOR SENATE.

WASHINGTON, *July 24.*

A stinging defeat was administered to President Wilson by the voters of Texas on Saturday.

Such is the belief of the Republicans, now that the returns from the Lone Star State, virtually all in, indicate a straight-out victory for the anti-Wilson men.

Wilson's Mexican policy and Wilson's foreign policy were the three chief issues in the campaign. The supporters of Wilson and his policies were beaten wherever there was opposition to them, according to the reports.

Former Gov. Colquitt, basing his campaign entirely on opposition to Wilson and Wilson's Mexican policy, is far in the lead for the senatorial nomination.

Congressman at Large McLEMORE, basing his campaign on opposition to both Wilson's Mexican and foreign policies, is leading the race for the two positions of Congressman at large.

Five Wilson-Democratic Congressmen went down in their efforts to win renomination by hanging on the coattails of the President.

The Congressmen who failed to get renominations were CALLAWAY, STEPHENS, BURGESS, SMITH, and DAVIS. CALLAWAY ran as a pro-Wilson man. He has made a record for himself in this Congress by opposing all measures for adequate national defense. He and HENSLEY, of Missouri, were responsible for blocking battleships out of the naval bill as it passed the House. Likewise they persuaded the President to give the no-battleship bill his approval.

STEPHENS is chairman of the House Indian Committee, SMITH of the Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, and BURGESS was in line to become chairman of the Rivers and Harbors Committee, the present head of which, SPARKMAN, of Florida, was beaten for renomination a few weeks ago. DAVIS is widely known as "Cyclone" DAVIS. He went down in the ruck along with the other pro-Wilson Members. However, he ascribed a different reason for his defeat.

"Booze, boodle, and big business brought about my defeat," said DAVIS, when he made certain there was no chance for him to win out. "These interests prevented my name from going on the ballot as 'Cyclone' DAVIS. Every one in Texas knows me by that name."

Along with the victory of Colquitt, the victory of Congressman at Large McLEMORE was a severe jolt for Wilson. McLEMORE is the author of the now famous "McLemore resolution" which precipitated the armed-merchantman dispute between Wilson and Congress.

After Wilson compelled the Democratic majority in the House to table the McLemore resolution, warning Americans off armed merchantmen, he started out to defeat McLEMORE in Texas. McLEMORE, however, ran right along with Colquitt in the State at large, outdistancing his pro-Wilson competitors.

The fight on Colquitt was extremely bitter. The administration got behind Congressman HENRY. When it saw HENRY had no chance it persuaded Senator CULBERSON, who had virtually decided to get out of politics because of ill health, to go back into the race. CULBERSON is running second, but more than 20,000 behind Colquitt. He will take part in a second primary with Colquitt as his only opponent.

Mr. Speaker, at the time this editorial was written full returns of the Texas Democratic primary election were not in, but Senator CULBERSON was defeated, and in the second primary, held shortly afterwards, he defeated Colquitt by many thousand votes.

In this second primary race I sent a circular letter into my district advocating the reelection of Senator CULBERSON.

My open letter on this subject is as follows:

To the voters of the thirteenth congressional district of Texas:

I desire to request my friends and supporters to vote for Senator CULBERSON and against ex-Gov. Colquitt on the 26th of August. A vote for Colquitt would be a vote against Wilson, his administration and supporters, and therefore a vote for Hughes and the Republican Party. Can you afford to so vote? I think not. Colquitt in his now famous interview—which is being used as a campaign document by the Republicans—denounced the Wilson Democratic administration and said, among other things, that "the Wilson administration's foreign policy has been imbecile"; and he further said: "The Wilson administration is the greatest failure in the history of the Presidency." He substantially repeated this abuse of the Wilson administration in a speech at the Vernon fair last fall. I replied to him the next day, defended Mr. Wilson and paraphrased the Colquitt libel by saying that the Colquitt administration in Texas was not only imbecile but that he was the greatest failure as governor that ever disgraced that great office in our State; that he had pandered to the liquor interests of the State and was then and is now their willing tool. He had pandered to and secured the German vote of the State—which was and is now violently opposed to the Wilson Democratic administration. The Democratic voters of Texas can not afford to defeat Senator CULBERSON, who is supporting Mr. Wilson, and elect Mr. Colquitt, a man who is fighting the present splendid Democratic administration. They can not afford to slap Senator CULBERSON and the able Democratic Texas members of the Wilson Cabinet in the face by voting for this swashbuckling egotistical maligner of Democracy and the panderer to the vicious elements of our State.

Mr. Speaker, on July 21, 1916, the Wichita Times, an ably managed and edited Democratic paper published in Wichita Falls, Tex., published the following editorial in relation to the candidacy of Gov. Colquitt, viz:

[From the Wichita Falls Times, July 21, 1916.]

O. B. Colquitt is making a strong bid for the antiprohibition vote. His speech here last night, as have been his speeches everywhere, was directed to the antiprohibitionists. A good many antis would support him if they believed he could win in the second primary, but there's where the rub comes in. It is hard to believe that a majority of the Democrats of Texas will vote for the man who has declared over his own signature that "The Wilson administration has been the biggest failure in the history of the Presidency" and who predicted that the electorate of 1916 would end the Democratic régime. The selection of O. B. Colquitt as one of the two candidates for the run-off primary would be construed by the people of the country as a slap at the Wilson administration by Texas Democracy. The Times believes that the great majority of Texas Democrats indorse the Wilson administration and that the success of Mr. Colquitt, in view of his statements and his attitude toward the administration, would be a humiliation.

I fully agree and believe with this editor, that Gov. Colquitt in order to defend his own foolish and unwise course in trying to thwart the President's policy in relation to Mexico, would have been willing to bring on a bloody war between the two countries.

Mr. Speaker, Gov. Colquitt undoubtedly conspired with Victor Ridder, of New York, to secure the German vote of Texas. The following editorial from the New York Times dated April 24, 1916, leads me to this conclusion:

ANTI-WILSON MEN WILL GET GERMAN VOTE—VICTOR RIDDER QUOTED ON AN ORGANIZED CAMPAIGN FOR CONGRESSMEN—COLQUITT TO BE SUPPORTED.

The New York Times this morning publishes the following:

Victor Ridder, the brother of Bernard Ridder, editor of the Staats-Zeitung, said last night, that the German-American vote was being organized in this country in a campaign against any presidential candidate not acceptable to the German-Americans, and that the start of that campaign was being made now in an effort to see that no Congressmen or Senators were returned to Washington who were not in opposition to President Wilson.

BELIEVES COURSE JUSTIFIED.

In his statement, as reported to the Times, Mr. Ridder said he believed that the use of the German-American vote to beat men for Congress who might support Wilson was perfectly justified in view of the unwarranted attacks Mr. Wilson had made upon the Germans and the German-Americans living here.

Mr. Ridder was asked about the story appearing in a New York newspaper to the effect that Bernard Ridder had written to German language Texas newspapers asking them to support O. B. Colquitt, one of the candidates for the United States Senate.

"It is true that my brother and the Staats-Zeitung are using all the influence in their power," Mr. Ridder is reported to have said in reply, "to see that as large a vote as possible is swung to support men for Congress, Senators and Representatives who are not in sympathy with President Wilson and who can be depended upon to oppose him to the last.

"I consider this is a perfectly justifiable action on our part in view of the unjust and unfair imputations of President Wilson against the German-Americans who are living peacefully as members of this Nation despite the troubles in Europe. It is true that Bernard Ridder has written to friends in Texas asking their support of former Gov. Colquitt's election to the Senate.

Mr. Speaker, the New York World, on April 25, 1916, contained the following editorial relating to Gov. Colquitt's campaign methods. It is self-explanatory, and is as follows:

COLQUITT'S REDEEMING SHAME.

We find it necessary to give former Gov. O. B. Colquitt, of Texas, credit for one thing. His conscience smote him when as a candidate for the United States Senate he solicited the assistance of the pro-German propaganda.

"Of course," he says in his appeal to Mr. Koelble, of the German-American Alliance, "it would be well for such letters as you may write to be confidential, for reasons which you can readily understand." "I hope," he pleads in his communication to Bernard Ridder, in which he boasts of his own eminent services for Germany, "you will treat this letter as confidential."

With these requests he fell in with the spirit of the movement engineered from Berlin to intimidate or corrupt American sentiment. Every bomb, every torch, every forged passport, every bribe, every conspiracy, and every threat used by or for Germans against the peace and dignity of this country has been employed in strict confidence, for reasons readily understood.

Whether Mr. Colquitt's adoption of the same methods was due to mimicry or shame, it is evident that he did not want to be caught in the Kaiser's service. Such a man must still have a trace of Americanism in him.

Mr. Speaker, the primary election resulted in my defeat, and I lost my seat in Congress by standing by the President and remaining at my post of duty during the entire session. I have always supported President Wilson and his policies. On June 23, 1915, in a speech before the Commercial Club at Childress, Tex., I spoke as follows:

COMMERCIAL CLUB BARBECUE GRAND SUCCESS.

Hon. JOHN H. STEPHENS, of Vernon, Congressman from this section of the State, was the last speaker. He did not exactly make a political speech, but devoted the greater part of his time to explanation of some of the national questions now before the people. He was particularly strong in his upholding of President Wilson, also condemned Hon. W. J. Bryan for resigning from the Cabinet at the time he did. Mr. STEPHENS said that he was opposed to war, either with Europe or Mexico, but said that the President could not afford to give in to all the demands of foreign countries. He was of the opinion that affairs in Mexico would reach a crisis in a short time, and if a strong man did not come to the front in that country and control affairs this country might find it necessary to send an army down there.

The talk of Mr. STEPHENS was applauded quite freely, showing that the crowd was with him on the stand he had taken. Also the next day many compliments were heard and the wish was expressed by many that he return at an early date and give a talk to the public along the same lines, only more extended.

On June 14, 1915, I was interviewed by a reporter of the Wichita Times, and made the following statement, viz:

CONGRESSMAN STEPHENS IN ACCORD WITH WILSON IN POINT BEYOND WHICH NATION CAN NOT MAINTAIN PASSIVE POLICY AND HOLD SELF-RESPECT.

When questioned as to his views with reference to the action of Secretary of State Bryan retiring from the Cabinet, Congressman JOHN H. STEPHENS, of this city, chairman of the House Committee on Indian Affairs and dean of the Texas delegation in the lower House, yesterday expressed his approval of the course pursued by President Wilson in the diplomatic correspondence with Germany, and further stated that he was not greatly surprised to learn of Mr. Bryan's resignation, since the Secretary of State had advocated a policy of peace at any price.

Continuing, Mr. STEPHENS said that such a policy was unwise because there is a point beyond which it is impossible for a nation to retain its self-respect and the respect of the world by pursuing a passive policy in its international relations. The local Congressman then stated that, in his opinion, this point had been reached in our relations with Germany and the President was correct in insisting upon Germany respecting our rights as a neutral power.

Owing to the very meager reports concerning the causes of Mr. Bryan's resignation received in Vernon yesterday, Mr. STEPHENS said he felt a hesitancy in discussing the matter, but that if the reports were correct in stating that Mr. Bryan's action was prompted by his disapproval of the note which is about to be forwarded to Germany, which, it is generally understood, simply inquires whether Germany intends to conform her maritime warfare to recognized principles of international law, he is unable to see why anyone should disapprove the sending of such a note.

Passing to the phase of the question involved in the possible unfavorable answer of Germany to the American demands, Mr. STEPHENS said he believed that the United States in such a contingency should sever diplomatic relations with Germany and impound German ships now interned in American waters to be held until the claims of this Government are satisfied. The action, Mr. STEPHENS pointed, could not mean war, but would simply be a protest on the part of the United States against the violation of the rights of neutrals upon the high seas.

Mr. STEPHENS expressed the opinion that the resignation of Mr. Bryan would not affect the attitude of the American people toward the Wilson foreign policy and that the Nation would continue to unitedly support the President in whatever action he and the other members of the Cabinet may decide in the crisis now on in our foreign relations.

Mr. Speaker, I think that I have made it clear that I am now, and always have been, a loyal friend and supporter of President Wilson and his policies and that Gov. Colquitt and his henchmen have been disloyal to him. The following letter from the Democratic chairman of one of the counties of the district I represent is self-explanatory:

JULY 17, 1916.

DEAR MR. STEPHENS: This is the ticket put out by the antis, and they are giving it to every voter in the county. Wish you were here to offset it. Things are warming up here, but I am confident that you will have a handsome majority.

The ticket referred to was the Texas Democratic ticket, printed for use in the State primary election held on July 21, 1916.

The ticket is as follows, viz:

ALL DEMOCRATS.

All Democrats are asked to vote this ticket for old Democracy's sake.
Against the submission of an amendment of the constitution providing for State-wide prohibition.
For governor: James E. Fergerson.
For United States Senator: O. B. Colquitt.
Congressman at large: JEFF: MCLEMORE and Hugh Nugent Fitzgerald.
Chief justice of supreme court: Nelson Phillips.
Associate justice supreme court: R. W. Hall.
Attorney general: John W. Woods.
Railroad commissioner: Allison Mayfield.
State treasurer: J. M. Edwards.
Judge court criminal appeals: A. J. Harper.
Commissioner of agriculture: H. A. Halbert.
Comptroller: H. P. Terrell.
Against the resolution without modification or change of the compulsory investment feature of the Robertson insurance law.
For associate justice, court of civil appeals, seventh judicial district: William Boyce.
Member of Congress, thirteenth congressional district: Marvin Jones.
For representative, one hundred and first district: E. R. Greenwood.

Mr. Speaker, my successful opponent lived at Amarillo and ran for Congress on this Colquitt ticket. He was elected by a plurality vote over myself and two other avowed prohibition candidates, thus giving this anti-Wilson, pro-German, and pro-saloon ticket an easy victory, but he failed by over 3,000 votes of receiving one-half of the votes of the district in the Democratic primary. There can be no run-off or second election in Texas between the two candidates for Congress receiving the highest number of votes.

On July 5, 1916, I made a speech in the House of Representatives giving my reasons for not going home and canvassing my district.

That speech is as follows:

ON THE NECESSITY FOR EVERY DEMOCRAT REMAINING AT HIS POST DURING THE REMAINDER OF THIS SESSION OF CONGRESS.

"Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the country must and will recognize that the present session of Congress is one of the most important since the Civil War. The great war in Europe, the alarming conditions in Mexico, the changed trade and business relations growing out of these world calamities make it absolutely necessary for the President and Congress to be more alert in framing policies and laws to meet the existing and contemplated troubles than ever before. It is therefore more necessary than at any other time since I have been a Member of this House that Democrats should remain on guard, and, if necessary, forfeit their seats here to some one running against them at home rather than desert the Democratic ship, so well commanded by Woodrow Wilson in this great storm period of our national history.

"Our constituents at home, I know, despise deserters and desire every Democrat to remain here and aid our presidential leader in his great endeavor to prevent war in Mexico or elsewhere if possible, or, if war is forced upon us, to furnish all the means and legislation necessary to conquer the enemies of our country.

"Keeping these things in mind, I think and hope that all Democrats in Congress should remain here and endeavor to carry out the splendid policies of the Woodrow Wilson administration. I know by experience that it is hard to remain here at our post of duty while our opponents are fighting us at home for our seats, and by taking advantage of our absence are misrepresenting to our constituents our votes and records here, claiming that we have never done anything for them while in Congress. My record in Congress will show the falsity of my opponent's claim that I have never done anything to benefit my constituents. This false charge convicts its maker of either willfully misrepresenting facts, as shown by the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, or of inexcusable ignorance of the past political history of his country.

"In any event he proves himself unworthy to be my successor in this House.

"Mr. Speaker, I desire to state that I am a conservative in all matters of legislation and that I am not an advocate of peace at any price, but only when it can be had by patiently waiting and diplomacy as the President so far has so well accomplished. The country is to be congratulated in having President Wilson now at the helm. He is a man of conservatism and prudence rather than a man of fiery and warlike instincts.

"My votes at this session of Congress on the various preparedness measures coming before us show that I am in favor of adopting such strong military measures as the President may find necessary to prevent any further butchery of our soldiers or citizens by Mexican bandits.

"That I favor the building of merchant marine and warships in the Government shipyards. I also favor the Government building plants and manufacturing all of its munitions of war, and I shall vote, as heretofore, for reasonable appropriations of money in the Army, Navy, and fortifications bills as will, in my judgment, be sufficient to adequately defend our country from foreign invasion.

"That I favor a small standing army in time of peace and the use of the National Guard to supplement the Regular Army in time of war; in other words, I favor the same system that has served us so well since the foundation of our Government.

"That I am opposed to compulsory military service and favor the volunteer system.

"I voted for the Hay bill because it was a comprehensive method of meeting all different views promulgated upon the preparedness question, and dealt with this question from a reasonable standpoint and did not go to either extreme. The Hay bill provided for a standing army of 140,000 men, which is an increase of 40,000 over the present standing Army. I voted against the Kahn amendment, which provided for an increase of the standing Army to 220,000.

"I favored the President's policy of warning our citizens against going into Mexico and also requesting those citizens already there to come out and remain out of that unhappy country."

The Life, Character, and Public Services of Hon. Michael F. Conry, Late a Representative From the State of New York.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS

OF

HON. MURRAY HULBERT,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, MICHAEL FRANCIS CONRY has gone to his last reward. No more shall we hear his sweet voice along the corridors and through the tunnel leading from the House Office Building to the Capitol humming the refrain of "Genevieve," "Mother Machree," "The End of a Perfect Day," or a song composed by himself upon the trip made by a congressional party to Honolulu last summer—all his favorites, with which he always sought to ease each belabored step, never knowing, as he expressed it, what it was to be without pain, as he attempted to hurry along in the performance of his duty, which he discharged with unerring fidelity to the trust reposed in him by an admiring constituency.

Born at Shenandoah, Pa., April 2, 1870, of poor but respected parents, when but a boy, working in the coal mines, CONRY met with an unfortunate accident, in which his ankles were crushed, rendering him a cripple for life, thus preventing him from pursuing further that occupation. But it gave him the unlooked-for and unexpected opportunity of attending and being educated in the public schools of his native town, following which he taught school for seven years, and then entered and worked his way through the University of Michigan. Graduating from that institution in 1896, he received the degree of bachelor of laws, and began the practice of law at Scranton, Pa.

Mr. CONRY was too modest and unassuming to take more than a conscientious pride in his own success, yet too proud to complain of any misfortune.

Probably few of his colleagues ever knew he had once been nominated as the Democratic candidate for, and, upon the face of the first returns, elected to Congress from the State of Pennsylvania, but the certificate was subsequently issued to his opponent.

Thereafter Mr. CONRY moved to and took up the practice of law in New York City, where he soon attracted attention as an orator of marked ability.

It was but natural that one of his humble origin, always considerate of the welfare of the toilers, should have allied himself with the Democracy of Tammany Hall, in which he became an ardent and enthusiastic colaborer and attained deserved popularity.

After serving for two years as an assistant corporation counsel of the city of New York he was elected to the Sixty-first, Sixty-second, Sixty-third, Sixty-fourth, and Sixty-fifth Congresses, and at the time of his death was a member of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. CONRY was a man of great intellect and a diligent student; he possessed the talent to analyze an intricate problem until he had mastered its every detail, and acted only after the fullest deliberation, and while not so active upon the floor of the House as many of his colleagues, due to his physical infirmities, his counsel and advice were eagerly sought, and he gave a great deal of attention and deep thought to pending legislation, and his influence was a potent factor in its consideration. Aside from his attention to tariff and revenue matters, which were originated in the committee of which he was a member, he found time to organize and practically lead the successful opposition on the Democratic side to the Clarke amendment to the Philippine bill, upon the termination of which, after a continuous session of 13 hours, on May 1, 1916, he suffered a physical collapse which compelled him to take to his bed for several weeks, and which he prophesied "was the beginning of the end." He also delivered a carefully considered and well-prepared speech in support of the retention of the pneumatic postal tubes in New York, which is but one evidence of his readiness and eagerness to promote or protect the interests of the city of New York, which he in part and so ably represented whenever it became an issue.

During my brief service in Congress we had become warm personal friends, inseparable companions, and I never knew a more considerate, faithful, and devoted friend.

And friendship is the rarest and sweetest flower that grows in the garden of life; its soil is the human heart; it is planted by honest thought, nurtured by tears of sympathy, and kept alive by the breath of good wishes. Anyone who possessed the friendship of Congressman CONRY, and they were legion, might have applied the acid tests of a chattering tongue, a wind of adversity, a bit of good fortune, or a breath of slander, only to find that it was untarnished by any or all. It was pure gold.

My heart goes out to his wife and three little daughters, who have lost a devoted husband and loving father, while not only the people of the fifteenth congressional district, but the city, State, and Nation have lost a statesman in the hour of our country's peril.

Though I was one of the last to leave his bedside when his spirit had taken its final departure, I shall never be able to realize that he is other than "absent," for such a noble character as his but echoes:

There is no death,
The stars go down to rise upon a fairer shore
And bright in heaven's jeweled crown
They shine forevermore.

And ever near us tho' unseen
The nearer immortal spirit treads,
For all the boundless universe is life,
There are no dead.

I include the following newspaper articles on my late colleague, MICHAEL F. CONRY:

[From the Washington Post, Saturday, Mar. 3, 1917.]

DEATH OF M. F. CONRY—HOUSE HALTS SESSION FOR HOUR WHEN NEWS IS RECEIVED—AT WORK UNTIL LAST WEEK—SUCCUMBS AT PROVIDENCE HOSPITAL FROM HEART AND KIDNEY TROUBLE—DEMISE MAY MEAN REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATION OF NEXT HOUSE—WAS TAMMANY HALL MAN.

The House stopped work for an hour yesterday when announcement was made of the death of Representative MICHAEL F. CONRY, from the fifteenth district of New York. After an illness of six weeks of kidney and heart trouble Mr. CONRY died at Providence Hospital here shortly before 5 o'clock in the afternoon. The body will be taken to New York to-day, and funeral services will be held in that city next Tuesday.

Mr. CONRY, prominent in the affairs of this Congress, had been elected to succeed himself in the next House. He was a Democrat, and the vacancy created by his death may result in an advantage that will give the Republican side the necessary single vote required to organize the House and elect a Speaker.

It was said last night that it is not likely that Gov. Whitman, of New York, being a Republican, will call a special election before next November.

The Democrats and the Republicans each elected 215 Members. There are five independent Members. Each of the old parties is reasonably certain of receiving two votes from the independents, with Representative MARTIN, progressive-protectionist, of Louisiana, in doubt.

FOUR TERMS IN CONGRESS.

With one Democratic vacancy, it would be a tie vote if Mr. MARTIN casts his lot with the Democrats, and if he should go to the Republican side, the result would be a majority of two for that party.

Mr. CONRY was rounding out his fourth consecutive term in the House. He was 47 years old. He was a native of Shenandoah, Pa., and in his youth, following the occupation of a miner, sustained an injury that lamed him for life. He taught school for seven years and afterwards studied law in the Michigan University. He is survived by a widow and three daughters.

In the House Mr. CONRY was regarded as the leader of the New York delegation. He was known as the closest friend of Charles F. Murphy, chief of Tammany Hall. He was a member of the Ways and Means Committee, and until last week, though ill, worked hard with his colleagues in connection with the framing of the revenue bill and other legislation.

[From the Washington Evening Star, Saturday, Mar. 3, 1917.]

REPRESENTATIVE CONRY DIES AT HOSPITAL HERE—NEW YORK MEMBER ILL ONLY WEEK—FUNERAL SERVICES TUESDAY—HOUSE PAYS ITS RESPECT.

Representative MICHAEL F. CONRY, of New York City, died at Providence Hospital yesterday afternoon after an illness of a week. Funeral services will be held in New York City Tuesday. Mr. CONRY had been aware of an approaching illness for several weeks, but had continued at his work up until the time it was necessary for him to go to the hospital a week ago. The physicians found he had a combination of heart and kidney trouble.

His death was announced to the House late yesterday afternoon by Representative FITZGERALD, of New York City. As the announcement came at a time when the public business of Congress was in a congested condition, all the House could do in respect to the late Member's memory was to recess from 7 to 8 o'clock. Representative MANN and Representative BENNET made brief speeches, in addition to Representative FITZGERALD'S remarks, telling of their admiration for Representative CONRY'S many fine qualities.

LOOKED UPON AS LEADER.

The New York Member was especially valuable to the Ways and Means Committee and was looked upon as a leader in the New York City delegation in the House.

As it was known, he was one of the closest friends to Charles F. Murphy, the head of the Tammany organization, Representative CONRY'S political advice was considered valuable. His work in Congress was of the quiet kind, as he rarely made a speech. However, he exercised great influence, and his death will make a great gap in the power of the Democratic organization in the House.

He had been reelected to the next House, which would have made his fifth consecutive term. He was 47 years old, born in Shenandoah, Pa., in 1870. His first work was in a coal mine; later he became a teacher, and then attended the University of Michigan, graduating in 1896 with a degree of bachelor of laws. His practice in New York City brought him into prominence, and he became assistant corporation counsel of that city, a post he held for two years. He was elected to the House first for the Sixty-first Congress and for the succeeding Congresses with large majorities. A wife and three children survive him.

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[From the Washington Herald, Saturday, Mar. 3, 1917.]

REPRESENTATIVE CONRY SUCCUMBS TO MALADY—"TAMMANY HALL" CONGRESSMAN DIES AT PROVIDENCE HOSPITAL.

MICHAEL F. CONRY, Democratic Representative of the fifteenth New York district in the House, died at Providence Hospital here last night of kidney trouble.

He had been ill only a few days, although his health had been bad for several years. He was 47 years old, and is survived by a wife and three children.

Representative CONRY was one of the leaders of the so-called Tammany group of House Democrats. He had been in Congress for eight years, and had been reelected to the Sixty-fifth Congress. His death materially lessens the Democratic chances to control the next House.

The House, despite the congestion of legislative business and the short time remaining for work, took an hour's adjournment last night out of respect to the memory of Representative CONRY.

Representatives FITZGERALD, of New York; MANN, of Illinois; and BENNET, of New York, paid glowing tributes to the dead Member. The body will go to New York to-day, and a congressional committee will attend the funeral, to be held Tuesday.

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[From the Washington Times, Saturday, Mar. 3, 1917.]

IF HOUSE DOES SING, 'TWILL BE A TRIBUTE—"MIKE" CONRY, GENIAL, SWEET-VOICED CONGRESSMAN, DIES AS SESSION ENDS—LED IN "GOOD-BY" SONGS—MEMBERS RECESS IN MIDST OF TASKS WHEN NEWS OF DEATH IS TOLD.

[By Theodore Tiller.]

Probably there'll be a song or two in the House of Representatives late to-night or in the early morning hours as this session passes into history. In the lower body there is generally a let-down of business just before the gavel falls, and somehow the fellows begin to hum an old-fashioned tune, the chorus swells, and soon half the membership is singing.

It is the mellowing influence of the time for good-bys, the relief from overwork, an outcropping of the sentimental among men who are soon to break pleasant associations, and who at heart are still just boys.

But if they sing to-night there will be a missing voice—and that is why this story is written. "MIKE" CONRY—genial, whole-souled, lovable "MIKE" CONRY—is dead, or has "crossed over," as Uncle JOE CANNON, who dislikes the word "death," would say if he were writing a story about the passing of a colleague.

VOICE CLEAR, HEART TENDER.

In former years Congressman CONRY has been there to sing as the last hours of a Congress slipped by. He had a voice as clear as a bell and a heart as tender as a child's. He was lame—was "MIKE" CONRY—but he'd limp toward the well of the House and soon you'd hear him above the rest as his tenor would blend in harmony with other Members who had good voices and sang with feeling under the thrill of good-by scenes.

"Auld Lang Syne," "Tenting To-night," "Old Black Joe," "Suwannee River"—the old favorites, with sometimes a verse of "Home, Sweet Home"—were among the songs they sang, while CONRY'S voice keyed true to every note.

Or perhaps they'd sing an Irish ballad—something that carried one back to the memories of green hills and clear lakes, to blue-eyed lassies, to cottages where old-fashioned mothers crooned the lullabys that have always put little children to sleep, and to a little isle whose national heart has been as big as the great out-of-doors.

"MIKE" CONRY STIRRED.

And then, too, "MIKE" CONRY'S voice was heard above the rest, but it had a sort of quaver in it and his eyes had that far-away look that comes when one's feelings are deeply stirred.

Maybe the Members of the House will not get a chance to sing at all before the adjournment comes sine die. But if CONRY were here he'd want them to, and now he is dead and the body is on the way to his New York home, "MIKE" CONRY would not have them refrain from song because of that.

This story might have been told in a few words—but the writer felt it was worth a bit more than that. In these final hours of an epochal session of the National Legislature, it can not be amiss to turn a moment from practical things and record that sentiment still exists, that there is not a Member of the House who doesn't miss MICHAEL CONRY to-day, and that if the songs of yesterday are sung again some of his colleagues will seem to hear once more the lead of CONRY, of New York.

HOUSE SHOWS SPIRIT.

Persons who have never seen the end of a session in the House of Representatives probably can not appreciate what adjournment means to the Members of the lower body. In the Senate there is always dignity, real or assumed. The farewells are grave, matter of fact, although doubtless sincere. In the House the scenes are entirely different.

House Members somehow are closer in their friendships. The complexion of the lower chamber is constantly changing. Men come and go every two years. The leader of to-day may be the vanquished of to-morrow. But during his term he has formed friendships that are as true as steel and associations that are hard to break.

Final adjournment in the House is much like the graduation day in a high school or a college. The young fellows assemble in class for the last time. Each one knows that never will they all meet together again. New faces are sure to appear and old faces are certain to be missed. It is a breaking of the ties that bind.

So with the House of Representatives, with its membership that comes "close from the soul of a great people." The end of business comes, the tension is relaxed, Members are saying good-by—perhaps for a day, perhaps forever; and then away over in a corner a song is begun, a hush falls over the crowded galleries, the membership joins in, the Speaker withholds the gavel, there is no word of reproof, and moisture dims the eyes of those who appreciate the note of pathos in it all.

Thus they have sung in the past and thus they will sing in the future. But "MIKE" CONRY'S voice will never lead them again.

NEWS OF DEATH COMES.

"MIKE" CONRY, beloved of every Member of the House, died last night at Providence Hospital. The end came quickly, unexpectedly.

The House stood in recess for one hour when the death was announced by Congressman FITZGERALD, dean of the New York delegation. The crush of legislation prevented a longer recess, but the tribute of the House was none the less sincere. Tears stood in the eyes of Mr. FITZGERALD as he told his colleagues that MICHAEL CONRY had answered the final roll call.

Should they sing as the sands of the Sixty-fourth Congress run low, there'll be a tribute to CONRY in that, and there'll be proof once more of the fact that the makers of national law have in them the touch of sentiment that makes us all alike.

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[From the New York City Herald, Saturday, March 3, 1917.]

REPRESENTATIVE CONRY DIES—NEW YORK DEMOCRATIC MEMBER KEPT UP CONGRESS DUTIES TO THE LAST.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *Friday.*

Representative MICHAEL F. CONRY, a Democrat, of New York City, died here to-day from kidney and heart trouble, from which he had been suffering acutely for about a week in Providence Hospital.

Mr. CONRY was 47 years old. He was born at Shenandoah, Pa., April 2, 1870. He studied law in the University of Michigan and was graduated in 1896. He was married and had three children. Mr. CONRY served two years as assistant corporation counsel of New York and had just been reelected to his fifth consecutive term in the House of Representatives.

Mr. CONRY was regarded as the real Democratic leader of the New York delegation. He was the only New York member of the Ways and Means Committee. It is said that he was the closest friend of Charles F. Murphy, of Tammany Hall. He has been a conspicuous figure in the House of Representatives ever since he began his service in the Sixty-first Congress.

During the present session, when the fight over the retention of the pneumatic-tube service in New York City reached its climax, Mr. CONRY was one of the foremost advocates of retention of the tubes. Mr. CONRY, although ill, remained at his post in the forefront of the struggle which finally resulted to-day in the retention of the tubes, the Senate having agreed to the conference report, which now send the bill to the President for his signature.

The death of Mr. CONRY was announced in the House about 7 o'clock. Because of the unusual pressure of legislation a final adjournment was not taken, but on motion of Representative FITZGERALD, of New York, the House, out of respect, took a recess.

The body will be taken to New York and the funeral will be held Tuesday, March 6.

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[From the New York Journal of Commerce, Saturday, March 3, 1917.]

CONGRESSMAN CONRY DEAD—NEW YORK CITY REPRESENTATIVE PASSES AWAY IN WASHINGTON.

WASHINGTON, *March 2.*

Representative MICHAEL F. CONRY, of New York City, a Democratic Member of Congress for four terms and reelected for a fifth, died at a hospital here late to-day after a long illness from kidney trouble. He was 47 years old. In spite of his failing health he had been at the Capitol quite regularly until last week, and as a member of the Ways and Means Committee had worked hard in connection with framing the revenue bill and other legislation.

A native of Shenandoah, Pa., Mr. CONRY in his youth was a miner and in following that trade sustained an injury that lamed him for life. He leaves a widow and three daughters.

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[From the Brooklyn (N. Y.) Times, Saturday, Mar. 3, 1917.]

CONGRESSMAN MICHAEL CONRY DIES—REPRESENTATIVE FROM MANHATTAN FOR FOUR TERMS—HOUSE ADJOURNS.

Representative MICHAEL F. CONRY, of New York City, a Democratic Member of Congress for four terms, died yesterday in the Providence Hospital, Washington, of heart and kidney trouble. He was New York's

Democratic member of the Ways and Means Committee. The House adjourned for an hour yesterday in respect to Congressman CONRY'S memory. Because of the immense legislative pressure the House did not follow its usual custom of adjourning early.

Mr. CONRY was born in Shenandoah, Pa., April 2, 1870. He taught school, was a newspaper reporter, a public accountant, and then studied law in the University of Michigan, graduating in 1896. He came to New York and formed a law partnership with Edward D. Dowling, with offices at 280 Broadway. For two years he served as assistant corporation counsel, and was nominated for Congress for the first time in 1908.

Representative CONRY'S death may have an important effect on the political situation in the House next session. The Democrats and Republicans elected 215 Members each, with 5 independents. Next sessions the Democrats will have but 214 votes.

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[From the New York City American, Saturday, Mar. 3, 1917.]

CONRY DIES; G. O. P. GRIP ON HOUSE TIGHTER—DEMOCRATS NOW LACK FOUR VOTES NECESSARY FOR MAJORITY CONTROL IN SPEAKERSHIP FIGHT—URGE WHITMAN TO HURRY SPECIAL ELECTION—REPUBLICANS CLAIM ENOUGH VOTES TO ELECT MANN.

WASHINGTON, *March 2.*

Congressman MICHAEL F. CONRY, of the seventh New York district, died after a lingering illness at Providence Hospital, this city.

The news of Mr. CONRY'S death was communicated to the House by Representative FITZGERALD, of New York, who spoke feelingly of the late Congressman's life and services. Minority Leader MANN and Representative BENNET, also of New York, joined in a tribute to the departed Member. A recess of the House was taken as a mark of respect.

Mr. CONRY'S death makes the third to occur among the membership of the present session. SAMUEL J. TRIBBLE, of Georgia, and DAVID F. FINLEY, of South Carolina, died earlier in the session.

SERVED FOUR TERMS.

Mrs. Conry and one of her daughters have been in Washington for about two weeks. The other two children—Katherine, 9, and Claire, 7—have been with the family of J. V. Kiely, at No. 116 East Fifty-fourth Street. They knew that their father had been ill since Wednesday, but were not told of his death.

MICHAEL F. CONRY was born in Shenandoah, Pa., April 2, 1870. He was educated in the public schools of his native town, and afterwards taught school for seven years. He was graduated in 1896 from the University of Michigan, receiving the degree of LL. B. He entered the legal profession, and was for a while an assistant corporation counsel of New York.

He was elected to the Sixty-first, Sixty-second, Sixty-third, and Sixty-fourth Congresses.

The body will be taken to New York to-morrow by Mrs. Conry, and the funeral will take place there Tuesday morning. Speaker CLARK named a committee, including the New York delegation in the House, to attend the services.

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[From the New York City Times, Saturday, Mar. 3, 1917.]

CONGRESSMAN CONRY, OF NEW YORK, DIES—DEMOCRATIC MEMBER FROM THE FIFTEENTH DISTRICT A VICTIM OF BRIGHT'S DISEASE—ALTERS DIVISION IN HOUSE—TWO PARTIES WERE EQUALLY DIVIDED IN NEXT CONGRESS—SPECIAL ELECTION NECESSARY.

WASHINGTON, *March 2, 1917.*

Representative MICHAEL F. CONRY, of the fifteenth district of New York, died here this afternoon at 5.30 o'clock at Providence Hospital. At 7 o'clock the House was officially informed of the death of the New York Member, and a recess of one hour was taken in respect to his memory. The congestion of legislation so near the end of the session prevented an adjournment of the House.

Aside from the shock felt in the House over the sudden death of Mr. CONRY, there was concern to-night over the political effect of a vacancy in the House membership because of the possibility of an extra session of the Sixty-fifth Congress. The Democrats and Republicans of the next House are evenly divided, with five independents holding the balance of power. The death of a Member on either side gives an advantage to the other should an extra session become necessary.

The Republican governor of New York has authority to call a special election to fill Mr. CONRY'S seat, but Members here can not predict when such an election will be held.

Mr. CONRY had not been in the best of health for several weeks, but was able to be in the House last Monday. He was taken to the hospital that day, and rapidly grew worse until he became unconscious to-day. Bright's disease is said to have been the cause of his death. Word came to Mr. CONRY'S colleagues this afternoon that as a last resort physicians were attempting to draw the poison from Mr. CONRY'S system by the "sweating process."

The body of Representative CONRY will be taken to New York to-morrow, but the funeral will not be held until next Tuesday. The congressional committee which will be named to attend the funeral will go to New York on Monday evening.

Representatives HULBERT and DRISCOLL, of New York, and COADY, of Maryland, were at the bedside of Representative CONRY when he died. Mrs. Conry and one daughter were also present. Mr. CONRY leaves two other daughters, who are attending school in New York.

Tears were in the eyes of Representative JOHN J. FITZGERALD, dean of the New York delegation, as he announced Mr. CONRY'S death to the House. "Owing to the unusual condition of the public business," said Mr. FITZGERALD, "it would be impossible to hold memorial services before the end of the session."

"In the circumstances," said Mr. FITZGERALD, "it is impossible for the House to adjourn, but in respect to the memory of Mr. CONRY the House will stand in recess. Mr. CONRY was finishing his eighth year as a Member of this body. He had won the respect and admiration of all his colleagues because of his uprightness, his industry, and his manly qualities. The loss of Mr. CONRY will be keenly felt by all the Members from the State of New York and all Members of this House.

"Laboring as he was under severe physical affliction, everyone admired the courage and fidelity with which MICHAEL CONRY attended to his duties, and everyone, I am sure, feels the deepest sympathy for his wife and children."

Representative JAMES R. MANN, the Republican floor leader, said:

"Mr. CONRY earned and received the respect and affectionate regard of all the Republicans of the House as well as the Democrats. There have been few men in the House for whom Members entertained so high a personal regard as for this man. Despite his physical disabilities he always had a smile and a way about him that endeared him to everybody."

Representative WILLIAM S. BENNET, a New York Republican, said:

"What has just been said expresses fittingly the feeling on both sides of the House regarding Mr. CONRY. I could add nothing but to say it voices the feeling of the entire New York delegation and the House as well."

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[From the New York Sun, Saturday, Mar. 3, 1917.]

REPRESENTATIVE M. F. CONRY DIES; HOUSE LEAD TO G. O. P.—NEW YORK CITY CONGRESSMAN SUCCUMBS TO HEART AND KIDNEY DISEASES.

WASHINGTON, *March 2.*

Representative MICHAEL F. CONRY, of New York City, a Democratic Member of Congress for four terms and elected for a fifth, died at the Providence Hospital here this afternoon of a complication of heart and kidney diseases.

His death may have an important effect on the political complexion of the House in the next session. The Democrats and Republicans elected 215 Members each, and there are five independents. If an extra session is called, the Democrats would now be represented by only 214 votes, as it is not likely that Mr. CONRY'S successor will be elected until the November election. Even if a special election were arranged, it could not be held for 30 days.

Mr. CONRY represented the fifteenth New York district, which is strongly Democratic; so his successor will almost surely be a Democrat, but until his successor is elected the Republicans will have one vote more than the Democrats.

Mr. CONRY carried on to the last one of the most courageous fights against ill health and death itself that the House has seen in years. He was the real leader of the New York Democratic delegation, and was New York's Democratic member of the Ways and Means Committee.

He had been in ill health for several years, but had refused to permit this to interfere with his important legislative duties. This session he has insisted upon attending every meeting of the House when legislation of importance to his State or party was under consideration. He was there not only to give his vote but to fight in behalf of the measures he advocated. He led the fight for pneumatic postal tubes for big cities when he should have been in bed. The result was a series of physical collapses from the start of the session. He finally collapsed last Friday after a tremendously active day for a man in his condition.

Because of the immense legislative pressure the House did not follow its custom of adjourning early in respect to his memory, but a recess was taken from 7.10 until 8 o'clock this evening.

The body will be sent to New York to-morrow and burial will be on Tuesday. Mr. CONRY leaves a widow and three daughters.

Mr. CONRY was born in Shenandoah, Pa., April 2, 1870, and was educated in the public schools there. He taught school, was a newspaper reporter, a public accountant, and then went to the University of Michigan to study law. He was graduated in 1896.

He returned to New York and formed a law partnership with Edward D. Dowling, with offices at 280 Broadway. He was assistant corporation counsel for two years and in 1908 was nominated for Congress for the first time. He was elected then and at each succeeding election.

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[From the New York City World, Saturday, Mar. 3, 1917.]

NEW YORK CONGRESSMAN DEAD IN CAPITAL—M. F. CONRY SUCCUMBS TO KIDNEY TROUBLE—MAY AFFECT DEMOCRATIC BALANCE IN THE NEXT HOUSE.

WASHINGTON, *March 2.*

Representative MICHAEL F. CONRY, of New York City, a Democratic Member of Congress for four terms and reelected for a fifth, died at a hospital here late to-day, after a long illness from kidney trouble. He was 47 years old.

In spite of his failing health, he had been at the Capitol regularly until last week, and, as a member of the Ways and Means Committee, had worked hard in connection with framing the revenue bill and other legislation.

A native of Shenandoah, Pa., Mr. CONRY in his youth was a miner. In following that trade he received an injury that lamed him for life. He is survived by a widow and three daughters.

The death of one of the Democratic Members elect may have an important effect on the political complexion of the House in the Sixty-fifth Congress. The Democrats and Republicans elected 215 Members each, and there are 5 independents, on whom depends which party shall organize the next House.

If an extra session were called, the Democrats probably would go into the organization fight only 214 strong.

Members of the New York delegation believe that a successor to Representative CONRY will not be elected until November. Election of a Democrat then would restore the even balance before the regular December session. Representative CONRY, active in Tammany councils, was from a safely Democratic district, the fifteenth.

The body will be taken to New York to-morrow by Mrs. Conry, and the funeral will take place there Tuesday morning. Speaker CLARK named a committee, including the New York delegation in the House, to attend the services.

The House this evening, in Committee of the Whole, voted for the widow of Representative CONRY $7,500.

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[From the New York City Tribune, Saturday, Mar. 3, 1917.]

CONGRESSMAN CONRY DIES AT WASHINGTON AFTER LONG ILLNESS—DEATH MAY HAVE IMPORTANT EFFECT ON SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS.

WASHINGTON, *March 2.*

Representative MICHAEL F. CONRY, of New York City, a Democratic Member of Congress for four terms and reelected for a fifth, died at a hospital here late to-day, after a long illness from kidney trouble. He was 47 years old. In spite of his failing health, he had been at the Capitol regularly until last week, and, as a member of the Ways and Means Committee, had worked hard in connection with framing the revenue bill and other legislation.

A native of Shenandoah, Pa., Mr. CONRY in his youth was a miner, and in following that trade sustained an injury that lamed him for life. He is survived by a widow and three daughters.

The death of one of the Democratic Members elect may have an important effect upon the political complexion of the House in the Sixty-fifth Congress. The Democrats and Republicans elected 215 Members each, and there are 5 independents, upon whom depends which party shall organize the next House.

If an extra session were called, the Democrats probably would go into the organization fight only 214 strong.

The body will be taken to New York to-morrow by Mrs. Conry, and the funeral will take place there Tuesday morning. Speaker CLARK named a committee, including the New York delegation in the House, to attend the services.

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[From the New York City American, Thursday, Mar. 8, 1917.]

CONGRESSMEN AND 400 MAIL CARRIERS AT CONRY FUNERAL—FATHER ALEXIS EULOGIZES POPULAR REPRESENTATIVE, CALLING HIM A MARTYR TO DUTY.

Four hundred letter carriers, whose cause was long championed by Congressman MICHAEL F. CONRY, hurried through their morning deliveries yesterday to take a little time to attend his funeral. They were among the most sincere mourners of the Congressman who often aided them.

Bishop Patrick J. Hayes, assisted by other priests, celebrated a solemn high mass of requiem in St. Stephen's Church, in East Twenty-eighth Street. A large delegation of Members of the House, headed by Speaker CHAMP CLARK and two Members of the Senate, attended.

Fellow Representatives present were GRIFFIN, MAHER, RIORDAN, LOFT, FARLEY, DOOLING, PATTEN, CAREW, CHANDLER, SIEGEL, HULBERT, BRUCKNER, BENNET, OGLESBY, PLATT, DRISCOLL, SMITH, LONDON, and CALDWELL, of New York; O'SHAUNESSY, of Rhode Island; EAGAN, SCULLY, and HAMILL, of New Jersey; MORIN, LIEBELL, and FARR, of Pennsylvania; GALLIVAN and TREADWAY, of Massachusetts; TAGGART, of Kansas; GALLAGHER, of Illinois; SMALL, of North Carolina; and LONERGAN, of Connecticut.

Others from Washington were United States Senators ROBINSON, of Arkansas, and SHAFROTH, of Colorado; Robert Gordon, Sergeant at Arms of the House; P. J. Haltigan, reading clerk of the House, and most of the Tammany district leaders.

Father Alexis eulogized Mr. CONRY as a martyr to duty. The burial was in Calvary Cemetery.

The pallbearers, all personal friends, were E. D. Dowling, Charles Goldstein, P. J. Haltigan, Andrew J. Sheridan, M. J. Cruise, and Judge J. L. Walsh of the city court.

The Elks, of whom the Congressman was a member, held services Tuesday night.

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[From the New York City Tribune, Thursday, Mar. 8, 1917.]

MICHAEL F. CONRY BURIED—CAPITOL DELEGATION AT FUNERAL OF REPRESENTATIVE.

Solemn high requiem mass was held in St. Stephen's Church yesterday morning for Representative MICHAEL F. CONRY, who died in Washington last Friday. Bishop Patrick J. Hayes was the celebrant. Several Senators and a delegation from the House, headed by Speaker CHAMP CLARK, attended.

The church was draped in mourning. The center was reserved for the Washington delegation. There were many city officials present. Intimate friends of Mr. CONRY acted as pallbearers. They were E. D. Dowling, Charles Goldstein, P. J. Haltigan, Andrew J. Sheridan, M. J. Cruise, and Justice J. L. Walsh of the city court.

Others present were United States Senators ROBINSON, of Arkansas, and SHAFROTH, of Colorado; Representatives FITZGERALD, GRIFFIN, MAHER, FLYNN, RIORDAN, LOFT, FARLEY, DOOLING, PATTEN, CAREW, CHANDLER, SIEGEL, HULBERT, BRUCKNER, BENNET, OGLESBY, PLATT, DRISCOLL, SMITH, LONDON, and CALDWELL, of New York; O'SHAUNESSY, of Rhode Island; EGAN, SCULLY, and HAMILL, of New Jersey; MORIN, LIEBEL, and FARR, of Pennsylvania; GALLIVAN and TREADWAY, of Massachusetts; TAGGART, of Kansas; GALLAGHER, of Illinois; SMALL, of North Carolina; LONERGAN, of Connecticut.

Four hundred letter carriers also attended. In Congress Mr. CONRY had been a champion of the postmen. Interment was in Calvary Cemetery.

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[From the Brooklyn (N. Y.) Eagle, Wednesday, Mar. 7, 1917.]

LAST TRIBUTE TO CONRY—CHAMP CLARK AMONG THOSE AT REPRESENTATIVE'S FUNERAL.

Before a large assemblage, including many public men, Bishop Patrick J. Hayes, assisted by a number of priests, celebrated a solemn high mass of requiem to-day in memory of the late Representative MICHAEL F. CONRY, who died in Washington last Friday. The services were held in St. Stephen's Church on East Twenty-eighth Street, Manhattan, and interment was in Calvary Cemetery.

A delegation from the House of Representatives, several United States Senators, and local officials who had known the deceased Congressman all his life were present.

Personal friends acted as pallbearers. They were E. D. Dowling, Charles Goldstein, P. J. Haltigan, Andrew J. Sheridan, M. J. Cruise, and Justice J. L. Walsh of the city court.

Speaker CHAMP CLARK attended. The Congressmen who accompanied him as members of the official delegation included: FITZGERALD, GRIFFIN, MAHER, FLYNN, RIORDAN, LOFT, FARLEY, DOOLING, PATTEN, CAREW, CHANDLER, SIEGEL, HULBERT, BRUCKNER, BENT, OGLESBY, PLATT, DRISCOLL, SMITH, LONDON, and CALDWELL.

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[From the New York City Herald, Thursday, Mar. 8, 1917.]

MASS OF REQUIEM FOR M. F. CONRY—SPEAKER CLARK ATTENDS SERVICES IN ST. STEPHEN'S FOR THE LATE REPRESENTATIVE.

Bishop Patrick J. Hayes, assisted by several priests, yesterday in St. Stephen's Church celebrated a solemn mass of requiem for Representative MICHAEL F. CONRY, who died in Washington last Friday. The services were attended by a large assemblage of distinguished men, including a delegation from Congress headed by Speaker CHAMP CLARK.

Personal friends who acted as pallbearers were E. D. Dowling, Charles Goldstein, P. J. Haltigan, Andrew J. Sheridan, Michael J. Cruise, and Justice J. L. Walsh. The church was draped in mourning.

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[From the New York City Sun, Thursday, Mar. 8, 1917.]

MANY CONGRESSMEN AT CONRY FUNERAL—SPEAKER CLARK HEADS DELEGATION—400 LETTER CARRIERS ALSO ATTEND.

CHAMP CLARK headed a delegation of Congressmen who attended funeral services for the late Representative MICHAEL F. CONRY in St. Stephen's Roman Catholic Church in East Twenty-eighth Street yesterday. The Speaker has attended only one other funeral in recent years, but his regard for Mr. CONRY was such that he felt compelled to come to New York on this occasion.

With him were 21 other New York Representatives and several from other States, as well as several United States Senators and many city officers and friends of Mr. CONRY. Personal friends, acting as pallbearers, were E. D. Dowling, Charles Goldstein, P. J. Haltigan, Andrew J. Sheridan, M. J. Cruise and Justice J. L. Walsh, of the city court.

More than 400 letter carriers, whose fight for better working conditions Mr. CONRY championed in Washington, entered the church when they had finished their early morning deliveries. Among others present were Robert Gordon, Sergeant at Arms of the House; P. J. Haltigan, reading clerk of the House; John R. Voorhis, grand sachem of the Society of Tammany, and most of the leaders of Tammany Hall.

Bishop Patrick J. Hayes, assisted by a number of priests, celebrated a solemn high mass of requiem. Burial was in Calvary Cemetery.

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[From the New York City Times, Thursday, Mar. 8, 1917.]

MANY MOURN M. F. CONRY—SPEAKER CLARK AND CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION AT HIS FUNERAL.

Speaker CHAMP CLARK and a delegation from the House of Representatives and two Senators attended the funeral services here yesterday of Congressman MICHAEL F. CONRY, who died in Washington on Friday. Bishop Patrick J. Hayes, assisted by a number of priests, celebrated a solemn high mass of requiem in St. Stephen's Church, East Twenty-eighth Street. The interment took place in Calvary Cemetery.

At the conclusion of the religious part of the services the Rev. Father Alexis, a missionary of Hoboken, referred to the career of Mr. CONRY, to his many acts of charity, and said the late Congressman had died a martyr to duty and to his country.

Personal and political friends of Mr. CONRY filled the church. Among them were 400 letter carriers and post-office employees, whose welfare had always been a subject of consideration in his public work.

The delegation, headed by the dean of the New York Representatives, JOHN J. FITZGERALD, of Brooklyn, included Congressmen GRIFFIN, MAHER, FLYNN, RIORDAN, LOFT, FARLEY, DOOLING, PATTEN, CAREY, CHANDLER, SIEGEL, HULBERT, BRUCKNER, BENNET, OGLESBY, PLATT, DRISCOLL, SMITH, LONDON, and CALDWELL, of New York; EAGAN, SCULLY, and HAMILL, of New Jersey; MORIN, LIEBEL, and FARR, of Pennsylvania; TAGGART, Kansas; GALLAGHER, Illinois; SMALL, North Carolina; LONERGAN, Connecticut; and O'SHAUNESSY, Rhode Island. The Senators were ROBINSON, of Arkansas, and SHAFROTH, of Colorado.

Mr. CONRY, who represented the Democratic fifteenth district, lived at 141 East Twenty-sixth Street.

Navy League Odds and Ends.

SPEECH

OF

HON. CLYDE H. TAVENNER,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 30, 1917.

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 20573) to provide increased revenue to defray the expenses of the increased appropriations for the Army and Navy and the extensions of fortifications, and for other purposes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, the title of the bill under discussion gives a very good idea of its purpose. It reads:

A bill (H. R. 20573) to provide increased revenue to defray the expenses of the increased appropriations for the Army and Navy and the extensions of fortifications, and for other purposes.

The measure might also be labeled "A bill to discourage militarism in the United States." If I did not believe that it would serve some such useful purpose as that I would not vote for it.

The bill provides for a tax on excess profits. If those who are making excess profits have any just reason to complain at being required to pay additional taxes for so-called preparedness, how much more justified would be the average working man who in these days of high cost of living finds it difficult merely to feed and clothe his family, to say nothing of laying aside anything for a "rainy day" due to sickness or lack of employment.

This tax will fall heaviest on the munitions makers and big business. And it should fall heaviest on this class, because it is the munitions makers and the big industrial trusts that will draw down, in the form of fat contracts for preparedness supplies, a large portion of the millions now being appropriated for preparedness.

Another reason that a larger proportion of the cost of so-called preparedness should be placed on this class is that this is the class principally responsible for the staggering increases in Army and Navy appropriation bills.

The recent reign of agitation for preparation for war was the child of the munitions makers and of men who owned stock in munitions-making concerns. The propaganda started with the J. P. Morgan-controlled Navy League of the United States. I consider it my duty also to state the fact that in both the House of Representatives and Senate of the United States the particular Member thereof who started the present era of preparedness-for-war agitation were at the time they started

such agitation in the respective Houses of Congress stockholders in war-trafficking concerns. The same men are now leading the agitation for war. One of the public officials to whom I refer was publicly advocating the entrance of the United States in the European war as early as August 21, 1915.

I do not charge that these public officials started the agitation for increased appropriations in order to make increased profits, yet I consider the fact that they did own stock to be of sufficient importance to call to the attention of the American people for their consideration. The motive of an individual in a matter of this kind is purely a mental process, and it is impossible to prove what a man's motive may or may not be. In the language of Senator JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS, of Mississippi, "nobody but God can judge the intentions of men except by the outward appearance of things." I therefore make no charge as to the motive of Members of Congress who, with their relatives, own or owned stock in munitions firms.

But I do strongly assert the principle that any Member of Congress who owns or has owned since his election to Congress stock in a war-trafficking firm, or whose wife owns stock in a war-trafficking firm, or whose daughter owns stock in a war-trafficking firm, should not be permitted to take part in the debates on the great preparedness bills, on the policy of Government manufacture of munitions as compared with their manufacture by private contractors, nor on war. Much less should such Members be permitted to vote on these questions. If one of us was being examined as a prospective juryman in a suit involving a street railway company, and while being examined should state that either our wife or our daughter or our cousin was a stockholder, we would promptly be excused. It is conceded by the legal fraternity everywhere that a person having a financial interest in a suit, or a person whose relatives have a financial interest in a suit, is disqualified to sit as a juror. If it is improper for a man who owns or whose relatives own stock in a street railway company to sit as a juror, whose duty it will be merely to consider the application of the law, how much more improper is it for a man thus concerned to be permitted to actually make the law or have a hand in the making of it? Surely the welfare of the Republic is as sacred as the welfare of any street railway company.

I submit that the defense of our Republic is, or should be, the most sacred and important duty that legislators have to perform. There should be no room even for suspicion that a Member of Congress, or his relatives, might profit financially from legislation having to do with the safety of the Nation. Problems of adequate defense, of whether Government establishments should "prepare" us at actual cost or private munitions firms at large profit, and last but not least, of international questions involving war, can best be solved in the interest of the Republic if they are left in the hands wholly of legislators who have no investments at stake and who would therefore be beyond the possibility of being unconsciously influenced in favor of some particular program which might yield the largest profits.

To return to the subject under discussion, I reiterate that increased revenue for preparedness for war should not be raised by a further increase of the tax on the necessaries of life, but should be placed on the class responsible for the colossal increases in Army and Navy expenditures.

The agitation for the increased appropriations started with the Navy League, and the cry was almost immediately taken up by every form of big business and special privilege. The munitions and shipbuilding industries are controlled by the same group of capitalists who control the insurance companies, the railroads, the steamship companies, the express companies, the great Wall Street banks, and most of the powerful industrial corporations of the United States.

It was these interests, all of which are to a greater or lesser extent under the domination of J. P. Morgan & Co., that started the agitation for preparedness. And the same influences are to-day inciting the Nation to war. Wall Street first demanded preparation for war, and when it got appropriations for the Army and Navy increased by hundreds of millions of dollars it started in for the real thing, war. Wall Street has its billions tied up with the cause of the allies, and it is a tradition that the heart and sympathy of Wall Street will invariably be found sojourning in the vicinity of its money bags.

The Nation should discount any move for war by men or newspapers known to be directly or indirectly affiliated with Morgan & Co., especially until the President of the United States announces it is time for war. Morgan & Co. are the accredited agents in the United States of the British Government. This is a strong statement to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I would not do so did I not have high authority. My authority is Lloyd George, the present premier of Great Britain. The London Daily Chronicle of June 24, 1915, quotes Lloyd George as follows in a speech before the House of Commons:

> In consequence of the great importance of the American and Canadian markets, I have asked Mr. D. A. Thomas—[cheers]—to go over and assist in developing that side of the work. He will exercise control over the production of munitions in Canada and the States, and will be given the fullest authority. Mr. Thomas will act in cooperation with the representatives of the Government in the States and in Canada. There is not the slightest idea of superseding the existing agencies there. These agencies have worked admirably, and, I believe, have saved this country millions of money. He will cooperate with Messrs. Morgan & Co., the accredited agents of the British Government.

It was neither the farmers of the Nation nor the members of organized labor who demanded that the Nation be turned into a military camp. They did not demand that the country be placed on a war footing, because they had no secret desires or hopes that this Nation should participate in the European war.

We have the word of the country's ardent militarists that it was not the plain, common people of the Nation who demanded that a military autocracy be established in the United States. I refer to a statement of Ralph M. Easley, chairman of the executive council of the National Civic Federation. In a letter sent to members of this organization Mr. Easley said:

> The second fact which stares us in the face is that in all movements for preparedness—defense leagues, security leagues, etc.—there are enrolled neither the workingmen nor the farmers of the country. On the executive boards of these organizations not one representative of either of these classes can be found, while they are found without number in all of the antipreparedness and various brands of peace organizations. * * * In any war 80 per cent of our Army would necessarily come from these classes.

No; the agitation for the thing which is responsible for Europe being in its present predicament did not originate with the purely patriotic people of the Nation who will do the dying if we go to war, but with men who will do the profit making. For the militaristic propaganda is the child of the Navy League of the United States, and the Navy League is the child of the armor and munitions makers and various other interests that make profit from war and preparation for war.

It is true, however, that A. M. Dadmun, secretary of the Navy League, sent a letter to Members of Congress on January 13, 1914, in which he made this statement.

> Certain Congressmen have insinuated that the league is supported by people who are interested in the sale of war materials to the Navy. They are entirely mistaken.

Mr. Dadmun, in a letter published in the January, 1916, issue of Pearson's Magazine, reiterated that the men back of the Navy League "are men who will not profit by the results of the league's propaganda."

On December 15, 1915, I called the attention of Congress to the amazing extent to which men affiliated with the Navy League are also connected with concerns or industries which stand to profit from "preparedness." No Member of the House has challenged the statements made on that occasion.

Since my days in the House of Representatives are numbered, and I may not have another opportunity to lay this matter before you, I desire to again present proof in support of my charge that the Navy League has been little more than a branch office of the house of J. P. Morgan & Co. and a general sales-promotion bureau for the various armor and munitions makers and the steel, nickel, copper, and zinc interests.

If I make any statement that any gentleman here is disposed to question, I hope he will arise in his place and do so while I am still in Congress, ready and prepared to defend my statements.

I submit that if there is any source from which we are justified in accepting information as accurate as to the identity of the gentlemen back of the Navy League, we are justified in accepting as accurate and truthful the information relative to the formation of the organization as it is presented in the league's own publications.

I hold in my hand the bound Navy League Journal for 1904. I obtained this document from the Library of Congress, where it was filed as being "The official organ of the Navy League of the United States." That is the assurance given on the first page. This journal is officially indexed in the Library of Congress as follows: Class V 1, Book N 8. The date of receipt at the periodical division of the Library of Congress of the particular number of the Navy League Journal from which I desire to quote is February 3, 1904.

On page 32 of the February, 1904, number of this "official organ of the Navy League" I find a list of 19 names under the head "Founders" of the Navy League.

As we proceed to take note of the occupations of some of the 19 gentlemen who were listed as the "founders" of this "wholly patriotic" organization, let us keep in mind the assertion of Mr. Dadmun, the patriotic secretary, that they were

"men who will not profit by the results of the league's propaganda."

One of the 19 names is that of the Midvale Steel Co. Did Mr. Dadmun have the name of this "founder" in mind as "men who will not profit"? Up to date this concern has received contracts from the Navy Department for armor plate alone which aggregate $20,398,188.

Another name in the list is that of Charles M. Schwab. Mr. Schwab is now chairman of the board of directors of the Bethlehem Steel Co., which firm to date has drawn down contracts for armor plate aggregating $49,153,309.

Then, I see here the name of J. P. Morgan, who organized the United States Steel Corporation, owner of the Carnegie Steel Co., which has already received $46,612,492 from Uncle Sam for the single item of armor plate.

There are only three concerns in the United States that manufacture armor plate, and it is a rather peculiar coincidence that when the purely patriotic Navy League was coming into existence the names of men identified with each of these concerns should be listed by the Navy League Journal, "the official organ of the Navy League," as "founders."

The three firms indicated have sold to the Navy Department a total of 264,039 tons of armor plate, receiving an average price of $439.95 a ton, or a total of $116,163,989. They have also received orders for munitions, submarines, and other supplies from the Army and Navy Departments aggregating probably another $100,000,000. There have been 10 official estimates by Government officials as to the cost of armor plate in a Government factory, and the average of those estimates is $251 per ton. If we subtract $251, the estimated average cost in a Government plant, from $439, the average price paid the armor ring, and consider that we have purchased 264,039 tons of armor alone at this price, it becomes difficult to agree with Mr. Dadmun that the league was backed by "men who will not profit by the results of the league's propaganda."

But while it is true that there were but three firms manufacturing armor at the time this list of "founders" was published in the league's official journal, there was a concern which made a royalty on all the armor manufactured because of owning the patent on the process used for hardening steel. This was the Harvey Steel Co. Was the Harvey Steel Co. in the vicinity when this list was being arranged? The Harvey Steel Co. was on the ground, as is evidenced by the fact that the name of S. S. Palmer, its president, and Benjamin F. Tracy, its attorney and also an ex-Secretary of the Navy, were included in the list of 19 immortals.

The Nickel Trust was represented by Robert M. Thompson, chairman of the board of directors of the International Nickel Co.

Other names listed as "founders" were those of Herbert L. Satterlee, brother-in-law of J. P. Morgan; George B. Satterlee, United States representative of the Krupps-Gruson Iron Works, of Germany; Clement A. Griscom, later a director of United States Steel, William Cramp Ship & Engine Building Co., Electric Boat Co., builders of submarines, and many other Morgan corporations; Robert S. Sloan, of New York, who acquired from his father's estate stock in such war-trafficking firms as United States Steel, Canadian Car & Foundry, General Electric, and Illinois Steel; Anson Phelps Stokes, a partner in the firm of Phelps, Dodge & Co., holders of large copper-mining interests; Jacob W. Miller, fellow director of Morgan on the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad Co.; George Westinghouse, president and director of 30 corporations, with an aggregate capital of $120,000,000; Harry Payne Whitney, at the time a fellow director of Morgan on numerous enterprises and now a director of the Guaranty Trust Co., a Morgan concern, which is the transfer agent for the Westinghouse, American Car & Foundry Co., Atlas Powder Co., and other munitions concerns; John Jacob Astor, a fellow director of Morgan when he became founder of Navy League.

Mr. FARR. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. FARR. Does the gentleman think that because a man is in that business that that should deprive him of the elements of patriotism?

Mr. TAVENNER. No; not necessarily. I am perfectly willing that these gentlemen should advocate the purchase of their wares by the Government, but I want them to do it in their real capacity as munitions makers and not by attempting to hide their true identity in the folds of the American flag, making "patriotism the means and private profit the end." They should be made to remove the words "Purely Patriotic" from the Navy League's literature and substitute "America's Leading Munitions Makers." I have never stated that it is a crime under the law for stockholders of war-trafficking concerns to have been the "founders" and principal backers of the Navy League; I am merely insisting that it is a fact that they were; the Navy League officials are trying to make it appear it was not the fact.

Mr. FARR. We have a Navy League organization in my district, not one member of which is interested in munitions. It is made up of reputable men, interested in the welfare of their country and anxious that it be safeguarded against attack.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all right; my point is that the Navy League was conceived and, according to the league's own official organ, founded by the munitions makers. The work was soon after taken up by various forms of big business, and then many sincere and patriotic people fell in, not knowing they were being made the dupes of men who had armor and munitions to sell.

Mr. DYER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. DYER. Are any of these men now connected with the Navy League?

Mr. TAVENNER. I am not able to state to just what extent the men who first backed the league are now connected with it. I know that since I first directed the attention of Congress to the men running the league, some of the munition makers have quietly dropped out. I know that at the first session of the league following my Navy League references in Congress the name of J. P. Morgan disappeared from the list of directors on the league's official stationery. Morgan and Morgan's men had been the guiding spirits of the organization throughout its history. Along about the same time Morgan took a rear seat a Wall Street journal printed an article hinting that it would be advisable for men affiliated with munitions firms not to be taking such prominent parts in agitation for "preparedness."

Mr. FARR. Will the gentleman again yield?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. FARR. In view of the fact that we are a poor fourth in naval strength, does not the gentleman think that we ought to compliment these men who saw our danger and our inadequacy?

Mr. TAVENNER. I do not want to see this country in such a state of preparedness for war as to encourage the Government to unnecessarily enter the European war. That war ought to prove to any reasonable minded person that over-preparedness is not a guarantee of peace as the jingoes claim, but rather an assurance of war. The European war is an unnecessary war, if there ever was an unnecessary war. If the three monarchs who rule Great Britain, Russia, and Germany had desired to have avoided war they could have assembled around a table and in 15 minutes compromised their differences. But it appears they were prepared for war and actually desired it. I am convinced in my own mind that if they had not been so overprepared for war they would not have been so anxious to have entered into it. But Germany had her great giant military machine and her war plans all carefully worked out in advance, and no doubt felt absolutely confident of victory. So it was also with Great Britain. I know it is contended by some that Great Britain was not ready, but there is nothing to sustain that view. If a nation having the greatest and strongest fleet in the world can not be considered as reasonably "prepared," what hope can any nation with a much smaller navy have of ever being "adequately" prepared? Great Britain knew that she had the greatest fleet that ever sailed the seas, and was undoubtedly confident that with this great sea power she could gradually and effectively blockade Germany into submission. Great Britain had been spending more money for preparation for war than Germany, the only difference being that one was preparing for war principally on the sea and the other for a war principally on land. The thing that brought on the European war was not unpreparedness, but overpreparedness.

Mr. FARR. England was not prepared. Russia was not prepared. Does the gentleman want this country prepared?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, and if the gentleman does—and I know he is sincere and patriotic in his views on this question—he will stand with me in advocating that we get a dollar's worth of preparedness for every dollar appropriated. We can only do this through the Government manufacture of armor, powder, munitions, battleships, and other paraphernalia of war. Two hundred and forty million dollars, raised by taxing the American people, have annually been expended on the Army and Navy under the general assumption that in return for this collossal expenditure the Nation was being reasonably "prepared." But it is asserted, even by men occupying high and authoritative places in public life and in a position to know what they are talking about, that our country is "pitifully unprepared."

Surely to any thinking person this state of affairs must suggest an indictment of the policy of giving the bulk of Army

and Navy contracts to private munition and shipbuilding concerns. If we are not prepared as we should be, it is not because the people have not paid in taxes the price of adequate preparation, but because too much of the money appropriated for preparedness has gone into the pockets of the stockholders of the war-trafficking firms, some of which stockholders are men occupying high positions in official life.

It is possible to give definite and specific information as to the economy of Government manufacture. I will quote some figures from the report of a board of officers who examined into this subject very recently, making their report on January 4, 1917 (S. Doc. No. 664, 64th Cong., 2d sess., p. 26).

This document shows that in the manufacture of field-artillery carriages, caissons, and limbers we are manufacturing these articles in Government plants 43 per cent cheaper than we can get them from private manufacturers.

As to cannon powder, we are manufacturing it 42 per cent cheaper; 12-inch projectiles weighing 700 pounds, 80 per cent cheaper; 12-inch projectiles weighing 600 pounds, 67 per cent cheaper; optical instruments, 9 per cent cheaper. These figures were compiled by a board that I consider unfair to the Government-manufacture side. All the testimony that was presented was by the private firms that manufacture these munitions and the Army officers who are opposed to complete Government manufacture. Nevertheless, the report proves the economy of Government manufacture of munitions.

The War Department in 1913 purchased 7,000 4.7-inch shrapnel from the ammunition ring, paying $25.26 each therefor. At the same time precisely the same article was being manufactured in a Government plant at a cost of $15.45. The War Department paid the ring $17.50 for a 3.8-inch common shrapnel, when it can manufacture the identical article for $7.94. The Government has manufactured at the Rock Island Arsenal caissons for gun carriages at a cost of $1,128.67 for which private manufacturers had been paid $1,744.10, which is 54.6 per cent greater than the arsenal cost. Take powder. The Government has purchased $25,000,000 worth of powder from the Powder Trust since 1905, paying therefor all the way from 53 to 80 cents per pound. We are manufacturing powder in Government plants for 34 cents per pound, and the officers in charge state that the more we manufacture the cheaper we can produce it. A hundred similar illustrations could be cited if time permitted.

I have always contended that the test of sincerity in the demand for great preparedness is whether those who advocate it are willing that the people shall receive the preparedness which they advocate without private profit to the J. P. Morgan controlled war trust.

If those who are crying up to Heaven for greatly increased appropriations for preparation for war are wholly sincere, you would think they themselves would demand Government manufacture in order that the Nation might obtain a dollar's worth of preparedness for every dollar appropriated, instead of only 50 or 60 or 70 cents' worth.

But whenever you show me a man who is professionally agitating big Army and Navy appropriations I will attempt to show you a man opposed to Government manufacture of the preparedness he is demanding.

The Navy League of the United States, which I have on several occasions shown to have been founded and supported by war-trafficking firms, went to great trouble and expense to defeat me for reelection because I have advocated the elimination of private profit from war and preparation for war by the manufacture of Army and Navy supplies in Government arsenals and navy yards. In other words, the Navy League insists that because I advocate Government manufacture I am opposed to preparedness. The Navy League's position is that everyone who would interfere with the profits of those munitions and armor makers who are set forth in the Navy League Journal as the founders of the Navy League is an enemy of preparedness.

In this connection I wish to state that those who allege that we are not prepared as we ought to be at this time can not lay the blame at the doors of those who have been consistently advocating in Congress the Government manufacture of Army and Navy supplies.

It has been charged that the public-buildings and the rivers and harbors bills are pork-barrel bills. I believe they are to a large extent. I voted against them. But the percentage of pork in those bills is but a drop in the bucket as compared to the Army and Navy appropriation bills.

If a majority of Members would vote against these bills, it would not mean that we would not get any preparedness at this session, but that the committees in charge would be forced to bring in bills making provision for Government manufacture of supplies. It would also mean that the Nation would get from one-fourth to one-third more preparedness for the same money that we are now appropriating. But in the opinion of the Navy League and professional preparedness advocates it is quite unpatriotic to demand that the Nation shall receive the maximum defensive power or the maximum striking power for the sums appropriated.

Mr. FARR. I am in accord with the gentleman in his desire to get full value for the money we spend. The evidence presented upon the floor of this House was that this country was buying its armor plate more cheaply than any other country in the world.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Daniels, who is the best Secretary the Navy has ever had and whose word I am willing to accept on this question, makes the statement in his annual report for 1913, page 9, that history does not warrant an assumption that the patriotism of the three armor-plate concerns would prove superior to their desire for profits, inasmuch as "during the time that war with Spain was imminent, these companies refused to accept the price fixed by Congress after investigation as a just rate and declined to manufacture any armor until they got their own price of $100 a ton more than that which Congress had determined on."

In this connection the Secretary of the Navy calls attention to the circumstance that the love of country possessed by these companies did not prevent them from furnishing armor to Russia at $249 a ton while they were charging the United States $616 a ton, or hinder them from furnishing armor to Italy at $395 while charging their own Government $420, or from selling armor to Japan at $406 at a time they were charging Uncle Sam from $440 to $504 a ton.

Mr. FARR. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TAVENNER. I must decline to yield further, as my time is nearly exhausted.

Mr. FARR. But the gentleman does not know the facts.

Mr. TAVENNER. I do know the facts.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman five minutes more.

Mr. FORDNEY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. FORDNEY. In the case of an institution run by the Government they do not put in the overhead expenses or the superintendence; nothing at all?

Mr. TAVENNER. In the figures I have given as the actual cost of an article allowance is made for every possible kind of overhead charge, such as interest on the money invested in plant and materials, insurance, and the salaries even of the officers who would be employed and whose salaries would be paid whether we manufacture these materials in Government establishments or not.

Mr. FARR. And no taxes.

Mr. TAVENNER. No taxes are charged as overhead, because the Government pays no taxes, and of course no profit is included in arsenal cost figures. But the Government makes a big profit in being able to manufacture at a lower figure than private concerns will accept.

While I am on this subject, I desire to leave in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a suggestion or two for Members of Congress who are to remain or come here after I pass on into private life. If any legislator would like to serve well his country, his constituents, and at the same time his own political interests, let him specialize on a campaign for Government manufacture of munitions of war of every character. While it is true that I have been active in such an effort during the four years I have been in Congress and have not been reelected, it was not because the voters are not strongly in favor of the principle of Government manufacture. I do not believe there is an issue before the American people to-day on which there is such unanimity of opinion as that concerning the wisdom of Government manufacture. Although the congressional district I have had the honor to represent is normally Republican by about 8,000 majority, the election returns indicated my defeat by only 508. I received some 5,000 more votes than President Wilson. It is not in any spirit of egotism that I call attention to these figures, but in order that hereafter my defeat will not be attributed to my fight in Congress for Government manufacture of munitions of war. If those who speak for the munitions makers could make it appear that my failure to be reelected was due to my attitude on the issue of Government manufacture, it might in the future tend to discourage Members of Congress from carrying on this fight. But such was not the case.

I have four times been a candidate for Congress in the fourteenth Illinois congressional district, always making Govern-

ment manufacture the principal issue. My total vote on each occasion was as follows:

1910 (defeated)	12,000
1912 (elected)	15,000
1914 (elected)	17,000
1916 (defeated)	22,500

I desire to say a few words as to how I came to take up the study of Government manufacture. The matter first came to my attention in looking after the interests of my own district, in which is located the Rock Island Arsenal. But I soon saw that this was a national issue, and from that moment I worked for Government manufacture as a policy, attempting to stand for the principle on every occasion, whether it benefited my own district or some other district. For instance, I worked just as hard to have the policy of Government manufacture accepted by the Navy Department as by the War Department, although there is no navy yard or naval station within a thousand miles of the district I am representing. Time and again I have conferred with Secretary of the Navy Daniels, an official who will go down in history as the first Secretary of the Navy really friendly to the idea of Government manufacture.

About the time I was first elected to Congress, four years ago, I happened to drop into a committee room here in the Capitol and heard Gen. Crozier testify that he was paying private munitions makers 54 per cent more for caissons for gun carriages than the arsenal cost at the Rock Island Arsenal. It occurred to me that if the price of the private munitions makers was so much greater than the arsenal cost, it would be economy for Uncle Sam to manufacture a larger proportion of his Army and Navy supplies in Government establishments.

I began to inquire into the subject and learned that at the Rock Island Arsenal the capacity could be greatly extended at a comparatively small cost. I found that at that time there were two large stone buildings, originally built for manufacturing purposes at a cost of some $400,000 each, standing practically idle at the Rock Island Arsenal. They were being used merely for storage purposes. The Government owns its own water-power plant in the Mississippi River at Rock Island, and I learned that enough power was going to waste to run the machinery in these two buildings, provided I could get the two buildings equipped with machinery.

So when the proper bill was before the House I offered an amendment providing for the equipment of these two buildings with the necessary machinery to manufacture articles being purchased in large quantities from private manufacturers at what I considered were excessive prices.

But it developed the Ordnance Department had sent up officers to testify in committee against my amendment and it was beaten by a close vote.

I also introduced many other bills for the increase of the capacity at the Rock Island Arsenal, and the conviction gradually dawned on me that the Ordnance Department was opposed to Government manufacture or at least any substantial increase in the Government arsenals. They were in favor of giving the bulk of the contracts to private munitions concerns. I refer to the time I started to make a fight for Government manufacture four years ago. The situation is now somewhat improved.

The reasons or excuses given by the Ordnance Department officials four years ago will not stand close investigation. The first argument I was confronted with was that these private manufacturers were very patriotic, and we should do everything possible to build them up in time of peace, so that we could rely upon their patriotic cooperation in time of war. They outrageously overcharged the Government in time of war, even more than in time of peace.

Army and Navy officials and munitions makers and those who speak for them have been hard driven for arguments with which to combat the wisdom of the policy of Government manufacture. Army and Navy officials have been giving the big war-trafficking firm contracts running into hundreds of millions of dollars and paying them excessive prices, while justifying their outrageous waste of the taxpayers' money before congressional committees with the statement that the Government could rely on the enlarged private plants in time of war. The Army and Navy officers argued that these private munitions plants would be a source of strength and safety to the Government in time of great national emergency. But the truth is that these plants, which have been practically subsidized as a result of the action of the Army and Navy officers in paying them excessive prices, would not be a source of strength but a source of weakness to the Government in time of war.

I do not ask Congress to accept my opinion as to these views, but I ask that Congress carefully consider the views of one of the highest military bodies in the United States—the Army War College.

Practically all of the private plants that have been receiving the fat Government contracts and which the Army and Navy officers have been telling committees of Congress would be a source of strength and security to the Nation in time of war, are located in close proximity to the coasts and therefore are a source of weakness instead of strength.

To rely on these plants in time of emergency would be to imperil the safety of the Nation. These private plants are now admitted by the highest military body in the United States to be a source of weakness to the Nation and not a source of strength.

I shall not place in the RECORD, for obvious reasons, the locations of the various private munitions plants that the Ordnance Department officers have been counseling Congress to build up year after year by the awarding of contracts at excessive prices. But I desire to assert that these Ordnance officers, in their eagerness to have the fat Government contracts given to private munitions concerns instead of Government arsenals, have grossly neglected the welfare and safety of the Nation. Every one of the 18 plants about which the Army officers have been so solicitous are located in violation of the principle set forth by the Army War College. I am calling attention to this statement because I believe I am serving my country in doing so. Let us quit giving contracts to the private munitions firms located in the danger zone and build up our own plants in the interior of the country.

The official Government document which proves the accuracy of these statements may be had from the War Department. Friends of Government manufacture who will be in the next Congress can make an argument that opponents will not be able to successfully combat by reading from this document, known as War Department Document No. 532, Office of Chief of Staff. It was only recently issued and reads as follows:

Strategic location of military depots, arsenals, and manufacturing plants in the United States.

1. Paragraph 60 of the statement of a proper military policy for the United States, prepared by the War College Division, General Staff Corps, in compliance with instructions of the Secretary of War and submitted September 11, 1915, is as follows:

"60. As a general military principle, no supply depot, arsenal, nor manufacturing plant of any considerable size, supported by War Department appropriations for military purposes, should be established or maintained east of the Appalachian Mountains, west of the Cascade or Sierra Nevada Mountains, nor within 200 miles of our Canadian or Mexican borders, and steps should be taken gradually to cause to be moved depots and manufacturing plants already established in violation of this military principle."

2. The soundness of the general principle of establishing permanent Government arsenals and supply depots at a safe distance from national frontiers seems so clear that no lengthy discussion or explanation of paragraph 60, just quoted, seems necessary. It may be of service, however, to illustrate graphically the trouble liable to arise from violation of this cardinal principle.

First, take the case of France in 1870, during the war with Germany, and note the handicap imposed upon her by the capture of a number of her arsenals, due to their faulty location.

Plate I tells the story at a glance. It shows the positions of the principal arsenals and depots as they existed at the outbreak of hostilities. The shaded portion indicates the territory eventually occupied by the invader. Attention is especially invited to the proximity of the frontier of Douai, La Fere, Metz, Mutzig, Strasbourg, and Besancon. All were captured except the first two, and these were cut off from the French armies.

SERIOUS HANDICAP.

3. Next take our own case to-day, which is even worse, from a military standpoint, than that of France in 1870. Plate II shows the present locations of the principal Government arsenals and supply depots as they exist to-day in the United States. The shaded portions indicate reasonable and probable objectives for an invader, due to our present state of unpreparedness. Attention is especially invited to the proximity to the frontiers of all our arsenals and supply depots except Rock Island, Omaha, Fort Leavenworth, St. Louis, and Jeffersonville. Our handicap, if these places were captured, can not be overestimated.

4. Plate III shows the locations of some of our more important privately owned manufactories of war munitions, such as cartridge cases, fuses, shells, explosives, ammunition, binoculars, pistols, wagons, rifles, and bayonets.

The Plate III referred to shows practically all of the 18 private munitions plants located in violation of the military principle referred to in the above document.

I have cited a few samples of the arguments that the opponents of Government manufacture indulge in. They go from pillar to post, but there is no spot where they can stop and hold their ground. And in the meantime three firms in this country have drawn down $200,000,000 worth of contracts from the Army and Navy Departments, and we have paid them from 20 to 50 per cent more for these supplies than we could have manufactured them for in Government plants.

Secretary of the Navy Daniels in his annual report for 1914 called attention to the economy of Government manufacture by saying that, "contrary to popular idea, the Navy Department in what it manufactures does so, from a superdreadnaught to

a gallon of paint or a pound of powder, cheaper than the same can be purchased. This is particularly true of the most expensive instruments of war, but it is equally true of gasoline engines, electrical supplies, engines for dreadnaughts, shrapnel, clothing for marines and sailors, accouterments, and a multitude of other articles required for the fleet and shore stations."

Government manufacture will mean that the workmen who perform the labor of actually making the munitions will receive higher wages and better working conditions than if the contracts for war materials are awarded the private munition firms, among which are numbered the most bitter enemies of organized labor in the United States.

Nationalization of the manufacture of war paraphernalia offers a program on which all save those directly or indirectly interested in private war-trafficking concerns may unite. Whether in favor of disarmament, vastly increased armament, or maintaining the present armament, all can meet on a common ground. Those who desire a greater armament can obtain it through Government manufacture without placing increased burdens upon the taxpayers.

If those who demand such a large Army and Navy are wholly sincere, and if their only desire is that we shall have the strongest possible Army and Navy, why should they not want us to obtain the maximum amount of armament for every dollar we appropriate, instead of only about 65 cents worth of protection for every dollar appropriated?

By manufacturing armor, munitions, submarines, aeroplanes, and so forth, in its own plants the Government will be able to keep for its own use any improvements in such vehicles of war. Under the present policy of giving the major part of military contracts to private concerns it has been impossible to do this. "Even now," says Secretary of the Navy Daniels, "the improvements in armor and the designs worked out by the Navy have been embodied in the warship of another nation recently finished by the Bethlehem Steel Co. and put into commission. This is not an argument lightly to be disregarded in favor of a Government armor plant, nor has it been overlooked, for instance, by Japan, which has erected its own armor-making *plant* and surrounded it with such secrecy that none of the other nations is able to tell whether or not at this minute the Japanese armor may not be superior to any other in existence."

Under the present system the Government is at the mercy of a few concerns having a monopoly of the manufacture of the materials of war, who appear to have a gentlemen's agreement to divide the Government contracts between themselves and between whom there is no competition worthy of the name. "I do not see how it is possible for Congress to justify to the people a refusal to erect a Government plant," said Secretary Daniels to Congress, "nor how it can answer the charge *that will* invariably be brought up—that the same mysterious providence which saved this profitable business to the steel companies tbree times in the past, even after money for a Government plant had actually been appropriated, is not still at work exercising its beneficent protection over these lusty specimens of infant industries, who are even now under Government investigation as violators of the antitrust law."

The present European war has demonstrated that private plants not in the business of manufacturing war materials can make the necessary alterations to manufacture such supplies in a remarkably short space of time. By enlarging the Government plants and operating them in time of peace the Government could have on hand sufficient ammunition, guns, and so forth, to equip the most powerful army ever organized and keep it in the field a long time after private plants not engaged in the manufacture of war materials would have been able to reorganize their shops and be turning out ammunition and other supplies. In the event that private manufacturers should not respond to the necessity of the occasion, the Government could itself take over such industrial plants as it might need just as England has done.

It is to the interest of only the few to leave profit in war and preparation for war, while it is to the interest of the entire earth's population to take it out.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has again expired.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

COL. THOMPSON IS NOT APPRECIATIVE.

Mr. TAVENNER. Col. Robert M. Thompson, chairman of the board of directors of the International Nickel Co., and president of the Navy League of the United States, owes me, I feel, an apology. The colonel went to great trouble to have me defeated. He caused a friend of the Navy League to make a contribution to bring about that result, and also caused the Navy League to expend of its funds in sending 5,000 of each of two documents to the farmers of the fourteenth Illinois Congressional district, where I was a candidate for reelection.

For so acting I feel strongly that the head of the Nickel Trust owes me an apology. To say the least, he has revealed an utter lack of appreciation. Because of facts and information relative to Col. Thompson and his purely patriotic activities in various lines which I had in my possession and did not make use of in my remarks on "The Navy League unmasked," Col. Thompson was certainly under obligations to remain at least neutral as to my candidacy for reelection. I regret exceedingly that my generosity has been so shabbily treated.

The work of bringing out full and complete information about the workings of the munitions patriots will not end merely because I am not to be permitted to continue my efforts. Others are already at work, and have made discoveries with which I am conversant and which show that I did my work very badly, that I have but half unmasked the Navy League and certain of its patriot backers. I have not been given permission to make use of the information to which I refer, but I have reason to believe it will all be brought to public attention at the proper time and in the proper way.

However, before leaving Congress I wish to place in the RECORD such data concerning the Navy League as I am free at this time to release.

I desire to first address myself to the documents, of which 5,000 of each were sent into my district by the Navy League during the recent campaign. I have personally seen but one of these pamphlets. It reads as follows:

SOME OF TAVENNER'S FALSE STATEMENTS.

[A letter by Col. Robert M. Thompson, president of the Navy League, to a well-known pacifist.]

LETTER TO A PACIFIST.

DEAR SIR: I have your favor of May 17 concerning Mr. TAVENNER'S attacks on the Navy League, and am very glad of the opportunity to put before you the facts. You say you will be guided by the preponderance of evidence, whichever way it points.

If you accept assertion or noise or reiteration as evidence, Mr. TAVENNER will clearly carry the day, as he is reckless in his statements and continues to make them after opportunity has been given him to ascertain that the truth is diametrically opposite to what he is saying. I am glad that he has made a direct assertion in regard to the value of nickel in armor plate, as that assertion is very easy to disprove, and it is not necessary for you to take the word of any party to the dispute. Write to the Bureau of Ordnance, United States Navy Department, and ask them concerning the quantity and the value of nickel contained in a ton of armor plate. You will find that the gross value does not exceed $25. The Navy Department paid $425 per ton for the last armor plate purchased. The value of the nickel, therefor, is almost exactly 6 per cent of the armor price, and the value of nickel and nickel products in $5,000 worth of armor plate is only $300 instead of $4,000, which is the figure named, as you say, by Mr. TAVENNER. Ask, also, what weight of nickel enters into the construction of a battleship, including everything for which that metal is used. You will find that in a dreadnaught of 30,000 tons displacement—that is, a ship that weighs 30,000 tons—the amount of nickel is not over 600 tons, or 2 per cent of the weight, and in spite of the relatively high cost of nickel you will find that its value is not over 3 per cent of the total cost. These facts you can ascertain, just as Mr. TAVENNER might have ascertained them, if he had been desirous of telling the truth. If you will look up the Fatherland, the German socialistic organ, published in May or June, 1915, you will find that it took as a basis for its charge the chart which Mr. Samuel Untermyer prepared for use in an article against interlocking directorates when the banking bill was under consideration in Congress. The Fatherland created out of nothing the story that the gentlemen whose names appeared in the chart had met at a luncheon, organized the Navy League, and provided for its maintenance. This statement is a lie out of whole cloth. Of the 31 men named in that article, 3 were present at a Navy League luncheon on one occasion, but not one of the entire list had anything to do with the organization of the league, and none of them ever influenced or sought to influence its management or affairs.

Tavenner practically copied this statement in his speech. He got hold of an old copy of the Navy League Journal in which were published the names of members who joined the league during the year 1904. The Navy League was organized in 1902 and was formally incorporated in 1903 by the men whose names I inclose herewith. You will note that practically every one of them is a graduate of the United States Naval Academy or a man who has served in the Navy or in the Naval Militia, except in the case of George Satterlee, the father of Herbert Satterlee, who was very prominent in the organizing of the league.

I send you also a list of the present directors and vice presidents of the league. There is not a single man among them, to the best of my knowledge and belief, who could be controlled or who is influenced in his action by any financial interest of any kind whatever. If there is anyone whose position gives just ground for such accusation, I am the man. I have heretofore explained to you, frankly and fully, my interest, and I think you know enough about me to refuse to believe that I could be purchased by the paltry interests that I might have through an indirect sale of nickel to the Government.

Mr. TAVENNER'S insinuation of some relation between the American Navy League and the German Navy League is on a par with his other statements. The fact is that many years ago a gentleman who then acted as the secretary of the Navy League died. This fact reached the officials of the German Navy League through the public press, and they wrote a formal letter of condolence, to which, I have no doubt, our league responded with equal formality. So far as I know, there has never been any other communication of any kind between the two leagues—certainly

there has been none during my time. On one occasion one of our members suggested some communication between the two leagues, but our boards disapproved the suggestion. If you start off with the assumption that the leagues are honest, patriotic societies you will see that there is no reason for their not communicating. If you start off with the unfair idea that they are dishonest and are managed for the purpose of increasing the sales of munitions of war, then, of course, anything that they do will be suspicious.

The third instance of Mr. TAVENNER'S fairness is his citing an extract from the Navy League Journal as establishing the fact that persons connected with the munition and armor plants were founders of the Navy League. He knows and knew all the time that the word "founder" was used to describe a certain class of membership. I have already pointed out that the league was really founded in 1902 and incorporated in 1903, and the statements that he quoted from the Navy League Journal were from a list of members who had joined the Navy League in 1904. If you are in New York you can probably get from Herbert Satterlee a copy of the old Navy League Journal. Referring to it you will see that there are three columns to a page; that one page is headed to show that it gives the list of the members who joined during 1904; and that in one column are the names of that year's founders—a "founder" being a member who makes a single payment of $100 and becomes a life member without the necessity of paying annual dues. There are also contributing members who pay $5 a year, and annual members who pay only $2 a year. I inclose a printed copy of our by-laws showing you this fact.

Now, remember that back in 1904 war traffickers had not been invented. The officials of the Navy Department were begging Mr. Carnegie and Mr. Wharton to find the capital with which to try certain experiments. Our leading manufacturers were then captains of industry and it had not become fashionable to consider them as citizens unworthy to be associated in supporting patriotic societies. Mr. Schwab, for instance, subscribed and paid $100, and to the best of my knowledge he has never paid 1 cent into the funds of the Navy League since that time, nor has he in any way ever controlled or attempted to control any of the activities of the Navy League.

By the way, the Navy League has had but three presidents. Benjamin F. Tracy, an ex-Secretary of the Navy, with no business connections; Gen. Horace Porter, soldier and diplomat, with no business connections, and myself. The acting secretary is Mr. Arthur H. Dadmun, who came to us recommended by the Young Men's Christian Association of New York. The acting management to-day is in the hands of myself, as president; W. H. Stayton, a Naval Academy graduate, as executive secretary; A. H. Dadmun, as financial secretary; Henry Breckinridge, ex-Assistant Secretary of War, as chairman of the executive committee, and Henry H. Ward, vice president and graduate of the Naval Academy. Do you really think that smells of corruption? I don't believe you do.

If you will read Mr. TAVENNER'S speech in the light of my explanation you will see that he dwells, for instance, upon the fact that a certain number of gentlemen have subscribed to the funds of the Navy League. He is enabled to make that statement because there was published a list of some of our larger subscriptions, and disregarding the payments made by over 12,000 active members, he selected ten or a dozen and insinuated that we were controlled by corporations in which these men were interested. You are a New Yorker. Do you know of any good charitable or patriotic society around New York to which Mr. Pierpont Morgan did not subscribe? Do you think that Robert Bacon is the type of a man who disgraces a patriotic association by subscribing to its funds? You probably know Herbert Satterlee. TAVENNER urges against him the heinous offense of being the son-in-law of one and the brother-in-law of the other Pierpont Morgan. If you know Herbert, do you really think that that charge is a very serious one?

Take TAVENNER'S charge that the armor-plate manufacturers received gross and unfair profits. Send to the Bethlehem Steel Co. for a copy of their published statements showing exactly what did take place. TAVENNER claims that the Bethlehem Co. made profits anywhere from 40 to 50 per cent on their contracts. Yet in the same speech he makes another attack upon them on the ground that their stock jumped up from 35 to 450 or 500 because of their enormous profits from the sale of munitions to the British Government. But don't you think that it is a little surprising that if they were making such enormous profits out of the United States Government that their stock had been selling at 35? As an argument the two statements do not hang together.

I am sending you the evidence which shows that TAVENNER first sought to get the Navy League to indorse his scheme for building a Government munitions plant in his district and offered to support our propaganda if we would agree to support Government ownership. When we declined the proposition upon the ground that Government ownership was a disputed economic question, which it was not in our province to decide, that all that the Navy League urged was that the Government should buy the best and the cheapest article from whatever source it could be obtained, Mr. TAVENNER began his mendacious attacks, imputing to us doctrines and policies which are abhorrent to us. (I send you a copy of my speech at the opening of the late convention, which contains a statement of our real doctrines.)

We thus irritated Mr. TAVENNER and obtained his ill will, and he thereupon began a series of attacks upon us under the privilege of speeches upon the floor of the House, he having succeeded in interesting Mr. Henry Ford, who paid for enormous editions of the speeches which are being circulated throughout the United States under Mr. TAVENNER'S frank.

I submit that you should accept his statement not as evidence but as assertions, and form your judgment only when from some authoritative source you obtain absolute facts.

I have given you the truth about the points you refer to, and you can satisfy yourself as to the correctness of my statements by referring to the official sources. It is a wise maxim of the law which says, "False in one thing, false in all things." Mr. TAVENNER has made four false or scandalously exaggerated statements.

In conclusion I tell you absolutely that no person interested in the manufacturing of munitions or armor plate or interested in any corporations dealing with the United States Government, including myself, has ever attempted in any way to influence the management of the Navy League for any reason except a purely patriotic one.

I have gone through three wars. I have had brothers killed and maimed. I am fully impressed with the horror of war, and I am anxious to obtain peace, and I am convinced that the surest way and the way that the Constitution requires is to be so thoroughly prepared that no one will venture to cross the seas to attack us.

Raising the argument of cost is ridiculous, because a Navy that is second to none can be maintained for $200,000,000 a year (appropriated annually and spent wisely along lines recommended by a general staff). Any man who advocates paying $150,000,000 for an inadequate Navy when an adequate one can be obtained for $200,000,000 is so much of a fool that neither you nor I will waste time in trying to argue with him.

Cordially, yours, ROBERT M. THOMPSON.

I regret that I do not now have the time to go carefully into all of the statements made in pamphlets, letters, and so forth, that have been issued from time to time by the Navy League heads. This work is being done, and will be brought to the attention of Congress by others. If I had the time I could show how utterly unscrupulous the Navy League officials have been in misquoting and falsifying.

Let us take the leading "points" emphasized in the document which the Navy League used in my district to defeat me.

Col. Thompson ingeniously and fraudulently states:

I am glad that he [TAVENNER] has made a direct assertion in regard to the *value of nickel in armor plate*, as that assertion is very easy to disprove, and it is not necessary for you to take the word of any party to the dispute. Write to the Bureau of Ordnance, United States Navy Department, and ask them concerning the quantity and the *value of nickel contained in a ton of armor plate.*

Col. Thompson then goes on to imply that I stated that *in every $5,000 worth of armor plate* $4,000 represented the value of the nickel therein. The truth is, I have never at any time or place made any such statement. I have never believed there was $4,000 worth of anything, or of everything combined, in any $10,000 purchase of armor plate at the prices which Uncle Sam is forced to pay the armor manufacturers.

What I did state was that official estimates indicated that of *every $5,274* worth of metal used in the manufacture of armor, $2,942 represented the value of the nickel contained therein. An entirely different statement. Col. Thompson knew what I stated, for it was printed in black and white in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for December 15, 1915, as follows:

Are there any reasons, other than purely patriotic ones, why officers and directors of the Nickel Trust might be urging, through the Navy League, a $500,000,000 bond issue for battleships, and so forth? Light may be had on this subject by referring to a table to be found on page 5259 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, last session. The table in question is headed "Metal per ton of armor," and is a part of the report of Senator TILLMAN, Representative PADGETT, and Admiral Strauss, of the Navy Department, as to the cost of manufacturing armor plate.

This table states that of every $5,274 *worth of metal used in the manufacture of armor plate* $2,953 represents the value of the nickel scrap and $1,466 represents the value of the metallic nickel used in the manufacture of armor.

Information is not given as to the amount of metallic nickel in nickel scrap, but I understand that the value of metallic nickel in a ton of nickel scrap is approximately 50 per cent of the value of nickel scrap. This would mean that $2,942 represents the value of the nickel in every $5,274 *worth of metal used in the manufacture of armor.*

The 1914 hearings of the House Naval Affairs Committee also contains (p. 522) an estimate on "Cost of ingot," which states that in every $3,028 worth of metal used $753 represents the value of the nickel in scrap, $840 the nickel in plaquettes, and $447 the nickel-chrome scrap, nickel turnings, and nickel-chrome rails. Estimating that the nickel in the latter three items represents approximately one-third of the whole value, it would mean, under this estimate, that $1,742 represents the value of the nickel in every $3,028 *worth of metal* used in the manufacture of armor.

The International Nickel Co. does not sell directly to the Government but to the various concerns that produce the finished article.

Nor is the use of nickel confined to armor plate. It goes into ammunition hoists, communication tubes and turrets, deck, hull, and ship plates, guns and gun shields, rifles and small arms, torpedo air reservoirs, marine straight-line shafting, crank shafts, piston rods, and other marine-engine forgings. This is all stated in the following advertisement of the Orford Copper Co., which concern is wholly owned by Col. Thompson's International Nickel Co., the advertisement appearing repeatedly in the Navy League Journal:

"Nickel steel for armor plate, ammunition hoists, communication tubes and turrets, deck, hull, and ship plate, guns and gun shields, rifles and small arms, torpedo air reservoirs, marine straight-line shafting, crank shafts, piston rods, and other marine-engine forgings.

"Annealed nickel steel castings have higher physical properties and resist abrasion better than low-carbon steel forgings.

"The addition of nickel to steel (a) increases the proportional elastic limit; (b) adds to the ductility of the steel; (c) increases its resistance to compression; (d) increases its resistance to abrasion; (e) increases its resistance to shock; (f) increases its toughness.

"Nickel steel is therefore a safer material than carbon steel.

"The Orford Copper Co., nickel refiners, 43 Exchange Place, New York."

The next "point" in the pamphlet, styled "Some of TAVENNER'S False Statements," but which should have been labeled "Some of Col. Thompson's False Statements," was that the Fatherland magazine printed some statements and that I reprinted them. Col. Thompson is mistaken. The documents from which I obtained the names of munitions makers connected with the Navy League was the Navy League Journal, "the official organ of the Navy League of the United States," and pamphlets and statements issued by the Navy League itself.

Col. Thompson states:

He [TAVENNER] got hold of an old copy of the Navy League Journal in which were published the names of members who joined the league during the year 1904.

To be exact, this particular Navy League Journal was just 12 years old, and, in addition to names of members, it contained,

under the head of "Founders," the names of 19 men, 14 of whom were munition makers or men who held stock in such concerns. At that time the "patriotism" of the men back of the league had never been inquired into, and the league officials were rather careless in publishing the names of the munitions makers back of the movement. The Navy League officers are more careful to-day.

Col. Thompson further avers:

By the way, the Navy League has had but three presidents—Benjamin F. Tracy, an ex-Secretary of the Navy, with no business connections; Gen. Horace Porter, soldier and diplomat, with no business connections; and myself.

Benjamin F. Tracy, immediately upon the expiration of his term as Secretary of the Navy, appeared before committees of Congress and stated under oath that he was representing as counsel the Carnegie Steel Co. and the Harvey Steel Co. Col. Thompson, one of the other two presidents of the league, is chairman of the board of the Nickel Trust, so that at least two of the three presidents of the Navy League did have "business connections."

Another of Col. Thompson's false statements is as follows:

I am sending you the evidence which shows that TAVENNER first sought to get the Navy League to indorse his scheme for building a Government munitions plant *in his district.*

If I ever made a proposition to the Navy League to get it to support the building of a munition plant "*in my district,*" I must have done so either orally or in writing. If I did it in writing, I challenge the Navy League to produce the document, or if I did it orally I challenge the Navy League to state when or where. What I did do was to challenge the Navy League to either cease advocating only the kind of preparedness that would spell increased profits for the gentlemen named in the league's official organ as the "founders" of the Navy League or go out of business. I contended that the only way the league could successfully meet this test of its patriotism was to cease opposing Government manufacture and to call a meeting of its board of directors and go on record in favor of it. I never made a proposition to the league to go on record in favor of "building a Government munition plant" *in my district*, which is a somewhat different matter. If Col. Thompson had, for instance, advocated the manufacture of munitions by the Government outside of my district, he would have wholly answered my objections to his particular propaganda. But Col. Thompson and his fellow munitions makers are not in favor of Government manufacture anywhere.

Col. Thompson further states:

It is a wise maxim of the law which says, "False in one thing, false in all things."

I will not apply this maxim to Col. Thompson, because he may be honestly mistaken in a few of his allegations.

I am not opposing the program of the Navy League because it is advocating "preparedness," but because of the kind of preparedness it is advocating. The Navy League is advocating a $500,000,000 bond issue for battleships, and so forth, but it is not advocating that the taxpayers should receive a dollar's worth of battleship for every dollar appropriated or that the amount of increased naval appropriations should be raised by a tax on incomes or inheritances. The Navy League contends this Nation needs every additional ounce of fighting force it can possibly obtain, yet it does not advocate that the people should be permitted to have a maximum striking force or a maximum resisting power for every dollar spent, instead of only 60 cents' worth, as they have been receiving. No; President Thompson, chairman of the board of directors of the International Nickel Co., never called together J. P. Morgan, director of the United States Steel Corporation; Robert Bacon, director of United States Steel; Beekman Winthrop, director of the Lackawanna Steel Co., when they were directors of the Navy League, to consider the advisability of going on record in favor of taking private profit out of war and preparation for war by having the Government manufacture its own war material.

And it is not because the matter has not been called to the attention of the league. It is more than three years now since I addressed, on January 16, 1914, a letter to the secretary of the league, in part, saying:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 13th instant, together with inclosures as to why a powerful Navy is needed.

Assuming that you are in good faith in this agitation and really desire the largest possible Navy for patriotic reasons, I am going to take the liberty of suggesting to you that if you will inaugurate a movement for the Government manufacture of all munitions of war, including all battleships, your campaign will strike a much more responsive chord with both Members of Congress and the people.

In other words, if the Government is to do all of the manufacturing of munitions of war, including battleships, the point can not then be successfully raised that the agitation is for the benefit of the armor ring, the ammunition ring, and the Shipbuilding Trust.

But if you do not advocate the Government manufacture of all munitions of war, including battleships, you can not successfully deny that you are carrying on a propaganda which means millions and millions of dollars of extortionate profits to the above-mentioned interests.

No action, however, has been taken by the league. I believe that if Congress should decide to manufacture all of its battleships, submarines, armor, guns, and munitions and place the burden of the cost of the Army and Navy upon incomes and inheritances, where it should be placed, the Navy League would forthwith close the doors of its lobby in the National Capital.

I am not contending that our great financiers who own stock in war-trafficking firms and cry out to heaven through the Navy League for preparation for war have no patriotism, but I do assert that it is a very difficult matter to figure out what proportion of their preparedness agitation is due to love of country and what proportion to love of dividends.

Morgan and business associates of Morgan appear to have always been in control of the Navy League, although there have at all times been numbered among the officers, directors, and honorary vice presidents men whose disinterested patriotism is beyond question. And the members of the league as a whole can at the very outset be absolved of any suspicion of taint, as it is probable that for the most part they joined the organization in the belief its backers were prompted by considerations wholly and purely patriotic, and that the inspirations of its founders were not in any sense directly or remotely associated with the business of making and selling armor and cannon.

NEW YORK SPEECH ATTRACTED ATTENTION OF LEAGUE.

My controvery with the Navy League opened in earnest as a result of a speech delivered by me at the Cooper Union Hall, in New York City, on the evening of Friday, November 19, 1915, in which I stated that inasmuch as the Navy League officials were insisting that no men connected with munitions concerns were back of the Navy League, I intended to accept their challenge by introducing a resolution in Congress requiring J. P. Morgan and other directors of the league to testify under oath whether or not they owned stock in munition firms.

The New York Times of November 20 published the following account of this meeting:

LAYS DEFENSE FIGHT TO MUNITION MAKERS—CONGRESSMAN TAVENNER ALSO CHARGES THAT OUR UNPREPAREDNESS IS DUE TO WASTE OF FUNDS.

Congressman CLYDE H. TAVENNER, of Illinois, speaking at Cooper Union last night in "Taking the Profit Out of the War," said that the manufacturers of munitions were to a great measure responsible for the agitation for national preparedness, and that they were working to force through Congress large appropriations for national armament, in order to make what he characterizes as excessive profits.

"I will make the statement upon my responsibility as a Member of Congress," he said, "that the money appropriated for the Army and Navy has been wasted like water, and that the reason we are not prepared is that too much of the money appropriated for preparedness has gone into the pockets of war-trafficking firms instead of into preparedness."

He then attacked the Navy League, intimating that its members were not as disinterested in the manufacture of munitions as they had declared themselves to be.

"I will accept their challenge that they are not connected with munitions concerns by introducing a resolution in Congress that J. P. Morgan and the other directors of the Navy League, past and present, and the men who organized and reorganized it, be called upon to testify as to whether or not they own stock in concerns engaged in the manufacture of war materials or any firms that have been drawing down contracts for the Army and Navy," said he.

"Moreover, I do not believe that any Member of Congress who owns stock in the firms engaged in war traffic should be permitted to take any part whatever in the debates on the Army and Navy bills. The worst menace to this country is not the menace beyond the seas, but the menace within our own borders—the men who would plunge us into war for their own personal profit. Those officers who do the purchasing of war munitions, and who are paid a salary to see that the Government receives a dollar's worth of goods for every dollar expended, have permitted a ring of ammunition manufacturers to put Government money by the millions into their pockets."

On November 21 I received the following letter from the chairman of the board of directors of the International Nickel Co.:

NAVAL LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C., November 20, 1915.

Representative CLYDE H. TAVENNER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: From the reports of an address delivered by you at the Cooper Union on Friday evening, November 19, I gather that you believe that the Navy League is influenced in its desire to secure adequate measures of preparedness for this country to resist attack and aggression by mercenary and improper motives. Although the reports of your speech are couched entirely in the language of inunendo and insinuation, I have received the impression from them that you believe the Navy League to be definitely subsidized by certain "war-trafficking firms," to quote from a report of your speech.

If you believe these things to be true, will you not make a definite and positive public statement so that by bringing suit against you we may make a test case and demonstrate publicly and finally by court decision their truth or falsity? If you do not believe them to be true, will you assist us to give as much publicity to your statement to that effect as has been given to the reports of your address?

I trust that I shall hear from you at an early date, either denying the insinuations imputed to you or putting any charges you may have to make in concrete form so that we may institute proceedings at once, and so decide this matter so that we may have a definite court decision and record as to exactly the moral and financial status of the Navy League by the time set for the opening of Congress.

I need not tell you how gladly I should welcome an opportunity to demonstrate in court the freedom of the league's finances from the taint of subsidy. For your own part, I am sure that should the sentiments attributed to you in the newspaper reports be true you will be equally pleased to meet us in the open by putting your charges in definite form, as I feel that no American gentleman representing the sovereign people would consent to slander by false charges couched in hint and inunendo an organization made up of more than 50,000 earnest, patriotic men and women, numbering among them some of the most distinguished of his fellow citizens drawn from every locality and from all walks of life.

Trusting that I shall hear from you promptly in this matter, I am,

Very truly, yours,

ROBT. M. THOMPSON, *President.*

A DEFINITE AND POSITIVE PUBLIC STATEMENT.

My reply to this letter was made in a letter mailed to Col. Thompson and given to the newspapers for publication, and was as follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., December 2, 1915.

Col. ROBERT M. THOMPSON,
President Navy League, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR COLONEL: I assume from your letter of the 20th ultimo and from your various utterances as president of the Navy League that the impression you desire to create in the minds of the American people is that none of the men who founded or who have been or are now directors of or contributors to the Navy League have ever been or are now in any manner interested in any concern which would profit financially from the $500,000,000 bond issue for battleships, etc., which you are advocating.

I understand your position to be that none of the money which the Navy League has used to banquet Members of Congress and Secretaries of the Navy, or to carry on the propaganda for the vastly increased naval appropriations which you advocate, has come from any gentlemen who stand to profit therefrom. I contend that the opposite is true.

In your letter you request that I give you some specific information.

I call your attention to the fact that Elbert H. Gary, who is described in the Directory of Directors for 1914 as "chairman of the board of directors and chairman of the finance committee of the United States Steel Corporation," contributed $1,000 on June 10, 1915, and that on the same date representatives of the J. P. Morgan estate subscribed $2,000.

I call your attention to the fact that J. P. Morgan, who is a director of the United States Steel Corporation, was formerly treasurer of the Navy League and is now a director of and a contributor to the Navy League, and that J. P. Morgan's brother-in-law, Herbert L. Satterlee, was one of the incorporators of the league, and is at the present time the general counsel of the league. I also note that Edward T. Stotesbury, a member of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co. and a director of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, Cambria Steel Co., Phoenix Iron Co., Riverside Metal Co., Temple Iron Co., Wm. Cramp & Sons' Ship & Engine Building Co., and 54 other corporations, banks, and trust companies is one of the honorary vice presidents of the Navy League.

I also call your attention to the fact that George F. Baker, jr., No. 2 Wall Street, New York, son of a director of United States Steel, contributed $1,000 to the Navy League June 10, 1915.

I call your attention to the fact that Robert Bacon, formerly a member of the firm of J. P. Morgan Co., and now first director of United States Steel, is a director of the Navy League.

I call your attention to the fact that Henry C. Frick, a director of United States Steel and 10 other corporations, banks, and trust companies is one of the vice presidents of the Navy League.

United States Steel controls the Carnegie Steel Co., which has drawn down from the Navy contracts aggregating $32,954,377 for armor plate alone, and, if the Navy League's $500,000,000 bond issue goes through Congress, this firm will profit still further.

I call your attention to the fact that Allan A. Ryan, a director of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, contributed $100 to the Navy League on June 10, 1915, and to the further fact that George R. Sheldon, a director of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, and the American Locomotive Co., both of which concerns have profited hugely from European-war orders, is one of the vice presidents of the Navy League. Mr. Sheldon is also a director of 24 other corporations.

The Bethlehem Steel Corporation has obtained from the Navy Department armor contracts amounting to $42,321,237, and if the Navy League's program goes through, Bethlehem stands to receive increased orders.

From the foregoing it would appear that two of the three concerns composing the armor ring in this country have representation either among the contributors to the Navy League or among the officers or directors of the Navy League.

The Government has purchased from these two concerns—Bethlehem and Carnegie—$75,275,614 worth of armor plate, paying an average price of approximately $440 a ton therefor.

If this armor plate had been manufactured in a Government armor-plate factory, which the Navy League has cold shouldered, at least $25,000,000 could have been saved to the American taxpayers. There have been 10 estimates by Government officials as to the cost of armor in a Government plant, and the average of these estimates is $238 a ton. By contrasting $440, the price we have paid the private manufacturers, with $238, the cost at which we might have manufactured this armor in a Government plant, it is possible to obtain an inkling as to the reason we do not now have more preparedness to show for the colossal appropriations made for that purpose.

I note there are 31 directors of the Navy League. The personal fortunes of these 31 men, by the most conservative estimate, aggregate $100,000,000, or $3,000,000 to each director. I contend that any board of directors whose individual fortunes average $3,000,000 can hardly be considered as representative of the views, feelings, and heartbeats of the great mass of the American people.

On November 19 I publicly stated that inasmuch as the Navy League insisted that its management and backers are entirely free from any atmosphere of war-trafficking influences, I would, as soon as Congress convened, introduce a resolution providing for an investigation of the league, specifically requiring J. P. Morgan and other directors of the league, past and present, to take the responsibility of testifying, under oath, whether they are interested, or ever have been, in war-trafficking firms or concerns which stand to profit from the proposed $500,000,000 bond issue.

On November 21 I received a letter from you threatening a suit. I consider your letter nothing more nor less than an attempt to intimidate me into abandoning my plans to seek a congressional investigation of your organization. When I am right, the Navy League can not intimidate me.

I now desire in all good faith to take the responsibility of making a suggestion to the Navy League. I suggest that you call a meeting of the board of directors and go on record in favor of the Government manufacture of battleships, submarines, armament, munitions, etc., in order that the people may obtain the preparedness which you are advocating at cost. I recommend that you either do this or fold your tent and quietly take your departure from the National Capital.

Very respectfully,

CLYDE H. TAVENNER.

Neither Col. Thompson nor anyone else has ever thought it advisable to attempt to disprove the statements contained in my reply to the challenge of the president of the Navy League. Col. Thompson replied to my letter of December 2, but instead of discussing the facts presented, took a different course. He said in part:

In conclusion, let me repeat our invitation. Stop insinuating, come out in the open and say what you mean, and if your statements are actionable we will put you in court as fast as we can have the papers drawn.

I submit here that my letter of December 2 contained specific information of the connection of munitions makers with the Navy League. Therefore, I did not reply further to Col. Thompson, but began work on my resolution to investigate the Navy League.

SOME CORRESPONDENCE WITH MR. DADMUN.

On November 23, 1915, my attention had been attracted to the following news item in the Washington (D. C.) Star:

NAVY LEAGUE COURTS CONGRESSIONAL INQUIRY—ANXIOUS TO REFUTE REPRESENTATIVE TAVENNER'S CHARGES, ASSERTS SECRETARY DADMUN.

Following a statement by Representative TAVENNER, of Illinois, that he would introduce a resolution of inquiry to prove his contention that the Navy League is financed by persons interested in war munitions, A. H. Dadmun, secretary of the league, to-day declared that if an investigation could be held it would be all that the organization desires.

The statement issued by Mr. Dadmun says:

"Nothing would please the officers and directors of the Navy League more than to open our books and demonstrate to Congress and the country that the nation-wide movement on behalf of naval preparedness is a movement of, for, and by the American people. The league is supported by red-blooded Americans whose motives are unselfish and patriotic.

"Among these unselfish American patriots is J. P. Morgan, who became a life member on the payment of $25 more than eight years ago. The only other contribution or support either asked for or received from Mr. Morgan was received four years ago, when he contributed $100 to meet the traveling expenses of speakers attending a western convention."

In reply to this statement of Mr. Dadmun's I wrote the following letter:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., November 24, 1915.

Mr. A. H. DADMUN,
Secretary the Navy League, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. DADMUN: I notice in your statement of yesterday that you state J. Pierpont Morgan is an "American patriot." Evidently you miss my point. I do not charge that Mr. Morgan is not an "American patriot." I charge that he is a war trafficker, and that he is a director of the Navy League, which is advocating larger appropriations for the war traffickers.

I also note that you state Mr. Morgan has contributed only $125 to the Navy League. I understand that the J. Pierpont Morgan estate contributed $2,000 on June 10. Will you please inform the public whether this is correct and what individual or individuals made this contribution on behalf of the Morgan estate?

I also understand that Elbert H. Gary, who is described in the Directory of Directors for 1914 as "chairman of the board of directors and chairman of the finance committee of the United States Steel Corporation," contributed $1,000 on the same date.

Will not the Navy League please issue a special statement to cover these two contributions and also state whether the board of directors of the Navy League is considering the advisability of going on record in favor of the Government manufacture of munitions, battleships, submarines, etc., in order that the people may obtain a dollar's worth of preparedness for every dollar of their money appropriated, which they have not been getting in the past?

Very respectfully,

CLYDE H. TAVENNER.

NAVY LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C., November 29, 1915.

Hon. CLYDE H. TAVENNER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. TAVENNER: About three and a half years ago Col. Thompson asked the late J. Pierpont Morgan to join with himself and one other gentleman in giving the Navy League a thousand dollars a year for five years. He appealed to Mr. Morgan as one who usually took the lead in any great national undertaking calling for patriotism and public spirit, and solely from the standpoint of unselfish patriotism Mr. Morgan consented to give a thousand dollars a year for five years. Col. Thompson, at the dinner, June 10, informed the people of Mr. Morgan's promise and referred to the inspiring letter he wrote him on that occasion. The three payments have already been made of this, and the administrators of the Morgan estate, on seeing a copy of the letter from J. Pierpont Morgan, have agreed to carry out his promise, and

we hope to receive a thousand dollars before the close of this year and another thousand dollars next December. I have never received any communication from Mr. Jack Morgan regarding his father's subscription, nor has he ever mentioned it to me.

Judge Gary was at the dinner, and at the solicitation of Jacob Schiff, who handed around a subscription paper, and headed it himself for a thousand dollars. Mr. Gary signed for an equal amount.

* * * * * * *

Yours, very truly,

A. H. DADMUN,
Secretary of Navy League.

P. S.—Been away, hence delay in writing. Thank you for so much free advertising. Your recent letter brought us $25 from an entire stranger.

RESOLUTION OF INQUIRY IS INTRODUCED.

On January 19, 1916, I introduced the resolution to investigate the Navy League. It was referred to the Committee on Rules, but was never reported out of committee. The resolution follows:

House joint resolution (H. J. Res. 112) providing for a committee to investigate certain matters relating to the materiel of the Army and Navy.

Whereas more than $200,000,000, raised principally by taxing the things that the people eat, wear, and use, have been expended annually on the Army and Navy, under the general assumption that in return for this colossal expenditure the Nation was being reasonably "prepared"; and

Whereas it is now being generally asserted in many quarters that the Nation is pitifully "unprepared," the specific charge having been made on the floor of the House of Representatives by a Member thereof that "If war were to break out to-day, it would be found that our coast defenses have not sufficient ammunition for an hour's fight"; and

Whereas it has also been charged in the Congress that millions of dollars of public funds have been wasted by the payment to private manufacturers by Army and Navy officers of from 20 to 60 per cent more for large quantities of Army and Navy supplies than the same could have been obtained for through their manufacture in Government arsenals and navy yards; and

Whereas President Wilson, in a message to the Congress on December 8, 1914, said that, "Like good stewards we should so account for every dollar of our apropriations as to make it perfectly evident what it was spent for and in what way it was spent"; and

Whereas the profit incident to the manufacture and sale of arms, armament, and munitions of war has a tendency to corrupt public opinion, disturb international peace, and prevent a peaceful settlement of disputes between nations; and inasmuch as it ought to be made impossible for any person or corporation to make money out of war; and inasmuch as the Government should, for its own safety and protection, manufacture all arms, armament, and munitions of war for the equipment, construction, and use of the Army and Navy, to the end that it may be independent of individuals and corporate interests; and

Whereas there has been public criticism of the action of ex-Army and ex-Navy officers who after resigning or retiring have taken employment with concerns having dealings with the Government; and

Whereas it has been charged that supposedly secret plans and designs worked out by officers and employees of the Navy Department at public expense for exclusive use in American battleships were furnished to a private firm to be embodied in battleships for another nation; and

Whereas it has been charged that the Navy League, an organization active in agitating for increased naval expenditures, has among its founders, officers, members, and directors persons who are or have been officers, directors, or stockholders of war-trafficking firms or concerns which stand to profit financially from the increased naval appropriations being agitated by said Navy League; and

Whereas hearings by the lobby investigation committee of the United States Senate in 1915 revealed that Senators now in office were stockholders of war-trafficking firms and concerns which profit financially from Government appropriations for the Army and Navy; and

Whereas any or all of the divers matters heretofore mentioned may bear on the alleged wasting of public funds and the alleged unpreparedness of our Nation in spite of the enormous appropriations made by Congress annually; and

Whereas it is deemed advisable to gather the facts bearing on the aforesaid conditions and charges, or in any way or manner relating thereto or to any of the subjects above mentioned, as a basis for remedial and other legislative purposes: Therefore be it

Resolved, etc., That a joint committee of the Senate and House of Representatives, to consist of six Members of the Senate, to be appointed by the President of the Senate, and six Members of the House of Representatives, to be appointed by the Speaker of the House, is hereby empowered, authorized, and directed—

First. To investigate fully and inquire into each and all of the above-recited matters and into any matters and subjects connected with or appuretenant to or bearing upon the same.

Second. To investigate fully and inquire into—

(a) The total amounts paid to private manufacturers for guns, ammunition, torpedoes, powder, armor plate, submarines, battleships, and other equipment and supplies used by the Army and Navy in large quantities for each year since 1887, and approximately what the saving would have been to the people if the capacity of Government establishments had permitted the complete Government manufacture of said equipment;

(b) The extent of the economy or extravagance which has resulted from the Government manufacture of Army and Navy equipment of any kind whatsoever which the Government is now engaged in manufacturing;

(c) The most feasible plan of acquiring or constructing manufacturing plants of sufficient capacity to supply the Army and Navy with all arms, armament, and munitions of war, including ships and their equipment;

(d) The probable cost of such manufacturing plants, taking into account both present and future military needs;

(e) The proper locations for such manufacturing plants;

(f) The necessary legislation to prevent either persons or corporations from engaging or continuing in such manufacture, and when such legislation should take effect.

Third. To investigate and report the extent to which Army and Navy officials on the retired list, or who have resigned from the Army and Navy, are now connected, or have ever been connected, with concerns having dealings with the Government.

(a) Or to investigate any alleged connections, direct or indirect, between any Army or Navy officer, either on the active list or the retired list, and concerns which now have, or have had, dealings with the Government;

(b) Whether any Army or Navy officers on the pay roll of the Government, either on the active or retired list, are now, or ever have been, in any contract by which they are, or were, to receive royalties on implements of war sold to foreign Governments.

Fourth. To compile a list of ex-Army and ex-Navy officers employed by private concerns, and the names, places, and character of the business engaged in by the concerns with which said persons are, or have been, connected.

Fifth. To investigate and report the circumstances under which any private concern has been able to obtain plans and specifications from the Navy Department for use in constructing battleships for a foreign nation.

Sixth. To investigate the quality of work of any character supplied the Government by private concerns or the circumstances involved in connection with the making of any contracts between the Government and any private concern.

Seventh. To ascertain the extent to which individuals who are, or who have been, founders, directors, officers, life members, or contributing members of the Navy League, or similar organizations, are, or have been, stockholders, officers, directors, or employees of concerns which stand to profit from the increased appropriations for the Army and Navy which are being advocated by the Navy League or kindred organizations.

Eighth. To inquire into the organization, membership, expenditures, receipts, and sources thereof of Labor's National Peace Council or any organizations which have been active in the propaganda for or against an embargo on munitions of war or the proposed increases in the Army and Navy of the United States.

Ninth. To ascertain the extent to which Members of Congress, both of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, own, hold, or control, directly or indirectly, or have ever owned, held, or controlled, directly or indirectly, at any time during their membership in this or any preceding Congress, stock or bonds in any concern or concerns which are now or have been engaged in the manufacture of munitions of war.

Tenth. To ascertain the extent to which Members of Congress, both of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, own, hold, or control, directly or indirectly, or have ever owned, held, or controlled, directly or indirectly, at any time during their membership in this or any preceding Congress, stock or bonds in any concern or concerns which have profited financially by virtue of contracts for munitions, armament, ships, or other supplies or materials, under moneys appropriated in the Army, Navy, fortifications, sundry civil, or other appropriation bills, or, if deemed advisable, to require Army and Navy officers or any person or persons who have taken an active part for or against increased Army and Navy appropriations to testify as to their holdings of stocks or bonds.

Eleventh. To require munitions concerns or firms which have obtained contracts for materials of any character under Army and Navy appropriations to furnish sworn lists of its stockholders and bondholders on June 30, 1914, June 30, 1915, or such other dates as it may designate, or to require stock brokers to furnish lists of those for whom they have bought or sold stocks or bonds.

That said joint committee be authorized to take testimony, have the power to administer oaths and to send for persons and papers, and to compel witnesses to attend and testify, and to report at the earliest practicable date, or to make partial reports at intervals of time during the course of proceedings if in the judgment of the committee such action appears advisable, and be authorized to sit by subcommittee or otherwise during the sessions or recesses of Congress at such times and places as it may deem advisable, and to employ such clerical and stenographic assistance as it shall deem necessary; to order such printing and binding done as may be required in the transaction of its business and to incur such expenses as may be deemed necessary, all such expense to be paid in equal proportions out of the contingent funds of the Senate and the House of Representatives upon vouchers signed by the chairman of the committee and approved by the proper committee of each House; and that the hearings of this committee be open to the public: *Provided*, That any Member of the House or Senate who is in this, or has been in any preceding Congress, a member of the Military Affairs, Naval, or the Appropriations Committee of the House or Senate, or has held, owned, or controlled, directly or indirectly, during this or any preceding Congress any stock or bonds in concerns which have profited under Army or Navy appropriations, or whose relatives, either by blood or marriage, have held, owned, or controlled, directly or indirectly, bonds or stock in such concerns, shall not be eligible for appointment on the committee herein provided for.

NAVY LEAGUE EMPLOYEES EMBARRASSED IN ANSWERING DIRECT QUESTIONS.

Constant dodging and misstatement is the policy of the Navy League in answering specific questions concerning the identity of men affiliated with the Navy League. The following correspondence between the late Col. H. N. Wheeler, editor of the Quincy (Ill.) Journal, and an employee of the league, offers an illustration. This correspondence was furnished me by Col. Wheeler some months before his death.

QUINCY, ILL., *March 23, 1916.*

Mr. W. A. MCGARRY,
Press Secretary Navy League of the United States,
Navy League of the United States,
Southern Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. MCGARRY: I beg to acknowledge receipt of your favor of the 15th instant in which you state that certain statements made by Representative TAVENNER on the floor of Congress, reproduced in the Journal, are untrue. You send me the inclosed clipping, which I am returning so that you will see what you have called our attention to. The Journal desires to be accurate in every way and therefore desires to ask you some questions. I trust you will answer them at your earliest convenience and thus put us right in the matter.

I notice that the letterhead on which you write me states that Robert M. Thompson is president of the Navy League. Is this the same Robert M. Thompson who is chairman of the board of directors of the

International Nickel Co.? Do you wish me to infer by your letter that Robert M. Thompson has contributed only $100 to the Navy League? If you have no objection will you please inform me as to the total amount Col. Thompson has contributed to the Navy League during its career?

I note on the letterhead of the Navy League the statement that Robert Bacon is chairman of the executive committee of the Navy League. Is this the Robert Bacon who is a director of the United States Steel Corporation? I note that the letterhead says that Herbert L. Satterlee is counsel of the Navy League. Is this the Satterlee who is a brother-in-law of J. P. Morgan? I notice in the list of directors the name of J. P. Morgan. May I ask whether this is the same J. P. Morgan whom Lloyd George referred to in the House of Commons on June 24, 1915, when he stated that Morgan & Co. were the accredited agents of the British Government in the United States, or is it your contention that J. P. Morgan is not a war trafficker?

Trusting that you will answer these specific questions to make the situation perfectly clear, I remain,

Very truly, yours,

H. N. WHEELER.

NAVY LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C., March 28, 1916.

H. N. WHEELER, Esq.,
The Quincy Journal, Quincy, Ill.

MY DEAR SIR: In answer to your letter of March 23, may I state that the Robert M. Thompson whose name appears on our letterhead was once president of the International Nickel Co., but has long ago retired from that position.

* * * * * * *

A rash conclusion reached because there are other men of multitudinous financial interests that may be affected by conditions of war or peace is no less unjustified. There is the case of J. P. Morgan, for instance, who as a life member of the league, has paid $25 into its coffers, and who in addition once contributed $100 to defray the traveling expenses of a speaker to a Navy League convention. Mr. Morgan has never taken any active part in the work of the league, has never in any way attempted to influence its course, and hasty conclusions to the reverse are simply erroneous and unjust.

* * * * * * *

I must protest that you are assuming an attitude which strikes me as being far from fair. You are assuming that men with large interests play parts in public affairs which they do not play. It might not be illogical that you should assume an organization occupying the position of the Navy League would be voluntarily backed by armor-plate and munition manufacturers, yet you have no right to assert that it is so backed unless you know your facts. *If you would take it from me as a fact, it might be interesting to you from a psychological standpoint to know that no individual or organization has ever volunteered to contribute a sum as large as a thousand dollars to the Navy League.* No organization or individual has ever even accumulatively through a series of years contributed more than $5,000 to that organization. No contributor has ever made any attempt to control the policies of the league. These statements may seem illogical to you, but we offer to you as we have offered to Mr. TAVENNER and Mr. Bryan and Mr. Ford and others who have jumped to the conclusion that we represented special interests, access to our books, that you may make a complete examination and determine the source from which all our limited funds have come. We have offered to place the lists of all our contributors and the amounts given at the disposal of Mr. TAVENNER or anyone who would like to have them printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

With all these opportunities to determine facts, we hold that there is great injustice in blindly making charges against us without any effort to determine the facts.

Very truly, yours,

———— ————,
Field Secretary.

It will be noted that Col. Wheeler asked:

Is this the same Robert M. Thompson who is chairman of the board of directors of the International Nickel Co.?

The field secretary of the league parried this question by answering one that was not asked. He replied:

The Robert M. Thompson whose name appears on our letterhead was once president of the International Nickel Co., but has long ago retired from that position.

The field secretary did not think it incumbent upon him, evidently, to state that Col. Thompson was still the chairman of the board of directors of International Nickel.

The field secretary also states:

If you would take it from me as a fact, it might be interesting to you from a psychological standpoint to know that no individual or organization has ever volunteered to contribute a sum as large as a thousand dollars to the Navy League.

Unless there is some hidden meaning to the words "volunteered to contribute," this statement is absolutely without foundation. For instance, it is wholly at variance with the following statement contained in Secretary A. H. Dadmun's letter dated November 29, 1915:

Judge Gary was at the dinner and, at the solicitation of Jacob Schiff, who handed around a subscription paper and headed it himself for a thousand dollars, Mr. Gary signed for an equal amount.

THE OFFICIAL MINUTES OF THE NAVY LEAGUE.

That Col. Thompson, the head of the Nickel Trust, has been a sort of Santa Claus for the Navy League throughout its entire existence, is indicated by the official minutes of the Navy League, from which I have copied a number of interesting paragraphs, which follow.

Extract from letter sent out by Navy League soon after its incorporation to "individuals and chairmen of sections":

About 18 months ago our attention was brought to the matter of the great influence exercised by the navy leagues of Germany and England.

The minutes of an executive committee held on April 28, 1904, reveal the manner in which the league obtained some of its founders. The minutes contain the following letter from the League Publication Co., 78 Broad Street, New York:

NEW YORK, *April 27, 1904.*

NAVY LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES.

DEAR SIRS: Our company will undertake to find founders, life, subscribing, and regular members for your league acceptable to you on the basis of a commission of 50 per cent of the subscriptions. Checks to be drawn to the order of your treasurer and forwarded to him periodically at least once a week, the commissions to be paid by the league to the company weekly on the basis of the previous week's subscriptions.

Yours, truly,

WM. R. ————, *President.*

From minutes of meeting of executive committee held at office of Vice President Robert M. Thompson, December 5, 1904, at which meeting Rear Admiral Higginson, United States Navy, was present:

A discussion followed concerning the ways and means of meeting the running expenses, and Col. Thompson withdrew from the meeting and returned in a few minutes and reported that he had obtained a contract for a one-page advertisement for the Journal for one year from the International Nickel Co., which agreed to pay therefor the sum of $500 in advance. During the meeting the committee were entertained at lunch by Col. Thompson.

From minutes of executive committee held on December 26, 1905:

A committee consisting of Col. Robert M. Thompson and Herbert L. Satterlee, Esq., were appointed to confer with Paul Morton, Esq., president of the Equitable Life Association, regarding the circulation of the edition. The committee reported that after consultation with Mr. Morton he had agreed to send to each of the 8,000 agents of his company two copies each of the journal with instructions that the same be distributed.

The meeting then considered the advisability of employing a paid organizer to travel through the country and establish sections of the league. After a general discussion of the ways and means, Col. Thompson offered the following generous proposition: That if he would not be called upon for any other work in connection with the affairs of the league he would guarantee to provide $10,000 to be applied toward the payment of the salary and expenses of the organizer. It was decided that a retired naval officer would be the most suitable person for this service.

From minutes of meeting of executive committee of the Navy League held February 9, 1906:

A letter from Col. Robert M. Thompson was read informing the league that he had employed an organizer to travel through the Southern States for the period of six months at the salary of $100 per month. It was unanimously voted that the generous proposition of Col. Thompson be accepted with thanks.

The minutes of the board of directors' meeting of March 27, 1906, contained this item:

The secretary was directed to convey to Commander E. C. Benedict the thanks of the board for his generous contribution to the funds of the league.

From minutes of meeting of executive committee held at office of Col. Thompson, October 5, 1906:

It was suggested that a form of letter be prepared to be sent to the midshipmen asking them to interest their relatives and friends in their home towns in the work of the league. At 1 o'clock a recess was taken, and the committee and their guests were entertained at lunch by Col. Thompson.

From minutes of meeting of the board of directors of the Navy League held on October 29, 1906:

Col. Robert M. Thompson then addressed the board at some length in regard to the future prospects of the league. At the conclusion of his remarks, on motion duly seconded, it was voted that the patriotic and generous proposition of Col. Thompson be accepted and that the details thereof be left to the executive committee with power.

From minutes of meeting of executive committee held at office of Col. Thompson, 43 Exchange Place, New York City, November 28, 1906:

Col. Thompson further offered to personally pay the expense of printing and publishing the Navy League Journal until the completion of the present volume, No. LV, that is, including No. 12, the number for December, 1906. He further offered to pay the running expenses of the headquarters of the league for one year, and authorized the league to call on him (or his representative, Miss Van Brunt) for not to exceed $600 per month for the two purposes above outlined, or not to exceed $250 a month for the expenses of headquarters alone, upon voucher to be signed by the chairman of the executive committee.

From minutes of meeting of board of directors of Navy League of March 13, 1907:

Mr. W. H. Stayton informed the board that he would guarantee the expenses for the work of the league, aside from headquarters running expenses, for the period of one year, to the amount of $3,000; Mr. H. H. Ward also made the same offer, and on motion duly made and seconded the generous propositions were accepted.

The minutes contained the following agreement dated New York, May 17, 1907 (in part):

Robert M. Thompson and Henry H. Ward have agreed and do jointly and severally hereby agree to guarantee or underwrite until and including March 31, 1909, all expenses of the league office at 78 Broad Street, New York, other than those which, as in the preceding paragraph, Robert M. Thompson has agreed to directly assume individually, and to guarantee or underwrite until and including March 31, 1909, any or all expenses connected with any other office or offices which Robert M. Thompson and Henry H. Ward may hereafter agree to

include under this agreement. By agreeing to guarantee or underwrite such expenses, it is intended that they shall undertake and they do undertake to actually pay, without any purpose of being reimbursed and without any claim or right to reimbursement, all such expenses for the now current fiscal year of the league; and that for the coming fiscal—i. e., the year ending March 31, 1909, their guaranty extends to all such expenses as are hereinbefore in this paragraph enumerated, which are not fully met and covered by the assessment and the payments under assessment to be made at the annual convention of 1907–1908 for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1909, the amount of assessment received by the league treasury to be an offset against the expenses so guaranteed. The agreement of guaranty made in this paragraph has been made in consideration of those fiscal and other measures included in the by-laws adopted May 2, 1907, and holds good only so long as those by-laws remain in effect and in no case does it hold good beyond March 31, 1909. This joint agreement of Robert M. Thompson and Henry H. Ward equally with the individual agreement of Robert M. Thompson does not apply in any sense to any expenses or obligations of the League Publishing Co. Furthermore, the joint responsibility of each of the guarantors under this paragrah of the agreement is limited to a total amount of $6,000 and the responsibility of each severally is limited to $3,000.

From minutes of meeting of board of directors of Navy League held at office of Col. Thompson, 43 Exchange Place, February 6, 1909:

The secretary reported correspondence which he had had with Pond Lecture Bureau in regard to league representatives traveling with Admiral Evans, and in connection with his tour. Mr. Glass, representing the Pond Bureau, appeared before the meeting and having stated that he was dissatisfied with certain action of the league representatives, said that he intended telegraphing Admiral Evans to discontinue mentioning the league in his lectures. Whereupon the chairman, Mr. Stayton, requested him to consider the interview closed and to withdraw.

From minutes of meeting of board of directors of Navy League held at office of Col. Thompson, 43 Exchange Place, March 8, 1909:

The secretary and field secretary were directed to draw up and submit at the next meeting of the board a circular leter to be used in notifying prominent citizens throughout the United States of their election to membership in the league.

TESTIMONY BEFORE COMMITTEES OF CONGRESS.

I desire to add for preservation in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD my testimony before the Committee on Rules of the House of Representatives on January 19, 1916, in support of the resolution to investigate the Navy League, and also my testimony before a special committee of the House appointed to expunge certain remarks of Hon. OSCAR CALLAWAY, of Texas, reflecting on Hon. AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER, of Massachusetts.

PEACE PROPAGANDA INVESTIGATION.

STATEMENT OF HON. CLYDE H. TAVENNER, MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM ILLINOIS.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I am very anxious to see an investigation by Congress; but as Mr. CHIPERFIELD says, even after you investigate the four organizations that are named in Mr. GARDNER'S resolution and in Mr. HENSLEY'S resolution, you would then have only arrived at the point where you ought to start to investigate. I realize that what the Navy League is or is not is not very important, so far as the subject of defense is concerned. The important thing is this, that $240,000,000, raised by taxing the things that the people eat, wear, and use, have been expended annually on the Army and Navy, and that now, it is said, we are "pitifully unprepared," and that "if war were to break out to-day, it would be found that our coast defenses have not sufficient ammunition for an hour's fight."

It seems to me the thing we really ought to investigate is the question as to where all these millions of dollars have gone, the circumstances under which contracts have been made by Army officers with private munitions firms, and the prices that we have paid for armor and munitions of war. The public service that would result from that kind of an investigation, in my opinion, would be this: We could profit by the mistakes that have been made in the past. If we are not prepared after spending $240,000,000 a year, what reason is there to believe that we would be prepared if we spend $340,000,000 a year?

So far as my motives are concerned, I wish to say this: I have not made a single dollar of profit out of my campaign for Government manufacture of munitions.

Mr. GARDNER suggested that both he and I be investigated. I am perfectly willing to be investigated, and I wish to make this statement right here now, that I am at the service of any gentleman who desires to question me further on the matter, any gentlemen in this room, any member of the committee, or anyone else. I have not made one penny of profit from any source whatsoever, neither from any writings of newspaper articles, nor from any lectures, nor from any other source. I do not belong to any organization; I am not affiliated with any organization, and I report to no one and take orders from no one except my constituents. I have gone as far as New York from Illinois to make speeches on the proposition of Government manufacture of munitions of war, and I have paid my own expenses; not only my own car fare but my own hotel bills. However, I do not wish to be understood as meaning that I deserve any credit on account of not having my expenses paid when I have traveled about making speeches for Government manufacture; I am just stating the fact that my expenses were not paid. No one ever offered to pay them. I am not criticizing any Member of Congress who has been paid for speaking. Members are constantly receiving requests to go to various cities and deliver addresses, and they can not afford to make this practice unless they receive some compensation. After making several trips and not receiving expenses or compensation, I have quit accepting invitations to speak, as I find it too expensive a luxury for me to indulge in.

I repeat, I have not made a single penny of profit out of this campaign from any source, and the minute any gentleman shows I have, I will resign my seat in Congress. I now put myself at the disposal of the gentleman from Massachusetts to ask me any questions he desires as to whether I have made one penny of profit from any source. If he desires to ask me any question, I will be glad to answer him.

Mr. GARDNER. Did you address that to me?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. GARDNER. I simply say that both sides ought to be investigated.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would consider it a luxury to be investigated.

Mr. GARDNER. And see whether you write letters for the newspapers.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have not written any articles for pay for a year and a half, or about that time. I have discontinued my newspaper service. I used to conduct a newspaper bureau and wrote an article every day from Washington for six or eight years. I wrote those articles for the pay the papers gave me, and they paid just enough to enable me to live.

Mr. GARDNER. I take absolutely your word for that as sufficiently convincing.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is a question of facts. What we ought to do is this: We ought to find out what Members of Congress own stock in war-trafficking firms. It is not a question of establishing motive but of fact. Let the people know the facts, and if it is all right for Members of Congress to own stock in the munitions firms, they can get out among their constituents and say, "Vote for me! I own stock in such and such munitions concerns! Is not this fact an indorsement of my candidacy?" If there is nothing wrong about it, perhaps their majorities will be increased. In any event, we should let the people know the facts.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. TAVENNER, may I inquire whether you have carried on campaigns about the present status of war contracts?

Mr. TAVENNER. I am fighting for Government manufacture of munitions.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. And I would judge that had been a source of considerable expense to you?

Mr. TAVENNER. It has.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Has that all been met privately?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. I have used too much of my salary, more than I could really afford. I have no income except what I draw from the House of Representatives as a Member.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Has that all been paid from your own private funds?

Mr. TAVENNER. From my salary which I receive as a Member of the House of Representatives. It has not been so very expensive, however, for the reason that I have my clerk, as a Member of Congress, and I can send out extracts from my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at very little cost. Before I sent out these extracts to the newspapers I made up a sample and submitted it to the Post Office Department, asking, "Is it all right for me to mail this matter under my frank?" They replied, "It is absolutely all right to frank that. All you must state is that the matter is from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, extracts from remarks, etc."

I want to see an investigation, but I want this matter inquired into: Why are we paying from 20 to 60 per cent more for millions of dollars' worth of munitions, armor, etc., than we can manufacture them for in the Government arsenals and navy yards? I realize there are two sides to this policy, and an investigation would bring out both sides. I am not afraid to have the argument of the other side heard, and then I want to have the argument in favor of Government manufacture heard.

As soon as the House convenes to-day I shall introduce a resolution asking for the appointment of a committee to investigate a number of matters of great importance.

I realize the Navy League is only a side issue. My statement about the Navy League was not that these men were not inspired by lofty motives, but that they owned stock in war-trafficking firms; that the founders of the league were such, and I believe an investigation would reveal that the Navy League originated at 23 Wall Street, in the office of J. P. Morgan & Co. The reason I believe that——

The CHAIRMAN. You mean to say that in your resolution you will charge that Members of Congress and Senators own stock in munition-trafficking concerns?

Mr. TAVENNER. There was an investigation in 1914–15 by a committee of the United States Senate into lobbies, and two Members of the Senate testified, under oath, that they owned stock in such concerns; others that their relatives owned stock.

The CHAIRMAN. You want to broaden this resolution?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir; I want to broaden this resolution to take in everything, because I realize nothing would be gained by the public if we investigated only the unimportant part.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Are those Senators present Members of the Senate?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; they are Senators now.

Mr. GARDNER. Did you ask what the stock was they owned?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir; the stock was that of the General Electric Co. and the United States Steel Corporation. The General Electric Co. has drawn down two and one-half millions of dollars worth of contracts from the Navy Department, receiving orders every year, and it is reported in the Standard Corporation Service Reports as having profited hugely from the European war, and it is so reported in the Wall Street Journal and in Financial America. They all have it down as a war trader.

I think the orders from the United States Government were received during the time Senators held stock. If not, let us ascertain when they bought the stock, how long they held it, and all about it.

Mr. GARDNER. But the other orders?

Mr. TAVENNER. From these various countries?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would not be surprised if there had been some withdrawals since the European war.

Mr. GARDNER. The General Electric Co. is in my county. I sold out my stock. [NOTE.—Jan. 22, 1916.—I am a trustee of certain trusts containing General Electric shares. My wife is a small beneficiary and my married daughter is a substantial beneficiary.]

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you sell out your stock before General Electric received contracts from the Navy Department?

Mr. GARDNER. I never heard until this minute of any contracts with the Navy Department. That is the trouble; a man makes investments, and he can not go into everything; but I got rid of my General Electric Co. stock when I found out that they had contracts to make munitions.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to ask you what relation George Peabody Gardner is to you?

Mr. GARDNER. He is a first cousin.

Mr. TAVENNER. He is a director in the General Electric Co., which is a J. P. Morgan concern; is not that correct?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You have called these matters to the attention of the Committees on Naval Affairs and Military Affairs and asked them to make inquiry?

Mr. TAVENNER. No; because I thought the proper way to do this would be by a special joint committee of Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. Those committees would have jurisdiction even now to inquire into the expenditure of money which we are appropriating in Congress for the Army and Navy.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir; but I want investigated some other things of a nature that they probably would not feel like going into.

I want certain Wall Street brokers to testify and give names of patrons who are Army and Navy officers.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you going to specify those things in your resolution?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir. I want to find out by what authority secret plans and specifications worked out by officers and employees of the Navy Department were turned over to a private firm, for use in foreign battleships, and I have——

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Do you know that to be true?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir; I do.

Mr. FOSTER. Did you ever place that before the Navy Department?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir; the Navy Department knows about it. I have here a copy of the resolution which I shall introduce to-day. I will read it.

Mr. FOSTER. I do not think that will be necessary, if you are going to introduce it.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Have you informed the War and Navy Departments of that fact?

Mr. TAVENNER. They know it.

Mr. BENNET. Is that in relation to the fire-control plans sold to the Greek Government?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir; to the Argentine Government.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. TAVENNER, is it your opinion that an investigation as proposed in this resolution before the committee now would be of public benefit or benefit with reference to action of Congress?

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe it would. I believe the people ought to know all about the identity of the gentlemen who founded the Navy League.

I desire to add this, that while I do not agree with Mr. GARDNER on everything, and am unwilling to go to anything like the length he would have us go, I realize he has given much painstaking study, time, and energy to the work of educating himself on matters pertaining to the Army and Navy. I believe his work, on the whole, will be beneficial for this reason; I am satisfied in my own mind that millions and millions of dollars appropriated for defense have been wasted by the payment of excessive prices for materials of various kinds. I believe that the Nation does not have the Army and Navy it should have for the colossal sums that have been expended upon them. Mr. GARDNER has called attention to certain weaknesses in our defenses, and they will be corrected. In the meantime the eyes of Congress and the people are being opened to the fact that they have not been receiving a dollar's worth of defense for every dollar appropriated. I believe the result will be that public sentiment will ultimately force Congress to manufacture its own munitions, armor, battleships, submarines, etc. I expect legislation looking to this end to be enacted even in the present session of Congress. Once private profit and private graft are taken out of war and preparation for war, I am confident that that part of the systematic agitation for increased Army and Navy appropriations that is bought and paid for will cease overnight, and that the now threatening danger of a military autocracy in this country will completely vanish.

STATEMENT OF HON. CLYDE H. TAVENNER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS, ON AUGUST 14, 1916, BEFORE A SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE COMPOSED OF REPRESENTATIVES PAGE, RAKER, TAYLOR, MONDELL, AND TOWNER, APPOINTED TO REPORT ON EXPUNGING FROM THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD CERTAIN LANGUAGE OF HON. OSCAR CALLOWAY IN REFERENCE TO HON. AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER.

Mr. TAVENNER. If the committee is willing, I would like to ask Mr. GARDNER a couple of questions through the chairman.

Mr. TAYLOR. Inasmuch as Mr. TAVENNER has been referred to here a number of times, I think he should be permitted to ask the questions.

Mr. RAKER. You may proceed, Mr. TAVENNER.

Mr. TAVENNER. Relative to the $2,500,000 worth of contracts obtained by the General Electric Co. from the Navy Department, I would like to ask Mr. GARDNER whether he knows approximately the amount of the contracts, or the value of contracts, obtained by the General Electric Co. from the Fore River Shipbuilding Co., the Bethlehem Steel Co., New York Shipbuilding Co., and various other shipbuilding companies as a result of the contracts received by those concerns from the Navy Department? I ask that for this reason: The Government itself has in the past done very little in the way of building ships, but the ships, submarines, etc., are built by private concerns which purchase many of the supplies necessary for that purpose from the General Electric Co.

Mr. GARDNER. I have no idea. I have never looked into that.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to ask Mr. GARDNER how much stock he personally owned in the General Electric Co. in October, 1914?

Mr. GARDNER. I think I owned 625 shares. I have not looked it up, but I can tell you what I owned on December 31.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is near enough. I wanted to know approximately how much you had at about that date.

Now, one other question: I have here what purports to be a telegram signed by you and printed in the New York World on August 21, 1915. It does not purport to be an interview, but appears to be a telegram signed by you, as follows:

HAMILTON, MASS., *August 20.*

If Wilson takes a bold stand, the country will take a bold stand, even if it means war. If Wilson wabbles, the country will wabble. If I were Wilson, I should send Count Bernstorff home at once and call Congress together, with the recommendation that war be declared against Germany. I hope that the President will not write any more notes.

A. P. GARDNER,
Member of the House of Representatives.

Mr. GARDNER. That is absolutely correct; I take pleasure in verifying it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, if I had been present at the time Mr. ROGERS offered the resolution under which this hearing is being held, I should have offered as a substitute therefor H. J. Res. No. 112, which I introduced on January 19, 1916, which is before the Committee on Rules and which I have never been able to get reported out of committee. Such an investigation as this resolution of mine provides for would have shown what Members of Congress own stock in war-trafficking firms and would have shown who was chiefly responsible for the present reign of preparedness propaganda. I have made the statement on the floor of the House that those chiefly responsible for the present preparedness propaganda were munition makers or men who when they started their agitation were stockholders in war-trafficking firms.

I have no personal quarrel with the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GARDNER], and my only interest is to see the facts stated as they are. I will be entirely satisfied, and I think Mr. CALLAWAY will be, if it appears in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD that Mr. GARDNER, when he started this so-called "preparedness" agitation in October, 1914, was a stockholder in the General Electric Co., that his wife was a stockholder in the General Electric Co., and that his daughter was a stockholder in the General Electric Co. This is a war-trading concern. These are facts, I understand, undisputed by Mr. GARDNER. The reason I consider this important is that Mr. GARDNER, I believe, more than any other Member of the House, is responsible for the starting of the widespread agitation for excessive preparedness, as I consider it. I want the record to show for all time that Mr. GARDNER did own this stock when he started this propaganda for increased Army and Navy expenditures. It tends to substantiate my statement that war-trafficking firms and stockholders of war-trafficking firms started the so-called "preparedness" propaganda. I do not challenge the motive of Mr. GARDNER individually, and I have never challenged the motives of the members of the Navy League individually. I have simply called attention to facts so that the public may consider them and reach its own conclusions.

I have here a copy of the Navy League Journal, and I desire to direct the attention of the committee to the fact that on the first page appears the statement that this is "the official organ of the Navy League of the United States."

Mr. RAKER. What is the date of that publication?

Mr. TAVENNER. February, 1904. This was at a time when no one had ever attacked those behind this militaristic propaganda and they were a little careless in stating who was financing it. On turning to page 32 I find that this official journal of the Navy League publishes these names under the head of "Founders"—I do not say that these men were the founders, but I say that the official organ of the Navy League itself represents them as the "founders" of the Navy League:

"FOUNDERS.

"Herbert L. Satterlee, J. W. Miller, J. Pierpont Morgan, Benjamin F. Tracy, Seth Low, Clement A. Griscom, Thomas Lowry, Timothy L. Woodruff, Midvale Steel Co., Anson Phelps Stokes, George Westinghouse, R. S. Sloan, John J. Astor, R. M. Thompson, Charles M. Schwab, John J. McCook, Harry Payne Whitney, George B. Satterlee, S. S. Palmer."

Of these 19 men, 14 are either war traffickers, stockholders in war-trafficking firms, or else they sat on boards of directors with men who were war traffickers. For instance, here is J. Pierpont Morgan; the Midvale Steel Co.,; Charles M. Schwab, who is now the president of the Bethlehem Steel Co. Then here is Benjamin F. Tracy, who was counsel for the Carnegie Steel Co. and the Harvey Steel Co.; Clement A. Griscom, who was a partner of Mr. Morgan's; Herbert L. Satterlee, brother-in-law of J. P. Morgan; John J. Astor, who was a fellow director of J. P. Morgan on a number of corporations; Col. Robert M. Tompson, of the International Nickel Co. (the Nickel Trust); and S. S. Palmer, president of the Harvey Steel Co.

I say that any one of these instances might not be important in itself, but when you take all of them and behold that 14 out of the 19 are men who were either at the head of war-trafficking firms, stockholders in them, or fellow directors of men who were, and then you add to that the further fact that both in the House and the Senate of the United States the individual in each House who started the present reign of preparedness propaganda was also a stockholder in war-trafficking firms—taking that whole chain of circumstances, it is something for intelligent men to consider. Maybe I am entirely wrong, but I consider this series of coincidences is at least remarkable enough to bring to the attention of the American people.

I contend that any Member of Congress who owns stock in a war-trafficking firm, or whose wife owns stock in a war-trafficking firm, or whose daughter owns stock in a war-trafficking firm, should not be permitted to take part in the debates on these great preparedness bills, which mean increased profits for war-trading firms, or to vote on them. If one of us was being examined as a prospective juryman in a suit involving a street railway company and while being examined should state that either our uncle or our father or our cousin was a stockholder we would promptly be excused. It is conceded by the legal fraternity everywhere that a person having a financial interest in a suit is disqualified to sit as a juror.

If it is improper for a man owning stock in a street railway company to sit as a juror whose only duty is to construe the application of the law, how much more improper is it for a man financially interested to actually make the law or have a hand in the making of it? The welfare of the Republic is equally as sacred as the welfare of a street railway company.

The defense of a nation is or should be the most sacred and important duty that legislators have to perform. There should be no room even for suspicion that a Member of Congress might profit financially from legislation having to do with the safety of the Nation. The problem of adequate defense can best be solved in the interest of the Republic if it is left wholly in the hands of legislators who have no investments at stake and who would therefore be beyond the possibility of being unconsciously influenced in favor of the particular "preparedness" program that might yield the largest profits.

A Member of Congress who owns, hold, or controls, directly or indirectly, or whose immediate relatives own, hold, or control, directly or indirectly, stock or bonds in any concern or concerns engaged in the manufacture of munitions of war should be prevented by law from taking any part in debates on the so-called "preparedness" appropriation bills or from voting on them.

So far as this particular matter is concerned, I am satisfied personally if the facts relative to Mr. GARDNER'S ownership of stock appear in the record. You can not prove a man's motive. But let the facts stand recorded.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, that is all I have to say.

Mr. GARDNER. Of course, my daughter did not own stock in General Electric when the war broke out; but, as I have shown, that was a part of her marriage portion when she was married last July. I call the attention of the committee to the fact that I have already set all these facts forth in the RECORD of June 21, 1916, when I arose to a question of personal privilege, having notified Mr. TAVENNER beforehand that I was going to do so, and Mr. TAVENNER having been present. Furthermore, I notified him that the statement I should make involved his name. Mr. TAVENNER stated that he had a statement to make involving my name. Have you made that statement?

Mr. TAVENNER. I will finish it. I inquired of Mr. GARDNER a few moments ago whether a statement which purported to be a telegram sent by him to the New York World on August 20, 1915, was accurate and official. He replied that it was. In that statement Mr. GARDNER said that if he had been President of the United States he would have called "Congress together with the recommendation that war be declared against Germany."

I stated repeatedly along about that time, although I did not then know of this telegram, that those who were leading the agitation for "preparedness" not only wanted great armaments, but that they wanted war.

I consider that the telegram Mr. GARDNER acknowledges he sent as proof of my statement, because he himself said that had he been President he would have asked Congress to declare war against Germany. Not satisfied with crape hanging on the door of nearly every home in Europe, Mr. GARDNER, if he had been President, would have had this Nation in war, and crape would to-day be on the doors of thousands of American homes.

Mr. RAKER. You had a hearing before the Committee on Rules on your resolution?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir; I wish to repeat I have no personal grievance against Mr. GARDNER. I intend my remarks to apply to any and all Members who may in the future own stock in concerns that manufacture munitions.

I certainly would be the last one to criticize Mr. GARDNER if he had accepted money for making speeches, because certainly that is clean money; I can not see anything wrong about that. I think he would have a right to do it; but I do not think that any Member of Congress who owns stock in a munitions firm ought to be permitted to take part in the debate on these questions, whether they own the stock now or owned it at any time since they have been in Congress.

Mr. GARDNER. May I ask Mr. TAVENNER a question?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Mr. GARDNER. Do you think that a man who owns a farm has any right to vote on any of the questions which affect a rural community, like rural credits?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; I would only go to a reasonable extent in applying this principle. When you actually own stock in a war-trafficking concern, I would say "No," but when you own stock in a woolen mill I think it would be far-fetched to say you should not vote on a "preparedness" appropriation bill. I would have it apply particularly to munitions firms.

Mr. TOWNER. Mr. GARDNER, do you desire to make any further statement?

Mr. GARDNER. No.

Mr. TOWNER. Then I move that we adjourn, to reconvene at the call of the chairman.

(The special committee thereupon adjourned.)

Comments on V. B. Cheshire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WYATT AIKEN,
OF SOUTH CAROLINA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. Speaker, just before the last session of Congress closed the Member from the fifth Kansas district saw fit to print in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a lot of stuff from a notorious creature in South Carolina intending to reflect upon me and at the same time to put a coat of whitewash on the person and so-called character of a notorious crook in this city whom the Member stated was a great friend of his, and I will ask that the inclosed clipping from a reputable newspaper in South Carolina be printed as part of my remarks:

CHESHIRE'S BOND IS FIXED IN SUM OF $2,500—ANDERSON MAN IS BOUND OVER TO GENERAL SESSIONS COURT ON SERIOUS CHARGE OF RAPE.

The following is from the Anderson Mail:

"Magistrate G. H. Geiger has bound over to the court of sessions Mr. V. B. Cheshire to answer the charge of rape. The preliminary hearing was concluded late Saturday afternoon. At its conclusion the magistrate stated that he would send the case to the higher court. The next term of the court of general sessions for this county will be convened on the second Monday in May.

"Messrs. B. F. Martin, of Greenville, and G. B. Greene, of the firm of Greene & Earl, of Anderson, appeared for the defendant, while Mr. A. H. Dagnall, of Anderson, appeared for the prosecutor. Mr. Martin went to Greenville late Saturday night and made application for bail before Judge Mendel L. Smith, at chambers. On the showing made Judge Smith named bond in the sum of $2,500. The bond was executed Saturday night and was signed by Messrs. Willis McGee and Reeves Chamblee, along with Mr. Cheshire.

"The warrant for Mr. Cheshire's arrest was issued by Magistrate Geiger on the 22d day of February, and the affidavit in the warrant alleges that the defendant committed the act during the blank day of December, the girl in the case being 9 years of age and under 14 years of age. The indictment is brought under section 143 of the criminal code. The prosecutor in the case is the grandfather of the girl, and the girl now resides with her grandfather in another city in this State."

Mr. Speaker, this creature Cheshire is a notorious lawbreaker. A few weeks ago he was convicted in the United States court for sending obscene matter through the mails, and the judge let him off with a small fine, which brought forth much unfavorable comment upon the judge. Since then he has been convicted in the mayor's court of his city for beating a woman and a girl in the head with a pistol, and now he is bound over to the grand jury of the county, charged with a most beastly and heinous offense. This creature is a close friend of the close friend of the Member from the fifth district of Kansas. This close friend of the Member from the fifth Kansas is enterprising and brazen with his crookedness, as many crooks are. As a sample of his enterprise and brazenness I may mention a recent instance. He wrote an article and had it printed in an obscure, cowardly, dirty little sheet in South Carolina, in which he eulogized certain leading Republicans and predicted Roosevelt four years hence, and he then inveigled the Member from the fifth Kansas district to have the article printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for July 1, 1916. It is hardly necessary to say that the Member in question did not realize then the character of the man he was dealing with and that he will not again be used as a cat's-paw to pull the chestnuts from the political fires for this unscrupulous schemer, this sneak and infamous liar, James H. Patten, who is held in such thorough contempt by most of the Members of this House, and who is a bosom friend of another notorious crook, James M. Baker, who has recently been reelected as Secretary of the Senate of the United States—a man who has been repeatedly denounced as a liar, a forger, and a thief in the public newspapers, and who has never dared to institute a libel suit to defend himself.

United States Marine Hospital, Chicago, Ill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE EDMUND FOSS,
OF ILLINOIS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. FOSS. Mr. Speaker, the United States Government owns a tract of land on which the Marine Hospital stands in Chicago. This land calls for Lake Michigan as its eastern boundary line. The title to this land carries with it riparian rights on Lake Michigan. These rights are: (1) The right of accretion, which is the right to claim any additions to the land that are formed by the slow and imperceptible action of the waters in depositing sand upon the shore line. (2) The right of access to the water. But the riparian owner must sustain the burden of losses which result from the washing away or erosion by the action of the waters upon his shore. If his land is washed away by erosion, he loses such land and can not reclaim it from the bed of the lake. His title to the land stops at the point where the waters are at rest, free from disturbing causes.

Chicago is located along the west shore of Lake Michigan. The prevailing wind which sets in motion the action of the waters in the spring and fall—the two seasons in which the greatest damage from wave action is caused—is the northeast wind. This wind, blowing transversely across the surface of the lake, starts up a movement of the waves which strike in an oblique manner against the shore and cause a scouring, with the result that instead of the shore owner obtaining accretions to his land he is constantly suffering erosions, unless his land is protected by a breakwater.

The shore line of the Marine Hospital has a breakwater across its frontage. This breakwater is in a dilapidated condition, due to the constant hammering of the waters. A request had been made upon Congress for an appropriation of $40,000 to build another breakwater to protect the Marine Hospital land from being washed away. This $40,000 will be saved to the Government if it transfers its riparian rights to the commissioners of Lincoln Park. The commissioners have agreed to protect the Marine Hospital land and make any necessary repairs on the breakwater up to the time that the park is built across this frontage.

The commissioners also agree to give the Marine Hospital direct access to the waters of Lake Michigan, with a basin within the hospital land, which will be available in all kinds of weather for rowing, and so forth, and much more useable as a water front than the present condition which fronts the open lake.

The commissioners of Lincoln Park have a plan for the enlargement of Lincoln Park by reclaiming submerged lands from the lake—that is, filling in the lake adjacent to the shore. The power to do this was given by the General Assembly of Illinois by act of June 15, 1895. Under the power of this act there have been added to Lincoln Park 220 acres of land, which now form a part of the park. Work is now in progress to add 80 acres more, and when this is completed Lincoln Park will be extended

to a street 500 feet south of the Marine Hospital grounds. The next enlargement of the park will take in the water front of the Marine Hospital grounds, but the work of extending the park across the water front of the Marine Hospital grounds can not be done until the United States Government surrenders to the commissioners of Lincoln Park the riparian rights of this tract of land.

The bill before Congress authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury, "in his discretion, to transfer and convey to the commissioners of Lincoln Park the riparian rights of the United States as the owner of land fronting on Lake Michigan and occupied as the site of the Marine Hospital." The bill empowers the Secretary of the Treasury "to undertake or conform to any proceedings provided for under the statutes of Illinois enacted for the purpose of enabling park commissioners to enlarge parks by reclaiming submerged lands under the waters of Lake Michigan for the establishment and defining of the boundary line between the lands of shore owners and the park lands of such park commissioners."

The plan for the enlargement of the park provides for a driveway along the west border of the park—that is, the border adjacent to the shore. The west line of this driveway will lie 100 feet east of the present shore line of the Marine Hospital land. There will be a strip of land 100 feet wide and 520 feet long between the present shore line of the hospital lands and the west boundary of the park lands.

If the Secretary of the Treasury conveys to the park commissioners the riparian rights of the Marine Hospital site and conforms to the statutes of Illinois now in force the title to this strip of land between the present shore and the proposed boulevard will become vested in the United States Government. The only way that this title can vest is by conforming to the Illinois statute, and in conforming to the statutes a proceeding will have to be commenced in the circuit court of Cook County, on the chancery side thereof. The circuit court, under that statute, has the power by its final decree to establish the dividing or boundary line between the lands of the petitioner—which in this case would be the United States Government—and the lands of the board of park commissioners adjacent thereto; and the line so established by the decree shall be the permanent line of said shore lands, which shall not be affected or changed thereafter, either by accretions or erosions, and the owner of said shore lands shall have the right to improve, protect, sell, and convey the shore lands up to the boundary line so established free from any adverse claim in any way arising out of any question as to where the shore line was at any time in the past or as to the title to existing accretions, if any, to said shore lands. This proceeding in court is the only method by which the United States Government, as a landowner on the shore of Lake Michigan, can become vested with an indefeasible title to the strip of land between its present shore and the west boundary of the park.

If their is incorporated in this bill before Congress a clause or condition "that the transferred rights and title to the land which may be added to the present water front of said Marine Hospital shall revert to the United States should said rights and land cease to be used for park and driveway purposes," the Secretary of the Treasury would be compelled to ask that such a reversionary clause be incorporated in the decree, and if such a clause were incorporated in the decree it would be inconsistent with the act under which the court is exercising its power to decree that—

> the boundary line fixed by the decree shall be the permanent boundary line of the shore lands, which shall not be affected or changed thereafter.

The whole proceeding for acquiring riparian rights and fixing the boundary line is predicated upon this act of the legislature. The court has no power other than by this statute to establish such a boundary line and declare that said boundary line shall be the permanent boundary line dividing the shore lands and the park lands. Consequently, anything incorporated in the decree which is inconsistent with the powers embraced in the act would be beyond the court's jurisdiction and would vitiate the decree. At any rate, it would not be an adjudication which conforms to the act of the general assembly defining the limits to which the court can go in fixing the boundary line and decreeing that the shore owner shall own all land out to such boundary line. The whole proceeding is based upon a statute; that statute must be followed; it can not be expanded by one of the parties litigant, and the United States, going into the circuit court of Cook County to have its boundary line fixed, must subscribe to the existing law the same as all other shore owners whose boundary line is fixed by this law.

The protection that the United States has that the purpose of land will not be changed is the adjudication of the circuit court that the riparian rights are surrendered and the boundary line is fixed under and pursuant to the act which expressly provides that—

> the submerged lands * * * and the shore lands, together with the riparian rights thus acquired in accordance with the preceding sections, the said commissioners shall hold for the following uses:
> "1. For the purpose of constructing and maintaining the boulevard or driveway as in said plan located.
> "2. For the purpose of filling, reclaiming, improving, maintaining, and holding such portions as are so designated upon said plan as a public park."

The legislature which had dominion over the submerged lands made a voluntary conveyance of this submerged land to the park commissioners for park purposes. The legislature also declared that the Circuit Court of Cook County shall be the forum in which there shall be adjudicated a permanent boundary line. This delegation by the legislature or power to the circuit court to make such adjudication seems to me to put it beyond the power of the legislature thereafter to overthrow or disregard a proper adjudication by the court under the terms of the act. This is based upon the fact that the government of Illinois consists of three coordinate branches—the executive, legislative, and judicial—and the legislature, having clothed the judicial power with authority to make a final adjudication, has terminated its function when the judicial power has spoken; the judicial power being of equal dignity and having entered its decree conformable to that act of the legislature, makes that the final conclusive settlement and puts it beyond the power of the legislature to repeal.

The Secretary of the Treasury is given power, "in his discretion, to convey to the commissioners of Lincoln Park the riparian rights of the United States as the owner of land fronting on the shore of Lake Michigan." Should the Secretary of the Treasury attempt to settle this question by making a deed of the riparian rights of the Marine Hospital land to the park commissioners, and incorporate in "that deed that the riparian rights and the title to the land which may be added to the present water front of the Marine Hospital site shall revert to the United States should said rights and land cease to be used for park and driveway purposes," it is a question in my mind whether the commissioners of Lincoln Park would have power to extend the park across the water front of the Marine Hospital grounds, because the power of the park commissioners to extend the park is solely acquired by the act of the legislature which requires that "the submerged land and the shore land, together with the riparian rights thus acquired, shall be held for the purposes mentioned in the act." It would be ultra vires for the park commissioners to make land which would be added to the present water front of the Marine Hospital grounds unless the title to the land made would be free from any burdens or claims by the shore owner.

Before the park commissioners can build the park they must have a line established which shall be the permanent boundary line of the shore lands, which shall not be affected or changed thereafter. Such a deed from the Secretary of the Treasury containing a reversionary clause would make a condition attaching to the title of the land held by the park commissioners, and the park commissioners can not hold park lands acquired under the terms of the act referred to burdened with any conditions as to title.

Assuming even that the matter could be settled by deed of the Secretary of the Treasury with conditions, the park commissioners could not make a deed to the United States Government of a strip of land 100 feet wide between the present shore line and the west boundary of the park, because the park commissioners are not given the power to make a conveyance of any land to a shore owner. The act provides for the settlement of the permanent boundary line, and the court's decree vests in the shore owner title to all lands lying out to that boundary line, so that the United States would acquire title to this 100 feet in and by virtue of the decree and not by any deed from the park commissioners.

I have not taken into account the question of the right of the State of Illinois to exercise the power of eminent domain and under that power change the purpose of the park lands. It does not seem to me that it is necessary to go into that phase of the question. The Legislature of the State of Illinois, like the United States Government, has the power of eminent domain, and it would not be possible to provide against the exercise of that power by any stipulation or restrictions in any decree of court, no more than it would be possible for the State of Illinois to attempt to limit the United States Government in its exercise of the power of eminent domain should the

United States deem it necessary to call upon such power for the purpose of acquiring land.

The only settlement that can be made is a settlement which will fix a permanent boundary line between the shore lands of the United States Government and the park lands of the commissioners of Lincoln Park, which shall not thereafter be changed, and to tack on to this bill a reversionary clause will defeat the object sought to be obtained by the passage of this bill.

Lincoln Park is a strip of land along the shore of Lake Michigan, perpetually endowed by the people of the State of Illinois for a public park. For more than 50 years it has been a part of Chicago's water front dedicated to the largest public use conceivable. It is the people's estate joined in the bonds of everlasting wedlock to the waters of Lake Michigan.

I desire to submit herewith an argument on the subject of title in the submerged lands made by the able attorney of the Lincoln Park board, Mr. Francis O'Shaughnessy.

The argument is as follows:

ARGUMENT OF MR. FRANCIS O'SHAUGHNESSY.

By the act of Virginia of December 20, 1783, that Commonwealth authorized its Delegates in Congress to convey to the United States all the rights of the Commonwealth to the territory northwest of the Ohio River.

On March 1, 1784, the Representatives of Virginia in Congress made a conveyance to the United States of all right, title, and claim, as well of soil as of jurisdiction, to the territory lying northwest of the Ohio River.

By the ordinance of 1787 Congress provided for a temporary government of the district of the Northwest Territory.

By act of Congress of May 7, 1800, the Northwest Territory was divided and a separate territory created called the Indiana Territory.

By act of Congress of February 3, 1809, the Indiana Territory was divided and the Territory of Illinois established.

By Act of Congress of April 18, 1818, the people of the Illinois Territory were empowered to form a State constitution. In that act it was provided that said State of Illinois shall consist of all of the territory included within the following boundaries: Beginning at the mouth of the Wabash River; thence up the same, and with the line of Indiana, to the northwest corner of said State; thence east with the line of the same State to the middle of Lake Michigan; thence north along the middle of said lake to north latitude 42° 30'; thence west to the middle of the Mississippi River; and thence down along the middle of that river to its confluence with the Ohio River; and thence up the latter river along its northwestern shore to the beginning.

The Constitution provided for was adopted in 1818, at Kankakee, Ill.

SOVEREIGNTY AND JURISDICTION OVER SOILS UNDER TIDEWATER.

In Shively *v.* Bowlby, 152 U. S., 1, Mr. Justice Gray says:

"In England, from the time of Lord Hale, it has been treated as settled that the title in the soil of the sea, or of arms of the sea, below ordinary high-water mark, is in the King, except so far as an individual or a corporation has acquired rights in it by express grant, or by prescription or usage * * * and that this title, jus privatum, whether in the King or in his subjects, is held subject to the public rights, jus publicum, of navigation and fishing. * * *

"It is equally well settled that a grant from the sovereign of land bounded by the sea, or by any navigable tide water, does not pass any title below high-water mark, unless either the language of the grant, or long usage under it, clearly indicates that such was the intention. * * *

"By the law of England, also, every building or wharf erected, without license, below high-water mark, where the soil is in the King, is a purpresture, and may, at the suit of the King, either be demolished or be seized and rented for his benefit, if it is not a nuisance to navigation. * * *

"The law of England upon this subject, at the time of the emigration of our ancestors, is the law of this country, except so far as it has been modified by the charters, constitutions, statutes, or usages of the several colonies and States or by the Constitutions and laws of the United States. * * *

"It is the settled rule of law in this court that absolute property in, and dominion and sovereignty over, the soils under tidewaters in the original States were reserved to the several States, and that new States since admitted have the same rights, sovereignty, and jurisdiction as the original States possess within their respective borders, in that behalf. Upon the acquisition of the territory from Mexico the United States acquired the title to tidelands, equally with the title to upland; but with respect to the former they held it only in trust for the future States that might be erected out of such territory."

In the opinion of Shively *v.* Bowlby, supra, there is set out a summary of the laws of the original States governing the question of riparian ownership. Reference to that opinion will show that each of the original colonies had a local law governing the question of riparian rights, and Mr. Justice Gray says:

"The summary of the laws of the original States shows that there is no universal and uniform law upon the subject, but that each State has dealt with the lands under the tidewaters within its borders according to its own views of justice and policy, reserving its own control over such lands or granting rights therein to individuals or corporations, whether owners of the adjoining upland or not, as it considered for the best interests of the public. Great caution, therefore, is necessary in applying precedents in one State to cases arising in another.

"The new States admitted into the Union since the adoption of the Constitution have the same rights as the original States in the tidewaters, and in the lands below the high-water mark, within their respective jurisdictions.

"The act of 1783, and the deed of 1784, by which the State of Virginia, before the adoption of the Constitution, ceded 'unto the United States in Congress assembled, for the benefit of the said States, all right, title, and claim, as well of soil as jurisdiction,' to the Northwest Territory, and the similar cession by the State of Georgia to the United States in 1802 of territory including a great part of Alabama and of Mississippi, each provided that the territory so ceded should be formed into States, to be admitted, on attaining a certain population, into the Union (in the words of the Virginia cession) 'having the same rights of sovereignty, freedom, and independence as the other States,' or (in the words of the ordinance of Congress of July 13, 1787, for the government of the Northwest Territory, adopted in the Georgia cession) 'on an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatever'; and that 'all the lands within' the territory so ceded to the United States, and not reserved or appropriated for other purposes, should be considered as a common fund for the use and benefit of the United States. Charters & Constitutions, pp. 427, 428, 432, 433; Clayton's Laws of Georgia, pp. 48-51; acts Congress, Apr. 7, 1798, ch. 28 (1 Stat., 549), May 10, 1800, ch. 50, and Bar. 3, 1803, ch. 27 (Stat., 69, 229); Pollard's Lessee *v.* Hagan, 3 How., 212, 221, 222.

"In Pollard's Lessee *v.* Hagan (1844) this court, upon full consideration (overruling anything to the contrary in Pollard *v.* Kibbe, 14 Pet., 353; Mobile *v.* Eslava, 16 Pet., 234; Mobile *v.* Hallett, 16 Pet., 261; Mobile *v.* Emanuel, 1 How., 95; and Pollard *v.* Files, 2 How., 591), adjudged that upon the admission of the State of Alabama into the Union the title in the lands below high-water mark of navigable waters passed to the State and could not afterwards be granted away by the Congress of the United States. Mr. Justice McKinley, delivering the opinion of the court (Mr. Justice Catron alone dissenting), said: 'We think a proper examination of this subject will show that the United States never held any municipal sovereignty, jurisdiction, or right of soil in and to the territory of which Alabama or any of the new States were formed, except for temporary purposes and to execute the trusts created by the acts of the Virginia and Georgia Legislatures and the deeds of cession executed by them to the United States and the trust created by the treaty with the French Republic of the 30th of April, 1803, ceding Louisiana.' 'When the United States accepted the cession of the territory they took upon themselves the trust to hold the municipal eminent domain for the new States and to invest them with it to the same extent in all respects that it was held by the States ceding the territories.'

"'When Alabama was admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States she succeeded to all the rights of sovereignty, jurisdiction, and eminent domain which Georgia possessed at the date of the cession, except so far as this right was diminished by the public lands remaining in the possession and under the control of the United States for the temporary purposes provided for in the deed of cession and the legislative acts connected with it. Nothing remained to the United States, according to the terms of the agreement, but the public lands.' (3 How., 221-223.) 'Alabama is therefore entitled to the sovereignty and jurisdiction over all the territory within her limits, subject to the common law, to the same extent that Georgia possessed it before she ceded it to the United States. To maintain any other doctrine is to deny that Alabama has been admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, the constitution, laws, and compact to the contrary notwithstanding.' 'Then to Alabama belong the navigable waters and soils under them, in controversy in this case, subject to the rights surrendered by the constitution to the United States.' (3 How., 228, 229.)"

A case of particular value in this connection is Hardin *v.* Jordan (140 U. S., p. 371), which went to the United States Supreme Court from Illinois. This case concerned the question of riparian rights growing out of lands granted under United States patent, which were bounded by a lake in the State of Illinois. All the justices agreed that the question must be determined by the laws of Illinois. Mr. Justice Bradley, speaking for the majority of the court, said:

"With regard to grants of the Government for lands bordering on tidewater, it has been distinctly settled that they only extend to high-water mark, and that the title to the shore and lands under water in front of lands so granted inures to the State within which they are situated if a State has been organized and established there. Such title to the shore and lands under water is regarded as incidental to the sovereignty of the State, a portion of the royalties belonging thereto and held in trust for the public purposes of navigation and fishery, and can not be retained or granted out to individuals by the United States. Such title being in the State, the lands are subject to State regulation and control, under the condition, however, of not interfering with the regulations which may be made by Congress with regard to public navigation and commerce. The State may even dispose of the usufruct of such lands, as is frequently done, by leasing oyster beds in them and granting fisheries in particular localities; also by the reclamation of submerged flats and the erection of wharves and piers and other adventitious aids of commerce. Sometimes large areas so reclaimed are occupied by cities and are put to other public or private uses, State control and ownership therein being supreme, subject only to the paramount authority of Congress in making regulations of commerce and in subjecting the lands to the necessities and uses of commerce. This right of the States to regulate and control the shores of tidewaters and the land under them is the same as that which is exercised by the Crown in England. In this country the same rule has been extended to our great navigable lakes, which are treated as inland seas; and also, in some of the States, to navigable rivers, as the Mississippi, the Missouri, the Ohio, and in Pennsylvania to all the permanent rivers of the State; but it depends on the law of each State as to what waters and to what extent this prerogative of the State over the lands under water shall be exercised." (140 U. S., 380, 382; 11 Sup. Ct., 808, 838.) And Mr. Justice Brewer, in beginning the dissenting opinion, said: "Beyond all dispute the settled law of this court, established by repeated decisions, is that the question how far the title of a riparian owner extends is one of local law. For a determination of that question the statutes of the State and the decisions of its highest court furnish the best and final authority." (140 U. S., 402; 11 Sup. Ct., 808, 838.)"

"The common-law rules relating to admiralty jurisdiction on the ocean where the tides ebb and flow were made applicable by Congress to the Great Lakes of the United States—these lakes are, in truth, 'inland seas' of fresh water without tides." * * *

"The act was sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Propeller Genessee Chief et al. *v.* Fitz Hugh et al. (12 How., 443), and thenceforth the Great Lakes and shipping thereon were treated in like manner as shipping by the courts of England." (Barney *v.* Keokuk, 94 U. S., 224, 229; Hardin *v.* Jordan, 140 U. S., 371.)

GRANT OF SUBMERGED LANDS BY THE STATE TO PARK COMMISSIONERS FOR PARK PURPOSES.

The leading case which defines the riparian rights of a shore owner on Lake Michigan is the case of People of the State of Illinois *v.* Revell (177 Ill., 468). Revell, as a shore owner, constructed from his

premises into the lake two piers extending into the lake about some 200 feet, and the main question involved was his right to build and maintain such structures.

At page 478 of the opinion the court say:

"The law is well settled in the different States that the title to and dominion over lands covered by tide waters within the boundaries of the several States belong to each State wherein the lands are located. The State holds the fee in trust for the public. The doctrine established in regard to lands covered by tide waters has also been held applicable to lands bounded by fresh water in our large lakes. (People *v.* Kirk, 162 Ill., 138; Shively *v.* Bowlby, 152 U. S., 9.) In the case last cited it is said: 'By the common law both the title and the dominion of the sea, and all rivers and arms of the sea where the tide ebbs and flows, and of all the lands below high-water mark within the jurisdiction of the Crown of England are in the King. Such waters, and the land which they cover, either at all times or at least when the tide is in, are incapable of ordinary and private occupation, cultivation, and improvement, and their natural and primary uses are public in their nature, for highways of navigation and commerce, domestic and foreign, and for the purpose of fishing by all the King's subjects. Therefore the title jus privatum in such land, as of waste and unoccupied lands, belongs to the King as the sovereign, and the dominion thereof jus publicum is vested in him, as the representative of the nation, for the public benefit.' In Illinois Central Railroad Co. *v.* Illinois (146 U. S., 452), in speaking of this question, the court said: 'That the State holds the title to the lands under navigable waters of Lake Michigan, within its limits, in the same manner that the State holds title to soils under tide water by the common law, we have already shown, and that title necessarily carries with it control over the waters above them whenever the lands are subject to use. * * * It is a title held in trust for the people of the State, that they may enjoy the navigation of the waters, carry on commerce over them, and have liberty of fishing therein freed from the obstruction or interference of private parties.' Indeed, the doctrine that the State holds the title to the lands covered by the waters of Lake Michigan in trust for the people is not controverted by the argument. It will not therefore be necessary to cite further authorities upon that question.

"The appellant here owned the premises bordering on the lake, but his title to the premises extended only to the water's edge, and the fee in and to the lands covered by the waters of the lake was vested in the State and held by the State in trust for the people. The fee being in the State, the important question presented is whether appellant, without a grant or other authority from the State, had the right to go upon the submerged lands and erect the structures complained of in the information. This State has adopted the common law as it existed prior to March 24, 1606—the fourth year of James I—and in the absence of any statute of the State changing the common law in regard to rights of riparian or littoral owners the common law as it then existed must control.

"Upon an examination of the authorities we think it is clear that the act complained of in the information was a trespass upon the lands of the State; that the erection of the piers in the lake in front of appellant's premises was a purpresture. But it is said in the argument that the erection of the structures complained of was not injurious to the State, and hence there was no basis for the interference of a court of equity. We do not concur in that view. Although the act complained of was not injurious and was not a public nuisance, still it was an unlawful act of such a character as would properly authorize a court of equity to interfere upon the information of the Attorney General, as is well established by the authorities." * * *

On page 483 the court says, further:

"It is true the appellant testified that the piers were constructed to prevent erosions and protect his shore bordering on the lake; but it is apparent from the evidence that the effect has been to add new land to his premises, and that the accretions resulting from the construction of the piers have extended the boundary of his premises into the lake. In other words, the erection of the piers has increased appellant's land and diminished the land belonging to the State. This being so, it can not be said that the construction of the piers was not injurious to the State. The appellant had no right to build piers or 'wharf out' into the lake for the purpose of making land or increasing the boundary of his premises, nor had he the right to do any act which would produce that result. As has heretofore been said, the lands covered by the waters of the lake belong to the State, and appellant had no right, by any device whatever, to extend his boundary line beyond the water's edge, and when he did so an injury was inflicted on the rights of the State, which might be inquired into and abated in a court of equity on the application of the attorney general. It is, however, insisted that the court erred in decreeing that appellant had no riparian rights as against the State. We de not understand that the decree goes to the extent claimed in the argument. But however that may be, the main question presented by the record and discussed in the argument is, What are the riparian rights of appellant as a shore owner on Lake Michigan? There is one riparian right which existed at common law which is not disputed or called in question in the argument, and that is, where land bordering on the lake gradually and imperceptibly encroaches upon the water the accretion thus made belongs to the shore owner. This riparian right of appellant was not disturbed or interfered with by the decree. The shore owner also has another riparian right, which is undisputed—the right of access from his land to the lake; in other words, the right to pass to and from the waters of the lake within the width of his premises as they bordered on the lake. This right can not be diverted or taken from the shore owner without just compensation being made therefor, as provided by law. These are common-law rights, and, as we understand the law, they are the only common-law rights possessed by the shore owner. Other rights may have been conferred in different States by statute, usage, or custom, but the question involved here is whether such additional rights exist in this State. * * *

"Much reliance is, however, placed in the argument in Illinois Central Railroad Co. *v.* Illinois (146 U. S., 387). It is true that the majority of the court in that case held that a littoral owner of lands bordering on Lake Michigan had the right to wharf out from his premises into the lake in aid of navigation; but upon an examination of that case it will be found that the decision is predicated largely upon Yates *v.* Milwaukee (10 Wall., 497), Railroad Co. *v.* Schurmeier (7 id., 272), and Dutton *v.* Strong (1 Black, 23), or two of them; and in Shively *v.* Bowlby, supra, decided two years after the Illinois Central case, the doctrine laid down in the three cases above cited seems to have been substantially repudiated."

The constitutionality of the act of June 15, 1895, which constituted a grant by the State of Illinois to the commissioners of Lincoln Park for the purpose of enlarging the park, being the act under which the commissioners of Lincoln Park now desire to acquire the riparian rights of the United States Government in the Marine Hospital grounds, was attacked in the case of the The Commissioners of Lincoln Park *v.* Fahrney (250 Ill., 256), in which the court held that the act was valid, and reaffirmed the doctrine laid down in the Revell case.

The case of Cobb *v.* Commissioners of Lincoln Park (202 Ill., 427) was a case which considered the question of whether the owner of land bordering on and adjacent to the waters of Lake Michigan has a right of access from his own property to a point in the lake where the waters are navigable, and whether, in the exercise of this right, he may erect a wharf or pier from his shore line over the submerged lands in the shallow water to the point of navigability in the lake.

The court said at page 432:

"The State has granted the land covered by the waters of Lake Michigan that lies immediately in front of appellant's lands to appellees, the park commissioners, for certain specific purposes, and the title thereto is now in them for the purposes declared in the act (act of June 15, 1895; laws of 1895, p. 282). This the legislature was competent to do. The property in the dry land or upland being in one person, and the property in the submerged land immediately in front thereof being in another, it would seem to be only consonant with legal principles that the consent of the latter must be obtained before any erections can be put on the submerged soil. But the appellant claims that by the common law he had the right to erect a wharf or other structure in aid of navigation on the submerged land in front of his upland, and that the title of appellees is burdened with such easement or right in him.

"In Revell *v.* People, supra (p. 484), it is said: 'In the well-known case of Shively *v.* Bowlby, supra, the Supreme Court of the United States, after a thorough examination of the authorities, held that the common law of England is the law of this country upon the question of the rights of a shore owner, except where it has been modified by the constitutions, statutes, or usages of the different States or by the Constitution and laws of the United States. The court also held that the rights of these owners have been committed to the several States, and that each State has dealt with the lands under tide water within its boundaries according to its own notion of right and public policy. This State has adopted the common law as it existed prior to March 24, 1606—the fourth year of James I, and in the absence of any statute of the State changing the common law in regard to rights of riparian or littoral owners, the common law as it then existed must control' (p. 479). 'We are aware of no statute of this State changing the common law, nor has there been established any custom or usage which modifies the common law' (p. 484). * * *

"After a careful reading of the authorities we see no reason to recede from the position taken in the Revell case and are satisfied that by the common law, unmodified by local usage, custom, or statute, a riparian owner had no right to build any structures on the submerged lands in front of his own land unless he owned such submerged lands or had a license to do so. The title of the owner of such submerged lands is not burdened with an easement in favor of the owner of the adjoining upland to build wharves out to navigable water. Such being the common law, it is the law of this State until altered by the legislature.

"Appellant also claims that by virtue of the license from the Secretary of War he is entitled to build this wharf, because, as he says, a license from the executive officer of the Government to build this wharf means permission and authority from the United States Government to do so, and such permission and authority being granted, neither the State nor any of its agents has any control over the subject matter. He refers to the rivers and harbors act of Congress of September 19, 1890 (26 Stat. L., ch. 907, p. 426), as sanctioning his contention. Section 7 of this act was superseded by sections 9 and 10 of the rivers and harbors act of March 3, 1899 (30 Stat. L., ch. 425, pp. 1121, 1150). Section 10 of the latter act is as follows: 'That the erection of any obstruction not affirmatively authorized by Congress to the navigable capacity of any of the waters of the United States is hereby prohibited; and it shall not be lawful to build or commence the building of any wharf, pier, dolphin, boom, wier, breakwater, bulkhead, jetty, or other structures, in any port, roadstead, haven, harbor, canal, navigable river, or other water of the United States outside established harbor lines or where no harbor lines have been established, except on plans recommended by the Chief of Engineers and authorized by the Secretary of War; and it shall not be lawful to excavate or fill, or in any manner alter or modify the course, locatibn, condition, or capacity of any port, roadstead, haven, harbor, canal, lake, harbor of refuge, or inclosure within the limits of any breakwater, or of the channel of any navigable water of the United States, unless the work has been recommended by the Chief of Engineers and authorized by the Secretary of War prior to beginning the same.' These provisions of the law were designed to protect the navigable waters of the United States from encroachment and from obstructions to navigation, and commit the duty of their protection to an officer of the General Government, without whose permission no structures can be erected in them.

"It is conceded that the power of Congress over the navigable waters of the country is derived from the commerce clause in the Constitution of the United States, and that it is exclusive and paramount whenever Congress has definitely spoken on any subject under its jurisdiction. It has been held by the Federal courts that when Congress has authorized the erection of a bridge it is not necessary to obtain the consent of the State authorities for its erection, and that no compensation need be made to the State for the use of its property in the lands under water (Stockton *v.* Baltimore & New York Railroad Co., 32 Fed. Rep., 9), and that an individual has no claim for compensation when the General Government erects piers on his submerged lands in aid of navigation and thus cuts off his access to the water (Scranton *v.* Wheeler, 179 U. S., 141). But however that may be, we are of the opinion that the act prohibiting the erection of wharves without the consent of the Secretary of War is a mere regulation for the benefit of commerce and navigation, and that the license or permission of the Secretary of War is only a finding and declaration of such officer that such proposed structure would not interfere with or be detrimental to navigation, and not that it is equivalent to a positive declaration by the authority of Congress that the licensee may build the wharf or other structure without first obtaining the consent of the owner of the submerged land on which it is his purpose to build. Appellant not having, by the law of this State, the right to construct a wharf over his neighbor's submerged lands without his neighbor's consent, could not acquire that right, without his neighbor's consent, by obtaining a license from the Secretary of War."

Another important case concerning the rights of a riparian owner and the rights of the commissioners of Lincoln Park under act of June 15, 1895, is Commissioners of Lincoln Park *v.* Fahrney (250 Ill., 256). In this case Fahrney, as a shore owner, was constructing piers or bulk-

heads over the submerged lands of Lake Michigan without the consent of the commissioners of Lincoln Park, who claimed to hold title to such submerged lands by virtue of an act of the legislature approved June 15, 1895. The commissioners filed a bill to enjoin Fahrney from constructing his piers in the water in front of his premises.

The court said (p. 262):

"The principal issues raised by the pleadings are: First, whether the title to the submerged lands opposite appellee's lots is in appellants. That it is is denied by appellee on the ground that the act of 1895 and subsequent acts are unconstitutional, and also because it is claimed that appellee's lots extended 715 feet farther into the lake than the present shore line, and parts of them were wrenched and torn away by violent avulsions of nature between 1872 and 1877 or 1880. Second, whether by reason of appellee's lots abutting upon Lake Michigan he is thereby vested, as riparian owner, with the right to build piers over the submerged lands for the purpose of access to the navigable waters of the lake."

The court held that the acts of the legislature granting title to the commissioners are valid; that there was no proof that there had been an avulsion; that the cases of Revell *v.* People, supra, and Cobb *v.* Commissioners of Lincoln Park, supra, were decisive on the question that Fahrney had no rights as against the commissioners of Lincoln Park.

CONSTRUCTION OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND WORKS.

TITLE TO LAND TO BE PURCHASED BY THE UNITED STATES.

SEC. 355. No public money shall be expended upon any site or land purchased by the United States for the purposes of erecting thereon any armory, arsenal, fort, fortification, navy yard, customhouse, lighthouse, or other public building of any kind whatever, until the written opinion of the Attorney General shall be had in favor of the validity of the title, nor until the consent of the legislature of the State in which the land or site may be to such purchase has been given. The district attorneys of the United States, upon the application of the Attorney General, shall furnish any assistance or information in their power in relation to the titles of the public property lying within their respective districts. And the secretaries of the departments, upon the application of the Attorney General, shall procure any additional evidence of title which he may deem necessary and which may not be in the possession of the officers of the Government, and the expense of procuring it shall be paid out of the appropriations made for the contingencies of the departments respectively. (R. S.) (Res. of Sept. 11, 1841, No. 6, 5 Stat. L., 468.)

PURCHASE OR CONDEMNATION OF SITES AUTHORIZED.

SECTION 1. And the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to acquire, by private purchase or by condemnation, the necessary lands for public buildings and lighthouses to be constructed, and for which money is appropriated, including all public-building sites authorized to be acquired under any of the acts of the first session of the Forty-seventh Congress; and there may be expended by the Secretary of the Treasury, from the several amounts appropriated for the construction of public buildings, the expenses incident to the procuring of sites for said buildings, respectively. * * * (22 Stat. L., 605.) (This is from the sundry civil appropriation act of Mar. 3, 1883, ch. 143.)

—

An act to authorize condemnation of land for sites of public buildings, and for other purposes.

[Act of Aug. 1, 1888, ch. 728, 25 Stat. L., 357.]

SECTION 1. Condemnation for building sites—jurisdiction of proceedings: That in every case in which the Secretary of the Treasury or any other officer of the Government has been, or hereafter shall be, authorized to procure real estate for the erection of a public building or for other public uses he shall be, and hereby is, authorized to acquire the same for the United States by condemnation, under judicial process, whenever in his opinion it is necessary or advantageous to the Government to do so. And the United States circuit or district courts of the district wherein such real estate is located shall have jurisdiction of proceedings for such condemnation, and it shall be the duty of the Attorney General of the United States, upon every application of the Secretary of the Treasury under this act, or such other officer, to cause proceedings to be commenced for condemnation within 30 days from the receipt of the application at the Department of Justice. (25 Stat. L., 357.)

PRACTICE AND PROCEDURE.

SEC. 2. The practice, pleadings, forms, and modes of procedings in causes arising under the provisions of this act shall conform, as near as may be, to the practice, pleadings, forms, and proceedings existing at the time in like causes in the courts of record of the State within which such circuit or district courts are held, any rule of the court to the contrary notwithstanding. (25 Stat. L., 357.)

Our Strained International Relations.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me by the House it is my desire to present as an extension of my remarks a few of the many communications which have reached me bearing on our present strained international relations, all indicating profound anxiety that our beloved country shall remain at peace under the patient guidance of President Wilson. But I wish to preface the communications mentioned with an Associated Press dispatch from Halifax, which was printed in various American newspapers recently. According to this story—one that has not been denied—the British Government is refusing clearance papers to vessels sailing from British ports for England with English women and children on board. The question has therefore risen in my mind whether with equal prudence we might not withhold clearance papers from American ships proposing to carry American women and children into the war zones of Europe. Especial attention is called to the fact that, while English women and children were removed from the liner at Halifax before she was permitted to proceed to England, three American women were allowed to pursue their perilous journey. There may be some explanation of why Great Britain is so much more tender regarding the safety of English women and children than of our own. It is hardly to be explained on the simple grounds of humanity, for these would suggest the same care for our women and children as for the women and children who live under the British flag.

The matters referred to above follow:

[From the Washington Post, Feb. 24.]

WOMEN TAKEN FROM SHIP—ONLY AMERICANS ALLOWED TO SAIL WHEN LINER STOPS AT HALIFAX.

HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA, *February 23.*

A number of women and children who arrived here on a steamship from the United States for Europe were taken off to-day by the Government authorities under a regulation which provides that women and children may not sail from a British port for England at present.

Three American women aboard the liner, which arrived in port last night, were permitted to continue the voyage. Clearance papers were refused the ship until 25 Canadian women and children had been removed. They were taken ashore in tugs.

(The name of the steamer was deleted by the censor at Halifax.)

—

MADISON, ILL., *February 19, 1917.*

Hon. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: "Lay on, MacDuff!" You sure had the right end of the argument last Saturday. Accept my congratulations.

Am an ex-Pennsylvanian, and it does my heart good to know we have some man left who loves a fair deal.

Go to that Yankee outfit, and be assured there are plenty with you able to disprove the insinuation of lacking sand. Also, stick with the idea that the President has trouble enough.

Very truly,

H. L. BROWN.

—

LE SUEUR, MINN., *February 19, 1917.*

Representative W. W. BAILEY,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: All honor to you for your spirited efforts to keep this country out of the ranks of the allies and to keep her neutral!

Your true charge against GARDNER is only too commonly true as against many Americans.

Our daily papers around here are proallies and conceal the figures on the vote to expunge from the RECORD the charge against GARDNER, stating only that it was expunged "by a large majority." Please send me the real figures, the number of votes for and against.

I note that your friends were the loudest on the viva voce vote, and that the standing vote was so close as to not decide it.

More power to you, and may your shadow never grow less. You'll win, too, and the proallies will not drive us into an unjust war at England's bidding.

Yours, truly,

ORA J. PARKER.

—

TROY, N. Y., *February 18, 1917.*

Hon. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I read with pride your defense of Mr. Bryan and your denunciation of Congressman GARDNER'S maudlin pro-British utterances. Some of my ancestors came from Pennsylvania, but if I have any German blood in my veins I don't know it. I can not trace my ancestry out of this country on either my maternal or my paternal side. My Christian name was given in 1862—I was a war baby—from purely patriotic and American motives. So I feel that I am an American. But the press propaganda for England and the English hirelings in and out of office is a real menace to free speech and American free tradition and thought. We have been so blinded by these subtle and long-exerted influences that it is indeed refreshing to find a few public officials who refuse to be muzzled and who still are sufficiently American to stand upon their rights and to have the courage of their convictions publicly to protest against an arbitrary abridgment of these God-given rights. I thank you in the name of my fellow citizens for your courage. You are rendering a signal and conspicuous service to your country.

Sincerely,

SIGEL ROUSH.

—

SILVER SPRING, MD., *February 19, 1917.*

Hon. WILLIAM W. BAILEY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Referring to the inclosed clipping, which reports your very appropriate reply on the floor of the House to Representative GARDNER, we wish to say that it has our most hearty approval.

Just why the act of calling any group of persons cowardly should be considered proof of the accuser's bravery, it would be hard to say. Now is good time to give the greatest publicity to the truth that the greatest coward is the one who is afraid to uphold the right, for fear of being called a coward. This particular charge reminds one forcibly of the small boy's expedient of "daring" another boy to do what the former is afraid to do himself.

It is a noticeable fact that the eagerness for war of those who are clamoring for "action" against Germany is in inverse proportion to the probability that they will get within range of the guns. We have

had overmuch from Mr. Roosevelt lately as to the anxiety of himself and his sons to take part in a war, but there seems to have been very little definite news from the sons on this point. This brings to mind the campaign of 1908, when we heard more from Mr. Roosevelt about Mr. Taft's intentions than we did from Mr. Taft himself. Let those who make capital of their alleged desire to go to war prove their sincerity by enlisting in the forces of the side they favor in the present conflict. There would be no great difficulty in accomplishing their purpose. There has even been one instance of a German society's offering to pay the traveling expenses to Europe of a certain conspicuous militant(?) anti-German, so as to enable him to enlist with the entente allies. He did not take advantage of the offer, however. Mr. Roosevelt contends that in many cases the honor of a nation that is wronged is so affected that it can not honorably submit its cause to the judgment of a court composed of all the civilized nations of the world. This is no more reasonable than to maintain that there are some wrongs suffered by an individual which he can not honorably submit to a court of law. The application of this principle would soon do away with all law.

In Washington's Farewell Address there is found this passage: "Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike for another cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots who may resist the intrigues of the favorite are liable to become suspected and odious, while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests." We believe that in the present crisis William J. Bryan has shown himself to be the kind of real patriot to which Washington referred, and that the few others, including yourself, who have taken the same stand, belong in his class.

Those persons who foresee great profits for themselves in a war with Germany, and who are trying to bring it about through the means of publicity at their command, charge lack of patriotism on the part of all who refuse to break into noisy demonstrations, at their instigation, in favor of war. This is one of the many indications that the profiteers who are trying to instill not Americanism but "Americanistis" and militarism into the public mind are not only cowards and liars themselves, but are actually stupid as well. Their stupidity is shown by their apparent ignorance of the fact that it is precisely those who are noisiest in their demonstrations of patriotism, who are the most backward about enlisting when war actually breaks out.

The jingo sheets charge lack of patriotism against all who oppose their policies. Patriotism, however, is love of country, or a desire to promote the highest welfare of all its inhabitants. This is the exact opposite of a readiness to promote the schemes of a small group of munition mongers and exporters at a cost of hundreds of thousands of American lives. The offense of the jingo sheets is twofold. At a time when a carefully engineered crisis is upon us, they print under flaring headlines reports of alleged outrages against this country—print them without the slightest attempt at verification. When the reports are found to be baseless they either ignore the truth altogether or publish the correction of the false rumor in some very inconspicuous part of the paper, limiting it to a few lines only. The false report of the sinking of the *Philadelphia* is a good illustration. Not content with this offense, they print editorials based on the unverified rumors and putting the worst construction on them at the worst time. In our opinion, every metropolitan daily paper should be at once placed under strict Government censorship and kept under such censorship during the remainder of the European war. The publication of unverified news items of a provocative character is bad enough, but this is aggravated by the practice of putting them under headlines giving a wholly misleading impression of great seriousness to items which do not warrant it. This seems to be done quite deliberately for the purpose of exciting those who may glance at the headlines without reading the reports themselves. A good example is such a headline as this: "Ship sunk—four Americans on board," over an article which reports that the ship was sunk, but not until all on board had been placed in security. The intention is evidently to spread the belief that American lives were sacrificed.

The case of Switzerland is often held up as proof that preparedness will keep a nation out of war. It is our belief that Switzerland's geographical situation and her mountain barriers, not her military preparedness kept her out of the present war. Had the geographical positions of Switzerland and Belgium been reversed in August, 1914, there is every reason to believe that Switzerland would have been overrun by the Germans. The Encyclopaedia Britannica says, "Switzerland exists by the sufferance of her powerful neighbors, and her military institutions are suited to such conditions, but not to a power that relies on itself for its independence." If any further reason for the immunity of Switzerland were needed, it could be found in her lack of natural resources, which do not offer any temptation to the invader. Belgium, on the contrary, is exceptionally rich in natural resources. The Atlantic and Pacific Oceans form much more effective barriers than the Alps.

The writers of this letter are both well beyond the age at which they would be liable for military duty, except in the case of a long protracted war, and have no children liable to such duty. It is not, therefore, for any considerations of personal safety, but owing entirely to sincere conviction that we wish to put ourselves on record as emphaticaly in favor of the La Follette bill, providing for a Nation-wide referendum to decide whether this country shall enter the war or remain at peace. We consider it as iniquitous to the last degree that one class of persons should have the power to declare war, and sit in security, while another class, who have had no voice in the matter, fight the battles.

Very truly

B. H. LAMORE.
I. W. LAMORE.

—

MY DEAR MR. BAILEY: I want to express my admiration of the splendid stand you are taking in endeavoring to keep our great, wonderful country out of war.

We have stood so splendidly alone—not joining in other people's quarrels—and all nationalities having common shelter here. We indeed can show that there is one Nation in the world above—far above—the old idea that bloodshed is necessary in this advanced time and age.

With deep appreciation of the stand you are taking, because you know it is right.

CARRIE MENGE.

FEBRUARY 18, 1917.

JOHNSTOWN, PA., *February 20, 1917.*

To the Hon. W. W. BAILEY,
Representative in Congress from the Nineteenth District.

DEAR SIR: Permit us citizens of the Sixteenth Ward of the city of Johnstown to drop you a few lines by which we kindly ask and pray your honor to do all in your power to prevent our loved country from being dragged into the war with Germany as long as there is not sufficient cause for it as we will suport you in all your undertakings, and we stand for everlasting peace.

Your sincere friends,

PETER J. BUETTNER.
EDWARD J. BUETTNER.
C. A. BUETTNER.

—

LA VALLE, WIS., *February 20, 1917.*

Hon. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Having read the speech of Mr. GARDNER attacking Mr. Bryan and other loyal Americans and also having read part of your reply to the same, and that Congress ordered what you said stricken from the RECORD. Please permit me to congratulate you for saying what you did, and also to say your speech, though stricken from the RECORD, like John Brown's soul, goes marching on.

I hope Congress may adjourn without taking any further action on the war situation.

Very respectfuly, yours,

E. A. GROVER,
La Valle, Wis.

—

ST. LOUIS, *February 18, 1917.*

Hon. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The brief press report of your speech of yesterday and of the debate which followed leads me to congratulate you upon the fearless stand you took. The most secure path toward peace is by way of absolute and unqualified neutrality, and I can not conceive of any greater departure from the established ideals of our Nation than for us to become involved in this war, either as a belligerent friendly to the allies or as their ally, pledged not to sign a separate peace or to furnish an American Army and Navy to cooperate with theirs, and to eventually take orders from their commanders or strategists. In other words, it would then be—

"Not ours to reason why,
Just ours to do and die."

Yours, truly,

FREDERICK C. STIERLIN.

—

ALTAMONT, ALBANY COUNTY, N. Y.

The Hon. Mr. BAILEY,
Member of Congress of Pennsylvania.

DEAR SIR: You are worthy of the gratitude of all loyal Americans for your stand in honor of our country in these troublesome times against the pro-British element, to the disgrace to their citizenship, who "place loyalty to Great Britain before loyalty to their own country." They would enlist this Nation in war on the side of Great Britain and declare war with Germany for the same offense against our rights as committed by Great Britain. The true American knows no German or no Briton when they trample on our rights. When both commit the same offense, it is not just or consistent to show fear or favor. Thank you and all loyal colleagues that stand where our forefathers stood in '76.

Yours, respectfully,

ANDREW GAUL.

—

CRESSON, PA., *February 19, 1917.*

Congressman W. W. BAILEY,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BAILEY: It is with much satisfaction that I see you are using your efforts to keep America out of the European struggle. It may be our international right to pass through the war zone, and so it is our right to pass through any naval hostilities, but any sane person would not exercise such right during such hostilities. If it was necessary for our vessels to pass through the zone to rescue our citizens, that would be enough matter, but when it is to assist a belligerent and to further the profits of the munition makers such vessels should not expect the protection of our country. I am in favor of millions for protection of the Americas, but not one penny for Europe. Keep out of European troubles.

Yours, very truly,

A. H. BEARD.

—

SAN FRANCISCO, *February 17, 1917.*

Representative WARREN BAILEY.

DEAR SIR: As a traveling salesman, will say that nine out of ten people desire a referendum on this war question. Many think a nation fighting for its very life can be excused for illegal acts.

Wall Street operators and English-bought American newspapers do not reflect the opinion of Americans.

Sincerely,

WIGHTMAN NORTON, S. A. R.,
Berkeley, Cal.

—

NEW YORK, *February 18, 1917.*

The Hon. W. W. BAILEY,
Representative from Pennsylvania, Washington, D. C.

SIR: Permit me to express to you my admiration of your courage and justice in attacking the sham "loyalty" of your colleague, Mr. GARDNER of Massachusetts. As you more aptly expressed it, the "loyalty" of these New England Tories is not for America, but for the munition makers and financiers who are open allies of Great Britain.

As an American citizen by birth, devoted to America, but not to that minority that would force us into war, let me beg of you to believe that 9 out of 10 Americans—even in this city, dominated by a venal press and financial interests—do not want war with Germany now.

Had we broken off relations with Great Britain when she proclaimed a mined "danger zone," we might at least claim to be neutral. As it is, we have satisfied national honor by our break with Germany, and we do not wish to fight that tragically beset country for the right of sailing on belligerent ships or in our own, loaded with ammunition forged against her.

With pride and gratitude that there are still American Representatives not overawed by the arrogance of Great Britain and the powers of wealth.

Yours, very respectfully,

M. C. DARNTON.

JOHNSTOWN, PA., *February 19, 1917.*

Hon. W. W. BAILEY,
Moxham, Pa.

MY DEAR MR. BAILEY: I can not help congratulating you for your stand in Congress. You are right, and I can assure you from 80 to 90 per cent of the people back home are straight with you. Register me a vote in favor of the referendum, and a special friend of Mr. Bryan's advanced, unbiased, sensible ideas.

I am,
Yours, very truly,

E. F. STAHL.

BRYN MAWR, PA., *February 22, 1917.*

Hon. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BAILEY: I can not refrain from sending you a line of appreciation and thanks for your eloquent speech in reply to the snobbish gentleman from Massachusetts, delivered in the House on the 17th instant. Your firm and courageous stand against the wave of ignoble passion which is being assiduously fanned by the war mongers, supplies a fitting climax to your service in Washington distinguished as it has been by high ideals of justice and the common good.

Sincerely, yours,

FRANK W. GARRISON.

The Hon. WARREN WORTH BAILEY.

DEAR SIR: Please let me add my thanks and appreciation for your courage in the stand you have taken in the present crisis, where to put the interests and welfare of the country higher than that of the small money clique who seek to control, is an act of courage in these times.

With thanks and great indebtedness to you, from all who care for this country and her best traditions, for the courageous evidence you have given in standing for the same.

Yours, very truly,

E. M. BOGG.

CLARK UNIVERSITY, *Worcester, Mass., February 18, 1917.*

WARREN W. BAILEY, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: I wish to congratulate you upon the noble fight you are making against militarism and war—twin murderers of democracy. I would to God that we had more men of like vision in both Houses of Congress. In these times of a prostitute press, the voice of the real America is not being heard. Thousands of young Americans like myself will go to prison before we allow ourselves to be conscripted into the barracks. We will see the imperialistic schemes of American plutocracy in hell before we will shoulder a gun to protect foreign markets and investments. This may sound unacademic, but I assure you that it is not even an inkling of the depth of my feeling upon the subject, and the mass of the American people feel likewise. Keep up the good fight.

Again thanking you from the bottom of my soul, I remain,

Yours, most sincerely,

W. E. ZENCH, M. A.,
Fellow in Sociology.

SUMMERHILL, PA., *February 19, 1917.*

WARREN WORTH BAILEY.

DEAR SIR: In the matter of war, I would say no. Since Germany has given safe passage on steamships not laden with contraband, I think it would be terrible to risk hundreds of thousands of lives for a few who risk their lives in the war zone.

Yours, truly,

JOHN A. ROBABAUGH.

TUNNELHILL, PA., *February 20, 1917.*

Hon. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BAILEY: Once more I wish to thank you for having sent me the RECORD, and I also again most sincerely appreciate your stand toward war. I am only a poor miner, but I can not help but thank you.

I have boys soon old enough to be called upon according to law, but I pray may darkness overshadow the day when my boys must be dragged to war.

The words you have spoken against war will ring through the world a thousand years after the "jingoists' jabbering" is dead.

I am a Socialist and therefore stand by my party, yet I can not but regret that you were defeated at the last election; and defeated by whom? Why, by the workers. It is surely to regret that the workers will never understand.

Very truly, yours,

S. A. NELSON,
Tunnelhill, Pa.

ST. LOUIS, MO., *February 18, 1917.*

Hon. W. W. BAILEY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

I am a descendant of men and women who came to this country and braved the perils and the hardships of the wilderness, fought in the Revolution to free themselves from British tyranny, and helped to make immortal the name of the man who in his declining years warned his country never to enter into any entangling alliances with any European nation.

I have always been and I am still proud to be called a "Bryan" Democrat, and I take the liberty therefore of congratulating you upon what I consider your true democracy, in your fight on the ammunition manufacturers, and doing what you can to maintain the moral integrity of our country in its international relations. I am one of those who think the President should have lent his support to the passage of a bill to keep Americans off of foreign ships carrying contraband of war and settle the question of right after the European mess is straightened out. If you care to do so, you may advise my Representative, Mr. IGOE, that there are plenty more of us in his district who think as I do.

FRANK L. GANNAWAY.

ALTOONA, PA., *February 22, 1917.*

DEAR SIR: Allow me to congratulate you on the position you take on the war question. I am glad you are able to stand up and fight for the people. I hope you will favor the Government taking control of the food situation in order to relieve the present crisis. There is no need of an investigation; most everyone knows that the speculators are holding foodstuffs for the high prices. Hoping you will give this your immediate attention, I remain,

H. E. GRIFFITH,
2624 Eighth Avenue.

CHESTNUT HILL, BOSTON, MASS.

MY DEAR MR. BAILEY: We have been reading with great interest your "summing up" of our Congressman from Massachusetts. Do keep up the good work. You have the "backing up" of the very people who put him there.

I will send to you an editorial from a newspaper—which is not bought and paid for by the interests—that will show you how the feeling of the thinking people is strongly for the sentiments which you and Mr. Bryan express.

Most sincerely,

B. FAXON.

DUNLO, PA., *February 21, 1917.*

The Hon. WARREN WORTH BAILEY.

MY DEAR MR. CONGRESSMAN: I deem it a duty as a citizen to inform you that I thank you and indorse your excellent stand you are taking in your movement to keep our dear country out of the European war, and I pray that God will give you the strength to keep up the good fight.

Yours, very respectfully,

J. H. STARK.

Resolutions passed by the Central Trades and Labor Council of Richmond, Va.

Whereas the jingoistic elements in this Nation are doing all in their power to force this country into war; and

Whereas the greatest pressure is being brought on the President to swerve him from his stand for peace; and

Whereas Congress is now considering the adoption of stringent universal military service and so-called espionage bills, which are contrary to the principles for which we stand: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Central Trades and Labor Council hereby reiterates its stand against war and reassures President Wilson of our support in his endeavors to keep this country out of war.

Resolved further, That we declare our opposition to any universal service and improper espionage bills, and that we hereby appoint a special legislative representative to go to Washington and assist the legislative representative of the American Federation of Labor in special opposition to these bills, and incidentally to also work for any other legislation which has been indorsed by the Central Trades and Labor Council and American Federation of Labor; and

Resolved, further, That we also instruct this representative to work for the adoption of proper legislation providing for an advisory referendum before an offensive war is declared.

H. A. WHITE, *President.*
FRANK A. JONES, *Secretary.*

JOHNSTOWN, PA., *February 28, 1917.*

Hon. W. W. BAILEY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We, the members of St. Joseph's Beneficial Society, kindly ask to use all your influence and power to prevent war.

Thanking you for same, we beg to remain,

A. K. GEIBELHART, *President.*
JOHN G. HELD, *Secretary.*

JOHNSTOWN NEST, NO. 1024, ORDER OF OWLS,
Johnstown, Pa., February 22, 1917.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted by Johnstown Nest No. 1024, Order of Owls:

"*Resolved*, That we, the members of Johnstown Nest No. 1024, Order of Owls, with a large membership, all loyal citizens of the United States, at a largely attended, regular, and especially advertised meeting, have this date extended our hearty congratulations to the President and Congress of the United States for their earnest efforts to keep our country out of the European war.

"We realize the difficulties besetting our administration in trying to keep peaceful with the world, when part of the press of the country, owned and controlled by the speculative moneyed interests of the country are advocating war, but who would not attempt to make a sacrifice themselves. We realize the burden of a war must fall heavy on the membership of all organizations created for the purpose of protecting our homes and those near and dear to us.

"We are ready to defend our national honor in any justifiable cause against any foreign country, but we do not believe it would be dishonorable to warn our ships to steer clear of the war zone created by the warring nations until the situation is changed, thus avoiding the ravages of warfare to a peace-loving American people. It is further

"Resolved, That we realize the common people must bear the greatest burden if war is declared by the rulers. As a peace-loving organization and true Americans we believe the United States should declare to all nations the principle that, except in resisting invasions, no Government has a moral right to declare war except by a referendum vote of the people."

Yours in O. O. O.,

GEO. K. ENGELBACH,
President.
F. LOUIS SIEVERS,
Secretary.

Feed America and starve the war was one of the demands embraced in a set of resolutions adopted unanimously by the county committee of the Socialist Party of Cambria County, at a well-attended meeting in Franklin Borough February 25. The delegates reported a favorable growth in sentiment and membership, and all present joined in laying plans for further organization and propaganda work. Two new branches were reported as working nicely. The resolutions adopted were as follows:

"Whereas the President has requested Congress to vest in him the authority to use the Army and Navy at his discretion to protect the interests of those who, for an enormous, bloody profit, are creating a famine in this country and preventing peace in Europe by the shipment of food and munitions of war; and

"Whereas these money-mad patriots for profit, who, like vultures, are fattening on the blood of the betrayed European workers who would long since have ceased fighting from exhaustion had they not been supplied with food and munitions by neutral (?) nations, are, by the shipment of such supplies, constantly inviting attack and are particeps criminis in the wholesale murder of the workers of Europe, and

"Whereas the burden of war falls almost entirely on the common people, who have nothing to gain and everything to lose by war: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That we voice our emphatic protest against the extension of the President's authority in international matters of any nature; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That we call on the National Government to feed America and starve the war by an embargo on all shipments to the belligerent nations, and take immediate steps to relieve the deplorable conditions among the workers, caused by the outrageously high prices; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That we demand that the war-making power, except in case of actual invasion, be vested in the people, to be exercised by them through the referendum."

CRESSON, PA., *February 27, 1917.*

Hon. W. W. BAILEY,
Member of Congress, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The above resolutions embody the sentiment of practically all the sober-minded people of this district, and we are glad to note that you are doing your utmost to prevent hostilities.

Yours, very sincerely,

AMOS B. MURPHY,
Corresponding Secretary.

Resolutions unanimously adopted by Johnstown Lodge, No. 48, Loyal Order of Moose.

JOHNSTOWN LODGE, NO. 48, LOYAL ORDER OF MOOSE,
Johnstown, Pa., February 20, 1917.

Resolved, That we, the members of Johnstown Lodge, No. 48, Loyal Order of Moose, located in Johnstown, Cambria County, Pa., with over fifteen hundred members, all loyal citizens of the United States, at a regular meeting held this date and largely attended extend our congratulations to the President and Congress of the United States for their very earnest efforts to keep our country out of the European war.

This in face of the fact that part of the press of the country, owned and controlled by speculative moneyed interests of the country, are advocating war, but who would make no sacrifices themselves. We realize the burden would fall heavy on the membership of all organizations such as we have the honor to represent, and all kindred organizations created for the purpose of protecting our families, our homes, and those who are near and dear to us.

We believe in and are ready to defend our national honor against any justifiable cause by any foreign country, but do not believe in the present crisis that it would be an act of cowardice or dishonorable to warn our ships to steer clear of war zones created by warring nations until the situation is changed, which at most can only be a very short period, and thus avoid the awful ravages of warfare to a peace-loving American people; and we further

Resolve, That we realize the horrors of war must fall at the door of the common people if declared by the rulers. As peace-loving organizations and true Americans, we believe the United States should declare to all nations the principle that except in resisting invasions no government has the moral right to declare war except by a referendum vote of the people.

[SEAL.]

WORTH BERKEY, *Dictator.*
GEO. J. HOMMEL, *Secretary.*

Pensions.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. LANGLEY,

OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 3, 1917.

Mr. LANGLEY. Mr. Speaker, in exercising the authority granted me by the House to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the subject of pensions, I desire to submit some facts and observations.

SPECIAL ACTS.

As a member of the Committee on Invalid Pensions it has been my pleasure to aid in securing favorable action on many special bills, increasing the rate of pension allowed by the general law, in the cases of worthy and needy soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and their widows. Coupled with the pleasure of having the privilege to render this service, there has always been a feeling of regret that conditions permitted such action only in a very small number of the many cases equally worthy of it and my sense of justice has always revolted at the thought of the discrimination involved and which was unavoidable under the long-established practice of the committee.

The theory upon which the committee takes jurisdiction of these special cases is that on account of the needy and disabled condition of the beneficiary the rate provided by the general law is inadequate to furnish the necessaries of life and that it is the duty of a grateful Nation to supply that need. It might be termed an equitable jurisdiction, which is made the more liberal in its application (aside from the question of the length of service of the soldier or sailor, which is material to the rate allowed) the nearer the case approaches to that of indigence and helplessness. That is commendable and just, as far as it goes. The trouble about it is that the number of such special bills that can be acted on at a session is so small that each Member of Congress can, at the most, get only a few of them for his district; and it has been my observation that the Members who are most vigilant in such matters and give their cases the larger share of their personal attention get, as a rule, the larger share of the special bills that are enacted. Perhaps it would be impossible under existing conditions to change that. At the same time it works a great injustice to the thousands of other equally deserving cases. I do not wish to be understood as in any sense seeking to criticize the previous administration of this branch of the committee's work. It is perhaps impossible under existing conditions to remedy that. I will say, however, that if the present practice in special-act cases—I mean the practice of limiting the number, as heretofore—is to continue, there ought to be some arrangement whereby each Member shall have his pro rata share of special acts; and that pro rata share should be based upon the number of cases in his district that come within the rules of the committee defining the cases that are entitled to such special relief. Of course, it would be wholly impracticable to carry out such a plan with mathematical precision, but certainly it could be done with reasonable approximation, so as to give a far more equitable distribution of special acts than heretofore. I want to add that if it ever comes within my power to help institute such a reform I shall certainly avail myself of the opportunity. I do not deny that I have always managed to get as many special acts for my district as any other Member, and more than most of them, although in many cases they probably represented as large, or even larger, soldier districts than mine. I acted upon the theory that, aside from my duties as a member of the committee, which I always endeavored to perform justly and impartially, it was my duty as an individual Member of the House to help my soldier constituents and their widows to prepare the testimony in their cases and, acting as their Representative, to get as many of their cases through as it was possible for me to do. Of course, I was conscious all the while that there were many more in the district whose cases were equally deserving that I had not knowledge of personally, or, if I had, that it was not in my power to reach at the time. I simply did the best I could under the limitations with which I was surrounded. I wanted to get relief for more of them and would have gladly done it if I could. It was discrimination in a sense, but unavoidable discrimination, which I tried to minimize as much as possible by giving preference, as far as I could, to the most needy and helpless cases, in the various counties, that came within by personal knowledge. I have no doubt that there are cases more needy and helpless than some of those in which relief has already been given. This is one of the inevitable results of the system under which the committee has been proceeding and for which I am proposing a much desired remedy, for to me the task of selecting from among the many that are worthy the few that have been thus rewarded has been the most distressing that I have had to perform since I have been in official life.

What I have said regarding the practice of our Committee on Invalid Pensions, and of my own course in handling the cases from my district presented to it, applies with equal force to the other Pension Committee of the House which has jurisdiction of all cases not based upon service rendered in the Civil War. I feel that the history of special pension legislation emanating from both committees shows the urgent need of some reform. I introduced in this Congress two bills which would, in my judgment, if enacted into law accomplish that. I shall insert these in the RECORD. The first one is designed to give to all veterans of the Civil War the rates of pension practically that they would get under the rules of the committee if their cases were made special by it and included in one of the omnibus pension bills. In other words,

the enactment of this bill would eliminate the discrimination to which I have referred, and would result in all of the old soldiers being treated exactly alike. It would cost a little more money, I concede, but the increase would be only temporary, and it would be a mere bagatelle compared with what the old fellows deserve at our hands. All of them are now so far advanced in years that they are rapidly becoming helpless, many of them being so already, and those that do not now will soon require the personal aid and attendance of another person, for which the pension they are now receiving, and upon which most of them are solely dependent, is inadequate to provide. Let us, while we can, enable them to provide the necessaries of life and employ some one to look after their personal comfort, when needed, during the few remaining years that they will be with us. The full text of the bill is as follows:

A bill (H. R. 17572) to provide for increasing the rates of pension of totally disabled, needy, and helpless soldiers, sailors, and marines of the Civil and Mexican Wars.

Be it enacted, etc., That the rate of pension for every officer or enlisted man in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States who served therein 90 days or more during the Civil War and was honorably discharged therefrom, and who has no means of support aside from his pension, and no one is by agreement bound for his support, shall be $30 per month, provided he be totally incapacitated for self-support because of disability or disabilities not the result of his own vicious habits; and shall be $40 per month, provided he be totally incapacitated for self-support because of disability or disabilities not the result of his own vicious habits and requires the frequent and periodical, though not constant, aid and attendance of another person; and shall be $50 per month, provided he be totally incapacitated for self-support because of disability or disabilities not the result of his own vicious habits and requires the constant aid and attendance of another person. The rate of pension herein provided shall commence from the date of filing an application therefor in the Bureau of Pensions after the passage of this act.

SEC. 2. That the benefits of this act shall include those who have a pensionable status under the joint resolution of February 15, 1895, and under the second section of the joint resolution of July 1, 1902, as amended by the joint resolution of June 28, 1906.

SEC. 3. That the $40 and $50 rates of pension provided by section 1 of this act shall apply to those survivors of the Mexican War who are now on the pension rolls or who may hereafter be placed thereon.

SEC. 4. That the provisions of this act shall not be construed to reduce the rate of pension to which anyone is now entitled under any general or special law.

Mr. Speaker, as is well known, it was not possible to get consideration of such a bill during the Sixty-fourth Congress. I shall introduce it again at the opening of the next Congress, and I hope we may be able to get legislation of this character enacted then. It certainly ought to be done.

SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR AND PHILIPPINE INSURRECTION.

The other bill is for the relief of the veterans of the Spanish-American War and of the Philippine insurrection. It reads as follows:

A bill (H. R. 17573) to pension the survivors of the War with Spain and Philippine insurrection.

Be it enacted, etc., That the provisions, limitations, and benefits of section 2, as amended by the act of May 9, 1900, of an act entitled "An act granting pensions to soldiers and sailors who are incapacitated for performance of manual labor and providing pensions to widows, minor children, and dependent parents," approved June 27, 1890, be, and the same are hereby, extended from the date of the passage of this act to the surviving officers and enlisted men who served in the late War with Spain and Philippine insurrection.

The effect of this bill would be to give title to pension to veterans of the Spanish-American War and of the Philippine insurrection who had a service of as much as 90 days and received an honorable discharge, and who are now shown to be disabled for the performance of manual labor, in whole or in part, without requiring them to prove that their disability was contracted in the service and line of duty. It is now nearly 20 years ago since they rendered this service, and it is practically impossible for them, in the absence of a hospital record, to establish service origin of their disabilities. Most of them were associated with comrades that they had not previously known, and most of these who are now living are scattered all over the world, so that their testimony is not available. It is true that the period of time which has elapsed since they rendered this service is a little shorter than the period which had elapsed following the close of the Civil War when the law was passed pensioning soldiers of that war without requiring proof of service origin of their disabilities, but they were not confronted with as much difficulty as these men are in securing testimony on that point; and I think the time has fully arrived when these men should have the benefits of such a law. It was not possible to get consideration of this bill in the Sixty-fourth Congress, but I am going to reintroduce it in the Sixty-fifth Congress and press it for passage then. It is needless for me to say that I earnestly hope that the Key bill for the relief of the widows of these men will also be passed in that Congress. It ought to have been passed in the Sixty-fourth Congress, and it would have been but for the opposition to it of a few men in another legislative body. I want to add, in this connection, that I have favored ever since I have been in Congress the enactment of more liberal pension legislation for the relief of the widows of veterans of the Civil War, and have introduced several bills for their benefit during that time. I shall always be proud of the fact that I was a member of the committee that framed and reported the Ashbrook bill and that I had the privilege of participating in the enactment of that law.

THE STATE MILITIA.

I have been advocating for so many years the enactment of a law that will do justice to the State miiltia organizations of Kentucky, Missourl, and other States, who were never mustered into the United States service but rendered valuable and efficient aid, along with the Regular troops in the suppression of the Rebellion, and I have so many times addressed the House of Representatives upon that proposition, and have been so persistent in my efforts in behalf of the militia soldiers that I do not feel that it is necessary for me to reiterate my attitude and views in this statement. I will, however, insert as a part of my remarks the following colloquy, in which I participated when the House, on March 3, 1917, had under consideration a bill to pension the survivors of the various Indian wars. It is my purpose to reintroduce in the Sixty-fifth Congress this militia bill and do my utmost to get some legislation for the relief of this deserving and long-neglected class of our ex-Union soldiers. The extract from the RECORD to which I have just made reference is as follows:

"Mr. SWITZER. Is there any way provided by which they can establish their identity and their connection with the service and that they actually served?

"Mr. KEY of Ohio. Yes; in the manner indicated by the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. KEATING].

"Mr. KEATING. By evidence satisfactory to the Secretary of the Interior.

"Mr. LANGLEY. What character of service is required?

"Mr. KEY of Ohio. They must have served at least 30 days. I will say to the House that I have prepared a statement setting forth the amendment and the reasons why I think this amendment should not be adopted. I can not understand how the Senate of the United States could pass an amendment to a bill providing what this amendment does. I will ask the Clerk to read the statement to the House.

"Mr. NORTON. Will the gentleman from Colorado yield?

"Mr. KEATING. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. KEY] has the floor. He wishes this statement read.

"The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SAUNDERS). The Clerk will read the statement.

"The Clerk read as follows:

"On page 5, line 17, amendment No. 9, the Senate added:

"'*Provided*, That when there is no record of service or payment for same in the War Department or Treasury Department the applicant may establish the service by satisfactory evidence from the muster rolls on file in the several State or Territorial archives: *And provided further*, That the want of a certificate of discharge shall not deprive any applicant of the benefits of this act.'

* * * * * * *

"Mr. HAYDEN. Will the gentleman yield?

"Mr. MAYS. I yield to the gentleman from Arizona.

"Mr. HAYDEN. I have presented individual bills to the Committee on Pensions for soldiers who rendered service in the Indian wars in Utah. In each case I have been told by the committee that these men have no pensionable status and that therefore the committee could not report out a special bill for their relief, but that general legislation must be passed.

"Mr. SHERLEY. Do I understand that what you would not do in an individual case after investigation, you are willing to do by wholesale, without investigation?

"Mr. MAYS. Not only this amendment, but the whole bill is general in its terms. It provides in a general way for pensioning the survivors of the various Indian wars of our history. The country's debt to these men who met and conquered the cruel, heartless savage of the West can never be fully repaid. They blazed the path of civilization. Other States have been compensated for such manly services of their citizens. The father of this bill [Mr. KEATING], who refuses to support my motion, admits that the services were rendered in full measure. Why not pay the bill? We should not invoke the aid of technicalities to avoid a just obligation.

"Mr. HOWELL. As I understand it, they would not have any status before the Committee on Pensions. The Committee on Pensions will not consider these claims.

"Mr. LANGLEY. Not unless there is some general legislation conferring a pensionable status upon that class. That is the

rule of the committee. I do not agree with it but have been unable to get it amended.

* * * * * * *

"Mr. MAYS. We have made investigation. These pioneers rendered the services. The State has a just claim covering the expenses incident to defending the settlements against the savages who were the wards of the General Government. Gentlemen say, though the cause of these veterans may be just, it might prove a dangerous precedent to meet the obligation. Unjust claims might be encouraged. Honest men do not refuse to pay honest debts through fear of future fraudulent claims.

"Mr. LANGLEY. We have encountered the same difficulty in trying to get relief for the Kentucky and Missouri Militia who rendered service for a much longer period than the gentleman says these men rendered. Some gentlemen think, as I said a while ago, that we ought not to pass a private bill for their relief, because general legislation ought to be enacted covering all of them, and others say, as my colleague from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY] says, that we ought not to have general legislation but special legislation, and between the two opposing contentions we have never been able to get any relief for them at all.

"Mr. SHERWOOD. Was not the reason because they were never mustered into the service of the United States?

"Mr. LANGLEY. Unquestionably; there is where all the trouble lies.

* * * * * * *

"Mr. KEATING. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. LANGLEY].

"Mr. LANGLEY. Mr. Speaker, I shall not take up much of the time of the House, because in this rush, with all the congested conditions surrounding us, I realize the House has not the patience, nor can we spare the time, especially since an amendment to this bill can not be made at this stage so as to include the State militiamen of Kentucky, Missouri, and other States who rendered valuable service to the Union cause during the Civil War, and realizing, as I do, that I can not by talking now advance the interests of these militiamen, whose cause is so near to my heart. I am in sympathy with the general purpose of this bill. I have made a plea almost every session of Congress during the past 10 years for some general legislation which will widen the scope of the pension laws so as to reach those soldiers who, although not mustered into the United States service, rendered just as faithful and patriotic service to their Government in time of war as those who were mustered in. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. RUSSELL] and myself and others have been earnestly seeking during all these years to get some relief for them. We even proposed to limit that relief to cases where the service was for 90 days or more, and still Congress has thus far denied us. We have tried to get a special rule adopted by the joint Pension Committees of the two Houses which would permit relief by special act in needy and deserving cases where the soldier is shown to have rendered that much service and is now in a dependent and helpless condition, and that relief was denied us. It is true that we secured the adoption of such a rule by the House committee, but the Senate committee contended that the relief ought to be extended to all by general legislation. We secured a favorable report once from the House committee on a general bill of that character, but we have never been able to get that through Congress. The cause of these militiamen has thus fallen between these two contentions. The one that these cases should be handled by special act and the other that they should be covered by general legislation.

"If the Senate committee had agreed to the rule adopted in a previous Congress by the House committee, many cases of these old fellows would have been provided for by now. And yet here comes a proposition from the Senate to pension these militiamen who were engaged in the Indian wars if they rendered 30 days' service. I do not underestimate the valued and patriotic and unselfish service these Indian fighters rendered, and I do not wish to put myself in the position of opposing recognition for them; but, Mr. Speaker, I have not up to this moment been able to get the consent of my conscience to vote for this Senate proposition to reward the 30 days' service of these western militiamen while Kentucky militiamen, many of whom rendered a much longer period of service, are left without recognition. It seems to me that it is unjust discrimination, and when I think about voting for it these old, needy, and helpless militiamen down in Kentucky come into my mind and my conscience seems to tell me that these Indian fighters, deserving as they are, who fought after the Civil War, and are therefore presumably younger on an average than the Kentucky militiamen, ought to wait until they can all at least be treated alike and provided for in one general bill when the condition of the Treasury, now unfortunately depleted, will warrant such legislation. I dislike very much to vote against the Senate proposition, but I fear that I shall be compelled to do so in obedience to the sense of injustice which I feel over the unfairness of it. I give notice now that I shall bring this question of pensioning the militiamen of Kentucky, Missouri, and other States up again in the next Congress. I agree with all that has been said about our duty to those who have fought our wars, whether they were regularly mustered or not, and if my service as a Member of Congress was to close to-morrow I would be proud of the privilege of making my last words on this floor an appeal in their behalf.

"Mr. Speaker, I want to show that the service rendered by these Indian fighters, valiant and unselfish as it was, is no more deserving of the gratitude of this Republic than are the services rendered by these other militiamen, and that there is an additional argument in favor of the latter because most of them rendered a much longer service and certainly a service as important to the country. I know this is not the time to do that, and I therefore ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on this question.

"The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kentucky asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

"There was no objection.

* * * * * * *

"Mr. HOWELL. There is no complete analogy between the forces of a sovereign State which for reasons sufficient for them refuse or neglect to enter the military service of the United States and the militia of a Territory subject to the orders of the governor, their commander in chief, and himself the direct appointee of the President of the United States, the Commander in Chief of all Federal forces. The organization of a Territory is merely the agency of the Federal Government. Any gentleman who considers the matter a moment must differentiate between the militia of a Territory and that of a sovereign State.

"Furthermore, I want to emphasize the fact that these Indian volunteers or militia could not be mustered into the service of the United States. There was no one to muster them in, even if there had been authority for it. The crisis had to be met, without regard to future personal considerations. They gave their strength and risked their lives in this cause.

"Mr. LANGLEY. Will the gentleman yield to me there?

"Mr. HOWELL. Yes.

"Mr. LANGLEY. I have given a great deal of study to the militia question. A number of the Missouri and Kentucky Militia, under the command of Federal officers, performed service and were armed and equipped by the Federal Government, and we have tried to get recognition for those who served 90 days or more.

"Mr. HOWELL. There is a marked difference in the pension policy of the Government in dealing with Indian and other wars. The very nature of Indian warfare and the atrocities and horrors involved in it, as well as its suddenness and temporary character, has always been recognized by Congress. Different rules of service and proof in Indian wars have been written into these laws from what is customary in all other wars. There has always been shown a liberality and spirit to mete out justice in these Indian wars without regard to a strict observance of all those precise channels of evidence which are so requisite and essential in a thorough and perfect military organization.

"Mr. LANGLEY. Neither is there a difference between the Federal troops and the militia.

"Mr. HOWELL. If the claim which Utah presented in 1869 for reimbursement and compensation for these services had been appropriated for this amendment would not be necessary in our particular case. Utah has undoubtedly a just and valid claim for reimbursement for these services, which Congress will some day acknowledge and pay, but it is cruel and unjust to argue because Congress has not made just and adequate compensation for this service that for that reason these survivors should be further deprived of a pension freely given to all others who rendered similar service. Such objections are flimsy and technical and ought not to weigh with this House under the circumstances.

"Mr. BORLAND. Will the gentleman yield?

"Mr. HOWELL. For a question.

"Mr. BORLAND. It is customary in Western States, in case of a militia of this kind, to reward them by land scrip of various kinds, is it not? Was anything done in that way for these men?

"Mr. HOWELL. To the best of my knowledge there has been no recognition of his service on the part of the General Government whatsoever. There is only the fact that it was performed under territorial authority and in accordance with the demand of the

Indian Superintendent at that time who was in charge of the Indians and a Federal officer.

"The magnitude of these Indian disturbances and the invaluable service rendered by those who served in them is fully recognized and admitted by the opponents of the amendment, but they strenuously resist the essential provision that will make them beneficiaries under the bill. They are content to make the promise to the ear in section 1 of the bill, but now seek to break it to the hope by refusing to concur in the Senate amendment.

"Mr. LANGLEY. If the gentlemen will permit me, there has been no land scrip issued by Congress since the Civil War, and this service was all performed, as I understand it, after the Civil War.

"Mr. HOWELL. Yes. If there is any gentleman who can suggest a way by which these meritorious soldiers—these men who furnished their own arms, their own equipment, and went out to defend the settlers in that early day—can be rewarded; if there is any way by which you can amend this so that you can extend this bounty to those who are as deserving as any soldiers ever were in any Indian war, we have no objection to that. This talk about desertion and about corruption and seeking to get into the Treasury by this amendment, to those who know the conditions, is all subterfuge.

"Mr. LANGLEY. That is right."

ERRONEOUS CHARGES OF DESERTION.

There is still another class of our soldiers who are, and have been for all these years, entitled to relief, who have been unable to get justice done them through the War Department, because of the rigid and absurd provisions of the law governing that department in such matters, and who have been unable to get relief through either general or special legislation by Congress because of the adverse attitude of so many Members of it, which is due almost entirely to a total misunderstanding on their part of the facts. I refer to those soldiers who were entered upon the records by their superior officer as deserters because of their unexplained absence from their command, when in fact their absence was due to causes which when disclosed render the charge of desertion outrageously unjust. They can not have the charge removed upon making proof of those facts and presenting them to the War Department, because the provisions of the law enacted by Congress governing such matters do not confer upon that department the power to do it; and they can not get relief from Congress by special legislation nor by having the law amended, for the reasons I have already stated.

I have taken occasion a number of times since I have been a Member of this body to discuss this question and have repeatedly endeavored to get relief for these men, both by general and special legislation, but thus far without avail. I shall not go into the question again at this time, except to reproduce here some of the debate on special bills proposing to remove desertion charges, which debate occurred in the House on February 12, 1917, and in which I participated. This will serve to illustrate the present situation. I am not going to cease or abate my efforts in their behalf, but I shall renew them in the Sixty-fifth Congress. The extracts from the debate referred to are as follows:

"Mr. MANN. What is the gentleman's amendment?

"Mr. RAKER. My amendment is to strike out all after the word 'Interior' in line 1 on page 2, and all of lines 2 and 3.

"Mr. LANGLEY. Mr. Speaker, the question of whether the bill is objected to has not yet been put to the House.

"Mr. MANN. The gentleman is stating this for information. I would like to have him again state what his amendment is, so that I may follow it.

"Mr. RAKER. I want to strike out more than that.

"Mr. LANGLEY. Why not let it go over?

"Mr. RAKER. But I want to strike out, commencing with the word 'and' in line 11, page 1, all the rest of that line and all of lines 1, 2, and 3 on page 2. That would just correct his military record.

"Mr. MANN. All right.

"Mr. LANGLEY. Mr. Speaker, I want to reserve the right to object. I want to know if this is a desertion case.

"Mr. FIELDS. Yes.

"Mr. RAKER. The record has been in a shape showing that it is not a desertion; in fact, from the record, the man was home and sick——

"Mr. MANN. He deserted; it is a desertion case.

"Mr. LANGLEY. I have several cases like that when men were at home sick and were not really deserters.

"Mr. MANN. I can assure the gentleman from Kentucky that he has had more passed than any other man in the House, as he is a most diligent man.

"Mr. LANGLEY. The gentleman from Illinois is usually very accurate in most instances, but he missed it in this case, because I have not had in 10 years a single one passed.

"Mr. MANN. I am surprised, because the gentleman from Kentucky is extremely active on behalf of his constituents.

"Mr. LANGLEY. I thank the gentleman for that statement, but I have spent a great deal of time in trying to get some of these desertion cases through this Committee on Military Affairs.

"Mr. MANN. I will undertake to say the gentleman has not spent half as much time as the gentleman from California, besides——

"Mr. LANGLEY. The gentleman from California does not do anything else.

"Mr. MANN. Oh, he does lots of other things. I want to say to the gentleman from Kentucky it is considered one of the prerogatives of the membership of the Committee on Military Affairs that a member of that committee occasionally introduces a bill to remove the charge of desertion and gets it passed, and when outsiders are given this privilege it is by favor and not by right.

"Mr. LANGLEY. I had a suspicion there was something of that kind or something wrong somewhere, and I am glad to have the statement from such an experienced source.

"Mr. FIELDS. Mr. Speaker, I want to say to the gentleman from Kentucky, first, that I have been a member of the Committee on Military Affairs for six years and a goodly portion of that time as a member of the subcommittee on desertions, and I have secured the passage of only two bills, and they were much more meritorious than the bill of my colleague to which he refers.

"Mr. LANGLEY. That is a mere matter of opinion.

"Mr. FIELDS. I want to say, Mr. Speaker, in answer to the gentleman from Illinois, the committee does not attempt to play favorites in these matters, but they try to pass upon the merits of each case before them.

"Mr. LANGLEY. If my colleague will yield, what I am trying to get at is how he works it to get a bill through at all.

"Mr. BURNETT. Mr. Speaker, I hope the gentleman will not conduct a kindergarten here when other people are waiting to try to get their bills passed.

"Mr. LANGLEY. I want to know the length of service of this soldier; I am sincere about this; I want to know how long he served and why you are proposing to remove the charge of desertion from his record.

"Mr. FIELDS. This man was only out of the service two days, and during the two days he was out he was charged with desertion. He returned on his own accord and served out his time and received an honorable discharge. But the charge of desertion apparently was against him on the war records, and was not corrected, and therefore it stands as a charge of desertion.

"Mr. LANGLEY. He returned voluntarily?

"Mr. FIELDS. He returned voluntarily after having been two days out of the service, and then he remained and was mustered out.

"Mr. LANGLEY. How much time did he serve altogether?

"Mr. FIELDS. He served his entire enlistment, from 1865 to July 27, 1866.

"Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, does that grant him an entire service from April, 1865, to the close of the war, or after the war was concluded, a pensionable status because he served 90 days during the Civil War?

"Mr. FIELDS. Yes; he served 90 days.

"Mr. STAFFORD. When is it considered that the Civil War ended?

"Mr. FIELDS. The gentleman is familiar with that.

"Mr. LANGLEY. I think it has been officially determined it was July 15, 1865. Anyway, it was in July, 1865, with the exception of certain restricted areas where war conditions still existed.

"Mr. FIELDS. This man was mustered out and received an honorable discharge, but because he was away from his command for two days, from December 31 to January 1, he was charged with desertion, and it was only an oversight in not correcting his record.

"Mr. LANGLEY. Will the gentleman pardon me? If he received an honorable discharge and was absent only two days, and voluntarily returned, that would not prevent his widow from getting a pension under existing law if he served 90 days during the Civil War.

"Mr. FIELDS. I have the report here——

"Mr. LANGLEY. There must be something else wrong about it or this legislation would not be needed.

"Mr. FIELDS. The records of the War Department show that he was absent only two days and was mustered out with his company and received an honorable discharge. At the Pension Bureau the charge of desertion, I understand, still stands against him on the record, and they refuse to pension him.

"Mr. LANGLEY. I am frank to say that I never heard of a case where there was an absence of only two days and where the soldier voluntarily returned and was honorably discharged that the War Department refused to remove the charge of desertion.

"Mr. FIELDS. I never heard of it, and that is why I think it ought to be corrected.

"Mr. LANGLEY. I will not object.

"The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The Clerk will report the bill.

"The Clerk read as follows:

"Be it enacted, etc., That in the administration of the pension laws and the laws governing the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, or any branch thereof, George F. Reid shall hereafter be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the military service of the United States as a private of Company D, Battalion —, Third Regiment California Volunteer Infantry, and as a private of Company C, Battalion —, Third Regiment California Volunteer Infantry, and that his widow, Isabella Reid, be placed on the pension roll of the Secretary of the Interior, and that she be paid a pension at the rate of $30 per month: *Provided*, That no pension shall accrue prior to the passage of this act.

"Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment.

"The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from California offers an amendment which the Clerk will report.

"The Clerk read as follows:

"Amend, on page 1, line 11, after the word 'Infantry,' by striking out the following language:

"'And that his widow, Isabella Reid, be placed on the pension roll of the Secretary of the Interior, and that she be paid a pension at the rate of $30 per month.'

"Mr. MANN. And strike out the proviso.

"The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

"The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

"Mr. RAKER. I ask that the title be amended accordingly.

"The SPEAKER pro tempore. That will be done after the bill is passed. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

"Mr. MANN. It is not to correct a military record. This is a bill for the relief of George F. Reid.

"Mr. LANGLEY. The gentleman is entirely correct about that. You can not change the record of the War Department by an act of Congress. You can change the effect of it.

"Mr. MANN. There are a couple of blank places in here. I do not know whether the bill be any good unless you fill them up here or hereafter.

"Mr. RAKER. He served twice.

"Mr. MANN. The number of the battalion is not stated in either place. The gentleman better have that put in in the Senate.

"The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the amended bill.

"The bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

"The title was amended so as to read: 'A bill for the relief of George F. Reid.'

LEONORE M. SORSBY.

"The next business in order on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 4544) for the relief of Leonore M. Sorsby.

"The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

"Mr. MANN and Mr. COX objected.

BENJAMIN R. BUFFINGTON.

"The next business in order on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. 5182) requiring the Secretary of War to issue an honorable discharge to Benjamin R. Buffington.

"The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

"Mr. LANGLEY. Reserving the right to object, I would like to have some brief statement of that case. What I am trying to get at, if the gentleman will pardon me, is whether you are passing any cases that are not more meritorious than a number that I am so anxious to get through that committee and I have been unable to get through.

"Mr. FIELDS. I will say to my colleague——

"Mr. MANN. It is a pure matter of favor. What is the use?

"Mr. FIELDS. There is much more merit in this case than any that I have seen so far.

"Mr. LANGLEY. I have been good to the members of that committee individually, I am sure, and I can not understand why they do not want to favor me.

"Mr. FIELDS. Does the gentleman want an explanation?

"Mr. LANGLEY. A brief one.

"Mr. FIELDS. This man enlisted in 1861. He was captured and placed in prison. After his release from prison he returned to parole at Camp Parole, Md., and on the motion of his father, inasmuch as he was a minor, he was honorably discharged from the service.

"He reenlisted again and was transferred from one place to another, and finally to a point in South Carolina. When he arrived there he found his regiment was in North Carolina. It was not possible for him to reach his regiment, and he returned home when he could get there.

"Mr. LANGLEY. Now, Mr. Speaker, let me state to the gentleman right there: In the mountains of eastern Kentucky and Tennessee and that section of country generally during the Civil War, in that border territory, we had hundreds of soldiers who were situated just as this soldier was, according to the gentleman's statement. They made repeated attempts, many of them did, according to testimony that I have read in many of these cases, to get back to their commands, but they could not do it. They could not get word to their commanders so that they would know why they were absent. Frequently they were cut off by the enemy, and they were charged with desertion. The conditions existing there during a portion of the war were worse than in any other section of the Union, and you people of the North and West have no conception of it, and that is why you are so hard on these so-called desertion cases.

"This unjust charge still stands. The case of mine to which the gentleman referred a moment ago was that of an old fellow who went home. He says his commanding officer gave him permission to go. He had served over two and one-half years and reenlisted as a veteran volunteer. He was taken sick after he got home. He could not get back to his command. We have established these facts by a dozen witnesses, and yet I have tried for nine years without success to get action on this case.

"Mr. FIELDS. Mr. Speaker, I want to say to my colleague and to the membership of the House that there is a good deal of complaint because the Committee on Military Affairs does not report out desertion cases. I know there are many meritorious claims for the correction of military records. But gentlemen must realize how impossible it is for the Committee on Military Affairs to reach all these cases.

"At the beginning of this Congress I asked the members of the subcommittee to join me in an effort to clean up these bills, and the subcommittee on desertions has written up about 200 cases. Many of them have been reported unfavorably, while many of them have been reported favorably. But the membership of the House knows that the Committee on Military Affairs has been one of the busiest committees of the House during this Congress. We have had three or four sittings during this Congress on cases of desertion. The committee is busy all the time, and it is not because we do not want to consider claims, but it is because we have not the time to reach them; and I trust that my colleague will not feel that he is discriminated against. There are probably 250 Members of the House who have bills of that kind introduced, many of them being claims of much merit, but it has not been possible for the Committee on Claims to reach all of them.

"Mr. LANGLEY. Is it going to be possible for me to get one or two or three of these cases that I have spoken to the gentleman about? I am perfectly sincere in this, and I do not want to delay the work here to-night. But I have several old soldiers in my district who are entitled to relief.

"Mr. NEELY. Mr. Speaker, I ask for the regular order.

"The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. FOSTER). The regular order is demanded.

"Mr AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word.

"The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Tennessee moves to strike out the last word.

"Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to indorse what my colleague from Kentucky [Mr. LANGLEY] has said in reference to these so-called desertion cases. East Tennessee furnished 31,000 soldiers to the Union Army. Many of them served in that immediate section of the country. When they were sick or wounded or disabled, many of the men in our east Tennessee regiments, which were not thoroughly and well equipped with hospital service, were granted permission to go home, where they could be nursed and cared for. When they got well perhaps the regiments to which they belonged had left the State, or were in Kentucky, and a large number of our very best citizens have been unable for fifty-odd years to get the American Congress to consider and pass upon this question and remove from them and their reputation and their children a cloud and a reflection upon their honor.

"Now, I have had some of these bills pending before the Committee on Military Affairs for eight years. I am becoming impatient. Some of these men have actually passed away. Recognizing the statement made by the gentleman here, which was made then to me, that on account of the annual appropriation bill they could not meet these bills, I offered a bill in the Sixty-first Congress to create a commission composed of The Adjutant General, the Surgeon General, and the Secretary of War, to pass upon these cases. Not a thing has been done with that bill. No action has been taken on my cases. I shall be in the next Congress if I live, and I serve notice here and now that I shall object to every one of these bills introduced by a member of the Military Affairs Committee, when absolutely no action has been taken on the bills that I have introduced.

"Mr. FIELDS. Very few of these bills are from members of the Military Affairs Committee.

"Mr. LANGLEY. One of these old soldiers to whom I referred a moment ago is now blind. According to what his comrades say, he was the sixth man to scale the heights of Lookout Mountain on that memorable morning when our flag was placed upon its summit. Do not tell me that that sort of a soldier is justly charged with desertion. I have furnished 12 or 15 affidavits stating that he was unable to get back to his command, although he tried to do so. He served two years and seven months. I have had that case pending before the Military Affairs Committee of the various Congresses for nine years, and it has been reported two or three times by a subcommittee, but either they could not get a quorum of the full committee or something or other always happened to block my bill.

"Mr. FIELDS. Other members have filed claims, too, supported by a great deal of testimony. But I want to say to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. AUSTIN] that if he will take the pains to read the reports on these bills, he will see that the charge that the bills are from the Committee on Military Affairs is without foundation. There has not been a bill passed to-night or the preceding night that was from a member of the Military Affairs Committee.

"Mr. MANN. The last night we were here we had three of them in succession introduced by members of the Committee on Military Affairs and reported by the gentleman——

"Mr. LANGLEY. I did not make that charge. I did not know it.

"Mr. AUSTIN. In view of the statement of the gentleman from Illinois I ask the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. FIELDS] to take back the statement he made a few minutes ago.

"Mr. FIELDS. Who introduced them?

"Mr. MANN. I do not remember. We were all commenting upon it at the time. They were meritorious bills.

"Mr. AUSTIN. I do not question that they were meritorious bills.

"Mr. FIELDS. As I remember, there was only one bill from a member of the subcommittee, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MCKENZIE], and the bills were objected to.

"Mr. MANN. There were three in succession. I am not going to name them. What is the use?"

The Late Senator James P. Clarke.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS

OF

HON. HENDERSON M. JACOWAY,

OF ARKANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, February 18, 1917.

The House had under consideration the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended, that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. JAMES P. CLARKE, late a Senator from the State of Arkansas.

Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and in recognition of his distinguished public career, the House, at the conclusion of the exercises of this day, shall stand adjourned.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

Resolved, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased.

Mr. JACOWAY. Mr. Speaker, on the first day of October last the message was flashed from one extreme of this country to the other and to the nations of the world that a great and good man had fallen. Senator JAMES P. CLARKE of Arkansas lay dead at his home. A citizen most useful, respected, and beloved had lain down the burdens that were his. He had passed from scenes that were transitory and mortal to the realm of those activities that are immortal.

A devoted family was bereft of him who was its head and who to them was a trinity. A sorrow as black as a starless night gathered around and about them and a load as heavy as a huge stone had rolled itself upon their hearts when they realized the awful tragedy that a devoted husband and father had taken his leave for the last time and bidden them all a final adieu. A host of loyal and devoted admirers that were Mr. CLARKE's received the news of his passing with a grief unfeigned. To them they realized that the State and Nation had sustained a great and continuing loss and that they a friend in all the term implies had answered the last call, but who did so with a heart unafraid, a stoicism unequaled, and an intrepid soul unshaken by fear and had bowed to and obeyed the mandates of nature's final decree in equity. When family and friends were brought face to face with the fact that in the life of one they loved the last chapter had been written and the book closed, an agonizing catastrophe threw its shadow across their pathways, and "sorrow rolled like a tempest through their souls."

SENATOR CLARKE'S EARLY CAREER.

Mr. Speaker, time forbids the recital of all the powerful factors that went into the making of this man's life. While in most respects it was not different from other men's, yet when studied as a whole and viewed in its entirety there is found running through the warp and woof of his character those brilliant and golden threads of genius positive and indisputable—the exception that tests the general rule. The compelling force of Senator CLARKE's life, like all men of overpowering ability, wrung from the lip of friend and foe alike that tribute that was his and compelled unstinted words of praise of a life that while erratic in many instances and not regular and commonplace in its orbit, nor in those elements it repelled and attracted, yet most commonplace in fundamentals, for his was a life builded upon the rock, and his characteristics of heart and brain were worked out upon those plans and specifications that went into the making of a man that is true in the sight of his fellows. Senator CLARKE was honest; he was courageous—both morally and physically—and but few men that have sat in the Senate of the United States for the past half century were as capable and efficient as was he. He was one of Arkansas' greatest contributions to the world, having for his object its betterment and its uplift. In no sense of the word can it be said of Senator CLARKE that he was a demagogue. The average political art and artifices of the politician were an absolute stranger to him. To them he had never been introduced and had he been he would not have stooped to use them to gain a given end.

Since the Civil War no southern man has been quite so honored as was he. He was graduated at the University of Virginia. He was a native of the State of Mississippi, which he loved to the day of his death, and on many occasions delighted to make affectionate reference to the State of his birth. In 1879 he moved to the State of Arkansas, which period marked the genesis of a brilliant train of political and legal successes. From that day to the day of his death the State of his adoption delighted to do him honor. He served two years in the State legislature, only to be followed by a term of four years in the State senate, of which body he became president pro tempore and ex-officio lieutenant governor. At the expiration of his State senatorial term he was chosen attorney general and two years later he was elected governor. In 1902 he was elected United States Senator, thus realizing that ambition which is said by him had been his dream from early boyhood. In his second race for the United States Senate he defeated one of the noblest and ablest men Arkansas ever sent to the Halls of National Legislation, Senator James K. Jones. In all his public life no scandal was ever associated with Senator CLARKE's name and his private life was as clean and pure as a star.

AS UNITED STATES SENATOR.

As Senator of the United States he looked the part and he acted the part. By visitors in the gallery of the Senate or upon the streets Senator CLARKE was pointed out as a celebrity. It may be said of him that he was not a Senator whose magnificent equipment of heart and mind were used solely for the advancement of the State which had so greatly honored him, but he had the sincere interest in the affairs of the whole Nation at heart. He had a transcending ability for affairs of state which served him well and which made him a master in the discharge of his arduous duties as United States Senator. When he thought he was right he never surrendered his position. He was peculiarly possessed of that power to think big things and do big things and which gave an unlimited sway to his forceful, powerful, and dexterous qualities in the forum of the United States Senate, an opportunity which he craved and which early in his senatorial career marked him as a Member of the greatest law-

making body the world ever saw, with no superiors and few equals. As a member of the Judiciary Committee and by virtue of sheer ability he was a commanding, compelling, and respected figure, especially in questions of constitutional law his advice was eagerly sought and his counsel prevailed. In these capacities he never failed to leave his impress for good upon legislation. As chairman of the great Committee on Commerce he discharged the duties of this position with great credit to himself and lasting benefit to the country. As presiding officer of the Senate his rulings were fair, and in this capacity his knowledge of parliamentary law and his erudition in general were a marvel. Both sides of this historic chamber gave him credit for absolute fairness. He was also a member of the Committee on Military Affairs and Foreign Affairs and other lesser committees. To these committees he carried the same power for good and the same strength of character that marked his work upon other committees.

The archives of the Nation that had honored him and which he in turn honored bear mute but unanswerable testimony that establishes the facts beyond cavil that in his day and generation he well and ably played his part, had been true to the people of Arkansas who signally honored him, and done those things his hands found to do and with a great willingness. That which was accomplished by him, Mr. Speaker, and the ideals for which he contended have done much to make this country the one intended by the fathers—

A land of settled government;
A land of old and just renown,
Where freedom slowly broadens down
From precedent to precedent.

Yes, if you please, a representative government and, in its broadest sense, where the door of opportunity swings open to all alike and where under our institutions it is sought to be underwritten the guaranty that individual worth shall be the test supreme and every man a free man.

ARKANSAS'S TRIBUTE TO MR. CLARKE.

In a short time after the passing of Senator CLARKE the State of Arkansas speedily and with affectionate regard voiced its appreciation of his worth as a man and as a fitting recognition of his great public service by the adoption of a concurrent resolution providing for the placing of his statue in the Hall of Fame, once the old Hall of Representatives and directly located under the great white dome of our Nation's Capitol. There his statue will stand for the years to come, to be viewed and admired by the multitudes that yearly find their way to the seat of the Federal Government. In illustrious company will his statue be, and justly so. There also in this historic chamber are to be found the statues of many of the great men this country has produced from its inception and which has made our Nation the marvel of the world.

There can be seen the statues of Blair and Benton from Missouri; Kirkwood and Harlan of Iowa; Zeb Vance of North Carolina; Ethan Allen of Vermont; Calhoun of South Carolina; Garfield of Ohio; Samuel Adams of Massachusetts; Wisconsin's tribute in the form of the statue of Marquette, who discovered the Mississippi; the imposing form in bronze of that proud and brave man beloved by the South as a whole, Robert E. Lee, whose fortune it was to lead the greatest army the world ever saw—that army in gray, but which on account of great opposing numbers compelled this naked and half-starving army to lay down their arms at Appomattox to the suffering Grant. Yes, and also in this company is found the likeness of Sam Houston and Richard Austin of Texas, two great pioneers that blazed out the way of a great civilization upon our West; to be seen also is the statue of Fulton studying the model of his steamboat; the great Washington of Virginia is there, and many more which time and space forbid me to enumerate. Side by side with another great Arkansan, too, the chaste, the gentle man, the scholar, the lawyer, author, and linguist, Judge U. M. Rose, whose memory to-day is revered by all Arkansans, will stand proudly erect the statue of JAMES P. CLARKE, a kindred soul in the midst of these great national American characters.

SENATOR CLARKE AS A HOME MAN.

Senator CLARKE was a lover of children. On one occasion I saw two boys, one 6 and the other 4 years of age, find their way into his office. The Senator received them graciously. He laid down the affairs of state for their benefit, forgot the contemplation of momentous questions, and for quite a while reveled in the company of these little fellows. Unless invited to do so few people disturbed Senator CLARKE in the privacy of his office, but these children were the exception to the rule and this picture throws a new light on the character of Senator CLARKE unknown to some. He made these children feel that his heart beat in unison with their childish hearts. He invited them to climb upon great mail sacks filled with books and in turn he rollicked with them by insisting that they jump in his arms only to run around and climb upon the mail sacks again and again and jump for him to catch them. On another occasion in going with him from his office to the Senate Chamber well do I remember the meeting he had with two other children, 2 and 4 years of age, attended by their nurse. At this particular time he was disturbed by pending legislation regarding the cotton situation and vital to the South especially. On meeting these children he inquired their names. True to the ever-present tender impulses of his heart for children again for a moment he forgot the important questions that were challenging and demanding his best attention and clamoring for successful conclusion and fondling the smaller child for a few minutes and bending down over and embracing it and then after shaking hands with the older child he bade them good-bye and with a parting injunction and that characteristic swing of his arm, he said: "Gentlemen, I hope our orbits will soon cross again." Also, no man was ever regarded by his own family more as the prince of all men than was Senator CLARKE. On one occasion while a guest in his home an opportunity was afforded to judge his life from this angle. I shall never forget the beautiful scene of domestic happiness that was mine to enjoy while there. "His home seemed to be the center of his affection and the fountain of mutual joy." In the sitting room, at the dinner table, he was the embodiment of all those refinements that were chivalrous and tender and which go to make the home the universe for those that dwell within it. In a mood brimful of merriment and repartee he was the suitor and courtier to the mother of his children, a cavalier in conduct toward his gracious daughter, while from every word addressed to the son that bore his name and on every ligament of the Senator's face proved the extent of the depth of that great love which he bore his only boy; while for all of those collectively that were dependent upon him and which at last go to make up the greatest of our institutions, the American home, there will forever linger with me a picture of domestic happiness that is beautiful to contemplate.

A BORN LAWYER.

As a lawyer the purity of his ethics was never questioned. He loved his profession and entirely respecting it by revering all those things for which it stands and has stood in the world's history. He never profaned this great calling by descending to those methods that were questionable and which is the stock in-trade of the pettifogger. His acts, his words, and his course of action in the pursuit of his chosen profession were always upon the "mountain ranges of the law," and from this viewpoint he respected always true lawyers and in turn commanded respect from them.

Mr. Speaker, time will not permit me to further comment on the pure character of Senator CLARKE or to further enumerate here that which he accomplished in the various fields of activities in which he figured and played a part so important. They are safely chronicled on the bright pages of his country that he loved, and in which he believed, and which he so well and faithfully served. The historian of the future will pay Senator CLARKE that merited tribute that is his and which he so deservedly won. No poor words of mine can add additional luster to the life and fame of him who was my friend and of whom I was proud. In his death a distinguished patriot, an able and pure statesman, and a noble man has gone into the far country. Mr. Speaker, if honesty of purpose, cleanliness of deed, thought, and action, a courage to do that which is right because it is right, if character builded on the teachings of Holy Writ have their reward, and they do, for God lives and rules, then when dissolution came to the chivalrous and intrepid spirit of Senator JAMES P. CLARKE, and the world and all it contained was slipping from beneath him, his dying eyes caught a vision of the beautiful scenes of field elysian, and on "his feverish brow he felt the breath of the morn eternal."

Congressional Record.

SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS,
SECOND SESSION.

INDEX.

FROM DECEMBER 4, 1916, TO MARCH 4, 1917

NAMES AND POST-OFFICE ADDRESSES

OF

SENATORS

IN THE

SECOND SESSION OF THE SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

THOMAS R. MARSHALL, Vice President, Indianapolis, Ind.
WILLARD SAULSBURY, President pro tempore, Wilmington, Del.

Name.	Home post office.	Name.	Home post office.
Ashurst, Henry F	Prescott, Ariz.	Martin, Thomas S	Charlottesville, Va.
Bankhead, John H	Jasper, Ala.	Martine, James E	Plainfield, N. J.
Beckham, J. C. W	Frankfort, Ky.	Myers, Henry L	Hamilton, Mont.
Borah, William E	Boise, Idaho.	Nelson, Knute	Alexandria, Minn.
Brady, James H	Pocatello, Idaho.	Newlands, Francis G	Reno, Nev.
Brandegee, Frank B	New London, Conn.	Norris, George W	McCook, Nebr.
Broussard, Robert F	New Iberia, La.	O'Gorman, James A	New York, N. Y.
Bryan, Nathan P	Jacksonville, Fla.	Oliver, George T	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Catron, Thomas B	Santa Fe, N. Mex.	Overman, Lee S	Salisbury, N. C.
Chamberlain, George E	Portland, Oreg.	Owen, Robert L	Muskogee, Okla.
Chilton, William E	Charleston, W. Va.	Page, Carroll S	Hyde Park, Vt.
Clapp, Moses E	St. Paul, Minn.	Penrose, Boies	Philadelphia, Pa.
Clark, Clarence D	Evanston, Wyo.	Phelan, James D	San Francisco, Cal.
Colt, LeBaron B	Bristol, R. I.	Pittman, Key	Tonopah, Nev.
Culberson, Charles A	Dallas, Tex.	Poindexter, Miles	Spokane, Wash.
Cummins, Albert B	Des Moines, Iowa.	Pomerene, Atlee	Canton, Ohio.
Curtis, Charles	Topeka, Kans.	Ransdell, Joseph E	Lake Providence, La.
Dillingham, William P	Montpelier, Vt.	Reed, James A	Kansas City, Mo.
du Pont, Henry A	Winterthur, Del.	Robinson, Joseph T	Lonoke, Ark.
Fall, Albert B	Three Rivers, N. Mex.	Saulsbury, Willard	Wilmington, Del.
Fernald, Bert M.[1]	West Poland, Me.	Shafroth, John F	Denver, Colo.
Fletcher, Duncan U	Jacksonville, Fla.	Sheppard, Morris	Texarkana, Tex.
Gallinger, Jacob H	Concord, N. H.	Sherman, Lawrence Y	Springfield, Ill.
Goff, Nathan	Clarksburg, W. Va.	Shields, John K	Knoxville, Tenn.
Gore, Thomas P	Lawton, Okla.	Simmons, F. M	Newbern, N. C.
Gronna, Asle J	Lakota, N. Dak.	Smith, Ellison D	Florence, S. C.
Harding, Warren G	Marion, Ohio.	Smith, Hoke	Atlanta, Ga.
Hardwick, Thomas W	Sandersville, Ga.	Smith, John Walter	Snow Hill, Md.
Hitchcock, Gilbert M	Omaha, Nebr.	Smith, Marcus A	Tucson, Ariz.
Hollis, Henry F	Concord, N. H.	Smith, William Alden	Grand Rapids, Mich.
Hughes, William	Paterson, N. J.	Smoot, Reed	Provo City, Utah.
Husting, Paul O	Mayville, Wis.	Sterling, Thomas	Vermilion, S. Dak.
James, Ollie M	Marion, Ky.	Stone, William J	Jefferson City, Mo.
Johnson, Charles F	Waterville, Me.	Sutherland, George	Salt Lake City, Utah.
Johnson, Edwin S	Yankton, S. Dak.	Swanson, Claude A	Chatham, Va.
Jones, Wesley L	North Yakima, Wash.	Thomas, Charles S	Denver, Colo.
Kenyon, William S	Fort Dodge, Iowa.	Thompson, William H	Garden City, Kans.
Kern, John W	Indianapolis, Ind.	Tillman, Benjamin R	Trenton, S. C.
Kirby, William F.[2]	Little Rock, Ark.	Townsend, Charles E	Jackson, Mich.
La Follette, Robert M	Madison, Wis.	Underwood, Oscar W	Birmingham, Ala.
Lane, Harry	Portland, Oreg.	Vardaman, James K	Jackson, Miss.
Lea, Luke	Nashville, Tenn.	Wadsworth, James W., jr	Groveland, N. Y.
Lee, Blair	Silver Spring, Md.	Walsh, Thomas J	Helena, Mont.
Lewis, Jas. Hamilton	Chicago, Ill.	Warren, Francis E	Cheyenne, Wyo.
Lippitt, Henry F	Providence, R. I.	Watson, James E.[3]	Rushville, Ind.
Lodge, Henry C	Nahant, Mass.	Weeks, John W	West Newton, Mass.
McCumber, Porter J	Wahpeton, N. Dak.	Williams, John S	Benton, Miss.
McLean, George P	Simsbury, Conn.	Works, John D	Los Angeles, Cal.

[1] Elected in place of Edwin C. Burleigh, deceased.
[2] Elected in place of James P. Clarke, deceased.
[3] Elected in place of Benjamin F. Shively, deceased.

NAMES AND POST-OFFICE ADDRESSES

OF

REPRESENTATIVES AND DELEGATES

IN THE

SECOND SESSION OF THE SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

CHAMP CLARK, Speaker, Bowling Green, Mo.

Name.	Home post office.	Name.	Home post office.
Abercrombie, John W	Anniston, Ala.	Carter, William H	Needham Heights, Mass.
Adair, John A. M	Portland, Ind.	Cary, William J	Milwaukee, Wis.
Adamson, William C	Carrollton, Ga.	Casey, John J	Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
Aiken, Wyatt	Abbeville, S. C.	Chandler, Walter M	New York City.
Alexander, Joshua W	Gallatin, Mo.	Charles, William B	Amsterdam, N. Y.
Allen, Alfred G	Cincinnati, Ohio.	Chiperfield, Burnett M	Canton, Ill.
Almon, Edward B	Tuscumbia, Ala.	Church, Denver S	Fresno, Cal.
Anderson, Sydney	Lanesboro, Minn.	Clark, Champ	Bowling Green, Mo.
Anthony, Daniel R., jr	Leavenworth, Kans.	Clark, Frank	Gainesville, Fla.
Ashbrook, William A	Johnstown, Ohio.	Cline, Cyrus	Angola, Ind.
Aswell, James B	Natchitoches, La.	Coady, Charles Pearce	Baltimore, Md.
Austin, Richard W	Knoxville, Tenn.	Coleman, William H	McKeesport, Pa.
Ayres, William A	Wichita, Kans.	Collier, James W	Vicksburg, Miss.
Bacharach, Isaac	Atlantic City, N. J.	Connelly, John R	Colby, Kans.
Bailey, Warren Worth	Johnstown, Pa.	Conry, Michael F.[2]	New York City.
Barchfeld, Andrew J	Pittsburgh, Pa.	Cooper, Edward	Bramwell, W. Va.
Barkley, Alben W	Paducah, Ky.	Cooper, Henry Allen	Racine, Wis.
Barnhart, Henry A	Rochester, Ind.	Cooper, John G	Youngstown, Ohio.
Beakes, Samuel W	Ann Arbor, Mich.	Copley, Ira C	Aurora, Ill.
Beales, C. William	Gettysburg, Pa.	Costello, Peter E	Philadelphia, Pa.
Bell, Thomas M	Gainesville, Ga.	Cox, William E	Jasper, Ind.
Benedict, H. Stanley [1]	Los Angeles, Cal.	Crago, Thomas S	Waynesburg, Pa.
Bennet, William S	New York City.	Cramton, Louis C	Lapeer, Mich.
Black, Eugene	Clarksville, Tex.	Crisp, Charles R	Americus, Ga.
Blackmon, Frederick L	Anniston, Ala.	Crosser, Robert	Cleveland, Ohio.
Booher, Charles F	Savannah, Mo.	Cullop, William A	Vincennes, Ind.
Borland, William P	Kansas City, Mo.	Curry, Charles F	Sacramento, Cal.
Bowers, George M	Martinsburg, W. Va.	Dale, Harry H	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Britt, James J	Asheville, N. C.	Dale, Porter H	Island Pond, Vt.
Britten, Fred A	Chicago, Ill.	Dallinger, Frederick W	Cambridge, Mass.
Browne, Edward E	Waupaca, Wis.	Danforth, Henry G	Rochester, N. Y.
Browning, William J	Camden, N. J.	Darrow, George P	Philadelphia, Pa.
Bruckner, Henry	New York City.	Davenport, James S	Vinita, Okla.
Brumbaugh, Clement	Columbus, Ohio.	Davis, Charles R	St. Peter, Minn.
Buchanan, Frank	Chicago, Ill.	Davis, James H	Sulphur Springs, Tex.
Buchanan, James P	Brenham, Tex.	Decker, Perl D	Joplin, Mo.
Burgess, George F	Gonzales, Tex.	Dempsey, S. Wallace	Lockport, N. Y.
Burke, Michael E	Beaver Dam, Wis.	Denison, Edward E	Marion, Ill.
Burnett, John L	Gadsden, Ala.	Dent, S. Hubert, jr	Montgomery, Ala.
Butler, Thomas S	West Chester, Pa.	Dewalt, Arthur G	Allentown, Pa.
Byrnes, James F	Aiken, S. C.	Dickinson, Clement C	Clinton, Mo.
Byrns, Joseph W	Nashville, Tenn.	Dies, Martin	Beaumont, Tex.
Caldwell, Chas. Pope	Forest Hills, N. Y.	Dill, C. C	Spokane, Wash.
Callaway, Oscar	Comanche, Tex.	Dillon, Charles H	Yankton, S. Dak.
Campbell, Philip P	Pittsburg, Kans.	Dixon, Lincoln	North Vernon, Ind.
Candler, Ezekiel S	Corinth, Miss.	Dooling, Peter J	New York City.
Cannon, Joseph G	Danville, Ill.	Doolittle, Dudley	Strong City, Kans.
Cantrill, James C	Georgetown, Ky.	Doremus, Frank E	Detroit, Mich.
Capstick, John H	Montville, N. J.	Doughton, Robert L	Laurel Springs, N. C.
Caraway, Thaddeus H	Jonesboro, Ark.	Dowell, Cassius C	Des Moines, Iowa.
Carew, John F	New York City.	Driscoll, Daniel A	Buffalo, N. Y.
Carlin, Charles C	Alexandria, Va.	Drukker, Dow H	Passaic, N. J.
Carter, Charles D	Ardmore, Okla.	Dunn, Thomas B	Rochester, N. Y.

[1] Elected in place of William D. Stephens, resigned.

[2] Died March 2, 1917.

Names and post-office addresses of Members and Delegates of the House of Representatives—Continued.

Name.	Home post office.
Dupré, H. Garland	New Orleans, La.
Dyer, Leonidas C	St. Louis, Mo.
Eagan, John J	Weehawken, N. J.
Eagle, Joe H	Houston, Tex.
Edmonds, George W	Philadelphia, Pa.
Edwards, Charles G	Savannah, Ga.
Ellsworth, Franklin F	Mankato, Minn.
Elston, John A	Berkeley, Cal.
Emerson, Henry I	Cleveland, Ohio.
Esch, John J	La Crosse, Wis.
Estopinal, Albert	Estopinal, La.
Evans, John M	Missoula, Mont.
Fairchild, George W	Oneonta, N. Y.
Farley, Michael F	New York City.
Farr, John R	Scranton, Pa.
Ferris, Scott	Lawton, Okla.
Fess, Simeon D	Yellow Springs, Ohio.
Fields, William J	Olive Hill, Ky.
Finley, David E.[1]	York, S. C.
Fitzgerald, John J	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Flood, Henry D	Appomattox, Va.
Flynn, Joseph V	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Focht, Benjamin K	Lewisburg, Pa.
Fordney, Joseph W	Saginaw W. S., Mich.
Foss, George Edmund	Chicago, Ill.
Foster, Martin D	Olney, Ill.
Frear, James A	Hudson, Wis.
Freeman, Richard P	New London, Conn.
Fuller, Charles E	Belvidere, Ill.
Gallagher, Thomas	Chicago, Ill.
Gallivan, James A	Boston, Mass.
Gandy, Harry L	Rapid City, S. Dak.
Gard, Warren	Hamilton, Ohio.
Gardner, Augustus P	Hamilton, Mass.
Garland, Mahlon M	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Garner, John N	Uvalde, Tex.
Garrett, Finis J	Dresden, Tenn.
Gillett, Frederick H	Springfield, Mass.
Glass, Carter	Lynchburg, Va.
Glynn, James P	Winsted, Conn.
Godwin, Hannibal L	Dunn, N. C.
Good, James W	Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
Goodwin, William S	Warren, Ark.
Gordon, William	Cleveland, Ohio.
Gould, Norman J	Seneca Falls, N. Y.
Graham, George S	Philadelphia, Pa.
Gray, Edward W	Newark, N. J.
Gray, Finly H	Connersville, Ind.
Gray, Oscar L	Butler, Ala.
Green, William R	Council Bluffs, Iowa.
Greene, Frank L	St. Albans, Vt.
Greene, William S	Fall River, Mass.
Gregg, Alexander W	Palestine, Tex.
Griest, William W	Lancaster, Pa.
Griffin, Daniel J	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Guernsey, Frank E	Dover, Me.
Hadley, Lindley H	Bellingham, Wash.
Hamill, James A	Jersey City, N. J.
Hamilton, Charles M	Ripley, N. Y.
Hamilton, Edward L	Niles, Mich.
Hamlin, Courtney W	Springfield, Mo.
Hardy, Rufus	Corsicana, Tex.
Harrison, Pat	Gulfport, Miss.
Harrison, T. W.[2]	Winchester, Va.
Hart, Archibald C	Hackensack, N. J.
Haskell, Reuben L	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Hastings, William W	Tahlequah, Okla.
Haugen, Gilbert N	Northwood, Iowa.
Hawley, Willis C	Salem, Oreg.
Hayden, Carl	Phoenix, Ariz.
Hayes, Everis A	San Jose, Cal.
Heaton, Robert D	Ashland, Pa.
Heflin, J. Thomas	Lafayette, Ala.
Helgesen, Henry T	Milton, N. Dak.
Helm, Harvey	Stanford, Ky.
Helvering, Guy T	Marysville, Kans.
Henry, Robert L	Waco, Tex.
Hensley, Walter L	Farmington, Mo.
Hernandez, Benigno C	Tierra Amarilla, N. Mex.
Hicks, Frederick C	Port Washington, N. Y.
Hill, Ebenezer J	Norwalk, Conn.
Hilliard, Benjamin C	Denver, Colo.
Hinds, Asher C	Portland, Me.
Holland, Edward E	Suffolk, Va.
Hollingsworth, David A	Cadiz, Ohio.
Hood, George E	Goldsboro, N. C.
Hopwood, Robert F	Uniontown, Pa.
Houston, William C	Woodbury, Tenn.
Howard, William S	Kirkwood, Ga.
Howell, Joseph	Logan, Utah.
Huddleston, George	Birmingham, Ala.
Hughes, Dudley M	Danville, Ga.
Hulbert, Murray	New York City.
Hull, Cordell	Carthage, Tenn.
Hull, Harry E	Williamsburg, Iowa.
Humphrey, William E	Seattle, Wash.
Humphreys, Benjamin G	Greenville, Miss.
Husted, James W	Peekskill, N. Y.
Hutchinson, Elijah C	Trenton, N. J.
Igoe, William L	St. Louis, Mo.
Jacoway, Henderson M	Dardanelle, Ark.
James, W. Frank	Hancock, Mich.
Johnson, Albert	Hoquiam, Wash.
Johnson, Ben	Bardstown, Ky.
Johnson, Royal C	Aberdeen, S. Dak.
Jones, William A	Warsaw, Va.
Kahn, Julius	San Francisco, Cal.
Kearns, Charles C	Batavia, Ohio.
Keating, Edward	Pueblo, Colo.
Keister, Abraham L	Scottdale, Pa.
Kelley, Patrick H	Lansing, Mich.
Kennedy, Ambrose	Woonsocket, R. I.
Kennedy, Charles A	Montrose, Iowa.
Kent, William	Kentfield, Cal.
Kettner, William	San Diego, Cal.
Key, John A	Marion, Ohio.
Kiess, Edgar R	Williamsport, Pa.
Kincheloe, David H	Madisonville, Ky.
King, Edward J	Galesburg, Ill.
Kinkaid, Moses P	O'Neill, Nebr.
Kitchin, Claude	Scotland Neck, N. C.
Konop, Thomas F	Green Bay, Wis.
Kreider, Aaron S	Annville, Pa.
Lafean, Daniel F	York, Pa.
La Follette, William L	Pullman, Wash.
Langley, John W	Pikeville, Ky.
Lazaro, Ladislas	Washington, La.
Lee, Gordon	Chickamauga, Ga.
Lehlbach, Frederick R	Newark, N. J.
Lenroot, Irvine L	Superior, Wis.
Lesher, John V	Sunbury, Pa.
Lever, Asbury F	Lexington, S. C.
Lewis, David J	Cumberland, Md.
Lieb, Charles	Rockport, Ind.
Liebel, Michael, jr	Erie, Pa.
Lindbergh, Charles A	Little Falls, Minn.
Linthicum, J. Charles	Baltimore, Md.
Littlepage, Adam B	Charleston, W. Va.
Lloyd, James T	Shelbyville, Mo.
Lobeck, Charles O	Omaha, Nebr.
Loft, George W	New York City.
London, Meyer	New York City.
Longworth, Nicholas	Cincinnati, Ohio.
Loud, George A	Bay City, Mich.
McAndrews, James	Chicago, Ill.
McArthur, C. N	Portland, Oreg.
McClintic, James V	Snyder, Okla.
McCorkle, Paul G.[3]	York, S. C.
McCracken, Robert M	Boise, Idaho.
McCulloch, Roscoe C	Canton, Ohio.
McDermott, James T	Chicago, Ill.
McFadden, Louis T	Canton, Pa.
McGillicuddy, Daniel J	Lewiston, Me.
McKellar, Kenneth D	Memphis, Tenn.

[1] Died January 26, 1917.

[2] Elected in place of James Hay, resigned.

[3] Elected in place of David E. Finley, deceased.

Names and post-office addresses of ***Members and Delegates of the House of Representatives***—Continued.

Name.	Home post office.
McKenzie, John C	Elizabeth, Ill.
McKinley, William B	Champaign, Ill.
McLaughlin, James C	Muskegon, Mich.
McLemore, Jeff	Houston, Tex.
Madden, Martin B	Chicago, Ill.
Magee, Walter W	Syracuse, N. Y.
Maher, James P	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Mann, James R	Chicago, Ill.
Mapes, Carl E	Grand Rapids, Mich.
Martin, Whitmell P	Thibodaux, La.
Matthews, Nelson E	Defiance, Ohio.
Mays, James H	Salt Lake City, Utah.
Meeker, Jacob E	St. Louis, Mo.
Miller, Clarence B	Duluth, Minn.
Miller, Samuel H	Mercer, Pa.
Miller, Thomas W	Wilmington, Del.
Mondell, Frank Wheeler	Newcastle, Wyo.
Montague, Andrew J	Richmond, Va.
Moon, John A	Chattanooga, Tenn.
Mooney, William C	Woodsfield, Ohio.
Moore, J. Hampton	Philadelphia, Pa.
Moores, Merrill	Indianapolis, Ind.
Morgan, Dick T	Woodward, Okla.
Morgan, Lewis L	Covington, La.
Morin, John M	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Morrison, Martin A	Frankfort, Ind.
Moss, Ralph W	Center Point, Ind.
Mott, Luther W	Oswego, N. Y.
Mudd, Sydney E	La Plata, Md.
Murray, William H	Tishomingo, Okla.
Neely, M. M	Fairmont, W. Va.
Nelson, John M	Madison, Wis.
Nicholls, Samuel J	Spartanburg, S. C.
Nichols, Charles A	Detroit, Mich.
Nolan, John I	San Francisco, Cal.
North, S. Taylor	Punxsutawney, Pa.
Norton, Patrick D	Hettinger, N. Dak.
Oakey, P. Davis	Hartford, Conn.
Oglesby, Woodson R	Yonkers, N. Y.
Oldfield, William A	Batesville, Ark.
Oliver, William B	Tuscaloosa, Ala.
Olney, Richard, 2d	Dedham, Mass.
O'Shaunessy, George F	Providence, R. I.
Overmyer, Arthur W	Fremont, Ohio.
Padgett, Lemuel P	Columbia, Tenn.
Page, Robert N	Biscoe, N. C.
Paige, Calvin D	Southbridge, Mass.
Park, Frank	Sylvester, Ga.
Parker, James S	Salem, N. Y.
Parker, Richard Wayne	Newark, N. J.
Patten, Thomas G	New York City.
Peters, John A	Ellsworth, Me.
Phelan, Michael F	Lynn, Mass.
Platt, Edmund	Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Porter, Stephen G	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Pou, Edward W	Smithfield, N. C.
Powers, Caleb	Barbourville, Ky.
Pratt, Harry H	Corning, N. Y.
Price, Jesse D	Salisbury, Md.
Quin, Percy E	McComb, Miss.
Ragsdale, J. Willard	Florence, S. C.
Rainey, Henry T	Carrollton, Ill.
Raker, John E	Alturas, Cal.
Ramseyer, C. William	Bloomfield, Iowa.
Randall, Charles H	Los Angeles, Cal.
Rauch, George W	Marion, Ind.
Rayburn, Sam	Bonham, Tex.
Reavis, C. F	Falls City, Nebr.
Reilly, Michael K	Fond du Lac, Wis.
Ricketts, Edwin D	Logan, Ohio.
Riordan, Daniel J	New York City.
Roberts, E. E	Carson City, Nev.
Roberts, Ernest W	Chelsea, Mass.
Rodenberg, William A	East St. Louis, Ill.
Rogers, John Jacob	Lowell, Mass.
Rouse, A. B	Burlington, Ky.
Rowe, Frederick W	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Rowland, Charles H	Philipsburg, Pa.
Rubey, Thomas L	Lebanon, Mo.
Rucker, Tinsley W.[1]	Athens, Ga.
Rucker, William W	Keytesville, Mo.
Russell, J. Edward	Sidney, Ohio.
Russell, Joseph J	Charleston, Mo.
Sabath, Adolph J	Chicago, Ill.
Sanford, Rollin B	Slingerlands, N. Y.
Saunders, Edward W	Rockymount, Va.
Schall, Thomas D	Excelsior, Minn.
Scott, Frank D	Alpena, Mich.
Scott, John R. K	Philadelphia, Pa.
Scully, Thomas J	South Amboy, N. J.
Sears, William J	Kissimmee, Fla.
Sells, Sam R	Johnson City, Tenn.
Shackleford, Dorsey W	Jefferson City, Mo.
Shallenberger, Ashton C	Alma, Nebr.
Sherley, Swagar	Louisville, Ky.
Sherwood, Isaac R	Toledo, Ohio.
Shouse, Jouett	Kinsley, Kans.
Siegel, Isaac	New York City.
Sims, Thetus W	Linden, Tenn.
Sinnott, Nicholas J	The Dalles, Oreg.
Sisson, Thomas U	Winona, Miss.
Slayden, James L	San Antonio, Tex.
Slemp, C. Bascom	Big Stone Gap, Va.
Sloan, Charles H	Geneva, Nebr.
Small, John H	Washington, N. C.
Smith, Addison T	Twin Falls, Idaho.
Smith, Charles B	Buffalo, N. Y.
Smith, George R	Minneapolis, Minn.
Smith, J. M. C	Charlotte, Mich.
Smith, William R	El Paso, Tex.
Snell, Bertrand H	Potsdam, N. Y.
Snyder, Homer P	Little Falls, N. Y.
Sparkman, Stephen M	Tampa, Fla.
Stafford, William H	Milwaukee, Wis.
Steagall, Henry B	Ozark, Ala.
Stedman, Charles M	Greensboro, N. C.
Steele, Henry J	Easton, Pa.
Steele, Thomas J	Sioux City, Iowa.
Steenerson, Halvor	Crookston, Minn.
Stephens, Dan V	Fremont, Nebr.
Stephens, Hubert D	New Albany, Miss.
Stephens, John H	Wichita Falls, Tex.
Sterling, John A	Bloomington, Ill.
Stiness, Walter R	Warwick, R. I.
Stone, Claudius U	Peoria, Ill.
Stout, Tom	Lewistown, Mont.
Sulloway, Cyrus A	Manchester, N. H.
Sumners, Hatton W	Dallas, Tex.
Sutherland, Howard	Elkins, W. Va.
Sweet, Burton E	Waverly, Iowa.
Swift, Oscar W	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Switzer, Robert M	Gallipolis, Ohio.
Taggart, Joseph	Kansas City, Kans.
Tague, Peter F	Boston, Mass.
Talbott, J. Fred. C	Lutherville, Md.
Tavenner, Clyde H	Cordova, Ill.
Taylor, Edward T	Glenwood Springs, Colo.
Taylor, Samuel M	Pine Bluff, Ark.
Temple, Henry W	Washington, Pa.
Thomas, Robert Y., jr	Central City, Ky.
Thompson, Joseph B	Pauls Valley, Okla.
Tillman, John N	Fayetteville, Ark.
Tilson, John Q	New Haven, Conn.
Timberlake, Charles B	Sterling, Colo.
Tinkham, George Holden	Boston, Mass.
Towner, Horace M	Corning, Iowa.
Treadway, Allen T	Stockbridge, Mass.
Tribble, Samuel J.[2]	Athens, Ga.
Van Dyke, Carl C	St. Paul, Minn.
Vare, William S	Philadelphia, Pa.
Venable, William W	Meridian, Miss.
Vinson, Carl	Milledgeville, Ga.

[1] Elected in place of Samuel J. Tribble, deceased.

[2] Died December 8, 1916.

Names and post-office addresses of Members and Delegates of the House of Representatives—Continued

Name.	Home post office.	Name.	Home post office.
Volstead, Andrew J	Granite Falls, Minn.	Williams, Wm. Elza	Pittsfield, Ill.
Walker, J. Randall	Valdosta, Ga.	Wilson, Emmett	Pensacola, Fla.
Walsh, Joseph	New Bedford, Mass.	Wilson, Riley J	Harrisonburg, La.
Ward, Charles B	Debruce, N. Y.	Wilson, William W	Chicago, Ill.
Wason, Edward H	Nashua, N. H.	Wingo, Otis	De Queen, Ark.
Watkins, John T	Minden, La.	Winslow, Samuel E	Worcester, Mass.
Watson, Henry W	Langhorne, Pa,	Wise, James W	Fayetteville, Ga.
Watson, Walter A	Jennings Ordinary, Va.	Wood, William R	Lafayette, Ind.
Webb, Edwin Yates	Shelby, N. C.	Woods, Frank P	Estherville, Iowa.
Whaley, Richard S	Charleston, S. C.	Woodyard, Harry C.[1]	Spencer, W. Va.
Wheeler, Loren E	Springfield, Ill.	Young, George M	Valley City, N. Dak.
Williams, Seward H	Lorain, Ohio.	Young, James	Kaufman, Tex.
Williams, Thomas S	Louisville, Ill.		

[1] Elected in place of Hunter H. Moss, jr., deceased.

DELEGATES.

Kalanianaole, J. Kuhio	Waikiki, Hawaii.	Wickersham, James	Fairbanks, Alaska.

RESIDENT COMMISSIONER.

Earnshaw, Manuel	Manila, P. I.		

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ABBOTT, JOSEPH N., increase pension (see bill H. R. 18935).

ABBOTT, WILLIAM, increase pension (see bills S. 7569, 8113*).

ABEL, ROBERT C., increase pension (see bill H. R. 20891).

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Fazzi, Eugene (H. Rept. 1306), 1580.
Fleming, J. B. (H. Rept. 1483), 3320.
Fry, Wickliff (H. Rept. 1385), 2296.
Gilroy Winery & Distillery Co. (H. Rept. 1304), 1580.
Gladden, Andrew P. (H. Rept. 1486), 3320.
Grant, Henry P. (H. Rept. 1223), 462.
Hildebrand, Robert (H. Rept. 1298), 1517.
Holladay, Benjamin, deceased (H. Rept. 1295), 1517.
Hughes, George B. (H. Rept. 1482), 3319.
Ingalls, Frank S. (H. Rept. 1408), 2536.
Keys, William H. (H. Rept. 1334), 1874.
Knowles, Horace G. (H. Rept. 1312), 1580.
Kremers, E. D. (H. Rept. 1456), 3248.
Larkin, George T. (H. Rept. 1402), 2458.
Livingston, J. H. (H. Rept. 1383), 2296.
Lowary, A. J. (H. Rept. 1485), 3320.
McClintic-Marshall Construction Co. (H. Rept. 1409), 2536.
McCormick, Robert Laird, deceased (H. Rept. 1484), 3320.
Moore, James M. (H. Rept. 1311), 1580.
Navajo Timber Co., of Delaware (H. Rept. 1371), 2215.
Norton, Marcus P. (H. Rept. 1498), 3385.
Notley, Carrie A. (H. Rept. 1460), 3249.
Palmer, Albert K. C. (H. Rept. 1382), 2296.
Pickett, George E., 3d (H. Rept. 1294), 1517.
Pinkley, Frank (H. Rept. 1335), 1874.
Ream, Albert L. (H. Rept. 1388), 2296.
Refund of duties collected on flax-preparatory machines (H. Rept. 1309), 1580.
Reid, Robert (H. Rept. 1247), 725.
Ridley, Emma H. (H. Rept. 1389), 2296.

COMMITTEE ON CLAIMS (*House*)—Continued.
Reports by
Riverside Military Academy, Gainesville, Ga. (H. Rept. 1296), 1517.
Rockwell, Isabel E. (H. Rept. 1305), 1579.
Rose, W. L. (H. Rept. 1299), 1517.
Simpson, John (H. Rept. 1307), 1580.
Southern States Lumber Co. (H. Rept. 1490), 3320.
Stephens, Isaiah (H. Rept. 1458), 3248.
Stoppels, Janna (H. Rept. 1314), 1580.
Ten Broeck, Peter G. S., deceased (H. Rept. 1488), 3320.
Thomas, George L. (H. Rept. 1297), 1517.
Trujillo, Jose (H. Rept. 1502), 3465.
Watkins, Elizabeth Marsh (H. Rept. 1491), 3320.
Weaver, George F. (H. Rept. 1461), 3249.
Wood, William I. (H. Rept. 1338), 1874.
Wooster, William (H. Rept. 1407), 2536.

COMMITTEE ON CLAIMS (*Senate*).
Mr. Fernald appointed, 81.
Reports by
Akin, Joseph C., deceased (S. Rept. 1078), 3657.
Andrews, Alfred B. (S. Rept. 1105), 3964.
Berger, Joseph H. (S. Rept. 981), 1940.
Blair, William (S. Rept. 930), 1381.
Brickwood, John T., deceased (S. Rept. 981), 1940.
Brown, Adam and Noah, deceased (S. Rept. 1066), 3480.
Burgard, S. L. (S. Rept. 956), 1663.
Burns, Catherine (S. Rept. 1080), 3657.
Carey, Charles A. (S. Rept. 1099), 3657.
Carpenter, Frank (S. Rept. 927), 1381.
Casanega, Thomas D. (S. Rept. 981), 1940.
Claims for damages sustained by prairie fire on Rosebud Indian Reservation, S. Dak. (S. Rept. 1092), 3657.
Clark, Thomas R. (S. Rept. 1135), 4567.
Davenport, Harry (S. Rept. 1093), 3657.
Dent, Wilson M. (S. Rept. 1043), 3179.
Dickerman, Watson B. (S. Rept. 1094), 3657.
Fox, Catherine A. (S. Rept. 1098), 3657.
Gaynor, Edward (S. Rept. 981), 1940.
Gebler, Theodore (S. Rept. 981), 1940.
Gibbs, Adelaide L. (S. Rept. 1077), 3657.
Hudson Bros. (S. Rept. 1081), 3657.
Johnson, William E. (S. Rept. 932), 1381.
Kane, Clara (S. Rept. 1112), 4372.
Keating, John B. (S. Rept. 1095), 3657.
Landram, Louis (S. Rept. 1041), 3179.
Lusignan, Joseph de (S. Rept. 981), 1940.
Mayers, Mary C. (S. Rept. 1097), 3657.
Mix, Lee W. (S. Rept. 981), 1940.
Monteith, John R. (S. Rept. 980), 1940.
Moore, James M. (S. Rept. 1044), 3179.
Nicholas, Susan A., deceased (S. Rept. 1109), 4269.
Peck, Arthur L. (S. Rept. 981), 1940.
Portland Iron Works (S. Rept. 928), 1381.
Presleigh, W. H. (S. Rept. 1096), 3657.
Refunding excise taxes illegally collected from certain railroad companies (S. Rept. 954), 1663.
Riverside Military Academy (S. Rept. 1042), 3179.
Shaw, Frederick B. (S. Rept. 1103), 3782.
Sibley, Henry H., deceased (S. Rept. 926), 1381.
Ten Broeck, Peter G. S., deceased (S. Rept. 950), 1584.
Thomas, George L. (S. Rept. 931), 1381.
Watkins, Elizabeth Marsh (S. Rept. 929), 1381.
Way, Charles M. (S. Rept. 1079), 3657.
Women's Board of Domestic Missions, Reformed Church in America, Fort Sill, Okla. (S. Rept. 957), 1663.

COMMITTEE ON CLERICAL ASSISTANCE TO SENATORS (*Senate*).
Appointed, 2105.

COMMITTEE ON COAST DEFENSES (*Senate*).
Mr. Fernald appointed, 81.

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE (*Senate*).
Mr. Fletcher appointed chairman, 16.
Mr. Kirby appointed, 205.
Mr. Oliver excused, 15.
Mr. Watson appointed, 81.
Reports by
Bridges: Allegheny River, Pa. (S. Repts. 902, 903, 904), 988, 989.
——— Arkansas River (S. Rept. 1017), 2822.
——— Cumberland River, Tenn. (S. Repts. 1030, 1031), 3062.
——— Delaware River (S. Repts. 876, 959), 365, 1730.
——— Flint River, Ga. (S. Rept. 1033), 3062.
——— Fox River, Ill. (S. Rept. 1048), 3183.
——— Mahoning River (bill S. 7556), 940.
——— Mississippi River (S. Repts. 985, 986, 1010, 1087), 2158, 2159, 2613, 3658.
——— Nanticoke River, Del. (S. Rept. 901), 988.
——— Pearl River, Miss. (S. Rept. 1071), 3577.
——— Potomac River (bill S. 8090), 2302.
——— Red Lake River, Minn. (S. Rept. 1032), 3062.
——— Red River, La. (S. Rept. 1051), 3183.
——— Red River, Tex. (S. Rept. 1072), 3576.
——— Red River of the North (S. Rept. 1049), 3183.
——— Rock River, Wis. (S. Rept. 1085), 3658.
——— St. Francis River, Ark. (S. Repts. 874, 893, 1086), 204, 789, 3658.
——— Tallapoosa River, Ala. (S. Rept. 1050), 3183.
Carriage of passengers on steam vessels (S. Rept. 923), 1321.
Charles L. Hutchinson, steamer (S. Rept. 1075), 3576.
Coast Guard (S. Repts. 894, 895), 827.
Floods of Mississippi and Sacramento Rivers (S. Rept. 891), 669.
Fred G. Hartwell, steamer (S. Rept. 1131), 4568.
Harry A. Berwind, steamer (S. Rept. 1132), 4567.
Life-Saving Service (S. Rept. 896), 827.
Marine-hospital property at Chicago, Ill. (S. Rept. 1107), 3985.
Reiss Steamship Co. (bills S. 7779, 7780, 7781, 7782; S. Repts. 941, 942, 943, 944), 1522.
River and harbor appropriation bill (S. Rept. 1020), 2980, 3181.
Steamboat inspection at Tampa, Fla. (bill S. 8079), 2822.
United States Shipping Board (S. Rept. 1106), 3985.

COMMITTEE ON CORPORATIONS ORGANIZED IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (*Senate*).
Mr. Kirby appointed, 317.

COMMITTEE ON DISPOSITION OF USELESS EXECUTIVE PAPERS (*Joint*).
Resolution assigning clerk to (see H. Res. 383*).
Resolution to allow them to employ a messenger (see H. Res. 382*).
Reports by
Useless papers in Interior, Labor, and Post Office Departments (H. Repts. 1542, 1543), 3999.
Useless papers in Treasury Department (H. Rept. 1637), 5021.

COMMITTEE ON DISPOSITION OF USELESS PAPERS IN EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS (*Senate*).
Mr. Kirby appointed, 205.

COMMITTEE ON THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (*House*).
Authorized to sit during sessions of House, 1978.
Resolution authorizing them to continue certain investigations (see H. Res. 518*).
Reports by
Alcoholic liquor traffic (H. Rept. 1575), 4465.
Court fines in United States cases in District of Columbia (H. Rept. 1622), 4856.
Extortion (H. Rept. 1571), 4465.
Thomson, Lillie M. (H. Dept. 1570), 4465.
Wolfsteiner, Otto L. (H. Rept. 1570), 4465.

COMMITTEE ON THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (*Senate*).
Reports by
Cemetery of White's Tabernacle (S. Rept. 1129), 4566.
Keller, Thomas W. and Alice N. (S. Rept. 921), 1247.
Permits to committee on inaugural ceremonies (H. J. Res. 358; S. Rept. 1009), 2610.
Register of wills (S. Rept. 922), 1247.
Retirement of public-school teachers (S. Rept. 1064), 3407.
Yoder, S. S. (S. Rept. 920), 1247.

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR (*Senate*).
Reports by
Woman's division, Department of Labor (S. Rept. 897), 827.

COMMITTEE ON ELECTION OF PRESIDENT, VICE PRESIDENT, AND REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS (*House*).
Mr. Rucker elected, 1579.

COMMITTEE ON ELECTIONS NO. 1 (*House*).
Reports by
Donovan *v.* Hill (H. Res. 515), 3698.

COMMITTEE ON ELECTIONS NO. 3 (*House*).
Reports by
Brown *v.* Hicks (H. Res. 462; H. Rept. 1326), 1756.
Cantor *v.* Siegel (H. Res. 461; H. Rept. 1325), 1756.

COMMITTEE ON ENROLLED BILLS (*House*).
Resolution assigning session clerk to (see H. Res. 383*).
Resolution to allow them to employ additional assistant clerks (see H. Res. 511*).

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE (*House*).
Resolution assigning clerk to (see H. Res. 382*).

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE (*Senate*).
Mr. Kirby appointed chairman, 205.

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE (*House*).
Mr. Venable excused, 800.
Resolution assigning clerk to (see H. Res. 382*).

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE (*Senate*).
Mr. Chilton appointed, 317.

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE (*House*).
Resolution assigning clerk to (see H. Res. 382*).

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR (*House*).
Resolution assigning clerk to (see H. Res. 382*).

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE INTERIOR DEPARTMENT (*House*).
Resolution assigning clerk to (see H. Res. 382*).

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE NAVY DEPARTMENT (*House*).
Mr. Benedict elected, 147.
Mr. Loud excused, 146.
Resolution assigning clerk to (see H. Res. 382*).

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT (*House*).
Resolution assigning clerk to (see H. Res. 382*).

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT (*House*).
Resolution assigning clerk to (see H. Res. 382*).

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT (*House*).
Mr. Bowers elected, 147.
Resolution assigning clerk to (see H. Res. 382*).

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE WAR DEPARTMENT (*House*).
Resolution assigning clerk to (see H. Res. 382*).

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS (*House*).
Resolution assigning clerk to (see H. Res. 382*).
Reports by
Compensation of stationary firemen employed in public buildings (H. Rept. 1369), 2215.

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE (*Senate*).
Reports by
Adams Express Co. (S. Rept. 1055), 3354.
Bureau of War Risk Insurance (S. Rept. 1057), 3407.
Conservation of alcohol in the manufacture of dealcoholized fermented beverages (S. Rept. 1058), 3407.
Corlett, Meredith G. (S. Rept. 1063), 3407.
Farmers and Merchants' Bank, Headland, Ala. (S. Rept. 1061), 3408.
Fermenting tubs in sweet-mash and sour-mash distilleries (S. Rept. 1076), 3576.
Importation of seed, grain, and flaxseed (S. Rept. 1100), 3781.
Refund of duties illegally collected on acetate of lime (S. Rept. 999), 2158.
Refund of duties collected on field kitchens presented to certain regiments of Massachusetts Militia (S. Rept. 1060), 3407.
Revenue bill (H. R. 20573; S. Rept. 1039), 3179, 3748.

COMMITTEE ON FISHERIES (*Senate*).
Mr. Fernald appointed, 81.
Reports by
Fish-hatching and fish-cultural stations in the various States (S. Rept. 911), 1106.

COMMITTEE ON THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES OF INDIANS (*Senate*).
Mr. Owen appointed, 422.

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS (*House*).
Reports by
Arming of merchant ships of United States (H. Rept. 1594), 4563.
Danish West Indies (H. Rept. 1505), 3544.
D'Erlanger, Marguerite Mathilde Slidell (H. Rept. 1504), 3545.
Diplomatic and consular appropriation bill (H. Rept. 1245), 664.
Embassy, legation, and consular buildings abroad (H. Rept. 1332), 1802.
Indemnities to Austria-Hungary, Greece, and Turkey (H. Rept. 1497), 3385.
Migratory birds (H. Rept. 1430), 2726.
Niagara River (H. Repts. 1236, 1292), 665, 1449.
Ruthenians (H. Rept. 1422), 2659.
Tenth International Congress of the World's Purity Federation (H. Rept. 1421), 2659.

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS (*Senate*).
Mr. Shields appointed, 205.
Reports by
Arming of merchant ships of United States (bill S. 8322), 4566.
Authenticity of the Zimmermann note (S. Res. 379), 4592.
Government for the West India Islands (bill S. 8256), 3467.
Malambo fire claims (S. Rept. 1019), 2822.
Monument at Thorold, Canada (S. Con. Res. 29; S. Rept. 1016), 2821.
Niagara River (S. Rept. 886; S. J. Res. 218), 583, 4566.
Purchase of the Danish West Indies (bill H. R. 20755), 3687.
Ruthenians (S. Rept. 1013), 2751.
World's Purity Federation (H. J. Res. 334), 4782.

COMMITTEE ON FOREST RESERVATIONS AND THE PROTECTION OF GAME (*Senate*).
Mr. Oliver appointed chairman, 422.

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION (*Senate*).
Reports by
Beech, Joseph (S. Rept. 1037), 3062.
Bureau of Naturalization (amendment), 3062.
D'Erlanger, Marguerite Mathilde Slidell (S. Rept. 1036), 3062.
Dosker, Henry E. (S. J. Res. 215), 3658.

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION (*House*).
Reports by
Beech, Joseph (H. Rept. 1438), 2726.
Expatriation of citizens (H. Rept. 1436), 2726.

COMMITTEE ON INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT OF UNITED STATES (*Joint*).
Members on part of Senate appointed, 151.

COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS (*House*).
Mr. Hastings elected, 3909.
Mr. Murray excused, 3909.
Mr. Venable excused, 800.
Reports by
Agricultural entries of coal lands in Indian reservations (H. Rept. 1363), 2102.
Bridge across San Juan River, N. Mex. (H. Rept. 1246), 725.
Cherokee Indians (H. Rept. 1284), 1317.
Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indian Reservations in Oklahoma (H. Rept. 1324), 1725.
Extending time for payment of deferred installments due on purchase of tracts of surface of segregated coal and asphalt lands of the Chickasaw and Choctaw Indians in Oklahoma (H. Rept. 1219), 417.
Forest Grove, Oreg. (H. Rept. 1290), 1377.
Indian appropriation bill (H. Rept. 1208), 146.
Klamath River Indian Reservation (H. Rept. 1360), 2102.
Medawakamton and Wahpakoota Bands of Sioux Indians (H. Rept. 1225), 462.
Osage Indian School, Okla. (H. Rept. 1220), 417.
Osage Indians (H. Rept. 1227), 462.
Roads, trails, and bridges on Indian reservations (H. Rept. 1399), 2458.
Warm Springs Indian Reservation, Oreg. (H. Rept. 1302), 1579.

COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS (*Senate*).
Authorized to sit during sessions of Senate; agreed to, 2359.
Mr. Fernald appointed, 81.
Mr. Page excused, 81.
Reports by
Boucher, F. C. X. (S. Rept. 924), 1322.
Cherokee Indians (S. Rept. 949; bills S. 7758, 7759), 1584.
Chippewa Indians (S. Repts. 925, 1088), 1381, 3657.
Cluff, Alfred, and others (S. Rept. 1022), 2930.
Disposal of coal and mineral deposits in Indian lands (S. Rept. 882), 530.
Extending time of payment of deferred installments due on certain surface lands in Oklahoma (S. Repts. 888, 889), 586, 592.

COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS (*Senate*)—Continued.
Reports by
Fast Walker, D. K. How, and Not Afraid of Bear (S. Rept. 1011), 2613.
Flanigan, John (S. Rept. 1136), 4717.
Fort Berthold Indian Reservation (S. Rept. 1130), 4568.
Hoover, John B. (S. Rept. 879), 421.
Indian appropriation bill (S. Rept. 962), 1806.
Merrill, Ivy L. (S. Rept. 909), 1067.
Mining for metalliferous minerals on Indian reservations (S. Rept. 880), 421.
Osage Indians (S. Rept. 952), 1663.
Purchasers of lands in former Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indian Reservation, Okla. (S. Rept. 908), 1067.
Stuart, Lewis, Gordon & Rutherford (bill H. R. 10872; S. Rept. 1118), 4372.
Winton *v.* Amos (S. Rept. 916), 1106.
Woods, William H. (S. Rept. 913), 1108.

COMMITTEE ON INDIAN DEPREDATIONS (*Senate*).
Mr. Watson appointed, 81.

COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL ARTS AND EXPOSITIONS (*House*).
Mr. Venable excused, 800.
Reports by
Exhibit of activities of the Government service (H. Rept. 1364), 2145.

COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL EXPOSITIONS (*Senate*).
Reports by
Exhibit of activities of the Government service in the District of Columbia (S. J. Res. 182), 940.

COMMITTEE ON INTEROCEANIC CANALS (*Senate*).
Mr. Kirby appointed, 205.
Reports by
Panama Canal Tolls (S. Rept. 1015), 2822.

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE (*House*).
Reports by
Bridges: Allegheny River, Pa. (H. Repts. 1258, 1259, 1260).
——— Arkansas River (H. Rept. 1381), 2295.
——— Cumberland River, Tenn. (H. Repts. 1255, 1256), 984.
——— Delaware River (H. Repts. 1217, 1323), 417, 1658.
——— Flint River, Ga. (H. Rept. 1377), 2295.
——— Fox River, Ill. (H. Rept. 1437), 2726.
——— Mahoning River, Ohio (H. Rept. 1303), 1579.
——— Mississippi River (H. Repts. 1263, 1410, 1500), 985, 2592, 3465.
——— Nanticoke River, Del. (H. Rept. 1265), 985.
——— Pearl River (H. Rept. 1320), 1658.
——— Potomac River (H. Rept. 1379), 2295.
——— Red Lake River, Minn. (H. Rept. 1262), 985.
——— Red River, La. (H. Rept. 1261), 985.
——— Red River, Tex. (H. Rept. 1601), 4712.
——— Red River of the North (H. Rept. 1212), 198.
——— Rock River, Wis. (H. Rept. 1501), 3465.
——— St. Francis River, Ark. H. Repts. 1211, 1257, 1264), 198, 984, 985.
——— Tallapoosa River, Ala. (H. Rept. 1210), 198.
Bureau of war-risk insurance (H. Rept. 1378), 2295.
Car service (H. Rept. 1553), 4242.
Coast Guard cutters (H. Rept. 1221), 417.
Commandeering of railroads and telegraph and telephone lines in time of war (H. Rept. 1434), 2726.
Joint Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce (H. Repts. 1251, 1269), 935.
Lighthouse Service (H. Rept. 1272), 1156.
Marine-hospital site at Chicago, Ill. (H. Rept. 1511), 3734.
Mediation of labor controversies (H. Rept. 1434), 2726.
Ollala Slough, Oreg. (H. Rept. 1380), 2295.
Public Health Service (H. Rept. 1229), 527.

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE (*Joint*).
Amendment in Senate making appropriation for, 4483.
Joint resolutions to continue (see S. J. Res. 190*; H. J. Res. 323*, 331.)
Mr. Doremus appointed in House, 4786.
Reports by
Extension of time of making investigation and report (S. Doc. 668; H. Rept. 1267), 1001, 1043.

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE COMMERCE (*Senate*).
Reports by
Commandeering of railroads and telegraph and telephone lines in time of war (bill S. 8201; S. Rept. 1025), 2980.
Export trade (S. Rept. 1056), 3406.
Joint Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce (S. J. Res. 190), 899.
Municipally owned interstate railways (S. Rept. 1034), 3063.

COMMITTEE ON INVALID PENSIONS (*House*).
Resolution assigning an assistant clerk to (see H. Res. 383*).
Resolution providing for pay for examiner detailed from the Pension Bureau to (see H. Res. 489).
Reports by
Proof of widowhood in claims for pension (H. Rept. 1333), 1874.
Specified pension cases (H. Repts. 1206, 1271, 1346, 1441, 1510, 1534). 77, 1156, 1935, 2892, 3734, 3959.

COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE ALLEGED INACCURACIES IN CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (*House*).
Appointed, 2127.
Report of (H. Res. 473), 4947.

COMMITTEE ON IRRIGATION OF ARID LANDS (*House*).
Reports by
Hiersche, Anton (H. Rept. 1393), 2357.

COMMITTEE ON IRRIGATION AND RECLAMATION OF ARID LANDS (*Senate*).
Reports by
Irrigation and drainage rights of way (S. Rept. 1054), 3254.
Oregon (S. Rept. 1023), 2930.
Rights of way for irrigation and drainage (S. Rept. 1028), 3061.

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY (*House*).
Mr. Walsh elected, 147.
Order of House authorizing certain members to file minority views on House joint resolution No. 1, relating to woman suffrage, agreed to, 461.
Resolution assigning an additional assistant clerk to (see H. Res. 383*).
Reports by
Actions for death on the high seas (H. Rept. 1419), 2659.
Alcoholic liquor traffic (H. Rept. 1493), 3319, 3355.
Binder-twine monopoly (H. Rept. 1494), 3320.
Early County, Ga. (H. Rept. 1226), 462.
Espionage (H. Repts. 1449, 1591), 3049, 4563.
Exportation of arms and munitions of war to Mexico (H. Rept. 1300), 1494.
Federal Reserve Board (H. Rept. 1628), 4953.
Food products (H. Rept. 1241), 665.
Fraudulent use of seal of the Government (H. Rept. 1425), 2660.
Jurors in United States courts (H. Rept. 1322), 1658.
Longevity-pay claims of Army officers (H. Repts. 1403, 1592), 2458, 4563.
Michigan (H. Rept. 1418), 2659.
Mississippi (H. Rept. 1519), 3854.
Montana (H. Rept. 1310), 1579.
National-defense secrets (H. Rept. 1427), 2660.
Penitentiaries at Atlanta, Ga., and Leavenworth, Kans. (H. Rept. 1424), 2660.
Probation system (H. Rept. 1353), 2022.
Regulating conduct of vessels in ports and waters of United States in case of actual or threatened war (H. Rept. 1496), 3385.
Retirement of judges (H. Rept. 1252), 935.
Suits of States against United States (H. Rept. 1444), 2892.
Superintendent and wardens of prisons (H. Rept. 1518), 3854.
Texas (H. Repts. 1243, 1394), 666, 2357.
Trusts (H. Rept. 1319), 1658.
Wichita Falls, Tex. (H. Rept. 1277), 1239.
Willful injury of vessels, cargoes, or persons (H. Rept. 1426), 2660.
Woman suffrage (H. Rept. 1216), 417.

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY (*Senate*).
Reports by
Additional judges for Supreme Court and Court of Appeals of District of Columbia (bill H. R. 5788), 4372.
Alcoholic liquor traffic (S. J. Res. 55), 669.
American National Red Cross (bill H. R. 14426), 3657.
Bankruptcy (bill H. R. 12195), 3675.
Captured and abandoned property (bill H. R. 8033), 3061.
Commerce court (bill S. 6843), 532.
Common-law procedure (S. Rept. 892), 730, 2158.
Grand juries (bill H. R. 20209), 2158.
Iowa (S. Rept. 963), 1806.
Kanawha Packet Co. (bill S. 6632), 1382.
Longevity pay claims of Army officers (bill S. 6286), 3061.
Michigan (bill H. R. 19233), 4864.
Mississippi (bill S. 457), 3063.
National McKinley Birthplace Memorial Association (bill S. 8222), 3576.
Neutrality (bills S. 6793, 6794, 6795, 6796, 6797, 6798, 6799, 6811, 6812, 6813, 6815, 6816, 6819, 8148), 2819.
New trials in United States courts (bill S. 7447), 1381.
Oklahoma (bill H. R. 14471), 3062.
Pine timber in Minnesota (bill S. 5617), 634.
Probation system (S. Rept. 887; bill H. R. 20414), 586, 4373.
Prohibiting manufacture or counterfeiting of money or securities of an unrecognized government (bill S. 6814), 4566.
Rhode Island (bill H. R. 10110), 4567.
Superintendent and wardens of United States prisons (bill S. 7561), 1382.
Tennessee (S. Rept. 998), 2160.
Texas (S. Rept. 960), 1806.
Threats against the President of the United States (bill H. R. 15314), 2667.
Trusts (S. J. Res. 206), 3861.

COMMITTEE ON LABOR (*House*).
Reports by
Investigation of wages and labor conditions in the coal-mining industry (H. Rept. 1435), 2726.
Woman's division, Department of Labor (H. Rept. 1205), 33.

COMMITTEE ON LIBRARY (*House*).
Reports by
Chaille-Long, Charles (H. Rept. 1521), 3854.
Dupont, Samuel F. (H. Rept. 1376), 2295.
Memorial to Clara Barton (H. Rept. 1512), 3734.
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COMMITTEE ON LIBRARY (*Senate*).
Reports by
National Society of United States Daughters of 1812 (H. J. Res. 230), 2611.
Papers relating to death of George Washington (S. Res. 297), 2611.
Portrait of Joseph Henry (S. Res. 334), 2611.
Statue of James Buchanan (S. Rept. 881), 490.
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COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES (*House*).
Mr. Benedict elected, 147.
Mr. Bowers elected, 147.
Mr. Curry excused, 146.
Mr. Loud excused, 146.
Reports by
Charles L. Hutchinson—steamer (H. Rept. 1533), 3958.
Fish-cultural station in Lincoln County, Tenn. (H. Rept. 1218), 417.
Fred G. Hartwell—steamer (H. Rept. 1598), 4712.
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Harry A. Berwind—steamer (H. Rept. 1599), 4712.
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COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS (*House*).
Mr. Harrison of Virginia elected, 147.
Newspaper articles reflecting upon certain members of, 2864.
Resolution authorizing them to prepare an index of the hearings on the Army appropriation bill (see H. Res. 399*).
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Altman, Clyde R. (H. Rept. 1390), 2296.
Anderson, James (H. Rept. 1559), 4367.
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Baker, Charles Lee (H. Rept. 1321), 1658.
Campbell, Thomas (H. Rept. 1374), 2296.
Carroll, William M. (H. Rept. 1569), 4465.
Eastman, Gardiner L. (H. Rept. 1343), 1875.
Fort George Wright, Wash. (H. Rept. 1589), 4563.
Georgia (H. Rept. 1492), 3319.
Gordon, Americus A. (H. Rept. 1565), 4367.
Gorman, Joseph (H. Rept. 1554), 4242.
Graham, Mary Elizabeth (H. Rept. 1604), 4712.
Griffa, Charles G. (H. Rept. 1391), 2296.
Haff, Stephen J. (H. Rept. 1336), 1874.
Hannan, Sylvester (H. Rept. 1328), 1802.
Hyatt, Allen (H. Rept. 1349), 1935.
Johnson, Edward (H. Rept. 1603), 4712.
Jones, William E. (H. Rept. 1605), 4712.
Kelly, John F. (H. Rept. 1564), 4367.
Kenney, Peter (H. Rept. 1342), 1875.
Kidd, John H. (H. Rept. 1558), 4367.
Knight, Oscar (H. Rept. 1602), 4712.
Lawton, Wilbur F. (H. Rept. 1574), 4466.
Lynch, Charles (H. Rept. 1331), 1802.
Metcalf, Wallace (H. Rept. 1555), 4242.
Military Academy appropriation bill (H. Rept. 1452), 3132.
Mullins, Nancy E. (H. Rept. 1516), 3854.
National Home for Disabled Volunteers (H. Rept. 1420), 2659.
Nice, Jacob (H. Rept. 1583), 4563.
O'Mara, John L. (H. Rept. 1563), 4367.
Parmer, Martin V. (H. Rept. 1341), 1875.
Right of way through Presidio Military Reservation for a storm-water relief sewer (H. Rept. 1253), 935.
Rockwell, Lester A. (H. Rept. 1573), 4465.
Sarber, William O. (H. Rept. 1327), 1802.
Scrivener, Asbury (H. Rept. 1340), 1875.
Sewell, Reuben (H. Rept. 1348), 1935.
Shay, John C. (H. Rept. 1439), 2807.
Solomon, Winfield S. (H. Rept. 1557), 4367.
Swartzwelder, John A. (H. Rept. 1590), 4563.
Transfer of retired Army officers to the active list (H. Rept. 1431), 2726.

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS (*Senate*).
Authorized to sit during sessions of Senate, agreed to, 2298.
Mr. Kirby appointed, 205.
Reports by
Aber, Caleb (S. Rept. 993), 2158.
Aldworth, Arthur R. (S. Rept. 1035), 3062.
Anderson, James (S. Rept. 914), 1107.
Army appropriation bill (S. Rept. 1126), 4482.
Atherton, Francis M. (S. Rept. 990), 2158.
Betterton-Morgan Co., Inc. (S. Rept. 915), 1107.
Buffington, Benjamin R. (bill H. R. 5182; S. Rept. 1123), 4372.
Campbell, James (bill H. R. 5386), 530.
Carr, S. Spencer (S. Rept. 1008), 2610.
Carson, Esau (bill S. 5187), 2980.
Chateau, Frederick (bill H. R. 5318), 530.
Clark, Charles M. (S. Rept. 992), 2158.
Copp, P. V. (S. Rept. 996), 2158.
Corwin, John (bill S. 7154), 2158.
De Witt, Sarah (bill S. 7157), 530.
Doyle, John, alias John Geary (S. Rept. 989), 2158.
Exchange of lands with Territory of Hawaii (S. Rept. 877), 421.
Fitzgerald, John (bill S. 4008), 3576.
Fort George Wright, Wash. (bill S. 6133; S. Rept. 987), 2159.
Gaskill, Hays (bill H. R. 5948; S. Rept. 1124), 4372.
Georgia (S. Rept. 1029), 3062.
Gloster, James (S. Rept. 988), 2158.
Gordon, Americus A. (S. Rept. 1027), 2980.
Hayden, Allen (S. Rept. 995), 2158.
Hess, Henry von (bill S. 5096), 4372.
Holland, Caleb T. (S. Rept. 984), 2026.
Huntington, James S. (bill S. 6638), 2751.
Jennings, Robert B. (bill S. 7811), 2980.
Johnston, William M. (bill S. 7071), 2751.
Jones, Thomas M. (S. Rept. 872), 13.
Kellogg, Washington (S. Rept. 1070), 3576.
Kelly, John F. (S. Rept. 912), 1106.
Kenesaw Memorial Association of Illinois (S. Rept. 878), 421.
Kidd, John H. (S. Rept. 983), 2026.
Lawton, Wilbur F. (S. Rept. 906), 1067.
Le Clear, George (S. Rept. 1053), 3254.
Lloyd, Edward (bill S. 7370), 2158.
Lung, William H. (bill S. 4011), 2158.
McGuire, James R. (S. Rept. 1127), 4566.
Mattler, Francis J. (bill S. 4032), 2158.
Maus, L. Mervin (S. Rept. 1040), 3179.
Military Academy appropriation bill (S. Rept. 1141), 4863.
Military and naval training of citizen forces of United States (S. Rept. 1024), 2980.
Milliman, Curtis V. (S. Rept. 1062), 3407.
Minahan, John, alias John Bagley (S. Rept. 1128), 4566.
Mitchell, Joseph J. (S. Rept. 1065), 3480.
Morrison, George L. (S. Rept. 1012), 2751.
National defense (S. Rept. 1069), 3576.
National Home for Disabled Volunteers (H. J. Res. 335), 4566.
National military park on battle field of Guilford Courthouse, N. C. (bill H. R. 8229), 2612.
National military parks in Tennessee (bill S. 379), 4372.
Orange, James (bill S. 971), 2980.
Potter, William R. (bill S. 5135), 2158.
Purdell, Thomas (S. Rept. 994), 2158.
Purnell, Isaac (bill S. 2744), 3576.
Salmon Bay (Wash.) boundary line (S. Rept. 915), 1107.
San Francisco, Cal., storm-water relief sewer (S. Rept. 979), 1940.

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS (*Senate*)—Continued.
Reports by
Scrivener, Asbury (S. Rept. 1067), 3576.
Simpson, Stephen J. (S. Rept. 883), 530.
Solomon, Winfield S. (S. Rept. 982), 2026.
Steward, William A. (S. Rept. 997), 2158.
Stoppels, Janna (S. Rept. 1068), 3576.
Winchell, Stephen A. (bill S. 5204), 3480.
Winstanley, William Thomas (S. Rept. 991), 2158.
Young, Harvey H. (S. Rept. 873), 137.

COMMITTEE ON MINES AND MINING (*House*).
Mr. Wingo elected, 680.
Reports by
Fuel for the executive departments (H. Rept. 1372), 4465.
Statistics of crude petroleum (H. Rept. 1330), 1802.

COMMITTEE ON MINES AND MINING (*Senate*).
Reports by
Mining claims owned by National Guardsmen in service of United States (S. Rept. 1134), 4567.

COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS (*House*).
Mr. Loud elected, 147.
Mr. Venable elected, 680.
Reports by
Naval appropriation bill (H. Rept. 1392), 2294, 2409.

COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS (*Senate*).
Reports by
Additional pay to enlisted men who serve as coal heavers (S. Rept. 936), 1479.
Authorizing certain officers to administer oaths (S. Rept. 935), 1479.
Beale, Joseph (bill S. 7742), 1331.
Counterfeiting certificates of discharge (S. Rept. 934), 1479.
Examinations of officers for promotion (S. Repts. 938, 939), 1479.
Hill, William Lowell (S. Rept. 946), 1584.
Naval appropriation bill (S. Rept. 1101), 3782.
Naval Reserve (S. Rept. 937), 1479.
Penal laws (S. Rept. 940), 1479.

COMMITTEE ON PACIFIC ISLANDS AND PORTO RICO (*Senate*).
Mr. Fernald appointed, 81.

COMMITTEE ON PACIFIC RAILROADS (*Senate*).
Mr. Gallinger excused, 81.
Mr. Kirby appointed, 317.
Mr. Watson appointed, 81.

COMMITTEE ON PATENTS (*House*).
Mr. Venable excused, 800.
Reports by
United Daughters of the Confederacy of Virginia (H. Rept. 1344), 1935.
United States Daughters of 1812 (H. Rept. 1361), 2102.

COMMITTEE ON PATENTS (*Senate*).
Mr. Kirby appointed, 205.
Resolution to allow them to send for persons and papers, administer oaths, employ stenographer, and sit during sessions or recess of Senate (see S. Res. 356*).
Reports by
Patents (bill H. R. 12716), 4372.

COMMITTEE ON PENSIONS (*House*).
Mr. Murray excused, 2213.
Mr. Thompson elected, 2725.
Reports by
Specified pension cases (H. Repts. 1351, 1442, 1522, 1532), 2022, 2892, 3854, 3958.

COMMITTEE ON PENSIONS (*Senate*).
Mr. Hollis appointed, 205.
Reports by
Funston, Edith Blankart (bill S. 8316), 4373.
Gately, Margaret (S. Rept. 899), 989.
Kerr, Dennis M. (amendment), 4372.
Mullins, Nancy E. (bill H. R. 18566), 4566.
Pension appropriation bill (S. Rept. 1110), 4269.
Specified pension cases (S. Repts. 884, 885, 1005, 1006, 1007, 1073, 1074, 1089, 1090, 1091), 530, 531, 2462, 2463, 2609, 3577, 3578, 3658, 3659, 3660.

COMMITTEE ON PNEUMATIC TUBES (*Joint*).
Appointed, 4926, 5009, 5032.

COMMITTEE ON THE POST OFFICE AND POST ROADS (*House*).
Reports by
Authorizing Postmaster General to fix prices for certain supplies (H. Rept. 1404), 2536.
Deferring operation of act prohibiting use of the mails for transmission of liquor advertisements (H. Rept. 1586), 4562.
Excepting certain persons from operation of act prohibiting use of the mails for transmission of liquor advertisements (H. Rept. 1585), 4562.
Payment of salaries of post-office clerks and letter carriers (H. Rept. 1545), 4064.
Post Office appropriation bill (H. Rept. 1249), 748.
Prohibiting use of the mails for promotion of alcoholic liquor traffic (H. Rept. 1275), 1239.
Reestablishment of second and third class post offices (H. Rept. 1423), 2660.
Special canceling die for postmaster at Lamar, Colo. (H. Rept. 1274), 1156.
Special canceling die for postmaster at St. Paul, Minn. (H. Rept. 1279), 1239.
Special canceling die for postmaster at Wichita, Kans. (H. Rept. 1531), 3958.

COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICES AND POST ROADS (*Senate*).
Authorized to sit during sessions of Senate, agreed to, 2359.
Reports by
Authorizing Postmaster General to fix prices of supplies for the Post Office Department (S. Rept. 953), 1663.
Barfield, F. M. (S. Rept. 948), 1584.
Bingham, John A. (S. Rept. 1117), 4372.
Carey, Charles A. (bill H. R. 13754), 3576.
Crawford, Mrs. W. E. (S. Rept. 1116), 4372.
Grace, George H. (S. Rept. 917), 1162.

COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICES AND POST ROADS (*Senate*)—Continued.
Reports by
Grant, Henry P. (S. Rept. 1047), 3179.
Huso, Albert T. (S. Rept. 1115), 4372.
Le Roy, Charles, deceased (S. Rept. 1113), 4372.
Overocker, W. H. (S. Rept. 1114), 4372.
Patterson, J. B. (S. Rept. 1119), 4372.
Post Office appropriation bill (S. Rept. 1021), 2930.
Prat, Joseph A. (S. Rept. 947), 1584.
Prohibiting use of the mails for promotion of alcoholic liquor traffic (S. Rept. 890), 634.
Schultz, F. W. (S. Rept. 918), 1162.
Special canceling die for postmaster at Lamar, Colo. (S. Rept. 1120), 4372.
Special canceling die for postmaster at Southbridge, Mass. (S. Rept. 1122), 4372.
Special canceling die for postmaster at Wichita, Kans. (S. Rept. 1121), 4372.

COMMITTEE ON PRINTING (*House*).
Mr. Gandy appointed, 4920.
Reports by
Biographical Congressional Directory (H. Con. Res. 23; H. Rept. 1479), 3247.
Car-supply investigation (H. Res. 464; H. Rept. 1468), 3243.
Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railway Co. investigation (H. Res. 227; H. Rept. 1465), 3244.
Digest of contested-election cases (H. Con. Res. 70; H. Rept. 1445), 2941.
Gasoline engines (H. Rept. 1552), 4151.
Immigration law (H. Rept. 1551), 4151.
Journal of Grand Army of Republic (H. Con. Res. 65; H. Rept. 1446), 2942.
Moore's Digest of International Law (H. Con. Res. 31; H. Rept. 1447), 2941.
Navigation laws (H. Res. 150; H. Rept. 1480), 3244.
Ocean shipping (H. Res. 294; H. Rept. 1466), 3244.
Pulp and paper mill (H. Rept. 1244), 666.
Railway strikes and lockouts (H. Res. 438; H. Rept. 1467), 3244.
Soil Survey of the Biloxi Area, Mississippi (H. Res. 14; H. Rept. 1469), 3244.
Soil Survey of Bryan County, Okla. (H. Res. 102; H. Rept. 1470), 3245.
Soil Survey of Chesterfield County, S. C. (H. Res. 267; H. Rept. 1475), 3246.
Soil Survey of Decatur County, Ga. (H. Res. 379; H. Rept. 1476), 3246.
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Soil Survey of Madison County, Ala. (H. Res. 231; H. Rept. 1473), 3246.
Soil Survey of New Orleans Area, Louisiana (H. Res. 263; H. Rept. 1474), 3246.
Soil Survey of Northeastern Pennsylvania (H. Res. 460; H. Rept. 1478), 3246.
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Statue of Thaddeus Kosciusko (H. Con. Res. 58; H. Rept. 1464), 3244.
Statue of Casimir Pulaski (H. Con. Res. 59; H. Rept. 1463), 3244.

COMMITTEE ON PRINTING (*Joint*).
Remarks in House relative to continuing service of members until their successors have been elected, 456.

COMMITTEE ON PRINTING (*Senate*).
Mr. Chilton appointed chairman, 205.
Mr. Fletcher excused, 15.
Resolution authorizing an investigation relative to conservation of print paper (see S. Res. 290*).
Reports by
Absentee voting (S. Res. 304; S. Doc. 659), 789.
Address by Judge A. Z. Blair (S. Res. 378), 4269.
Address by Robert R. Prentis (S. Res. 293; S. Doc. 639), 421.
Biological and Sociological Aspects of the Woman Question (S. Res. 337; S. Doc. 692), 2301.
Correspondence with a foreign government (S. Res. 339; S. Doc. 696), 2301.
Cotton futures (S. Res. 295), 669.
Digest of contested-election cases (H. Con. Res. 70), 3184.
Direct government in California (S. Res. 382), 4718.
Federal farm-loan act (S. Res. 308), 1107.
Immigration law—Public, No. 301 (H. Con. Res. 73), 4269.
Importation of sisal and manila hemp (S. Res. 377), 4269.
Initiative and referendum (S. Res. 384), 4718.
International High Commission (S. Res. 386), 4781.
Intracoastal waterway from St. George Sound, Fla., to the Rio Grande (S. Res. 353; S. Doc. 705), 2821.
Journal of Grand Army of the Republic (H. Con. Res. 65), 3184.
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National Society of Daughters of the American Revolution (S. Res. 360; S. Doc. 710), 3183.
Peace problem (S. Res. 335; S. Doc. 700), 2301.
Pensions to commissioned officers (S. Res. 327; S. Doc. 702), 2463.
Power of courts to declare acts of Congress unconstitutional (S. Res. 359, 383; S. Doc. 708), 3183, 4718.
Printing and binding of public documents (S. Rept. 910; bill S. 7795), 1162.
Safety at sea (S. Res. 299), 669.
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Seamen's act (S. Res. 342; S. Doc. 694), 2301.
South Carolina Boll Weevil Commission (S. Res. 312; S. Doc. 701), 2301.
Statues of Casimir Pulaski and Thaddeus Kosciuszko (H. Con. Res. 59), 4269.
Textiles—The Backbone of New England (S. Res. 358; S. Doc. 709), 3183.

COMMITTEE ON PRINTING (*Senate*)—Continued.
Reports by
Torrens registration system of land titles (S. Res. 311), 1107.
Trade with South America (S. Res. 341; S. Doc. 698), 2301.
Watch-and-Watch at Sea (S. Res. 338; S. Doc. 693), 2301.
Water-power development (S. Res. 340; S. Doc. 697, 2301.
Webb-Kenyon Act (S. Res. 336; S. Doc. 699), 2301.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS (*Senate*).
Reports by
Campaign funds—corrupt-practices bill (S. Rept. 898), 827.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS (*House*).
Notice of proposed visit to Monticello by, 1579, 1723, 2022.
Reports by
Binghamton, N. Y. (H. Rept. 1619), 4856.
Honolulu, Hawaii (H. Rept. 1278), 1239.
Madison, Wis. (H. Rept. 1621), 4856.
Nogales, Ariz. (H. Rept. 1634), 5033.
Paris, Tex. (H. Rept. 1618), 4856.
Permits to committee on inaugural ceremonies (H. Rept. 1375). 2295.
Pittsburgh, Pa. (H. Rept. 1620), 4856.
Pittston, Pa. (H. Rept. 1368), 2215.
Public buildings—omnibus bill (H. Rept. 1222), 462.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS (*Senate*).
Mr. Fernald appointed, 81.
Resolution to allow them to employ stenographer and to sit during sessions or recess of Senate (see S. Res. 319*).
Reports by
Honolulu, Hawaii (S. Rept. 1038), 3062.
Pittston, Pa. (bill H. R. 18894), 3961.
Stamford, Conn. (bill S. 8062), 2611.
Yonkers, N. Y. (S. Rept. 1052), 3253.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC HEALTH AND NATIONAL QUARANTINE (*House*).
Resolution to create (see H. Res. 449).

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS (*House*).
Resolution authorizing investigation of natural resources of the public domain by (see H. Res. 418).
Reports by
Authorizing Secretary of Commerce to lease certain property (H. Rept. 1544), 4064.
Bayard, Antoine, deceased (H. Rept. 1345), 1935.
Belton, Mont. (H. Rept. 1413), 2592.
Bonner, J. L. (H. Rept. 1270), 1102.
California (H. Rept. 1525), 3854.
Carter, William F. (H. Rept. 1414), 2592.
Ceded Chippewa Indian lands in Minnesota (H. Rept. 1400), 2458.
Cox, David (H. Rept. 1397), 2458.
Desert-land entries (H. Rept. 1395), 2357.
Disposition of lands not needed for reclamation purposes (H. Rept. 1416), 2592.
Fisher, Harriet (H. Rept. 1523), 3854.
Florida (H. Rept. 1367), 2215.
Fort Peck Indian Reservation (H. Rept. 1415), 2592.
Glacier National Park, Mont. (H. Rept. 1354), 2022.
Great Northern Railway Co. (H. Rept. 1233), 631.
Grimes, Isaac M. C. (H. Rept. 1397), 2458.
Homestead and desert-land entry of lands withdrawn for reclamation purposes (H. Rept. 1347), 1935.
Homestead entries on water-power sites (H. Rept. 1398), 2458.
Irvine, William L. (H. Rept. 1397), 2458.
McCollam, Alexander F. (H. Rept. 1234), 631.
Mississippi (H. Rept. 1524), 3854.
Montana (H. Repts. 1359, 1526), 2102, 3958.
Mount Baker National Park, Wash. (H. Rept. 1372), 2215.
Mount McKinley National Park, Alaska (H. Rept. 1273), 1156.
Natural resources of the public domain (H. Rept. 1293), 1449.
Nebeker, Aquila (H. Rept. 1355), 2022.
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Port Angeles, Wash. (H. Rept. 1213), 198.
Punishment of persons making false representations to settlers (H. Rept. 1280), 1239.
Registers and receivers of land offices (H. Rept. 1396), 2357.
Relieving owners of mining claims who are serving in the National Guard in the service of the United States from performing assessment work (H. Rept. 1276), 1239.
Richards, Guy A. (H. Rept. 1397), 2458.
Robbins, Jesse L. (H. Rept. 1397), 2458.
Saginaw & Manistee Lumber Co. (H. Rept. 1561), 4367.
Sawtooth National Park, Idaho (H. Rept. 1356), 2022.
School district No. 9, Sanders County, Mont. (H. Rept. 1358), 2102.
Settlers on unsurveyed railroad lands (H. Rept. 1207), 77, 3544.
Thrailkill, Anna W. (H. Rept. 1412), 2592.
Tumlin, Thomas, deceased (H. Rept. 1283), 1317.
University of Nebraska (H. Rept. 1520), 3854.
Validating certain public-land entries (H. Rept. 1401), 2458.
Wilson, William M. (H. Rept. 1411), 2592.
Wyoming (H. Repts. 1282, 1526), 1317, 3958.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS (*Senate*).
Mr. Shafroth appointed, 3407.
Mr. Thompson excused, 3407.
Reports by
Agricultural entries on coal lands (S. Rept. 976), 1940.
Agricultural entries on coal lands in Alaska (S. Rept. 1000), 2299.
Alder, Conrad (S. Rept. 966), 1878.
Anhder, Conrad L. (S. Rept. 972), 1878.
Ashley National Forest, Wyo. (S. Rept. 900), 989.
Balling, C. (S. Rept. 965), 1878.
Buffalo pasture in Stanley County, S. Dak. (S. Rept. 1018), 2823.
Cache National Forest, Utah (S. Repts. 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972), 1878.
Coconino and Tusayan National Forests, Ariz. (S. Rept. 1104), 3894.
Cox, David (S. Rept. 1137), 4717.
Denver, Colo., school property (S. Rept. 974), 1878.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS (*Senate*)—Continued.
Reports by
Exploration for and disposition of coal, phosphate, oil, gas, potassium, or sodium (amendments to bill H. R. 406), 898.
Florida (S. Rept. 958), 1663.
Grand Canyon National Park, Ariz. (S. Rept. 1082), 3657.
Great Northern Railway Co. (S. Rept. 961), 1806.
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EVANS, GEORGE W., increase pension (see bill H. R. 20088).
EVANS, GEORGE WATKIN, estimate of appropriation to pay claim of (H. Doc. 1891), 1043.
EVANS, J. R., increase pension (see bill H. R. 21082).
EVANS, JOHN M. (*a Representative from Montana*).
Attended, 3.
Bills and joint resolutions introduced by
Butte, Mont.: granting lands for park purposes to city of (see bill H. R. 20549), 2102.
Harrigan, William: to increase pension (see bill H. R. 20897) 3249.
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EVANS, LEMUEL, increase pension (see bills S. 6196, 7486*; H. R 19189).
EVANS, SAMUEL, pension (see bill H. R. 18435).
EVANS, WALTER, request in Senate to print article relative to resignation and retirement of judges written by, agreed to (S. Doc. 688), 1732, 1950, 1956.
EVANS, WILLIAM A., pension (see bill H. R. 18742).
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EVENSIZER, REASON D., increase pension (see bills S. 7250, 7486*).
EVERETT, BARNEY, increase pension (see bill H. R. 18199).
EVERETT, SOPHIA, pension (see bill H. R. 19312).
EVERETT, WASH., donate condemned cannon to United Spanish War Veterans Camp at (see bill S. 7502).
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EVERICH, SARAH ELLEN, increase pension (see bills H. R. 19169, 20451*).
EVERITT, READDING, increase pension (see bills H. R. 11494, 19937*).
EVERSON, CHARLES W., increase pension (see bills H. R. 19624, 20451*).
EVERY, ALVIN W., increase pension (see bill H. R. 20462).
EWER, W. N., verses entitled "Five Souls" written by, 4660, 5017.
EWING, ROBERT E., increase pension (see bills H. R. 17099, 18181*).
EXCESS-PROFITS TAX. *See* REVENUE.
EXCISE TAXES, refund to sundry railroad companies certain excise taxes illegally collected (see bill H. R. 20592).
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Bill to provide for uniform selection and purchase of fuel for (see bill H. R. 10830*).
Bill to amend act authorizing exchange of typewriting machines and other labor-saving devices by (see bill H. R. 18825).
Concurrent resolution authorizing the Bureau of Efficiency to investigate certain matters in (see S. C. Res. 31).
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EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS.
Abbott, John S., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
Abbott, John W. C., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Abernethy, Elon A., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 491; withdrawn, 899.
Acker, Robert Booth, to be assistant surgeon, Public Health Service; nominated, 389; confirmed, 1332.
Ackerman, Frances C., to be postmaster at Empire, Mich.; nominated, 3013.
Adams, Camilla W., to be postmaster at East McKeesport, Pa.; nominated, 4404.
Adams, George F., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3501, 4634.
Adams, John Carver, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Adams, Lawrence S., to be naval constructor with rank of commander in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Adams, Robert E., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Adams, Walter Frank, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Adamson, Austin Aubrey, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Adamson, L. Ross, to be postmaster at Rudyard, Mich.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Agee, Wiley C., to be postmaster at Eccles, W. Va.; nominated, 4634.
Agnew, Robert Vans, to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Agnew, William J. C., to be assistant surgeon, Navy Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 798; confirmed, 1013.
Ahern, James Louis, to be first lieutenant, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 389; confirmed, 601.
Akers, Samuel F., to be postmaster at Emory, Va.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Albright, Isaac H., to be postmaster at Cochranville, Pa.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Aldrich, Frank J., to be postmaster at Pike, N. H.; nominated, 1910; confirmed, 2265.
Alexander, David J., to be assistant dental surgeon, Navy Dental Reserve Corps; nominated, 4402.
Alexander, W. S., to be postmaster at Elsmere, Del.; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 1273.
Alexander, William Dennison, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Allan, Charles H., to be postmaster at Ryegate, Mont.; nominated, 4634.
Allen, Charles J., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Allen, Dollie, to be postmaster at Ellaville, Ga.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 1910.
Allen, Duffy, to be postmaster at De Witt, Ark.; nominated, 4634.
Allen, Edward Amende, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Allen, Ezra G., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Allen, Frankie L., to be postmaster at Clayton, Ind.; nominated, 745; confirmed, 1071.
Allen, J. I., to be postmaster at Rockland, Idaho; nominated, 1609.
Allen, Jesse W., to be assistant surgeon, Navy Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 2313.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Allen, John H., to be postmaster at Plain Dealing, La.; nominated, 496.
Allen, Leven Cooper, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Allen, Roderick Random, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1681.
Allen, S. H., to be postmaster at Petersburg, Tenn.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Allen, William C., jr., to be postmaster at Sunburst, N. C.; nominated, 3013.
Alley, George, to be postmaster at Bancroft, Idaho; nominated, 495; confirmed, 603.
Allgood, John Hill, to be postmaster at Brookville, Miss.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Allison, Henry D., to be postmaster at Dublin, N. H.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Allmon, Ira, to be postmaster at Estancia, N. Mex.; nominated, 1910.
Almond, Edward Mallory, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Almy, Edmund D., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3691.
Ambs, Harry H., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Ames, Evans O., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3501.
Ancrum, William, to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 3691.
Anderson, Arthur C. D., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Anderson, Charles J., to be postmaster at Clayton, Wis.; nominated, 746.
Anderson, G. L., to be postmaster at Leesburg, Fla.; nominated, 3012.
Anderson, Gabe D., to be postmaster at Okolona, Ark.; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 2313.
Anderson, George L., to be postmaster at Avondale, Pa.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1071.
Anderson, Henry Hill, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Anderson, James Alpheus, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Anderson, Minnie E., to be postmaster at Leonard, N. Dak.; nominated, 4403.
Anderson, Thomas C., to be assistant surgeon, Navy Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 2693.
Anderson, Walter S., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 492; confirmed, 601.
Andrews, Frank M., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3691.
Angevine, Ferris M., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Appleby, Arthur D., to be postmaster at Spotswood, N. J.; nominated, 4634.
Applegate, George H., to be postmaster at Keytesville, Mo.; nominated, 4634.
Appleton, Daniel Sidney, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Arbuckle, Lockhart D., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Archer, Percy F., to be assistant quartermaster with rank of major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Arms, Thomas Seelye, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Armstrong, Charles, to be assistant surgeon, Public Health Service; nominated, 389; confirmed, 1332.
Armstrong, Francis T., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 492; confirmed, 1013.
Armstrong, Frank Campion, to be chaplain, with rank of first lieutenant, in Army; nominated, 4402.
Arnemann, George E., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 492; confirmed, 1013.
Arnold, Archibald V., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 492; confirmed, 1013.
Arnold, Carolyn B., to be postmaster at Absarokee, Mont.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Arnold, Frederick T., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 492; confirmed, 800.
Arnold, Henry H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 3012.
Arnold, Samuel L., to be postmaster at Devol, Okla.; nominated, 3502.
Arthur, John M., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 1834.
Arthur, Louis C., jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2312.
Arwine, John S., jr., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
Ashby, Sullivan G., to be postmaster at Ringling, Okla.; nominated, 1609.
Atwood, Frank Jarvis, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Austin, Jason McV., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Austin, John Dutcher, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1681.
Avery, Irving Carrington, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1683.
Axtell, Frances C., to be member of United States Employees' Compensation Commission; nominated, 899.
Axton, John T., to be chaplain with rank of major, United States Infantry; nominated, 3501.
Ayres, Alley B., to be postmaster at Island Heights, N. J.; nominated, 4403.
Babb, Macker, to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Babst, Julius Joseph, to be chaplain with rank of first lieutenant in Army; nominated, 899; confirmed, 1424.
Bachman, Hiram A., to be postmaster at Throckmorton, Tex.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Back, Roscius Harlow, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Backstrom, Theodore E., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Bacon, Stanley, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Badt, Harry A., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Baehr, Carl A., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Baggs, Estey C., to be postmaster at Hornick, Iowa; nominated, 495; confirmed, 1332.
Bagley, David W., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Bagley, Robert N., jr., to be postmaster at Dike, Iowa; nominated, 3013.
Bailey, James Stanley, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Bailey, William O., to be assistant surgeon, Navy Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 4402.
Bain, James M., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Baird, Henry W., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3691.
Baird, Robert A., to be postmaster at Castleberry, Ala.; nominated, 4634.
Baker, Anna E., to be postmaster at Brownton, Minn.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 1013.
Baker, Bernard N., to be member of United States Shipping Board; nominated, 745; confirmed, 1681.
Baker, Cecil S., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Baker, E. Carlton, to be United States consul general, class 5; nominated, 389; confirmed, 601.
Baker, Edward H. S., to be postmaster at York Harbor, Me.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Baker, Frederick R., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Baker, George L., to be postmaster at Bingham, Me.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Baker, Henry S., to be member of excise board of District of Columbia; nominated, 389.
Baker, Jewett Casey, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1683.
Baker, Raymond T., to be Director of Mint; nominated, 3011.
Baker, Willis, to be postmaster at Gliboa, N. Y.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Baker, Willis Power, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 491; confirmed, 799.
Balch, Henry H., to be United States consul, class 7; nominated, 389; confirmed, 601.
Baldwin, Charles D., to be postmaster at Granada, Colo.; nominated, 3012.
Baldwin, George T., to be postmaster at Fowler, Mich.; nominated, 4403.
Ball, Robert J., to be postmaster at Gallatin, Mo.; nominated, 3502.
Ballou, Luther Byron, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310; withdrawn, 4404.
Bals, Wilson Tarlton, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Bane, Thurman H., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Bannon, Philip M., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2693.
Barber, George H., to be medical director in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Barber, John R., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Barber, Oliver A., to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Bare, William S., to be postmaster at Bluff City, Tenn.; nominated, 1910.
Barham, Robert E., to be postmaster at Crenshaw, Miss.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Barker, George N., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Barker, George Ralph, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Barker, Joseph Warren, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Barker, Maud B., to be postmaster at O'Fallon, Mo.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 604.
Barkley, Lawrence H., to be postmaster at Moores Hill, Ind.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1332.
Barnes, Charles A., to be postmaster at Silver Spring, Md.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 1013.
Barnes, Don T., to be postmaster at Canon, Ga.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 1910.
Barnes, Guy C., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 2312.
Barnett, George, to be brigadier general in Marine Corps; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Barnett, James Washington, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1681.
Barnette, Bradford, to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Barnum, Edmund Maginness, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Barr, Dugald MacAuslane, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Barr, Robert Sherman, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Barrett, Anna E. C., to be postmaster at Siasconset, Mass.; nominated, 1910; confirmed, 2265.
Barrett, Charles D., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Barrett, Lawrence, to be postmaster at Peshtigo, Wis.; nominated, 601.
Barrett, Lawrence John Ingram, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Barrett, Park M., to be assistant surgeon, Navy Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 2313.
Barrett, William, to be postmaster at Pratt, Kans.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1013.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Barringer, Walter E., to be postmaster at Streeter, N. Dak.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1332.
Barrow, Lucius R., to be postmaster at San Diego, Cal.; nominated, 745; confirmed, 2265.
Barry, David S., jr., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4634.
Bartlett, Harry G., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Bartlett, Mary S., to be postmaster at Belgrade Lakes, Me.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Basey, James D., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Bass, Hollis S., to be postmaster at Monette, Ark.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 1272.
Bassellieu, George A., to be postmaster at Meggett, S. C.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Bassett, Arthur E., to be postmaster at Little Sioux, Iowa; nominated, 3501.
Bassett, Edward Sebring, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Bassett, Prentiss P., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 2187; confirmed, 2313.
Bastedo, Paul H., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Bates, Paul P., to be postmaster at Glazier, Tex.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Batson, Roscoe C., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 492; confirmed, 1013.
Batts, Robert Lynn, to be United States circuit judge, fifth circuit; nominated, 1608; confirmed, 2630.
Baughman, Cortlandt C., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Bauman, Albert R., to be postmaster at Montreat, N. C.; nominated, 4403.
Baush, Robert O., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Baxter, Jere, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 799.
Beacon, William, to be postmaster at Pickford, Mich.; nominated, 4403.
Beall, Edward, to be postmaster at Eolia, Mo.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 604.
Beall, Robert Lamar, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Bean, Carlos, to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Beardall, John R., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Beardslee, Norton M., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4401.
Bearss, Hiram I., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2693.
Beatty, Nettie, to be postmaster at Beatty, Pa.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1071.
Beaumont, John C., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Beaver, William T., to be postmaster at Cotter, Ark.; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 1272.
Beavers, Averill, to be postmaster at Kennewick, Wash.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Beck, E. E., to be postmaster at Leon, Iowa; nominated, 4634.
Becker, Otto, jr., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Beeman, Don W., to be postmaster at Lambert, Mont.; nominated, 4403.
Behrens, Henry Rasick, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3012.
Behrmann, Oscar W., to be postmaster at Fairfield, Wash.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1013.
Belknap, Charles, jr., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
Bell, Charles A., to be postmaster at Bedford, Ky.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Bell, Raymond Duffield, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Bell, Verne R., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3691.
Bellinger, Patrick N. L., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Belt, Haller, to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Benedict, Howard Irving, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Benitez, Enrique Manuel, to be second lieutenant, Porto Rico Regiment of Infantry; nominated, 492; confirmed, 799.
Bennet, John B., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 799.
Bennett, Albert A., to be postmaster at Center Harbor, N. H.; nominated, 3013.
Bennett, Harry Lee, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Bennett, John T., to be assistant surgeon in Medical Reserve Corps of Navy; nominated, 2312.
Berg, Frank R., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Berkeley, Randolph C., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Bernatz, Frank, to be postmaster at Dixon, Mont.; nominated, 4403.
Berneker, Margaret B., to be postmaster at Camp Hill, Pa.; nominated, 1910.
Berry, Fred S., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Berry, John William, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Berryman, Scott, to be postmaster at Bowman, Ga.; nominated, 495.
Bertsch, William H., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 799.
Best, Charles L., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 2313.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Betts, James E., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3501.
Beuker, Bernard Johan, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 491; confirmed, 799.
Beuret, John D., to be naval constructor with rank of commander in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Bevan, William F., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3012.
Bible, Edward J., to be postmaster at Mount Berry, Ga.; nominated, 495.
Bidwell, Abel S., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Biggs, Oliye R., to be postmaster at Buhl, Idaho; nominated, 495; confirmed, 603.
Biles, Alfred F., jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Billups, James E., to be postmaster at Hurricane, W. Va.; nominated, 2313.
Bishop, Giles, jr., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Bishop, Raymond H., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Bitner, Earl, to be postmaster at Glasford, Ill.; nominated, 4403.
Bittenbender, William H., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Black, George W., to be postmaster at Elk Grove, Cal.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 603.
Black, Ira D., to be postmaster at Camden, Mich.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Black, William B., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 1834; confirmed, 1910.
Blackburn, Charles T., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Blackburn, John H., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 492; confirmed, 601.
Blackburn, Paul P., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 2313.
Blaine, Robert, to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 800.
Blaisdell, Harry W., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Blakeley, William B., to be postmaster at Andrews, S. C.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Blakelock, David Hazen, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1834.
Blakely, Charles A., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
Blakeslee, Edward G., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Blamer, De Witt, to be captain in Navy; nominated, 3691.
Blanch, Winfield S., to be postmaster at Stoney Point, N. Y.; nominated, 3018.
Blanchard, Hugh Divine, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1681.
Bloch, Claude C., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 3691.
Bloom, J. A., to be postmaster at Chisago City, Minn.; nominated, 1127.
Bockoven, Frederic Harold, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Bodie, William G., to be assistant surgeon, Navy Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 2313.
Bohn, John James, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Bolton, James K., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Bonazz., Antonio, to be postmaster at Plainfield, Vt.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 1071.
Bond, John F., to be postmaster at Nashville, Ind.; nominated, 2312.
Bond, Oliver James, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Bond, Thomas G., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Boogar, Isaac P., to be postmaster at Oaks, Pa.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1071.
Boone, Joseph C., to be postmaster at Berry, Ala.; nominated, 2312.
Bootes, James T., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Boots, Voy J., to be postmaster at Williamsport, Ohio; nominated, 498; confirmed, 604.
Bordelon, Lester L., to be postmaster at Marksville, La.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 1834.
Borden, Howard Granville, to be second lieutenant, Corps of Engineers in Army; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Bossi, John Trentini, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Bostwick, Lucius A., to be captain in Navy; nominated, 2693.
Bourke, Thomas E., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 1834.
Bower, Franklin T., to be assistant surgeon, Medical Reserve Corps in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
——— to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Bower, Franklin Townsend, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps in Army; nominated, 491; confirmed, 799.
Boyd, John, to be postmaster at Greystone Park, N. J.; nominated, 3013.
Boyd, Leonard Russell, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Boyd, Louis Frank, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 491; confirmed, 799.
Boyd, Nora E., to be postmaster at Highland, Cal.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 603.
Boykin, W. E., to be postmaster at Lufkin, Tex.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Boyle, Joseph H., to be postmaster at Bark River, Mich.; nominated, 3013.
Brabson, Joe R., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4401.
Bradburn, Clarence E., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Bradford, Fleur de Lis, to be postmaster at Verndale, Minn.; nominated, 4403.
Bradley, Harry, to be postmaster at Taylor, Wis.; nominated, 746.
Bradley, Ivan N., to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Bradman, Frederic L., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Bradshaw, Beverly L., to be postmaster at Tompkinsville, Ky.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Brady, Charles L., to be postmaster at Buffalo, S. Dak.; nominated, 2313.
Brady, Sidney Guthrie, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Brainard, Edwin H., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Braisted, William C., to be medical director with rank of rear admiral in Navy; nominated, 1608; confirmed, 2313.
Brannon, Otis E., to be postmaster at Kilmichael, Miss.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Brantley, Julian C., to be assistant surgeon, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
——— to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Bratton, Leslie E., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Bray, Stuart E., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Breckinridge, James C., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Brenner, James E., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Brent, Theodore, to be member of United States Shipping Board; nominated, 745; confirmed, 1681.
Brereton, Lewis H., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 492; confirmed, 1013.
Brereton, William D., jr., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Brett, John Q. A., to be first lieutenant, Quartermaster Corps; nominated, 492; confirmed, 799.
Brett, Sereno Elmer, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Brewster, David L. S., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Brewster, F. Raymond, to be postmaster at Ogunquit, Me.; nominated, 3013.
Brewster, Joseph E., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Brice, James A., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4401.
Brice, Katherine E., to be postmaster at Betterton, Md.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 1013.
Bridges, John T., to be postmaster at Oconto, Nebr.; nominated, 4403.
Briggs, Henry M., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Brigham, Arthur, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2312.
Brigman, E. L., to be postmaster at Panama City, Fla.; nominated, 4402.
Brim, Alberta S., to be postmaster at Green Ridge, Mo.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Bringhurst, George R., to be postmaster at Lovell, Wyo.; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 1835.
Brinser, Harry L., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 3691.
Briscoe, Charles L., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Broadhurst, Hugh H., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 800.
Brockenbrough, John A., to be postmaster at Warsaw, Va.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Brooke, George M., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4401.
Brooke, John Rutter, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Brooks, Carrie M., to be postmaster at McCaulley, Tex.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1013.
Brooks, Earle E., to be postmaster at Franconia, N. H.; nominated, 1910; confirmed, 2265.
Brooks, F. A., to be postmaster at Arlington, Kans.; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 1834.
Brooks, Henry, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 491; confirmed, 799.
Broshek, Joseph J., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Brower, George William, to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Brower, Gerald Evans, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Brown, A. Ellicott, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 799.
Brown, Alice, to be postmaster at Ralls, Tex.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Brown, Annie K., to be postmaster at Red Springs, N. C.; nominated, 1910.
Brown, Arthur W., to be judge advocate, with rank of major, in Army; nominated, 491; confirmed, 799.
Brown, Charles H., to be postmaster at Hope Valley, R. I.; nominated, 1910.
Brown, Edward A., to be assistant surgeon, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Brown, Harry Madara, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Brown, James L., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Brown, John S., to be postmaster at Locust Grove, Ga.; nominated, 4402.
Brown, Mae M., to be postmaster at Hurdland, Mo.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Brown, Paul, to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Brown, Robert Washington, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1683.
Brown, Thomas H., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Brown, William R., to be postmaster at Charleston, Wash.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Browning, Henry C., to be postmaster at Meadowview, Va.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Browning, William D., to be postmaster at Strathmore, Cal.; nominated, 1909; confirmed, 2265.
Broyles, David C., to be postmaster at Paint Rock, Tex.; nominated, 1332; confirmed, 1683.
Bruce, Baxter H., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Brumbaugh, Rolland E., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
——— to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Brumley, Charles R., to be postmaster at Mascot, Tenn; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Brunzell, Otto L., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Bryan, Alanson L., to be assistant surgeon, Navy Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 798; confirmed, 1013.
Bryan, Stanley Fisk, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Bryan, William L., to be postmaster at Bradner, Ohio; nominated, 3013.
Bryant, Emory A., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Bryant, Richmond, to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Bryant, Richmond, to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4402.
Bryant, Stewart F., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Buchanan, Luther Thomas, jr., to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 491; confirmed, 799.
Buchly, Walter Eyster, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1681.
Buck, Earl C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 799.
Buckley, William W., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3012.
Buckner, Daisy, to be postmaster at Scio, Oreg.; nominated, 4404.
Buffington, Ralph M., to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Bull, Terry P., to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Bundel, Charles M., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Bundel, Charles M., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4401.
Bundy, Charles Wright, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Bunger, G. H., to be postmaster at West Point, Ky.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1910.
Burby, Joseph William, to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Burch, Bruce L., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3691.
Burd, George E., to be rear admiral in Navy; nominated, 2312.
Burdick, George B., to be postmaster at De Ruyter, N. Y.; nominated, 3502.
Burg, Robert A., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Burgess, Harry, to be lieutenant colonel, Corps of Engineers in Army; nominated, 390; confirmed, 799.
Burke, Mary R., to be postmaster at Scobey, Mont.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1332.
Burke, Walter J., to be postmaster at Mineville, N. Y.; nominated, 3013.
Burket, Charles E., to be postmaster at Claysburg, Pa.; nominated, 4634.
Burks, Jesse J., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4634.
Burnell, Ray Lawrence, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Burns, Neil H., to be postmaster at Kingston, Mich.; nominated, 4403.
Burr, Edward, to be member of California Débris Commission; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 1332.
Burr, William O., to be postmaster at Fairfield, Conn.; nominated, 1909; confirmed, 2265.
Burress, Withers Alexander, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Burt, Ernest Hill, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Burton, Rosa W., to be postmaster at Alligator, Miss.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Burton, W. L. M., to be postmaster at Shamrock, Okla.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Buse, Karl I., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Bush, Ross L., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 799.
Butler, George Howland, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Butler, Gertrude D., to be postmaster at Croton Falls, N. Y.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Butler, Smedley D., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2693.
Buttler, Bruce B., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 3012.
Buttrick, James T., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Butz, Gerald Robison, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Bye, H. A., to be postmaster at Ashby, Minn.; nominated, 4634.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Byrd, Jesse Lee, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 601; confirmed, 799.
Byrd, William C., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Byrne, Charles L., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Byrne, Clinton E., to be postmaster at Des Moines, N. Mex.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 1835.
Byrne, Francis Artaud, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Byrne, Gerald Dominic, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Byrne, W. A., to be postmaster at Hartshorne, Okla.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1683.
Byron, Anna, to be postmaster at Bourbonnais, Ill.; nominated, 3501.
Cadwell, Rowland F., to be postmaster at Bruce, S. Dak.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1424.
Caffey, Benjamin F., jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Cahill, John, to be postmaster at Cherry, Ill.; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 2187.
Cahill, Thomas E., to be postmaster at Lake Bluff, Ill.; nominated, 2312.
Caldwell, David H., to be postmaster at Manor, Pa.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Caldwell, Myrta J., to be postmaster at Arrowsmith, Ill.; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 2187.
Callaway, Polona H., to be postmaster at Tallula, Ill.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 1013.
Campbell, Chandler, to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4633.
Campbell, Daniel E., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 1834.
Candee, Robert Chapin, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Cannon, William C., to be lieutenant colonel, Quartermaster Corps of Army; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Canter, Sterling L., to be postmaster at Avon Park, Fla.; nominated, 4402.
Caperton, James N., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Capron, Paul A., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Carawan, William S., to be postmaster at Columbia, N. C.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 1013.
Caraway, Leon, to be postmaster at Big Sandy, Tenn.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Carden, John, to be postmaster at Meriden, Kans.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Carden, Raymond J., to be postmaster at Mountain Dale, N. Y.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1013.
Carey, John T., to be postmaster at Denison, Iowa; nominated, 1331; confirmed, 2265.
Carl, Grover Robert, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1681.
Carle, Frank C., to be postmaster at Madison, N. J.; nominated, 3013.
Carlile, William Buford, to be postmaster at Chicago, Ill.; nominated, 3013.
Carlson, Oscar Frederick, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Carmichael, Asa Bartholow, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 491; confirmed, 799.
Carpender, Arthur S., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Carpenter, Charles C., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Carpenter, Claude L., to be postmaster at Pleasant Lake, Ind.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 603.
Carpenter, Dudley N., to be medical inspector in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Carpenter, Ferd H., to be postmaster at Central Lake, Mich.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1013.
Carr, Daniel J., to be lieutenant colonel, Signal Corps, United States Army; nominated, 4401.
Carr, Earl C., to be assistant surgeon, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Carr, George F., to be postmaster at McAdoo, Pa.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 1071.
Carr, John Thomas, to be first lieutenant of Engineers, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 389; confirmed, 601.
Carrington, Gordon de Lanney, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Carroll, Otis Merton, to be postmaster at McMechen, W. Va.; nominated, 2313.
Carruth, George H., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2311.
Carson, Eva, to be postmaster at Mahomet, Ill.; nominated, 1909; confirmed, 2313.
Carswell, Stuart Randall, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2187.
Carter, Benjamin Estes, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Carter, Worrall R. to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Carver, Clarence Barnabus, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Casad, Adam S., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Casady, R. O., to be postmaster at Springfield, Colo.; nominated, 4402.
Case, Lloyd E., to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Case, Maxwell, to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 2187; confirmed, 2313.
Cassidy, Richard E., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Castle, Benjamin F., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 800.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Cather, B. B., to be postmaster at Ashville, Ala.; nominated, 3012.
Catlin, Albertus W., to be colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2693.
Cato, Ernest W., to be postmaster at Gravette, Ark.; nominated, 1609.
Cauldwell, Oscar R., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Cecha, Albin H., to be assistant surgeon, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Chadeayne, Cora T., to be postmaster at Firthcliffe, N. Y.; nominated, 1910; confirmed, 2314.
Chaffee, Adna R., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3691.
Chaffee, Charles Livingstone, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed 1682.
Chalker, Lloyd Toulmin, to be first lieutenant, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 389; confirmed, 601.
Chamberlain, Earl, to be postmaster at Chalmers, Ind.; nominated, 1909.
Chamberlain, John L., to be inspector general, with rank of brigadier general, in Army; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 1423.
Chamberlain, Paul E., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Chambliss, Turner Mason, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Champlin, John S., to be postmaster at South Coventry, Conn.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 2265.
Chandler, Alfred W., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Chandler, Charles de F., to be major, Signal Corps, United States Army; nominated, 4401.
Chandler, Edward S., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Chaney, Silas R., to be postmaster at Bryant, Ind.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 603.
Channing, Charles Edward, to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Chantry, Allan J., jr., to be naval constructor in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Chapel, C. E., to be postmaster at Youngsville, Pa.; nominated, 3502.
Chapin, Frank K., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3691.
Charlton, Alexander M., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Chase, Edgar S., to be postmaster at Rockwood, Me.; nominated, 3013.
Chase, Jehu V., to be captain in Navy; nominated, 3501.
Chase, William Curtis, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Chason, William, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 2312.
Chavin, Raphael Saul, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 2312.
Cheatham, Thomas P., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 1834.
Cheney, Franklin Washington, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Chew, Beverly Grayson, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1683.
Chew, Francis T., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Chichester, Henry J., to be postmaster at East Moriches, N. Y.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Chilton, Alexander W., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 799.
Chipman, Albert Dewitt, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Chipman, Perry, to be postmaster at Ewing, Mo.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Christensen, Albert Francis, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Christian, John B., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 492; confirmed, 1013.
Christian, Robert Lincoln, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Christian, William J., to be postmaster at Stoneharbor, N. J.; nominated, 1910; confirmed, 2313.
Church, Albert T., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 3691.
Churchill, E. L., to be postmaster at Metamora, Ohio; nominated, 2313.
Clancy, Frank, to be postmaster at Conneautville, Pa.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 1013.
Clancy, Kenneth F., to be postmaster at Exposition, Pa.; nominated, 3013.
Clancy, Robert H., to be appraiser of merchandise, customs collection district No. 38, Detroit, Mich.; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 2187.
Clapp, Leander A., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Clark, Fred H., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Clark, George A., to be postmastre at Scotch Plains, N. Y.; nominated, 4403.
Clark, George N., to be postmaster at Groton, Vt.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1332.
Clark, Jason W., to be postmaster at Rossville, Ind.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 603.
Clark, Rensselaer W., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Clark, Richard Barnett, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Clark, Riley E., to be postmaster at Warsaw, Ohio; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1332.
Clarke, Burwell H., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Clarke, George Sheppard, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Clarke, William, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2312.
Clarkson, Percy Williams, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Claude, Abram, to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Claude, Gordon H., to be assistant dental surgeon, Navy Dental Reserve Corps; nominated, 4402.
Claxton, Willis H., to be postmaster at Stanton, Tenn.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Cleary, Francis J., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 798; confirmed, 1013.
Clement, Mortimer T., to be assistant surgeon, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Clement, Samuel A., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Clemons, Edna, to be postmaster at Weldon, Ill.; nominated, 2312.
Clerf, Louis H., to be assistant surgeon, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Clifford, Charles L., to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Clinton, Thomas M., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Clogston, Elwin J., to be postmaster at Williamstown, Vt.; nominated, 1910.
Coacher, William H., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Cobb, J. C., to be postmaster at Wirt, Okla.; nominated, 3013.
Coblin, St. Elmo, to be postmaster at Campbellsburg, Ky.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Coburn, Stella E., to be postmaster at North Rochester, N. H.; nominated, 4403.
Cochran, Edwin N., to be assistant dental surgeon, Navy Dental Reserve Corps; nominated, 4402.
Cochran, Harry K., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3501.
Cochran, Schamyl, to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Cochran, Walter, to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Cockrill, Thomas McFarland, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Coe, Rinaldo L., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Coen, Emile George de, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Coffenberg, Bailey M., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3501.
Coffey, Reuben B., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 3501.
Coffman, Richard B., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Cogan, William N., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Coggin, George C., to be postmaster at Armona, Cal.; nominated, 4402.
Cogswell, Francis, to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Cohee, Ora Jason, to be chaplain with rank of first lieutenant; nominated, 389; confirmed, 799.
Coiner, Beverly Hare, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Coke, James L., to be associate justice of the Supreme Court of Hawaii; nominated, 798; confirmed, 1012.
Coldwell, Philip, to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 492; confirmed, 1013.
Cole, Clarence E., to be postmaster at Bryant Pond, Me.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Cole, Cyrus W., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 3691.
Cole, Donald Malpas, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Cole, Eli K., to be brigadier general, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 494, 2695; confirmed, 603.
Cole, Forest, to be postmaster at Grand River, Iowa; nominated, 3013.
Cole, Frank La Mont, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 491; confirmed, 799.
Cole, Leon R., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 492; confirmed, 1013.
Cole, William C., to be captain in Navy; nominated, 3691.
Collier, Eugene F. C., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3501.
Collins, Harry D., to be postmaster at New Paris, Ohio; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1332.
Collins, Jesse S., to be postmaster at Webster, Fla.; nominated, 1127.
Collins, Marshall, to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Colon, Ernesto Francisco, to be second lieutenant Porto Rico Regiment of Infantry; nominated, 492; confirmed, 799.
Colton, Bert S., to be postmaster at Granada, Minn.; nominated, 4403.
Colvard, Joseph B., to be postmaster at Jefferson, N. C.; nominated, 1910.
Colver, William B., to be member of Federal Trade Commission; nominated, 3691.
Colwell, Jay Kenneth, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Comfort, Willis Edwin, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Compton, Oscar G., to be postmaster at Dayton, Tex.; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 1835.
Conger, Franklin P., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Conn, Jessie, to be postmaster at Kountze, Tex.; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 1835.
Connelly, Elizabeth I., to be postmaster at Hurdsfield, N. Dak.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Conner, Arthur Dale, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Conner, C. G., to be postmaster at Rich Square, N. C.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 1071.
Connolly, William J., to be postmaster at Grand Rapids, Ohio; nominated, 4634.
Connor, Daniel A., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3691.
Connor, Edward H., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Connor, Fred W., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Conolly, Whitmon R., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Conroy, Frank H., to be postmaster at Easton, Ill.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1424.
Constant, Samuel Victor, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Converse, George L., jr., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3691.
Conwell, Oscar O., to be postmaster at Lovilia, Iowa; nominated, 3501.
Cook, Frank C., to be medical inspector in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Cook, Hale Scoville, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Cook, James Christopher, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Cook, Lloyd Harlow, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Cook, Henry F., to be postmaster at Northville, S. Dak.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 604.
Cooke, Henry D., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 492; confirmed, 601.
Copeland, John Eubank, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Copper, Horace C., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Copthorne, William A., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 492; confirmed, 1013; withdrawn, 1128.
Corbett, Sewell Numson, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 491; confirmed, 799.
Corby, John Francis, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 491; confirmed, 799.
Cornish, George Rainsford Fairbanks, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Cosgrove, Peter, to be postmaster at Centuria, Wis.; nominated, 1128.
Cotcher, Edward Harry, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1683.
Cotchett, Amory Coffin, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Cothran, William B., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Cotten, Lyman A., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 3691.
Cotter, Clarence E., to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 2312.
Cotton, John Warren, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Couch, Albert B., to be postmaster at Lake City, Ark.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 1272.
Couch, Fred, to be postmaster at Westville, Okla.; nominated, 3013.
Coughlin, John J., to be postmaster at Shenandoah, Pa.; nominated, 1910; confirmed, 2314.
Council, Benjamin W., to be postmaster at Holland, Va.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1013.
Courtney, Mark J., to be postmaster at Copan, Okla.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1683.
Covington, Joseph Allen, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Cowart, Earl L., to be postmaster at Silverton, Tex.; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 1835.
Cowley, Paul R., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3501.
Cox, John F., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 2187; confirmed, 2313.
Cox, Ormond L., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 2693.
Cox, Theo E., to be assistant surgeon in Navy nominated, 3012.
Coykendall, J. B., to be postmaster at Yates City, Ill.; nominated, 4634.
Coyle, Randolph, to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Craft, Charles O., to be postmaster at Roslyn, N. Y.; nominated, 3013.
Crafton, Denham B., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 3012.
Craig, David Wilson, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Craig, O. F., to be postmaster at Newark, Ark.; nominated, 1909; confirmed, 2313.
Craig, Samuel J., to be postmaster at Sunflower, Miss.; nominated, 4634.
Cramer, Eugene John, to be veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Crandall, John W., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Crane, John A., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4401.
Crater, Frank R., to be postmaster at Lake Hopatcong, N. J.; nominated, 3013.
Crater, George E., to be postmaster at Gildford, Mont.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Cravens, Charles S., to be postmaster at Jenks, Okla.; nominated, 4403.
Cravens, William M., to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Craver, Jesse, to be postmaster at Boomer, W. Va.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Crawford, Ralph H., to be postmaster at Nederland, Colo.; nominated, 3012.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Creal, George P., to be postmaster at Supply, Okla.; nominated, 4404.
Creed, Richard Lawrence, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1681.
Cresap, Logan, to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 3691.
Creswell, Harry Innes Thornton, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Crissy, Dana H., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4401.
Cripps, Benjamin T., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 1834.
Crittenden, Kirby B., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 492; confirmed, 601.
Crockford, W. R., to be postmaster at Sweetgrass, Mont.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Crom, William Hampton, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Cronin, Ella T., to be postmaster at Centerville, Pa.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 2314.
Cronin, Ella V., to be postmaster at Perryman, Md.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 1013.
Crooks, Charles Madison, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Crosby, Howard H., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Cruse, Thomas, to be brigadier general, Quartermaster Corps in Army; nominated, 491; confirmed, 799.
Culin, Frank Lewis, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Culligan, Michael, to be postmaster at Wurtsboro, N. Y.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1013.
Culp, Clarence Maxwell, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Culver, John T., to be postmaster at Forest Glen, Md.; nominated, 1127.
Cunningham, Alfred A.; to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Cunningham, Bertram L., to be assistant surgeon, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 601; confirmed, 747.
Cunningham, John C., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Cunningham, Julian W., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Cunningham, Mrs. Mock K., to be postmaster at Fort Myer, Va.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Currie, Fuller T., to be postmaster at Pinehurst, N. C.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 2265.
Curry, David A., to be postmaster at Camp Curry, Cal.; nominated, 1331; confirmed, 1610.
Curtis, Alice I., to be postmaster at Freeport, Me.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Cutchin, Corday Whitfield, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Cutts, Elwin F., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Cutts, Richard M., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Dade, Alexander L., to be colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3011.
Dagley, Harley, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Dailey, George F. N., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 3012.
Dalbey, Harrie Kincaid, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1681.
Dalton, Joseph Nicholas, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Daly, Charles D., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4401.
Daly, Cornelius Martin, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Daly, John Colford, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Daly, Thomas J., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Dampman, Paul E., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
Daniel, D. D., to be postmaster at Southport, N. C.; nominated, 1609.
Daniels, Joseph F., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 492; confirmed, 601.
Daniels, Robert Whitney, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Daniels, Thomas Chester, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Daniels, Winthrop More, to be member of Interstate Commerce Commission; nominated, 389; confirmed, 1128.
Dannelly, Gordon T., to be postmaster at Camden, Ala.; nominated, 1909; confirmed, 2265.
Darby, Grady C., to be postmaster at Essex, Mo.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Darling, G. B., to be postmaster at Perrysville, Ohio; nominated, 3013.
Darnall, William L., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Davidson, Edgar L., to be postmaster at Oswego, Oreg.; nominated, 4404.
Davidson, George Drummond, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Davidson, Mabel E., to be postmaster at Ulster, Pa.; nominated, 2313.
Davies, William D., to be postmaster at Manassas, Va.; nominated, 3502.
Davis, Bertha C., to be postmaster at Nettleton, Miss.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Davis, Charles H., jr., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Davis, Chester Arthur, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Davis, Emil L., to be postmaster at Lakeview, Ohio; nominated, 4403.
Davis, Erwin Cobia West, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Davis, Frank O., to be postmaster at Pomfret Center, Conn., nominated, 601; confirmed, 747.
Davis, Glenn B., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Davis, Harry O., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Davis, Hartwell C., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Davis, Henry F. D., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Davis, Hugh Mackay, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Davis, J. Hornor, to be postmaster at Clarksburg, W. Va.; nominated, 1609.
Davis, James E., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Davis, John S., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 799.
Davis, Leslie C., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Davis, Milton S., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
Davis, Ralph E., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4634.
Davis, Robert C., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 799.
Davis, Roscoe C., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Davis, William E., to be postmaster at Duncan, Miss.; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 1835.
Davis, William H., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3501.
Davison, C. E., to be postmaster at Roundup, Mont.; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 1835.
Davison, Franklin McKenzie, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2312.
Dawes, Robert A., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
Day, James R., to be postmaster at Dexter, Kans.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Dayton, John H., to be captain in Navy; nominated, 2693.
Deaderick, Shelby F., to be postmaster at Halfway, Oreg.; nominated, 4404.
Dearing, Anderson C., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
De Armond, George W., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3691.
Deason, R. A., to be postmaster at Barnwell, S. C.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1683.
De Carre, Alphonse, to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Delano, Francis G., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4401.
Dempewolf, Hermann Charles, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Dempsey, Josephine E., to be postmaster at South Ashburnham, Mass.; nominated, 1910.
Dempsey, William W., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Denig, Robert L., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Denman, William, to be member of United States Shipping Board; nominated, 745; confirmed, 1681.
Denney, Andrew D., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Dennis, Conrad Liston, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Dennis, J. E., to be postmaster at Downing, Wis.; nominated, 499.
Densmore, Charles W., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 492; confirmed, 601.
Densmore, Riley W., to be postmaster at West Burke, Vt.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 1071.
Deplouty, Mary A., to be postmaster at Auburn, Mich.; nominated, 4634.
Dermond, C. A., to be postmaster at Franklin, Minn.; nominated, 1910.
Derouen, Christina, to be postmaster at Ville Platte, La.; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 1834.
De Smidt, William A., to be postmaster at Cedar Grove, Wis.; nominated, 499.
Des Rosier, Peter, to be postmaster at Browning, Mont.; nominated, 1910; confirmed, 2265.
Dessez, Paul T., to be surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Dew, William B., to be postmaster at Sweet Briar, Va.; nominated, 1128; confirmed, 1610.
Dewey, Rupert C., to be assistant quartermaster with rank of major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Dewhurst, James Frederic, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
De Witt, Carroll Melbourne, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Diaz, Vincente Nicolas, to be second lieutenant, Porto Rico Regiment of Infantry; nominated, 492; confirmed, 799.
Dibrell, Aquilla G., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Dichman, Grattan C., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 2313.
Dick, Mary June, to be postmaster at Harrison, Ohio; nominated, 1910; confirmed, 2265.
Dickins, Randolph, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2311.
Dickinson, Oliver A., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 899; confirmed, 1424.
Dickman, Frederick T., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3691.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Dickmann, Earp Theodore, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Dickson, Walter R., to be postmaster at Hitchcock, S. Dak.; nominated, 4404.
Dickson, W. E., to be postmaster at Waldo, Ark.; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 2313.
Dillard, Alexander Wood, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Dillen, Roscoe F., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Dillman, Frederick G., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3011.
Dillon, Dennis, to be postmaster at Raquette Lake, N. Y.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1424.
Dillon, George F., to be postmaster at McLouth, Kans.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Dissinger, Edward R., to be postmaster at Mount Gretna, Pa.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 1683.
Dithmer, Anna A., to be postmaster at Kadoka, S. Dak.; nominated, 3013.
Dixon, John, to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3012.
Dixon, Vincent Bargmant, jr., to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Dobyns, Thomas Abner, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Dodge, Benjamin H., to be postmaster at New Boston, N. H.; nominated, 2313.
Dodge, Earl Jay, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Dodge, Herbert C., to be postmaster at Sparta, N. J.; nominated, 1910; confirmed, 2313.
Dodson, R. A., to be postmaster at Tucumcari, N. Mex.; nominated, 1609.
Dokey, George M., jr., to be postmaster at Beulah, Mich.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Dolan, Lola Fern, to be postmaster at Avilla, Ind.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 603.
Dole, Charles S., to be postmaster at Danville, Vt.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1332.
Dollarhide, Erskine Simpson, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Dollarhide, Erskine S., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 4402.
Donaghy, Frederick, to be postmaster at Universal City, Cal.; nominated, 798; confirmed, 1013.
Donahue, Alfred H., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Donald, Harry G., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Donald, John A., to be member of United States Shipping Board; nominated, 745; confirmed, 1834.
Donaldson, Mattie C., to be postmaster at Froid, Mont.; nominated, 4403.
Donavin, Kirkwood H., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Doniat, Franz A., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Donlan, Thomas J., to be postmaster at Dollar Bay, Mich.; nominated, 4403.
Donnally, William, to be assistant dental surgeon, Navy Dental Reserve Corps; nominated, 4402.
Donnelly, Edward T., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4401.
Donohoo, Walter Roy, to be postmaster at Pearl, Ill.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1424.
Donohue, John L., to be postmaster at Rockland, Me.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1071.
Donovan, Andrew E., to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Dool, George D., to be postmaster at Calexico, Cal.; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 1332.
Dorsey, Benjamin H., to be surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Dosé, Frederic Charles, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Dosé, Frederic Charles, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3501.
Dougherty, Louis R., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4401.
Doughtry, Robin B., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Douglas, E. O., to be postmaster at Sebring, Fla.; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 1910.
Douglas, Sydney W., to be postmaster at Pembina, N. Dak.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Dowling, Paul J., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Downer, J. D., to be postmaster at Downers Grove, Ill.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 1013.
Downes, Oliver L., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Downing, Floyd W., to be postmaster at Byron, Mich.; nominated, 4403.
Doxey, John L., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Doyle, Walter E., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 601; confirmed, 747.
Drain, Jesse C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 799.
Drane, Arthur H., to be assistant surgeon, Navy Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 2693.
Dreisonstok, Joseph Y., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Drewry, Guy Humphrey, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 2312.
Drexler, Emily M., to be postmaster at Brandon, Minn.; nominated, 1127.
Driscoll, Francis O., to be postmaster at Staten Island, N. Y.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1013.
Du Bose, William G., to be naval constructor with rank of commander in Navy; nominated, 3501.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Ducey, David F., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Dudenhoffer, Edward H., to be postmaster at Harvel, Ill.; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 2187.
Dudgeon, W. T., to be postmaster at Walton, Ky.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1013.
Dudley, Roy, to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Duffey, Harold John, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Du Frene, Emma M., to be postmaster at Middleton, Wis.; nominated, 1128.
Dunbar, Arthur W., to be medical inspector in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Dunbar, Orrie, to be postmaster at Newark, Ill.; nominated, 1909; confirmed, 2313.
Dunbar, Palmer H., jr., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Duncan, Charles B., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Duncan, Donald F., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Duncan, George B., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 799.
Duncan, Jonathan W., to be postmaster at Malakoff, Tex.; nominated, 4404.
Duncan, Walter E., to be postmaster at Newburg, Mo.; nominated, 1910; confirmed, 2265.
Dunlap, Robert H., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2693.
Dunn, Harry Howell, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Dunn, John Lawrence, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Dunsworth, James L., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4401.
Durant, Armand, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
——— to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2310.
Durfee, Lucius L., to be colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 799.
Durfee, Thomas J., to be postmaster at Bieber, Cal.; nominated, 2312.
Durrett, Joseph H., to be assistant surgeon, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Dwyer, Eugene M., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2311.
Dwyer, Philip A., to be postmaster at Stonington, Ill.; nominated, 1909; confirmed, 2313.
Dyer, Rolla Eugene, to be assistant surgeon, Public Health Service; nominated, 389; confirmed, 1332.
Eaman, W. M., to be postmaster at Dutton, Mont.; nominated, 4403.
Earle, John B., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Earle, Joseph H., to be major, Corps of Engineers, United States Army; nominated, 4633.
Earle, Ralph, to be Chief of Bureau of Ordnance, Navy Department, with rank of rear admiral; nominated, 647; confirmed, 647.
Earp, James Marsden, to be second lieutenant, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 798; confirmed, 1012.
Eastlund, John A., to be postmaster at Kennedy, Minn.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1424.
Eastman, Clyde L., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 799.
Eastmond, Charles, to be assistant surgeon, Navy Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 3012.
Eaton, Starr Sedgwick, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Eberle, Sidney Sohns, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Echols, Oliver Patton, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Eckel, George J., to be assistant surgeon in Medical Reserve Corps of Navy; nominated, 2312.
Eddy, Manton Sprague, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1682.
Edgarton, James Alfred, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Edmunds, Meade Castleton, to be assistant surgeon, Public Health Service; nominated, 389; confirmed, 1332.
Edson, Alan Bartle, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Edwards, Edmund Bernard, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Edwards, Thomas H., to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Eggert, Ernest F., to be naval constructor with rank of commander in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Ehlert, John Frederick, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Eichenbaum, Samuel, to be postmaster at Corning, Ohio; nominated, 1910; confirmed, 2265.
Eichman, Alphonse R., to be postmaster at Trempealeau, Wis.; nominated, 747.
Eidemiller, Aaron Fouts, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Eignor, Leslie E., to be postmaster at Pine Hill, N. Y.; nominated, 4403.
Eldridge, Samuel W., to be postmaster at Apopka, Fla.; nominated, 4634.
Elliott, Edward G., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3691.
Elliott, Edwin Eugene, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Elliott, John, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Elliott, Middleton S., to be medical inspector in Navy; nominated, 4402.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Ellis, Athael Barry, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Ellis, Athael B., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3691.
Ellis, Earl H., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Ellis, Paul Murray, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1683.
Ells, Gordon W., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Emerson, Clarence Waldo, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Emison, James W., to be postmaster at Alamo, Tenn.; nominated, 1128; confirmed, 1610.
Emmanuelli, Felix, to be captain, Porto Rico Regiment of Infantry; nominated, 492; confirmed, 800.
Emmanuelli, Louis S., to be captain, Porto Rico Regiment of Infantry; nominated, 492; confirmed, 800.
Emmerson, George H., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Emmet, Robert R. M., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Emory, Woolman G., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Emrich, Roy P., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Engeldinger, Karl, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
England, De Vere, to be postmaster at Woodland, Mich.; nominated, 3013.
Englehart, Alva Franklin, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 2312.
Engleman, Irving Howard, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
English, Burt, to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Enlow, Gertrude A., to be postmaster at Covert, Mich.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Ennis, Robert Hayes, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Erickson, Harry E., to be postmaster at Linn Grove, Iowa; nominated, 495; confirmed, 1332.
Erkenbeck, James L., to be postmaster at Grand Junction, Mich.; nominated, 1910.
Erskine, Fred S. N., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Ervin, Robert Gilpin, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Ervin, Robert T., to be United States district judge for southern district of Alabama; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1834.
Etzell, George A., to be postmaster at Clarissa, Minn.; nominated, 4403.
Evans, Francis T., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Evans, James Moore, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 2312.
Evans, John, to be postmaster at Duncan, Ariz.; nominated, 1909; confirmed, 2265.
Evans, Joseph C., to be postmaster at Beulah, N. Dak.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Everett, George T., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 3012.
Everett, Joseph E. J., to be postmaster at Osborn, Mo.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Evers, Clarence P., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Everson, John H., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Everson, Kirke B., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Ewing, Arthur J., to be receiver of public moneys at Coeur d'Alene, Idaho; nominated, 1480; nominated, 1681.
Fagg, Lawrence Wellburn, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Fahey, Seely Bernard, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Fahrney, Charles E., to be postmaster at Timberville, Va.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Fairbank, Leigh Cole, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Fairhurst, James, to be postmaster at Winchester, Kans.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Faris, Melvin G., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 799.
Farley, Louis C., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 3691.
Farley, Oscar M., to be postmaster at Wheatland, Ind.; nominated, 3013.
Farmer, Archie Arrington, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Farmer, John A., to be postmaster at Linn Creek, Mo.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Farrell, Thomas Francis, to be second lieutenant, Corps of Engineers, in Army; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Farren, Charles F., to be postmaster at Woodmont, Conn.; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 1332.
Farrington, Frank, to be postmaster at Diboll, Tex.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1013.
Fassett, Harold S., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Faulk, Shedrick J., to be postmaster at Jeffersonville, Ga.; nominated, 495.
Faulkner, Albert U., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4401.
Fay, Jeanann M., to be postmaster at East Ely, Nev.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1332.
Fay, William G., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Febiger, George Lea, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Fegan, Joseph C., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Feland, Logan, to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Fellows, Harold Charles, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Fenner, Edward B., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 2693.
Ferguson, John N., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 3691.
Ferguson, Rufus A., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Ferguson, Frank K., to be lieutenant colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Ferrin, Charles Sabin, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Ferron, Paul L., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 492; confirmed, 1013.
Ferry, Frank, jr., to be postmaster at Bayhead, N. J.; nominated, 4403.
Fibich, Michael Joseph, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Fickel, William H., to be assistant surgeon, Navy Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 2313.
Field, Ardelia M., to be postmaster at Dietrich, Ill.; nominated, 745; confirmed, 1013.
Field, John L., to be postmaster at Quincy, Wash.; nominated, 4404.
Fielding-Reid, Francis, to be second lieutenant United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Fields, John A., to be postmaster at Powersville, Mo.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Fink, Ida M., to be postmaster at Crow's Landing, Cal.; nominated, 3501.
Finkbiner, David Ephraim, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Finley, James Randlett, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Finnegan, Margaret G., to be postmaster at Nevada City, Cal.; nominated, 4634.
Finney, Earl P., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 492; confirmed, 601.
Fischbach, John P., to be postmaster at Granville, Iowa; nominated, 1909; confirmed, 2265.
Fisher, Henry Granville, to be captain, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 389; confirmed, 601.
Fisher, John Thomas, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Fisher, Milton Raymond, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Fiske, Norman Edgar, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Fitch, James B., to be postmaster at Mooers, N. Y.; nominated, 2313; confirmed, 2514.
Fitzpatrick, James, to be postmaster at Sawyer, N. Dak.; nominated, 4403.
Fleming, Robert J., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 492; confirmed, 800.
Fletcher, Emma S., to be postmaster at Havana, Fla.; nominated, 1127.
Fletcher, Mabelle, to be postmaster at Adams, N. Dak.; nominated, 4403.
Flounders, Harry Batten, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Floyd, Henry F., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Floyd, Oliver, to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
——— to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Foley, Frank Cornelius, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Foley, John W., to be postmaster at Amador City, Cal.; nominated, 3501.
Forbes, Donald William, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Force, May C., to be postmaster at Chestertown, N. Y.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Ford, Edwin R., to be postmaster at Jonesville, La.; nominated, 4403.
Forgus, Harry H., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Forrest, Robert B., to be postmaster at Lake Wilson, Minn.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1424.
Forrestel, William J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Fort, John Franklin, to be member of Federal Trade Commission; nominated, 3691.
Foster, Clark B., to be postmaster at Dayton, Oreg.; nominated, 4404.
Foster, Frederick, to be veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Foster, Hamilton Knight, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Foster, John, to be postmaster at Washington, Pa.; nominated, 1609.
Foster, John C., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Foster, Robert J., to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Fountain, Lee Stanley, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Foushee, Charlie G., to be postmaster at Ramseur, N. C.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 1013.
Fowler, George C., to be assistant dental surgeon, Navy Dental Reserve Corps; nominated, 4402.
Fowler, William H., to be postmaster at Paton, Iowa; nominated, 3501.
Fowlkes, Thomas Lee, to be postmaster at Ridgley, Tenn.; nominated 498; confirmed, 747.
Fowlkes, William B., to be assistant surgeon, Navy Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 4402.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Fox, Donald R., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3501.
Fox, William, to be postmaster at Dorris, Cal.; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 1332.
Foy, Edward J., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Foy, Robert C., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Foy, Robert C., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4401.
France, Arthur L., to be postmaster at Gillett, Ark.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 1272.
Francis, George H., to be postmaster at Patagonia, Ariz.; nominated, 2312.
Franke, Gustav H., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Franklin, George Charles Henry, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 601; confirmed, 799.
Franklin, Walter R., to be postmaster at McLoud, Okla.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Frantz, S. D., to be postmaster at Mullens, W. Va.; nominated, 4634.
Fraser, Alexander G., to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Fraser, Archibald E., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Fraser, Walter, to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Frasier, Lyman Sheridan, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed 1682.
Frazier, George M., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 2313.
Frazier, Griffin G., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Fredendall, Floyd R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 799.
Fredin, John Frederick, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Freehoff, William Francis, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Freeman, Arthur, to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Freeman, Lewis B., to be postmaster at Paris Islands, S. C.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
French, Francis H., to be brigadier general in Army; nominated, 390; confirmed, 442.
French, Fred G., to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
French, Paul Hills, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Freyer, Frank B., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 2187; confirmed, 2313.
Friedrick, Ernest, to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
Frierson, Meade, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Frizzell, Lawrence Cordell, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Frost, Joseph A., to be postmaster at Williamstown, N. Y.; nominated, 4403.
Frost, Wade H., to be surgeon in Public Health Service; nominated, 2514.
Frucht, Max M., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Freyer, Eli T., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Fugate, Jesse H., jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Fulgham, Lawson B., to be postmaster at Voth, Tex.; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 1835.
Fuller, Ben H., to be colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2693.
Fuller, Edward C., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Fuller, Justin Keyser, to be assistant surgeon, Public Health Service; nominated, 389; confirmed, 1332.
Fuller, Sam George, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Fuquay, J. N., to be postmaster at Lillington, N. C.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1013.
Gage, Fred B., to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Gallaher, Charles W., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2312.
Gallmoyer, Jacob H., to be postmaster at Topton, Pa.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1071.
Galloway, Charles C., to be assistant dental surgeon, Navy Dental Reserve Corps; nominated, 4402.
Galt, Alexander, to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3501.
Gamble, Jeanette, to be postmaster at Portal, N. Dak.; nominated, 4634.
Gamborg-Andresen, Carl, to be lieutenant colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Ganoe, William A., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 800.
Gardner, Howard E., to be assistant surgeon, Navy Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 2313.
Garner, John F., to be postmaster at Mill Creek, Okla.; nominated, 1609.
Garrett, James M., jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2312.
Garrett, John Christian, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Garrison, David G. C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 3012.
Gerbill, Roy B., to be postmaster at Delton, Mich.; nominated, 3013.
Carver, Rolland R., to be assistant surgeon, Navy Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 2313.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Gates, Oscar Irving, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Gauss, E. F., to be postmaster at Shenandoah, Iowa; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 2265.
Gay, Mary L., to be postmaster at Fleming, Ky.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Gayle, Lester Templeton, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Gearhart, Clyde M., to be assistant dental surgeon, Navy Dental Reserve Corps; nominated, 4402.
Gearing, Henry C., jr., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 2313.
Geary, John B., to be postmaster at South Plainfield, N. J.; nominated, 4403.
Geer, Joseph White, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Geer, Solomon, to be postmaster at Puente, Cal.; nominated, 4402.
Geiger, Roy S., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
George, Bessie G., to be postmaster at Van Hook, N. Dak.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Gerow, Lee Saunders, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Geyer, Peter C., jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Geyer, Ray E., to be postmaster at Star City, Ind.; nominated, 3013.
Ghent, Daniel T., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
Gibson, William Z., to be postmaster at Gibson, N. C.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 1013.
Giffen, Robert C., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Gilbert, J. B., to be postmaster at Huntingdon, Tenn.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Gilchrist, Charles P., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Gilchrist, Hugh Coskery, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Gile, Richard Dexter, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Giles, William J., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
Gill, Charles C., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3501.
Gill, George Patrick, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 491; confirmed, 799.
Gill, Howard Francis, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Gillett, George Martin, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Gillette, Ward W., to be postmaster at Benjamin, Tex.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Gillfillan, Jay Edward, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Gillogly, Andrew J., to be postmaster at Sidell, Ill.; nominated, 495.
Gilman, Lewis N., to be postmaster at Allerton, Mass.; nominated, 2312.
Gingles, Orla C., to be postmaster at Schoolcraft, Mich.; nominated, 3013.
Glanville, William E., to be assistant surgeon, Navy Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 2313.
Glassford, Leo R., to be postmaster at Capac, Mich.; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 1834.
Glenn, Charles F., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Glover, Zenella K., to be postmaster at Millport, Ala.; nominated, 2312.
Goddard, Arthur Herbert, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Good, Lara Paul, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Goodbar, Joe L., to be postmaster at Charleston, Ark.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 1272.
Goode, C. Ola, to be postmaster at Melcher, Iowa; nominated, 3501.
Goodman, John F., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Goodman, Moses, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Goodson, Robert L., to be postmaster at New Cambria, Mo.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Goodwin, Walton, jr., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Goold, Herbert S., to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 4; nominated, 388; confirmed, 747.
Gordon, George P., to be postmaster at Waverly, Mo.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Gorman, Anthony R., to be postmaster at Raymond, Ill.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 1013.
Goss, John L., to be postmaster at Expedit, Pa.; nominated, 3502.
Gouch, William F., to be postmaster at Canova, S. Dak.; nominated, 4404.
Gough, John Edwin, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Goul, George E., to be postmaster at Sand Lake, Mich.; nominated, 2312.
Gould, John H., to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Gould, William B., to be postmaster at Glenwood, Ark.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 1272.
Gracey, Edgar D., to be postmaster at Galena, Mo.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Grady, John, to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
Graham, Roy Charles Lemach, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Grandle, Harley R., to be postmaster at Leesburg, Ohio; nominated, 498; confirmed, 604.
Granniss, Durward E., to be postmaster at New Preston, Conn.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 603.
Grant, Chapman, to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 391; confirmed, 800.
Grant, James F., to be postmaster at Barrington, R. I.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 800.
Grant, John, to be postmaster at Stanwood, Iowa; nominated, 3501.
Graves, James C., to be postmaster at Glacier Park, Mont.; nominated, 3013.
Graves, Mildred B., to be postmaster at Palisade, Nebr.; nominated, 4403.
Gray, John A., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Grayson, Cary T., to be medical director with rank of rear admiral in Navy; nominated, 1608.
Grayson, Robert H., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 1608; confirmed, 2313.
Grayville, Amos K., to be postmaster at Nokesville, Va.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Greble, Edwin St. J., to be brigadier general in Army; nominated, 390; confirmed, 442.
Green, Aubra M., to be postmaster at Armstrong, Mo.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1013.
Green, Henry S., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Green, Joe, to be postmaster at Ratcliff, Tex.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Green, Oscar L., to be postmaster at Plainview, Ark.; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 2313.
Greene, George L., jr., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Greene, Joseph Nathaniel, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Greenleaf, Robert G., to be chief machinist in Navy; nominated, 601; confirmed, 747.
Greenslade, John W., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 3691.
Greer, Joseph Madison, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 491; confirmed, 799.
Greer, Solomon H., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Greer, William L., to be postmaster at Horatio, Ark.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 1272.
Gregg, Grover C., to be postmaster at Yorklyn, Del.; nominated, 798; confirmed, 1013.
Gregg, Harry W., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 492; confirmed, 800.
Gregory, Hugh McNair, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Greig, Stuart O., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Gresham, William F., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 2187; confirmed, 2313.
Grieves, Clarence J., to be assistant dental surgeon, Navy Dental Reserve Corps; nominated, 4402.
Griffin, Frank H., to be postmaster at Good Thunder, Minn.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1424.
Griffin, Gerald E., to be veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Griffin, Raphael, to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Griffin, Robert S., to be rear admiral in Navy; nominated, 2312.
Griffin, Thomas James, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Griffin, Thomas P., to be postmaster at Carrollton, Mich.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1834.
Griffith, Charles T., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Grillson, Tillmon W., to be postmaster at Bellingham, Minn.; nominated, 1127.
Grimm, Frank H., to be postmaster at Cassville, Wis.; nominated, 3502.
Grimet, J. Frank, to be postmaster at Mount Hope, W. Va.; nominated, 4404.
Groebner, Joseph, to be postmaster at Wabasso, Minn.; nominated, 4403.
Grove, Washington B., to be medical inspector in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Grow, Robert Walker, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1681.
Grubb, Oscar M., to be postmaster at Kennedy, N. Y.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1013.
Gruber, William R., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 492; confirmed, 1013.
Gruhn, Oscar Louis, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Grutzman, Walter R., to be veterinarian in Army; nominated, 4633.
Gulick, Louis M., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2693.
Gulliver, Louis J., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Gutensohn, Alvin G., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 3012.
Gwinn, W. W., to be postmaster at Harrington, Wash.; nominated, 4404.
Haag, Maurice W., to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 3011.
Haight, Sadie, to be postmaster at Creston, Wash.; nominated, 2313.
Haines, Henry C., to be assistant adjutant and inspector with rank of colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2693.
Haines, Oliver Lincoln, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Hakansson, Erik G., to be assistant surgeon, Navy Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 2313.
Haldeman, William Tecumseh, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Hale, Willis Henry, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Halford, Frank, to be assistant quartermaster with rank of major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Hall, Dickinson P., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Hall, Farragut Ferry, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Hall, H. A., to be postmaster at Bigpine, Cal.; nominated, 4402.
Hall, Harrison, to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Hall, Henry B., to be postmaster at Courtland, Ala.; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Hall, Hugh, to be postmaster at Litchfield, Ill.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 1273.
Hall, James M., to be postmaster at Roseboro, N. C.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1332.
Hall, Newt H., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Halleck, Joseph D., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Halligan, John, jr., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 2693.
Halpin, James A., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Halsey, William F., jr., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Hamblen, Archelaus Lewis, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Hamel, Alfred Rickert, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Hamilton, George W., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Hamilton, John M., to be postmaster at Shiloh, Ohio; nominated, 498; confirmed, 604.
Hamilton, Ray, to be postmaster at Washta, Iowa; nominated, 1909.
Hamilton, Stuart Adams, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Hammer, Sallie A., to be postmaster at McMinnville, Tenn.; nominated, 3013.
Hamner, George C., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Hand, Chester L., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Handy, Thomas Troy, to be second lieutenant; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Hanna, William Carleton, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Hansen, Ingild, to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Hanvey, George A., jr., to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Harcrow, Henry G., to be postmaster at Rochester, Tex.; nominated, 3013.
Hardigg, Jep Casey, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Harding, Chester, to be governor of the Panama Canal; nominated, 798; confirmed, 1012.
Harding, Maggie L., to be postmaster at Brownsburg, Ind.; nominated, 4403.
Hardy, John Henry, to be chaplain with rank of first lieutenant in Army; nominated, 4402.
Hare, Agnes J., to be postmaster at Mabton, Wash.; nominated, 3014.
Harer, Leon G., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Harkins, Edward L., to be postmaster at Shirley, Mass.; nominated, 746.
Harllee, William C., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Harlow, Abner, to be postmaster at Mattapoisett, Mass.; nominated, 4403.
Harper, John B., to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Harper, Roy B., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3011.
Harpole, John D., to be postmaster at Nebo, Ill.; nominated, 745; confirmed, 1013.
Harriman, Merton C., to be postmaster at Jackson, N. H.; nominated, 3013.
Harrington, Allen W., jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3501.
Harrington, Arthur Sandray, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Harrington, J. Lawrence, to be postmaster at Aulander, N. C.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 1071.
Harris, A. B., to be postmaster at Leeton, Mo.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Harris, D. Rolla, to be postmaster at Sugar, Idaho; nominated, 4403.
Harris, Edward E., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Harris, Frederic R., to be civil engineer in Navy with rank of rear admiral; nominated, 1608; confirmed, 2313.
Harris, Jack H., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Harris, Kate, to be postmaster at Leesburg, Ga.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 2313.
Harris, Walter R., to be postmaster at Moulton, Ala.; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Harrison, Edwin R., to be postmaster at Byars, Okla.; nominated, 3502.
Harrison, Marion E., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Harrison, Ray Parker, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Harrison, Walter Trousdale, to be assistant surgeon, Public Health Service; nominated, 389; confirmed, 1332.
Harrison, William S., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Hart, Edward S., to be postmaster at Elton, La.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 2313.
Hart, Franklin A., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3501.
Hart, Robert Watson, to be assistant surgeon, United States Public Health Service; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 1332.
Harter, Gilbert S., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Hartman, Arthur Winton, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Harvey, Harry E., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Hatcher, James Lindley, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Hatfield, Charles H., to be postmaster at Hydra, Okla.; nominated, 4404.
Hatfield, Floyd, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Hathaway, Leander Russell, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Hathaway, Leander R., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3691.
Hathaway, Paul, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Hause, Francis Arnold, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Havlicek, Horace Kostomlatsky, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1681.
Hawkinson, Howard Edwards, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Hawthorne, William G., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Hayden, Alfred Dorr, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1683.
Haydon, Jesse W., to be postmaster at Calumet, Okla.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1683.
Hayes, Philip, to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Haynes, James R., to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Hays, Leonard, to be assistant surgeon, Navy Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 2313.
Hayward, James W., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Haywood, John E., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Heaps, Ernest C., to be postmaster at Worthington, Ohio; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1332.
Heard, Falkner, to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 492; confirmed, 1013.
Heard, Ralph Townsend, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Hearin, Charles Turner, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Heavey, John W., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 4401.
Hedquist, George H., to be postmaster at Goodman, Wis.; nominated, 1128.
Heen, William H., to be third judge of circuit court, first circuit of Hawaii; nominated, 3501.
Heffern, Charles A., to be postmaster at Ashkum, Ill.; nominated, 2312.
Heffern, Peter J., to be postmaster at Pawtucket, R. I., nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1910.
Heidenreich, Mabel C., to be postmaster at Hazen, Nev.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1332.
Heidner, Samuel J., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 3012.
Heileman, Frank August, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Heilmann, Ernest, to be chief boatswain in Navy; nominated, 2312.
Heim, Schuyler F., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Heinen, Theresa, to be postmaster at Random Lake, Wis.; nominated, 499.
Heiner, John Nathaniel, to be third lieutenant of Engineers, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 389; confirmed, 601.
Heiner, Robert G., to be surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Heintzleman, P. Stewart, to be United States consul general, class 4; nominated, 389; confirmed, 601.
Hellier, Charles T., to be postmaster at Jensen, Fla.; nominated, 4402.
Hellman, Wilfurth, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Hemingway, Henry George, to be second lieutenant, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 389; confirmed, 601.
Henderson, John Taylor, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Henderson, Samuel L., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Hendren, Paul, to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Hendrickson, Henry, to be postmaster at Hoffman, Minn.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 1013.
Henley, John R., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Henry, J. R., to be postmaster at Dawson, Pa.; nominated, 1127.
Hensley, William N., jr., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 800.
Henson, Kenneth T., to be postmaster at Carter, Okla.; nominated, 1332.
Hepburn, Howard C., to be postmaster at Prairie Farm, Wis.; nominated, 4404.
Hepler, Alexander B., to be assistant surgeon, Navy Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 2313.
Herbster, Victor D., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Herman, Harrison, to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Hermann, John R., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Heron, Gordon Joseph Fred, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Heron, Kenneth, to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Herring, Woodard M., to be postmaster at Inverness, Miss.; nominated, 3502.
Herringshaw, George Macdonald, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Herron, Charles D., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
——— to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4401.
Hervey, Harcourt, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Herzer, Charles Joseph, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Hess, Charles H., jr., to be postmaster at Blunt, S. Dak.; nominated, 4404.
Hess, J. J., to be postmaster at Sentinel Butte, N. Dak.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Hess, Oliver Arlington, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Hetler, William T., to be postmaster at Nescopeck, Pa.; nominated, 2313.
Heyser, Marvin Conrad, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Hickey, Bernard F., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
——— to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Hicks, Hazel I., to be postmaster at Linden, Wis.; nominated, 1128.
Hill, Charles S., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2693.
Hill, Ira Benjamin, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 2312.
Hill, Kinchen L., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Hill, Owen, to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 492; confirmed, 601.
Hill, William P., to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Hilliard, John C., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Hills, Jedediah Huntington, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Hilt, Mitchell, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Hindrelet, Frank, to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 601; confirmed, 747.
Hinkamp, Clarence N., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Hinman, Dale Durkee, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Hinman, Harriette H., to be postmaster at North Stratford, N. H.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Hinman, Norman S., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3501.
Hinton, Frank Everett, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Hird, Harry B., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Hite, Rollah E., to be postmaster at Pleasantville, Ohio; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1332.
Hitz, William, to be associate justice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia; nominated, 389; confirmed, 747.
Hoadley, Sheldon Eliot, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Hoaglund, Arthur W., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Hochwalt, Earl B., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 492; confirmed, 1013.
Hodgman, William A., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Hoerner, Frank L., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Hoffman, Beatrice, to be postmaster at Harper, Kans.; nominated, 3501.
Hoffman, George M., to be lieutenant colonel, Corps of Engineers, United States Army; nominated, 4633.
Hoffman, Joseph H., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Hoffmann, Arthur Joseph, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Hoggatt, W. L., to be postmaster at Salem, Iowa; nominated, 4634.
Holben, Arthur Franklin Joseph, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Holbrook, Lucius R., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Holcomb, Thomas, jr., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Holden, Oliver Franklin, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Holderness, Arthur W., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 800.
Holland, John D., to be postmaster at Waveland, Ind.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 603.
Holliday, Seymour E., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Hollingsworth, Charles P., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4401.
Holman, Oliver Irey, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Holmes, Gaston L., to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Holmes, Henry Benjamin, jr., to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Holmes, James Hill, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1682.
Holmes, Maurice G., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3501.
Holmes, Ralston S., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
Holzbaur, Frederick John, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2311.
Homan, John L., jr., to be postmaster at Eufaula, Okla.; nominated, 2313.
Hopkins, Samuel R., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4401.
Hough, Henry H., to be captain in Navy; nominated, 3691.
Honts, George E., to be postmaster at Eagle Rock, Va.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1013.
Hood, John, to be rear admiral in Navy; nominated, 2312.
Hooker, Richard S., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Hooks, Homer E., to be postmaster at Clermont, Fla.; nominated, 1127.
Hope, Edna F., to be postmaster at Dunedin, Fla.; nominated, 3012.
Hopkins, William, to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Hopkins, William W., to be postmaster at Bel Air, Md.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 2265.
Hord, Harriet R., to be postmaster at Superior, Mont.; nominated, 3013.
Hornbaker, Joseph N., to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Horner, Ralph B., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Horton, James R., to be postmaster at Altoona, Ala.; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 1424.
Hoskins, John Oliver, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2312.
Hostetler, Kate, to be postmaster at Wykoff, Minn.; nominated, 1127.
Houghland, Howard J., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Houghton, Junius H., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Householder, Eugene R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 800.
Houston, Laurence V., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2312.
Howard, Archie F., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Howard, James M., to be assistant surgeon, Navy Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 2313.
Howard, Samuel L., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Howe, Arthur M., to be postmaster at Elk Mound, Wis.; nominated, 1128.
Howe, Dan Dunbar, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Howell, Charles A., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Howell, Henry S., to be postmaster at Mill Creek, Okla.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Howell, T. C., to be postmaster at Chattanooga, Tenn.; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 1835.
Hoyt, Frederick R., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Hrdlicka, Mary H., to be postmaster at Cary Station, Ill.; nominated, 4403.
Hubbard, John Flavel, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2312.
Hudgins, John C., to be postmaster at Claremont, Va.; nominated, 4404.
Hudson, Henry E., to be postmaster at Whitwell, Tenn.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Hudson, Horace Lyle, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Hudson, Ross N., to be postmaster at Sanborn, N. Y.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1424.
Huebner, Clarence Ralph, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Huey, James McE., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Hufcut, George E., to be postmaster at Castorland, N. Y.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Huff, Curtis T., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Huff, Walter R., to be postmaster at Neshantic Station, N. Y.; nominated, 4403.
Hughes, John A., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Hughes, Thruston, to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4401.
Hull, George D., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Hull, Harry F., to be surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Humbert, John Horace, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Hume, Edgar Erskine, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 491; confirmed, 799.
Humeston, Adelbert E., to be postmaster at Colbran, Colo.; nominated, 2312.
Humphrey, Henry J. C., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Humphrey, Marion B., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Humphreys, William Henry, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Hunt, Irvin L., to be judge advocate with rank of major in Army; nominated, 491; confirmed, 799.
Hunt, Le Roy P., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3501.
Hunt, William E., to be postmaster at Kelseyville, Cal.; nominated, 1909; confirmed, 2265.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Hunter, Donald T., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Hunter, Muzette M., to be postmaster at Amity, Ark.; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 2313.
Hunter, Robert S., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Hunter, Tracy G., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2964.
——— to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Hunter, W. N., to be postmaster at Syracuse, Nebr.; nominated, 4634.
Huntington, Frederick William, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Hupp, John B., to be chief boatswain in Navy; nominated, 2312.
Hurlock, William E., to be postmaster at Hurlock, Md.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 800.
Hurt, Joseph M., jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Huse, Harry McL. P., to be rear admiral in Navy; nominated, 2312.
Hussey, Clark L., to be postmaster at Tipton, Okla.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1683.
Husson, William Morague, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1681.
Huston, Theodore F., to be postmaster at Deering, N. Dak.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Hutchinson, Arthur Blaine, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Hutson, James Cobb, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Hyatt, Robert F., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 492; confirmed, 1013.
Hydrick, Jacob L., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Hynes, William E., to be postmaster at Tolley, N. Dak.; nominated, 3013.
Iaukea, Curtis Piehu, to be secretary of Hawaii; nominated, 1126.
Imboden, Nelson Mark, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Infield, Joseph L., to be postmaster at Fredonia, Pa.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 1013.
Ingersoll, Royal E., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Ingraham, Charles N., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 1608; confirmed, 2313.
Ingram, Jonas H., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Ingram, Ralph E., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 799.
Ingram, Wharton Girard, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2311.
Irish, James McC., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Irish, Sara E. C., to be postmaster at Bay View, Mich.; nominated, 3501.
Irvin, John L., to be register of land office at Phoenix, Ariz.; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Irvine, Robert L., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 3691.
Irwin, Constant Louis, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Irwin, James Louis Pierre, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Irwin, Samuel S., to be postmaster at Kincaid, Kans.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Itskin, R. E., to be postmaster at Hazen, N. Dak.; nominated, 3502.
Ives, Albert R., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2312.
Jack, Elisha E., to be postmaster at Scooba, Miss.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Jackson, J. W., to be postmaster at Elgin, Tex.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Jackson, Joseph O., to be postmaster at Mountain Park, Okla.; nominated, 4404.
Jackson, William McKinley, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2312.
Jacobs, Irving W., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
——— to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Jacobsen, Arnold W., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Jacques, Arthur B., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Jadwin, John S., to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
James, Charles M., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
James, Jules, to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
James, Russell, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 799.
James, Stanley L., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 3012.
James, William C., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 1834.
Janda, Joseph F., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 799.
Janney, Richard M., to be postmaster at Gloucester, Va.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Jardine, William D., to be postmaster at Kenvil, N. J.; nominated, 3013.
Jarvis, Melville S., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 799.
Jay, Henry Davis, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Jefferis, Joseph R., to be veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Jefferis, Leslie Vance, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Jefferis, Mary A., to be postmaster at Wynnewood, Pa.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Jeffords, James F., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 1834.
Jenkins, Earl H., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Jenkins, John L., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 3012.
Jenkins, John Murray, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Jenkins, Olivia M., to be postmaster at Shuqualak, Miss.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Jenkins, Ralph H., to be assistant surgeon, Naval Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 4402.
Jennings, John A., to be postmaster at Rome City, Ind.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 603.
Jennings, John C., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Jensen, Harold L., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Jervey, Arthur Postell, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Jessop, Earl P., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 3691.
Jewell, Charles H., to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Jobson, Clarence Fenn, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Jocelyn, Stephen Perry, jr., to be second liuetenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Johannsen, Carl B., to be postmaster at Put in Bay, Ohio; nominated, 498; confirmed, 604.
Johns, A. M., to be postmaster at Wikall, Mont.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Johnson, Adelaide M., to be postmaster at Bode, Iowa; nominated, 3013.
Johnson, Benjamin K., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 3691.
Johnson, Bessie H., to be postmaster at Echo, Minn.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 1013.
Johnson, Ellen O., to be postmaster at Galatia, Ill.; nominated, 1909; confirmed, 2313.
Johnson, Gerald A., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Johnson, Harry D., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Johnson, Leo Edwin, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Johnson, Moulton K., to be medical inspector in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Johnson, Thomas J., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Johnston, Charles V., to be postmaster at Woolrich, Pa.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 2314.
Johnston, Edward Scott, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Johnstone, Gaston De P., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 492; confirmed, 601.
Joldersma, Rudolph D., to be assistant surgeon, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 601; confirmed, 747.
Jones, Albert M., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 492; confirmed, 1013.
Jones, Alexander H., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3691.
Jones, Charles Winship, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1683.
Jones, Edward Darlington, to be first lieutenant, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 389; confirmed, 601.
Jones, Herbert A., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Jones, James P., to be postmaster at Auburndale, Fla.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 603.
Jones, John D., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Jones, John Herbert, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Jones, Joseph M., to be postmaster at Vero, Fla.; nominated, 1127.
Jones, Kenneth Swank, to be second lieutenant, Corps of Engineers in Army; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Jones, Leila C., to be postmaster at Lincoln, Ala.; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Jones, Leslie Bryant Cullen, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Jones, Nathaniel Alexander, to be chaplain, with rank of first lieutenant, in Army; nominated, 4633.
Jones, Olive, to be postmaster at Cloudcroft, N. Mex.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 1835.
Jones, Paul Ireton, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Jones, Richard S., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Jones, Robert Otis, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Jones, Robert T., to be postmaster at Superior, Ariz.; nominated, 4402.
Jones, William John, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Jordan, Harry B., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Jordan, Leland, jr., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Jordan, Winfield B., to be postmaster at Pana, Ill.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1424.
Joslyn, Fred E., to be postmaster at Mantorville, Minn.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1424.
Joyce, Charles S., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 2312.
Juhl, H. P., to be postmaster at Thompson, Iowa; nominated, 3501.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Jumper, S. R., to be postmaster at Balboa, Cal.; nominated, 3501.
Jurgensen, Jeter H., to be postmaster at Lowden, Iowa; nominated, 3501.
Justice, Scott, to be postmaster at Logan, W. Va.; nominated, 1128; confirmed, 1332.
Kail, Arthur C., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Kain, William Patrick, to be second lieutenant, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 798; confirmed, 1012.
Kaiser, Louis A., to be captain in Navy; nominated, 3691.
Kalbfus, Edward C., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 3691.
Karow, Gustav, to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Kasten, William Henry, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1681.
Kaufman, Samuel, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Kavanagh, Thomas J., to be postmaster at Carpio, N. Dak.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Kaye, John Payne, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1681.
Kays, Harlow T., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Kayser, Harold Preston, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Kearney, Harvey Cecil, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Keating, Thomas F., to be postmaster at Novato, Cal.; nominated, 4402.
Keebler, George M., to be postmaster at Glassboro, N. J.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1013.
Keegan, John J., to be member of United States Employees' Compensation Commission; nominated, 899.
Keegan, Thomas M., to be postmaster at Ferndale, N. Y.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1013.
Keffer, J. W., to be postmaster at Starjunction, Pa.; nominated, 3502.
Kehoe, Charles Benjamin, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Keisker, Herman E., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Keleher, Timothy J., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Keller, Charles S., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 2693.
Kelley, Augusta M., to be postmaster at Centerville, Mass.; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 1834.
Kelley, Benjamin C., to be postmaster at Harwich Port, Mass.; nominated, 4403.
Kelley, Harold I., to be postmaster at Early, Iowa; nominated, 495; confirmed, 1332.
Kelly, Edward L., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4401.
Kelly, John R., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Kelly, Peter Kenrick, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Kelsh, Thomas, to be postmaster at Lamont, Iowa; nominated, 3013.
Kemp, Samuel B., to be second judge of circuit court, First Circuit of Hawaii; nominated, 3501.
Kennedy, James W., to be postmaster at Jayton, Tex., nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Kennedy, John T., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Kennedy, Selden B., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Kenner, Albert Walton, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 491; confirmed, 799.
Kerney, Michael S., to be postmaster at Drexel Hill, Pa.; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 2314.
Kerney, Victor, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Kerr, David Renwick, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Kessler, Robert W., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 2313.
Keyser, Ralph S., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Kibbee, Austin S., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
Kieffer, Pierre V., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Killian, Noe Calhoun, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Kilpatrick, Walter K., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Kimberly, Victor A., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 3691.
Kimmel, Husband E., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
Kimmel, Harry Lispenard, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Kindleberger, Charles P., to be medical inspector in Navy; nominated, 4402.
King, Charles A. E., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3012.
King, Edgar, to be major, Medical Corps of Army; nominated, 2514.
King, J. Craig, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
King, Joseph C., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3691.
King, Ogden D., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 3012.
King, Rufus, to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Kingman, Allen Frederick, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Kingman, Matthew H., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Kingsbury, Ross S., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Kinkaid, Thomas C., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Kinloch, Bohun Baker, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Kirjassoff, Max D., to be United States consul, class 8; nominated, 389; confirmed, 601.
Kirk, George B., to be postmaster at South Brownsville, Pa.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1273.
Kirkpatrick, Robert D., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Kirkwood, Robert G., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4401.
Kirst, Anthony J., to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1681.
Kirtland, Fred D., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Kiser, Sherman L., to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Klimes, Ludvik, to be postmaster at Verdigre, Nebr.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Knapp, Harry S., to be rear admiral in Navy; nominated, 3691.
Knapp, John A., to be postmaster at Binford, N. Dak.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1332.
Knauss, Harrison E., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Knight, Richard H., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Knight, Webster H., to be postmaster at Humboldt, Ariz.; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 1332.
Knopf, Stacy, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2312.
Knowles, William M., to be postmaster at Brewster, Mass.; nominated, 2312.
Knox, Forney M., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Kobes, Frank B., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Koch, Ralph A., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
Koebbe, Ezra E., to be assistant surgeon, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Koenig, Charles, to be postmaster at Brookfield, Ill.; nominated, 1909; confirmed, 2313.
Koenig, Egmont Francis, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Koennigs, Theodore, to be postmaster at Schleisingerville, Wis.; nominated, 1910.
Kolash, Frank J., to be postmaster at Norwalk, Cal.; nominated, 798; confirmed, 1013.
Koon, George H., to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Krafft, Henry Louis, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 491; confirmed 799.
Kraft, George Lester, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry, nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Kramer, Herman Frederick, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Kraus, Sydney M., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Krauthoff, Charles R., to be colonel, Quartermaster Corps of Army; nominated, 390; confirmed, 799.
Kroh, Merle M., to be postmaster at Le Grand, Cal.; nominated, 4634.
Kuhn, Joseph E., to be brigadier general in Army; nominated, 899; confirmed, 1423.
Kupfer, Albin Krill, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Kusel, George C., to be assistant dental surgeon, Navy Dental Reserve Corps; nominated, 4402.
La Bounty, Selah M., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Lacey, Arthur Titman, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Lackey, Henry E., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 3501.
Lacy, Ernest W., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Lacy, Lindsay H., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
Lafferty, Frederick Reid, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
La Garde, Louis Anatole, jr., to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 491; confirmed, 799.
Lair, Frank D., to be postmaster at Charleston, Mo.; nominated, 3502.
Laird, George H., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Laizure, Dallas C., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
La Master, Lawson, to be postmaster at Sellersburg, Ind.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 603.
Lamb, Harry A., to be postmaster at Ocean View, Va.; nominated, 3502.
Lamb, W. E., to be postmaster at Lepanto, Ark.; nominated, 4402.
Lamoreux, Thomas Liggett, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
La Motte, Robert Smith, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Lancaster, Joseph Le Tourneau, to be second lieutenant, United State Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Landers, Howard L., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Landes, James H., to be postmaster at Lewisville, Ark.; nominated, 3012.
Lando, Ellis, to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Landon, M. F., to be postmaster at Lehigh, Okla.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Landreth, Earl, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Landreth, Morton Lee, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Landrum, Eugene Manuel, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Lane, Jossoph E., to be postmaster at Flora, Miss.; nominated, 1910; confirmed, 2313.
Lane, Rufus H., to be assistant adjutant and inspector with rank of colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2693.
Lane, William H., to be postmaster at Leaksville, N. C.; nominated, 3013.
Lang, Clarence D.: to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 492; confirmed, 1013.
Lang, John W., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 800.
Langan, P. H., to be postmaster at Odell, Ill.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 1013.
Langford, Edward B., to be postmaster at Zolfo, Fla.; nominated, 3501.
Langford, Thomas Alexander, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Larin, Gertrude M., to be postmaster at Parshall, N. Dak.; nominated, 4403.
Larned, Paul A., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 3012.
Larned, William E., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Larsen, Aubrey M., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Larsen, Henry L., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
La Rue, Harry B., to be postmaster at Warm Springs, Va.; nominated, 1910; confirmed, 2314.
Latham, Charles H., to be postmaster at Eden, Tex.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Latimer, Julian L., to be captain in Navy; nominated, 3691.
Latlin, Jay Drake Billings, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Laurence, Randolph, to be postmaster at Roff, Okla.; nominated, 2313.
Lavender, Orville O., to be postmaster at Valley Center, Kans.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Laverty, Bernard, to be postmaster at Hitchcock, S. Dak.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 604.
Lawes, Herbert J., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 492; confirmed, 800.
Lawhead, William E., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Lawrason, George C., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Lawrence, Renn, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Lawrence, Robert H., to be postmaster at South Dartmouth, Mass.; nominated, 1910; confirmed, 2265.
Lawrence, William D., to be postmaster at Bryan, Tex.; nominated, 1910; confirmed, 2314.
Lay, Harry R., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Layer, Victor E., to be postmaster at Adams, Wis.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 1332.
Leahy, Lamar R., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
Leahy, William D., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Leard, Emil Watson, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Leary, Herbert F., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Le Bourgeois, Henry B., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Le Breton, David McD., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
Ledford, Shelby, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Leding, Ole J., to be postmaster at Cook, Minn.; nominated, 4634.
Lednum, J. Frank, to be postmaster at Preston, Md.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 2265.
Ledoux, Henri T., to be postmaster at Nashua, N. H.; nominated, 3013.
Lee, Edward K., to be assistant surgeon, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
———— to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Lee, Halvor, to be postmaster at Gary, Minn.; nominated, 2312.
Lee, Harry, to be lieutenant colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2693.
Lee, Henry Wideman, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Lee, Herbert Leonidas, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Lee, Jerome A., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Lee, Raymond E., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Lee, Sydney S., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Lee, Volney E., to be postmaster at North Powder, Oreg.; nominated, 4404.
Lee, Walter W., to be postmaster at Sykeston, N. Dak.; nominated 746; confirmed, 1332.
Lee, William Fenton, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Leech, James H., to be postmaster at Mer Rouge, La.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 1834.
Leech, Lloyd L., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2645.
Leedy, Robert B., to be postmaster at Neosho Falls, Kans.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Leeper, Marie, to be postmaster at Elk River, Idaho; nominated, 1909.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Legge, Barnwell Rhett, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
——— to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2310.
Leggett, Albert E., to be assistant surgeon, Navy Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 2313.
Leininger, Daniel B., to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Lejeune, John A., to be brigadier general in Marine Corps; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Lemly, Rowan P., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 799.
Lemon, Elvah R., to be postmaster at Portis, Kans.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Lemon, George L., to be postmaster at Acworth, Ga.; nominated, 2312.
Lenon, S. J., to be postmaster at Culver, Ind.; nominated, 4634.
Lent, May, to be postmaster at Byron, Cal.; nominated, 4634.
Lepley, Annie M., to be postmaster at Plymouth, Cal.; nominated, 3501.
Lescault, Charles, to be postmaster at Stanley, N. Dak.; nominated, 4634.
Lester, Alexander, to be postmaster at Omar, W. Va.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Lester, German Wallace, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Levis, William R., to be assistant surgeon, Navy Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 2313.
Lewis, Charles Walter, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Lewis, Evan E., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 3012.
Lewis, Harold Gordon, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Lewis, Lloyd H., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Lewis, N. Elmie, to be postmaster at Bertha, Minn.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 1013.
Lewis, Orville Emanuel, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Leys, James F., to be medical inspector in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Limbocker, Thomas Forrest, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Lindow, John, to be postmaster at Manawa, Wis.; nominated, 1128.
Lingo, Benjamin H., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Lisso, Samuel, to be postmaster at McNary, La.; nominated, 1910; confirmed, 2313.
Little, Louis McC., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Little, Riley McMillan, to be member of United States Employees' Compensation Commission; nominated, 899.
Littlejohn, I. Wells, to be postmaster at Pateros, Wash.; nominated, 1910; confirmed, 2314.
Livesay, William G., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Lloyd, John M., to be postmaster at Bennington, Okla.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1683.
Lock, Anna Belle, to be postmaster at Norwich, Kans.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1332.
Lockett, James M., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 799.
Lockwood, Clarence A., to be postmaster at Schroon Lake, N. Y.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1424.
Lofquist, Emanuel A., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Loftin, Edward H., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 2313.
Logan, Fred McIvor, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Logan, George C., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 2187; confirmed, 2313.
Logan, Leon M., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Logan, William M., to be postmaster at West Cheshire, Conn.; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 1332.
Lohr, Lenox Riley, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Lonergan, Edward F., to be postmaster at Millburn, N. Y.; nominated, 497.
Long, Anna M., to be postmaster at Marysvale, Utah; nominated, 499; confirmed, 800.
Long, Breckinridge, to be Third Assistant Secretary of State; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1910.
Long, Charles G., to be colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2693.
Long, Earl C., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
——— to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Long, Henry Cyrus, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Long, Roland R., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Longbrake, George Runyan, to be chaplain, with rank of first lieutenant, in Army; nominated, 4401.
Loomis, Sam C., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
Looney, Virgil L., to be postmaster at Walnut Grove, Mo.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1332.
Lopez, Andres, to be second lieutenant, Porto Rico Regiment of Infantry; nominated, 492; confirmed, 799.
Loring, Sylvester C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 4633.
Lowell, Roy D., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4634.
Loring, Walter B., to be postmaster at Holden, Mass.; nominated, 1910; confirmed, 2265.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Loughlin, John J., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Loughran, Joseph Simon, to be chaplain, with rank of first lieutenant, in Army; nominated, 389; confirmed, 799.
Loughridge, C. L., to be postmaster at Gallup, N. Mex.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 747.
Lowell, Jabez S., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Lowell, Roy D., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Lowman, Kenneth E., to be assistant surgeon, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Luby, Thomas M., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Lucas, John P., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 492; confirmed, 1013.
Lucas, William E., jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Luce, George T., to be postmaster at Hartwick, N. Y.; nominated, 1910; confirmed, 2314.
Lunger, Dudley, to be postmaster at Mayetta, Kans.; nominated, 1909.
Lusby, Cordelia F., to be postmaster at Wentzville, Mo.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Lusk, William V., to be veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Lutes, Le Roy, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Lutz, Charles A., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Lyle, Alexander G., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Lyman, Charles H., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Lynch, Patrick Lawrence, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Lynn, Edison Albert, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 2312.
Lyon, Gussie C., to be postmaster at Roswell, Ga.; nominated, 1909.
Lyons, David, to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 492; confirmed, 601.
Lytle, George A., to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
MacAdam, D. H., to be postmaster at Honolulu, Hawaii; nominated, 2312.
McAllister, Susie, to be postmaster at Fort Gaines, Ga.; nominated, 495.
McAlpin, John V., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
McBlain, Roberta H., to be postmaster at Fort Riley, Kans.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1332.
McBrayer, Lewis B., to be postmaster at Sanatorium, N. C.; nominated, 4403.
McBride, Allan C., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4401.
McCabe, Frederick, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
McCahey, John H., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3501.
McCallion, Daniel E., to be postmaster at Lakehurst, N. Y.; nominated, 4403.
McCallon, C. B., to be postmaster at Kiefer, Okla.; nominated, 3502.
McCandless, Byron, to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 3691.
McCartan, John J., to be postmaster at Fonda, Iowa; nominated, 3013.
McCatty, Kenneth, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
McCaughey, William J., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 800.
McCauley, Cleveland, to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
McClain, John F., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
McClanahan, Benjamin V., to be assistant surgeon, Navy Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 2313.
McCleave, William, to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4401.
McClellan, Edwin N., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
McClellan, Katharyn, to be postmaster at Marienville, Pa.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 1013.
McClendon, William H., to be Assistant Treasurer of the United States at New Orleans, La.; nominated, 1909; confirmed, 2313.
McClintic, William S., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 3691.
McClure, Clinton Inness, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
McClure, Walter Rayburn, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
McCollister, John Jay, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
McConkey, Clyde J., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 492; confirmed, 1013.
McConnell, Riley F., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 3691.
McConville, Joseph Jerome, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
McCoppin, Charles W., to be postmaster at Riviera, Tex.; nominated, 1910; confirmed, 2314.
McCormack, Frederick W., to be postmaster at Leighton, Ala.; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
McCormick, Joseph C., to be postmaster at Marion Center, Pa.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
McCoy, John J., to be postmaster at Cruna Lynne, Pa.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
McCoy, Ross, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1681.
McCracken, Minnie M., to be postmaster at Clearlake, Wash.; nominated, 4634.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
McCreary, Anson F., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
McCrory, Oren, to be postmaster at Fair Play, Mo.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
McCulloch, Edgar F., jr., to be postmaster at Elizabethtown, N. C.; nominated, 1609.
McCullough, Robert R. D., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
McCutcheon, William Henry, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
McDonald, Bertha, to be postmaster at Cuba, Kans.; nominated, 1909.
McDonald, Charlie, to be postmaster at Lovington, N. Mex.; nominated, 1609.
McDonald, George A., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
McDonald, John Warlick, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1681.
McDonald, Simon W., to be postmaster at Benzonia, Mich.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1834.
McDonnell, Paul Joseph, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
McDonnell, Richard T., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
McDowell, Clyde S., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
McDowell, John M., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
McDowell, Rex McKinley, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Mace, Emory Moses, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
McElhatten, Ezekiel S., to be postmaster at Shippensville, Pa.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 1071.
MacFall, Roscoe C., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 3691.
McFarland, William, to be postmaster at Dell Rapids, S. Dak.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1013.
McGarrigle, Charles A., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
McGavock, Joseph R., to be postmaster at Max Meadows, Va.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
McGhee, Harrison John, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 491; confirmed, 799.
McGill, John F., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2693.
McGinnis, C. M., to be postmaster at Genesee, Pa.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 2314.
McGorrisk, Edward F., to be postmaster at Arnolds Park, Iowa; nominated, 495; confirmed, 1332.
McGowan, Lewis A., to be postmaster at Providence, R. I.; nominated, 1332.
McGowan, Samuel, to be pay director with rank of rear admiral in Nevy; nominated, 1608; confirmed, 2313.
McGrath, Leon W., to be assistant surgeon, Navy Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 2313.
McGree, Cornelius N., to be postmaster at Hysham, Mont.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
McGregor, Warren W., to be postmaster at Bethlehem, N. H.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
McGuire, Henry D., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
McGuire, Martin, to be postmaster at Claremont, Minn.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1424.
McIlvain, William M., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
——— to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
McIntire, Ross T., to be assistant surgeon, Navy Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 2313.
McIntosh, J. T., to be postmaster at Sidney, Nebr.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1332.
MacIntyre, James, to be chief machinist in Navy; nominated, 601; confirmed, 747.
McIntyre, Vernon, to be postmaster at Marathon, Tex.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Mack, Cornelius H., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Mack, Emil H., to be postmaster at Petersburg, Nebr.; nominated, 2313.
Mack, Jacob A., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
McKee, Edward Lodge, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
McKee, Ernest W., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
McKee, Leslie R., to be postmaster at Sligo, Pa.; nominated, 3013.
McKelvy, William N., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2693.
McKenna, Eleanor R., to be postmaster at Palm Beach, Fla.; nominated, 1909.
Mackenzie, Gebriel Thornton, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1682.
McKim, Robert L., to be postmaster at Mount Victory, Ohio; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 1835.
McKinney, Harry M., to be postmaster at Yuma, Colo.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 603.
McKinzie, Florence F., to be postmaster at Wilson, Ark.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 1272.
McKittrick, Harold V., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
MacLachlan, Donald J., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 799.
McLain, Ralph Emerson, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
McLean, Norman T., to be surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
McLemore, Albert S., to be assistant adjutant and inspector with rank of lieutenant colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
McLemore, Albert S., to be assistant adjutant and inspector with rank of colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2693.
McLemore, Patrick C., to be postmaster at Lenzburg, La.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 1834.
McLendon, Idus Rowe, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
McMahon, Josephine, to be postmaster at Melbourne, Iowa.; nominated, 3501.
McMahon, Thomas A., to be postmaster at Far Rockaway, N. Y.; nominated, 2313; confirmed, 2514.
MacMorland, Edward Elliott, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
MacMullen, James Donald, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
McMurdo, Charles Douglas, to be veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
McNair, Charles W., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 2312.
McNair, Frederick V., jr., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
McNaughton, Malcolm, to be postmaster at New Auburn, Wis.; nominated, 3502.
McNealy, Raymond W., to be assistant surgeon, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 601; confirmed, 747.
McNeil, Edwin C., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 800.
McNiff, William T., to be chief gunner in Navy; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 2313.
Macon, Robert Chauncey, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
McRae, Donald Murdock, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 601; confirmed, 799.
MacRae, John A., to be postmaster at Badin, N. C.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1332.
McReynolds, Charles S., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
McVay, Charles B., jr., to be captain in Navy; nominated, 3691.
Maddox, James E., to be postmaster at Port St. Joe, Fla.; nominated, 3012.
Madigan, James H., to be postmaster at Harvard, Mass.; nominated, 3501.
Magill, Louis J., to be assistant adjutant and inspector with rank of lieutenant colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Magruder, Cary W., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 2313.
Magruder, Marshall, to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4401.
Maguire, Cedric Ferris, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 2312.
Mahan, Joseph A., to be postmaster at Natick, Mass.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 800.
Maher, Margaret McC., to be postmaster at Brewster, Minn.; nominated, 1127.
Maher, Philip, to be postmaster at Elmwood, Ill.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 1013.
Mahoney, John F., to be postmaster at Palmyra, Nebr.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1332.
Mahoney, John J., to be postmaster at Mittineague, Mass.; nominated, 3013.
Mahoney, Joseph A., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Mains, Matthew U., to be postmaster at Savage, Mont.; nominated, 4403.
Maish, Alexander W., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 800.
Malone, John F., to be postmaster at Southwick, Mass.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 800.
Malony, Harry J., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 492; confirmed, 1013.
Malven, Henry H., jr., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4401.
Mandell, Harold Chittenden, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1681.
Mangham, John N., to be postmaster at Zebulon, Ga.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 2313.
Mangold, Marson W., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Manly, Clarence J., to be lieutenant colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 745; confirmed, 1013.
Mann, Charles Clare, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Mann, Margaret W., to be postmaster at Swanquarter, N. C.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 1013.
Mann, Maury, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Mann, Samuel David, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Mann, Walter Ray, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Mann, William, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Manning, James Russell, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1683.
Manning, John W., to be postmaster at Elkins Park, Pa.; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 2314.
Mansfield, Harvey F., to be postmaster at Jonesport, Me.; nominated, 2312.
Mansfield, Isaac G., to be postmaster at Sykesville, Pa.; nominated, 4634.
Mainwaring, Edward B., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Mapes, Paul Whitten, to be Second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Marcotte, Ulysses J., to be postmaster at Cottonport, La.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 1834.
Marcy, Moses G., to be postmaster at Falk Village, Conn.; nominated, 3012.
Maricelli, Frank J., to be postmaster at Campti, La.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1834.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Marix, Arthur T., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Markland, Henry T., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Marmion, Paul C., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Marmion, Paul C., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3501.
Marolf, Anna, to be postmaster at Lowry City, Mo.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Marr, Harold E., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4401.
Marsden, Edith A. McM., to be postmaster at Hendrum, Minn.; nominated, 4403.
Marshall, Emma E., to be postmaster at Fernwood, Miss.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Marshall, Richard Jaquelin, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Marshall, William McN., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3501.
Martin, Alexander L., to be postmaster at Catawba Sanatorium, Va.; nominated, 1910; confirmed, 2314.
Martin, Clifford P., to be postmaster at McCurtain, Okla.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Martin, Edwin Allen, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Martin, George W., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
——— to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Martin, H. Roy, to be postmaster at Mayodan, N. C.; nominated, 3502.
Martin, John Boone, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Martin, John R., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Martin, Leon, to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Martin, Ralph, to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 2313.
Martin, Truby C., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4401.
Marx, Joseph Nixon, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Mashbir, Sidney Freudenthal, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Mason, Alfred Lewis, to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Massey, Fred I., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Matthews, Betty, to be postmaster at Mathis, Tex.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Matthews, Harry T., to be major, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Matthews, John, to be postmaster at Hudson Heights, N. J.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 2314.
Mattice, John B., to be postmaster at Wayland, N. Y.; nominated, 4403.
Mattison, Thomas P., to be postmaster at Bemus Point, N. Y.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Matz, Frank W., to be postmaster at Mohnton, Pa.; nominated, 3013.
Mauldin, Cleon W., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 1608; confirmed, 2313.
Maxwell, William Stirling, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
May, Henry A., to be surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
May, Mary F., to be postmaster at Dlo, Miss.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Mayer, John L., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
——— to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3691.
Mayers, Hadyn Potter, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Mayhugh, Cleo D., to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1681.
Meade, Edwin C., to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Meade, William J., to be postmaster at Pe Ell, Wash.; nominated, 2313.
Meadows, Oberon C., to be postmaster at Licking, Mo.; nominated, 1910; confirmed, 2265.
Mecleary, Howard B., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Meeks, Elisha A., to be postmaster at Nicholls, Ga.; nominated, 495.
Megill, Sebring C., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 492; confirmed, 1013.
Melton, Allan C., to be postmaster at Cement, Okla.; nominated, 4404.
Melton, A. W., to be postmaster at Bellevue, Tex.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1013.
Merchant, Berkeley T., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 800.
Merriam, L. H., to be postmaster at Grace, Idaho; nominated, 3013.
Merrill, Ida H., to be postmaster at Smithfield, Utah; nominated, 1128; confirmed, 1332.
Merrill, Wallace O., to be postmaster at Silver Lake, Minn.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 1013.
Merrill, Walter W., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 492; confirmed, 1013.
Mershon, Hertha L., to be postmaster at Wilcox, Nebr.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1013.
Messersmith, Robert E., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Metcalf, Clyde H., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Metcalf, Martin K., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Methven, Theron Gray, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Metzerott, Kirk Alexander, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1683.
Meyer, Charles B., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4401.
Meyer, Ella M., to be postmaster at Riley, Kans.; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 1834.
Meyers, Hugh T., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Michael, Herbert H., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 798; confirmed, 1013.
Michels, John, to be postmaster at Mitchell, S. Dak.; nominated, 1127.
Migdalski, Reynold F., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 800.
Miles, Alfred H., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Miles, Henry A., to be postmaster at Ramona, Cal.; nominated, 4402.
Millar, Edward A., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 492; confirmed, 1013.
Millard, Alfred, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Miller, Charles A., to be postmaster at Crystal River, Fla.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 603.
Miller, Charles J., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Miller, Clifford E., to be postmaster at Verona, Mo.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1013.
Miller, Conrad C., to be postmaster at Chadwick, Ill.; nominated, 1909.
Miller, Donald Octavius, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Miller, Donavin, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Miller, E. H., to be postmaster at Melstone, Mont.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Miller, Edwin C., to be postmaster at Morris, N. Y.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Miller, Frank A., to be postmaster at Gladstone, Mich.; nominated, 3501.
Miller, Glenn D., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Miller, Harriet I., to be postmaster at Lake Villa, Ill.; nominated, 3013.
Miller, Justin McC., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 601; confirmed, 747.
Miller, Laura A., to be postmaster at Culdesac, Idaho; nominated, 1331; confirmed, 1683.
Miller, Lyle H., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Miller, Robert Starkweather, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1683.
Miller, Roman J., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Miller, Walter C., to be assistant dental surgeon, Navy Dental Reserve Corps; nominated, 4402.
Millner, Bruce J., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4634.
Mills, Harvey R., to be postmaster at Camden, Ind.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 603.
Milne, Macgillivray, to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
Milton, James O., to be postmaster at Macclenny, Fla.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 603.
Miner, William, to be postmaster at Waipahu, Hawaii; nominated, 3013.
Mink, Owen J., to be surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Minton, Hugh Chapman, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2312.
Minton, John Thomas, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Mitchell, Aquila, to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Mitchell, F. W., to be postmaster at Ogenia, Wis.; nominated, 747.
Mitchell, Henry D., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Mitchell, Ralph J., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Moale, Edward Semple, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2311.
Moeller, Benjamin A., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Moeller, Benjamin A., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3691.
Moffett, William A., to be captain in Navy; nominated, 2693.
Moffitt, Caleb E., to be postmaster at Esmond, R. I.; nominated, 498.
Monihan, James G., to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1681.
Mood, Julius Andrew, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Moore, Charles Ellet, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1682.
Moore, Chester A., to be postmaster at Howard, Pa.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Moore, Don Gordon, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Moore, E. M., to be postmaster at Benton, Mo.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Moore, Elias L., to be postmaster at Willacoochee, Ga.; nominated, 3012.
Moore, James T., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Moore, J. B., to be postmaster at Smithville, Tenn.; nominated, 3502.
Moore, Orville Monroe, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481, confirmed, 1682.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Moore, Oscar W., to be postmaster at Rocklake, N. Dak.; nominated, 4403.
Moore, Robert Byron, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1683.
Moore, William Cheney, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Moorman, Frank, to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 492; confirmed, 1013.
Moreland, J. R., to be postmaster at Philipp, Miss.; nominated, 3502.
Moreno, Alfredo Giminez y, to be postmaster at Bayamon, P. R.; nominated, 4634.
Moreno, Joseph de Roulhac, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 491; confirmed, 799.
Morey, Franklin L., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Morgan, Edwin Denison, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Morrill, Milton Pierce, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 2312.
Morris, Ellen L., to be postmaster at May, Okla.; nominated, 4404.
Morris, Thomas R., to be postmaster at Clark, Mo.; nominated, 3013.
Morrison, Victor I., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Morrison, William E., to be Captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 799.
Morse, Edmond H., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Moseley, George V. H., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
——— to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4401.
Moses, Andrew, to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Moses, Charles C., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
Moses, Lawrence H., to be colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2693.
Mosher, Henry Ephraim, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Moss, Robert Graham, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Mount, George M., to be postmaster at Crothersville, Ind.; nominated, 1909; confirmed, 2265.
Mount, Thomas Ernest, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1683.
Mountford, Frederick A., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4401.
Mower, Charles W., to be postmaster at North Vassalboro, Me.; nominated, 4634.
Mowntcastle, Robert M., to be postmaster at Fort Gibson, Okla.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1683.
Moyer, Harry F., to be postmaster at Robesonia, Pa.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Moylan, Joseph J., to be postmaster at Waymart, Pa.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 1683.
Muckleston, Stanley Morton, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Mucklestone, Stanley M., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3501.
Mulcahy, Frederick H., to be postmaster at Gardner, Mass.; nominated, 496.
Mullan, Eugene H., to be surgeon in Public Health Service; nominated, 2514.
Mullenix, John Charles, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1681.
Munro, James N., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 601; confirmed, 800.
Munroe, William R., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Murdock, Cora M., to be postmaster at Oilton, Okla.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Murdoch, Franklin F., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Murphy, Daniel Newton, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Murphy, Edward Aloysius, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Murphy, Edward Eugene, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 2312.
Murphy, Mark V., to be postmaster at Bear Creek, Wis.; nominated, 499.
Murphy, Myrtle C., to be postmaster at Kingston, Okla.; nominated, 1332.
Murphy, Philip J., to be assistant surgeon, Navy Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 2313.
Murphy, Pierce A., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 492; confirmed, 800.
Murphy, Theodore R., to be first lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 492; confirmed, 1013.
Murphy, Truman O., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 799.
Murphy, William E., to be postmaster at Holdingford, Minn.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1424.
Murray, Gordon P., to be postmaster at Hollins, Va.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Murray, Joseph D., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Murray, Maxwell, to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Murray, Michael, to be postmaster at Rosebank, N. Y.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Musser, Robert C., to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Mussman, H. D., to be postmaster at Germania, Iowa; nominated, 3501.
Myers, George D., to be postmaster at Byhalia, Miss.; nominated, 2312.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Myers, John T., to be colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2693.
Myrick, William C., to be postmaster at East Machias, Me.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Nagle, Richard, to be postmaster at Marcus, Wash.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1013.
Nail, Thomas B., to be postmaster at Vine Grove, Ky.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Nash, Edgar, jr., to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Nash, J. V., to be postmaster at Cottonwood, Idaho; nominated, 1609.
Nattkemper, Robert L., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Navas, Manuel Benigno, to be second lieutenant, Porto Rico Regiment of Infantry; nominated, 492; confirmed, 799.
Naviaux, William A., to be postmaster at Lewellen, Nebr.; nominated, 3013.
Neblett, Cohn, to be United States district judge for district of New Mexico; nominated, 2187; confirmed, 2630.
Neblett, Herbert Clarence, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 491; confirmed, 799.
Neely, Ashton E., to be assistant surgeon, Navy Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 2313.
Neely, Richard F., to be postmaster at Franklin, Ky.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1013.
Neessen, Earl W., to be postmaster at Wellsburg, Iowa; nominated, 3013.
Neill, Edward R., to be postmaster at Indio, Cal.; nominated, 4402.
Nelson, Charles P., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 3691.
Nelson, Everett W., to be postmaster at Vermillion, Kans.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Nelson, Joseph N., to be postmaster at Inkster, N. Dak.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Nelson, W. S., to be postmaster at Sterling City, Tex.; nominated, 4404.
Neu, William J., to be postmaster at Three Lakes, Wis.; nominated, 1128.
Neumann, Emil F., to be postmaster at Gackle, N. Dak.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1332.
Neville, Edwin L., to be United States consul, class 6; nominated, 389; confirmed, 601.
Neville, Wendell C., to be colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2693.
Nevin, John D., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Newhouse, Lillian M., to be postmaster at Prague, Okla.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Newsom, Brantley Ingold, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Nichols, Edward Hunter, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1683.
Nichols, Newton L., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Nichols, Thomas M., to be postmaster at Jackman, Me.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1071.
Nimitz, Chester W., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Nix, Raphael R., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4401.
Nixon, Lonnie Hollis, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Noa, Walter E., to be assistant quartermaster with rank of major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Nockolds, Coleman, to be veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Nolan, John E., to be postmaster at Reedsville, Wis.; nominated, 747.
Noland, J. A., to be postmaster at Crawford, Tex.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Nordyke, Elmer A., to be postmaster at Geyserville, Cal.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 603.
Norred, Grace, to be postmaster at Killdeer, N. Dak.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Norris, Edward K., to be postmaster at Creedmore, N. C., nominated, 4403.
Norris, John F. S., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Norris, Samuel Reily, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 491; confirmed, 799.
Northrop, Virgil R., to be postmaster at Grandmound, Iowa; nominated, 3013.
Norton, Homer H., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Norweb, R. Henry, to be secretary of United States embassy or legation, class 4; nominated, 3011.
Nottingham, Ulysses H., to be postmaster at Bearcreek, Mont.; nominated, 2313.
Nutting, Clarence E., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Nutting, Daniel C., jr., to be naval constructor in Navy, with rank of commander; nominated, 4402.
Nutting, James Alexander, to be register of land office at Susanville, Cal.; nominated, 389; confirmed, 899.
Nystrom, Samuel A., to be postmaster at Watertown, Minn.; nominated, 2312.
Obdyke, George E., to be postmaster at Landing, N. J.; nominated, 3013.
Oberly, Robert S., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 492; confirmed, 1013.
O'Brien, Daniel J., to be postmaster at Everson, Pa.; nominated, 4404.
O'Connell, Margaret, to be postmaster at St. Ignatius, Mont.; nominated, 4403.
O'Connor, Gustavus Richard, to be second lieutenant of Engineers, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 3501.
O'Day, Ray M., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

O'Donnell, Louis A.: to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 800.
O'Donnell, Ottomar, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Ogan, Joseph V., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 3691.
O'Grady, William, to be postmaster at Kennett, Cal.; nominated, 4402.
O'Hara, Herbert, to be postmaster at Haines Falls, N. Y.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1424.
O'Keefe, Arthur Joseph, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Old, Nimmo, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Oldfield, Charles B., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
O'Leary, Arthur J., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Oliver, Clarence Raymond, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Oliver, James H., to be rear admiral in Navy; nominated, 2312.
Olmstead, Merritt Elijah, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Olmstead, Mons K., to be postmaster at Sharon, N. Dak.; nominated, 4403.
Olson, Louis E., to be postmaster at Nicollet, Minn.; nominated, 3013.
O'Neill, Hortensia R., to be postmaster at San German, P. R.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 604.
Osborne, Ernest Leslie, to be second lieutenant, Corps of Engineers in Army; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Osier, Ernest, to be postmaster at Walden, Colo.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 603.
Ostermann, Edward A., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3012.
Ostrom, Charles Douglas Yelverton, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Overstreet, Luther M., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Overstreet, Philip, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Owen, David H., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Owen, John P., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Owen, William C., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Owens, Frances G., to be postmaster at Gate, Okla.; nominated, 4404.
Owens, William D., to be surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Page, Douglas J., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Page, Hardy B., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Paine, Rollin S., to be postmaster at Stony Creek, Conn.; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 1332.
Palas, A. J., to be postmaster at Elkader, Iowa; nominated, 2312.
Palmer, Archibald J., to be postmaster at Halliday, N. Dak.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Palmer, Irving J., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 799.
Palmer, James Minch, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Palmer, Oron Allston, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Park, Clara M., to be postmaster at Woodstock, N. Y.; nominated, 4403.
Parker, Charlotte L., to be postmaster at Osterville, Mass.; nominated, 3501.
Parker, Douglas B., to be assistant dental surgeon, Navy Dental Reserve Corps; nominated, 3501.
Parker, Folsome Reed, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Parker, Fred R., to be postmaster at Moorhead, Iowa; nominated, 2312.
Parker, H. C., to be postmaster at Tenaha, Tex.; nominated, 1128; confirmed, 1332.
Parker, Henry Burr, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Parker, James, jr., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Parker, James C., to be postmaster at Merryville, La.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 1834.
Parker, Mary Coker, to be postmaster at Mont Eagle, Tenn.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Parker, Ralph C., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Parker, Stanley Vincent, to be first lieutenant, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 389; confirmed, 601.
Parks, Victor, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Parmelee, Harold P., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Parrish, Robert Eunice, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 491; confirmed, 799.
Parrott, John H., to be postmaster at Pierpont, S. Dak.; nominated, 1128; confirmed, 1424.
Parsons, Harold L., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Parsons, Henry E., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 2313.
Pashkoski, Walter Alexander, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Pashley, William H., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Patjens, John A., to be postmaster at Mount Pleasant, S. C.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Patrick, Edwin Daviess, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Patten, Thomas G., to be postmaster at New York, N. Y.; nominated, 3502.
Patterson, David C., jr., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Patterson, Escaville E., to be postmaster at Edwardsburg, Mich.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Pattillo, Mamie, to be postmaster at Mountain Home, Ark.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 1272.
Patton, Kenneth S., to be United States consul, class 7; nominated, 389; confirmed, 601.
Peabody, George Morris, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Peabody, Paul Everton, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Pearce, Jacob M., jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 1834.
Pearce, Warren F., to be assistant surgeon, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 601; confirmed, 747.
Peard, Roger W., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Pearson, Ralph A. W., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Pearson, Raymond William, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Peavey, Harry Clothey, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Peck, Frank B., to be postmaster at Big Moose, N. Y.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1424.
Peck, J. P., to be postmaster at Mabscott, W. Va.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Peeling, George E., to be postmaster at Asbestos, Md.; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 2265.
Peeples, Hattie J., to be postmaster at Varnville, S. C.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Peirce, Robert P., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
——— to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Pendleton, Alan, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Pendleton, Arvid Marcy, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Pendleton, Joseph H., to be brigadier general, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 494, 2695; confirmed, 603.
Pendleton, William A., jr., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Penn, Albert M., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Perdue, Charles E., to be postmaster at Pierson, Iowa; nominated, 495; confirmed, 1332.
Perego, Fordyce L., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4401.
Perkins, Carl Reah, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Perkins, Clyde A., to be postmaster at Barnard, Mo.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1013.
Perkins, Ernest A., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4634.
Perkins, James C., to be postmaster at Yellville, Ark.; nominated, 4634.
Perkins, Leon F., to be postmaster at Bradford, N. H.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Perkins, Oscar L., to be postmaster at Union Star, Mo.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Perry, Donald Strong, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Pershing, John J., to be major general in Army; nominated, 389; confirmed, 442.
Peter, Henry W., to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Peters, Edward McClure, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Peters, Emil M., to be postmaster at Schleswig, Iowa; nominated, 3501.
Petersen, Mayme L., to be postmaster at Titonka, Iowa; nominated, 3501.
Peterson, Otto W., to be postmaster at Audubon, Minn.; nominated, 1127.
Peterson, William F., to be postmaster at Brownstown, Ill.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 1013.
Petit, John F., to be postmaster at Mooseheart, Ill.; nominated, 4403.
Pettigrew, R. G., to be postmaster at Brea, Cal.; nominated, 1331; confirmed, 1610.
Petty, Orlando H., to be assistant surgeon, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 601; confirmed, 747.
Peyton, Paul J., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Peyton, Thomas G., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Pfeil, Henry H., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 492; confirmed, 1013.
Phelphs, Edith M., to be postmaster at Ludlow, Pa.; nominated, 4634.
Phelps, Livingston, to be secretary of embassy or legation, class 4; nominated, 389; confirmed, 747.
Phelps, William W., to be captain in Navy; nominated, 2693.
Philips, Joseph Leon, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Phillips, Robert Ellsworth, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Phillips, William, to be Assistant Secretary of State; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1910.
Phillips, Wilmer Stanley, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Platt, William M., to be postmaster at Bernie, Mo.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Piccard, Jules Eugene, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Pick, Walter R., to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Pickens, Andrew C., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 2187; confirmed, 2313.
Pickering, Nelson W., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Pierce, Charles W., to be postmaster at Boynton, Fla.; nominated, 2312.
Pierce, Clinton Albert, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Pierce, Harold C., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Pierce, John Theodore, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Pierce, Maurice R., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Pike, Mary A., to be postmaster at Tyndall, S. Dak.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1013.
Pillsbury, Henry C., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 745; confirmed, 1013.
Pinney, Ethel J., to be postmaster at La Crosse, Ind.; nominated, 2312.
Pitney, John Ballantine, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Pitstick, Henry W., to be postmaster at Boyden, Iowa; nominated, 495; confirmed, 1332.
Pitts, Gertrude G., to be postmaster at Mondamin, Iowa; nominated, 3013.
Pitts, Sallie D., to be postmaster at Oberlin, La.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1834.
Platt, John Cheney, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Platt, Richard N., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3501.
Plummer, Charles E., to be postmaster at Seaman, Ohio; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1332.
Pogue, Odes Tillman, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 2312.
Poindexter, Joseph B., to be United States district judge for the district of Hawaii; nominated, 2187.
Poist, Edward F., to be postmaster at McSherrystown, Pa.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 1013.
Poland, Eustis L., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Poland, Herbert M., to be postmaster at Rockport, Me.; nominated, 4403.
Polen, Charles O., to be postmaster at Beallsville, Ohio; nominated, 4403.
Pollard, Mark P., to be postmaster at Solon, Me.; nominated, 4634.
Pollin, George A., to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Poole, Thomas Sprigg, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Pope, David M., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2312.
Pope, Thomas H., to be postmaster at Greenville, S. C.; nominated, 3013.
Porter, David D., to be assistant adjutant and inspector with rank of lieutenant colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Porter, Frederick E., to be surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Porter, J. Forrest, to be postmaster at Dixon, Ky.; nominated, 4634.
Porter, Otis, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Porterfield, Charles, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1683.
Porterfield, Herbert De Witt, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 491; confirmed, 799.
Post, Nathan W., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Poteet, Fred H., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
Potter, Charles L., to be colonel, Corps of Engineers in Army; nominated, 390; confirmed, 799.
Potts, W. T., to be postmaster at Highlands, N. C.; nominated, 4634.
Pousland, Charles F., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Powell, Halsey, to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
Power, Richard H., to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Prettyman, George William Lyman, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Price, Charles F. B., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Price, Ella I., to be postmaster at Canadensis, Pa.; nominated, 3502.
Price, Norman B., to be postmaster at Goodsprings, Nev.; nominated, 4634.
Price, Terrill Eyre, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1681.
Prince, Frederick A., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4401.
Prince, Lucile H., to be postmaster at Stony Creek, Va.; nominated, 3014.
Prioleau, Philip F., to be assistant surgeon, Medical Reserve Corps in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
——— to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Pritchett, Roy E., to be postmaster at Gaston, Oreg.; nominated, 4404.
Pryor, Francis D., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 601; confirmed, 747.
Pryor, James C., to be medical inspector in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Pryor, John Porter, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1683.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Puleston, William D., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 492; confirmed, 601.
Purdie, Kenneth Sinclair, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Purdon, Rupert L., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Purdy, Charles O., to be chaplain with rank of first lieutenant in Army; nominated, 491; confirmed, 799.
Purnell, William R., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Purviance, Charles Emmet, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Putnam, Harry Lawrence, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1681.
Quekemeyer, John G., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3691.
Quelette, Charles J., to be postmaster at Shepard, Ohio; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1013.
Quesenberry, Joseph, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Quillen, York A., to be postmaster at Bullsgap, Tenn.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Quin, Joseph P., to be postmaster at Hillsdale, N. Y.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 2187.
Quinlan, Dennis P., to be judge advocate with rank of major in Army; nominated, 491; confirmed, 799.
Quinn, James M., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Quirk, James E., to be chief boatswain in Navy; nominated, 601; confirmed, 747.
Radford, Cyrus S., to be assistant quartermaster, with rank of colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2693.
Ramos, Julio, to be postmaster at Cayey, P. R.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 604.
Ramsey, Frederick A., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Randall, Samuel John, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Rankin, John W., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Ransom, Paul Lewis, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Raper, Grover C., to be postmaster at Bauxite, Ark.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 1272.
Rash, Stirling B., to be postmaster at Shirley, Ind.; nominated, 3013.
Rasor, Winchell I., to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Rawls, William Andrew, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Raymond, Thomas U., to be colonel, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 745; confirmed, 1013.
Raynor, Sidney N., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Read, Ralph H., to be postmaster at Middletown, Cal.; nominated, 4402.
Reardon, Eugene, to be postmaster at Auburn, Iowa; nominated, 495; confirmed, 1332.
Redles, William L., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Reed, Allen B., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 2187; confirmed, 2313.
Reed, Alvan C., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 799.
Reed, George H., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Reed, George L., to be postmaster at Darien, Wis.; nominated, 747.
Reed, Lena L., to be postmaster at Amanda, Ohio; nominated, 3502.
Reeder, Harry Langdon, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Reeder, Henry W., to be postmaster at Albany, Ohio; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1332.
Reeder, Mabel P., to be postmaster at La Manda Park, Cal.; nominated, 1909.
Regan, Charles P., to be postmaster at Capron, Ill.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 1013.
Regan, Louis John, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 491; confirmed, 799.
Rehm, Harold Whitaker, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Rehm, Arthur A., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Reid, George C., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2693.
Reid, James T., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Reinecke, Herman W., to be postmaster at New Baltimore, Mich.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Renfrew, J. P., to be postmaster at Alva, Okla.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Reno, Edward M., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Repp, Dale Ellsworth, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Resler, Charles D., to be postmaster at Cisne, Ill.; nominated, 1331; confirmed, 1610.
Reuter, Tilda R., to be postmaster at Westby, Mont.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Reynolds, Frank M., jr., to be postmaster at Nantasket Beach, Mass.; nominated, 4403.
Reynolds, George B., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Rhea, Robert Y., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Rhein, Meyer L., to be assistant detal surgeon, Navy Dental Reserve Corps; nominated, 4402.
Rhoades, Roy J., to be postmaster at Powers, Oreg.; nominated, 4404.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Rhodes, Edward R., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3501.
Rice, Charles H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 799.
Rice, Elmer F., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 800.
Rice, John L., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Rice, William S., to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Richards, James Neville Cocke, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Richards, Theodore W., to be medical inspector in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Richardson, Robert C., jr., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Richart, Duncan G., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 391; confirmed, 800.
Riddle, J. B., to be postmaster at Wichita, Kans.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Riggs, Charles E., to be medical inspector in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Riner, Clarence C., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Ringland, Frank Glenister, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Ripley, Clement, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Ristine, Harold Holmes, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Ritter, Harold H., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Ritter, Miles L., to be postmaster at Newport, Pa.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1071.
Ritzler, Edward P., to be postmaster at New Buffalo, Mich.; nominated, 4634.
Rixey, Presley M., jr., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Robb, Donald B., to be postmaster at Gridley, Cal.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 603.
Roben, Douglas B., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Robert, William P., to be naval constructor with rank of commander in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Roberts, Albert B., to be postmaster at Dorset, Vt.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 1332.
Roberts, Bruce Harold, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Roberts, Frank Allen, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Roberts, John W., to be postmaster at Windsor, Va.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Roberts, Louis T., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Roberts, Luther M., to be postmaster at Soddy, Tenn.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1332.
Roberts, Thomas G., to be naval constructor with rank of commander in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Roberts, William Thomas, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Robertson, Clifford H., to be postmaster at Lore City, Ohio; nominated, 498; confirmed, 604.
Robertson, George G., to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Robins, Augustine W., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3691.
Robinson, Aaron, to be assistant surgeon, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Robinson, Allan H., to be postmaster at Concord, N. H.; nominated, 601; confirmed, 604.
Robinson, Donald A., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3691.
Robinson, Eugene, to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 799.
Robinson, James E., to be postmaster at Clanton, Ala.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 603.
Robinson, James P., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Robinson, Samuel M., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
Robison, John K., to be captain in Navy; nominated, 3691.
Robles, Carmen, to be postmaster at Sonora, Ariz.; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 1332.
Roche, Josephine W., to be postmaster at Georgetown, Tex.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Rock, George H., to be naval constructor with rank of captain in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Rockey, Keller E., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Rockwell, Francis W., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Rodgers, Charles W., to be assistant dental surgeon, Navy Dental Reserve Corps; nominated, 4402.
Rodgers, Christopher R. P., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 2313.
Rodgers, John, to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 2693.
Rodgers, William L., to be rear admiral in Navy; nominated, 3691.
Rodriguez, Modesto Enrique, to be second lieutenant, Porto Rico Regiment of Infantry; nominated, 492; confirmed, 799.
Roeseler, Felix A., to be postmaster at Hustisford, Wis.; nominated, 3014.
Roffe, Adolphus Worrell, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1681.
Rogers, Joseph A., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Rogers, Robert E., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Rogers, Rufus A., to be postmaster at Selden, Kans.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Rogers, Wilbur, to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4401.
Rohan, Frederick Joseph von, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Rollins, Arthur H., to be postmaster at Andover, N. H.; nominated, 3502.
Rollmann, Edwin, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1681.
Rood, James Quan, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Roode, Louis R. de, to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Roohan, James Francis, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 491; confirmed, 799.
Roosevelt, Charles H., to be postmaster at Verden, Okla.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Rorex, Alley D., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Rorschach, Frank, to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 492; confirmed, 601.
Rose, Alta A., to be postmaster at Atwood, Ill.; nominated, 495.
Rose, Nora B., to be postmaster at Shelby, Miss.; nominated, 3502.
Rose, R. D., to be postmaster at Hinton, W. Va.; nominated, 1609.
Rosenberg, Frederick Griswold, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Rosenzweig, Herbert, to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Ross, Charles G., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Ross, George C., to be postmaster at West Sayville, N. Y.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Ross, Lulu F., to be postmaster at London Mills, Ill.; nominated, 1909; confirmed, 2313.
Rowan, Stephen C., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 492; confirmed, 601.
Rowell, Ross E., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Rowell, Willard H., to be postmaster at Wrentham, Mass.; nominated, 3501.
Royse, Frank Elmer, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1683.
Rucker, Kyle, to be judge advocate with rank of major in Army; nominated, 491; confirmed, 799.
Ruhberg, George Noel, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1682.
Ruhberg, George N., to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4402.
Rukke, Guy V., to be major, Army Medical Corps; nominated, 390; confirmed, 799.
Rumbough, Joseph W., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4401.
Ruoff, Chauncey Francis, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Rupertus, William H., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Rush, Murray B., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3691.
Rushing, Elbert Earle, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Russell, David, to be postmaster at Madill, Okla.; nominated, 4634.
Russell, J. D. M., to be postmaster at Wilberforce, Ohio; nominated, 4403.
Russell, John H., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2693.
Russell, Lloyd Bebb, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Ryan, Michael, to be postmaster at Scranton, Kans.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Ryder, Leon Edward, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1681.
Sabin, Jean Frederick, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Sadler, Frank H., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
Sage, Mary L., to be postmaster at Milroy, Ind.; nominated, 495; withdrawn, 3502.
Sahm, Leo, to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
St. John, Adrian, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2311.
Salladay, Jay M., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Salmon, John J., to be postmaster at Chilhowee, Mo.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Sampsell, Thomas L., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Samsell, George A., to be postmaster at Stephens City, Va.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Sandeford, Alvan C., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 492; confirmed, 1013.
Sanders, Arine M., to be postmaster at Marshall, Wis.; nominated, 4404.
Santschi, Eugene, jr., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 800.
Saul, Samuel Henry, to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Sausser, Howard E., to be chief pharmacist in Navy; nominated, 2693.
Savage, Hattie, to be postmaster at Troy, Mont.; nominated, 4403.
Savage, Kathryn, to be postmaster at Braddock, N. Dak.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Sawtelle, George, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Sawyer, Rosamond C., to be postmaster at Virginia Beach, Va.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Sayer, Edmund S., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Sayers, Thomas C., to be postmaster at Herscher, Ill.; nominated, 1331; confirmed, 1610.
Scarborough, Paul, to be postmaster at Franklin, Va.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Schaefer, Joseph P., to be postmaster at Mayfield, Cal.; nominated, 4634.
Schaffer, John L., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Scheibla, Louis C., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Scheitlin, Edward Reed, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Scherer, Louis C., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 492; confirmed, 800.
Schieb, John A., to be postmaster at Kensal, N. Dak.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 604.
Schik, Albert J., to be postmaster at Cokeville, Wyo.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Schmidt, Edward F., to be postmaster at Westbrook, Conn.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 603.
Schmidt, Harry, to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Schock, John Lloyd, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Schoenfeld, Frederick, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Schoner, Clayton C., to be postmaster at Hartville, Ohio; nominated, 4634.
Schott, Elden E., to be postmaster at Brewster, Ohio; nominated, 3013.
Schrader, Lee Benjamin, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Schroeder, Bert E., to be postmaster at Emery, S. Dak.; nominated, 4404.
Schulze, August, to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 601; confirmed, 747.
Schwable, Frank J., to be assistant quartermaster with rank of major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Schwartz, Jacob A., to be postmaster at Fenton, Iowa; nominated, 4403.
Schwarzkopf, Olaf, to be veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Schweer, Theodore J., to be postmaster at Beardstown, Ill.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 800.
Schwien, Edwin Eugene, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Scott, Edwin Mack, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Scott, George H., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3501.
Scott, John Lester, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 2312.
Scott, Lee L., to be postmaster at Ajo, Ariz.; nominated, 1331; confirmed, 1610.
Scott, William W., jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3501.
Scroggs, Schiller, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Seaman, Evan Clouser, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3012.
Seamon, Evan C., to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 2312; withdrawn, 3014.
Searles, De Wane, to be postmaster at Elgin, Minn.; nominated, 4403.
Secor, Theodore A., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Seeds, Edward Clarence, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 2312.
Seeley, Burton A., to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Seibert, Walter, to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Selbie, William E., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 3012.
Selby, Harry Joseph, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Semidei, Simon, to be postmaster at Yauco, P. R.; nominted, 498; confirmed, 604.
Semones, Joel W., to be postmaster at Hillsville, Va.; nominated, 1910; confirmed, 2314.
Senay, Charles Timothy, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Sentner, Eliel D., to be postmaster at Greenville Junction, Me.; nominated, 3013.
Serrurier, Richard S., to be postmaster at Wilton, Wis.; nominated, 3502.
Sexton, Floyd Jesse, to be second lieutenant, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 798; confirmed, 1012.
Sexton, Walton R., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Seymour, Philip, to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Shackelford, J. H., to be postmaster at Cross Plains, Tex.; nominated, 4634.
Shafer, Frank M., to be postmaster at Moab, Utah; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 1835.
Shafroth, John F., jr., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Shaifer, Edward Fondren, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Shanklin, Edward H., to be postmaster at Union, W. Va.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1071.
Shannon, Charles D., to be assistant surgeon, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 601; confirmed, 747.
Sharpe, Henry G., to be Quartermaster General with rank of major general in Army; nominated, 490; confirmed, 799.
Shaw, Melville J., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Sheard, Walter G., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Shearer, Frank K., to be postmaster at Dazey, N. Dak.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 604.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Shearer, Maurice E., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Sheehan, D. Anthony, to be postmaster at Weston, Mass.; nominated, 3013.
Shelley, Penrose Herr, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 491; confirmed, 799.
Shepard, Artie M., to be postmaster at Hale Center, Tex.; nominated, 1332; confirmed, 1683.
Shepard, Ralph L., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Shepardson, Gertrude, to be postmaster at Homer, Nebr.; nominated, 4634.
Shepherd, William Edgar, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2312.
Sheppard, Francis Wilkerson, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Sheridan, Joseph A., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2312.
Sherrard, Ben Harrison, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Sherwood, Philip Hyde, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Shields, George P., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Shine, Thomas, to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Shinkle, Edward M., to be captain, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 491; withdrawn, 747.
Shircy, Rufus S., to be postmaster at Guin, Ala.; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 1834.
Shivers, Lorenzo B., to be postmaster at Anglesea, N. Y.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 2314.
Shott, William R., to be postmaster at Birmingham, Iowa; nominated, 3013.
Shoup, Aubrey K., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Shower, Robert McI., to be postmaster at Manchester, Md.; nominated, 2312.
Shuler, George K., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Shunk, Francis R., to be colonel, Corps of Engineers, United States Army; nominated, 4633.
Sibert, Harold Ward, to be second lieutenant, Corps of Engineers in Army; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Sibley, Berton W., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Sidman, Theodore W., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Sill, Joseph A., to be postmaster at Layton, Utah; nominated, 4404.
Simmons, James Stevens, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 491; confirmed, 799.
Simmons, Richard J., to be postmaster at Macomb, Ill.; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 2187.
Simmons, William Gaston, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1681.
Simonsen, Sigurd J., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Simonson, Lauritz Daniel, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Simpson, George W., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 2312.
Simpson, William H., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 491; withdrawn, 899.
Sims, William S., to be rear admiral in Navy; nominated, 2312.
Sinton, Arthur C., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Sitz, Walter H., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Skelton, Oscar George, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Skillings, Charles F., to be postmaster at Hathorne, Mass.; nominated, 1910; confirmed, 2265.
Skillman, A. J., to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Skinner, Emmett W., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4634.
Slack, Edward M., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 2313.
Sloan, Miles B., to be postmaster at Victoria, Ill.; nominated, 1909; confirmed, 2313.
Sloan, R. P., to be postmaster at Larned, Kans.; nominated, 1909.
Smale, C. Claire, to be postmaster at Raymond, Cal.; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 2265.
Smalley, Henry R., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 800.
Smead, Walter A., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Smiley, George H., to be postmaster at Minnewaska, N. Y.; nominated, 4403.
Smith, Abiel L., to be brigadier general, Quartermaster Corps in Army; nominated, 490; confirmed, 799.
Smith, Albert R., to be postmaster at Mangham, La.; nominated, 3013, 4634.
Smith, Albion, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Smith, Alma C., to be assistant surgeon, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Smith, Andy E., to be postmaster at Wolcott, Ind.; nominated, 745; confirmed, 1071.
Smith, Apollos A., to be postmaster at Paul Smiths, N. Y.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Smith, Bernard L., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Smith, Carl J., to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Smith, Charles C., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Smith, Charles E., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Smith, Clyde E., to be postmaster at Rutledge, Tenn.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Smith, David H., to be postmaster at Darkharbor, Me.; nominated, 4403.
Smith, Dwight F., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Smith, Edward Martin, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Smith, Edward Martin, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 3501.
Smith, Effie T., to be postmaster at North Woodstock, N. H.; nominated, 3013.
Smith, Emma A., to be postmaster at Seelyville, Pa.; nominated, 3013.
Smith, Everett Grant, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Smith, Frederick Wilmot, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Smith, Grover L., to be postmaster at Springfield, S. C.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Smith, Harry L., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Smith, Henry A., to be postmaster at Berlin, N. H.; nominated, 3013.
Smith, Julian C., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3501.
Smith, Laura E., to be postmaster at Doniphan, Nebr.; nominated, 3502.
Smith, Leonard Almy, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Smith, Louis H., to be postmaster at Stewartsville, Mo.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Smith, Lyman E., to be postmaster at Middlebury, Conn.; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 1834.
Smith, McIver, to be postmaster at Texline, Tex.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Smith, Oscar, jr., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Smith, Ralph Corbett, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Smith, Reuben R., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Smith, Richard Keene, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Smith, Stuart F., to be naval constructor with rank of commander in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Smith, Susie S., to be postmaster at Maywood, N. J.; nominated, 497.
Smith, Sylvester W., to be postmaster at Center Hall, Pa.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Smith, Thomas Lovet, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Smith, Truman, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Smith, Vera E., to be postmaster at Palco, Kans.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Smith, Walter Sheldon, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Smith, Wendell D., to be postmaster at Forbes, N. Dak.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 604.
Smith, William, to be postmaster at Pearson, Ga.; nominated, 4402.
Smith, William D., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Smith, William R., jr., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Smith, William T., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Smither, Henry C., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3011.
Smoot, Abraham O., to be postmaster at Provo, Utah; nominated, 499; confirmed, 1610.
Smyth, William W., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
Snapp, Ralph B., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 2313.
Sneed, John L. T., to be postmaster at Gordonsville, Va.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1013.
Snow, Elliot, to be naval constructor with rank of captain in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Snow, James D., to be postmaster at Midland, S. Dak.; nominated, 1128; confirmed, 1424.
Snowden, Albert S., to be postmaster at Paragould, Ark.; nominated, 1126.
Snyder, George W., to be postmaster at Schoharie, N. Y.; nominated, 4403.
Snyder, Harold C., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Snyder, Oscar Peter, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Snyder, William C., to be postmaster at Avon by the Sea, N. Y.; nominated, 4403.
Sosnowski, Julius C., to be assistant surgeon, Navy Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 2313.
Soule, Charles C., jr., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
South, Hamilton D., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Southern, K. W., to be postmaster at Harrogate, Tenn.; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 2265.
Spain, William H., to be postmaster at Mahopac, N. Y.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Spalding, Basil D., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Spalding, Isaac, to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 492; confirmed, 1013.
Spann, Wilson McKay, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1683.
Sparkman, Edward H., jr., to be assistant surgeon, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Sparks, Leonard C., to be captain, United States Field Artillery, nominated, 4401.
Speakman, C. C., to be postmaster at Wellston, Okla.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Speck, Robert H., to be postmaster at Vici, Okla.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Speer, Charles Edward, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Speer, George I., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Speicher, Paul E., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 2312.
Spencer, Eugene T., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 492; confirmed, 1013.
Sperry, Joe D., to be postmaster at Mount Juliet, Tenn.; nominated, 3502.
Spiker, James H., to be postmaster at Bushnell, Ill.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 800.
Spikes, Frances L., to be postmaster at Wheeler, Tex.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Spilman, James H., to be postmaster at Milroy, Ind.; nominated, 3501.
Spotts, George W., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4634.
Sprinkle, Lester Atchley, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1681.
Sproule, William A., to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Spruance, Horace E., to be assistant surgeon, Navy Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 2313.
Squier, George O., to be Chief Signal Officer with rank of brigadier general in Army; nominated, 1608; confirmed, 1681.
Squire, Frank W., to be postmaster at Godfrey, Ill.; nominated, 2312.
Stadtman, Claud Edward, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Staley, John B., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Stall, Fred, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Stanclift, Ray J., to be veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Stanley, Kate B., to be postmaster at Lowell, Ohio; nominated, 4403.
Stanton, Hubert G., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Stark, Alexander Newton, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Stark, Harold R., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
Starlings, Paul Nutwell, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1683.
Starr, Jeremiah Allen, to be second lieutenant, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 798; confirmed, 1012.
Steckel, Abner M., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 2693.
Stedman, Arthur Wallace, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Steel, Charles Lowndes, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1683.
Steele, Harry Frank, to be veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Steele, John Newton, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2311.
Stegall, J. A., to be postmaster at Hereford, Tex.; nominated, 3014.
Steger, Walter P., to be postmaster at Calhoun, Mo.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Steiguer, Louis R. de, to be captain in Navy; nominated, 3691.
Stein, Emil J., to be assistant surgeon, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Stensrud, John S., to be postmaster at Canby, Minn.; nominated, 2312.
Stephens, E. Arthur, to be assistant surgeon, Navy Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 2313.
Stephens, Joseph William George, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated 1271; confirmed 1681.
Stephens William J., to be postmaster at Webb, Miss.; nominated, 3502.
Stephenson, Lowry B., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
——— to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3501.
Stevens, Arthur L., to be postmaster at Waldo, Fla.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 603.
Stevens, Charles Nash, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Stevens, James D., to be postmaster at Carlton, Tex.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Stevens, James G., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 2313.
Stevens, Oliver Clyde, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Stevens, Raymond B., to be member of United States Shipping Board; nominated, 3011.
Stevenson, Annie M., to be postmaster at Notasulga, Ala.; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 1424.
Stevenson, Charles L., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3691.
Stevenson, John W., to be postmaster at Flasher, N. Dak.; nominated, 746.
Stevenson, William F., to be postmaster at South West City, Mo.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1332.
Stewart, Adelbert Brewer, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Stewart, Amy Jane, to be postmaster at Greenwood, Ark.; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 2313.
Stewart, Charles A., to be postmaster at Howard Lake, Minn.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1424.
Stewart, Hiram C. R., to be postmaster at New Cumberland, W. Va.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Stewart, Laurance S., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 3012.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Stewart, William, to be postmaster at Dogden, N. Dak.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 604.
Stewart, William Robert, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Stika, Joseph Edward, to be second lieutenant, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 798; confirmed, 1012.
Stivers, Charles Paul, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Stocker, Robert, to be naval constructor with rank of captain in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Stokes, Wilfred J., to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Stonaker, Horace G., to be postmaster at Riverton, N. J.; nominated, 497.
Stone, Claudius U., to be postmaster at Peoria, Ill.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1424.
Stone, Ida P., to be postmaster at Oxford, Me.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Stone, James A., to be postmaster at Wrens, Ga.; nominated, 495.
Stone, Kimbrough, to be United States circuit judge for eighth circuit; nominated, 555; confirmed, 647.
Stone, Lawrence Fielding, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1683.
Stoops, Robert E., to be surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Storey, Jesse R., to be postmaster at Renton, Wash.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Stott, Arthur C., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 3691.
Stout, George W., to be postmaster at Hamilton, Ind.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 603.
Stowell, George A., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Strait, Burton A., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 2693.
Stransky, John A., to be postmaster at Pukwana, S. Dak.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 604.
Strehlow, Max H., to be postmaster at Kindred, N. Dak.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 604.
Strickland, J. E., to be postmaster at Allen, Okla.; nominated, 1127.
Strong, Carl Humphrey, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Strong, James H., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Strother, Edmund W., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Stroud, Evert M., to be postmaster at Carmel, Ind.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 603.
Stuart, Harry A., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Stupplebeen, Eva K., to be postmaster at Nassau, N. Y.; nominated, 3502.
Sturgeon, William H., to be postmaster at Canton, Minn.; nominated, 4403.
Subra, Charles C., to be postmaster at Convent, La.; nominated, 1910; confirmed, 2313.
Sugg, James B., to be postmaster at Adams, Tenn.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Sullivan, Andrew J., to be assistant surgeon, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Sullivan, Daniel J., to be postmaster at Ellendale, Minn.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 1013.
Sullivan, Edward W., to be postmaster at Stockbridge, Mass.; nominated, 4403.
Sullivan, John M., to be postmaster at Long Lake, N. Y.; nominated, 1332; confirmed, 1610.
Sullivan, John S., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 3012.
Sullivan, William B., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4402.
Summersett, James A., jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Sutherland, Richard Kerens, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Sutton, Daniel H., to be postmaster at East Butler, Pa.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 1273.
Swan, Guy W., to be postmaster at Princeton, Me.; nominated, 1331; confirmed, 1834.
Swasey, George T., jr., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Swearingen, Robert W., to be postmaster at Avon Park, Fla.; nominated, 2312; rejected, 2514.
Sweeney, Clarence P., to be postmaster at St. Maries, Idaho; nominated, 1609.
Sweeney, Hardin Cleveland, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Sweet, Edwin F., to be Assistant Secretary of Commerce, Department of Commerce; nominated, 389; confirmed, 601.
Swift, A. Thorne, to be postmaster at Harbor Springs, Mich.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Swift, Eben, to be brigadier general in Army; nominated, 390; confirmed, 442.
Swift, Millie D., to be postmaster at Bigheart, Okla.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Swinney, Sam, to be postmaster at Durant, Okla.; nominated, 601; confirmed, 747.
Switzer, John Singleton, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Sykes, Archie J., to be postmaster at Pomona, N. C.; nominated, 4403.
Symington, Thomas A., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Tabachnik, Abraham, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Tagge, Albert, to be postmaster at Hartley, Iowa; nominated, 2312.
Taintor, Charles, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Tam, Fred J., to be postmaster at Idaville, Ind.; nominated, 2312.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Tankersley, Nicholas L., to be postmaster at Ellijay, Ga.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 2313.
Tarrant, William T., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 3691.
Tate, Clifford Hildebrandt, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Tate, Will P., to be postmaster at Trion, Ga.; nominated, 495.
Tawresey, John G., to be naval constructor with rank of captain in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Taylor, Charles B., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Taylor, Charles Melville, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Taylor, David W., to be naval constructor with rank of rear admiral in Navy; nominated, 1608; confirmed, 1610.
Taylor, Ella M., to be postmaster at Blue River, Wis.; nominated, 1910.
Taylor, George L., to be postmaster at Fletcher, N. C.; nominated, 3013.
Taylor, James G., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 800.
Taylor, Margaret E., to be postmaster at Orbisonia, Pa.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1071.
Taylor, Montgomery M., to be captain in Navy; nominated, 2693.
Taylor, Ross L., to be postmaster at Downieville, Cal.; nominated, 4402.
Taylor, Roy Le Grand, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Taylor, Sterling P., jr., to be assistant surgeon, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Taylor, Thad T., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Taylor, Thomas H., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
Teachout, George W., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Tebbs, Richard H., jr., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Teeple, Sherman L., to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Templeton, Hamilton, to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 492; confirmed, 1013.
Tennent, Eugene H., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Terrell, Frank L., to be postmaster at East Quogue, N. Y.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Terry, Carl C., to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Teter, Joseph J., to be first lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 492; confirmed, 799.
Thacher, Miles R., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Thayer, Arthur Paul, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Thayer, Joshua, to be postmaster at Palmyra, Wis.; nominated, 4634.
Thebaud, Delphin Etienne, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Thebaut, William M., to be assistant dental surgeon, Navy Dental Reserve Corps; nominated, 4402.
Thibault, Louis F., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Thielen, Adam J., to be postmaster at Dorrance, Kans.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Thing, Wilbur, to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Thomas, Charles Benjamin, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Thomas, Clarence C., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Thomas, Howard Standish, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Thomas, Kramer, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Thomas, Marian E., to be postmaster at Grand Cave, La.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 1834.
Thomas, Raymond G., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Thompson, Alfred W., to be postmaster at De Kalb, Miss.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 604.
Thompson, David W., to be postmaster at Hume, Mo.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Thompson, Harlan Lee, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Thompson, John Waldemar, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Thomsen, Anders P., to be postmaster at Dannebrog, Nebr.; nominated, 4634.
Thornton, N. Macon, to be postmaster at Ormond Beach, Fla.; nominated, 2312.
Thornton, William D., to be postmaster at Yosemite, Cal.; nominated, 2312.
Thorpe, George C., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2693.
Thyson, Leo C., to be assistant surgeon, Navy Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 2313.
Tichy, Frank S., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 2313.
Tildsley, John M., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3501.
Tindall, Richard Gentry, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Tiner, Charles A., to be postmaster at Lavernia, Tex.; nominated, 1910; confirmed, 2314.
Tipton, Frank Benjamin, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Titus, George Warner, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Titus, Isaac E., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 3011.
Toaz, William H., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Tobias, Robert Beeghly, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Tobin, Howard Charles, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1681.
Tod, Elmer W., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Todd, Forde A., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
Todd, Henry D., jr., to be colonel, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Todd, Joe B., to be postmaster at Sugar Creek, Mo.; nominated, 1331; confirmed, 1610.
Toffiemire, James H., to be postmaster at Jeffers, Minn.; nominated, 3502.
Toler, Nora A., to be postmaster at Sheridan, Ark.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 1272.
Tomb, James H., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 3691.
Toomey, Patrick H., to be postmaster at Englewood, Tenn.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1332.
Torgerson, Thomas A., to be postmaster at Greenbush, Minn.; nominated, 1127.
Torres, Ramon Salvador, to be second lieutenant, Porto Rico Regiment of Infantry; nominated, 492; confirmed, 799.
Torrey, Philip H., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Tower, Matthew D. E., to be postmaster at Becket, Mass.; nominated, 1910; confirmed, 2265.
Tower, William J., to be postmaster at South West Harbor, Me.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Towle, George M., to be postmaster at Sardis, Ohio; nominated, 3502.
Townsend, John Dunham, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Townsend, Patrick H., to be postmaster at Essex, N. Y.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1013.
Tracy, James K., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Treadwell, Lawrence P., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
Treadwell, Thomas C., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
——— to be colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Treat, Charles G., to be brigadier general in Army; nominated, 390; confirmed, 442.
Trent, William M., to be postmaster at Bellevue, Nebr.; nominated, 4403.
Tressel, George Ray, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Trimble, Richard Brogdon, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Tripp, Frank M., to be postmaster at Marion, Mass.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 800.
Troster, Oliver John, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Truxes, Arthur Henry, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Tufts, Drew, to be postmaster at Centralia, Ill.; nominated, 745; confirmed, 1013.
Tufts, Samuel, to be postmaster at Knapp, Wis.; nominated, 1609.
Tuohy, Frank Patrick, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Tupper, Sevier Rains, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1683.
Turbyfill, Otho G., to be postmaster at Huntersville, N. C.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 1013.
Turley, Robert Edgar, jr., to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Turner, J. Hayes, to be postmaster at Lincoln University, Pa.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Turner, Jesse G., to be postmaster at Slocomb, Ala.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 603.
Turner, Paul Cecil, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Turner, Richmond K., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Turner, Thomas C., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Turner, Thomas McIlvaine, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Turner, William George, to be veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Turner, William P., to be postmaster at Leonardville, Kans.; nominated, 1910.
Turner, William W., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Turrill, Julius S., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Tuttle, Shelby Mason, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Tyler, George B., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Tyler, Joseph Hawkins, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Tyner, Sarah A., to be postmaster at Bay Springs, Miss.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 604.
Ulke, Henry, to be captain, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 389; confirmed, 601.
Underhill, James L., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Underwood, Edgar Harrison, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Unger, Adolph, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Uri, Jules H., to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Utley, Harold H., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3012.
Vachon, Joseph P., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.

Valentine, E. Henry, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Valentine, William S., to be major, United States Cavalry; nominated, 601; confirmed, 800.
Van Allstyne, William C., to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Van Auken, Frederic T., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Van Auken, Wilbur R., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
Van de Carr, James C., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Van der Veer, Norman R., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Vandervelden, J. W., to be postmaster at Banks, Oreg.; nominated, 4404.
Van Dine, Arthur, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Van Hoose, George W., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Van Natter, Francis Marion, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Van Orden, George, to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
——— to be lieutenant colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Van Valzah, Shannon Laurie, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 491; confirmed, 799.
Van Vliet, Robert Campbell, jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Varnell, Mary A., to be postmaster at Altonpark, Tenn.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Varvel, Emmett Parsons, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Veatch, Allen T., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Vehe, Karl L., to be assistant surgeon, Navy Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 2313.
Verran, Frank D., to be postmaster at Republic, Mich.; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1834.
Vesely, Yarrow Daniel, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Vig, James E. M., to be postmaster at Big Sandy, Mont.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Vogel, Berthold, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 2312.
Vogelgesang, Carl T., to be captain in Navy; nominated, 3691.
Voigt, Gustav R., to be postmaster at New Ulm, Tex.; nominated, 1128; confirmed, 1332.
Vossbeck, Frederick C., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 2313.
Vossler, Francis A. L., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Wacholz, Frank L., to be postmaster at Forest City, Iowa; nominated, 1909; confirmed, 2265.
Wadelton, Willard Stratton, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Wadleigh, John W., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Woessner, Frank E., to be postmaster at Shannon, Ill.; nominated, 1331; confirmed, 1610.
Wagenbach, William Frederick, to be assistant surgeon, Public Health Service; nominated, 389; confirmed, 1332.
Wagner, Wilbur J., to be postmaster at Parksville, N. Y.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Wagner, Matthias Miller, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 601; confirmed, 799.
Wainwright, Jonathan M., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 800.
Wait, Dallas, to be ensign in Navy; nominated, 3691.
Walden, Harry M., to be postmaster at Coolville, Ohio; nominated, 498; confirmed, 604.
Walker, Henry M., to be postmaster at Madison, W. Va.; nominated, 1128; confirmed, 1424.
Walker, John N., to be postmaster at Mineral, Va.; nominated, 1910; confirmed, 2314.
Walker, Maud, to be postmaster at New Madison, Ohio; nominated, 498; confirmed, 604.
Walker, Maurice Percy, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Walker, W. A., to be postmaster at Warren, Pa.; nominated, 3502.
Walla, Ira L., to be postmaster at Arnegard, N. Dak.; nominated, 4403.
Wallace, Melville Weston Fuller, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1683.
Wallace, Ralph Edward, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Waller, Littleton, W. T., to be brigadier general in Marine Corps; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Waller, Littleton W. T., jr., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Walling, Ralph G., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 2187; confirmed, 2313.
Walsh, James L., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4401.
Walters, Amelia C., to bepostmaster at Gorin, Mo.; nominated, 2313.
Walters, Cyreinus W., to be postmaster at Hazleton, Ind.; nominated, 4403.
Wann, Ora B., to be postmaster at Madison, Ala.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 603.
Ward, H. R., to be postmaster at Enterprise, Miss.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 604.
Ward, Hugh David, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 601; confirmed, 799.
Ward, Thomas Henry, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Warder, J. F., to be postmaster at Ketchikan, Alaska; nominated, 4402.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Ware, James Vernon, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1683.
Warfield, John Breckinridge, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Warr, Thomas R., to be postmaster at Mount Calm, Tex.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Warren, Homer Samuel, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 491; confirmed, 799.
Warren, Lee P., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Warren, Luther F., to be assistant surgeon in Medical Reserve Corps of Navy; nominated, 2312.
Waterbury, Oscar M., to be postmaster at Williams Bay, Wis.; nominated, 3502.
Waterman, Julius L., to be assistant surgeon, Navy Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 4402.
Waters, Charles Wesley, jr., to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 601; confirmed, 799.
Watkins, Waldo E., to be postmaster at Valliant, Okla.; nominated, 1910.
Watson, David M., to be postmaster at Francis, Okla.; nominated, 3502.
Watson, Edwin M., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Watson, Edward C., to be postmaster at Naples, Me.; nominated, 3501.
Watson, Henry L., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3691.
Watson, Herbert S., to be postmaster at Tahoe, Cal.; nominated, 2312.
Watson, Thomas E., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Watt, Gordon, to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 1834.
Watt, Richard M., to be naval constructor with rank of commander in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Watterson, John D., to be postmaster at Eatonton, Ga.; nominated, 4402.
Watts, William C., to be Judge Advocate General in Navy Department with rank of captain; nominated, 798; confirmed, 899.
——— to be commander in Navy; nominated, 2312.
Webb, James W., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3501.
Webb, Richard Bruce, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Webber, Merlon Ardeen, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 601; confirmed, 799.
Weeks, John Andrew, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1681.
Weidenbach, Adolph Charles, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Weir, Robert H., to be postmaster at Otis, Colo.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 603.
Welborn, Ira C., to be major, United States Infantry; nominated, 3012.
Welch, Gordon Bennett, to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 2312.
Welch, Louis A., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Wellage, George Francis, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Wellemeyer, Emma O., to be postmaster at Harris, Iowa; nominated, 496; confirmed, 1332.
Wellems, Mollie E., to be postmaster at Lansing, Kans.; nominated, 3013.
Wellington, Harold W., to be assistant surgeon, Navy Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 2187; confirmed, 2313.
Wells, Clarke H., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Wells, Francis Compston, to be third lieutenant of Engineers, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 389; confirmed, 601.
Wenzel, Alvin L., to be postmaster at Webster, Pa.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1071.
Werner, Frederick J., to be postmaster at Orland, Ind.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 603.
Wersebe, George W., to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1681.
Wescott, Charles T., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
West, Clyde G., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
West, Duval, to be United States district judge, western district of Texas; nominated, 555; confirmed, 647.
West, Perry B., to be postmaster at Lafayette, Tenn.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 747.
West, William W., jr., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 800.
Westbrook, J. W., to be postmaster at Ada, Okla.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Westcott, Charles W., to be postmaster at Lake Mills, Iowa; nominated, 4634.
Westenhaver, D. C., to be United States district judge, northern district of Ohio; nominated, 3691.
Westmoreland, Wade H., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3691.
Weston, Harry B., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2312.
Whaley, Louis W., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 1834.
Wheeler, Earl A., to be postmaster at Gilman, Mont.; nominated, 1910; confirmed, 2265.
Wheeler, Lewis H., to be surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Wheeler, Sheldon H., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
Wheeler, Walter R., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 3012.
Whelan, Joseph H., to be postmaster at South Lancaster, Mass.; nominated, 3501.
Whitaker, William C., to be captain, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 4401.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
White, Arthur A., to be first lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 491; confirmed, 1012.
White, Arthur Noble, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
White, Charles H., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 3012.
White, George P., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 492; confirmed, 800.
White, Hugh L., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
White, James B., to be member of United States Shipping Board; nominated, 745; withdrawn, 1680.
White, John B., to be member of the United States Shipping Board; nominated, 1680; confirmed, 1681.
White, John R., to be assistant surgeon, Navy Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 1126; confirmed, 2313.
White, Newton H., jr., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
White, Paul G., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
White, Robert Fulton, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
White, William, to be postmaster at Algoma, Wis.; nominated, 601.
White, Willis A., to be postmaster at Melville, La.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 1834.
Whitehead, Walter E., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 492; confirmed, 601.
Whitehouse, Edgar T., to be postmaster at Unity, Me.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Whitelaw, John A., to be postmaster at Monterey, Va.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1013.
Whiting, Edgar M., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3691.
Whitman, Robert P., to be postmaster at Schwenkville, Pa.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Whitmore, William H., to be assistant surgeon, Navy Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 2693.
Whitney, W. Ray, to be postmaster at Franklin, Vt.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 1332.
Whitson, Charles H., to be postmaster at Briarcliff Manor, N. Y.; nominated, 4403.
Whittaker, Frank Lawrence, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Whittaker, Horace Lincoln, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Wible, Laura E., to be postmaster at Deertrail, Colo.; nominated, 1909; confirmed, 2265.
Wicker, Rufus E., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Wierzbicki, Stephen, to be chief pharmacist, in Navy; nominated, 2693.
Wild, Laurence, to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 603.
Wilder, Cyrus Jenness, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1681.
Wilder, Stuart Gardiner, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Wiley, J. K., to be postmaster at Mount Union, Pa.; nominated, 2313.
Wiley, John F., to be postmaster at White Hall, Md.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 800.
Wiley, Walter Aquila, to be captain, United States Coast Guard; nominated, 389; confirmed, 601.
Wilhelm, Edmund, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Wilkins, Amos K., to be postmaster at Ute, Iowa; nominated, 1127; confirmed, 1332.
Wilkins, Charles E., to be postmaster at Waterloo, Nebr.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Wilkins, Harry E., to be lieutenant colonel, Quartermaster Corps of Army; nominated, 390; confirmed, 799.
Wilks, William H., to be postmaster at Caruthersville, Mo.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Willard, Arthur L., to be captain in Navy; nominated, 2693.
Willard, Logan A., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Willcox, Julian P., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Wille, Frank J., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Willenbucher, Eugene Henry, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 2312.
Williams, Alexander E., to be major, Quartermaster Corps, United States Infantry; nominated, 4401.
Williams, Alexander S., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Williams, Benjamin A., to be postmaster at Courtland, Va.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Williams, Charles O., to be postmaster at Central Bridge, N. Y.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Williams, Charles F., to be captain, Corps of Engineers, United States Army; nominated, 4633.
Williams, Dion, to be colonel, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2693.
Williams, Elmo H., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 2187; confirmed, 2313.
Williams, Harry C., to be major, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 4401.
Williams, Henry, to be naval constructor with rank of commander in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Williams, Herbert S., to be assistant veterinarian in Army; nominated, 3011.
Williams, John B., to be postmaster at Silex, Mo.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Williams, Lloyd W., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Williams, Louis H., to be assistant surgeon in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Williams, Lucian C., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Williams, Marshall McDiarmid, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 2312.
Williams, Myrtle M., to be postmaster at Makoti, N. Dak.; nominated, 4634.
Williams, Richard P., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Williams, Seth, to be assistant quartermaster with rank of major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3691.
Williams, T. T., to be postmaster at Marion, Iowa; nominated, 3013.
Williams, William E., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3501.
Williams, William T., to be chief pay clerk in Navy; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 2313.
Williams, Yancey S., to be commander in Navy; nominated, 3691.
Williams-Foote, Baldwin, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Williamson, John P., to be postmaster at Iredell, Tex.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Willing, Edward S., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3012.
Willoughby, Rexford Edwin, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1681.
Willson, James D., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 3012.
Willson, Thomas R., to be postmaster at Ola, Ark.; nominated, 2312.
Wilson, Carrie L., to be postmaster at Celina, Tex.; nominated, 3014.
Wilson, Eugene E., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Wilson, Goldie, to be postmaster at Parnell, Mo.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1013.
Wilson, Jessie R., to be postmaster at St. Benedict, Pa.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1273.
Wilson, John L., to be postmaster at Marengo, Ohio; nominated, 498; confirmed, 604.
Wilson, Paul W., to be assistant surgeon, Navy Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 2313.
Wilson, Rogers Murchison, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Wilson, William T., to be postmaster at Mount Orab, Ohio; nominated, 4403.
Wilson, William W., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Wilson, W. W., to be postmaster at Yoncalla, Oreg.; nominated, 4404.
Wimberly, Frances G., to be postmaster at Jonestown, Miss.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 604.
Winans, Edwin B., to be lieutenant colonel, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3011.
Windsor, Charles C., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 2313.
Winkelmann, Jennette R., to be postmaster at Austin, Ind.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 603.
Winn, Dean Flewellyn, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 491; confirmed, 799.
Winslow, John Stevenson, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Winters, Theodore H., to be lieutenant (junior grade) in Navy; nominated, 494; confirmed, 602.
Wise, Frederic M., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Wise, James Bowdoin, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Wise, William C., jr., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 4634.
Withers, Alexander Putney, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Witt, Charles W., to be postmaster at Sidney, Ill.; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 2187.
Wixtead, James W., to be postmaster at East Douglass, Mass.; nominated, 1331; confirmed, 1834.
Wolfe, Albert C., to be United States attorney for western district of Wisconsin; nominated, 1608; confirmed, 2187.
Wolfe, Shuey Earl, to be second lieutenant, Coast Artillery Corps; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Wolfe, William F., to be United States attorney for western district of Wisconsin; nominated, 389; confirmed, 556.
Wood, Clarence E., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Wood, Cyrus Boynton, to be first lieutenant, Medical Reserve Corps; nominated, 491; confirmed, 799.
Wood, Delmore Stephen, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 2310.
Wood, Fred B., to be postmaster at Anchorage, Alaska; nominated, 495; confirmed, 603.
Wood, Herbert C., to be postmaster at Morrisville, N. Y.; nominated, 3502.
Wood, Philip Shaw, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Wood, Ruby L., to be postmaster at Kirkland, Tex.; nominated, 499; confirmed, 604.
Wood, Winthrop S., to be colonel, Quartermaster Corps of Army; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Woods, Louis E., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3501.
Woods, Samuel A., jr., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Woodworth, Wethered, to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 3501.
Woolverton, Vida E., to be postmaster at Redrock, Okla.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Woolworth, Wendell Howard, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.
Worthington, Edwin S., to be postmaster at Darlington, Md.; nominated, 4403.
Worthington, Henry Higbee, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1481; confirmed, 1682.

EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS—Continued.
Wortley, Raymond, to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Wren, Roy O., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Wrenn, Theodore Woodward, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1480; confirmed, 1683.
Wright, George Maltby, jr., to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Wright, John N., to be major, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Wright, Nathaniel H., to be lieutenant commander in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 601.
Wright, Raymond R., to be first lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Wright, Traverse R., to be postmaster at Seaton, Ill.; nominated, 495; confirmed, 1013.
Wright, William E., to be postmaster at Dunseith, N. Dak.; nominated, 1609; confirmed, 1835.
Wroten, George E., to be postmaster at Trudeau, N. Y.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1013.
Wunderlich, Frederick Randolph, to be dental surgeon in Army; nominated, 391; confirmed, 799.
Wurzburg, Eva A., to be postmaster at Northport, Mich.; nominated, 496; confirmed, 603.
Wyche, Ira T., to be first lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 492; confirmed, 1013.
Wyman, Charles L., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 390; confirmed, 800.
Wyman, Guy H., to be captain, United States Cavalry; nominated, 3691.
Wynn, Charles A., to be second lieutenant, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2695.
Wynn, William B., to be second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 1271; confirmed, 1682.
Yackel, Arthur J., to be postmaster at Comfrey, Minn.; nominated, 1127.
Yancey, William D., to be postmaster at Van Buren, Ark.; nominated, 2312.
Yates, Charles M., to be lieutenant in Navy; nominated, 493; confirmed, 602.
Yeager, Emer, to be second lieutenant, United States Field Artillery; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1683.
Yochum, Sylvester L., to be postmaster at Camden, Ohio; nominated, 498; confirmed, 604.
York, Martha A., to be postmaster at Hayti, Mo.; nominated, 497; confirmed, 604.
Yotter, Marquis D., to be postmaster at Silverlake, Ind.; nominated, 746; confirmed, 1071.
Youell, Rice McNutt, to be second lieutenant, United States Cavalry; nominated, 1272; confirmed, 1682.
Young, Adlai Cyrus, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Yount, Barton K., to be captain, United States Infantry; nominated, 3012.
Zalesky, William J., to be surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Zane, Randolph T., to be captain, United States Marine Corps; nominated, 2694.
Zechman, Murray D., to be postmaster at Sinking Spring, Pa.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 747.
Zeller, John C., to be postmaster at Watford City, N. Dak.; nominated, 498; confirmed, 604.
Zerbee, Augustine Joseph, to be provisional second lieutenant, United States Infantry; nominated, 2311.
Ziegemeier, Henry J., to be captain in Navy; nominated, 2693.
Ziesel, Carl S., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.
Zuehlke, Alexander J., to be dental surgeon in Navy; nominated, 4402.

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EXECUTIVE SESSIONS. *See* SENATE.
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EXPATRIATION, amend act relative to expatriation of citizens and their protection abroad (see bills S. 7839; H. R. 20605*).
EXPERIMENTAL FLOUR MILL, establish (see bill H. R. 18908).
EXPORT TRADE, amendments in Senate to bill (H. R. 17350) to promote, 1941, 2220, 2931.
Bill to promote (see bill H. R. 17350*).
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EXPRESS BUSINESS, repeal act authorizing a decennial census of statistics of (see bill H. R. 18917).
EXTORTION, prohibit (see bill H. R. 16173*).
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EYER, MATHIAS, increase pension (see bills S. 3914, 7486*).
EZDORF, RUDOLF H. VON, relief of widow (see bill S. 8190).
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FAIRCHILD, GEORGE W. (*a Representative from New York*).
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Binghamton, N. Y.: to erect public building at (see bill H. R. 20840), 2974.
Borden, Ethel: to pension (see bill H. R. 18397), 134.
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Every, Alvin W.: to increase pension (see bill H. R. 20462), 1935.

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FAITH, THOMAS W., increase pension (see bill H. R. 18749).
FALL, ALBERT B. (*a Senator from New Mexico*).
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——— farm demonstration work, 2835, 2836, 2837, 2838, 2839.
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FALLS, INGABOW, increase pension (see bills H. R. 20227, 20827*).
FARIES, ALEXANDER, increase pension (see bills S. 6174, 7486*).
FARINGTON, D. W., increase pension (see bill H. R. 20807).
FARINHOLT, LELIA M., pension (see bill H. R. 20591).
FARLEY, MICHAEL F. (*a Representative from New York*).
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Allor, Louis A. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Anderson, Andrew G. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Anderson, Elizabeth J. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2607.
Anderson, John F. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Applebee, Nathan H. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Arnold, Niles H. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Artley, Joseph (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Ashline, John J. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Atherton, Louisa A. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Atlee, Isaac R. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Attleson, Neils (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Austin, Henry J. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Ayres, Cyrillus B. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Babbedge, Alvah (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Babbitt, Lillie N. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Bachelder, Abraham (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Bachelder, Charles H. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Badley, Durbin L. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Baker, Sarah (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Ball, Millie M. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Baughart, George (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Barber, Augenette (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Barnett, Homer T. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Barrett, Emma E. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Barton, Williamson R. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Battle, Mary (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Baxter, Henry D. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Beal, William H. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Beaman, Carleton, jr. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Beamer, Jennie Jammison (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Beard, Martha (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Beauchamp, William (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Beckwith, Joseph (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Bellian, Elizabeth (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Benham, Milton T. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Bennitt, Vernon D. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Betts, Charles P. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Bickford, Matilda A. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Birge, Mary A. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Bjarnson, Einer (bill S. 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Black, William A. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Blankinship, Francis M. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Blodgett, Celia A. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Blose, George A. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Blu, Bessie D. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Bolton, Frank T. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Booth, Julia E. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Boothby, George F. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Bouban, John O., alias James Rockwell (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Bowen, Adna H. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Bowen, Jabez R. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Bowens, William A. (bill 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Bowman, Mary Jane (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Bowman, Robert S. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Boyd, Lotta K. (bill S. 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Bradley, William H. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Branaman, William H. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Brawn, George W. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Brewer, Josiah (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Bridges, Andrew J. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Brooks, James (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Brown, Charles E. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Brown, Ella R. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Brown, Frank W. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Brown, Grace Elizabeth (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Brown, Thomas (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Brown, Wylie (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Browning, William R. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Brummet, Christopher C. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Brumette, William (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Bryant, Henry M. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Bryant, Vilos E. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Burgh, Henry B. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Burke, Adelbert R. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Burns, Michael (bill S. 8113; Report 1005), 2462.
Burrow, Frank (bill S. 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Bushnell, Asa L. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Button, Mary E. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.

JOHNSON, CHARLES F.—Continued.
Reports made by, from
Committee on Pensions:
Byard, Eliakim (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Byers, Benjamin F. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Cain, Charles (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Calkins, Rowena M. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Call, James H. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Callahan, Michael (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Campbell, Mary E. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Campbell, Mary L. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Campbell, Reynold D. W. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Carr, Michael H. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Carter, Carrie E. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Carter, Joseph (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Casey, Abraham T. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Casteel, Jessie W. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Cavender, Emily A. Baldridge (bill S. 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Chapman, Jennie M. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Chapman, Joseph (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Chase, Elmore Y. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Chatto, Charles N. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Churchill, Frederick A. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Chute, Harry C. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Clark, Benjamin F. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Clark, Charles Asa (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Clark, Frederick (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Clark, George H. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Clark, Helena E. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Clark, Sylvester (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Clark, William H. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Clear, James K. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Cleland, William H. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Clossin, Samuel C. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Clouse, Albert S. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Coburn, John G. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Colby, James H. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Colby, Stephen P. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Cole, Nannie C. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Collins, Charles E. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Collins, William D. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Conway, Frank J. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Cook, John (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Cook, John C. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Cook, Joseph (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Cook, William W. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Coombs, Jeremiah (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Cooper, John (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Cooper, Mary A. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Cooter, Philip C. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Copeland, Grace M. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Core, William F. (bill 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Cory, Harvey W. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Countryman, Watkin (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Cousens, Francis J. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Cowan, Garrett F. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Cowan, Robert H. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Cox, Elijah (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Craddock, Charles H. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Crandell, Mary J. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Cressman, Jennie A. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Crocker, William J. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Cross, George E. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Cross, George P. (bill S. 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Crozier, John A. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Crowley, George A. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462).
Cummings, Flora L. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Cunningham, Alphonzo J. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Cunningham, James (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Curtis, Francis J. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Cushman, George W. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Dailey, Ella M. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Dake, Royal E. (bill C. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Daman, Riley (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Danforth, Philander W. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Dare, Joseph P. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Daugherty, Albert G. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Davis, Anna B. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Davis, Ferdinand (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Davis, Frank J. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Davis, Jeremiah B. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Davis, Oliver W. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Davis, Theodore M. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Deaver, Jonathan A. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Deemer, Isaiah W. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Deignan, Maude (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Dennison, Joseph O. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Denny, Jesse (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Derby, Francis E. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Dinsmore, Boadicea E. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Divelbiss, James W. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Dobratz, Charles A. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Dodge, David E. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Donnelly, Robert H. M. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Donnohue, Joseph M. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Dority, William R. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Dornsife, Jerome (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Dougherty, William (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Douglas, George P. T. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Downey, Margaret (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Downey, Peter (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Drown, James H. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Drown, John (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Duke, James (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Duncan, William P. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Dunn, Joseph D. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Dunn, Robert O. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Dunton, Charles H. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Durgin, Barber B. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Duryee, Elsie M. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Dustin, Margert (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.

JOHNSON, CHARLES F.—Continued.
Reports made by, from
Committee on Pensions:
Earnest, Annie (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Eaton, James R. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Edes, Walter W. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Edson, John T. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Edwards, Mary R. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Egan, Peter (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Elder, John H. (bill S. 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Elliott, John (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Ellis, Charles (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Eltzroth, John (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Evans, Lemuel (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Evensizer, Reason D. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Eyer, Mathias (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Faries, Alexander (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Farnsworth, Albert S. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Farrar, Percy A. (bill S. 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Fenn, Lena S. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Ferguson, Henry (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Ferguson, Jeremiah (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Fernald, George H. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Fike, John A. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Findlay, Hugh (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Finley, Charles William (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Finney, Alice R. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Fisher, John L. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Fish, Charles (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Flanders, Henry E. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Fleegle, John (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Fletcher, James D. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Foncannon, Jefferson (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Foss, Levi G. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Frakes, Abraham (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Frampton, Henry H. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Freeland, Allen J. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
French, John (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Fritz, Jacob S. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Fulton, Lewis (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Gahret, Wilbur C. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 1609.
Galbreath, David (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Garlick, Silas B. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Gash, Henry W. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Gasque, Edwin C. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Gately, Margaret (bill H. R. 20464; Rept. 899), 989.
George, Hiram J. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Gerrish, Theodore (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Gibney, George R. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Gibson, Arrelia H. (bill S. 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Gilmore, Charles (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Gleeson, Seda (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Goforth, Jerome (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Goodrich, James M. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Goodwin, Andrew (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Goodwin, Benjamin F. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Goodwin, Frank (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Gould, Edward (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Gould, Edward E. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Gowdy, John M. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Grant, Richard L. K. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Green, Perry (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Greenhalgh, Charles B. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Griffin, Joel A. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Griggs, Horace (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Griswold, Edward F. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Griswold, Leroy S. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Griswold, Martha R. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Grubb, Joseph (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Gurtz, Guss E. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Guy, Isaac J. C. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Gwinn, James M. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Hack, Charles H. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Hagenbucher, Louis (bill S. 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Haines, Annie A. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Hall, Abel H. (bill S. 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Hall, Egbert (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Hall, John W. bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Ham, Cornelius T. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Ham, George J. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Ham, John P. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Handbury, Florence V. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Hanger, William (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Hardin, James P. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Harris, Edward (bill S. 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Harris, William H. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Harrison, Thomas J. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Hart, Marcellus E. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Hartwell, C. Ella (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Hasselback, Simon (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Hatch, George H. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Hathaway, Alice (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Haucke, Leona B. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Hawkes, Lillian S. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Hayes, William H. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Haynes, Hiram (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Heald, Timothy S. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Heath, Phylow (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Heatley, Ander J. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Hedrick, Robert F. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Helvy, William M. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Hendrickson, John W. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Hicks, John P. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Higgins, Addie M. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Hill, James (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Hill, King S. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Hill, Lewis W. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Hill, Mary C. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Hinds, George (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Hines, James H. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Hinton, Gordon (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Hoodley, Howard E. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.

JOHNSON, CHARLES F.—Continued.
Reports made by, from
Committee on Pensions:
Hoffs, Jennie M. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Hoben, Marcellus (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Hodge, Minnie J. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Hoffman, William C. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Hogan, Melisa (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Holbrook, Horace N. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Holliday, Samuel (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Holman, Marian A. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Holmann, John Christian (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Holmes, William L. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Holway, Lester (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Hoots, Herbert G. (bill S. 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Hoover, Waddy (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Hope, Mattie S. M. (bill S. 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Hubbard, Emily P. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Hubbard, Lucius V. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Hudson, John (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Hughes, Mary A. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Humphreys, Annie (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Hunt, Clarence A. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609).
Hupp, George W. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Imrie, Robert A. (bill S. 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Ingraham Ruth A. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Irvin, John (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Irvine, Robert W. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Irwin, Thomas L. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Isert, Arthur (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Jacks, Byran W. (bill S. 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Jackson, Edward T. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Jackson, John G. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Jaco, George M. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
James, John M. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Jarnac, Edmond de (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Jarrett, John H. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Jeffries, Thomas B. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Jeinel, Daniel I. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Johnson, Andrew F. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Johnson, Charles F. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Johnson, Isaac R. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Johnson, James (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Johnson, Jonas O. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Johnson, Luther B. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Johnson, Martha P. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Johnson, Mary B. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Johnston, Robert (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Jones, Enoch (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Jones, Thomas B. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Jones, William H. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Kaighn, Maurice M. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Kehrmeyer, Leonard P. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Keller, Robert H. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Kelley, Charles H. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Kelley, George M. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Kelsey, William J. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Kempenay, Leonard (bill S. 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Kennedy, Ada M. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Keniston, George H. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Kenyon, Alice P. B. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Killigan, Daniel (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Kimble, George M. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Kindblade, Gustavus A. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Kine, Patrick (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
King, Arthur H. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
King, Kate M. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
King, Thomas (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Kittrell, Lemuel C. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Klawitter, Ferdinand (bill S. 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Knowlton, Charles F. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Lacy, Celestine (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Lamberson, John (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Lambert, Augusta (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Lauder, Elizabeth (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Lane, Claudius (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Lane, Henry S. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Lasher, William H. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Latham, Frank H. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Laughlin, John W. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Law, Sarah M. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Lay, Catherine C. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Leathers, Thomas J. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Lee, John, alias James Riley (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Leland, Arthur (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Lewis, Edgar P. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Lile, Milton M. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Lindsey, William H. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Loftis, Daniel (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Longfellow, Theodore (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Loomis, Lillian A. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Love, William J. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Lowell, Moses E. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Lowery, Thomas J. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Luckhardt, Thomas R.: (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Luther, Aldrich S. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Lydecker, Delia B. (bill S. 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Lynch, Mary J. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Lynch, Peter (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
McClannohan, Edward T. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
McClure, John N. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
McConnell, Dyer B. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
McCord, Lucy E. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
McCown, John W. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
McCoy, May E. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
McIntire, Ezra F. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
McKay, John G. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
McKenney, Joseph, jr. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
McMillan, Ruth A. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
McNutt, Daniel (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Maddocks, Elden B. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Madison, John E. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.

JOHNSON, CHARLES F.—Continued.
Reports made by, from
Committee on Pensions:
Magie, Theodore B. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Mallatte, Charles (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Maltby, Theodore A. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Manchester, Ellen (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Manning, Joseph A. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Martin, Benjamin F. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Marshall, Victor F. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Mase, Frederick W. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Mason, Charles Edgar (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Mathey, Meda (bill S. 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Matox, James (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
May, Robert J. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Maybury, George (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Mayer, John C. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Mayfield, John (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Mayne, Dorr H. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Mayo, John K. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Mensch, Lewis (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Merritt, William H. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Messenger, Clark E. (bill S. 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Messenger, Ellen C. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Meyers, Joseph J. (bill S. 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Meyers, Stephen O. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Miles, John S. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Miles, William L. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Milk, Charles (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Millard, William A. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Miller, Joseph A. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Mills, Alada Thurston Poddoch (bill S. 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Minor, Charles (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Minson, Charles H. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Mitchell, Bailey (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Mitchell, Henry G. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Mitchell, Richard (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Moir, George (bill S. 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Moody, Mary P. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Montgomery, James A. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Moore, Francis M. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Moore, George W. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Morgan, Joseph S. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Morgan, William F. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Mosier, Angelia T. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Moulten, Louis Henry (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Mudgett, Charles A. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Muir, Hiram (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Munsell, John W. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Murphy, Patrick (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Murray, Tarrence (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Myers, Delano (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Myers, Maurice H. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Nally, William W. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Nash, Blanche F. (bill 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Nash, Caleb P. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Naylor, Elizabeth S. (bill S. 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Neal, Walter K. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Neilsen, Hans C. (bill S. 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Nelson, Carl J. (bill S. 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Neugent, Edward (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Newbury, Mary E. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Nientzenhelzer, Frederick (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Niles, Henry H. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Normoyle, Emma E. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Norris, Walter P. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Nourse, Nelson L. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Nutt, Franklin B. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Nutting, George H. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Olds, James (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Olmsted, William W. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Orner, Mary B. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Otis, Eugene H. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Owen, Henry D. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Packard, Stephen B. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Paine, Ella A. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Paine, Ida M. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Palmer, Samuel E. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Parks, Severn L. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Partridge, Frederick E. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Patrick, Catherine Crane (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Patterson, Joseph C. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Patterson, Otis B. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Patton, Horace M. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Peak, Thomas R. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Penley, Charles F. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Perkins, Jacob W. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Persons, Andrew J. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Peterson, Toyger (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Pfoff, William J. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Piatt, La Fayette (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Pickett, James (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Pierson, Mary J. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Piggott, James T. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Pool, Martin (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Pope, William C. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Porter, Emma L. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Potter, Charles A. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Powers, Emory C. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Pratt, Bertha C. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Predmore, Joseph C. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Prine, William W. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Pritchett, Mary L. (bill S. 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Puett, William E. (bill S. 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Quackenbush, Alfred (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Quinn, Timothy (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Ramsdell, Henry (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Rand, Alfred T. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Rand, Martin V. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Randall, John J. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Rash, Mary R. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.

JOHNSON, CHARLES F.—Continued.
Reports made by, from
Committee on Pensions:
Raymond, John S. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Redman, Flora G. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Reed, Charles (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Reeves, Emerson G. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Renfroe, Mary (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Reynolds, Aletha E. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Reynolds, Joseph E. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Rice, John A. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Richards, Charles (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Richardson, Levi J. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Richey, William (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Ricketts, Francis A. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Ridenour, Simon (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Riordan, Dennis W. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Robards, Ethel M. (bill S. 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Roberson, John W. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Roberts, Ada (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Roberts, Elizabeth (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Robertson, William M. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Robinson, Edward (bill S. 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Robinson, Emily N. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Robinson, Emily S. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Robinson, George S. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Robinson, Marian (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Roddy, Harry F. (bill S. 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Rodocker, Aaron C. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Rogers, Edwin (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Rogers, Lavina A. E. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Rollins, James G. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Ross, Mary P. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Rowe, William S. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Rowell, Aaron (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Rowell, Ezekial P. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Roy, Francis (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Ruch, Uriah (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Rudd, David F. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Rush, Ellen (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Russell, David (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Ryals, Perry (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Sadler, Josiah (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Safranek, John (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
St. Clair, David H. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Sanborn, David F. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Sanders, Nettie (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Sargeant, Henry C. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Sasser, M. B. (bill S. 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Sawyer, Ellen A. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Schincke, Emil (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Schliessmann, John J. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Schmitt, John A. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Schutt, Frank G., jr. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Scott, Thomas D. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Sears, John A. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Seaward, Warren (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Seay, Mary T. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Selby, Henry Dolton (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Seymour, Lewis (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Shaffer, Frank S. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Shaffer, Samuel P. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Shattuck, Cerelle (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Shank, Herman L. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Sharpnack, Calvin (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Shaw, Bertha M. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Sheesley, Daniel (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Sheffield, Nannette W. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Sheldon, Albert P. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Sheline, Michael (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Shoplar, Peter (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Sherman, Samuel D. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Silsby, Henry S. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Simpson, John R. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Sipes, James E. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Sisson, James S. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Skinner, John L. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Slippey, Alfred (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Slocum, Charles H. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Smith, Berry H. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Smith, Charles F. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Smith, Ephraim (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Smith, George D. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Smith, George W. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Smith, George W. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Smith, Henry (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Smith, Jane (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Smith, John C. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Smith, Lewis G. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Smith, Sidney M. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Smith, William (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Spangler, Benjamin F. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Sparrow, Bradford P. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Sparrow, Eliza J. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Sparrow, John R. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Spear, Charles N. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Sperry, George W. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Sperry, John W. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Squire, Harriet C. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Stahel, Anna C. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Starkey, Robert (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Staubus, Henry H. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Stearns, John S. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Sterling, Walter H. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Stevens, Hugh (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Stevens, John (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Stevens, Thomas A. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Stevenson, Margaret (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Steward, Henry H. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Steward, Loren E. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Stillwagon, Jacob R. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.

JOHNSON, CHARLES F.—Continued.
Reports made by, from
Committee on Pensions:
Stockton, Thomas F. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Stokes, Lemuel (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Stone, Sylvester E. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Stone, Timothy (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Stoneburner, Daniel E. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Stouffer, John (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Strause, Paul (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Stuart, Charles R. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Sturdevant, Lucy E. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Sullivan, Joseph P. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Sullivan, Paul, alias Matthias G. Clark (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Summerville, Robert (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Sutton, Stephen (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Swango, Abraham (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Sweet, Edwin D. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Swift, Samuel B. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Tackitt, Benjamin (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Talbot, Clara (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Tarbox, George (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Tarbox, Moses, jr. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Taylor, Ella (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Taylor, James P. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Tenney, Anna E. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Terpenning, Solomon (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Thayer, George F. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Thilman, J. Augustus (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Thomas, Adelaide F. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Thomas, John W. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Thomas, Norris J. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Thomas, Robert (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Thompson, Charles S. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Thompson, Henry (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Thompson, Mollie (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Thornburgh, Albania D. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Thornton, James B. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Thurston, Aura V. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Tibbets, Samuel (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Tibbetts, Roscoe G. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Titterington, Hiram H. (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Torrance, John W. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Treat, James M. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Trimble, Jasper (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Trimble, Mary H. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Tuell, George G. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Tulleys, Henry C. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Turner, Minatree (bill S. 8295; Rept. 1089), 3659.
Unferfate, John (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Upton, Jonas H. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Ure, Josephine E. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Vanderhoff, John A. (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Van Name, William H. (bill S. 8120; Rept. 1007), 2609.
Vanover, Andrew M. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Volkerts, Oluf (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Vreeland, Katrina E. T. (bill S. 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Waalkes, Johanna E. (bill S. 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Wahl, William F. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Wagner, Augustus (bill S. 8113; Rept. 1005), 2462.
Walker, Arabelle G. (bill S. 8296; Rept. 1090), 3660.
Walker, John (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
Wallace, Frances I. (bill S. 7486; Rept. 885), 530.
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STONE, CLAUDIUS U. (*a Representative from Illinois*).
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STOUT, TOM (*a Representative from Montana*).
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SWEET, BURTON E. (*a Representative from Iowa*).
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WILLIAMS, SEWARD H. (*a Representative from Ohio*).
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S. 40—To authorize agricultural entries on surplus coal lands in Indian reservations.
Mr. Smoot; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1363), 2102.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 3635, 3638, 3639.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 3663.—Examined and signed, 3737, 3782.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 358], 4483.

S. 41—To provide for agricultural entries on coal lands in Alaska.
Mr. Smoot; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1000), 2299.—Amended and passed Senate, 3088, 3089.

S. 43—In relation to the location, entry, and patenting of lands within the former Uncompahgre Indian Reservation, in the State of Utah, containing gilsonite or other like substances, and for other purposes.
Mr. Smoot; debated in House, 2630, 2631.

S. 45—To amend sections 2380 and 2381, Revised Statutes of the United States.
Mr. Smoot; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 955), 1663.—Debated, 2686.

S. 55—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to use at his discretion surplus moneys in the Treasury in the purchase or redemption of the outstanding interest-bearing obligations of the United States.
Mr. Smoot; reported back (H. Rept. 1541), 4064.

S. 135—For the restoration of annuities to the Medawakanton and Wahpakoota (Santee) Sioux Indians, declared forfeited by the act of February 16, 1863.
Mr. Clapp; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1225), 462.—Debated, 2648, 2655–2659.—Amended and passed House, 2659, 2695.—Senate disagrees to House amendment and asks for a conference, 2752.—House insists on its amendment and agrees to a conference, 3504.—Conference appointed, 2752, 3504.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 4484, 4506, 4507.—Conference report (No. 1593) made and agreed to in House, 4845.—Making a change in the enrollment of bill (see S. Con. Res. 34), 4605, 4845.—Examined and signed, 4862, 4926.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 392], 4990.

S. 138—For the relief of the Ottawa Indian Tribe of Blanchards Fork and Roche de Bœuf.
Mr. Clapp; debated in House, 502.

S. 141—For the relief of William E. Johnson.
Mr. Clapp; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 932), 1381.

S. 147—For the relief of John W. Cupp.
Mr. Clapp; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1329), 1802.

S. 199—Granting a pension to Margaret Gately.
Mr. Lodge; reported back adversely (S. Rept. 899) and indefinitely postponed, 989.

S. 378—To provide for the appointment of a district judge in the middle and eastern judicial districts in the State of Tennessee, and for other purposes.
Mr. Lea of Tennessee; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 998), 2160.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 2822, 2823.—Referred to House Committee on the Judiciary, 2935.

S. 379—To authorize the acceptance of certain lands by the United States for a military park reservation, and for other purposes.
Mr. Lea of Tennessee; reported back, 4372.

S. 391—For the adjudication and determination of the claims arising under joint resolution of July 14, 1870, authorizing the Postmaster General to continue in use in the Postal Service Marcus P. Norton's combined postmarking and stamp-canceling hand stamp patents, or otherwise.
Mr. Townsend, and passed Senate, 1968.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 2065.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1408), 3385.

S. 392—To create in the War Department and the Navy Department, respectively, a roll designated as the "Civil War volunteer officers' retired list," to authorize placing thereon with retired pay certain surviving officers who served in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States in the Civil War, and for other purposes.
Mr. Townsend; debated in Senate, 378–388, 431–433, 600, 646, 671–675, 737, 738, 740–744, 797, 833, 882, 883, 993, 994, 997–1004, 1011, 1012, 1068–1071, 1106, 1173–1178, 1966, 2489.—Unanimous-consent agreement for vote on, objected to in Senate, 882, 883.

S. 457—To provide for the appointment of a district judge in the northern and southern judicial districts in the State of Mississippi, and for other purposes.
Mr. Williams; reported back and passed Senate, 3063.—Referred to House Committee on the Judiciary, 3214.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1519), 3854.

S. 583—Relating to the disposal of coal and mineral deposits in Indian lands.
Mr. Gronna; reported back (S. Rept. 882), 530.

S. 606—For the relief of James C. Hilton.
Mr. Martin of Virginia; debated in House, 3156.—Laid on the table, 4004.

S. 609—To aid in the erection of a monument to Pocahontas at Jamestown, Va.
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S. 611—For the erection of a monument to the memory of Matthew Fontaine Maury, of Virginia.
Mr. Martin of Virginia; debated, amended, and passed Senate, 374–377.—Referred to House Committee on the Library, —.

S. 649—Making appropriation for expenses incurred under the treaty of Washington.
Mr. Gallinger; debated, 2632.

S. 650—For the relief of Wallace Metcalf.
Mr. Gallinger; reported back (H. Rept. 1555), 4242.

S. 665—To codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to publicity of contributions and expenditures made for the purpose of influencing the nomination and election of candidates for the offices of Representative and Senator in the Congress of the United States, limiting the amount of campaign expenses, and for other purposes.
Mr. Kern; recommitted to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, 374.

S. 668—Making it unlawful for any Member of Congress to serve on or solicit funds for any political committee, club, or organization.
Mr. Clapp; recommitted to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, 374.

S. 669—To limit the use of campaign funds in presidential and national elections.
Mr. Clapp; recommitted to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, 374.

S. 698—For the relief of John L. O'Mara.
Mr. Oliver; amended and passed Senate, 1967.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 2065.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1563), 4367.

S. 703—To provide for the promotion of vocational education; to provide for cooperation with the States in the promotion of such education in agriculture and the trades and industries; to provide for cooperation with the States in the preparation of teachers of vocational subjects; and to appropriate money and regulate its expenditure.
Mr. Smith of Georgia; Committee on Education discharged; debated in House, 714–725, 749–782, 1071–1083 (Appendix, 79, 80, 238).—Amended and passed House, 1083.—Senate disagrees to House amendments and asks for a conference, 1189.—House insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 1332.—Conference appointed, 1189, 1332.—Conference report (S. Doc. No. 711) made in Senate, 3262–3265.—Conference report (No. 1495) made in House, 3315, 3423.—Conference report debated and agreed to in House, 3423–3429 (Appendix, 415, 793, 880).—Conference report debated and agreed to in Senate, 3408, 3481, 3482, 3483.—Making change in the enrollment of bill (see H. Con. Res. 75), 3429, 3482, 3483.—Examined and signed, 3541, 3571.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 347], 3965.

S. 706—To amend section 260 of an act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," approved Mar. 3, 1911.
Mr Smith of Georgia; debated in Senate, 18, 19, 42–48, 83–99, 1950, 1955, 1956.—Amended and passed Senate, 98, 99.—Referred to House Committee on the Judiciary, —.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1252), 935.—Debated, 4464, 4465, 4527–4530, 4696–4707, 4786, 4787 (Appendix, 265, 274, 586, 823).—Amended; House refuses to pass bill, 4706, 4707, 4786, 4787.

S. 739—For the relief of James F. Cole.
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S. 747—For the relief of Wilbur F. Lawton.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 906), 1067.—Amended and passed Senate, 2673.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 2935.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1574), 4466.

S. 748—To remove the charge of desertion from the record of Charles M. Clark.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; reported back adversely (S. Rept. 992) and indefinitely postponed, 2158.

S. 778—To authorize an exchange of lands with owners of private holdings within the Glacier National Park.
Mr. Walsh; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1354), 2022.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 3635, 4710.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 4861.—Examined and signed, 4862, 4926.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 382], 4990.

S. 784—To authorize the sale of certain lands at or near Belton, Mont., for hotel purposes.
Mr. Walsh; debated, amended, and passed Senate, 1976.—Referred to House Committee on Public Lands, 2065.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1413), 2592.—Passed House, 4063, 4064.—Examined and signed, 4067, 4151.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 370], 4719.

S. 789—Providing for an additional judge for the district of Montana.
Mr. Walsh; reported back (H. Rept. 1310), 1579.—Debated, 3632.

S. 793—Modifying and amending the act providing for the disposal of the surplus unallotted lands within the Blackfeet Indian Reservation, Mont.
Mr. Walsh; debated in House, 2632.

S. 809—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to accept the application for land entry of Richard Daeley.
Mr. McCumber; passed House, 3164.—Examined and signed, 3255, 3305.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 194], 3780.

S. 833—To provide that petty officers, noncommissioned officers, and enlisted men of the United States Navy and Marine Corps on the retired list who had creditable Civil War service shall receive the rank or rating and the pay of the next higher enlisted grade.
Mr. McCumber; debated and passed Senate, 1969, 1970.—Referred to House Committee on Naval Affairs, 2065.

S. 865—Granting to certain States public lands for the construction, repair, and maintenance of public roads.
Mr. Smith of Arizona; debated, amended, and passed Senate, 2490–2494.

S. 890—For the relief of the legal representatives of John T. Brickwood, deceased, Edward Gaynor, Theodore Gebler, Lee W. Mix, Arthur L. Peck, Thomas D. Casanega, Joseph de Lusignan, and Joseph H. Berger.
Mr. Smith of Arizona; reported back (S. Rept. 981), 1940.

S. 971—For the relief of James Orange.
Mr. Sherman; reported back adversely and indefinitely postponed, 2980.

S. 1059—To provide for the payment for certain lands within the former Flathead Indian Reservation, in the State of Montana.
Mr. Myers; debated in House, 2640.

S. 1061—To allow additional entries under the enlarged homestead act.
Mr. Myers; debated, 2634–2640.—Amended and passed House, 2640.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 2752, 2753.—Examined and signed, 2969, 3175.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 337], 3780.

S. 1063—To amend an act approved June 22, 1910, entitled "An act to provide for agricultural entries on coal lands."
Mr. Myers; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 976), 1940.—Debated, 2690, 2691.

S. 1064—To provide for the nonmineral entry of lands withdrawn, classified, or reported as containing coal, phosphate, nitrate, potash, oil, gas, or asphaltic minerals in Alaska.
Mr. Myers; debated in House, 2640.

S. 1065—To provide for summer residence homesteads, and for other purposes.
Mr. Myers; amended and passed Senate, 2488, 2489.—Vote reconsidered; indefinitely postponed, 2498.

S. 1068—Relating to desert-land entries.
Mr. Myers; passed House, 3632.—Examined and signed, 3733, 3737.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 359], 4483.

S. 1082—To prevent the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.
Mr. Sheppard; bill ordered reprinted in Senate, 99.—Debated in Senate, 138–146, 317, 320–335, 366–374, 376, 422–441, 468–490, 532–555, 591, 598, 599, 640, 641, 670, 1049–1066.—Unanimous-consent agreement for vote on, agreed to in Senate, 598, 599.—Amended and passed Senate, 1065, 1066.—Referred to House Committee on the District of Columbia, —.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1575), 4465.—Debated, 4530–4550, 4550–4558.—Passed House, 4557, 4558.—Examined and signed, 4578, 4635.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 383], 4990.

S. 1092—For the establishment of a probation system in the United States courts, except in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Owen; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 887), 586.—Debated, 2514.

S. 1093—To permit the Denison Coal Co. to relinquish certain lands embraced in its Choctaw and Chickasaw coal lease and to include within said lease other lands within the segregated coal area.
Mr. Owen; debated and passed House, 1437, 1438.—Examined and signed, 1578, 1582.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 294], 2027.

S. 1107—To amend, revise, and codify the laws relating to the public printing and binding and the distribution of Government publications.
Mr. Fletcher; debated in Senate, 377, 1162, 2488.

S. 1174—Granting to the State of Iowa all the right, title, and interest of the United States in and to the land within the meander lines, as originally surveyed, of the lakes within said State.
Mr. Cummins; reported back (S. Rept. 963), 1806.—Debated and passed Senate, 2687, 2688.—Referred to House Committee on Public Lands, 3132.

S. 1361—For the relief of Thomas Smart.
Mr. McLean; passed House, 3153.—Examined and signed, 3305, 3354.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 195], 3780.

S. 1362—For the relief of Lester A. Rockwell.
Mr. McLean; reported back (H. Rept. 1573), 4465.

S. 1378—To amend the military record of John P. Fitzgerald.
Mr. Poindexter; debated and passed House, 3166, 3167.—Examined and signed, 3305, 3354.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 196], 3780.

S. 1379—For the relief of James Gloster.
Mr. Poindexter; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 988), 2158.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 3087, 3088.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 3917.

S. 1428—To reimburse certain fire insurance companies the amounts paid by them for property destroyed by fire in suppressing the bubonic plague in the Territory of Hawaii in the years 1899 and 1900.
Mr. Clapp; passed Senate, 377.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, —.

S. 1548—For the relief of Emmett W. Entriken.
Mr. Lane; reported back (H. Rept. 1487), 3320.

S. 1553—For the relief of Peter Kenney.
Mr. Lane; reported back (H. Rept. 1342), 1875.—Debated and passed House, 2803, 2804.—Examined and signed, 2969, 3175.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 182], 3407.

S. 1567—Granting an honorable discharge to Curtis V. Milliman.
Mr. Penrose; reported back adversely (S. Rept. 1062) and indefinitely postponed, 3407.

S. 1579—For the relief of Jacob Nice.
Mr. Penrose; amended and passed Senate, 1967.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 2066.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1583), 4563.

S. 1695—To provide for the military and naval training of the citizen forces of the United States.
Mr. Chamberlain; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1024), 2980.—Debated, 2980.

S. 1697—To declare Ollala Slough in Lincoln County, Oreg., nonnavigable.
Mr. Chamberlain; reported back (H. Rept. 1380), 2295.—Debated and passed House, 3635, 3636.—Examined and signed, 3733, 3737.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 351], 4271.

S. 1724—To reimburse the First National Bank of Owatonna, Minn., for revenue stamps stolen or lost in transit.
Mr. Nelson; debated and passed Senate, 1976.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 2066.

S. 1740—To repeal an act entitled "An act granting to the city of Twin Falls, Idaho, certain lands for reservoir purposes," approved June 7, 1912, and to revoke the grant made thereby.
Mr. Myers; debated and passed House, 1444, 2640.—Examined and signed, 2725, 2810.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 321], 3407.

S. 1782—For the relief of Joseph Gorman.
Mr. Norris; reported back (H. Rept. 1554), 4242.

S. 1792—For the relief of settlers on unsurveyed railroad lands.
Mr. Poindexter; reported back (H. Rept. 1207), 77, 3544, 3545.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 2641–2643, 3624, 3625.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 3663.—Examined and signed, 3853, 3861.—Approved by the President [Public No. 360], 4483.

S. 1878—Making appropriation for payment of certain claims in accordance with findings of the Court of Claims, reported under the provisions of the acts approved Mar. 3, 1883, and Mar. 3, 1887, and commonly known as the Bowman and the Tucker Acts, and under the provisions of section 151 of the act approved Mar. 3, 1911, commonly known as the Judicial Code.
Mr. Catron; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1362), 2102.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 2805, 2806.—Senate disagrees to House amendments and asks for a conference, 3175.—House insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 3247.—Conference appointed, 3175, 3247.—Conference report (No. 1514) made in House, 3733, 3998.—Conference report debated and agreed to in House, 3917, 3918, 3998, 3999.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 3983.—Examined and signed, 4067, 4151.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 205], 4483.

S. 1989—For the relief of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Presbyterian Church, Keyser, W. Va.
Mr. Chilton; debated, 1971, 1972, 2498, 2499.

S. 2200—For the relief of F. C. X. Boucher.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 924), 1322.

S. 2215—To provide divisions of mental hygiene and rural sanitation in the United States Public Health Service.
Mr. Ransdell; debated in Senate, 639, 1966.

S. 2222—For the relief of the heirs of Antoine Bayard.
Mr. Ransdell; reported back (H. Rept. 1345), 1935.—Passed House, 2804.—Examined and signed, 2969, 3175.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 200], 3965.

S. 2292—To acquire the manuscript of Charles Chaillé-Long, containing an account of the unveiling of the McClellan statue.
Mr. Saulsbury; passed Senate, 1967.—Referred to House Committee on the Library, 2066.

S. 2362—For the relief of John Doyle, alias John Geary.
Mr. Shafroth; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 989), 2158.—Amended and passed Senate, 3088.

S. 2461—Authorizing the appointment of Bert R. Huntington as first lieutenant, Medical Corps, United States Army.
Mr. Kenyon; amended and passed Senate, 1972.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 2066.

S. 2465—For the relief of James Anderson.
Mr. Curtis; reported back (H. Rept. 1559), 4367.

S. 2512—To provide for the appointment of an additional district judge for the southern district of West Virginia.
Mr. Goff; passed Senate, 1971.—Referred to House Committee on the Judiciary, 2066.

S. 2530—For the relief of the Buffalo River Zinc Mining Co.
Mr. Stone; reported back (H. Rept. 1433), 2726.

S. 2543—For the relief of the State of Kentucky.
Mr. Beckham; passed House, 3640, 3641.—Examined and signed, 3733, 3737.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 201], 4271.

S. 2581—For the relief of the heirs of Adam and Noah Brown.
Mr. McLean; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 1066), 3480.

S. 2704—For the relief of Albert L. Ream.
Mr. Kern; debated, amended, and passed Senate, 1968, 1969.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 2066.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1388), 2296.

S. 2744—To correct the military record of Isaac Purnell.
Mr. Penrose; reported back adversely and indefinitely postponed, 3576.

S. 2745—For the relief of Caleb Aber.
Mr. Penrose; reported back adversely (S. Rept. 993) and indefinitely postponed, 2158.

S. 2749—For the relief of George L. Thomas.
Mr. Penrose; reported back (S. Rept. 931), 1381.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 2683.—Debated and passed House, 2794, 2795.—Examined and signed, 3049, 3175.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 197], 3780.

S. 2846—To provide compensation for accidental injuries to employees of the United States resulting in disability or death.
Mr. Sutherland; indefinitely postponed, 1967.

S. 2880—For the relief of Martin V. Parmer.
Mr. Lane; reported back (H. Rept. 1341), 1875.—Debated and passed House. 2803.—Examined and signed, 3049, 3175.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 183], 3407.

S. 3079—For the retirement of employees in the classified civil service.
Mr. Pomerene; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1046), 3179.

S. 3180—To authorize the appointment of Clarence C. Kress to the grade of captain, United States Army Medical Corps.
Mr. Reed; referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 2935.

S. 3269—For the relief of Francis M. Atherton.
Mr. Weeks; reported back (S. Rept. 990), 2158.—Amended and passed Senate, 3088.

S. 3331—To amend an act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of dams across navigable waters," approved June 21, 1906, as amended by the act approved June 23, 1910, and to provide for the improvement and development of waterways for the uses of interstate and foreign commerce.
Mr. Shields; conference report (No. 1453) made in House, 3152, 3214.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate; Senate further insists on its amendments and asks for a further conference, 3187–3189.—Conference report debated and agreed to in House, 3213, 3214, 3215.—House insists on its amendment and agrees to a further conference, 3423, 3692–3697.—Second conference appointed, 3189, 3697.

S. 3376—For the relief of Capt. Frederick B. Shaw.
Mr. McCumber; reported back (S. Rept. 1103), 3782.

S. 3444—To provide for a permanent exhibit of the resources of the States of the Union in or near Washington, D. C.
Mr. Martine of New Jersey; Debated, 2490.

S. 3507—For the relief of Elizabeth Marsh Watkins.
Mr. Sterling; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 929), 1381.—Amended and passed Senate, 2682.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 2935.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1491), 3320.

S. 3509—To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue a deed to the persons hereinafter named for part of a lot in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Pomerene; reported back (H. Rept. 1570), 4465.

S. 3526—To amend section 1 of an act entitled "An act to provide for the registration of, with collectors of internal revenue, and to impose a special tax upon all persons who produce, import, manufacture, compound, deal in, dispense, sell, distribute, or give away opium or cocoa leaves, their salts, derivatives, or preparations, and for other purposes," approved December 17, 1914.
Mr. Thompson; amended and passed Senate, 1966.—Referred to House Committee on Ways and Means, 2065.

S. 3529—To refund to John B. Keating customs tax erroneously and illegally collected.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; reported back (S. Rept. 1095), 3657.

S. 3585—Providing for the disposal of certain lands in block 32, in the city of Port Angeles, State of Washington.
Mr. Jones; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1125), amended, and passed Senate, 4469.

S. 3617—For the relief of Elizabeth Davis.
Mr. Brady; debated, 2805, 3164, 3165.

S. 3680—To authorize the payment of indemnities to the Governments of Austria-Hungary, Greece, and Turkey for injuries inflicted on their nationals during riots occurring in South Omaha, Nebr., February 21, 1909.
Mr. Stone; reported back (H. Rept. 1497), 3385.

S. 3681—For the relief of the owners of the steamship Esparta.
Mr. O'Gorman; reported back (H. Rept. 1230), 527.—Passed House, 2793.—Examined and signed, 3175.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 178], 3355.

S. 3699—To donate to the city of St. Augustine, Fla., for park purposes the tract of land known as the powder-house lot.
Mr. Fletcher; debated in House, 506, 1435, 2632.—Amended and passed House, 2632.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 2752.—Examined and signed, 2891, 2930.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 338], 3780.

S. 3731—For the relief of John G. Young.
Mr. Simmons; passed Senate, 1975.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 2065.

S. 3735—For the relief of Cleveland L. Short.
Mr. Simmons; debated, 1975, 2504.

S. 3743—To reimburse John Simpson.
Mr. Beckham; reported back (H. Rept. 1307), 1580.—Passed House, 2798.—Examined and signed, 2969, 3175.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 185], 3407.

S. 3771—For the relief of Alfred Cluff, Orson Cluff, Henry E. Norton, William B. Ballard, Elijah Hancock, Mrs. Susan R. Saline, Oscar Mann, Celia Thayne, William E. Cox, Theodore Farley, Adelaide Laxton, Clara L. Tenney, George M. Adams, Charlotte Jensen, Sophia Huff, Peter H. McBride, and David Edward Adams.
Mr. Ashurst; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1022), 2930.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 3101–3106.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 3502.

S. 3777—For the relief of W. H. Presleigh.
Mr. Jones; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 1096), 3657.

S. 3895—For the relief of the Portland Iron Works.
Mr. Lane; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 928), 1381.—Debated, 2681, 2682.

S. 3910—For the relief of Capt. Thomas R. Clark.
Mr. Chamberlain; reported back (S. Rept. 1135), 4567.

S. 3934—To reimburse the Navajo Timber Co., of Delaware, for a deposit made to cover the purchase of timber.
Mr. Harding; reported back (H. Rept. 1371), 2215.

S. 3962—For the relief of the legal representatives of the estate of Henry H. Sibley, deceased.
Mr. McCumber; reported adversely (S. Rept. 926) and ordered to be placed on the calendar, 1381.—Indefinitely postponed, 2680.

S. 3973—For the relief of Clyde R. Altman.
Mr. Catron; reported back (H. Rept. 1390), 2296.

S. 4008—For the relief of John Fitzgerald.
Mr. Kern; reported back adversely and indefinitely postponed, 3576.

S. 4011—For the relief of William H. Lung.
Mr. Kern; reported back adversely and indefinitely postponed, 2158.

S. 4032—For the relief of Francis J. Mattler.
Mr. Kern; reported back adversely and indefinitely postponed, 2158.

S. 4060—To limit the effect of the regulation of interstate commerce between the States in goods, wares, and merchandise wholly or in part manufactured, mined, or produced by convict labor or in any prison or reformatory.
Mr. Hughes; debated, 2489.

S. 4086—To provide for the care and treatment of persons afflicted with leprosy and to prevent the spread of leprosy in the United States.
Mr. Ransdell; debated in Senate, 1807, 1808, 1965, 1966.—Indefinitely postponed (see bill H. R. 193), 1965, 1966.

S. 4253—Conferring jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and report to Congress on claims of the Iowa Tribe of Indians against the United States.
Mr. Owen; debated, 3158.

S. 4256—To amend section 5146 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, so as to permit national banks located near the boundary line of adjoining States, subject to the discretion of the Comptroller of the Currency, to select only a majority, instead of three-fourths, of their directors from residents of the State in which they are respectively located.
Mr. Owen; debated, 1443, 2633.

S. 4277—For the relief of George B. Hughes.
Mr. Martine of New Jersey; reported back (H. Rept. 1482), 3319.

S. 4282—To permit the State of Wyoming to relinquish to the United States lands heretofore selected and to select other lands from the public domain in lieu thereof.
Mr. Warren; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1282), 1317.—Debated, 3631, 3632.

S. 4288—Relating to the maintenance of actions for death on the high seas and other navigable waters.
Mr. Lodge; reported back (H. Rept. 1419), 2659.—Debated, 3641.

S. 4357—To correct the military record of Joseph J. Mitchell.
Mr. Simmons; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1065), 3480.

S. 4360—Authorizing the President to exchange land set aside for military purposes in the Territory of Hawaii for private land.
Mr. Chamberlain; reported back (S. Rept. 877), 421.—Passed Senate, 2508.

S. 4368—For the relief of D. A. Barbour and Andrew P. Gladden.
Mr. Goff; reported back (H. Rept. 1486), 3320.—Laid on the table, 4004.

S. 4371—Authorizing the Sioux Tribe of Indians to submit claims to the Court of Claims.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; debated in House, 2631.

S. 4384—Providing for the refund of duties collected on flax-preparatory machines, parts, and accessories imported subsequently to August 5, 1909, and prior to January 1, 1911.
Mr. Hughes; reported back (H. Rept. 1309), 1580.—Debated and passed House, 2798, 5028, 5029.—Examined and signed, 4990, 5032.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 216], 4990.

S. 4429—To amend the postal laws.
Mr. Bankhead; reported back (S. Rept. 890), 634.—Debated, 949, 1166–1173.—Amended and passed Senate, 1173.—Referred to House Committee on Post Office and Post Roads, 1424.

S. 4450—To provide for the erection of a public building at Canon City, Colo., upon a site heretofore acquired by the United States.
Mr. Shafroth; debated, 2506.

S. 4473—For the relief of Charles G. Griffa.
Mr. Chamberlain; reported back (H. Rept. 1391), 2296.

S. 4500—To incorporate the World's Sunday School Association.
Mr. Oliver; debated, amended, and passed Senate, 1973.—Referred to House Committee on the Judiciary, 2065.

S. 4551—To authorize the Supreme Court to prescribe forms and rules, and generally to regulate pleading, procedure, and practice on the common-law side of the Federal courts.
Mr. Sutherland; reported back (S. Rept. 892), 730, 2158.

S. 4570—To authorize the President to appoint Col. L. Mervin Maus to the grade of brigadier general in the United States Army and place him on the retired list.
Mr. James; reported back (S. Rept. 1040), 3179.

S. 4586—To protect and conserve the halibut fisheries of the Pacific Ocean, to establish closed seasons in halibut fishing in certain waters thereof, and to restrict the landing of halibut in the United States of America and the Territory of Alaska during the closed seasons established.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; referred to House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 1424.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1370), 2215.—Debated, 3637, 3638. [Appendix, 260.]

S. 4620—For the relief of James B. Smock.
Mr. Curtis; debated, amended, and passed Senate, 1970.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 2066.

S. 4667—For the relief of James Duffy.
Mr. Myers; referred to House Committee on Invalid Pensions, ———.—Reference changed to Committee on Military Affairs, 1156.

S. 4716—Granting pensions to certain members of the former Life-Saving Service.
Mr. Martin of Virginia; reported back (S. Rept. 896), 827.—Passed Senate, 2670.

S. 4671.—Providing for the classification, appraisal, and disposal of certain lands within the former Fort Peck Indian Reservation, Mont.
Mr. Walsh; reported back (H. Rept. 1415), 2592.

S. 4764—To amend an act entitled "An act to prohibit the importation and use of opium for other than medicinal purposes," approved January 17, 1914.
Mr. Phelan; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1530), 3058.

S. 4807—For the relief of James W. Cross.
Mr. Oliver; reported back (H. Rept. 1308), 1580.

S. 4811—To establish a fish-cultural station at some point in the State of Louisiana.
Mr. Broussard; debated, 1970.

S. 4827—For the relief of Thomas Purdell.
Mr. Kern; reported back adversely (S. Rept. 994) and indefinitely postponed, 2158.

S. 4862—To exclude intoxicating liquors from national parks and national forest reserves.
Mr. Sterling; debated in House, 3999, 4003, 4004.

S. 4866—To carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of the Commercial Pacific Cable Co.
Mr. Wadsworth; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1450), 3049.

S. 4915—For the relief of Oliver C. Rice.
Mr. Shively; amended and passed Senate, 1970, 1971.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 2065.

S. 5014—To amend section 1 of the act of August 9, 1912, providing for patents on reclamation entries, and for other purposes.
Mr. Borah; debated and passed House, 1444, 2640.—Examined and signed, 2725, 2811.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 322], 3408.

S. 5082—Adding certain lands to the Missoula National Forest, Mont.
Mr. Myers; debated and passed House, 2633, 2634.—Examined and signed, 2793, 2810.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 328], 3593.

S. 5086—Amending section 4 of the public building act approved Mar. 4, 1913, providing for the purchase of a site for a building for post office and customhouse at Nogales, Ariz.
Mr. Ashurst; reported back (H. Rept. 1634), 5033.

S. 5096—For the relief of Henry von Hess.
Mr. Chamberlain; reported back, 4372.

S. 5126—Giving the consent of the United States for the bringing of certain suits in the Supreme Court of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Chilton; debated and passed Senate, 2480.—Debated in House, 5032.

S. 5135—To correct the military record of William R. Potter.
Mr. Penrose; reported back adversely and indefinitely postponed, 2158.

S. 5187—Granting an honorable discharge to Esau Carson.
Mr. Penrose; reported back adversely and indefinitely postponed, 2980.

S. 5203—For the relief of Gardiner L. Eastman.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; reported back (H. Rept. 1343), 1875.—Passed House, 2804.—Examined and signed, 2969, 3175.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 184], 3407.

S. 5204—For the relief of Stephen A. Winchell.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; reported back adversely, 3480.

S. 5206—For the relief of mail contractors.
Mr. Robinson; debated, 2489 (see bill H. R. 11150), 2496, 2497.

S. 5211—For the relief of Arthur R. Aldworth.
Mr. Phelan; reported back adversely (S. Rept. 1035) and indefinitely postponed, 3062.

S. 5268—For the relief of Copper River & Northwestern Railway Co.
Mr. Newlands; reported back (H. Rept. 1481), 3319.

S. 5270—For a public building at Paris, Tex.
Mr. Sheppard; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1618), 4856.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 4944–4947.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 4919.—Examined and signed, 4988, 5032.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 393], 4990.

S. 5305—For the relief of Allen Hayden.
Mr. Kern; reported back adversely (S. Rept. 995) and indefinitely postponed, 2158.

S. 5311—For the relief of J. L. Campbell and others.
Mr. Catron; reference changed to Committee on Claims, 421.

S. 5344—For the regulation of the practice of podiatry in the District of Columbia and for the protection of the people from empiricism in relation thereto.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; passed Senate, 1967.—Referred to House Committee on the District of Columbia, 2065.

S. 5362—To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patent for certain lands in the State of Utah to Cyrena E. Young.
Mr. Smoot; reported back (S. Rept. 964), 1878.—Debated and passed Senate, 2688, 2689.

S. 5367—To reimburse the Women's Board of Domestic Missions, Reformed Church in America, for buildings on the Fort Sill Military Reserve, Okla.
Mr. Owen; reported back adversely (S. Rept. 957), 1663.—Indefinitely postponed, 2686.

S. 5395—To repeal sections 2588, 2589, and 2590 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.
Mr. Lane; passed Senate, 2495, 2496.—Referred to House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 2761.

S. 5400—For the relief of the heirs of Mrs. Susan A. Nicholas.
Mr. Ransdell; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 1109), 4269.

S. 5408—To establish in the Department of Labor a division to be known as a Woman's Division.
Mr. Jones; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 897), 827.—Debated, 2670–2672.

S. 5424—To construct a bridge in San Juan County, State of New Mexico.
Mr. Catron; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1246), 725.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 2649, 2650.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 3175.—Examined and signed, 3255, 3305.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 339], 3780.

S. 5427—Referring certain claims against the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations of Indians to the Court of Claims.
Mr. Culberson; Committee of the Whole House discharged, committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, 3698.—Debated in House, 4953, 4954.

S. 5438—For the relief of Nels A. Levang.
Mr. Myers; Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 977), 1940.—Debated, 2691.

S. 5439—For the relief of the Southern States Lumber Co.
Mr. Fletcher; Reported back (H. Rept. 1490), 3320.

S. 5450—To provide for an additional judge in the State of Texas.
Mr. Sheppard; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1243), 666.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 3626, 3627.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 3663.—Examined and signed, 3853, 3861.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 352], 4271.

S. 5504—For the relief of Louis Blanchette, alias Lewis Blanchard, alias Louis White.
Mr. Gronna; amended and passed Senate, 1967.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 2065.

S. 5525—To provide for the abandonment of Piney Branch Road between Allison Street and Buchanan Street NW., in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; debated in House, 4786.

S. 5529—For the relief of Washington Kellogg.
Mr. Brady; reported back (S. Rept. 1070), 3576.

S. 5612—Providing additional time for the payment of purchase money under homestead entries of lands within the former Fort Peck Indian Reservation, Mont.
Mr. Myers; debated, amended, and passed House, 1443, 1444, 2634, 3621–3624, 3626.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 3663.—Examined and signed, 3853, 3861.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 371], 4719.

S. 5617—To confer jurisdiction upon the United States District Court for the District of Minnesota to hear, try, and determine the value of certain pine timber.
Mr. Clapp; reported back; passed Senate, 634.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 2935.

S. 5632—For the relief of Aquila Nebeker.
Mr. Smoot; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1355), 2022.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 2804, 2805.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 2825.—Examined and signed, 2969, 3175.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 329], 3593.

S. 5648—For the relief of Fast Walker, D. K. How, and Not Afraid of Bear.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 1011).—Amended and passed Senate, 2613.—Referred to House Committee on War Claims, 2935.

S. 5669—For the relief of sundry railroad companies.
Mr. Martine of New Jersey; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 954), 1663.—Debated, 2686.

S. 5672—For the relief of sundry building and loan associations.
Mr. Broussard; debated, amended, and passed House, 3160–3162.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 3265, 3266.—Examined and signed, 3465, 3480.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 202], 4271.

S. 5716—To establish the Mount McKinley National Park, in the Territory of Alaska.
Mr. Pittman; referred to House Committee on the Public Lands.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1273), 1156.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 3628–3630.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 3662, 3663.—Examined and signed, 3853, 3861.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 353], 4271.

S. 5718—To provide for an auxiliary reclamation project in connection with the Yuma project, Arizona.
Mr. Ashurst; debated, amended, and passed House, 1431–1433.—Senate concurs in House Amendments, 1479.—Examined and signed, 1660, 1684.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 293], 2027.

S. 5768—For the relief of Frank Carpenter.
Mr. Owen; reported back (S. Rept. 927), 1381.—Amended and passed Senate, 2680, 2681.—Referred to House Committee on Claim, 2935.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1507), 3651.—Laid on the table, 4004.

S. 5772—To provide for the sinking of artesian wells, and for other purposes.
Mr. Myers; debated, 2490.

S. 5800—To provide for the use of public school buildings in the District of Columbia as community forums, and for other purposes.
Mr. Hollis; debated, 1972.

S. 5899—To punish persons who make false representations to settlers and others pertaining to the public lands of the United States.
Mr. Myers; passed House, 3356.—Examined and signed, 3465, 3480.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 348], 3965.

S. 5900—Providing for the disposal of certain lands in block 69, in the city of Port Angeles, State of Washington.
Mr. Jones of Washington; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1213), 198.—Debated, 2643, 3625.

S. 5916—Authorizing an investigation to determine the true north and west boundaries of the Warm Springs Reservation in Oregon.
Mr. Lane; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1302), 1579.

S. 5974—For the relief of Ellen B. Walker.
Mr. Catron; passed Senate, 1967, 1968.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 2065.

S. 5985—Authorizing the Commissioner of Navigation to cause the steamship Republic to be enrolled and licensed as a vessel of the United States.
Mr. Phelan; reported back (H. Rept. 1373), 2296.—Passed House, 2807.—Examined and signed, 3048, 3175.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 310], 3355.

S. 5999—For the relief of Watson B. Dickerman, administrator of the estate of Charles Backman, deceased.
Mr. O'Gorman; reported back (S. Rept. 1094), 3657.

S. 6014—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to withdraw from the Treasury a certain sum of the permanent fund of the Chippewas of Minnesota, now on deposit therein, to their credit.
Mr. Lane; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1088), 3657.

S. 6116—Providing for the taxation of the lands of the Winnebago Indians and the Omaha Indians in the State of Nebraska.
Mr. Hitchcock; debated, amended, and passed House, 505.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 532.—Examined and signed, 630, 668.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 291], 736.

S. 6133—Authorizing the Secretary of War to grant to John D. Sherwood, of Spokane, Wash., the right to overflow certain lands on the Fort George Wright Military Reservation at Spokane, Wash., and to accept the conveyance to the United States of other lands to be designated by the Secretary of War and suitable for a rifle range in exchange for the land so overflowed.
Mr. Poindexter; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 987); amended and passed Senate, 2159, 2160.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 2265.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1589), 4563.

S. 6154—For the relief of Charles Lee Baker.
Mr. Chilton; reported back (H. Rept. 1321), 1658.—Debated, 2799, 2800.

S. 6178—To exempt from taxation certain property of the Congressional Club in Washington, D. C.
Mr. Pomerene; debated, 1971.

S. 6204—To amend the act entitled "An act to amend sections 2275 and 2276 of the Revised Statutes of the United States providing for the selection of lands for educational purposes in lieu of those appropriated," and to authorize an exchange of lands between the United States and the several States.
Mr. Phelan; debated, 2498.

S. 6251—For the relief of John F. Kelly.
Mr. Penrose; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 912), 1106.—Amended and passed Senate, 2674.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 2935.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1564), 4367.

S. 6254—For the relief of the Adams Express Co.
Mr. O'Gorman; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1055), 3354.

S. 6279—For the relief of William Harold Kehoe.
Mr. James; debated in House, 3166.

S. 6286—To confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims.
Mr. Underwood; reported back, 3061.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 3107, 3110, 3111.—Referred to House Committee on the Judiciary, 4407.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1592), 4563.

S. 6376—To consolidate certain forest lands within the Cache National Forest, Utah.
Mr. Smoot; reported back (S. Rept. 965), 1878.—Debated, 2688, 2689, 2690.

S. 6377—To consolidate certain forest lands within the Cache National Forest, Utah.
Mr. Smoot; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 968), 1878.

S. 6378—To consolidate certain forest lands within the Cache National Forest, Utah.
Mr. Smoot; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 972), 1878.

S. 6379—To consolidate certain forest lands within the Cache National Forest, Utah.
Mr. Smoot; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 969), 1878.

S. 6380—To consolidate certain forest lands within the Cache National Forest, Utah.
Mr. Smoot; reported back (S. Rept. 966), 1878.

S. 6381—To consolidate certain forest lands within the Sevier National Forest.
Mr. Smoot; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 973), 1878.

S. 6382—To consolidate certain forest lands within the Cache National Forest, Utah.
Mr. Smoot; reported back (S. Rept. 967), 1878.

S. 6383—To consolidate certain forest lands within the Cache National Forest, Utah.
Mr. Smoot; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 970), 1878.

S. 6430—Directing the reexamination of the accounts of the late Peter G. S. Ten Broeck.
Mr. O'Gorman; reported back (S. Rept. 950), 1584.—Passed Senate, 2685.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 2935.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1488), 3320.

S. 6570—For the relief of W. H. Overocker.
Mr. Fletcher; reported back (S. Rept. 1114), 4372.

S. 6583—To enable the Secretary of War to pay the amount awarded to the Malambo fire claimants by the joint commission under article 6 of the treaty of Nov. 18, 1903, between the United States and Panama.
Mr. Lodge; reported back (S. Rept. 1019), and referred to Committee on Appropriations, 2822.

S. 6595—To reimburse William Blair for losses and damages sustained by him by the negligent dipping of his cattle by the Bureau of Animal Industry, Department of Agriculture.
Mr. Gore; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 930), 1381.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 2682, 2683.—Debated and passed House, 2802.—Examined and signed, 3049, 3175.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 191], 3593.

S. 6601—For the enlargement of the post-office building in Pittsburgh, Pa.
Mr. Oliver; reported back (H. Rept. 1620), 4856.—Passed House, 4954, 4955.—Examined and signed, 4912, 4975.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 394], 4990.

S. 6626—To fix the rate of pay for compositors and bookbinders in the Government Printing Office.
Mr. Fletcher; debated in House, 2633.

S. 6629—To consolidate certain forest lands within the Cache National Forest, Utah.
Mr. Smoot; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 971), 1878.

S. 6632—To give the district court of the United States for the northern district of West Virginia jurisdiction to determine the joint and several claims of the Kanawha Packet Co. and W. E. Roe against the United States.
Mr. Chilton; reference changed to Committee on Claims, 1382.

S. 6638—For the relief of James S. Huntington.
Mr. Jones; reported back adversely and indefinitely postponed, 2751, 3099.

S. 6654—To validate a patent to certain lands heretofore issued to the State of Florida; to allow the said State to claim certain other lands, and for other purposes.
Mr. Bryan; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 958), 1663.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 2686, 2687.—Debated and passed House, 3640.—Examined and signed, 3853, 3861.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 372], 4719.

S. 6670—Authorizing the State of Montana to select other lands in lieu of lands in section 16, township 2 north, range 30 east, within the limits of the Huntley irrigation project and the ceded portion of Crow Indian Reservation in said State.
Mr. Myers; referred to House Committee on Public Lands, ——.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1359), 2102.

S. 6671—To validate the homestead entries of Anna W. Thrailkill.
Mr. Myers; passed Senate, 1974, 1975.—Referred to House Committee on Public Lands, 2065.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1412), 2592.

S. 6690—For the relief of Americus A. Gordon.
Mr. Kern; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 1027), 2980.—Amended and passed Senate, 3106.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 3502.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1565), 4367.

S. 6692—To amend section 6 of an act to expedite the settlement of title to lands in the State of California.
Mr. Myers; debated and passed Senate, 1974.—Referred to House Committee on Public Lands, 2066.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1525), 3854.—Debated and passed House, 4064.—Examined and signed, 4067, 4151.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 373], 4719.

S. 6698—For the relief of Edward L. Keyes.
Mr. Williams, and passed Senate, 1971.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 2066.

S. 6704—To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patent for certain land to school district No. 9, of Sanders County, Mont.
Mr. Myers; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1358), 2102.

S. 6716—To provide for stock watering privileges on certain unalloted lands on the Flathead Indian Reservation, Mont.
Mr. Myers; debated, 1973, 1974, 2501.—Passed Senate, 2501.

S. 6730—Revoking authority to lease Sibley Island, in the Missouri River, to the city of Bismarck, N. Dak.
Mr. Gronna; passed Senate, 1975.—Referred to House Committee on Public Lands, 2065.

S. 6737—For the relief of A. J. Lowary.
Mr. Myers; passed Senate, 1974.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 2065.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1485), 3320.

S. 6750—To provide for the appointment of the register of wills of the District of Columbia by the justices of the Supreme Court of said District.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; reported back (S. Rept. 922), 1247.—Debated, 2678.

S. 6783—For the relief of William F. Carter.
Mr. Myers, and passed Senate, 1974.—Referred to House Committee on Public Lands, 2065.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1414), 2592.

S. 6793—To prevent and punish willful injury, or attempted injury to, or conspiracy to injure any vessel engaged in foreign commerce, or the cargo or persons on board thereof, by fire, explosion, or otherwise.
Mr. Culberson; reported with amendment, 2819.—Indefinitely postponed (see bill S. 8148), 3665.

S. 6794—To empower the President to better enforce and maintain the neutrality of the United States.
Mr. Culberson; reported with amendments, 2819.—Indefinitely postponed (see bill S. 8148), 3665.

S. 6795—To authorize the collector of customs or other officer duly empowered by the President, during time of war between foreign nations, to inspect private vessels within the jurisdiction of the United States for the purpose of detecting any use or attempted use of such vessel in violation of the law of nations or of the treaties or statute law of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Culberson; reported with amendment, 2819.—Indefinitely postponed (see bill S. 8148), 3665.

S. 6796—To require sworn statements, in addition to the manifests and clearances required by existing law, by masters of all vessels leaving the jurisdiction of the United States, and by all owners and shippers of cargoes thereon, during a war in which the United States are a neutral nation, and for other purposes.
Mr. Culberson; reported with amendments, 2819.—Indefinitely postponed (see bill S. 8148), 3665.

S. 6797—To regulate and safeguard the issuance of passports and to prevent and punish the fraudulent obtaining, transfer, use, alteration, or forgery thereof.
Mr. Culberson; reported with amendment, 2819.—Indefinitely postponed (see bill S. 8148), 3665.

S. 6798—To prohibit and punish the fraudulent use, application, or counterfeiting of the seal of any executive department or government commission.
Mr. Culberson; reported with amendments, 2819.—Indefinitely postponed (see bill S. 8148), 3665, 3666.

S. 6799—To amend section 13 of the act "To codify, revise, and amend the penal laws of the United States," approved Mar. 4, 1909.
Mr. Culberson; reported with amendments, 2819.—Indefinitely postponed (see bill S. 8148), 3665, 3666.

S. 6807—Fixing and establishing a boundary line between the property of the United States of America, on Salmon Bay, State of Washington, and the property of Betterton-Morgan Co. (Inc.), a corporation, giving authority and providing for the conveyance of property in connection therewith, and for other purposes.
Mr. Jones; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 915), 1107.—Amended and passed Senate, 1107, 1108.

S. 6811—To authorize the seizure, detention, and condemnation of arms and munitions of war in course of exportation or designed to be exported or used in violation of the laws of the United States, together with the vessels or vehicles in which the same are contained.
Mr. Culberson; reported with amendments, 2819.—Indefinitely postponed (see bill S. 8148), 3665, 3666.

S. 6812—To regulate and restrain the conduct and movements of interned soldiers and sailors of belligerent nations, and for other purposes.
Mr. Culberson; reported with amendments, 2819.—Indefinitely postponed (see bill S. 8148), 3665, 3666.

S. 6813—To prohibit and punish the willful making of untrue statements under oath to influence the acts or conduct of a foreign government, or to defeat any measure of the Government of the United States in a dispute or controversy with any foreign nation.
Mr. Culberson; reported back, 2819.—Indefinitely postponed (see bill S. 8148), 3665.

S. 6814—To prohibit and punish the manufacture or counterfeiting of coin or paper intended to be used or passed as money, or of securities issued or intended to be issued by an unrecognized government, faction, or body of insurgents in a country with which the United States are at peace.
Mr. Culberson; reported with amendments, 4566.

S. 6815—To prevent and punish conspiracy to injure or destroy property situated within and belonging to a foreign government with which the United States are at peace, or of any subdivision or municipality thereof.
Mr. Culberson; reported with amendments, 2819.—Indefinitely postponed (see bill S. 8148), 3665, 3666.

S. 6816—To prevent and punish the impersonation of officials of foreign governments duly accredited to the Government of the United States.
Mr. Culberson; reported back, 2819.—Indefinitely postponed (see bill S. 8148), 3665.

S. 6819—To provide for the issuance of search warrants and the seizure and detention of property thereunder, and for other purposes.
Mr. Culberson; reported with amendments, 2819.—Indefinitely postponed (see bill S. 8148), 3665, 3666.

S. 6829—To provide for the disposition of public lands withdrawn and improved under the provisions of the reclamation laws, and which are no longer needed in connection with said laws.
Mr. Myers; debated, amended, and passed Senate, 1974.—Referred to House Committee on Public Lands, 2065.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1416), 2592.

S. 6843—To amend an act entitled "An act to create a Commerce Court, and to amend an act entitled 'An act to regulate commerce,' approved Feb. 4, 1887, as heretofore amended, and for other purposes," approved June 18, 1910.
Mr. Reed; recommitted to the Committee on the Judiciary, 532.

S. 6850—Authorizing transfer of certain retired Army officers to the active list.
Mr. Sheppard; referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, ——.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1431), 2726.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 3289–3305.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 3408.—Examined and signed, 3541, 3571.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 349], 3965.

S. 6854—To repeal the last proviso of section 4 of an act to establish the Rocky Mountain National Park in the State of Colorado, and for other purposes, approved Jan. 26, 1915.
Mr. Shafroth; reported back (S. Rept. 907), 1012, 1067.—Passed Senate, 2673.—Referred to House Committee on Public Lands, 2935.

S. 6857—For the relief of John Flanigan.
Mr. Ashurst; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1136), 4717.

S. 6862—For the relief of Amos Dahuff.
Mr. Chamberlain; passed Senate, 1976.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 2065.

S. 6864—Providing for the continuance of the Osage Indian School, Oklahoma, for a period of one year from Jan. 1, 1917.
Mr. Owen; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1220), 417.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 705.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 738, 1164, 1165.—Examined and signed, 1244, 1316.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 292], 1732.

S. 6867—For the relief of Lena Garagnon.
Mr. Sheppard; debated, 2507.

S. 6868—For the relief of Ethel Fredrickson and daughter Ethel.
Mr. Sheppard; debated, 2507.

S. 6943—For the relief of Frederick Tessman.
Mr. Myers; reported back (S. Rept. 975), 1940.—Passed Senate, 2690.

S. 6949—For the relief of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway Co.; the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis & Omaha Railway Co.; and the St. Louis, Iron Mountain & Southern Railway Co.
Mr. Lee of Maryland; debated and passed Senate, 1975, 1976.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 2065.

S. 6956—To authorize the construction, maintenance, and operation of a wagon bridge across the St. Francis River at a point one-half mile northwest of Parkin, Cross County, Ark.
Mr. Robinson; reported back (S. Rept. 874); passed Senate, 204.—Passed House, 2870.—Examined and signed, 3049, 3175.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 323], 3408.

S. 7021—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Thompson.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Pensions, 13.

S. 7022—Granting an increase of pension to Peter Lynch.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Pensions, 13.

S. 7023—To provide for the erection of a monument to Gen. William Henry Harrison, late President of the United States.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on the Library, 13.

S. 7024—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob R. Stillwagon.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 13.

S. 7025—Granting an increase of pension to William S. Rowe.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 13.

S. 7026—To amend an act entitled "An act to prevent the extermination of fur-bearing animals in Alaska," etc.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Fisheries, 13.

S. 7027—For the relief of the Osage Indians in Oklahoma.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Indian Affairs, 13.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 952), 1663.

S. 7028—To amend an act entitled "An act to supplement existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies, and for other purposes," approved Oct. 15, 1914, as amended by an act approved May 15, 1916.
Mr. Martin of Virginia; Committee on the Judiciary, 13.

S. 7029—To appropriate $95,000 for the relief of Henry W. Cook, Arthur G. Cummer, and Waldo E. Cummer, trading as Cook-Cummer Steamship Co., copartnership, for the loss of schooner barges South West and North West.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on the Judiciary, 13.—Reference changed to Committee on Claims, 82.

S. 7030—Granting a pension to Thomas L. Irwin.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Pensions, 13.

S. 7031—To give the Interstate Commerce Commission the power to fix the hours of labor and determine wages for employees of carriers engaged in interstate and foreign commerce.
Mr. Underwood; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 13.

S. 7032—To authorize the consolidation of Government lands and of privately owned lands, and for other purposes.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public Lands, 13.

S. 7033—Granting an increase of pension to Maurice M. Kaighn.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 13.

S. 7034—Granting an increase of pension to Stephen P. Colby.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Pensions, 13.

S. 7035—To provide for investigations and surveys of reclamation projects in the State of Wyoming.
Mr. Warren; Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, 13.

S. 7036—Granting an increase of pension to Mary A. Cooper.
Mr. Warren; Committee on Pensions, 13.

S. 7037—For the promotion of engineering and industrial research.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 13.

S. 7038—To aid navigation and control floods on the boundary waters of Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Commerce, 13.

S. 7039—Providing for the free importation of seed grain and flaxseed under certain conditions.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Finance, 13.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 1100), 3781.

S. 7040—Granting to the State of North Dakota 50,000 acres of land to aid in the maintenance of a normal school at Dickinson, N. Dak.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Public Lands, 13.

S. 7041—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Crosby, N. Dak.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 13.

S. 7042—Granting to the State of Idaho 2,000,000 acres of land to aid in the construction and maintenance of public roads in the State of Idaho.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Public Lands, 13.

S. 7043—Granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Emma E. Normoyle.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Pensions, 13.

S. 7044—Granting an increase of pension to Job Wilbur.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Pensions, 13.

S. 7045—Granting an increase of pension to Francis J. Curtis.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Pensions, 13.

S. 7046—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to issue patents in certain cases to missionary or religious organizations.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Indian Affairs, 13.

S. 7047—To amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations to provide for the expenses of the government of the District of Columbia for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes," approved Sept. 1, 1916.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on the District of Columbia, 13.

S. 7048—Granting an increase of pension to James D. Fletcher.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 13.

S. 7049—Granting an increase of pension to Frances L. Hay.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 13.

S. 7050—Granting a pension to Minnie J. Hodge.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 13.

S. 7051—Granting an increase of pension to Edward L. Frabe.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 13.

S. 7052—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Laughlin.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7053—Granting an increase of pension to Martin Poole.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7054—Granting a pension to William E. Johnson.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7055—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph A. Manning.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7056—Granting an increase of pension to Aaron N. Elliott.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7057—Granting an increase of pension to Christopher C. Brummet.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7058—Granting an increase of pension to Charles F. Knowlton.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7059—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret Stephenson.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7060—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Clossin.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7061—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac R. Atlee.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7062—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Brown.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7063—Granting an increase of pension to Asa L. Bushnell.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7064—Granting an increase of pension to J. R. Simpson.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7065—For the relief of the estate of Charles Le Roy, deceased.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 14.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1113), 4372.

S. 7066—To provide for the investigation of controversies affecting interstate commerce, and for other purposes.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 14.

S. 7067—To grant certain lands to the city of Boulder, State of Colorado, for the protection of its water supply.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Public Lands, 14.

S. 7068—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to Lewisburg, Marshall County, Tenn., three brass cannon, with carriage.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Military Affairs, 14.

S. 7069—To relinquish, release, and quitclaim to the trustees of the Hatchie Coon Hunting and Fishing Club title to certain lands in Poinsett County, Ark.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Public Lands, 14.

S. 7070—Granting a pension to Lucy Benjamin.
Mr. Clapp; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7071—For the relief of William M. Johnston.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Military Affairs, 14.—Reported back adversely and indefinitely postponed, 2751, 3099.

S. 7072—Granting an increase of pension to Caroline W. Congdon.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7073—Granting a pension to Mary A. Adams.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7074—Granting an increase of pension to George Leadbeater.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7075—Granting a pension to William Carrell.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7076—Granting an increase of pension to E. P. Hall.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7077—Granting a pension to Kate L. Clear.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7078—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Parker.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7079—Granting an increase of pension to Morris W. Hackman.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7080—Granting a pension to Caroline Kelly.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7081—Granting a pension to Josiah Huber.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7082—Granting an increase of pension to Arabella von Schrader.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7083—Granting an increase of pension to B. F. Spangler.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7084—Granting a pension to Mary E. White.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7085—Granting a pension to Milton M. Lile.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7086—Granting an increase of pension to Miriam E. Fair.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7087—Granting a pension to Charles L. C. Sherwin.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7088—Granting a pension to Oscar L. Geer.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7089—Granting a pension to Charles F. Cavenaugh.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7090—Granting a pension to Jennie T. Hamilton.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7091—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret Stewart.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7092—For the relief of Charles E. Currier.
Mr. Weeks; Committee on Claims, 14.

S. 7093—Granting an increase of pension to Theodore Longfellow.
Mr. Page; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7094—Granting a pension to Allen C. Wright.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7095—Extending the time for completion of the bridge across the Delaware River, authorized by an act entitled "An act to authorize the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. and the Pennsylvania & Newark Railroad Co., or their successors, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Delaware River," approved the 24th day of August, 1912.
Mr. Oliver; Committee on Commerce, 14.—Reported back (S. Rept. 876) and passed Senate, 365.—Passed House, 526.—Examined and signed, 578, 664, 668.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 289], 736.

S. 7096—Granting an increase of pension to Kate M. White.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7097—Granting an increase of pension to Charles L. Chappell.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7098—Granting an increase of pension to David W. Herriman.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7099—Granting a pension to Elvis R. Street.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7100—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph C. Predmore.
Mr. Norris; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7101—Granting an increase of pension to James S. White.
Mr. Norris; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7102—Granting an increase of pension to F. M. Harris.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7103—Granting an increase of pension to Lemuel C. Kittrell.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7104—Granting an increase of pension to John M. James.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7105—Granting an increase of pension to Philip C. Cooter.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7106—Granting an increase of pension to B. F. White.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7107—For the relief of Henry N. Penfield.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Military Affairs, 14.

S. 7108—Granting an increase of pension to Alada Thurston Paddock Mills.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7109—Granting an increase of pension to Anna B. Davis.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7110—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin Johnson.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7111—Granting an increase of pension to Sylvester E. Stone.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7112—Granting an increase of pension to William P. Duncan.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7113—Granting an increase of pension to John A. Rice.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7114—Granting an increase of pension to Josiah Brewer.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7115—For the conservation of alcohol in the manufacture of dealcoholized fermented beverages.
Mr. Lewis; Committee on Finance, 14.

S. 7116—For the relief of Charles Dade.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Military Affairs, 14.

S. 7117—Granting pensions to certain enlisted men, soldiers, and officers who served in the Civil War and the War with Mexico.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7118—Granting an increase of pension to John Fitch.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 14.

S. 7119—Granting an increase of pension to Nannie C. Cole.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 15.

S. 7120—Granting an increase of pension to Nannie L. Davenport.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 15.

S. 7121—Granting a pension to Sarah Elmore.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 15.

S. 7122—Granting an increase of pension to Edgar A. Kesler.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 15.

S. 7123—Granting an increase of pension to Zed Culver.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 15.

S. 7124—Granting a pension to Stephen J. Batchelder.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 15.

S. 7125—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Rhodes.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 15.

S. 7126—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Brown.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 15.

S. 7127—Granting an increase of pension to John Rogers.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 15.

S. 7128—Granting an increase of pension to David H. Rowland.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 15.

S. 7129—To correct the Navy record of John Lee, alias James Riley.
Mr. O'Gorman; Committee on Naval Affairs, 15.

S. 7130—To create a commission on illiteracy to be known as the American illiteracy commission.
Mr. James; Committee on Education and Labor, 39.

S. 7131—To increase the compensation of rural mail carriers.
Mr. Gronna; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 39.

S. 7132—To repeal certain provisions of an act entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes."
Mr. Borah; Committee on Military Affairs, 39.

S. 7133—Authorizing the Secretary of War to lease surplus water power at the Government reservoir dam at the headwaters of the Mississippi.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Commerce, 39.

S. 7134—To increase the pensions of those who have lost limbs or have been totally disabled in the same in the military or naval service of the United States.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 39.

S. 7135—Granting a pension to Annie Ackerman.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 39.

S. 7136—Granting a pension to Louis S. Harris.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 39.

S. 7137—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Crosby, N. Dak.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 39.

S. 7138—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to Richland County, N. Dak., three brass cannon, with carriage.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Military Affairs, 39.

S. 7139—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Flack.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 39.

S. 7140—Granting an increase of pension to Howard E. Hoadley.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7141—Granting a pension to Flora G. Redman.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7142—Granting an increase of pension to Caroline G. Sickels.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7143—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth J. Anderson.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7144—Granting an increase of pension to Josephine E. Ure.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7145—Granting an increase of pension to William Beauchamp.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7146—Granting a pension to Andrew J. Persons.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7147—Granting a pension to George H. Hatch.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7148—Granting a pension to Fidelia E. Betts.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7149—Granting a pension to Henry D. Owen.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7150—Granting a pension to James H. Call.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7151—Granting a pension to Edward B. Earl.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7152—Granting a pension to Joseph H. Hopper.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7153—Granting an increase of pension to Mettie Sanders.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7154—To correct the military record of John Corwin.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Military Affairs, 40.—Reported back adversely and indefinitely postponed, 2158.

S. 7155—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of P. V. Copp.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Military Affairs, 40.—Reported back adversely (S. Rept. 996) and indefinitely postponed, 2158.

S. 7156—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Harrison H. Frain.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Military Affairs, 40.

S. 7157—For the relief of Sarah De Witt.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Military Affairs, 40.—Reported back adversely and indefinitely postponed, 530.

S. 7158—Granting an increase of pension to Sidney M. Smith.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7159—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel E. Stoneburner.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7160—Granting an increase of pension to Marian Robinson.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7161—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Millard.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7162—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Chapman.
Mr. Works; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7163—Granting a pension to Maude Deignan.
Mr. Works; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7164—Granting an increase of pension to John J. Randall.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7165—Granting a pension to William J. Cook.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7166—Granting an increase of pension to James W. Dorman.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7167—Granting an increase of pension to Nicholas Johnson.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7168—Granting an increase of pension to John D. Brooks.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7169—For the relief of John A. Clark.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Military Affairs, 40.

S. 7170—Granting a pension to Isadora Richardson.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7171—Granting an increase of pension to Niels Pedersen.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7172—Granting a pension to Hannah Vandenburg.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7173—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac N. Strohm.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7174—Granting an increase of pension to William M. Wright.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7175—Granting an increase of pension to Elijah Thompson Hurst.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7176—Granting a pension to Mary L. Crawford.
Mr. O'Gorman; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7177—Granting an increase of pension to Charles H. Slocum.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7178—Granting an increase of pension to David H. St. Clair.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7179—Granting an increase of pension to Anderson C. Jones.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7180—Granting an increase of pension to William M. Robertson.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7181—Granting an increase of pension to John C. Mayer.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7182—Granting an increase of pension to William F. Wahl.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7183—Granting an increase of pension to Perry Ryals.
Mr. Underwood; Committee on Pensions, 40.

S. 7184—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Treasury to pay to William Welch, of Council Bluffs, Iowa, for the storage of post-office furniture while the post office of that place was being remodeled, the sum of $460 out of the Treasury of the United States not otherwise appropriated.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 82.

S. 7185—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Cranston.
Mr. Warren; Committee on Pensions, 82.

S. 7186—Granting an increase of pension to Green B. Riggs.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 82.

S. 7187—Granting a pension to Alice Gunn.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 82.

S. 7188—Granting an increase of pension to John Stevens.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 82.

S. 7189—Granting an increase of pension to Rachel A. Layman.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 82.

S. 7190—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Stokes.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 82.

S. 7191—Granting an increase of pension to Bradford P. Sparrow.
Mr. Dillingham; Committee on Pensions, 82.

S. 7192—Granting an increase of pension to Aaron Roweil.
Mr. Dillingham; Committee on Pensions, 82.

S. 7193—To regulate the payment of salaries of post-office clerks in first and second class post offices and letter carriers in the City Delivery Service.
Mr. Martine of New Jersey; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 137.

S. 7194—For the acquisition of additional lands and the erection thereon of an addition to the public building at Boulder, Colo.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 137.

S. 7195—Authorizing the President to appoint Myron C. Cramer a first lieutenant in the Regular Army.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Military Affairs, 137.

S. 7196—Granting an increase of pension to John M. Gowdy.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 137.

S. 7197—Granting an increase of pension to John C. Vennum.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 137.

S. 7198—Granting a pension to Abbie Holbrook.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Pensions, 137.

S. 7199—For the relief of George Owens, John J. Bradley, William M. Godfrey, Rudolph G. Ebert, Herschel Tupes, William H. Sage, Charles L. Tostevin, Alta B. Spaulding, Grace E. Lewis, and Dolly Neely.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Public Lands, 137.

S. 7200—For the relief of Lee M. Clark.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Military Affairs, 137.

S. 7201—Granting an increase of pension to William H. McGovern.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 137.

S. 7202—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin McFarland.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 137.

S. 7203—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Sharp Neal.
Mr. Oliver; Committee on Pensions, 137.

S. 7204—Granting an increase of pension to Robert Summerville.
Mr. Oliver; Committee on Pensions, 137.

S. 7205—To enable James K. Wilson to take the examination for second lieutenant.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Military Affairs, 137.

S. 7206—Granting an increase of pension to William L. Miles.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 138.

S. 7207—Granting an increase of pension to Albert C. White.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 138.

S. 7208—Granting an increase of pension to Marcellus Hoben.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 138.

S. 7209—Granting an increase of pension to Moses Tarbox.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 138.

S. 7210—Granting an increase of pension to George Tarbox.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 138.

S. 7211—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel P. Wenthworth.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 138.

S. 7212—Granting an increase of pension to Timothy Welch.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 138.

S. 7213—Granting an increase of pension to Charles F. Smith.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 138.

S. 7214—Granting an increase of pension to George Maybury.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 138.

S. 7215—Granting an increase of pension to Patrick Murphy.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 138.

S. 7216—Granting an increase of pension to Moses E. Lowell.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 138.

S. 7217—Granting an increase of pension to Frank J. Davis.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 138.

S. 7218—Granting an increase of pension to Levi G. Foss.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 138.

S. 7219—Granting an increase of pension to Lester Holway.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 138.

S. 7220—Granting an increase of pension to Michael M. Holland.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 138.

S. 7221—Granting an increase of pension to Charles A. Darrington.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 138.

S. 7222—Granting a pension to George N. Tibbetts.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 138.

S. 7223—Granting an increase of pension to Charles E. Peabody.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 138.

S. 7224—Granting an increase of pension to Nelson L. Nourse.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 138.

S. 7225—Granting an increase of pension to Henry H. Steward.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 138.

S. 7226—Granting an increase of pension to James H. Hines.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 138.

S. 7227—Granting a pension to Ida M. Paine.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 138.

S. 7228—Granting an increase of pension to Timothy Stone.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 138.

S. 7229—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Hall.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 138.

S. 7230—Granting an increase of pension to Bertha M. Shaw.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 138.

S. 7231—Granting an increase of pension to Asa T. Worcester.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 138.

S. 7232—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah T. Cram.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 138.

S. 7233—Granting an increase of pension to George F. Boothby.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 138.

S. 7234—Authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to enter into contract for the use by the Government of a dry dock at Boston, Mass.
Mr. Weeks; Committee on Naval Affairs, 138.

S. 7235—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas King.
Mr. La Follette; Committee on Pensions, 138.

S. 7236—Granting a pension to Julia A. Waddell.
Mr. La Follette; Committee on Pensions, 138.

S. 7237—Granting an increase of pension to Anna C. Stahel.
Mr. La Follette; Committee on Pensions, 138.

S. 7238—Granting an increase of pension to Charles A. Dobratz.
Mr. La Follette; Committee on Pensions, 138.

S. 7239—To amend the act of Sept. 3 and Sept. 5, 1916, entitled "An act to establish an eight-hour day for employees of carriers engaged in interstate and foreign commerce," and for other purposes.
Mr. Hardwick; Committee on Commerce, 138.

S. 7240—To prevent unfair discriminations in the sale of print paper by persons engaged in commerce, and for other purposes.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on the Judiciary, 151.

S. 7241—Granting an increase of pension to Francis M. Whips.
Mr. Harding; Committee on Pensions, 151.

S. 7242—For the relief of Warren Robinson.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Military Affairs, 151.

S. 7243—Granting an increase of pension to Oluf Volkerts.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 151.

S. 7244—To authorize and direct the Secretary of the Treasury to contract for the enlargement, extension, remodeling, and improvement of the present Federal building in Youngstown, Ohio.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 151.

S. 7245—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building at South Pittsburg, Tenn.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 151.

S. 7246—Granting an increase of pension to Jeremiah Fogerson.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 151.

S. 7247—Granting an increase of pension to Perry Greene.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 152.

S. 7248—For the relief of Choctaw, Chickasaw, Cherokee, Creek, and Seminole Indians.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Indian Affairs, 152.

S. 7249—Granting an increase of pension to Ferdinand Klawether.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 152.

S. 7250—Granting an increase of pension to Reason D. Evensizer.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 152.

S. 7251—Granting an increase of pension to Hiram Haynes.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 152.

S. 7252—Granting an increase of pension to John A. Crozier.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 152.

S. 7253—Granting an increase of pension to Madison O. Rose.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 152.

S. 7254—To amend section 301 of an act approved Sept. 8, 1916, entitled "An act to increase the revenue, and for other purposes."
Mr. Weeks; Committee on Finance, 152.

S. 7255—Granting a pension to John B. Fulton.
Mr. Weeks; Committee on Pensions, 152.

S. 7256—Granting a pension to William Douglas.
Mr. Weeks; Committee on Pensions, 152.

S. 7257—Providing a fine for whoever shall forge, counterfeit, or falsely alter any certificate of discharge from the military or naval service of the United States.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Naval Affairs, 152.—Reported back (S. Rept. 934), 1479.

S. 7258—To further amend an act entitled "An act authorizing certain officers of the Navy and Marine Corps to administer oaths," approved Jan. 25, 1895, as amended by the act of Mar. 3, 1901.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Naval Affairs, 152.—Reported back (S. Rept. 935), 1479.

S. 7259—For the relief of James Andy Wallace.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Military Affairs, 152.

S. 7260—Granting an increase of pension to John H. Lemon.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 152.

S. 7261—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph H. Dearborn.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 152.

S. 7262—Granting an increase of pension to Caroline Heaton.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 152.

S. 7263—Granting an increase of pension to James H. Boyle.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 152.

S. 7264—Granting an increase of pension to Charles E. Reynolds.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 152.

S. 7265—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Bennett.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 152.

S. 7266—For the purchase of a site and the erection of a building for a United States post office at Phoenix, N. Y.
Mr. O'Gorman; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 152.

S. 7267—Granting an increase of pension to Homer E. Benton.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 152.

S. 7268—Granting an increase of pension to Annie A. Haines.
Mr. Lee of Maryland; Committee on Pensions, 152.

S. 7269—Granting an increase of pension to Georgianna Thomas.
Mr. Harding; Committee on Pensions, 152.

S. 7270—Granting an increase of pension to Frederick Nientzenhelzer.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Pensions, 152.

S. 7271—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to Mount Vernon, Tex., three brass cannon, with carriage.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Military Affairs, 204.

S. 7272—To grant Saturday afternoon as a holiday to all Government employees.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Appropriations, 204.

S. 7273—To increase the salaries of employees of the United States Government, the District of Columbia, or either House of Congress.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Appropriations, 204.

S. 7274—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Lobb.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 204.

S. 7275—Granting an increase of pension to Hartman K. Wismer.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 204.

S. 7276—For the relief of Richard M. Calhoun.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Military Affairs, 204.

S. 7277—Granting an increase of pension to Charles F. Penley.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 204.

S. 7278—Granting an increase of pension to Charles B. Greenhalgh.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 204.

S. 7279—Granting an increase of pension to Laughlin Deegan.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 204.

S. 7280—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Leathers.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 204.

S. 7281—Granting a pension to Ellen Hoctor.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 204.

S. 7282—Granting an increase of pension to Granville H. Shackford.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 204.

S. 7283—Granting an increase of pension to John G. McKay.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 204.

S. 7284—Granting an increase of pension to Barber B. Durgin.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 204.

S. 7285—Granting an increase of pension to Alfred K. Nelson.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 204.

S. 7286—Granting an increase of pension to Henry E. Flanders.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 204.

S. 7287—For the relief of Thomas Mulvey.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Military Affairs, 204.

S. 7288—Providing for the appointment of Chief Boatswain William Lowell Hill as a commander in the United States Navy.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Naval Affairs, 204.—Reported back (S. Rept. 946), 1584.—Recommitted to Committee on Naval Affairs, 2538.

S. 7289—Granting an increase of pension to Frank Burrow.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Pensions, 204.

S. 7290—Granting a pension to Amanda C. Fenton.
Mr. Clapp; Committee on Pensions, 204.

S. 7291—Granting a pension to Margaret J. Davis.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 204.

S. 7292—For the relief of Torger Olson.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Public Lands, 204.

S. 7293—For the relief of Patrick Rafferty.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Claims, 204.

S. 7294—Granting a pension to Mary E. Hoyer.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Pensions, 204.

S. 7295—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Perrine.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 204.

S. 7296—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob A. Kenoyer.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 204.

S. 7297—Granting an increase of pension to William G. Simpson.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 204.

S. 7298—Granting a pension to Clara C. Loomis.
Mr. Dillingham; Committee on Pensions, 204.

S. 7299—Granting a pension to Frank H. Seay.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 204.

S. 7300—Granting an increase of pension to William H. McKay.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 205.

S. 7301—Granting an increase of pension to Anderson Ward.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 205.

S. 7302—Granting an increase of pension to Ransom D. Ridge.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 205.

S. 7303—Granting an increase of pension to John Eltzroth.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 205.

S. 7304—Granting a pension to Emma Emery.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 205.

S. 7305—Granting an increase of pension to William Schmook.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 205.

S. 7306—Granting an increase of pension to Jasper Taylor.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 205.

S. 7307—Granting an increase of pension to John J. Ashline.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 205.

S. 7308—Granting a pension to Margaret E. Hutchinson.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 205.

S. 7309—Granting an increase of pension to William C. Moran.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 205.

S. 7310—Granting an increase of pension to Silas Clyde Whitcomb.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 205.

S. 7311—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah E. Gee.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 205.

S. 7312—Granting an increase of pension to Myron Gillmore.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 205.

S. 7313—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Stover.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 205.

S. 7314—To authorize the city of Winchester, Ky., to divert water from the pool in the Kentucky River formed by Lock and Dam No. 10.
Mr. James; Committee on Commerce, 205.

S. 7315—For the relief of Mrs. E. W. Sankey.
Mr. James; Committee on Claims, 205.

S. 7316—For the relief of William Thomas Winstanley.
Mr. du Pont, 205.—Reported back (S. Rept. 991), 2158.—Amended and passed Senate, 3088.

S. 7317—Granting a pension to Sarah E. Croes.
Mr. du Pont; Committee on Pensions, 205.

S. 7318—To increase the efficiency of the Medical Corps of the Army.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Military Affairs, 252.

S. 7319—Granting an increase of pension to Carrie C. Carter.
Mr. Hughes; Committee on Pensions, 252.

S. 7320—Adding certain lands in Wyoming to the Ashley and Wasatch National Forests.
Mr. Clark; Committee on Public Lands, 252.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 900), 989.—Amended and passed Senate, 2672, 2673.

S. 7321—To authorize the issuance of a warrant for the arrest and removal of persons under indictment for offenses against the United States.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on the Judiciary, 252.

S. 7322—Relating to the jurisdiction of the courts of the United States over controversies to which corporations, copartnerships, or associations are parties.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on the Judiciary, 252.

S. 7323—To correct the military record of Joseph P. Widney.
Mr Works; Committee on Military Affairs, 252.

S. 7324—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Cook.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Pensions, 252.

S. 7325—Granting an increase of pension to James W. Divelbiss.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Pensions, 252.

S. 7326—To amend section 8 of the act of April 26, 1910, entitled "An act for preventing the manufacture, sale, or transportation of adulterated or misbranded Paris greens, lead arsenates, and other insecticides, and also fungicides, and for regulating traffic therein, and for other purposes."
Mr Wadsworth; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 252.

S. 7327—Authorizing the appointment of Brig. Gen. John H. Patterson, United States Army, retired, as a major general on the retired list.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Military Affairs, 252.

S. 7328—Granting an increase of pension to Emily S. Robinson.
Mr. Norris; Committee on Pensions, 253.

S. 7329—Granting a pension to Nancy Ellen Guthrie.
Mr. Oliver; Committee on Pensions, 253.

S. 7330—To amend section 44 of the act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the penal laws of the United States," approved Mar. 4, 1909.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Naval Affairs, 253.—Reported back (S. Rept. 940), 1479.

S. 7331—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas V. Malone.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 253.

S. 7332—Granting an increase of pension to Jonathan A. Deaver.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 253.

S. 7333—Granting an increase of pension to William R. Stephens.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 316.

S. 7334—Granting an increase of pension to August Dippel.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 316.

S. 7335—Granting an increase of pension to Melisa Hogan.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Pensions, 316.

S. 7336—Granting an increase of pension to John Stone.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Pensions, 316.

S. 7337—Granting an increase of pension to William Brant.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 316.

S. 7338—To provide for the adjudication of claims of trust companies and other claimants for refund of taxes illegally collected.
Mr. Martin of Virginia; Committee on Claims, 316.

S. 7339—Granting a pension to Emory C. Powers.
Mr. Martin of Virginia; Committee on Pensions, 316.

S. 7340—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to enroll Zerelda Belle Cook and Charles H. Richter as Cherokee Indians.
Mr. Martine of New Jersey; Committee on Indian Affairs, 316.

S. 7341—Granting an increase of pension to Michael H. Carr.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 317.

S. 7342—Granting a pension to Henry A. Rowley.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 317.

S. 7343—Appropriating the sum of $5,000 to be expended by the Secretary of Agriculture in cooperative work in forage-crop investigations in the State of Washington.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Appropriations, 317.—Reference changed to Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 530.

S. 7344—Granting an increase of pension to James Olds.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 317.

S. 7345—Granting a pension to Amme A. Wilson.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 317.

S. 7346—Granting a pension to Robert L. Crook, jr.
Mr. Underwood; Committee on Pensions, 317.

S. 7347—Granting a pension to Louisa Brown.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 317.

S. 7348—Granting an increase of pension to William R. Miller.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 317.

S. 7349—To exempt from taxation certain property of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Washington, D. C.
Mr. Clapp; Committee on the District of Columbia, 317.

S. 7350—To grant certain lands to the city of Pocatello, State of Idaho, for a municipal park and for the protection of its water supply.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Public Lands, 317.

S. 7351—Granting an increase of pension to Ripley C. Whitcomb.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 365.

S. 7352—Granting an increase of pension to George M. Kelley.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 365.

S. 7353—Granting a pension to Ida E. Morrill.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 365.

S. 7354—Granting an increase of pension to Ida J. Gray.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 365.

S. 7355—Granting an increase of pension to Edward T. Jackson.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 365.

S. 7356—Granting an increase of pension to Alfred D. Rand.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 365.

S. 7357—Granting an increase of pension to Elisha W. Ellis.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 365.

S. 7358—Granting an increase of pension to David Russell.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 365.

S. 7359—Authorizing the Delaware Railroad Co. to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Nanticoke River at Seaford, Sussex County, Del.
Mr. Saulsbury; Committee on Commerce, 365.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 901), 988.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 1162, 1253.—Passed House, 1874.—Examined and signed, 1934, 1937.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 297], 2303.

S. 7360—Providing for the purchase of a site for the purpose of erecting a Federal building thereon in the city of Troy, county of Miami, State of Ohio, and appropriating the money therefor.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 365.

S. 7361—To amend section 21 of "An act relating to bills of lading in interstate and foreign commerce," approved August 29, 1916.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 365.

S. 7362—Granting an increase of pension to John C. Emery.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Pensions, 365.

S. 7363—Granting an increase of pension to Jane Smith.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Pensions, 365.

S. 7364—Providing for the construction of bridges and culverts or roads under reclamation projects.
Mr. Warren; Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, 365.

S. 7365—For the relief of Jonathan D. Long.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Military Affairs, 365.

S. 7366—Granting an increase of pension to Hiram H. Titterington.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 365.

S. 7367—To authorize the construction and maintenance of a bridge across the St. Francis River at or near intersections of sections 13, 14, 23, and 24, township 15 north, range 6 east, in Craighead County, Ark.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Commerce, 365.—Reported back (S. Rept. 893) and passed Senate, 789, 790.—Passed House, 2871.—Examined and signed, 3048, 3175.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 324], 3408.

S. 7368—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret Kearney.
Mr. Lippett; Committee on Pensions, 365.

S. 7369—Granting an increase of pension to Josiah Woodbury.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 365.

S. 7370—For promotion of Edward Lloyd, major, United States Army (retired), to position and rank of lieutenant colonel, United States Army (retired).
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Military Affairs, 365.—Reported back adversely and indefinitely postponed, 2158.

S. 7371—Granting a pension to Thomas S. Smoot.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Pensions, 365.

S. 7372—Authorizing the appointment of Capt. William G. Williams as a second lieutenant in the Coast Artillery Corps, United States Army.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Military Affairs, 365.

S. 7373—For the relief of Robert S. Emerson.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Military Affairs, 365.

S. 7374—To reclassify the grades and fix the salaries of railway postal clerks.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 365.

S. 7375—Granting an increase of pension to Hezekiah Dixson.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 365.

S. 7376—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin F. Byers.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 365.

S. 7377—Granting an increase of pension to Kate G. Caton.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 365.

S. 7378—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas R. Luckhardt.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 365.

S. 7379—To authorize a report upon the necessity for certain bridges on the Navajo Indian Reservation, Ariz.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Indian Affairs, 365.

S. 7380—For the construction of Coast Guard cutters.
Mr. Simmons; Committee on Commerce, 365.—Reported back (S. Rept. 894), 827.—Passed Senate, 2670.

S. 7381—To provide adequate subsistence for the warrant officers and enlisted men of the Coast Guard.
Mr. Simmons; Committee on Commerce, 365.—Reported back (S. Rept. 895), 827.—Passed Senate, 2670.

S. 7382—Granting a pension to Margary Dotter.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Pensions, 365.

S. 7383—Granting a pension to Elizabeth A. Kilburn.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 365.

S. 7384—Granting an increase of pension to Sylvester Manship.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 365.

S. 7385—Granting a pension to Catharine Strain.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 365.

S. 7386—Granting an increase of pension to Bazzel B. Grunden.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 365.

S. 7387—Granting an increase of pension to Josiah Williams.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 365.

S. 7388—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Hitchborn.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 365.

S. 7389—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Barger.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 365.

S. 7390—Granting an increase of pension to William J. McCullough.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 365.

S. 7391—Granting an increase of pension to Thompson H. Withers.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 365.

S. 7392—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Burk.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 365.

S. 7393—Granting an increase of pension to Israel W. Gregg.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 365.

S. 7394—Granting an increase of pension to William D. Thompson.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 366.

S. 7395—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph R. Wright.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 366.

S. 7396—Granting an increase of pension to John C. Henderson.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 366.

S. 7397—Granting an increase of pension to Minerva J. Long.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 366.

S. 7398—Granting an increase of pension to Mary L. Sanderson.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 366.

S. 7399—Granting a pension to Ethel M. Kurfiss.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 366.

S. 7400—Granting a pension to C. A. Sheets.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 366.

S. 7401—Granting a pension to James Grogan.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 366.

S. 7402—Granting an increase of pension to Jeremiah Carlysle.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 366.

S. 7403—Granting an increase of pension to Martha E. Moore.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 366.

S. 7404—For the retirement of public-school teachers in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on the District of Columbia, 366.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1064), 3407.

S. 7405—Authorizing the Post Office Department to acquire and extend the telephone system of the District of Columbia; to insure the Government complete control of such means of communication in safeguarding its military and executive affairs within the seat of government; to provide a special telephone service to facilitate the direct sale of farm products to consumers in said District; and to establish the efficiency and economy with which such service may be postally conducted.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on the District of Columbia, 366.

S. 7406—Granting an increase of pension to John Lee, alias James Riley.
Mr. O'Gorman; Committee on Pensions, 421.

S. 7407—Changing the designation, fixing the status of, and granting an increase of pay to clerks of the Quartermaster Corps.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Military Affairs, 421.

S. 7408—To provide for the construction of a public building at Anderson, S. C.
Mr. Smith of South Carolina; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 421.

S. 7409—To amend an act entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Military Affairs, 421.

S. 7410—Granting a pension to Martin H. Rickman.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Pensions, 421.

S. 7411—Providing for the approval of indemnity lieu selections.
Mr. Catron; Committee on Public Lands, 421.

S. 7412—Granting a pension to Jefferson L. Smith.
Mr. Catron; Committee on Pensions, 421.

S. 7413—Granting a pension to James McNulty.
Mr. Catron; Committee on Pensions, 421.

S. 7414—To provide old-age pensions.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Pensions, 421.

S. 7415—Granting a pension to Marja Wajtzenzang (Weitzenzang).
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Pensions, 421.

S. 7416—Granting an increase of pension to Marion A. Holman.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 421.

S. 7417—Granting an increase of pension to William Black.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 421.

S. 7418—To provide for the publication of an official journal.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Printing, 421.

S. 7419—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Mooresville, in the State of North Carolina.
Mr. Overman; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 421.

S. 7420—Granting an increase of pension to John G. Coburn.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 421.

S. 7421—Granting a pension to Charles N. Spear.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 421.

S. 7422—Granting a pension to Albert Adams.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 421.

S. 7423—Granting a pension to George Zederbaum.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 421.

S. 7424—Granting an increase of pension to John M. Ludwig.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 421.

S. 7425—Granting an increase of pension to Wiley J. Baldwin, jr.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 421

S. 7426—Granting an increase of pension to Amanda Wintermote.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 421.

S. 7427—Granting an increase of pension to Harvey Johnson.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 421.

S. 7428—Granting an increase of pension to William Bruce.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 421.

S. 7429—Granting a pension to Joshua Brown.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 421.

S. 7430—Granting a pension to Mary M. Billings.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 421.

S. 7431—Granting an increase of pension to Charles E. Brown.
Mr. La Follette; Committee on Pensions, 421.

S. 7432—Granting an increase of pension to Annie Earnest.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 421.

S. 7433—For the relief of Winfield S. Solomon.
Mr. Lippitt; Committee on Military Affairs, 421.—Reported back (S. Rept. 982), 2026.—Debated and passed Senate, 2692.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 2935.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1557), 4367.

S. 7434—Granting an increase of pension to Volkert V. Van Patten.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Pensions, 467.

S. 7435—Granting an increase of pension to Emerson G. Reeves.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Pensions, 467.

S. 7436—For the relief of Morris Busch.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Claims, 467.

S. 7437—Granting a pension to Charlotte Bloom.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 467.

S. 7438—To make immediately available for the use of the State of Georgia in paying expenses incurred by said State in connection with the joint encampment held at Augusta, Ga., July 22 to 31, 1914, certain sums appropriated for arming and equipping the militia of said State.
Mr. Smith of Georgia; Committee on Military Affairs, 467.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1029) and passed Senate, 3062.

S. 7439—Granting a pension to Eliza J. Mosher, widow of Albert A. Mosher.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Pensions, 467.

S. 7440—Granting an increase of pension to John A. West.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 467.

S. 7441—Granting a pension to Minnie H. Wolf.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 467.

S. 7442—Granting an increase of pension to Minor A. Foster.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 467.

S. 7443—For the relief of Luther Cline.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Military Affairs, 467.—Reported back adversely and indefinitely postponed, 2819.

S. 7444—Granting an increase of pension to Robert Thomas.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 467.

S. 7445—Granting an increase of pension to Mary M. Dalzell.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 467.

S. 7446—Granting an increase of pension to Warren B. Rich.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 467.

S. 7447—To amend section 269 of chapter 231 of the act of Mar. 3, 1911, entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary."
Mr. Walsh; Committee on the Judiciary, 467.—Reported back, 1381.—Debated, 2683.

S. 7448—Granting an increase of pension to John R. Snider.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 467.

S. 7449—Granting an increase of pension to Hiram L. Watson.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 467.

S. 7450—Granting an increase of pension to Harrison Heckard.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 467.

S. 7451—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Sparks.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 467.

S. 7452—Granting an increase of pension to Albert Edwards.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 467.

S. 7453—Granting an increase of pension to David Bruner.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 467.

S. 7454—Granting an increase of pension to William Ross.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 468.

S. 7455—Granting an increase of pension to Zebidee Baker.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 468.

S. 7456—Granting an increase of pension to Arley O. Thomas.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 468.

S. 7457—Granting an increase of pension to Hiram Storm.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 468.

S. 7458—Granting an increase of pension to John Stoneburner.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 468.

S. 7459—Granting a pension to Jessie Pearson.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 468.

S. 7460—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Franklin.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 468.

S. 7461—Granting an increase of pension to John S. Barton.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 468.

S. 7462—Granting an increase of pension to John Hand.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 468.

S. 7463—Granting an increase of pension to Conrad Kitts.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 468.

S. 7464—Granting an increase of pension to August Fielder.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 468.

S. 7465—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Grubb.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 468.

S. 7466—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Baldwin.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 468.

S. 7467—Granting a pension to Mary Nidifer.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 468.

S. 7468—Granting an increase of pension to Hamilton B. Pate.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 468.

S. 7469—Granting an increase of pension to Mary L. Campbell.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 468.

S. 7470—Granting an increase of pension to Winfield S. Ramsay.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 468.

S. 7471—Granting a pension to Margaret Quedens.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 468.

S. 7472—Granting an increase of pension to Charles F. Perry.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 468.

S. 7473—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel McNutt.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 468.

S. 7474—Granting an increase of pension to Frederick Clark.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 468.

S. 7475—Granting an increase of pension to Moses Cottle.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 468.

S. 7476—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph E. Reynolds.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 468.

S. 7477—For the relief of the heirs of Ko-mo-dal-kiah, Moses agreement allottee No. 33.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Indian Affairs, 532.

S. 7478—To regulate radio communication.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Commerce, 532.

S. 7479—Granting an increase of pension to Lavina A. E. Rogers.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Pensions, 532.

S. 7480—Granting an increase of pension to Aletha E. Reynolds.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Pensions, 532.

S. 7481—For the relief of Simon Bollinger.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Claims, 532.

S. 7482—Granting an increase of pension to James R. Eaton.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 532.

S. 7483—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Du Hamel.
Mr. O'Gormah; Committee on Pensions, 532.

S. 7484—To divide the State of Arizona into two judicial districts.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on the Judiciary, 532.

S. 7485—To permanently renew patent No. 24917.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Patents, 532.

S. 7486—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors.
Mr. Johnson of Maine, from the Committee on Pensions as substitute for certain bills (S. Rept. 885) referred to that committee, 530.—Amended and passed Senate, 2510–2514.—Referred to House Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2659.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1441), 2892.—Passed House, 2935–2938.—Examined and signed, 3248, 3255.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 198], 3780.

S. 7487—To promote the reclamation of arid and swamp lands of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, 586.

S. 7488—To cancel allotment made to Ollie House, or Om-O-wat, on Shoshone Reservation, Wyo.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Indian Affairs, 586.

S. 7489—For the relief of the survivors of McLean's Pennsylvania regiment and their widows and children.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Military Affairs, 586.

S. 7490—For the relief of Thomas W. Miller.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Military Affairs, 586.

S. 7491—To promote the settlement and agricultural development of United States reclamation projects.
Mr. Warren; Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, 586.

S. 7492—Granting an increase of pension to Inez A. Hatchett.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 586.

S. 7493—Granting an increase of pension to Howard E. Hoadley.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 586.

S. 7494—Granting an increase of pension to David Draper.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 586.

S. 7495—Granting an increase of pension to P. T. Simmonds.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 586.

S. 7496—Granting an increase of pension to Irvin Tatum.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 586.

S. 7497—Granting an increase of pension to Enock Medsker.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 586.

S. 7498—Granting an increase of pension to Orville C. Gordon.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 586.

S. 7499—Granting an increase of pension to John C. Trimble.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 586.

S. 7500—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew Ormston.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 586.

S. 7501—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew Fifer.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 586.

S. 7502—Authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to make donation of condemned naval guns and cannon balls to the John Wannebo Camp, No. 9, United Spanish War Veterans, Everett, Wash., to be placed in public parks.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Naval Affairs, 586.

S. 7503—Authorizing the appropriation of $50,000 to reimburse the city of Renton, in the State of Washington, for damages done in the destruction of the outlet of the sewerage of that city.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Appropriations, 586.

S. 7504—To amend section 4 of the act to regulate commerce passed Feb. 4, 1887, and subsequent amendments thereof.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 586.

S. 7505—To punish the storing of foodstuffs for the purpose of cornering the market, and for other purposes.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on the Judiciary, 586.

S. 7506—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Phelps.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 586.

S. 7507—Granting an increase of pension to James A. Montgomery.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Pensions, 586.

S. 7508—Granting an increase of pension to Nelson Coffen.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Pensions, 586.

S. 7509—Granting an increase of pension to James Hill.
Mr. La Follette; Committee on Pensions, 586.

S. 7510—To promote interstate commerce, agriculture, and the general welfare by providing for the development and control of waterways and water resources; for water conservation; for flood control, prevention, and protection; for the application of flood waters to beneficial uses; and for cooperation in such work with States and other agencies; for the control of the floods of the Mississippi River and the Sacramento River, Cal.; and for other purposes.
Mr. Newlands; Committee on Commerce, 635.—Debated, 635.

S. 7511—To acquire a site and for the erection and completion thereon of a public building in the city of Marysville, Cal.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 634.

S. 7512—To establish a fish-cultural station in the State of Tennessee.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Fisheries, 634.

S. 7513—To provide for the erection of a public building at Kingsport, Tenn.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 634.

S. 7514—Authorizing the Secretary of War to acquire land for aviation purposes.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Military Affairs, 634.

S. 7515—Granting a pension to Letta Davidson Webster.
Mr. Martin of Virginia; Committee on Pensions, 634.

S. 7516—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Campbell.
Mr. Martin of Virginia; Committee on Pensions, 634.

S. 7517—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph J. Meyers.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 634.

S. 7518—Providing for a site and public building for post office and other Federal purposes at Hays, Kans.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 635.

S. 7519—To provide for enlarging the United States building at Fort Scott, Kans.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 635.

S. 7520—For the relief of The Boyle Co., of Wichita, Kans.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Claims, 635.

S. 7521—Granting an increase of pension to Frank Rogers.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7522—Granting an increase of pension to Sylvia McDevitt.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7523—Granting a pension to Mary F. Robinson.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7524—Granting an increase of pension to Lottie L. Matthews.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7525—Granting a pension to Clarissa F. White.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7526—Granting an increase of pension to Phuel Linville.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7527—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel W. Hilligoss.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7528—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas A. Walters.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7529—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Middlebrook.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7530—Granting an increase of pension to Frank Lynch.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7531—Granting an increase of pension to William H. H. Jones.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7532—Granting an increase of pension to Levi G. Wigus.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7533—Granting an increase of pension to James M. Goodrich.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7534—Granting an increase of pension to John Ginley.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7535—Granting a pension to Josephine Babcock.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7536—Authorizing the Western New York & Pennsylvania Railway Co. to reconstruct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Allegheny River, in the borough of Warren and township of Pleasant, Warren County, Pa.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Commerce, 635.—Reported back (S. Rept. 902), 988.—Passed Senate, 1161.—Passed House, 1302.—Examined and signed, 1425, 1479.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 295], 2155.

S. 7537—Authorizing the Western New York & Pennsylvania Railway Co. to reconstruct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Allegheny River, in the town of Allegany, county of Cattaraugus, N. Y.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Commerce, 635.—Reported back (S. Rept. 903), 989.—Passed Senate, 1161.—Amended and passed House, 2123.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 2161.—Examined and signed, 2295, 2381.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 302], 2752.

S. 7538—Authorizing the Western New York & Pennsylvania Railway Co. to reconstruct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Allegheny River, in Glade and Kinzua Townships, Warren County, Pa.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Commerce, 635.—Reported back (S. Rept. 904), 988.—Passed Senate, 1161, 1162.—Passed House, 1302.—Examined and signed, 1425, 1479.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 296], 2155.

S. 7539—Granting an increase of pension to Augustus Wagner.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7540—Granting a pension to Bessie Mandeville Trenor.
Mr. Hughes; Committee on Pensions, 635.

S. 7541—Granting a pension to Algennie Stevens.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 669.

S. 7542—Granting an increase of pension to Torrence Murry.
Mr. Harding; Committee on Pensions, 669.

S. 7543—Granting an increase of pension to John A. Schmitt.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Pensions, 669.

S. 7544—Granting an increase of penssion to Lena S. Fenn.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Pensions, 669.

S. 7545—Granting an increase of pension to Kathrina T. Vreeland.
Mr. Weeks; Committee on Pensions, 669.

S. 7546—For the relief of Lauritz S. Rasmussen.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Military Affairs, 669.

S. 7547—Granting a pension to Mrs. Amelia Perry.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 670.

S. 7548—Granting a pension to Judith Robinson.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 670.

S. 7549—Granting an increase of pension to Christopher Darien.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 670.

S. 7550—Granting a pension to H. H. Hedges.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 670.

S. 7551—Granting a pension to Augustus Thompson.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 670.

S. 7552—For the relief of Patrick McMahon.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Military Affairs, 670.

S. 7553—Granting an increase of pension to Lewis G. Turner.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 670.

S. 7554—Making available any post-office surplus for the fiscal year 1917 for the purchase of the telephone system of the District of Columbia; to insure the Government complete control of such means of communication in safeguarding its military and executive affairs within the seat of government; to provide a special telephone service to facilitate the direct sale of farm products to consumers in said District; to establish the efficiency and economy with which such service may be conducted by the Post Office Department.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 670.

S. 7555—To amend section 15 of the act entitled "An act to regulate commerce."
Mr. Newlands; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 670.

S. 7556—To grant to the Mahoning & Shenango Railway & Light Co., its successors and assigns, the right to construct, complete, maintain, and operate a combination dam and bridge and approaches thereto across the Mahoning River near the borough of Lowellville, in the county of Mahoning and State of Ohio.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Commerce, 730.—Reported back and passed Senate, 940.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1014.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1303), 1579.—Passed House, 2872.—Examined and signed, 3048, 3175.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 325], 3408.

S. 7557—To amend section 4875 of the Revised Statutes to provide a compensation for superintendents of national cemeteries.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Military Affairs, 730.

S. 7558—For the protection of migratory birds.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game, 730.

S. 7559—For the relief of Guy A. Richards, Jesse L. Robbins, Isaac M. Grimes, William L. Irvine, and David Cox.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Public Lands, 730.

S. 7560—To increase the limit of cost of the Bureau of Mines building in Pittsburgh, Pa., $50,000.
Mr. Oliver; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 730.

S. 7561—To amend an act entitled "An act for the erection of United States prisons and for the imprisonment of United States prisoners, and for other purposes," to fix the terms of office of the superintendent of prisons and the wardens, to provide for their appointment, and for other purposes.
Mr. Smith of Georgia; Committee on the Judiciary, 730.—Reported with amendments, 1382.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 1382.—Referred to House Committee on the Judiciary, 2356.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1518), 3854.

S. 7562.—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Laurinburg, in the State of North Carolina.
Mr. Overman; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 730.

S. 7563—Authorizing the President of the United States to date the commissions of graduates of the United States Military Academy one year ahead of the date of their graduation.
Mr. Overman; Committee on Military Affairs, 730.

S. 7564—Granting an increase of pension to Emily Robinson.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Pensions, 730.

S. 7565—To provide for the erection of a public building at Dayton, Tenn.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 730.

S. 7566—Granting an increase of pension to Grover Cleveland McMahon.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 730.

S. 7567—Granting an increase of pension to Jennie M. Hobbs.
Mr. Norris; Committee on Pensions, 730.

S. 7568—Granting an increase of pension to Emelia Branner.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 730.

S. 7569—Granting an increase of pension to William Abbott.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 730.

S. 7570—Granting a pension to John F. Crowley.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 730.

S. 7571—Granting an increase of pension to Jerome McWethy.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 730.

S. 7572—Granting a pension to John J. Callanan.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 730.

S. 7573—For the relief of Albert H. Campbell.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Military Affairs, 730.

S. 7574—Granting an increase of pension to Emma J. Bratton.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 730.

S. 7575—Granting a pension to Jesse McAllister.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 730.

S. 7576—Granting an increase of pension to Francis M. Cramer.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 730.

S. 7577—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel R. Caton.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 730.

S. 7578—Granting a pension to Mary Alcinda Wingert.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 730.

S. 7579—Granting a pension to Lucy A. Cole.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 730.

S. 7580—Granting an increase of pension to Jasper Taylor.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 730.

S. 7581—Granting an increase of pension to Elvina Kelly.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 730.

S. 7582—Granting an increase of pension to Peter L. Leuszler.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 730.

S. 7583—To amend the Federal farm-loan act by providing for the establishment of the thirteenth Federal farm-land bank district, to be composed of the States of Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, and New Mexico, and to establish a Federal land bank therein at Denver, Colo.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Banking and Currency, 730.—Reported back (S. Rept. 951), 1584.—Debated, 730, 731, 2685.

S. 7584—Granting a pension to Margaret M. King.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 730.

S. 7585—Granting an increase of pension to George Whitcher.
Mr. Dillingham; Committee on Pensions, 730.

S. 7586—To establish a retired list in the civil service of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment, 790.

S. 7587—Amending an act entitled "An act divesting intoxicating liquors of their interstate character in certain cases," which became a law on the 1st day of March, 1913.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on the Judiciary, 790.

S. 7588—For the relief of Melissa Gurin.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7589—To establish an Indian boarding school at or near the city of Rolla, in the State of North Dakota.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Indian Affairs, 790.

S. 7590—Granting an increase of pension to Morris Dumas.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7591—For a survey of channel connecting Houston Ship Channel with Goose Creek oil field.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Commerce, 790.

S. 7592—To provide for the construction of a dam and reservoir in the North Platte River near Guernsey, Wyo.
Mr. Hitchcock; Committee on Appropriations, 790.

S. 7593—To amend section 2237 of the Revised States fixing the salaries of registers and receivers of United States land offices.
Mr. Hitchcock; Committee on Public Lands, 790.

S. 7594—For the relief of Willis Alden.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Claims, 790.

S. 7595—Granting an increase of pension to Rufus Mapes.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7596—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Felton.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7597—Granting an increase of pension to James H. Hopkins.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7598—For the relief of John H. Kidd.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Military Affairs, 790.—Reported back (S. Rept. 983), 2026.—Debated and passed Senate, 2692, 2693.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 2935.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1558), 4367.

S. 7599—Granting an increase of pension to Ellen A. Sawyer.
Mr. Dillingham; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7600—Granting an increase of pension to Caleb P. Nash.
Mr. Dillingham; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7601—For the relief of Caleb T. Holland.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Military Affairs, 790.—Reported back (S. Rept. 984), 2026.—Debated and passed Senate, 2693, 3087.—Debated and passed House, 3909.—Examined and signed, 4004, 4067.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 207], 4719.

S. 7602—For the relief of Mary C. Mayers.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Claims, 790.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1097), 3657.

S. 7603—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Carter.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7604—Authorizing the President to appoint J. Benjamin Hayes a first lieutenant in the Regular Army.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Military Affairs, 790.

S. 7605—Granting a pension to Mary A. Cummings.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7606—Granting an increase of pension to Charles T. P. Bass.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7607—Granting an increase of pension to John T. Johnson.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7608—Granting an increase of pension to William A. McClure.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7609—Granting a pension to Matilda J. Hall.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7610—Granting an increase of pension to Nathaniel Burton.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7611—Granting an increase of pension to Elbert M. Deffendoll.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7612—Granting an increase of pension to David A. Byers.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7613—Granting an increase of pension to George Douglass.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7614—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas B. Alexander.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7615—Granting an increase of pension to Herman Alleman.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7616—Granting a pension to Mary E. Parker.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7617—Granting a pension to Mary Werner.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7618—Granting an increase of pension to James C. Pratt.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7619—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel S. Carson.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7620—Granting a pension to Sophia J. Fitts Baker.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7621—Granting an increase of pension to Angenette Barber.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7622—Granting a pension to George F. Bemont.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7623—Granting an increase of pension to Lucina Bennett.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7624—Granting an increase of pension to Jabez R. Bowen.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7625—Granting an increase of pension to Hannah A. Clark.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7626—Granting a pension to Sarah Esther Collins.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7627—Granting a pension to Grace Mable Copeland.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7628—Granting an increase of pension to Elsie Davis.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7629—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret Downey.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7630—Granting an increase of pension to Lucina Rosamond Gilpatrick.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7631—Granting an increase of pension to Horace Griggs.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7632—Granting a pension to William A. Hoyle.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7633—Ganting an increase of pension to Sarah Mumford Law.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7634—Granting an increase of pension to Emma L. Leach.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7635—Granting an increase of pension to Annie M. Lincoln.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7636—Granting an increase of pension to Ellen Manchester.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7637—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Newbury.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7638—Granting an increase of pension to Timothy Quinn.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7639—Granting a pension to Margaret A. Semple.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7640—Granting an increase of pension to Frank S. Shaffer.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7641—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Stoughton.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7642—Granting an increase of pension to Eliza S. Wilcox.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7643—Granting an increase of pension to Edward D. Woodmansee.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Pensions, 790.

S. 7644—To create a new division of the northern judicial district of Texas, and to provide for terms of court at Wichita, Falls, Tex., and for a clerk for said court, and for other purposes.
Mr. Culberson; Committee on the Judiciary, 827.—Reported back (S. Rept. 960) and passed Senate, 1806.—Referred to House Committee on the Judiciary, 1911.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1394), 2357.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 3630, 3631.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 3663.—Examined and signed, 3853, 3861.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 354], 4271.

S. 7645—To amend an act entitled "An act to increase the pensions of widows, minor children, etc., of deceased soldiers and sailors of the late Civil War, the War with Mexico, the various Indian Wars, etc., and to grant a pension to certain widows of the deceased soldiers and sailors of the late Civil War," approved Sept. 8, 1916, and for other purposes.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 827.

S. 7646—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel W. Green.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 827.

S. 7647—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to accept a title to a site for the post office at Donora, Pa., which excepts and reserves natural gas and oil underlying the land.
Mr. Oliver; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 827.

S. 7648—Granting an increase of pension to Emma L. Porter.
Mr. Goff; Committee on Pensions, 827.

S. 7649—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel Vanscoy.
Mr. Goff; Committee on Pensions, 827.

S. 7650—Granting an increase of pension to John P. Fetty.
Mr. Goff; Committee on Pensions, 827.

S. 7651—Granting an increase of pension to John E. Hott.
Mr. Goff; Committee on Pensions, 827.

S. 7652—Granting an increase of pension to Adam Flesher.
Mr. Goff; Committee on Pensions, 827.

S. 7653—For the relief of James D. McNutt.
Mr. Clark; Committee on Claims, 827.

S. 7654—For the relief of Capt. C. T. Richardson, United States Army.
Mr. Bryan; Committee on Claims, 827.

S. 7655—For the relief of C. B. Oliphant.
Mr. Bryan; Committee on Claims, 827.

S. 7656—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Renfroe.
Mr. Bryan; Committee on Pensions, 827.

S. 7657—Granting a pension to Mary Jedowin.
Mr. Page; Committee on Pensions, 827.

S. 7658—For the relief of Fred W. McConky, jr.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Claims, 827.

S. 7659—For the relief of Malcolm Johnson.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Military Affairs, 827.

S. 7660—Granting an increase of pension to Richard L. K. Grant.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 827.

S. 7661—Granting an increase of pension to George H. Nutting.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 827.

S. 7662—Granting an increase of pension to Albert S. Farnsworth.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 827.

S. 7663—Granting an increase of pension to Charles A. Mudgett.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 827.

S. 7664—Granting an increase of pension to Ralph O. Mason.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 827.

S. 7665—Granting an increase of pension to Warren Seaward.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 827.

S. 7666—Granting an increase of pension to Elias B. Moore.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 828.

S. 7667—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah Jane Estes.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 828.

S. 7668—Granting an increase of pension to Chester S. Pease.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 828.

S. 7669—Granting an increase of pension to Alphonso Wingate.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 828.

S. 7670—Granting an increase of pension to Lillian S. Hawkes.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 828.

S. 7671—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph P. Dore.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 828.

S. 7672—Granting an increase of pension to Lewis Graves.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 828.

S. 7673—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac F. Kendall.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 828.

S. 7674—Granting an increase of pension to Davis McDonald.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 828.

S. 7675—Granting an increase of pension to George Lansil.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 828.

S. 7676—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Lindsey.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 828.

S. 7677—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph E. Dunn.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 828.

S. 7678—Granting an increase of pension to Nathaniel Sholes.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 828.

S. 7679—Granting an increase of pension to George H. Young.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 828.

S. 7680—Granting an increase of pension to George B. Gilbert.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 828.

S. 7681—Granting an increase of pension to Edmond Gould.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 828.

S. 7682—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph McKenney.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 828.

S. 7683—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Brown.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 828.

S. 7684—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Small.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 828.

S. 7685—Granting an increase of pension to Byron A. Hart.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 828.

S. 7686—Granting an increase of pension to Adam S. Bridgefarmer.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 828.

S. 7687—Granting an increase of pension to Barbara E. Wooddell.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 828.

S. 7688—Granting an increase of pension to John Drown.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Pensions, 828.

S. 7689—Granting an increase of pension to Milton M. Adamson.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Pensions, 828.

S. 7690—Granting an increase of pension to Aldrich S. Luther.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Pensions, 828.

S. 7691—For the relief of Jane B. Andrews.
Mr. Clapp; Committee on Claims, 828.

S. 7692—Granting an increase of pension to Emily M. Furber.
Mr. Clapp; Committee on Pensions, 828.

S. 7693—To reclassify the salaries of employees above the clerical grades in post offices of the first and second class.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 828.

S. 7694—Granting a pension to Harry E. Thompson.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 828.

S. 7695—Granting an increase of pension to Walter Emerson.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 828.

S. 7296—Granting a pension to Mary B. Graham.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Pensions, 828.

S. 7697—For the relief of the heirs of James N. Ward, deceased.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Claims, 898.

S. 7698—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph T. Lewis.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 898.

S. 7699—Granting a pension to Jennie E. Kidd.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 898.

S. 7700—To place Julius Schmidt on the retired list with the rank of captain.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Military Affairs, 898.

S. 7701—For the relief of John P. Blackwell.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Claims, 898.

S. 7702—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret S. Dustin.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 898.

S. 7703—Granting an increase of pension to John Doughty.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 898.

S. 7704—Granting an increase of pension to Jennie A. Cressman.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 898.

S. 7705—Granting a pension to Robert A. Imrie.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 898.

S. 7706—Granting an increase of pension to Frederick L. Ballou.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 898.

S. 7707—Granting an increase of pension to William M. Taylor.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 898.

S. 7708—Granting a pension to Alfred E. Scott.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 898.

S. 7709—Granting an increase of pension to Adam Eckert.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 898.

S. 7710—To amend the irrigation act of Mar. 3, 1891 (26th Stat., p. 1095), section 18, and to amend section 2 of the act of May 11, 1898 (30th Stat., p. 404).
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, 940.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1028), 3061.—Recommitted to Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, 3109.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 1054), 3254.—Debated, 3107–3109, 3500, 3895.—Amended and passed Senate, 3895.—Debated and passed House, 5020, 5021.—Examined and signed, 4990, 5033.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 395], 4990.

S. 7711—Granting an increase of pension to Cyrus B. Parrigan.
Mr. Beckham; Committee on Pensions, 940.

S. 7712—Granting a pension to Mary E. Whitaker.
Mr. Beckham; Committee on Pensions, 940.

S. 7713—Granting to the city and county of San Francisco, State of California, a right of way for a storm-water relief sewer through a portion of the Presidio of San Francisco Military Reservation.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Military Affairs, 940.—Reported back (S. Rept. 979), 1940.—Passed Senate, 2692.—Passed House, 2863.—Examined and signed, 3048, 3175.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 320], 3407.

S. 7714—For the relief of Katie Norvall.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Claims, 940.

S. 7715—Granting an increase of pension to Vilas E. Bryant.
Mr. Hollis; Committee on Pensions, 940.

S. 7716—Granting a pension to Emma A. Hoskins.
Mr. Norris; Committee on Pensions, 940.

S. 7717—Granting an increase of pension to Barnard J. Irwin.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 940.

S. 7718—Granting an increase of pension to Carlton J. Beaman.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 940.

S. 7719—To prohibit commerce in intoxicating liquors between the States in certain cases.
Mr. Hardwick; Committee on the Judiciary, 940.

S. 7720—To amend section 1570 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relative to additional compensation to seamen, landsmen, and marines.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Naval Affairs, 940.—Reported back (S. Rept. 936), 1479.—Debated, 2683, 2684.

S. 7721—To reestablish the United States Naval Reserve created by the act of Mar. 3, 1915.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Naval Affairs, 940.—Reported back (S. Rept. 937), 1479.

S. 7722—To amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes," approved Aug. 29, 1916.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Naval Affairs, 940.

S. 7723—To amend section 1496 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relative to the examination of officers of the Navy for promotion.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Naval Affairs, 940.—Reported back (S. Rept. 938), 1479.

S. 7724—To amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes," approved Aug. 29, 1916.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Naval Affairs, 940.—Reported back (S. Rept. 939), 1479.

S. 7725—Granting an increase of pension to Martha R. Griswold.
Mr. Weeks; Committee on Pensions, 940.

S. 7726—To amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved Feb. 4, 1887, as amended.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 940.

S. 7727—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a suitable building for the accommodation of the United States court and post office at Laurinburg, in the State of North Carolina.
Mr. Overman; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 989.

S. 7728—Granting an increase of pension to Robert S. Robertson.
Mr. Overman; Committee on Pensions, 989.

S. 7729—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Jason Edge.
Mr. Overman; Committee on Pensions, 989.

S. 7730—Granting an increase of pension to Ephraim W. Wiley.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 989.

S. 7731—Granting an increase of pension to John S. Raymond.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 989.

S. 7732—Granting an increase of pension to Theodore Magie.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 989.

S. 7733—Granting an increase of pension to James H. Waugh.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 989.

S. 7734—Granting an increase of pension to Hiram J. George.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 989

S. 7735—Granting an increase of pension to Annie H. Quill.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 989.

S. 7736—Granting a pension to Charles E. Haskell.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 989.

S. 7737—Granting an increase of pension to Frank Goodwin.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 989.

S. 7738—Granting an increase of pension to Wilfull A. Stanley.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 989.

S. 7739—Granting an increase of pension to Mary P. Moody.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Pensions, 989.

S. 7740—To provide for the purchase of ground and the erection of a Weather Bureau observatory building at Greenville, S. C.
Mr. Smith of South Carolina; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 989.

S. 7741—Granting a pension to Albert E. Kelly.
Mr. O'Gorman; Committee on Pensions, 989.

S. 7742—Placing Joseph Beale on the retired list of the Navy.
Mr. Chilton; Committee on Naval Affairs, 989.—Reported back, debated, and passed Senate, 1331.—Referred to House Committee on Naval Affairs, 1424.

S. 7743—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas B. Jones.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 989.

S. 7744—For the relief of Nathan A. Stone.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Claims, 989.

S. 7745—Granting a pension to W. F. Core.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 989.

S. 7746—To provide for the commissioning of graduates of the United States Military Academy, and for other purposes.
Mr. Weeks; Committee on Military Affairs, 989.

S. 7747—To establish a unit of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps in a National Guard organization in each State and Territory in the United States.
Mr. Weeks; Committee on Military Affairs, 989.

S. 7748—To authorize the United New Jersey Railroad & Canal Co., and such other corporation or individuals as may be associated with it, to construct a bridge across the portion of the Delaware River between the mainland of the county of Camden and State of New Jersey, and Petty Island in said county and State.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Commerce, 989.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 959), amended, and passed Senate, 1730.—Passed House, 1873, 1874.—Examined and signed, 1934, 1937.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 298], 2303.

S. 7749—Granting a pension to Charles H. Hack.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 989.

S. 7750—Granting a pension to Josiah M. Ward.
Mr. Simmons; Committee on Pensions, 989.

S. 7751—For the relief of David H. Fay.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Claims, 989.

S. 7752—Granting a pension to Julia McMains.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 989.

S. 7753—Granting a pension to Mary E. Williams.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 989.

S. 7754—Granting an increase of pension to Samantha O. Andrews.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 989.

S. 7755—Granting an increase of pension to Dora A. Dressler.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 989.

S. 7756—Granting an increase of pension to Justin W. Allen.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 989.

S. 7757—Authorizing a further extension of time to purchasers of land in the former Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indian Reservation, Okla., within which to make payment.
Mr. Owen, Committee on Indian Affairs, 989.—Reported back (S. Rept. 908), 1067.—Debated and passed Senate, 2673, 2674.—Amended and passed House, 2891.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 3265.—Examined and signed, 3360, 3571.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 350], 3965.

S. 7758—Conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, consider, and determine certain claims of the Cherokee Nation against the United States.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Indian Affairs, 989.—Reported back (S. Rept. 949), 1584.—Passed Senate, 2685.

S. 7759—To amend the general deficiency appropriation act of June 30, 1906, and the act of Congress of Mar. 4, 1909, regarding payment of judgment of Court of Claims in favor of Cherokee Nation.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Indian Affairs, 989.—Reference changed to Committee on Appropriations, 1584.

S. 7760—Granting an increase of pension to Catharine F. Edsall, widow of the late William H. Edsall.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Pensions, 989.

S. 7761—Providing for a new building for the assay office in New York City.
Mr. O'Gorman; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 989.

S. 7762—Granting an increase of pension to Oliver P. Lane.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 1067.

S. 7763—Prohibiting the issuance of special-tax stamps authorizing the sale of distilled spirits or other intoxicating liquors unless public notice by advertisement has been given, and for other purposes.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on the Judiciary, 1067.—Committee discharged, and referred to the Committee on Finance, 1162.

S. 7764—Granting an increase of pension to Rodney Wampole.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 1067.

S. 7765—Granting an increase of pension to Albert P. Sheldon.
Mr. Page; Committee on Pensions, 1067.

S. 7766—For the relief of Guy A. Richards, Jesse L. Robbins, Isaac M. C. Grimes, William L. Irvine, and David Cox.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Public Lands, 1067.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1137), 4717.—Debated and passed Senate, 4858.—Debated and passed House, 5021.—Examined and signed, 4990, 5033.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 217], 4990.

S. 7767—Relating to the temporary filling of vacancies occurring in the offices of register or receiver of district land offices.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public Lands, 1067.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 1001), 2299.—Amended and passed Senate, 3089.

S. 7768—To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patent for certain lands in the State of Utah to E. D. Partridge.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public Lands, 1067.

S. 7769—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret Liddle.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 1067.

S. 7770—To amend the act to regulate commerce, approved Feb. 4, 1887.
Mr. Lewis; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 1067.

S. 7771—Granting a pension to Joseph M. Donnohue.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 1067.

S. 7772—Granting an increase of pension to James Brooks.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 1067.

S. 7773—Granting an increase of pension to James K. Matox.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 1067.

S. 7774—Granting an increase of pension to James T. Bodkin.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 1067.

S. 7775—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Clark.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 1067.

S. 7776—Granting an increase of pension to Hiram Peeler.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 1067.

S. 7777—To provide for constructing a fish ladder in Salmon River in Custer County, Idaho.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Commerce, 1067.—Reference changed to Committee on Fisheries, 1108.

S. 7778—Amending Archives Building act.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1067.

S. 7779—To authorize the change of name of the steamer Frank H. Peavey to William A. Reiss.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Commerce, 1108.—Reported back (S. Rept. 941) and passed Senate, 1522.—Passed House, 2696.—Examined and signed, 2793, 2811.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 311], 3355.

S. 7780—To authorize the change of name of the steamer Frank T. Heffelfinger to Clemens A. Reiss.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Commerce, 1108.—Reported back (S. Rept. 942) and passed Senate, 1522.—Passed House, 2696.—Examined and signed, 2793, 2811.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 312], 3355.

S. 7781—To authorize the change of name of the steamer George W. Peavey to Richard J. Reiss.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Commerce, 1108.—Reported back (S. Rept. 943) and passed Senate, 1522.—Passed House, 2696.—Examined and signed, 2793, 2811.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 313], 3355.

S. 7782—To authorize the change of name of the steamer Frederick B. Wells to Otto M. Reiss.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Commerce, 1108.—Reported back (S. Rept. 944) and passed Senate, 1522.—Passed House, 2696.—Examined and signed, 2793, 2811.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 314], 3355.

S. 7783—Granting a pension to Philip S. Herron.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Pensions, 1108.

S. 7784—Granting a pension to Rufus H. Hopkins.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Pensions, 1108.

S. 7785—Granting a pension to James G. Rollins.
Mr. Beckham; Committee on Pensions, 1108.

S. 7786—Granting an increase of pension to Simeon L. Coen.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 1108.

S. 7787—Granting an increase of pension to James P. Taylor.
Mr. Brady; Committee on Pensions, 1108.

S. 7788—Granting a pension to Abbie L. Lockwood.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 1108.

S. 7789—Granting an increase of pension to Delia Stuart.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 1108.

S. 7790—Granting a pension to Emma E. Barrett.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 1108.

S. 7791—Granting a pension to Mary F. Finson.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 1108.

S. 7792—Granting an increase of pension to James H. Drown.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 1108.

S. 7793—Granting an increase of pension to Charles F. Wellman.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 1108.

S. 7794—Granting an increase of pension to John L. Bradford.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 1108.

S. 7795—To amend and revise the laws relating to printing and binding and the distribution of publications for Congress.
Mr. Chilton; Committee on Printing, 1108.—Reported back (S. Rept. 910), 1162.—Debated, 1162, 2674–2677.—Passed Senate, 2677.

S. 7796—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to sell and convey to the Great Northern Railway Co. certain lands in the State of Montana for division terminal yards and other railway purposes, and for other purposes.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Public Lands, 1108.—Reported back (S. Rept. 961), 1806.—Debated and passed Senate, 3116, 3117.—Debated and passed House, 3627, 3628.—Examined and signed, 3737, 3782.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 355], 4271.

S. 7797—Granting an increase of pension to George M. Jaco.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Pensions, 1108.

S. 7798—For the relief of J. G. Swinney.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Claims, 1108.

S. 7799—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Ellis.
Mr. Husting; Committee on Pensions, 1163.

S. 7800—Granting an increase of pension to Henry D. Baxter.
Mr. Husting; Committee on Pensions, 1163.

S. 7801—Granting a pension to Julius Jensen.
Mr. Husting; Committee on Pensions, 1163.

S. 7802—To provide for the construction of the Black Canyon project, Idaho.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, 1163.

S. 7803—For the control, regulation, and use of the waters of the Niagara River below Niagara Falls, and for other purposes.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Foreign Relations, 1163.

S. 7804—Granting an increase of pension to Ella R. Brown.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 1163.

S. 7805—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph McG. Lunsford.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 1163.

S. 7806—Granting an increase of pension to John P. McCorkle.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 1163.

S. 7807—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin W. Laybourn.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 1163.

S. 7808—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew J. Bridges.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 1163.

S. 7809—Granting an increase of pension to George A. Cheney.
Mr. Page; Committee on Pensions, 1163.

S. 7810—Granting a pension to James P. Merrifield.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 1163.

S. 7811—For the relief of Robert B. Jennings.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Military Affairs, 1163.—Reported back adversely and indefinitely postponed, 2080.

S. 7812—Granting an increase of pension to Mary J. Welch.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 1163.

S. 7813—Granting an increase of pension to Charles A. Voorheis.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 1163.

S. 7814—Granting a pension to Homer R. Hutson.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 1163.

S. 7815—Granting an increase of pension to Matilda Paxton.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 1163.

S. 7816—For the relief of Alonzo D. Cadwallader.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 1163.

S. 7817—Granting an increase of pension to Rudolph Davis.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 1163.

S. 7818—Granting an increase of pension to Leonard H. Bunker.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 1163.

S. 7819—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Cushman.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 1164.

S. 7820—Granting a pension to William J. Kelsey.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 1164.

S. 7821—Granting a pension to Charles E. Matthews.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 1164.

S. 7822—Granting an increase of pension to Coridon J. Emmons.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 1164.

S. 7823—Granting an increase of pension to Franklin B. Nutt.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 1164.

S. 7824—Granting an increase of pension to Abraham Bachelder.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 1164.

S. 7825—To provide for the erection of a public building at Astoria, Oreg.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1248.

S. 7826—To authorize the President of the United States to advance officers on the retired list who were wounded in battle in the service of the United States.
Mr. Hardwick; Committee on Military Affairs, 1248.

S. 7827—To authorize the sale of certain lands at or near Yellowstone, Mont., for hotel purposes.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Public Lands, 1248.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1108), 4269.

S. 7828—To provide standard time for the United States.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 1248.—Debated, 1248, 1249.

S. 7829—To create two additional associate justices of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia.
Mr. Overman; Committee on the Judiciary, 1248.

S. 7830—Designating October 27 of each year as National Fraternal Day, to be devoted to conserving the home, fraternalism, and happiness.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on the Judiciary, 1248.

S. 7831—To provide retirement in certain cases for judges of United States district courts in the Territories.
Mr. Saulsbury; Committee on the Judiciary, 1248.

S. 7832—Granting a pension to Fred M. Armstrong.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Pensions, 1248.

S. 7833—Authorizing the Chippewa Indians in the State of Minnesota to submit claims to the Court of Claims.
Mr. Clapp; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1248.—Reported back (S. Rept. 925), 1381.—Amended and passed Senate, 2680.—Referred to House Committee on Claims, 2935.

S. 7834—Granting a pension to Adolphus Lesperance.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Pensions, 1248.

S. 7835—Granting an increase of pension to William C. Hoffman.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 1248.

S. 7836—For the relief of Barneybass Eastridge.
Mr. Lea of Tennessee; Committee on Military Affairs, 1248.

S. 7837—Granting a pension to Herman L. Harrell.
Mr. Lea of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 1248.

S. 7838—To amend the act approved Dec. 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Banking and Currency, 1248.

S. 7839—To amend an act entitled "An act in reference to the expatriation of citizens and their protection abroad," approved Mar. 2, 1907.
Mr. Smith of South Carolina; Committee on Immigration, 1322.

S. 7840—For securing the uniform grading of food, preventing deception in transactions in food, and regulating traffic therein, and for other purposes.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 1322.

S. 7841—For the relief of the heirs of Harry Davenport, deceased.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Claims, 1322.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1093), 3657.

S. 7842—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Jones.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 1322.

S. 7843—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas D. Scott.
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 1322.

S. 7844—Relating to desert-land entries.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 1322.

S. 7845—For the relief of Alma Harris.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 1322.

S. 7846—For the relief of Joseph Elliot Austin.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1322.

S. 7847—Granting an increase of pension to John Wones.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Pensions, 1322.

S. 7848—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph M. Love.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 1322.

S. 7849—Granting a pension to George T. Cooney.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 1322.

S. 7850—Granting a pension to William S. Arnold.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 1322.

S. 7851—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Robinson Dobyns, widow of George H. Dobyns.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 1322.

S. 7852—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Dunam.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 1322.

S. 7853—Granting an increase of pension to Henry McClure.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 1322.

S. 7854—Granting an increase of pension to Elijah Bullock.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 1322.

S. 7855—Granting a pension to William M. Graham.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 1322.

S. 7856—Granting an increase of pension to Michael O. Sullivan.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 1322.

S. 7857—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel McClure.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 1322.

S. 7858—To give effect to the convention between the United States and Great Britain for the protection of migratory birds, the ratifications whereof were exchanged on the 7th day of December, 1916, and for other purposes.
Mr. Hitchcock; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 1322.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1102), 3781.

S. 7859—Authorizing the Postmaster General to increase prices for certain supplies to conform to abnormal market conditions.
Mr. Bankhead; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 1322.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 953), 1663.—Debated, 2685, 2686.

S. 7860—Granting a pension to Julius Wolbrecht.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 1322.

S. 7861—Granting a pension to Mattie B. Frede.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Pensions, 1383.

S. 7862—Granting an increase of pension to Addie M. Higgins.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 1383.

S. 7863—Granting an increase of pension to Morey Milliken.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 1383.

S. 7864—Granting an increase of pension to Harrison S. Vaughn.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 1383.

S. 7865—Granting an increase of pension to Cyrillus B. Ayres.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 1383.

S. 7866—For the relief of the Crow Indians in Montana.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1383.

S. 7867—Granting an increase of pension to Martin H. Conger.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 1383.

S. 7868—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Welch.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 1383.

S. 7869—Granting a pension to Catherine Rogers.
Mr. Chilton; Committee on Pensions, 1383.

S. 7870—Granting a pension to John P. Fetty.
Mr. Chilton; Committee on Pensions, 1383.

S. 7871—To authorize the sale of the plant of the Garden City project, Kans., and for other purposes.
Mr. Smith of Arizona; Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, 1383.

S. 7872—To confirm and ratify the sale of the Federal building site at Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii, and for other purposes.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1383.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1038), 3062.—Debated and passed Senate, 3109, 3110.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 3356.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 3408.—Examined and signed, 3541, 3571.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 199], 3861.

S. 7873—Granting a pension to Nancy E. Baskins.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 1383.

S. 7874—Granting an increase of pension to H. C. Rowley.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 1383.

S. 7875—Granting an increase of pension to Henry W. Ela.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 1383.

S. 7876—Granting a pension to Mary F. Brown.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 1383.

S. 7877—Granting an increase of pension to Charles O. Thorp.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 1383.

S. 7878—Granting a pension to John N. Baker.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 1383.

S. 7879—Granting an increase of pension to Alexander F. Neely.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 1383.

S. 7880—Granting an increase of pension to Ephraim Otto.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 1383.

S. 7881—Granting an increase of pension to Ada J. Bevelle.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 1383.

S. 7882—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Auge.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 1383.

S. 7883—Granting an increase of pension to George Blake.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 1383.

S. 7884—Granting an increase of pension to Ezra F. McIntire.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 1383.

S. 7885—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Ricker.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 1383.

S. 7886—Granting a pension to Walter M. Edes.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 1383.

S. 7887—Granting an increase of pension to J. Marcellus E. Hart.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 1383.

S. 7888—To extend the right of entry under section 6 of the enlarged-homestead acts.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public Lands, 1383.

S. 7889—Granting an increase of pension to John R. Sutherland.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 1479.

S. 7890—Granting a pension to Ernest Wesche, jr.
Mr. Warren; Committee on Pensions, 1479.

S. 7891—Granting a pension to W. D. Davis.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 1479.

S. 7892—Granting an increase of pension to J. P. Johnson.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 1479.

S. 7893—To authorize aids to navigation and for other works in the Lighthouse Service, and for other purposes.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Commerce, 1479.

S. 7894—To amend the act entitled "An act to amend sections 2275 and 2276 of the Revised Statutes of the United States providing for the selection of lands for educational purposes in lieu of those appropriated," and to authorize an exchange of lands between the United States and the States of Montana and Wyoming.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 1522.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 978), 1940.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 2691, 2692.—Referred to House Committee on Public Lands, 3917.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1526), 3958.

S. 7895—For the relief of Winona May Devers and Emma McElvaine.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1522.

S. 7896—Granting an increase of pension to Charles A. Holmes.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 1523.

S. 7897—Granting a pension to Phillip H. Vose.
Mr. Weeks; Committee on Pensions, 1523.

S. 7898—To provide for the erection of a public building at Newport, Tenn.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1523.

S. 7899—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel Loftis.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 1523.

S. 7900—Granting an increase of pension to George F. Thayer.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Pensions, 1523.

S. 7901—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas R. Alway.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 1523.

S. 7902—Granting an increase of pension to James S. Moore.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 1523.

S. 7903—Granting an increase of pension to Michael Burns.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 1523.

S. 7904—Granting an increase of pension to George E. Cross.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 1523.

S. 7905—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion, to transfer and convey to the commissioners of Lincoln Park, of Chicago, Ill., the riparian rights of the United States, as the owner of land fronting on Lake Michigan and occupied as the site of the United States marine hospital in Chicago, Ill.
Mr. Lewis; Committee on Commerce, 1523.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 1107); debated, amended, and passed Senate, 3985, 3986.—Debated and passed House, 4953 (Appendix, 912).—Examined and signed, 4912, 4975.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 396], 4990.

S. 7906—To authorize the President of the United States to appoint George L. Morrison a captain of Cavalry.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Military Affairs, 1523.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1012), 2751.—Amended and passed Senate, 3098, 3099.

S. 7907—To create a new division of the northern judicial district of Texas, and to provide for terms of court at Lubbock, Tex., and for a clerk for said court, and for other purposes.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on the Judiciary, 1523.

S. 7908—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Mullen.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 1523.

S. 7909—To amend section 1 of the act approved July 1, 1916, making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Immigration, 1584.

S. 7910—Authorizing the city of Bemidji, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River at or near that place.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Commerce, 1584.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 985), 2158.—Amended and passed Senate, 2159.

S. 7911—For the relief of the immigrant Cherokees or heirs thereof who were moved under Chief Ross's advisement under treaties of 1835, 1836, and 1846, and who were parties to said treaties.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1584.

S. 7912—Granting an increase of pension to Ada M. Kennedy.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 1584.

S. 7913—Granting an increase of pension to Nelson W. Adams.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 1584.

S. 7914—Granting an increase of pension to Charles W. Lindsay.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 1584.

S. 7915—Authorizing the President of the United States to appoint Col. William B. Gordon to the rank of brigadier general on the retired list.
Mr. Oliver; Committee on Military Affairs, 1584.

S. 7916—Granting an increase of pension to David F. Rudd.
Mr. Norris; Committee on Pensions, 1584.

S. 7917—Granting a pension to Everett L. Stokes.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 1584.

S. 7918—Granting an increase of pension to John M. Lenhart.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 1584.

S. 7919—Granting an increase of pension to James M. Gwinn.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 1584.

S. 7920—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Grounds.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 1584.

S. 7921—Granting an increase of pension to Jeremy Walker.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 1584.

S. 7922—Granting an increase of pension to James H. Knight.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 1585.

S. 7923—Granting a pension to Hester A. Doyle.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 1585.

S. 7924—Authorizing the county of Beltrami, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River in said county.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Commerce, 1663.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 986), amended and passed Senate, 2159.—Passed House, 2872.—Examined and signed, 3048, 3175.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 326], 3408.

S. 7925—Granting a pension to John Fitzgerald.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Pensions, 1663.

S. 7926—Granting an increase of pension to John Barker.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 1663.

S. 7927—Providing for the refund of duties collected on five traveling kitchens presented by citizens of Massachusetts to the Eighth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Militia and the First Regiment Field Artillery, Massachusetts Volunteer Militia.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Finance, 1663.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1060), 3407.

S. 7928—Granting a pension to D. J. Owens.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 1663.

S. 7929—Granting a pension to Fred Boyd.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 1663.

S. 7930—Granting a pension to Edward D. Hagen.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 1663.

S. 7931—Granting an increase of pension to Lucy E. McCord.
Mr. Norris; Committee on Pensions, 1664.

S. 7932—Granting an increase of pension to Martha P. Johnson.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Pensions, 1664.

S. 7933—Granting an increase of pension to Waddy Hoover.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Pensions, 1664.

S. 7934—Granting a pension to James H. Kearney.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Pensions, 1664.

S. 7935—Waiving the age limit for admission in the United States Marine Corps in the case of Bartley Bull.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1664.

S. 7936—Authorizing the Secretary of War to establish on the military reservation on the Arsenal Grounds, St. Louis, Mo., a general supply depot.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1664.—Reference changed to Committee on Military Affairs, 1730.

S. 7937—Granting an increase of pension to Ira S. Bier.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 1730.

S. 7938—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate one cannon, with its carriage and cannon balls, to the city of Biddeford, Me.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Military Affairs, 1730.

S. 7939—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate one cannon, with its carriage and cannon balls, to the city of Saco, Me.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Military Affairs, 1730.

S. 7940—Granting an increase of pension to Mark P. Morton.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 1730.

S. 7941—Granting an increase of pension to Rufus Reynolds.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 1730.

S. 7942—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph M. Davis.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 1730.

S. 7943—To provide for the promotion of Americanization of immigrants through education, and to appropriate money therefor.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Immigration, 1730.

S. 7944—Granting an increase of pension to Corydom M. Turnbull.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Pensions, 1731.

S. 7945—To investigate the condition of Indians living in Louisiana.
Mr. Broussard; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1731.

S. 7946—For the relief of Albert Tate.
Mr. Broussard; Committee on Military Affairs, 1731.

S. 7947—Granting a pension to James Nethers.
Mr. Broussard; Committee on Pensions, 1731.

S. 7948—Granting an increase of pension to Jules Toffier.
Mr. Broussard; Committee on Pensions, 1731.

S. 7949—To provide for the erection of an addition to the Federal building in the city of Janesville, county of Rock and State of Wisconsin.
Mr. Husting; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1731.

S. 7950—Granting an increase of pension to John F. Anderson.
Mr. Norris; Committee on Pensions, 1731.

S. 7951—Granting a pension to Edward Fraher and Catherine Fraher, minor children of Joseph M. Fraher.
Mr. Weeks; Committee on Pensions, 1731.

S. 7952—To amend an act entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Military Affairs, 1731.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1069), 3576.

S. 7953—Granting an increase of pension to Tulula V. M. Bortsfield.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 1731.

S. 7954—Granting an increase of pension to John T. Quinby.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 1731.

S. 7955—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Barber.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 1731.

S. 7956—Granting a pension to Lydia M. Smith.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 1731.

S. 7957—Granting a pension to Allen N. Bundy.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 1731.

S. 7958—Granting a pension to Daniel Donohoe.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 1731.

S. 7959—Granting an increase of pension to Albert P. Ramsey.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 1731.

S. 7960—Granting an increase of pension to Mitchell Larock.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 1731.

S. 7961—Granting a pension to James W. McKay.
Mr. Colt; Committee on Pensions, 1731.

S. 7962—To amend the act entitled "An Act to amend sections 2275 and 2276 of the Revised Statutes of the United States providing for the selection of lands for educational purposes in lieu of those appropriated."
Mr. Warren; Committee on Public Lands, 1731.

S. 7963—To prohibit the manufacture or sale of alcoholic liquors in the Territory of Alaska, and for other purposes.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Territories, 1806.—Reported with amendments, 2303.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 2303–2308.—Debated in House, 2516–2525.—Passed House, 2525.—Examined and signed, 2696, 2751.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 308], 3355.

S. 7964—To establish engineering experiment stations in the States and Territories in connection with State universities or engineering schools for the promotion of engineering and industrial research.
Mr. Smith of Georgia; Committee on Education and Labor, 1806.

S. 7965—Granting a pension to Samuel T. Holden.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Pensions, 1806.

S. 7966—Granting a pension to Lydia M. Smith.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Pensions, 1806.

S. 7967—Granting an increase of pension to John H. Helser.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Pensions, 1806.

S. 7968—To correct the military record of Second Lieut. Van Buren S. Reber.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Military Affairs, 1806.

S. 7969—Granting an increase of pension to Frederick S. Webber.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 1806.

S. 7970—Granting an increase of pension to Dorr H. Mayne.
Mr. Norris; Committee on Pensions, 1806.

S. 7971—To provide for the interchange of teachers of the District of Columbia with other school systems in the United States.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on the District of Columbia, 1806.

S. 7972—Granting an increase of pension to Edward Flannery.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Pensions, 1806.

S. 7973—Granting an increase of pension to Eugene E. Scherrer.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 1806.

S. 7974—Granting a pension to Mary L. Pritchett.
Mr. Newlands; Committee on Pensions, 1806.

S. 7975—Granting a pension to Elizabeth S. Naylor.
Mr. Newlands; Committee on Pensions, 1806.

S. 7976—For the relief of Rier Thorson.
Mr. La Follette; Committee on Military Affairs, 1806.

S. 7977—Granting an increase of pension to Silas B. Garlick.
Mr. La Follette; Committee on Pensions, 1807.

S. 7978—Granting an increase of pension to Nathan H. Applebee.
Mr. La Follette; Committee on Pensions, 1807.

S. 7979—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Lasher.
Mr. Hughes; Committee on Pensions, 1807.

S. 7980—Granting an increase of pension to Roscoe G. Tibbetts.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 1807.

S. 7981—Granting a pension to Charles A. Bushey.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 1807.

S. 7982—Granting an increase of pension to Ida E. Cook.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 1878.

S. 7983—Granting an increase of pension to Derrick Huck.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Pensions, 1878.

S. 7984—Granting an increase of pension to Dallas Wamsley.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Pensions, 1878.

S. 7985—Granting an increase of pension to George Wells.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Pensions, 1878.

S. 7986—To authorize the President to appoint Second Lieut. Ambrose I. Moriarty, retired, to the grade of lieutenant colonel in the United States Army and place him on the retired list.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Military Affairs, 1878.

S. 7987—Granting an increase of pension to Aurelia H. Gibson.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Pensions, 1878.

S. 7988—Granting an increase of pension to Simon Hasselback.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Pensions, 1878.

S. 7989—For the relief of Horace P. Hulett.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Public Lands, 1878.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1084), 3657.

S. 7990—For the relief of R. S. Van Tassell.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Public Lands, 1878.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1083), 3657.

S. 7991—Granting an increase of pension to Catherine C. Patrick.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 1878.

S. 7992—Granting a pension to Henry Blake.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 1878.

S. 7993—Granting an increase of pension to Isaiah W. Deemer.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Pensions, 1878.

S. 7994—Granting an increase of pension to James S. Gray.
Mr. Oliver; Committee on Pensions, 1878.

S. 7995—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Richards.
Mr. Husting; Committee on Pensions, 1878.

S. 7996—Granting a pension to Israel W. Bennett.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 1878.

S. 7997—Granting an increase of pension to Jesse S. Baldwin.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 1878.

S. 7998—For the conservation of alcohol in the manufacture of dealcoholized fermented beverages.
Mr. Lewis; Committee on Finance, 1878.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1058), 3407.

S. 7999—Granting an increase of pension to Edward E. Gould.
Mr. Harding; Committee on Pensions, 1878.

S. 8000—Granting an increase of pension to Emily A. Baldrige Cavender.
Mr. Harding; Committee on Pensions, 1878.

S. 8001—Granting an increase of pension to Van R. Eels.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 1878.

S. 8002—Granting an increase of pension to Alonzo Beckwith.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 1878.

S. 8003—Authorizing the county of Morrison, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River in said county.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Commerce, 1940.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1010); amended and passed Senate, 2613.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3360.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1500), 3465.—Amended and passed House, 4954.

S. 8004—Authorizing the conveyance of certain land to the city of Miles City, State of Montana, for park purposes.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Public Lands, 1940.

S. 8005—Granting to the county of Custer, State of Montana, certain land in said county for use as a fairground.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Public Lands, 1940.

S. 8006—Granting an increase of pension to E. G. Thompson.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 1940.

S. 8007—Granting an increase of pension to D. F. Siegfried.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 1940.

S. 8008—To amend an act entitled "An act to increase the pensions of widows, minor children, etc., of deceased soldiers and sailors of the late Civil War, the War with Mexico, the various Indian wars, etc., and to grant a pension to certain widows of the deceased soldiers and sailors of the late Civil War," approved Sept. 8, 1916, and for other purposes.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 1940.

S. 8009—Granting an increase of pension to John Dodgion.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 1940.

S. 8010—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Culter.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 1940.

S. 8011—Granting a pension to Emma Ervin.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 1940.

S. 8012—Granting an increase of pension to John F. Dixon.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 1940.

S. 8013—Granting an increase of pension to Henry W. Ela.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 1940.

S. 8014—Granting an increase of pension to Jefferson Hurst.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 1940.

S. 8015—Granting a pension to John Cropper.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 1940.

S. 8016—Granting an increase of pension to Marion Pierce.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 1940.

S. 8017—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Van Name.
Mr. Hughes; Committee on Pensions, 1940.

S. 8018—Granting an increase of pension to Theodore A. Maltby.
Mr. Hughes; Committee on Pensions, 1940.

S. 8019—Granting a pension to Daniel Kennelley.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 1940.

S. 8020—Granting an increase of pension to George H. Clark.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 1940.

S. 8021—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Artley.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 1940.

S. 8022—Granting a pension to Charles G. Meyer.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 1940.

S. 8023—Granting an increase of pension to Rebacca M. Smith.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 1940.

S. 8024—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Elizabeth Lambert.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 1940.

S. 8025—Granting a pension to J. K. Gleeson.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 1940.

S. 8026—For the relief of John Griffin.
Mr. Harding; Committee on Military Affairs, 1940.

S. 8027—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob M. Westfall.
Mr. Harding; Committee on Pensions, 1940.

S. 8028—To provide an additional judge for the District Court of the United States for the Western District of Missouri.
Mr. Reed; Committee on the Judiciary, 1940.

S. 8029—To incorporate the Kee-too-wah Band of Cherokee Indians in Oklahoma, otherwise known as the Night Hawks, into an industrial community for their mutual benefit and protection and the promotion of education, self-government, self-control, and industry among them, and for other purposes.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1940.

S. 8030—Granting an increase of pension to Marcus M. Holmes.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 1940.

S. 8031—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of David D. Sharp.
Mr. Pittman; Committee on Military Affairs, 1940.

S. 8032—To amend section 3847 of the Revised Statutes so as to grant postmasters, having money belonging to the Government, authority to deposit the same with trust companies.
Mr. Hughes; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 1940.

S. 8033—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Minor.
Mr. Page; Committee on Pensions, 1940.

S. 8034—Granting an increase of pension to John C. Daley.
Mr. Catron; Committee on Pensions, 2026.

S. 8035—To amend section 4 of the act of Sept. 6, 1916, entitled "An act to amend the Judicial Code, to fix the time when the annual terms of the Supreme Court shall commence, and further to define the jurisdiction of that court."
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on the Judiciary, 2026.

S. 8036—To allow a pension of $30 per month to Edward Marvin Carter, of Savannah, Ga., for loss of eye at military camp, Macon, Ga., on July 30, 1916, while serving in the United States Army.
Mr. Smith of Georgia; Committee on Pensions, 2027.

S. 8037—Granting an increase of pension to Hiram Davis.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 2027.

S. 8038—Granting an increase of pension to George R. Ashley.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 2027.

S. 8039—Granting an incretse of pension to Susan Soehner.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 2027.

S. 8040—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel W. Fraley.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 2027.

S. 8041—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. McCoy.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 2027.

S. 8042—Granting a pension to Mrs. Thomas Kelly.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Pensions, 2027.

S. 8043—Granting a pension to Ellen H. Russell.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 2027.

S. 8044—Providing for the extension of time for the reclamation of certain lands in the State of Oregon under the Carey Act.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, 2106.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1023), 2930.—Passed Senate, 3106.—Debated and passed House, 3634, 3635.—Examined and signed, 3853, 3861.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 356], 4271.

S. 8045—Regulating sale of timber on forest reserves in Montana.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 2106.

S. 8046—For a launch basin, quarantine station, Galveston, Tex.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Appropriations, 2106.

S. 8047—For rural sanitation under supervision of Public Health Service.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Public Health and National Quarantine, 2106.

S. 8048—To promote the improvement of rural education.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Education and Labor, 2106.

S. 8049—For improvement of San Antonio Arsenal, San Antonio, Tex.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Military Affairs, 2106.

S. 8050—Providing for the establishment of a bathing beach at the Tidal Basin in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Norris; Committee on the District of Columbia, 2106.

S. 8051—Granting an increase of pension to Lucretia Whitt.
Mr. Norris; Committee on Pensions, 2106.

S. 8052—To authorize the employment of Federal prisoners on public roads within the States.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on the Judiciary, 2107.

S. 8053—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. A. Winans.
Mr. Martin of Virginia; Committee on Pensions, 2107.

S. 8054—For the relief of the estate of John C. Phillips, deceased.
Mr. Sherman; Committee on Claims, 2107.

S. 8055—Providing that the Panama Canal rules shall govern in the measurement of vessels for imposing tolls.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Interoceanic Canals, 2107.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1015), 2822.—Debated, 2822.

S. 8056—For the relief of Albert J. Weber.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Claims, 2107.

S. 8057—Granting an increase of pension to Oliver W. Davis.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 2107.

S. 8058—For the relief of Lieut. Commander Jerome E. Morse, United States Navy, retired.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2107.

S. 8059—For the relief of T. L. Love, surviving partner of Robert Love & Son.
Mr. Overman; Committee on Claims, 2160.

S. 8060—Granting a pension to James H. Kearney.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Pensions, 2160.

S. 8061—Granting an increase of pension to Nancy Brooks.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Pensions, 2160.

S. 8062—To provide for the purchase of additional land for the enlargement of the site of the public building at Stamford, Conn.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2160.—Reported back and passed Senate, 2611.

S. 8063—Granting an increase of pension to David E. Dodge.
Mr. Norris; Committee on Pensions, 2160.

S. 8064—Making an appropriation for the construction of a scenic road to Mount Evans, in the State or Colorado, and granting to the city and county of Denver the right of way over the public lands within a mile of said road.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Public Lands, 2160.

S. 8065—Granting a pension to Cassie B. Hendricks.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 2160.

S. 8066—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin S. Wilbur.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 2160.

S. 8067—Granting an increase of pension to Marion Davis.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 2160.

S. 8068—Granting a pension to Sarah Fannie Higgins.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 2160.

S. 8069—Granting an increase of pension to Timothy S. Heald.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 2160.

S. 8070—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel Libby.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 2160.

S. 8071—Granting a pension to Horace V. Andrews.
Mr. Chilton; Committee on Pensions, 2160.

S. 8072—To create an additional judge in the Southern District of Florida.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on the Judiciary, 2219.

S. 8073—Granting an increase of pension to William P. Cook.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 2219.

S. 8074—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Townsend.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 2219.

S. 8075—For the relief of Marguerite Mathilde Slidell d'Erlanger.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Immigration, 2219.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1036) and passed Senate, 3062.—Debated and passed House, 4955, 4956.—Examined and signed, 4919, 4975.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 218], 4990.

S. 8076—Granting an increase of pension to Marcus J. Howland.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Pensions, 2219.

S. 8077—Granting an increase of pension to Paleman S. Castle.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Pensions, 2219.

S. 8078—For the relief of Benjamine O. Kerlee.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Claims, 2219.

S. 8079—To amend the first and seventh paragraphs of section 4414 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, as amended by the act of Apr. 9, 1906.
Mr. Bryan; Committee on Commerce, 2219.—Reported back and passed Senate, 2822.—Passed House, 3625, 3626.—Examined and signed, 3737, 3782.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 357], 4271.

S. 8080—Granting an increase of pension to Morris Hinchman.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 2220.

S. 8081—Granting an increase of pension to George D. Abraham.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 2220.

S. 8082—Authorizing the acquisition of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Yonkers, N. Y.
Mr. O'Gorman; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2220.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1052), 3253.

S. 8083—For the relief of the Daly and Hannan Dredging Co.
Mr. O'Gorman; Committee on Claims, 2220.

S. 8084—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Fisk.
Mr. Husting; Committee on Pensions, 2220.

S. 8085—For the relief of V. A. Carnal and Ada Lewis.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Claims, 2220.

S. 8086—Regulating the issuance of checks, drafts, and orders for the payment of money within the District of Columbia.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on the District of Columbia, 2220.

S. 8087—Regulating itinerant vendors in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on the District of Columbia, 2220.

S. 8088—For the relief of Col. Selden Allen Day.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Military Affairs, 2220.

S. 8089—For the relief of Rika Gester.
Mr. Hollis; Committee on Military Affairs, 2220.

S. 8090—Granting the consent of Congress to Washington-Newport News Short Line, a corporation, to construct a bridge across the Potomac River.
Mr. Martin of Virginia; Committee on Commerce, 2302.—Reported back and passed Senate, 2302, 2303.—Debated and passed House, 2407.—Examined and signed, 2536, 2543.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 303], 2752.

S. 8091—To reimburse W. B. Graham, late postmaster at Ely, Nev., for money expended for clerical assistance.
Mr. Pittman; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 2302.

S. 8092—For the relief of the estate of Loyeau Berhel, deceased.
Mr. Broussard; Committee on Claims, 2302.

S. 8093—For the relief of Carl Clifton Krueger.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Military Affairs, 2302.

S. 8094—Granting an increase of pension to T. A. Stevens.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Pensions, 2302.

S. 8095—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Mygatt.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 2302.

S. 8096—To place Albert Hamilton on the retired list of the United States Navy.
Mr. Martine of New Jersey; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2302.

S. 8097—Authorizing the construction of a military road from Washington City, D. C., to the Government reservation at Winthrop, Md., and making an appropriation therefor.
Mr. Smith; Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 8098—Granting an increase of pension to Charles B. Smith.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Pensions, 2302.

S. 8099—Granting an increase of pension to Stephen Bennett Packard.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 2302.

S. 8100—Granting an increase of pension to Albert H. Boon.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 2302.

S. 8101—Granting an increase of pension to Harriet E. Howard.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 2381.

S. 8102—Granting an increase of pension to Phoebe W. Chase.
Mr. Fernald; Committee on Pensions, 2381.

S. 8103—For the relief of George Wingate.
Mr. Hughes; Committee on Military Affairs, 2382.

S. 8104—Granting an increase of pension to Michael Shelines.
Mr. Chilton; Committee on Pensions, 2382.

S. 8105—Granting the consent of Congress to the Conway County Bridge District to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Arkansas River, in the State of Arkansas.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Commerce, 2463.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1017); passed Senate, 2822.—Debated and passed House, 2872, 2873, 3356.—Examined and signed, 3465, 3480.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 342], 3861.

S. 8106—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Lovell.
Mr. McCumber; Committee on Pensions, 2464.

S. 8107—For the relief of Edward Vanderhoof.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 2464.

S. 8108—For the relief of William W. Rust.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 2464.

S. 8109—Providing for the construction of 80 coast submarines and 20 fleet submarines.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2464.—Debated, 2464.

S. 8110—Granting an increase of pension to Leroy S. Griswold.
Mr. Page; Committee on Pensions, 2464.

S. 8111—Granting an increase of pension to Alexander B. Tadlock.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 2464.

S. 8112—Granting an increase of pension to Robert H. M. Donnelly.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 2464.

S. 8113—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors.
Mr. Johnson of Maine, from the Committee on Pensions (S. Rept. 1005) as substitute for certain bills referred to that committee, 2462.—Passed Senate, 3093–3098.—Referred to House Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3502.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1510), 3734.—Passed House, 4048–4052.—Examined and signed, 4067, 4151.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 208], 4719.

S. 8114—Authorizing the President to appoint to the grade of major general on the retired list of the Army any brigadier general now borne on said list with certain military service.
Mr. du Pont; Committee on Military Affairs, 2566.

S. 8115—For a Federal building and site at Bowie, Tex.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2566.

S. 8116—Granting a pension to John S. Dodge.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Pensions, 2566.

S. 8117—Granting a pension to Kate E. Le Velley.
Mr. Dillingham; Committee on Pensions, 2566.

S. 8118—Granting an increase of pension to Michael Callahan.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 2566.

S. 8119—To amend and reenact section 10 of an act entitled "An act to supplement existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies, and for other purposes," approved Oct. 15, 1914.
Mr. Overman; Committee on the Judiciary, 2566.

S. 8120—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Regular Army and Navy and of wars other than the Civil War, and to certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors.
Mr. Johnson of Maine, from the Committee on Pensions (S. Rept. 1007), as substitute for certain bills referred to that committee, 2609.—Debated and passed Senate, 3098, 3099–3101.—Referred to House Committee on Pensions, 3502.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1522), 3854.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 4061–4063.—Senate disagrees to House amendments and agrees to a conference, 4271.—House insists on its amendments and asks for a conference, 4063.—Conference appointed, 4063, 4271.—Conference report (No. 1609) made and agreed to in House, 4708, 4709.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 4977.—Examined and signed, 4988, 5032.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 219], 4990.

S. 8121—To provide for the application of the reclamation law to irrigation districts.
Mr. Pittman; Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, 2613.

S. 8122—Providing for the erection and completion of a public building in the Borough of The Bronx, New York City, in the State of New York.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2613.

S. 8123—To amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," as amended, in respect of car service, and for other purposes.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 2614.

S. 8124—Granting an increase of pension to Henry S. Silsby.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Pensions, 2614.

S. 8125—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Gray.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 2614.

S. 8126—To extend the time for the cutting of timber on the Coconino and Tusayan National Forests in Arizona.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Public Lands, 2614.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1104), debated, amended, and passed Senate, 3894, 3895.

S. 8127—Granting an increase of pension to Dennis W. Riordan.
Mr. Weeks; Committee on Pensions, 2614.

S. 8128—Granting an increase of pension to John H. Wells.
Mr. Weeks; Committee on Pensions, 2614.

S. 8129—Granting an increase of pension to Lewis Seymour.
Mr. Weeks; Committee on Pensions, 2614.

S. 8130—Granting an increase of pension to Robert Johnston.
Mr. Norris; Committee on Pensions, 2614.

S. 8131—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel H. Brooks.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2614.

S. 8132—Granting an increase of pension to Emma C. Hill.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2614.

S. 8133—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew Reese.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2614.

S. 8134—For the relief of John C. Hall.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Military Affairs, 2614.

S. 8135—Granting a pension to Susan J. St. John.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 2614.

S. 8136—Granting a pension to David Feighny.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 2614.

S. 8137—Granting a pension to Malinda Kiniston.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 2614.

S. 8138—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Carpenter Moore.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 2614.

S. 8139—Granting an increase of pension to Davis B. Wilcoxson.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 2614.

S. 8140—Granting an increase of pension to Ephriam Briggs.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 2614.

S. 8141—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew F. Maxwell.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 2614.

S. 8142—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph McCoy.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 2614.

S. 8143—Granting a pension to Josephine Mater Roberds.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 2614.

S. 8144—Directing the Interstate Commerce Commission to supervise and direct the leasing of certain real estate owned or controlled by railroads and electric interurban railways engaged in the transportation of interstate business.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 2614.

S. 8145—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Wiley.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 2614.

S. 8146—Granting a pension to Sadie E. Devault.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 2614.

S. 8147—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Davis.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 2614.

S. 8148—To punish espionage and acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Overman; Committee on the Judiciary, 2614.—Reported with amendments, 2819.—Debated, 3068, 3069, 3074–3076, 3260, 3408–3423, 3467, 3483–3500, 3584–3617, 3665.—Amended and passed Senate, 3665.—Referred to House Committee on the Judiciary, 3782.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1591), 4563.

S. 8149—Granting a pension to Isaac F. Allen.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 2614.

S. 8150—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Kelsay.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 2614.

S. 8151—Granting a pension to John Magowan.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 2614.

S. 8152—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel E. Palmer.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Pensions, 2614.

S. 8153—For the relief of Edward T. Moran.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Military Affairs, 2665.

S. 8154—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah Baker.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Pensions, 2665.

S. 8155—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Wiese.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Pensions, 2665.

S. 8156—Granting an increase of pension to Mollie Thompson.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Pensions, 2665.

S. 8157—Granting an increase of pension to Anna Alexander.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 2665.

S. 8158—For the relief of W. J. Poland.
Mr. Chilton; Committee on Claims, 2665.

S. 8159—To place Albert Hamilton on the retired list of the United States Navy.
Mr. Hughes; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2665.

S. 8160—Authorizing receipts from the sale of surplus power to be applied to the payment of operation and maintenance charges on reclamation projects.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, 2665.

S. 8161—Granting a pension to Pyrrhus Williams.
Mr. Martin of Virginia; Committee on Pensions, 2665.

S. 8162—Granting an increase of pension to Henry A. Dayton.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 2752.

S. 8163—Granting an increase of pension to Amos Dickinson.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 2752.

S. 8164—Granting an increase of pension to Robert Liddell.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 2752.

S. 8165—To prohibit concerted control of fire insurance rates in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Owen; Committee on the Judiciary, 2752.

S. 8166—Granting an increase of pension to Malinda K. McGowen.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Pensions, 2752.

S. 8167—Granting an increase of pension to Phebe T. Schonhoff.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Pensions, 2752.

S. 8168—To amend an act entitled "An act to establish a United States Shipping Board for the purpose of encouraging, developing, and creating a naval auxiliary and naval reserve and a merchant marine to meet the requirements of the commerce of the United States with its Territories and possessions and with foreign countries; to regulate carriers by water engaged in the foreign and interstate commerce of the United States, and for other purposes," approved Sept. 7, 1916, and for other purposes.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Commerce, 2752.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 1106), 3985, 4719.

S. 8169—To purchase a site for the erection of a post-office building in the city of Fredericktown, Mo.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2752.

S. 8170—To provide for the cost of improving and completing the United States post office and courthouse at Guthrie, Okla.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2752.

S. 8171—Granting an increase of pension to Victoria Coffman.
Mr. Chilton; Committee on Pensions, 2752.

S. 8172—Granting an increase of pension to Josiah H. H. Feather.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Pensions, 2752.

S. 8173—Granting an increase of pension to Robert S. Bowman.
Mr. Beckham; Committee on Pensions, 2823.

S. 8174—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Moore.
Mr. Beckham; Committee on Pensions, 2823.

S. 8175—Granting an increase of pension to John S. Adams.
Mr. Beckham; Committee on Pensions, 2823.

S. 8176—Granting an increase of pension to Caleb Akers.
Mr. Beckham; Committee on Pensions, 2823.

S. 8177—Granting an increase of pension to Harrison White.
Mr. Beckham; Committee on Pensions, 2823.

S. 8178—Granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Henry C. Collins.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Pensions, 2823.

S. 8179—For the relief of the Chippewa Indians in the State of Minnesota.
Mr. Clapp; Committee on Indian Affairs, 2823.

S. 8180—Granting an increase of pension to Ella Taylor.
Mr. Borah; Committee on Pensions, 2823.

S. 8181—To fix the salaries of postmasters of the fourth class.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Post Offices and Post roads, 2823.

S. 8182—Granting an increase of pension to Johanna E. Waalkes.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 2823.

S. 8183—Granting a pension to Lizzie Shade.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 2823.

S. 8184—Granting an increase of pension to Fannie Bell.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 2824.

S. 8185—To place George Johnstone Stoney on the retired list of the Army with the rank of captain.
Mr. du Pont; Committee on Military Affairs, 2824.

S. 8186—Granting a pension to Georgia M. Hodgsdon.
Mr. Townsend; Committee on Pensions, 2824.

S. 8187—To transfer Frederick W. Cobb from the list of chief machinists, United States Navy, to the list of chief pay clerks, United States Navy.
Mr. Underwood; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2824.

S. 8188—To amend an act entitled "An act to prevent cruelty to animals while in transit by railroad or other means of transportation from one State or Territory or the District of Columbia into or through another State or Territory or the District of Columbia, and repealing sections 4386, 4387, 4388, 4389, and 4390 of the United States Revised Statutes," approved June 29, 1906.
Mr. Newlands; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 2824.

S. 8189—To appoint Leonard G. Hoffman as a passed assistant paymaster in the United States Navy.
Mr. Lewis; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2824.

S. 8190—For the relief of the widow of Rudolph H. von Ezdorf, deceased.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Claims, 2824.

S. 8191—To amend the interstate commerce law.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 2824.

S. 8192—For the relief of Charles S. Fries.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Claims, 2930.

S. 8193—For the relief of Rufus Meyers.
Mr. Husting; Committee on Military Affairs, 2930.

S. 8194—For the relief of W. F. Tomlinson, administrator of Samuel Tomlinson, deceased.
Mr. James; Committee on Claims, 2930.

S. 8195—Granting an increase of pension to Frank D. Brown.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Pensions, 2930.

S. 8196—Granting a pension to Jennie L. Sidelinger.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 2930.

S. 8197—Granting an increase of pension to Horace A. Wright.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 2930.

S. 8198—Granting a pension to William Gilmour.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 2930.

S. 8199—Granting a pension to Martha Holt.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Pensions, 2930.

S. 8200—Granting an increase of pension to Francis A. Ricketts.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 2931.

S. 8201—To amend an act providing mediation, conciliation, etc., approved July 15, 1913; to authorize the President to protect the operation of trains in time of peace, and to take possession of the common carriers and draft their crews and officials in time of war, and for other purposes.
Mr. Newlands; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 2931.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1025), 2980.—Debated, 2980–2982.

S. 8202—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Smith.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 2931.

S. 8203—Granting an increase of pension to Francis M. Blankenship.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 2931.

S. 8204—Granting an increase of pension to Jeremiah Combs.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 2931.

S. 8205—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Roberson.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 2931.

S. 8206—Granting an increase of pension to Minatree Turner.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 2931.

S. 8207—Granting an increase of pension to George S. Robinson.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 2931.

S. 8208—Granting an increase of pension to William M. Helvy.
Mr. James; Committee on Pensions, 2931.

S. 8209—Granting to the State of Wyoming title to certain lands in said State for use in connection with the Big Horn Hot Springs State Reserve.
Mr. Warren; Committee on Public Lands, 2982.

S. 8210—Granting a pension to Augusta Lambert.
Mr. Harding; Committee on Pensions, 2982.

S. 8211—To add certain lands to the Toiyabe National Forest, Nev., and for other purposes.
Mr. Pittman; Committee on Public Lands, 2982.

S. 8212—For the relief of James Gilfillan.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Claims, 2982.

S. 8213—Granting an increase of pension to Elias Morrison.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 2982.

S. 8214—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin F. Jacks.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 2982.

S. 8215—Granting an increase of pension to Asa M. Van Cleave.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 2982.

S. 8216—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Mowrey.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 2982.

S. 8217—For the relief of the settlers on certain railroad lands in Montana.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 2982.

S. 8218—To establish the eastern and western judicial districts in the State of Florida, and for other purposes.
Mr. Bryan; Committee on the Judiciary, 3063.

S. 8219—To establish a branch Federal land bank in west Texas.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Banking and Currency, 3063.

S. 8220—Granting a pension to James Golden.
Mr. Pittman; Committee on Pensions, 3063.

S. 8221—To make further provision for the organization of native troops in the Philippine Islands.
Mr. Warren; Committee on Military Affairs, 3063.

S. 8222—To amend an act entitled "An act to incorporate the National McKinley Birthplace Memorial Association," approved Mar. 4, 1911.
Mr. Harding; Committee on the Judiciary, 3063.—Reported with amendments, 3576.—Amended and passed Senate, 3962, 3963.—Referred to House Committee on the Judiciary, 4367.

S. 8223—Granting an increase of pension to Alcaria Bowles.
Mr. Catron; Committee on Pensions, 3063.

S. 8224—Granting an increase of pension to Charles E. Wilcox.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on Pensions, 3063.

S. 8225—Granting a pension to Mary D. Jenness.
Mr. Weeks; Committee on Pensions, 3063.

S. 8226—To establish a fog signal at the Port Washington Pierhead Light Station, Wis.
Mr. Husting; Committee on Commerce, 3063.

S. 8227—Granting the consent of Congress to the city of Fort Atkinson, in Jefferson County, Wis., for the construction of a bridge across the Rock River.
Mr. Husting; Committee on Commerce, 3063.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1085), 3658.—Amended and passed Senate, 3658.—Passed House, 4151.—Examined and signed, 4404, 4469.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 374], 4719.

S. 8228.—Authorizing the commissioners of the Red River bridge district to construct a bridge across the Red River at or near Index, Tex.
Mr. Kirby; Committee on Commerce, 3063.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1072), amended, and passed Senate, 3576, 3577.—Passed House, 4953.—Examined and signed, 4912, 4975.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 397], 4990.

S. 8229—Granting a pension to John R. Rodgers.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Pensions, 3063.

S. 8230—Granting a pension to Ella Mearns.
Mr. Oliver; Committee on Pensions, 3063.

S. 8231—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Roberts.
Mr. Page; Committee on Pensions, 3063.

S. 8232—Granting a pension to John F. Leker.
Mr. Lea of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 3063.

S. 8233—Granting an increase of pension to William R. Brummett.
Mr. Lea of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 3063.

S. 8234—Granting a pension to August Kaufman.
Mr. Lea of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 3063.

S. 8235—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Hart.
Mr. Lea of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 3063.

S. 8236—To discourage the violation of international law upon the high seas.
Mr. Saulsbury; Committee on Foreign Relations, 3184.

S. 8237—Granting an increase of pension to Julina Sams.
Mr. Simmons; Committee on Pensions, 3184.

S. 8238—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate one cannon, with its carriage and cannon balls, to the town or Orono, Me.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Military Affairs, 3184.

S. 8239—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Gray.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Pensions, 3184.

S. 8240—Granting an increase of pension to Jeremiah Shine.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Pensions, 3184.

S. 8241—Granting an increase of pension to William Watson.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Pensions, 3184.

S. 8242—For the protection, regulation, and conservation of the fisheries of Alaska, and for other purposes.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Fisheries, 3184.

S. 8243—To amend an act concerning State or Territorial Soldiers' Homes, pensions of inmates (collections), being the act of Mar. 4, 1911 (25 Stat. L., p. 450).
Mr. Kern; Committee on Pensions, 3184.

S. 8244—Granting a pension to Caroline Fust.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 3184.

S. 8245—To regulate promotion in the Regular Army of the United States.
Mr. Brandegee; Committee on Military Affairs, 3184.

S. 8246—Granting a pension to William Cecil.
Mr. Beckman; Committee on Pensions, 3254.

S. 8247—Authorizing the President to drop from the rolls officers of the Navy and Marine Corps in certain cases.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Naval Affairs, 3254.

S. 8248—Granting a pension to Gertrude M. Farrar.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Pensions, 3254.

S. 8249—Granting a pension to Tide Owens.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 3254.

S. 8250—To establish the Grand Canyon National Park in the State of Arizona.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Public Lands, 3254.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1082), 3657.

S. 8251—Granting an increase of pension to Francis E. Derby.
Mr. Gallinger; Committee on Pensions, 3254.

S. 8252—To authorize the change of name of the steamer Charles L. Hutchinson to Fayette Brown.
Mr. Harding; Committee on Commerce, 3254.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1075) and passed Senate, 3576.—Referred to House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 3692.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1533), 3958.—Debated and passed House, 3917.—Examined and signed, 4004, 4067.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 361], 4483.

S. 8253—Authorizing the leasing for grazing purposes of public lands withdrawn for power sites.
Mr. Myers; Committee on Public Lands, 3254.

S. 8254—To amend the act approved Dec. 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act, as amended by the acts of Aug. 4, 1914; Aug. 15, 1914; Mar. 3, 1915; and Sept. 7, 1916.
Mr. Owen;; Committee on Banking and Currency, 3254.

S. 8255—Making appropriation for payment of balances due by readjustment of salaries of postmasters under existing law.
Mr. Townsend; Committees on Post Offices and Post Roads, 3254.

S. 8256—To provide a government for the West India Islands acquired by the United States from Denmark by the convention entered into between said countries on the 4th day of Aug., 1916, and ratified by the Senate of the United States on the 7th day of Sept., 1916, and for other purposes.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Foreign Relations, 3254.—Reported back, 3467.—Debated, 3467.

S. 8257—Granting an increase of pension to Delia J. McKeon.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Pensions, 3354.

S. 8258—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Harrison.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 3354.

S. 8259—To amend the act approved Dec. 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act, as amended by the acts of Aug. 4, 1914; Aug. 15, 1914; Mar. 3, 1915; and Sept. 7, 1916.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Banking and Currency, 3354.—Reported back (S. 1059), 3407.—Debated, 3748, 4374, 4377, 4378, 4717.

S. 8260—To place Maj. Deane Monahan on the retired list of the Army with the rank of brigadier general.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Military Affairs, 3354.

S. 8261—Granting a pension to Mary Lee Jeter.
Mr. Bankhead; Committee on Pensions, 3354.

S. 8262—Granting a pension to Sarah Clayton Jeter.
Mr. Bankhead; Committee on Pensions, 3354.

S. 8263—For the relief of the heirs of Henry Sturm, deceased.
Mr. Chilton; Committee on Claims, 3354.

S. 8264—Granting an increase of pension to Edward G. Davis.
Mr. Chilton; Committee on Pensions, 3354.

S. 8265—Granting an increase of pension to Lewis T. Holstin.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 3407.

S. 8266—To amend section 4414 of the Revised Statutes of the United States relating to the appointment of local and assistant inspectors of steam vessels.
Mr. Martin of Virginia; Committee on Commerce, 3407.

S. 8267—Granting the sum of $549.12 to Clara Kane, dependent foster parent, by reason of the death of William A. Yenser, late civil employee, killed as result of an accident at Philadelphia Navy Yard.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Claims, 3407.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1112), 4372.

S. 8268—To amend the act of Congress of Feb. 17, 1911, entitled "An act providing for the purchase or erection, within certain limits of cost, of embassy, legation, and consular buildings abroad."
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Foreign Relations, 3407.

S. 8269—Granting an increase of pension to Chauncy A. Cronk.
Mr. O'Gorman; Committee on Pensions, 3407.

S. 8270—Granting an increase of pension to Clifford A. Lewis.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Pensions, 3480.

S. 8271—For the protection, regulation, and conservation of the fisheries of Alaska, and for other purposes.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Fisheries, 3480.

S. 8272—To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to prorate tribal funds of Indians.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Indian Affairs, 3480.

S. 8273—Releasing the claim of the United States Government to the block or square of land in the city of Fort Smith, in the State of Arkansas, upon which is situated the old Federal jail, to the State of Arkansas for a site for an armory and training camp of the Arkansas National Guard.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Public Lands, 3480.

S. 8274—To prohibit interstate and foreign commerce in certain products of female labor, and for other purposes.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 3480.

S. 8275—To carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of W. W. Busby, administrator of the estate of Evelina V. Busby, deceased, against the United States.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Claims, 3480.

S. 8276—Providing for judicial practice in the Bureau of Indian Affairs.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Indian Affairs, 3578.

S. 8277—Providing for qualifications of special examiner in the Bureau of Indian Affairs.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Indian Affairs, 3579.

S. 8278—Granting an increase of pension to Carrie Burns.
Mr. Chilton; Committee on Pensions, 3579.

S. 8279—Granting an increase of pension to John S. Kenney.
Mr. Chilton; Committee on Pensions, 3579.

S. 8280—Granting a pension to Caroline A. Davis.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 3579.

S. 8281—To carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of Arthur E. Colgate, administrator of the estate of Clinton G. Colgate, deceased.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Claims, 3660.

S. 8282—To change the name of the Mukuntuweap National Monument, in the State of Utah, to Little Zion National Park.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public Lands, 3660.

S. 8283—For the relief of Samuel W. Morrison.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Claims, 3660.

S. 8284—Granting a pension to Mary C. Thompson.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 3660.

S. 8285—Granting an increase of pension to James K. P. Wilson.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 3660.

S. 8286—Granting an increase of pension to William B. Gray.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Pensions, 3660.

S. 8287—To establish aids to navigation at Fond du Lac Harbor, Wis.
Mr. Husting; Committee on Commerce, 3660.

S. 8288—Granting an increase of pension to Emily E. Fowler.
Mr. Husting; Committee on Pensions, 3660.

S. 8289—Granting an increase of pension to Ferdinand Fetter.
Mr. Husting; Committee on Pensions, 3660.

S. 8290—Granting an increase of pension to Maberry M. Lacey.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 3660.

S. 8291—Granting an increase of pension to John A. Markley.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Pensions, 3660.

S. 8292—To authorize sale of certain lands in Alabama to the heirs at law of Thomas Tumlin, deceased.
Mr. Underwood; Committee on Public Lands, 3660.

S. 8293—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Ella Walton.
Mr. Chilton; Committee on Pensions, 3660.

S. 8294—For the retirement of employees in the classified civil service.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment, 3660.

S. 8295—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors.
Mr. Johnson of Maine, from the Committee on Pensions (S. Rept. 1089), as substitute for certain bills referred to that committee, 3659.—Passed Senate, 3659, 3660.—Referred to House Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3782.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1534), 3959.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 4052–4056.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 4271.—Examined and signed, 4404, 4469.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 211], 4990.

S. 8296—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Regular Army and Navy and of wars other than the Civil War, and to certain widows and dependent relatives of such soldiers and sailors.
Mr. Johnson of Maine, from the Committee on Pensions (S. Rept. 1090), as substitute for certain bills referred to that committee, 3660.—Passed Senate, 3660.—Referred to House Committee on Pensions, 3782.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1532), 3958.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 4059–4061.—Senate disagrees to House amendments and agrees to a conference, 4271.—House insists on its amendments and asks for a conference, 4063.—Conference appointed, 4063, 4271.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate; Senate further insists on its amendments and agrees to a further conference, 4377.—Conference report (No. 1612) made and agreed to in House; House further disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a further conference, 4709.—Second conference appointed, 4377, 4709.—Second conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 4782.—Second conference report (No. 1632) made and agreed to in House, 4956.—Examined and signed, 4912, 4975.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 220], 4990.

S. 8297—For the relief of Alfred B. Andrews.
Mr. Clapp; Committee on Claims, 3861.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1105), 3964.

S. 8298—To provide that noncommissioned officers and enlisted men of the United States Army on the retired list who had creditable Civil War service shall receive the rank or rating and the pay of the next higher enlisted grade.
Mr. du Pont; Committee on Military Affairs, 3861.

S. 8299—For a public building at Mission, Tex.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3861.

S. 8300—To authorize the change of name of the steamer Fred G. Hartwell to Harry W. Croft.
Mr. Harding; Committee on Commerce, 3861.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1131); passed Senate, 4568.—Debated and passed House, 4957.—Examined and signed, 4912, 4975.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 398], 4990.

S. 8301—To authorize the change of name of the steamer Harry A. Berwind to Harvey H. Brown.
Mr. Harding; Committee on Commerce, 3861.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1132); passed Senate, 4567, 4568.—Passed House, 4957.—Examined and signed, 4912, 4975.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 399], 4990.

S. 8302—To conserve the food supply of the United States and to protect the people from extortionate prices by temporarily prohibiting the export of farm products, fish, game, and manufactured foodstuffs.
Mr. Martine of New Jersey; Committee on Foreign Relations, 3962.—Debated, 3962.

S. 8303—Granting an increase of pension to James R. Rundlett.
Mr. La Follette; Committee on Pensions, 3964.

S. 8304—Granting an increase of pension to Nathan H. Ellis.
Mr. La Follette; Committee on Pensions, 3964.

S. 8305—For the relief of Laurin W. Rolfe.
Mr. Hollis; Committee on Claims, 3964.

S. 8306—Excepting certain classes of manufacturers and dealers from the operation of the provisions of section 5 of the bill (H. R. 19410) making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 3964.

S. 8307—Authorizing the granting of patent to certain lands adjacent to the agricultural experimental station at Scottsbluff, Nebr., to the regents of the University of the State of Nebraska for dry-land agricultural experimental purposes.
Mr. Norris; Committee on Public Lands, 4068.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1111); debated and passed Senate, 4373.—Passed House, 4710.—Examined and signed, 4743, 4855.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 384], 4990.

S. 8308—To appoint Henry F. Grimm, jr., an ensign on the active list of the United States Navy.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Naval Affairs, 4068.

S. 8309—For the relief of the legal representatives of Samuel Schiffer, deceased.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Claims, 4068.

S. 8310—To provide compensation for employees of the United States separated from the service on account of injuries received while in the performance of duty, and for other purposes.
Mr. Jones; Committee on the Judiciary, 4068.

S. 8311—Granting an increase of pension to John Zellers.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Pensions, 4068.

S. 8312—To grant a right of way to the Southern Pacific Railroad Co. across the military reservation of San Pedro, Cal.
Mr. Works; Committee on Military Affairs, 4068.

S. 8313—To provide for the erection of a public building at De Funiak Springs, Fla.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 4068.

S. 8314—Authorizing the President of the United States to use the land and naval forces for the protection of the commerce, property, and lives of the citizens of the United States.
Mr. Fall; Committee on Foreign Relations, 4095.—Debated, 4094–4096.

S. 8315—Relative to the appointment of brigadier generals to the grade of major general on the retired list of the Army.
Mr. Lee of Maryland; Committee on Military Affairs, 4068.

S. 8316—Granting a pension to Edith Blankart Funston, widow of the late Maj. Gen. Frederick Funston.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 4270.—Reported back; passed Senate, 4373.—Referred to House Committee on Pensions, 4635.—Committee discharged; debated and passed House, 4954, 5021 (Appendix, 742).—Examined and signed, 4990, 5032.—Approved by the President [Private, No. 221], 4990.

S. 8317—To authorize the Legislature of Alaska to establish and maintain schools, and for other purposes.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Territories, 4374.—Reported back; passed Senate, 4507, 4508.—Passed House, 4786.—Examined and signed, 4743, 4855.—Approved by the President [Public, No. 385], 4990.

S. 8318—To promote the safety of employees and travelers on railroads by compelling common carriers engaged in interstate commerce to equip their cars with automatic, adjustable fire extinguishers, and for other purposes.
Mr. Ransdell; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 4374.

S. 8319—For the relief of Joseph A. Choate.
Mr. Bankhead; Committee on Military Affairs, 4374.

S. 8320.—To authorize the issue of a patent to certain land in Alabama to William M. Wilson.
Mr. Bankhead; Committee on Public Lands, 4374.

S. 8321—Granting a pension to Richard A. Norris.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Pensions, 4374.

S. 8322—Authorizing the President of the United States to supply merchant ships, the property of citizens of the United States and bearing the registry of the United States, with defensive arms, and for other purposes.
Mr. Stone; Read the first time, 4399.—Read the second time and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, 4566.—Reported without amendment, 4566.—Debated, 4399, 4400, 4524, 4525, 4565, 4566, 4719, 4720, 4744–4781, 4859, 4860.—See H. R. 21052.

S. 8323—To permit the redistillation of whisky in bond on distillery premises.
Mr. Penrose; Committee on Finance, 4483.

S. 8324—Granting an increase of pension to Leslie C. Davis.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 4483.

S. 8325—Granting an increase of pension to George F. Lasher.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Pensions, 4483.

S. 8326—Creating the National Park of the Cliff Cities.
Mr. Catron; Committee on Public Lands, 4568.

S. 8327—Granting to the Lincoln Highway Association, incorporated under the laws of the State of Michigan, a right of way through certain public lands of the United States.
Mr. Smoot; Committee on Public Lands, 4719.

S. 8328—To create a Legislative Drafting Service and a Joint Committee on Legislative Drafting.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on the Judiciary, 4719.

S. 8329—For providing a system of national defense based upon universal liability to military training and service, and for other purposes.
Mr. Watson; Committee on Military Affairs, 4719.

S. 8330—To provide Federal aid to the States in the promotion of education.
Mr. Hollis; Committee on Education and Labor, 4719.

S. 8331—For the relief of the heirs of Joseph Sierra, deceased.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Claims, 4719.

S. 8332—Granting an increase of pension to Ruth S. Gleaves.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 4864.

S. 8333—Granting an increase of pension to Loreta Blevins.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Pensions, 4864.

S. 8334—Granting a pension to Hiram Marshall.
Mr. Chilton; Committee on Pensions, 4986.

43—185 SENATE JOINT RESOLUTIONS.

S. J. Res. 43—Authorizing and directing the Department of Labor to make an inquiry into the cost of living in the District of Columbia and to report thereon to Congress as early as practicable.
Mr. Kenyon; indefinitely postponed (see H. J. Res. 91), 374.

S. J. Res. 50—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to sell the coal deposits in and under certain public lands to the Republic Coal Co., a corporation.
Mr. Myers; debated in House, 504, 1433, 1434, 3642–3647.—Amended and passed House, 3647.—Senate disagrees to House amendments and asks for a conference, 3663, 3664.—House insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 3808.—Conference appointed, 3663, 3808.—Conference report made and debated in Senate, 4376, 4377, 4719, 4779, 4780, 4987, 4988.

S. J. Res. 55—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Sheppard; reported with amendments, 669.

S. J. Res. 93—Authorizing the erection on the public grounds in the city of Washington, D. C., of a statue of James Buchanan, a former President of the United States.
Mr. Lee of Maryland; indefinitely postponed (see H. J. Res. 145), 490.

S. J. Res. 99—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to grant the free use, for military drill, of rifles to duly accredited camps of the Sons of Veterans Reserve.
Mr. Harding; amended and passed Senate, 1973.—Referred to House Committee on Military Affairs, 2066.

S. J. Res. 107—Authorizing and directing the Director of the Census to collect and publish statistics of marriage and divorce.
Mr. Sheppard; reported back (H. Rept. 1214), 198.—Debated, 2647, 2648.

S. J. Res. 114—Withholding from allotment the unallotted lands or public domain of the Creek Nation or Tribe of Indians, and providing for the sale thereof, and for other purposes.
Mr. Owen; debated in House, 2632, 2633.

S. J. Res. 125—To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to accept assignment of patent for improvements in the manufacture of gasoline, and for other purposes.
Mr. James; debated, amended, and passed House, 4936–4939.

S. J. Res. 157—Giving authority to the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to make special regulations for the occasion of the reunion of the Confederate Veterans' Association, to be held in the District of Columbia in the year 1917, and for other purposes incident to said encampment.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; reported back, debated, and passed Senate, 2610, 2611.—Debated and passed House, 3430, 3503, 3504.—Examined and signed, 3651, 3737.—Approved by the President [Public resolution, No. 50], 4271.

S. J. Res. 175—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for the election of the President and the Vice President of the United States.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Privileges and Elections, 15.

S. J. Res. 176—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution providing that the President and Vice President shall be elected by direct vote of the people.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on the Judiciary, 15.

S. J. Res. 177—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for the election of President and Vice President without the intervention of the electoral college, establishing their term of office at six years from the third Tuesday of January following their election, and fixing the time when the terms of Senators and Representatives shall begin.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on the Judiciary, 15.—Debated, 899, 990–992.

S. J. Res. 178—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to extend the time for payment of the deferred installments due on the purchase of tracts of the surface of the segregated coal and asphalt lands of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Tribes in Oklahoma.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Indian Affairs, 15.—Reported back (S. Rept. 888), 580.—Indefinitely postponed (see H. J. Res. 306), 670, 671.

S. J. Res. 179—Relative to the placing of an embargo on food products.
Mr. Martine of New Jersey; Committee on Foreign Relations, 15.

S. J. Res. 180—Relative to the disposition of lands of the Blackfeet Reservation under the act of Mar. 1, 1907.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Indian Affairs, 82.

S. J. Res. 181—Directing the Attorney General of the United States to submit to the Supreme Court all information available bearing upon the validity of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Vardaman; Committee on the Judiciary, 152.

S. J. Res. 182—Authorizing an exhibition of the various activities of the Government service.
Mr. Saulsbury; Committee on Industrial Expositions, 205.—Reported back, 940.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 1666, 1667, 1732.—Referred to the House Committee on Industrial Arts and Expositions, 2066.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1364), 2145.

S. J. Res. 183—Proposing an amendment to section 7, Article I, of the Constitution of the United States relative to the Executive veto of bills passed by Congress.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on the Judiciary, 317.

S. J. Res. 184—To authorize the Secretary of State to enter into negotiations with the Republic of Chile for the purpose of entering into a convention for the settlement of all claims owned by citizens of the United States against the Republic of Chile and by citizens of the Republic of Chile against the United States of America.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Foreign Relations, 366.

S. J. Res. 185—Restricting the right to vote for Senators and Representatives in Congress and presidential electors to citizens of the United States.
Mr. Gore; Committee on the Judiciary, 421.

S. J. Res. 186—Authorizing the Secretary of War to issue temporary permits for additional diversions of water from the Niagara River.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Foreign Relations, 532.—Reported back (S. Rept. 886), 583.—Debated and passed Senate, 583–586.—Debated in House, 689–705, 836–841 [Appendix 103, 104, 109, 116].—Amended and passed House, 840, 841.—Senate disagrees to House amendment and asks for a conference, 899.—House insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 1043.—Conference appointed, 899, 1043.—Conference report (No. 1315) made in House, 1578, 1610.—Conference report debated and agreed to in House, 1610–1614.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 1585, 1586.—Examined and signed, 1660, 1684.—Approved by the President [Public resolution No. 45], 1732.

S. J. Res. 187—Providing for the filling of a vacancy in the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, in the class other than Members of Congress.
Mr. Lodge; passed Senate, 591, 592.—Passed House, 1043.—Examined and signed, 1147, 1160.—Approved by the President [Public resolution No. 43], 1479.

S. J. Res. 188—Providing for an appraisement of lands in Osage County, Okla., owned by Osage Indians as allottees or as heirs of tribal members.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Indian Affairs, 586.

S. J. Res. 189—Authorizing the Postmaster General to provide the postmaster at Lamar, Colo., with a special canceling die for the third national convention of the Young Men's Business Associations of America.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 828.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1120), 4372.

S. J. Res. 190—To continue and extend the time for making report of the joint subcommittee appointed under a joint resolution entitled "Joint resolution creating a joint subcommittee from the membership of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce and the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce to investigate the conditions relating to interstate and foreign commerce and the necessity of further legislation relating thereto, and defining the powers and duties of such subcommittee," approved July 20, 1916, and providing for the filling of vacancies in said subcommittee.
Mr. Newlands; Committee on Interstate Commerce, 898.—Reported back, debated, and passed Senate, 898, 899.—Referred to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 984.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1269), 1088.—Debated, 1013, 1014, 1084–1093 (Appendix, 498).—Passed House, 1093.—Examined and signed, 1147, 1160.—Approved by the President [Public resolution, No. 44], 1479.

S. J. Res. 191—Authorizing the Postmaster General to provide the postmaster at St. Paul, Minn., with a special canceling die for the Winter Sports Carnival of that city.
Mr. Clapp; passed Senate, 940, 941.—Referred to House Committee on Post Office and Post Roads, 1014.

S. J. Res. 192—Requesting the Secretary of State to invite certain foreign governments to join with the Government of the United States in a movement to prevent the extermination of whales and walrus on the high seas.
Mr. Lane; Committee on Fisheries, 989.

S. J. Res. 193—Forbidding Federal judges to declare any act of Congress unconstitutional and providing penalties therefor.
Mr. Owen, and ordered to lie on the table, 989.—Debated, 1068.

S. J. Res. 194—Providing for the filling of a vacancy which will occur March 1, 1917, in the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, of the class other than Members of Congress.
Mr. Stone; passed Senate, 1108.—Passed House, 1517.—Examined and signed, 1660, 1684.—Approved by the President [Public resolution, No. 46], 1732.

S. J. Res. 195—Forbidding Federal judges to declare any act of Congress unconstitutional and providing penalties therefor.
Mr. Owen, and ordered to lie on the table, 1164.—Debated, 1255–1261.

S. J. Res. 196—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, giving to Congress the power to extend the right of suffrage to residents of the District of Columbia.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on the Judiciary, 1249.

S. J. Res. 197—Authorizing the erection of a memorial to Francis Marion in the city of Washington, D. C., on a designated site.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on the Library, 1322.

S. J. Res. 198—Providing for the confirmation of the agreements between the States of South Dakota, Montana, and Idaho and the United States relating to the selection of lieu or indemnity lands.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Public Lands, 1383.—Reported back (S. Rept. 945), 1584.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 1584.—Referred to House Committee on Public Lands, 2356.

S. J. Res. 199—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on the Judiciary, 1664.

S. J. Res. 200—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Poindexter; Committee on the Judiciary, 1664.

S. J. Res. 201—Requesting the President of the United States to designate and appoint a day on which funds may be raised for the relief of the Ruthenians (Ukrainians).
Mr. Hughes; Committee on Foreign Relations, 1940.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1013); passed Senate, 2751, 2752.—Debated and passed House, 3909 (Appendix, 522).—Examined and signed, 4004, 4067.—Approved by the President [Public resolution, No. 52], 4719.

S. J. Res. 202—To enable the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives to pay the necessary expenses of the inaugural ceremonies of the President of the United States on Mar. 5, 1917.
Mr. Overman; debated and passed Senate, 2027–2029.—Passed House, 2127.—Examined and signed, 2295, 2381.—Approved by the President [Public resolution, No. 47], 2752.

S. J. Res. 203—To provide for the maintenance of public order and the protection of life and property in connection with the presidential inaugural ceremonies in 1917.
Mr. Smith of Maryland; Committee on Appropriations, 2027.—Reported back; passed Senate, 2164, 2219.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 2408, 2409.—Senate concurs in House amendments, 2465.—Examined and signed, 2536, 2543.—Approved by the President [Public resolution, No. 48], 2752.

S. J. Res. 204—To create a joint committee from the Senate and House to sit to consider Alaska needs and legislation.
Mr. Pittman; Committee on Territories, 2160.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1014), 2821.—Debated, 2821, 2822.

S. J. Res. 205—Authorizing the removal of the statue of Admiral Dupont in Dupont Circle, in the city of Washington, D. C., and the erection of a memorial to Admiral Dupont in place thereof.
Mr. Williams; Committee on the Library, 2160.—Reported back, 2299.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 2299–2301, 3088.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 3423, 3430.—Senate concurs in House amendment, 3571.—Examined and signed, 3651, 3737.—Approved by the President [Public resolution, No. 51], 4271.

S. J. Res. 206—Extending until Jan. 8, 1918, the effective date of section 10 of the act entitled "An act to supplement existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies, and for other purposes," approved Oct. 15, 1914.
Mr. Overman; Committee on the Judiciary, 2566.—Reported back, debated, and passed Senate, 3861.—Debated and passed House, 4031, 4710, 4711, 4951–4953.—Examined and signed, 4912, 4975.—Approved by the President [Public resolution, No. 55], 4990.

S. J. Res. 207.—Amending Article V of the Constitution of the United States by providing that, to be effective, amendments to the Constitution shall be ratified within six years.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on the Judiciary, 2614.

S. J. Res. 208—To grant citizenship to Joseph Beech.
Mr. Smith of South Carolina; Committee on Immigration, 2752.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1037); passed Senate, 3062.—Debated and passed House, 3430, 3431.—Examined and signed, 3541, 3571.—Approved by the President [Private resolution, No. 5], 4271.

S. J. Res. 209—Authorizing the Secretary of War to loan equipment, for the purpose of instruction and training, to the National Service School, of Washington, D. C.
Mr. Chamberlain; Committee on Military Affairs, 2824.

S. J. Res. 210—Authorizing the temporary employment of additional policemen for the Capitol Building and Grounds and the Senate and House Office Buildings.
Mr. Overman, from the Committee on Rules; passed Senate, 2982.

S. J. Res. 211—Making it unlawful for armed merchant vessels of the United States in time of peace to depart ports of the United States for foreign countries.
Mr. La Follette, and ordered to lie on the table, 3064.

S. J. Res. 212—Authorizing the Postmaster General to provide the postmaster at Wichita, Kans., with a special canceling die for the fall carnival and exposition of that city.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 3184.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1121), 4372.

S. J. Res. 213—To authorize and provide for a joint assembly and meeting of representatives of the parliaments and national legislative bodies of the nations of the world in the United States, and to extend an invitation to said parliaments and legislative bodies, and for other purposes.
Mr. Robinson; Committee on Foreign Relations, 3254.

S. J. Res. 214—Waiving age limit in case of Blair Wilson for admission to the United States Army as a second lieutenant.
Mr. Swanson; Committee on Military Affairs, 3407.

S. J. Res. 215—To grant citizenship to Henry E. Dosker.
Mr. Beckham; Committee on Immigration, 3579.—Reported back and passed Senate, 3658.

S. J. Res. 216—Providing for an investigation into the cause of the rise in prices of foodstuffs and furnishing relief for those who are in need.
Mr. Borah; ordered to lie on the table, 4270.—Committee on Appropriations, 4375.

S. J. Res. 217—Relating to the constitutionality of acts of Congress.
Mr. Owen; Committee on the Judiciary, 4270.

S. J. Res. 218—Extending the time within which the "Joint resolution authorizing the Secretary of War to issue temporary permits for additional diversions of water from the Niagara River" shall remain in effect.
Mr. Wadsworth; ordered to lie the table, 4374.—Committee on Foreign Relations, 4481.—Reported back, 4566.—Debated, 4374, 4375, 4398, 4399, 4479–4481, 4566, 4782.

S. J. Res. 219—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to suspend action upon applications for patents to withdrawn oil or gas lands in connection with which agreements have been or may be made under the act of Congress approved August 25, 1914.
Mr. Clark; Committee on Public Lands, 4374.—Reported back, debated, and report withdrawn, 4718.

S. J. Res. 220—Relating to the constitutionality of acts of Congress.
Mr. Owen; Committee on the Judiciary, 4719.

S. J. Res. 221.—Authorizing the President to use colliers and transports of the United States for the importation of Chilean nitrate of soda for agricultural purposes.
Mr. Shields; Committee on Commerce, 4719.

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTIONS.

S. Con. Res. 24—Accepting from the State of North Carolina the statue of Zebulon Baird Vance and tendering the thanks of Congress for the contribution.
Mr. Overman; debated in House (Appendix, 846).

S. Con. Res. 27—Providing for the appointment of a joint committee and authorizing such committee to make the necessary arrangements for the inauguration of the President of the United States, Mar. 5, 1917.
Mr. Overman; considered and agreed to, 40.—Agreed to in House, 102.

S. Con. Res. 28—To print the report of the Federal Trade Commission entitled "Cooperation in American Export Trade."
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Printing, 532.

S. Con. Res. 29—Expressing the appreciation of the Government and people of the United States of the erection by the people of Thorold, Ontario, Canada, of a monument to certain soldiers of the United States in the War of 1812.
Mr. Williams; Committee on Foreign Relations, 670.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1016) and agreed to, 2821.

S. Con. Res. 30—Directing the method of counting the electoral votes for President and Vice President of the United States and declaring the result.
Mr. Kern; considered and agreed to, 1879.—Agreed to in House, 2127, 2128.

S. Con. Res. 31—Authorizing the Bureau of Efficiency to examine the instances of overlapping and duplications in the work of the Federal Government departments and to report thereon with recommendations to Congress.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Appropriations, 2982.

S. Con. Res. 32—To authorize payment of the expenses incurred by the committees in arranging for and attending the funeral of the late Admiral George Dewey.
Mr. Lea of Tennessee; considered and agreed to, 3579.—Agreed to in House, 3783.

S. Con. Res. 33—For the printing of additional volumes of the "Federal Antitrust Decisions" in bringing it down to June 30, 1917.
Mr. Culberson; Committee on Printing, 4270.

S. Con. Res. 34—To authorize and direct the Secretary of the Senate, in the enrollment of the bill (S. 135) "An act for the restoration of annuities to the Medawakanton and Wahpakoota (Santee) Sioux Indians," to make certain corrections in the wording.
Mr. Clapp; considered and agreed to, 4605.—Agreed to in House, 4845.

SENATE RESOLUTIONS.

S. Res. 43—For the appointment of a committee to investigate and inquire into the causes of the existing freight blockade and embargoes on the trunk-line railroads entering into the port of New York.
Mr. Walsh; transferred to the calendar under Rule 9, 377.

S. Res. 77—Authorizing the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate to employ an additional assistant clerk.
Mr. Lea of Tennessee; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1139); amended and agreed to, 4781.

S. Res. 94—Authorizing and instructing the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry of the Senate to investigate what companies and corporations are engaged in the importation of sisal and manila hemp, etc.
Mr. Ransdell; reported back (S. Rept. 919), 1067, 1165.—Debated, 1165, 1246, 1247.—Indefinitely postponed, 2678.

S. Res. 167—To authorize the Sergeant at Arms to place Samuel R. Smith, formerly employed by the Senate, on the roll of the Senate at the salary he was receiving at the date he received his injuries.
Mr. Kern; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 1140); amended and agreed to, 4781.

S. Res. 168—Requesting the Attorney General to examine into the facts concerning the illegal killing of seals, etc.
Mr. Smith of Michigan (see S. Doc. No. 726), 4481.

S. Res. 195—To amend the standing rules of the Senate relative to closing debate in the Senate.
Mr. Smith of Georgia; debated, 17, 18.

S. Res. 210—To print the manuscript entitled "Command of the Air" as a Senate document.
Mr. Page, from Committee on Printing; considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 687), 1967.

S. Res. 278—Notifying the House of Representatives that a quorum of the Senate is assembled and ready for business.
Mr. Kern; considered and agreed to, 1.

S. Res. 279—Notifying the President that Congress is assembled and ready to receive any communication he may be pleased to make.
Mr. Kern; considered and agreed to, 1.

S. Res. 280—Fixing the hour of daily meeting of the Senate.
Mr. Kern; considered and agreed to, 1.

S. Res. 281—Announcing the death of the Hon. James P. Clarke, late a Senator from the State of Arkansas, and providing for the adjournment of the Senate as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased.
Mr. Robinson; considered and agreed to, 2.

S. Res. 282—To authorize the Secretary of the Senate to pay Sarah Frances Meakin, widow of John P. Meakin, late an employee on the maintenance roll of the Senate Office Building, a sum equal to six months' salary, etc.
Mr. Smoot; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 15.—Reported with an amendment; considered, amended, and agreed to, 17.

S. Res. 283—To authorize the appointment of a page boy for service in the office of the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate.
Mr. Smith of Georgia; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 15.

S. Res. 284—To print 13,500 additional copies of Senate Document No. 500, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session, entitled "The Federal Farm Loan Act," for the use of the Senate document room.
Mr. Fletcher; considered and agreed to, 15.

S. Res. 285—Announcing the death of the Hon. Samuel J. Tribble, late a Representative from the State of Georgia, providing for appointment of committee to attend the funeral and for adjournment out of respect to the memory of deceased.
Mr. Hardwick; considered and agreed to, 146.

S. Res. 286—To authorize the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate to appoint a superintendent of the folding room.
Mr. Robinson; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 152.—Reported back, 1248.—Agreed to, 2678.

S. Res. 287—Authorizing the Secretary of the Senate to pay the funeral expenses, incurred by the Senate committee, of the late James P. Clarke of the State of Arkansas.
Mr. Robinson; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 205.—Reported back and agreed to, 252.

S. Res. 288—Authorizing the Secretary of the Senate to inform the President of the United States that the Hon. Willard Saulsbury has been elected President of the Senate pro tempore.
Mr. Kern; considered and agreed to, 320.

S. Res. 289—Authorizing the Secretary of the Senate to notify the House of Representatives that the Hon. Willard Saulsbury has been elected President of the Senate pro tempore.
Mr. Kern; considered and agreed to, 320.

S. Res. 290—Requesting the Committee on Printing to investigate the subject and to report to Congress within 30 days from the passage of this resolution as to what bulletins and publications issued by the Government may be suspended, temporarily at least, and as to what economies may be practiced in the use of print paper by the Government in the various departments.
Mr. Kenyon; considered and agreed to, 366.

S. Res. 291—Directing the Secretary of War to inform the Senate to what extent Army officers and employees are permitted to purchase food supplies.
Mr. Gallinger; considered and agreed to, 366.

S. Res. 292—Directing the Secretary of the Navy to inform the Senate to what extent naval officers and employees are permitted to purchase food supplies.
Mr. Gallinger; considered and agreed to, 366.

S. Res. 293—To print the manuscript entitled "Address of Robert R. Prentis," president National Association of Railway Commissioners, as a Senate document.
Mr. Chilton; considered and agreed to (S. Doc. 639), 421.

S. Res. 294—Directing the Secretary of the Navy to send to the Senate reports made in 1916 on submarines, including the report on the explosion in the submarine E-2.
Mr. Brandegee; considered and agreed to, 421, 422.

S. Res. 295—To print the hearings before the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry entitled "Cotton-Futures Amendment," as a Senate document.
Mr. Gore; Committee on Printing, 422.—Reported back, debated, and agreed to (S. Doc. 648), 669.

S. Res. 296—Indorsing and approving the action of the President in sending diplomatic notes under date of Dec. 18, to the nations now engaged in war.
Mr. Hitchcock; Committee on Foreign Relations, 635.—Debated, 635, 636.

S. Res. 297—Transferring certain papers relating to the death of Gen. Washington from the files of the Senate to the custody of the Librarian of Congress.
Mr. Williams; Committee on the Library, 635.—Reported back and agreed to, 2611.

S. Res. 298—Indorsing the action of the President in sending diplomatic notes under date of Dec. 18, to the nations now engaged in war.
Mr. Hitchcock; ordered to lie over under the rule, 668.—Debated, 736–739, 791–797, 830–836, 863, 883–897.—Amended and agreed to, 896, 897.

S. Res. 299—To print the manuscript entitled "Safety at Sea," by Capt. Armistead Rust, United States Navy, as a Senate document.
Mr. Chilton, from Committee on Printing; ordered to be placed on the calendar, 669.—Considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 658), 789.

S. Res. 300—Directing the Secretary of State to ascertain from the Republic of Cuba information relative to certain bonds purporting to have been issued by the State of North Carolina in 1868, and upon which the Republic of Cuba has moved in the United States Supreme Court to institute an action of debt against said State.
Mr. Overman; order to lie over under the rule, 733.—Debated, 733–736, 941–948, 1250.

S. Res. 301—Directing the Attorney General to furnish to the Senate a statement of the annual cost of the office of superintendent of prisons, his assistants, examiners, clerks, and of the pardon clerk force in his office, together with the name of each person connected with the offices of superintendent of prisons and pardon clerk.
Mr. Smith of Georgia; considered and agreed to, 732.

S. Res. 302—Authorizing the Secretary of the Senate to pay to Ella M. Jones, widow of Frank G. Jones, late a private of the police force of the Senate Office Building, a sum equal to one year's salary at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death.
Mr. Kern; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 732.—Reported with an amendment, 1163.—Debated, amended, and agreed to, 1163, 1324.

S. Res. 303—Relative to the restoration of peace among certain nations at war in Europe.
Mr. Newlands; ordered to lie on the table, 738, 739.—Debated, 737, 738, 739.

S. Res. 304—To print the manuscript entitled "Absentee Voting" as a Senate document.
Mr. Chilton, from Committee on Printing, considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 659), 733, 789.

S. Res. 305—Authorizing and requesting the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry to hear and consider testimony relative to the garden city and garden suburb movement.
Mr. Sheppard: Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 791.

S. Res. 306—To amend certain rules of the Senate relative to executive sessions.
Mr. Cummins; Committee on Rules, 732, 828.—Debated (S. Doc. No. 652), 828, 829.

S. Res. 307—Of inquiry calling on the Secretary of the Interior to furnish the Senate with certain information relative to the General Educational Board of the Rockefeller Foundation, the Carnegie Foundation, and the Bureau of Education.
Mr. Chamberlain; considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 684), 863, 1660, 2044, 2045.

S. Res. 308—To print 13,500 additional copies of Senate Document No. 500, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session, entitled "Federal Farm Loan Act," for the use of the Senate document room.
Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Printing, 989.—Reported without amendment, considered, and agreed to, 1107.

S. Res. 309—Requesting the Court of Claims to report to the Senate what facts have been found in case of Charles F. Winton, and others against Jack Amos, and also what facts are still in controversy.
Mr. Ashurst; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1068.—Reported back (S. Rept. 916), debated, and agreed to, 1106, 1107.

S. Res. 310—Authorizing Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment to employ additional clerk.
Mr. Pomerene; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 1068.—Reported back, debated, and agreed to, 1248.

S. Res. 311—To print the manuscript entitled "Uniform Land Registration Act" as a Senate document.
Mr. Chilton, from Committee on Printing, considered and agreed to (S. Doc. 675), 1107.

S. Res. 312—To print the manuscript entitled "Report of the South Carolina Boll Weevil Commission, Bulletin No. 20, Clemson Agricultural College of South Carolina," as a Senate document.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Printing, 1108, 1109.—Reported with an amendment, considered, amended, and agreed to, 2301, 2302.—Reconsidered, amended, considered, and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 701), 2465.

S. Res. 313—Declaring the sense of the Senate as to the day and the hour when the present session of Congress shall terminate.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on the Judiciary, 1164.

S. Res. 314.—Directing the Secretary of the Navy to send to the Senate the scores made by the Atlantic Battleship Fleet in certain target practice for the years 1914, 1915, and 1916.
Mr. Lodge; considered and agreed to, 1164.

S. Res. 315—Directing the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections to investigate the existing conditions and recommend a measure or method whereby the decisions of the Supreme Court may be enforced in the several States in the election of presidential electors and Representatives in Congress.
Mr. Sherman; ordered to lie over under the rule, 1253.—Debated, 1253–1261.

S. Res. 316—Expressing the sense of the Senate relative to any legislation placing an embargo on the exportation of food products.
Mr. McCumber; ordered to lie on the table and to be printed, 1323, 1324.—Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, 1592.—Debated, 1586–1592.

S. Res. 317—To pay the sons of Patrick J. Flynn, late an employee in the Senate Office Building, a sum equal to six months' salary at the rate he was receiving at the time of his death.
Mr. Hollis; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 1324.—Reported back and agreed to, 2822.

S. Res. 318—Expressing the sense of the Senate relative to the construction of certain halls in the memorial building, commonly known as the Red Cross Building, for the free use of the women of the Civil War and other kindred organizations.
Mr. Cummins; considered and agreed to, 1383, 1384.

S. Res. 319—To authorize the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, or subcommittee thereof, to employ a stenographer.
Mr. Swanson; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 1384.—Reported back and agreed to, 3184.

S. Res. 320—Directing the Secretary of State to report to the Senate what persons have been appointed or designated, without confirmation, to represent the Government or the President in any other country, etc.
Mr. Works; Committee on Foreign Relations, 1523.—Debated, 1523.

S. Res. 321—Relative to the death of Admiral of the Navy George Dewey and for the appointment of a committee to take order for his funeral.
Mr. Tillman; considered and agreed to, 1548.

S. Res. 322.—To appoint a committee to investigate and ascertain the Senator or officer of the Senate who may have violated the rules of the Senate during the time when confirmation of Winthrop M. Daniels was under consideration in executive session of the Senate.
Mr. Norris; ordered to lie over under the rule, 1585.—Debated, 1585, 1663, 1664–1666.—Indefinitely postponed, 1664–1666.

S. Res. 323—To provide for appointment of a committee of 12 Members of the Senate, to join the committee of the House to attend the funeral services of Admiral George Dewey at Arlington, Va., and authorizing the Sergeant at Arms to take such steps as are necessary in arranging therefor.
Mr. Tillman; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 1593.—Reported back and agreed to, 1593, 1594

S. Res. 324—Requesting the Interstate Commerce Commission to supply the Senate with a list of complaints made by American shippers against discriminations practiced by belligerent carriers.
Mr. Phelan: ordered to lie on the table, 1585.

S. Res. 325—That the Secretary of State transmit to the Senate the report of the International Commission pertaining to the St. John River.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; considered and agreed to, 1731.

S. Res. 326—Fixing a time for consideration by the Senate of the message delivered by the President of the United States before the Senate on Jan. 22, 1917, and limiting discussion thereon.
Mr. Cummins; ordered to lie over under the rule, 1807.—Considered and placed on the Calendar, 1887.—Debated, 1807, 1879–1887, 2230–2239.

S. Res. 327—Pensions to commissioned officers, etc., United States Army, etc.
Mr. Johnson of Maine; Committee on Printing, 1807.—Reported back and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 702), 2463.

S. Res. 328—To amend paragraph 2 of Rule XXXVIII of the Rules of the Senate, relating to executive sessions—proceedings on nominations.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Rules, 1731, 1807, 1879.

S. Res. 329—Expressing the sense of the Senate and reaffirming its faith and confidence in the policies commonly known as the Monroe Doctrine.
Mr. Borah; ordered to lie on the table, 1950.

S. Res. 330—Authorizing the Vice President to appoint a committee of five Senators to consider what clerical help should be allowed Senators and Senate Committees.
Mr. Jones; considered and agreed to, 2027.

S. Res. 331—Announcing the death of the Hon. David E. Finley, late a Representative from the State of South Carolina, providing for the appointment of a committee to attend the funeral, for adjournment out of respect to the memory of the deceased, etc.
Mr. Tillman; considered and agreed to, 2064, 2065.

S. Res. 332—Construing the meaning and intent of the message of the President of the United States, delivered on Jan. 22, 1917, to the United States Senate relative to international peace.
Mr. Lewis; ordered to lie on the table, 2220.

S. Res. 333—Expressing the sense of the Senate relative to the message of the President of the United States, delivered to the Senate on Jan. 22, 1917.
Mr. McCumber; ordered to lie over under the rule, 2220.—Debated, 2361–2373.

S. Res. 334—Authorizing the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate to transfer the portrait of Joseph Henry from the office of the Sergeant at Arms to the Smithsonian Institution.
Mr. Williams; Committee on the Library, 2220.—Reported back and agreed to, 2611.

S. Res. 335—To print the manuscript entitled "The Peace Problem," as a Senate document.
Mr. Chilton, from Committee on Printing, considered and agreed to (S. Doc. 700), 2301.

S. Res. 336—To print the manuscript entitled "Opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States on the Webb-Kenyon liquor-shipment act," as a Senate document.
Mr. Chilton, from Committee on Printing, considered, amended, and agreed to (S. Doc. 699), 2301.

S. Res. 337—To print the manuscript entitled "Biological and Sociological Aspects of the Woman Question," as a Senate document.
Mr. Chilton, from Committee on Printing, considered and agreed to (S. Doc. 692), 2301.

S. Res. 338—To print the manuscript entitled "Watch-and-Watch at Sea," as a Senate document.
Mr. Chilton, from Committee on Printing, considered and agreed to (S. Doc. 693), 2301.

S. Res. 339—To print the manuscript entitled "History and Scope of Laws Prohibiting Correspondence with a Foreign Government, etc.," as a Senate document.
Mr. Chilton, from Committee on Printing, considered, amended, and agreed to (S. Doc. 696), 2301.

S. Res. 340—To print the pamphlet entitled "The Position of Engineers Toward the Question of Water-Power Development in the West," as a Senate document.
Mr. Chilton, from Committee on Printing, considered, and agreed to (S. Doc. 697), 2301.

S. Res. 341—To print the manuscript "Importance of our South American Trade," as a Senate document.
Mr. Chilton, from Committee on Printing, and agreed to (S. Doc. 698) 2301.

S. Res. 342—To print the manuscript entitled "The Seamen's Act," as a Senate document.
Mr. Chilton, from Committee on Printing, and agreed to (S. Doc. 694), 2301.

S. Res. 343—To print the manuscript entitled "Extracts from the Federalist, the Journals and Debates of Congress, and Other Papers Relating to the Militia" as a Senate document.
Mr. Chilton, from Committee on Printing, and agreed to (S. Doc. 695), 2301.

S. Res. 344—To authorize the Secretary of the Senate to pay to Lolie M. Earle, widow of David M. Earle, late a messenger of the United States Senate, a sum equal to six months' salary at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death.
Mr. Lodge; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 2302.—Reported back and agreed to, 2822.

S. Res. 345—Directing the Attorney General to investigate and report upon buying and selling of contracts on the New York Cotton Exchange.
Mr. Smith of South Carolina; ordered to lie on the table, 2360.—Agreed to, 2464, 2465.

S. Res. 346—That it is the advice of the Senate that the President of the United States should endeavor, after the close of the existing European war, to negotiate with a sufficient number of the sovereign States a treaty open to all nations providing for the establishment and support of an international tribunal, etc.
Mr. Shafroth; Committee on Foreign Relations, 2464.

S. Res. 347—Authorizing the Vice President to appoint tellers on the part of the Senate to count the electoral votes for President and Vice President of the United States.
Mr. Kern, and agreed to, 2464.

S. Res. 348—Directing the Secretary of the Navy to furnish the Senate a statement as to present status of appropriations made on Aug. 29, 1916, authorizing certain naval improvements and the equipment of certain navy yards.
Mr. Tillman, and agreed to, 2553.

S. Res. 349—Requesting the Secretary of State to transmit to the Senate a correct copy of the message from the Imperial Government of Germany advising of its resumption of submarine warfare against neutral and other countries.
Mr. Lewis, and agreed to, 2553, 2604.

S. Res. 350—Directing the Committee on Patents to investigate the needs of the Patent Office.
Mr. Gallinger, and agreed to, 2615.

S. Res. 351—Approving the action taken by the President of the United States in his message delivered before the joint session of the Congress on Feb. 3, 1917, relative to the severance of diplomatic relations with the Imperial German Government.
Mr. Stone; ordered to lie over under the rule, 2614, 2615.—Debated, 2729, 2731–2750.—Agreed to, 2749, 2750.

S. Res. 352—Providing that consideration of the nomination of Passed Asst. Surg. Cary T. Grayson to be medical director in the Navy be in open session of the Senate.
Mr. Poindexter; ordered to lie over under the rule, 2615.—Debated, 2666, 2667.

S. Res. 353—To print the pamphlet entitled "Survey of the Intracoastal Waterway from St. George Sound, Fla., to the Rio Grande" as a Senate document.
Mr. Fletcher, and agreed to (S. Doc. 705), 2821.

S. Res. 354—Requesting the President of the United States to direct the Secretary of State to submit to the Senate the view of the Government upon the limitation of the use of submarines as against belligerent merchant vessels carrying American goods under certain conditions, etc.
Mr. McCumber; ordered to lie over under the rule, 2824.—Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, 2987.—Debated, 2824, 2825, 2984–2987.

S. Res. 355—Requesting the Secretary of the Navy to transmit to the Senate certain reports on prison ships.
Mr. Lodge, and agreed to, 3064.

S. Res. 356—To authorize the Committee on Patents, or any subcommittee thereof, during the Sixty-fourth Congress, to employ a stenographer, etc.
Mr. James; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 3064.—Reported back and agreed to, 3184.

S. Res. 357—Providing that the Senate proceed to the Hall of the House of Representatives to participate in counting the electoral votes on Feb. 14, 1917.
Mr. Kern, and agreed to, 3069.

S. Res. 358—To print the manuscript entitled "Textiles—The Backbone of New England," as a Senate document.
Mr. Chilton, from Committee on Printing, and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 709), 3183.

S. Res. 359—To print the pamphlet entitled "Power of the Supreme Court to Declare Acts of Congress Unconstitutional" as a Senate document.
Mr. Chilton, from Committee on Printing, and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 708), 3183.

S. Res. 360—To print the report of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution for 1916 as a Senate document, with illustrations.
Mr. Chilton, from Committee on Printing, and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 710), 3183.

S. Res. 361—To print the report of the National Academy of Sciences for the year ended Dec. 31, 1916, as a Senate document.
Mr. Chilton, from Committee on Printing, and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 707), 3184.

S. Res. 362—To authorize the printing of the report of the International Commission pertaining to the St. John River.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Printing, 3254.—Reported with an amendment; considered, amended, and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 724), 4269.

S. Res. 363—Announcing the death of the Hon. James P. Clarke, late a Senator from the State of Arkansas, etc.
Mr. Robinson, and agreed to, 3546–3551.

S. Res. 364—Announcing the death of the Hon. Benjamin F. Shively, late a Senator from the State of Indiana, etc.
Mr. Kern, and agreed to, 3551–3555.

S. Res. 365—Announcing the death of the Hon. Edwin C. Burleigh, late a Senator from the State of Maine, etc.
Mr. Johnson of Maine, and agreed to, 3555–3558.

S. Res. 366—Directing the Secretary of War to furnish the Senate certain information relative to the adoption of a joint resolution by the Legislature of the State of New Jersey; and report as to the advisability of the United States constructing a public waterway through said State, etc.
Mr. Hughes, and agreed to, 3579.

S. Res. 367—Proposing to recommit the bill (H. R. 20573) to provide increased revenue to defray the expenses of the increased appropriations for the Army and Navy and the extensions of fortifications, and for other purposes.
Mr. Penrose; ordered to lie on the table, 3672.

S. Res. 368—To print the "Third Report of the Commission on Milk Standards, appointed by the New York Milk Committee," as a Senate document.
Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Printing, 3660.

S. Res. 369—To authorize the Secretary of the Senate to pay Margaret N. Bauskett, widow of William T. Bauskett, late clerk to the Committee on Claims, a sum equal to six months' salary, etc.
Mr. Bryan; Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, 3660.—Reported back and agreed to, 4373, 4374.

S. Res. 370—To print 200 additional copies of Senate document No. 555, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session, entitled "Navy Yearbook."
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Printing, 3861.

S. Res. 371—To print 1,000,000 copies of Washington's Farewell Address to the people of the United States and his Farewell Address to the two Houses of Congress as a Senate document.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Printing, 3893.

S. Res. 372—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Interior to investigate and report to the Senate the amount of services rendered and expenses incurred by Charles F. Winton and associates in the claim of the Mississippi Choctaws west of the Mississippi River from 1896 to 1906, etc.
Mr. Clapp; ordered to lie on the table, 3964.

S. Res. 373—Expressing sorrow on account of the death of the Hon. David E. Finley, late a Member of the House of Representatives from the State of South Carolina.
Mr. Tillman; considered and agreed to, 4245–4247.

S. Res. 374—Expressing sorrow on account of the death of the Hon. Samuel J. Tribble, late a Member of the House of Representatives from the State of Georgia.
Mr. Hardwick; considered and agreed to, 4247, 4248.

S. Res. 375—Expressing sorrow on account of the death of the Hon. William G. Brown, jr., late a Member of the House Representatives from the State of West Virginia.
Mr. Chilton; considered and agreed to, 4248–4252.

S. Res. 376—Expressing sorrow on account of the death of the Hon. Hunter H. Moss, jr., late a Member of the House of Representatives from the State of West Virginia.
Mr. Chilton; considered and agreed to, 4252–4254.

S. Res. 377—To print 3,000 additional copies of Senate Report No. 919, Sixty-fourth Congress, second session, entitled "Importation of Sisal and Manila Hemp," for the use of the Senate document room.
Mr. Chilton, from Committee on Printing, considered and agreed to, 4269.

S. Res. 378—To print manuscript entitled "What Corrupt Practices in Elections did in Adams County, Ohio," as a Senate Document.
Mr. Chilton, from Committee on Printing, considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 723), 4269.

S. Res. 379—Requesting the President to send to the Senate certain information regarding the activities of the Imperial German Government in Mexico.
Mr. Lodge; Committee on Foreign Relations, 4569, 4574.—Reported with amendments, 4592.—Debated, amended, and agreed to, 4569–4574, 4592–4605.—(See S. Doc. No. 728), 4618.

S. Res. 380—Instructing the Committee on Rules to prepare and have printed a new edition of the Senate Manual, etc.
Mr. Overman, from the Committee on Rules, considered and agreed to (S. Doc. 743), 4568.

S. Res. 381—With reference to the continuation of the standing committees of the Senate.
Mr. Kern; considered and agreed to, 4568.

S. Res. 382—Providing for the printing as a Senate document the manuscript entitled "Direct Government in California."
Mr. Chilton, from Committee on Printing, considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 738), 4718, 4781.

S. Res. 383—Providing for the printing as a Senate document the manuscript entitled "Withdrawing from the Federal courts the power to declare acts of Congress void."
Mr. Chilton, from Committee on Printing, considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 737), 4718, 4781.

S. Res. 384—Providing for the printing as a Senate document the manuscript entitled "The present status of the State-wide initiative and referendum."
Mr. Chilton, from Committee on Printing, considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 736), 4718, 4781.

S. Res. 385—Authorizing the Secretary of the Senate to pay N. I. Stone $325 for services as expert employed by the Finance Committee.
Mr. Lea of Tennessee, on behalf of the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate; considered and agreed to, 4782.—Reconsidered, amended, considered, and agreed to, 4979.

S. Res. 386—To print the appendix to the report of the United States section of the International High Commission as a Senate document.
Mr. Fletcher, from Committee on Printing, considered and agreed to (S. Doc. No. 739), 4781.

S. Res. 387—Expressing sorrow on account of the death of the Hon. Michael F. Conry, late a Member of the House of Representatives from the State of New York, and to appoint a committee to take order in superintending the funeral jointly with the committee from the House.
Mr. Wadsworth; considered and agreed to, 4782, 4783.

HOUSE BILLS. 21–1609

H. R. 21—Authorizing the city of Salida, Colo., to purchase certain public lands for public park purposes.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; passed Senate, 2500.—Examined and signed, 2605, 2631.—Presented to the President, 2725—Approved [Public, No. 315], 3449.

H. R. 54—To pension widows and minor children of officers and enlisted men who served in the War with Spain, Philippine insurrection, or in China.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Debated in Senate, 2489.

H. R. 108—To confer upon the Superintendent for the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma the authority now conferred by law upon the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior respecting lands allotted to the enrolled members of the Five Civilized Tribes and their individual moneys.
Mr. Hastings; debated, 1437.

H. R. 191—To amend an act entitled "An act to change the name of the Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service to the Public Health Service, to increase the pay of officers of said service, and for other purposes," approved Aug. 14, 1912.
Mr. Adamson; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1229), 527.

H. R. 193—To provide for the care and treatment of persons afflicted with leprosy and to prevent the spread of leprosy in the United States.
Mr. Adamson; committee discharged, passed Senate, 1965, 1966.—Examined and signed, 2157, 2187.—Presented to the President, 2213.—Approved [Public, No. 299], 2776.

H. R. 199—To regulate the importation of viruses, serums, toxins, and analogous products, to regulate interstate traffic in said articles, and for other purposes.
Mr. Adamson; debated, amended, and passed House, 501, 502.—Referred to Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, 532.

H. R. 204—To promote the efficiency of the Public Health Service.
Mr. Adamson; debated in Senate, 2498.

H. R. 217—To authorize the sale of school property in the city of Denver, Colo., and for other purposes.
Mr. Hillard; reported with amendments (S. Rept., 974), 1878.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 2161, 2162.—House concurs in Senate amendments, 2215.—Examined and signed, 2356, 2381.—Presented to the President, 2536.—Approved, [Public, No. 306], 2934.

H. R. 241—To relinquish, release, and quitclaim to the trustees of the Hatchie Coon Hunting and Fishing Club title to certain lands in Poinsett County, Ark.
Mr. McKellar; debated in House, 3172.

H. R. 305—To establish a fish-cultural station in the county of Lincoln, in the State of Tennessee.
Mr. Houston; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1218), 417.—Debated, 2645, 2646.

H. R. 308—To amend the act to regulate commerce, as amended, and for other purposes.
Mr. Adamson; debated in Senate, 3608, 3609, 3667–3672, 3673.

H. R. 330—Providing for the purchase of a national forest reserve and park in the State of Texas, to be known as the Palo Duro National Forest Reserve and Park.
Mr. Stephens of Texas; debated (Appendix, 304).

H. R. 358—Providing for the construction of a public building at Binghamton, New York.
Mr. Fairchild; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1619), 4856.—Amended and passed House, 5020.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 4988.

H. R. 386—To create in the War Department and the Navy Department, respectively, a roll designated as the "Civil War volunteer officers' retired list," to authorize placing thereon with retired pay certain surviving officers who served in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States in the Civil War, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; minority report (No. 964, Pt. 2) submitted, 1579.—Debated, 503, 2646, 2659 (Appendix, 285).

H. R. 406—To authorize exploration for and disposition of coal, phosphate, oil, gas, potassium, or sodium.
Mr. Ferris; Senate Committee on Public Lands submits two amendments, 898.—Amendments debated, 1048, 1049, 1249, 1250.

H. R. 407—To provide for stock-raising homesteads, and for other purposes.
Mr. Ferris; House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a conference, 4.—Senate insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 15.—Conference appointed, 4, 15, 138.—Conference report (S. Doc. 641) made in Senate, 490.—Conference report (No. 1231) made in House, 525.—Conference report debated and agreed to in Senate, 639, 642–646.—Conference report debated and agreed to in House, 680–689.—Examined and signed, 668, 689.—Presented to the President, 689.—Approved [Public, No. 290], 754.

H. R. 408—To provide for the development of water power and the use of public lands in relation thereto, and for other purposes.
Mr. Ferris; Debated in Senate, 948, 949, 992, 997, 998, 1068–1071, 1171, 1173–1192, 1258, 1261–1270, 1322, 1323, 1330, 1331, 1384–1423, 1451, 1478, 1547, 1592, 1593, 1608, 1666, 1680, 1743, 1756, 1834, 1886, 1887, 1909, 1950, 2064, 2187, 2265, 2308–2310, 2382–2406, 2469–2478 [Appendix, 767].

H. R. 455—To define the rights and privileges of the trustees of municipally owned interstate railways and construing the act to regulate commerce with reference thereto.
Mr. Allen; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 1034), 3063.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 3063.—House concurs in Senate amendment, 3215.—Examined and signed, 3255, 3305.—Presented to the President, 3360.—Approved [Public, No. 327], 3618.

H. R. 540—For the relief of settlers within the limits of the grant to the New Orleans, Baton Rouge & Vicksburg Railroad Co.
Mr. Aswell; debated in Senate, 2494.

H. R. 549—To regulate the interstate transportation of immature calves.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; debated in Senate, 2501–2503.

H. R. 563—To amend section 20 of an act to regulate commerce, to prevent overissues of securities by carriers, and for other purposes.
Mr. Rayburn; debated in House, 31, 52, 500, 1429, 1430, 2630.

H. R. 655—To pension the survivors of certain Indian wars from January 1, 1859, to January, 1891, inclusive, and for other purposes.
Mr. Keating; conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 4782.—Conference report (No. 1627) made and agreed to in House, 4846.—Senate amendment No. 9 debated in House, 4846, 4926–4936 (Appendix, 697).—House concurs in Senate amendment No. 9, 4935, 4936.—Examined and signed, 4876, 4975.—Presented to the President, 4975.—Approved [Public, No. 400], 5032.

H. R. 762—Providing for the construction and equipment of a storehouse at Benicia Arsenal, State of California.
Mr. Curry; debated, 2640, 2641, 3624.

H. R. 1024—For the relief of Allen M. Hiller.
Mr. Butler; passed Senate, 2490.—Examined and signed, 2605, 2631, 2490.—Presented to the President, 2725.—Approved [Private, No. 163], 2934.

H. R. 1093—For the relief of James Anderson.
Mr. Campbell; reported back (S. Rept. 914); passed Senate, 1107.—Examined and signed, 1244, 1316.—Presented to the President, 1377.—Approved [Private, No. 161], 1850.

H. R. 1358—For the relief of Everett H. Corson.
Mr. Davis of Minnesota; Passed Senate, 2506.—Examined and signed, 2605, 2631.—Presented to the President, 2725.—Approved [Private, No. 179], 3449.

H. R. 1568—For the relief of N. Ferro.
Mr. Harrison; debated in Senate, 2506.

H. R. 1571—For the relief of Albert T. Huso.
Mr. Haugen; reported back (S. Rept. 115), 4372.

H. R. 1579—For the relief of Annie E. White and the heirs of Patrick White, deceased.
Mr. Hayden; debated in House, 3164.

H. R. 1584—To carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of Louis Landrain, administrator of William J. Landram, deceased.
Mr. Helm; reported back (S. Rept. 1041), 3179.

H. R. 1609—For the relief of S. L. Burgard.
Mr. Hull of Iowa; reported back (S. Rept. 956), 1663.—Debated and passed Senate, 2686.—Examined and signed, 2793, 2811.—Presented to the President, 2969.—Approved [Private No. 180], 3449.

H. R. 1623—For the relief of George F. Weaver.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; reported with amendment(H. Rept. 1461), 3249.

H. R. 1659—For the relief of Carrie A. Notley.
Mr. Kent; reported back (H. Rept. 1460), 3249.

H. R. 1685—For the relief of John R. Monteith.
Mr. Kettner; reported back (S. Rept. 980), 1040.

H. R. 1764—For the relief of John Minahan, alias John Bagley.
Mr. Kinkaid; passed House, 3152, 3153.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 3185.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1128), 4566.

H. R. 1788—For the relief of Thomas M. Jones.
Mr. Kreider; reported back (S. Rept. 872), 13.—Passed Senate, 317.—Examined and signed, 526, 530.—Presented to the President, 630.—Approved [Private, No. 160], 754.

H. R. 1869—For the relief of Reuben Sewell.
Mr. McCracken; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1348), 1935.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 2804.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 2825.

H. R. 2180—For the relief of Albert Greenlaw.
Mr. Peters; passed Senate, 2496.—Vote reconsidered, 2497, 2498.

H. R. 2204—For the relief of Andrew M. Dunlop.
Mr. Raker; debated in House, 3167, 3168.

H. R. 2205—For the relief of Robert T. Legge.
Mr. Raker; debated in House, 3165.

H. R. 2212—For the relief of George F. Reid.
Mr. Raker; debated, amended, and passed House, 3168, 3169.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 3185.

H. R. 2638—For the relief of Austin G. Tainter.
Mr. Stephens of California; debated in Senate, 2495.—Indefinitely postponed, 2495.

H. R. 2742—To reimburse Isaiah Stephens, postmaster of McMechen, Marshall County, W. Va., for money and postage stamps stolen.
Mr. Sutherland; reported back (H. Rept. 1458), 3248.

H. R. 2743—For the relief of the widow of Joseph C. Akin.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; debated, amended, and passed House, 3159.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 3185.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1078), 3657.

H. R. 3238—For the relief of Sarah E. Elliott.
Mr. Hayes; passed Senate, 2506.—Examined and signed, 2605, 2631.—Presented to the President, 2725.—Approved [Private, No. 166], 2934.

H. R. 3253—For the relief of Hudson Bros., of Norfolk, Va.
Mr. Holland; amended and passed House, 3155, 3156.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 3185.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1081), 3657.

H. R. 3296—For the relief of Gertrude Becherer.
Mr. Meeker; debated in Senate, 2507.

H. R. 3654—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to audit and adjust certain claims of the State of North Carolina.
Mr. Page of North Carolina; debated, 1434, 2632.

H. R. 3894—For the relief of George H. Grace.
Mr. Dillon; reported back (S. Rept. 917), 1162.—Debated, 2678.

H. R. 3895—For the relief of F. W. Schultz.
Mr. Dillon: reported back (S. Rept. 918), 1162.—Debated, 2678.

H. R. 3922—Granting an increase of pension to Peter R. Matthew.
Mr. Dyer; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 310.

H. R. 4073—Granting an increase of pension to Milton Ross.
Mr. Gard; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 5.

H. R. 4359—To amend the military record of William O. Sarber.
Mr. McKenzie; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1327), 1802.—Debated, 2800.

H. R. 4360—For the relief of George W. Laland.
Mr. McKenzie; reported back adversely and indefinitely postponed, 3484.

H. R. 4416—To reimburse L. W. Dragoo, formerly postmaster at Smithfield, Wetzel County, W. Va., for money, money orders, and postage stamps stolen.
Mr. Neely; reported back (H. Rept. 1339), 1874, 1875.

H. R. 4417—For the relief of George L. Thomas.
Mr. North; reported back (H. Rept. 1297), 1517.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 2749), 2794, 2795.

H. R. 4565—Granting an increase of pension to Fannie J. B. Kelly.
Mr. Scully; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 5.

H. R. 4602—For the relief of George T. Larkin.
Mr. Slemp; reported back (H. Rept. 1402), 2458.

H. R. 4626—To reimburse the Farmers Savings Bank of Brandon, Iowa, for currency destroyed by fire.
Mr. Sweet; debated and passed House, 3158.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 3185.

H. R. 4688—To provide for the erection of a statue to Maj. Gen. George Armstrong Custer at his birthplace in New Rumley, Ohio.
Mr. Hollingsworth; debated (Appendix, 523).

H. R. 4910—Granting a pension to Charles F. Rich.
Mr. Cannon; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 5.

H. R. 4932—For the relief of the heirs of Oscar Chrysler.
Mr. Cary; Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1405), 2536.

H. R. 5091—For the relief of Preston B. C. Lucas.
Mr. Hawley; passed House, 3153.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 3185.

H. R. 5182—Requiring the Secretary of War to issue an honorable discharge to Benjamin R. Buffington.
Mr. Hollingsworth; debated and passed House, 3169, 3170.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 3185.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1123), 4372.

H. R. 5262—For the relief of John B. Hoover.
Mr. Kettner; reported back (S. Rept. 879), 421.—Passed Senate, 2508.—Examined and signed, 2605, 2631.—Presented to the President, 2725.—Approved [Private, No. 186], 3449.

H. R. 5318—For the relief of Frederick Chateau.
Mr. Key of Ohio; reported back adversely and indefinitely postponed, 530.

H. R. 5385—For the relief of William A. Steward.
Mr. Linthicum; reported back adversely (S. Rept. 997) and indefinitely postponed, 2158.

H. R. 5386—For the relief of James Campbell.
Mr. Linthicum; reported back adversely and indefinitely postponed, 530.

H. R. 5412—To establish the military record of Marshall M. Pool.
Mr. Mann; debated, amended, and passed House, 3171, 3172.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 3265.

H. R. 5521—Granting a pension to James H. Buckner.
Mr. Powers; reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 5.

H. R. 5690—For the relief of Alfred Rebsamen.
Mr. Taggart; amended and passed House, 3170, 3171.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 3185.

H. R. 5756—To extend the provisions of the bond and warehouse statement to merchandise free of duty.
Mr. Tague; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1529), 3958.

H. R. 5783—To provide for the establishment of a national employment bureau in the Department of Labor.
Mr. Nolan; debated in House, 3632.

H. R. 5788—To create two additional associate justices of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia.
Mr. Carlin; debated and passed House, 2643–2645, 3625.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 3064.—Reported with amendments; debated, amended, and passed Senate, 4372, 4373.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a conference, 4442, 4443.—Senate insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 4483.—Conference appointed, 4442, 4443, 4483.—Conference report made in Senate, 4865.

H. R. 5938—Granting an increase of pension to William Wells.
Mr. Meeker; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 2357.

H. R. 5948—For the relief of Hays Gaskill.
Mr. Neely; amended and passed House, 3171.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 3185.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1124), 4372.—Passed Senate, 4508.—Examined and signed, 4578, 4635.—Presented to the President, 4855.—Approved [Private, No. 212], 5032.

H. R. 5990—To reimburse S. S. Buzzerd, postmaster of Berkeley Springs, Morgan County, W. Va., for cash stolen.
Mr. Sutherland; reported back (H. Rept. 1459), 3249.

H. R. 6130—To authorize the issue of a patent to certain land in Alabama to William M. Wilson.
Mr. Blackmon; reported back (H. Rept. 1411), 2592.

H. R. 6145—For the relief of Edward F. McDermott, alias James Williams.
Mr. Bruckner; amended and passed Senate, 2506.—House concurs in Senate amendments, 2567.—Examined and signed, 2616, 2631.—Presented to the President, 2725.—Approved [Private, No. 164], 2934.

H. R. 6194—For the relief of William Wooster.
Mr. Hayden; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1407), 2536.

H. R. 6207—For the relief of Isabel E. Rockwell.
Mr. Hayes; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1305), 1579.—Amended and passed House, 2795, 2796.—Referred to Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 2825.

H. R. 6251—Granting a pension to Augustus O. Hartel.
Mr. Liebel; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 5.

H. R. 6267—To reimburse Tennie A. Anderson, postmaster at Maplewood, Fayette County, W. Va., for money, money orders, and postage stamps stolen.
Mr. Littlepage; debated, 1109, 2507, 2508.

H. R. 6444—Providing for the payment of certain items of interest on the judgment of the Court of Claims of May 18, 1905, in favor of the Cherokees, and for other purposes.
Mr. Hastings; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1284), 1317.—Debated, 3635.

H. R. 6629—For the relief of the Maryland Trust Co., of Baltimore.
Mr. Linthicum; debated, 3154.

H. R. 6702—Granting an increase of pension to Warden J. Wilkins.
Mr. Sloan; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 5.

H. R. 6732—For the relief of Joseph A. Jennings.
Mr. Talbott; debated and passed Senate, 2505, 2677, 2678.—Examined and signed, 2793, 2811.—Presented to the President, 2969.—Approved [Private, No. 181], 3449.

H. R. 6799—To establish the Sawtooth National Park in the State of Idaho.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1356), 2022.

H. R. 6814—To exclude intoxicating liquors from national parks and national forest reserves.
Mr. Randall; ordered transferred to House Calendar, 3651, 3698, 3909, 4003, 4004.

H. R. 6876—To amend an act entitled "An act to amend an act entitled 'An act to provide for the adjudication and payment of claims arising from Indian depredations,' approved March 3, 1891," approved January 11, 1915.
Mr. Stephens of Texas; debated and passed House, 505, 506.—Referred to Senate Committee on Indian Depredations, 532.

H. R. 7045—For the relief of Caleb T. Holland.
Mr. Denison (see bill S. 7601), 3909.

H. R. 7120—Granting a pension to Robert A. Imrie.
Mr. Hilliard; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 1156.

H. R. 7487—For the relief of Absalom C. Phillips.
Mr. Tillman; reported back (H. Rept. 1242), 666.—Debated, 2793.

H. R. 7504—For the relief of E. W. Rohmeling.
Mr. Walsh; debated, 3154, 3155.

H. R. 7621—Prohibiting the interment of the body of any person in the cemetery known as the Cemetery of the White's Tabernacle No. 39 of the Ancient United Order of Sons and Daughters, Brethren and Sisters of Moses, in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Ogiesby; amended and passed House, 163.—Referred to Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, 205.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1129), 4566.

H. R. 7632—To provide for a homestead entry on water-power sites.
Mr. Sinnott; reported back (H. Rept. 1398), 2458.—Debated, 3635.

H. R. 7763—For the relief of Stephen J. Simpson.
Mr. Denison; reported back (S. Rept. 883), 530.—Debated and passed Senate, 2674.—Examined and signed, 2793, 2811.—Presented to the President, 2970.—Approved [Private, No. 177], 3449.

H. R. 7813—Granting permission to Lieut. Col. William E. Horton, United States Army, to accept and wear a decoration tendered him by the President of the French Republic.
Mr. Flood; debated [Appendix 176].

H. R. 8033—To amend section 162 of the act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary, approved March 3, 1911.
Mr. Watkins; reported with amendments, 3061.

H. R. 8057—For the relief of the legal representatives of Napoleon B. Giddings.
Mr. Booher; passed Senate, 2506.—Examined and signed, 2605, 2631.—Presented to the President, 2725.—Approved [Private, No. 165], 2934.

H. R. 8092—Confirming patents heretofore issued to certain Indians in the State of Washington.
Mr. Dill; House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a conference, 500.—Senate insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 532.—Conference appointed, 500, 532.—Conference report (No. 1454) made and agreed to in House, 3152, 3240.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 3185.—Examined and signed, 3248, 3250.—Presented to the President, 3305.—Approved [Private, No. 187], 3449.

H. R. 8093—For the relief of Wilson M. Dent.
Mr. Dillon; reported back (S. Rept. 1043), 3179.

H. R. 8229—To establish a national military park at the battle field of Guilford Courthouse.
Mr. Stedman; debated in House, 504, 1445–1448.—Amended and passed House, 1448.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 1479.—Reported with amendments, 2612.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 2612, 2613.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a conference, 2863, 2935.—Senate insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 2983.—Conference appointed, 2935, 2983.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 3986.—Conference report (No. 1549) made in House, 4151, 4406.—Conference report agreed to in House, 4406, 4407.—Examined and signed, 4465, 4483.—Presented to the President, 4527.—Approved [Public, No. 375], 4810.

H. R. 8267—To place Bernard A. Schaaf on the retired list of the Army.
Mr. Church; passed Senate, 2494.—Examined and signed, 2605, 2631.—Presented to the President, 2725.—Approved [Public, No. 304], 2934.

H. R. 8268—Granting a pension to Josephine W. James.
Mr. Conry; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 579.

H. R. 8312—Granting permission to Lieut. Col. John P. Finley to accept and wear a decoration presented by the Sultan of Turkey.
Mr. Mott; debated (Appendix, 176).

H. R. 8348—To amend an act entitled "An act to create a juvenile court in and for the District of Columbia," and for other purposes.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; debated, amended, and passed Senate, 2503, 3110, 3111–3115.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and ask for a conference, 3429.—Senate insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 3480.—Conference appointed, 3429, 3480.

H. R. 8411—For the relief of James R. McGuire.
Mr. Fields; reported back (S. Rept. 1127), 4566.

H. R. 8416—For the relief of Jose Trujillo.
Mr. Hayden; reported back adversely (H. Rept. 1502) and laid on table, 3465.

H. R. 8452—For the relief of Charles L. Moore.
Mr. McKinley; passed Senate, 2504.—Examined and signed, 2605, 2631.—Presented to the President, 2725.—Approved [Private, No. 167], 2934.

H. R. 8460—Granting an increase of pension to Myron S. Pease.
Mr. Oakey; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 361.

H. R. 8485—To provide for the establishment of a division of civic training in the Bureau of Education.
Mr. Nolan; debated, 2760 [Appendix, 283].

H. R. 8492—To restore homestead rights in certain cases.
Mr. Ferris; debated, amended, and passed Senate, 2503.—House concurs in Senate amendments, 2891.—Examined and signed, 3048, 3175.—Presented to the President, 3248.—Approved [Public, No. 340], 3782.

H. R. 8573—For the relief of the estate of John C. Phillips, deceased.
Mr. Mann; reported back (H. Rept. 1313), 1580.

H. R. 8577—Granting a pension to Joseph Kasiah.
Mr. Morgan of Oklahoma; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 310.

H. R. 8669—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to extend the lease of certain land in Stanley County, S. Dak., for a buffalo pasture.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; reported back (S. Rept. 1018) and passed Senate, 2823.—Examined and signed, 3175.—Presented to the President, 3248.—Approved [Private, No. 192], 3618.

H. R. 8788—For the relief of Lyman D. Drake, jr.
Mr. Summers; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1386), 2296.

H. R. 8816—Authorizing the Commissioner of Navigation to cause the sailing vessel Golden Gate to be registered as a vessel of the United States.
Mr. Kahn; examined and signed, 420, 442.—Presented to the President, 462.—Approved [Public, No. 286], 654.

H. R. 8859—Granting an increase of pension to Oscar Williams.
Mr. Fields; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 5.

H. R. 8950—For the relief of Robert Hildebrand.
Mr. Campbell; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1298), 1517.

H. R. 9171—For the relief of Arthur J. Burdick.
Mr. Kettner; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1462), 3249.

H. R. 9216—To amend sections 2, 3, 4, and 5 of an act entitled "An act to promote the safety of employees and travelers upon railroads by limiting the hours of service of employees thereon," approved Mar. 4, 1907.
Mr. Cullop; debated in House, 503, 1430, 2631.

H. R. 9288—Providing for the refund of certain duties illegally levied and collected on acetate of lime.
Mr. Loud; reported back (S. Rept. 999), 2158.—Amended and passed Senate, 3088.—House concurs in Senate amendments, 3355.—Examined and signed, 3465, 3480.—Presented to the President, 3651.—Approved [Private, No. 203], 4333, 4526.

H. R. 9308—Granting a pension to Emelia McNicol.
Mr. Smith of Minnesota; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 1517.

H. R. 9326—To pay the balance due the loyal Creek Indians on the award made by the Senate on the 16th day of February, 1903.
Mr. Hastings; debated in House, 504, 2631.

H. R. 9335—For the relief of Mrs. W. E. Crawford.
Mr. Almon; debated and passed House, 3158.—Referred to Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 3185.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1116), 4372.

H. R. 9402—For the relief of Sylvester Hannan, alias Henry Edwards.
Mr. Steele of Iowa; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1328), 1802.—Amended and passed House, 2800.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 2825.

H. R. 9409—To repeal sections 35 to 49, inclusive, of the act of June 13, 1898, concerning mixed flour, as amended by the act of Mar. 2, 1901, and as further amended by the act of Apr. 12, 1902, and for other purposes.
Mr. Rainey; debated (Appendix, 214, 240).

H. R. 9533—To provide a civil government for Porto Rico, and for other purposes.
Mr. Jones; debated in Senate, 828, 999, 1324–1330, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2220, 2221–2223, 2248–2265, 2308–2310, 2358–2360, 2538, 2616, 2629, 2630, 2817, 3005–3011, 3068, 3069–3074, 3386, 3387, 3467–3479, 3482, 3666, 3667.—Made special order for 8 p. m. Jan. 30, 1917, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2220, 2221–2223.—Motion to make bill special order for 8 p. m. Feb. 1, 1917, not agreed to, 2358–2360.—Motion to make bill special order for 8 p. m. Feb. 5, 1917, not agreed to, 2538.—Unanimous-consent agreement for vote on, objected to in Senate, 3386, 3387.—Amended and passed Senate, 3666, 3667.—Senate asks for a conference, 3667.—House disagree to Senate amendments and agree to a conference, 3733.—Conference appointed, 3667, 3733.—Conference report made in Senate, 3994.—Conference report (No. 1546) made in House, 4048, 4164.—Conference report debated and agreed to in House, 4164–4171.—Conference report agreed to in Senate, 4271.—Making a change in the enrollment of bill (see H. Con. Res. 78), 4171, 4271.—Examined and signed, 4465, 4483.—Presented to the President, 4527.—Approved [Public, No. 368], 4810.

H. R. 9547—Authorizing the acceptance by the United States Government from the Kenesaw Memorial Association of Illinois of a proposed gift of land on the Kenesaw battle field in the State of Georgia.
Mr. Cannon; reported back (S. Rept. 878), 421.—Passed Senate, 2508.—Examined and signed, 2616, 2631.—Presented to the President, 2725.—Approved [Public, No. 307], 2934.

H. R. 9651—Granting permission to Lieut. Commander W. Pitt Scott, of the United States Navy, to accept and wear a decoration bestowed on him by the Sultan of Turkey.
Mr. Steele of Pennsylvania; debated (Appendix, 176).

H. R. 9737—For the relief of John A. Bingham.
Mr. Foster; reported back (S. Rept. 1117), 4372.

H. R. 9805—To establish the Mount Baker National Park in the State of Washington.
Mr. Hadley; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1372), 2215.

H. R. 9818—Providing that the Panama Canal rules shall govern in the measurement of vessels for imposing tolls.
Mr. Adamson; debated (Appendix, 250).

H. R. 9856—Granting to the St. Louis, Iron Mountain & Southern Railway Co., and to the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Association, and to the Manufacturers' Railway Co. permission to transfer certain rights of easement for railway purposes heretofore granted by the United States to the St. Louis & Iron Mountain Railroad Co. and to the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Association, respectively.
Mr. Igoe; examined and signed, 309, 316.—Presented to the President, 416.—Approved [Public, No. 287], 654.

H. R. 9983—Granting a pension to James A. Kelley.
Mr. McKinley; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 5.

H. R. 10007—For the relief of William H. Woods.
Mr. Thompson; reported back (S. Rept. 913); passed Senate, 1108.—Examined and signed, 1244, 1316.—Presented to the President, 1377.—Approved [Private, No. 162], 1850.

H. R. 10020—Regulating the compensation of stationary firemen employed in Federal Government buildings in the United States.
Mr. Cary; reported back (H. Rept. 1369), 2215.

H. R. 10049—For the relief of Capt. Harvey H. Young.
Mr. Crago; reported back (S. Rept. 873), 137.—Passed Senate 162.—Examined and signed, 309, 316.—Presented to the President, 416.—Approved [Private, No. 159], 618.

H. R. 10110—To increase the salary of the United States district attorney for the district of Rhode Island.
Mr. O'Shaunessy; debated, 1438–1440, 3632.—Amended and passed House, 3632.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 3664.—Reported back, 4567.

H. R. 10124—To add certain lands to the Rocky Mountain National Park, Colo.
Mr. Timberlake; passed Senate, 2503.—Examined and signed, 2616, 2631.—Presented to the President, 2725.—Approved [Public, No. 316], 3449.

H. R. 10173—For the relief of Anna C. Parrett.
Mr. Hilliard; debated and passed Senate, 2507.—Examined and signed, 2605, 2631.—Presented to the President, 2725.—Approved [Private, No. 175], 3449.

H. R. 10220—For the relief of John C. Shay.
Mr. Tilson; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1439), 2807.

H. R. 10255—For the relief of David Kirch.
Mr. Copley; amended and passed House, 3171.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 3185.

H. R. 10384—To regulate the immigration of aliens to, and the residence of aliens in, the United States.
Mr. Burnett; bill and S. Rept. 352 ordered reprinted in Senate, 82.—Debated, 152–162, 205–226, 253–277, 313–316.—Amended and passed Senate, 315, 316.—Senate asks for a conference, 316.—House agrees to a conference, 416, 442.—Conference appointed, 316, 442.—Conference report made in Senate, 994.—Conference report debated and agreed to in Senate, 994–997.—Conference report (No. 1266) made in House, 1043, 1289.—Conference report debated in House; House further disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a further conference, 1289–1295.—Senate insists on its amendments and agrees to a further conference, 1270.—Second conference appointed, 1270, 1295.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 1329, 1330.—Conference report (No. 1291) made in House, 1377, 1488.—Conference report debated and agreed to in House, 1488–1495.—Examined and signed, 1520, 1548.—Presented to the President, 1658.—Vetoed by the President (H. Doc. No. 2003), 2212, 2213, 2294.—Veto message debated in House, 2441, 2442–2457 [Appendix, 265, 270, 285, 288].—Bill passed over the President's veto in House, 2456, 2457.—Unanimous-consent agreement for vote on passage of bill over the President's veto agreed to in Senate, 2465–2468.—Veto message debated in Senate, 2616–2629.—Bill passed over the President's veto in Senate, 2629.—[Public, No. 301.]

H. R. 10496—To prohibit the manufacture, sale, or transportation in interstate commerce of misbranded articles, to regulate the traffic therein, and for other purposes.
Mr. Barkley; debated in House, 2631.

H. R. 10506—For the relief of Dr. F. C. Cady.
Mr. Campbell; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1387), 2296.

H. R. 10550—For the relief of Morris Busch.
Mr. Moore of Pennsylvania; reported back (H. Rept. 1428), 2726.

H. R. 10697—For the relief of S. Spencer Carr.
Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin; reported back (S. Rept. 1008), 2610.—Passed Senate, 3098.—Examined and signed, 3248, 3255.—Presented to the President, 3360.—Approved [Private, No. 193], 3618.

H. R. 10749—Amending section 3285 of the Revised Statutes.
Mr. Edmonds; reported back (S. Rept. 1076), 3576.

H. R. 10751—To provide for the purchase of additional land and for the erection thereon of an addition to the Federal building at Flint, Mich.
Mr. Kelley; debated and passed House, 4953.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 4988.

H. R. 10774—Authorizing the Sioux Tribe of Indians to submit claims to the Court of Claims.
Mr. Gandy; debated, 2631.

H. R. 10793—Granting an increase of pension to Luke R. Ford.
Mr. Fitzgerald; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 5.

H. R. 10823—For the relief of the Farmers and Merchants Bank, of Headland, Ala.
Mr. Steagall; reported back (S. Rept. 1061), 3408.

H. R. 10830—To provide for the uniform selection and purchase of fuel to be used in the United States.
Mr. Foster; reported back (H. Rept. 1572), 4465.

H. R. 10839—To acquire the manuscript of Charles Chaille-Long, containing an account of the unveiling of the McClellan Statue.
Mr. Price; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1521), 3854.

H. R. 10869—To authorize the payment of certain amounts for damages sustained by prairie fire on the Rosebud Indian Reservation, in South Dakota.
Mr. Gandy; amended and passed House, 3154.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 3185.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1092), 3657.

H. R. 10872—Making an appropriation to Stuart, Lewis, Gordon & Rutherford in payment of legal services rendered by them to the Creek Nation.
Mr. Hastings; amended and passed House, 3155.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 3185.—Reference changed to Committee on Indian Affairs, 3407.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1118), 4372.

H. R. 10926—To amend an act approved June 8, 1906, entitled "An act to amend section 1 of an act entitled 'An act relating to the Metropolitan police of the District of Columbia,' approved Feb. 28, 1901."
Mr. Vinson; debated in House, 506, 2632.

H. R. 10961—Granting a pension to Frank Bradley.
Mr. Mondell; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 5.

H. R. 11013—Granting a pension to Willis P. McCampbell.
Mr. Decker; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 5.

H. R. 11150—For the relief of mail contractors.
Mr. Aswell; debated in Senate, 377, 2496, 2497.—Amended and passed Senate, 2497.—House concurs in Senate amendments, 2696, 2803.—Examined and signed, 2793, 2811.—Presented to the President, 2970.—Approved [Public, No. 317], 3449.

H. R. 11152—To provide retirement pay in certain cases for judges of United States district courts in the Territories.
Mr. Kalanianaole; debated in House, 504.

H. R. 11161—Providing for the taxation of the lands of the Winnebago Indians and the Omaha Indians in the State of Nebraska.
Mr. Stephens of Nebraska; laid on the table (see bill S. 6116), 505.

H. R. 11175—Granting an increase of pension to William F. McLean.
Mr. Carter of Oklahoma; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 5.

H. R. 11245—To authorize the establishment of an auxiliary or field fish-cultural station on the Klamath River, in the State of California.
Mr. Raker; debated in House, 506, 3626.

H. R. 11250—To provide for the promotion of vocational education; to provide for cooperation with the States in the promotion of such education in agriculture, the trades, industries, and home economics; to provide for cooperation with the States in the preparation of teachers of vocational subjects; and to authorize the appropriation of money and to regulate its expenditure.
Mr. Hughes; debated in House (see bill S. 703), 102, 714, 715. (Appendix, 79, 80.)

H. R. 11258—To provide for the sale and development of certain public lands and for the construction and maintenance of public roads.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; debated, 2640.

H. R. 11284—For the relief of the Gilroy Winery & Distillery Co., Gilroy, Cal.
Mr. Hayes; reported adversely (H. Rept. 1304), 1580.

H. R. 11288—For the relief of S. S. Yoder.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; reported back (S. Rept. 920), 1247.—Debated and passed Senate, 2679.—Examined and signed, 2793, 2811.—Presented to the President, 2970.—Approved [Private, No. 190], 3618.

H. R. 11293—For the relief of the Barkhausen Coal & Dock Co., of Green Bay, Wis.
Mr. Konop; indefinitely postponed in Senate, 2494.

H. R. 11312—For the relief of J. H. Livingston.
Mr. Shackleford; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1383), 2296.

H. R. 11395—Granting a pension to Angeline E. Holt.
Mr. Sweet; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 5.

H. R. 11474—Authorizing the Secretary of Commerce to permit the construction of a public highway through the fish-cultural station in Unicoi County, Tenn.
Mr. Sells; debated, amended, and passed Senate, 2499, 2500.—House concurs in Senate amendment, 3465.—Examined and signed, 3541, 3571.—Presented to the President, 3651.—Approved [Public, No. 343], 4333, 4526.

H. R. 11498—Making an appropriation to compensate James M. Moore for damages sustained while in the service of the Government of the United States.
Mr. Hastings; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1311), 1580.—Amended and passed House, 2799.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 2825.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1044), 3179.

H. R. 11599—For the relief of Marion Banta.
Mr. Rouse; reported back (H. Rept. 1429), 2726.

H. R. 11661—For the relief of Catherine Burns, widow of Patrick Burns.
Mr. Haskell; debated, amended, and passed House, 3157, 3158.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 3265.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1080), 3657.

H. R. 11685—For the relief of Ivy L. Merrill.
Mr. Murray; reported back (S. Rept. 909), 1067.—Passed Senate, 2673.—Examined and signed, 2793, 2811.—Presented to the President, 2970.—Approved [Private, No. 188] 3449.

H. R. 11706—To amend an act entitled "An act to prevent the disclosure of national-defense secrets," approved Mar. 3, 1911.
Mr. Webb; reported back (H. Rept. 1427), 2660.—Passed House, 3641.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 3664.

H. R. 11745—For the relief of S. E. Bennett.
Mr. McDermott; passed Senate, 2506, 2507.—Examined and signed, 2605, 2631.—Presented to the President, 2725.—Approved [Private, No. 176], 3449.

H. R. 11903—Granting an increase of pension to Charles B. Boyd.
Mr. Keating; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 1156.

H. R. 12030—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the disposal of certain lands in the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation, N. Dak.," approved Aug. 3, 1914.
Mr. Norton; reported back (S. Rept. 1130); debated and passed Senate, 4568.—Examined and signed, 4743, 4855.—Presented to the President, 4944.—Approved [Public, No. 386], 5032.

H. R. 12064—Granting a pension to Mary W. Taylor.
Mr. Flood; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 5.

H. R. 12077—For the relief of Harry C. Bradley.
Mr. Huddleston; reported back adversely (H. Rept. 1503) and laid on table, 3465.

H. R. 12195—To amend section 17 of the United States bankruptcy law of July 1, 1898, and amendments thereto of Feb. 5, 1903.
Mr. Danforth; reported back, debated, and passed Senate, 3675.—Examined and signed, 3917, 3963.—Presented to the President, 4367.—Approved [Public, No. 376], 4810.

H. R. 12240—For the relief of John Brodie.
Mr. Kahn; passed Senate, 2504.—Examined and signed, 2605, 2631.—Presented to the President, 2726.—Approved [Private, No. 168], 2934.

H. R. 12317—For the relief of Stephen J. Haff.
Mr. Hicks; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1336), 1874.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 2801, 2802.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 2825.

H. R. 12391—To reimburse Douglas H. Johnston.
Mr. Murray; debated, 3156.

H. R. 12417—Authorizing and directing the Director of the Census to collect and publish the statistics of forest and State finance.
Mr. Helm; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1215), 198.—Debated, 2648.

H. R. 12426—To authorize mining for metalliferous minerals on Indian reservations.
Mr. Hayden; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 880), 421.—Debated, 941, 1109.—Unanimous-consent agreement for vote on objected to in Senate, 790, 791.

H. R. 12463—For the relief of Meredith G. Corlett, a citizen and resident of Williamson County, Tenn.
Mr. Padgett; reported back (S. Rept. 1063 and passed Senate, 3407.—Examined and signed, 3541, 3571.—Presented to the President, 3651.—Approved [Private, No. 204], 4333, 4526.

H. R. 12536—For the relief of the heirs of Benjamin Holladay, deceased.
Mr. Kahn; reported back adversely (H. Rept. 1295) and laid on table, 1517.

H. R. 12541—Authorizing insurance companies and fraternal beneficiary societies to file bills of interpleader.
Mr. Moore of Pennsylvania; debated, amended, and passed Senate, 2494, 2495.—House concurs in Senate amendments, 3429, 3430.—Examined and signed, 3541, 3571.—Presented to the President, 3651.—Approved [Public, No. 346], 4333, 4526.

H. R. 12544—Providing for the sale of the coal and asphalt deposits in the segregated mineral land in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, Okla.
Mr. Carter of Oklahoma; debate [Appendix, 272].

H. R. 12610—For the relief of Emma H. Ridley.
Mr. Hulbert; reported back (H. Rept. 1389), 2296.

H. R. 12617—For the relief of the legal representatives of Samuel Schiffer, deceased.
Mr. Langley; reported back (H. Rept. 1517), 3854.

H. R. 12716—Amending sections 4898, 4906, 4921, 4934, and 4935 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.
Mr. Oglesby; reported with amendments, 4372.

H. R. 12742—For the relief of Gottlob Schlect and Maurice D. Higgins and for the relief of the heirs and legal representatives of Valentine Brasch.
Mr. Hicks; passed Senate, 2494.—Examined and signed, 2605, 2631.—Presented to the President, 2726.—Approved [Private, No. 169], 2934.

H. R. 12787—Granting an increase of pension to Charles A. Morrison.
Mr. Dyer; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 2022.

H. R. 12859—For the relief of Julia Klavinski.
Mr. Doremus; reference changed to Senate Committee on Claims, 2158.

H. R. 12892—To provide for the export of foreign merchandise deposited in bonded warehouses to the island of Guam.
Mr. Kahn; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1528), 3958.

H. R. 12968—Granting an increase of pension to Stewart H. Herbeson.
Mr. Emerson; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 310.

H. R. 13106—For the relief of the trustees and parties who are now or who may hereafter become interested in the estate of James A. Chamberlain under the terms of his will.
Mr. Tinkham; passed Senate, 2505.—Examined and signed, 2605, 2631.—Presented to the President, 2726.—Approved [Private, No. 170], 2935.

H. R. 13165—Authorizing the Flandreau Band of Sioux Indians to submit claims to the Court of Claims.
Mr. Dillon; debated in House, 504, 2631.

H. R. 13166—Authorizing the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to transfer fractional block 6, of Naylor's addition, Forest Grove, Oreg., to the United States of America, for the use of the Bureau of Entomology, Department of Agriculture.
Mr. Hawley; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1290), 1377.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 3631.—Referred to Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, 3664.

H. R. 13311—Granting a pension to Mrs. Dicie J. Sullivan.
Mr. Keating; reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 784.

H. R. 13334—Granting a pension to Milo M. Miller.
Mr. Sterling; reference changed to Committee on Pension, 310.

H. R. 13354—To compensate Thomas G. Allen for injuries received while employed in the General Land Office of the United States, and making an appropriation therefor.
Mr. Beales; amended and passed House, 3159.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 3185.

H. R. 13385—Conferring jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment in claims of the Osage Nation of Indians against the United States.
Mr. Davenport; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1227), 462.

H. R. 13496—For the relief of the Moeur-Pafford Co.
Mr. Hayden; laid on the table, 3156.

H. R. 13636—For the relief of R. L. Jennings.
Mr. Dies; debated in House, 3155.—Laid on the table, 4004.

H. R. 13754—For the relief of Charles A. Carey.
Mr. Rogers; passed House, 3163, 3164.—Referred to Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 3185;.—Reference changed to Committee on Claims, 3576.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1099), 3657.

H. R. 13788—For the relief of Joseph A. Prat.
Mr. Dupré; reported back (S. Rept. 947), 1584.—Debated, 2685.

H. R. 13799—Granting an increase of pension to D. O. Root.
Mr. McKinley; reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 579.

H. R. 13820—For the relief of Mrs. Jennie Buttner.
Mr. Smith of Texas; passed Senate, 2504.—Examined and signed, 2605, 2631.—Presented to the President, 2726.—Approved [Private, No. 171], 2935.

H. R. 13831—To amend section 4464 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relating to number of passengers to be stated in certificates of inspection of passenger vessels, and section 4465 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, prescribing penalty for carrying excessive number of passengers on passenger vessels, and section 4466 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relating to special permits for excursions on passenger steamers.
Mr. Alexander; reported back (S. Rept. 923), 1321, 1322.—Debated and passed Senate, 2679, 2680.—Examined and signed, 2891, 2930.—Presented to the President, —.—Approved [Public, No. 318], 3449.

H. R. 13845—To amend section 5 of the "Panama Canal Act" by authorizing the President, by proclamation, to make and from time to time amend rules for the measurement of the gross and net tonnage of vessels as a basis for tolls which will correspond to and follow similar rules for measurement prevailing at the Suez Canal.
Mr. Kahn; debated (Appendix, 250, 251).

H. R. 14074—Granting the consent of Congress to the village of Fox Lake, in the county of Lake, State of Illinois, to construct a bridge across both arms of the Fox River which passes through Pistakee Lake and Nippersink Lake, a point suitable to the interests of navigation, at or near their point of intersection, in the county of Lake, State of Illinois.
Mr. Foss; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1437), 2726.—Amended and passed House, 2872 (Appendix, 314).—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 2933.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1048) and passed Senate, 3183.—Examined and signed, 3305, 3354.—Presented to the President, 3423.—Approved [Public, No. 331], 3618.

H. R. 14168—Granting a pension to Margaret Butler.
Mr. Liebel; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 5.

H. R. 14345—To reimburse J. B. Patterson, postmaster of Lacon, Morgan County, Ala., for certain postage stamps stolen.
Mr. Almon; passed House, 3168.—Referred to Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 3185.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1119), 4372.

H. R. 14402—For the relief of George E. Pickett, 3d.
Mr. Glass; reported back adversely (H. Rept. 1294) and laid on table, 1517.

H. R. 14426—To amend section 6 of the act entitled "An act to incorporate the American National Red Cross," approved Jan. 5, 1905.
Mr. Webb; reported back and passed Senate, 3657, 3658.—Examined and signed, 3917, 3963.—Presented to the President, 4367.—Approved [Public, No. 362], 4526.

H. R. 14471—To amend an act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the Judiciary."
Mr. Ferris; reported back and passed Senate, 3062, 3063.—Examined and signed, 3305, 3354.—Presented by the President, 3423.—Approved [Public, No. 341], 3782.

H. R. 14572—For the relief of Gertie Foss.
Mr. Stafford; passed Senate, 2504.—Examined and signed, 2605, 2631.—Presented to the President, 2726.—Approved [Private, No. 172], 2935.

H. R. 14620—To extend the provisions of section 2455 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, as amended, relating to the sale of isolated tracts of the public domain, to ceded Chippewa Indian lands in the State of Minnesota.
Mr. Steenerson; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1400), 2458.

H. R. 14631—For the relief of J. B. Fleming.
Mr. Dies; reported back (H. Rept. 1483), 3320.

H. R. 14645—For the relief of the legal representative of P. H. Aylett.
Mr. Montague; passed Senate, 2504, 2505.—Examined and signed, 2605, 2631.—Presented to the President, 2726.—Approved [Private, No. 173], 2935.

H. R. 14679—For the relief of Jacob B. Moore.
Mr. Carter of Oklahoma; amended and passed House, 3167.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 3185.—Reference changed to Committee on Indian Affairs, 3408.

H. R. 14695—For the relief of Mrs. H. O'Neill.
Mr. Haskell; debated, amended, and passed House, 3162, 3163.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 3185.

H. R. 14754—For the relief of Charles M. Way.
Mr. Roberts of Nevada; passed House, 3163.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 3185.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1079), 3657.

H. R. 14763—For the relief of Charles Lynch.
Mr. Tilson; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1331), 1802.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 2800, 2801.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 2825.

H. R. 14777—To provide for the control of the floods of the Mississippi River and of the Sacramento River, Cal., and for other purposes.
Mr. Humphreys of Mississippi; reported back (S. Rept. 891), 669, 938.—Debated, 2933, 2987, 2988, 4148–4150, 4280–4305.—Unanimous-consent agreement for vote on, agreed to in Senate, 4148–4150.—Amended and passed Senate, 4304, 4305.—House concurs in Senate amendments, 4443, 4464.—Examined and signed, 4483, 4526.—Presented to the President, 4527.—Approved [Public, No. 367], 4809.

H. R. 14784—For the relief of Alma Provost.
Mr. Gandy; passed Senate, 2504.—Examined and signed, 2605, 2631.—Presented to the President, 2726.—Approved [Private, No. 189], 3449.

H. R. 14816.—To provide for the use of public school buildings in the District of Columbia as community forums, and for other purposes.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; debated in House, 512–525, 1426–1429, 1435, 1436, 2632.

H. R. 14822—To prevent and punish the desertion, mutilation, or improper use, within the District of Columbia, of the flag of the United States of America.
Mr. Oglesby; debated in Senate, 1109, 1728, 2500.—Passed Senate, 2500.—Examined and signed, 2605, 2631.—Presented to the President, 2726.—Approved [Public, No. 305], 2935.

H. R. 14825—To provide for an auxiliary reclamation project in connection with the Yuma project, Arizona.
Mr. Hayden; laid on the table (see bill S. 5718), 1431–1433.

H. R. 14826—For the relief of F. M. Barfield.
Mr. Crisp; reported back (S. Rept. 948), 1584.—Debated, 4859.

H. R. 14830—Granting an increase of pension to Louis H. Blake.
Mr. Gould; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 310.

H. R. 14889—For the relief of the heirs of Jackson J. Mash, deceased.
Mr. Park; debated in Senate, 2498.

H. R. 14973—To amend an act entitled "An act relating to the liability of common carriers by railroad to their employees in certain cases," approved Apr. 22, 1908, and amended Apr. 5, 1910.
Mr. Taggart; debated in House, 511, 512.

H. R. 14978—For the relief of Ida Turner.
Mr. Anthony; passed Senate, 2507.—Examined and signed, 2605, 2631.—Presented to the President, 2726.—Approved [Private, No. 174], 2935.

H. R. 15016—For the relief of Asst. Paymaster John D. P. Hodapp, United States Navy.
Mr. Dixon; laid on the table, 3160.

H. R. 15076—Granting to the widow of Col. David Du B. Gaillard authority to place, in his memory, a tablet in the Memorial Amphitheater at Arlington, Va.
Mr. Nichols of South Carolina; debated in House, 504, 2632.

H. R. 15109—For the relief of Catherine A. Fox.
Mr. Bennet; reported back (S. Rept. 1098), 3657.

H. R. 15156—Granting public lands to the State of Oklahoma.
Mr. McClintic; debated, 2630.

H. R. 15233—For the relief of William A. Persons.
Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin; amended and passed House, 3171.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 3185.

H. R. 15314—To punish persons who make threats against the President of the United States.
Mr. Webb; reported back, debated, and passed Senate, 2667.—Examined and signed, 2891, 2930.—Presented to the President, —.—Approved [Public, No. 319], 3449.

H. R. 15353—Granting a pension to Louisa Donnelly.
Mr. Caldwell; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 1156.

H. R. 15400—Authorizing the Secretary of Commerce to lease certain property.
Mr. Hayes; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1544), 4064.

H. R. 15460—To provide for the payment of assessments for benefits for the opening of streets, avenues, roads, and alleys in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.
Mr. Tinkham; debated, 1430.

H. R. 15502—Granting an increase of pension to Siegmund Silberberg.
Mr. Hulbert; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 5.

H. R. 15523—To punish persons who make false representations to settlers and others pertaining to the public lands of the United States.
Mr. Raker; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1280), 1239.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 5899), 3356.

H. R. 15572—For the relief of W. T. Dingler.
Mr. Wingo; reported back (H. Rept. 1457), 3248.

H. R. 15617—To establish fish-hatching and fish-cultural stations in the States of Alabama, Louisiana, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina or North Carolina, Maryland or Virginia, Oregon or Washington, Texas, Oklahoma, Illinois, Washington, Arizona, New Mexico, Michigan, Idaho, Missouri, Pennsylvania, Delaware or New Jersey, and Minnesota.
Mr. Burke; debated, 53–75.—Amended and passed House, 75, 100–102.—Referred to Senate Committee on Fisheries, 152.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 911), 1106.—Debated, 2674.

H. R. 15644—For the relief of James S. Risher.
Mr. Rubey; amended and passed House, 3171.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 3185.

H. R. 15656—For the relief of Charles W. Anderson.
Mr. Bennet; reported back (H. Rept. 1455), 3248.

H. R. 15730—Giving the consent of the United States for the bringing of certain suits in the Supreme Court of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Neely; reported back (H. Rept. 1444), 2892.—Debated, 4801.

H. R. 15733—To authorize the advancement of funds to survey, construct, and maintain roads, trails, and bridges within Indian reservations.
Mr. Hayden; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1399), 2458.

H. R. 15736—To provide for aviation in the Coast Guard.
Mr. Montague; debated in House, 503.—Laid on the table, 1430.

H. R. 15842—To revise, amend, and codify the laws relating to publicity of contributions and expenditures made for the purpose of influencing the nomination and election of candidates for the offices of Senator and Representative in the Congress of the United States, extending the same to candidates for nomination and election to the offices of President and Vice President of the United States, limiting the amount which may be expended, providing for the publicity of campaign expenses, and for other purposes.
Mr. Rucker; debated in Senate, 19–30, 48–52, 90, 156, 162, 827, 1067, 1068, 1323, 1383, 1384, 2672.—Recommitted to Committee on Privileges and Elections with instructions, 162.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 898), 827.

H. R. 15852—For the relief of Allen Hyatt.
Mr. Crago; reported back (H. Rept. 1349), 1935.—Passed House, 2804.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 2825.

H. R. 15909—Granting an increase of pension to Theodore Sinzig.
Mr. Rowland; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 5.

H. R. 15913—To authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to establish uniform standards of classification for cotton; to provide for the application, enforcement, and use of such standards in transactions in interstate and foreign commerce; to prevent deception therein; and for other purposes.
Mr. Lever; debated, 808–822.—Amended and passed House, 822.—Referred to Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, —.

H. R. 15914—To authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to license establishments for and to regulate the preparation of viruses, serums, toxins, and analogous products for use in the treatment of domestic animals, and for other purposes.
Mr. Steele of Iowa; debated, 823, 1128–1147 (Appendix, 300).—Amended and passed House, 1146, 1147.—Referred to Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 1165.

H. R. 15950—To amend an act entitled "An act to promote the safety of employees and travelers upon railroads by compelling common carriers engaged in interstate commerce to equip their locomotives with safe and suitable boilers and appurtenances thereto," approved Feb. 17, 1911.
Mr. Sterling; debated in House, 3632.

H. R. 15999—For the relief of Asbury Scrivener.
Mr. Carlin; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1340), 1875.—Amended and passed House, 2803, 2805.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 2825.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1067), 3576.

H. R. 16003—For the relief of the heirs of David H. Fish, deceased.
Mr. Dixon; debated in House, 3163.

H. R. 16060—Providing for the classification of salaries of veterinary inspectors and lay inspectors (grades 1 and 2) employed in the Bureau of Animal Industry, Department of Agriculture.
Mr. Lobeck; debated in House, 1147–1155. (Appendix, 28.)

H. R. 16073—For the relief of the McClintic-Marshall Construction Co.
Mr. Coleman; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1409), 2536.

H. R. 16116—For the relief of Adelaide L. Gibbs, widow of Robert M. Gibbs.
Mr. Patten; amended and passed House, 3167.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 3185.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1077), 3657.

H. R. 16153—For the relief of Denny Costello.
Mr. Borland; rereferred to the Committee on Claims, 192.

H. R. 16173—To protect the hungry, the naked, the sick, and the dead in the District of Columbia from extortion, and for other purposes.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; reported back (H. Rept. 1571), 4465.

H. R. 16212—To confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims.
Mr. Graham; reported back (H. Rept. 1403), 2458.—Debated, 3637.

H. R. 16220—For the relief of First Lieut. Albert K. C. Palmer, United States Army.
Mr. Gardner; reported back (H. Rept. 1382), 2296.

H. R. 16358—To establish in the Department of Labor a division to be known as a Woman's Division.
Mr. Casey; reported back (H. Rept. 1205), 33.—Debated (Appendix, 504).

H. R. 16407—For the relief of J. L. Bonner.
Mr. Harrison; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1270), 1102.—Amended and passed House, 2794.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 2825.

H. R. 16482—To reimburse Capt. E. D. Kremers, Medical Corps, United States Army, for rent of quarters at Honolulu, Hawaii.
Mr. Mapes; reported back (H. Rept. 1456), 3248.

H. R. 16583—Granting an increase of pension to George D. Adamson.
Mr. Dillon; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 310.

H. R. 16590—For the relief of George Le Clear.
Mr. Magee; reported back (S. Rept. 1053), 3254.

H. R. 16606—Providing for a memorial to Miss Clara Barton in the building being erected for the use of the American National Red Cross.
Mr. Dyer; reported back adversely (H. Rept. 1512), 3734.

H. R. 16733—To amend the act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," aproved Feb. 4, 1887, as heretofore amended, and for other purposes.
Mr. Adamson; debated, amended, and passed House, 1436.—Referred to Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, 1479.

H. R. 16749—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to collect and publish statistics on the production, manufacture, and marketing of crude petroleum.
Mr. Carter of Oklahoma; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1330), 1802.

H. R. 16788—To acquire, construct, and maintain a military and national-defense highway and post road extending from Los Angeles, Cal., through Mojave, Freeman, along the east base of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, through Lone Pine, Independence, Big Pine, Bishop, along the west side of Lake Mono, through Bridgeport, Markleeville, Tallac, Tahoe, Truckee, Downieville, Quincy, Susanville, and Alturas; thence along the east side of Goose Lake past the towns of Fairport and New Pine Creek, all in California, to Lakeview, Oreg.; and from Alturas, Cal., down Pit River to connect with the California State Highway at Redding, Cal.
Mr. Raker; debated (Appendix, 837).

H. R. 16827—For the relief of Henry P. Grant, of Phillips County, Ark.
Mr. Caraway; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1223), 462.—Amended and passed House, 2792, 2793.—Referred to Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 2825.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1047), 3179.

H. R. 16852—Laying an embargo upon print, book, bond, and linen paper, pulp, and pulp products.
Mr. Dillon; debated (Appendix, 941).

H. R. 16855—For the relief of Riverside Military Academy.
Mr. Bell; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1296), 1517.—Amended and passed House, 2794.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 2825.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1042), 3179.—Passed Senate, 3961, 3962.—Examined and signed, 4031, 4067.—Presented to the President, 4367.—Approved [Private, No. 206], 4526.

H. R. 16920—To correct the military record of John A. Swartzwelder.
Mr. Coleman; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1590), 4563.

H. R. 16922—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to sell and convey to the Great Northern Railway Co. certain lands in the State of Montana for division terminal yards and other railway purposes, and for other purposes.
Mr. Evans; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1233), 631.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 7796), 3627, 3628.

H. R. 16993—To validate a patent to certain lands heretofore issued to the State of Florida, to allow said State to claim certain other lands, and for other purposes.
Mr. Sears; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1367), 2215.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 6654), 3640.

H. R. 17020—Making an appropriation for the benefit of the Aviation Corps of the Department of War, and repealing the provisions of certain acts relating to the acquisition of a site and the erection of a public building at Ripon, Wis.
Mr. Reilly; debated, amended, and passed House, 506–511.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 532.

H. R. 17028—Granting a pension to Sarah E. Thacker.
Mr. Kettner; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 5.

H. R. 17055—Providing when patents shall issue to the purchaser or heirs on certain lands in the State of Oregon.
Mr. Sinnott; passed House, 2633.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Lands, 2753.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1026); passed Senate, 2980.—Examined and signed, 3176, 3248.—Presented to the President, 3248.—Approved [Public, No. 330], 3618.

H. R. 17085—To permit homestead and desert-land entry on lands withdrawn for reclamation purposes.
Mr. Sinnott; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1347), 1935.—Debated, 3633, 3634.

H. R. 17122—Granting an increase of pension to Barbara Johnson.
Mr. Young of North Dakota; reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2102.

H. R. 17144—For the relief of Arthur Wendle Englert.
Mr. Kent; reported back (H. Rept. 1489), 3320.

H. R. 17189—To prevent and punish willful injury or attempted injury to, or conspiracy to injure, any vessel engaged in foreign commerce, or the cargo or persons on board thereof, by fire, explosives, or otherwise.
Mr. Webb; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1426), 2660.—Debated, 3641.

H. R. 17190—To prohibit and punish the fraudulent use, application, or counterfeiting of the seal of any executive department or Government commission.
Mr. Webb; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1425), 2660.—Debated, 3641.

H. R. 17304—For the relief of W. L. Rose.
Mr. Curry; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1299), 1517.—Debated, 2795.

H. R. 17305—For the relief of William I. Wood.
Mr. Guernsey; reported back (H. Rept. 1338), 1874.—Passed House, 2802, 2803.—Referred to Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 2825.

H. R. 17327—Granting a pension to Christiana Fortner.
Mr. Shouse; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 5.

H. R. 17340—Granting a pension to Margaret A. Weed.
Mr. Adair; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 1156.

H. R. 17347—Granting an increase of pension to William E. Meadows.
Mr. Nichols of Michigan; reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 1156.

H. R. 17350—To promote export trade, and for other purposes.
Mr. Webb; reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1056), 3406.

H. R. 17381—To establish game sanctuaries in national forests, and for other purposes.
Mr. Hayden; debated, 2641, 3434.

H. R. 17406—For the relief of Eugene Fazzi.
Mr. Browning; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1306), 1580.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 2796–2798.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 2825.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1045), 3179.

H. R. 17411—For the relief of William H. Keys.
Mr. Mudd; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1334), 1874.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 2801.—Referred to Senate Committee on Claims, 2825.

H. R. 17424—Authorizing transfer of certain retired Army officers to the active list.
Mr. McLemore; debated, 1441–1443.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 6850), 3289–3305.

H. R. 17448—For the relief of the heirs of Robert Laird McCormick, deceased.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; reported back (H. Rept. 1484), 3320.

H. R. 17496—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury, in his discretion, to transfer and convey to the commissioners of Lincoln Park, of Chicago, Ill., the riparian rights of the United States, as the owner of land fronting on Lake Michigan and occupied as the site of the United States marine hospital in Chicago, Ill.
Mr. Foss; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1511), 3734.—Debated [Appendix, 912] (see bill S. 7905), 4953.

H. R. 17499—For the protection, regulation, and conservation of the fisheries of Alaska, and for other purposes.
Mr. Alexander; debated in House, 76, 277–309. (Appendix, 33.)

H. R. 17572—To provide for increasing the rates of pension of totally disabled, needy, and helpless soldiers, sailors, and marines of the Civil and Mexican Wars.
Mr. Langley; debated (Appendix, 919, 920).

H. R. 17602—Granting the consent of Congress to the county commissioners of Polk County, Minn., and Grand Forks County, N. Dak., to construct a bridge across Red River of the North on the boundary line between said States.
Mr. Steenerson; reported back (H. Rept. 1212), 198.—Passed House, 2870.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 2933.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1049) and passed Senate, 3183.—Examined and signed, 3305, 3354.—Presented to the President, 3423.—Approved [Public, No. 332], 3618.

H. R. 17603—To authorize the construction, maintenance, and operation of a wagon bridge across the St. Francis River at a point one-half mile northwest of Parkin, Cross County, Ark.
Mr. Caraway; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1211), 198.—Laid on table (see bill S. 6956), 2870.

H. R. 17605—To amend the first and seventh paragraphs of section 4414 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, as amended by the act of Apr. 9, 1906.
Mr. Sparkman; reported back (H. Rept. 1235), 631.—Debated, 2648, 2649, 3625, 3626.—Laid on table (see bill S. 8079), 3626.

H. R. 17646—To amend section 6 of an act to define and fix the standard of value, to maintain the parity of all forms of money issued or coined by the United States, to refund the public debt, and for other purposes, approved Mar. 14, 1900, as amended by the act of Mar. 4, 1907, by the act of Mar. 2, 1911, and by the act of June 12, 1916.
Mr. Glass; debated and passed House, 3638.—Referred to Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, 3664.

H. R. 17692—For the relief of Frank Pinkley.
Mr. Hayden; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1335), 1874.

H. R. 17699—Authorizing and directing the Public Printer to provide a pulp and paper mill or mills for the manufacture of print paper for the Government.
Mr. Tavenner; reported back (H. Rept. 1244), 666.

H. R. 17710—Authorizing the construction of a bridge across the Tallapoosa River, separating the counties of Montgomery and Elmore, in the State of Alabama, at a point somewhere between Judkin Ferry and Hughes Ferry.
Mr. Dent; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1210), 198.—Amended and passed House, 2870.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 2933.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1050) and passed Senate, 3183.—Examined and signed, 3423, 3571.—Presented to the President, 3651.—Approved [Public, No. 344], 4333, 4526.

H. R. 17743—Authorizing Anton Hiersche to select other land in lieu of land now owned by him required for reclamation purposes.
Mr. Smith of Texas; reported back (H. Rept. 1393), 2357.

H. R. 17781—For the relief of Alexander F. McCollam.
Mr. Raker; reported back (H. Rept. 1234), 631, 1128.

H. R. 17799—For the erection of a public building at the city of Auburn, State of California, and appropriating moneys therefor.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 5.

H. R. 17800—To authorize the Secretary of War to furnish two condemned cannon to the village of Port Henry, N. Y., for use at old Fort St. Frederick.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Military Affairs, 6.

H. R. 17801—Providing for the improvement of the Harlem River, New York City.
Mr. Bruckner; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 6.

H. R. 17802—Providing for the Bronx River, New York City, improvement.
Mr. Bruckner; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 6.

H. R. 17803—Providing for the completion of the Bronx River, New York City, improvement.
Mr. Bruckner; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 6.

H. R. 17804—Providing for the Westchester Creek, New York City, improvement.
Mr. Bruckner; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 6.

H. R. 17805—To reclassify clerks at first and second class post offices and carriers in the City Delivery Service.
Mr. Tague; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 6.

H. R. 17806—To regulate the payment of salaries of post-office clerks in first and second class post offices and letter carriers in the City Delivery Service.
Mr. Madden; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 6.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1545), 4064.—Debated (Appendix, 521).

H. R. 17807—Appropriating money for the improvement of the Shrewsbury River, N. J., up to Red Bank, on the North Branch, and to Branchport, on the South Branch.
Mr. Scully; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 6.

H. R. 17808—For the erection of a Federal building for the United States post office at Red Bank, N. J.
Mr. Scully; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 6.

H. R. 17809—Appropriating money for the improvement of the Raritan River, N. J.
Mr. Scully; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 6.

H. R. 17810—To aid navigation and control floods on the boundary waters of Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on Flood Control, 6.

H. R. 17811—To aid navigation and control floods on the boundary waters of Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota.
Mr. Volstead; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 6.

H. R. 17812—Providing for the free importation of seed wheat under certain conditions.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on Ways and Means, 6.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1527), 3958.

H. R. 17813—To authorize the appointment of women as rural carriers.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 6.

H. R. 17814—To transfer Early County from the western division of the northern district of Georgia to the Albany division of the southern district of Georgia.
Mr. Park; Committee on the Judiciary, 6.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1226), 462.—Passed House, 2646.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 2753.

H. R. 17815—To fix the rates of postage on farm products and manufactured foodstuffs.
Mr. Fitzgerald; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 6.

H. R. 17816—To regulate the transportation in interstate commerce of cold-storage food.
Mr. Fitzgerald; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6.

H. R. 17817—To conserve the food supply of the United States and to protect the people from extortionate prices by temporarily prohibiting the export of farm products, fish, game, and manufactured foodstuffs.
Mr. Fitzgerald; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6.

H. R. 17818—To conserve the food supply of the United States and to protect the people from the extortionate prices by empowering the President to suspend the exportation of farm products, fish, game, and manufactured foodstuffs.
Mr. Fitzgerald; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6.

H. R. 17819—To provide for the erection of a public building at Fostoria, Ohio.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 6.

H. R. 17820—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to C. M. Packard Post, No. 193, Department of Massachusetts, Grand Army of the Republic, of Avon, in the county of Norfolk and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, two bronze or brass cannon or fieldpieces and 40 cannon balls.
Mr. Olney; Committee on Military Affairs, 6.

H. R. 17821—To authorize the coinage of 3-cent pieces, and for other purposes.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, 6.

H. R. 17822—To extend the provisions of the pension act of May 11, 1912, and the act of Apr. 19, 1908, as amended by act of Sept. 8, 1916, to the officers and enlisted men of all State militia and other State organizations that rendered service to the Government during the Spanish-American War for a period of 90 days or more, and providing pensions for their widows, minor children, and dependent parents, and for other purposes.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 6.

H. R. 17823—To prohibit interstate shipments or transportation of certain food products; to define and to prohibit transportation and sale of adulterated or misbranded food products; to regulate traffic therein; to define and regulate cold storage; to regulate dealing in cold-storage food products; and to fix penalties for violation, and for other purposes.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 6.

H. R. 17824—To extend the provisions of the pension act of May 11, 1912, and the act of Apr. 19, 1908, as amended by act of Sept. 8, 1916, to the officers and enlisted men of all State militia and other State organizations that rendered service to the Union cause during the Civil War for a period of 90 days or more, and providing pensions for their widows, minor children, and dependent parents, and for other purposes.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6.

H. R. 17825—Recognizing the military service of and giving pensionable status under all pension laws of the United States to persons serving under United States officers as home guards, militia, teamsters, or other provisional troops or field employees during the Mexican War, the Civil War, or the Spanish-American War.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6.

H. R. 17826—Granting a pension to teamsters, bridge builders, and railroad repairers who were in the service of the United States during the Mexican War or the Civil War.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6.

H. R. 17827—Granting pensions to Army teamsters of the Mexican War or the Civil War.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 6.

H. R. 17828—Making an appropriation for the construction of a dry dock at the Puget Sound Navy Yard.
Mr. Humphrey of Washington; Committee on Naval Affairs, 6.

H. R. 17829—For the conservation of alcohol in the manufacture of dealcoholized fermented beverages.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Ways and Means, 6.

H. R. 17830—Providing for the construction of an inland waterway from the Mississippi River to Bayou Teche, La.
Mr. Dupré; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 6.

H. R. 17831—For the erection of a public building at the city of Redding, State of California, and appropriating moneys therefor.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 6.

H. R. 17832—To authorize the coinage of 2½-cent pieces, and for other purposes.
Mr. Bacharach; Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, 6.

H. R. 17833—To appropriate $500,000 for the improvement of East River, N. Y., with a view to securing a 35-foot channel from the Upper Bay through Hell Gate to Long Island Sound, thus giving two means of ingress to and egress from the navy yard, and enabling the largest ships of the Navy and commerce to enter and leave at all stages of the tide, and with a view to securing suitable approaches to the docks and piers.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 6.

H. R. 17834—To appropriate $250,000 for the further improvement of Harlem River, N. Y., with a view to continuing improvement of.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 6.

H. R. 17835—Authorizing a survey of Harlem River, New York City.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 6.

H. R. 17836—For the acquisition of the site and the construction of a building for post-office purposes at Sylvester, in the State of Georgia.
Mr. Park; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 6.

H. R. 17837—Making an appropriation for the improvement of Flint River, Ga.
Mr. Park; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 6.

H. R. 17838—To increase the salaries of the United States district attorney and United States marshal for the southern district of Georgia, and for other purposes.
Mr. Park; Committee on the Judiciary, 6.

H. R. 17839—To establish an agricultural plant, shrub, fruit and ornamental tree, berry, and vegetable experimental station at or near the city of Colquitt, Miller County, Ga.
Mr. Park; Committee on Agriculture, 6.

H. R. 17840—To refund amount paid illegally for cotton tax, to be used in pensioning Confederate soldiers and widows of Confederate soldiers.
Mr. Park; Committee on War Claims, 6.

H. R. 17841—For the acquisition of a site and the construction of a building for post-office purposes at Camilla, in the State of Georgia.
Mr. Park; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 6.

H. R. 17842—To provide for a survey and estimate of cost of a canal connecting the waters of the Flint and Ocmulgee Rivers in the State of Georgia.
Mr. Park; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 7.

H. R. 17843—To provide for the purchase of additional land and for the erection thereon of an addition to the post-office building at Boulder, Colo.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 7.

H. R. 17844—To grant certain lands to the city of Boulder, Colo.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on the Public Lands, 7.

H. R. 17845—To provide for the testing of underground water supply in Lincoln County, Colo.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 7.—Reference changed to Committee on Appropriations, 192.

H. R. 17846—Authorizing the President of the United States to issue a provisional embargo upon wheat and wheat flour and the products of wheat.
Mr. Farr; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 7.

H. R. 17847—Providing for the purchase of a site for the purpose of erecting a Federal building thereon in the city of Troy, county of Miami, State of Ohio, and appropriating the money therefor.
Mr. Russell of Ohio; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 7.

H. R. 17848—To secure information relative to food products stored in cold-storage warehouses.
Mr. Sabath; Committee on Agriculture, 7.

H. R. 17849—To prevent the transportation in interstate commerce of any food products, except meats and fruits, that have been kept in cold storage for a period of more than 90 days.
Mr. McLemore; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 7.

H. R. 17850—To prohibit commerce in intoxicating liquors between the States.
Mr. Howard; Committee on the Judiciary, 7.—Change of reference objected to, 647, 648.

H. R. 17851—Authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to expend the sum of $250,000 on an intensive study of infantile paralysis.
Mr. Gallivan; Committee on Appropriations, 7.—Debated (Appendix, 784).

H. R. 17852—To appropriate $300,000 for the improvement of Baltimore Harbor, Md., and the approaches thereto.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 7.

H. R. 17853—To provide for the erection of a public building at Philippi, W. Va.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 7.

H. R. 17854—Authorizing the Interstate Commerce Commission to fix, prescribe, publish, and enforce rules and regulations for the exchange, handling, and moving of cars on railroads engaged in the transaction of intrastate business.
Mr. Oliver; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 7.

H. R. 17855—Granting a pension to Miranda Q. Moore.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7.

H. R. 17856—Granting an increase of pension to Mary M. Scott.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7.

H. R. 17857—Granting an increase of pension to Francis Berkhimer.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7.

H. R. 17858—Granting an increase of pension to Childes B. Johnson.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7.

H. R. 17859—Granting an increase of pension to James Showers.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7.

H. R. 17860—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob J. Cope.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7.

H. R. 17861—Granting an increase of pension to Zachariah Holland.
Mr. Allen; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7.

H. R. 17862—Granting an increase of pension to Leonard Tressel.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7.

H. R. 17863—Granting an increase of pension to Theodore B. Torrens.
Mr. Bennet; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7.

H. R. 17864—Granting a pension to Oliver P. Jackson.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Pensions, 7.

H. R. 17865—For the relief of Katherine Simon.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Claims, 7.

H. R. 17866—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Tice.
Mr. Browning; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7.

H. R. 17867—Granting an increase of pension to Lewis Seymour.
Mr. Carter of Massachusetts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7.

H. R. 17868—Granting a pension to Jacob Himmelhaber.
Mr. Cox; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7.

H. R. 17869—Granting a pension to Elias Ellis.
Mr. Cox; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7.

H. R. 17870—Granting an increase of pension to Smith Ross.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7.

H. R. 17871—Granting a pension to George Barber.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7.

H. R. 17872—Granting an increase of pension to Elijah Campbell.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7.

H. R. 17873—Granting a pension to Fred Scruggs.
Mr. Culiop; Committee on Pensions, 7.

H. R. 17874—Granting an increase of pension to John T. Watson.
Mr. Cullop; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7.

H. R. 17875—Granting an increase of pension to Recarda L. Campbell.
Mr. Dale of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 7.

H. R. 17876—Granting an increase of pension to William M. Reid.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17877—Granting a pension to Charlotte Eckstine.
Mr. Dixon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17878—Granting a pension to James Wildman.
Mr. Dixon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17879—For the relief of Archibald Craig.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Military Affairs, 8.

H. R. 17880—Granting an increase of pension to Jane Grace.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17881—Granting an increase of pension to Alfred A. Chaplin.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17882—Granting an increase of pension to James E. Flynn.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17883—Granting an increase of pension to Elsden B. Stephens.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17884—Granting an increase of pension to Silas D. Taylor.
Mr. Esch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17885—Granting an increase of pension to James W. Hester.
Mr. Fuller; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17886—Granting a pension to Margaret E. Bradford.
Mr. Fuller; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17887—Granting an increase of pension to Wallace Chamberlain.
Mr. Gillett; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17888—Granting a pension to William H. Brenner.
Mr. Heaton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17889—Granting a pension to Mary E. Rose.
Mr. Heaton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17890—Granting an increase of pension to Edward Barr.
Mr. Heaton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17891—Granting an increase of pension to Elias Yerger.
Mr. Heaton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17892—For the relief of Elizabeth Bachman.
Mr. Heaton; Committee on War Claims, 8.

H. R. 17893—For the relief of James Boyd, deceased.
Mr. Heaton; Committee on Military Affairs, 8.

H. R. 17894—For the relief of Alfred Trainer.
Mr. Heaton; Committee on Military Affairs, 8.

H. R. 17895—Granting a pension to Catherine Howland.
Mr. Hilliard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17896—Granting a pension to George W. Webster.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17897—Granting an increase of pension to William McKean.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17898—Granting an increase of pension to Oliver Shirkey.
Mr. Hull of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17899—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Stoker.
Mr. Hull of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17900—Granting an increase of pension to Richard R. Bigelow.
Mr. Hull of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17901—Granting an increase of pension to Emma M. Bledsoe.
Mr. Hull of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17902—Granting an increase of pension to Caleb A. Hesser.
Mr. Hull of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17903—Granting an increase of pension to Levy S. Moss.
Mr. Hull of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17904—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Walls.
Mr. Hull of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17905—Granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Mary J. Wilcox.
Mr. Hull of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17906—Granting an increase of pension to Wiliam M. Gosnell.
Mr. Hull of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17907—Granting a pension to Henry W. Grady.
Mr. Hull of Iowa; Committee on Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17908—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Watson.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17909—Granting a pension to Leon B. Huff.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17910—Granting an increase of pension to Ella E. Kenney.
Mr. Kennedy of Rhode Island; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17911—Granting an increase of pension to John E. Whipple.
Mr. Kennedy of Rhode Island; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17912—Granting an increase of pension to Charles O. Smith.
Mr. Kennedy of Rhode Island; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17913—Granting an increase of pension to Marcel H. Poirier.
Mr. Kennedy of Rhode Island; Committee on Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17914—Granting a pension to Sirquet Grosjean.
Mr. Kiess of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17915—Granting a pension to Rebecca Zellers.
Mr. Kiess of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17916—Granting an increase of pension to James H. Goodrich.
Mr. Kiess of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17917—For the relief of Ephriam M. Beach.
Mr. Kiess of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 8.

H. R. 17918—Granting an increase of pension to George McByers.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17919—Granting an increase of pension to Alexander W. Wells.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17920—Granting an increase of pension to Henry N. Yocum.
Mr. Kreider; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17921—Granting an increase of pension to William Heller.
Mr. Kreider; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17922—Granting an increase of pension to Frederick Hartman.
Mr. Kreider; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17923—For the allowance of certain soldiers' claims growing out of service in the Army, reported by the Court of Claims, known as travel-pay claims.
Mr. Langley; Committee on War Claims, 8.

H. R. 17924—For the allowance of certain claims for back pay growing out of service in the Army, during the Civil War, as reported by the Court of Claims.
Mr. Langley; Committee on War Claims, 8.

H. R. 17925—For the allowance of certain soldiers' claims growing out of service in the Army during the Civil War reported by the Court of Claims, known as claims for three months' extra pay and for bounty.
Mr. Langley; Committee on War Claims, 8.

H. R. 17926—For the allowance of certain claims for difference in pay growing out of service in the Navy, as reported by the Court of Claims.
Mr. Langley: Committee on Claims, 8.

H. R. 17927—Granting a pension to Leslie Higgins.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17928—For the relief of Albert Tate.
Mr. Lazaro; Committee on Military Affairs, 8.

H. R. 17929—Granting a pension to Richard Thrash.
Mr. Lazaro; Committee on Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17930—Granting an increase of pension to Joshua J. Hunt.
Mr. Lieb; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17931—Granting an increase of pension to Martha E. Moore.
Mr. Lloyd; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17932—Granting an increase of pension to Christine Horton.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17933—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Ferster.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17934—Granting an increase of pension to Oren N. Dibble.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17935—Granting an increase of pension to William G. Richey.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17936—Granting an increase of pension to Phillip Winckler.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17937—Granting an increase of pension to Ella Taylor.
Mr. McCracken; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17938—For the relief of the heirs at law of L. L. Bosworth, deceased.
Mr. McFadden; Committee on Claims, 8.

H. R. 17939—For the relief of the widow of Lemuel L. Moody, deceased.
Mr. McFadden; Committee on Claims, 8.

H. R. 17940—Granting an increase of pension to James W. Achorn.
Mr. McGillicuddy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17941—Granting an increase of pension to Ida F. Strout.
Mr. McGillicuddy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17942—Granting an increase of pension to Henry King.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17943—Granting an increase of pension to Charles W. A. Reynolds.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17944—For the relief of the widow of E. J. Seymour, deceased.
Mr. Meeker; Committee on Claims, 8.

H. R. 17945—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Young.
Mr. Morin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17946—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Beltz.
Mr. Morin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17947—Granting an increase of pension to Minnie Schrader.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 8.

H. R. 17948—Granting an increase of pension to Barbaretta Weekly.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17949—Granting a pension to Deborah Sebring.
Mr. North; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17950—Granting a pension to Sarah A. Rosenberger.
Mr. North; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17951—Granting a pension to Joseph Neill.
Mr. North; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17952—Granting an increase of pension to John McDowell.
Mr. North; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17953—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Maxwell.
Mr. North; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17954—Granting a pension to Catherine M. Quinn.
Mr. Olney; Committee on Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17955—Granting a pension to George R. Bowker.
Mr. Olney; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17956—Granting an increase of pension to Ira McLaughlin.
Mr. Olney; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17957—Granting a pension to Albert W. Ankney.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17958—Granting a pension to William B. Olds.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17959—Granting a pension to Barbara Reineck.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17960—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph W. Coy.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17961—Granting an increase of pension to Lott Todd.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17962—Granting an increase of pension to Oliver P. Huffman.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17963—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Butler.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17964—Granting an increase of pension to Franklin B. Grubb.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17965—Granting an increase of pension to John Shoup.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17966—Granting an increase of pension to John K. Gessner.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17967—Granting an increase of pension to Demas L. Hill.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17968—Granting an increase of pension to John Adams.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17969—Granting an increase of pension to Francis Penny.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17970—Granting an increase of pension to John M. Fesler.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17971—Granting an increase of pension to Lewis Mesnard.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17972—Granting a pension to John T. Lowrey.
Mr. Park; Committee on Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17973—Granting an increase of pension to James B. Erskine.
Mr. Peters; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17974—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Davis.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17975—For the relief of the heirs of Morgan Davidson.
Mr. Powers; Committee on War Claims, 9.

H. R. 17976—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas F. Clutts.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17977—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas G. Mitchell.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17978—Granting an increase of pension to Gideon P. Myers.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17979—Granting an increase of pension to James F. Peters.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17980—Granting an increase of pension to George Poff.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17981—Granting an increase of pension to John R. Rice.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17982—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph D. Thach.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17983—Granting a pension to James H. Buckner.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17984—Granting a pension to James H. Hornsby.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17985—Granting a pension to John D. Hoskins.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17986—Granting a pension to Ewel King.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17987—Granting a pension to Thomas M. McDonald.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17988—Granting a pension to Rebecca Martin.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17989—Granting a pension to Bascum M. Meyers.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17990—Granting a pension to Susan Murphy.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17991—Granting a pension to John Sullivan.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17992—Granting a pension to Gilbert Taylor.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17993—Granting a pension to Isaac Townsend.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17994—Granting a pension to Laura M. Miller.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17995—Granting a pension to William A. Payne
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17996—Granting an increase of pension to John Fitzsimmons.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17997—Granting an increase of pension to Williamson S. Wright.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17998—Granting an increase of pension to John F. Merritt.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 17999—Granting an increase of pension to William Ducy.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 18000—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Clouse.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 18001—Granting an increase of pension to George Smith.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 18002—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Culbertson.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 18003—Granting an increase of pension to Curtis Hoff.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 18004—For the relief of Thomas Campbell.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Military Affairs, 9.

H. R. 18005—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Klopp.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 18006—Granting an increase of pension to Alpheus L. Woodard.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 18007—Granting a pension to Georgia Acuff.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Pensions, 9.

H. R. 18008—Granting an increase of pension to James Chewning.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 18009—Granting an increase of pension to Bird C. Guffey.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 18010—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin Johnson.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 18011—Granting an increase of pension to Sylvester E. Stone.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 18012—Granting an increase of pension to Josiah Brewer.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 18013—Granting an increase of pension to Philip C. Cooter.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 18014—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph P. Case.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 18015—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Cutbirth.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 18016—Granting an increase of pension to Archibald W. Mayden.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 18017—Granting an increase of pension to Gaston P. Lingenfelter.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 18018—Granting an increase of pension to John A. Rice.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 18019—Granting an increase of pension to Edward H. Ridenour.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 18020—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew J. Arnold.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 18021—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel F. Brown.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 18022—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Creek.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 18023—Granting an increase of pension to Tobias H. Foltz.
Mr. Russell of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 18024—Granting an increase of pension to Alfred W. Marshall.
Mr. Scott of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 18025—Granting an increase of pension to Edward N. Whitney.
Mr. Scott of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 18026—Granting a pension to Tillie H. L. Weatherford.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 9.

H. R. 18027—Granting a pension to Peter Reno.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 9.

H. R. 18028—Granting a pension to Oscar Johnson.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 18029—Granting a pension to Elizabeth C. Wallace.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 9.

H. R. 18030—Granting a pension to Edgar M. Curtis.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18031—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Watson.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18032—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel E. Keller.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18033—Granting an increase of pension to Peter Roberts.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18034—Granting an increase of pension to George T. Lowry.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18035—Granting an increase of pension to Lewis H. Palmer.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18036—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of John W. Clark.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Military Affairs, 10.

H. R. 18037—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Wright.
Mr. Smith of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18038—Granting a pension to William Brown, alias Daniel Mulligan.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18039—Granting an increase of pension to John H. Rivers.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18040—Granting an increase of pension to Charles A. Hitchcock.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18041—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Allen.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18042—Granting an increase of pension to Wellington Hay.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18043—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel B. Shadle.
Mr. Steele of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18044—Granting an increase of pension to Edwin Andrews.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18045—Granting an increase of pension to Romanzo A. Coats.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18046—For the relief of the heirs at law of L. M. Henry, deceased.
Mr. Stephens of Texas; Committee on Claims, 10.

H. R. 18047—Granting an increase of pension to Edwin H. Miner.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18048—Granting an increase of pension to Byron D. Brown.
Mr. Sulloway; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18049—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel Hough.
Mr. Sulloway; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18050—Granting an increase of pension to Willard W. Colburn.
Mr. Sulloway; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18051—Granting an increase of pension to James O. Harriman.
Mr. Sulloway; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18052—Granting an increase of pension to Martin V. B. Wyman.
Mr. Sulloway; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18053—Granting an increase of pension to Laura C. Whittier.
Mr. Sulloway; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18054—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Spaulding.
Mr. Sulloway; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18055—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah A. Manning.
Mr. Sulloway; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18056—Granting an increase of pension to Leander N. Thornberry, now known as Frank H. Reynolds.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18057—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob P. Marling.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18058—Granting an increase of pension to Enoch Roberts.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18059—Granting an increase of pension to James W. Toothman.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18060—Granting an increase of pension to Lee J. Cochran.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18061—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin N. Satterfield.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18062—Granting a pension to William P. Robinson.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 1517.

H. R. 18063—Granting an increase of pension to Oscar N. Greer.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18064—For the relief of John W. May.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18065—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Vitteto.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18066—Granting an increase of pension to Charles L. Thompson.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 1658.

H. R. 18067—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Cranston.
Mr. Treadway; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18068—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah E. Terwilliger.
Mr. Ward; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18069—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Michel.
Mr. Ward; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18070—Granting an increase of pension to John F. Phillips.
Mr. Wason; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18071—Granting an increase of pension to G. C. Benard.
Mr. Williams of Ohio; Committee on Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18072—Granting an increase of pension to Albert F. Bennett.
Mr. Williams of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18073—Granting an increase of pension to James V. Whitney.
Mr. Williams of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 10.

H. R. 18074—To conserve the food supply of the United States and protect the people from extortionate prices.
Mr. Edmonds; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 33.

H. R. 18075—To authorize the city of Winchester, Ky., to divert water from the pool in the Kentucky River formed by Lock and Dam No. 10.
Mr. Cantrill; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 33.

H. R. 18076—To amend the act approved June 3, 1916, increasing the Medical Corps of the Army.
Mr. Sparkman; Committee on Military Affairs, 33.

H. R. 18077—To amend the act of Mar. 2, 1907, relative to the grades and salaries of clerks in the post offices of the first and second class and carriers in the City Delivery Service, and for other purposes.
Mr. Coleman; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 33.

H. R. 18078—Providing for a site for public building for post office and other Federal purposes at Norton, Kans.
Mr. Connelly; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 33.

H. R. 18079—Providing for a site and public building for post office and other Federal purposes at Hays, Kans.
Mr. Connelly; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 33.

H. R. 18080—To determine what obligation, if any, exists under the treaty with Spain of 1819 to relieve the estate of Richard W. Meade, deceased.
Mr. Edmonds; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 33.

H. R. 18081—Granting a pension to teamsters, bridge builders, and railroad repairers who were in the service of the United States during the War with Spain.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 33.

H. R. 18082—Recognizing the military service of and giving pensionable status under all pension laws of the United States to persons serving under United States officers as home guards, militia, teamsters, or other provisional troops or field employees during the War with Spain.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 33.

H. R. 18083—Granting pensions to Army teamsters of the War with Spain.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 33.

H. R. 18084—Providing for the continuation and the completion of the East Chester Creek (New York City) improvement.
Mr. Bruckner; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 33.

H. R. 18085—Extending the time for completion of the bridge across the Delaware River authorized by an act entitled "An act to authorize the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. and the Pennsylvania & Newark Railroad Co., or their successors, to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Delaware River," approved the 24th day of August, 1912.
Mr. Hutchinson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 33.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1217), 417.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 7095), 526.

H. R. 18086—For the construction of Coast Guard cutters.
Mr. Doremus; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 33.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1221), 417.

H. R. 18087—Providing for the construction of a public building at Jackson, Ohio.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 33.

H. R. 18088—For the relief of the Museum of New Mexico, which is a part of the educational system of New Mexico.
Mr. Hernandez; Committee on the Public Lands, 33.

H. R. 18089—Granting an increase of pension to Louisa Carey.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 33.

H. R. 18090—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin F. Ford.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 33.

H. R. 18091—Granting an increase of pension to James Dodwell.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 33.

H. R. 18092—Granting an increase of pension to Eddie E. Sterrett.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 33.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 1156.

H. R. 18093—Granting an increase of pension to James T. McMillan.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 33.

H. R. 18094—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Cronk.
Mr. Barnhart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 33.

H. R. 18095—Granting a pension to Joseph Pullar, alias James Smith.
Mr. Bennet; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 33.

H. R. 18096—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph C. Cunard.
Mr. Browning; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 33.

H. R. 18097—For the relief of Dr. E. V. Hailman.
Mr. Connelly; Committee on Claims, 33.

H. R. 18098—To correct the military record of John Minster.
Mr. Connelly; Committee on Military Affairs, 33.

H. R. 18099—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Cain.
Mr. Connelly; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 33.

H. R. 18100—Granting an increase of pension to John J. McElhany.
Mr. Connelly; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 33.

H. R. 18101—Granting an increase of pension to Elijah Smallwood.
Mr. Cox; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 33.

H. R. 18102—Granting a pension to Mrs. Elizabeth Cliff.
Mr. Darrow; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 33.

H. R. 18103—Granting a pension to Amelia Woodward Smith.
Mr. Darrow; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 33.

H. R. 18104—Granting a pension to Mary Ann McMahn.
Mr. Darrow; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 33.

H. R. 18105—Granting an increase of pension to Moses McCleary.
Mr. Dowell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 33.

H. R. 18106—Granting an increase of pension to Victor E. Burnham.
Mr. Fuller; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 33.

H. R. 18107—Granting an increase of pension to Augustus F. Groff.
Mr. Fuller; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 33.

H. R. 18108—Granting an increase of pension to Hezekiah Bradds.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18109—Granting an increase of pension to William J. Abrams.
Mr. Hilliard; Committee on Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18110—Granting a pension to John Knowles.
Mr. Hilliard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18111—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Taylor.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18112—Granting a pension to Byers Tomlison.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18113—Granting a pension to Florence Edinger.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18114—Granting an increase of pension to John Miller.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18115—Granting an increase of pension to Lorain Marsh.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18116—Granting an increase of pension to Leonidas W. Day.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18117—Granting an increase of pension to William S. Lattimer.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18118—Granting an increase of pension to John B. Brown.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18119—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Anderson.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18120—Granting an increase of pension to James Leming.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18121—Granting an increase of pension to William Goodin.
Mr. Kennedy of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18122—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Morton.
Mr. Kennedy of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18123—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas C. Rittenhouse.
Mr. Kennedy of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18124—Granting an increase of pension to Shepherd M. Gaston.
Mr. Kennedy of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18125—Granting an increase of pension to Wiley A. Jones.
Mr. Kennedy of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18126—Granting an increase of pension to David W. Shellabarger.
Mr. Kennedy of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. H. 18127—For the relief of the estate of Samuel S. Vaughn, deceased.
Mr. Lenroot; Committee on Claims, 34.

H. R. 18128—Granting an increase of pension to Rosannah Heidler.
Mr. Lafean; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18129—Granting an increase of pension to George C. Worley.
Mr. Lafean; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18130—Granting an increase of pension to Christopher C. Olewiler.
Mr. Lafean; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18131—Granting an increase of pension to Jeremiah Snyder.
Mr. Lafean; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18132—Granting an increase of pension to Howard F. Hartzell.
Mr. Lafean; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18133—Granting an increase of pension to John H. Leeper.
Mr. Lafean; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18134—Granting an increase of pension to George N. Welsh.
Mr. Lafean; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18135—Granting an increase of pension to William Riddle.
Mr. Lafean; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18136—For the relief of Loyal F. Russell.
Mr. McFadden; Committee on Military Affairs, 34.

H. R. 18137—Granting an increase of pension to Levi Hoy.
Mr. Matthews; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18138—Granting an increase of pension to Orin Holmes.
Mr. Mott; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18139—Granting a pension to Phoebe Jane Pickard Edwards, widow of Jonathan Pickard, Company C, Tenth New York Heavy Artillery.
Mr. Mott; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18140—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Ballard.
Mr. Mann; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18141—Granting a pension to Clara R. Wilson.
Mr. North; Committee on Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18142—Granting an increase of pension to Mary J. Fritz.
Mr. North; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18143—Granting an increase of pension to Caleb Snyder.
Mr. North; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18144—Granting an increase of pension to Charles A. Holmes.
Mr. Peters; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18145—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Frisbie.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18146—Granting an increase of pension to James Andell.
Mr. Rainey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18147—Granting an increase of pension to Orilla Higbee Jones.
Mr. Rainey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18148—Granting an increase of pension to George H. Hughes.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18149—Granting an increase of pension to William Crawford.
Mr. Ramseyer; Comittee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18150—Granting an increase of pension to James Smith.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18151—Granting an increase of pension to William T. Hobbs.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18152—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Arnold.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18153—Granting an increase of pension to Leander McCants.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18154—Granting an increase of pension to Eliza Wilson.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18155—Granting an increase of pension to James Orr.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18156—Granting an increase of pension to W. P. Brittain.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18157—Granting an increase of pension to Steward M. Castner.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18158—Granting an increase of pension to Charles R. Miltenberger.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18159—Granting an increase of pension to Anderson York.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18160—Granting an increase of pension to George E. York.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18161—Granting an increase of pension to Byron Battin.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18162—Granting an increase of pension to Wesley Dern.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18163—Granting an increase of pension to David Galbreath.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18164—Granting an increase of pension to Elory P. Willett.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18165—Granting an increase of pension to John Beaver.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18166—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac Newman.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18167—For the relief of Arthur R. Pinkerton.
Mr. Sparkman; Committee on Claims, 34.

H. R. 18168—Granting a pension to Elizabeth W. Messer.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18169—Granting an increase of pension to John Henson.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18170—Granting an increase of pension to Francis M. Tippie.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18171—Granting an increase of pension to Louis Dixon.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18172—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Wiggins.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18173—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Null.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18174—Granting an increase of pension to Charles S. Martin.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18175—Granting an increase of pension to James Riley.
Mr. Steele of Pennsylvania; Committee on Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18176—Granting an increase of pension to Alice Jerome.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18177—For the relief of estate of Charles J. Amidon.
Mr. Wason; Committee on Claims, 34.

H. R. 18178—Granting an increase of pension to Ethan A. Mowrer.
Mr. Wilson of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18179—Granting an increase of pension to Oscar W. Stone.
Mr. Wilson of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18180—Granting a pension to Jennie J. Casey.
Mr. Winslow; Committee on Pensions, 34.

H. R. 18181—Granting pensions and increases of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent children of soldiers and sailors of said war.
Mr. Sherwood, from the Committee on Invalid Pensions (H. Rept. 1206), as substitute for certain bills referred to that committee, 77, 78.—Amended and passed House, 192–198.—Referred to Senate Committee on Pensions, 205.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 884), 531.—Amended and passed Senate, 2508–2510.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a conference, 2696.—Senate insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 2753.—Conference appointed, 2698, 2753.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 3862, 3961.—Conference report (No. 1537) made in House, 4000.—Conference report agreed to in House, 4000, 4001.—Examined and signed, 4067, 4151.—Presented to the President, 4367.—Approved [Private, No. 209], 4810.

H. R. 18182—To authorize the Secretary of State to enter into negotiations with the Republic of Chile for the purpose of entering into a convention for the settlement of all claims owned by citizens of the United States against the Republic of Chile by citizens of the Republic of Chile against the United States of America.
Mr. Carlin; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 77.

H. R. 18183—For the support and education of the Indian pupils at the Fort Bidwell Indian School, Cal.; for repairs and improvements, erecting new buildings and furnishing the same; and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Indian Affairs, 77.

H. R. 18184—To authorize the Washington & Old Dominion Railway Co. to acquire by purchase or condemnation the land and property necessary for terminal facilities and trackage in the District of Columbia, at or near Thirty-fourth and M Streets NW.
Mr. Carlin; Comittee on the District of Columbia, 77.

H. R. 18185—For the support and education of the Indian pupils at the Greenville Indian School, Cal.; for repairs and improvements; for new school building, erecting building and furnishing the same; for installation of laundry and equipment, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Indian Affairs, 77.

H. R. 18186—To conserve the supply of boots, shoes, and manufactured leather goods and leather of the United States and to protect the people from extortionate prices by temporarily prohibiting the export of the same.
Mr. Campbell; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 77.

H. R. 18187—To conserve the supply of print paper of the United States and to protect publishers of newspapers from extortionate prices by temporarily prohibiting the export of print paper.
Mr. Campbell; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 77.

H. R. 18188—To increase the wages of employees of the United States Government, District of Columbia, or either House of Congress.
Mr. Sabath; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 78.

H. R. 18189—Authorizing the Secretary of War to deliver one mounted bronze cannon on carriage to the city of Lawrenceville, Ill.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Military Affairs, 78.

H. R. 18190—For the control, regulation, and use of the waters of the Niagara River below Niagara Falls, and for other purposes.
Mr. Smith of New York; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 78.

H. R. 18191—To make public all income tax returns of persons who pay an income tax to the Federal Government.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Ways and Means, 78.

H. R. 18192—To repeal an act to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States, approved July 1, 1898, and all amendments thereto.
Mr. Park; Committee on the Judiciary, 78.

H. R. 18193—To establish a fish-cultural station in the State of Nebraska.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries,, 78.

H. R. 18194—For the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Shelbyville, Ill.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 78.

H. R. 18195—To increase the pensions of the blind who served in the War with Mexico or the Civil War.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18196—To amend the act approved December 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act.
Mr. Glass; committee on Banking and Currency, 78.

H. R. 18197—Granting an increase of pension to John F. Thompson.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18198—Granting an increase of pension to Miles C. Smith.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18199—Granting an increase of pension to Barney Everett.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18200—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Newton.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18201—Granting an increase of pension to Franklin Keen.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18202—Granting an increase of pension to James Hobbs.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18203—Granting an increase of pension to Michael Fivecoats.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18204—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Plumb.
Mr. Barkley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18205—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Gaines.
Mr. Barkley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18206—Granting an increase of pension to Franklin R. Beamon.
Mr. Barkley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18207—Granting an increase of pension to Nathaniel Gott.
Mr. Barkley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18208—For the relief of Horatio McIntire.
Mr. Bennet; Committee on Military Affairs, 78.

H. R. 18209—To add the name of Joseph J. Esterbrook to the Army and Navy medal of honor roll.
Mr. Bennet; Committee on Military Affairs, 78.

H. R. 18210—Granting an increase of pension to Perry J. Hainey.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18211—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel M. Carson.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18212—Granting an increase of pension to Marsha E. Towles.
Mr. Campbell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18213—Granting a pension to Fred F. Bennett.
Mr. Campbell; Committee on Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18214—Granting an increase of pension to David Byers.
Mr. Campbell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18215—Granting an increase of pension to Dzonra Tucker.
Mr. Campbell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18216—Granting an increase of pension to John C. Baker.
Mr. Campbell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18217—Granting an increase of pension to Charles H. Smith.
Mr. Campbell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18218—Granting an increase of pension to Alfred C. Mullinax.
Mr. Caraway; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18219—Granting an increase of pension to Solomon Kessinger.
Mr. Caraway; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18220—Granting an increase of pension to William R. Gray.
Mr. Caraway; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18221—Granting an increase of pension to William Jones.
Mr. Caraway; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18222—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac N. Estep.
Mr. Connelly; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18223—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Ice.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18224—Granting an increase of pension to Stith M. Carter.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18225—Granting an increase of pension to Francis M. Steele.
Mr. Dickinson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18226—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Miller.
Mr. Drukker; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18227—Granting a pension to Arabella Miller.
Mr. Esch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18228—Granting a pension to Hiram C. Barrows.
Mr. Esch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18229—Granting a pension to Anna Margaret Venus.
Mr. Farley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18230—Granting a pension to Maria Coggins.
Mr. Farr; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18231—Granting a pension to Benjamin Hughes.
Mr. Farr; Committee on Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18232—Granting an increase of pension to Harriet Karr.
Mr. Farr; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18233—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph M. Alexander.
Mr. Farr; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18234—Granting a pension to Katharine McCormick.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18235—Granting a pension to Charles V. D. Blackmar.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18236—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah M. Speer.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 78.

H. R. 18237—Granting a pension to Edward F. Locker.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18238—Granting an increase of pension to Albert Downing.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18239—Granting an increase of pension to Cordelia J. Phillips.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18240—Granting an increase of pension to George A. C. Coffey.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18241—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Aldrich.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18242—Granting an increase of pension to William Himes.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18243—Granting a pension to Martha A. Wright.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18244—Granting an increase of pension to A. L. Byers.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18245—Granting a pension to Anna Frohs.
Mr. Fuller; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18246—Granting an increase of pension to John F. Ford.
Mr. Gardner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18247—Granting a pension to Manella A. Eastman.
Mr. Gardner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18248—Granting an increase of pension to John P. Hodgkins.
Mr. Gardner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18249—Granting an increase of pension to Theodore Dutra.
Mr. Gardner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18250—Granting a pension to Edward C. Danforth.
Mr. Gardner; Committee on Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18251—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin Foust.
Mr. Good; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18252—Granting an increase of pension to Abel G. Morse.
Mr. Good; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18253—Granting an increase of pension to William T. Slocum.
Mr. Good; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18254—Granting an increase of pension to Lewis H. McChesney.
Mr. Good; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18255—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Franz.
Mr. Good; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18256—Granting an increase of pension to Nancy S. Kibler.
Mr. Good; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18257—Granting an increase of pension to James L. Doris.
Mr. Good; Committee on Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18258—Granting an increase of pension to Laura E. Elliott.
Mr. Good; Committee on Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18259—Granting an increase of pension to Alpheus Demond.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18260—Granting an increase of pension to Henry C. Beeman.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18261—Granting an increase of pension to Lottie E. Newell.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18262—Granting an increase of pension to Jonathan Carr.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18263—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Whitbeck.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18264—Granting an increase of pension to Franklin Williams.
Mr. Griest; Committee on Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18265—Granting a pension to Annie Garner.
Mr. Griest; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18266—Granting an increase of pension to Abraham Cooper.
Mr. Griest; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18267—Granting an increase of pension to Washington Foss.
Mr. Guernsey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18268—Granting an increase of pension to John A. Medley.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18269—Granting an increase of pension to William Watson.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18270—Granting an increase of pension to S. B. Johnson.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Invalid Pensions 79.

H. R. 18271—Granting a pension to James A. Swain.
Mr. Jacoway; Committee on Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18272—Granting an increase of pension to Alvin G. Woodworth.
Mr. Jacoway; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18273—Granting an increase of pension to William Douglas.
Mr. Jacoway; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18274—Granting an increase of pension to Jefferson D. Williams.
Mr. Jacoway; Committee on Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18275—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew J. Lee.
Mr. Jacoway; Committee on Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18276—Granting a pension to Margaret A. Wells.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18277—Granting an increase of pension to Christopher Hummel.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18278—Granting an increase of pension to William C. McKelvy.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18279—Granting a pension to William H. Hopkins.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18280—Granting an increase of pension to Abraham Rhodes.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18281—Granting a pension to William E. Sloane.
Mr. Kelley; Committee on Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18282—Granting a pension to Martha P. Malcomson.
Mr. Kelley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18283—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Barr.
Mr. Kincheloe; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18284—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Collins.
Mr. King; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18285—Granting an increase of pension to Nancy A. Lantz.
Mr. King; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18286—For the relief of Charles E. Thompson.
Mr. Konop; Committee on Military Affairs, 79.

H. R. 18287—Granting an increase of pension to James E. Webb.
Mr. Konop; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18288—Granting an increase of pension to Jane M. Spidel.
Mr. Kreider; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18289—Granting an increase of pension to Nicholas Wolf.
Mr. Kreider; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18290—Granting a pension to Retta H. Lore.
Mr. Lenroot; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18291—For the relief of the heirs of A. M. Riser, deceased.
Mr. Lever; Committee on Claims, 79.

H. R. 18292—To grant an increase of pension to James T. Rollf.
Mr. Lewis; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18293—Granting an increase of pension to Otis H. Taylor.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18294—Granting a pension to John A. Schreck.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18295—Granting a pension to Leonard Ripple.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18296—Granting a pension to Albert A. Kelly.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18297—Granting a pension to Walter Sewell.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18298—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Alice Brightwell.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18299—Granting an increase of pension to William R. Pierce.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18300—Granting an increase of pension to Henry M. Cottrill.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18301—Granting a pension to John R. Crayton.
Mr. Loft; Committee on Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18302—Granting a pension to Pauline K. Boden.
Mr. Loft; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18303—Granting a pension to Elizabeth A. Davis.
Mr. Loft; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18304—Granting a pension to Sarah K. Arnett.
Mr. Loft; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18305—Granting an increase of pension to Erasmus Bucy.
Mr. Loft; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18306—Granting an increase of pension to John Douglass.
Mr. Loft; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18307—Granting an increase of pension to Cornelius Dorsey.
Mr. Loft; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18308—Granting an increase of pension to Dorothy Fisher.
Mr. Loft; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18309—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew J. Gaskins.
Mr. Loft; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 19310—Granting an increase of pension to Amelia D. Grove.
Mr. Loft; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18311—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin Aplin.
Mr. Loft; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18312—Granting an increase of pension to Elias Baker.
Mr. Loft; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18313—Granting an increase of pension to Florence S. L'Hommedieu.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18314—Granting a pension to Loren Bishop.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18315—Granting an increase of pension to Annie E. Doss.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18316—Granting an increase of pension to Martha Sollenberger.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 79.

H. R. 18317—For the relief of W. L. Clifford, formerly a letter carrier, now a clerk in the service of the Post Office Department of the United States.
Mr. McAndrews; Committee on Claims, 80.

H. R. 18318—Granting an increase of pension to John K. McBain.
Mr. McAndrews; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18319—Granting a pension to Deborah Nash.
Mr. McGillicuddy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18320—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew Glenn.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18321—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel L. Brown.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18322—Granting an increase of pension to Hugh S. Stanley.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18323—Granting a pension to Charlotte A. Lansing.
Mr. Magee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18324—For the relief of Mrs. E. W. Sankey.
Mr. Meeker; Committee on War Claims, 80.

H. R. 18325—Granting an increase of pension to Felix Dodd.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18326—For the relief of George S. Boutwell.
Mr. O'Shaunessy; Committee on Military Affairs, 80.

H. R. 18327—Granting an increase of pension to James Chadwick.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18328—Granting an increase of pension to Emily Hughes Burch.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18329—Granting an increase of pension to John Doss.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18330—Granting a pension to Byron S. Pierce.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18331—Granting a pension to Sarah Lyon Brundage.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18332—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Farrar.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18333—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Jenkins.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18334—Granting a pension to Rudolph Allmers.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18335—Granting a pension to T. J. Hurlbut.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18336—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Brown.
Mr. Reilly; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18337—Granting an increase of pension to Lora Milliken.
Mr. Reilly; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18338—Granting a pension to Joel N. Andrews.
Mr. Reilly; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18339—Granting an increase of pension to Josephine De Groat.
Mr. Reilly; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18340—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Davis.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18341—Granting a pension to George M. Erwin.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18342—For the relief of Andrew L. Meadows.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Military Affairs, 80.

H. R. 18343—Granting a pension to Albert Haines.
Mr. Russell of Ohio; Committee on Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18344—Granting a pension to Alfred J. Yarber.
Mr. Russell of Ohio; Committee on Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18345—Granting an increase of pension to Uriah J. Favorite.
Mr. Russell of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18346—Granting an increase of pension to Valentine B. Bailey.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18347—Granting an increase of pension to Simeon G. Hubbard.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18348—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Grant.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18349—Granting an increase of pension to Henry C. McClintick.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18350—Granting an increase of pension to Edward H. Williams.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18351—Granting an increase of pension to Wiltsey E. Sivers.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18352—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret Umphenour.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18353—Granting an increase of pension to John M. Jones.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18354—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Miller.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18355—Granting an increase of pension to Jefferson W. Lewelling.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18356—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Carrigg.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18357—Granting a pension to Marie Vigilni.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18358—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel G. Reed.
Mr. Sims; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18359—Granting an increase of pension to Alexander Lewis.
Mr. Sims; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18360—Granting an increase of pension to Alfred D. Collier.
Mr. Steele of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18361—Granting an increase of pension to Alvin Green.
Mr. Steele of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18362—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Rickman.
Mr. Steele of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18363—Granting a pension to Mrs. Louisa Powell.
Mr. Steele of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18364—Granting an increase of pension to Ann Bates.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18365—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Kilpatrick.
Mr. Tavenner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18366—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob Bachman.
Mr. Tavenner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18367—Granting an increase of pension to William N. Butler.
Mr. Tavenner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18368—Granting an increase of pension to Jesse Walters.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18369—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Scattergood.
Mr. Watson of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18370—Granting an increase of pension to William Vaughn.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18371—Granting an increase of pension to George F. Chambers.
Mr. Woods of Iowa; Committee on Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18372—Granting a pension to Mrs. Mary Brown Point.
Mr. Williams of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18373—Granting a pension to Martha Coe De Witt.
Mr. Williams of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 80.

H. R. 18374—To provide for an examination and survey of Elizabeth River, Va., including approaches thereto, with a view to increasing the width of the channel and also the depth of the channel to 40 feet from above the navy yard to the sea.
Mr. Holland; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 133.

H. R. 18375—Prescribing a rule of evidence in certain cases.
Mr. Sparkman; Committee on the Judiciary, 133.

H. R. 18376—For the reduction of postage on first-class mail matter.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 133.

H. R. 18377—To incorporate the United States Platinum Corporation and to aid in the development of the mineral resources of Alaska, and for other purposes.
Mr. Swift; Committee on the Public Lands, 133.

H. R. 18378—To create a commission on illiteracy to be known as the American Illiteracy Commission.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Education, 133.

H. R. 18379—To authorize a report upon the necessity for certain bridges on the Navajo Indian Reservation, Ariz.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Indian Affairs, 133.

H. R. 18380—To investigate the condition of Indians living in Louisiana.
Mr. Lazaro; Committee on Indian Affairs, 133.

H. R. 18381—To authorize officers of the National Guard called into the service of the United States for duty on the Mexican border June 18, 1916, or subsequently, who were under 30 years of age at the time of said call, to take the examination for provisional second lieutenants in the Regular Army under certain conditions.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on Military Affairs, 133.

H. R. 18382—To regulate the weight of bread sold in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Bennet; Committee on the District of Columbia, 134.

H. R. 18383—Granting an increase of pension to Emma S. Phelps.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18384—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Cronk.
Mr. Barnhart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18385—Granting an increase of pension to John R. Ward.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18386—Granting an increase of pension to Elsie A. Mahana.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18387—Granting an increase of pension to Cynthia A. Henderson.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18388—Granting a pension to Benjamin Griffith.
Mr. Cox; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18389—Granting a pension to Joe Emmet Reyman.
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H. R. 18390—Granting a pension to William H. Andry.
Mr. Cox; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18391—Granting a pension to Scott Farmer, dependent child of Eli Farmer.
Mr. Cox; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18392—Granting a pension to John Avery.
Mr. Crago; Committee on Pensions, 134.

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Mr. Dickinson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18394—Granting an increase of pension to Robert C. Cowell.
Mr. Dillon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18395—Granting an increase of pension to Chester P. Tryon.
Mr. Fairchild; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18396—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Quinby.
Mr. Fairchild; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18397—Granting a pension to Ethel Borden.
Mr. Fairchild; Committee on Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18398—Granting a pension to Henry Graf.
Mr. Farr; Committee on Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18399—Granting a pension to Mary D. Holgate.
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H. R. 18400—Granting a pension to Sarah Robinson.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18401—To remove the charge of desertion from the record of Henry T. Shafer.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Military Affairs, 134.

H. R. 18402—Granting an increase of pension to William W. Hudson.
Mr. Fuller; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18403—For the relief of the heirs of John Kensler.
Mr. Gray of Indiana; Committee on Claims, 134.

H. R. 18404—Granting an increase of pension to Irvin L. Clifford.
Mr. Gray of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18405—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Shepler.
Mr. Gray of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18406—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Stevens.
Mr. Gray of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18407—Granting an increase of pension to Jonathan Scharbrough.
Mr. Gray of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18408—Granting an increase of pension to William McCann.
Mr. Gray of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18409—Granting an increase of pension to David McQuinney.
Mr. Gray of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18410—Granting a pension to Amanda L. Dodson.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18411—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac Blackburn.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18412—Granting an increase of pension to Francis Lamb.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18413—Granting an increase of pension to John Blackburn.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18414—Granting an increase of pension to Marion E. Harris.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18415—Granting a pension to Ethan H. Allen.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18416—Granting a pension to Louis F. Moebus.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18417—Granting an increase of pension to David E. Rench.
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H. R. 18418—Granting an increase of pension to John E. Packard.
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H. R. 18419—Granting an increase of pension to Harry L. Wilson.
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H. R. 18420—Granting a pension to Anna Courtney.
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H. R. 18421—To reimburse Robert Reid and Charles C. Eckliff, United States local inspectors of steamboats, for defending themselves on account of their arrest and prosecution growing out of the steamer Eastland disaster on the Chicago River July 24, 1915.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on Claims, 134.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1247), 725.—Debated, 2793, 2794.

H. R. 18422—Granting a pension to Frank Clark.
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H. R. 18423—Granting an increase of pension to Frank M. Clark.
Mr. Matthews; Committee on Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18424—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret E. Fickle.
Mr. Matthews; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18425—Granting a pension to Katharine Schellschmidt.
Mr. Moores of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18426—Granting an increase of pension to George C. Sausser.
Mr. Moores of Indiana; Committee on Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18427—For the relief of Kate A. Wallace.
Mr. Moores of Indiana; Committee on Military Affairs, 134.

H. R. 18428—Granting an increase of pension to Anthony Lafor.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18429—For the relief of former Postmaster Clemens Leaf.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Claims, 134.

H. R. 18430—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Hackett.
Mr. Peters; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18431—Granting a pension to Elizabeth C. Archibald.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18432—For the relief of Wells C. McCool.
Mr. Reavis; Committee on War Claims, 134.

H. R. 18433—For the relief of the heir at law of A. Beemer.
Mr. Rowe; Committee on Claims, 134.

H. R. 18434—Granting a pension to Sim J. Hyder.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18435—Granting a pension to Samuel Evans.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18436—Granting an increase of pension to Alexander H. McQueen.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18437—Granting an increase of pension to Ruth M. Hoag.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18438—Granting an increase of pension to Charles W. Bennett.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18439—For the relief of the heirs at law of I. G. Bugbee, deceased.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Claims, 134.

H. R. 18440—For the relief of the Peoples Bank of Bloomington, McLean County, Ill.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Claims, 134.

H. R. 18441—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin Taylor.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 134.

H. R. 18442—To conserve the ammunition supply of the United States and to protect the people from extortionate prices in case of war and from responsibility for aiding in the continuance of the present European war by temporarily prohibiting the export of firearms and munitions of war.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 149.

H. R. 18443—To provide adequate subsistence for the warrant officers and enlisted men of the Coast Guard.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 149.

H. R. 18444—To prevent cold-storage warehouses from holding perishable food products for a longer period than three months.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 149.

H. R. 18445—To increase the pensions of the blind who served in the War with Spain.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 149.

H. R. 18446—To establish a unit of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps in a National Guard organization in each State and Territory in the United States.
Mr. Olney; Committee on Military Affairs, 149.

H. R. 18447—To provide Federal aid in caring for indigent tuberculous persons, and for other purposes.
Mr. Hilliard; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 149.

H. R. 18448—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the Straubs Church Cemetery, in the town of Buckhorn, in the State of Pennsylvania, one bronze cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. Lesher; Committee on Military Affairs, 149.

H. R. 18449—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the Canby Church Cemetery, in the town of Millertown, in the State of Pennsylvania, one bronze cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. Lesher; Committee on Military Affairs, 149.

H. R. 18450—Providing for a public building commission.
Mr. Frear; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 149.

H. R. 18451—Providing for a standard sign or emblem to be used exclusively by the post offices of the United States, and providing penalties for infringements on the same.
Mr. Connelly; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 149.

H. R. 18452—Authorizing the Secretary of War to have made an appropriate investigation of the Arkansas, Red, Little River, and other rivers in western Arkansas, with a view to controlling floods.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Flood Control, 149.

H. R. 18453—Making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes, and for other purposes, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918.
Mr. Stephens of Texas; from Committee on Indian Affairs (H. Rept. 1208), 146, 149.—Debated, 163–192, 227–237 (Appendix, 876).—Amended and passed House, 237.—Referred to Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, 253.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 962), 1806.—Debated, 2051–2064, 2107–2123, 2164–2187, 2223–2230, 2239–2248.—Amended and passed Senate, 2247, 2248.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a conference, 2516.—Senate insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 2468.—Conference appointed, 2468, 2516, 2566.—Conference report made in Senate, 2931.—Conference report (No. 1448) made in House, 2970.—Conference report debated and rejected in Senate; Senate further insists on its amendments and asks for a further conference, 3064–3068.—Senate amendments debated in House; House further disagrees to Senate amendments and agrees to a further conference, 3360–3370 (Appendix, 488).—Second conference appointed, 3068, 3370.—Second conference report (No. 1513) made in House, 3733, 3808.—Second conference report made in Senate, 3661.—Second conference report agreed to in House, 3808–3812.—Second conference report debated in Senate, 3984, 4099, 4100, 4305–4321.—Unanimous-consent agreement for vote on conference report agreed to in Senate, 4149, 4150.—Second conference report agreed to in Senate, 4320, 4321.—Examined and signed, 4465, 4483.—Presented to the President, 4527.—Approved [Public, No. 369], 4810.

H. R. 18454—For the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Phoenix, N. Y.
Mr. Mott; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 149.

H. R. 18455—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Schnetzer.
Mr. Allen; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 149.

H. R. 18456—Granting an increase of pension to John T. Gregory.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 149.

H. R. 18457—Granting an increase of pension to Erastus S. Bussell.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 149.

H. R. 18458—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Woffenden.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 149.

H. R. 18459—Granting an increase of pension to John A. Davidson.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 149.

H. R. 18460—Granting an increase of pension to William Greer.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 149.

H. R. 18461—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Young.
Mr. Barnhart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 149.

H. R. 18462—Granting an increase of pension to Humphrey T. Roberts.
Mr. Campbell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 149.

H. R. 18463—Granting a pension to David S. Toland.
Mr. Campbell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 149.

H. R. 18464—Granting an increase of pension to Marion Vandiver.
Mr. Connelly; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 149.

H. R. 18465—Granting a pension to George D. Jacobs.
Mr. Cox; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 149.

H. R. 18466—Granting an increase of pension to Douglass Luce.
Mr. Curry; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 149.

H. R. 18467—Granting a pension to Thomas M. Rodgers.
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H. R. 18468—Granting a pension to Henry Lebrecht.
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H. R. 18469—Granting a pension to Henry Johnson.
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H. R. 18470—Granting an increase of pension to William B. Hazeltine.
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H. R. 18471—For the relief of William F. Fogarty.
Mr. Glynn; Committee on Military Affairs, 149.

H. R. 18472—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac D. Nichols.
Mr. Green of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 149.

H. R. 18473—Granting an increase of pension to John Wilson.
Mr. Green of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 149.

H. R. 18474—Granting a pension to Lewis J. Moore.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Pensions, 149.

H. R. 18475—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph A. Craig.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 149.

H. R. 18476—For the relief of Joseph P. Terrell
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Military Affairs, 149.

H. R. 18477—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Pitts.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 149.

H. R. 18478—Granting an increase of pension to Otto Höhn.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 149.

H. R. 18479—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew C. Perkins.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 149.

H. R. 18480—Granting an increase of pension to Frederick Volkman.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 149.

H. R. 18481—Granting an increase of pension to Morton B. Fitts.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 149.

H. R. 18482—Granting a pension to Asa Wood.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Pensions, 149.

H. R. 18483—Granting a pension to James H. Blocker.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Pensions, 149.

H. R. 18484—Granting a pension to Bert Fuller.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Pensions, 149.

H. R. 18485—Granting a pension to Clarissa Pells.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 149.

H. R. 18486—For the relief of V. E. Schermerhorn, E. C. Caley, G. W. Campbell, and Phillip Hudspeth.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Claims, 149.

H. R. 18487—For the relief of William H. Dooley.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Military Affairs, 149.

H. R. 18488—Granting an increase of pension to Maria L. Winston.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Pensions, 149.

H. R. 18489—Granting an increase of pension to Ella C. Tremble.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 149.

H. R. 18490—Granting an increase of pension to A. G. Daniels.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 149.

H. R. 18491—Granting an increase of pension to Rebecca Shanks.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 149.

H. R. 18492—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Tryon.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 149.

H. R. 18493—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Carter.
Mr. Matthews; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 149.

H. R. 18494—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas H. Goodrich.
Mr. Meeker; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 149.

H. R. 18495—For the relief of Rudolph Brandle, alias Dengler (deceased).
Mr. Meeker; Committee on Military Affairs, 150.

H. R. 18496—Granting an increase of pension to Eliza Moshier.
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H. R. 18497—Granting an increase of pension to James Bruen.
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H. R. 18498—Granting an increase of pension to Abner Q. Scott.
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H. R. 18499—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel E. Scott.
Mr. Parker of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 150.

H. R. 18500—Granting an increase of pension to Jane Cory.
Mr. Parker of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 150.

H. R. 18501—Granting an increase of pension to George Barker Niles.
Mr. Parker of New York; Committee on Pensions, 150.

H. R. 18502—Granting an increase of pension to Emily Hughes Burch.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 150.

H. R. 18503—Granting an increase of pension to Eli W. Myers.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 150.

H. R. 18504—Granting an increase of pension to David H. Crumpacker.
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H. R. 18505—Granting an increase of pension to George M. Mays.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 150.

H. R. 18506—Granting an increase of pension to Luke Cassidy.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 150.

H. R. 18507—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Johnson.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 150.

H. R. 18508—Granting an increase of pension to William T. Stone.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 150.

H. R. 18509—Granting an increase of pension to Alexander McGahon.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 150.

H. R. 18510—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas H. McClosky.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 150.

H. R. 18511—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Adler.
Mr. Steele of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 150.

H. R. 18512—Granting a pension to Milo M. Miller.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Pensions, 150.

H. R. 18513—Granting a pension to Benjamin Coward, invalid son of John Coward.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 150.

H. R. 18514—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Prisk.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 150.

H. R. 18515—Granting an increase of pension to John B. Moore.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 150.

H. R. 18516—For the relief of the Peoples Bank, of Bloomington, McLean County, Ill.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Claims, 150.

H. R. 18517—Granting a pension to William Butler.
Mr. Swift; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 150.

H. R. 18518—Granting an increase of pension to Tilson M. Sutherland.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 150.

H. R. 18519—For the relief of Washington M. Knight.
Mr. Towner; Committee on Claims, 150.

H. R. 18520—Granting an increase of pension to Francesco Bonistalli.
Mr. Williams of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 150.

H. R. 18521—Granting an increase of pension to John Harris.
Mr. Williams of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 150.

H. R. 18522—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin M. Curtis.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 150.

H. R. 18523—Granting an increase of pension to George D. King.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 150.

H. R. 18524—Granting an increase of pension to Thompson P. Burtch.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 150.

H. R. 18525—Granting an increase of pension to Martin L. Thomas.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Pensions, 150.

H. R. 18526—Providing for an increase in salaries of the United States district attorneys and United States marshals for the northern and southern districts of Ohio.
Mr. Allen; Committee on the Judiciary, 198.

H. R. 18527—To provide for the extirpation of the Hessian fly.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Agriculture, 198.

H. R. 18528—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Interior to test the existence of artesian and other underground-water supplies in Lincoln County, Colo.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 198.

H. R. 18529—Granting the consent of Congress to the police jury of Rapides Parish, La., to construct a bridge across Red River at or near Boyce, La.
Mr. Aswell; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 198.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1261), 985.—Passed House, 2871.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 2933.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1051); passed Senate, 3183.—Examined and signed, 3423, 3571.—Presented to the President, 3651.—Approved [Public, No. 345], 4333, 4526.

H. R. 18530—Providing for the construction of bridges and culverts under reclamation projects.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 198.

H. R. 18531—Concerning proof of widowhood in claims for pensions.
Mr. Fuller; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 199.

H. R. 18532—To amend an act entitled "An act to supplement existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies, and for other purposes," approved Oct. 15, 1914, as amended by an act approved May 15, 1916.
Mr. Harrison of Virginia; Committee on Banking and Currency, 199.

H. R. 18533—To repeal an act entitled "An act to promote reciprocal trade relations with the Dominion of Canada," and for other purposes.
Mr. Sloan; Committee on Ways and Means, 199.

H. R. 18534—To authorize the construction, maintenance, and operation of a bridge across the St. Francis River, at or near Parkin, Ark.
Mr. Caraway; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 199.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1257), 984.—Amended and passed House, 2871.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 2933.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1086); passed Senate, 3658.—Examined and signed, 3917, 3963.—Presented to the President, 4367.—Approved [Public, No. 363], 4526.

H. R. 18535—To provide for the improvement of a public building in the city of Youngstown, Ohio.
Mr. Cooper of Ohio; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 199.

H. R. 18536—Providing for the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Spencer, W. Va.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 199.

H. R. 18537—Relating to statutes of limitations and amendments to pleadings in matters relating thereto.
Mr. Scott of Pennsylvania; Committee on the Judiciary, 199.

H. R. 18538—To appropriate $500, or so much thereof as may be necessary, for the purpose of securing and erecting a flagpole and a flag of the United States of America and the expense of the proper Government official to assist in raising said flag, to commemorate and celebrate in the city of Natchez, Adams County, Miss., in 1917, or any date to be fixed, the first raising of the flag of the United States of America and the first occupation by United States troops of the seat of government (now Natchez, Miss.) of the Spanish territory, on March 30, 1798, by Capt. Guion, commanding the troops of the United States.
Mr. Quin; Committee on the Library, 199.

H. R. 18539—For the construction of a breakwater at Nawiliwili Harbor, island of Kauai, Territory of Hawaii.
Mr. Kalanianaole; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 199.

H. R. 18540—For the improvement of Honolulu Harbor, island of Oahu, Territory of Hawaii.
Mr. Kalanianaole; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 199.

H. R. 18541—To provide for a military road around the island of Oahu, Territory of Hawaii.
Mr. Kalanianaole: Committee on Military Affairs, 199.

H. R. 18542—Making appropriations for the legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes.
Mr. Byrns of Tennessee, from Committee on Appropriations (H. Rept. 1209), 192, 199.—Debated, 237–249, 335–360, 391–416, 442–461, 556–576 (Appendix, 23, 28, 224).—Amended and passed House, 572–576.—Referred to Senate Committee on Appropriations, 587.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 933), 1382.—Debated, 1451–1478, 1523–1546, 1594–1608, 1667–1680, 1732–1756, 1809–1834, 1887–1909, 1941–1964, 2029–2051.—Amended and passed Senate, 2050, 2051.—Senate asks for a conference, 2051.—Senate amendments debated in House; House disagrees to Senate amendment and agrees to a conference, 2514–2516, 2873–2886 (Appendix, 375).—Conference appointed, 2051, 2886.—Conference report (No. 1540) made in House, 3947, 4004.—Conference report debated and rejected in House; House recedes from its disagreement to Senate amendment No. 62 and agrees to same; House agrees to Senate amendment No. 58 with an amendment; House further insists on its disagreement to Senate amendments and asks for a further conference, 4004–4019.—Conference report made in Senate; Senate further insists on its amendments and agrees to a further conference, 3996.—Second conference appointed, 3996, 4019.—Second conference report (No. 1548) made and rejected in House; House further disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a further conference, 4057, 4404–4406.—Second conference report debated and agreed to in Senate; Senate further insists on its amendments and agrees to a further conference, 4066, 4067, 4071–4098, 4369, 4370.—Third conference appointed, 4370, 4406.—Third conference report made, debated, and agreed to in Senate, 4384–4386, 4746, 4858, 4859.—Third conference report (No. 1576) made in House, 4430, 4920.—Third conference report debated and agreed to in House, 4920–4925.—Examined and signed, 4876, 4926.—Presented to the President, 4944.—Approved [Public, No. 381], 5032.

H. R. 18543—For site and building of Federal building at Red Bluff, Cal., and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 199.

H. R. 18544—For the protection and improvement of the Lassen Volcanic National Park, Cal., and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Appropriations, 199.

H. R. 18545—For the protection and improvement of the Yosemite National Park, Cal., and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Appropriations, 199.

H. R. 18546—Making an appropriation for improving the Sacramento and Feather Rivers, continuing improvement and maintenance, including improvement above Sacramento to Red Bluff, Cal.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 199.

H. R. 18547—Making an appropriation for the continuation of the irrigation of the lands on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on Indian Affairs, 199.

H. R. 18548—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate condemned cannon and cannon balls to the village of Cedarville, Ohio.
Mr. Fess: Committee on Military Affairs, 199.

H. R. 18549—Authorizing the Secretary of War to deliver to the town of Murfreesboro, Tenn., two condemned bronze or brass cannon or fieldpieces and suitable outfit of cannon balls.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Military Affairs, 199.

H. R. 18550—Granting the consent of Congress to the county of Montgomery, in the State of Tennessee, to construct a bridge across the Cumberland River.
Mr. Byrns of Tennessee; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 199.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1256), 984.—Passed House, 2870.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 2933.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1030); passed Senate, 3062.—Examined and signed, 3305, 3354.—Presented to the President, 3423.—Approved [Public, No. 333], 3618.

H. R. 18551—Granting the consent of Congress to the county of Montgomery, in the State of Tennessee, to construct a bridge across the Cumberland River.
Mr. Byrns of Tennessee; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 199.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1255), 984.—Passed House, 2870.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 2933.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1031); passed Senate, 3062.—Examined and signed, 3305, 3354.—Presented to the President, 3423.—Approved [Public, No. 334], 3618.

H. R. 18552—To appropriate $600,000 for the improvement of the North or Hudson River, N. Y., with a view to securing an increase in depth to 40 feet and suitable widths in the North or Hudson River Channel from deep water in the Upper Bay as far north as Spuyten Duyvil.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 199.

H. R. 18553—Authorizing the Secretary of War to deliver to the town of Bolivar, Tenn., two condemned bronze or brass cannon or fieldpieces and suitable outfit of cannon balls.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Military Affairs, 199.

H. R. 18554—To amend an act entitled "An act to prevent the extermination of fur-bearing animals in Alaska," etc.
Mr. Goodwin of Arkansas; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 199.

H. R. 18555—For the improvement of the harbor at Ogdensburg, N. Y.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 199.

H. R. 18556—Granting an increase of pension to William W. Keen.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 199.

H. R. 18557—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Gibson.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 199.

H. R. 18558—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob J. Cope.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 199.

H. R. 18559—Granting an increase of pension to John H. Stratton.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 199.

H. R. 18560—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob Moser.
Mr. Allen; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 199.

H. R. 18561—Granting an increase of pension to George W. McConchie.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 199.

H. R. 18562—Granting an increase of pension to Loretta Ducolon.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 199.

H. R. 18563—Granting a pension to Jackson W. Bankston.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Pensions, 199.

H. R. 18564—Granting a pension to Theopolis Barnett.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Pensions, 199.

H. R. 18565—To authorize sale of certain land in Alabama to the heirs at law of Thomas Tumlin, deceased.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on the Public Lands, 199.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1283), 1317, 2792.

H. R. 18566—For the relief of Mrs. Nancy E. Mullins.
Mr. Candler of Mississippi; Committee on Military Affairs, 199.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1516), 3854.—Passed House, 4000.—Referred to Senate Committee on Pensions, 3965.—Reference changed to Committee on Military Affairs, 4566.

H. R. 18567—Granting an increase of pension to Dennis W. Riordan.
Mr. Carter of Massachusetts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 199.

H. R. 18568—Granting an increase of pension to William E. Openshaw.
Mr. Carter of Massachusetts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 199.

H. R. 18569—For the relief of Charles E. Currier.
Mr. Carter of Massachusetts; Committee on Claims, 199.

H. R. 18570—Granting a pension to Eliza Peel.
Mr. Chandler of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 199.

H. R. 18571—Granting an increase of pension to Levi Morris.
Mr. Chandler of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 199.

H. R. 18572—Granting an increase of pension to Hansford Austin.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18573—Granting an increase of pension to Albert E. Worsham.
Mr. Coady; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18574—Granting an increase of pension to Francis M. Choat.
Mr. Connelly; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18575—Granting an increase of pension to Julius Joles.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18576—Granting an increase of pension to David Harris.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18577—Granting an increase of pension to John M. Sheldon.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18578—Granting an increase of pension to Perry A. Crandall.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18579—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel Bachman.
Mr. Dewalt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18580—Granting a pension to William F. Mohr.
Mr. Dewalt; Committee on Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18581—Granting an increase of pension to Charles H. Bothwell.
Mr. Dickinson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18582—Granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Sarah E. Hamm.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18583—Granting an increase of pension to William J. Platt.
Mr. Dixon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18584—Granting an increase of pension to Laura McWilliams.
Mr. Dixon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18585—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Jackson.
Mr. Dixon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18586—Granting an increase of pension to Francis A. Ricketts.
Mr. Dixon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18587—Granting an increase of pension to Nathaniel R. Sylva.
Mr. Dixon; Committee on Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18588—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth J. Eden.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18589—Granting a pension to Walter H. Denis.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18590—Granting an increase of pension to David Bellnap.
Mr. Dowell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18591—Granting an increase of pension to Lewis H. Bradshaw.
Mr. Dowell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18592—Granting an increase of pension to Charles M. Kell.
Mr. Elston; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18593—Granting a pension to John R. Houchin.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18594—Granting an increase of pension to Robert Anderson, now known as Robert M. Martin.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18595—Granting an increase of pension to Augustus Niles.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18596—Granting a pension to George W. Irvin.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18597—Granting a pension to Mary C. Phillips.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18598—Granting an increase of pension to Richard W. Webb.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18599—For the relief of Jacob Ehla, alias Jacob Eby, alias John Ihle.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Military Affairs, 200.

H. R. 18600—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas McLarnan.
Mr. Good; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18601—To correct the military record of Peter Netz.
Mr. Gray of Indiana; Committee on Military Affairs, 200.

H. R. 18602—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Wymore.
Mr. Green of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18603—Waiving the age limit for admission to the Dental Corps of the United States Navy in the case of Orville A. Grove.
Mr. Gregg; Committee on Naval Affairs, 200.

H. R. 18604—Granting an increase of pension to Eaton Kinney.
Mr. Hamilton of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18605—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Dickens.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18606—Granting an increase of pension to Jeremiah Shine.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18607—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel A. Ham.
Mr. Helm; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18608—For the relief of Adam W. Wright.
Mr. Hernandez; Committee on Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18609—Granting an increase of pension to Simon Z. Whitelather.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18610—Granting an increase of pension to Israel Sheppard.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18611—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Randels.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18612—Granting an increase of pension to John Haines.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18613—Granting an increase of pension to William Henderson.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18614—Granting an increase of pension to William H. H. Sheppard.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18615—Granting an increase of pension to James S. Frizzell.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18616—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Moyer.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18617—Granting a pension to Albert McAllister.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18618—For the relief of Wickliff Fry, for horse lost while hired by the United States Geological Survey.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Claims, 200.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1385), 2296.

H. R. 18619—For the relief of Robert D. Young.
Mr. Howell; Committee on the Public Lands, 200.

H. R. 18620—Granting a pension to Mrs. Theresa Dietz.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18621—Granting an increase of pension to John Cochrane.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18622—Granting an increase of pension to John Brown.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18623—Granting an increase of pension to James J. Hollywood.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18624—Granting an increase of pension to James A. Nichols.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18625—Granting an increase of pension to Dr. E. Davis.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18626—Granting an increase of pension to John Jones.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18627—Granting an increase of pension to John Burrell.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18628—Granting a pension to Augustus Light.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18629—For the relief of George H. Marriott.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Claims, 200.

H. R. 18630—Granting an increase of pension to Maurice J. Gordon.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18631—For the relief of Joseph Kahnheimer.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Claims, 200.

H. R. 18632—Granting a pension to Bernard Klatt.
Mr. Konop; Committee on Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18633—Granting an increase of pension to Fannie M. O'Linn.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18634—Granting an increase of pension to Kate Low.
Mr. Lafean; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18635—Granting a pension to John D. Hoskins.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18636—Granting an increase of pension to Elijah H. Inman.
Mr. Lieb; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18637—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Wilkerson.
Mr. Lieb; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18638—Granting an increase of pension to Philip Newton Jones.
Mr. Lieb; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18639—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac Comer.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18640—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Swinburn.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18641—Granting a pension to Charles P. Hagley.
Mr. McArthur; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 200.

H. R. 18642—Granting a pension to J. William Lambright.
Mr. McClintic; Committee on Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18643—Granting an increase of pension to Caroline Montgomery.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18644—Granting a pension to William L. Killoren.
Mr. Magee; Committee on Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18645—Granting a pension to Justus W. Swanberg.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18646—Granting an increase of pension to Hiram Corbin.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18647—Granting a pension to Sarah M. Brown.
Mr. Morrison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201

H. R. 18648—Granting a pension to Eliza A. Heslar.
Mr. Morrison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201

H. R. 18649—Granting a pension to Hannah L. Gowdy.
Mr. Mott; Committee on Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18650—Granting an increase of pension to James Young.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18651—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew Henri Hart.
Mr. Oglesby; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18652—Granting an increase of pension to Mary A. Mykins.
Mr. O'Shaunessy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18653—Granting an increase of pension to Norman L. McCausland.
Mr. O'Shaunessy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18654—Granting an increase of pension to Patrick Mahan.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18655—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob Kreiger.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18656—Granting an increase of pensions to Theodore G. Carlisle.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18657.—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Carter.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee in Pensions, 201

H. R. 18658—For the allowance of certain claims for back pay growing out of service in the Army, during the Civil War, as reported by the Court of Claims.
Mr. Powers; Committee on War Claims, 201.

H. R. 18659—Granting an increase of pension to John D. Wheeler.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18660—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin Cuddeback.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18661—Authorizing the President to promote Edwin T. Burnley, sergeant, Third Company, Fort Kamehameha, Hawaii, to the rank of second lieutenant.
Mr. Quin; Committee on Military Affairs, 201.

H. R. 18662—Granting an increase of pension to Fred A. Angelo.
Mr. Reavis; Committee on Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18663—Granting a pension to Lafayette Fasnaugh.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18664—Granting a pension to Sarah Amerine.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18665—Granting a pension to Eliza Greten.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18666—Granting an increase of pension to Mary C. Ryan.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18667—Granting an increase of pension to Martin V. Inboden.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18668—Granting an increase of pension to James Armstrong.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18669—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas E. Collins.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18670—Granting an increase of pension to Edward H. Wallar.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18671—Granting an increase of pension to Gilbert Geslen.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18672—Granting an increase of pension to Peter Daubenmier.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18673—Granting an increase of pension to Harvey Stultz.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18674—Granting an increase of pension to James S. Knighton.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18675—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas L. Dodson.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18676—Granting an increase of pension to James Wolfe.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18677—Granting an increase of pension to Helen A. Bowen.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18678—Granting an increase of pension to Annie M. Shell.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18679—Granting an increase of pension to Austin P. Jones.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18680—Granting an increase of pension to James W. Wilkins.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18681—Granting an increase of pension to John Wyskiver.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18682—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel S. Howdyshell.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18683—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Wilds.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18684—Granting an increase of pension to R. D. McManigal.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18685—Granting an increase of pension to David Wolfe.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18686—Granting an increase of pension to William Vorhees.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18687—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel St. Clair.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18688—Granting an increase of pension to Jeremiah K. Spohn.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18689—Providing for the appointment of Chief Boatswain William Lowell Hill as a commander in the United States Navy.
Mr. Roberts of Massachusetts; Committee on Naval Affairs, 201.

H. R. 18690—Granting an increase of pension to James Young.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18691—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel H. Sloan.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18692—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel A. Robertson.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18693—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Ryan.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18694—Granting an increase of pension to Henry L. McMullen.
Mr. Rowland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18695—Granting an increase of pension to C. L. Haldaman.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18696—Granting an increase of pension to T. J. Stoner.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18697—Granting an increase of pension to Walter McCracken.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18698—Granting an increase of pension to John West.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 201.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1517.

H. R. 18699—Granting an increase of pension to Rial Jennings.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18700—Granting an increase of pension to Aristine Wells.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18701—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Nance.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18702—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel W. Van Pelt.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18703—Granting an increase of pension to Edward G. Hall.
Mr. Sims; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18704—Granting a pension to George Watson.
Mr. Sims; Committee on Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18705—Granting an increase of pension to E. G. Burnet.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18706—Granting a pension to Jenkin Williams.
Mr. Snell; Committee of Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18707—Granting an increase of pension to Archelius Harris.
Mr. Steele of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18708—Granting an increase of pension to Frank B. Carey.
Mr. Steele of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18709—Granting a pension to Sirena Short.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18710—Granting a pension to John J. Swan.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18711—For the relief of Elmer Howe.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Claims, 201.

H. R. 18712—Granting a pension to Torance D. Reynolds.
Mr. Ward; Committee on Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18713—Granting an increase of pension to James A. Hibbard.
Mr. Wason; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18714—Granting an increase of pension to W. W. Hamilton.
Mr. Thomas S. Williams; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18715—Granting a pension to Pearley P. Beal.
Mr. Thomas S. Williams; Committee on Pensions, 201.

H. R. 18716—Granting a pension to William C. Leonard.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 202.

H. R. 18717—Authorizing the Secretary of War to lease surplus water power at the Government reservoir dam at the headwaters of the Mississippi.
Mr. Miller of Minnesota; Committee on Rivers and Harbors. 249.—Change of reference objected to, 277.

H. R. 18718—To appropriate $30,000 to remove logs from Sabine River and condemn and expropriate them.
Mr. Watkins; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 249.

H. R. 18719—To appropriate $100,000 for the improvement of navigation on Red River in Louisiana and Arkansas.
Mr. Watkins; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 249.

H. R. 18720—Permitting the building of a railroad bridge across the Mississippi River at Bemidji, in the State of Minnesota.
Mr. Lindbergh; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. 249.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1263), 985.—Amended and passed House, 2871.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 2933.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1087); passed Senate, 3658.—Examined and signed, 3917, 3963.—Presented to the President, 4367.—Approved [Public, No. 364], 4526.

H. R. 18721—To provide a commission to secure plans and designs for a monument or memorial to the memory of the negro soldiers and sailors who fought in the wars of our country.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on the Library, 249.

H. R. 18722—To forbid the use of the mails for letters, postal cards, circulars, or pamphlets offering for sale, soliciting the purchase of, or advertising intoxicating liquors.
Mr. Howard; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 249.

H. R. 18723—Authorizing the Post Office Department to acquire and extend the telephone system of the District of Columbia; to insure the Government complete control of such means of communication in safeguarding its military and executive affairs within the seat of government; to provide a special telephone service to facilitate the direct sale of farm products to consumers in said District; and to establish the efficiency and economy with which such service may be postally conducted.
Mr. Lewis; Committee on the District of Columbia, 249.—Debated [Appendix, 77].

H. R. 18724—Authorizing a survey of Bay Ridge Channel, New York Harbor.
Mr. Griffin; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 249.

H. R. 18725—Granting the consent of Congress to Kratka Township, Pennington County, Minn., to construct a bridge across Red Lake River.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 249.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1262), 985.—Amended and passed House, 2871.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 2933.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1032); passed Senate, 3062.—Examined and signed, 3305, 3354.—Presented to the President, 3423.—Approved [Public, No. 335], 3618.

H. R. 18726—To provide an extension to the post office at Jersey City, N. J.
Mr. Hamill; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 249.

H. R. 18727—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Thomas.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 249.

H. R. 18728—Granting an increase of pension to Wesley B. Calder.
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H. R. 18729—Granting an increase of pension to Arthur D. Smith.
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H. R. 18730—Granting an increase of pension to John H. Simisen.
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H. R. 18731—Granting an increase of pension to Charles G. Craig.
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H. R. 18732—Granting an increase of pension to Myrenus Loomis.
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H. R. 18733—Granting an increase of pension to James Miller.
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H. R. 18734—Granting a pension to George Wininger.
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H. R. 18735—Granting an increase of pension to George H. Joyce.
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H. R. 18737—Granting an increase of pension to Calvin Babcock.
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H. R. 18738—Granting an increase of pension to Matthias T. Hepner.
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H. R. 18739—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Clifton.
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Mr. Bennet; Committee on Pensions, 249.

H. R. 18742—Granting a pension to William A. Evans.
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H. R. 18746—For the relief of M. F. Snider.
Mr. Carlin; Committee on Claims, 250.

H. R. 18747—To appoint Roy K. Carson a second lieutenant in the United States Marine Corps.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Naval Affairs, 250.

H. R. 18748—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas C. Whisanand.
Mr. Cullop; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 250.

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H. R. 18757—Granting an increase of pension to Edwin T. Doan.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 250.

H. R. 18758—Granting an increase of pension to George Proudfit.
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H. R. 18759—Granting a pension to Thomas E. Eagan.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Pensions, 250.

H. R. 18760—Granting a pension to Mary E. Gilbreath.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 250.

H. R. 18761—Granting an increase of pension to Charles M. Dority.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 250.

H. R. 18762—Granting a pension to Albert O. Dunning.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 250.

H. R. 18763—Granting an increase of pension to Lorenzo D. Wentworth.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 250.

H. R. 18764—Granting an increase of pension to Edward M. Walters.
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H. R. 18768—To waive the age limit in the appointment of Dr. Oscar A. Hansen.
Mr. McAndrews; Committee on Military Affairs, 250.

H. R. 18769—Granting an increase of pension to Charles A. Thomas.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Pensions, 250.

H. R. 18770—Granting an increase of pension to George A. Rubush.
Mr. Moores of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 250.

H. R. 18771—Granting an increase of pension to Alexander H. Reed.
Mr. Morgan of Oklahoma; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 250.

H. R. 18772—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel H. Rodeheaver.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Pensions, 250.

H. R. 18773—For the relief of William C. Hascall.
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H. R. 18774—For the relief of Spencer Roberts, a member of the Metropolitan Police force of the District of Columbia.
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Mr. Padgett; Committee on Pensions, 250.

H. R. 18777—Granting an increase of pension to Edward O. Wright.
Mr. Parker of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 250.

H. R. 18778—Granting an increase of pension to George H. Skym.
Mr. Parker of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 250.

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Mr. Parker of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 250.

H. R. 18780—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Frances Gibson.
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H. R. 18781—Granting an increase of pension to Frank Sayre.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 250.

H. R. 18782—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Daniels.
Mr. Rainey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 250.

H. R. 18783—Granting a pension to Eugene D. Linderman.
Mr. Reavis; Committee on Pensions, 250.

H. R. 18784—Granting a pension to Dudley G. Allen.
Mr. Reilly; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 250.

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H. R. 18786—Granting an increase of pension to James T. Hewitt.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 250.

H. R. 18787—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Boatman.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 250.

H. R. 18788—Granting an increase of pension to Henrietta C. Stanton.
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H. R. 18789—Granting an increase of pension to Christopher D. Veal.
Mr. Rucker; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 250.

H. R. 18790—Granting an increase of pension to William W. Barney.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 250.

H. R. 18791—Granting an increase of pension to John M. Prouty.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 250.

H. R. 18792—Granting an increase of pension to Richard A. Chamness.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 250.

H. R. 18793—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Talbert.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 250.

H. R. 18794—Granting an increase of pension to Abijah E. King.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 250.

H. R. 18795—Granting an increase of pension to George F. Minturn.
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H. R. 18798—Granting an increase of pension to Cyrus C. Marston.
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H. R. 18799—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas D. Tweedy.
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H. R. 18800—Granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Emma E. Normoyle.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Pensions, 250.

H. R. 18801—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah E. Freed.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 250.

H. R. 18802—Granting an increase of pension to William J. Shwimmer.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 250.

H. R. 18803—Granting an increase of pension to Levi Coon.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 250.

H. R. 18804—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel J. Wiggin.
Mr. Sulloway; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 250.

H. R. 18805—Granting an increase of pension to Joshua C. Ogden.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 250.

H. R. 18806—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin F. Smith.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 250.

H. R. 18807—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel R. Cokeley.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 250.

H. R. 18808—Granting a pension to Henry Washington.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 250.

H. R. 18809—For the relief of Jose Ramon Cordova.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Claims, 250.

H. R. 18810—For the relief of Charles A. Black, alias Angus Black.
Mr. Wason; Committee on Military Affairs, 250.

H. R. 18811—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Livezey.
Mr. Watson of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 250.

H. R. 18812—Declaring Bayou Meto to be a nonnavigable stream.
Mr. Taylor of Arkansas; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 310.

H. R. 18813—For the erection of a public building at Lewistown, Ill.
Mr. Chiperfield; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 310.

H. R. 18814—Granting indefinite leave of absence to superannuated employees of the Treasury Department.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 310.

H. R. 18815—To authorize the construction and maintenance of a road across the St. Francis River at or near intersections of sections 13, 14, 23, and 24, township 15 north, range 6 east, in Craighead County, Ark.
Mr. Caraway; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 310.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1264), 985.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 7367), 2871.

H. R. 18816—To amend an act entitled "An act providing that the marriage of a homestead entryman to a homestead entrywoman shall not impair the right of either to a patent, after compliance with the law a year, to apply to existing entries."
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on the Public Lands, 310.

H. R. 18817—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Cookeville, in the county of Putnam and State of Tennessee, two bronze or brass cannon or fieldpieces, with their carriages.
Mr. Hull of Tennessee; Committee on Military Affairs, 310.

H. R. 18818—To provide for the erection of a public building at Cicero, Ill.
Mr. McAndrews; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 310.

H. R. 18819—To purchase a permanent site for the erection of a post-office building in LaGrange, Ill.
Mr. McAndrews; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 310.

H. R. 18820—To purchase a permanent site for the erection of a post-office building in Berwyn, Ill.
Mr. McAndrews; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 310.

H. R. 18821—Making an appropriation for the improvement of the Schuylkill River, Pa.
Mr. Moore of Pennsylvania; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 310.

H. R. 18822—To purchase a permanent site for the erection of a post-office building in Maywood, Ill.
Mr. McAndrews; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 310.

H. R. 18823—Making an appropriation for the improvement of the Pawtucket River, R. I.
Mr. Kennedy of Rhode Island; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 310.

H. R. 18824—To authorize the coinage of 2-cent pieces, and for other purposes.
Mr. Porter; Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, 310.

H. R. 18825—To amend an act entitled "An act making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year 1915 and for prior years, and for other purposes."
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on the Public Lands, 310.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1395), 2357.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 3637.—Referred to Senate Committee on Appropriations, 3664

H. R. 18826—To relieve the owners of mining claims who have been mustered into the service of the United States as officers or enlisted men of the Organized Militia or National Guard from performing assessment work during the term of such service.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on the Public Lands, 310.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1276), 1239.—Debated and passed House, 3630.—Referred to Senate Committee on Mines and Mining, 3665.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1134), 4567.

H. R. 18827—To appropriate $75,000 for a shelter for vehicles and for a welfare station at the Rock Island Arsenal.
Mr. Hull of Iowa; Committee on Appropriations, 310.

H. R. 18828—Granting a pension to Margaret L. Cassady.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Pensions, 310.

H. R. 18829—Granting an increase of pension to Richard Williams.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Pensions, 310.

H. R. 18830—Granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Emma E. Normoyle.
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H. R. 18831—Granting a pension to Martha J. Gallivan.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Pensions, 310.

H. R. 18832—Granting an increase of pension to Peter Heis.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 310.

H. R. 18833—Granting an increase of pension to Randall De Witt Bordeaux.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 310.

H. R. 18834—Granting a pension to Myrtle Webster.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 310.

H. R. 18835—Granting an increase of pension to Luman W. Storer.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 310.

H. R. 18836—Granting a pension to Rufus S. Tucker.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on Pensions, 310.

H. R. 18837—Granting an increase of pension to B. Frank Spangler.
Mr. Beales; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 310.

H. R. 18838—Granting an increase of pension to Emanuel R. Fry.
Mr. Beales; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 310.

H. R. 18839—Granting an increase of pension to Lucy Collin.
Mr. Burke; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18840—Granting a pension to Sophia Moldenhauer.
Mr. Burke; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18841—Granting an increase of pension to Arbery Estes.
Mr. Cantrill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18842—Granting an increase of pension to Elias T. Newman.
Mr. Cantrill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18843—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Adams.
Mr. Cooper of West Virginia; Committee on Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18844—Granting an increase of pension to William Thompson.
Mr. Davenport; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18845—Granting an increase of pension to Calvin Sharpnack.
Mr. Davenport; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18846—Granting a pension to Lee F. Pixley.
Mr Davenport; Committee on Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18847—Granting an increase of pension to William Felts.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18848—Granting an increase of pension to Silas Crisler.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18849—To waive the age limit and the disqualification of being married in the appointment of John J. Maher as a second lieutenant in the United States Army.
Mr. Edwards; Committee on Military Affairs, 311.

H. R. 18850—Granting a pension to Elbert R. Roberson.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18851—Granting an increase of pension to George W. McAninch.
Mr. Helm; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18852—Granting a pension to Porter Frost.
Mr. Helm; Committee on Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18853—For the relief of George A. Cummings.
Mr. Hull of Iowa; Committee on Claims, 311.

H. R. 18854—Granting an increase of pension to John Bardill.
Mr. Hull of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18855—Granting a pension to Susan A. Thompson.
Mr. Hull of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18856—Granting a pension to Andrew J. Smith.
Mr. Hull of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18857—Granting an increase of pension to Arthur Plank.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18858—Granting an increase of pension to Henry C. Orvis.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18859—Granting an increase of pension to John R. Woods.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18860—Granting a pension to Charles H. Jackson.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18861—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew J. Britton.
Mr. Konop; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18862—For the relief of Wilson B. George.
Mr. Lindbergh; Committee on Military Affairs, 311.

H. R. 18863—For the relief of Frank H. Walker and Frank E. Smith, a part of whose real property was taken and is now occupied by the United States for the foundation of the west wall of the Government Printing Office, in the city of Washington, and the remainder not taken damaged by reason of the construction and operation of said printing office.
Mr. McGillicuddy; Committee on Claims, 311.

H. R. 18864—Granting an increase of pension to William Vincent.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18865—Granting a pension to Fannie R. Gardner.
Mr. Paige of Massachusetts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18866—Granting an increase of pension to Effie Haywood Woodruff.
Mr. Pou; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18867—Granting a pension to Sate L. Brundage.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18868—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew J. Bass.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18869—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew J. Williams.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18870—Granting an increase of pension to James W. Lathrop.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18871—Granting an increase of pension to John Weber.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18872—Granting an increase of pension to James Noland.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18873—Granting an increase of pension to John Chalk.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18874—Granting an increase of pension to William J. Rennaker.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18875—Granting an increase of pension to Francis M. Werst.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18876—Granting an increase of pension to James M. Drook.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18877—Granting an increase of pension to Charles M. Baughman.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18878—Granting a pension to Edward F. Baker.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18879—Granting a pension to Benjamin F. Long.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18880—To correct the military record of Stephen Murphy.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Military Affairs, 311.

H. R. 18881—To correct the military record of Reuben Pulley.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Military Affairs, 311.

H. R. 18882—To correct the military record of Henry Endsley.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Military Affairs, 311.

H. R. 18883—Granting an increase of pension to George Ulrich.
Mr. Rowland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18884—For the relief of Albert H. Radla.
Mr. Russell of Ohio; Committee on Claims, 311.

H. R. 18885—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Shufelt, 3844 Nicolett Avenue, Minneapolis, Minn.
Mr. Smith of Minnesota; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18886—Granting a pension to Johanna Edmonds.
Mr. Swift; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18887—Granting an increase of pension to Eli Mathews.
Mr. Towner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18888—For the relief of the widow of O. J. Lavender, deceased.
Mr. Volstead; Committee on Claims, 311.

H. R. 18889—Granting an increase of pension to John Lattimore.
Mr. Woods of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions 311.

H. R. 18890—Granting a pension to William Bass.
Mr. Woods of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 311.

H. R. 18891—To amend an act entitled "An act to parole United States prisoners, and for other purposes," approved June 10, 1910, as amended by an act approved Jan. 23, 1913.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Judiciary, 361.

H. R. 18892—For the establishment of a probation system in the United States courts, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Judiciary, 361.

H. R. 18893—To continue in the public service persons who have served as President of the United States.
Mr. Moore of Pennsylvania; Committee on the Judiciary, 361.

H. R. 18894—To amend the public-building act approved Mar. 4, 1913, authorizing the acquisition of a suitable site for a public building at Pittston, Pa.
Mr. Casey; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 361.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1368), 2215.—Passed House, 3635.—Referred to Senate Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3664.—Reported back; passed Senate, 3961.—Examined and signed, 4031, 4067.—Presented to the President, 4367.—Approved [Public, No. 365], 4526.

H. R. 18895—To reclassify the grades and fix the salaries of railway postal clerks.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 361.

H. R. 18896—Providing for the survey of an inland water route along the southern shore of Long Island, N. Y., from Jamaica Bay to Peconic Bay.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 361.

H. R. 18897—Providing for a survey of Sterling Basin, at Greenport, in the State of New York.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 361.

H. R. 18898—To appropriate $22,500 for the improvement of Sterling Basin, at Greenport, State of New York, and an approach thereto.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 361.

H. R. 18899—Authorizing allowances to postal rural-delivery carriers for the maintenance of motor vehicles, and for feed and supplies for horses, and making an appropriation therefor.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 361.

H. R. 18900—To provide for the construction of a public building at Anderson, S. C.
Mr. Aiken; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 361.

H. R. 18901—To authorize officers of the National Guard called into the service of the United States for duty on the Mexican border June 18, 1916, or subsequently, who were under 36 years of age at the time of said call, to take the examination for provisional second lieutenant in the Regular Army under certain conditions.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Military Affairs, 361.

H. R. 18902—To provide for the retirement of carriers in the Postal Rural Delivery Service, and creating a special fund for their benefit in lieu of 15 days additional leave of absence with pay.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 361.

H. R. 18903—To amend the act approved Dec. 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act.
Mr. McFadden; Committee on Banking and Currency, 361.

H. R. 18904—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War, in his discretion, to deliver to the Alumni Association of Milton, College, Milton, Wis., two condemned bronze or brass cannon.
Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin; Committee on Military Affairs, 361.

H. R. 18905—To provide an extension to the post office at Jersey City, N. J.
Mr. Hamill; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 361.

H. R. 18906—To amend an act entitled "An act providing for mediation, conciliation, and arbitration in controversies between certain employers and their employees."
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 361.

H. R. 18907—To provide for the establishment of a municipal bakery, and for supplying of information in respect to the cost of baking and distributing bread.
Mr. Young of North Dakota; Committee on the District of Columbia, 361.

H. R. 18908—To provide for the installation of an experimental flour mill and chemical and baking laboratories to aid the Secretary of Agriculture in establishing standards of quality and condition of wheat, barley, and other grains.
Mr. Young of North Dakota; Committee on Agriculture, 361.

H. R. 18909—For the erection and equipment of a general hospital on or near the shores of Bristol Bay, Alaska, and for other purposes.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on the Territories, 361.

H. R. 18910—Authorizing the Secretary of War to acquire lands for Government use near Lock 17 on the Black Warrior River, in Jefferson County, Ala.
Mr. Huddleston; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 361.

H. R. 18911—To amend an act to regulate the practice of pharmacy and the sale of poisons in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.
Mr. Barnhart; Committee on the District of Columbia, 361.

H. R. 18912—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate condemned cannon and cannon balls to the village of Bloomingburg, Ohio.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Military Affairs, 361.

H. R. 18913—To enlarge, extend, make additions to, and further improve the United States courthouse and post-office building at Aberdeen, Miss.
Mr. Candler of Mississippi; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 361.

H. R. 18914—To change the name of oleomargarine to "margarine"; to change the rate of tax on margarine; to protect consumers, dealers, and manufacturers of margarine against fraud; and to afford the Internal Revenue Bureau means for the more efficient detection of fraud and for the collection of revenues.
Mr. Aswell; Committee on Agriculture, 361.

H. R. 18915—To create a new division of the northern judicial district of Texas, and to provide for terms of court at Wichita Falls, Tex., and for a clerk for said court, and for other purposes.
Mr. Stephens of Texas; Committee on the Judiciary, 361.

H. R. 18916—Providing for the registry of officers, clerks, and employees in the Federal service, and for other purposes.
Mr. Helm; Committee on the Census, 362.

H. R. 18917—To repeal an act approved June 7, 1906, entitled "An act to amend section 7 of an act entitled 'An act to provide for a permanent Census Office,' approved Mar. 6, 1902."
Mr. Helm; Committee on the Census, 362.

H. R. 18918—For continuing the improvement of the harbor of refuge at Harbor Beach, Mich.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 362.

H. R. 18919—Granting a pension to William Hopkins.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 362.

H. R. 18920—Granting an increase of pension to William S. Weaver.
Mr. Barnhart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 362.

H. R. 18921—Granting an increase of pension to Johnson Berry.
Mr. Barnhart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 362.

H. R. 18922—Granting a pension to Edward Maher.
Mr. Bennet; Committee on Pensions, 362.

H. R. 18923—Granting a pension to Jennie Furman.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 362.

H. R. 18924—Granting an increase of pension to J. E. Stafford.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 362.

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Mr. Young of North Dakota; Committee on Claims, 463.

H. R. 19119—Making appropriations to provide for the expenses of the government of the District of Columbia for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes.
Mr. Page of North Carolina; from Committee on Appropriations (H. Rept. 1228), 507, 508, 527.—Debated, 576–578, 608–630, 650–664.—Amended and passed House, 662–664.—Referred to Senate Committee on Appropriations, 670.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1004), 2463.—Debated, 2858–2862, 2894–2929.—Amended and passed Senate, 2929.—Senate amendments debated in House; House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a conference, 3130–3132.—Senate insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 3185.—Conference appointed, 3132, 3185.—Conference report (No. 1515) made in House, 3782, 4019.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate; Senate further insists on its amendments and asks for a further conference, 3874, 3875.—Conference report debated and agreed to in House; House further disagrees to Senate amendments and agrees to a further conference, 4019–4031.—Second conference appointed, 3875, 4031, 4069.—Second conference report (Nos. 1567, 1595) made in House, 4366, 4559.—Second conference report debated and rejected in House; House further disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a further conference, 4559–4562, 4635, 4636.—Senate further insists on its amendments and agrees to a further conference, 4578, 4579.—Third conference appointed, 4579, 4636.—Third conference report made, debated and agreed to in Senate, 4745, 4746.—Third conference report (No. 1626) made, debated and agreed to in House, 4818, 4819.—Examined and signed, 4744, 4855.—Presented to the President, 4944.—Approved [Public, No. 378], 5032.

H. R. 19120—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to accept a title to a site for the post office at Donora, Pa., which excepts and reserves natural gas and oil underlying the land.
Mr. Temple; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 527.

H. R. 19121—To provide for the reimbursement to the emigrant Cherokees by blood for lands allotted to the negro freedman (Cherokees) from the lands granted to the emigrant Cherokees by blood under treaty of 1835.
Mr. Mudd; Committee on Indian Affairs, 527.

H. R. 19122—To amend the act of Congress of Feb. 17, 1911, entitled "An act providing for the purchase or erection, within certain limits of cost, of embassy, legation, and consular buildings abroad."
Mr. Rogers; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 527.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1332), 1802.—Debated, 3633.

H. R. 19123—To provide for the election of the governor and secretary of the Territory of Hawaii.
Mr. Kalanianaole; Committee on the Territories, 527.

H. R. 19124—To relieve the railroads in Porto Rico and Hawaii from the provisions of the safety-appliance acts, requiring the use of power brakes on cars used exclusively for the transportation of sugar cane.
Mr. Kalanianaole; Committee on the Territories, 527.

H. R. 19125—To reclassify the grades and fix the salaries of railway postal clerks.
Mr. Austin; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 527.

H. R. 19126—Authorizing the President of the United States to exchange land set aside for military purposes in the Territory of Hawaii for private land.
Mr. Dent; Committee on Military Affairs, 527.

H. R. 19127—Directing the Secretary of War to ascertain the amount of money expended by the State of Texas between Jan. 1, 1866, and Dec. 31, 1876, inclusive, and report the same to Congress for its consideration.
Mr. Stephens of Texas; Committee on Claims, 527.

H. R. 19128—Providing for the construction of bridges and culverts under reclamation projects out of the reclamation fund.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 527.

H. R. 19129—To make immediately available for the use of the State of Georgia in paying expenses incurred by said State in connection with the joint encampment held at Augusta, Ga., July 22 to 31, 1914, certain sums appropriated for arming and equipping the militia of said State.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Military Affairs, 527.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1492), 3319.

H. R. 19130—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Suhr.
Mr. Allen; Committee on Pensions, 527.

H. R. 19131—Granting an increase of pension to William R. Vanhoozer.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 527.

H. R. 19132—For the relief of the legal representatives of Samuel D. Lapsley.
Mr. Dickinson; Committee on War Claims, 527.

H. R. 19133—Granting an increase of pension to Robert J. Clement.
Mr. Dickinson; Committee on Pensions, 527.

H. R. 19134—For the relief of John G. Clark.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Claims, 527.

H. R. 19135—Granting an increase of pension to Alice J. Stoddard.
Mr. Drukker; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 527.

H. R. 19136—Granting an increase of pension to Elijah A. Hearn.
Mr. Esch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19137—Granting a pension to Jonathan McKay.
Mr. Gray of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19138—Granting an increase of pension to Enos Chamberlin.
Mr. Hart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19139—Granting a pension to Herbert Bernholz.
Mr. Hart; Committee on Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19140—Granting an increase of pension to Enoch C. Ward.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19141—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph E. Burkhart.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19142—Granting a pension to Josephine Hoffman.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19143—Granting an increase of pension to Wills G. Craddock.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19144—Granting an increase of pension to Ideral Vanfleet.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19145—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Lamar.
Mr. Lieb; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19146—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Westfall.
Mr. Lieb; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19147—Granting an increase of pension to Hampton Langley, known as Hampton Thomas.
Mr. Lieb; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19148—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah Battle.
Mr. Lieb; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19149—Granting an increase of pension to Julia Keeney, widow of Woodford W. Keeney, deceased.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19150—Granting a pension to William R. Botkin.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19151—Granting an increase of pension to Watson F. Bisbee.
Mr. Loud; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19152—To award a medal of honor to Henry H. Maxim, private, Company G, Twelfth Maine Infantry.
Mr. McGillicuddy; Committee on Military Affairs, 528.

H. R. 19153—Granting an increase of pension to Melissa A. Danley.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19154—Granting a pension to Lou Stewart.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19155—Granting a pension to James Besheres.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 528.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 3385.

H. R. 19156—Granting a pension to Martha M. Buchanan.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19157—Granting a pension to Ida M. Zimmerman.
Mr. Mudd; Committee on Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19158—Granting a pension to George Robinson.
Mr. Murray; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19159—Granting a pension to Deborah H. Gilbert.
Mr. Olney; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19160—Granting a pension to Nora D. Groves.
Mr. Paige of Massachusetts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19161—Granting a pension to Albert J. Phillips.
Mr. Paige of Massachusetts; Committee on Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19162—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth J. Herrin.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19163—Granting an increase of pension to Turner Bartley.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19164—Granting a pension to Rollin L. Stone.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19165—Granting a pension to Esther M. Beebe.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19166—Granting an increase of pension to Martha Couchman.
Mr. Rainey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19167—Granting an increase of pension to William J. McCormick.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19168—Granting an increase of pension to William R. McAllister.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19169—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah Ellen Everich.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19170—Granting a pension to Minerva C. McMillan.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19171—Granting a pension to George Wolf.
Mr. Smith of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19172—Granting an increase of pension to Eugene B. Eastman.
Mr. Sulloway; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19173—Granting an increase of pension to Lemuel Kingsbury.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19174—Granting a pension to Mary J. Berlin.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19175—Granting a pension to Charles F. Mow.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Pensions, 528.

H. R. 19176—Granting an increase of pension to James L. Strange.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 528.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 666.

H. R. 19177—To remove the charge of desertion from the record of Clarence C. Taft.
Mr. Tinkham; to the Committee on Naval Affairs, 528.

H. R. 19178—Making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes.
Mr. Fitzgerald, from Committee on Appropriations (H. Rept. 1232), 556, 579.—Debated and passed House, 605–608 [Appendix, 35].—Referred to Senate Committee on Appropriations, 587.—Reported back, 587.—Debated and passed Senate, 587–591, 599, 600.—Examined and signed, 665, 668.—Presented to the President, 689.—Approved [Public, No. 288], 754.

H. R. 19179—To exclude from the United States mails all printed matter advertising for sale or soliciting the sale of intoxicating liquors addressed to points within certain States and Territories, and providing penalties for violations.
Mr. Good; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 579.

H. R. 19180—To provide for a survey and estimate of cost of removing bends in Black River at Lorain, Ohio.
Mr. Williams of Ohio; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 579.

H. R. 19181—To authorize the coinage of one-half cent pieces, and for other purposes.
Mr. Stafford; Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, 579.

H. R. 19182—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the Board of Trade of Crafton Heights, Crafton, Allegheny County, Pa., two bronze cannon or fieldpieces.
Mr. Crago; Committee on Military Affairs, 579.

H. R. 19183—Authorizing the Secretary of War to deliver to the city of Fond du Lac, county of Fond du Lac, State of Wisconsin, four condemned bronze or brass cannon with carriage and suitable outfit of cannon balls.
Mr. Reilly; Committee on Military Affairs, 579.

H. R. 19184—Granting two weeks' sick leave to letter carriers in the City Free Delivery Service and to post-office clerks in first and second class post offices.
Mr. Bennet; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 579.

H. R. 19185—To establish in the Treasury Department a roll designated as "The special life-saving medal of honor roll," and for other purposes.
Mr. Bruckner; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 579.

H. R. 19186—To regulate and control the use of submersible craft in the streams, lakes, channels, harbors, and territorial waters of the United States.
Mr. Graham; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 579.

H. R. 19187—To reduce the unnecessary amount of overtime required of letter carriers in the City Delivery Service and post-office clerks in first and second class post offices.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 579.

H. R. 19188—To prohibit the manufacture or sale of alcoholic liquors in the Territory of Alaska, and for other purposes.
Mr. Wickersham; Committee on the Territories, 579.

H. R. 19189—Granting an increase of pension to Lemuel Evans.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 579.

H. R. 19190—Granting an increase of pension to Arthur C. Gregg.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 579.

H. R. 19191—Granting an increase of pension to Ida Noblitt.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 579.

H. R. 19192—Granting an increase of pension to David H. Hatfield.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 579.

H. R. 19193—For the relief of Zachary T. Heal.
Mr. Bruckner; Committee on Naval Affairs, 579.

H. R. 19194—Granting an increase of pension to Augustus B. Dotson.
Mr. Campbell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 579.

H. R. 19195—Granting an increase of pension to Ross Montgomery.
Mr. Cooper of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 579.

H. R. 19196—Granting an increase of pension to Henry Keech.
Mr. Cooper of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 579.

H. R. 19197—Granting a pension to Gottfried J. Maier.
Mr. Costello; Committee on Pensions, 579.

H. R. 19198—For the relief of David L. Barry.
Mr. Curry; Committee on Claims, 579.

H. R. 19199—Granting a pension to Charles McHugh.
Mr. Dallinger; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 579.

H. R. 19200—Granting a pension to Ellen Sicker.
Mr. Dewalt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 579.

H. R. 19201—To muster in and muster out R. M. C. Gavin.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Military Affairs, 579.

H. R. 19202—For the relief of William Grimsley.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Military Affairs, 579.

H. R. 19203—Granting a pension to Martin Henrich Jensen.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 579.

H. R. 19204—Granting an increase of pension to John Spelman.
Mr. Elston; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 579.

H. R. 19205—For the relief of S. S. Markley.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on the Public Lands, 579.

H. R. 19206—Granting a pension to Charles Haiste.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Pensions, 579.

H. R. 19207—Granting an increase of pension to John J. Jackson.
Mr. Good; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 579.

H. R. 19208—Granting an increase of pension to Lewis B. Lewis.
Mr. Good; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 579.

H. R. 19209—Granting an increase of pension to Roy Jackman.
Mr. Good; Committee on Pensions, 579.

H. R. 19210—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph B. Sullivan.
Mr. Hull of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 579.

H. R. 19211—Granting an increase of pension to Ananias B. Reeser.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 579.

H. R. 19212—Granting a pension to Josephine G. Linn.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Pensions, 580.

H. R. 19213—Granting a pension to Francis M. Perfect.
Mr. McClintic; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 580.

H. R. 19214—For the relief of Mary C. Mayers.
Mr. Madden; Committee on Claims, 580.

H. R. 19215—Granting a pension to Jack D. Bement.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on Pensions, 580.

H. R. 19216—Granting a pension to George D. Bement.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on Pensions, 580.

H. R. 19217—Granting an increase of pension to Adam B. Shepherd.
Mr. Morrison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 580.

H. R. 19218—Granting an increase of pension to Marian A. Jaques.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 580.

H. R. 19219—Granting an increase of pension to Orrin J. Belden.
Mr. Parker of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 580.

H. R. 19220—Granting an increase of pension to Bertha Fenz.
Mr. Reilly; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 580.

H. R. 19221—Granting an increase of pension to Elijah Hodges.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 580.

H. R. 19222—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Regan.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on Pensions, 580.

H. R. 19223—Granting an honorable discharge to Edward S. Conkling.
Mr. Rowe; Committee on Military Affairs, 580.

H. R. 19224—Granting a pension to Charles H. Ricker.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 580.

H. R. 19225—For the relief of Alfred C. Scheu as attorney for the Jacob Scheu estate.
Mr. Smith of New York; Committee on Claims, 580.

H. R. 19226—Granting an increase of pension to Charles N. Bacon.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 580.

H. R. 19227—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac Pelkey.
By Mr. Snell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 580.

H. R. 19228—Granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Blanch C. Loveland.
Mr. Steele of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 580.

H. R. 19229—For the relief of the heirs of Ko-mo-dal-kiah, Moses agreement allottee No. 33.
Mr. Stephens of Texas; Committee on Indian Affairs, 580.

H. R. 19230—To cancel the allotment of Ollie House, Shoshone Indian Reservation, Wyo.
Mr. Stephens of Texas; Committee on Indian Affairs, 580.

H. R. 19231—Granting a pension to Sarah A. Moulton.
Mr. Sulloway; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 580.

H. R. 19232—Granting an increase of pension to John Harris.
Mr. Wilson of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 580.

H. R. 19233—To increase the salary of the United States marshal for the western district of Michigan.
Mr. McLaughlin; Committee on the Judiciary, 631.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1418), 2659.—Debated and passed House, 3640.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 3664.—Reported back, 4864.

H. R. 19234—Granting pensions to teamsters of the War of the Rebellion and Indian wars from 1861 to 1869, inclusive.
Mr. Campbell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 631.

H. R. 19235—For the establishment, maintenance, and operation of a municipal abattoir in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Crosser; Committee on the District of Columbia, 631.

H. R. 19236—To establish the Ozark National Park in the State of Arkansas, and for other purposes.
Mr. Oldfield; Committee on the Public Lands, 631.

H. R. 19237—For the construction of a public building at Belding, Mich.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 631.

H. R. 19238—Making available any post-office surplus for the fiscal year 1917 for the purchase of the telephone system of the District of Columbia; to insure the Government complete control of such means of communication in safeguarding its military and executive affairs within the seat of government; to provide a special telephone service to facilitate the direct sale of farm products to consumers in said District; to establish the efficiency and economy with which such service may be conducted by the Post Office Department.
Mr. Lewis; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 631.—Debated (Appendix, 77).

H. R. 19239—Granting the consent of Congress to the county of Pearl River, Miss., and the fourth ward of the parish of Washington, La., to construct a bridge across Pearl River, between Pearl River County, Miss., and Washington Parish, La.
Mr. Morgan of Louisiana; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 631.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1320), 1658.—Passed House, 2872.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 2933.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1071) and passed Senate, 3577.—Examined and signed, 3917, 3963.—Presented to the President, 4367.—Approved [Public, No. 366], 4526.

H. R. 19240—To authorize a report upon the necessity for the construction of a diversion dam with a bridge superstructure across the Gila River on the Gila Bend Indian Reservation, Ariz.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Indian Affairs, 631.

H. R. 19241—To provide for the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Barberton, Ohio.
Mr. Williams of Ohio; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 631.

H. R. 19242—Authorizing the sale of the land and building at Kennebunkport, Me., known as the old customhouse property, to the town of Kennebunkport, Me.
Mr. Hinds; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 631.

H. R. 19243—Granting an increase of pension to Jefferson Cherry.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 631.

H. R. 19244—Granting a pension to Calloway Roddy.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 631.

H. R. 19245—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Price.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 631.

H. R. 19246—Granting an increase of pension to George Hopper.
Mr. Cantrill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 631.

H. R. 19247—Granting a pension to Irwin R. Troxell.
Mr. Dewalt; Committee on Pensions, 631.

H. R. 19248—Granting an increase of pension to Frank J. Brolley.
Mr. Dixon; Committee on Pensions, 631.

H. R. 19249—Granting a pension to Charles Bruder.
Mr. Doremus; Committee on Pensions, 631.

H. R. 19250—Granting an increase of pension to James L. McDougall.
Mr. Doremus; Committee on Pensions, 631.

H. R. 19251—For the relief of William J. Nagel, postmaster, Detroit, Mich.
Mr. Doremus; Committee on Claims, 631.

H. R. 19252—Granting an increase of pension to William Cobbledick.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 631.

H. R. 19253—Granting an increase of pension to Ann Jeremiah.
Mr. Farr; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 632.

H. R. 19254—Granting a pension to William Littlejohn.
Mr. Farr; Committee on Pensions, 632.

H. R. 19255—Granting a pension to Raymond L. Thompson, insane.
Mr. Finley; Committee on Pensions, 632.

H. R. 19256—Granting a pension to Simon R. Thornton.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Pensions, 632.

H. R. 19257—Granting an increase of pension to Catharine Kinder.
Mr. Gray of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 632.

H. R. 19258—For the relief of David Crow.
Mr. Hamill; Committee on Military Affairs, 632.

H. R. 19259—Granting a pension to Cornelius Whitby.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Pensions, 632.

H. R. 19260—Granting a pension to Winfield H. Handley.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Pensions, 632.

H. R. 19261—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Gilbert.
Mr. Houston; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 632.

H. R. 19262—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Davison.
Mr. Igoe; Committee on Pensions, 632.

H. R. 19263—Granting an increase of pension to Emma R. Arnold.
Mr. Lafean; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 632.

H. R. 19264—Granting an increase of pension to Christian Boll.
Mr. Lafean; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 632.

H. R. 19265—Granting a pension to Rosella Wilson.
Mr. Lenroot; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 632.

H. R. 19266—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Decanter.
Mr. Lenroot; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 632.

H. R. 19267—Granting an increase of pension to Marian A. Jaques.
Mr. Loft; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 632.

H. R. 19268—Granting an increase of pension to Maggie Radabaugh.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 632.

H. R. 19269—Granting an increase of pension to Elias Cleveland.
Mr. McClintic; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 632.

H. R. 19270—For the relief of David H. Mull.
Mr. McClintic; Committee on War Claims, 632.

H. R. 19271—Granting a pension to Joseph F. Feld.
Mr. Mann; Committee on Pensions, 632.

H. R. 19272—Granting an increase of pension to Edwin H. Mason.
Mr. Mann; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 632.

H. R. 19273—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Prior.
Mr. Parker of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 632.

H. R. 19274—Granting a pension to Henderson Smith.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 632.

H. R. 19275—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Hubbard.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 632.

H. R. 19276—To remove the charge of desertion from the military record of John Thacker.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Military Affairs, 632.

H. R. 19277—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas A. Weisner.
Mr. Rainey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 632.

H. R. 19278—Granting an increase of pension to Mary A. McManus.
Mr. Rainey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 632.

H. R. 19279—Granting an increase of pension to Robert C. James.
Mr. Rayburn; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 632.

H. R. 19280—Granting a pension to Mary L. Stultz.
Mr. Sloan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 632.

H. R. 19281—For the relief of Henry Smith.
Mr. Smith of Minnesota; Committee on Military Affairs, 632.

H. R. 19282—Granting an increase of pension to Fernandus F. Hatfield.
Mr. Steele of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 632.

H. R. 19283—Granting a pension to Fanny Williams.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 632.

H. R. 19284—Granting an increase of pension to Alonzo Whitehouse.
Mr. Sulloway; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 632.

H. R. 19285—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Cale.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 632.

H. R. 19286—For the relief of Theophilus Nuzum.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Military Affairs, 632.

H. R. 19287—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel Gilligan.
Mr. Woods of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 632.

H. R. 19288—For improvements and alterations of the Federal building at Detroit, Mich.
Mr. Doremus; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 666.

H. R. 19289—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Groton, Mass., one cannon or fieldpiece.
Mr. Rogers; Committee on Military Affairs, 666.

H. R. 19290—To authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to cause to be secured an adequate site in or adjacent to Norfolk, Va., and cause to be erected thereon a suitable building or buildings for marine-hospital purposes.
Mr. Holland; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 666.

H. R. 19291—To promote the reclamation of arid and swamp lands of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 666.—Debated (Appendix, 292).

H. R. 19292—Providing for a new building for the assay office, New York City.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 666.

H. R. 19293—To minimize overtime work in post offices.
Mr. Buchanan of Illinois; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 666.

H. R. 19294—To extend the pneumatic mail-tube service and improve the efficiency of the postal system in New York City.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 666.

H. R. 19295—To create a commission which is to recommend legislation for the taking over by the Federal Government of the control of food, and to authorize the President to prohibit under certain conditions the exportation of food.
Mr. London; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 666.

H. R. 19296—Authorizing the Western New York & Pennsylvania Railway Co. to reconstruct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Allegheny River, in the Borough of Warren, and township of Pleasant, Warren County, Pa.
Mr. Miller of Pennsylvania; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 666.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1258), 985.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 7536), 1302.

H. R. 19297—Authorizing the Western New York & Pennsylvania Railway Co. to reconstruct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Allegheny River in Glade and Kinsua Townships, Warren County, Pa.
Mr. Miller of Pennsylvania; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 666.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1259), 985.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 7538), 1302.

H. R. 19298—Authorizing the Western New York & Pennsylvania Railway Co. to reconstruct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Allegheny River, in the town of Allegheny, County of Cattaraugus, N. Y.
Mr. Bennet; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 666.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1260), 985.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 7537), 2123.—Passed House, 2871.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 2933.—Motion to reconsider vote in House; House requests Senate to return bill (see H. Res. 491), 2969.—Committee on Commerce discharged; Senate returns bill, 2983.—Vote reconsidered in House; laid on the table (see bill S. 7537), 3117.

H. R. 19299—To create a new division of the northern judicial district of Texas, and to provide for terms of court at Wichita Falls, Tex., and for a clerk for said court, and for other purposes.
Mr. Stephens of Texas; Committee on the Judiciary, 666.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1277), 1239.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 7644), 3630, 3631.

H. R. 19300—Making appropriations for the Diplomatic and Consular Service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918.
Mr. Flood, from Committee on Foreign Affairs (H. Rept. 1245), 664, 666.—Debated, 705–714.—Amended and passed House, 714.—Referred to Senate Committee on Appropriations, 738.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 905), 1067.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 1109, 1110–1117.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a conference, 3782.—Senate insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 3861.—Conference appointed, 3782, 3861.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 3964, 3965.—Conference report (No. 1550) made in House, 4151, 4787.—Conference report debated and agreed to in House, 4562, 4787–4790.—Examined and signed.—4744, 4855.—Presented to the President, 4944.—Approved [Public, No. 379], 5032.

H. R. 19301—Granting a pension to Parale Jackson.
Mr. Almon; Committee on Pensions, 666.

H. R. 19302—For the relief of the estate of John McQuiddy, deceased.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on War Claims, 666.

H. R. 19303—Granting an increase of pension to Charles H. Smith.
Mr. Benedict; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 666.

H. R. 19304—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Haran.
Mr. Benedict; Committee on Pensions, 666.

H. R. 19305—Granting a pension to Carl Schoppe.
Mr. Benedict; Committee on Pensions, 666.

H. R. 19306—Granting a pension to Major M. Bennett.
Mr. Benedict; Committee on Pensions, 666.

H. R. 19307—For the relief of M. H. Meranda.
Mr. Benedict; Committee on Military Affairs, 666.

H. R. 19308—For the relief of John D. Humphrey.
Mr. Benedict; Committee on Military Affairs, 666.

H. R. 19309—For the relief of Michael Sweeney.
Mr. Benedict; Committee on Military Affairs, 666.

H. R. 19310—For the relief of the legal representatives of A. M. Riser.
Mr. Byrnes of South Carolina; Committee on Claims, 666.

H. R. 19311—Granting a pension to Robert B. Bowie.
Mr. Coady; Committee on Pensions, 666.

H. R. 19312—Granting a pension to Sophia Everett, widow of Thomas H. Everett.
Mr. Coady; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 666.

H. R. 19313—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Nossek.
Mr. Coady; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 666.

H. R. 19314—Granting an increase of pension to Charles H. Rarick.
Mr. Coady; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 666.

H. R. 19315—Granting an increase of pension to John Connor.
Mr. Coady; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 666.

H. R. 19316—Granting an increase of pension to Albert M. Butts, alias Albert J. Stewart.
Mr. Coady; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 666.

H. R. 19317—Granting a pension to Florence G. Leaman.
Mr. Dewalt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 666.

H. R. 19318—Granting an increase of pension to Anna Bower.
Mr. Dewalt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 666.

H. R. 19319—Confirming patents heretofore issued to certain Indians under the homestead laws.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Indian Affairs, 666.

H. R. 19320—Granting a pension to Cora E. Maxedon.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 666.

H. R. 19321—To correct the military record of Edward A. Shave.
Mr. Gray of New Jersey; Committee on Military Affairs, 666.

H. R. 19322—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph McNeight.
Mr. Hamilton of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 666.

H. R. 19323—Granting a pension to Anna S. Shepard.
Mr. Hamilton of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 666.

H. R. 19324—Granting a pension to Mary E. Simmons.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 666.

H. R. 19325—Granting an increase of pension to Eunice E. Dodge.
Mr. Hinds; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 666.

H. R. 19326—Granting an increase of pension to Lucy W. Binford.
Mr. Holland; Committee on Pensions, 666.

H. R. 19327—To correct the military record of George Openshaw.
Mr. Huddleston; Committee on Military Affairs, 667.

H. R. 19328—Granting an increase of pension to Alvin U. Persing.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 667.

H. R. 19329—Granting an increase of pension to Riley A. Reeves.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 667.

H. R. 19330—Granting an increase of pension to Olivia E. Kator.
Mr. Kelley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 667.

H. R. 19331—Granting a pension to Lorenzo D. Romine.
Mr. McArthur; Committee on Pensions, 667.

H. R. 19332—Granting an increase of pension to Cullen Bradley.
Mr. Moss; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 667.

H. R. 19333—Granting an increase of pension to Alfred M. Wheeler.
Mr. Oldfield; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 667.

H. R. 19334—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Jackson.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 667.

H. R. 19335—Granting an increase of pension to John H. Alcorn.
Mr. Powers, 667; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 667.

H. R. 19336—Granting an increase of pension to Charles H. Kindle.
Mr. Rainey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 667.

H. R. 19337—Granting an increase of pension to Sinclair Binkley.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 667.

H. R. 19338—Granting an increase of pension to William O. Nitchman.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Pensions, 667.

H. R. 19339—For the relief of Edmund F. Jenkins.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Military Affairs, 667.

H. R. 19340—For the relief of Bruce J. Syarse.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Claims, 667.

H. R. 19341—Granting an increase of pension to Winfield S. Gregory.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 667.

H. R. 19342—Granting an increase of pension to Overon Payne.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 667.

H. R. 19343—Granting an increase of pension to William W. Day.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 667.

H. R. 19344—Granting an increase of pension to Oliver Sutor.
Mr. Talbott; Committee on Pensions, 667.

H. R. 19345—Granting a pension to John Armstrong.
Mr. Thompson; Committee on Pensions, 667.

H. R. 19346—Granting a pension to Mrs. Ann J. Cox.
Mr. Williams of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 667.

H. R. 19347—Granting a pension to Horace A. Austin.
Mr. Williams of Ohio; Committee on Pensions, 667.

H. R. 19348—Granting an increase of pension to John G. Hunter.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 667.

H. R. 19349—Granting a pension to Mose Attaway.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Pensions, 667.

H. R. 19350—To regulate radio communication.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 782.

H. R. 19351—For the enlargement of the post-office building in Pittsburgh, Pa.
Mr. Morin; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 725.

H. R. 19352—To authorize the Secretary of War to make a survey of the Missouri River between Yankton and Vermilion, S. Dak., for the purpose of preventing ice gorges.
Mr. Dillon; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 725.

H. R. 19353—Waiving the age limit for admission to the United States Marine Corps in the case of Bartley Bull.
Mr. Whaley; Committee on Naval Affairs, 725.

H. R. 19354—Providing for a survey at Gardiners Island in the State of New York.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 725.

H. R. 19355—To fix the tax imposed on manufacturers of adulterated butter at $50 per annum.
Mr. Green of Iowa; Committee on Agriculture, 725.

H. R. 19356—Granting to the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii the power to legislate concerning the public lands of the Territory of Hawaii.
Mr. Kalanianaole; Committee on the Territories, 725.

H. R. 19357—Granting to the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii the power to prohibit the importation of intoxicating liquors into the Territory of Hawaii, to prohibit the manufacture and sale of such liquors therein, and to submit to the qualified electors of the Territory the question of whether the importation, manufacture, and sale of such liquors may be prohibited.
Mr. Kalanianaole; Committee on the Territories, 725.

H. R. 19358—Granting to the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii additional powers relative to elections and qualification of electors.
Mr. Kalanianaole; Committee on the Territories, 725.

H. R. 19359—Making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918.
Mr. Lever, from Committee on Agriculture (H. Rept. 1248), 714, 725.—Debated, 848–860, 900–935, 951–984, 1014–1043 [Appendix, 106, 116, 160, 276].—Amended and passed House, 1041, 1042, 1043.—Referred to Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 1067.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1003), 2381.—Debated, 2477, 2478–2488, 2538–2566, 2629, 2667–2670, 2750, 2753–2759, 2825–2858.—Amended and passed Senate, 2857, 2858.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a conference, 3214.—Senate insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 3185.—Conference appointed, 3185, 3214.—Conference report (S. Doc. No. 713) made in Senate, 3480, 3481.—Conference report (No. 1506) made in House, 3541.—Conference report debated and rejected in Senate; Senate further insists on its amendments and asks for a further conference, 3737–3748.—House further disagrees to Senate amendments and agrees to a further conference, 3808.—Second conference appointed, 3748, 3808.—Second conference report (S. Doc. No. 720) made in Senate, 3993.—Second conference report (No. 1547) made in House, 4048, 4151.—Second conference report debated and rejected in House; House further disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a conference, 4151–4164.—Senate insists on its amendments and agrees to a further conference, 4272, 4578, 4779.—Third conference appointed, 4164, 4779.—Third conference report made, debated, and agreed to in Senate, 4893, 4894, 4978, 4980, 4986.—Third conference report (Nos. 1635, 1638) made, debated, and agreed to in House, 5022–5028.—Examined and signed, 4988, 5032.—Presented to the President, 5033.—Approved [Public, No. 390], 5032.

H. R. 19360—To prevent the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.
Mr. Barkley; Committee on the District of Columbia, 725.

H. R. 19361—Granting an increase of pension to Samantha McCann.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19362—Granting an increase of pension to James Irvine.
Mr. Bailey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19363—Granting a pension to Elbert B. Marshall.
Mr. Barkley; Committee on Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19364—For the relief of Faxon, Horton & Gallagher; Long Bros. Grocery Co.; A. Rieger; Rothenberg & Schloss; Ryley, Wilson & Co.; and Van Noy News Co.
Mr. Borland; Committee on Claims, 726.

H. R. 19365—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Griner.
Mr. Candler of Mississippi; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19366—Granting an increase of pension to W. W. Townley.
Mr. Candler of Mississippi; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19367—Granting an increase of pension to Luther Sealey.
Mr. Candler of Mississippi; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19368—Granting an increase of pension to William Mooneyham.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19369—Granting an increase of pension to Dwight D. Wilbur.
Mr. Dickinson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19370—Granting an increase of pension to Michael J. Rowland.
Mr. Heaton; Committee on Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19371—Granting an increase of pension to James McKittrick.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19372—Granting a pension to Lizzie A. Seamans.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19373—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Phelps.
Mr. Humphrey of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19374—Granting an increase of pension to James F. Bellew.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19375—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel D. Mowery.
Mr. Kreider; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19376—Granting an increase of pension to John P. Mead.
Mr. Langley; Commitee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19377—Granting an increase of pension to Lucinda Hicks.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19378—Granting a pension to David C. Stephens.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19379—Granting a pension to Benjamin H. Kimbler.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19380—Granting a pension to G. W. H. Kimbler.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19381—Granting an increase of pension to William Patrick.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19382—Granting an increase of pension to Jackson Cornett.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19383—Granting an increase of pension to James Alumbaugh.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19384—Granting an increase of pension to Anderson Amis.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19385—Granting an increase of pension to Ebenezer Riley.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19386—Granting an increase of pension to James F. Doyle.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19387—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Schmidt.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19388—Granting an increase of pension to G. E. Gleason.
Mr. McFadden; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19389—Granting an increase of pension to Henry L. Adams.
Mr. McFadden; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19390—Granting a pension to Benjamin C. Read.
Mr. McFadden; Committee on Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19391—Granting an increase of pension to Frank B. Gorman.
Mr. Matthews; Committee on Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19392—Granting an increase of pension to William B. Zenor.
Mr. Moss; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19393—For the relief of the estate of P. A. Clute.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Claims, 726.

H. R. 19394—Granting an increase of pension to Jesse Palmatier.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19395—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Baker.
Mr. Reavis; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19396—Granting an increase of pension to Lytle McCracken.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19397—Granting an increase of pension to La Fayette Barnes.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19398—Granting an increase of pension to Riley Rickards.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19399—Granting a pension to John T. Garrett.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19400—Granting an increase of pension to William Neely.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19401—Granting a pension to George S. Polen.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19402—Granting a pension to John Bresett.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19403—Granting an increase of pension to Greenbury Vickery.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19404—Granting a pension to Kate Frances Getts.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19405—Granting a pension to Rosa L. Wells.
Mr. Smith of Minnesota; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19406—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret E. Dunn.
Mr. Smith of Minnesota; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19407—Granting a pension to Asa W. Coplin.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19408—Granting an increase of pension to Henry H. Parsons.
Mr. Towner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19409—Granting an increase of pension to Amos B. Horton.
Mr. Williams of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 726.

H. R. 19410—Making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes.
Mr. Moon, from Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads (H. Rept. 1249), 748, 782, 785.—Debated, 1093–1102, 1192–1238, 1302–1316, 1332–1334, 1335–1377, 1481–1488. [Appendix, 77, 87, 138, 161, 162, 165, 166, 174, 212, 375, 574, 872.]—Amended and passed House, 1481–1488.—Referred to Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 1523.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1021), 2930.—Debated, 2825, 2988–3005, 3076–3087, 3185–3218, 3255–3288, 3322–3353, 3387–3405.—Amended and passed Senate, 3405.—Senate asks for a conference, 3405.—House concurs in Senate amendments Nos. 19 and 34, also amendments Nos. 15, 32, and 33, each with an amendment; House disagrees to other Senate amendments and agrees to a conference, 3502, 3503, 3697, 3698, 3699, 3715, 3783–3807 (Appendix, 425, 427, 496, 499, 521, 569, 606, 612, 618, 733, 775).—House concurs in Senate amendment No. 34, 3806, 3807 (see H. J. Res. 392), 4939–4944, 4979.—Conference appointed, 3405, 3807, 3860.—Conference report (S. Doc. No. 727) made in Senate, 4575.—Conference report debated and agreed to in Senate, 4746.—Conference report (No. 1613) made, debated, and agreed to in House, 4693–4696.—Examined and signed, 4744, 4855.—Presented to the President, 4944.—Approved [Public, No. 380], 5032.

H. R. 19411—Providing for the construction of bridges and culverts on public highways out of the reclamation fund when rendered necessary or appropriate by the construction of canals or laterals under the reclamation law.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 785.

H. R. 19412—To provide for the purchase of a site and erection of a public building at Pomona, Cal.
Mr. Randall; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 785.

H. R. 19413—For the inclusion of certain lands in the Wyoming National Forest, Wyo.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on the Public Lands, 785.

H. R. 19414—For the erection of a public building at the city of Auburn, State of California, and appropriating moneys therefor.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 785.

H. R. 19415—To remove restrictions against alienation and taxation on all lands in the Five Civilized Tribes immediately upon the death of the allottee.
Mr. Murray; Committee on Indian Affairs, 785.

H. R. 19416—To provide for an auxiliary reclamation project in connection with the Minidoka project, Idaho.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 785.

H. R. 19417—To amend section 1 of an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1913, and for other purposes," approved August 24, 1912 (37 Stat., pp. 539–560, ch. 389), relating to publications admitted to the second class of mail matter.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 785.

H. R. 19418—To promote the reclamation of arid and swamp lands of the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Park; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 785.

H. R. 19419—For the reduction of the rate of postage chargeable on first-class mail matter for local delivery.
Mr. Park; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 785.

H. R. 19420—To authorize the President of the United States to advance officers on the retired list who were wounded in battle in the service of the United States.
Mr. Park; Committee on Military Affairs, 785.

H. R. 19421—To authorize entry of the public lands by school districts for schoolhouse site and ground.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Public Lands, 785.

H. R. 19422—To prevent the use of the mails and of the telegraph and telephone in furtherance of fraudulent and harmful transactions on stock exchanges.
Mr. Henry; Committee on the Judiciary, 785.

H. R. 19423—Granting to the city and county of San Francisco, State of California, a right of way for a storm-water relief sewer through a portion of the Presidio of San Francisco Military Reservation.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 785.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1253), 935.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 7713), 2863.

H. R. 19424—To amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the disposition and sale of lands known as the Klamath River Indian Reservation," approved June 17, 1892 (27 Stat. L., pp. 52, 53).
Mr. Kent; Committee on Indian Affairs, 785.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1360), 2102.

H. R. 19425—To raise revenue by taxing certain articles of food held in cold storage.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Ways and Means, 785.

H. R. 19426—To amend an act to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States.
Mr. Dent; Committee on the Judiciary, 785.

H. R. 19427—Authorizing the Secretary of War to deliver to the trustees of the Onawa Public Library, Onawa, Iowa, two condemned bronze or brass cannon, with their carriages and suitable outfit of cannon balls.
Mr. Steele of Iowa; Committee on Military Affairs, 785.

H. R. 19428—To authorize the granting of a town-site patent to the town site of Petersburg, Alaska, and contiguous land.
Mr. Wickersham; Committee on the Public Lands, 785.

H. R. 19429—Fixing interstate passenger rates in certain circumstances.
Mr. Hilliard; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 785.

H. R. 19430—To amend section 6 of an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved Feb. 4, 1887, and all acts amendatory thereof, by providing for the filing with the Interstate Commerce Commission by telephone and telegraph companies of their rates, fares, and charges for the transmission of messages.
Mr. Reilly; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 785.

H. R. 19431—To provide standard time for the United States.
Mr. Borland; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 785.

H. R. 19432—For the relief of the Wichita and affiliated bands of Indians.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on Indian Affairs, 785.

H. R. 19433—Changing the designation, fixing the status of, and granting an increase of pay to clerks of the Quartermaster Corps.
Mr. Griffin; Committee on Military Affairs, 785.

H. R. 19434—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel V. Templin.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 785.

H. R. 19435—Granting an increase of pension to John B. Mendenhall.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 785.

H. R. 19436—Granting an increase of pension to William C. Martin.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 785.

H. R. 19437—Granting a pension to Susannah Ditterline.
Mr. Bailey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 785.

H. R. 19438—Granting an increase of pension to Zaphnath Stephens.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 785.

H. R. 19439—Granting an increase of pension to Clark L. Stilwell.
Mr. Browne; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 785.

H. R. 19440—Granting an increase of pension to Hiram C. Wood.
Mr. Browne; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 785.

H. R. 19441—Granting a pension to J. H. Kissinger.
Mr. Clark of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 785.

H. R. 19442—Granting a pension to Mary A. Baker, widow of Fletcher D. Baker, Company B, Eleventh Regiment Illinois Infantry.
Mr. Connelly; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 785.

H. R. 19443—Granting an increase of pension to David Carter.
Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 785.

H. R. 19444—Granting an increase of pension to Mrs. F. B. Ward.
Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19445—To waive the age limit and the disqualification of being married in the appointment of Edgar N. Caldwell as a second lieutenant in the United States Army.
Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin; Committee on Military Affairs, 786.

H. R. 19446—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Smolen.
Mr. Crosser; Committee on Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19447—For the relief of Ferdinand A. Roy.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Military Affairs, 786.

H. R. 19448—Granting an increase of pension to Philip P. Keller.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19449—Granting an increase of pension to Garrett W. Freeman.
Mr. Dickinson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19450—Granting an increase of pension to John Norfleet.
Mr. Dickinson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19451—Granting an increase of pension to John Barker.
Mr. Dickinson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19452—Granting an increase of pension to Lemuel Cross.
Mr. Dillon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19453—Granting an increase of pension to Amanda J. Yockey.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19454—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth York.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19455—Granting a pension to Lilla J. Darling.
Mr. Esch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19456—Granting an increase of pension to William W. Bailey.
Mr. Fuller; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19457—For the relief of T. M. Francis.
Mr. Goodwin of Arkansas; Committee on Claims, 786.

H. R. 19458—Granting an increase of pension to Frank S. Trickey.
Mr. Guernsey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19459—Granting an increase of pension to Robert N. Hawkins.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19460—Granting an increase of pension to Belle W. Dexter.
Mr. Haugen; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19461—Granting an increase of pension to Herman Brumley.
Mr. Haugen; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19462—Granting an increase of pension to Morris Lincoln.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19463—Granting an increase of pension to Eli Sherman.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19464—Granting an increase of pension to William Winters.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19465—Granting an increase of pension to Theodore M. Mitchell.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19466—Granting a pension to David Leroy Reed.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19467—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Cross.
Mr. Hull of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19468—For the relief of Messrs. Palmer and McBryde.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Claims, 786.

H. R. 19469—Granting a pension to Alvin Jackson.
Mr. Kelley; Committee on Pensions, 786.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 3385.

H. R. 19470—Granting an increase of pension to George H. Bostwick.
Mr. Kiess of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19471—Granting an increase of pension to Mary J. Smith.
Mr. Kiess of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19472—Granting a pension to Francis G. Babcock.
Mr. Kiess of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19473—Granting an increase of pension to Jonathan Weeks.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19474—Granting a pension to Joseph Ray.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19475—Granting a pension to William M. Helvey.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19476—For the relief of James Clay Colson.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Claims, 786.

H. R. 19477—To grant an increase of pension to Adolph van Reuth, jr.
Mr. Lewis; Committee on Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19478—Granting an increase of pension to Lou West.
Mr. Lloyd; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19479—Granting an increase of pension to Fannie Brosius.
Mr. Lloyd; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19480—Granting an increase of pension to Lucy Hulett.
Mr. Lloyd; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19481—Granting a pension to Lewis Spriggs.
Mr. Lloyd; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19482—To provide a suitable medal for Charles P. Bragg.
Mr. Loud; Committee on Naval Affairs, 786.

H. R. 19483—Granting an increase of pension to John ... Quick.
Mr. McClintic; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19484—Granting a pension to James R. Hays.
Mr. McClintic; Committee on Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19485—Granting an increase of pension to G. W. Gleason.
Mr. McFadden; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19486—Granting a pension to Nellie Plew.
Mr. McFadden; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19487—Granting an increase of pension to G. W. Bunyan.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19488—Granting an increase of pension to George Edward Blackmer.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 1156.

H. R. 19489—For the relief of Thomas Ford.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Military Affairs, 786.

H. R. 19490—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Crews.
Mr. Oldfield; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19491—Granting an increase of pension to Josiah James.
Mr. Peters; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19492—Granting an increase of pension to Hobart Hamilton.
Mr. Rainey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19493—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. McCoy.
Mr. Randall; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19494—Granting a pension to Catherine R. Reader.
Mr. Reilly; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19495—Granting an increase of pension to James W. Hill.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19496—Granting an increase of pension to William D. Bunch.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19497—Granting an increase of pension to William B. Rogers.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19498—Granting a pension to T. McElvaney.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19499—Granting a pension to Grant Gooch.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19500—Granting a pension to Fred G. Brooks.
Mr. Schall; Committee on Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19501—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Lingle.
Mr. Scully; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19502—Granting an increase of pension to James H. Wood.
Mr. Scully; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19503—Granting a pension to George W. Sanford.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19504—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin F. Kester.
Mr. Moss; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19505—Granting an increase of pension to Louisa N. Tobey.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19506—Granting a pension to Mary Glover.
Mr. Slayden; Committee on Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19507—Granting an increase of pension to De Foris Thayer.
Mr. Steele of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19508—Granting an increase of pension to John U. Whitford.
Mr. Stiness; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19509—Granting an increase of pension to George M. Loring.
Mr. Sulloway; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19510—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac Boyce.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19511—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob J. Lee.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19512—Granting an increase of pension to Luke P. Brooks.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 786.

H. R. 19513—Granting an increase of pension to Frederick C. Schriefer.
Mr. Tavenner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 787.

H. R. 19514—Granting a pension to Luda Jackson.
Mr. Tavenner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 787.

H. R. 19515—Granting a pension to Earl P. Ridgman.
Mr. Tavenner; Committee on Pensions, 787.

H. R. 19516—Granting an increase of pension to Stephen Konicka.
Mr. Taylor of Arkansas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 787.

H. R. 19517—Granting an increase of pension to Mary J. Utter.
Mr. Taylor of Arkansas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 787.

H. R. 19518—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Allen.
Mr. Taylor of Arkansas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 787.

H. R. 19519—Granting a pension to Henry S. Gooch.
Mr. Taylor of Arkansas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 787.

H. R. 19520—Granting a pension to Thomas S. Garen.
Mr. Taylor of Arkansas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 787.

H. R. 19521—Granting a pension to Jennie Parker.
Mr. Taylor of Arkansas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 787.

H. R. 19522—For the relief of S. Reamey.
Mr. Taylor of Arkansas; Committee on War Claims, 787.

H. R. 19523—For the relief of the legal representatives of Archer Hays, deceased.
Mr. Taylor of Arkansas; Committee on War Claims, 787.

H. R. 19524—For the relief of the heirs of Abraham Elrod.
Mr. Taylor of Arkansas; Committee on War Claims, 787.

H. R. 19525—For the relief of the heirs of Lot Quinn.
Mr. Taylor of Arkansas; Committee on War Claims, 787.

H. R. 19526—For the relief of heirs of Nathan Pumphrey.
Mr. Taylor of Arkansas; Committee on War Claims, 787.

H. R. 19527—For the relief of the legal representatives of Jennie Hunter, deceased.
Mr. Taylor of Arkansas; Committee on War Claims, 787.

H. R. 19528—For the relief of Jennie Belle Cox, Robert Isaac Clegg, and Thomas Neel Clegg, children and only heirs of Thomas Watts Clegg, deceased.
Mr. Taylor of Arkansas; Committee on War Claims, 787.

H. R. 19529—Granting an honorable discharge to Phillip Totten.
Mr. Taylor of Arkansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 787.

H. R. 19530—To correct the military record of Andrew J. Flanders.
Mr. Taylor of Arkansas; Committee on Military Affairs, 787.

H. R. 19531—Granting a pension to Americus Watt.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 787.

H. R. 19532—Granting a pension to Angeline E. Nourse.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 787.

H. R. 19533—To correct the military record of William J. Kerrigan.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Military Affairs, 787.

H. R. 19534—Granting an increase of pension to Hamilton L. Karr.
Mr. Towner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 787.

H. R. 19535—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel Ambrosier.
Mr. Towner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 787.

H. R. 19536—Granting an increase of pension to William Henry Jenkins.
Mr. Towner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 787.

H. R. 19537—Granting a pension to Lucia L. Clark.
Mr. Towner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 787.

H. R. 19538—Granting an increase of pension to Marvin J. Boughton.
Mr. Woods of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 787.

H. R. 19539—Granting the consent of Congress to the Mahoning & Shenango Railway & Light Co. and its successors and assigns to construct, complete, maintain, and operate a combined dam and bridge across the Mahoning River in the State of Ohio.
Mr. Cooper of Ohio; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 823.

H. R. 19540—Authorizing the granting of patent to certain lands adjacent to the agricultural experiment station at Scottsbluff, Nebr., to the regents of the University of the State of Nebraska for dry-land agricultural experimental purposes.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on the Public Lands, 823.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1520), 3854.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 8307), 4710.

H. R. 19541—To encourage the reclamation of certain arid lands in the State of Nevada, and for other purposes.
Mr. Roberts of Nevada; Committee on the Public Lands, 823.

H. R. 19542—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War, in his discretion, to deliver to the village of Sharon, Wis., two condemned bronze or brass cannon.
Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin; Committee on Military Affairs, 824.

H. R. 19543—To designate the dates upon which the Congress shall meet in regular session.
Mr. McArthur; Committee on the Judiciary, 824.

H. R. 19544—To increase the limit of cost of the purchase of the enlarged site of the Federal building at Richmond, Va.
Mr. Montague; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 824.

H. R. 19545—To authorize an addition to the Whitman National Forest, in the State of Oregon.
Mr. Sinnott; Committee on the Public Lands, 824.

H. R. 19546—To amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce."
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Insterstate and Foreign Commerce, 824.

H. R. 19547—Concerning the qualification of Federal officials within the Territory of Hawaii.
Mr. Kalanianaole; Committee on the Territories, 824.

H. R. 19548—Granting a pension to Mary E. O'Reilly.
Mr. Anderson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19549—Granting a pension to Howard W. Bingham.
Mr. Bacharach; Committee on Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19550—Granting an increase of pension to Henrietta Nokes.
Mr. Beakes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19551—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel H. Keech.
Mr. Butler; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19552—For the relief of heirs of Burton Meador, deceased.
Mr. Candler of Mississippi; Committee on War Claims, 824.

H. R. 19553—To authorize the Postmaster General to settle the accounts of Joseph Lowrey, deceased.
Mr. Candler of Mississippi; Committee on Claims, 824.

H. R. 19554—To authorize the appointment of Samuel T. Polk to the grade of first lieutenant in the Army.
Mr. Candler of Mississippi; Committee on Military Affairs, 824.

H. R. 19555—Granting a pension to Mabel Nolan, daughter of John Nolan.
Mr. Cantrill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19556—Granting an increase of pension to William S. Strode.
Mr. Chiperfield; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19557—Granting an increase of pension to Lewis C. Derry.
Mr. Chiperfield; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19558—For the relief of Amos Gaul.
Mr. Costello; Committee on Military Affairs, 824.

H. R. 19559—Granting a pension to William H. Troxell.
Mr. Crago; Committee on Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19560—Granting a pension to Edith L. Morgan.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19561—Granting an increase of pension to Philip Liebrick.
Mr. Darrow; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19562—Granting an increase of pension to Elmes J. Gilman.
Mr. Dickinson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19563—Granting a pension to Charles A. Livingstone.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19564—Granting a pension to Esther A. Aiken.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19565—Granting a pension to Robert Earl Puett.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19566—Granting a pension to Ella C. Gay.
Mr. Gallivan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19567—Granting a pension to Peter J. Huber.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19568—Granting a pension to Sylvester Haus.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19569—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew Arnold.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19570—Granting an increase of pension to Marion S. Day.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19571—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Henry.
Mr. Garrett; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19572—Granting an increase of pension to Adam Allwein.
Mr. Griest; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19573—Granting an increase of pension to Osborn Allen.
Mr. Guernsey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19574—To reimburse Hugh T. Caffey, postmaster at Leeds, Ala., for money and stamps stolen from said post office at Leeds, Ala., and repaid by him to the Post Office Department.
Mr. Huddleston; Committee on Claims, 824.

H. R. 19575—For the relief of Robert W. Vail.
Mr. Hull of Iowa; Committee on Claims, 824.

H. R. 19576—Granting a pension to William H. Ormsby.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19577—Granting an increase of pension to David H. Tullis.
Mr. King; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19578—Granting an increase of pension to Alice A. Croll.
Mr. Lafean; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19579—Granting an increase of pension to Henrietta E. Wingard.
Mr. McArthur; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 2660.

H. R. 19580—Granting an increase of pension to Mary J. Davis.
Mr. McArthur; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19581—Granting an increase of pension to Pascal Hunley.
Mr. Morrison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19582—Granting a pension to Cecilia Gordon.
Mr. Nichols of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19583—Granting a pension to Joseph D. Beaubien.
Mr. Nichols of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19584—Granting an increase of pension to William Schwicardi.
Mr. Nichols of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19585—Granting an increase of pension to Albert A. Root.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19586—For the relief of Richard Henry Greene and Walter F. Jones.
Mr. Patten; Committee on Military Affairs, 824.

H. R. 19587—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Fitzgerald.
Mr. Platt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19588—Granting a pension to Curt Morgan.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19589—Granting a pension to Gilson D. Moore.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19590—Granting an increase of pension to Leander Young.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19591—Granting a pension to Anna C. Livingston.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19592—Granting a pension to Jane Snider.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19593—Granting an increase of pension to Henry A. Adcock.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19594—Granting an increase of pension to James I. Moss.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19595—Granting an increase of pension to Edward Hesson.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19596—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel R. Easter.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19597—For the relief of Richard Hall.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on War Claims, 824.

H. R. 19598—Granting an increase of pension to Robert McMillen.
Mr. Reavis; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19599—Granting a pension to Ella Mearns.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19600—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. McManigal.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19601—Granting an increase of pension to Anna Mallory.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19602—Granting a pension to Alexina Nowlan.
Mr. Rogers; Committee on Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19603—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Chaney.
Mr. Rucker; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 824.

H. R. 19604—Granting an increase of pension to Orville H. Patton.
Mr. Rucker; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 19605—Granting an increase of pension to John M. Stanley.
Mr. Rucker; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 19606—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Reid.
Mr. Russell of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 19607—Granting an increase of pension to Hiram M. Brown.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 19608—Granting a pension to James M. Neighbors.
Mr. Slemp; Committee on Pensions, 825.

H. R. 19609—Granting a pension to William B. Tomlinson.
Mr. Slemp; Committee on Pensions, 825.

H. R. 19610—Granting a pension to Hiram Dillon.
Mr. Slemp; Committee on Pensions, 825.

H. R. 19611—Granting an increase of pension to Jerome W. Russell.
Mr. Smith of New York; Committee on Pensions, 825.

H. R. 19612—Granting a pension to William A. Stuchell.
Mr. Stephens of Texas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 19613—Granting an increase of pension to James S. Doolittle.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 19614—Granting a pension to Nellie P. Kellher.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.—Reference changed to Committee on Pensions, 1156.

H. R. 19615—Granting an increase of pension to Lorinda H. Courtright.
Mr. Ward; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 19616—Granting an increase of pension to Franklin T. Lockhart.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 825.

H. R. 19617—To incorporate the National Association of Life Underwriters.
Mr. Kettner; Committtte on the Judiciary, 861.

H. R. 19618—Providing for the survey of Dorcheat River, in Webster, Bienville, and Bossier Parishes, La.
Mr. Watkins; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 861.

H. R. 19619—To amend the Federal farm-loan act by providing for the establishment of the thirteenth Federal farm-land bank district, to be composed of the States of Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, and New Mexico, and to establish a Federal land bank therein at Denver, Colo.
Mr. Hilliard; Committee on Banking and Currency, 861.

H. R. 19620—To authorize the sale of the plant of the Garden City reclamation project, Kansas, and for other purposes.
Mr. Smith of Texas; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 861.

H. R. 19621—To authorize the payment of the postage by the sender of mail matter on replies thereto at regular rates and 50 per cent in addition thereto.
Mr. Lloyd; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 861.

H. R. 19622—Granting a pension to Maude Deignan.
Mr. Benedict; Committee on Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19623—Granting a pension to Joseph C. Betancue.
Mr. Benedict; Committee on Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19624—Granting an increase of pension to Charles W. Everson.
Mr. Burke; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19625—Granting an increase of pension to William J. Johnston.
Mr. Burke; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19626—Granting an increase of pension to August Krause.
Mr. Burke; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19627—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob F. Minch.
Mr. Burke; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19628—Granting a pension to Lizzie J. Hoadley.
Mr. Burke; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19629—Granting an increase of pension to Anna Smith.
Mr. Burke; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19630—For the relief of Thomas Campbell.
Mr. Caldwell; Committee on Military Affairs, 861.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1374), 2296.

H. R. 19631—For promotion of Edward Lloyd, major, United States Army (retired), to position and rank of lieutenant colonel, United States Army (retired).
Mr. Carlin; Committee on Military Affairs, 861.

H. R. 19632—Granting a pension to Lottie Kyle.
Mr. Cooper of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19633—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas E. Winfield.
Mr. Doremus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19634—Granting a pension to Martin Tepper.
Mr. Elston; Committee on Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19635—Granting an increase of pension to James Beyea.
Mr. Fairchild; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19636—Granting a pension to Walter M. Bingham.
Mr. Farr; Committee on Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19637—Granting an increase of pension to Edward C. Roll.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19638—Granting an increase of pension to Calvin M. Skinner.
Mr. Focht; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19639—Granting an increase of pension to Jesse H. Woodcock.
Mr. Focht; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19640—Granting an increase of pension to A. M. Stanger.
Mr. Good; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19641—To increase the pension to Minnie O'Connor.
Mr. Good; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19642—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob Lyons.
Mr. Good; Committee on Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19643—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Schiller.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19644—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Reed.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19645—Granting an increase of pension to Bridget J. McCarthy.
Mr. Humphrey of Washington; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19646—Granting a pension to Christian Broemer.
Mr. James; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19647—Granting an increase of pension to Mary L. Papineau.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19648—Granting an increase of pension to Harvey Bartley.
Mr. Morin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19649—For the relief of Julius Zanone.
Mr. Morin; Committee on War Claims, 861.

H. R. 19650—Granting an increase of pension to Cyrus S. White.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19651—Granting an increase of pension to Franklin J. Sparks.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19652—Granting a pension to Thomas J. Scanlon.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19653—Granting a pension to Charles T. Abshire.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19654—Granting an increase of pension to Arthur Armstrong.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19655—Granting an increase of pension to P. R. Sines.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19656—Granting an increase of pension to Wesley A. Taylor.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19657—Granting an increase of pension to Jasper N. Cummings.
Mr. Rucker; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19658—Granting an increase of pension to Emma E. Stouder.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19659—Granting a pension to Maud Perkins.
Mr. Sisson; Committee on Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19660—Granting an increase of pension to Ezra Aspey.
Mr. Steele of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19661—Granting a pension to George W. Crowder.
Mr. Stephens of Nebraska; Committee on Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19662—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Pence.
Mr. Stephens of Texas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19663—Granting an increase of pension to John Wharton.
Mr. Stephens of Texas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19664—Granting an increase of pension to Peter Heis.
Mr. Stephens of Texas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19665—For the relief of the widow of S. S. Allen, deceased.
Mr. Stone; Committee on Claims, 861.

H. R. 19666—Granting an increase of pension to Hiram S. Scott.
Mr. Sweet; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19667—Granting a pension to Rosco Wilkins.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19668—Granting a pension to William Rayner.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19669—Granting an increase of pension to William W. Kimball.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19670—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac J. Ledbetter.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19671—Granting an increase of pension to Henry J. Loughmiller.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19672—Granting an increase of pension to John Cavin.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19673—Granting a pension to James E. Braddock.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Pensions, 861.

H. R. 19674—For the relief of Rudolph Seiler.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Military Affairs, 861.

H. R. 19675—For the relief of Andrew J. McCutchen.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Military Affairs, 862.

H. R. 19676—Granting a pension to Josephine G. Linn.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Pensions, 862.

H. R. 19677—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to issue a patent to John Zimmerman for certain lands in the Medicine Bow National Forest upon the surrender of other lands of an equal acreage also located in the Medicine Bow National Forest, Colo.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on the Public Lands, 862.

H. R. 19678—Granting an increase of pension to John H. Wells.
Mr. Treadway; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 862.

H. R. 19679—Granting a pension to Albert A. Marshall.
Mr. Williams of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 862.

H. R. 19680—Designating October 27 of each year as National Fraternal Day, to be devoted to conserving the home, fraternalism, and happiness.
Mr. Moore of Pennsylvania; Committee on the Judiciary, 935.

H. R. 19681—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to make certain provisions for the care of Federal and Confederate veteran soldiers who served in the War between the States, 1861 to 1865, to enable them to unite in participation of a national memorial reunion and peace jubilee to be held in the national domain within the Vicksburg National Military Park, Oct. 16, 17, 18, and 19, 1917.
Mr. McAndrews; Committee on Appropriations, 935.

H. R. 19682—To authorize a survey of the Black River, Ark. and Mo.
Mr. Caraway; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 935.

H. R. 19683—To authorize a survey of the Black River, Ark. and Mo.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 935.

H. R. 19684—To amend section 9 of an act entitled "An act for the removal of restrictions from part of the lands of allottees of the Five Civilized Tribes, and for other purposes," approved May 27, 1908, conferring jurisdiction upon district courts to partition lands belonging to full-blood heirs of allottees of the Five Civilized Tribes.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Indian Affairs, 936.

H. R. 19685—Authorizing the Secretary of War to deliver to the village of Decatur, Brown County, Ohio, one condemned bronze or brass cannon, with the carriage, and a suitable outfit of cannon balls.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Military Affairs, 936.

H. R. 19686—To confirm and ratify the sale of the Federal building site at Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii, and for other purposes.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 936.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1278), 1239.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 7872), 3356.

H. R. 19687—To declare certain alien children naturalized citizens of the United States.
Mr. Volstead; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 936.

H. R. 19688—To prohibit shipment in interstate commerce of intoxicating beverages except to public vendors.
Mr. Volstead; Committee on the Judiciary, 936.

H. R. 19689—To repeal the tax on oleomargarine.
Mr. Crisp; Committee on Agriculture, 936.

H. R. 19690—Granting a pension to Margaret A. Weed.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Pensions, 936.

H. R. 19691—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph R. Moore.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 936.

H. R. 19692—Granting an increase of pension to George Butterbaugh.
Mr. Aswell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 936.

H. R. 19693—Granting an increase of pension to John L. B. Breighner.
Mr. Beales; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 936.

H. R. 19694—Granting an increase of pension to Peter F. Baker.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 936.

H. R. 19695—Granting an increase of pension to Eli Miller.
Mr. Campbell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 936.

H. R. 19696—Granting an increase of pension to Walter F. Soper.
Mr. Campbell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 936.

H. R. 19697—Granting an increase of pension to James Rolls.
Mr. Campbell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 936.

H. R. 19698—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob Miller.
Mr. Connelly; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 936.

H. R. 19699—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph McArmstrong.
Mr. Connelly; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 936.

H. R. 19700—Granting an increase of pension to William Gundy.
Mr. Dickinson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 936.

H. R. 19701—For the relief of Samuel R. Douglas.
Mr. Elston; Committee on Military Affairs, 936.

H. R. 19702—Granting an increase of pension to Valentine Fish.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 936.

H. R. 19703—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph H. Steel.
Mr. Hamilton of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 936.

H. R. 19704—Granting a pension to Harrison M. Pendleton.
Mr. Helm; Committee on Pensions, 936.

H. R. 19705—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Beardsley.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 936.

H. R. 19706—Granting a pension to Edmund S. Auld, alias Storey E. Auld.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Pensions, 936.

H. R. 19707—Granting a pension to Aurelia E. Wilkins.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 936.

H. R. 19708—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Cullum.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 936.

H. R. 19709—Granting a pension to Lottie E. Beisser.
Mr. Kiess of Pennsylvania; Committee on Pensions, 936.

H. R. 19710—Granting an increase of pension to George Reiley.
Mr. Lesher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 936.

H. R. 19711—Granting an increase of pension to Thompson N. Lupton.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 936.

H. R. 19712—Granting an increase of pension to Levi Lindenmuth.
Mr. North; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 936.

H. R. 19713—Granting an increase of pension to Johanna Smith.
Mr. O'Shaunessy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 936.

H. R. 19714—Granting an increase of pension to Bridget M. Fauls.
Mr. O'Shaunessy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 936.

H. R. 19715—To remove the charge of desertion from the record of Wilks Whitfield.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Military Affairs, 936.

H. R. 19716—Granting a pension to Carrie B. Wilson.
Mr. Paige of Massachusetts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 936.

H. R. 19717—Granting an increase of pension to William White.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 936.

H. R. 19718—Granting an increase of pension to John A. Lovens.
Mr. Slemp; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 936.

H. R. 19719—Granting an increase of pension to Wilson J. Parker.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 936.

H. R. 19720—Granting a pension to Mary L. Steere.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 936.

H. R. 19721—Granting an increase of pension to Almeron Cross.
Mr. Sulloway; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 936.

H. R. 19722—Granting an increase of pension to Sylvania Collins.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 936.

H. R. 19723—Granting an increase of pension to John S. Harrelson.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 936.

H. R. 19724—Granting an increase of pension to Francis M. Cramer.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 936.

H. R. 19725—Granting back pension to Aurelia Colwell.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 936.

H. R. 19726—For the relief of the heirs of Ewing M. Skaggs.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on War Claims, 936.

H. R. 19727—Waiving the age limit for admission to the United States Marine Corps in the case of Frank K. Lesesne.
Mr. Whaley; Committee on Naval Affairs, 936.

H. R. 19728—To increase the efficiency of the Army in time of war.
Mr. Parker of New Jersey; Committee on Military Affairs, 985.

H. R. 19729—To remodel, repair, and enlarge post-office building at Newport, Ky.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 985.

H. R. 19730—Further to promote the safety of employees and travelers upon railroads by amending the "act to promote the safety of employees and travelers upon railroads by limiting the hours of service of employees thereon," approved Mar. 4, 1907; to provide for overtime, exceptions, and tolerances, and also to amend "An act providing mediation, conciliation, and arbitration in controversies between certain employers and employees," approved July 15, 1913; to authorize the President of the United States in certain emergencies to take possession of the lines of common carriers engaged in interstate commerce, and for other purposes.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 985.—Debated, 1763, 1764.

H. R. 19731—To validate certain public-land entries.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on the Public Lands, 985.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1401), 2458.

H. R. 19732—To amend an act entitled "An act to amend an act entitled 'An act to increase the pension of widows, minor children, etc., of deceased soldiers and sailors of the late Civil War, the War with Mexico, the various Indian wars, etc., and to grant a pension to certain widows of the deceased soldiers and sailors of the late Civil War,' approved Apr. 19, 1908, and for other purposes," approved Sept. 8, 1916.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 985.

H. R. 19733—For the control and regulation of the waters of Niagara River, to provide for diversions therefrom, and for other purposes.
Mr. Huddleston; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 985.

H. R. 19734—To prohibit shipment in interstate commerce of intoxicating beverages except to public vendors.
Mr. Volstead; Committee on the Judiciary, 985.

H. R. 19735—Granting an increase of pension to Lizzie S. Hight.
Mr. Bailey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 985.

H. R. 19736—Granting a pension to Clara Della Woomer.
Mr. Bailey; Committee on Pensions, 985.

H. R. 19737—Granting an increase of pension to Polly Ann Bowman.
Mr. Bell; Committee on Pensions, 985.

H. R. 19738—Granting an increase of pension to Edwin C. Beall.
Mr. Brumbaugh; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 985.

H. R. 19739—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Easton.
Mr. Cannon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 985.

H. R. 19740—Granting an increase of pension to Hutcheons B. Durham.
Mr. Cannon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 985.

H. R. 19741—Granting an increase of pension to C. W. Jerome.
Mr. Cannon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 985.

H. R. 19742—Granting an increase of pension to George Hopper.
Mr. Cantrill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 985.

H. R. 19743—Granting a pension to Horace J. Gray.
Mr. Cantrill; Committee on Pensions, 985.

H. R. 19744—Granting a pension to George H. Devol.
Mr. Cox; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 985.

H. R. 19745—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel Fovargue.
Mr. Crosser; Committee on Pensions, 985.

H. R. 19746—Granting an increase of pension to Silo P. Warriner.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 985.

H. R. 19747—Granting an increase of pension to George N. Morse.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 985.

H. R. 19748—Granting an increase of pension to Tilman H. Elrod.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 985.

H. R. 19749—Granting an increase of pension to Charles L. Martin.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 985.

H. R. 19750—For the relief of Don R. Wynne.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Claims, 985.

H. R. 19751—Granting an increase of pension to James Carmine.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 985.

H. R. 19752—Granting an increase of pension to Sampson Sherwood.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 985.

H. R. 19753—Granting an increase of pension to Edward Young.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 985.

H. R. 19754—Granting an increase of pension to Elisha W. Phillips.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 986.

H. R. 19755—Granting an increase of pension to Sidney E. Timerman.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 986.

H. R. 19756—Granting an increase of pension to Shadrack Combs.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 986.

H. R. 19757—Granting a pension to Peyton Johnson.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 986.

H. R. 19758—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Guest.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 986.

H. R. 19759—Granting an increase of pension to Emma F. Raymond.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 986.

H. R. 19760—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Banker.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 986.

H. R. 19761—Granting an increase of pension to James B. Taylor.
Mr. McKenzie; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 986.

H. R. 19762—Granting an increase of pension to Eugene P. Willard.
Mr. McLaughlin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 986.

H. R. 19763—Granting a pension to Calvin Sharpnack.
Mr. Murray; Committee on Pensions, 986.—Reference changed to Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2660.

H. R. 19764—Granting an increase of pension to Cass C. Lapoint.
Mr. Parker of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 986.

H. R. 19765—Granting an increase of pension to Leonard O. Baldwin.
Mr. Parker of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 986.

H. R. 19766—Granting an increase of pension to Edmund Coward.
Mr. Parker of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 986.

H. R. 19767—Granting an increase of pension to Mason W. Covell.
Mr. Parker of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 986.

H. R. 19768—Granting an increase of pension to Allen Orders.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 986.

H. R. 19769—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Roads.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 986.

H. R. 19770—Granting a pension to Pleasant D. Cooper.
Mr. Slemp; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 986.

H. R. 19771—To renew patent No. 24917.
Mr. Slemp; Committee on Patents, 986.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1344), 1935.—Amended and passed House, 3632, 3633.—Referred to Senate Committee on Patents, 3664.

H. R. 19772—Granting a pension to Jane Lattimer.
Mr. Sloan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 986.

H. R. 19773—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas L. Jennison.
Mr. Stiness; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 986.

H. R. 19774—Granting an increase of pension to Watson Goodrich.
Mr. Wm. Elza Williams; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 986.

H. R. 19775—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew J. Grisham.
Mr. Wm. Elza Williams; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 986.

H. R. 19776—To authorize the United New Jersey Railroad & Canal Co., and such other corporation or individuals as may be associated with it, to construct a bridge across the portion of the Delaware River between the mainland of the county of Camden, State of New Jersey, and Petty Island, in said county and State.
Mr. Browning; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1044.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1323), 1658.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 7748), 1873, 1874.

H. R. 19777—To amend an act entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916.
Mr. Borland; Committee on Military Affairs, 1044.

H. R. 19778—To prohibit the importation of intoxicating liquors into the Territory of Hawaii and to prohibit the manufacture and sale of such liquors therein.
Mr. Randall; Committee on the Territories, 1044.

H. R. 19779—To amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved Feb. 4, 1887, as amended.
Mr. Tilson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1044.

H. R. 19780—To regulate interstate employment agencies.
Mr. Lewis; Committee on Labor, 1044.

H. R. 19781—Relating to the temporary filling of vacancies occurring in the offices of register and receiver of district land offices.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on the Public Lands, 1044.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1396), 2357.—Debated, 3636, 3637.

H. R. 19782—To prohibit commerce in intoxicating liquors between the States in certain cases.
Mr. Howard; Committee on the Judiciary, 1044.

H. R. 19783—To equip the United States penitentiaries at Atlanta, Ga., and Leavenworth, Kans., for the manufacture of supplies for the use of the Government, for the compensation of the prisoners for their labor, and for other purposes.
Mr. Sherley; Committee on the Judiciary, 1044.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1424), 2660.

H. R. 19784—To prevent the holding of land out of use in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.
Mr. Bailey; Committee on the District of Columbia, 1044.

H. R. 19785—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to grant extension of time for making payments on land in Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indian Reservations, in the State of Oklahoma.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1044.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1324), 1725.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 7757), 2891.

H. R. 19786—Granting a pension to William G. Bryce.
Mr. Benedict; Committee on Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19787—Granting an increase of pension to James L. T. Sharp.
Mr. Chandler of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19788—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Shaffer.
Mr. Chandler of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19789—Granting an increase of pension to George A. Porter.
Mr. Chandler of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19790—Granting a pension to Charles H. Payne.
Mr. Chandler of New York; Committee on Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19791—Granting a pension to Carey Nation.
Mr. Chandler of New York; Committee on Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19792—Granting an increase of pension to Philip Richards.
Mr. Darrow; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19793—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac Luke.
Mr. Dillon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19794—Granting a pension to Alice P. Knapp.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19795—Granting a pension to Cornelia A. Green.
Mr. Driscoll; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19796—Granting a pension to John R. Walder.
Mr. Dupré; Committee on Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19797—Granting a pension to Mary L. Marik.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19798—Granting an increase of pension to Norman K. Bedell.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19799—Granting an increase of pension to John Routein.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19800—Granting an increase of pension to George Witzel.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19801—Granting an increase of pension to William F. Raines.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19802—Granting an increase of pension to William P. Shephard.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19803—Granting a pension to Henry P. Redfearn.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19804—Granting an increase of pension to Hart Thompson.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19805—Granting an increase of pension to Alonzo Spurgeon.
Mr. Goodwin of Arkansas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19806—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Harman.
Mr. Goodwin of Arkansas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19807—Granting a pension to William Vanatta.
Mr. Goodwin of Arkansas; Committee on Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19808—Granting an increase of pension to Sidney G. Sidner.
Mr. Green of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19809—For the relief of Frank S. Ingalls.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Claims, 1044.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1408), 2536.

H. R. 19810—Granting a pension to Cornelius Whitby.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19811—Granting an increase of pension to Houston Halstead.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19812—Granting an increase of pension to Callie Hitchcock.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19813—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew Gorman.
Mr. Hensley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19814—Granting an increase of pension to Alexander J. Souden.
Mr. Hensley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19815—Granting an increase of pension to Israel L. Hahn.
Mr. Hensley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19816—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas C. King.
Mr. Hensley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19817—Granting an increase of pension to Albert T. Crow.
Mr. Hensley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19818—Granting an increase of pension to Henry B. Gaylor.
Mr. Hood; Committee on Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19819—Granting an increase of pension to George F. Bennett.
Mr. Hull of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19820—Granting an increase of pension to George Brumbaugh.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19821—Granting an increase of pension to Alden Youngman.
Mr. Kent; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19822—Granting a pension to James W. Hendrickson.
Mr. King; Committee on Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19823—Granting a pension to Charles Diesron.
Mr. King; Committee on Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19824—Granting an increase of pension to George Langley.
Mr. Lenroot; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19825—Granting a pension to Mathias Kennedy.
Mr. Loft; Committee on Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19826—Granting a pension to Stanley W. Lemley.
Mr. Loft; Committee on Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19827—Granting an increase of pension to Marian A. Jaques.
Mr. Loft; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19828—Granting an increase of pension to Stephen Higgins.
Mr. Loft; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19829—Granting an increase of pension to James N. McHenry.
Mr. Loft; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19830—Granting an increase of pension to Franklin Manning.
Mr. Loft; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19831—Granting an increase of pension to James E. Merrifield.
Mr. Loft; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19832—Granting an increase of pension to Byron M. Luther.
Mr. Mott; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19833—Granting an increase of pension to Albert J. Davis.
Mr. Murray; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19834—Granting a pension to George R. Robinson.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Pensions, 1044.

H. R. 19835—Granting a pension to Hugh T. Roberts.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19836—Granting a pension to Charles Anderson.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19837—Granting a pension to Nancy A. B. Easton.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19838—Granting a pension to John P. Fox.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19839—Granting a pension to Alsinda Johnston.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19840—Granting an increase of pension to John Trenter.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19841—Granting an increase of pension to John J. West.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19842—Granting an increase of pension to George A. Porter.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19843—Granting an increase of pension to John Hazlett.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19844—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Hoskins.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19845—Granting an increase of pension to James N. McHenry.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19846—Granting an increase of pension to James E. Merrifield.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19847—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Shaffer.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19848—Granting a pension to James M. Howard.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19849—Granting a pension to Raleigh J. Stanberry.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19850—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph F. Turner.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19851—Granting a pension to Andrew B. Erb.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19852—Granting a pension to Charles Anderson.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19853—Granting an increase of pension to James Flanagan.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19854—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Hoskins.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19855—Granting an increase of pension to John Hazlett.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19856—Granting an increase of pension to William L. Faucett.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19857—Granting an increase of pension to Alexander H. Lamb.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19858—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac Vervalen.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19859—Granting a pension to Ellis B. McNeeley.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19860—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas A. Caldwell.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19861—Granting an increase of pension to Florelle F. Brown.
Mr. Sears; Committee on Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19862—Granting an increase of pension to Harry Noel.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19863—Granting a pension to William C. Scott.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19864—Granting an increase of pension to Rufus G. Cook.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19865—For the relief of William Mortensen.
Mr. Sinnott; Committee on Claims, 1045.

H. R. 19866—For the relief of Ed. W. Ramage.
Mr. Sparkman; Committee on Military Affairs, 1045.—Committee on Military Affairs discharged, and referred to the Committee on War Claims, 1239.

H. R. 19867—Granting an increase of pension to Alfred A. Alline.
Mr. Steele of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19868—Granting an increase of pension to Alfred H. Gardner.
Mr. Steele of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19869—Granting an increase of pension to William McDonald.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19870—Granting an increase of pension to Gordon H. Williams.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19871—Granting an increase of pension to P. T. Martin.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19872—Granting a pension to Nicholas Krey.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19873—Granting an increase of pension to Hannah J. Estill.
Mr. Wheeler; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19874—Granting an increase of pension to Mary J. Hill.
Mr. Wm. Elza Williams; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19875—Granting a pension to William McCann.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19876—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Webber.
Mr. Winslow; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19877—Granting an increase of pension to Otto Schellhorn.
Mr. Wilson of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19878—Granting an increase of pension to John Mallett.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1045.

H. R. 19879—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the Grand Army Post of Columbia, Pa., two bronze or brass cannon or fieldpieces.
Mr. Griest; Committee on Military Affairs, 1102.

H. R. 19880—Regulating proceedings before special committees of the House of Representatives.
Mr. Caldwell; Committee on the Judiciary, 1102.

H. R. 19881—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate condemned cannons and balls.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Military Affairs, 1102.

H. R. 19882—For the control and regulation of the waters of Niagara River, and for other purposes.
Mr. Cline; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1102.

H. R. 19883—To coordinate, unify, and consolidate the financial system of the United States by creating and establishing a Federal exchange, amending the postal savings act, and amending the Federal reserve act.
Mr. Morin; Committee on Banking and Currency, 1102.—Debated (Appendix, 170).

H. R. 19884—To provide for the construction of the King Hill project, Idaho.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 1102.

H. R. 19885—To amend the act of Oct. 3, 1913, entitled "An act to reduce tariff duties and to provide revenue for the Government, and for other purposes."
Mr. Martin; Committee on Ways and Means, 1103.

H. R. 19886—To amend the act of Oct. 3, 1913, entitled "An act to reduce tariff duties and to provide revenue for the Government, and for other purposes."
Mr. Martin; Committee on Ways and Means, 1103.

H. R. 19887—Granting a pension to James F. Lingafelter.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19888—Granting an increase of pension to Dorothy Swihart.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19889—Granting an increase of pension to Rufus F. Gibbs.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19890—Granting an increase of pension to John C. Carroll.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19891—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Miller.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19892—Granting a pension to George L. Bomberger, M. D.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19893—Granting a pension to Stocton Sponseller.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19894—Granting a pension to A. J. Cline.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19895—Granting a pension to Mary Stultz.
Mr. Burke; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19896—For the relief of J. Ph. Binzel Co.
Mr. Burke; Committee on Claims, 1103.

H. R. 19897—Granting an increase of pension to John D. Storey.
Mr. Cline; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19898—Granting an increase of pension to Howard A. Littlejohn.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19899—For the relief of Mrs. Mie Uratake.
Mr. Flood; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1103.

H. R. 19900—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel Gossert.
Mr. Focht; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19901—To grant authority to Reiss Steamship Co., of Duluth, Minn., to change the name of its steamer Frederick B. Wells to Otto M. Reiss.
Mr. Gordon; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 1103.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1286), 1317.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 7782), 2696.

H. R. 19902—To grant authority to the Reiss Steamship Co., of Duluth, Minn., to change the name of its steamer Frank H. Peavey to William A. Reiss.
Mr. Gordon; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 1103.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1287), 1317.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 7779), 2696.

H. R. 19903—To grant authority to the Reiss Steamship Co., of Duluth, Minn., to change the name of its steamer George W. Peavey to Richard J. Reiss.
Mr. Gordon; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 1103.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1288), 1317.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 7781), 2696.

H. R. 19904—To grant authority to the Reiss Steamship Co., of Duluth, Minn., to change the name of its steamer Frank T. Heffelfinger to Clemens A. Reiss.
Mr. Gordon; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 1103.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1285), 1317.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 7780), 2696.

H. R. 19905—Granting an increase of pension to Robert O. Jones.
Mr. Gray of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19906—Granting an increase of pension to William F. Collins.
Mr. Gray of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19907—Granting an increase of pension to James L. Willis.
Mr. Gray of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19908—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Stout.
Mr. Gray of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19909—Granting a pension to Elizabeth P. Bickhart.
Mr. Griest; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19910—Granting a pension to Maria C. Vance.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19911—Granting an increase of pension to Alphonso G. Andrews.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19912—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret Lee.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19913—Granting an increase of pension to Marshall Barnes.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19914—Granting a pension to John T. Rogers.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19915—Granting an increase of pension to Frank Nouse.
Mr. Hughes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19916—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac B. Hawke.
Mr. Hughes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19917—Granting an increase of pension to Ellen K. Weaver.
Mr. Lafean; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19918—Granting a pension to William M. Snyder.
Mr. Lafean; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19919—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph D. Fulmer.
Mr. Lesher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19920—Granting an increase of pension to B. W. Brittain.
By Mr. Lesher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19921—Granting an increase of pension to Abraham Kulp.
Mr. Lesher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19922—Granting an increase of pension to Belle Stewart.
Mr. Morgan of Oklahoma; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19923—Granting an increase of pension to John Pope.
Mr. Morgan of Oklahoma; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19924—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Hughes.
Mr. Morgan of Oklahoma; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19925—Granting an increase of pension to Charles C. Twyford.
Mr. Morgan of Oklahoma; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19926—Granting a pension to John B. Martin.
Mr. Morgan of Oklahoma; Committee on Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19927—Granting an increase of pension to John J. McKenna.
Mr. Morin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19928—Granting a pension to Bird Nieman, widow of Edward Nieman.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19929—Granting a pension to Henry Turcott.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19930—Granting an increase of pension to Ezra Stevens.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19931—Granting an increase of pension to Lafayette Murry.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19932—Granting an increase of pension to William Mason.
Mr. Steele of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19933—Granting an increase of pension to William R. Waddell.
Mr. Steele of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19934—Granting a pension to Emory Davis.
Mr. Wilson of Florida; Committee on Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19935—Granting a pension to L. L. Stewart.
Mr. Wilson of Florida; Committee on Pensions, 1103.

H. R. 19936—Correcting the military record of J. C. Glass.
Mr. Wilson of Florida; Committee on Military Affairs, 1103.

H. R. 19937—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent children of soldiers and sailors of said war.
Mr. Adair, from the Committee on Invalid Pensions (H. Rept. 1271) as substitute for certain bills referred to that committee, 1156.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 1295–1302.—Referred to Senate Committee on Pensions, 1324.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1006), 2463.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 3089–3093, 3099.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a conference, 3355.—Senate insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 3571.—Conference appointed, 3355, 3571.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 3862, 3961.—Conference report (No. 1539) made in House, 4001.—Conference report debated and agreed to in House, 4001, 4002.—Examined and signed, 4067, 4151.—Presented to the President, 4367.—Approved [Private, No. 210], 4810.

H. R. 19938—Providing for the return of postal cards and post cards without payment of additional postage.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 1156.

H. R. 19939—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate one cannon, with its carriage and cannon balls, to the city of Wathena, Kans.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Military Affairs, 1156.

H. R. 19940—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate one cannon, with its carriage and cannon balls, to the city of Nortonville, Kans.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Military Affairs, 1156.

H. R. 19941—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate one cannon, with its carriage and cannon balls, to the city of Horton, Kans.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Military Affairs, 1156.

H. R. 19942—To provide for the construction of a dam and reservoir in the North Platte River near Guernsey, Wyo.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Appropriations, 1156.

H. R. 19943—To appropriate $510,000 for the improvement of Newton Creek, N. Y., including Dutch Kills, Maspeth Creek, and English Kills.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 1156.

H. R. 19944—To authorize and direct the Secretary of War to acquire, by purchase, certain lands embraced within the battle field of Gettysburg, and making appropriation therefor.
Mr. Beales; Committee on the Public Lands, 1156.—The Committee on the Public Lands discharged, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, 1911.

H. R. 19945—Authorizing an exchange of lands between the United States and the heirs of S. G. Little.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Public Lands, 1156.

H. R. 19946—Granting a pension to Louis Brockman.
Mr. Allen; Committee on Pensions, 1156.

H. R. 19947—Granting a pension to George M. Burns.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 1156.

H. R. 19948—Granting an increase of pension to Albania D. Thornburgh.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1156.

H. R. 19949—Granting an increase of pension to August Grantz.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1156.

H. R. 19950—Granting an increase of pension to Albert J. Weaver.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1156.

H. R. 19951—Granting a pension to Lewis S. Duckworth.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Pensions, 1156.

H. R. 19952—Granting a pension to Keziah Zink.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1156.

H. R. 19953—Granting an increase of pension to John Kinney.
Mr. Barnhart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1156.

H. R. 19954—Granting a pension to Benjamin F. Sweet.
Mr. Barnhart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1156.

H. R. 19955—Granting a pension to David N. Embrey.
Mr. Carlin; Committee on Pensions, 1156.

H. R. 19956—Granting an increase of pension to Alfred S. Mason.
Mr. Carlin; Committee on Pensions, 1156.

H. R. 19957—Authorizing the appointment of George W. Brinck as second lieutenant in the Army.
Mr. Clark of Missouri; Committee on Military Affairs, 1156.

H. R. 19958—Granting a pension to M. R. Smith.
Mr. Coleman; Committee on Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19959—Granting an increase of pension to James W. Swartz.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19960—Granting an increase of pension to Lewis W. Carlisle.
Mr. Doremus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19961—For the relief of the heirs of Jacob Theiss.
Mr. Edwards; Committee on War Claims, 1157.

H. R. 19962—Granting an increase of pension to Anna M. Moak.
Mr. Fairchild; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19963—Granting a pension to Maud M. Smith.
Mr. Farr; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19964—Granting a pension to Frank F. Randolph.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19965—Granting an increase of pension to Martin L. Rex.
Mr. Focht; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19966—Granting an increase of pension to Robert W. Wood.
Mr. Gray of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19967—Granting a pension to Burton Gillaspie.
Mr. Gray of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19968—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas F. Chafee.
Mr. Gray of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19969—Granting a pension to Rosanna Raines.
Mr. Gray of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19970—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth P. Bickhart.
Mr. Griest; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19971—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Burns.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19972—Granting an increase of pension to James N. Davis.
Mr. Hull of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19973—Granting an increase of pension to John L. Grimes.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19974—Granting a pension to Mrs. George E. McCartey.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19975—Granting a pension to George G., Werner L., and Josephine J. Hoffman.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19976—Granting a pension to Lester Longmire.
Mr. McClintic; Committee on Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19977—For the relief of the heirs of W. R. McGuire.
Mr. McClintic; Committee on War Claims, 1157.

H. R. 19978—For the relief of Janna Stoppels.
Mr. Mapes; Committee on Claims, 1157.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1314), 1580.—Debated and passed House, 2799.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 2825.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1068), 3576.

H. R. 19979—Granting an increase of pension to Upton J. Hammond.
Mr. Moores of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19980—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas W. George.
Mr. Morgan of Oklahoma; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19981—Granting an increase of pension to Hiram Burroughs.
Mr. Morrison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19982—Granting an increase of pension to Effie A. Reynolds.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19983—Granting an increase of pension to Orlin Harrison.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19984—Granting an increase of pension to John A. Geiger, jr.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19985—Granting a pension to Byron Pierce.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19986—Granting an increase of pension to Adam Gilfillan.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19987—Granting an increase of pension to Oliver Orn.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19988—Granting an increase of pension to Casander H. Bolen.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19989—Granting a pension to Frederick E. Ogle.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19990—Granting a pension to John C. Bell.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19991—For the relief of Thomas Spurrier.
Mr. Slemp; Committee on Military Affairs, 1157.

H. R. 19992—Granting an increase of pension to Herman G. Weller.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19993—For the relief of William J. Kerrigan.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Military Affairs, 1157.

H. R. 19994—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin B. Cravens.
Mr. Towner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19995—Granting a pension to William Poland.
Mr. Towner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19996—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel M. Graves.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19997—Granting an increase of pension to John Toliver.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19998—Granting an increase of pension to Ephraim J. Smith.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 19999—Granting a pension to Julia A. Gardner, widow of James R. Gardner.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1157.

H. R. 20000—For the construction of a system of trails and bridle paths in the Yellowstone National Park, Wyo.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on Appropriations, 1239.

H. R. 20001—To provide for the construction of the Owyhee project, Oregon.
Mr. Sinnott; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 1239.

H. R. 20002—Providing for pensions for all American citizens who have reached the age of 65 years and who are incapable of manual labor and whose incomes are less than $200 per annum.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Labor, 1239.

H. R. 20003—To purchase a site for the erection of a post-office building in the city of Fredericktown, Mo.
Mr. Hensley; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1239.

H. R. 20004—Granting an increase of pension to Jonas Bratton.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1239.

H. R. 20005—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac O'Neal.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1239.

H. R. 20006—Granting a pension to James Abrahams.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Pensions, 1239.

H. R. 20007—Granting a pension to James C. Lynch.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1239.

H. R. 20008—Granting an increase of pension to Henrietta Nokes.
Mr. Beakes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1239.

H. R. 20009—Granting an increase of pension to Llewellyn A. Cole.
Mr. Benedict; Committee on Pensions, 1239.

H. R. 20010—Granting an increase of pension to John S. Skeels.
Mr. Brumbaugh; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1239.

H. R. 20011—Granting an increase of pension to Charles G. Ginther.
Mr. Burke; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1239.

H. R. 20012—Granting a pension to Mrs. M. J. Harris.
Mr. Byrnes of South Carolina; Committee on Pensions, 1240.

H. R. 20013—Granting an increase of pension to Albert G. Dow.
Mr. Cannon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1240.

H. R. 20014—Granting a pension to George W. Parker.
Mr. Darrow; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1240.

H. R. 20015—Granting a pension to Charles W. Johnson.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Pensions, 1240.

H. R. 20016—To confirm the title to certain land formerly included in the allotment of Horace P. Jones, deceased, in the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indian Reservation in Oklahoma, and providing for the issuance of a patent therefor.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1240.

H. R. 20017—For the relief of Edward C. McGonigal.
Mr. Gard; Committee on Claims, 1240.

H. R. 20018—Granting a pension to L. Coffman.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1240.

H. R. 20019—Granting an increase of pension to Callie Hitchcock.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1240.

H. R. 20020—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Elders.
Mr. Hensley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1240.

H. R. 20021—Granting an increase of pension to Charles H. Collins.
Mr. Kennedy of Rhode Island; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1240.

H. R. 20022—Granting an increase of pension to Sibby L. Myers.
Mr. Kreider; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1240.

H. R. 20023—For the allowance of certain claims for difference in pay growing out of service in the Army during the Civil War, as reported by the Court of Claims.
Mr. Langley; Committee on War Claims, 1240.

H. R. 20024—Granting an increase of pension to Josephine L. Benscoter.
Mr. Lesher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1240.

H. R. 20025—Granting a pension to Edward T. Balch.
Mr. McArthur; Committee on Pensions, 1240.

H. R. 20026—Granting an increase of pension to Ivory W. Emerson.
Mr. McGillicuddy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1240.

H. R. 20027—Granting an increase of pension to William Harrold.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1240.

H. R. 20028—Granting an increase of pension to George E. Busby.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1240.

H. R. 20029—Granting a pension to Robert Newton.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Pensions, 1240.

H. R. 20030—Granting a pension Bridget McCarthy.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1240.

H. R. 20031—Granting an increase of pension to Alexander Frazier.
Mr. Sherley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1240.

H. R. 20032—Granting a pension to August Wehe.
Mr. Stafford; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1240.

H. R. 20033—Granting an increase of pension to Clarion D. Smith.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 1240.

H. R. 20034—Granting an increase of pension to John C. Ruthroff.
Mr. Steele of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1240.

H. R. 20035—Granting an increase of pension to Martha A. Whitford.
Mr. Stiness; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1240.

H. R. 20036—For the relief of Frank Bowers.
Mr. Swift; Committee on Claims, 1240.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1499), 3465.

H. R. 20037—For the relief of Guy A. Richards, Jesse L. Robbins, Isaac M. C. Grimes, William L. Irvine, and David Cox.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on the Public Lands, 1240.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1397), 2458.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 7766), 5021.

H. R. 20038—To provide Federal aid in caring for indigent tuberculous persons, to provide for a division of tuberculosis in the United States Public Health Service, and for other purposes.
Mr. Hilliard; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1317.

H. R. 20039—Providing for the licensing of weighers of farm products at commercial centers and the licensing of inspectors of scales and other weighing devices, and making appropriation therefor.
Mr. Woods of Iowa; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1317.

H. R. 20040—To amend the irrigation act of Mar. 3, 1891 (26 Stat., 1095), section 18, and to amend section 2 of the act of May 11, 1898 (30 Stat., 404).
Mr. Sears; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 1317.—The Committee on Irigation of Arid Lands discharged, and referred to the Committee on the Public Lands, 3356, 3385.

H. R. 20041—Providing for the appointment of three commissions to the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma to examine and report the names of those adult restricted Indians from whom restrictions should be removed.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1317.

H. R. 20042—Giving Federal courts power to suspend sentences and penalties.
Mr. Scott of Pennsylvania; Committee on the Judiciary, 1317.

H. R. 20043—To confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to inquire into whether or not the immigrant Cherokees by blood are entitled to be reimbursed for lands allotted to Negro freedmen Cherokees from lands granted to immigrant Cherokees by blood under treaty of 1835, and inquire into and determine the validity of the treaty of 1866.
Mr. Mudd; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1317.

H. R. 20044—To regulate commerce in adulterated and misbranded seed and to prevent the sale and transportation thereof, and for other purposes.
Mr. Byrnes of South Carolina; Committee on Agriculture, 1317.

H. R. 20045—To amend the act approved December 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act.
Mr. Glass; Committee on Banking and Currency, 1317.

H. R. 20046—Providing for the appointment and recommission as officers on the active list of the United States Army persons who were formerly officers.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Military Affairs, 1317.

H. R. 20047—For the control and regulation of the waters of Niagara River above the Falls, and for other purposes.
Mr. Cline; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1317.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1292), 1449, 1517.—Debated, 1911–1934, 2761–2791, 2867–2869 [Appendix, 103, 315, 361, 778].—Amended and passed House, 2791, 2867–2869.—Referred to Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 2825.

H. R. 20048—Providing for an advisory referendum by the people of the District of Columbia on certain questions relating to municipal self-government and representation in Congress.
Mr. Cary; Committee on the District of Columbia, 1317.

H. R. 20049—For the relief of Maude Craig Smyser.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Claims, 1317.

H. R. 20050—Granting an increase of pension to Mary List.
Mr. Coady; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1317.

H. R. 20051—Granting a pension to William H. Trautman.
Mr. Dewalt; Committee on Pensions, 1317.

H. R. 20052—For the relief of the estate of Henry Cooper, deceased.
Mr. Dickinson; Committee on War Claims, 1317.

H. R. 20053—Granting an increase of pension to Alfred P. Haskill.
Mr. Doremus; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1317.

H. R. 20054—To allow a pension of $30 per month to Edward Marvin Carter, of Savannah, Ga., loss of eye at military camp, Macon, Ga., on July 13, 1916, while serving in the United States Army.
Mr. Edwards; Committee on Pensions, 1317.

H. R. 20055—Granting a pension to Martin E. Godwin.
Mr. Farr; Committee on Pensions, 1317.

H. R. 20056—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel P. Burns.
Mr. Focht; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1317.

H. R. 20057—Granting an increase of pension to Christian Bechtel.
Mr. Focht; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1317.

H. R. 20058—Granting a pension to M. B. Cavenaugh.
Mr. Godwin of North Carolina; Committee on Pensions, 1317.

H. R. 20059—Granting an increase of pension to Susanna Rose.
Mr. Heaton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1317.

H. R. 20060—Granting an increase of pension to George C. Whitener.
Mr. Hensley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1317.

H. R. 20061—Granting an increase of pension to Frank R. Barfoot.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1318.

H. R. 20062—Granting a pension to Jane Mathilda McDonald.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1318.

H. R. 20063—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas A. Moore.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1318.

H. R. 20064—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel M. Reese.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1318.

H. R. 20065—Granting an increase of pension to Francis M. Barker.
Mr. Kincheloe; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1318.

H. R. 20066—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Moore.
Mr. Lieb; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1318.

H. R. 20067—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel H. Samples.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1318.

H. R. 20068—Granting an increase of pension to Clara Wildman.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1318.

H. R. 20069—Granting an increase of pension to Albert Booker.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1318.

H. R. 20070—Granting a pension to Chesley Rhoden.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Pensions, 1318.

H. R. 20071—Granting an increase of pension to James Doyle.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1318.

H. R. 20072—Granting a pension to Agnes A. Brady.
Mr. Magee; Committee on Pensions, 1318.

H. H. 20073—For the relief of Austin Shinn.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on War Claims, 1318.

H. R. 20074—Granting a pension to William Chalender.
Mr. Scott of Michigan; Committee on Pensions, 1318.

H. R. 20075—Granting an increase of pension to John F. Gibbons.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1318.

H. R. 20076—Granting an increase of pension to Charles H. Giles.
Mr. Sulloway; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1318.

H. R. 20077—Granting an increase of pension to America Postelwait.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1318.

H. R. 20078—Granting an increase of pension to Isham Raney.
Mr. Wm. Ezra Williams; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1318.

H. R. 20079—Making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes.
Mr. Sparkman; from Committee on Rivers and Harbors (H. Rept. 1289), 1332, 1377.—Debated, 1724, 1761–1801, 1835–1873, 1978–2021, 2066–2087 (Appendix, 70, 191, 199, 226, 239, 246, 364, 379, 418, 754).—Amended and passed House, 2086, 2087.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 2161.—Reported with amendment (S. Rept. 1020), 2980, 3181, 3182.—Debated, 2983, 4985.

H. R. 20080—To give effect to the convention between the United States and Great Britain for the protection of migratory birds, the ratifications whereof were exchanged on the 7th day of December, 1916, and for other purposes.
Mr. Flood; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1377.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1430), 2726.—Debated (Appendix, 308).

H. R. 20081—For the control and regulation of the waters of Niagara River, to provide for diversions therefrom, and for other purposes.
Mr. Huddleston; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1377.

H. R. 20082—To amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War-Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department," approved Sept. 2, 1914.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1377.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1378), 2295.—Debated and passed House, 2725.—Referred to Senate Committee on Finance, 2753.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1057), 3407.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 4271, 4272.—House concurs in Senate amendments, 4790–4793.—Examined and signed, 4855, 4862.—Presented to the President, 4944.—Approved [Public, No. 387], 5032.

H. R. 20083—To provide for the erection of a memorial chapel to Maj. Gen. James B. McPherson.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on the Library, 1378.

H. R. 20084—Granting age and service pensions to soldiers and sailors who answered the first call for volunteers in the Civil War and granting an increase of pension to such soldiers and sailors who were wounded or who contracted disease or disability in battle or line of duty.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1378.

H. R. 20085—To increase the pensions of widows of officers and enlisted men of the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps who were the lawful wives of such officers and enlisted men during their service in the Civil War and have not been separated or divorced from such officers and enlisted men.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1378.

H. R. 20086—Authorizing the Chippewa Indians in the State of Minnesota to submit claims to the Court of Claims.
Mr. Ellsworth; Committee on Claims, 1378.

H. R. 20087—Granting an increase of pension to David W. Anderson.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1378.

H. R. 20088—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Evans.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1378.

H. R. 20089—Granting an increase of pension to Morgan W. Mills.
Mr. Anderson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1378.

H. R. 20090—Granting an increase of pension to T. S. Smith.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1378.

H. R. 20091—Granting an increase of pension to John Tyson.
Mr. Capstick; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1378.

H. R. 20092—Granting an increase of pension to Jay P. Eddy.
Mr. Dillon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1378.

H. R. 20093—Granting an increase of pension to Patrick McDonnell.
Mr. Dillon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1378.

H. R. 20094—Granting an increase of pension to Calvin T. Cottingham.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Pensions, 1378.

H. R. 20095—Granting an increase of pension to Brainard D. Nelson.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1378.

H. R. 20096—Granting an increase of pension to James Sturdavant.
Mr. Fordney; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1378.

H. R. 20097—Granting a pension to Thomas F. Moore.
Mr. Gallivan; Committee on Pensions, 1378.

H. R. 20098—Granting an increase of pension to Nicholas H. Wetzel.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1378.

H. R. 20099—Granting a pension to Mrs. Etta M. Browning.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Pensions, 1378.

H. R. 20100—Granting an increase of pension to David H. McFadden.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1378.

H. R. 20101—Granting a pension to Isaac Daniel Gibson.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 1378.

H. R. 20102—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew J. Holden.
Mr. Littlepage; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1378.

H. R. 20103—For the relief of Henry C. Kurtz.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Military Affairs, 1378.

H. R. 20104—Granting an increase of pension to Charles S. Shepard.
Mr. Parker of New Jersey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1378.

H. R. 20105—Granting an increase of pension to John Cornell.
Mr. Platt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1378.

H. R. 20106—Granting an increase of pension to George L. Clapp.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1378.

H. R. 20107—Granting a pension to Judson N. Lake.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1378.

H. R. 20108—Granting an increase of pension to David Detty.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1378.

H. R. 20109—Granting an increase of pension to James B. Cole.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1378.

H. R. 20110—Granting an increase of pension to William G. Sadler.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1378.

H. R. 20111—Granting a pension to Robert G. Medlin.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Pensions, 1378.

H. R. 20112—For the erection of a public building at Woodstock, Ill.
Mr. Copley; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1449.

H. R. 20113—To acquire a site for a public building at Harvard, Ill.
Mr. Copley; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1449.

H. R. 20114—Designating October 27 of each year a legal holiday to be known as National Fraternal Day, to conserve the home, fraternalism, and happiness.
Mr. Moore of Pennsylvania; Committee on the Judiciary, 1449.

H. R. 20115—For the control, regulation, and use of the waters of the Niagara River below Niagara Falls, and for other purposes.
Mr. Smith of New York; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1449.

H. R. 20116—To provide for an auxiliary reclamation project in connection with the Yuma project, California.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 1449.

H. R. 20117—Granting a pension to George W. Cordray.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1449.

H. R. 20118—Granting an increase of pension to Edward Pfeifer.
Mr. Benedict; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1449.

H. R. 20119—For the relief of Jacob Kesner.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Military Affairs, 1449.

H. R. 20120—Granting a pension to Jeter Cornwell.
Mr. Byrnes of South Carolina; Committee on Pensions, 1449.

H. R. 20121—Granting a pension to Helen Larsen.
Mr. Caldwell; Committee on Pensions, 1449.

H. R. 20122—Granting an increase of pension to Julia Pugh.
Mr. Campbell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1449.

H. R. 20123—For the relief of the East End Loan and Savings Association of Baltimore, Md.
Mr. Coady; Committee on Claims, 1449.

H. R. 20124—For the relief of sundry building and loan associations.
Mr. Coady; Committee on Claims, 1449.

H. R. 20125—Granting a pension to Rachael S. Dobbs.
Mr. Collier; Committee on Pensions, 1449.

H. R. 20126—Granting a pension to Isaac H. Griffith.
Mr. Dallinger; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1449.

H. R. 20127—Granting a pension to J. R. Hunter.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Pensions, 1449.

H. R. 20128—For the relief of the widow of Edward Kelly.
Mr. Gillett; Committee on Military Affairs, 1449.

H. R. 20129—Granting a pension to Clyde C. Dickinson.
Mr. Godwin of North Carolina; Committee on Pensions, 1449.

H. R. 20130—For the reimbursement of Parnell M. Cameron.
Mr. Good; Committee on Claims, 1449.

H. R. 20131—Granting an increase of pension to Cassius M. Myers.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1449.

H. R. 20132—Granting a pension to Harry Owen.
Mr. Hernandez; Committee on Pensions, 1449.

H. R. 20133—Granting an increase of pension to Simon C. Bennett.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1449.

H. R. 20134—Granting an increase of pension to Israel Dunn.
Mr. McCulloch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1449.

H. R. 20135—Granting a pension to John E. Jamison.
Mr. Morgan of Oklahoma; Committee on Pensions, 1449.

H. R. 20136—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Shaw.
Mr. North; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1449.

H. R. 20137—Granting a pension to Marie M. Meyer.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1449.

H. R. 20138—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Hindman.
Mr. Rouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1449.

H. R. 20139—To appoint James H. Biggar a captain on the retired list of the Army.
Mr. Slayden; Committee on Military Affairs, 1449.

H. R. 20140—Granting an increase of pension to Dudley B. Call.
Mr. Snell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1449.

H. R. 20141—For the relief of William R. Bozeman.
Mr. Sparkman; Committee on Claims, 1449.

H. R. 20142—For the relief of Charles H. Wilson.
Mr. Sparkman; Committee on Claims, 1449.

H. R. 20143—Granting an increase of pension to John Whelchel.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1449.

H. R. 20144—Granting an increase of pension to Perry H. Hayes.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1449.

H. R. 20145—Granting an increase of pension to Horace Standish.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1449.

H. R. 20146—Granting an increase of pension to Lucy A. Hetherington.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1449.

H. R. 20147—Granting a pension to Susan Lautzenheiser.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1449.

H. R. 20148—For the relief of certain desert-land entrymen.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on the Public Lands, 1449.

H. R. 20149—To remove discrimination against certain captains, Philippine Scouts, United States Army, retired.
Mr. Caldwell; Committee on Military Affairs, 1517.

H. R. 20150—Authorizing the President of the United States to date the commissions of graduates of the United States Military Academy two years ahead of the date of their graduation.
Mr. Caldwell; Committee on Military Affairs, 1517.

H. R. 20151—To regulate promotion in the Regular Army of the United States.
Mr. Tilson; Committee on Military Affairs, 1517.

H. R. 20152—To amend an act entitled "An act making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Military Affairs, 1517.

H. R. 20153—Granting an increase of pension to Albert Cunningham.
Mr. Bailey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20154—Granting an increase of pension to John T. Criswell.
Mr. Bailey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20155—Granting an increase of pension to William R. Smith.
Mr. Bailey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20156—Granting an increase of pension to Emma Wilhelm.
Mr. Crago; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20157—Granting an increase of pension to Jeremiah Snyder.
Mr. Crago; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20158—Granting an increase of pension to Julia A. Stoner.
Mr. Crago; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20159—Granting an increase of pension to Caroline Rively.
Mr. Crago; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20160—Granting an increase of pension to William Riddle.
Mr. Crago; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20161—For the relief of William Blair.
Mr. Davenport; Committee on Claims, 1518.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1337), 1874.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 6595), 2802.

H. R. 20162—Authorizing the Secretary of War to grant to John D. Sherwood, of Spokane, Wash., the right to overflow certain lands on the Fort George Wright Military Reservation at Spokane, Wash., and to accept the conveyance to the United States of other lands to be designated by the Secretary of War and suitable for a rifle range in exchange for the land so overflowed.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Military Affairs, 1518.

H. R. 20163—Granting an increase of pension to Amanda E. Wells.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20164—Granting an increase of pension to Albert Young.
Mr. Garland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20165—Granting an increase of pension to George C. Worley.
Mr. Garland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20166—Granting an increase of pension to Eliza Wagner.
Mr. Garland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20167—Granting an increase of pension to George N. Welsh.
Mr. Garland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20168—Granting an increase of pension to Ellen K. Weaver.
Mr. Garland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20169—Granting an increase of pension to George Hord.
Mr. Gray of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20170—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Boyce.
Mr. Haskell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20171—Granting an increase of pension to Nathan M. Davis.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20172—Granting a pension to James A. Swaim.
Mr. Jacoway; Committee on Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20173—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Ford.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20174—Granting a pension to Calvin Shults.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20175—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Ray.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20176—Granting an increase of pension to W. R. Pinson.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20177—Granting an increase of pension to George S. Robinson.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20178—Granting an increase of pension to Jackson Cornett.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20179—Granting a pension to Caleb Akers.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20180—Granting a pension to Sheridan Bailey.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20181—Granting a pension to Harvey L. Shure.
Mr. Lesher; Committee on Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20182—Granting a pension to Clara Larish.
Mr. Lesher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20183—Granting a pension to Elsie Hoffman.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20184—Granting a pension to William Strawn.
Mr. McCracken; Committee on Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20185—For the relief of Horace G. Knowles.
Mr. Miller of Delaware; Committee on Claims, 1518.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1312), 1580.—Debated, 2799.

H. R. 20186—Granting an increase of pension to Hiram H. Shaw.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20187—Granting a pension to Ella Drake.
Mr. Pratt: Committee on Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20188—To correct the muster of William Ramsey, late servant for the officers of Company B, Seventy-eighth Regiment Pennsylvania Reserves.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Military Affairs, 1518.

H. R. 20189—Granting a pension to Grace E. Syar.
Mr. Randall; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20190—Granting an increase of pension to Velma Lehr.
Mr. Scott of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20191—Granting an increase of pension to Kate Low.
Mr. Scott of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20192—Granting an increase of pension to John H. Leeper.
Mr. Scott of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20193—Granting an increase of pension to Howard F. Hartzell.
Mr. Scott of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20194—Granting an increase of pension to Henrietta C. Ilgenfritz.
Mr. Scott of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20195—Granting a pension to Sarah C. Hyers.
Mr. Scully; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20196—Granting a pension to Edward Vetter.
Mr. Smith of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20197—Granting an increase of pension to John C. D. Lower.
Mr. Vare; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20198—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Lee.
Mr. Vare; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20199—Granting an increase of pension to Mercy K. Monroe.
Mr. Vare; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20200—Granting an increase of pension to David Mitzel.
Mr. Vare; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20201—Granting an increase of pension to Christopher C. Olewiler.
Mr. Vare; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1518.

H. R. 20202—Authorizing the erection of a building for the housing and accommodation of Government-owned automobiles on the Federal building site at Plymouth, Mass.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1580.

H. R. 20203—Providing for an advisory referendum by the people of the District of Columbia on certain questions relating to municipal self-government and representation in Congress.
Mr. Cary; Committee on the District of Columbia, 1580.

H. R. 20204—To establish rates of postage on second-class matter.
Mr. Randall; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 1580.

H. R. 20205—To regulate interstate and foreign commerce in cold-storage products.
Mr. Miller of Minnesota; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1580.

H. R. 20206—For an equestrian statue of William Frederick Cody, "Buffalo Bill."
Mr. Mondell; Committee on the Library, 1580.

H. R. 20207—For the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Coalgate, Okla.
Mr. Murray; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1580.

H. R. 20208—To aid navigation and control floods on the boundary waters of Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Flood Control, 1580.

H. R. 20209—To amend section 276 of an act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," approved Mar. 3, 1911.
Mr. Webb; Committee on the Judiciary, 1580.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1322), 1658.—Debated and passed House, 1760.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 1877.—Reported back, debated, and passed Senate, 2158, 2159.—Examined and signed, 2356, 2381.—Presented to the President, 2536.—Approved [Public, No. 300], 2776.

H. R. 20210—Granting a pension to Christ Clausen.
Mr. Anderson; Committee on Pensions, 1580.

H. R. 20211—Granting a pension to George B. Robinson.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Pensions, 1580.

H. R. 20212—Granting a pension to Lou M. Young.
Mr. Benedict; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1580.

H. R. 20213—Granting an increase of pension to James G. Young.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1580.

H. R. 20214—Granting a pension to Henry J. Schlosser.
Mr. Bruckner; Committee on Pensions, 1580.

H. R. 20215—Granting a pension to Joseph J. Johnson.
Mr. Chiperfield; Committee on Pensions, 1580.

H. R. 20216—For the relief of James M. Connally.
Mr. Clark of Missouri; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1580.

H. R. 20217—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Eckols.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1580.

H. R. 20218—For the relief of the estate of Thomas J. Roberts.
Mr. Eagle; Committee on Claims, 1580.

H. R. 20219—Granting a pension to William D. Cole.
Mr. Elston; Committee on Pensions, 1580.

H. R. 20220—For the relief of J. C. McConnell.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on Claims, 1580.

H. R. 20221—For the relief of Samson Davis.
Mr. Gordon; Committee on Military Affairs, 1580.

H. R. 20222—Granting a pension to Elizabeth W. Jones.
Mr. Graham; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1580.

H. R. 20223—Granting a pension to Peter McLaughlin.
Mr. Green of Iowa; Committee on Pensions, 1580.

H. R. 20224—For the relief of Levi L. Conright.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Military Affairs, 1580.

H. R. 20225—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Cooper.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1580.

H. R. 20226—Granting an increase of pension to Irving A. Hubbard.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Pensions, 1580.

H. R. 20227—Granting an increase of pension to Ingabow Falls.
Mr. Lee; Committee on Pensions, 1580.

H. R. 20228—To renew patent No. 25,909.
Mr. Mann; Committee on Patents, 1580.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1361), 2102.—Passed House, 4040.—Referred to Senate Committee on Patents, 3664.

H. R. 20229—For the relief of Eleanora Moore.
Mr. Mudd; Committee on Military Affairs, 1580.—Committee on Military Affairs discharged, referred to the Committee on Pensions, 3320.

H. R. 20230—For the relief of Hugh A. Ernst.
Mr. Mudd; Committee on Claims, 1580.

H. R. 20231—Granting an increase of pension to Jeremiah Wilson.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1580.

H. R. 20232—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob Grandstaff.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1581.

H. R. 20233—Granting an increase of pension to Stewart Wells.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1581.

H. R. 20234—Granting an increase of pension to Frank Shaver.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Pensions, 1581.

H. R. 20235—Granting a pension to Anna Hall Richmond.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1581.

H. R. 20236—Granting a pension to Miller Kincaid.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Pensions, 1581.

H. R. 20237—Granting an increase of pension to Gustave Pinksohn.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1581.

H. R. 20238—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob Grandstaff.
Mr. Sears; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1581.

H. R. 20239—Granting an increase of pension to Jeremiah Wilson.
Mr. Sears; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1581.

H. R. 20240—Granting an increase of pension to Stewart Wells.
Mr. Sears; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1581.

H. R. 20241—Granting a pension to Mrs. Harriett A. Boles.
Mr. Shackleford; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1581.

H. R. 20242—Granting an increase of pension to George E. Smith.
Mr. Steele of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1581.

H. R. 20243—Granting an increase of pension to Ezra H. Keniston.
Mr. Sulloway; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1581.

H. R. 20244—Granting a pension to Elizabeth M. Keefe.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Pensions, 1581.

H. R. 20245—Granting a pension to Albert Krick.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1581.

H. R. 20246—Granting an increase of pension to Carrie C. Washburn.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1581.

H. R. 20247—Granting a pension to George W. Paul.
Mr. Wilson of Louisiana; Committee on Pensions, 1581.

H. R. 20248—Granting an increase of pension to Edwin A. Jefferies.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1581.

H. R. 20249—To authorize the sale of certain lands at or near Yellowstone, Mont., for hotel purposes.
Mr. Stout; Committee on the Public Lands, 1658.

H. R. 20250—To authorize the refund of duties collected on field kitchens imported during the year 1916.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Claims, 1658.

H. R. 20251—For the conservation of alcohol in the manufacture of dealcoholized fermented beverages.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Ways and Means, 1658.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1535), 3958.

H. R. 20252—To incorporate the National Society of Sponsors of the United States Navy.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1658.—The Committee on Naval Affairs discharged, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, 2022.

H. R. 20253—For the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Galena, Kans.
Mr. Campbell; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1658.

H. R. 20254—For the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Fredonia, Kans.
Mr. Campbell; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1658.

H. R. 20255—For the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Neodesha, Kans.
Mr. Campbell; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1658.

H. R. 20256—To amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," as amended, in respect of car service, and for other purposes.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1658.

H. R. 20257—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Borsekoeske.
Mr. Aiken; Committee on Pensions, 1658.

H. R. 20258—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew M. Murray.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1658.

H. R. 20259—Granting an increase of pension to Peter T. Nile, alias Patrick Nilan.
Mr. Bacharach; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1658.

H. R. 20260—Granting a pension to Frank L. Schaarman, alias Frank L. Sherman.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on Pensions, 1658.

H. R. 20261—Granting a pension to Emma Guetzlaff.
Mr. Burke; Committee on Pensions, 1658.

H. R. 20262—Granting an increase of pension to James W. Beasley.
Mr. Carter of Massachusetts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1658.

H. R. 20263—Granting a pension to Lebbeus H. Brockway.
Mr. Carter of Massachusetts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1658.

H. R. 20264—Granting a pension to Pierce O'Connell.
Mr. Carter of Massachusetts; Committee on Pensions, 1658.

H. R. 20265—Granting a pension to Michael E. O'Donnell.
Mr. Carter of Massachusetts; Committee on Pensions, 1658.

H. R. 20266—Granting a pension to Edwin M. Stupfell.
Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1659.

H. R. 20267—Granting a pension to Lucina Grigware.
Mr. Dale of Vermont; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1659.

H. R. 20268—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel Kelly.
Mr. Darrow; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1659.

H. R. 20269—For the relief of William S. Colvin.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 1659.

H. R. 20270—Granting a pension to Flora A. Hubbard and her minor children.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1659.

H. R. 20271—For the relief of The William Gordon Corporation.
Mr. Flynn; Committee on Claims, 1659.

H. R. 20272—Granting an increase of pension to Horace W. Brown.
Mr. Haugen; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1659.

H. R. 20273—Granting an increase of pension to Noah W. Gerrish.
Mr. Hinds; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1659.

H. R. 20274—For the relief of Charles T. Jackson.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Military Affairs, 1659.

H. R. 20275—For the relief of Jacob M. Middlekauff.
Mr. Lewis; Committee on Claims, 1659.

H. R. 20276—For the relief of the heirs at law of Jacques Clamorgan.
Mr. Meeker; Committee on Claims, 1659.

H. R. 20277—Granting a pension to Lydia A. Keller.
Mr. Moss; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1659.

H. R. 20278—To place Albert Hamilton on the retired list of the United States Navy.
Mr. Parker of New Jersey; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1659.

H. R. 20279—Granting an increase of pension to Lottie Tanner.
Mr. Randall; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1659.

H. R. 20280—Granting a pension to Cyrus A. Jackson.
Mr. Reavis; Committee on Pensions, 1659.

H. R. 20281—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret E. Melson.
Mr. Riordan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1659.

H. R. 20282—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Davy.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1659.

H. R. 20283—Granting an increase of pension to Luther W. Holmes.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1659.

H. R. 20284—Granting an increase of pension to Michael Reichert.
Mr. Stafford; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1659.

H. R. 20285—Granting an increase of pension to Frank P. Lawrence.
Mr. Stephens of Nebraska; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1659.

H. R. 20286—Granting an increase of pension to Susan A. Blaisdell.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1659.

H. R. 20287—Granting an increase of pension to Gen. Taylor Garrison.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1659.

H. R. 20288—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel McAtee.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1659.

H. R. 20289—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Harvey.
Wm. Ezra Williams; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1659.

H. R. 20290—Granting an increase of pension to Albert T. Hart.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1659.

H. R. 20291—To further amend an act approved August 13, 1894, entitled "An act for the protection of persons furnishing materials and labor for the construction of public works," and for other purposes.
Mr. Holland; Committee on the Judiciary, 1725.

H. R. 20292—To provide for the appointment of a commission to standardize screw-thread tolerances.
Mr. Tilson; Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, 1725.

H. R. 20293—To provide for the establishment of a uniform sales of goods act for the District of Columbia.
Mr. Smith of Minnesota; Committee on the District of Columbia, 1725.

H. R. 20294—Authorizing receipts from the sale of surplus power to be applied to the payment of operation and maintenance charges on reclamation projects.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands, 1725.

H. R. 20295—Making appropriation for airships and other aerial machines and accessories for use in connection with the seacoast defenses of the United States and the Philippine and Hawaiian Islands.
Mr. Sherley; Committee on Appropriations, 1725.

H. R. 20296—To amend section 858 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.
Mr. Volstead; Committee on the Judiciary, 1725.

H. R. 20297—Granting the consent of Congress to the county of Beltrami, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River in said county.
Mr. Miller of Minnesota; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1725.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1410), 2592.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 7924), 2872.

H. R. 20298—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate condemned cannons and balls.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Military Affairs, 1725.

H. R. 20299—Granting a pension to George Parliament.
Mr. Aswell; Committee on Pensions, 1725.

H. R. 20300—Granting an increase of pension to Mary C. Day.
Mr. Ayers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1725.

H. R. 20301—Granting a pension to Martin V. Stover.
Mr. Bell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1725.

H. R. 20302—Granting a pension to William M. Davis.
Mr. Bell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1725.

H. R. 20303—Granting an increase of pension to Alice Yorker.
Mr. Caldwell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1725.

H. R. 20304—Granting an increase of pension to George T. Harwood.
Mr. Cannon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1725.

H. R. 20305—Granting a pension to George Wiszneauckas.
Mr. Clark of Missouri; Committee on Pensions, 1725.

H. R. 20306—Granting an increase of pension to Nancy L. Mason.
Mr. Dillon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1725.

H. R. 20307—Granting a pension to William McBride.
Mr. Fitzgerald; Committee on Pensions, 1725.

H. R. 20308—Granting a pension to Lee Monroe.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1725.

H. R. 20309—Granting a pension to Orville C. Bolt.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Pensions, 1725.

H. R. 20310—Granting a pension to Theodore Lange.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Pensions, 1725.

H. R. 20311—To authorize the President to appoint Second Lieut. Ambrose I. Moriarty, retired, to the grade of lieutenant colonel in the United States Army and place him on the retired list.
Mr. Freeman; Committee on Military Affairs, 1725.

H. R. 20312—Granting a pension to William H. Kipp.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1726.

H. R. 20313—Granting an increase of pension to John O. Branson.
Mr. Gray of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1726.

H. R. 20314—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac C. Spears.
Mr. Gray of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1726.

H. R. 20315—Granting an increase of pension to James Little.
Mr. Hamilton of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1726.

H. R. 20316—Granting an increase of pension to Frances Getchell.
Mr. Haskell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1726.

H. R. 20317—Granting an increase of pension to A. E. Holloway.
Mr. Hayes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1726.

H. R. 20318—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Haxton.
Mr. Helvering; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1726.

H. R. 20319—For the relief of W. H. Baldwin.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Claims, 1726.

H. R. 20320—Granting an increase of pension to Richard M. Johnson.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1726.

H. R. 20321—Granting an increase of pension to Henry C. Weston.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1726.

H. R. 20322—Granting an increase of pension to Edward G. Stevens.
Mr. Hull of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1726.

H. R. 20323—Granting a pension to Mrs. Winfield S. Fiske.
Mr. Kelley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1726.

H. R. 20324—Granting a pension to Ambrose R. Kinley.
Mr. Kiess of Pennsylvania; Committee on Pensions, 1726.

H. R. 20325—Granting a pension to Hoyl N. Higdon.
Mr. McClintic; Committee on Pensions, 1726.

H. R. 20326—Granting an increase of pension to George Clay.
Mr. Mooney; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1726.

H. R. 20327—Granting a pension to Matilda Cass Lipps.
Mr. Mooney; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1726.

H. R. 20328—Granting a pension to Fred A. Schultz.
Mr. Morgan of Oklahoma; Committee on Pensions, 1726.

H. R. 20329—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Shrader.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Pensions, 1726.

H. R. 20330—Granting a pension to William L. Snider.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Pensions, 1726.

H. R. 20331—Granting an increase of pension to Frederick Christy.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1726.

H. R. 20332—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Morton.
Mr. Randall; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1726.

H. R. 20333—Granting an increase of pension to Perry B. Glines.
Mr. Reilly; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1726.

H. R. 20334—Granting a pension to Thomas F. Dolan.
Mr. Rogers; Committee on Pensions, 1726.

H. R. 20335—Granting an increase of pension to Francis M. Walters.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1726.

H. R. 20336—Granting an increase of pension to John Coats.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1726.

H. R. 20337—Granting an increase of pension to Hannah Sanders.
Mr. Sloan; Committee on Pensions, 1726.

H. R. 20338—Granting an increase of pension to Eugene B. Thomas.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1726.

H. R. 20339—To grant a gold medal to Burlington Cunningham for conspicuous bravery.
Mr. Stephens of Nebraska; Committee on Military Affairs, 1726.

H. R. 20340—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph F. Martin.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1726.

H. R. 20341—Granting an increase of pension to Bennett M. Tracy.
Mr. Volstead; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1726.

H. R. 20342—Granting a pension to James A. Annas.
Mr. Wilson of Illinois; Committee on Pensions, 1726.

H. R. 20343—Granting a pension to Clara D. Peterson.
Mr. Wilson of Illinois; Committee on Pension, 1726.

H. R. 20344—For the relief of George W. Thompson.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Military Affairs, 1726.

H. R. 20345—Granting a pension to Malissa Giles Richards.
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1729.

H. R. 20346—Granting a pension to Albert Helms.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1729.

H. R. 20347—Granting a pension to Frank Logsdon.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1729.

H. R. 20348—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Pickens.
Mr. Moores of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1729.

H. R. 20349—Granting an increase of pension to Charles J. Somers.
Mr. Steele of Pennsylvania; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1729.

H. R. 20350—Granting an increase of pension to Ernest J. Patton.
Mr. Taylor of Arkansas; Committee on Pensions, 1729.

H. R. 20351—To provide for an investigation and report relative to the adoption of a system of old-age insurance or pensions.
Mr. McCracken; Committee on Labor, 1802.

H. R. 20352—To amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," as amended, in respect of car service, and for other purposes.
Mr. Esch; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1802.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1553), 4242.

H. R. 20353—Concerning proof of widowhood in claims for pension.
Mr. Fuller; Committe on Invalid Pensions, 1802.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1333), 1874.—Debated, 3243, 3635.

H. R. 20354—To save daylight and to provide standard time for the United States.
Mr. Borland; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1802.

H. R. 20355—To amend the postal laws.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 1802.

H. R. 20356—To provide for the publication of an official journal.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Printing, 1802.

H. R. 20357—To prevent work on streets and buildings on Sunday in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Heflin; Committee on the District of Columbia, 1802.

H. R. 20358—To amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," as amended, in respect of car service, and for other purposes.
Mr. Oliver; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 1802.

H. R. 20359—To provide increased revenue by a direct tax on the value of land in the United States, and for other purposes.
Mr. Bailey; Committee on Ways and Means, 1802.

H. R. 20360—Providing for the erection of a monument in memory of the late Admiral George Dewey at the entrance to the Philadelphia Navy Yard, Philadelphia, Pa.
Mr. Vare; Committee on the Library, 1802.

H. R. 20361—To prohibit the manufacture or sale of alcoholic liquors in the Territory of Alaska, and for other purposes.
Mr. Wickersham; Committee on the Territories, 1802.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1357), 2102.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 7963), 2516–2525.

H. R. 20362—Providing for the extension of time for the reclamation of certain lands in the State of Oregon under the Carey Act.
Mr. Sinnott; Committee on the Public Lands, 1802.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1352), 2022.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 8044), 3634, 3635.

H. R. 20363—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew P. Grubaugh.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1802.

H. R. 20364—Granting a pension to Flora A. Powers.
Mr. Blackmon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1802.

H. R. 20365—Granting an increase of pension to Fred J. Luepke.
Mr. Cary; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1802.

H. R. 20366—For the relief of Ray Markey.
Mr. Cary; Committee on Claims, 1802.

H. R. 20367—Granting a pension to Harry H. Fergus.
Mr. Coleman; Committee on Pensions, 1802.

H. R. 20368—Granting an increase of pension to William I. Hicks.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1802.

H. R. 20369—Granting an increase of pension to Wilson Taylor.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1803.

H. R. 20370—Granting an increase of pension to Robert Craig.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1803.

H. R. 20371—For the relief of Emily Davison.
Mr. Drukker; Committee on Claims, 1803.

H. R. 20372—Granting an increase of pension to Martha E. Wardlaw.
Mr. Elston; Committee on Pensions, 1803.

H. R. 20373—To authorize the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint George L. Morrison captain of Cavalry, to take rank as such next after Capt. James A. Mars.
Mr. Gordon; Committee on Military Affairs, 1803.

H. R. 20374—Granting an increase of pension to Catherine J. Wilson.
Mr. Gray of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1803.

H. R. 20375—Granting an increase of pension to John H. Davis.
Mr. Gray of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1803.

H. R. 20376—Granting a pension to Phoebe Morgan.
Mr. Gray of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1803.

H. R. 20377—Granting an increase of pension to Haziah George.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1803.

H. R. 20378—For the relief of Arthur H. Loomis.
Mr. Hernandez; Committee on Pensions, 1803.

H. R. 20379—For the relief of Alma Harris.
Mr. Hernandez; Committee on the Public Lands, 1803.

H. R. 20380—Granting an increase of pension to Edward Grubb.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1803.

H. R. 20381—Granting an increase of pension to Mary J. Watson.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1803.

H. R. 20382—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah E. Hoffman.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1803.

H. R. 20383—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Fellers.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1803.

H. R. 20384—Granting an increase of pension to Lucinda D. Woods.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1803.

H. R. 20385—Granting an increase of pension to Peter McCormick.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1803.

H. R. 20386—Granting an increase of pension to Amos McKinley.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1803.

H. R. 20387—Granting a pension to George C. Presley, Lansing, Mich.
Mr. Kelley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1803.

H. R. 20388—Granting a pension to Sarah Katharine Dodge.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1803.

H. R. 20389—Granting an increase of pension to Caroline Philpot.
Mr. Lee; Committee on Pensions, 1803.

H. R. 20390—For the relief of J. W. Riser.
Mr. Lever; Committee on Claims, 1803.

H. R. 20391—To grant an increase of pension to John C. Bolinger.
Mr. Lewis; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1803.

H. R. 20392—Granting a pension to Otto H. Staron.
Mr. McArthur; Committee on Pensions, 1803.

H. R. 20393—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Atwell.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1803.

H. R. 20394—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel E. Blair.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1803.

H. R. 20395—Granting a pension to Lillian T. Brown.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1803.

H. R. 20396—Granting an increase of pension to William C. Waddle.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1803.

H. R. 20397—Granting a pension to Samuel Smith.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1803.

H. R. 20398—Granting a pension to Isom W. Foley.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 1803.

H. R. 20399—Granting an increase of pension to Fred Leick.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1803.

H. R. 20400—Granting an increase of pension to William S. Porter.
Mr. Reavis; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1803.

H. R. 20401—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Atwell.
Mr. Sears; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1803.

H. R. 20402—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Peck.
Mr. Sears; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1803.

H. R. 20403—Granting an increase of pension to Dr. Grant J. Ross.
Mr. Steele of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1803.

H. R. 20404—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas T. Owens.
Mr. Stiness; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1803.

H. R. 20405—For the relief of Capt. Ellis B. Miller.
Mr. Sweet; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1803.

H. R. 20406—Granting an increase of pension to John M. Curtis.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1803.

H. R. 20407—Granting an increase of pension to Virginia O. Riley.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1803.

H. R. 20408—Granting an increase of pension to John Weatherington.
Mr. Thomas S. Williams; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1803.

H. R. 20409—To correct the military record of Charles R. Pennybacker.
Mr. Woodyard; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1803.

H. R. 20410—To create a temporary building commission for the purpose of investigating all the public-building needs and methods of the United States in order to recommend a public-building policy.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Appropriations, 1875.—Committee on Appropriations discharged, referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1912, 1977.

H. R. 20411—To amend an act entitled "An act to increase the revenue, and for other purposes," approved Sept. 8, 1916, so as to exempt legacies and devises for public, benevolent, and charitable uses or purposes from its provisions.
Mr. Green of Iowa; Committee on Ways and Means, 1875.

H. R. 20412—To amend an act entitled "An act making further and more effectual provision for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Military Affairs, 1875.

H. R. 20413—To make an appropriation to compensate the Cherokee Indians for part of the lands conveyed to the Cherokee Tribe of Indians by the patent of December, 1838, afterwards patented to white persons who intermarried with Cherokee Indians prior to the 1st day of November, 1875, or their representatives.
Mr. Randall; Committee on Indian Affairs, 1875.

H. R. 20414—For the establishment of a probation system in the United States courts, except in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on the Judiciary, 1875.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1353), 2022.—Debated, amended, and passed House 3637 (Appendix, 402).—Referred to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 3664.—Reported back; passed Senate, 4373.—Examined and signed, 4484, 4526.—Presented to the President, 4527.

H. R. 20415—Granting a pension to Edward Wilkinson.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1875.

H. R. 20416—Granting an increase of pension to James C. Claxton.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Pensions, 1875.

H. R. 20417—Granting an increase of pension to William J. Marsh.
Mr. Barnhart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1875.

H. R. 20418—Granting a pension to Roman Ginther.
Mr. Barnhart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1875.

H. R. 20419—Granting an increase of pension to John I. Smallwood.
Mr. Campbell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1875.

H. R. 20420—Granting a pension to Admire M. Wood.
Mr. Cooper of West Virginia; Committee on Pensions, 1875.

H. R. 20421—Granting an increase of pension to John M. Brown.
Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1875.

H. R. 20422—For the relief of Eugene K. Stoudenmire.
Mr. Dent; Committee on Claims, 1875.

H. R. 20423—Granting an increase of pension to Nicholas Reigenold.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1875.

H. R. 20424—For the relief of William S. Colvin.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Claims, 1875.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1384), 2296.

H. R. 20425—Granting an increase of pension to Edward H. H. Harpster.
Mr. Focht; Committee on Pensions, 1875.

H. R. 20426—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph B. Antoine.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1875.

H. R. 20427—Making an appropriation to compensate Samuel Grant for pay, bounty, and clothing pay while in the service of the Government of the United States.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Claims, 1875.—Reference changed to Committee on War Claims, 2215.

H. R. 20428—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Reilley.
Mr. Hensley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1875.

H. R. 20429—Granting an increase of pension to Charles E. Speer.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1875.

H. R. 20430—For the relief of Hyter Myers.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Claims, 1875.

H. R. 20431—Granting an increase of pension to Timothy Hixson.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1875.

H. R. 20432—Granting a pension to Lilly Howard.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1875.

H. R. 20433—For the relief of Jesse P. Brown.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Military Affairs, 1875.

H. R. 20434—Granting a pension to Carrall A. Cantrell.
Mr. Lee; Committee on Pensions, 1875.

H. R. 20435—Granting an increase of pension to John Q. Goss.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1875.

H. R. 20436—For the relief of Alfred B. Andrews.
Mr. Miller of Minnesota; Committee on Claims, 1875.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1509), 3651.

H. R. 20437—For granting certain lands to Converse County, Wyo., for a public park.
Mr. Mondell; Committee on the Public Lands, 1875.

H. R. 20438—Granting a pension to Eugene A. Hendricks.
Mr. Park; Committee on Pensions, 1875.

H. R. 20439—Granting an increase of pension to John C. Oliver.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1875.

H. R. 20440—Granting an increase of pension to Jonas F. Fortney.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1875.

H. R. 20441—Granting an increase of pension to John N. Dansdill.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1875.

H. R. 20442—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Robinson.
Mr. Randall; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1875.

H. R. 20443—Granting a pension to Martha Adams.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1975.

H. R. 20444—Granting an increase of pension to William G. Long.
Mr. Stout; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1875.

H. R. 20445—Granting an increase of pension to Charles W. Foster.
Mr. Wason; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1875.

H. R. 20446—Granting an increase of pension to Charles H. Stockon.
Mr. Wheeler; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1875.

H. R. 20447—To establish the Grand Canyon National Park in the State of Arizona.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on the Public Lands, 1935.

H. R. 20448—Providing for the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Osceola, in the State of Iowa.
Mr. Towner; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1935.

H. R. 20449—To establish engineering experiment stations in the States and Territories in connection with State universities or engineering schools for the promotion of engineering and industrial research.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Education, 1935.

H. R. 20450—To amend and reenact section 10 of an act entitled "An act to supplement existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies, and for other purposes," approved Oct. 15, 1914.
Mr. Carlin; Committee on the Judiciary, 1935.

H. R. 20451—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent children of soldiers and sailors of said war.
Mr. Ashbrook, from the Committee on Invalid Pensions (H. Rept. 1346), as substitute for certain bills referred to that committee, 1935.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 2087–2095.—Referred to Senate Committee on Pensions,, 2161.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1073); amended and passed Senate, 3577, 3578.—Senate asks for a conference, 3578.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and agrees to a conference, 3733.—Conference appointed, 3578, 3733.—Conference report (No. 1538) made in House, 4002.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 4150.—Conference report agreed to in House, 4002, 4003.—Examined and signed, 4404, 4409.—Presented to the President, 4527.—Approved [Private, No. 213], 5032.

H. R. 20452—To acquire a site for a public building in the city of Philadelphia, State of Pennsylvania.
Mr. Graham; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 1935.

H. R. 20453—Making appropriations for fortifications and other works of defense, for the armament thereof, for the procurement of heavy ordnance for trial and service, and for other purposes.
Mr. Sherley, from Committee on Appropriations (H. Rept. 1350), 1934, 1935.—Debated, 2124, 2128–2144, 2188–2215 (Appendix, 390).—Amended and passed House, 2212, 2213, 2214.—Referred to Senate Committee on Appropriations, 2221.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1002), 2359.—Debated, amended, and passed Senate, 2373–2381.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and asks for a conference, 2525.—Senate insists on its amendments and agrees to a conference, 2468, 2469.—Conference appointed, 2469, 2525.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 2667.—Conference report (No. 1443) made and agreed to in House, 2760.—Examined and signed, 2862, 2930.—Presented to the President, —.—Approved [Public, No. 309], 3449.

H. R. 20454—Granting a pension to Roy G. Zimmerman.
Mr. Allen; Committee on Pensions, 1935.

H. R. 20455—Granting a pension to Noah Lehman.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1935.

H. R. 20456—Granting an increase of pension to Judge B. Cecil.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Pensions, 1935.

H. R. 20457—Granting an increase of pension to William McCloud.
Mr. Bacharach; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1935.

H. R. 20458—Granting an increase of pension to Mary V. Price.
Mr. Bacharach; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1935.

H. R. 20459—Granting a pension to Letta Davidson Webster.
Mr. Carlin; Committee on Pensions, 1935.

H. R. 20460—Granting an increase of pension to Jonathan H. Robbins.
Mr. Davis of Minnesota; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1935.

H. R. 20461—Granting a pension to Mrs. Alada Thurston Paddock Mills, widow of Albert Leopold Mills, late major general, United States Army.
Mr. Dent; Committee on Pensions, 1935.

H. R. 20462—Granting an increase of pension to Alvin W. Every.
Mr. Fairchild; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1935.

H. R. 20463—Granting an increase of pension to William F. Clapham.
Mr. Fairchild; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1935.

H. R. 20464—Granting a pension to Margaret Gately.
Mr. Gardner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1935.

H. R. 20465—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel H. Askew.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Pensions, 1935.

H. R. 20466—Granting an increase of pension to Michael P. Wells.
Mr. Hughes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1935.

H. R. 20467—Granting an increase of pension to John Trenter.
Mr. Hughes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1935.

H. R. 20468—Granting an increase of pension to Jesse R. Mercer.
Mr. Hughes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1935.

H. R. 20469—Granting an increase of pension to John T. Whetzal.
Mr. Hughes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1935.

H. R. 20470—Granting an increase of pension to Charles White.
Mr. Hughes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1935.

H. R. 20471—Granting an increase of pension to John J. West.
Mr Hughes; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1935.

H. R. 20472—Granting an increase of pension to George Rush.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1935.

H. R. 20473—Granting an increase of pension to Stephen Higgins.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1935.

H. R. 20474—Granting an increase of pension to John Douglass.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1935.

H. R. 20475—Granting an increase of pension to Elias Baker.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1935.

H. R. 20476—For the relief of the estate of Loyeau Berhel, deceased.
Mr. Martin; Committee on War Claims, 1936.

H. R. 20477—For the relief of the legal heirs of Edmonia R. Robards, deceased.
Mr. Meeker; Committee on War Claims, 1936.

H. R. 20478—Granting a pension to Elizabeth S. Naylor, widow of Harold S. Naylor, late first lieutenant, Fifth United States Field Artillery.
Mr. Montague; Committee on Pensions, 1936.

H. R. 20479—Granting a pension to Mary L. Pritchett, widow of Edwin E. Pritchett, late first lieutenant, Fifth United States Field Artillery.
Mr. Montague; Committee on Pensions, 1936.

H. R. 20480—Granting an increase of pension to Albert S. Scroggins.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1936.

H. R. 20481—Granting a pension to Margaret E. McNutt.
Mr. North; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1936.

H. R. 20482—Granting a pension to Edward Van Kleeck.
Mr. Parker of New York; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1936.

H. R. 20483—For the relief of George P. Brewster.
Mr. Pou; Committee on Claims, 1936.

H. R. 20484—To satisfy certain claims against the Government arising under the Department of Commerce.
Mr. Pou; Committee on Claims, 1936.

H. R. 20485—To satisfy certain claims against the Government arising under the War Department.
Mr. Pou; Committee on Claims, 1936.

H. R. 20486—Granting a pension to Martin W. Morganson.
Mr. Reavis; Committee on Pensions, 1936.

H. R. 20487—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas A. Stephens.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1936.

H. R. 20488—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Prewett.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1936.

H. R. 20489—Granting an increase of pension to Richard B. V. Nipper.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1936.

H. R. 20490—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Kilgore.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1936.

H. R. 20491—Granting a pension to Polly Tipton.
Mr. Sells; Committee on Pensions, 1936.

H. R. 20492—Granting an increase of pension to Enos Pearce.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1936

H. R. 20493—Granting a pension to Johanna McGee.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 1936.

H. R. 20494—Granting an increase of pension to George Stevens.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Pensions, 1936.

H. R. 20495—To amend the acts of July 27, 1892, June 27, 1902, and Sept. 8, 1916, to increase the pensions of widows of veterans of various Indian wars prior to 1860.
Mr. Sparkman; Committee on Pensions, 1935.

H. R. 20496—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Regular Army and Navy, and certain soldiers and sailors of wars other than the Civil War, and to widows of such soldiers and sailors.
Mr. Aswell, from the Committee on Pensions (H. Rept. 1351), as substitute for certain bills referred to that committee, 2022, 2023.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 2096–2101, 2123, 2124.—Referred to Senate Committee on Pensions, 2161.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1074), amended, and passed Senate, 3578.—Senate asks for a conference, 3578.—House disagree to Senate amendments and agrees to a conference, 3947.—Conference appointed, 3578, 3947.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 4782.—Conference report (No. 1610) made and agreed to in House, 4707.—Examined and signed, 4862, 4926.—Presented to the President, 4944.—Approved [Private, No. 214], 5032.

H. R. 20497—To provide for the correction of clerical errors in invoicing and entering merchandise and to define the scope of the review before the Board of United States General Appraisers in customs litigation.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Ways and Means, 2023.

H. R. 20498—To amend sections 2 and 13 of an act entitled "An act to promote the welfare of American seamen," etc., approved Mar. 4, 1915.
Mr. Loud; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 2023.

H. R. 20499—To save daylight and to provide standard time for the United States.
Mr. Borland; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2023.

H. R. 20500—To provide for the prohibition of the importation of intoxicating liquors into the Territory of Hawaii and to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors therein under certain conditions.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on the Territories, 2023.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1365), 2145.

H. R. 20501—To provide for the promotion of Americanization of immigrants through education, and to appropriate money therefor.
Mr. Parker of New York; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 2023.

H. R. 20502—Providing a tax on certificates of stock.
Mr. Sabath; Committee on Ways and Means, 2023.

H. R. 20503—To amend section 4414 of the Revised Statutes of the United States relating to the appointment of local and assistant inspectors of steam vessels.
Mr. Smith of New York; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 2023.

H. R. 20504—Granting a pension to Conrad Hamman.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 20505—Granting a pension to Oliver T. Redfield.
Mr. Benedict; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 20506—Granting a pension to Henry H. Snow.
Mr. Benedict; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 20507—Granting an increase of pension to Eugene L. Haughton.
Mr. Burke; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 20508—Granting a pension to Hugh McGinty.
Mr. Casey; Committee on Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 20509—Granting an increase of pension to Albert Fields.
Mr. Clark of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 20510—Granting a pension to Mary J. Wilbur.
Mr. Coady; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 20511—Granting a pension to Fred Yoemans.
Mr. Dickinson; Committee on Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 20512—To admit Marguerite Mathilde Slidell d'Erlanger to citizenship.
Mr. Dupré; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 2023.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1504), 3545.

H. R. 20513—To waive the age limit and the disqualification of being married in the appointment of Charles P. Norman as a second lieutenant in the United States Army.
Mr. Griffin; Committee on Military Affairs, 2023.

H. R. 20514—Granting a pension to Henry D. Howell.
Mr. Haugen; Committee on Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 20515—Granting an increase of pension to Albert Vantassel.
Mr. Haugen; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 20516—Granting an increase of pension to Silas W. Smith.
Mr. Haugen; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 20517—Granting an increase of pension to George W. White.
Mr. Haugen; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 20518—Granting a pension to William D. Houser.
Mr. Haugen; Committee on Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 20519—Granting a pension to Joseph Karr.
Mr. Haugen; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 20520—Granting a pension to Christian A. Baldwin.
Mr. Haugen; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 20521—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob Wetzel.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 20522—For the relief of L. O. Johnson.
Mr. Hood; Committee on Claims, 2023.

H. R. 20523—Granting an increase of pension to Silas Shepherd.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 20524—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew J. Bowman.
Mr. McArthur; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 20525—Granting a pension to Hubert Hall.
Mr. Peters; Committee on Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 20526—Granting a pension to Lyman Frink Gray.
Mr. Peters; Committee on Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 20527—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel F. Thompson.
Mr. Shackleford; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 20528—For the relief of J. H. Livingston.
Mr. Shackleford; Committee on Claims, 2023.

H. R. 20529—Granting a pension to Amanda Comer, widow of George W. Comer.
Mr. Slemp; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 20530—Granting an increase of pension to George H. Frush.
Mr. Sweet; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 20531—Granting an increase of pension to Maxwell A. Carpenter.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 20532—To remove the charge of desertion against Carlos R. Tompkins.
Mr. Ward; Committee on Military Affairs, 2023.

H. R. 20533—Granting an increase of pension to Henry C. Russell.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2023.

H. R. 20534—Granting the consent of Congress to Washington-Newport News Short Line, a corporation, to construct a bridge across the Potomac River.
Mr. Jones; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2102.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1379), 2295.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 8090), 2407.

H. R. 20535—Permitting the Conway County Bridge District to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Arkansas River, in the State of Arkansas.
Mr. Jacoway; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2102.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1381), 2295.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 8105), 2872, 2873, 3356.

H. R. 20536—To increase the efficiency of the United States military and the United States naval academies, and to increase the number of graduates therefrom by the immediate establishment of a one-year united service school near Fort Crook or Bellevue, Nebr.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on Military Affairs, 2102.

H. R. 20537—Authorizing the construction of a military road from Washington City, D. C., to the Government Reservation at Wintarop, Md., and making an appropriation therefor.
Mr. Mudd; Committee on Military Affairs, 2102.

H. R. 20538—To amend the act approved Dec. 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act, as amended by the acts of Aug. 4, 1914, Aug. 15, 1914, Mar. 3, 1915, and Sept. 7, 1916.
Mr. Glass; Committee on Banking and Currency, 2102.

H. R. 20539—To amend the act approved Dec. 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act, as amended by the acts of Aug. 4, 1914, Aug. 15, 1914, Mar. 3, 1915, and Sept. 7, 1916.
Mr. Glass; Committee on Banking and Currency, 2102.

H. R. 20540—To authorize national banking associations to establish branches.
Mr. Glass; Committee on Banking and Currency, 2102.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1588), 2442, 4562.

H. R. 20541—Granting an increase of pension to Walter B. Kelley.
Mr. Borland; Committee on Pensions, 2102.

H. R. 20542—Granting an increase of pension to Albert L. Needham.
Mr. Borland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2102.

H. R. 20543—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Cothron.
Mr. Clark of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2102.

H. R. 20544—Granting an increase of pension to Charles H. Erdman.
Mr. Coady; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2102.

H. R. 20545—Granting a pension to Patrick F. Flannery.
Mr. Coady; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2102.

H. R. 20546—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew Robertson.
Mr. Connelly; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2102.

H. R. 20547—Granting a pension to Mary H. Anthony.
Mr. Dewalt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2102.

H. R. 20548—Granting an increase of pension to Mary S. Barkley.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2102.

H. R. 20549—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to grant certain lands to the city of Butte, Mont., for public park purposes.
Mr. Evans; Committee on the Public Lands, 2102.

H. R. 20550—Granting a pension to David H. Earl.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Pensions, 2102.

H. R. 20551—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Adams.
Mr. Frear; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2102.

H. R. 20552—Granting an increase of pension to Cassius M. Rose.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2102.

H. R. 20553—Granting an increase of pension to Wellsley Crane.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2102.

H. R. 20554—Granting an increase of pension to Stephen Routh.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2102.

H. R. 20555—Granting an increase of pension to George W. White.
Mr. Haugen; Committee on Pensions, 2102.

H. R. 20556—Granting an increase of pension to Charles A. McLoskey.
Mr. Hull of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2102.

H. R. 20557—Granting an increase of pension to Henry D. Jennings.
Mr. Johnson of South Dakota; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2102.

H. R. 20558—Granting an increase of pension to Treflay Cayan.
Mr. Konop; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2102.

H. R. 20559—Granting a pension to Edwina B. Kemp.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2103.

H. R. 20560—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac B. Robinson.
Mr. Longworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2103.

H. R. 20561—Granting a pension to Sarah J. Casler.
Mr. Mott; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2103.

H. R. 20562—For the relief of Albert C. Sappington.
Mr. Mudd; Committee on Claims, 2103.

H. R. 20563—Granting an increase of pension to Lucius A. West.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2103.

H. R. 20564—To remove the charge of desertion from the record of James Flannigan.
Mr. Randall; Committee on Military Affairs, 2103.

H. R. 20565—Granting an increase of pension to Byron Truesdell.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2103.

H. R. 20566—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Grove.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2103.

H. R. 20567—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Burrows.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2103.

H. R. 20568—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob Herpin.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2103.

H. R. 20569—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas E. Stanley.
Mr. Dillon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2103.

H. R. 20570—Granting an increase of pension to James Mackall.
Mr. Temple; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2103.

H. R. 20571—Granting an increase of pension to Barbara Johnson.
Mr. Young of North Dakota; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2103.

H. R. 20572—Granting an increase of pension to John H. Nutter.
Mr. Wason; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2103.

H. R. 20573—To provide increased revenue to defray the expenses of the increased appropriations for the Army and Navy and the extensions of fortifications, and for other purposes.
Mr. Kitchin; Committee on Ways and Means, 2145.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1366), 2187, 2314.—Debated, 2187, 2188, 2265–2295, 2314–2356, 2409–2442 (Appendix, 255, 256, 258, 262, 264, 271, 275, 280, 282, 291, 396, 509, 511, 613, 899).—Passed House, 2439–2442.—Referred to Senate Committee on Finance, 2465.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1039), 3179, 3748.—Debated, 3179–3181, 3672–3690, 3748–3780, 3882–3908, 3965–3983, 3986–3998, 4098, 4099, 4100–4150, 4274–4280, 4322, 4384–4401, 4468–4479, 4484–4524.—Unanimous-consent agreement for vote on, agreed to in Senate, 4148–4150, 4322.—Passed Senate, 4523, 4524.—Examined and signed, 4618, 4711.—Presented to the President, 4856.—Approved [Public, No. 377], 5032.

H. R. 20574—Granting the consent of Congress to the county commissioners of Decatur County, Ga., to reconstruct a bridge across the Flint River at Bainbridge, Ga.
Mr. Park; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2145.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1377), 2295.—Passed House, 2872.—Referred to Senate Committee on Commerce, 2933.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1033); passed Senate, 3062.—Examined and signed, 3305, 3354.—Presented to the President, 3423.—Approved [Public, No. 336], 3618.

H. R. 20575—To provide for making biennial appropriations and to provide for the estimates therefor.
Mr. Good; Committee on Appropriations, 2145.

H. R. 20576—Providing for pensions for all American citizens who have reached the age of 65 years, and who are incapable of performing manual labor, and whose incomes are less than $200 per annum.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Pensions, 2145.—Reprint of bill ordered, 4367.

H. R. 20577—For the relief of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Presbyterian Church, of Keyser, W. Va.
Mr. Bowers; Committee on War Claims, 2145.

H. R. 20578—Granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Hester Jane Padgett.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Pensions, 2145.

H. R. 20579—Granting an increase of pension to Edward H. Steele.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Pensions, 2145.

H. R. 20580—Granting an increase of pension to Robert Shannon.
Mr. Freeman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2145.

H. R. 20581—Granting an increase of pension to Mary A. White, New London, Conn.
Mr. Freeman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2145.

H. R. 20582—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth E. Frink.
Mr. Freeman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2145.

H. R. 20583—Granting a pension to Nancy C. Mays.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Pensions, 2145.

H. R. 20584—Granting an increase of pension to D. C. Scott.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Pensions, 2145.

H. R. 20585—Granting a pension to A. M. Coville.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Pensions, 2145.

H. R. 20586—Granting a pension to Murray H. Lewis.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Pensions, 2145.

H. R. 20587—For the relief of George R. Rogers.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on Military Affairs, 2145.

H. R. 20588—Granting an increase of pension to Jane Haney.
Mr. King; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2145.

H. R. 20589—Granting an increase of pension to Loring C. Records.
Mr. McGillicuddy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2145.

H. R. 20590—Granting an increase of pension to Alden F. Wooster.
Mr. McGillicuddy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2145.

H. R. 20591—Granting a pension to Lelia M. Farinholt, mother of Benjamin A. Farinholt, late of the United States Navy.
Mr. Montague; Committee on Pensions, 2145.

H. R. 20592—For the relief of sundry railroad companies.
Mr. Montague; Committee on Claims, 2145.

H. R. 20593—Granting an increase of pension to Levi Applegate.
Mr. Moss; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2145.

H. R. 20594—Granting an increase of pension to Robert W. McWilliams.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2145.

H. R. 20595—Granting a pension to Emiline Hartley.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2146.

H. R. 20596—Granting an increase of pension to Catherine O'Connor account of helpless and dependent child.
Mr. Olney; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2146.

H. R. 20597—Granting an increase of pension to Ansil T. Bartlett.
Mr. Olney; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2146.

H. R. 20598—Granting an increase of pension to Emma J. Flannagan.
Mr. Sisson; Committee on Pensions, 2146.

H. R. 20599—Granting an increase of pension to James Mohan.
Mr. Steele of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2146.

H. R. 20600—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Trulock.
Mr. Steele of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2146.

H. R. 20601—Granting an increase of pension to Nehemiah Aldrich.
Mr. Steele of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2146.

H. R. 20602—Granting a pension to Sarah J. Wier.
Mr. Tavenner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2146.

H. R. 20603—For the enlargement of cottonseed breeding station at Greenville, Tex.
Mr. Rayburn; Committee on Agriculture, 2216.

H. R. 20604—To amend section 876 of the Revised Statutes.
Mr. Webb; Committee on the Judiciary, 2216.

H. R. 20605—To amend an act entitled "An act in reference to the expatriation of citizens and their protection abroad," approved Mar. 2, 1907.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 2216.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1436), 2726.—Debated, 3642.

H. R. 20606—Extending the benefits of care and treatment by the Public Health Service to seamen on vessels used in the service of the United States.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2216.

H. R. 20607—Requiring that wife join with husband in relinquishment to homestead entry to make the same effective.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on the Public Lands, 2216.

H. R. 20608—To increase the limit of cost of the construction of a Federal building at Chadron, Nebr.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2216.

H. R. 20609—Granting an increase of pension to Henry J. Kinney.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2216.

H. R. 20610—Granting an increase of pension to Collins South.
Mr. Clark of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2216.

H. R. 20611—Granting an increase of pension to Levi L. Beers.
Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2216.

H. R. 20612—For the relief of Harriet Fisher.
Mr. Goodwin of Arkansas; Committee on the Public Lands, 2216.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1523), 3854.

H. R. 20613—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Roberts.
Mr. Greene of Vermont; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2216.

H. R. 20614—Granting a pension to Bion Jay Dillon.
Mr. Hillard; Committee on Pensions, 2216.

H. R. 20615—Granting a pension to William J. Shannon.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2216.

H. R. 20616—Granting a pension to Noah Smith.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 2216.

H. R. 20617—Granting an increase of pension to Priscilla V. Hiebler.
Mr. O'Shaunessy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2216.

H. R. 20618—Granting a pension to Isabel Bailey.
Mr. O'Shaunessy; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2216.

H. R. 20619—To waive the age limit in the appointment of Charles W. Barrett as a lieutenant in the United States Army.
Mr. Randall; Committee on Military Affairs, 2216.

H. R. 20620—Granting an increase of pension to John L. W. Hicks.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2216.

H. R. 20621—Granting an increase of pension to Jackson H. Atkinson.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2216.

H. R. 20622—Granting a pension to Rufus C. Williams.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2216.

H. R. 20623—Granting a pension to David S. Harrison.
Mr. Rucker of Georgia; Committee on Pensions, 2216.

H. R. 20624—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob Slemp.
Mr. Slemp; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2216.

H. R. 20625—Granting an increase of pension to Albert T. Fessenden.
Mr. Steele of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2216.

H. R. 20626—For the reimbursement of James Caviness for the loss of his residence while occupied as camp headquarters by United States Geological Survey.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Claims, 2216.

H. R. 20627—Granting a pension to Asa Brown.
Mr. Tillman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2216.

H. R. 20628—For the relief of Elizabeth R. Nicholls and Joanna L. Nicholls, heirs of Joshua Nicholls.
Mr. Vinson; Committee on Claims, 2216.—Reference changed to Committee on War Claims, 2592.

H. R. 20629—To provide for the commissioning of graduates of the United States Military Academy, and for other purposes.
Mr. Scully; Committee on Military Affairs, 2296.

H. R. 20630—To authorize the President of the United States in certain emergencies to take possession of and operate the lines of a commerce carrier engaged in interstate commerce, and for other purposes.
Mr. Sims; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2296.

H. R. 20631—Authorizing the county of Beltrami, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River in said county.
Mr. Lindbergh; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2296.

H. R. 20632—Making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes.
Mr. Padgett, from Committee on Naval Affairs (H. Rept. 1392), 2294, 2296, 2409.—Debated, 2526–2536, 2567–2592, 2698–2725, 2886–2891, 2942–2969, 3015–3048, 3132, 3134–3152, 3217–3240 (Appendix, 304, 308, 380, 535, 545, 745, 797).—Amended and passed House, 3239, 3240.—Referred to Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, 3265.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1101), 3782.—Debated, 4272, 4377–4384, 4575–4592, 4605–4633, 4721–4743.—Unanimous-consent agreement for vote on agreed to in Senate, 4632, 4633.—Amended and passed Senate, 4743.—House returns bill to Senate (see H. Res. 550), 4826, 4827.—Vote reconsidered in Senate; debated, amended, and passed Senate, 4760–4763.—Senate insists on its amendments and asks for a conference, 4743, 4763.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and agrees to a conference, 4844, 4845.—Conference appointed, 4743, 4763, 4845.—Conference report made, debated, and agreed to in Senate, 4912, 4917–4919.—Conference report (No. 1633) made, debated, and agreed to in House, 4965–4974 (Appendix, 745).—Examined and signed, 4988, 5032.—Presented to the President, 5033.—Approved [Public, No. 391], 5032.

H. R. 20633—Granting an increase of pension to Senora H. Hollenbeck.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Pensions, 2296.

H. R. 20634—Granting a pension to George Stillman.
Mr. Britt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2296.

H. R. 20635—Granting an increase of pension to James K. P. Wayman.
Mr. Byrns of Tennessee; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2296.

H. R. 20636—Granting a pension to Mary Thompson.
Mr. Caldwell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2296.

H. R. 20637—Granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Sallie M. Cohen, widow of Henry Cohen.
Mr. Cantrill; Committee on Pensions, 2296.

H. R. 20638—Granting an increase of pension to F. G. McGuire.
Mr. Cantrill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2296.

H. R. 20639—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph McGuire.
Mr. Cantrill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2296.

H. R. 20640—To increase the pensions of the widows of the War with Mexico.
Mr. Cary; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2296.

H. R. 20641—Granting a pension to Mrs. Frank Schultz.
Mr. Cary; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2296.

H. R. 20642—Granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Josephine Freeman on account of invalid daughter.
Mr. Copley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2296.

H. R. 20643—Granting a pension to Edwin J. Cholewa.
Mr. Crago; Committee on Pensions, 2296.

H. R. 20644—For the relief of the heirs of William J. Crabtree, deceased.
Mr. Dickinson; Committee on War Claims, 2296.

H. R. 20645—For the relief of the heirs of Ezekiel Evans, deceased.
Mr. Dickinson; Committee on War Claims, 2296.

H. R. 20646—Granting a pension to Carl J. Nelson.
Mr. Gandy; Committee on Pensions, 2296.

H. R. 20647—Granting a pension to Milton Inners.
Mr. Griest; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2296.

H. R. 20648—Granting a pension to Kate E. Gilbert.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Pensions, 2296.

H. R. 20649—Granting an increase of pension to Newitt F. Gorrell.
Mr. Morgan of Oklahoma; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2296.

H. R. 20650—Granting an increase of pension to Winfield S. Barr.
Mr. Porter; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2297.

H. R. 20651—Granting an increase of pension to Ezekiel Bogard.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2297.

H. R. 20652—Granting a pension to Ferdinand Fetter.
Mr. Reilly; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2297.

H. R. 20653—To waive the age limit in the appointment of Hal C. Sanborn.
Mr. Rowe; Committee on Military Affairs, 2297.

H. R. 20654—Granting an increase of pension to Oscar Grant.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2297.

H. R. 20655—Granting an increase of pension to Edwin A. Welch.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2297.

H. R. 20656—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel A. Maxfield.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2297.

H. R. 20657—To amend clause 1, section 12 of the Federal farm-loan act to authorize loans to be made on lands under reclamation projects entered under the reclamation act, and lands in private ownership brought under such projects, on certain conditions; also on irrigated lands, other than the two classes specified, in certain cases.
Mr. Kinkaid; Committee on Banking and Currency, 2296.

H. R. 20658—Granting consent to the county of Madera, Cal., and its successors and assigns, the right to divert the waters of the San Joaquin, Fresno, and Chowchilla Rivers.
Mr. Church; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 2357.

H. R. 20659—For the aid of commissioned officers of the Medical Reserve Corps and of officers of Reserve Corps.
Mr. Smith of Texas; Committee on Military Affairs, 2357.

H. R. 20660—Authorizing the Postmaster General to increase prices for certain supplies to conform to abnormal market conditions.
Mr. Moon; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 2357.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1404), 2536.—Debated, 2659, 2696–2698.

H. R. 20661—To amend the act approved Dec. 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act, as amended by the acts of Aug. 4, 1914, Aug. 15, 1914, Mar. 3, 1915, and Sept. 7, 1916.
Mr. Glass; Committee on Banking and Currency, 2357.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1406), 2536, 2655.

H. R. 20662—Providing for an advisory referendum by the people of the District of Columbia on certain questions relating to municipal self-government and representation in Congress.
Mr. Cary; Committee on the District of Columbia, 2357.

H. R. 20663—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel C. Hewitt.
Mr. Charles; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2357.

H. R. 20664—For the relief of Albert J. Weber.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Claims, 2357.

H. R. 20665—Granting an increase of pension to Jesse Mather.
Mr. Esch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2357.

H. R. 20666—Granting a pension to Gabriel S. Henderson.
Mr. Fields; Committee on Pensions, 2357.

H. R. 20667—Granting a pension to Mrs. Emma K. Brockman, widow of John Brockman.
Mr. Flood; Committee on Pensions, 2357.

H. R. 20668—Granting an increase of pension to Mary Ann Wilson.
Mr. Freeman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2357.

H. R. 20669—Granting an increase of pension to James C. Rutherford.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2357.

H. R. 20670—For the relief of the officers and enlisted men of McLane's Pennsylvania Regiment and their widows and children.
Mr. Liebel; Committee on Military Affairs, 2357.

H. R. 20671—Granting a pension to Nellie R. Pearce.
Mr. Liebel; Committee on Pensions, 2357.

H. R. 20672—Granting a pension to Marinda Maynard.
Mr. Liebel; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2357.

H. R. 20673—Granting an increase of pension to Robert H. Clark.
Mr. McArthur; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2357.

H. R. 20674—Granting a pension to Theodore Hansen.
Mr. McArthur; Committee on Pensions, 2357.

H. R. 20675—For the relief of Jacob Mull.
Mr. McCracken; Committee on Military Affairs, 2357.

H. R. 20676—Granting an increase of pension to Oren M. Harlan.
Mr. Morrison; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2357.

H. R. 20677—Granting an increase of pension to Ananias Wonders.
Mr. North; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2357.

H. R. 20678—Granting an increase of pension to William B. Porter.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2357.

H. R. 20679—Granting an increase of pension to Michael Dial.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2357.

H. R. 20680—Conferring jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear and determine all claims against the United States for sums alleged to be due to the descendants of the Eastern or Emigrant Band of Cherokee Indians, and to render judgment therein.
Mr. Schall; Committee on Indian Affairs, 2357.

H. R. 20681—Granting an increase of pension to Susan St. John.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2357.

H. R. 20682—Granting an increase of pension to Jesse G. Layton.
Mr. Taggart; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2357.

H. R. 20683—Granting a pension to Richard R. Hill.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2357.

H. R. 20684—Granting a pension to Edgar Norton.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Pensions, 2357.

H. R. 20685—For the relief of Vincent M. McKinnon.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Claims, 2357.

H. R. 20686—To amend the postal laws.
Mr. Randall; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 2458.

H. R. 20687—To amend the postal laws.
Mr. Randall; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 2458.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1423), 2660.—Debated, 3639, 3640.

H. R. 20688—To amend an act entitled State or Territorial homes pensions of inmates (collections), act of Mar. 4, 1911 (25 Stat. L., p. 450).
Mr. Adair; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2458.

H. R. 20689—Providing for qualifications of special examiner in the Bureau of Indian Affairs.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on Indian Affairs, 2458.

H. R. 20690—Providing for judicial practice in the Bureau of Indian Affairs.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on Indian Affairs, 2458.

H. R. 20691—Providing for an additional judge for the district of Arizona.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on the Judiciary, 2458.

H. R. 20692—To create an additional judge in the southern district of Florida.
Mr. Sparkman; Committee on the Judiciary, 2458.

H. R. 20693—Granting a pension to William Barth.
Mr. Benedict; Committee on Pensions, 2458.

H. R. 20694—Granting an increase of pension to Armilda Hays.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2458.

H. R. 20695—Granting an increase of pension to Louis Auguste Zurcher.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2458.

H. R. 20696—Granting an increase of pension to George P. Beach.
Mr. Gray of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2458.

H. R. 20697—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel P. Walker.
Mr. Gray of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2458.

H. R. 20698—Granting an increase of pension to John Sanders.
Mr. Green of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2458.

H. R. 20699—Granting an increase of pension to Cyrus H. Allen.
Mr. Guernsey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2458.

H. R. 20700—Granting an increase of pension to Leonard F. Van Inwagen.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2458.

H. R. 20701—Granting a pension to Louis M. Rheaume.
Mr. Kennedy of Rhode Island; Committee on Pensions, 2458.

H. R. 20702—Granting an increase of pension to Katherine H. Califf.
Mr. McFadden; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2458.

H. R. 20703—Granting an increase of pension to Johanna E. Waalkes.
Mr. McLaughlin; Committee on Pensions, 2458.

H. R. 20704—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Swafford.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2458.

H. R. 20705—Granting an increase of pension to Capt. Henry H. Crane.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2458.

H. R. 20706—For the relief of Benjamin F. Church.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Military Affairs, 2458.

H. R. 20707—Granting an increase of pension to Emmet Ellis.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2458.

H. R. 20708—Granting an increase of pension to George R. White.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2458.

H. R. 20709—To remove the charge of desertion from the record of Charles R. Stevens.
Mr. Randall; Committee on Military Affairs, 2458.

H. R. 20710—Granting a pension to Walter E. Ellis.
Mr. Sullowav; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2458.

H. R. 20711—Granting a pension to Hiram Metcalf.
Mr. Sutherland; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2458.

H. R. 20712—Granting an increase of pension to Alvin Eck.
Mr. Sweet; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2458.

H. R. 20713—Authorizing the city of Bemidji, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River at or near that place.
Mr. Miller of Minnesota; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2458.

H. R. 20714—Granting a pension to Mary Slater.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Pensions, 2458.

H. R. 20715—Granting an increase of pension to Rebecca Morris.
Mr. Sparkman; Committee on Pensions, 2459.

H. R. 20716—To punish stenographers, clerks, and other employees who betray secrets which come to them from their superior officers or otherwise.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on the Judiciary, 2537.

H. R. 20717—For the expenditure and use of moneys due the estates of deceased colored soldiers, sailors, and marines of the Civil War.
Mr. Hull of Iowa; Committee on Military Affairs, 2537.

H. R. 20718—To waive the age limit and disqualification of being married in the appointment of Abraham J. Willner as a lieutenant in the United States Army.
Mr. Conry; Committee on Military Affairs, 2537.

H. R. 20719—Granting a pension to George W. Bellaw.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Pensions, 2537.

H. R. 20720—Granting a pension to Mary J. Welch.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2537.

H. R. 20721—To extend the time limit of the timber-cutting rights of the Saginaw & Manistee Lumber Co. on lands in the Coconino and Tusayan National Forests, Ariz., and for other purposes.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on the Public Lands, 2537.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1561), 4367.

H. R. 20722—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph L. Shields.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Pensions, 2537.

H. R. 20723—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Moore.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2537.

H. R. 20724—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin Maddox.
Mr. Peters; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2537.

H. R. 20725—Granting an increase of pension to Annie M. Owens.
Mr. Platt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2537.

H. R. 20726—Granting an increase of pension to Henry C. Holbrook.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2537.

H. R. 20727—For the relief of Elizabeth R. Nicholls and Joanna L. Nicholls, heirs of Joshua Nicholls.
Mr. Vinson; Committee on War Claims, 2537.

H. R. 20728—To provide for the military and naval training of the citizens.
Mr. Sanford; Committee on Military Affairs, 2592.

H. R. 20729—To amend section 76, chapter 5, of the act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the Judiciary," approved Mar. 3, 1911.
Mr. Sparkman; Committee on the Judiciary, 2592.

H. R. 20730—Authorizing internal-revenue collectors of the United States to transmit lists of names of persons, firms, or corporations who have paid revenue tax.
Mr. Sloan; Committee on Ways and Means, 2592.

H. R. 20731—Granting an increase of pension to Emma F. Buchanan.
Mr. Aiken; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2593.

H. R. 20732—Granting a pension to Samuel W. Dickson.
Mr. Aiken; Committee on Pensions, 2593.

H. R. 20733—Granting a pension to Julian A. Wiggins, Company M, First Texas Infantry, United States Army.
Mr. Black; Committee on Pensions, 2593.

H. R. 20734—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas C. Thodey.
Mr. Cramton; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2593.

H. R. 20735—Granting a pension to William L. Buck.
Mr. Coady; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2593.

H. R. 20736—Granting a pension to George F. Kratz.
Mr. Coady; Committee on Pensions, 2593.

H. R. 20737—Granting a pension to Frederick E. Bogart.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2593.

H. R. 20738—For the relief of the Pateros Transfer Co., D. J. Garrison, secretary, Pateros, Wash.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Claims, 2593.

H. R. 20739—Granting an increase of pension to Wilson Gaskill.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2593.

H. R. 20740—Granting an increase of pension to Annie N. Sullivan.
Mr. Houston; Committee on Pensions, 2593.

H. R. 20741—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret R. Brevard.
Mr. Houston; Committee on Pensions, 2593.

H. R. 20742—For the relief of Marion H. Henderson.
Mr. Jacoway; Committee on Claims, 2593.

H. R. 20743—For the relief of Elizabeth Granger and Mary Granger, daughters of Dan B. Granger, deceased.
Mr. Jacoway; Committee on Claims, 2593.

H. R. 20744—For the relief of William D. Kirkland.
Mr. Jacoway; Committee on Claims, 2593.

H. R. 20745—Granting a pension to George W. Keenan.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Pensions, 2593.

H. R. 20746—Granting a pension to Mrs. Ophalai Barnes.
Mr. Steele of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2593.

H. R. 20747—Granting an increase of pension to James H. Flynn.
Mr. Wilson of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2593.

H. R. 20748—Making appropriations for the payment of invalid and other pensions of the United States for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes.
Mr. Rauch, from Committee on Appropriations (H. Rept. 1417), 2630, 2660.—Debated, 3240–3243.—Amended and passed House, 3243.—Referred to Senate Committee on Pensions, 3265.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1110), 4269.—Passed Senate, 4507.—Examined and signed, 4578, 4635.—Presented to the President, 4855.—Approved [Public, No. 388], 5032.

H. R. 20749—To amend section 8 of an act entitled "An act to provide for the appointment of additional judges of the United States court in the Indian Territory, and for other purposes," approved March 1, 1895, and for other purposes.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on the Judiciary, 2660.

H. R. 20750—Providing for enlistments in the Navy and the United States Marine Corps.
Mr. Tague; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2660.

H. R. 20751—Providing for enlistments in the Army.
Mr. Tague; Committee on Military Affairs, 2660.

H. R. 20752—To amend an act providing mediation, conciliation, etc., approved July 15, 1913; to authorize the President to protect the operation of trains in time of peace, and to take possession of the common carriers and draft their crews and officials in time of war, and for other purposes.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2660.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1434), 2726.

H. R. 20753—To provide additional revenue for the construction of 113 naval vessels, as follows: Nine dreadnaughts, 4 battle cruisers, 4 scout cruisers, 28 destroyers, 63 submarines, 1 gunboat, 1 ammunition ship, 2 hospital ships, 1 transport, authorized under previous sessions of Congress and now under course of construction in various private and Government shipbuilding yards.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Appropriations, 2660.

H. R. 20754—Making an appropriation for the construction of a scenic road to Mount Evans, in the State of Colorado, and granting to the city and county of Denver the right of way over the public lands within a mile of said road.
Mr. Hilliard; Committee on Appropriations, 2660.

H. R. 20755—To carry out the provisions of the treaty of August 4, 1916, for the purchase of the Danish West Indian Islands, and for other purposes.
Mr. Flood; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 2660.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1505), 3544.—Debated, 3647–3651 (Appendix, 397, 694).—Amended and passed House, 3651.—Referred to Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 3664.—Reported back; debated, amended, and passed Senate, 3687–3689.—Senate insists on its amendment and asks for a conference, 3689.—House disagrees to Senate amendment and agrees to a conference, 3909.—Conference appointed, 3689, 3909.—Conference report (S. Doc. No. 719) made in Senate, 3984.—Conference report (No. 1556) made in House, 8241.—Conference report agreed to in Senate, 4066.—Conference report agreed to in House, 4820, 4827.—Examined and signed, 4855, 4862.—Presented to the President, 4944.—Approved [Public, No. 389], 5032.

H. R. 20756—To restrict the net number of aliens arriving in this country in any one fiscal year to 200,000.
Mr. Gardner; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 2660.

H. R. 20757—To define and punish espionage.
Mr. Webb; Committee on the Judiciary, 2660.

H. R. 20758—To regulate the conduct of vessels in the ports and waters of the United States in case of actual or threatened war, insurrection, or invasion, or threatened disturbance of the international relations of the United States.
Mr. Webb; Committee on the Judiciary, 2660.

H. R. 20759—To repeal the literacy test.
Mr. Bennet; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 2660.

H. R. 20760—Granting an increase of pension to Oliver Budd.
Mr. Ayers; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2660.

H. R. 20761—Granting an increase of pension to Bartley Marshall.
Mr. Cary; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2660.

H. R. 20762—Granting a pension to John M. Williams.
Mr. Church; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2660.

H. R. 20763—Granting a pension to J. P. Boland.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Pensions, 2660.

H. R. 20764—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Dominick.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2660.

H. R. 20765—Granting a pension to Charles L. Hewitt.
Mr. Glynn; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2660.

H. R. 20766—Granting an increase of pension to George C. Rimes.
Mr. Goodwin of Arkansas; Committee on Pensions, 2660.

H. R. 20767—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel Walker.
Mr. Gray of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2661.

H. R. 20768—Granting an increase of pension to Jeff Patterson.
Mr. Gray of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2661.

H. R. 20769—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel Thomas.
Mr. Hadley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2661.

H. R. 20770—Granting a pension to Samuel A. Demarest.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Pensions, 2661.

H. R. 20771—Granting a pension to Georgia L. Swafford.
Mr. McArthur; Committee on Pensions, 2661.

H. R. 20772—Granting a pension to Lewis J. Prime.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Pensions, 2661.

H. R. 20773—Granting an increase of pension to Jabez Goodman.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2661.

H. R. 20774—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Sarah Dotson.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2661.

H. R. 20775—For the relief of Anthony Schnell.
Mr. Sanford; Committee on Claims, 2661.

H. R. 20776—Granting an increase of pension to Cecelia B. Chauncey.
Mr. Scully; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2661.

H. R. 20777—Granting an increase of pension to John H. Gardner.
Mr. Tavenner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2661.

H. R. 20778—Granting a pension to Sophia Hoover.
Mr. Williams of Ohio; Committee on Pensions, 2661.

H. R. 20779—Providing emergency legislation to be considered in connection with H. R. 20632.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2726.

H. R. 20780—Authorizing the commissioners of the Red River Bridge District to construct a bridge across the Red River at or near Index, Tex.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2726.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1601), 4712.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 8228), 4953.

H. R. 20781—To expedite the delivery of materials, equipment, and munitions and to secure more expeditious construction of ships.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Appropriations, 2726.—Debated (Appendix, 308).

H. R. 20782—To create a national holiday to be known as Universal Peace Day in the United States.
Mr. Candler of Mississippi; Committee on the Judiciary, 2726.

H. R. 20783—Making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918.
Mr. Dent, from Committee on Military Affairs (H. Rept. 1482), 2717, 2726.—Debated, 3370–3384, 3485–3465, 3504–3541, 3698, 3699–3733, 3812–3852, 3918–3947 (Appendix, 394, 405, 417, 494, 496, 503, 532, 558, 620).—Amended and passed House, 3947.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 3965.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1126), 4482.—Debated, 4569, 4744.

H. R. 20784—Punishing conspiracy to injure, oppress, threaten, or intimidate any alien in the exercise of any right under any treaty of the United States.
Mr. Rogers; Committee on the Judiciary, 2726.

H. R. 20785—To provide for national defense.
Mr. Roberts of Massachusetts; Committee on Ways and Means, 2727.

H. R. 20786—Granting an increase of pension to Randall M. Bates.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2727.

H. R. 20787—Granting an increase of pension to Preston Carver.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2727.

H. R. 20788—Granting an increase of pension to Bradford R. Gilbert.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2727.

H. R. 20789—For the relief of Louis Southworth.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Military Affairs, 2727.

H. R. 20790—Granting a pension to George F. Ludi.
Mr. Hernandez; Committee on Pensions, 2727.

H. R. 20791—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Pitner.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2727.

H. R. 20792—Granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Georgia M. Hodgadon.
Mr. Loud; Committee on Pensions, 2727.

H. R. 20793—Granting a pension to Henry Franz.
Mr. Maher; Committee on Pensions, 2727.

H. R. 20794—Granting an increase of pension to John S. Bell.
Mr. Morin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2727.

H. R. 20795—Granting a pension to John C. Howard.
Mr. Powers; Committee on Pensions, 2727.

H. R. 20796—For the relief of William J. Arthur, of Havre de Grace, Md.
Mr. Talbott; Committee on Claims, 2727.

H. R. 20797—To remove the charge of desertion against William H. Carter.
Mr. Ward; Committee on Military Affairs, 2727.

H. R. 20798—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the city of Hastings, Nebr., four bronze cannon or fieldpieces.
Mr. Shallenberger; Committee on Military Affairs, 2807.

H. R. 20799—To provide revenue for the Government and to promote the production of tungsten ores and manufactures thereof in the United States.
Mr. Timberlake; Committee on Ways and Means, 2807.

H. R. 20800—To amend an act entitled "An act to establish a United States Shipping Board for the purpose of encouraging, developing, and creating a naval auxiliary and naval reserve and a merchant marine to meet the requirements of the commerce of the United States with its territories and possessions and with foreign countries; to regulate carriers by water engaged in the foreign and interstate commerce of the United States; and for other purposes," approved Sept. 7, 1916, and for other purposes.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 2807.

H. R. 20801—Providing that all persons employed by the United States Government or by the District of Columbia shall be citizens of the United States.
Mr. Griffin; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 2807.

H. R. 20802—Providing for the organization, establishment, and management of schools or institutes of instruction at certain military posts under the direction and supervision of the Secretary of War, with the advice and counsel of the Commissioner of Education of the Department of the Interior, for the purpose of affording the soldiers of the Army an opportunity for securing an education in academic and practical vocational and industrial lines, and to make an appropriation for meeting the necessary expenses of the preliminary survey for the intelligent establishment of said proposed schools or institutes.
Mr. McKinley; Committee on Military Affairs, 2807.

H. R. 20803—To define and punish espionage.
Mr. Webb; Committee on the Judiciary, 2807.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1449), 3049.

H. R. 20804—To authorize the appointment and commission of Frank W. Gee as chaplain in the Regular Army of the United States.
Mr. Caraway; Committee on Military Affairs, 2808.

H. R. 20805—Granting a pension to Andrew Heuser.
Mr. Darrow; Committee on Pensions, 2808.

H. R. 20806—Granting an increase of pension to John G. Wright.
Mr. Haugen; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2808.

H. R. 20807—Granting an increase of pension to D. W. Farington.
Mr. Haugen; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2808.

H. R. 20808—For the relief of the dependent mother (now Sophie Caffery) of Henry W. Sloat, civilian employee of the Government, who was killed while in the discharge of his duties at the United States naval magazine at Iona Island, N. Y.
Mr. Husted; Committee on Claims, 2808.

H. R. 20809—For the relief of R. W. Harris.
Mr. Jacoway; Committee on Military Affairs, 2808.

H. R. 20810—Granting an increase of pension to Stephen Young.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2808.

H. R. 20811—For the relief of Walter D. Grierson.
Mr. Kearns; Committee on Military Affairs, 2808.

H. R. 20812—Granting a pension to Catharine N. Wilson.
By Mr. McKellar; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2808.

H. R. 20813—Granting an increase of pension to Jeremiah Bogard.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2808.

H. R. 20814—Granting an increase of pension to Asbery Mayfield.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2808.

H. R. 20815—Granting an increase of pension to John R. Bungard.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2808.

H. R. 20816—Granting an increase of pension to Sidney Merifield.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2808.

H. R. 20817—For the relief of William H. Miller.
Mr. Platt; Committee on Claims, 2808.

H. R. 20818—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew G. Kramer.
Mr. Reavis; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2808.

H. R. 20819—Granting a pension to Jacob Herpin.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Pensions, 2808.

H. R. 20820—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph S. Le Hew.
Mr. Shallenberger; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2808.

H. R. 20821—Granting a pension to Frances A. Brown.
Mr. Shallenberger; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2808.

H. R. 20822—Granting a pension to Harriett L. Carr.
Mr. Shallenberger; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2808.

H. R. 20823—For the relief of J. H. Tower.
Mr. Shallenberger; Committee on Claims, 2808.

H. R. 20824—Granting a pension to Clearance A. Yancy.
Mr. Slemp; Committee on Pensions, 2808.

H. R. 20825—Granting a pension to W. H. Johnston.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2808.

H. R. 20826—Granting a pension to James Warren.
Mr. Browne; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2808.

H. R. 20827—Granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Regular Army and Navy, and certain soldiers and sailors of wars other than the Civil War, and to widows of such soldiers and sailors.
Mr. Tillman, from the Committee on Pensions (H. Rept. 1442), as substitute for certain bills referrel to that committee, 2892.—Passed House, 2938–2940.—Referred to Senate Committee on Pensions, 2983.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1091); amended and passed Senate, 3658, 3659.—House disagrees to Senate amendments and agrees to a conference, 3947.—Senate insists on its amendments and asks for a conference, 3659.—Conference appointed, 3659, 3947.—Conference report made and agreed to in Senate, 4782.—Conference report (No. 1611) made and agreed to in House, 4707, 4708.—Examined and signed, 4862, 4926.—Presented to the President, 4944.—Approved [Private, No. 215], 5032.

H. R. 20828—To regulate the conduct of vessels in the ports and waters of the United States in case of actual or threatened war, insurrection, or invasion, or threatened disturbance of the international relations of the United States.
Mr. Webb; Committee on the Judiciary, 2892.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1496), 3385.

H. R. 20829—Authorizing the President to secure vessels of foreign registry from destruction and damage.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on the Judiciary, 2892.

H. R. 20830—Prohibiting construction of bridges and construction of additional tracks upon existing bridges over any navigable stream in the city of New York, unless the elevation of said bridge at mean high water shall be sufficient to permit the free movement of such vessels as are ordinarily operated upon such navigable stream.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2892.

H. R. 20831—Granting a pension to Thomas Binnion.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Pensions, 2892.

H. R. 20832—Granting a pension to William Webster.
Mr. Glynn; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2892.

H. R. 20833—To appoint Leonard G. Hoffman as a passed assistant paymaster in the United States Navy.
Mr. Montague; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2892.

H. R. 20834—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Schlaffer.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Pensions, 2892.

H. R. 20835—Granting a pension to Marguerite Metzger.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2892.

H. R. 20836—Granting a pension to Jacob Gish.
Mr. Overmyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2892.

H. R. 20837—Granting an increase of pension to John P. Williams.
Mr. Shouse; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2892.

H. R. 20838—To donate certain condemned cannon and cannon balls to the city of Ironton, Ohio.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Military Affairs, 2974.

H. R. 20839—To donate certain condemned cannon and cannon balls to the city of Gallipolis, Ohio.
Mr. Switzer; Committee on Military Affairs, 2974.

H. R. 20840—Providing for the construction of a public building at Binghamton, N. Y.
Mr. Fairchild; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2974.

H. R. 20841—For the reduction of postage on first-class mail matter.
Mr. Blackmon; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 2974.

H. R. 20842—Providing for the registration of designs.
Mr. Morrison; Committee on Patents, 2974.

H. R. 20843—To authorize a report upon the necessity for the construction of a bridge across the Salt River on the Salt River Indian Reservation, Ariz.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Indian Affairs, 2974.

H. R. 20844—To estalish a United States Commission of Mediation and Conciliation for the purpose of investigating the relations between railroads and their employees, and for other purposes.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2974.

H. R. 20845—Granting an increase of pension to William H. Kidd.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2974.

H. R. 20846—Granting an increase of pension to Adam Wilson.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2974.

H. R. 20847—Granting a pension to Leon L. Scott.
Mr. Church; Committee on Pensions, 2974.

H. R. 20848—For the relief of Mary White, widow of Benjamin White, deceased.
Mr. Dickinson; Committee on Claims, 2974.

H. R. 20849—Granting an increase of pension to James Park.
Mr. Doolittle; Committee on Pensions, 2974.

H. R. 20850—To correct the military record of Frederick Colburn.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Military Affairs, 2974.

H. R. 20851—Granting an increase of pension to George Gunnell.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2974.

H. R. 20852—Granting an increase of pension to Francis M. Cloud.
Mr. Gray of Indiana; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2974.

H. R. 20853—For the relief of R. M. Blount.
Mr. Howard; Committee on Claims, 2974.

H. R. 20854—Granting an increase of pension to John Richards
Mr. North; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2974.

H. R. 20855—Granting an increase of pension to Aaron Culbertson.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2974.

H. R. 20856—Granting an increase of pension to Marvin Waldorph.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2974.

H. R. 20857—Granting an increase of pension to Charles H. Jennings.
Mr. Ramseyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2974.

H. R. 20858—Granting an increase of pension to William N. Green.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2974.

H. R. 20859—To relinquish, release, remise, and quitclaim all right, title, and interest of the United States in and to certain lands in the State of Mississippi.
Mr. Sisson; Committee on the Public Lands, 2974.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1524), 3854.

H. R. 20860—Granting an increase of pension to John F. Vaughn.
Mr. Stiness; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 2974.

H. R. 20861—Granting a pension to Harry E. Snyder.
Mr. Heaton; Committee on Pensions, 2974.

H. R. 20862—To ratify and confirm a lease given by the Seneca Nation of Indians for the right to excavate sand on the Cattaraugus Reservation, in the State of New York.
Mr. Hamilton of New York; Committee on Indian Affairs, 3049.

H. R. 20863—To establish a fog signal at the Port Washington Pierhead Light Station, Wis.
Mr. Burke; Committee on Appropriations, 3049.

H. R. 20864—Granting a pension to Mary C. McLaughlin.
Mr. Campbell; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3050.

H. R. 20865—For the relief of Mary Elizabeth Graham.
Mr. Carter of Massachusetts; Committee on Military Affairs, 3050.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1604), 4712.

H. R. 20866—To increase the pensions of the widows of the War with Mexico.
Mr. Cary; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3050.

H. R. 20867—Granting a pension to Peter H. Semmel.
Mr. Coleman; Committee on Pensions, 3050.

H. R. 20868—Granting a pension to Lotta K. Boyd, widow of the late Capt. Charles T. Boyd, and to Eliza and Klem, his children.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Pensions, 3050.

H. R. 20869—For the relief of the owners of the steam barge Genessee and the barge J. Mooney.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Claims, 3050.

H. R. 20870—Granting a pension to G. A. Potts.
Mr. Murray; Committee on Pensions, 3050.

H. R. 20871—Providing for the raising of the Government dike opposite Clarksville, Mo.
Mr. Clark of Missouri; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 3172.

H. R. 20872—Making appropriations for the support of the Military Academy for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes.
Mr. Dent, from Committee on Military Affairs (H. Rept. 1452), 3132, 3172.—Debated, 4846–4854.—Amended and passed House, 4854.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 4864.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1141), 4863, 4864.

H. R. 20873—Granting the consent of Congress to the city of Fort Atkinson, in Jefferson County, Wis., for the construction of a bridge across the Rock River.
Mr. Burke; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3172.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1501), 3465.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 8227), 4151.

H. R. 20874—Granting an increase of pension to William M. Pace.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3172.

H. R. 20875—For the relief of Julius Buxbaum and granting him a medal of honor.
Mr. Candler of Mississippi; Committee on Military Affairs, 3172.

H. R. 20876—Granting a pension to Mrs. Frank Schultz.
Mr. Cary; Committee on Pensions, 3172.

H. R. 20877—Granting an increase of pension to Samuel R. Laphy.
Mr. Casey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3172.

H. R. 20878—Granting a pension to Synthia M. Hale.
Mr. Denison; Committee on Pensions, 3172.

H. R. 20879—Granting a pension to Arthur Rose.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Pensions, 3172.

H. R. 20880—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah J. Thomas.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3172.

H. R. 20881—Granting an increase of pension to John Wilson.
Mr. Green of Iowa; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3172.

H. R. 20882—For the relief of the Kimball Bros. Co., of Council Bluffs, Iowa.
Mr. Green of Iowa; Committee on Claims, 3172.

H. R. 20883—Granting an increase of pension to Anliza Griffin.
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3172.

H. R. 20884—Granting an increase of pension to James H. Kabrick.
Mr. Haugen; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3172.

H. R. 20885—Granting a pension to Jennie C. Rogers.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3172.

H. R. 20886—For the relief of John B. Gooch.
Mr. Hensley; Committee on Military Affairs, 3172.

H. R. 20887—Granting a pension to Thomas Heffernan.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Pensions, 3172.

H. R. 20888—For the relief of Mary F. Keenan.
Mr. Olney; Committee on Claims, 3172.

H. R. 20889—Granting an increase of pension to Nicholas Durnin.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3172.

H. R. 20890—Granting an increase of pension to A. H. McCormick.
Mr. Russell of Missouri; Committee on Pensions, 3173.

H. R. 20891—Granting an increase of pension to Robert C. Abel.
Mr. Wingo; Committee on Pensions, 3173.

H. R. 20892—To establish aids to navigation at Fond du Lac Harbor, Wis.
Mr. Reilly; Committee on Appropriations, 3249.

H. R. 20893—Authorizing the county of Morrison, Minn., to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River in said county.
Mr. Lindbergh; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3249.

H. R. 20894—To include certain lands in the counties of Modoc and Siskiyou, Cal., in the Modoc National Forest, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Public Lands, 3249.

H. R. 20895—To repeal the provision for compulsory military service in the national defense act approved June 3, 1916.
Mr. Tavenner; Committee on Military Affairs, 3249.

H. R. 20896—To provide for the issuance of search warrants and the seizure and detention of property thereunder, and for other purposes.
Mr. Carlin; Committee on the Judiciary, 3249.

H. R. 20897—Granting an increase of pension to William Horrigan.
Mr. Evans; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3249.

H. R. 20898—Granting an increase of pension to Margaret Orren.
Mr. Farr; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3249.

H. R. 20899—Granting an increase of pension to David W. Bachelder.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3249.

H. R. 20900—For the relief of the State of Washington.
Mr. Johnson of Washington; Committee on Claims, 3249.

H. R. 20901—Granting an increase of pension to Timothy Kelly.
Mr. McArthur; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3249.

H. R. 20902—Granting an increase of pension to Abraham Rapelye.
Mr. Platt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3249.

H. R. 20903—For the relief of Mrs. Annie M. Lepley, as postmaster at Plymouth, Amador County, Cal., for money, postal money orders, and postage stamps stolen.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Claims, 3249.

H. R. 20904—Granting an increase of pension to Jacob H. Bentz.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3249.

H. R. 20905—To provide a commission to secure site, plans, and design for a school to train negro soldiers.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Military Affairs, 3320.

H. R. 20906—Conferring citizenship upon Indians.
Mr. Hayden; Committee on Indian Affairs, 3320.

H. R. 20907—To amend an act providing mediation, conciliation, etc., approved July 15, 1913.
Mr. Lenroot; Committee on the Judiciary, 3320.—Committee on the Judiciary discharged, referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3355, 3385.

H. R. 20908—Making an appropriation for the construction and equipment of a sanitary fireproof hospital on the grounds of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, Pacific Branch, in the county of Los Angeles, State of California.
Mr. Benedict; Committee on Appropriations, 3320.

H. R. 20909—Granting an increase of pension to Florence Marquis.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 3320.

H. R. 20910—Authorizing the appointment of Capt. D. A. Maurier to the position of first lieutenant of the Regular Army.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Military Affairs, 3320.

H. R. 20911—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Morton.
Mr. Gillett; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3320.

H. R. 20912—Granting a pension to Thomas H. Lillis.
Mr. Gillett; Committee on Pensions, 3320.

H. R. 20913—Granting a pension to Charles L. Thornton.
Mr. Goodwin of Arkansas; Committee on Pensions, 3320.

H. R. 20914—To authorize the change of name of the steamer Charles L. Hutchinson to Fayette Brown.
Mr. Gordon; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 3320.

H. R. 20915—To transfer Frederick W. Cobb from the list of chief machinists, United States Navy, to the list of chief pay clerks, United States Navy.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on Naval Affairs, 3320.

H. R. 20916—Granting an increase of pension to Sylvester Smart.
Mr. Peters; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3321.

H. R. 20917—Granting a pension to Elizabeth Hogan.
Mr. Sanford; Committee on Pensions, 3321.

H. R. 20918—For the relief of the State of Vermont.
Mr. Greene of Vermont; Committee on the Judiciary, 3385.

H. R. 20919—Authorizing the Secretary of War to deliver to the town of Union, Hudson County, State of New Jersey, two condemned bronze or brass cannon, with carriage and suitable outfit of cannon balls.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on Military Affairs, 3385.

H. R. 20920—Authorizing the Secretary of War to deliver to the town of West Hoboken, Hudson County, State of New Jersey, two condemned bronze or brass cannon, with carriage and suitable outfit of cannon balls.
Mr. Eagan; Committee on Military Affairs, 3385.

H. R. 20921—For the relief of James Hilliard.
Mr. Almon; Committee on War Claims, 3385.

H. R. 20922—Granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Sidney E. Collins.
Mr. Byrns of Tennessee; Committee on Pensions, 3385.

H. R. 20923—Granting a pension to Marmaduke R. Goodman.
Mr. Coady; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3385.

H. R. 20924—For the relief of Charles O. Berg.
Mr. Copley; Committee on Claims, 3385.

H. R. 20925—Granting an increase of pension to George C. Elliott.
Mr. Clark of Missouri; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3385.

H. R. 20926—Granting an increase of pension to Benjamin Vanfossen.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3385.

H. R. 20927—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Vanfossen.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3385.

H. R. 20928—Granting an increase of pension to Alonzo M. Hobbs.
Mr. Hollingsworth; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3385.

H. R. 20929—Granting a pension to Jesse M. Gilliland.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Pensions, 3385.

H. R. 20930—Granting an increase of pension to Bateman Zoll.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3385.

H. R. 20931—Granting an increase of pension to Freeman W. Waitt.
Mr. Phelan; Committee on Pensions, 3385.

H. R. 20932—For the relief of Henry C. Hickman.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Claims, 3385.

H. R. 20933—Granting an increase of pension to Pearl Gertrude George.
Mr. Watson of Pennsylvania; Committee on Pensions, 3385.

H. R. 20934—Granting an increase of pension to Eli House.
Mr. Wilson of Illinois; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3385.

H. R. 20935—Authorizing and directing the Public Printer to provide a pulp and paper mill or mills for the manufacture of print paper for the Government, and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Printing, 3466.

H. R. 20936—Providing for registration of aliens.
Mr. Edmonds; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 3466.

H. R. 20937—To establish a branch Federal land bank at Wichita Falls, in northwest Texas.
Mr. Stephens of Texas; Committee on Banking and Currency, 3466.

H. R. 20938—To protect the commerce of the United States.
Mr. Platt; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 3466.—Debated, 3530, 3531.

H. R. 20939—To suspend commercial intercourse between the United States and the German Empire.
Mr. Platt; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 3466.—Debated, 3530, 3531.

H. R. 20940—To authorize the defense of the merchant vessels of the United States against German depredations.
Mr. Platt; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 3466.—Debated, 3530, 3531.

H. R. 20941—To provide a board of administrative control under the direction of the President of the United States.
Mr. Anderson; Committee on Ways and Means, 3466.

H. R. 20942—Authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to pay interest and expenses incurred to and by the owners of lots, pieces, or parcels of land acquired by the United States for the enlargement of the Capitol Grounds.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Claims, 3466.

H. R. 20943—To grant a pension to Ella H. Garlock.
Mr. Cooper of Wisconsin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3466.

H. R. 20944—Granting an increase of pension to Walter A. Scott.
Mr. Sweet; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3466.

H. R. 20945—Granting an increase of pension to Darius F. Bell.
Mr. Sweet; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3466.

H. R. 20946—Granting an increase of pension to Emily S. Furber.
Mr. Wilson of Illinois; Committee on Pensions, 3466.

H. R. 20947—To prohibit interstate and foreign commerce in certain products of female labor, and for other purposes.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Labor, 3545.

H. R. 20948—Providing for the marking and protection of the battle field known as Dade's Massacre, in Sumter County, Fla., and for the erection of a monument thereon.
Mr. Sparkman; Committee on Military Affairs, 3545.

H. R. 20949—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the town of Zephyrhills, Pasco County, Fla., two bronze or brass cannon, with projectiles.
Mr. Sparkman; Committee on Military Affairs, 3545.

H. R. 20950—Granting old-age pensions.
Mr. Murray; Committee on Pensions, 3545.

H. R. 20951—To include certain lands in the counties of Modoc and Siskiyou, Cal., in the Modoc National Forest, Cal., and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Public Lands, 3545.

H. R. 20952—For the relief of disbursing officers of the Naval Militia of the United States and of the National Naval Volunteers, and specifying certain dates on which Naval Militia are entitled to pay from Federal funds.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Naval Affairs, 3545.

H. R. 20953—To pension the survivors of the War with Spain and Philippine insurrection.
Mr Langley; Committee on Pensions, 3545.

H. R. 20954—To appoint Allen M. Sumner a captain on the active list of the United States Marine Corps.
Mr. Carlin; Committee on Naval Affairs, 3545.

H. R. 20955—To reimburse Robinson Bros. of Merced, Cal., for range feed destroyed by fire.
Mr. Church; Committee on Claims, 3545.

H. R. 20956—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph W. Johnson.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3545.

H. R. 20957—Granting an increase of pension to Andrew P. Grubaugh.
Mr. Lazaro; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3545.

H. R. 20958—Granting an increase of pension to John Erwin.
Mr. Lazaro; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3545.

H. R. 20959—Granting an increase of pension to Charles Bishop.
Mr. Lazaro; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3545.

H. R. 20960—For the relief of John E. Osborne.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Claims, 3545.

H. R. 20961—Granting a pension to Carrie C. Washburn.
Mr. Walsh; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3545.

H. R. 20962—To provide for increasing the rates of pension of totally disabled, needy, and helpless soldiers, sailors, and marines of the Civil and Mexican Wars.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3545.

H. R. 20963—To amend Part C, known as the United States warehouse act, of an act of Congress entitled "An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes," approved Aug. 11, 1916.
Mr. Lever; Committee on Agriculture, 3652.

H. R. 20964—Authorizing the Secretary of War, in his discretion, to deliver to the board of county commissioners, Logan County, Colo., four condemned bronze or brass cannon or fieldpieces, with their carriages, and a suitable outfit of cannon balls.
Mr. Timberlake; to the Committee on Military Affairs, 3652.

H. R. 20965—To establish a national commission of aeronautics, and for other purposes.
Mr. Cary; Committee on Appropriations, 3652.

H. R. 20966—To establish a branch Federal land bank at Wichita Falls, in northwest Texas.
Mr. Stephens of Texas; Committee on Banking and Currency, 3652.

H. R. 20967—Making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes.
Mr. Fitzgerald, from Committee on Appropriations (H. Rept. 1508), 3631, 3652.—Debated, 3947–3958, 4031–4048, 4171–4241, 4323–4366, 4407–4464, 4527 (Appendix, 513, 526, 527, 552, 593, 610, 784, 833).—Amended and passed House, 4464, 4527.—Referred to Senate Committee on Appropriations, 4484.—Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1133), 4578.—Debated, 4566, 4568.

H. R. 20968—To include certain lands in the counties of Modoc and Siskiyou, Cal., in the Modoc National Forest, Cal., and for other purposes.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Public Lands, 3652.

H. R. 20969—To amend the public-building act approved Mar. 4, 1913, authorizing the acquisition of a suitable site for a public building at Olyphant, Pa.
Mr. Farr; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3652.

H. R. 20970—Providing for an additional judge for the eastern district of Oklahoma.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on the Judiciary, 3652.

H. R. 20971—To make further provision for the organization of native troops in the Philippine Islands.
Mr. Blackmon; Committee on Military Affairs, 3652.

H. R. 20972—To authorize the placing on a roll in the War Department, designated as "the Civil War Volunteer officers' retired list," the name of Morton A. Pratt, first lieutenant in Company A, Third Illinois Cavalry, of the United States in the Civil War.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Military Affairs, 3652.

H. R. 20973—Granting an increase of pension to Morton A. Pratt.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3652.

H. R. 20974—Granting an increase of pension to Nathan L. Nims.
Mr. Booher; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3652.

H. R. 20975—For the relief of William E. Jones, Faribault, Minn.
Mr. Davis of Minnesota; Committee on Military Affairs, 3652.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1605), 4712.

H. R. 20976—Granting an increase of pension to George Bannar.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3652.

H. R. 20977—Granting a pension to John G. Miller.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Pensions, 3652.

H. R. 20978—Granting a pension to W. A. Davis.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Pensions, 3652.

H. R. 20979—Granting an increase of pension to Henry D. Potter.
Mr. Esch; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3652.

H. R. 20980—Granting an increase of pension to Cyrenus F. Horton.
Mr. Gould; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3652.

H. R. 20981—Authorizing the owners of square 710, District of Columbia, to construct, maintain, and operate an elevated railway siding track.
Mr. Miller of Delaware; Committee on the District of Columbia, 3652.

H. R. 20982—Granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Hine.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3652.

H. R. 20983—Granting an increase of pension to Jerry A. Fitzgerald.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3652.

H. R. 20984—Granting an increase of pension to Beckwith A. McNemar.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3652.

H. R. 20985—Granting an increase of pension to Fannie R. Wells.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3652.

H. R. 20986—Granting an increase of pension to George Keck.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3652.

H. R. 20987—Granting an increase of pension to John W. Oldfield.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Pensions, 3652.

H. R. 20988—Granting an increase of pension to Walter Griffith.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Pensions, 3652.

H. R. 20989—Granting a pension to Thurman L. Anglemyer.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Pensions, 3652.

H. R. 20990—Granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth C. Van Gundy.
Mr. Sweet; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3652.

H. R. 20991—Granting an increase of pension to Michael J. Breyfogel.
Mr. Sweet; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3652.

H. R. 20992—Granting an increase of pension to Lizzie S. Williams.
Mr. Sweet; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3652.

H. R. 20993—To correct the military record of John H. Holbrook.
Mr. Talbott; Committee on Military Affairs, 3652.

H. R. 20994—To correct the military record of Louis Smith Kelly.
Mr. Talbott; Committee on Military Affairs, 3652.

H. R. 20995—Granting an increase of pension to Frances E. C. Horton.
Mr. Gallivan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3652.

H. R. 20996—To regulate and control the manufacture, sale, and use of weights and measures and of weighing and measuring devices.
Mr. Tilson; Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, 3734.

H. R. 20997—To increase the limit of cost for the proposed new Federal building and the site thereof.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3734.

H. R. 20998—To provide for an advisory referendum vote before a declaration of war by Congress.
Mr. Lindbergh; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 3734.

H. R. 20999—For the relief of retired commissioned warrant officers detailed on active duty.
Mr. Farr; Committee on Naval Affairs, 3734.

H. R. 21000—For the relief of persons who are blind, exempting them from residence in entering public lands.
Mr. Candler of Mississippi; Committee on the Public Lands, 3734.

H. R. 21001—To amend an act entitled "An act to parole United States prisoners, and for other purposes," approved June 25, 1910, as amended by an act approved Jan. 23, 1913.
Mr. Raker; Committee on the Judiciary, 3734.

H. R. 21002—To authorize the Director of the Bureau of the Census under certain conditions to prepare and distribute blank ballots and to receive and count marked ballots and report to Congress the result of an advisory vote.
Mr. Davis of Texas; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 3734.

H. R. 21003—Granting a pension to John W. Owings.
Mr. Dickinson; Committee on Pensions, 3734.

H. R. 21004—Granting an increase of pension to Esau Hartsell.
Mr. Dickinson; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3734.

H. R. 21005—For the relief of James W. Mastin.
Mr. Dickinson; Committee on Military Affairs, 3734.

H. R. 21006—Granting an increase of pension to Nancy Ann Wilson.
Mr. Freeman; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3734.

H. R. 21007—Providing for pensions to certain enlisted men, soldiers and officers, who served in the Civil War and the War with Mexico.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3734.

H. R. 21008—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate one cannon, with its carriage and cannon balls, to the city of Summit, N. J.
Mr. Capstick; Committee on Military Affairs, 3854.

H. R. 21009—To amend an act entitled "An act to establish a United States Shipping Board for the purpose of encouraging, developing, and creating a naval auxiliary and naval reserve and a merchant marine to meet the requirements of the commerce of the United States with its Territories and possessions and with foreign countries; to regulate carriers by water engaged in the foreign and interstate commerce of the United States; and for other purposes," approved Sept. 7, 1916.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 3854.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1536), 3958.—Debated (Appendix, 822).

H. R. 21010—For the retirement of employees in the classified civil service.
Mr. Dale of Vermont; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 3854.

H. R. 21011—To amend Part C, known as the United States warehouse act, of an act of Congress entitled "An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes," approved Aug. 11, 1916.
Mr. Lever; Committee on Agriculture, 3854.

H. R. 21012—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to purchase cotton for the purpose of manufacturing munitions of war.
Mr. Aiken; Committee on Appropriations, 3854.

H. R. 21013—Granting a pension to Herman W. Thurnan, Faribault, Minn.
Mr. Davis of Minnesota; Committee on Pensions, 3855.

H. R. 21014—Authorizing the Secretary of War to grant to John D. Sherwood, of Spokane, Wash., the right to overflow certain lands on the Fort George Wright Military Reservation at Spokane, Wash., and to accept the conveyance to the United States of other lands to be designated by the Secretary of War and suitable for a rifle range in exchange for the land so overflowed.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Military Affairs, 3855.

H. R. 21015—Granting an increase of pension to William Toot.
Mr. Lafean; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3855.

H. R. 21016—Granting a pension to Augusta A. Richard.
Mr. Swift; Committee on Pensions, 3855.

H. R. 21017—To authorize the Legislature of Alaska to establish and maintain schools.
Mr. Wickersham; Committee on the Territories, 3854.

H. R. 21018—Granting an increase of pension to William V. Farris.
Mr. Rubey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3855.

H. R. 21019—Authorizing the Secretary of War to donate to the Mount Washington Cemetery, Perryopolis, county of Fayette, State of Pennsylvania, two cannon or fieldpieces and two pyramids of balls.
Mr. Hopwood; Committee on Military Affairs, 3959.

H. R. 21020—To authorize the Legislature of Alaska to establish and maintain schools, and for other purposes.
Mr. Wickersham; Committee on the Territories, 3959.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1560), 4367.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 8317), 4786.

H. R. 21021—To amend and revise the laws relating to printing and binding and the distribution of publications for Congress.
Mr. Barnhart; Committee on Printing, 3959.

H. R. 21022—To submit to the people of the District of Columbia the question of whether or not the manufacture and sale of spirituous, vinous, or malt liquors shall be licensed therein or prohibited by law.
Mr. Gallivan; Committee on the District of Columbia, 3959.

H. R. 21023—To create a food emergency commission which is to purchase food, establish food distribution centers, and sell food to the people at reasonable prices.
Mr. London; Committee on Appropriations, 3959.

H. R. 21024—To amend the Code of Law for the District of Columbia.
Mr. Webb; Committee on the District of Columbia, 3959.

H. R. 21025—To increase the pay of the enlisted men of the United States Army.
Mr. Gardner; Committee on Military Affairs, 3959.

H. R. 21026—To promote the safety of travelers and live stock upon public highways used in interstate travel by motor-truck vehicles engaged in interstate commerce.
Mr. Davenport; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3959.

H. R. 21027—To appoint Henry F. Grimm, jr., an ensign on the active list of the United States Navy.
Mr. Butler; Committee on Naval Affairs, 3959.

H. R. 21028—Granting an increase of pension to Martin B. Wilson.
Mr. Carter of Oklahoma; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3959.

H. R. 21029—For the relief of Oscar Knight.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Military Affairs, 3959.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1602), 4712.

H. R. 21030—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph M. Shaw.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3959.

H. R. 21031—Granting a pension to Ida L. Clark.
Mr. Rainey; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 3959.

H. R. 21032—To authorize the Director of the Bureau of the Census under certain conditions to prepare and distribute blank ballots and to receive and count marked ballots and report to Congress the result of an advisory vote.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 4064.

H. R. 21033—To amend sections 2, 13, and 14 of an act entitled "An act to promote the welfare of American seamen," etc., approved Mar. 4, 1915.
Mr. Loud; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 4064.

H. R. 21034—Excepting certain classes of manufacturers and dealers from the operation of the provisions of section 5 of H. R. 19410, "Making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes."
Mr. Moon; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 4064.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1585), 4562.

H. R. 21035—Granting an increase of pension to William Harris.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4065.

H. R. 21036—To submit to the people of the District of Columbia the question of whether or not the manufacture and sale of spirituous, vinous, or malt liquors shall be licensed therein or prohibited by law.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on the District of Columbia, 4242.

H. R. 21037—To authorize the change of name of the steamer Fred G. Hartwell to Harry W. Croft.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 4243.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1598), 4712.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 8300), 4957.

H. R. 21038—To authorize the change of name of the steamer Harry A. Berwind to Harvey H. Brown.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 4243.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1599), 4712.—Laid on the table (see bill S. 8301), 4957.

H. R. 21039—Granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Sarah M. Gibbins.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Pensions, 4243.

H. R. 21040—To waive the age limit and the disqualification of being married in the appointment of John J. Byron as a second lieutenant in the United States Army.
Mr. Griffin; Committee on Military Affairs, 4243.

H. R. 21041—To reimburse the Southern Pacific Co. the amounts expended by it from Dec. 1, 1906, to Nov. 30, 1907, in closing and controlling the break in the Colorado River.
Mr. Kettner; Committee on Claims, 4243.

H. R. 21042—Providing for the issuing of bonds by the United States for the defense of its coasts and shores and the protection of its people and their properties from invasion or aggressions of foreign nations.
Mr. Morin; Committee on Ways and Means, 4242.

H. R. 21043—To amend sections 4402, 4404, and 4414 of the Revised Statutes relating to the appointment and salaries of the Supervising Inspector General, supervising inspectors, inspectors of hulls, inspectors of boilers, assistant inspectors of hulls, assistant inspectors of boilers, and clerks, in the Steamboat-Inspection Service.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 4368.

H. R. 21044—To amend the public-building act, approved Mar. 4, 1913, authorizing the acquisition of a suitable site for a public building at Tamaqua, Pa.
Mr. Heaton; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 4368.

H. R. 21045—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah F. Henderson.
Mr. Hawley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4368.

H. R. 21046—Granting an increase of pension to William A. Gibbs.
Mr. Lafean; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4368.

H. R. 21047—For the relief of Charles D. Shay.
Mr. Platt; Committee on Claims, 4368.

H. R. 21048—Granting an increase of pension to A. H. Shears.
Mr. Platt; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4368.

H. R. 21049—Granting a pension to Charles E. Cortright.
Mr. Pratt; Committee on Pensions, 4368.

H. R. 21050—Granting an increase of pension to Sarah Barber.
Mr. Stiness; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4368.

H. R. 21051—To purchase land adjoining the naval training station at Great Lakes, Ill.
Mr. Foss; Committee on Naval Affairs, 4368.

H. R. 21052—Authorizing the President of the United States to supply merchant ships, the property of citizens of the United States and bearing American registry, with defensive arms, and for other purposes.
Mr. Flood; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 4368.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1594), 4563.—Debated, 4636–4640, 4640–4692 (Appendix, 572, 573, 587, 589, 590, 603, 613, 700, 744, 747, 789, 796, 799, 801, 806, 817, 831, 869, 881, 884, 889, 916.—Amended and passed House, 4691, 4692.—Referred to Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 4618.—Committee on Foreign Relations discharged from consideration of bill, 4745.—Made the unfinished business of the Senate, 4779, 4780, 4781.—Debated (see debate on bill S. 8322), 4858–4860, 4864–4912, 4914–4917, 4988–5020.

H. R. 21053—Providing for pensions for all American citizens who have reached the age of 65 years, and who are incapable of performing manual labor, and whose incomes are less than $300 per annum.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Pensions, 4368.

H. R. 21054—Providing a system of national defense based upon universal liability to military training and service, and for other purposes.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 4466.—Debated (Appendix, 701).

H. R. 21055—Granting an increase of pension to W. T. Westmoreland.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4466.

H. R. 21056—For the relief of the dependent parents of Fred Ward, civilian employee of the Government, who was killed while in the discharge of his duties at the United States naval magazine at Iona Island, N. Y.
Mr. Husted; Committee on Claims, 4466.

H. R. 21057—For the relief of Abraham Beachey.
Mr. Rauch; Committee on Military Affairs, 4466.

H. R. 21058—Granting an increase of pension to William J. Smalley.
Mr. Smith of Michigan; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4466.

H. R. 21059—To increase the limit of cost for the proposed new Federal building and the site thereof.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 4563.

H. R. 21060—To amend an act entitled "An act providing a permanent form of government for the District of Columbia," approved June 11, 1878.
Mr. Rainey; Committee on the District of Columbia, 4563.

H. R. 21061—To provide for an annual assessment of real property in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.
Mr. Rainey; Committee on the District of Columbia, 4563.

H. R. 21062—Providing for the condemnation of the Keokuk Dam and to repeal the act of Feb. 9, 1905, granting certain privileges to the Keokuk & Hamilton Water Power Co.; to repeal section No. 124 of the act of June 3, 1916; to repeal certain portions of the act of Aug. 29, 1916; and for other purposes.
Mr. Rainey; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4563.

H. R. 21063—Authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to offer a prize for a device or plan to protect vessels against submarine attack.
Mr. Husted; Committee on Appropriations, 4563.

H. R. 21064—To provide a commission to determine and fix the valuation of property confiscated, destroyed, and made valueless by reason of prohibition, and to report the result to the Congress in December, 1917.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Appropriations, 4563.

H. R. 21065—Granting an increase of pension to Charles W. Sasser.
Mr. Ashbrook; Committee on Pensions, 4563.

H. R. 21066—Providing a limitation upon the time for presentation and payment of claims against the Cherokee Nation authorized to be paid under existing law.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Indian Affairs, 4712.

H. R. 21067—To authorize the county of Luzerne, State of Pennsylvania, to construct a bridge across the North Branch of the Susquehanna River from the city of Wilkes-Barre, county of Luzerne, Pa., to the boroughs of Dorranceton and Edwardsville, county of Luzerne, Pa.
Mr. Casey; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4712.

H. R. 21068—Authorizing the Secretary of War to purchase and distribute United States flags to public schools in each congressional district, State, and Territory of the United States, and making an appropriation therefor.
Mr. Cooper of West Virginia; Committee on Education, 4712.

H. R. 21069—Making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and prior fiscal years, and for other purposes.
Mr. Fitzgerald; from the Committee on Appropriations (H. Rept. 1600), 4641, 4712.—Debated, 4793–4844.—Amended and passed House, 4844.—Referred to Senate Committee on Appropriations, 4864.

H. R. 21070—For the relief of Capt. Gerard M. Kincade, United States Marine Corps.
Mr. Gardner; Committee on Claims, 4712.

H. R. 21071—Granting an increase of pension to Tena J. Allard.
Mr. Dempsey; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

H. R. 21072—Granting an increase of pension to Spencer H. Hodges.
Mr. Dempsey; Committee on Pensions, 4712.

H. R. 21073—To exclude alcoholic liquors from interstate shipment, except for certain purposes.
Mr. Abercrombie; Committee on the Judiciary, 4712.

H. R. 21074—To increase the limit of cost for the proposed new Federal building at Madison, Wis., and the site thereof.
Mr. Nelson; Committee on Public Building and Grounds, 4712.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1621), 4856.

H. R. 21075—To provide Federal aid to the States in the promotion of education.
Mr. Abercrombie; Committee on Appropriations, 4712.

H. R. 21076—Granting an increase of pension to Abraham Rhinehart.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4856.

H. R. 21077—Granting an increase of pension to William Pemington.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4856.

H. R. 21078—Granting an increase of pension to Isaac Montgomery.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4856.

H. R. 21079—Granting an increase of pension to John McKinney.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4856.

H. R. 21080—Granting an increase of pension to Peyton Johnson.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4856.

H. R. 21081—Granting an increase of pension to Alfred A. Gambill.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4856.

H. R. 21082—Granting an increase of pension to J. R. Evans.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4856.

H. R. 21083—Granting an increase of pension to William King.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4856.

H. R. 21084—Granting an increase of pension to Thomas Campbell.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4856.

H. R. 21085—Granting an increase of pension to Woolery Campbell.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4856.

H. R. 21086—Granting an increase of pension to Joseph Campbell.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4856.

H. R. 21087—Granting an increase of pension to Milton Cooper.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4857.

H. R. 21088—Granting an increase of pension to Daniel Campbell.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4857.

H. R. 21089—Granting an increase of pension to David Campbell.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4857.

H. R. 21090—Granting an increase of pension to Nathaniel Blockburn.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4857.

H. R. 21091—Granting an increase of pension to Martin V. Barker.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4857.

H. R. 21092—Granting an increase of pension to William Billeter.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4857.

H. R. 21093—Granting an increase of pension to George W. Adkins.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4857.

H. R. 21094—Granting an increase of pension to Solomon Adams.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4857.

H. R. 21095—Granting an increase of pension to Barzell F. Elliott.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 4857.

H. R. 21096—Granting an increase of pension to Chas. L. Farmer.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Pensions, 4857.

H. R. 21097—Granting a pension to Deloney Bowling.
Mr. Langley; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4857.

H. R. 21098—To secure to the United States a monopoly of electrical communication for hire; to provide for the acquisition by the Post Office Department of the telephone and telegraph network, and to license certain telephone lines, radio and telegraph agencies.
Mr. Lewis; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 4856.

H. R. 21099—To establish rates of postage on second-class matter.
Mr. Randall; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 4975.

H. R. 21100—To secure an equitable classification and compensation of officers and employees in the executive civil service.
Mr. Reilly; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 4975.

H. R. 21101—Granting a pension to Robert A. Ryder.
Mr. Kreider; Committee on Invalid Pensions, 4976.

H. R. 21102—Granting a pension to Ella S. Anderson.
Mr. Linthicum; Committee on Pensions, 4976.

H. R. 21103—To provide Federal aid to the States in the promotion of education.
Mr. Abercrombie; Committee on Education, 4975.

H. R. 21104—To add certain lands to the Sequoia National Park, Cal.
Mr. Kent; Committee on the Public Lands, 4975.

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTIONS. 1–310

H. J. Res. 1—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of Suffrage to women.
Mr. Raker; reported back (H. Rept. 1216), 417, 461.

H. J. Res. 84—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Webb; reported back (H. Rept. 1493), 3118, 3319, 3355.

H. J. Res. 91—Authorizing and directing the Department of Labor to make inquiry into the cost of living in the District of Columbia and to report thereon to Congress as early as practicable.
Mr. Keating; House concurs in Senate amendments, 30.—Examined and signed, 101, 151.—Presented to the President, 226.—Approved [Public resolution, No. 39], 618.

H. J. Res. 145—Authorizing the erection on the public grounds in the city of Washington, D. C., of a statue of James Buchanan, a former President of the United States.
Mr. Linthicum; reported back (S. Rept. 881), 490.

H. J. Res. 203—Authorizing the Postmaster General to provide the postmaster of Southbridge, Mass., with a special canceling die for the Southbridge one hundredth anniversary celebration.
Mr. Paige of Massachusetts; reported back (S. Rept. 1122), 4372.

H. J. Res. 230—Authorizing the National Society United States Daughters of 1812 to file its historical material in the Smithsonian Institution and to make annual reports to the secretary thereof.
Mr. Mapes; debated and passed House, 1436, 1437.—Referred to Senate Committee on the Library, 1479.—Reported back; passed Senate, 2611.—Examined and signed, 2725, 2811.—Presented to the President, 2969.—Vetoed by the President (H. Doc. No. 2081), 3807.

H. J. Res. 235—To authorize the President of the United States to convey to the foreign governments participating in the Panama-Pacific International Exposition the grateful appreciation of the Government and the people of the United States.
Mr. Flood; debated in House, 505.

H. J. Res. 244—For the appointment of four members of the Board of Managers of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers.
Mr. Hay; debated, 1440, 1441, 3305 (see H. J. Res. 335), 3305–3319, 3355, 3356.

H. J. Res. 250—To provide for the appointment of a commission to prepare and recommend a plan for the establishment of a national insurance fund and for the mitigation of the evil of unemployment.
Mr. London; debated, 1430, 2631, 2650–2655.

H. J. Res. 253—Authorizing the President of the United States to invite the Latin-American countries to participate in the Mississippi Centennial Exposition to be held at Gulfport, Miss.
Mr. Harrison; debated, 2646.

H. J. Res. 265—Authorizing the Secretary of War to receive for instruction at the United States Military Academy at West Point Mr. J. Ricardo de Borja, a citizen of Ecuador.
Mr. Hay; debated, 3166, 3167.—Laid on the table, 3167.

H. J. Res. 282—Authorizing the Postmaster General to provide the postmaster at Springfield, Ill., with a special canceling die for the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of the State of Illinois into the Federal Union.
Mr. Wheeler; examined and signed, 420, 442.—Presented to the President, 462.—Approved [Public resolution, No. 41], 754.

H. J. Res. 304—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution providing for the election of the President and Vice President by direct vote of the people of the several States.
Mr. Carter of Oklahoma; Committee on the Judiciary, 7.

H. J. Res. 305—Authorizing the Government ownership of all interstate railroads under certain conditions.
Mr. Hilliard; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 7.

H. J. Res. 306—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to extend the time for payment of the deferred installments due on the purchase of tracts of the surface of the segregated coal and asphalt lands of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Tribes in Oklahoma.
Mr. Carter of Oklahoma; Committee on Indian Affairs, 7.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1219), 417.—Passed House, 576.—Referred to Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, 582, 583.—Reported back (S. Rept. 889), 592.—Debated and passed Senate, 582, 583, 592–597, 670, 671.—Examined and signed, 689, 728.—Presented to the President, 822.—Approved [Public resolution, No. 42], 1494.

H. J. Res. 307—To have the Secretary of Agriculture report on advisability to place an embargo on wheat, etc.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Agriculture, 7.

H. J. Res. 308—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution providing that the President and Vice President of the United States shall be nominated and elected by direct vote of the people of the several States.
Mr. McClintic; Committee on the Judiciary, 7.

H. J. Res. 309—Authorizing the Attorney General to make an immediate investigation to determine the unreasonable advances in the prices of foodstuffs, fabrics, paper, and fuel.
Mr. Sabath; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 7.

H. J. Res. 310—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution providing for the election of the President and Vice President by the people of the several States.
Mr. Crosser; Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress, 7.

H. J. Res. 311—Authorizing the Attorney General to make an immediate investigation to determine the cause or causes of the unreasonable advances in the prices of foodstuffs, fabrics, paper, fuel, and clothing and report the facts as to differences between prices paid to producer and paid by consumer for same.
Mr. Dill; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 78.

H. J. Res. 312—To convey the thanks of Congress to officials of the fire department of the greater city of New York, and through them to the officers and crews of the fire boats of said department for the prompt and heroic service rendered by them in rescuing lives and salvaging property at the explosion and fire at Black Tom Pier, Jersey City, N. J., July 30, 1916.
Mr. Swift; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 78.

H. J. Res. 313—Authorizing an investigation into the expenditure of money by committees, persons, firms, associations, and corporations to influence or to attempt to influence the result of the election of Nov. 7, 1916, in respect to the election of the President of the United States or of any Member of the United States Senate or House of Representatives.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress, 134.

H. J. Res. 314—Inviting the people of the United States to visit the District of Columbia during the week of Feb. 26 to Mar. 4, 1917, to view the Capitol and inspect an exhibition of the various activities of the Government service.
Mr. Tinkham; Committee on Industrial Arts and Expositions, 134.

H. J. Res. 315—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Chandler of New York; Committee on the Judiciary, 149.

H. J. Res. 316—Providing that the Congress of the United States shall participate in the celebration of the "golden wedding" of the first transcontinental line of railway in the United States.
Mr. Howell; Committee on Industrial Arts and Expositions, 199.

H. J. Res. 317—Authorizing the acceptance and free use of a free-energy generator by the United States Government and for the special protection of its discoverer.
Mr. Tague; Committee on Military Affairs, 310.—Debated [Appendix, 532].

H. J. Res. 318—Authorizing the Postmaster General to provide the postmaster at Lamar, Colo., with a special canceling die for the third national convention of the Young Men's Business Associations of America.
Mr. Keating; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 310.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1274), 1156.

H. J. Res. 319—Authorizing the Secretary of Commerce to investigate the cause or causes of the advances in the price of cotton goods.
Mr. Sabath; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 362.

H. J. Res. 320—Protesting against mediation by the United States in the European war.
Mr. Gardner; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 362.—Debated [Appendix, 25].

H. J. Res. 321—Authorizing the Secretary of War to award the congressional medal of honor to certain members of the National Guard.
Mr. Austin; Committee on Military Affairs, 418.

H. J. Res. 322—Requesting President of United States to discharge troops on border who were enlisted first.
Mr. Edmonds; Committee on Military Affairs, 462.

H. J. Res. 323—To amend a joint resolution entitled "Joint resolution creating a joint subcommittee from the membership of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce and the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce to investigate the conditions relating to interstate and foreign commerce, and the necessity of further legislation relating thereto, and defining the powers and duties of such subcommittee," approved July 20, 1916.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 462.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1251), 935.—Debated, 556, 800, 801, 841–847.

H. J. Res. 324—Authorizing payment of the salaries of officers and employees of Congress for December, 1916.
Mr. Fitzgerald; passed House, 499, 500.—Referred to Senate Committee on Appropriations, 490.—Reported back; passed Senate, 531, 532.—Examined and signed, 578, 581.—Presented to the President, 665.—Approved [Public resolution, No. 40], 754.

H. J. Res. 325—Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to appraise lands of the Osage Tribe of Indians, Okla., and for other purposes.
Mr. Stephens of Texas; Committee on Indian Affairs, 527.

H. J. Res. 326—Authorizing the Secretary of War to issue temporary permits for additional diversions of water from the Niagara River.
Mr. Flood; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 579.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1236), 665.—Debated, 664, 665.

H. J. Res. 327—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Morrison; Committee on the Judiciary, 726.—Debated (Appendix, 733).

H. J. Res. 328—To investigate the charges made by Thomas W. Lawson against Members of Congress.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Rules, 785.

H. J. Res. 329—Authorizing and directing the Department of Labor to make an inquiry into the cost of living in the United States and to report thereon to Congress as early as practicable.
Mr. Tavenner; Committee on Appropriations, 785.

H. J. Res. 330—Authorizing the Secretary of War to grant permission to erect monuments in national cemeteries in certain cases.
Mr. Morrison; Committee on the Library, 936.

H. J. Res. 331—To continue and extend the time for making report of the joint subcommittee appointed under a joint resolution entitled "Joint resolution creating a joint subcommittee from the membership of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce and the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce to investigate the conditions relating to interstate and foreign commerce and the necessity of further legislation relating thereto, and defining the powers and duties of such subcommittee," approved July 20, 1916, and providing for the filling of vacancies in said subcommittee.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 985.

H. J. Res. 332—Authorizing the Postmaster General to provide the postmaster at St. Paul, Minn., with a special canceling die for the winter-sports carnival of that city.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 985.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1279), 1239.

H. J. Res. 333—For the relief of N. B. Pettibone.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Claims, 1045.

H. J. Res. 334—Authorizing the President to appoint delegates to attend the Tenth International Congress of the World's Purity Federation to be held in the city of Louisville, State of Kentucky, Nov. 8 to 14, 1917.
Mr. Esch; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1044.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1421), 2659.—Amended and passed House, 3639.—Referred to Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 3664.—Reported back and passed Senate, 4782.—Examined and signed, 4862, 4926.—Presented to the President, 4944.—Approved [Public resolution, No. 53], 5032.

H. J. Res. 335—For the appointment of four members of the Board of Managers of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers.
Mr. Shallenberger, Committee on Military Affairs, 1103.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1420), 2659.—Debated, 3305–3319, 3355, 3356.—Amended and passed House, 3312–3319, 3355, 3356.—Referred to Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 3408.—Reported back and passed Senate, 4566.—Examined and signed, 4578, 4635.—Presented to the President, 4856.—Approved [Public resolution, No. 54], 5032.

H. J. Res. 336—Extending until January 8, 1918, the effective date of section 10 of the act entitled "An act to supplement existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies, and for other purposes," approved Oct. 15, 1914.
Mr. Carlin; Committee on the Judiciary, 1156.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1319), 1658.—See S. J. Res. 206, 4951–4953.

H. J. Res. 337—Warning American citizens from taking passage or employment on board vessels of belligerent registry.
Mr. Cary; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1378.

H. J. Res. 338—Authorizing the erection of a memorial to Francis Marion in the city of Washington, D. C., on a designated site.
Mr. Byrnes of South Carolina; Committee on the Library, 1378.

H. J. Res. 339—Amending first paragraph of section 6 of Article I of the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Harrison of Mississippi; Commitee on the Judiciary, 1449.

H. J. Res. 340—To investigate dealings on Wall Street and the New York Stock Exchange.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Rules, 1580.

H. J. Res. 341.—To provide for a conference of representatives of the Army and Navy of the United States and of representatives of the Department of Public Instruction and the National Guard organization of each of the several States of the Union for the purpose of devising a uniform system of public-school instruction and training in military and naval science, to be reported to the Sixty-fifth Congress, and to provide the necessary expenses for said conference.
Mr. Gray of New Jersey; Committee on Military Affairs, 1580.

H. J. Res. 342—Creating offices of congressional examiners.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Expenditures in the State Department, 1580.

H. J. Res. 343—Making it unlawful for the head of any department of the Government of the United States to invite and accept bids from foreign manufacturers on contracts for supplies for use of the Government of the United States.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on the Judiciary, 1658.

H. J. Res. 344—To change the name of the Danish West Indies to the Dewey Islands.
Mr. Allen; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1617, 1618, 1658.

H. J. Res. 345—Restricting the right to vote for Senators and Representatives in Congress and presidential electors to citizens of the United States.
Mr. Taylor of Colorado; Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress, 1802.

H. J. Res. 346—To amend the Constitution so that the President may approve or disapprove any appropriation bill item by item.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on the Judiciary, 1802.

H. J. Res. 347—Authorizing the removal of the statue of Admiral Dupont in Dupont Circle, in the city of Washington, D. C., and the erection of a memorial to Admiral Dupont in place thereof.
Mr. Slayden; Committee on the Library, 1875.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1376), 2295.—See S. J. Res. 205, 3423, 3430.

H. J. Res. 348—Authorizing the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to execute a deed or deeds conveying title to lots 13 and 14 in square 801, District of Columbia, to the United States for use for naval purposes.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on the District of Columbia, 1935.

H. J. Res. 349—Providing for the appointment of a joint committee to investigate and report on the subject of the retirement on annuities of superannuated civil-service employees.
Mr. Godwin of North Carolina; Committee on Appropriations, 1935.

H. J. Res. 350—Requesting the President of the United States to designate and appoint a day on which funds may be raised for the relief of the Ruthenians (Ukrainians).
Mr. Hamill; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1935.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1442), 2659.—Debated, 3853.—See S. J. Res. 201, 3909.

H. J. Res. 351—Proposing an amendment to section 7, Article I, of the Constitution of the United States relative to the Executive veto of separate items in bills passed by Congress.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on the Judiciary, 1935.

H. J. Res. 352—Providing for the appointment of a joint committee to investigate and report on the subject of the retirement on annuities of superannuated civil-service employees.
Mr. Godwin of North Carolina; Committee on Rules, 2023.

H. J. Res. 353—To enable the Department of Labor to conduct an investigation of wages and labor conditions in the coal-mining industry, and making appropriation therefor.
Mr. Casey; Committee on Appropriations, 2023.

H. J. Res. 354—Authorizing and directing the Department of Labor to conduct an investigation of wages and labor conditions in the coal-mining industry, and to report thereon to Congress as early as possible.
Mr. Casey; Committee on Labor, 2023.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1435), 2726.

H. J. Res. 355—To have the President of the United States call together medical experts to discover, if possible, a cure for the white plague.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Appropriations, 2023.—Debated (Appendix, 379).

H. J. Res. 356—To accept Shadow Lawn as a gift from the State of New Jersey as a permanent summer home for the President of the United States.
Mr. Scully; Committee on Buildings and Grounds, 2023.

H. J. Res. 357—To create a joint committee from the Senate and House to sit to consider Alaskan needs and legislation.
Mr. Wickersham; Committee on the Territories, 2023.

H. J. Res. 358—Authorizing the granting of permits to the committee on inaugural ceremonies on the occasion of the inauguration of the President elect in March, 1917, etc.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2023.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1375), 2295.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 2407, 2408.—Referred to Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, 2465.—Reported back (S. Rept. 1009); passed Senate, 2610.—Examined and signed, 2696, 2751.—Presented to the President, 2891.—Approved [Public resolution, No. 49], 3449.

H. J. Res. 359—To state the rights of nations and to lay the foundations for the establishment of a court of nations, a congress of nations, an international army and navy, and for other purposes.
Mr. Smith of New York; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 2023.

H. J. Res. 360—Appropriating $40,000 for the relief of flood sufferers in the State of Tennessee, and for other purposes.
Mr. Sims; Committee on Appropriations, 2102.

H. J. Res. 361—To amend the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Morin; Committee on the Judiciary, 2102.

H. J. Res. 362—Providing for a special committee to prepare plans for an international police of the seas, which plans, if approved by Congress, shall be submitted to all other nations for their approval.
Mr. Helgesen; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 2216.

H. J. Res. 363—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States defining suffrage and establishing a cumulative system or an equitable electorate.
Mr. Murray; Committee on the Judiciary, 2458.—Debated (Appendix, 269).

H. J. Res. 364—To grant citizenship to Joseph Beech.
Mr. Burnett; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 2661.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1438), 2726.—Laid on the table (see S. J. Res. 208), 3430, 3431.

H. J. Res. 365—To place in the hands of the President $50,000,000 to complete and construct submarines and submarine destroyers to protect the United States.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Appropriations, 2660.

H. J. Res. 366—Authorizing the Postmaster General to provide the postmaster at Wichita, Kans., with a special canceling die for the fall carnival and exposition of that city.
Mr. Ayers; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 2660.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1531), 3958.

H. J. Res. 367—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Sinnott; Committee on the Judiciary, 3049.

H. J. Res. 368—Authorizing the appointment of a joint committee to prepare and report a bill to provide the farmers of the United States with better credit facilities for short-time and personal loans.
Mr. Morgan of Oklahoma; Committee on Banking and Currency, 3049.

H. J. Res. 369—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy to collect and preserve discarded emblems of the United States.
Mr. Smith of Idaho; Committee on Military Affairs, 3172.

H. J. Res. 370—Providing for the appointment of a joint committee of the Senate and House of Representatives to provide a bill providing the farmers of the United States with better credit facilities for short-time personal loans.
Mr. Park; Committee on Appropriations, 3320.

H. J. Res. 371—Ordering a referendum of the question of whether or not we shall declare war.
Mr. Helgesen; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 3466.—Debated [Appendix, 590, 591].

H. J. Res. 372—To change the name of the Danish West Indies to Monroe Isles.
Mr. Murray; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 3545.

H. J. Res. 373—Requesting the President to invite the Sovereign Governments of the world to a conference to discuss a government for the international community.
Mr. Lewis; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 3545.—Debated, 3504–3508.

H. J. Res. 374—To grant citizenship to Harry Kety.
Mr. Miller of Delaware; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 3652.

H. J. Res. 375—Inviting veterans of the Blue and the Gray to meet in national union in the city of Washington, D. C., as the guests of the Nation, and providing a fund and regulations therefor.
Mr. Davis of Texas; Committee on Appropriations, 3855.

H. J. Res. 376—To provide for the holding of a conference by representatives of all the American Republics for the purpose of devising methods and agreeing upon concerted action for the preservation and protection of the rights of neutral American nations against the aggressions of any and all of the nations engaged in the European war.
Mr. Neely; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 3855.

H. J. Res. 377—Providing for the appointment of a joint committee to investigate and report on the subject of the involuntary retirement of superannuated civil service employees.
Mr. Hamill; Committee on Rules, 3855.

H. J. Res. 378—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for the election of President and Vice President without the intervention of the Electoral College.
Mr. Ricketts; Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress, 3959.

H. J. Res. 379—Calling upon the Interstate Commerce Commission to forthwith issue instructions prohibiting the movement of any freight for 60 days on all railroads running east of Chicago except foodstuffs, coal, and other commodities necessary to sustain human and animal life.
Mr. Siegel; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3959.

H. J. Res. 380—To reduce the cost of food supplies in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Bennet; Committee on the District of Columbia, 4242.

H. J. Res. 381—Deferring the operation of section 5 (Senate amendment 34) to Post Office appropriation bill (H. R. 19410) until July 1, 1917.
Mr. Moon; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 4242.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1586), 4562.

H. J. Res. 382—Fixing the time for the next meeting of Congress.
Mr. Fess; Committee on the Judiciary, 4368.

H. J. Res. 383—To purchase bronze memorial tablet bearing Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg address to be placed in the Cabin Memorial Building.
Mr. Gray of New Jersey; Committee on the Library, 4466.

H. J. Res. 384—Fixing the time for the next meeting of Congress.
Mr. Britten; Committee on the Judiciary, 4466.

H. J. Res. 385—Making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes.
Mr. Moon; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 4466.—Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads discharged, and referred to the Committee on Appropriations, 4526.

H. J. Res. 386—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Husted; Committee on the Judiciary, 4712.

H. J. Res. 387—Making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Appropriations, 4856.

H. J. Res. 388—Granting permission to the people of the State of Ohio to place statues of ex-President William McKinley and ex-Senator Marcus A. Hanna in the Hall of Fame in the Capitol of the United States.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on the Library, 4856.

H. J. Res. 389—To provide for the forming of a commission of representatives of the United States Senate and House of Representatives, the United States Army, the Organized Militia, and men representing the social, educational, and industrial life of the country, to devise methods and plans for our national defense.
Mr. Morin; Committee on Appropriations, 4856.

H. J. Res. 390—To expedite the delivery of materials, equipment, and munitions and to secure more expeditious construction of ships.
Mr. Kitchin; Committee on Ways and Means, 4856.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1631), 4957.—Debated, amended, and passed House, 4957–4961.—Referred to Senate Committee on Finance, 4979.—Reported back; passed Senate, 4979.—Examined and signed, 4988, 5032.—Presented to the President, 5033.—Approved [Public resolution, No. 56], 5032.

H. J. Res. 391—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Church; Committee on the Judiciary, 4976.

H. J. Res. 392—Making noneffective until July 1, 1917, the provisions of section 5 of an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes."
Mr. Moon; debated, 4939–4944, 4947.—Passed House, 4943, 4944, 4947.—Debated and passed Senate, 4919, 4979.—Examined and signed, 4988, 5032.—Presented to the President, 5033.—Approved, [Public resolution, No. 57], 5032.

H. J. Res. 393.—Making appropriations for the construction and operation of railroads in the Territory of Alaska.
Mr. Fitzgerald; debated and passed House, 4956, 4957.—Debated and passed Senate, 4912.—Examined and signed, 4919, 4975.—Presented to the President, 5033.—Approved [Public resolution, No. 58], 5032.

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTIONS

H. Con. Res. 23—Providing for the printing of 10,000 copies of the Biographical Congressional Directory.
Mr. Kiess of Pennsylvania; reported back (H. Rept. 1479), debated, and agreed to, 3247.—Referred to Senate Committee on Printing, 3265.

H. Con. Res. 31—Providing for the printing of 1,000 copies of Moore's Digest of International Law.
Mr. Dill; reported back (H. Rept. 1447), debated, and agreed to, 2941, 2942.—Referred to Senate Committee on Printing, 2984.

H. Con. Res. 58—Authorizing the printing of 17,100 copies of the proceedings, with accompanying illustrations, upon the unveiling of the statue of Gen. Thaddeus Kosciusko.
Mr. Barnhart; reported back (H. Rept. 1464), and agreed to, 3244.—Referred to Senate Committee on Printing, 3265 (see H. Con. Res. 59), 4269, 5029.

H. Con. Res. 59—Authorizing the printing of 17,100 copies of the proceedings, with accompanying illustrations, upon the unveiling of the statues of Brig. Gen. Count Casimer Pulaski and Gen. Thaddeus Kosciusko.
Mr. Barnhart; reported back (H. Rept. 1463) and agreed to, 3244.—Referred to Senate Committee on Printing, 3265.—Reported with amendments; amended and agreed to in Senate, 4269.—House concurs in Senate amendments, 5029.

H. Con. Res. 61—Providing for the enrollment of certain bills and joint resolutions which passed both Houses at last session of the Congress, etc.
Mr. Kitchin, and agreed to, 4.—Referred to Senate Committee on Rules, 2.—Reported back adversely (S. Rept. 875) and indefinitely postponed, 204.

H. Con. Res. 62—Providing for a joint session of the two Houses to receive communications from the President.
Mr. Kitchin, and agreed to, 4.—Agreed to in Senate, 2.

H. Con. Res. 63—For the appointment of a joint committee of Senate and House to investigate the effect of the present practice of international commerce upon our resources, supply, and prices, to report on or before Feb. 20, 1917.
Mr. Lindbergh; Committee on Rules, 7.

H. Con. Res. 64—For joint action of Congress and the President to secure peace among the nations, and, in the event of failure, to so regulate the industries and business of the people as to relieve them of the burden of the wars.
Mr. Lindbergh; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 78.

H. Con. Res. 65—Authorizing the printing of the journal of the national encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic.
Mr. Barnhart; Committee on Printing, 134.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1446) and agreed to, 2942.—Referred to Senate Committee on Printing, 2983.—Reported back and agreed to 3184.

H. Con. Res. 66—Authorizing the payment of mileage to officers and employees of the Senate and House of Representatives.
Mr. Buchanan of Illinois; Committee on Accounts, 362.—Debated, 705.

H. Con. Res. 67—Relative to adjournment from Friday, Dec. 22, 1916, to 12 o'clock noon on Tuesday, Jan. 2, 1917.
Mr. Kitchin, and agreed to, 576.—Referred to Senate Committee on Appropriations, 587.—Reported back and agreed to, 587.

H. Con. Res. 68—Providing appropriate funeral services for Admiral George Dewey in the rotunda of the Capitol.
Mr. Padgett, and agreed to, 1636.—Agreed to in Senate, 1593.

H. Con. Res. 69—Authorizing joint committee of House and Senate to consider matters of legislation relating to the Alaska railroad, coal fields, fisheries, and for other purposes.
Mr. Wickersham; Committee on Territories, 1875.

H. Con. Res. 70—Authorizing the printing of digest of contested-election cases in the House of Representatives from 1901 to 1917, etc.
Mr. Mann; Committee on Printing, 2296.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1445), debated, and agreed to, 2941.—Referred to Senate Committee on Printing, 2983.—Reported with amendments, amended, and agreed to, 3184.—House concurs in Senate amendments, 3356.

H. Con. Res. 71—Providing that the two Houses of Congress assemble in joint session in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Saturday, the 3d day of February, 1917, to receive such communications as the President of the United States shall be pleased to make to them.
Mr. Kitchin, and agreed to, 2566.—Agreed to in Senate, 2543.

H. Con. Res. 72—Authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to order a ship or ships of the United States Navy to proceed to some designated port of France to bring American officials to the United States.
Mr. Guernsey; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 2892.

H. Con. Res. 73—To authorize the printing of 10,000 copies of the immigration law [Public, No. 301, 64th Cong.].
Mr. Burnett; Committee on Printing, 2974.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1551), and agreed to, 4151.—Agreed to in Senate, 4269.

H. Con. Res. 74—Providing for the printing of additional copies of the Soil Survey of Jefferson County, Ala.
Mr. Barnhart, from the Committee on Printing (H. Rept. 1471), 3246.—Referred to Senate Committee on Printing, 3265.

H. Con. Res. 75—Authorizing the Secretary of the Senate to make a change in the enrollment of bill S. 703.
Mr. Oliver, and agreed to, 3429.—Agreed to in Senate, 3483.

H. Con. Res. 76—Authorizing the printing of Volume I of the latest annual report of the Comptroller of the Currency.
Mr. Glass; Committee on Printing, 3734.

H. Con. Res. 77—Deferring the operation of section 5 (S. amendment 34) to Post Office appropriation bill (H. R. 19410) until Oct. 1, 1917.
Mr. Moon; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 3959.

H. Con. Res. 78—To authorize and direct the Clerk of the House of Representatives, in the reenrollment of the bill (H. R. 9533) to provide a civil government for Porto Rico, and for other purposes, to make certain alterations on page 21, lines 22 and 24, in the engrossed bill of the House of Representatives.
Mr. Jones, and agreed to, 4171.—Agreed to in Senate, 4271.

H. Con. Res. 79—To provide for a joint assembly of the two Houses of Congress in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Monday, Feb. 26, 1917, at 1 o'clock p. m. to hear such communications as the President of the United States may be pleased to make.
Mr. Kitchin, and agreed to, 4323.—Agreed to in Senate, 4272.

HOUSE RESOLUTIONS.

H. Res. 14—To print 1,000 additional copies of the Soil Survey of the Biloxi Area, Miss., for use in the House document room.
Mr. Harrison; reported back (H. Rept. 1469), debated, and agreed to, 3244, 3245.

H. Res. 102—To print 2,000 additional copies of the Soil Survey of Bryan County, Okla., for use in the House document room.
Mr. Carter of Oklahoma; reported back (H. Rept. 1470), debated, and agreed to, 3245, 3246.

H. Res. 137—Providing for a committee to investigate the sanitary conditions of dairies.
Mr. Linthicum; debated (Appendix, 558).

H. Res. 150—Authorizing the Committee on Printing to have printed 10,000 copies of comparative study of principal features of the laws of the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Norway, France, and Japan.
Mr. Alexander; reported back (H. Rept. 1480) and laid on the table, 3244.

H. Res. 176—To provide for the reprint of the Jefferson County, Ala., Soil Survey.
Mr. Huddleston; H. Con. Res. 74 reported in lieu, 3246.

H. Res. 177—To provide for the reprint of the Perry County, Ala., Soil Survey.
Mr. Huddleston; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1472), amended, and agreed to, 3246.

H. Res. 227—For printing 5,000 copies of the record of the investigation of the Interstate Commerce Commission of the financial affairs of the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railway Co.
Mr. Green of Iowa; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1465), amended, and agreed to, 3244.

H. Res. 229—Authorizing the Committee on the District of Columbia to investigate and inquire into the condition of the financial relations between the United States and the District of Columbia.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; report No. 1622 made in House, 4856.

H. Res. 231—Providing for printing additional copies of Soil Survey of Madison County, Ala.
Mr. Almon; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1473), amended, and agreed to, 3246.

H. Res. 256—Authorizing Committee on the District of Columbia, or the subcommittee thereof, to sit during sessions of Sixty-fourth Congress or during the recesses between the sessions of said Congress.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; report No. 1622 made in House, 4856.

H. Res. 263—For a reprint of the Soil Survey of the New Orleans Area, La.
Mr. Dupré; reported back (H. Rept. 1474) and agreed to, 3246.

H. Res. 267—To print 1,250 additional copies of the pamphlet entitled "Soil Survey of Chesterfield County, S. C.," for the use of the House document room.
Mr. Finley; reported back (H. Rept. 1475) and agreed to, 3246.

H. Res. 294—Providing for printing as a public document of "Ocean Shipping: The Basic Principles of Maritime Transportation, with Particular Reference to the Foreign Trade of the United States."
Mr. Alexander; reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1466), amended, and agreed to, 3244.

H. Res. 309—To investigate Ellis Island.
Mr. Bennet; reported back (H. Rept. 1562), 4367.

H. Res. 365—To pay R. T. Cook for extra services rendered in the folding room of the House.
Mr. Carlin; reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1606), amended, and agreed to, 4711.

H. Res. 370—Regarding inquiry concerning Ellis Island.
Mr. Bennet; motion to discharge committee made and objected to, 1977.

H. Res. 372—To appoint a committee of three members of the House to join a like committee appointed by the Senate to wait upon the President and inform him that a quorum of the two Houses has assembled and that Congress is ready to receive any communication that he may be pleased to make.
Mr. Kitchin, and agreed to, 4.

H. Res. 373—Informing the Senate that a quorum of the House of Representatives has appeared and that the House is ready to proceed to business.
Mr. Fitzgerald, and agreed to, 4.

H. Res. 374—Providing that until otherwise ordered the hour of daily meeting of the House of Representatives shall be 12 o'clock meridian.
Mr. Henry, and agreed to, 4.

H. Res. 375—Relative to the death of Hon. Luis Muñoz Rivera, late Resident Commissioner from Porto Rico.
Mr. Jones, and agreed to, 4, 5.

H. Res. 376—Relative to the death of Hon. James P. Clarke ,late a Senator of the United States from the State of Arkansas.
Mr. Wingo, and agreed to, 5.

H. Res. 377—Directing the Secretary of the Treasury to report to Congress as to the advisability of establishing transshipment ports, etc.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Appropriations, 7.

H. Res. 378—Directing the Secretary of War to report to the House all information he may now have relative to the matters referred to in the resolution herewith.
Mr. Oliver; Committee on Military Affairs, 7.

H. Res. 379—To print 1,250 copies of the Soil Survey of Decatur County, Ga.
Mr. Park; Committee on Printing, 7.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1476) and agreed to, 3246.

H. Res. 380—To print 2,000 copies of the Soil Survey of Tift County, Ga.
Mr. Park; Committee on Printing, 7.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1477) and agreed to, 3246.

H. Res. 381—To appoint a committee of nine Members to investigate causes now prevailing for the high cost of living.
Mr. Carter of Massachusetts; Committee on Rules, 7.

H. Res. 382—Providing for session clerks for certain committees.
Mr. Lloyd; Committee on Accounts, 7.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1202) and agreed to, 31.

H. Res. 383—Providing for clerks to certain committees of the House.
Mr. Lloyd; Committee on Accounts, 7.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1203) and agreed to, 31.

H. Res. 384—Providing for the appointment of an additional page for the present session, beginning Dec. 4, 1916.
Mr. Lloyd; Committee on Accounts, 7.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1204) and agreed to, 3031.

H. Res. 385—To pay to the administrator of Michael J. Doyle, late a member of the Capitol police force, certain moneys.
Mr. Fitzgerald; Committee on Accounts, 34.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1608), amended, and agreed to, 4711.

H. Res. 386—Creating a committee to investigate and report on plans of Carroll Livingston Riker relating to submarine arsenal batteries for dirigible torpedoes and battleship-hunting submarines.
Mr. Helgesen; Committee on Naval Affairs, 33.

H. Res. 387—Inquiring relative to Charles Edward Russell.
Mr. Bennet; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 33.

H. Res. 388—Authorizing investigation of high cost of living.
Mr. Van Dyke; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 33.

H. Res. 389—Directing the Federal Trade Commission to investigate and report to the House of Representatives the facts relating to the production, marketing, and distribution of food products in the United States, together with any violations of the anti-trust laws in connection therewith, and recommendations for greater economy and efficiency in the marketing of food products and the punishment and prevention of extortion in the prices thereof.
Mr. Borland; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 78.—Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce discharged, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, 102, 103, 127.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1241), 665.—Debated, 1018–1020, 3626.

H. Res. 390—To pay Helen Sherman.
Mr. Lloyd; Committee on Accounts, 78.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1237) and agreed to, 648.

H. Res. 391—Directing the Clerk of the House to pay to Lenora McCall Courts, widow of James C. Courts, late clerk to the Committee on Appropriations, a sum equal to one year's salary.
Mr. Fitzgerald; Committee on Accounts, 150.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1238), debated, and agreed to, 648, 649.

H. Res. 392—Creating a committee to investigate and report on plans of Carroll Livingston Riker relating to submarine arsenal batteries for dirigible torpedoes and battleship-hunting submarines.
Mr. Helgesen; Committee on Naval Affairs, 149.

H. Res. 393—Relative to the death of Hon. Samuel J. Tribble, late a Representative from the State of Georgia.
Mr. Adamson, and agreed to, 147.

H. Res. 394—Authorizing the appointment of a committee to investigate the shipment of war material from the United States into Mexico.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Rules, 199.

H. Res. 395—Authorizing the Secretary of Labor to investigate into immigration conditions as they will be affected by the close of the present war in Europe.
Mr. Bennet; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 199.

H. Res. 396—Requesting the Federal Trade Commission to furnish the House of Representatives certain information.
Mr. Treadway; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 199.

H. Res. 397—Requesting the Department of Justice to furnish the House of Representatives certain information.
Mr. Treadway; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 199.

H. Res. 398—Calling upon the Secretary of Agriculture to furnish to the House information regarding the supply of wheat, wheat flour, and wheat products, exports thereof, the amounts contracted for export, and domestic consumption.
Mr. Farr; Committee on Agriculture, 249.

H. Res. 399—Authorizing an index of the hearings of the Army appropriation bill.
Mr. Dent; Committee on Accounts, 249.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1318), 1614.—Debated and agreed to, 1614–1617.

H. Res. 400—For the consideration of H. R. 17052.
Mr. Clark of Florida; Committee on Rules, 249.

H. Res. 401—Directing the Secretary of Commerce to report to the House certain information relative to sugar.
Mr. Sabath; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 249.

H. Res. 402—Authorizing the Committee on the Library to procure portraits of Speaker Champ Clark and former Speaker Joseph G. Cannon.
Mr. Lloyd; Committee on Accounts, 310.

H. Res. 403—Requiring the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to submit certain information in their possession to the House of Representatives to be used in connection with H. R. 17794, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session.
Mr. Stephens of Mississippi; Committee on the District of Columbia, 310.

H. Res. 404—To have Postmaster General report on advisability of abolishing zone system on parcel post, reduce charge, and increase weight of packages on parcels containing necessary food products.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 310.

H. Res. 405—Authorizing the appointment of a committee to investigate the shipment of munitions of war from the United States to the countries of Europe now engaged in war.
Mr. Rodenberg; Committee on Rules, 362.

H. Res. 406—To provide for a vote upon certain amendments to the legislative, executive, and judicial bill.
Mr. Fitzgerald; Committee on Rules, 362.

H. Res. 407—For consideration of H. J. Res. 1.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Rules, 418.

H. Res. 408—For the consideration of H. R. 18994.
Mr. Henry; Committee on Rules, 462.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1301), 1495.—Debated and agreed to, 1495–1499.

H. Res. 409—To consider an amendment to H. R. 18542.
Mr. Henry, from Committee on Rules (H. Rept. 1224), 457.—Debated and agreed to, 457–461.

H. Res. 410—To investigate the exorbitant price of bread in the District of Columbia and elsewhere.
Mr. Helgesen; Committee on Rules, 462.

H. Res. 411—Asking the Secretary of War for certain information relating to the removal of the old Pennsylvania Sixth Street Depot.
Mr. Stephens of Texas; Committee on the District of Columbia, 527.

H. Res. 412—Asking the Secretary of the Interior for certain information regarding damage done the United States by the wrongful use of the Mall and the streets of the city of Washington by the Baltimore & Potomac Railroad Co.
Mr. Stephens of Texas; Committee on the District of Columbia, 527.

H. Res. 413—Authorizing the payment of additional compensation to the Chaplain of the House.
Mr. Mann; Committee on Accounts, 527.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1239), debated, and agreed to, 649, 650.

H. Res. 414—For the consideration of H. J. Res. 323.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Rules, 579.—Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 1250), 841, 842.—Debated, 841–847.—Rejected, 846, 847.

H. Res. 415—To have the Secretary of War report to Congress why the National Guard is held on the Mexican border.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Military Affairs, 631.

H. Res. 416—Authorizing the Committee on the Library to procure a portrait of former Speaker Joseph G. Cannon.
Mr. Hicks; Committee on Accounts, 631.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1240) and agreed to, 650.

H. Res. 417—Providing for the consideration of H. R. 11864.
Mr. Rayburn; Committee on Rules, 666.

H. Res. 418—Authorizing certain members of the Committee on the Public Lands of the House of Representatives to make investigation relative to natural resources of the public domain.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on the Public Lands, 666.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1293), 1449.—Debated, 3632.

H. Res. 419—To provide for a committee to investigate emigration from and immigration to the United States as affected by the European war.
Mr. Bennet; Committee on Rules, 726.

H. Res. 420—Asking for investigation of conflicting interpretations placed upon President's note to belligerent powers by the State Department, and fluctuations of market caused thereby.
Mr. Wood of Indiana; Committee on Rules, 726.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1581), 4439–4442.—Debated, 1334, 1335, 1550, 1551.—Laid on the table, 4948–4951.

H. Res. 421—Authorizing the investigation of the prices of print paper.
Mr. Bailey; Committee on Rules, 726.

H. Res. 422—Indorsing and approving the action of the President of the United States in notes relative to terms of peace.
Mr. Bailey; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 726.

H. Res. 423—Directing the Attorney General of the United States to transmit to the House certain information relating to the shipment of arms and munitions of war into Mexico in violation of the provisions of the joint resolution of Congress approved Mar. 14, 1912, and the proclamation of the President issued in compliance therewith.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on the Judiciary, 785.—Reported back adversely (H. Rept. 1300), 1494.

H. Res. 424—Directing the Secretary of the Treasury to transmit to the House certain information relating to the shipment of arms and munitions of war into Mexico in violation of the provisions of the joint resolution of Congress approved Mar. 14, 1912, and the proclamation of the President issued in compliance therewith.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Ways and Means, 785.

H. Res. 425—Directing the Secretary of War to transmit to the House certain information relating to the shipment of arms and munitions of war into Mexico in violation of the provisions of the joint resolution of Congress approved Mar. 14, 1912, and the proclamation of the President issued in compliance therewith.
Mr. Kahn; Committee on Military Affairs, 785.

H. Res. 426—Indorsing the President's peace policy.
Mr. McKellar; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 785.

H. Res. 427—Amending the Rules of the House by the creation of a committee on salaries of officers and employees.
Mr. Lenroot; Committee on Rules, 785.

H. Res. 428—Authorizing the consideration of certain new legislation in H. R. 19410, a bill making appropriations for the support of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year 1918.
Mr. Moon; Committee on Rules, 824.

H. Res. 429—Appointing a committee to investigate the charges made by Thomas W. Lawson.
Mr. Wood of Indiana: Committee on Rules, with instructions to report in 10 days, 801.—Reported with recommendation that it lie on the table (H. Rept. 1281), 1273.—Recommitted to the Committee on Rules with instructions to report in five legislative days, 1289.—Extension of time for making report granted, 1549, 1550, 3240.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1582), 4439–4442.—Debated, 801–808, 1273–1289, 1334, 1335, 1549, 1150.—Laid on the table, 4948–4951.

H. Res. 430—Conferring certain powers upon and providing for expenses incurred by the Committee on Rules in the performance of certain duties.
Mr. Garrett; debated and agreed to, 808, 823.

H. Res. 431—Providing for the consideration of H. Res. 389.
Mr. Borland; Committee on Rules, 861.

H. Res. 432—Providing for the consideration of an amendment to H. R. 19359.
Mr. Lever; Committee on Rules, 861.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1254), debated, and agreed to, 965.

H. Res. 433—To pay one month's salary to Lamar Tribble, late clerk to Hon. S. J. Tribble, deceased.
Mr. Crisp; Committee on Accounts, 936.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1317) and agreed to, 1614.

H. Res. 434—Providing for the consideration of S. 706.
Mr. Webb; Committee on Rules, 985.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1584), 4464, 4465, 4527.—Debated and rejected, 4527–4530.—Vote reconsidered and debated and agreed to, 4696, 4697.

H. Res. 435—To pay the National Guardsmen, now in the Federal service, one month's extra pay.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Military Affairs, 1044.

H. Res. 436—Providing for an investigation of leakage of information concerning the President's peace message.
Mr. Kent; Committee on Rules, 1034, 1044.

H. Res. 437—Providing for the consideration of S. J. Res. 190.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Rules, 1013, 1014, 1084.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1268), 1084.—Debated and agreed to, 1084–1088 (Appendix, 498).

H. Res. 438—Authorizing the printing as a House document the pamphlet entitled "Railway Strikes and Lockouts."
Mr. Borland; Committee on Printing, 1128, 1156.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1467) and agreed to, 3244.

H. Res. 439—For the relief of Susan O. McConnell, widow of James I. McConnell.
Mr. Dixon; Committee on Accounts, 1239.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1316) and agreed to, 1614.

H. Res. 440—Providing for the consideration of H. R. 16060.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on Rules, 1317.

H. Res. 441—Authorizing the payment of $1,200 to William McKinley Cobb for extra and expert services rendered to the Committee on Pensions during the second session of the Sixty-fourth Congress.
Mr. Key of Ohio; Committee on Accounts, 1318.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1624), amended, and agreed to, 4854.

H. Res. 442—Empowering the Committee on Rules to send for persons and papers and to administer oaths.
Mr. Henry, from Committee on Rules, and agreed to, 1334, 1335.

H. Res. 443—Relative to the consideration of House resolutions Nos. 420 and 421.
Mr. Henry, from the Committee on Rules, 1335.—Debated and agreed to, 1335.

H. Res. 444—Authorizing the payment of $1,200 to G. D. Ellis for extra and expert services rendered in the office of the Clerk of the House of Representatives during the first and second sessions of the Sixty-fourth Congress.
Mr. Cantrill; Committee on Accounts, 1378.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1614) and agreed to, 4783.

H. Res. 445—To consider an amendment to H. R. 19410.
Mr. Ayres; Committee on Rules, 1378.

H. Res. 446—Providing for an investigation regarding whether persons connected with the Government profited by fluctuations in the stock market growing out of advance information as to Executive actions.
Mr. Campbell; Committee on Rules, 1449.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1580), 4439–4442.—Debated, 1550.—Report No. 1580 debated and agreed to, 4948.—Laid on the table, 4951.

H. Res. 447—Authorizing the Committee on Rules to investigate charges made by Thomas W. Lawson.
Mr. Garrett, from Committee on Rules, 1426.—Debated and agreed to, 1426.

H. Res. 448—Authorizing the Committee on Rules to summon witnesses and administer oaths.
Mr. Garrett, from Committee on Rules, and agreed to, 1426.—Report No. 1580 made in House, 4439–4442.—House Report No. 1580 debated and agreed to, 4948–4951.

H. Res. 449—To amend the rules of the House of Representatives.
Mr. Davis of Texas; Committee on Rules, 1449.

H. Res. 450—Providing for the appointment of a committee to investigate the banks and stock exchanges in the reserve cities.
Mr. Lindbergh; Committee on Rules, 1517.—Debated, 3117, 3126–3130.—Report No. 1628 made and agreed to, 4953.

H. Res. 451—Authorizing the Committee on Rules to employ counsel and accountants, to sit during the sessions of the House and outside of Washington, and providing for expenses.
Mr. Pou, from Committee on Rules, 1550.—Debated and agreed to, 1550–1556.

H. Res. 452—Requesting the Ways and Means Committee to report a bill repealing the act of October 3, 1913, and restoring the provisions of the act of August 5, 1909, for providing revenue for the Government, and for other purposes.
Mr. Williams of Ohio; Committee on Ways and Means, 1580.

H. Res. 453—Authorizing the payment of $600 to Sebe Newman for extra services rendered in connection with the sending out of blanks, receiving, filing, and compiling expense statements filed by candidates for Representatives in Congress in accordance with H. R. 2958 of the Sixty-second Congress.
Mr. Sumners; Committee on Accounts, 1580.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1630), debated, and agreed to 4711, 4962.

H. Res. 454—Providing for the public funeral of George Dewey, Admiral of the Navy.
Mr. Padgett, and agreed to, 1579.

H. Res. 455—Directing the Secretary of War to make a survey of the bar in Lake Michigan in front of Lake Bluff Naval Station, Ill.
Mr. Rainey; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 1580.

H. Res. 456—Authorizing certain members of the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Justice to make investigation relative to the Federal prisons and institutions.
Mr. Raker; Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Justice, 1658.

H. Res. 457—Appointing a committee to attend the funeral services of Admiral George Dewey at Arlington, Va.
Mr. Padgett, and agreed to, 1636, 1637.

H. Res. 458—Requesting the President of the United States to furnish the House with information.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 1725.—Motion to discharge committee debated, 2188.

H. Res. 459—Requesting the Department of State to instruct all consuls in Belgium to report on what happened in their respective districts.
Mr. McLemore; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1725.

H. Res. 460—To print 2,000 additional copies of the reconnoissance soil survey of northeastern Pennsylvania.
Mr. Kiess of Pennsylvania; Committee on Printing, 1725.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1478), amended, and agreed to, 3246, 3247.

H. Res. 461—Seating Isaac Siegel as a Representative from New York.
Mr. Morgan of Louisiana, from Committee on Elections No. 3 (H. Rept. 1325), and agreed to, 1756, 1757.

H. Res. 462—Seating Frederick C. Hicks as a Representative from New York.
Mr. Morgan of Louisiana, from Committee on Elections No. 3 (H. Rept. 1326), and agreed to, 1756.

H. Res. 463—Directing the Secretary of the Navy to cancel certain orders for shells.
Mr. Cary; Committee on Naval Affairs, 1802.

H. Res. 464—Authorizing the printing of 10,000 copies of the opinion of the Interstate Commerce Commission relating to the car-supply investigation.
Mr. Slemp; Committee on Printing, 1802.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1468), amended, and agreed to, 3243.

H. Res. 465—Authorizing the Judiciary Committee of the House to investigate and report on waterways.
Mr. Frear; Committee on Rules, 1802.

H. Res. 466—Regarding inquiry concerning Ellis Island.
Mr. Bennet; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 2023.

H. Res. 467—Regarding inquiry concerning Ellis Island.
Mr. Bennet; Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 2023.

H. Res. 468—Authorizing the Rivers and Harbors Committee to investigate impounding of water back of Keokuk Dam.
Mr. Rainey; Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 2102.

H. Res. 469—For consideration of H. R. 20361.
Mr. Houston; Committee on Rules, 2102.

H. Res. 470—Providing for the funeral of Hon. David E. Finley, late a Representative from the State of South Carolina.
Mr. Lever, and agreed to, 2101.

H. Res. 471—For the consideration of H. R. 20500.
Mr. Hamlin; Committee on Rules, 2102.

H. Res. 472—For the consideration of H. R. 18986.
Mr. Randall; Committee on Rules, 2102.

H. R. 473.—Amending the record of Jan. 25, 1917.
Mr. Ragsdale; special committee appointed by the Speaker, 2124–2127, 2145.—Report made and agreed to in House, 4825, 4947, 4948.

H. Res. 474—Providing for services in memory of Hon. Hunter H. Moss, jr., late a Representative from the State of West Virginia.
Mr. Woodyard, and agreed to, 2147–2155.

H. Res. 475—Requesting the President of the United States to furnish the House with information.
Mr. Keating; Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, 2216.—Committee discharged, amended, and agreed to, 2725, 2760, 2761.

H. Res. 476—Authorizing the payment of $1,000 to Aaron P. Prioleau, the contestant in the contested election case of Aaron P. Prioleau against George S. Legare, from the first congressional district of South Carolina, Sixty-second Congress.
Mr. Hulbert; Committee on Accounts, 2216.

H. Res. 477—Requesting the Attorney General of the United States to inform the House in regard to proceeding against the binder-twine monopoly.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on the Judiciary, 2296.—Reported back adversely (H. Rept. 1494), 3320, 3544.

H. R. 478—Requesting the Secretary of State to inform the House if any action has been taken to secure relief from the Binder Twine Trust.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 2296.

H. R. 479—Expressing the sense of the American Congress that there can be no permanent peace except upon the principle that governments derive their powers from the consent of the governed.
Mr. Gallivan; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 2296.

H. Res. 480—Directing the Committee on Foreign Affairs to investigate charges against American consular officers.
Mr. Britten; Committee on Rules, 2296.

H. Res. 481—Providing for a congressional committee to investigate the condition of the Chicago River and make recommendations thereto.
Mr. Cary; Committee on Rules, 2296.

H. Res. 482—Requesting the Secretary of war for certain information with reference to attack on American troops at Carrizal.
Mr. Anthony; Committee on Military Affairs, 2357.

H. Res. 483—Directing the Secretary of War to furnish copies of cablegrams between the Bureau of Insular Affairs and the Governor General of the Philippines relative to the binder-twine monopoly.
Mr. Steenerson; Committee on Insular Affairs, 2593.

H. Res. 484—Providing for services in memory of Hon. Samuel J. Tribble, late a Representative from the State of Georgia.
Mr. Bell; and agreed to, 2594–2604.

H. Res. 485—For the relief of Eliza McCloskey, widow of Patrick McCloskey.
Mr. Hamill; Committee on Accounts, 2727.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1440) and agreed to, 2791, 2792.

H. Res. 486—For the consideration of H. R. 20661.
Mr. Glass; Committee on Rules, 2808.

H. Res. 487—Authorizing the printing as a House document of Infantry Drill Regulations and Field Service Regulations.
Mr. Ferris; Committee on Printing, 2808.

H. Res. 488—Providing for the consideration of amendments to H. R. 20632, naval appropriation bill.
Mr. Padgett; Committee on Rules, 2892.

H. Res. 489—Providing for pay for the examiner detailed to the Committee on Invalid Pensions from the Pension Bureau.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Accounts, 2892.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1625), amended, and agreed to, 4855.

H. R. 490—Providing for telephone service at Capitol after Mar. 31, 1917.
Mr. Sabath; Committee on Accounts, 2974.—Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1623), 4711, 4846, 5033.—Debated, amended, and agreed to, 4711, 4846, 5033 (Appendix, 732).

H. Res. 491—Requesting the Senate to return to the House of Representatives H. R. 19298.
Mr. Mann, and agreed to, 2969.

H. Res. 492—Providing for a referendum vote on a declaration of war.
Mr. Callaway; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 2974.

H. Res. 492—Requesting certain information of the Secretary of the Navy.
Mr. Gardner; Committee on Naval Affairs, 2974.

H. Res. 494—Requesting the President of the United States to furnish certain information regarding American ships engaged in trade with Great Britain, France, or Italy.
Mr. Platt; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 3049.

H. Res. 495—Providing for a referendum vote on a declaration of war.
Mr. Bailey; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 3049.

H. Res. 496—Providing for the consideration of S. 5450.
Mr. Smith of Texas; Committee on Rules, 3049.

H. Res. 497—Providing for a referendum vote on a declaration of war.
Mr. Sherwood; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 3049.

H. Res. 498—Providing for a referendum vote on a declaration of war.
Mr. Buchanan of Illinois; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 3049.

H. Res. 499—Providing for the consideration of amendments to H. R. 20632, naval appropriation bill.
Mr. Pou, from Committee on Rules (H. Rept. 1451), 3049.—Agreed to, 3132, 3133.

H. Res. 500—Providing for the consideration of H. R. 5788.
Mr. Webb; Committee on Rules, 3172.

H. Res. 501—Providing for the payment of additional salary to the present enrolling clerk of the House.
Mr. Allen; Committee on Accounts, 3172.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1566) and agreed to, 4366.

H. Res. 502—Directing the Secretary of War to transmit information relative to aeroplane service in Mexico.
Mr. Miller of Minnesota; Committee on Military Affairs, 3249.

H. Res. 503—Authorizing the printing as a House document the pamphlet entitled "Handbook on Care and Operation of Gasoline Engines."
Mr. Hamilton of Michigan; Committee on Printing, 3249.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1552) and agreed to (H. Doc. No. 2088), 4151.

H. Res. 504—To provide for printing copies of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. Moore of Pennsylvania; Committee on Printing, 3320.

H. Res. 505—Of confidence in the President of the United States to uphold peace with honor.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 3320.

H. Res. 506—For the relief of Jennie Ritzheimer.
Mr. Fitzgerald; Committee on Accounts, 3320.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1615) and agreed to, 4786.

H. Res. 507—Providing for a referendum vote on a declaration of war.
Mr. Hensley; Committee on Foreign Affairs, 3385.

H. Res. 508—Providing for the consideration of H. R. 20752.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Rules, 3466.

H. Res. 509—Providing for the consideration of H. R. 9818.
Mr. Adamson; Committee on Rules, 3466.

H. Res. 510—To pay Gist Finley one month's salary.
Mr. Byrnes of South Carolina; Committee on Accounts, 3545.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1607) and agreed to, 4711.

H. Res. 511—Authorizing the Committee on Enrolled Bills to employ additional clerks.
Mr. Lazaro; Committee on Accounts, 3545.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1568) and agreed to, 4404.

H. Res. 512—Providing for services in memory of Hon. James P. Clarke, late a Senator from the State of Arkansas.
Mr. Oldfield, and agreed to, 3559–3563 (Appendix, 826, 874, 883).

H. Res. 513—Providing for services in memory of Hon. Benjamin F. Shively, late a Senator from the State of Indiana.
Mr. Barnhart, and agreed to, 3563–3571.

H. Res. 514—Providing for the consideration of H. R. 6915.
Mr. Griffin; Committee on Rules, 3652.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1579), 4465.

H. Res. 515—Declaring that Ebenezer J. Hill was elected a Member of the Sixty-fourth Congress.
Mr. Stephens of Mississippi, from Committee on Elections No. 1, and agreed to, 3698.

H. Res. 516—Providing for the consideration of an amendment to H. R. 20783.
Mr. Dent; Committee on Rules, 3734.

H. Res. 517—Directing the appointment of a special committee to inquire into charges contained in a statement made by the Hon. Oscar Callaway, Member of Congress from Texas, and for other purposes.
Mr. Moore of Pennsylvania; Committee on Rules, 3503, 3854.—Debated, 3502, 3503, 3618–3621, 3623, 3783.

H. Res. 518—To continue the investigation authorized by House resolution No. 229.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Rules, 3855.—Committee on Rules discharged, and referred to the Committee on Accounts, 3958.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1617), 4783, 4856, 4962.—Debated, 4783–4786, 4962–4965, 4974, 4975.—Vote taken and House refuses to agree to resolution, 4974, 4975.

H. Res. 519—For the consideration of S. 1082.
Mr. Barkley; Committee on Rules, 3855.

H. Res. 520—Providing for the consideration of H. J. Res. 250.
Mr. London; Committee on Rules, 3855.—H. Res. 546 reported as substitute, 4712.

H. Res. 521—Providing for the printing and distribution of copies of the Digest and Manual of the Rules and Practice of the House of Representatives for the second session of the Sixty-fourth Congress.
Mr. Foster, and agreed to, 3909.

H. Res. 522—Requesting an embargo on the exportation of food products and other necessaries of life.
Mr. Bailey; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3959.

H. Res. 523—Authorizing the printing as a House document the report of the Superintendent for the Five Civilized Tribes.
Mr. Hastings; Committee on Printing, 3959.

H. Res. 524—Directing the Comptroller of the Currency to inform Congress regarding amounts loaned on food and other necessities of life held in storage.
Mr. Lindbergh; Committee on Banking and Currency, 4064.

H. Res. 525—Authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Interior to make an investigation and report upon the advisability of establishing and maintaining Government fuel yard or yards in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Foster; Committee on Mines and Mining, 4064.

H. Res. 526—Authorizing the President and Attorney General of the United States to issue orders to corporations and individuals concerning control of cold storage and other large supplies of food and fuel.
Mr. Cary; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 4064.

H. Res. 527—For the consideration of S. 1082.
Mr. Barkley; Committee on Rules, 4065.

H. Res. 528—For the consideration of H. R. 21009.
Mr. Alexander; Committee on Rules, 4065.

H. Res. 529—Authorizing the continuation of the employment of certain session clerks until Mar. 31, 1917.
Mr. Lobeck; Committee on Accounts, 4242.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1629), debated, and agreed to, 4961.

H. Res. 530—Proposing an amendment to paragraph 1, Rule XIII, Rules of the House of Representatives.
Mr. Bennet; Committee on Rules, 4242.

H. Res. 531—Proposing an amendment to paragraph 3 of Rule XXII of the House of Representatives.
Mr. Bennet; Committee on Rules, 4242.

H. Res. 532—For the consideration of S. 5126.
Mr. Webb; Committee on Rules, 4242.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1636), 5033.

H. Res. 533—Providing for services in memory of Hon. David E. Finley, late a Representative from the State of South Carolina.
Mr. Aiken, and agreed to, 4254–4262.

H. Res. 534—Providing for services in memory of Hon. Edwin C. Burleigh, late a Senator from the State of Maine.
Mr. Guernsey; agreed to, 4262–4267.

H. Res. 535—Authorizing the Clerk of the House to pay to Joseph S. McCoy the sum of $50 for services rendered the Ways and Means Committee.
Mr. Kitchin; Committee on Accounts, 4368.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1616) and agreed to, 4783.

H. Res. 536—Authorizing the Clerk of the House of Representatives to deliver the portrait of Gov. Howell Cobb to Mary Ann Lamar Erwin, of Athens, Ga.
Mr. Rucker of Georgia; Committee on the Library, 4368.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1578), 4465.—Agreed to, 5021.

H. Res. 537—Directing the Comptroller of the Currency to inform Congress regarding amounts loaned on food and other necessaries of life held in storage, and for other purposes.
Mr. Lindbergh; Committee on Banking and Currency, 4368.

H. Res. 538—Providing for the consideration of amendments to H. R. 20967.
Mr. Sherley; Committee on Rules, 4368.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1577), debated, and agreed to, 4430, 4431.

H. Res. 539—Providing for the consideration of the bill (S. 1082) to prevent the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Barkley; Committee on Rules, 4466.

H. Res. 540—Providing for the consideration of the bill (S. 1082) to prevent the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors in the District of Columbia.
Mr. Barkley; Committee on Rules, 4466.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1587), 4530.—Debated, 4530–4550.—Amended and agreed to, 4550.

H. Res. 541—For the consideration of H. R. 19410.
Mr. Bennet; Committee on Rules, 4563.

H. Res. 542—For the consideration of S. 4429.
Mr. Abercrombie; Committee on Rules, 4563.

H. Res. 543—Providing for the consideration of H. R. 21052.
Mr. Flood; Committee on Rules, 4563.

H. Res. 544—For the consideration of H. R. 21052.
Mr. Flood; Committee on Rules, 4563.—Reported back (H. Rept. 1596), 4636.—Debated and agreed to, 4636–4640.

H. Res. 545—Providing for the display of the United States flag in every classroom of all educational institutions, and the singing of "The Star-Spangled Banner" as a part of the morning exercises.
Mr. Emerson; Committee on Education, 4712.

H. Res. 546—For the consideration of H. J. Res. 250.
Mr. Henry, from Committee on Rules (H. Rept. 1597), 4712.

H. Res. 547—For the investigation of recent riots.
Mr. Edmonds; Committee on Labor, 4712.

H. Res. 548—Providing for the consideration of H. R. 21069.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Rules, 4856.

H. Res. 549—Announcing the death of the Hon. Michael F. Conry, late a Representative from the State of New York.
Mr. Fitzgerald, and agreed to, 4825.

H. Res. 550—Providing for the return to the Senate of House bill 20632 with a message communicating this resolution.
Mr. Kitchin, and agreed to, 4826, 4827.

House resolution 551.

Whereas death has again invaded our ranks and removed from the scene of his earthly activities our friend and colleague, the Hon. Michael F. Conry, of the State of New York:

Resolved, That in his death we experience a keen sense of personal loss. As a Member of the House for four terms, and many years a member of this committee, he discharged at all times with distinguished ability and patriotism the duties devolving upon him;

Resolved, That in his death the House and the committee have lost a wise, diligent, patriotic member and the district he represented, a citizen and a public servant devoted at all times to high ideals and prompted by those lofty purposes and motives which make for the very best type of American citizenship;

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be spread upon a page of the record of this committee to be set apart for that purpose, and that a copy of the same be presented to the House by the chairman of this committee for printing in the Congressional Record; and

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions appropriately engrossed be transmitted by the clerk of this committee to the family of the deceased.

Mr. Kitchin, by direction of the Committee on Ways and Means, and ordered to be spread upon the record, 4920.—Remarks delivered in House on death of (Appendix 698, 821, 824, 850, 889, 893, 896).

H. Res. 552—Providing for the consideration of H. Res. 518.
Mr. Johnson of Kentucky; Committee on Rules, 4976.

H. Res. 553—Providing for the payment to Miss J. V. Collins of the sum of $125.
Mr. Lloyd, and agreed to, 4961.

H. Res. 554—Providing for the payment to Arthur Lucas of the sum of $30.
Mr. Lloyd, and agreed to, 4961.

H. Res. 555—Providing for a committee of three members to join a similar committee from the Senate to wait on the President of the United States.
Mr. Kitchin, and agreed to, 5028.

H. Res. 556—Tendering the thanks of the House of Representatives to the Hon. Champ Clark, its Speaker.
Mr. Mann, and agreed to, 5029, 5030.